

# Israeli History

## Zionism - 1967

# Zionism/Israeli History



# Web Site

- **North Shore Flashpoints**
- <http://northshoreflashpoints.blogspot.com/>

Israel's 3300 years  
of history:



Apparently a gathering of local Canaanite groups and migrating Nomads during the Bronze Age Collapse (end of the 13th Century BCE).



"I.S.I.R.I.A.R" (groups of men and women)  
which was translated to "ISRAEL" (1208 BCE)

יִשְׂרָאֵל  
ישראל  
Israel

**Israelites**  
(Tribes of Israel)

**Kingdom of Israel  
(United Monarchy)**  
(est. 1026-930 BCE)

*\*Bible's Golden Age - yet opens for  
debate by many Archaeologists.*

**Kingdom  
of Judah**  
(928-586 BCE)

*Destroyed by the Neo-Babylonian  
Empire, most of the residents  
were exiled to Babylon, in 538 the  
Persians who conquered Babylon  
allowed them to return to Zion*

**Jewish People  
(Jews)**

**Northern  
Kingdom of  
Israel**  
(928-722 BCE)

*Due to the destruction  
many fled south to the  
Kingdom of Judah and  
assimilated there*

*Destroyed by Assyria  
Some of them exiled to Assyrian  
Provinces (probably elites)*

**Remnants**

**People brought  
by Assyrians**

**Samaritans**



# THE UNITED KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

Around the time of  
SAUL AND DAVID

*EDOM* Vassals and defeated peoples



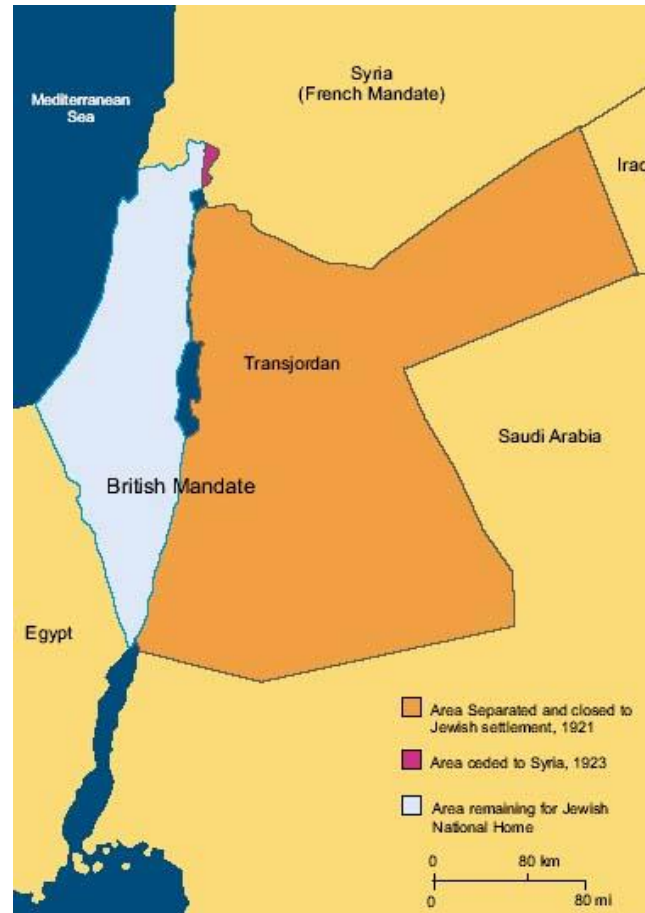




# British Mandate 1920



# British Mandate Adjustment Transjordan Separation-1923



# Peel Commission Map 1937



# United Nations Partition Plan UN Resolution 181



# Rhodes Armistice Line











- Israel after 1973 (Yom Kippur War)

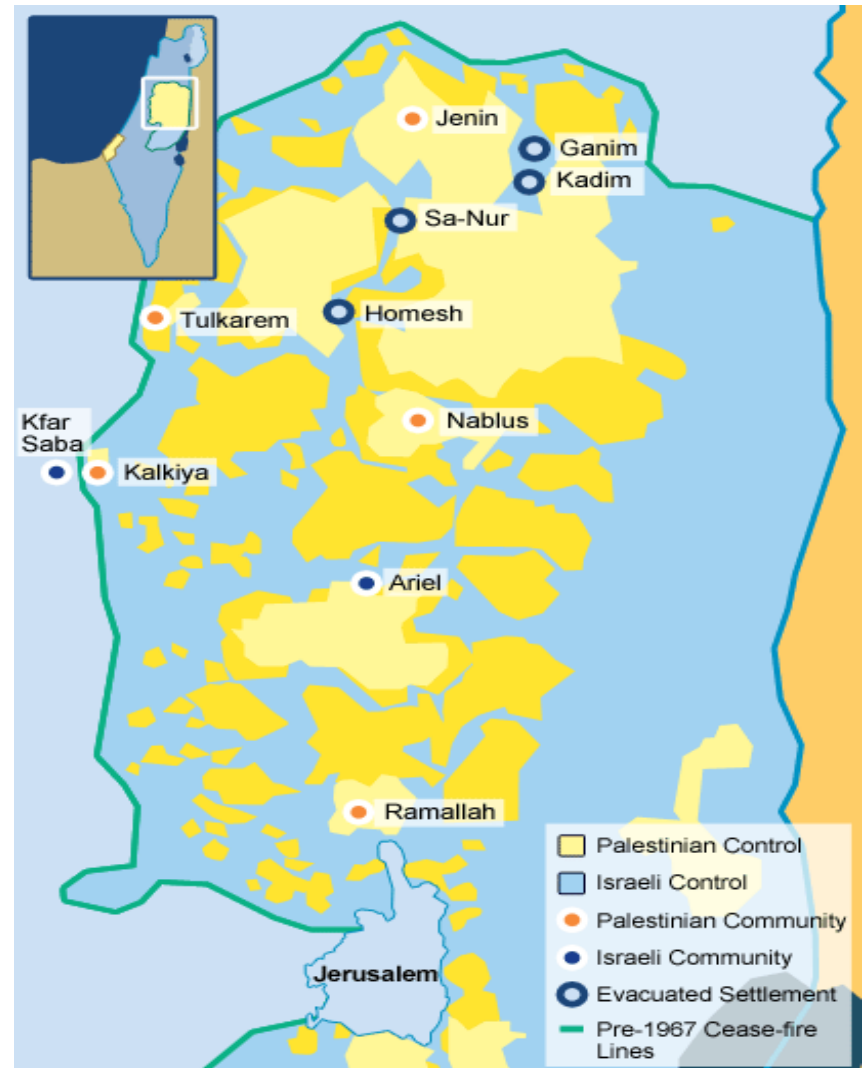
# Israel 1982



## 2005 Gaza



## 2005 West Bank



# Questions & Issues

- What is Zionism?
- Different Types of Zionism
- History of Zionism.
- Zionism today
- Pros & Cons of Zionism
- Should Israel have been set up as a Jewish State or a Secular State
- Would Israel have been created if no Holocaust?

# Definition

- Jewish Nationalism
- Land of Israel
- Jewish Identity-rebirth of the Jew
- Opposes Assimilation
- Majority in Jewish Nation - Israel
- Liberation from antisemitic discrimination and persecution that has occurred in diaspora

# Zionism Today

## As Defined by the 28<sup>th</sup> Zionist Conference in 1968

- Unity of Jewish People
- Centrality of of Israel in Jewish Life
- Ingathering of Jewish People in historic Homeland
- Strengthening State of Israel based on prophetic vision of Justice & Peace
- Preservation of the identity of the Jewish People through fostering of Jewish & Hebrew Education& of Jewish cultural & spiritual values
- Protection of Jewish rights everywhere

# Different Kinds of Zionism

- Labor Zionism
- Liberal or General Zionism
- Nationalist Zionism
- Religious Zionism
- Neo-Zionism
- Post Zionism
- Zionism & Haredi Judaism
- Green Zionism

# Theodore Herzl





# Theodore Herzl 1860-1904

- Born in Pest, Hungary
- Atheist, contempt for Judaism
- Family moves to Vienna, 1878
- Law student then Journalist
- Paris correspondent for *Neue Freie Presse*

# History

- 16<sup>th</sup> Century, Joseph Nasi Portuguese Jews to Tiberias
- 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sabbati Zebi
  - Declared himself Messiah
  - Gaza Settlement
  - Converted to Islam
- 1860 Sir Moses Montefiore
- 1882-First Aliyah, BILU Group
  - From Russia
  - Due to pogroms

# Moses Montfiore

- 10/24/1784-7/28/1885
- Jewish Philanthropist
- 1860-Financed first Jewish residential settlement outside old city Jerusalem walls
- Financed BILU agricultural settlements



# Moses Montfiore

- In business, he was an innovator, investing in the supply of piped gas for street lighting to European cities via the Imperial Continental Gas Association. He was among the founding consortium of the Alliance Life Assurance Company, and a director of the Provincial Bank of Ireland. Highly regarded in the City, he was elected as Sheriff of the City of London in 1836, and knighted by Queen Victoria in 1837.
- From retirement until the day he died, he devoted himself to philanthropy, particularly alleviating the distress of Jews abroad. He went to the sultan of the Ottoman Empire in 1840 to liberate from prison ten Syrian Jews of Damascus arrested after a blood libel; to Rome in 1858 to try to free the Jewish youth Edgardo Mortara, who had been seized by the Catholic Church after an alleged baptism by a Catholic servant; to Russia in 1846 and 1872; to Morocco in 1864 and to Romania in 1867.
- It was these missions that made him a folk hero of near mythological proportions among the oppressed Jews of Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Levant.

# Initial Reform Jewish Rejection

- 1845- Germany-deleted all prayers for a return to Zion
- 1869- Philadelphia
- 1885- Pittsburgh

"we consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community; and we therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning a Jewish state".

# Religious Jews

- Some opposed because of 3 oaths in the Babylonian Talmud
  - Nations of world would not excessively oppress Israel
  - The People of Israel would not enter the Land of Israel by force
  - Israel would not rebel against the nations of the world
- God would return them
- Other religious Jews, Mizrachi - Said religion had to be the core of the Jewish State, not culture

# But Before Herzl

- The Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment, was an intellectual movement in Europe that lasted from approximately the 1770s to the 1880s.
- The Haskalah was inspired by the European Enlightenment but had a Jewish character.
- Literally, Haskalah comes from the Hebrew word *sekhel*, meaning "reason" or intellect" and the movement was based on rationality.
- It encouraged Jews to study secular subjects, to learn both the European and Hebrew languages, and to enter fields such as agriculture, crafts, the arts and science.
- The *maskilim* (followers of the Haskalah) tried to assimilate into European society in dress, language, manners and loyalty to the ruling power.
- The Haskalah eventually influenced the creation of both the Reform and Zionist movements.

# Moses Mendelssohn

- 1726-1789
- Father of Haskalah
- Philosopher with ideas from the general Enlightenment.
- Frederick the Great declared him a "Jew under extraordinary protection"





# Moses Mendelssohn

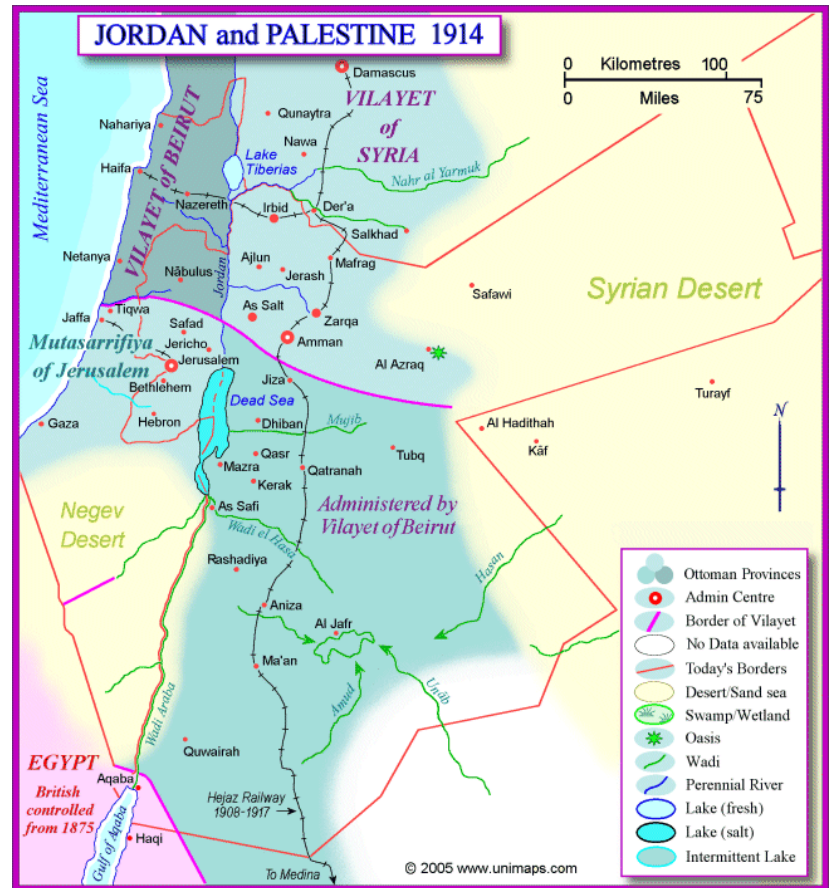
- wrote in German, the language of the scholars.
- represented Judaism as a non-dogmatic, rational faith that is open to modernity and change.
- called for secular education and a revival of Hebrew language and literature.
- initiated a translation of the Torah into German with Hebrew letters,
- tried to improve the legal situation of the Jews and the relationship between Jews and Christians, and argued for Jewish tolerance and humanity.

# And Before Herzl

- The first modern Jewish novel, *The Love of Zion* by Avrahm Mapu
  - In Hebrew (1853)
  - First stirrings of Zionism
  - Sold well
- Moses Hess in *Rome & Jerusalem* (1862) said Europe's welcome for Jews would be forever tenuous
- Wilhelm Marr (an anti-Semite convert from Judaism to Christianity) created the term anti-Semitism in 1879
- Leon Pinsker in 1882 wrote *Auto Emancipation: a warning to His Fellow People, from a Russian Jew*
  - We need a leader to find a home of our own
- The word Zionism was coined by Nathan Birnbaum in an article (1890) he wrote for his magazine called *Self-Emancipation*

# Ottoman Palestine

- Population about 400,000 in 1840 (majority Arabs)
- Made up loosely of provinces of Syria and Beirut
- By 1870, Jews 27,000 in Israel
- Israel Zangwil believed the influx of Jews from Europe would be good for everyone. From 1903 article "Zion , Whence Cometh My Help"



# Ottoman Palestine

What was more than a little unreal, then, was the claim that the Sultan and his government ruled their domains in the sense in which Europeans understood government and administration. What was real in the Ottoman Empire tended to be local: a tribe, a clan, a sect, or a town was the true political unit to which loyalties adhered. This confused European observers, whose modern notions of citizenship and nationality were inapplicable to the crazy quilt of Ottoman politics.<sup>7</sup>

# Ottoman Palestine

European notions of nations and citizenship, which Zionists from Europe would bring with them, were about to clash with the tribal, clannish, local system of the Palestinian Arabs. European Jews, in turn, would find themselves in tension with the insular Jews of Palestine, who remained opposed both to modernity as well as to the Jews from Europe who were importing it into the Middle East. To no small degree, those differing conceptions of nation and society, competing sensibilities regarding honor and memory, and many other missed cues would fuel the conflict between Jews and Arabs in the years to come.

# Prevailing Anti-Semitism

- *Protocols of The Elders of Zion* 1903
- Kishinev Pogrom -1903
  - 44 murdered
  - Massive property damage
  - Local non-Jewish population expressed “neither regret or remorse”
- Kishinev an example of pogroms thruout eastern Europe that took place primarily in the Pale
- First Aliyah 1882-1903
- Alarmed Jews already living in Palestine
  - Observant Jews vs secular

# Bridging The Gap

- Rabbi Abraham Issac Kook-Known as Rav Kook
- September 1865–11 September 1935)
- Moved to Palestine 1904
- first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of British Mandatory Palestine
- Pioneers were not apostates, but, “...filled with love, justice and power
- the task of the rabbis was to bring them to self awareness
- He was one of the most celebrated and influential rabbis of the 20th century.



# Herzl's First Anti-Semitism Encounter

- As University Student read Eugen Karl Duhring's book *The Jewish Problem as a Problem of Race, Morals and Culture*
  - Emancipation and assimilation of Jews in Europe was detrimental to European society
  - Jews should return to the ghettos
- And first encounter with the need for a Jewish state came from a Hungarian Nationalist, founder of the National Anti-Semitic Party, Gyozo Istoc, who said "Jew, go to Palestine"



II  
Tra



Degradation of Alfred  
Dreyfus, 5th January  
1895. Picture by Henri

# Dreyfus Affair-1895

- Influenced Herzl?
- Myth?
- Anti-Semitic demagogue Karl Lueger of Vienna
- Herzl writes play “The New Ghetto”
  - Ambivalence , lack of real security & equality of rich Viennese Jews
  - Believe that anti-Semitism could not be defeated or cured, only avoided, and that the only way to avoid it was the establishment of a Jewish state.

# *Der Judenstaat (The Jewish State)*

## *1896*

- Outlines reasons for Jews to leave Europe
- For Argentina or Palestine
- Attracts International attention
- Acclaim & Controversy
  - Existing Zionist movements supported it
  - Established Jews vilified it. Why?

# *Altneuland (The Old New Land)*

## *1902*

- Jewish State in Israel
- Best of Jewish culture with European heritage
- Not religious
- Hebrew not main language
- Arabs would welcome Jews who would live together peacefully because
  - Jews would bring progress to the Middle East
  - “Man you are my brother”
  - “Matters of faith excluded from public influence”
- “If you will it, it is no dream”

# Herzl's Efforts

- 1896-Meets Grand Vizier of Ottoman Empire (nothing came of it)
- 1896-Eastern European Jews in London agree to support him
- 1897-Recognized as the leader of all Zionist groups
- 1898-Meets Kaiser in Palestine (Nothing happened)
- 1901-Meets Sultan (Nothing Happened)
- 1902 meets with British to negotiate for settlement in Sinai (failed)
- 1903-Herzl visits Russia (receives endorsement from foreign & interior ministers)
- 1903-Britain proposes Uganda Project, which is rejected by World Zionist Congress in 1905

# Other Palestine Alternatives

- Early 1800s –Grand Island, New York
- 1903-1905 -Uasin Gishu in East Africa
- 1907-1914 –Angola
- 1933-1942-Madagascar
- 1940-1945- Tasmania
- 1938-1948- Surinam

*1903-Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val Vatican Secretary of State*



“...as long as the Jews deny the divinity of Christ, the Church certainly could not make a declaration in their favor.”



First Zionist Conference Basel, Switzerland,  
1897



# First Zionist Congress

## Basel Program

- Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Eretz-Israel secured under public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:
  - 1. The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Eretz-Israel of Jewish farmers, artisans, and manufacturers.
  - 2. The organization and uniting of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
  - 3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness.
  - 4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goals of Zionism.

# Herzl's Diary

- "Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word - which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly - it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish State."
- "If I said this out loud today I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps, in 5 years and certainly in 50, everyone will admit it."

# Chaim Bialik

- By 1901 considered the greatest Hebrew writer of his generation.
- Born in Russia 1/9/1873
- Died 7/4/1934
- After witnessing results of Kishnev pogrom, wrote *In the City of Slaughter*
- Promoted the need for a “new Jew”



## Bialik's Most Famous Poem To The Bird

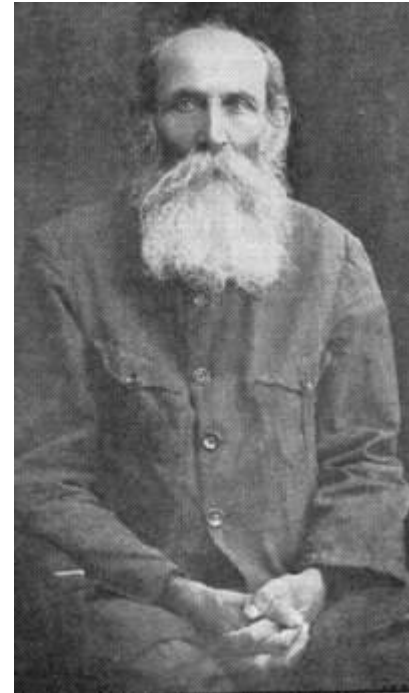
“How my soul longed to hear your voice,” the poet says to a bird just returning from Zion, then known as Palestine. He asks the bird what life is like in the idyllic place that he imagines. “Does God have mercy on Zion?” “Does the dew fall like pearls upon Mount Hermon?” “In that warm and beautiful land, does evil reign and do calamities happen, too?” Not really questions, these musings were more wistful dreams of a place across the ocean that had once been home to the Jewish people, and that—Bialik and others of his generation thought—might be home once again.

# Ahad Ha'am

- **Born Asher Zvi Hirsch Ginsberg**
- (18 August 1856 – 2 January 1927),
- Name means *one of the people*,
- Unlike Herzl, Jewish sovereignty not critical to him
- Judaism should flourish in multiple places
- Followers founded *Brit Shalom* \*(the Covenant of Peace) to promote peace with the Arabs by giving up their quest for statehood

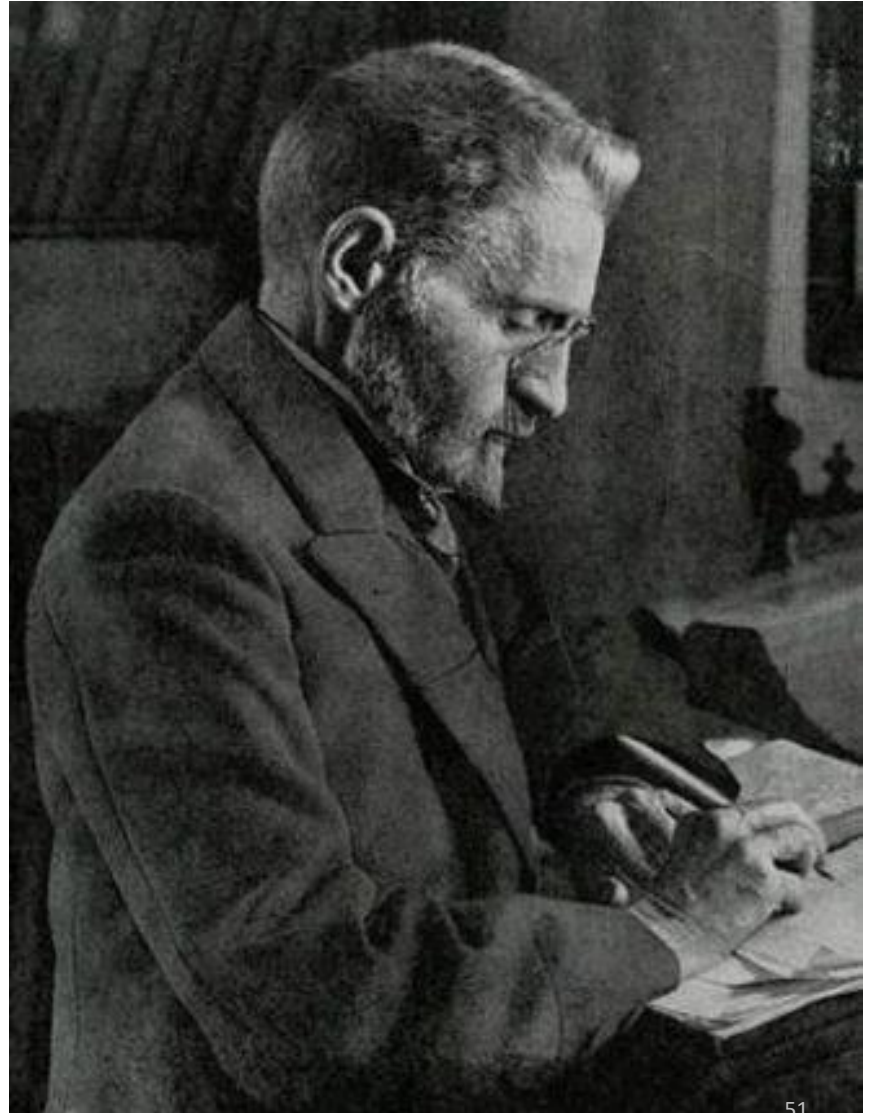
# Aaron David (A.D.) Gordon

- 9 June 1856 – 22 February 1922
- His “new Jew” would be sustained by a religion of Labor
- His views profoundly shaped the first decades of Jewish life in Palestine



# Eliezer Ben-Yehuda

- Born **Eliezer Yitzhak Perlman**; 7 January 1858 – 16 December 1922)
- He was the driving spirit behind the revival of the Hebrew language in the modern era.
- "In order to supplement the deficiencies of the Hebrew language, the Committee coins words according to the rules of grammar and linguistic analogy from Semitic roots: Aramaic and especially from Arabic roots"
- Prevailing language of most immigrants was Yiddish
- Hebrew was not important to most immigrants



# Ze'ev Yavetz

- 26 September 1847 – 24 January 1924)
- Moved to Palestine in 1887
- First book of Modern Hebrew literature
- On Tu B'Shevat he took his students to plant trees.<sup>1</sup> This custom was adopted in 1908 by the Jewish Teachers Union and later by the Jewish National Fund





## A Yavetz Story

unsettled by those immigrants who seemed insufficiently committed to re-creating the Jew, he used his sharp pen to attack those who he felt failed to appreciate that the decision to come to Palestine ought to flow from a passion for revolution. In one of his stories, he compares two types of Jews, which he frames as opposites: the Diaspora Jew, who is “the Tourist,” and the Pioneer, who is “the Resident.”<sup>16</sup> His preference was obvious. Overdressed and physically weak, solely concerned with his own comfort and appearance, the Diaspora Jew had “his beard shaved, his mustache made up. . . . [H]is bag was on his thigh and his cane and parasol were in his hand, curved and ruffled . . . but his appearance was very pale and his face deficient.”<sup>17</sup>

## And Another

In Yavetz's story, the Diaspora Jew refuses to join the pioneer men, women, and children sitting on the ground and taking plea-

sure in the view since it would mean getting his trousers wet. Unlike the "Tourist," the "Resident" is earthy and active; he is dressed simply in Arabic style clothing, holds a weapon for self-defense (instead of a parasol), and rides a white horse. He embodies health, confidence, and a passion for life. He is Bialik's new Jew who would not hide behind a cask during a pogrom, a new Jew who is determined to break with his victimlike past, the new Jew intent on taking control of his destiny. Now, thanks to Yavetz, that literary discussion of the new Jew had moved from Europe to Palestine, from exile to the budding Yishuv.

# Baron Edmond de Rothschild

- 19 August 1845 – 2 November 1934
- Known as the “Benefactor”
- Godfather of the moshavot
- Monetary assistance amounted to \$150 million in today’s dollars



# Second Aliyah

- 1904-1914
- 35,000 Jews emigrated from Russia primarily
- Kibbutz movement established
- First Kibbutz- Degania established in 1909
  - Follows A.D. Gordon about working the land
- Kibbutzim produced many leaders
- Symbol of pioneering ethos
- Instrumental in border defense
- But at the height of the Kibbutz movement in 1947 it accounted for only 7% of the population
- Tension between Kibbutz movement and individuality

# Rachel Bluwstein Sela

- Also known as Rachel the poetess captures this tension

*Perhaps it was never so.  
Perhaps  
I never woke early and went to the fields  
To labor in the sweat of my brow  
Nor in the long blazing days  
Of harvest  
On top of the wagon laden with sheaves,  
Made my voice ring with song  
Nor bathed myself clean in the calm  
Blue water  
Of my Kinneret. O, my Kinneret,  
Were you there or did I only dream?<sup>25</sup>*

# Tel Aviv

- Created 1909
- Title of the Hebrew translation of Herzl's utopian novel *Altneuland*
- *Tel* is a hill created by buildings of many generations
- *Aviv* means spring
- Tel Aviv captured the Old-New Land Herzl referred to in his book.



# Ze'ev Jabotinsky

- 10/18/1880 -8/4/1940
- Born in Odessa
- Originally Vladimir
- Founder of
  - Jewish Self-Defense Organization after 1903 Kishnev pogroms
  - Jewish Legion in WW1
  - Irgun
  - Beitar
  - Hatzohar
- Legacy is the current Likud Party



# Ze'ev Jabotinsky

- Jabotinsky was the more captivating speaker and personality;
- Ben Gurion, the superior political tactician.
- Though a highly sociable man, Jabotinsky did not excel at organizational work; generous, sometimes to a fault, in delegating responsibility to those he trusted, he was stingy at sharing it when he thought it should be his own.
- Ben Gurion, the more abrasive personality, was also the more disciplined team player; while devoid of the sense of humor that Jabotinsky possessed in abundance, he had a patience for detail and drudgery that Jabotinsky did not.



# Ze'ev Jabotinsky

- Even if Jabotinsky's memorandum was a sincere plan for getting to the "30 plus percent" that would trigger an Arab Jewish war, he was certain that no Jewish state could be established without one. This was publicly stated by him in his 1923 essay "An Iron Wall," in which he wrote that "the Arabs have the same instinctive love and inbred zeal for Palestine that the Aztecs had for Mexico and the Sioux had for the prairies," and that "every native people fights foreign settlers as long as it can hope to get rid of them."
- It would be foolish to think that Arabs of Palestine, would be less willing than others to shed their blood for their country.
- However, Palestine would have to be seized from them by force. He had already concluded as much in 1908

# Ze'ev Jabotinsky

- He predicted WW1
- He spoke of “...a devastating war between 2 or more first class powers, with all the grand insanity of modern techniques...with an incredible number of casualties and with such an expenditure of money-direct, indirect and incidental-that there would not be enough digits for accountability.”
- Wanted to align with British , while Ben Gurion initially thought Zionist hopes lay with the Ottomans.

# But

- He was slow to appreciate America's importance for Zionism or cultivate a political base there
- It's Jews, he felt had no visceral attachment to Zionism; it was a movement as they saw it , not for them, but for their less fortunate brethren in Europe, whom they were at most under an obligation to help
- Thoroughly Eurocentric in his outlook , he would come to understand only late in the day how badly America was needed.

