THE ARAB-ISRAELI WARS
Fabian Gacayan, Colin Jones, and Jessica Kirk.
**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

**McMahon-Hussein Correspondence (1915/1916)**
- Promises Arabs a state in the Middle East in a region that includes Palestine

**Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)**
- Splits up region between France and Britain in formal and informal influences
- Russian Tsar wanted a Russian sphere of influence
- Soviets leak the agreement to the world, following the Bolshevik Revolution

**Balfour Declaration (1917)**
- U.K. pledges to support a Jewish polity
- Theodor Herzl (*Der Judenstaat*, 1896)
# DEMOGRAPHICS

**Populations (1922) (Jewish Virtual Library)**

Larger Towns: 235,000  
Smaller Towns: 465,000

**Christians/Other:** 82,498 (11%)  
**Jewish:** 83,794 (11%)  
**Muslims:** 590,890 (78%)  
**Total:** 757,182

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Arabs</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>731,000</td>
<td>791,000</td>
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<td>1922</td>
<td>83,790</td>
<td>668,258</td>
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[procon.org](http://procon.org)
Population of Mandatory Palestine by religion (1945)

- Jewish: 553,600
- Muslim: 1,061,270
- Christian: 149,650

PALESTINIAN LOSS OF LAND 1946-2010

1946
1947
1967
2010
THE ARAB-ISRAELI WARS

WAR

Israeli War of Independence/al-Nakba (1948)

Tripartite Aggression/The Sinai War (1956)

The Six-Day War (1967)

The Yom Kippur War (1973)

First Intifada (1987)

Second Intifada (2000)

Third Intifada? (2015)

BELLIGERENTS (Aggressor vs Defender)

Arab League (Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon, and Syria) vs. Israel

Tripartite Alliance (France, United Kingdom, and Israel) vs. Egypt

Israel vs. Arab League

Egypt & Syria vs. Israel

Palestinian Guerillas vs. Israel

Palestinian Guerillas vs. Israel
THEORIES FOR THE CAUSE OF THIS CONFLICT

**Marxian/Liberal Theory:**
We think that both Marxian and Liberal theories explain this conflict well. Both theories agree on the cause of this conflict: imperialism.

*Marxian:* Imperialism leads to imperialist rivalries that lead to violent revolution.

*Liberal/Neo-Marxian:* Imperialism leads to imperialist rivalries and the adoption of policies that lead to war.

Keep these paradigms in mind as we examine specific theories.
**NATIONALISM**

**Conservative thought:** Humanity is naturally divided into smaller units or nations that hold certain commonalities.

**Liberal and Marxian thought:** Humanity created nation states to further economic interests.

**Neo-Marxian thought:** Neo-Marxians go further by stating that nations are created to exploit weaker nations for an economic gain on a world systems scale.

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**Secular**

**Zionism:** is a movement that defined an ethnically Jewish community as a basis for a state, creating a Jewish homeland is critical.

**Pan-Arabism:** is a movement for an ethnically Arab state.

**Regional Nationalism:** is a movement for a state based on geographic location, e.g. Egyptian nationalism, Palestinian nationalism.

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**Religious**

**Pan-Islamism:** is a movement that defined an Islamic religious community (sometimes divided by sect) as a basis for a state.
All nationalisms resemble religious movements:

- They are based on a set of **myths** and **beliefs** (rather than rational analyses)
- They require from their adherents to be absolutely **loyal to the higher cause** of the nation
- Veneration their **national iconography** (flag, anthem)
- Participation in **national rituals** (parades)
- Respect the **cult of a national hero/leader**
- **Sacrifice of self** for the abstract entity called nation.

“The religion of the 21st century”
PART ONE:

ISRAEL’S INDEPENDENCE, & SINAI
While Jews continue to immigrate by the thousands, the U.K. Mandate runs out, but the country is war weary and out of money. No renewal of the mandate is attempted. Israel declares independence on 14 May 1948. Within days, Arab League declares war and invades Israel. Israel emerges victorious but Jordan captures the West Bank and Egypt captures the Gaza Strip. Over 700,000 Palestinians are displaced - become refugees.

