The Role of Arab-Israeli Wars in the Process of Establishing Permanent Peace in the Middle East

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Abstract: With its thousands of years of history, Palestine geography is still important in religious, political and cultural terms. Therefore, it has witnessed many struggles and wars from the past to the present. Palestine, which joined the Ottoman Empire with the conquest of Yavuz Sultan Selim in the 16th century and remained under the Ottoman rule for 400 years, underwent different change processes with the effect of nationalist movements. The first Congress of Zionism in 1897, "the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Palestinian territories", made this change inevitable. With the loss of World War I, the Sykes-Picot, which was signed between England and France, initiated the process of sharing the region. In this process, the foundation of the Jewish State was laid with the Balfour Declaration declared in 1917. Following this declaration, Jewish immigration, which started in the region, caused the Palestinian geography to face new security problems. After the British mandate ended in Palestine in 1948, Israel declared its establishment to the whole world. The Arab- Israeli Wars, which started with the announcement of this establishment, started a war period that lasted forty years until 1982. The peace negotiations that started with the end of the war could not turn into a lasting peace because the interests of the parties could not be reconciled. This article aims to reveal the effects of the Arab-Israeli Wars on the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East.

Keywords: Middle East, Palestine, Arab-Israeli Wars, Zionism, Israel.

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Orta Doğu'da Kalıcı Barışın Tesis Edilmesi Sürecinde Arap-İsrail Savaşları'nın Rolü

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Öz: Filistin coğrafyası, binlerce yıllık tarihi ile dini, siyasi ve kültürel açıdan günümüzde önemini korumakta olan bir coğrafyadır. Bu nedenle geçmişten günümüze birçok mücadele ve savaşa tanıklık etmiştir. 16.yy'da Yavuz Sultan Selim'in fethiyle Osmanlı Devleti topraklarına katılan ve 400 yıl boyunca Osmanlı hakimiyetinde kalan Filistin, milliyetçilik akımlarının etkisiyle farklı değişim süreçleri geçirmiştir. 1897 yılında yapılan 1. Siyonizm Kongresi'yle ortaya çıkan "Filistin topraklarında bir Yahudi devleti kurma fikri", bu değişimi kaçınılmaz hale getirmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin 1. Dünya Savaşı'nı kaybetmesiyle, İngiltere ve Fransa arasında imzalanan Sykes-Picot, bölgenin paylaşımına giden süreci başlatmıştır. Bu süreçte, 1917 yılında ilan edilen Balfour Deklarasyonu ile Yahudi Devleti'nin temelleri atılmıştır. Bu deklarasyonun ardından bölgeye başlayan Yahudi göçü, Filistin coğrafyasının yeni güvenlik sorunlarıyla karşı karşıya kalmasına neden olmuştur. 1948 yılında Filistin'de sona eren İngiliz mandası sonrasında, İsrail kuruluşunu tüm dünyaya ilan etmiştir. Bu kuruluş açıklamasıyla başlayan Arap - İsrail Savaşları, 1982 yılına kadar bölgede kırk yıl devam eden bir savaş dönemini başlatmıştır. Savaşın sona ermesi ile başlayan barış görüşmeleri tarafların çıkarlarının uzlaşamaması nedeniyle kalıcı bir barışa dönüşememiştir. Bu makale, Arap- İsrail Savaşları'nın Orta Doğu'da kalıcı barışın tesis edilmesine olan etkilerini ortaya koyma amacı taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Orta Doğu, Filistin, Arap-İsrail Savaşları, Siyonizm, İsrail.

Introduction

The idea of Zionism, which emerged as a result of nationalism, initiated the process leading to the establishment of the State of Israel. When the Ottoman Empire dominated this region for about 400 years, after the defeat of World War I, the British took over this region and the Jews who settled there established the State of Israel. The State of Israel has achieved great success against the Arabs who attacked after its establishment. In the war after its establishment, the regions that were given to Palestine by the Partition Plan passed into the hands of Israel.

Gamal Abdel Nasser, who copes with the overthrow of Egyptian King Faisal, has consistently defended the idea of reclaiming the lands captured by Israel as an Arab nationalist. The War of 1967 was a major disaster for the Arabs and strategic places such as Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem came under Israeli rule. Israel was trying to strengthen Judaism in the face of local people by applying a resettlement policy to these occupied places. Before the 1973 War, Anwar Sadat became Egypt's President (Köprülü, 1990, p.174). The Arab Coalition, which suffered a heavy defeat during the 1973 War, failed to succeed against Israel. Anwar Sadat would like to take the lost lands by diplomacy and start the peace process with Israel. However, Israel's siege of Lebanon in 1982 and the Sabra-Shatila Massacre made it difficult to allocate peace (Rabbani & Seikaly, 2019). As long as the attitudes and interests of the states in the region have not changed, it has not been possible to talk about lasting peace.

