



The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Miss Galvin (AMG)

This is a short course designed to cover approximately one term of timetabled lessons (approximately 24 hours). The materials covered in this booklet are extensive but flexible. Students should not aim to complete every piece of wider reading, research and source analysis, but pick and chose what interests them in each chapter to build a wider knowledge of the conflict.

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Zionism and Arab Nationalism

1.1 Introduction

Today, very few exam boards in England offer courses on the Arab-Israeli conflict and those that do have been criticised for neglecting British involvement in the early 20th century. Despite being the focus of international media and diplomatic efforts for decades, my own further education provided little-to-no opportunity to study the region. For years I have seen the images of war plastered on the news but to my shame, I did not fully appreciate the impact of President Trump's words in 2017 when he stated "Today we finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel's capital."

Despite being extremely complex, it is vitally important to introduce the wider historical and geographical context that has influenced the Arab-Israeli (or otherwise referred to as the Israeli-Palestinian) conflict. In this remote course, I will use the phrase "Arab-Israeli" to indicate that the conflict has involved many Arab nations across a large arena. The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is a subset of that larger conflict. I hope you will enjoy the opportunity to join me in the study of a vastly different topic, without an exam focus.

Links to A-level study

At A-level, I specialise in teaching the Cold War c.1945-1991. Therefore, some events in the timeline of the Arab-Israeli conflict interlink with the extension of the Cold War into the Middle East. For instance, the Suez Crisis (1956) Six Day War (1967) and Yom Kippur War (1973) are covered in my A-level teaching. This short course will better your understanding of the tensions in this region but the material covered is not compulsory content for the A-level course.

MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses)

To accompany your learning, I would recommend exploring all the potential online learning opportunities available, including MOOCs. Please bear in mind that different professors and scholars will present particular narratives on the topics in question.

- ❖ **The Emergence of the Modern Middle East – Part I** (Tel Aviv University) taught by Asher Susser and Duygu Atlas
- ❖ **The Emergence of the Modern Middle East - Part II** (Tel Aviv University) taught by Asher Susser and Duygu Atlas
- ❖ **The History of Modern Israel – Part II: Challenges of Israel as a sovereign state** (Tel Aviv University) taught by Eyal Naveh and Asher Susser

Affordable overview books

Tip: Look for second hand or older editions of books and cross-compare *Amazon* and *eBay*

- Michael Scott-Baumann, *Access to History: Crisis in the Middle East: Israel and the Arab States 1945-2007* (London, 2009)
- Tony McAleavy, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Cambridge History Programme Key Stage 4* (Cambridge, 1998)
- Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbours Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017* (London, 2017)
- Jean Ve Bottaro, *History for the IB Diploma: The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1945-79* (Cambridge, 2012)

1.2 The emergence of Zionism and Arab Nationalism in the C19th

Using the table below, write down what you already know about the Arab-Israeli conflict and where you got this information. Once you have completed the course, it would be a good idea to come back to this page to assess how much you have learnt and what misconceptions you initially had.

Prior knowledge assessment

WHAT DO I KNOW?	HOW DO I KNOW?	WHAT DO I WANT TO LEARN?
What is the Arab-Israeli conflict about? Who is involved? How long has it been going on?	What are the sources of your knowledge? Social media, TV news, books, family, friends, etc. How reliable do you think that your sources are?	What aspects of this conflict and peace process would you like to know more about?

Setting the stage

1) Follow the link to read up on the **Historical Context**.

2) Watch the short video *Land Matters* to review the historical context and origins of the conflict.

- The focus in this section is on the emergence of both Arab and Jewish nationalisms in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
- Jewish nationalism, or Zionism, as it came to be called, is often connected to Theodor Herzl, who is considered the founder of modern Political Zionism (as seen in **Document 1**: The Jewish State p.8).
- Herzl called for a meeting of the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland in 1897. Jews from around the world gathered to define their goals for a future Jewish state (as seen in **Document 2**: The First Zionist Congress p.9).
- Arabs had also begun to reflect on the idea of nationalism during this time. Although there were others, Sati' al-Husri was one of the most influential figures in the early 20th to think and write about Arab nationalism (as seen in **Document 3**: Selected Writings of Sati' al-Husri p.10).
- In 1913, a group of young Arab nationalists met in Paris at the first Arab Congress where they adopted a list of resolutions for their growing movement (as seen in **Document 4**: The First Arab Congress p.11).
- The origins of the current Arab-Israeli conflict can be traced to the early 20th century when Jewish nationalism (Zionism) and Arab nationalism came into competition with each other.

The background history

Follow the link to explore a short overview of the region's history, told as two narratives:



Nationalism exercise

The term **nationalism** is often used interchangeably with the term **patriotism**. While nationalism and patriotism share some features, there are also important differences between them.

In general, patriotism has more to do with feelings and emotions, it is more connected to the individual, and it tends to focus more on the symbols of the nation.

Nationalism, on the other hand, is group-oriented and requires some level of political organisation; it emphasizes the right to independence or sovereignty, and uses shared identity markers (language, history, or ethnicity, etc.) as unifying forces. In terms of power, patriotism is often reflected in a show of power (military parades, national celebrations, etc.) and nationalism reflects the intent to gain power.

Use the 'What is the difference between Nationalism and Patriotism' sheet on the next page to sort through what the terms have in common and distinguish the features that make them different from each other.

What is the difference between Nationalism and Patriotism?

DIRECTIONS:

With each phrase in the centre column, put an arrow either toward Nationalism or Patriotism, indicating whether or not it might be more one than the other. If you can't decide, circle the phrase and come back to it later.

NATIONALISM	vs.	PATRIOTISM
	Pride in one's country	
	Group that desires sovereignty for country	
	Love of country	
	Belief that one's country is better than all others	
	Willingness to sacrifice for country	
	Violence often plays a role	
	Group's belief in the right to self-determination of country	
	Often involves symbols and civic celebrations	
	Group identity around shared values, language, history, etc.	
	Phrase you would add:	
	Phrase you would add:	

1. Which phrases would you definitely include in the definition of Nationalism?
2. Which phrases would you definitely include in the definition of Patriotism?
3. Which lean more toward Nationalism? Toward Patriotism?
4. Which phrases were the most difficult to categorise? Why?

Primary source analysis

Working with Documents 1-4 (pages 8-11) complete the primary source charts.

Document 1: *The Jewish State*, Theodor Herzl (page 8)

Questions	Write a brief response in your own words.	Provide citations from the text to support your answer.
Why did Herzl think that Jews needed their own nation?		
What did Herzl believe that Jews had in common that made them one people?		

Document 2: The First Zionist Congress (page 9)

Questions	Write a brief response in your own words.	Provide citations from the text to support your answer.
What is Zionism?		
What kind of nation did Zionists at the First Zionist Congress want to establish? Where?		

Document 3: Selected Writings of Sati' al-Husri (page 10)

Questions	Write a brief response in your own words.	Provide citations from the text to support your answer.
What did nationalism mean for al-Husri?		
What did al-Husri believe that Arabs had in common with each other, making them one people?		

Document 4: The First Arab Congress (page 11)

Questions	Write a brief response in your own words.	Provide citations from the text to support your answer.
What makes someone an Arab?		
What were the goals of the Arabs who attended the First Arab Congress?		

Document 1: The Jewish State (1896) *Theodor Herzl*

Herzl (1860-1904), a Jewish journalist from Vienna, became increasingly concerned about the growing antisemitism across Europe at the end of the 19th century. Despite the fact that many Western European countries had emancipated Jews, he noted that Jews, even those in high positions, were not safe from antisemitism. He concluded that the only solution to the antisemitism that he saw around him was to establish a Jewish state. He detailed his vision of this state in his book, *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"). Herzl's Zionism was the most significant source of Jewish nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; he is viewed as the father of modern political Zionism.

Excerpt

The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is an ancient one: It is the restoration of the Jewish State.

No one can deny the gravity of the Jewish situation. Wherever they live in **appreciable** numbers, they are more or less persecuted. Their equality before the law, granted by statute, has become practically a **dead letter**. They are debarred from filling even moderately high positions in the army, or in any public or private institutions. And attempts are made to thrust them out of business also: "Don't buy from the Jews!"

Attacks in Parliaments, in assemblies, in the press, in the pulpit, in the street, on journeys... are increasing by the day.

Can we hope for better days? I say that we cannot hope for the current to shift.... The nations in whose midst Jews live are all either covertly or openly Anti-Semitic...

We are one people--our enemies have made us one without our consent, as repeatedly happens in history. Distress binds us together, and thus united, we suddenly discover our strength. Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and, indeed, a model State. We possess all the **requisite** human and material resources.

The whole plan is in its essence perfectly simple.... Let **sovereignty** be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.

Source: This passage has been excerpted from *The Jewish State* translated by Sylvie D'Avigdor in 1896 and printed by the American Zionist Emergency Council in 1946 and from *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, ed. by Arthur Hertzberg and published by the Jewish Publication Society (Philadelphia) in 1959.

Keywords

Antisemitism: hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious or ethnic group

Appreciable: significant, large

Dead letter: a law or policy that is not enforced

Emancipated: permitted to become citizens on the countries in which they lived; freed from previous laws and policies that restricted full Jewish participation in society

Requisite: necessary

Sovereignty: independence, self-government



Document 2: First Zionist Congress (Basel, Switzerland, 1897)

Shortly after he published his book, *The Jewish State*, Theodor Herzl called for the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. During this assembly, Jewish delegates from all over the world established the World Zionist Organization and approved the following goals.

Excerpt

The aim of *Zionism* is to create for the Jewish people a homeland in *Palestine* secured by public law. [This would be achieved by:]

- The settlement in Palestine of farmers, artisans and laborers in such a manner as serves the purpose [of creating a national home].
- The organization and union of the whole of *Jewry* in suitable local and general bodies, in accordance with the laws of their respective countries.
- The strengthening of Jewish national feeling and national consciousness.
- Preparatory steps to obtain governmental consent necessary to achieve goals of Zionism.

Source: Elon, Amos. *Herzl*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

Keywords

Jewry: a collective term for Jews; the Jewish people as a group

Palestine: In 135 CE, the Romans renamed the province which had been called Judaea to Syria Palaestina to remove obvious Jewish connection to the land; in the Ottoman period, the shorter term Palestine was used informally to describe the area south of Syria; after World War I, the League of Nations established the British Mandate for Palestine, which originally also included what is today Jordan

Zionism: an expression of Jewish nationalism; a movement that began in the 19th century with the hopes of reestablishing a Jewish homeland; became the official term for Jewish efforts to reestablish a national homeland in Palestine



Document 3: Selected writings of Sati' al-Husri (early 20th century)

Among scholars, al-Husri is considered one of foremost thinkers and educators in the development of the concept of Arab nationalism. For him, this meant that all Arabs shared a national identity. For al-Husri, being part of a nation did not mean being ruled by the same government or living in the same country or region. In the excerpt below he points to language and history as the most significant elements that a group of people must share to be considered a nation.

Excerpts

- Language is the most important spiritual tie, which **binds** an individual to the rest of mankind because it is the medium of communication amongst individuals... Since languages differ between [peoples] it is natural that we find groups of individuals who share the same language drawing nearer to each other than to other groups, thereby forming a nation, which is distinct from other nations.
- Nationalist feeling depends on historical memories more than anything else... We do not exaggerate when we say that generally... the struggle for independence and unity begin only by recalling the past... Love for independence is **nourished** by memories of the lost independence; the longing for power and glory begins with a **lament** for the lost power and diminished glory; faith in the future of the nation derives its strength from a belief in the brilliance of the past.
- [A common language and a shared history] form the fundamental bases of nation formation. The union of these two spheres leads to the fusion of emotions and aspirations, of sufferings and hopes, and of culture. And in this, people see themselves as members of a unitary nation distinct from other nation... If we want to specify the roles of language and history in the formation of a nation, we can say: language is the soul and the life of the nation; history its memory and its **cognizance**.

Source: Dawisha, A. I. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Keywords

Bind: tie or attach

Cognizance: self-knowledge or awareness

Fusion: blending or combining

Lament: an expression of sadness or grief

Nourish: maintain, keep in mind



Document 4: First Arab Congress (Paris, 1913)

Nationalist ideas began to spread among Arabs in the late 19th century. Still part of the Ottoman Empire, Arabs initially took interest in nationalism as a literary and cultural movement to re-establish the prominence of Arab language and culture and to promote a positive ethnic identity. In 1911, a group of Arab students in European universities formed a group called al-Fatat ("the Young Arab Society") to discuss their growing interest in nationalist ideas. In 1913, the group called for a meeting of the First Arab Congress where they made the following resolutions. See the accompanying map.

Excerpt

- Radical and urgent reforms are needed in the Ottoman Empire.
- It is important to guarantee Ottoman Arabs the exercise of their political rights by giving them meaningful roles in the administration of the Ottoman Empire.
- It is important to establish decentralized governments in each of the Arab and Syrian administrative districts [giving them more autonomy within the Ottoman Empire] according to their needs and abilities....
- The Arabic language must be recognized by the Ottoman Parliament and considered the official language in Syrian and Arab regions.
- Military service of those living in the Syrian and Arab administrative districts will be regional [rather than throughout the Ottoman Empire], except in extreme cases....
- These resolutions will be communicated to the Imperial Ottoman Government.
- These same resolutions will also be communicated to those powers friendly to the Ottoman Empire....