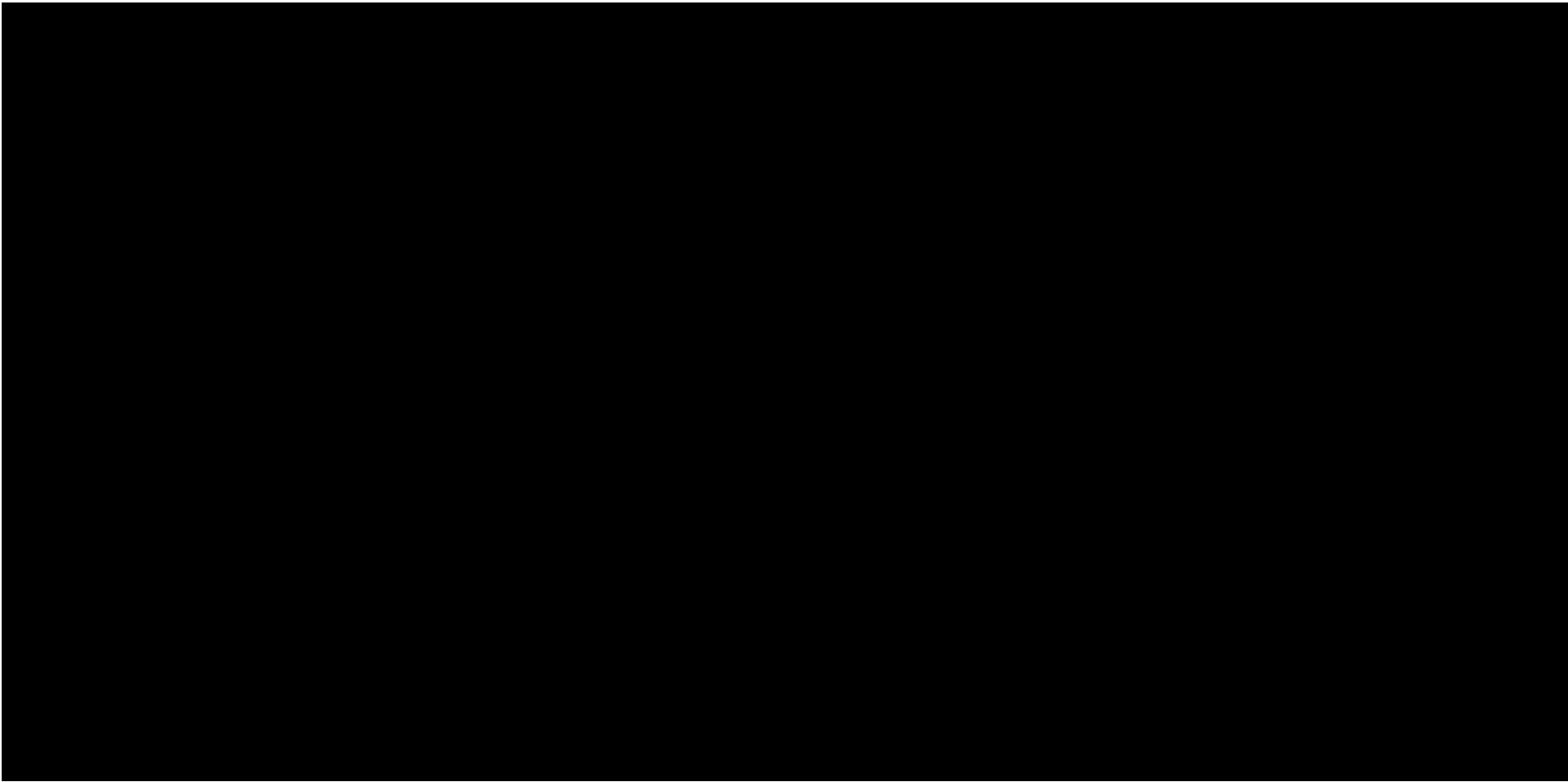
# Irgun's Anthem

## Betar Song

*In the face of every obstacle  
In times of ascent, and of setbacks  
A fire may still be lit  
With the flame of revolt  
For silence is dirt  
Sacrifice blood and spirit  
For the hidden glory  
To die or to conquer the mountain  
Yodfat, Masada, Betar*

# Hatikvah

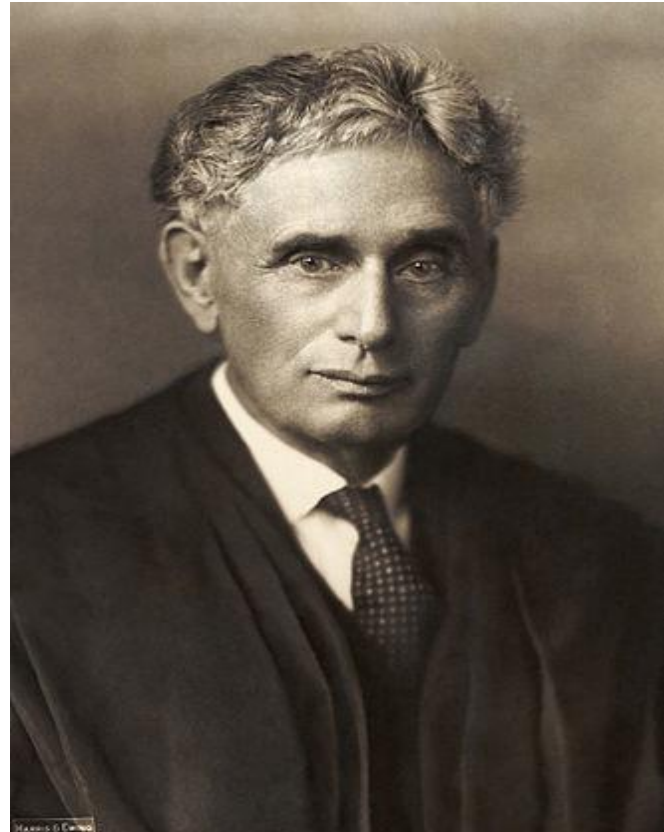
- THE HOPE
- As long as deep within the heart
- A Jewish soul stirs,
- And forward, to the ends of the East
- An eye looks out, towards Zion.
- Our hope is not yet lost,
- The hope of two thousand years,
- To be a free people in our land
- The land of Zion and Jerusalem.
- To be a free people in our land
- The land of Zion and Jerusalem.





Chaim Weizman

1874-1952



Louis Brandeis

1856-1941

# Chaim Weizman

- Did not attend first Zionist Congress
- Invented acetone
  - used in explosives
  - Critical to British WW1 war effort
- President of British Zionist Federation-1907
- Founded Technion in 1912
- Critical to issuance of Balfour Declaration-1917
- Faisal – Weizman Agreement of 1917 attempting to establish favorable relations between Arabs & Jews



# Chaim Weizman-2

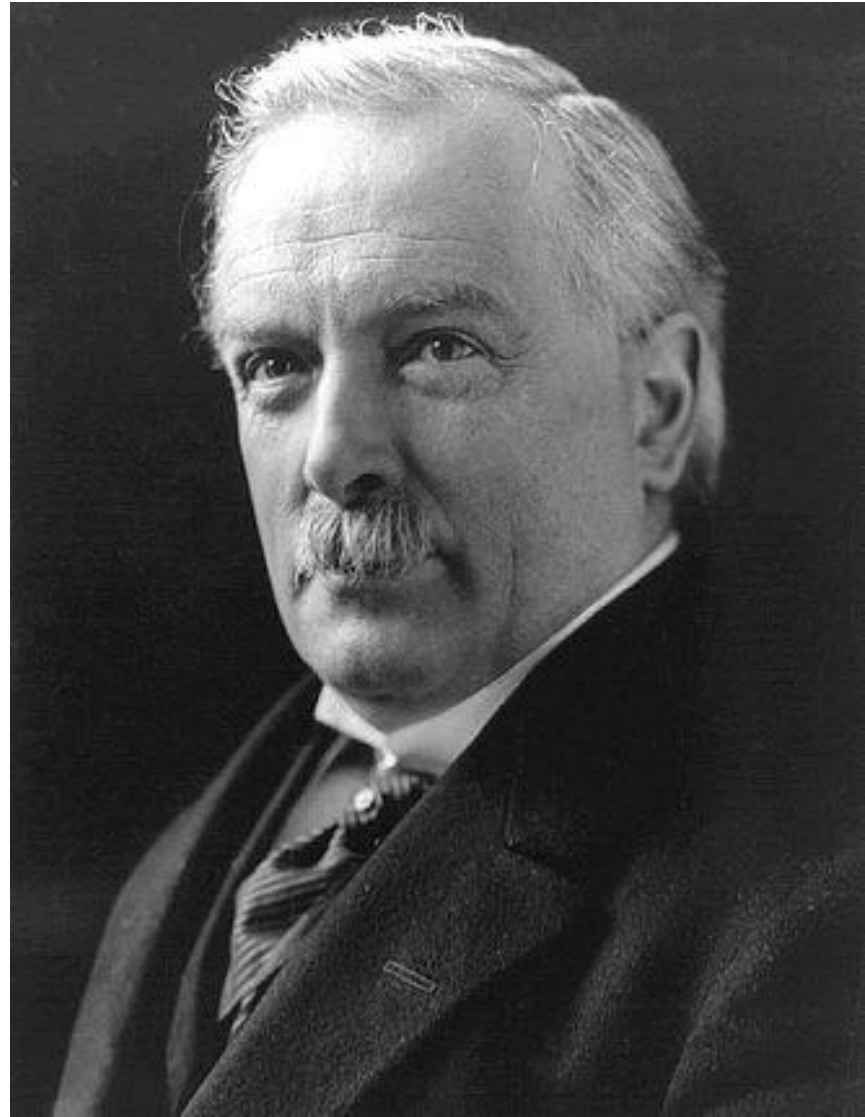
- Chair of World Zionist Organization (1920-31, 35-46)
- Relationship with Truman instrumental in U.N. partition vote and recognition
- First President of Israel

# Louis Brandeis

- Advisor to Wilson
- First Jewish Justice on Supreme Court
- Head of Provisional Executive Committee for Zionist Affairs-Leader of American Zionists
- Reorganized
- Raised funds
- Countered accusation of “dual loyalty”
- Broke with Weizman. Why?

# David Lloyd George

- Becomes Prime Minister in 1916
- Had served as lawyer representing Zionist Movement
- “The 4 Great Powers are committed to Zionism, and Zionism, be it right or wrong good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, and future hopes of profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.”



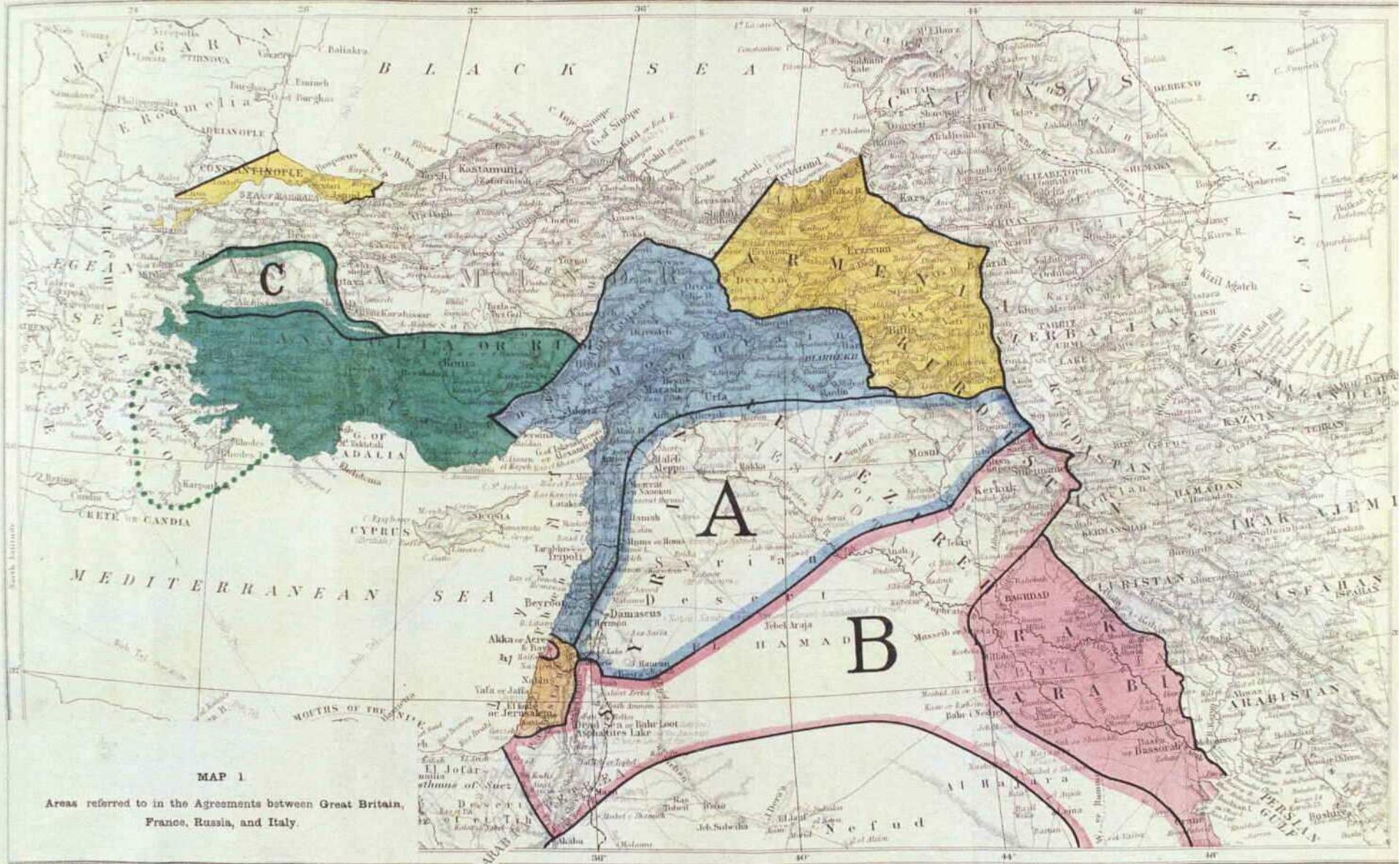
# Balfour Declaration-1917

His Majesty's government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

What's missing?

# Sykes-Picot Agreement May, 1916

- Understanding between French & British Governments
- How they would divide the Ottoman Empire after WWI
- “Recognize and protect an independent Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.....”
- Implemented by San Remo Conference, 1920



MAP 1

Areas referred to in the Agreements between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy.

- FRENCH SPHERE.
- BRITISH SPHERE.
- ITALIAN SPHERE.
- INTERNATIONAL SPHERE.
- RUSSIAN SPHERE.

C = Italian sphere of influence.

A & B = INDEPENDENT ARAB STATE,  
A being in the French, and B in the British, sphere of influence.

# Other Key Events

- 1904-1914 Second Aliyah-40,000 Jewish immigrants
  - Remember what's going on in Russia
- 1909-First Kibbutz-Degania
- 1914-1918 WW1- Most Jews supported Turkey because against Russia
- Britain turned that around with Balfour Declaration
  - forming Jewish Legion with Zionist volunteers
  - Fought at Gallipoli
  - Participated in invasion of Palestine
  - Jewish spy network

## Other Key Events-2

- 1919-1923- Third Aliyah - 40,000 Jewish immigrants escaping massacres in Ukraine & Russia
- 1918-Weizman forms Zionist Commission
- 1921-Zionist Commission becomes Jewish Agency approved in League of Nations. British Mandate
  - Zionist parties provide education, health care, sports organizations funded by taxes
  - Britain rejected majority rule (excluded Arabs)
- 1921-Jewish National Fund established (charitable organization charged with buying land for Yishuv)
- 1921-First High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuels appoints Al-Husseini Mufti of Jerusalem



# King-Crane Commission-1919

- Appointed by Wilson
- To determine if region was ready for self-determination
- “For a national home for the Jewish People is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities...”

## King Crane Commission -2

- “...Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine...”
- The first principle to be respected is self-determination
- The only way to establish a viable Jewish State would be by force of arms.

# Churchill White Paper June, 1922

- Churchill was British Home Secretary
- “...citizens of Palestine...shall be Palestinian...”
- “...Jewish National Home ...is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people...take...pride.”

# Churchill White Paper June, 1922-2

- Balfour Declaration is “...not ...cause for alarm to the Arab population ...or disappointment to the Jews.’
- “Jewish community should be able to increase...by immigration...without burden”
- What’s Churchill’s intention?

# League of Nations Mandate-November, 1920

British

The Mandate will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home ... and the development of self-governing institutions, and also safeguard the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

# British Mandate 1920



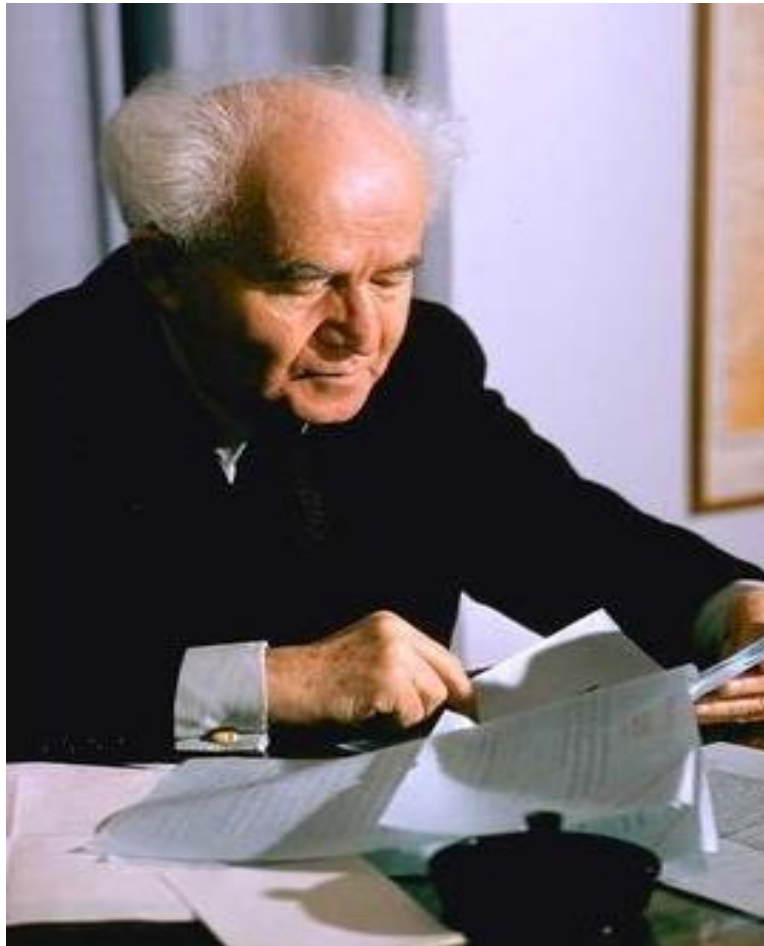
# British Mandate Adjustment Transjordan Separation-1923



# Results of Mandate

- Third Aliyah 1919-1923;
  - 40,000 new arrivals
  - New round of pogroms in Russia
  - End of War brought freedom of movement
  - Now the Zionist cause is internationally recognized
- More Jewish land purchases
- Water became big issue
- First Assembly of Representatives elected in 1920
- Haganah (The Defense) created in 1921
- Arab riots in 1920,1921,1928, 1929
  - Hebron Jewish community destroyed in 1929
  - Resulting in Haganah expansion
- 1924-1929- Fourth Aliyah- 82,000 Jews arrive fleeing anti-Semitism in Poland & Hungary
  - U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 keeps Jews out
- Jabatinsky forms Irgun in 1931





David Ben-Gurion  
1886-1973

# David Ben-Gurion

- Polish Zionist
- Immigrated to Palestine 1906
- Worked on a Kibbutz
- In 1910 moved to Jerusalem where he worked on the editorial board of the official Zionist newspaper
- 1911 went to Turkey to study law
- Recruited Jews to fight with Ottomans in 1914
- Deported to Egypt & then U.S. in 1915 where he married
- Joined the British Army in 1918 after Balfour Declaration
- Moved back to Palestine after the war

# Ben-Gurion Zionist Leadership

- 1919-lead right wing faction of Labor Zionist Movement (Ahudut HaAvoda)
  - Left wing organization, but right of others
- 1920 formed Zionist Labor Federation (Histadrut)
- 1930 formed Mapai, which eventually became the Labor Party
- 1935 Head of Jewish Agency
- 1946 met Ho Chi Minh in Paris, who offered him a home in exile in Viet Nam
- 1948- First Prime Minister
- Ben-Gurion's determination to build a National culture was his genius  
Gordis
- And felt T.V too Lowbrow so Israel never got it until 1960

# Haj Amin al-Husseini



# Haj Amin al-Husseini

- 13 family members were mayors of Jerusalem
- Officer in Ottoman Army until 1916
- Fought with British alongside Jewish troops
- Sentenced to 10 years in prison *in absentia* for part in 1920 Arab riots; then pardoned in 1921
- British thought they could control him as President of Supreme Muslim Council
- Chair of Arab High Committee-1936

# Arab Reaction

- In letter to Himmler, head of SS, proposed an Islamic Army for Germany
- He was pushed out of Palestine by British in 1936
- Came to Berlin in 1941 where he helped with Nazi propaganda

# Passfield White Paper 1930

- Issued in aftermath of Arab Riots
- Jewish National Home not central to mandate
- Limited Jewish immigration
- Limited Jewish land purchases.

# Other Key Events-4

- 1933-Jabotinsky (and others) propose worldwide economic boycott of Germany
- 1933-Ha'avara (transfer) agreement with Nazis
  - 50,000 Jews transferred to Palestine
  - Their funds transferred and made available to Palestinian banks (instead of being confiscated)
  - Jewish Agency allowed to purchase 14 million pounds worth of German goods
  - Funds then returned to immigrants
  - How do you think this went over?
- 1929-1939- Fifth Aliyah- 250,000 Jews arrive
- Jewish Population of Israel in 1939
  - 475,000
  - 30%



# Culture & Intellectual Development

- Blend of tradition, modernity, religious & secular Jews, Ashkenazim & Sephardim , socialists and free market city dwellers
- Queen Esther Beauty Pageant-late 1920's
- Maccabiah games-1932
- Theatrical dance- National Dance Competition
- Dramatic increase in number of students at Hebrew University
- Department stores and upscale cafes

# Other Key Events-5

- 1936-1939 Arab uprising
  - Targeted both British and Jews
  - British tried restraint
  - British enlisted Hagganah to help
  - British reinforcements came in 1939 under Bernard Montgomery
- What was effect on Yishuv (Jewish Community)?

# Peel Commission July-1937

- Issued in response to Arab Uprising
- Advocates a 2 state solution
- Arabs Reject
- 20th Zionist Congress initially rejects, but wants to negotiate
- Britain rejects Commission's advice November, 1938 through Woodhead report

# Peel Commission Map 1937

- 20% of land to Jews  
to Jews
- 75% to Arabs
- Called for a population transfer
- Jabotinsky and others outraged by what they thought was implicitly a larger area implied by Balfour
- But only a minority of Jews actively oppose the plan
- Weizman & Ben-Gurion willing to accept anything



# Peel Commission

- "Had partition [referring to the Peel Commission partition plan] been carried out, the history of our people would have been different and six million Jews in Europe would not have been killed—most of them would be in Israel".

David Ben-Gurion-1957

# After Kristallnacht

A month later, in December, when leaders of the Yishuv met to discuss what had happened in November, they used the term *shoah* for the first time in that context.<sup>18</sup> It was a biblical term, taken from the Book of Zephaniah, in which the prophet predicts “a day of calamity and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of dense clouds.”<sup>19</sup> The fact that they had to resort to a little-used biblical term, rather than use a more common word, meant that the Yishuv’s leaders, as had been the case with Jabotinsky and Herzl before them, foresaw a calamity with no historical precedent. Jewish history, they intuited, was about to change forever.

# British White Paper May, 1939

- “...establishment within ten years of an independent Palestinian State...”
- “...Arab and Jews share in government...”
- “...Jewish population... one-third of total population...”
  - For each of next 5 years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants
  - In addition 25,000 immigrants ASAP
  - Illegal immigrants will be deducted from these quotas
- Effectively repealed Balfour declaration
- Arabs rejected
- And for 19 of first 39 months Britain didn't approve any immigration

# World War II & The Holocaust

“support the British as if there is no White Paper and oppose the White Paper as if there is no war”

-David Ben-Gurion



# German & Austrian U.S Emigrants

Yearly quota	27,370	100%
Immigration for 1933	1,450	5.3%
1934	3,740	13.7%
1935	5,530	20.2%
1936	6,650	24.3%
1937	11,520	42.1%
1938	17,870	65.3%
1939	27,370	100%
1940	26,080	95.3%
1941	13,050	47.7%
1942	4,760	17.4%
1943	1,290	4.7%
1944	1,351	4.8%

# Jewish Brigade

- September 1940- 15 Palestinian Jewish battalions formed
- Units fought in:
  - Greece in 1941
  - Egypt & North Africa in 1942 with an Arab Battalion
  - Italy in March, 1945 (Now reformed as the Jewish Brigade)
- Brigade disbanded summer 1946
  - 30,000 served
  - 700 killed
- But became backbone of Haganah
- Palmach (elite strike force) created in 1941 by Haganah

## And During the War

On May 6, 1942, as the British war Cabinet agreed upon an official statement that “all practicable steps should be taken to discourage illegal immigration into Palestine,” Zionist leaders met at an Extraordinary Zionist Conference at the Biltmore Hotel in New York to express international Jewry’s resolve to create a Jewish state with or without British assistance. The participants agreed that Britain could not be trusted; the Jewish Agency, it decided, should replace the Mandate as the governing power in Palestine. It was now the official policy of the Zionist movement to bring an end to all restrictions on immigration and to establish a “Jewish Commonwealth” in Palestine.

The horrors unfolding in Europe had done what half a century of debate could not. For the first time, the Zionist movement had adopted an official policy that its goal was the creation of a Jewish state.<sup>32</sup>

# After World War II

- Massive wave of Jewish Immigrants to Israel thru *Brinah* (flight) network
  - Set up by Mossad
  - With former members of Jewish Brigade
- British tried to stop it
  - Imprisoned Jews in Cyprus (50,000) who tried to run blockade or
  - Sent them back to Europe
- Remember “Exodus” by Leon Uris & the movie with Paul Newman?
- 1947-U.N. approves partition of Palestine

# Jewish Reactions

- Right wing resistance movements
  - The Irgun "The National Military Organization in the Land of Israel" was a Zionist paramilitary organization that operated in Mandate Palestine between 1931 and 1948. It was an offshoot of the older and larger Jewish paramilitary organization Haganah. The Irgun is also referred to as Etzel an acronym of the Hebrew initials, or by the abbreviation IZL. Begin becomes it's leader in 1944.
  - Stern Gang splits from Irgun in July 1940. Also known by the acronym Lechi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel)

# Saison

- The hunting season 11/44-3/45
- Ben-Gurion concerned that the (terrorist) acts of the right wing groups would bring down the British wrath authorizes the Palmach to arrest members of Irgun & Stern gang and turn them over to British

# Other Anti-Jewish Reactions

- U.N. Relief & Rehabilitation Administration
  - would not allow Germans and Jews to be separated in DP camps
- Truman establishes Harrison commission to investigate
  - “We appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them”
- Patton-” [Others] believe that the D.P. is a human being which he is not , and this applies particularly to the Jews who are lower than animals.” from Patton’s journal

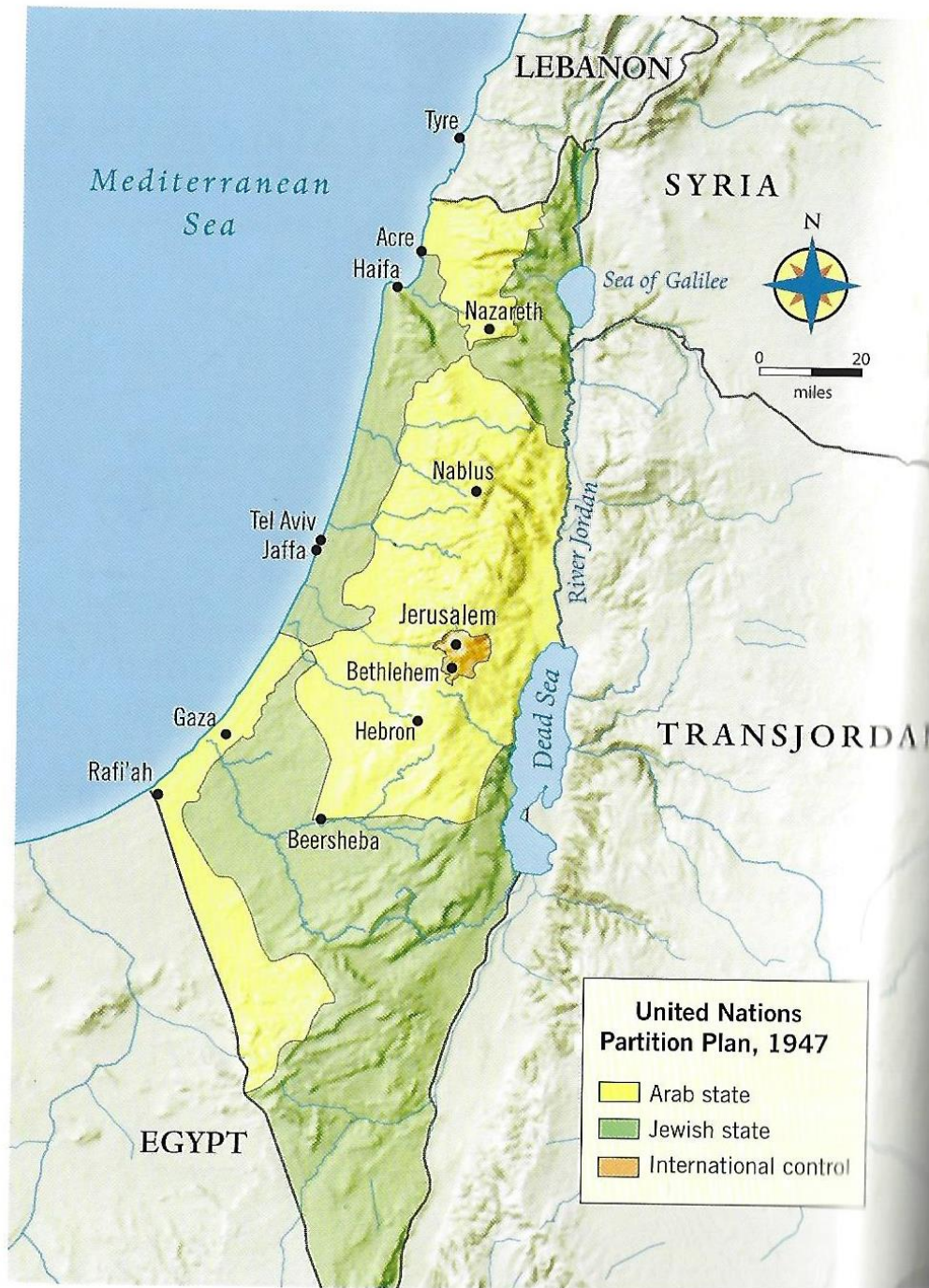
# A United Front?

