AMERICAN RESPONSES TO ISRAELI FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES

by

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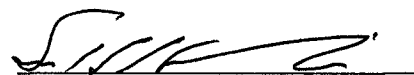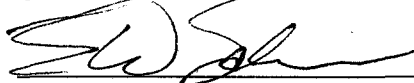
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This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis chair, Dr. Jeffrey S. Morton, Department of Political Science, and has been approved by the members of her supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of The Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

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The origin of the United States-Israeli relationship can be found in President Harry S.
Truman's support for the new state of Israel on May 14, 1948. While support to Israel has
varied during Presidential administrations from Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W.
Bush, strategic interests have steadily defined the nation's responses to Israel. In order to
measure U.S. reaction to Israel, this study conducted a content analysis on U.S.
statements published in the *New York Times* following four Israeli military initiatives: the
1967 Six-Day War, the 1976 Raid on Entebbe, the 1981 Raid on Osirak, and the 2006
Lebanon War. The research reveals that the U.S. reacts more positively to Israeli reactive
than to anticipatory and preemptive self-defensive actions.

CONTENTS

TABLES

ILLUSTRATIONS

To Ben, Rachel and Arie

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research study seeks to understand United States responses to Israeli foreign policy. Precisely, the question is what explains the variation in American responses to Israeli foreign policy initiatives? *United States responses* are statements of the U.S. Federal government published in the *New York Times*. In this study, Israeli *foreign policy* initiatives refer to Israeli military initiatives (actions). The military actions are the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (Six-Day War or 1967 War), the 1976 Israeli raid on Entebbe, the 1981 Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor (Osirak), and the 2006 Lebanon War.

Research Design

In this study U.S. statements are defined as rhetorical or legislative. Rhetorical statements consist of words spoken or written by the government and legislative statements are legislation sponsored or voted on by the government in a legislative assembly. In this study the legislative statements come from United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions. Statements in a UN resolution upon which the United States has voted with an affirmation, a no, or abstinence constitute U.S. statements in this study. Statements in a U.S.-sponsored UN resolution or a U.S. UN draft resolution also constitute U.S. statements in this study.

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Members of the U.S. government included in this study are members of the executive and legislative branches. Members include presidents, Congressional representatives, State Department officials, and diplomats at the UN.

I examined the responses reported in the *New York Times* during the two week period commencing on the first day of the Israeli military initiative and ending on the fourteenth day thereafter. The study assumes that the *New York Times* reports accurately U.S. government statements.

The Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1:

There is a variation in American responses to the Israeli military initiatives.

Hypothesis 2:

The United States will respond more positively towards an Israeli military action initiated in reactive self-defense than in anticipatory and preemptive self-defense.

This study will refer to the three categories of self-defense. The first is reactive self-defense. In this case, the response is to an actual armed attack. Reactive self-defense is thus defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to a direct, harmful act committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens. The second is anticipatory self-defense. Here, the response is to the imminent and palpable threat of an actual attack. Thus, anticipatory self-defense is defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to an imminent and palpable threat of a direct, harmful act against Israel, its territory or its citizens. The third is preemptive self-defense. This type calls for a response to the mere possibility of an actual attack, which if allowed to advance, could then be stopped only at

a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost. Therefore, preemptive self-defense is defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to a direct, harmful act that might be committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens. These three levels of self-defense will be described in greater detail in Chapter 5, "Use of Force."

Research Methodology

In this study content analysis is used. "Content analysis is a social research method appropriate for studying human communications." Content analysis methods may be used on any form of communication including books, magazines, poems, newspapers, songs, paintings, speeches, letters, laws, and constitutions. "Units of analysis are the what or whom being studied."[1] The units of analysis in this study are American responses to Israeli foreign policy initiatives. The statements of the American government, as reported in the *New York Times*, are the units of observation.

Coding

Content analysis is a coding operation. "Communications – oral, written, or other – are coded or classified according to some conceptual framework."[2] In this study I coded each statement as pro-Israel, neutral towards Israel, or anti-Israel. An example of a pro-Israel statement is "Israel should be commended for its courageous military action." A neutral statement is "We have no comment on the Israeli military action at this point." Finally, an anti-Israel statement is "We condemn Israel for its invasion of the country."

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[1] Earl R. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1992), 342, 313, G8.
[2] Ibid., 317-318.

I evaluated my content analysis data quantitatively. I gave each statement a 1, 2 or 3: 1 = positive towards Israel, 2 = neutral towards Israel, 3 = negative towards Israel. For each military initiative (case), I added up the codes of the collected statements and calculated an average code for the executive and legislative branches combined (hereafter *both branches combined*) and for the branches separately.

The *t* test, a statistical test which determines whether a statistically significant difference exists between two means, was performed on the code averages. Values that are statistically different (significant) are equal to or less than 0.05.

For this study, I compare and use the means of the coded statements of both branches combined to explain the variation in U.S. responses to the four Israeli military initiatives.

The Importance of the Study

Why examine American responses to Israeli foreign policy initiatives? First, the Middle East is a topic much in the news in the American media, including newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and the Internet, to name a few of the outlets. Members of the public exposed to such news from that region have the Middle East on their mind, in their thoughts. It is likely that topics on the Middle East would be relevant to the public. Second, the United States has an interest in the Middle East that reaches back centuries to the days of the drafting of the Constitution and the creation of the U.S. Navy.[3] Israel is in the Middle East and thus falls within the region of interest to the U.S. In contemporary times, the United States has expressed interest in Israel, from President Truman's

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[3] Michael Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 10-11.

recognition of the nascent state in 1948 to the current administration's involvement in the Palestinian-Israeli two-state solution. Finally, Americans, as persons of differing cultures and religions, originally from diverse nations, can identify with the ethnic, religious and cultural issues concerning Israel today.

Thus, we are exposed to news on Israel from the media, we live in a country whose government has been outspoken on Israel, and as Americans of a multi-cultural-religious society we can relate to the struggles of Israelis and Arabs in Israel and the Middle East.

The literature on United States-Israeli relations is large and covers a variety of viewpoints.[4] Bass describes John F. Kennedy's uneasy relationship with Egypt's President Nasser and the president's effort to separate him from the Soviet bloc and mitigate his inflexible attitude toward Israel.[5] Druks describes the insecure U.S.-Israeli relationship as due to each president's inclination to give attention to Cold War concerns, relations with Arab states, and passage to oil more than support for Israel.[6] Organski theorizes that U.S. support for Israel is founded on perceived national security exigencies supported by President Richard Nixon around 1970. Israel is such an important ally that the $36 billion in assistance given by the U.S. has been a bargain compared to other

[4] Warren Bass, 2003, *Support any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); John K. Cooley, *The Alliance against Babylon: The U.S., Israel, and Iraq* (London: Pluto Press, 2005); Herbert Druks, *Uncertain Friendship: The U.S. and Israel from Roosevelt to Kennedy* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001); A.F.K. Organski, A. F. K. 1990. *The $36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); David Pollock, *The Politics of Pressure: American Arms and Israeli Policy since the Six Day War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).
[5] Richard N. Cooper, "Support any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S. - Israel Alliance," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 5 (2003), http://search.ebscohost.
[6] Dalia, Dassa Kaye, "The Uncertain Friendship (book review)," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, (fall (2001), http://search.ebscohost.com.

national security expenditures.[7] Pollock asks the familiar question: Can the United States

influence the policies of another country, in this study Israel, by denying or supplying

arms? His study consists of an account and analysis of the U.S.-Israeli relationship from

1967 to 1981. His conclusions are that some influence may be attained.[8] The

aforementioned are but a few examples from the literature on the American-Israeli

relationship; other works will be discussed later.

Some excellent works delve deep and in detail to describe the relationship.[9] The

literature, however, is inconclusive; the topic is in need of a deeper understanding. Indeed

the subject of U.S.-Israeli relations is an exciting field of study for the strong of heart,

dedicated student and academician. As Schoenbaum commented, "Aspiring students of

international relations should be encouraged to study Israeli-U.S. relations for the same

reason young violinists take on the Paganini caprices: because most other things seem

easier afterward."[10]

This paper is organized in the following manner. Chapter 2 covers a literature review.

Chapter 3 addresses a brief history of United States-Israeli relations. Chapter 4 presents

brief histories of the four Israeli military initiatives which were prosecuted by Israel in

reactive, anticipatory and preemptive self-defense. Chapter 5 describes the levels of self

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[7] John Snetsinger , "The $36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (1991): 1642-1643, http://search.ebscohost.com.

[8] William B. Quandt, "The Politics of Pressure: American Arms and Israeli Policy since the Six Day War," *Political Science Quarterly* 99, no. 1 (1984): 187, http://links.jstor.org.

[9] William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005); idem, *Decade of Decisions: American Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967-1976* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Stephen L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy*; idem, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[10] David Schoenbaum, *The United States and the State of Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xiii.

defense used in this paper. Chapter 6 describes the data collection and findings. Chapter 7 presents conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

International Relations Theory

Scholars have proposed theories to explain why nations in the international arena

behave as they do. For example, the realists contend that a nation's policy is explained by

policy makers acting on behalf of their nation's national interests. International relations

theories, such as realism, are used to explain U.S. policy towards Israel. As this research

study seeks to explain United States' responses to Israeli military initiatives, a review of

the literature on international relations theory is necessary in that it might reveal helpful

perspectives towards answering the research question. Thus, a brief survey of

international relations theory follows.

The study of international relations includes the divisions of classical and modern

classical realism, and neorealism. Modern classical realism starts with Max Weber and

includes E.H. Carr, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans Morgenthau and George Kennan.[11]

Neorealism or structural realism was proposed by Kenneth Waltz.

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[11] Michael Joseph Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 2.

According to realism, evil is a part of each person which no social structure can remove; the struggle for power – which defines politics – is a continual part of social life and important in the relations between states. In the area of international politics, states are the only main players and no system of power or authority is over them. States operate according to their interests, and these interests often conflict violently. This constant competition is a reality that no type of morality can undo.[12]

Hobbes' view of human nature is a key component in realist thought. Man lives in a state of nature and therein his life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." This concept is incorporated in two other Hobbesian ideas – his description of the international state of nature as a state of war and his extreme doubts about the likelihood of moral behavior in such an environment.[13]

The five themes of Weber's writings express his work in realism: 1) his definitions of the state and politics; 2) his view of international politics as a struggle between nations; 3) his German nationalism; 4) his desire for leadership; 5) his concept of the moral problem of the state as a struggle between an ethic of conviction and an ethic of responsibility. The most referenced of these is the definition of the state as "the human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force."[14]

Carr did not support inflexible moral principles but rather preferred the ethic of responsibility. Niebuhr recollected Detroit during World War I, when he was pastor of a church. He describes how the war and the difficult social environment of that city

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[12] Ibid., 1.
[13] Ibid., 13-14.
[14] Ibid., 15.

reduced his "youthful optimism" and showed the unimportance of "moralistic idealism, which [he] had identified with the Christian faith, to the power realities of [the then] modern technical society."[15] Thus, Niebuhr was to add to American foreign policy his personal view of morality and theology that portrayed the realities of power in the divided world in which he lived. Morgenthau is well known for his *Politics Among Nations* in which he explained his theory of international relations. He believed in what he called the "moral dignity of the national interest." Kennan focused on realism as a response to what he saw as simplistic and moralistic American diplomacy. He was critical of this moralism and ambitious to invest actively in diplomacy, which purpose was to quiet conflict and advocate compromise.[16]

Neorealism

Neorealism or structural realism professes the view that the structure of the international system affects and controls the behavior of states[17] or the understanding of decision makers.[18] Waltz discusses three levels of analysis. The first describes international relations as it relates to man. Waltz argues that this first level is inadequate as an explanation to international relations; it is pointless to try to understand the general world through specific analyses of individuals. The second level refers to states, looking at particular regime types and trying to relate their characteristics to explanations of

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[15] Ibid., 18. See Reinhold Niebuhr, "An Intellectual Autobiography," in *Reinhold Niebuhr: His Religious, Social and Political Thought*, ed. Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall (New York: Macmillan, 1956), 4-5.
[16] Ibid., 17-19.
[17] Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999), 488.
[18] Ibid., 15.

international relations. This second type, argues Waltz, is not productive, as international

relations cannot be understood by focusing on the domestic structures of states. Finally,

only through analyses of the systemic interaction of states can we develop general

theories of international relations.[19]

According to the structural-realist theory, because states are not beneath a central

authority, the international system is intrinsically filled with tension and instability.

Supporters of this theory, such as Waltz,[20] tend to describe states in a continuous search

for security, which is determined by power considerations and planning. In this world of

tension and instability, states, in their reach for security, make alliances in order to

increase their power.

Structural realism or neorealism is distinguished from realism. The former

emphasizes that responsibility for global tensions lies in the structure of the international

system; the latter stresses the responsibility of states, as unitary actors in conflict with one

another, in causing global conflicts and competition for power one with another.

Systems Theory

Systems theory stresses the economic and military strength of states that interact with

one another in any given period. It proposes that developments in world politics are

explained by the interaction of these states and their balance of power rather than by

internal developments within particular countries. When the number or the power of

[19] Torbjørn L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory: An Introduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 247-248.

[20] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California, 1979).

11

major states changes, new rules will control the international system.[21] Waltz wrote on

systemic approaches in his *Theory of International Politics* (1979).[22] Viotti and Kauppi

stress that regardless of how *system* may be defined, it is used in a variety of ways.[23]

Some theorists use systems as taxonomies, for example, descriptions of states as

democratic or socialist;[24] others see usefulness in using the concept of *system* to explain

and predict outcomes of international relations.[25] Haas, Kaplan and Rosecrance have

extensively described the system to explain international relations between states.[26]

Alliances

An alliance is "a formal agreement that pledges states to cooperate in using their

military resources against a specific state or states and usually obligates one or more of

the signatories to use force, or to consider the use of force, in specified circumstances."[27]

The purposes of alliances are defined to be the amassing of power, as a method of

controlling another state, and the advancement of stability and status quo in the

international system. A fourth purpose of alliances is the establishment of internal

security.[28] In *The Origins of Alliances* (1987), Walt shows that states form alliances to

balance power and threats. He describes five general hypotheses about the causes of

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[21] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 383.
[22] Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*.
[23] Viotti and Kauppi, *International Relations Theory*, 66.
[24] Ibid., 496.
[25] Ibid., 66.
[26] Ibid., 89. See Ernst B. Haas, "On Systems and International Regimes," World Politics 27, no. 2 (January 1975), 149-155; Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics* (New York: Wiley, 1957); Richard N. Rosecrance, *Action and Reaction in World Politics; International Systems in Perspective* (Boston: Little Brown, 1963).
[27] John P. Miglietta, *American Alliance Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1992: Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), 1.
[28] Ibid., 3.

alliances. Using diplomatic history and a careful study of alliance formation in the

Middle East between 1955 and 1979, Walt shows that states are more likely to connect or

"balance" against threats than they are to ally themselves or "bandwagon" with coercive

powers. Walt also looks at the influence of ideology on alliance preferences and the role

of foreign aid and transnational presence. His discussion shows that these reasons for

alignment are less important. In his conclusion, he looks at the significance of "balancing

of threat" for future U.S. foreign policy considerations and avers that his theory helps

explain America's perpetual advantages over the Soviet Union.[29]

Other Models

The *national interests* (or strategic interest) model is an expression of *realism*, as well

as of the latter's offspring, *neorealism* or *structural-realism*. According to the national

interests model, states act in ways to benefit themselves.[30] The United States and Israel

share a *special relationship*. This model sees state behavior as the collective result of

social and cultural experiences.[31]

In the 1970s, Keohane contributed to the field of neoliberalism pluralist works on

transnationalism and interdependence that showed a liberal concept of world politics

made up of multiple kinds of both state and nonstate actors – international organizations,

corporations, bureaucracies, etc.[32]

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[29] Stephen M. Walt, *Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
[30] Viotti and Kauppi, *International Relations Theory*, 482.
[31] Ben-Zvi, *Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance*, 2.
[32] Viotti and Kauppi, *International Relations Theory*, 12, 488.

13

Levels of Analysis and Causes of War

Empirical research demonstrates three concepts important to research on causes of war: (1) interstate wars (wars between states incurring at least one thousand battle deaths)[33] have many causes, (2) these causal factors interact with one another, and (3) these causes are discovered at different levels of analysis.[34] Cashman and Robinson identify five levels of analysis: the individual level, the substate level, the national-state level, the level of dyadic bilateral interaction between states, and the international system level.[35]

At the individual level scholars examine the effect of single humans – presidents, prime ministers, and monarchs – in starting wars. The substate level concentrates on the process by which small groups of persons, usually elite government decision makers, decide to prosecute a war. States are aggregations of persons and groups. The focus at this level is on those characteristics of certain states that most likely make them susceptible to warlike behavior. The dyadic level of analysis identifies two types of factors that increase the likelihood of war: characteristics shared by a pair of states and the forces of the interaction of these two states with each other. Lastly, at the level of the international system, the total interactions of many states and the changing forces of these interactions are looked at.[36]

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[33] Greg Cashman and Leonard C. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 1.
[34] Ibid., 3.
[35] Ibid., 4.
[36] Ibid.

The United States and Israel share a *dyadic relationship*: they are two states with a relationship.[37] At the dyadic level the relationships between states and their interactions influence the likelihood of war.[38]

American Foreign Policy

This section will cover a brief review of American foreign policy theories to accrue understanding of concepts that might help to answer the research question.

Callahan presents six foreign policy logics used in debates over American foreign policy. The first three are members of the realist tradition that stresses serving the national interest. They represent different points along a continuum of U.S. power. The first, the logic of *hegemonism*, is at one end of the spectrum. Hegemonism is the principle that the United States has great power and expansive conceptions of its international position, national interests, and moralistic requirements. Hegemonism is the belief in the goodness of imperial power. The logic of *realism* is the second theory. Callahan pictures realism as a belief that the United States is sufficiently strong to keep a balance of power and to prevent international warfare. The United States is not strong enough to get too heavily involved in the affairs of other countries. So, the foreign policy position of the United States is to gather enough power, especially military power, and stop others from getting too much. The third concept, *isolationism*, at the opposite end of the continuum from hegemony, is the oldest of foreign policy logics. For the first hundred years of the

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[37] Ibid., 388.
[38] Ibid., 12.

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United States' existence, U.S. leaders called for a separation of the nation from the rest of

the world. [39]

According to the *logic of liberalism* international cooperation is important. Its

principal point is that the nation has a moral obligation to increase human liberty through

democracy and economic freedom. Proponents of a related logic, *liberal internationalism*,

assert that foreign policy should be conformed to the conditions of international

interdependence. Finally, according to the *logic of radical anti-imperialism* the United

States is and will continue to be an imperialist country until revolutionary change frees it

from its capitalist economy.[40]

Levels of Decision Making

Stephen Spiegel focuses on American foreign policy decision making regarding Israel.

According to Spiegel, American policy toward the Arab-Israeli dispute comprises three

levels of decision making: global, regional and the specific area in conflict. The global

level is the principal concern. Many in various departments think globally. The regional

viewpoint to the Middle East is important in the State Department. American Jews are an

example of a group that takes the third approach; they have an interest in Israel, an area

of conflict. [41]

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[39] Patrick Callahan, *Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's World Role* (New York: Longman, 2004), 7-8.
[40] Ibid., 8.
[41] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 3-6.

Factors Deciding Content of Policy

Important factors deciding the content of American policy are assumptions of the president, his advisors, and the resultant decision-making system which changes ideas into policies. Roosevelt was not unaffected by worries of the State Department and concern among White House advisors that support for the Zionists might harm oil supplies and America's weakly-guarded Middle East bases. Roosevelt assured the Zionists that he supported a Jewish state in Palestine while writing to King Saud that he would fully consult with him regarding decisions concerning Palestine. Roosevelt died a week after writing the letter.[42]

Theories Explaining Policy towards Israel

Scholars who have studied U.S.-Israeli relations seek to explain U.S. reaction to Israel. Spiegel summarizes constancies that describe the American approach in foreign affairs towards Israel, a few of which follow.

1. Prevention of Soviet expansion, limiting of Arab radicalism, promotion of Arab moderates and pro-American governments, and preservation of petroleum supplies, sea-lanes and pipelines through which oil is shipped to the West.

2. The U.S. has stayed committed since 1948 to the security and survival of Israel.

3. In the 1970s, Kissinger and Carter's roles in making the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty created the perception that America was in charge of the future of the area.[43]

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[42] Ibid., 10, 12, 13.
[43] Ibid, 381-382.

According to Spiegel, this picture of consistent goals and interests neither explains why American leaders individually make their decisions nor does it answer for changes in their policies. However, scholars have presented theories to improve understanding on governmental decision making. The principal ones, according to Spiegel, are the systems theory, bureaucratic (and organizational) model, and the pluralistic theory.[44] Finally, I found that the common values explanation was mentioned frequently in the literature.

As noted earlier, systems theory stresses that the international system changes when the number or power of major states changes, resulting in new rules controlling the system.[45] The literature on U.S.-Israeli relations, however, emphasizes U.S. national or strategic interests more than systems theory; thus the literature review below will cover the former terms rather than the latter. Furthermore, as the word *strategic*, appears more frequently than *national interests* in the works of scholars on the U.S.-Israeli relationship, this author shall use the former word in the relevant section header of the review. Where scholars have used the term *national interests*, their work will be reviewed under the section *strategic interests' model*.

Quandt refers to and explains the strategic or national interests view. According to this theory, in the struggle to maintain or increase power, nations are fighting for their own national interests. Decision makers and analysts commonly employ this view, the former in justifying their policies and the latter, who view Middle East matters from a

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[44] Ibid., 382-393.
[45] Ibid., 383; Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision; Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston: Little Brown, 1999); Morton H. Halperin, et al., *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1974); Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*; Rosecrance, *Action and Reaction*; Waltz, *Theory of International*.

global or systemic view point.[46] The United States considers its strategic interests when relating to Israel.

Second, bureaucratic and organizational factors are stressed as important in decision-making.[47] Quandt calls this the bureaucratic politics perspective, which centers on the role of the executive branch in forming and carrying out policies. Certain actions may be attributed to bureaucratic in-fighting, organizational procedures or negotiations between strong factions within the government.[48]

Third, the pluralist theory says that the influence of pro-Israeli interest groups has an effect on U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict.[49] Quandt calls this the domestic-politics perspective, which stresses the role of interest groups, public opinion and Congress in forming foreign policy. The Zionist lobby or an unsupportive Congress is cited to explain some feature of policy that is not compatible with the national interests approach.[50]

Lastly, scholars argue that the U.S. and Israel share common values. First, they are both democracies. Second, they share a religious culture, the Judeo-Christian heritage.[51]

Spiegel emphasizes that the international system, the bureaucracy, Congress and interest groups are ever important factors explaining American policy towards Israel, however they limit policy; they do not define it. Only by studying the attitude of the

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[46] Quandt, *Decade*, 4.
[47] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 384; Allison, *Essence*; Halperin, *Bureaucratic*.
[48] Quandt, *Decade*, 4.
[49] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 386. See David Bicknell Truman, *Governmental Process; Political Interests and Public Opinion* (New York: Knopf, 1964); Lester Milbrath, "Interest Groups and Foreign Policy," In *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*, ed. James N. Rosenau. (New York: Free Press, 1967).
[50] Quandt, *Decade*, 4.
[51] Michelle Mart, *Eye on Israel: How America Came to View the Jewish State as an Ally* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); Paul Charles Merkley, *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel: The Heirs of Cyrus* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004).

presidential elite do we comprehend why and how policy changes.[52] Nothing is more important in influencing American policy towards Israel than the view of the situation held by the president.[53]

The Strategic Interests Model

Proponents of the strategic argument assert that nations make their foreign policy decisions based on strategic concerns. They will conduct their affairs with a nation in any given area of the world according to their strategy or plan for their place in the world.

Strategic ally

Feldman describes Israel as a friendly and a democratic strategic ally of the United States. For many years the U.S. has thought that Israel has nuclear weapons. Although the U.S. has a non-proliferation policy towards other nations, Israel gets special treatment in so far that the U.S. trusts it to handle nuclear weapons.[54] In the future, the U.S. and Israel are not likely to let the nuclear issue become a cause of serious tension between them. Importantly, this is true given the extent of the security risks that for many years Israel will be requested to take to resolve the Arab-Israeli dispute.[55]

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[52] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 393.
[53] Quandt, *Decade*, 288.
[54] Shai Feldman, "U.S. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy: Implications for U.S.-Israeli Relations," *Israel Affairs* 2, no. 3 (1996): 184, http://www.informaworld.com.
[55] Feldman, "U.S. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy," 196.

Geopolitics

Lipson states that American policy toward Israel is controlled neither solely by electoral politics nor by bureaucratic interests. Rather, it is decided on the basis of geopolitics and strategy, as comprehended by senior U.S. policymakers. The end of the Soviet Union changes the strategic landscape and America's part in it. Those strategic changes, more than congressional lobbying or changing demographics of American Jewry, will influence the future of U.S.-Israeli relations.[56]

Cold War considerations

Bunch indicates that U.S. interests in Israel were affected by Cold War considerations, which translated into the Johnson Administration's selling arms to Israel and Jordan. Bunch explains that in 1947, from the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the White House regularly promoted a policy of limiting arms sales to the Middle East. American policymakers tried to improve regional stability and cut Soviet influence by occluding the flow of weapons to the explosive Middle East. President Lyndon Johnson's advisors recommended that he change this policy and develop a strategy of "arms balance," which would provide a reasonable number of weapons to both Israel and Jordan. This new approach was designed to address the criticism of the Israeli lobby and American Jewish constituents, who regularly pressured the White House to supply Israel with modern weaponry. The Johnson administration also sought to calm King Hussein, who threatened to obtain Soviet assistance if the United States would not to provide

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[56] Charles Lipson, "American Support for Israel: History, Sources, Limits," *Israel Affairs* 2, no. 3 (1996): 129, 144, http://www.informaworld.com.

sufficient weapons to the Hashemite monarchy. Johnson's change in this policy of arms

balance reflected the new view in Washington that Jordan served as a deterrent to both

Nasser's ambitions and the growth of communism in the Middle East; however, it did not

achieve Johnson's aim of preventing a regional war.[57] Thus, Bunch describes how the

Cold War influenced U.S. distribution of aid to Jordan and Israel, or some limitation of

U.S. support to Israel.

Regional developments

Ben-Zvi seeks to proceed beyond the level of the general and the systemic by

focusing on the specific processes which enabled Israel to become a central protector of

Western interests in the turbulent Middle East.[58] Without attempting to deemphasize the

role of the national interest or special relationship paradigms in establishing the

American–Israeli alliance, Ben-Zvi's analysis adds to the prevailing strategic explanation.

He holds that the roots of the American-Israeli partnership existed in certain broad

regional developments, especially in Jordan, that unfolded in the 1950s.[59] Since the latter

part of that decade, Israel has been seen as a necessary asset to American and British

plans to form an expansive inter-Arab security alliance connected to the West which

could successfully contain and deter Soviet aggression.[60]

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[57] Clea Lutz Bunch, "Balancing Acts: Jordan and the United States during the Johnson administration," *Canadian Journal of History* 41, (December 2006), http://find.galegroup.com.
[58] Ben-Zvi, *Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance*, 3.
[59] Ibid., 2.
[60] Ibid., 1-2

The relationship in an uncertain world

Luttwak explains that in the post-Cold War era, Islamic fundamentalism is not a significant enough reality to justify Israel's being a strategic ally. Here he questions the strength of the strategic ally theory. Nonetheless, the mechanics of strategic cooperation are not being taken apart; in fact, they are being increased. One factor in the continuity of the relationship, claims Luttwak, is bureaucratic momentum. Some U.S. bureaucracies have included cooperation with Israel in their work, and now seek to incorporate it with their other activities – and increasingly, to the extent that Congressional support can thereby be gained. However, the author supposes that the most fundamental factor in holding the U.S. and Israel together is the natural agreement between U.S. and Israeli elites in the face of an uncertain world.[61] Here the author hints at the U.S.-Israeli special relationship model.

Stephen R. David takes a similar view to Luttwak acknowledging that the Middle East stands out as a region about which the U.S. has concerns.[62] David states that the U.S. will continue to maintain a relationship with Israel on account of the fact that Israel is located in an area of importance to the U.S.[63] Although the downfall of the Soviet Union has reduced the threat of Soviet expansion, America will continue to have worries over the supply of oil, the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), the appeal of Islamic radicalism, and the impact of terrorism. The end of the Cold War has brought about more American reliance on dependable allies. The decrease in the United States'

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[61] Edward N. Luttwak, "Strategic Aspects of U.S.-Israeli Relations," *Israel Affairs* 2, no. 3 (1996): 210, http://www.informaworld.com.

[62] Steven R. David, "The Continuing Importance of American Interests in the Middle East after the Cold War," *Israel Affairs* 2, no. 3 (1996): 103, http://www.informaworld.

[63] David, "The Continuing," 104.

defense budget has meant the increased importance of the utilization of facilities and forces of friendly states. The peace process will improve American interests and engagement in the Middle East. The United States is the most important outside power in the peace negotiations and could be called upon to provide peacekeeping forces to facilitate the implementation of an agreement. [64]

In a world without the Soviet Union, almost every security related interest has become less important to the United States. This includes Western Europe whose protection from the former Soviet Union used over half of the American defense budget. With the need to protect Western Europe (and to resist the Soviet Union throughout the Third World) mostly gone, room has been created to concentrate on other areas of interest. With its oil, threat of nuclear proliferation, and instability, the Middle East protrudes as an area that is likely to take up much of this displaced interest.[65]

The United States and Israeli security policy

Halkin writes that Israel can not act unilaterally against Iran, although threatened by the latter's nuclear weapons. Israel must wait for permission from the United States in order to react to the nuclear threat. The other alternative is that the United States will destroy Iran's nuclear capability.[66]

Gazit writes that Eisenhower would not supply arms to Israel to balance the Soviet's arming of Egypt. It was Kennedy who gave the Hawks.[67]

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[64] Ibid., 104.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Hillel Halkin, "Israel: The Waiting Game," *Commentary* 123, no. 3 (2007), http://search.ebscohost.com.
[67] Mordechai Gazit, "The Genesis of the US-Israeli Military-Strategic Relationship and the Dimona Issue," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35 (July 2000): 413-422, http://find.galegroup.com.

In the second half of 1963, a change in the position of the U.S. Department of

Defense appeared to take place. The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) concluded that U.S. arms

policy should include the option to change the balance of arms provisions towards Israel.

To protect U.S. interests in the Middle East, the JCS memorandum suggested that the

new U.S. arms policy on the Near East "should emphasize the requirement for effective

limits and controls on the flow of arms into the area," but if Egypt, Syria and Iraq

continued to arm themselves, the U.S. should consider adjusting the arms imbalance thus

established.[68] Thus, Gazit depicts how U.S. interests in blocking Soviet expansion in the

Middle East causes the United States' to consider an increase in arms provisions to Israel.

Peaceful habitation with the Palestinians

Hadar asserts that if Israel is limited in its ability to provide security in the Middle

East on behalf of the United States, then American hegemony will not be effective in

making the Middle East safe for Israel. He proposes that the Israelis should work towards

peaceful habitation with the Palestinians and their other neighbors in the next generations.

Achieving that goal, Hadar alleges, would advance the long-term interests of both Israel

and the United States.[69] Thus the author is prescriptive in advising what would serve the

U.S.-Israeli alliance and each nation's interests.

Pressman argues that Israeli unilateralism (withdrawal from Gaza in the summer of

2005) was a response to the failure of the Oslo process, the second intifada, and the

absence of viable Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, Israeli exhaustion with the pursuit of

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Leon Hadar, "Israel as a U.S. 'Strategic asset': Myths and Realities," *Middle East Policy* 13, no. 4 (1996), http://search.ebscohost.com.

Greater Israel, and the limits of military attempts to limit Palestinian nationalist

aspirations. If annexation, unrestricted settlement-building and a negotiated peace

agreement were not possibilities, Israel's withdrawal from its land was a possible way to

pursue peace. The United States under President Bush, the only country that could push

Israel toward bilateral negotiations, not only was unwilling to press Israel but also saw

profit from Israeli unilateralism. During this time period, President Bush chose to reduce

U.S. diplomacy as a means to end the conflict. While Pressman claims that the Bush

administration's policy hurt U.S. interests in the region, on the other hand one could

argue that despite its unilateral nature, the fact that Israel withdrew from Gaza and closed

down settlements there prepares Gaza to be part of a Palestinian state. As the United

States wants there to be a Palestinian state in the Middle East, unilateral disengagement

might have indirectly advanced U.S. interests.[70] Thus, Pressman's analysis points out that

Israel has served U.S. interests through its unilateral activity. Also, the author states that

the United States wants there to be a Palestinian state as do the Arab nations in the

Middle East.

Concessions are necessary

Jones takes the view that Israel needs to solve its own problem by "combining

Palestinian Jews and Arabs into one political entity" without relying on help from "any

foreign power." The U.S. needs to get out of the Middle East; Israel needs to adapt to the

idea of being surrounded by millions of members of other cultures. The fact is that the

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[70] Jeremy Pressman, "Israeli Unilateralism and Israeli–Palestinian Relations, 2001–2006," *International Studies Perspectives* 7, no. 4 (2006): 360-361, http://search.ebscohost.com.

existence of Zionist Israel is threatened; this harsh reality will change only after the Israelis "adapt to their geopolitical environment." Adaptation will be very difficult. Remembering the Holocaust, the present generation of [Israeli] leaders seems unable to see past their "Zionist fantasy." Unhappy with their failure to destroy Hezbollah, they are now allegedly readying for another attempt. They haven't learned from Lebanon – and Iraq – that the Israeli-American duo can win air battles and tank battles, but not the political battle. Jones calls Israel "a Jewish state in Palestine" and describes it as "a geopolitical inconsistency" based on the fantasy that its population of six million could live in a land inhabited by three hundred million adherents of rival communities. Jones says that in a hopeless cause the U.S.-Israeli diarchy has won eight conventional wars – 1948, 1956, 1967, 1970, 1973, 1982, 1991, and 2003. However, it lost two guerrilla wars in Lebanon and can be expected to lose the guerrilla war in Iraq.[71] Jones thus is critical of the U.S.-Israeli relationship because of their efforts to achieve hegemony in a region that he thinks should not be dominated by them.

Similar to Jones, Fernandez asserts that Israel should make concessions. This author advises that Israel should give up land for peace. Moreover, he proposes that it is in the United States' interest to pressure Israel to give up land for peace, as this will reduce Islamic terrorism; second, the U.S. should press Israel to give the Palestinians a state, or the U.S. will be an accomplice in Israel's "human rights" violations of the Palestinians. In pressing these points, the author describes the history of United States-Israeli relations. Since the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel has depended on military force to deny Palestinian

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[71] Curtis F. Jones, "The Future of Israel Briefly Considered," *American Diplomacy* (December 2006), http://find.galegroup.com.

demands for a homeland. The United States has supported Israel as its strategic ally in the Middle East. This has not only inspired the anger of the Arab states but also has made the Israeli-Palestinian conflict one of the most difficult problems since World War II. The United States has served Israel's interests and, thus, has failed to create a lasting peace in the Middle East. To deny the Soviets control of the region, the U.S. sought a presence in the Middle East. U.S. control over Palestine, strategically located along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea at the intersection of the Middle East and Northern Africa, would fulfill this U.S. goal. Hence, demands to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine became mixed with Cold War policy. [72]

On February 28, 1955, in response to a series of belligerent acts by Egypt, Israel attacked Egyptian military headquarters in the Gaza Strip.[73] Egyptian President Nasser noted that his army's lack of arms was an important factor in his defeat and asked for military assistance from the West, especially the United States. When the U.S., Britain, and France turned down Nasser's request, Egypt turned to the Soviet Union for military aid.[74]

In the aftermath of the 1967 war, the U.S. increased its aid to Israel to balance Soviet military assistance to Arab states in the area. However, U.S. policy makers increasingly would not reassess America's uncritical support of the Jewish state of Israel. On October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria, helped by the Soviets, attacked Israel. Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" brought peace to Egypt and Israel but did not deal with Palestinian territorial

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[72] Erwin S. Fernandez, "The United States and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: (Un)forging Future Peace," *International Social Science Review* 80 (March 2005), http://find.galegroup.com.
[73] Howard Morley Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to our Time* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 481.
[74] Fernandez, "The United States and the Arab-Israeli Conflict."

demands, thus making for a mere temporary cease-fire in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, but Begin, using the ambiguity of UN Resolution 242, refused to yield Israeli control over the West Bank and Gaza. Instead of resisting Israeli boldness, Carter was quiet, concerned that a stand against Israel would have a detrimental impact on his future political career. The U.S. government would continue to support UN Resolution 242 as the "foundation of America's Middle East peace effort" during the Reagan, Bush (I) and Clinton administrations but it would not demand that Israel return conquered territories from the 1967 war. Clinton's description of East Jerusalem as "disputed" rather than *occupied* territory only helped Israel in its refusal to agree to Palestinian claims to Jerusalem. Additionally, in October 1993 the Clinton administration asked Congress to allocate two billion dollars in a loan guarantee to fund new Israeli settlements in the territories. This violated the agreement which exactly prohibits such activity.[75]

In 1993, the Oslo I Accords were signed by the PLO and Israel. This accord was a "land for peace" agreement that preceded the beginning of Israeli unilateral acts of withdrawal from its land.