Demographics

Jewish:
(1922) 83,794
(1945) 553,600
561% increase

Muslim:
(1922) 590,890
(1945) 1,061,270
80% increase

Christian:
(1922) 82,498
(1945) 149,650
81% increase

Nationalism

Zionists believe that Jews need their own state in order to exist.

British Mandate causes the emergence of Arab nationalism. Arabs fear that Zionists will take more neighboring territory.
Primary Theories:

**Transition of Power Theory** - Wars are a result of power transitions that occur when an industrialized and modernized rival challenges the old leader.

**War Weariness Theory** - Nations that have recently experienced a long and costly should be the most peaceful - at least in the short term.

Process:

The U.K. pulls out of Palestine, the British Mandate ends.
- Millions of British pounds are lost on the military upkeep
- Zionist insurgents harass war-weary U.K.

The U.K’s unilateral decision to withdraw in 1947, disrupts the balance of power.

Multiple actors see an opportunity to take power and attempt to seize it.
By 1956 the Suez Canal is the highway for petroleum bound for Europe. 1.2 million barrels of oil pass through the Suez Canal daily. Egyptian President Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal. The U.K., France and Israel form the Tripartite Alliance and invade Egypt. Results in a decisive Tripartite military victory and an Egyptian political victory when the U.S. and U.S.S.R force a withdrawal. U.N. emergency forces are stationed in the Sinai Peninsula.

Nationalism

Egypt views the revenue made by the Suez Canal as belonging to Egypt.

The Tripartite Alliance has significant economic interests in the Suez Canal.
Primary Theories

Imperialism: Aggressive expansion aimed at the establishment of foreign colonies for natural resources.

Secondary Theories:

Dependency Theory: Resources flow from a “periphery” of poor, underdeveloped states to a “core” of wealthy states. The “core” is enriched at the expense of the “periphery”.

Balance of Power: Equal power dissuades adventurism. Superiority may tempt the possessor to gain power at the expense of others.

Process:

Imperialism:
- Suez Canal is nationalized by Nasser against Tripartite wishes
- Britain, France, and Israel invade Egypt

Balance of Power:
- Egypt disrupts the balance of power in place by taking the Suez Canal
- The Tripartite respond, initiating war

Dependency-Theory:
- 1956: Nasser recognizes the PRC as “China”
- 1956: U.S. removes Aswan Dam (Egypt) funding
- Two things can happen:
  - Egypt receives funding from the U.S.S.R., but U.S. propaganda is used in the Eastern bloc
  - U.S.S.R. can’t fund the construction

(1956) THE TRIPARTITE AGGRESSION/THE SINAI WAR
PART TWO:

THE SIX-DAY WAR (1967)
&
THE YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973)
(1967) SIX-DAY WAR

Nasser requests the withdrawal of U.N. forces from the Sinai, his request is fulfilled. Nasser forms an union with Syria (known as the U.A.R. (1958-1961)) and mobilizes two divisions (20,000-35,000 troops) in the Sinai Peninsula in response to Soviet intelligence “confirming” an Israeli military mobilization on Syrian border. Israel chooses to launch a preemptive strike. Israel destroys the Egyptian Air Force within hours, and then routs Arab League troops and captures the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, and Golan Heights.

Demographics

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<th>(1945)</th>
<th>(1967)</th>
<th>Increase/Decrease</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>553,600</td>
<td>2,383,600</td>
<td>331% increase</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>1,061,270</td>
<td>289,600</td>
<td>73% decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>149,650</td>
<td>103,100</td>
<td>31% decrease</td>
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Nationalism

Nasser’s success with the U.N. withdrawal from the Sinai strengthens his belief in Egyptian nationalism.

Israel believes that only a preemptive war will ensure their survival as a state.

King Hussein of Jordan and President Nasser of Egypt sign a defense pact, May 1967.
**Primary Theories:**

**Proxy-War** - When an external, major power influences and instigates a war among other nations for personal gain.

**Secondary Theories:**

**Imperialism** - Aggressive expansion aimed at the establishment of foreign colonies for natural resources.

**Deterrence** - Using the threat of power to hurt as a bargaining chip.

**Process:**

**Proxy-War:**

USSR’s confirmation of bad intelligence is often cited as the immediate cause of war.