- 6/26/45 Haganah , Irgun & Lechi established the United Resistance Movement which Ben-Gurion would lead
- King David Hotel bombing
  - Result of attacks
  - And British counter attacks called primarily “Black Sabbath” when British confiscated many documents
  - Ben –Gurion initially approves of bombing
  - Weizman pressures him, but Irgun proceeds
- Ben-Gurion still believes in use of force and breaks with Weizman @ 22 Zionist Congress which supports Ben-Gurion



# United Nations Special Committee on Palestine UNSCOP

- Created 5/15/47
- Arabs refuse to cooperate
- Proposal:
  - 2 states
  - 55% for Jews
  - 45% for Arabs
- Issue:
  - Jewish State would have 498,00 Jews and 407,000 Arabs
  - Arab state would have 725,00 Arabs and 10,000 Jews
- Arabs rejected
- Jews accepted



# U.N. Resolution 181

- State Department against
- CIA against it
- Russia for it
- Passes 33-13 in November 1947
- But State Department pressures Truman to change position
- Weizman to U.S. in 2/48, but Truman refuses to meet with him

# BUT

Much to Truman's ire, however, that is precisely what Jacobson did. The president scolded him harshly, but Jacobson refused to back down. Pointing to a statue of Andrew Jackson that Truman had in his office, Jacobson said to his longtime friend, "Harry, all your life you have had a hero. . . . I too have a hero, a man I never met, but who is, I think, the greatest Jew who ever lived. . . . I am talking about Chaim Weizmann." Jacobson continued, "He is a very sick man, almost broken in health, but he traveled thousands of miles just to see you and plead the cause of my people. Now you refuse to see him just because you are insulted by some of our American Jewish leaders. . . . It doesn't sound like you, Harry, because I thought you could take this stuff they have been handing out."

Jacobson later reported that neither man said anything for what seemed "like centuries." Then, though, Truman turned to Jacobson and said, "You win, you baldheaded son-of-a-bitch. I will see him." It worked. Weizmann, whom Truman had met earlier and described as "a wonderful man, one of the wisest people I think I ever met," convinced Truman.



# Plan Dalet

In March 1948, Ben-Gurion instructed the Haganah to “gain control of the territory of the Hebrew state and defend its borders.” So began Plan Dalet (Plan “D”). According to the plan, if Arab towns were strategically positioned, essential for communication, or could be used as enemy bases, the Haganah would aim to destroy the enemy’s armed forces and drive the enemy civilian population to areas outside of the borders of the state. The assumption was that Arabs would be forced out of their villages only if they resisted; if they did not fight back, they could remain in their towns under Jewish sovereignty. Many Arabs fled, however, preferring to leave rather than live under Jewish rule. By May 14, 1948, the date the State of Israel declared independence, some three hundred thousand Arabs had already left Palestine. The problem of Palestinian refugees, today still far from being resolved, had begun.

# Operation Nachshon

- April 1948- Break through to Jerusalem
- Also able to conquer Tiberias, Safad & Haifa
- Primarily benefited from illegal Czech arms shipments.

# Meir Meeting With King Abdullah

## May 10, 1948

- Meir disguised as Arab woman
- Asked him not to attack
- He asked her not to hurry
- “We have been waiting for 2,000 years. Is that hurrying?”

# Ben-Gurion Proclaiming Israel's

II  
5





# Declaration of Independence

- Need for a Declaration
  - Define boundaries?
- Vote was 6-3 by People's Administration
- Ben –Gurion did not want to delay
  - Truman had promised support
  - Afraid opportunity would not come again
- Alternative names for country
  - Eretz Israel
  - Judea
  - Zion
  - 3 others
  - Why Israel?
- Mention God?
- “PLACING OUR TRUST IN THE ‘ROCK OF ISRAEL’”
- How do you interpret?

# Ben-Gurion

## Arab Views

### Declaration of Independence

- WE APPEAL - in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months - to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

# Declaration of Independence

## Three Parts

- History to show legitimacy
- Declaration of Statehood
- Ingathering of exiles, but equal rights for all
- Signatories, but Ben Gurion would not allow Weizman, Begin, nor Yitzhak Shamir (then head of Stern Gang) to sign

# Ben-Gurion Arab Views

- "We must start working in Jaffa. Jaffa must employ Arab workers. And there is a question of their wages. I believe that they should receive the same wage as a Jewish worker. An Arab has also the right to be elected president of the state, should he be elected by all."
- "Now, if ever, we must do more than make peace with them; we must achieve collaboration and alliance on equal terms."

# Ben-Gurion Arab Views

"The Arabs fear of our power is intensifying, [Palestinians] see exactly the opposite of what we see. It doesn't matter whether or not their view is correct.... They see [Jewish] immigration on a giant scale .... they see the Jews fortify themselves economically .. They see the best lands passing into our hands. They see England identify with Zionism. .... [Arabs are] fighting dispossession ... The fear is not of losing land, but of losing the homeland of the Arab people, which others want to turn it into the homeland of the Jewish people. There is a fundamental conflict. We and they want the same thing: We both want Palestine ..... By our very presence and progress here, [we] have matured the [Arab] movement."

# Ben-Gurion Arab Views

"With compulsory transfer we [would] have vast areas .... I support compulsory [population] transfer. I do not see anything immoral in it. But compulsory transfer could only be carried out by England .... Had its implementation been dependent merely on our proposal I would have proposed; but this would be dangerous to propose when the British government has disassociated itself from compulsory transfer. .... But this question should not be removed from the agenda because it is central question. There are two issues here : 1) sovereignty and 2) the removal of a certain number of Arabs, and we must insist on both of them."

# 1948 War

		Arab Countries	Israel
12/31/1947	Full Time Troops	108,000	2,000
	Reservists (Haganah)		30,000-35,000
5/14/48	After Mobilization (full time troops)		30,000
	Invading Troops	20,000-24,000	
1/1/49	Invading/ Defending full time troops	70,000	108,000

# Arab Motivations

- Not furtherance of “Palestinian” independence
- Syria wanted eastern Galilee. Why?
- Iraq wanted Haifa. Why?
- Jordan (Abdullah) wanted all of Palestine
- Egypt wanted to maintain leadership & pressured
- Morris claims religious war as much as war over territory



# War of Independence

- Ben-Gurion pushed for taking Jerusalem because it was commonly understood that no one believed it be governed by an international protectorate as Resolution 181 states
- 48 British officers in Arab Legion, but no coordination between armies
- Count Folke Bernadotte was appointed to negotiate a truce
- 2 temporary truce included an embargo
  - Palestinians unprepared
  - Israel smuggled weapons into country
  - Before war ordered and paid for 80% of Israeli ordinance

# Outside Help

The Israelis used the lull in the fighting to import massive amounts of weapons, including some they had purchased from the United States as well as from other Western powers. The Yishuv also received a massive shipment of arms from Czechoslovakia, including “more than twenty-five thousand rifles, five thousand machine-guns, and more than fifty million bullets.”<sup>24</sup> In what was surely an ironic twist, some of the Czech arms were standard German Mauser rifles and MG machine guns, and—having been produced for the Germans before May 1945—arrived with swastikas on them (as had the uniforms that the volunteer pilots had been given). Guns manufactured for the Germans during World War II were now in the hands of Jews desperately seeking to inaugurate a new chapter of Jewish history.<sup>25</sup>

# Ironie Outside Help

It was not only weapons that arrived from abroad. At the start of the war, Israel had no military aircraft at all and very few pilots.<sup>26</sup> The American armed forces, on the other hand, had surplus planes by the hundreds after World War II, and Jewish veterans who had flown for the United States. Israel began a clandestine project of seeking out these pilots, many of whom were highly assimilated. Something about the Holocaust, however, awakened a sense of Jewish commitment in some of these men, and a few, in violation of American law, helped purchase American surplus planes and fly them to Europe and then to Israel. They were outfitted with used uniforms, which like some of the guns of those fighting on the ground had Nazi insignias—in this case, Luftwaffe patches—on them.

Germany had built factories for the manufacture of Messerschmitt warplanes in Czechoslovakia, which continued to produce the planes even after World War II ended. The American pilots flew some of these Messerschmitts to Israel to join the battle.

# Zionism/Israeli History



# Volunteers

- 3,500 volunteers from around the world
- Many not Jewish

Benny Morris notes that in addition to its military significance, this wave of volunteers helped Israelis understand that though they were outnumbered, they were not alone.<sup>30</sup> It was a dramatic change in Jewish fate from the Holocaust and boosted the morale of the country significantly.

# Bernadotte Presses On

- Urges Israel to let refugees return
- Relinquish the Negev, Jerusalem, the Haifa port, the airport
- Ignored the fact that Israel was winning
- Took away land given in partition
- But Arabs refused to negotiate until refugees returned
- Stern Gang assassinates Bernadotte
- Ben-Gurion get's broad powers to eliminate underground

# Israeli Military Pressure

- Generals want to conquer West Bank
- Why?
- Ben –Gurion vetoes:
  - Too many Arabs to control
  - Concerned about reaction of Arabs who remained in Israel
  - Concerned about U.S. reaction
  - 1% (6,000) of Israeli's had already been killed
- Armistice with Egypt (2/24/49), Lebanon 3/23/49), Jordan (4/3/49 & Syria (7/20/49)
- Green Line on map , but not marked on ground



# United Nations Partition Plan UN Resolution 181



# Rhodes Armistice Line





# Zionist Leaders



Would There Be A State of Israel  
If There Was No Holocaust?

# Arab State Consequences

- Refugees
- Coup in Lebanon
- Farouk overthrown in Egypt
- Monarchy in Iraq overthrown
- Jordan
  - King Abdullah assassinated
  - Took in most of Palestinian refugees
  - Civil war with PLO

# Arab Refugees

- 726,000 people
- 75% went to West Bank, Gaza and Jordan
- Jordan annexes West Bank in 1950 and declares all residents Jordanian citizens
- Per U.N. when refugees become citizens they lose their status as refugees.
- Palestinian refugees are only exception.

# U.N. Resolution 194

## December 11, 1948

- Israel in summer, 1948 decided not to allow any Arabs who fled, back into the country
- “... refugees wishing to return to their homes & live in peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so”
- Arab states voted against! Why?

# Double Exodus

- 500,000 to 600,000 Jewish Refugees from Arab countries.
- Almost equal to Arab refugees from Israel
- Difference
  - According to Jews Palestinians brought it on themselves
  - Jewish refugee problem disappeared quickly

# Immigrants arriving in Israel

<b>1948</b>	<b>101,819</b>
1949	239,076
1950	169,405
1951	173,901
1952	23,357
1953	10,347
1954	17,471

# Where did they come from?

Country	Number	%
Poland	108,184	14.7
Romania	121,885	16.6
Bulgaria	38,248	5.1
Turkey	35,483	4.8
Iraq	125,305	17.0
Yemen	49,182	6.7
Iran	27,748	3.8
Morocco	67,859	9.2
Libya	32,616	4.5



# Law of Return

- 1950 law originally had no definition for Jew
- It does not use Halakhic definition
- Can also be per 1970 amendment:
  - Child or grandchild of a Jew
  - Spouse of a Jew
  - Spouse of a child of a Jew
  - Spouse of a grandchild of a Jew
- A Jew who has voluntarily changed religion is not considered a Jew
- So creates a problem because Orthodox Israeli Rabbinate uses halakhic definition for marriage

# “Ingathering of Exiles”

- Operation Magic Carpet-Yemen
- Operation Ezra & Nehemiah-Iraq
- Entire Bulgarian Jewish Population emigrated to Israel

# Immigration Absorption Issues

- Housing
  - Houses of Arab refugees
  - Tents, huts
  - New low standard
- Reception camps
  - Long term for socially maladroits
  - Crime
- Directed immigrants to agricultural communities
  - Some immigrants associated farming with Arabs
  - Decentralizing population was military objective

# Immigration Absorption Issues-2

- Discrimination
  - Mizrachi Jews who were poor and looked down upon (cultural elitism)
  - New communities had unwritten segregation rules
  - Resulted in most immigrants from Arab countries voting against Mapai (Labor)
  - Ehud Barak (P.M. in 1990's) publicly apologizes to Mizrachi
- Army acted as a unifying force
- And free compulsory education for all including Arabs by 1949

## Even Ben Gurion Discriminates

The dispersions that are being terminated [that is, entire communities, such as the Bulgarian and Iraqi Jews, that were liquidated through immigration to Israel] and which are gathering in Israel still do not constitute a people, but a motley crowd, human dust lacking language, education, roots, tradition or national dreams. . . . Turning this human dust into a civilized, independent nation with a vision . . . is no easy task, and its difficulties are no less than those of economic absorption.<sup>23</sup>

# First Election

## January 25, 1949

- Intended to draft constitution
- But Orthodox Parties said-
  - “only laws of Torah shall apply”
- But would limit Ben-Gurion’s freedom by limiting government’s powers
- And Menachem Begin felt it would give Ben-Gurion too much power
- And Israeli ‘s afraid of Gov’t because of British and European gov’t discrimination
- But would define boundaries of State

# Parliament

- Knesset had proportional representation
- Pluses & Minuses
  - More practical because of population dispersal during war
  - This expedient became norm
  - But no grass roots representation
  - Ben-Gurion- “good only for negative opposition without responsibility”

# Leaders

- David Ben-Gurion forms coalition government
  - Prime minister May 14,1948-June26,1954
  - November 3,1955- June 26,1963
- Chaim Weizman elected president by Knesset
  - February 17,1949- November 9,1952 (died in office)
  - Powerless, Resentful
- “the constitutional decision to make the president powerless was not taken on its merits but as a precaution against an otherwise inevitable clash between two great and completely incompatible personalities...” Richard Crossman, Labor M.P. U.K.



# Moshe Sharett

- First Foreign Minister
- Prime Minister
  - June, 1954-November, 1955
- Statesman who attempted to resolve issues by erudition & reasoning compared to Ben-Gurion's charismatic realpolitic approach



# Political Parties

- Mapai
  - Ben-Gurion's party.
  - In future mergers becomes Labor
- Mapam
  - Left of Mapai
  - Advocates close ties with Soviet Union
- Herut
  - Begin's party
  - Supported free market policies
  - Advocated conquest of West Bank & Jordan
- Religious Parties –didn't care about these issues

# Economic Issues

- Early rationing began to be phased out in February, 1952
- Foreign exchange controls varied by economic sector
- U.S. began providing economic assistance in 1952
- 30 development towns around a single labor intensive enterprise.  
Why?
- Kibbutzim-self contained
  - Discriminated against Jews from Arab countries
  - Only 3.63% of population by 1960

# German Reparations

- Israel asked for \$1.5 billion
- Begin (and others) opposed
  - “ultimate abomination”
  - “eternal shame”
  - Was it political or principal?
- Riots
- Knesset votes 61 to 50 to accept
- West Germany provided \$750 million worth of goods over 12-14 years
- \$107 million for world Jewry, most of which stayed in Israel

# German Reparations-2

- Restitution payments of \$9 billion
- Marked first time Jewish victims received money from an oppressing nation

# Religion in Israel

- Mapai (Labor) formed coalition with religious parties
- Religious parties agreed to Mapai general program
- It seemed (to Mapai) a small price to pay

# Religion in Israel

## Restrictions

- No clear separation of church and state
- Marriage, divorce, burial all regulated by religious institutions
- On Shabbat & Jewish Holy days operations of businesses, entertainment, & public services severely restricted if not totally eliminated
- Military conscription-exemption of yeshiva students created because dearth of Talmudic students due to Holocaust

Should Israel have been established as a secular State like the U.S.?



# Kastner Trial

- Criminal libel suit
- Political trial
  - Kastner -Knessett member of Mapai
  - Gruenwald-religious party member
  - Defense attorney-Herut party member
  - German reparations were being discussed
- Israeli identity



# Kastner Trial

- 1944-Israel Kastner get's agreement from Eichmann to save 1,865 Hungarian Jews
- 1952 accused of being a Nazi collaborator
- A.G. of Israel brings criminal libel suit
- A.G. loses in 1955.
- Mishandling of affair by Sharett's government becomes a factor leading to it's downfall
- Wins on appeal, but to late to save Sharett

# Kastner Trial Corrections

- Kastner was assassinated prior to Supreme Court reversal -he did not die a natural death
- Kastner saved more Jews than any other single Jew-Irene Sendler was not Jewish

# Kastner Trial

## Israeli Identity

- Diaspora Jews were “others”
- “New” Jews in Israel
- Kastner was an “old” Jew – a collaborator
- “Lambs to the slaughter”
- Holocaust was the victims fault
- Can you put yourself in another’s shoes?
- First time these issues publicly discussed by the entire Israeli community

# Nathan Alterman

“And on Memorial Day said the  
fighters and the  
rebels:/ don’t put us on a  
pedestal to be distinguished  
from the Diaspora with a strong  
light/in this hour of memory we  
leave the pedestal/ to mingle  
again in the darkness with the  
people of Israel”



# Foreign Affairs

- Start of Cold War Israel remained neutral
  - To preserve USSR U.N. support
  - Hoped Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia would be allowed to emigrate
  - Supported Communist China's membership in U.N.
  - Abandoned Neutral position with Korean War
- Early 1950's Israel denied military assistance from U.S. (even though supplying it to Arab countries)
- November, 1949 Australia proposes that Jerusalem be given international status
  - Ben-Gurion moves capital to West Jerusalem
- May, 1952 U.S. pressures Israel to limit Jewish immigration so Arabs can return

# Ben Gurion's World View

- Israel alone is responsible for its existence
- Opinions of others meant little
- Distinction between Israel and world Jewry on one hand and every one else
- Why?
- Resulted in Ben-Gurionism or activism

# Activism

- Immediate retaliation
- Free fire policy
- Arab governments were responsible
- Could not rely on U.N. for security
- Iron wall policy



# Sharett's Moderation Policy

- No objection to military retaliation in principle
- Selective use of force
- Wanted more consideration of political consequences
- More sensitive to Arab feelings & wanted to create a climate that would favor peaceful coexistence in the Middle East
- Feared frequent & excessive use of force would set back prospects of reconciliation

# Why the differences?

- Ben Gurion

- Impulsive, impetuous & acts on intuition, courageous
- Little knowledge of Arab history & culture. No empathy
- Iron Wall
- “Our future does not depend on what the Gentiles say, but what the Jews do”

- Sharett

- Quiet, reserved careful, cautious
- Spent part of his childhood in Arab villages. Fluent in Arabic. Well versed in Arab history, culture & politics
- Acknowledged existence of wall, but wanted to limit it
- International opinion has a bearing on Israel’s security

# Arab Infiltration

- 1948-9: 50,000 Arabs illegally settle in deserted Arab villages
- What is concern?
- Attacks in Israel are continuous
- Reprisal's go awry followed by cover ups
  - Wadi Arava affair-100 Arabs driven to desert without water
  - Pack rapes of Arab women
  - Killing of women & children

# Arab Infiltration-2

- ▣ 1953 - Unit 101 under Ariel Sharon formed for purpose of taking reprisals.
  - ▣ 10/53-Qiba village massacre-69 civilians killed; 2/3 of which were women & children
  - ▣ 2/55-Operation Black Arrow-attack on Egyptian military base in Gaza-37 killed, 31 wounded at cost of 8 Israeli's
- ▣ 1955 Egypt forms "Fedayeem"
  - Official detachment of armed infiltrators from Gaza National guard
  - "Those who sacrifice themselves"
  - Recruited ex-Nazis for training

“According to best the best available estimate during the 1949-56 period as a whole, 90% or more of all infiltrations were motivated by social and economic concerns”

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*

“Unrestrained infiltration presented Israel with an existential threat”

Leslie Stein *The Making of Modern Israel*

# Effectiveness of Reprisals is Contentious

- Exacerbates international hostility toward Israel
- Dayan advocates more devastating reprisals so as to precipitate a full scale war (1955)
- Ben Gurion has him draw plans
- Meir replaces Sharett as Foreign Minister in 1956 because of disagreements over defense policy

# Ministers

Prime Ministers	Defense Ministers	Foreign Ministers
David Ben-Gurion 5/48-1/54	David Ben-Gurion 5/48-1/54	Moshe Sharett 5/48-6/56
Moshe Sharett 1/54-11/55	Pinchas Lavon 1/54-2/55	
David Ben- Gurion 11/55-6/63	David Ben-Gurion 2/55-6/63	Golda Meir 6/56-1/56

- Ben-Gurion takes leave of absence 7/53
- Appoints:
  - Sharett as Acting P.M. in addition to Foreign Minister
  - Lavon as Defense Minister
  - Dayan as IDF Chief of Staff
- Formerly retires (at least temporarily) 1/54
- Comes out of retirement to become Defense Minister 2/55



# Moshe Dayan



# Moshe Dayan

## Reprisal Policy

- Prior to appointment as Chief of Staff reprisals were carried out in context of day to day to day security
- After his appointment objective is:
  - Deterrence
  - Demonstrate Israel's military superiority
  - Dampen Arab hopes for destroying Israel
- “Harassing the village, including women, children and elderly people , he said, ‘is the only method that proved itself effective, not justified or moral, but effective, when Arabs lay mines on our side.’”- Shlaim, The Iron Wall

# Moshe Dayan

- 2<sup>nd</sup> child born in first Kibbutz, Degania, 1915
- Lost his eye in combined Australian-Palmach- Arab task force invading French Vichy occupied Syria-Lebanon Area 6/7/41
- Military controversies:
  - As commander of 89<sup>th</sup> Battalion's Armoured Brigade in 1948
    - accused of “poaching volunteers” from other commands
    - Accused of premature withdrawal from captured village by Chief of Staff
    - Court martialed in 1949 for disobeying orders and demoted

# Moshe Dayan- Positions

- 1948 Military Commander of Jerusalem
- 1949 Commander of Southern Command
- 1952 Commander of Northern Command
- 1955 Chief of Staff
- 1959 -1964 Agriculture Minister
- 1967-1974 Defense Minister
- 1977-1979 Foreign Minister

# Moshe Dayan

- “He would wake up with 100 ideas. Of them 95 were dangerous; three were bad, the remaining 2, however, were brilliant.

Ariel Sharon about Moshe Dayan

- Womanizer, whose brilliance and charismatic character were combined with cynicism and lack of restraint.

# Regional Rivalries

- There was no unified Arab policy nor individual Arab State policy toward Israel except –
  - Israel should not exist
- Initial efforts to unite Arab countries of “fertile crescent” by the 2 Hashemite kingdoms
  - Jordan & Iraq
  - To include Syria & Lebanon
  - Egypt & Saudi Arabia oppose
- Syria had 3 coups in 1949 followed by Baath Party election in 1954

# Negotiations

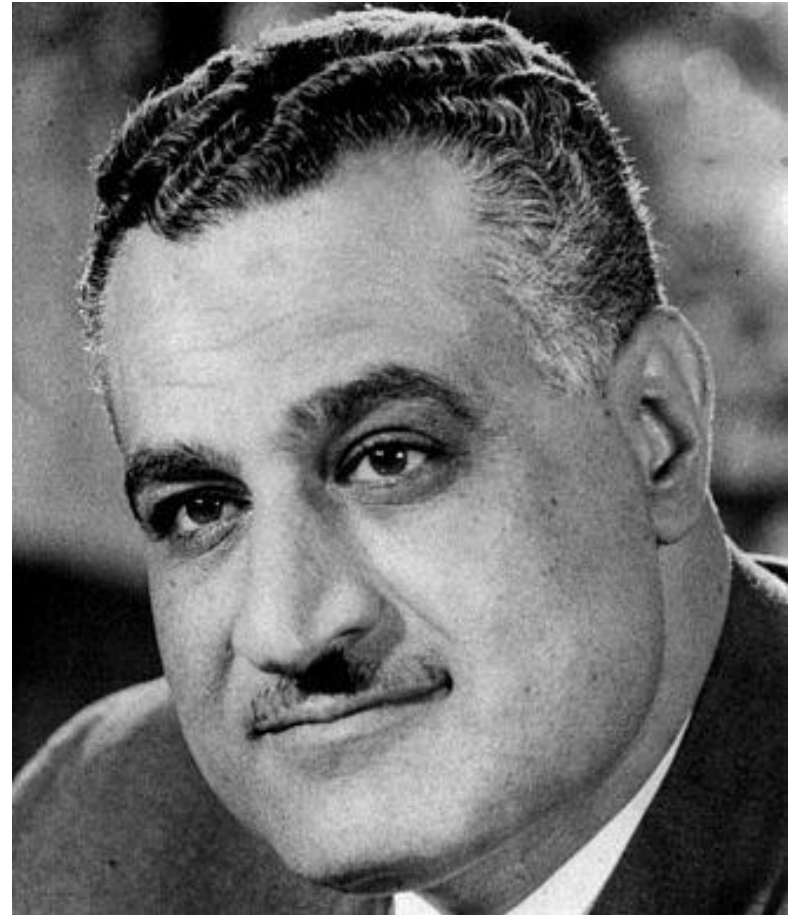
- ▣ Secretly, with King Abdullah of Jordan, but when became public, assassinated in 1951
- ▣ Back channel negotiations with Egypt from 1952 (after coup) to 2/55 (after Gaza raid)
- ▣ 11/52-5/53 – Negotiations with Syria when pro-American government took over in Syria
- ▣ Shlaim claims negotiations with either country would not have succeeded because of Ben-Gurion's intransigence
- ▣ 6/54-Water agreement brokered by Americans
  - ▣ Arab States refuse to sign because will not recognize Israel, but
  - ▣ Agree to it verbally and abide by it.





# Gamal Abdel Nasser

- 1952 overthrows Farouk
- 1953 Deputy Prime Minister
- 1956 President



# Egypt

- Iran & Egypt contentiousness over pan-Arab hegemony
- Nasser faces challenges from Muslim Brotherhood
- 1954-Operation Susannah
- 1955- Israeli raid on Gaza
- 1955-Baghdad Pact created
- 1955- Russia/Czechoslovakia become arms supplier to Egypt
- 1955-Egyptian/Syrian defense pact
- 1955-Project Alpha
- 1955-Operation Kinneret
- 
- 
- 1956-10 of 16 Egyptian brigades positioned in Sinai

# Operation Susannah

- Attempted sabotage of American & British owned civilian targets in Egypt by Israeli Military Intelligence in 1954. Why?
- U.S. policy supporting Egyptian nationalism was forcing U.K. withdrawal from Suez
- Operation Susannah objective was to undermine confidence in Egyptian regime's ability to protect western interests & attribute blame to Muslim Brotherhood and/or communists which in turn would encourage U.K. to stay

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  - 2 operatives hanged
  - 6 sentenced to long prison terms
  - 1 tortured
  - 6 acquitted
- Head of operation escaped
- Resulted in Lavon Affair in 1960
- Ben Gurion returns as defense minister

# Gaza Raid

- February 28, 1955
- Ben-Gurion had just returned to become Defense minister
- 37 Egyptian soldiers killed, 31 wounded
- Ostensibly a retaliatory raid
- Two historians claim it was during a period of relative calm and was to reassure Israeli public that once more a firm hand was at the helm
- Ben Gurion becomes Prime Minister in November

Jewish migration

historically, typical cycle of violence, persecution  
to tolerance and relative calm

late 19th and early 20th century thousands  
migrated to Israel

1925 under Pahlavi Dynasty conditions of Jewish  
change

mass conversions to Islam prohibited

accepted Jewish uncleanness eliminated

could hold government jobs

others followed

Shah pro-Nazi pro Jewish

but anti-Jewish propaganda

# Iranian Jewish History-2

- 150,000 Jews lived in Iran prior to 1948
  - 39,000 emigrated to Israel 1948-1958
  - Another 30,000 from 1958-1978
- Post 1953 with new Shah became most prosperous period for Iranian Jews
- In 1979 80,000 -100,000 Jews lived in Iran
- Kohmeni issues fatwa stating Jews are to be protected

# Iranian Jews Current Status

- 2011 census-8,756
- Officially recognized as a minority group
- Allowed 1 seat in Parliament
- 11 synagogues (most with Hebrew schools)
- Why do they stay?
  - Allowed to live a comfortable Jewish life; or
  - Most are elderly and find it difficult to travel



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- Washington Post 10/2/13
  - 30,000 Jews live in Iran
  - Quotes State Department- “hostile environment for the Jewish community,” but barring “some exceptions, there was little government restriction of, or interference with, Jewish religious practice. However, the Jewish community experienced official discrimination.”
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- 11/19/13 – Haaretz runs an article under AP byline “Iranian Jews rally in Support of Nations Nuclear Program”
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# U.S. Policy

- Dulles & Eisenhower
  - Containment
  - Regional Alliances
- Recognize no treaty with Arab States will be effective without Egypt
  - Egypt refuses to allow U.S. Military Bases
  - Negotiating with British re: Suez
  - U.S. develop Northern Tier Concept
- 1952 - Turkey admitted to NATO
- 1953- Engineered Coup in Iran
- 1954- Treaty with Pakistan

# Baghdad Pact

- Britain resented U.S.
- Britain sponsored- Iraq, Turkey, Iran & Pakistan
- Nasser opposed
- Why?

# Project Alpha

## October, 1954- March, 1956

- U.S.-U.K. understanding
- Peace would require Israel to give up Negev
- Some Arab refugees would return to Israel
  - Most would resettle in Arab States
  - To be Financed by U.S.
- Withdraw to somewhere between armistice lines and U.N. Partition Plan
- Egypt would remove restrictions on Israeli use of Suez Canal
- Israel would get Gaza
- Arab states would accept Israel's "right to exist" not peace

# Project Alpha Fails

- Why?
- Nasser resents linkage of promised aid to proposal's acceptance
- Ben-Gurion (who has succeeded Sharett) doesn't want to:
  - Cede territory
  - Absorb any Arab refugees
  - Have secret talks with Nasser (Nasser refuses public talks)
- Egypt-Czech arms deal announced September, 1955
- Ben Gurion & Dayan had requested cabinet approval for invasion December, 1955

# Israel Response to Egypt

- 11/55-Requests arms from U.S. & U.K.-Rejected. Why?
- Furnishing Israel with arms will push Arabs into Soviet camp
- But, presumably Dulles encourages Canada & France to supply arms according to Shlaim
- 6/56- France agrees to supply arms – Why?
- Wants an ally against Nasser who is supporting Algerian rebels
- Israel's military superiority now guaranteed by French.