In late September 1995, PLO chairman Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Rabin signed the second agreement at Taba, Egypt (the Taba Agreement, or Oslo II). This agreement enlarged the extent of Palestinian sovereignty in the West Bank and Gaza, and called for elections of a Palestinian Council. In January 1996, the general election for an eighty-eight-member Palestinian Council and its president took place with 500 international observers present. Ararat won the presidential vote gathering ninety percent

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[75] Ibid.

of the ballots cast. The election of Binyamin Netanyahu of the Likud Party in 1996 was problematic for the peace process. Netanyahu rose to power on a platform supported by the majority of Israelis, namely, the rejection of the Oslo settlements. He opposed a Palestinian state, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and any lessoning of Israeli control over Jerusalem. During his visit to the White House in July 1996, Netanyahu told Clinton that his government would continue to build new settlements at about the same rate as previous Israeli governments. Clinton failed to criticize Netanyahu for violating the terms of Oslo II. Pushing for Israeli withdrawal in the summer of 1998, the U.S. proposed further redeployment (FRD) for at least 13.1 percent of the territories. Netanyahu, as well as Jewish lobby groups (agreeing with him in the American media), opposed this proposal. After several meetings, the U.S. convinced Netanyahu to consider the proposal. On May 5, 1998, Arafat and Netanyahu met with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in London to restart the talks and resolve differences over Clinton's FRD proposal. Netanyahu hesitated, asserting that he needed to first confer with cabinet officials. Clinton, however, backed off when eighty-one senators, pressured by AIPAC, asked the president to drop the proposal.[76] In summary, Fernandez presents the U.S. as too soft on Israel, suggesting that this leniency holds back the chances of peace in the Middle East.

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[76] Ibid.

The Lebanon War 2006: U.S. and Saudi influence

Barnea asserts that the U.S. succeeded in fulfilling its strategy in Lebanon in the latest 2006 Lebanon War. Israel was a help towards that end.[77] Barnea explains that for U.S. President George W. Bush the conflict was a complete success. If Israel had clearly won the war, he could have asserted that it was another achievement in the global war on terrorism. If the war ended undecidedly, as it actually did, Bush could have used the battle to arouse allies to the threat Iran presents for the region. Finally, he chose both, depicting the war's outcome as an authentic Israeli victory and using Hezbollah's shameless methods as further reason to stop Iran from becoming a nuclear state. Throughout the war, and contrary to appearances, the Bush administration was caught between two allies, which were Israel and the Siniora-led Lebanese government. Lebanon's growing democracy and the departure of Syrian forces from the country in early 2005 was thought to be a great success in Washington, one of the few worthy achievements of the administration's Middle East policies. But Hezbollah was always a problem. Washington's basic strategy during the war was to let Israel strike Hezbollah completely and, at the same time, keep it from doing any fatal damage to the Siniora government. The strategy was successful. According to Barnea, Siniora has come forth from the war a stronger, more efficacious and popular politician. The UN Security Council's resolution has helped him to assert his authority. It seems the damage to Lebanon was, from an American viewpoint, unfortunate but still worth the cost.[78] Thus, Barnea portrays the U.S. at the helm, directing Israeli action in the Lebanon 2006 War.

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[77] Nahum Barnea, "Israel vs. Hezbollah," *Foreign Policy* 157, (2006), http://search.ebscohost.com.
[78] Ibid, 24.

Shoebat takes a similar position, asserting that "During the Lebanon-Israeli fiasco," the

State Department demanded that there be an end to the war. Consequently, Israel retired

its forces. Thus, Nassrallah declared victory."[79]

Broder describes the broad U.S. strategy in the Middle East as being directed by a

desire to use an alliance of moderate Arab nations and Israel to counter the increasing

power of Iran and proxies such as Hezbollah. As troubled as Sunni Muslim countries

such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt and the Arab Gulf nations are by the increasing

influence of Shiite Iran, they have articulated to the Bush administration that they could

not join such an alliance without a renewed U.S. push for an Israeli-Palestinian peace

agreement. In fact, in November 2006, Saudi King Abdullah boldly warned visiting Vice

President Dick Cheney that U.S. mistakes in the region were helping Iran and hurting

moderate Sunni states. The Saudi king threatened to support Iraq's Sunnis if the United

States withdrew its troops, and he pressed the administration to continue Israeli-

Palestinian peace talks as a way to dilute rising Middle East tensions. According to

Kenneth M. Pollack, a Middle East specialist who was on President Bill Clinton's

National Security Council (NSC), at this point U.S. Secretary of State Rice showed signs

of following King Abdullah's directives.[80]

With the agreement of Olmert and Abbas, Rice was willing to initiate a discussion on

borders of a Palestinian state, the status of Jerusalem, and the rights of Palestinian

refugees to return to Israel. According to U.S. officials, Rice thought that an Israeli-

Palestinian peace accord proposed and negotiated unofficially in Geneva in 2003, by

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[79] Walid Shoebat, *Why We Want to Kill You: The Jihadist Mindset and How to Defeat It*, (United States: Top Executive Media, 2007), 220.
[80] Jonathan Broder, "On a Mission to Revive 'road map' for Mideast," *CQ Weekly Online* (February, 2007), http://library.cqpress.com.

persons from both sides, would be a good starting point for talks. According to this plan, for example, Israel would be allowed to keep some major Jewish settlements in the West Bank but would have to give the Palestinians an equal portion of its own land in return.[81] Thus, Saudi Arabia would not join a Middle Eastern alliance unless the U.S. took steps to promote a Palestinian state. According to Broder, the U.S. is willing to encourage Israel to consider giving portions of the West Bank to the Palestinians.

Other views of the strategic model

Daniel Pipes recommends a different course for Washington. He suggests that the United States should take action to ensure that Israel's potential enemies are discouraged from starting wars. This means giving up the policy of land for peace and its promises of quietude and being satisfied instead with reestablishing a lasting deterrent peace.[82]

Pipes warns that the land for peace formula is dangerous to American strategic interests. He explains that as a result of the Oslo years, the Arabs masses are willing to perpetrate violence and thus pose a direct threat to the United States. If war in the Middle East were to break out, the United States would experience harmful repercussions. War could cause the oil market to spin out of control and do real damage to the world economy; and it could motivate a campaign of terrorism against American institutions and individuals, in the world and at home.[83]

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Daniel Pipes, "Intifada II: What the U.S. Should Do," *Commentary* 110 (December, 2000), http://find .galegroup.com
[83] Ibid.

The Journal of Palestine Studies prescribes a "time-out" process in the Israel-Palestine talks, during which time several issues should be contemplated, namely the final status issues.[84]

Cohen expresses the idea that not all proliferation is equally dangerous in the eyes of the United States. The strongest nuclear arsenal, outside the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and China, belongs to Israel, a nation with historical ties to the United States. Although Israel has not admitted that it has nuclear weapons, in the Middle East the consensus is that it has them, a "fact" that the United States has essentially ignored in its communications with Israel since 1970. As president of the United States, Kennedy was committed to the goal of nonproliferation, but the policy of how to fulfill that objective was not yet active. Looking back, the case of Israel was an exception, not just because of Israel's geopolitical situation or that it was surrounded by hostile Arab nations – for example, Egypt's Nasser, enriched by the 1955 Czech-Soviet arms deal, dreamed of a pan-Arab movement that would destroy Israel. Israel was an exception in another sense, namely because of the historical connection between the U.S. and Israel and resultantly, Kennedy's nonproliferation ideal had to be compromised.[85] In part, this author alludes to the strategic value argument in that the U.S. sees the importance of a relationship with Israel as a way to restrain pan-Arabism.

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[84] Geoffrey Aronson, ed., "The Clinton Administration on Record (US Efforts to Promote the Resumption of Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations)," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27 (January 1998), http://find .galegroup.com.
[85] Avner Cohen, "Most Favored Nation: The United States Carries a Big Stick on Proliferation, but Talks Softly Regarding Israel," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 51 (January, 1995), http://find.galegroup.com.

The special relationship thesis

Bar-Siman-Tov, Hahn, and Schoenbaum describe "the special relationship" thesis as the viewpoint that the United States and Israel have a unique partnership, with a strong friendship, and political and military cooperation. Each side has a position in the other's domestic and foreign policies. The relationship is not limited to decision makers but involves the two societies, which guarantees its endurance in times of conflict. The United States offers military, economic, and political support. Israel considers U.S. interests in making its foreign policy, yields to U.S. requests, and acts for the furtherance of U.S. interests. From 1948 to 1996, Israel received from the U.S. government more than $65 billion in military assistance and economic support, making it the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid. Yet this relationship has never been accompanied by a defense pact or military alliance.[86]

Bar-Siman-Tov, Hahn and Schoenbaum attempt to reevaluate the special relationship thesis by looking at the relationship between the two sides from 1948 to 1996. The relationship changed through four periods: 1948-1960, when no special relationship existed; 1961-1967, when an effort was made to establish a patron-client relationship; 1967-1973, when again a special patron-client relationship was attempted; and 1974-1996, when a special patron-client relationship began to develop. Although the last period was unstable, a political and strategic partnership emerged and succeeded.[87]

On the U.S. reaction to Israel directly preceding the 1967 War, Bar-Siman-Tov et al. write that the United States did not fulfill its promise to settle the crisis by unilateral or

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[86] Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, Peter L. Hahn, and David Schoenbaum, "The United States and Israel since 1948: A 'special relationship'?" *Diplomatic History* 22, (March 1998): 231, http://find.galegroup.com.
[87] Ibid., 233.

multilateral action, and that the likelihood of an Arab offensive strengthened when Egypt

and Jordan signed a defense pact. Therefore, Israeli leaders requested a green or yellow

light from the United States for Israeli military action. The Israelis assessed that the

United States would probably support independent Israeli action, primarily because Israel

had been diligent to comply with U.S. diplomatic efforts. When Israeli leaders were sure

that the United States would not object to Israeli military action, or would prefer it to U.S.

action, they decided to act. They thought that a quick and successful strike would obtain

U.S. support. Indeed, the Pentagon and the CIA, which did not prefer using U.S.

diplomacy or force to reopen the Strait of Tiran, favored an Israeli initiative. Though

there is no evidence that President Johnson supported this view, he understood the

reasoning behind intervention and became willing to deter Soviet involvement. The 1967

War signified the first time in the relationship that U.S. and Israeli political and security

interests merged. However, upon the commencement of the war the United States

declared an embargo on arms deliveries to the Middle East. The embargo was supposed

to discourage the Soviet Union from arming its clients, however it failed.[88]

In September 1970, Nixon asked for Israeli help to save King Hussein of Jordan

from the PLO and Syrian invasion. However, American and Israeli forces were not

necessary because of the strength of the Jordanian military and the weakness of the

Syrian military. The Jordanian crisis was marked by Israel's willingness to come to

Jordan's rescue.[89] Nixon was very grateful for this willingness, which is evident from the

message he sent to Prime Minister Rabin after the crisis:

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[88] Ibid., 240.
[89] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 140. For the view that Israel destroyed some Syrian tanks see Alexander M. Haig, *Inner Circles: How America Changed the World: A Memoir* (New York: Warner Books, 1992), 251.

The president will never forget Israel's role in preventing the deterioration in Jordan and in blocking the attempt to overturn the regime there. He said that the United States is fortunate in having an ally like Israel in the Middle East. These events will be taken into account in all future developments.[90]

It was only after the U.S.-Israeli action to defend King Hussein's government during the September 1970 Jordanian crisis that a special relationship evolved.[91] This suggests that the special relationship began on the basis of Israel's willingness to serve U.S. interests in the Middle East.

In a January 1998 interview with Jones of the *Harvard Review*, Martin Indyk, then U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, was asked several questions. First, Jones asked what the factors were that formed the foundation for the U.S.-Israeli alliance. Indyk answered that it is common values and interests that bind the two together. Common values are representational government and freedom of expression; common interests are a desire for peace and security in the Middle East.[92]

Another question posed to Indyk was how the United States' special relationship with Israel affected U.S. relations with Arab nations that have been enemies of the Israeli state. Indyk said that there are two schools of thought. Some say that if you are a friend of or allied with Israel, it damages your relations with the Arab world. In this case, Israel is a liability in the sense of larger interests in the Arab world. Another school of thought, to which Indyk subscribes, argues that because Israel is so important to the solution of the Arab-Israeli problem, the United States' close and vibrant relationship with Israel benefits U.S. relations with the Arab world. What Arab nations want from Israel is for

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[90] Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs* (Boston: Little Brown, 1979), 189.
[91] Ibid., 241.
[92] Hal Jones, "Special partnership: US-Israeli Relations and the Peace Process," *Harvard International Review* 20.2 (spring 1998), http://find.galegroup.com.

Israel to give up land. In these circumstances, they look to Israel's ally, the United States, to encourage Israel in this process. They do not look to Europe or Russia, because those countries do not have the kind of impact upon Israel that the U.S. has because of its friendship with Israel. It is therefore because the U.S. has a close relationship with Israel that it is able to play an important role in the peace process. For example, after expelling his Soviet advisors and waging war against Israel in 1973, Sadat turned to the United States to make peace with Israel. Also, Yasser Arafat sought a relationship with the United States as part of his effort to make peace with Israel, and Syria acted similarly. Indyk averred that there is strong evidence that the U.S. can have close and strong relations with both sides in this conflict and play an irreplaceable role in solving it. [93] Thus, if the latter school of thought is correct, then the U.S. is in the middle between the Arabs and Israel, playing peace broker. The word *special* connotes warm and close. The U.S.-Israeli relationship in this vision does not appear warm or close if the U.S. must maintain a middle ground between the two opposing sides.

Garfinkle's description of the dyad addresses the question of just how the relationship can be special. According to his view, the defining characteristics are softness and hardness. The hard factors are calculations of power politics and the global geostrategic competition and the "soft" factors, the emotional and cultural parts of the relationship. These ties have bound a small, vulnerable democracy of an often persecuted people to a large, democracy of many different peoples drawing from a common heritage. Such "soft" factors have been named most often in declaring the U.S.-Israeli relationship special. The list frequently begins with the mutual American and Israeli affinity for

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[93] Jones, "Special partnership."

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democracy, goes to the Judeo-Christian tradition expressed in the Bible, and finishes with

the secular, "Western" character of both societies. Other emotional bonds grew from

memories of the Holocaust as well as the kindness of the American majority toward Jews

following World War II. The author writes that the current U.S.-Israeli relationship

probably will remain close.[94]

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a tool used in foreign policy. In the case of the U.S.-Israeli relationship,

Hahn offers an analysis of discoveries from the archives of Israel that touches on the

efficacy of U.S. diplomacy in Israel, how the U.S. influenced Israeli policy and Israel's

ability to shape U.S. policy. Measuring the effectiveness of these Israeli efforts to

influence U.S. policy is harder to show than that efforts were made.[95] Thus, Hahn's

research does not shed light on which of the two had dominion over the other.

The Bureaucratic Politics Model

The bureaucratic politics perspective says that the executive branch shapes and

implements policies to the extent that certain actions may be related to bureaucratic

rivalries, organizational practices or deal-making between factions within the

government.[96]

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[94] Adam Garfinkle, "U.S.-Israeli Relations after the Cold war," *Orbis* 40 (September 1996), http//find
.galegroup.com.
[95] Peter L. Hahn, "The View from Jerusalem: Revelations about U.S. Diplomacy from the Archives of
Israel," *Diplomatic History* 22 (September 1998), http://find.galegroup.com.
[96] Quandt, *Decade*, 4.

In *Essence of a Decision*, Graham Allison seeks an explanation for how foreign

policy makers make decisions and he sets forth three views: 1) Analysts of foreign affairs

and policymakers view problems of foreign and military policy in terms of largely

unexpressed concepts that have important results for the content of their thought. They

think informally about problems. 2) Most analysts explain and predict the behavior of

national governments in terms of one model, the Rational Actor. 3) Two other models,

an Organizational Process Model and a Governmental (Bureaucratic) Politics Model,

provide a foundation for better explanations and predictions.[97] In short, *Essence* presents

three models for analyzing decision making: Model I (the rational actor); Model II

(organizational process); and Model III (governmental politics or bureaucratic politics).

According to Allison, many analysts are incorrect in relying too strongly on Model I – in

brief, by assuming that foreign policy decisions express the priorities of a rational state

and failing to recognize the importance of organizational limitations and bureaucratic

influences. *Essence* explains foreign policy as the result of a process, not of values or

ideology.[98]

Halperin shows how politics within a government influence decisions and actions

supposedly directed outward. He concentrates on parts of bureaucracy concerned with

political-military affairs, the White House, the State Department and the Defense

Department. He looks at the process by which participants and organizations struggle to

bring about the decisions they have made. His study turns to the generally ignored

question of what happens after the government makes a decision. His analysis provides

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[97] Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision; Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston: Little Brown, 1999), 3-5.

[98] Barton J. Bernstein, "Essence of Decision 2nd edition (review)," *Foreign Policy* 114 (March 1999), http://find.galegroup.com.

part of the answer to the question – how decisions are made in order to predict a likely course of behavior – since it focuses only on that part of the decision-making process which involves the bureaucracy and the relations between the bureaucracy and the president.[99]

Halperin describes the main players in the foreign affairs bureaucracy, what their interests and viewpoints are, why these must vary among the participants, and why we should look closely at the differences. Secondly, he tells the reader how pressure, applied by the various participants, results in a Presidential decision. Finally Halperin delves into a subject that he claims has been neglected in the foreign policy literature: implementation of decisions and why the analyst must distinguish between a Presidential decision and a governmental action.[100]

A critique of the Bureaucratic-Politics model

Robert Art describes "two waves," or two different groups of scholars with their explanations of how government works. The first says that policy basically is made by politicians and the second follows the newer bureaucratic politics model. He compares the former with the latter. His article is a strong critique of the bureaucratic politics model.[101] Art claims that a "systemic perspective" is needed in order to "avoid the …dangers that an uncritical acceptance of the paradigm would bring."[102]

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[99] Morton H. Halperin et al., *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1974), 5.

[100] Robert J. Art, "Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy (review)," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social* 417 (January 1975): 144, http://links.jstor.org.

[101] Robert J. Art, "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique," *Policy Sciences* 4, no. 4 (1973): 467-490.

[102] Ibid., 487.

First wave: policy through politics

The first wave includes such prominent theorists as Samuel Huntington and Richard Neustadt. This wave articulates five principles explaining "a bureaucratic but essentially political perspective to foreign policy making." The first proposition is that political power (the capability to cause someone to do something he would in another case not do) is greatly spread out at the national governmental level. The second proposal is that within governmental institutions there are members in the policy process with variegated views on what they would like to do on any given topic. The third approach is that political leadership inside of or among these institutions is carried out mostly through persuasion, but with persuasion depending on the ability with which a leader makes use of the constricted power that his position offers him. The fourth position holds that foreign policy making is therefore a political process of gathering consensus and agreement on a policy between those participants who have the power to produce the result and who many times disagree over what they think the outcome ought to be. Finally, the fifth position is that the result of the preceding four steps is that the content of any policy shows the requirements of the conditions in which it is created – what is needed to get agreement – as it does the important merits of that policy.[103]

The first wave emphasizes other points. They do not deemphasize the effect of Congress on foreign policy.[104] Huntington emphasizes Congress's lobbyist role in determining military policy. Additionally, Art declares that it is not just the institutional positions of participants that affect foreign policy making but their mindsets.[105] Another

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[103] Art, "Bureaucratic Politics," 469.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 470.

42

point the first wave makes is that the images of international politics that the participants have is more important in determining the content of policy than is the process of making policy. The fourth point is that participants tend to act with an emphasis on what is required to get a policy adopted. The fifth point is that domestic politics has a significant effect on foreign policy, namely the politics of getting elected, remaining in office, and persuading constituents to support foreign policies.[106]

The second wave-policy through bureaucratic politics

The second wave theorists assert several points. First, that organizational position determines policy stance or "where you stand depends on where you sit." However, in the way that the second wave expresses this principle, the author asserts that they are waffling. For example, "Each participant sits in a seat that confers separate responsibilities. Each man is committed to fulfilling his responsibilities as he sees them."[107] Second, the second wave theorists claim that in foreign policy, governmental decisions and actions do not express the purpose of any one person, but are instead the unintentional resultant of bargaining, pulling, and dragging among the important participants. This proposition does not quite answer how the pulling, dragging and bargaining effects the decisions made and the actions taken.[108] On the subject of the presidential influence on policy making, action is a resultant of political bargaining among some independent actors, the President being only a giant among many smaller but significant powers. This bureaucratic model will explain a lot about foreign policy

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[106] Ibid., 471-472.
[107] Ibid., 473.
[108] Ibid., 474.

formulation if we assume that presidential choices do not very much limit senior

executive players in what they can accomplish. But the model will explain very little if

we accept the additions about the Presidency that the second wave has made to the

proposition.[109] Third, organization routine, standard operating procedures, and vested

interests can influence the Presidential implementation of policy more than they can its

making.[110]

Summary

In summary, Robert Art admits that his essay has raised more questions about the

bureaucratic model than can be answered. However, what is definite is that he is critical

about the bureaucratic model as an approach for analyzing American foreign policy. His

two major criticisms are that first, the model undervalues the importance of mind-sets and

domestic politics on the way in which top decisions-makers approach foreign policy;

second, it is too messy and vague to make it a worthwhile model.[111]

Fundamentally important, this scholarly literature review did not reveal works that

addressed the bureaucratic model as it explains U.S.-Israeli relations. However, Steven

Spiegel, who has done extensive research on American policy towards Israel, observes

that

> Bureaucrats usually succeed better in delaying or accelerating policy formulation and
> implementation than in making decisions. Examining bureaucratic preferences over
> the years would not explain U.S. policy toward the Middle East. The bureaucracy is
> a constraint rather than a source of policy change.[112]

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[109] Ibid., 474-475.
[110] Ibid., 476.
[111] Ibid., 486.
[112] Spiegel, *The Other Israeli*, 386.

44

The Domestic Politics Model

The domestic-politics view stresses the part that interest groups, public opinion and Congress play in shaping U.S. foreign policy.

The Israel Lobby

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is an interest group that describes itself as "America's pro-Israel lobby."[113] Their mission is to work to support Israel.[114] The officials of AIPAC work on political action committees (PACs) whose main purpose is to give money to candidates to influence politics.[115] In accordance with their mission, AIPAC would support pro-Israel candidates.

Although much has been written and discussed regarding the activities of AIPAC in the 1980s, one point is not sufficiently emphasized, namely that Congress was supportive of aid to Israel before AIPAC became influential.[116]

Miglietta asserts that the Israel Lobby has been one of the most successful interest groups in American politics. According to Miglietta this has been true for a number of reasons. First, the Israel Lobby and American political elites have had similar goals. Since the Kennedy administration, American political elites have seen it in American interests to associate with Israel. Second, the lobby successfully framed support for Israel within the Cold War context. Third, primarily as a result of Vietnam, Congress became increasingly important in foreign policy decision making and appropriations. Fourth, the

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[113] AIPAC: The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, http://www.aipac.org/about_AIPAC/26.asp (accessed January 23, 2008).
[114] Ibid.
[115] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 151.
[116] Ibid., 151.

45

strength of pro-Israeli feelings in American public opinion as a result of the Judeo-

Christian traditions of the society, increased by the favorable portraits of Israel in the

American media. Fifth, Christian Zionists strengthened the Israel Lobby. Finally, pro-

Israeli Jewish groups effectively built coalitions with non-Jews.[117] According to former

Senator James Abourezk, a supporter of the Palestinian cause, the Israel lobby influences

U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East by listening to Tel Aviv and by using American

Jewish money. American Jews want to help Israel and they depend on the Israeli lobby to

tell them how.[118]

Pappe asserts that U.S. involvement in Palestine has produced a huge historical record

that needs to be understood in order to find the origins of the present day's problems and

possible paths to change. The main elements and interests involved in the making of U.S.

Middle East policy are AIPAC, the oil industry and the 'Arabists' of the State

Department.[119] Pappe suggests that AIPAC's relations with Congress and the great

volume of United States military sales to Israel show the considerable strength and

influence of the Israel Lobby in United States foreign policy towards Israel.[120]

In *The Water's Edge and Beyond*, author Mitchell Bard concludes that while the

Jewish lobby may not control U.S. policy, it does play a significant role in shaping it by

stimulating pro-Israel initiatives that would otherwise not be considered, insuring the

adoption of executive and legislative proposals that are perceived to be pro-Israel, and

constraining the behavior of foreign policy officials, so that policies seen as hostile to the

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[117] Ibid., 150.
[118] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 3.
[119] Ilan Pappe, "Clusters of History: US Involvement in the Palestine Question," *Race and Class* 48 (January 2007), http://find.galegroup.com.
[120] Pappe, "Clusters of History," 26.

lobby's interests are either defeated, modified or prevented from being seriously considered.[121]

Tivnan writes that the story of the pro-Israel lobby's role in the American political system is a very American story – so American that Israelis are as perplexed by the source of Jewish power in the U.S. as are their Arab counterparts. He tells a brief story of the Jewish lobby and questions whether its positions are good for Israel, suggesting that they are not. After the Suez war of 1956, when Eisenhower made Israel pull back from the Sinai, American Jews realized they needed a lobby and they created one, namely AIPAC. Two decades later, in the mid-1970s, AIPAC became a strong force on Capital Hill. Since then it has sided with the "hawks" in Israel and America, and Congress has participated in the militarization of the American-Israeli relationship.[122]

Tivnan is concerned that American Jews tolerate the right-wing groups in Israel. He tells the story of how the Jewish pro-Israel lobby, primarily after 1971, used the American political system for its own purpose.[123]

David writes that the pro-Israeli lobby is believed to be among the most effective in the United States. Its efficacy comes from the large number of Jewish voters in important states and the funds given to pro-Israeli candidates. The pro-Israeli lobby is strong because it gathers support for Israel that already exists among the American voters. This is shown by the consistency of American support for Israel despite major changes in the level of funding provided to key decision makers by pro-Israeli groups. Although

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[121] Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, *The Water's Edge and Beyond: Defining the Limits to Domestic Influence on United States Middle East Policy* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 289.
[122] Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 12.
[123] Marver H. Bernstein, "The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy," *American Jewish History* 79 (December 1989): 286, http://find.galegroup.com.

tensions between Israel and the United States and even between Israel and Jewish

lobbying groups can be expected to be seen from time to time, the strength of the

American-Israeli relationship is likely to last.[124]

Mearsheimer and Walt have inspired debate on the question of United States support

of Israel by asserting their theory on the power of the Israel lobby. They propose that the

Israel lobby wields significant influence over United States foreign policy decisions

regarding Israel and the Middle East, including Iraq, Syria and Iran. Most importantly,

Mearsheimer and Walt hold that the Israel lobby does not work in favor of United States

national interests.[125]

Verbeeten contends that the record of the Israel Lobby does not support

Mearsheimer and Walt's thesis. While AIPAC is a successful advocate of strong U.S.-

Israel ties, the development of the U.S.-Israeli relationship suggests that the dyad grew as

successive administrations ascertained that Israel was a better friend to U.S. interests than

various Arab countries.[126] Kaplan also disagrees with Mearsheimer and Walt. He argues

first that the religious right and the neo-conservatives do not agree on enough issues to

effectively dominate any policy issue. Their support on a particular policy in some cases

might make the crucial difference, but the so-called coalition would break up as soon as

new issues evolved. Furthermore, there would have to be enough support in the State

Department, the Defense Department, and the NSC for a president to impose their policy

prescriptions. Moreover, continues Kaplan, the history of the postwar Middle East does

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[124] David, "The Continuing Importance," 103-104.
[125] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007).
[126] David Verbeeten, "How Important is the Israel Lobby?" *Middle East Quarterly* 13 (fall 2006), http://search.ebscohost.com.

not show that the United States has supported Israel without attention to Arab interests, despite what almost all Arabs believe. For example, as Noam Chomsky indicated, the United States pushed Israel into serious compromises in 1948, 1967, and 1973 when it could have achieved complete victory. Indeed, because Britain and the United States stopped most military shipments to Israel when the Arab armies invaded in 1948, only Stalin's decision to allow Czechoslovakia to sell military equipment to Israel permitted Israel to persevere and to reach what could have been a winning position.[127]

The oil lobby

In his review of Steven Emerson's *The American House of Saud*, Samuel McCracken writes that billions of petrodollars flowing back from the Middle East have resulted in the formation of a group of Americans with an interest in keeping the Saudis satisfied. These are the managers of the oil companies – their opinions on Middle East topics are virtually identical to the Saudi's – as well as construction companies, banks, universities, public relations men, registered agents, temporarily unemployed politicians, and retired politicians and diplomats. All these organizations and individuals are attached to Saudi Arabia by the cash connection. In short, the U.S. government has made policy toward Saudi Arabia a top priority.[128] Additionally, Saudi influence in the United States is different from that of Israeli influence. The Israel lobby operates openly; the Saudi lobby covertly. The Israel lobby operates by activating Americans to exercise their vote for Israel, a democratic ally in the Middle East; the Saudi lobby is mobilized by international

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[127] Morton A. Kaplan, "A Conspiracy Theory of America's Mideast Policy," *International Journal on World Peace* 22 (December 2005), http://find.galegroup.com.
[128] Samuel McCracken, "The American House of Saud," *Commentary* 80 (September 1985): 68, http://find.galegroup.com.

49

intimidation and by the payment of large sums to private individuals, corporations, and institutions.[129] Shoebat, an ex-PLO terrorist, writes that "the key to defeating terrorism lies in the economic and political manipulation of Saudi Arabia, yet this is unlikely, since the oil interests so far have not allowed the West to disturb Saudi Arabia."[130]

Interests groups

Some scholars describe pro-Israel interest groups as a force without categorizing them under the name *Israel Lobby.*

According a study by Wald et al., Christians have been the major force in American life, and their considerable impact upon foreign policy attitudes warrants careful analysis.[131]

Wagner likewise addresses the significance and power of Christian interest groups in his article. He states that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visited the U.S. in January 1998 and met about a thousand supporters of Rev Jerry Falwell. Netanyahu and Falwell met and talked about several issues that would affect U.S.-Israeli relations. As a result, Falwell published a statement calling for the mitigation of political pressure on Israel. This was done before the meeting of Netanyahu and President Bill Clinton. Political analysts believe that this meeting with the Christian right, led by Falwell, will encourage supportive policies for the Likud party.[132]

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[129] Ibid., 70.
[130] Shoebat, *Why We Want*, 205.
[131] Kenneth D. Wald, et al., "Reclaiming Zion: How American Religious Groups View the Middle East." *Israel Affairs* 2, no. 3 (1996): 148, http://www.informaworld.com.
[132] Donald Wagner, "Reagan and Begin, Bibi and Jerry: The Theopolitical Alliance of the Likud Party with the American Christian 'Right'," *Arab Studies Quarterly* (ASQ) 20 (September 1998), http://find.galegroup.com.

Noyes suggests that U.S. policy is dictated by trying to please the pro-Israel constituents. He prescribes a U.S. policy towards Israel that concentrates on developments in the Middle East and regional stability of Israel, and foregoes political ends.[133]

Public opinion

Telhami and Krosnick explain that in international relations studies, scholars have studied factors that shape foreign policy decisions and, specifically, U.S. policy toward Israel. Among the many factors seemingly influencing decisions in this arena are American national interests in the Middle East, pro-Israeli lobbying efforts in Washington, the opinions of elite foreign policy opinion leaders, and U.S. public opinion. They focus on the last factor: U.S. public opinion. The authors present three views as to how the public might influence public policy. The *majoritarian* view says that policymakers sometimes select the policy preference of the majority of their constituents on a particular issue, and then support that policy. If such influence occurred in the case of the Arab-Israeli conflict, there should be a majority of the American public having opinions lining up with U.S. behavior toward Israel. The *guardianship* view stresses the stratification of democratic electorates with regard to their knowledge about and participation in politics. In other words, only a part of democratic citizens are likely to be thoughtfully involved in politics and are therefore likely to have any influence upon it.

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[133] James H. Noyes, "Does Washington Really Support Israel? (US' Position on the Peace Process in Israel)," *Foreign Policy* (March, 1997), http://find.galegroup.com.

The college age group is the most aware, informed audience for public policy decisions. This is the *attentive* public.[134]

The *pluralistic* view is the third view. One should expect to see correspondence between government policy on an issue and the opinions of those citizens, intense minorities, who feel most strongly on a given issue. In relationship to the Arab-Israeli conflict, pluralists would be interested in the opinions of the *issue public*.[135]

The strength of these three views can supposedly be measured by looking at correspondence between public policy on an issue and the relevant preferences of the general public or parts thereof. Although correspondence does not necessarily show that influence has occurred, lack of correspondence would surely shed doubt on the influence hypothesis.[136]

Telhami and Krosnich suggest that based on the results of their study, future research on the role of American public opinion in influencing U.S. policy toward Israel may be helped by paying careful attention to the issue public. The authors found two large and robust differences between the opinions of the issue public members and non-members. As the intense minority on the Arab-Israel conflict appears to take a distinct stand from that of the general public, the pluralist approach to public influence appears to be worth specific study in this case. The authors found that there was no robust difference between members of the attentive public and non-members regarding the leaning of individuals who did take sides. This finding implies that analysis of the attentive public might be less productive than a focus on the issue public. The authors believe that the results of their

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[134] Shibley Telhami and Jon Krosnick, "U.S. Public Attitudes toward Israel: A Study of the Attentive and Issue publics," *Israel Affairs* 2, no. 3 (1996): 109-110, http://www.informaworld.com.
[135] Ibid., 110.
[136] Ibid.

study should encourage analysts to think about the potential for issue public opinion influence on public policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict.[137]

The Jewish vote

In his review of Bernard Reich's *Securing the Covenant: United States-Israel Relations After the Cold War*, Robert O. Freedman describes the Israeli-American relationship as essentially one based on political, not strategic, considerations. In other words, the Jewish vote, not strategic interests, motivates U.S. policy towards Israel and the Middle East. The political strength of the American Jewish community is analyzed: in 1992, nine states with significant Jewish populations (California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania) held 202 of the 270 electoral votes necessary for victory. Although Jews are only about 2.4 percent of the American population, their voting percentage is much higher than the U.S. average of 50 percent and this has an important impact. American Jews provide consistent support for Israel and are an important part of the pro-Israeli lobby. Also, the U.S. Congress regularly votes $3 billion in economic and military aid to the Jewish state.[138]

Schaeffer addresses the issue of Presidential decision-making in the context of the foreign policy of the Clinton administration. He points out that until Arab PACs are organized, many of the issues concerning them will remain low priorities to Washington.[139]

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[137] Ibid., 120-123.

[138] Robert O. Freedman, "Securing the Covenant: United states-Israel Relations after the Cold War," *Political Science Quarterly* 111 (June, 1996), http://find.galegroup.com.

[139] Donald A. Schaeffer, "U.S. Policy and the Arab Economic Boycott: Understanding the Origins and Dealing with its Consequences," *The Social Science Journal* 33 (April, 1996), http://find.galegroup.com.

Common Values

Scholars explain the U.S.-Israeli relationship as being based on characteristics that both countries possess. First, they are both democracies. Second, they share a religious culture, the Judeo-Christian heritage.

David writes that the U.S. will continue to be involved in Middle Eastern developments because the United States will continue to be concerned about Israel. One of the reasons for this constancy is that both Israel and the United States are democracies with a commitment to basic freedoms. The Clinton administration showed a desire to support democratic regimes because of its oft stated beliefs that democracies are more peaceable and make better allies than other types of governments.[140]

Merkley tries to show the religious visions of presidents – from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush – that affect their attitudes towards Israel.[141]

However, first the author characterizes the Jewish voter, looking at his/her role in recent American politics. Jews participate disproportionately in politics. About 80 percent are registered to vote compared to 50 percent of the national electorate. Second, Jews have remained with the Democratic Party in spite of the trend of members to change to the Republican Party. Merkley stresses that it is important to differentiate the Jewish vote from the pro-Israel vote. According to leaders of Jewish organizations, members of these groups agree to judge the performance of politicians according to a set of "social issues." Among these are "abortion rights," and public funding for education. It is the alignment of most Jews with most other Democrats on these "social issues" that encourages most

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[140] David, "The Continuing Importance"103.
[141] Paul Charles Merkley, *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel: The Heirs of Cyrus* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), xiii.

54

Jews to vote for Democrats. Support for Israel, certainly a salient issue for most Jews, is not a top priority.[142]

Next the author proposes that patriotic Republicans support Israel because they see that the people who hate Israel are people that hate America. Then Merkley moves to the Persian ruler of old; Truman's self-identification, he claims, with Cyrus the Restorer of the Jews, was ideologically-based. That is, as Truman saw it, the American legal process had placed him in the office of the president of the U.S. to restore to the Jews their ancient home, just as Cyrus had done. When, after the near death of their race, the Jews of the world came pleading for salvation before the world association, the United Nations, Truman supported Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel. Eisenhower attempted to try to escape the legacy of Cyrus, the Restorer and Benefactor of Israel. "Even handedness" was the Middle East policy of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford. Jimmy Carter found the way of getting presidents out from under the obligation of continuing the Cyrus legacy. Carter's goal was to substitute negotiation for military force as a peaceful solution to world conflicts. To accomplish this, the American policies everywhere in the world would have to be changed so that the United States could show itself everywhere as "a trusted mediator, even-handed, consistent, unwavering, enthusiastic, a partner with both sides and not a judge of either." Israel, he believed, was the place to start because the attraction of ideology was greatest there. Beginning with Jimmy Carter and continuing until the presidency of George W. Bush, the policy of American presidents has been to "stand above" the historical and

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[142] Ibid., 229-230.

theological remembrances that have produced the "Arab-Israeli conflict."[143] Thus, according to Merkley, ever since Eisenhower, presidents have consistently tried to steer clear of a close relationship with Israel and towards evenhanded or neutrality.

Mart asserts that the new understanding of Israel and Jewish identity that emerged post World War II influences American politics, culture and foreign policy to this day.[144] Mart concludes that it was in the late 1940s and 1950s that Israelis were recast in popular culture to appear like Americans, and that they became "insiders" in American political culture. Moreover, the Israel of the American mind during that formative period held the hopes, ideals, and ethics of Cold War America. Thus, by the early 1960s many Americans viewed their country's relationship with the Jewish state as "special" because of the shared history and culture shaped by the preceding decade's evolving cultural images.[145] Thus, in describing the common values between the U.S. and Israel, David emphasizes their democracies and freedoms; Merkley portrays the religious visions, or lack thereof, of Presidents as determining their views toward Jews; and Mart finds that it was in the 1960s that Americans viewed the country's relationship with Israel special because of 1950s, during which time Israelis and Americans shared a similar Cold War culture.

