

Greater Israel (1967)



MVZ247 Week 4

Fantasy becomes Reality

Relations with U.S.

Friendly --committed (neutral to Ally)

Relations with Arabs

Confrontational (enemies)

Fulfillment of fantasy

Biblical

The US

Early 1960s U.S. wanted to establish a regional arms limitation agreement in the Middle East.

Limited success

\$80 million worth of armaments in 1960 secret agreement

Israel received M48 Patton tanks in 1965 and A-4E Skyhawk aircraft in 1968

Bard (1991). *The Water's Edge and Beyond: defining the limits to domestic influence on U.S. Middle East policy.*

US

Deepened over time.

Gradual cooperation.

Not linear, rather series of tendentious bargaining situations

“...situations with different strategic and political components in each”

Alan Dowty-

Ben-Zvi (2004) *LBJ and the Politics of Arm Sales to Israel: in the shadow of the hawk*, p.vii. Routledge

The US

Intense involvement in the region on issues of both economic and political affairs

Contrasted with hands-off attitude of pre-war years

Assumption of Superpower status and responsibility

Three sectors of importance (roots of U.S. interest in region)

Soviet Threat

Birth of Israel

Petroleum

The US

Truman Administration began the Tripartite Declaration (1950)

Prevention of Arms Race

Territorial status quo determined by 1949 Armistice Agreements

At first US did not sell military weapons, equipment, tech.

Cold War realities

U.S. sold tanks and jets to Jordan to counter Soviet influence

U.S. sold Hawk missile system to Israel (1962) delivered by 1967

Evidence

Telegram stating willingness to sell Hawk missile system to Israel

USSR agreed to weapon sales to Iraq and UAR

GOI request for short-range purely defensive ground to air interceptor missiles.

US “obliged to respond sympathetically”

US “deeply troubled by dangers...undesirable proliferation of sophisticated weapons in NE...”

Rusk--

Evidence

Telegrams

“Sale of weapons to Jordan in exchange of guarantee not to attack Israel (via WB) and not allowed to buy from USSR or move beyond Jordan River.

US will let GOI decide which weapons they want.

US promises GOI that it will get weapons from Germany, if not other European countries, and if not them, the United States”

--National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1964-66, DEF 12-5 JORDAN. Secret; Immediate; Exdis.
Received on March 10 passed to WH and DOD

The US

U.S. policy changed markedly after the Six-Day War of 1967.

Perception that many Arab states (notably Egypt) drifted into Soviet sphere of influence.

President Johnson approved sale of fighter jets (F-4 Phantom II)

Strong Congressional support (notable for future)

Precedent for U.S. support for Israel's qualitative military edge over its neighbors.

Arab neighbors

Fear and revenge

Humiliation over 1956 military defeat (Egypt) and 1948 wars (Jordan and Syria).

No public recognition of Israel (UN Res.242) = no official normalization of relations

Refugees + military buildups = border clash

Plans and Plots

Egypt and Jordan

Egypt and Syria

Israeli Foreign Policy Towards Arab Neighbors

Not official

Only have foreign policy if nations are equally recognized

Policy of Deterrence

Qualitative Military Edge

Judiciously rapid response to provocation

Borders (disputed)

Escalation

Borders and Water

Samu (Jordan); Tawafiq (Syria aka UAR); Johnston Plan/Headwater Diversion

Egyptian blockade (Straits of Tiran)

Syrian incidents (cross-border/guerrilla attacks)

PLO

Diversionary theory of war (political leaders use f.p. to calm domestic situations)

Escalation-Arabs

Sinai, Gaza, Galilee

1956 aftermath DMZ; cross-border raids over cultivation 'rights'

1960 Rotem Crisis (mobilization of Egyptian forces to undefended Israeli border)

Untrue intelligence made UAR prepare for war

Egypt took away belief that deter Israel with mobilization.

Most serious challenge to Israel's doctrine of deterrence in the years between the Suez Crisis and the Six Day War.

Gen. Haim Laskov (CoIDFGS) 'most dramatic event of his tenure'

Escalation-Arabs

Egyptian President Nassar at the UNGA in September 1960 called for return of situation in Palestine before “error” (annulling Israel’s existence).

In 1964, “We swear to God that we shall not rest until we restore Arab nation to Palestine...no room for Britain in our country...no room for Israel within the Arab nation”

In 1965 he stated, “We shall not enter Palestine with its soil covered in sand, we shall enter it with its soil saturated in blood”

Howard Sachar (1976, 2007) A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time, pp. 615-16.

Escalation-Israel

1964 Israel drawing water from the Jordan in accordance with Johnston Plan

Water taken reduces water reaching Hashemite territory

Arab League claimed such water diversion leads to dangers of Arab existence, so plan to deprive Israel of 35% of National Water Carrier capacity. Began construction of Headwater Diversion Plan

IDF attacked the diversion works in Syria in March, May, and August 1965

Perpetuating prolonged border violence

Koboril and Glantz (1998) Central Eurasian Water Crisis, pp. 129-131.

Escalation-Israel

IDF operations

Syria

1966-1967 tensions and cross-border attacks reprisals

Jordan

Fatah +Samu (West Bank) = 1 day military engagement with Jordan

Israeli political responses to Arab world

Egypt (Nassar) and Syria (Baathist)

Provocations End-Game

Border incidents multiplied and numerous Arab leaders, both political and military called for end of Israeli attacks.

Israel followed policy of deterrence

April 1967 'cultivation rights' (DMZ) but response is IAF bomb Syria

Egypt trying to seize central position in Arab world

Re-militarized the Sinai

Soviet Union actively backed military needs of Arab states

Soviet Union tells Israeli Ambassador actions cause escalation

Six-Day War

Arab nations vs. Israel

Israel wins

2x size of Israel

Arabs living in Gaza (Egypt) and in West Bank (Jordan)

Ancestral (biblical) home in Judea and Samaria along with unified Jerusalem

UN Res. cease-fire.

Land of Israel

Eretz Yisrael

Hebrew Bible notes specific mentions

Borders ?

Historical (biblical)

Religious (law) applied in territory and not in others