

West Bank settlements. Because the freeze did not include Israeli building in East Jerusalem, on which the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas insisted, Abbas would not renew the talks for almost a year, until 2 September 2010. These talks were broken off three months later on 7 December 2010, when Israel ended the freeze.

'... the Palestinians will forever be our neighbours. They are an inseparable part of this land, as are we. Israel has not desired to rule over them, nor to oppress them. They, too, have a right for freedom and national aspirations.'

Ehud Olmert, speaking  
to the United States  
Congress,  
24 May 2006



THE ROUTLEDGE **ATLAS** OF THE  
**ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT**  
**MARTIN GILBERT**  
TENTH EDITION



# THE ROUTLEDGE ATLAS OF THE ARAB–ISRAELI CONFLICT

A POWERFUL VISUAL HISTORY OF THE ARAB–ISRAELI CONFLICT

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- **The Jewish national home** – from the early Jewish settlements and the Zionist plan for Palestine in 1919 to the involvement of the Arab world from 1945 to the present day
- **The intensification of the conflict** – from the Arab response to the United Nations partition plan of November 1947 to the declaration of Israeli independence in May 1948
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- **The moves to find peace** – from the first and second Camp David talks and the death of Yasser Arafat to the continuing search for peace, including the Annapolis Conference, 2007, the work of the Quartet Emissary Tony Blair, 2007–2011, and the ongoing Palestinian search for statehood.

**Sir Martin Gilbert** is one of the leading historians of the modern world. An Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford – of which he was a fellow for thirty years – he is the official biographer of Churchill and the author of eighty-four books, among them *Churchill: A Life* and *Israel: A History*. For more information please visit [www.martingilbert.com](http://www.martingilbert.com)

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# THE ROUTLEDGE ATLAS OF THE ARAB–ISRAELI CONFLICT

*10th Edition*

Martin Gilbert



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# Preface to the tenth edition

In this atlas I have traced the history of the Arab–Jewish conflict from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. I have tried to show something of the nature and range of the conflict, of the types of incidents that it provoked, and of the views of those involved in it.

Many of the maps in this atlas depict wars, conflict and violence, which have brought terrible suffering to all those caught up in them – Jew and Arab, Israeli and Palestinian, soldier and civilian, adult and child. But there are also maps that show the various attempts to bring the conflict to an end, through proposals for agreed boundaries, through the signing of cease-fire agreements, and through negotiations. No maps can show how peace will come, but they do show how much it is needed.

The origins and earlier course of the conflict are often overshadowed in the public mind by the events of the past decade. It is my hope that, seen as a whole, this atlas will help to clarify the conflict throughout its long span.

Thirty-seven years have passed since the first edition of this atlas was published in the immediate aftermath of the October War of 1973. At that time I was by chance in Israel, and witnessed, for one day, the fighting on the Golan Heights. Since then, two wars in Lebanon, two Palestinian uprisings, suicide bombings, terror, targeted assassinations, the continuing Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Israeli settlement building there, the rule of Hamas in the Gaza Strip and the rockets fired from Gaza, the Security Barrier ('The Wall'), and – an integral part of daily discourse – a belief by many on both sides that the other side does not want peace, have become the harsh realities of the Arab–Israeli conflict.

The twenty-two new maps in this edition deal in equal measure with the continuing conflict, and the ongoing, if sometimes halting, efforts to resolve it. Four maps look at the impact of the Gaza Strip, while ruled by Hamas, on the continuing conflict. Three maps focus on the Israeli Arabs (almost 20% of Israel's population), and joint Israeli–Jewish and Israeli–Arab projects for coexistence. Two maps – of 'The Swap' and the Jordan Valley – look at disputes over territory. Eight maps look at the various negotiations and proposals between 2006 and 2011 for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

As we move into the second decade of the twenty-first century, I dedicate this edition to all those, Palestinians and Israelis alike, who seek a peaceful and constructive outcome to the efforts being made on both sides, and by international mediators, to create two independent sovereign States – Israel and Palestine – living side by side, sharing a fertile land and mutual hopes of peace and prosperity for all.

# Acknowledgements

I am grateful to those who have helped me in my search for material for this new edition, which is being published thirty-eight years after the first edition. The thirty-two new maps of the eighth edition, the eighteen new maps of the ninth edition, and the twenty-two new maps of this tenth edition, have benefited from material sent to me by Dorothy Harman of the Peres Center for Peace; by Itzik Shanan of the New Israel Fund, and June Jacobs; by the Israeli Foreign Defence Ministries; by the Abraham Fund Initiatives; and by B'tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. Special thanks and due to Enid Wurtman for her persistent efforts in tracking down obscure facts, and to Tim Aspden, who, from my own rough notes and sketches, has once again created maps of the highest standard.

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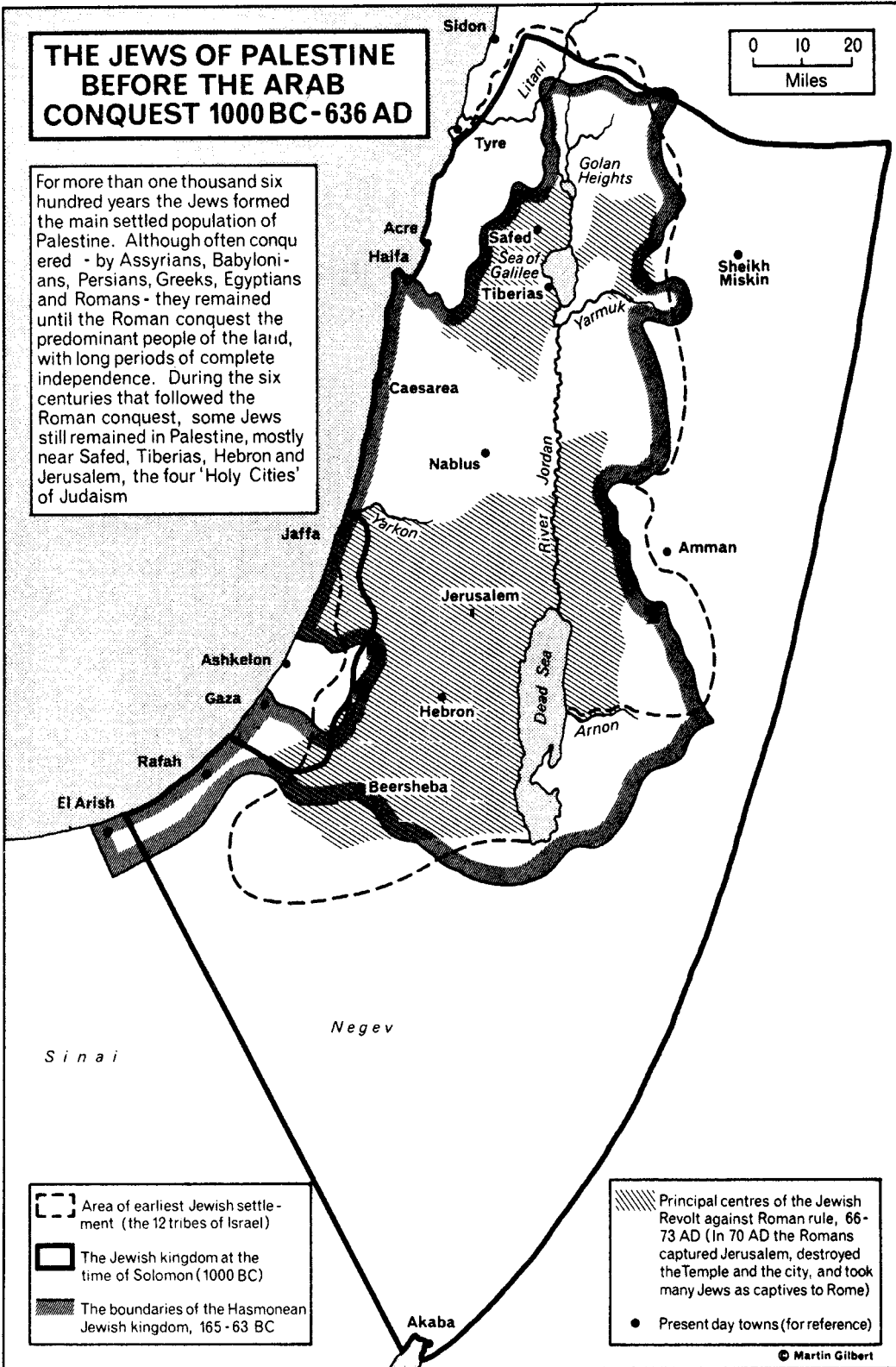
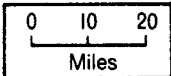


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# THE JEWS OF PALESTINE BEFORE THE ARAB CONQUEST 1000 BC - 636 AD

For more than one thousand six hundred years the Jews formed the main settled population of Palestine. Although often conquered - by Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians and Romans - they remained until the Roman conquest the predominant people of the land, with long periods of complete independence. During the six centuries that followed the Roman conquest, some Jews still remained in Palestine, mostly near Safed, Tiberias, Hebron and Jerusalem, the four 'Holy Cities' of Judaism

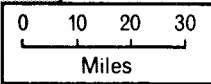


Area of earliest Jewish settlement (the 12 tribes of Israel)  
 The Jewish kingdom at the time of Solomon (1000 BC)  
 The boundaries of the Hasmonean Jewish kingdom, 165 - 63 BC

Principal centres of the Jewish Revolt against Roman rule, 66-73 AD (In 70 AD the Romans captured Jerusalem, destroyed the Temple and the city, and took many Jews as captives to Rome)  
 Present day towns (for reference)

© Martin Gilbert

# THE JEWS OF PALESTINE 636 A.D. TO 1880



In 1500 there were an estimated 10,000 Jews living in the Safed region

1563 Establishment of a Hebrew printing press, the first printing press on the Asian Continent

1100 AD Jews take part in defence of Haifa against the Crusaders

1191 The Jews driven out by the Crusaders. Many move to Jerusalem

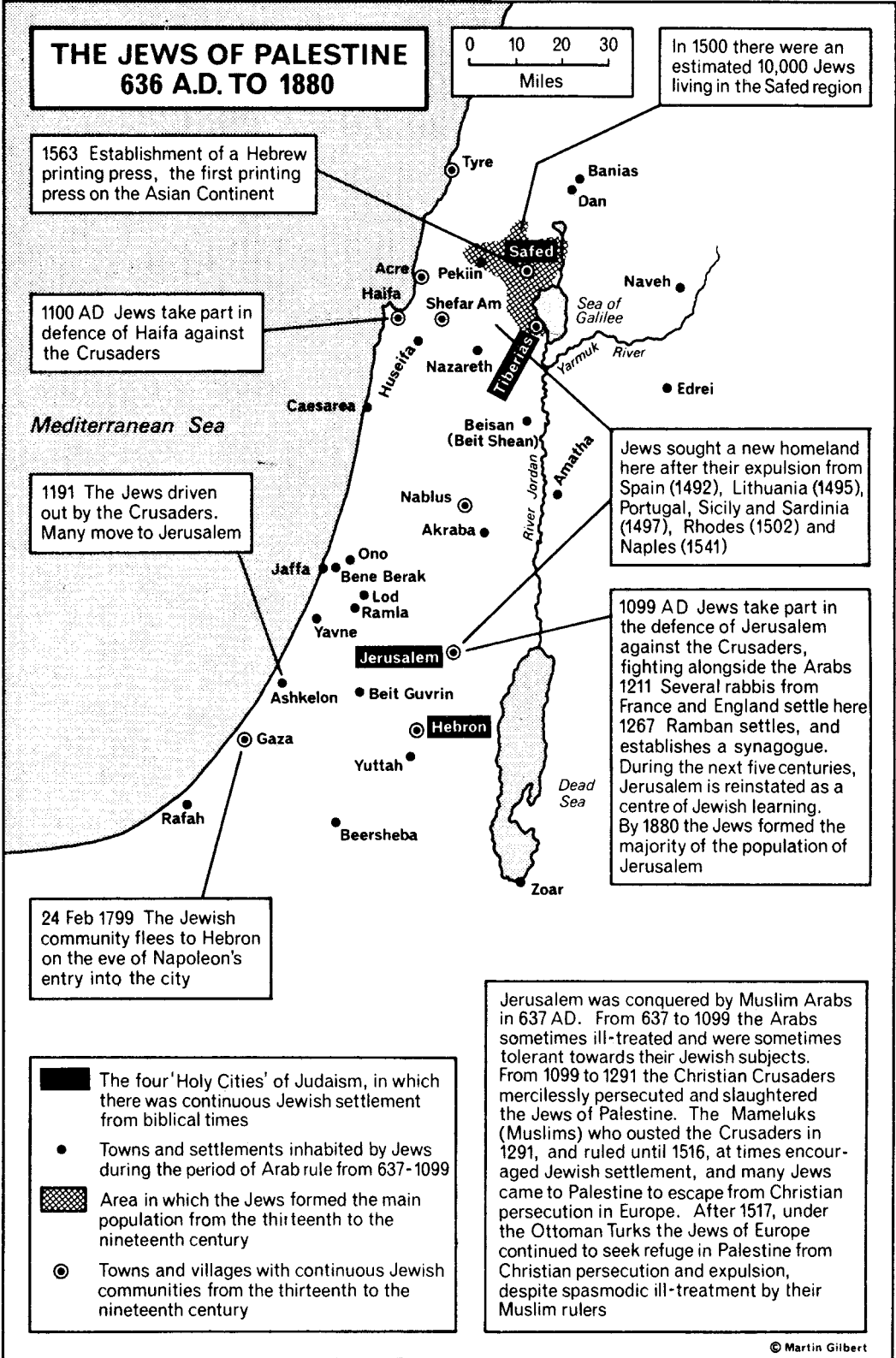
Jews sought a new homeland here after their expulsion from Spain (1492), Lithuania (1495), Portugal, Sicily and Sardinia (1497), Rhodes (1502) and Naples (1541)

1099 AD Jews take part in the defence of Jerusalem against the Crusaders, fighting alongside the Arabs  
1211 Several rabbis from France and England settle here  
1267 Ramban settles, and establishes a synagogue. During the next five centuries, Jerusalem is reinstated as a centre of Jewish learning. By 1880 the Jews formed the majority of the population of Jerusalem

24 Feb 1799 The Jewish community flees to Hebron on the eve of Napoleon's entry into the city

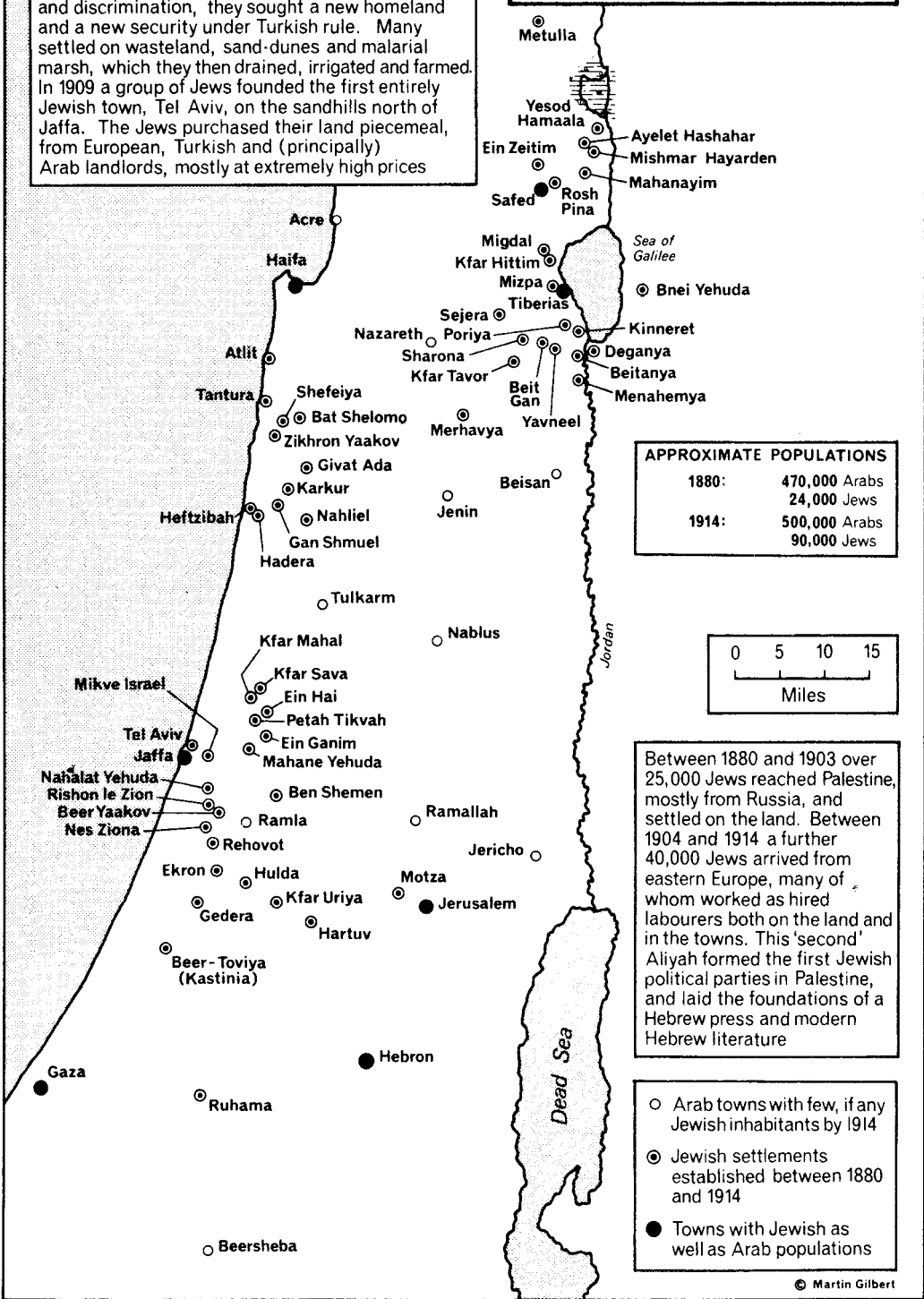
- The four 'Holy Cities' of Judaism, in which there was continuous Jewish settlement from biblical times
- Towns and settlements inhabited by Jews during the period of Arab rule from 637-1099
- Area in which the Jews formed the main population from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century
- Towns and villages with continuous Jewish communities from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century

Jerusalem was conquered by Muslim Arabs in 637 AD. From 637 to 1099 the Arabs sometimes ill-treated and were sometimes tolerant towards their Jewish subjects. From 1099 to 1291 the Christian Crusaders mercilessly persecuted and slaughtered the Jews of Palestine. The Mameluks (Muslims) who ousted the Crusaders in 1291, and ruled until 1516, at times encouraged Jewish settlement, and many Jews came to Palestine to escape from Christian persecution in Europe. After 1517, under the Ottoman Turks the Jews of Europe continued to seek refuge in Palestine from Christian persecution and expulsion, despite spasmodic ill-treatment by their Muslim rulers



Between 1880 and 1914 over sixty thousand Jews entered Palestine, mostly from Russia, Galicia, Rumania and Poland. The victims of persecution and discrimination, they sought a new homeland and a new security under Turkish rule. Many settled on wasteland, sand-dunes and malarial marsh, which they then drained, irrigated and farmed. In 1909 a group of Jews founded the first entirely Jewish town, Tel Aviv, on the sandhills north of Jaffa. The Jews purchased their land piecemeal, from European, Turkish and (principally) Arab landlords, mostly at extremely high prices

## JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE 1880 - 1914



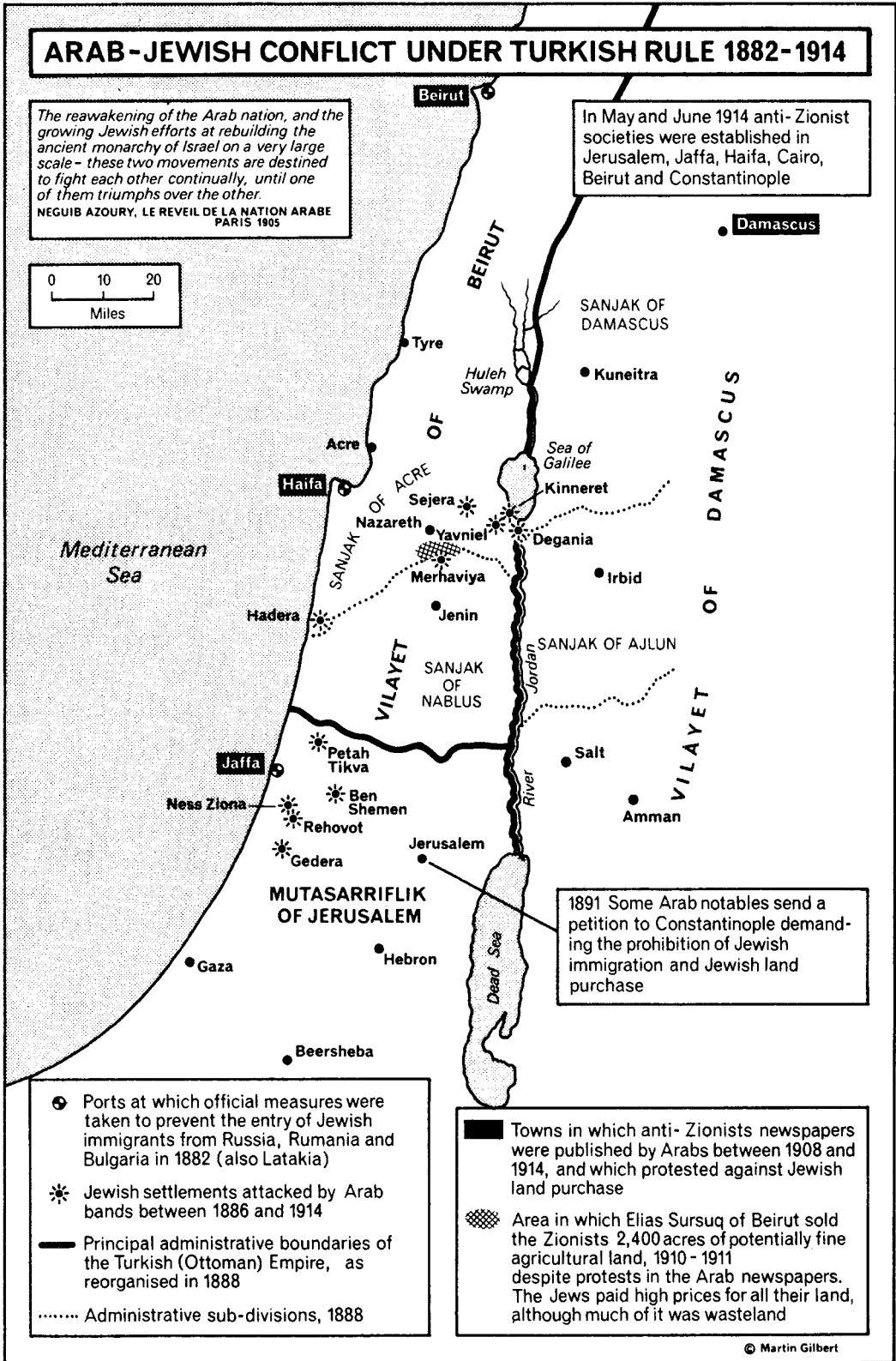
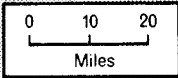
© Martin Gilbert

# ARAB-JEWISH CONFLICT UNDER TURKISH RULE 1882-1914

*The reawakening of the Arab nation, and the growing Jewish efforts at rebuilding the ancient monarchy of Israel on a very large scale - these two movements are destined to fight each other continually, until one of them triumphs over the other.*

NEGUIB AZOURY, LE REVEIL DE LA NATION ARABE  
PARIS 1905

In May and June 1914 anti-Zionist societies were established in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Cairo, Beirut and Constantinople



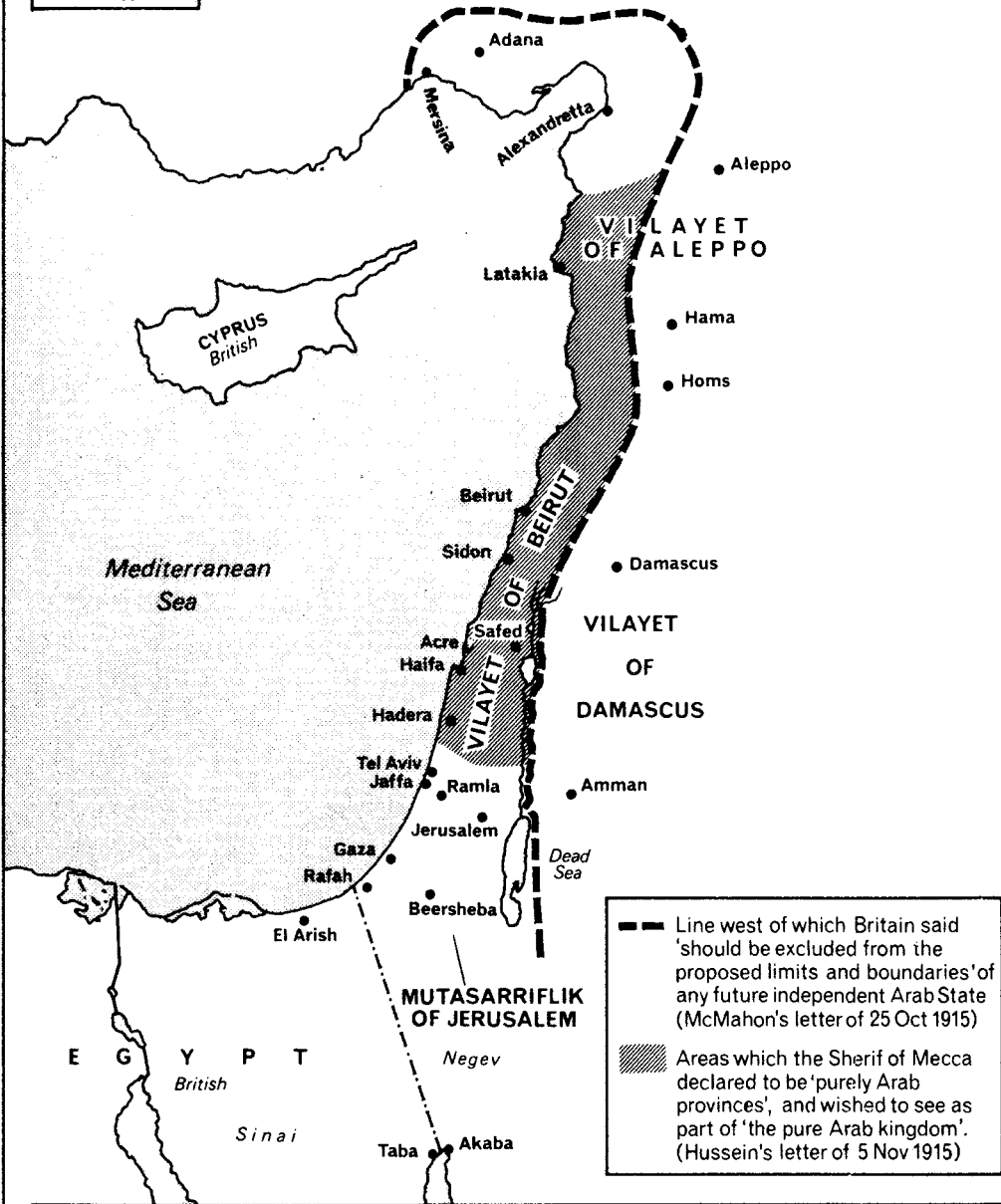
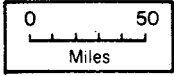
- ⊙ Ports at which official measures were taken to prevent the entry of Jewish immigrants from Russia, Rumania and Bulgaria in 1882 (also Latakia)
- \* Jewish settlements attacked by Arab bands between 1886 and 1914
- Principal administrative boundaries of the Turkish (Ottoman) Empire, as reorganised in 1888
- ..... Administrative sub-divisions, 1888

1891 Some Arab notables send a petition to Constantinople demanding the prohibition of Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchase

- Towns in which anti-Zionist newspapers were published by Arabs between 1908 and 1914, and which protested against Jewish land purchase
- ▨ Area in which Elias Sursuq of Beirut sold the Zionists 2,400 acres of potentially fine agricultural land, 1910 - 1911 despite protests in the Arab newspapers. The Jews paid high prices for all their land, although much of it was wasteland



# BRITAIN'S PROMISE TO THE ARABS: 1915



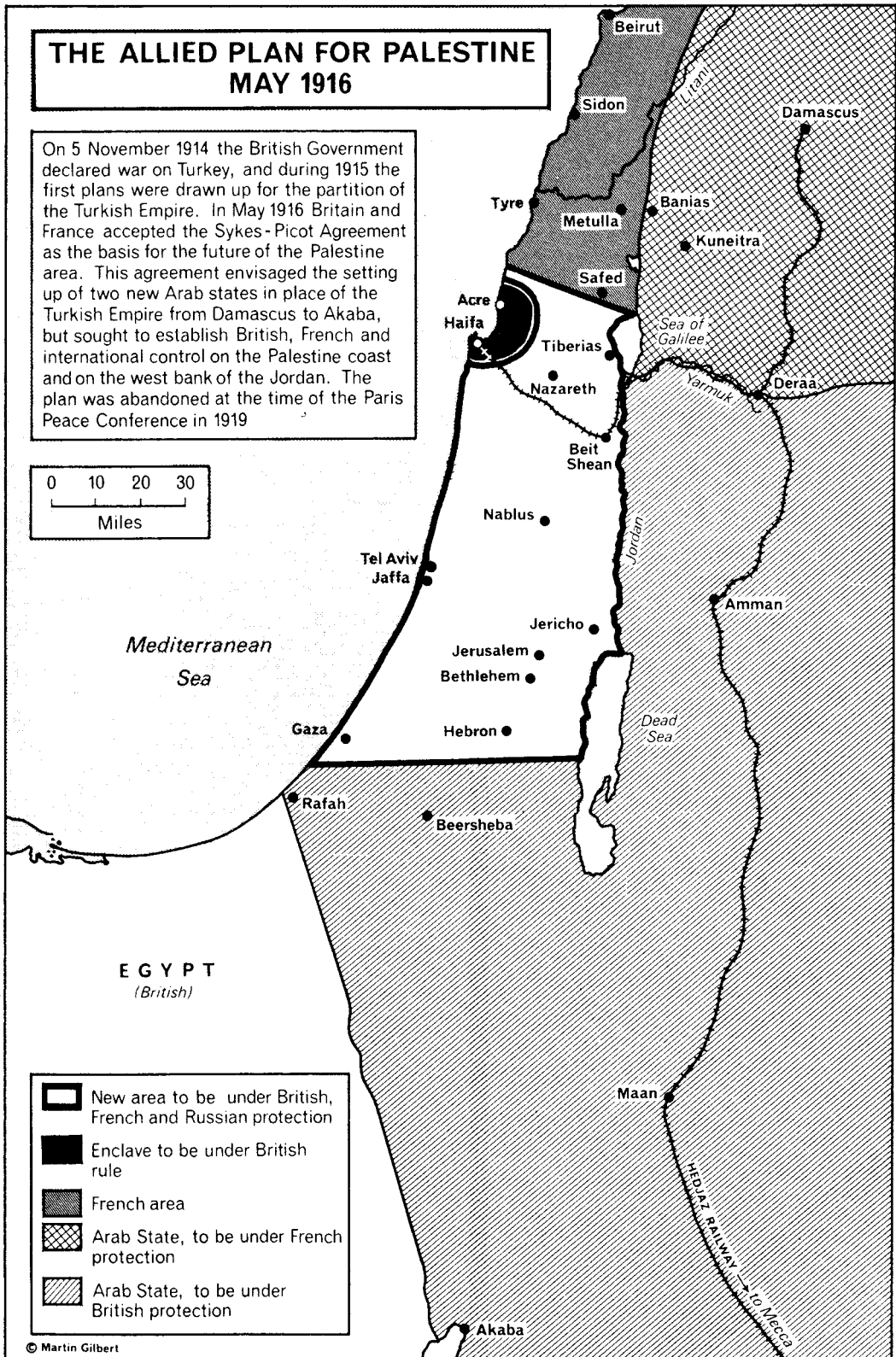
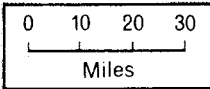
--- Line west of which Britain said 'should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries' of any future independent Arab State (McMahon's letter of 25 Oct 1915)






