ISRAEL AND STRATEGIC INSTABILITY IN WEST ASIA

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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Israel and Strategic Instability in West Asia" of Mr. Naushad Khan is the result of his original research work and that the candidate has fulfilled the prescribed requirements of attendance. I certify that this dissertation is fit to be submitted for M.Phil degree in Strategic Studies.

(Prof. Akhtar Majeed)
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER - I A Conceptual Framework of Israel's National Security</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER - II Military/Security Issues</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER - III Israel and Neighbours</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER - IV Israel, Palestinians and P.L.O.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER - V Israel-U.S. Relations</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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INTRODUCTION

The West Asian political system presents two fundamental contradictions: One is based on the clash of two civilizations, the Jewish and the Islamic and the other in intra-Arab relationship.

The region has been a very turbulent and volatile due to the continuous existence of Arab-Israel conflicts; particularly Palestine-Israel conflict. The State of Israel even before coming into being in 1948 has been a source of strategic instability in the region.

The recent development in the West-Asia, ongoing Palestinian uprising, large-scale Soviet Jewish immigration into - Israel, water disputes, the disintegration of Soviet Union, and its impact on Arab-Israel conflict, the Gulf War .... all these have given to the security of Israel as well as the security of Arab States a new dimension.

The study is divided into six chapters including conclusion.
The first chapter of the study deals with the conceptual framework of Israel's National Security. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the security perceptions of Israel in relation to its bordering States. The chapter II deals with Israel's military capabilities, Israel nuclear policy, Israel's military connections and Israel's arm industry. The third chapter deals with the role of Israeli neighbouring States namely Jordan, Syria and Iraq in the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process. It also focuses on the Israeli perception of threat from these countries. Fourth chapter deals with the role of the P.L.O. in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition, the chapter also analyses the situation of Palestinian in the occupied territories. Fifth chapter focuses on the Israel-U.S. special relations. The concluding section brings together the various issues raised in the context of security of Israel, consequently leading the strategic instability in West Asia.

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CHAPTER 1

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY

The Concept of Security

Security is the central problem of the Israel's existence, from the beginning of the State, the Israel's thinking has been clear about the importance of security and its centrality. All appearance of life in Israel directly or indirectly relate to national survival and security. David Ben Gurion had said, "the security of Israel is not a matter of protection, the independence, territory, borders or sovereignty but it is matter of survival". ¹ Israelis are worried about their security which covers the whole spectrum of what is defined as protecting the national interest. Shimon Peres the former Prime Minister has defined security of Israel: "The Israeli security implies immigration, and it means settlement. Security includes control of the sea and the air...Security

is the development of scientific research and scientific aptitude in all disciplines, physicist, chemistry, biology and advanced technology. The security of Israel is the mobilization of our youth and the involvement of the people and its scholar in the pursuit of difficult and vital objectives. Settlement, defense and integration of the exiles. Security is not a limited function but a multiple effort, it is like a high-tension cable, concentrating national energy and using it to reinforce the nation's ability to survive. It is both existing energy and potential energy. 

"The Israeli governments have placed Israel security before everything else, even before peace. Israel believes that security without peace was peace but peace without security was no peace at all." 

According to most Israelis the term "security" in its absolute sense includes economic, legal and political concern. Some Israelis define it as requiring the preservation of both Jewish and domestic character of the


Martino Van Greveld has said that Israel's security has two meanings: "first, the ability of individual Israeli citizens to work, travel and sleep without being bombed by terrorist or shelled from across the border. Second, security means dealing with the perceived threat to Israel's existence as a state and as a nation."  

Israelis think that the concept of comprehensive security would help them in their struggle with their enemies. Within Israel the beginning of security is a result of the perception of military threat. It is clear that, the survival of the Jewish state is the undisputed goal shared by the whole nation, the uniformity of the goal prevents segmented attention to internal and external threats. "The choice of instruments to achieve the goal is often subjected to heated political and bureaucratic debates."  

"The council for peace and security" was established in March 1988 by the several retired Israeli generals headed by Aharon Yarive, former chief of military intelligence, which declared that "Israel's security depended upon its armed forces and not up on the occupied territories." 8

Both on the physical plan and in the value sphere the centrality of security dictated a stringent military and political concept of national defense and made security a vitally important factor in the political system. Therefore, national security is perceived as a central value and decisive factor in shaping of Israel's foreign policy to become an extension of national defense policy. Moshe Dayan said, "small nations do not have foreign policy; they have defense policy." 9

Individually and collectively Israelis believes that Arab goal would not only annihilate the state as a political entity but also destroy their population. Israeli knows that Arab would never agree to Israel's existence, and Israeli security has always been based on


"a worse case analysis" maintaining that Israel cannot afford to take the risk of losing war because military defeat of Israel would mean the physical elimination of the Jewish State. "Israel cannot afford to lose a single war as to lose a single war is to lose every thing and this is the most and stark fact." Ben Gurion has stated: "Israel may win a hundred battles, yet its problems will not be solved but if the Aras are victorious only once as it will mean our end."11

The people of Israel were entirely given over the deep sorrow and anxiety for their men who lost their lives, and who were prisoners and wounded in 1973 war. Therefore, a psychological disaster and Israeli public faith in the labour leadership was disturbed. Thus, the Israeli national security is as much as psychological concept as it is a physical one. The Israeli security will continue to be linked with the military capabilities of the Arabs. In


1956 Israel attacked Egypt in the name of prevention and in the 1967 Egypt, Syria and Jordan in the name of pre-emption. In 1967 war Israel justified its expansion and occupation by removing hostile forces and taking control of the strategic cliff overlooking Jordan Valley. The security of Israeli civilian life is the issue and Israel is to thrust its civilian line forward across the Golan Heights and nearer the Syrian military line, on the pretext of peace for Galilee, their northern settlement Israel occupied in southern Lebanon in 1982.

The expansionist character of Israel was clear on July 30, 1980, when the Israeli parliament proclaimed that Jerusalem is the permanent capital, in a challenge to the entire world. To desire earnestly to restore the biblical boundaries Israeli expansionist aims are thus presented as a religious crusade, and are suspected that Israel has aspiration beyond the Palestine territory. Israel aspires to establish a Jewish State not only in Palestine but also from the Nile (Egypt) to Euphrates (Iraq) and Israel.


hopes to find the opportunity. Moshe Shapira, Israel's immigration Minister, admitted that without Jerusalem, Israel is an amputated state. "True Israel agreed to be a state without Jerusalem in 1947 but it merely waited until opportunity arose to rectify the situation." Menahem Begin admitted before Israeli soldiers 15 years later that "Egyptian troops concentrations in Sinai in May 1967 did not prove that Naseer was really about to attack us we must be honest with overselves, we decided to attack him." 

Lebanese fear of Israeli annexation of south of the Litani river became known on several occasions. Mordechai Eliyahu, Chief Rabbi of Israel has stated: "Without doubts, southern Lebanon is part of the land of our forefather. Tyre, like part Sidon, is our forefather's land one need only take a look at a map showing a tribal division to see for one's self."


17. Palestine, (Cyprus), 15 October 1983, p.15.
Border

The Israeli leaders always ignored the border and avoid at a definite conclusion about the demarcation of their respective territories. The former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir once states that "the frontier is where the Jews live and not where there is a line on the map."\(^{18}\) The Israelis claimed that a considerable part of the armistic line that existed until June 4, 1967 are without any topographical security value and of less importance to Israel with the essential minimum of strategic depth.\(^{19}\) Israel is looking for a border with strategic significance that would provide it with requisite minimal strategic depth. According to Israel's "Bible" the Lord of Israelis", The Lord of Israel is God of the Hills but he is not God of the Valleys" (I.Kings 20:28).\(^{20}\) Israelis believe that the border is not secured by treaty or guarantee but rather one that is secured in itself. Golda Meir once emphasized". There is no guarantee of our security by others but physical conditions and boundaries

created in this country which will guarantee us. The discussion about the security guarantee is more complex than the discussion about borders. The new Zionist school of thought believes that more the territory under the Israeli control, the more Jewish and the more Zionist the state would be. On the other hand for labour and the peace movement the greater the territory under Israeli control and less Zionist the state will be because of the presence of the Arabs. The Israeli concept of security revolves around the following elements:

1. Keeping the occupied territories
2. Large-scale immigration
3. Establishing new settlements
4. Military superiority
5. Nuclear capability
6. Continuing access to modern arms and economic assistance from the United States.

**Keeping the Occupied Territories**

The occupied territories have formed a major element in the concept of Israeli security after the June

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War, and they provide a strategic buffer to sacrifice territory to absorb an Arab attack.\textsuperscript{23}

The reason why Israel saved the 1973 war, was that Arabs had been at a distance when began and there was a sufficient time for to Israel to stop the attack on the several fronts. The Israeli leaders believe that the occupied territories are of the decisive geomilitary asset for the security of Israel. This led to the massive Jewish settlement in the occupied territories and extension of Israeli rule over them. West Bank provide a major training area for the Israeli defense. It is also a major asset in dealing with the problems of infiltration operations.\textsuperscript{24}

**Large-Scale Immigration**

Immigration was a most important and necessary for the growth and strengthening of Palestine Jewish community for the prosperity of the country and the building of the Jewish national home. The Jewish leaders believed that the Jewish state should become the Jews' home land who were


dispersed across the world. In fact it may be noted that without Jewish immigration Israel could never have come to exist when Israel came to existence, a new law was passed in 1950, according to which every Jew who arrived from outside was automatically an Israeli citizen. "The human resources are regarded as one of the important resources in the balance of power between Jews and Arabs in general and between the Jews and Palestinian in particular." 25 A person leaving Israel means weakening of Israel. Moshe Dayan quoted Ben-Gurion as frequently saying; "Our main objective is immigration, we have to do every thing possible to increase it and to attract immigrants from western countries in particular. The strength of the Jewish people lies in quality not quantity. And only if we raise our quality will be able to stand up to our numberless enemies." 26

Israel adopted the policy of unlimited immigration. Israel Prime Minister Shamir has stated that "Israel must

25. The Jewish Exodus from the Arab Countries and the Refugee, Israel Ministry for foreign affairs, Information Division, Jerusalem, 1961, pp. 6-12.

continue to give top priority to attracting Jews from all over the world that is the essence of the Zionist dream." 27 Israel believed that the Israeli security depended on the modern arms from the west and large scale immigration and they also believed that if there are five or six or more million Jews in Israel nobody would be able to hurt their state its existence. The Jewish immigration in Palestine is most dangerous to the Palestinian economic, social, religious and political existence. Soviet Jewish immigration into Israel threatens to change the geography of the occupied territories.

Establishing New Settlements

Israel established new settlements at various strategically important places before Israel came into existence and provided there as well as the older settlements with trained men and some military equipment. These were to play a decisive role in enabling the Israelis to win the 1948 War. 28 After Israel came into existence the


main principle of Israeli settlement policy has been to establish settlements first along the border. There are two attitudes on the question of settlements to the Israeli security. One maintains that settlements are primarily of political value that determine the border of the state. David Ben Gurion has stated that "Border settlements have fulfilled and will continue to fulfill an important role in the defense of Israel and it is incumbent on us to prepare a chain of settlements across the length and breadth of the country." It is clear that the settlements in West Bank and Ghaza District have a political purpose. They would also break up the contact and encircle the density populated Arab areas situated along the West Bank's watershed. The main object of these settlements is to make solid option for Israeli annexation of at least part of the West Bank. The followers of the demography-security approach support the establishment of a large number of settlements.


Jewish settlement that would be scattered throughout the West Bank. This kind of settlements would be better to held out against a military threat and could be organized into a regional-defense district. David Ben Gurion noted that "Our manner of settlements will be no less than methods by which we built the army,. Only dense agricultural settlement along the border .... will serve as a very reliable shield for the security of Israel against attacks from the outside.... A wall of working and productive human being is capable of watching over the nation's borders." In the opinion of Moshe Dayan "Settlement has an important and significant value in the creation of political facts." 

31. Shalev, n.29, p.88. The World Zionist organization master plan which was finalised in 1981, known as the Drobless Plan after its another the head of WZO's settlement division stated that "there is to be not a shadow of doubt regarding our intention to remain in Judea and Samaria a dense chain of settlements on the mountain ridge running south wards from Nablus to Hibron will serve as a reliable barrier on the Eastern front. This buffer Zone of settlements will also create security for settlers in the Jordan Valley. Both area between concentrations of the minority (Arab) population and the area minimise the danger of rise of another Arab state in the region". See Rami, S. Abdulhadi, Land Use Planning in the occupied Palestinian territories, Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. XIX, No.4, 1990, p. 48.

32. Ibid., p. 168

33. Ibid., p. 169.
Israeli settlements and their effort to change the character of the occupied territories are based on their claim that Judea and Samaria are the biblical Land of Ertz Israel. The religious claims have played a much more dominant role in the approach to West Bank and the formulation of Israel's settlement policy.

The settlement and security have been inseparable for Israel since the first settlers moved into the West Bank in September 1967. This has made Israel use the policy of "Settlement for Security and Security for Israel". These settlements serve Israel's military security interest and since 1973 settlement defenses have been greatly strengthened. Israeli defense field are now quite massive constructions with five position dug into artificial mounds created to improve fields of fire and observation. Israeli settlements and the settlers are probably armed with machine guns, mortars and anti-tank weapons.


The settlements also maintain substantial stock of infantry and anti-tank Weapons. Israeli agriculture Minister Areil Sharon said "every settlement has its purpose and role in the defence of Israel."\(^{36}\) The Jewish settlements in borders areas play an active role in Israel's defense and can provide a kind of early warning and in war time play a role in static defence. An Israeli military officer has stated that "these settlements have enabled Israel to seal off its borders from Arab attacks and provide Israel with up-front units which can be quickly integrated into the security plans for the area."\(^{37}\)

Hence the Jewish settlements create some powerful obstruction to military action by the Arabs to regain their land. They also represent a powerful bargaining group in any peace negotiation, as well as very influential lobby inside Israel which cannot easily be ignored.

The settlement organisation on the West Bank believe in their religious duty to settle what they see as the historic homeland of Judaism.\(^{38}\) In Golan, it may be


\(^{37}\) Morz, n.4, p. 114.

negotiable in return for peace with Syria. And in Gaza Strip, there may be some chance that settlement would be forfeited in Sinai. On the other hand the West Bank is unlikely to be returned to Jordan or the PLO because the pattern of Israeli settlements there makes any kind of political partition extremely difficult to implement. 39

Military Superiority

Israeli leaders believe that continued existence of Israel depends on its military superiority. A senior government official stated, "Our security rests in our superiority." 40 Therefore, Israelis believe that Israel will survive as long as it is strong." Military becomes the centre of survival and solidarity in Israel. In 1948 Prime Minister and Minister of Defence David Ben-Gurion declared that the Haganah (an underground military organisation established in 1920) had shed its clandestine character and would Hither to become the official army of the state of Israel. The official name of the Haganah was changed as "Zeva Haganable-Israel," Israel Defence Forces


40. Morz, n.4, p. 117.
(IDF). In April 1948 the Haganah repulsed Iraqi, Syrian, and Arab armies and captured Tiberias and Jaffa. Thus Haganah was responsible for the military survival of the Jewish State. 41

Israel maintains one of the world's most professional armies and has a high status in Israel's society. Ben Gurion has stated that "the IDF is the only body in the nation which is beyond debate which does not have divisions and contradictions....which is free from the malignancy of fissures and fragmentation which the nation of Israel inherited". 42

He tried to make the army a symbol of identification and glorification of a supreme value. He also claimed that is an innocent society the military can be and our army must be an educational instrument that should be improved and made strong. The army cannot fulfill its mission within Israel or outside world, without any proper military direction. 43 The centrality of

41. Peri, n. 2, p. 43.
42. Peri, n. 2, p. 43.
43. Ibid., p. 44.
security, the Ministry of Defence has the status of super-ministry in Israel.

The administration of the occupied territories was assumed by the ministry of defense, after the June war, and the autonomy of the defence ministry became more significant than those of other ministries. 44 By 1967 the fully mobilized army numbered over 250,000 (Some 11 to 12 per cent of the population). About 60% of Israel financial resources both domestic and foreign were being channeled to its security forces. 45 The Tax payer pays for 70% of Israel defense outlays which comes to about 15 billion out of 7 billion. This portion is considerably higher than the percentage that NATO citizens spend on their own defence. 46 Israel is the most militarized nation in the world as it spends 30% of its gross national product on defence.

This concept of security devotes all the resources to war preparation. The Israelis believe in the ancient aphorism "who wishes for peace prepares for war", which

44. Ibid., p. 194.

45. Maharashtra Herald, 1 November 1988, p.4.

46. Shamir, n. 27, p.588.
explain why Israel would have to maintain large standing army. Israel has maintained a high degree of manpower mobilization for national security. This has enabled Israel to become a regional military power. Resources played a dominant role in Israel's wartime efforts reserves participation constitute an important part of Israel's wartime military strength.  

Israel remains the world's most efficiently mobilized society. The strength of its army is consistently growing Israel is capable of deploying substantial army as in the October 1973 war, Israeli formation took less than 48 hours to disengage from the Suez front and reinforce at the Golan front in an emergency. Since the 1974 IDF has been conscripting over 90% of all males. Another factor is the extension of the period of compulsory services and this happened three time during thirty years.  

An Israeli women serves less time than men, two year instead of three, in the IDF and few of them do reserve duty unlike men. Former chief of Yigael Yadin has

47. Dan Horowitz, Strategic Limitations of a nation in Arms, Armed Forces and Society, Vol. 13, No.3, Military Institutions, Arab Research and Studies Institute, Cairo, 1977, (Arabic)

stated "the Israeli citizen is a soldier on eleven months annual leave". 49

The Airforce and Armour represent 80% of Israel's military strength. The Israeli airforce one of the country's most important deterrents has always been a highly technical organisation and has become even more sophisticated in a process stimulated by the demanding requirements of defence problems. 50

The Israeli strategy was based on aerial attack as the main defense. Its Air force protected Israel's territory from the raiding Arab aircraft and provided air umbrella under which Israel's ground forces operated freely. Israeli superiority in the air was the key to its swift victory on land. 51 Thus the IDF building emphasizes on the air force


due to its operational flexibility and its vital role both in determine and in determining the outcome of a war.

The concept of pre-emptive war and retaliatory strikes became essential ingredients of Israeli military policy following Prime Minister David Ben Gurion's concept of carrying the war into the enemy's territory. Israel was the first state to develop an official policy of retaliation. From 1951 the Israeli government had ordered reprisal raids. These reprisal operations clearly indicated expansion and aggressive character of Israel.

Israeli believes that the doctrine of pre-emptive retaliation is a way to protect Israel and punish anyone who attempt to inflict harm upon. Therefore, the Israeli have made clear that they would launch pre-emptive raids against anyone if Israel felt that its security is being threatened. Yossi Ben Ahaven the Director General of the Prime Minister's office has stated "Israel has acquired a reputation of not waiting until a potential danger becomes an actual danger." Israel's military strategy had been based upon making full use of the element of surprise. Striking the Arabs before they become unified and powerful,

52. Morz, n. 4, p.114.
taking the initiative in order to achieve a quick victory and concentrate as much power as possible.

