## Chapter 6

# Zionism, Oil, and Nuclear Weapons

The Middle East has the world's largest known deposits of oil—almost all of it is in Muslim countries. Creation of the State of Israel in Palestine resulted in hostilities between Jews and Muslims. In the next few years, several Arab countries will begin operating nuclear power plants and some of them will probably develop nuclear weapons. In this unit, you will use what you have learned about oil and nuclear energy in previous chapters to identify significant opportunities and threats in the situation that is developing there.

Policies of certain groups do not apply to all individuals within the group. In some cases, the practices of some members of the group do not even represent the majority. One of the best ways to influence a group's behavior is to support elements within the group that have values you support, rather than to oppose the whole group.

## Why Do I Need to Know This?

The U.S. has been actively at war in the Middle East for most of your life (20 years). In 2001, these wars came to U.S. soil and changed our sense of security. These wars have been expensive. As of 2011, the U.S. congress has spent about \$4,000 per person or \$16,000 for a family of four on these wars. Rather than bill each of us for war expenses, the money has been borrowed and you will be expected to pay it back in the future. This debt affects the availability of money for making student loans and for investing in creating a job for you after you graduate. One of the countries in the Middle East—Israel—already has nuclear weapons and Iran will have the capacity to make them before you graduate. In this unit, you will learn about America's choices in the Middle East and why the U.S. is so unpopular among Muslims. You will also learn about efforts by Jews, Muslims, and Christians to find a peaceful solution. The success or failure of those efforts will affect the security and sense of safety you and your family live with in the coming years.

## 1 Palestine and Zionism

## **Learning Objectives**

- 1. Identify the location of the Suez Canal and its importance to world trade and European oil supplies. [6.1.1]
- 2. Identify the circumstances that led to the creation of the State of Israel and the definition of Zionism. [6.1.2]
- 3. Identify why Palestine was not a separate country after the British withdrew. [6.1.3]

- 4. Identify the wars between Israel and its neighbors and the resulting differences in Israel's borders. [6.1.4]
- 5. Identify the peace initiatives and treaties agreed to between Israel and its Arab neighbors. [6.1.5]
- 6. Identify the main points of UN Resolutions 181, 242 and 338 and the types of resolutions the US has vetoed regarding Israel. [6.1.6]
- 7. Identify the arguments for and against Israeli settlements on the West Bank. [6.1.7]
- 8. Identify the differences between the PLO, Hamas, and Hezbollah. [6.1.8]

The continents of Africa and Asia connect at Egypt and Palestine. The two continents sit on plates of the earth's crust that are slowly moving relative to each other which causes rifts. These rifts often fill with sea water or rivers and are apparent from space, as shown in Figure 6.1. (New World Encyclopedia 2008)



Figure 6.1. Sinai Peninsula and the Jordan Rift valley

The two rifts create the Sinai Peninsula. The rift on the west of the Sinai is partially underwater and provides a natural opportunity for ships to travel from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean if an artificial waterway—a canal—is excavated. Canals were dug in this area by Egyptians almost three thousand years ago. The modern Suez canal was dug by the French under Napoleon and subsequently widened several times to accommodate large oil tankers. The first oil tankers were built specifically to ship oil safely through this canal. It is about 300 meters wide and its path can be seen from space, as shown in Figure 6.2. The canal was nationalized by Egypt in 1956 which lead to an invasion of Egypt by Israel and then the U.K and France. Approximately 7.5% of the world's sea trade goes through this canal and almost all of Europe's oil. (New World Encyclopedia 2008)



Figure 6.2.Suez Canal

On the other side of the Sinai is a rift that extends into Palestine where it forms the Jordan River valley. The Jordan River flows down this rift valley but it does not make it to the sea; ending instead in a large lake called the Dead Sea which is below sea level, as shown in Figure 6.3.

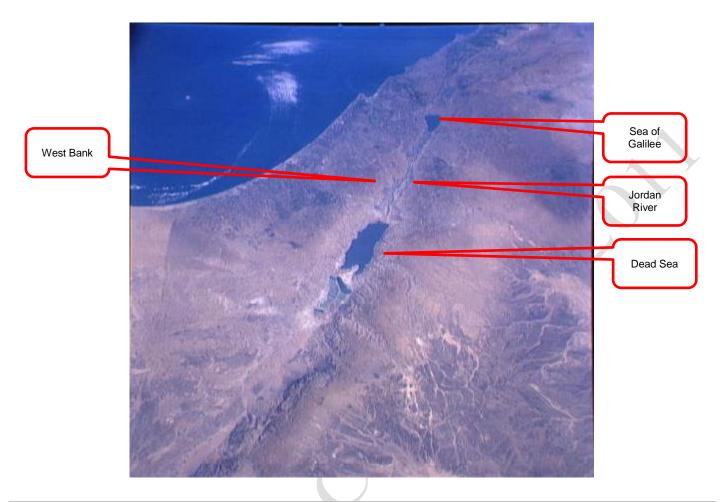


Figure 6.3. Jordan rift valley

These rift valleys have been rocked by earthquakes and other seismic events throughout their history. Its geologic condition is a metaphor for the state of its political affairs. In addition to geologic unrest, Palestine is the most convenient invasion route for African or Asian armies seeking to conquer their neighbors and it has a long history of invasion and domination by other countries. This land is now the center of a regional conflict that has global implications of which you should be aware.

#### Zionism

A Jewish homeland is called Zion and those who support the idea are Zionists. Many Zionists are secular Jews who simply want a homeland where they would be in the majority and not be persecuted while others are religious fundamentalists who believe they are doing God's will to reclaim the Promised Land. Jews are divided on the issue of Zionism. Some do not think it is fair to the people who have been living there for centuries. Following WW II and the killing of millions of Jews in Europe by the Nazis, Zionism became more popular and many Jews wanted to return to Palestine and form their own country—Israel—where they would be free from persecution. Recall that Israel was the name given to Jacob, the grandson of Abraham.

Several locations were considered following WW II but the most popular was a return to their historic homeland in Palestine where Jerusalem and the remains of the Jewish temple are located. After the horrors that were inflicted on them by the Nazis were revealed, the British and the U.S. were in favor of the idea, particularly because Jewish people had contributed significantly to the war effort in both countries and the dominant religions in the U.K and the U.S.—Christianity—also recognize the Jewish tradition of the Promised Land.

Following the Yalta conference between U.S. President Roosevelt, U.K. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet Party leader Joseph Stalin where the three decided how to divide post-WWII Europe, Roosevelt met with King Abdul Ibn Saud on a U.S. Cruiser in the Suez canal, as shown in Figure 6.4.



Figure 6.4. King Ibn Saud and President Roosevelt (right)

Roosevelt explained the horrific treatment of the Jews by the Germans and the Jewish desire for a homeland in Palestine. Ibn Saud reasoned that if the Jews were to be compensated for this treatment that the land should be taken from those who had done them wrong—the Germans—not Arab people. (King Abdul Aziz (Ibn Saud) Information Resource n.d.)

The British allowed Jews to immigrate to Palestine and the current residents of Palestine who had lived there for centuries were not given a choice in the matter. Jews, Arabs, and Christians had lived in the

area peacefully for centuries under Ottoman rule but the influx of European Jews seeking to establish a Jewish state caused major disruption. According to Jews for Justice in the Middle East, Zionist Jews planned to dispossess the indigenous Arab population and when they bought land, it was held in the name of the Jewish people and could never be sold or even leased to Arabs. (Jews for Justice in the Middle East n.d.) In 1947, the United Nations approved the partition of the British controlled area into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, as shown in Figure 6.5.



