

**Middle East Crisis And Peace Effort
A Study of The Post Cold war Period**



A Thesis submitted to the Dept of Peace and Conflict Studies of the
University of Dhaka to fulfill the requirement for the degree of

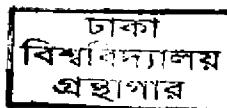
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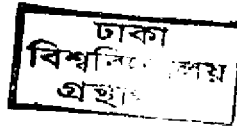
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Certificate

This to certify that Mohammad Shahid Hassan (Reg No 176) has completed his M Phil thesis "**Middle East Crisis And Peace Effort A Study of The Post Cold war Period**" under my direct supervision: This is his original work. This thesis or any part of it has not been submitted anywhere for publication.

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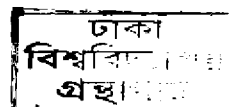
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It can be revealed from the known history that the Palestinians are the original inhabitants of the landmass in the Middle East, now strife ridden for half a century. The Jews are also heard to claim at times, the same original status. The Jews had only invaded and regained the place for about one hundred years during the inception of Judaism. Before and after that, the Jews did not have any separate national entity. It is only for about a century that the Jews have started pouring into the land of Palestine from different part of the world and waged the Zionist movement for the establishment of an independent state. Since then the indigenous Palestinian population had been struggling to resist the settlement and upkeep their own right of living in the land. The Zionist state of Israel was however established in 1948 with the definite help from the big powers of the world. Thus began the history of worst miseries for the Palestinians. The Palestinians have organized themselves for fighting out their legitimate right. Israel has subsequently annexed more lands from neighboring Arab countries through several aggressions. The Arab countries got involved and the liberation struggle of the Palestinians has been continuing for decades. The super power and the Europe have their vested interest in the region for which the Palestinian's cause was never fulfilled. There had been countless number of move by several quarters for the settlement of the Palestinian issue but no positive result was achieved until very recently. With the change in the world politics, after the demise of the Soviet Union and the Gulf war, the Middle East problem got through a phenomenal change. The historic PLO Israel peace accords was signed in September 1993 calling an end to the conflict and bloodshed between the Arabs and the Jews in the Middle East.

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It was an establish fact that the peace in Palestine depends crucially on US, until now who sponsored every Arab Israel Agreement leading to the peace process. The Roadmap arouse zeal and enthusiasm from peace and could maintain the cease fire for a long time. But once again the Peace Plan bogged down centering the issue of fencing and prisoner. No leadership, no plan can bring peace in Palestinian. With the slogan of land for peace can only be achieved by cordial approach of both Israelis and the Palestinians. Others can help only. For a durable peace, both of them need to travel back some thousand years to see that their root is same and they are distant cousin. There for they are destined to live together as neighbors. It is one peace of land on which two houses to be built. Others can help only.



UN Partition Plan of separate states for the Jewish and Muslims is the base for all negotiation of peace process of Palestine. But with the blessing of USA, Israel remained in the front seat to drive the situation in her own way. After the successful breakthrough of Oslo Peace Accord, Taba Accord gave self- rule to the Palestinian over certain areas at the same time allowed the Jewish settlement to stay. With the Wye River deal Israel agreed to handover 13.1 Percent land of West Bank to Palestinian authority. There were many such accords initiated but none of these could be implemented in totality. When the roadmap for peace was announced the UN, the EU, Russia and other interested parties felt that here was a chance began in Aqaba of Jordan on 4 June 2003.

To resolve the present continuing violence is to look toward the root cause of the problem—the occupation, which must be addressed not as crisis management perspective but to comprehensive solution of conflict resolution. But the influence of the US, only super power in uni polar world security system, is the most important factor to be considered. To encounter the Jews Lobby in US, American-Muslim needs to organize and work intelligently to put balance pressure upon administration to adopt just policy. Otherwise it will be far cry for Muslim to change in the America foreign policy, towards Middle East. On the ground, world community should ensure end of violence, to rebuild confidence on both parties and the sit for negotiation. If world community succeed to change the US policy then negotiation to be shifted to UN and core problem like statehood of Palestinian, dismantling of Jews settlement in occupied territories, rights of refugees, status of Jerusalem and deployment of international peace keeper to be negotiated to have a long-lasting comprehensive solution of the problem.

This Research work outlines and clarifies the key elements of this central issue. It presents the main facts in a political, intellectual and cultural manner. Its pages are considered as the text, which should be comprehended and fully understood by every Muslim. Every honest, noble and impartial human being who seeks justice and truth will comprehend this message. It is the backbone on which the details of the conflict are based. This Research work is considered as an important informative source of the most important issue facing Muslims today.

Since the Zionist danger threatens all Muslim territories from Ghana to Indonesia and from the Volga River to the South of the Equator, this issue symbolizes the conflict between the Muslims and the enemies of Islam in any place and at any time. Also, it is the gate of victory for the Muslim Ummah over its enemies and against all the challenges of the New World Order. This is the mission of this Research work. It revives the consciousness, the strategy and the focal point of the Palestinian issue on the national, Islamic, Arab and international level. I sincerely ask Allah to make it beneficial to all readers, and count it in the balance of whoever bravely proclaims the facts surrounding this issue, and reward its Research work in the best manner. Surely He is the best to be asked and the Only One to answer.

PREFACE

Palestine is branded as the 'Ulcer of Middle East. The Middle East is a region in the global map marked with violence, clashes and wars throughout the centuries. There has never been a time known to mankind when this region was out of any problem. The conflicts of Middle East are wide-ranging. Many parties and nations are involved in these conflicts. The genesis of Middle East revolved around the Palestine issue. Therefore, any evaluation of the peace process in Middle East has to be carried out keeping the Palestine issue in the fore front.

In the wake of a terrorist attack on twin tower, the world scenario has changed. The US's war against terrorism is continuing. It is before few days of Iraq invasion by the US and UK led coalition, when they were heavily criticized for their decision to go for the war overruling the world opinion, President Bush suddenly announced the roadmap for peace in the Middle East. The 11th September attack, war against terrorism in Afghanistan, invasion of Iraq and now roadmap for peace in the Middle East has got definite linkage to each other. This Research work attempts to discuss the Palestine issue highlighting impediments of the peace process and the prospect of peace in the present context.

The concept of 'Promised Land' for the Jews created the state of Israel over 78 percent Palestinian land. The Muslims being the majority were evicted and became refugee in their own land. The legacy of the conflicts are full of violence costing thousands of lives. After 1967 war, Israel occupied the total land of Palestine and evicted Palestinians for Jewish settlement. The successive defeat of Arab in four major wars made Israel militarily powerful to deter any more Arab expedition. In the context of present uni polar world order, the role of US has emerged as the most contributory factor to guide the course of Middle East.

Over the years number of peace missions and steps were taken to implement plans, accords etcetera by different governments and world organizations but no practical resolution could be derived. The signing the Oslo agreement on 13 September 1993 marked the major break through of peace process. Through this agreement both Israel and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) made a U turn in their policies and recognized each other. Though the peace process started with a lot of hope and potentialities it suffered serious set back in its way in the recent past.

Besides, lack of confidence between the Arabs and Israelis, rise of extremist parties in Israel, rejection of peace by the hardliners, armed settlers, terrorism and expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied territory have become a threat to the peace process which must be eliminated immediately for the sake of lasting Peace in the Middle East.

GOALS OF THE RESEARCH PAPER

The purpose of Middle East Crisis is to provide an up-to-date introduction to the most important and useful concepts in the study of the political issue. Information is presented from an analytical and interdisciplinary perspective from which we must view political issues in order to deal successfully with them. The goal is to teach the readers how to think through political issues.

SPECIAL NOTE TO READERS

I have written this research paper with the belief that readers really want to be challenged to think about the important political problems that face the world today. We are attempting to bring the political issue to the forefront of education. This is in response to tremendous public concern about the politics. Public opinion polls confirm that the political issue is an important social and political issue. I also believe that scientific literacy and critical thinking are very important. As a result I have chosen to discuss important political issues, some of which are multifaceted, difficult and challenging. I need to recognize that solutions to the many political problems facing us today are not easy to find. There are differing opinions on which problems we should address and what solutions should be attempted. I can present information and arguments. But ultimately you must think for yourself and develop solutions based on your value system and understanding. If this appears as a vague concept it is you are responsible for future generation just as are your instructors. Making informed decisions requires a lot of study as well as a commitment to be responsible in helping to insure that our world maintains a nice political environment. I believe that if this thesis paper, Middle East Crisis, helps you in that endeavor, then it has been successful. If my thesis paper has helped you to think more critically about political problems, I would like to hear from readers. Please share your ideas or questions with me.

ORGANIZATION

We believe a real strength of political issue is the systematic and in depth coverage of the multitude of subjects that comprise the field of political conflict. We recognize that political education is a life long process and any one course may not be able to cover in depth all of the subjects presented in political conflict. The goal is to provide an instrument of learning useful to educators and readers today so that future generations of readers will be more informed and able to make judgments concerning the political based upon sound scientific knowledge. I believe that the understanding of and critical thinking about, political problems is much more important than mere presentation of facts and information.

A CASE STUDY

Introduces almost each chapter. The purpose is to interest the reader in the subject being discussed and to raise important questions on the subject matter.

REFERENCES

Cited in the text are provided at the end of the book as notes for each chapter, These are numbered according to their citation in the text. We believe it's very important that introductory textbooks carefully cite sources of information used in the writing. These are provided to recognize those scholars whose work we depend upon, and so that the reader may draw upon these references as needed for additional reading and research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Middle East is often described as the most sensitive region of the world for its strategic importance, rich mineral resources and religion. Though the Arab Muslims are predominant in the area Zionism and Christianity also grew. The Middle East crisis involves multinational interest. Lebanon wants Israeli withdrawal from its self declared security zone in the south, Syria seeks return of Golan Height lost to Israel in 1967 war and Jordanian interest is the future status of the West Bank. Beside that here are several dimensions in the Middle East crisis and many areas of on going serious violence. Three of these are mentionable here. One is the Israel and Palestine. Second is Iraq -its sanction and bombing. Third are Turkey and the Kurds.

The Middle East is a place of conflict and confusion since long time. It is a great challenge for the world to keep silence in that region. The negative attitude of Israel and the self-centered attitude of its big brother USA has linger the problem up to this stage. But the world wants peace as enough blood had been drooped there and now it is the time to come to a solution. The new road map seems to be a solution to the problem as it says about an independent state for Palestine. But the intention of the leaders are not clear and like many early efforts, it may also turn down to loss of time and energy. The future will tell us the fact.

I was introduced into the concept by my supervisor D. Dil Rowshan Zinnat Ara Nazneen, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies who drew my attention to its reference in Bangladesh. Dr. Dil Rowshan Zinnat Ara Nazneen, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka who has always been engrudging and generous in providing me help and guidance I needed from times. It was not easy to work on this without her able guidance. Without the help of Dr. Dil Rowshan Zinnat Ara Nazneen my work might not be completed.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. Dalem Ch. Barman, the founder of Peace and Conflict Studies Department, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh for helping me through his endless encouraging comments and all round support to complete the research work. Without his support and encourage this huge task could not have been possible.

I am also great ful to Dr Mohsen Mohammed Saleh, is an associate professor of the Palestinian Modern and Contemporary History, and (HOD) History and Culture, the International Islamic University in Malaysia for helping me through the research work introduced me to the wider aspect of Middle East Crisis and Peace Efforts which I was unwire of. I cannot descript in words my gratitude to him for ungrudgingly providing me material and documents. I need during the preparation of my thesis. More particularly I ever remain indebted to Wasting for his continued help and suggestion from time to time. Completion of this research work only possible due to cooperation and work of many people. To all those who so freely offered their advice and encouragement in this endeavor. Offer my most sincere appreciation of particular importance to the development of the thesis paper were the individuals who read research work chapter by chapter and provided me valuable comments and constructive criticism. This was a particularly difficult job given the wide variety of topics covered in the text and I believe that this research work could not have been successfully completed without their assistance, These reviewers are offered my specials gratitude.

I am also thankful to the Peace and Conflict library staff of Dhaka University and different library situated in Dhaka & Chittagong for providing me materials from different books and journal. Without the help of the library authority I might face extremely difficulty to complete my task.

My heartfelt thanks go to Dr. Prof. Rafiqul Islam providing me whole hearted support. During my research work I would like to give thank field level person Commander Thowhidul Islam (Military person who for service reason present in the war field) for his helpful hand extended towards me during my research time and shared with me valuable comments and information. I have also taken interview with some expert person who have vast knowledge about their specific arena and provided me some information. Finally few advice from expert person which will enhance my horizon in greater aspect.

I would like to thanks to collect information from the field level person who were really present in time of crisis/war. My Glorious service has given me opportunity to talk with the military person for service Reason who were present in the war field, specially they were deployed for peace keeping purpose. They have huge experiences about the Middle East Crisis in there own naked eyes. As a military officer they got an inherent service opportunity to deployed all most all the conflict area.

I have also taken interview Commander Thowhidul Islam & Razual Karim for provide me practical knowledge Regarding of there vast experience of Middle East Crisis (Palestinian Struggle, Iran Iraq War, Gulf War Iraq War, Afghanistan War) whom were actually deployed in Middle East for peace - keeping purpose.

Completion of this research work required an incredible amount of word processing and other administrative assistance. I am very grateful to Md. Faruq Ahmed for transcribing and typing many chapters of this text.

Besides, unbounded thanks are due to my family members and service who spared me while attending to their domestic chores and inspired me to finished the work in time.

Finally, all praise and thanks are due to Allah, without Whose Help and Guidance nothing can be accomplished.

March- 2011

Mohammad Shahid Hassan

Executive Summary

The Middle East is often described as the most sensitive region in the world for its strategic importance, rich mineral resources and religious reasons. The most persistent and long out standing inter-state conflict in the Middle East is between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The area remained volatile since end of World war-II and triggered five wars following creation of Israel in 1948. It is no denying the fact that one single issue has broken the world stability a number of times.

The Middle East problem had been erupted when in 1948 the state of Israel was declared for establishment in Palestine. Since then, many of the Arab countries got entangled in the conflict with Israel, over the Palestine issue. The problem did not deep its claw on the Middle East countries only but had been a cause of concern and irritation for many large or small countries of the world for about last half century.

For the last half-century or so, the Middle East issue has been a history of miseries for the Palestinians. The Palestinians who once belonged to a country with distinctive geographical, political and cultural identity ultimately transformed into refugees. Being the victim of Zionist aggression, the Palestinian had resorted to armed resistance and diplomatic efforts for achieving their legitimate rights. The last few decades of Palestinian struggle passed through several phases of odds like unfavorable undercurrents of Arab politics, the aggressive and resistant policy of Israel and conspiracy of the super power.

Amongst all these the Palestinians interest reins the extreme. Since the genesis of the Middle East crisis it revolved around the Palestine issue. Therefore, any evaluation of the peace process in the Middle East will have to be studied in combination to the Palestinian issue. There is a common agreement amongst the Middle East theorists that the solution of the Palestinian problem is end result of ultimate peace in the Middle East. The peace process between Israel and Palestine has been long-drawn-out and difficult. Peace is indispensable for the co-existence and prosperity of Israel and neighboring states. In this context "Peace" means; mutual recognition; full diplomatic relation; open borders; cessation of hostility; curb terrorist activities and normalized the economic relation. When both the sides remain under threat of military confrontation the peace process will always be prejudiced.

Chapter-One Is designed to discuss about justification of study. The aim and objective of the research paper. During the research work area of the study side, application of the research work, methodology of the research,, cauterization, limitation of the research and finally conclusion of the research work.

Chapter-Two Is designed to introduce among readers overall view of the region to get a real picture middle east. In this chapter emphasis has given to discuss factor making the reason focal point of international politics.

Chapter-Three Is designed to introduce among reader overall view of the Palestine to get the real picture of the land of Palestine. In this chapter emphasis has given to discuss about the name of Palestine, Geography an climate, Desert area, whose land is it? How was the land lost land Al-Aqsa Mosque Selling the Land, Islamic stand.

Chapter –Four In this chapter outline has given to discuss about Why the Arab world is silent, why Israel carry out attack against Palestine and realities on the ground.

Chapter-Five Is designed to give us real picture of people in Palestine, Displaced persons, Palestinian refugees, Living condition, Massacres against the Palestinian people, and Israeli, Society deal with them.

Chapter-Six Is designed to focus on US foreign policy to middle east. Basic of US middle east policy, present situation in middle east.

Chapter-Seven Is designed to give reader to illustrate about state of Israel, Political and Military Institutions.

Chapter-Eight Is designed to focus on Arab Israeli war, Lebanon Israeli war, Causes of war and Lesson Learnt from war.

Chapter -Nine Is designed to focus on Iraq crisis, Iran and their military power, Nuclear power of Iran, Iran issue. The new crisis Iran a threat to USA interest.

Chapter Ten Is designed to discuss about Gulf war and its background, conduct of war, lesson for Bangladesh armed forces and what are the step takes by the Bangladesh government.

Chapter – Eleven Is designed to discuss about the most important subject of the world is terrorism and the war against terrorism, concept of terrorism,, factor responsible for terrorism.

Chapter-Tweive Is designed to give out line among readers Iraq war. Prelude to the Iraq Crisis. Causes of war. The effect of war and lesson learnt from the war.

Chapter-Thirteen Is designed to discuss the Case study among the reader and Reconstruction of Iraq possible only under un supervision.

Chapter-Fourteen Is designed to give picture among readers them most important thing about peace process in middle east. In this chapter so far peace effort have been taken as per chronological sequence and what are the success and failure of effort is discuss elaborately.

Chapter-Fifteen This Chapter Is also designed to give discussion about middle east peace effort of Road map. This is most important chapter among all the chapter of research work. In this chapter research work has been carried out meticulously and give real picture to the readers so far what are the peace has been taken to resolve the middle east crisis. Last peace effort Road map given detail discussion in this chapter

Chapter – Sixteen . Is designed to give conclusion about the middle east crisis and peace effort Finally, some recommendation are made for this purpose.

ACRONYMS

PLO-	PALESTIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.
WZO-	WORLD ZOINOIST ORGANIZATION.
PNA-	PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY.
PFLP-	POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LEBERATION OF PALESTINE.
IJ-	ISLAMIC JIHAD(STRUGGLE FOR THE CAUSE OF ALLAH).
FATEH-	IS AN ARABIC ACRONYM FOR "THE MOVEMENT FOR THE LEBERATION OF PALESTINE"
HAMAS-	IS AN ARABIC ACRONYM FOR "THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.
AL-QIDS-	JERUSALEM
PNC-	PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL.
PLF-	PALESTINIAN LIBERATION FORNT.
UAR-	THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC.
OPEC-	ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES.
PUK-	PATRIOTIC UNION OF KURDISTAN.
RAWA-	REVOLUTONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGANISTAN.
SCIRI-	SUPRIME COUNSCIL FOR THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN IRAQ.
UN-	UNITED NATIONS
UNICEF-	UNITED NATION CHILDREN EMERGENCY FUND.
UNESCO-	UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULLTURAL ORGANIZATION.
WHO-	WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION.
UNDP-	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMEE.
JIC-	JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.
IAF-	ISLAMIC ACTION FORNT.
IAEA-	INTERNATIONL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY.
IWMD-	IRAQI WEAPONS OF MASS DESTAUCION REJECTED BY US.
CENTCOM-	CENTRE OF COMMAND
BWC-	BIOLOGICAL WEAPON CONVENTION.
KDP-	KURDISH DEMOERATIC PARTY.
OPCW-	ORGANIZATION FOR THE PROBITION OF CEAMICAL WEAPON.
CIA-	CENTRAL INTILLANGCE AGENCY.
UNSCOM-	UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMISSION.
UNMOVIC-	UNITED NATIONS MONITORING, VERIFICATION AND INSPECTION COMMISSION.
RMA-	REVOLUTION IN MILLITARY AFFAIRS
MF-	MULTINATIONAL FORCE
GCC-	GULF CO-OPERATION COUNCIL
MEF-	MARINE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
RGFC-	REPUBLICAN GUARD FORCES COMMAND
EAC-	EASTERN AREA COMMAND
NAC-	NORTERN AREA COMMAND
KKMC-	KING KHALID MILLITARY CITY
CINCCENT-	COMMANDER IN CHIEF CENTRAL COMMAND
WHNS-	WAR TIME HOST NATION SUPPORT
SSO-	SPECIAL SUCURITY ORGANIZATION
SRG-	SPECIAL REPUBLICAN GUARD
GPS-	GLOBAL POSITIONING SYSTEM
IFF-	DENTIFICATION OF FRIEND OR FOE
ISI-	INTER SERVICES INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
CAOC-	COMBINED AIR OPERATIONS CENTRE
JFACC-	JOINT FORCES AIR COMPONENT COMMANDER
UAV-	UN ARMED VECHICAL
JDAM-	JOINT DIRECT ATTACK MUNITION
PGM-	PRECISION GUIDED MINITION
RTTF-	REAL TIME INFORMATION FLOW
HCG-	HITTING THE CECTRE OF GRAVITY
HDR-	HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS
ISR-	INTELLIGENCE, SURVEILLANCE AND RECONNAISSANCE
UNRWA-	UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORK AGENCY FOR THE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST

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justification of study

"We study the day before yesterday in order that yesterday may not paralyze today and today may not paralyze tomorrow."-I.W. Maitland.

1. Middle East is the place of the most bloody ethnic conflict of the last century, which attracted the attention of all people of the world. The soil of Middle East has inspired a huge lot of blood of the Arab and Jews for the question of co-existence and religion. But unfortunately, the player of the world remained silent and so far didn't take any bold action to solve the problem. The result goes the worse towards the Palestinians who lost their country and identity as a nation and somewhat to the Israelis who live in tension and unrest.

2. The Arab world, which at time took many military move against Israel, are now apparently silent and looking towards the west to take initiative. But it is very true that, the lack of co-ordination and selfishness among the Arab states made them unable to control the situation from the very beginning. On the other hand, Jews who control the media all over the world and established strong influence in the Govt of western countries headed by USA could bring the morale and military support in favour of them. As a result, though the general mass of the people of the world don't favour Israel due to it's violation of human rights, the country is doing many unjustified moves against the poor and helpless Palestinians.

Aim And Objective

3. The aim of this reasearch paper is to high light middle crisis and pace efforts. A case study of the post cold war period. Effort has been taken to find out the major reason of middle crisis, A case sutdy of the post cold war period finally what are the peach efforts have been taken to resolve the conflict. This reesearch work is a modern and tiemly taken step which help our policy maker to take right decesion in case of crisis. Not only that in this research work in resent arena all most all the war which took part in the middle east were taken into consderation and what are the lesson learn from the war were brefly discussed. This will give a right guidance of our government to steer the right cource in cause of crisis like Middle East. This reasearch work will examine all most all major war like Arab Israel war, Labanon war, Gulf war, Iraq war.

4. The reasearch paper will examine the various dimension of the Middle East crisis in general and the Israel - Palestine conflict in particular. While discussing the Israel and Palestinian problem a historical overview of the conflicting parties will be discussed. Later different peace treaties / initiatives will be highlighted. Finally present situations will be analyzed to look for the prospect of peace in the Middle East. The research work will be accomplished putting forward the following aim and objectives:

- To focus on Justification of middle east crisis and peace affort.
- To highlight Middile east the Focal point of international politics.
- Palestine country overview to get the real picture of the land of Palestine.
- To fcous on people in Palestine, what are the difficulties there are facing and massacres against the Palestininan people.
- To mention briefly state of Israel.
- To highlight on Palestinian struggle against Zionist project and at the same time the history of Arab Israel wars.
- To highlight US foreign policy to Middle East and their impact in the region.
- To focus Iran crisis and the impact of Nuclear power plant of Iran.
- To give detail history of Gulf war and lessons for Bangladesh Armed Forces.
- To give definition of terrorism and the war against terrorism.
- To give detail history of Iraq war, its military aspect and leasson learnt.

- To give detail description of the peace process and the peace effort so far has

been taken as per chronological sequence.

- To give Prospect of peace effort.
- Finally Conclusion and Recommendations.

Application

5. Middle East remains to be the focal point of global attention due to Palestine problem. The problem started with the establishment of Zionist state of Israel on 14 May 1948 which displaced a large number of Arab particularly Palestinians. Five Arab armies in support of Lebanon attacked Israel but at the end Israel captured huge Arab territory making 800,000 Palestinian refugees. Arab-Israel War in 1967, Yom Kippur War in 1973 and Israel invasion of Lebanon in 1982 made the problem more complicated.

6. The Palestine problem is a deep-rooted and complicated one. It is difficult to analyse such an issue within the scope of this research paper. However, firstly, an attempt will be made to narrate the genesis of the problem with emphasis on its background history. Secondly, various conflicts and peace efforts will be discussed briefly along with factors that affect the peace process. Finally, the road to peace and its prospects will be discussed.

7. Though the peace process started with Madrid Peace talk but it could not bring any break through. Signing of Oslo treaty in 1993 marks the major break through. In this accord both Israel and PLO recognized each other and made a positive turn in their policies. Over the years a number of peace plan, peace missions, agreement, accord etc were signed by the different government and international organizations but could not bring any practical solution on this crisis.

Area of Study

8. Regarding Area of Study I have given importance following aspect

a. I have given my maximum effort to collect information from the field level (Who are deployed Middle- East for UN Mission purpose, Bangladeshi people who are served there for leading there life). Though it is not possible to complete the survey of Middle East Crisis with in a short span of time. I would like to thanks to collect information from the field level person who were really present in time of crisis/war. Not only that a close observation was given to the Palistine crisis and its impact area of Middle East. For these reason I have to read different books, Journals and Magazines.

b. It should be borne in mind that the Palestinian problem is a very complex one, marked by a series of developments with confusing rapidity. Over the year the search for a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israel conflict by different quarters has been associated by with a number of peace plans, proposals, agreements, diplomatic initiatives and missions. Despite all these efforts, no practical solution could be sought until recently to resolve the issue so as to bring reconciliation between the hostile groups. The signing of an accord between Palestine and Israel in September 93 marked the major breakthrough in the peace process. Another peace accord also was in May 94 making a positive move for a lasting peace in the Middle East. The latest move by US president George W Bush in resolving the problems indicates the significance and importance of the peace in the region. There also exist positive signs that both the belligerents are proceeding to some sort of settlement. I have given my best effort in my research paper present in front of the reader to give real picture about the Middle- East crisis and peace effort.

c. I would like to thanks to collect information from the field level person who were really present in time of crisis/war. My Glorious service has given me an opportunity to talk with the military persson for service reason who were present in the war field, specially they were deployed for peackeping purpose. They have huges experiences about the Middle- East Crisis in there own nacked eyes. As a military officer they get an inherent service opportunity to deployed all most all the conflict area. Though it is no possible to give a complete picture with in a short span of time. Not only that a close observation was given to the Israel - Palistane crisis and pace effort. For that reason I have taken interview with them who are really present in time of war. I also taken interview with expert political person who has vast knowledge about their specific arena and given some information. Finally few advice which will enhance my horizon in greater aspect.

Research Methodology

9. Following technique are used during Research Methodology

a. **Nature of the Study** . The methodological approach to this research will be designed mainly as qualitative in nature, based on qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

b. **Data Collection Techniques**. Data will be collected through primary and secondary sources; Contents analysis, case study, observation and interview techniques will be used as tools of primary data collection. During primary data collection I have also taken interview people of the effected area who Knew Ins and out of that area. I have also taken interview policy level maker to implement the policy, give new idea and suggestion to the policy level. I have also given my personal observation. Contents of different books article, journals and daily newspaper will be scrutinized first during data collection process.

Methodology

10. The triangulation techniques will be applied in this study. Relevant documents, books, journals and worldwide website will be used as secondary sources for collection data. The research will be accomplished using the following methodologies:

a. **Content Analysis**. Analyzing the contents of different books, journals, daily news papers, periodicals and other documents relating to the issue.

b. **Interview**. By interviewing of different categories of persons who are the contraction parties and specialists in this field Level.

c. **Participant observation**. By observing directly the situations happening in this region.

Limitation

11. Following Limitation are overcome by me during research work

a. **Permission** As my research work will cover a vast area. To collect information from different sources and corner I have to faced several limitation. To acquire data form different field level permission is not obtain form higher authority and some cases it is not possible for me to enter that restricted area.

Dhaka University Institutional Repository
b. **Free movement.** As a research student I had some obstruction. All the time freedom of movement was not possible for me to collect information. Even though I tried my best level to enrich my research work to give reader a real picture.

c. **Time frame.** Time frame is given by the authority. With in this short span of time I had to cover a vast area. Within this time limitation my reasearch work will not enrich as it I desire but my who hearted effort was continued to enrich this research work.

Chapterization

12. To complete my research work I have discussed Twenty chapter In chronological sequence one by one to gave my message to reader and the higher authority. Finally I gave some recommendation and suggestions in my research paper.

Conclusion

13. It now remains to be seen, how effectively peace can be restored in the region. There is no doubt that a great dive towards the attainment of peace has been achieved but it is only a beginning of the whole process. There are many hurdles and unresolved factors lay ahead to be settled. Israel and the Palestine have to exhibit a great deal of tolerance and tenancy to achieve the desired outcome. The foresightedness of chosen Prime minister Mahmood Abbas and statesmanship of Sharon remains a large factor to steer the course to the cherished goal. Any wrong handling may let loose the course and put the peace process into danger. **"Israel and PLO have a baby in common now"** says an Israeli novelist Amozoz', **"They may not love the baby but both depend on its welfare,"**

14. The recent proposed road-map has generated the hope for peace in the region. The involvement of the only super power, the USA and the support of other developed world can bring the two fighting parties in a negotiation table. The declaration of Hamas and Islamic Jihad in end of suicidal attack is the visible positive step towards the fulfilment of the pre-condition of road-map. But the construction of proposed boundary wall by Israel, dilemma in releasing of Palestinian detainees, side lining of Arafat makes every peace-loving citizen negative about the prospect of peace.

Middle East: The Focal point of International Politics**Introduction**

1. During the last half of the 20th century, The Middle East in the region which has become the focal point of international politics. With discovery of enormous oil in some countries. Political configuration and Geo-strategic location political configuration have brought the region at the forefront in the broader realm of international politics. Because, the Middle East has consistently appeared to be the most unstable and strategically alarming region in the whole third world, in post war politics.¹

Countries and boundary

2. Total area of the region is five million square miles. Total Population near about thirty crore of people of whom ninety percent are Muslims. The Middle East is constituted of 22 Countries whom 19 are Arab and three-Iran, Israel and Turkey- are non Arab. The region covers the area and countries from Morocco and Algeria in the west to Afghanistan in the East, Turkey and Iran in the north and Yemen and Sudan in the south.²

Factors making the region focal point of international politics

3. The important factors that made the Middle East most essential region in the greater area of international politics and economics may be summed up under the following heads:

a. **Geo-strategic location of the region.** Strategically Middle East is very important which can provide a lot of weight to the country controlling it in the broader system of the balance of power, because,

First, it is located at the intersection of three countries Asia, Africa and Europe and bounded by Turkey, Pakistan and the Horn of Africa. So, the hegemonic presence of a super power in the region means it's advantageous position in the border system of the balance of power.

Second, the communication channels of the region are more favorable from where one can move throughout the world easily by any means of communication-road, air, navy etc. Surrounded by five seas and two oceans, the region is easily accessible by sea. The short sea crossings like Turkish straits, the Suez canal, Bab-al-mandeb and the strait of Hormoz are famous for international water communication, trade and commerce.

Third, the former super power soviet Union and the European super powers are adjacent to the region. Even the threatening Islamic rival states of the west also are situated in the region. The region therefore is considered most crucial area in the international politics and relations.³

Oil-the Life blood of Industrial Societies

4. The former US secretary of defense Harold brown regarded oil from the Persian Gulf as constituting. The lifeblood of modern industrial societies and believed that the loss of this to the economics of the west and the industrialized far East would be a blow of tragic proportions.

5. The US oil supply has been declining since 1970s. The only producer with a oil resource which may be capable of keeping oil flowing in the world market at a roughly constant level are the middle East OPEC five Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and UAE.

6. Thus, almost all the ^{Dhaka University Institutional Repository} superpowers, both political and economic and even the developing countries always try their best to ensure cheap flow of oil and sometimes result into clashes among themselves.⁴

Explosiveness of the region

7. The Middle East was, maybe, the scene of a greater degree of inter-state war than any other region of the world in the post 1945 period. The Arab-Israeli wars, Iraq's invasion of its two neighbors, the Suez crisis 1956 and present turmoil in Afghanistan saw to that. At present, almost all the super powers, especially America, is playing the conspiring role to safeguard their geo-strategic and economic interests behind the curtail of peace making and deliberation. The region, therefore, has become most explosive region in the world, internally as well as externally, that threatens the greater regional security and makes the world concerned about it.⁵

A potential market for arms business

8. The Middle East is the destination of the majority of arms exports, creating enormous benefits for politically influential arms manufactures of arms exporting countries like USA, Britain, Russia, France and others. The countries of this region spent annually about 15 percent of their GNP on arms purchases. The prime motives behind the arms business in the region are as follows:

- a. Building political alliances with other Countries Arms sales are of an important component, especially with the military leadership of recipient countries.
 - b. Superpowers manufactured systems on the ground getting strategic benefit.
 - c. Arms sales are essential of supporting military industries.
 - d. To ensure the smooth flow of oil smooth transformation of arms and arms build up is essential.
- so, all the super powers are not interested in maintaining peace in the region but a volatile situation requiring more arms to contain each other.⁶

Religious and ideological concern

9. Middle East is the birth place of three monotheistic that played important role in the history and politics of the region for three religions-Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Thus, the holiest places of three monotheistic religions are located in this region which enhanced its importance. Besides, it is the centre of the Muslim world passing the threat to west after collapse of USSR. Such an ideological configuration of the region has made it the hot bed of world politics.⁷

The Palestine issue

10. Israel is considered as the cancer of world peace. The long standing conflict regarding Palestine between Israeli Jews and Arab Muslims is an important concern in the greater area of international politics. From the very beginning, the super powers, especially American support for Israel and Arab refusal to accept its existence in the region has resulted into some wars and till today such conflict is persistent in the region.⁸

The incidence of terrorism

11. In common with third world as a whole, violent relationship with the metropolitan countries, and the tension generated within the Middle Eastern societies by this contact, have led to recurrent waves of popular unrest and mobilization against the forces of

external domination and against those who have cooperated with them, Such anti hegemonic, anti western impulses sometimes result into hijacking kidnapping and bombing of civilians and western establishments and such actions mainly carried out by militants of a variety of ideologies. At present, the American war against Afghanistan by the name of rooting out terrorism, has create a dimension of tension in the region.⁹

Probable area of third world war

12 The years after 1970 provided event after event that placed the Middle east at the forefront of international politics great After collapse of soviet communism, the red threat, western invention of new enemy, the Muslim world as danger, has contributed to create and enmity between Muslim world and the west, The OPEC price rises in 1971-73, the Iranian revolution, the Arab Israeli wars, the Iran-Iraq Iraq war of 1980-88 and the Gulf war of 1990-91.and recently developments with the New York tragedy and US attack on Afghanistan, At present context of International Politics, middle East a probable ground for third world war,reason behind the screen American war against Muslim world by the name of rooting out terrorism, continuous tension in Palestine and internal disputes.¹⁰

Observation

13. The importance of the Middle- East is far widen, multidimensional and multifaceted which transcends its' geographical boundaries. It has gained so much importance and acquired such a position in the world politics today that no intelligent, independent and pragmatic foreign policy can be formulated by any country, The world is now divided into certain regions based on several criteria as geographical, strategic, diplomatic and economic importance south and south east Asia, Latin America, Africa the Middle East, Among east or west, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, Muslim or non-Muslim by passing and ignoring the Middle East.¹¹

14. In this new century the Middle East will not only preserve it's importance rather it's significance may be increased for it's leadership of the Muslims. The regions oil resources will allow the region to retain it's importance in the world economy However, every proposition regarding future role of the region depends largely on unity of the countries of the region and their success in removing misunderstanding as exist today,So, the oil richer middle east countries should no longer allow themselves to be the put up at the hands of imperialist powers. They should take lesson form the hostile and bitter past.¹²

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The Land Of Palestine

1. Since the seventh century most of the population of Palestine were devoted in the light of Islam. They start to lead this life in the style of Islam and Joined successive Muslim rule until 1917. After the collapse of ottoman state, when Palestine came under the British mandate, Zionist start thinking to create a Jewish home in Palestine. The name of the state will be Israel. It was a long cherished desire for the Zionist. They invite lot of Zionist to immigrant in the land of Palestine and invade the Palestine.