A key stone of Israel's security doctrine prescribes waging a short and a decisive war, short because Israeli society and economy can not afford long war and decisive because Israel can not afford defeat at the hands of the Arab. Israel's security doctrine for achieving these objective aims at prompt transfer of the battle to the Arab territory, this could be achieved by fostering maneuverability and offensive capabilities. Therefore, the Israeli objective is to win a war with the minimum losses among civilian and military. Israel has one of the most developed programme for civil defence against different type of war in future; for instance, "in October 1987 Israel organized a nation wide civil defence exercise in which school children were shown how to use gas-mask and take other elementary precautions against a chemical warfare attack."

"The Israeli military doctrine has taken from the Bible which consider a religious duty ....the soldier of


Israel are the soldier of God and their wars are his ..."\textsuperscript{56}

The Israeli soldiers are respected inside and outside Israel. In November 1982 PLO exchanged six Israeli prisoners soldier for 4400 Palestinians and Lebanese detained by Israel.\textsuperscript{57}

In Israel not only army is entrusted with carrying out security but the civilian institutions also share the responsibility for maintaining security. Ben Gurion stated that "The security mission would not be performed exclusively by the army. Without settlement, without industry, without the education of the nation, without sympathy from other nations not even the army itself will secure the peace of the nation."\textsuperscript{58}

The Prime Minister is the final arbiter in the matter of defense policy. The state's security has always rested in the hands of a small group within the cabinet: sometime two or three other minister selected by the Prime Minister on the basis of their political power.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{56} General of Israel, Hader Publishing House, Tel Aviv 1986, p.151.


\textsuperscript{58} Peri, n. 2, pp. 42-43.

The chief of staff established a national security planning system within the General staff branch in 1969, which deals not only with the military aspect but also with the broader range of national interest, including the political and economic aspect of security. Moshe Dayan the Defense Minister of Israel wanted to establish a unit for national security planning within the civilian ministry of Defense. And his planning aimed at taking this wider function out of the hands of the army but consequently the responsibility for national security planning remained in the General Staff Branch. National Security Planning System within General Staff Branch was responsible for preparing plans for the developments of the IDF, working out methods for ascertaining and studying wide security needs, and carrying out research projects by experts in the concerned field. 60

Thus the Israeli national security aims at the strengthening and development of the IDF, the development of broad security structure for Israel, the integration of Israel's resources to meet security needs, the development of security connection with other countries (especially the

There is no commander-in-chief in Israel's army, and IDF is headed by the Defense Minister and Chief of staff. The Ground forces command, a new headquarter was formed in 1983 to meet the increasing complexity of warfare, the need for complete integration in training and administration of all branches of the ground forces.

The IDF increased the number of tanks by 50%, artillery by 100% and armoured personnel carrier fleet by 800% in recent years, and in the occupied territories the border troops have been used as a para military forces in case of civil unrest.  

Nuclear Capability

Nuclear deterrence adopted by Israel as an ingredient of her security perception. In the Middle East Israel is the only state, seriously suspected of having created nuclear weapons of some sort or other. Israel claims that it would soon move to the stage of nuclear confrontation with its Arab adversaries. Moshe Dayan said in an interview on 26 August 1976 that "Israel must have a.

61. Ibid., pp. 235-236.
nuclear option." At the same time Israel believes that Israeli nuclear capability would stabilized the Middle East.

The introduction of nuclear weapons into the Israeli arsenal will give the Israeli public a sufficient feeling of security. Israel's atomic energy programme intended to cover within its system of blanket its security also. In July 1981, when Israel conducted the world's first pre-emptive strike against Iraqi nuclear reactor, the operation's purpose was to prevent any Arab state in the area from constructing nuclear reactors.

**Continuing Access to Modern Arms and Economic Assistance from the United States**

Israeli economy is still beset by the massive problem that emerged in the wake of 1973 war, and security of Israel remained insecure. Israel has managed to cope with the world's highest inflation rate. Israel would face serious problem on both economic and military procurement fronts without U.S. aid. Through financial support, US causes about 50% of the Israeli defence budget but even without financial support Israeli relies heavily on the

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transfer of major American weapon systems. 65

For sometime the need for a powerful outside backer had recognized by Israeli leaders. As Menachen Begin recalled Ben Gurion used to say that it is vital to have a great power behind you if you are pursuing a policy that may lead to war. 66

Since the establishment of the state, the security of Israel have been central theme of U.S. policy. The U.S. has maintained to provide support and keeping Israel stronger than any individual or as group of its Arab neighbours.

According to point of view of U.S. an Israeli security is that "Israel should maintain military superiority over its Arab neighbours, the Arab changing their status quo by force to help to prevent this superiority. 67 Israel now maintains the strongest military

65. Yair, Evron, Israel and Nuclear Weapons, in Jae Kye Park, (ed.), Nuclear Proliferation in Developing Countries, Kyungnam University, Korea, 1979, p.133.


The prospects for survival of Israel will not depend upon power alone but on a change in her attitude of superiority and on a lasting reconciliation with the Arab. There can be no security for Israel until there is security for the whole Middle East region.

In sum, Israel has managed its security affairs from a perceived sense of vulnerability in the 40 years. Israel came to existence in 1948 and led to the first Arab-Israeli confrontation, and later there were wars again in 1967, 1973 and in Lebanon in 1982. These wars further entrenched Israeli power in the region and also allowed to expand in the name of security. These territorial expansions are enhancing Israel's security by increasing Arab in security. For instance, Israel has annexed the Golan Height, invaded Lebanon, daily violated the human rights of the Arab living in the occupied territories and also bombed the PLO headquarters in Tunisia. Thus, Israel's strength lies mostly in the physical military sense of power and Arab disunity because Arab unity in a direct threat to Israel that must be prevented. Despite deployment in the territories, attainment of strategic depth and the peace treaty with Egypt, the centrality of security of Israeli life remains undiminished.
CHAPTER II

MILITARY / SECURITY ISSUE

The Israeli Arms Industry

Israel's arms industry had its beginning as early as 1933 when Palestine was under the British mandate, and its earliest task was to meet the territory's own military needs. In Israel, the actual process of defence industry development commenced only after the six day war although the clandestine small-scale arms and ammunition development took place even before the establishment of the state.

The Israeli arms industry has grown rapidly since the October War 1973. It has also become a vital element of the Israeli economy. Arms sales have become a significant Israeli diplomatic weapon. The states of Jewish state in the realm of international defense, security affairs, and conventional arms trade is of great importance to Israel. Meanwhile, the Israeli people think that military industrialization should be a direct response to hostile Arab intensification. Hence the "Parachuting" and rapid development of ex-military professionals into senior
industrial position are looked on with favour, as this would serve the country's security in a virtually perpetual military conflict with the Arab states. The military industry has gained considerable autonomy in its activities and decision to obtain efficiency and success.¹ The argument of the military security is the counterpiece of Israeli arms export policy-serving at least four defense functions:

1. The Israeli army's immediate as well as long-range preparedness by extending local defense production and reducing the unit cost of local items, while reducing dependence on outside procurement or the threat of a supply cut off.

2. The Israeli deterrent capability in the Arab eyes by an image of strength and worldwide defense link.

3. Fitting Israel, into a broader western strategic perspective, and

4. Israeli support for countries befriending.²

¹ Alex, Mints, Military - Industrial Linkage in Israel, Armed Forces and Society, Vol. 12, No.1, Fall 1985, p.10.

² Aaron S. Klieman, Israel and the World After 40 Years, Pergaman-Brassey's International Defense Publisher, New York, 1964.
The Israeli military industrial complex is a coalition of various institutions whose representative participate in a high-level national security policy making process. The components of the industrial complex share responsibility for various spheres of activity in ensuring Israel's security.3

The core component of the Israeli military industrial complex are:

= The Israel Defence Forces (IDF)
= The Intelligence branches (such as the Mossad)
= The Ministry of Defence
= The Defence Industries (both government owned industries and non-government enterprises)
= Political representative (See Table 1)

Military Industries of Israel are based on a mixed ownership model, comprising government own corporations, Histadrut (the General Federation of Labour) Hevrat Haovdim owned companies as well as private concerns (there are apparently more than 100 private owned companies in Israel engaged primarily in military function).

**TABLE 1**

**Israel's Military - Industrial Sector**

1. Government corporations and their subsidiaries: e.g. Israel Aircraft Industries, Beit Shemesh Elta, Ashot Askelon.


3. IDF Manufacturing: Primarily through the ordinance corps.

4. Labor federation (Hevrate Haovdim Corporations): Primarily those of the koor concern, such as Tadirau, Soltam, Koor Metels, Velcan foundries.

5. Privately owned (Israeli or International) Companies: e.g., Eagle, Elisra, Motorola, etc.

6. Defense Sector investment Companies: such as CLal, Discount Bank Investments.

7. Companies supplying Non-Defence Product and Services to the Defence Sector.

Source: Alex, Mintz, Military - Industrial Linkages in Israel, _Armed Forces and Society_, Vol. 12, No.1, Fall 1985, p.11.
Israeli military Industries are responsible for military research, development and manufacture and also a sub system of defense establishment. "This sub-system primarily includes ancillary units of the Defense Ministry and bodies under its direct control such as the Ministry of Industry, Israel Aircraft Industries and the Armaments Development Authority (RAFAEL)". The administrative and economic management of Israeli security system is exercised through the Ministry of Defence. In Israel the management of manufacture and procurement of weapons system is carried out through the Ministry's procurement and production administration, which has separate divisions responsible for aerial ground and naval forces. Production administration and the province of the Armaments Research is jointly administered by Ministry of Defence and I.D.F. Research and development is implemented under the auspices of the Ministry of Defence Chief Scientist's Office.

In Israel most military development and manufacturing is carried out in units subjected to the direct or indirect control of the Ministry of Defence (Israel Aircraft Industries, TAAS and RAFAEL).

4. Ibid., p. 114.
5. Ibid., p. 115.
The Israel Military Industry (IMI)

TAAS :- In Israel TAAS is the pioneer defense Industry established in 1933, and about 14,500 persons are employed in 31 plants and units manufacturing weapons system and primarily ammunition. In 1980-81 the sales turn over $ 500 million including $ 300 million in exports. The best known amongs TAAS - developed products are the Uzi sub machine gun, the Galil assault rifle, Hetz tank ammunition and path-clearing bombs.

RAFAEL :- It was founded in 1958 to replace the IDF since corps and its successor, The Division of Research and Planning, and this is the Israel's largest research and development institution with more than 500 employees. Shafrir 1, Shafrir 2 and Phythan 3 air-to-air missiles, a computer for firing control of artillery and other products are the major development of RAFAEL.

RAMTA STRUCTURE AND SYSTEM :- This is an IAI subsidiary at Beersheba. The light armoured reconnaissance vehicles the RAMV-1 and RBYMK-1 and a 20 mm twin - barreled anti-air-craft gun are manufactured by it. World's smallest missile craft is also designed and built by it, and Dvora class which is mainly for export.

SOLTAM :- Soltam has developed a 155 mm self propelled gun/howitzer and is based at Haifa. This earlier version, the M-68, entered service in 1970, the Later model, the M-71 came in 1975.

HAIFA SHIPYARDS :- On 19 February 1973 Haifa launched the Reshif, First of a new 450 ton SAAR-4 class, Fast-attack-craft. Five were sent to Chile, and nine of these were built for South Africa. The Alia, first of a new 488 ton SAAR-5 class boat was launched on July 1980. This is sufficient to carry an anti-submarine helicopter. Tanks and general purpose landing crafts are built by Haifa.7

Emphasising the theme of self-reliance Israel manufactures a broad spectrum of weapons from small arms to air-craft and missile. Since the mid-1970s, Israel's imports of major weapons largely decreased as a result of Israel's rapidly growing domestic arms production capabilities. In the early 1980s the inflow of weapons consisted mainly of highly advanced Fighter air-craft and some types of warships coming mainly from the U.S.A.8

Israeli arms sales abroad were about $ 60 million a year before, the 1973 war. To $ 600 million had shot up

7. Ibid., p.38.
by 1979 and it had reached $1300 million by 1981 constituting about 25% of its total industrial exports. About 50% of Israel's arms exports were bought by Latin American countries El-Salvador and Argentina being the largest consumers. The leading importer of Israeli arms in Africa is South Africa.9

The arms industry is the backbone of the Israeli economy. It has been estimated that one third of the entire Israeli labour force now works on armaments. In the 80's the South Africa followed by Argentina were the top customers and the other countries which bought arms from Israel include El-Salvador, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Singapore and Taiwan.10 Israeli arms diplomacy is hardly confined to Israel over 40 other countries are reported to be engaged to varying degree in weapons transfers. Where other standard instrument of foreign policy do not work well, the instrument military aid provided opportunities to Israel to extend its influence in the Third World like other nations Israel also used arms sales and assistance as an effective instrument of its foreign policy to accomplish vital national interests. The decision of Ethiopia to open an embassy in Jerusalem the restoration of diplomatic relations between

10. Ibid., pp. 135-140.
Israel and Liberia as well as El-Salvador are few examples of Israeli accomplishments. To encourage the growth of what is commonly called science-based research and development, Israel established the Office of the Chief-Scientist in 1970. About one third of Israel's industrial exports are science based today. The trade is worth about $1.3 billion annually. So far about 600 Israeli companies are active in scientific R. and D. with about a hundred new companies appearing each year. In a population of three million in 1980, Israel has well educated population of about 10,000 scientist and 20,000 engineers. Electronics, chemical and biotechnology are the three industrial priorities in high-technology field in Israel. Out of these three, the production of two industries was an important factor in Israel's past victorious over the Arabs, so Israel's industrial ambitions have obvious military significance. It must remain qualitatively superior to its Arab neighbours in men and equipment if Israel is to achieve its ambitions to enforce its will over the entire region.

12. Elshazly, n.6, p.38.
13. Ibid., p. 38.
launched its first photo-reconnaissance satellite in September 1988, which was supposed give it a considerable military and intelligence advantage over the Arab countries.

It may be also pointed out that Israel is the seventh-largest arms exporters in the world. In this connection, Manes Danan, Deputy General Director of Israeli Military Industries has said, "We are selling to any country that the government is willing to sell to. If we have a choice we are looking for stable countries but we want to employ our people." An Israeli arms dealer expressed that "Just about anyone who shows any interest in buying arms from us can have them." 

Israel's Military Connections

In January 1957 David Ben Gurion had said, "From the point of view of our existence and security, the friendship of one European country is more valuable than the views of all the people of Asia". Israeli leaders formulated a geographical survey strategy to deal with the

16. Ibid., p. 45.
emerging Arab decolonization around them in the 1950s. The idea of periphery plan was based on the Israel should create alliances with the non-Arab nations such as Turkey, Ethiopia and Iran on the periphery of Middle East Countries in order to out Flank the bordering Arab States. The strategy has called over the years for its ties with Phalangist in Lebanon, rebels in South Sudan and Kurds in Iraq. The strategy also called for encouraging non-Arab and non-Muslim minorities in the Middle East, among them the Lebanese, Maronities, the Druze and the Kurds to seek political independence in cooperation with Israel. In the Middle East these facts have become the basis of Israel's geo-strategy.18

Aril Sharon the then Defence Minister of Israel delivered a speech in person for an academic conference organised by the Tel Aviv University Centre for Strategic Studies in mid December 1981. He said that "We must expand the field of Israel strategic and security concerns in the eighties to include countries like Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and areas like the Persian Gulf and Africa and in particular the countries of North and Central Africa."19

18. Ibid., p. 8.

The military cooperation between Iran and Israel in 1950s was extensive and included both arms sales and training of Iranian officers in ground warfare, intelligence, counter intelligence and air warfare. In 1955 a permanent representative of Israeli Defense forces was sent to Tehran who later on officially became a military attache. Iran bought a large quantity of Uzi submarine guns in 1964. A small quantity of Iranian crude oil Israel begun to receive by 1953. By 1978, Israeli export to Iran including military equipment amounted to $225 million, 7% of total Israeli exports.20

The relationship between Iran and Israel was the best illustration of the fruits of quiet diplomacy during the Shah era. It involved all four concerns: security, trade, political contacts and keeping a line open to Persian Jewry. Iran shared Israel's pre-occupation with militant Arab unity and it supplied Israel with oil coordinated efforts in secret meeting with Israel leaders and the highest levels and pursued an enlightened policy toward the Jews of Iran.21


25 years of friendship between Iran and Israel ended abruptly in 1979 with the ascension of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeni in Iran. In Iran, the Islamic regime demonstrated its commitment to Palestinians and regarded Israel as one of the Satans against whom an uncompromising war was to be waged. In March 1949 Turkey offered Israel defacto recognition. Israel has helped Turkey in technical training for intelligence and security services. Israeli intelligence services have provided training for the Turkish secret services. The Turkish air-force has been acquiring Israeli made Shafrir air to air missile, and Ground force equipment since 1975. Israeli Hetz anti-tank Shells, Uzi submachine guns and ammunition were also purchased by Turkey. There have been various indications of renewed secret contacts between Israel and the Turkish regime, since the military coup of 1980. There have also been public contacts. Following the October war of 1973 the Diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Israel got severed. The Diplomatic relation between these two countries were in November 1989 after an interruption of 16 years. Currently in Ethiopia there are several hundred Israeli military advisors. Israel strategically needs an access to Ethiopia's long Red Sea Coast, and to obtain this

22. Hallami, n. 17, pp. 16-17.
strategic advantage, it has aimed at having close relations with the Ethiopian regim. The only friendly ports on the Red Sea are the Eritrean ports of Mossawa and Assab which command the strategic position on the western shore of the Red Sea and at the northern approach to the Bab-Al-Mandeb Strait route linking through which Israel used to transport its crude oil supply from the Persian Gulf region. Eritrea's importance is that it lies along the whole 570 mile Red Sea coastline between border with Sudan to the north and that with Djibouti to the South. It is a highly desirable piece of strategic territory. In the point of view of Israel that Eritrian independent state could transform the Red Sea into an exclusively Arab lake, so they would like to prevent the establishment of an Eritrian independent State. Therefore, Israel is seeking to forge an alliance between Christian and Jews against Arabs. And on the other hand half of Eritians are Muslim and speak Arabic are the natural enemies of both Addes Ababa and Jerusalem. For that purpose the Israeli military personnel train Ethiopian soldier to fight counter insurgency warfare in Eritera and more conventional warfare


in Ogaden. On the Ethiopian Red Sea coast, Israel had set up observation posts to monitor Arab and Soviet shipping through the Bab Al-Mandeb Strait and the Red Sea. There were reports that in the Red Sea Israel was demanding a military base on the Dhalak islands. Soviet support for Mongistu's Ethiopian regime was withdraw in 1989. Israel attempted to export the Arab-Israeli conflict to the African region with the intention exacerbating. The Muslim and non-Muslim tensions already evident between neighbouring countries in north Africa and within the regimes themselves. 28 years Ethiopia's war with separatists of Eritrea Tigray and Oromo is running out of steam and rebels supplied by Iraq and other Arab states have seized the strategic port of Massawa. Fragmentation bombs to the Ethiopian army has been supplied by Israel, and they were reportedly used to bomb Massawa harbour, now in the hands of Eritrean rebels. Through Chilean arms manufacturer Industries cardoin the Israel had financed the sale of the fragmentation or cluster bomb. Israel is anxious to accelerate the immigration of thousand of Ethiopian Jews is to Israel after the re-establishing diplomatic relation between the two countries. In the mid 1980's there were

26. Ibid., p. 27.
at least 15,000 Ethiopian Jews left behind in Ethiopia, when premature publicity put on abrupt end to "operation Moses" a secret mission that flew at least 12,000 jews to Israel with the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, the renewal of the relations was facilitated between those Jews who had already immigrated to Israel particularly in "operation Moses" and their relations who were forced to remain behind in Ethiopia. Ethiopian consent was obtained for the rapid air lift of all the Jews from the Addis Ababa to Israel on 24 May 1991. About 15,000 Ethiopian Jews arrived in Israel through the "Operation Soloman". One more fundamental reason for Israel's involvement in Ethiopia has been the fear of the Islamic fundamentalist region in Sudan led by General Bashir. Sudan itself is engaged in an ethnic conflict with its own Christian population in the south of the country. The Ethiopian government, allowed to Israeli exports to cross the border to Sudan and establish link with the Christian Guerrillas who were fighting the central Sudanese government. Thus, Israeli military mission supported the southern rebel movement in Sudan and supplied military training and arms. By as early as 1963, Israeli involvement in southern Sudan

was in evident through contact with Israeli embassies in Uganda, Ethiopia, Congo, and Chad.  