# Operation Kinneret

## December, 1955

- 3 pronged attack on Syrian positions
- 49 Syrians killed, 30 taken prisoner
- Ostensibly retaliatory raid for Syrians shooting at Israeli fishing boats
  - Stein says Syria violated armistice agreement 108 times
  - Shlaim says, unprovoked, didn't fire on Israeli fishing boats just on patrol boats when came to close
- Ben-Gurion authorized, but even he surprised at casualties



# Operation Kinneret

## Consequences

- U.N. Security Council condemns
- U.S. refuses to give Israel arms. Just an excuse?
- Nasser fails to come to aid of Syria pursuant to mutual defense pact of 10/55
- Dayan believes it shows IDF strength
- Egyptian Army Gaza commander calls for Fedayeen to escalate and prepares for invasion of Israel

# Egypt Nationalizes Suez Canal

## July 26, 1956

- U.S. refused to fund Aswan Dam project
- Initially inclined to do so
- But objected to Egypt
  - Flirting with U.S.S.R.
  - Recognizing Communist China
  - Antagonism to Baghdad Pact
  - Attempting to undermine Iraqi and Jordanian regimes

# Was Nationalization Legal?

- Egypt offered full compensation
- Canal entirely within Egyptian territory
- Entitled to full possession in 1968
- Shlaim & Stein believe it was legal, but gave Britain, France & Israel the excuse they wanted

# Musketeer Campaign

- British P.M. (Eden) and French F.M. (Pineau) meet day after nationalization
- “Israel is not a party and will not be a party to exploit Suez imbroglio for its own ends”
  - Britain’s initial position according to Stein
- BUT—French D.M. (Bourges-Maunoury) meets with Israel Director General of Defense Ministry (Peres) about Israeli Sinai invasion plans
- Develop plan that Britain eventually buys into

# Sevres Accords

- Israel to attack Sinai
- Britain & France to come in within 36 hours to “protect Suez”
- Israel didn’t trust Britain. Why?
- Mossad had found that
  - MI6 had agreed to provide Egypt with secret Israeli military info
  - British High Command had developed war plans against Israel

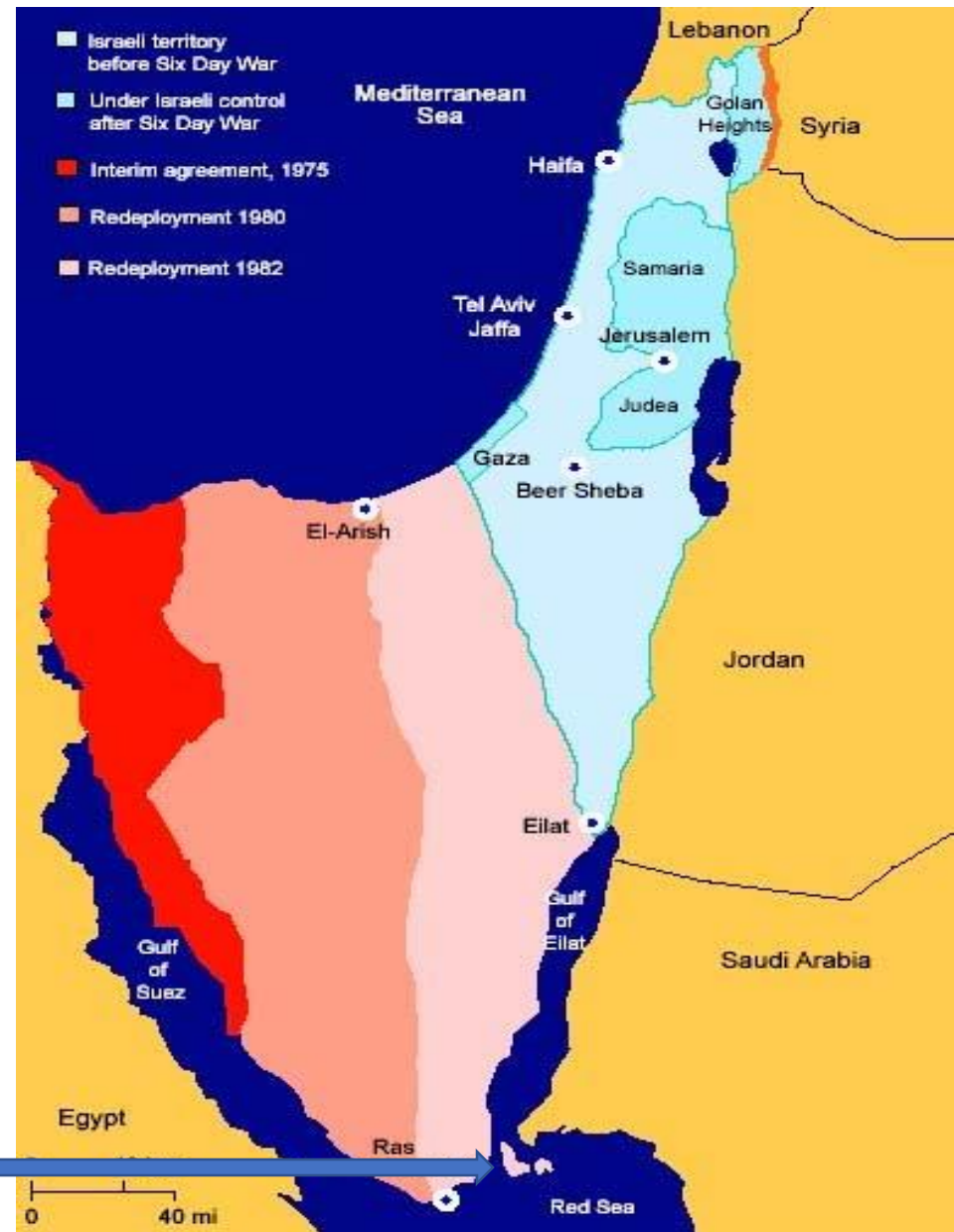
# Ben-Gurion's Presentation at Sevres

- Jordan divided between Iraq & Israel
- Palestinian refugees would settle on Jordan River east bank (to become Iraqi territory)
- West bank attached to Israel as semi-autonomous region
- Israel takes southern Lebanon, with remainder of Lebanon being a Maronite Christian state
- Suez internationalized
- Straits of Tiran under Israeli control
- Nasser replaced by pro-western leader

# Israeli Operational & Political Objectives

- Operational-
  - Defeat Egyptian Army
  - Open Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping
  - Stop Fedayeen attacks across Israel's southern border
- Political- (Ben-Gurion's fantastic plan)
  - Nasser overthrow
  - New political order in Middle East
  - Expansion of Israeli borders

## Straits of Tiran





# Ben Gurion Motivations

- Sooner or later hostilities would break out
- Unbridgeable gap of national, social & moral values
- Different values placed on human life
- Source of Arab blood lust was Islam
- What do you think?

# U.S. Involvement

- “...prior to the Suez crisis the NSA had broken several British & Israeli codes and was passing select details to Nasser.”
- CIA was in constant contact with Egyptian authorities, which “...meant that the Dulles brothers knew what each of the players in the Suez crisis was going to do”
- Lead Britain to believe U.S. would support.
  - Loftus, The Secret War Against the Jews.

# Sinai Campaign

## Operation Kadesh

- 10/27/56- Mobilization to which Eisenhower objects
- 10/29/56 – Israel attacks
- Britain & France issue ultimatum for cease fire to which Israel acquiesces, but Egypt does not
- But instead of bombing within 36 hours they delay until 48, which upsets Dayan
- Anglo French forces land in Port Said

# World Response

- Russia threatens Great Britain & France with nuclear war
- U.S. threatens Britain
  - With toppling pound
  - Withholding financial aid
- U.N. demands withdrawal of all troops
- Israel stalls and U.S threatens to-
  - Deprive Israel of all aid
  - Have it expelled from U.N.
  - Enforce U.N. sanctions

# Accomplishments of Sinai Campaign

- Prevented Arab attack. Egyptian Army defeated, but not destroyed
- Opens Straits of Tiran
- Captured weaponry (100 tanks, etc.)
- Captured fuel to meet civilian needs for a year
- From 1957 to 1967 not a single Egyptian (or Fedayeen) violation of armistice agreement
- Sinai & Gaza demilitarized
- Nasser realizes IDF formidable opponent
- Israel recognizes benefit of tank warfare
- Western powers not so adamant to adjust Israeli borders to favor Arabs (Project Alpha)
- But “fantastic” plan not realized

# Suez-Effect on U.S.

- Galling to Dulles to agree with U.S.S.R at U.N.
- “...prevented Dulles from using Hungarian crisis to prove the immorality of communism and the need for all nations to rely on the West”
  - Smith, Palestine & the Arab – Israeli Conflict
- Eisenhower Doctrine developed to fill the existing vacuum in the Middle East, with the loss of British & French prestige

# Suez-Effect on Egypt

- Even though defeated Nasser prestige enhanced
- “It seemed to prove Nasser’s contention that non-alignment and rejection of Western arms agreement were best means to retain Arab freedom” Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict
- Nasser thought would get help from U.S., but
  - U.S. froze Egyptian funds
  - Halted food shipments
  - Resulting in Nasser turning to Moscow.

# Tom Friedman 2/18/14

Boycott Israeli academics will have a bad impact on Prof. Hossam Haick. He's an Arab-Israeli who "will teach the first ever massive open online course, or MOOC, on nanotechnology in Arabic" from the Technion.

I know what some readers are thinking: nice bit of Israeli propaganda, now could you please go back to writing about Israel's ugly West Bank occupation. No. **This story is a useful reminder that Israel is a country, not just a conflict**, and, as a country, it's still a work in progress. It has its lows, like the occupation and economic discrimination against Israeli Arabs, and its highs, like the collaboration between Haick and the Technion, which is providing a tool for those in the Arabic-speaking world eager to grasp the new technologies reshaping the global economy. **Those, like members of the B.D.S. — boycott, divestiture, sanctions — movement who treat Israel as if it is only the sum of how it deals with the West Bank and therefore deserves to be delegitimized as a state, would do well to reflect on some of these complexities**



# Kfar Kassem Massacre

## October 29, 1956

- Arab village near Jordanian border
- Put under early curfew before villagers returned from work
- “I don’t want any sentiment, I don’t want any arrests, may God have mercy on them”
  - IDF Brigade Commander Shadmi
- 49 villagers including 17 women and children killed for curfew violation
- Ben-Gurion & Knesset condemns after attempted cover up exposed
- Religious leaders say nothing
- No compensation

# Kafar Kasseem Trial

## January 15, 1957

- 11 members of Border Police found guilty of following a murderous, illegal order, who were primarily:
  - Mizrhaim, Druze & Bedoin
  - Held in low esteem
- Maj. Melinki, IDF battalion commander found guilty of giving the order to kill anyone who remained outside in violation of the curfew
- General Shadmi found guilty of giving the curfew order beyond his authority and fined one cent

# Kafar Kassem Trial

## Why Important?

- It's a political trial; which is usually seen as:
  - Repression of an adversary
  - Legitimization of public opinion
- It can be a transformative trial that changes
  - collective memory, and
  - the narrative of the collective identity
- May have a lasting effect or just symbolic
- It is the first attempt to
  - confront an atrocity committed by Israelis;
  - address inconsistencies of application of Declaration of Independence

# Kafar Kassem Trial

## Israeli Declaration of Independence

- “... it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex...”
- “...to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve the peace and participate in the development of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship...”

# Prior Situations

- There was an implied understanding that military actions fell outside of the courts jurisdiction
  - Der Yassim-1948
  - Qiba-1953
- Israeli Arabs who brought cases to allow them to return to Israel as citizens required a finding of ***forced*** deportation-
  - So when IDF executes an act of retaliation against an Arab village when some are killed and others leave; those who left were deemed to have ***chosen*** to leave

# Kafar Kassem Trial

- Arab survivors , in effect, represented by the prosecutor, but still seen as “the other”
- Border police defendants described killing as a
  - “task”
  - “to do in the most efficient method”
  - Examples of language of dehumanization
- Remind you of anything?
- Exactly how Nazis described killing Jews!!!

# Black Flag Test

The hallmark of manifest illegality is that it must wave like a black flag over the given order, a warning that says: “forbidden!” Not formal illegality, obscure or partially obscure, not illegality that can be discerned only by legal scholars, is important here, but rather, the clear and obvious violation of law. . . . Illegality that pierces the eye and revolts the heart, if the eye is not blind and the heart is not impenetrable or corrupt—this is the measure of manifest illegality needed to override the soldier’s duty to obey and to impose on him criminal liability for his action.<sup>6</sup>

# Kafar Kassem Trial Results

- Judges objective was to:
  - integrate victimization of Arab Israeli's into Israel's collective memory, and
  - change attitude to Israeli Arabs so they will be treated as equal citizens.
- Presented Israeli democracy in a positive light-as a country in which the army is fully accountable for its crimes
- Did not change Jewish–Israeli attitudes to Arab Israeli's
- Defendants seen as a political sacrifice
- Arab-Israelis only remember Shadim's one cent fine
- Arab villages remained under military control until 1966



# Comparison to Other Political/Transformative Trials

- Kastner Trial
  - Transformative because it began the discussion on roles in the Holocaust
  - Political because defendant's lawyer tried to equate Mapai Party as collaborators and Herut as uprising leaders
- Eichmann Trial
  - Transformative in that it tells the Jewish story to the world
  - Political in that it demonstrates Israeli resolve .
- Halevi is lead judge in all 3 trials

# Operation Susannah

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- Ben Gurion returns as defense minister

# Lavon Affair

- Moshe Sharett -Prime Minister
- Pinchas Lavon -Defense Minister
- Shimon Peres- Secretary  
General of Defense Ministry
- Bemjamin Gibli -Military  
Intelligence Director
- Avri Elad-Operations Head



# Lavon Affair – First Inquiry 1955

- Lavon blames Peres & Gibli
- Sharett sides with Peres & Gibli
- Lavon resigns
- Sharett who did not know of operation resigns
- Ben-Gurion takes over as Prime Minister

# Lavon Affair- Second (Cohn) Inquiry – April, 1960

- When Elad was being tried for holding secret documents it appeared that Givli had ordered documents to be doctored implicating Lavon
- And Elad perjured himself in prior inquiry
- Elad Jailed for 10 years for selling documents to Egyptians
- In 1980 Mossad reveals Elad was Egyptian double agent who caused the capture of the Operations Susannah operatives
- Ben Gurion forms Cohen Commission to determine if documents were forged
- But Lavon feels he was not vindicated

# Lavon Affair

- Lavon goes to Knesset Foreign Affairs & Security Committee
- Lavon feeds press “off the record” info that he was scapegoat to protect Ben Gurion protégés Dayan & Peres
- Lavon implies defense ministry incompetent
- New committee formed
- Knesset investigation stopped

# Lavon Affair

## New Committee

- Intention was to bury affair
- Givli not questioned, but his secretary says he ordered her to alter documents implicating Dayan
- Committee exonerates Lavon; he didn't issue order
- Givli resigns
- Ben Gurion doesn't accept and tries to destroy Lavon



# Lavon Affair-Legacy

- Israel loses credibility with U.S. & U.K.
- Internal political turmoil

# Ben Gurion Resigns 1963

- Lavon Affair
- Clashed with Meir over nuclear reactor
- Crossed swords with Israel Harel, Mossad head, that Meir supported
- Viewed as too friendly to West Germany
- Berated Begin's party (Herut) as preparing groundwork for fascist dictatorship because Herut "glorified and praised Hitler ". Outburst embarrassed other party leaders

# Israel Reaches Out to the Diaspora

## New York Times 3/15/14

- We in Israel are more tribal and becoming more so every year. In America, Jews are more secular and democratic.”
- “...searching for that elusive thing that combines peoplehood, nation, religion, culture and shared history.”
- “American Jews want a more open and pluralistic Israel, with attention to minority rights for Arabs and acceptance of different forms of Judaism. Like us, they are trying to define the rights of non-Jews and how to deal with the Jewish symbols of the state.”

# Economy

- Increase in income inequality 1954-1958
- Devaluation
- Wages indexed to inflation
- Trade deficit & balance of payments deteriorates due to-
  - Military spending
  - Wage increases exceed productivity increases
- Opened Israel up to foreign firms
  - Hurt development towns & immigrants
  - Emigration to U.S. & Canada

# Library Renovations

- <http://www.northbrook.info/renovations>

# Public Awareness of Holocaust

- Israel assumes role of representing Jewry at large & commemorating its salient historic events
- 1957 Yad Vashem
- 1959 Yom Hashoah



# What's in a name?

- **"And to them will I give in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name (a "yad vashem")... that shall not be cut off."  
(Isaiah, chapter 56, verse 5)**

**This conveys the idea of establishing a national depository for the names of the Jewish victims who have no one to carry on their name after death.**

# Who is a survivor?

- The Museum honors as a survivor any person who was displaced, persecuted, and/or discriminated against by the racial, religious, ethnic, social, and/or political policies of the Nazis and their allies between 1933 and 1945. In addition to former inmates of concentration camps and ghettos, this also includes refugees and people in hiding.
  - U.S. Holocaust Museum web site



# Inter Ethnic Jewish Tensions

- Mizrachim (Jews from Muslim majority countries) worse off than Ashkenazi Jews.
- Riots in 1959
- Results in increased expenditures for
  - Housing
  - Increased grants to large families
  - More delegates to political parties
- That disparity narrows in the 1960's

# Israel's Arab Minority

- Seen as 5<sup>th</sup> column
- Initially military rule over 4 Arab regions
  - Normal laws suspended
  - No civil trials
  - Internal travel permits required
  - Poor funding of civilian infrastructure
  - Poor schools
- Military rule over Arab areas did not end until 1966

# Israel's Arab Minority-2

- Per Capita agriculture output dropped by 20% due to
  - Failure to adopt modern methods
  - Land inheritance traditions that had land divided equally among heirs
  - Irrigation discrimination
  - Government leases for 1 year to Arabs compared to 49 years for Jews
- Lower welfare payments to indigent Arabs
- Smaller housing subsidies
- By 1960's these conditions improved, but economic conditions for Arabs not nearly as good as for Jews

# Water

- 1955 U.S. mediates agreement to allow Israel to use 34% of Jordan River, which Arab League rejects
- Jordan & Israel reach unwritten understanding on same terms and in 1958
  - Israel diverts water from Lake Kinneret (Galilee)
  - Jordan initiates a project using water from the Yarmuk River
- Arabs decide that instead of attacking Israel they will deprive it of water
- 1965 Israel attacks Syrian excavating equipment

# Israel 1957

- After Suez Ben-Gurion's power so great that his coalition partners used to joke that he submitted proposals to the cabinet only when he wanted them defeated
- Constant tension between
  - Golda Meir-Foreign Minister
  - Shimon Peres Deputy Defense Minister



# Israel 1957

- Main lesson Ben Gurion learned from Suez was that Israel could not expand
- Alternative was to maintain status quo by equipping IDF with most advanced weapons to keep qualitative superiority
- Ben Gurion afraid U.S.S.R would arm radical regimes
- U.S. Did not supply arms to Israel! Why not?
  - Thought Israel stronger than Arabs
  - Wanted Arab support for U.S.S.R containment
  - OIL!!!!

# Israel 1957

- Israel application to NATO rejected at U.S. insistence
- Britain agrees to sell tanks, armored troop carriers & submarines, but wants full payment
- France exclusive arms supplier
- Israel turns to Germany for military assistance & economic aid. Tries to cultivate friendship for a rainy day.

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# Syria

- In 1956 and 1957 CIA attempts to engineer coups that fail
- Syrian government becomes Baathist
- Joins Nasser in verbally attacking Iraq's government as being pro-western
- U.S. says Syria becoming pro-communist
- Eisenhower doctrine articulated
- U.S. joins Baghdad pact

# Syria

- Lebanese government of Camille Chamoun , Iraqi government of Nuri-Al Said and Jordanian government of King Huessin of Jordan approve Eisenhower doctrine. Why?
- Syria driven into U.S.S.R. camp
- Nasser symbolically moves troops into Syria
- Arms deal between Syria and Russia

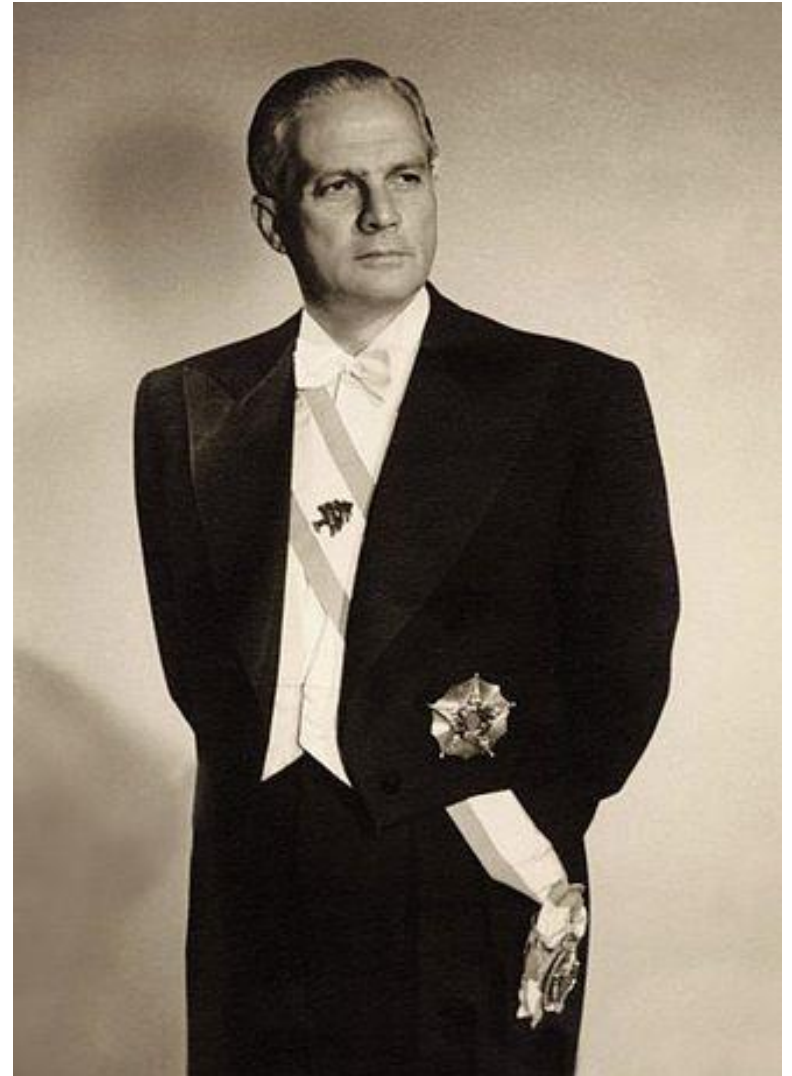
# United Arab Republic

February 1 1958-September 1, 1961

- Syrian Baathists (Michel Aflaq) believes that unity is Arab destiny
- Egypt has to be included. Why?
- Nasser initially resists, but decides to control Syrian politics while trumpeting the union as symbolic of Arab aspirations
- Nasser Doctrine of 3 circles
  - Arab
  - Islamic
  - African
- Nasser's refusal to share power will create a legacy of distrust that contributes to the outbreak of the 1967 Six Day War

# Lebanon

- Initially an Island of stability
- 1926 constitution split power among various factions, but insured Christian Maronite rule
- 1957 Chamoun wants to amend constitution for more power





# Lebanon

- Nasser Funds Lebanese opposition to Chamoun
- U.S. backs Chamoun
- 1958 Civil War
- Chamoun steps down
- General Fuad Shibab takes over
- But Hashemite king in Iraq overthrown
- U.S. sends troops
- Upsets Nasser
- Egypt & U.S.S.R. agree on Aswan Dam project

# 1958 Crisis

- Lebanon civil war in addition to Iraqi coup threatened to unravel whole system of Western [control over Middle East OIL](#)
- In addition to U.S. sending troops to Lebanon; because Jordan felt threatened, Britain sent troops to Amman from Cyprus
- Israel also concerned about Jordan and when Britain requests permission to use Israeli airspace, Israel agrees

# In Exchange for Overflight Rights Israel Wants:

- And got British restrictions on supplying arms to Israel lifted
- And U.S. to begin supplying some offensive weapons to Israel, but
- No formal defense guarantee from Britain or U.S.
- No close political and military partnership
- No U.S. support of Alliance of the Periphery

# Alliance of the Periphery

- Primarily with Iran, Turkey & Ethiopia
- Objectives-
  - Preserve status quo
  - Prevent subversion
  - Deterrence
  - Reduce isolation
  - Add to international influence
- Informal consisting of secret contacts

# Alliance of the Periphery

- Driving forces were first 2 Mossad Directors
- Objective was that Israel should be a major intelligence force in regional & international politics so as to persuade western powers that Israel was a strategic asset



• Reuven Shiloah



• Isser Harel

# Alliance of the Periphery

- Israel advised them on:
  - Intelligence services
  - Security services
  - IDF provides- advice, equipment & training
  - Technical assistance for agriculture, water & medical
- In opposition to Nasser's doctrine of 3 circles
- Prevented assassinations

# Alliance of the Periphery

- Iran crown jewel of alliance because
  - Historical animosity to Arab world
  - Supplies oil to Israel
- SAVAK & Mossad had close ties
- Shah thought Israel had influence in Washington.
  - Sound familiar?
  - 1959 formal agreement between Iran on military & intelligence matters

# Alliance of the Periphery

- Trident- cooperation between Turkish National Security Service , SAVAK & Mossad
- Iran and Turkey part of U.S. Northern Tier Policy
- Ethiopia was afraid of Egypt
- Other black African countries cultivated by Israel: Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo and Zaire.
- Israel viewed as a small & young state untainted by colonialism



## Alliance of the Periphery

- Meir convinces U.S. to fund part of costs on basis of getting close to African intelligence sources, thus serving U.S. interests
- “It contributed to the feeling that we are a great power. This feeling began with the Sinai Campaign, which put Israel on the map as the strongest force in the region. Now we had contacts from Iran to Ethiopia not just a beggar sitting in a trench and getting fired upon from all directions”
  - Shlaim interview with Gershon Avner (Ambassador to Canada)

# The Bomb

- Ben-Gurion afraid of combined Arab attack on all fronts
- Solution-nuclear weapons as a deterrent
- 1957 French-Israeli secret agreement to supply nuclear reactor with twice the capacity than previously agreed upon in 1956 (including a facility for separating plutonium)
- Israel's AEC members all resign (except chair)
- Why?
- Peaceful use only

# The Bomb 1958

- French begin constructing 24 megawatt reactor in Dimona
- U.S. under Atoms for Peace program begins constructing a 1 megawatt reactor for research
- Ben-Gurion does it all on his own
  - Knesset doesn't know
  - Knesset Defense Committee doesn't know
  - Cabinet doesn't know
  - Probably unconstitutional

# The Bomb-Debate

- Among senior politicians and military officials there were 3 positions regarding bomb & missile development
  1. Had to develop at any cost.
    - Ben-Gurion, Peres & Dayan
  2. Cost of such a big plant would cripple economy
    - Eshkol, Finance Minister & Sapir , Commerce Minister
  3. Bargain with U.S. to stop in exchange for conventional weapons
    - Meir & Eban

# Bomb Problems

- 12/60 – U-2 spy planes discover Dimona
- Ben-Gurion says only peaceful purposes, but
- Refuses to submit to inspections by I.A.E.C
- JFK is committed to nuclear non-proliferation
- JFK & Ben-Gurion meet May 30, 1961
  - Does not give Hawk surface to air missiles
  - Promises to keep the military balance between Israel & its enemies under constant review
- Summer of 1962 JFK reverses his decision to supply missiles because
  - this will discourage Israel nuclear development
  - signal the Arabs of greater U.S. support of Israel
  - induce Israel to show more flexibility on refugee question

# Refugee Proposal

- Poll Arab refugees to determine how many would want to return to Israel if given the choice between return and compensation
- Ben-Gurion worried and wants Nasser commitment
- Syria rejects and other Arab states give ambiguous replies

# JFK Tilts Toward Israel

- “... America has a special relationship with Israel comparable to the Anglo-American special relationship... in the event of an Arab invasion America would use its Sixth Fleet ...and come to Israel’s aid.”
  - December 27, 1962 meeting with Golda Meir and confirmed September, 1963 in letter to new P.M. Levi Eshkol

# Egypt & Germany

- July, 1962 German scientists help Egypt develop missiles that they claim could hit any target south of Beirut
- Mossad sends Germans letter bombs
- Herut, Peres, military intelligence & Meir support
- Ben-Gurion thinks claims exaggerated. Why?
- Doesn't want to risk German economic & military assistance



# Peace Overture?

- In a 1963 London Sunday Times interview with Nasser
- “... the whole problem could be solved if he (Nasser) and Ben-Gurion were to be locked together in a room for three hours”
- Ben-Gurion says he will go anywhere, even to Cairo, to meet
- Nasser refuses

# More Fears

- In 1963 Egypt, Syria & Iraq sign a provisional constitution
- Ben-Gurion fears Hussein will be overthrown
- Wants to reserve the right to capture west bank
- Sends letters to Russia, India, Britain, France & U.S. to pressure Arab states to respect territorial integrity
- Letter to U.S. ends “It may not happen today or tomorrow, but I am not sure whether the State will continue to exist after my life comes to an end” !!!!!!!!

# Proposal to U.S. & U.S.S.R.

- Ben-Gurion wants them to issue a joint declaration stating that “... any country in the Middle East that refuses to recognize the territorial integrity and to live in peace with any other country in the area would receive no financial , political or military aid from the two powers.”
- Also, demilitarize west bank and agree to a U.S. security agreement
- Has he lost it?

# Ben Gurion Resigns 1963

- Lavon Affair
- Clashed with Meir over nuclear reactor
- Crossed swords with Israel Harel, Mossad head, that Meir supported
- Viewed as too friendly to West Germany
- Berated Begin's party (Herut) as preparing groundwork for fascist dictatorship because Herut "glorified and praised Hitler ". Outburst embarrassed other party leaders

# Ben Gurion Resigns 1963

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*

Ben-Gurion was seventy-six years old and a very tired man, an exhausted volcano. He was also a troubled and disillusioned man. He was the founder of the Jewish state and the main architect of its defense policy, yet peace with the Arabs had eluded him. Although in objective terms Israel was much more secure in 1963 than it had been in 1948, he fell prey, in the twilight of his long political career, to inflated and irrational doubts about his country's long-term prospects of survival. He himself was aware that his mental powers were in decline, and this probably contributed to his decision to retire. "The young ones" were left out on a limb. The government fell into the hands of the Mapai old guard, led by Levi Eshkol.

# Eichmann Trial

- May 20,1960- Mossad kidnaps Eichmann from Argentina
- Eichmann cooperates in interrogation
- Only person to be executed by Israel
- Diaspora Jews realized importance of maintaining a national home
- Better appreciation of Israel & its strength



# Eichmann Trial



# Who was Adolph Eichmann?

- Born March 19,1906 in the Rhineland, Germany
- Father was a middle class accountant for Tramway & Electric Co.
- Then bought a small mining company
- Eichmann a poor student
- Father gave him a job
- Then 2 years as a salesman for the Austrian Electric Co.
- Then cousin, married to a daughter of a Jewish businessman got him a job at the Austrian Vacuum Oil Co. thru an acquaintance with a Jewish director
- Had come down in social class



# Who was Adolph Eichmann?

- 1932 – joins Nazi Party
- Lost his job, joined the S.S. in Austria, moved back to Germany and went to military camp where he became a Corporal
- 1934 – joined Security Service (S.D.) of S.S. under Heydrich who ostensibly reported to Himmler.
- Information department clerk, where he was viewed as an expert on Jews
- March, 1938 – sent to Vienna to organize forced Jewish emigration

# Who was Adolph Eichmann?

- March, 1939 – moved to Prague after Nazis took over Czechoslovakia
- 9/39- Moved to Berlin to become head of Reich Center for Jewish Emigration
- 1941-promoted to Lt. Colonel
- January, 1942-Wansee Conference, job changed from emigration to deportation

# Who was Adolph Eichmann?

- By 1944 , in Hungary he had perfected the process of deporting large numbers of Jews & confiscating their property with little resistance from the victims and fewer from their neighbors
- Eichmann was great at deception
- Jewish leaders willing to be deceived.