Nasser blocked Israeli shipping through the Straits of Tiran. 90% of Israeli oil was shipped through the Straits.

-“We did not think that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions he sent to Sinai on May 14 would not have been sufficient to launch an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it.” -Yitzhak Rabin to *Le Monde*, 28 February, 1968

-Did the Soviets push for this war to happen? If so, why?
-If Israel knew the U.A.R was not about to initiate a war, why were they so eager to invade? Economic interests or deterrence?
Nasser dies in 1970 and is succeeded by Anwar Sadat. Sadat wants a war with Israel to reclaim lost territory. In October of 1973, Egypt and Syria launch a sneak attack on Israel during the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur. Despite early military gains by Arab forces, Israel achieved military victory. Egypt signs a separate peace with Israel to regain control of the Sinai.

Nationalism

Sadat views the Sinai Peninsula as core Egyptian land and wants to reclaim it.

Israel maintains nationalist ideas from the preceding years.
Primary Theory:
Conservative Theory: The balance of power maintains peace. Equal power dissuades adventurism, while superiority tempts the possessor to gain power at the expense of others.

Process:
Conservative Theory:

This war was inevitable given the result of the Six-Day War. Similar to Germany after WWI; Arab states viewed the loss as a massive catastrophe. The balance of power between Israel and Arab states was disrupted.

Despite attempts at mediation by the US and USSR, Sadat was determined to reclaim the Sinai.

National Role Concept: Egypt views itself as the leader of the Arab states, in competition with British-backed Iraq.
American Israel Public Affairs Committee, or AIPAC, is a pro-Israel United States lobbying organization formed in 1963.

AIPAC has bi-partisan American support and claims multi-party support in Israel, but they have been linked to the far right nationalist Likud Party, a claim AIPAC fervently denies.

American imperialism, Zionist influence on US foreign policy, or genuine interest in the Israeli people?
PART THREE:

‘A HOLY WAR, A JUST WAR’

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS FANATICISM IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, POST-1970
“A religious conflict is much stronger than a national one, people will go further because religion is the most important thing.” - Dr. Ekrima Sa'eed Sabri

Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Palestine from October 1994 to July 2006
DEFINITIONS

FANATICISM: The quality of ‘fanatical’: “filled with excessive and single-minded zeal”

BIGOTRY: Intolerance toward those who hold different opinions from oneself.

FUNDAMENTALISM: ‘Literalists’: “belief in the strict, literal interpretation of scripture”
Since 1973 to present day, Gaza and West Bank referred to as the occupied / disputed territories:

- Administered by Israel, controlled by military force

**Population** (Israeli-PalestinianProCon.org)

(First Intifada) 1980s –
Jews 3,282,700
Arabs 2,100,000
60.9% of Jews to total pop

(Second Intifada) 2000s –
Jews 5,272,700 (add percent of percentages)
Arabs 5,139,100
50.6% of Jews to total pop
MANIFESTATIONS OF THESE RELIGIOUS FANATICISMS

ZIONISM: Biblical Validation, ‘God’s Will’
- Nationalism
- Theology
- Conservatism

HAMAS: Terrorism or Freedom Fighters
- Nationalism
- Theology
- Conservatism

DISPENSATIONALISTS: ‘End Time’ Narrative, Judeophilia
- Theology
- Conservatism
NATIONALISM: RELIGIOUS ZIONISM

An ideology based on the synthesis of a Jewish religious and national outlook

- Not all Jews residing in Israel are Zionists
- However, the rise in Jews being religiously motivated through this, originally secular, nationalism rose after the 1967 war in which Israel was victorious over the Arabs: a crushing defeat
- “Hand of God”, “God’s Will”: fundamentalist perspective
- The concept of the “Chosen People” and the “Promised land” came to solidify throughout the collective national consciousness of the Israelis
- ‘God gave the land to Abraham and his descendants’
- Attached this Jewish religious notion to nationalism
“The prophet Zechariah had foretold that in the end times, God will defend Israel and send His angels to fight for and with His people” (Religious Zionist opinion blog)

Zechariah 12:8 “In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the House of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.”