▨ Areas which the Sherif of Mecca declared to be 'purely Arab provinces', and wished to see as part of 'the pure Arab kingdom'. (Hussein's letter of 5 Nov 1915)

In 1915, in an attempt to win Arab support in the war against Turkey, Britain began negotiations with Hussein, Sherif of Mecca. On 25 Oct 1915 the British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir H. McMahon, informed Hussein that Britain was 'prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs....' But, he added, the Eastern Mediterranean littoral would have to be entirely excluded from any future Arab State. In his reply on 5 Nov 1915, Hussein insisted on the inclusion of the Vilayet of Beirut, but made no mention of the Mutasarriflik of Jerusalem. But on 14 Dec 1915 McMahon replied that any such inclusion 'will require careful consideration'. On 1 Jan 1916 Hussein warned McMahon: 'the people of Beirut will decidedly never accept such isolations'. At no point in the correspondence was any mention made of southern Palestine, Jerusalem or the Jews

# THE ALLIED PLAN FOR PALESTINE MAY 1916






On 5 November 1914 the British Government declared war on Turkey, and during 1915 the first plans were drawn up for the partition of the Turkish Empire. In May 1916 Britain and France accepted the Sykes-Picot Agreement as the basis for the future of the Palestine area. This agreement envisaged the setting up of two new Arab states in place of the Turkish Empire from Damascus to Akaba, but sought to establish British, French and international control on the Palestine coast and on the west bank of the Jordan. The plan was abandoned at the time of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919



-  New area to be under British, French and Russian protection
-  Enclave to be under British rule
-  French area
-  Arab State, to be under French protection
-  Arab State, to be under British protection

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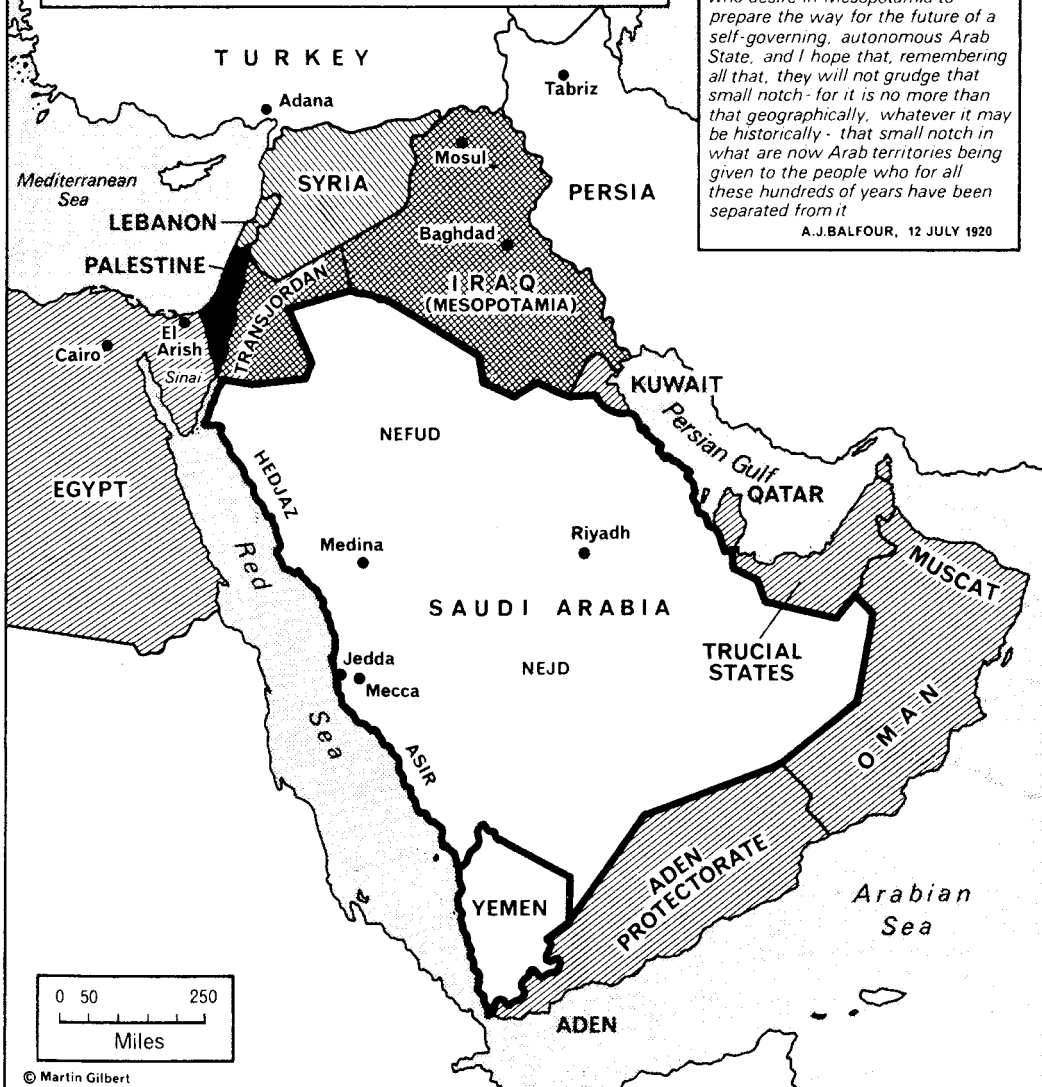
# BRITAIN AND THE ARABS 1917 - 1971

-  Former Turkish areas set up as British Mandates in 1921, and subsequently independent (Iraq in 1932, Transjordan in 1946)
-  Arab states helped by Britain in their war against Turkey, 1915 - 1918 and receiving British financial subsidies
-  Arab areas under British rule or control in 1914; all of them were independent by 1971
-  Former Turkish areas coming under French control in 1920, but subsequently independent (Syria in 1943, Lebanon in 1944)
-  Palestine in 1922

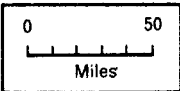
Largely as a result of Britain's victories over the Turks in 1917 and 1918, more than ten million Arabs were liberated from Turkish rule. The total area of Arab lands in Arabia was 1,184,000 square miles. Palestine, the only portion of former Turkish territory set aside for a Jewish National Home, covered less than 11,000 square miles

*So far as the Arabs are concerned, I hope they will remember that it is we who have established an independent Arab sovereignty of the Hedjaz. I hope they will remember it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State, and I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch - for it is no more than that geographically, whatever it may be historically - that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it*

A.J.BALFOUR, 12 JULY 1920



# BRITAIN AND THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME: PLEDGES AND BORDER CHANGES, 1917 - 1923

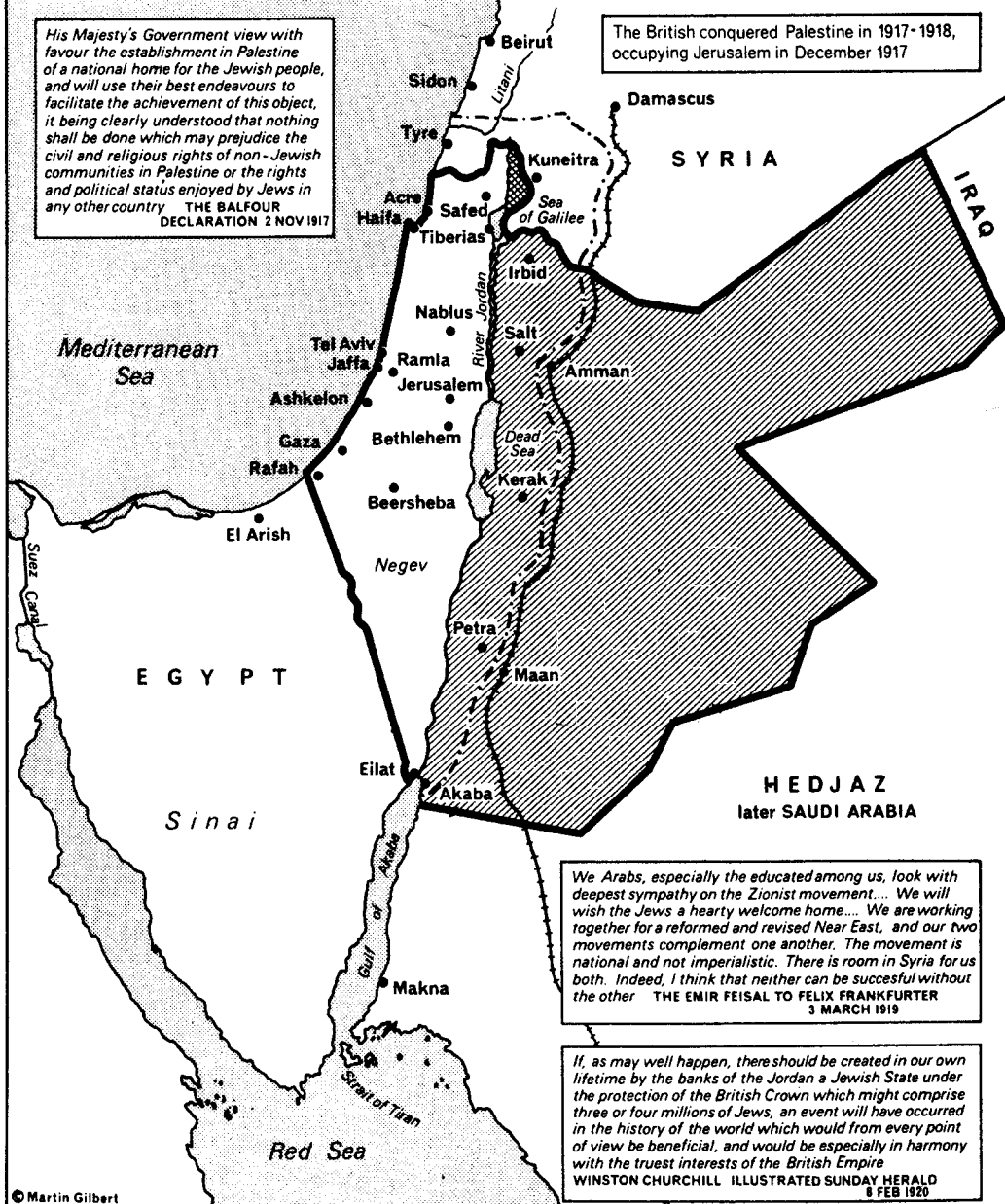


The Palestine Mandate, granted to Britain at the San Remo Conference in 1920, as the region of a Jewish National Home  
 --- Approximate boundary of the area in which the Jews hoped to set up their National Home

Separated from Palestine by Britain in 1921, and given to the Emir Abdullah. Named Transjordan, this territory was at once closed to Jewish settlement  
 Ceded by Britain to the French Mandate of Syria, 1923

*His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.*  
**THE BALFOUR DECLARATION 2 NOV 1917**

The British conquered Palestine in 1917-1918, occupying Jerusalem in December 1917

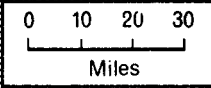
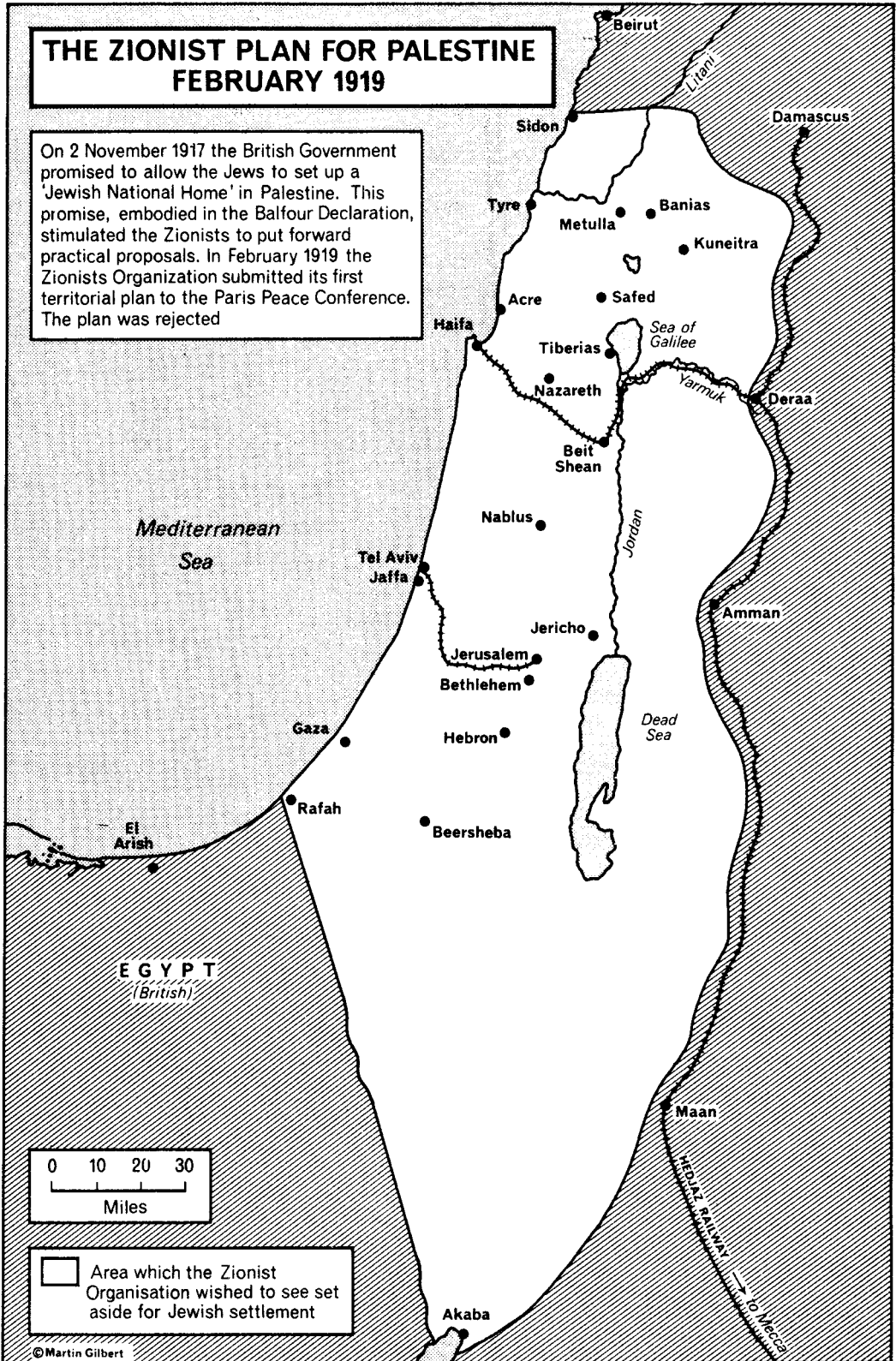


*We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement.... We will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home.... We are working together for a reformed and revised Near East, and our two movements complement one another. The movement is national and not imperialistic. There is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be successful without the other.*  
**THE EMIR FEISAL TO FELIX FRANKFURTER 3 MARCH 1919**

*If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.*  
**WINSTON CHURCHILL ILLUSTRATED SUNDAY HERALD 8 FEB 1920**

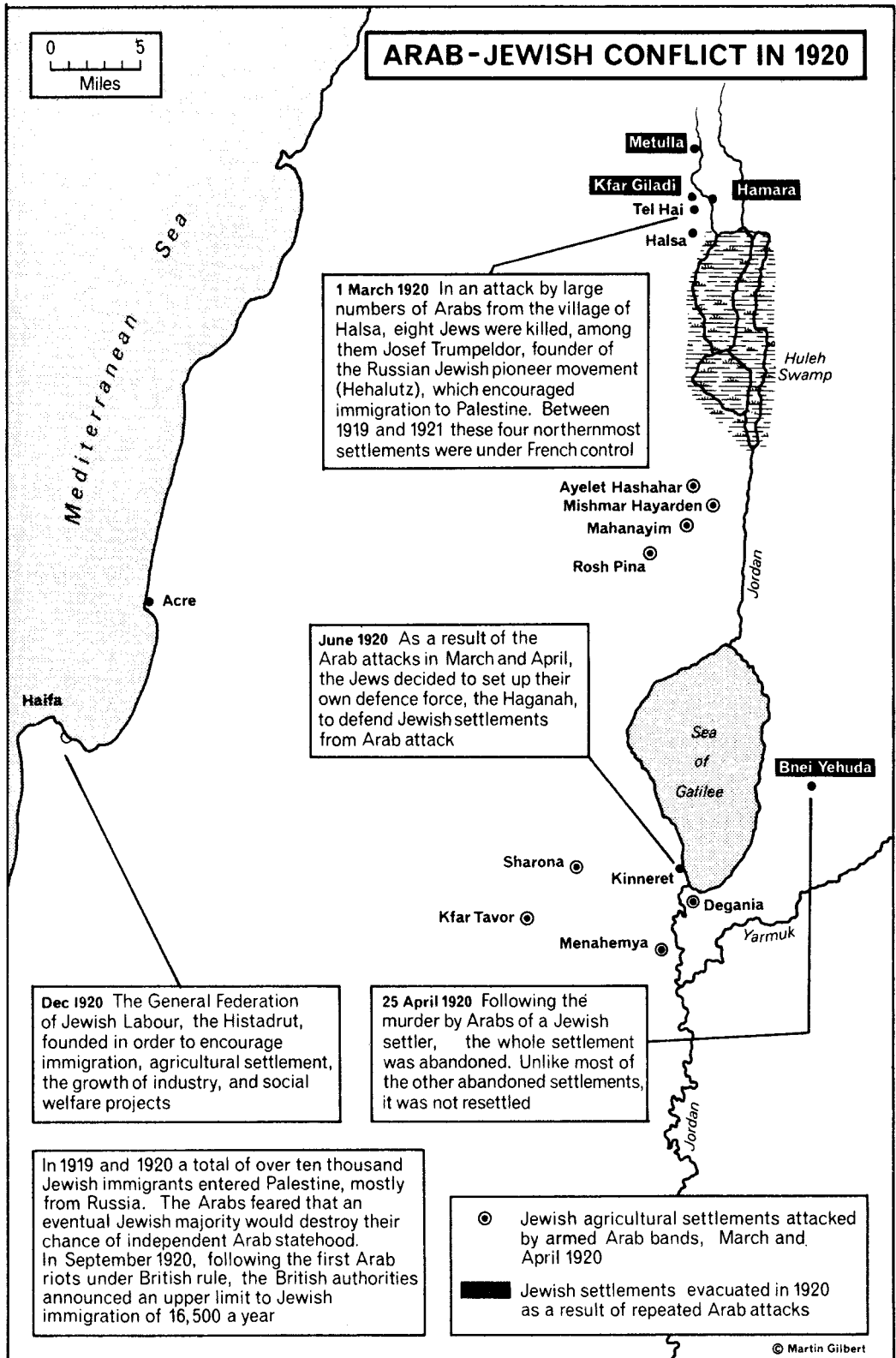
# THE ZIONIST PLAN FOR PALESTINE FEBRUARY 1919

On 2 November 1917 the British Government promised to allow the Jews to set up a 'Jewish National Home' in Palestine. This promise, embodied in the Balfour Declaration, stimulated the Zionists to put forward practical proposals. In February 1919 the Zionists Organization submitted its first territorial plan to the Paris Peace Conference. The plan was rejected



□ Area which the Zionist Organisation wished to see set aside for Jewish settlement

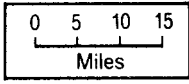
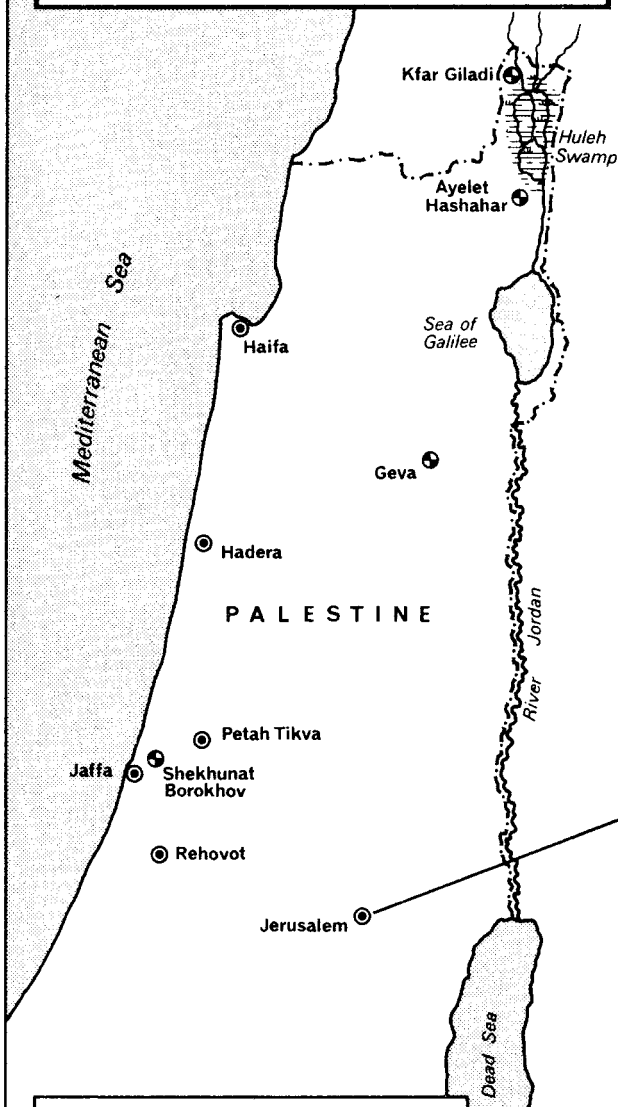
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# ARAB - JEWISH CONFLICT IN 1921

Over 8,000 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine in 1921. The Arabs urged the British to give Palestine representative institutions at once, so that the Arab majority could then veto all further Jewish immigration. Britain rejected these demands. But as an immediate reaction to the riots of May 1921, the High Commissioner, Sir H. Samuel (himself a Jew) ordered an immediate suspension of all Jewish immigration, and some Jews already at Palestine ports were refused permission to land. Immigration soon began again, but the British insisted that it should never exceed 'the economic capacity of Palestine to absorb new immigrants', a phrase which pleased the Arabs and alarmed the Jews



TRANSJORDAN  
Entirely closed to Jewish settlement from 1921

Nov 1921 The Haganah repelled an Arab attack on the Jewish quarter of the Old City

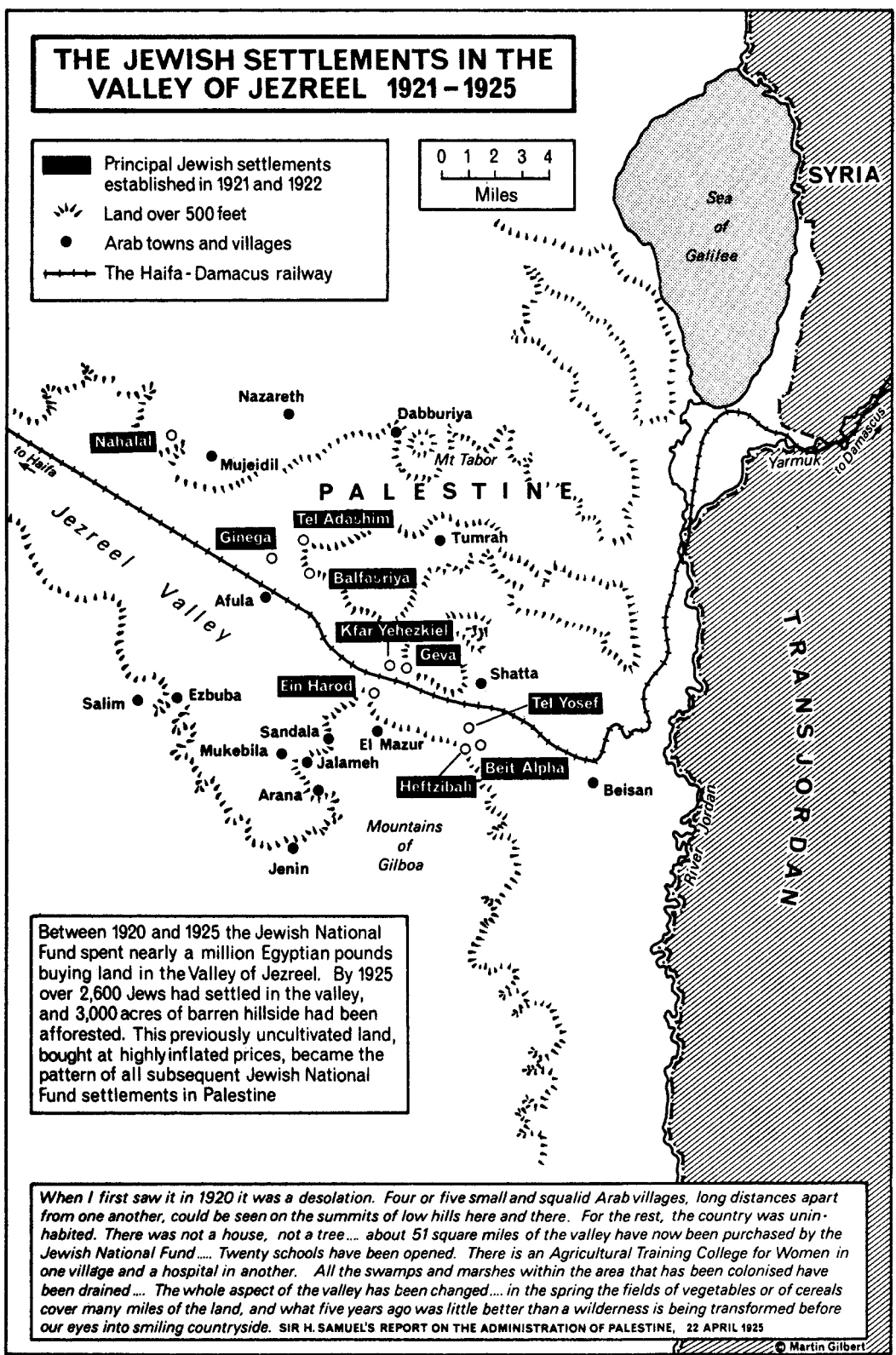
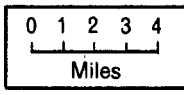
- Arab attacks on Jewish town houses and agricultural settlements, May 1921
- ⚡ Arms centres of the Jewish Defence Force, the Haganah

*The Jew is clannish and unneighbourly, and cannot mix with those who live about him. He will enjoy the privileges and benefits of a country and then lead its people, whom he has already impoverished, where he chooses. He encourages wars when self interest dictates, and thus uses the armies of the nations to do his bidding* THE HAIFA CONGRESS OF PALESTINIAN ARABS TO WINSTON CHURCHILL, 28 MARCH 1921

*.... it is manifestly right that the Jews, who are scattered all over the world, should have a national centre and a National Home where some of them may be reunited. And where else could that be but in this land of Palestine, with which for more than 3,000 years they have been intimately and profoundly associated? We think it will be good for the world, good for the Jews and good for the British Empire. But we also think it will be good for the Arabs who dwell in Palestine, and we intend that it shall be good for them, and that they shall not be sufferers or supplanted in the country in which they dwell or denied their share in all that makes for its progress and prosperity* WINSTON CHURCHILL TO THE PALESTINIAN ARABS, 28 MARCH 1921

# THE JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE VALLEY OF JEZREEL 1921 - 1925

- Principal Jewish settlements established in 1921 and 1922
- Land over 500 feet
- Arab towns and villages
- The Haifa - Damascus railway



Between 1920 and 1925 the Jewish National Fund spent nearly a million Egyptian pounds buying land in the Valley of Jezreel. By 1925 over 2,600 Jews had settled in the valley, and 3,000 acres of barren hillside had been afforested. This previously uncultivated land, bought at highly inflated prices, became the pattern of all subsequent Jewish National Fund settlements in Palestine