The Aim and Method of Study

The realization of the Arab-Israeli Wars and the Arab-Israeli problem that it posed has been the biggest obstacle in the Cold War era in the continuous peace in the Middle East. This conflict/problem has not been overcome despite the attempts of the post-war regional and international powers. This article analyzes the impact of Arab-Israeli Wars on achieving lasting peace in the Middle East. In this context, the fact that the existence of Palestine became a problem with the establishment of Israel was expressed with the history of Palestinian geography. The idea of Zionism and the activities of Theodor Herzl are expressed. In the next part of the article, the Balfour Declaration and the Arab Uprising were evaluated in the process that prepared the Arab-Israeli Wars.

In the second part of the article, the Arab-Israeli Wars and the developments afterward are explained. In this context, the ongoing process is explained with The 1956 Suez Crisis, Six-Day War, Eisenhower Doctrine and results, establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and The Siege of Beirut. In the third part of the study, the developments experienced within the scope of the establishment of permanent peace developing after the mentioned process are

explained. In this context, efforts were made to establish permanent peace through The Camp David Treaty, The Fahd Plan, The Reagan Plan, The Fez Plan.

This article looks for answers to the following questions:

1. How did Palestine become a problem in the Middle East?
2. Which developments have occurred in the Middle East in the process leading to the Arab-Israeli Wars?
3. How was the process of establishing permanent peace after the Arab-Israeli Wars affected by the developments?
4. What efforts and plans have been introduced after the Arab-Israeli Wars?
5. As a result, how did the Arab-Israeli War affect the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East?

The Problem of Palestine until Israel's Establishment

History of Palestine

The name Palestine was attributed to the name of a tribe who lived in the region before Christ. The Hebrews called it "Pelishtin" means "Palestine Country". Therefore, the region was called Palestine. The word "Palestine" comes from the Greek word "Philistia" which means "Palestinian Home". Palestinians, 12 BC. In the 19th century, they migrated to the present-day Palestinian coasts of Crete and the southern coast (Armaoğlu 2017, p.15). In this century, Palestinians captured a small area between Tel Aviv, Jaffa and Gaza.

Palestinian history dates back to ancient times. The first works of Palestinian history can be seen between 10000 and 5000 BC. According to this information, Palestinian history coincides with the Bronze Age. The first people of Palestine are of the Semitic races that emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula. The reasons for emigration here are generally expressed as climate change in the Arabian Peninsula. Some of these migration waves were directed towards Mesopotamia and others were directed towards Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. It is understood that the first wave of immigration to Palestine was a group called "conans" (Ataöv, 1980, p.31) between 5000 and 3000 BC. Indeed, the name of Palestine in the Bible is called "Kenaneli", "Kenan Diyarı" (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.17).

The Israelites migrated to Egypt from where they lived and settled in the Nile delta under the leadership of Yusuf. The groups within the Israelites solved the problems and elected David as King and established a state in Palestine (IMFA, 2019). The Canaanites thus conquered Jerusalem, making it the capital and establishing the Jewish State.

After this event, the Jews scattered all over the world. The Palestinian territories came under Islamic rule with the Yermuk Battle of 638. Jerusalem was invaded in 1099 and Selahattin Ayyubi took Jerusalem back in 1187. Although the Crusades brought Christian control over a large part of the Palestinian territory,

in 1303, Palestine became essentially a Muslim town of farmers and peasants (Karaman, 1991, p.13).

Then the region was dominated by Mamluks for about 200 years. When Selim I ascends to the throne, he ended the Mercidabık and Ridaniye Campaigns and Mamluks. After this victory, the region between Egypt and Syria passed into the hands of the Ottoman Empire. In 1517, the Palestinian geography came under Ottoman rule (Öke, 1987, p.13).

Syria and Palestine geography came under the Ottoman rule and after that Jews in European countries started to emigrate to Jerusalem. As a result of the increase in migration over time, the majority of the population in Jerusalem in the late 18th century was composed of Jews. This dominance of the Ottoman Empire in Palestine continued until the end of the First World War. When the Ottoman Empire was defeated, the Palestinian territories were destroyed and in 1922 Palestine came under British mandate. The Palestinian mandate includes present-day Israeli territories and Jordan.

The Emergence of Zionism and Theodor Herzl's Activities

For centuries, Jews have faced oppression in Europe and have never had equal rights with Christian people where they live. The unification of the Jews around a national consciousness began in the mid-19th century with the trend of nationalism in Europe. The increasing trend of nationalism in Europe spread to multinational states and the Jews were influenced by this nationalism. (Süer & Atmaca, 2006, p.12). As a result of this trend, the Jews started mass migration. Most of the Jews who migrated from Europe went to America and started to live there. Following these migrations, the Jews began to organize and this anti-Semitism led to the unification of the Jews. On the other hand, the Jews established an association called the Lovers of Zion to protect themselves so that the first steps of Zionism were taken (Engin, 2010, p.46).