2. It is the area located in the southwestern post of Asia. It is border by Lebanon from the north, Syria north east, Jordan east, the red sea south. This is The land where people witnessed civilization of human history. The city of Jerico that was established ten thousand years ago. It was inhabited by the sea immigrants named philistines and Canaanites who integrated with them later on. This area was taken over by the Romans, the Jews, the moguls and the Christian crusades.

3. After the end of British mandate in 1948, the area become subject to a military dispute between the local Arab people and the immigrant Jews. The establishment "state of Israel" occupied 77% of the land area and the 9,000,00 local Arab become interdisplacement. Since from there lot of was took place against Arab state. After emerge of the state Israel maintain direct military occupation of the hole of the Palestine and of some area of Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. But this occupation was resistance by the. Continuous civil and military. That brought the area into focus and reserved for it a significant place in the world media and news.¹

4. This Research paper will try to introduce with you Palestine and its people and their struggle through all aspect and on the countary Zionism and the Zionist state and their root over 80 years of old dispute.

Palestine The Name

5. In the 12th Century be, who came from the southern Greek Islands were known as the "people of the sea". They enter into the Mediterranean sea area and immigrant them self is known as Palestine. They are reffered to as the PLST, the N was added later possibility to pluralize the noun previously the land name was canan, and after arrival of the new settlers the name of the land charge. They given the name Palestine. Through out the Muslim rule Palestine had been integral part of Syria. Sykes-picot agreement between French and British divided the ottoman state. New boundaries were set by the British colonization (1918-1948). With the help of French British agreement in 1920 final border of Syria and Lebanon were set. Jordan Boarder were fixed by the British high commissions in 1922 and Egypt Border were set by the ottoman and Egyptian khedive in 1908.²

Geography an Climate

6. Palestine's are generally divided in to four geographic zone. The total area of Palestine is 27009 km² among them 704 km² of water Surface.

- a. **The Coastal area:** It is one of the most fertile areas of Palestine it has having four seasons. It is ideal for growing fruits and flowers. The attitude of this area is 180m above sea level plain land along the Mediterranean from north of south.
- b. **The mountain area:** This area is colder then the coastal one but the

weather condition is that it really enjoy the Mediterranean climate. The area is Ideal for growing grains, beans figs, olives and grapes. The highest attitude of this area 1208 meter. It located to the east of the coastal area.

c. **Al-Ghour (The Rift valley):** Jordan rives divided it eastern and western past in Jordan and Palestine Consecutively. Al-Ghour is a fertile land ideal for growing vegetables, fruits and dates. The dead sea is the saltiest sea on the earth and does not contain any form of marine life. It is also known as Jordan valley. It is generally hot and relatively dry all round the world. ³

The desert Area

7. Al-Naqal covers the area between Hebron cast and Gaza west and extended to the northern. Coast of the Red sea it occupied almost half area of the Palestine Al-Naqal is hot and dry with some wind driver sands.

8. Palestine is a unique geographical location with four different climates. The lowest point on the earth and the mountain 1200m attitude above sea level is available here world wonder the dead sea is salinities sea is situated here and does not contain any marine life. All the special features are added in this small place of land Palestine that connect Asia and Africa and compremise more than 27,009 Km2.⁴

Main cities

9. Palestine has been center of civilization most of the civilization activities were concern in the coast and the mountains 8000 BC the first city jericho was establish it is the main city of the Jordan velly.

The Holy Land

10. Palestine is the holy land among all others land in the world. More than half of the world population believed that Palestine is the holy land. In religious point of view (Islam, Christianity and Judaism). It is also a holy place.

For Jews

11. The grandfather of the tribes prophet Jacob (yaqub, peace be upon him) is the land where he lived in his childhood. It is the land in which they lived under the righteous rule of prophets David (Dawud) and his son solomon (sulayman). It is the land from where escaped with mosses (Musa). from the pharaoh. Israel and Juda they establish their kingdom and later on destroyed by the Assyreans and the Babylonians.

For the Christians

12. Jesus of Nazareth (Isa) was born in the land of Palestine. He transmits his méssage to the world. For Recovery of human kind and resurrected he died on the cross, Christians narrate this story from the beginning until the and of their names. The name of his birth place is church of bethlehem.

For Muslims

13. Muslim fairly believed that yaquab (Jacob) yusuf(Joseph), Dawud (David), Sulayman (Solomon), Yusha and Isa (Jesus) all the prophet who are in the favor of good and fight against final form of what they preached. As per the opinion of the Muslim Palestine is the land of prophets among the prophets mentioned is the Quran and Sunnah 14 lived, preached and died their or Passed through it.⁵

Al-Aqsa mosque

14. It is the first Qibla (The direction to which Muslim pray). It is situated in the Al- Quds (Jerusalem) in the heart of this land. It is third holy place in the Islam. Preceded by Al-Haram in Mecca and the prophets mosque in modina. The first two holy mosque is situated in the Saudi Arabia. A mosque build is the earth after Al-kala in mecca.

15. Muslim have called in " The gate to the haven" From this land prophet Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) led the prophet in a night prayer in Al-Asqua mosque. Daily five prayers well obtained during this Journey. Palestine is the holy land and blessed in the Quran and Sunnah. This was and honor given to this land.⁶

Land under occupation

16. Reconstruction and relocation to change the identity of the land Israel carried out massive operation in form of disguise in order to establish this new state and change the identity of the land. They prepare it to accommodate the new owners who are coming from all around the world.

Land occupied in 1948.

17. First steps taken by the new Israeli administrator are to establish as institution called "The guard of Absentees property". The primary task of this guard was to distribute the properties of displaced Palestine among the new Jewish immigration; Houses and land were given to the Jewish. They form a communal farming community. The aims of this community were destroyed Palestine property so that no Arab will return under any circumstances. The rest of the properties remain in their home to be used for public interest. Moreover the development progress in the Arab areas poor and underdeveloped.⁷

Land occupied in 1967.

18. The land is subject to almost all the aggressive in the year on 1967 Israeli occupied land was in the environmental field. Palestine farmers were cultivating their land in the field. To deprive Palestine solders from their major source of income the Israel authorities annually uproot a huge number of trees. More than 70,000 acres of land were confiscated and around 2,82,000 trees were uprooted in the west bank alone. Not only has that Israel also followed the tactics of house demolition. This tactics was used as a weapon against the civil population in the west bank and Gaza during their first phase Palestinian houses were demolished to deter them and incite their own families against them during their second phase an attempt to minimize the Israel casualties. So far as Israel army had been completely demolished 616 Palestinian houses and 1211 partially destroyed. Beside these Israeli uses of international barred weapon against Palestinian civilians. "Israel" follows a policy of permanent topographic separation between Palestine and Jewish population huge safe passage are constructed in the Palestinian farming. Lands for the settler to correct them directly to "Israel."⁸

whose land is it

19. The Palestine land is disputed land more than 80 years dispute between local Arab population and the immigrant Zionist Jews. After lot of clash with Palestine managed to establish their own political entity the "state of Israeli". For doing this thing they have to done lot of massacre against Palestine people. Expending and depriving the indigenous population. Zionist fought six wars killing and displacing Palestine inside or even outside. Palestine who are escaping from Israel they enter in to the neighboring countries Syria or Jordon. As a result owner of the real land people become refuge. Afterwards refuge problem become a great problems, view of Zionist consider those killed and displaced as victim rather than consider that its action are legal and ethical. Let us now try to find out undisputable right.

20. Zionist Religious claims. As per the Zionist strong believed that god rewarded the Jews with the blessed land, The land of milk and honey. They establish their great kingdom with the desire of god. But from this holy land they were expelled by the Assyrians. Now as per strong believe of Zionist it is the time for the Jews to return to this land that was given to them by a divine decree, It is time for them to end their miserable two millenniums diasporas.⁹

21. **The Great Indigenous Muslim Majority Claims**

First: Muslim are the owner of this land who legitimate heirs of all prophet those are struggle of this land. Muslims are the most legitimate heirs because their relationship with prophet is inside their heart and faith not of language or race.

Second: Muslim believes that this land was given to the Jews on condition that they constitute a leading monotheistic paradigm based on the reveled teaching. But they did exactly by country to this rather they thought that Jews in the son of god. Since the condition was not fulfilled so god send his messengers to other people so that they believe the faith to humanity is a letter way then the children of Israel did. After that time right to the holy land went to these who lead this mission.

Third: If we quoted the belief of Jews that the land was given to the Ibrahim and his children ismail. Even though Arab has the right to use this land. Because all the prophet (Ibrahim, Ismail, Isa) are also the prophet of Islam and they have equal right to that of the Jews .

Forth: The Quran has explained clearly that meaning of choosing the progeny of Ibrahim for leadership.¹⁰

How Was The Land Lost

22. Palestinians are the real owner o the land. But the land was taken from them by the Zionist by adopting force. As a result Palestinians are become homeless and they become refuge in their own land. But a question arises in the mind why Palestine did not hold their land and what was the reason behind it. On the country if we asked the question to the Zionist then they will give a nice replay Palestine left their land willingly. Moreover it is not this land, Zionist are the real owner of this land. So they do not deserve it and mote. Before we comes anything of Judgment let us consider the following facts.¹¹

Before 1948

23. To achieve its long cherished goal the world Zionist organization utilized all its human resources all its material & political objectives. The main reason behind was "to create for the Jewish people a home in the Palestine secured by public the law ." The Zionist tried to offer financial aid to the ailing otoman state in return for facility Jewish immigration but sultan abdul hamid strictly refused it. Zionists managed to increase their political influence. In Britain, the us, point of view post ottoman modern turkey and many other countries for many different reason and many interest lying behind this. At the some time the deteriorating world condition huge number of Jews to migrate in search for better life. The world Zionist organization take all the initiative and allocate huge funds to buy land in Palestine and encourage the Jews to migrate in huge numbers.¹²

24. Now if you look back to the history then we can easily visualize that beginning of the 19th century the number of Palestine did not exceed 5000. Among them are mostly professionals and merchants those do not have any land there. But in the wear of 1918 the Zionists managed to acquire 42,000 hectares of land (1.56% of the area of Palestine) bribing the administrative personnel of the ottoman state.

25. Acquisition of land in Palestine, Jewish immigration special laws were issued under British colonization. Free in few of people, materials and weapon to the Jews. Permission is brained from British. On the other hand huge takes were imposed on the local Arab. They were not allowed to have weapons of to acquire lands and their movements were restricted. After doing lot of hard work and negotiation Palestinian manage to acquired 180,000 hectares, around 6.67% of the land before 1984. They acquire this land from rich feudal class mostly Lebanese and Syrian families. After words the great Palestine revolt was occurred dew to immigration of Jews and acquisition of land. Not only that Israel imposed lot of restriction of the Palestine movement. Finding other no means the British, relatively restricted Jewish immigration and Acquisition of land, but this lasted for a few years only.

26. After the expiry of the British mended in 1948 to resolve the conflict arises between Palestine and Israel the united nations has taken an attempt to guard against all military dispute. They suggested the establishment of two states in Palestine. One state in for Jews it covers 54% of the Palestine land. Most of the land are fertile and situated near the coastal area. Another on is Palestine 45% of the land , leaving the area of Al-Quds (jerusalem) under international control indeed the part on plan was extremely unfair to the Arab who has logically out rightly rejected it.¹³

After 1948

27. The end of British mended on 15 may 1948 the united nations issue partition plan in Nov 1947 which ignited confrontation between Israel and Palestine whole over the country. The Zionist declared the independent "state of Israeli" and war took place between the local Arab population and the colonial police force. This war witnessed some of the worst massacres after the world wars 77% of the Palestine land were occupied by the Zionist the remaining Palestine land come under the control of neighboring Arab countries. Gaza strip put under The Egyptian administration and the west bank arrested to Jordan. Israeli Army composed of Zionist gangs and it becomes the official Army of the new state and this official Army operate a operational plan the name of the plan is called ethnic cleansing plan. Called "plan Dalet." By the newly independent state. The Israeli Army committed 34 massacres and destroyed over 400 Palestinian villages, killing 13,000 civilians and forcing around 726,000 out of their homes. Those who were not killed were forced under threats of rifles and artillery to leave the place when the state of Israel was declared. The UN partition plan adopted in resolution 181. The proposed Jews state should have 498,000 Jews and proposed palatine should have 497000 Arab But later on high population growth rate

among Palestinian, around 10% at that time was definitely going to be an Arab state with Jews minority.¹⁴

28. After wards in the year of 1967 another war was took place between Israeli and its Arab neighbors. Consequence of that war was catastrophic "Arab Defeat" occupied the remaining 13 % of the land of Palestine. Not only that they also captured Sinai from Egypt and the Golan heights from Syria.

29. However, Palestinian resistance never stopped and the palatine people never gave up there rights they boat this continuous aggression and violation of human rights.

30. Now 77% of the land was occupied by the Israel in 1948 become the territory of internationally recognized "state of Israel" how much can the peace process give back to the Palestinians? This a big Question of Palestine to the peace processor who involve to establish the peace in the middle east. The current peace process based on as per united nation resolution is only concurs with the remaining.23% that is west bank and the Gaza strip. Now 77% of the Palestine is now non-negotiable and its 3.4 million people have been living in inhuman condition outside Palestine. They are totally omitted from the peace agenda since 1948.

31. After ward lot of negotiation took place between Israel and the Palestine for establishment in peace in the land of Palestine. But the progress rate is not up to the expected level rather it becomes very slow. Specially Israeli is very rigid in their point of view. The negotiation table is continuous doing its march to bring peace and stability in the Palestine. Table showing land gained throughout the 8 years of peace negotiation.¹⁵

Table showing land gained throughout the 8 years of peace negotiation

32.

Location	Total Area (in Km)	Area Gained (In Km ² only areas under full control area A -are calculated)	Ratio (Out of the total are of the mentioned location
Gaza strip	363	200	55%
West Bank	5876	1000	17%
Conventional (as defined by UN security council Resolutions I.e west Bank and Gaza strip)	6239	1200	19.3%
Historical Palestine (As defined by the boundaries drawn by British colonization	27009	1200	4.4%

Tab- 01Eight years of peace negotiation

Land under Occupation

33. In order to establish their new state, the Zionists carried out massive operations of disguise, reconstruction and reallocation to change the identity of the land, and prepare it to accommodate the new "owners" who flocked from all around the world. Excavations and construction of ancient-like sites started in order to create a history for the Jews in their home. Both the lands occupied In 1948 and 1967, suffered, to varying degrees, similar acts of distortion.¹⁶

34. As it was previously mentioned, the Jews managed, through deceptive propaganda, to persuade the whole world that the Palestinians had sold Palestine and so they no longer have the right to ask for it.

Did the Palestinians really sell their land?

35. It is suspected by the Jews that the Palestinians left their homeland during the 1948 war willingly responding to an Arab broadcasted call. It is claimed that the Jews asked them to remain there. To counter such claims, some points have to be highlighted as follows:

- a. **Firstly**, who denies civilians their right to naturally abandon their home in the case of war, especially on suffering from racial discrimination, in quest of safety waiting for the end of the war in order to return to their homelands?
- b. **Secondly**, suppose the inhabitants of any country leave their homes in the case of war. Does that deny them the right to return to their home at the end of the war? Why then the Bosnians, Afghans, Chechnyans and others were permitted to return to their land while the Palestinians are prohibited to do the same. Why did the international community compel the governments in those countries to allow the refugees to return where as the Israel is not obligated to follow these steps?
- c. **Thirdly**, if the Zionists really asked the Palestinians to remain in their homeland, why are they prevented from returning to it especially when they could no longer endanger the Israelis? Why did they take away their lands and allocated them to Jewish settlers from 90 countries. Why did they not prove their good intentions?
- d. **Fourthly**, the Jews claim that the Palestinians left their homes willingly. However, the Palestinians rejected to be nationalized in any other country except their land and now live in refugee camps. They spawned many revolutions and uprisings and procured tens of UN resolutions. Are all of that not enough to counter such a claim?
- e. **Fifthly**, if the Jews alleged that they have the right to return to Palestine after leaving it for 2000 years, why then do they deny the Palestinians their right to return to their homeland after leaving it for only a few years. If the return of the refugees to their home is a right that becomes invalid by recommendation, thus the right of the Jews to return to Palestine prescribed since a very long time.

Yet, did the Palestinians really sell their land to the Jews? Indeed to answer this question, some historical facts have to be illustrated:

- a. **Firstly**, The Jews build their claims on the illusion that "Palestine is a land without a nation for a nation without land". Reasonably, the Jews, as a landless nation, have the complete right to possess this land. However, Palestine at that time was a populous long-standing nation.
- b. **Secondly**, Sultan "Abd al-Hamid" issued a announcement to resist the Jewish immigration and settlement, the corrupted Ottoman administration prevented such a decree to be passed. Additionally, the Committee of Union and Progress that was nearly predominated by the Jews had the upper hand within the Ottoman Empire and so they facilitated the immigration of the Jews to Palestine and helped them possess lands there.

c. **Thirdly,** Those who had sold the land to the Jews were of four categories: first was the non-Palestinians feudatories who owned large lands there but they were prevented by the British authorities to go into Palestine to invest their own lands under the pretext of being foreigners after applying the Sykes Picot Agreement. This resulted in bestowing upon the Jews nearly 50% of the land they managed to purchase. Second was the land sold, by an auction, by the Ottoman Empire, due to its financial crisis, directly to the Jews themselves or to the non-Palestinian families that sold them, in turn, to the Jews for the above-mentioned reasons? Third was the extremely limited number of corrupt Palestinians who could not resist the allurements offered by the Jews and the British authorities. Fourth was the assistance of the British mandatory power that used to dispossess the Palestinians of their lands and grant them to the Jews free or at least for a not enough sum. Thus, all that the Jews could possess of the land of Palestine did not exceed 1% of Palestine between 1917-1948. The matter that indicates how far the Jews exerted great efforts to possess this land and how far the Palestinians resisted all these great efforts defending their own land.

36. However, the real reason for the loss of Palestine was not the selling of it by the Palestinians; rather it was the defeat of the Arab armies in the 1948 war that led to establishing the Israeli entity on 77% of the Palestinian land. Then, the Jews drove the Palestinians out, made them homeless and confiscated their lands. Then, they occupied the rest of Palestine after defeating the Arab armies in the 1967-war and also confiscated large lands under different pretexts.¹⁷

Islamic Stand

37. Since the early days of the struggle, Muslim scholars took a firm stand against selling land to Zionist individuals and for Zionist projects. Helping the Zionist to achieve their goals by any means was forbidden and considered a form of high duplicity. All lands under the Islamic rule are considered the property of all Muslims, "Waqf, and nobody has the right to give it up on their behalf. Palestine, being the holy land mentioned in the Qur'an, is of high regard and affection in the hearts of Muslims, and nobody is thus eligible to give a single meter of its land to foreign rule.

38. With this understanding, the Islamic Supreme Council, presided by the Palestinian scholar Haj Amin Al-Husaini, fought the Zionist project in every possible way. On the 25th of January 1935 they issued a Fatwa (an Islamic ruling) by consensus that condemned the selling of land to the Zionists a major sin that is equal to apostasy, Anybody who sells any piece of land to the Zionists, no matter how small it is, or facilitates by any means their acquisition Of the land,' is considered an apostate, who should not be buried in Muslim cemeteries and had to be boycotted in all fields of life. His actions should be made known to all, and the society should condemn him as an outcast. Following this fatwa, scholars around the Muslim world issued similar Fatwas supporting the above position, which thus became compulsory to all Muslims.

39. The Palestinian criminal law practiced by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), followed this ruling, and imposed capital punishment on all those who sell or facilitate selling of lands to the Zionists.

40. Peace with "Israel" is considered on the same level. Admitting "Israel's" right to exist means legitimizing its rule over 77% of the Muslim Palestinian land, which is not acceptable at all. When the peace process started in Madrid 1991, Muslim scholars assembled at a conference in Al-Aqsa mosque on 1 November 1991 and issued a Fatwa that condemned participation in the Madrid peace conference, or any other peace talks with "Israel"; such acts are as illegal (Haram) for 10 reasons. Amongst them is that this will lead

to admitting the right of "Israel" to exist as a state, it is a form of accepting injustice and of submission to enemies who fought and killed Muslims and continue to do so, it is a termination of Jihad (struggle in the way of God at all levels), a permanent obligatory duty on all Muslims until Doomsday, through which Muslims would be able to recover their lost lands, Many Fatwas rulings were also issued supporting this position.¹⁸

41. During the intifada of Al-Aqsa 2000, many Muslim scholars, including the famous Dr. Yusuf Al-Qardawi, reaffirmed the Islamic stand regarding dealings with the Zionists. Transactions with the Zionists, and those who support them, are forbidden as a form of deviance; and boycotting them shall remain an obligation until the restoration of all Muslim rights in Palestine.

42. The first Qibla of the Muslims (the direction to which Muslims pray) and the third holiest holy place of Islam; it comes after Al-Haram in Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. A Prayer in Al-Aqsa Mosque is equal to 500 prayers as the Prophet said. It is the second mosque built on earth after Al-Ka'ba in Mecca.

43. It is from this mosque that Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was escalated to heaven "Miraj" after he reached there from Mecca in his night journey "Isra"; since then Muslims called the city "the gate to the heavens". In this journey, Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) led the prophets one of three mosques to which Muslims should make the effort of travel.¹⁹

44. As its Arabic name indicates, it is the "far mosque" because it is located far away from the place where the call of Islam started. It was considered a mosque since the early beginning of Islam, almost 17 years before Islam reached its vicinity. Due to this uniqueness, the Qur'an gave it the name, Al-Aqsa. To encourage Muslims to visit, take care and honor this mosque, Prophet Muhammad, who died before Muslims control it, instructed the Muslims: "You should take the burden of travel to pray in Al-Aqsa Mosque, and those of you who cannot go, let them send oil to lighten it".

- a. Israeli" settlers, from Keryat Arbac settlement in Al-Khalil (Hebron), broke into Al-Aqsa and skirmished with the guards.
- b. An "Israeli"soldier, Eli Jethman, broke into the Dome of the Rock and shot down 2 guards, Muslims responded, and the incident led to the killing of 9 worshippers and the injury of 136.
- c. The worst massacre was on 8 October 1990 when "Israeli" soldiers killed 20 and injured 11 worshippers under the guise of protecting a Jewishgroup, called "Trustees of The Temple", that tried to lay down the foundation stone for the Third Temple.²⁰

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WHY THE ARAB WORLD IS SILENT

Introduction

1. The conscience of all human being to witness the killing of innocent children women and men in the Gaza. Israeli carried out massacre on Gaza can be described as modern day most disastrous thing done by the Israeli military since 2009 December when the conflict breakout nearly 1100 Palestinians (most of them civilian) were killed by the Israeli soldiers. On the Israeli point of view Hamas is a terrorist organization which fire rockets into the Israeli land as a surprise attack and killed a dozen Israeli. to take the revenge they carried out this operation.

2. The targeting of civilian in the Gaza is a war crime, this is not only the first time many a time Israeli did this same thing willingly. Israeli leaders could be tried by the international criminal court at the Hague for crime against humanity.¹

Why this attack?

3. Whole over the world eyes look towards Israel why this attack is carried out against Palestinian civilian people. The cease fire broke down when Israeli forces launched major air and ground attack in early November. Cease fire was taken place between Israel and Palestine was lifting the blockade and the stop of the rocket fire.

4. The present conflict is also politically motivated. The Labour party of Israel is trailing behind both Likud and Kadima parties in respect of popularity. The next election of Israel will be held in the next month. Therefore the defence minister Ehud Barak (The chairman of the party) started this war against Gazans in to boost his party in the election to prove his toughness against the Hamas. unnecessary killing the innocent Gazans.²

Realities on the ground

5. Palestine was never a land without a people Israel is continuously breaking the international law and continuously doing massacre against fundamental human right. On the back screen USA continuously providing support through diplomatic, economic and military support. The June ceasefire agreement has not been kept by the Israel. The economic blockade was not lifted. The life of the Gaza was precarious and humiliating

6. The Israeli war on the people of Gaza is not about firing rockets. Its purpose is really show the Iran how strong Israel is because humans supported by the Iran. As per this opinion Human is the only organization who consider as a terrorist group and they will carry out terrorist attack at any time, So keep them continuous as pressure and monitor the movement of Hamas is the only way point to stop rocket fire.³

Hamas struggle for

7. After creation of Hamas in 1987 struggles for justice and fire play. Israel has been in illegal occupation since (1948 to 1967). USA is blindly support to the Israel. So Israel does not care world opinion.

8. One of the world most densely packed place and today this place in firmly scaled human pressure cooker because of Israeli economic blockade. Most of the people of Gaza were refugees driven by Israeli military to Gaza in 1948. The Territorial area of Gaza is 140 square miles. Total population is 1.5 million, more than half are under the age of 18 are struggling several movements restriction further ignited by the Israel. Israel put strong

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barricade in the area, export and imports, movements of people in and out. Not only that Israel also monitor and control over Gazas airspace and sea control and its force enter the area at will. As Gaza is blocked by the Israeli state the peoples are suffering a lot like problem of sanitation, health, water supply and tress plantation. The economic blockade by Israel to Gaza is inhuman.⁴

Recent incident

Israel attack the Gaza ship

9. The Israeli attack the aid carrying ship to Gaza killing at least 10 people and injuring many has carried anger all over the world. People living in Gaza have been passing horrible days with the blockade enforced by the Israel. Poor Palestine even have enough drinking water to drunk. The blockade imposed by the Israel in the area allow not more than a quarter of the minimum requirement in Israel views many things people in Gaza demand are not essentials.

10. A six ship flotilla, carrying 10,000 ton of aid, mostly house building & repair materials like cement and bits. Israeli armed force were dropped by helicopter on the deck of the largest vessel in the flotilla. The ship was 64 Km out of sea very much in the international water immediately after boarding the ship. The Israeli commander killing at least 10 passenger in a dramatic style. Doing this type of horrible act Israel earn condemnation from the whole world. UN chief ban KI-moon said he was shocked by report of killing and in juries and called for a full investigation.⁵

11. On the other hand Israeli prime minister express his view that soldiers were attacked with axes, knives, bars and guns, world must not remain condition after doing such a horrible task done by the Israel.

World must take action against Israel

12. The super power take USA UK, china, Russia should not remain keep mum where Israel broken all the rules and regulation and by the human kind for the peace concern. If acts of aggression by North korea America of any other super power react seriously and appeal for restriction imposed upon the country. Like same style Israeli aggressions are observed and measure by them form a similar point of view. If condemn were put against the Iranian president for his belligerent attitude. if sanction being suspend against Iran now put in to place against Israel, The only aggressor on the middle cast but how long the world can afford to keep mum? how long should the international community wait to seat boy cott Israeli goods and services? How long should Palestinians suffers Israeli operation and aggression? should USA condemn the acts of Israel and treat the country as a pariah? has the USA the guts to withdraw all their financial and military aid to Israel America can neither condemn Israel nor does it have the guts to annoy Israel. whole over the world are looking towards the USA when she will give answer above mention all the questions.⁶

Reason for Arab world silence (case study)

13. There are many reason for silent behaviors of the Arab world. These are given below.

- a. **First.** Iran hold over the human who control the Gaza. If Human is destroyed Iran influence on the process of Palestine peace will be drastically reduced.
- b. **Second.** The Arab world wants to de link human from Iran. Sunnis is being strongly supported by Iran.

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- c. **Third.** Most of the weapon of the Arab states are supplied by the us and these can not be used against Israel.
 - d. **Forth.** Us provide billions of dollars as aid to Egypt and Jordan, and many of Arab rules depend on the us for the continuation on their rule and therefore they do not wish to annoy the us by taking any action against its strongest ally in the region.
 - e. **Fifth.** Essential elements of uniting all Arab is a paramount factor for successful running of the union. At present Arab league is divided the reasons behind is that competition for the leadership in the Arab world is still going on among certain states.
 - f. **Sixth .** Arab oil producing countries export oil to the us. The USA also establish a strong foot hold in the middle east so that they control the Oil in the middle east. They don't want to any disturb regarding export & import oil aspect. The whole over the world are running economic crisis, as a result Arab countries are also facing financial trouble. The demand for oil is getting low day by day. Most of this budget based on oil price.
 - 9- **Seventh.** USA and Russia both super power having reserve 90% of the oil in their country. They seven west for exploring, extraction of oil. They keep these oil reserve for the future generation. In stand of extraction oil they keep it reserve condition. This may be another strategy for super power they are exploiting the middle east oil. When the oil will finish in this region at that time they will state extracting oil for their own and future generation need. That time whole over the world begging to USA for getting oil.⁷

Conclusion

14. Israel's present policy, best described as "shoot first and explain later" is consistent with Israeli policy historically, because it has always known that big powers would not say anything.

15. The European union HIGH Representative for Foreign Affairs Catherine Aston called for an investigation into the events and the immediate lifting of the blockade of Gaza. The world has reacted angrily to the Gaza flotilla events and so it should. It should also express harsher sentiments on the three-year blockade of the Gaza strip, which amounts to collective punishment forbidden under international law. It is likely, too, that Israel will pay a small price in the short term for its actions. These codemmnations are symbolic only and are ineffective in the long term. They need to be followed by decisive actions that will send a message to Israel that the world is not willing to tolerate this any more.

16. Arab observers say that the big powers have to share part of the blame for the killing of innocent civilians on the flotilla on international waters (the ships were 117 kilometres from the coast of Israel), as the vicious Israeli aggression that violates every norm in our society is being effectively condoned. Palestine was never a land without a people. Israel is persistently and grossly breaching international law and infringing upon fundamental human rights with the impunity afforded to it by the diplomatic, economic and military support of big powers.⁸

17. Israel snubs the US publicly because Israel is fully aware that no Us administration can go against Israel because of the strong Jewish lobby in the Congress.

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CHAPTER - FIVE **PEOPLE IN PALESTINE**

Historical Composition of the People of Palestine

1. The first trace of life in Palestine dates back to 500,000 years ago, during the Lower Paleolithic era, and since then, life has continued in this land consistently for most of the time. Successive migrations brought different peoples to this land: Semitic migrations from the Arabian Peninsula in 3000-2500 B.C. brought the Jebusites, Amorites, Phoenicians and the Canaanites, who formed most of the population of Palestine, and gave the land their name. Immigrants from the Aegean Sea, and the Southern Greek islands settled in Palestine around 1200 B.C. and mixed with its local people. The new immigrants were known as the Philistines, and the current name of the land, "Palestine", is derived from their name.

2. Jews came to Palestine around 1200 B.C. and managed to establish their rule for sometime over the local people. However, their rule ended soon at the hands of the Assyrians and the Babylonians who destroyed the Jewish Kingdoms and transferred their population to Mesopotamia and Persia. During the Byzantine rule some Greeks settled in Palestine and integrated with the local people. Muslims came later on and brought with them some Arab immigrants from the tribes that participated in opening the area for Muslim rule (conquering the area), Subsequently, during the time of the Crusades, some Crusaders took advantage of Saladin's offer to stay unarmed, and settled there. During the long period of Muslim rule, many Turks, Kurds, Chechens, Bosnians, Sudanese and Moroccans came as visitors to Palestine, but they were so attracted by the beauty of the country that they decided to stay in. This mosaic of people, form the ancestors of today's Palestinians, elements of these groups are present in today's Palestinian people in varying degrees. Historians today trace the overwhelming majority of Palestinians, especially villagers, to the Canaanites, the Philistines and the Arab tribes.

3. Under the shadow of Muslim rule, a Palestinian and non-Palestinian Christian minority lived in Palestine for a long time, safely and tranquilly. Furthermore, Islamic tolerance embraced Jews too they were deemed Dhimmis (Non- Muslims living in and under the protection of a Muslim state). They were a small minority with no political aims. The evidence for that is their number at the very beginning of the 19th century that did not exceed 5000. However, it reached 23000 immediately before intensive immigration to Palestine (around 1880.)¹

Contemporary Composition

4. Exactly like their lands, Palestinian people are today scattered across the borders of their catastrophes. While other peoples present their composition in terms of religious and ethnic groups, the Palestinians of today, as a homeless people, base their presence on the place of their residence, particularly so on two major historical, but catastrophic events, namely the wars of 1948 and 1967. Each war resulted in two groups: those who left and those who remained. The Palestinian people are thus divided into:

Palestinians of 1948 or Arabs of "Israel"

5. They are the Palestinians who managed to stay in their homes and came under "Israeli" rule after the 1948 war. They numbered only 156,000, while the rest fled their homes in quest of safety. Since the new lords of the land named it "Israel", those Palestinians became known as the "Arabs of Israel", who hold "Israeli" passports, but are considered second-class "Israeli" citizens. Their number was estimated to be 1,230,000 people in 2002.²

6. Generally, when the word "refugees" is used, it refers to those displaced in the year 1948. The 1948 war, which took the form of ethnic cleansing, led to the displacement of 726,000 Palestinian refugees directly after the war, who had sharply increased to 900,000 in the following months. The total number of those refugees today (2002) is estimated at 5,000,000 who are dispersed in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, while others went to Palestinian areas that were not occupied in the 1948 war. Though the latter nominally live in Palestine, they are practically refugees because the place they call home has been taken by "Israel" (and given to Jewish immigrants who now call it home!). Thus, when we say that the population of the West Bank and Gaza is 3,485,000 we have to remember that around 1.6 million of them are refugees waiting to go home.³

The Palestinians of 1967

7. The Palestinians of 1967 or "the Palestinian insiders" are those who still live inside their land. Today they total around 1,885,000 (2002 est). They, together with part of the refugees who came from lands occupied in 1948 (1.6 millions), form the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. These are the people who are suffering from direct military occupation, and who gallantly stood against oppression in the first and second intifadas.⁴

Displaced Persons

8. Palestinians who were forced to leave after the 1967 war are called displaced persons to distinguish them from those who left in 1948. However, both are refugees who cannot access their home. Yet, among the displaced persons, there are "refugees" of those who fled in 1948 to other Palestinian areas that had not then fallen under occupation, but were ' subsequently forced to leave again when these lands were occupied. Thus, they were first expelled as refugees, then as displaced. No matter what "technical" name is given to them, they witnessed the journey of misery twice in a lifetime! The displaced persons directly after the war were 330,000, and the number is estimated today around 1 million.