# Eichmann Trial

## A Tale of Two Narratives

**Gideon Hausner**



- A
- Lead Prosecutor

**Hannah Arendt**



- Philosopher
- Political Theorist

# Eichmann Trial

## Who was Gideon Hausner?

- Born 9/26/15, Galacia
- Immigrated to Israel 1927
- Military prosecutor after the War of Independence
- Commercial lawyer
- Appointed Attorney General 1960

# Who was Hannah Arendt?

- Born Oct. 14, 1906 in Hanover Germany only child of secular Jews
- Studied Christian Theology at University of Berlin, Marburg University
- 1st under Martin Heidegger , with whom she had a relationship.
- Then under Karl Jaspers.
- Heidegger supported Nazi party
- 1926-began involvement in Jewish & Zionist Politics
- 1933-fled to Paris

# Who was Hannah Arendt?

- Escaped a camp & fled to U.S. in 1941.
- Worked for German language newspaper & directed research for the Commission on European Jewish Culture Reconstruction.
- 1946-1951 editor for Schocken Books
- Then began 1<sup>st</sup> in a sequence of visiting fellowships and professorial positions

# Who was Hannah Arendt?

- 1951-First major work: *The Origins of Totalitarianism*
- Philosophically, can't classify her. Writings cover: totalitarianism, revolution, nature of freedom, faculties of thinking and judging, and the history of political thought.
- In politics she was a radical democrat (not a Marxist), and heavily influenced by European phenomenology
- Covered Eichmann Trial for the New Yorker Magazine
- Her account for the magazine became the basis for her book: *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*



# Eichmann Trial

## The Banality of Evil

### Banality Definition

- something that is boring or ordinary; especially : an uninteresting statement : a banal remark
- the quality of being ordinary, commonplace
- Examples of BANALITY
  - The trip offers an escape from the *banalities* of daily life.
  - We exchanged *banalities* about the weather.
  - The writing never rose above *banality*.
- Synonyms: commonplace, bromide, chestnut, cliché (also cliche), groaner, homily, platitude, shibboleth, trope, truism
- Related Words: conventional wisdom, party line, routine; inanity; generality, generalization, simplification; adage, proverb, saw, saying; old wives' tale, stereotype

# Eichmann Trial

## Purpose

- Transformative trial for Israeli society by reenacting on a public stage
  - Return of rule of law
  - The transformation of a nation of persecuted people into a STRONG sovereign state with a respected legal system
  - Brings Holocaust to world consciousness
- Hausner took on role of speaking for the 6 million and the trial's role in Jewish history
  - ▣ It became an important vehicle in overcoming the bitter political debates regarding the behavior of Jewish leadership during the Holocaust as exemplified by the Kastner affair

# Eichmann Trial

## Who Speaks for the Jewish People?

- Israel represents the rights of all Jews!
  - Dayan in speech in Canada, 3/60
  - Meir to Anglo-Jewish Association, 3/60
- American Jewish Committee (AJC) negative reaction
- Why?

# Eichmann Trial

- Hausner's indictment took the position that Eichmann was in charge of all aspects of "The Final Solution"
- Made it a political trial
- Arendt viewed the trial from the human history point of view
- Her counter narrative focuses on other dilemmas
  - Jurisprudential
  - Moral
  - Historical

# Eichmann Trial

- Witnesses most relevant to proving the case against Eichmann most risky from historical narrative – Judenradt
- Witnesses who had the least relevance for establishing the legal case against Eichmann were crucial for the educational message
- Hausner didn't bring witnesses regarding the "Hungarian Chapter" to avoid pro or anti Kastner demonstrations
- In 1961 Israeli society only beginning to mature beyond blaming the victims

# Eichmann Trial

- Hausner does not succeed in keeping it out as political leaders feared.
- Judge asks Kastner's partner Brand "Why didn't you rebel"
- "We were a rescue committee and none of us was a hero. Our goal was to try to save these people. We did not know if killing Eichmann would bring relief...[W]e were sure ... that someone else would replace him and the system would keep on moving maybe faster."

# Eichmann Trial

- Arendt's *book-Eichmann in Jerusalem :A Report on the Banality of Evil* introduces a counter story questioning the values that the trial promoted
- Justice demanded proving Eichmann's acts-Detachment
- Politics called for providing a stage for the survivors' testimonies about the suffering of the Jewish people----Emotions
- Her interest in the moral collapse under the Nazi totalitarian regime went beyond the issue of assigning legal responsibility. She wanted to understand historical origins ---not just Jewish origins

# Eichmann Trial

- Was law and politics mutually exclusive?
- Law
  - Trial fair to the individual
  - Does it contribute to the formation of a liberal-democratic system of government
- Politics
  - Did it promote liberal values of pluralism and tolerance in Israel
  - Hausner concerned about Israeli society view of survivors (about ¼ of population) & anti-Semitism
  - But Arendt saw Nazism as a universal example of the persecution of any nation's minorities



# Eichmann Trial

- “ The totalitarian state conducted a systematic attack on civil society and by crushing it turned all members of society even targeted groups of victims , into participants in their own destruction. Arendt’s decision to devote part of her historical narrative to the cooperation of the Jewish victims with their victimizers should therefore be seen as reinforcing her argument about the unique nature of totalitarian crimes”
  - Bilsky, Transformative Justice, Israeli Identity on Trial

# Eichmann Trial

- “...only the choice of victims, not the nature of the crime, could be derived from the long history of Jew-hatred and anti-Semitism.’ In confronting the future, Arendt sought to construct a legal precedent that would be adequate to deal with the very real possibility that such crimes would be repeated in the future ‘...against other people and in other places.’”

# Eichmann Trial

- Crimes against humanity vs. crimes against the Jewish people----  
Arendt narrative vs. Hausner narrative
- Implication for international law which focuses on protection of individual rights vs. protection of minority rights
- What's the distinction?

# Eichmann Trial

## Politics of Reconciliation

- The Nuremburg trials had been limited to crimes committed in furtherance of the “planning, preparation, or waging of a war of aggression.”
- The Holocaust had been a horrific consequence of the war of aggression
- Excluded victims voices and mostly relied on documents
- Ben-Gurion wants the trial to tell the world of the Jews’ suffering
- His purpose was to draw a clear line between victim and perpetrator

# Eichmann Trial

## Politics of Reconciliation

- Arendt was afraid that the omissions in Eichmann's trial would produce dangerous gaps in the Israeli collective memory that would undermine the development of deliberative democracy and might even lead to a recurrence of such tragedies in the future.
- How? Why?
- Only by openly discussing the issues of Jewish cooperation and by honestly confronting the painful questions it raised could Israeli society become truly reconciled with its past

# Eichmann Trial

## Politics of Reconciliation

- Arendt was not intent on blaming the victims.
- She wanted to create grounds for change in the future.
- Hausner thought Judenradt 's behavior was irrelevant to trial
- Holocaust lesson-
  - Hausner-Empower the Jews with their own state
  - Arendt-Holocaust is a warning sign to humanity against the dangers of a totalitarian state

# Eichmann Trial

## Politics of Reconciliation

- Hausner's decision to let victims testify, even though a legal risk, according to Bilsky, transformed the victims from statistics to human beings which created world consciousness regarding the Holocaust
- And in minds of Israeli society--- Haim Gouri, an Israeli poet who reported for an Israeli newspaper, admitted: "I did not know that there were people like these in this country. Now I know."
- The abstract knowledge was made real

# Eichmann Trial

## Politics of Reconciliation

- Well defined roles of accuser and accused that Hausner portrayed helped change the prevailing attitude.
- The act of bearing witness became an act of heroism, so the victims came to have the same status as resistance fighters, so acts of cooperation had to be put aside.



# Eichmann Trial

## The Banality of Evil

### According to Arendt

- Eichmann's motivation was not hatred of the Jews, but rather the job holders concern with success, the esteem of his coworkers and the praise of his superiors
- His inability to think independently led to his failure of judgment
- Talked of a commonality of interests with the Jewish representatives
- Could only remember dates in his own career

# Eichmann Trial

## Sassen Interview Tapes 1950-

The cautious bureaucrat, yeah, that was me.... But joined to this cautious bureaucrat was a fanatical fighter for the freedom of the *Blut* I descend from.... What's good for my *Volk* is for me a holy command and holy law.... I must honestly tell you that had we...killed 10.3 million Jews I would be satisfied and would say, good, we've exterminated the enemy.... We would have completed the task for our *Blut* and our *Volk* and the freedom of nations had we exterminated the most cunning people in the world.... I'm also to blame that...the idea of a real, total elimination could not be fulfilled.... I was an inadequate man put in a position where, really, I could have and should have done more.<sup>2</sup>

# Eichmann Trial

## The Banality of Evil

### Monster or Clown

- Eichmann states I should never take an oath
  - After then explicitly told if he wished to testify in his own defense he could chose to do so with or without an a oath
  - He chose to do it under oath
- Eichmann states repeatedly that the worst thing for him to do is to try to escape his responsibilities by pleading for mercy
  - Then submits a handwritten document containing such plea

# Eichmann Trial

## Obeying an Illegal Order

- Himmler ordered Eichmann to stop death marches
- Eichmann refused because he knew a higher authority wanted them to continue
  - Hitler
- The general rule was
  - Thou shall kill
- The totalitarian system silences the voice of conscience

# Eichmann Trial

## Crimes Against Humanity

- “...the crime against humanity-in a sense of a ‘crime against the human status,’ or the very nature of mankind appeared...[it is] an attack upon human diversity as such.” Arendt
- An attempt to annihilate one group is an attack on human plurality and thus an attack on humanity
- This is a universal crime that could be perpetrated in the future
- The central role of law is to guarantee a protected space in which human plurality can flourish

# Eichmann Trial

## Trial's Legitimacy

- Arendt argues that neither the retroactivity of the law nor jurisdiction should have been the issue- It should be enlarged mentality
- The law presupposes a common humanity that forms the basis to understand right from wrong
  - Just as we can't find an insane person guilty because he can't understand right from wrong
  - Eichmann couldn't understand right from wrong because of how the totalitarian system effects judgment

# Eichmann Trial

## Enlarged Mentality-Shortcomings

- Arendt didn't understand the need for victims oral testimony
- Didn't understand the effect of historical anti-Semitism
- Failed to understand her role in Jewish community
  - Use of term banal
  - Failure to draw a clear line between victim and perpetrator
  - Condemnation of focus on victims' suffering
  - Wrote for New Yorker which was perceived by Jews as the stereo typical WASP publication
  - Her insensitive tone
- These failures account for controversy among Jews

# Eichmann Trial

## Crimes Against Humanity

### Arendt's Proposed Sentence

Even if eighty million Germans had done as you did, this would not be an excuse for you. . . . You have carried out . . . a policy of mass murder. . . . And just as you supported and carried out a policy of not wanting to share the earth with the Jewish people and the people of a number of other nations—as though you and your superiors had any right to determine who should and who should not inhabit the world—we find that no one, that is, no member of the human race, can be expected to want to share the earth with you. That is the reason, and the only reason you must hang.



# Eichmann Trial

## Critics Shortcomings

- Ignored her support of the death penalty
- In castigating her criticism of the Judenrat failed to realize she said “... no non-Jewish group or people behaved differently.”
- “Lost sight of her eloquent praise of those who did break with the majority and her citation of them as proof that something could have been done.”
  - Deborah Lipstadt, *The Eichmann Trial*

# Eichmann Trial

## Arendt as a Social Critic

- Limiting prosecution to crimes against Jews undermined the ability of Israeli society to embrace pluralism
- Creates us-them or Jews-gentiles
  - Disturbed by equating Palestinian leader & Nazis because this concept left no ability for Israelis to recognize the victimization of Arabs by Israelis
  - Contrasting Jewish heroism with Jewish submissiveness exacerbated the tendency of Israeli society to blame the victim

# Eichmann Trial

## Arendt as a Social Critic

- “If a totalitarian regime achieves control over the population by blurring the line between perpetrator and victim, in order to judge such regimes there is a need to develop the tools to understand the gray area between cooperation and collaboration...”
  - Bilsky paraphrasing Arendt

# Eichmann Trial

## Arendt as a Social Critic

- When faced with Nazi like terror most people will comply, but some people will not.
- “The Final Solution could have happened in most places, but it did not happen everywhere.”
- Eichmann could have said no, but chose otherwise.
- “Humanly speaking no more is required and no more can reasonably asked for this planet to remain a place fit for human habitation.”

# Eichmann Trial

## The Poet

- Also criticized Hausner for not bringing out that more attention should have been given by the Yishuv to reports of the Holocaust during the war
- Went further than Arendt
- Not criticized. Why?



- Haim Gouri
- Israeli Poet

# Eichmann Trial

## Arendt's Conflict

- Contrast Arendt's condemnation of Jewish leaders in the Eichmann Trial to her views in her book - *"The Origins of Totalitarianism"* - where she described the difficulties in resistance in a totalitarian state.  
Why did she change?

# Eichmann Trial Compared to Kastner Trial

- Both had the political and legal objectives for a binary world view:
  - Holy victims
  - Monstrous perpetrators (includes collaborators)
- But distinctions should be made between leaders and their cooperation and victims
- Distinctions between armed revolt , the ability to do so and civil disobedience at least early on
- In Kastner, Alterman demanded to see leaders as individuals
- Arendt is even more painful in that she demanded Eichmann be seen as a person

# Eichmann Trial

## Arendt's Factual Errors

- Judenrat cooperation was instrumental
  - What about mobile killing squads?
- If Eichmann didn't know it was wrong why did he destroy evidence?
- The man who killed the German diplomat in Paris ostensibly triggering Kristallnacht was urged to do so by the Gestapo, because the diplomat was anti Nazi
- Heydrich was ½ Jewish
- No indigenous French Jews were sent to camps
- Israel had no right to preside
  - No other country wanted to host it



# Eichmann Trial

## Post Script

- Arendt's book not translated into Hebrew until 2000
- Did the Government want to suppress it?
- If so, why?
- Argument in Israel still goes on.
- Other's have used her book to justify their views, e.g. blame the victims

# Eichmann Trial

## Effects

- Universal jurisdiction over genocide
- Can't hide behind just following orders
- German prosecution of war criminals
- Holocaust became concern to more than just Jewish community
- Nothing pierced Israeli consciousness before
- Kidnapping contributed to perception of Israeli derring –do; in addition to
  - Entebbe, 1967 war, Iraqi nuclear reactor bombing

# Eichmann Trial

## Effects

- Israelis began to understand that victims had not been victims because of an inherent cultural or ideological difference
- Survivors became willing to talk
- Jewish baby boomers wanted to find out more
- New breed of Jew -
  - Bridge to destroyed diaspora through reconciliation with the past
  - What happened was a matter of chronology & geography
  - Jews are eternal victims-must be forever vigilant

# Israel in 1963

- Population of 2.9 million
- 10% annual growth rate (equaled only by Japan)
- 5<sup>th</sup> highest proportion of University graduates in the world
- Arts flourished
- Prejudice & discrimination, particularly against North African immigrants , rife
- All encompassing national purpose
- Incipient materialism
- Conservative - Beetles banned

# Great Power Rivalries

## U.S.

- U.S. assistance to Jordan & Saudi Arabia to bolster against threats from enemies including Nasser
- Increase arms shipments to Israel to balance
- U.S. involvement in Vietnam increases
- Mossad & CIA forge close relationship
- JFK more confrontational than Ike in attempting to contain Russia influence in Middle East & on Nasser- Michael Oren

# U.S. Egypt-Relations

- 1964-Rioters in Cairo attack U.S. Embassy
- Egyptian armed forces accidentally shoot down plane owned by Texas businessman (friend of LBJs)
- Anti-American policies:
  - Against Vietnam war, allows Vietnamese Liberation Front to open office in Cairo
  - Against Congo War
  - Against Israel
- 1965-aid suspended

# Egypt Economic Situation

- 1965-U.S. wheat shipments that accounted for 60% of all bread end
- 40% inflation
- Annual earnings are \$140 per capita
- Turning industry over to workers failed miserably
  - Auto plant produces 2 vehicles *per week*.
- Average male life expectancy is 45
- 45% of population illiterate

# Egypt Economic Situation

- U.S.S.R. makes up some of lost U.S. aid.
- Egypt defaults on \$1 billion of foreign debt
- Army is in deplorable condition. In particular drained by Yemen



# Great Power Rivalries

## U.S.S.R.

- With U.S. increasing bombing of North Vietnam Russia aid to that country increases
- Suez Canal becomes important for bringing arms & oil to North Vietnam
- China tries to gain influence in 3<sup>rd</sup> world at Russia's expense
- Vicious circle-
  - U.S. supplies arms to Israel, Jordan & Saudi Arabia
  - U.S.S.R. reacts by supplying aid to Egypt, Syria & Iraq

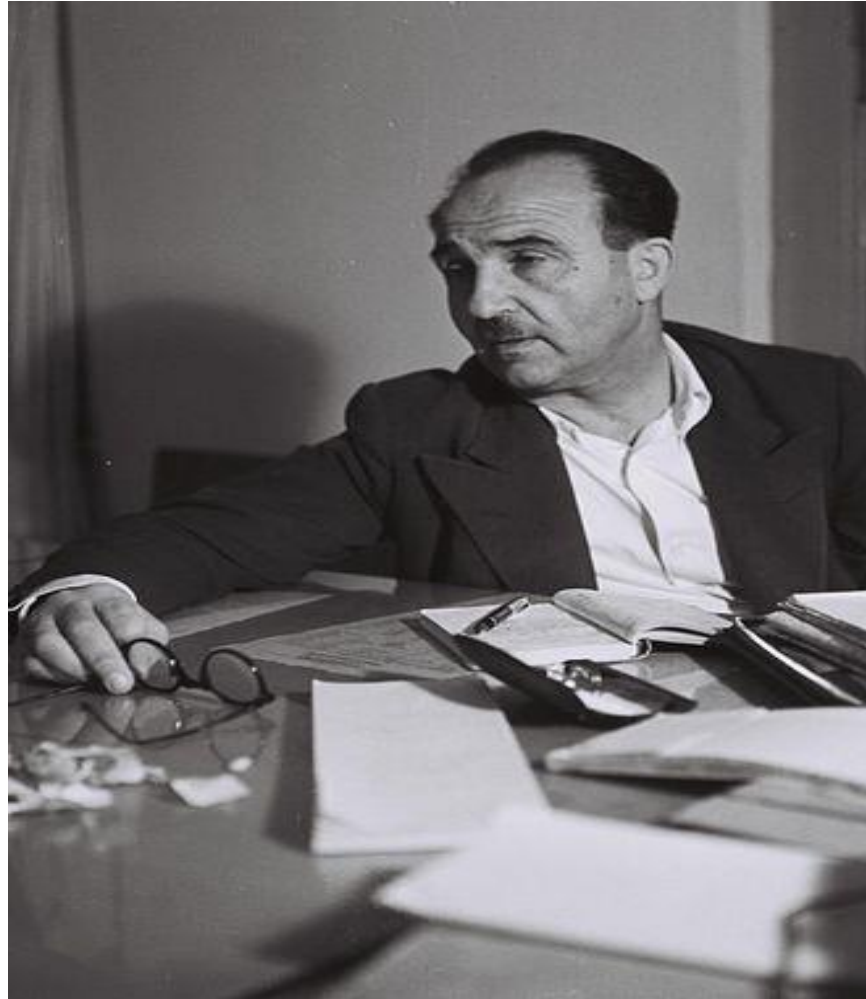
# Great Power Rivalries

## Yemen

- Coup in Yemen – 1962
- Yemen government flees to Saudi Arabia
- Saudi Arabia supports counter insurgency
- Khrushchev supports coup
- Nasser supports & supplies men & arms
- Becomes Nasser's Vietnam
- Sours U.S. – Egypt relations



# Levi Eshkol Prime Minister, 1963



# Eshkol

- Born in Ukraine, 1895
- Immigrates to Palestine , 1914
- Joins Young Workers Party where he interacts with Arabs
- Fought with Jewish Legion in WW1
- Member of Haganah High Command
- 1950-1951 Director General of Ministry of Defense
- 1951-1952 Minister of Agriculture
- 1952-1963 Minister of Finance
- 1963-everyone's choice for P.M.

# Eshkol Views

- Moderate
- Not an ideologue
- Similar to Sharett
- Arabs not only an enemy, but a people
- Didn't believe Israel doomed to fight forever
- Dialogue and patient diplomacy would accomplish long term goal of peace with Arabs
- ▣ Practical , common sense, open-mind, ability to balance conflicting viewpoints, ability to sustain domestic support for foreign policy

# Eshkol Accomplishments

- Building country's infrastructure
- In particular- National Water Utility
- Instrumental in building IDF
- Freeing Israeli Arabs from military administration (in 1966)

# Eshkol & LBJ

## June, 1964

- U.S. policy changes to NOT pursuing changing the 1964 Armistice Agreement
- In joint statement-“... to preserve territorial integrity of all states and against the use of force and aggression.”
- Eshkol stature greatly enhanced
- Policy is now that the State of Israel can fully realize its national goals within the borders of the Armistice Agreement
  - What does this mean?
  - No Israeli expansion



# Ben-Gurion Turns Against Eshkol

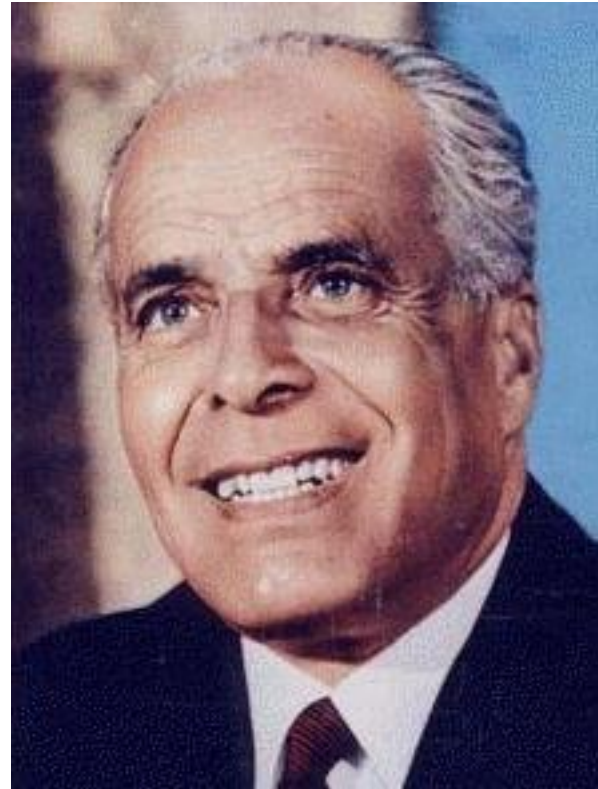
- Why?
- Ben-Gurion had never been given the “honor” of meeting a U.S. President
- Protégés, Dayan and Peres not being treated fairly
- One historian says under Ben-Gurion loyalty rather than merit resulted in success
- Forms Rafi Party in 1965 with Peres and Dayan and is soundly defeated

# 1965 Israel Economy

- Depression hits Israel
- Fall off in immigration
- End of Holocaust reparations from Germany
- Economic growth only 1%

# Peace Overture

- Habib Bourguiba
- Tunisian President
- In 1965 called on fellow Arabs to abandon hope of destroying Israel and to make peace with it on the basis of 1947 borders & return of Palestinian refugees



# Tunisian Peace Overture

- How was it received?
- Eshkol welcomed
  - But could not accept details
- Rafi criticized, but lost election anyway

# New Cabinet-1965

- Golda Meir (hawk) replaced as foreign minister by Abba Eban (dove)
- According to Shlaim  
Eshkol & Eban  
complemented each other



# Abba Eban

- Born 2/2/15 in Cape Town as Aubrey Eban
- Moved to U.K.; attended Cambridge
- Moved to Palestine in 1940
- Served in British Army as intelligence officer
- Liaison to U.N. Special Committee on Palestine
- Changed his name to Abba (father in Hebrew) because he saw himself as father of Israel – Oren
- Fluent in 10 languages
- Israel Ambassador to U.S. & U.N. for 10 years
- V.P. of U.N. General Assembly

# Abba Eban

- Oren says many viewed him as hopelessly out of step in Israeli ways-a foreigner
- Many believed he misled the government in 1956 by exaggerating the guarantees of the U.S. & U.N.

# Abba Eban

- Shlaim describes him as professional , diplomatic and polished and that he and Eshkol worked well together
- Both had confidence that Israel could look after itself coupled with a desire to explore every possible avenue for reconciliation with the Arabs and an optimistic outlook on the future per Shlaim
- According to Oren, Eshkol said :
  - He doesn't live in reality
  - He never has the right solution, only the right words
  - The learned fool



# Inter-Arab Relations

- United Arab Republic made up of Egypt & Syria (1958-1961)
- After a series of coupes in Syria and Iraq, Baathist's that come into power want to form a new union in 1963
- Nasser's terms make it impossible
- But he still is viewed as a progressive Arab Nationalist
- Jordan and Saudi Arabia allied with West
- Egypt, Syria and Iraq view them as "feudalistic monarchies"

# Arab League Summit January, 1964

- Against Israel water diversion project
- Declares that Arab states must make plans “... for the final liquidation of Israel.”
- Decide to divert head waters of Jordan River in Syria and Lebanon
- Decide to establish the PLO
- Decide to set up unified Arab Command
- Followed by 2 additional summits

# Egypt

- Nasser's general policy with Israel is to avoid direct confrontation with Israel; and urged allies to follow same policy
- Palestinian irregulars stopped from operating from Gaza strip
- Why?
- Realizes Israel stronger
- Has committed troops to support revolution in Yemen

# Egyptian Peace Overture

- Abdel Hakim Amir
  - 1<sup>st</sup> V.P. of Egypt
  - Deputy Commander of Egyptian Armed Forces
- Invites head of Mossad for secret talks
- Why?
  - Egypt in economic straits
  - Wanted Israel to help procure U.S. economic aid
  - In return would tone down anti-Israeli propaganda, reduce boycott, allow Israeli goods to pass through Suez
  - But Eshkol cannot convince cabinet to accept

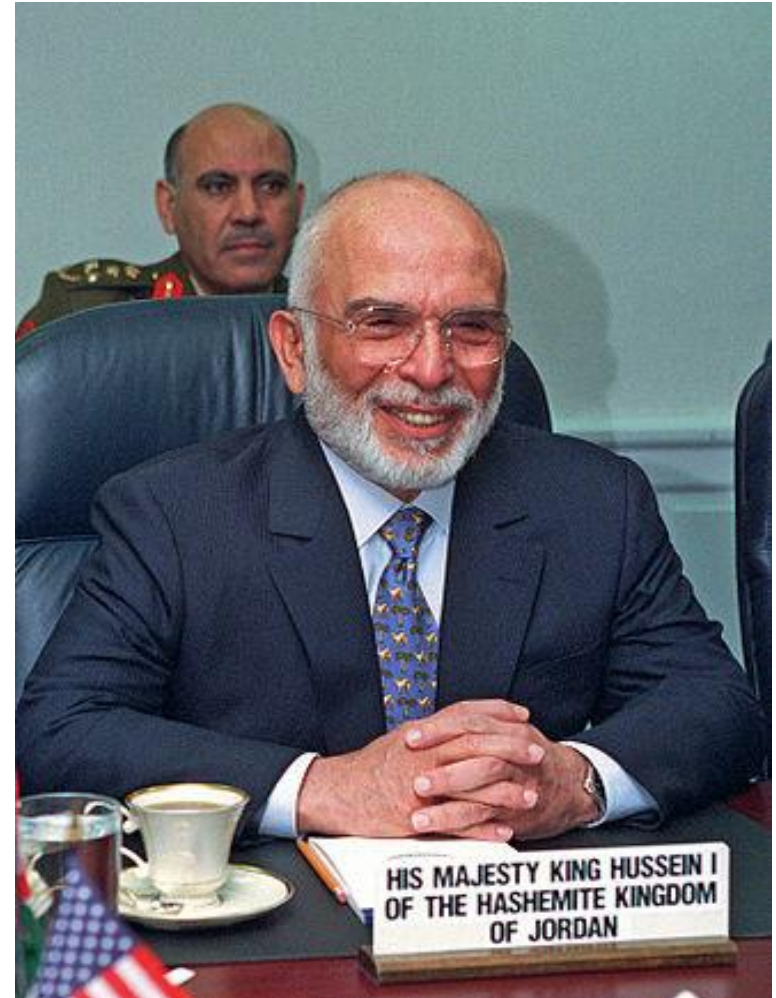
# Hussein-Meir Preliminary Meeting-1965

## Interview with King Hussein

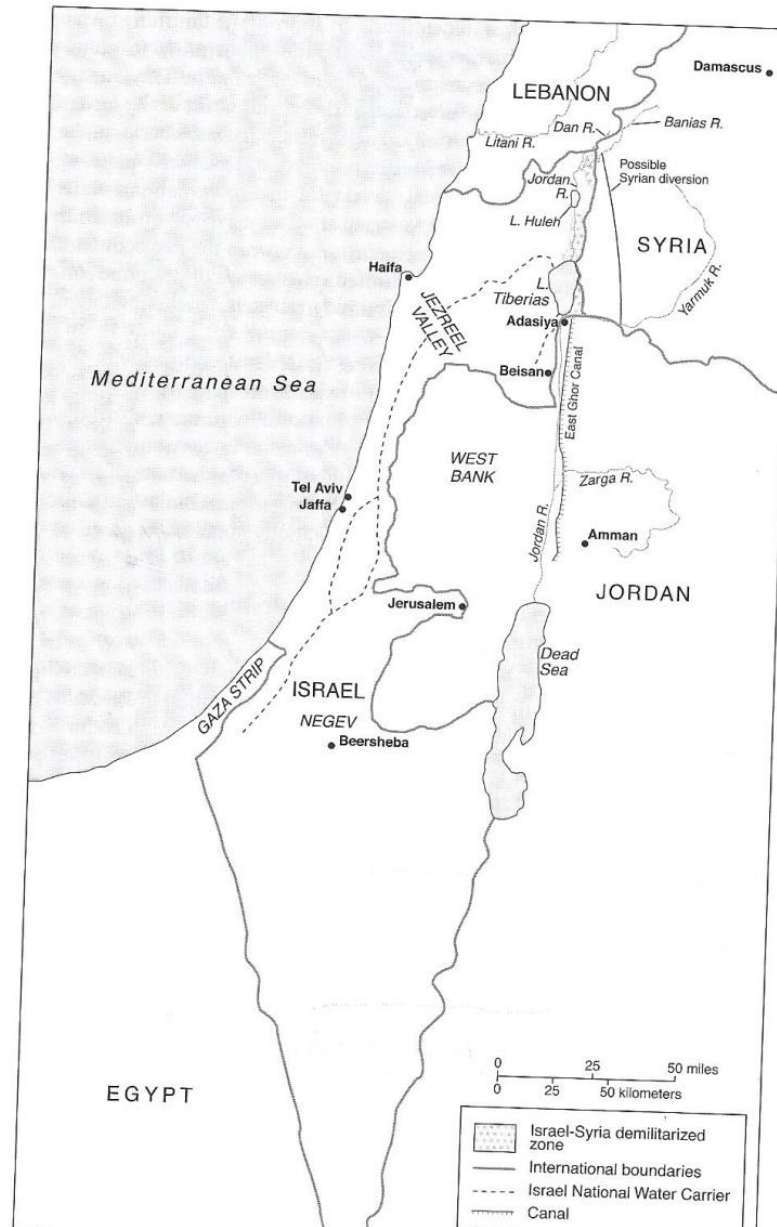
It was a good meeting. It was really a meeting of breaking the ice, of getting to know one another. And we talked about our dreams for our children and grandchildren to live in an era of peace in the region, and I think she suggested that maybe a day will come when we could put aside all the armament on both sides and create a monument in Jerusalem which would signify peace between us and where our young people could see what a futile struggle it had been and what a heavy burden it had been on both sides. Essentially, it didn't go beyond that. There wasn't very much indeed that happened, just an agreement to keep in touch whenever possible.<sup>13</sup>