American Christian heritage and support for Israel

Irvine H. Anderson writes of the role of the religious mindset in America in influencing support for Israel. There is a "predisposition" of Anglo-American Christians

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[143] Ibid., 231-234.
[144] Michelle Mart, *Eye on Israel*, ix-xi.
[145] Ibid., 176.

to construct their opinions about Israel on the basis of biblical conceptions picked up in childhood Sunday school classes. The value of Anderson's work lies in his analysis of how this "predisposition" helped shape political policy at deciding moments in the formation and unification of the Zionist agenda. The author notes its crucial role in the forming of the Balfour declaration and polices of the British mandate, the decision of the Truman administration to give prompt support to the Israeli declaration of statehood in 1948, the 1995 congressional vote on moving the American embassy to Jerusalem in addition to America's current Middle Eastern policy. In each case, Anderson considers this "predisposition" as an indispensable part of the decision making process."[146] Similarly, Reich notes that the American public at large sees Israel as a fellow democracy with shared values of the Judeo-Christian heritage.[147]

Allin and Simon see that there is a distinction between U.S.-European agreement on what Israel should do to solve Middle East conflict – withdrawal from territories – and U.S. European disagreement on emotional support to Israel. The authors seek to better understand the U.S.–Israel bond for several reasons. First, they think that a better understanding of the psychology of American support of Israel may influence non-Americans to have more realistic expectations regarding the U.S. role as an interlocutor. Also, a kind, yet critical American self-assessment may help determine more sharply and helpfully what must be preserved in U.S. support for Israel and what changes are needed

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[146] John Hubers, "Biblical Interpretation and Middle East Policy: The Promised Land, America and Israel 1917-2002 (book review)," *Journal of Church and State* 49, no.3 (summer 2007), http://find.galegroup.com.
[147] Freedman, "Securing the Covenant."

to increase American credibility and save the link between two closely related democracies.[148]

Lewis sees that a strategic alliance developed between Israel and the United States during 1949-1999 which is likely to last, although diplomatic disagreements have often occurred and are likely to continue. The relationship between the two countries was at first not close, but Israel has developed a free market doctrine and become an increasingly consumption based society as the U.S. prototype. Israel has a strong defense establishment, while the U.S. has grown progressively concerned about terrorist threats to U.S. power.[149] Thus, their societies share more in common, in terms of consumerism and, since 9-11, terrorism. Schoenbaum comments on two issues that have fed the U.S.-Israeli relationship: "the moral and psychic legacy of the Holocaust" and "the presumed affinities of what were now universally referred to as 'Judeo-Christian' values'."[150]

The Middle East

Styles of the Presidents

As the U.S. Constitution has given to the president the power to make treaties with foreign countries and appoint ambassadors to be sent abroad, it is wise to try to assess what the president through diplomacy expresses towards Israel.

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[148] Dana H. Allin and Steven Simon, "The Moral Psychology of US Support for Israel," *Survival* 45 (September, 2003): 123-124, http://find.galegroup.com.
[149] Samuel W. Lewis, "The United States and Israel: Evolution of an Unwritten Alliance," *The Middle East Journal* 53 (June, 1999), http://find.galegroup.com.
[150] Morris, Benny, "Special Relationships," *Diplomatic History* 19 (September, 1995): 701, http://find.galegroup.com.

Berggren and Rae argue that Presidents Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush share an uncommon approach to politics and governing: an "evangelical" type of presidential leadership. Though they differed in the sense of party and ideology, the authors assert, as seen from their foreign policies, the faith of Carter and Bush gave them a specific vision of the presidency and the global duty of the United States. Richard Neustadt claimed that the ability for politics is the most essential attribute for current presidential success and that the evangelical style will lead to political failure. However, Berggren and Rae add that the performances of Carter and Bush in foreign policy show that under certain conditions the evangelical style can add to successful presidential leadership and is worth further study by presidential scholars. Also, it is apparent that an evangelical style can help provide presidents with two of Greenstein's required qualities – vision and emotional intelligence. Additionally, in the Carter and George W. Bush administrations there were situations where a "faith bond" helped the president in political negotiations by winning over other critical political actors (e.g. Sadat and Blair).[151] In short, according to Berggren and Rae, a president can use the evangelical style to his/her political advantage.

Nye writes that according to the *Economist*, George W. Bush is a 'transformational' president, one who changes the direction of history. Bush's pursuit of a legacy of transformation lies on the three major changes he made to U.S. grand strategy after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001: reducing Washington's dependence on permanent alliances and international institutions, enlarging the traditional right of

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[151] Jason D. Berggren and Nicol C. Rae, "Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush: Faith, Foreign Policy, and an Evangelical Presidential Style," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (December, 2006), http://find .galegroup.com.

preemption into a new doctrine of preventive war,[152] and promoting democratization as a

solution to Middle Eastern terrorism. Those changes, registered in the 2002 National

Security Strategy, were largely understood as revolutionary at the time.[153]

In the nineteenth century, U.S. grand strategy was simple, and its methods were

mostly unilateral: avoid involvement in the European balance of power, rule the Western

Hemisphere, and allow trade with Asia. As the twentieth century began, however, the

industrial power of the United States grew larger than that of Germany and the United

Kingdom, and the transportation revolution essentially brought the New World nearer to

the Old. These circumstances led six presidents to attempt major changes to U.S. grand

strategy over the next hundred years.[154]

Successful transformations have been infrequent in the history of U.S. grand strategy.

Bush's success now depends mostly on the uncertain outcome of the preventive war he

started in Iraq. He still may prevail, but the probability of success is not high and he

doesn't have much time.[155] Pursuing preventive war places the U.S. permanently in the

Middle East, which has implications for U.S.-Israel relations. A careful look at preventive

war and the implication for U.S. involvement in the Middle East, however, will not be

taken up in this study as it is beyond the scope of this present research.

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[152] Another term for this type, preventive war, is *preemptive self-defense*. This type calls for a response to the mere possibility of an actual attack, which if allowed to advance, could then be stopped only at a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost. See Chapter 5.
[153] Joseph S. Nye Jr., "Transformational Leadership and U.S. Grand Strategy (Antiterrorism, National Security Policy)," *Foreign Affairs* 85 (July 2006), http://find.galegroup.com.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.

Branches of Government and Democracy

Ornstein and Mann point out that the formation of solid U.S. foreign policy depends on a lively, thoughtful, and often argumentative process that involves both the executive and the legislative branches. The nation's Founding Fathers gave each branch both exclusive and shared powers in the area of foreign policy. Furthermore, the authors remind the reader that Congress' main role is oversight: making sure that the laws it writes are executed and appraising the military and diplomatic activities of the executive branch. Good oversight eliminates waste, penalizes fraud or scandal, and keeps policymakers alert. Examination of departments or agencies, their staff, and its policies takes time. Investigating likely scandals can easily fall into a partisan venture that ignores policy issues in the interest of political gain. Ornstein and Mann discuss how Congress has lately performed poorly in their oversight function and ask what the causes of these problems are. Their answer is poor planning and execution.[156] If Congress is not restraining the executive branch well, then this is another reason why the executive branch is not reined back from the pursuit of the preventive war in Iraq.

Alexander explains that a plan of democracy promotion is set to be a major pillar of U.S. foreign policy for many years after 9/11, just as Cold War containment, trade liberalization, and development assistance were components of American policy in the decades after 1945. The author suggests that democracy is often rendered as a set of individual rights. Alexander explains that first, a regime is a democracy only if contested elections occur in governments that produce economic and other policies compulsory for

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[156] Norman J. Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann, "When Congress Checks Out," *Foreign Affairs* 85 (November, 2006), http://find.galegroup.com.

all citizens; second, a regime is a democracy only if policies and individual rights are the actual law of the land, successfully enforced. Furthermore, the author stresses that a democracy is present only if a readiness to lose and capacities to challenge and enforce are present. A democracy is secure only if these components are all renewed regularly. Three broad characteristics of countries form this willingness and these capacities. The first two relate to the balance of power between state and society; the third refers to a factor within society itself. First, the government has to be effective enough to enforce rights and laws. Second, it must not be so powerful that officials can become unaccountable even to majorities of their citizens. Third, the major political parties must not be so mutually threatening that they would rather destroy the democratic game than lose an election to their opponent.[157]

The U.S. and Nuclear Proliferation

Sagan discusses United States foreign policy vis-à-vis the Iranian nuclear program. Although the United States failed to stop its major Cold War rivals from developing nuclear arsenals, many other countries controlled their own nuclear ambitions. After attempting nuclear programs in the 1960s, West Germany and Japan decided in favor of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT), relying on the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella to bring them greater security in the future; South Korea and Taiwan gave up secret nuclear programs when the United States threatened to break security relations with them; North Korea stopped its plutonium production in the 1990s; and Libya

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[157] Gerard Alexander, "Making Democracy Stick (democratization)," *Policy Review* 134 (December 2005), http://find.galegroup.com.

disassembled its nascent nuclear program in 2003. The author proposes that

nonproliferation efforts succeed when the United States and other nations help satisfy

whatever concerns drove a state to want nuclear weapons in the first place. Iran is a case

of a state that wants nuclear weapons to discourage an attack. It sits in an unstable region,

has long lived with a bellicose Iraq, and now wants to confront Washington's calls for

regime change in Tehran. Any workable solution to Tehran's desire for nuclear weapons

will thus demand that Washington learn to work peacefully with Iran's difficult

government.[158]

In March 1963, President John F. Kennedy told the press that he was troubled by the

concern that by the 1970s the United States would "face a world in which 15 or 20 or 25

nations" had nuclear weapons. Five years of negotiations later, the United States, the

Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and fifty-nine non-nuclear-weapon states signed the

NPT. Under the treaty, states possessing nuclear weapons agreed not to give weapons or

knowledge about how to construct them to their friends and allies. They also took the

responsibility "to work in good faith" toward the ultimate eradication of nuclear weapons.

The non-nuclear-weapons states agreed not to obtain nuclear weapons and to submit to

inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to allow observation of

their peaceful nuclear research and energy facilities. The rationale of this "I won't if you

won't" provision was to decrease the security threats, potential or real, that non-nuclear-

weapons states posed to one another. The treaty also ensured that non-nuclear-weapons

states in good standing would gain the benefits of peaceful nuclear energy production,

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[158] Scott D. Sagan, "How to Keep the Bomb from Iran," *Foreign Affairs* 85 (September, 2006), http://
find.galegroup.com.

creating a "sovereign right," Iran has since asserted, for any such state to establish a full

nuclear-fuel production cycle of its own. The goal behind the NPT was to decrease

proliferation by reducing the appeal for nuclear weapons. By both providing some

confidence that states agreeing to the treaty would not develop nuclear bombs and

forming, through the IAEA, a system to catch their efforts if they did, the NPT reduced

the security concerns of many states. It also reduced the bomb's attraction as a symbol of

achievement by creating an international norm according to which "responsible" states

followed NPT stipulations and only "rogue" states did not. Moreover, by proffering hope

that the nuclear states would take important steps toward ultimate disarmament, the treaty

made it simpler for non-nuclear governments to justify their own self-restraint to their

domestic constituencies. Bush administration officials have sought to make real the threat

of a military attack by suggesting that Israel might strike on Washington's behalf. The

Pentagon told Congress in April 2005 of its intention to sell conventional GBU-28

"bunker-buster" bombs to Israel, and President George W. Bush confirmed Washington's

commitment to "support Israel if her security is threatened." But an Israeli air strike on

Iran's nuclear facilities would do no more good than a U.S. one: it could not eliminate all

the facilities and thus would leave Tehran to continue its uranium-enrichment program at

existent sites and would motivate Iran to retaliate against U.S. forces in the Middle East.

Muslim sentiment throughout the world would be excited, encouraging terrorist reaction

against the West.[159]

President Bush promised, in his 2002 State of the Union address, that the United

States "will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the

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[159] Ibid.

world's most destructive weapons." Yet when North Korea kicked out the IAEA

inspectors, Secretary of State Colin Powell declared that the situation was "not a crisis"

and Bush repeatedly declared that the United States had "no intention of invading North

Korea." Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage speedily emphasized the position:

"The president has no hostile intentions and no plans to invade. That's an indication that

North Korea can have the regime that [it] want[s] to have." Tehran understood the

significance of this point vis-à-vis what it might be able to get away with.[160] Sagan is

prescriptive in his advice that the U.S. needs to learn to work peacefully with Iran.

U.S.-Saudi Relations

Bowman reviews U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia, from the Cold War to today. He

observes that for about five decades, U.S. policy in the Middle East worked on the

assumption that democracy there would endanger U.S. political and economic

interests.[161]

The author explains that when President Bush speaks of "vital interests," he is

conveying an idea stemming from the realist worldview of international relations. This

school of thought finds its beginnings almost two and a half millennia ago in Thucydides'

The Peloponnesian War and was designated as international relations theory in the 20th

century by important political scientists such as Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz. A

significant uniting concept in many realist theories is the concept that the domestic

political character of nation-states does not count for much in deciding their international

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Bradley L. Bowman, "Realism and Idealism: US policy toward Saudi Arabia, from the Cold War to Today," *Parameters* 35 (December, 2005), http://find.galegroup.com.

behavior. Rather, in an international system without a governing ruler, states try to increase their security by aggrandizing military and political power and the economic prosperity on which they are based. Realists posit that human nature (classical realism) or the structure of the international system (neorealism) determines state behavior, not whether the state is democratic or authoritarian. President Bush's allusion to America's "deepest beliefs" is firmly rooted in the idealist school of thought. This view stems from the idea that governments acquire their legitimacy from the consent of the governed, and that these governments should respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of their citizens. In the outbreak of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson ultimately tried to eliminate war by forming an "international system of collective security and economic interdependence among constitutional democracies." Drawing from Immanuel Kant's Perpetual Peace, Wilson averred that international "peace and justice" could be secured by begetting a world of "free and self-governed people." Taking from Wilson's ideas, modern proponents of democratic peace theory propose that democracies are less likely to fight each other due to domestic political constraints found solely in them, the benevolent perceptions democracies have toward one another and the free-market economic ties that usually develop between them. Thus, in opposition to the realist view, idealists think that the most important characteristic of other states is not their military or political power but their form of domestic government. After 9/11, President Bush accepted many of these ideas, arguing that a world of democratic states will be more peaceful and more resistant to terrorism.[162]

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[162] Ibid.

Bowman states that, notwithstanding the idealist ideology of the Carter

Administration, the Administration essentially never attempted to promote human rights

or democracy in Saudi Arabia. Less than one month after Secretary of State Vance's

speech, Crown Prince Fahd visited President Carter in Washington, D.C. At the White

House on May 24, 1977, Carter welcomed the Crown Prince, saying, "I don't believe

there is any other nation with whom we've had a better friendship and a deeper sense of

cooperation than we've found in Saudi Arabia." Thus, even during the Carter

Administration, one finds a divergence between American idealist values and actual U.S.

policy toward Saudi Arabia. Given the authoritarian nature of the Saudi regime

throughout the Cold War, the author asks why the policies that American idealist values

demanded were never actualized.[163]

Bowman asserts that the United States did not pressure Saudi Arabia in any consistent

way to change politically because American leaders did not believe political reform in

Saudi Arabia was a strategic interest for the United States during the Cold War. The

author states that public and private primary sources throughout the Cold War show that

the U.S. interests in Saudi Arabia were essentially anti-communism and oil. The United

States pursued unlimited access to Saudi oil, and U.S. leaders thought that reliable access

to Saudi oil depended on a friendly Saudi Arabia free of internal weakness and

communist influence. The author asks whether the communist threat to Saudi Arabia

necessitated a U.S. policy that failed to implement U.S. values. Indeed, the Saudi regime

was basically anti-communist, and U.S. fears of Soviet influence within the Kingdom

were largely not justifiable. A major explanation for the American exaggeration of the

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[163] Ibid.

communist threat in the Middle East relates to the Saudi's stressing the threat of communism. This Saudi technique of characterizing mainly intra-Arab power struggles in a Cold War context contributed to an exaggerated American perception of the communist threat in the Middle East. Bowman's theory is that during the Cold War, the Saudis obtained U.S. support and dispersed American pressure for political and civil reform by exaggerating the Soviet threat to Saudi Arabia. Today the Saudis are stressing the domestic threat posed by Islamic extremists. U.S. petroleum imports have doubled since 1973, but the U.S. imports from Saudi Arabia have increased four times; as a percentage of total imports, the United States is twice as dependent on Saudi oil now as it was in 1973.[164]

Bowman makes very clear that Saudi oil is not just important to the U.S. economy, but it is equally critical, if not more so, to the world economy. Saudi Arabia has become the most important oil producer in the world. Any major disruption in Saudi oil exports would have destructive consequences on the world economy. Saudi Arabia produces more crude oil than any other country, and in 2003 the Saudis produced roughly nine million barrels of crude oil per day. The enormous power this oil production capability allows Saudi Arabia is increased by two important characteristics of the Saudi oil industry. First, Saudi Arabia has the world's largest oil reserves, with almost 22 percent of the world's known oil reserves sitting under the sands of that country. In other words, Saudi Arabia is not using up its oil soon. Second, in addition to its large oil reserves, Saudi Arabia also consistently holds the world's only significant excess production capability. For example, in September 2004, world excess oil capacity was only 500,000

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[164] Ibid.

to one million barrels per day, and all of it was located in Saudi Arabia. This "slack capacity" allows Saudi Arabia to wield tremendous influence in determining the global price of oil. In summary, Saudi Arabia's oil production capacity, combined with its large oil reserves and excess production capacity, make the Kingdom a dominant player in the global crude oil market.[165] Thus Bowman clearly shows the reason for U.S. interest in maintaining friendly relations with Saudi Arabia. The U.S. not only needs to stay on good terms because of its dependence on Saudi Arabia for oil. The U.S. must also please the Saudis to maintain stability of the world economy, which relies on the Saudi oil market.

Saudi interests

On September 6, 2007, this author conducted an interview with Boston University Professor of International Relations Angelo Codevilla[166] during which he described an important event to which he was an eyewitness. It was 1981 and Israel had just bombed the Osirak reactor that had been the centerpiece of Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons program.[167] Codevilla was in room S407 under the Capitol building in Washington D.C. – the only place where secret code word documents can be discussed – when Deputy Director of the C.I.A. Bobby Inman came in and cursed the Israelis, who had used U.S. satellite pictures to bomb Osirak, thereby upsetting the relationship that the U.S. had been building with Iraq. He deplored the use of U.S. planes and information which had

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[165] Ibid.
[166] Codevilla served on the staff of the Senate Intelligence Committee between 1977 and 1985 and acted as an advisor to the Senate Select Committee during the Pollard arrest and conviction. Angelo M. Codevilla, "Israel's Spy Was Right about Saddam," *Wall Street Journal*, August 6, 1998. http://proquest.umi.com.
[167] Codevilla, "Israel's Spy Was Right."

damaged this relationship,[168] and stated that he had just personally cut Israel off from satellite information about Iraq.[169] Later he began to send satellite pictures to Saddam.[170]

Dr. Codevilla explained that after the Shah of Iran was replaced by a militant Shiite Islamic regime, the U.S. needed a strong arm connection in the Middle East. "The Saudis who are very wealthy and whose interests we serve needed some muscle, because they are impotent fat cats." The U.S. chose Saddam Hussein who, like the Saudis, was a Sunni and hated the Shiites.[171]

Thus, from Codevilla's testimony it is apparent that the U.S. in the 1980s needed a strong arm in the Middle East because the Saudis wanted to resist the threat of the Iranian Shiite regime. Codevilla does not explain why the U.S. served Saudi interests in the 1980s. Bowman shows clearly that the U.S. depends on Saudi oil. It is arguable that the U.S. served Saudi interests in the 1980s because it did not want to bite the hand that fed it oil.

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168 Angelo M. Codevilla, interview by author, September 6, 2007.
169 Codevilla, "Israel's Spy."
170 Ibid.
171 Codevilla, interview by author, September 6, 2007.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF UNITED STATES-ISRAELI RELATIONS

This chapter will survey the history of United States-Israeli relations from Harry S.

Truman to George W. Bush. Stephen Spiegel has done much work analyzing the

relationship historically and asserts that "while the system, the bureaucracy, Congress,

and interest groups explain the consistency of American policy in relation to the Arab-

Israeli dispute, it is the presidential elite that ultimately decides, or makes change."[172]

American Interests in the Middle East

Five main goals help to define American interests in the Middle East. The first is

security, and emphasizes keeping the Soviets out of the area and is included in the

postwar containment policy of the United States. The second goal relates to keeping oil

flowing from the region to the West; the third stresses stability, which is support of the

status quo in order to fulfill the first two goals. A fourth goal is American support for

Israel which can be expressed as a U.S. goal in the region. Historically, the United States

has been committed to helping Israel, seen by the strategic importance that American

policy makers, academics, and journalists have given to the Israeli military. America has

also committed itself to support for Israel because of the ideological and religious

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[172] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 386.

71

connections between the two nations. A fifth American goal in the Middle East involves the saliency of the economics of the region to the West. The objective is to keep a stable and gainful balance of trade by making sure that the petrodollars from the Gulf are invested so as to stabilize the economic structure of the West.[173]

These goals are furthered by stressing ideology in talking about U.S. foreign policy in the region. American support for its Middle East allies, such as Israel, is made acceptable emphasizing democratic principles, or anticommunist and pro-Western principles. To maintain other American interests in the region the United States has sought to strengthen regional powers that have similar interests. In the 1970s, the United States tried to strengthen Iran and Saudi Arabia and in the last twenty years they have favored Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The way to protect American interests was to build up the military power of these states to function mostly as a deterrent to anti-Western political movements and states in the area. While Saudi Arabia is frequently presented as a status quo power in the region, it has often tried to destabilize both North and South Yemen.[174]

Israel's Strategic Importance

Steven Spiegel has proposed five qualities that make Israel strategically important for the United States: "intelligence, battlefield experience, technological innovation, the factoring of Israeli military capabilities in Soviet strategic planning, and the enhancement of the reputation of American armaments versus Soviet arms."[175]

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[173] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 18-19.
[174] Ibid., 19.
[175] Ibid., 20. See Steven Spiegel, "U.S. Relations with Israel: The Military Benefits," *Orbis* 30, no. 3 (fall 1986), 1-22.

The State Department

According to Davidson, among American historians addressing U.S. relations with Palestine from 1917 to 1945 there is almost complete consensus on the viewpoints and acts of the U.S. State Department. The consensus is that those who worked for the Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs were anti-Zionist.[176] Oren qualifies the attitude, writing that "some influential agencies in Washington, especially the State Department and the Pentagon, have at different times been hostile toward Israel." Their disapprovals have typically been described in economic and strategic terms. In the beginning days of Israel's statehood, leading voices in the State and Defense Departments cautioned that American support for the Jewish state would cause Arab nations to stop shipping their oil to the West and push the Arabs into the arms of the Soviet Union. "Oil – that is the side we ought to be on," commented Defense Secretary James Forrestal in the late 1940s. Secretary of State George Marshall promised not to vote for Harry Truman's reelection in 1948 if the President recognized the new nation, and Marshall's successor, John Foster Dulles, called Israel "the millstone around our necks."[177]

Truman and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance

President Truman supported the cause of the Jewish people in the post World War II period for a number of reasons. First, he empathized with the homeless Jews because of his own families' suffering, their expulsion from Missouri during the civil war period.

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[176] Lawrence Davidson, "The State Department and Zionism, 1917-1945: A Reevaluation," *Middle East Policy* 7 (October 1999), http://find.galegroup.com.
[177] Michael B. Oren, "Does the U.S. Finally Understand Israel? (United States Policy towards Israel)," *Commentary* 114 (July 2002), http://find.galegroup.com.

Also his Jewish friend, Eddie Jacobson, persuaded the president to meet with Chaim

Weizmann, who pressed for American support for the UN Partition plan. To Truman

doing "the right thing" was more important than the Jewish vote.[178] He excluded politics

in consideration of the Palestine question.[179] "I don't care about the oil, I want to do

what's right," said Truman.[180]

The 1946 Congressional Elections

During the Truman presidency there were those who voiced their support for, or

opposition against, Jewish immigration or statehood. In December 1945, for example, the

United States Congress had adopted a resolution calling upon the president to "use its

good offices" to permit Jewish immigration to Palestine and to help in establishing a

Jewish homeland there. Truman also felt the pressure from his own political advisers,

David Hannegan, chair of the Democratic National Committee, and David Niles, who

encouraged him to speak in support of the Zionist position. Niles and other advisors

asserted that not making the statement would hurt local Democratic candidates in New

York, as well as the President in the upcoming 1948 election. On the other side, members

of the national security bureaucracy tried to prevent this by calling on the president to

withhold any statements that could hurt American interests in the region. On Yom Kippur

eve, October 1946, Truman announced that the administration supported increased

Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state.[181]

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[178] Michael T. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, (Westport: Praeger, 1999).
[179] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 19.
[180] Ibid., 20.
[181] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 108-109.

The Partition Vote of 1947

In early 1947, Great Britain tried to get the Zionists and Arabs to come to an interim

agreement in order to hold onto their mandate over Palestine until a more lasting

settlement could be attained. In London in January-February, 1947, the lack of success of

the Arab-Zionist conference encouraged the British to announce that they were turning

over the Palestine matter to the UN. The UN General Assembly in May assembled the

United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to study the problem. The

decision was reached to recommend to the UN a partition of the land. One part would go

to the Arabs, another to the Jews, while Jerusalem would be administered under a

trusteeship of the UN. Truman was actively involved in the issue during discussions over

borders and the partition vote in the UN General Assembly. On November 19, Truman

agreed with Chaim Weizmann in support of the Negev's remaining part of the Jewish

state.[182]

Political Pressures

Initially, President Truman would not see Chaim Weizmann; however, his friend

Jacobson convinced him to meet[183] the spokesman of the Jewish national cause.[184]

Resultantly, Truman assured Weizmann that he indeed cared about the Jewish people.

Truman's advisors stressed the importance of supporting the establishment of Israel for

attracting Jewish support and the President recognized Israel eleven minutes after its

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[182] Ibid., 110.
[183] Ibid., 113.
[184] The Jewish Agency for Israel, "Israel and Zionism," *The Jewish Agency for Israel*
http://www.jafi.org.il/education/100/people/bios/weiz.html (accessed January 30, 2008).

independence was announced on May 14, 1948.[185] Benson argues that Truman

recognized Israel mainly for ideological rather than political reasons.[186]

Conclusion

President Truman dealt with global, regional and local constraints. Some argued that

relations with Arabs, and access to oil for the Marshall plan would be hurt by the support

of a Jewish state. The Administration's openness to outside influences, internal

differences, and the many channels of policy making became roots of internal conflict

rather than ways of exposing the president to differing views. The Truman presidency

illustrates the pivotal role of the person in the Oval office. Truman's own views affected

his reactions to events and advisors: his positioning of national security ahead of partisan

politics; his burden for refugees; his perception of the historical roles of the Jews in

Palestine; his inclination to support the UN; his apprehension of increased Russian

influence; his opposition to send American troops into a conflict that was viewed as

unimportant; his wish to prevent open warfare in Palestine.[187]

Support to Israel

The 1949 armistice to the 1948 Arab-Israeli war put the Arab-Israeli conflict at the

low end of American foreign policy priorities. Those in the U.S. who thought Israel

should be treated more favorably pressured for more attention to Israeli interests,

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[185] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 113-114.
[186] Benson, *Founding*.
[187] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 47-49

76

resulting in Truman's approval of a $100 million loan to Israel.[188] Also, the U.S.

supported Israeli membership in the UN. The Truman Administration agreed to the 1950

Tripartite Declaration by the United States, Britain, and France. The agreement promoted

regulation of arms shipments to the region and opposed efforts to change borders by force.

Economic aid began in 1949 with a $100 million Export-Import Bank loan, later in 1951,

augmented by a sum of $35 million. In 1952, the United States started a program of

economic grants to help resettle refugees, finance commodity imports, and to pay off

balance of payments deficits.[189] Miglietta avers that the Truman administration's policy

toward Israel was influenced by domestic politics in the United States as contrary to the

American national interest.[190]

Dwight D. Eisenhower

In January 1953, Eisenhower became president and American policy regarding the

Soviet Union and its allies changed from the open military approach of the Truman

administration – expressed by NATO and ongoing struggles with China and North Korea

– to greater use of secrecy. As commander of Allied forces in Europe during World War

II, Eisenhower had learned to acknowledge the potential of covert activities.[191]

Eisenhower's plan during the Cold War was to form a Western alliance including the

Arabs, whose purpose was to block Soviet entrance to the area. However, the Arabs

would not accept American support for Israel and thus Eisenhower saw that nation as a

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[188] H. W. Brands, H. W. 1994. *Into the Labyrinth : The United States and the Middle East, 1945-1993*
(New York: McGraw Hill, 1994), 33.
[189] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 114-115; Brands, *Labyrinth*, 34.
[190] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 115.
[191] Brands, *Labyrinth*, 42.

stumbling block to U.S. containment strategy in the region. Arabs and Jews should be treated in an even-handed manner. Another aspect of the U.S.-Israeli relationship was domestic politics in the United States. The pro-Israel lobby did not have the same influence with Eisenhower as they did with Truman. The latter was seen by the Israeli embassy in Washington as supporting Israel on the basis of moral reasons whereas Eisenhower would act on the basis of balance of power and national interest.[192]

The Diversion of Water

In 1953, the Eisenhower Administration opposed Israeli diversion of water from the Jordan. As a result, a $26 million dollar aid package was held back. Jewish lobby groups condemned the cut off. On October 29, President Eisenhower announced that aid would be reinstated because Israel had agreed to stop its diversionary work and to cooperate with the UN Security Council's development plan for the Jordan River.[193] George and Douglas Ball state that the event showed that the withholding of aid could produce Israel's compliance.[194]

Israel and the U.S. disagreed over the administration's attentiveness to the Arabs, the level of American economic aid to Jerusalem, and Israel's retaliatory raids. The strongest evidence of a new United States position came in October 1953 when the U.S. cut off aid to Israel. The suspension had been called for by UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) when Israel had refused to stop work on its hydroelectric project on the upper Jordan. In 1953, the Administration tried to reduce Arab-Israeli

[192] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 116-117.
[193] Ibid., 117-118.
[194] George W. Ball and Douglas B. Ball, *The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 44-45.

78

tensions. The inability of American officials to think that Egypt might head to the Russians, regardless of the CIA's cautioning, shows a weakness in the Eisenhower decision-making system: it could not deal with differing points of view.[195]

The Baghdad Pact

The Baghdad Pact was an agreement signed, on February 4, 1955, by Iraq, Turkey, United Kingdom, Pakistan and Iran to cooperate on behalf of the signatories' security and defense.[196] The United States was an associate member and for the U.S. this agreement was a piece of the American global alliance system that was being built to resist the perception of Soviet imperialism.[197]

The Eisenhower administration saw the Middle East as an area of confrontation to stop the expansion of Soviet influence. Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles thought it was necessary to get Egypt and Iraq to participate in a regional alliance organization towards the goal of blocking Soviet expansion. The Eisenhower administration saw the United States' recognition of Israel as hurting the goal of getting Arab support against Soviet influence in the Middle East. The U.S. saw the Baghdad Pact as an attempt to increase its influence in the Middle East. Egypt was asked to join the pact but Nasser disapproved of it because it would arm Iraq. In the end, the pact resulted in improved relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union, so that Moscow was able to increase its presence in the Middle East.[198]

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[195] Ibid., 63, 65, 66.
[196] The Avalon Project at Yale Law School, "Baghdad Pact," *The Avalon Project at Yale Law School* http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/baghdad.htm (accessed January 30, 2008).
[197] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 44.
[198] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 118-119.

The Suez War

The Suez Crisis broke out in July 1956, when Nasser, not allowed economic assistance by the United States and Britain, reciprocated by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company. Nasser grabbed the British- and French-owned company to show his independence from the European colonial powers, as a response for the Anglo-U.S. denial of economic aid, and to collect the profits the company earned in Egypt.[199]

Resultantly, Great Britain, France and Israel reacted by trying to reclaim the Suez, in a coordinated military initiative known as the Suez War.

The Eisenhower Administration had been against the 1956 Suez War because of its potential to destabilize the Middle East. The President had attempted to work through the UN to stop the war.[200] On October 27, Eisenhower cabled Ben-Gurion to express concern that Israeli forces were mobilizing.[201] On the same day he threatened Israel with the withdrawal of aid.[202]

On February 11, 1956, Eisenhower wrote a note to Ben-Gurion demanding Israel's withdrawal.[203] Eisenhower wanted to persuade Israel to return to its previous border. Israel would not do so until it felt that freedom of navigation in the Strait of Tiran was obtainable. Congress put pressure on the Administration to disapprove of Israeli withdrawal until the Egyptians compromised. Also, members of the media and some organizations supported Israel. In March of 1957, the Israelis gave up almost all of the

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[199] Peter L. Hahn, "The Suez Crisis: a Crisis that Changed the Balance of Power in the Middle East," *E Journal USA* http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0406/ijpe/hahn.htm.
[200] Ibid., 119.
[201] Sachar, *A History of Israel*, 494.
[202] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 119.
[203] Ball, *Passionate*, 47.

territory they had gained in the Suez War. Israel obtained passage through the strait and gained assurances from President Eisenhower for its security.[204]

In 1957, Dulles addressed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, describing the vacuum of power in the Middle East as a result of "the recent British-French action." Dulles suggested that, in order to protect friendly regimes against communist aggression, Congress should authorize the president to place American military forces in the Middle East. This proposition, upon congressional approval, became know as the Eisenhower Doctrine. It reduced the Truman Doctrine, which was global in reach, by focusing on the Middle East. It strengthened the Truman Doctrine, which had used only American money, equipment, and advisement, by proclaiming the United States' willingness to go to war.[205]

Arms and Intelligence

Czechoslovakia had an arm's deal with Egypt which helped the growth of Soviet influence in the latter country. The Israelis claimed that the military balance in the Middle East was being disturbed and therefore the United States should arm Israel. Secretary Dulles responded that Israel should to go to Europe to get arms. Resultantly, Israel turned to France for armaments in the early 1950s. Later in 1956, the French-Israeli alliance solidified because of Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and circumstances in Algeria. The French tried to weaken the Egyptian regime to end its support for the Algerian nationalists. An outcome of this was a French-Israeli friendship

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[204] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 119-120; Ball, *Passionate*, 48.
[205] Brands, *Labyrinth*, 70.

which lasted until 1967. Although the United States was not supplying arms to Israel, it was promoting sales from European countries such as France, Canada, and others while it provided the monies to purchase the equipment.[206]

During the Eisenhower administration, the U.S. and Israel shared intelligence and America enjoyed access to Soviet military equipment captured by Israel. Eisenhower fairly consistently maintained a policy of not sharing military equipment with Israel as a way to act as a broker for peace.[207]

France and Israel

The French-Israeli alliance began in 1949, established as a friendship around scientific contacts. Israeli physicist Israel Dostrofsky developed a process for making heavy water and thereafter, Israel and France shared nuclear technology. In 1954, Israel's Moshe Dayan visited Paris to establish agreements calling for Israel to buy French jet fighters and other military equipment.[208]

Ideology was a factor in the formation of this Israeli alliance. The French Left was pro-Jewish going back to the 18th century and the Dreyfus affair. Both governments were dominated by Socialist parties so the political leaders were attracted ideologically. The French conservatives, especially those in the military, liked the 1948 Israeli military effort against the Arab nations and thought that Israel's victory put off the Algerian

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[206] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 120-121.
[207] Ibid., 123.
[208] Ibid., 122.

uprising by 10 years. Additionally, both states disapproved of the American-sponsored Baghdad Pact.[209]

At the end of the 1950s, the French saw Israel as a protector of their oil supplies coming out of the Middle East, as well as of their bases in Djibouti, Reunion, and Madagascar. Also, the French navy envisioned a plan for both countries in the Red Sea; in 1958 the navies of both did joint maneuvers where the French trained the Israelis in new submarine fighting methods. This was important as the Soviets were equipping submarines to the Egyptians.[210]

Conclusion

The Russians had not been kept from penetrating the "northern tier" and establishing a base in the midst of the Middle East. Eisenhower was the one president after Israel's founding who resisted Jerusalem and insisted on changes in Israeli policy (in October 1953, November 1956 and February 1957). "Except for Israel we could form a viable policy in the area," said Eisenhower. Only one view was represented in the administration – that in favor of the conservative Arabs. If any group of Americans involved in the Middle East was content by the end of the Eisenhower administration, it was the oil company leaders.[211]

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[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 91-93.

The Kennedy Administration: A Change in Policy

Kennedy played a more activist role in Middle Eastern affairs, trying to help both Israel and the Arab nations. He offered increased food aid to the United Arab Republic (UAR), recognized the republican government in Sanaa, and attempted to remove Egyptian troops from Yemen. He offered Israel more advanced weapons, aware of the danger of the Soviet-Egypt military relationship. In 1961, Kennedy thought that there could be peace in the area if military balance between the parties was accomplished.[212]

During the Kennedy administration the relationship between the United States and Israel changed because of political guarantees and military sales. The French were decreasing their military support to Israel, and the Soviets were supplying Egypt with more advanced military equipment. The Israelis asked the Americans for Hawk antiaircraft missiles. In the past, the Israeli government had asked the Eisenhower administration for the Hawks, but the request had not been filled. Now the Israeli officials argued that the Soviets had been supplying Egypt and Iraq with arms, which might result in war. Finally, with the 1962 elections around the corner, the Kennedy administration chose to sell Israel $21 million worth of the missiles as a defensive system. Kennedy was trying to encourage Israel not to develop nuclear weapons. Additionally, Kennedy had domestic policy reasons for the arms deal as he wanted Jewish support in the midterm congressional elections. The HAWK sale was supported as well by the National Security bureaucracy. This decision marked the beginning of the "special relationship" between the U.S. and Israel.[213] Domestic politics was the main motivation of the Kennedy

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[212] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 131.
[213] Ibid., 131-132; Brands, *Labyrinth*, 88-89.