9. The Palestinian refugees who live outside Palestine, together with the displaced persons, form one group that is the Palestinians in the Diaspora, who cannot go to any part of Palestine, be it home or not. We have mentioned here many classifications that you might find tiring to understand, yet, they are much more difficult to experienced. After this discussion, it is clear that only 2.7 million ' Palestinians (out of 9.5) live in their real homes, the rest are refugees in one form or another, with different technical titles, and varying distance from home, Those who live inside Palestine are a bit closer to home but not at home, while those who live in Jordan are away from the whole geographical territory of their homeland. Geographically, the Palestinians are scattered in three major localities:

a. Those living inside the lands occupied in 1948 (category 1 above) who are about 1,230,000 and constitute 12.89% of the total Palestinian population.

b. The Palestinians living in the Palestinian lands occupied in 1967 (category 3 and part of category 2 above). They are 3,485,000 or 36.51% of the total Palestinian population.

c. The Palestinians living outside Palestine (category 4 and part of category 2 above), about 4,830,000 or 50.6% of the total Palestinian population.

10. The total number of Palestinians worldwide is estimated to be 9,545,000. Among them only 2.85 millions. (29.9%) live in their real homes (census 2002). In presenting this section we will follow the second geographical division according to place of residence, which forms

Important Note

11. It is important to note here that due to the dispersion of the Palestinians across many countries, we do not have exact figures of their numbers, and all what we give in this section are the most reliable estimations. Palestinian people generally have a high level of population growth, around 3.5% yearly, which is considered among the highest in the world. It is an average of the growth rate in most Palestinian communities: in Gaza (4%), West Bank (3.48%), Jordan (generally 3%, but higher in the Palestinian camps), Syria (generally 2.54%, but higher in the Palestinian camps) and Lebanon (generally 1.38%, but higher in the Palestinian camps), and most estimations are based on this growth rate, Palestinian women also have a high fertility rate; in Gaza, for example, it is 6.42 children per woman, the highest rate in the world. Despite, or may be because of, their misery, Palestinians have a high rate of literacy (over 90%) and around 40% of them are in schools today.⁶

Palestinians Living in Territories Occupied in 1948

12. After the war of 1948, around 56,000 Palestinians managed to escape ethnic cleansing and stay at home. However, "home" was no longer the same, it is now called "Israel" where they now form a minority for the first time in their history. After the war, the Palestinian social structure was shattered, and almost 500 villages were destroyed and deserted. Besides, these Palestinians were transferred within "Israel" from their original territory to other towns in order to deprive them of their property. However, the Israeli entity denies all these facts. They further endeavored to prove the myth of the "nationless land" through preventing any publication tackles this point.⁷

How does the "Israeli" society deal with them?

13. Palestinians who remained inside "Israel" are seen as aliens who do not belong to the land, as they practice a different religion and culture; indeed they represent the enemy. For many "Israelis", those Palestinians are considered an internal threat to "Israeli" security, thus they are not comfortable with their presence. Besides, Palestinians inside "Israel" remind them of the 1948 "independence war" that most "Israelis" see as their founding legend. Palestinians in "Israel" are living witnesses for the other side of this valiant legend: an ugly ethnic cleansing and inhumane transfer. Palestinian villages and towns that were not converted into "Israeli" settlements were completely destroyed, their houses, mosques and even graves, all had to vanish in order to conceal the moral challenge that faces the founding legend of the "Israeli" society.⁸

Based on the above, Palestinians are subjected to policies that pursue the following

14.
 - a. Adopting laws that make Palestinians feel like aliens and second class citizens.
 - b. Subjecting them to severe economic and security pressures to force them to leave.
 - c. Confiscating their properties and the Islamic endowment (Waqf) properties.
 - d. Trying to change their Arab Muslim identity and isolate them from the neighboring Muslim Arab environment.

15. Arab villages and districts were put under military administration, and declared closed military zones. Anybody who wishes to go in or out, even inhabitants of those areas, should obtain permission from the military governor. Curfew was imposed on these villages after 7 p.m. and those who did not obey were in danger of being shot. Indeed, during the 1956 Suez War, a total curfew was imposed on all these villages because their loyalty was

severely doubted in the case of the "Israeli" attack on Egypt that year. The curfew, however, was not communicated to the people of the Arab village of Kafr Qasem. Unknowingly, Arab farmers went to their work as usual, but when they came back they found "Israeli" guns awaiting them, and 49 people were killed in this massacre. The "Israeli" officer in charge of this massacre was tried in court and convicted for "negligence of duty", but he was extremely fined one Israeli penny (Agora), and the case was closed! "Israel" stopped working by this system in 1966, but discrimination against Arabs is still evident.⁹

Living Conditions

16. The outcome of these laws and practices was severe and far-reaching, but this did not attract the world's attention because they were enacted gradually and discreetly. The average land ownership for Palestinian individuals was 19 dunams (1 dunam 1000 m²) in 1945 it went down to 3.4 in 1950 and to 0.84 in 1981. Currently, more than 90% of the land inside "Israel" is closed to any form of Arab access; most of it is considered government land, and allocated to Jewish citizens. Palestinians resisted these policies in many uprisings of which the most famous was the revolt of 30 March 1976 in which 6 Palestinians were killed. This memorable day is known as the "Land's Day", and is a national day for all Palestinians.

17. Besides deprivation of properties, outcome of these discriminatory policies against Palestinians can be seen in all social spheres: government contribution to treasuries of local municipal councils in Jewish areas is 5 times more than in its Palestinian counterpart areas; subsidies given to "Israeli" farmers is 100 times more than those given to Arab farmers; among the 5000 university professors in "Israel" only 10 are Palestinians. Though the Palestinians represent 18.7% of the population of "Israel", only 5-8% of students at "Israeli" universities are Arabs. Among the 2400 executives government-owned companies only one is Palestinian among the 600 general managers of publicly owned "Israeli" factories none is Palestinian among the 1860 hip civil servants in the "Israeli" governmental body, 26 are Arabs and they work only in Islamic and Arab affairs offices; among the 20 towns in "Israel" that lack healthcare centers, 19 are Palestinians, and until 1976 there was only one Palestinian village provided with a drainage system. Besides all this injustice, "Israeli" laws associate many privileges and subsidies with military conscription: and those who do not enroll in the military service are denied most of these privileges. Since the Palestinians form most of this group (Palestinians do not serve in the army by virtue of an agreement, between the Palestinians and the Zionists), they are automatically deprived of them. Furthermore, the civil infrastructure in most Arab areas is neglected; electricity, water and communication services are unreliable. 48% of Arabs live below the poverty line and the rate of unemployment among them is 22%, (while the total unemployment rate in "Israel" was 9.2%). Furthermore, "Israel" encourages the operations of emigration service offices to facilitate the emigration of those Palestinians to Western countries.

18. When confronted with these facts, the Zionist traditional response is that Palestinians in "Israel" are better off than those in neighboring Arab countries. Of course if one compares a poor person in a country with per capita GDP of 18900, like "Israel", with a middle class person in a country with per capita GDP of 3600, like Jordan, the former will be considered rich! But in his own society he is still poor, and suffers deprivation. The same futile argument is given with regard to discrimination, i.e. one of the few places in the Middle East where Arabs have the right to vote is "Israel". But what sort of equality does voting provide when one is overburdened with all the above malevolence?¹⁰

Facts about the Palestinians Living in Israel

19. This category of Palestinians is officially estimated to be 1,230,000 people, i.e. 18.7% of "Israeli" population, though independent sources estimate them to be 19.5%. Among them 77% are Sunni Muslims, 13% Christians and 10% Druze. They managed to get 10 seats in the Knesset representing the Arab parties of Hadash, Democratic Arab Party and Balad. Another main Palestinian political movement in "Israel" is the Islamic Movement, led by Sheikh Ra'ed Salah, which does not participate in "Israeli" elections because it views this to be an approval of the occupation, though one of its wings does participate in these elections. The Islamic Movement won the municipal elections in 8 major Arab municipalities, receiving 28.6% of the total vote. Many "Israeli" politicians see this movement as a grave danger that has to be criminalized and uprooted immediately. During the intifada of Al-Aqsa, Arab political figures were targeted; an attempt was made to assassinate Sheikh Ra'ed Salah. Azmi Bshara, a member of the Knesset and the leader of Balad was prosecuted in court for his statements against "Israeli" policies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.¹²

Palestinians in Territories Occupied in 1967

20. The 1948 war left the Palestinians with around 23% of their land divided into two geographical units the West Bank (5876 km²) and the Gaza strip (363 km²), while the rest of the land was expropriated by the newly declared Zionist state of "Israel" In 1967, this remaining part fell under "Israeli" occupation. Before the war of 1948, the population of the West Bank was estimated to be 400,000 that increased after the war to 380,000, following the influx of 280,000 scared refugees who settled in 21 camps across the West Bank, while the rest of the refugees continued their way to farther destinations in Jordan. Available resources did not allow the absorption of this huge number of property-less refugees, and the inevitable result was that many of them had to migrate to richer countries, especially Arab Gulf countries, in their quest for a better life. Despite this immigration, the number progressively increased until it reached 870,000 on the eve of the Arab "Israeli" war of 1967. After this war, the number, however, dropped to 665,000 around 205,000 people were expelled from the West Bank and denied access to their homes in this second Palestinian catastrophe, some of them were already refugees away from home, and the only change for them was moving to a farther camp, and the journey of tears happened again.

21. The situation in the Gaza Strip was even worse. This area of 363 km² was populated before the 1948 war by 75,000 only, but after the war it became 200,000, with the influx of refugees who settled in 8 camps. In 1950 the figure rose to 280,000, far beyond what the small area could absorb in such a short time. Among those 280,000 69% were refugees. Miserable life conditions drove these refugees to migrate again to richer areas of the Arab World, and by 1967 the population reached 455,000 of whom 59% were refugees. After the 1967 war, the population decreased to 354,000. 101,000 Palestinians, mostly refugees, were expelled and denied access to their land or even their camps. All in all, immediately after the 1967 war, the number of displaced persons was 306,000.

22. All those displaced during the different phases of the Palestinian migration suffered almost the same miserable life conditions: they lived in concentration camps, an average of 10 people sharing one tent to protect them from the hot summers and the cold winters. After both wars, the Palestinian refugees continued to live in tents for around 10 years under the same guise, namely they are temporary refugees who shall return home soon, thus they should not be allowed to settle. The irony is that this "temporary" condition continues until today!¹³

"Israeli" Policies towards the Palestinians

23. From the first moment, the Zionists realized that this high Arab population density threatens Zionist expansionist ambitions in both areas. Thus they aimed in the first place to stop the population growth, and secondly to expose the Palestinians to extremely difficult conditions that will compel them to leave voluntarily, These policies were based mainly on the following: ,

- a. Terrorizing the inhabitants through military checkpoints, ambushes, Administrative detention and torture,
- b. Creating difficult economic, political and social conditions for them.
- c. criticism and humiliating the inhabitants by subjecting them to the mockery of the "Israeli" soldiers. It is very common for an "Israeli" soldier to ask a Palestinian, under the threat of rifles, to tie or clean his shoes, or to imitate dogs and pigs if he wanted to pass through the checkpoint to work.
- d. Trying to spread social illnesses such as drugs and prostitution in Palestinian society, especially among the youth.
- e. Confiscating arable and most fertile lands to deprive Palestinian farmers from their major source of income. Concurrently they flood the market with "Israeli" products at cost rates that make local products uncompetitive. As a result, many Palestinian farms and businesses were abandoned, and their owners became cheap labor for growing "Israeli" investment.¹⁴

Massacres Against the Palestinian People

24. Right from the beginning, Zionism held terrorism as one of its indispensable weapons for the achievement of its dream in a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This meant forcing its people to leave, and those who will not, will eventually die until the demographic balance favors the Jewish population. The U.N. partition plan, embodied in Resolution 181, proposed a Jewish State to house 498,000 Jews and 497,000 Arab Palestinians, which clearly indicated that it will not be an exclusively Jewish state, especially because of the high population growth rate among the Palestinians, around 10% at that time. The only way for achieving the Zionist dream was thus to forcibly compel these Arab inhabitants to leave as they have adamantly insisted not to quit voluntarily. The 1948 war was the darkest page in this history of bloodshed in which more than 13,000 Palestinian civilians were killed in 34 massacres around Palestine and about another 900,000 were forced to flee, 94% of them under direct threats of death. Below are some of the most tragically remembered massacres as recorded in some important testimonies.

The Massacre at Baldat al-Shaikh (Dec. 31,1947)

25. As the world was preparing to welcome the New Year, Hagana gang members stormed the village of Baldat al-Shaikh (now under the Zionist name Tell Ghanan) in pursuit of unarmed citizens, and in order to encourage an atmosphere of fear, that will trigger others to run away. The death toll of massacre reached approximately 600 people, whose bodies were mainly found inside the village houses.

The Massacre at Sacsac in Hebron (Feb. 14-15,1948)

26. The Zionists attacked the village at midnight, and the frightened citizens sought refuge in their houses. The Zionist forces bombed 20 houses killing 150 trapped civilians.

The Massacre at Abu Kasr (March 31, 1948)

27. This massacre was carried out by terrorists from the Hagana armed organization, which subsequently became the nucleus of the Zionist Army. The massacre occurred during an armed attack and a series of explosion operations. The Zionist terrorists pursued the unarmed villagers who tried to flee from their homes.

The Massacre at Deir Yassin (April 10, 1948)

28. The Zionist gangs Stern, Irgun and Hagana raided the Arab village of Deir Yassin at 2:00 a.m., 10 April 1948. According to eyewitnesses, these terrorists killed everyone within shooting range, and subsequently threw bombs to destroy the houses along with everyone inside them. The terrorists of these notorious gangs searched the ruins to massacre everyone who remained alive inside the demolished houses.

29. The Zionist massacre continued until the afternoon of the same day. Before withdrawing from the village, the terrorists gathered together the remaining villagers and executed them in cold blood, including elderly people, women and children.

30. In describing the massacre, an eyewitness recounted, "A first victims. First they were thrown down along with thirty-three of their neighbors, then they were forced to stand up against a wall and pelted with machine-gun fire with their hands tied."

The Massacre at Abu Shousha (May 14, 1948)

31. The massacre in the village of Abu Shousha, not far from Deir Yassin, began at dawn. It resulted in fifty victims, including men and women, elderly and very young, many of whom had had their heads beaten with axes. The soldiers of the Zionist Javati brigade, which carried out the massacre, opened fire indiscriminately on everything that moved. Not even the livestock survived the massacre.

The Massacre at Al-Lid (Lydda) (July 11, 1948)

32. This massacre was carried out by a commando unit led by Moshe Dayan, a defense and foreign minister of "Israel" later on. The unit stormed the city in the evening amidst a violent flow of artillery shells and heavy gunfire directed at everything that moved in the city streets. The Arab citizens took refuge from the attack in the Dahmash Mosque. But no sooner had the Zionist terrorists reached the mosque than they killed 176 civilians who took refuge there, raising the victims of this massacre to 426 Palestinians.

33. Once the killing had come to an end, the unarmed civilians were led to the city's sports stadium, where the young men were detained. Then, the families were given a mere half-hour to leave the city for the area where the Jordanian Army was located. They were to go there on foot and without food or water, which caused the deaths of many women, children and elderly people.

The Massacre in the Village of Eilaboun (October 30, 1948)

34. The village was attacked on October 29, 1948 by "Israeli" forces, which clashed with a group of men from the Arab Rescue Army who were present in the village. The "Israeli" forces managed to enter the town at 5:00 a.m. on October 30, after the withdrawal of Rescue Army fighters. The inhabitants were ordered to gather in the city square, and were then fired at randomly from all four directions.

The Massacre in Ba'na and Deir al-Asad (October 31, 1948)

35. Zionist forces surrounded the two towns of Ba'nah and Deir al-Asad, and then overtook them on October 31, 1948 at 10:00 a.m. The forces' commander ordered through loudspeakers the inhabitants of the two villages to gather on the plain area located between the two villages under guard by Zionist soldiers, then killed a group of young men in a manner described by a UN observer as "brutal murder, since it took place without provocation or even an expression of anger on the part of the people."

The Massacre at Qibya (October 14, 1953)

36. After intensive artillery fire directed at the village's residents, units from the standing army of the Zionist entity surrounded Qibya with a force of approximately 600 soldiers, that stormed the village, firing in all directions. While one unit of the Zionist infantrymen, led by Ariel Sharon, pursued villagers with fire, other Zionist units placed explosives around some houses and blew them up together with their residents. According to eyewitnesses who survived the massacre, Zionist soldiers stationed themselves outside these houses, and fired on anyone who tried to flee. The fatalities of the massacre reached 67, including men, women and children, while hundreds were injured.

The Massacre in the Town of Qalqiliya (October 10, 1956)

37. The Zionist army and a number of settlers attacked Qalqiliya, located along the green line which divided the Arab lands occupied in 1948 from the West Bank. Those who took part in the attack included an army detachment and an artillery battalion, along with ten fighter aircraft. The Zionist army strafed the village with artillery fire before storming it, the death toll of the massacre exceeded 70.

The Massacre at KafrQasim (October 29, 1956)

38. During the 1956 war, the Zionist administration imposed a curfew on all Arab towns and villages, including the village of Kafr Qasim. The curfew was communicated late to the village and a number of children and elderly people took off to inform the young men, then working in the fields outside the village, about it. But the "Israeli" forces stationed outside the village, killed them all in cold blood, before reaching the village. The death toll was 49 civilians, including a number of children and elderly people.

The Massacre at Khan Yunus (November 3, 1956)

39. During the war of 1956, which resulted in the occupation of Gaza for sometime, the Zionist army carried out a massacre against the Palestinians in Khan Yunus refugee camp south of Gaza City, in which 250 Palestinians were killed. Nine days later (on November 12, 1956), a unit of the Zionist army carried out another massacre in which more than 275 civilians were killed in the same camp. On the same day the Zionist terrorists killed over hundred more Palestinians in the Rafah refugee camp.¹⁵

Palestinian Resistance 1949-1987

40. The 1948 war was a serious catastrophe for the Palestinians, and around 60% of them became property-less refugees. Almost all social infrastructures were seriously damaged and much time was needed for these deep wounds to heal.

41. Meanwhile, neighboring Arab countries won their independence, and people thus hoped that their governments and the huge armies that they built, would do something to lift this injustice, especially as they had taken charge of the Palestinian affairs and blocked the

formation of an independent Palestinian entity on the remaining parts of Palestine (West Bank and Gaza Strip). Nonetheless, the newly expelled refugees continued the resistance and tried to access their homes at every possible opportunity, get back some of their lost properties or to avenge the great suffering inflicted upon them in the catastrophe. The same period witnessed heated political activity, and the spread of different ideologies that was facilitated by the absence of old traditional social loyalties. The year 1952, for example witnessed 1533 cross-border operations from Jordan alone (4.2 operations per day), which became since 1953 more effective and organized as they were carried out by some newly formed Fida'yyin military organizations (Fida'yyin is the Arabic term for the (Palestinian fighters). Both the West Bank and Gaza Strip witnessed the formation of many political groups that had their military wings. The total "Israeli" death toll in 1948-1956 reached 1176.

42. "Israel" always responded with excessive use of power against the civilians across the borders to force the Arab governments to take action against the Fida'yyin. Several massacres were committed in Qibya (67 civilians killed), Qalqiliya (70 civilians killed), and Gaza (39 civilians killed). The last massacre triggered a forceful demand to the Egyptian government to organize Palestinian military resistance, which it accepted and sent a professional Egyptian officer for this purpose. For one year he led a resistance that caused much trouble to "Israel".

43. The most important event in that period was the emergence of the Fateh organization in 1959. Young Palestinian activists were fed up with the meaningless and futile Arab rhetoric of Arab unity as a pre-requisite for the liberation of Palestine as it was even more difficult than the liberation itself! They knew that the then Arab claim of representation of the Palestinian people was geared towards domestic political gains and was not for the good of Palestine. Hence it was their decision to take up the duty by themselves. Fateh executed its first operation on 1 January 1965 and carried out 200 operations in 1965-1967.

44. Normally, Fateh was strongly opposed by Arab officials who dismissed its leaders as "collaborators with the Imperialistic powers" and a "paramilitary" in the Arab body. Many of its leaders, including Yasser Arafat, were jailed and tortured in Arab countries, and some died in prisons.¹⁶

1967-1987

45. The most important development in this period was that the Palestinians took the lead in the struggle for the first time since the 1936 revolution. The humiliating Arab defeat in 1967 profoundly shocked and frustrated the people who could not imagine the defeat of 6 Arab armies, including revolutionary Egypt and Syria. This boosted the credibility of Fateh who had cautioned against such developments well before the 1967 defeat. Palestinian Fida'yyin military groups were seen as the last hope for liberation, and increasing numbers of people joined their training camps in Jordan and later on in Lebanon, while Egypt and Syria closed their borders to Palestinian military operations, although they supported the organizations operating on Jordanian and Lebanese soils.

46. Another important boost for the Fida 'yyin was Al-Karama Battle on 21 March 1968 in Jordan in which a group of 150 Palestinian militants, covered with a Jordanian artillery brigade, managed to encounter a massive "Israeli" force across the borders. The "Israeli" losses were 70 soldiers killed ("Israelis" claimed that only 28 were killed), 100 injuries, 45 tanks, 25 armored soldier carriers and 27 other machines, while the Palestinians lost 17 men, and 20 martyred and 65 injured in the Jordanian army. Within 48 hours of this victory, Fateh received 5000 applications for membership, for the news of the heroic Arab achievement and the relatively high "Israeli" casualties restored Palestinian and Arab self-

confidence. Fateh soon managed to dominate the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) that was established by the Arab League. The PLO had then become the umbrella under which all Palestinian organizations operated with Fateh in the lead and Yasser Arafat elected as the President of PLO in February 1969.

47. The "Israeli" army waged many attacks on the Fida 'yyin bases in Lebanon, but small-scale attacks did not achieve what they aimed at. The "Israelis", determined to silence the northern front, waged a large campaign in 1978 in which the "Israeli" army conquered southern Lebanon and established a security zone there, killing 700 Palestinians and Lebanese mostly civilians. The second "Israeli" campaign, in August 1980, failed as the Palestinian forces, centered in Al-Shaqeif Castle, managed to stop the "Israeli" forces that were 15 times the size of the Palestinian forces and were equipped with all kinds of artillery, armor and air cover. "Israelis" were forced to retreat and stop the offensive after the heavy losses they suffered. In July 1981, "Israeli" artillery and warplanes heavily bombarded southern Lebanon killing 150 and wounding 600 Palestinians and Lebanese, but were forced to stop after the Palestinian resistance responded with heavy fire on 30 military and civilian sites in northern "Israel".¹⁷

Resistance Never Ended

48. For the last 21 years before 1987, Palestinian resistance had come from outside the areas occupied by "Israel", mainly from the Fida 'yyin camps in neighboring Arab countries. But this condition had drastically changed by the consecutive decisions of the Arab frontline countries to close their frontiers to Palestinian fighters.

49. After its forced departure from Lebanon in 1982, the PLO established its new headquarters in remote Tunisia that was too far for any meaningful resistance to the occupation, thus turning the PLO headquarters into a mere bureaucratic administration. At the same time, PLO fighters were scattered around the world in Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Algeria, Sudan and other countries. Attempts were thus made to revive military action against "Israel", through establishing connections inside the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and some successful military operations were carried out against settlers in Al-Khalil, Al-Quds and other areas.

50. Besides, the Islamic trend was growing across the Arab World and in Palestine, a development that resulted in the emergence of new popular Islamic Palestinian movements inside Palestine, namely Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which played an important role in stimulating the "Palestinian insiders" politically and militarily.

51. This increasing patriotic and Islamic feelings inside Palestine, coupled with the accumulating tension created by by the humiliating and oppressive "Israeli" policies, prepared the ground for the explosive outbreak of the first intifada in 8 December 1987.¹⁸

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US POLICY ON MIDDLE EAST
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

1. The Middle East (ME) is often described as the most sensitive region of the world for its strategic importance, rich mineral resources and religion. Though the Arab Muslims are predominant in the area Zionism and Christianity also grew. The ME crisis involves multinational interest. Lebanon wants Israeli withdrawal from its self declared security zone in the south, Syria seeks return of Golan Height lost to Israel in '67 war and Jordanian interest is the future status of the West Bank. Beside that here are several dimensions in the Middle East crisis and many areas of on going serious violence. Three of these are mentionable here. One is the Israel and Palestine. Second is Iraq -its sanction and bombing. Third are Turkey and the Kurds.¹

2. USA sponsored Israel as a supporter of democracy against soviet expansion and Arab extremism in the region ,After the emergence of Israel in 1948. The geo- strategic scenario of the Middle East attained a new dimension marked mainly by the two super powers on two self made theories, 'Power Vacuum' and "Reciprocal Escalation". Until the cold war At the end of British colonial rule in 1960s and the Six Day War of 1967, USA's main interests in the region were the security of Israel, containment of Soviet expansion and oil.²

3. At the end of cold war and the Gulf War 1991, the USA made remarkable progress to influence Middle East issues by its physical presence in the region. Attack on Twin Tower on 11 Sep 2001 followed by the US action against Afghanistan and recent invasion of Iraq created convenient pretext for the USA to further extend its presence in the region. In the present context, the hegemonic attitude and conduct of American foreign policy seems to be the principal factor in all the Middle East issues.³

4. This paper will try to evaluate the major issues in the Middle East and analyze US policy towards those issues. This paper will also briefly discuss about US interests and factors influencing its involvement in the region. Finally it will try to analyze the future opportunities and challenges of US foreign policy to deal with the issues in the Middle East.

AIM

5. The aim of this paper is to study and analyze the United States' policy towards the Middle East.

Historical Background

General

6. The Middle East was the meeting ground of civilizations of the east and west. Amongst the most dominant three religions of the world, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have their origin in the Middle East. Moreover, the technical and scientific mastery acquired by the west is the outcome of a development initiated in the Middle East some three or four thousand years ago.⁴

The Arab Conquests

7. The last prophet of Islam, Mohammed (Peace be upon him) himself united the Arabian and laid the foundation for the unification of Arabia. The next history was that of the Arab take-over. After his death the Arab Muslims poured in successive waves into the empires of

Iran and Byzantium. They swept over Central Asia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain and finally France at the first half of 8th century. After 1683, Muslims were gradually forced to move away, and from 1815 to modern times its countries have been to a greater or lesser extent dominated by the West, mainly by the British.⁵

Genesis Of The Us Involvement In Middle East Issues

Emergence of Israel

8. In 1917, Balfour Declaration favored the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. During the First World War correspondence between the British government and the Arab states were taking place regarding the independence. In 1922, the Council of League of Nations approved a mandate for Palestine that secured the establishment of a Jewish National Home without prejudice to the rights and position of the Palestinian people.⁶

9. By the end of the World War II, in 1947, the British government served notice to United Nations that they were leaving Palestine by 1 August 1948. A United Nations plan for the partition of the territory was approved by the Assembly on 29 November 1947, but the Arab states refused to accept it. On 14 May 1948 the British mandate was abandoned and last of the British troops withdrew from Palestine. On the same day the state of Israel was proclaimed and immediately recognized by the United States.⁷ Since then America has been providing military, diplomatic and economic support to the Israel.

10. The failure to resolve this conflict has been the root cause of the constant violence and instability in the Middle East. The Britain and the United States were held to be chiefly responsible for the creation of Israel.⁸

Issues and factors influencing us policy

Towards middle east

Arab Israel Issue

11. American support for Israel initially reflected a commitment, which was a partial amends for American inactivity during the holocaust suffered by the European Jews under the Nazis. The role of Jews votes and money in American electoral politics also influences the US policy towards Israel. Therefore, US interest remains concern for Israel's ultimate security.⁹

12. A fundamental key to any peace settlement within the Middle East is the position of the US. As per the Oslo Accords, the Palestinians now simply demand that the Israelis withdraw their troops only from lands seized in 1967, which Israel is required to do under international law. The US repeatedly blocked enforcement of UN resolutions calling for Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian land. Furthermore, the US has secured additional aid for Israel to construct highways connecting the settlements and to provide additional security. This places the US in direct Violation of UN Security Council Resolution 465, which call upon all states not to provide Israel with any assistance to be used specifically in connection with settlements in occupied territories.¹⁰

The Road Map to Peace

13. The road Map is said to be drafted based on the foundation of the Madrid Conference, the principle of land for peace, United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, 1397, agreements previously reached by the parties and the proposals made by Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah- endorsed by the Beirut Arab League Summit –calling for acceptance of Israel as a neighbor living in peace and security, in the context of a comprehensive

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settlement in three phases. After the war in Iraq is over, and a new Prime Minister in charge of the Palestine authority, the Bush administration unveiled its Middle East peace plan in last April 2003 – “The Road Map”, drafted by the US in consultation with Russia, the European Union and the United Nations.¹²

Interest on Oil

14. In fact, the British had recognized the importance of the region's oil wealth as early as 1916 when the British secretly signed the Sykes-Picot agreement with France which called for the division of the Ottoman Empire into a patchwork of states that would be ruled by the British and French. In 1947, the British government expressly noted that the Middle East was a vital prize for any power interested in world influence or domination, since control of the world's oil reserves also meant control of the world economy.

15. US imperial goals were expressed without mincing any words in a 1953 internal U.S. document: “United States policy is to keep the sources of oil in the Middle East in American hands”.¹³ After the Second World War, governments in the region collapsed. Britain and France lost their colonies, but the US stepped in as the new and dominant neo-colonial power in the region.

16. Before the American invasion, Iraq signed multi-billion dollar deals with companies from Italy, Spain, Russia, France, China, India, Turkey, and others. However, none of these deals could move forward until these were approved by the UN Security Council. Could all of this go toward explaining why it became so urgent for the United States to make war on Iraq and take over control of Iraqi oil fields? In 2001, reports came out announcing that without increased access to spare parts, repairs and new technology, Iraqi oil fields could be damaged permanently. Pressure was building in the UN to allow this remediation and modernization of Iraqi oil infrastructure. Iraq was awarding contracts to major oil companies from various countries, excluding U.S and British. On the other hand the U.S and British oil companies were line up after their government for the contract in the aftermath of an Iraqi conquest. The U.S was studying international law to determine oil field rights in the event of a U.S and British conquest of Iraq. U.S. derives around 26% of its daily oil imports from the Middle East—that is 2.3 million b/d as of August 2002.¹⁴

17. In a recent article titled “Missing the Oil Story” Nina Burleigh who has written for The Washington Post, The Chicago Tribune, and New York magazine tried to explore the connection between the US military intervention in Iraq with unexploited energy reserves in the region. For instance, she pointed to studies that suggest that by 2050, Central Asia will account for more than 80 percent of world oil reserve. She cited a report in the *Oil and Gas Journal*, which reported that Central Asia represents one of the world's last great frontiers for geological survey and analysis, “offering opportunities for investment in the discovery, production, transportation, and refining of enormous quantities of oil and gas resources.”¹⁵

Prevention of Soviet Expansion in the Middle East

18. The US Government now sees the Middle East conflict from a broader perspective of Soviet – American rivalry as in many parts of the world. Following the end of World War II, at the beginning, United States' concern in the Middle East was isolated from its rivalry with the Soviet Union. The Six Day War of October 1967 changed the dimension of American policy for the Middle East -perhaps for all time.. The US no longer considers its interests confined to the relationship with the Israel and the Arab oil only. To begin with, the United States has accepted a large share of responsibility for leading the Arab Israel conflict.¹⁶ However, its basic motive was to prevent Soviet expansion in the Middle East and also to improve relations with the Arab states.

19. In early 1935, the United States began to appreciate the vital role of Saudi oil as a potential economic source and political weapon. In 1945 US President Truman approved the construction of the air base at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, which later played an important role in Operation Desert Storm. In 1947 President Truman and King Ibn Saud made a pact, describes that, if Saudi Arabia were attacked or under threat, Washington would take "energetic measures under the auspices of the United Nations to confront such aggression."¹⁷

20. After the British withdrawal from the Middle East in 1960s and early 1970s, the United States assumed the responsibility for the regional security. Iran and Saudi Arabia formed the pillars of the Nixon's "Twin Pillar" policy, which was designed to protect the American favored status quo. Under the Twin Pillar policy, the United States could rely primarily on Iran to safeguard regional security in exchange of arms and technical support. However, USA - Iran relations faced some significant problems, while Shah led an effort for higher oil prices against Washington's expectations. Although America's support of the Shah was problematic, it also offered Washington numerous strategic benefits by establishing relations with all the Gulf States through Shah's mediating influence.¹⁸ Since the fall of Shah, US was mostly relying on Saudi Arabia to defend its interest in the region. On the other hand, at the same time America got new friend Egypt through Camp David agreement Between Egypt and Israel.

Middle East As US Weapon Market

21. The Middle East is the destination of the majority of American arms exports, creating enormous profit for weapons manufacturers and contributing greatly to the militarization of the region. US Arms transfer to the region have crossed 60 billion dollar since the Gulf War 1991. Arms sales are in important component of building political alliances between the US and the Middle East countries.¹⁹ Arms sales also a means of supporting US military industries faced with declining demand in western countries.

Us's Ongoing Presence In The Middle East

Post Gulf War 1991

22. Since the 1991 Gulf War the US was maintaining a strong military presence in the Middle East including longstanding military bases in Turkey, a strong presence in the eastern Mediterranean and Arabian Sea, as well as large number of troops on the Arabian Peninsula. There is enormous amount of distrust regarding US motives in waging that war. Many people of the world have reasons to believe that the war was fought not to free the Kuwait only, but also to protect US access to oil and enable US to gain a permanent strategic foothold in the region.

23. In the decade after the war, the United States strengthened its position in the region and increased supply of weapons, equipment, and military construction projects to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates. Before Operation Desert Storm, the U.S. military enjoyed the right to stockpile, or "pre-position," military supplies only in the comparatively remote Gulf state of Oman. After the war, almost every country in the region began conducting joint military exercises, hosting U.S. naval units and Air Force squadrons, and granting the United States pre-positioning rights.²⁰

Attack on Twin Tower

24. After the September 11 terrorist attacks on Twin Towers U.S.A considers its threat of terrorism mainly from the Middle East. Terrorist threat has become the major national security concern of America in post – cold war. In response to the attack on Twin Towers the war in Afghanistan and the open-ended war on terrorism, has led USA to further boost up its strength in the region. From Afghanistan to the landlocked former Soviet republics of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, U.S. forces have established themselves in an oil rich and strategically vital area.

Recent US Invasion of Iraq

25. The desert sands of this region hold two of every three barrels of oil in the world -- Iraq's reserves alone are equal, by some estimates, to those of Russia, the United States, China, and Mexico combined. For the past 30 years, the Gulf has been in the crosshairs of an influential group of Washington foreign-policy strategists, who believe that in order to ensure its global dominance, the United States must seize control of the region and its oil. Born during the energy crisis of the 1970s and refined since then by a generation of policy makers, this approach is finding its boldest expression yet in the Bush administration -- which, with its plan to invade Iraq and install a regime beholden to Washington, has moved closer than any of its predecessors to transforming the Gulf into an American protectorate.²¹

26. Despite the strong protest from whole over the world and opposition from the most of the Security Council members U.S invaded Iraq in March 2003. Presently though the U.S forces are facing some resistance, almost whole Iraq is under their control. US plans to build up its military bases inside Iraq by developing an 'in-country' base infrastructure. Plans are advancing to wind up US Central command's forward headquarters at As- Sayliyah in Qatar and move to Baghdad.