Israeli attention has been always attracted by Kurds. Its support to Kurds began in 1958. However, large scale aid in the form of arms, ammunition and Israeli military advisors began in 1963. The first training course for Kurdish officers run by Israeli instructors was held in the Kurdistan mountains in August 1965. In June 1967, one reports stated that, the Kurds aided the Israeli war efforts by mounting an offensive against the Iraqis which kept the later from offering aid to other Arab armies. In September 1967 the Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa Barazani visited Israel, and Israel aided the Kurds with money to the tune of $ 500,000 a month.  


31. Hallami, n. 17, p. 18.
(Israel's Red Cross) supplied aid to Kurdish refugees through Turkey in July 1991. Defence Minister Moshe Arens has stated that "we can certainly feel the suffering and oppression felt by the Kurds."32

The relation between the Israel and Maronite Christians of Lebanon including the design for a Maronite state are part of its periphery strategy. As early as the 1920's the dream of an alliance first appeared in Zionist writings with the Maronites. The hope for a christian Lebanon allied with Zionist was expressed by Uladimir Jabotinsky in the 1930s. In Israel, hundred of Phalangist fighters were trained alongside Israeli paratroopers in 1976. Israel spent $ 150 million on military supplies during 1975 and 1977 for the Phalangist militia. However, it is alleged that the bill were paid by the U.S.33

The military relation between Israel and South Africa are very closed. Today the Uzi and Galil weapons are visible in South Africa. The history of military alliance has been long and rich. South Africa supplied whatever Israel needed in join projects and collaboration

with Israel. Israel received military assistance from South Africa during the war with the Arabs in the Middle East.\textsuperscript{34} A special chemical mix, South Africa imported is used at the urban plant near Netanya in the production of reinforced steel. In December 1974 Israeli Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles were delivered to South Africa. Light, swift missile boats are now being produced in South Africa which were originally developed by Israel. Israeli air forces been working and training together with the air forces of South Africa for many years. This means mainly holding joint flying exercise, sending Israeli pilots as instructors and providing Israeli advice on planning air bases and maintaining air craft.\textsuperscript{35}

South Africa has played a major role in Israel's nuclear programme. There have been universified claims that South Africa first shipped uranium to Israel as early as 1957. South Africa reportedly delivered uranium in return for conventional weapons.\textsuperscript{36} In 1978, there were 18,000 Israeli in South Africa, and in 1981 the number went

\textsuperscript{34} Hallami, n.17 , pp. 116-122.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 123.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., pp. 133, 134, 196.
to 20,000. These immigration to South Africa has been encouraged by efforts to recruit Israelis to work there.

Begin, the head of the Israel - South Africa Friendship league, has stated that: "the two states share the states of international outcasts, and each is acutely aware that its national survival is at stake. Moreover, South Africa's Large Jewish Community (115,000) has extremely close links with Israel.... it is not surprising then that political, economic and military collaboration between Israel and South Africa should have flourished."^{37}

Israel's own special agenda on military aid and connections contains a unique Jewish factor. Over the years a survey of its arms sales practices discloses a fairly strong correspondence between those countries with Jewish presence mostly in the non-western world. A partial list includes countries like Argentia, Brazil, Chile, Ethiopia, Gautemala, Mexico, South Africa and Morocco. The purpose here is to maintain free and continuous contact with every one of those Jewish community and to facilitate their movement to Israel and to guarantee their religious and cultural rights. In the world market today the ability of Israel's armaments is the equivalent of the showing the

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flage In this sense, Israel is capable of offering its friends not only military assistance but also moral support.

Israel's Nuclear Capability and the Arab Response

Israel has maintained nuclear deterrence as part of her security. Israel is the only state in the Middle East to be seriously suspected of having created a nuclear weapon option of some sort. Since 1959, Israel had a nuclear research programme in operation. In order to eliminate the numerical disadvantage vis-a-vis the Arab countries, Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion had persuaded President De-Gaulle to build an atomic reactor in Israel. 38

In 1958 the Israel's reactor Dimona in Negev, originally built with the help of French is capable of producing weapon's grade material. Israel has always refused to place its nuclear installation under international inspection and to sign the NPT. 39 Israel desires to maintain a certain degree uncertainty alive in


the mind of the Arab governments and to encourage its reputation for secrecy which leaves its enemies continuously uncertain about what Israel really has.  

Israeli President Katzir in December 1974 stated that, "It has been our intention to provide the potential for nuclear development. We now have that potential. We will defend this country with all possible means at land. We have to develop more powerful and new arms to protect ourselves."  

Israeli leaders believe that Israel can not afford to lose a war. Israel's basic aversion to fore closing the nuclear option draws its strength from its constant concern for security. In this context, even hints of a nuclear capability have immense utility. For the first time Nuclear weapons would provide to Israel with the ability to threaten unacceptable punishment in retaliation to an Arab challenge to Israel survival. Second, the sheer size of punishment involved would make it nearly certain that the Arabs would correctly assess the damage they might suffer should they attempt to challenge Israel's survival. The

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Israel needs in nuclear field are different from the U.S., France or China. Israel nuclear weapon are designed to be used only in the Middle East and they have to fit into Local condition Israel does not need high-yield hydrogen bombs which would injure its own peoples if used against its immediate neighbours. In the 1960s Israel realized that what Israel needed tactical nuclear weaponry. This consideration led to the development of nuclear Shell fired from the 155 mm Howitzer or from the naval gun. These Shells contain a low yield, two kiloton nuclear device the ideal nuclear weapons for Israel.\textsuperscript{43} It is reported that Israel now possesses 76 nuclear weapons stockpiled and has deployed 100 short-range (400 mile) Jericho - 11 missiles capable of carrying a nuclear war head.\textsuperscript{44}

In July 1981, when Israeli airforce destroyed the Iraq reactor, Arial Sharon stated that "declared principle in Israel's defense policy for the 1980's was its determinition to prevent confrontationist states from access to the nuclear weapons" thus demanding a unique nuclear position for the Israel in the region.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} Hallami, n. 17, p. 134.

\textsuperscript{44} Shyam, Bhatia, Nuclear Rivals in the Middle East, Routledge, New York, 1988, pp. 34-35.

Regarding the policies and practice of obtaining nuclear weapons, very little is known in case of the Arab countries. Only Iraq and Libya have defined the achievement of a military nuclear potential as a national objective. The other Arab states notably, Egypt and Syria have not ranked this objective high on their national strategic agenda. Their reasons have ranged from political considerations to limilation of economic and technological resources. Libyian President Qaddafi even threatened to destroy Israel Dimona complex and to accuse Egypt and Jordan for failing to offer him the use of air bases from which he could to launch an attack. Iraq is another country which is considered to harbor serious nuclear ambitious. Israel has


47. Ibid., p. 91.

done all it can to contain Iraqi ambitions of joining the nuclear club. Since Israeli preemptive strike against Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, no Arab states are considered to be capable of producing a nuclear weapon within the next two decades. The situation may change but there are no Arab state at present which can pose nuclear threat to the security of Israel. Except Algeria, all the Arab States have signed NPT. In the nuclear sphere only one Muslim state, Pakistan has registered any genuine progress and no other Muslim state has achieved a military potential in nuclear terms. The transfer of Pakistani nuclear weapons to the Arabs would constitute a real threat or serious potential danger to Israeli security. Israel also fears that in future they may actually threaten the Israeli monopoly. Israeli Premier Begin stated that "Israel would not tolerate any enemy whether Arab or non-Arab acquiring nuclear weapons capability." This Begin doctrine was meant to include both Libya and Pakistan. Israel has been thinking about to destroy Pakistani nuclear facility and it has been urging India to facilitate such an action. However, India refused to co-operate with Israel.


For bombing the Pakistani uranium enrichment plant at Kabuta Israel sought refueling facilities for its bombers of the Indian air base at Jamnagar near the Pakistani border. Israel also offered to provide the Indian Air force with high explosive bombs to do the job.\textsuperscript{51} As recently at 1987 senior Pakistani officials declared that Pakistan recognized that by transferring nuclear weapons to states hostile to Israel it would be encouraging Israel to consider retaliatory action against it by cooperating with India.\textsuperscript{52} Israel while maintaining clandestine nuclear capability, seeks the policy of prevention through use of force for not allowing any Arab state at particular and Muslim states at large to go nuclear.

\textsuperscript{51} Maharashtra Herald (Pune), 28 March 1988

\textsuperscript{52} Leveran n. 46, p. 97. Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had warned the Arab world of the threat posed to it by an Israeli nuclear capability "We know that Israel and South Africa have full nuclear capability. The Christian, Jewish and Hindu Civilizations have this capability. The Communist Powers also possess it. Only Islamic civilization was without it but that position was about to change" Libya, Iraq and the UAE, are reported to have offered aid for the Pakistani nuclear programme.
Chemical Weapons

Israel is the only country in the Middle East which maintains nuclear weapon arsenal. On the other hand Arabs remain unable to match Israel's nuclear capability by nuclear weapons. The Arab States argue that their chemical weapons and ballistic missiles counter and deter the use of Israel's nuclear weapons. In the Middle East six countries are said to possess the chemical-weapon arsenal. Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Syria, Libya and Israel.

The development of chemical agents started Iraq in 1970's but did not really make progress until 1983. The western nation became alarmed and Iraq suspiscous as by that time began to buy large quantity of chemicals. It was too late by then since the Iraqi achieved all the facilities and chemicals needed to produce weapons. The production of these chemical agents takes place in a plant about 40 miles outside the city of Sammara in the desert of Iraq. About 1000 tons of poison gas can be produced by Iraq every year. Another country pursuing chemical warfare programme is Syria. It is believed that Syria has become fifth nation in the world which has developed a chemical

weapon capability and has developed Nerve gas weapons with the ability of hitting Israeli targets. The existence of the chemical production facility has been known for quite sometime, but it has not been a threat to Israeli until Syria has created warheads to carry the gas.

A chemical-use warhead specially have been specially designed by Syria to fit into their Russian made SS-21 and Saud missile's. The Israeli dilemma is now the Syrian plan to use this weapon. As we have seen during the Gulf war, it could be used in a preemptive strike at Israeli airfields or against civilian targets. The Syrians have emphasized that Syria does not possess chemical weapons capability and even achieving such Weapons is not part of Syria "desire for" strategic parity with Israel. Syria and Iraq both are believed to have acquired facilities to develop biological agents and missiles to be used as delivery vehicles for these type of weapons. Israel has had a chemical weapons capability since 1970's and is believed to be increasing its stockpile of gas weapons. Israel has also been developing gas masks since 1967 to boost its civil defence programme. Feeling threatened by

chemical weapons capabilities of Arab states, Israel began
to take sufficient chemical defenses particularly since
1985 and has provided gas masks and other chemical defen­
sive equipments to almost all of its population.\textsuperscript{55} It
started the production of air and purification systems on
armoured vehicles, respiratbr masks, protective clothing
and personel treatment kits is case of injury. Israel is
one of the best prepared countries against chemical or
biological attacks. Installing gas masks is the another
important defensive measures of Israel to protect their
civilian population in their city bomb shelters, and there­
by reducing the possibility of high casualties among its
small population.

Libya can produce large amounts of chemical
weapons. U.S. defence intelligence reported that Libya is
already producing small amounts of mustered gas (30-50
tons) as well as the nerve gas sarin. Rhabta chemical
weapon complex of Libya is reputed to be the biggest over
constructed with a deadly recipe of chemicals.\textsuperscript{56}

The spread of chemical weapons in the Middle East
is creating higher tensions in this already dangerous part

\textsuperscript{55} Armed Forces, Vol. 7, No.4, April 1988, p. 136.
See also Armed Forces Journal International, May 1990, p.60.

\textsuperscript{56} Mathews, n.54, p.36.
of the world. A senior Israeli Defense force officer said "it has changed the rules of war in the Middle East". The Iran-Iraq war has changed the outlook on chemical weapons by making them a possible alternative in any conflict in the region and it seems that all major state in the Middle East are actively developing a powerful chemical weapon capability. As weapons of mass destruction they can be used either as a deterrent against aggressors, or as a devise to prevent a rout on the battlefield. And in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Arabs could inflict serious casualties on Israeli population. This superiority in chemical weapons could give them first-strike capability and a effective deterrence against Israel's nuclear capability.

Missiles

The proliferation of missiles among Arab states is causing alarm in Israel. In previous Arab-Israeli conflict only confronting states bordering Israel, had the capability of attacking Israel with SSMs. This is no longer case, Iraq and potentially Libya now have this capability. Now currently, ten countries in the Middle East have ballistic missiles; notably Algeria, Egypt, Iran,

57. RUSI Newsbrief, Vol. 8, No.6, June 1988, p.47.
Iraq, Israel, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.

The missile proliferation commenced in the Middle East during the early part of the 1980s. It has been estimated that Iraq and Iran during their war have rained down on each other around 875 surface-to-surface missile (SSM's), and upto 200 of these being fired by the Iraqis before 1985. Falling on Iranian cities they caused 1500 deaths and 7000 injuries. As a result of the Iran-Iraq war missiles have become supreme terror weapons inflicting damage besides the excessively high human and material cost of close-contact combat. Therefore, all the major countries in the region are now busy in stock-piling SSMs. This is obviously raising tension amongst the Arab States and Israel. On the one hand, and in the region on the other. The worry for Israel is that missiles and their chemical weapons are upsetting the military balance in the region which has long favoured the Israelis. The air superiority of Israel has always ensured that foes were deterred from pursuing war. Missiles erode the potency of


this deterrence factor, making not only Israel notorious for pre-emptive strike, but also major Arab States nervous and consequently dangerous. Iraq least-launched a three stage rocket, the AL Abid on December 5, 1989. This could potentially deliver nuclear war heads up to 2800 km., putting Russia, Greece, as well as Israel within range. Iraq is also establishing a battery of 6 launchers for AL-Hussain missiles near its western border with Syria within range of Israel.60

In response to this changed strategic scenario, Israel has been building up its own missile potential. There have been two other developments which have added further twists to the missile race spiral. In September 1988 the launching of Israeli Ofek-I and in April 1990 the Ofel-2 experimental communication satellites. This means that the Middle East arms race has now spread into space. Currently no Middle East country has the capability to intercept missiles but, while Israel leads the race, Iraq claims that it has successfully tested an anti-missile system, Alfaw. Israel is also testing the medium-range ballistic missile the 1400 km. Jericho-II.61 These developments appear to signal Israel's intent to maintain the

61. Mathews, n. 54, p. 35.
credibility of its pre-emptive strike strategy; the ability to place into space intelligence-gathering instruments the possession of an anti-ballistic missile system to neutralize retaliatory strikes and the capacity via the Jericho-II to strike into enemy territory.

Israel's military capability in the region is far superior that the rest of Arab countries. Since it came into being, it has constantly pursuing the defence policy which is not averse to pre-emptive striking and aims at maintaining military superiority in the region.
CHAPTER III

ISRAEL AND NEIGHBOURS

This chapter deals with the role of Israeli neighbouring states namely, Jordan, Syria and Iraq, in the Arab Israeli conflict and peace process. It also focusses on the Israeli perception of threat from these countries. The modern state of Jordan dates back only to March 1921 when Britain, the league of nation's mandate power agreed to back a national government under Abdullah the son of Sharif Hussein Ibn Ali of the Hijaz over territories east of the Jordan river provided that government accepted British supervision. The U.K. formally recognized Transjordan as an independent constitutional state on 25 May 1923 under the rule of Amir Abdullah. Transjordan's full independence was not to be achieved until the treaty of London was signed in March 1946. Amir Abdullah was proclaimed king in May 1946.

Transjordan was renamed as the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan in August 1950, and the Hashemite king of Jordan was proclaimed over the East and West Bank of the Jordan, a
month later the Jordanian Dinar became the official currency for the entire country.

On 14 May 1948 when the British Mandate of Palestine ended, the Jews in Palestine proclaimed the establishment of State of Israel and widespread fighting broke out between Jews and Arabs. Eventually a ceasefire was established and armistice on 3 April 1949 demarcated defacto borders for the new State of Israel.¹

Jordan alone controlled a vital part of historic Palestine during 1948 and 1967. The West Bank and East Jerusalem both captured by Israel in 1967 were the part of Jordan. Jordan received the hardest blows with the loss of the West Bank. Half of its entire agricultural production was destroyed along with approximately 1/3 of its earnings from agricultural exports (the West Bank which had until then accounted for upto 45% of Jordan's GDP).² The West Bank potential for earning foreign exchange from tourism passed into Israeli hands. Before 1967, the number of tourists visiting annually the tourist centres Jerusalem and West Bank were about more than half million.³ In addition Israel pushed thousands of Palestinian refugees

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2. Ibid., p. 55.

into Jordan. After the June 1967 war about 300,000 Palestinians crossed the river Jordan. Thus, the West Bank was an important part of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.

Jordan's perception of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue flows from its geography and demography. Jordan stands along the longest confrontation lines with Israel, therefore, Jordan plays a central role as an Arab-confrontationist state with Israel. Jordan has more than 300 miles front with Israel, and 16 miles coastline on the Gulf of Aqaba and its Dead sea coast is roughly 80 miles from North to South where Israel holds nearly 50 miles of the western shores. The Jordan valley is Israel's preferred border, the vulnerable parts of the 250 mile border between Jordan and Israel today are less than 20 miles of relatively weak defenses specially the region of Bet Shean Valley on the eastern side and the relative low land's of the Upper Jordan valley, and Irbid region on the western side. Jordan, this is the closest of all Arab countries to the conflict and more deeply affected by it.

By the early 1960's a slight majority of Jordan's population were residents of the East Bank. Nearly one million Palestinians had been added as full citizens to the

original 400,000 Jordanians, the population of Amman in three years from 30,000 to about 200,000. Jordan has been facing problem of the increased pressure put on the available resources as the result of the rapid population growth. This was initiated with expulsion of people from Palestine by Israel in 1948 and from the West Bank in 1967. Today half of Jordan's population is Palestinian most of them refugees after the 1948 and 1967 wars Jordan is the only Arab country to have granted automatic citizenship to the refugees. The population of the Islamic occupied West Bank has Jordanian citizenship as well.

