

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN ISRAEL

IRE215

SPRING 2019

Session 3



Maya Hadar

On The Agenda For Today



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- **Jerusalem**

- Jerusalem and Christianity, Islam & Judaism
- The Capital Controversy

- **(Summarized) Israeli Political History**

- **From Mandate to Statehood**

- Arabs and Jews in Palestine
- Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine
- The Establishment of the State of Israel and the Arab Response

JERUSALEM

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- Arab Israelis/Palestinians + Jewish Israelis live in the city and have **deep historic & religious ties**
- Palestinians make up 38% of the city's population
- **Spiritual capital** of the world's three monotheistic religions: **Christianity, Judaism** and **Islam**
- The '**Old City**' constitutes a one-and-a-half-square-miles of history, religion and conflicts

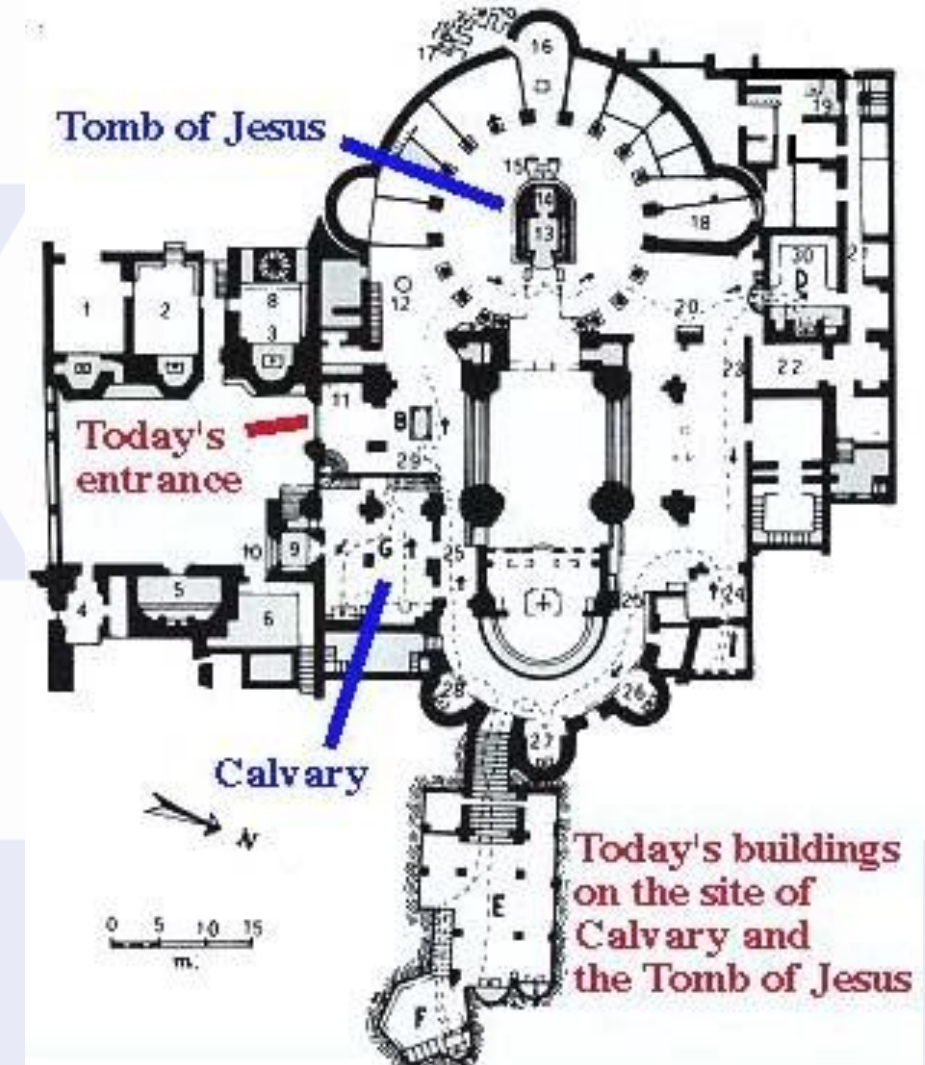
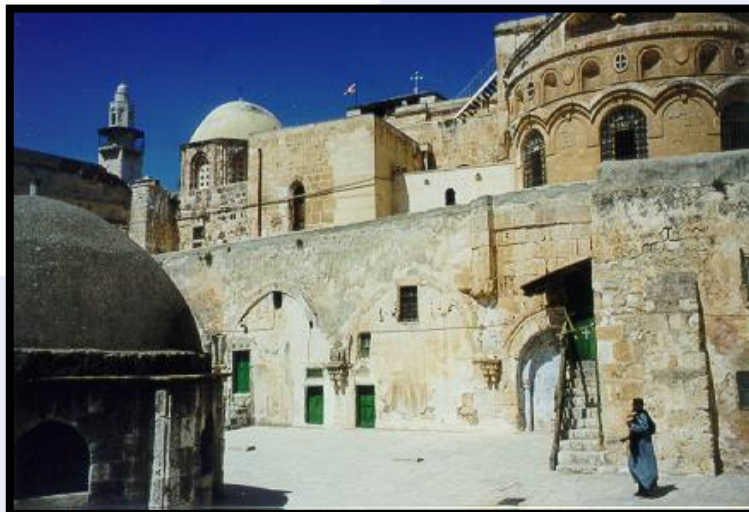


Jerusalem & Christianity



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- Many sites in Jerusalem are considered sacred by Christians
 - **Church of the Holy Sepulcher**- believed to be built over **Golgotha/Calvary**, where Jesus was crucified + buried



Jerusalem & Christianity



5

Protestant alternative location for Golgotha/Calvary: The Garden Tomb =>



**Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem
<= believed to be built over both Golgotha
and Jesus' tomb**

Jerusalem & Christianity



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- The **Christian link to Jerusalem** is essentially a **religious** one
- Except for the short-lived **Crusader kingdom/The Kingdom of Jerusalem**, it has not assumed political or secular connotation
- During the six centuries of **Roman & Byzantine** rule, **Caesarea** (northern Israel) was capital



The **Last Supper Room** in Mount Zion/
Cenacle, where Jesus had his last supper
with his disciples on the night before his
crucifixion



Jerusalem & Islam

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- The '**Dome of the Rock**' is a Muslim shrine built by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān in the late 7th century CE
- NOT a mosque
- The Dome commemorates the **Mi' rāj**, Prophet Muhammad's (founder of Islam) ascension into heaven (**Lailat-al-Miraj**)
- The **rock** over which the shrine was built is sacred to both **Muslims** and **Jews**





Jerusalem & Islam



Dome of the rock



**The Rock where
Muhammad stood when
he was ascended**



Jerusalem & Islam

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- During **Muslim rule** over the city, **Jerusalem** was never made the **political capital** or even a province within the Muslim empire
- Under **Muslim Arab rule** (638 - 1099) by the Umayyad, the Abbasid and the Fatamid **caliphs**, **Jerusalem** was **ruled** from **Damascus**, **Baghdad** and **Cairo** respectively
 - In the 8th century, the city of **Ramia** was made the capital of the district which embraced Jerusalem
- During the period of **Mamluk rule** (1250- 1516), the Land was ruled from **Damascus**; in **Ottoman times** (1517 - 1917), from **Constantinople**

Jerusalem & Judaism

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- **Jerusalem** stood at the **center** of Jewish people's national & **spiritual life** since **King David** made it the **capital** of his **kingdom** in **1003 BC**
- The city remained the **capital** of the **Davidic dynasty** for **400 years**, until the kingdom was conquered by the **Babylonians**



David was anointed **king** of **Judah** and began the **Davidic dynasty** that ruled the kingdom of Judah for until the **destruction** of the **First Temple**

Jerusalem & Judaism

11



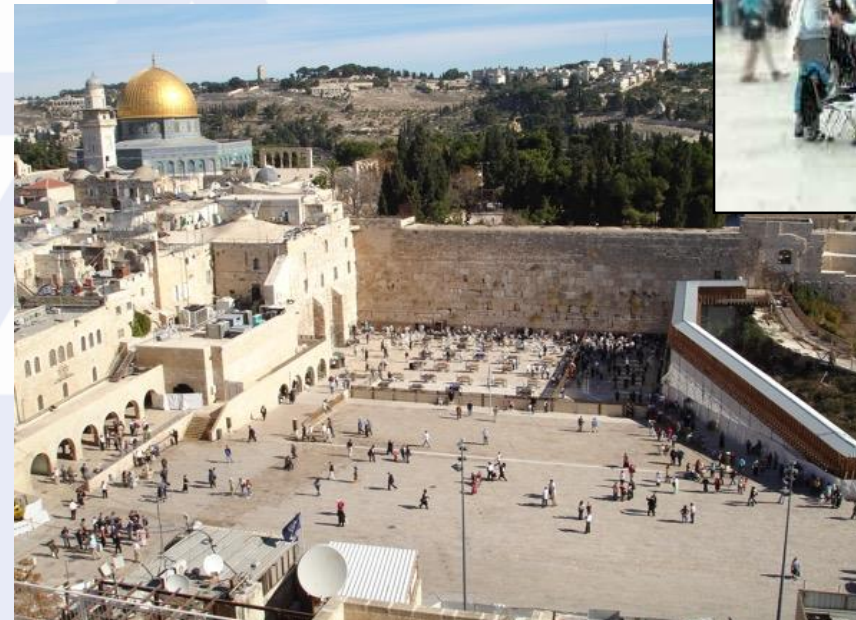
- Faith took form in the **First Temple**, built in the 10th century BC by **King Solomon**
 - (Old testament)
- Following the **return** from the **Babylonian exile** (538 BC), Jerusalem again served as the **capital** of the **Jewish** people for the next **550** years