84

administration to take on the "special relationship" with Israel. The Jews were an important constituency of the Democratic Party, and Kennedy had won by a narrow margin in the 1960 election.[214]

The Johnson Presidency: the Special Relationship Improves

Johnson had supported Israel during his period of service in the U.S. Senate. As President, he worked closely with pro-Israel government officials, for example Eugene and Walter Rostow.[215]

Arms for Israel

Two months after Johnson succeeded Kennedy, the new president received a proposition to sell Israel several hundred American tanks. The Israelis claimed that they needed the tanks to keep up with the radical Arabs, armed by Moscow. Additionally, the Israelis said that the American military aid to Saudi Arabia might be used against Israel in a war. Johnson delayed a decision on the tanks. The President wanted guarantees from Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol that the Israelis would not produce nuclear weapons. When Eshkol agreed to let American scientists inspect Israel's nuclear plants to convince Washington that only pacifistic endeavors were taking place there, Johnson still wasn't ready to hand over the tanks. Instead the president delayed, suggesting that Eshkol ask Germany first. When Arab protest threatened to ruin German-Arab relations, Johnson forked over the tanks. Thus, in 1965, Israel received more than two hundred.[216]

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[214] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 133.
[215] Ibid., 133-134.
[216] Brands, *Labyrinth*, 90-92.

By 1965 the United States had become the greatest supplier of military goods to Israel even though policy makers did not think that supplying Israel with this equipment would guarantee Israeli cooperation with U.S. initiatives in the Near East. In 1966, significant sales were Patton tanks and Skyhawk Jets, and in 1968, the Phantom Jet.[217]

American Strategy and the 1967 War

Nasser wanted a leadership role over the Arabs. Therefore, when the Israelis overcame the Syrian air force in the spring of 1967, he felt inclined to counter Israel's victory. In November 1966, he had signed a mutual defense pact with Syria, and after Syria asked that Nasser honor the agreement, the Egyptian president was under pressure to act militarily. These desires, actions and commitments were factors leading to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.[218]

In 1966, the Johnson administration knew that Israel had superiority over its Arab neighbors. America had supplied Israel with the F-4 Phantom, better than any of the Soviet MiGs possessed by the Arabs. Faced with an Arab-provoked crisis, Secretary of State Rusk observed that the American people would do something to help Israel, especially if "the fault is on the other side." The Johnson administration's reaction to Rusk was influenced by the events of the decade before. Although President Eisenhower had saved Nasser from the British, French and Israelis during the 1956-1957 Suez War, Nasser was thought to have acted ungratefully; he had involved Egypt in the Yemen civil war, and had attacked those Arab states thought friendly to the United States.[219]

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[217] Bard, *Water's Edge*, 208; Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 134-137.
[218] Brands, *Labyrinth*, 103.
[219] Ball, *Passionate*, 54-55.

According to George and Douglas Ball, U.S. did not interfere to prevent the 1967 Arab-Israeli War for the following reason: First, by allowing the nullification of the armies of the Soviets' Arab protégés, the West would cancel three or four years of Soviet work and encourage the radical Arabs to think of the Soviet Union as an unreliable protector; this might induce the Arabs to go to the United States for help to repossess their territory; whatever the case might be, the position of the United States would be stronger in the Middle East. Second, by demolishing the equipment the Soviet Union had sent to the Middle East, Israel would not only discomfit Moscow and its Arab allies but would lessen its need for additional American arms. Third, there were those (particularly in Congress) who hoped that the radical Arab regimes, without military arms, would be eliminated by their armies and peoples. Fourth, the war made possible a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since only the United States held sway in Jerusalem, the Arabs would have to approach the United States to get their territory back.[220]

On June 21, 1967 in the aftermath of the short war and a few days after the UN General Assembly special session meeting, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban met with Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Then after three weeks of debate in the General Assembly, the matter of a settlement was reserved for the regular September session of both bodies of the UN. In preparation for that session, the Americans showed Israel's representatives another draft resolution, written with the Soviets in mind; Israeli Foreign Ministry officials told the American ambassador, Barbour, that such a proposal would put America in conflict with Israel. America's domestic politics prohibited the use of U.S. economic,

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[220] Ibid., 55-56.

military, and diplomatic support to Israel as leverage to pressure it to be more cooperative.[221]

The military branch of the PLO had established itself in Jordan and from there was carrying out raids against Israel. Against the objections of the State Department, the Israelis launched an attack on the Jordanian town of Karameh in March 1968. The Israelis withdrew after encountering strong resistance from the Jordanian Army. The Israelis then destroyed the East Ghor irrigation canal, again contrary to the desire of the American government. The U.S. government restricted its response to a formal expression of disapproval. It held up delivery of arms for some weeks. In the following years that reaction would be repeated.[222]

Conclusions

The weapons President Johnson agreed to sell to Israel gave it military superiority in the region. American military aid to Israel increased under Johnson as opposed to Kennedy. Johnson, like Truman, was under domestic pressure (from interest groups, Congress, as well as American presidential electoral politics) to provide arms. Johnson, as Truman, was being pressured by parts of the national security bureaucracy against the sale of the Skyhawk and the Phantom. A difference between the two administrations was the character of the Cold War. In 1948 the Cold War was beginning; in the mid-1960s the Cold War had existed for about 20 years. This was exacerbated by the Vietnam War that was being legitimized by administration Cold War terminology. Thus, Johnson saw that

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[221] Ibid., 58-60.
[222] Ibid., 64.

88

Israel could be seen as a strategic asset in the Middle East because of the increasing

influence of the Soviet Union in certain places in the Arab world. This idea became

especially meaningful as the United States more and more became involved in Southeast

Asia and America's ability to intervene militarily in other areas of the world was

restricted.[223]

After the 1967 War, Egypt and other Arab countries broke with the U.S. and moved

towards the Soviet Union. Resultantly, the U.S. was more reliant on Israel for regional

influence. The fact that Israel had gained territory made it less popular at the UN and

around the world and thus more reliant on the U.S. Accordingly, in 1968, Israel requested

to buy fifty American Phantom jets and Johnson approved the sale. Reflecting the

strength of the special relationship between the U.S. and Israel in the late 1960s, the

presidential nominees of the two main parties agreed to the Phantom deal.[224]

The Nixon Administration

Nixon saw Israel mainly as a pro-American asset in relations with the Soviet Union

whereas Johnson had acted from a sense of personal and political duty to Israel. The

Nixon Doctrine promulgated the policy of using local proxies to guarantee security for

American interests in different regions of the world. This doctrine deepened U.S.

undertaking to Iran and to Israel. The Nixon administration was the first to nurture a

philosophy of Israel as a strategic asset.[225]

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[223] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 139.
[224] Brands, Labyrinth, 124.
[225] Ibid., 124-126.

The War of Attrition

After the 1967 War, Egypt supported guerrilla raids against Israel. This war lasted for three years.

Kissinger's view was favorable to Israel, but he wanted the United States to wait, not to act immediately. He based his plan on the assumption that by failing to secure a return of land for the Arabs, the Soviets would tire out the Arabs. America could then move in and force the Arabs to accept a peace acceptable to Israel. Nixon thought that Kissinger's Jewish background made him unable to handle Middle East matters so Secretary of State Rogers was assigned to work that area. On December 9, 1969, Rogers proposed the "Rogers Plan," which was accepted by Jordan and by Egypt. It called for a truce preceding talks followed by direct negotiations, and a settlement based on UN Resolution 242. Israel rejected the Rogers Plan. However, Kissinger and Nixon had sent a message to Prime Minister Meir that he did not support the Rogers Plan.[226]

While expressing to Yitzhak Rabin (then Israeli ambassador to Washington) that in 1970 the Nixon administration would be restricting deliveries to eight Phantoms and twenty Skyhawks, Kissinger suggested a cease-fire; Rabin spoke for Meir pointing out the dangers of the U.S. approach. There was the menace to Israel from Arab military power; and if Israel did not get all it desired then public opinion would force it to take some irrational action.[227]

Israeli reciprocal raids caused Nasser to go to the Soviet Union for help; in January 1970, after the Nixon Administration ignored a Soviet warning to the President, the

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[226] Ball, *Passionate*, 69.
[227] Ibid., 70.

Soviet Union gave Nasser an effective air defense system. On March 17, 1970, 1,500

Soviet technicians and SAM-3 missiles arrived to Egypt; additionally, Soviet troops there

were armed with a collection of advanced weapons. On June 4, eighty-five senators sent a

petition to Rogers insisting that Washington give 125 extra fighter planes to Israel.

Rogers proposed his "Plan B," which advised that the cease-fire be re-enforced for ninety

days, that the parties reaffirm Resolution 242, and that they agree to restart negotiations

under the leadership of Ambassador Jarring. On June 23, Nasser accepted "Plan B" and

two days later, Jordan did too. Prime Minister Meir insisted that the United States get an

agreement from Egypt and the Soviet Union to stop "from changing the military *status

quo* by emplacing SAMs west of the Suez Canal," and the United State pledge to give aid

to Israel "in all that concerns the maintenance of her security and balance of forces in the

region." On July 23 and for two weeks thereafter, President Nixon and Meir

corresponded. America, Nixon said to Meir, would not force Israel to accept the Arab

interpretation of Resolution 242 by creating guidelines for the reinstated Jarring Mission.

That statement showed a change from the interpretation of the Johnson administration,

which had required that, in exchange for peace, Israel must give up all of the Occupied

Territories.[228]

The Jordanian Crisis, June to September 1970

During the summer of 1970 there was a crisis in Jordan. The PLO was trying to

assassinate King Hussein. On September 5, the PFLP, affiliated with the PLO,[229] hijacked

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[228] Ibid., 71.
[229] Haig, *Inner Circles*, 242.

three airplanes (British, Swiss, and American) and took them to an airfield near Amman. On September 20-21, the Nixon administration decided that the Israelis should be encouraged to implement air strikes against a Syrian invasion of northern Jordan. On September 21, the United States permitted an Israeli ground operation in Jordan, conditional upon King Hussein's acquiescence. The King agreed to Israeli air strikes, but he rejected Israeli ground operations. According to Alexander Haig, at that time member of the NSC Staff at the White House,[230] the Israelis may have destroyed some Syrian tanks in northern Jordan.[231]

Syria eventually withdrew the forces it had sent to help the PLO and, without Syrian aid, the latter was overcome. Supporters of Israel have said since then that this incident illustrates Israel's readiness to protect the United States' interest in stopping the extension of Soviet power through its Syrian proxy. Moreover, as Syria was one of Israel's dangerous enemies, Israel was taking care of its own interest as well.[232]

Nixon sent to Prime Minister Rabin a message saying that he would never forget Israel's part in preventing the downfall of Jordan, in stopping the attempt to overthrow the regime there. Nixon stated that the United States was fortunate in having an ally like Israel in the Middle East. Rabin said in reply that this was probably the most positive statement ever made by a president of the United States on the benefits of friendship to Israel and United States.[233] On a more negative note, Nixon claimed in his memoirs that it was difficult not to be pro-Israeli without being accused of being anti-Israeli or anti-

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[230] Tad Szulck, "On the War: Hopefulness and Caution," *New York Times*, February 19, 1970, http://www.proquest.com.
[231] Haig, *Inner Circles*, 251.
[232] Ibid., 72-73.
[233] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 140

Semitic. He and National Security Advisor Kissinger saw the Middle East as a component of the East-West struggle.[234]

The Sadat Era Begins: 1970-1973

Sadat approached American representatives in Cairo and with their help wrote a peace proposal. Washington rejected the proposal. In May 1971, Sadat decided to keep his relationship with the USSR and signed a friendship treaty with the Soviets. At the May 1972 Moscow Conference, Gromyko and Kissinger agreed again on Resolution 242; Sadat surmised that the Soviet Union had gone back on its promises to regain Egypt's seized territories. He threw out his Soviet advisers and, in February 1973, sent an envoy to Kissinger to talk about a United States-produced deal.[235]

In its arms-aid negotiations in 1973, Israel used Jewish Americans' political pressures on Congress well; by March 1, 1973, President Nixon agreed to new airplane deliveries and plans for a U.S.-Israeli production of aircraft in Israel.[236]

The Yom Kippur War

In the 1973 War, which began on October 6, Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel by surprise. The Mossad (Israeli Secret Service) had failed to notify the government that Sadat had significantly improved its army. The Egyptians were well equipped with anti-tank weapons and protective ground-to-air missiles. What Israel had failed to foresee was that the Russians would help Egypt make a dense missile wall.

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[234] Ball, *Passionate*, 68.
[235] Ibid., 73.
[236] Ibid., 74.

Additionally, the Soviets supplied the Egyptians with SCUD surface-to-surface missiles.[237]

Disregard of the UN Cease-Fire

On October 22, 1973, during the third week of the war, a UN cease-fire was proclaimed; Israel counterattacked across the Canal and worked to encircle the Egyptian Third Army. Then the United States supported another resolution from the UN Security Council, requesting the parties to obey the cease-fire. The United States threatened to help the Egyptians if the Israelis did not back off. During and after the truce, the Israelis requested more concessions and asserted that they would publicize the U.S. involvement with the Soviet Union in spelling out truce terms to Israel. The United States agreed to deliver additional planes and tanks to Israel.[238]

American Strategy and the Yom Kippur War

Spiegel explains that American action in the Cuban missile crisis, for example, was possible because President Kennedy was warned in time. During the Yom Kippur war, problems of erroneous assumptions in Washington began with an intelligence breakdown, which had four fundamental causes. 1) American intelligence relied on the Israelis; 2) underestimation of Arabs by Americans; 3) Arab deception; 4) Nixon and Kissinger believed that the Russians would fulfill their commitment to inform the U.S. of coming conflict in the Middle East.[239]

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[237] Ibid., 74-75.
[238] Ibid., 75.
[239] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 247.

94

The Administration first censured the Arab attack. Moreover, for the first time during an Arab-Israeli war, the U.S. did not impose an arms embargo on all combatants. Nixon thought that only a battlefield gridlock would provide a basis upon which productive negotiations might begin. While the Administration's priority was to watch over the interest of the Israelis during this conflict, at the same time they wanted to support them in such a way that they would maintain good relations with the Egyptians, the Syrians and the other Arab nations. Nonetheless, Jerusalem had been promised that additional American arms would be given in a crisis. Also, it was highly important to Nixon and Kissinger that the U.S. military be seen as credible. Israel should not attain a 1967-style victory but the U.S. could not tolerate one of its most noticeable allies to be coerced.[240]

As the military deadlock developed in the Sinai, U.S. and Israeli goals began to differ noticeably. The American leaders thought that a cease-fire should be obtained before the Israeli forces recovered and the Russians began to reequip their Arab clients. The Israelis, however, were intent to demonstrate their military superiority. Kissinger delayed in giving arms to Israel; Secretary of Defense Schlesinger claimed that the U.S. delayed refurnishing hoping that the ceasefire could be brought about quickly. By Thursday, Kissinger had persuaded Meir to accept a cease-fire. American oil interests in the Persian Gulf should remain secure. The State Department and the NSC, without much involvement of the president, carried out the U.S. strategy to end the war without a decisive victory for either side before a resupply of Israel became necessary.[241]

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[240] Ibid, 248-249.
[241] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 250-255.

There had been no other Mideast war in which domestic support for Israel –

especially arms re-supplies – was as strong, united and articulated. The oil companies

(Aramco: Mobil, Exxon, Chevron, and Texaco) sent a letter to Nixon and Kissinger

stating that

> We are convinced of the seriousness of the Saudis…that any actions of the
> U.S.…increased military aid to Israel… [will have] adverse effects on our relations
> with the moderate Arab producing countries…in the present highly charged climate
> in the Middle East, there is a high probability that a single action taken by one
> producer government against the U.S. would have a snowballing effect that would
> produce a major petroleum supply crisis.

The Nixon Administration agreed to a cease fire that was linked to Security Council

Resolution 242. The agreement was passed by the Security Council as Resolution 338.[242]

Aftermath of October 1973

Nixon and Kissinger were aware of the importance of Egypt in Middle East politics.

Kissinger's goals were 1) to separate the Egyptians from the Russians and to encourage

them to make a settlement with Israel; 2) to show the Arab oil producers that his

involvement could possibly resolve a twenty-five year old conflict; 3) to impress upon

the Israelis that they would gain more by depending upon his diplomatic skill than by

continuing the war; 4) to keep the backing of Israel's friends at home. Whatever he might

say in public, Kissinger's actions showed to the Arabs that oil and Arab-Israeli relations

were indeed linked. In negotiations Kissinger used appeals, threats, and prestige of office.

In a written memorandum that was part of the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement accord,

Kissinger pledged to Israel that he would do his best to be responsive to Israel's future

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[242] Ibid., 256-261.

needs, however during the Syrian-Israeli negotiations that followed the Egypt-Israeli accord, Nixon and Kissinger suggested that the amount of aid would be contingent upon her concessions. Soon Kissinger talked about increased economic aid and even military assistance to Egypt. In early February 1974, Arab producers would not remove the oil embargo. On the fourth Middle East trip, Kissinger talked to the Saudis about military sales and aid. Nixon connected peace and oil in a speech on March 19, 1974, saying that he was "confident that the progress we are going to continue to make on the peace front in the Mideast will be very helpful in seeing to it that an oil embargo is not re-imposed." Nixon said that the purpose of U.S. policy was to move the Israelis back, step by step, until they "fell off" the Golan Heights. Furthermore, Nixon suggested that he wanted additional concessions for economic and military aid.[243]

Step-by-step diplomacy 1973-1975

In October 1973, Kissinger told Meir "We all have to accept the judgment of other nations." In the end Israel agreed to the six-point program produced by Kissinger.[244]

The Geneva Conference, 1973

The U.S. government agreed to UN Resolution 338 and its third article, calling for the Geneva Conference. Israel insisted on a provision saying that once the conference was in session, Israel could veto further members – for example, the PLO. Nixon responded by warning Meir that if Israel failed to cooperate at the conference, then the

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[243] Ibid., 267-282.
[244] Ball, *Passionate*, 76.

United States would not be able to "justify the support which [he had] …rendered in [the United States and Israel's] interests to [Israel's] government."[245]

The Egyptian Israeli disengagement

At the beginning of Kissinger's disengagement talks, Sadat's primary request was to remove the Israelis off of Egyptian land. The Israelis had several objectives, namely, a demand that the blockade at the mouth of the Red Sea be removed; that the Strait of Tiran be passable; that Israeli ships be permitted to use the Suez Canal; and that the Egyptians proclaim a declaration of nonbelligerency. In the end, on January 18, 1987, because of Sadat's flexibility and Kissinger's adeptness, the Israelis signed an agreement with Egypt at Kilometer 101.[246]

The Consequences of the oil embargo

After the deal with Egypt, Kissinger moved between Jerusalem and Damascus. The Arabs were not willing to lift the oil embargo, until the United States had completed an Israeli-Syrian agreement. The Israelis accepted a plan (which Kissinger had worked out with the Syrians); the disengagement phase was finished when both sides signed an agreement on May 18, 1974.[247]

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[245] Ibid., 76-77.
[246] Ibid., 78.
[247] Ibid., 79-80.

The Ford-Kissinger period, 1974-1977

Kissinger engaged in talks with the Jordanians. King Hussein of Jordan communicated his desire to talk to the Israelis about recovery of the West Bank before the Arabs deprived him of his position as negotiator for that territory. On January 20, 1974, Kissinger conveyed Hussein's message to the Israelis but they were not agreeable to giving up the West Bank. On October 28, 1974, at an Arab conference at Rabat, the Arabs declared that the PLO was the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." That act decreased Hussein's authority to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians of the West Bank. Although the U.S. tried to get Sadat to intervene on the King's behalf, Sadat sided with the Syrians and Saudis to push through this resolution.[248]

Kissinger controlled events so as to increase U.S. influence in the Middle East, and decrease Soviet influence. Kissinger and Nixon produced conditions for a limited settlement to direct Egypt's attention away from Moscow and towards Washington.[249]

The Ford Administration

Ford started a review process of American policy toward Israel; Between March and September 1975, he would not conclude new arm sales. Ford was reacting to what he considered Israeli intransigence to a complete withdrawal from Sinai. On September 1, a Sinai agreement was finalized; an aspect of this agreement was an Israeli-American "memorandum of understanding," which made possible an expansion of American military and economic aid, and also the provision to Israel of oil it lost through the

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[248] Ibid., 80-81.
[249] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 312-314.

relinquishment of the Sinai oil fields. Notwithstanding this uneasy time during the Ford Administration, the American-Israeli strategic relationship expanded. As a reaction to the Israeli agreement with Egypt on disengagement, the United States increased aid to the point where Israel received weapons before other nations.[250]

Ford later explained the generous arms assistance to Israel as follows: "Nothing was more important to the Israelis than their own military security. If we provided the hardware, we could convince the Israelis that they were secure. Then they might be willing to accept some risks in the search for peace." Ford in this way described the strategy that he had renounced during most of 1975, which assumed that Israel would be willing to compromise if well armed. The opposite method followed by Ford and Kissinger during 1975 was to refuse Israel arms thinking that only an arms delay would move Israel to be flexible. Neither strategy was successful. Israel showed willingness to compromise only when a good deal could be made and that depended more on the Arab position than on the U.S.'s arms program.[251]

The Carter Administration

Under Carter the strategic relationship between the two countries grew. A Memorandum of Agreement on Principles Governing Mutual Cooperation in Research and Development, Scientist and Engineer Exchange, and Procurement and Logistics Support of Selected Defense Equipment was finalized in March 1979.[252] The Soviet-U.S. relationship was no longer the most important focus of American foreign policy. The

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[250] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 142.
[251] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 301.
[252] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 143.

State, NSC and president agreed on the Palestine issue, the Soviet Union as an actor in the peace process and Saudis as playing a significant role in the area.[253]

Land for Peace

Carter's National Security Advisor Brzezinski saw oil, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab-Israeli problem as parts of the Middle East conflict that must be considered if there was to be peace in the region. A doctrine proposed by the Carter Administration argued that Israel should return to 1967 borders because the Palestinians were worthy of a homeland, and a smaller Israel would make possible Middle East stability. Territory and peace would not fit together. On Oct 1, 1977 a joint U.S.-Soviet document was issued in which the U.S. accepted for first time the term *legitimate rights of the Palestinian people*. On November 18, 1977, Sadat's trip to Jerusalem changed the context of Mideast diplomacy. In spite of the upsurge of anti-American Islamic fundamentalism in Iran, the hostage crisis, the Iran-Iraq war and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Camp David Accords of the Carter administration expressed the most powerful progress any president had made on the Arab-Israel conflict.[254]

The Reagan Administration

The most significant agreement concluded between the two countries was the Strategic Cooperation Agreement in 1981, signed November 30, 1981. It led to closer military cooperation between the two countries. Although the Strategic Cooperation

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[253] Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli*, 318, 320.
[254] Ibid., 322, 323, 338, 341, 380.

Agreement appeared impressive on paper, it was not seen this way by either side. Prime

Minister Begin was looking for the establishment of what he considered a real alliance.

This he defined as being based on equality between the countries and based on common

interests.[255]

The AWACS debate was not the only omen of future disagreements between

Israel and the pro-Israeli Reagan administration. In mid 1981, Begin directed the

bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad. Although many officials in

Washington thought well of Israel's technical excellence, open approval of this form of

"nonproliferation" policy toward Iraq, member of IAEA, would be difficult to justify. So,

the U.S. punished Israel slightly by holding up delivery of F-16 for a few months.[256]

There was disagreement in the Reagan administration over how to deal with Israel in

Lebanon. When Haig left, Israel felt it had lost a good friend and Shultz took over as pro-

Arab.[257]

December 9, 1987 marked the beginning of the first *intifada,* or uprising of the

Palestinians that took place in various parts of Israel. Shamir sent a six page letter to

Shultz on January 17, 1988, suggesting that the Israeli position on "autonomy" for

Palestinians might be easing. Also, American Jewish leaders began to push Shultz to

become more actively involved. Finally, President Mubarak of Egypt came to

Washington to ask that the American leadership prevent radicalization of the entire area.

On March 4, 1988, Shultz proposed a "blend of ideas," to redo the Camp David Accords.

In the last days of the Reagan presidency, the U.S. agreed to begin official discussions

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[255] Miglietta, *American Alliance,* 145.
[256] Quandt, *Peace Process,* 249.
[257] Ibid., 251-253.

with the PLO. In summary, the PLO, pushed to the side as the intifada progressed and under pressure by the Soviets and Arabs, finally met the American conditions.[258]

In April 1988, American Jewish leaders with the Swedish government began to look into the possibility of meeting with the PLO. In a letter of December 3, 1988, Shultz communicated to Arafat the American position and what he would have to say to meet U.S. approval. After Arafat spoke on December 13, 1988 before the UN special session, Shultz agreed that Arafat had met American conditions; thereafter, Reagan agreed to U.S.-PLO discussions.[259]

Influenced by Professor of International Law, Eugene Rostow, Reagan considered Israeli settlements in the occupied territories as *not illegal*. Reagan was passive on the Middle East and this slowed U.S. peace diplomacy. Reagan and Shultz reacted to events and had no clear design.[260]

The Post-Cold War and American-Israeli Relations

Israel continues to be seen as the United States' strategic partner in the Middle East. For example, according to the Republican Party platform, the strategic relationship is important as it involves Israel, the "only true democracy in the Middle East." With the end of the Cold War, the American-Israeli alliance still exists. The alliance will be directed towards new threats, and strategic analyses will be exceedingly important to both

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[258] Ibid., 274-278.
[259] Ibid., 278-285.
[260] Ibid., 287-288.

nations. According to Miglietta, an important reason for this is the significance that Israel

possesses in American domestic politics.[261]

The Bush Administration

In response to media reports that in the middle of decreased tensions with the Soviet

Union, Israel's strategic importance to the United States was diminishing, Secretary of

Defense Cheney stressed that political changes in the world made America's alliance

relationships even more important.[262]

Baker worked out procedures for the 1991 U.S-Soviet sponsored Madrid conference,

a meeting between Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians. Bush linked

provision of aid to Israel to curtailment of settlement activity. Bush and Baker worked

with Shamir, attempting to urge him toward more moderate positions. However, due to

declining domestic support between 1991 and 1992, Bush wasn't able to go past the first

phase of the Madrid talks.[263]

Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush

Clinton's December 2000 plan, in which the President called for a Palestinian state

in about 95 percent of the West Bank, provided a substantive structure for negotiations.

Quandt observes that by the end of the first term of George W. Bush, American policy

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[261] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 165-166.
[262] Ibid., 147.
[263] Quandt, *Peace Process*, 317-318.

had moved to a new and significant degree of support for a Likud-led Israeli government.[264]

U.S.-Israeli Relations with the Third World

The American-Israeli relationship with the third world has been strategically important for both parties. The United States has tried to use Israel in order to provide aid to third world countries. Both the United States and Israel have tried to help pro-Western conservative states against external threats as well as internal conflicts. This has been supported by the argument that these forces were either directly or indirectly aided by the Soviet Union.[265]

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[264] Ibid., 375, 377, 408.
[265] Miglietta, *American Alliance*, 163-164.

105

CHAPTER 4

THE ISRAELI MILITARY INITIATIVES

This chapter will describe the Israeli military initiatives (case studies). The purpose

of this chronicle is to provide background information to the Israeli interventions, to

which the U.S. responded, which reactions are measured in this study. The author will

present for each case its background, the main events, its causes and outcomes.

1967 War

Background

The 1967 War goes by a variety of names, for example, the Six-Day War or the

Arab-Israeli conflict. Any of the above may be used in this study.

The context within which the Six-Day War unfolded is first presented; Zionism is the

starting ground. Proponents of Zionism favor a Jewish state in the Land of Israel (Eretz

Yisrael). By the end of World War I, the British, in place of the Turks, occupied Palestine

and, under the Balfour Declaration, promised to build a Jewish national home there.[266]

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[266] Michael Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford, 2002), 2.

106

During the British Mandate, the population of Jews living in Palestine increased with those coming from Europe. The Arabs of Palestine were not pleased by the presence of the newcomers. Every new Jewish immigration into Palestine produced riots, in 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1936.[267] Finally, in 1939, the British issued the White Paper which severely restricted Jewish immigration into the Land of Israel.

Near the end of World War II, the *Irgun* militia of Menachem Begin resisted the British mandate in Palestine. Later the *Haganah* also fought the British. By 1947, Britain was ready to give Palestine to the United Nations. Resultantly, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 181 (GA Resolution 181). This produced two states in Palestine, one Arab and the other Jewish, and an international regime for Jerusalem. The resolution passed on November 29, 1947. The day after, Palestinian guerrillas attacked Jewish residences and, by April of 1948, the Jews responded militarily. On May 14, 1948, the Jewish state, Israel, was established. A war followed between five Arab nations and Israel. In early 1949, Egypt called for an armistice. The War of Independence was over. Jordan annexed the West Bank and Egypt occupied Gaza. These lands, according to UN Resolution 181, were to be part of an Arab state; Israel had obtained 30 percent more land than had been allotted to it by UN Resolution 181.[268]

The Soviets had supported Israel since its foundation; however, in 1954, they switched to help the Arabs. Also, the U.S. and Britain tried to end the Arab-Israeli conflict through plan Alpha, through which Israel would give up territory in exchange for an Arab promise of peace. The plan didn't work. In response to guerrilla attacks, IDF

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[267] Ibid., 3.
[268] Ibid., 4, 5, 6.

107

units sent raids across the border into the West Bank. The Gaza Raid on February 28, 1955 resulted in the deaths of fifty-one Egyptian soldiers and eight Israelis. By 1956, Prime Minister Ben Gurion was ready to fight Nasser. Israel found support from France. Then on July 23, 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. The Eisenhower administration tried Gamma, another plan to subdue Egypt with a piece of Israeli land. Afterwards, Eisenhower agreed to Omega – an attempt to remove Nasser through any means except assassination. On September 24, 1956, Israel, France and Great Britain agreed to a protocol through which Israel would advance on the Suez and the Europeans would rush to occupy it. In the process, the Israelis would get to destroy Egypt's army and open the Strait of Tiran. Although the three won the war, they lost the political battle. The world community condemned the attack and the French and British troops pulled out.[269]

After the Suez War, Nasser initiated conflicts known as the Arab Cold War, consisting of coups or assassinations against Middle East monarchies. In 1958, Nasser joined with Syria to form the United Arab Republic (UAR). In 1961, the UAR broke up when a group of officers, including Hafez al-Assad, brought about a coup, tearing Syria away from the union.

President Kennedy gave to Egypt semiannual shipments of wheat. Although during the Kennedy administration the United States contributed $75 million of U.S. weapons to Israel, the U.S. did not like much of Israel's policies, including its retaliations against Arab guerilla warfare.[270]

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[269] Ibid., 8, 9, 10, 11.
[270] Ibid., 11-14, 16.

Arab leaders gathered in Cairo on January 14, 1964. A $17.5 million Arab League

plan was accepted for redirecting the Jordan at its sources and reducing Israel's water.

The conference established a United Arab Command in preparation for Israeli offensive

reaction. Meanwhile Nasser was still involved in the Yemen entanglement. As of August,

1965, Nasser still had 70,000 troops in Yemen, held over from the 1962 civil war, during

which his army officers had supported Abdallah al-Sallal's overthrow of the ruling Iman

Badr. The Saudis, who had taken the side of royalist Badr, now reminded Nasser that his

involvement in Yemen stopped him from saving Palestine.[271]

From 1964 to early 1967, U.S.-Egyptian relations had worsened in part because of

the imbroglio in Yemen, and also because of differences over aid.[272] In November 1964,

rioters in Cairo attacked the U.S. embassy. In response, the U.S. stopped providing aid to

Egypt. Conditions in Egypt and other Arab nations deteriorated. Low health care and

unemployment were a few of these nations' problems. Al-Fatah moved into Israel on

January 1, 1965.[273]

The Storm, a military unit of al-Fatah, was supported by Syria in implementing

thirty-five attacks against Israel. Nasser and Jordan's King Hussein were threatened by

Syria-sponsored terror. Israel had its problems with Jordan; over half of al-Fatah's raids

originated from the West Bank. Israel cautioned Hussein that terrorism had to cease. It

did not, however, subside; in May 1965, after the killing of six Israelis, the Israeli

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[271] Ibid., 19, 20, 21, 15, 21.
[272] Quandt, *Peace Process*, 24.
[273] *Oren, Six Days of War*, 21-22.

Defense Force (IDF) responded. The IDF moved into Qalqilya, Shun, and Jenin, in the West Bank.[274]

Another problem for Israel was the state of its relationship with France. This had worsened since the coming of de Gaulle. Although in 1961, French Mirage fighter jets had been provided to Israel, by 1965, Egypt's General 'Amer was accepted as a guest in Paris. Therefore, Israel turned to the United States and President Johnson, who gave Israel $52 million in civilian aid but not military support. In addition to America's longstanding refusal to side with the Israelis over the Arabs, another factor was Johnson's absorption with the Vietnam War.[275]

During 1966, Israel counted ninety-three border conflicts – for example, shootings and mines – and the Syrians proudly claimed seventy-five guerrilla attacks in February-March. In these same months a Baathist coup occurred. In 1966, the Soviet Union poured $428 million into Syria, a substantial investment; in the same year, the Soviets pledged "backing for the Arabs in their just cause against colonialist Zionism."[276]

Nasser worked with the Israeli secret service, the Mossad, to counteract belligerent Syria. The deal was similar to an arrangement from the 1950s: Israeli help in getting international aid for Egypt in exchange for an alleviation of anti-Israeli propaganda in Egypt and a reduction of the Suez Canal blockade. However, the plan faltered when in June 1966, Israeli Prime Minister Eshkol, not willing to trust Nasser with the leader of Israel's top-secret security unit, stopped a Mossad visit to Cairo. Resultantly, the Egyptians terminated the plan, worrying that their contacts would be uncovered.

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[274] Ibid., 24-25.
[275] Ibid., 26.
[276] Ibid., 27-28.

Moreover, on November 4, 1966, seemingly moving towards war, the Egyptians and

Syrians signed a defense treaty. Then, six days later, on the Israeli border across from

Hebron, a police vehicle hit a mine and three policemen were killed, one wounded. The

next day, Friday, November 11, Hussein wrote an apology note that Eshkol failed to read

by the weekend, during which, Israel responded with the Samu raid into the West Bank

of Jordan.[277] These latter events led to the 1967 War.

December 4, 1966, an Egyptian high ranking official, Abd al-Hakim 'Amer,

recommended to Nasser to order the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) out of

Egypt, place Egypt's army in Sinai and blockade the Strait of Tiran. In early January

1967, Syrian tanks shelled Kibbutz Almagor. During the first part of 1967, 270 attacks

were directed against Israel from the Jordanian border, an increase of 100 percent. Syrian

support of Palestinian guerrilla attacks became so obvious that American officials

changed their usual opposition to Israeli retaliations. For example, Undersecretary of

State Rostow said that "an attack *from* a state is an attack *by* a state."[278]

On April 7, following a March 31 strike by Palestinian guerrillas against an irrigation

pump and railroad tracks on the Jordanian border, Israelis fought the Syrians in a ground

and air battle during which Israel established air supremacy.[279]

Then on May 14, a national emergency was announced in Egypt, and Egyptian

troops marched to the front in the Sinai. Nasser sent a message to Israel: it would not

allow any Israeli aggression against Syria. Prime Minister Eshkol met with the Soviet

Ambassador Chuvakhin to assure him that the IDF was not planning to take over

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[277] Ibid, 30-32; Quandt, *Peace Process*, 24.
[278] Ibid.,39, 42, 45.
[279] Ibid., 46; Quandt, Peace Process, 24; Michael Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis: Israel, 1967 and 1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 35.

Damascus and asked him to inspect the northern border. Chuvakhin refused to visit the Israeli northern border. Israel tried to get the State Department, the British Foreign Office and UN Secretary General U Thant to convince Nasser that Israel had no bellicose intentions. In the meantime, Egypt mobilized divisions of soldiers and numbers of troops in the Sinai.[280] Prime Minister Eshkol and Defense Minister Rabin, and the Chief of Staff of the IDF decided to prepare army units and to position some near the Egyptian border.[281]

Egyptian Brig Gen. Mukhtar delivered a letter from Egyptian General Fawzi to General Rikheye at the Sinai requesting that the UNEF, guarding the Sinai (and the Gaza), withdraw its troops. U Thant in New York received the same letter and, although his legal counsel advised against withdrawal before consulting with the UN bodies, he did not take this advice. The UNEF officially evacuated on May 19.[282]

On May 17, Undersecretary of State Rostow told Israeli Ambassador Harmon that Israel "will not stand alone," if it did not act unilaterally; and President Johnson sent Israeli Prime Minister Eshkol a letter in which he pointedly asked to be informed before Israel took any action.[283] On May 19, Israeli Gen. Yariv brought out aerial photos of Egyptian forces numbering 80,000 men, check 550 tanks, and 1,000 guns.[284] At that point, Defense Minister Eshkol and the General Staff decided on large-scale mobilization.[285] Israel sought security from France, Britain and the U.S. without a positive response, and the Egyptian buildup continued. Rabin was contemplating preemptive action, an attack to

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[280] Ibid., 58-59, 63.
[281] Quandt, *Peace Process*, 24; Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis*, 36.
[282] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 67-74.
[283] Ibid., 77; Quandt, *Peace Process*, 25.
[284] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 76.
[285] Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis*, 91.

destroy Egypt's air force. Soviet Ambassador Chuvakhin was called to the Israeli Foreign

Ministry and told by Foreign Minister Eban of Israel's peaceful intent. He responded by

defending Egypt's right to turn away UNEF and to censure Israeli aggression against

Syria. Chuvakhin denied Syrian involvement in the terrorist attacks, for which he blamed

the CIA.[286]

The Strait of Tiran

As a Red Sea port of Israel, Eilat was prosperous. Oil imports arrived from the Shah

of Iran, and in the previous two years much cargo had entered and exited Israel's

southern town.[287] On May 22, Nasser ordered that the Strait be closed to Israeli

shipping.[288] However, Eshkol would still not approve a preemptive strike. To Johnson,

the Soviets appeared cooperative.[289]

Johnson requested that Eshkol wait for forty-eight hours before taking military action.