# Jordan

- 1965 Meir & Hussein in secret meetings agree on water sharing
- Israel provides intelligence to Hussein on coup & assassination attempts
- Israel supports Jordan's request for U.S. military aid
- Hussein wants formal peace with Israel, but afraid of
  - Large Palestinian community in Jordan
  - Arab League
- De facto peace



# Israel 1965



# The Syrian Syndrome

- Three Sources of tension
  - DMZ
  - Water
  - Activities of Palestinian guerillas
- Only problematic front in 1960's
- IDF generals more concerned with military aspects of water dispute than economic (at least according to Shlaim)
- Eshkol's aide-de-camp (Col. Israel Lior) suspected that never ending chain of action and reaction would lead to all out war



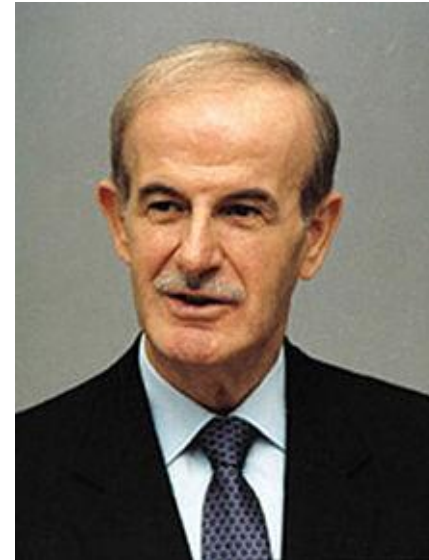
# Syrian Syndrome

- 10 meter strip of land along northeast bank of Sea of Galilee falls directly under Syria guns making it impossible to defend
- Syrian snipers attack Israeli fishing boats
- Israeli patrol craft just as frequently violate DMZ
- In order to remedy Syrian internal conflicts government focuses on Israel

# Hafez al-Assad

## Defense Minister 2/23/66

- 10 months in Russia for MiG training in 1957
- Continued military training in Egypt with Hosni Mubarak in 1958 (UAR)
- As member of Syrian Ba'ath Party overthrows government in 1963
- Air Force Commander 1963
- Another coup in 1966
- Both resulted in purges



# Syrian Syndrome

- Assad member repressive Alewite sect, Ba'ath party
- Obsessively afraid of Nasser
- Zionism is a panacea for problems
- Supporting Palestinian raids advantages to Syria
  - Hurts Israel
  - Shames Nasser
  - Weakens Hussein
- War was Ba'ath Party *raison d'être* according to Oren
- Egyptian-Syrian Military Defense Treaty 11/2/66

# Moscow More Belligerent

- Previously stopped short of advocating violence because-
  - War in Middle East too close to their border
  - U.S. 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet in Med
- But then in 1966 Syria & U.S.S.R. issue a joint communique to prove solidarity with Arabs
  - “...Israel is military arsenal & a base for aggression against...the Arab people”
  - “There is a Zionist plot to invade Syria. Israel is massing troops “
- Tass triumphs exposure prevented invasion

# Israeli Response

- IAF responds to Syrian cross border attack on Israeli army patrol
- Artillery fires on Syrian water diversion projects
- Nasser refuses to support Syrian counterattacks
- Effectively conceding “water wars” to Israel

# Fatah

- Established 1958
- Strategy was to drag Arab states into war by provoking Israel with raids
- Syria supports-only Arab country that does so
- Jordan tries unsuccessfully to prevent raids
- Egypt successfully prevents raids

# Great Power Rivalries in Middle East 1963-1967

- U.S. assistance to Jordan & Saudi Arabia to support them against threats from enemies including Nasser
- U.S. supports Saudi Arabia for purpose of supporting Yemen against Nasser's backing of the Yemeni Colonels' attempted overthrow.
- U.S. increases arms shipments to Israel to balance
- Mossad & CIA develop a close relationship
  - CIA receives alarmist reports of Soviet intentions in region
  - CIA believes. State Department does not

# Great Power Rivalries in Middle East 1963-1967

- Nasser allows Vietnamese Liberation Front to open office in Cairo
- U.S. aid to Egypt suspended in 1967
- LBJ had affinity for Israel
  - “A modern day version of the Texans fighting the Mexicans....”
- With U.S. escalating bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, U.S.S.R. aid increased
- Suez Canal became important for bringing arms & oil from Europe to Vietnam



# Great Power Rivalries in Middle East 1963-1967

- China tries to gain influence in 3<sup>rd</sup> world (including Arab countries) at Russia's expense
- Becomes vicious circle
  - U.S. supplies arms & aid to Israel, Jordan & Saudi Arabia
  - U.S.S.R. reacts by supplying arms & aid to Egypt, Syria & Iraq
- Russian arms were primarily defensive in nature
- Israeli arms were more offensive, including attack bombers

# Samu Raid 11/13/66

- Israeli retaliatory raid on West Bank Village
  - 41-125 homes destroyed
  - Population evicted. 3 civilians killed, 96 wounded. 15 soldiers killed ,96 wounded
  - Intention was that villages would appeal to Hussein to stop raids
- “We had neither the political nor military reasons to arrive at a confrontation with Hussein”

Yitzhak Rabin, IDF Chief of Staff
- **U.S. & U.N. condemned**
  - Recognized by Israel as excessive

# After Samu

- Hussein refuses to allow Syrian & Iraqi troops in West Bank
- Cairo Radio denounces him
- Syria says Hussein colludes with Israel & the west
- In 1966 -270 border incidents by Fatah supported by Syria, primarily from West Bank

# Escalation

- 1967 Israel begins cultivation of land in DMZ
- IDF policy is to retaliate forcefully against low level Syrian aggression to compel Syria to desist
- Thus when Syrians begin shelling in April, 1967 IAF retaliates resulting in 6 MIGs shot down , 2 over Damascus
- According to Shlaim this started countdown to 6 day war
  - Many firefights provoked by Israel
  - Dayan initially opposed storming of Golan Heights in 1967 because there was no reason

# Review

- 1955-Egypt forms Fedayeem
  - Official detachment of armed infiltrators from Gaza National Guard
  - “Those who sacrifice themselves”
  - Recruited ex-Nazis for training
- Fatah created in 1958
  - Young Palestinians who had fled Gaza when Israel created
  - Core group came out of the Palestinian Students League at Cairo University that included Yasar Arafat (related to the Grand Mufti)
  - Ideology was that liberation of Palestine had to proceed Arab unity

# Review -2

- PLO created in 1964 by Arab League Summit with Ahmad Shuqueri as leader
  - 1969 at Palestine National Congress Fatah gains control of PLO and Arafat becomes head
  - By 1970 PLO was effectively an umbrella group for 8 organizations HQ'd in Damascus & Beirut
  - Black September 1970 Jordanian forces throw them out of Jordan
- Khartoum 9/1/67-Three No's
  - No Peace with Israel
  - No Recognition of Israel
  - No Negotiations with Israel

## Dayan Interview-1976

Never mind that. After all, I know how at least 80 percent of the clashes there started. In my opinion, more than 80 percent, but let's talk about 80 percent. It went this way: We would send a tractor to plow someplace where it wasn't possible to do anything, in the demilitarized area, and knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn't shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance farther, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot. And then we would use artillery and later the air force also, and that's how it was. I did that, and Laskov and Chara [Zvi Tsur. Rabin's predecessor as chief of staff] did that, and Yitzhak did that, but it seems to me that the person who most enjoyed these games was Dado [David Elazar, OC Northern Command, 1964–69].



## Shlaim Comments

Dayan's 1976 comments on Israel's behavior were rather sweeping and simplistic. They may have been colored by his disgrace and resignation as defense minister following his failure to anticipate the Arab attack in October 1973. This failure thrust him into the political wilderness and led him to question the official Israeli version of the conflict. Being a man of extremes, he now exonerated the Syrians and placed most of the blame for the conflict on the Israeli side. Nevertheless, Dayan's 1976 comments are of significance to the historian of this period. They confirm that some of Israel's top military leaders were afflicted by the Syrian syndrome and that this led to aggressive and provocative behavior and to local skirmishes that eventually culminated in a full-scale Arab-Israeli war.



# Escalation?

- Egypt does nothing to help Syria
- Nasser tries to convince Syria not to support Fatah. If this starts a war Syria will stand alone.
- Jordan criticizes Nasser

# Jordan - 1967

- Alienated from Egypt, Syria & Iraq
- Unprotected by Saudi Arabia (in contrast to Yemen)
- No one would help Jordan against Israel
- Arabs think Israel would rather conquer the West Bank than Syria

# Sadat to Russia

## 5/1/67

- Who was he?
- Speaker Of National Assembly
- 2 prison terms for pro-German activity during WW2
- Maintained ties to Muslim Brotherhood
- Unflagging loyalty to Nasser
- Participated in 1952 coup as member of Free Officers



# Lead up to 6 Day War May, 1967

- Sadat is advised by Russia that Israel will invade Syria
- Why? Shlaim says may be Instigation? Warning? Invitation?
- Oren thinks it could be:
  - Bolster Nasser's stature
  - Lure Nasser into war with Israel to destroy him
  - Cement Soviet-Syrian alliance
  - Make Syria preeminent so communism could take over in Egypt
  - But Russia did not want an Arab defeat or superpower confrontation

# Nasser Masses Forces in Sinai

## May 14, 1967

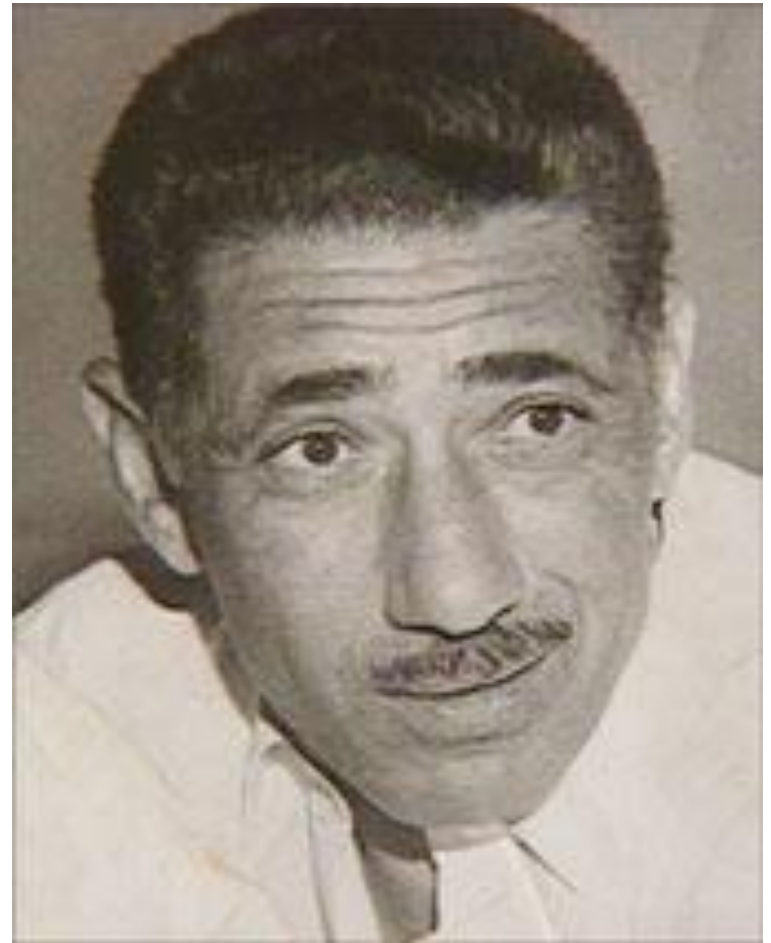
- Considers leaving, but-
  - Feels pressured by Arab “street
  - Hussein reminds him that Nasser never supported him on Suma incident
  - Will Syria fall if he doesn’t come to their defense?
- Consider that if Nasser intended to attack he would have moved into Sinai quietly at night instead of obviously during the day.
- Also no orders to Egyptian commanders

# Egyptian Generals Press for War

- Believed they could win
  - Had more planes, tanks and guns than Israel
  - Israel depressed economically and morally
  - Had Russian air defense system including missiles
- Led by Abd al-Hakim Amer-1<sup>st</sup> V.P. in charge of Armed forces

# Abd al-Hakim Amer

- Similar humble background as Nasser
- Served together in Sudan
- Plotted 1952 coup together
- Called each other brother
- Pitiably showing in Suez crisis



# Abd al-Hakim Amer

- Alcoholic and drug abuser
- Mistress was Egyptian film star (he was married)
- Led forces in Yemen
  - Corrupt, but when Nasser tries to circumscribe his power, officers threaten a revolt
  - Besides being 1<sup>st</sup> V.P.in charge of Armed Forces (took title of Field Marshall) & Deputy Supreme Commander with power to rule if Nasser incapacitated-



# Abd al-Hakim Amer

- Could appoint  $\frac{1}{2}$  seats on Presidential Council
- $\frac{1}{3}$  of all ministers
- $\frac{2}{3}$  of all ambassadors
- Chair of Atomic Energy Commission
- Head of Cairo Transportation Board
- Head of Committee for Liquidating Feudalism
- President of Egyptian Scouts
- President of Football Federation
- Nasser has him under constant surveillance , but either too fearful or too enamored with him to purge him

# Israeli Reaction

- Washington, Eshkol, Rabin concur that movement into Sinai just for show
- But more Egyptian troops move into Sinai on 5/15, 5/16
- Israel calls up 18,000 reservists
- Eshkol's military aid de camp writes in diary-  
“ It was clear to all of us we had reached the point of no return. The lot has been cast.”

## Oren Summary

In their political struggle with Egypt, the Syrians threatened to make war on Israel. Then, when Israel responded by asserting itself in the DZ's, the Syrians unleashed guerrilla attacks that provoked the Israelis to plan a reprisal. This the Soviets told Nasser, meant invasion. Such was the strange concatenation that had brought Egypt's forces into Sinai. Yet that outcome would in turn launch another chain of events as Egyptian leaders deliberated over what to do with those forces, where to put them and how to command them, and whether they should be there at all.

## Oren Summary

Fawzi's report could only have meant that the Soviet alarm was false, and yet the Egyptian president preferred to overlook these repudiations and to proceed as if the Israelis were indeed about to attack.<sup>8</sup> The reasons were not difficult to fathom. A major share of the army was already in Sinai; to call it back now would be humiliating in the extreme at a time when Nasser could ill afford further humiliations. Continuing the buildup, on the other hand, could greatly enhance his status. Reactions to the move throughout the Arab world were enthusiastic, even ecstatic; years had passed since Nasser had been so hailed. Finally, the absence of a manifest threat to Syria was welcome news. Egypt could remilitarize Sinai, and reap the credit for it, without actually risking a war.

# United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)

- 4,500 men
- But mere presence had-
  - Deterred war
  - Kept infiltrators out
  - Ensured free passage thru Straits of Tiran
- 1957 Agreement brokered by Dag Hammarskjold provided that
  - Egypt would consult with UNEF Advisory Council & General Assembly before altering UN mandate
  - But non-binding

# Nasser Requests UNEF to Leave

- U Thant does not oppose
- Doesn't believe following 1957 agreement would change anything even though UN legal counsel wants him to
- Acted with unprecedented speed in exceeding to Nasser's request
- Following 1957 agreement might have slowed things down allowing parties to cool off

# U Thant

- 2 term UN Secretary General from 11/30/61-12/31/71
- Closest advisor and friend to Burmese Prime Minister
- Popular in Burma
- West viewed him as anti-western & pro-Soviet



# U Thant Meeting

- 5/23-Flies to Cairo
- Nasser assures U Thant that “...he has no intention to attack.’
- General Rikeye (in charge of UNEF troops in Sinai and at meeting) writes in his diary-  
“ I think we are going to have a major Middle East war and I think we will be sorting it out 50 years from now.”



# Brinksmanship Continues

- MIGs overfly Israeli reactor in Dimona on 5/17
  - 21's flown by Egyptians?
  - 25's flown by Russians?
- Do it 2 more times before war breaks out.
- First time MIGs out of airspace before Israel can even react
- On later overflights Hawk surface to air missiles miss target
- While Nasser never mentions nuclear reactor as a motive to invade, Israel assumes it is
- 5/19 Eshkol doubles mobilization & moves tanks to south
- LBJ sends letter of caution to Eshkol

# Lead up to 6 Day War

## May, 1967

- Nasser makes one fiery speech after another
  - Whipping Egyptians (all Arabs) into a frenzy
  - Sending chills down spines of Israelis
- While Inter-Arab conflicts continue
  - Syria expels 2 Saudi diplomats for “consorting with reactionaries”
  - Concerned that Saudi Arabia trying to overthrow Syrian Government
  - Remembers that Egyptian planes had gassed Saudi bases that supported Yemen government

# Straits of Tiran

- On 5/22 Nasser closes to any ships bound for Israel
- Few Israeli flagged vessels went through
- Other country vessels carried Iranian oil
- Rabin (Israeli Chief of Staff) has nervous breakdown
  - Ezer Weizman, IDF Operations Head takes over & moves more tanks south
  - Eshkol tries to steer middle course between war & diplomacy but no one in Israel is appeased

## Meanwhile in Egypt

- Amer is planning Egyptian offensive
- Wants simultaneous air strikes on Dimona, Haifa oil refineries & Eliat
- His Air Force head says-  
*“Do you think I am the commander of the American Air Force”*
- But Nasser afraid of U.S. intervention & through back channels he tells U.S. he has no intention of fighting anyone
- At the same time he tries to clarify U.S.S.R. vacillation
  - From warning West not to interfere to
  - Stressing a negotiated settlement

# Egypt Ready to Go

- 5/25-Commander of Egyptian Sinai land forces says attack will begin in 2 days

- 5/27 –Kosygin has letter delivered to Nasser

*“One hour ago President Johnson informed me that Egyptian forces are preparing an attack on Israeli positions and that attack is about to be launched. If such a thing happens, than the U.S. will consider itself freed from the commitments it gave to U.S.S.R. to exercise restraint”*

- Nasser calls off attack but knows that Israel has intercepted coded communications

# In Israel

- Cabinet again decides to delay against advice of Rabin & Generals
- But IDF ignores Eshkol's orders & continues to call up reserves
- Eban sent to Washington to determine U.S. stance
  - Looking for a green light
  - 1<sup>st</sup> stops to meet with DE Gaulle and gets no help
  - Then stops in U.K where meets Wilson who expedites tank ammunition delivery
- In U.S. meetings plays down his government's instructions
  - Which were that they forecast war, but U.S., British & UN intelligence says nothing in Egypt has changed to lead them to believe Egypt will attack

# LBJ Conflicts

- Close to Jewish activists in Party
- Numerous Jewish advisors
- Though closely linked to oil companies never sought to ingratiate himself to Arabs
- Routinely overruled Pentagon & State objections and approved aid to Israel



# LBJ Background

- Aunt was a member of Zionist Organization of America
- Father & Grandfather sought clemency for a Leo Frank, convicted of a blood libel
- Provided 42 Polish Jews with signed immigration papers
- Operation Texas: Smuggled 100s of Jews into Galveston through Cuba, Mexico and South America using forged documents
- Raised \$1,000s for Hagganah
- Blocked Eisenhower's attempt to apply sanctions against Israel after 1956 Sinai campaign



# BUT

- There was substantial Jewish opposition to Vietnam war
- Israel did not support Vietnam war
- Fed up with American Jews bombarding White House demanding his intervention to help Israel
- U.S. quagmire in Vietnam prevented U.S. assistance even if Johnson wanted to
  - ▣ “I’ve failed. They’ll go.” LBJ 5/26/67
  - ▣ Even though he tells Eban that if Israel strikes first it acts alone

# Others in the Arab World

- Hussein goes to Cairo & signs a defense pact. Why?
  - Jordan stood alone
  - Hussein fearful of being overthrown by Egyptian subversives
  - Hussein afraid of Palestinian discontent
  - Hussein afraid that if Nasser defeats Israel, Nasser will then invade Jordan
  - Hussein afraid for his life
- But U.S. removes 12 F-104's from Jordan & ceases arms shipments
- Egyptian general assumes control over Jordan Legion
- Iraq commits troops
- Other Arab states announce they are on war footing
  - Lebanon, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan , Kuwait

# And in the West

- Britain & France announce they won't support Israel
- Israeli's view this as de ja vu
- U.S. tries to organize a “regatta” to open up Straits of Tiran
  - Only supported by Holland & Australia

## And in Israel on 5/28

- Hussein's alliance with Nasser increases pressure to fight but cabinet again delays
  - Eshkol repeats LBJ's warning several times: "Israel will not be alone unless it decides to go it alone"
- Eshkol makes radio speech that is poorly received
- "The night of the generals"-Meeting with Israeli generals who are aghast,
  - Argue that they must move now
  - "Would we live forever by the sword" Eshkol
  - but no attempt to overthrow
  - P.M. views this as a vote of no confidence

# Reaction in Israel

- 14,000 hospital beds readied
- Antidotes for poison gas stockpiled
- 10,000 graves dug
- Talk of widespread bombing of cities
- Talk of sign in Lod Airport “*Would last person who leaves please turn out the lights*”

# And in the Diaspora

- Unprecedented outpouring of sympathy
- Volunteers come
- Donations exceed all forecasts
- 20,000 American gas masks supplied by Germany

# Lack of Confidence in Eshkol

- National Unity Government formed- 6/1
  - Eshkol is Prime Minister & Defense Minister
  - Some want Ben-Gurion to take over as Defense Minister
  - Gives up Defense Portfolio to Dayan
  - Begin admitted to cabinet (which paves way as 1st non-Labor P.M. in 1977) as minister without portfolio
- Cabinet sends Meir Amit, Head of Mossad, to U.S to assess intentions. Concludes U.S. is not telling Israel not to go to war, just that they will not help.

# Dayan takes Over

- Eshkol viewed war as defensive and only had given the Army an order for 72 hours
- Dayan made 2 major changes to plan (without consulting cabinet)
  - Capture the entire Sinai, not just the eastern part
  - Destruction of Egyptian forces the primary aim.



# Final Cabinet Meeting 6/4

- Amit reports back
- Not until Israel receives a message from Fortas and Goldberg that appears to give them a green light do they vote 12-2 to attack.
- Israeli objectives
  - Extricate itself from threat of extinction by destroying Egyptian Army
  - Open Straits of Tiran
- Waiting period benefits
  - Egyptian air force had moved all planes forward; in range of Israeli planes
  - IDF had planned and perfected their offensive strategies

# June in Egypt

- Nasser's mixed messages-
  - Tells officers at Supreme HQ on 6/2- Israel will attack by 6/5 at latest
  - Tells former Free Officer colleagues-6-8 months before they attack
- Amer shows his incompetency
  - Continually alters plans
  - Changes organization structure to multiple layers
- Nasser & Amer both thought could defend against Israeli attack, but needed all Arab countries to defeat
  - Jordan cooperated
  - Syria did not

## Shlaim's Comment's

Jordan.”<sup>40</sup> In May–June 1967 Eshkol’s government did everything in its power to confine the confrontation to the Egyptian front. Eshkol and his colleagues took into account the possibility of some fighting on the Syrian front. But they wanted to avoid a clash with Jordan and the inevitable complications of having to deal with the predominantly Palestinian population of the West Bank.<sup>41</sup> *Wow – present*

# Rusk Commentary

tral.” The secretary of state summarized the history of America’s Middle East policy—its support for the territorial integrity and independence of every state in the region, its protection of Egypt from Israel, Britain, and France, and its protection of the pro-Western Arab states from Egypt. The impossibility of sustaining this balancing act, though, had now been brutally exposed. “The ‘Holy War’ psychology of the Arab world is matched by the apocalyptic psychology within Israel . . . Each side appears to look with relative equanimity upon the prospect of major hostilities and each side apparently is confident of success . . . [S]omeone is making a major miscalculation.”

# Dayan Says

The 275,000 men, 1,100 tanks, and 200 planes of the Israel Defense Forces were ready to embark on the largest offensive in Middle East history. Only now, in the few remaining hours before dawn, did Dayan finally find time for reflection. "I was conscious at all times of the heavy burden that had become mine," he subsequently wrote. In spite of his conviction in Israel's ultimate survival, he also was aware of the crushing price it might have to pay. "I could not dismiss lightly the words of Ben-Gurion, who had warned against embarking on this war. Nor could I ignore the stand taken by de Gaulle, the cautionary advice of Dean Rusk, and particularly the threats of the Russians." The Soviets, he reckoned, would be slow to react if Israel's victory were swift. If progress lagged, however, or even stalled, the danger of intervention would multiply.