The **First Temple** was destroyed by Babylonians in 586 BC

Jerusalem & Judaism

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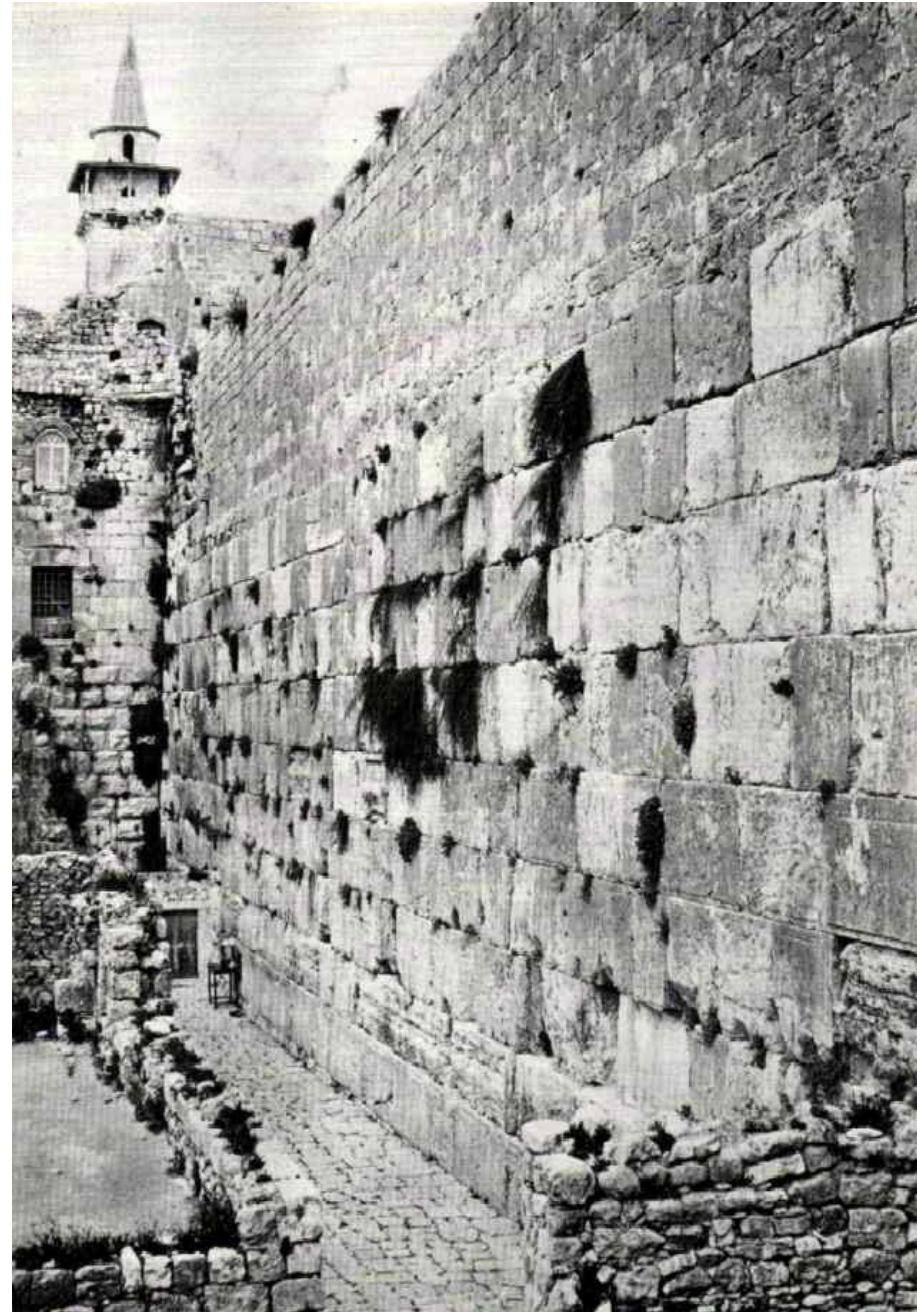
- The **first temple** was **rebuilt** (second temple) => **destroyed** by Romans (70 AD)
 - The **wailing wall/Western Wall** is all that's left: **holiest site** for **Jewish prayer**
- Jewish tradition: the **dome of the rock** was where **Abraham** (progenitor & first patriarch of the Hebrew people) is said to have prepared to **sacrifice his son Isaac**



Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, 1898



**Kotel HaMaravi
Western Wall
c. 1870**



c. 1898



Dome of the Rock, c. 1877



JERUSALEM: Contested Capital

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- Both the **Dome** and **Al-Aqṣā Mosque** are located on the **Temple Mount**, the site of **Solomon's Temple** and its successors, an area known to Muslims as **Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf**

The Dome of the Rock



The Wailing Wall – foundation of the Jewish Temple

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Jerusalem & Israel

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- **Under British rule (1922-1948), Jerusalem** was the seat of the **High Commissioner** and most **administrative offices** of the **Mandate** + central institutions of the growing **Jewish community**
- **1947=>** The UN did NOT include Jerusalem in either future Israel/Palestine
 - In the designated partition of the territory of Palestine Jerusalem was set to be an **“open city”**
- **1948/49=>** War, Israeli victory, transfer of Israeli government from Tel-Aviv to **West Jerusalem**

