

**CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Subsidiary Level**

**HISTORY**

**8697/3**

PAPER 3 International History, 1945–1991

**OCTOBER/NOVEMBER SESSION 2001**

3 hours

Additional materials:  
Answer paper

**TIME** 3 hours

**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

Write your name, Centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer paper/answer booklet.

Answer **four** questions.

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

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.

If you use more than one sheet of paper, fasten the sheets together.

**INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES**

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

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**This question paper consists of 4 printed pages.**

**Section A**

You must answer Question 1.

**THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

**Source A**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a magnificent document. It is eloquent, lucid and has coloured all subsequent thoughts on human rights by setting down a moral framework that no one since has been quite able to ignore. It was never intended to have teeth, even if the years have made it binding on states as part of the customary law of nations. But it was followed by two covenants, one on civil and political rights, the other on economic, social and cultural rights and by an optional protocol which gave individuals the right to petition directly, over and above their national laws. Some 50 instruments have grown up since which establish international law, lay down codes of conduct and set up complaints procedures. Many of the articles have made their way into the constitutions of new countries.

*Caroline Moorehead, journalist and author, writing in 'The Independent', a British newspaper, 6 December 1988.*

**Source B**

The Commission on Human Rights risks being irrelevant to the problems of the real world.

Past sessions of the Commission have been marked by an almost complete lack of accountability of many violating states, an institutional neglect of repeated violations by particular governments and an unwillingness to deal with countries seen as untouchable for a variety of political reasons.

It is unacceptable for member states to turn a blind eye to gross human rights violations reported in these countries by the Commission's own experts. This self-interest serves only to weaken the Commission itself, international law and the credibility of the UN as the global protector of human rights.

*Nicholas Howen, Amnesty International Director, press release, 6 March 1997.*

**Source C**

The Commission on Human Rights can claim with pride to have been an architect of the structure of rights we have today. From this Commission came the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the binding treaties which have created an international code of human rights. Whether it is the struggle for the rights of women, or the elimination of racial discrimination, or protecting the rights of minorities, the Commission has been a pioneer in establishing norms and advancing justice. And yet, as this audience knows only too well, gross and shocking violations of human rights continue daily around the world – offending the global conscience and undermining our deepest sense of a shared humanity. The Commission of Human Rights has long recognised this reality. Upon entering the United Nations, developing countries in particular sought to enhance the Organisation’s capacity to respond to gross violations of human rights. Since then, a vast array of working groups, representatives and experts on human rights have travelled the world over – planting the flag of human rights, extending the reach of your Commission and giving victims hope for a better, freer, less repressive future.

*Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, speaking to the UN Commission on Human Rights, 7 April 1999.*

**Source D**

It was not until the late 1960s that the UN system began to authorise human rights reports critical of specific countries, among them South Africa, Haiti and Greece. An important role was played by a new generation of non-governmental organisations like Amnesty International, founded in 1961, in forcing the UN system to begin questioning the principle that human rights violations were an internal matter of member states. At first the targets were relatively easy; the harder targets, like the Soviet Union, remained untouchable until the 1980s. Once again, it was pressure from below, especially American Jewish groups demanding rights of free emigration to Soviet Jews, that radically forced human rights onto the agenda of American-USSR summit meetings.

*Michael Ignatieff, journalist and author, writing in the ‘New York Review of Books’, 20 May 1999.*

**Source E**

What happened to the systems for protecting human rights so confidently put in place by the UN Charter, which created the duty to establish a commission ‘for the protection of human rights’? This Human Rights Commission met for a few weeks each year, riven by bloc voting and by the refusal of member states to allow themselves or other members to be criticised. It resolved at its inception in 1947 that ‘it had no power to take any action in regard to any complaints concerning human rights’ – a resolution which pretty much summed up its impact over the next twenty years. All that was achieved in this period was paperwork – in particular, the paper upon which the two main Covenants were drafted, prior to their presentation to the General Assembly in 1966. It took a further decade for the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to come into operation. The Human Rights Commission for all this time remained tight-lipped about breaches of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

*Geoffrey Robertson, a leading human rights lawyer, from his book, ‘Crimes against Humanity’, 2000.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A-E support the view that, in the period 1945–1991, the United Nations did little to protect human rights?*

**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 Soviet policies towards Europe in the years 1945–49 were more defensive than expansionist?
- 3 'After 1960, the Cold War was fought in the Third World.' Discuss.

**OR**

- 4 How far do you agree that the Sino-Soviet conflict was a consequence of the struggle between the two countries for the leadership of the Communist world?
- 5 'The USSR collapsed because its Communist leaders allowed it to.' How far do you agree?
- 6 Who or what was responsible for the acceleration of the nuclear arms race in the 1950s and 1960s?
- 7 Compare and contrast the impact of the IMF and of GATT on international economic development.
- 8 Assess the achievements of the Non-Aligned Movement.