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**HISTORY**

**9697/32**

Paper 3 International History, 1945–1991

**October/November 2014**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

**DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.**

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer **three** questions.

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

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 UNITED NATIONS AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1967**

- 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**

Resolution 242 was introduced to the Security Council by the UK Permanent Representative Lord Caradon and was passed unanimously on 22 November 1967. It is a recommendation to the states involved in the Six Day War of June 1967 concerning the best way to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It does not impose legal obligations on any of the states involved. The use of vague language regarding Israel's proposed withdrawal was intentional – it did not identify the territories from which an Israeli withdrawal would be made, nor was a time frame given for this withdrawal. Earlier draft resolutions, submitted by Latin American countries, India, Mali, Nigeria and the USSR, demanded a complete Israeli withdrawal to the borders existing prior to the war, but none of these proposals reached the stage of a vote in the Security Council. Thus it is clear that Resolution 242, when finally adopted, did not require a total Israeli withdrawal and took account of Israel's security concerns.

*From an article by an Israeli expert in international law, 2008.*

**Source B**

The Israelis had taken large areas of Arab land during the Six Day War. It was clear that what Israel really wanted was to keep much of this newly acquired Arab territory permanently. This led me into a flurry of activity at the United Nations, which resulted in the near miracle of getting Resolution 242 unanimously adopted by the Security Council. It declares 'the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by war' and it also affirms the necessity 'for guaranteeing the territorial security and political independence of every state in the area'. It calls for 'withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied during the recent conflict'. It does not call for Israeli withdrawal from 'the' territories recently occupied, nor does it use the word 'all'. It would have been impossible to get the Resolution through if either of these words had been included, but it does set out the lines on which negotiations for a settlement must take place. Each side must be prepared to give up something. The Resolution doesn't attempt to say precisely what, because that is what negotiations for a peace treaty must be about.

*The UK's Foreign Secretary 1966–68, writing in his memoirs, 1971.*

**Source C**

In the present crisis the basic issue which has to be remedied as an essential step towards peace is the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all the territories they occupied in the recent conflict. The resolutions adopted both by the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as the statements made on the question, have stressed this basic requirement. The fundamental principle is that military aggression and occupation should not be rewarded. The discussions and prevailing opinion in the Security Council and in the General Assembly have made it clear that the UN does not accept Israel's illegal occupation. That would be contrary to the principles of the UN Charter, to the rules of international law and, indeed, to peace itself. On these conditions, my government accepts the Resolution.

*The Jordanian representative addressing the Security Council, 22 November 1967.*

**Source D**

We understand Resolution 242 to mean the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all, and we repeat, all territories belonging to Arab states and seized by Israel following its attack on those states on 5 June 1967. This is borne out by the preamble to the resolution which stresses the 'inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war'. It follows that the provision contained in the resolution relating to the right of all states in the Near East 'to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries' cannot serve as a justification for the maintenance of Israeli forces on any part of the Arab territories seized by them as a result of war. It should not be possible for Israel itself arbitrarily to establish new boundaries and to withdraw its forces only to those lines it considers appropriate.

*The USSR's representative, addressing the Security Council, 22 November 1967.*

**Source E**

Knowing as I did the unsatisfactory nature of the pre-Six Day War border, I was not prepared to use wording in the Resolution which would have made that border permanent. Nevertheless the overriding principle was that territory should not be acquired by war and that meant that there could be no justification for Israel taking territory on the Arab side of the border merely because it had been conquered in the 1967 war. The sensible way to decide permanent secure and recognised boundaries would be to set up a Boundary Commission and hear both sides and then to make impartial recommendations for a new border. The essential phrase is that withdrawal should take place to 'secure and recognised boundaries', and these words were very carefully chosen: they have to be secure and they have to be recognised. And that is why one has to work for agreement. It was not for us to lay down exactly where the border should be.

*Lord Caradon, UK representative at the UN, speaking in 1967.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The intention of Resolution 242 was to secure the withdrawal of Israel from the territories it had occupied in the Six Day War.' How far do Sources A – E support this view?*

## Section B

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

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

- 2 'The Truman Doctrine was based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the USSR's intentions.' How far do you agree?
- 3 Which of the two superpowers, the USA or the USSR, was more responsible for ending the period of détente of the 1970s?

OR

- 4 To what extent was Fidel Castro responsible for causing the Cuban missile crisis?
- 5 'The Sino-Soviet split occurred because China and the USSR had different views about the nature of communism.' How far do you agree?
- 6 How successful were attempts to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the period from 1949 to 1980?
- 7 To what extent was American dominance of the international economy challenged in the period from 1970 to 1991?
- 8 Why was OPEC's dominance of the international oil market restricted to the 1970s and early 1980s?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

- Question 1A © Howard Grief; *Security Council Resolution 242: A Violation of Law and a Pathway to Disaster*; Ariel Centre for Policy Research; 2008.  
 Question 1B © George Brown; *In My Way, George Brown Memoirs*; St Martins Press; 1971.  
 Question 1C © *Security Council Official Records Twenty-Second Year; 1382nd Meeting*; 22 November 1967.  
 Question 1D © *Security Council Official Records Twenty-Second Year; 1382nd Meeting*; 22 November 1967.  
 Question 1E © *Security Council Resolution 242 According to its Drafters*; United Nations; January 2007.

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