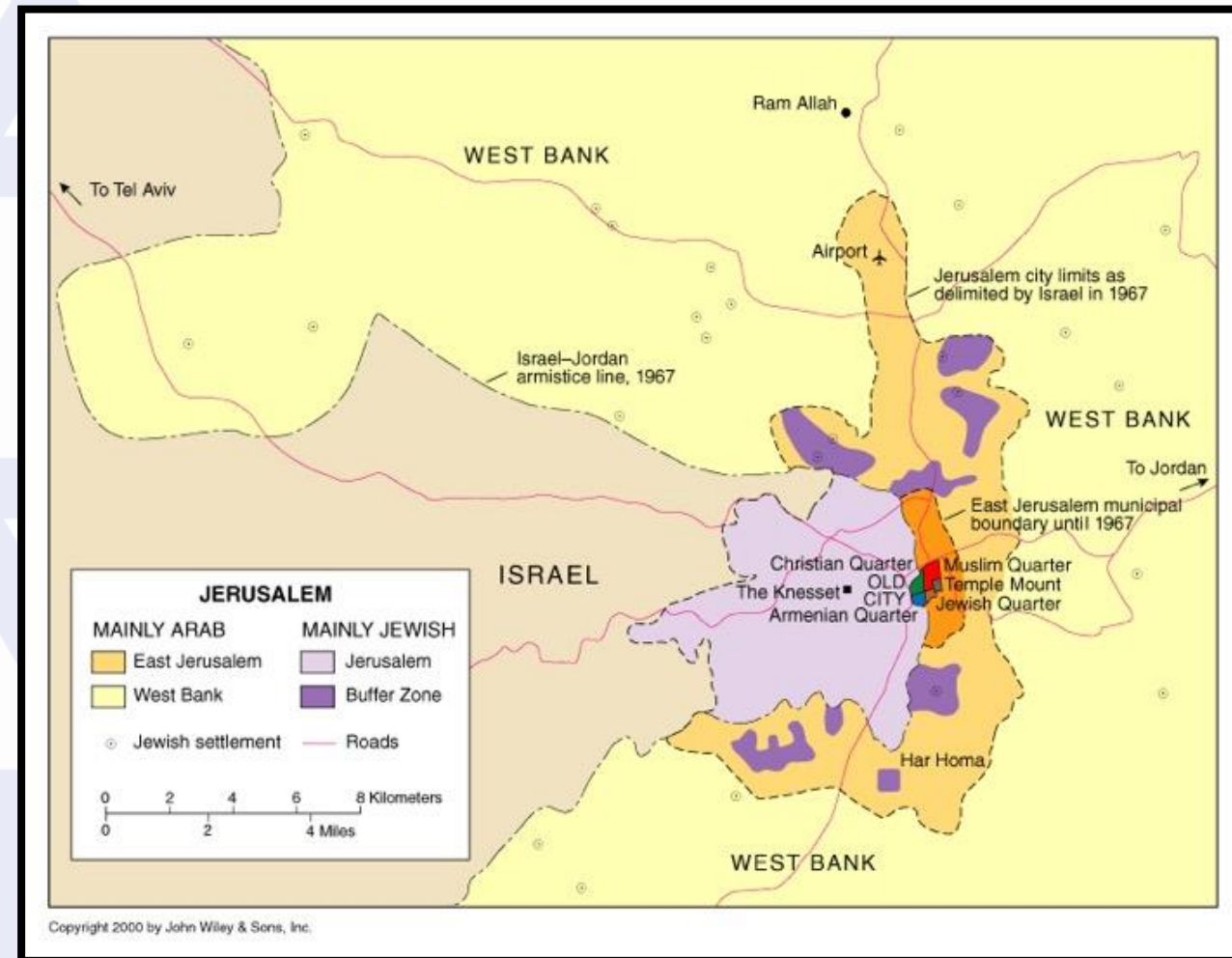


Source: Map data by Daniel Seidemann/Terrestrial Jerusalem. Labeling by NPR

Jerusalem & Israel

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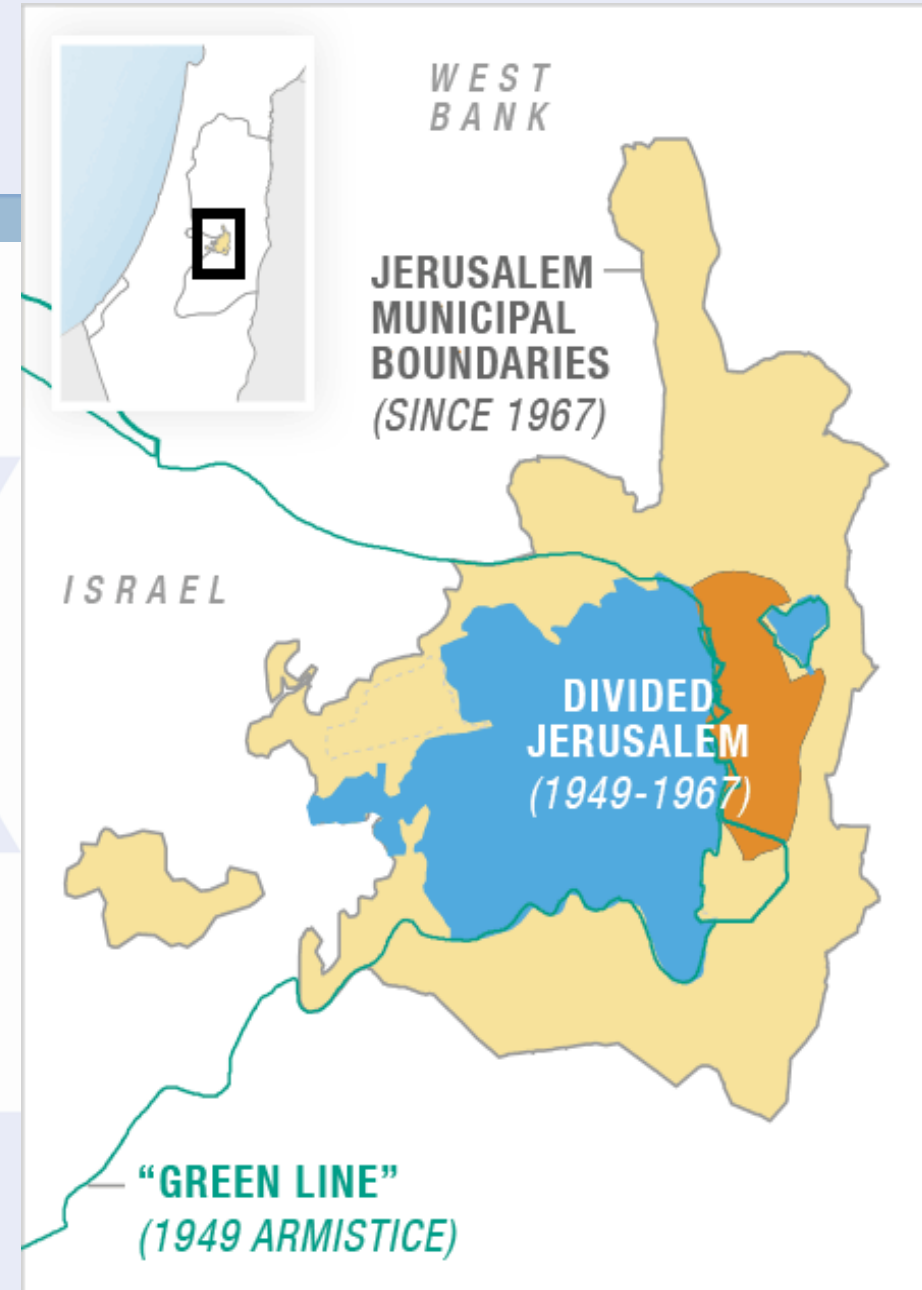
- **1948-1967 => A city divided**
 - **Eastern side** (including the 'Old City') **annexed by Jordan**
 - **Western side** became **Israel's capital**
 - **Palestinians** living in the west **abandoned homes** and **fled** to the east
 - **Jews** were **expelled** from the **Old City's Jewish quarter** and **barred** from the **Western Wall**



Jerusalem & Israel

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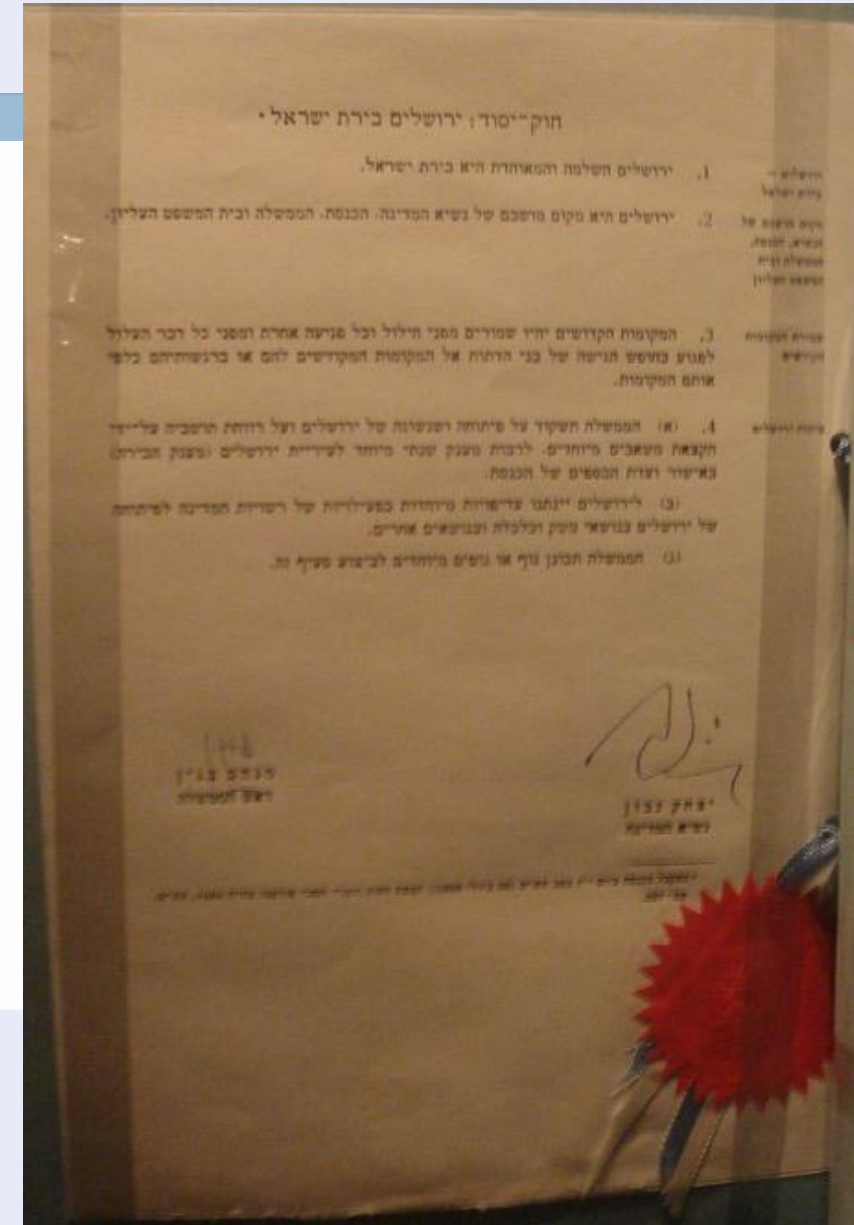
- The **Six Day War, 1967** => Israel defeated the combined armies of Egypt, Syria & Jordan, capturing **East Jerusalem** (and other territories)
 - **Jerusalem** was **united** under **Israeli rule**
 - The 'Old City' was **opened** to people of **all faiths**
 - The **eastern part** of the city was **reintegrated** into the **nation's capital**