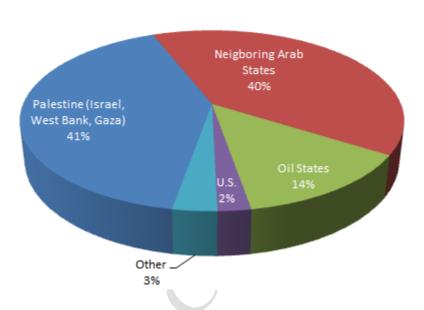
Figure 6.5. Israel and Palestine in 1947

The Arab league rejected the plan, but in 1948 Israel declared its independence. The neighboring Arab countries invaded to secure the land for Palestinians. The Israelis won the war in less than a year with substantial aid from the U.S. The Arab neighbors did not want to agree to the existence of Israel so they did not support the creation of a separate Palestinian country either. Instead, Jordan occupied the West bank and many

In 1947 the Arab population of Palestine numbered about 1.3 million, 70% of whom lived in rural areas. (Lughod 1977) When war broke out after Israel declared independence many of them fled the war zone to refugee camps in the Gaza strip or other Arab countries. This dispersion of the Palestinian people is

called the Palestinian Diaspora. Additional wars and Israeli occupation of sites in the West Bank led to further dispersion. By 1981, the Palestinian population had grown to 4.4 million but only 41% of Palestinians lived in Palestine, including Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. Forty percent lived in neighboring Arab countries and 14% lived in the Persian Gulf oil-rich countries, as shown in Figure 6.6. About 100,000 Palestinians, most of whom were Christians, moved to the U.S.

### Palestinian Diaspora, 1981



### Figure 6.6.Palestinian Diaspora

In 1948, the population of Israel was 806,000. About 20% of the population were Arabs who chose to stay, as shown in Figure 6.7. (Facts of Israel 2001)

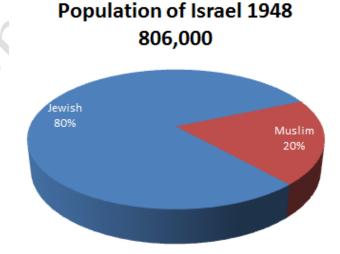
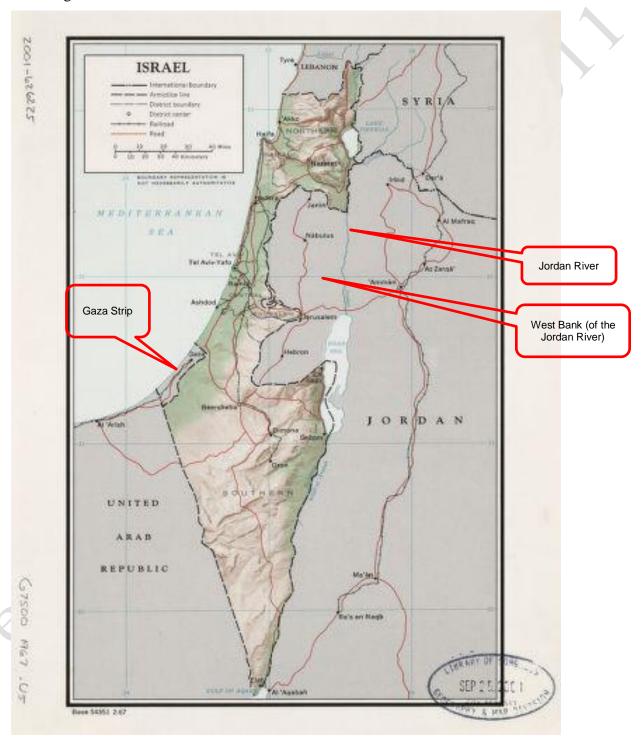


Figure 6.7. Population of Israel in 1948 and 2001

Other wars followed in which the U.S. continued to support Israel and which Israel won. By 1967, Israel's borders were expanded to include Jerusalem which the Jews consider their historic capital but which is also the site of the Dome of the Rock. The Arab population is concentrated in the West Bank and the Gaza strip, as shown in Figure 6.8.



#### Figure 6.8. Israel and Palestine in 1967

### Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Blockade of Gaza

By 1967, Israel occupied most of the areas on the west side of the Jordan River, which is known as the West Bank, and part of Syria called the Golan Heights. Many Palestinians fled their homes and settled in other areas including Gaza, which is a strip of land along the coast. Jews in Arab countries were less welcome and many of them immigrated to Israel. Ownership of the area is still disputed. Israel cites the need for defensible borders to protect it from hostile neighbors and claims that the West Bank is disputed territory rather than occupied territory. Palestinians claim that even though they lost the wars and Israel occupies the West Bank, Israel does not have the right to move its citizens onto it. Palestinians claim that Israel has not dealt with them in good faith regarding return of the West Bank and have always intended to make it part of Israel. This position is supported by a comment made by Ariel Sharon to Winston Churchill's grandson;

We'll make a pastrami sandwich of them. We'll insert a strip of Jewish settlement, right across the West Bank, so that in 25 years time, neither the United Nations, nor the United States, nobody, will be able to tear it apart.-Ariel Sharon to Winston Churchill III in 1973 (Shatz and Roane 2004)

Sharon was the commander of the Israeli army from its inception in 1948 through the Yom-Kippur War of 1973. Since 1948, the population of Israel has increased by almost seven million, 81% of them are Jewish. Arabs still comprise approximately 20% of the population as shown in Figure 6.9. (State of Israel: Bureau of Statistics 2011)

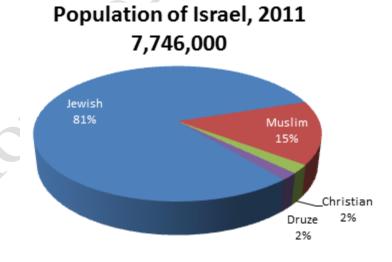


Figure 6.9. Almost seven million more people in Israel than 1948

Many of the additional seven million people have settled in protected settlements on the West Bank, evidently fulfilling Sharon's plan as shown in Figure 6.10.

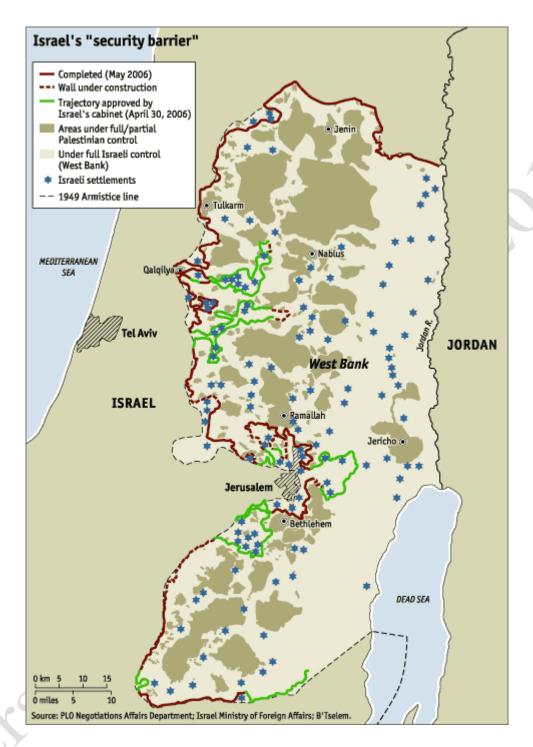


Figure 6.10. Areas under Palestinian control are fragmented

#### **United Nations Resolutions**

Seizure and settlement of occupied territory by the victor after a war is not allowed by the United Nations (UN). Following the 1967 war, the UN passed resolution 242 which called for Israel to withdraw from occupied territories. The UN confirmed this position after the 1973 war by passing resolution 338. The UN

has a Security Council with 15 members. Ten of the positions rotate among member countries but five positions are permanent. The five permanent members are China, France, United Kingdom, USA, and USSR (now Russia). Action cannot be taken without approval by the Security Council, including all five of the permanent members. The UN Charter does not describe this as a veto power but it has the same effect and is often called a veto.