U.S. ambassador Barbour considered the British idea of a multinational naval mission,

ultimately the Regatta escort plan, to protect maritime rights at the strait. In the meantime,

the President planned to gather international approval to open the Strait of Tiran.[290]

However, the Regatta faltered.[291] On May 23, President Johnson, describing the

blockade as illegal, said that Egypt had committed aggression in the Strait, "harming U.S.

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[286] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 77-78.
[287] Ibid., 83.
[288] Howard M. Sachar, *History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 625.
[289] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 87.
[290] Quandt, *Peace Process*, 28-29.
[291] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 106.

interests."[292] The Israeli Cabinet decided to put off a decision on whether or not to prosecute a war.[293]

Although the Soviets had pledged their support at the beginning of the crisis, the Russian attitude changed once the Strait of Tiran was blocked. Now the Soviets stressed the need for a settlement and their intention to implement it. Everyday that the Israelis maintained readiness for battle cost about $20 million.[294]

By May 26, the President had received many telegrams from American Jews pressing for U.S. support to Israel. At about the same time, the USSR was not restraining Egypt or Syria in making war on Israel, but on the contrary was publishing articles in the state-owned press to encourage them towards belligerency. When on May 26-27 Egyptian General Badran met with Soviet Premier Kosygin, the Russian leader told the General that after three months he would supply Egypt with weapons. On May 27, while Badran was in Moscow, a cable came from Washington in which the Israelis told of a coming Arab attack. Indeed, on that day the Egyptians were prepared to implement Operation Dawn, an attack against Israel. However, once the news was revealed, Nasser cancelled Operation Dawn.[295]

On May 27, while Eshkol demobilized about 40,000 reservists, the IDF leaders did not obey his orders. Then on May 28, the Cabinet decided to put the army on full alert.[296]

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[292] Ibid., 94.
[293] Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis*, 92.
[294] Ibid., 96, 98.
[295] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 112, 116, 117-118, 120.
[296] Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis*, 92.

In the meantime, Soviet official Grecko had assured Egyptian General Badran that if

"America enter[s] the war we will enter it on your side."[297]

Thus far the U.S. had not shown support for Israeli military action; the Soviet Union,

on the other hand, was committed to support her enemy.

May 31 to June 4

On May 30 a treaty was signed between Jordan and Egypt, under which the

signatories agreed to consider "any armed attack on either state or its forces as an attack

on both" and to "take all measure…at their disposal…to repulse that attack."[298] The

people of Israel were losing patience with the Government as it waited rather than defend

the land from the Arab nations – the Iraqis, the Jordanians, the Syrians and the Egyptians

– that were now united against the little state. A mass rally insisting on a unity

government was planned.[299]

Johnson sought after alternatives to Regatta to open the Tiran Strait. Neither

Congress nor American diplomats were in favor of Regatta. American Ambassador to

Syria, Hugh Smythe, suggested that the U.S. supported Israel for mere emotional reasons

whereas the Arab states were of important strategic, political, and commercial value.[300]

On May 30, in conference with other ministers and bureaucrats, Eshkol decided to

send Intelligence Head Meir Amit to the U.S. to decipher its intentions. On May 31, Amit

departed Israel. In Washington, James Jesus Angleton, member of the CIA, was there to

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[297] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 125.
[298] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 130; Michael Bar-Zohar, *Embassies in Crisis: Diplomats and Demagogues behind the Six-Day War* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 153.
[299] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 137.
[300] Ibid., 142.

greet him.[301] Angleton expressed that the Soviets had been planning this crisis for years.[302] Before Amit returned to Jerusalem he solicited Rusk for commitment to action but the Secretary of State responded that he could not offer more promises and warned once more against preemptive action. By May 31, the Secretary of State Dean Rusk was telling Israeli Ambassador Harman that the U.S. would pursue extended negotiations with Egypt and the convoy would be indefinitely deferred. Harman wondered, "Does Israel have to tolerate 10,000 casualties before the U.S. agrees that aggression had occurred?" and insisted that "Israel has had it."[303] This signaled that Israel was thinking of taking preemptive action against Egypt.

Defense Minister Moshe Dayan prepared for a preemptive war arguing that the country's "one chance for winning" the war was in "taking the initiative and fighting according to [its]... designs."[304] On Friday June 2, Dayan, Eshkol and ministers of the war cabinet met at military headquarters.[305] Dayan approved military plans to attack along three lines of advance into Sinai.[306] In the meantime, Foreign Minister Eban saw that Washington no longer was against Israeli military action. Secretary of State Rusk had said that it wasn't the U.S.'s business to restrain anyone. Finally, U.S. Ambassador Goldberg was plainspoken, reporting that the Israelis should understand that they now stood alone and that if they did act they would "know how to act."[307]

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[301] Quandt, *Peace Process*, 38.
[302] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 146.
[303] Ibid., 147.
[304] Ibid., 149.
[305] Bar-Zohar, *Embassies in Crisis*, 171.
[306] Brecht, *Decisions in Crisis*, 92.
[307] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 152-153.

Late on Saturday, June 3, Meir Amit and Harman returned from Washington with their report. Amit said that it was his impression that the Americans would bless any action that deflated Nasser. On Sunday morning, June 4, the Cabinet met. Eban reported that Johnson had softened to military action while hoping that Nasser would fire the first shot. A letter from Johnson concluded that "Israel will not be alone unless it decides to go it alone." Thus, the U.S. administration gave conflicting messages; on one hand Rusk and Goldberg seemed to give the green light for military action; on the other hand, Johnson warned that Israel would be alone, without U.S. support if it should act unilaterally.

In the end, the cabinet made its decision without strong approval from the Johnson Administration. It voted twelve to two in favor of war. The time of military action was set for 7:00 to 7:30 a.m., Monday, June 5, 1967.[308]

The Arab World

Nasser had two views of Israel's plans. On one hand he expected the Israelis to attack by June 5 at the latest. On the other hand, he thought that Israel would wait six to eight months. The Israelis, he thought, would not move without the Americans. Egyptian General Amer prepared for war. [309]

Meanwhile, Jordan, rather than placing its forces in strategic areas, placed nine of its eleven brigades in villages and towns to defend and calm. Syria prepared independently without regard to Egypt's plans. Arriving in Sinai were military units from Morocco, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia. Then the Syrians sent a brigade to fight along the Iraqis

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[308] Ibid., 157-158; Brecht, *Decisions in Crisis*, 92.
[309] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 158-159, 160.

117

in Jordan. Iraq had joined the Egypt-Jordan defense treaty. Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union Katriel Katz was summoned to the Kremlin, where Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko admonished him for war preparations. Israeli Defense Minister Dayan calculated that the Soviets would be slow to respond if the Israelis obtained a quick victory.[310]

June 5

At 7:10 a.m. the Israeli Air Force (IAF) flew sixteen French-manufactured jets from the airfield at Hatzor. IDF Operations Chief Ezer Weizman had spent five years planning this IAF operation, Focus. By the end of the first attack, four airfields in Sinai and two in Egypt had been knocked out; in a half an hour, 204 Egyptian planes had been destroyed. The IAF lost eight airplanes and five pilots. After almost three hours, Israel's pilots had destroyed 300 out of 340 of Nasser's combat planes on the ground. Simultaneously, at about 8:15 a.m., the ground war in the Sinai began.[311]

In the first day of Operation Red Sheet in the Sinai, Israeli casualties were ninety-three men wounded, sixty-six killed with a loss of twenty-eight tanks.[312] By the afternoon of June 7, Rafa, al-Arish and Gaza were conquered.[313] Starting on June 5 in the Sinai, General Ariel Sharon fought the battle of Um Cataf, which was won by June 6. Thus by June 6, the most difficult part of the Israeli plan had been fulfilled. Egyptian fortifications had been broken and circumvented.[314]

[310] Ibid., 161, 162, 164, 166, 161-168.
[311] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 170-172, 175-176; Sachar, *History of Israel*, 640.
[312] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 181.
[313] Sachar, *History of Israel*, 641.
[314] Ibid., 642-643.

Towards the east, at 8:30 a.m. General Yigal Allon used several diplomatic channels

to warn King Hussein that if he restrained from joining the war, Israel would not attack.

However, if Jordan started hostilities, Israel would react with all of its force.[315]

Although Jordan pounded the outskirts of Tel Aviv,[316] at 9:30 a.m. King Hussein

informed his people that Jordan had been attacked. As a result of Jordan's offensive, the

Syrian and Iraqi air forces entered the war. By the end of that first day, the Syrian air

force had suffered a great loss. Two-thirds of it had been taken out by the IDF.[317]

June 6

By 5:15 a.m. at Ammunition Hill in Jerusalem, one of the deadliest battles in Arab-

Israeli history was over. Seventy-one Jordanians were killed and forty-six wounded.

Thirty-five Israelis, a fourth of General Yoffe's force, died.[318] By noon a Jordanian army

report said that "the enemy has conquered all of Jerusalem except for the Old City."[319]

Over the night, Hussein appealed at least four times for a de facto cease-fire, but did not

receive a positive response. The Israelis indicated that battles still continued in Jerusalem

and Nablus. By late afternoon most of Jordan's army was in jeopardy of being abandoned

on the West Bank.[320]

Since June 6, the Syrians had bombarded Israel's northern settlements without pause.

Still, Israel withheld a response. By 2:00 a.m., however, the level of violence became

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[315] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 184; Sachar, *History of Israel*, 643.

[316] Sachar, *History of Israel*, 643.

[317] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 185, 186, 195.

[318] Ibid., 222; Sachar, *History of Israel*, 652.

[319] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 224.

[320] Ibid., 225-227; Sachar, *History of Israel*, 652.

unacceptable and Dayan ordered a deflection of Syrian fire through placement of

smoking barrels along the border.[321]

June 7

Hussein informed Nasser of the order given to his troops. He had commanded them

to remain on the West Bank and other fronts, to hold onto their positions and kill "the

enemy wherever you find them," and to recognize the cease-fire if Israel did.[322]

The conquest of the Old City, the eastern half of Jerusalem, proceeded. En route to

the once Jewish capital city of King David (circa 1000 B.C.), IDF chief chaplain Rabbi

Boren marched with a Torah scroll and a ram's horn in his arms. He had met General Gur

at the Rockefeller Museum and told him that "history will never forgive you if you sit

here and fail to enter [the Old City]." However, the Israeli government had just received

Secretary of State Dean Rusk's telegram suggesting that Israel accept a cease-fire with

Jordan.[323] While Eshkol communicated to Hussein willingness to discuss a ceasefire, the

latter did not accept the offer. Thereafter, at 9:45 a.m., Israeli tanks broke through the

Lions Gate to the Old City of Jerusalem and the city fell into Jewish hands.[324]

The war's end in view

As Hussein began to show signs of willingness to accept the cease-fire, Israel

became aware that the war was drawing to a close. In view of this impression, IDF Chief

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[321] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 228-229.

[322] Ibid., 240.

[323] Ibid., 243-244; Sachar, *History of Israel*, 654.

[324] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 244-245; Sachar, *History of Israel*, 654.

of Staff Yitzchak Rabin commanded the start of Operation Lights – the acquisition of Sharm al-Sheikh.[325]

In the course of the war, Nasser had expected arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union. However, the Kremlin was hesitant to provide additional weaponry, embarrassed by the poor performance of the Egyptians with the Soviet arms already in its possession.[326]

By the evening of June 7, the U.S.-Israeli agreement for a peace plan was faltering. Israeli officials were starting to suggest the need for a permanent IDF existence in Gaza and Sharm al-Sheikh. Also, most Israeli rulers viewed the possession of Jerusalem as irreversible.[327]

June 8

By the end of fours days of war, Israel's border had reached the Jordan River. The Israeli military was approaching the Suez Canal, in spite of orders to stay at least twelve miles from it. Israeli military advances were decided less by plan than by what was momentarily advantageous.[328]

The *Liberty*, an American surveillance ship navigating the Mediterranean off the coast of the Sinai, was attacked by Israeli planes. Israel claimed not to have realized the identity of the *Liberty*. Ultimately, the Israeli government paid $12 million to the U.S.[329]

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[325] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 247.
[326] Ibid., 251.
[327] Ibid., 254-255.
[328] Ibid., 255, 259.
[329] Ibid., 263-269.

However, the question of who sent the Liberty into the middle of the conflict and for what purpose has not been completely resolved.[330]

While Moscow had initially encouraged Nasser to enter the Sinai, now it cabled him to approve a cease-fire. Egyptian Foreign Minister Riad retorted that Egypt would fight until the Israelis were expelled from Egypt.[331]

The war seemed to be ending, a four-day war in which Israel had taken all of Sinai and the West Bank. Near midnight, Dayan called Gen. Elazar to inform him of the Cabinet's latest decision. Egypt had not executed the cease-fire and Israel, which had experienced many casualties, could not shoulder the burden of another front.[332]

June 9

Dayan called General Elazar at 6:00 a.m. to order an attack on the Golan Heights. The Defense Minister gave his reasons for the change: Egypt's observance of the cease-fire and the Syrian army's deterioration.[333] By noon, the Israelis had finished the Sinai Peninsula's acquisition. Deliveries of Russian arms arrived near Cairo, totaling about 50,000 tons by the month's end.[334]

At the UN, the Syrians asserted observation of the cease-fire. Israeli UN Ambassador Gideon Rafael reported that sixteen settlements were being shelled and called Syria's

[330] A. Jay Cristol, The Liberty Incident: the 1967 Israeli Attack on the U.S. Navy Spy Ship (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 2002), 22.
[331] Oren, Six days of War, 272.
[332] Ibid., 275-277.
[333] Bar-Zohar, Embassies in Crisis, 251; Oren, Six Days of War, 279.
[334] Oren, Six Days of War, 286.

acceptance of the cease-fire as "nothing but camouflage for a premeditated…attack against Israel."[335]

June 10

Chief UN Observer Odd Bull met with Dayan at 3:00 p.m. Bull stressed the need to stop the cycle in which the Israeli military forged ahead and the Syrians fought to protect themselves. Dayan argued that the Syrians were still shelling Israeli settlements and that if they ceased, the IDF would stop too. The ceasefire was to begin that evening.[336]

Causes of the War

The Russians warned the Egyptians that the Israelis were mobilizing troops on the Syrian border. The reasons for the Russians' call would remain unclear. Why the Soviets acted as they did came to be less important than the way the Egyptians responded. After a meeting on May 14, Egyptian leaders decided to meet again at 11:30 a.m. to decide the army's reaction.[337]

In their political contest with Egypt, the Syrians attacked the Israelis on their northern front. Then Israel reacted by utilizing the Demilitarized Zones (DZ) and the Syrians responded with guerrilla attacks. When the Israelis planned a reprisal, the Soviets told Nasser that the Israelis intended to invade. Thus, Egypt's forces entered the Sinai.[338]

During the night preceding the war's outbreak, Eshkol penned letters to Kosygin and Johnson. To the latter he explained the reason for Israeli action: Egyptian guns had fired

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[335] Ibid., 289.
[336] Ibid., 303; Bar-Zohar, *Embassies in Crisis*, 263.
[337] Sachar, *History of Israel*, 620; Oren, *Six Days of War*, 54-55.
[338] Ibid., 619-620; Oren, *Six Days of War*, 64.

on Israeli settlements; Egyptian aircraft had flown toward the border; Nasser had asked

for the downfall of Israel, the removal of UNEF and the closure of Tiran, the agreements

between Egypt and Syria, Egypt and Jordan, and the deception of the Soviets.[339]

Outcomes

Thirty-six planes and eighteen pilots, about 20 percent of Israel's air force, had been

destroyed. While the Soviet Union quickly resupplied Egypt's and Syria's MiG's, Israel's

requests for French Mirages and American Skyhawks were not filled. Between 175,000

(Israeli estimates) and 250,000 (Jordanian estimates) Palestinians left the West Bank for

Jordan. Israel had obtained 42,000 square miles and was three and a half times its original

size.[340]

Nasser's objective was to reclaim the lost Arab territories. He went to the Soviet

Union for a new army. Finally, the Soviets relented, after arguing futilely against

violence. With his reconstituted arsenal, Nasser was able to fight a three-year war of

attrition against Israeli forces in Sinai. By 1970, the Egyptian economy was in bad shape

and the country was filled with thousands of Soviet advisers. Hussein relinquished his

role as representative of the Palestinian people to the PLO.[341] An important outcome of

the 1967 War was diplomatic. The UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution

242. This Resolution requires the

> withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
> termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and
> acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence

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[339] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 168-170.
[340] Ibid., 306-307.
[341] Ibid., 318-322.

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.[342]

The Arabs argue that the term "territories occupied" means all the land Israel had conquered and the Israelis contend that the extent of their withdrawal is not definite but open to interpretation and dependant anyway on the termination of belligerency between the Arab states and Israel.

UN Resolution 242, supported by the U.S. at the UN Security Council, requires Israel to withdraw from lands won during the 1967 war. It reflects a negative attitude towards Israel's positive territorial gains.

1976 Entebbe

Background

Flight 139 originated from Tel Aviv on Sunday morning, June 27, stopping in Athens, en route to Paris. Four terrorists – Gabriele Kroch-Tiedmann (24-years-old), one Baader-Meinhof guerrilla member, and two Arabs (one a founder of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the PFLP) – boarded this flight in Athens. On account of a ground staff strike, security at the airport was slack. The hijackers secured clearance without passing through the metal-detector and having their baggage checked.[343] According to Menarchik, the hijacking of Air France Flight 139 began at 12:25 p.m. after

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[342] SC Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.
[343] William Stevenson, *90 Minutes at Entebbe* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976), 3-4.

departing from Athens Airport.[344] At 12:10 p.m., records passenger and diarist Moshe

Peretz, the PFLP took over control of the flight; at 3:00 p.m., the plane made an eight

hour stopover in Benghazi, Libya.[345] The crisis would persist one week, from Sunday,

July 27 to Sunday, July 4.[346] There were 254 passengers on board, eighty-three of whom

were Israelis.[347]

At 1:30 p.m., at the onset of the crisis, Israeli intelligence relayed a message about

the hijacking to the convened Israeli cabinet. Ben-Gurion Airport security staff reported

that they believed that at least eighty-three Israelis were on board. A crisis management

team was assembled at 3:30 p.m., consisting of Prime Minister Rabin and five cabinet

members, supported by specialists. Rabin also set up a command post in the office of El

Al's general manager, Mordechai Ben-Ari. It was discovered that the hijackers had

planned to stop in Libya and that they were directed by the PFLP, whose founder and

head of operations was Dr. Wadi Hadad.[348]

Uganda

In the first hours of Monday, Defense Minister Shimon Peres learned that Flight 139

was at Entebbe Airport in Uganda. For several years, Israel had supported Uganda

President Idi Amin and his airmen. Now the terrorists had a base in Uganda. The

[344] Edward Douglas Menarchik, "The Politics of the Israeli Rescue Operation at Entebbe: Crisis Resolution Between State and terrorist Organizations" (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1983), 66.
[345] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 4-6.
[346] Ibid., 6.
[347] Sachar, *History of Israel*, 829.
[348] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 6-9.

operational directors appeared to be coming from Somalia, supplied with Russian

equipment and harboring Dr. Hadad's PFLP guerrilla warfare specialists.[349]

Late Monday, the task force obtained a picture of the terrorist's plan from Israeli

intelligence. Operation Uganda was Dr. Hadad's creation. Competing for attention with

the PLO, which through some recent diplomatic enterprises was positioning itself as

moderate, Hadad had managed several hijacking operations to build the case for

increased violence. He had stationed himself in Somalia for Operation Uganda and sent

his hijack team to Athens. The team consisted of a German woman and Wilfried Böse,

German anarchist and known partner of the Jackal, Carlos Ramirez.[350]

On Tuesday, June 29, Uganda Radio declared the terms of liberation. The hijackers

required the delivery of fifty-three convicted terrorists, including forty held in Israel, six

in West Germany, five in Kenya, one in Switzerland, and the last in France. The terrorists

promised to kill the hostages and blow up the airbus if there was no Israeli answer by

2:00 p.m., Thursday, Israel time. A cabinet meeting was set for Thursday. Forty-seven

passengers were released and arrived in Paris on Wednesday night, June 30.[351] President

Amin's army participated as an accomplice in the hijacking of Flight 139.[352] Amin

allowed terrorists in Uganda or its border state, Somalia, to augment the members of the

hijacking team. An Israeli surveillance plane noted a flight from Libya that brought a

consultative team. Six additional armed men who enlisted with the terrorists at the old

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[349] Ibid., 10-11.
[350] Ibid., 13-14.
[351] J. Paul De B. Taillon, *Hijacking and Hostages: Government Responses to Terrorism* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 109; Iddo Netanyahu, *Entebbe, the Jonathan Netanyahu Story: a Defining Moment in the War on Terrorism* (Green Forest: Balfour Books, 2003), 18; Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 16-17; Yeshayahu, Ben-Porat, Eitan Haber and Zeev Schiff, *Entebbe Rescue* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1977), 135.
[352] Taillon, *Hijacking*, 109, 110, 112; Netanyahu, Entebbe, the Jonathan, 29-30; Stevenson, 90 Minutes, 63.

terminal building in Entebbe talked with Amin. Whereas Libyan al-Qaddafi promised

Amin millions of dollars in economic assistance, Amin had allowed the PLO to construct

training camps in his territory and had permitted Palestinian terrorists to train on his

Russian Mig jets. Additionally, on July 28, 1975, he had asked a PLO delegation to the

Organization of African Unity (OAU) conference in Kampala. Although Israel and Idi

Amin once had close ties – for example, IAF instructors established the Ugandan air

force – this relationship disintegrated when the former refused to help the latter attack

Tanzania. Consequently, Amin and Libyan ruler al-Qaddafi decided to support the

struggle of the Arabs against Zionism and imperialism: for the liberation of all "the

occupied Arab lands, for restoration of Palestinian rights, and the Palestinians' return to

their lands." Thus, in March 1972, the Amin regime announced the end of Ugandan-

Israeli relations.[353]

Diplomatic and Military Options

As the diplomatic activity reached a deadlock, the desire to use the military option

grew. A defense official said "The end will be that the military echelon will save the

political echelon…just as they did in the Six Day War." However, Prime Minister Rabin

was waiting for the military rescue option that was most likely to succeed.[354]

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[353] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 63, 67-72.
[354] Ibid., *90 Minutes*, 73; Taillon, *Hijacking*, 113, 115.

The Military option

The military planned to use planes to rescue the hostages. Initially, the Israeli government made contact with the Kenyan government officials through an Israeli trader located in Kenya.[355] In planning the military operation, an important concern was whether the Kenyan government would allow the rescue planes to refuel at Nairobi.[356] Kenyan officials agreed that there would be no opposition to IAF planes passing through Kenyan air space and that President Kenyatta would not "notice if any aircraft should land at the Nairobi airport for refueling."[357] Israeli intelligence gathered necessary information through Africans and, in some cases, specifically Kenyans.[358] On Friday, July 2, after a review of the latest intelligence from Entebbe, Rabin told opposition leader Menachem Begin that "I think we can do [a rescue operation]. What remains is to have General Gur attend a rehearsal of [the rescue operation] Thunderbolt and then if he is satisfied, we'll ask for full cabinet approval."[359]

The British offered cooperation: they had a secret defense alliance with Kenya that permitted the royal Air Force and airborne commandos to use Nairobi and other Kenyan airfields. On Friday, July 2, there was a significant increase in international cooperation coming from West Germany, Canada, France, Great Britain (Scotland Yard), the CIA and the FBI.[360] The risk was that if action was taken there was the possibility of losing thirty-

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[355] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 76.
[356] Ibid., 77.
[357] Taillon, *Hijacking*, 114.
[358] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 77-78; Taillon, *Hijacking*, 114.
[359] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 83-84.
[360] Ibid., 90 Minutes, 88; Taillon, Hijacking, 115.

five Israelis but if none was taken 105 persons might die through Ugandan execution. Execution of the hostages was set to occur Sunday morning, July 4.[361]

Operation Thunderbolt

On Saturday, July 3, the Israeli Cabinet voted unanimously to approve Operation Thunderbolt.[362]

The participants of Operation Thunderbolt were the Golani Brigade, the paratroops of the 35th Airborne, members of a counter guerrilla force, and young air force girls who would take care of the airborne wounded.[363]

The plane to be used was the C-130 Hercules.[364] The senior officers on the mission were few: a base commander and his operations officer, Brigadier General Dan Shomron and Lieutenant colonel Yehonatan "Yonni" Netanyahu. Two-hundred eighty paratroops prepared to get on board the Hercules aircraft. Fifteen minutes before final cabinet approval, on July 3, 3:30 p.m., the mission had been ordered into the air. The flight to Entebbe would take seven hours.[365]

Amin was at an African summit conference in Mauritius. According to Thunderbolt, the rescuers were to arrive at Entebbe disguised as Amin and his entourage, and storm the airport and free the hostages. Four Hercules transport planes and two Boeing 707s were used. One 707 flew ahead to Nairobi. It was equipped as an air command center. The

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[361] Stevenson, 90 Minutes, 88.
[362] Taillon, *Hijacking* 117.
[363] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 89.
[364] Ibid., 84.
[365] Ibid., *90 Minutes*, 95-102; Netanyahu, *Entebbe, the Jonathan*, 146.

second carried doctors and nurses. IAF Phantoms flew above the Hercules troop

transports. They carried devices to jam unfriendly radar.[366]

Saturday July 03, 1976 at Entebbe

Yonni and nine commandos, their faces painted black, were stuffed into a Mercedes

(the make used by Amin). However, as Uganda's president had just returned to Kenya

from Mauritius, a dummy president was not placed in the car.[367]

The four Hercules landed at Entebbe airport, just before midnight,[368] seemingly

unnoticed by the Ugandan guards. The rescuers from the third Hercules shouted to the

hostages in the terminal to lie flat.[369] On July 4, Prime Minister Rabin reported to the

Israeli Knesset on the rescue attempt; three Israeli citizens were killed and one Israeli

commando, Jonathan Netanyahu, died in battle.[370] According to Israeli military officials,

seven of the ten hijackers that had held the hostages at Entebbe and twenty Ugandan

soldiers were killed.[371]

Causes and Outcomes

The primary cause of the Israeli Raid on Entebbe was the abduction of eighty-three

Israeli citizens by the PFLP. A secondary reason for Thunderbolt was the lack of success

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[366] Stevenson, *90 Minutes*, 102-104.

[367] Ibid., 109.

[368] *BBC News*, "Recollections of Entebbe, 30 years on," July 3, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5101412.stm.

[369] Ibid., 111-117.

[370] Yitzhak Rabin, "Text of Rabin Statement to the Israeli Parliament" *New York Times*, 5 July 1976, 2; Menarchik writes in *Politics of the Israeli Rescue* (129) that two commandos were killed.

[371] "News Summary and Index" *New York Times*, 5 July 1976, 1.

of negotiation efforts and the fact that there was evidence of the complicity of President Idi Amin in the kidnapping of the hostages of Air France Flight 139.

One outcome of the mission was the freedom of almost one hundred Israeli citizens. A second result was the example set by Israel of the implementation of a successful mission to liberate victims of terrorism. Israel's success in overcoming this terrorist attack was certainly impressive to the U.S. Ambassador to the UN Scranton. He called the mission a combination of "guts and brains." Moreover, these words of praise followed a tangible display of anti-terrorism sentiment by the U.S. Indeed, the U.S. and Great Britain had earlier introduced a UN draft Resolution that would condemn "hijacking and other acts" that are a threat to the lives of airline passengers and crew.[372] Thus, Israel's raid on Entebbe was a successful anti-terrorist mission that not only drew U.S. praise but resulted in the other U.S. positive reaction of the drafting of UN anti-terrorist legislation.

1981 Osirak

Background

On April 28, 1937, Saddam Hussein was born in Iraq. In 1955, Saddam went to live with his uncle, Talfah. Saddam failed to pass the entrance exam to the Baghdad Military Academy. Thereafter, he was attracted to the Ba'ath party. On July 14, 1958, Gen. Abdul

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[372] Kathleen Teltsch, "Rescue by Israel Acclaimed by U.S. at Debate in U.N.," *New York Times*, July 13, 1976, http://proquest.umi.com.

Karim Qassem and his Ba'ath Party "Free Officers" brigade traveled to Baghdad and overthrew King Faisal and the Hashemite monarchy.[373]

In 1959, at the age of about twenty-two, after botching up an assassination job of Prime Minister Qassem, Saddam fled to Egypt, where he lived for about ten years. On July 17, 1968, the Iraqi Ba'ath Party took over its government. Al-Bakr, Saddam's cousin, became Prime Minister.[374]

Iraq and a Nuclear Reactor

After the Suez campaign the balance of power in the Middle East was changed as Britain and France left Egypt. However, France had an agreement with Israel to help it build a nuclear reactor. In 1958, in at Dimona in the Negev, groundbreaking began on the reactor. By December 1960, the Gaullist party had divulged to the press news of the fledgling reactor and Prime Minister Ben Gurion conceded to the Knesset the fact of the nuclear technology in the desert.[375]

At Dimona, Israel was enriching uranium 235 and thereby producing plutonium that could be used to make atomic bombs. By the end of the 1960s, Israeli means of obtaining enriched uranium was of interest to Saddam Hussein.[376] The procurement of enriched uranium was important to Saddam as the means through which he might make plutonium and thus have the fuel for nuclear weaponry.

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[373] Shlomo Nakdimon, *First Strike* (New York: Summit Books, 1987), 26; Roger W. Claire, *Raid on the Sun* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 11-16; Dan McKinnon, *Bullseye One Reactor* (San Diego: House of Hits Publishing, 1987), 32.
[374] Nakdimon, *First*, 26-27; Clair, *Raid*, 16-18; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 33-34.
[375] Claire, *Raid*, 25-26; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 43.
[376] Claire, *Raid*, 27-28, 30.

In the early 1960s, Iraq purchased from the Soviet Union a small five-megawatt

nuclear reactor. The UN's International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was not

concerned about this sale because such a small reactor could not produce weapons-grade

uranium.[377]

In 1972, when Saddam found that the reactor was useless, due to a faulty cleaning

job performed by Iraqis, he ordered all Soviet personnel out of Iraq, put the balance of

payments due to them in escrow, and offered to pay only five hundred thousand dollars

for the purchase.[378]

The 1973 OPEC oil embargo resulted in high gasoline prices. France was dependent

on Iraq for 20 percent of its oil. Hussein offered France a deal: 70 million barrels of oil a

year for ten years, at current prices, and Iraqi purchases of billions of dollars of French

military equipment. For this Saddam would get a nuclear reactor.[379]

In September 1975, Hussein visited Paris to come to an agreement to purchase two

nuclear reactors: one had the capability to produce weapons-grade material for nuclear

bombs and was called *Osiraq*, and the second was a smaller research reactor, *Isis*. The

Iraqis named the former, *Tammuz I*, and the latter, *Tammuz II*. They would be placed at

the Nuclear Research Center, located at al-Tuwaitha, south of Baghdad. France also

agreed to provide Iraq with seventy-two kilograms of weapons-grade uranium (enriched

to a degree needed for use in the manufacture of nuclear weapons[380]) for start-up fuel.

The IAEA noticed this sale because their attention was attracted to deals concerning U-

[377] Ibid., *Raid*, 31; Nakdimon, *First*, 41; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 58.
[378] Claire, *Raid*, 33.
[379] Ibid., 38; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 60; Nakdimon *First*, 50.
[380] Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Atomic Energy Commission (Office of the Prime Minister), *Iraqi Nuclear Threat: Why Israel Had to Act* (Jerusalem, 1981), ix.

235 which could be used for making an atomic bomb.[381] An agreement for nuclear

cooperation between France and Iraq was finalized on November 18, 1975.[382]

Already in May 1977, it was clear to the Israelis that Hussein had the ability to turn

Osiraq "hot" – fueled with radioactive uranium – in three to four years. Likud Party

member Menachem Begin was now the new Israeli Prime Minister. The cabinet thought

that diplomacy had failed with Hussein.[383] The U.S. did not want to pressure Iraq too

hard. Hussein had begun to remove himself from a close relationship with the Soviet

Union and had started to trade with the West. Iraq was importing more goods from the

U.S. than from the Soviets. Trade was at $200 million. After two years that number

would triple and, it was thought, there would be two hundred American businessmen

based in Baghdad. Begin announced that he would not approve of any raid on the reactor

without one hundred percent cabinet approval. He directed the two military chiefs, Eitan

and Ivry, to start making plans.[384]

Covert Resistance to Reactor

On April 6, 1979, the reactor core intended for Iraq was destroyed by explosive

charges. Some French sources blamed the Israeli Mossad. The French press suggested

that the Paris government might have gained from the explosion. Either the destruction of

the reactor gave the government more time to complete tests on a Caramel fuel (non

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[381] Claire, *Raid*, 38-40; Nakdimon, *First*, 59-62; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 60.

[382] Israel, *Iraqi Nuclear*, 30; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 60.

[383] From 1975 on, the Israeli government took diplomatic steps to stop France and Italy from assisting the Iraqi government in its effort to produce a nuclear reactor capable of producing nuclear bombs. For the story of Israel's diplomatic efforts see Israel, *Iraqi Nuclear Threat: Why Israel Had to Act* (Jerusalem, 1981), 29-35.

[384] Claire, *Raid*, 41-44; Nakdimon, *First*, 83, 108.

weapons-grade material) or the event made possible a way to back out of the deal with the Iraqis.[385]

Equipment for the nuclear project arrived regularly. For example, an Italian manufacturer SNIA Technit had sold Iraq a chemical reprocessing unit for the extraction of weapons-grade plutonium from uranium fuel rods.[386]

On June 6, a member of Iraq's Atomic Energy commission, Dr. Yahya al-Meshad entered Paris. He was working for Iraq's nuclear program. His visit concerned the Tammuz reactors. Meshad traveled to the nuclear center of Fontenay-aux-Roses, where he stayed a few days inspecting materials which France was to deliver to Iraq. On Saturday, June 14, a hotel employee found Meshad's lifeless body on the floor of his room in the Meridien Hotel. Several theories were offered to explain the apparent murder, one of which suggested that the killing was the work of the Mossad. Nonetheless, work on the reactor was neither delayed nor was communication between France and Iraq broken.[387]

France wrestles

French President Chirac said that the French Atomic Energy Commission was in control of the reactor. He had announced that France would give Iraq only the caramelized uranium. Iraq demanded that the treaty be observed: it wanted the seventy-

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[385] Nakdimon, *First*, 101; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 74-76.
[386] Claire, *Raid*, 54; Israel, *Why Israel*, 12; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 83; Nakdimon, *First*, 115.
[387] Nakdimon, *First*, 120-121; Claire, *Raid*, 66; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 76.

two pounds of 93-percent-enriched weapons-grade uranium. France consented to Iraq's demands.[388]

Israel and the Strike on Osirak

While Israeli army General Ivry planned a mission to strike Osirak, he worried that the reactor would become hot before he could strike it.[389] When the reactor was radioactive, any bombing would create the risk of fallout and civilian casualties, perhaps in the thousands.[390] On February 1, 1979, when the Shah of Iran was deposed as a result of the Ayatollah's Revolution, the U.S. offered to sell Israel the 160 F-16 Fighting Falcon jets that had been intended for the fallen monarchy. On account of the Shah's deposal, delivery of F-16's, originally scheduled for 1982, was changed to 1980.[391]

In the fall of 1979, General Ivry asked his IAF commanders to help select pilots for training in the F-16s. By February, 1980, SNIA Technit was completing work on Iraq's chemical reprocessing unit and "hot cells." These labs handled radioactive materials and extracted plutonium from the spent fuel. President Carter had requested that Italy not sell Iraq the hot cells but the Italians declined.[392]

Around October 15, 1980, Prime Minister Begin had a second secret meeting of cabinet ministers in Jerusalem. Two considerations guided the course of the meeting. First, there was the Israeli intelligence estimate of when Osirak would go hot, namely June 1981. Secondly, Israeli national elections were to be the next fall. Peres and Labor

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[388] Claire, *Raid*, 66; McKinnon, *Bullseye* 79; Nakdimon, *First*, 103.
[389] Claire, *Raid*, 66.
[390] Claire, *Raid*, 66; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 90.
[391] Claire, *Raid*, 70; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 18-20.
[392] Claire, *Raid*, 73.

137

were leading in the polls. If Begin were to lose the prime ministry and a new party was to control the government, the opportunity to end Iraq's nuclear threat might be lost. Called "Ammunition Hill," after a 1967 battle in Jerusalem, the mission to destroy Osirak was to be implemented by IAF pilots flying F-16s at low altitude, nonstop and without refueling.[393]

Israeli scientists traveled to meet with representatives of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission in Washington to learn about the effectiveness of bombs dropped on the Iraqi reactor. They pretended to be representatives of the Israeli Electric Company, shopping for nuclear reactors.[394]

In March 1979, President Carter agreed to give Israel KH-11 satellite photographs. This gave Israel views of troop movements and other activities as far as one hundred miles inside the borders of Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, and Jordan.[395] By 1981, the Israelis had expanded the agreement so that they were able to get almost any photo they wished from the system.[396] A secret investigation launched after the bombing of Osirak showed that Israel had used KH-11 satellite photographs to bomb the reactor.[397]

Writing for the *Washington Post* on August 6, 1998, professor of international relations at Boston University, Angelo M. Codevilla, who between 1977 and 1985 served on the staff of the Senate Intelligence Committee, wrote that the Israelis used U.S. satellite pictures to plan the bombing.[398]

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[393] Ibid., 97-99; Nakdimon, *First* 58-61; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 101.
[394] Claire, *Raid*, 102-103; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 111-112.
[395] Seymour M. Hersh, *Samson Option* (New York: Random House, 1991), 3.
[396] Hersh, *Samson*, 13.
[397] Ibid., 12.
[398] Anthony M. Codevilla, "Israel's Spy Was Right about Saddam," *Wall Street Journal*, August 6, 1998, 1, http://proquest.umi.com.