Jerusalem & Israel

19

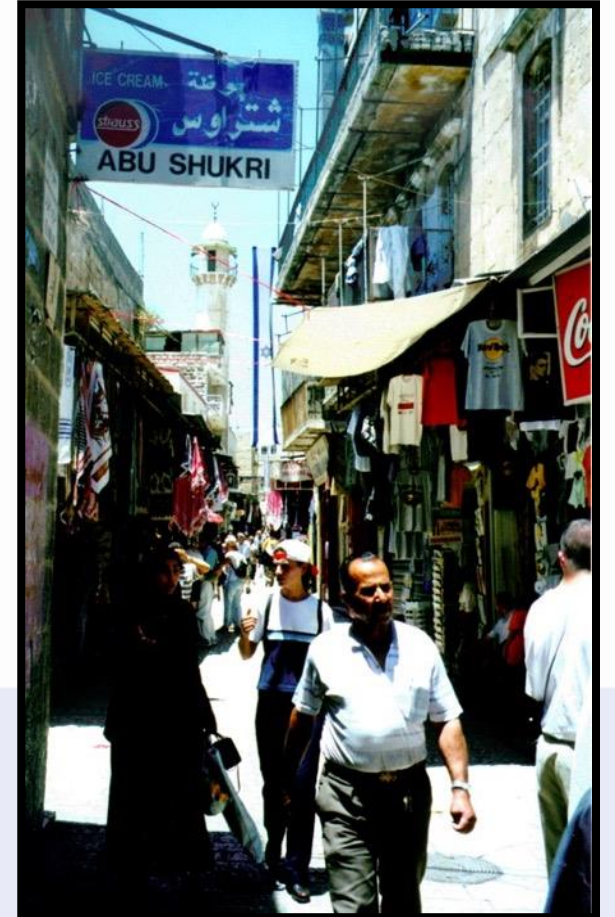
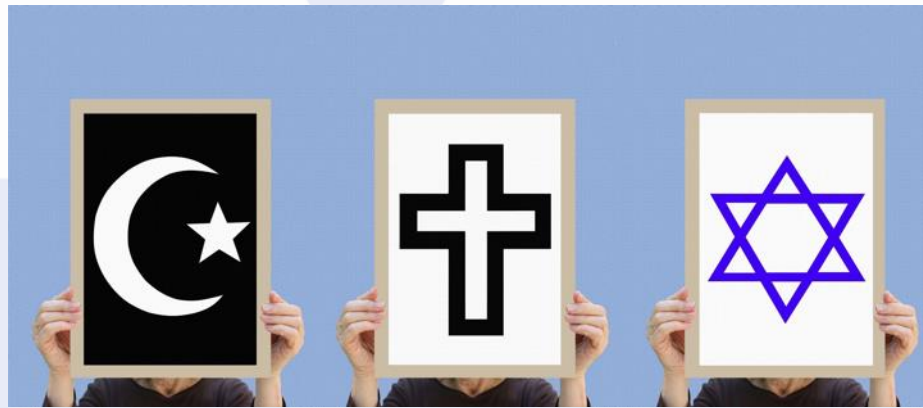
- July 1980 => The **Knesset** (Israeli parliament) passed '**Basic Law – Jerusalem**', restated Israel's rights and obligations concerning its capital:
 - The Law affirmed that the **holy places for all religions be protected** from desecration
 - **Free access** to the holy places is **guaranteed**
 - The Government is to provide for the **development** and the **prosperity** of the **city** and the well-being of its inhabitants



JERUSALEM

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- Cultural Diversity



Contested Capital

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- Jerusalem's **unresolved status** is one of the **core questions** at the heart of the **Israel-Palestine conflict**
- While **Israel's government & parliament** are based in **Jerusalem**, the nation's **economic and business center** is in **Tel Aviv**
- **Tel Aviv** is also **home** to many **foreign embassies** including the UK's and, until May 2018, the USA's

Contested Capital

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- The **western part** of Jerusalem (mainly Jewish Israelis and Israel's government), **isn't really contested**, likely to remain Israeli
- The **eastern part** (including key Jewish, Muslim and Christian holy sites), captured by Israel in 1967 and annexed, but still claimed by Palestine
- **Many** of the world's **governments do not recognize the city as either** Israel's or as the Palestinians'
- **Dec 2017 =>** Trump decides to **relocate** the **US embassy to Jerusalem**, said that the actual **borders** of the city are still subject to **negotiation**

Contested Capital

23

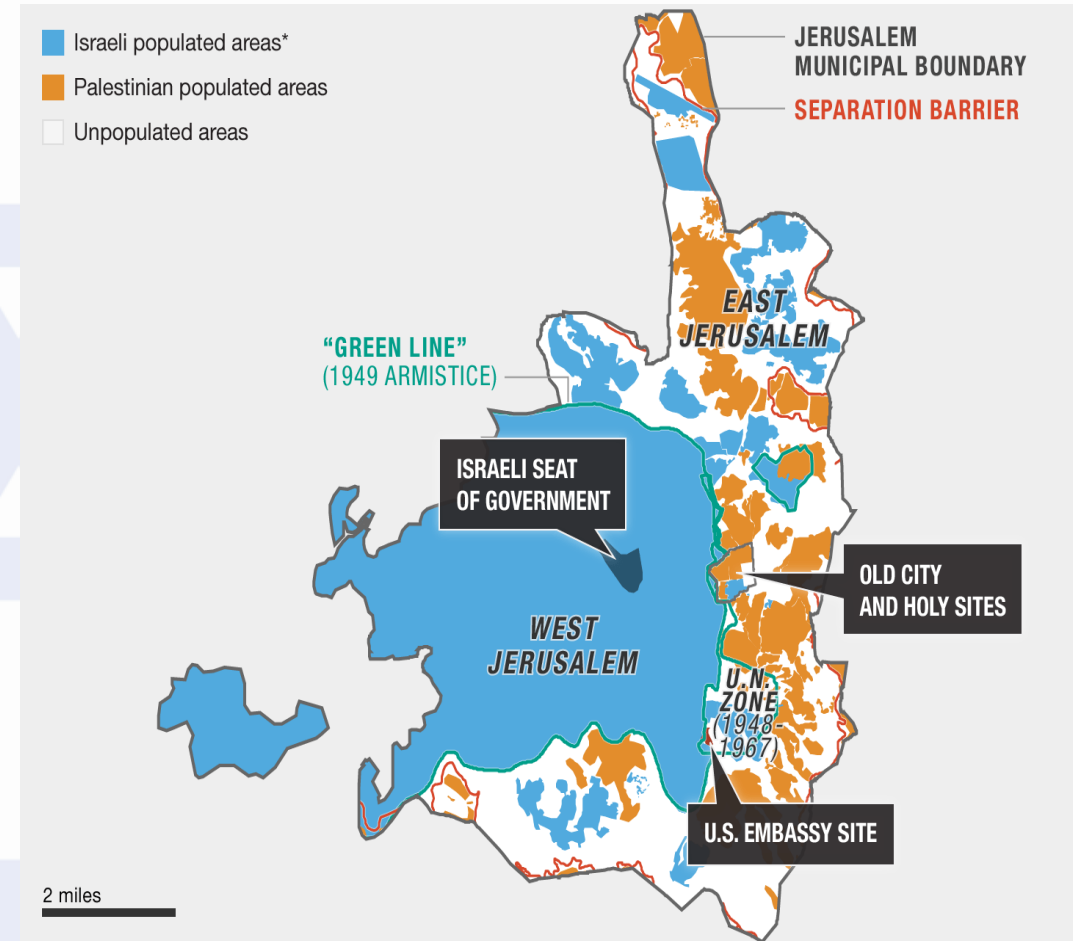
- **UN General Assembly** held a **rare emergency session** at the request of Arab + Muslim states, after Trump's decision heightened **ME tensions**
 - Called on the **US to withdraw** its **recognition** of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel
- Palestinian President **Mahmoud Abbas**: Jerusalem is the *“Eternal capital of the State of Palestine”*
- Many world leaders **condemned** the move => fearing further **bloodshed** + disrupt attempts to reach a **two-state solution**



Contested Capital

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- **May 2018** => US marked the **opening** of its **embassy** to Israel in **Jerusalem**
- Physical terms: **moving** the **ambassador & staff** from Tel Aviv to a large US consular building (already existed)
- Political significance: After decades of **US policy** stating that the **status** of **Jerusalem** should be **settled in peace talks** between Israelis and Palestinians, the Trump administration **signals** that **the city is Israel's capital**



Source: Map data by Daniel Seidemann/[Terrestrial Jerusalem](#). Labeling by NPR

Balfour Declaration of 1917



SIR ARTHUR JAMES
BALFOUR
BR. FOREIGN SECRETARY

*“His Majesty’s Government views **with favor** the **establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people** and will use their best endeavors to **facilitate the achievement of this object**, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine...”*

- The **Balfour Declaration** stipulated the support of the British government for the creation of a **Jewish homeland**
- Led to **more Jews moving to Palestine**

Zionism

- A Jewish nationalist movement

GOALS:

- The creation and support of a **Jewish national state** in **Palestine**, the ancient homeland of the Jews => **spiritual** and **political** renewal of the Jewish people there
 - Sees it as an outgrowth of **natural right** and **historic fact**
- Freedom from **Western anti-Semitism**
- 1897: Theodore Herzl founded the World Zionist Organization (WZO)



THEODORE HERZL
1860 - 1904

Biblical Zionism

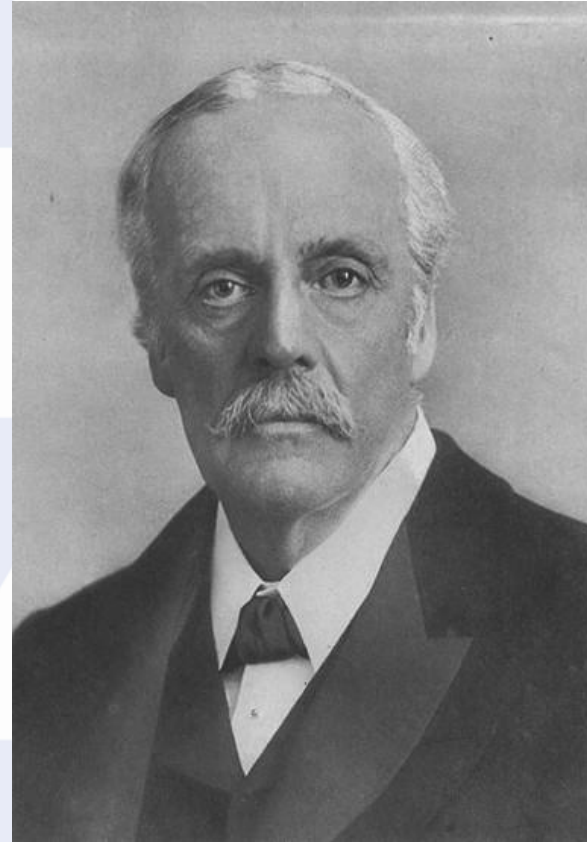
- Recognizes the '**hand of God**' in fulfilling his covenant **promises** to his covenant people => **Return to "Zion"**

*"Hear the Word of the Lord O nations, proclaim it in the distant coastlines, He who scattered Israel will **gather them** and will watch over them like a shepherd"*
Jeremiah 31:10

*"And you will know that I am the Lord, when **I bring you into the Land of Israel, the Land which I swore to give to your forefathers**"* Ezekiel 20:42

(Summarized) Israeli Political History

- 1917 => The **Balfour Declaration** stipulated the support of the British government for the creation of a Jewish homeland
- End of WW1 (1918) => The **Turks** were **defeated** by the **Allied forces**
 - The **Ottoman Empire** was **dismembered**, some **former territories** were handed over to the **French/Brits** to **control**



Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

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

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

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

Y. in
Arthur James Balfour

(Summarized) Israeli Political History

- **End of WW1 (1918) => Two schools of thought:**
 1. The Brits promised **Palestine** to the **Arabs** in return for their support to the Allies in the war
 2. The British agreed to give their support to the **Jews** for a **homeland** in Palestine
- **Neither** was to emerge => the League of Nations gave Palestine to the British to govern as a mandate



(Summarized) Israeli Political History

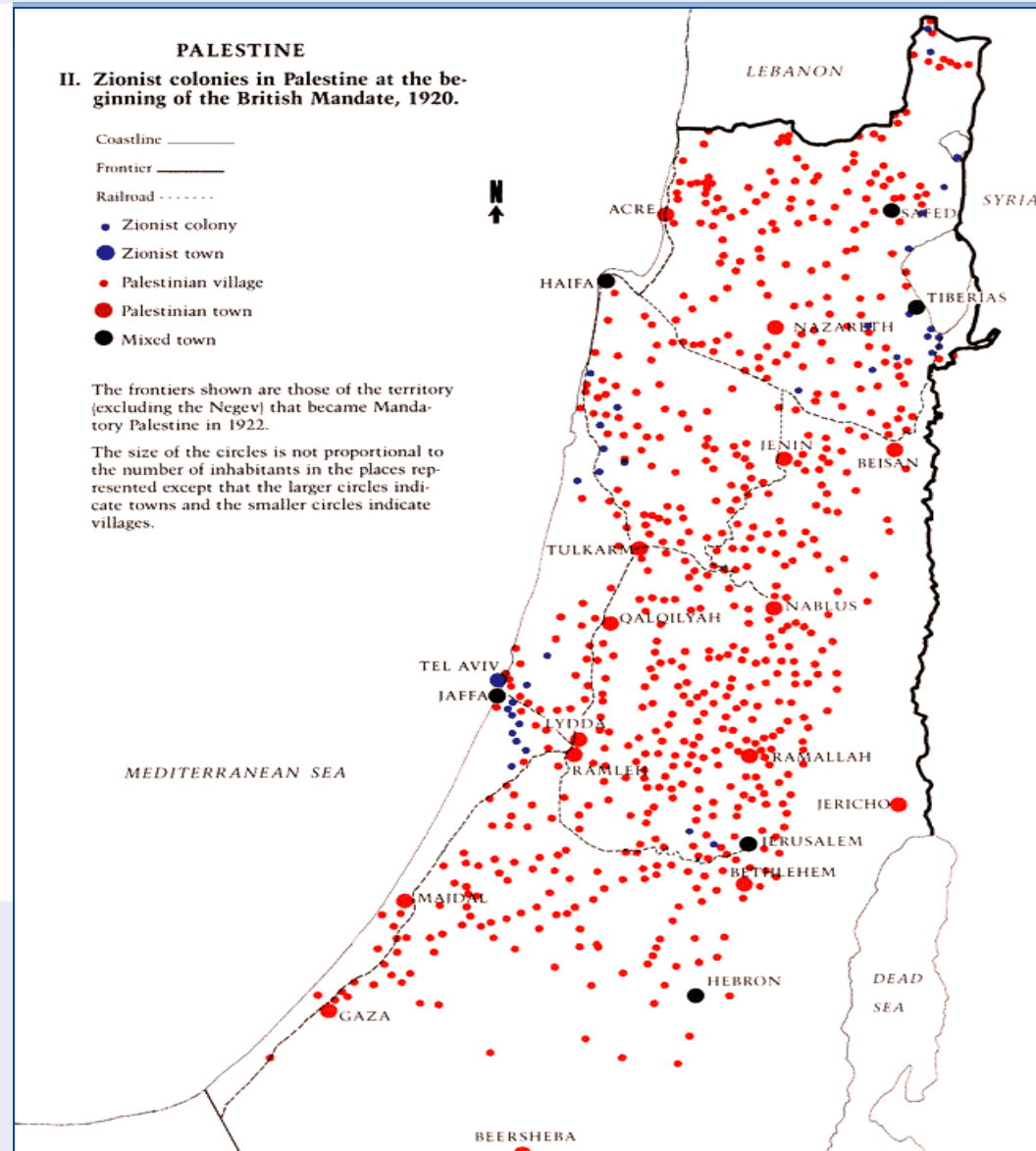
The British mandate in the territory of Palestine

- The '**British Mandate for Palestine**' was a document issued by the **League of Nations** (drawn up in 1920, came into effect in **1923**)
- The Mandate formalized **British rule over parts of the Levant** (the region that comprises countries to the east of the Mediterranean), as part of the League's goal of **administering the region's** formerly Ottoman nations "*until such time as they are able to stand alone*"
- The Mandate **gave Britain the responsibility for creating a Jewish national homeland in the region**



Great Britain's Division of the Mandated Area, 1921-1923

Arabs & Jews in Palestine



■ In **1920** (beginning of the British mandate), **Jews Arabs ratio** in the population was **1:10**

■ By **1947**, the ratio was **1:2**

(Summarized) Israeli Political History

Under the British Mandate (1922-1948)

- Early 1920's => Extensive ***Zionist campaign** for a Jewish state in Europe
- **Influx of Jews immigrating** to Palestine => Increasing tensions between Arabs & Jews in Palestine, unrest
- Summer of 1929 => Multiple incidents resulted in both Arab & Jewish casualties
 - **August 1929** => **The Hebron Massacre** perpetrated by Arab residents against Jewish residents, killing 67 Jews, destroying Jewish homes & synagogues
 - Some **Arab families saved** dozens/hundreds of Hebron's **Jews**