The word "Zionism" takes its name from Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Zionism was emerged to gather stateless Jews scattered all over the world to build the temple of Solomon and to establish a Jewish State. One of the events that increase the solidarity of the Jews after these migrations is the Dreyfus incident. In 1894, the Jewish captain Alfred Dreyfus, who was accused of espionage for the Germans during the espionage in France, was imprisoned. With this incident, anti-Semitism in France started to increase and Jews were excluded from France. After Russia, anti-Semitism started in Romania and Greece (Engin, 2010, p.47).

The Jewish question arose as a result of anti-Semitism. Theodor Herzl decided to establish a Jewish state in Palestine on the Dreyfus Incident and the increasingly hostile anti-Semitism in Europe (Karaman 1991, p.18).

Theodor Herzl, an Austrian Jewish journalist, sought to establish a Jewish State to find a solution to the Jewish problem in the world. The anti-Semitism that

emerged in Europe and the Dreyfus Incident in France affected him very much in this decision. In 1896 he expressed his book *Der Judenstaat* to find solutions to the Jewish problems in the world. In this book, Theodor Herzl wrote that the state he would establish would be a modern state (Herzl, 2007, p.42). In his book, Herzl stresses that the priority for the establishment of a Jewish State is in the unification and organization of all the Jews in the world (Savrun, 2017b, p.86).

Jewish Immigration to Palestine with Balfour Declaration

The Zionism movement, initiated by Theodor Herzl, was accelerated by World War I. During this period, England began to cooperate with the Arabs against the Ottoman Empire. During the First World War, the British War Minister Kitchener met with the Sheriff of Mecca and promised to support the Zionists on the condition that they take a stand against the Ottomans in the war (Armaoğlu 2017, p.38).

To share the Middle East, the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Savrun, 2017a, p.75) was signed on May 16, 1916, between England and France. Beirut, Adana, Mersin were left under France rule. The Tigris-Euphrates and Baghdad-Basra regions were left under British rule. However, among the decisions of this agreement, there is no decision on who remains. The Balfour Declaration, published in Britain for Jews seeking homeland since the end of the 19th century, answered this quest. The British Secretary of State, James Balfour, known for his affinity to Jews, put forward the Balfour Declaration, which promised the Jews homeland. Lord Rothschild, President of the British Zionist Societies, in his letter to the British Foreign Minister Balfour on July 18, 1917, proposed that Palestine be the motherland for Jews and establish a structure to govern themselves. Following this decision, Secretary of State Balfour wrote to Lord (Jacob) Rothschild on November 2, 1917, a letter of reply, which would be called the Balfour Declaration; "The British establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine" (Kızıloğlu, 2012, p.49).

Between 1920-1948, it emerged to form the basis of the state of Israel. In this period, the world-famous Technion University was opened in Haifa and the foundations of the State of Israel which were established in 1948 were laid. After the British established a mandate regime in Palestine, immigration to the region began (Öke 1987, p.37).

Jewish immigration to Palestine, which began in the late 19th century and accelerated with the 1917 Balfour Declaration, peaked when Hitler came to power in Germany and started the holocaust (Kızıloğlu, 2012, p.51).

The number of Jews living in Palestine increased from 175,000 to 475,000 during this period. On March 31, 1947, a total of 1.987.423 Muslims were found in the total number of 1.908.775 and the Jewish population reached 589,341 (Karaman 1991, p.31).

Arab Uprising

When the mass immigration of Jews to Palestine increased, this led to Arab reaction. The conflicts between 1920 and 1933 were generally small. In these clashes, Arabs could not be organized like Jews. The first uprising of the Arabs took place in Jerusalem in April 1920. 5 Jews and 4 Arabs were killed in the clash. The second conflict took place in Jaffa in 1921 and the Arabs attacked the settlements of the Jews. The biggest conflict occurred in 1929 (Süer & Atmaca, 2006, p.26).

This uprising of the Arabs failed because of their unity. In this process, the UK established the Peel Commission to prevent conflict and find a solution. This commission was commissioned to investigate the cause of the Arab uprising. In its report, the Commission noted that Jewish immigration to Palestine had to be restricted, limiting the purchase of land by Jews. This document, unlike the Balfour Declaration, was accepted as one of the signs that the policy of the region has changed and the end of the Anglo-Jewish union (Süer & Atmaca, 2006, p.28) rated as a major disappointment.

UN Partition Plan and the Foundation of Israel

On April 2, 1942, the United Kingdom applied to the United Nations and asked for a special session on the Palestinian Question. With the request of the United Kingdom, the United Nations convened on April 28, 1942 and UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee On Palestine) was established at this meeting. The UN Palestinian Special Committee held its first meeting in Jerusalem on June 16, 1942 (Tekdal Fildiş, 2012, p.342).

