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HISTORY
ROUTE 2
HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1 – THE ARAB–ISRAELI CONFLICT 1945–79

Wednesday 8 May 2013 (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 problems after the 1948/49 conflict and the Arab response.

SOURCE A *Extract from **The History of the Modern Middle East** by W Cleveland, 2009. W Cleveland is a former professor at Simon Fraser University, Canada.*

The 1948–1949 exodus of the Arab population, created a refugee problem of immense proportions. The refugees lived in makeshift camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the Gaza Strip. The camps had been set up as temporary shelters pending a solution to the refugee problem. The solution envisaged at the time was the repatriation [return] of the refugees to the areas from which they had fled. However actions taken by the Israeli government in the years immediately after 1948 made this unlikely. The Israeli authorities, faced with a wave of Jewish immigration totalling more than 600 000 between 1948 and 1951, took over vacant Palestinian villages, urban dwellings and farmland to house and feed the immigrants. The absorption of Palestinian property into the Israeli economy made it next to impossible for Israel to consider repatriation. Destitute and uprooted, the majority of Palestinians had no alternative to the miserable conditions of camp life.

SOURCE B *Photograph of a Palestinian Refugee Camp in Jordan 1949, published in the school textbook **Crisis in the Middle East: Israel and the Arab States 1945–2007** by M Scott-Baumann, 2009.*

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SOURCE C *United Nations General Assembly Resolution 393, 2 December 1950.*

The General Assembly, having examined the report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine refugees:

1. notes that contributions sufficient to carry out the programme have not been made and urges governments to make every effort to make a voluntary contribution ...;
2. recognizes that direct relief cannot be terminated;
3. authorizes the agency to continue direct relief to refugees, and considers that for the period July 1951–June 1952 approximately \$20 000 000 will be required for relief to refugees who are not yet reintegrated into the economy of the Near East;
4. instructs the Agency to establish a reintegration fund to support projects for the permanent re-establishment of refugees and their removal from relief;
5. considers that approximately \$30 000 000 should be contributed to the agency for this purpose ... for the period July 1951–June 1952;
6. thanks the numerous religious, charitable and humanitarian organizations who have brought much needed supplementary [extra] assistance and urges them to continue and expand their work.

SOURCE D *Extract from **The Palestine–Israeli Conflict: a Beginner’s Guide**, by Professor Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Dr Dawoud El-Alami (2009).*

In January 1949 Egypt began negotiations for an armistice agreement with the Israelis and signed an agreement in February. This was to form the basis of a peace agreement. The borders were drawn along the lines marking the existing positions of the armies. Lebanon, Jordan and Syria signed armistice treaties the same year.

The main issue was the refugee problem. A reconciliation committee was formed and Arab and Israeli delegates were invited to Lausanne to discuss important issues, particularly the refugee problem. The Arabs stated that the return of the refugees would be the basis for establishing peace in the area. The Israelis felt this issue should be suspended until a final peace agreement was made. The Israeli delegates agreed, however, to support a protocol consisting of three main principles:

1. respect for the boundaries agreed in the partition plan;
2. consent to Jerusalem becoming an independent city;
3. the return of the refugees and the restoration of their property.

The Arab parties agreed to the protocol and signed it on 12 May 1949; on the same day Israel became a member of the United Nations.

SOURCE E *Extract from **The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World**, by Avi Shlaim, 2000. Avi Shlaim is a Professor of International Relations at Oxford University, UK.*

The two key issues were refugees and borders. Each of the Arab states was prepared to negotiate with Israel from September 1948 and bargain about borders.

On the issue of Palestinian refugees, Arab states had less freedom of action. There was a clear and consistent Arab League position, binding on all members. The position was that Israel had created the refugee problem and it must not be allowed to evade responsibility for the problem. The solution had to be in line with UN resolutions that gave the refugees the choice between returning to their homes or receiving compensation for their property. This position allowed individual Arab states to cooperate with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), on condition that this cooperation did not compromise [undermine] the basic rights of the refugees.

Israel's position on the problem was totally opposed to the Arab League's. Israel claimed the Arabs had created the problem by starting the war and that Israel was not responsible. It did not accept UN resolutions that gave refugees the right of return or compensation.

1. (a) What does Source A reveal about the situation of Palestinian refugees immediately after the 1948/49 conflict and the Arab response? *[3 marks]*
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source B? *[2 marks]*

 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources D and E about the peacemaking process after the first Arab–Israeli conflict. *[6 marks]*

 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source C for historians studying the Arab–Israeli conflict. *[6 marks]*

 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the importance of the Palestinian refugee question in the peacemaking process after the 1948/49 war up until the 1967 conflict. *[8 marks]*
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