Palestinians have appealed to the UN for justice and protection through resolutions from sympathetic countries. There have been 42 such resolutions since 1972 that had only one country in the fifteen-member Security Council vote against them. Because that country was the USA, the resolutions did not pass, as shown in Figure 6.11. (Jewish Virtual Library 2011)

Subject	Date	Vote - Veto by U.S.
Palestine: Syrian-Lebanese Complaint. 3 power draft resolution 2/10784	Sep-72	13-1, 1
Palestine: Examination of Middle East Situation. 8-power draft resolution (S/10974)	Jul-73	13-1, 0 (China not partic.)
Palestine: Egyptian-Lebanese Complaint. 5-power draft power resolution (S/11898)	Dec-75	13-1, 1
Palestine: Middle East Problem, including Palestinian question. 6-power draft resolution (S/11940)	Jan-76	9-1,3 (China & Libya not partic.)
Palestine: Situation in Occupied Arab Territories. 5-power draft resolution (S/12022)	Mar-76	14-1,0
Palestine: Report on Committee on Rights of Palestinian People. 4-power draft resolution (S/121119)	Jun-76	10-1,4
Palestine: Palestinian Rights. Tunisian draft resolution. (S/13911)	Apr-80	10-1,4
Palestine: Golan Heights. Jordan draft resolution. (S/14832/Rev. 2)	Jan-82	9-1,5
Palestine: Situation in Occupied Territories, Jordan draft resolution (S/14943)	Apr-82	13-1,1
Palestine: Incident at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. 4-power draft resolution	Apr-82	14-1, 0
Palestine: Conflict in Lebanon. Spain draft resolution. (S/15185)	Jun-82	14-1,0
Palestine: Conflict in Lebanon. France draft resolution. (S/15255/Rev. 2)	Jun-82	14-1
Palestine: Conflict in Lebanon. USSR draft resolution. (S/15347/Rev. 1, as orally amended)	Aug-82	11-1,3
Palestine: Situation in Occupied Territories, 20-power draft resolution (S/15895)	Aug-83	13-1,1
S. Lebanon: Condemns Israeli action in southern Lebanon. S/16732	Sep-84	Vetoed: 13-1 (U.S.), with 1 abstention (UK)
Occupied Territories: Deplores "repressive measures" by Israel against Arab population. S/19459.	Sep-85	Vetoed: 10-1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions
Lebanon: Condemns Israeli practices against civilians in southern Lebanon. S/17000.	Mar-85	Vetoed: 11-1 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions
Occupied Territories: Calls upon Israel to respect Muslim holy places. S/17769/Rev. 1	Jan-86	Vetoed: 13-1 (US), with one abstention
Lebanon: Condemns Israeli practices against civilians in southern Lebanon. S/17730/Rev. 2.	Jan-86	Vetoed: 11-1 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions
Libya/Israel: Condemns Israeli interception of Libyan plane. S/17796/Rev. 1.	Feb-86	Vetoed: 10 -1 (US), with 4 abstentions
Lebanon: Draft strongly deplored repeated Israeli attacks against Lebanese territory and other measures and practices against the civilian population; (S/19434)	Jan-88	Vetoed 13-1 (US), with 1 abstention (UK)

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Lebanon: Draft condemned recent invasion by Israeli forces of Southern Lebanon and repeated a call for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanese territory; (S/19868)	May-88	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Lebanon: Draft strongly deplored the recent Israeli attack against Lebanese territory on 9 December 1988; (S/20322)	Dec-88	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Occupied territories: Draft called on Israel to accept de jure applicability of the 4th Geneva Convention; (S/19466)	Jun-05	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Occupied territories: Draft urged Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention, rescind the order to deport Palestinian civilians, and condemned policies and practices of Israel that violate the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories; (S/19780)	Jun-05	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Occupied territories: Strongly deplored Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, and strongly deplored also Israel's continued disregard of relevant Security Council decisions.	Feb-89	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Occupied territories: Condemned Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories.	Jun-89	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Occupied territories: Deplored Israel's policies and practices in the occupied territories.	Nov-89	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Occupied territories: NAM draft resolution to create a commission and send three security council members to Rishon Lezion, where an Israeli gunmen shot down seven Palestinian workers.	May-90	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Middle East: Confirms that the expropriation of land by Israel in East Jerusalem is invalid and in violation of relevant Security Council resolutions and provisions of the Fourth Geneva convention; expresses support of peace process, including the Declaration of Principles of 9/13/1993	May-95	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Middle East: Calls upon Israeli authorities to refrain from all actions or measures, including settlement activities.	Mar-97	Vetoed 14-1 (US)
Middle East: Demands that Israel cease construction of the settlement in east Jerusalem (called Jabal Abu Ghneim by the Palestinians and Har Homa by Israel), as well as all the other Israeli settlement activity in the occupied territories	Mar-97	Vetoed 13-1,1 (US)
Call for UN Observers Force in West Bank, Gaza	Mar-01	Vetoed 9-1 (US),with four abstentions
Condemned acts of terror, demanded an end to violence and the establishment of a monitoring mechanism to bring in observers.	Dec-01	Vetoed 12-1 (US)
On the killing by Israeli forces of several UN employees and the destruction of the World Food Programme (WFP) warehouse	Dec-02	12-1 (US) with two abstentions
Demand that Israel halt threats to expel Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat	Sep-03	Vetoed 11-1 (US)
Seeks to bar Israel from extending security fence	Oct-03	Vetoed 10-1 with four abstentions
Condemns Israel for killing Ahmed Yassin	Mar-04	Vetoed 11-1 (US)
Calls For Israel To Halt Gaza Operation	Oct-04	Vetoed 11-1 (US)
Calls For Israel To Halt Gaza Operation	Jul-06	Vetoed 10-1 (US)
Calls For Israel To Halt Gaza Operation	Nov-06	Vetoed 10-1 (US)
Condemns all Israeli settlements established since 1967 as illegal and calls for an immediate halt to all settlement building	Feb-11	Vetoed 14-1 (US)

### Figure 6.11. Vetoes by the U.S. of UN Resolutions regarding Israel

In February, 2011, the United Nations voted on a resolution condemning all Israeli settlements in occupied territories since 1967 as illegal. The resolution was sponsored by 120 of the 192 member states. The

vote in the UN Security Council was 14-1 in favor. Because the U.S. voted against it, the resolution did not pass.

Following the vote, the U.S. ambassador stated; "...we reject in the strongest terms the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity...Continued settlement activity violates Israel's international commitments, devastates trust between the parties, and threatens the prospects for peace...Unfortunately, this draft resolution risks hardening the positions of both sides." (UN News Centre 2011)

With the support of the U.S., Israel could not be defeated militarily or diplomatically. This led to widespread resentment against the U.S. among Arab countries. Muslim extremists argued that the reason was prejudice by Christians against Muslims and the disapproval spread to other Muslims in the world.

Unable to defeat Israel in conventional warfare, Arabs resorted to harassment using rockets aimed at civilian targets and suicide bombings. These tactics cost the Arabs support by moderates in Israel and in other countries.

#### Timeline of Events

An overview of events placed in a timeline is useful to recognize relationships to other events. The following list of events and dates is from former President Jimmy Carter's book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*. (Carter 2006)

- 1861: The French establish Lebanon as an autonomous district within Syria, under Christian leadership.
- 1882: British forces occupy Egypt and remain there until 1955.
- 1917: Great Britain, during World War I, issues the Balfour Declaration, promising a Jewish national home in Palestine, with respect for the rights of non-Jewish Palestinians.
- 1922: After the Ottoman Empire is defeated in World War I, the League of Nations confirms British mandates over Iraq and Palestine, and a French mandate over Syria and Lebanon. Transjordan is separated from the Palestine Mandate and becomes an autonomous kingdom.
- 1936: Palestinian Arabs demand a halt to Jewish immigration and a ban on land sales to Jews. British troops attempt to assert control, but violence continues. The Peel Commission recommends partition of Palestine between Arabs and Jews.
- 1939: Britain announces severe restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine.