The committee met with representatives of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria in June and July. The Arabs wanted an independent Arab state to be established in Palestine and the official language to be Arabic. Jews wanted the establishment of an independent Jewish state. Meanwhile, on July 7, 1947, Saudi Arabia applied to the United Nations for the lifting of the British mandate in Palestine. The UNSCOP, which has been working to solve the Palestinian problem, has carried out a nine-month activity in this region. Established by the United Nations on November 25, 1947, the committee adopted the majority plan (United Nations, 2019).

With this plan, an Arab and Jewish state would be established by dividing the places where the Jews and Arabs are in the majority. The Arabs opposed this majority plan and the Arab countries presented a plan to support the establishment of a federal Palestinian state in Palestine and a minority plan in response to this plan. As a result of the voting on November 29, 1947, the majority plan was adopted. According to this plan, 11,800 square kilometers (43,8%) of the Palestinian territories would be left to the Arab State, while the Jewish state would have 14,500 square kilometers (57%) (Tekdal Fildiş, 2012, p.345).

The Arab-Israel Wars of 1948-1949 and After

Israel took over the air supremacy by bombing Amman, the capital of Jordan on June 1, 1948, and Damascus on June 11. On June 12, 1948, a 30-day ceasefire was established between the parties. The UN has appointed Swedish Count Falke Bernodette to mediate between the parties. Count Bernodette, a Swedish diplomat, was killed by terrorists of the Stern Organization on September 17, 1948, while trying to reconcile the parties for a truce from June 11 to July 9 (Arı, 2012, p.280).

In the following months, clashes were accelerated and Israeli forces took Birusebi on December 23, 1948, and proceeded to the Sinai Peninsula. In this region, Egypt has suffered a great defeat. Upon this plight of Egypt, Britain asked Israel to withdraw from Egypt's territory immediately, and Israel was forced to withdraw from Sinai. However, despite these threats, Israel did not give up its aggressive attitude. In the meantime, some of the Israeli forces descended south and reached the Aqaba Gulf of the Red Sea from the Arab valley. Thus, the entire Southern Palestine came under Israel's control (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.105). With this war, Israel expanded its territory by 21%.

Immediately after Egypt, the second armistice agreement with Israel was signed on March 23, 1949, in Ras Nakura, Lebanon. With this armistice, the Israeli-Lebanese border remained the same as the former Lebanese-Palestinian border (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.106).

The situation between Israel and Egypt was resulted in the last truce signed by the internal events in Syria. The negotiations started on April 12, 1949 and ended with the signing of the truce on July 20, 1949. With these armistice treaties, the Palestinian Question came to peace and the First Arab-Israeli War was ended (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.108). The most profitable state of this war was Israel. Israel, which defeated the Arabs in this war, managed to get out of the war by expanding its territory.

The 1956 Suez Crisis

This crisis is not an Arab-Israeli crisis. Egyptian Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser's policy of pan-Arabism and nationalism caused him to contradict the West. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal on July 26, 1956 (McDermott, 1998, p.135). Israeli forces under the command of Ariel Sharon entered Egypt. Another group, the Israeli forces, took Al-Arish and severed the connection between Egypt and Gaza. As Israel moved towards the Suez Canal, France and Britain had to retreat 15 km behind the canal.

Although Syria and Egypt were united under the name of the United Arab Republic in 1958, the coup in Syria in 1961 prevented the formation of unity (Kaştan, 2007, p.1801). In the meantime, when there was no result from the conference held in London, England and France bombed Egyptian airports and military zones and hit Egypt.

The Egyptian leader agreed to sign a cease-fire as a result of these attacks. England and France withdrew from the Egyptian territory due to the danger of the Soviet Union that started in the region. The United Kingdom and France withdrew from Egypt on December 22, 1956, under a cease-fire agreement on November 7, 1956 (Bailey, 1990, p.140). One of the most important consequences of this war is that the Middle East has shown that two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union, is the arena of competition and struggle. Besides, the foundations of the Palestine Liberation Organization would be laid in this post-war region.

Six-Day War

Starting in 1962, the situation began to change as a result of the increasing sense of nationalism in Egypt, which was severely defeated in the 1956 War. In this process, the emergence of Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) would change the balances. After the 3rd Arab-Israeli War in 1967, Saudi Arabia began to stand out in the Arab world instead of Egypt and provided significant financial support to the Palestinians. During these years, Arab countries left the line of secular Arab nationalism and began to shift towards radical Arab nationalism (Kaştan, 2007, p.1802).