The Iran-Iraq War

On September 17, 1980, Hussein entered the Shatt al Arab estuary, on the border between Iran and Iraq on the north of the Persian Gulf. This was the beginning of a war which raged for eight long years.[399] The French government had pulled out most of its scientific and technical staff from al-Tuwaitha, leaving a few workers there who, for a generous payment, had agreed to stay and prevent radioactive contamination.[400] On September 30, the Iranians struck at al-Tuwaitha, damaging some laboratories and Osirak's water-cooling system.[401] By the end of March 1981, the Mossad told Begin that the foreign workers were coming back to al-Tuwaitha. Begin wanted to put the air strike on schedule again.[402]

Deciding the Date

On March 15, 1981, Begin held a meeting with ten ministers in attendance. The date of the attack was set for May 10, 1981. The mission was named Operation Babylon.[403] When a letter from the Labor party's candidate Shimon Peres to Begin revealed that the former knew of the operation through a leak, the operation date was changed to May 17.[404] It changed thereafter two more times, first to May 31 and lastly to June 7, 1981.[405]

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[399] Claire, *Raid*, 119.
[400] McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 81; Nakdimon, *First*, 154.
[401] Claire, *Raid*, 119-120.
[402] Ibid., 135-136; Nakdimon, *First*, 185.
[403] Claire, *Raid*, 136;
[404] Ibid., 145-147; Nakdimon, *First*, 193-203; McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 103-105.
[405] Nakdimon, *First*, 203-206.

The attack

On June 7, 1981, eight pilots participated in the mission to destroy the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Seven of them succeeded in hitting Osirak; only one pilot, Iftach Spector, failed to drop his load on target.[406]

Causes

Begin was worried about an Iraqi nuclear attack against Israel which he likened to another Holocaust that he would not tolerate. There were two reasons Prime Minister Begin gave for the strike. First, he was concerned that if the Israeli government did not destroy the reactor by June 1981, it would be impossible to attack it later. After June 1981, an attack leveled against the then radioactive reactor would lead to nuclear fallout dangerous to the Iraqi people. Begin did not want to harm the Iraqi people so he acted early. Secondly, with the upcoming Israeli national elections the following fall and Peres's lead in the polls, Begin feared that if he were to lose the prime ministry, the next Labor-led government would not destroy the reactor. Begin perceived that he was the only one who would act in time so he ordered the attack.[407]

Outcomes

The U.S. and Iraq co-sponsored the UN Security Counsel Resolution 487 which condemned Israel for the raid on Osirak. The U.S. suspended shipment until September

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[406] Claire, *Raid*, 197.
[407] McKinnon, *Bullseye*, 187.

1981 of four F-16 jets scheduled for delivery June 12.[408] The CIA stopped furnishing

Israel with satellite information on Iraq.

2006 Lebanon War

The Amal group and Hezbollah

The Amal militia group in Lebanon was founded in the early 1970s.[409] Young

Lebanese Shiite men chosen for religious education ended up in Shiite seminaries in Iraq.

When the revolution in Iran strengthened in the latter part of the 1970s, young Lebanese

Shiite clerics such as Tufayli and Musawi, later leaders in Hezbollah, returned to

Lebanon from Iraq. In Baalbak, Musawi formed a *hawza*, a religious educational

institution, and taught future Hezbollah leader Hasan Nasrallah. Most who returned to

Lebanon were members of the Da'wa ("Party of the [Islamic] Call") established in Iraq in

1958. The Lebanese Da'wa was, however, discontinued and members were told by party

organizers to penetrate the secular Amal and change it.[410]

Factors in Hezbollah's Formation

After the 1979 Iranian revolution, Iran decided to export Islamism to Lebanon in an

attempt to form an Islamic state. In 1982, after Israel entered southern Lebanon to oust

Palestinian militants, Iran supported the growth of the nascent Hezbollah.[411]

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[408] Nakdimon, *First Strike*, 243.
[409] Augustus Richard Norton, Hezbollah: *A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 17.
[410] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 31-32.
[411] David Acosta, "The Makara of Hizballah: Deception in 2006 Summer War" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), 21 http://stinet.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA469918&Location=

In order to oversee Lebanon, Amal decided to join the National Salvation Authority.

Tehran was not pleased with this decision. The Iranians saw the Authority as intending to

Westernize Lebanon and perpetuate the "Zionist occupation" of it.[412] Resultantly, in late

1982, Iran sent several hundred members of its Revolutionary Guard, Pasdaran, to help

stand up and train the new Shiite organization, Hezbollah.[413]

Mujahidin (warriors for Islam) were numerous in the Bekaa environ of Hussein

Musawi, leader of *Islamic Amal*, a splinter group from Amal. Iran's support for Islamic

Amal, eventually united with Hezbollah, [414]could help accomplish two important Iranian

foreign policy goals: to fight Israel through a proxy and, through Hezbollah, the

expansion of Shiism in Lebanon.[415]

The Israeli Invasion into Lebanon, 1982

On June 5, 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon in response to the attempted assassination

of Israeli ambassador to the United Kingdom Shlomo Argov. [416] As Ehud Barak

described the creation of Hezbollah, "When we entered Lebanon...there was no

Hezbollah. We were accepted with perfumed rice and flowers by the Shi'a in the south. It

was our presence there that created Hezbollah."[417] Until the mid 1980s, however,

Hezbollah was more of an informal clique than an organization.[418]

U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf.

[412] Shimon, Shapiro, "The Origins of Hezbollah," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 46, (1988): 121.

[413] Shapiro, "Origins," 122; Judith Harik, *Hezbollah: the changing face of terrorism* (London: Tauris, 2004), 40.

[414] Robin Wright, Sacred Rage: the Wrath of Militant Islam (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 84, 95.

[415] Harik, *Hezbollah the Changing*, 39-40.

[416] Ibid., 32.

[417] *Newsweek*, July 18, 2006.

[418] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 34.

Hezbollah

On October 23, 1983, Hezbollah blew up the United States Marine Corps Barracks in Beirut killing 240 U.S. service personnel, and detonated a French Paratroop barracks nearby killing 58 persons.[419] Between 1984 and 1985, Hezbollah's Islamic Resistance – to some, "the sole party to conduct the struggle against Israel" – carried out 90 percent of the attacks against the IDF in southern Lebanon.[420] Indeed, Hezbollah was seen as the primary resistance group to Israeli aggression until in 2000, Israel finally withdrew from its security zone in southern Lebanon.[421]

In 1992, Hezbollah increased its involvement in politics. This occurred for several reasons. Hamzeh asserts that in the 1990s, a change in Iran's leadership contributed to Hezbollah's more moderate approach.[422] Second, the Taif Accord, marking the end of the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1989),[423] required militia groups to disarm.[424]

Although Hezbollah appeared to have moderated, as was seen by its accruement of seats in the 1992 and 1996 elections, nonetheless it was able to maintain its aggression towards Israel.[425] In 2000, after Israel pulled out of Lebanon, Hezbollah focused on the disputed Shebaa Farms area in the Golan Heights near the border of southern Lebanon.[426]

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[419] Acosta, "Makara," 22; Norton, *Hezbollah*, 71.
[420] A. Nizar Hamzeh, "Lebanon's Hizbullah: From Islamic revolution to parliamentary accommodation," *Third World Quarterly* 14, Issue 3 (1993), http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/pspa/hamzeh2.html.
[421] Acosta, "Makara," 23.
[422] Hamzeh, "Lebanon's Hizbullah."
[423] Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London: Pluto Press, 2007): 183, 240.
[424] Magnus Ranstorp, "The Strategy and Tactics of Hizballah's Current 'Lebanonization Process'" Mediterranean Politics 3, issue 1 (1998): 62.
[425] Acosta, "Makar," 25.
[426] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 91-93; Acosta, "Makara," 26.

Background to the 2006 Lebanon War

Hezbollah has been fighting Israel since its creation in the early 1980s. In 1985, after a three year occupation of most of Lebanon south of Beirut, Israel retreated from Lebanon into a security zone along its northern border. By the end of the 1990s, following nearly two decades of conflict – including Operations Accountability (1993) and Grapes of Wrath (1996) – Israel unilaterally pulled out of a southern security zone in Lebanon after the loss of about 1,500 soldiers and low public support for the mission. After the withdrawal, Israel and Hezbollah participated in a period of quietude along the southern Lebanese border known commonly as the "Blue Line," the Lebanon-Israel border supervised by members of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).[427]

In *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Nicholas Blanford writes that "[since the Israeli withdrawal in 2000] The Islamic Resistance (IR) had been attacking the IDF along the Blue Line for six years in a finely calibrated campaign of periodic hit-and-run raids, roadside bombings and artillery bombardments." The objective of these actions was, as Blanford described it, to "maintain pressure on the IDF without provoking Israel into a massive retaliation that could harm Hizbullah's domestic popularity."[428] In November 2005, Hezbollah had attempted the capture of a few Israeli soldiers in the village of Ghajar, near the Lebanese border of the Golan Heights.[429]

In the days leading up to the July 12 incident, Hezbollah's leadership, cognizant of the significance of the tourist season to Lebanon's economy, assured Lebanese Prime

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[427] Acosta, "Makara," 35.
[428] Nicholas Blanford, "Deconstructing Hizbullah's Surprise Military Prowess," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, November 1, 2006, 21.
[429] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 134.

Minister Fouad Siniora that no actions would be taken by Hezbollah against Israel.[430] On

the other hand, standing orders to Hezbollah's Islamic Resistance units along the Blue

Line went unchanged: "exploit Israeli military weaknesses" and abduct IDF soldiers

given the opportunity.[431]

In May 2006, Hezbollah shot and wounded an Israeli soldier at an Israeli border post.

Since 2000, rules of warfare between the two parties stipulated that Israel would respond

to such an incident by shelling several Hezbollah positions and centers. In this instance,

however, Israel chose a stronger response, shelling twenty Hezbollah positions on the

border, wiping out many of them. Hezbollah reacted by raising the level of war, firing

eight Katyusha rockets at Safed, the town in which Israeli army northern headquarters

was located.[432]

The Lebanon 2006 War

At about 9:00 a.m. on July 12, an IDF patrol of two vehicles came under fire from IR

forces along the Blue line. Within minutes, the Israeli patrol, suffering two dead and three

wounded, lost Eldad Regev and Ehud Goldwasser to the captor Hezbollah. In order to

rescue the captives, the IDF followed the militants into Lebanon, and five more Israeli

soldiers were killed.[433]

That day Hezbollah and the IDF participated in skirmishes along the border resulting

in the death and injuries of several IDF soldiers. In response, Israeli warplanes attacked

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[430] Anthony Shadid, "Inside Hezbollah, Big Miscalculations," *Washington Post*, October 8, 2006; Norton, *Hezbollah*, 132.
[431] Alistair Crooke and Mark Perry, "How Hezbollah Defeated Israel: Part 1: Winning the Intelligence War," *Online Asia Times*, October 13, 2006, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/HJ12Ak01.html.
[432] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 134-135.
[433] Crooke and Perry, "How Hezbollah."

Hezbollah strongholds along the Blue Line and destroyed several bridges on the Litani River, in an endeavor to cut off the southwest portion of the country from Hezbollah. In response, Hezbollah fired Katuysha rockets into northern Israel.[434]

Lebanon was blockaded from the sea and the Beirut airport was struck. Then on July 14, Hezbollah leader Nasrallah's offices were bombed. Reacting immediately, Hezbollah struck an Israeli ship, the INS Hanit, with an Iranian-produced missile.[435]

Initially, Israel received wide international support while Hezbollah drew broad international condemnation for invading Israeli territory and kidnapping the soldiers. U.S. support was anticipated and immediately visible. Less foreseeable was the hasty censure of Hezbollah's action expressed by key Arab states, including Saudi Arabia. The Saudi government castigated Hezbollah's impulsive enterprise and Jordan, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates were also critical. This alliance of Americans and Arab states was formed on account of merging interests. The Sunni Arab governments were fearful about the rising stature of the Shiite power Iran in the Arab world, the emergence of a Shiite controlled government in occupied Iraq, and the power of Hezbollah in Lebanon. America and Israel wanted to weaken Hezbollah, an Iranian ally in Lebanon that might encourage violence in Iraq.[436]

Major Events of the War

Israel needed to use its air power and artillery bombardment from northern Israel to target sites in Lebanon. Its military goals were to cut off the battlefield from Hezbollah

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[434] Acosta, "Makara," 37.
[435] Norton, Hezbollah, 136.
[436] Ibid., 137.

by closing its routes of re-supply and destroying its rocketry (especially the long-range type); knocking out its command and control, media equipment; and forming a "killing box" in southern Lebanon where the Islamic Resistance could be wiped out by bombing and shelling.[437] The IDF used artillery fire, air strikes, and a naval bombardment.[438] Israel struck roads, bridges, seaports, and airports in Lebanon and also in the areas of the Hezbollah command and control centers in the densely populated *al-dahiyya*.[439]

According to Norton, hundreds of targets were hit in southern Lebanon, in the Beirut environs, in the Beqaa valley, and in northern Lebanon. The population of the South and *al-dahiyya* fled for safety. Hezbollah responded with rocket attacks into Israel – one hundred and fifty rockets a day, but two hundred and fifty rockets on the final day of war. On July 16, Hezbollah hit the city of Haifa with long-range rockets from Syria and Iran.[440]

Thus, in its first military ground operation in southern Lebanon since the withdrawal of Israeli troops in 2000, the IDF called forth a mission to save the captured soldiers and fought fiercely with Hezbollah gunmen.[441] At the outset, on July 17, Prime Minister Olmert stated his goals as "The return of the hostages, Ehud (Udi) Goldwasser and Eldad Regev; A complete cease fire; Deployment of the Lebanese army in all of southern Lebanon; Expulsion of Hizbullah from the area, and Fulfillment of United Nations Resolution 1559."[442] On July 30, after twenty-eight civilians in Lebanon were killed by

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[437] Ibid., 137-138.
[438] Tom Ruys, "Crossing the thin blue line: an inquiry into Israel's recourse to self-defense against Hezbollah," *Stanford Journal of International Law*, 43, no. 2 (2007), http://find.galegroup.com.
[439] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 138.
[440] Ibid., 138.
[441] Ruys, "Crossing."
[442] Ehud Olmert, "Address to the Knesset," Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 17, 2006.

Israeli bombing, support for Israel's campaign in Arab countries decreased. In total,

about 116 Israeli soldiers and 43 Israeli civilians lost their lives between July 12, 2006

and August 14, 2006. About 1,109 Lebanese – mostly civilians – were killed, as well as

twenty-eight Lebanese soldiers.[443]

Military Action in the Last Three Days of War

During the last days of the war, from August 10 to August 14, Israel attempted to

push north all the way to the Litani River. On Friday August 11, the *New York Times*

reported that while hesitating to expand its military operations during negotiations at the

UN, Israel warned residents of southern Beirut on Thursday to leave their homes. In the

meantime, thousands of Israeli troops waited on the border for an order from Prime

Minister Ehud Olmert to take offensive action against Hezbollah at the Litani River, in

order to reduce the number of rockets that could reach Israeli cities.

According to Israeli Defense Minister Peretz, Israel would "use all of the tools" to

win the war against Hezbollah. However, the diplomatic activity did not attain a cease-

fire.

Israeli troops strengthened their control on Merj 'Uyun from which they claimed

Hezbollah was firing rockets. It was taken Thursday night. Also, Israeli troops

surrounded the village of Al Khiam, a source of missile attacks on the towns of Kiryat

Shmona and Metulla. Israeli warplanes delivered leaflets, dropping them over Beirut.

Residents of three southern suburbs were advised to leave. The leaflets were signed by

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[443] *BBC News*, "Middle East Crisis: Facts and Figures," Aug. 31, 2006, http://
news.bbc.co .uk/2/hi/middle_east/5257128.stm. The number of casualties of Hezbollah is not known: the
Israeli military estimates more than 530 and Hezbollah and fellow Shite militant group Amal says 250
fighters have been killed.

"The State of Israel" and said the Israelis "'intend to expand their operations in Beirut."

They notified the residents: "For your own safety, you must evacuate those

neighborhoods immediately and evacuate every place where Hezbollah members or aides

exist or carry out terrorist operations."[444]

On August 13, the *New York Times* reported that "Israel poured troops into southern

Lebanon on Saturday, making its deepest push yet toward the Litani River and suffering

its highest daily losses, including having a helicopter shot down by Hezbollah guerrillas

for the first time in the fighting."[445]

On Sunday July 13, hours before the cease-fire went into effect, ground fighting

proceeded as Israel moved to secure its position along the Litani River, about 15 miles

north of the border. The river is the northern edge of the zone that the Lebanese Army

and the United Nations troops are required to protect from Hezbollah militiamen and

armaments.[446]

Causes

Makovsky and White, from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, point out

that Hezbollah's kidnapping of Israeli soldiers on July 12 might be seen in part as

Hezbollah's attempt to move from a politically defensive domestic position, where it

found itself since early 2005. At that time, Hezbollah struggled with conflicting pressures.

On one hand it was to be Syria's Shiite advocate in Lebanon and on the other hand it was

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[444] Steven Erlanger et al., "Israel Holds off to the North as U.N. Seeks a Diplomatic Alternative," *New York Times*, August 11, 2006, http://proquest.umi.com.
[445] John Kifner and Greg Myre, "After U.N. Accord, Israel Expands Push in Lebanon," *New York Times*, August 13, 2006, http://proquest.umi.com.
[446] Steven Erlanger et al., "Lebanon Cease Fire Begins after Day of Fierce Attacks," *New York Times*, August 14, 2006, http://proquest.umi.com.

under pressure from Lebanon to disarm. Abducting Israeli soldiers to help free Lebanese prisoners could help Hezbollah rationalize its continued armament. Indeed, Nasrallah declared in late 2005 that 2006 would be the year of freeing prisoners.[447] In November 2005, Hezbollah tried to capture several Israeli soldiers in the village of Ghajar on the border of Lebanon and the Golan Heights. The operation, stopped by the Israeli army, amounted to Hezbollah's effort to fulfill its promise to get back Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails, including Samir Kuntar, one of the terrorists accountable for a 1979 attack in Nahariaya, Israel, that killed four members[448] of an Israeli family. Israel has pledged not to release him.[449]

Israel was pressured to fight Hezbollah because for the last year the Lebanese government had refused to require that Hezbollah take apart its 12,000 rockets (imported from Syria and Iran) and give up its de facto control over the south. Makovsky and White assert that the Lebanese government was reluctant to assert control over Hezbollah, concerned that sectarian strife would be renewed. Moreover, Israel's repeated requests for Hezbollah's disarmament, as requested by the UN Security Council Resolution 1559 (2004), were not heeded.[450]

There were also regional causes to the war. Hezbollah's patron was Iran. With a G-8 meeting approaching in St. Petersburg, Russia, a conflict in south Lebanon could deflect international attention from UN Security Council calls to halt Iran's nuclear program.

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[447] David Makovsky and Jeffrey White, "Lessons and Implications of the Israel-Hezballah War: a Preliminary Assessment," *Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (2006): 10, http://www .washingtoninstitute.org/templateC04.php?CID=251.

[448] One member, a four year child, had her head smashed by the butt of a rifle. See Smadar Haran Kaiser, "The World Should Know What He Did to My Family," *Washington Post*, May 18, 2003.

[449] Norton, *Hezbollah*, 134.

[450] Makovsky and White, "Lessons," 9-10.

Domestic dynamics inside Israel also contributed to the war. Top Israeli security officials thought that Israel's power of deterrence was declining.[451]

In June 2006, Hamas implemented an assault that killed two Israeli soldiers and kidnapped Corporal Gilead Shalit, a move that received much attention in Israel because the IDF is a citizen army in a small country. With the Hezbollah attack and a second group of kidnappings on July 12, Israel was ready to act. Moreover, the Olmert government was motivated by the sense that Israeli withdrawals from Gaza and a future West Bank disengagement depended on showing that Israel's concessions should not be misunderstood. If withdrawals did not encourage moderates and could not hold back radicals, Israel could show that it was still in control by an assertive show of force.[452]

Another factor in Israel's decision to carry out the war was an agreement Israel shared with the U.S. According to investigative reporter Seymour Hersh, in a meeting in early summer 2006, Israel and the U.S. made plans to inflict blows on Hezbollah.[453]

Outcomes

One of the major outcomes of the Lebanon War 2006 was the United Nations reaction to the Israeli push up to the Litani River in Lebanon. The Israeli offensive started on August 11 and ended on August 14, when the cease-fire went into effect. The United Nations reaction consisted of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, which passed on August 11, the day that the Israeli offensive began. In short, the resolution

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[451] Ibid., 10-11.
[452] Ibid., 11.
[453] Seymour M. Hersh, "Annals of National Security: Watching Lebanon: Washington's interest in Israel's war," *New Yorker*, August 21, 2006, 30.

called for a cessation of hostilities; for the Government of Lebanon and UNIFIL to deploy their forces together throughout the South; called upon the Government of Israel, as that deployment begins, to withdraw all of its forces from southern Lebanon; reiterated its strong support for full respect for the Blue Line (the line of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000); called for Israel and Lebanon to support a permanent ceasefire and a long term solution based on the following principles and components: respect for the Blue Line by both parties; security arrangements to prevent the resumption of hostilities, including the establishment between the Blue Line and the Litani river of an area free of any armed personnel, assets and weapons other than those of the Government of Lebanon and of UNIFIL; no sales or supply of arms and related materiel to Lebanon except as authorized by its Government; to authorize an increase in the force strength of UNIFIL to a maximum of 15,000 troops.[454]

Although Israel had, in the last 3 days of the war, moved into southern Lebanon to occupy 15 miles of territory from the blue line to the Litani River, it was forced to withdraw by UN Security Council Resolution 1701, which placed UNIFIL in its stead.

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[454] SC Resolution 1701 of 11 August 2006.

CHAPTER 5

SELF DEFENSE

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe the levels of self defense used in Chapter Six "Data Collection and Findings." Self-defense is a term used in international law and seen in *use of force* literature. Thus, the author has done a brief literature review of use of force in international law, which follows.

There are three parts of self-defense important to this study. The first is reactive self-defense. In this case, the self-defensive military intervention is in response to an actual armed attack. The second is anticipatory self-defense. Here, the self-defensive military intervention is in response is to the imminent and palpable threat of an actual attack. The last case is preemptive self-defense. This type calls for a military intervention in response to the mere possibility of an actual attack, which if allowed to advance, could then be stopped only at a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost.

First, the author will offer a few basic definitions of words used in the use of force literature. Second, a short history of use of force will be presented. Finally, and most importantly, the author will focus on self defense, describing the three levels of self-defense that will be used in Chapter 6, "Data Collection and Findings."

Basic Terms

Jus ad bellum is the right to resort to war.[455] This will be revised and expressed as the right to resort to force.

Before the twentieth century, the resort to war was legal. *Self-help* and *self-preservation* were the foundation of state sovereignty.[456] Before the 1900s, if a state broke one of its obligations, the victim state could seek self-help, which meant that it could take measures of force and non-force to rectify or punish that breach.[457]

There are two main types of international law, *treaties* and *international customary law.* Customary law is formed when states determine between themselves the legality of their actions.[458] In customary law, reprisal and retaliation are types of self-help limited by *necessity* and proportionality. The right of self-preservation is the principle that a state has almost completely unhindered freedom to act contrary to any principle of international law, and therefore to breach the right of another state, if such an act is thought necessary for its own preservation.[459]

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[455] Melquiades J. Gamboa, *A Dictionary of International Law and Diplomacy* (Quezon City: Central Lawbook Publishing Co., Inc, 1973), 164.
[456] Gerhard von Glahn and James Larry Taulbee, *Law Among Nations: An Introduction to Public International Law* (New York: Pearson Education, Inc, 2007), 589, 590,
[457] Nigel White and Ademola Abass, "Countermeasures and Sanctions," in *International Law*, ed. Malcolm D. Evans (New York: Oxford), 509.
[458] Gamboa, *Dictionary Law and Diplomacy*, 79-80.
[459] Hans Kelsen, *Principles of International Law* (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), 59.

History of the Use of Force

Pre-Charter Efforts to Govern the Use of Force

The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 attempted to reduce the brutality of war.

For example, the Preamble to the 1907 Hague Convention (IV) states its goal to "revise

the general laws and customs of war" in order to soften their "severity as far as

possible."[460] In books written before the United Nations Charter, preceding the

prosecution of war the aggressor had merely to make a formal declaration of war.[461]

Between World Wars I and II

The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted in February 1919[462] and the

League was established on January 10, 1920.[463] The Covenant allowed for war. In 1927,

however, the Assembly of the League passed a resolution under which all wars of

aggression were forbidden and solely peaceful methods were to be used to judge

international disagreements. The Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) – the General Treaty for the

Renunciation of War – attempted to make *aggressive* war illegal. The pertinent text – two

articles – condemned "recourse to war" as a solution of international disputes and

proffered to seek "pacific means" to solve conflicts. By this pact, resort to war was still

permissible when legal self-defensive measures and collective action were needed to hold

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[460] The Avalon Project, "Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague IV)," *The Avalon Project at Yale Law School,* October 18, 1907, http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/lawofwar/hague04.htm (accessed March 2, 2008).
[461] Glahn, *Law Among Nations,* 590.
[462] Ian Brownlie, *International Law and the Use of Force by States* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 55.
[463] Gamboa, *Dictionary Law and Diplomacy,* 171.

back an aggressor. The years from 1928 and 1938 was filled with twice as many conflicts as the decade before.[464]

The United Nations

The Charter of the United Nations (UN) passed in October 24, 1945[465] provided for obligations for the avoidance of resort to force. Article 2 says that members "shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered...and members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." Article 52 states that "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."[466] Note that Article 52 mentions the right to self-defense if an armed attack has occurred.

Collective Security

Through both the Charter of the UN and their inherent powers, states use force in self-defense in times of "necessity." In the case of the UN, the Security Council decides whether the members of the body should take collective action against those who violate Charter principles. The insertion of the Security Council (SC) in the Charter is in accordance with the multitude of settlements since Westphalia that have given to the

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[464] Glahn, *Law Among Nations*, 592–594.
[465] Gamboa, *Dictionary Law and Diplomacy*, 264.
[466] United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations, Article 2*, http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/ chapter1.htm.

great powers important duties and responsibilities for the keeping of the order made by a settlement. The SC has five permanent members (United States, Russian Federation, People's Republic of China, France, and the United Kingdom) and ten nonpermanent members elected for two-year terms.[467]

Self-Defense

The right to self-defense is displayed in the *Caroline* case.[468] The facts of this case are as follows. In 1837, various groups, among them Americans, were rebelling against British rule in Canada.[469] The groups were located both in Canada and over the border in the U.S. The U.S. Marshal arrived at Buffalo, New York on December 28, 1837. On Navy Island in Upper Canada, he discovered 1,000 men receiving arms from the steamer *Caroline*. Thereafter, on December 29, a British force from Canada entered U.S. territory, captured the *Caroline* and, setting her ablaze, cast the ship over the Niagara Falls to its destruction. In the process, two U.S. citizens were killed. The British Minister at Washington averred that because of the need for self-defense and self-preservation the act of destruction of the *Caroline* was justified. Thereafter, in 1840, the U.S. arrested a British subject Alexander McLeod on a charge of murder and arson on account of the December 29 seizure of *Caroline* and the subsequent loss of life. McLeod had participated in the mission to destroy the steamboat. In response to British protest to his arrest, the U.S. Secretary of State Webster wrote to Lord Ashburton in July 1842 that Great Britain should show a "necessity of self-defence, instant, overwhelming, leaving no

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[467] Glahn, *Law Among Nations*, 595-596
[468] D.W. Bowett, *Self-Defense in International Law* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), 58.
[469] Timothy L. H. McCormack, *Self-defense in International Law: The Israeli Raid on the Iraqi Nuclear Reactor* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 244.

choice of means, and no moment for deliberation." Lord Ashburton responded by

reasoning that these terms had been fulfilled. The issue was then dropped.[470] Thus, from

this case arose a component needed for any valid claim to self-defense, which is that the

need to act self-defensively must be immediate, "overwhelming," allowing no other

choice but to intervene, and "no moment for deliberation."

Reactive, Anticipatory and Preemptive Self-Defense

Anticipatory self-defense is dependent on an imminent threat such as that which was

present, according to the British, in *Caroline*.[471] *Preemptive self-defense* is broader than

the former. It is the right to use unilaterally, and without international permission in

advance, great levels of violence to stop a developing incident that is not yet in operation,

therefore not yet directly threatening, but that, if allowed to advance, could then be

stopped only at a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost. A valid claim for anticipatory

self-defense must indicate a palpable and imminent threat. A claim for preemptive self-

defense can indicate only likelihood of danger.[472]

Thus, an actual armed attack as the required starting point of *reactive self-defense*; a

palpable and imminent threat of actual attack – is the starting point of *anticipatory*

(preventive) self-defense; and the possibility of an actual attack, is the starting point of

preemptive self-defense.[473]

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[470] Bowett, *Self-Defense*, 58-59.
[471] Glahn, *Law Among Nations*, 606.
[472] W. Michael Reisman, "Assessing Claims to Revise the Laws of War, in Editorial Comment," *The American Journal of International Law* 97, 1(2003), 87.
[473] Ibid.

A Note on Terms

In the literature, the terms anticipatory and preemptive self-defensive actions are sometimes used interchangeably, however in this study they will be used to express different operations. The former relates to an intervention in response to an imminent and palpable threat of, and the latter to the mere possibility of, an actual attack.

Controversies over the Scope of Self-defense

The question arises over whether, under Article 51 of the UN Charter, the State has a right to self-defense only after an armed attack has begun or if there a wider right to anticipate the attack and therefore to take preemptive measures. States such as the U.S., the UK, and Israel have asserted a wider right but the policy is so contentious that such claims have been infrequently advanced.[474]

Gray sets out the basic arguments of the two main groups of writers whose differing positions have lasted for at least fifty years. In the first group are those who argue a wide right of self-defense going past the right to respond to an armed attack on a state's territory; they allege that Article 51, by its allusion to 'inherent' right of self-defense, keeps the prior customary international law claim to self-defense. The Charter does not do away with previous rights of states without explicit terms. Also, they claim that at the time the Charter was completed, there was a wide customary international law right of self-defense, permitting the protection of national and anticipatory self-defense. The other side claims that the substance of Article 51 is evident; the right of self-defense comes about only if an armed attack has happened. This right is a departure from the prohibition

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[474] Gray, "The Use of Force and International Legal Order," in *International Law*, 601.

of the use of force in Article 2 (4) and thus should be understood as an exception. The limits placed on self-defense in Article 51 would be without meaning if a wider customary law right to self-defense remains unbound by these constraints. Additionally, they say that by the time of the Charter, customary law permitted only a small right of self-defense. These prior arguments depended, first, on treaty interpretation and, second, on an analysis of the state of customary international law in 1945.[475]

Gray describes the Bush doctrine, an outcome of the terrorism of 9-11, that extends the right of self-defense: the U.S. must be able to halt rogue states and terrorists from threatening to use weapons of mass destruction (WMD) against it. According to the Bush doctrine, the doctrine of self-defense was to be revised in view of modern conditions. In particular, the prerequisite that a threat be imminent had to be revised.[476]

Dinstein writes that traditionally the U.S. has taken the position that a state may employ 'anticipatory' self-defense, in response to an imminent hostile intent to use force. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a policy on preemptive action in self-defense was published as part of the U.S. National Security Strategy. This Bush Doctrine claims the right to preemptive self-defense to counter threats, particularly by terrorists and especially when the potential use of WMD is involved. According to Dinstein, the Bush Doctrine, which might bring about preemptive (preventive) use of force in response to mere threats, is not in compliance with the Article 51.[477]

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[475] Gray, International Law and the Use of Force (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 98.
[476] Gray, "The Use of Force," 603.
[477] Yoram Dinstein, War, Aggression and Self-Defence (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 182-183.

Gardam expresses the principle that in the records of the writing of the Charter, there is nothing to shed light on the exact meaning of 'armed attack.'[478] According to Brownlie, the meaning may have been self-evident.[479] Disagreements arise over whether 'armed attack' is limited to large-scale invasion or bombing of one State by armed forces, or whether the term encompasses border invasions by irregular armed groups and the fact that States provide support for these guerrilla activities.[480]

Summary

This study will refer to the three levels of self-defense discussed by Glahn and Reisman above. The first is reactive self-defense. In this case, the response is to an actual armed attack. Reactive self-defense is thus defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to any direct, harmful act committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens. The second is anticipatory self-defense. Here, the response is to the imminent and palpable threat of an actual attack. Thus, anticipatory self-defense is defined as an Israeli military intervention prior to an anticipated imminent and palpable direct, harmful act committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens. The third is preemptive self-defense. This type calls for a response to the mere possibility of an actual attack, which if allowed to advance, could then be then be stopped only at a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost. Thus, preemptive self-defense is defined as an Israeli military intervention prior to a direct, harmful act that might be committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens.

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[478] Judith Gardam, *Necessity, Proportionality and the Use of Force by States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 142.
[479] Brownlie, *Use of Force by States*, 278.
[480] Gardam, *Necessity, Proportionality*, 143.

CHAPTER 6

DATA COLLECTION AND FINDINGS

As noted in the introduction, the purpose of this study is to explain the variation in

American responses to Israeli foreign policy initiatives. United States responses are

statements of the U.S. Federal government published in the *New York Times*. In this study

U.S. statements are defined as rhetorical or legislative. Rhetorical statements consist of

words spoken or written by the government and legislative statements are legislation

sponsored or voted on by the government in a legislative assembly. In this study the

legislative statements come from United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions.

Statements in a UN resolution upon which the United States has voted with an

affirmation, a no, or abstinence constitute U.S. statements in this study. Statements in a

U.S.-sponsored UN resolution or a U.S. UN draft resolution also constitute U.S.

statements in this study. In this study, Israeli foreign policy initiatives refer to Israeli

military initiatives (actions or cases) described fully in Chapter 4.

Data Collection

The data, or statements of members of the U.S government, come from two online

databases, the *New York Times* and the *Historical New York Times* (both hereafter *NYT*)

available through the Florida Atlantic University (FAU) Libraries Electronic Collection.

I collected statements from the *NYT* made during a two week period, which started

on the first day of the initiative and ended on the fourteenth. This collection process was

done for each of the four military actions, the 1967 War, the 1976 Raid on Entebbe, the

1981 Raid on Osirak and the 2006 Lebanon War.

The collection process was as follows. For each military action, I searched for *Israel*

in the search bar and limited my search to the first ten pages of the *NYT* during the

fourteen day period beginning with the first day of the initiative. I examined each article

and found U.S. statements that conveyed reactions to the Israeli initiative, which were

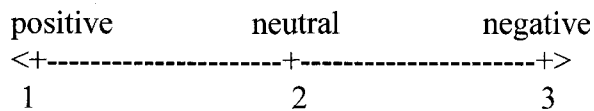coded for attitude towards Israel: positive (1), neutral (2) and negative (3).[481]

```
positive              neutral            negative
<+---------------------+---------------------+>
1                     2                    3
```

Figure 1: U.S. Reactions to Israeli Military Initiatives (Coding Scale)

I saved the articles, from which I collected and coded statements, in *Ref Works*, an

online data base available through FAU Libraries.

The statements were entered into an excel spread sheet. Appendix 1 provides relevant

information for each of the statements, which is the title of the article, the date, the form

of policy, the actor, the statement number, the code and an excerpt of the statement.

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[481] Examples of attitudes coded positive (1) through negative (3) are found in the section Coding in Chapter 1.

The Results

Table 1 presents, for each initiative, the number of statements of both branches combined or of each branch separately. Figure 2 illustrates these values. In Figure 2 and in all tables and figures which follow, all initiatives will be described by the year in which they occur; hence, in Table 2 the 1967 Six-Day War is called *1967*.

There are a total of 101 statements for the 1967 War, eighty-five of which are from the executive branch and sixteen from the legislative branch. For the 1976 case, all twenty-eight statements are from the executive branch. There are a total of 198 statements for the 1981 case, 154 of which are from the executive branch and forty-four from the legislative branch. Finally, for the 2006 case, of a total of 113 statements, ninety-eight are from the executive branch and fifteen are from the legislative branch.