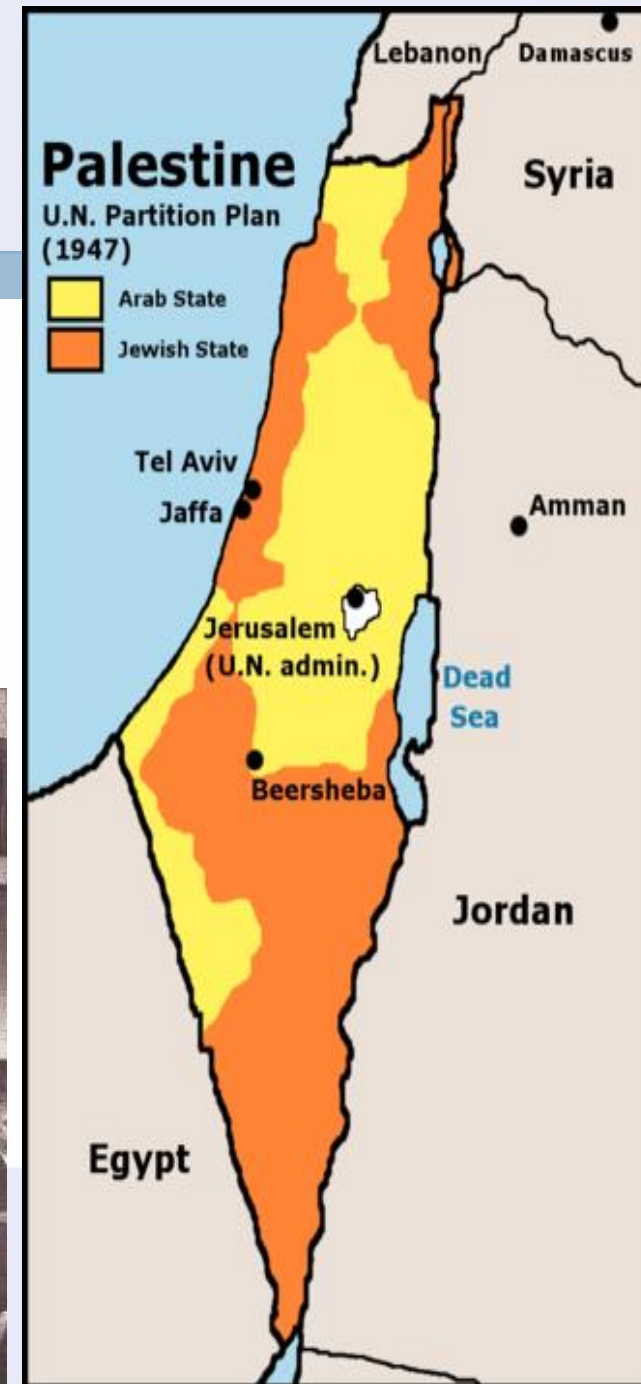
(Summarized) Israeli Political History

- **End of WW2** => Holocaust survivors try to/immigrate to Israel in greater numbers, many blocked by the Brits
- Calderon on nations + Increasing tensions in Palestine
- **1947** => Britain brought the 'Palestine problem' to the **United Nations**
- UN special commission recommended **partition** of the territory between Jews & Palestinians, The General Assembly approved



The UN Partition Plan

- 1947 => **The UN Partition Plan**
 - **Palestine divided** between the Jews and the Arabs;
Jerusalem internationalized
- The **Jews accepted** the partition
- May 14th, 1948 => **David Ben-Gurion** (first prime minister) **announced Israel's independence**
- May 15 => **the Brits leave**



(Summarized) Israeli Political History

- The British mandate ended on **14 May 1948** and the independent **Jewish state of Israel** subsequently established
- Opposition led by Palestinian Arabs was supported by Neighbouring Arab states (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt) => Declared **war**
 - Arab Israeli war of 1948/ Israeli 'war of independence'
- Israeli forces defeated the Arab armies, war ended with an Armistice (**1949**)



Chaim **Weizmann**, first president of Israel with US president Harry **Truman**

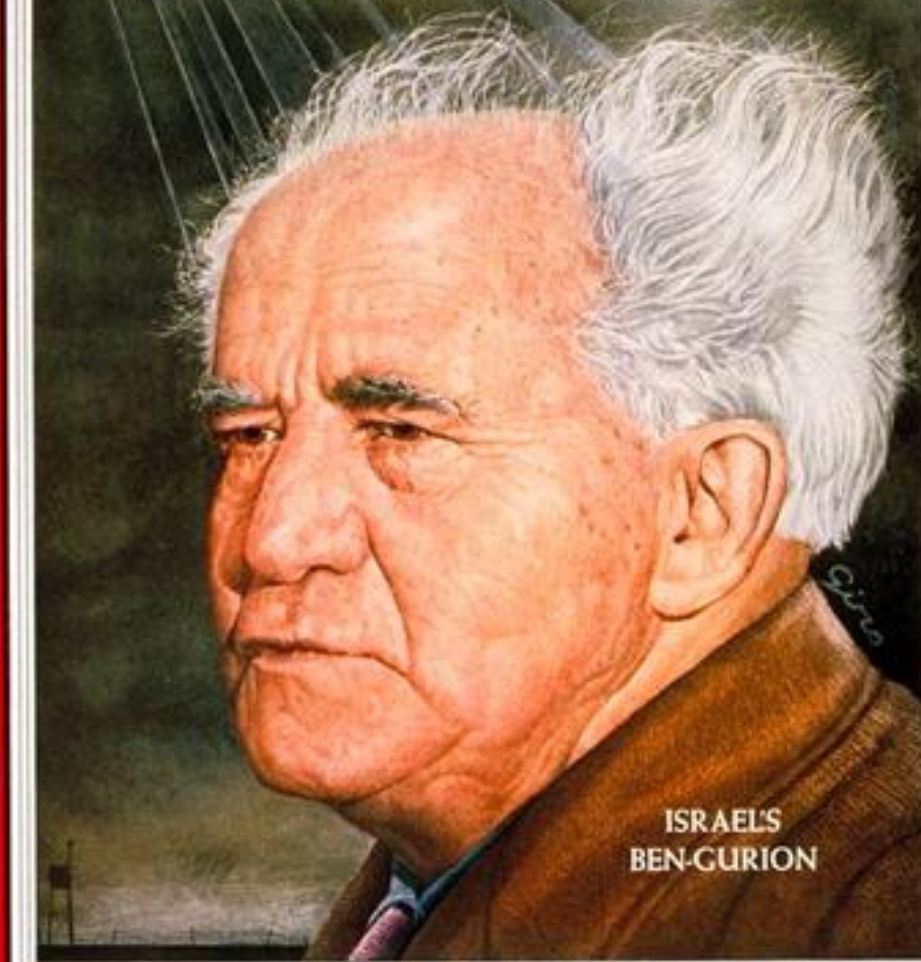


TWENTY CENTS

MARCH 11, 1957

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



ISRAEL'S
BEN-GURION

5400 A YEAR

VOL. XXII NO. 10

Declaration of Independent

- “... we, members of the people's council, **representatives of the Jewish community of Eretz-Israel and of the Zionist movement**, are here assembled on the day of the **termination of the British mandate** over Eretz-Israel and, by virtue of our **natural and historic right** and on the strength of the resolution of the **United Nations general assembly**, hereby declare the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz-Israel, to be known as the state of Israel “