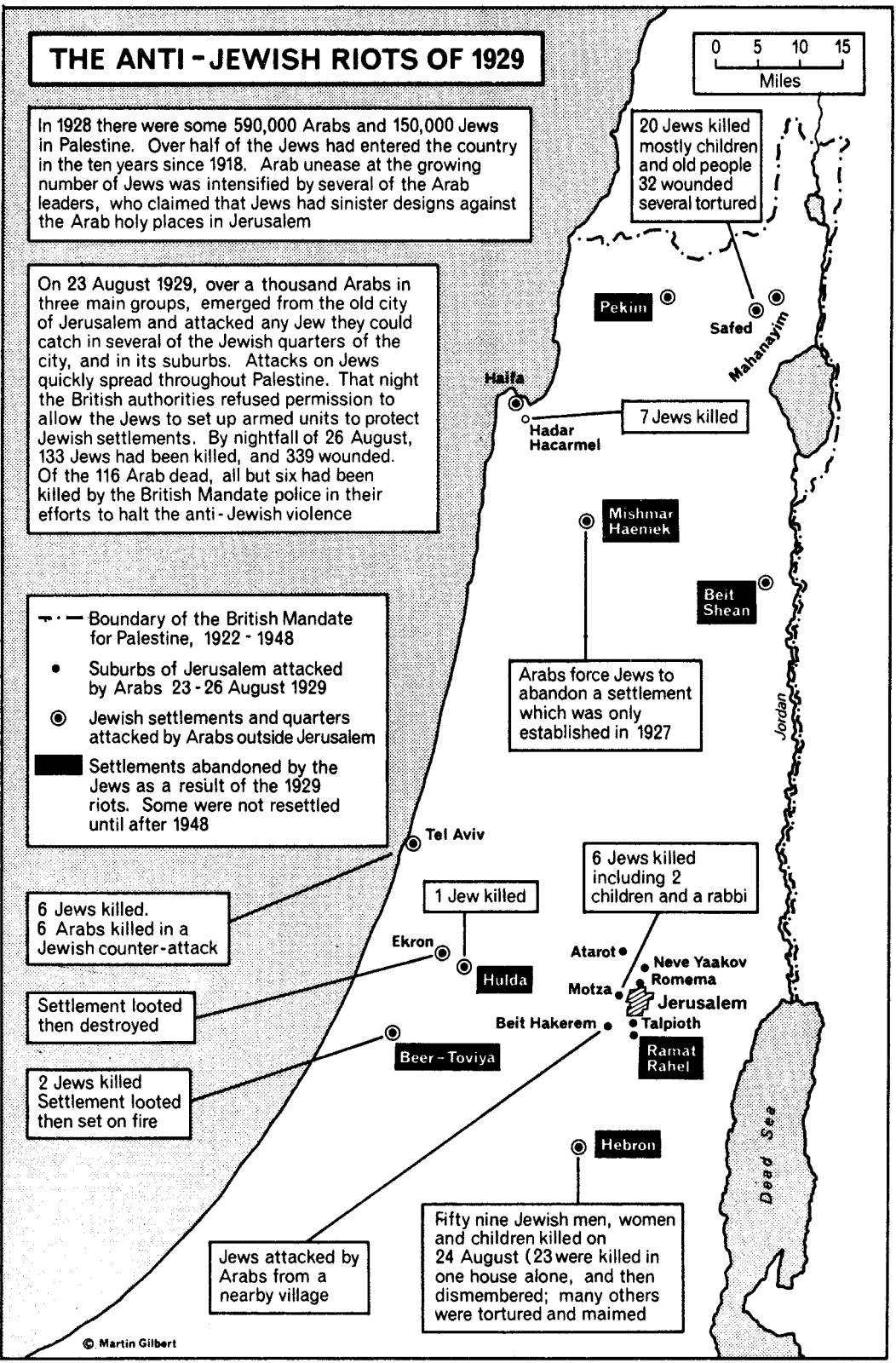
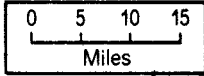
*When I first saw it in 1920 it was a desolation. Four or five small and squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest, the country was uninhabited. There was not a house, not a tree.... about 51 square miles of the valley have now been purchased by the Jewish National Fund.... Twenty schools have been opened. There is an Agricultural Training College for Women in one village and a hospital in another. All the swamps and marshes within the area that has been colonised have been drained.... The whole aspect of the valley has been changed.... in the spring the fields of vegetables or of cereals cover many miles of the land, and what five years ago was little better than a wilderness is being transformed before our eyes into smiling countryside. SIR H. SAMUEL'S REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF PALESTINE, 22 APRIL 1925*

# THE ANTI-JEWISH RIOTS OF 1929

In 1928 there were some 590,000 Arabs and 150,000 Jews in Palestine. Over half of the Jews had entered the country in the ten years since 1918. Arab unease at the growing number of Jews was intensified by several of the Arab leaders, who claimed that Jews had sinister designs against the Arab holy places in Jerusalem

On 23 August 1929, over a thousand Arabs in three main groups, emerged from the old city of Jerusalem and attacked any Jew they could catch in several of the Jewish quarters of the city, and in its suburbs. Attacks on Jews quickly spread throughout Palestine. That night the British authorities refused permission to allow the Jews to set up armed units to protect Jewish settlements. By nightfall of 26 August, 133 Jews had been killed, and 339 wounded. Of the 116 Arab dead, all but six had been killed by the British Mandate police in their efforts to halt the anti-Jewish violence

- Boundary of the British Mandate for Palestine, 1922 - 1948
- Suburbs of Jerusalem attacked by Arabs 23 - 26 August 1929
- ⊙ Jewish settlements and quarters attacked by Arabs outside Jerusalem
- Settlements abandoned by the Jews as a result of the 1929 riots. Some were not resettled until after 1948



20 Jews killed mostly children and old people  
32 wounded  
several tortured

Pekiin

Safed

Mahansayim

Haifa

7 Jews killed

Hadar Hacarmel

Mishmar Haemek

Beit Shean

Arabs force Jews to abandon a settlement which was only established in 1927

Tel Aviv

6 Jews killed.  
6 Arabs killed in a Jewish counter-attack

1 Jew killed

6 Jews killed including 2 children and a rabbi

Ekron

Hulda

Atarot

Neve Yaakov

Romema

Motza

Jerusalem

Talpioth

Ramat Rahel

Settlement looted then destroyed

Beer - Toviya

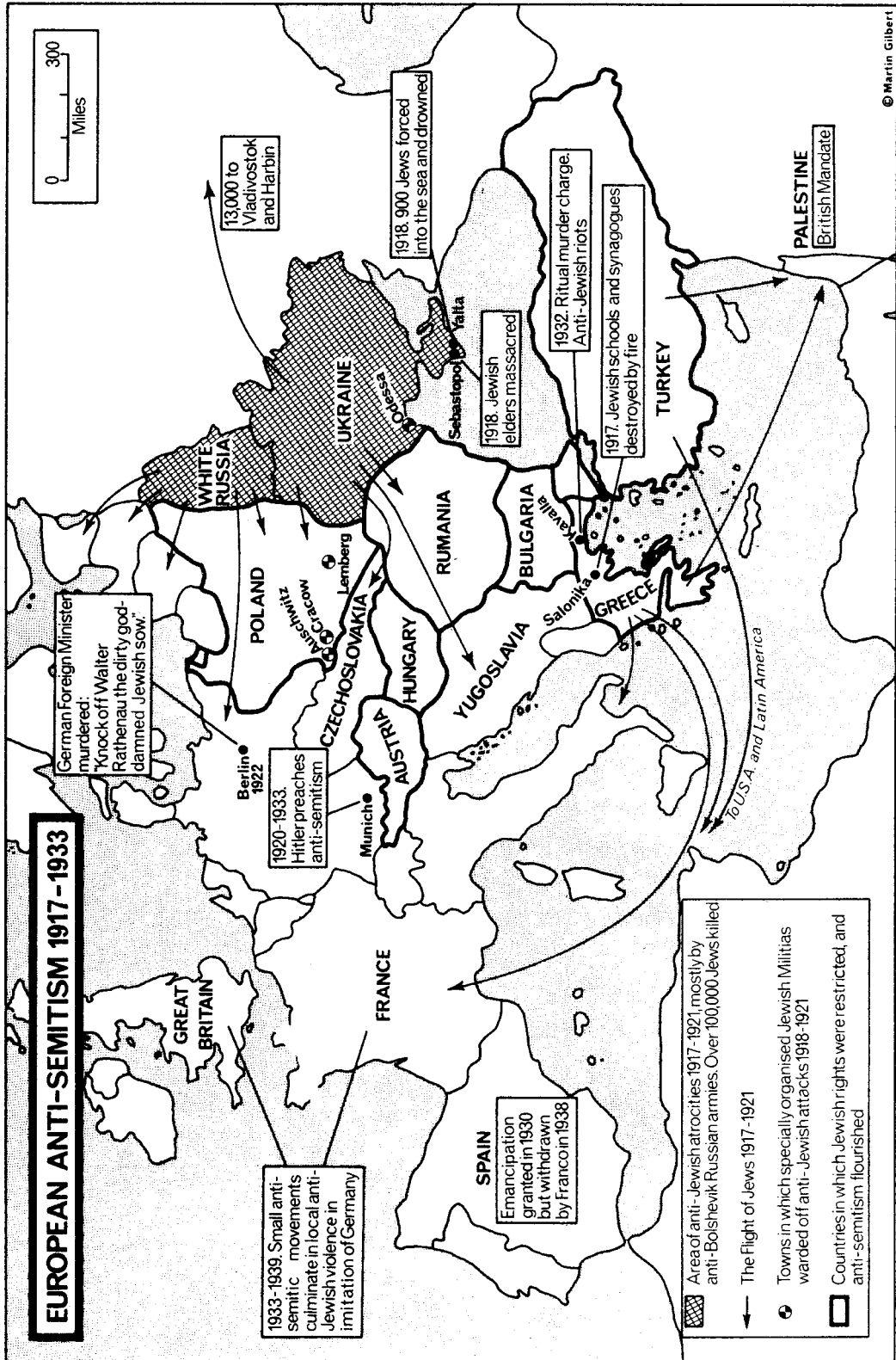
Beit Hakerem

2 Jews killed  
Settlement looted then set on fire

Hebron

Fifty nine Jewish men, women and children killed on 24 August (23 were killed in one house alone, and then dismembered; many others were tortured and maimed)

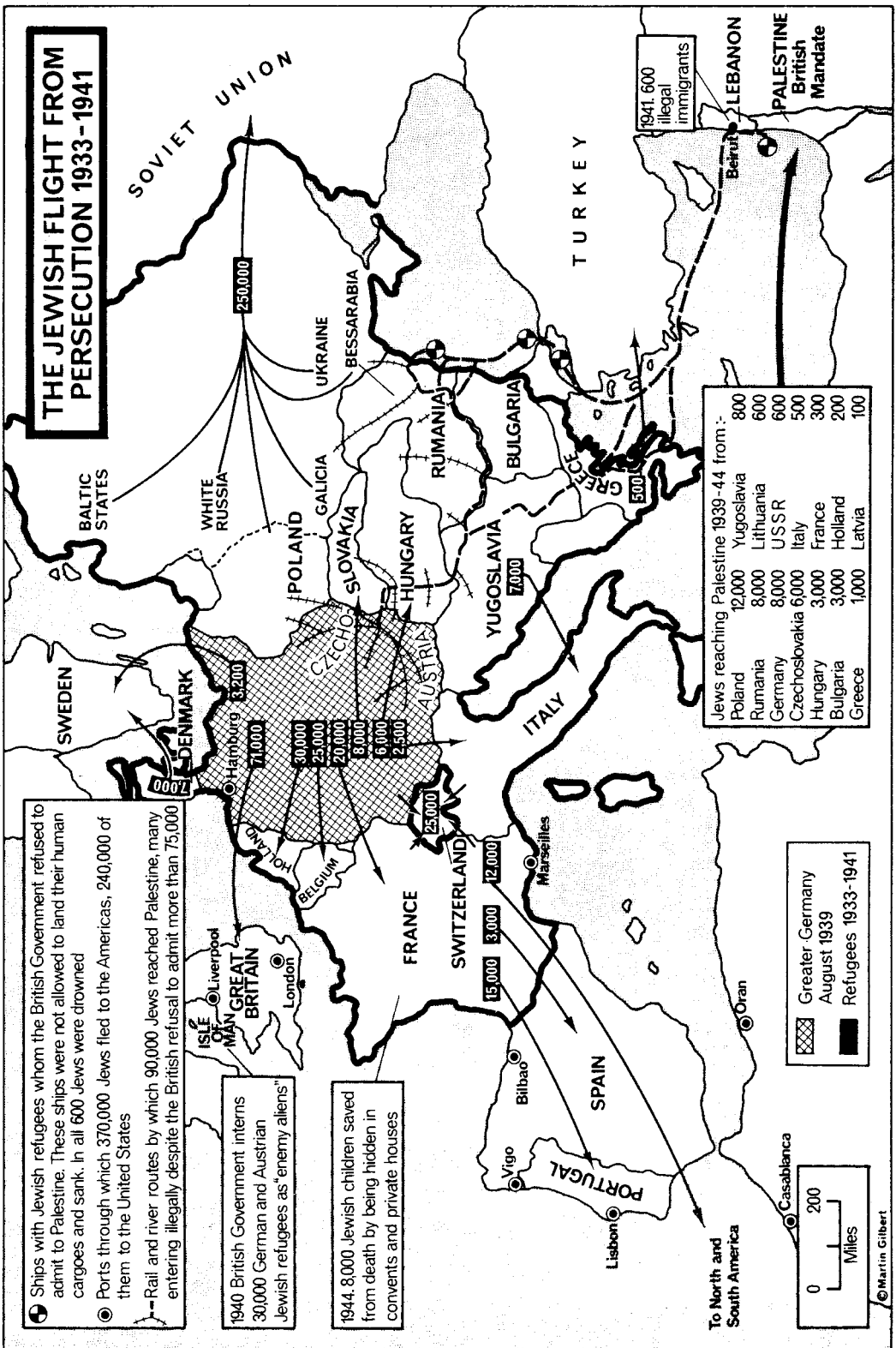
Jews attacked by Arabs from a nearby village



# THE JEWISH FLIGHT FROM PERSECUTION 1933-1941

Ⓢ Ships with Jewish refugees whom the British Government refused to admit to Palestine. These ships were not allowed to land their human cargoes and sank. In all 600 Jews were drowned  
 ● Ports through which 370,000 Jews fled to the Americas, 240,000 of them to the United States  
 — Rail and river routes by which 90,000 Jews reached Palestine, many entering illegally despite the British refusal to admit more than 75,000

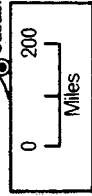
1940 British Government interns 30,000 German and Austrian Jewish refugees as "enemy aliens"  
 1944, 8,000 Jewish children saved from death by being hidden in convents and private houses



Jews reaching Palestine 1939-44 from :-

Poland	12,000
Rumania	8,000
Germany	8,000
Czechoslovakia	6,000
Hungary	3,000
Bulgaria	3,000
Greece	1,000
Yugoslavia	800
Lithuania	600
USSR	600
Italy	500
France	300
Holland	200
Latvia	100

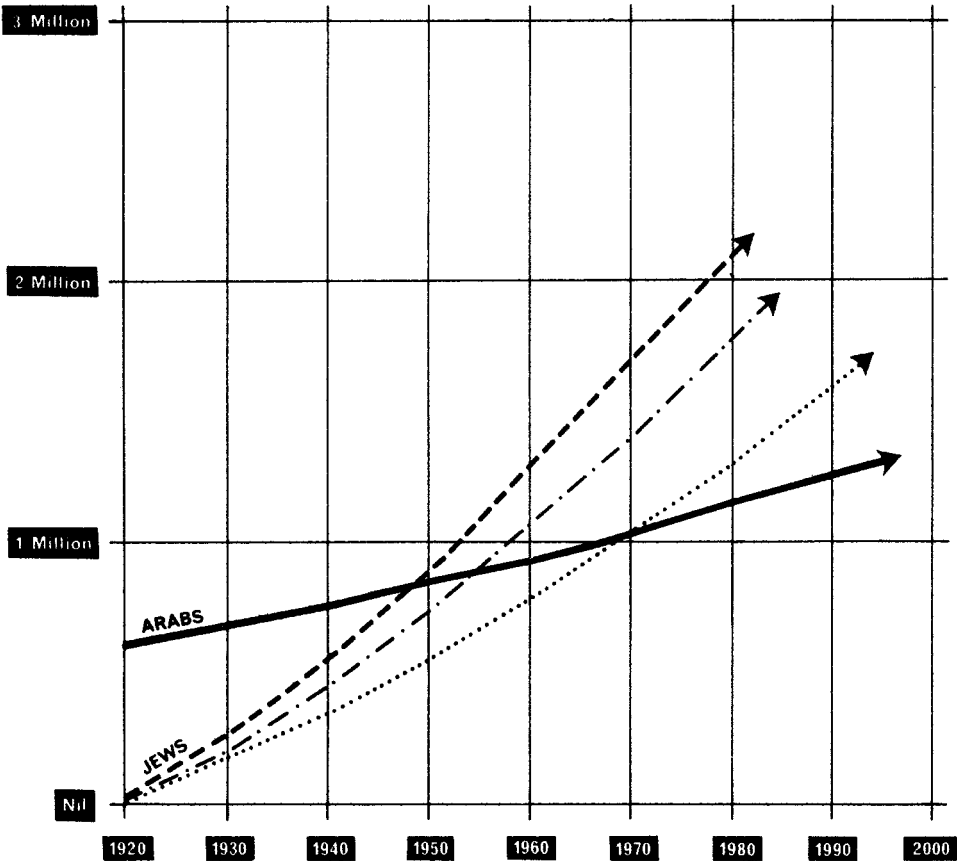
[Cross-hatched box] Greater Germany August 1939  
 [Solid black box] Refugees 1933-1941



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## ARAB FEARS OF A JEWISH MAJORITY IN PALESTINE 1920 - 1939

**TOTAL POPULATION  
OF PALESTINE**



- Estimated growth of the Arab population of Palestine, 1920-2000
- - - Estimated Jewish population, allowing for an annual immigration of 25,000 from 1930 (Jews would then equal Arabs by 1948)
- · - · Estimated Jewish population, allowing for an annual immigration restricted to 15,000 (Jews would then equal Arabs by 1956)
- ..... Estimated Jewish population, allowing for an annual immigration restricted to 10,000 (Jews would then equal Arabs by 1969)

These estimates were prepared by the British Government in 1929





As well as 360 000 Jewish immigrants between 1919 and 1939, over 50,000 Arabs also immigrated to Palestine (from nearby Arab States) attracted by the improving agricultural conditions and growing job opportunities, most of them created by the Jews

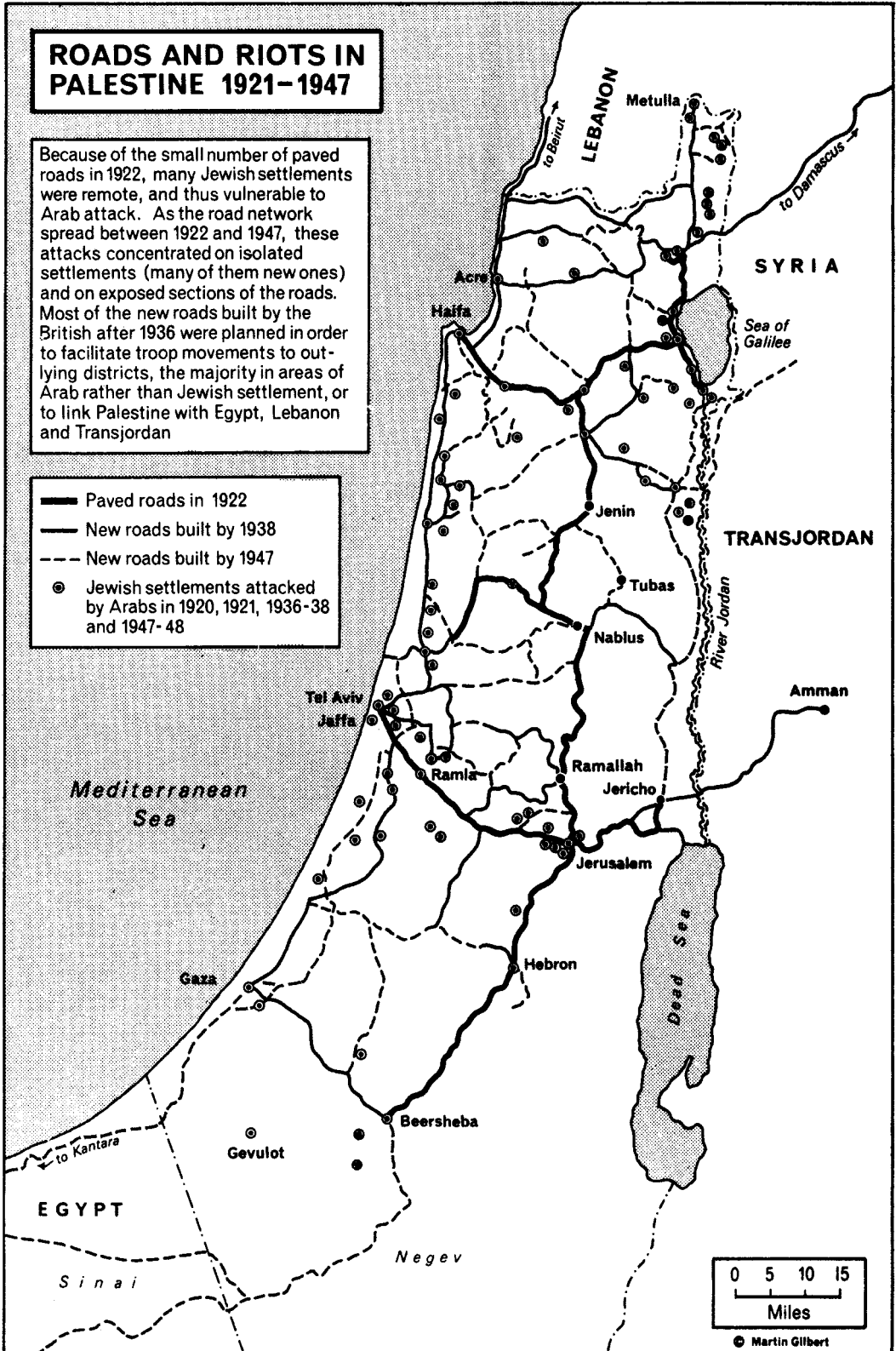
On the 17 May 1939, following a decade of Arab protest, the British Government issued a White Paper restricting Jewish immigration to 15,000 a year for five years, after which no immigration whatsoever would be allowed without Arab permission. The White Paper made it possible for the Arabs to prevent the Jews ever becoming a majority in Palestine



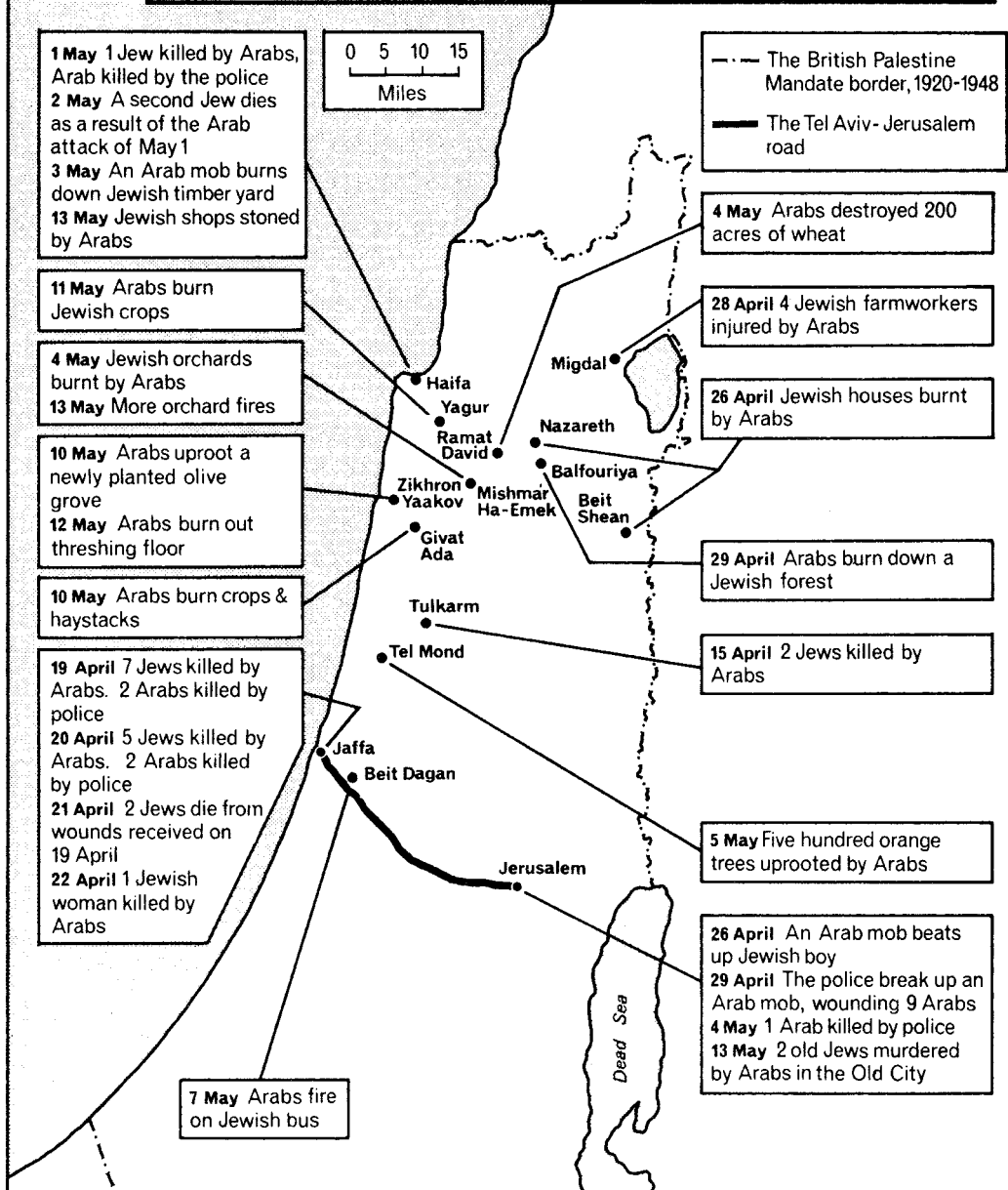
# ROADS AND RIOTS IN PALESTINE 1921-1947

Because of the small number of paved roads in 1922, many Jewish settlements were remote, and thus vulnerable to Arab attack. As the road network spread between 1922 and 1947, these attacks concentrated on isolated settlements (many of them new ones) and on exposed sections of the roads. Most of the new roads built by the British after 1936 were planned in order to facilitate troop movements to outlying districts, the majority in areas of Arab rather than Jewish settlement, or to link Palestine with Egypt, Lebanon and Transjordan

-  Paved roads in 1922
-  New roads built by 1938
-  New roads built by 1947
-  Jewish settlements attacked by Arabs in 1920, 1921, 1936-38 and 1947-48



## THE ARAB CAMPAIGN OF 1936: THE FIRST MONTH



In the three years after Hitler came to power in 1933 the Jewish population of Palestine increased from 230,000 to 400,000 reaching one third of the Arab total. On 15 April 1936 the Arab began a General Strike followed by systematic attacks on Jewish lives, property and fields. On 7 May the Arab leaders met in Jerusalem, and demanded an end to all Jewish immigration, a halt to all Jewish land purchase, and an Arab majority Government. On 11 May, after three weeks of violence, the British authorities warned the Arabs that they intended to continue to 'suppress all outbreaks of lawlessness and punish the perpetrators'. On 13 May the Mufti of Jerusalem declared at Haifa: 'The Jews are trying to expel us from the country. They are murdering our sons and burning our houses'. Within a month of the first Jewish death, 21 Jews had been killed, and many farms and orchards burned by Arab action. 6 Arabs had been killed by the police, none by the Jews

# THE ARAB CAMPAIGN 1936: THE SECOND MONTH

As the Arab riots continued for a second month, the British authorities began to take more active measures, in the course of which 10 Arabs were killed. The Arabs killed a further 7 Jews, destroyed over 15,000 Jewish trees, and burnt many crops and barns. It has not been possible to show every incident on this map

--- The British Palestine Mandate border, 1920-1948  
 — The Tel Aviv - Jerusalem road

**5 June** 5 Jewish passengers injured when Arabs threw bomb at bus  
**6 June** 1 Arab killed by police during an anti-Jewish demonstration

**30 May** Arabs uproot 2,000 Jewish trees

**30 May** Arabs burn several hundred Jewish fruit trees

**28 May** 3,000 Jewish trees uprooted by Arabs  
**30 May** A further 2,000 trees uprooted

**6 June** 650 Jewish trees uprooted by Arabs

**6 June** Arabs uproot 1,700 Jewish trees

**16 May** Police kill 1 Arab after an anti-Jewish demonstration  
**28 May** 1 Arab rioter killed by a British policeman  
**30 May** 2 Arabs killed by British

**20 May** Jewish crops burnt by Arabs

**24 May** Arabs severely wound a Jewish watchman

**13 June** Arabs destroy Jewish crops

**24 May** Arabs uproot 1,200 Jewish citrus trees

**30 May** Jewish wheatfields burnt

**28 May** 3 Arab 'brigands' killed by British troops

**23 May** Arab mob stones the police  
**30 May** 1 Arab killed by British during arms raid

**16 May** 3 Jews shot dead by Arabs while coming out of a cinema  
**18 May** Arabs kill an Austrian Christian (by mistake)  
**19 May** Arabs kill a Jew in the Old City  
**25 May** Arabs kill a Jew at the Hebrew University  
**28 May** Arabs kill a British policeman in the Old City  
**31 May** 1 Jew killed by Arabs at Givat Shaul

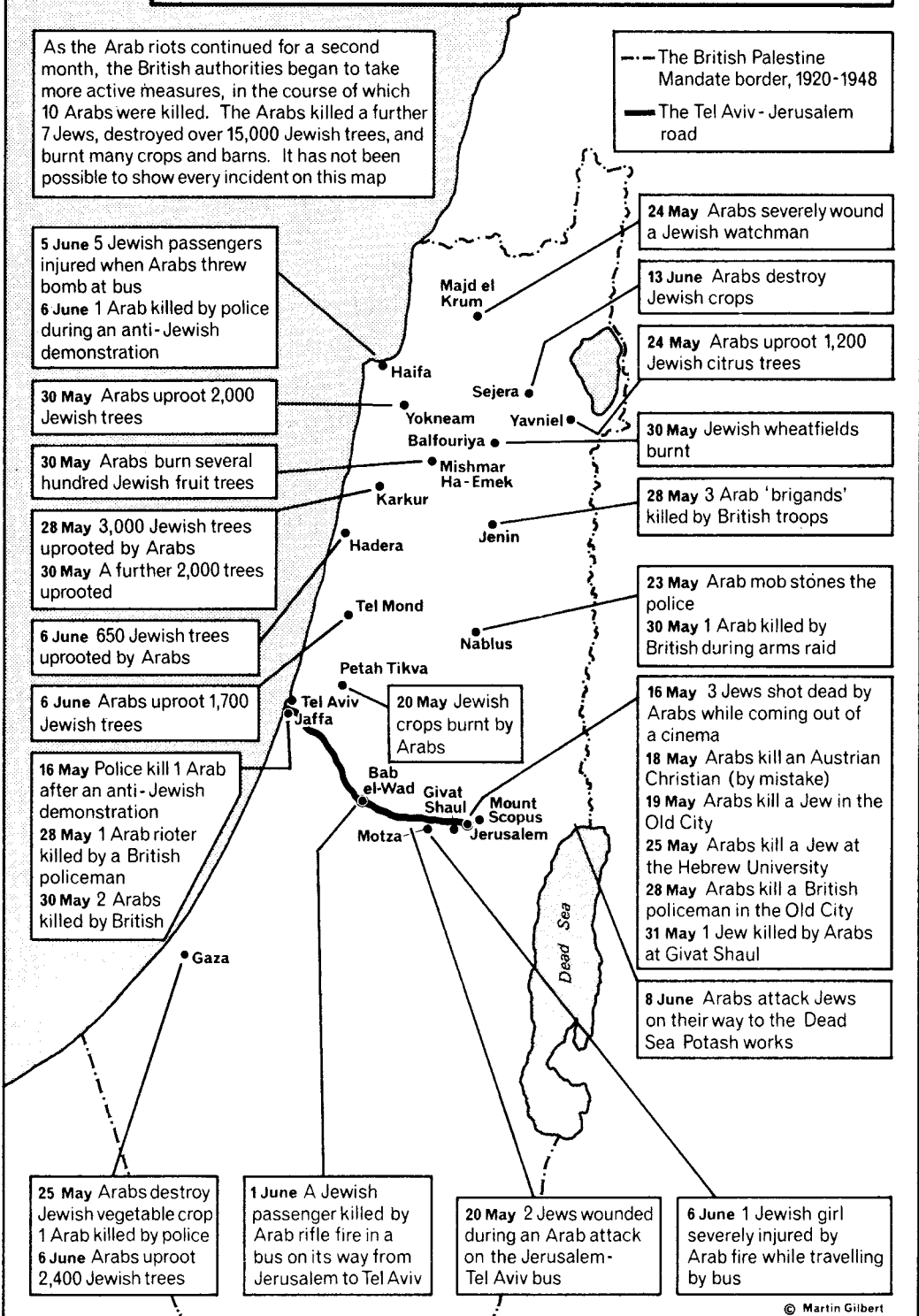
**8 June** Arabs attack Jews on their way to the Dead Sea Potash works