Jordan's Palestinians comprise the largest concentration of Palestinians living outside the area of Palestine. The presence of Palestinians influence and constrains Jordanian policy more than any other domestic factor. The security dilemma Jordan is facing the presence of large number of Palestinians refugees by 1988 numbering 862,000 out of a total 2.25 million U.N. registered refugees and about another 210,000 who were displaced across the Jordan river as a result of the 1967 war.

At present, Jordanian watch with trepedition as over 17,000 Soviet Jews a month pour into Israel. Jordanian fears that expansionist forces in Israel will push the West Bankers into Jordan swamping the already fragile economy and upsetting the delicate demographic balance. There is a fear that Jordanian - Palestinian historical ties and the weight of Palestinian numbers could one day lead to disintegration and violence in Jordan. Jordan is constantly under strains rather at pains due to the fact that about half the population of Jordan is Palestinian and absorbing a further 750,000 or so highly politicized West Bank inhabitants would not only make the Jordanians a minority in their own country but could undermine the existence of the present Jordanian regime. Therefore, Jordan continues to regard the Palestinians as a security risk. Domestically, it believes that keeping of demographic balance is very essential for security and stability of Jordan. At the same time, regionally keeping Arab political support for Jordan is an important factor in maintaining political stability. In other words, the government must seek a balanced policy which is sufficiently pro-Palestinian to win at least the acquiescence of Jordan's Palestinians.


Jordan was the only gateway for West Bank Palestinians to the rest of the Arab world and in order to travel abroad they must carry Jordanian passport. Jordanian consent to the maintenance of open bridges over the Jordan river enables some million Arabs on the average to pass between West Bank and Arab World yearly.\(^{12}\) In the June 1967 war West Bank was conquered by Israel, and the West Bank with the connection with Jordan is seen as the main factor deterring Israel from annexing this area. Jordan's sovereignty there is upheld by International Law. Jordan was also a market for West Bank agricultural produce.

The West Bank public institutions such as hospitals, schools, mosques and homes for the aged were subsidized by Amman, Jordanian government contributed an estimated 25% to the budgets of the West Bank municipalities.\(^{13}\) Jordan offered the Palestinians a good opportunity to keep-up their fight but Palestinians misused this permission. The activities of the commando who were armed and subsidized by Syria led to large-scale Israeli reprisals against the West Bank in 1966. As a result of this the PLO's office was close down in Jerusalem and king restricted the PLO activities.\(^{14}\)


\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 157.

\(^{14}\) Yorks, n.1., p.13.
Alfatah and smaller splinter organisations that together made up the new PLO erected a state-within-a-state between 1968-1970 challenging the Hashemite authority in Jordan.\textsuperscript{15} King Hussein (who was declared king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in August 1952) was torn between the Arab popular demand for scope for the Fadayeen to operate against Israel from the East Bank and his desire to avert the heavy Israeli reprisals on his kingdom which every guerrilla raid brought in its wake. Israel bombed from the air on the town of Salt 25 kilometers north of Amman in March 1969 and caused much suffering to Palestinians as well as Jordanian and raised question about the usefulness of Fadayeen provocation of Israeli revangefulness.\textsuperscript{16} Since 1970 Jordan refused to allow P.L.O. military acts to be carried out by way of its territory.\textsuperscript{17}

The issue of West Bank is a crucial element in the Jordan's relations with Israel and the P.L.O. Jordan no longer represents the Palestinians since 1970 and a decision was made at the Rabat Arab Summit meeting to recognize the P.L.O. as the sole representative of the


Palestinian people. Although large number of Palestinians line in Jordan, Jordan is no longer recognized by the Arab as the representative of Palestinians nor it claims to be.

**The Jordanian Concept of Peaceful Settlement:**

Israel has always looked for a partial peace with Jordan. Both Israel and the U.S. have been trying to draw Jordan into separate negotiations but Jordan wants to put together a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation which could act as a team in eventual negotiations. On February 1985, the signing of Jordanian PLO joint accord has committed Jordan to an international conference and to a PLO participation in a joint delegation with Jordan and PLO to the principle of exchange of land for peace. In addition, the agreement also commits the PLO to a point that the Palestinian right to exercise determination would be within the context of a confederation comprising Palestine and Jordan. However, the Palestinian National Council rejected the Jordanian - PLO Joint Accord in 1986. A poll in 1982 suggested that 72% of the Palestinian of the West Bank felt that King Hussein in no way represented them. Only 17 per cent felt he was acceptable as their co-representative. A year later another poll suggested that 66% of the population of the

18. Yorke, n.1., p.75.
19. Ibid., p. 277.
occupied territories considered him to be insincere and hostile to Palestinian interests. By 1986 support for Hussein had fallen to 3.3%.

The intifada has shown beyond all doubt that King Hussein cannot represent the Palestinian people. After eight months of unrest in the territories on 31 July 1988, King Hussein formally relinquished his claim to the occupied territory of West Bank and initiated the administrative steps to sever all those links which implied sovereignty or responsibility for the fate of the territory. He canceled the Jordanian programme of 1986 for the social and economic development of the Israeli occupied territories. The Kingdom wanted the whole world to realize that Jordan was not intent on rivaling the PLO in its drive to represent the Palestinians and serve their interests and wanted to remove all skepticism vis-a-vis its relation with the West Bank. King Hussein's decision was a major blow for Israel's Labour Party. Since 1967 the Labour Party had maintained that the foundation of any settlement of the territories should be in collaboration with Jordan. Thus, King Hussein could no longer be the sole partner to a settlement in the West Bank. King Hussein leaving the Palestinian to speak for themselves

20. Mcdowall, n.8, p.75.

took the so-called Jordanian option off the table. King's move has put pressure upon the PLO leadership and sent a clear message to Israel and its ally, the U.S. that they could no longer hang on to their refusal to deal with the P.L.O. P.L.O and the Palestinian people moved rapidly towards negotiating and reappraisal of strategy that resulted in the major shift at the 19th Palestinian National Council meeting in November 1988. They accepted the U.N. resolution 242 and the concept of co-existence of two states in historical Palestine. The P.L.O. peace initiative Arafat's declaration in Geneva in November. An proclamation of an independent Palestinian state in Israeli-occupied territories, and the subsequent U.S. decision to open a dialogue with the P.L.O. were the subsequent notable events.

Jordan was never in a position to negotiate the future of the West Bank. King Hussein realized that he could not afford to appear to be collaboration with Israel while competing with the P.L.O. over control of the West Bank.22

Jordan has always opposed a partial settlement to the Middle East crises and has instead called for an international peace conference to solve the problem. Jordan has recognized the P.L.O. as the sole, legitimate

representative of the Palestinian people and no Arab State may act unilaterally in solving the Palestinian issue. Besides, Jordan does not accept any Arab State to be an alternative to the P.L.O.\textsuperscript{23} Jordan made it clear that it is prepared to pursue the course of peace with Israel on the following terms:

Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 as well as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.\textsuperscript{24}

Jordan's leadership believes that the most appropriate vehicle for achieving a settlement is through an international conference under the auspices of the U.N., Jordan still has a vital role to play in the peace process as a confrontationist state with the longest border with Israel, a role that has not ended with the disengagement from the West Bank. King Hussein has stated that "Jordan will not give up its commitment to take part in the peace process."\textsuperscript{25} Without the active participation the Jordan in the Middle East peace process, the chances of establishing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Hassan, Ibn-Talal, Search for Peace: The Politics of the Middle Ground in the Middle East, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1984, pp. 45, 51, 52
\item \textsuperscript{24} See The Text of a Speech which king Hussein of Jordan delivered to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, 6 November 1981, pp. 248-256.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Time, 15 August 1988
\end{itemize}
peace in the region are not promising. After the proclama-
tion of an independent Palestinian state, the P.L.O. was
allowed to establish an embassy in Amman in January 1989,
and the head-quarters of the Palestinian National Fund was
reopened there in July 1989.26

SYRIA

In 1920, the French toppled King Feisal bin Hussein
and imposed their mandate over those areas which today
comprise Syria and Lebanon. Subsequently during the period
of the French mandate (1920-46) the sense of nationalism
amongst Syrian grew as the Arab nationalist struggle for
independence gained momentum. But the French pursued
policies that prevented the growth of a unified Syrian
political community. They weakened territorial unity by
dividing the country into regions adopting ethnic and
religious attitudes in their policy of recruitment into the
army and a system of class divisions through bestowing
preferential treatment on the Sunni urban elite in local
government.27 85% of Syria's population is Muslim, While
the majority of the population are Arabic speaking, there
are important non-Arab minorities with strong cultural
identities, including Kurds, Arminians, Turcomans and
Circassians.28 The Baath (Resurrection) movement was

26. Robert, Satloff, Jordan Looks inward, Current
27. Yorke, n.l, p. 98.
founded in the late 1940's and in 1953 this subsequently merged with the Arab Socialists Party. Baath was founded by Michael Aflaq a Greek orthodox christian and Salab Bilar a Sunni Muslim. The Baathist became an important factor in Syrian politics after 1954, participating coalition, penetrating the government apparatus and widening their appeal to bring industrial workers into the ranks along with intellectuals and professionals.29

In a violent coup in February 1966, the radical military Baathists known as the neo-Baath eliminated the more conservative old guard civilian Baathists and their military supporters. The Loss of Golan area to Israel in 1967 war an intra-Alawite struggle for power entered between the Security-General of the Syrian General Command together with his civilian supporters and Hafedh Al-Asad minister of Defence and his military supporters.30 Asad seized full power following a bloodless on 14 November 1970 and became President of Syria in February 1971.

For Syria the conflict with Israel has long involved three issues: Lebanon, the Golan heights and the Palestinians all of which are inter-linked. Syria lies just northeast of Israel. The Israeli-Syrian border is only about 70 km. long and runs across a high (300-500m) massif which peaks in the far north at Mount Hermon (Jabal Alsheikh). The Golan Heights is an strategic area,

important both for the security of Syria and Israel. Israel occupied about 400 square mile area in the Golan during the six day war of 1967. The loss of the Golan has influenced much of Syrian foreign and defence policy and its domestic situation. By capturing the Golan Heights Israeli enjoyed a massive topographical advantage. The Syrian capital Damascus became completely exposed to the Israeli guns due to Israeli military position entrenched on the Golan Heights. The Israeli forces are in a position to present a threat to Damascus that is with in 40 miles of relatively easy terrains. The geography of the Golan requires that the Syrian should not face Israeli troops on the Heights because the Israelis would constitute a direct on the plain leading to Damascus.31

The majority of the native Syrian population (over 93%) was expelled by the Israeli forces from the Golan Heights. It is estimated that the number of Syrian refugees from the Golan is approximately 100,000 persons, most of them peasants whose homes and villages have been razed to make room for the new Jewish Settlements.32 Only some 6000 native Druze residents remained in the Golan Heights after the Israeli occupation of 1967 war.33

Syria is the region's most persistent confrontationist state having fought her neighbours in 1948, 1967, 1973 and in 1982. The key to their rivalry is the Golan Heights. After Israel's decision on December 14, 1981 to extend its legal and administrative jurisdiction to the Golan Heights and to allow for the largest concentration of Israeli settlement in the Syrian Palateu, Syria fears that the Israel represents a serious challenge to their value and institutions. The Jewish settlements on the Golan heights house about 12,000 Israeli. Former Prime Minister Begin said, "We shall never withdraw from the Golan Heights. There is no such thing as giving up security in return for peace. There is no peace without security and without the Golan Heights there is no security." 

Hafedh Asad is eager to regain the strategic Golan Heights captured by Israel in 1967. On March 8, 1986 President Asad expressed this clearly when he stated that, "when we proclaimed this slogan of strategic parity a few years ago we were aware that this did not just mean a tank vs. a tank or a gun vs. - a gun but parity in all the domains of life : the economic human, social, political, cultural and military .... we knew then that this could not be achieved overnight but necessitated time and appropriate

35. Morz, n.5, p.76.
efforts; however, we have already covered a measurable distance". 36 Syria has found itself in the position of being the major confrontationist state with Israel.

Syria's policy which advocated for the need for Arab solidarity against Israel received severe blow when a separate peace treaty was signed between Israel and Egypt in 1978. The signing of the camp David agreement where put a restrain on Syria's military options also made it more vulnerable than ever before. Subsequently President Asad tried hard to get Soviet support militarily for dealing with Israel. Syria in absence of Arab solidarity to deal with Israel militarily is under severe compulsion to negotiate with Israel instead of taking back Golan Height militarily.

The Palestine community has always been regarded as important potential threat to Syrian stability especially with the growth of the Palestinian nationalist movement after 1968. It also fears that actions of Syrian based Palestinian commandos might increase the danger of Israeli retaliation against Syrian targets. Under this fear Syria has restricted the guerrilla activities of Palestinian peoples.

Syria was the only Arab State which provided the Palestinians with an operational base. It was through Syria

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that Soviet arms for the commando in Lebanon were channeled. In 1976 Syria's military intervention in Lebanon was done on the side of the Pro-government Largely Maronite force, and against the Palestinian Leffist alliance. The P.L.O. publicly complained at Syria's passivity in the face of Israeli attacks on Palestine targets in Lebanon, and at the confiscation of Soviet weapons destined for the P.L.O.  

The Palestinian issue has been very important for Syria both ideologically and strategically. Syria regards itself as the leader of Arab nationalism and the supporter of Palestinian course. It held the Palestinian issue hostage for the sake of Golan Heights, fearing to be left isolated either to fight or to negotiate with Israel. Therefore, it has been more alarmed by the Israeli Palestinian negotiations as any progress towards the resolution of the Palestinian issue would underscore its failure to regain the Golan Heights from Israel. Untill Syrian intervention in Lebanon in 1976, it was regarded as a reliable supporter of Palestinians against Israel. Since 1976 Syrian intervention, there seems to be a facit understanding between Israel and Syria over their respective security concerns in Lebanon. Probably this facit understanding forced Asad to bring under restrictions the

37. Yorke, n.1, p.132.
Palestinian guerrilla operations in Lebanon.

Israel and Syria fought a short war in June 1982, the fourth between these two countries in the last 35 years. This was a small part of the larger Lebanon war, known to the Israelis as "Operation Peace for Galilee". Israel's air operations during the summer of 1982 were extra-ordinarily successful. The Syrians suffered a devastating defeat with very less Israeli loss in the war. Syria completely lost air defense system including 20 surface-to-air missile batteries (SA-2,3,6) and in excess of 85 fighter aircraft (MIG 21, MIG 23, MIG 25) and because of this defeat Syrian Ground forces in Lebanon had virtually no defence against Israeli air attacks. Syria lost more than 400 tanks. Syria did not accept the Lebanon-Israel agreement as it affected its own security. Syria did not accept the political arrangements which as a result of Israeli influence might have led to partition and the creation of a pro-Israeli Maronite canton in Lebanon. If Israel were to encourage such divisions along sectarian lines, Syria

could in due course be troubled by similar cleavages. In 1984 President Amin Gemayal canceled the 17 May 1983 Israeli-Lebanese withdrawal Agreement. This was followed by Israel's withdrawal in 1985 from most Lebanese territories.

Syria re-established the legemony in Lebanese in 1984, that had been shaken in 1982. Syria is still supporting the Lebanese government and the Lebanese Muslim (Shi'ite community). She has encouraged them to demand an end to Israeli occupation of their country. In the wake of the recent Gulf crisis, president Asad found it opportune to consolidate Syrian influence in Lebanon. Lebanon is virtually now under indirect Syrian control.

The Syrian Concept of Peaceful Settlement

Since the Israel-Egypt peace treaty the most immediate military threat Israel perceives from the north from Syria. Syria believes that if all the Arab parties concerned act in unison they can recover their territories in the long run. A separate peace treaty of one country with Israel, especially a strong one, would leave the other party in a position where they could neither fight a war nor negotiate for peace. In this context, Syrian leaders


believe that any future war with Israel will depend primarily on their military strength. The idea of a strategic balance with Israel is based on the nation that only military strength can provide the Arabs with the bargaining power to negotiate an acceptable peace with Israel and the deterrent capability to guarantee peace once achieved. Hence Syria's position had long been that negotiations with Israel should only be conducted when it had reached strategic parity with Israel (encompassing military, technical and economic factors and the support of the Soviet Union to balance American support for Israel). Syria has maintained that there is no point in negotiating with Israel from a position of weakness because Israel would then dictate its terms.

President Asad stated in a speech on March 1972 that "we support the Security Council Resolutions when interpreted as providing for the withdrawl of the enemy from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and as a confirmation of the rights of the Palestinian people." In April 1987, during President Asad's visit to Moscow a joint Soviet-Syrian statement was issued which called for a collective efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. It specially referred to the holding of an International Conference under the auspices of the U.N. as a means to

41. Yorke, n.1., p.302.
achieve it. Syria insists that negotiations should take place within an international peace conference as the Arab world would be put to a disadvantage if Israel negotiated with each state individually. Syria is essential to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict as is the P.L.O. Syria believe that she can not negotiate on behalf of the occupied territories, to solve the West Bank problem.

In the 1973 October war Syria failed to win back the Golan, and had lost additional land before the ceasefire. In Israel, there is a broad national consensus that the Golan Heights should under no circumstances return to Syria. An Israeli minister said that "before talks begin between Israel and Syria, Syrian President Asad would have to accept two condition: that no Syrian soldiers will be there and that the Jewish settlements will not only remain but expand in natural development." The decline in the Soviet Union's international position and stature; the waning of Soviet-American completion and the improvement in soviet-Israeli relations; all weakened Syria's standing.

Syria has been the mainstay of Soviet influence in the region, but as early as 1987 she understood very well that she had to look elsewhere. Syria had begun to look

42. Ibid., p. 303.
towards U.S. and toward Egypt.\textsuperscript{44} On 4 December 1983, when American Aircraft attacked Syrian positions in Lebanon, Syrian shot down three U.S. aircraft over Lebanon. It was a humiliating blow to U.S.'s prestige as for the first time an Arab country had shot down U.S. aircraft and taken U.S. pilots prisoners.\textsuperscript{45} The U.S. had imposed sanctions on Syria in 1986 after Syrian diplomates were accused of aiding in the planting of a bomb abroad an Israeli airliner at London's Heathrow airport. Subsequently the U.S. restored diplomatic relations with Syria in August 1987. The Gulf war has shown that Syria is closer to the West than to the U.S.S.R. is political ideology but not in military affairs. During the Gulf war Syria agreed to join the international military coalition that was organised by the U.S. and its Arab allies to threaten Iraq.\textsuperscript{46}


\textsuperscript{46} Syria joined Egypt and Saudi Arabia in what became the case of anti-Saddam coalition in the Arab World, for two main reasons: First, Saudi Financial transfers to Syria have been considerable for some time and have been especially important in defraying the costs of the expensive Syrian military operation in Lebanon. Second, ideological conflicts and personal rivalry between Asad and Saddam. This dispute reflects a competition for subregional leadership. Syria subsequent support for Khomeini's Iran in the Iran-Iraq war and its bitter condemnation of Iraq for attacking an Islamic country. For the history of Syrian-Iraqi relations over the past two decades. See Elberhard, Kienic, Baath V. Baath: Conflict Between Syria and Iraq 1968-1989, Tauris, London, 1990.
Since the end of the October war 1973, the relations have been very difficult between Syria and Egypt. They got worsened after the Camp David accord. Syria re-establish diplomatic relation with Egypt in December 1989. Relations had been broken by Syria 11 years earlier in response to Egypt signing the Camp David Accords. At present, President Asad unconditionally accepted a compromise formula for Mideast talks, but Syria emphasizes that Middle East peace settlement would be impossible unless Israel withdrawn from the Arab territories and recognizes Palestinian rights.47

The Jordan River

Jordan River is unique with a twofold distinction of nature and history. In the First World War, the southern Jordan valley was part of the front line in Palestine. This portion of the river course consequently underwent detailed re-plotting in the topographical war-maps of Palestine.

