



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/31**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

**October/November 2010**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, index 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.

**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.

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



\* 0 0 5 8 7 7 9 3 2 1 \*

## SECTION A: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945–1991

You **must** answer Question 1.

## UNITED NATIONS AND GENOCIDE

- 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**

Article I: Member Countries confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article II: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III: The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

*From the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,  
adopted by the General Assembly, 1948.*

**Source B**

The Convention on Genocide, a major pillar in the evolving framework of international humanitarian rules, declares genocide a crime under international law. It condemns genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, and provides a definition of this crime. Moreover, the prescribed punishment is not subject to the limitations of time and place.

The Convention also declares that there shall be no immunity. Persons committing this crime shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Unlike other human rights treaties, the Genocide Convention does not establish a specific monitoring body or expert committee. It stipulates that any Member Country may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the United Nations Charter which they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide. Thus, the matter may be brought before the International Court of Justice which may order interim measures of protection. At present, one such case is pending before the International Court of Justice.

**Source C**

Some experts believe that the legal definition of genocide in the UN Genocide Convention fails to protect 'political groups', does not cover the Khmer Rouge mass murders of Cambodia, the mass murder of non-communist groups, Indonesia's mass extermination of its native communist party, over a million of whose members were killed in 1965-1966, or Indonesia's mass murder of political groups in East Timor. But the crimes committed in East Timor, with a toll of 150,000 in a population of 650,000, clearly meet a range of sociological definitions of genocide. The victims in East Timor included not only the Timorese 'national group' targeted for destruction because of their resistance to Indonesian annexation, along with their relatives, but also most members of the 20,000-strong ethnic Chinese minority prominent in the towns of East Timor, whom Indonesian forces singled out for destruction apparently because of their ethnicity.

*From 'War, Genocide and Resistance in East Timor' by an Australian historian, 1999.*

**Source D**

International observers have been hesitant to call the Khmer Rouge's actions genocide. Since the motivation of the perpetrators was generally political, the case does not fit in the common United Nations definition for genocide. Only in the past few years have international organisations, including the UN, begun to acknowledge the crimes. The new Cambodian government is preparing to summon a war crimes tribunal. Yet, international observers, who believe that the government's court cannot credibly try the Khmer Rouge perpetrators, have asked the United Nations to mediate.

*From 'The Campaign to End Genocide', quoted on the Cambodian Genocide Group website, 2001.*

**Source E**

Cambodia has been a party to the UN Genocide Convention since 1950. The mass killings committed in Cambodia were in clear violation of all the major provisions of that Convention. Political killings are not covered by the Convention unless their intent is to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, as such. The evidence has now been gathered that establishes beyond a reasonable doubt the Khmer Rouge intent to destroy Muslims, Christians, Buddhist monks, and the Vietnamese and Chinese minorities.

To be punishable under the Genocide Convention, the destruction of a group must be intentional. Intent can be established by a systematic pattern that could only be the result of orders from the top of a pyramid of command. But intent can be proven more definitely through written orders or through testimony by witnesses to oral orders. Such direct evidence has now been collected.

The most dramatic evidence of government intent in the genocide was in December 1986. Every man, woman and child from the Eastern Zone was required to wear the blue scarf. As numerous witnesses told me, it was 'the killing sign'. People were worked to death or slaughtered. The blue scarf in Cambodia was the equivalent of the Nazi yellow star. It is the most dramatic proof that the genocide was ordered from the top by government leaders.

*From 'The Cambodian Genocide and International Law' by an American academic, 1992.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that the UN has played a useful role in its work against genocide?*

## SECTION B

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

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

2 'The USSR was responsible for starting the Cold War, but the USA was responsible for developing it.' How far do you agree with this view of events from 1945 to 1949?

3 To what extent did the Cold War affect regional conflicts in the period from 1950 to 1989?

OR

4 'The USA lost the Vietnam War because of its own mistakes.' How far do you agree?

5 To what extent was Mao Zedong personally responsible for the Sino-Soviet split?

6 Why did the nuclear arms race end in the 1980s?

7 How far has the capitalist world economy been in crisis since 1945?

8 'The developing world was itself mostly responsible for the problems that it faced in the 1970s and 1980s.' How far do you agree?

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Copyright Acknowledgements:

Question 1A © *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*; [www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html](http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html).

Question 1B © *Genocide Commentary*; [cyberschoolbus.un.org/treaties/genocide.asp](http://cyberschoolbus.un.org/treaties/genocide.asp).

Question 1C © Ben Kiernan; *War, Genocide and Resistance in East Timor 1975–1999*; [www.yale.edu/gsp/east\\_timor/](http://www.yale.edu/gsp/east_timor/).

Question 1D © *A Brief History of the Cambodian Genocide*; [www.cambodiangenocide.org/genocide](http://www.cambodiangenocide.org/genocide).

Question 1E © Dr G Stanton; *The Cambodian Genocide and International Law; Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia*; in, Ben Kiernan (ed); Monograph No.41 Yale University; South East Asia Studies; Yale East Timor Project.

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