Violence erupts from Jewish militants.

- 1947: Britain lets the United Nations decide what to do about Palestine, which is partitioned into Jewish, Arab, and international areas (Jerusalem and Bethlehem). Fifty-five percent of the territory is allocated to the Jewish state. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan are now independent states.
- 1948: The British mandate over Palestine terminates. Israelis declare their independence as a nation, Arab armies attack, and Israel prevails. U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194 establishes a conciliation commission and asserts that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace should be allowed to do so, that compensation should be paid to others, and that free access to the holy places should be assured.
- 1949: Armistice agreements with the Arabs allow Israel to gain more land (77 percent of Palestine).
   Egypt occupies the Gaza Strip. Transjordan, renamed Jordan, controls what is left of the west bank of the Jordan River, including Old Jerusalem, and in 1950 annexes this territory.
- 1956: Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal, and Israel joins Britain and France in occupying the canal area. Under international pressure all foreign forces withdraw from Egyptian territories by the next year. U.N. forces are assigned to patrol strategic areas of the Sinai.
- 1964: The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is established, committed to wage a battle to liberate the homeland of the Palestinian people.
- 1967: Egypt blockades the Straits of Tiran, and Arab forces make menacing moves. Israel launches preemptive attacks on Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and then Jordan, and within six days occupies the Golan Heights, Gaza, the Sinai, and the West Bank, including Jerusalem. Six months later, U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 is passed, confirming the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force and calling for Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories, the right of all states in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, and a just solution to the refugee problem.
- 1973: Egypt and Syria attack Israeli forces in the Sinai and Golan Heights. This conflict becomes known as the Yom Kippur War. After sixteen days of war, U.N. Resolution 338 is passed, confirming Resolution 242 and calling for international peace talks. Various disengagement agreements follow.
- 1974: The Arab summit at Rabat in Morocco unanimously proclaims the PLO as the sole legitimate

- representative of the Palestinian people. Israel agrees to withdraw from Syrian territory, except for control of the Golan Heights.
- 1975: Civil war erupts in Lebanon. With approval from the international community the following year, Syria sends troops to establish order.
- 1977: Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat visits Jerusalem and outlines Arab demands to the Israeli Knesset. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin makes a return visit to Ismailia, with no progress toward peace.
- 1978: The Camp David Accords are approved by Israel and Egypt, confirming Israel's compliance with U.N. Resolution 242, withdrawal of political and military forces from the West Bank and Gaza, and full autonomy for Palestinians. The Accords outline a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt and other Arab neighbors. The Accords are rejected by the Arabs at the Baghdad summit, and Egypt is isolated.
- 1979: A peace treaty is signed between Israel and Egypt, guaranteeing withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai, normal diplomatic relations, and Israel's access to the Suez Canal.
- 1981: Israel escalates establishment of settlements on Palestinian territory. Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat is assassinated.
- 1982: In response to terrorist attacks across Lebanon's border, Israeli troops move into Lebanon, seeking to destroy PLO forces there. The militant Lebanese organization known as Hezbollah is established. Subsequent actions by the Israelis in Lebanon draw international criticism.
- 1985: Israel partially removes its forces from Lebanon.
- 1987: A Palestinian intifada (uprising) erupts, and Israel responds to the violence with harsh reprisals. The militant Palestinian organization known as Hamas is established.
- 1988: Jordan cedes its rights in the West Bank and East Jerusalem to the PLO. PLO head Yasir Arafat acknowledges Israel's right to exist and renounces violence. The U.S. and the PLO initiate dialogue.
- 1991: The Persian Gulf War ejects Iraqi forces that have invaded Kuwait. Many Palestinian exiles move to Jordan. A Middle East peace conference, focusing on Arab-Israeli relations, is convened in

Madrid.

- 1993: Israel and the PLO conclude a peace agreement in Oslo with mutual recognition and a five-year plan to resolve all remaining differences. Militant Palestinians and right-wing Israelis begin attempts to undermine the agreement.
- 1994: The Palestinian National Authority is established. Israel and Jordan sign a comprehensive peace agreement.
- 1995: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by an Israeli right-wing religious fanatic.
   This setback to the peace process is exacerbated by violent attacks from Palestinian groups opposed to the Oslo Agreement.
- 1996: Palestinians elect Yasir Arafat as president and elect the members of a legislative council.
   Israelis return the Likud Party to power, which stalls the Oslo process.
- 1998: The Wye River Memorandum is issued after talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians, under U.S. auspices. An airport is opened in Gaza, with flights to Arab nations.
- 2000: Israeli forces are withdrawn from Lebanon except for a disputed area, Shebaa Farms. Peace negotiations at Camp David break down. Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount and a second intifada is launched, more violent than the first.
- 2001: Ariel Sharon is elected prime minister of Israel, committed to rejection of the Oslo peace agreement and an emphasis on national security. The Gaza airport runway is bulldozed.
- 2002: An Arab League summit meeting endorses a Saudi peace plan based on U.N. Resolutions 242
  and 338. Suicide bombings provoke strong Israeli response. Sharon blames Arafat for the violence
  and confines him in his Ramallah office. Israel begins building a separation barrier within the West
  Bank.
- 2003: The Quartet Group (the United States, United Nations, European Union, and Russia) agree on a "road map for peace." Palestinians pledge full support, but Israel rejects key points. Violence continues, and the security barrier in the West Bank draws international criticism for undermining the peace process. An unofficial peace agreement negotiated by Israelis and Palestinians is released with extensive international support as the Geneva Initiative.

- 2004: Yasir Arafat dies.
- 2005: Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is elected president of the Palestinian National Authority. Israel unilaterally evacuates its settlements from the Gaza Strip and four from the West Bank.
- 2006: Ariel Sharon suffers a massive stroke. Palestinians elect a new government, with Hamas winning a small plurality of votes but a majority of parliamentary seats. Israel and the United States isolate Palestine, cutting off funds
- 2006: Ehud Olmert becomes Israel's prime minister, promising that the dividing wall will, in effect, be the new Israeli–West Bank border. Hamas and Hezbollah militants capture Israeli soldiers, and Israeli forces attack Gaza and Lebanon. Hezbollah missiles strike northern Israel. The United Nations approves Resolution 1701, establishing a fragile cease-fire.

Former president and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Jimmy Carter, is highly critical of Israeli settlement policy and says it is the major hurdle in establishing a separate Palestinian country or achieving peace in the Middle East. According to Carter, public opinion polls have consistently shown that a majority of Israelis favor withdrawing from Palestinian territory in exchange for peace and 80 percent of Palestinians want a two-state solution granting Israel the right to exist. (Carter 2006)

There are three different groups of Palestinians:

- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is recognized as the legal representative of the Palestinian people by more than 100 countries and has observer status in the United Nations. It was considered a terrorist organization by the U.S. until the Madrid Conference in 1991. In 1993, the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist and accepted UN resolutions 224 and 338 and rejected violence and terrorism. Israel recognizes the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.
- Hamas—a democratically elected Palestinian political party that rules Gaza. They are considered a
  terrorist organization by the U.S. for their rocket attacks and suicide bombings of civilian targets.
  Their charter calls for an Islamic state in Palestine. Representatives have indicated they would accept
  the 1967 boundaries of a Palestinian state without an official recognition of Israel if Palestinians
  could return to their homes in Israel and the capital of Palestine would be East Jerusalem. (Aljazeera
  2008)
- Hezbollah—Shi'a political party based in Lebanon that is supported by Syria and Iran that is opposed

to the existence of Israel.

Peace-making is risky because there are extremists on both sides that do not want to compromise. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt who signed the peace treaty with Israel was assassinated by Arabs in 1981. Yitzhak Rabin who was President of Israel from 1992-1995 was assassinated by a Jew who opposed signing the Oslo accords that Rabin supported.