**25 May** Arabs destroy Jewish vegetable crop  
 1 Arab killed by police  
**6 June** Arabs uproot 2,400 Jewish trees

**1 June** A Jewish passenger killed by Arab rifle fire in a bus on its way from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv

**20 May** 2 Jews wounded during an Arab attack on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv bus

**6 June** 1 Jewish girl severely injured by Arab fire while travelling by bus



# THE ARAB CAMPAIGN OF 1936: THE THIRD MONTH

During the third month of the Arab campaign, the British took even firmer action, killing 22 Arab rioters. During the same period the Arabs destroyed over 75,000 Jewish trees, and extended their attacks to Jewish vineyards. Nine Jews were killed, mostly in Arab ambushes on buses. On 9 July the Arab Supreme Council again demanded a total halt to Jewish immigration

--- The British Palestine Mandate border, 1920-1948  
 — The Tel Aviv - Jerusalem road

29 June A Jewish watchman killed by Arabs

27 June Arabs destroy 3,500 Jewish grape vines

1 July 1 Jewish guard killed by Arabs

17 July 1 Jew killed by Arabs

16 June 2,000 Jewish orange trees and grape vines destroyed

7 July 1 Jew killed in an Arab attack

16 June Arabs uproot 1,000 fruit trees

28 June 1 Jew seriously wounded by Arabs

9 July A 16 year old Jewish boy killed in an Arab ambush

16 June Arabs desecrate the tomb of the prophet Hosea  
 14 July British troops killed 2 Arab rioters

23 June 1 Jew killed by 2 Arab rioters

13 July British troops kill 7 Arab 'gunmen'

10 July 1 Jew killed on the Jenin - Nablus road when Arabs ambush bus...

17 July British troops kill 6 Arabs

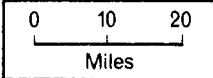
25 June 1 British soldier and 6 Arabs killed when the British Army tried to halt an Arab riot  
 5 July British troops kill 1 Arab rioter

25 June 1 Jew killed by Arabs

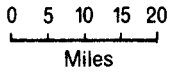
5 July 1 Jew killed by an Arab bomb

Following a strong debate among the Jews, the Jewish Defence Force, the Haganah, declared a policy of restraint and non-retaliation. This policy was strictly imposed by the Haganah, who brought to trial anyone who sought to break it

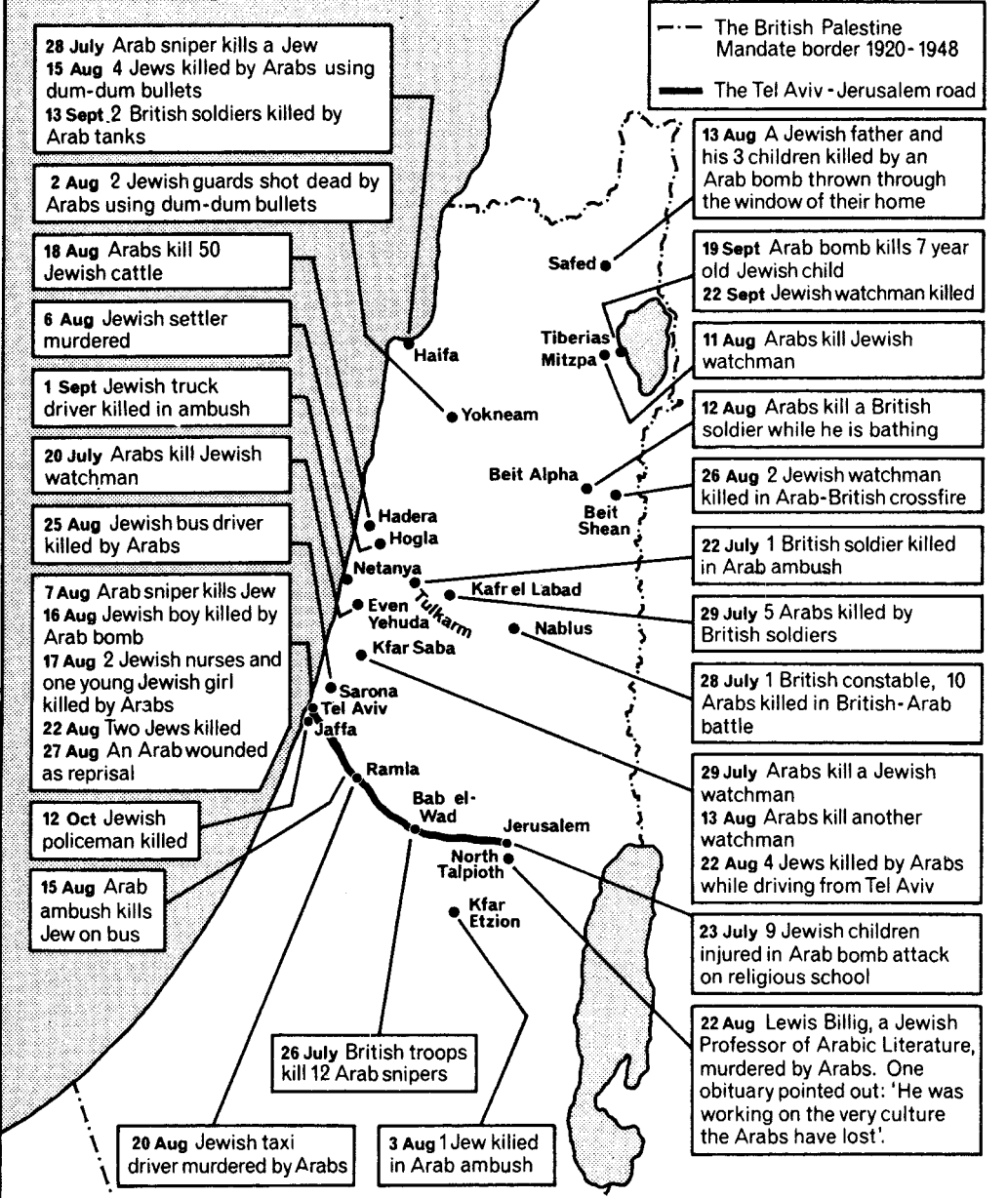
*It is true of course that in times of disturbance the Jews, as compared with the Arabs, are the law-abiding section of the population, and indeed, throughout the whole series of outbreaks, and under very great provocation, they have shown a notable capacity for discipline and self-restraint*  
 PALESTINE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT, JULY 1937, p. 121



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# THE ARAB CAMPAIGN OF 1936: THE CLIMAX

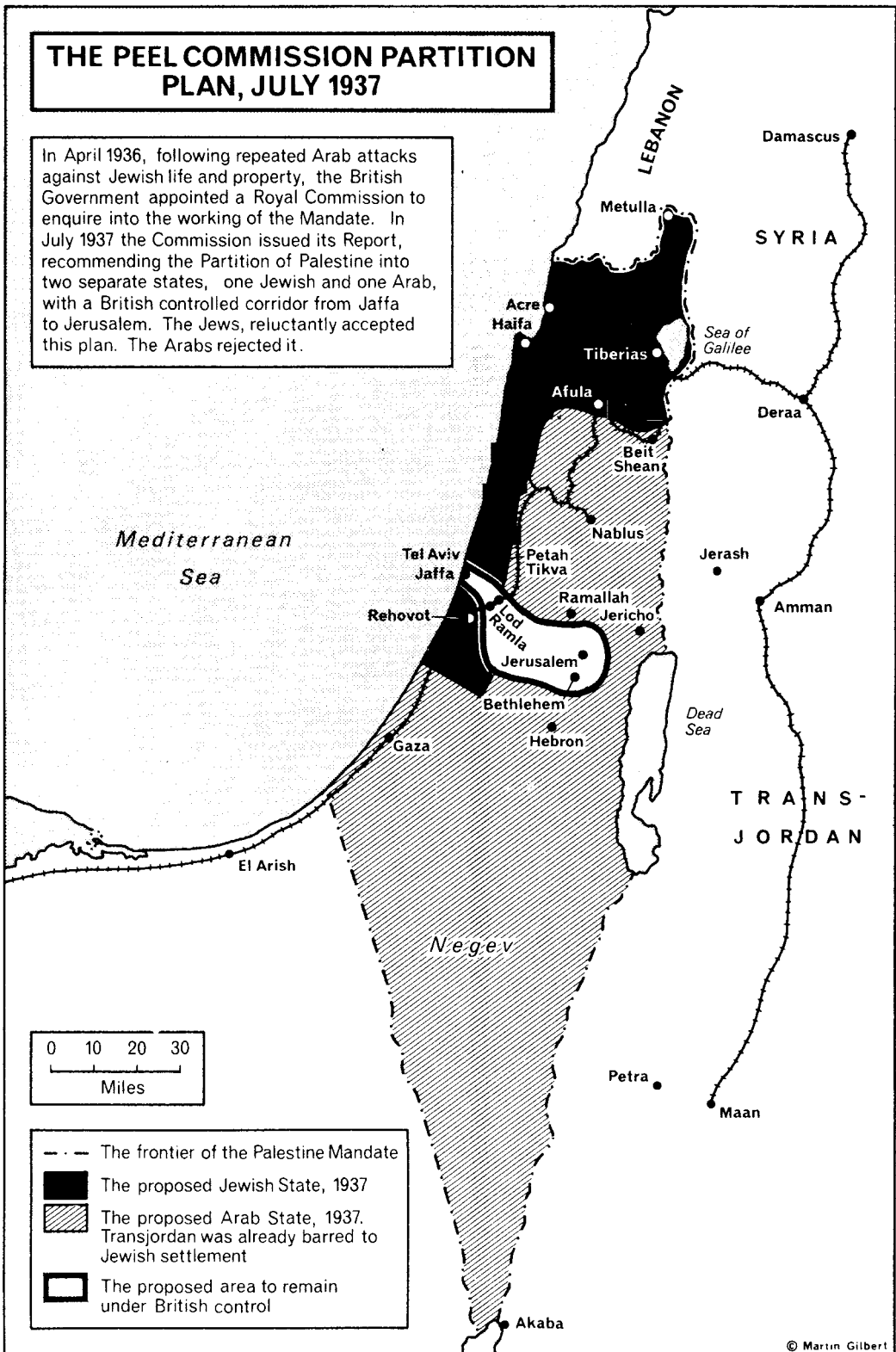


From mid-July, Arab attacks on Jews increased. Many Jews were ambushed and killed while driving, unarmed, on the main roads. Between 20 July and 22 September, 33 Jews were killed, and several hundred injured. At the same time, the British army was engaged in continuous battles with bands of armed Arabs, killing over 100 Arabs between 15 July and 3 October. During the same period, the Arabs killed 33 British soldiers. The Arab aim according to an Arab spokesman on 22 September was to 'extend the guerilla warfare against British troops', in order to bring 'an end to Zionist influence in London'. The Arabs called off their strike on October 12. In all 80 Jews had been killed



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## THE PEEL COMMISSION PARTITION PLAN, JULY 1937

In April 1936, following repeated Arab attacks against Jewish life and property, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Mandate. In July 1937 the Commission issued its Report, recommending the Partition of Palestine into two separate states, one Jewish and one Arab, with a British controlled corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The Jews, reluctantly accepted this plan. The Arabs rejected it.



## THE PROPOSED JEWISH STATE: A TERRITORIAL COMPARISON

-  The size of the Jewish State proposed by the Peel Commission, 1937
-  Great Britain on the same scale

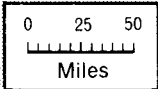
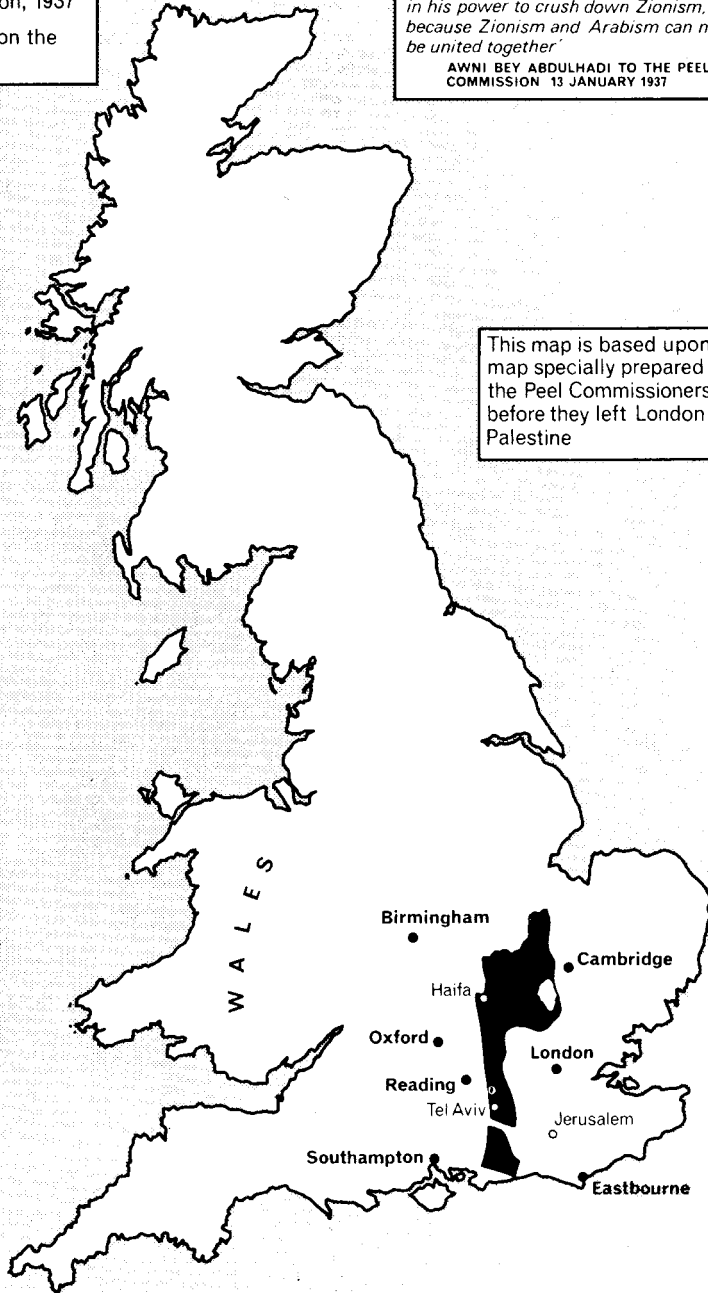
*'It is our belief that a great Jewish community, a free Jewish nation, in Palestine, with a large scope for its activities, will be of great benefit to our Arab neighbours... We need each other. We can benefit each other'*

DAVID BEN GURION TO THE PEEL COMMISSION, 7 JANUARY 1937

*'Every Arab in Palestine will do everything in his power to crush down Zionism, because Zionism and Arabism can never be united together'*

AWNI BEY ABDULHADI TO THE PEEL COMMISSION 13 JANUARY 1937

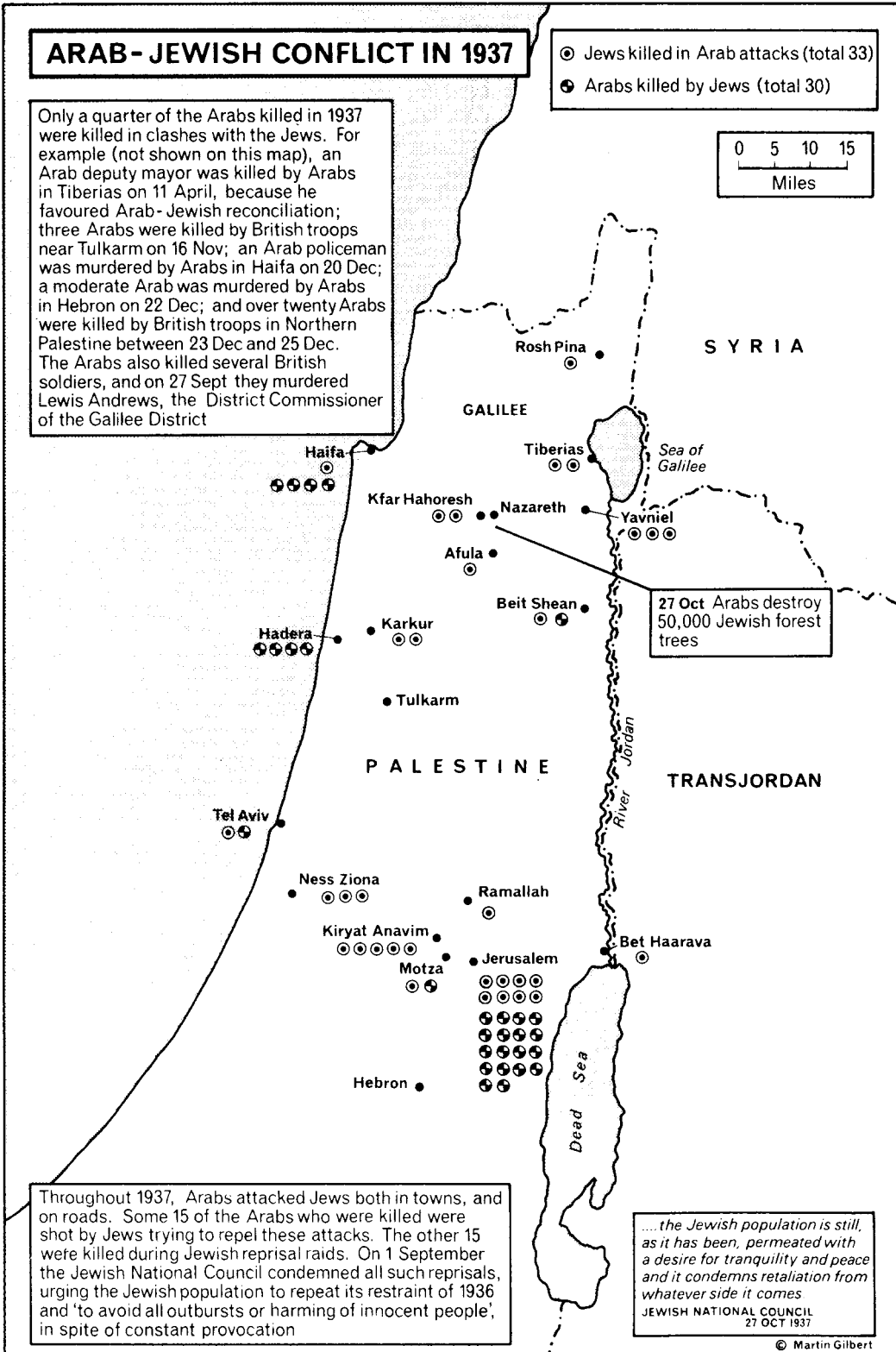
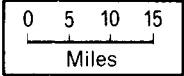
This map is based upon a map specially prepared for the Peel Commissioners before they left London for Palestine



# ARAB- JEWISH CONFLICT IN 1937

Only a quarter of the Arabs killed in 1937 were killed in clashes with the Jews. For example (not shown on this map), an Arab deputy mayor was killed by Arabs in Tiberias on 11 April, because he favoured Arab- Jewish reconciliation; three Arabs were killed by British troops near Tulkarm on 16 Nov; an Arab policeman was murdered by Arabs in Haifa on 20 Dec; a moderate Arab was murdered by Arabs in Hebron on 22 Dec; and over twenty Arabs were killed by British troops in Northern Palestine between 23 Dec and 25 Dec. The Arabs also killed several British soldiers, and on 27 Sept they murdered Lewis Andrews, the District Commissioner of the Galilee District

- ⊙ Jews killed in Arab attacks (total 33)
- ⊕ Arabs killed by Jews (total 30)



Throughout 1937, Arabs attacked Jews both in towns, and on roads. Some 15 of the Arabs who were killed were shot by Jews trying to repel these attacks. The other 15 were killed during Jewish reprisal raids. On 1 September the Jewish National Council condemned all such reprisals, urging the Jewish population to repeat its restraint of 1936 and 'to avoid all outbursts or harming of innocent people', in spite of constant provocation

...the Jewish population is still, as it has been, permeated with a desire for tranquility and peace and it condemns retaliation from whatever side it comes  
 JEWISH NATIONAL COUNCIL  
 27 OCT 1937



# ARAB - JEWISH CONFLICT MAY - JULY 1938

**25 May** 1 Arab killed  
**6 July** Jewish terrorists kill 25 Arabs.  
 Arabs kill 5 Jews  
**10 July** 2 Jews killed  
**11 July** 2 Jews killed  
**12 July** An old Jew stoned to death  
**25 July** Jewish terrorists kill 39 Arabs in the  
 Melon market. 2 Jews killed later in the day

**13 July** 1 Jew killed

**5 June** 1 Jewish watchman killed

**21 July** Large Arab band kills five  
 Jews, including 2 children  
**25 July** 1 Jew killed

**21 July** An Arab band attacks  
 Jewish vineyards. 1 Jew and 8  
 Arabs killed

**4 May** 1 Jew badly wounded

**18 May** Three thousand citrus  
 trees destroyed by a band of 50  
 Arabs (600 trees had been  
 destroyed in 1934)  
**18 June** 5 Arabs killed while  
 attacking the Jewish settlement  
**17 July** 1 Jew killed

**23 June** 2 Jews and  
 2 Arabs killed  
**25 June** 1 Jew killed  
**17 July** 1 Jew killed

**4 July** 1 Arab killed  
**17 July** 3 Arabs and  
 1 Jew killed

**21 July** 1 Jew killed

**10 May** Settlers repel attack  
 by more than 20 Arabs  
**22 May** 1 Jew killed in  
 Arab attack  
**8 June** 2 Jews killed  
**1 July** 1 Jewish watchman  
 killed

**2 July** 1 Jewish watchman  
 killed  
**26 July** 2 Jews killed (a  
 father and his son). Two  
 Arab attackers killed

**5 July** Five Jews killed

**8 June** 1 Jew killed

**14 May** Arabs destroy 25 dunams  
 of orange groves

**14 May** Arab attack repulsed

**25 July** One Jew killed

**11 June** Arabs kill a Jewish watchman

**13 June** Jews repulse an Arab  
 attack. 1 Arab killed

**20 June** 1 Jewish watchman killed

**14 May** Arab attack repulsed

**14 May** Arab attack repulsed

**10 July** Arabs kill 2 Jews

**18 June** 1 Jewish railway foreman  
 killed

**6 June** Arabs burn 25 dunams of  
 Jewish crops

**17 July** 1 Jew killed

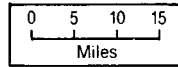
**19 July** 1 Jew killed

**21 July** A band of 20 Arabs kill  
 4 Jewish labourers

**22 May** 1 Jew killed  
**24 May** 1 Jew, 1 Christian and 1  
 Arab killed. The Jews Community  
 Council urges restraint  
**12 June** A Jewish carpenter murdered;  
 the murderer flees to Arab village of  
 Deir Yassin  
**4 July** Four Arabs killed  
**5 July** One Jew killed  
**7 July** Two Arabs killed  
**15 July** Jewish terrorists kill ten Arabs  
**26 July** One Jew killed

The Arab campaign continued throughout 1938 and 1939. Partly intended as a protest against Britain for allowing Jewish immigration, its main efforts were aimed against Jewish settlements, and Jewish road traffic. At this time a small group of Jewish extremists began to commit regular terrorist acts. This map shows the principal Arab-Jewish incidents in the three months between May and July 1938, when 59 Jews were killed by Arabs, and 102 Arabs by Jews. Most of the Arabs were killed in three bomb attacks by Jewish terrorists. Most of the Jews were killed singly, during Arab attacks on scattered and isolated settlements. The frequent clashes between Arab bands and British troops are not shown; nor are the many occasions on which Arabs were killed by Arabs

# A JEWISH PROPOSAL FOR PARTITION, 1938

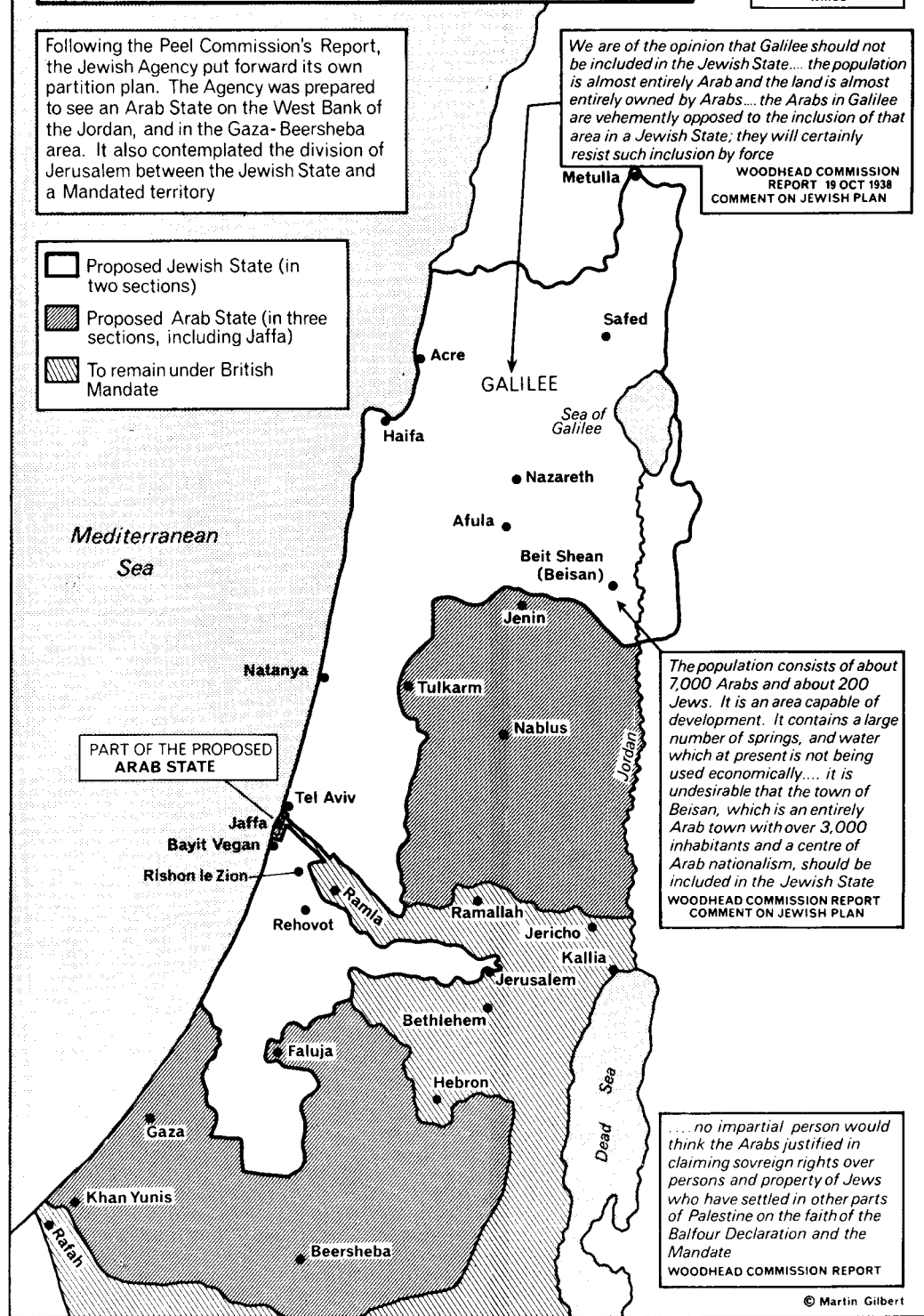


Following the Peel Commission's Report, the Jewish Agency put forward its own partition plan. The Agency was prepared to see an Arab State on the West Bank of the Jordan, and in the Gaza-Beersheba area. It also contemplated the division of Jerusalem between the Jewish State and a Mandated territory

*We are of the opinion that Galilee should not be included in the Jewish State.... the population is almost entirely Arab and the land is almost entirely owned by Arabs... the Arabs in Galilee are vehemently opposed to the inclusion of that area in a Jewish State; they will certainly resist such inclusion by force*

WOODHEAD COMMISSION REPORT 19 OCT 1938 COMMENT ON JEWISH PLAN

- Proposed Jewish State (in two sections)
- Proposed Arab State (in three sections, including Jaffa)
- To remain under British Mandate



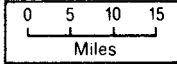
*The population consists of about 7,000 Arabs and about 200 Jews. It is an area capable of development. It contains a large number of springs, and water which at present is not being used economically.... it is undesirable that the town of Beisan, which is an entirely Arab town with over 3,000 inhabitants and a centre of Arab nationalism, should be included in the Jewish State*

WOODHEAD COMMISSION REPORT COMMENT ON JEWISH PLAN





*.... no impartial person would think the Arabs justified in claiming sovereign rights over persons and property of Jews who have settled in other parts of Palestine on the faith of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate*