In December 1962, Israeli forces attacked Syrian positions and the Syrian forces prevailed in the attack. In 1964, the clashes between Syria and Israel intensified. Behind these clashes, the Fatah Organization began to play an important role in sabotage attacks against Israel from Jordanian territory. Fatah has taken over the 47-mile Israeli-Syrian border since January 1966 with sabotage and terrorist activities (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.233).

The Israeli-Syrian conflicts that took place on June 7, 1967, became one of the biggest conflicts. During the clashes with an air battle, the Israeli Air Force shot down six Syrian warplanes without a loss (USDS, 2009).

Nasser demanded the withdrawal of UN peacekeeping troops deployed in Sinai and stacked troops in the region. In May 1967, Nasser closed the Aqaba Gulf for maritime transport. Upon this, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan mobilized (Yaşar et al., 2007, p.59).

There were Israeli forces that started the June 5, 1967 War, and Israel defeated the Arabs on the first day (Pollack, 2005, p.471). On the morning of June 5, 1967, the Israeli air force destroyed 300 Egyptian warplanes, destroyed 50 aircraft of Syria and 20 of Jordan. In this war, Jerusalem, the holy place of Muslims, was captured by Israel. The UN Security Council convened on November 22, 1967. The Arab countries wanted Israel to withdraw from the land it had conquered, but Israel did not accept it.

Israel won a great victory in this six-day war. At the end of the war, the issue of refugees arose. Approximately 300,000 refugees took refuge in Jordan. This war caused the Arabs to change their policies against Israel. The plan to destroy Israel,

which began in 1948 and continued until 1967, has changed. The Arab countries, which were locked up to erase Israel from the map until that day, started to defend with the 1967 War (Yaşar et al., 2007, p.60). The most important outcome of this war can be seen as the end of Arab nationalism after this date and the emergence of Palestinian resistance.

Eisenhower Doctrine and Results

In his speech at the White House in 1957, US President Eisenhower stated that America should fill the gap in the Middle East and pointed to the dominance of the region before the Russians. According to Eisenhower, there are two things to do: one is to help the countries of the region eliminate the economic problems and the other is to explain to them what the hegemony of communism can bring and help them to resist communism (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.203).

President Eisenhower sent his speech to the Congress on January 7, 1957, and the new Middle East Plan became evident in this declaration called the "Eisenhower Doctrine". The Eisenhower Doctrine represents an important development in American foreign policy and aims to expand America's ties with the Middle East. The US first established its interest in the Middle East with the Truman Doctrine. The Truman Doctrine covers certain national borders, while the Eisenhower Doctrine covers the entire Middle East. Eisenhower, in his message to the Congress on January 5, 1957, which he called Eisenhower Doctrine, explained all these issues and asked Congress to authorize him for the following issues (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.203-204):

- To assist Middle Eastern countries in their economic development efforts to maintain their independence,

- To provide military assistance to the countries that demand this,

- The use of the US Armed Forces against any open armed attack from any state under the control of international communism and if the states of the region wish.

With this doctrine, America, which took action to fill the gap left by Britain and France in the Middle East, faced Soviet Russia for the first time. Eisenhower doctrine to Lebanon, Turkey gave support but Pakistan and Syria, Egypt and the Soviet Union have reacted vigorously.

Establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization

The struggle of the Palestinians against the Jews continues from the 1920s onwards. The establishment of the State of Israel by the Jews to expel local people from their homes in the region has caused a violent reaction of the Palestinian people. The first Palestinian resistance emerged before the 1948 war. In 1950, two groups

emerged based on this resistance: Fatah and Palestine Liberation Organization People's Front Group.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) derives its power from the Arab League, while Fatah derives its power from Palestinian students living in Egypt. The group was led by Yasser Arafat (Bağlıoğlu, 2008, p.17) and George Habash. The PLO first met in Gaza, where it determined its war strategy.

It can be said that the organized struggle against the State of Israel started with the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser's training in guerrillas with Palestinians in Gaza (Yıldırım, 2006, p.87). With the Arab summit in Cairo on January 16, 1964, the foundations of the Palestine Liberation Organization were laid (Kaştan, 2007, p.1801).

Since 1968, various groups have started to take part in the organization and aimed to establish a democratic and secular state by sending Jewish refugees in Palestine. The Palestine Liberation Organization has also supported smaller organizations established for the same purpose. In this sense, the PLO acts based on legitimate national defense in order to free its people from the destructive Zionist regime that applies the ethnic cleansing of the Israeli state. Also, it aims to defend the rights of Palestinians who suffered torture in their lands (Pappe, 2007, p.117).