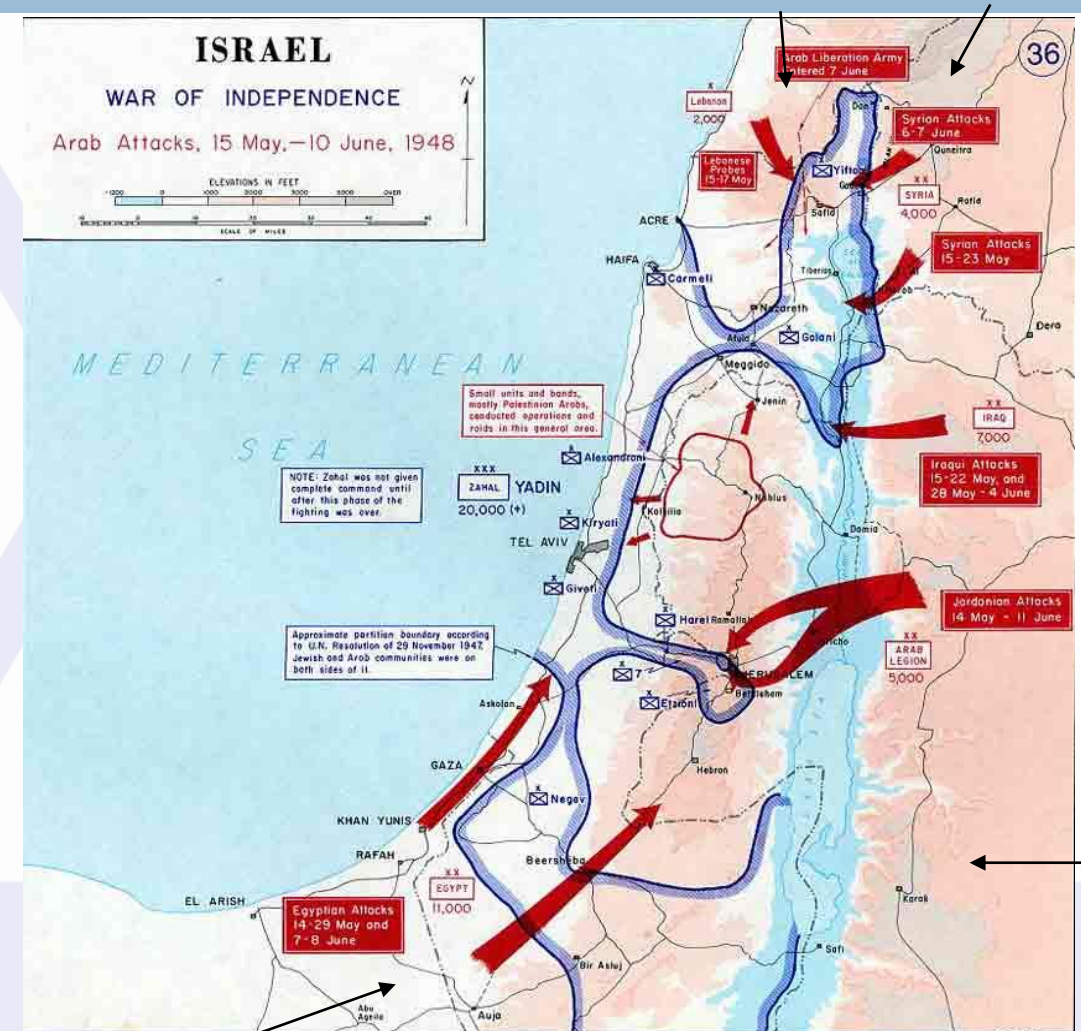
Declaration of Independent

- “... The state of Israel will be **open for Jewish immigration** and for the **Ingathering of the Exiles**; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its **inhabitants**; it will be **based on freedom, justice and peace** as envisaged by the **prophets of Israel**; it will ensure **complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants** irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will **guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture**; it will **safeguard the Holy Places of all religions**; and it will be **faithful** to the principles of the **Charter of the United Nations ...**”

The Arab Response

From Lebanon and Syria

- The **Arabs rejected** the partition
- Within hours of British withdrawal & Israel's birth => **Invasion** of the armies of:
 - Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the Arab Legion
- Regular armies, well trained men, heavy machine guns, tanks + planes



From Egypt

From Jordan and Iraq

The Arab/Israel War of 1948

“This will be a war of extermination and a massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades”

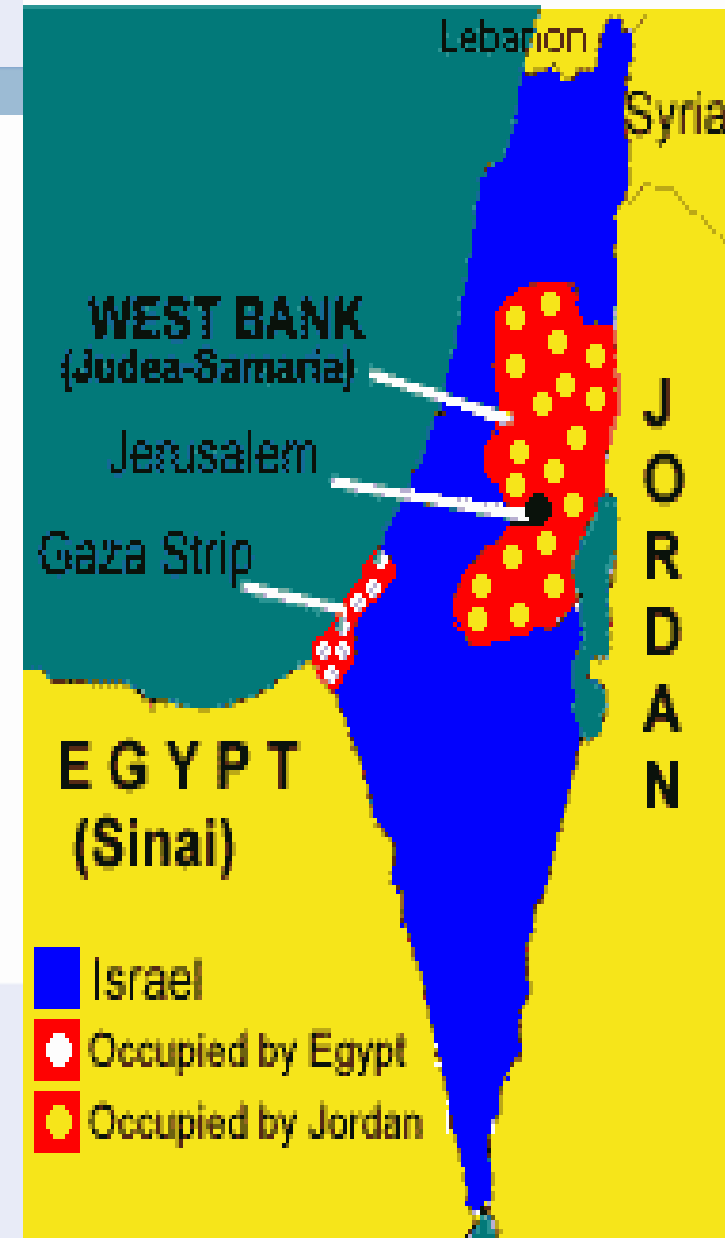
- Pasha, Leader of the Arab league
- The **Arab armies pushed deep** into Palestine, but **after 10 days**, the **Haganah** was able to **push them back**
- **Truce** declared June 11, 1948
- **Fighting resumed** and lasted until the January 1949 **Armistice**



Results of the 1948 War

- **West Bank + East Jerusalem** annexed by **Jordan**
 - Jews forbidden to pray at the Western Wall
 - Jewish graves on Mt. Olives desecrated
- **Gaza Strip** controlled by **Egypt**
- **More land under Israeli control** than UN Partition Plan proposed
- Substantial **Palestinian refugees**, war referred to as 'The 1948 Palestinian exodus' or 'Nakba' (catastrophe) by Arabs

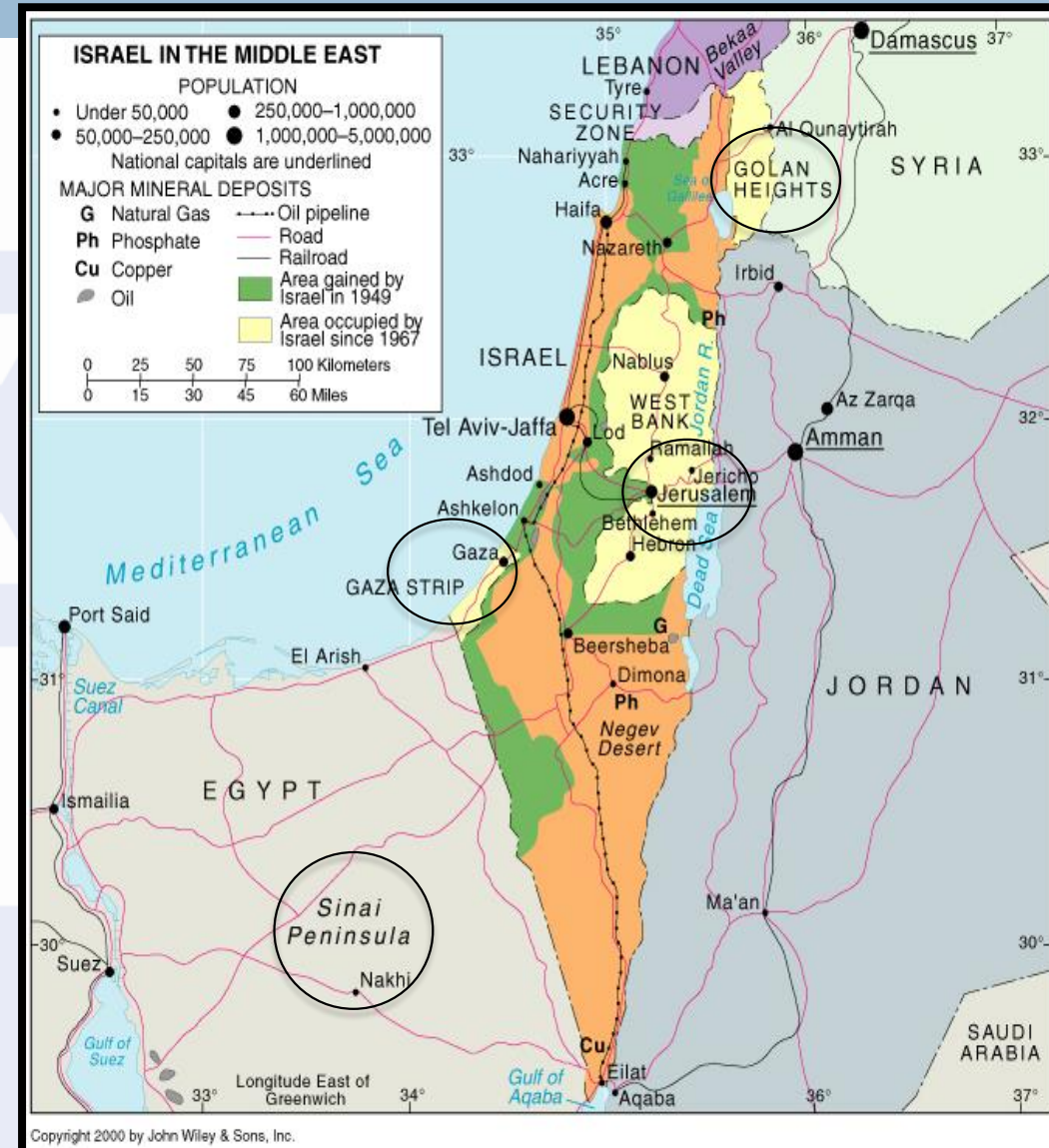
1949 Armistice Lines following
First Arab-Israeli War (1947-49)