WOODHEAD COMMISSION REPORT

# A BRITISH PLAN FOR PARTITION, 1938

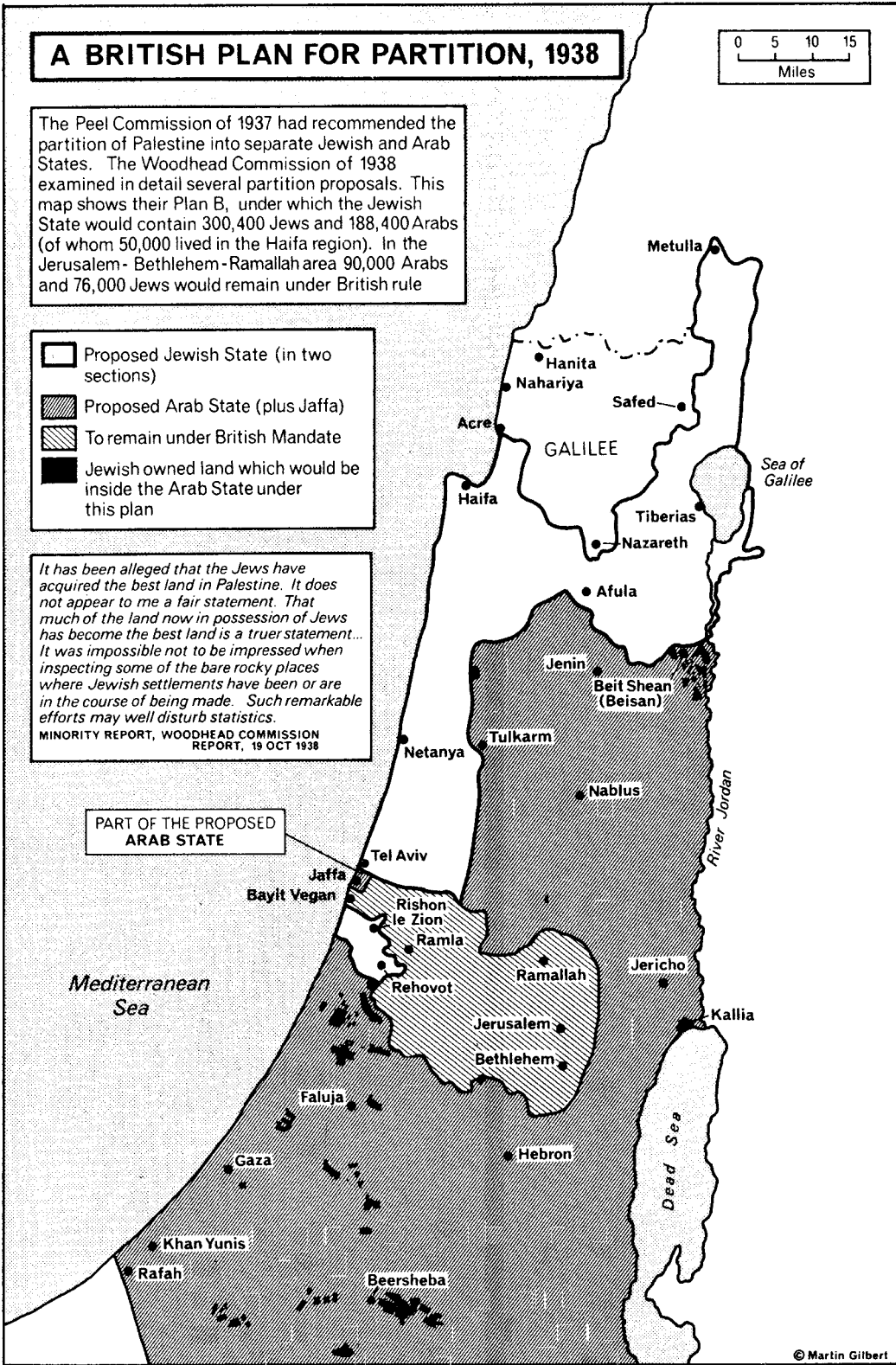


The Peel Commission of 1937 had recommended the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab States. The Woodhead Commission of 1938 examined in detail several partition proposals. This map shows their Plan B, under which the Jewish State would contain 300,400 Jews and 188,400 Arabs (of whom 50,000 lived in the Haifa region). In the Jerusalem - Bethlehem - Ramallah area 90,000 Arabs and 76,000 Jews would remain under British rule

-  Proposed Jewish State (in two sections)
-  Proposed Arab State (plus Jaffa)
-  To remain under British Mandate
-  Jewish owned land which would be inside the Arab State under this plan

*It has been alleged that the Jews have acquired the best land in Palestine. It does not appear to me a fair statement. That much of the land now in possession of Jews has become the best land is a truer statement... It was impossible not to be impressed when inspecting some of the bare rocky places where Jewish settlements have been or are in the course of being made. Such remarkable efforts may well disturb statistics.*  
 MINORITY REPORT, WOODHEAD COMMISSION REPORT, 19 OCT 1938

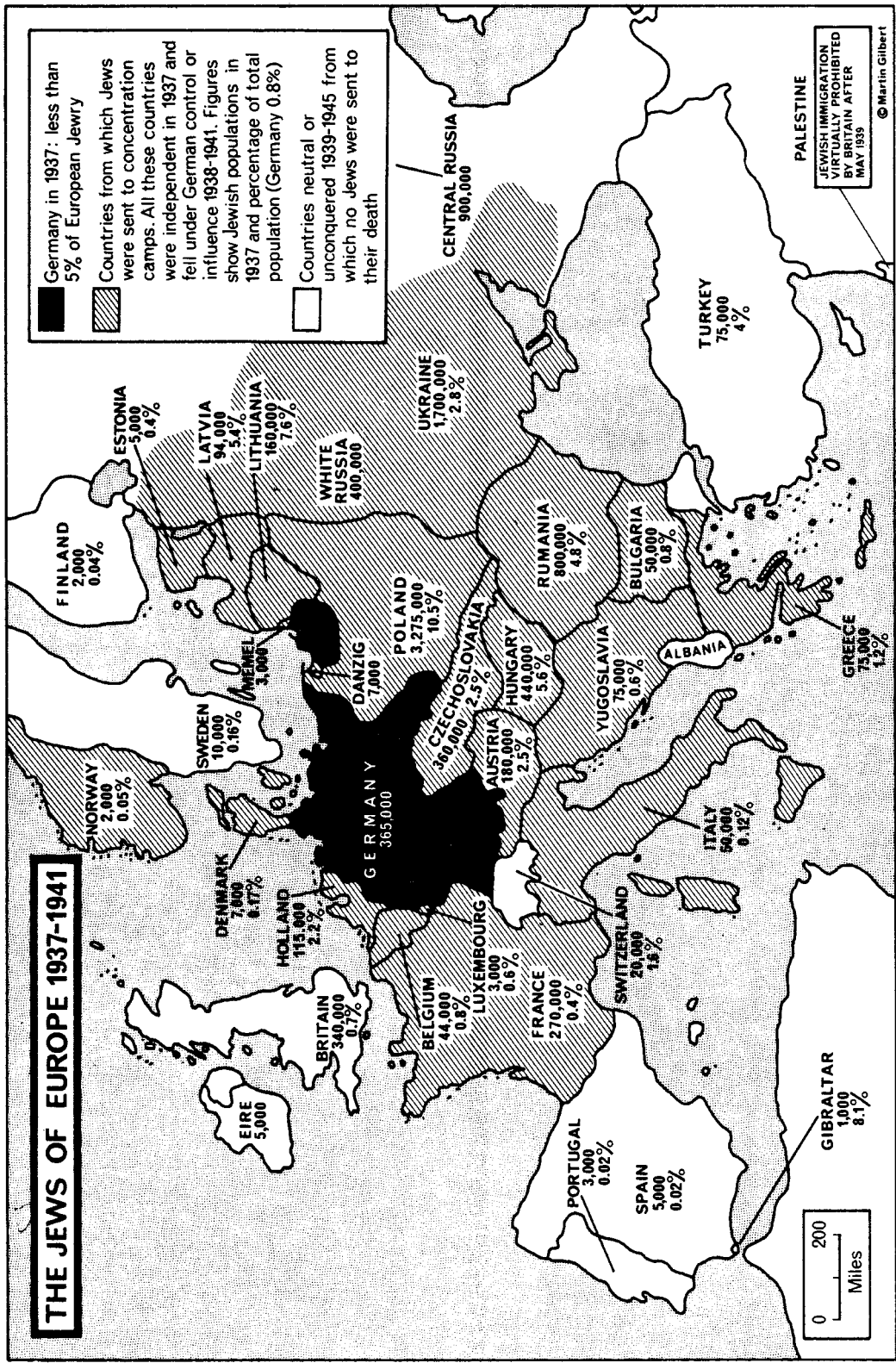
PART OF THE PROPOSED ARAB STATE



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# THE JEWS OF EUROPE 1937-1941

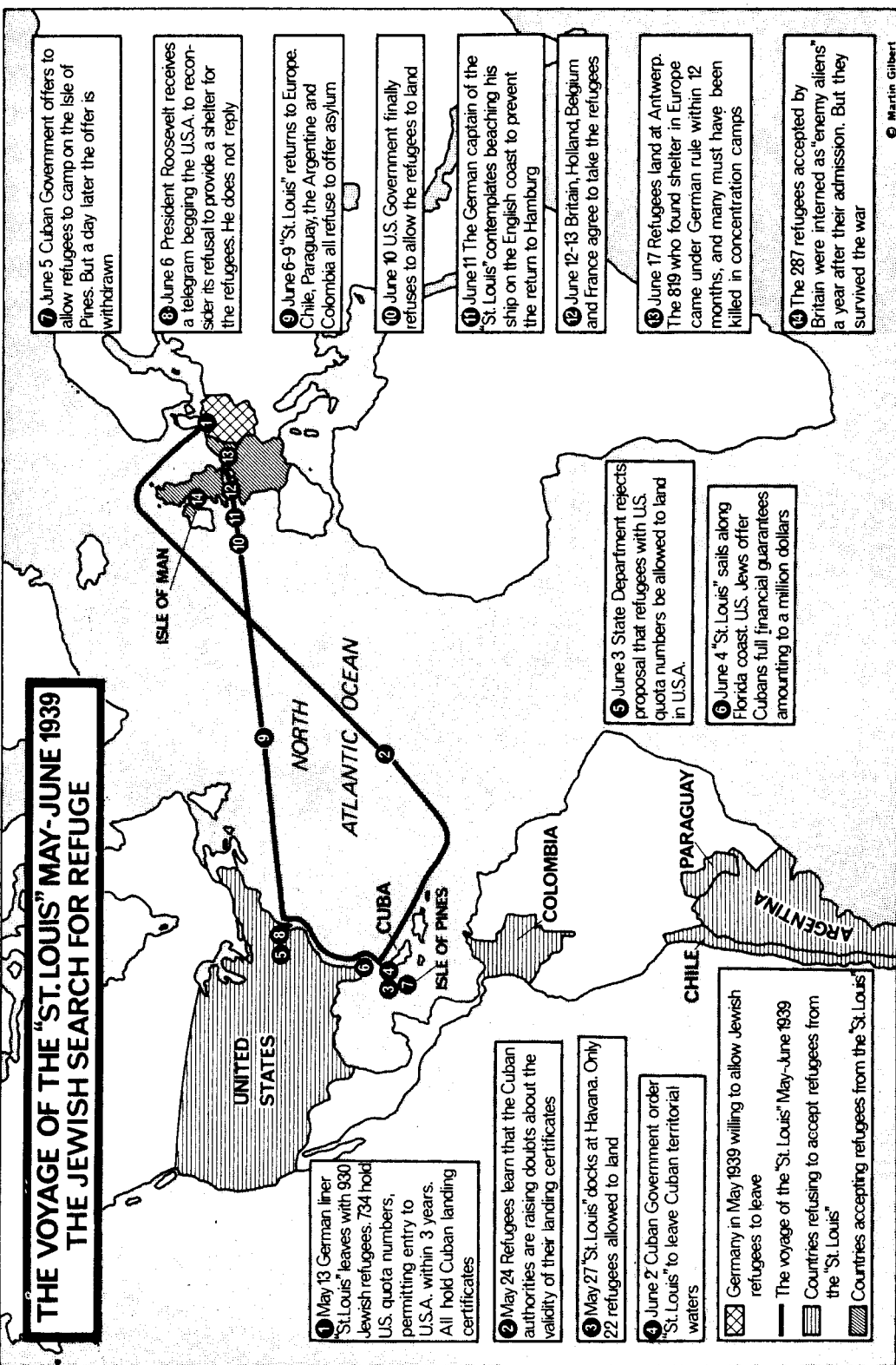
Germany in 1937: less than 5% of European Jewry  
 Countries from which Jews were sent to concentration camps. All these countries were independent in 1937 and fell under German control or influence 1938-1941. Figures show Jewish populations in 1937 and percentage of total population (Germany 0.8%)  
 Countries neutral or unconquered 1939-1945 from which no Jews were sent to their death



JEWISH IMMIGRATION VIRTUALLY PROHIBITED BY BRITAIN AFTER MAY 1939

© Martin Gilbert

# THE VOYAGE OF THE "ST. LOUIS" MAY-JUNE 1939 THE JEWISH SEARCH FOR REFUGE



7 June 5 Cuban Government offers to allow refugees to camp on the Isle of Pines. But a day later the offer is withdrawn

8 June 6 President Roosevelt receives a telegram begging the U.S.A. to reconsider its refusal to provide a shelter for the refugees. He does not reply

9 June 6-9 "St. Louis" returns to Europe. Chile, Paraguay, the Argentine and Colombia all refuse to offer asylum

10 June 10 U.S. Government finally refuses to allow the refugees to land

11 June 11 The German captain of the "St. Louis" contemplates beaching his ship on the English coast to prevent the return to Hamburg

12 June 12-13 Britain, Holland, Belgium and France agree to take the refugees

13 June 17 Refugees land at Antwerp. The 819 who found shelter in Europe came under German rule within 12 months, and many must have been killed in concentration camps

14 The 287 refugees accepted by Britain were interned as "enemy aliens" a year after their admission. But they survived the war

5 June 3 State Department rejects proposal that refugees with U.S. quota numbers be allowed to land in U.S.A.





6 June 4 "St. Louis" sails along Florida coast. U.S. Jews offer Cubans full financial guarantees amounting to a million dollars

1 May 13 German liner "St. Louis" leaves with 930 Jewish refugees. 734 hold U.S. quota numbers, permitting entry to U.S.A. within 3 years. All hold Cuban landing certificates

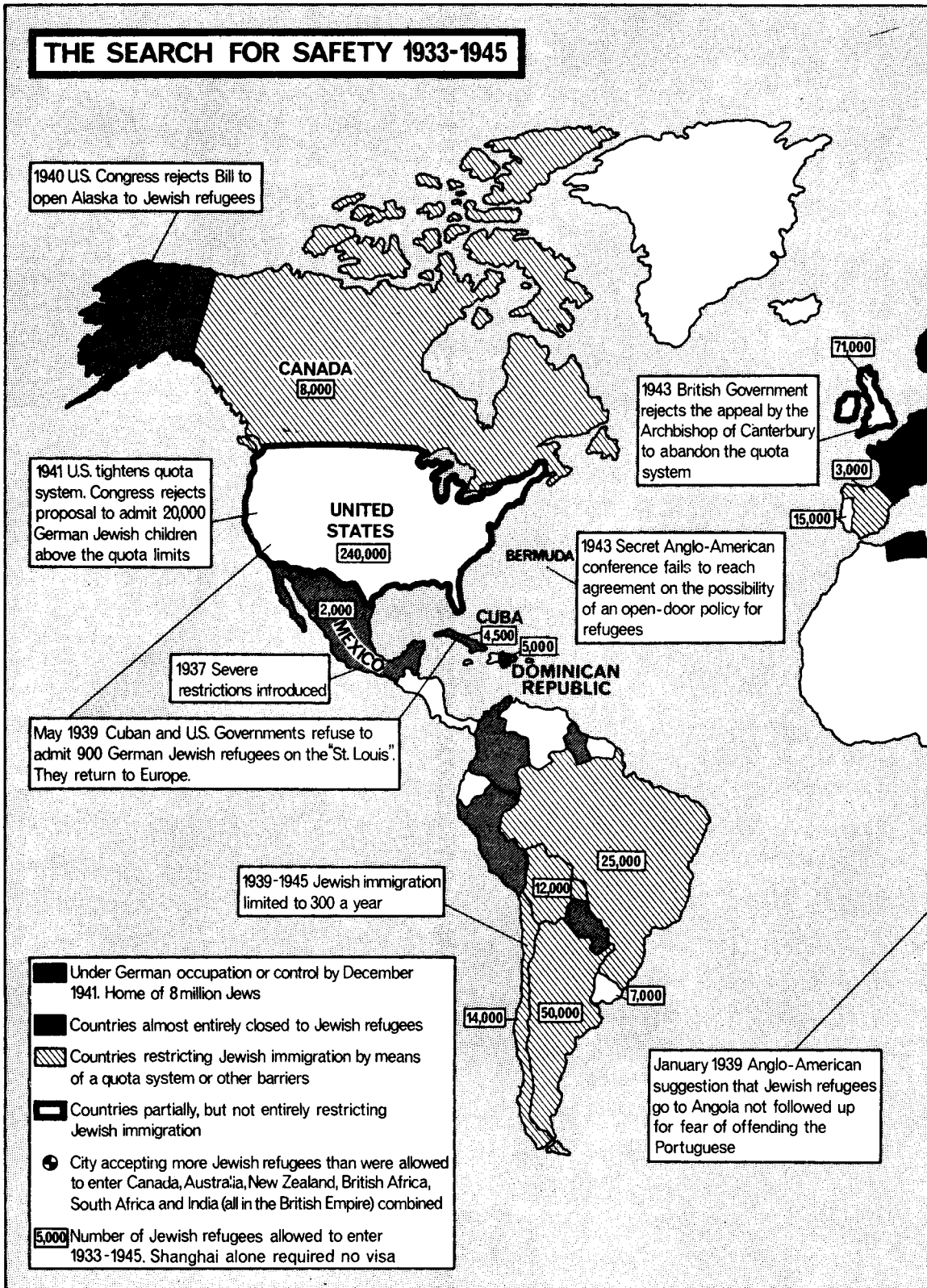
2 May 24 Refugees learn that the Cuban authorities are raising doubts about the validity of their landing certificates

3 May 27 "St. Louis" docks at Havana. Only 22 refugees allowed to land

4 June 2 Cuban Government orders "St. Louis" to leave Cuban territorial waters

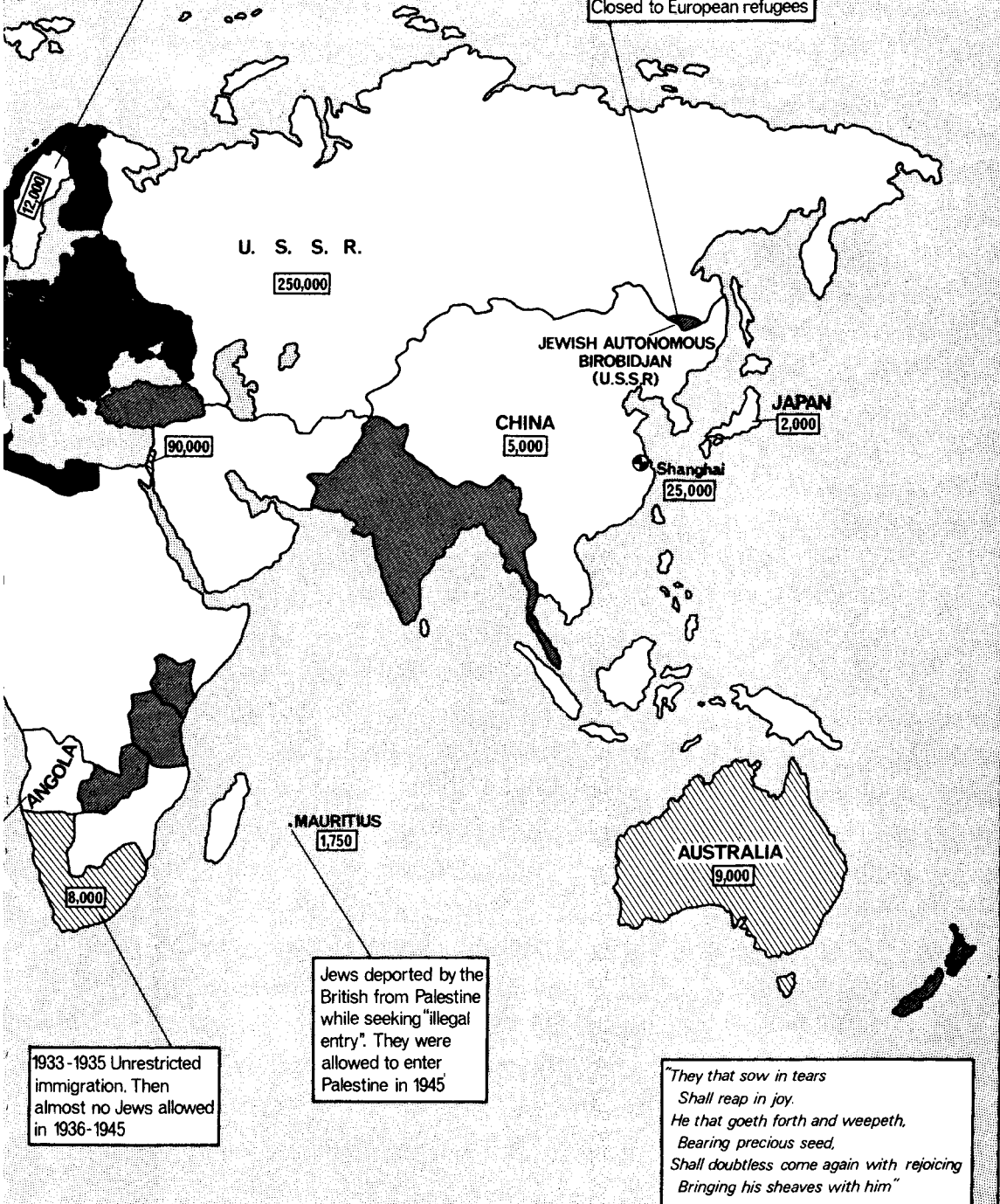
-  Germany in May 1939 willing to allow Jewish refugees to leave
-  The voyage of the "St. Louis" May-June 1939
-  Countries refusing to accept refugees from the "St. Louis"
-  Countries accepting refugees from the "St. Louis"

# THE SEARCH FOR SAFETY 1933-1945



1943 U.S. State Department rejects Swedish proposal for joint rescue of 20,000 Jewish children from Germany

Closed to European refugees



1933-1935 Unrestricted immigration. Then almost no Jews allowed in 1936-1945

Jews deported by the British from Palestine while seeking "illegal entry". They were allowed to enter Palestine in 1945

*"They that sow in tears  
Shall reap in joy.  
He that goeth forth and weepeth,  
Bearing precious seed,  
Shall doubtless come again with rejoicing  
Bringing his sheaves with him"*

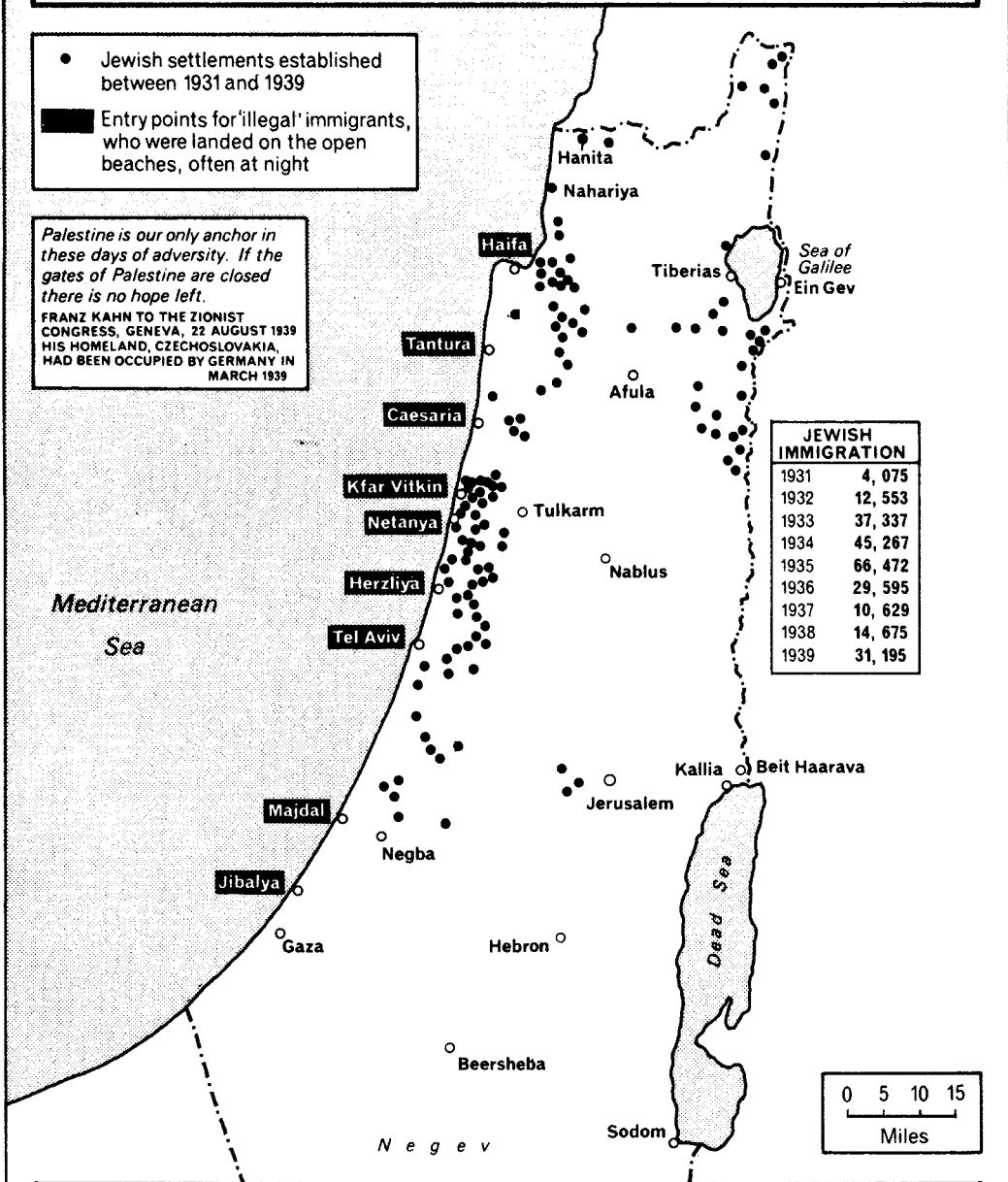
PSALM 126

# JEWISH SETTLEMENTS AND IMMIGRATION, 1931 - 1942

- Jewish settlements established between 1931 and 1939
- Entry points for 'illegal' immigrants, who were landed on the open beaches, often at night

*Palestine is our only anchor in these days of adversity. If the gates of Palestine are closed there is no hope left.*

FRANZ KAHN TO THE ZIONIST CONGRESS, GENEVA, 22 AUGUST 1939  
HIS HOMETLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HAD BEEN OCCUPIED BY GERMANY IN MARCH 1939



JEWISH IMMIGRATION	
1931	4, 075
1932	12, 553
1933	37, 337
1934	45, 267
1935	66, 472
1936	29, 595
1937	10, 629
1938	14, 675
1939	31, 195



Despite the Arab riots of 1929, Jewish immigration continued to grow, and Jewish settlements were founded throughout Palestine. The Arab leaders protested against this new influx of immigrants and refugees, and following a new Arab campaign in 1936, the British authorities introduced a strict limit to Jewish immigration (a maximum of 8,000 between August 1937 and March 1938). As a result of still more Arab pressure, the British published their Palestine White Paper on 17 May 1939. Only 10,643 Jews were allowed to enter in 1940, 4,592 in 1941 and 4,206 in 1942, at a time when the fierce German persecution of Jews in Europe made the need for a place of refuge a desperate one. Between July 1934 and September 1939 the Zionists disembarked 15,000 'illegal' immigrants on the Palestine coast, from a total of 43 ships. On 4 September 1939 two 'illegal' immigrants were killed when their ship was fired on by a British cutter. Later 'illegals' were deported to Cyprus and Mauritius

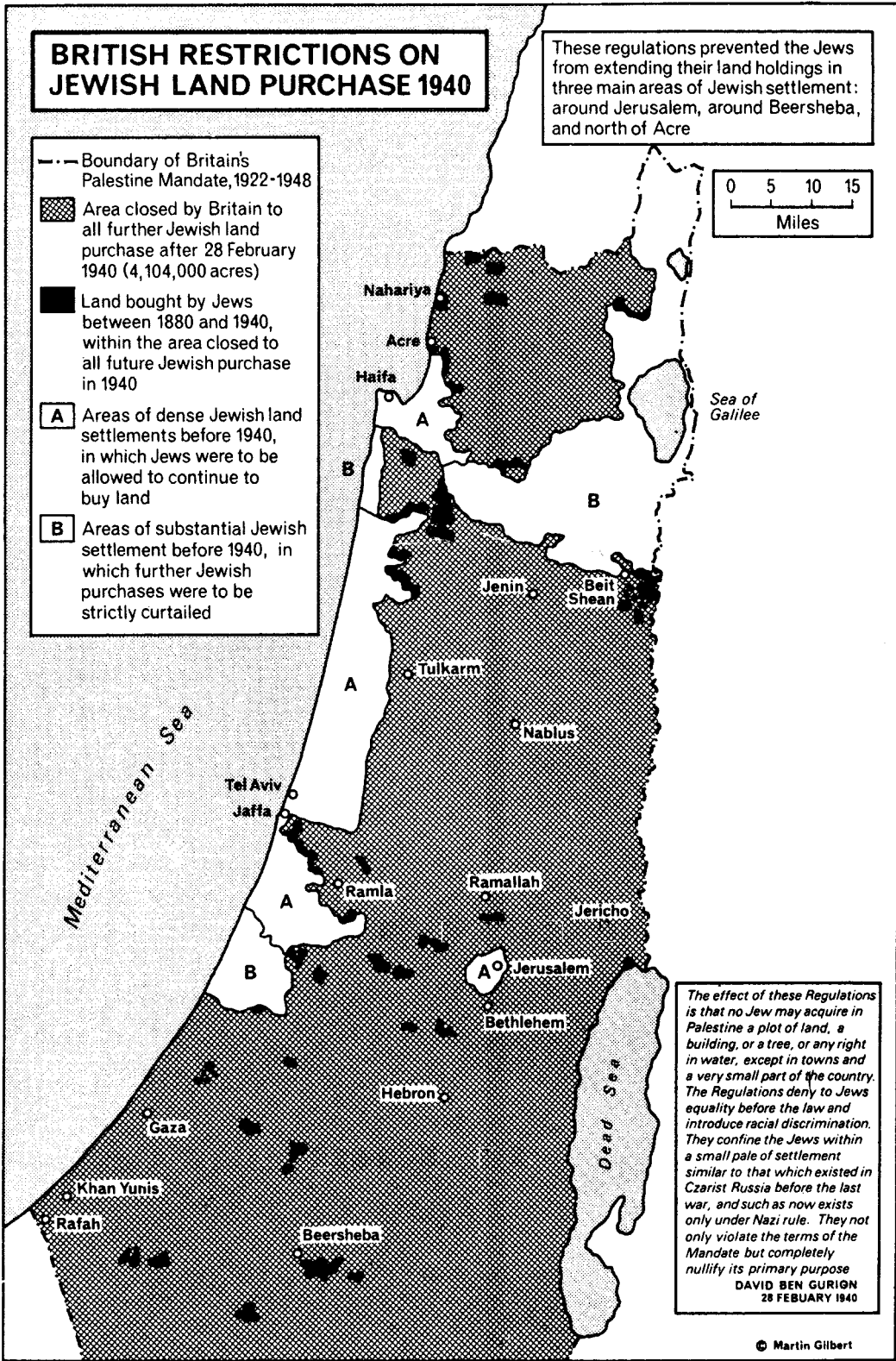
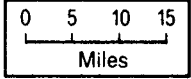
© Martin Gilbert