Source: British Imperial Connexions to the Arab National Movement. Translated from the French. World War I Document Archive. Web.

Keywords

Arabs: a people who originated in the Arabian Peninsula and spoke Arabic; today, Arabic-speaking people who live mostly in the Middle East and North Africa



Arab peninsula



Middle East and North Africa



Levant: geographical term which refers to Eastern Mediterranean region

Sanjak: district within the Ottoman Empire; a group of *sanjaks* together would form a *vilayet*

Vilayet: province in the Ottoman Empire; similar in function to a state in the United States



Review questions

1. Describe how Jews, Christians, and Muslims are connected to the ancient land of Israel.
2. How was this region impacted by surrounding nations and empires from its earliest days up to the beginning of the 20th century?
3. What are some of the reasons that nationalism emerged among European Jews and Arabs in the Middle East? What kinds of nations did these groups imagine?
4. What are some similarities between early Zionism and early Arab Nationalism? Differences?

Further research

Abdelaziz A. Ayyad, *Arab Nationalism and the Palestinians 1850-1939* (Jerusalem, 1999)

Khan Academy, 'Theodor Herzl and the birth of political Zionism'

Broken promises

2.1 Analysing sources

In this section we will be considering the following questions:

- What role did the Allied Powers (especially the British Government) play in setting up conflicts in the region, which persist today?
- Why did the British Government make promises that conflicted with each other?

Watch the short video ***Broken Promises***, available online.

- To understand the Arab-Israeli conflict, it's important to consider the broken promises that the British made to Arabs and Jews as they tried to secure allies in the Middle East during World War I.
- During WWI, the geographic territory that now comprises the State of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank, was known as "Greater Syria" and had been part of the Ottoman Empire for six centuries.
- Because of its geographic location, this region is a land bridge connecting Asia, Africa, and Europe and was strategically important to the Allied Forces (Britain, France, Russia, and later the United States and Italy) in their fight against the Central Powers (primarily Germany and the Ottoman Empire).
- Britain first engaged Arab leaders as allies during World War I by promising them independence at the end of the war (as seen in **Document 1**: The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence).
- Shortly after, Britain enlisted Jewish support in the war effort by promising to create a Jewish national home in the ancient Jewish homeland (as seen in the **Document 3**: Balfour Declaration).
- While some Arab and Jewish leaders recognized the benefits of the establishment and maintenance of respective territories within this region (as seen in the **Document 4**: Faisal- Weizmann Agreement), the ruling powers (Britain and France) secretly made an agreement to exercise political control through spheres of influence (as seen in the **Document 2**: Sykes-Picot Agreement).
- Shortly after World War I ended, European nations formed the League of Nations as a way to settle international disputes and prevent future conflict. The Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22 (**Document 5**) provides the framework for what should be done with the colonies and territories that had controlled by the Central Powers before the war.

Source analysis

At A-level, source analysis is one of the three main assessed components. Below is a table that outlines some primary source features that historian's scrutiny to assess their value. Read through documents 1-5 and select as many as you wish to analysis, using the table to create your own notes. Which of these is most valuable to a historian studying the role the Allied Powers played in setting up conflicts in the region?

Title of Primary Source:		
	Close Reading	How do you know? <i>Cite specific evidence in the text.</i>
SPEAKER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who is the speaker? What can you tell or what do you know about the speaker that helps you understand the point of view expressed? 	
OCCASION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the time and place of the piece? What is the current situation (that prompted the writing)? Is this a political event, a celebration, an observation, or a critique? Identify the context of the text. 	
AUDIENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who are the readers to whom this piece is directed? It may be one person or a specific group. Does the speaker specify an audience? What assumptions exist in the text about the intended audience? 	
PURPOSE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the purpose behind the text? (Why did the author write it? What is his goal?) What is the message? How does the speaker convey this message? 	
SUBJECT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What topic, content, and ideas are included in the text? State the subject in a few words or a short phrase. 	
TONE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the attitude of the author? Is the author emotional, objective, neutral, or biased about this topic? What types of diction (choice of words), syntax (sentence structure), and imagery (metaphors, similes, and other types of figurative language) help reflect the tone? 	

Document 1: Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (1915)

Beginning in the summer of 1915, Sir Henry McMahon (1862-1949), British High Commissioner in Cairo, exchanged letters with Hussein Ibn Ali (1853/54-1931), the Sherif of Mecca. In these letters, which became known as "The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence," McMahon agreed to support Hussein's request for Arab independence in exchange for Arab support against the Ottoman Empire in World War I. NOTE: The maps that accompany this document were not part of the original correspondence; they represent the request that Hussein made and the response that McMahon provided. What precisely was promised later became the subject of great debate.

Excerpt

From Sir Henry McMahon, 24 October 1915

I have received your letter of the 29th Shawal, 1333 [September 29, 1915 in the *Islamic calendar*], with much pleasure and your expressions of friendliness and sincerity have given me the greatest satisfaction.

I regret that you should have received from my last letter the impression that I regarded the question of the limits and boundaries with coldness and hesitation; such was not the case....

I have realised, however, that you regard this question as one of vital and urgent importance. I have, therefore, lost no time in informing the Government of Great Britain of the contents of your letter, and it is with great pleasure that I communicate to you on their behalf the following statement, which I am confident you will receive with satisfaction.

The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded....

I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter:

1. Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the *Sherif of Mecca*.
2. When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories.
3. On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British....

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs and will result in a firm and lasting alliance, the immediate results of which will be the expulsion of the Turks from the Arab countries and the freeing of the Arab peoples from the *Turkish yoke*, which for so many years has pressed heavily upon them.

Source: *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. W. Laqueur and B. Rubin, editors. New York: Penguin Books, 2008.



Keywords

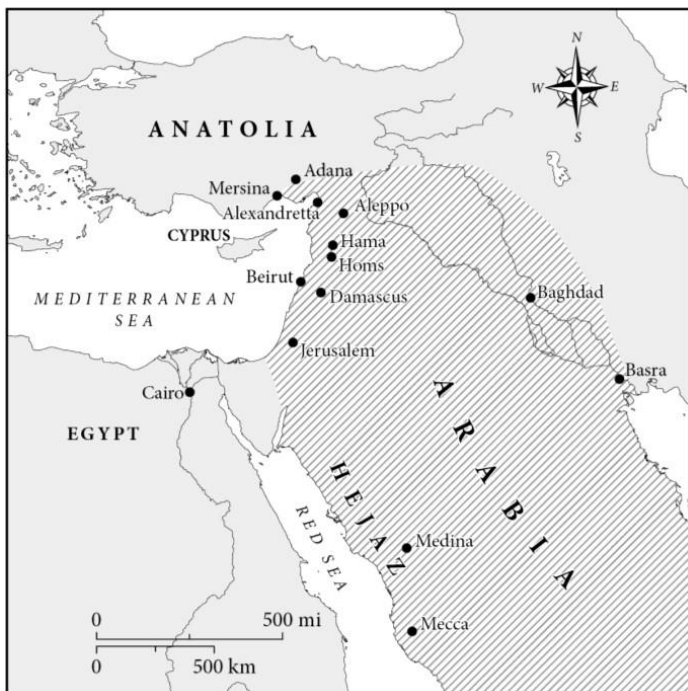
Islamic calendar: lunar calendar with 12 months and 354 or 355 days; began in 622 CE (which became Year 1) to mark the year that Muhammad (whom Muslims view as the last prophet) migrated from Mecca to Medina with his followers and established the first Muslim community

Sheikh: an Arab leader; a title often given to a chief of a tribe or family

Sherif of Mecca: leader responsible for overseeing the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina and the surrounding Hejaz (in what is today Saudi Arabia); traditional title given to descendants of Muhammad's grandson, Hasan ibn Ali

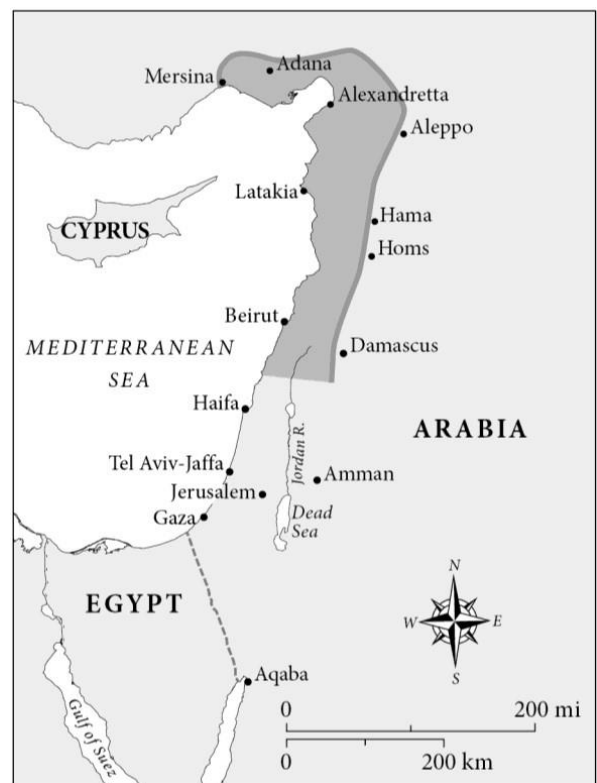
Turkish yoke: Ottoman rule

Hussein's Request



Above: The area with diagonal lines (ARABIA) represents what Hussein originally requested as territory for a future Arab state. See Schneer, Jonathan, *Balfour Declaration the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: Random House, 2012).

McMahon's Response



Above: In his letter, McMahon offers Hussein everything to the right of the thick dark line (which corresponds to Arabia on the map to the right, but was technically called the Villayet of Damascus because it was part of the Ottoman Empire). The area in the shaded region, McMahon said, was not properly Arab and could not be included.

Document 2: Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (1915)

On May 9, 1916, Great Britain and France reached a secret agreement, drafted by their representatives Mark Sykes and François George-Picot, respectively. As part of this agreement they outlined their spheres of influence in the Middle East, territory for an Arab state or confederation of Arab states, dividing most of the Ottoman Empire into areas of British and French control, which would take effect at the end of World War I. This agreement became public in March 1917. See accompanying map on page 19.

Excerpt

It is accordingly understood between the French and British Governments—

- That France and Great Britain are prepared to recognise and protect an independent Arab State or a *Confederation* of Arab States (A) and (B) marked on the annexed map, under the *suzerainty* of an Arab chief. That in area (A) France, and in area (B) Great Britain, shall have priority of *right of enterprise* and local loans. That in area (A) France, and in area (B) Great Britain, shall alone supply advisers or foreign *functionaries* at the request of the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.
- That in the blue area France, and in the red area Great Britain, shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.
- That in the brown area [yellow on the map] there shall be established an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with the other Allies, and the representatives of the Shereef [alternative spelling for Sherif] of Mecca.

Source: *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. W. Laqueur and B. Rubin, editors. New York: Penguin Books, 2008.

Keywords

Confederation: association, partnership

Functionaries: officials, employees

Right of enterprise: the right to control their own business interests

Spheres of influence: areas where British and French interests would have priority over local governments

Suzerainty: a situation in which the Arabs could be in charge of their own internal affairs but where Great Britain or France, as the dominant states, would still control foreign affairs



Document 3: The Balfour Declaration (1917)

On November 2, 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930) wrote a letter, endorsing the British Government's establishment of a Jewish national home in the geographic territory of Palestine. Lord Rothschild, to whom the letter was addressed, was the unofficial leader of the British Jewish community.

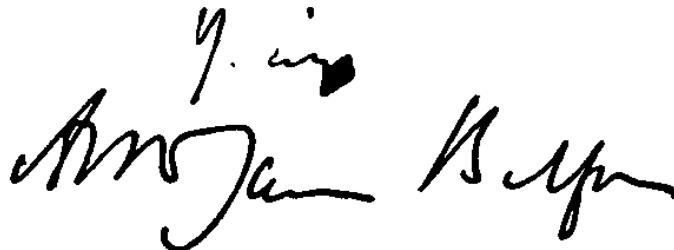
Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

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

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Y. in" above "Arthur James Balfour". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Source: Balfour Declaration November 2, 1917. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Web.

Keywords

Zionist Federation: group founded in 1899 to advocate for a permanent homeland for the Jewish people



Document 4: Feisal-Weizmann Agreement (1919)

On January 3, 1919, Emir Feisal (1885-1933), son of Hussein ibn-Ali and an Arab leader and military commander, and Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952), President of the Zionist Organization, entered into an agreement with each other to formalise the national aspirations of both the Jews and the Arabs with the aim of establishing independent states for both peoples. Note: In this agreement, the term Palestine referred to a Jewish state.

