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HISTORY

ROUTE 2

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PAPER 1 – THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT 1945–79

Thursday 10 November 2011 (afternoon)

1 hour

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.

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 emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

SOURCE A *Extract from the Palestine National Charter, July 1968.*

2. Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.
5. The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born after that date, of a Palestinian father – whether inside Palestine or outside it – is also a Palestinian.
9. Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. Thus it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase ...
19. The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people and to their natural right in their homeland, and inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the right to self-determination.

SOURCE B *Extract from “The Birth of the Palestine Liberation Organization” by Abdel-Qader Yassin in the **International Politics Journal** (*Al-Siyassa Al-Dawliya*), April 2004. This is an Egyptian periodical specializing in political and international affairs.*

National liberation movements around the world were achieving independence for their countries. The long-term strategy of a popular war, as proved successful in Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, urged Palestinian resistance groups to endorse a similar strategy. By the time Israel started to divert the course of the River Jordan in 1963, the Arab world was divided into two camps: one that considered that the Palestinians alone should shoulder the responsibility for confronting the Israelis, and the other that believed that a Palestinian organization should be formed under the auspices of [in line with] the Arab system. In 1963, Nasser endorsed the recognition of Ahmed Shukeiri as representative for Palestine in the Arab League and called for the convention of the first Arab summit in 1963, where Shukeiri was asked to present the opinions of the various Palestinian groups.

SOURCE C *Extract from **The Arab-Israeli Conflict** by TG Fraser, 2004. TG Fraser is a professor at the University of Ulster, UK.*

Fatah's new importance was soon reflected in a major reorganization of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] in the summer of 1968. The 1964 National Charter was revised to reflect Fatah's leadership and the strategy of guerrilla action which the PLO was now to follow. At the heart of the Charter was the claim that Palestine, as it had been constituted under the British Mandate, was “an indivisible territorial unit”. This reflected the Palestinians' rejection of partition, which they had followed consistently since 1937, and which meant no prospect of compromise with Israel. On the contrary, articles 9 and 10 committed the organization to “armed struggle” and “commando action”. The way was now clear for Arafat to become chairman of the PLO, and for the various armed groups to be brought into its structure.

SOURCE D

Extract from “Arafat’s Legacy” by Snehal Shingavi in the International Socialist Review, 2005. Snehal Shingavi is a lecturer in Middle Eastern studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser's pan-Arab nationalism was both exciting and confusing. On the one hand, by nationalizing the Suez Canal and calling for the unity of all Arab peoples against puppet regimes, it represented a bold defiance of Western imperialism. On the other hand, the break-up of the Egyptian–Syrian union in 1961 demonstrated the fragility of any pan-Arab alliance. While it was the dominant political trend, even among Palestinians until 1967, pan-Arab nationalism proved to be a hollow solution for Palestinians – occasionally supporting Palestinian concerns, at other times ignoring them. Nasser failed, for instance, to defend Palestinians from Israeli attacks, like the one in Gaza in 1955, while the defeats from the 1948 war were a constant reminder of Arab inadequacy. At the same time, the successes of the Vietnamese and Algerian resistance to the French also convinced many Palestinians that military struggle against Israel was both possible and necessary. When Nasser announced in 1962 that he had “no plan for Palestine”, thousands of Palestinians flocked to Fatah and its call for armed resistance to Zionism. In 1964, Arab countries led by Egypt, established the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in order to divert the growing stream of Palestinian radicalism that threatened the internal stability of a number of these countries. But it had the opposite effect – giving Palestinian nationalism a larger audience and greater legitimacy.

SOURCE E

A photograph showing Yasser Arafat leaving the 5th Palestinian National Council session in Cairo in February 1969, having been elected as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

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1. (a) What, according to Source C, was the significance of the reorganization of the National Charter in the summer of 1968? *[3 marks]*
- (b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? *[2 marks]*
2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources B and D about the emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization. *[6 marks]*
3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source D for historians studying the emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization. *[6 marks]*
4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the statement in Source D that the emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization had given “Palestinian nationalism a larger audience and greater legitimacy” between 1960 and 1970. *[8 marks]*