# BRITISH RESTRICTIONS ON JEWISH LAND PURCHASE 1940

These regulations prevented the Jews from extending their land holdings in three main areas of Jewish settlement: around Jerusalem, around Beersheba, and north of Acre

- Boundary of Britain's Palestine Mandate, 1922-1948
-  Area closed by Britain to all further Jewish land purchase after 28 February 1940 (4,104,000 acres)
-  Land bought by Jews between 1880 and 1940, within the area closed to all future Jewish purchase in 1940
- A** Areas of dense Jewish land settlements before 1940, in which Jews were to be allowed to continue to buy land
- B** Areas of substantial Jewish settlement before 1940, in which further Jewish purchases were to be strictly curtailed



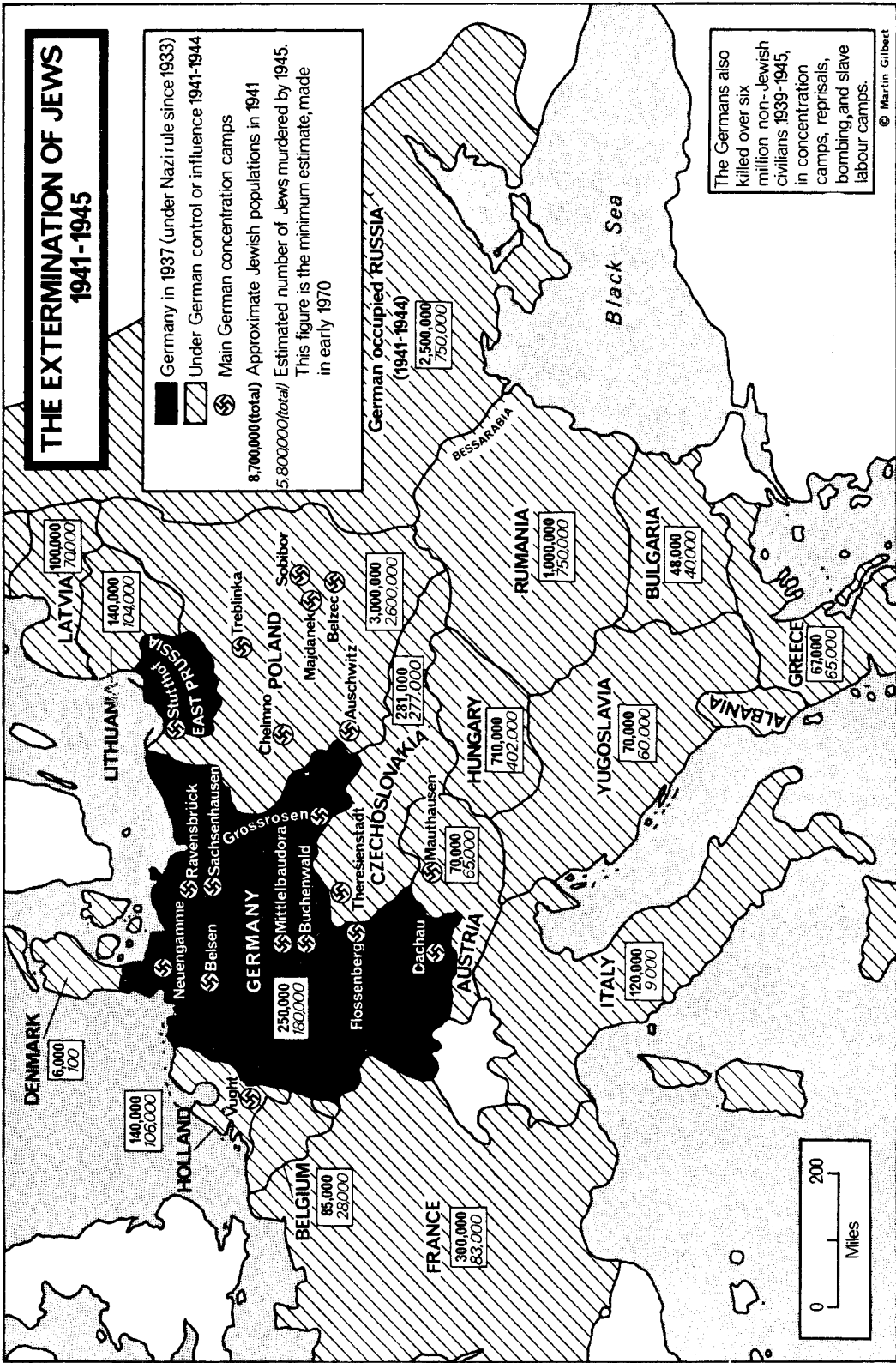
*The effect of these Regulations is that no Jew may acquire in Palestine a plot of land, a building, or a tree, or any right in water, except in towns and a very small part of the country. The Regulations deny to Jews equality before the law and introduce racial discrimination. They confine the Jews within a small pale of settlement similar to that which existed in Czarist Russia before the last war, and such as now exists only under Nazi rule. They not only violate the terms of the Mandate but completely nullify its primary purpose*  
**DAVID BEN GURION**  
 28 FEBRUARY 1940

# THE EXTERMINATION OF JEWS 1941-1945

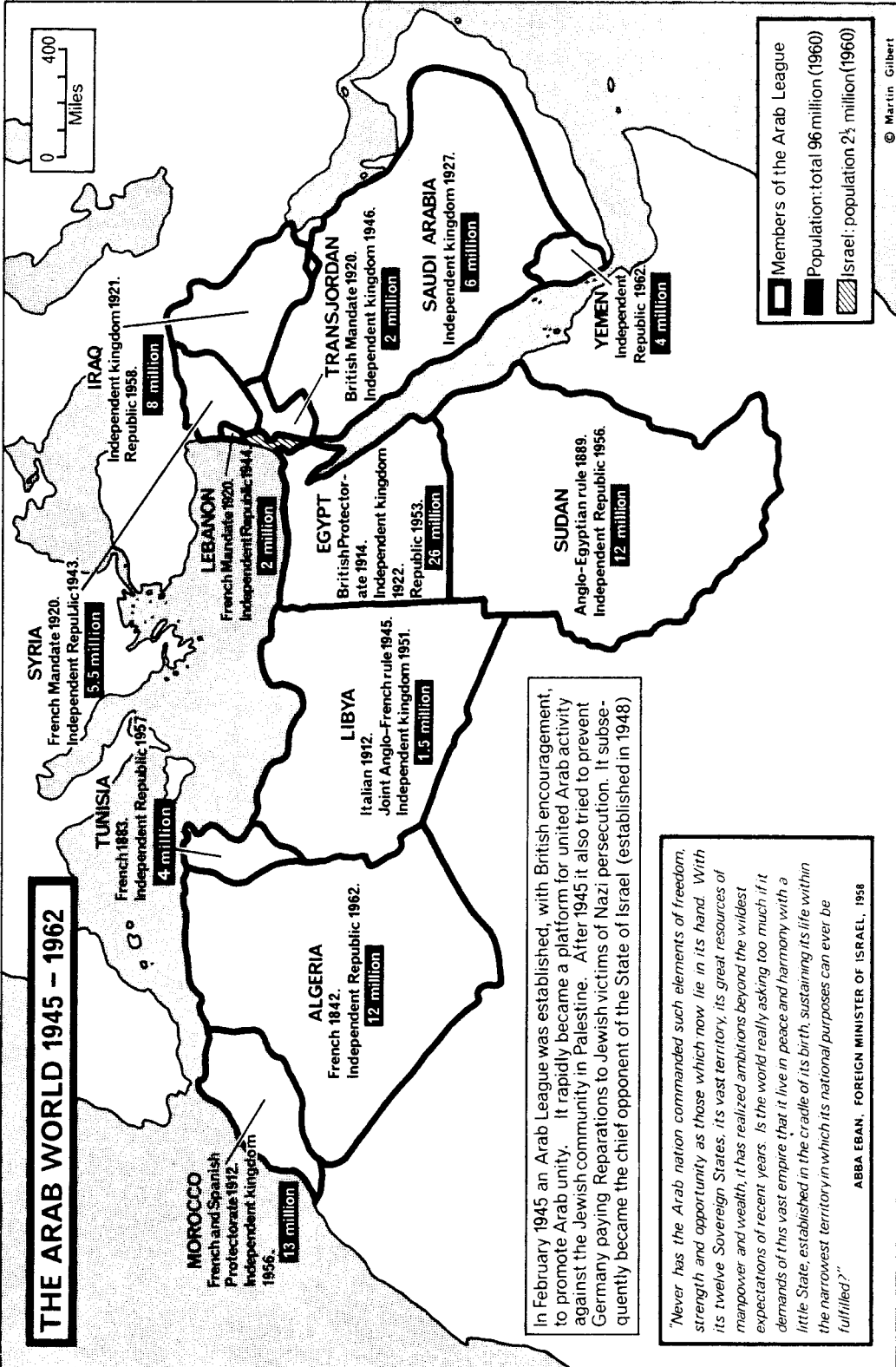
■ Germany in 1937 (under Nazi rule since 1933)  
 ▨ Under German control or influence 1941-1944  
 ⊗ Main German concentration camps

8,700,000 (total) Approximate Jewish populations in 1941  
 5,800,000 (total) Estimated number of Jews murdered by 1945.  
 This figure is the minimum estimate, made in early 1970

The Germans also killed over six million non-Jewish civilians 1939-1945, in concentration camps, reprisals, bombing, and slave labour camps.



# THE ARAB WORLD 1945 - 1962



In February 1945 an Arab League was established, with British encouragement, to promote Arab unity. It rapidly became a platform for united Arab activity against the Jewish community in Palestine. After 1945 it also tried to prevent Germany paying Reparations to Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. It subsequently became the chief opponent of the State of Israel (established in 1948)

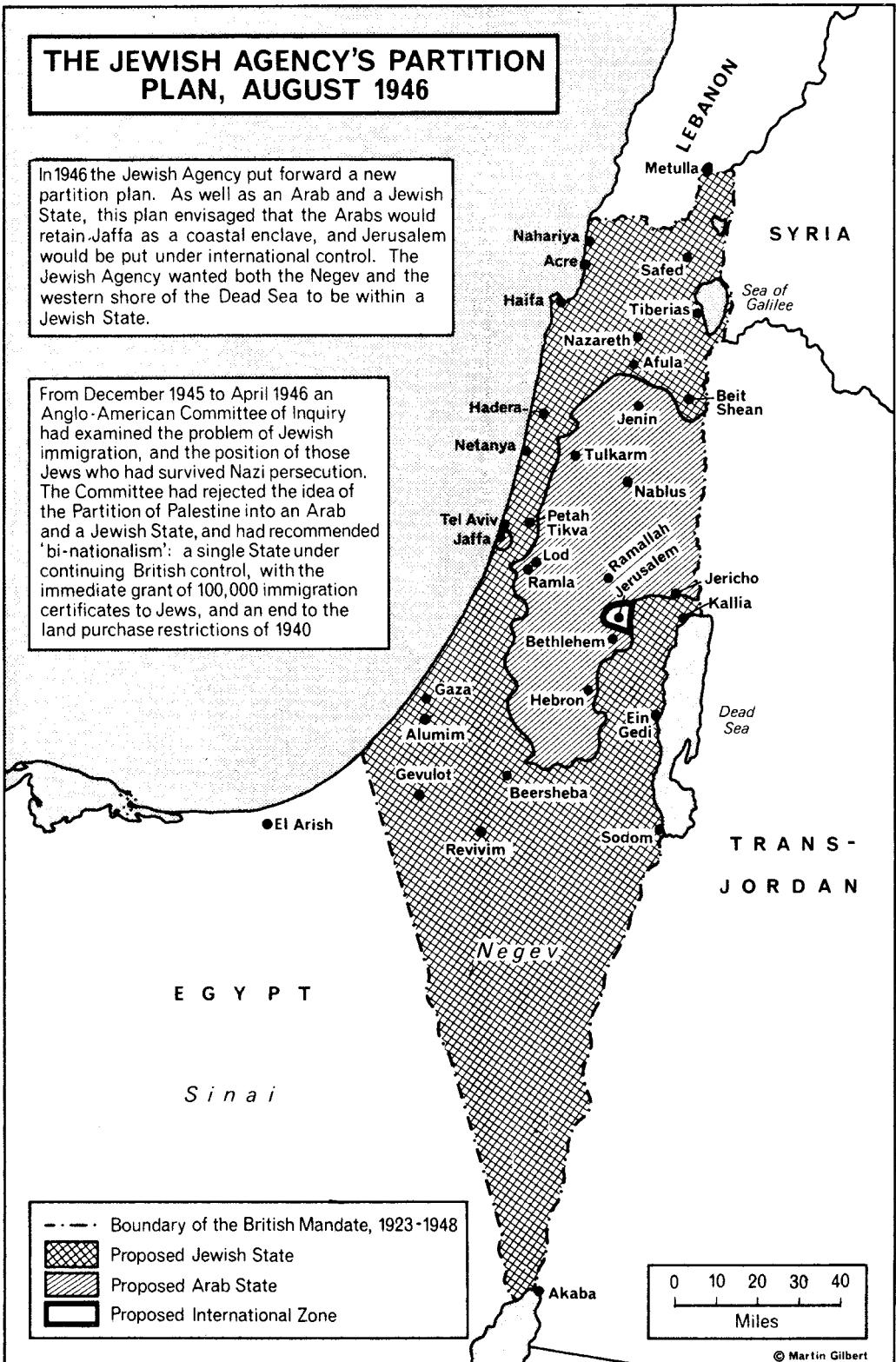
*"Never has the Arab nation commanded such elements of freedom, strength and opportunity as those which now lie in its hand. With its twelve Sovereign States, its vast territory, its great resources of manpower and wealth, it has realized ambitions beyond the wildest expectations of recent years. Is the world really asking too much if it demands of this vast empire that it live in peace and harmony with a little State, established in the cradle of its birth, sustaining its life within the narrowest territory in which its national purposes can ever be fulfilled?"*

ABBA EBAN, FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL, 1958

# THE JEWISH AGENCY'S PARTITION PLAN, AUGUST 1946

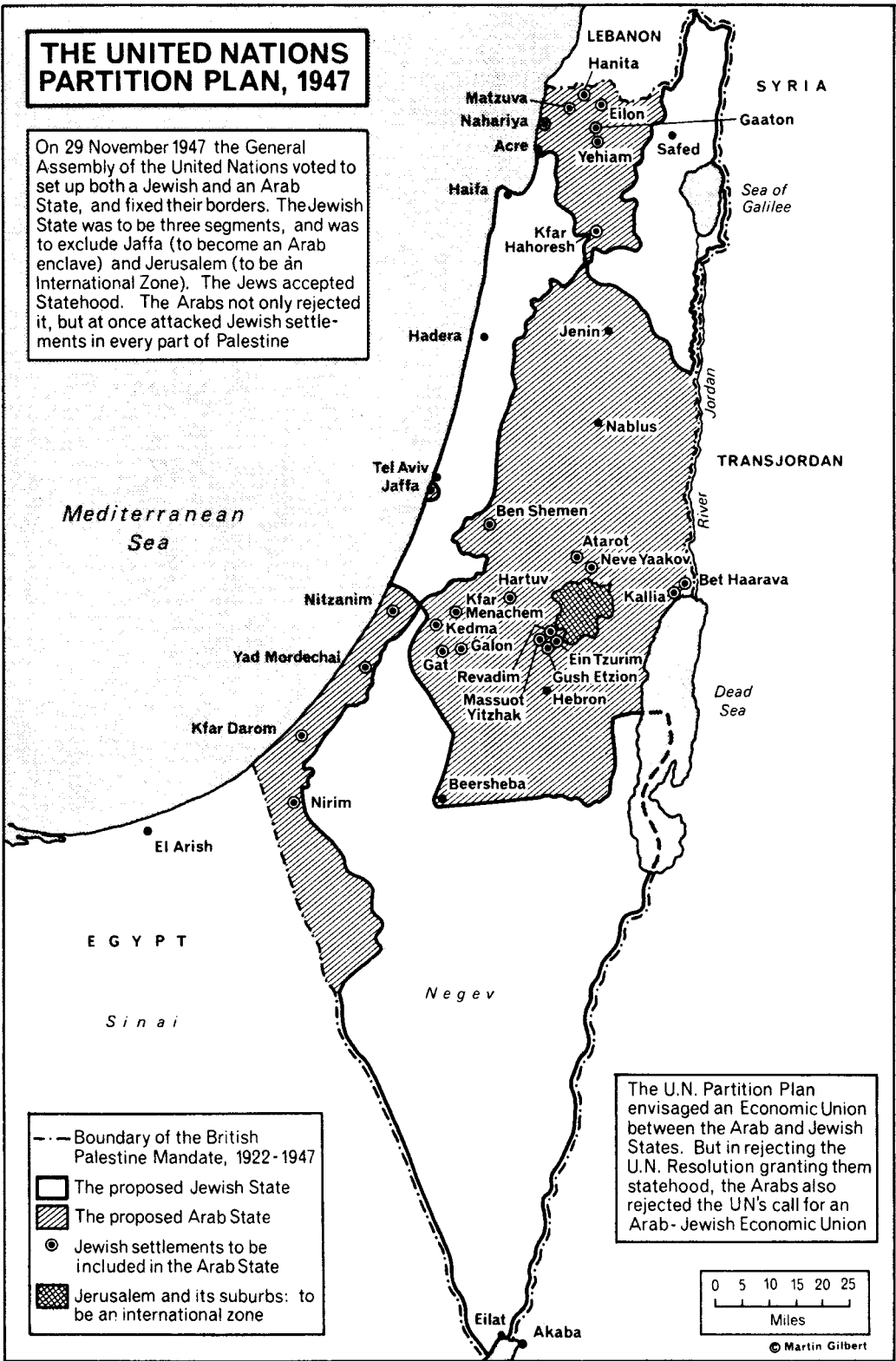
In 1946 the Jewish Agency put forward a new partition plan. As well as an Arab and a Jewish State, this plan envisaged that the Arabs would retain Jaffa as a coastal enclave, and Jerusalem would be put under international control. The Jewish Agency wanted both the Negev and the western shore of the Dead Sea to be within a Jewish State.

From December 1945 to April 1946 an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had examined the problem of Jewish immigration, and the position of those Jews who had survived Nazi persecution. The Committee had rejected the idea of the Partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish State, and had recommended 'bi-nationalism': a single State under continuing British control, with the immediate grant of 100,000 immigration certificates to Jews, and an end to the land purchase restrictions of 1940



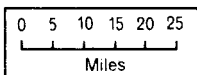
# THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN, 1947

On 29 November 1947 the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to set up both a Jewish and an Arab State, and fixed their borders. The Jewish State was to be three segments, and was to exclude Jaffa (to become an Arab enclave) and Jerusalem (to be an International Zone). The Jews accepted Statehood. The Arabs not only rejected it, but at once attacked Jewish settlements in every part of Palestine



--- Boundary of the British Palestine Mandate, 1922-1947  
 □ The proposed Jewish State  
 ▨ The proposed Arab State  
 ● Jewish settlements to be included in the Arab State  
 ■ Jerusalem and its suburbs: to be an international zone

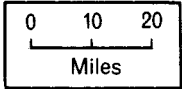
The U.N. Partition Plan envisaged an Economic Union between the Arab and Jewish States. But in rejecting the U.N. Resolution granting them statehood, the Arabs also rejected the UN's call for an Arab-Jewish Economic Union



© Martin Gilbert

# THE IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN

## 30 NOVEMBER - 11 DECEMBER 1947



2 Dec 1 Jew killed by Arab rioters  
 7 Dec 1 Jew killed by Arabs. 1 Arab killed after Arabs attack Jews  
 8 Dec 5 Jews, 1 Arab and 1 British policeman killed  
 9 Dec 2 Jews, 2 Arabs killed after an Arab boy threw a grenade at a Jewish shop  
 11 Dec Jews attack Arab quarter, 6 Arabs and 1 Jew killed

30 Nov 7 Jews murdered by Arabs who attacked Jerusalem-bound buses  
 2 Dec 3 Jews killed  
 7 Dec 4 Jews and 1 Arab killed  
 8 Dec 6 Jews murdered  
 11 Dec 1 Jew killed when Arabs attack Jewish convoy

2 Dec 2 Arabs killed  
 9 Dec 2 Jewish guards killed

2 Dec 1 Jew killed by Arabs

9 Dec A Jewish watchman killed by Arabs

9 Dec 6 teenage Jews (one a girl) murdered by an Arab mob

11 Dec Arabs attack a Jewish convoy on the Jerusalem-Hebron road. 10 Jews killed

In the twelve days following the United Nations Partition plan, 79 Jews were killed by Arabs throughout Palestine. The British, who were still responsible for law and order, did not always enforce it. Sometimes they would disarm a Jewish defence group, which would then be attacked by armed Arabs. The Jews defended themselves, and in places counter-attacked. During this same period, 32 Arabs were killed, some by Jews and some by the British police

On 1 December 1947 an Arab mob in Beirut (Lebanon) attacked Jewish houses and synagogues, which were looted and burned. On 9 December an Arab mob in Aden attacked the Jewish community there, killing 82 Jews. During the fighting, 34 Arabs were killed

4 Dec 1 Jew killed

4 Dec 1 Arab killed

6 Dec Arabs kill 8 Jews  
 7 Dec Arabs kill 5 Jews  
 8 Dec 4 Jews killed or burnt alive, during an Arab attack

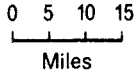
6 Dec Arabs attack a Jewish settlement; 8 Arabs killed

7 Dec Arabs ambush a Jewish bus. A Jewish girl of 19 killed

2 Dec A mob of 200 Arabs loot Jewish shops, smash windows of houses and stab passers-by. 6 Jews seriously injured  
 3 Dec 1 Jew killed by Arabs in the Old City  
 4 Dec Arabs attack a Jewish synagogue: 1 Jew wounded, 1 Arab killed  
 7 Dec 2 Jews killed by Arab snipers  
 8 Dec 2 Jews stabbed to death  
 11 Dec Arabs attempt to drive the Jews from the Old City. The Jews defend themselves. 3 Arabs and 1 Jew killed

*Arabs and Moslems throughout the world will obstruct it, and all Asia with its thousand million people will oppose it*  
 THE SYRIAN DELEGATE TO THE UN, ON THE UN PARTITION PLAN 30 NOV 1947

*Jews will take all measures to protect themselves*  
 THE JEWISH NATIONAL COUNCIL, 3 DEC 1947



## ARAB ATTACKS AND THE JEWISH REACTION 12-23 DECEMBER 1947

Arab attacks on Jews continued unabated from 12 December 1947 until the end of the year. At the same time, there was an increase in the number of Jewish terrorist reprisals. The Jewish Agency opposed these reprisals, which it denounced on 13 December, as 'spectacular exploits to gratify popular feeling'; its own defence force, the Haganah confined its activities to defending Jewish settlements and to repulsing Arab attacks

**13 Dec** 13 Arabs killed by Jewish terrorists. 1 Jew killed by Arabs  
**19 Dec** 1 Jew killed by Arabs after wandering into the Arab quarter  
**24 Dec** 4 Jews killed by Arab snipers. 4 Arabs killed as reprisals

**13 Dec** 13 Arabs killed by Jewish terrorists  
**22 Dec** 2 Arabs killed while attacking Jewish homes

**22 Dec** 2 Jews killed by Arabs. 1 Arab killed in reprisal

**14 Dec** 1 Jew and 1 Arab killed

**13 Dec** 1 Jew killed in an Arab attack

**20 Dec** 1 Arab killed as reprisal for repeated Arab attacks on Jewish road traffic

**13 Dec** 3 Jews killed beating off an Arab attack

**16 Dec** 1 Jew killed in an Arab attack

**12 Dec** 3 Jews murdered, 4 missing after Arab attack

**12 Dec** 3 Jews killed by Arabs while inspecting a water pipe

**20 Dec** 1 Lebanese and 1 Syrian Arab killed by Jewish terrorists

**15 Dec** 2 Arabs killed during their attack on Jewish farms

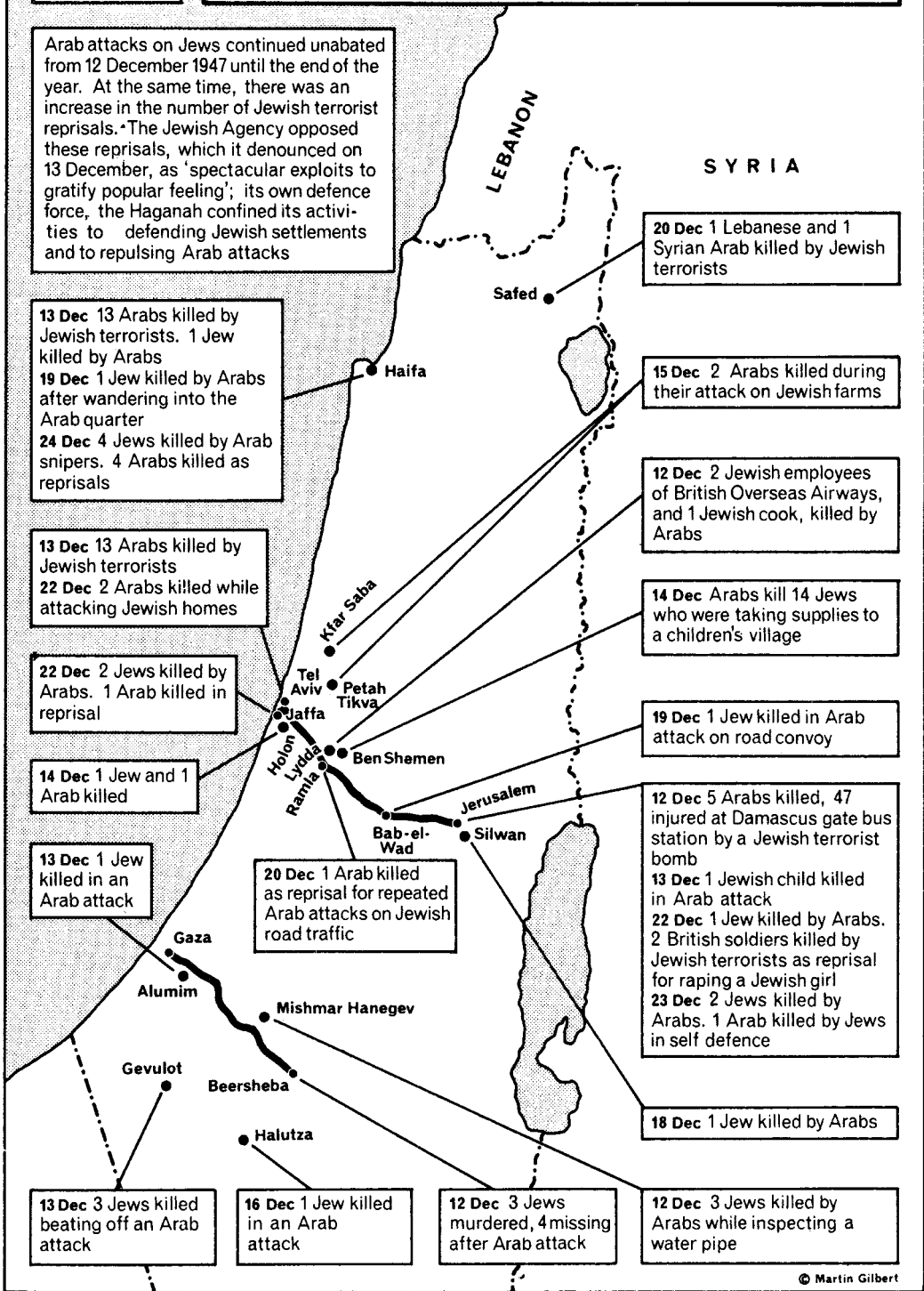
**12 Dec** 2 Jewish employees of British Overseas Airways, and 1 Jewish cook, killed by Arabs

**14 Dec** Arabs kill 14 Jews who were taking supplies to a children's village

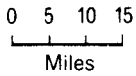
**19 Dec** 1 Jew killed in Arab attack on road convoy

**12 Dec** 5 Arabs killed, 47 injured at Damascus gate bus station by a Jewish terrorist bomb  
**13 Dec** 1 Jewish child killed in Arab attack  
**22 Dec** 1 Jew killed by Arabs. 2 British soldiers killed by Jewish terrorists as reprisal for raping a Jewish girl  
**23 Dec** 2 Jews killed by Arabs. 1 Arab killed by Jews in self defence

**18 Dec** 1 Jew killed by Arabs



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# ARAB ATTACKS AND THE JEWISH REACTION 24 - 31 DECEMBER 1947

In the twenty days between the 12th and 31st December, one hundred and twenty six Jews were killed by Arabs. More than 30 Arabs were killed while attacking Jewish settlements, and over 60 Arabs were killed as reprisals by terrorists

**24 Dec** 4 Jews killed by Arab snipers; 4 Arabs killed in counterattack  
**27 Dec** 2 Jews killed by Arabs. 1 Arab killed in counterattack  
**30 Dec** 6 Arabs killed by a Jewish terrorist bomb. Thirty-nine Jewish workmen killed by Arabs as a reprisal  
**31 Dec** 1 Jew shot dead by an Arab sniper

**25 Dec** 10 Arabs and 2 Jews killed in battle between Arabs and Jews

**24 Dec** 1 Jewish watchman killed by Arabs

**27 Dec** 2 Jews killed during an Arab attack on a Jewish convoy

**24 Dec** 3 Arabs killed by Jews while trying to damage a water pipeline

**25 Dec** 2 Jewish guards killed by Arabs  
**27 Dec** 1 Jew killed in an Arab attack  
**1 Arab** killed when attack beaten off  
**28 Dec** 1 Arab killed during attack on Jews  
**29 Dec** 3 Jews killed by Arab mortar fire.  
**1 Jew** killed by Arab snipers