Opportunities And Future Challenges

After War Policy in Iraq and Legitimacy of the War

27. The fog of war in Iraq is over. Question grow like weeds in the ruins of Saddam's palaces. How can the United States recover its legitimacy in the eyes of the world? The U.S after war policy in Iraq will be a decisive test of weather, the invasion of Iraq is a military victory or a costly political defeat? The stakes are high in Iraq because, occupation and reconstruction will shape U.S relations with the Arab World and perhaps the whole Muslim World – for decades. In this respect U.S has options to take lessons from the past. So far U.S has conducted more than 200 military interventions abroad. Sixteen of these interventions can be categorized as nation – building attempts. Of the 16 attempts only four (Japan, Germany, Granada and Panama) qualify as success. Of the 16 cases, seven were ruled by US supported surrogate regimes – governments that were totally dependent on Washington. These regimes never developed democratic institutions. Another mode of nation building was direct US Administration. This approach also failed except in Japan.²¹ None of these modes of administrations seems suited to the complex, uncertain conditions in Iraq. However, in the mean time US has established a mixture of unitary and pro American surrogate administration in Iraq. This might serve American's short time needs, but will most likely hinder the democracy in Iraq and stability in the region.²²

28. There is another option: multilateralism, which has great benefits in nation building. The UN backed nation building approach gives more international legitimacy than attempts by alone intervener. The bush administration has been undaunted by risk, arguing that no country has ever been as powerful as the United States is today. But in the case of nation building, will that power allow the United States to go beyond the lessons of history?²³ If,

Iraq remains unstable and the stability of the region as a whole does not improve, then legitimacy of American actions and its foreign policy in general will be eroded.

Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction.

29. Few days before the US invasion of Iraq, President Bush said that Iraq had hundreds of tons chemical weapons and thousands of liters of biological agents that could kill millions of people.²³ The America and British created ground to invade Iraq for its possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Many now allege that the evidence of Iraq's WMD was cooked up in London and Washington. So far the British and American governments have failed to materialize their claim. The Central Intelligence of America (CIA) is now conducting a review of all Iraq related Intelligence. To preserve the trust between the government and the voters, and which Mr. Bush exploited to wage war, the results of the review should be made public. In the meantime, for the credibility, Mr. Bush and Mr. Blair should agree to allow UN inspectors return to Iraq.²⁴

Success of Road Map

30. America's commitment for an Israeli - Palestinian peace has long been the prerequisite for wholehearted Arab support. After invasion of Iraq, America's surefooted determination is more crucial than ever. In the 1st week of August 2003, the new Palestinian Prime Minister met US President George W. bush in Washington, where the two leaders discussed about the implementation of "Road Map." In an interview to the press Mr. Abbas stated that, " we want our independent state. We want Israel to withdraw from the territory it has occupied since 1967. We want East Jerusalem to be our capital. We want the Israelis to remove all their settlements, and ask to find a solution for the refugees."²⁵ It will be a challenge for America, that how they influence Israel to accept this demand. Side lining the legitimate Palestinian leader President Yaseer Arafat the success of the Rode Map also in question.

Conclusion

31. In the present scenario, character of American hegemony is to be considered as the determining factor to resolve the Middle East crisis and to bring peace and stability in the region. The Israel – Palestine issue commonly known as Arab Israel issue is the root of the crisis in the Middle East. The vast US military presence in the Middle East and recent US invasion of Iraq has complicated the crisis in the region.

32. In any peace negotiation on Arab –Israel issue, the U.S showed its intention to preserve the Israel's interest. The success of " Road Map" will also depend on the America's stand to influence Israel to recognize an independent Palestine statehood and withdrawal of Israeli settlements from occupied areas as per the terms and conditions narrated in the proposal.

33. The United States import 26% of its oil from the Middle East. By the year 2050, 80% of the world's oil reserve will be in the Central Asian region. Invasion of Afghanistan, Iraq and huge military presence in the whole Middle East region indicates the American intention to control Middle East oil and ensure uninterrupted supply for its own and for the allies.

34. Fall of communism and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, created an enormous opportunity for the U.S to expand its supremacy in the region with its gigantic military might. It also provided U.S to elevate its arms market in the region.

35. In retaliation of the attack on Twin Tower, under the cover of war against terrorism, U.S.A intervened Afghanistan in 2001. Again, despite the strong opposition from most of the member states of the United Nations, U.S.A invaded Iraq, this year in March 2003. Till today they could not prove the presence of WMD in Iraq. It is now clear why America

invaded Iraq? The Franc, Germany, Russia and some other European countries continue to say that America's war in Iraq was a mistake. The U.S A could not manage to form a coalition force to maintain the law and order situation in Iraq. Even the third world countries regretted to join U.S led coalition forces in Iraq. Washington's present stand in the Middle East is creating anti American sentiment in people's mind, specifically in the Muslim World. This will instigate to give birth of more freedom fighters (terrorist in America's eye), in Iraq and as well as in the Middle East that might ultimately turn into fundamentalism in the region. Is Iraq is going to be another Palestine or Vietnam? Now the challenge for U.S is that, how they will legitimate the invasion of Iraq? Will they form a new government as per the desire of the Iraqi people? Will they involve United Nations as per the demand of the many member states of UN for the reconstruction and nation building activities of Iraq? Perhaps the best test of American foreign policy in the coming years will therefore be whether, through an active and generous diplomacy the United States can win the argument that it has promised or it will continue to ignore world opinion?

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State Of Israel

1. Israel was founded in 1948. The land is occupied in the war of 1948. The establishment of the state of Israel was declared David Ben Gurion. This declaration was not received by the local Arabs and with the Arab Governments. As a result war was took place between the Arab and the Jews According to The point of view of Israel, This was the was of independence on the other hand Palestine call it catastrophe This is the most worst stories of ethnic cleansing in modern history. This state was established by the Zionist cleansing in modern history. This state was established by the Zionist in the land of Palestine. Jews immigration made this project possible and maintained its existence until today The immigration was continue two main reason. The first one is Zionist believe in Israel as the central component of Jewish life. Second one " New Immigrants when he enter in to the country he gets a " New Immigrant Certificate" ¹

2. The war of Israel and Palestine is a pathetic part in the history of Palestine. Killing thousands of Palestinians. More than 60% of the Palestine, destroying More than 4000 village and exodus of 800,000 Palestinians, people paying the price of the " Israeli Independence" . This war of 1948 coupled with that of 1956 against Egypt that was attacked by the France, British and Israel and The six days war of 1967 that swallowed. The rest of the land that Palestine and call home " together with Sinai and Golan heights." ²

3. "Israel" is a state governed by Law. The name of the parliament is the Knesset (the head of the Government). The honorary head of the state is the president the head of government is the prime minister who holds all the executive power. The total population of the Israel is 6,46,000/00 among there 81.3% are Jews and the rest 18.7% are non-Jewish. ³

4. Most of the Jews who were born outside the country are still immigrants only 2597 were born in Palestine. Their name is Hebrew saberah. Among other population 15.73 were born in Asia, 18.23 in Africa and 40.7 in America and Europe. Till to day most of the population are immigrant one. Most Israelis hold an other citizenship during their life. ⁴

Political and military Institutions:

5. State of Israel is the official name of Israel. In Hebrew it is called " Medinat Yisrael. The name of the capital is Jerusalem (Al-Quads) Arabic and Hebrew are the official language. The country is practicing parliamentary democracy and it does not have any formal written constitution. Disagreement over basic rights and definitions among the various Zionist school were the main reason behind it. For example Likud party consider Jordan a part of the " promised land of Israeli" These land was occupied by Arab. Basic law of the parliaments (Knesset) and the Israeli citizenship law. ⁵

6. The prime minister is the supreme power of the country and president is the honorary head of the state. The prime minister is cleared directly through popular vote. But starting from 2003 election he was elected by the parliament. Parliament consists of 120 members. This members re elected for four year term through popular votes, This system provide independent participation and give more room for parties. But It does not give much opportunity to get an absolute majority thus parties have to remain only option open for coalition in government and opposition. ⁶

7. Diversity in political views and therefore in parties is the main feature of the Israel political system until 1977. The political system was dominated by one party. The name of the party was labour (mapai). After ward that party was overthrown by the Likud since the establishment of Israel. The main political parties are labour and Likud another important role played in the electoral process in the Army. Members of the Armed forces are allowed to vote and retired army are welcomed to join Israeli political parties infact most of the renowned person in the political party who served a long time in the armed forces. Political parties in Israel are qualified in to there major wings. Left, right and religious.⁷

Left wing party

a **Labour Party.** Since the establishment of Israel the mapai was the main party in the country . It is known as labour party. The founder of Israel David Bes Gurion led the party. His leadership was confined to Rabin and shimon peres in the years of 1977-1996 when he lost the election on 2001Dhuk Berek took over. The main Ideology of the party was socialist. Liberal policies, The main aim was giving the Palestine a state but not cover all the territory of the west bank. Labour party belived that Jerusalem will remain united and only capital of Israel.⁸

b **Meretz.** Yossi sarid was the founder of meritz party. Merets formed a coalition with the labour party in the Government that signed the also agreement This name means "vitality" in hebrew. Meretz 2 sets on the left of labour party. The main Ideology of the is party is Jerusalem (Al-Quads) has to remain the unified and It is the capital of Israel. To give guarantee & ensure the safety of Israel struck security measure should be imposed. Total number of seats occupied is 42(35% of the total seats)⁹

Right wing parties:

a **Likud.** Menachim begin was the fonder of the Likud party. He was the leader of Hirot and the prime minister from 1978-1982.This party adopt an Ideology that differentiates between The " State of Israel" and the land of Israel. Later formed on personally " land of Israel" that includes the west bank, Gaza, Jordan and some other areas. The party believe on the theory that they have given state, the party is not willing to allow to get an Independent The party is composed of a union of right wing movements. The name means " Language" in the Hebrew. In recent year the Likud is consist of together with labor and some religious parties. This party is supported by the lower class and less educated members of sphare dim. It holds 19 Scats in the parliaments.¹⁰

b **Merkaz.** It was formed by the former David levi. He was that minister of the foreign affairs. This party was supported by the sephard. The mianing of the merkaz is "Center" in Hebrew. The party was formed by some former Likud members who are not agree with the party's Ideology and they are in different opinion.¹¹

c. **Yisrael Ba Alaya.** Russian Jewish who come to the country during 1990 they form the party. The main Ideology of this party was continuous immigration and settle them in the occupied territory. The meaning of the party name in Hebrew Israel and immigration this party currently held four scat in the parliament.¹²

Religious Parties

a. **Mivdal.** The party is mainly based on religious point of view . The party was formed by the ministries of religious affairs and of education. It is a national religious party and continuation of Mizrahi. At present Mivdal currently makes ally with Likud party and It

adopted extremist views such as the extension of the state of Israel. It maintain some struck idea " This land should be given willingly to " foreign rule" to Palestine's. This party currently holds 5 seats in the parliament and supported mainly by Ashkenazim.¹³

b. **Yehudit Torah**. This party composed of mainly of anti-Zionist union and fund centralist Jewish religious Parties. Main basis theme of this party is united torah Jud was" Zionism is a form of heterodoxy. That challenges the divine decree that prosily Jews from going back to Palestine before the coming of the messiah. They do not recognize Israel as a state nor its flag of national anthem. And refuse to serve in its army. They believed on teaching on the torch in law and education and to protect the interest of its members. They are not hesitate to giving land to the Palestinians be cause they do not recognize It is an Israel land. They are waiting for messiah and believe will establish the real Israel. It holds only (4) five scat in the parliament.¹⁴

c. **Shus**: This is also a religious party form on the basis of the Sephardim formed by Rabbis. The main object of this party was control of the Ashkenazim over the religious party of Aghodat. Shus is more open to all the parties and tends to form coalitions with them. In day by day party become more popular for two main reason. First this party specks in the name of Sephardim. Very few person speck regarding this aspect. Secondly this party was fundamentalist religious nature. Shus is increasingly growing at the expense of mivdal and the likud. This party currently hold 17 seats in the parliament.¹⁵

Arab parties

8. After the 1948 war, most Arab were deprived from many rights and privilege. They become refuge of their own land and they were placed under a special military administration. After ward they have increasingly become political active to gain their rights within the state of Israel and through civil means.¹⁶

a **Hadas**. Democratic front for peace and Equality. It was the abbreviation from of Arabic. It was initially established by the communist party which include some Arab With community minds. The main to Ideology of this party was equal rights for Arabs in the new state. In 1970 it had been very popular. At present in Occupied only three seats in the parliament.¹⁷

b **Democratic Arab party**. The party was formed by the Abdul –wahhab darawsheh. with a wing of the Islamic movement led by the Abdullah Nimr darwish under the " united Arab list" The strongest Arab party with five seats in the current parliament.¹⁸

c **Balud**. The meaning of this party is balad means "home town". Azmi bsharah prominent Arab leader is leading the party in front and make alliance with independent Palestinian candidates. At present it holds two seats in the parliament. Arab parties together hold total 10 seats in the parliament.¹⁹

Military institution

9 Is based on three pillar.

- a. These are a small professional army and to maintain huge qualified reserve
- b .To provide qualitative training to the soldier to gain superiority over them.
- c. To provide highest quality weapon and technology to enhance military power among them. The main strategic threat of Israel is regional war. The geographical area will give them less room to Maneuver if war is started Inside the Israel and continue for a relatively ling time, Israel militaries is based on the following fundamentals.²⁰

- 1- The idea of "militant society" quality training and quality weapons.
- 2- Preventive wars: If a battle is on the air, "Israel" seeks to launch the first strike.
- 3- Deterrence: To prevent the enemy from indulging in a military combat, "Israel" maintains an arsenal of massive destruction weapons that threatens the lives of masses of civilians.
- 4- Maintaining Superiority: "Israel" does all it could to maintain and sustain its military superiority over all the Arab neighbours together, mainly through enhancing military cooperation with the U.S.
- 5- Taking the battle into enemy lands.
- 6- Creating buffer zones that blocks enemy hopes of penetrating into "Israeli" mainland in the first attack, (Golan Heights, Sinai and southern buffer Zone in Lebanon)
- 7- Flexibility: This refers mainly to the ability to quickly shift and deploy forces along the various fronts of the expected battle.
- 8- Minimizing human losses to the least possible level through providing high tech equipments, Reserve soldiers in wartime are the main element of civil society in peacetime.

10. Israel army consists of 1,86,500/00 (professional Army) reserve troops 445,000/00 that can be delivered to the battlefield within 48-72 hours. In case of outbreak of war, proclamation of war, national emergency Israel military can mobilize more than a million soldiers. Israel had 800 combat war craft, 253 helicopters, 93 military transportation planes. 136 training war craft 3930 tanks 5300 soldiers armor carriers, 1925 artillery pieces, 58 warships of different types, 3 submarines and 11 soldiers carriers. 200 nuclear warheads produced by the Israeli atomic plan with the co-operation of France. Israel has developed chemical and Biological weapons, Nothing has so far officially declared by the Israel. Israel is the fifth leading exporter of weapons in the world and its military industry is growing very fast, most of the military industry is co-funded by the United States of America. Following aspects USA paid to Israel (i) For the development and production aspect 625 million anti missile system (ii) For the development of the Israeli military aircraft Lavi 1.3 billions (iii) For the developments and production of Israeli tank 200 millions. (iv) For ongoing development of laser anti missile system 130 millions.²¹

11. Israel has never faced the type of war that can bring it to its knees that means a continuous war that keeps a high level of alert for years. Israel cannot afford to sustain this type of war and will not be able to mobilize its reserve force for a long time. Thus it sought to make all its wars fast and short. Finally we can tell in a nutshell that the striking capability of Israel's army is still capable of defeating the combined neighboring Arab armies.²²

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ARAB "ISRAELI" WARS LEBANON ISRAEL WAR

Introduction

1. From an insignificant incident, when two Israeli soldiers were abducted in south Lebanon reportedly by Hezbollah guerillas, Israel has launched a massive strike in parts of Lebanon, which has no role in all this. Israel, it seems, is incapable living in peace with its neighbors. The recent aerial attack by Israel on Lebanon, killing hundreds of civilians, have shocked the civilized people of the world. We condemn such vulgar display of power. Obviously this act under mines the UN Charter. However, blessed with the patronization of US, Israel has managed to keep its neighbor in a state of fear. The United States launched an attack on Iraq in a bid to find the so-called weapons of mass destruction. President George W Bush finds on fault with the belligerent stand of Israel. It seems that Israel has been given the correct balance to do whatever it wants to. This certainly foreshadows a miserable future for that part of the world, namely, the Middle East. It is high time the United Nations took tough action against Israel. Otherwise, the faith of peace-loving people around the world in the global body will further diminish. Certainly we should not submit to the logic of power, as evident in the recent acts of Israel.¹

History Of Hezbollah

2. Hizbullah group, often involved in military actions. Hizbullah an Arabic word meaning 'Party of God', was formed in 1982, with Hussayn Musawi as leader. Hizbullah is an umbrella organization with groups like Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice organization, Islamic Jihad for a Free Palestine and Revolutionary Arab Groups as subdivisions.²

Hizbullah has about 5,000 members, and receives much support and training facilities from Iran and Syria. Accordingly, the party acknowledges leadership from these two countries. Hizbullah has its strongest holds in southern Beirut and in the Biqaa, Valley. Hizbullah demands that Westerners leave Lebanon, and they seek to charge the Christian Lebanese population for crimes against their Muslim compatriots. Hizbullah was formed by members of a faction within the Lebanese Amal party. But following the Iranian revolution in 1979, there was split within the party. The final split, however, came earlier in 1982 after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In many cases, Hizbullah's main enemy has been Israel. Hizbullah's struggle is regarded as jihad, holy war, and members, dying in action become, shaded, martyrs, who are guaranteed a place in Paradise.³

Hizbullah claimed responsibility for bombing the US embassy and marine headquarters in Beirut in 1983, as well as hijackings, and taking of Western and Israeli hostages. But Hizbullah also carries out peaceful actions, and is in charge of important social welfare programs for the Lebanese population. In 1984 Shaykh Muhammad Hussayn Fadlallah took over the control of Hizbullah. And the organization became more of an instrument to oppose Israel on political and religious grounds. Hizbullah has attacked Israeli forces in southern Lebanon and Israelis in northern Israel, and Israel has retaliated. Neither party has been capable of neutralizing the other. Iran has in recent years managed to persuade Hizbullah to release hostages, in and effort to improve international relations.⁴

Hizbullah interest

3. a. Dream- To counter Lebanon Islamic country like Iran.
- b. 1983- Killed 241 USA soldiers(Marine Troops). Important Present in the parliament.
- c. Contribution. General people provide medical support and social activity⁵

- a.Support Israel activities for claiming Hizbullah as terrorist group
- b.As a Muslim country she does not get any sympathy of USA
- c.To have a good relation with Israel so that she can get a platform in middle east for any crisis⁶

Cause Of War

5. From an insignificant incident, when two Israeli soldiers were abducted in south Lebanon reportedly by Hizbullah guerillas, Israeli has launched a massive strike in parts of Lebanon, which has no role in all this. Israel, it seems, is incapable of living in peace with its neighbors. For some time Israel has been itching for a fight against Hamas, which organization, following its turning into a political party, obtained an amazing victory at the recent elections in Palestinian Gaza and the west Bank. Israel has for long branded Hamas as a terrorist Organization. The truth is that Hamas has fought very bravely against Israel and stood its ground. It has thus won the hearts and minds of the Palestinian population and succeeded in defeating the political party Fattah, which under the inspiring leadership of the late Yaser Arafat, carried on the campaign for the statehood of Palestine. Former Israel Premier Ariel Sharon, central character of strong arm tactics, launched the policy of going in along and unilaterally withdrew the Jewish settlements from densely populated Gaza. He had plans of withdrawing from the west Bank when he was incapacitated by a massive stroke. This policy, backed by US President George W. Bush, has been the only one on the negotiating table and Palestine President Muhammad Abbas, who has succeeded Arafat, has been involved in intense negotiations. Interestingly Abbas acceptable to the Israeli leadership and Premier Ehud Olmert, and consequently to the White House and by extension the other player, the European Union. Except mouthing powerful attacks against Hamas, the elected party and its prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, who the new government is not acceptable to the west has never been made clear. Ever since the emergence of Hamas in Palestinian politics. Israel has been planning to hit out at Hamas and its other side of the coin, Hizbullah in South Lebanon. It may be recalled the after nearly two decades of occupation of South Lebanon, Israel withdrew in 2000. Lebanon lay in ruins. The talented and hard working Lebanese went to work and were proud of their achievement in six short years. Syria, which had a long military presence in neighbor Lebanon, also withdrew its forces. Lebanon regained its sovereignty. Israel has spelt out its target as not to reoccupy Lebanon but to eliminate Hizbullah from south Lebanon. Israel wants to repeat the military action 1982. when the Palestine Liberation Organization had a strong presence and its activists were held up in Beirut. the capital of Lebanon, with their leader Yaser Arafat. He was acting Secretary General of the OIC then and I had excellent friendship with the PLO representatives in Jeddah, including Yaser Arafat. He was taken to the Syrian Lebanese border to show the solidarity of the OIC with the PLO in its time of trial. In taking on Hizbullah Israel in late by more than two and a half decade. Hizbullah is not a guest in Lebanon but composed mostly of Shias and is integrated within South Lebanon. It is well armed as Israel is finding out and is no pushover. Israel and the US. the never-ending allies, look very lonely on the world stage. No doubt Israel with its superior firepower and total mastery of the skies (minus some helicopters that it has lost on the battlefield), has inflicted massive casualties among the Lebanese civilian population and so caused the loss of huge property.⁷

6. The recent aerial assaults by Israel on Lebanon, killing hundreds of civilians, have shocked the civilized people of the world. We condemn such vulgar Display of power. Obviously this act under mines the UN Charter. However, blessed with the patronization of the US, Israel has managed to keep its neighbor in a state of fear. The United States launched an attack on Iraq in a bid to find the so-called weapons of mass destruction. President George W Bush finds no fault with the belligerent stance of Israel. It seems that Israel has been given the carte balance to do whatever it wants to. This certainly foreshadows a unwelcoming future for part of the world, namely, the Middle East. It is high time the United Nations took rough action against Israel. Otherwise, the faith of peace-loving people around the world in the global body will further diminish. Certainly we should not submit to the logic of power, as evident in the recent acts of Israel.⁸

Six Days Arab-Israel War Of (Yom Kippur) War-1973**Introduction**

1. The oldest quarrel of Middle east stems from the foundation of Israel as an independent nation in 1948. There have been four Arab-Israel wars since then the 4th war took place in 1973. On 06 October 1973. The Egypt and Syria launched surprise attack on Israel the code name of the war was 'SHARARIA' meaning "spark" as become his intention was to revitalize Arab nationalism in the middle East. To the Israelis, the war is known as the "Yom Kippur" war, as it started on Yom Kippur day. The most solemn day & the Jewish religion when the war commended.⁹

2. The Yom Kippur war of October 1973, gave a hint of the sort of surface battle which might take place in any naval area in future. There were first sea to sea missile engagements in history. The world navys also witnessed the successful applicable of EW in naval engagements. The lessons learnt from that war are applied by the coastal navies in creating their fishing instruments.¹⁰

Aim

3. The aim of this paper is to analyse the naval aspect of Arab-Israel war 1973 and derive lessons learnt for the 3rd world countries.

Strategy**War Strategy**

4.. Offensive to, recapture lost territory surprise was the care of Arabs strategy.

Arabs Naval strategy

5. The strategy of Arabs naval forces was to support the land operations by bombardment, commando operation, blockading and mining, securing of local waters.

Israel's War Strategy

6. Caught by total surprise Israel's strategy was defensive, but later went on offensive action.

7. To help defending the captured territory by neutralizing Arab naval Offensive and deny them to use the local water for their purpose.

Arab Deployment

8. Arab's Deployment Egyptia navy's Chief Admiral Ahmed Fuad zekey had his secret war plan approved by the president in January 1973. Accordingly few submarines here deployed to Safaga harbour in the Red sea. Two destroyer were sent to Libya to threaten the Israel's interest in the Mediterranean routes and 3 destroyers at Aden harbour to effect blockade in Bab-EL-Mandib to disrupt the shipping lines to Israel port Eilat. The plan air marked some light vessels fitted with rocket launchers for shore bombardment. A Minefield near sharm-El-Sheikh, at the entrance of the gulf suez was planned. The most important element of the plan was secrecy. Syrian navy lacked in experience and training. Its deployment has tactical in nature¹²

Israel's Deployment

9. Israel did not have any naval deployment plan as such Its navy was actively used as and when required to country and neutralize the enemy at sea¹³

ORBAT

10.

Elements	Arabs		Israel
	Egypt	Syria	
Submarine	12	NIL	03
Destroyer	05	NIL	02
Frigates	03	NIL	NIL
Patrol raft	-	-	24
Large missile Boat	19 11Å 160 ltr Soviet USA class will 4 Styx missile 8Å 100-ton Soviet Komar will 2 Styx	6Å Komar	14 (12 Å 220)ton saar class (frence) with 8 Gabriel missile 2 Å 220 Reship class, 220 ton, 8 Gabriel missile
Torpedo Boat	34	17 Soviet K-123	08
Mine Sweepers	14	3	-
Landing Craft	-	-	10

FAC Operation

Battle of Latakia

11. The Battle of Latakia on the night of 6/7 October, when 5 Israel missile boats (4 Saar, 1 Reshev) encountered the Syrian of that post. This was the first missile boat engagement in the naval history. The Israelis anticipated a Syrian missile Boat task force might attack Haifa or other targets on the northern part of the Israeli Coastline so, an force consisting & 4 Saar class and one Reshev class missile boats war sent northward on an offensive patrol. Then the following events took place.

- a. The Israelis first met a Syrian K-123 torpedo boat at 2230 hours. They sunk the boat (by Gunfire).
- b. Then they detected one T-43 minesweeper and sunk that one (by Gabriel missile).
- c. Then the Israelis detected a T-43 minesweeper and 3 missile boats to the east of this TF. leaving one to deal with Syria Torpedo boat. They moved lower Syria ships. Detecting and identifying them positively at 40, 000/00 meters range. A half hour battle took place. at south of Latakia when both side exchanged missiles,. The Syria fired this missiles form a range & 37,000 meters. But the missiles were off target. The Israelis mores to 20,000 meter range, and then fired this Gabriel missile.
- d. **Battle Damage Assessment.** The Israelis claimed that are OSA, 2 Komar one K-123 and one T-43 minesweeper were sunk all by gabriel missiles. The Syrian's claimed to sunk 4 Israeli Boats.
- e. **Out Come.** This victory enabled the Israeli Navy to dominate the Syrian coast, at least at night, leading to Syrian fears of an amphibious landing, and thereby trying down the armored brigade which they allocated to defend this west.¹⁴

12. **Battle of Damietta.** An Israeli force of Six missile boats approached the Egyptian minesweeper coastline at Damietta, west of port side, in order to bombard military targets. at evening of 08 October. The force, supported by Helo encountered 4 Egyptian OSA missile boats at 2100 hours. First Egyptian salvo of 12 missiles around 0015 hrs from 40,000 meters range, none could hit their target. Israelis approached closer and launched their missile. 3 Egyptian Missile Boat Squadron were sank in 2 wars, lescaped to Alexandria. Egyptians claimed of 3 motor boats Missile Boat of Israel.¹⁵

Missile Boat engagement on 10 October

13. Two encounters in one incident a group of Israeli Missile Boat bombard installation at tartous, Syria. Suddenly Syria missile boats emerged and after some missile Israel claimed to sink 2 MBs, In the same night Israeli MBs encountered with Egyptian MBs Damielta. They claimed to have sunk 3 Egyptian MBs.

Missile Boat Engagement on 11 October

14. 2 engagements: AGP & I/S MBs were moving towards Latakia Syrian MB emerged suddenly and then took refuge in the shadow & merchant vessels at anchor. Israelis fired 3 merchant ship. They claimed 4 MB, Syria earned 8 crafts. Second off Tartous sighting Israeli boats. Syria came out of harbour and withdraw into merchant ship. It was the end of MBs engagement.¹⁶

Other Operations:

Israeli paid at Ghanghada

15. On 22 Oct; the I/S launched an amphibious attack on Ghanghada harbour on the Red sea. Their purpose was to destroy what they believed to be the last Egyptian komar M/B still operated in that area. they destroyed the komar by anti tank missile from very close range.

16. Few minor ops & landing and commando raids E/G raid of Balmier Oilrig.

17. Only the Egyptian Navy displayed mine warfare. because she is the only navy who had mine sweeper. They laid mines near Sharon-el-shirk at the entrance to the Gulf & Suez. They also laid minefield near the strait of Tiran, which reportedly sank an Israeli tanker. Another Liberian oil took chartered to Israel was hit by a mine and sunk. so the aim was to disrupt SLOC of Israel.²²

Cause of Defeat of Arabs.

Strategical

18.

- a. Not Decisive/ not offensive.
- b. Fated to utilize superior naval force ()
- c. Presence of USA ensured supply of essential military items to Israel.

Tactical

19.

- a. No air clement is air cover used.
- b. No EW or poor EW aspect.
- c. Engaged Israeli force from too far.
- d. The submarine did not play any role.
- e. Large combatants were not utilized properly.
- f. Depended too much on FAC.¹⁷

Lessons learnt for 3 rd World Country

Strategical lessons

20.

- a. Ally with the superpower.
- b. Ensure SLOC.
- c. Build up 3 dimensional Navy.
- d. Coastal Defence need be planed with respect of threat perception.¹⁸

Tactical lessons

21.

- a. Disposition of force are important.
- b. Modern FAC very effective for coastal defence.
- c. EW- vital for today's success in the warfare.
- d. Intelligence.
- e. Offensive action if enemy is weak in relative number.
- f. Use air support for any operation.
- g. Submarine act as a deterrence force.¹⁹

Conclusion

22. The Arab- Israeli war of 1973 provided several instances of world- be decisive battles between the Israeli, Syrian and Egyptian navies in the first week of the war. Subsequently there were important engagements of Latakia and tartus in Syria and Damietta in Egypt, Some of these engagements appear to have been pure Search and destroy missions.

Others had some specific objective, such as an attack on the enemy's shore line of port installations. Either way, they confirmed both the place of decisive battle in modern maritime warfare and the continued possible diversity of its immediate purpose.

23. The style of these battles, however, was quite moved. They were" the first sea-to-sea missile engagement like sty and the Gabriel and various forms FPBs.

Arab Israel War 1973-Lessons For Bangladesh (Case Study)

24. Following lessons are worthy of consideration in Bangladesh perspective:

- a. **Electronic Warfare.** Electronic warfare played a vital role in this war. The electronic advantages were the sole reason to make the Syrian sytx missiles nil. After his war the military planners have given a series of thought on EW aspect.
- b. **Strategic.** By knowing the effectiveness of sytx missile of Arabs, Israeli indigenously , made Gariel and ECM which worked very effectively.
- c **FAC.**
 - (i). FAC proved her worthiness as a effective missile platform.
 - (ii). FAC(missile boats) without advanced and superior ECM were not effective.
- d. **Tactics.** Israeli used the better tactics by using helo and radar decoy to deceive Arabs sytx that made the Arabs task difficult.
- e. **Technology** The Israeli innovations in the use of chaff and radar jammers.
- F. **Surveillance** It played important role in that war.
- g. **Cost Effectiveness** FAC proved as a cost effective platform in this war power.
- h. **Air Support.** FAC proved as a cost effective platform in this war. Whic played havoc in support of Naval operation.
- j. **SLOC.** SLOC is subjected to blockade during war.
- k. **C 1.** This war reflected the need for command, control, communication intelligence.
- l. **Weapon Capability.** It is the weapon capability rather then the size of the ship, which was determining factor in the naval battles.²¹

Lessons For Bangladesh (Military Point Of View)

25.

- a. **Military Doctrine and Force Structures.** For any military planning is vital to balance doctrine with capability.
- b. **Research & Development.** R & D programmers not only give rise to high tech military systems, but also benefit the civil sector with the resulting boost to a countries economy and industrial base.

- c. **Deterrence**. Conventional precision weapons demonstrated that they are capable of destroying high value strategic targets.
- d. **Unity of Command**. The unity of command and the minimum requirement for coordination between civil and military agencies were the key to success for any combined joint operation.
- e. **Force Multipliers** Defense procurement is not a question of cost but one of cost effectiveness. Systems such as AWACS, PGMs and AAR must be considered in terms of long term saving not short term expense. The argument for future investment must be emphasized by defense planners and accorded the necessary priority.
- f. **Logistic Support** Ability to identify requirements early ensure their timely delivery and protection are vital specialized.
- g. **Training**. NATO forces, of all combat arms, had trained to fight soviet. equipped troops, in highly realistic exercises for decades. Which proved successful.
- h. **EW** The ability to exploit the Electromagnetic spectrum, whilst deny the enemy use of the same was amply demonstrated in the Gulf War.
- j. **FAC**. FAC with sufferer air covered proved totally ineffective against support or force.
- k. **Mine Warf** cost effective and vital for which coalition forces had to abandon this amphibious halt plan.
- l. **Strategic Allies** BD should go for strategic alliance for the interest of her security.
- m. **Communication** Good secure communication is essential for the success in any joint campay.
- n. **Role of the Media**. "War by television" had a profound impact on political and to a certain extent, military decisions which were made with the impact of the media in mind. Commanders of the future will have to be trained not only to handle the media.²¹

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- ¹⁷ Other operations, Mine & Fac Operation
- ¹⁸ Strategical lesson for Whole Over the country
- ¹⁹ Lason for 3rd world country
- ²⁰ Lason for Bahgladesh perspective
- ²¹ Lason for military point of view.

IRAN CRISIS**Introduction**

1. Iran, the name of new crisis in the world of the Islamic Republics was established as an Islamic Republic in 1979 after the demolition of the ruling monarchic. But in 1980 to 1988, it war with Iraq gave the concept to her that she was very helpless to the military power of the other countries. So, Iran wanted to be enriched by military power to guard her economy.¹

2. To fulfill her aim Iran has made good relation with China and Russia where as England and USA have separate military group. Iran never had a good relation with them. On the other hand China and Russia require oil. So Iran took these chance and trying to get the nuclear technology from Russia and China in lieu of oil. This is a trust to the interest of America and there by situation forces the nations war. Thus the problem or situation has already established a crisis known as Iran crisis.

3. Russia and China have close economic and energy with Tehran. America wants the full control and peace in Middle East. Iran is the new rising head and Russia and China are back support. So, a new crisis to establish military power over the world.²

Aim

4. The aim of this research work is to give a brief description regarding present Iran crisis and its future prognosis.

Iran And Her Military Power

5. Iran is a country of 1.648 million Sq/Km with her population of 68,688,433. 89% of her total people are Shia where as 9% are Sunni, and others. Her GDP is \$552 & billion chief of state is supreme. Leader Ayatollah Ali Khomeini Iran is a very strong country political unrest is very unlikely.

6. Iran has already started her nuclear enrichment under her long programmes; she has already achieved a lot. Iran has established mainly three sites that is nuclear sites. Those are Busher, Natanz and Arak.