Excerpt

His Royal Highness the *Emir* Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organisation, mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people...have agreed upon the following Articles:

- Article I: The Arab State and Palestine [Jewish State] in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most *cordial* goodwill and understanding....
- Article II: The definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties *hereto*.
- Article III: *Measures* shall be adopted...for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of the 2nd of November, 1917 [the Balfour Declaration].
- Article IV: All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale... In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.
- Article V: No regulation or law shall be made prohibiting or interfering in any way with the *free exercise of religion*....
- Article VI: The *Mohammedan* Holy Places shall be under Mohammedan control.
- Article VII: The Zionist Organization will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities *thereof*.

Reservation by the Emir Feisal [above, in Arabic, next to his signature]

If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of 4 January, addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be *answerable* for failing to carry out this agreement.

Source: *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. W. Laqueur and B. Rubin, editors. New York: Penguin, 2008.

Keywords

Emir: commander, prince, or ruler

Mohammedan: old-fashioned term for Muslim; not used today

Reservation: stipulation; a condition that must be met

Thereof: the thing that has just been mentioned; in this case, the Arab State



Document 5: Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22 (1919)

As World War I was coming to a close, many of the European powers sought to form an international organization to settle disputes between nations. Member nations would agree to defend each other if attacked and would not declare war without the consent of the others. The Covenant of the League of Nations is the document, which created the League of Nations and defined its mission. The League of Nations formally came into being in 1920 as a result of the Paris Peace Conference. This section of the Covenant talks about what should be done with the colonies and territories controlled by the Central Powers before World War I.

Excerpt

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the *strenuous* conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this *Covenant*...

The *tutelage* of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as *Mandatories* on behalf of the League.

The character of the *mandate* must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire [Ottoman Empire] have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be *provisionally* recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the *arms traffic* and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League....

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the *Council*.

Source: The Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Web.

Keywords

Arms traffic: illegal buying or selling of weapons

Covenant: agreement, contract

Council of the League of Nations: one of the central units within the League of

Nations mandate: a region or territory assigned to one of the Allied Powers by the

League of Nations mandatories: countries assigned to administer or govern a region

Tutelage: instruction, guidance



Review questions

1. What promises did the British make during World War I?
2. Why did the British make conflicting promises? Which promises did they break?
3. What kind of agreement did Faisal and Weizmann make with each other?
4. What do you think happened in the region after World War I because of broken promises?

Further research

Khan Academy, 'Sinai, Palestine and Mesopotamia campaigns.'

Khan Academy, 'Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration.'

Sameh Habeeb and Pietro Stefanini eds. Giving Away Other People's Land: The Making of the Balfour Declaration (Palestine, 2017)

2.2 Debate: The Balfour Declaration

The background history

Follow the link to explore how the First World War changed the situation for the Jews and Arabs, giving both groups hope that they might be able to establish a state in Palestine.

PARALLEL HISTORIES

The Balfour Declaration: Should the British government be blamed or praised?

Use the grid below to complete your own notes:

The government should be blamed	The government should be praised

Conclusion:

Now follow the link to open the virtual debate notes to cross compare:

PARALLEL HISTORIES

The Mandate Era

3.1 The Mandate Era

In this section we will be examining the proposals concerns with how the geographic territory of Palestine would be divided after World War I and who should control the resulting areas.

Who draws the map?

Use the blank outline map to draw political borders on this landmass. Take into account religions, physical features such as mountains and rivers, and languages.



Outline Map



Religions Map



Mountains and Rivers Map



Languages Map

Watch the film, *A Place to Belong*, available online.

- In contrast to promises made by the British during the war, after WWI, the League of Nations allocated non-Turkish Ottoman lands to Britain and France as Mandates (as seen in **Document 1: The British Mandate for Palestine**). Turkish Ottoman lands became the Republic of Turkey in 1923.
- Britain received the Mandate for Palestine, which reiterated the Balfour Declaration with its provision for the establishment of a Jewish national home and for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all of the mandate's inhabitants.
- The British Mandate for Palestine was intended to be temporary; both Jews and Arabs had been promised sovereign states by the British.
- During the British Mandate period, Zionist Jews continued to immigrate, develop the land, and build institutions to support a growing population. Many Jews immigrated to escape the increasing persecution in Europe in the period leading up to the Holocaust.
- During the same period, the Arab population nearly doubled from natural increase and immigration from neighbouring Arab countries.
- Throughout the Mandate period, there was violent opposition among the Arab community to British rule and the idea of a Jewish state. As a way to deal with the unrest and create a more lasting solution, the British sent a commission to study the situation. Headed by Lord Peel, the commission recommended dividing the Palestine Mandate into an Arab and a Jewish state (as seen in **Document 2: The Peel Commission**). This recommendation was rejected.
- Arab resistance to Jewish immigration grew, causing the British to sharply limit Jewish immigration (as seen in **Document 3: The White Paper**).
- By the end of World War II, the resources of the British Empire were depleted and issue of the future of the Palestine Mandate was handed over to the newly formed United Nations. After conducting a study of its own, the United Nations recommended and approved a partition of the region into an Arab and a Jewish state (as seen in **Document 4: The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine**).

Source Analysis

Another way to approach source evaluation is work in groups of four. Work first independently, then in pairs and then in quads to evaluate the four primary source documents. Divide the four documents in your group and individually, read the text to get a sense of the authorship, audience, setting, time and type of document. Then, record your findings using the chart on the next page. Then present your findings to your small group and by the time the exercise is over, each group should have a complete handout.

Mandate Era Source Analysis Chart

Primary Source	What does this document propose to do with regard to the geographic area and/or populations of Palestine?	Why was this document made? In other words, what circumstances, either in the region or in Europe, brought it about? Provide evidence from the text.
The British Mandate for Palestine (1922)		
The Peel Commission (1937)		
The White Paper (1939)		
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (1947)		

Document 1: The British Mandate for Palestine (1922)

In contrast to promises made by the British during the war, after WWI the League of Nations formally divided the region of Greater Syria (the area which approximately covers today's countries of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Israel) between the British and the French. The French were assigned administrative responsibility for the territory, which today includes Syria and Lebanon. The British were assigned the territory to the south which included what are today Israel and Jordan. The British further subdivided the territory assigned to them into two parts, limiting the area designated for a Jewish national homeland to the west of the Jordan River. The area east of the Jordan River, Transjordan, was given to Abdullah bin Hussein (the future King of Jordan) to become an Arab state. See accompanying maps.

Excerpt

The Council of the League of Nations

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers [British Empire, French Republic, Italy and Japan] have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a *Mandatory* selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire [Ottoman Empire], within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917 [the Balfour Declaration], by the Government of His Britannic Majesty [the British Government], and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for *reconstituting* their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and...;

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions:

Article 1. The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration.

Art. 2. The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country [region] under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home...and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, *irrespective* of race and religion.

Art. 3. The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local *autonomy*.

Art. 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine [in this case the British Government].... The Zionist organization...shall be recognised as such agency.

Art. 6. The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are *not prejudiced*, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage...*close settlement* by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Source: The Palestine Mandate. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Web.

Keywords

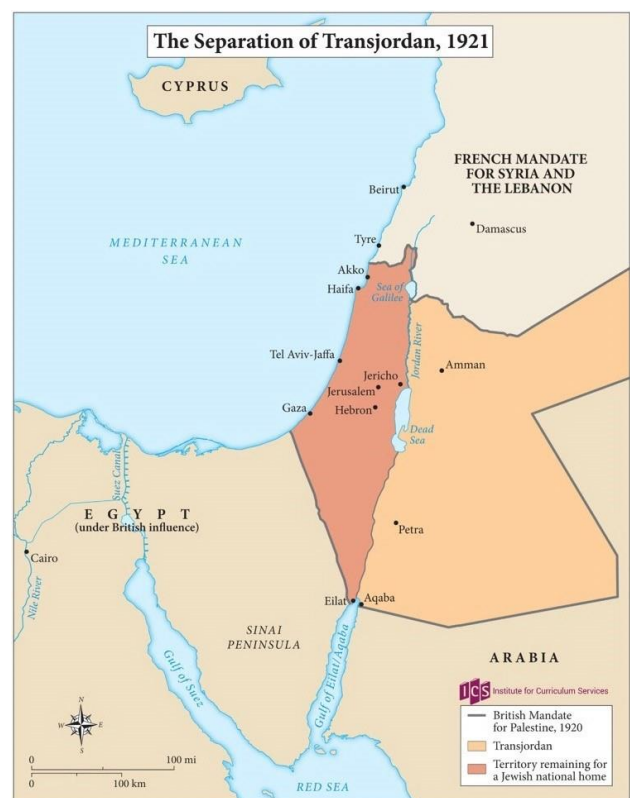
Autonomy: self-government

Close settlement: filled with inhabitants

League of Nations: the international organization formed after World War I to settle disputes between nations; later replaced by the United Nations

Mandatory: country assigned by the League of Nations to administer or govern a region or territory

Reconstituting: rebuilding



Document 2: The Peel Commission (1937)

In response to the Arab Revolt in 1936 the British Government sent a delegation led by Lord Earl Peel to assess the situation and to propose a solution. Lord Peel and his colleagues recorded their findings in a 400-plus-page document called “The Report of the Palestine Royal Commission” (also known as the Peel Commission). Below are excerpts from this report, which described the conditions in the region at the time and outlined a plan for dividing the territory of the Palestine Mandate between the Jews and Arabs. See map below. Ultimately, the plan was never implemented.

Excerpt

Chapter XX. The Force of Circumstances

1. Before submitting the proposals...we will briefly restate the problem of Palestine.
2. Under the stress of the World War [WW I] the British Government made promises to Arabs and Jews in order to obtain their support. On the strength of those promises both parties formed certain expectations.
3. The application to Palestine of the Mandate System...implied the belief that...the Arabs and the Jews respectively would prove to be *mutually compatible*. That belief has not been *justified*, and we see no hope of its being justified in the future....
5. An *irrepressible* conflict has arisen between two national communities within the narrow bounds of one small country [region]. About 1,000,000 Arabs are in *strife*, open or latent, with some 400,000 Jews. There is no common ground between them.
7. This conflict has grown steadily more bitter. It has been marked by a series of five Arab outbreaks, culminating in the rebellion last year....
9. Meanwhile the whole situation is darkened by uncertainty as to the future. The conflict, indeed, is as much about the future as about the present. Every intelligent Arab and Jew is forced to ask the question “Who in the end will govern Palestine?”
19. Manifestly giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want cannot solve the problem. The answer to the question “Which of them in the end will govern Palestine?” must surely be “Neither” ... But while neither race [people] can justly rule all of Palestine, we see no reason why each race [people] should not rule part of it.
20. *Partition* seems to offer at least a chance of ultimate peace. We can see none in any other plan.

Chapter XXII. A Plan of Partition.

5. Two sovereign independent States would be established—the one an Arab State the other a Jewish State....

10 and 11. [A new Mandate should be created to protect the Holy Places, such as Jerusalem] ensuring free and safe access to them for all the world...

36. If Partition is to be effective...there should be a transfer of land and, as far as possible, an exchange of population.

39. In the area allocated [in this plan] to the Jewish State there are now about 225,000 Arabs. In the area allotted to the Arab State there are only some 1,250 Jews.....The existence of these minorities clearly constitutes the most serious *hindrance* to the smooth and successful operation of the Partition [plan]. It is the far greater number of

Arabs who constitute the major problem; and, while some of them could be re-settled on the land vacated by the Jews, far more land would be required for the re- settlement of all of them....

49. Steps should be taken to prohibit the purchase of land by Jews within the Arab Area or by Arabs with the Jewish Area.... No Jewish immigration into the Arab Area should be permitted.

Source: Palestine Royal Commission ("Peel Commission") - UK Report/Non-UN Document (1 July 1937). United Nations. Web.



Keywords

Hindrance: barrier, obstacle

Irrepressible: uncontrollable, unmanageable

Justified: proven to be the case

Manifestly: clearly, obviously

Mutually compatible: benefit each other

Partition: division, separation

Strife: conflict, fighting



Document 3: The White Paper (1939)

In 1939, the British government took a new position with regard to the future of the Palestine Mandate, marking a reversal from previous plans, all of which had included the creation a national home for the Jewish people. This White Paper suggests that previous statements regarding British support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine had been misinterpreted and that the British were ultimately interested in the establishment of just one state for both Jews and Arabs. In addition, the White Paper calls for strict limits on Jewish immigration into the Mandate just as conditions for European Jews were rapidly deteriorating under the Nazis and many Jews were seeking refuge outside of Europe. Even though the British government never formally approved it, it was the working policy in the Mandate between 1939-1945.

Excerpt

I. The Constitution

4. It has been urged that the expression “a national home for the Jewish people” [as stated in the Balfour Declaration and in the Palestine Mandate] offered a prospect that Palestine might in due course become a Jewish State or Commonwealth.... But...His Majesty’s Government believe that the framers of the Mandate in which the Balfour Declaration was embodied could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country....

His Majesty’s Government therefore now declare *unequivocally* that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances, which have been given to the Arab people in the past.

8. His Majesty’s Government... desire to see established ultimately an independent Palestine State.

It should be a State in which the two peoples in Palestine, Arabs and Jews, share authority in government in such a way that the essential interests of each are secured.

II. Immigration

12. Although, the large number of Jewish immigrants who have been admitted so far have been absorbed economically, the fear of the Arabs that this influx will continue indefinitely until the Jewish population is in a position to dominate them has produced consequences which are extremely grave for Jews and Arabs alike and for the prosperity of Palestine.

