



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
General Certificate of Education  
Advanced Subsidiary Level and Advanced Level

**HISTORY**

**9697/32**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

**October/November 2009**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.



**SECTION A**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**THE UNITED NATIONS AND NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE**

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1** candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually and as a group.

**Source A**

The situation in the Security Council is particularly encouraging. For the first time, the permanent members seem to be working together with the non-permanent members and with the Secretary-General to evolve common approaches and solutions for problems of international peace and security. Here the change in the Soviet attitude is particularly encouraging. New Soviet proposals indicate that a major obstacle to progress has been removed. The Soviet proposals aim at seeing 'the positive experience and practice of United Nations peacekeeping operations consolidated and further developed and put on a more solid legal and financial basis' so that they can be used 'more extensively for the implementation of Security Council decisions as well as for the prevention of emerging armed conflicts'. This new consensus behind peacekeeping comes at a time when important operations are imminent – in Namibia, for example. These operations should provide a practical testing ground for strengthening the foundations of this important technique.

*From the speech by the UN Secretary-General on the acceptance of the Nobel Prize for UN Peacekeeping Operations, 1988.*

**Source B**

Non-aligned countries have become bitterly critical of the way the United Nations is carrying out a plan for guiding Namibia to independence from South Africa next year. As fighting flared this week in the territory despite the 1 April cease-fire, the non-aligned countries are accusing the United Nations of siding with South Africa by encouraging its forces to attack Namibian guerrillas from SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) and by failing to deploy a large enough peacekeeping force on time. Their criticism is mainly directed at the United Nations special representative in Namibia, but it extends by implication to the United Nations Secretary-General. The non-aligned movement criticized the United Nations for failing to get all its forces to Namibia by 1 April as planned, saying it should have delayed the start of the independence plan if the troops were not ready. United Nations officials assert that some SWAPO leaders may have misunderstood the agreement. The scale of infiltration from outside Namibia suggests that it was more than an accident.

*From the New York Times, 1989.*

**Source C**

The UN operation in Namibia had many new features and constituted an evolutionary step beyond the United Nations traditional role of peacekeeping and the monitoring of self-determination processes. This was because of the far-reaching mandate given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council. The UN's principal function was to create the conditions for the holding of free and fair elections. This meant that it was required to be, and was, deeply involved in the whole political process of Namibia's transition from illegally occupied colony to sovereign and independent state. The UN had to play its part in monitoring and implementing a ceasefire, the withdrawal and demobilisation of troops, monitoring a local police force, managing a political 'normalisation' process, supervising and controlling the resultant elections and assisting the transition to independence. Because of the vast international interest in Namibia, each step was taken under public scrutiny. The mandate made it one of the most political of United Nations operations, and together with the strict timetable involved, caused it to be one of the most demanding to be put in the field.

*From a United Nations publication, 1990.*

**Source D**

The UN Secretary-General had said, 'What is a triumph for Namibia is a triumph for Africa and for the principles that are in the Charter of the United Nations.' The independence process which was supervised each step of the way by the United Nations represented 'the culmination of the struggle for national dignity and independence of Namibians'. The Namibian President hailed the South African President's 'statesmanship and realism' in withdrawing from Namibia. He hoped that such an attitude would 'continue to unfold in South Africa itself'. A few minutes earlier, the South African President stated: 'I stand here tonight as an advocate of peace. The season of violence has passed for Namibia and for the whole of southern Africa.' His country extended 'a hand of friendship' to its new neighbours', he said, urging that the bitterness of the past be put aside. 'Good neighbourliness is in our mutual interest', he said.

*From the UN Chronicle on the Independence of Namibia, 1990.*

**Source E**

In 1978, the UN Resolution 435 provided for a UN supervised transition to independence for Namibia. Due to international politics, the UN was not able to implement that plan until 1989. By 1989 the timing was right for settlement of the Namibian case. The superpowers had withdrawn from the region, other regional conflicts were coming to a close, and the public and political organizations were ready for peace. Second, the UN peacekeeping force in Namibia included a substantial civilian component which was most appropriate given the essentially political nature of the settlement process. Third, the UN had been involved in Namibia for some time, and so senior UN personnel had substantial knowledge of the situation. Lastly, the UN had a wide mandate and so was involved at every stage of the transition.

*From 'Namibia, A Lesson in Success' by a US academic, 1994.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that Namibian independence was achieved because of the efforts of the United Nations?*

**Section B**

You must answer **three** questions from this section.

You must **not** answer both Question 3 and Question 4.

- 2 'Without Stalin's aggressive policies the Cold War in Europe would have never occurred.' Assess this view.
- 3 Assess the view that the US policy of containment was far more successful than other US policies which dealt with the communist threat in the years 1950 to 1980.

**OR**

- 4 How far was the Korean War a success for the USA?
- 5 To what extent was the end of communist rule in Eastern Europe in 1989 the result of the policies and actions of Gorbachev?
- 6 Assess the view that attempts to control the proliferation and development of nuclear weapons were a failure in the years 1949 to 1980.
- 7 To what extent did the USA dominate the global economy in the years 1945 to 1991?
- 8 Assess the view that international aid for the developing world created more problems than it solved in the years 1950 to 1991.

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