7. BUSHFHR is the major nuclear site established by with the help of Russia. This is the key nuclear that it has the capacity of producing also much polonium for 30 bombs each year. Natanz is an underground site. The centrifuges for uranium enrichment, in amount of 50,000 can be produced here. In the year 2002, Natanz and Arak both were exposed. The Arak with heavy water facility can be imbibe to make bomb grade polonium. Iran is in under contact signed in November with Russia to pay more than \$ 700 million dollars for 29 of the strophes dictated short range air defense systems some days Iran has successfully launched a new missile for experimental purpose which is capable to avoid radar and the missile to distort it.³

Announcement Of Being Nuclear Powered

8. On 9th April president Ahmadinejad announced that Iran had achieved the nuclear power technology. the role of their success is 3.5% the president also his followers to cut off the hand of any aggression.

9. Iran insists that it needs a nuclear programme for power despite its rich oil resource. The US says Tehran is seeking a weapon. Among the sources of suspicion Iranian test involving the separation of polonium -210, most of the used as a trigger in nukes evidence that Iranian scientists researched a high tech process that uses laser to enrich uranium, and allegations that Iranian authorities received bomb plans from the Khan artwork below. a map of Iran's major nuclear sites and how they too should fit into a weapons programme

- a. **KALAYE.** After a long delay Iran let the IAEA visit in mid-03 key areas had been renovated but samples still tested positive for highly enriched uranium.
- b. **LAVIZAN.** Handed dual - use the equipment that can be used for both nuclear and international arms. The problem it was a nuclear lab.
- c. **NATANZ.** Imposed in 02 this underground site may hold up to 50,000 uranium enrichment centrifuges. Despite IAEA it reopened last month.
- d. **ARAK.** Kept secret until 2002. Arak's heavy water facility which the US says serves no civilian need could be used to make bomb grade plutonium.
- e. **ESFAHAN.** Reportedly the site of Iran's larger missile assembly and production plant its also where uranium is converted into the gas needed for enrichment
- f. **BUSHEHR.** Iran's key nuclear site, it centre on a Russian built reactor that experts say should make enough plutonium for 30 bombs each year.

10. With one of the largest fleets of ballistic missile in the Middle East, Iran possess a serious threat. Experts say that several of its existing and potential Shahab weapons, which are allegedly derived from north Korean designs, could hold nuclear warheads. Another case for concern the 12 x 55 cruise missiles that Tehran purchased from Ukraine in 2001. They can be fired as far as Italy and were made to carry nuclear warheads Iran's ballistic missile and cruise missile are given below with their potential ranges:

- a. X-55 1,900 miles.
- b. Shahab-3 800 miles.
- c. Shahab-4 1,250 miles
- d. Shahab-5 3,700 miles

11. On 11 February, the International Atomic Energy Agency reported Iran to the UN security council a result of growing worldwide concern that its nuclear programme might be military. Dissecting the latest developments and providing perspective on decades of deception. The IAEA said that three parts of Iran's civilian nuclear fuel production programme and military weapons projects appear to have administrative interconnections and closer look at the IAEA report is given below:

- a. **MILITARY NUCLEAR DIMENSION.** Taken separately the allegedly undeclared studies flagged by the IAEA could be unrelated to nuclear arms. But if linked under the aegis of Iran's they could suggest an atomic weapons programme.
- b. **GREEN SALT PROJECT.** This study involves tetrafluoride which can be used to make bomb material. Its the first fuel production programme that the IAEA says should be tied to be tied to the military.

c. **EXPLOSIVES TESTING** The IAEA says that Iran has plans for uranium hemispheres that relate to the fabrication of nuclear weapons components. A ring of high explosives would be used to detonate such a device.

d. **MISSILE RE-ENTRY VEHICLE.** In 04 the CIA showed contents of a laptop (illegally stolen from Iran). Focusing on designs for missile specifically meant to carry nuclear warheads they IAEA report bolsters the credibility of such intelligence.

12. With all these information's the question arises that within how many days left Iran will be the nuclear power, Specialist telling that it might takes 10 years to 20 years. But according to the speak of the Iranian president it will take very short time.⁴

Nuclear program of Iran

13. The nuclear program of Iran was launched in the 1950s with the help of the United States as part of the Atoms for Peace program. The support, encouragement and participation of the United States and Western European governments in Iran's nuclear program continued until the 1979 Islamic revolution that toppled the Shah of Iran.

14. After the Iranian Revolution in 1979, the Iranian government temporarily disbanded elements of the program, and then revived it with less Western assistance than during the pre-revolution era. Iran's nuclear program has included several research sites, a uranium mine, a nuclear reactor, and uranium processing facilities that include a uranium enrichment plant.

15. Iran's first nuclear power plant, Bushehr I, is expected to be operational in March 2008 and delivering its maximum capacity to the nation's power grid by March 2009. There are no current plans to complete the Bushehr II reactor, although the construction of 19 nuclear power plants is envisaged. Iran has announced that it is working on a new 360 MWe nuclear power plant to be located in Darkhoyen. Iran has also indicated it that it will seek more medium-sized nuclear power plants and uranium mines for the future.⁵

Problem Arises

16. The Iranian president Ahmadinejad is telling continuously that their nuclear project is only to produce the electrical energy. But the US president Bush is telling Iran's nuclear project is only to get the nuclear power to use in military weapons and it is deserved that Iran's all the nuclear project and missile sites are side by side. In the last few years Iran has increased its military power a lot and this is the only problem of US and ISRAEL. If Iran can earn nuclear power it will be another super power in the Middle East.⁶

Role Of Un

17. The UN is trying to solve this problem UN a peaceful way by discussing and consulting. But in the provides time we have seen that the US has attacked Iraq avoiding the UN. This gives a news of possible war in the middle east. So in this reason role of the UN should be stood hard and take bold action. Nither people will loose their faith upon this organization.⁷

Consequences Of Possible War

18. If the US and Israel strike Iran than it will bring a great disastern for the world peace. The series missile and ballistic missile of Iran covers Israel very well. So it will not be easier like 1981. Again the Iranian president Ahmadinejan has said that If Israel thinks like 1981 then it will be the great mistake. They will dig their own grave

19. Russia and China has helped Iran from the very beginning of their nuclear project. The main nuclear reactor of Iran was supplied by Russia. So, they might take the work in another eye. If so it will create another crisis for the world.

20. Iran is rich of fuel. If the US and Israel strike Iran, it is very simple that they will stop exporting the fuel. And at present Iran is exporting huge amount of fuel. Iran is the second largest country to produce fuel. As a result the cost of fuel will increase in a large scale. Which will strike the world's economy effectively.⁸

Iran Issue The New Crisis

21. Iran is going ahead with her nuclear programmed Iran is saying that research is clearly our undeniable right and nobody can make the request and they can not go back on research Iran is saying that she is producing nuclear power just to the in perusal aspect. She wants to achieve industrial scale uranium - enrich they also says thank it not build a bomb the technology is to make fuel for civil nuclear.

22. But the USA is always concerned about their speech is that they (Iran) are going to provided nuclear boom and their all attempts are only for nuclear power purpose. An American daily says that Iran is going to produce nuclear bomb within (3-10) years.

23. So this situation creates the incremental conflict in middle east are when an war is going an in Iraq already. In this field Russia and China are in one side with Iran and England and America another side.⁹

Iran, A Threat To Usa Interest

24. Actually it may be true that Iran rerunning after nuclear power for making bomb. If it is then it will be a very serious matter to USA. In middle east Israel is the strongest bare and friend to USA . Normally doesn't want to loose her impact and control over this area . but of Iran crisis with her nuclear power, then it will be a threat to USA. This will have a great impact over the economy and military behavior of ruling Americas which is obviously not good for her.

25. Again USA has captured Iraq only to away her oil wealth. But if Iran arises power it will be a problem for USA concern and politically. So, USA taken Iran as own crisis and thereby Iran comes to as the world crisis. Again Iran has produce some ballistic missile like x-55, shihab-3, shihab-4 and 5. They have the capability to attack in Israel American bases around Iran, So at present Iran is the crisis for American interest and-there for a crisis to the world.¹⁰

Other's Opinion

26. Russia and China are supplying the technology to Iran. In united Nations security council Russia and China are supporting Iran not to give pressure our her. Actually, China and Russia have close economic and energy ties with Tehran. They are opposing sanction and insisting on a central roll for the UN nuclear watch dog. Russia has already said that they will not compromise over Iran, Russia is supplying Tor-M1 mobile air defense system to Iran. On the other hand UK is ready to Iran plan with USA to destroy the Iraian plant to make nuclear bombs. ¹¹

Us Tacticts To Face Iran

27. USA has announced that if UN can not stop Iran, USA herself will take action Now the Question is how they are going approaching against Iran, China and Russia want the diplomatic solution.

28. USA is preparing for full military attack US military is planning for air strikes to force Tehran to abandon on its controversial nuclear program. In April 17 The New York magazine said that the US government was planning a massive -bombing campaign against Iran including the use of bunker buster nuclear bombs to destroy suspected facilities like Natanz.

29. Aging USA is planning to infiltrate agent Iran to pick targets and make contacts with decisive group like Mujahidin -E -Khalq (MEK). USA want these MEK like groups to stand against Iran government. Again they are planning for long to create public opinion against nuclear power,

30. But at first USA is trying to go through diplomatically, If it fails they will take military action. US ambassador of Bolton had expressed hope and said we remain convinced that we will achieve a presidential statement and it may take a little of time.¹²

Consequence

31. Richard Clark and Steven Semer said that if Tehran was attacked then the price of oil would be increased heavily. On the other hand Iran may use her terrorist -network against America she will not be limited her peaceful use of weapons, so undoubtedly this will have very bad effect on world economy. There may be two divisions in the world and there may be use of nuclear weapon again in the world even.

32. So in the long run, the 3rd world war is not a dream also. The people will be sufferer and the peace of the Middle East will completely be defrayed. So in a nut shell it can be tell that Iran issue is really a crisis for the world at present.¹³

Conclusion

33. Iran has already formed voluntary guard force. The fighters of this force are ready to die for the command. This is a force of suicide attack consisting of 40,000 (Forty thousands) fighters. Iran has defected 29 aims. So attack on Iran will never be a easy thing. It may be worse than Iraq situation.

34. America tried to stop Iran diplomatically. If it is failed military attack will take place. Traditionally Iran has the history as a powerful country. The experience gathered from Iran Iraq war is pushing Iran to be powered by nuclear weapon.

35. Situation is not easy because America can attack alone if the world or UN doesn't stop Iran. Tehran should not think that Washington is too bogged down in Iraq to start a new military offensive against Tehran now. In reality the current difficulties in Iraq might be one of the factors impelling them toward, attacking Iran, They believe such an offensive would successfully divert public attention from the Iraq war and the current economic rise at home and restore president Bush image as a wartime Lader especially by or the crucial midterm congressional election next November. But America also has to keep in mind about the military power of Iran. Otherwise the situation will be a very critical one for the world.

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GULF WAR – LESSONS FOR MODERN WARFARE**Introduction**

1. The Gulf crisis began with the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait on 02 August 1990. After the Second World War, the Gulf War of 1990-91 is the next most significant war. It is one of the significant events in the context of military history. Once the cold war era was over and the Iraq-Iran war terminated after long eight years, people were thinking about the elimination of nuclear weapons and limiting the conventional war machineries. At that very moment Iraq invaded Kuwait surprising the whole world.

2. The root cause of the war was the border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait, which has existed from the British colonial era. Though the world was hoping for the positive outcome of the end of the cold war but this event of Iraq made them to rethink about the modus to eliminate this sort of unwanted happening in future. To fight against the invaders the world body united and made the Coalition Force. Air Power of 11 countries, Naval Ships of 17 countries and Ground forces of 18 countries of the world participated in the war. Bangladesh contributed 2000 troops under administrative command in the Gulf War. It was altogether a unique experience for that complementary force to understand their jobs in the hi-tech warfare scenario.

3. In military sense, Gulf war involved two distinct operations. Firstly, the preparation of defence of Saudi Arabia under the code name of "Operation Desert Shield". To materialize the effective defence, enough forces were deployed to deter the further Iraqi attack. A thin defence line along the Kuwait border was established. Secondly, the attack by the coalition forces on Iraq, which was termed "Operation Desert Storm". Initially the Coalition Forces carried out massive air strikes on the Iraqi troops to reduce their fighting capability and then launched the final ground offensive to eject Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The war ended with the unilateral cease-fire by the Coalition Forces on 28 February 1991.

4. As expected the Gulf crisis was a test case for a new world order. The highly technical and sophisticated war asset brought a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), which gave a new dimension in the armed conflict. The technological development changed in the conduct of battle to a great extent during the last few decades. The Gulf War, also gave an indication of the likely future battlefield and provides various inputs necessary to formulate own doctrine, guide force structuring and development. It would also be practical to analyse the various military lessons of the conflict and adapt them to the context of Bangladesh Armed Forces.¹

5. At the outset, this Research work gives a broad overview of the historical background of the war. Therefore, It evaluates the lessons of the war relevant to Bangladesh Armed Forces. Finally an endeavour is made to recommend on few important aspects.

Aim

6. The aim of this research paper is to analyse the conduct of Gulf War and extract the relevant lessons for Bangladesh Armed Forces.

Background**Acceptance of Kuwaiti Independence**

7. Prior to World War I, under the Anglo-Ottoman Convention of 1913, Kuwait was considered to be an autonomous state within Ottoman Iraq. Following the war, Kuwait fell under British rule and later became an independent state. Iraqi officials did not accept the legitimacy of Kuwaiti independence.

8. Following the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s, Iraq was extremely indebted to several Arab countries, including a \$14 billion debt to Kuwait (Hiro, 1992). Iraq hoped to repay its debts by raising the price of oil through OPEC oil production cuts, but instead, Kuwait increased production, lowering prices, in an attempt to leverage a better resolution of their border dispute. In addition, Iraq charged that Kuwait had taken advantage of the Iran-Iraq War to drill for oil and build military outposts on Iraqi soil near Kuwait.

Iraqi Demands for Cancel of War Debts

9. Furthermore, Iraq charged that it had performed a collective service for all Arabs by acting as a buffer against Iran and that therefore Kuwait and Saudi Arabia should negotiate or cancel Iraq's war debts. During the war, Iraq enjoyed good relations with the United States: the United States tilted towards supporting Iraq, despite earlier Soviet influence in Iraq, and supplied it with weapons and economic aid.

Saddam's Grievances Against Kuwait

10. In late July, 1990, Iraq amassed troops on Kuwait's borders and summoned American ambassador April Glaspie for an unanticipated meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. In that meeting, Saddam outlined his grievances against Kuwait, while promising that he would not invade Kuwait before one more round of negotiations. Although Glaspie expressed concern over the troop buildup, some people perceived her answers as giving tacit approval for an invasion, by saying that the US "[has] no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait" (from the Iraqi transcript of the meeting, as published in Sifry).

Kuwait Invasion by Iraq

11. Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait with armor and infantry, occupying strategic posts throughout the country, including the Emir's palace, on August 2, 1990. Iraq detained thousands of Western visitors as hostages, and later attempted to use them as bargaining chips. Iraq initially established a puppet "liberated" Kuwaiti government, but quickly dissolved this and declared parts of Kuwait to be extensions of the Iraqi province of Basra and the rest to be the 19th province of Iraq.

UN Resolution 660.

12. Within hours of the initial invasion, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 660, condemning the invasion and demanding a withdrawal of Iraqi troops. On August 6, the Security Council passed Resolution 661, placing economic sanctions on Iraq and, on November 11, Resolution 678, giving Iraq a withdrawal deadline of January 15, 1991, and authorizing "all necessary means to uphold and implement Resolution 660".

Forming of Coalition Force

13. The United States, especially Secretary of State James Baker, assembled a coalition of forces to join it in opposing Iraq, consisting of soldiers from 34 countries: Many of the coalition forces were reluctant to join; some felt that the war was an internal Arab affair; others feared increasing American influence in Kuwait. In the end, many nations were persuaded by offers of economic aid or debt forgiveness.

USA Decision to Use Military Force

14. The United States insisted that the only acceptable terms for peace were Iraq's full, unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. Iraq insisted that withdrawal from Kuwait must be "linked" to a simultaneous withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon and Israeli troops from

the West Bank, Gaza Strip, ^{Dhaka University Institutional Repository} Jordan Heights, and southern Lebanon. On January 12, 1991 the United States Congress authorized the use of military force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait.

Media Campaign

15. The most important single argument for war against Iraq was that neighbour oil producing countries feared that Saddam's Iraq could advance on them in the next round, if Iraq wasn't stopped in Kuwait. Saddam and Iraq were presented as the evil dictatorship that had come to destroy a peaceful and militarily weak neighbour. This was much aided by the media campaigns, and the war came to be defined as a war between good and evil.²

Lessons For Bangladesh Armed Forces (Case Study)

Relevance and Applicability of the Lessons

16. Most of the lessons from the Gulf War are universal in nature. However, there are some that are more relevant for application to Bangladesh armed forces. These are discussed subsequently.

a. **Selection and Maintenance of Aim** Saddam Hussein's selection of aim of annexing Kuwait was wrong and difficult to maintain, as it was not supported by a national will and consensus. As such the aim was continuously redefined under pressure from Coalition forces. The Coalition forces, on the other hand, selected the clear aim of liberating Kuwait with the support of the UN and international community. This aim was maintained and sustained throughout the campaign. It is necessary for every nation to select a well-defined and sustainable aim in any operation.³

b. **Strategy**. The Iraqis allowed the coalition forces to complete their build-up along their border without any disruption. If the Iraqis had seized 'the window of vulnerability' to attack their adversaries, they could have achieved some strategic advantage by unbalancing the coalition build-up. The US led coalition conducted a manoeuvre battle aimed at disruption, degradation, isolation and destruction of the Iraqis. Coalition offensive was planned and executed from the campaign level downwards. Tactical actions were like building blocks within a framework of an operational setting. The Iraqis, on the other hand, focused on isolated and uncoordinated tactical level actions, which proved of little or no consequence towards the operational or strategic aim. Bangladesh would have to prepare a well-coordinated defensive strategy with limited offensive. The limited offensive may be based on high manoeuvrability, unconventional tactics and riverine warfare.⁴

c. **The Air Campaign**. Exploiting the vast technological edge, the coalition air campaign was instrumental in shaping the battlefield as part of the Air-land doctrine. The Coalition forces soon established air supremacy and thereafter concentrated on strategic and operational level interdiction. During the ground offensive, the focus shifted to battlefield air interdiction and close air support. Consequently, the land campaign proceeded with greater speed and fewer coalition losses than anticipated. The impact was contained, as it totally demoralised the Iraqis and created opportunities for surprise and manoeuvre by the ground forces.. It envisaged and effected degradation of up to 50 – 60 per cent of the Iraqi forces before the actual launching of the ground offensive. The necessity of a practical air power and the concept of integrating air power along with ground forces remain relevant lessons derived from Gulf War for all nations.⁵

d. **Role of Technology** Coalition forces exploited their technological superiority in aircraft, EW, navigation, fire control, communication and battlefield management systems. This helped them to render the battlefield transparent and conduct a highly mobile combined arms offensive. Again the state-of-art weapon systems fielded by the coalition proved generations ahead of those held by the Iraqis. Night fighting capabilities were also considerably superior. Resultantly, the Republican Guards, equipped with the best Iraqi weapons, were neutralized by the US and British forces in a single night. The Gulf War highlighted the role that technology would play in future conflicts. A Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) was ushered in, and warfare would never be the same again. Developing nations may not achieve the standard of the western world at a go these lessons will definitely give them a direction for technological developments in limited scales. Bangladesh may start developments in the field of communication, navigation systems, and gradually move into weapon system.⁶

e. **Media Control** In the Gulf War, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq all imposed media controls without provoking significant outcries from their journalists. The USA Defence Department ground rules imposed on the media protected combat forces while imposing moderate controls that did not amount to a gross violation of freedom of press.¹ The media pool system was efficiently employed to the satisfaction of both the media and operational commanders. The issue of media access to combat information with appropriate controls is a lesson from the Gulf War, which will help armed forces of developing countries to relate with the media.⁷

f. **Friendly Fire**. It is recorded that own comrades killed 35 of the 138 Americans killed in action during the Gulf War. Even though the overall casualty of the coalition forces was low, these friendly fire casualties accounted for about 25 percent of the total. It was considered high and could have been avoided or minimized with greater care. However, the acquisition of the better Identification Friend and Foe (IFF) devices by most modern armies will surely minimize such casualties in future. Bangladesh needs to incorporate the IFF system in all her forces to take care of such casualties in future operations.⁸

g. **Coordination Between National and Defence Intelligence Services**. On February 13, 1991, two stealth fighters received orders to hit a hardened shelter in Baghdad-the AMIRIYA bunker which US intelligence had identified as a 'command and control bunker'. Though the CIA confirmed the shelter as a military target, it was discovered later that it was a shelter for civilians. This discovery was only made after the fighters had dropped their two bombs killing up to 400 civilians within the structure. This act was a result of lack of coordination between the CIA and the Defence Intelligence agencies that had repeatedly argued that the structure was not a military target. The Iraqis made a strong case to the UN and the international community out of this incident. The Coalition forces were greatly disturbed by the error. There is therefore a strong need for close coordination of all intelligence agencies during operations.⁹

h. **Defence Against NBC Threat**. The Coalition authorities were harshly criticised for inadequately preparing troops for exposure to NBC weapons. Even though Saddam Hussein never used any chemical or biological weapons against the Coalition forces, the threat was very real. Troops were however inadvertently exposed to radiations from destroyed stocks of Iraqi chemical and biological agents as well as from fires that raged from burning spilled crude oil. There were complaints among British and US troops of weakening symptoms soon after the war. These symptoms included joint effort, memory loss and partial paralysis in some cases. Military medical analysts have blamed these conditions on either over-dose of bio-warfare vaccinations (including *amphetamine*) or more specifically, the exposure of

troops to the aforementioned radiations. Bangladesh Armed forces may need to be equipped with necessary NBC defence equipment and gears in this regard.¹¹

j. **Mine Warfare**. During the feint amphibious landing in Kuwait by the Marine forces, two major Navy vessels (the Aegis cruiser USS Princeton and the amphibious assault ship USS Tripoli), nearly got sunk by Iraqi mines. The very old US minesweeping fleet (same that was used during the Second World War) could not effectively clear the underwater mines. This would have caused a serious setback for the coalition forces if the amphibious landing were for real. America has since then updated her underwater minesweeping capability. In the same line, Bangladesh may need to acquire some of the modern minesweeping vessels, especially as any operation around the country would extensively involve the Navy and other amphibious crafts.¹²

k. **Diplomatic Front** Kuwait is a very small country with less military capability in comparison with Iraq. After the sudden invasion by Iraq, Kuwaiti government immediately moved to Saudi Arabia and sought military support from UK and USA. On their request the Coalition forces were organized with the aim of restoring sovereignty of Kuwait. A similar military strength prevails in Bangladesh relative to her potential adversaries. She may therefore need to work hard to assemble her own 'coalition of willing governments capable of at least politically opposing a future war by her stronger adversaries. Good relations with countries like USA, UK and China will be beneficial in this regard.¹³

l. **Joint Warfare** To bring smooth operation capability in combat capability, tri-service joint effort is a prerequisite. Bangladesh has land, sea and air spaces to defend. Neighbouring countries pose the major threat to the country from all directions. The lesson of jointness in operation by all services during the Gulf War dictates that we should maintain an integrated force always. So far, we lack joint activities among the three services. In order to achieve maximum effectiveness, all services should operate with full coordination. Joint training and exercise are the ways of achieving such desired results. The Defence Ministry may also be re-organised to include a Joint Staff HQ to coordinate all activities and operations of the three services.¹⁴

m. **Battlefield Intelligence/ Transparency** The Coalition forces employed both human and electronic means of information gathering process that enabled them to have real-time dispositions of Iraqi forces. This lesson is very much relevant for Bangladesh. Bangladesh needs to enhance her intelligence acquisition system by integrating human and electronic means effectively. The same tools could be utilized for counter intelligence operations.¹⁵

n. **Special Operation** The Coalition forces successfully employed Special Forces during the war. Special forces operations were instrumental in creating insecurity within the Iraqi rear areas, thereby gaining a psychological edge and also tying down front line forces for rear area security. They effectively assisted in the degradation battle. The current training doctrine emphasizing training on unconventional tactics is certainly relevant for Bangladesh in this direction and should be sustained.¹⁶

p. **Psychological Operation** The coalition forces tactfully managed the media and executed a campaign on both external and internal fronts. Strategic deception was conducted by allowing the media to create the illusion of a much more rapid build up than the actual. Operational deception was achieved by giving the Marines on the Saudi-Kuwaiti border a lot of coverage, indicating an offensive in that sector,

while limited access was provided to the media for the forces deployed further North. Media was also utilised to shape international opinion and highlight the uprightness of the allied cause and this resulted in more contributions to the Coalition forces. Psychological warfare remains an important element of victory in any conflict. Bangladesh needs to train her armed forces to undertake more psychological operations within the context of the current operational doctrine.¹⁷

q. **Deception** Both the Coalition forces and the Iraqi forces undertook extensive deception plans. The Allied forces conducted a major deception on the Iraqi forces by pretending to be carrying out a massive amphibious landing on the Kuwaiti shores. This move pulled the Iraqi forces away from the coalition's main effort in the North making it easier to disrupt their defences. This is a universal lesson and Bangladesh needs to apply it at decisive moments by integrating all the measures of strategic and tactical deception.¹⁸

r. **Logistic Control**. Disrupting the Iraq's strategic highway and rail network enabled the Coalition to destroy huge amounts of Iraq's military hardware. On the other hand, the Coalition was able to deploy forces and supplies from all over the world and successfully defeated the 'World's fourth largest Army'. Two factors were responsible for this enormous 'logistic achievement'- technology and complete freedom of movement. Coalition forces had fast sealift, reliable air transportation and computerized movement control to their advantage. They freely moved resources on the ground, sea and air. Their logistic system was effective as it was controlled by one country. The systematic use of resources with priority ensured the fulfilment of all requirements. Bangladesh needs to include logistic system training at all levels to ensure adequate management of resources both during peacetime and war.¹⁹

Conclusions

17. Gulf war, fought a decade ago is still a testimony of the modern warfare. In this war the exhibition of the modern technology in respect to warfare has put the military thinkers to weigh out between the superior strength and the technological advancement. Undoubtedly the Allied forces won the war due to their superiority in the technology. But it is also true that the final victory came to the Allied by dint of the physical reoccupation of Kuwait.

18. From the history it was evident that the Iraqi's claim on Kuwait was a long-standing one. The main focus was the oil asset and the territorial dispute. Ultimately this led them to war.

19. The conduct of the Gulf War was a combination of ground and air campaign. Those campaigns again exhibited the optimum use of the modern technology, specially in the air campaign. The war was fought in two stages. The first stage was the 'Operation Desert Shield', which was aimed at defending Saudi Arabia from Iraqi aggression. The second stage was the 'Operation Desert Storm', which was offensive in nature to liberate Kuwait. However, this stage was the combination of the air and land battle, which made this war as a legendary one after the Second World War. The air campaign was solely devoted for softening up the target, which was then occupied channel a well-coordinated air-land battle. And the final victory was tilted towards the Allied side despite of Iraqi's deliberate deception measures. The Gulf War has proved the worth, the use of the modern technology over any of the battlefield operating system. Like every other war – the Gulf War has also left lots of valuable lessons for the military thinkers and students. The study of the war reveals that the lessons are not too different from those of other wars fought earlier. But the use of technology in this war added a new dimension. The principles followed in this war were not also exceptions from in practice. Deception, use of technology, use of the media also accelerated the victory.

20. Bangladesh contributed 2000 troops under administrative command in the Gulf War. Basing on the future security environment, Bangladesh Armed Forces would have to fight numerically superior forces, equipped with superior technological arms and equipment and state of the art weaponry. Bangladesh would have to select its national aim. Bangladesh should prepare a well-coordinated strategy whether defensive or offensive based on its capability. The three services should be integrated under a "Joint Service Headquarters". Within the current doctrine Bangladesh can adopt defensive strategy with limited offensive policy. The present strength, available equipment and the doctrine of Bangladesh Armed Forces may not be strong enough to meet the future challenges as can be anticipated. To overcome this, Bangladesh may begin to assemble her own "Coalition of willing governments" who could politically oppose a threat against us. Good relationship with nations like UK, USA and China is considered a step in the right direction. Again the media is very much integrated with war. The Coalition Forces also realized this factor and efficiently managed the press to their advantage. Bangladesh Armed forces need to develop good media relations in peace time which could be exploited during operation.

21. The coalition air power established air supremacy and was instrumental in shaping the Air Land doctrine causing 50-60% degradation to Iraqi forces before the ground campaign. The necessity of a prudent air power would remain relevant lesson derived from Gulf War. Battlefield intelligence and transparency are very much relevant for Bangladesh. Special operations need well trained forces. The current training doctrine emphasizing training on unconventional tactics is certainly relevant and applicable for Bangladesh. More emphasis was placed on psychological operations in Gulf War. Bangladesh need to train the Armed Forces to undertake psychological operations within the current doctrine.

22. The neighbouring countries of Bangladesh is equipped with nuclear power and its threat is gaining grounds by day. There are also many other kinds of radiations in the battlefield, which troops need to be protected from. So Bangladesh Armed Forces need to acquire the NBC defence capability. So all the lessons of Gulf war is an eye opener of Bangladesh Armed Forces to organize and prepare for the future.

Recommendations

23. In the light of aforesaid the following are recommended:

- a. Bangladesh should emphasize more on conduct of joint operations. Future battles are less likely to be fought by any single force alone. Integration of resources under a unified or joint command is essential for Bangladesh.
 - b. Bangladesh Armed Forces should begin to train and be equipped against NBC threat.
 - c. Bangladesh Army should improve on intelligence gathering process and Intelligence acquisition sector.
 - d. Government should continuously maintain good diplomatic relationship with some influential countries to assist in opposing future threats of Bangladesh.
 - e. Emphasis should be placed on Special and Psychological operations.
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CHAPTER-ELEVENT **TERRORISM AND THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM**

Introduction

1. Terrorism is one of the most emotive, politically charged and controversial issues of the world today. Today, it appeared throughout the world as a threat to humanity. It is of different characters and strategies. The terrorists, despite being heavily outnumbered by billions of people aspiring for peace, have mostly remained scattered and hidden around the world. They now act on a wider variety of motives than ever before. The most dangerous and inhuman face of terrorism has been opened after terrorists attack on Twin Tower, It shocked all the peace loving people and led to the forgoing of an unprecedented global consensus against terrorism. The expression of solidarity in the part of the international community with the government and the people of the United States at the hour of their national grief has been deep and profound.¹

Concept of terrorism

2. So far no one has been able to define terrorism in a manner that could be universally acceptable. Even the United Nations, despite its decades long efforts, has not succeeded in determining the parameters of this phenomenon due to lack of consensus among its member states, The use of this on the part of state and non state actions has often been based on ideological dogmatism and political expediency rather than objective and realistic considerations.

3. Nevertheless, all peace loving and justice upholding countries and peoples generally tend to consider extreme forms of intimidation and violence intended to frighten, injure and kill human beings or to coerce, harm, subdue, subjugate and destabilize group, government, states, regions and the international community as act of terrorism.

4. In Webster's collegiate dictionary, terrorism has been defined as the use of physical force in a coordinated manner by an organized group or groups so as to injure others. A different view of terrorism has been provided by George sorrel. To him, terrorism has been the revolutionary denial of the existing order mainly with a view to creating a new order, So, terrorism may be defined as the substrate application of violence or threatened violence intended to create panic in a sociality, to weaken or ever overthrow the incumbents, and to bring about political changes.²

Name of terrorism

5. Now days, terrorists have mostly remained scattered and hidden around the world. They now act on a wider variety of motives than ever before. Some features of terrorism involve the following:

- a. Some of terrorists embrace death unflinchingly for their cause, be it right or wrong.
- b. The anarchists and the left wing terrorist groups that succeeded them, down through the Red Armies the operated in Germany, Italy and Japan in the 1970 have vanished, Now the initiative has passed to the extreme rights. Most international and domestic terrorism these days, however, is neither left nor right but ethnic separatist in nature.
- c. The terrorist groups like Muslim Brotherhood, the Palestinian Hams, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Kurdish extremists in Turkey and Iraq, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, The Basque Homeland and Liberty movement in Spain and many other groups have had political as well as terrorist groups.
- d. Airline hijacking was a prominent feature of terrorist activates. But such kind of operation has become rare, since hijacked planes connote stay in the air forever and few countries today an willing to let them land. In this regard, September-11 Twin Tower attack envisaged a new mode of hijacking i.e terrorist operation.
- e. Terrorist missions by volunteers bent on committing suicide constitute a new radical new departure, dangerous because they are impossible to prevent.

- f. Bombing on targets also in another form of terrorist operations.
- g. Assassination, abduction etc. also are being practiced by many terrorist assignment of Nehru in India.
- h. The worst type of terrorism is state sponsored terrorism. It has the advantage of having immense physical power, unlimited access to media and enormous clout to rally round international state clubs.³

Factors responsible for terrorism

6. Terrorism, as a multivariate phenomenon, comes into being through numerous channels and a number of factors are responsible for its rise at national and international level. such as:-

- a. At the national level, poverty is cited as an important factor contributing to the rise of terrorism. Indeed a section of unemployed and frustrated youths, apart from hardcore criminals, take resort to terrorism for reasons of survival to start with and of prosperity at a later stage.
- b. The confrontational politics to a country may also be the cause of nationwide terrorism. In developing countries, the unblinking and unyielding stand off between the mainstream political parties arising out of what appears to be a life and death struggle for power leads to a sharp increase in terrorism.
- c. Terrorism is an overt expression of discontent, frustration and rage emanating from both internal and external factors. Multi racial, multi religious, multi-lingual states are vulnerable to internal discontent and fictional strife if the minority communities are deprivation resulting from poverty or absence of distributive justice also breed terrorism.
- d. Political suppression of opponents and people by repressive regimes and economic deprivation resulting from poverty or absence of distributive justice also breed terrorism.
- e. State terrorism reflected in such acts as sponsoring violence, illegal occupation of territories, enforced displacement of people, often leads to counter terrorism.
- f. The creation and imposition of so called liberation forces on nations by influential foreign powers in gaining political and economic dividends can give rise to terrorism.
- g. Double standard of major powers and international level also responsible for growth of international terrorism. For example, the American hypocrisy against Muslims, especially in the Middle East is considered to be the only factors responsible for increased hatred against it and consequent rise of terrorism.⁴

War against terrorism

7. After devastating attack of September-11 the USA declared a war against terrorism. This war began with US attack on Afghanistan where they were to target Osama Bin Laden and overthrow of Taliban regime from power, Primarily USA claimed its partial victory as they overthrown Taliban government.

8. However, the US failed to find out Osama who is a prime suspect of masterminding the terrorist acts in the US. Laden does not speak on behalf of a country and his followers are scattered around the world. Thus, unlike any other conventional war, the recent war on terrorism has been completely a different ball - game.

- a. **Firstz:** it is directed against a non actor (Osama) Who operates from a sheltered country.
- b. **Second:** many of his operators are shadow figures and not readily identifiable. They lie low for many years and move from country to country. Osama has been able to build a

network in around 60 countries with sophisticated planning and technology to create terror.

c. **Third:** apart from the hijacking of the planes and planting bombs with remote control device, biological and chemical attack can be carried out without difficulty.