14. His Majesty’s Government are [also] conscious of the present unhappy plight of large numbers of Jews who seek a refuge from certain European countries, and they believe Palestine can and should make a further contribution to the solution of this pressing world problem. In all these circumstances, they believe that they will be acting consistently with their Mandatory obligations to both Arabs and Jewish. by adopting the following proposals regarding immigration:

(1) Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which will bring the Jewish population up to approximately one-third of the total population of the country....

- a. For each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed....
- b. In addition, as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 refugees will be admitted...[with] special consideration being given to refugee children and dependents.

(3) After a period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to *acquiesce* in it.

(4) His Majesty's Government are determined to check illegal immigration, and further preventive measures are being adopted.

Source: British White Paper of 1939. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Web.

Keywords

Acquiesce: agree, approve

Ambiguity: vague, uncertain

It has been urged: it has been maintained or claimed

Unequivocally: plainly, clearly

White paper: report issued by a government, which outlines its position on a particular issue along with a solution



Document 4: United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (1947)

At the end of World War II, the League of Nations (which was formed in the wake of World War I) ceased to exist. In its place, the United Nations (comprised of 50 nations at the outset) was created. In 1947, at the request of the British Government, the UN appointed a special committee of 11 nations to study the situation in the Palestine Mandate and to make recommendations to the UN General Assembly. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly, by a 33 to 13 vote, adopted the plan a UN Resolution 181. The Jews accepted the partition plan even though it was less than they believed they had been promised. The Arabs rejected the partition plan and the creation of a Jewish homeland in any part of the area. See accompanying map.

Excerpt

1. The basic premise underlying the partition proposal is that the claims to Palestine of the Arabs and Jews, both possessing validity, are irreconcilable, and that among all of the solutions advanced, partition will provide the most realistic and practicable settlement, and is the most likely to afford a workable basis for meeting in part the claims and national aspirations of both parties.
2. It is a fact that both of these peoples have their historic roots in Palestine, and that both make vital contributions to the economic and cultural life of the country. The partition solution takes these considerations fully into account.
3. The basic conflict in Palestine is a clash of two intense nationalisms. Regardless of the historic origins of the conflict, the rights and wrongs of the promises and counter promises and the international intervention incident to the Mandate, there are now in Palestine some 650,000 Jews and some 1,200,000 Arabs who are... separated by political interests which render difficult full and effective political cooperation...
4. Only by means of partition can these conflicting national aspirations find substantial expression and qualify both peoples to take their places as independent nations in the international community and in the United Nations.
9. It is recognized that partition has been strongly opposed by Arabs, but it is felt that that opposition would be lessened by a solution, which definitively fixes the extent of territory to be allotted to the Jews with its implicit limitation on immigration. The fact that the solution carries the sanction of the United Nations involves a finality, which should allay Arab fears of further expansion of the Jewish State.
10. In view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that the economic unity of the country should be preserved....
11. Such economic unity requires the creation of an economic association by means of a treaty between the two States. The essential objectives of this association would be a common customs system, a common currency and the maintenance of a countrywide system of transport and communications.

Recommendations: Partition and independence Palestine within its present borders, following a transitional period of two years from 1 September 1947, shall be constituted into an independent Arab State, an independent Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem, the boundaries of which are respectively described.

Source: A/364 of 3 September 1947. United Nations. Web.



3.2 Closer look: Revolts 1929-1939

The Palestinian Revolt 1929

Follow the link to explore how conflict over worship at the Western Wall escalated in the year 1929.

**PARALLEL
HISTORIES**

The Great Arab Revolt 1936-39

Follow the link to examine how Great Arab Revolt was suppressed by the British and led to further instabilities in the region.

**PARALLEL
HISTORIES**

Review questions

1. What kinds of proposals regarding Jerusalem were made by the Peel Commission (1937) and the United Nations Special Committee (1947)? Why is Jerusalem treated differently than the areas surrounding it?
2. What kind of unrest and violence broke out in the Palestine Mandate between 1922-1947? What were some of the causes for this unrest? How did the British respond?
3. Why did the British limit Jewish immigration into the Palestine Mandate, starting in 1939? Why were the Jews so upset about this?
4. Are there ways in which the proposal for the partition of Palestine made by the United Nations Special Committee (1947) was similar to the way this area was divided by the British in the Mandate (1922), or what they recommended in the Peel Commission (1937) or White Paper (1939)? How was the United Nations proposal different?

From 1948 to the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty

4.1 From 1948 to the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty

In this section we will examine a range of documents central to the formation of the State of Israel, the Wars of 1948 and 1967, and the Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt. By the end of this chapter, you should have a greater understanding of:

- The impact of the founding of Israel on the region as well as the wider world.
- The consequences of both the 1948 War as well as the Six Day War in 1967.
- The peace process between Egypt and Israel, which lead to an agreement in 1979.
- The modern conflict in its historical, cultural, and geographic context.

The founding of Israel: Fill in the gaps

Use your own research and knowledge to fill the gaps below:

1. After WWI, Palestine became a _____.
2. _____ founded the modern Zionist movement in 1896.
3. Major features of Zionism:
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
 - d. _____
4. The _____ Declaration gave British recognition to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.
5. After WWII, _____ withdrew from Palestine.
6. The _____ (1947) agreed to form “an independent Arab State and an independent Jewish State.”
7. The Partition Plan was accepted by the Jewish Agency but rejected by the _____.
8. The state of Israel was declared in this year _____.
9. The 1956 Arab-Israeli War was fought between Israel and _____.
10. In the 1967 Six Day War, Israel took the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip from _____, the Sinai Peninsula from _____, and the Golan Heights from _____.
11. In 1993, the _____ were signed, which gave Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza limited self-rule and created the PLO.

Talking points

Watch the film, *War and Peace part 1*, available online.

- The League of Arab States, or Arab League, was founded in May 1945 to improve coordination among its members on matters of common interest including strong opposition to a Jewish state.
- On May 15, 1948, immediately following the declaration of the State of Israel (as seen in **Document 1: Establishment of the State of Israel**), five countries of the newly formed Arab League invaded the State of Israel marking the first major action of the League and the first of several conflicts between Arab and Israeli forces (as seen in **Document 2: Declaration on the Invasion of Palestine**).
- The 1949 Armistice Agreements, a set of agreements between Israel and neighbouring Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, ended the official hostilities of the 1948 Arab–Israeli War, and established Armistice Demarcation Lines, but no peace.
- By the end of May 1967, in what was seen as a clear sign of preparation for war, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria had mobilized their armies on Israel’s borders. After seeking a diplomatic solution, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike against the Egyptian air force on the morning of June 5. This war between Israel and Egypt, Syria, and Jordan is known as the “Six-Day War” because it only lasted six days.
- Two resolutions that were passed in the aftermath of the Six-Day War have heavily influenced policy in the region for the past fifty years (as seen in **Document 3: Two Resolutions**). The Khartoum Resolution, passed by the Arab League on September 1, is famous for the “Three NOs” articulated in the third paragraph: “No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no negotiations with Israel.” Resolution 242, adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on November 22, is one of the most widely affirmed resolutions on the Arab–Israeli conflict. See also **Video Clips 1** and **2**.
- In 1979, as a result of intense diplomatic efforts by Egypt, Israel, and the United States, Egypt became the first Arab country to recognize and enter into a peace treaty with Israel (as seen in **Document 4: Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**). Egypt’s President, Anwar Sadat realized that a continuing state of war with Israel was harming the Egyptian economy and the well being of his people. In exchange for peace, Israel returned to Egypt all of the Sinai that had been captured during the 1967 war and removed Jewish families from the homes they had established there.

Written source task

Using the table on the next page and sources 1-4, imagine that you have to explain the importance of each of these documents to someone in less than a minute. Write out your explanation in a paragraph.

Table

Documents	Summaries Use this model to write your paragraph: 1) Describe the primary source so that your audience knows what it is 2) Briefly indicate the key idea(s) 3) Explain why this document is important to understanding the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace process.
Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel (1948)	
Declaration on the Invasion of Palestine (1948)	
The Six Day War—Khartoum Resolution and UN Resolution 242 (1967)	
The Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1979)	

Videos as primary sources

These questions (<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/primary-source-analysis-tool/>) may be used to analyse and discuss video (motion picture or other) primary sources. Use these questions with the media clips connected to the Six Day War:

VIDEO CLIP 1: British Movietone, June 5, 1967: <http://bit.ly/June5-1967>

VIDEO CLIP 2: ABC News, June 8, 1967: <http://bit.ly/News1967>

Observe:

1. Describe what you see and hear.
2. What do you notice first?
3. Do you only see live action, or are there any special effects or animation?
4. Does anything about it seem strange or unusual?
5. What other details do you notice?

Reflect:

1. What was the purpose of this news clip?
2. Who do you think was the intended audience?
3. Who do you think created it?
4. What feelings or ideas do you think its creators wanted to communicate?
5. If someone created this news clip today, what would be different?

FURTHER INVESTIGATION:

Beginning - Have students write a brief description of the news clip in their own words.

Intermediate - Speculate about the purpose of the clip and what its creators expected it to accomplish. Do you think the news report achieved its goals? Explain why you think so.

Advanced - Think about what you already know about this period in history. How does this news report support or contradict your current understanding of this period?

Document 1: Establishment of the State of Israel (14 May 1948)

On 14 May 1948, the day the British Mandate for Palestine expired, David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973), leader of the World Zionist Organization and first prime minister of Israel, declared the establishment of the State of Israel after 60 years of state-building efforts. The document describes the history of the Jewish people, outlines the principles of the State of Israel, and appeals to the United Nations, Arab inhabitants of the state, Arab states surrounding Israel, and world Jewry for support and peaceful cooperation.

Excerpt

Eretz-Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the eternal **Book of Books**.

After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people remained faithful to it throughout their **Dispersion** and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom.

Impelled by this historic and traditional attachment, Jews strove in every successive generation to re-establish themselves in their ancient homeland. In recent decades they returned in their masses... they made deserts bloom, revived the Hebrew language, built villages and towns, and created a thriving community controlling its own economy and culture...

The **catastrophe** which recently befell the Jewish people—the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe—was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open the gates of the homeland wide to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully privileged member of the **comity of nations**....

On the 29th November 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel; the General Assembly required the inhabitants of Eretz-Israel to take such steps as were necessary on their part for the implementation of that resolution. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their State is **irrevocable**.

This right is the natural right of the Jewish people to be masters of their own fate, like all other nations, in their own sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY WE... ARE HERE ASSEMBLED ON THE DAY OF THE TERMINATION OF THE BRITISH MANDATE OVER ERETZ-ISRAEL AND, BY VIRTUE OF OUR NATURAL AND HISTORIC RIGHT AND ON THE STRENGTH OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HEREBY DECLARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH STATE IN ERETZ-ISRAEL, TO BE KNOWN AS THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

Source: Declaration of Israel's Independence 1948. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Web.

Keywords

Book of Books: the Hebrew Bible

Dispersion: creation of Jewish communities outside of the land of Israel

Eretz: Hebrew for "Land"; during the Mandate; *Eretz-Israel* was the Hebrew name of the Palestine Mandate



Document 2: Declaration on the Invasion of Palestine (15 May 1948)

The League of Arab States, or Arab League, was founded in 1945 to improve coordination among its members on matters of common interest and in response to concerns about post-war divisions of territory as well as shared opposition to a Jewish state in Mandate Palestine. On May 15, 1948, the Arab League declared war on the new State of Israel. Arab armies from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, supported by troops from Saudi Arabia and Yemen, attacked. See map below for post-war borders.

Excerpt

2. The Arabs have always asked for their freedom and independence. On the outbreak of the First World War, and when the Allies declared that they were fighting for the liberation of peoples, the Arabs joined them and fought on their side with a view to realising their national aspirations and obtaining their independence. England pledged herself to recognise the independence of the Arab countries in Asia, including Palestine....

4. When the war came to an end England did not keep her promise. Indeed, the Allies placed Palestine under the Mandate system and entrusted England with [the task of carrying it out]....

6. As Palestine is an Arab country, situated in the heart of the Arab countries and attached to the Arab world by various ties—spiritual, historical, and strategic—the Arab countries. have concerned themselves with the problem of Palestine and have raised it to the international level....

9. The Arabs clashed with the Jews, and the two [parties] proceeded to fight each other and shed each other's blood. Whereupon the United Nations began to realise the danger of recommending the partition [of Palestine] and is still looking for a way out of this state of affairs.

10. Now that the British mandate over Palestine has come to an end, without there being a legitimate constitutional authority in the country the Governments of the Arab States declare the following:

First: That the rule of Palestine should revert to its inhabitants. and that [the Palestinians] should alone have the right to determine their future.

Fifth: The Governments of the Arab States, as members of the Arab Leagueare responsible for maintaining peace and security in their area. These Governments view the events taking place in Palestine as a threat to peace and security in the area....

