Nationalist and Independence Movements

Stephen Nutt and Jean Bottaro

This stimulating coursebook covers Paper 2, Topic 4, Nationalist and Independence Movements, in the 20th Century World History syllabus for the International Baccalaureate (IB) History programme.

The book is divided into thematic sections, following the IB syllabus structure and is written in clear, accessible English. It covers the following areas for detailed study:

- Africa and Asia: Rhodesia/Zimbabwe; India and Pakistan; Indochina
- post-1945 Central and Eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia; Poland.

The content is tailored to the requirements and assessment objectives of the IB syllabus and provides opportunities for students to make comparisons between different regions and time periods.

The coursebook contains:

- detailed study of both primary and secondary sources to develop students’ analytical skills
- a historiographical approach, introducing students to the key historical debates
- definitions of key terms and facts displayed alongside the text for easy reference
- extensive exam practice with Paper 1 and Paper 2 exam-style questions at the end of each chapter and in a separate chapter at the end of the book
- model answers with sample examiner’s comments to help students improve their exam performance
- links to Theory of Knowledge concepts alongside appropriate topics to stimulate thought and discussion.

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Introduction

During and after the 1948–49 War, there was a substantial demographic shift in the Middle East. Vast numbers of Palestinian Arabs left their homes in Palestine and fled to surrounding Arab countries, where most of them lived in refugee camps run by the United Nations. The new Israeli government promoted the immigration of even larger numbers of Jewish immigrants from other parts of the world, many of them from Arab countries. In this way, the demographic make-up of the region changed significantly within a few years.

Key questions

• What happened to the Palestinians?
• How did Israel encourage immigration and promote economic development?

Overview

• The establishment of Israel had significant effects on the demography of the region: nearly a million Arabs left Palestine for surrounding Arab states, and Jewish immigrants from many countries moved to Israel.
• The mass departure of Palestinians started in 1947, and continued during and after the 1948–49 War. Recent research has caused a fierce debate among historians about the degree of Israel’s responsibility for this flight.
• Palestinian refugees ended up in camps run by the UN Relief and Works Agency in surrounding Arab countries, and their presence was subject to tight controls and restrictions. There are conflicting views about why these Palestinians were not assimilated by the Arab countries.
• Israel refused to allow the Palestinian refugees to return, believing that they would threaten the security and stability of the state. New Jewish settlements were built on the sites of deserted Palestinian villages and farms.
• Younger Arabs were dissatisfied with their governments after the Arab defeat. They joined nationalist movements, demanding economic and social reform, and an end to foreign interference. This resulted in political instability and changes of government in several Arab countries.

Timeline

1947 Nov: Palestinian Arabs begin leaving Palestine

1948 14 May: declaration of state of Israel

• 15 May: start of first Arab–Israeli war; flight, expulsion and exile of Palestinians accelerates
• Jun: Irgun transformed into political party, Herut

1949 Jan: first Israeli elections; Ben Gurion becomes prime minister

Jan–Jul: armistice agreements between Israel and Arab states

Dec: establishment of UNRWA to assist refugees

1950 Apr: West Bank officially annexed to Jordan

Jul: Law of Return in Israel

1951 Jul: assassination of King Abdullah of Jordan

1952 Apr: Citizenship Law in Israel

Jul: coup in Egypt; King Farouk overthrown

Sep: Reparations Treaty between West Germany and Israel

1953 Aug: Hussein becomes king of Jordan
• The Mapai party won the elections in Israel for the first parliament. The party’s leader, David Ben Gurion, became Israel’s first prime minister.

• Huge numbers of Jewish immigrants, mainly from Eastern Europe and Arab countries, doubled the population of Israel within three years. They were encouraged by laws that granted them immediate citizenship.

• Israeli government measures tried to assimilate all these new Jewish immigrants from widely different cultural backgrounds. Despite this, Jews from Arab countries remained in inferior political, social and economic positions.

• Economic growth in Israel was boosted by defence spending and the large workforce resulting from immigration. However, the state’s economic survival was dependent on foreign aid, mainly from America and West Germany.

• The Palestinians who remained in Israel were placed under military rule until 1966. They were subjected to discriminatory laws and practices, and struggled to survive economically.