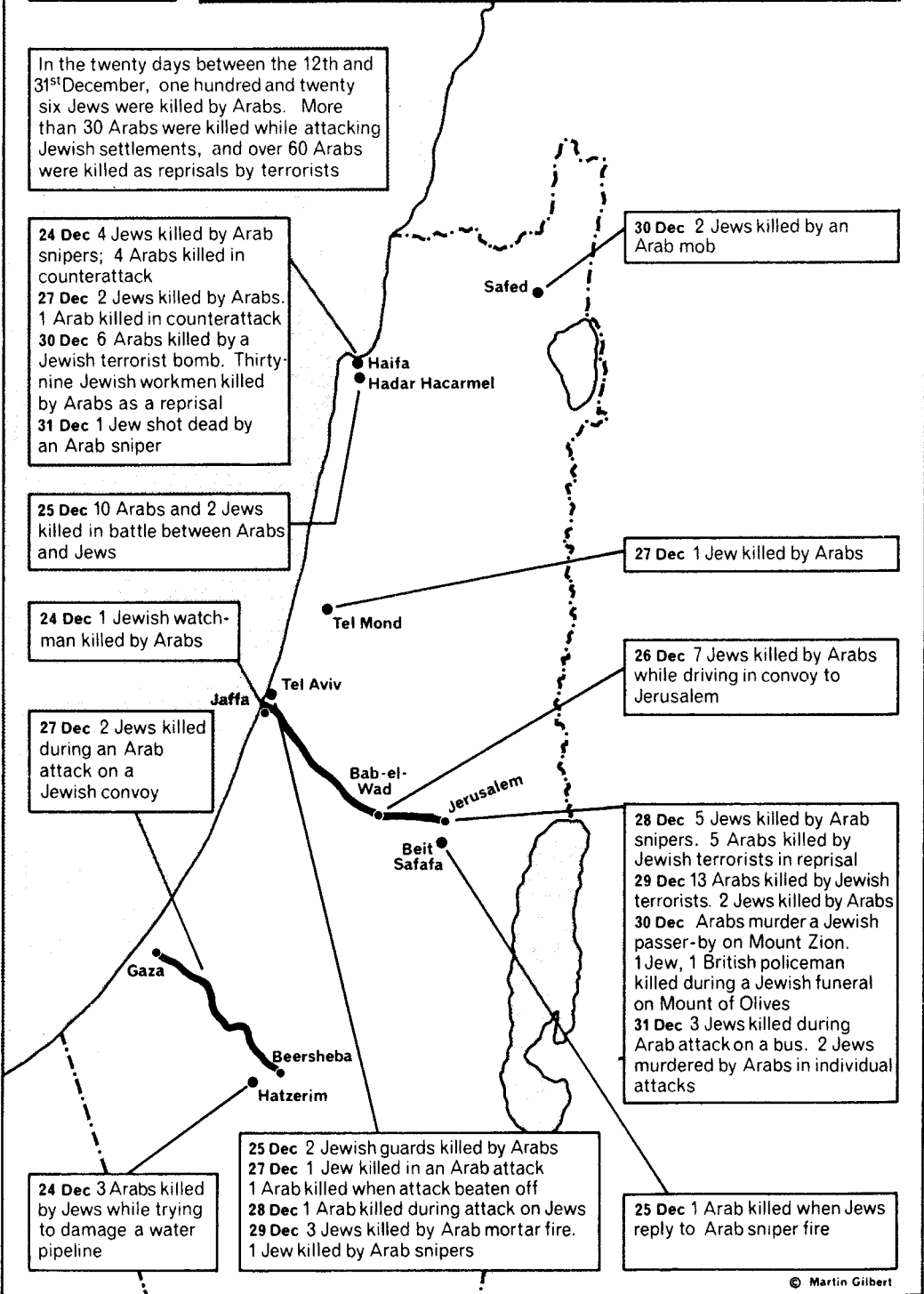
**30 Dec** 2 Jews killed by an Arab mob

**27 Dec** 1 Jew killed by Arabs

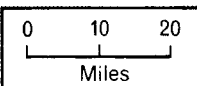
**26 Dec** 7 Jews killed by Arabs while driving in convoy to Jerusalem

**28 Dec** 5 Jews killed by Arab snipers. 5 Arabs killed by Jewish terrorists in reprisal  
**29 Dec** 13 Arabs killed by Jewish terrorists. 2 Jews killed by Arabs  
**30 Dec** Arabs murder a Jewish passer-by on Mount Zion. 1 Jew, 1 British policeman killed during a Jewish funeral on Mount of Olives  
**31 Dec** 3 Jews killed during Arab attack on a bus. 2 Jews murdered by Arabs in individual attacks

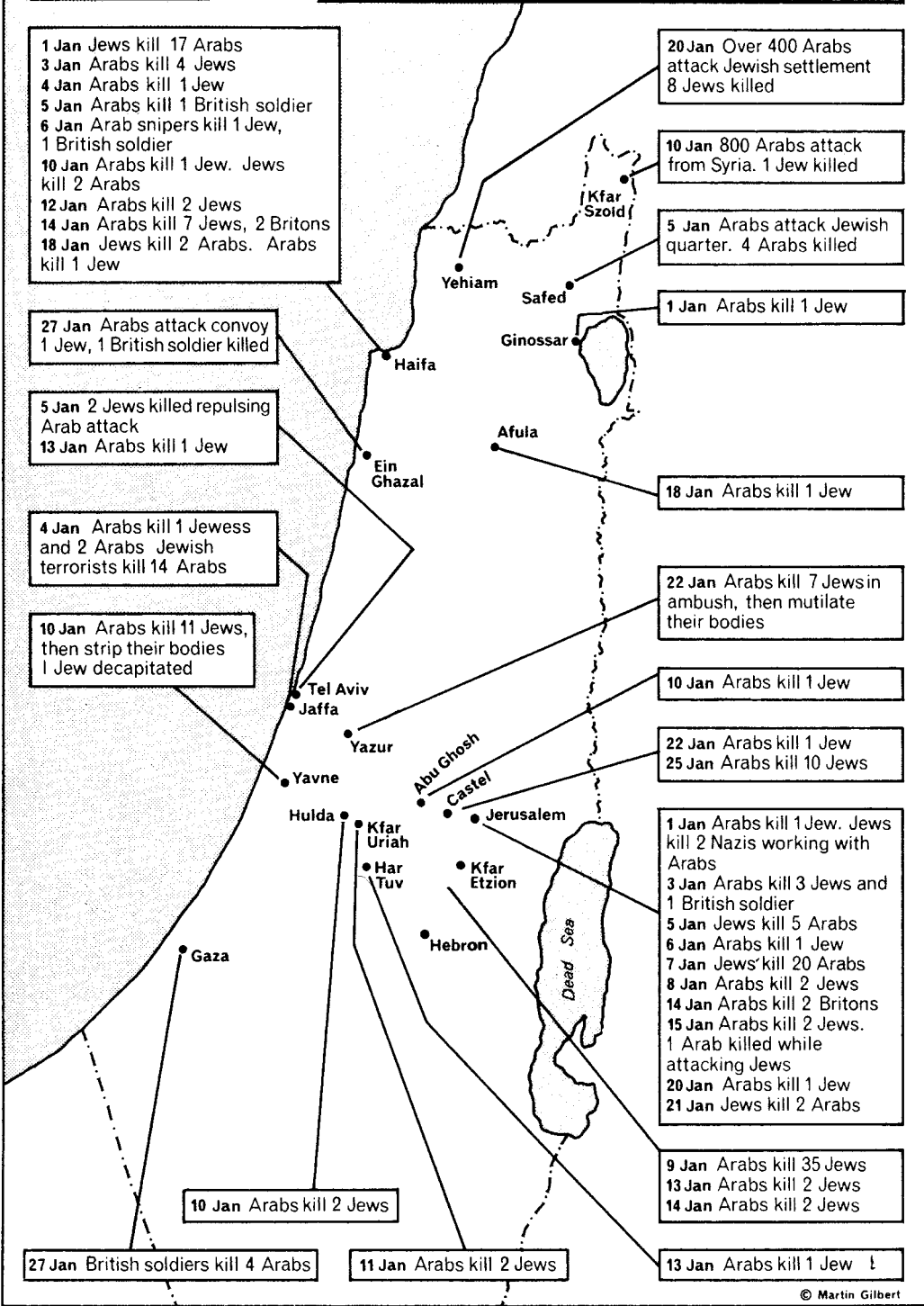
**25 Dec** 1 Arab killed when Jews reply to Arab sniper fire







# ISRAEL: PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE JANUARY 1948



1 Jan Jews kill 17 Arabs  
 3 Jan Arabs kill 4 Jews  
 4 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew  
 5 Jan Arabs kill 1 British soldier  
 6 Jan Arab snipers kill 1 Jew,  
 1 British soldier  
 10 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew. Jews  
 kill 2 Arabs  
 12 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews  
 14 Jan Arabs kill 7 Jews, 2 Britons  
 18 Jan Jews kill 2 Arabs. Arabs  
 kill 1 Jew

27 Jan Arabs attack convoy  
 1 Jew, 1 British soldier killed

5 Jan 2 Jews killed repulsing  
 Arab attack  
 13 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew

4 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jewess  
 and 2 Arabs Jewish  
 terrorists kill 14 Arabs

10 Jan Arabs kill 11 Jews,  
 then strip their bodies  
 1 Jew decapitated

20 Jan Over 400 Arabs  
 attack Jewish settlement  
 8 Jews killed

10 Jan 800 Arabs attack  
 from Syria. 1 Jew killed

5 Jan Arabs attack Jewish  
 quarter. 4 Arabs killed

1 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew

18 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew

22 Jan Arabs kill 7 Jews in  
 ambush, then mutilate  
 their bodies

10 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew

22 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew  
 25 Jan Arabs kill 10 Jews

1 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew. Jews  
 kill 2 Nazis working with  
 Arabs  
 3 Jan Arabs kill 3 Jews and  
 1 British soldier  
 5 Jan Jews kill 5 Arabs  
 6 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew  
 7 Jan Jews kill 20 Arabs  
 8 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews  
 14 Jan Arabs kill 2 Britons  
 15 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews.  
 1 Arab killed while  
 attacking Jews  
 20 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew  
 21 Jan Jews kill 2 Arabs

9 Jan Arabs kill 35 Jews  
 13 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews  
 14 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews

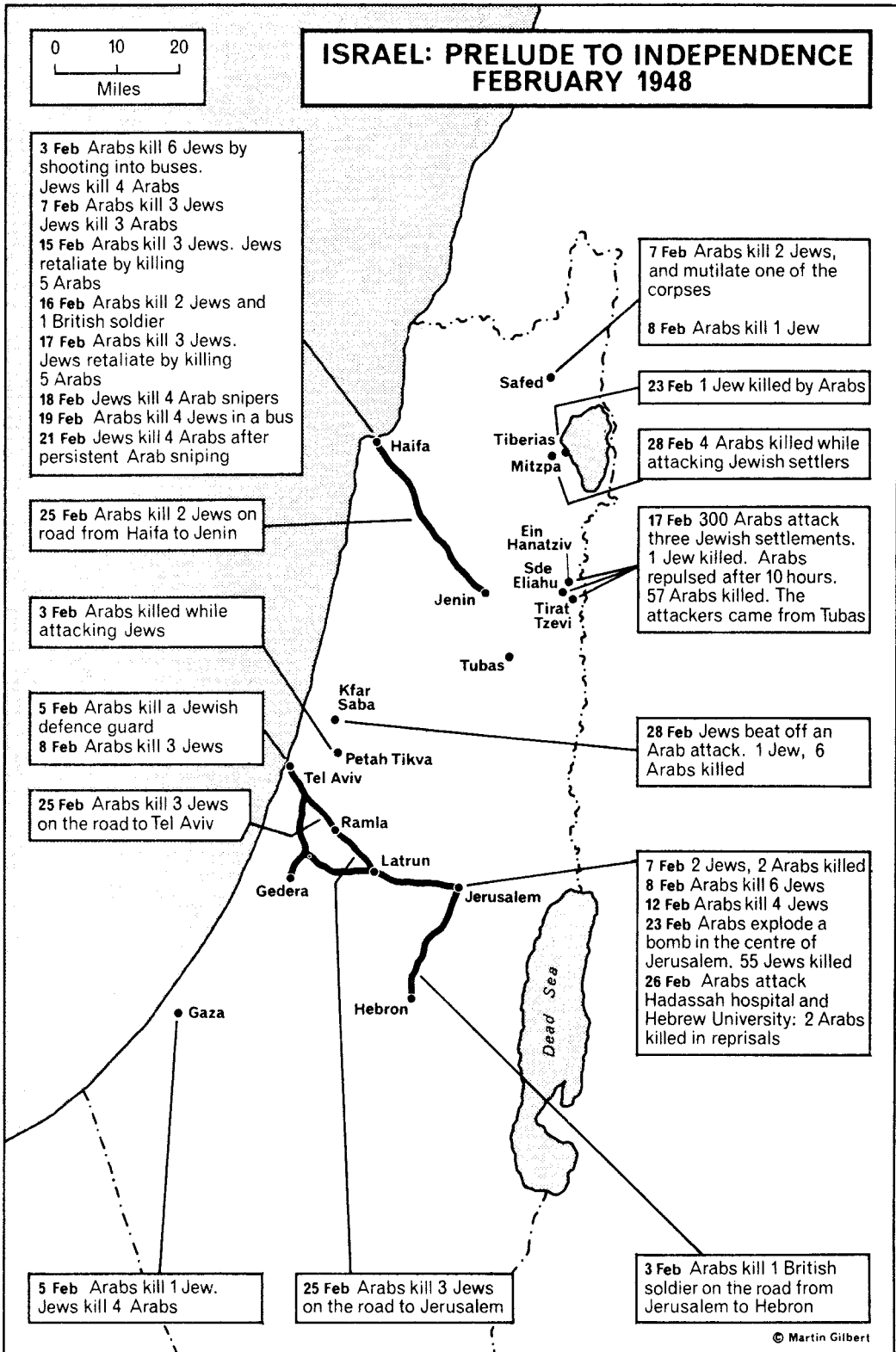
10 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews

27 Jan British soldiers kill 4 Arabs

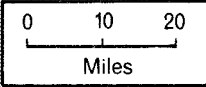
11 Jan Arabs kill 2 Jews

13 Jan Arabs kill 1 Jew

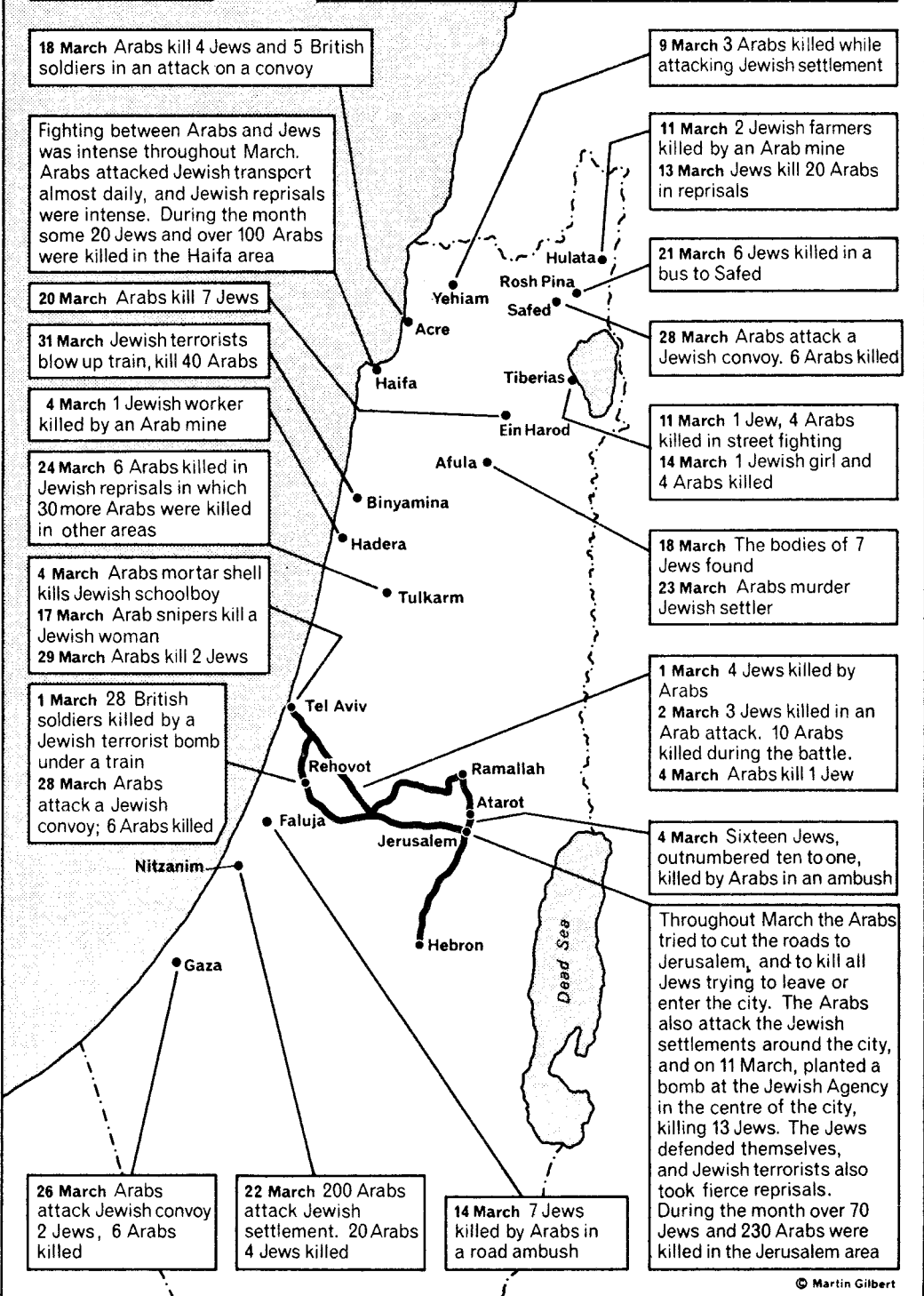
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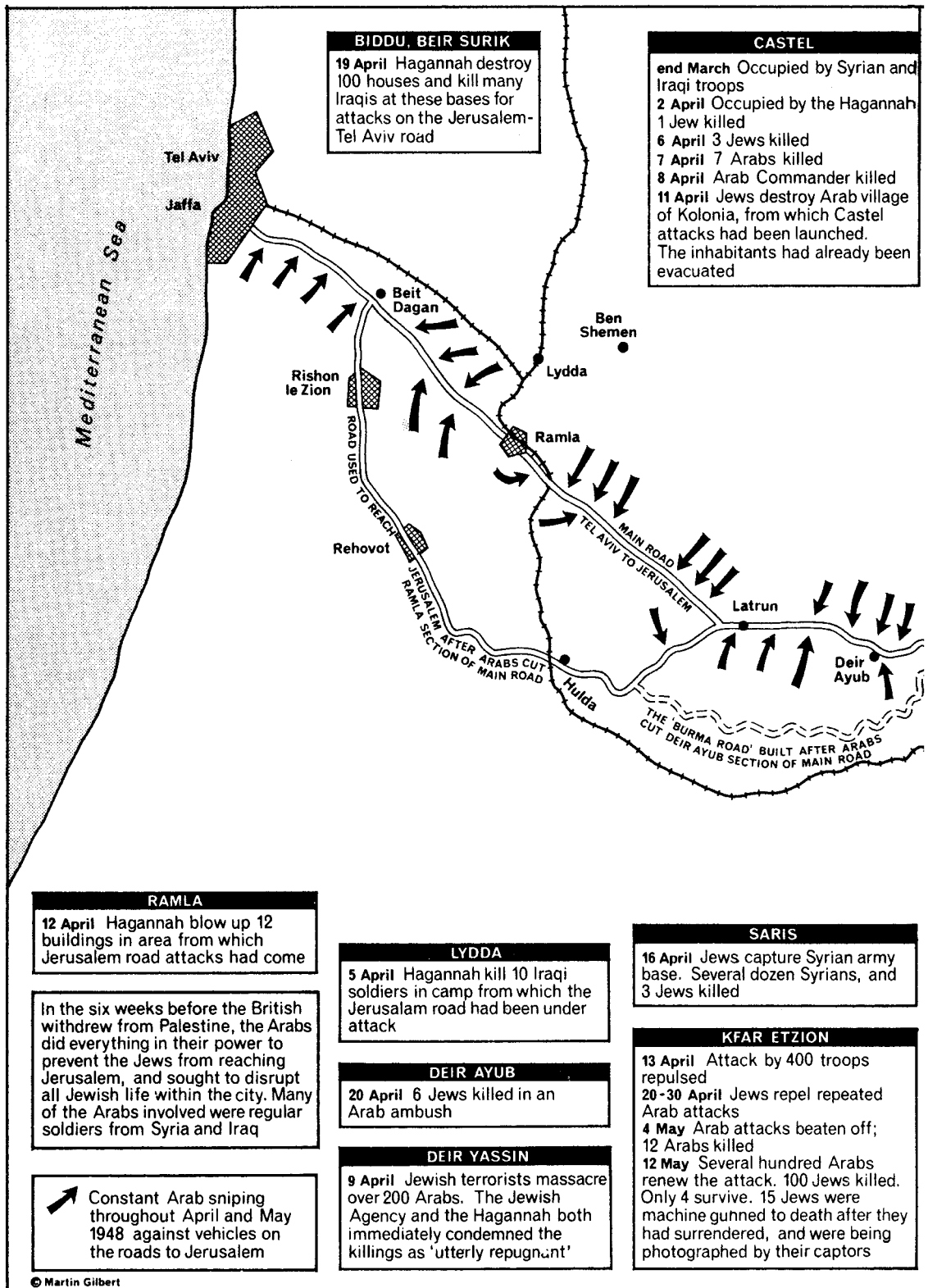
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# ISRAEL: PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE MARCH 1948



© Martin Gilbert



# THE BATTLE FOR THE JERUSALEM ROADS 1 APRIL - 14 MAY 1948

## NEBI SAMUEL

24 April Jews attack base of Arab raids on both the Ramallah and Tel Aviv roads.  
25 Jews, 6 Arabs killed

## NEVE YAAKOV

18 April 1 Jew killed in heavy Arab attack on settlement  
19 April Jews attack Shuafat base for the attack on Neve Yaakov

## SHEIKH JARRAH

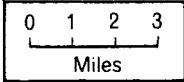
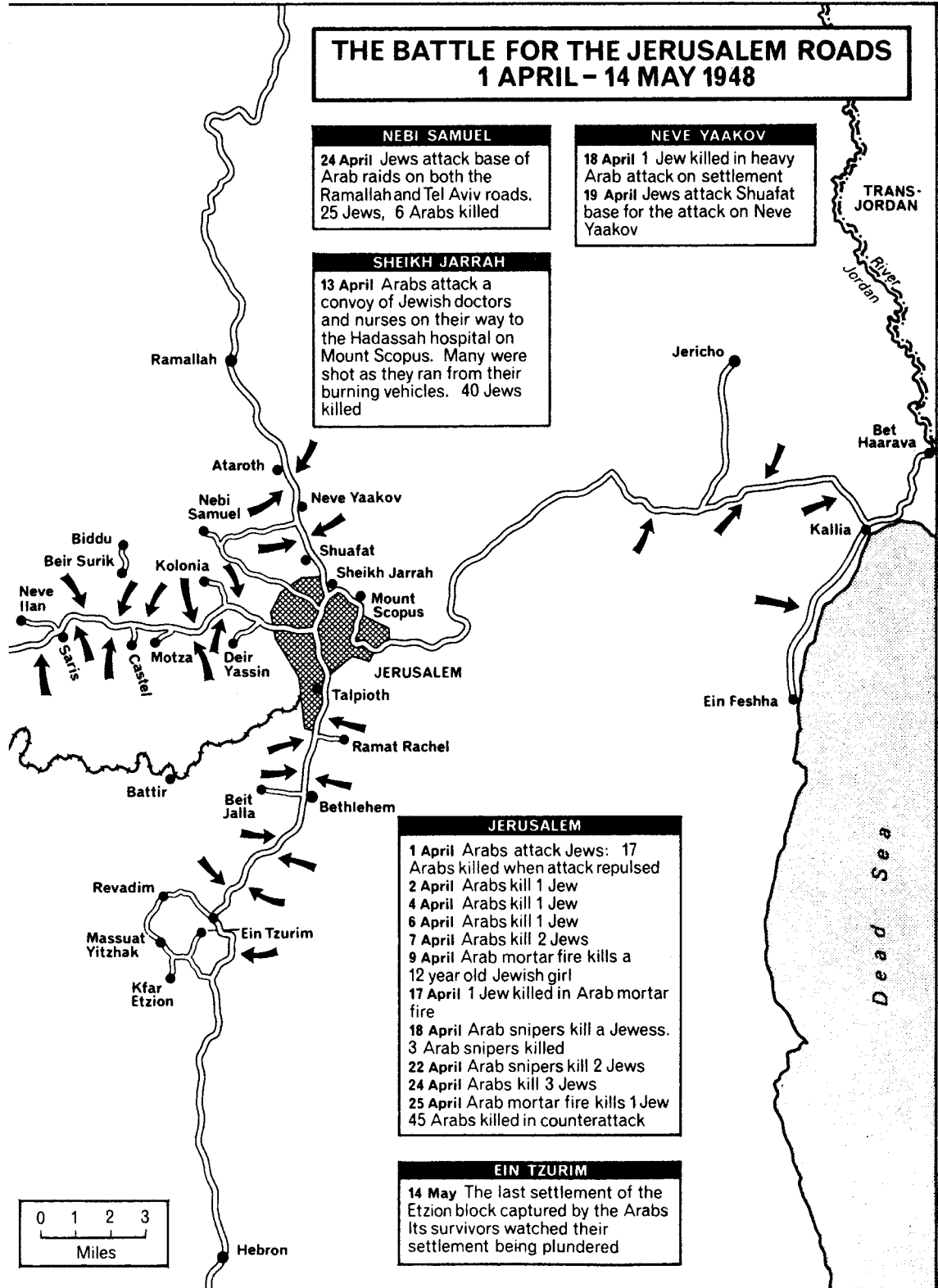
13 April Arabs attack a convoy of Jewish doctors and nurses on their way to the Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus. Many were shot as they ran from their burning vehicles. 40 Jews killed

## JERUSALEM

1 April Arabs attack Jews: 17 Arabs killed when attack repulsed  
2 April Arabs kill 1 Jew  
4 April Arabs kill 1 Jew  
6 April Arabs kill 1 Jew  
7 April Arabs kill 2 Jews  
9 April Arab mortar fire kills a 12 year old Jewish girl  
17 April 1 Jew killed in Arab mortar fire  
18 April Arab snipers kill a Jewess. 3 Arab snipers killed  
22 April Arab snipers kill 2 Jews  
24 April Arabs kill 3 Jews  
25 April Arab mortar fire kills 1 Jew  
45 Arabs killed in counterattack

## EIN TZURIM

14 May The last settlement of the Etzion block captured by the Arabs  
Its survivors watched their settlement being plundered



# ISRAEL: PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE 1 APRIL - 14 MAY 1948

At the beginning of April, spasmodic fighting ended, and Arab military units from Syria, Iraq, and Egypt increased their efforts to drive the Jews from the Galilee and the Negev. The Jews defended their settlements with tenacity. As the British withdrew from the towns, the Arabs and Jews fought to control them. The Jews took over Tiberias (19 April), Haifa (23 April), Acre (26 April), Safed (11 May) and Jaffa (12 May)

*The Jewish attack was a direct consequence of continuous attacks by Arabs on Jews in Haifa over the previous four days. The attack was carried out by the Haganah and there was no massacre.*  
THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER  
24 APRIL 1948

*I do not mind the destruction of Jaffa if we can achieve the destruction of Tel Aviv.*  
THE IRAQI OFFICER COMMANDING ARAB TROOPS IN JAFFA, APRIL 1948

10 May Jews repulse three thousand Syrian and Iraqi troops in house-to-house fighting

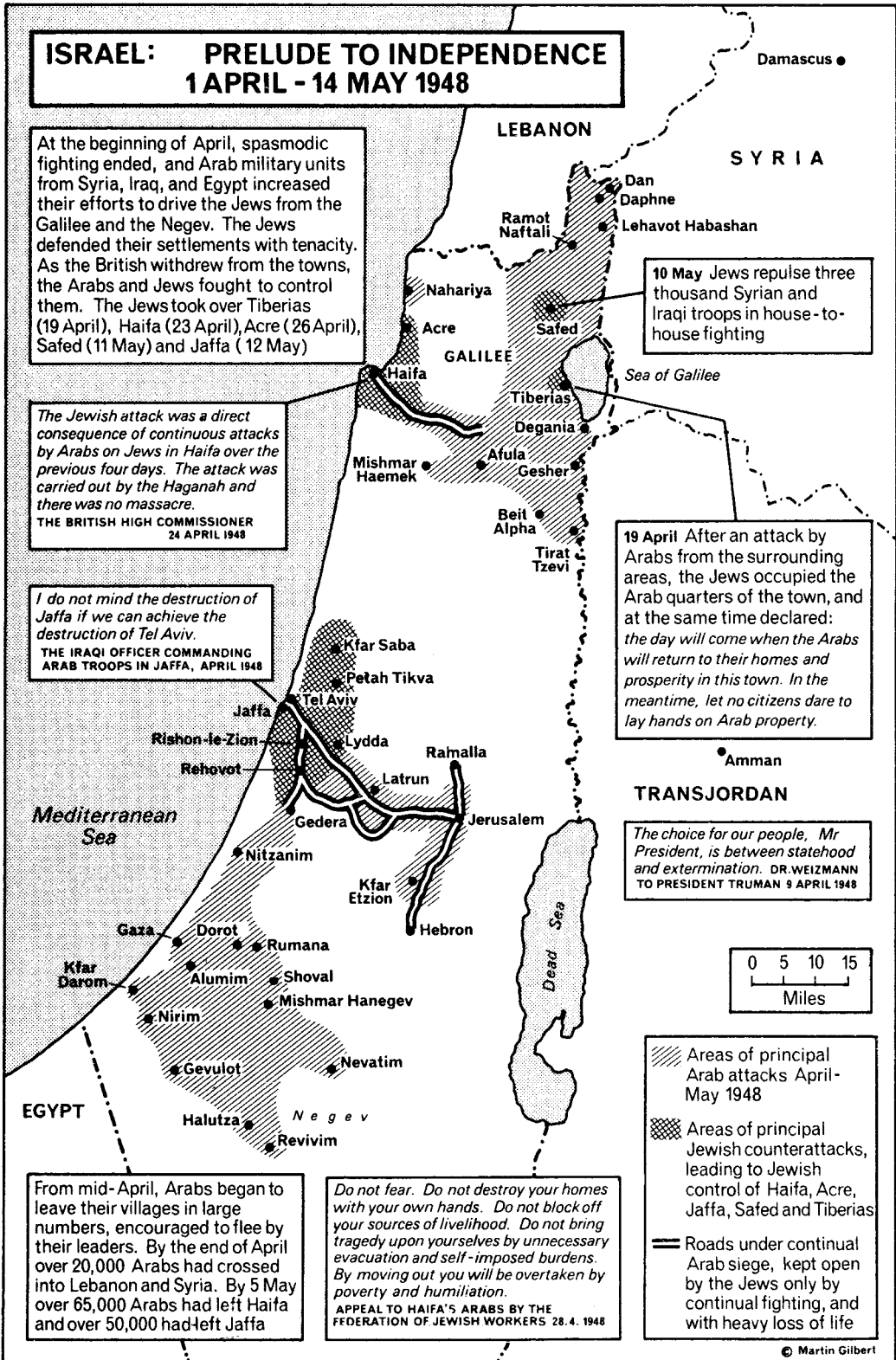
19 April After an attack by Arabs from the surrounding areas, the Jews occupied the Arab quarters of the town, and at the same time declared: *the day will come when the Arabs will return to their homes and prosperity in this town. In the meantime, let no citizens dare to lay hands on Arab property.*