Sixth: Therefore, as security in Palestine is a sacred trust in the hands of the Arab States, and in order to put an end to this state of affairs and to prevent it from becoming aggravated or from turning into [a state of] chaos... in order to stop the spreading of disturbances and disorder in Palestine to the neighbouring Arab countries; in order to fill the gap brought...[by]the termination of the mandate and the non-establishment of a lawful successor authority, the Governments of the Arab States have found themselves compelled to intervene in Palestine solely in order to help its inhabitants restore peace and security and the rule of justice and law to their country, and in order to prevent bloodshed.

Seventh: The Governments of the Arab States emphasise that the only solution of the Palestine problem is the establishment of a unitary Palestinian State.

Source: The Arab League: Declaration on the Invasion of Palestine (May 15, 1948). Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Web.

Regional Boundaries After the 1948 War



Document 3: Two Resolutions (1967)

On May 18, 1967, Arab leader and Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970) directed the Secretary General of the United Nations to withdraw the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), a peacekeeping security force, from Egypt and Egypt-controlled Gaza Strip. On May 22, President Nasser closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping and any ships carrying cargo to Israel. Days later, Egypt and Jordan signed a pact declaring “an attack on one was an attack on both,” with President Nasser saying, “Our basic objective will be the destruction of Israel. The Arab people want to fight.”

By the end of May, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria had mobilized their armies on Israel’s borders. After seeking a diplomatic solution, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike against the Egyptian air force on the morning of June 5. The war became known as the “Six-Day War” because it lasted just six days. During this conflict, Israel captured the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan. See accompanying map. Two resolutions that were passed in the aftermath of the Six- Day War have heavily influenced policy in the region for the past fifty years.

Excerpts

Khartoum Resolution (September 1, 1967)

The Khartoum Resolution, passed by the Arab League on September 1, is famous for the "Three NOs" articulated in paragraph three.

1. The conference has affirmed the unity of Arab ranks, the unity of joint action and the need for coordination and for the elimination of all differences.
3. The Arab Heads of State have agreed to unite their political efforts at the international and diplomatic level to eliminate the effects of the aggression and to ensure the withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli forces from the Arab lands which have been occupied since the aggression of June 5. This will be done within the framework of the main principles by which the Arab States abide, namely, no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it, and insistence on the rights of the Palestinian people in their own country.

Source: Arab League Summit - Khartoum 1967. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Interactive Database, ECF. Web.

United Nations Security Council, Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967)

Resolution 242, adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on November 22, outlined conditions for peace in the region.

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East...[and]
Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security...
...the fulfilment of [United Nations] Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- i. Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- ii. Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force...

Source: S/RES/242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. United Nations. Web.



Document 4: Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1979)

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin (1913-1992) and Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat (1918-1981) negotiated the terms of this agreement during the Camp David Peace Accords in September 1978. These United States-sponsored talks, under the leadership of President Jimmy Carter, paved the way to the peace treaty signed the following spring. In 1979, Egypt became the first Arab country to recognize and enter into a peace treaty with Israel. In exchange for peace, Israel returned to Egypt all of the Sinai that had been captured during the 1967 war and removed Jewish families from the homes they had established there. This treaty became a model for Israel's "land for peace" policy. See accompanying map.

Excerpt

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Government of the State of Israel...

- Desiring to bring to an end the state of war between them and to establish a peace in which every state in the area can live in security;
- Convinced that the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel is an important step in the search for comprehensive peace in the area and for the attainment of settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in all its aspects;
- Inviting the other Arab parties to this dispute to join the peace process with Israel.;
- Desiring as well to develop friendly relations and cooperation between themselves in accordance with the *United Nations Charter* and the principles of international law governing international relations in times of peace;

Agree to the following provisions in the free exercise of their sovereignty...

- The state of war between the Parties will be terminated and peace will be established between them upon the exchange of *instruments of ratification* of this Treaty.
- Israel will withdraw all its armed forces and civilians from the Sinai behind the international boundary between Egypt and mandated Palestine...and Egypt will resume the exercise of its full sovereignty over the Sinai.
- Upon completion of the interim withdrawal...the parties will establish normal and friendly relations.

The Parties...

- Recognise and will respect each other's sovereignty, *territorial integrity* and political independence;
- Recognise and will respect each other's right to live in peace within their secure and recognized boundaries;
- Will refrain from the threat or use of force, directly or indirectly, against each other and will settle all disputes between them by peaceful means....
- Agree that the normal relationship established between them will include full recognition, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, termination of economic boycotts and discriminatory barriers to the free movement of people and goods, and will guarantee the mutual enjoyment by citizens of the due process of law.

Source: Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt 1979. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Web.

Keywords

Instruments of ratification: signed and sealed letters from the governing bodies of the nations involved in the treaty indicating their agreement to the treaty

Territorial integrity: the principle under international law that nation-states should not promote border changes in other nation states and that changing or attempting to change national borders by force is an act of aggression

United Nations Charter: the treaty upon which the United Nations was founded; signed on June 26, 1945, in San Francisco



4.2 1948: Independence or catastrophe?

The 1948 Arab-Israeli War

Follow the link to explore the conflict that erupted at the end of 1947 and evolved into a war between the new state of Israel and its neighbours.

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Debate: Were Jewish armed forces to blame for the forced dispossession of half the Arab population from their homes in Palestine in 1948?

Use the grid below to complete your own notes:

Jewish forces were responsible	Jewish forces were not responsible

Conclusion:

Now follow the link to open the virtual debate notes to cross compare:

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Use the Documents A-E to complete the comprehension questions.

Document A provides two perspectives—Zionist and Palestinian—of what happened in 1948.

1. How can the same historical event be known as a War of Independence and a Catastrophe?
2. What are the main differences between the historical narratives recounted by each side?
3. List 3–5 established facts that are verified in both narratives.
4. How did the actions of the Hagana and the Jewish community affect the Palestinians and neighbouring Arab countries? Give a specific example.
5. How did the actions of the Arab armies and the Palestinian community affect the Jewish population? Give a specific example.

6. What lasting outcomes did this war create? Give 5 specific examples.

Document B: The Deir Yassin Massacre

1. What happened at Deir Yassin?
2. What do you think was the goal of the Deir Yassin Massacre?
3. What impact did massacres like this one have on the success of the establishment of the state of Israel?

Document C: The Israeli Declaration of Independence

1. Why was Palestine chosen as the location to establish the Jewish state of Israel? Explain the Jewish historical and religious roots in this land.
2. What historical event made it urgent that Jews have a national homeland of their own where they could feel safe?
3. The Israeli Declaration of Independence states: "Accordingly, We, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world, proclaim the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called Israel." What does this statement mean? How do the authors justify creating a state in Palestine?
4. Who can immigrate to Israel?
5. What are the founding principles of the country? How are they similar to the founding principles of the United States?
6. How does the declaration characterise Arabs?

Document D: Palestinian Refugees

1. What do you notice in the four pictures of Palestinians leaving their homes? Include specific details
2. What do you notice about the refugee camps? Include specific details.
3. Look at the maps. What do they illustrate?
4. What do the Palestinian refugees who are quoted have to say about their experiences?

Document E: Jewish Immigration to Israel

1. What do you notice about the Jewish immigrants arriving at the ports in Israel? Be specific.
2. How do you think these people felt about getting to come to Israel?
3. How many Holocaust survivors lived in Israel in 2008? (The 60-year of Israeli independence was marked in 2008.) How many Holocaust survivors originally came to Israel?
4. How did Holocaust survivors integrate themselves into Israel? How did they contribute to the country's development?

Israeli Perspective: The War of Independence

In 1947, the UN General Assembly approved Resolution 181 (the Partition Plan) calling for two independent states to be established. Members of the Jewish community danced in the streets to celebrate the creation of a Jewish state. But, shortly afterward, Palestinian Arabs and volunteers from Arab countries that rejected the partition plan attacked, and the war began. This war is known as the War of Independence because it resulted in the state of Israel.

Local Arab troops and volunteers attacked isolated Jewish communities, Jews in cities with mixed populations, and Jews on the roads. They also employed terror tactics—all Jewish people, settlements, and property were considered legitimate targets. The most serious terror attacks were against Haifa oil refineries, where 39 Jews were murdered in December 1947.

Before Britain withdrew from the country, the Israeli leadership decided it had to change its tactics from defensive to offensive and prepared Plan Daled. The purpose was to secure control of the areas the U.N. Partition Plan had said were part of the Jewish State.

In the beginning of the war, Arab residents started leaving their communities in the land of Israel. Most of the Jews welcomed the flight of the Arabs. Using Plan Daled, Israeli forces also began to deport Arabs.

However, not all Arabs were deported and there were no high-level political orders to do so. Most Arabs fled because of their own fears, not in response to the actions of Israelis. During the course of the war about 370 Arab villages were destroyed.

On May 14, 1948, the Jewish leaders met to announce the establishment of the State of Israel. At midnight that night Arab armies

Palestinian Perspective: *Al-Nakba* (The Catastrophe)

In 1947, the U.N. General Assembly passed resolution 181, which called for the partition of Palestine into two states, one Arab and the other Jewish. This was the start to the countdown for the establishment of the state of Israel on May 15, 1948, and the 1948 Catastrophe, which uprooted and dispersed the Palestinian people.

The Catastrophe was: 1. the defeat of the Arab armies in the 1948 Palestine war; 2. their acceptance of the truce; 3. the displacement of most the Palestinian people from their cities and villages; and 4. the emergence of the Palestinian refugee problem.

Britain bears most of the responsibility for the defeat of the Palestinian people in 1948. During the time it controlled Palestine, from 1917–1948, Britain did all it could to suppress the Palestinian people and to arrest and deport their leaders. The British did not allow Palestinians to exercise their right to defend themselves and their land against the Zionist movement.

The British allowed the Zionist movement to have its own armed brigade attached to the British Army. This brigade took part in battles during World War II and acquired training and experience in the techniques of war. Because of this, the Jewish military was superior to the Palestinian army during the 1948 war. The fighting that began in 1948 quickly turned into an unequal conflict. Zionist forces were organized, armed, and trained—superior to armies from Palestine and other Arab countries.

The results of the Catastrophe, from which Palestinians still suffer, are not simple at all. The word “catastrophe” (*nakba*)

invaded the new state. The various defensive forces that later united into the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) tried to block the invading Arab armies. After a month of fighting all sides were exhausted and accepted the U.N. call for a one-month cease-fire. After the cease-fire ended, fighting started again for 10 days before another cease-fire was signed. In October 1948, the IDF launched another attack.

The first election of the Israeli parliament in January 1949 set the state of Israel well on its way to becoming an independent and democratic country. The U.N. mediated the armistice agreements that were signed by Israel and the Arab countries. The agreements meant the end of direct fighting, but did not bring peace to the area. Israel achieved its independence thanks to its organizational ability and the remarkable mobilization of the entire Jewish population: tens of thousands of citizens and soldiers participating in the fighting.

actually expresses what happened to this nation: the assassination of rights, murder of the land, and uprooting of human beings. This did not occur by chance.

The destruction of 418 Palestinian villages is the best evidence for the brutality to which Palestinians were exposed. Some 1,400,000 people inhabited Palestine in 1948. After the Catastrophe, about 750,000 Palestinians were left homeless. Families were separated.

Suddenly they found themselves exiled from their homes in an alien world that regarded them as a different kind of frightening human being—refugees! Instead of investigating the reasons for the forced migration and displacement of the Palestinian people and working to find a solution to the problem, all the international community did was provide them with humanitarian assistance.

Article 11 of UN Resolution 194 (December 1948) states that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live peacefully should be allowed to do so as soon as possible, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those who decide not to return. Despite these recommendations, Palestinians continue to suffer in refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and elsewhere around the world.¹



¹ Adwan, Sami, Dan Bar-On, and Eyal Naveh. 2012. Peace Research Institute in the Middle East. *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel/Palestine*. The New Press.

Document B: Deir Yassin Massacre (1948)

Early in the morning of April 9, 1948, commandos of the Irgun (headed by Menachem Begin) and the Stern Gang attacked Deir Yassin, a village with about 750 Palestinian residents. The village lay outside the area assigned by the United Nations to the Jewish State; it had a peaceful reputation. But it was located on high ground in the corridor between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Deir Yassin was slated for occupation under Plan Dalet. The mainstream Jewish defence force, the Hagana, authorized the irregular terrorist forces of the Irgun and the Stern Gang to perform the takeover. In all over 100 men, women, and children were systematically murdered. Fifty-three orphaned children were literally dumped along the wall of the Old City, where they were found by Miss Hind Husseini and brought behind the American Colony Hotel to her home, which was to become the Dar El-Tifl El-Arabi orphanage. (Source: deiryassin.org)

Natan Yellin-Mor (Jewish) responded to the massacre:

When I remember what led to the massacre of my mother, sister and other members of my family, I can't accept this massacre. I know that in the heat of battle such things happen, and I know that the people who do these things don't start out with such things in mind. They kill because their own comrades have being killed and wounded, and they want their revenge at that very moment. But who tells them to be proud of such deeds? (From Eyal Naveh and Eli bar-Navi, Modern Times, part 2, page 228)

One of the young men of the Deir Yassin village reported what he has been told by his mother:

My mother escaped with my two small brothers, 1-year old and 2-years old. My aunts and their small children were also with her. When the Jews met them on the road, they wanted to kill my small brothers and my aunts' children. My mother and my aunts started to beg them and said: 'We will give you all the gold and money we have, but do not kill our children.' The Jews did not respond to them and they killed my brothers and my cousins. They said: 'Now, go away and tell everyone what you have seen.'²

The behavior of the Zionist gangs was meant to spread terror and fear among Arabs and to force them to leave their villages. When Zionist gangs attacked the village of Zir'in on the night of April 20, 1948, as they charged they screamed: "Kadima, kadima (go ahead, go ahead) Deir Yassin, Deir Yassin."³



² Nihad Zeitawi, edited by: Sharif Kana'a, *Destroyed Palestinian villages*, Series No. (4): Deir Yassin, Bir Zeit University – Documents and Research center, 1987, p.57

³ Ibrahim Mari'l, edited by Shrif Kana'na *Destroyed Palestinian Villages*, Series No. (16). The Village of Zir'in Bir Ziet University, Documents and Research Center, 1994. *An interview conducted with Mustafa Ali Al-Jaber (23-6-1986)*, p.146.