"Thou shalt not kill" applied only to killing fellow Jews, not non-Jews. - Rabbi Yisrael Ariel, 1986 (right-wing conservative)

Samuel 7:23-24 "And what one nation on the earth is like Your people Israel, whom God went to redeem for Himself as a people and to make a name for Himself, and to do a great thing for You and awesome things for Your land, before Your people whom You have redeemed for Yourself from Egypt, from nations and their gods? "For You have established for Yourself Your people Israel as Your own people forever, and You, O LORD, have become their God.

Deuteronomy 14:2 "For you are a holy people to the LORD your God, and the LORD has chosen you to be a people for His own possession out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth
While peace agreements were signed by Israel, the Camp David I Negotiations were hindered as Israel continued to confiscate and occupy land after First Intifada, 1987 = Palestinian guerilla reaction to this

Growth in Islamic HAMAS popularity, as moderation of PLO approaches with Israel not successful: (Camp David I) and Oslo Accords: Dec of Principals (1993)

PM Benjamin Netanyahu also “distrusted and fundamentally opposed” the established peace processes throughout his eras of prime ministership

Second Intifada, 2000 = result of flawed peace processes and continuous humiliation and low quality of life inflicted on Palestinians
Hitler didn’t want to exterminate the Jews at the time, he wanted to expel the Jews. And Haj Amin al-Husseini went to Hitler and said, ‘If you expel them, they’ll all come here.’ ‘So what should I do with them?’ he asked. He said, ‘Burn them.’

Anyone who goes to create today a Palestinian state and turns over land, is turning over land that will be used as a launching ground for attacks by Islamist extremists against the State of Israel.

Politically escalated by Israeli Likud Party PM through use of religious language utilized to characterise the war

Considers their plight as extremism rather than liberation

Political leaders harnessing religious feelings for own agendas

Signs of weakening secularism in both societies, turning to religious narratives for validation of nationalism
CONSERVATISM

Primary theory:

Conservatism through religion

Conservatism posits a ‘truth’ in human nature being unchanging, this concept of ‘truth’ also manifests in fundamental religious fanaticism in that the word of God is unaltered; unchanging

Process:

Through biblical verses and creeds, word of God endows Jews with spiritual claims to land of Israel
Post 1967 rise in collective national conscious that winning of this war due to “God’s will”
Elevated through tool of religious nationalism by political leaders, utilized by religious language
Intractable conflict due to Jewish Zionists asserting that Palestinians will not accept the unaltered truth of God’s word: believe only ones who understand the words correctly: bigotry
HAMAS: ‘Islamic Resistance Movement’

- Off-shoot of the Muslim Brotherhood
- Elected in 2006
- Social service and military wings
- Considered terrorists by West
- Operating out of Gaza, internal-external tunnels
- Reject Two State Solution
- Nationalistic religious group
HAMAS: RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

- Religious nationalistic project of liberation: Muslim framework instead of national Palestinian one (Christian and Druze Palestinians role?)
Defined in opposition of Israeli occupation

- “HAMAS founded to liberate Palestine, including Israel, from Israeli occupation and establish an Islamic State in area of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank.” - Former HAMAS leader Mahmoud Al Zahar

- Short term goal: Liberate Palestine
- Long term goal: Est IS from Jordan River to Med Sea

- Co-founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin: Israel created to destroy Muslims, religious obligation to destroy Israel

- HAMAS has the support of the people in Gaza: Islam offers a way to resist injustices
- Stimulus Response

“When our enemies usurp some Islamic lands, jihad becomes a duty binding all Muslims” Article 15, HAMAS Charter

“There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors.” Article 13, HAMAS Charter

To concede land is to concede Islam
HAMAS: THEOLOGY

"The Muslim attachment to Jerusalem does not begin with the prophet Muhammad, it begins with the prophets Abraham, David, Solomon and Jesus, who are also prophets in Islam."
- Ibrahim Hooper of the Washington-based Council on American-Islamic Relations

Jerusalem as a ‘proto-Muslim city’: claims to the land with spiritual legitimacy of Jewish, Muslims hold just as much of a claim with this reasoning

“And We ordained for them therein a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and for wounds is legal retribution.” Verse 5:45 Quran

Yet end of the verse states, “But whoever gives [up his right as] charity, it is an expiation for him. And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed – then it is those who are the wrongdoers.”