The Siege of Beirut

The investigations into the killing of the Israeli ambassador to London on June 3, 1982, revealed that the ambassador was a member of Fatah who shot the ambassador. For this reason, Israel attacked by bombing guerrillas all over Lebanon, including Beirut, on June 4-5, 1982. On June 6, 1982, with a force of 90.000.000, the Israeli army entered Lebanon. This operation, initiated by the Israeli army, was called the Galilee Peace Operation. Israel's aim in this war is to neutralize the Palestinian troops within the 40-kilometer strip in the south of Lebanon and to secure the northern border with the 20,000 tankers it sent in the first place (Acar, 1989, p.95).

On June 11, 1982, the southern neighborhoods of Beirut were besieged. As a result of the clashes between the Syrian and Israeli soldiers in Lebanon on June 17, 1982, the Beirut-Damascus road was taken over by Israeli forces. The 1980 Treaty of Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Syria supports the idea that Israel could lead to a Soviet intervention if it goes forward. Considering this situation, Israel preferred a cease-fire in Syria and Beka (Acar, 1989, p.93).

The siege of West Beirut, which began on June 13, 1982, continued until August 12, 1982, during which time Beirut was bombed. West Beirut was besieged by the Israeli Army in a heavy bombardment of sea, land and air. The mediator Philip Habib, who has been in contact with Beirut after a bombardment that has been the most violent since the beginning of the siege and has killed 200 people,

told President Reagan that he would not continue in these conditions. Reagan then sent a message to Israeli Prime Minister Begin and demanded the halting of the bombing (Acar, 1989, p.95).

Upon this pressure from the USA, Israel stopped the Lebanon Operation and declared a ceasefire. As a result of this ceasefire, Palestinians and Syrian soldiers began to leave West Beirut. PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Palestinian fighters withdrew from Beirut with this development.

Peace Efforts in the Middle East

Camp David Treaty

After Anwar Sadat became the head of the state in Egypt, new developments took place in the Middle East. Anwar Sadat, who was stated to be pro-US and especially in the West, started to distance his relations with the Soviet Union with the support of the US. In 1972, in Egypt, Soviet experts were deported and the treaty of friendship and solidarity with the Soviets was annulled. On the other hand, Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem on November 21, 1978, is an important development for the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East. However, after some time, Camp David negotiations were held between Egypt and Israel through the United States and a bilateral peace agreement was concluded on March 26, 1979 in Washington (Uçarol, 1995, p.786).

In this context, Anwar Sadat, who visited Israel, was the first Arab leader to speak at the Israeli Parliament. The Israeli-Egyptian peace process, which began on September 5, 1978 with the mediation of US President Carter, was signed 12 days later, on September 17, 1978. The Camp David Treaty consists of two framework treaties. One of these two framework treaties establishes the principles of lasting peace in the Middle East, addressing the West Bank and the Gaza and Palestinian Question. The other draws the principles of peace between Israel and Egypt, that is, belongs to the Sinai Peninsula (Armaoglu 1995, p.372). This agreement would give Palestinians autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Arab states have reacted strongly to the Camp David treaty. The Arab countries rejected all agreements with Israel and established political and military unity and took measures against Anwar Sadat's policy. He cooperated with the Soviets against US influence in the region. The Arabs reacted to Anwar Sadat by stating that the Palestinian cause was the common cause of all Arabs and declared that they had terminated the Camp David Treaty by saying that no party could act independently. The Camp David Treaty created solidarity among the Arabs. Israel and Egypt came together in Washington on March 26, 1979 and signed the Camp David Treaty. The articles of the peace agreement are as follows (Yaşar et al., 2007, p.63):

- Israel would withdraw from Sinai,
- Normal and friendly relations would be established between Israel and Egypt,
- The two countries would recognize each other's territorial integrity and the right to live in peace,
- UN Peacekeeping Force would be deployed in the buffer zone in Sinai,
- Israeli ships would be given free access to the Suez Canal,
- Negotiations would be held to ensure full autonomy for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza,
- There would be elections to establish a self-governing administration in the West Bank and Gaza.

This agreement ended a long period of war between Israel and Egypt. Thus, the parties would respect each other's territorial integrity and independence. Another result of this treaty between Israel and Egypt is that Egypt has broken ties with the Arab world. The Arab League met in Baghdad on March 27, 1979, but Egypt was not invited. The decisions of the Baghdad meeting, which were announced on March 31, 1979, included two types of diplomatic and economic sanctions to leave Egypt alone. Within the framework of diplomatic measures, the Arab Union countries cut Egyptian relations and withdrew their envoys from Cairo (Armaoğlu, 1995, p.374).

Saudi Arabia has cut aid by imposing economic sanctions on Egypt. With Camp David, anti-Americanism in Arab geography intensified and Soviet sympathy began. Soviet influence began to increase in the region and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed on October 8, 1980. After the Egyptian-Israeli peace, the Arab-Israeli tension began to increase. After the second Camp David, Israel began to move its ministries to Jerusalem. Israel annexed East and West Jerusalem seized in 1967 and annexed the Golan Heights in 1967 to its borders (Jumaa, 2004, p.52-54).