Document C: Israeli Declaration of Independence

Issued at Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948 (5th of Iyar, 5708)

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious, and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned in masses. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages and established a vigorous and ever-growing community with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace yet were ever prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessing of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of the Jewish State, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and re-affirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their National Home.

The Nazi Holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the urgency of the re-establishment of the Jewish state, which would solve the problem of Jewish homelessness by opening the gates to all Jews and lifting the Jewish people to equality in the family of nations.

The survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews from other lands, proclaiming their right to a life of dignity, freedom and labor, and undeterred by hazards, hardships and obstacles, have tried unceasingly to enter Palestine.

In the Second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made a full contribution in the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and the efforts of their workers gained them title to rank with the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution for the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Palestine, and called upon the inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, as all other nations, in its own sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY, WE, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world, met together in solemn assembly today, the day of the termination of the British mandate for Palestine, by virtue of the natural and historic right

of the Jewish and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations,

HEREBY PROCLAIM the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called ISRAEL.

WE HEREBY DECLARE that as from the termination of the Mandate at midnight, this night of the 14th and 15th May, 1948, and until the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a Constitution, to be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly not later than the first day of October, 1948, the present National Council shall act as the provisional administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the State of Israel.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew Prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the resolution of the Assembly of Nov. 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the Economic Union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its State and to admit Israel into the family of nations.

In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in its bodies and institutions—provisional or permanent.

We offer peace and unity to all the neighbouring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfilment of the dream of generations—the redemption of Israel.

With trust in Almighty God, we set our hand to this Declaration, at this Session of the Provisional State Council, in the city of Tel Aviv, on this Sabbath eve, the fifth of Iyar, 5708, the 14th day of May, 1948.

Source: P.R Mendes-Flohr, J. Reinharz eds., *The Jew in the Modern World: Documentary History Second Edition* (Oxford, 1995) p.630



Document D: Palestinian Refugees



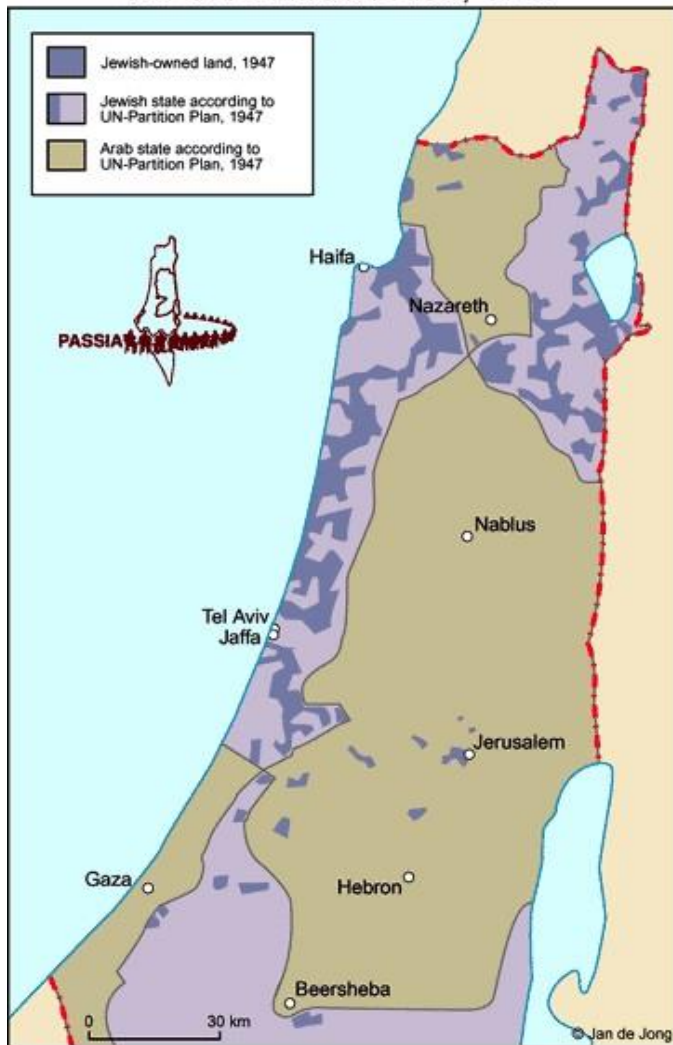
Palestinian Refugee Displacement from Ramle in 1948 (Source: Red Cross)



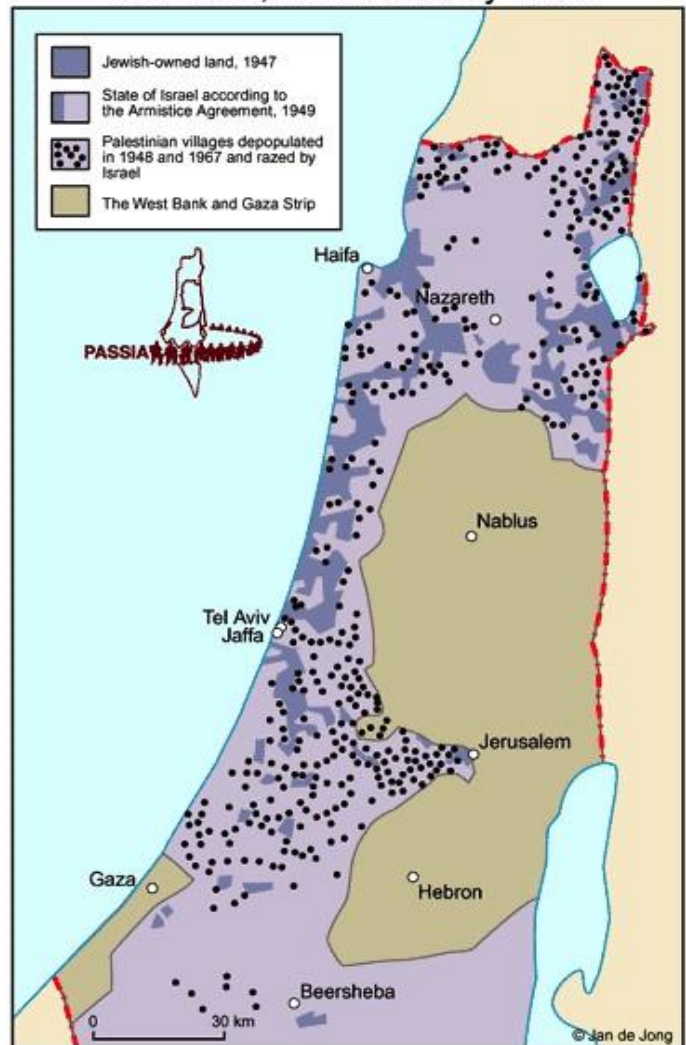
Palestinian Refugee Camp, 1949 (Source: Red Cross)



Landownership in Palestine and the UN Partition Plan, 1947



Palestinian Villages Depopulated in 1948 and 1967, and Razed by Israel

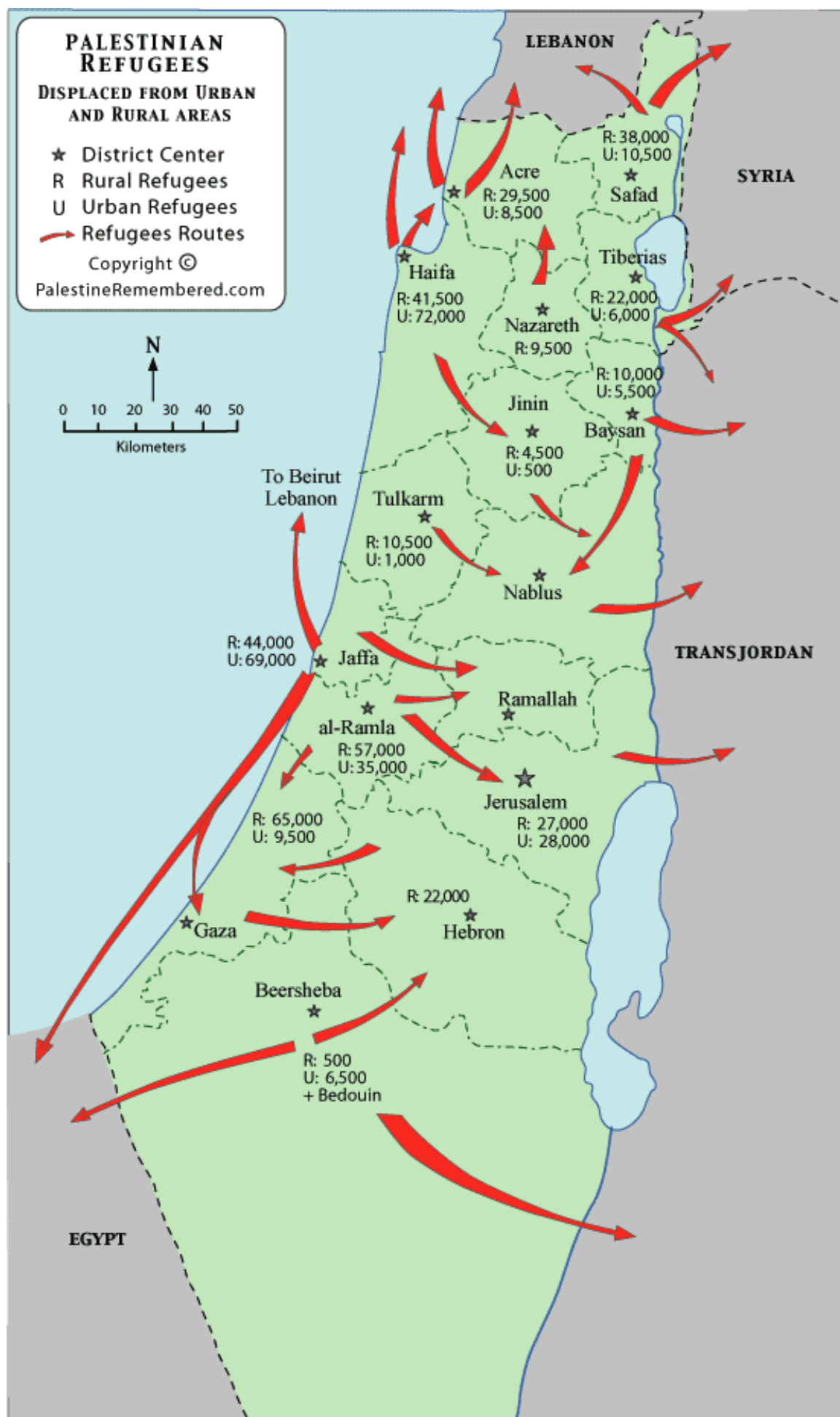


Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)

"Everyone thought that we were just going for a few days, and then we'd come back. We didn't take anything with us, just a tiny bit. The people—where can they go? The land must be returned to its people. We have houses and land. Everything we have is there. It's not only one or two who lost their land, it's thousands. Our land is so big! A lot of land with oranges, and fruits, and guavas and trees. . . . The sea is there! And the valley. The people who used to have land and harvest everything themselves, now they just sit at home, and are given a little bit of sugar and rice." - Palestinian refugee

"I remember the homeland. And I still remember the Jews. I remember the Jews started to shoot bullets on the eastern side of one of the fields, towards a group of boys playing. Their parents started shouting and calling them. I remember. Then people fled—riding donkeys and camels. We went to Lid . . . then to Tire. Then to Jimz . . . after that, to Funduq. Then we went to Deir Ghassana. From Deir Ghassana, to Deir Sharaf, From Deir Sharaf, to Balata village. We set up near Jacob's Well. We started making shacks from burlap sacks." - Palestinian refugee











Approximately 250,000 Holocaust survivors currently live in Israel. This figure represents about half the number of survivors who made their way to that country since it was founded. In the history of immigration, there has been no comparable story. Rarely, if ever, has a group of immigrants made so profound an impact on a society and so fully participated in charting its course.

The concept of choice is a major theme in the lives of the survivors who came to Israel. When World War II ended, most of the survivors chose to rebuild their lives, and chose to do so in the land of Israel, the land they called home. For some, this was too late, and they were unable to rehabilitate themselves. But most discovered vast inner resources to forge new lives for themselves. Their collective story is one of individual victory and the triumph of the human spirit.