What happened to the Palestinians?

The establishment of Israel had far-reaching consequences for the Palestinians. Before 1948, the Arabs made up well over half of the total population of Palestine; after the 1948–49 War, only 160,000 Arabs remained, compared to a Jewish population of 650,000. During the course of the war, more than 75% of the Palestinian population fled, or were forced from their homes, into surrounding Arab countries. No Palestinian state was created, and these refugees became the Palestinian diaspora (see page 17).
The flight of Palestinian refugees

In the early stages of the civil war in 1947, upper- and middle-class Palestinian Arabs – those who had the financial resources to enable them to do so – started to leave Palestine, intending to return once the violence had ended. Many of them went to cities such as Beirut in Lebanon or Damascus in Syria. According to the historian Gregory Harms, this ‘set a precedent for the peasant classes to emulate’. The pace of the mass flight picked up in the last two months of the mandate, and continued during the war between Israel and the Arab armies. By the end of the war, about 760,000 Palestinians had fled into surrounding Arab countries, abandoning their property and possessions in the areas that were incorporated into the state of Israel. The remainder of the Palestinian population was distributed between Israel (160,000), the West Bank (400,000) and Gaza (20,000). More than 500 Arab villages were abandoned, and many of them were destroyed. Arab urban neighbourhoods in cities such as Haifa, Acre and Jaffa were virtually deserted.

This map shows the flight of Palestinian refugees, 1947–49
Historian Rashid Khalidi analyses the impact of the mass dispersal on the national identity of the Palestinian people.

These results marked the end for many decades of Palestine as a predominantly Arab country, as well as of the ability of the Palestinians to operate as independent actors. They marked as well the beginning of decades in the wilderness for the Palestinians. Far from being able to dream of a state of their own, they were now faced with an existential test of whether they would be able to remain together as a people. Paradoxically, later events showed that the traumatic impact of the shared experience of 1948 on the entirety of Palestinian society helped to weld it together even more strongly, obliterating much that had transpired before 1948, rendering many earlier divisions irrelevant, and creating a sort of tabula rasa [clean slate] on which Palestinian identity could be re-established.


The mass flight of Palestinian refugees continued after the end of the 1948–49 War. In 1950, the Israeli parliament passed legislation that allowed the government to confiscate Palestinian property. The Israeli army was authorised to occupy Palestinian villages and farmland, and use these areas for security purposes. In the process, many more Palestinians lost their land and were forcibly expelled. Between 1949 and 1952, another 40 Arab villages were depopulated. Their inhabitants were driven across the Israeli border, or dispersed and settled in other Arab villages in Israel. In the Negev, a similar situation faced the Bedouin tribes, many of whom were forced to abandon their nomadic lifestyle. In 1947 there were 80,000 Bedouin in the south of Palestine, but after the Israeli expulsion programme only 13,000 remained. Those Palestinians who were forced to move but remained in Israel became part of a community of internal refugees, which grew in number over the years.

Reasons for the flight of the Palestinians

The reasons for the mass flight of Palestinians remain a controversial subject. The Israelis blamed the flight of refugees on Arab propaganda: they claimed that the Palestinians were encouraged to flee by Arab leaders, who promised that they would return once Israel had been destroyed. The American writer Jonathan Mahler explains this viewpoint in Source B (see page 69). Some historians who share this view blame the Palestinians for rejecting the UN Partition Plan, and hold the Arabs responsible for adopting a hostile attitude towards Israel. They claim that Israeli actions were a matter of survival in the face of Arab aggression.
To the first generation of Israeli scholars, Palestine’s early Jewish settlers were idealistic pioneers who arrived in pre-state Israel with every intention of living in peace alongside their Arab neighbors and upgrading the quality of life for all of the land’s inhabitants. Years later, Zionist leaders worked furiously to help their Jewish brethren escape Nazi-occupied Europe. And when the War of Independence erupted in 1948, the narrative continues, local Palestinian Arabs left their villages not under threats from invading Israeli troops but at the behest of the Arab rulers of surrounding states who assured them they would be able to return to their homes once the Arab armies emerged victorious.