Israel and the Palestinians face a basic problem that does not seem to have a solution. The Israelis want a Jewish homeland in which they are a majority. Many Palestinians want to return to their homes and lands that are now in Israel but if they did, they would outnumber the Jews which would defeat the purpose of creating Israel in the first place.

Avraham Burg, speaker of Israel's Knesset—the House of Representatives of the State of Israel—from 1999-2003 is concerned that Zionism has led to a Jewish state that cannot be a democracy if it controls people who do not have a voice. In 2003, he wrote:

The Zionist revolution has always rested on two pillars: a just path and an ethical leadership. Neither of these is operative any longer. The Israeli nation today rests on a scaffolding of corruption, and on foundations of oppression and injustice. As such, the end of the Zionist enterprise is already on our doorstep. ... It turns out that the 2,000-year struggle for Jewish survival comes down to a state of settlements, run by an amoral clique of corrupt lawbreakers who are deaf both to their citizens and to their enemies. A state lacking justice cannot survive ... it's hard to comprehend the humiliating experience of the despised Arab who must creep for hours along the pocked, blockaded roads assigned to him. One road for the occupier, one road for the occupied .... We could kill a thousand ringleaders a day and nothing will be solved, because the leaders come up from below - from the wells of hatred and anger, from the "infrastructures" of injustice and moral corruption.... Between the Jordan and the Mediterranean there is no longer a clear Jewish majority. And so, fellow citizens, it is not possible to keep the whole thing without paying a price. We cannot keep a Palestinian majority under an Israeli boot and at the same time think ourselves the only democracy in the Middle East... Israel's friends abroad - Jewish and non-Jewish alike, presidents and prime ministers, rabbis and lay people - should choose as well. They must reach out and help Israel to navigate the road map toward our national destiny as a light unto the nations and a society of peace, justice and equality. (Burg 2003)

#### Passive Resistance

In May, 2010 supporters of Palestinians in Gaza tried a different approach. The *Free Gaza Movement* organized a group of ships to carry humanitarian aid and construction materials to Gaza to force a confrontation with Israeli forces that blockade Gaza. The group consisted of three passenger ships and three cargo ships. Israeli forces boarded the ships at night before dawn. Some people on the ships resisted the boarding but not with firearms. Nine activists were killed and dozens wounded by Israeli forces and the ships diverted to another port causing protests around the world. (The Guardian 2010) Because many of the people

who were killed and injured were from Turkey, the Turkish government recalled its ambassador from Israel. Israel lost one of its few Muslim allies. Under international pressure, the Israelis loosened their blockade to allow more supplies into Gaza. (Flock 2011) Although this effort was not entirely passive, it demonstrated that passive resistance to Israeli occupation of the West Bank and its blockade of Gaza could be more effective than suicide bombings or rocket attacks. In July, 2011, another boat—The Audacity of Hope—with U.S. citizens who were trained in passive resistance attempted to sail from Greece to challenge the blockade. The Greek Coast Guard stopped the ship and arrested the captain. As of this writing, the ship is being held by Greece. (USTOGAZA 2011) Peaceful protests by Arabs worked to remove the Presidents of Egypt and Tunisia. It remains to be seen if this tactic is successful with Israel.

The conflict that involves Jews, Muslims, and Christians in the Middle East might be resolved by applying a teaching from another of the world's great religions;

Hatred never ends through hatred. By non-hatred alone does it end. This is an ancient truth.—The Buddah

## **Key Takeaways**

The Suez Canal is on the West side of the Sinai in Egypt. About 7.5% of the world's shipping goes through it and almost all of Europe's oil. [6.1.1]

Following WW I, Britain controlled Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations. They allowed Jews to emigrate from Europe to escape Nazi persecution. After WWII, the United Nations passed resolution 181 to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The British chose to withdraw rather than oversee the implementation of the resolution. When the British withdrew, Israel declared independence but did not define its borders. [6.1.2]

The neighboring Arab states focused on defeating Israel rather than recognizing Palestine as a separate country but failed. Zionism is establishing a Jewish homeland that is governed by Jews. [6.1.3]

The wars and armed attacks by army units are: [6.1.4]

- Israeli independence, 1947-49; Arabs attacked
- Suez crisis, 1956; Israel, Britain, and France invade Egypt after Canal is nationalized
- Six-day war, 1967; Egypt orders UN peacekeepers to leave Sinai, Israel attacks
- Yom Kippur War, 1973; Syria and Egypt attack Israel to recapture land lost in 1967
- Israeli invasion of Lebanon, 1982
- Intifada, Hamas and Hezbollah attacks, mid-to late 1980s; rocket attacks across borders plus suicide bombings in Israel
- Palestinian uprising, 2000-present; attacks against Israeli settlements and civilians

Peace initiatives, treaties, and UN Resolutions are: [6.1.5]

- Camp David Accords, led to a treaty between Israel and Egypt returning the Sinai to Egypt; 1979
- Oslo Accords, withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza recognition of Israel's right to exists; 1993
- Wye Accords; Israel agrees to withdraw from some areas and the Arabs reduce terror attacks; 1998

The UN resolutions that passed are: [6.1.6]

- UN Resolution 181 (II): Partition plan accepted by Jews but rejected by Arabs
- UN Resolution 242 called for withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied in the 1967 war
- UN Resolution 338 confirming resolution 242 and calling for peace talks; 1973

The US has vetoed 42 UN resolutions that criticize Israel's occupation of Palestinian land, their treatment of prisoners and captive populations, and their behavior in Lebanon.

Proponents of the occupation of the Golan Heights claim that they need a buffer zone between Israel and Syria. The official position of the Israeli government is that the West Bank is a disputed territory, not an occupied territory and they may occupy it. Numerous UN resolutions and statements by world leaders indicate that they think the West Bank is an area that was occupied by Israel during the 1967 war and that building settlements in the West Bank is illegal according to the UN charter. Jews who are opposed to the settlements argue that it is not democratic or moral to have second-class citizens under Israeli control who cannot vote or have equal rights. [6.1.7]

The PLO is the internationally recognized representative of the Palestinian people which has renounced violence and recognized Israel's right to exist. Hamas is a political party that rules Gaza and does not recognize Israel's right to exist. Hezbollah is a Shi'a Muslim party in Lebanon that is supported by Syria and Iran which does not recognize Israel's right to exist. [6.3.8]

## 2 Oil, Revolution, and Nuclear Weapons

## **Learning Objectives**

- 1. Identify the eight countries that border the Persian Gulf. [6.2.1]
- 2. Identify how oil exploration was initially financed in the Middle East and which oil companies were most involved. [6.2.2]
- 3. Identify the purpose of OPEC, its members in 1973, which members were primarily Muslim countries, and how OPEC responded to U.S. support of Israel in 1973. [6.2.3]
- 4. Identify what percentage of U.S. oil imports came from OPEC in 1973, what the U.S. did to reduce its dependency, and what percentage comes from OPEC now. [6.2.4]
- 5. Identify the factors that led to the Iranian revolution in 1979 and the war between Iraq and Iran. [6.2.5]

- 6. Identify the duration and beginning date of the war between Iraq and the U.S. and how the U.S. became involved. [6.2.6]
- 7. Identify the duration and beginning date of the war between Afghanistan and the U.S. and how the U.S. became involved. [6.2.7]
- 8. Identify the cost of being at war in the Middle East to the U.S. in 2011 for the country and per person. [6.2.8]
- 9. Identify the sources of energy for Israel and how natural gas discoveries have caused new conflicts between Israel and Palestinians. [6.2.9]
- 10. Identify the status of nuclear weapons development in Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. [6.2.10]

#### Energy Resources in the Middle East

About 62% of the known oil reserves are located in the Middle East, as shown in Figure 6.12.

