



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/33**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

**May/June 2012**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

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 rough working.

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

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer **three** questions.

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

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

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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



## Section A: The Development of the United Nations, 1945–1991

You **must** answer Question 1.

### THE UNITED NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

- 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 UN Charter represents a best-efforts basis in 1945 to establish the principles of collective security. But before those principles could be tested and refined, the Cold War gridlocked world politics. Yet the idea of collective security was kept alive during the Cold War by the evolution of a concept more intriguing than anyone dared imagine – UN peacekeeping. Nowhere in the Charter is ‘peacekeeping’ identified or explicitly authorised. But it emerged by sheer invention during the earliest years of the United Nations as a tool to monitor cease-fires and assist in efforts to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes. Through the years, the Security Council and the member states of the United Nations have learned much about working together to maintain international peace and security through the instrument of peacekeeping. The lessons derived from four decades of UN peacekeeping are now guiding us into a new era of collective security.

*From a speech delivered to a US Foreign Affairs Committee by Madeleine K Albright  
(US Permanent Representative to the UN), 1993.*

#### Source B

The start of the Cold War destroyed the collective security concept on which the Security Council was based. Security Council action was blocked by the great power veto. Therefore security arrangements had to be developed outside the framework of the Charter. Collective security was sought through the hostile military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Decolonisation increased the number of UN members, turned the vacated empires into the fluid battlelines of the Cold War and enlarged the number of ‘non-aligned’ states – those which looked to the UN to protect their interests. The UN’s mission shifted from dealing with the legacy of Hitler to dealing with the legacy of colonialism. The UN’s principal instrument became peacekeeping presences, consisting of observer groups, and where necessary lightly-armed military contingents (the ‘blue helmets’) supplied by lesser powers. Peacekeeping by a multinational police-type force drawn from non-major powers was substituted for collective security action dependent upon the might of the five major powers.

*From an article by a British historian, 2005.*

**Source C**

The first major peacekeeping force, UNEF in the Middle East, established that the cardinal distinction between collective security and peacekeeping lay in the reliance on force and consent respectively. Its mission was to separate potential Egyptian and Israeli combatants not by means of collective security involving the might of the major powers, but by means of a peaceful force made up of contingents from the minor powers. UNEF was neither expected nor equipped to engage in hostilities; its deterrent effect was to be produced by its very presence as a symbol of the international community. Brian Urquhart, a former UN Under-Secretary General, argued 'It is precisely because the Security Council cannot agree on enforcement operations that the peacekeeping technique has been devised, and it is precisely because an operation is a peacekeeping operation that governments are prepared to make troops available to serve on it.' Peacekeeping evolved as a second-best substitute for a non-obtainable collective security system.

*From a book entitled 'The UN, Peace and Security', by an Indian academic, 2006.*

**Source D**

International peace and security are at the very heart of the establishment of the UN and no promise was more central than to prevent further bloodshed after two bloody wars were fought. Soon after the end of the Second World War however the Cold War began and, from the very beginning, the new United Nations Organisation was not able to fulfil its mandate and use its powers as they were assigned to it by the UN Charter. Cold War tensions and confrontations prevented the United Nations from finding the necessary consensus in the Security Council. However, another collective security instrument was discovered – peacekeeping, designed to help countries in the transition phase from war to peace. Today, 110 000 men and women serve under its banner and over 60 peacekeeping missions have been carried out. It was a truly practical response and seen by many as a substitute for the deficient collective security system.

*From an article by a Swiss academic, 2008.*

**Source E**

Peacekeeping operations were built up by the UN after the failure of the collective security system. The UN Charter contains no definition of peacekeeping and no authority to establish such operations. Peacekeeping operations cannot be defined as a peaceful resolution (Chapter Six) or an enforcement power (Chapter Seven). Former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld described peacekeeping operations as 'Chapter Six and a Half'. The lack of definition creates problems about the limits of peacekeeping, but at the same time provides a wide capacity for peacekeeping to deal with different kinds of threats to international peace and security. Some claim that the constitutional basis of UN peacekeeping is the broad mandate of Article One of the Charter, which states that the main purpose of the UN is 'to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace'.

*From an article written by a Turkish Judge for the Turkish Ministry of Justice, 2008.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The adoption of peacekeeping marked the UN's abandonment of the concept of collective security.'*  
How far do Sources A–E support this view?

## Section B

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

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

- 2 'The Second World War left the Soviet Union devastated and insecure.' To what extent does this explain the development of the Cold War in Europe between 1945 and 1949?
- 3 'That both superpowers had expansionist ambitions is confirmed by the globalisation of the Cold War between 1950 and 1980.' How far do you agree?

OR

- 4 'President Johnson's decision to increase American military involvement in Vietnam was a disastrous error of judgement.' How far do you agree?
- 5 'A ruthless leader and an opponent of fundamental reform.' How fair is this assessment of Deng Xiaoping?
- 6 How fair is the view that no substantial progress had been made in attempts to control nuclear weapons by 1989?
- 7 Assess the importance of free trade to the international economy between 1945 and 1980.
- 8 'From 1964 to 1991, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) achieved a great deal for developing countries.' How far do you agree?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Question 1 Source B	© Ed. Ask & Mark-Jungkvis; <i>The Adventure of Peace: Dag Hammerskjold's Assumptions and the Future of the UN</i> ; Palgrave Macmillan; 2005.
Question 1 Source C	© R Thakur; <i>The UN, Peace and Security</i> ; Cambridge University Press; 2006.
Question 1 Source D	© Fabian Grass; <i>Geneva International Model, United Nations</i> ; GIMUN; 2008.
Question 1 Source E	© <a href="http://www.justice.gov.tr/e-journal/pdf/LW7042.pdf">http://www.justice.gov.tr/e-journal/pdf/LW7042.pdf</a> .

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