They have left their mark in all spheres: building new towns and cities, the military, industry, the economy, law and culture. Survivors in Israel include painters and graphic designers, poets and authors, athletes and dancers, academics and philosophers—most of whom are perceived by the general public as native-born Israelis. Almost from the start, their influence went beyond the personal realm and impacted the daily lives of all Israelis. With their arrival in the country, survivors pursued two different tracks, which may be called the “Israeli track” and the “Holocaust remembrance track.” Along the Israeli track survivors focused on nurturing and reinforcing their clear “Israeliness,” joining those who were shaping Israeli culture. On the other track they have engaged in the perpetuation of Holocaust remembrance through commemoration and documentation.

Professor Hanna Yablonka



4.3 Closer look: The Six Day War 1967

The Six Day War, also known as the 1967 Arab-Israeli War was fought between the 5th and 10th of June 1967 between Israel and neighbouring Arab states (Egypt, Jordan and Syria). Relations between Israel and its neighbours hadn't been fully normalised following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War.

Tensions rose after the events of 1948-9 when an arms deal was made between Czechoslovakia and Egypt in 1955. This was seen by the Israelis as the first step in a Soviet plot to support an Egyptian attack on Israel.⁴ In 1956, Israel invaded the Egyptian Sinai, with one of its objectives being the reopening of the Straits of Tiran, which Egypt blocked to Israeli shipping from 1950. Israel was forced to withdraw, but won a guarantee that the Straits of Tiran would remain open. Whilst the UN Emergency Force was deployed along the border, there was no demilitarisation agreement.

*For more on the events of the Suez Crisis, see the **further research** section.*

In the period leading up to June 1967, tensions became dangerously heightened. Israel reiterated its post-1956 position that the closure of the straits of Tiran to its shipping would be a *casus belli* (an act that justifies war) and in late May Nasser (President of Egypt 1954-1970) announced the straits would be closed to Israeli vessels. Egypt then mobilised its forces along its border with Israel, and on 5 June Israel launched what it claimed were a series of pre-emptive airstrikes against Egyptian airfields. Claims and counterclaims relating to this series of events are one of a number of controversies relating to the conflict.

Watch the documentary **Line of Fire - The Six Day War 1967** and answer the questions below:

1. Who started the series of events leading to the Six Day War in 1967?
2. What did Israel do to the Arab armies during this war?
3. How did water spark the tension that led to the Six Day War in 1964?
4. What was Israel's problem with defending its borders?
5. Why couldn't Israel fight long wars?
6. What solution did the Israeli's come up with?
7. What was Nasser worried about?
8. Why did the UN withdrawal from the Sinai Desert cause a problem for Nasser?
9. What did the Arab nations do to increase tension with Israel?
10. How did the Israeli air force ensure that it maximised its small number of planes?
11. How many aircraft and pilots did Egypt lose on the 5th June?
12. What happened to the Syrian, Jordanian and Iraqi air forces that day?
13. What did Israel now have and what did it mean for their war aims?
14. How did Nasser ruin the Egyptian armies plan for the Sinai?
15. How many Egyptians were killed and captured and how much of their military hardware was lost?
16. How long did it take the Israeli's to steal from Napoleon during this war?
17. What did Israel do about the Jordanian threat?
18. What lies did Nasser tell King Hussein of Jordan to ensure he joined the fighting?

⁴ Tony McAleavy, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Cambridge History Programme Key Stage 4* (Cambridge, 1998) p.27

Debate: “This house believes that Israel began the Six Day War to protect itself against Arab aggression.”

Use the grid below to complete your own notes:

Support for the statement	Opposition to the statement

Conclusion:

Now follow the link to open the virtual debate notes to cross compare:

**PARALLEL
HISTORIES**

Review questions

1. Compare the *Map of Regional Boundaries after the 1948 War* (p.43) in this lesson to the *Map of the UN Partition Plan Map of 1947* (p.35). Do you notice similarities between these maps and the boundaries they show? What about differences?
2. What was the Arab League's rationale for attacking the newly formed State of Israel? What do you think the long-term consequences of this war have been for the region?
3. What led to the outbreak of the Six Day War in 1967? What were the consequences of this war for Israel and neighbouring Arab countries?
4. How did Arab nations and the United Nations respond to the Six Day War?
5. What factors allowed Israel and Egypt to reach a peace agreement in 1979? What did each have to give up or compromise on in order to make peace a reality?

Further research

Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy* (Michigan, 1998) **Chapter 6: The 1956 Suez Crisis pp.135-164**

Epic History TV, Suez Crisis **Part 1** and **Part 2**

BBC History – The Suez Crisis

The continuing conflict and peace process

5.1 The continuing conflict and peace process

In this section we will examine more recent events, both conflicts and peace efforts in the region. We will:

- Examine key moments in recent history and consider the consequences for the present.
- Identify and assess the central unresolved issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- Consider the potential for peace in the future.

Timeline: 1967 to the present

Fill in the second and third column. The first three rows have been completed as examples. Use this **linked document** to help you with this task.

Event	Date	Brief description	Outcome
1948 War	1948	Israel declared independence. Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, & Iraq attacked Israel.	Israel gained land. Egypt gained the Gaza Strip and Jordan gained the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs and Jews from Arab countries became refugees.
Establishment of the PLO	1964	The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed with the aim of destroying Israel and creating a Palestinian state in its place.	Over the years, the PLO has used political and violent means in pursuit of its goals.
Six Day War or the 1967 War	1967	Egypt blockaded Israel. Egypt, Jordan, Syria & Iraq moved troops to Israel's borders and made threatening statements. Israel launched a pre-emptive strike.	Israel captured the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the Gaza Strip and all of the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt
Khartoum Resolution	1967		
UN Resolution 242	1967		
Attrition Battle (The War of Attrition)	1967-1970		
Settlement Construction Begins	1967		
The October War or Yom Kippur War	1973		
Camp David Accords	1978		

Egypt and Israel sign a peace treaty	1979		
Israel passes Golan Heights Law	1981		
The 1982 Lebanon War	1982		
The First Intifada	1987-1993		
Oslo I	1993		
Israel and Jordan sign a peace treaty	1994		
Oslo II/ Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip	1995		
The Camp David Summit	2000		
The Second Intifada	2000-2005		
Israel begins constructing the West Bank Barrier	2002		
The Arab Peace Initiative is proposed	2002		
The Roadmap for Peace is proposed	2003		
Israel disengages from Gaza	2005		
Hams is elected	2006		
Cross-border raid and kidnapping	2006		
The 2006 Lebanon War	2007		
The Battle of Gaza	2007		
The Annapolis Conference	2007		

Gaza-Israel Conflict/ Operation Cast Lead	2008-2009		
Gaza Flotilla Incident	2010		
Prisoner Exchange for Gilad Shalit	2011		
Palestinian application for Statehood at UN	2011		
Gaza-Israel Conflict/ Operation Pillar of Defence	2012		
Kerry Israeli-Palestinian Authority Peace Talks	2013-2014		
Kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teens and one Palestinian teen	2014		
Gaza-Israel Conflict/ Operation Protective Edge	2014		
U.S. Embassy moves to Jerusalem	2018		
U.S. recognised Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights	2019		
Add recent event			
Add recent event			

Talking points

Watch the film, *War and Peace part 2*, available online.

- This lesson focuses on the challenges and benefits to peace agreements and treaties.
- Sometimes talks and negotiations have successful outcomes, as in the case of Egypt and Israel and Jordan and Israel.
- At other times, reaching an agreement is much more difficult, as in the case of Israel and the Palestinians.
- Even when a “deal” is not reached, though, there can be progress. For example, in the Declaration of Principles (Oslo Accords) in 1993, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (representing the Palestinians), for the first time, officially recognized each other.
- Each party in the negotiations has particular goals or objectives and these objectives often collide with each other. This also is the case for Israel and the Palestinians in their attempts to reach an agreement.
- As we work through the materials in this lesson, pay special attention to the needs/concerns that the different parties bring to the table and the kinds of compromises that each must make in the process of negotiation.

Source analysis

Read through all the source and select at least one of analyse in more depth. There are a number of ways you could record your ideas. You could use the same table outlined on **page 15** or **page 39**. Alternatively, you could follow the **U.S. National Archives written document record sheet**. The choice is yours!

Document 1: The Palestinian Declaration of Independence (1988)

In 1987, Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank engaged in an uprising, or intifada, against Israeli control of these territories. Palestinians attacked Israelis with improvised weapons and firearms supplied by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which organized much of the uprising. Israel tried to contain the violence, which was directed at soldiers and civilians, primarily in the territories. After 2000, this uprising became known as the first intifada. In 1988, expressing their nationalist aspirations, the Palestinians declared independence. The Intifada continued until the Oslo Accords were signed in 1993.

Excerpt

Nourished by many strains of civilizations and a multitude of cultures and finding inspiration in the texts of its spiritual and historical heritage, the Palestinian Arab people has, throughout history, continued to develop its identity in an integral unity of land and people and in the footsteps of the prophets throughout this Holy Land...

With the uprising [intifada], with the escalation of the revolutionary struggle and with the accumulation of revolutionary experience wherever the struggle is in progress, the Palestinian conjuncture reaches a sharp historical turning point. The Palestinian Arab people assert once more its inalienable rights and its demand to exercise those rights in its Palestinian homeland.

... The Palestine National Council hereby declares, in the Name of God and on behalf of the Palestinian Arab people, the establishment of the State of Palestine in the land of Palestine with its capital at Jerusalem.

The State of Palestine shall be for Palestinians, wherever they may be therein to develop their national and cultural identity and therein to enjoy full equality of rights. Their religious and political beliefs and human dignity shall therein be safeguarded under a democratic parliamentary system...

The State of Palestine shall be an Arab State and shall be an integral part of the *Arab nation*...

Source: A/43/827-S/20278 of 18 November 1988. United Nations. Web.

Keywords

Arab nation: a larger group comprised of the Arab nations and peoples in the Middle East, not a "nation" in the traditional sense

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO): a Palestinian nationalist movement founded in 1964; Palestinian political leader Yasser Arafat (1929-2004) was chairman of the PLO from 1969-2004

Document 2: Declaration of Principles (1993)

The Declaration of Principles (DOP), in the peace process that has come to be known as Oslo I, is a set of agreements signed by Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993. The DOP was an interim agreement that envisioned a permanent settlement in five years, which would address remaining core issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, and relations and cooperation with other neighbours. Along with the DOP, Israel and the PLO exchanged Letters of Mutual Recognition. For the first time, the PLO formally recognized Israel, renounced terrorism, and publicly expressed acceptance of peaceful coexistence with Israel. For its part, Israel formally recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

Excerpt

The Government of the State of Israel and the P.L.O. team, representing the Palestinian people, agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process. Accordingly, the two sides agree to the following principles:

Article I: Aim of the Negotiations

The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the "Council"), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Article III: Elections

1. In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while the Palestinian police will ensure public order.

Article IV: Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period.

Article V: Transitional Period and Permanent Status Negotiations

1. The five-year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
2. Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible....
3. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbours, and other issues of common interest.

Source: Declaration of Principles (Oslo I, 1993). The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Interactive Database, ECF. Web.

Document 3: Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1994)

As with the 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, the United States led a difficult but successful diplomatic process to help Jordan and Israel achieve peace. In 1994, Jordan became the second Arab nation to recognize Israel. Trade, business relations, tourism, cultural exchanges, and scientific cooperation between the two nations have increased since the agreement was signed, although at a slower pace than hoped for initially.

Excerpt

The Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan...Aiming at the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East...Have agreed as follows:

Article 1: Establishment of Peace

Peace is hereby established between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (the "Parties") effective from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 2: General Principles

The Parties will apply between them the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among states in times of peace. In particular:

1. They recognise and will respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence;
2. They recognise and will respect each other's right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries;
3. They will develop good neighbourly relations of co-operation between them to ensure lasting security, will refrain from the threat or use of force against each other and will settle all disputes between them by peaceful means....

Article 5: Diplomatic and Other Bilateral Relations

1. The Parties agree to establish full diplomatic and consular relations and to exchange resident ambassadors....
2. The Parties agree that the normal relationship between them will further include economic and cultural relations.

Article 6: Water

With the view to achieving a comprehensive and lasting settlement of all the water problems between them:

1. The Parties agree mutually to recognise the rightful allocations of both of them in Jordan River and Yarmouk River waters and Araba/Arava ground water....
2. The parties, recognizing the necessity to find a practical, just, and agreed solution to their water problems jointly undertake to ensure that the management and development of

their water resources do not harm the water resources of the other party;

3. The Parties recognise that their water resources are not sufficient to meet their needs....
4. The Parties agree to search for ways to alleviate water shortage and to co- operate in the following fields: development of existing and new water resources, increasing the water availability...and minimising wastage of water resources...; prevention of contamination of water resources; mutual assistance in the alleviation of water shortages; transfer of information and joint research and development in water related subjects.

Source: The Peace Agreement between Israel and Jordan. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Interactive Database, ECF. Web.

