



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/03**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

**October/November 2007**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**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, index 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 diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer any **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.



**SECTION A: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945-1991**

You must answer Question 1.

**THE UN CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA (UNCLOS), 1982**

- 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**

Given its size and role as a global power, the United States has a broad range of ocean interests. As a maritime state, dependent upon the oceans for trade and for national security, we have vital interests in maintaining the freedom of the seas.

The United States is a coastal state having great interest in preserving, protecting and reaping the benefits of the marine resources and environment close to our coasts. Balancing the interests of a maritime state, as we are, with that of a coastal state, as we are, is not always an easy task. Domestically, we often have to reach compromises in our national approach to ocean issues in order to balance our competing interests.

The United States strongly believes that the Law of the Sea Convention identifies the appropriate balance between our interests as a maritime state and our interests in coastal waters.

*A speech by the US Deputy Secretary for Oceans, September 1995.*

**Source B**

The agreement known as the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is vital to all who use the seas and want to be sure of their rights and obligations. UNCLOS is particularly relevant to the US Navy operating around the world, in particular in territorial waters of other states.

The Treaty was concluded in 1982. It is a document that guides the use of 70 per cent of the world which is covered by oceans and seas. Unfortunately, the Convention contained provisions related to deep-sea mining that pleased many developing countries at the price of offending industrialised states. UNCLOS stated that poorer nations would benefit economically from deep-sea mining if it was under the watchful eye of the UN. Developed nations intensely dislike this outcome and no industrialised country was willing to ratify the Convention as long as it contained those deep-sea mining provisions.

*An article by an American academic, 1998.*

**Source C**

UNCLOS establishes a comprehensive set of rules governing the uses of the world's oceans, including the airspace above and the seabed below. It carefully balances the interests of states in controlling activities off their own coasts and the interests of all states in protecting the freedom to use the oceans without undue interference.

The former Chief of US Naval Operations and head of the US Commission on Ocean Policy has called UNCLOS the foundation of public order of the oceans. As the world's major maritime power and the world's largest importer and exporter, the United States has more to gain than any other country from the establishment of order and predictability on the oceans.

*Speech by a US Senator, May 2004.*

**Source D**

The Law of the Sea Treaty, known officially as UNCLOS, was a bad deal when it was originally negotiated in the 1970s. It was such a bad idea that President Reagan refused to ratify it in 1982.

The Law of the Sea Treaty would give an international body virtual control of the world's oceans. It would also allow the UN to tax seabed mining and create yet another international court with jurisdiction over virtually anything that might affect the seas.

In addition, it includes a scheme to force advanced nations to transfer technology to less advanced states. The whole scheme could only have been dreamed up at a time when the UN had credibility and when people actually believed that gigantic socialist or state-run enterprises could create wealth. It was a bad idea then, it is a crazy idea now.

The Treaty is already in place. They aren't collecting many taxes yet and won't be able to unless they can get us to ratify it. The UN brochure explaining the need for UNCLOS argues that the treaty must apply not just to what happens in the 70 per cent of the earth covered by water, but to human activities on land as well, which might somehow be directly or indirectly linked to the seas.

*An article by the Chair of the American Conservative Union, a pressure group which tries to influence the US Congress, February 2005.*

**Source E**

The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea was a terrible idea when President Reagan refused to sign it in 1982 and fired the State Department staff who helped to negotiate it. The acronym for the Law of the Sea Treaty (LOST) is apt. LOST is the correct word for our sovereignty that would be lost under LOST.

The LOST is grounded in such un-American ideas as global socialism and world government. There is not much support today for giving more power to the United Nations. Its officials are just committed to corruption. The UN also continually makes un-American statements.

The LOST is so bad that it is a puzzlement how anyone who respects American sovereignty could support it. LOST would give its own creation, the International Seabed Authority, the power to regulate 70 per cent of the world's surface area. There is no guarantee that the United States would even be represented on the International Seabed Authority. The whole idea of putting the United States under this organisation would be offensive to Americans.

*An article by a leading American conservative, February 2005.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A-E support the view that UNCLOS was pointless and ineffective?*

**Section B**

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

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

- 2 'The Cold War in Europe was caused by the superpowers' misjudgement and misunderstanding of each other.' How far do you agree with this view?
- 3 'The USA and USSR did not globalise the Cold War; they simply were dragged unwillingly into regional conflicts'. How far do you agree?

**OR**

- 4 To what extent did the involvement of the USA and USSR make the Arab-Israeli conflicts difficult to solve?
- 5 How far were Gorbachev's policies the cause of the collapse of the USSR?
- 6 'The Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 was more important than the SALT treaties of the 1970s in controlling the growth of nuclear weapons.' How far do you agree?
- 7 To what extent were the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 the major problem facing the international economy during the 1970s?
- 8 How significant was the Bandung Conference of 1955 to the non-aligned movement?

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