

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

HISTORY

9697/03

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

October/November 2005

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 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 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE PUNISHMENT OF GENOCIDE

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

The term 'genocide' was coined in 1944 by the Polish jurist, Raphael Lemkin. He referred to the co-ordinated and planned elimination of a national, religious or racial group by activities directed to undermine the foundations of the survival of the group in question. In 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. For many years a discussion has been taking place about the precise definition of genocide.

With regard to the mass killings by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia (1975–9), non-governmental organisations have urged governments to file a complaint against Cambodia because of its violation of the Genocide Convention. However, no government has been willing to do so. The UN has always been reluctant to employ the term 'genocide' as this might rule out negotiations with the accused government.

A Dutch law professor, writing in 1999.

Source B

The law and politics of genocide did not develop for several decades, following the adoption of the Convention in 1948. When the horrors of ethnic conflict became the great problem of the 1990s, the Convention was pulled off the shelf and dusted off. Unlike other human rights treaties, there has been no committee charged with ensuring the Genocide Convention's implementation and helping to define its context.

The Genocide Convention was the first modern human rights treaty. Some must have believed, in 1948, that the unthinkable crime of genocide would never happen again. Perhaps the gaps in the Convention are caused by optimistic negotiators, mistaken in the belief that they were honouring the past rather than policing the future.

*William Schabas, an American law professor,
writing in 1999.*

Source C

In 1975, the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh and began a genocidal regime which killed 1.7 million of 8 million Cambodians before it was overthrown by Vietnam in 1979. For the next twenty years Pol Pot, one of the worst mass murderers of the twentieth century, avoided capture. When the Vietnamese removed the Khmer Rouge, most of the world followed the positions held during the Cold War. China, the USA and ASEAN all supported Pol Pot. The Khmer Rouge held on to Cambodia's UN seat. No country in the world could be found to file a case against the Khmer Rouge in the International Court of Justice. Governments were not the only ones at fault. In the 1980s, respectable non-government legal bodies rejected the opportunity to investigate the crimes of the Khmer Rouge. Even the US media campaigned to undermine the attempt to document Khmer Rouge crimes.

Ben Kiernan, a leading Australian authority on the Cambodian genocide, writing in 1999.

Source D

The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide has come to embody the conscience of humanity. It is unusually highly regarded and frequently referred to. However, the Genocide Convention has been notable, above all, for the failure of states to enforce its terms. Five decades of non-enforcement have left the Convention's main terms very unclear, making it much easier for reluctant politicians to ignore it.

Perhaps no case better illustrates the complexities of the 1948 Convention's definition of genocide than the case of Cambodia. In view of the magnitude of the killing – 1.5 million Cambodian citizens are believed to have died as a result of the Khmer Rouge's policies – there has been a keen desire to attach the term genocide to their crimes. However, since both the perpetrators and the majority of the victims were Cambodian, reaching this conclusion has required complicated legal reasoning. Some scholars have developed the concept of auto-genocide, the idea that members of a racial group could commit acts of genocide against their own group.

Diane F Orenlichter, an American law professor, writing in 1999.

Source E

Ignoring all the evidence available in Cambodia as well as their commitments to punish genocide, UN member states continued to refuse to apply the Genocide Convention. Only in 1985 were divisions briefly overcome so that a UN investigation could be conducted. By then, because it had emerged that the Khmer Rouge had killed huge numbers of Buddhist monks and Vietnamese, it was relatively easy to prove that the Khmer Rouge was guilty of genocide against distinct ethnic and religious groups. The final report described the atrocities as 'the most serious that had occurred anywhere in the world since the Second World War'. Only with the end of the Cold War did Cambodia stop being an issue in superpower confrontation.

Samantha Power, an American journalist, writing in 2002.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that, in the period from 1975 to 1991, the United Nations did not take action against the Khmer Rouge for genocide because there was no international support for doing so?

Section B

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

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

2 'New to the job and inexperienced, President Truman was the person most responsible for the outbreak of the Cold War.' How far do you agree?

3 How successful was the American policy of containment in the period 1950–1975?

OR

4 'Khrushchev simply wanted to protect a new and vulnerable Communist state.' How valid is this explanation of Soviet policy towards Cuba in the period from 1960 to 1963?

5 How far do you agree that 'the crisis of Chinese communism in the 1980s seriously threatened the authority of the Chinese Communist Party'?

6 'By the 1980s, the USSR was losing the nuclear arms race.' How did this effect the Cold War?

7 How far do you agree that Japan's economic miracle was based almost entirely on special favours it received from the USA?

8 To what extent did international aid assist Third World countries in the development of their economies in the period 1970–1991?

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Source B	William Schabas; <i>The Genocide Convention of Fifty</i> ; USIP Special Report 41. © United States Institute for Peace.
Source C	© Ben Kiernan; <i>Cambodia's Twisted Path to Justice</i> ; from: http://historyplace.com/pointsofview/kiernon
Source D	Diane F Orenlichter; <i>Crimes of War</i> ; from www.crimesofwar.org/thebook/genocide
Source E	© Samantha Power; <i>A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide</i> ; Basic Books, 2002.

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