

History route 2
Higher level and standard level
Paper 1 – the Arab–Israeli conflict 1945–1979

Tuesday 8 November 2016 (afternoon)

1 hour

Instructions to candidates

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is **[25 marks]**.

Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.

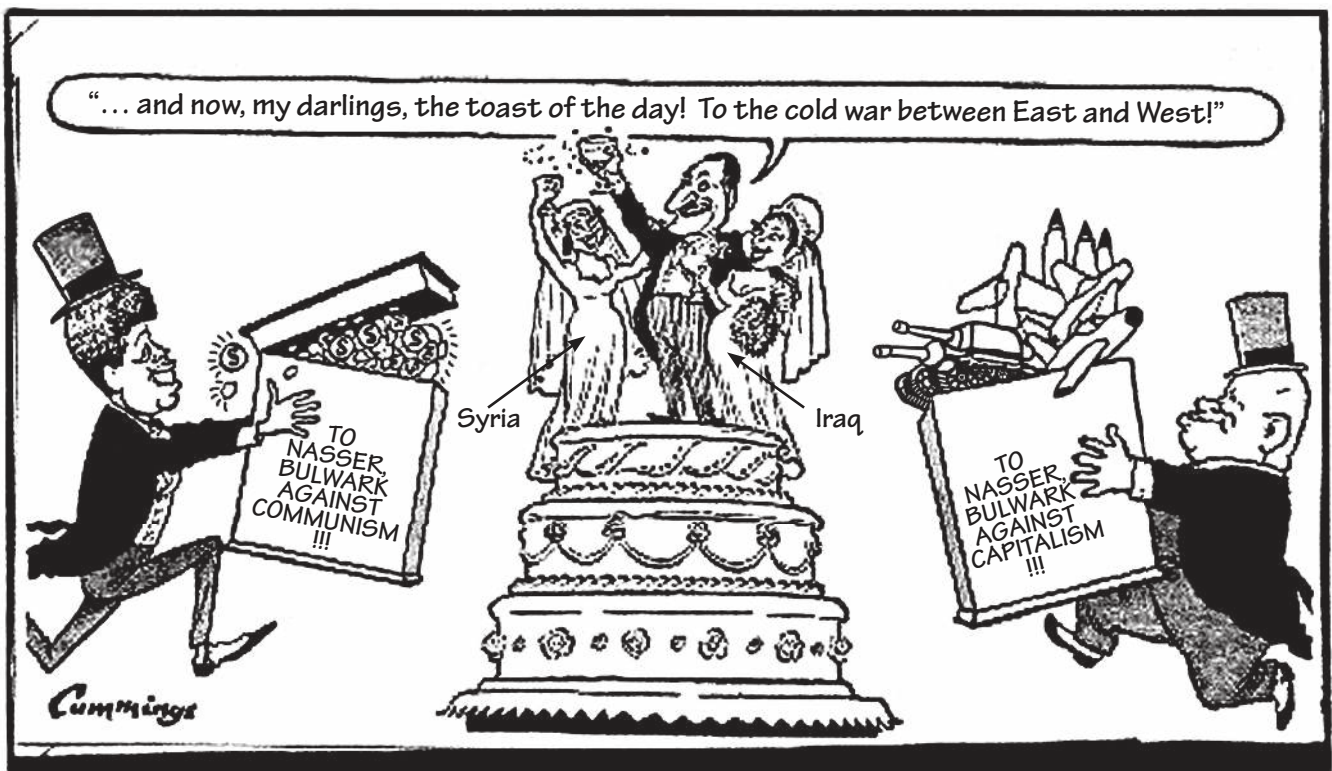
Sources in this paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets []; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses ... ; minor changes are not indicated.

These sources and questions relate to the role of the United States and the USSR.

Source A Alan Dowty, a professor of Middle Eastern studies, writing in an academic book, *Israel/Palestine* (2012).