Thus, it appears that the conventional linear battlefield is becoming a thin of the past.

9. Some military experts believe that the conventional tri-force structure (army, navy and air force) may not be able to effectively eradicate terrorism, Rather, it will create complexities in the very process of international relations and ideological configuration of the world. for example, today the war against terrorism is being labeled by some Muslim leaders and even scholars as war against Muslims which has a devastating effect on Muslim mind and inter civilization relations. On the other extreme, American war against Iraq also is being termed as war against terrorism, although it is not so. Thus, it created calamities in the very process of international relations.⁵

Measures needed to eradicate terrorism

10. Indeed, every act of terrorism calls for a befitting response. however, a few precautionary measures should be considered in the context of relations.

a. **First:** emotion should not overshadow reason. Utmost caution should be exercise while taking action against the alleged masterminds, perpetrators and their protections.

b. **Second:** there should be no doubt about the guilt of those being targeted on. In other words, all actions should invariably based on concrete, convincing and conclusive evidences.

c. **Third:** it is desirable to avoid revenge in from of tit for tat because an eye for an eye leaves everyone blind.

d. **Fourth:** the measures aimed at punishing the guilty should not hurt any innocent person.

e. **Fifth:** punitive actions against any sovereign state for sponsoring terrorism or harboring terrorists should be backed by international public opinion and endorsed by the United Nations.

f. **Sixth:** the fight against terrorism should not have any adverse effect on interfaith harmony and peaceful co -existence of people practicing different faiths in multi religious countries.

11. a close unity of purpose among peace loving nations and peoples as will as concerted actions on their part would facilitate the task of deterring, punishing and wiping out terrorism. Such a unity can be forged on the basis of UN conventions and resolutions on the prevention of crimes against internationally protected persons, including diplomatic agents.⁶

Conclusion

12. To say the least, terrorism is a disease, a menace, an evil and a crime against humanity, It has no place whatever in any religion. Nor does it has any place in a civilized society. Therefore, in any form or manifestation, wherever and by whoever it is committed, can never be condoned. Any act of terrorism whether it is targeted against the Twin Tower or the occupied Arab territory is serious criminal assault on human kind and must not go unpunished.

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CHAPTER-TWELVE IRAQ WAR

Introduction

1. The coalition forces have already taken control over Iraq despite mass protest and demonstration against the US decision. Attack on Iraq by US is not an isolated incident. But it is the out put of long political plan of US. US had a long-term intention to get full control over ME as well as full control of oil. This is US-UK aggression in Iraq is the implementation of their pre-plan. Now US became a permanent post of the ME politics. (Form colonial powers have suddenly become pure, holy and developed). They have taken it in modern and clever way to exploit the resources of poor countries by using democratic rules. It is a kind of neocolonialism developed since the Second World War.

2. Anglo-American aggression killed thousands of Iraqis, millions, terrorized, destructed properties and infrastructure. This is not an act of terrorism,? Democracy does not come from the wings so B-52 bombers. It cannot be planted on the deserts of Iraq by bunker busted bombers or by cluster bombs. Iraq does not have any air support, any navy. The half armed Iraqi forces and people fought and they failed.¹

3. Though final war is ended but UK-US soldiers are not in peace. Everyday they are facing guerrilla attack from the Iraqis. Iraqis are demonstrating procession against US-UK occupation. Iraqis are organizing themselves against US-UK aggression. US-UK failed to obtain legal support from other countries and its organization.

Prelude To The Iraq War

4. Iraq was invaded at different stages of its long history by invaders including Halaku Khan and Taimur. The country was under occupation of the British and ultimately they had to leave with the rise of the Baath Party. The recent war in Iraq is the consequence of a long story of the US intervention and her policy implications towards the Middle East, which possesses 64% of world's proven oil reserve.

The Cold War Era Developments

5. US intervention in the Middle East started with her policy of containment, i.e. a role of anti-communism. The US backed the repressive and tyrannical regime of Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. US also maintained good relations with Saudi Arabia, which has the largest proven oil reserves in the world. But in 1973 because of Arab-Israel war Saudi Arabia put embargo on oil exports to US. Six other countries including Iraq, which is one of the largest oil producers, followed the same. It led to sharp rise in oil prices in US. This called for the US's focus on control of the Middle Eastern oil deposit. After the fall of Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1979 the relationship between Iran and the US deteriorated. US then looked towards Iraq and supported her materially, morally and with advice throughout the Iran-Iraq War. As a part of the containment policy towards communism and the security to the access of oil in the region, in January 1980, President Carter declared, "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the US, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force". To backup this doctrine, Carter created the Rapid Deployment Force, an over-the-horizon military unit capable of rushing several thousand US troops to the Gulf in a crisis. Subsequently, during Reagan administration the US transformed the Rapid Deployment Force into Central Command and started looking for military bases in the Gulf Region. With the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990, the US severed its relation with Iraq and formed a large coalition of states including those of the Middle East and recaptured Kuwait. The Gulf War helped the US to materialize its design of forward posture by the establishment of military bases in the Middle Eastern countries.²

Post Gulf War Developments

6. As a consequence of the Gulf War, the US backed UN sanctions against Iraq, which continued for about 12 years. This affected Iraqi economy and 'every month up to 6,000 children died mostly

as a result of blockade The US also established a no-fly zone over Iraq, and carried out bombing in the no-fly zones during those years. The US implicated Iraq of having WMD, violating human rights, ruling a dictatorial and repressive regime and violating the UN resolutions by not allowing the weapons inspectors' entry into suspected sites. She declared Iraq a 'Rogue State' implying that possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) with such state is a threat to the world peace and stability. Consequently, the Clinton administration passed the Iraq Liberation Act of October 31 1998, which aimed at establishing democratic government overthrowing Saddam's autocratic regime.³

Developments after 9/11

7. Attack on World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 changed the perception of the world, specially the west about the security of states against state and non-state actors like Al-Qaeda. President Bush's declaration - "you are either with us or against us" gave out a clear US vision that the US would henceforth see all her policy implications through the prism of terrorism. The war in Afghanistan to hunt down Al-Qaeda members and change the Taliban regime had been the first step. US declared Iraq as part of the Axis of Evil with Iran and North Korea. US formulated its new strategy in September 2002. Two main components reflected in this strategy are the doctrine of Pre-emption and policy of Unilateralism. With a new National Security Strategy the US wanted to eliminate her sole challenger in the Middle East once for all and formulated a plan for changing the Saddam regime.⁴

8. The world opinion was divided on the cause of war. Major powers like France, Germany, Russia and China opposed the war. However, US formed a coalition of 30 countries. US failed to master support of UN and faced tremendous opposition worldwide. The UN engaged inspectors to investigate whether Iraq has mass destruction weapons or not. The leader of the UN inspection team Dr Hans Blix submitted an interim report wherein no mention of biological weapons was made. He required more time to submit the final report. But Bush and Blair were in a hurry despite protests, demonstrations were becoming massive and in this context the coalition decided to attack Iraq.⁵

Causes Of War In Iraq

Accusation Against Iraq

9. US-UK used force against Iraq on the area that
 - a. Iraq possessing Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD).
 - b. President Saddam Hussein is as autocratic ruler and is a threat to human rights, democracy and to united states of America.
 - c. President has a direct link with 11-sep incident and Al-Quaida and he is giving support to the world terrorism.

Hidden Causes in Iraq War

10. Western analysis has pointed out the fool 3 points/reasons of Iraq war
 - a. US is dependent on Gulf oil. US will not permit a hostile state to achieve a position that will be threat to US & access of Gulf.
 - b. US wants control the gulf oil as well as control over the global economy.
 - c. US dependent of Saudi Arabia for oil. US suffers from uncertainty in middle East.
11. For the following reasons the attack on Iraq may be called as aggression:
 - a. The whole world including permanent members of UNSC (France, China, Russia) boldly opposed against the removal of any selected govt an independent country
 - b. US failed to Prove that Iraq has a Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD).
 - c. **Attact on a independent state is**
 - (1). Crime against peace.
 - (2). Country to the UN Charter.
 - (3). Country to the international law.
 - (4). Serious breach of UN declaration or friendly relations and cooperation among states and peaceful settlement of international disputes.

- (5).It dropped the forbidden cluster and carpet become not once but hundred times.
- (6).US-UK do not have reorganization on Iraq attack.
- (7).US president Bush, said regime change in Iraq. But who has given them the right to change the regime in Iraq. Therefore US has been in clear material breach of UN charter and thus it becomes aggression.
- (8).The UN charter, of which US is signatory, ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity of nation states.
- (9).Attack on Iraq is totally illegal and wholly immoral.
- (10).It is an unjust imposed war on occupation on Iraq.⁶

Justification of war

Bush lied to the world

12. Now few questions are raised from conscious people of the whole world, British and Americans:
 - a. Bush lied to the American people and congress about Iraq's WMD.
 - b. Bush is accused for illegally attacking Iraq & Illegal war of aggression.
 - c. What is needed in America is 'regime change'
 - d. Chief weapons inspector Hans Blix was 'a moral & intellectual coward'
 - e. UN secretary General Kofi Annan lacked of courage.
 - f. There is no evidence that Iraq possessing produces or concealed nuclear, chemical or biological weapons.
 - g. Bush-Blair argues for 'Regime Change' in Iraq. Who has given them the right to change the regime in Iraq?
 - h. Does the UNSC resolution 1441 authorize a regime change?
 - j. US-UK coalition forces launched attack in Iraq without any UN legal support.
 - k. When US-UK failed to prove that Iraq possessing WMD then they had been telling that if Saddam is not removed from power it is impossible to disarm Iraq.
 - l. Aggression against a state is a crime against peace.⁷

War on Iraq is an aggression against a state

13. The whole world including the permanent members of UNSC (France, China, Russia) boldly protested against removal of any selected Govt of an independent state. Aggression against a state is a crime against peace. It is contrary to the UN charter and international law. Aggression constitutes a serious breach on UN declaration on friendly relation and cooperation among states and peaceful settlement of international disputes. The US has been in clear material breach of the UN charter and thus it becomes aggression. It dropped the forbidden cluster and carpet bomb not once hundred times.

14. The UN charter of which USA, UK is signatories ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nation states. It is totally illegal and wholly immoral. They imposed and unjust war on occupation on Iraq.⁸

The Role Of Un And Other International Bodies

The Role of UN in Iraq war

Weapons Inspection.

15. Hundreds of weapons inspectors led by Hand Blit and El. Baradi search every corner of Iraq for more than 3 month. The UN inspectors found no evidence of WMD, but some al-Samul missiles. Finally US, UK authorities asked Iraq to prove that it didn't have such WMD. At last the Iraq started destroying Al-Samul missile. So UN said there is no need for war attack and all the countries said attack is not necessary in that situation. UN failed to stop US-UK aggression in Iraq. The UN remained silent on the aggression in Iraq. Kofi Annan pulled back UN mission and weapons inspectors from Baghdad before invasion began.⁹

Ignoring UN

16. The UN has proved it's powerless and ineffective when the interest of the powerful nations comes into question. The only superpower US is ignoring UN, insulting UN and made UN a valueless organization to the world. US not only attack Iraq but now it denies any UN role in post war Iraq. Which is complete and serious indication to avoid UN.¹⁰

Future of UN

17. Now question is that 'what is the future of the UN'? The acceptability and effectiveness of the UN as a world org for resolving crisis peacefully will be in question for a long time. It seems that UN has become a realty club of the rich and powerful nations. It the time again miserably failed to protect the interest of the relatively poorer nations against the interest of the rich and military powerful nations.¹¹

The role of UN in post war Iraq

18. Now Kofi Annan is seeking UNSC consensus on UN role in post war Iraq. The US-UK is inviting the UN in post war Iraq. The UN will act as a charity org in Iraq. The coalition forces has devastated and UN will reconstruct. The UN role will begin after the allies take administrative control over Iraq. The role on UN as suggested by Bush will be humanitarian. How much powers will be excise by UN that will also be demarcated by the US.UN involvement in post war in Iraq would make conditions more transparent reducing criticism of the US & UK.¹²

The Role of Other Key Countries

19. The US forces got resistance from 4 key countries France, Russia, China & Germany, which opposed the US-UK led invasion of Iraq. They said that they haven't even started to negotiate the next and all four have expressed concerns about a Varity of issue. According to their demand, the UN weapons inspectors must certify that Iraq do not have any WMD.¹³

Support of Other Countries

20. US has demanded that about 30 countries have supported war, there are lot of reasons of supporting.

- a. **Reason of bribe** Some of the countries have the weakness as they have got UN Aida & donation. These are poor countries and is dependent on USA for Iraque commerce which are Afghanistan, Albenia, South Korea, Phillipine, New independent countries from Russia & Yuogslavia colombia, Poland, Romania.
- b. **Fear of US** Denmark
- c. **Blind Support** Italy, Spain, Australia, Japan, Netherlands, Ireland etc¹⁴

The Effect Of War

Effect on International Politics

21. US are now the only super power (SP) in the world. Most of the countries are obeying the US decision willingly & unwillingly. No states have the courage to say some thing against US. The attack on Iraq by US has brought some changes in the international polities:

- a. Ignoring UN, avoided UN, derived UN, insulting UN.
- b. The future of UN, acceptability of UN.
- c. Reliability of UN, effectiveness of UN, powerless, valueless.
- d. Influence of Special Present is unassisted. It is again proved that US are the only SP. At the very beginning France, Germany, Russia, China have opposed the US but later they were busy to satisfy the US.
- e. Change in equilibrium of power in ME: US have confirmed its direct presence in ME. So far ME countries considered US as a SP & in North America. But now US will be considered as a state in ME. Which has changed in equilibrium of power in ME.

f. US control has increased: Now whole oil is under the control of US. For this reason all countries will remain under the US control for oil. Which will strengthen the unipolar world system.¹³

Effect Of War On The Economy

22. Due to the Iraq war the economy may be effected in the following way:

a. **Indirect Effects:**

- The price of oil will increase in the international market.
- Budget & trade deficit of US.
- The price of dollar may increase.
- The international economical situation will be changed.

b. **Direct effect**

- Bangladeshi labors will lose their Job in abroad (USA, ME etc), and they will return to the country.
- Remittance will be decreased from ME, USA, EU etc 70% remittance comes from ME. fall of remittance.
- Foreign aid will be reduced.
- Loss of import revenue¹⁵

c. **Economic Depression:** Economic depression of US will effect the economy of BD in the following way:

- US will reduce import from BD.
- US will reduce import aid in BD.
- Foreign investment will reduce.
- Export will decrease from BD to the international market.
- Due to the increase of the oil price, production cost will increase.¹⁶

Effect on Environment

23. It will also effect on environment. Whole over the world are now afraid for USA- UK. For the sake of the interest they may occupied any country by aggression role. In the present context world become uni polar. Any un-justification is done by the Super power there is less possible change to get justice. so every nation in the world put there step very carefully.¹⁷

Post War Situation In Iraq

The Role Of US-UK

24. A draft UNSC resolution being pushed by the US. Which would give US led forces authority to run Iraq for at least 05 year of longer if necessary unless the UNSC decides otherwise. Donald Ramsfield said US forces would stay in Iraq as long as necessary to establish a secure environment. Bush confirms few years US military presence in Iraq.

The Role Of Other Key Countries

25. The US forces got resistance from 4 Key countries France, Russia, China, & Germany, which opposed the US-UK led invasion of Iraq

Post War Govt/Interim Governing Council In Iraq

26. Tnnurner, ex-general of US, is the chief administrator of the post war govt, in Iraq. He is appointed by US and liked by Israel, US-UK has already formed a post war govt/admin where representative from shia Muslim, sunni Muslim & kurdies are included. But the executive power is concentrated to the Joel Gurner. The council is formed with 25 members taking the representative of Iraqi society. US-UK has planned to divide the Iraq in to 3 zones/states. The executive of each zone will be an American. The 3 zones are:

- (i). Along the coastal zone of Persian sea, a state of shia Muslim,
- (ii). Northwest border town & Tigress River zero including some area of Turkey & Iran a state for Kurdish, a Kurdistan where musul is the capital.

- (iii). Central part of Iraq where Baghdad is the capital, which is for the sunni Muslims.¹⁸

Neocolonialism In Iraq

27. Analysts said that the invasion of Iraq is a clear indication of new colonial administration in Iraq. US leaders have the following future plan to role the Iraq.
- It will take at least 5 years to establish a story democratic infrastructure.
 - Bush said that when commanding general of Iraq war 'Tomi Franks' will say the war is end then it will be end, before that it is not.
 - Joel Gurner said US will stay in Iraq as long it is required.¹⁹

The Role of UN in post war Iraq

28. Former Kofi Annan is seeking UNSC consensus on UN role in post war Iraq. The US-UK is inviting the UN in post war Iraq. The UN will act as a charity org in Iraq. The coalition forces has devastated and UN will reconstruct. The UN role will begin after the allies take administrative control over Iraq. The role of UN as suggested by Bush will be humanitarian. How much powers will be excise by UN that will also be demarcated by the US. UN involvement in post war in Iraq would make conditions more transparent reducing criticism of the US & UK.

29. On 22 Aug 2003, UNSC meeting held where. USA, they will raise a new bill to include more Participation in the stabilization force. But France, Germany, India. Pakistan, China told that they will not send any soldier in Iraq under US umbrella. They also told they may send soldiers under UN umbrella aid of it approved by UNSC

30. France, Germany, said they may send soldiers but US has to divide & distribute the power

31. Suicide attack at the building of UN. Ex Royler Jurnal is was killed by.²⁰

Recent situation

32. The white House declassified portions of an October 2002 intelligence report to demo state that president Bush had ample reason to believe Iraq was reconstituting a nuclear weapons program. The UN said, it wants to see a timeframe for restorations of Iraqi sovereignty. US appointed interim civilian administrator 'Paul Bremers'

Saddam Hassain two sons Uday & Qusay was killed

33. Iraqis are organizing against US-UK aggression. Iraqis have been carrying out guerrilla attack. Every day they are killing US-UK soldier. On the other hand US-UK soldiers are killing the innocent Iraqis, torturing, raping the women. The present situation turning toward the civil war in Iraq.²¹

Analysis Of The War And The Lessons Learnt

Iraqi Problems and Shortcomings

34. Many of the aspects regarding Iraqi Forces are discussed while highlighting the advantages of Coalition forces. There are, however, some problems and shortcomings that are worth mentioning as follows:

- Though apparently it seemed that Saddam Hussein had his popular support but actually there had been almost no evidence of broad popular support for Saddam Hussein. Iraq really was a tyranny.
- Iraq had rival, politicised, bureaucratic and compartmented forces who were mostly busy with regime security.
- Sanctions and the impact of the Gulf War had a major impact on Iraqi war fighting capabilities. Much of its equipment became obsolete.

- d. Iraq circulated literature to its field commanders and troops that emphasized defensive warfare. Iraq did not prepare them for air and missile attack but only called for Jihad and Islamic martyrdom rather than effectiveness tactics and combat.
- e. Iraqi Command, Control, Communication, Computers and Intelligence (C4I) were never effective and it could never recover in the face of airpower and in the face of US advance, it had lost force cohesion.
- f. With no survivable reconnaissance assets, Iraq was virtually blind in most aspects of combat beyond visual range.
- g. While the Iraqis were often creative with irregular warfare tactics, they failed at fundamentals like blowing bridges, creating large popular army forces that could present a serious threat to the US flanks, blowing oilfield, etc.
- h. Whatever numbers of missiles Iraqi had, they failed to use those effectively.
- j. For whatever reason, Iraq moved too slowly to make use of water barriers, blew only a few bridges. It often failed to defend against bridging and crossings as effectively as it should.
- k. Iraq left many of its soldiers without meaningful protection gear. It wasted committed personnel in suicide attacks and could not evacuate personnel effectively.²²

Lessons Learnt

35. The war in Iraq has given rise to many lessons. These are discussed in the succeeding paragraphs:

Strategic Lessons

36.

- a. **Just Cause of War**. War against world opinion can be a disaster. Just cause of war is an essential pre - condition to start a war. Lack of legitimacy of Iraq War has prevented the US from getting the support of the major powers of the world. Once again it is proved that there cannot be any military solution to a political problem.
- b. **Conflict Termination**. It is always easier to get into a conflict than getting out of it. History records that armies are far better equipped to win the war than to win the peace. Fighting the war by the military is a part of strategy, but the conflict termination is a part of grand strategy. Present situation in Iraq clearly reveals that the US had either a faulty or incomplete conflict termination plan, which includes peacemaking, nation building, or similar challenges.
- c. **Pre-emptive Doctrine**. US National Strategic Doctrine of Pre-emption symbolizes that all other countries especially developing and underdeveloped countries will have to conform to the vital interests of US. Or else they will have to suffer in term of foreign policy, economic loans, military assistance and other arenas where US enjoys uncontested influence over different political, financial and military institutions of the world.
- d. **Decapitation**. At number of cases decapitation attack was launched through precision guided missiles and aircrafts to kill key Iraqi leaders, which kept them on run and paralysed command and control structure. Such strategy may also be repeated in future war. It calls for the planning to protect the top political leaders in the event of war.
- e. **National Unity – Most Vital Element of National Power**. Disintegration of national unity is likely to be the vital policy option for any future invader as the case with Northern Alliance in Afghanistan and the Kurds in Iraq. It poses the greatest threat for the military to fight as a single national entity.

f. **Equipment-Intensive War.** The future battle will be more and more equipment-intensive let alone hi-tech. Capability of equipment will even influence planning and conduct of the battle. Hence operational roles need amendment to reflect the updating of weaponry and equipment.

g. **Use of Shock and Awe.** The coalition forces for the first time used the term 'Shock and Awe' in Iraq invasion. The purpose was to demoralize the opposing force and destroy the basic infrastructures used for waging war with hi-tech devastating weapons.

h. **Media Coverage - A Unique Aspect of Iraq Invasion.** Media can play a pivotal role in fighting wars. Though CNN and BBC were highly accused of manipulating the news of the war in favour of the coalition forces yet we could see the power of media in covering a live war. Truth had been the first victim of this war and the media had been largely responsible for those true lies. For example we may mention the declaration of the capture of Umm Qasr by the media when it actually did not happen. Other side of the coin is that media excites us providing instant picture and feedback but equally make the parents anxious showing soldiers dying in the front line. Again, once the standard has been set, if not done in future, the people would think army is hiding the fact.

j. **Psychological Warfare.** The unique aspect of Iraq invasion:

(1) **From US Point of View.** In Iraq war the US Army adopted effective psychological war and tried to convince the Iraqi Army that any more fighting is useless. US Army distributed thousands of leaflets everyday by air with an intention to motivate or coerce the Iraqi Army to surrender. Besides, the US also set up radio broadcast in Arabic. Some analysts believe that the US psychological war was quite effective towards encouraging surrender and defection by the Iraqi Army

(2) **From Iraq Point of View.** Iraqi Government strictly controlled the media particularly broadcast media. It banned dishes needed to receive foreign satellite. Uday Hussein, Saddam's son directed the more lively and interesting media providing him with an alternative power base and inspiring the young generation. Till the collapse of the regime in Baghdad, Iraq's foreign minister was able to fool the Iraqi public as to the progress of the coalition forces in its attempt to capture Baghdad.

k. **The Value of Alliances.** In spite of all of the reservations before the war, the Coalition obtained sustained support from Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar and quiet support from Saudi Arabia. Host countries in the Gulf made substantial adjustments to accommodate Turkey's refusal to allow the US to create a northern front or use facilities in that country.

l. **Post-war Preparedness.** A good plan ahead of time should encompass all aspects of war – from the battle itself to the rebuilding phase, where the Armed Forces will be a relevant player. While considering the task of entering at a latter stage of the war, the armed forces again need to be cognizant of the possible resumption of hostilities, or a guerrilla action. Intelligence also needs to count on it.²³

Tactical Lessons.

37.

- a. Training and discipline along with well-motivated soldiers matter.
- b. In battle, speed is life i.e., capability to react.
- c. At the end of the day war must be won on the ground.
- d. Victory is a tribute to joint teamwork.
- e. Increasing value of Special Forces operations; a preferred alternative in the future.
- f. Helicopter increasingly proving to be less worthy for combat.
- cus of attention in future.
- g. **C4I.** C4I were the most significant area in the entire operation. Coalition was fortunate that

Iraqi capabilities were so poor with regard to communications jamming or monitoring. US forces relied much on commercial satellite communications. It is likely that the communications sphere will necessarily receive the greatest fo

h. **Network Centric Warfare.** Equipped with better sensors, good networked intelligence, high-speed decision-making and the ability to exploit the non-congruous battlefield, brings the new air-land dynamic for the future.

j. **Guerrilla Warfare in Built-up Area.** The US Army was, to some extent, complacent that effective guerrilla war would not be possible in Iraq as it is not a jungle terrain like Vietnam. The successful conduct of guerrilla warfare by the Iraqi is a proof, that if organized and conducted well urban guerrilla warfare may pay dividend much more than that of jungle. Number of body bags in Iraq of the last six months is more than those of Vietnam for first 3 years.

k. **Misuse of Urban Warfare.** The bypasses and road nets that avoid cities greatly reduce their importance as potential defences and barriers, and the best way to win an urban war is to avoid one. The US experience in Al Hilla and Nasiriyah shows the tactics of clearing house-by-house or street-by-street much less effective against better-organized defences. On the other hand, forcing the enemy to move forward and engaging outside the urban area paid more dividends.

l. **Urban Close Air Support.** Because of buildings closely place together, dust and non-availability of ground troops to guide, urban close air support was difficult.

m. **The "Suicide Effect".** Rather than train properly for asymmetric warfare, Iraqi troops were often given pointless ideological nonsense. While martyrdom and suicide attacks present problems for conventional forces, ideological extremism motivates a small number of ideological extremists, not popular forces and modern armies.

n. **Military Medical Facilities and Capabilities.** The Iraq War reflected a reduced level of fatalities relative to wounds and injuries. Some 110 medical evacuation sorties were flown between March 20 and April 11, involving a total of some 1,300 patients, but only 50 urgent patients. Medical treatment also shifted from a focus on general global needs to a far more detailed survey of the specific risks in the theatre.

p. **Logistics No longer a Rear Area Function.** Speed and mobility demonstrated by the coalition forces on the battlefield and which will be a constant feature where feasible in future operations –highlighted the fact logistics can no longer be regarded as being rear area functions. The forward battle area is now being blurred with the support areas, highlighting the need for protection at all level.²⁴

Lessons for Bangladesh in Particular

38.

a. **Preparation of Unconventional Warfare (UW) Well Before the War.** The recent series of high profile attacks on the US in Iraq appears to be so methodical and well crafted; it is believed that it's a part of the pre-war plan of Saddam Hussein. If planned and organized well, guerrilla warfare can make the occupation hazardous even for a powerful army like the US. As such a detail plan to affect the UW is a dire need.

b. **Modernization of Armed Forces.** Iraq war has again proved that it is more important to be qualitatively superior than of quantitatively superior. High tech weapon now dominates the battleground so much that it would not take much of time that the weaponry would absolutely dominate the strategy of war. So Bangladesh Armed Forces should emphasize more on procuring high-tech weapons keeping in view the terrain and the threat.

c. **Media Training.** Media training for both armed forces and civilian personnel are required to fight an effective war. The coverage of Iraq War by BBC, CNN and Al-Jazeera had a polarizing effect on the world opinion and for that matter on the soldiers as well. We should

also try to procure equipments to manage the media war well.

d. Requirements of an Inferior Force in Future Battles.

- (1) Assurance of military and logistics support from friendly countries.
- (2) Balanced disposition of forces.
- (3) Involving the general mass.
- (4) UW acts as an effective deterrence.
- (5) An effective command and control system both at political and operational level.²⁴

39. The post-war situation in Iraq is frustrating. The political process for the smooth transition to democracy is uncertain. The reconstruction process is unbearably slow for the people of the war torn country. The on going high intensity of guerrilla war and aggressive counter insurgency operation are aggravating the sufferings of the people further. The peace and stability of Iraq and the region is highly uncertain.

40. Like every other war – the Iraq War has also left many valuable lessons for the military thinkers and professionals. Iraq had many problems and shortcomings like politicised armed forces, obsolete equipment, technological inferiority etc. On the other hand it was testing ground for the US high-tech equipment. Despite over whelming superiority, US had the scope of further analysis on some of the aspect like use of helicopter, IFF, guerrilla warfare in the urban area, etc. Besides, there were several significant aspects of this war. It was a war of manoeuvre in which overall strategic surprise was not possible and therefore demanded tactical surprise within a very constrained envelope. It was a war, which depended more than any other conventional war on special operations. It used more and better focused psychological operations than any previous conventional war. Embedded media played vital role. Communications, command and control, computers and precision and location systems were pivotal. Network centric warfare got the new dimension. UW by the Iraqis acted as an effective deterrence. There was greater emphasis on logistics as a front line activity.

Conclusion

41. In a survey of time magazine on 'what country is the biggest threat to the world peace?' Among the voters 7% say about UK, 8% thinks Iraq but 84% thinks the US. The procession and demonstration are continuing through out the world against US-UK aggression/invasion in Iraq.

42. Now it is clear to every body that US-UK aggression was not to establish human rights, nor distribute freedom to the Iraqis democracy human rights freedom does not matter if is oil that matter to the USA. Bush Blair know that it is not WMD or dictatorship that is the issue, it is greed Iraq oil and wealth making it safe for them and their friend Israel.

43. The very recent US aggressions on Iraq tell us, it is nothing but the show of power of USA. It has no answer to civilized world. The aggression has raised question about the role of USA, UK in the world. Most of the academicians and analysts gave their opinion that only superpower unipolar world is bad and threat to the civilization and to the world. For the fol regions it is harmful to the civilization.

44. US-UK have not got the approval from UNSC for Iraq war. Now US-UK need friends, so they have regulated other countries to send force in Iraq as 'stabilization force' but they do not get any response from any country.

Recommendations

45. The following recommendations are made:

- a. The people of this ancient land deserve an honorable and peaceful life. The US-UK must show respect to the opinion to the Iraqis and a truly representative & democratic Govt. chosen by them.
- b. The people of the world believe that US shall work with conscious to save the world as a Responsible country.
- c. The world will be afraid of alluring the only SP USA. Peace loving people expects a balanced world whatever may be the situation.
- d. The world community must remain united in condemning the aggression and demanding central role for the UN in post war in Iraq.
- e. Interim govt. would run the country before an election is help US& its coalition allies would hand over power.
- f. The responsible countries should take all refugees back.
- g. Provide all the funds to reconstruct the Iraq under UN umbrella.
- h. To forbid the contractors of the invaded countries.
- j. The invader countries should vacate Iraq Immediately.
- k. UN is an experienced installation. They have learnt valuable lesson in Cambodia, Kosovo, E-Timor etc. This should be applied in case of Iraq.

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Case Study

Reconstruction Of Iraq Possible Only Under Un Supervision

1. Unethical and illegal invasion of Iraq by the so destroy weapons of mass destruction contain international terrorism liberate the people of Iraq from the grasp of dictator Saddam Hussein and establish some sort of Democratic order has not yet brought any result except the elimination of a dictator. On the other hand a cataract of disaster has been poured upon the Iraq people by the alliance forces. The invaders are being killed by snipers and are killing the innocent Iraqis-in-discriminate. No body knows how long the Iraqis will suffer.¹

2. During the last three decades the Arab states enjoyed unprecedented prosperity because of their income from oil revenue, How much of this prosperity could bring real benefit to the common Arabs is a debatable point. Where relationship between the people and the ruling class is a moot point. Where relationship between the people and the ruling class in just like the subject and the ruler the question of equitable distribution of wealth becomes irrelevant. When all the wealth belongs to the creator (Allah) the common Arabs believe that it is rather the will of God that only the born fortunate should enjoy the greater portion of wealth.² The western world suddenly (1973) realized that oil is a critical factor in modern economy, thus more attention is needed for its protection and development. The increase in oil revenue could not make the Arab states conscious about the need for their solidarity or security.³ They were made to believe that the western world will look after their well being. However, the Arabs started to think that on Arab Muslims are also their well wishers and their support is necessary for their strength and prosperity since the Gulf war of 1991. It is still surprising that there exists a big gap in under standing between the Shia and the Sunni communities. Shia persecution is going on for the last several hundred years. It is perhaps difficult for even a common educated Sunni Muslim to accept with good grace the development of Shia community though religion should be viewed as a purely private affair. Apart form Shia - Sunni division the Arabs non-Arab factor is a serious impediment to developing a strong Islamic community world wide.⁴ The Arabs probably due to their close relationship with prophet Muhammad (Sm) consider them selves superior to Non Arab Muslims, though there is no provision for making any differentiate among Muslims. In fact it is perhaps difficult for the Arabs to accept the equality of men because of their close affinity to tribal culture.

3. The Muslim Jew conflict is as old as the religion of Islam itself. if Islam believes in no compulsion of religion, if it believes in respecting other religions it is perhaps time for Islamic scholars to find out some acceptable solution for developing better understanding between the Muslims and the Jews. It is true that the Jews always showed hostile. Feeling towards the followers of prophet Mohammad(sm) during his lifetime, they jewes must-realice that circumstances have change a lot since then. They have a population of only 11 million against 1200 million Muslims throughout the world. Even in the USA the Muslim population is seven million. The technological gap is gradually narrowing down between the Arabs and the Jews. It may not be very advisable. For them to rely so heavily on the strength of US.⁵

4. The result of Iraq invasion by the US led forces was easily anticipated. Iraqi armed forces were simply no match for alliance forces equipped with the most modern weapons moreover, Iraqi forces were kept under forced deprivation since the Gulf war of 1991. In fact it is commendable that the forces of Saddam (composed of Bath, Militia, Fidayeens and Republican Guards) could withstand the relentless attack of the alliance forces for so many days. It is alleged that had there been no betrayal by a major part of Saddam forces and extension of cooperation by the Shia community in general to the alliance forces, a clear victory by them would have been much more costlier.⁶

5. Despite a victory peace has certainly not been established in Iraq. The alliance forces are constantly facing hostile reception from the Iraqi rebels. Both Bush and Blair are trying hard to convince their peoples about the justification of the Iraq war. Both of them appear to have failed so far. The alliance forces, it is reported, are tired and want to go back to their respective countries. The relentless guerilla type war has made them nervous. The Bush Blair Alliance is desperately trying to increase the strength by bringing in additional force from friendly countries. Around 22 countries have so far reported to have responded to Bush's call. The major powers however agree to assist in Iraq reconstruction only under UIN supervision and not under US command, so for US has not conceded to this demand. Setting up of an interim government to establish a democratic civilian government has proved to be much more complex and difficult than envisaged by the invaders. Keeping Iraqis together is a great problem. Saddam's harsh dictatorship kept the people together through intimidation. Juries and majority of Shia community were against Saddam regime. Now the Kuris want autonomy and the Shia tribes are asking for greater participation in the state activities. Bush administration is disappointed because the Iraqis desire freedom only under Iraqi leadership and not under American domination. They refuse to accept American prescription of democracy. Bush Blair alliance realized that democracy or liberation cannot be stationed through B-52 or satellite guided bombs. Iraqis cannot be fooled to gain the control of its oil. The Iraqis have understood very well that the main interest of the alliance is Iraqi oil and certainly not their liberation. The Americans established base in Kuwait not for protection of the Kuwait but for the greater interest of the Israelis.⁷

6. US administration does not want that UN should have the key role in reconstruction of Iraq. As per Geneva convention the invaders are responsible for reconstruction. Bush administration agrees for UN participation only in humanitarian activities. The reconstruction is to be done mainly by the US firms. Bush administration is aware of the growing anti-American feeling in Iraq and that the US led forces are regarded as occupiers. Iraqis believe that Americans are doing everything mainly for the benefit of Israel.⁸

7. The American administration's motive is totally exposed now. It has become essential for the Arab Muslims to gradually decline their economic relationship with US. They must start work for closer relations with friendly European states such as Germany, France and Russia. This, however, does not mean that they should remain hostile to Israel. In fact it would be a good idea for OIC member states to brainstorm to fine out how to better their relationship with Israel. On the other hand Israel must realize the futility of Arab-Israeli conflict. By now they must have been convinced of the fact that sheer brute force based on borrowed support can never be the foundation of a state among hostile neighbors. Continuation of Arab-Israeli conflict will result in increase of international terrorism. And NATO will not be able to play any effective part. Major powers like France, Germany or Russia do not accept US definition of international terrorism.⁹

8. The growing mistrust of US administration about Arabs has resulted in increased US restriction on the Arab entry into US. This will certainly drift the attention of the Arabs from US to Europe. This trend will result in closer economic cooperation between the Arabs and the Europeans. Not only this if Arab-Muslims have to sacrifice more for the peace and prosperity of Israel, gradually the non-Arab Muslim states will be compelled to think about directing their attention toward Europe.