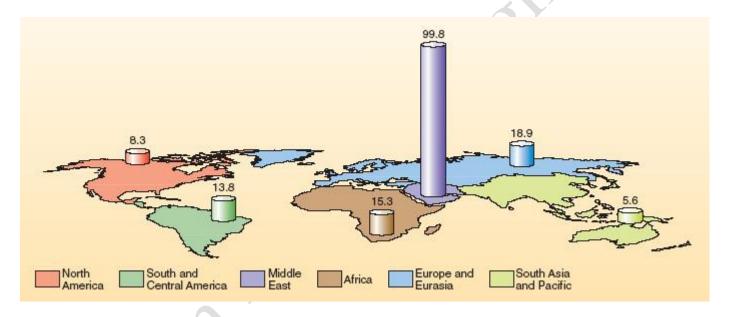


Figure 6.12. World oil reserves in billions of tons of oil equivalent

Most of the oil is located under the Persian Gulf or in the countries surrounding it. The countries that border the Persian gulf moving clockwise beginning with Iran are: Iran, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Iraq as shown in Figure 6.13. The Arab countries often refer to it as the Arabian Gulf or just *the gulf*. There is a large natural gas field between Qatar and Iran.

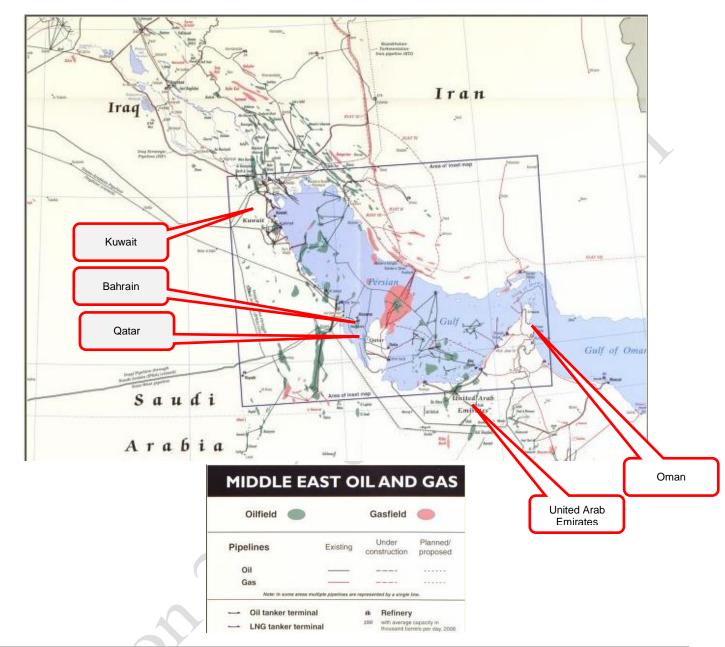


Figure 6.13. Oil and Gas in the Middle East

#### Oil Concessions

Unlike the U.S. where individuals can buy mineral rights to property and borrow money to pay for drilling oil wells and building refineries, oil rights in most other countries are controlled by the governments. In exchange for a share of the profits, the country would grant a company from another country the rights to all the oil it could find in a particular area. The area and the rights were called a concession. The company pays for exploration, drilling, shipping, and port development and takes all the risks. In several cases after large quantities of oil were discovered and the company made its money back many times over, the country would

nationalize the oil—decide to end the concession and claim ownership of the oil and the infrastructure before the term of the concession expired. In some cases, the country would pay the company for its assets and in others it would not. The first oil concession in the Middle East was negotiated between William D'Arcy of Great Britain and the Shah of Persia for exclusive rights to prospect for oil for 60 years in an area that is now Iran. The company was named Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC). In 1913, the British government bought controlling interest in the company to secure a supply of oil for its navy. This gave the British government control over the economy of Iran. The company was renamed as British Petroleum and then simply BP. In Saudi Arabia, American oil companies obtained concessions to search for oil as the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco). After World War II, Iran and Saudi Arabia pushed for greater control and a larger share of the profits from their oil resources and acquired ownership of the oil and production infrastructure though a combination of purchase, negotiation, and nationalization.

#### **OPEC**

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was founded in 1960 to coordinate production and stabilize the world price of oil. (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries 2011) The founding members of OPEC were Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Venezuela. By 1973, membership was expanded to include Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, the United Arab Emirates, Algeria, and Nigeria. With the exception of Venezuela, all of these countries have Muslim majorities. The Muslim countries were angered at the U.S. for its support of Israel in the Yom Kippur war of 1973 (knows as the Ramadan or October War by Arabs) and decided to cut off oil supplies to the U.S. At the time, the US consumed about 16 million barrels of oil per day. (U.S. Energy Information Administration 1998) Most of it was produced domestically but about 3 million barrels a day was imported. Of those 3 million barrels of imported oil, 65% was imported from OPEC countries. (Green Car Congress 2008) See Figure 6.14.

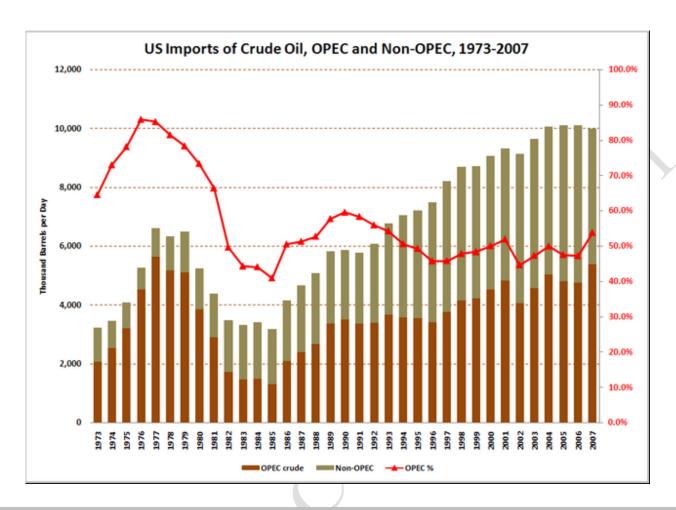


Figure 6.14. U.S. Oil Imports from OPEC

Following the Arab oil embargo, the U.S. diversified its oil suppliers. In 2010, the U.S. imported 1.7 billion barrels of oil from OPEC countries out of a total of 4.3 billion which means that about 41% of the oil imported by the U.S. now comes from OPEC countries. (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2010)

#### Iranian Revolution

In most Muslim countries, the majority of the population is Sunni with the exception of Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Bahrain, as shown in Figure 6.15. (Webster's Online Dictionary n.d.)



Figure 6.15. Most Muslim countries that have oil are Sunni except Iran and Iraq

Most Iranians are Persians, not Arabs. The Persian Empire predates the rise of the Arabs and Islam by more than a thousand years and its king is called the Shah. Iranians had several reasons to be unhappy with Great Britain and the U.S:

Great Britain gained control of Iran's main source of income by buying controlling interest in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC)

Great Britain manipulated the profits of APOC so they made more money from the oil than Iran

Great Britain and the U.S. intelligence services interfered with Iran's internal politics in 1953 to support a coup that removed Iran's Prime Minister and gave complete power to the Shah

The Shah use the oil wealth to westernize the society which angered the traditional Muslim Shia fundamentalists

In 1979, Shia fundamentalists headed by Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the Shah in spite of support by western powers. The revolutionaries stormed the U.S. embassy and captured approximately 60 Americans. They held the Americans captive for more than a year. Iran chose to have an Islamic government where the Shia Muslim leaders are the ultimate authority but they also have an elected parliament, as shown in Figure 6.16. (BBC News 2011)