Document 4: Statement of Senators Mitchell and Rudman (2001)

In July 2000, the United States, Israel and the Palestinian Authority convened at Camp David to negotiate a final peace settlement. The Summit ended with no agreement with President Clinton ultimately blaming PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat for the failure of the talks. A few months later, in September, before he became Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif, a site that is holy to Jews and Muslims. Claiming that Sharon's visit was provocative, many Palestinians began to riot and threw stones on Jews worshipping at the Western Wall below. Many Israelis claimed that Sharon's visit was a pretext for violence, that the visit had been coordinated in advance with Palestinian officials.

In October 2000, representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, the United States, the United Nations, and the European Union met in Sharm al-Sheikh, Egypt, to try and quell the violence in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. At this Summit, a fact-finding committee was formed to investigate underlying causes to the conflict and to develop a set of recommendations to prevent their recurrence. What follows is an excerpt from a statement made by US Senators George Mitchell and Warren Rudman when the report of the committee was made public.

Excerpt

Last October [2000], leaders of the Government of Israel, the Palestinian Authority, the United Nations, the European Union, and the Governments of Egypt, Jordan, and the United States met in a summit at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. They agreed that an International Committee should be formed to look into the then recent outbreak of violence between Israelis and Palestinians.

Just a few weeks ago, on our Committee's last visit to the region, leaders on both sides told us, in virtually identical words, that life has become unbearable for their people. They said that the violence has to end. But it has not ended. It has gotten worse....

We call on the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority to implement our recommendations:

First, end the violence. That must be the immediate aim. The cycle of violent actions and violent reaction must be broken. We call upon the parties to implement an immediate and unconditional cessation of violence. Part of the effort to end the violence must include an immediate resumption of security cooperation between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority aimed at preventing violence and combating terrorism. Political leaders on both sides must act now to reduce the tension and stop the violence.

Then, rebuild confidence. The restoration of trust is essential. We recommend several steps to this end. Given the high level of hostility and mistrust, the timing and sequence of these steps are obviously crucial.

Among our recommendations are:

- The PA and GOI should resume their efforts to identify, condemn and discourage incitement in all its forms.
- The PA should make clear through concrete action to Palestinians and Israelis alike that terrorism is reprehensible and unacceptable, and that the PA will make a 100 percent effort to prevent terrorist operations and to punish perpetrators. This effort should include immediate steps to apprehend and incarcerate terrorists operating within the PA's jurisdiction.
- The GOI should freeze all settlement activity, including the "natural growth" of existing settlements.
- The GOI should ensure that the Israel Defence Force adopts and enforces policies and procedures encouraging non-lethal responses to unarmed demonstrators, with a view to minimizing casualties and friction between the two communities.
- The PA should prevent gunmen from using Palestinian populated areas to fire upon Israeli populated areas and IDF positions. This tactic places civilians on both sides at unnecessary risk....

Source: "Mitchell-Rudman statement on Mideast report." CNN. Cable News Network. Web.

Document 5: Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's Disengagement Plan (2004)

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (1928-2014) led Israel to unilaterally withdraw from the Gaza Strip and four West Bank settlements as part of a larger policy of "disengagement," the separation of Israel from territories envisioned for a future Palestinian state. The Gaza disengagement in 2005 was very controversial in Israel, because Israeli soldiers were required to uproot fellow citizens who wanted to remain in their homes in Gaza.

Excerpt

1. General

Israel is committed to the peace process and aspires to reach an agreed resolution of the conflict on the basis of the principle of two states for two peoples, the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and a Palestinian state for the Palestinian people, as part of the implementation of President Bush's vision.

Israel is concerned to advance and improve the current situation. Israel has come to the conclusion that there is currently no reliable Palestinian partner with which it can make progress in a bilateral peace process. Accordingly, it has developed a plan of unilateral disengagement, based on the following considerations:

1. The stalemate dictated by the current situation is harmful. In order to break out of this stalemate, Israel is required to initiate moves not dependent on Palestinian cooperation.
2. The plan will lead to a better security situation, at least in the long term.
3. ... In any future permanent status arrangement, there will be no Israeli towns and villages in the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, it is clear that in the West Bank, there are areas which will be part of the State of Israel, including cities, towns and villages, security areas and installations, and other places of special interest to Israel.
4. The relocation from the Gaza Strip and from Northern Samaria [some of the area in the northern part of the West Bank]...will reduce friction with the Palestinian population, and carries with it the potential for improvement in the Palestinian economy and living conditions...

2. Main elements

1) Gaza Strip:

- a) Israel will evacuate the Gaza Strip, including all existing Israeli towns and villages, and will redeploy outside the Strip....
- b) Upon completion of this process, there shall no longer be any permanent presence of Israeli security forces or Israeli civilians in the areas of Gaza Strip territory, which have been evacuated.
- c) As a result, there will be no basis for claiming that the Gaza Strip is occupied territory.

2) West Bank:

- a) Israel will evacuate an Area in the Northern Samaria Area, including 4 villages and all military installations, and will redeploy outside the vacated area. Upon completion of this process, there shall no longer be any permanent presence of Israeli security forces or Israeli civilians in the Northern Samaria Area.

Source: Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's Gaza Disengagement Plan - Non-UN Document (16 April 2004). United Nations. Web.

Keywords

Bilateral: two-sided, joint

Disengagement: withdrawal, separation

President Bush's vision: called the Road Map to Peace, this 2003 peace plan was created by the United States, the United Nations, the European Union and Russia in consultation with Israelis and Palestinians. The plan focuses on a two state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Unilateral: one-sided



The First Intifada 1987-1993

Follow the link to explore how this Arab uprising caught both the Israeli and the PLO in exile by surprise.

PARALLEL
HISTORIES

Debate Were the Israelis justified in their use of force in the First Intifada?

Use the grid below to complete your own notes:

The Israelis were justified	The Israelis were not justified

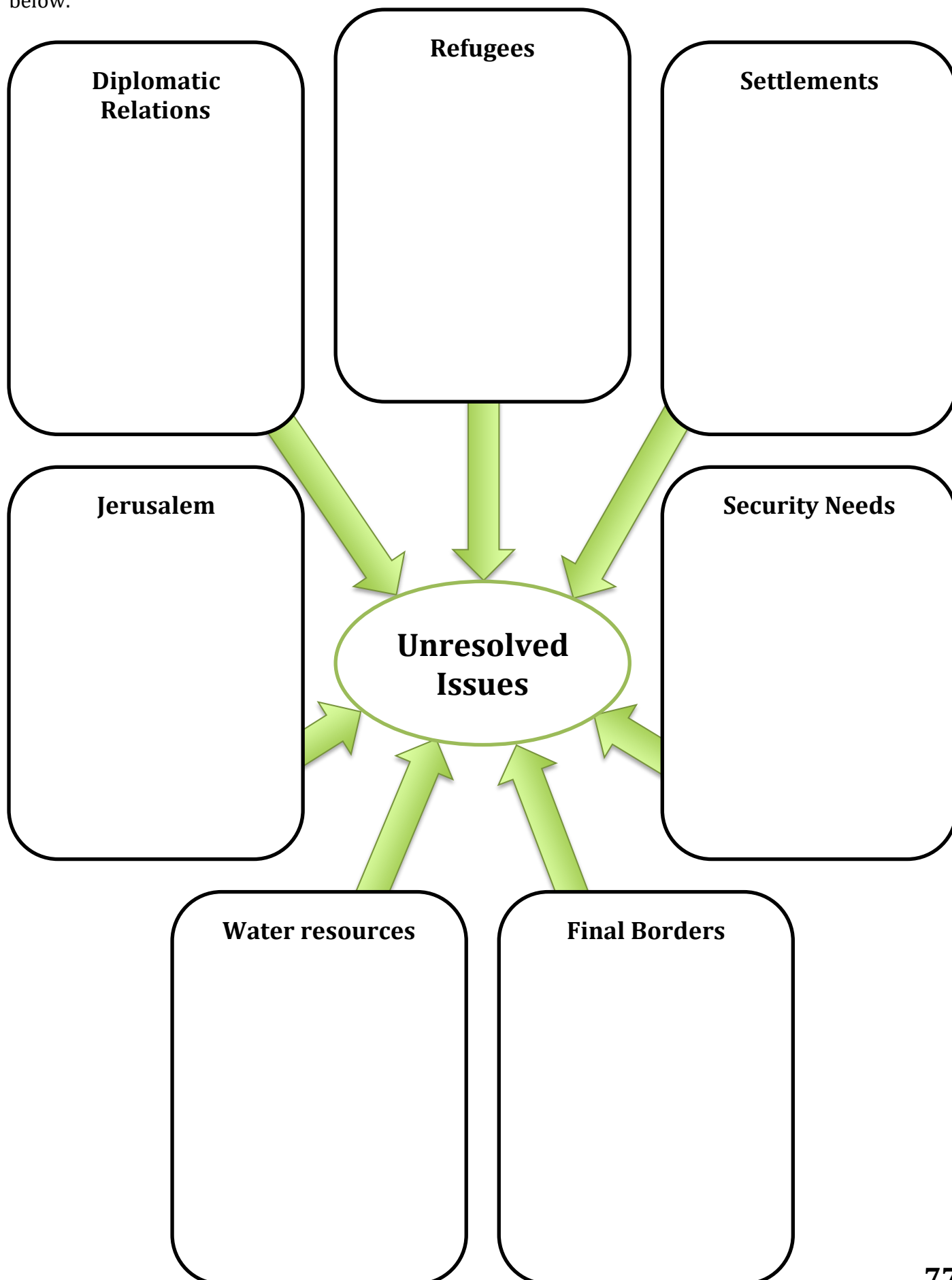
Conclusion:

Now follow the link to open the virtual debate notes to cross compare:

PARALLEL
HISTORIES

5.2 Unresolved issues in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Using the document 'Unresolved issues in the Arab-Israeli Conflict' complete the spider diagram below.



The Peace Process 2000-2016

Follow the link to explore what went wrong in the peace processes and why this conflict has proved so hard to settle.

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Debate: "This house believes that the Palestinians are mainly to blame for the failure of the Peace Process."

Use the grid below to complete your own notes:

Support for the statement	Opposition to the statement

Conclusion:

Now follow the link to open the virtual debate notes to cross compare:

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Review questions

1. Which of the documents did you find particularly interesting? Why?
2. What did you notice about the way that peace is negotiated (consider especially the Declaration of Principles and the Treaty between Israel and Jordan)? Do you notice any parallels in these documents? Significant differences?
3. Why do you think that some peace negotiations are successful and others are not?
4. What role does compromise play in the process of making agreements and achieving peaceful solutions? What kinds of compromises did different parties in the documents make in this lesson (and in the Peace Agreement between Israel and Egypt in the previous lesson)?
5. After working through these lessons, do you think that peace is possible in the Arab-Israeli conflict? What do you think might work and why?

Further research

Palestine VR app

Parallel Histories, 'Chapter 9: The Split Between Hamas and Fatah'

Elizabeth Matthews, *The Israeli-Palestine Conflict: Parallel Discourses* (London, 2011)

Review task: Key events in the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948

1. Research each of the events below.
2. Complete the 'Description of the event' column by selecting the correct statement from the 'Description bank'.
3. Complete the last two columns with a happy or sad face to show how many people might have felt. Add an explanation if you can.

Date	Event	Description of the event	How most Israelis felt	How most Palestinians felt
1948	May 1948: UN Partition plan and start of the 1 st Arab-Israeli war			
1956	The Sinai-Suez War			
1967	Six Day War			
1964 – 1980s	PLO terrorist activities			
From 1947	Palestinian refugees			

From 1967	Israelis built settlements in Gaza and the West Bank.			
1987	First Intifada			
1993- 1995	Oslo Accords			
2003	Israel began to build a barrier wall around the settlements to protect their security.			
2011	Palestinians asked the UN for recognition as a state. President Obama said there must be peace talks first.			

Description bank

There are believed to be around four million Palestinian refugees living in neighbouring Arab countries and elsewhere, as a result of wars and Israeli occupation.

Some Palestinians turned to terrorism because they thought they could not win a war.

The UN has ruled that this wall is illegal, because it prevents Palestinians from travelling freely in their lands. Discussions are ongoing.

Israel won a quick victory against the combined Arab armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Israel tripled in size as a result, gaining full control of Jerusalem.

The land used for settlements now makes up about 40% of the West Bank. The settlements in Gaza were demolished by the Israeli government in 2005, as part of the peace agreements.

Israel attacked Egypt, supported by Britain and France. Israel won the war. The UN forced them to give back land gained, but UN forces stayed to police the borders, and provide security.

Angry, young Palestinians began to throw stones at Israeli settlers and troops. Israel responded by use of force.

These were peace agreements that created the Palestinian National Authority. Palestinians had finally got back land, but not a state. Some were still angry, and joined Hamas, which continued terrorist activities.

The new state of Israel was created from around 55% of previously Palestinian lands. Neighbouring countries immediately attacked, provoking a war, which Israel won.

The USA is threatening to cut off aid to the Palestinian Authority if its leaders continue to make demands.

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Special mention

Creation of this course would not have been possible without the resources provided online by the **Institute of Curriculum Services** and **Parallel Histories**.