(Summarized) Israeli Political History

Arab Israeli Wars

- **1956: Suez War**
- **1967: Six-day war**, Israel gains control of:
 - Gaza strip, Sinai peninsula, West bank, East Jerusalem, Golan heights
 - Aura of Israeli invincibility
- **1973: Yom Kippur war**
 - Israel thrown back initially –
 - Military Victory + significant casualties
- **1982** (1st Lebanon war) and **2006** (2nd Lebanon war)



(Summarized) Israeli Political History

- Israel signed **peace agreements** with **Egypt** (1979) and **Jordan** (1994)
- Israel and Palestinian officials signed a number of **interim agreements** in the **1990s**' => Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip
- Recent efforts to negotiate final status issues => 2013-2014
- Jan 2020: **Trump's Middle East Peace Plan**, aka 'Deal of the Century'

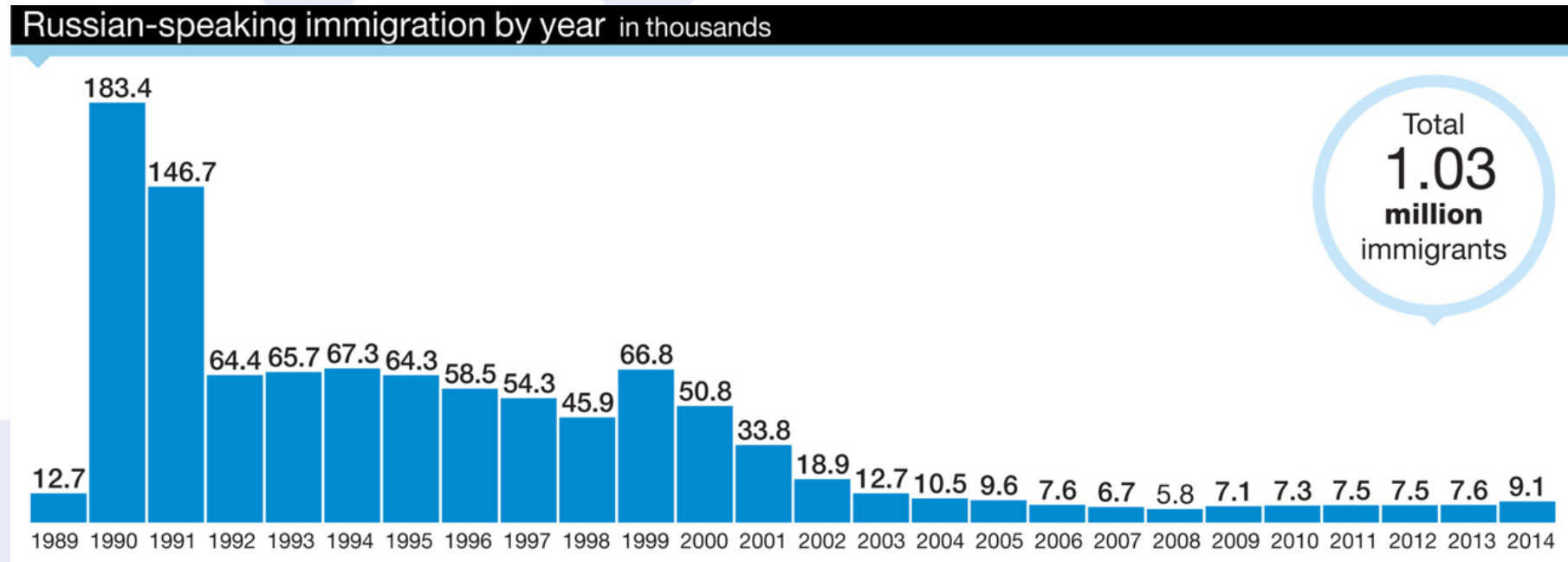


Signing an Israeli-Jordanian peace agreement

(Summarized) Israeli Political History

- Massive immigration to Israel following the collapse of the USSR (late 1990)
- **Immigration to Israel (mainly Jewish) continues**

- Israeli **economy** undergone a **dramatic transformation** led by cutting-edge high-tech sectors



Source: Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

- **Four** organized immigration waves

The First Aliya (immigration wave)

- Followed **pogroms** (violent riots of **Jewish prosecution**) in **Russia** in 1881-1882
- Most of the **olim** (immigrants) came from **Eastern Europe**; some from **Yemen**
- **Most** were members of “**Hibbat Zion**” and “**Bilu**”, early **Zionist movements** which defined their goal as the **political, national, and spiritual** resurrection of the Jewish people in Palestine

BILU, a Jewish organization whose members were influenced by Marx and the Bible & hoped to establish farming cooperatives in Palestine

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The First Aliya (immigration wave)

- **Inexperienced idealists*****, most chose **agricultural** settlement as their way of life and founded 'moshavot' - **farmholders' villages**
- Settlers encountered **many difficulties** (inclement climate, disease, crippling Turkish taxation and Arab opposition)
- They **required economic assistance** => highly supported by Baron Edmond de **Rothschild**
- The **Yemenite olim**, most of whom settled in **Jerusalem**, were first employed as **construction workers** and later in the **citrus plantations** of the moshavot

***Jews were forbidden to own land in Russia, the country had almost **no Jewish farmers**

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

- Nearly **35k Jews** came to Palestine during the First Aliyah
- Almost **half** of them **left** within several years, about 15k established new rural settlements, and the rest moved to existing towns
- **Not** considered a success story =>
 - Many chose to **immigrate to the US** (higher wages, easier life) and not to Palestine
 - **Many left**

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Second Aliya (1905-1915)

- Followed **pogroms** in Russia and the increasing **anti-Semitism**
- **Had a profound impact on the complexion and development of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine**
- Most immigrants were **young people** inspired by **socialist ideals**
- Many models and components of the rural settlement enterprise came into being at this time => "national farms" where rural settlers were trained; the first **kibbutz** (1909); and **Ha-Shomer**, the first Jewish self-defense organization

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Second Aliya (1905-1915)

- Prominent leader: **David Ben Gurion**
- A Jewish neighborhood established as a suburb of Jaffa, developed into **Tel Aviv**, the **first modern all-Jewish city**
- The **Hebrew language** was revived as a spoken tongue, and Hebrew literature + newspapers were published
- **Political parties + workers' agricultural organizations** began to form => Led the "Yishuv" into statehood



Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Third Aliya (1919-1923)

- A **continuation** of the **Second Aliyah** which was **interrupted** by **World War I**
- Triggered by:
 - The **October Revolution** in **Russia** (the **Bolshevik Revolution**)
 - The ensuing **pogroms** there + in **Poland** and **Hungary**
 - The **British mandate** in Palestine + the **Balfour Declaration**
- Most immigrants were **young halutzim (pioneers)** from Eastern Europe
- Although the British Mandatory imposed **Aliyah quotas**, the Yishuv numbered 90k by the end of this period

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Third Aliya (1919-1923)

- Built **roads** and **towns** + undertook **major projects** (draining of marshes)
- Founded:
 - The General Federation of Labor (Histadrut)
 - The Elected Assembly and the National Council: representative institutions for the Yishuv
 - The Haganah: the clandestine Jewish defense organization
- **Agricultural settlement** expanded; first **industrial enterprises** established
- Approximately 40k Jews arrived during that time, relatively few left

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Forth Aliya (1924-1927)

- A direct result of the economic crisis and anti-Jewish policies in Poland, along with the introduction of stiff immigration quotas by the United States
- Most immigrants belonged to the **middle class** and brought modest sums of **capital** with which they established small businesses and workshops => strengthened the towns, industrial development and reinstate Jewish labor in the villages
- 82k arrived, 23k left

Jewish Immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Fifth Aliya (1929-1939)

- Signal event => Nazi accession to power in Germany (1933)
- Increased immigration from **Germany** (professionals) and resumed immigration from **Eastern Europe** due to **persecution** and the Jews' **worsening situation**
- 1933-1936 => 174k, Jews settled in Palestine
- Towns flourished, new industrial enterprises were founded, construction of the Haifa port and the oil refineries was completed
- By 1940, nearly 250k Jews arrived (20k left) and the Yishuv's population reached 450k.

Next Session...

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- Nation-building, 1948-1967



Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???