# Six Day War Issues

- Jordan warned 3 times at outbreak of war to hold fire
- Russia provoked by telling Hussein Egypt had upper hand
- Syria fired on settlements in plain below Golan Heights, provoking Israeli attack.
- Israel initially feared Russian involvement, if attack Syria because Russia closer to Syria than Egypt or Jordan
- Israeli intelligence said Russia would not get involved as long as regime stood

# Six Day War

## Comparative Forces

	Israel	3 Arab States*
Planes	250	554**
Tanks	1,300	1,430
Men	250,000	276,000

# The Six Day War

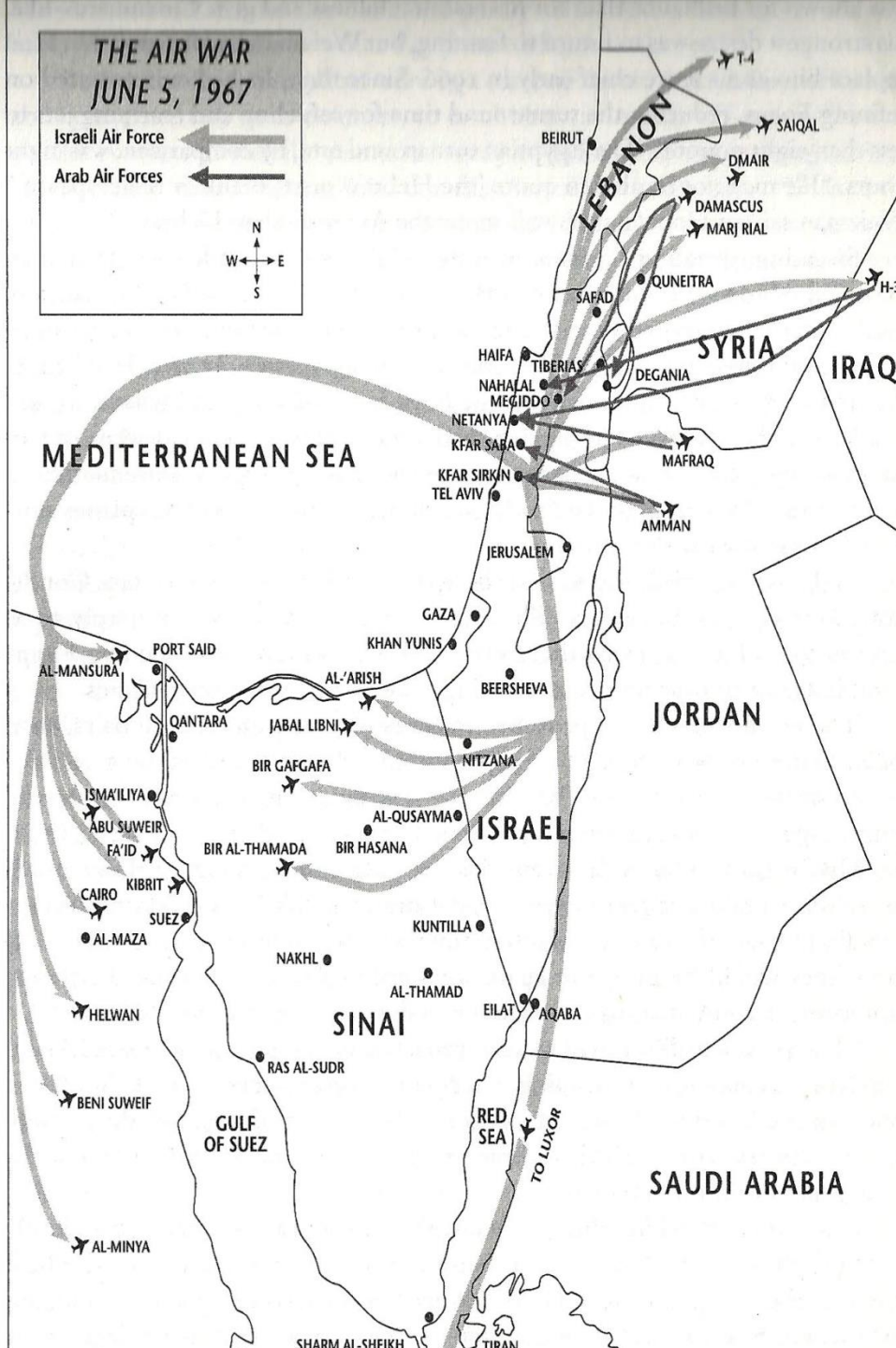
- Begins June 5, 1967
- June 7 captures East Jerusalem
- June 8 secures entire West Bank
- June 8 holds east bank of Suez Canal
- June 9 holds entire Sinai peninsula
- June 9 invades Syria
- June 10 secures Golan Heights, Syria



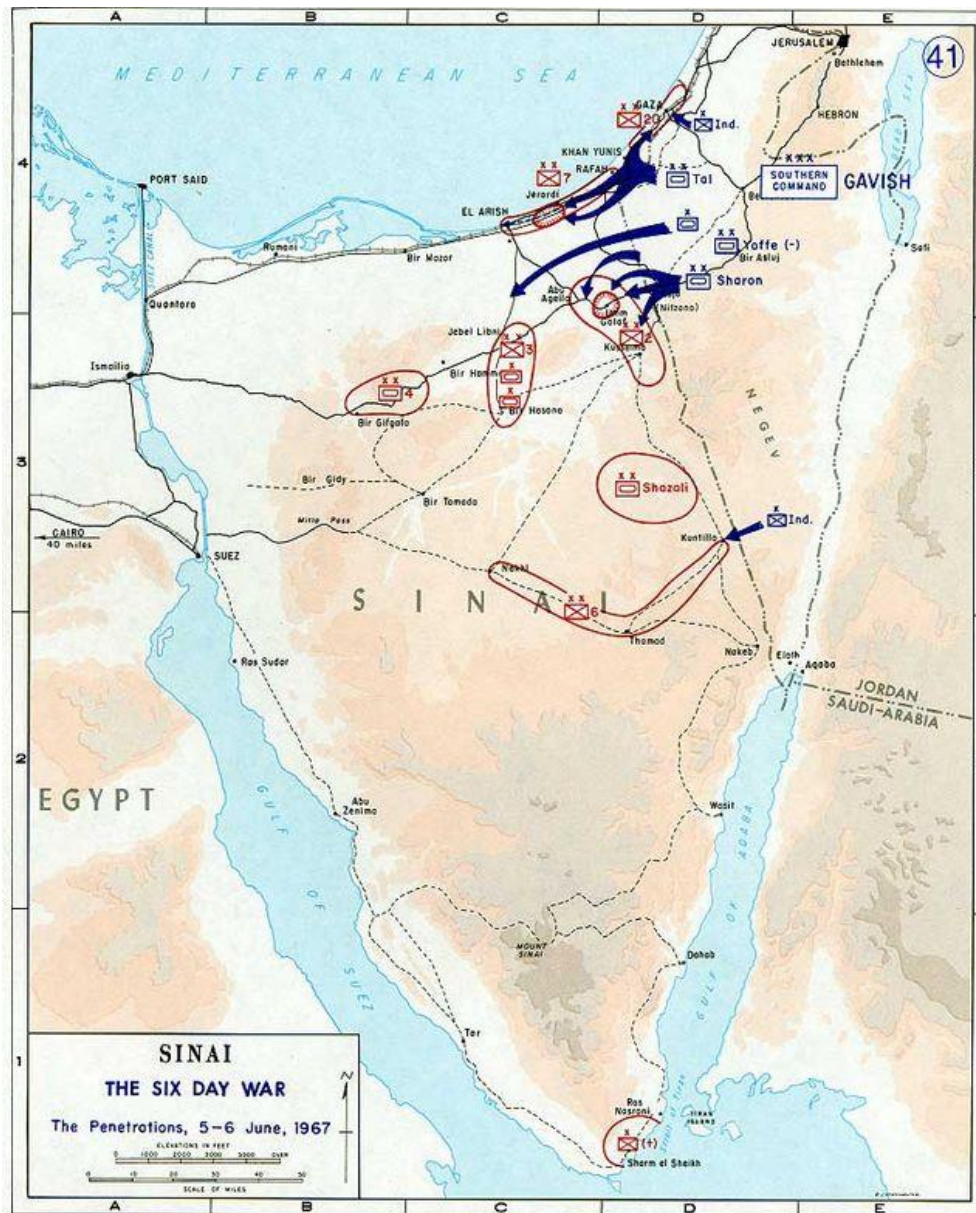
# THE AIR WAR JUNE 5, 1967

Israeli Air Force

Arab Air Forces

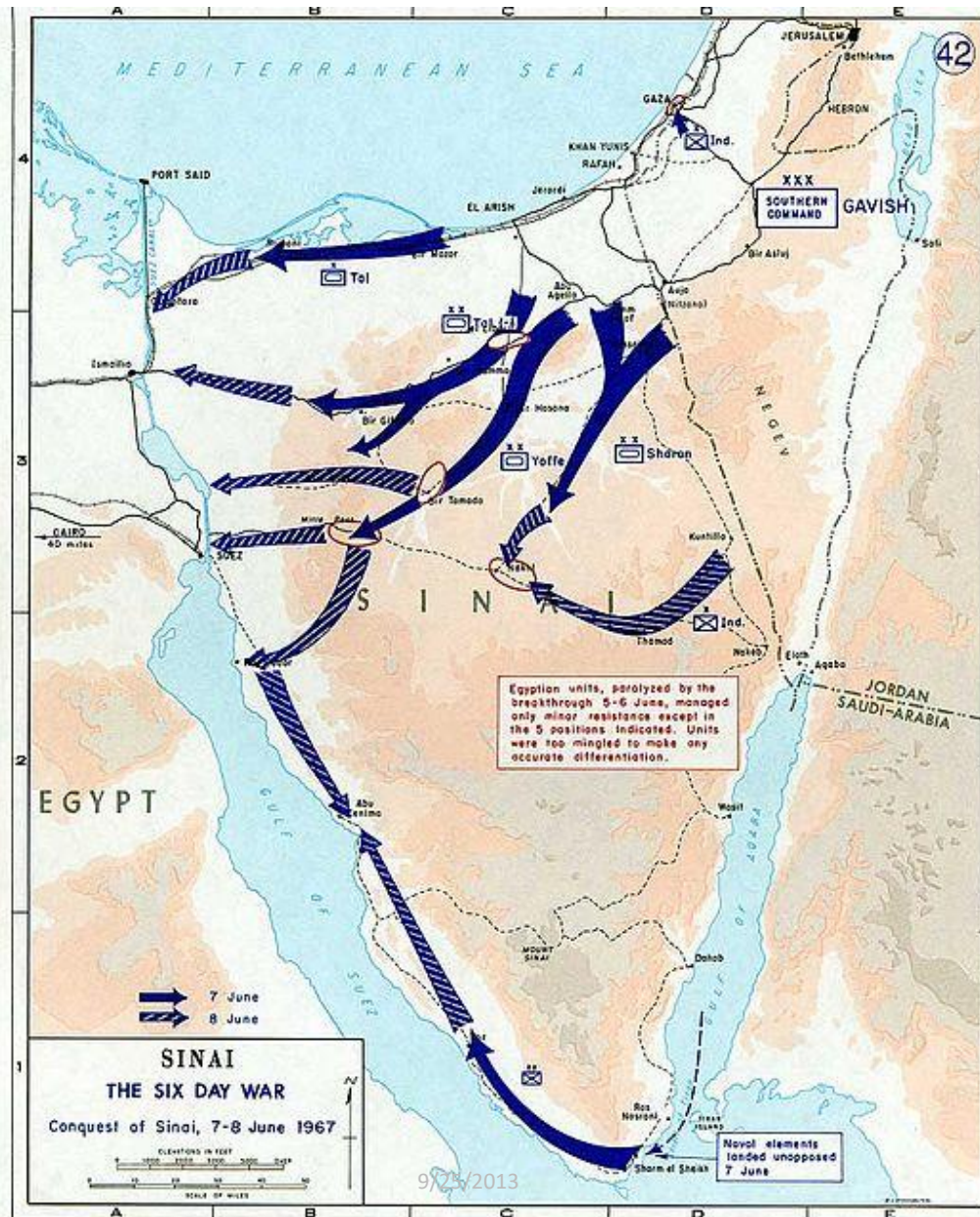


# Invasion of Sinai





# Invasion of Sinai

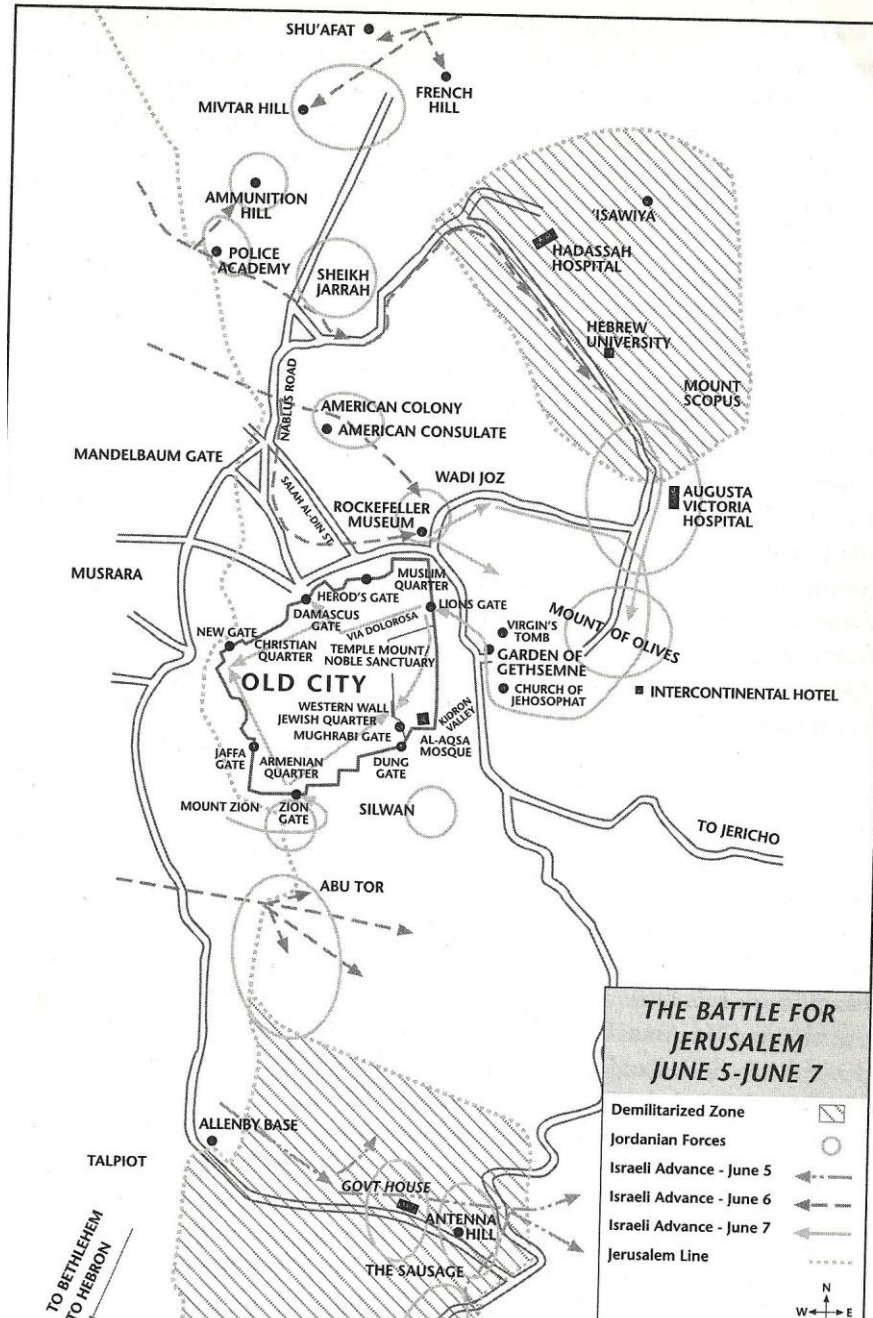


# Invasion of West Bank





# Battle for Jerusalem



**ISRAEL**

**THE SIX DAY WAR**

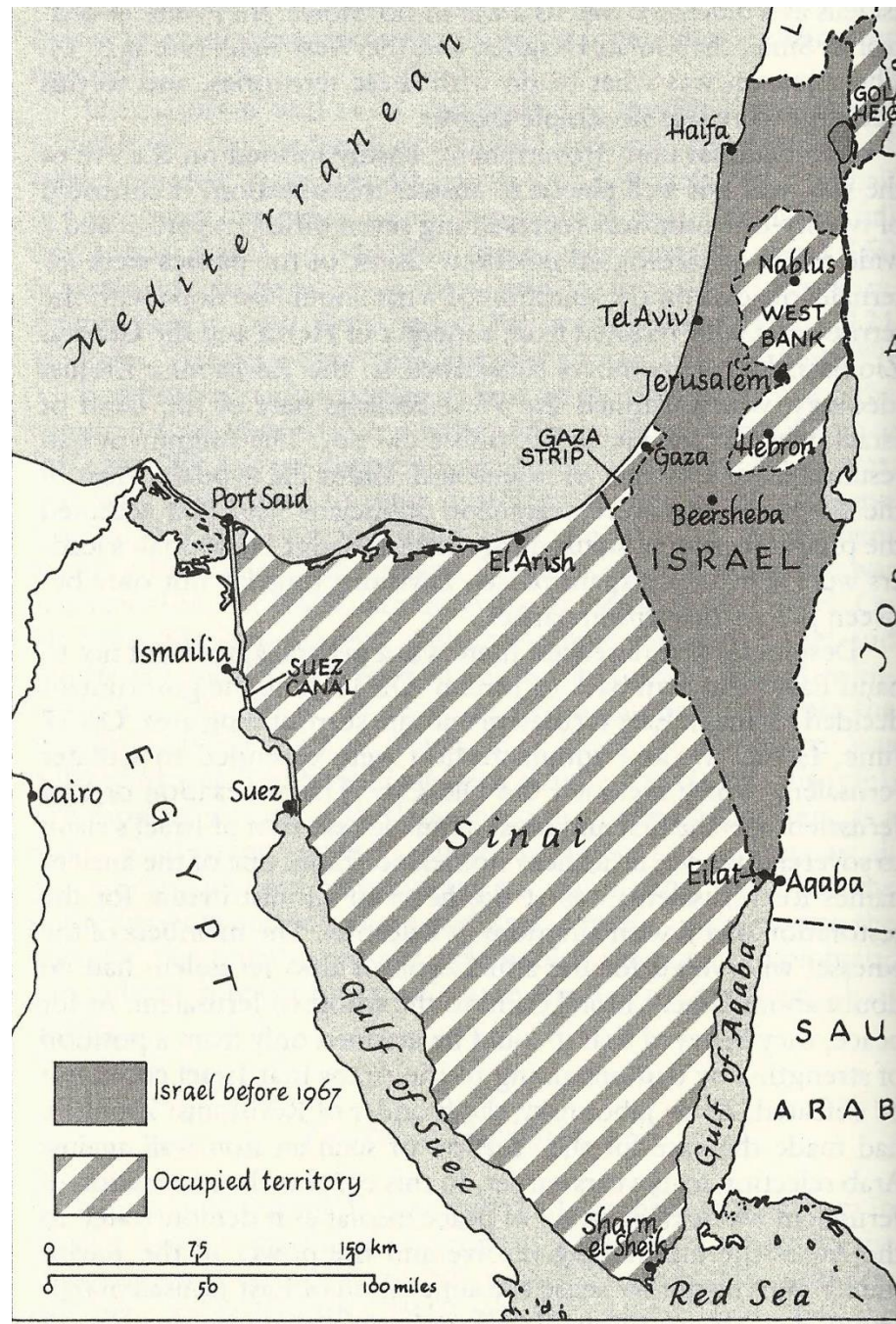
Battle of Golan Heights, 9-10 June 1967

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# Six Day War-Results



# Six Day War

## Day 1

- IAF attacks Egypt from northwest
- Initial reports (by Hosni Mubarak , a pilot) are that US is attacking
- 70% of Egyptian planes destroyed, along with 13 bases and 23 radar stations & AA sites.
- “The Egyptian air force has ceased to exist”
- Nasser doesn’t find out until 4 P.M.
- U.S.-U.S.S.R. hot line used for first time
- Cairo Radio announces at 6 P.M that U.S. is the hostile force behind Israel.
- U.N. Security Council meets at 9:30 EDT and demands a cease fire, which both the Arabs and Israel reject



# Six Day War

## Day 1

- Dayan insists on maintaining absolute press silence. Why?
  - Delay international pressure for cease fire.
- Cabinet makes no decision on invading East Jerusalem. Why?
  - Afraid of damaging holy sites
  - Afraid of international condemnation
- But did update U.S.
- Rostow memo to LBJ-“Herewith the account with a map of the first days turkey shoot”

# Six Day War

## Day 2

- Half of Nasser's land forces in Sinai still intact
- 48 Algerian Migs en route to Egypt
- Along with “volunteer forces “ from Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan
- Ho Chi Minh sends personal note to Nasser:
  - “ We are highly indignant of the actions of Israeli reactionary agents of U.S. & British imperialists”
- U.S.S.R. proclaims “... resolute support & complete confidence in the Arabs just struggle against imperialism & Zionism”
- U.S. & U.K. declare neutrality
- France embargos arms shipments to Israel

# Six Day War

## Day 2

- Nasser & Amer overreact. How?
  - Saw situation as far worse than it was
  - Ordered a disorganized retreat

# Six Day War

## Day 2

The arcane and convoluted relationship between Nasser and 'Amer had finally translated into anarchy in the field. Their honor irrevocably tarnished by the loss of their air force, of Gaza and northern Sinai, neither man had the will or the presence of mind to effect damage control. Neither had the skill to execute an organized retreat, always the most difficult of military maneuvers. Perhaps they believed that the face-saving myth of 1956 would repeat itself, and that the retreat could be spun as a tactical maneuver necessitated by overwhelming, imperialist odds. Maybe they hoped that so dramatic a setback to Soviet arms would impel the Russians to intercede. Ultimately, though, the question of why the order was given and who, Nasser or 'Amer, issued it, became moot. The Egyptian army was running.

# Six Day War

## Day 2

- ▣ Nasser & Amer in conversation with U.S.S.R. ambassador & letter to Kosygin blames
  - Russians for faulty weapons
  - U.S. for collusion
- Radio Cairo, Amman, & Damascus broadcast myth of collusion. What happens?
  - Mobs attack U.S. embassies & consulates throughout Middle East
  - Oil facilities shut down
  - Americans in Egypt deported at gunpoint

# Six Day War

## Day 2

- Generals tell Hussein-
  - "We are on verge of losing the West Bank. All our forces will be isolated or destroyed"
  - Two choices-
    - Accept a cease fire
    - Retreat
- Possibly an overreaction
- Hussein's dilemma

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Hussein's Dilemma

- Accepting a cease fire while Egypt still fighting
  - Palestinians might riot
  - Army might revolt
- Retreat might cause Nasser to withdraw troops from Jordan
- Hussein appeals to Washington
  - Reply is –take personal charge of your troops or remain a target
- Nasser calls Hussein-Don't give up. We & U.S.S.R will announce U.S. & U.K planes are taking part of the action.
- Hussein asks Nasser for permission to retreat
  - Answer is no

# Six Day War

## Day 2

- Israeli intelligence taps phone & passes info to LBJ.
- Who calls it “ The Big Lie”
- Syria & Saudi Arabia say they will send troops, but don't
- Iraq does



# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Syrian Front

- Dayan just wants to maintain position in north
- But massive artillery barrages from the Golan Heights
- Syria plans an offensive that never materializes. Why not?
  - Lack of training
  - Undisciplined
- Radio propaganda from Damascus says they are winning
- Rabin says: “Syria is willing to fight to the last Egyptian”

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Syrian Front

- Northern Commander wants to go on offensive
  - Rabin Supports
  - Mossad head says U.S. will support
- Why does Dayan oppose?
  - Doesn't want to stretch resources to thin
  - Didn't want to provoke Soviets
  - Doesn't see Syria as immediate threat
  - "We're afraid of the Egyptians, even though they are far away, because they're very strong, and we're afraid of the Jordanians, though they are weak, because they are very close. But the Syrians are weak and far away-there's no immediate need to attack them"

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Syrian Front

- Cabinet indecisive
- “Don’t interfere with security matters. In security matters there’s no democracy. If you interfere I’ll quit”
  - Dayan to those cabinet ministers who favor Golan offensive
- Once the other fronts were decided the Syrians turn would come - Dayan
- What do you think?

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Syrian Front

- Israel's lack of response to Golan artillery emboldens Syria
- Plans attack that never materializes
  - 3 brigades failed to arrive
  - Bridges too narrow for Soviet tanks
  - Lack of discipline
  - Lack of training

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Jerusalem & West Bank

- Hussein requests a tacit cease fire
- Dayan rejects with objective of West Bank conquest
- Cabinet again indecisive about attacking Old City
- Dayan against attacking Old City even after it had been encircled.  
Why?
  - U.S pressure
  - Vatican pressure to make it an open city inviolate from attacks
  - Afraid if captured would be forced to give back

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### at the U.N.

- Eban goes to U.N. to forestall adoption of a Cease Fire Resolution.  
Why?
  - Ensure a military victory
- Security Council speech
  - “mastery of phrase making” – New York Times
  - “one of the greatest diplomatic speeches of all time” – Chicago Tribune
- Massive U.S. outpouring of support

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### at the U.N.

But Eban had no time for text-viewing. Moments later he was called to address the Council where, reading from handwritten notes jotted in transit, he delivered a tour de force.

Declaring that Israel had “passed from serious danger to successful and glorious resistance,” Eban went on to chronicle the origins of the crisis, beginning with remilitarization of Sinai, the removal of UNEF, and Nasser’s blockade of Tiran. Rich in metaphor—“Israel . . . is breathing with a single lung,” he said, referring to the blockade, and then to UNEF: “an umbrella that is taken away as soon as it begins to rain”—his remarks were also high on drama. “Look around this table and imagine,” he asked with a glance at each ambassador present, “a foreign power forcibly closing New York or Montreal, Boston or Marseilles, Toulon or Copenhagen, Rio or Tokyo or Bombay Harbor. How would *your* government react? What would *you* do? How long would *you* wait?” Finally, all but ignoring Herzog’s caveat, he evinced Israel’s “instinct for peace” and called for a comprehensive peace plan for the Middle East. “Let us build a new system of relationships from the wreckage of the old! Let us discern across the darkness the vision of a brighter and gentler dawn!”<sup>30</sup>

XXI . . . Eban is shown here again exceeding his instructions were

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Negotiations

- Eshkol through back channels asks LBJ
  - Stall
  - Prevent U.S.S.R. from intervening
- LBJ agrees, but
- Ben-Gurion from his sources inside the government says-
  - “America wants us to finish off Nasser quickly”



# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Negotiations-U.S. Position

- “We can’t make Israel accept any puny settlement.” Dean Rusk
- “... whether the settlement of this war shall be on the basis of armistice agreements , which leave the Arabs in the posture of hostilities in Israel, keeping alive the Israeli issue in Arab political life as a unifying force, and affording the Soviet Union a handle on the Arab world; or whether a settlement emerges in which Israel is accepted as a Middle Eastern state with rights of passage through the Suez Canal.” Walt Rostow

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### Negotiations-U.S. Position

- LBJ asks Kosgyin to support a cease fire resolution calling for troop withdrawals “... behind the Armistice Lines . But without prejudice to the respective rights , claims or positions of anyone and an end to acts of force regardless of their nature.”
- Two acceptances:
  - From Russian U.N. Ambassador thru deputy Foreign Minister-accept cease fire resolution even without withdrawal
  - Cable from Kosgyin- accept cease fire with withdrawal
  - What do you think?
- Israeli's not happy

# Six Day War

## Day 2

### At the U.N.

- Eban tells Security Council he accepts
- Resolution passes
- LBJ goes on T.V.,
  - But he is premature
  - Why?
- Egypt rejects
- “Unwittingly, Nasser was beginning to act more like an ally than an enemy” Yitzhak Rabin
- Hussein receives permission from Nasser to withdraw and Hussein accepts U.N. Resolution
  - But receives positive reports from his field commanders and prepares to rescind order

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### On the West Bank

- Hussein orders troops not to evacuate west bank
  - “...kill the enemy wherever you find them with your arms, hands, nails and teeth...”
  - “...respect the cease fire if Israel did”
  - Seems incongruous. What do you think?
- Nasser is irate. Why?
  - His troops are retreating.
- Pro Nasser demonstrations in Amman

# Six Day War

## Day 3

- Hussein's P.M. appeals to U.N. & U.S. Ambassador to Jordan to save Old City & prevent the Kingdom from collapsing
- LBJ hesitates. Why?
  - Burned by "Big Lie"
- Rusk sends cable to Tel Aviv-Communicates Hussein's cease fire offer & to "...take care of its own interest in Arab world."
  - What do you think that means?
  - Hussein had always been a moderating influence in Arab world

# Six Day War

## Day 3

- Eshkol & Dayan agree to attack encircled Old City, & issue order to refrain from shelling holy places
- Cease fire was to take place at dawn
  - Attack starts at 6 A.M.
  - Rusk's telegram arrives at 7 A.M.

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### The Big Risk

- Eshkol's reply to Rusk-
  - "Is Hussein really in control of his troops? West Jerusalem is still being shelled. When will shelling stop? Where can we meet Hussein's representatives?"
  - Why call it the Big Risk?
- Jordan continues to shell West Jerusalem
- Cabinet decides to capture East Jerusalem, overriding Eshkol

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### Capture of East Jerusalem

- Dayan decides to lay siege, fearing a frontal assault will damage holy places
- IDF paratroopers at Jerusalem's Western Wall shortly after its capture.
- Eshkol places holy places under jurisdiction of relevant clergy





# Six Day War

## Day 3

### Moscow

- Moscow wants speedy end to fighting. Why?
- “The war has shown that the Arabs are incapable of unity even when their vital interests are at stake.” unnamed Soviet official
- Egyptians & Syrians are counting on substantial Russian help & continue fighting
- LBJ warns Russia against interfering
  - “Big Lie” had boomeranged
  - On Russia’s demand Egypt cannot show any evidence of U.S. involvement

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### Moscow Changes Toward Israel

- After the first day of war Kosygin cautions Eshkol:
  - “ Should the government of Israel not follow the voice of reason and should it not stop the blood bath, it will bear the responsibility for the outbreak of war & for all it’s possible results.”
  - Too equivocal-no effect
- On the afternoon of the 3<sup>rd</sup> day Kosygin sends note to Eshkol (with copies to Western powers):
  - “If Israel does not immediately comply with the Security Council Resolution , the USSR will review it’s relations with Israel and will choose and implement other necessary steps which stem from the aggressive policy of Israel”
- Results?

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### Results of Moscow Changes Toward Israel

- Israel ignores
- Amer orders the troops that retreated across the Suez Canal to turn around and reengage
- His orders are ignored.
- Egyptian effort to spur the Soviets to intervene effectively pushed the Soviets to promote a cease fire and pushed the Israeli's to accelerate the attack

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### At The U.N.

- USSR demands immediate implementation of cease fire resolution
  - Israel accepts
  - Egypt does not

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### In Israel-planning for War's End

- Cabinet discussion of comprehensive peace or separate treaties
- What to do with the West Bank?
  - Annex?
  - Local autonomy?
  - Autonomous Palestinian State? –Dayan's proposal
- Gaza- "A bone stuck in our throats" Eshkol voicing uncertainty
  - Permanent IDF presence
- Control of Jerusalem irreversible
- Overthrow Egyptian regime?

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### In the U.S.