The Jordan from its exit from lake Tiberias in the north to its debouchure into the Dead Sea in the South, hereafter referred to as the Lower Jordan, follows the axis of the central part of the great Rift valley along which the Lower Jordan winds, its course. It is called by various

names in the regional geography of Palestine commonly by the name of Ghor (Arabic) or the Trough (Bighat Hayarden in Hebrew). 48

The river Jordan is the collecting stream of a large endoreic area which comprises a considerable portion of Western Palestine. Its catchment area in Eastern Palestine is about three times bigger than that of the drainage area of more than two-thirds of the Palestine. Its two intermediate lakes. Lake Hula which has almost disappeared during the past few years owing to artificial drainage; and Lake Tiberias naturally divides the Jordan Rift valley into three major parts: The Jordan valley from its main sources at the foot of the Jabal Al-sheikh Masif upto lake Hula, the very short section from the Hula to Lake Tiberias in which the river attains its maximum gradient and the Lower Jordan Valley from Lake Tiberias to the Dead Sea is 105 km. in length. The catchment area of the river within these limits is about 13,6000 sq. km. 49

The Jordan river is one of the smaller perennial rivers of the Middle East. It holds a key position in the


49. Ibid., p. 24.
future development of both Israel and Jordan. The river is formed by the union of three main head streams near the village of Sde Nehemia about two and half miles inside the extreme northern border of Israel at 270 feet above sea level. These three head streams are the Dan, the Banias, and the Hasbani. The course and behaviour of these head streams have become an important factor in the development of the Jordan water dispute.  

The Dan is the largest and most Steadiest of the head streams of the river. It is fed entirely by springs and carries only a negligible quantity of run-off water during the rainy season. The sources of the Dan are inside Israeli territory. A number of springs at the foot of Jabal Al-sheikh (Mount Herman) near the Syrian village of Banias are the source of the second head stream called as Banias. It flows from about a mile in Syrian territory before entering Israel, a short distance south-east of village of Dan. The Hasbani is largely a seasonal stream. Its head is well inside Lebanon, at the north western foot of Jabal Al-sheikh about thirty miles from the Israeli border. The Hasbani after flowing about one and a half miles on Syrian territory enters Israel from Syria and not directly from Lebanon.


51. Ibid., p. 229.
The Jordan Water dispute had taken a serious turn in 1920s and attracted much international attention. Weizman, the Zionist leader sent a letter to Lord Curzon, then British Foreign Secretary on October 30, 1920 talking about the storage of the Jordan River Waters in Lake Tiberia. In March 1951 Israel had moved bulldozers and military units into the demilitarized zone on the Syrian border. Despite the protests of the U.N. observers in the area and the U.S. State Department, Israel began draining Lake Hula which is part of the Jordan River System. Syrian villages were fixed upon by the Israelis though the Syrian troops moved closer to the border, they did not retaliate.

Utilization of the waters of the Jordan valley has been hindered since 1948 by the Political difficulties of the area. Four states, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Israel control the Jordan catchment. Although a number of schemes for the national utilization of the water resources of the region have been proposed, none have been implemented. Each state has gone ahead with its own plans often to the detriment of other nations. The discussion took place


between Israel and the adjoining Arab States (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan) in 1950s, to reach on understanding as to low the waters of the river Jordan might be most fairly allocated amongst the four states. However, a number of proposals and plans failed to resolve the water dispute.

After the occupation of the Arab West Bank and Golan in 1967 Israel was able to control the Jordan tributaries frustrating any Arab Project to exploits about 55% of the water available in the Jordan basin although the American Johnston Plan that was submitted in the fifties did not give Israel more than 38% of these waters. Today, Jordan has become unable to utilize more than 10% of the basin waters, despite the fact that the Johnston plan allocated about half of the basin water to Jordan. Israel and Jordan are trying to prevent new hostilities resulting from worsening water shortages.

At the core of the Middle East's water problems are populations in Syria and Jordan, growing at rates close to 30% a year, while Israel bulges with the huge influx of Soviet immigrants. Whatever their faith all are reliant on the same complex of limited water supplies from the Jordan, Yarmuk, and Litani rivers and aquifers that lie below the water-shed between the occupied West Bank and Israel, waters that are not easily shared.

Elias Salameh a specialist at Jordan University predicted that "there was not enough water. It was a zero-sum issue with the population being big for the water resources. By 1995 the situation would be critical". In July 1990 King Hussein of Jordan community on water problem said that "the needs within this area, the limitations of what is available even in terms of water males it impossible to see how everyone is going to fit in without something happening". King Hussein and Crow Prime Hassan also have been threatened that the water dispute with Israel could result in war.

At present, Israel takes 800 million cubic meters of water from Jordan river each year. The Jordan's total annual flow is only 1450 million cubic meters. Israel has plans to further exploit the rivers feed the Jordan. The "Jerusalem Post" reported in April 1984 a statement by Israel's Water Commissioner Zemah Yishai that Israel would


56. Haaritz, (Tel Aviv) 15 July 1990, p.4.

begin this summer to take all the water from the yarmak river to which it was entitled under agreement with Jordan. Israel by use of price wants to exploit control all the headwaters of the river Jordan which lie in Jordanian, Syrian and Lebanese territories and denying these countries their rightful share in the water of Jordan river. The sharing of water between these countries has been one of the factors causing rivalry among them.

Israel's Water Policies in the Occupied territories

Israel is perpetually in need of water resources in order to meet the ever increasing demand for water-caused by the constant influx of immigrants and the establishment of new settlements. After taking over river waters, and exhausting all the surface water resources, Israel turned to exploiting the subterranean waters in the West Bank, claiming that Israel has right to these waters as they are important sources feeding the subterranean waters in the plains of Israel. In West Bank, Israel needs to use the greatest possible amount of water in order to meet the need of the settlements there.

Since 1967, Israel has seized important water resources in the West Bank. The first of the major water sources secured by the Israelis in 1967 was the water from

58. Ibid., p. 51.
the catchment basin of the West Bank itself. An estimate annual volume of some 200 million cubic metres of West Bank water flows into the coastal reservoirs that had already begun to be exploited by the Israelis in the early 1950s. The seizer of the West Bank was the prerequisite to ensure that Arab water would remain available for Israeli consumption. By controlling the West Bank Israeli military administration can guarantee that the Arab inhabitants do not develop this indigenous water resources.

The Director General of Israeli Prime Minister's Office Dr. Ben-Elissar, concluded "that the state of Israel must continue to control the water resources in the territories both because of the danger to water rivers inside the Green line and because it will be impossible to establish new Israeli settlements in these territories without control and supervision of the water resources".

Since the 1967, Israeli National Water Authority, has been responsible for the public water supply in the occupied territories. During the first years of the occupation, the control of water was a key factor to the political and economic control of the territories. Israeli attitude towards the political future West Bank and Gaza strip, its rejection of the establishment of a Palestinian

59. Thomas, Stauffer, Arab Water in Israeli Calculation., The Benefits of War and the Cost of Peace, Israel and Arab Water in Mahmoud Riyadh, n. 54, p. 76.

state those appears to be partially attributable to the water factor in these Palestinian territories. It does not want to relinquish its control water resources in occupied territories. Moshe Dayan has said that "Israel will continue to control the water resources in Judea and Samaria (West Bank) which constitute the main water resources for the coastal plain. The Arabs in Judea and Samaria would not get more water than they had today".  

Before 1967 Israel had been pumping away from the West Bank's water supply, some 500 million cubic metres annually by means of artesian wells drilled in Israel. This constituted approximately one-third of Israel's annual water consumption before 1967 and it constituted five-sixths of the West water. 

No well can be sunk by a Palestinian in the West Bank without first obtaining a permit from the representatives of the Water Commissioner at the military government offices. According to Israel's military order 158 of 1 October 1967; no water installation was allowed without a licence from the military commander. Thus the Israeli Area Military Commander has complete and absolute control over access to water throughout the occupied territories.

61. Ibid., p. 20.
There were only five cases of Palestinians being allowed to sink new wells for drinking water during the 1967 to 1987.\textsuperscript{63} Not a single application for the drilling of wells for irrigation has been approved since 1967. Israeli's water policy in the West Bank has devastating effect on neighbouring Arab springs and wells.

When the Israeli settlement of Mehola was established in 1968 near the villages of Bardalah and Tel El-Bada, Mokorot advised the settlement authority that the drilling of a planned well to supply water for the settlement would adversely affect the five wells and spring used by neighbouring Arab villages. Fully aware of this report, the Israeli's dug the well. Consequently Palestinian farms have not had enough water ever since.

An Arab municipality, Ramallah, for example has not been allowed to drill wells unless they supply new Jewish settlements or link up their municipal systems to the Israeli network which gets its water supply from the ground water of the city of Ramalah itself.\textsuperscript{64} Dr. Hisham Awartani, Chairman of the Department of Economics at Al Najab National University in Nablus (1978) presented an insightful study of Israel's water policies in the West Bank. His conclusions are follows:

\textsuperscript{63} David Mcdowall, Palestine and Israel, the Uprising and Beyond, I.B. Tauris and Co., London,1989, p. 279

1. In the West Bank, the total number of artesian wells is 331 of which 17 have been drilled by the Israel Water Company (Mekorot) in the Jordan Valley to serve Israeli settlements in the area;

2. Following the 1967 occupation, 12 Arab wells have dried up, many others in the Jordan valley (mostly in the northern part) are suffering a declining water level and increasing salinity;

3. The total volume of water discharged from 314 Arab wells amounted in 1977-78 to 33 million cubic metres whereas the 17 Israeli wells in the Jordan valley discharged 14.1 million cubic metres.\textsuperscript{65}

Water consumption of the average Palestinian family in the West Bank is estimated to be less than a quarter of that consumed by the average Israeli family. Abedel Rahman Tamimi, Director of the Palestinian Hydrology groups, says "since 1967 Arab residents have been denied permission to drill for water while Israel has sunk dozens of mostly deep wells for settlements and for military camps.... All Jewish settlements in the territories were supplied with running water. On the other hand, 51 per cent of Arab villages and hamlets are deprived of such a service and are obliged to rely on rain and spring water."\textsuperscript{66} He further stated that

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., p.13.

\textsuperscript{66} The Independent, 12 October 1991.
"in some areas settlements had swimming pools, while Palestinian villages next door had a shortage of drinking water. No one could accept that he did not have water to drink and his neighbour had a swimming pool". 67

The inequality of water resources allocated to jews and Arabs is clearly visible in 1990 plan according to which about 60 million cubic meters of water would be available to 39 Israeli agricultural settlements while 90 million would be available to 400 Palestinian villages. As a result the Palestinian agriculture sector has been shaken and many people deserted their land.

In the Israeli occupied territories the Palestinians have occasionally protested against Israel's exploitation of under ground water resources supplement supplies inside 'Israel proper' and irrigate Jewish settlements. The Palestinian have little power to do any thing but watch hundreds of their pre-1967 Springs and wells gradually turn saline and then dry up while in the vicinity employees of Israeli water authorities have highly sophisticated water pumping and transport systems to irrigate the Jewish settlement in the West Bank. 68 Israel's exploitation of the West Bank waters at the expense of its

67. Ibid., p.15.
Palestinian inhabitants has led to a conflict between Israeli authorities and Palestinian peoples. The General Assembly of the U.N. passed a resolution on 19th December 1983 (Resolution No. 144 accepted by 120 countries, rejected by 2 countries, Israel and U.S.) condemning Israel for its exploitation of the natural resources of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories and calling upon all states, international organisations and other institutions not to recognise or cooperate with or assist in any manner in any measures under-taken by Israel to exploit these resources or to effect any changes in the structure of these territories. Israel's water policy is clearly discriminating against both the Palestinian peoples of West bank and Gaza strip and peoples of Jordan and Syria.

**Iraq and Israel**

Iraq shares no borders with Israel. However, both are at conflict with each other. Historically Iraq has played a leading role in rejecting any agreement with Israel. Iraq participated in 1948 war and refused to enter into armistic negotiations after the cessation of hostilities. Iraqi forces had represents a serious threat to Israel's eastern front. Iraq supplied a squadron of Hunter jets to Egyptian air fields a few months before the commencement of the fighting in the 1973 October war.
During the war the Iraqi 3rd Armoured Division, an estimated 20,000 men and 320 tanks, deployed itself in the Central Golan Sector and participated in the 16 October attacks against Israeli positions. An armoured division and an infantry division were also deployed with 280 tanks, and Iraqi MIGs and pilots began operating over the Golan Heights at the initial phase of the war. Israel worries about the ballistic missiles capacity which Iraq demonstrated during the Iran-Iraq war. Iraq's military potential gave Israeli military planners a cause for concern. Ahason leveran of Tel Aviv University's Jaffe centre for strategic studies argued that "the way the war (Iran-Iraq war) ended, Iraq had a sense of victory and that was bad for Israel." 

Israeli warplanes bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor near the capital Baghdad in July 1982. Israeli officials said the Iraqis were working on component of an atom bomb at half a dozen underground sites around the country. On February 16, 1990 Israel's alarm bells rang with the announcement regarding the development an Iraq-Jordan defence understanding. Jordan to bolster its eastern front

70.  Time, 1 August 1988,
in the event of a military confrontation with Israel, it developed a strategic relationship with Iraq. Israel watched Iraqi Army division commanders visit Jordanian units stationed along the river Jordan, their purpose being to view the terrain for battle. 72 Saddam Hussain announced on April 2, 1990 that he possessed a binary chemical weapon and asserted that if Israel was to strike Iraq with its nuclear weapons Iraq would retaliate with chemical weapons. "By God we will make fire (chemical weapons) set up half of Israel if it tries to strike Iraq a second time", was Saddam Hussein threat. 73

President Saddam Hussein established the link between the Palestinian and Kuwait problem on August 12, 1990. He insisted on the linking up of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait with Israeli occupation of Gaza strip, West Bank, the Golan heights, Southern Lebanon and East Jerusalem. Saddam Hussein called upon all Arabs to liberate Jerusalem and renewed his threat to attack Israel with missiles and chemical weapons. He declared that if Israel did not vacate the occupied Arab territories then it would have to suffer quick retaliatory action from Iraq and other Arab

72. Newsweek, 13 August 1990, p.11.
countries. He stated that the wounds of captive Jerusalem could be only healed by action to free it from Israeli control.\textsuperscript{74}

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said "that Israel would never accept a link between the settlement of the Gulf Crisis to its withdrawal from Arab land occupied after the 1967 Middle East war. He stated that Israel had been asked more than once to withdraw from these territories and other areas in Israel and she had refused. And Israel would continue to do so in the future."\textsuperscript{75} Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had said that he would attack Israel first should the war erupt in the Gulf. Israel, worried by Saddam Hussein threats of a chemical attack, started the biggest distribution of gas mask to civilians. Israel also put its surface-to-air missiles or rare display (Hawk missiles perched on a hilltop in the West Bank and their electronics arms were ready for any intruder).\textsuperscript{76}

On January 17, 1991 the Gulf War broke out, 39 Iraqi Scud missiles (all Iraqi raids were conventional and not chemical) had been launched against Israeli town cities causing extensive damage. This was the first time since

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{74} The Independent, 10 October 1990, p.1.
\item\textsuperscript{75} The Independent, 17 February 1991, p.6.
\item\textsuperscript{76} David, Segal Desert Storm and Division Air Defense, Armed Forces Journal International, May,1991, P.34.
\end{itemize}
the 1948 war that Arabs had succeeded in striking at Israel's civilian home front. The threat from Iraq's Al Hussein missiles and chemical weapons however was something the Israelis had never faced before. Iraqi missiles attack has created stress, tension and a psychological impact on the Israelis. During the conflict 39 Iraqi Scud missiles were launched against Israel in 18 different attacks causing 12 deaths, over 1000 injuries and damaging or destroying over 10,500 dwelling or offices.\textsuperscript{77} The Gulf crisis and conflict cost Israel some $3 billion. The oil bill increased insurance rates to cover imports and the damage inflicted by 39 Iraqi missiles added up to another billion dollars. An army spokesman put the damage at some $200 million.\textsuperscript{78}

Israel has taken a hard look at its security doctrine after the Gulf war and asked itself a number of key questions about its future security. What impact do those Scuds have on Israeli thinking about the relationship between security and the continued retention of occupied territories. The Iraqi missiles firings during the Gulf war showed that Israel's existing strategic depth does not provide protection against all types of attacks. Israel

\textsuperscript{77.} \textit{The Independent}, 4 March 1991, p.8.

\textsuperscript{78.} \textit{The Independent}, 2 March 1991, p.8.
has discovered that the addition of territory does not necessarily increase its deterrent capability. 79

Iraqi Hussein/Scud attacks have put anti-tactical ballistic missile defense at the top of Israel's defence priorities. U.S. and Israeli patriots based in Israel failed to destroy some of Al Hussein missile war heads. Israel is now looking for a greater investment in anti-missiles defence because it knows that the Arab will at some point be able to arm their missiles with nonconventional warheads and more sophisticated missiles will be for more accurate and can be directed at strategic target such as airfields and other vital facilities. Israel will undoubtedly be sinking more money into the development of the Arrow anti ballistic missile. According to high-ranking Israel Defence force officials, in the long run the ballistic missile threat will play a decisive role in the next war. 80

Development of Israel spy satellites is now on the national agenda. Israel has been entirely dependent on U.S reconnaissance satellites for real/time attack warnings during the Gulf war, particularly during Iraq missile


80. Scotty Fisher, Israel's Defence Minister, Military at odds over stake in Arrow Project, Armed Forces Journal International, December 1990, p.30, and June 1991, p.30. Arrow is being designed to have a 70 km. range and an altitude of 30 kms. against targets with a range of 1000 km.
attacks on Israel. During the war U.S. agreed to rely the signal directly from the early-warning satellites to a ground station in Israel, thus giving the Israelis a 5 minutes early warning. Israeli officials say that in future they can not rely on satellite intelligence from a foreign country. Israel has already launched two experimental satellites of the Ofeq series and a third will be launched sometimes in near future. 81 Capitalizing on the previous launches of two experimental satellites. Defense Minister Moshe Arens confirmed that "Israel would launch a satellite with intelligence-gathering capability. The Israeli satellite could be used to spy on neighbours such as Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. He added that if they had it operating (last August) they could have watched Iraq, build up it forces for the invasion of Kuwait." 82

Israel did not stand alone when faced with a grave military threat during the Gulf War. Israel was bound to be rewarded by the West for sharing restraint in the face of Iraqi Scud missiles. U.S. military personnel were being dispatched to the Jewish state to man unspecified numbers of patriot air defence system. The U.S. was also pledging

82. Ibid., p. 416.
several million dollars aid to Israel. The immediate U.S. aid to Israel was in the form of batteries of patriot missiles, the services of its satellites, warnings of missiles launching and the heavy bombing of the Iraqi launching sites throughout the war. Israel asked the U.S. administration for aid of 13 billion dollars over and above the 4.75 billion dollars that U.S. promised to Israel. The additional aid included three billion dollars for war compensation for actual and expected dangers to Israel.