Muslims are encouraged to forgive their enemies. Jesus preached the same.
Primary theory:

Conservatism through religion

Conservatism posits a ‘truth’ in human nature being unchanging, this concept of ‘truth’ also manifests in fundamental religious fanaticism in that the word of God is unaltered; unchanging

Process:

Muslim spiritual and political claims to lands through proto-Muslim account of Jerusalem, and ancestry Quranic creeds: validation of ‘eye for an eye’ to attack Israel: unaltered word from God: believe only ones who understand God's words correctly: bigotry
Religious nationalism harnessed by HAMAS leaders for motivations to est IS and liberation
HAMAS believes the conflict intractable while Israel occupies and does not accept Palestine as Islamic land: Jihad only solution to occupation
CHRISTIAN ZIONISTS

- A movement out of American Evangelical Christians
- 59% American Christians believe End Times
- Pre-Millennialist Dispensationalists: In final stage of Biblical history, Jews must possess home in Holy Land before Jesus can return and fulfill prophecy of Armageddon. Rebuild of Third Temple. Salvation of Jews and Christians.
- Ted Haggard, the president of the association of the US National Association of Evangelicals Pre-Millennial Dispensationalist movement: 30 million registered members and many more sympathizers.
- Use “signs of times” to promote where in Biblical history

- Dispensationalism grown from 70s, rise in best selling books, 90s Israeli tourism partnership bringing over charismatic American evangelical leaders / est tours for supporters invoking solidarity, birth of televangelism
- AIPAC realigned itself in 80s with far-right of USA: fundamental Christians gained political voice / power to lobby dispensational / Israeli plight
- Israel has geo-politically benefitted from the dispensational beliefs: funding, organisations, and political support
- Boycott of Bush’s Road Map to Peace: God’s will predetermined and humanity must conform
"If the Jews want peace, they will stay away from Al Aksa. This is a decree from God. The Haram al-Sharif belongs to the Muslim. But we know the Jew is planning on destroying the Haram. The Jew will get the Christian to do his work for him. This is the way of the Jews. This is the way Satan manifests himself. The majority of the Jews want to destroy the mosque. They are preparing this as we speak." Dr. Ekrima Sa'eed Sabri, 1991
DISPENSATIONALISTS: THEOLOGY

Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham.

That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ.

“[13] I saw coming out of the mouth of the Dragon and out of the mouth of the Beast and out of the mouth of the False Prophet, three unclean spirits like frogs; [14] for they are spirits of demons, performing signs, which go out to the kings of the whole world, to gather them together for the War of the great Day of God, the Almighty. . . . [16] And they gathered them together to the place which in Hebrew is called Armageddon.”

New Testament, Revelation 16

“The nation is like a mighty lion; When it is sleeping, no one dares wake it. Whoever blesses Israel will be blessed, And whoever curses Israel will be cursed.” Numbers 24:9
CONSERVATISM

Primary theory:

Conservatism through religion

Conservatism posits a ‘truth’ in human nature being unchanging, this concept of ‘truth’ also manifests in fundamental religious fanaticism in that the word of God is unaltered; unchanging

Process:

Humans predetermined by God
Unaltered truth of what is to come: armageddon in Israel
Believe trouble in ME is inevitable, nations war with nations: nature of humankind (conservative philosophy and theology of Hobbes, St Augustine, original sin)
LIBERAL OR MARXIAN?

**Classical Liberal/Neo-Marxian:**
Imperialism can be resolved through peaceful, administrative means.

**Both:**
Imperialism creates imperialist rivalries, which cause war.

**Marxian:**
Imperialism leads to violent revolution.

In conclusion, we believe that imperialism, motivated by economic interests of multiple actors, caused this conflict to occur. This process is touched upon by Neo-Marxians, Classical Marxians and Classical Liberals.
FINAL THOUGHTS

Do you agree with our analysis?

Do you think peace talks are possible between Hamas and Israel?

Do you think the conservative theory is applicable to this conflict? If so, how?

Are there solutions to this conflict?