- Middle East experts say: “We should avoid like hell putting all Arab countries together on one side of the table and Israel on the other side”
- Assumes U.S. & Israeli positions dovetailed, but,
- With exception of cosmetic border changes Israelis were expected to forfeit their conquests in exchange for arms controls agreements, full peace treaties with Arab states & solution to refugee problem

# Six Day War

## Day 3

### LBJ Objectives

- Counter the “Big Lie”
  - Considers disseminating reports on Egypt’s use of poison gas in Yemen
- Take precautions against potential Arab oil boycott
- Use his support for Israel to convince American Jews to support his Viet Nam policy.
- Be careful of USSR reactions
- Meanwhile in the Sinai Israeli forces are advancing so fast they reach the Mitla pass before some Egyptian troops

# Six Day War

## Day 4

- 2/3 of Jordanian Army not functional & Hussein implores U.S. & U.K. to stop invading Jordan (proper)
- Dayan proposes bombing Cairo (Oren), but forbids the crossing of the Suez. Wants the army to not come within 12 miles of Canal. Why?
  - International waterway & would look bad
  - Provoke Soviets
- So why did they cross?
  - Destroy Egyptian army
  - Glory
  - Improve bargaining position



# Six Day War

## Day 4

### Syria

- Continual shelling of Kibbutzim from Golan Heights
- Arafat leads guerilla group to Golan & finds no Syrian troops
- Israeli Cabinet split over invasion of Syria. Why?
  - Afraid attacking Syria might bring in Russia
  - Guided by Dayan they decide to postpone for 1-2 days, but
  - They prepare by moving troops into position

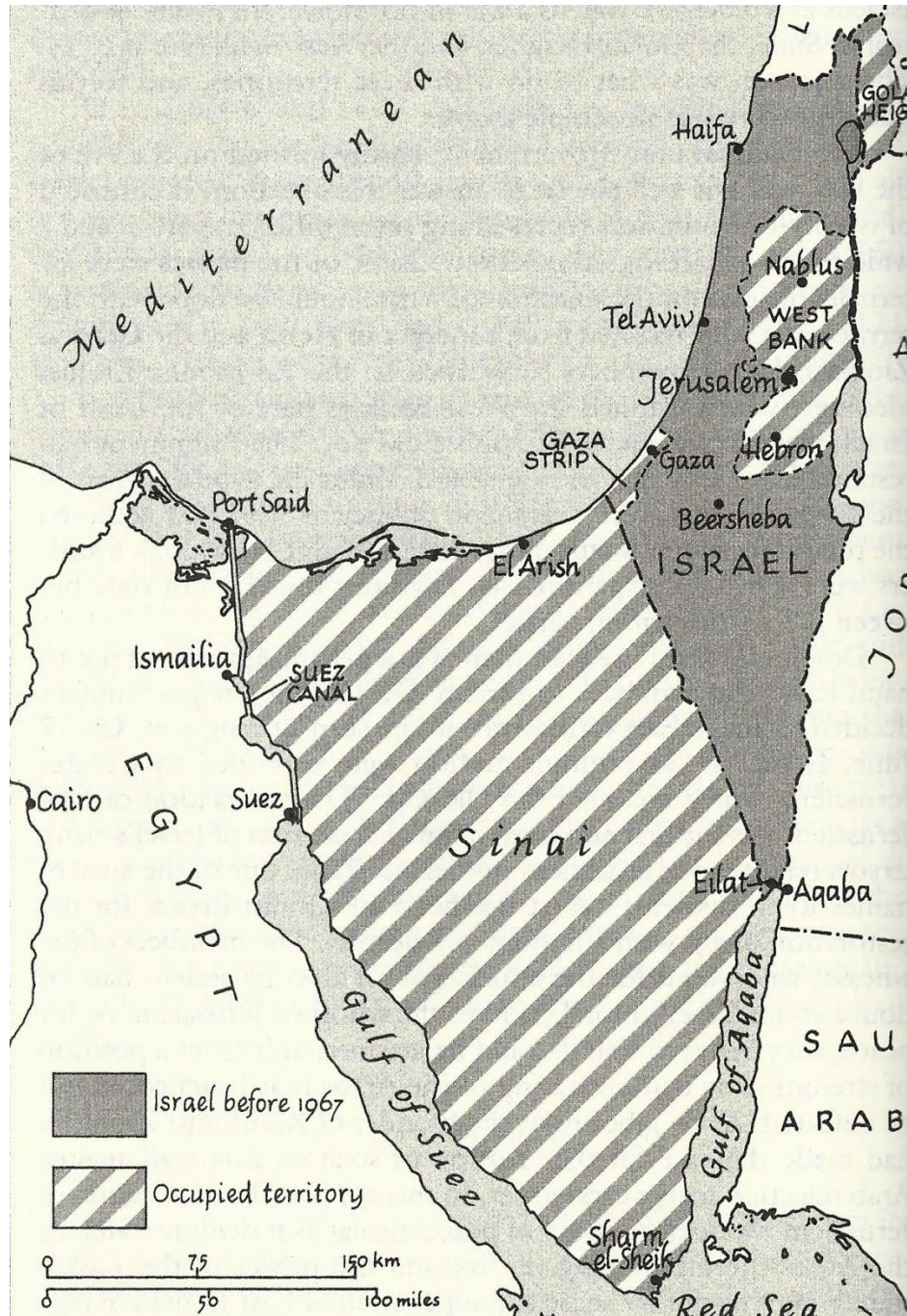
## Six Day War

### Day 4

#### USS Liberty

- 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet in Med-240 miles away
- Rabin repeatedly requests a U.S. Naval Liaison, which are ignored
- Requests U.S. acknowledge all ships in the area or remove them
- Liberty , a spy ship, 12 miles off coast , moving between al-Arish & Port Said
- Joint Chiefs order ship to withdraw, but orders not received
- Explosion occurs in al-Arish
- Multiple reconnaissance flyovers according to IAF
- Liberty is attacked by Israeli planes & PT boats-34 dead, 171 wounded
- Fighter Jets from 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet recalled

# Six Day War



Damaged USS *Liberty* one day (9 June 1967) after attack



# Torpedo damage to Liberty's research compartment - Starboard



# Six Day War

## Day 4

### USS Liberty

- LBJ receives word, but thinks it's Russians who attacked.
- Hot line used and realizes it's Israelis
- Israel offers apology along with \$12 million of restitution, which is accepted
- U.S. initially wants to downplay incident. Why?
  - Appearance of U.S. collusion
- U.S. couldn't figure out why Israel did this
  - Incompetence
  - On purpose



# Six Day War

## Day 4

### USS Liberty

- Israel internal review results in finding of “innocent mistake”
- “ No goddamned sense”- Eugene Rostow
- “...quite literally incomprehensible...an act of military recklessness reflecting wanton disregard for human life.”-Dean Rusk
- But U.S. doesn't investigate thoroughly. No question of;
  - Who sent *Liberty*
  - Why?
  - Was sending it a mistake?
- Arabs & Russia say Liberty was spying for Israel & was erroneously attacked

# USS Liberty

## *“What really happened?”*

- Crew believes
  - Attack was deliberate
  - that the Israelis wanted the seizure of the Golan Heights to be a fait accompli before the U.S. knew about it;
  - But don't understand why the Navy covered it up.
- CIA spy against Israel Bill Eveland believes
  - U.S. afraid that Israel would use A-bomb that CIA helped procure
  - It was Israel that was sending disinformation to the Arab world that Egypt was winning
    - Liberty found this out
    - Israel attacked



# USS Liberty

## *“What really happened?”*

- Richard Deacon, British espionage writer
  - Israel & U.S intelligence struck a deal for a limited war as long as Jordan & Syria were not attacked.
  - State Department informs Israeli Ambassador that it knows of Israeli's disinformation campaign and to stop.
  - Israel also afraid that other information *Liberty* got would end up in Egyptian hands

# USS Liberty

## *“What really happened?”*

- “Oil men” asked White House to throw the Arabs a secret bone. So Arabs would think U.S. secretly on their side no matter what was said in public
- Liberty detached from Navy control & placed under NSA control
- Liberty was getting raw intelligence
- Which it dumped to the British Secret Service listening post in Cyprus to make a war map
- Which it intended to turn over to the Egyptians

# USS Liberty

*“What really happened?”*

- This detailed order of battle knowledge allows Egypt to attack wherever Israel is weakest
- As long as *Liberty* was transmitting, Israel could lose the war or at the very least it could be dragged out.
- Remember Dayan initially did not want to attack Golan because he felt it would over extend his resources.
- Initially Egypt does not want a cease fire, but after the attack they do.

# USS Liberty

## What Really Happened?

- Israel warned of *Liberty's* mission by Israeli mole inside-
  - Egyptian Intelligence or
  - British intelligence
- IAF reconnaissance plane over *Liberty*
- Cabinet approves plan to attack *Liberty* with minimal loss of life after somehow getting copy of ships building plans
- After first attack Mossad tells CIA, CIA tells Navy to recall 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet planes. Why?

# USS Liberty

## *“What really happened?”*

- Israel had proof that U.S. had committed an act of war by giving Israel's enemy military secrets
- U.S. begged Israel to pretend the attack was a mistake
- U.S. public excuses
  - Facilitate evacuation of U.S. citizens
  - Observe newly installed Soviet radar systems
  - Liberty never received pull back messages from Joint Chiefs
    - Sound familiar?
    - Pearl Harbor!
  - But how could the most sophisticated communications ship in the world not receive the message?
    - NSA told ship to ignore

# USS Liberty

## *“What really happened?”*

- Huh?
  - Three man civilian crew from NSA picked up in Rota, Spain on 6/2 & controlled ships communication room
- More circumstantial corroboration
  - Nasser keeps on fighting
  - After incident no Arab leader alleged ship was spying on behalf of Israel
  - General quarters on the *Liberty* ordered before the attack

## Six Day War

### Day 4

### At the U.N.

- Discrepancy between U.S. & Israeli positions
  - Eban opposes any linkage between cease fire & the return of forces to the 6/4 lines, no reference to Armistice Agreements, no mention of withdrawal
  - Goldberg tells Eban: “It is necessary... that Israel should not emerge from the current situation as a power with designs to infringe on the territorial integrity of other countries.”
- USSR – “Israel’s military hordes are following in the bloody footsteps of Hitler’s executioners”
- Israel's response: “Neither Israel or the Jewish people concluded a pact with Hitler’s Germany...”
- Council does not accept either countries resolution

# Six Day War

## Day 4

### In Egypt

- Nasser incommunicado for 3 days
- Is not willing to accept any cease fire resolution against Soviet advice
  - “ The Jews will keep on fighting until they achieve their objectives”
- “What will we tell our people.” Secret Service Chief Salah Nasir
- Amer orders Suez bridges dynamited
- Late afternoon Nasser decides to accept a Cease fire resolution



# Six Day War

## Day 4

### At the U.N

- Egypt's acceptance is announced at U.N.
- Syria is expected to accept
- Soviet Ambassador: “ If Israelis become drunk with success and pursue their aggression further, the future of this little country will be a very sad one indeed.”
- But Israeli cabinet still debates whether to attack Golan and Dayan opposes. Why?
  - Afraid of Soviets
  - France won't supply jets
  - U.S. opposition
  - Lack of sufficient forces
  - We can resettle kibbutzim beneath Golan
  - He wants to be the one to make decision

# Six Day War

## Day 5

### The Golan

- Israel intercepts cable from Nasser to Syria:  
“For your own benefit allow me to advise you to accept the cease fire immediately and inform U Thant of that fact. This is the only way to save the valiant Syrian Army. We have lost the battle. God help us in the future.”
- Dayan, without consulting cabinet orders attack on Golan.
- Eshkol stunned. Not because he disagrees , but because Dayan disregarded democratic norms

# Six Day War

## Day 5

### Egypt

- Sinai Peninsula conquered
- Entire Eastern bank of Gulf of Suez occupied
- Egypt scuttles ships in Canal.
- Israeli troops could have entered Cairo according to British intelligence
- Le Monde claims Cairo's citizen's calling Nasser "The Beast"
- Egyptian embassy in Algiers attacked
- Egyptian cultural center in Tunis burned down while chanting "Nasser traitor"
- The Arab world had been shamed and angered and desperately needed a scapegoat.

# Six Day War

## Day 5

### Egypt

- Nasser willing to accept scapegoat role

“My personal guard is at the front, along the Canal. But I need nothing except for my pistol. It is here in my pocket ready”-  
Implication?

- 
- 
-

# Six Day War

## Day 5

### Egypt

- Similar outpourings of support from all over Arab world
- “ Let the bombs fall and let 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet come to our shores, but we want you to stay” – Egyptian TV anchorman sobbing
- Oren:

Whether impromptu or not, the outpouring of support proved irresistible. Nasser accepted the resignations of ‘Amer and Badran and of virtually all his general staff—the army’s command went to Muhammad Fawzi—but quickly rescinded his own. A statement pledged that the president would discuss his position with the National Assembly, but en route to the session, his motorcade was allegedly blocked by celebrating citizens. The next communiqué revealed that Nasser “could not ignore the voice of the people,” and would remain in office until “the traces of Israel’s aggression were eradicated.” <sup>10</sup>

# Six Day War

## Day 5

### The Golan

- Israel continues Golan advance
- Syria continues shelling
- Even though both accepted idea of cease fire
- In the U.N. charges & counter charges
- USSR ambassador wants to amend cease fire resolution even though Syria says it will accept simple resolution
- Vote doesn't come until 6:30 P.M. giving Israel more time to advance

# Six Day War

## Day 5

- U.S. contradictions
  - Wants Israel gains so they can be used as bargaining chip
  - Eager to see Syria punished, but
  - Wants to avoid clash with Russia, so supports a cease fire
- Russia pledges to give Egypt & Syria assistance
- Israeli cabinet agrees to continue fighting in evening & next day

# Six Day War

## Day 6

### U.N., U.S. & U.S.S.R.

- Security Council convenes at 4:30 A.M. at Syria's request as Israeli troops press into Syria
- U.S. propose resolutions that both sides respect cease fire
- Russian Ambassador goes ballistic insisting only Israel be condemned.
  - “ The circle is complete! The perpetration of the crime is proved!”
    - Rancor reflects internal Politburo conflict over confronting U.S. in the Middle East
    - Former premier Khrushchev bewails failure to rein in Nasser or gauge Israel strength
    - “The war had demonstrated the USSR's willingness to turn away from these countries in a critical moment after having encouraged the passions which precipitated showdown”



# Six Day War

## Day 6

### U.S. & U.S.S.R.

- Kossygin hot line message to LBJ

A very crucial moment has now arrived which forces us, if military actions are not stopped in the next few hours, to adopt an independent position. We are ready to do this. However, these actions may bring us into a clash which will lead to a grave catastrophe . . . We propose that you demand from Israel that it unconditionally cease military action . . . We propose to warn Israel that if this is not fulfilled, necessary actions will be taken, including military.

- LBJ assures Kossygin that he has done his utmost to restrain the Israeli's and he should do the same with Syrians. "Peace would be served if the Kremlin publicly & categorically eschewed Nasser's Big Lie"
- Orders 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet to turn around & station itself within 100 miles of Israeli coast

# Six Day War

## Day 6

### U.S. Pressures Israel

- “The U.S. government does not want war to end as a result of a Soviet ultimatum. This would be disastrous for the future not only for Israel, but of us all. It is your responsibility to act now.” Goldberg to Israeli U.N. Ambassador
- “You alone bear the responsibility for continuing the fighting with Syria. World opinion has turned against you and the Congress has had it’s fill.”

Eugene Rostow & Nicholas Katzenbach to Israel’s U.S. Ambassador

# Six Day War

## Day 6

- Russia & all communist countries (except Romania) break off diplomatic relations with Israel
- U.S. turns down requests for military aid to Israel
- Israel cabinet reconsiders

# Six Day War

## Day 6

### 10 A.M. Israeli Cabinet Meeting

“We must finish quickly. We’re under heavy pressure from the UN,” Eshkol stressed. The prime minister was also resisting demands from Cabinet ministers whose opposition to the offensive had stiffened with the strain in Israel’s relations with the United States, and the rupture of those with Moscow.

“When can you complete the job?” Dayan wanted to know.

Dado assured them that Israeli forces would reach their objectives along a line stretching from Majdal Shams in the far north, though Quneitra, to Butmiya by four o’clock that afternoon.

Eshkol cut in: “If you say four, it could be five or six.”

“Sir,” the general smiled. “If I say four, I mean two or three.”

# Six Day War

## Day 6

- “The issue of simple withdrawal as opposed to withdrawal as part of an overall settlement will be the main and somewhat tricky problem as soon as the cease fire firms up.” Goldberg
- “... it will be necessary to proceed to the next step of evacuating the territory occupied by Israel and the return of troops behind the Armistice line.” Kosygin
- “ I hope our efforts in the days ahead can be devoted to the achievement of a lasting peace through the world.” LBJ
- Comments?

# Six Day War Results



# Six Day War

## Post Mortem

- Arose from misjudgments. One rash step after another, e.g.-
  - Samu incident that got no Egyptian support and resulted in Hussein taunting Nasser
- Russia is instigator
- But Jordan not really keen on war
- Syria demanded pan-Arab strike
- Syria supported Fatah guerilla attacks which were a paramount cause

# Six Day War

## Post Mortem-Arabs

- Salah al – Hadidi, chief justice of trials of Egyptian officers held accountable for the defeat

These were not elite professional troops lavishly equipped with the most modern equipment, but for the most part civilian reservists, with comparatively limited training behind them, who were carried into battle in civilian transport, and were supplied and supported by essentially civilian services. By comparison, the professional Arab armies showed a total lack of appreciation of the essential elements of modern warfare, and an almost equal inability to use the sophisticated weapons and equipment provided by their Russian quartermasters. Their leadership on almost all fronts was inept to a degree which hardly seems possible after 10 years of preparation and training for a war which was to bring about Israel's annihilation.



# Six Day War

## Post Mortem-Dayan

Moshe Dayan proved less complimentary. His final report to the general staff criticized Israel's misreading of Nasser's intentions, its overdependence on the United States and hesitation to act the minute Egypt closed the Straits. Yet Israel had "ended the Six-Day War with maximum lines on all fronts," in spite of these shortcomings, he wrote. The reason was that Egypt had failed to appreciate the advantages of launching a first strike, had failed to gauge the enemy's power and his willingness to use it. Lulled into arrogance by these errors, the Israelis would repeat them six years later, in their next major war with the Arabs.<sup>9</sup>

# Six Day War Post Mortem

## Effect of 3 Week Waiting Period

- Nasser occupies Sinai on May 14
  - Has not done sufficient (if any) planning
- Helpful for Israeli's
  - Allows for better organization
  - Public relations with U.S.

# Six Day War Losses

	Dead, Missing and Wounded	POWs
Egypt	20,000-25000	5,000
Jordan	7,000	550
Syria	2,300	365
Israel	3,300	15
USSR		2*

Egypt lost 85% of it's military hardware

# Six Day War

## Israeli Goals

- Eliminated threat by destroying Nasser's army
- Opened Straits of Tiran
- No other objectives planned, but
  - Seizure of Sinai
  - Conquest of West Bank
  - Conquest of Golan
  - Liberation of East Jerusalem

# Six Day War

## Aftermath-Israel

- Three Arab Villages near Latrun destroyed
  - Accused of billeting Egyptians commandos on attack on Lod Airport
  - Compensated
  - Extra-Judicial
  - Most controversial
- Religious leaders retain control over holy sites including waqf on Temple Mount
  - Dayan heavily criticized
- Jordan had destroyed Old City Synagogues and used tombstones for pavers & latrines

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Israel

- “There is a festive air in the city. All the Arabs are in Zion Square and all the Jews are in the bazaars.”
  - Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem, 6/9/67
- Between 175,000 & 250,000 Palestinians flee the West Bank for Jordan
- Dayan allows free movement of Arabs from West Bank & Gaza
- But mobs attacked Jewish neighborhoods in Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, Tunisia & Morocco.
- Tunisia’s Bourgiba & Morocco's King Hassan are only Arab leaders that condemn these actions.

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Israel

- Rabin & Dayan become icons
- Rabin names it
- Begin who opposed the decision goes on to become 1<sup>st</sup> non-Labor Prime Minister
- Eshkol was never given the credit he deserved

Caught between the “politicians” and the “security men,” grappling with the protean positions of Dayan, was Israel’s prime minister, Eshkol. He had been overshadowed by the military men and haunted by his alleged indecisiveness in the weeks preceding the war. The man who had stood up to the entire general staff, who had bargained with Johnson and called Kosygin’s bluff, whose determination to wait three weeks had won much of world opinion and given his army much-needed time to prepare—that man sat unheralded among the Mount Scopus guests.

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Israel

### BUT

Just over a year later, Eshkol was dead, the victim of heart failure brought on—Col. Lior persistently believed—by the stresses of the Six-Day War. Strangely, one of the primary sources of that tension, Moshe Dayan, rushed to the foot of the prime minister's deathbed, cried “Eshkol!” and burst sobbing out of the room. Indeed, all of Israel was stunned. The *Ha'aretz* editors, who had once demanded Eshkol's resignation from the Defense Ministry, praised his “ability to run the state with a staff of refinement rather than the stick of wrath,” and his “roots as a Jew, an Israeli, and man experienced in the ways of life far beyond politics.” Another daily, *Ma'ariv*, acknowledging his leadership in the 1967 war, speculated that, “perhaps only Eshkol, whose personality combined audacity, obstinacy, and weakness, could have weathered the most serious crisis Israel ever faced.”



# Six Day War Aftermath

## Israel

- Israeli's felt invincible
- Generals thought they were a regional power
- Secured Borders-
  - Pre 67 war length of border 985 km
  - Post 67 war border length 650 km
  - Jordan River natural buffer
  - Damascus, Syria only 1 hour drive from cease fire line
  - Suez Canal –biggest tank ditch in the world

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Israel

- Or maybe not so invincible
- Russia became even more friendly to Egypt
- Palestinian issue rose to center stage
- Jewish settler movement exacerbates animosity to Israel
- PLO extolling violence paves way for Islamist extremists
- Peace is only short term

# Six Day War

## Aftermath-Arabs

- Arab intellectuals express disillusionment with Arab Nationalism or,
- Advocated more radicalism along lines of Cuba or Viet Nam
- Painful examination of Arab society, personality & psyche and
- Disparity between Israeli and Arab soldiers
- Arab politicians took no responsibility

# Six Day War

## Aftermath-Arabs

- Hussein seeks U.S. assurances that it would seek to restore West Bank to him
- Syria refused to consider diplomatic resolution
- Nasser combines military threats with diplomatic overtures
- Nasser in return for greater Soviet assistance to rebuild military gives them port in Alexandria
- But Nasser wants to get closer to U.S.
  - So he tries to get closer to Hussein and Faisal
- Nasser & Hussein want to get subsidies from oil states

# Ben-Gurion Arab Views

"With compulsory transfer we [would] have vast areas .... I support compulsory [population] transfer. I do not see anything immoral in it. But compulsory transfer could only be carried out by England .... Had its implementation been dependent merely on our proposal I would have proposed; but this would be dangerous to propose when the British government has disassociated itself from compulsory transfer. .... But this question should not be removed from the agenda because it is central question. There are two issues here : 1) sovereignty and 2) the removal of a certain number of Arabs, and we must insist on both of them."

with whisky, said, "*Habibi* – My friend – it won't work. Our genes are too different. You Jews come from everywhere. You are mongrels. We Arabs come from the desert. We are thoroughbreds. You think in subtleties, we think in primary colors."

"What do you mean – primary colors?" I asked.

He placed a hand on my shoulder, whether in fellowship or to steady himself I could not tell, and rambled on, "Primary colors means that there is nothing subtle about the desert. Everything there is in the extremes – blazing hot days, icy cold nights, arid sands, luscious oases. That's why we Arabs are most at ease in the extremes. It's in our blood. We can be over-generous one minute, over-greedy the next, hospitable one minute, cut-throat the next, fatalistic one minute, straining at the leash the next. And at this minute" – he had me by the hand – "I'm in a highly hospitable mood, so please come upstairs and join my daughter's wedding. No? You have other things to do? Fine! Then I shall go alone," and off he went, walking with the over-disciplined stride of a man under the influence.

"What was that supposed to mean?" asked Buddy, mystified.

Bemused myself, I answered, "I'm not at all sure. I'm not sure how much was him doing the talking and how much was the drink. But what I do know is that when it comes to our conflict they do appear most at ease in the extremes."

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Knesset 6/18/67

- What to do with the 1.2 million Arabs & 42,000 square miles that were conquered?
- Knesset annexes East Jerusalem & surrounding areas
- Viewed by Israelis as an act of peace
- Demonstrates Israeli resolve
- Peres proposes demolition of Old City walls

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Israeli Cabinet Meeting 6/19/67

- Secretly by 1 vote decides to trade Sinai & Golan for peace treaties with Egypt & Syria
- With Gaza being incorporated into Israel
- With the following conditions:
  - Freedom of navigation of :
    - Straits of Tiran , Gulf of Aqaba & Suez Canal
  - Overflight rights of Straits of Tiran & Gulf of Aqaba
  - Demilitarization of Sinai Peninsula & Golan Heights
  - Noninterference with the flow of water into the Jordan River
- What's missing?



# Six Day War Aftermath-Decisions

- No decision on West Bank
- Eban warns that annexation of West Bank & Gaza will undermine Israel's Jewish majority. Willing to give West Bank to Jordan
- Begin opposes any territorial concessions
- Dayan says he is waiting for phone to ring-No use discussing peace terms since the Arabs will never accept Israel
- Eban meets with Rusk asking him to transmit proposal, which Egypt & Syria reject according to Eban
- Rusk says Eban never asked me to transmit proposals & there is no record of receiving the proposals in Egypt & Syria.

# Six Day War Aftermath-Decisions

- Second thoughts about cabinet decision. Why?
  - Too generous
  - Military wanted Golan for security
- Settlements authorized in Golan Heights even though legal advisor of the Israeli Foreign office says they are illegal
- West Bank settlements start up which were originally unsanctioned
- What's the immediate effect?
- This effectively defeats previous cabinet peace proposal even if the Arab States did not reject

"My conclusion is that civilian settlement in the administered territories contravenes the explicit provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention."

In the detailed opinion that accompanied that note, Mr. Meron explained that the Convention — to which Israel was a signatory — forbade an occupying power from moving part of its population to occupied territory. The Golan, taken from Syria, was "undoubtedly 'occupied territory,' " he wrote.

Mr. Meron took note of Israel's diplomatic argument that the West Bank was not "normal" occupied territory, because the land's status was uncertain. The prewar border with Jordan had been a mere armistice line, and Jordan had annexed the West Bank unilaterally.

But he rejected that argument for two reasons. The first was diplomatic: the international community would not accept it and would regard settlement as showing "intent to annex the West Bank to Israel." The second was legal, he wrote: "In truth, certain Israeli actions are inconsistent with the claim that the West Bank is not occupied territory." For instance, he noted, a military decree issued on the third day of the war in June said that military courts must apply the Geneva Conventions in the West Bank.

There is a subtext here. In treating the West Bank as occupied, Israel may simply have been recognizing legal reality. But doing so had practical import: if the land was occupied, the Arabs who lived there did not have to be integrated into the Israeli polity — in contrast to Arabs within Israel, who were citizens.

In effect, the Meron memo told Eshkol: you cannot have it both ways. If the West Bank was "occupied" for the Arab population, then neither international law nor Israel's democratic norms permitted settling Jews there.

The memo did note, however, that settlement was permissible if done "by military bodies rather than civilian ones" in bases that were clearly temporary. A week after receiving the memo, Eshkol informed the cabinet that Kfar Etzion would be re-established — through a branch of the army called Nahal, which created paramilitary outposts. By the end of September, settlers arrived at Kfar Etzion. Publicly they were described as "Nahal soldiers." In fact, they were civilians. The ruse acknowledged Mr. Meron's opinion. It also showed a sadly mistaken confidence that the legal, ethical and diplomatic difficulties of settlement could somehow be avoided.

# Six Day War Aftermath-Decisions

- Alternatives for West Bank
  - Palestinian Option -initially unproductive
  - Jordanian Option
- Considerations?
  - Security
  - Demography
    - Eshkol's response to Meir when asked what they would do with a million Arabs-
    - "The dowry pleases you, but the bride does not."
  - What Eshkol had in mind was "...only a semi-autonomous region, since the security and the lands are in the State of Israel. I won't mind if in the end they want representation in the U.N. I began with an autonomous region, but if it transpires that this is impossible, they will get independence."

# Six Day War Aftermath-Decisions

- Allon Plan
  - Objective to keep as few Arabs as possible
  - Permanent Settlements
  - Army Bases
  - Negotiate with local leaders
- Dayan Plan
  - 4 Army bases surrounded by settlements
  - Near Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah & Hebron
  - Settle Jews in densely populated Arab areas
- 8/20 Cabinet adopts military component of Dayan Plan & civilian component of Allon Plan



# Six Day War Aftermath

## Arabs

- Arab public opinion hardened
- “The Arab masses will never let any responsible Arab person remain alive who would dare negotiate with Israel”  
Egyptian radio broadcast
- USSR rearms Nasser after hard negotiations
- Nasser to Arab foreign ministers in July  
We need a period of 2–3 years before we are ready to launch a far-reaching operation to remove the traces of the aggression, but we must hide our preparations under political activity that will convince our friends, and first and foremost the USSR, that we did everything possible within the UN framework and in international negotiations.
- Amer attempts coup for 9/1/67 when Nasser is at Khartoum



# Six Day War Aftermath

## Khartoum Arab Summit Meeting

### 9/1/67

### Hussein on Nasser

But then we talked about the need for a resolution and the need for a peaceful solution to the problem. And his approach was that “I feel responsible. We lost the West Bank and Gaza and that comes first. I am not going to ask for any withdrawal from the Suez Canal. It can stay closed forever until such time as the issue of the West Bank and of Gaza is resolved and the issue of the Palestinian people is resolved. So go and speak of that and speak of a comprehensive solution to the problem and a comprehensive peace and go and do anything you can short of signing a separate peace.” And I said in any event I am not considering signing a separate peace, because we want to resolve this problem in a comprehensive fashion.<sup>65</sup>



# Six Day War Aftermath

## Khartoum Arab Summit Meeting

### 9/1/67

- Syrian boycotts, Arafat not invited.
- “Difference between political action and the liquidation of the issue”  
Nasser
- Three no’s
  - No recognition of Israel
  - No peace
  - No negotiations
- Effectively closed door on 6/19 Israeli cabinet meeting
- Was Khartoum a victory for Arab moderation or radicalism?

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Khartoum Arab Summit Meeting

### 9/1/67

### Key Resolution Text

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.

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# Six Day War Aftermath

## Khartoum Arab Summit Meeting

### 9/1/67 – Compromise?

- 1<sup>st</sup> sentence backed by Nasser & Hussein stressed a political resolution
- Second sentence seemed to contradict the first

# Six Day War Aftermath

## Khartoum Arab Summit Meeting

### 9/1/67

- ❑ Arab moderates viewed Khartoum positively because:
  - No *formal peace treaty* , but not a rejection of state of peace
  - No *direct* negotiations , but not a refusal to talk through 3<sup>rd</sup> parties
  - No *de jure recognition* of Israel, but acceptance of it's existence as a state
- What do you think?

# Six Day War Aftermath

## U.N. Resolution 242

- “the termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereign, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and the right to live in peace within secured and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force”
  - No references to previous armistice lines
  - Implies boundaries subject to negotiation

# Six Day War Aftermath

## U.N. Resolution 242

- “the withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in recent conflict”
- Not *from the territories*
- French & Arabic versions retain *the*

Israel accepted the resolution, albeit begrudgingly, as did Jordan. Nasser's response was more equivocal. While endorsing the UN's decision, he reiterated the three no's to his National Assembly, reminding it: “That which was taken by force will be regained by force,” and told his generals, “You don't need to pay any attention to anything I may say in public about a peaceful solution.” And yet, secretly, he signaled the Americans his openness to a nonbelligerency accord with Israel “with all of its consequences.” Iraq and Syria rejected the resolution entirely, denouncing it as “a deception of the people, a recipe for failure,” as did the Palestinians, incensed by their exclusion from the text. The PLO, which would approve 242 only twenty years later, declared in 1967: “unresolved, the Palestinian problem will continue to endanger peace and security not only in the Middle East, but in the entire world.”<sup>32</sup>

# Six Day War Aftermath

## U.N. Resolution 242

- Gunnar Jarring Swedish Ambassador to Moscow appointed as mediator
- According to Shlaim;
  - Arab States other than Syria had high expectations
  - Israel had no trust in U.N. and just used delaying tactics so it wouldn't be blamed for failure
  - Jarring didn't deal with Palestinians
  - U.S. showed no interest in Palestinian aspirations
- Would it have made a difference?



# Six Day War Aftermath

## Secret Negotiations with Hussein

This was totally rejected. And in point of fact in the subsequent period of negotiations and discussions and so on, I was offered the return of something like 90 plus percent of the territory, 98 percent even, excluding Jerusalem, but I couldn't accept. As far as I am concerned, it was either every single inch that I was responsible for or nothing. This was against the background of what happened in 1948 when the whole West Bank was saved, including the Old City of Jerusalem. Yet my grandfather eventually paid with his life for his attempts to make peace. If it were to be my responsibility, I had to return everything, not personally to me, but to be placed under international auspices for the people to determine what their future ought to be. We were perfectly happy with that. But I could not compromise. And so this repeated itself time and time and time again throughout the many years until 1990.<sup>72</sup>



# Six Day War

## Oren's Questions

The context facilitated the war, but had the war, in turn, transformed the context? Did it leave the region more or less unchanged, or did it establish an entirely new set of rules and rulers? Were those six explosive days really an act of creation, producing a modern Middle East fundamentally distinct from the old one?

# Six Day War

## Oren's Answer

Along with opportunities for peace, the Six-Day or June War opened the door to even deadlier conflagrations. Basic truths persisted: for all its military conquests, Israel was still incapable of imposing the peace it craved. Though roundly defeated, the Arabs could still mount a formidable military campaign. The status of territories could be negotiated but the essential issues—Israel's right to exist, the demand for Palestinian repatriation and statehood—remained. If the war was indeed a storm that altered the region's landscape, it also exposed the underlying nature of the Arab-Israel conflict—its bedrock. The modern Middle East created in 1967 was therefore a hybrid: a region of incipient promise but also of imminent dangers, a mixture of old contexts and new.