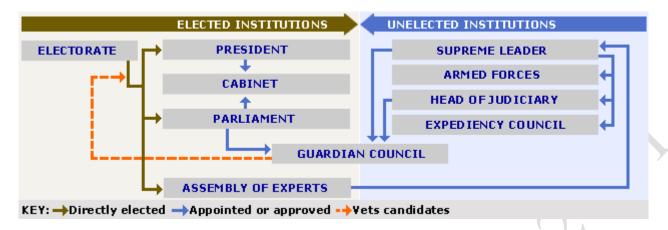


Figure 6.16. Iranian Government

#### Iran-Iraq War

Iraq tried to take advantage of the confusion in Iran in order to seize territory and oil reserves near their common border. Iraq invaded Iran in 1980 was initially successful but was surprised when the Iranians rallied to retake the lost territory by 1982. Iran invaded Iraq to claim the area occupied by Shia Muslims and Iraq responded by using poison gas. Iran tried to cut off Iraq's oil income by attacking tankers in the Persian Gulf including those of neutral countries that might be carrying Iraqi oil. America and several European countries responded by sending warships to protect the tankers and their oil supply from the region. The war lasted from 1980 to 1988 with more than a million killed. Prisoner exchanges were not completed until 2003. (InfoPlease 2005)

#### **Gulf Wars**

The Iran-Iraq war ended in a cease-fire. Saddam Hussein's ambition for dominance of the region was redirected at Kuwait. He claimed that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq and that he intended to annex it. He accused Kuwait from stealing oil from Iraq by tapping into an adjacent oil field underground and insisted that Saudi Arabia and Kuwait cancel \$30 billion in Iraqi debt. President Mubarak of Egypt tried to negotiate a settlement without success. Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Iraq had a large army equipped with Soviet tanks. Two-thirds of the Arab League states condemned the invasion. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait appealed to the U.S. for help and the U.S. and its partners recaptured Kuwait. A cease-fire was declared in 1991. (History.com 2011)

In 2003, the U.S. invaded Iraq with the British and others on the grounds that it had not lived up to the terms of the cease-fire. The Iraqi military was quickly defeated but an armed resistance continued. As of the summer of 2011, the U.S. still had 47,000 troops plus 63,000 contractors in Iraq. (HuffPost World 2011)

#### Afghanistan

The war in Afghanistan began on September 11, 2001 when members of Al-Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center in New York. Al-Qaeda leadership was based in Afghanistan whose ruling party was the Taliban. The U.S. partnered with anti-Taliban factions, the British, and others providing air support and troops to overthrow the Taliban government and attack Al-Qaeda bases. The Taliban withdrew to mountainous areas but continued to fight. As of the summer of 2011, the U.S. has approximately 100,000 troops with about 40,000 from other allies. (Dorning and Talev 2011) The war in Afghanistan is now the longest war in U.S. history. (Nagorski 2010)

#### Cost of Wars

As of fiscal year 2011 budget, the U.S. congress has approved \$1.283 trillion for military operations, base security, reconstruction, foreign aid, embassy costs, and veterans' health care for the three operations initiated since the 9/11 attacks: Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan and other counter terror operations; Operation Noble Eagle (ONE), providing enhanced security at military bases; and Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF). (Belasco 2011) The population of the U.S. is 311 million. (U.S. Census Bureau 2011) The amount spent through 2011 for wars related to Iraq and Afghanistan is therefore \$4,125 per person in the U.S. Instead of passing a tax to pay for the additional cost of these wars, the money has been borrowed and is part of the national debt.

### Sources of Energy in Israel

About two-thirds of Israel's electricity is generated by burning coal and one-third from burning natural gas. Israel buys its coal from South Africa, Australia, and Columbia. It buys its natural gas from Egypt. It does not produce electric power from nuclear energy and all of its transportation fuel is imported. Before the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Israel bought oil from Iran that was delivered by pipeline. Now it buys oil through middle men from available sources in Russia, Mexico and Norway. Israel's Minister of Infrastructures is quoted in the Israeli press as saying that most of Israel's oil imports originate in countries with which it does not maintain diplomatic relations implying that it secretly buys oil from Arab states other than Egypt or Jordan. (HaLevi 2008) Israel does not use its nuclear facilities to generate electricity.

Large natural gas fields were discovered in the Mediterranean off the shores of Egypt, Gaza, Israel, and possibly Lebanon in the last decade and Israel plans to shift its production of electricity to natural gas. See Figure 6.17. As part of the peace negotiation between Israel and Egypt, Israel pulled out of the Sinai which as some oil in exchange for an agreement that Egypt would sell them natural gas. Recent changes in

the government of Egypt have made this source less reliable so Israel is accelerating development of the gas fields.

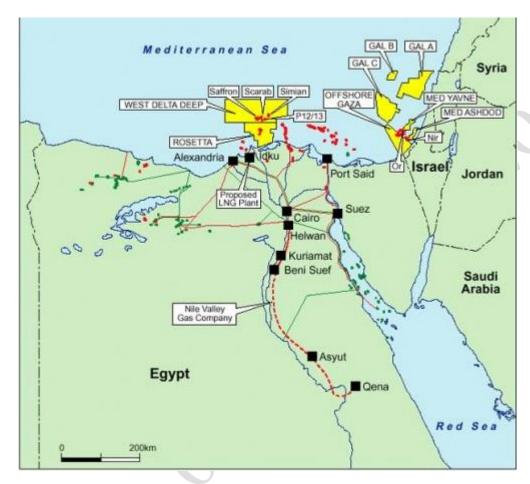


Figure 6.17. Oil and Gas in the Middle East

One of the largest natural gas deposits is directly offshore of the Gaza strip, as shown in Figure 6.18.



Figure 6.18. Gas fields offshore of Gaza

Israel has approved a deal with an American company to drill in this area. The Palestinian Authority (PA) has charged Israel with theft of its natural resources. (Ya'ar 2011) The value of the natural gas in these fields is estimated at about \$4 billion. Palestine has appealed to the UN for a protection of its rights.

In a situation that is less clear, the exact line of extension of the border between Lebanon and Israel into the offshore gas fields determines whether any part of a large gas field can be claimed by Lebanon. Israel has claimed a border line that skirts the field as shown in Figure 6.19.

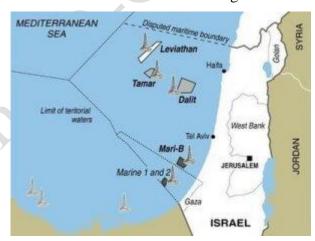


Figure 6.19. Gas fields offshore of Israel and Lebanon

#### Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East

When the U.S. and the Soviet Union were engaged in a struggle for world domination, they did not fight each other using conventional weapons. One reason is that they both had nuclear weapons with the capability of

destroying both countries. Since the 1973 war between Israel and its neighbors, there have been no conventional wars between them. One reason could be that Arab countries are convinced that Israel has nuclear weapons and would use them if its existence were threatened.

Israel has never publicly claimed to have nuclear and they do not submit to inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Israel has not signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

In 1957, France agreed to provide Israel with a 24 Megawatt nuclear reactor on the condition that Israel had no intention of making nuclear weapons and would make the plant's existence public after it was built. The plant was completed but not disclosed to the public. (The Jewish Virtual Library 2011) Declassified CIA documents show that the U.S. knew about the weapons program in Israel in the 1960s and estimated that Israel has produced between sixty and eighty bombs. (Federation of American Scientists 2007)

There are small amounts of uranium in the phosphate deposits throughout the Middle East. Israel has phosphate mining operations south of the Dead Sea where its fuel processing and enrichment facilities are located. Weapons manufacturing is thought to take place in the north, as shown in Figure 6.20 (note: icons not shown to reduce overlap indicated in gray on the legend). (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2010)