Declaration of the European Economic Community (EEC)

The first intervention in the Palestinian talks on autonomy came from the European Economic Community. The autonomy meeting was interrupted on May 16, 1980, when the draft law on the annexation of Jerusalem was given to the Israeli parliament. On the other hand, on May 26, 1980, when the Israeli Defense Minister resigned from his position, confusion broke out in the West Bank. In the West Bank, Arabs and Israelis engaged in bomb attacks. The EEC, instead of going to the Security Council, has decided to make decisions independently. Following the two-day Summit of Heads of State in Venice, a declaration was issued on the Middle East on June 13, 1980 (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.449). In this declaration, it was stated that the increasing tension in the Middle East made peace compulsory. For this purpose, the European Economic Community has its duties. Israel, for

example, should withdraw from its occupied territories and abandon the establishment of Jewish settlements.

This declaration defended the existence of Palestine. Israeli Prime Minister Begin reacted strongly to this declaration and dismissed it. Egyptian President Boutros Ghali said in a statement that he welcomed the declaration for Egyptian-Israeli peace. Thus, the intervention of the European Economic Community in order to accelerate the negotiations for autonomy has brought the parties further away from each other rather than bringing them closer (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.451).

The Fahd Plan

On August 6, 1981, Prince Fahd, the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, requested assistance from the European Economic Community for peace in the Middle East. Prince Fahd, as a solution of the East Jerusalem problem for a comprehensive peace; He considered that Israel should withdraw from its occupied territories in 1967, end the establishment of Jewish settlements and establish an independent Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital. Prince Fahd wanted the UN to guarantee all the states in the region to live in peace. In short, the Fahd Plan saw permanent peace exclusively in the establishment of an independent Palestinian state (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.452).

The first reaction to the Fahd Plan came from the United States. The Reagan administration approved the US sale of $ 8,5 billion to Saudi Arabia on October 1, 1981, after the Saudis supported Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War and the tension of the Shiite-Sunni struggle in the region. President Carter commented on the Fahd Plan that Saudi Arabia officially recognized Israel. Upon this American stance, Israeli Prime Minister Begin sharply criticized the Fahd Plan and declared that it was a plan to destroy Israel and declared that he did not accept the Fahd Plan. In his speech on November 2, 1981, Prince Fahd said that Israel recognized its existence as a nation and invited all states in the region to live in peace. After the announcement of the plan on August 6, 1981, Anwar Sadat and Menahem Begin met for the first time since the negotiations on the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel were interrupted, and on August 26-27, 1981, they decided to resume the autonomy negotiations (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.454). However, the negotiations on the autonomy of Jerusalem, which were put forward in Camp David, have been fruitless due to the different perspectives of Egypt and Israel.

The Reagan Plan

The Reagan Plan is not almost a peace plan but rather a set of principles for peace negotiations. In order for the peace negotiations to succeed, US President Reagan argued that the parties should accept the principles of peace. In June 1982, President Reagan sent a letter to Prime Minister Begin during the Israeli invasion

of Lebanon and stressed that the Siege of Beirut should be lifted. Following this message, Israel abolished the siege of Beirut and the PLO withdrew from Lebanon.

President Reagan, in his speech on September 1, 1982, said that he would take action to revive the negotiations which had stopped at the point of autonomy of Palestine, which was addressed by the Camp David Treaty. As a matter of fact, it would be seen that the attitude of the American administration in this regard by the interests of the region was announced on September 1, 1982. The feature of this plan, which would be called Reagan, is that it is the best option for a fair and lasting peace in the establishment of Palestinian administrations in the West and Gaza in partnership with Jordan (Karaman, 1991, p.212). For this plan, Israel would be obliged to withdraw from the occupied territories in exchange for peace, and the city of Jerusalem would remain undivided; its final status would be decided through negotiations (Procon, 2015). President Reagan said that the negotiation path for peace should be opened in the Middle East and that the parties should accept that (Merip, 2019) there is no other way for negotiations for peace.

The Reagan plan discusses Israel's security concerns and how to compromise on Palestine. In the opinion of the United States, Jerusalem should remain as a whole, but its status should be determined through negotiation. The Camp David Treaty states that the temporary autonomy envisaged for the West Bank and Gaza applies to Palestinians, but there is no threat of Israel's security by the Palestinians. As can be seen, the principles laid down as the Reagan Plan is not different from the policies of the Carter administration in general terms (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.458).

According to Reagan, Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories in the West Bank and Gaza. This is how President Reagan Plan outlined. The important point of this plan is to provide a homeland for Palestinians. While the Israeli Government announced its reaction to this plan in a statement issued on September 2, 1982, Prime Minister Begin, in his letter to President Reagan, announced on September 5, the adoption of a self-governing Palestinian presence in the West Bank and Gaza. It could threaten its existence and go as far as the establishment of a Palestinian state, which would mean the establishment of a Soviet base in the heart of the Middle East (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.458).