As for the war itself, early histories of Zionism characterized the outcome as a major upset: Jewish David defeats Arab Goliath … Over the years, such collective memories have played an important role in shaping Israeli policy toward the Palestinians. If, for example, the Palestinians fled voluntarily after the Arab states declared war on Israel, why should Israel feel guilty about its reluctance to repatriate them?


There is no convincing evidence of a Zionist plot to ethnically cleanse, or transfer, the Palestinians from their homeland, as has been argued by some. The by now notorious ‘Plan Dalet’, the supposed blueprint of this plot, reveals, after careful and responsible scrutiny, nothing of the kind. ‘The objective of this plan’, it read, ‘is to gain control of the areas of the Hebrew state (according to the partition frontiers) and defend its borders’ – against an impending all-Arab attack. From June 1946, the Haganah had been preparing in earnest for such an eventuality. That month an Arab conference, held in Bluden, Syria, called for the mobilisation of all Arab resources, money, arms and volunteers, the use of force – an army of 100 000 was mentioned – even anti-Western sanctions, all to thwart a Zionist occupation of Palestine. The Jewish Agency, and Ben Gurion in particular, took these threats extremely seriously. ‘Plan Dalet’ was the latest manifestation of the measures intended to counter an inevitable Arab assault on the Jewish state.


The Arabs claimed that the success of Zionism depended on the expulsion of the Palestinians. In this view, acts of terrorism – such as the massacre at Deir Yassin (see page 53) – were deliberately staged to encourage the flight of Palestinian refugees, who feared for their safety in a Jewish-dominated state.

Historians who support this view suggest that the expulsion of the Palestinians was long part of Zionist thinking, and they accuse the Zionists of a deliberate policy of ethnic cleansing.

*ethnic cleansing* This term refers to the forced displacement of an ethnic or religious minority, involving the expulsion of a population from a certain area. The term was first widely used to refer to events in the civil wars in Yugoslavia in the 1990s.
The reasons for the flight of the Palestinian refugees was one of the issues that the Israeli revisionist historians re-examined in their new histories, published from 1988 onwards. These studies challenged the accepted Zionist interpretation of events by showing that Israeli actions before and during the 1948–49 War were indeed a factor that caused the Palestinians to flee. Since then, there has been a lively debate among historians about the degree of Israel’s responsibility for this flight. Benny Morris concluded that there were several causes for the mass departure, including deliberate pressure from the Zionists, and that Israel was therefore partly – but not fully – responsible. However, Ilan Pappe maintains that the Zionists had a master plan for the expulsion of the local Arabs, and that the dispossession of the Palestinians was therefore part of a deliberate and calculated policy.

**Source D**

The Palestinian refugee problem was born of war, not by design, Jewish or Arab. It was largely a by-product of Arab and Jewish fears and of the protracted, bitter fighting that characterised the first Arab–Israeli war; in smaller part, it was the deliberate creation of Jewish and Arab military commanders and politicians ... What happened in Palestine/Israel over 1947–49 was so complex and varied, the situation radically changing from date to date and place to place, that a single-cause explanation of the exodus from most sites is untenable.


**Source E**

[On] 10 March 1948, a group of eleven men, veteran Zionist leaders as well as young military Jewish officers, put the final touches to a plan for the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. That same evening, military orders were dispatched to the units on the ground to prepare for the systematic expulsion of the Palestinians from vast areas of the country. ... Once the decision was taken, it took six months to complete the mission. When it was over, more than half of Palestine’s native population, close to 800 000 people, had been uprooted, 531 villages had been destroyed, and eleven urban neighbourhoods emptied of their inhabitants. The plan decided upon on 10 March 1948, and above all its systematic implementation in the following months, was a clear-cut case of an ethnic-cleansing operation, regarded under international law today as a crime against humanity.


**Activity**

Compare and contrast the views in Sources B–E (pages 69–70) of the reasons for the flight of the Palestinian refugees. In what respects do they differ? Are there any issues on which they agree?
**Historical interpretation**

Benny Morris was the first of the revisionist historians to examine the issue of the Palestinian mass flight, in *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, 1947–1949. Other historians, such as Norman Finkelstein, are critical of the conclusions that Morris drew from his research. They believe that there is evidence of greater Zionist responsibility than Morris suggests. Ilan Pappe maintains that Israel is fully responsible for a pre-planned policy of Palestinian expulsion and dispossession: the title of his 2006 book, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, reflects this conviction.