Important changes were taking place in international politics [during the 1950s and 1960s]: the rise of the Third World, as Asian and African states threw off colonial rule and formed a bloc of “non-aligned” states tied to neither side in the Cold War ... In the intensifying Cold War competition between East and West, the fight against imperialism and colonialism gave the Soviets tremendous leverage in the “battle for hearts and minds” throughout the Third World. By supporting “struggles for national liberation”, the Soviets could leapfrog over [bypass] encircling Western alliances and strike directly at Western influence in key areas. The Middle East, with its strategic location and its oil reserves, was a priority target. In September 1955 the Soviet Union entered the Middle East arena [political scene] dramatically with the announcement of a major arms deal between Nasser’s Egypt and Czechoslovakia (the Czechs being a front [acting on behalf] of the Soviets). This broke the Western monopoly over arms supplies to the region, threatening to upset the military balance and put Israel in jeopardy [danger].

Source B Michael Cummings, a newspaper cartoonist, depicts the situation in the Middle East in a cartoon published in the British newspaper *The Daily Express* (24 April 1963). Nasser is commenting on the impact of the Cold War on the Arab states of Syria and Iraq. Kennedy and Khrushchev are offering gifts to Nasser.
Note: “bulwark” means “barrier”.



[Source: Cummings/Express Newspapers/N&S Syndication]

Source C Shlomo Ben-Ami, an Israeli historian and politician, writing in an academic book, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (2006).

(In the summer of 1967) Israel was surrounded by an all-Arab coalition aggressively supported by the Soviet Union, without being able to rely on an alliance with, or security guarantees from, a Western superpower ...

De Gaulle was now about to formulate a new policy for France in an attempt to heal the wounds of the war in Algeria and build bridges with the Arab world, and he would not let the “arrogant” and trigger-happy [willing to fight] Israelis spoil his strategic shift. The British waited for America’s leadership. And America wavered. She was not ready to provide any guarantees or commitments. Israel’s almost hysterical appeal to the United States, to declare that any attack on Israel was equivalent to an attack on the US, was refused by US President Johnson who was distracted by his mounting troubles in the Vietnam War.

Source D John Mearsheimer, a professor of Political Science, and Stephen Walt, a professor of International Affairs, writing in an academic book, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (2008).

It was the Kennedy administration that made the first tangible [real] US commitment to Israel’s military security ... Kennedy authorized the first major sale of US weaponry to Israel in 1963. This reflected a number of strategic considerations—such as the desire to balance Soviet arms sales to Egypt and encourage Israel’s leaders to respond favourably to US peace initiatives—but Kennedy’s understandable desire to maintain support from Jewish voters and donors played a role in his decision as well. The sale opened the door to several additional weapons deals. In an attempt to disguise American involvement and thereby limit repercussions [consequences] in the Arab world, weapons were shipped to Israel by West Germany, which in turn received replacements from the United States.

Source E The Khartoum Resolutions, signed by eight Arab heads of state on 1 September 1967, at the end of the third Arab Summit. The Resolutions were released to the press.

Clause 3: The Arab heads of state have agreed to unite their political efforts at the international and diplomatic level to eliminate the effects of the aggression and to ensure the withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli forces from the Arab lands which have been occupied since the aggression of 5 June. This will be done within the framework of the main principles by which the Arab states abide, namely, no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it, and insistence on the rights of the Palestinian people in their own country.

Clause 6: The participants have agreed on the need to adopt the necessary measures to strengthen military preparation to face all eventualities.

Turn over

1. (a) What, according to Source A, were the Soviet Union's motives for getting involved in Middle Eastern affairs? [3]
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source B? [2]
 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D about the attitudes of outside powers towards the Middle East. [6]
 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source C and Source E for historians studying the conflict in the Middle East during the period from 1955 to 1975. [6]
 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, examine the involvement of outside powers in the escalation of tension in the Middle East during the period from 1953 to 1967. [8]
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