Table 1: Number of Statements by Initiative

Case	Both*	Executive	Legislative
1967 Six-Day War	101	85	16
1976 Raid Entebbe	28	28	0**
1981 Raid Osirak	198	154	44
2006 Lebanon War	113	98	15
Total	440	365	75

*Both = legislative and executive branches combined.
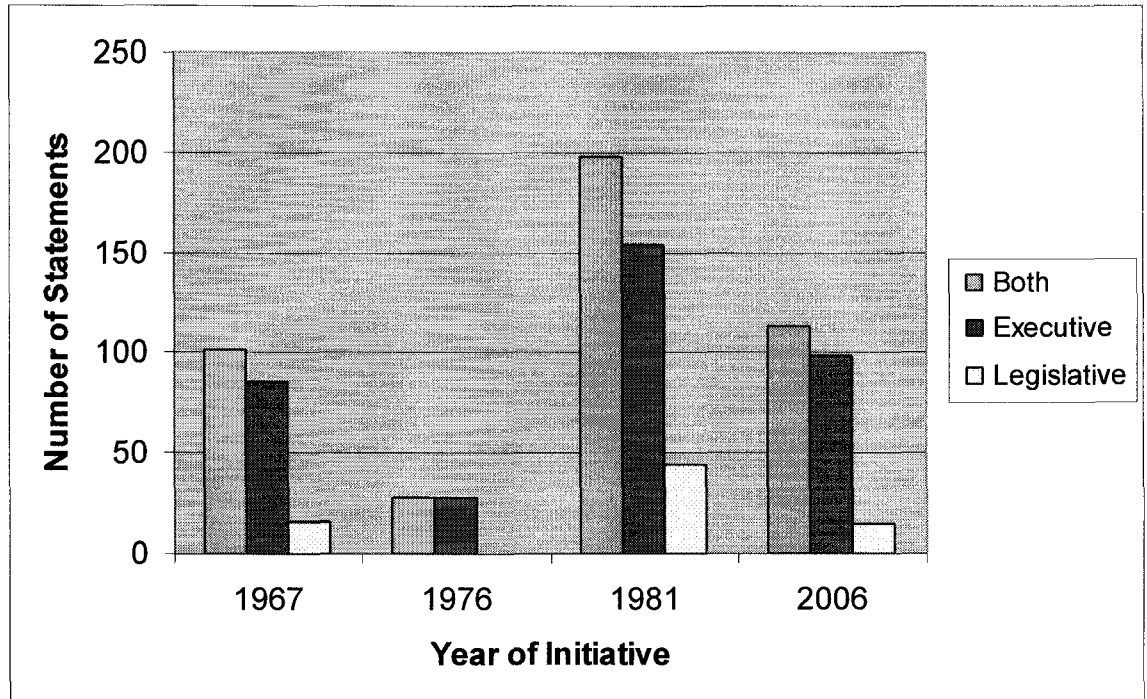** No responses in data set.

Figure 2: Number of Statements by Initiative

Table 2 shows, for each initiative, the mean code of the statements of both branches combined or of each branch separately. Figure 3 reflects these averages pictorially. For the 1967 case, the mean code of the statements for both branches combined is 2.17, the executive is 2.20 and the legislative is 2.00. For the 1976 case, the mean code of the statements for the executive branch is 1.39. Out of twenty-eight statements collected for the 1976 case, none is by the legislative branch (see Table 1). For the 1981 case, the mean code of the statements for both branches combined is 2.37, for the executive branch it is 2.42, and for the legislative branch, 2.23. Finally, for the 2006 case, the mean code of the statements for both branches combined is 1.48, for the executive branch it is 1.55, and for the legislative branch it is 1.00.

Looking at the code means in Table 2, the most negative American responses are to the 1981 Israeli strike on Osirak; to the 1967 War they are slightly negative, except for that of the legislative branch. Finally, code means to the 1976 raid on Entebbe and the Lebanon War 2006 are positive, especially of the legislative branch to 2006 (1.00). There were no legislative responses to 1976 in the data set.

Table 2: Mean of Coded Statements by Initiative

Gov Branch	1967	1976	1981	2006
Both*	2.17	1.39	2.37	1.48
Executive	2.20	1.39	2.42	1.55
Legislative	2.00	0.00**	2.23	1.00

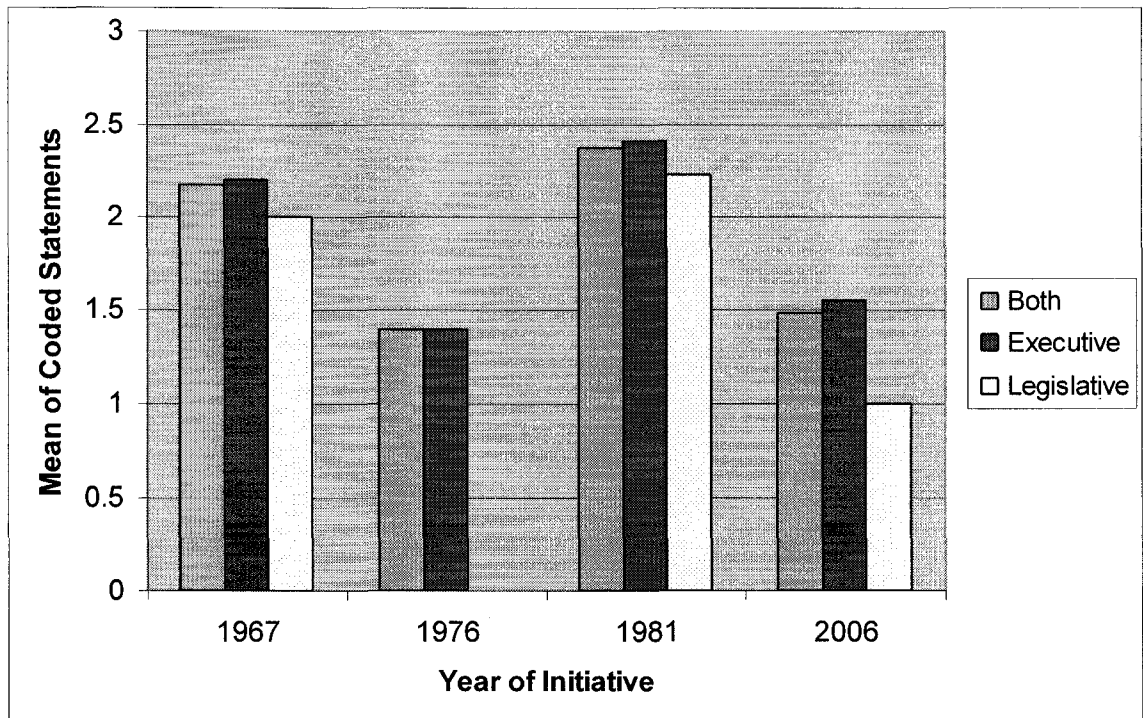*Both = executive and legislative branches combined.
**No responses in the data set.

166

Figure 3: Mean of Coded Statements by Initiative

Statistical Analysis

A *t-test* was performed on the codes of U.S. reaction to the Israeli military initiatives

using the "T-Test Two Sample Assuming Unequal Variances" function of Microsoft

Excel's Analysis ToolPak. The t-test was conducted to determine if the U.S. responses to

the four Israeli military initiatives were the same or different. The Microsoft Excel

program was used to compare executive, legislative and all branches' responses to each

initiative. Also, executive responses were compared with legislative responses to each

initiative. Where significance values (in column labeled "Sig. two-tailed") are higher than

0.05, the cases compared are not statistically different. Table 3 below displays the results.

The t-test found that executive and both branches combined responses to the

initiatives are statistically different except for 1976 and 2006. The legislative analysis is

167

more complicated because it was not a part of the original research and the sample sizes

are small: the legislative responses to 1967 and 1981 are neither statistically different

from each other, nor from the executive branch responses to those initiatives.

Table 3: Paired Samples Test (t-test)

Pair #	Br. Means Compared*	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	B1967-B1976	0.0000
Pair 2	B1967-B1981	0.0174
Pair 3	B1967-B2006	0.0000
Pair 4	B1976-B1981	0.0000
Pair 5	B1976-B2006	0.5217
Pair 6	B1981-B2006	0.0000
Pair 7	E1967-E1976	0.0000
Pair 8	E1967-E1981	0.0177
Pair 9	E1967-E2006	0.0000
Pair 10	E1976-E1981	0.0000
Pair 11	E1976-E2006	0.2442
Pair 12	E1981-E2006	0.0000
Pair 13	L1967-L1981	0.3632
Pair 14	L1967-L2006	0.0002
Pair 15	L1981-L2006	0.0000
Pair 16	E1967-L1967	0.3637
Pair 17	E1981-L1981	0.2151
Pair 18	E2006-L2006	0.0000

* Government branch means compared: B= the executive and legislative branches combined, E=executive branch, L=legislative branch.

For this study, the researcher compares the means of the coded statements of the legislative and executive branches combined to explain the variation in U.S. responses to the four Israeli military initiatives.

Findings

My first hypothesis is that there is a variation in American responses to the Israeli military initiatives. The second hypothesis is that the United States will respond more positively towards an Israeli military action initiated in reactive self-defense than in anticipatory and preemptive self-defense. My first hypothesis is supported by the data, which shows that there is a variation in American responses to the Israeli military initiatives (see Table 2 above). My second hypothesis will now be addressed.

American Responses to Israeli Reactive, Anticipatory or Preemptive Self-Defense

It can be shown that U.S. responses to the four Israeli military initiatives vary according to whether the intervention is reactive, anticipatory or preemptive self-defense. In figure 4 below, Israeli self-defensive activity is placed on a continuum from reactive self-defense on the left, to anticipatory self-defense in the middle and preemptive self-defense on the right.

As described in the introduction, for the purpose of this study, three categories of self-defense are presented: reactive, anticipatory and preemptive. In the first case, the response is to an actual armed attack. Reactive self-defense is thus defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to any direct, harmful act committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens. The second is anticipatory self-defense. Here, the response is to

170

the imminent and palpable threat of an actual attack. Thus, anticipatory self-defense is defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to an imminent and palpable threat of a direct, harmful act against Israel, its territory or its citizens. The third is preemptive self-defense. This type calls for a response to the mere possibility of an actual attack, which if allowed to advance, could then be stopped only at a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost. Therefore, preemptive self-defense is defined as an Israeli military intervention in response to any direct, harmful act that might be committed against Israel, its territory or its citizens.

In figure 4, moving from left to right, reactive self-defensive is on the far left. Next to the right is anticipatory self-defense because although the threat of an actual attack is perceived, the actual attack has not occurred. On the far right is preemptive self-defense because it is neither in response to an actual harmful act nor to the imminent threat of an actual attack; the preemptive self-defensive intervention is a response to the mere *possibility* of an actual attack in the future. Thus, these types of self-defensive interventions are placed on a continuum in order to characterize them according to how much they are in response to an actual attack; the closer the intervention is to being in reaction to an actual attack, the closer it is placed to the left side of the continuum. The reactive self-defensive intervention is in response to an *actual attack*, so it is all the way on the left. The anticipatory self-defensive intervention is next closest to being in response to an actual attack as it is a reaction to the *threat* of an imminent and palpable actual attack, so it is in·the middle. Finally, the preemptive self-defensive response is furthest from being a reaction to an actual attack as it is a response to the *mere possibility* of an actual attack, so it is on the far right.

Figures 4 and 5 show what this research has revealed: as the Israeli activity moves

towards being preemptive self-defensive, the U.S. reaction becomes more negative.

Conversely, as the Israeli activity moves towards the reactive self-defensive side, the U.S.
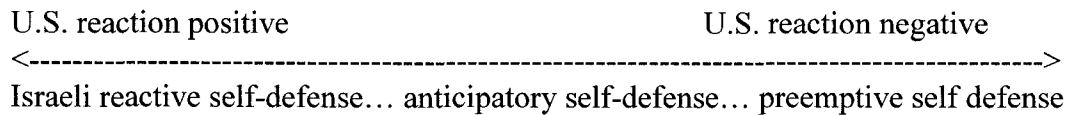
reaction becomes more positive.

U.S. reaction positive   U.S. reaction negative
<--->
Israeli reactive self-defense... anticipatory self-defense... preemptive self defense

Figure 4: Israeli Self-defense and U.S. Reaction

The Israeli military actions typified as self-defensive are displayed visually in Figure

5. The 1976 and 2006 actions are placed on the far left because they are reactive self-

defensive interventions. The 1967 initiative is an anticipatory self-defensive intervention

so it is in the middle. The 1981 initiative is a preemptive self-defensive intervention and
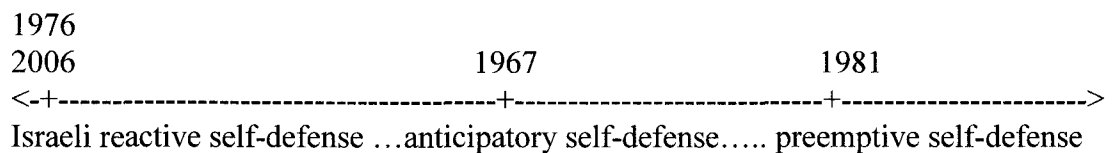
is on the right.

1976
2006   1967   1981
<-+------------------------------------+----------------------------+----------------------->
Israeli reactive self-defense ...anticipatory self-defense..... preemptive self-defense

Figure 5: Israeli Initiatives and Self-defense

Figure 6 shows American reaction to the Israeli military initiatives as varying

according to whether the intervention is either closer to reactive (in response to an actual

attack) or preemptive self-defense (least in response to an actual attack). Remember that

American responses are coded on a scale of positive (1) to negative (3). In Figure 6, we

see that the closer the action is to being reactive self-defense, the more positive (closer to

1) the American reaction (see the codes in the parentheses to the right of each year of the

initiative). Likewise, the closer the action is to being preemptive self-defense, the more

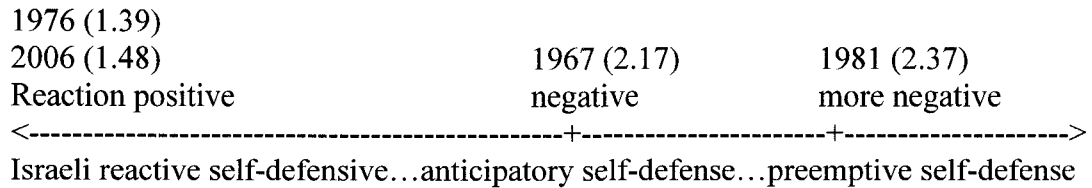negative (closer to 3) is the American reaction.


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1976 (1.39)
2006 (1.48)                              1967 (2.17)          1981 (2.37)
Reaction positive                        negative             more negative
<-------------------------------------------+----------------------+--------------------->
Israeli reactive self-defensive...anticipatory self-defense...preemptive self-defense
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Figure 6: American Responses to Israeli Military Initiatives

American Responses to the Israeli Initiatives

In this section, the interventions, instead of being described chronologically, will be

depicted in the following order: reactive self-defensive, anticipatory self-defensive and

preemptive self-defensive.

1976 Raid on Entebbe and the 2006 Lebanon War (Reactive Self-Defense)

American responses to the 1976 and 2006 initiatives were both positive and not

statistically different.

The Entebbe raid was an act of reactive self defense. The Israeli government

intervened in response to the actual direct harmful attack act of the PFLP, the abduction

of eighty-three Israeli citizens. On a scale of 1 (positive) to 3 (negative), U.S. reaction

from all branches to the raid on Entebbe was positive or 1.39.

Starting on July 12, 2006, Israel's war against Hezbollah in southern Lebanon was in reactive self-defensive. Hezbollah provoked a reactive self-defensive response in Israel by crossing the blue line into Israel, attacking an Israeli patrol, abducting two Israeli soldiers and taking them back into Hezbollah territory in southern Lebanon. Israel reacted by attempting to rescue the soldiers. Hezbollah had also attacked Israel in May by firing eight Katyusha rockets at Safad, an ancient town in northern Israel. Israel's acts of aerial and seaport bombardment were in reactive self-defense as it tried to weaken Hezbollah. According to a speech on July 17 by Prime Minister Olmert, Israel's goals were "The return of the hostages, Ehud (Udi) Goldwasser and Eldad Regev; A complete cease fire; Deployment of the Lebanese army in all of southern Lebanon; Expulsion of Hizbullah from the area, and fulfillment of United Nations Resolution 1559."[482] In the pursuance of Olmert's goals in the Lebanon War 2006, Israel responded in reactive self-defense to Hezbollah's attacks by seeking the return of the soldiers and security of its citizenry in northern Israel. On a scale of 1 (positive) to 3 (negative), U.S. reaction from all branches to the Lebanon War 2006 was positive (1.48).

Thus, both the 1976 and 2006 Israeli military initiatives were in reactive self-defense and the American responses to them, respectively 1.39 and 1.48, were positive.

The 1967 War (Anticipatory Self-Defense)

The 1967 Arab-Israeli war was initiated by Israel in anticipatory self-defense. Egypt did not fire the first shot although it closed the Strait of Tiran – an act which, after the 1956 Suez campaign, the U.S. and Britain declared would be considered one of war – and

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[482] S.C. Resolution 1559 of 2 September, 2004.

it amassed troops (about 80,000) on its border with Israel. Thus, Egypt did not commit a direct, harmful act against Israel, its territory or its citizens. Israel acted in anticipatory self-defense as it implemented a military intervention in response to the imminent and palpable threat of an Egyptian actual attack: Israel perceived the imminence and palpability of an actual attack by the presence Egyptian troops near the Egyptian-Israeli border and my defense treaties that Egypt had signed with Syria and Jordan. Israel's war began on June 5, when the Israeli Air Force destroyed most of the Egyptian Air Force on the ground. Over the course of the six day war, Israel defeated the Jordanian and Syrian militaries and conquered new territories, namely the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza strip from Egypt; Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) from Jordan; and the Golan Heights from Syria. On a scale of 1 (positive) to 3 (negative), U.S. reaction from all branches to the 1967 Israeli action was 2.17 or slightly negative.

1981 Raid on Osirak (Preemptive Self-Defense)

Israel had evidence that the Iraqi nuclear reactor would be hot in June 1981. By destroying Osirak before that date, Israel took action before it would be impossible to act due to risk of nuclear fallout to the Iraqi population. Israel intervened in preemptive self-defense because it bombed Osirak to avoid the mere possibility of an attack (which might occur in 1985, by which time Iraq might have nuclear weapons) which if allowed to advance, could then be stopped only at a higher and perhaps unacceptable cost (by late June with radioactive fallout). On a scale of 1 (positive) to 3 (negative), U.S. reaction from all branches to the 1981 Israeli action was 2.37 or moderately negative.

U.S. Responses Vary Depending on Type of Israeli Military Action

Thus, U.S. reaction to the four Israeli military initiatives varied. U.S. responses were positive to the Israeli reactive self-defensive actions of 1976 and 2006, respectively 1.39 and 1.48. With regard to the 1967 case, the U.S. response was slightly negative, 2.17, and even more negative to Osirak, or 2.37. The U.S. responded more negatively to the raid on Osirak (2.37) than to the 1967 war (2.17) because in the former case Israel intervened in response to the mere possibility of an actual attack and in the latter case it intervened in response to the threat of attack both palpable and imminent by the frightening presence of Egyptian troops on the border. As seen in Figure 6, as the initiative moves from being a response to an actual attack, to the threat of an imminent and palpable actual attack and finally to the possibility of an actual attack, American responses of all branches become more negative. The second hypothesis is supported by evidence: the United States will respond more positively towards an Israeli military action initiated in reactive self-defense than in anticipatory and preemptive self-defense.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

My research concludes that the U.S. government reaction to Israeli military initiatives is positive when the initiatives are perceived as purely defensive against an actual attack by an enemy. On the other hand when the military initiative is perceived as an anticipatory or preemptive action, the U.S. response is negative (Chapter 6). The four examples I have studied extensively are the 1967 Six-Day War, the 1976 Israeli raid on Entebbe, the 1981 Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor (Osirak), and the 2006 Lebanon War. Thus, the 1976 and 2006 military initiatives which were purely defensive (Chapters 4, 5, 6) were indeed regarded favorably by the U.S., while the 1967 and 1981 which were anticipatory and preemptive, respectively, (Chapters 4, 5, 6), were viewed negatively.

Of course, the U.S. communicates its reactions to Israeli military initiatives through other channels, for example, diplomatic and intelligence channels. I, however, used a specific media outlet, the *New York Times*, as the source of U.S. government responses to the four Israeli initiatives, and the study assumes that the newspaper accurately reports and reflects U.S. government statements.

This paper describes four main theories discovered in the literature review. They are the strategic, bureaucratic politics, the domestic politics and common values models. Based on a search of the literature, the strategic model is preferred. Other theories that

help to explain U.S. foreign policy towards Israel are the logics of hegemonism and realism. The U.S. is hegemonic; it is the greatest military power and has significant influence in the international arena as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Also, the United States maintains its belief in realism. Accordingly, it uses its militaristic might and influence at the UN to maintain a balance of power and work towards the prevention of international warfare. However, the U.S. is not strong enough to get too heavily involved in the affairs of other countries. So, the foreign policy position of the United States is to gather enough power, especially military, and stop others from getting too much.

Alternative View

While this research reveals that American responses vary depending on the degree of self-defense of the Israeli initiative, there is evidence in the literature that supports an alternative explanation for the variation in U.S. responses to Israeli foreign policy initiatives, namely the strategic interests model. Characteristics of the U.S., hegemonism and realism, also account for United States' responses.

The U.S. has an interest in maintaining friendly relations with the Arab oil producers that goes back to the Truman Administration. In fact, that interest caused members of the executive branch to say that Israel was a strategic burden for the U.S. In the early days of Israel's statehood, leading voices in the State and Defense Departments cautioned that American support for the Jewish state would cause Arab nations to stop shipping their oil to the West and would push the Arabs into alliance with the Soviet Union. "Oil – that is the side we ought to be on," commented Defense Secretary James Forrestal in the late

178

1940's. During the Eisenhower Administration, only one view was represented in the administration – that in favor of the conservative Arabs. If any group of Americans involved in the Middle East was content by the end of the Eisenhower administration, it was the oil company leaders. Moreover, Spiegel emphasizes that American leaders have been *consistently* committed to the preservation of petroleum supplies, sea-lanes and pipelines through which oil is shipped to the West.

As a result, of its decisive victory in 1967, Israel gained territory: Gaza and the Sinai from Egypt, Judea and Samaria from Jordan and the Golan Heights from Syria. These gains went against the interests of the surrounding Arab nations which would like Israel to return to 1967 borders. The United States showed support to the Arab nations by expressing a negative reaction to the Israeli 1967 action.

U.S. negative reaction did not end after officials published negative statements in the media. U.S. negative reaction to the 1967 Israeli initiative has lasted through the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 242 leading to the Oslo Accords of the 1990s. The latter agreement has led to Palestinian autonomy in and Israeli withdrawal from lands that Israel won in 1967, and a loss of some Israeli sovereignty in its land. All of these events have served Pan Arabism, the concept that the Middle East, including the territory that Israel now occupies, should be solely inhabited by the Arab people.

In summary, it is in the U.S. strategic interests to protect its oil interests in the Middle East. It does so by reacting negatively to Israel as found from my content analysis. An explanation for U.S. negative reaction in 1967 is that the U.S. did not want to condone Israeli land acquisitions as the U.S. wanted to maintain good relations with the Arab oil producing nations.

The U.S. reacted negatively to the 1981 Israeli attack on Osirak because by striking the Iraqi nuclear reactor, Israel was upsetting the relationship that the U.S., serving Saudi interests, had been building with Iraq.

In an interview with the author, Boston University Professor of International Relations Angelo Codevilla told how Deputy Director of the CIA Bobby Inman cursed the Israelis for the bombing of Osirak in 1981. Inman claimed that Israel had upset the relationship that the U.S. had been building with Iraq. Dr. Codevilla explained that after the Shah of Iran was replaced by a militant Shiite Islamic regime, the U.S. needed a strong arm connection in the Middle East. "The Saudis who are very wealthy and *whose interests we serve* [emphasis added] needed some muscle, because they are impotent fat cats," Codevilla said. The U.S. chose Saddam Hussein who, like the Saudis, was a Sunni and hated the Shiites.

In other words, the U.S. supported Saddam Hussein's regime in the 1980s in order to serve the Saudi interest to balance the militant Shiite Islamic regime in Iran with the Sunni Islamic regime in Iraq. Thus, the United States responded negatively to the Israeli bombing of Osirak because the U.S. perceived that the Israeli military intervention was damaging the relationship that the U.S. was developing with Iraq, while working for Saudi interests

The U.S. negative reaction produced two main results that affected Israel. The first outcome was a delay in the U.S. delivery of four F-16s to Israel; the planes scheduled to be sent in June were held until September 1981. The second result was the life sentence of Jonathan Pollard. The events that led up to this second outcome are as follows: First, CIA Deputy Director Bobby Inman cut off satellite information that the U.S. had been

giving to Israel, which Israel had used to destroy the nuclear reactor.[483] This action of the

CIA eventually led to Pollard's sentence to life in a penitentiary.

As stated, as a result of the Israeli bombing of Osirak in 1981, the U.S. stopped

giving satellite photos to Israel,[484] information that it was legally entitled to according to

a 1983 Memorandum of Understanding between the two countries.[485] Consequently, then

naval intelligence analyst Jonathan Pollard gave the Israelis that part of U.S. intelligence

which they had been receiving, but which the U.S had stopped sharing with them.[486]

Indeed, Pollard later confessed to passing classified documents to Israel without

permission between 1981 and 1985.[487] Pollard is in jail to this day for spying on the U.S.

for Israel, an ally, and is serving a life sentence, which should be seven years for the

crime he committed.[488] Thus, Pollard's imprisonment is a long term negative

consequence of the Israeli bombing in 1981.[489]

When Israel bombed Osirak, the centerpiece of Sadaam Hussein's nuclear program,

it damaged U.S. plans to make Hussein into a pillar of American foreign policy in the

Middle East. This was a policy in which then Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger

had a personal stake. The policy was building up Iraq, a policy to which Weinberger and

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[483] Wesley Phelan, "The True Motives Behind the Sentencing of Jonathan Pollard," *Justice for Jonathan Pollard,* July 17, 2000, *http://www.jonathanpollard.org/2000/071700a.htm.*
[484] Ibid.
[485] "The Facts of the Pollard Case," *Justice for Jonathan Pollard,* http://www.jonathanpollard.org/facts.htm (accessed April 2, 2008).
[486] Phelan, "The True Motives."
[487] Anthony M. Codevilla, "Israel's Spy Was Right about Saddam," Wall Street Journal, August 6, 1998, 1, http://proquest.umi.com.
[488] Ibid.
[489] The details of this case and how they relate to U.S. interests is a fascinating research project in itself.

much of the rest of the U.S. government sacrificed real American interests during the 1980s.[490]

One of the companies involved in the Middle East at that time was Bechtel, with whom Caspar Weinberger and George Schultz, Secretaries of Defense and State, had close personal connections. They built one of the factories that later made chemical weapons to be used by Saddam Hussein against his enemies. What was Jonathan Pollard's role in this? He gave to Israel U.S. satellite pictures of these factories, together with U.S. intelligence evaluations of what these factories were doing. These pictures and intelligence assessments differed from what the U.S. government was telling Israel. Thus, the Israelis were traveling to America, and in official meetings were calling people like Weinberger liars, which these officials did not like. Then Weinberger gave a memo to the judge deciding Pollard's case that contained the lie that Pollard had caused the deaths of U.S. agents; on account of this memo, Pollard is now serving a life sentence.[491] These details provide a picture of the chain of events following the U.S. negative reaction to the Israeli bombing of Osirak, which eventually led to Pollard's unusually harsh sentence.

Characteristics of the United States, namely its hegemonism and realism, are other factors contributing to negative U.S. reaction to Osirak. The United States wants to be hegemonic or a superpower. Superior intelligence and knowledge are qualities necessary for world domination of the hegemony. The fact that the U.S. did not know about the raid on Osirak until after it occurred would suggest to the United States that its performance as a superpower was lacking. Thus, when the Israelis informed the United States about

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[490] Phelan, "True Motives."
[491] Ibid.

their strike on Osirak, the U.S. responded negatively on account of their displeasure at not being sufficiently hegemonic – not having adequate intelligence – at the time of that event.

As a proponent of realism, the U.S. wants to gather enough power, especially military, and stop others from getting too much. While some U.S. officials were impressed with the splendid Israeli show of skill and force applied in the successful raid on Osirak, nonetheless, the U.S., as realist, was somewhat threatened by the military might displayed. Applying realism, the U.S. wants to keep others, including Israel, from getting too much power, and Israel's show of force in Osirak displayed too much strength. Thus, the U.S. also reacted negatively to Osirak because as a realist it was concerned that the balance of power was tilting too much towards the Israelis with their great display of power shown through Osirak.

U.S. positive responses to 1976 Entebbe and 2006 Lebanon can be explained by the fact that both through the raid on Entebbe and the Lebanon War, Israel did not gain land. Therefore, negative Arab reaction to these initiatives was relatively constrained and thus the need for the U.S. to show a negative response was not present. Additionally, the U.S., Arab states and Israel had a common interest in striking Hezbollah and thus were supportive of the 2006 war. The Sunni Arab governments were fearful about the rising stature of the Shiite power Iran in the Arab world, the emergence of a Shiite controlled government in occupied Iraq, and the power of Hezbollah in Lebanon. America and Israel wanted to weaken Hezbollah, an Iranian ally in Lebanon that might encourage violence in Iraq. As Arab reaction to the 2006 War was mostly positive, U.S. positive

response to the 2006 Lebanon Israeli initiative would not damage U.S.-Arab relations and was thus permissible.

The United States strategic interest to maintain friendly relations with the oil producing Arab nations leads the U.S. to consider the Arab view when responding to the Israeli military initiatives. Thus, the United States responded negatively to the 1967 and 1981 initiatives in consideration of negative Arab response to these events, and the U.S. reacted positively to the 1976 and 2006 Israeli actions as a result of, respectively, moderately negative and positive Arab reactions to those initiatives. Therefore, U.S. government reaction to Israeli military initiatives tends to be positive when the initiatives are viewed more positively by the Arab nations. On the other hand, when the military initiative is perceived as negative by the Arab nations, the U.S. response tends to be negative. The strategic model is preferred compared to the other three models – bureaucratic politics, domestic politics and common values – because the argument just made in favor of the former is reasonable and convincing, drawn from evidence in the literature. However, there are no such strong arguments to make the latter three preferred. Additionally, there are no empirical studies in the literature pertaining to the influence of the latter three on U.S. responses to Israeli foreign policy initiatives. However, these views each have an effect and I will next illustrate their influence.

Spiegel wisely notes that, "The bureaucracy is a constraint rather than a source of policy change." For example, during the days preceding the Six-Day War, U.S. ambassador Barbour considered the British idea of a multinational naval mission, the Regatta escort plan, to protect maritime rights at the strait. In the meantime, the President planned to gather international approval to open the Strait of Tiran. However, the Regatta

faltered. On the other hand, neither Congress nor American diplomats were in favor of Regatta. Later, Johnson sought after alternatives to Regatta to open the Tiran Strait. American Ambassador to Syria, Hugh Smythe, suggested that the U.S. supported Israel for mere emotional reasons whereas the Arab states were of important strategic, political, and commercial value. In this example, it is evident that bureaucratic forces are at play within the executive bureaucracy: the President's policy to use the Regatta shows a measure of support for Israeli access to the Suez; whereas American Ambassador Hugh Smythe presses for consideration of the strategic value of the Arabs.

Inside of the Reagan Administration, response to the 1981 Israeli raid on Osirak also shows the bureaucratic forces at play. Some of President Reagan's advisers pressed for Reagan to take punitive action against Israel.[492] As discussed above, the CIA did punish Israel by withholding satellite pictures of the Middle East to which, according to a 1983 Memorandum of Understanding, Israel was legally entitled. Secretary of State Haig, however, argued that, although some disapproval should be expressed, U.S. strategic interests would not be advanced by policies that embarrassed and weakened Israel. Also, though many officials in Washington thought well of Israel's technical excellence, open approval of Israel's "nonproliferation" policy toward Iraq, a member of IAEA, would not be possible to express. In the end, the President, sympathetic to Israel, opted for the short term chastisement of the delaying of the four F-16s. Additionally, Secretary of Defense Weinberger caused the Israelis some embarrassment by revealing the President's decision to the press before it had been revealed to the Israelis.[493] Thus, this case shows the

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[492] Alexander M. Haig, *Caveat* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1984), 184.
[493] Ibid.

executive branch actors' pushing their views and how in this case the President's preference won over the others, except for the CIA's more serious cut off of intelligence.

There is no measurable evidence in the literature to show to what degree the domestic politics model influences U.S. reaction to Israeli foreign policy initiatives. Although the literature suggests that American Jews have some influence on U.S. support for Israel, there are other forces resisting a United States' pro-Israel position. For example, during the 1967 Arab-Israeli crisis, though President Johnson was determined not to let Israel be destroyed, by May 26, American Jews had sent a substantial volume of telegrams to the White House pressing for U.S. support to Israel. The President was both annoyed by the political pressure and, because of sensitivity to the Arab view, was unwilling to condone any Israeli show of force.[494]

In the literature, the common values model is the least discussed as affecting U.S. response to Israeli foreign policy initiatives. President Johnson as a Texan admired the Israelis for their toughness and their ability to survive. However it is not apparent to what extent this softened Johnson's attitude towards Israel during the 1967 conflict.

If there was any President who was affected by common values shared by Israel and the U.S. it was Harry S. Truman. He empathized with the homeless Jews because of his own families' suffering, their expulsion from Missouri during the civil war period. Also his Jewish friend, Eddie Jacobson, persuaded the president to meet with Chaim Weizmann, who pressed for American support for the UN Partition plan. To Truman, doing "the right thing" was more important than the Jewish vote. He excluded politics in consideration of the Palestine question. "I don't care about the oil, I want to do what's

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[494] Oren, *Six Days of War*, 112.

186

right," said Truman. Benson argues that Truman recognized Israel mainly for ideological rather than political reasons. Truman's self-identification, Merkley claims, with Cyrus the Restorer of the Jews, was ideologically-based.

Truman's own views and values affected his reactions to events and advisors concerning Palestine. Among these were Truman's American and personal values that Israel shared in common: his burden for refugees, his perception of the historical roles of the Jews in Palestine and his wish to prevent open warfare in Palestine.

However, the literature does not identify government officials since Truman, other than Johnson, who responded to any of the four Israeli initiatives studied on the basis of common values that Americans and Israelis share.

The Importance and Implications of this Study

The religious nature of Israel attracts attention to the Middle Eastern region in which the tiny nation is located. According to the Bible, Israel sits near the cradle of civilization of mankind or between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Iraq. Indeed, today three main religions of the world – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – claim Jerusalem as central to their faiths.

The animosity between the Arab nations and Israel has ancient roots. Their cultures are being sustained; the Arab's with money from oil reserves and Israel's by its advanced technology and agricultural productivity. Israel almost certainly has the atomic bomb at Dimona. If Israel felt that its survival was in danger from the Arabs it would be willing to use its nuclear capability. Present day Israel is a volatile region with Hamas firing rockets from Gaza into Israel. Israel and the Middle East are areas that lack peace and if world

peace is to be attained, it is necessary to arrive at solutions for peace in that region. Thus, the study of international relations and Israel is important as a means to understand international reaction to Israel and to build diplomatic solutions that lead to world peace.

It is important to understand U.S. responses to Israeli military activities. This is because Israel relies upon the U.S. for military and economic aid. Israel needs to know what the consequences of its military actions will be. For example, in June 1981, after Israel attacked the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the U.S. withheld until September four F-16s that were then scheduled for delivery and the CIA stopped furnishing Israel with satellite information on Iraq.

An implication of this study is that when Israel considers anticipatory or preemptive action, it needs to be aware that it will get a negative reaction from the U.S. When Israel has been attacked and responds in reactive self-defense, the U.S. will react positively. Thus, if Israel wants U.S. support it needs to wait until attacked. If Israel wants to start a war before being attacked it needs to be prepared for negative U.S. reaction.

Feldman states that the U.S. expects that Israel will need to take security risks for many years to resolve the Arab-Israeli dispute. Halkin writes that Israel cannot act unilaterally against Iran, although threatened by the latter's nuclear weapons. Israel must wait for permission from the United States in order to react to the nuclear threat. These authors suggest correctly that the U.S. influences Israeli military decisions. How Israeli initiatives affect its security and the importance of U.S. responses to Israeli military actions are issues taken up in the following sections.

Israeli Initiatives: their Effect on Israeli Interests and Security

In 1967, Israel responded proactively in anticipatory self-defense, and its security was increased by enlarged borders. In contrast, the reactive self-defensive 1976 Raid on Entebbe did not result in a change of borders but may have psychologically encouraged the Israeli people as the raid was a strong and successful response to terrorism and all but three of the Israeli hostages were saved.

The proactive, or preemptive self-defensive, 1981 Israeli Raid against the Iraqi nuclear reactor was an action that increased Israeli security. The proactive action took out of Saddam Hussein's hands the potential to build WMDs, which Saddam, given his scud missile attacks against Israel in the early nineties, would have been willing to use against Israel.

On the other hand, Israel's reactive self-defensive action in initiating the 2006 Lebanon War, after the capture of two soldiers, was not successful – in the last days of the war it gained land, which it quickly relinquished on August 14 in response to UN Security Council Resolution 1701. Thus, because an effective outcome of Israel's reactive defensive initiative was loss of land gained, Israeli security did not improve as a result of the war. Additionally, other outcomes of the war have been that the soldiers to this day have not been recovered and UNIFIL forces in Lebanon have not deterred Hezbollah from amassing dangerous weapons for potential use against Israeli population centers.

In summary, the proactive initiatives of 1967 and 1981 increased Israel's security by, respectively, enlarging its borders and removing a potential WMD threat to the nation. Neither the reactive 1976 Raid on Entebbe nor the 2006 Lebanon war, however,

increased Israel's security. The former may have discouraged terrorism to some extent for a period afterwards, but Israeli security stayed the same as a result of the latter war.

The Importance to Israel of Positive U.S. Responses to its Actions

Based on my study of the four initiatives, the importance to Israel of a positive U.S. response to its military initiatives varies according to the circumstances.

Preceding the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Israel was able and willing to wait until it received a green or yellow light from the U.S. Israel listened carefully to signals from the latter in making its decision to either wait or to take anticipatory preemptive action. Throughout the waiting period, Israel received mixed signals from the U.S. In the end Israel decided to go to war as it was *sure enough* that U.S. response *would not* be too negative and because, as Israeli Ambassador Harman expressed, Israel could not tolerate the possibility of a massive loss of "10,000 casualties before the U.S. agrees that aggression [by the enemy] had occurred." So in the 1967 initiative, a positive U.S. response was important enough to Israel for it to suffer and wait through weeks of an imminent and palpable threat of an actual attack.

The 1976 Entebbe crisis lasted one week, from Sunday, July 27 to Sunday, July 4. During days preceding the Israeli Raid on Entebbe (Operation Thunderbolt), Israeli leaders obtained cooperation from the British; Great Britain had a secret defense alliance with Kenya that permitted the royal Air Force and airborne commandos to use Nairobi and other Kenyan airfields. Additionally, on Friday, July 2, there was a significant increase in international cooperation coming from West Germany, Canada, France, Great Britain (Scotland Yard), the CIA and the FBI. This implies that before July 2, the U.S.

already was cooperating with the rescue mission being planned. On Saturday, July 3, the Israeli Cabinet voted unanimously to approve Operation Thunderbolt.