After the start of the second intifada (Palestinian uprising) in 2000, and renewed suicide-bombing attacks on Israeli civilians, Morris changed his views. He came to the conclusion that Israel made a mistake in allowing even a small number of Palestinians to remain in Israel. This new viewpoint is seen in his revised work, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. According to another revisionist historian, Avi Shlaim, the significance of this change of views was that Morris was ‘effectively terminating his membership of the club’ of New Historians.

**Life for Palestinians in the diaspora**

**Palestinian refugee camps**

Most of the Palestinian refugees went to the West Bank and Gaza; many others went to Transjordan, Lebanon and Syria. Wherever they went, they ended up living in refugee camps that were initially funded by donations from American welfare agencies and international aid organisations. In December 1949, when this aid ran out, the United Nations set up a single body to deal with the Palestinian refugee problem – the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, known as UNRWA. The UN defined a Palestinian refugee as a ‘needy person and his direct descendants, who as a result of the war in Palestine has lost his home and his means of livelihood’. In terms of this definition, 750,000 Palestinians qualified as refugees.

The focus in these camps was on providing emergency aid and welfare for the refugees, and the most permanent structures built to house them were simple huts, built of materials such as mud. This seemed to symbolise their temporary refugee status in the eyes of the UN. The camp inhabitants generally shared this view, as they had hopes of being repatriated. Although the United Nations undertook to protect the Palestinian refugees and their rights, it never succeeded in making repatriation a reality.

In this 1949 photo, a woman teaches Arabic to young Palestinian refugees in a makeshift tent classroom inside a refugee camp in Transjordan.
Introduction
You have now completed your study of the main issues and events of the Arab–Israeli conflict between 1945 and 1979. In the previous chapters, you have had practice at answering some of the types of source-based questions that you will deal with in Paper 1. In this chapter, you will gain experience of tackling:
• the longer Paper 1 question, which requires you to use both sources and your own knowledge to write a mini-essay
• the essay questions you will meet in Paper 2.

Exam skills needed for IB History
This book is designed primarily to prepare both Standard and Higher Level students for the Paper 1 Arab–Israeli conflict topic (Prescribed Subject 1), by providing the necessary historical knowledge and understanding, as well as an awareness of the key historical debates. However, it will also help you prepare for Paper 2, by giving you the chance to practise writing essays. The skills you need for answering both Paper 1 and Paper 2 exam questions are explained in the following pages.

Paper 1 skills
This section of the book is designed to give you the skills and understanding to tackle Paper 1 questions. These are based on the comprehension, critical analysis and evaluation of different types of historical sources as evidence, along with the use of appropriate historical contextual knowledge.

For example, you will need to test sources for value and limitations (i.e. their reliability and utility, especially in view of their origins and purpose) – a skill essential for historians. A range of sources has been provided, including extracts from official documents, tables of statistics, memoirs and speeches, as well as visual sources such as photographs and cartoons.

In order to analyse and evaluate sources as historical evidence, you will need to ask the following ‘W’ questions of historical sources:
• **Who** produced it? Were they in a position to know?
• **What** type of source is it? What is its nature – is it a primary or secondary source?
• **Where** and **when** was it produced? What was happening at the time?
• **Why** was it produced? Was its purpose to inform or to persuade? Is it an accurate attempt to record facts, or is it an example of propaganda?
• **Who** was the intended audience – decision-makers, or the general public?

You should then consider how the answers to these questions affect a source’s value.
The example below shows you how to find the information, related to the ‘W’ questions, that you will need in order to evaluate sources for their value and limitations.

Source A

The Canal was dug by Egypt's sons and 120,000 of them died while working. The Suez Canal Company in Paris is an imposter company ... Egypt ... announces that it will fight to the last drop of its blood ... for the sake of Egypt. We shall not let warmongers, imperialists, or those who trade in human beings dominate us. We shall depend on our hands and on our blood ... We shall build a strong and dignified Egypt, the Arab Egypt. Today, citizens, the Suez Canal Company has been nationalised ... Today our wealth has been restored to us.