9. The American administration must work sincerely to bring back law and order in Iraq as quickly as possible. And they must leave Iraq as early as possible. They must not think of imposing western type of democracy in Iraq. Let the Iraqis find out their type of democracy. It appears that the only option left for Bush administration is to leave the entire job of Iraqi reconstruction without wasting further time to the UN. Let the work be supervised by the UN for only UN can attract the interest of major countries for their active participation in the re-building of Iraq which deserves priority over anything else at the moment.¹⁰

Conclusion

10. Iraqi society is highly conducive to democracy. It has long been an urban society. Iraqisociety is also highly educated. It has the height number of engineer per capita in the world higher even the then India. Iraq has a rich tradition of arts, culture and literature historically Iraq and Egypt have competed not only for political Lealership but also for intellectual Leadership of Arab world. The American administration must work sincerely to bring back law and order in Iraq as quickly as possible. And they must leave Iraq as early as possible. They must not think of imposing western type of democracy in Iraq. Let the Iraqis find out their type of democracy. It appears the only option left. For Bush administration it to leave the entire job of Iraqi reconstruction without wasting further time to the UN.¹¹

Recommendation

11. Recommendation following are recommend the present situation of Iraq :
- a. UN Should take control of coalition force operation.
 - b. A fair election under the direct supervision of UN should take place to elect next democratic Govt.
 - c. US-UK should clarify their intension regarding further military deployment in Iraq and should be replace by UN peace-keeping Mission.
 - d. All fighting groups should cease fire.
 - e. Finally peace is likely to be established through democracy by under standing of political parties.

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CHAPTER-FOURTEEN **PEACE PROJECTS**

Introduction

1. In order to stop Continuous bloodshed many project were proposed to case the situation and present a Compromise peace proposal during the long years of the Arab –Israeli conflict. Arab population and the Jewish immigrants protected by the British administration before establishment of 'Israel'. Among all project most of the project were proposal by the Britain/British administration who ruled and colonized the area and the aim was prevent confrontation between the local area population and Jewish immigrant. After the eruption of Palestine revolution in 1936 the most important of these projects question was the peel partition plan after world war II. The fate of the Palestine was handed over to the newly established united nation.¹

2. After the end of 1967 war Israel take over the Superiority on the land of Palestine on the other hand Arabs war really understand and convinced by there defend in the war 'Israel' is a permanent reality and that they are the weakest side in the equation. From there more than 14 peace projects wear proposed from 1967 and until the signature of Oslo Accords in 1993. Among them alon plan (proposed by the Israel foreign minister). Roger projects (Direct negotiation between Egypt and Israel) Cam david proposed (First area Israel peace treaty). Madrid Conference (Direct negotiation between Arab and Israel)²

3. Negotiation play a vital role for settlement of any dispute in case of Palestine issue, Oslo agreement was secret direct negotiations between PLO and Israel. It is the only agreement which bring lot of hope to settle the dispute between two Countries. Both parties agreed to recognize each others as peace partner and negotiate the dispute issues based on the UN resolution. Their aim was they will solve all the problem with in five years initial signature of agreement. After this Agreement Israel would gradually withdraw from the west bank and Gaza strips and Palestine would establish a national authority (PNA) over these territories.³

4. Gaza strip and Jericho city in the west bank were handed over to the Palestine trust building stage. Election were held in the west bank and Gaza and Yasir Arafat became the chairman of the PNA. The main aim of the also agreement was in order to protect Israel from Palestine Military acts. Later on more agreement were signed with Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arab in October 1994. In July 2000, to negotiate the postponed issue aiming at final settlement both parties came together in two week negotiation in Camp David Conference. The issue of Al-Quads (Jerusalem) and Al-Aqsa mosque ended with a failure. The talk was initiated by the American president Bil Clinton.⁴

Peace Projects Before 1948

5. The aim of the peace project before 1948 (before the establishment of Israel) the prevention of war any military Confrontation between the enthusiastic and ambitious Jewish immigrants and local Indigenous Palestinian Arabs, who had initially welcomed the Jews as neighbors, as soon as they realized the intention of the Jews and Zionist ambitions that in effect meant the denial of their right and deportation from their land. Most of the peace proposals wear initiated by the British Administration because Palestine was under the British mandate during the period of 1917-1948. The 1936 Palestine military revolution Intensified that was followed by the peel report to end the British colonization of Palestine.⁵

Peel Partition Plan 1937

6. The British Govt formed a royal Comitte to examine and report on the situation in Palestine. The reason behind it to form the Comitte was the out burst of great Palestinian revolt in 1936. Royal Comitte put demand both the Palestine and Jews Government and try their best level to find out peaceful solution. The main obstruction of peel partition plan was 'duel obligation' given by the British both Arab and British. One premise Can not this be maintained without breaking the others. The proposed divided Palestine in to two state made by following recommendation.

- a. A Jewish state over northern and coastal area
- b. A Palestine state one government include few Palestine cities namely Jerusalem (Al-Quds), Bethlehem (Beitlahm), Nazareth (Al-Nasirah) and Jaffa had to remain under British mandate.⁶

Mc Donald White Paper Of 1939

7. Malcolm MacDonald the minister of colonies prepared this paper in 1939. The reason behind it British needed to concentrate all their power and resource to face the challenge of World War II. British realized the political change whole over the world. British had already fulfilled the Jewish demand and they established a Jewish homeland in Palestine with the help of Balfour's Declaration in the year of 1917. The British administration has taken decision that no more Jewish immigrants will take place in Palestine. The British declared following in this paper.

- (1) No intention whatsoever to create a Jewish state.
- (2) It rejected Arab demands that Palestine should be an exclusively independent state.
- (3) Instead, it envisaged the termination of the mandate by 1949, that would be followed by an independent state in Palestine with a shared Palestinian-Jewish government.
- (4) Jewish immigration to Palestine would end after allowing another 75,000 immigrants over a period of five years, unless the Palestinians give their consent.
- (5) British government would strictly regulate the transfer of land to the Jews.

8. Despite all the drawbacks the paper was received by the Palestinian leaders and a political victory for the Palestinians. The Zionists reject the plan and tried by various means including military ones to push the British govt to abandon it. Israel realized the situation will change after the war.⁷

The UN Partitioning Plan Presented In Resolution 1947

9. The Zionists conquered the international sympathy for the difficulty of the Jews in Nazi Germany and boost their numbers in Palestine through massive immigration. The reason behind it they exploited the miserable condition of Jews of western Europe. By this they earned great sympathy to the U.S. Zionists exploited the Post World War situation well in time and shifted their focus to the US. They penetrated the heart of both the republican and democratic parties and gain much support from the president Truman. Under American pressure Bevin foreign minister of British Comled to abandonment of white paper and handed over the issue of Palestine newly established United Nations.

10. Special Committee was formed after lengthy discussion in Israel 1947. The name of the Committee was the United Nations Special Committee of Palestine (UNSCOP). The Committee held several meetings and concluded discussion with all its member parties. The members of the Committees were Australia, Canada, Holland, India, Iran, Sweden. Final report concluded the Arab owned 86% of Palestine (Historical sources say that they owned 93.5%) looking for their right in full independence.

11. The Committee came with two main projects. First project was supported by the majority of members prepared that

- (1) Palestine should be divided into two states, Arab and Jewish, with an economic union.
- (2) Arab State should be established over 42.88% of Palestine, inhabited by 725 thousand Arabs and 10 thousand Jews.
- (3) Jewish State should be established over 56.74% of Palestine, inhabited by 498 thousand Jews and 497 Arabs (Note the demographic superiority of the Arabs in the total and even in the would-be Jewish State).
- (4) Jerusalem (Al-Quds) will be a corpus separatum under an international regime to be administered by the United Nations.

12. The second project was supported by the Iran and India Yugoslavia. Establishment of a Palestine federal state Jerusalem (Al-Quds) as its Capital. Beside two federal Governments for create Jewish and Arab. Another proposal was regarding the border dispute that should be handed over to the international court of Justice for legitimate peaceful solution. The proposal was rejected by 25 votes.

13. After words first proposal was presented to the General Assembly for a decision. It gives some minor correction giving Jaffa (Yaffa) and a part of Negev desert (Naqab) to the Arab state bringing the ratio 54.7% for the Jews and 44.8% for the Arab state. In case of Jerusalem (Al-Quds) will be run by international Administrator.

14. Later on Zionist expelled the Arab population who suppose to stay in the prepared Jewish state and occupied more land by using their might that had been assigned to them. Zionist did not accept the resolution out of good 'Intention' and believe in peace, rather they saw it as means that takes them to Palestine.

15. In fact there was a believe with in Zionist organization that Jewish state may be establish without war. This believe was particularly strong in the twenties, population growth among the highest rate in the world. Their population increase such a high rate even after Jewish immigration to Palestine, would not constitute a majority even in their would be state. The only option for the Zionist was thus to forcefully expel the Palestinians. Otherwise they will continue to increase and on immigration is a matter how massive it may be to could counter this growth. All the Zionist were now convinced that the war was inevitable to establish the Zionist state.⁸

Peace Projects From 1948 until 1967

16. Israel made it clear every body, nobody could drive the Israel to the sea, Israel response to all proposal by its firm stand and they believe that they will remain in their occupied land after immigration. They were confirmed everybody that it was there (Palestine) and nobody could drive them. On the other hand Palestine and Arab world are in wrong Idea. They believe that Arab world would surely detect "Israel" and vanquish forever. Arab Convinced themselves as the stronger side of the equation and therefore refused to negotiate.

The only persistent and urgent Problem that need immediate attention was that of the refugees. Refugee Problem become hot question "Question of Palestine" dropped by the UN in 1952. Both parties require negotiation.⁹

UN Resolution 194 on Palestine Refugees (1) December 1948

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17. This Resolution first international document which gives us the idea of refugee wishing to return their home and they want to leave peacefully with his neighbors. They went to do this thing as earliest as possible and the short possible time. The companion will be paid of those who last or damage their property. This is the first international document issued by the UN after the establishment of Israel. Not only that resolution established, it is also establish a reconciliation committee which consists of French, Turkey and the USA. The main aim of the committee was establish permanent peace in the middle east and resolve the conflict. It also mentioned that holy place should remain untouched and their identity be strictly maintained. The regulation try to establish Palestine right and treat them Arab citizen of a country. They should avail full rights and obligation. Palestine could not establish their Independent state, in 1950 The British Administrator Gaza strip was placed under Egyptian Administrator and the west bank annexed to Jordan. The conciliation Comitte, try their best level to establish peace in the middle east for ever they give a proposal to the Israel for return of 100-Thousand refugees only in return for peace. But Israel was firm rigid in his decision and they reject the proposal in May 1950. Anglo-American-France, declaration to maintain and respect the Israel. This brings frustration to the Arab Comitte. Arab stop Co-operation with the committee. Later on reconciliation Comitte forced Israel to sign Lausanne Protocol when Israel applying to Join the UN. Arab neighbors that provide the following

- 1- The map attached to the UN Resolution in 181 should be the bases on which the future of Palestine should be determined.
- 2- Israel Should retreat to these borders.
- 3- Jerusalem (Al-Quds) will become an internationally administrated area.
- 4- The return of the refugees and their tight to regain their properties, and compensation should be paid to those who choose not to return.

18. After Joining the UN Israel refused to abide by this treaty and nobody had ever forced her to do so. The reconciliation Committee has failed to their project and submit failure report to the UN. Including arranging the return on the refugees. Regarding the refugees problem UN issue a resolution 302 in December 1949 for the relief of the refugees. United Nations relief and work agency (UNRWA). The intention of the super power in clear that to settle the refugees in the countries from where they escaped. This resolution prepared by the Britain. The aim was financially helping the Palestine to establish themselves in the host Countries

List of Project

19.

- 1- Norwegian Project on November 1952 that called for stopping hostile acts and starting direct negotiations between "Israel" and the Arabs.
- 2- Gama Project, Proposed by the U.S. in 1955-1956, that tried to convene the Egyptian President Nasser together with the "Israeli" Prime Minister, David Bin Gurion, in direct secret negotiations on a yacht in the Mediterranean.
- 3- Johnston Project of May 1955 that proposed settling the refugees problem and the whole conflict through the palem and the whole conflict through the establishment of common agricultural investments in the Jordan River.
- 4- Dallas Project of August 1955 which was proposed by the U.S. It called for return of "as many as possible" refugees to their lands, and settling the rest in the areas to which they migrated.
- 5- UNRWA proposed a project that would settle the refugees of Gaza in northwest Sinai. The Egyptian government cooperated with this effort.
- 6- In November 1955, the British Prime Minister, Antony Eden, Proposed Negotiations to reach a compromise between the Arabic position that called "Israel" to abide by the borders in resolution 181 borders.
- 7- In June 1959, the U.N Secretary General Hummurshold proposed solving the refugees' problem by helping the countries that host them financially.
- 8- In October 1962, Joseph Johnson, the director of Karinji Institute for World Peace, who was appointed by the U.S to present a peace initiative.
- 9- The only Arab Peace initiative of that time came in April 1965 from Alhabeeb Borqeibah, THE Tunisian presiden, who proposed that "Israel" should return on third of the area occupied in 1948 for the establishment of Palestinian State that would house the refugees!
- 10- Finally, the "Israeli" Prime Minister, Levi Eshkol responded in May 1965 with another peace project that made only minor modifications of the existing borders in return for direct negotiations and normalization of relations with the Arabs, but the Arabs rejected the project.¹⁰

Peace Projects from 1967 Until Oslo 1993

20. with the change of time and tide Israel be come Superiority in military power and they do massacre against Palestine People. Arab Govt Came to realization that whatever may be case in reality. Israel will be there and there is no war to exit them. By this time Israel wants to solve the problem by settlement. Arab demand drastically Change into that return of all and some part of Land which was occupied in 1948 by Aggression instead of that their lost in 1967 war which was taken by the Israel, As a result Israel occupied in 1948 land become Irrelevant, in fact out of question.

21. Many peace proposal come out in August 1967 Arab summit in Khartoum military Confrontation with Israel has been ruled out. Tried to introduce the main Project that were proposed during the period (1967-1993)¹¹

a. **The Alon Plan** Alon Project was not officially proposed or ever discuss in the Israel Cabinet Until today. But every politician was says in the this Project, shape the Israel approach to Peace and form the basic frame work of all Israeli Peace Project. Yigal Aaln was the Israeli foreign minister during the war of 1967. He proposed Israeli eastern border should include the Jordan River & half of the Dead Sea. Al Ghour should be annexed to Israel. and Agriculture settlement should be establish, Israel should struck all possible means. The inclusions of new Arab population in its territory¹²

b. **Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967** To establish peace in the middle east security council provide a frame work on 22 Nov. It has gives emphasis in the following aspect.

- (1). Withdrawal of Israeli Armed forces territory occupied in the recent Conflict.
- (2). Show proper mark of respect sovereignty territorial integrity political independence of the state, termination of all claims or state belligerency.
- (3). Their right to live in peace in their own territory recognized boundaries. The boundary is free from any threats of act of force.
- (4). The resolution try its best level achieving settlement of the refugee problem.¹³

Roger's Project of 1970

22. This project basically called for a cease fire and provides a mechanism for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242.¹⁴

Camp David Negotiation and the Subsequent developments in peace process

23. The time frame given by the higher authority is that final status should not be delayed on 4 may 1999. But the dead time was over without reaching an agreement or ever a common understanding. Palestine authority proposed its people of an independent state 1998. But due the frequent Israel delay this was postponed to 04 may 1999. Finally the decline after may 2000 no real break through was made in the negotiations and promise given to the Palestinian people prove to be meaningless, Both sides were award of the critical situation the adverse political condition, how far they can go with applying what they propose, both parties go to serious negotiation. The US president Clinton utilized all its might and try to influence both the side to sit on the negotiation table for all the dispute settlement. The proposals of both side in these negotiations.

- a. The Palestine side under Arafat
- b. The Israeli side under Barek

24. In the negotiation table both parties were rigid on their proposal to over come this crisis president Clinton Project in December 2000. Arafat did not accept this proposal he proposed some reservation in the proposal particularly the refugee problem that should discuss with the Israel on the other hand Israel side Palestinians Control over Al-Aqsa mosque. However Clinton presidency ended without the conclusion of a final agreement.¹⁵

"The united Arab kingdom" Project of 1972

25. ongoing conflict between the Jordanian govt and the Palestine liberation organization. Over many issues regarding the right of the Palestine people. King hussein of Jordan is the initiator to proposed the Project On 15 march 1972. In his proposal first of all Palestine territories all on the liberated past and the Jordanian territories will be united in a federal union by the king and his federal Govt.¹⁶

Security Council Resolution 338 of 1973

26. Six day was of Arab Israel in 1973, After that was UN Security Council forced resolution 338, The main aim of this resolution was immediate ceasefires and the implementation of resolution. Arab-Israel war was launched by Egypt, Syria against Israel. To establish durable Peace in Middle East a peace Conference was held in Geneva in December 1973 where Egypt and Jordan Participated Israel and Syria rejected the idea.¹⁷

10 Point Program of the PLO.

27. Establishment of a Palestine authority on any liberated part of Palestine National council adopted a new political program know as 10 point program. Several Palestine inside the PLO reject the Programme and formed "Rejection Front"¹⁸

Camp David Accords Between Egypt and "Israel" in 1978

28. Frame work for peace in the middle east and a peace treaty between Egypt Israel. Try to establish in the Camp David Accords. The status of Jerusalem (Al-Quads), Sinai settlement were discuss in that Accords. Camp David Accord formed the basis for the settlement of the west bank, the Gaza strap and the refugee problem. This is the first officially signed "Arab Israeli" peace trusty and negotiation led to the Oslo Agreement.¹⁹

Regan Initiative of 1982

29. The establishment of a democratic self governing Palestinian authority with in five years and

stoppage of Israeli settlement in the west bank and Gaza strip US president Regan proposed a plan on 22 Sep 1982. He also proposed the Jerusalem (Al-Quads) should remain untouched and final states should be decided through negotiations. Israelis PLO both of them rejected Regan initiative.²⁰

Brezhnev initiative of 1982

30. He proposed a international on 15 Sep 1982 Conference will be held where five permanent member of UN security Council as well or other member will present. They will provide a frame work to establishment of a Palestine state.²¹

PLO Peace Program of 1988

31. Palestine demand that Israel should return all land it occupied in 1967. Israel should dissemble its settlement there and provide opportunity to build houses to the Palestine. Jerusalem will become the capital of Palestine. PLO that had been isolated thousands of miles away from home and unable to wage any meaningful resistance against Israel. Palestine states remain without territory and it was recognized by 120 nations²²

Shamirs Autonomy Proposal of 1989

32. PLO was dismissed by the Israel because in the eye of Israel they are terrorist organization "Israeli" prime minister proposed a peace similar to Camp David proposal regarding west bank and Gaza strip on his proposal he called for election in Gaza and west bank excluding Eastern Jerusalem to chose Palestine representation with whom he negotiate.²³

Madrid Peace Conference 1991

33. Conference proceeded into two parallel direction there are

- a. Every country try to negotiated its problem, through bilateral route.
- b. The present in international Participation through multi lateral route aimed at providing general guide line for peace process.
- c. Following these Conference many Comittee were formed to solve the different issue of the different country.

34. This madrid peace Conference will start in madrid under the chairman ship of president. Bush and Gorbachev on 30 October 1991. Palestine delegation was participated in this Conference sleeted from the west bank and Gaza. PLO did not participated directly. Foreign minister of Arab states represented the Prime Minister shamir on the Israel side and Dr Haider abdul shafi on the Palestine delegation side headed by the meeting.

Peace Project and Arguments after Oslo 1993

35. After the Collapse of Soviet union. Communist block has destroyed and the world become unipolar. Not only that after the gulf war of 1991 Arab were divided into more, and the Palestine Leadership was moreover isolated for away from home though Intifida was a remarkable achievement for the Palestine but the international regional situation was not favors of Hamas. As a unipolon world of third world Countries have no room to play against superpowers against each other as before. In the context of present situation Palestine was bound to moving to wards negotiation for establish of the Palestinian rights. The ultimate out come of all this effort was also agreements of 1993.²⁴

- a. **Oslo Agreement of 1993.** The declaration of interim self Govt Arrangement. This Arrangement was by Mohmoud Abbas the Palestinian secretary General of Fatch and shimon press Washington on 13 September 1993. This agreement become known as "Oslo agreement" because this Agreement arranged in the Norwegian Capital, Oslo agreement is the first agreement negotiated and signed directly between both sides. In respect of history of

Palestine it is an important turning point for establishment of Peace. This agreement indicate that Palestine issue become the private affairs of Palestine not the central issue for the Arab and Muslim worlds. Arab countries were now free to reach peaceful agreement most. The Palestine had been settle their problem. The main feature of the also agreements were

- 1- The Palestinians will establish an Interim Self-Government for five years in Gaza and West Bank.
- 2- Starting from the third year of this Interim self-Government, negotiations over the final status should start between the two sides based on the U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.
- 3- Within two months of this date, both sides should reach an agreement on transferring authority over Gaza and Jericho to the Palestinian side.
- 4- After nine months of establishing the Self-Government, an elected Palestinian representative council should be formed, and "Israeli" troops should withdraw from the areas inhabited by Palestinian population.
- 5- An interim Palestinian authority should then be established, but its jurisdiction would NOT include foreign relations, external security, "Israeli" settlement citizens in the area and Jerusalem (Al-Quds).
- 6- "Israel" reserves the right to veto any Palestinian legislation issued during the interim rule.
- 7- Any disputed matter that could not be settled through negotiations should be referred to an agreed means of reconciliation.
- 8- The Palestinian interim rule should expand, gradually, to include other areas in the West Bank that would be determined through future negotiations.
- 9- The agreement stressed that the PLO should abandon and condemn "terrorism" and work seriously to maintain the security of "Israel" including the stoppage of all kinds of operations against it.

36. Oslo agreement had in fact left many issue unsettled and do not give any room for Palestine substantive gain. At the end of day they have got what was proposed fifteen years ago in the Camp David Accords. The real difference was Camp David with Oslo Agreement was PLO authority is not headed by figure from the PLO. But in the Oslo they accepted the PLO to be in charge. Many point in the Agreement remain doubt and unsolved. After ward the Intifida of Al Aqsa of 200 declaration made the Oslo death.²⁵

Cairo Agreement (May 1994)

37. The Cairo Agreements was the first how to excite it best way as per the procedure agreements. since Israel Agreed upon it is time for withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho. A meeting was held between two side to deal with the Crisis. The agreement finally concluded in Cairo on 4 may 1994.²⁶

Erez Agreement (August 1994)

38. The Agreement was started in the Erez check point northern entrance of Gaza strip. The main theme was transfer of power from the Israeli Administration to its Palestine counterparts. It discussed in detail power to be transfer to the Palestine side and its future implication many restrictions were imposed since both side did not trust each others.²⁷

Taba Agreement, Oslo 2, (September 1995)

39. This agreement was reached in Taba, Egypt and Signed in a huge ceremony in Washington. It divided the Palestinian land in the west bank in to their Categories.

- a. **Category(A):** Which included the main Palestinian cities and the demographic center in the west bank with the exception of Al-Khalil (Hebren) and, of course Al-Quds (Jerusalem).
- b. **Category (B):** Which included the main Palestinian populated country side, almost 25% of the area of the west bank.
- c. **Category (C):** It included rest of the west bank that had to remain under "Israeli"

administrative and military Control. According to Oslo agreement of 1993. The second phase of interim self-Government should start six month later. Negotiation over this phase continued for one and half years. Soon after Oslo 2 General election were held in the Palestine area. Yasir Arafat elected as a chairman of the Palestine National Authority and 88 majority of the vote.²⁸

Protocol of Herb on "Al-Khalil"

40. Extremist Liked party lead by Benjamin Netanyahu, return to power in may 1996. It opposed Oslo agreement right from the beginning. They said Palestinian got more than they deserved and refused to hand over.²⁹

Wye River Memorandum (October 1998)

41. The Israeli force did not continue its redeployment as agreed and a new session of negotiations was started. The reason behind it as per the language of Israel was failure of the Palestinian National authority to adequate co-operate with Israel on security matter. After lot of debate an agreement was finally reached on the following

- 1- Transferring to the Palestinian side 13% from Area C as follows: 1% to Area (A) under full Palestinian control, while the remaining 12 to Area (B).
- 2- 14.2% from Area (B) assigned to Palestinians in Oslo 2 would become Area (A) under full Palestinian control.
- 3- Out of 3000 Palestinian prisoners who were supposed to be freed, "Israel" accepted to free only 250, most of whom were detainees without trial or were imprisoned for criminal charged. A few freed political prisoners were re-imprisoned soon after.
- 4- In return, the Palestinian side has to intensify its efforts to combat Palestinian "terrorism" and stop any form of military-oriented acts against "Israel".
- 5- Both sides committed themselves to resume and intensify negotiations so that an agreement on the final status may be reached by 4 May 1999.³⁰

Sharm El-Sheikh memorandum (September 1999)

42. An agreement was concluded in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt which provide a new timeframe for the implementation of the Wye River Memorandum. Under Netanyahu blocked the further implication of Wye River memorandum. As soon as the political situation change as other agreement was needed. Labour party under Ehud Barak review the Palestinian hope in resuming the Peace process. Both side further agreed on postponing the final settlement to Sep 2000 instead of May 1999 and Israel agreed to release some of the Palestinian political prisoners³¹

Camp David Negotiations and Subsequent development in the process before the Intifada of Al-Aqsa 2000.

43. According to the timeframe set by Oslo 1993 an agreement on the final status should be reached not later than 4 May 1999. However, this deadline passed without reaching an agreement or even a common understanding. Based on the Oslo timeframe, the Palestinian Authority promised its people of an independent state by September 1998, but due to the frequent "Israeli" delays, this was postponed to May 1999, then to May 2000 and again to September 2000 until it has finally been shifted altogether indefinitely.

The Palestinian Side under Arafat:

- 1- "Israel" should withdraw from 98.5% of the West Bank.
- 2- parts of the "Israeli" settlements in the West Bank may remain under "Israeli" authority.
- 3- Roads to those "Israeli" settlements may remain under "Israeli" authority, while the sides of

those roads should be under the Palestinian authority.

4- In return for this Palestinian land, "Israel" should give the Palestinians 200 km² of lands currently under "Israeli" sovereignty (in other terms of Palestinian lands occupied in 1948 and were declared as land of "Israel")

5- The Arab part of Al-Quds (Eastern Jerusalem), including Al-Aqsa Mosque, should become under Palestinian authority, and shall become the capital of the sovereign Palestinian State.

6- As for Al-Khalil (Hebron), the "Israelis" should dissemble their settlements in the city, but Jews will be given a safe passage to the holy shrine (Al-Haram Al-Ibraheemi).

7- "Israeli" may rent Palestinian lands in the Jordan Valley (Al-Ghour) for a limited period of time and under Palestinian sovereignty.

8- "Israel" has to admit the Palestinian right of return, and its full responsibility for the misery of the refugees. Those who wish to return should be allowed to do so, and those who do not should receive compensation.

9- To alleviate fears of war, the Palestinian State may be free from heavy military equipments.

10- "Israel" should withdraw from Palestinian lands; furthermore, all Palestinian prisoners in "Israel" should be freed immediately after the agreement.

The "Israeli" Side under Barak:

1- "Israel" accepts to withdraw from 90% of the West Bank, and to transfer them to full Palestinian sovereignty.

2- Jordan River, the Jordan Valley (Al-Ghour) and Arab quarters in Jerusalem (Al-Quds) may eventually become under Palestinian sovereignty.

3- In return, "Israel" shall retain the main settlements in the West Bank, including those in Jerusalem, and shall keep the settlements and a form of military presence for 15-25 years.

4- With regard to Al-Aqsa Mosque, "Israel" shall control the area under Al-Haram or shall share the Palestinians a part of it.

5- the issue of the refugees should be solved on the basis of compensation and settlement in their then countries of residence.

6- "Israel" promised some unspecified aid to the Palestinians, that will include, however, 5 billion U.S.\$ to establish modern water infrastructure..

However, despite this looseness in positions, both parties stuck firmly to what they offered. TO OVERCOME THIS CRISIS, President Clinton proposed the so-called Clinton Project in December 2000 that provided for:

1- A Palestinian state will be established over 94-96% of the West Bank and 100% Gaza Strip,

2- In return "Israeli" settlements, should remain under "Israel's" sovereignty, and the Palestinians should get 1-3% of "Israeli" lands (which are Palestinian lands occupied in 1948 and declared as the territory of "State of Israel")

3- The political map of Palestine should be determined according to the following principles" A 80% of the Jewish settlers in the West Bank should remain where they are.

4- "Israel" should be able to keep permanent military bases in the Rift Valley (Al-Ghour) to maintain its security.

5- As for Jerusalem (Al-Quds) the division would be according to the following principle: areas inhabited by Jews should be under "Israeli" sovereignty and those inhabited by Palestinians should be under Palestinian sovereignty.

6- As for the Holy Mosque, Al-Aqsa, there should be a way to guarantee Palestinian monitoring of the Mosque without affecting the religious rights of Jews in the shrine.

7- For the refugees issue, the main principle should be that the would-be Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza is the return place for all Palestinian refugees.

8- The acceptance and application of this project should end of the Palestinian –"Israeli" conflict, and none of the parties shall in future make any further demands.³²

Middle East Peace Effort: Road Map

1. Bloody equation of war is the most complicated one, it can change and cross any territory within a moment, one can go to war alone but cannot make peace alone. "Napoleon Bonaparte". The

century old statesman Napoleon seems to be absolutely right in his statement about the Palestine - Israel conflicts. Hot tempered Israeli PM Ariel Sharon, the muscle man in Middle East, probably haven't gone through the history of greatest or worst wars of history. With a proud face every night he pushes the Palestine children and women on the graveyard or street, never the less, having the world tightest security he is being welcomed not with red rose bucket, but blood of his children, man and women in exchange.

2. The recent anti-civilization steps of Israel and in broader aspect US, left the Palestinians with no option but to choose suicide bombings. From the world war-2 to till today the Palestinians are fighting for their mother land, till today they are considered refugee in their homeland. The forceful creation of Israel in Middle East is the step father of this non-ending problem.

3. Since the evil creation of that problem, the Arab world and the Palestinian started doing their level best to inform all the world about it. First in peaceful manner and then sharp divided confused Arab states went for foolish 3 wars (in 1956, 67 and in 73) with Israel.³³

Attack on World Trade Centre (11 Sep 2001)

4. changed many myths and catalysts of terrorism. The main responsibility have been pushed to the shoulder of Al-Quida, an extremist Muslim group active and operative in the middle East basically.

5. Slowly and gradually US manipulated enough proof that many Muslims Separatist groups, exiled Muslim groups are badly concentrate with Al-Quida through the analyst said that most of the so called proof of US had aim to blame the Muslims as a whole. So the peace process went to the freezer from fridge.

6. The US then to face their illusioned Muslim terrorist declared a project named War Against Terrorism. The common people also believed that the aim of that project is to teach a lesson, to US old and permanent enemy like Afghanistan, Iraq, North Korea, Iran, Syria and so on.

7. Under that falsified umbrella of war against terrorism, the Shameless US attacked an independent state Iraq violating all request and international laws of the earth in March 20, 2003.

8. After 20 day of attack the US without any big loss invade Iraq and the conscious people of the world now raising the question why US will be controlling the oil of Iraq. While international community is busy with the US, and the oil resource of Iraq US suddenly proposed a peace treaty in 30th April, 2003 Sharm-el-Sheikh base of Akaba.

9. Mr. John Sharon a foreign policy analyst say. In Iraqi invasion the US is now to the Muslim a permanent enemy, wants to regain his image to the Muslims for that he proposed Road map not really peace Middle East.³⁴

Road Map

10. Road Map is the latest peace proposal between Israel Palestinian. It was proposed by US, Russia, EU, and UN jointly. I emphasis earlier that basically US is the interested concerned party of it. The peace plan has 3 consecutive steps. And the expected time frame is by 2005.

11. In Short the US said that if every thing goes fine the Palestine shall have and independent state in Middle East by 2005. Let us discuss the peace plan with steps by step also.

1st phase:

12. The condition of the peace plan was imposed on Israel and Palestine. So let us discuss with the countries responsibility.

Palestine.

13. The Palestine authority shall do or practicalize the following steps:

- a. First and for mostly the Palestinians must stop all terrorist activities, in all respect.
- b. One authoritative statement shall be issues recognizing presence of Israel.
- c. Palestine security system shall be revised and revitalized.
- d. The Palestine authority shall form a constitution for the own.
- e. Take necessary steps to hold free and fair national election
- f. Reform in political system shall be done.
- g. Patience in the highest scale shall be shown.

Israel:

14.

- a. It shall take all necessary steps to resume normaly Palestinians life.
- b. It shall withdraw from the territory which they occupied after 28 Sep 2000.
- c. The settlement in Palestine area shall be closed soon.
- d. Help Palestine to stop terrorism.
- e. It shall help Palestine to reorganize their security system. The aforesaid steps shall be observed by the concerned parties by June 30, 2003.

2nd Phase

15. The 2nd phase shall be implemented by the end of 2003.

a. **Palestine to do:**

- (i) Re-organize and refresh the national govt. structure.
- (ii) Stage a national election by Dec.2003.

b. **Israel to do:**

- (i) A deliberate help shall be extended to hold a peaceful national election in Palestine. After the election consulting with US, EU, UN and Russia, there shall be an international conference or financial assistance to Palestine national govt.

3rd Phase. Final phase

16. The third phase is allocated a time frame of 2004-2005. Dec. In early 2004, a international conference shall be held how to solve the core problem between Israel and Palestine. If everything goes in time, the very next year 2005 there shall be independent Palestine stated in Middle East, a long dreamt dream of millions of Palestinians.³⁵

How practical the Road Map is ?

17. This question is asked in different way around the world. Lets discuss the problem of the implementation, and then the prospects of it.