With this statement, Israel considered that the Reagan Plan was contrary to the interests of the country and did not accept the plan. The most severe reaction to Israel after the Reagan Plan came from Soviet Russia and stated that Israel did not mention the atrocities, refused to establish a Palestinian state in the Middle East and that the PLO was not taken into consideration.

The Fez Plan

The peace process, which started again with the speech of President Reagan, started to develop positively. The 12th Arab Summit on September 6, 1982 in Fez,

Morocco, focused on Arab-Israeli peace. The Fez Plan, which has some origins for the solution of the Palestinian issue and Middle East Peace, was the basis of the Reagan Plan. The Fez Plan envisaged Israel to completely evacuate the occupied territories, abolish the Jewish settlements there, and establish an independent Palestinian State. According to the plan, Jerusalem would be the capital of independent Palestine. The Fez Plan did not speak of the existence of Israel and emerged as an indication that the Arab League did not recognize Israel. For this reason, Israel disregarded the plan by stating that the Fez talks did not carry an innovative idea. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, supported this plan and gained the tolerance of the Arabs. In this context, with the continued support of the United Nations for the establishment of lasting peace, the intention of peace lasted until the 12th Arab Summit Conference in September 1982 (Karaman, 1991, p.213).

The Fez Plan has led to a negotiation path between the US and the Arab states, but again there has not been a positive result for the establishment of lasting peace (Armaoğlu, 1995, p.429).

Conclusion

The Palestinian geography is mainly between Syria and Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea and the Bank of the River. These lands were home to many kingdoms and states. After the fall of the Jewish kingdom in the region, the Assyrians, such as the Persians, dominated the powerful states here. Palestine, in the early periods of Islam, was conquered by Omar in the raise and passed into the hands of Muslims. The Palestine geography, which was conquered by the Crusades, was taken back by Saladin, who was the conqueror of Jerusalem in 1187, with a great blow to the crusader army with the Battle of Hattin. Palestine, which was later captured by the Mamluks, was connected to the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Selim I. The loss of power of the Ottoman Empire in time and the movement of nationalism that influenced the whole world with the French Revolution caused the separatist voices to rise in the region.

Anti-Semitism, which started in Europe, is a big problem for Jews. The Jews, who wanted to turn this problem into an opportunity, came up with the idea of establishing a state. The Palestinian issue, which was buried by the Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl with the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine, would become a global problem in time. Over time, Jews, organized by the Zionism congress, adopted the idea of establishing a state in Palestine. These lands, which were in the hands of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, have been among the geographies where blood and tears have never ceased.

After the Ottoman Empire lost Palestine, the British came to the region and connected this geography to their sovereignty. By allowing Jews to settle in this geography, the British laid the groundwork for the establishment of Israel.

The British Foreign Secretary of State, James Balfour, would show the British support for the Jews through the Balfour Declaration, which takes its name from. Following this declaration, Jewish immigration to the region would make Arabs, the local people, a minority. The Jewish massacre of Adolf Hitler, who came to power in Germany during World War II, increased this migration and further fueled the idea of the Jews to form a national state. Following the end of the British mandate management in 1948, Israel declared its establishment and also declared the start of new struggles with Arabs in the region.

One day after the declaration of the founding of Israel in 1948, the Arabs, who waged war on Israel to destroy it, paid heavily for their lack of unity in the war. Israel's victory in this war caused the balance in the region to change in favor of Israel and doubled the territory of Israel. After these wars, the monarchy was destroyed in Egypt, and Gamal Abdel Nasser became the head of state instead of King Faisal. Gamal Abdel Nasser, as an Arab nationalist, was attacked by England and France in the war that started after the nationalization process of the Suez Canal in 1953 and paid a great price.

In this process, Israel made attempts to turn the situation in its favor and occupied the Sinai Peninsula and struck a major blow to Egypt. In 1967, Israel attacked Arab countries at the same time, causing a great war in the region. With this attack, the Golan Heights in Syria invaded the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem in Palestine and caused a great defeat to the Arabs. After this war, Anwar Sadat, who became the head of state in Egypt, lost the Sinai Peninsula and chose the peace path to ensure lasting peace with Israel.

The lasting peace process that began with Camp David was supported by other peace plans. However, Israel's invasion of Lebanon has cast a shadow on the establishment of lasting peace and revealed the impossibility of determining a lasting peace in the Middle East. As a result, the Arab-Israeli wars adversely affected the process of achieving lasting peace in the Middle East, and as a result of the failure to resolve the conflicts with the peace plans put forward, the Palestinian issue has been ceased to be a regional problem and continued to be a global issue on the global agenda.

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