An extract from a speech made by Gamal Abdel Nasser on 26 July 1956, announcing the nationalisation of the Suez Canal to a large crowd of his supporters in Alexandria.

This approach will help you become familiar with interpreting, understanding, analysing and evaluating different types of historical sources. It will also aid you in synthesising critical analysis of sources with historical knowledge when constructing an explanation or analysis of some aspect or development of the past.

Remember – for Paper 1, as for Paper 2, you need to acquire, select and use relevant historical knowledge to explain causes and consequences, continuity and change. You also need to develop and show (where relevant) an awareness of historical debates and different interpretations.

Paper 1 contains four types of question:
1 Comprehension/understanding of a source (2 or 3 marks)
2 Cross-referencing/comparing or contrasting two sources (6 marks)
3 Assessing the value and limitations of two sources (6 marks)
4 Using and evaluating sources and knowledge to reach a judgement (8 marks)

**Comprehension/understanding of a source**

Comprehension questions require you to understand a source, and extract two or three relevant points that relate to the particular question.

**Examiner’s tips**

Read the source and highlight/underline key points.

Write a concise answer. Just a couple of brief sentences are needed, giving the information necessary to show that you have understood the message of the source – but make sure you make three clear points for a 3-mark question and two clear points for a 2-mark question. If relevant, also try to make some brief overall comment about the source. Make it as easy as possible for the examiner to give you the marks by clearly distinguishing between the points.

**Timing**

For a 3-mark question, you should not spend more than about seven minutes. For a 2-mark question, you should take no more than about five minutes. Don’t spend too long on these questions or you will run out of time!
Common mistakes

- Make sure you don’t comment on the wrong source! Mistakes like this are made every year. Remember – every mark is important for your final grade.
- Don’t just copy the source. Summarise the key points in your own words.

Simplified markscheme

For each item of relevant/correct information identified, award 1 mark – up to a maximum of 2 or 3 marks.

Cross-referencing/comparing or contrasting two sources

Cross-referencing questions require you to compare and contrast the information/content/nature of two sources, relating to a particular issue.

Examiner’s tips

For cross-referencing questions, you need to provide an integrated comparison, rather than dealing with each source separately.

Step 1 – Read the sources and highlight/underline key points.

Step 2 – Draw a rough chart or diagram to show the similarities and the differences between the two sources. That way, you should ensure that you address both elements of the question.

Step 3 – Write your answer, making sure that you write an integrated comparison. For example, you should comment on how the two sources deal with one aspect, then go on to compare and contrast the sources on another aspect. Avoid simply describing/paraphrasing each source in turn – you need to make clear and explicit comparisons and contrasts, using precise details from the sources.

Common mistakes

- Don’t just comment on one of the sources! Such an oversight happens every year – and will lose you 4 of the 6 marks available.
- Make sure you comment on the sources identified in the question – don’t select one (or two) incorrect sources!
- Be careful to make explicit comparisons – do not fall into the trap of writing about the two sources separately, and leaving the similarities/differences implicit.

Simplified markscheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Marks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Both sources linked, with detailed references to the two sources, identifying both similarities and differences.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Both sources linked, with detailed references to the two sources, identifying either similarities or differences.</td>
<td>4–5</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Comments on both sources, but treating each one separately.</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Discusses/comments on just one source.</td>
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Assessing the value and limitations of two sources

Value and limitations (utility/reliability) questions require you to assess two sources over a range of possible issues/aspects – and to comment on their value to historians studying a particular event or period of history.

Examiner’s tips

The main areas you need to consider in relation to the sources and the information/view they provide are:

- **origin** and **purpose**
- **value and limitations**

These areas need to be linked in your answer, showing how the value and limitations of each source to historians relates to the source’s origin and purpose.

For example, a source might be useful because it is primary – the event depicted was witnessed by the person that produced the source. But was the person in a position to know? Is the view an untypical view of the event? What is its nature? Is it a private diary entry (therefore possibly more likely to be true), or is it a speech or piece of propaganda intended to persuade?