18. The analysts say the prime condition of the peace process or the pivot of the peace process is to stop terrorism in Israel.

19. Satisfying this condition may be difficult if not impossible because in Gaza Strip and West Bank there are as many as 30 Palestine group both armed and unarmed are active, more over may of them even don't listen to PLO. Many of them don't believe in peace with Israel. So Palestinian authority simply shall helpless a Middle East diplomat comments.

20. With the experience of last two weeks, it can be said that neither the Prime Minister of nor the PLO Chairman have any strong influence over the Hamas, a extreme wing of Fatah. An Palestine authority can't do it Israel shall not going to fulfill of the condition.

21. By now according to the treaty the violence. Terrorist active and Israeli Military attack are suppose to be stopped but all authorities and Palestine authority failed to stop it. Is continuing its military operation that already complicated peace process.
22. On the other hand the Israel is suppose the stop the settlement but he is under pressure to stop to suicidal attack of Hamas Since the attack is not stopped the settlement project is also on. So the peace process exists on the paper not on ground. Withdrawal of illegal settlers from Gaza and West Bank is on the problem which remains as a worse set back to the peace process. During there national election Sharon and his coal assured the settlers safe stay. Now if they retract from polling promise then the National Religious Party (NRP) Gesher Party shall withdraw their support from 59 seated coalition among 120 seated Knesset. It may even result calliopes of the Sharon's govt.
23. Just after embracing the Road Map by Ariel Sharon a big protest staged in Israeli cities posing him as traitor. It reminds the World Mr. Rabin, a former Israeli peace lover and maker under peace treaty, who was killed by Yogal Amir soon after embracing the peace.
24. While the treaty was being signed the Hamas leader Aziz Rontisi says. We will never lay down our arms until complete liberation of our mother land. "They went further saying treaty means a US combined war against Hamas and Hejbullah and fatah.
25. So there are so many sensation and unsettled matter are existing in the both side which put an enigma before the peace process. As both the nations are badly divided. Some of the middle specialists fears of even civil war both in Israel and Palestinian nations since the state authority and the community itself individual opinion. The same fear was pronounced by direct Israeli military intelligence Mr. AHARON ZEEVI "A civil disorder is not unlikely".
26. Since the suicidal attack continues and the brutal attack of Israeli army was going on, nothing fair can be expected, rather it ignited the armed groups to attack. In the mean time killing of senior Hamas leader muddied the water further and it will permanently effect militants groups to play a sincere role in the process.
27. In domestic pressure Israel officially postpone the peace process. Both the sides are pointing their finger each other and it is sure that the peace treaty is in deep freeze.
28. Considering the danger of infant peace process the US sent an envoy headed by General Aulthomy Zinni to negotiate a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas leaders. The envoy last week had a other remark able commitment.
29. A opinion poll in last week in middle East on "Do you believe that Road Map will achieve the ultimate goal in Middle East" only 30% said yes and 66% says no, it will not. So it is believed that peace in the Middle East will not be a easy matter like winning a war like Iraq to US.
30. Standing on the dead bodies of 700 Israeli innocent children and women having operation defensive wall in one hand and Road Map in other hand, it may be the toughest job of impudent Sharon to embrace peace. Same way the Palestine PM Abbas must remember that being PM under US umbrella is so easy making peace with Israel of course require not only US support but also support of common Palestinians and not only position but also image and acceptability.
31. As many analysts worried that Israel will not obey with the treaty. Hamas declared one-sided cease-fire but Israeli tank every day kills innocent people. Palestine people retaliate with suicide bombing. Now yesterday 10 Oct 03 Israel declard that they will expell Yasir Arafat from Gaza. It evoke a UNA special session to pass resolution against Israel. But the situation says that something else will come.
32. Many analysts around the globe says that killing senior Hamas leader in this week (25-6-2003) shall have a dark shadow over the peace effort, it should be avoided at any cost.³⁶

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CHAPTER- FIFTEEN
PROSPECT OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Introduction

1. The Middle East problem had been erupted when in 1948 the state of Israel was declared for establishment in Palestine. Since then, many of the Arab countries got entangled in the conflict with Israel, over the Palestine issue. The problem did not deep its claw on the Middle East countries only but had been a cause of concern and irritation for many large or small countries of the world for about last half century.

2. For the last half-century or so, the Middle East issue has been a history of miseries for the Palestinians. The Palestinians who once belonged to a country with distinctive geographical, political and cultural identity ultimately transformed into refugees. Being the victim of Zionist aggression, the Palestinian had resorted to armed resistance and diplomatic efforts for achieving their legitimate rights. The last few decades of Palestinian struggle passed through several phases of odds like unfavourable undercurrents of Arab politics, the aggressive and resistant policy of Israel and conspiracy of the super power.

3. Since the genesis of the Middle East crisis it revolved around the Palestine issue. Therefore, any evaluation of the peace process in the ME will have to be studied in combination to the Palestinian issue. There is a common agreement amongst the ME theorists that the solution of the Palestinian problem is end result of ultimate peace in the ME. The peace process between Israel and Palestine has been long-drawn-out and difficult. Peace is indispensable for the co-existence and prosperity of Israel and neighboring states. In this context "Peace" means; mutual recognition; full diplomatic relation; open borders; cessation of hostility; curb terrorist activities and normalized the economic relation. When both the sides remain under threat of military confrontation the peace process will always be prejudiced.

4. It should be borne in mind that the Palestinian problem is a very complex one, marked by a series of developments with puzzling rapidity. Over the year the search for a peaceful resolution of the Arab

5. Israel conflict by different quarters has been associated by with a number of peace plans, proposals, agreements, diplomatic initiatives and missions. Despite all these efforts, no practical solution could be sought until recently to resolve the issue so as to bring reconciliation between the hostile groups. The signing of an accord between Palestine and Israel in September 93 marked the major breakthrough in the peace process. Another peace accord also was in May 94 making a positive move for a lasting peace in the Middle East. The latest move by US president George W Bush in resolving the problems indicates the significance and importance of the peace in the region. There also exist positive signs that both the belligerents are proceeding to some sort of settlement.²

6. This Research paper will examine the various dimension of the Middle East crisis in general and the Israel and Palestine conflict in particular. While discussing the Israel and Palestinian problem a historical overview of the conflicting parties will be discussed. Later different peace treaties / initiatives will be highlighted. Finally present situations will be analyzed to look for the prospect of peace in the Middle East.

Aim

7. The aim of this paper is to analyze the Middle East crisis and evaluate the prospect of peace in the region.

Middle East Crisis

General

8. The Middle East crisis can be traced back with the declaration of the Zionist nation state Israel. Many Palestinian were forced to leave their sweet home and took refuge to the neighboring countries. This has given rise to many other conflicts like the rejection of UN partition by the Arab states, annexation of West Bank by Jordan and Gaza by the Egypt the Lebanon crisis, American intervention in Jordan and in the Lebanese civil war and so on. Most of the Arab countries of Middle East were involved in the crisis. However many of the problems were solved by the international, regional and bilateral treaties and memorandum of understanding. But still there are several dimensions in the Middle East crisis and many areas of on going serious violence. Three of these are mentionable here. One is the Israel and Palestine. Second is Iraq -its sanction and bombing. Third are Turkey and the Kurds.

9. Amongst all these the Palestinians interest reins the supreme. Since the genesis of the Middle East crisis it revolved around the Palestine issue. Therefore, any evaluation of the peace process in the ME will have to be studied in combination to the Palestinian issue. There is a common agreement amongst the ME theorists that the solution of the Palestinian problem is sine qua non of ultimate peace. So addressing the PLO-Israel problem is considered to be the main issue of the time. As such this paper will cover mainly the PLO-Israel problem in examining the prospect of peace in the Middle East.³

Palestine And Israel Crisis

Historical Preview

Geography.

10. The land called Israel and Palestine is a small, (10,000 square miles at present) land at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. During its long history, its area, population and ownership varied greatly. The present state of Israel formally occupies all the land from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean ocean, bounded by Egypt in the south, Lebanon in the north, and Jordan in the East. The recognized borders of Israel constitute about 78% of the land. The remainder is divided between land occupied by Israel since the 1967, 6-day war and the autonomous regions under the control of the Palestinian autonomy. The Gaza strip occupies an additional 141 square miles south of Israel along the sea coast, and is mostly under the control of the Palestinian authority with small areas occupied by Israeli settlements.⁴

Early History

11. During the A.D. 600's, Muslim Arab armies moved north from Arabia to conquer most of the Middle East, including Palestine. Muslim powers controlled the region until the early 1900's. Jerusalem became holy to Muslims as the site where, according to the Qur'an, Muhammad ascended to heaven after a miraculous overnight ride on his horse *Al-Buraq*. The al-Aqsa mosque was built on the site generally regarded as the area of the Jewish temples.ⁱ During World War I (1914-1918), the Ottoman Empire joined Germany and Austria-Hungary against the Allies. An Ottoman military government ruled Palestine. For a time, the Turkish military governor ordered detention and expulsion of all foreign nationals Therefore; large numbers of Jews were forced to flee Palestine during the war

12. By the end of the 19th century, the scattered Jews throughout Europe organized a movement called "Zionist Movement" for the creation of a separate land for the Jews. The activity gradually grew up into a powerful national movement ably supported by the Jews communities in Europe and the USA. In 1896 the total population of Palestine was 5, 00,000 of whom 47,000 were Jews who owned 0.5% of the land. In 1896 Theodore Herzl wrote "The Jewish state" and designed the Zionist Movement and advocated the creation of Jewish State in Argentina or Palestine. Theodore Herzl formed the first Zionist congress in Basle, Switzerland in 1897.

13. The London conference (1905-1907) suggested to the British colonizers that they should control the Suez Canal, the south east coast of Mediterranean Sea, and place a nation, which is hostile to the Muslim, in the heart of Palestine, a Muslim dominated land. In Balfour Declarations of 1917 the

British promised to the Zionists that they would establish a "Jewish state" in Palestine. The British government then occupied Palestine and opened it to Jewish immigration. From 1918 to 1948 the Jewish population increased from 47,000 to 6, 50,000.⁵

The Birth of Israel

14. On the night of 14/15 May 1948, Zionist leader David Ben Gurion declared Israel as an independent state. Israel occupied the place in the world map. They occupied 78 per cent of the Palestine land. During the ensuing months, nearly one million (80 % of them) Palestinians were expelled from their homes.¹ In 1948-49 one fourth of the Palestinians territory was forcibly occupied by the Israel and by 1956 whole of Palestine from Nile to Euphrates was claimed by Israel. In 1967 war, Israel illegally occupied the rest 22 percent of the land (Gaza Strip and West bank)¹. A map of present Israel is at annex B. Approximately 3, 50,000 Palestinians were made refugee.⁶

Birth of PLO.

15. The PLO was founded on 02 June 1964¹ under the leadership of Yasser Arafat. Within a decade PLO could establish its creditability as the sole representative of the Palestinians. Virtually it has also been recognized by Israel and other powers after the massive victory in 1996 election⁷.

Present Situation

Recent Events

16. Palestinian violence of Intifada erupted on September, 28, 2000 due to failure to reach a final status and by a visit of Ariel Sharon to the temple mount in Jerusalem. This is also the site of the Al-Asqua holy to Muslims. Violence continued into 2001 and 2002 despite attempts by the Mitchell commission and others to restore peace.

17. The terror attack on the World Trade Centre in the US on September 11, 2001 had direct effect for the Israel–Palestine conflict. American began to view terrorist action in new light as Hamas and Hizbulla group blamed to be linked with Al-Qaeada group. Against this background the US and EU seemed to give Israel wider latitude for action against Palestine. Israel made increasing raid into Palestinian areas and confined Palestine National Authority Chairman Arafat to his compound in Ramalah.

18. On 12 March 2002 the UN Security Council passed resolution 1397, calling on the sides to stop the violence once again, mentioning the peace plan of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah and for the first time calling for creation of Palestinian state alongside Israel. Yasser Arafat declared cessation of violence but had no change.. A blast at the park hotel in Nethanya killed 27 people in Israel. Israel launched a massive attack to root out the terror infrastructure including reoccupation of Ramalah, Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarm and other towns. Hundreds of Palestinians were killed in Jenin. In all this activities the critics of the Israeli military operation, called "Defensive Wall".

19. UN made another resolution 1402 directing that Israel withdraw from the territories immediately. By the time US state secretary completed his visit the Israel had withdrawn from some towns but Yasser Arafat was still in confinement in his office compound. The UN adopted another 20.resolution 1403 expressing dismay that resolution 1402 had not been implemented. Palestinian charged that Israeli's had made massacre in the Jenin refugee camp. On April 19,2002 the Security Council adopted resolution 1405 calling for an impartial investigation team to be send to determine the truth. Israel at first agreed but later backtracked and blocked it.

20. The sieges of Muqata (Ramalah) and church of Nativity were resolved in May. At the end of May 2002 Yaseer Arafat signed the basic law or constitution of Palestinian state. In June, following another wave of Palestinian suicide attacks; Israeli forces reoccupied all the West Bank. President Bush made a long waited speech on Middle East policy calling for a Palestinian state but insisting on democratic reform of the Palestinian National Authority. In August and September, several attempts at Palestinian cease fire initiative were foiled by refusal of extremist groups. August and September witnessed a six week interval from major suicide and terror attacks. The period of relative calm came to an end with suicide bombing in Umm El Fahm and in a Tel-Aviv bus¹. The

Israeli government proceeded with an attack on Gaza including entry into Gaza city and besieged Yasser Arafat and an estimated 200 others in Muqata compound in Ramalah. Israel destroyed buildings in the compound except the main one. After a rumor was spread that Israel was about to blow out the Moquta. The USA exerted pressure on Israel to stop destroying building in Moquta and withdraw.

Sharon Era

21. Assumption of power by Aerial Sharon also made the Palestinian authority uncertain of the future of peace. An Israeli official inquiry found him responsible for the massacre in 1982 of about 3000 Palestinian in Sabra and Shatilla refugee camp in Lebanon. The Arab world knows Sharon a butcher and war criminal. During his visit to Al Aqsa mosque claimed over 400 death mostly of the Palestinian. With the election Sharon has achieved his life long ambition of becoming Israeli's unquestioned leader. Peace has not been an important item in Sharon's agenda.⁸

Isseroff Amin A Brief history of Peace Process.

Middle East Web Site

22. Sharon is committed to providing security to the Israelis. Sharon declared that Jerusalem will remain undivided and shall be the central capital of Israel, no refugee to be returned and the Israeli settlements to remain. Very recently Sharon argued that the commitment not to make any new Jewish settlement does not necessarily mean that they will not be allowed to extend the old settlements. Because of these new claims by Sharon multifarious repercussions are anticipated. Sharon's victory in the recent election has escalated the Intifada activities and likely to be further intensified in the days to come.

23. The right wing cabinet of Sharon wants to establish a "Greater Israel" even though formally it pledges to pursue the peace process with her neighbors. Sharon envisaged a long term interim peace deal giving the Palestinians a state on far less than they demand (42% not 97% agreed by Barak). The new state would have to be demilitarized and its police forces armed only to maintain orders. While Israel for years would oversee the external borders and be free to fly over the territory, On the other hand the Palestinians ruled out establishing a state on anything less than all of the West Bank including East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip lands that Israel captured in 1967 ME war.

Opinion of the International Observers

24. The ME situation certainly remains the most disconnecting global crisis as it continues to defy a settlement. International observers opine that the recent Israeli attack to Palestinian territory with the use of excessive and brutal force, with deadly weapons and war machineries has destabilized the entire region. It is now felt that after long years of negotiations, what PLO achieved has been deferred to so call final status talks. Sharon out rightly rejected any talk till the current uprising by Palestinian is halted which Arafat has rejected. The Palestinians are routinely demonized as "vermin's." The uncompromising attitude of any single party will result in the burial of the peace process for years with rising casualties on both sides. During first visit to US Sharon has vividly expressed his mind not only to hit the Palestinians terrorist but also to punish those who send them. The US is concern over Israel's present position in the Arab world. The new president has urged all side to return to negotiation table.

US Role

25. President Clinton relentlessly attempted to strike a peace deal between Israel and Palestine. Currently with a less responsive US government in power and the right wing prime minister in Israel; peace seems to have taken a back seat. In the present day uni-polar world of politics the US has to play an active role in the form of pressure and persuasion. The US has her own interest in the region – the oil of ME and security of Israel. The PLO and Israel also seek American backing because only Washington has the economic affluence and political might it influence the oil-rich Arabian states. The US can provide the economic aid required to reconstruct the war ravaged

economy of the both. The US pursues "Dual Containment" doctrine in the ME.

26. The present situation in the peace process has been clouded by two major developments i.e. change in the US presidency and appearance of Ariel Sharon in power. The change in US administration has made the peace process uncertain and complicated. Bush has declared, "The US will not try to force peace, that we will facilitate peace and work with those responsible for peace". But after the revival of the ME crisis the US has done nothing tangible that might force Israel to discard anti-peace policies. The solution of the present crisis is not only the "cooling down the nerve". Effective measures would be like to "force peace" upon the parties. The US has to remain actively engaged in the peace process along with the UN and European Union.

Bush Strategy

27. The long awaited speech of President Bush on his policy about Middle East on 24 June 2002, after 11 September incidents, had shocked whole world. He laid down some tough conditions including removal of present leadership, pointing towards President Yasser Arafat, for US support for a future Palestine State to please the Jewish and the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. This stance marks a major shift in Washington's Middle East policy. It had sharp reaction from every corner and was not certainly welcomed by Arab Leaders or by European Allies of US who all had always shown public support for Arafat. But it shows a distinct US inclination towards for Sharon's hard-line policies, justifying the Israeli military incursions on the West Bank as a question of self-defense.¹ Though there are debates but other conditions of reforms in Palestinian Authority and to conduct election for democracy for implementation of Bush plan of provisional statehood of Palestine within three years accepted by all.⁹

Quartet and Trio

28. The so-called Madrid Quartet is consisting of US, Russia, The European Union (EU) and the UN. There is also a Trio from Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which occasionally plays as well in the crisis management of Middle East. This Quartet and Trio sat last 15-17 July 2002 in UN Headquarters where European and Arab partner did not agree with recent Bush Administration plan on excluding Palestinian President Yaseer Arafat and setting security for Israeli as a primary precondition for progress towards peace. At the end there was not much achievement as they appeared deeply split on issues critical to moving forward with peace efforts. The Quartet is now playing a more muted tune.

Post 11 September Scenario

29. Since the tragic events in the United States on 11 September 2001. The suffering meted out to the Palestinian people has intensified. Yossi Beilin, the former Israeli Justice Minister writing in the Guardian stated: "Sharon was attempting to ride the current wave, and to convince the world that Arafat was a local Bin Laden who must be disposed of in the struggle against terrorism".¹ Sharon clearly recognizes that the US-led war on terrorism can only strengthen the hand of Israel against the Palestinians and took full advantages of that. At the same time, Arafat realizes that he has to be seen to be on the side of anti-terrorism.¹

Saudi Peace Proposal

30. In the present situation with Israelis and Palestinians killing each other and no intervening, Abdullah's plan is something positive. In February 17 by the New York Times, Crown Prince Abdullah let stated that he had drafted a proposal for full Arab normalization with Israel in exchange of full Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories in accordance with UN resolution. The scrutiny of the Saudi peace plan will reveal that fundamentally there is nothing new in it except its approach. Both the UN Resolutions 242 and 338 of 1967 and 1973 respectively called for Israel's pullback to pre 1967 border and as a matter of fact even the OSLO accord was based on this with some modifications.

31. The details of the Saudi proposal are not known. The principal two aspects of the plan, the Israeli withdrawal and Arab recognition. The US has so far described the Saudi proposal as interesting and worth following up. However the plan is bold one and comes from one of the most credible leaders of the Arab world. If implemented in its entirety an apparently besieged Israel stands to gain the most. So far as the Palestinians are concerned, Abdullah plan amounts to what

has been apply called ' a lifebuoy' thrown to them for swimming back to shore.¹

Hindrance In Peace Process

Dimension

32. Plenty of hindrance derailed the process of peace in Palestine and in Middle East in general. Lot many parties from international and regional have their interest in this conflict because of the holiness of Jerusalem to the three monotheistic religions, involvement of western world for strategic entrance to oil resources of gulf and force eviction of huge population from their forefathers land . So it is difficult for any one to find out the major hindrance on the process of peace in Palestine-Israel conflict. Still the study of world security system and analyzing the Palestine saga from 1948 to till to date will certainly suggest two main hindrances, which are the obstructing wall of peace are control of Jerusalem and rights of refugees. All these issues are important for a comprehensive peace in Palestine.¹²

The Matrix of Control

33. Why Oslo peace process could not succeed at the end? The answer is the "matrix of control". It is an interlocking series of mechanisms, only a few of which requires physical occupation of territory that allow Israel to control every aspect of Palestinian life in the occupied territories. The settlement plays key role in creating matrix of control and preventing territorial contiguity.¹ After placing one settlement in the place of interest, Israelis connect it with other mechanism of control: a supporting infrastructure of roads, industrial areas, military installations, 'security' arrangements such as check points, and much more. The most part the matrix relies upon subtle interventions performed under the guise of proper administration upholding the law'; 'keeping the public order'; and of course 'security'. Only though largely bureaucratic and legal, these interventions are nevertheless backed by overwhelming military force, which Israel reserves for itself the right to employ.¹

Influence of Jewish Lobby

34. Why is the U.S the only remaining stronghold of support for Israel? Because the "Jewish lobby" is a decisive factor in US support for Israel. Jewish-Zionist interest are not identical to American interest, in fact, they often conflict. Yet they wield immense power and influence in the United States. Today though barely two percent of the US population is Jewish but close to half of its billionaires and eleven percent of total elite society are Jewish¹. The influence of American Jewry in Washington, notes the Israeli daily Jerusalem Post, is "far disproportionate to the size of the community." One member of the influential Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organization says," estimated Jews alone had contributed 50 percent of the funds for Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign."¹.

Other Hindrance

Agreement on Jerusalem

35. An agreement should be negotiated equitable between the Palestinian Authority and Israel in accordance with UN resolution. Israel should understand the religious dimension of Jerusalem through a special statute that would ensure freedom of religion for all, equal legal status for the three monotheistic religions, and respect for the identity and sacred nature of the city, as well as freedom of access to all the Holy places. Palestinian sovereignty over East Jerusalem should be recognized after these long decades of occupation.

A Just Resolution of the Refugee Problem

36. As per the existing international law, Israel should recognizes its responsibility in this matter and accepts the right of return in principle Then the modalities of return or cash compensations could be more easily settled. The Israeli settlements, instead of being a problem, could become part of the solution if they were made available to returning Palestinian refugees.

Prospect Of Peace

Palestinian Aspiration

37. Since 1991 Madrid Conference and 1993 Oslo Agreement, the Palestinians have recognized the legitimacy of the state of Israel, thereby surrendering 78% of their land to Israel. What they are now claiming is 22% of the original Palestine as their rightful homeland. Now Israel has to understand that she would be far more secure within its internationally recognized pre-1967 borders than attempting to defend archipelago of illegal settlements amidst a hostile population.ⁱ Similarly, as repeated in the recent Arab summit in Beirut as per proposal of Saudi Prince Abdullah, an Israeli withdrawal to within its internationally recognized borders would result the security guarantees and full normalized relations from Arab states that Israel has long sought. This would put both Israel and its neighbors into compliance with UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, long considered being the basis for a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace.¹

Frustration Vs Hope

38. When we look towards peace in Palestine, prospect of peace seems bleak and things seem worse than ever. Violation of every aspect of human rights, murders, incursions, attacks by modern fighter in side the civilian residential area killing innocent civilian including kids, children and women by the Israelis in the name of fighting terrorism. On the other hand, Intifada fuelled by frustration, torture, economic crisis etc giving birth to new suicide bomber every day. So any scope of peace is not visible in the horizon. Yet hope is the only options which keep human being alive even before last breathe.

Crisis Management Vs Conflict Resolution

39. Till to date, world community was doing crisis management in the Palestinian problem by so-called Quartet and Trio. So there was no comprehensive formula to solve the problem in longer term. This problem needs conflict resolution rather than crisis management to lead the way to a comprehensive solution

Facing Hindrance of Peace Palestinians Part.

40. The challenges of the Palestine problem have multiple fronts and everyone must be absolutely clear what they are. I shall focus on two: Palestinian front and US internal front by the American Muslim community. The Palestinian has a momentous challenge is to bring home to the world community including American public the true nature of what is going on there. Palestinian should make sure that main message to be heard by every oneⁱ:

- a. Occupation and settlements are the basic sources of violence in this conflict and only if they are ended can be violence be halted. It cannot be simpler than that.
- b. The issue in the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations is not simply territory. It revolves around question of control, viability and justice.
- c. Palestine cannot be called a viable state with out most sacred symbols of religion and identity. Peace may be imposed, but unless it is just it will not be lasting.
- d. The only way to dismantle the matrix of control in the future sovereign Palestine state is to eliminate it completely. Although a security timetable might be agreed upon between the two sides.

American-Muslim Part

41. About the US internal front is to make a strong and powerful Muslim lobby within US to influence the power houses to confront the unholy Jewish lobby and to ensure a just foreign policy by the administration at least regarding Middle East and Muslim countries as US hegemony is not going to change in near future. Study on Jewish community of US will give a clear picture of action that can be taken by the Muslim community of that countryⁱ:

- a. Beside Islamic culture, be in the main stream of American society.
- b. Organize the Muslim community and unite them to foster the strength.
- c. Do the research work on any problem of Muslim Umah and their probable solution including US involvement.
- d. Fund raising to participate in election campaign and other charitable donation to political and social sector to influence the politician and society in the process of achieving the organization goals.
- e. Work tirelessly at the local level and at the national level of politics to transmit the message what is done by those actions that in effect justifying occupation, settlement and oppression in Palestinian land.
- f. Influence every congress person, every senator, every newspaper, and every local community organization in that region.
- g. When any media do something good or bad, tell them so.
- h. Be registered voters and hold local representatives to some basic standards.
- i. Learn the ins and outs of local politics, local party primaries, and municipal politics, as these are the building blocks of political power in that country. One cannot influence congress without first influencing City Hall and the State House.
- j. Change the public perceptions regarding Palestine, Arab and as a whole about Muslim. It is not enough to depend on the all-too-few spokesperson.

On the Ground

42. In line with US Senator Mitchell recommendations following measures may give chance for resumption of any peace process about Palestine¹:

- a. End the violence.
- b. Rebuild confidence.
- c. Respect the human rights.
- d. Resume negotiation.
- e. Looking beyond the violence.

43. Both the sides need to make some constructive action to facilitate peace process to pull the region back from the abyss. If Oslo peace process is brought back then following points to be addressed for negotiations:

- a. International Observers.
- b. A Freeze on settlement.
- c. An agreement on Jerusalem.
- d. A just Resolution on Refugees Right.
- e. Finally resolution about Independent Palestine State.

44. Both the sides need to make some constructive action to facilitate peace process. Those may be as follows:

Palestinian

45.

- a. Make 100% effort of prevent terrorist operations and to punish perpetrators.
- b. Prevent any sorts of provocation by the fundamentalist.
- c. Bring reforms in administration and hold regular election to have democracy.
- d. No double standard on the solution of the problem.

Israeli

46.

- a. Withdraw from the occupied territory immediately.
- b. Freeze all new construction of settlement.
- c. Initiate political action for a long lasting security system not by 'matrix of control.
- d. Initiate political action to dismantle settlements within the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.
- e. Withdraw economic blockade from Palestinians.
- f. Treat Palestinian equally like Jews citizen within Israel.
- g. Do not use disproportionate force against Palestinians.
- b. No double standard on the solution of the problem.

US Role in Prospect of Peace

47. John F Kennedy in a letter to Alfred M Lilienthal wrote "I wholly agree that American partisanship in the Arab-Israeli conflict is dangerous to both US and the free world"ⁱⁱ is still valid and being single powerful player that can make change in this affair of conflict she needs to be honest on following points:

- a. US should support UN efforts, most urgently a peacekeeping force, to resolve the conflict based on principles of international law and good-faith negotiations.
- b. A more balanced US policy towards Israel-Palestine is urgent to undercut the anti-Jewish appeals of some elements in the Arab and Islamic world.
- c. The US must make military and other aid to Israel conditional upon its progress in ending the occupation and negotiating in good faith on other out standing issues in the peace process.ⁱ
- d. Bush needs to understand that it is only Arafat who has the master of the splits and relations between Palestinian clans and sub-clans, of the various cliques and factions and knows how to play off one side against the other and therefore he should be the person with whom they have to do business either one form or other.ⁱ
- e. Not to bow to any pressure to take double standard in this critical issue.

Other Community

48. The regional sub-regional, extra regional and international community played a role in this conflict from the beginning. It helped bring about the state of Israel. Therefore, it should bear responsibility in helping to resolve this decades-old crisis. A return to the respect of international law in the resolution of this crisis is needed like other crisis of the world. The international community not to make an exception for Palestine and Israel, but rather to apply and enforce international law, including laws on armed conflict. The cycle of renewed violence we have been witnessing since September 2000 will not cease through the use of force in any pretext. It is clear that neither side will win peace through excessive violence.ⁱ

Conclusion

49. World Zionist movement succeeded to bring the 'Promised Land' into being with the western help in 1948 and created a human tragedy in Palestine. The creation of the State of Israel over 78% of Palestinian land where Muslim was the majority had forced eviction of 80% population. The legacy of the conflict is full of violence and blood-shedding and gradual destruction of houses to make them homeless refugees. After 1967 war Israel occupied rest of the 22% of land of Palestine and evicted more people to create more settlement. The successive defeat of Arab in four war brought Israel militarily powerful to deter any more Arab expedition to reoccupy and to establish a Palestine state. The fate of Palestinian and their homeland remain in dark till now.²⁵

50. UN Partition Plan of one Jewish and a Muslim states were the base for all negotiation of peace process of Palestine. But with the blessing of a super power like USA and her military and diplomatic support put Israel in front seat to drive the situation in her own way, dam caring world opinion. Last effort of 'land for peace Arafat' of Oslo process was also met tragic death due to Israel concern for so-called 'security'. Both the parties sorted to violence again and again. The cycle of tragedy of human bloods goes on.²⁶

51. Main hindrance of peace process are Israel's 'Matrix of control' and influence of 'Jewish Lobby' in USA in formulating American foreign policy. Only strong political will can dismantle 'Matrix of control' and give birth of an effective Palestinian state in future. Although Jews make up only 2% the US population but they wield immense power and influence every sector of US life. Jews lobby ensures all types of diplomatic, military and financial support of US to Israel. So it is difficult to stop US blind support toward Israel without countering this Jewish lobby.²⁷

52. Palestine cause is alienated due to 11 September 2001 horrific incident and western media propoganda. The experience gained since 11 September 2001 by the Palestinian is more grimed then ever. Israel is successful to feed the 'terrorism tablet' to US Administration to justify their recent much scale violation of all form of international human rights and law of armed conflict and to control reoccupied territories. Latest proposal of Bush on Palestine problem is backfired from all circle of the world, as it is not based on reality.²⁸

53. To resolve the present continuing violence is to look toward the root cause of the problem-the occupation, which must be addressed not as crisis management perspective but to comprehensive solution of conflict resolution. But the influence of the US, lonely super power in unipolar world security system, is the most important factor to be considered. To encounter the Jews Lobby in US, American-Muslim needs to organize and work intelligently to put balance pressure upon administration to adopt just policy. Otherwise it will be far cry for Muslim to change in the America foreign policy, towards Middle East. On the ground, world community should ensure end of violence, to rebuild confidence on both parties and the sit for negotiation. If world community succeed to change the US policy then negotiation to be shifted to UN and core problem like statehood of Palestinian, dismantling of Jews settlement in occupied territories, rights of refugees, status of Jerusalem and deployment of international peace keeper to be negotiated to have a long-lasting comprehensive solution of the problem.²⁹

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CHAPTER- SIXTEEN

Conclusion

1. In the present scenario, character of American hegemony is to be considered as the determining factor to resolve the Middle East crisis and to bring peace and stability in the region. The Israel – Palestine issue commonly known as Arab Israel issue is the root of the crisis in the Middle East. The vast US military presence in the Middle East and recent US invasion of Iraq has complicated the crisis in the region.
2. In any peace negotiation on Arab –Israel issue, the U.S showed its intention to preserve the Israel's interest. The success of " Road Map" will also depend on the America's stand to influence Israel to recognize an independent Palestine statehood and withdrawal of Israeli settlements from occupied areas as per the terms and conditions narrated in the proposal.
3. The United States import 26% of its oil from the Middle East. By the year 2050, 80% of the world's oil reserve will be in the Central Asian region. Invasion of Afghanistan, Iraq and huge military presence in the whole Middle East region indicates the American intention to control Middle East oil and ensure uninterrupted supply for its own and for the allies.
4. Fall of communism and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, created an enormous opportunity for the U.S to expand its supremacy in the region with its gigantic military might. It also provided U.S to elevate its arms market in the region.
5. In retaliation of the attack on Twin Tower, under the cover of war against terrorism, U.S.A intervened Afghanistan in 2001. Again, despite the strong opposition from most of the member states of the United Nations, U.S.A invaded Iraq, this year in March 2003. Till today they could not prove the presence of WMD in Iraq. It is now clear why America invaded Iraq? The France, Germany, Russia and some other European countries continue to say that America's war in Iraq was a mistake. The U.S A could not manage to form a coalition force to maintain the law and order situation in Iraq. Even the third world countries regretted to join U.S led coalition forces in Iraq. Washington's present stand in the Middle East is creating anti American sentiment in people's mind, specifically in the Muslim World. This will instigate to give birth of more freedom fighters (terrorist in America's eye), in Iraq and as well as in the Middle East that might ultimately turn into fundamentalism in the region. Is Iraq is going to be another Palestine or Vietnam? Now the challenge for U.S is that, how they will legitimate the invasion of Iraq? Will they form a new government as per the desire of the Iraqi people? Will they involve United Nations as per the demand of the many member states of UN for the reconstruction and nation building activities of Iraq? Perhaps the best test of American foreign policy in the coming years will therefore be whether, through an active and generous diplomacy the United States can win the argument that it has promised or it will continue to ignore world opinion?

Recommendations

6. Basing on the nature of the conflict, outcome of various accords, and the present context following may be implemented to achieve lasting peace in the region:
 - a. **Reciprocal Concessions**. Both Israel and Palestine should concede to some of their demands and make necessary concession at their ends. All these concessions will have to be made with courage and foresight, weighing the risk and invoking the support of the international coalition.
 - b. **Implementation of the Roadmap** The Quartet is responsible to implement their plan as envisaged by them. Therefore, Israel must be brought to the terms of the road map peace plan without bringing any change to the plan.
 - c. **Involvement of the Arab States**. Since Syria, Jordan and Lebanon are considered to be the key players in maintaining sustainable peace in the Middle-East. Therefore, Israel must reconcile with them to be accepted as a neighbour and resolve all the issues to have lasting peace in the region.

- d. **Disarming the Settlers.** With a view to create a peaceful environment, the settlers should be disarmed as soon as the Palestinian Police Force takes control of the whole situation.

- e. **Dismantling Unauthorized Jewish Settlements.** As per the Mitchel Commission recommendations made on 21 May 2001, Israel must dismantle all unauthorized Jewish settlements and prevent natural growth of the existing settlements from the occupied territory for lasting peace in the Middle-East.