CHAPTER IV

ISRAEL, PALESTINIAN AND PLO

In January 1964 a summit conference was held in Cairo. It passed several resolutions about the Arab Israeli conflict, the most important of which was the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). The PLO was a coalition of eight Palestinian groups all having the objective of establishing an independent state of Palestine. Both Organisations were headed by Ahmed Alshukeiry. A Palestine National Congress was convened at Jerusalem on May 28, 1964 and it proclaimed the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Congress also adopted a national charter which chalked out the Palestinian national programme. Yasser Arafat took over the chairmanship of PLO in 1969.


2. Arafat had been born Abdel Rahman Abdel Raouf Arafat Alqudwa Al Husseini in December 1919 on his mother's side. He was connected to the Husseini a family prominent in the Sunni Muslim Community in Jerusalem.
The Aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war witnessed the sudden growth of Palestinian armed assistance in the Middle East and from 1968 to 1972 the Palestinians became important political actors in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since the 1967 war, or to be more precise since large-scale PLO guerrilla activities began in the spring of 1969 the rate of Israeli casualties both military and civilian has risen. The guerrilla operations it was thought that it escalated would have pose serious problems for Israeli army to tackle them.

The Fedayeen raids were a major source of concern to Israel in the 1970s. A new policy was adopted in January 1979 which allowed the Israeli defence forces to attacks any known Fedayeen concentration or training base before a political cross-border raid could be launched. The P.L.O used Lebanon its staging area for such attacks. This use of Lebanon by P.L.O. brought widespread Israeli retaliatory destruction to the people of Lebanon and Palestinians as well. Israeli retaliatory operations led to the restraining of P.L.O. guerrilla activities and forced P.L.O. supportive countries like Syria and Jordan to put a


chek on such P.L.O. operations in order to stop the retaliatory actions of Israel. After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, P.L.O. moved its headquarters to Tunis. Moreover, P.L.O nationalism also declined in terms of its credibility as was the case in 1970s. Actually Palestinians never had a strong and cohesive leadership. Divisions among the different groups within the P.L.O. most offers came on the surface. Abu Lyad once said that "We had twelve organisations which meant twelve leaderships, twelve different strategies and twelve guns pointing in twelve different directions, from all that our IIIS grew".  

The PLO has deviated from its past policy of armed struggle aimed at dismantling the Israel towards a more moderate political stance today. The PLO began to seek the negotiated settlement of Palestine question. This is being reflected in the adjustment of Long terms objective liberating all of Palestine to the narrow objective of establishing a West-Bank-Gaza State. PLO's softening attitude has been challenged by an Islamic political movement Hamas which believe that there is no room for reconciliation with the Jewish State and confrontation with Israel should be total and comprehensive and Israel should be

fought with all available means. Moreover since the uprising in occupied territories in 1987. This movement has become increasingly powerful political force, demanding the restoration of nothing less than the mandatory Palestine as a national homeland and publicly rejecting international initiatives on exchanging Land for peace. The goal of an Islamic state in all of the Palestine, in view of Israeli perspective, constitutes an immediate threat to Israel's desire to control the West Bank and Gaza Strip. West Bank military commander Amran Mitza said that "If there is something that could bother us in the future it is a religious reawakening which has began in the Gaza area and which is going on and liable to intensify". With PLO's military and political weakness and the emergence of Islamic resistance movement in occupied territories and continued absence of a solution to the Palestinian question due to Israel's apprehensions about the establishment of independent Palestine homeland the strategic instability in the region will continue to prevail.

The State of Palestine

The West Bank (2,200 square miles) is some 85 miles long. Its greatest width is under 40 miles and its narrowest at Jerusalem is under 20 miles. No point on the

West Bank falls outside a 25 mile radius from the nearest point along the Israel frontier and most of it falls within a 20 miles radius of the frontiers. The West Bank lies on the central massive of Palestine. The West Bank is located between Jordan and the Dead Sea. The strip of Israeli land bordering the Mediterranean sea is referred by Israel to as a Judea and Samaria. It was annexed by king Abdullah of Jordan in December 1948, but Israel it captured in 1967. The Gaza Strip (150 square miles) is clearly less vital than the West Bank. It is part of the Mediterranean coastal plain. Gaza is fifty miles south west of the West Bank and separated politically from it since 1948. The Gaza Strip was also conquered by Israel in 1967.

The idea of a Palestinian state in Gaza and the West Bank alongside Israel did not appear on the Palestinian nationalist agenda until shortly before the October 1973 war. The initiative came from Nayef Hawatma's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), it was not formally adopted, however, until 1977 by the PLO's policy determining body, the Palestinian National Council.


All Israeli Government have always been refusing to accept any argument or proposal that would lead to the formation of a Palestine State. Former Prime minister Golda Meir had emphasized that "There was no such thing as a Palestinian nation or people. When queried about the creation of a new Arab Palestinian state on the West Bank, she pointed out that it would be too small, only if it more part of Jordan or Israel could the area remain viable." She also stated that: "There are now two countries: One Jewish and one Arab and there is no room for a third. The Palestinian must find the solution to the problem together with that Arab country, Jordan. A Palestinian state between us and Jordan can only became a base from which it will be even more convenient to attack and destroy Israel".

Yitzhak Rabin, Former Prime Minister has stated that "we are vigorously opposed to an independent Palestinian state between Israel and Jordan... no third state come into being". Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir


had maintained that Israel would not accept a Palestinian state .... it would not speak to the PLO.... or negotiate with it. 12

It is important to keep in mind that Israeli authorities have never recognized the existence of a Palestine resistance movement. The guerrillas are "terrorists" "infiltrators" "Saboteurs", Palestinian guerrillas falling into Israeli hands are treated as criminals even though they may be wearing uniforms and belong to military units.

Israeli leaders claim that a Palestinian State would pose a threat to Israeli security, and they fear that such a state would serve as a base area for continuing the military struggle. They believe that the return of the West Bank to Palestinians, for example, would mean the setting of Palestinian artillery along the whole of Israel's Mediterranean coastal strip, the most densely populated area in the country. In this context, Israel could not return West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Palestinians for reasons of security. 13


Israel also fears that once a Palestinian State is established in the occupied territories, the Palestinian will ask for the recovery of the remaining parts of old Palestine now the State of Israel. Israel's vulnerable "Waist" is flat with no barriers between the Mediterranean and the foothills of the West Bank, at point this, "Waist" is only 9 to 15 miles wide. Most of Israelis population and most of her industrial infrastructure is concentrated in the narrowest part of this strip.\textsuperscript{14}

In the Likud's eyes, the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in the occupied territories would mean opening up an insecure front. Prime Minister Shamir made it clear that "Israel will object to establishment of another Palestinian State in the Gaza and in the area between Israel and Jordan and that Israel will not negotiate with the PLO."\textsuperscript{15}

The Labour and Likud Parties have agreed to oppose any independent Palestinian State and rejected any idea of negotiating with the PLO because from Israel's point of view, the PLO means the political and physical annihilation of Israel. Since 1967 the occupied territories have formed

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid., pp. 90-92.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} B. Reich, \textit{Israel Year of Transition}, \textit{Current History}, Vol. 86, No. 517, February 1987, p. 71.
\end{itemize}
a major element in Israel's security concept. The West Bank is a critical buffer against a surprise attack. The Land itself creates strategic depth and Israeli settlement can provide a kind of early warning. Thus, from Israel's point of view, returning territories to the Arabs would virtually guarantee an attack. 16

Aside from potential security threat to Israel, other Israeli interest may be adversely affected by the creation of an independent Palestinian State even if they remain non-belligerent. A Palestinian State would certainly prevent further Jewish settlements. These settlements serve Israel's military-security interests. Israel's economists estimated that $1 billion was spent on West Bank settlement between 1977 and 1981. 17 The West Bank and Gaza have emerged as important markets for Israeli goods. By 1980 Israeli exports to the West Bank and Gaza rose enough to make these territories Israel's third largest export market after the U.S. and Europe, absorbing some $780 million worth of goods and producing a trade surplus for Israel of $490 million. 18 The West Bank Gaza workers in Israel constitute almost 35% of the Labour force of the territories. Nearly 120,000 Palestinians go to work

each day into pre-1967 Israeli 45,000 workers from Gaza pay in taxes more than $17.5 millions that the Israeli government contributes to the area's budget. 19

Israel has been drawing about 300 million cubic meters of water per year constituting about 18% of its total consumption, from the sub-terranean equifer that straddles the Israel-West Bank border. The West Bank also provides a major training area for the Israeli Defence Forces. In addition, control of the West Bank is a major asset in dealing with the problem of infiltration operations. 20

It is clear to Israel that a peace settlement based on the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the occupied territories (West Bank and Gaza) to entails certain risks and costs to Israeli security and other interests. On July 30, 1980 Israel formally annexed Jerusalem and publicly proclaimed, Jerusalem as a permanent capital of Israel. And Israel never vows to give up an inch of Jerusalem because, the city of Jerusalem has considerable importance: Politically, Strategically and economically Jerusalem was the centre of Palestinian political activity and under the Israeli annexation Jerusalem has become a Palestinian national symbol. That is

why Palestinian declared East Jerusalem as their capital. Jerusalem geographically a part of the West Bank has a history of its own. This ancient city is sacred to the follower of major religious: Judaism Christianity and Islam. Israel's generally believe that Jerusalem is their eternal capital. In other words, all Zionist Israelis remain committed to its retention as the United and external capital of Jewish people.

Menacheam Begin declared in the Knesset: let all the members of the Security Council record that Jerusalem is our city, all it is under Israel's sovereignty, our eternal capital like Muslims, the question of Jerusalem for Israelis also is changed with sentiments and motions. It possesses unique problems, as it remains the cornerstone of any comprehensive Middle East settlement. The PLO realised after about the 25 years of the conflict that Israel's existence is inevitable. Therefore, the PLO has made a historic shift from a one-state solution to the two-state solution whose terms would be a home for Israel behind secure boundaries. Israel claims that such a state would be non-viable and irredentist becoming a base for terrorism and destabilising forces which would endanger peace and security in the area. However, the Arabs believe that Israel must realize that a small Palestinian state would not represent a threat to Israel for may reason:
1. Palestinians are willing to discuss various formulas for special limited disarmament zone, and International supervision and other agreements as part of a just comprehensive peace.

2. The U.S. would not allow the situation to develop into Israel's military disadvantage.

3. Israel would take pre-emptive military measures against the new state, should the new state allow Fedayeen to stage raids upon Israel from its territories.

4. Israel would not tolerate the military buildup of such a State.

5. When the Israelis once and for all decide what Israel want as their final and justified borders and when Israel will recognise the Palestinians right to self-determination discussion regarding mutual security arrangements, could proceed with a high possibility of accommodation.\textsuperscript{21}

Israel has a mobilization manpower of 600,000, some 4,288 tanks, 533 aircraft and thousands of artillery pieces and missiles. The PLO has 10,000 men, a variety of hand guns, grenades, motors, stones and bottles, no tanks, no aircraft.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, it may be assumed that Israel's


army will remain the strongest military machine in the area. Thus, a Palestinian state could not militarily threaten Israel by itself.

The Palestinian National Council declared an independent Palestinian State on November 1988, according to the partition Resolution 181 of 1947 and formally accepted the Resolution 242 as a basis for negotiations. Thus, implicitly recognising Israel. In the view of this declaration, any agenda for negotiation will have to be based on the demand for self-determination rather than self-rule and on the borders in which the Palestinian State would be permitted to exist. Nothing else would bring the Palestinians to the negotiating table. In the West-Bank and Gaza, the establishment of a small Palestinian State would result in two possible developments: first, such a state would have to commit itself to maintaining peace, second, it would oppose any attempt to mount an attack against Israel through its territory. This would mean that in the event of war, fighting would take place within its boundaries and its population would be the first to suffer.23

If Israel had agreed to accept an independent Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the PLO should have to accept the following Israeli conditions:

(1) The most rigorous and detailed Israeli security measures must be guaranteed;

(2) A Palestinian State will have no armed forces and its sovereignty will be restricted to the conduct of foreign affairs (Limited sovereignty for security);

(3) A Palestinian State will be non-aligned;

(4) Except Israeli forces, no military pressure will be allowed on the river's West Bank. In other words, there would be no security for a divided Israel and there can be no substitute for Israeli forces on the West Bank of the Jordan Rivers;

(5) Jerusalem will never become an exclusively Arab capital;

(6) Full recognition of Israel by all Arab moderate States and proclamation of the Arab League to renounce its struggle against Israel;

(7) A Palestinian State would represent the end of Arab claims on Israel;

(8) The negotiation between Israel and Palestinian should proceed in phases;

(9) A Palestinian State should not contain all the Palestinian refugees who might wish to return;

(10) Israel need a genuine security arrangement with its neighbours supported by its chief ally the U.S.
and legitimized by the moderate Arab world and the international community.  

Negotiations between Israel and Palestinian must start with a prior understanding that the end of the process of "Palestinian independence" does not constitute a perpetual danger to Israel. Palestinian statehood must be achieved only in strict conformity with Israeli security. Main issues must be taken into account, such as borders, Jewish settlements, Palestinian refugees, sovereignty, security arrangements, Jerusalem and water resources.  

A Palestinian State in the occupied territories within the 1967 frontiers in peaceful co-existence alongside Israel is the only conceptual option for long term solution to the problem; under such a conceptual framework Palestinian state would be viable on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Without undertaking Israeli security inhibitions, the chances of coming into being a Palestinian State are very remote and bleak.  

Demography of Palestine and Jewish Immigration  

The Palestinians are divided into two main groups, the first, consist of those who live in the West Bank (Judah and Samaria); and the second in the Gaza Strip.  

The population has been increasing at a rapid rate in the occupied territories. West Bank had approximately 595,000 inhabitants, some 22,500 of them were in twelve urban centres at the time when census was held after the six day war. The total urban proportion of the territorial population was 38 per cent. The population had increased by 40 per cent to 835,000 in 1987. In the twelve urban centres, the number of residents had swelled by 78 per cent to 400,000 and the overall urban proportion had expanded to 45 per cent.26

In 1985, over 510,000 people live in the crowded and impoverished Gaza Strip enclave, making it one of the most densely populated regions in the world with over 1300 persons per square kilometer. On this number nearly 360,000 lived in squalid refugees camps on the edge of despair.27 The population density is likely to be about 2,000 persons per square kilometer by the end of the country.

The non-Jewish population of Israel (almost all Arab) amounted to 639,000 or 16.3 per cent of the total


Israel population at the end of 1980. The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics has forecast for the year 2000 an Arab population of one million to 1.2 million in Israel; 1,000,000 to 1,18,000 in the West Bank and 7,41,000 to 10,70,000 in Gaza Strip all from natural increase. The demographers say that by the year 2012 the Palestinians will achieve what called "population parity" with the Jews living in Palestine thus forcing a de facto binational state. Thus Israel sits on a demographic time bomb that threatens either the Jewish or the democratic character of the State, depending on how Israel deals with the Palestinians. The addition of more than a million Arab in Gaza Strip and the West Bank the many Israelis believe that the population of Israel would seriously jeopardize the Jewish nature of the state. And growing number of


Palestinians will constitute a threat to Israel. After occupation of the West Bank of Jordan river, the Palestinian demographic problem became a matter of concern for Israelis. Now the Israeli leaders call for the forcible mass expulsion of the Arab population from Israel and the occupied territories. 31

David Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel and his colleagues were concerned that the presence of large number of Arabs in the proposed Jewish State would not provide a stable basis for Jewish state. He pronounced, "I am for compulsory transfer, I do not see anything immoral in it .... there are two central issues, sovereignty and a reduction of the number of Arabs in the Jewish State, we must insist on both of them." 32

The leader of Israel's small right-wing party Kach, Rabbi Meir Kahane, was more explicit when he said that: "I want to make life hard for Palestinians. I want them to think, it make no sense to go on living here, let's make


32. McDowall, n.6, p. 197.
them take over compensation payment and leave.... I could only use force on those who do not want to leave.... I would go all the way and they know that". Kahane believe that it was not only Arabs of the occupied territories who were the problem. We can get rid of those Arabs now. The real problem was that there were many Arabs in Israel having Israeli citizenship. Once the Arab get a majority in this country, they would do what any self respecting nationalist would do. They would not accept living in a country called a Jewish State. Once Arabs have gained a majority, they would be right, completely right and this was only they should be moved out". 33

In Spring 1986 the right wing Tehiya Party held a conference and its leader Yuval Neeman declared that "transfer of at least half a million refugees out of the land of Israel was precondition for peace negotiations. And at the end of the conference Tehiya called on the government to help West Bank and Gaza residents to emigrate and to expel subversives. 34 As early as 1980 a former chief of military intelligence, General Aharon Yariv remarked that, there was widely held opinion in favour of exploiting a future war to expel upto 8,00,000 Arabs. He warned that "such a plan already existed and that the means of imple-

33. Ibid., p. 257.
34. Ibid., p. 257.
mentation had been prepared. Thus, the majority of the Israeli Jewish population is pro-transfer. Davish Haaretz Paper had a poll showing 61% of Jewish adult being protransfer. 8,000,000 Palestinian were uprooted to make way for 50,000 Jewish settlers after 1967. Israel seized one third of the land in the Gaza Strip to accommodate 1,300 Jewish settlers, pushing the 610,000 Palestinian inhabitants into an over-crowded slum. The high growing rate of the Arab population in the occupied territories and Israel couple with the slower growth rate of Jews has driven Israel to seek ways to reduce the number of young and educated Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza by deportation, killing and destruction of their homes. Israel tried hard to make life uncomfortable for all the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. As former Israel's Army General Rebavam Zeevi has stated ...."We Israelis can encourage the Palestinian to leave of their own free will by adopting what of call a negative magnet policy in the West Bank and Gaza.... no work in Israel, no industries, no Universities":

35. Ibid., p. 259.
38. An Interview with former Israeli's Army General Rehavam Zeevi on 12 November 1990, Newsweek, p. 56.
Jordanian figures show that 22,000 Arab youth left the West Bank for Jordan and the Gulf in 1978. Educational opportunities are limited and employment of University graduates on the West Bank is severely restricted. About 12,000 Palestinians are being forced to leave their ancestral homes and move east either into Jordan or to join many wondering refugees in other countries. 140,000 people from the West Bank and 83,000 from Gaza Strip have been forced to emigrate, most of them young men of working age in 1986.