The value of a source may be limited by some aspects, but that doesn’t mean it has no value at all. For example, it may be valuable as evidence of the types of propaganda put out at the time. Similarly, a secondary – or even a tertiary – source can have more value than some primary sources: for instance, because the author might be writing at a time when new evidence has become available.

For these questions, it is best to deal with each source separately, as you are not being asked to decide which source is more important/useful.

**Step 1** – Read the sources and highlight/underline key points.

**Step 2** – For each source, draw a rough chart or spider diagram to show the origin/purpose of the source, and how it links to that source’s value/limitation.

**Step 3** – Write your answer, remembering to deal with all the aspects required: *origins, purpose, value and limitations*. To do this, you will need to make explicit links between a source’s origins/purpose and its value/limitations to an historian.

**Common mistakes**

- Don’t just comment on one of the two sources! As with cross-referencing questions, every year a few students make this mistake, and lose up to 4 of the 6 marks available.
- Don’t just comment on content and ignore the nature, origins and purpose of the sources.
- Don’t say ‘a source is/ isn’t useful because it’s primary/secondary’.
The Arab–Israeli Conflict

Examples of value and limitations questions can be found at the end of Chapter 5 (see page 118) and Chapter 6 (see page 147).

Simplified markscheme

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<td>3–4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0–2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Both sources assessed, with explicit consideration of BOTH origins and purpose AND value and limitations.

Both sources assessed, but without consideration of BOTH origins and purpose AND value and limitations. OR explicit consideration of BOTH origins and purpose AND value and limitations – BUT only for one source.

Limited consideration/comments on origins and purpose OR value and limitations. Possibly only one/the wrong source(s) addressed.

Using and evaluating sources and knowledge to reach a judgement

The fourth type of Paper 1 is a judgement question. Judgement questions are a synthesis of source evaluation and own knowledge.

Examiner’s tips

• This fourth type of Paper 1 question requires you to produce a mini-essay – with a clear/relevant argument – to address the question/statement given in the question. You should try to develop and present an argument and/or come to a balanced judgement by analysing and using these five sources and your own knowledge.

• Before you write your answer to this kind of question, you may find it useful to draw a rough chart to note what the sources show in relation to the question. This will also make sure you refer to all or at least most of the sources. Note, however, that some sources may hint at more than one factor/result. When using your own knowledge, make sure it is relevant to the question.

• Look carefully at the simplified markscheme opposite – this will help you focus on what you need to do to reach the top bands and so score the higher marks.

Common mistake

• Don’t just deal with sources or your own knowledge! Every year, some candidates do this, and so limit themselves to – at best – only 5 out of the 8 marks available.

Simplified markscheme

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<td>4–5</td>
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<td>0–3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Developed and balanced analysis and comments using BOTH sources AND own knowledge. References to sources are precise; sources and detailed own knowledge are used together; where relevant, a judgement is made.

Developed analysis/comments using BOTH sources AND some detailed own knowledge; some clear references to sources. But sources and own knowledge not always combined.

Some developed analysis/comments, using the sources OR some relevant own knowledge.

Limited/general comments using sources OR own knowledge.
Student answers

The student answers below have brief examiner’s comments in the margins, as well as a longer overall comment at the end. Those parts of the answers that make use of the sources are highlighted in green. Those parts that show the use of relevant own knowledge are highlighted in red. In this way, you should find it easier to follow why particular bands and marks were – or were not – awarded.

Question 1

Using Sources A, B, C, D and E on pages 221–22, and your own knowledge, analyse the view that the 1967 War aggravated the conflict between Israel and the Arab states.

[8 marks]

Israel had conquered 42,000 square miles [nearly 109,000 square km] and was now three and a half times its original size. Exceedingly vulnerable before the war, its major cities all within range of Arab guns, the Jewish state now threatened Damascus, Cairo, and Amman. Its own capital, Jerusalem, was united. Though ties had been severed with the Soviet Union and permanent strains left in its relations with France … Israel had earned the solid respect of the United States …

Moribund before the war, Israel’s economy suddenly flourished as tourists and donations flooded the country, and oil was extracted from Sinai wells. Emigration all but ceased, and thousands of new immigrants hastened to partake of the glory.

Israel indeed basked in that glory as its press for weeks afterward praised the army’s audacity, its ingenuity and power.