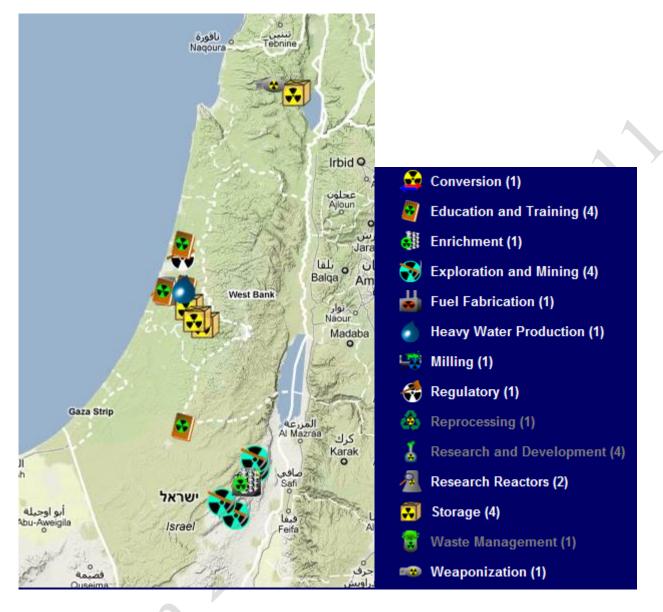


Figure 6.20. Israeli nuclear facilities

Egypt had plans to build a nuclear power plant but put those plans on hold after the Chernobyl accident that occurred in 1986. In 2010, President Mubarak decided to go ahead with building a nuclear power plant (Associated Press 2010) but his government was overthrown in 2011. Egypt has uranium mining, fuel fabrication plants, and two research reactors, as shown in Figure 6.21. They are members in good standing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2011)

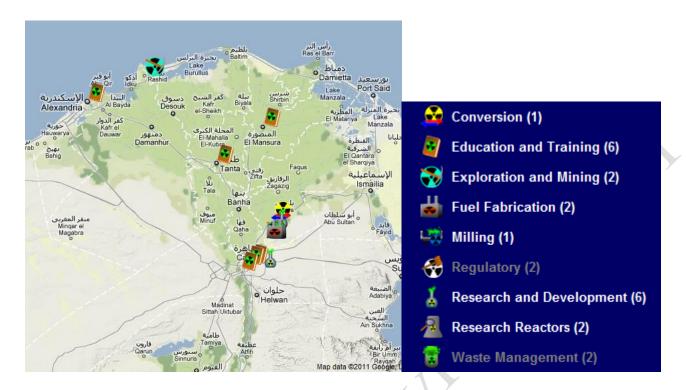


Figure 6.21. Egyptian uranium mining and research reactors

Jordan is evaluating bids from Canadian, Russian, French, and Japanese firms to build Jordan's first nuclear power plant which is expected to be producing power by 2019. (Luck 2011)

Lebanon is a member of NPT as a non-nuclear state. (Nuclear Threat Initiative n.d.)

Iraq began construction on a nuclear reactor provided by the French but it was bombed by Israel before it was completed in 1981 to prevent its use to make nuclear weapons. (BBC 1981) The U.S. invaded Iraq in the second Gulf War and one of their reasons for doing so was a fear that Iraq was close to making nuclear weapons. After the invasion, no nuclear weapons or nuclear weapons production facilities were found. (Richelson 2004)

Syria announced in 2011 that it may build its first nuclear power plant by 2020. (Dahl 2011) Israel bombed a facility in Syria in September 2007 that they suspected was a breeder reactor that was capable of producing Plutonium. (David E. Sanger 2007) Syria is a member of NPT but is under investigation for violating the terms of the treaty. Its nuclear facilities are shown in Figure 6.22.



Figure 6.22. Syrian reactors and mining

Iran signed the NPT treaty under the Shah but under the current government they are developing the capability of mining, refining, and enriching Uranium. Recall that power plants use fuel rods that are enriched to between 3% and 5% and 20% is the minimum for a nuclear explosive. In 2010, Iran began enriching Uranium to 20% using a cascade arrangement of centrifuges. (Oleksyn 2010) The American CIA director estimates that Iran could make a nuclear weapon as early as 2012. (The Telegraph 2010) The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Board of Governors found Iran in non-compliance with its Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement, and the UN Security Council has passed seven resolutions demanding that Iran halt its enrichment and reprocessing activities. Tehran insists that possession of nuclear fuel cycle capabilities is its inalienable right and continues to enrich uranium. (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2011) Unlike Iraq or Syria, Iran has several facilities that would not be easy to destroy with a single air strike, as shown in Figure 6.23.



Figure 6.23. Iranian nuclear program

## **Key Takeaways**

The eight countries that border the Persian Gulf are Iran, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Iraq. [6.2.1]

Companies owned by individual investors obtained a concession from the country's government that gave them permission to look for oil at their own risk. If they found oil, the company would pay for wells, pipelines, and refineries and give the country a percentage of the profits. In Iran the company was the Anglo-Persian Oil Company which later became BP and in Saudi Arabia it was the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco). [6.2.2]

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was founded to coordinate production and stabilize prices. The membership in 1973 included the founding members; Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Venezuela plus Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, the United Arab Emirates, Algeria, and Nigeria. All of them are Muslim except Venezuela. In 1973 following the Yom Kippur War, they voted to cut off oil supplies to the U.S. [6.2.3]

In 1973, at the time of the Arab oil embargo, the U.S. got 65% of its imports from OPEC which peaked at 82% in 1977. By drilling more domestic wells and buying from non-OPEC sources they reduced that to 41% in 2010. [6.2.4]

The Iranians felt that the British had not treated them fairly regarding the profits from the oil company that Great Britain controlled. They were also unhappy with the U.S. and the British for meddling in their internal politics by supporting a coup de' tat that put the Shah in power. They were unhappy with the Shah's efforts to westernize the culture. They supported the takeover by the Shia Moslem clerics known as the Islamic Revolution. Iraq, under Saddam Hussein, attempted to take advantage of the Iranian revolution to take disputed land and oil. [6.2.5]

The first Gulf war began in 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait which threatened U.S. oil supplies from the Persian Gulf. The U.S. with others invaded Kuwait and forced Iraq to withdraw. A cease-fire was declared in 1991. In 2003, the U.S. invaded Iraq with the British and others on the grounds that it had not lived up to the terms of the cease-fire. The Iraqi military was quickly defeated but an armed resistance continued. As of the summer of 2011, the U.S. still had 47,000 troops plus 63,000 contractors in Iraq. [6.2.6]

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. [6.2.8]

Israel generates its electricity from coal and natural gas. It imports natural gas from Egypt and buys coal from South Africa, Australia, and Colombia. Israel buys crude oil through middlemen from Mexico, Norway, Russia and possibly Arab states. Recent discoveries of natural gas deposits offshore in the Mediterranean, some of which are in disputed waters off Gaza and Lebanon, are leading to new conflicts because Israel is confiscating the gas from Gaza and Lebanon is claiming a border that includes part of a large gas field. [6.2.9]

Nuclear weapons development by country in the Middle East: [6.2.10]

Israel: According to the CIA, Israel has about 60 to 80 nuclear weapons although Israel does not confirm their presence.

Egypt: Announced decision in 2010 to begin construction of its first nuclear power plant under Mubarak government but now uncertain until new government takes form.

Jordan: Is taking bids to construct a 5,000 megawatt plant that would begin producing power in 2019.

Lebanon: member of NPT as a non-nuclear state

Syria: has a small research reactor. Israel bombed a reactor that was under construction thought to be able to eventually produce Plutonium.

Iraq: Israel bombed a nuclear plant that was under construction in 1981. No nuclear weapons found after U.S. invaded.

Iran: enriching uranium that could be used in nuclear reactors or to make nuclear weapons. Iran could have a nuclear weapon by 2012 according to the CIA.

## **Key Terms**

#### canal

artificial waterway

#### concession

an area of a country where a company could explore for oil and keep what it found in exchange for an upfront payment and a share of the profits

### Gaza, Gaza Strip

Palestinian city or strip of land bordered by Israel and Egypt.

#### Knesset

Israeli parliament

#### nationalize

seize the assets of a foreign company

### Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty (NPT)

agreement to restrain spread of nuclear weapons

### Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

group of countries that sell oil who coordinate on price and production amounts

#### Shah

monarch of Iran

#### West Bank

area of Palestine west of the Jordan River

### Zion, Zionists

Jewish homeland and those in favor of it

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