Since 1948 Palestinian migration has been influenced by four main factors: first approximately 800,000 Palestinians became homeless in Palestine and around the world after the creation of State of Israel in 1948. Second, the policy carried out by the Israeli authorities against Palestinians in the occupied territories since 1967 led to the migration of 455,000 Palestinians. Third, during the period 1950-53 the inability of local economic systems to absorb Palestinians in the occupied territories. Fourth, in the oil producing Arab countries and their lack of qualified manpower presented educated and


skilled Palestinians with the opportunities to improve their status and income.\textsuperscript{42}

The Likud government embarked upon a settlement policy. The West Bank was oriented not primarily to security considerations but to long-term demographic ones. The Likud government announced that its aim is to implace 100,000 Israelis on the West Bank by 1990 and 1.2 million by 2010.\textsuperscript{43} Israel wants to create a fait accompli which would change the demographic balance and geographical compositions of the territories. Without a major change in the demographic balance in favour of Israelis the control of the area can not be ensured.\textsuperscript{44} Israel has not annexed the West Bank and Gaza because demographically the West Bank and Gaza will remain proponderantly Arab for a long time.

The future of occupied territories with more than 1.5 million Palestinians representing the largest group of Palestinian people in Israel's chief policy issue. But Israel has three choices in essence: to establish its own


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{43} N. Kaplowitz, the Search for peace in the Middle East, International Security, Vol. 7, No.1, Summer 1982, p.207.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{44} Palscov, n. 13, pp. 59-60.}
nation of security and withdraw unilaterally; to engage in systemic Arab depopulation of most if not all of western Palestine; to step up Jewish immigration from abroad. Jewish immigration has always been a factor in the demographic equation of Israel. Since the establishment of the State over 1.5 million Jews have arrived from abroad under the Israel's law of return, Israel received 580,000 Jews from Arab countries between 1948 and 1972.\textsuperscript{45} Israel is an active country encouraging immigration which is ready to be the home of some or majority of the Jews of the world. The Zionist ideology is to gether the Jews once again into their old country. Human resources is regarded one of the important resources in the balance of power between Jews and Arab general and between Israeli (Jews) and Palestinian in particular. Ben Garion hold called on prevents in 1943 to fulfill their demographic duty, stressing that "2 children per family was insufficient and that the Jewish population in Palestine was in a State of demographic decay".\textsuperscript{46}

\begin{flushright}

46. McDowall, n. 6, p. 165.
\end{flushright}
Professor Roberto Bacchi reported to the cabinet in 1966 that the end of the country there would be 4.2 million Jews and 1.6 million Arab in Israel. As a result of his report, in 1967 a government demographic centre was established because an increase in population in Israel is crucial for the future of the Jewish people. Speaking on Israeli Radio, Prime Minister Peres appealed "to mothers to have at least four children and reiterated the essential imperative for Jews to remain a majority.

In 1945 the world Jewish population stood at 11 million and in 1970 it grew to a peak of 13 million but by 1987 declined to 12.8 million as a result of a Diaspora birth rate of 1.2 per cent well below the replenishment level of 2.1 per cent. Diaspora Jewry currently numbering 9.3 million will decline to an estimated 8 million or below by the end of the century.

The Jews of Israel are similarly split between the Ashkenazi (European) and Sephardi (Middle Eastern and North African) communities. The Ashkenazi arrived first and made up the overwhelming majority when the state of Israel came to existence in 1948. They maintain close contact with Europe and America and the majority of them support

47. Ibid., p.165.
48. Ibid., p. 166.
49. Ibid., p. 169.
socialism and their culture in Western. As a result, Ashkenazi have given their support to the Labor Party which expenses socialism and which own every national election until 1977.\textsuperscript{50}

The Sephardim did not immigrate large numbers until after the state was established and only recently have become the large group. Due to their lower levels of skills and education they have been at considerable disadvantages. being a predominantly blue collar group group they viewed themselves as oppressed and blamed the Ashkenazi for this discrimination\textsuperscript{51}. Today, Sephardim are


\textsuperscript{51} Sephardim, while they share a common Jewish heritage with the Ashkenazim of European. Russian-American origin their different countries of origin mean that they are culturally distinct, in religious terms. The Sephardim both observant and non-observant share a common respect for Jewish tradition. In addition, they tend to belong to the lower socio-economic levels of society while their Ashkenazi counterparts dominate the upper ones. Israel thus faces a pressing problem of relative deprivation concerned amongst the Sephardim. This socio-economic gap has created a serious ethnic divide between the two communities and this gap still remains wide a cycle of poverty has evolved from which it is difficult to break-out. As a consequence the Sephardim today comprise the majority of Israel's working class. See Elshazly, n.15, pp. 60-62 and Yoke, n.65, pp. 175-176.
Israel's largest ethnic group comprise around 55% of Israel's population and 45% of its electorate. Israel has maintained to give top priority to attracting Jews for all over the world. And today the issue of immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel has added a new dimension to the Palestinian question. The influx of Soviet immigrants gives Israel's Jewish population a widening edge over the Arabs despite their higher birth rate. 201 Soviet Jews emmigrated to Israel in 1986, and over 70,000 Jews left the Soviet Union in 1989.52 Israel's Housing Minister Ariel Sharon stated that "at the first stage one million Soviet Jewish immigrants were on their way to Israel and he hoped there would be two millions or more by 1992.53

Soviet migration is a dream that has come true for Israel's Jews who had feared they would become a minority in Greater Israel, with the Palestinian population growing so much faster than their own. It is a right more to the Palestinians who see in the occupied territories the influx as a new threat to their long fight for a state.


Palestinians are asking why Israel deliberately tries to resettle hundreds of thousand of Soviet Jews in the West Bank and Gaza Strip while Palestinians are denied the right to return to their home land.

Moderates like Peres say that the presence of so many more Jews will give Israel the confidence to make sacrifices at the negotiating table. But hard-line view the influx as a stunning victory in the demographic war against the palestinian and moderates for a Greater Israel. Israel's Prime Minister Shamir, enlisted this and wave of "aliya" (Literally going up to Israel) as a national for continuing Israeli control over territories captured in the June war. Israel needed the space (in the West Bank and Gaza Strip) to house all the people. Increased immigration required Israel to be big as well. Israel must have the land of Israel and they would have to fight for it. Shamir is just as confident that immigrants would grow fulfilling his concept of Greater Israel. he stated that "with all the waves of immigration that would come the State would be different would look different." Simcha Dinitz, Jewish Agency chairman declared that "We want to


55. Ibid., p. 37.
put the emphasis on Jerusalem in absorbing the Soviet Jews." 12,000 Soviet immigrants have settled in Jerusalem beyond the green land since the beginning of the 1990. 56

Ariel Sharon disclosed plans to build 25,000 more homes for Jews in the occupied territories: Sharon's announcement heightened Palestinian fears that the immigrants will be settled at this expense. A $2 billion programme was announced to house and settle an expected 100,000 arrivals with much of funds stated to be raised from world Jewry. 57

The changes in nature of the Soviet regime, Gorbachev's policy of Glasnost and Perestroika led to a massive wave of immigration. Russian Jewry were confronted with a fundamental choice, to remain in Russia and face economic hardship and anti-Semitism or to emigrate. 58

56. Ibid., p. 39.


Three factors had prompted the Kremlin to pursue a liberal policy on the sizable influx of Soviet Jews into Israel. Then Russia wished to develop meaningful ties with Israel. After a break of 24 years, on October 1991 Soviet Union had agreed to restore full diplomatic relations with Israel. This was essential, if the Soviet Union was to exercise a greater influence on the Middle East stage. The open policy on Jewish immigration is a Sine qua non for it to enjoy trade and credit concessions from the U.S. 

Within two or three years it is anticipated that there should be one million new Russian immigrants in Israel. Over one million Soviet Jews had filed application for exit visas between January 1989 and June 1990. Many of whom are highly skilled and these are mostly city dwellers. Being the scapegoats for the blatant anti-Semitic attacks, they are afraid of the deteriorating economic conditions.

Nearly 40% of the Soviet immigrants are trained in engineering, medicine and service skills that could resuscitate the nation stagnant economy. European Jews


will again out number oriental Jews, reinforcing the nation's western identity for the first time since the 1960s. Because most Soviet Jews are non-observant, they will considerably weaken the influence of the ultra orthodox parties, which enjoy a disproportionate share of political power. 61

The new influx of Soviet Jews to Israel can not by itself reserve the demographic trend towards the Palestinian numerical pre-dominance. In the long run it may not be in favour of Israel as not all the new immigrants consider Israel their permanent homes. However, in the meantime, the new immigration, promises to consolidate and strengthen the Jewish population and delay the day when the Palestinians will out number the Jews in the entire area now under Israel control. Prior to the new influx of Soviet Jews the Israeli Jews had stood to loose progressively, their pre-ponderance over the total number of Palestinians in Israel and the West Bank and Gaza through disparities in Jewish and Arab birth rates (2.7 births per women among the Jews and 4.2 among Palestinians). This prospect had represented both a mounting security problem for Israel as well as a threat to the democratic and Jewish character of the state. 62 Hence Israel was facing

fertility driven security pressure. Israel has succeeded in preserving and enhancing its society through vastly out numbered by its Arab neighbour states since its existence over four decades. The fertility level of Israel's Jews has been lower than Israel's Arab. Despite the stepping up of Jewish immigration from abroad, fertility rate for Palestinian in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are still higher. He feared that within few decades Jews might become a minority population in Greater Israel.63

The refugee communities represent in more than one way the most serious security problem for Israel. The refugees in the West Bank amount to 373,586 (registered by UNRWA on 30 June 1987) dispersing in 20 camps between Jenin in the north and Hebron in the south. In Gaza Strip, refugees number 445,000 (registered by UNRWA on 30 June 1987) approximately 2/3 of the population there, living in eight camps ranging from Jibalya in the north and Rafiah in the south. There are the most over-crowded parts of the territories and therefore, the hardest part to control.64 Forty-four per cent of the West Bank population and seventy per cent of the Gaza Strip population are refugees. Indigenous and Palestinian refugees have forty years experience of living together in adverse conditions.


64. Yorke, n. 28, p.32.
The Palestinian Uprising and Israel's Response

In about 25 years of occupation, the Palestinian of the occupied territories have been mounting the most effective challenge to Israeli rule since December 1987. During the last week of the 1987 the spread of the Palestinian popular uprising called Intifada (Arabic from the shake or to shake off) was due to the maturation of long-term social and economic process within Palestinian society under the impact of Israeli military administration. In occupied territories thousands of Arabs who normally worked on Israeli projects refused to do so. The uprising of Palestinian had an enduring political, social and economic impact not only on Arab-Jewish relation within the territories but also throughout the Israeli society.65

The Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza has created a phase of political depression and widened more than ever the deep chasm between the Israelis who want to retain the territories and those willing to give them. Intifada has created a political within the country. Intifada has forced the Israeli society to reconsider its relationship with the Palestinians more seriously and created a growing minority within Israel who are prepared to seek up for Palestinian rights.66 For the first time,

66. Ibid., p. 965.
intifada has led to polarization within Israel's society with regard to the Palestinian question. Its aim is to exhaust Israel by forcing it to sustain the deployment of large forces to deal with the uprising together with heavy economic damage, and intensify the internal debate and strengthen and encourage those parties that favour an Israeli withdrawal from the territories. Intifada seeks to draw international attention to the plight of inhabitant there and refocus world attention on the core problem of the Middle East. In short, the Indifada has the central aim of asking the world community to find an immediate solution to the Palestinian problem.  

The impact of the intifada has been more profound. The tough, often brutal measure used to suppresses the uprising have damaged not only Israel's image abroad but the self-image of the Israeli themselves. Israel has recognized that unless it is able to suppress the intifada, its strategic situation would be changed fundamentally. Thus, the most dangerous aspect of the uprising is the damage from the perspective of the Israeli government, and it may cause to Israel's image abroad especially because of the death of several hundred Palestinian during the


uprising. The Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin has sharply ordered the Israeli troops to step up reprisals against the Palestinian organized struggle. As a result, the number of casualties among young Palestinians has sharply increased. 800 Palestinians were killed and thousands injured in March 1990. About a quarter of the dead Palestinians had been killed by their own compatriots for collaboration with Israelis. By the end of the October 1989, over 40,000 Palestinian had been arrested and nine thousand of these were being held under "administrative detention" (for upto one year without trial) in the beginning of 1990. Some of the leading Palestinian figure's had been expelled from the West Bank and Gaza Strip by Israel. The Intifada and Israel's response have become long drawn-out struggle for control of the political and economic infrastructures of life in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.


70. A new count by Israeli military authorities puts 321 the number of Palestinian killed by other Arabs on suspicion of collaborating with Israel since the start of the intifada uprising. 330 of them were killed while in detention. The count said another 991 Palestinians were injured in such attack. See The Independent, 2 November 1990, p.4.

Israel is using live ammunition, rubber bullets, various forms of tear gas, beatings, mass arrests, occasional deportation, destruction of homes, dismissal of democratically elected mayors, expulsion of scholar and teachers, closing down of Journals and Universities, censorship, curfews, dispersion of student demonstrations with weapons and prohibition of cultural aspiration of the Palestinians, sieges of unruly villagers and various degree of economic punishment against Palestinian rioters. Arabs can be detained for up to one year without trial. Their houses can be sealed or demolished on suspicion that a number of the family is engaged in anti-Israeli activities. Israeli soldiers and border police can enter Arab homes without a warrant, crackdown on the Palestinian Press, censor all news papers, magazines and book in the territories and put restrictions on civil liberties.\textsuperscript{72}

Israel wants armed retaliation by the Palestinians to justify a course of mass eviction of Palestinians from their homeland. Yitzhak Rabin the Defence minister of Israel has admitted that "deportion was part of their system.\textsuperscript{73} According to some Israeli officials this is the last of the Palestinian uprising and such a phenomenon will never be repeated.


\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Time}, 11 January 1988, p.25.
The Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories has already established itself as a fact of life in the Middle East. Though the intifada entered its sixth year is in December 1992, it has not yielded any tangible gains for the cause. However, one may conclude that the uprising has produced some advantage and achievements in favour of the Palestinians:

1. Israeli leaders regarded the Palestinian uprising as a matter of current internal security. They believe in crushing the uprising. But the Intifada has a costly impact on Israel's military capabilities, creating a major new internal security threat to the occupying Israeli forces. The need to devote a large amount of Israel's military man power to internal security functions against the Palestinians has become institutionalized into a long-term arrangement. Without cutting back on some of regular military forces, Israel can not afford to fund necessary internal security activities. Therefore, the intifada has disrupted Israel's mobilization and training activity.

2. The intifada has its effect on the IDF operations in the occupied territories. The army asked for over $ 200 million as additional fund for 1988/89 and about half that sum for 1989/90 to compensate for additional expenditures incurred as a result of the uprising. It received an additional budget of $90 million for 1988/89 and about $ 50
Another direct economic consequence of the uprising is the decline in tourism, which decreased by 15 per cent in 1988 (down from ever 1.5 million in 1987 to 1.3 million in 1988) causing direct loss to the Israeli economy of a quarter of a billion dollars.

Israel's trade surplus in goods and services with the occupied territories dropped by two-thirds from $174 million in 1987 to only $56 million in 1988, a loss of $120 million. Israel's Minister of Economy, God Yaacobly estimated in 1988, that the economic cost of the intifada at between $600-700 million, roughly equivalent to 2 per cent of Israel's Gross Domestic Product. However, the economic factor remained of secondary importance to Israel.

3. In July 31, 1988 the most important outcome of the intifada has been king Hussein's decision to relinquish Jordanian sovereignty over the West Bank in favour of the P.L.O., thereby killing the so-called "Jordanian option" and forcing the world to deal directly with the Palestinians. For Jordan, the intifada has posed a conflicting challenge. The emotional pull of the intifada might engulf Jordan's own Palestinians estimated at between 40-50% of the population.

4. During the period under review the intifada is largely, if not solely, responsible for the change in P.L.O's position. This has led to the proclamation of an independent Palestinian State by the P.L.O. in West Bank and Gaza Strip, and to the P.L.O's decision to renounce terrorism and accept Israel's right to exist which is turned paved the way for the diplomatic dialogue between the U.S. and the P.L.O.

5. It has given rise to Islamic fundamentalist movement within the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a political power. The "United leadership" - a local leadership in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, whose weight in the Palestinian National Movement has been considerable, directs the uprising inside the territories. The Gaza based Jihad Al-Islamic and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) frequently differ with the P.L.O. over both tactics and subjects.

6. The Intifada has strengthened and enhanced the States of the P.L.O. as a political power in the international arena and not as a terrorist organisation. After the proclamation of an independent Palestinian State in the occupied territories, over 100 countries have conferred recognition on that yet-to-be formed. The intifada has given the Palestinians a sense of pride is being Palestinians. It has united Palestinians geographically,
so that those in the occupied territories relate to those in Israel and vice-versa.

7. The Palestinian uprising has drawn international attention to the Palestine problem and made it clear that Palestinians are important partners in any settlement in the Middle East.\footnote{Eytan, Gilboa, The Palestinian Uprising: has it turned American Public Opinion, ORBIS, Vol.33, No.1, Winter 1989, pp. 21-37.}

What happens next does not depend crucially on how long the intifada lasts but it depends on Israel's and Palestinians reaction. Till now the Israelis have been confident about keeping the territories under their control and gradually incorporating them into their set up without having to worry too much about local opposition. With the change in Israeli administration after the coming into power by labour party, the high hopes grew about the resolution of the conflict. But it is yet to be seen what would be the outcome of the present on going peace process, which was initiated with high blooms after the Gulf War. So, the instability will continue with the continuation of the Palestinians conflict.
In the U.S. strategic calculations Palestine prior to the World War II, was considered as an area of British interests and domination. U.S. strategic interests in the region began to grow in the wake of World War II. Since then it maintains very very strategic relations with Israel as almost from the birth of Israel, the successive U.S. administrations have provided all kind of assistance, political, economic and military to Israel. However, even before the emergence of Israel, United States supported the Balfour Declaration which envisioned the State of Israel to be established in Palestine.¹

Moreover, U.S. recognition of the State of Israel on 15 May 1948 acquired a great symbolic importance since then. U.S. has been supporting Israel on almost all issues of crucial interest to the Jewish State. During 1960's,

America sought to maintain regional stability through a balance of power in the area and treated Israel as a military proxy. Under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations the U.S. became a significant arms supplier to the State of Israel. In 1962 President Kennedy assured Israel's foreign minister Mrs Meir that "America and Israel were defacto allies". The U.S.- Israeli relations, however, cooled down during the Eisenhower-Dulles period but that was to remain only temporary departure. After the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, President Nixon's doctrine aimed at building up friendly regional states through aid resulted into increased American commitment to Israel.

President Nixon had stated that "Israel must possess sufficient military power to deter an attack. As long as the threat of the Arab attack remained direct and imminent, the military balance must be in Israel's favour. He supported a policy that gave Israel a technological and military margin to more than necessary to offset Israel's hostile neighbours numerical superiority."

President Nixon affirmed in 1970 "we are for Israel because in our view is the only State in the Mideast


which is pro-freedom and an effective opponent to Soviet expansion". President Jimmy Carter was the first American President to say publicly that Israel was a strategic asset to U.S. On 16 March 1977 he observed: "I think one of the finest acts of the world nations that's ever occurred was to establish the State of Israel."  