The Entebbe hijacking occurred at about 12:30 p.m. on July 27 and by 1:30 p.m. the Israeli cabinet had convened to resolve the crisis. In the literature, there is no indication that from July 27 until July 3, when the Israeli cabinet voted for the mission, the U.S. applied any pressure against the mission. In fact, as just stated, on Friday July 2, the CIA and FBI offered increased cooperation with Operation Thunderbolt. Thus, the risk of negative U.S. reaction towards this mission was minimal. It would seem, therefore, that Israel did not have to care much about whether the U.S. reaction would be positive since the risk of its being negative was so little. It seems that in the case of Entebbe, U.S. positive reaction was minimally important to Israel as it already had support; Israel was focused instead on the security of its abducted citizens, and anxiously immersed in the task to save the lives of eighty-three Israelis, stranded at Entebbe airport, in the hands of terrorists who had pledged to kill them.

In deciding to destroy the Iraqi nuclear reactor (Osirak) in June 1981, the Begin-led Israeli government was concerned about protecting the State of Israel from a possible nuclear attack that might occur in several years. Moreover, of immediate concern was the fact that the reactor was due to go radioactive in June 1981, after which point any attack to destroy it would result in a nuclear fallout, dangerous to the Iraqi population.

According to Codevilla, the U.S. was actually supporting the Saddam Hussein regime at that time. Thus, Israel would not want to tell the U.S. in advance about its plan to destroy Osirak – the pride and joy of Saddam's nuclear technology – because Israel would not want the U.S. to exert effort to prevent the mission. In fact, according to the

191

United States and the Begin Government, the U.S. had no knowledge of the mission until Israel destroyed the reactor.[495]

Therefore, in implementing the Raid on Osirak, Israel did not care about U.S. positive reaction. Israel saw that its survival was at stake and, given U.S. support of Saddam, there was little chance of obtaining U.S. approval for the mission. Israel acted proactively, neither wanting U.S. cognizance of, nor positive reaction to, the mission.

Initially, during the 2006 Lebanon War, Israel received wide international support while Hezbollah drew broad international condemnation for invading Israeli territory and kidnapping the soldiers. U.S. support was anticipated and immediately visible. The Saudi government castigated Hezbollah's kidnapping and Jordan, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates were also critical. This alliance of Americans and Arab states was formed on account of merging interests. The Sunni Arab governments were fearful about the rising stature of the Shiite power Iran in the Arab world, the emergence of a Shiite controlled government in occupied Iraq, and the power of Hezbollah in Lebanon. America and Israel wanted to weaken Hezbollah, an Iranian ally in Lebanon that might encourage violence in Iraq. Another factor in Israel's decision to carry out the war was an agreement Israel shared with the U.S. In a meeting in early summer 2006, Israel and the U.S. made plans to inflict blows on Hezbollah. Thus, Israel was guaranteed to receive a positive response from the U.S. because the U.S. and key Arab nations including Saudi Arabia, were all in favor of the initiative. On August 14, in response and obedience to the August 11 passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, Israel withdrew from

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[495] Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Says Air Strike may Violate Accord," *New York Times*, June 9, 1981, http://www.proquest.com; David K. Shipler, "Israeli Jets Destroy Iraqi Atomic Reactor; Attack Condemned by U.S. and Arab Nations," *New York Times*, June 9, 1981, http://www.proquest.com.

southern Lebanon. This indicates that for the 2006 Lebanon initiative, Israel was seeking approval and a positive response from the U.S.

Thus the results are mixed. In the 1967 initiative, a positive U.S. response was important enough to suffer through a tense period filled with the threat of an actual attack. In reaction to the 1976 Raid on Entebbe, the U.S. expressed cooperation. Thus, the risk of negative U.S. reaction was minimal. Therefore, in the case of Entebbe, U.S. positive reaction was minimally important to Israel. Additionally, during the week of the crisis, Israel was immersed in the task to save the lives of eighty-three citizens to give much concern to U.S. response. In the case of Osirak, Israel saw that its survival was at stake and, anyway, given U.S. support of Saddam, there was little chance of obtaining U.S. support for the mission. Thus, in implementing the Raid on Osirak, Israel did not really care about U.S. positive reaction. Finally, in the case of Lebanon, Israel was concerned about a favorable U.S. response. Israel was carrying out the mission not just for its interests but for those of the U.S. Even though the mission was in response to the abduction of the two Israeli soldiers, the speed with which Israel withdrew, three days after the approval of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, shows full Israeli compliance with U.S. desires. Thus, Israel in the Lebanon case did care about U.S. positive reaction.

Therefore, Israel cares about positive U.S. response when: 1) it can afford to wait, as in 1967; 2) it is fully enmeshed in the task of fulfilling U.S. interests, as in Lebanon 2006. Thus, Israel does not always put its own security ahead of U.S. interests. On the other hand, Israel cares little about positive U.S. response when: 1) it thinks it cannot afford to

wait any longer to act towards a threat, as in 1967; 2) it perceives that its security is in great danger, as in the 1981 Osirak case.

The Costs to Israel of Negative U.S. Responses to Israeli Initiatives

In 1967, the costs to Israel of a negative U.S. response were minimal. Indeed, the U.S. increased military aid to Israel after this initiative. In 1981, the cost to Israel for the more negative American reaction was more severe; the U.S. withheld until September four F-16s that were then scheduled for delivery and the CIA stopped furnishing Israel with satellite information on Iraq. However, when measured against the gains – after the 1967 initiative, increased territory and security, and after the 1981 initiative, the destruction of potential WMDs from the hands of a proven murderer, Saddam Hussein – the costs of U.S. negative reaction to Israel is affordable.

Rewards to Israel for Positive American Responses to Israeli Initiatives

There were no visible rewards for U.S. approval of the Israeli Raid on Entebbe. The U.S. and Great Britain attempted, but failed, to pass an anti-terrorist UN Security Council Resolution. There were no bonuses for the U.S. positive reaction to the 2006 Lebanon initiative. Presently, Hezbollah, in Lebanon, is rearmed with Iranian missiles and Israel has not regained the abducted soldiers.

Further Research

The researcher found gaps in the literature on how the executive branch bureaucracy influences U.S. foreign policy towards Israel. A study on how that bureaucracy affects foreign policymaking towards Israel is needed.

In order to better understand U.S. reaction to Israel, it would be useful to investigate whether the U.S. applies the same reactive vs. proactive litmus test to other countries or if other countries apply the same reactive vs. proactive litmus test to Israel as does the U.S.

Also, important to this researcher is why the U.S. reacts negatively to Israeli anticipatory or preemptive self-defensive interventions.

Finally, research on UN responses to the use of force by member states could be conducted. One way to measure these responses is by collecting United Nations General Assembly voting data on resolutions regarding use of force. Another resource for measurement is information from Security Council resolutions.

APPENDIX 1

CODE BOOK

Term or Abbreviation	Meaning
Amb	Ambassador
Admin	Administration
Co	Statement code
Date	Date* of *NYT* article
ME	Middle East
St	Statement number***
Title	Title** of *New York Times* (*NYT*) article

*Year in date indicates case study, e.g. 1967 = 1967 War.

** Repeating title names indicate multiple statements in article.

***Statement numbers are non-consecutive because Congressional statements follow executive.

APPENDIX 2

CONTENT ANALYSIS DATA

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Israelis Seize	6/7/1967	U.S.	U.S.	1	2	government denied [intervention]
Fighting Raging	6/6/1967	Administration	Johnson	1	2	calling on both sides
Text of Goldberg	6/16/1967	Amb Letter	Amb Goldberg	1	2	U.S. not able to concur. Sec Council still …
Excerpts Debate	6/7/1967	UN	Amb Goldberg	1	3	end hostilities
Excerpts Debate	6/7/1967	UN	Amb Goldberg	2	2	these allegations…false
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	officials	1	2	no comment
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	Johnson Admin	2	2	territorial integrity… refused to define
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	officials	3	3	not support major territorial annexation
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	officials	4	2	might support direct Israel Arab negotiation
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	officials	5	1	some sympathy for Israel desire occupy
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	officials	6	1	favor free Israeli passage
Israel Rules Out	6/11/1967	U.S.	officials	7	1	do not want Egyptian force reoccupy
Arabs at UN	6/14/1967	UN	Amb Goldberg	1	3	movement refugees many from earlier
Arabs at UN	6/14/1967	UN	Amb Goldberg	2	3	civilians allowed home
Egypt Backed	6/6/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	1	1	unacceptable condone blockade
Egypt Backed	6/6/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	2	3	did not propose withdrawal Egypt gulf
UN Reactivates	6/10/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	1	1	demand U.S. impartial
UN Reactivates	6/10/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	2	3	wanted more power Sec Gen ceasefire

197

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
UN Reactivates	6/10/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	3	1	for stable ME for recognition Israel
UN Reactivates	6/10/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	4	1	for stable ME for freedom passage
UN Reactivates	6/10/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	5	3	for stable ME for legitimate rights Arabs
UN Reactivates	6/10/1967	U.S. UN	U.S.	6	2	for stable ME for limitation arms levels
UN's Terms	6/11/1967	UN Resolution	U.S.	1	3	resolution condemns violations cease
UN's Terms	6/11/1967	UN Resolution	U.S.	2	3	full investigation violations
UN's Terms	6/11/1967	UN Resolution	U.S.	3	3	scrupulous respect cease
UN's Terms	6/11/1967	UN Resolution	U.S.	4	3	gov ceasefire instructions to troops
UN's Terms	6/11/1967	U.S. UN	Amb Goldberg	5	3	both Israel and Syria are obligated to comply
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	UN Resolution	U.S.	1	3	retirement forces
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	UN Resolution	U.S.	2	3	both sides prohibited
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	UN Resolution	U.S. UN	3	3	condemn violations
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	U.S. UN	Amb Goldberg	4	3	no further forward movement
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	UN Resolution	U.S. UN	5	3	Israel remove troops
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	UN Resolution	U.S. UN	6	3	withdrawal behind arm lines
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	UN Resolution	U.S. UN	7	3	respect demilitarized zones
Truce Obedience	6/12/1967	President	Pres Johnson	8	2	political independence and terr integrity
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. UN	Amb Goldberg	1	1	withdrawal of Israeli…film backwards
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. UN	Amb Goldberg	2	2	under Soviet..no international machinery
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. UN	Amb Goldberg	3	2	differences poison political life ME
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. UN	Amb Goldberg	4	3	new foundation peace
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. Draft Res	U.S. UN	5	2	discussions among states
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. Draft Res	U.S. UN	6	3	third party assist
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. Draft Res	U.S. UN	7	3	withdrawal armed
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. Draft Res	U.S. UN	8	3	renunciation force
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. Draft Res	U.S. UN	9	2	maintenance international rights
Soviet Asks Shift	6/14/1967	U.S. Draft Res	U.S. UN	10	2	stable peace

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Eisenhower hails	6/9/1967	Military	Gen Eisenhower	1	1	Israeli military forces patriots
Eisenhower hails	6/9/1967	Military	Gen Eisenhower	2	2	hatred between Arabs and Israelis
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	Administration	White House	1	3	tragic consequences
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	State Dept	McCloskey	2	2	neutral
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	Administration	Administration	3	2	not neutral - pol independence and terr integ
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	Administration	Sec State Rusk	4	3	key problem to get fighting stopped
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	State Dept	McCloskey	5	2	neutral
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	State Dept	McCloskey	6	2	steer even course
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	State Dept	McCloskey	7	2	neutral thought word deed
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	White House	Christian	8	2	not neutral
U.S. Seeks	6/6/1967	White House	Christian	9	2	support integrity all
U.S. Favors Peace	6/10/1967	U.S.	officials	1	2	peace reconciliation
U.S. Favors Peace	6/10/1967	U.S.	officials	2	2	coexistence
U.S. Favors Peace	6/11/1967	State Dept	Sec State Rusk	3	2	limitation arms helpful
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	President	Pres Johnson	1	2	how [U.S. acts] depends on Israel and Arabs
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	President	Pres Johnson	2	2	firm commitment terr independ, terr integ all
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	U.S.	U.S.	3	2	U.S. Br. Fr. Prevent violations 1950 commit
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	President	Pres Johnson	4	2	nations will have to give their stories
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	President	Pres Johnson	5	2	I do not want to say to influence
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	President	Pres Johnson	6	2	let things clear up
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	U.S.	officials	7	2	put pressure both sides
Johnson Avoids	6/15/1967	President	Pres Johnson	8	2	declined to say
Johnson Pleased	6/9/1967	President	Pres Johnson	1	2	all parties move to more fund quest peace
Johnson Pleased	6/9/1967	President	Pres Johnson	2	2	praised Israel accept response attack Am ship
Johnson Pleased	6/9/1967	President	Pres Johnson	3	3	ceasefire only beginning of peace
Johnson Pleased	6/9/1967	President	Pres Johnson	4	2	terr integrity all nations
Johnson Pleased	6/9/1967	President	Pres Johnson	5	2	good relations with all

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Johnson Pleased	6/9/1967	President	Pres Johnson	6	2	our policy despite rupture some Arab nations
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	1	2	terr integrity our policy
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	2	2	[peace] depends on nations
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	3	2	[we have] peace in mind
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	4	2	I will stay with statement [or no comment]
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	5	2	no comment: on two sides negotiating
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	6	2	two sides sitting…I have nothing more to say
Texts of Johnson's	6/14/1967	President	Pres Johnson	7	2	eco aid…events of next days will determine
President Urges	6/17/1967	President	Pres Johnson	1	2	nations ME accept right of neighbors to stable
President Urges	6/17/1967	President	Pres Johnson	2	2	[if they] turn in this direction, count on U.S.
President Urges	6/17/1967	President	Pres Johnson	3	2	recalled efforts… right of innocent passage
President Urges	6/17/1967	President	Pres Johnson	4	2	building peace
President Urges	6/17/1967	President	Pres Johnson	5	2	turn away 20 years temp truce to durable
Neutral Position	6/14/1967	Senate	Sen Scott	1	1	Israel's rights
Neutral Position	6/14/1967	Senate	Sen Clark	2	1	we are ally Israel not neutral
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	House	Rep Reid	3	3	support resolution positions of belligerents
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	House	Rep Reid	4	1	U.S. assure right of passage Israel
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	House	Rep Reid	5	1	danger…sacrifice commitment Israel
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	Senate	Sen Kennedy	6	3	settlement include Israel right to live
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	Senate	Sen Kennedy	7	2	perm security for Israel and neighbor
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	Senate	Sen Kennedy	8	2	free passage for all
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	Senate	Sen Kennedy	9	3	resettlement
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	Senate	Sen Kennedy	10	2	international support for eco development
Neutral Position	6/7/1967	Senate	Sen Magnuson	11	1	Soviet Union [should] act responsibly
Reaction Congress	6/6/1967	Senate	Sen Russel	1	2	opposed to unilateral intervention ME
Reaction Congress	6/6/1967	Senate	Sen Russel	2	3	[action should be] multilateral
Reaction Congress	6/6/1967	Senate	Sen Russel	3	3	multi-multilateral

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Johnson is Told	6/5/1967	Senate	Sen Stennis	1	2	no [U.S.] military action
Johnson is Told	6/5/1967	Senate	Sen Mansfield	2	2	administration consult Congress
News Summary	7/5/1976	President	Pres Ford	1	1	congratulations…act terror stopped
News Summary	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Scranton	1	1	praised Israeli
News Summary	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Scranton	2	1	guts and brains
News Summary	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Scranton	3	3	Israel raid breach territorial integrity Uganda
Ford Congratulates	7/5/1976	President	Pres Ford	1	1	congratulations - passengers saved
Ford Congratulates	7/5/1976	President	Pres Ford	2	1	great satisfaction
Ford Congratulates	7/5/1976	Administration	Ford Admin	3	1	privately expressed admiration for skillful
Ford Congratulates	7/5/1976	White House	Officials	4	1	but Israel did it on own
Ford Congratulates	7/5/1976	State Dept	Officials	5	2	move no impact on ME
Ford Congratulates	7/5/1976	State Dept	Officials	6	1	big loser will be radical Palestinians
Key to Raid's	7/5/1976	Military	Officers	1	1	prepare for antiterrorist actions
Key to Raid's	7/5/1976	Military	Officers	2	1	airborne terrorism dealt big blow
Key to Raid's	7/5/1976	Military	Officers	3	2	blow would not end hijackings
U.S. Wants UN	7/8/1976	U.S. UN	U.S. UN	1	2	U.S. wants debate of hijack terrorism
U.S. Wants UN	7/8/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	2	2	feels Entebbe be broad
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	1	1	guts and brains
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	2	1	take stand against hijacking
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN Draft	U.S. UN	3	1	Brit. and U.S. draft resolution condemn hijack
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN Draft	U.S. UN	4	1	take measures to prevent
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	5	3	Israeli raid breach
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	6	1	right to use force to protect
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN Draft	U.S. UN	7	2	resolution - need to respect sovereignty
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN Draft	U.S. UN	8	2	deplores tragic loss life
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	9	1	clear duty
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	10	1	guts and brains

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	11	1	most remarkable rescue mission in history
Rescue by Israel	7/13/1976	U.S. UN	Amb Scranton	12	1	electrifying millions
Hostages Freed	7/4/1976	State Dept	Official	1	2	no comment
News Summary	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	1	3	substantial violation may have occurred
News Summary	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	2	3	four F-16 fighter bombers to the Israelis held
News Summary	6/9/1981	Administration	Administration	1	3	may have violated
News Summary	6/9/1981	Administration	Administration	2	3	add to tense situation of area
News Summary	6/10/1981	White House	Official	1	2	arms embargo threaten Israel's security
News Summary	6/10/1981	White House	Official	2	2	lose credibility with Arabs
News Summary	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	1	3	Arabs: he appreciates concern about raid
News Summary	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	2	2	displeasure over raid would not change relation
News Summary	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	1	3	Israel violated accord bombing reactor
News Summary	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	2	1	Israel believed action defensive
News Summary	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S. UN	1	3	strongly condemns Israel
News Summary	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S. UN	2	3	urges Israel's nuclear to be inspected
News Summary	6/20/1981	Vote	U.S. UN	1	3	condemns Israel
News Summary	6/20/1981	Vote	U.S. UN	2	3	Israel urged to open nuclear to inspection
News Summary	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Kirkpatrick	3	3	deserves condemnation
News Summary	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Kirkpatrick	4	1	nothing will affect my gov's commitment
Senators Open	6/19/1981	State Dept	Stoessel	6	3	Israeli attack might have violated
Senators Open	6/19/1981	State Dept	Stoessel	7	2	no comment
France and Britain	6/16/1981	U.S. UN	Diplomat	1	3	Washington would rebuke Israel if separate
U.S. Consults	6/18/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	1	2	midst of difficult negotiations
U.S. Consults	6/18/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	2	2	speech less important than consensus
U.S. Consults	6/18/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	3	1	halting military trade would bring a veto
Draft at UN	6/17/1981	U.S. UN	U.S. UN	1	3	U.S. ready to vote censure and compensation
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	Vote	U.S. UN	1	3	strongly condemns Israel

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	Vote	U.S. UN	2	3	open nuclear plants to international inspection
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	3	3	Israel failed diplomatic[ally]
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	4	3	Israel hurt peace and security
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	5	2	nothing will affect my gov's commitment
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	6	1	insisted Council not harm Israel's interests
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	7	3	she praised Hamedi
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	8	2	Israel's conduct needs to be understood
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	9	1	Israel had reason for concern
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	10	3	U.S. shocked by Israeli air strike
Israelis Condemn	6/20/1981	UN Res	U.S.	11	3	Iraq entitled to compensation
U.S. Says Air	6/9/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	1	3	U.S. condemned Israeli bombing
U.S. Says Air	6/9/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	2	3	may have violated
U.S. Says Air	6/9/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	3	3	seriously adds to tense situation
U.S. Says Air	6/9/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	4	3	Habib not want to be in Israel
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept letter	Sec State Haig	1	3	Israel might substantial
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept letter	Sec State Haig	2	3	delivery 4 F-16s held up
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept letter	Sec State Haig	3	1	would take into account defensive
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept letter	Sec State Haig	4	3	pres directed suspension
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Official	5	2	no other arms other than 4 F-16s
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Official	6	2	no other review of defense
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Official	7	3	substantial amount material in pipeline
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Official	8	2	but next shipment July 1
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	White House	White House	9	3	Reagan shocked, disturbed, surprised
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	U.S.	Officials	17	1	veto sanctions
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	U.S.	Officials	18	3	might support condemnation
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	22	3	condemns Israel
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	23	3	undermined efforts to reduce tension

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	24	3	strained - Israel's threat to destroy Syrian
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	25	3	substantial violation may have occurred
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	26	2	administration will review
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	27	1	consider self defense
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	28	1	reactor intended to produce atomic
Israeli Jets	6/9/1981	U.S.	U.S.	1	3	condemns Israel
Israeli Jets	6/9/1981	U.S.	U.S.	2	3	utmost concern
Israeli Jets	6/9/1981	U.S.	U.S.	3	3	serious development
Begin Defends	6/10/1981	Administration	Officials	1	3	they expected to notify that may have violated
Israelis are Critical	6/12/1981	Administration	Reagan Admin	1	3	F-16s held up
Israelis are Critical	6/12/1981	Defense Dept	Weinberger	2	2	denied charge that recommended harsher
Israelis are Critical	6/12/1981	Defense Dept	Weinberger	3	3	sorry Begin proceeding on erroneous assump
Israelis are Critical	6/12/1981	Pentagon	Pentagon	4	2	no essential difference between
Israelis are Critical	6/12/1981	White House	Aide	5	3	Israeli charge travesty
Israelis are Critical	6/12/1981	White House	Aide	6	3	someone made accusation b/c AWAC Saudi
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	Administration	Officials	1	2	more political than legal
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	5	3	Israel must be scrupulous
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	Defense Dept	Weinberger	6	2	denied recommended harsher
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	Administration	Administration	7	3	no opposition National Security to Pres react
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	Administration	Officials	8	1	applaud boldness
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	Administration	Officials	9	3	contended larger Amer interests at stake
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	Administration	Officials	10	3	admin strategy in jeopardy
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	U.S.	Official	11	3	without some action to reassure mod Arab
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	State Dept	State Dept	1	3	make difficult Habib's peace making
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	State Dept	State Dept	2	3	handicap promotion Arab-Israeli peace & strat
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	U.S.	Officials	9	2	no Arab movement
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	U.S.	Officials	10	2	Baghdad's reluctance to fight while at war

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	U.S.	Diplomat	12	2	peace Egypt let Israel attack Iraq
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	U.S.	Official	18	3	3 years till bomb
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	U.S.	Official	19	3	Saudi irked and would end diplomacy Syria
Request	6/19/1981	U.S.	U.S.	1	2	denied
Request	6/19/1981	White House	U.S.	2	2	no comment
Request	6/19/1981	State Dept	U.S.	3	2	no comment
Request	6/19/1981	State Dept	Spokesman	4	2	no comment
Request	6/19/1981	White House	Speakes	5	2	no comment
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981	State Dept	Passage	9	2	issue under review - no comment
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981	State Dept	Passage	10	2	no reason to believe Iraq
Israeli Aids	6/16/1981	Administration	Officials	1	3	Israeli strike put everyone in quandary
Israeli Aids	6/16/1981	Administration	Officials	2	3	Israelis maneuvering to head off imagined
Israeli Aids	6/16/1981	Pentagon	Pentagon	3	2	denied
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Intelligence	1	3	unlikely Iraq bomb until 1983
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	State Dept	Officials	2	1	Iraq one bomb by end year
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Intelligence	3	1	Iraq one bomb by end year
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Administration	4	3	Iraq one bomb doubted
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Officials	6	3	4 to 5 years would opportunity of diplomacy
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Intelligence	7	1	raid right time Israel
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Diplomats	8	3	wrong time U.S.
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	U.S.	Intelligence	9	1	accept Isr arg many Arab leaders happy
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981	State Dept	Intelligence	10	3	all Arabs will have to act otherwise
France Says	6/18/1981	State Dept	Stoessel	1	3	concern with Iraqi but not agree with Israel
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	1	3	Israel violated weapons agreement
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	2	1	Israelis believed action defensive
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	3	3	Israel abused agreement
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	4	1	Israel has concern

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	5	2	will not say agree with Israel that Iraq bomb
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	7	2	not given much thought to Israel not NPT
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	8	1	how many countries NPT and making bombs
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	9	2	issue under review
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	10	3	Israel might have considered other options
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	11	3	We would have welcomed diplomacy France
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	1	3	he appreciated Arab's concern
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	2	3	displeasure would not lead
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	3	2	appealed to both sides not disrupt ME peace
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	4	3	might have committed substantial violation
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	State Dept	Sec State Haig	5	3	delivery 4 F-16s held up
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	Administration	Officials	6	2	did not know how long review
Reagan Voices	6/12/1981	Administration	Officials	7	2	could not verify assertion Begin
Arab League	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	1	3	appreciates Arab's concern
Arab League	6/12/1981	President	Pres Reagan	2	2	displeasure not lead to reevaluation
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	1	3	danger to international peace and security
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	2	3	explosive to situation in area
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	3	3	should refrain threat or use force - Charter
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	4	3	condemns Israel violation Charter
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	5	3	calls Israel to refrain such acts
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	6	3	threat to IAEA regime
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	7	2	Iraq right to peaceful nuclear
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	8	3	Israel should be under safeguards
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	9	3	Iraq redress
UN Draft	6/19/1981	U.S. UN Draft	U.S.	10	3	Sec General should inform
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	1	3	undermines stability well being area
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	2	3	gravely jeopardizes peace security

206

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	3	3	shocked Israeli air strike
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	4	3	condemned act
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	5	3	exacerbated antagonism of area
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	6	3	if not ameliorate will lead to violence
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	7	1	Israel reason for concern
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	8	1	Israel sincerely believed defensive
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	9	1	strength and commitment U.S.-Isr relation
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	10	1	Israel important valued ally
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	11	1	warmth human relationship
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	12	2	nothing happened alter strength
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	13	1	proud to call Israel friend and ally
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	14	3	hurt peace
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	15	3	diplomatic means not exhausted
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	16	3	damaged regional confidence
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	17	1	don't approve harm Isr basic interests
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	18	3	Israel should be condemned
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	19	1	Israel's neighbors should recognize right exist
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	20	2	Israel's neighbors should negotiate differences
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	21	2	genuine peace between Arab Israel
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	22	2	all parties protected
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	23	2	passions ameliorated
Mrs. Kirkpatrick's	6/20/1981	U.S. UN	Amb Kirkpatrick	24	3	we have been aided by Iraq
News Summary	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	1	3	Israel apparently violated its accord
News Summary	6/17/1981	President	Pres Reagan	2	1	Israel may have believed defensive
News Summary	6/17/1981	Senate	Senator	3	3	Israeli failed to show Iraq nuclear threat
News Summary	6/17/1981	Congress	Staff	4	3	Israeli failed to show Iraq nuclear threat
Nuclear Peril	6/11/1981	Senate	Sen Moynihan	1	1	anything that takes out nuclear - good

Title	Date	Form	Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Nuclear Peril	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Moynihan	2	1	plant to produce bomb - hot pursuit in defense
Senators Open	6/19/1981	Senate		Sen Bosch.	1	1	they did world service
Senators Open	6/19/1981	Senate		Sen Glenn	2	3	destructive
Senators Open	6/19/1981	Senate		Sen Glenn	3	3	vigilante tactics
Senators Open	6/19/1981	Senate		Sen Glenn	4	3	nobody denies that Israel took law into hands
Senators Open	6/19/1981	Senate		Sen Cranston	5	1	Iraq could have produced undetected pluto
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Cranston	10	1	regret decision to delay F-16s
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Cranston	11	1	self-defense
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen D'Amato	12	1	preemptive
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen D'Amato	13	1	Israel perfectly aware
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen D'Amato	14	1	what one nation had to do
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Moynihan	15	1	Israel had to do it
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Moynihan	16	1	anything that takes out nuclear - good
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Zablocki	19	3	Pres decision measured, prudent, necessary
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Zablocki	20	2	detached for review
U.S. Citing	6/11/1981	Senate		Sen Zablocki	21	2	permit Congress to decide
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	House		Rep Wright	2	1	sympathy Israel
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	House		Rep Wright	3	3	law not meaningless
Pride and Punish	6/11/1981	House		Rep Wright	4	3	get assurances from Israel
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	Senate		Sen Baker	3	3	extraordinary implications
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	Senate		Sen Baker	4	3	totally unexpected
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	Senate		Sen Baker	5	3	Habib's job more difficult
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	Senate		Sen Baker	6	3	serious
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	Senate		Sen Baker	7	3	great concern
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	Senate		Sen Baker	8	3	Arabs possibly will hit at Isr reactors
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	House		Rep Zablocki	11	3	highly irresponsible destroy Camp David
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981	House		Rep Zablocki	13	3	offensive

Title	Date	Form	Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981		House	Rep Zablocki	14	2	give it full, careful review
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981		House	Rep Zablocki	15	2	if law violated, law enforced
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981		Senate	Sen Cranston	16	1	preemptive
Nettles for Reagan	6/9/1981		Senate	Sen Cranston	17	1	could have provided weapon by
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Senate	One Senator	1	3	Isr have not convinced us…
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Congress	Other Congressm	2	3	Isr have not convinced us…
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Congress	Aides	3	3	Israeli backed away from assertion
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Congress	Aides	4	3	and backed away from assertion that
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Senate	Sen Glenn	5	2	Isr would present evidence at other time
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Senate	Sen Glenn	6	2	time has not arrived
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Congress	One Aide	7	3	Israelis were terrified
Sen Skeptical	6/17/1981		Senate	Same Aide	8	3	and Israel not willing to take chance
Chances of Iraqis	6/16/1981		Congress	Members	5	3	Iraq one bomb doubted
Reagan Asserts	6/17/1981		Congress	Aides	6	3	Israeli diplomats haven't convinced committee
News Summary	6/17/1981		Congress	Sen & Aides	3	3	Israeli diplomats failed to convincing evidence
U.S. Alone	7/14/2006		Administration	U.S.	1	3	Israel should not destroy gov resources
U.S. Alone	7/14/2006		Administration	U.S.	2	3	Israel should not cause refugee crisis
News Summary	7/22/2006		Administration	Bush Admin	1	1	Bush Admin rushing bombs to Israel
News Summary	7/19/2006		U.S.	U.S. official[s]	1	1	Amer/Israeli consensus in which Isr would…
News Summary	7/19/2006		U.S.	Officials	2	2	Rice would then go to make buffer zone
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		Administration	Officials	1	1	Bush Admin rushing bombs to Israel
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		U.S.	Officials	2	1	made decision to rush with little debate
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		U.S.	Officials	3	1	munitions part of package approved last year
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		Defense Dept	Officer	4	1	expedited delivery unusual
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		Defense Dept	Officer	5	1	indication that Israel has long list target
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		Defense Dept	Sec State Rice	6	2	head to Isr Sunday
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006		State Dept	Sec State Rice	7	2	no interest in diplomacy to status quo

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	8	2	could have gotten on plane - not clear
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	State Dept	Officials Agency	9	2	shipment broad array of arms long provided
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	State Dept	One Official	10	2	not emergency supply
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Pentagon	11	2	declined to describe shipment
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Military	12	2	declined to describe shipment
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Pentagon	13	2	would not describe munitions
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Official	14	2	would not describe munitions
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	U.S.	Officials	15	2	once weapons approved, buyer sets timetable
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	U.S.	One Official	16	1	normal procedures not include rush delivery
U.S. Speeds	7/22/2006	U.S.	One Official	17	1	done because Israel close ally
U.S. Speeds	7/23/2006	U.S.	Official	18	2	unclear if Hez retreat or Isr keep bombing
Clashes Spread	7/13/2006	White House	White House	1	1	condemns Hezbollah raid
Clashes Spread	7/13/2006	White House	White House	2	2	holds Syria and Iran responsible
Israel Blockade	7/14/2006	President	Pres Bush	1	1	Israel has right
Israel Blockade	7/14/2006	President	Pres Bush	2	1	don't weaken Leb gov
Israel Blockade	7/14/2006	President	Pres Bush	3	1	group of terrorists
Israel Blockade	7/14/2006	President	Pres Bush	4	1	soldiers need to be returned
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Officials	1	1	American-Isr consensus
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Officials	2	2	Rice go buffer
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Officials	3	3	perhaps obtain international force
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Officials	4	1	Ms. Rice waiting give time to weaken Hez
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Officials	5	1	[D.C.] discussing with Arab & Isr-borders
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	President	Pres Bush	6	1	Israel must be allowed to defend
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	President	Pres Bush	7	1	everyone abhors loss
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	President	Pres Bush	8	1	Hez is root of problem of loss human life
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Official	9	2	some people uncom Amer position-careful talk
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Official	10	1	we're careful to talk

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	U.S.	Official	11	1	not wagering with lives innocent people
U.S. Seen Waiting	7/19/2006	Administration	Officials	12	2	Rice should not go until can get results
Death Toll	7/20/2006	UN	U.S.	1	1	will give Isr more time to weaken Hez
Death Toll	7/20/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	2	1	how to have ceasefire with terrorists
Death Toll	7/20/2006	U.S.	Officials	3	2	Rice plans up in air
Marines	7/21/2006	White House	Snow	1	1	not sure we should put up stop sign now
Marines	7/21/2006	White House	Snow	2	3	Bush says: practice restraint
Marines	7/21/2006	White House	Snow	3	3	Bush very concerned human crisis
UN Force	7/19/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	1	1	discouraged talk of multilateral force or cease
Attacks Qualify	7/20/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	1	1	ceasefire simplistic
Attacks Qualify	7/20/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	2	1	how you get ceasefire with terrorist org?
Attacks Qualify	7/20/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	3	1	different situation
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	President	Pres Bush	1	1	make something happen [with Syria sponsor]
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	Administration	Officials	2	2	Rice will travel to resolve crisis
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	President	Pres Bush	3	1	get Syria to get Hez to stop....
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	4	1	multiforce: would be empowered?
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	5	1	real problem Hez
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	6	1	multiforce: would be empowered for Syria Iran?
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	7	1	how new force improve on UN... Lebanon?
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	UN	Amb Bolton	8	1	ceasefire if Hez and Hamas release and stop
Diplomats Seek	7/18/2006	U.S.	officials	9	2	attack by Hez most sophisticated to date
Despite	7/17/2006	President	Pres Bush	1	3	restraint in Israel's attacks
Despite	7/17/2006	President	Pres Bush	2	1	these extremists
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Burns	3	1	statement does not specify steps
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Burns	4	1	Israel will stand down only after Hez stops
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	5	1	Israel right to defend
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	6	1	we would expect nothing less

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	7	1	administration constant
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	8	2	no decision to go to region
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	9	1	cessation violence crucial
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	10	2	if cess of violence hostage to Hez -go nowhere
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Official	11	2	getting somewhere is Amer aim
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Official	12	2	administration wants solution
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Official	13	2	Rice would travel only if she could influence
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Official	14	2	U.S. relying on Egypt Saudi Jordan….
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	15	2	Iran's support of Hez
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Officials	16	2	Iran's support of Hez
Despite	7/17/2006	Administration	Some Officials	17	1	moment damage links between Iran/Syr/Hez
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Officials	18	2	careful- did not say that Iran inspired outbreak
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Officials	19	2	crisis distracted leaders from Iranian nuke
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Officials	20	2	Iran can use conflict to strike
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Officials	21	2	international statement evidence of success
Despite	7/17/2006	President	Pres Bush	22	2	Arab nations: critics of Ham Hez
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	23	2	Arab nations: critics of Ham Hez
Despite	7/17/2006	U.S.	Officials	24	2	Arab nations: critics of Ham Hez
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	25	2	new day ME
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	26	2	new day people Leb without terrorists
Despite	7/17/2006	White House	Bartlett	27	2	failures of ME issues led to Al Qaeda
Despite	7/17/2006	President	Pres Bush	28	1	Israel defend yourself with restraint
Despite	7/17/2006	State Dept	Burns	29	2	some gov. agree with statement, some don't
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	1	1	blamed Hez for starting conflict
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	2	1	ceasefire without pol. considerations - no
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	State Dept	Sec State Rice	3	2	I won't…ceasefire that won't last
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Gen Abizaid	4	2	did not think Iran Syria press Hez

Title	Date	Form Policy	Actor	St	Co	Statement
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Gen Abizaid	5	2	it would mean that
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Gen Abizaid	6	2	more likely that
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Gen Abizaid	7	1	Israel's attacks reducing Hez
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Gen Abizaid	8	1	don't believe [Israel] break Siniora
Israeli Buildup	7/22/2006	Defense Dept	Gen Abizaid	9	1	don't believe Israel objective hurt Lebanon
News Summary	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	1	1	steps necessary to defend Isr from Hez
At Israel	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	1	1	renounced Hamas and Hez new totalitarianism
At Israel	7/18/2006	House	Rep Nadler	2	1	response to aggression be proportionate?
At Israel	7/18/2006	House	Rep Weiner	3	1	Pres Bush right about this
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	1	1	whatever steps necessary to defend Isr
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	2	1	America must show solidarity, support Isr
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	4	1	new totalitarians
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	5	1	we will stand with Israel
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	6	1	Israel's mil response like U.S. if attacked
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	7	1	America support Israel
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	Senate	Sen Clinton	8	1	message-they don't believe human rights
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	House	Rep Weiner	9	1	feckless friends Europeans
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	House	Rep Weiner	10	1	praise White House support of Isr
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	House	Rep Weiner	11	1	Bush right about this
Clinton Vows	7/18/2006	House	Rep Fossella	12	1	wake up [UN] eliminate [terrorists]

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