

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

**HISTORY**

**9697/03**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

May/June 2004

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

**3 hours**

**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 on both sides of the paper.  
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer **four** questions.

You must answer **Question 1** (Section A) and **three** questions from Section B.

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

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

**Section A**

You must answer Question 1.

**THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS' HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES**

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

**Source A**

The UN General Assembly, the Secretary-General and the governments concerned have on many occasions requested UNHCR to organise the repatriation and initial rehabilitation of refugees. Examples of large-scale UNHCR repatriation operations are plentiful. They show that all over the world, though new refugee problems continually arise, solutions to existing problems continue to be found.

The first large-scale repatriation in which UNHCR was involved came in 1962 with the return of some 250 000 Algerians. In 1972, some 10 million refugees returned home to their newly-independent state of Bangladesh. Then in 1974 came the news of the independence of the territories formerly under Portuguese administration. In 1975 the General Assembly requested the Commissioner 'to intensify his efforts on behalf of refugees in Africa, notably those returning to their countries following independence'.

Examples such as these show important events in which governments joined forces under the umbrella of UNHCR, as the strictly non-political international body, to achieve the most desirable solution to refugee problems.

*The speech given by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Poul Hartling, on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, 1981.*

**Source B**

The spirit of the refugee conventions is that every person is entitled to freedom from persecution and that he or she will receive assistance from the international community to achieve that freedom. UNHCR's principal task is to protect such rights. Its task is obviously made more difficult when it is operating in countries which have not ratified the Convention or Protocol. By the end of the 1970s only 78 states had ratified the Convention and only 72 the Protocol. Thailand had ratified neither.

Early in 1979 Poul Hartling, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, offered UNHCR help to the government of Thailand in dealing with new Cambodian refugees fleeing fighting between Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge. The offer was ignored. Instead, Thailand labelled these new arrivals 'illegal immigrants' and put them in separate camps.

*William Shawcross, a British journalist, in 'The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, the Holocaust and Modern Conscience', 1984.*

**Source C**

In one particular aspect of human migration, UN-generated international law plays a powerful role, namely refugee law. Hundreds of administrative and judicial decisions each day interpret and apply international standards based on two UN treaties, the Convention (1951) and Protocol (1967) relating to the status of refugees, which over a hundred states have signed.

Even in states which have not signed these treaties, UN refugee law often has an important effect, often framing responses to refugee flows. The 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action to deal with the ongoing flow of asylum seekers from Indochina is a significant recent example. There the states of the region, most of whom have not signed the treaties, agreed to a procedure for screening refugees based firmly on the UN Convention. Moreover, in virtually every refugee crisis UNHCR plays a central role.

*David Martin, an American academic lawyer who has specialised in refugee law, 1997.*

**Source D**

During the Cold War period, most countries, especially in the West, were relatively receptive to refugees from communist bloc countries. As long as granting refugee status was based on superpower ideology, the work of the UNHCR was easier because in most cases the UNHCR did not have to negotiate on behalf of refugees.

The UNHCR also has been successful in providing protection to African refugees by ensuring that they are granted asylum. This has been the case because most African countries have been receptive to the influx of refugees from neighbouring countries. Also, the boundaries of most African countries are 'artificial' and therefore easy for refugees to cross.

There have, however, been many cases where the UNHCR has not been successful. Examples include the treatment of Vietnamese boat people in western European countries. Sending people back to their countries without proper examination of their claims is a flagrant violation of the 1951 Refugee Convention.

*James Chiusiwa, an African postgraduate student at the Australian National University, 1999.*

**Source E**

The UNHCR applied an expanded definition of the official definition of 'refugee' to deal with the larger refugee movements of the 1970s in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The organisation began to recognise the need for permanent refugee settlement in countries away from the wars causing refugee movement. However, by the mid-1970s countries no longer wanted an influx of labour and began raising restrictions against refugee access. By now it was clear that the international treatment of refugees was dependent on economic and ideological considerations. Before then, when a Cold War crisis resulted in refugee flows, Western host nations had been welcoming.

*A review of the development of the UNHCR by Laura Barnett, a Canadian lawyer, 2002.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that, in the period 1950–1991, the UNHCR responded*

## Section B

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

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

- 2 How far do you agree that the development of the US policy of containment in the late 1940s was based on a mistaken interpretation of Soviet aims and ambitions?
- 3 'The Cold War was essentially a war of words.' How far does a study of the Cold War, as 'fought' in the 1960s and 1970s in any **two** regions of your choice, support this assertion?

OR

- 4 Assess the impact of the Cold War upon the Arab-Israeli issue in the period 1956–79.
- 5 Which did more to cause the collapse of Soviet communism by 1991, developments inside or outside the USSR?
- 6 Compare and contrast the SALT treaties and the START treaties as means of controlling nuclear weapons.
- 7 How far, in the period 1945–1991, was the success of the international economy dependent upon the success of the US economy?
- 8 Account for the emergence of the Asian Tiger economies.

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Source B	© HarperCollins Publishers Ltd. 1984 William Shawcross.
Source C	David Martin. <i>United Nations and International Law</i> . Published by Cambridge University Press. © The American Society of International Law.
Source D	© James Chiusiwa. <i>How effective has the UNCHR been in fulfilling its mandate to protect refugees</i> . Reproduced by permission of Asia Pacific Press.
Source E	Laura Barnett. <i>Global Governance and the Evolution of the International Refugee Regime</i> . Published by UNCHR Evaluation and Policy Unit.

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