President Reagan made similar statements: "as perhaps the only remaining strategic asset in the region on which U.S. can truly rely....only by full appreciation of the critical role, the state of Israel plays in our strategic calculus. Can we build the foundation for thwarting Moscow's designs on territories and resources vital to our security and our national well being". Reagan's administration regarded Israel as a cornerstone in the Middle East and provided ironclad commitment to what Israel considers its security requirements. In November 1983 Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Defence Minister Arens visited U.S. where they signed an agreement with the U.S. on strategic cooperation. A similar agreement was by the previous U.S. administration in 1981 which was


6. McDowall, No.4, p. 46.
freezed by the President Jimmy Carter following Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights. The accord provided for the creation of a joint committee exercise, the sharing of intelligence, and the stockpiling of American arms and ammunition on Israeli territory. From this strategic cooperation the U.S. forces gained many advantages including access for the U.S. navalship to Haifa and valuable exchanges on advanced technology.

Syrian defence Minister feared that the alliance between the U.S. and Israel would enable the Zionist regime's military capability to expand maximally. He feared that the strengthening of Israel's role in the region could create an excuse for interaction by the U.S. as the latter has become not only Israel's friend but its strategically.

In May 1986, Israel joined the U.S. Strategic Defence initiative programme with its potential for applying ATB19 technology to countering the SS19 challenge to Israel. The U.S. Congress approved $180 million for Israel to develop a defensive system against short range

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missiles, thus making for the country's entry into the Star wars programme. 9

As a partition in a strategic alliance, Israel provides several advantages to the U.S." Israel's geographic location along with its military facilities offers the U.S. good bases should intervention in the Arabian Peninsula be necessary. Admiral Elmo Zumwalt gas appraised "the military value of Israel to the U.S. is derived not only from its location, adjacent to the oil-rich Persian region and at junction of three continentals but also from the sophistication and prodigious efficiency of its defence forces". 10 A single U.S. division of 25,000 and its equipment of 70,000 tons would take four weeks to reach the theater using all U.S. air lift resources. If these 70,000 tons were already in position in Israel the time advantages could be crucial. 11 The U.S. Airforce would need three million gallons of fuel a day just for the tactical air craft of the RDF (Rapid Development Force). The bulk of this requirement must be prepositioned in the origin to

9. Israel became the Third Foreign Country to joint the U.S. in conducting research on the RDI Israel's role has been in the field of anti-tactical ballistic missile system, See F.J. Khergumvala, Palestine Agony, Frontline, 6-19 February 1988, p. 46.


supply these aircraft for about 30 days of combat. Israel's formidable air defences make fuel dumps more secure than most other potential sites, they are also much less liable to sabotage in Israel than in other Middle Eastern Countries.12

The U.S. airforce intelligence Chief Major General George J. Keegan noted may back in 1979 that: "Israel" contribution to the U.S. is north U.S. $1000 for every dollar worth of aid we have granted here....the military information we get from Israel is worth billions."13 Former Israeli Prime Minister Begin claimed that Israel contributed more to U.S. security than any thing else. He said, "Israel gives to the U.S. Strategic aid and contributes to its national security more than the U.S. aids to Israel and contributes to its security. We know what is inside a Soviet T-72 tank, we shoot down a Mig-25 and put the pieces together. The U.S. do not know what is inside the tank and have never shoot down a Mig-25. We have invented a system to destroy ground to air missile batteries without losing even one plan. The American do not have such a system and neither does NATO. I am sure one day we will share these three secrets with the Americans

13. K. Varma, A, friend in New America is Israel's Pal Indeed, Gentleman, June 1985, p.27.
and this will be great contribution to America."

During the Arab-Israeli war Israeli army captured huge cashes of Russian arms and passed them into the U.S. for analysis. This enabled the U.S. to know the state of technology of its chief rival. Israel is often first to use new U.S. jets and weapon system in combat supplying the America with vital data about their performance and developing low cost improvements, Israel thus tests U.S. weapons in the field and since war-tested weapons have more demand in the international market this increase the sale of U.S. arms."

Financial Support

Ariel Sharon was reported to have said in 1984 that, "Israel had served several American interest since 1948 and this service was worth $100 billion, since all Israel had received as of 1984 was $30 billion, Israel did not owe the U.S. anything, infact the U.S. owed Israel $70 billion."

Yitzhak Zeigar expressed Israel's true value this way: "who will count the tens or perhaps hundreds of billion of dollars that the U.S. would have to pay to

create another Israel in the Persian Gulf, in Central America, in Southeast Asia and in other places. 17

The financial aid of U.S. has been essential for Israel's survival and development. By 1986 Israel had received more than $30 billion in grants and loans from the U.S. since 1948. 18

The flow of aid increased dramatically in the following years. After the 1967 war U.S. grants and loans to Israel rose to an average of around $300 million per year compared with the $100 million annually in the preceding year. After the 1973 October war U.S. assistance rocketed to more than $2.5 billion in 1974 or 19.8% of the total U.S. assistance distributed worldwide. 19 By 1981 following the Egypt-Israel treaty the U.S. assistance to Israel had increased to $2.3 billion or 20 per cent of U.S. assistance world wide. 20 (See Table 1).

The U.S. interest in Israel was at various levels. Ideologically, Israel is often held up as a mirror image

17. Ibid., p. 197.
20. Ibid., p. 207
## TABLE - I

### U.S. Military and Economic Aid to Israel

**1977-78 $ Million**

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Economic Aid</th>
<th>Military Aid</th>
<th>Total Economic and Military Aid</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>Grants</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>-1,200</td>
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**Total** 765 10,130 10,895 7,750 11,550 19,300 8,775 21,680 30,455

**Source:** Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel and the World After 40 Years*, Pergman-Brassey's International Defence Publisher, New York 1990, p. 204.
by U.S. to whom the Jewish State is a reminder of their own early pioneering experiences of overcoming adversity. Many Americans because of the Holocaust express their support for Israel as a moral commitment. Others may relate it to religious considerations as a spiritual centre and holy land or to democratic considerations as a progressive society pledged to safeguarding individual freedoms. Still others identify Israelis as a people determined to defend their homeland and independence. Thus, Israel shared the values of U.S. society and had similar democratic framework of government and was developing other political institutions on western lines.

The Jewish Lobby

The U.S. sympathy is partly the result of the strong Zionist Lobby and the important position that the Jewish Community (Jewish population is 5,700,000 in the U.S.) enjoys in U.S. economy. U.S. Jews have affected U.S. - Israeli relation not only by serving as a bridge between the two countries but also through their impact of American politics and policy. In formulation of U.S.


policy towards Israel, the U.S. Jewish Lobby has long been regarded as a key actor and Middle East Conflict in general.\textsuperscript{23}

In 1906 the U.S. Jewish Committee established a high professional membership organization which regarded itself as the think-tank of the community. The Committee is responsible for publishing the mainstream dovish Journal "Present Tense" as well as "Commentary" which pursues its own independent neo-conservative line in tune with Israel.\textsuperscript{24}

The impact of U.S. Jews had been to make Israel one of the most Americanized and America conscious countries in the world. U.S. Jews perceived that if Israel were to be destroyed they themselves would become highly vulnerable. Therefore, the establishment of the State of Israel has been crucial for U.S. Jews and they have been concerned about the future of Israel. Only 12\% of U.S. Jews agreed with the Statement that "Israel's future is secure, the security of Israel was rated a very important issue by the highest ratio of 69\% to 19\%".\textsuperscript{25}

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24. Ibid., p. 548.

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The Jewish Lobby in U.S. concerns for Israel's survival and reaction to Israel's problems can be found in a number of actions by U.S. Jewry that are intended to strengthen Israel. These include financial aid, Lobbying on behalf of Israel. Expressions of favourable attitudes toward Israel might be construed as actions contributing to the cause. The preservation of Israeli Security has been one of the objectives of successive U.S. administration. For the purpose the United States provided all kind financial assistance to Israel.

Military Support

During the 1948 war, all of Israel's pilots were foreigners (Particularly Americans). The U.S. forces fighting for Israel violated the U.S. Nationality Act of 1940, which forbade U.S. citizens from serving in the armed forces of a foreign State "unless expressly authorized by the Laws of the U.S."27

In the 1967 war the U.S. provided more direct help to Israel. It is now clear that on 3 June 1967 4F-46 aircraft, then U.S.'s most advanced combat reconnaissance plans were flown secretly to Israel together with their U.S. pilots. On 12 June 1967 the aircraft flew several photo-

26. Ibid., p. 265.
reconnaissance missions over the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian fronts before they returned to their America bases in Europe. The U.S. pilots were instructed on arrival at the Spanish base to proceed to the Negeb desert and to provide tactical support for the IDF by filming certain objectives. For the war which Israel planned to launch on 5 June against the Arabs. Disguised themselves as civilian employees of Israel and their planes painted with Israeli markings and the star of David, the U.S. pilots filmed the movements of Arab armies at night. 28 The U.S. resupplied Israel with a substantial amount of military equipments during the 1973, October War (thirty U.S. C-130 transport planes were on their way to Tel Aviv including conventional munitions of many types, air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles, artillery, crew-serve and individual weapons and a standard range of fighter aircraft) President Nixon had asked Congress to authorize $2.2 billion as emergency security assistance for Israel. During the war at least 600 American tanks valued at some $ 250 million came into Israel. 29 U.S. pilots were flying with the Israel air forces. A large number of these pilots had dual nationality that is carrying both Israeli and U.S.

28. Ibid., pp. 206-211.

proposals.\textsuperscript{30} The U.S. sent its high-flying strategic 
reconnaissance aircraft the SR-71 in the October 1973 war 
over the Egyptian front. It is known that "the information 
gathered by the SR-71 was passed to Israel and materially 
helped the Israeli high command to plan its counter attack, 
over the Suez Canal to penetrate Egyptian positions around 
Devrsoir.\textsuperscript{31}

The Israel airforce destroyed in June 1982, 18 
Syrian battations of Soviet-made anti aircraft missiles in 
Lebanon, a victory which opened the door to Israel's on 
slaught on Lebanon. This was made possible only because 
U.S. experts had passed to Israel the results of their 
long study of those missiles.\textsuperscript{32}

These facts show that Israel could not exist 
without external aid especially the considerable volum it 
receives from the U.S. Thus the fate of Israel is linked 
to the national security interests of the U.S. and the U.S. 
has repeatedly made clear its commitment to the security of 
Israel. The U.S. is always determined to help Israel to 
have an edge on its neighbours.

\textsuperscript{30} Edger O'ballance, No Victor No Vanquished: The 
Yom Kippur War, Natural Publishers, New Delhi, 1980, p.33.

\textsuperscript{31} Saad, Elshazly, The Arab Military Option, American 
Mideast, San Fracisco, 1986, p.84.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 115.
Political Support

On 18 March 1984, President Reagan while addressing Jewish Organisations in America noted that the U.S. and Israel vote the same way in the U.N. nine times out of ten; whereas the Western European member of NATO vote with the U.S. only six times in ten. President Reagan during the same speech reiterated that if Israel were ever expelled from the U.N. the U.S. would withdraw too. The U.S. and Israel maintain very close Institutional and Commercial links which include: the joint political military group, which is concerned with strategic cooperation and the Joint Secretary Assistance planning group, which is concerned with military and economic cooperation. The U.S. and Israel signed a duty-free trade agreement in April 1985, the first of its kind the U.S. had ever signed with any foreign country. It lays down that all duties, excise tariff and other barriers were be lifted until by 1995. During the last decade in the lieu of a formal treaty the relationship has been regulated by a combination of implicit understandings, institutionalized consultation, and formal memorandums of agreement (MOAs) that include recognition by the U.S. of Israel as a major "non-NATO ally" and bilateral free-trade agreements.

33. Eshaly, n. 31, p. 86.
Militarily, economically and diplomatically Israel depends on the U.S. and is secure as long it continues to receive up $3 billion U.S. aid every year. It is unlikely, the U.S. would alter its stance and down grade Israeli security as a major American policy in the Middle East. One can say that from a conceptual, historical, political and psychological point of view, the relationship between Israel and U.S. is sound, founded on reciprocity and common interest. Given the U.S. interests in West Asia, U.S. support to Israel, economic, political and military will continue.
CONCLUSION

Security will be high on the agenda of Middle East Countries throughout the 1990s.

Security is the central problem of Israel's existence, it has high status in Israel's society and the large amount of resources are allocated to it. Israeli security dilemma, as stated in an earlier chapter is that it can envisage peace in Middle East only from a position of strength but once having achieved the position there seems to be futility in negotiation as it is secure in any case.

The position of Palestine and the establishment of Israel in 1948 led to the first Arab-Israel confrontation. This confrontation was to lay the foundation of a future pattern of inter-state relations in this region. The issue of survival as linked to security for Israel and the question of usurping of territory by earstwhile colonial powers and the resultant displacement of the local populace. Subsequent history saw the ranging of international forces on both sides. There were wars again in 1967, 1973 and in Lebanon in 1982. All these wars further entrenched
Israeli power in the region and also allowed it to expand in the name of security. The territorial expansion was made hand in hand with creation of new Jewish settlements.

Israel has identified some specific threat from Palestinian Fedyeen; the emergent chemical weapons programme in the Arab World, notably Iraq and Libya and the growing Islamic fundamentalism in the region. Israel tried to tackle the border problem by expanding its frontiers and creating new Jewish settlements along the border. In addition, it has retained control of most the strategic points along the border. In controlling the West Bank, Israeli leaders believe that, the land itself creates strategic depth, and Israeli settlements can provide a kind of early warning. Returning the bulk of the territory to Arab control, it contends, would virtually guarantee an attack.

A look at Israeli-controlled territory will show the extent of its territorial expansion. In 1947-48 it occupied areas allotted to Arab Palestine, then in 1967 it took the Golan Heights and the West Bank and Gaza and Sinai Peninsula. Sinai was later given back in 1982. It marched into Lebanon and while withdrawing held and still holds South Lebanese territory either directly or through its proxy militia force the South Lebanon Army (SLA). Israel today has military superiority, chemical and nuclear
capability, long-range missiles, sophisticated aircrafts, reconnaissance satellite, submarines, and enjoys a commanding strategic position with natural defence aid such as physical barriers (mountains, rivers, internal strategic depth to absorb and attack). It receives more than $3 billion a year in U.S. aid plus retains her strategic alliance and special relationship with the U.S.

Israel annexed Jerusalem during the decade of 1980's and destroyed the Iraqi reactor, annexed the Golan Heights, invaded Lebanon, shared complicity in the massacres of the Arab living in the Gaza Strip and Golan Heights, and bombed the P.L.O. headquarters in Tunisia. Israel's strength lies mainly in the military power and Arab disunity. Arab Unity is a direct threat to Israel that must be prevented, and regional instability as well as domestic turmoil serve Israel's immediate purposes. The Arab system is probably the most penetrated system in the world having largest degree of internecence quarrels. The Arab State system is distinctly multipolar. Several of the Arab State (Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia...) are important yet none appears to have the potential for exerting widely accepted leadership, let alone hegemony. There is no mutual cooperation among Arab States, no joint plants, no coordination, no clear and precise common views and even no normal diplomatic relations. There exist mutual suspi-
cions, competing aspiration, different region types and historical rivalries (Syria versus Iraq and Egypt). This competition among the Arab countries and their mutual mistrust has considerably helped Israeli military strategy. It was however, the courage and devotion of the Israeli forces and enhanced Israeli security environment as well that helped to neutralize the effect of greater Arab numbers.

Saddam Hussain's conquest of Kuwait has sharpened the intra-Arab rivalries that have long thwarted hopes of forging a regional unity against Israel. The various Arab factions has condemned Israel's Seizure of Arab Lands in 1967. Saddam Hussain had declared that he is ready to resolve the Gulf Crisis if Israel gives up those conquest. Yet the Arab State did not support Saddam Hussain in his linkage of both issues.

In the Arab World, Security of the Regime (ruling elite) and not the national security appears to be more important. This is why one cannot find a national Security Council with in most of the Arab States. This is not so in Israel, where national security is more important and the concept of regime security does not exist. In the past, the Arabs tried to destroy their national security to keep the regime security and to hold power.
The U.S. has emerged as a key arbitrator in the future of Middle East politics and a single most powerful influence, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This U.S. ascendancy can be traced to the Camp David breakthrough of 1978. It has been demonstrated in the successful completion of Egypt-Israel treaty. In the post Kuwait phase the U.S. has further strengthened its position in the region. Thus peace in the Middle East at this juncture of history cannot and will not be achieved without the active involvement of the U.S.

The U.S. dealt with the Gulf Crisis and forced Iraq to pull out its troops from Kuwait. The U.S. can pressurize Israel to pull out from the Arab lands through imposing its will by with holding loans and cutting off aid. In the Arab perception the U.S. remains reluctant to push Israel beyond a certain point. The Arab perceive this U.S. reluctance as problematic, especially on the backdrop of active Arab cooperation given to the U.S. in Kuwait crisis.

The main concluding observations are as follows:

1. Israelis do not expect their security problem to be solved overnight through some ingenious peace formula. Some Israeli infact argue that the conflict preserves the Israeli national character and cohesiveness of the Israeli society. Thus to maintain an effective deterrent against
the Arabs, Israel wants absolute security and that appears impossible.

2. The fate of Israel is linked to the national security interest of the U.S. The U.S. continues to have sustained interest in Israel as a front line State and Strategic base in Middle East. This U.S. interest is a product of a variety of factors that can include a Jewish interest group pressure in domestic politics; the desire to use a non-Islamic ally in a predominantly Islamic world; a politically stable ally who has commonality of world views; etc. Israel, on the other hand, is likely to realize the limitations of this dependency relationship. Israel's efforts at expressing its independent identity and forging a policy of relatively aggressive and self-reliant (and defiant) security posture is a telling example of this trend. One suspects that if at all the U.S. is forced to put pressure on Israel for concessions in the Middle East peace process, Israel would ensure that it extracts a price from the U.S.

3. Israel has now emerged as a status quoist power, in particular after the collapse of Iraqi military machine. But the Status quo of Israeli security cannot be permanent, there is bound to be some change in the atmosphere. Time and the passage of year will not work to Israel's advantage for one reason; the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Arab
World; in particular in Algeria, Sudan and Jordan. In the long run the Arab World is likely to use the pressure of Islamic unity to put Israel on the defensive.

4. The impasse at the attempts at peace have forced a few Arab States see a military option as the only solution in this troubled region. They maintained that peace will not be achieved through negotiations and war remained the only way to change the balance of power in the Middle East and to solve Arab-Israel conflict.

5. "Land for peace" remains the only concrete direction in which the negotiations are likely to proceed. At one level this proposal may find acceptance in so far as the land of Syria (Golan Heights) and Lebanon is concerned. At another level some of this land has become problematic. The Jordanian West Bank and Egyptian Gaza are now a different issue as they have been laid claim to as Palestinian State. In case of West Bank: Jordan, has even conceded this right. The discussion on the issue is thus likely to stop short at Palestine. To the Arabs the only way to achieve peace in the area is the Israeli acceptance of Palestinian national self-determination in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem in exchange for full Arab recognition of Israel and for certain security on the eastern front. In the event of the refusal of Israel to make concessions on the Palestine issue, Arabs fear a recurrence of conflict in the Middle East.
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