*The choice for our people, Mr President, is between statehood and extermination.* DR. WEIZMANN TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN 9 APRIL 1948

From mid-April, Arabs began to leave their villages in large numbers, encouraged to flee by their leaders. By the end of April over 20,000 Arabs had crossed into Lebanon and Syria. By 5 May over 65,000 Arabs had left Haifa and over 50,000 had left Jaffa






*Do not fear. Do not destroy your homes with your own hands. Do not block off your sources of livelihood. Do not bring tragedy upon yourselves by unnecessary evacuation and self-imposed burdens. By moving out you will be overtaken by poverty and humiliation.*  
APPEAL TO HAIFA'S ARABS BY THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH WORKERS 28.4.1948

-  Areas of principal Arab attacks April-May 1948
-  Areas of principal Jewish counterattacks, leading to Jewish control of Haifa, Acre, Jaffa, Safed and Tiberias
-  Roads under continual Arab siege, kept open by the Jews only by continual fighting, and with heavy loss of life

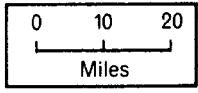
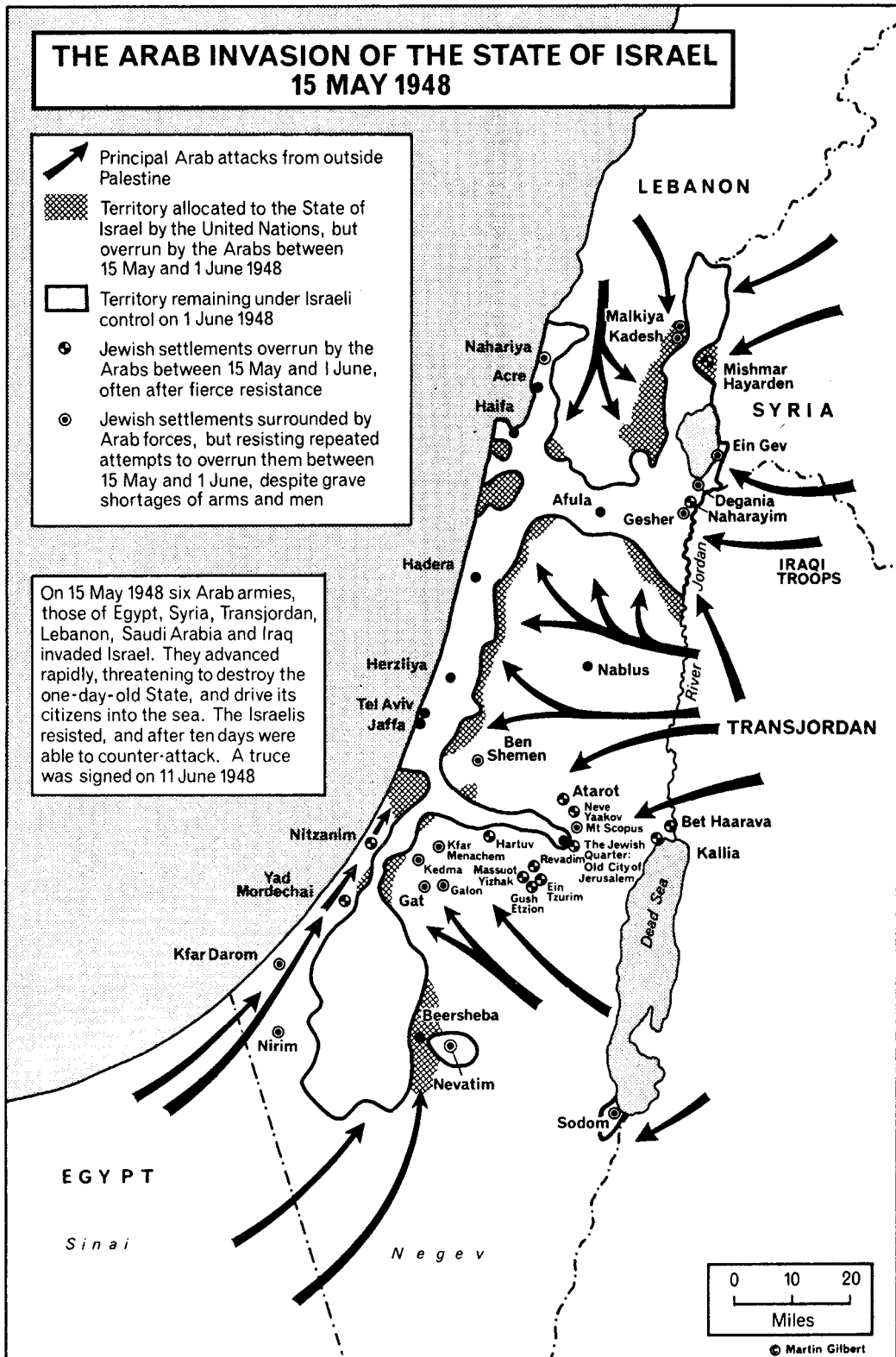


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# THE ARAB INVASION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL 15 MAY 1948

-  Principal Arab attacks from outside Palestine
-  Territory allocated to the State of Israel by the United Nations, but overrun by the Arabs between 15 May and 1 June 1948
-  Territory remaining under Israeli control on 1 June 1948
-  Jewish settlements overrun by the Arabs between 15 May and 1 June, often after fierce resistance
-  Jewish settlements surrounded by Arab forces, but resisting repeated attempts to overrun them between 15 May and 1 June, despite grave shortages of arms and men

On 15 May 1948 six Arab armies, those of Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Iraq invaded Israel. They advanced rapidly, threatening to destroy the one-day-old State, and drive its citizens into the sea. The Israelis resisted, and after ten days were able to counter-attack. A truce was signed on 11 June 1948



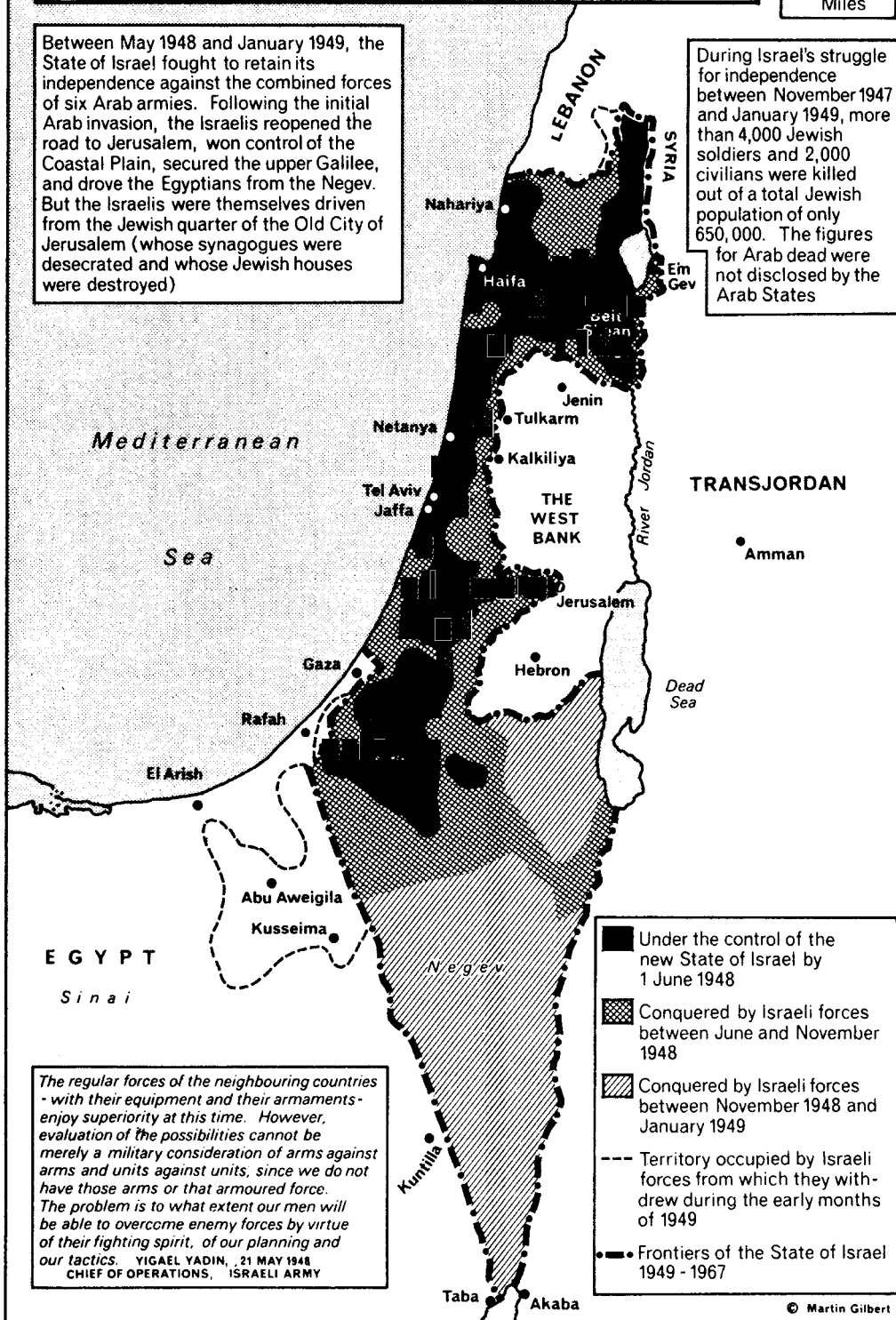
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# THE ISRAELI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1948 - 1949

0 5 10 15  
Miles

Between May 1948 and January 1949, the State of Israel fought to retain its independence against the combined forces of six Arab armies. Following the initial Arab invasion, the Israelis reopened the road to Jerusalem, won control of the Coastal Plain, secured the upper Galilee, and drove the Egyptians from the Negev. But the Israelis were themselves driven from the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem (whose synagogues were desecrated and whose Jewish houses were destroyed)

During Israel's struggle for independence between November 1947 and January 1949, more than 4,000 Jewish soldiers and 2,000 civilians were killed out of a total Jewish population of only 650,000. The figures for Arab dead were not disclosed by the Arab States






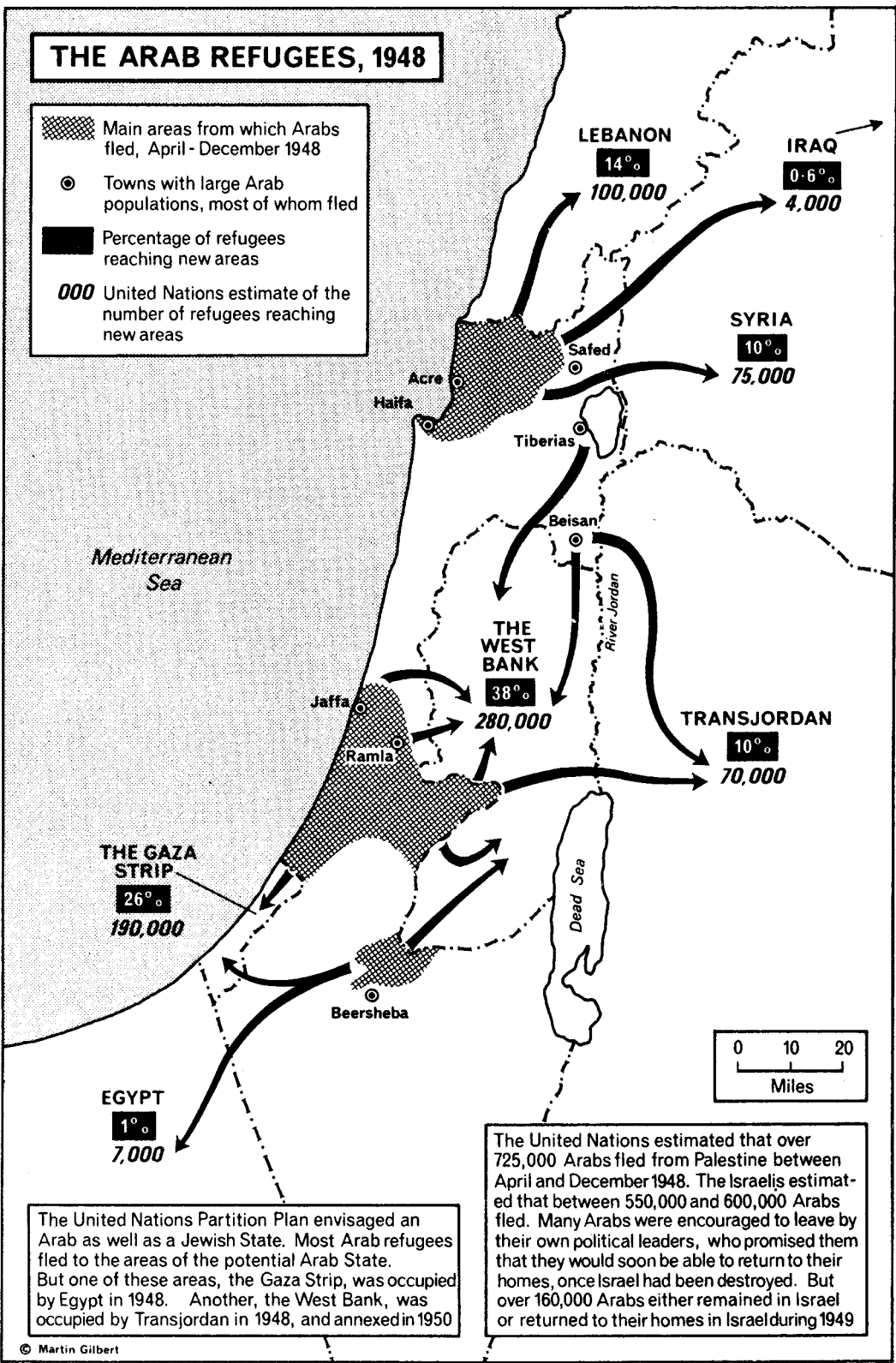
*The regular forces of the neighbouring countries - with their equipment and their armaments - enjoy superiority at this time. However, evaluation of the possibilities cannot be merely a military consideration of arms against arms and units against units, since we do not have those arms or that armoured force. The problem is to what extent our men will be able to overcome enemy forces by virtue of their fighting spirit, of our planning and our tactics.* YIGAL YADIN, 21 MAY 1948  
CHIEF OF OPERATIONS, ISRAELI ARMY

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# THE ARAB REFUGEES, 1948

-  Main areas from which Arabs fled, April - December 1948
-  Towns with large Arab populations, most of whom fled
-  Percentage of refugees reaching new areas
- 000** United Nations estimate of the number of refugees reaching new areas



The United Nations Partition Plan envisaged an Arab as well as a Jewish State. Most Arab refugees fled to the areas of the potential Arab State. But one of these areas, the Gaza Strip, was occupied by Egypt in 1948. Another, the West Bank, was occupied by Transjordan in 1948, and annexed in 1950

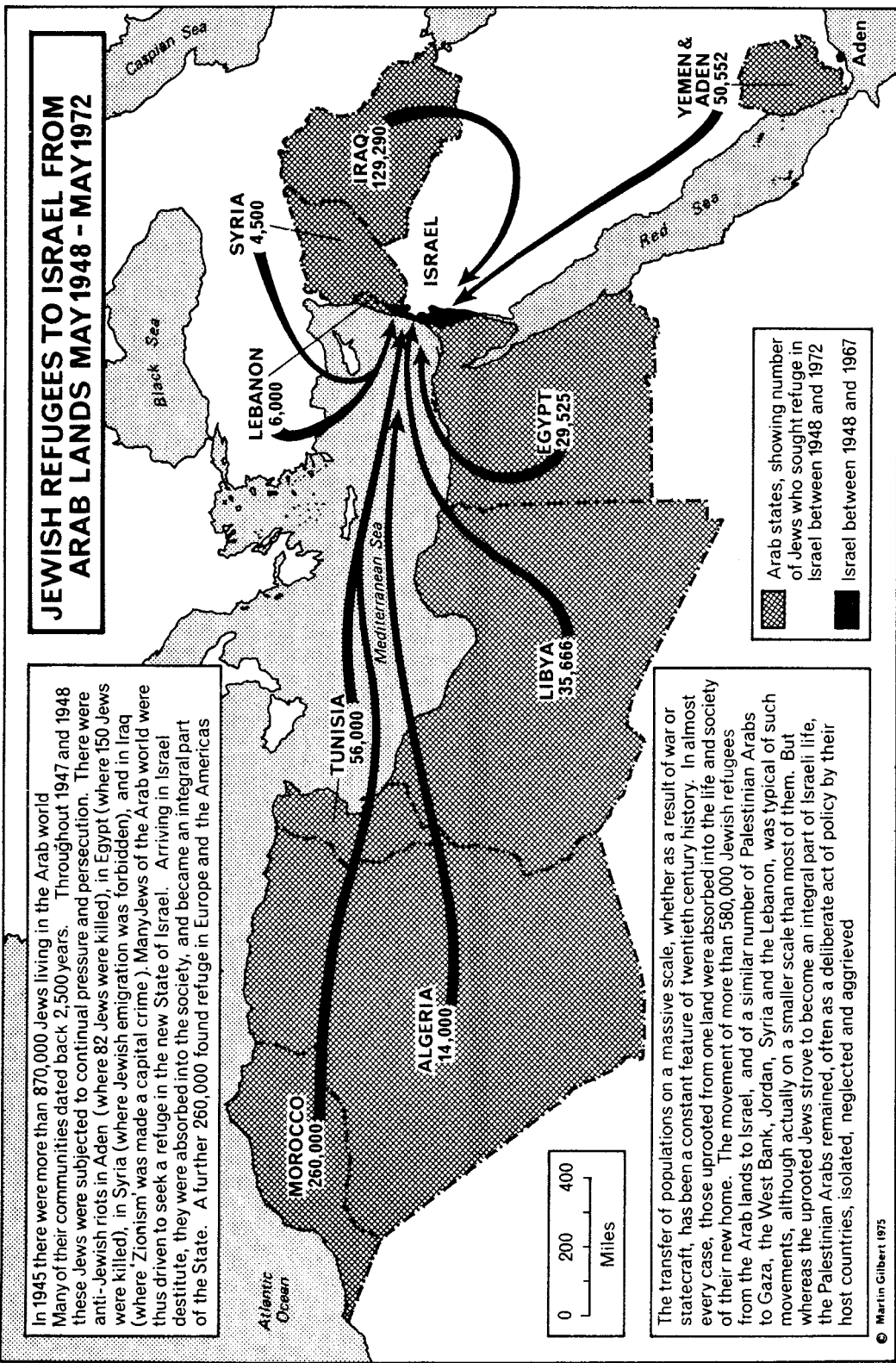
The United Nations estimated that over 725,000 Arabs fled from Palestine between April and December 1948. The Israelis estimated that between 550,000 and 600,000 Arabs fled. Many Arabs were encouraged to leave by their own political leaders, who promised them that they would soon be able to return to their homes, once Israel had been destroyed. But over 160,000 Arabs either remained in Israel or returned to their homes in Israel during 1949

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# JEWISH REFUGEES TO ISRAEL FROM ARAB LANDS MAY 1948 - MAY 1972

In 1945 there were more than 870,000 Jews living in the Arab world. Many of their communities dated back 2,500 years. Throughout 1947 and 1948 these Jews were subjected to continual pressure and persecution. There were anti-Jewish riots in Aden (where 82 Jews were killed), in Egypt (where 150 Jews were killed), in Syria (where Jewish emigration was forbidden), and in Iraq (where 'Zionism' was made a capital crime). Many Jews of the Arab world were thus driven to seek a refuge in the new State of Israel. Arriving in Israel destitute, they were absorbed into the society, and became an integral part of the State. A further 260,000 found refuge in Europe and the Americas

The transfer of populations on a massive scale, whether as a result of war or statecraft, has been a constant feature of twentieth century history. In almost every case, those uprooted from one land were absorbed into the life and society of their new home. The movement of more than 580,000 Jewish refugees from the Arab lands to Israel, and of a similar number of Palestinian Arabs to Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon, was typical of such movements, although actually on a smaller scale than most of them. But whereas the uprooted Jews strove to become an integral part of Israeli life, the Palestinian Arabs remained, often as a deliberate act of policy by their host countries, isolated, neglected and aggrieved

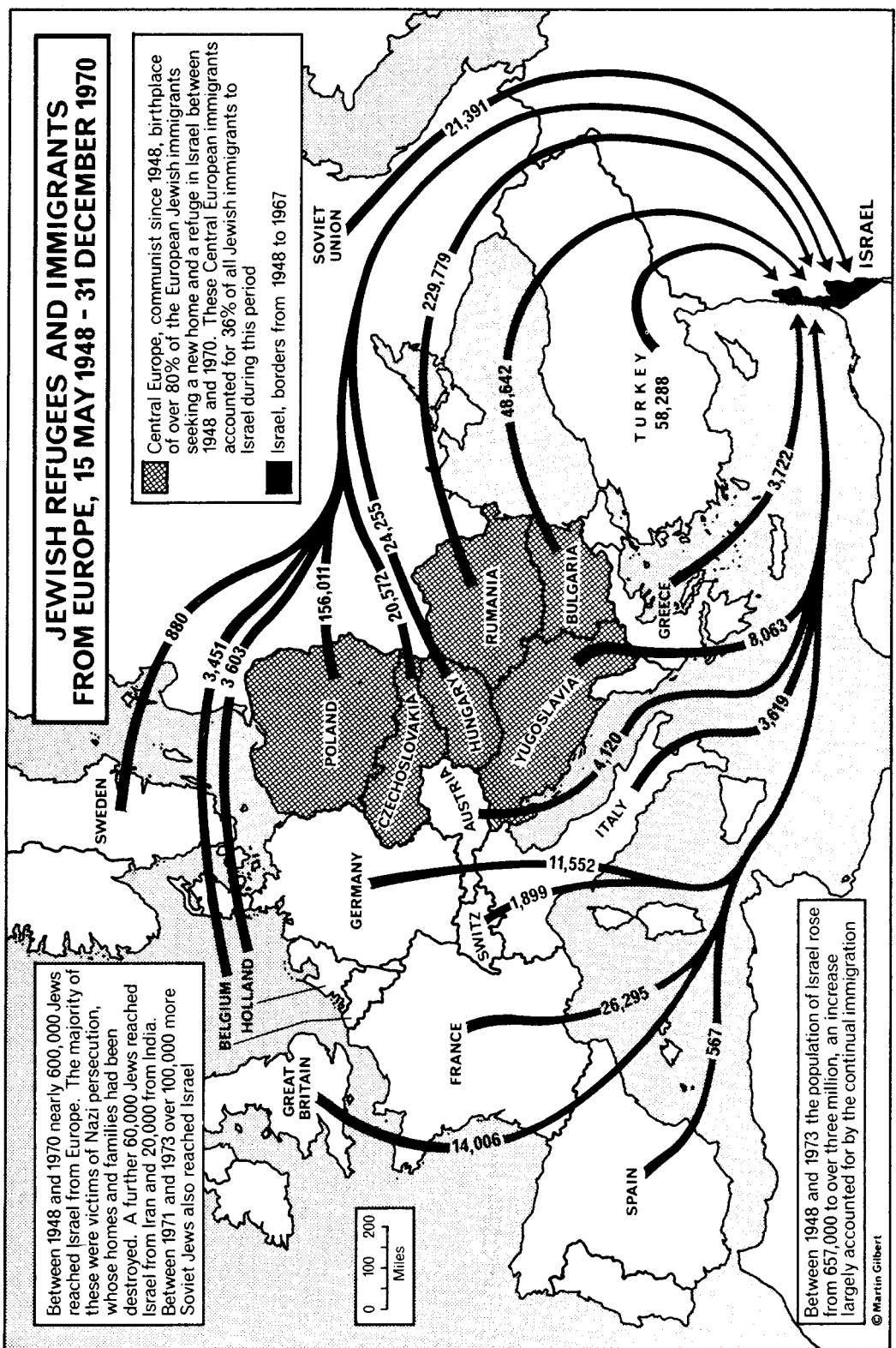
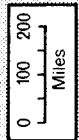


# JEWISH REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE, 15 MAY 1948 - 31 DECEMBER 1970

 Central Europe, communist since 1948, birthplace of over 80% of the European Jewish immigrants seeking a new home and a refuge in Israel between 1948 and 1970. These Central European immigrants accounted for 36% of all Jewish immigrants to Israel during this period  
 Israel, borders from 1948 to 1967

Between 1948 and 1970 nearly 600,000 Jews reached Israel from Europe. The majority of these were victims of Nazi persecution, whose homes and families had been destroyed. A further 60,000 Jews reached Israel from Iran and 20,000 from India. Between 1971 and 1973 over 100,000 more Soviet Jews also reached Israel.

Between 1948 and 1973 the population of Israel rose from 657,000 to over three million, an increase largely accounted for by the continual immigration



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## THE FRONTIERS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL 1949 – 1967

Following the Arab decision to invade Israel in May 1948, the Israelis not only defended the land allocated to them by the United Nations, but extended the area under their control. The frontiers established in 1949 remained the de facto borders until 1967. During these eighteen years none of Israel's four Arab neighbours agreed to make peace with her, or to recognize the permanent existence of her borders

Transjordan's annexation of the West Bank was opposed by the Arab League States and only recognized by two members of the United Nations, Britain and Pakistan

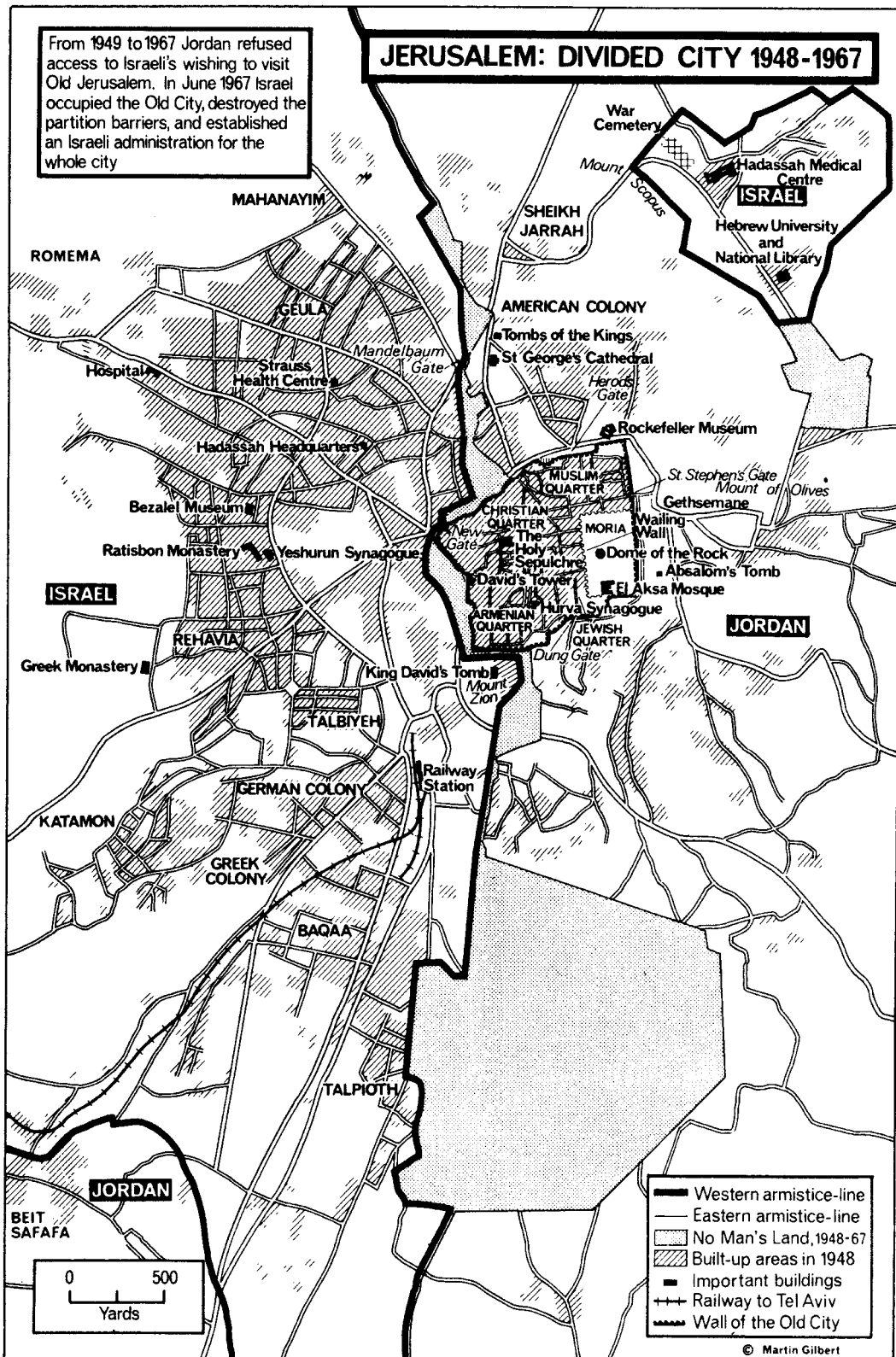


-  The territory of the State of Israel as proposed by the United Nations in November 1947, but rejected by the Arabs
-  Territory beyond the United Nations line, conquered by Israel, 1948 - 1949
-  The frontiers of the State of Israel according to the Armistice agreements of 1949, signed between Israel and Egypt (24 January), Israel and the Lebanon (23 March), Israel and Transjordan (3 April) and Israel and Syria (20 July). Transjordan had already occupied all Arab land west of the Jordan, formally annexing it in 1950, and renaming the whole area 'Jordan'

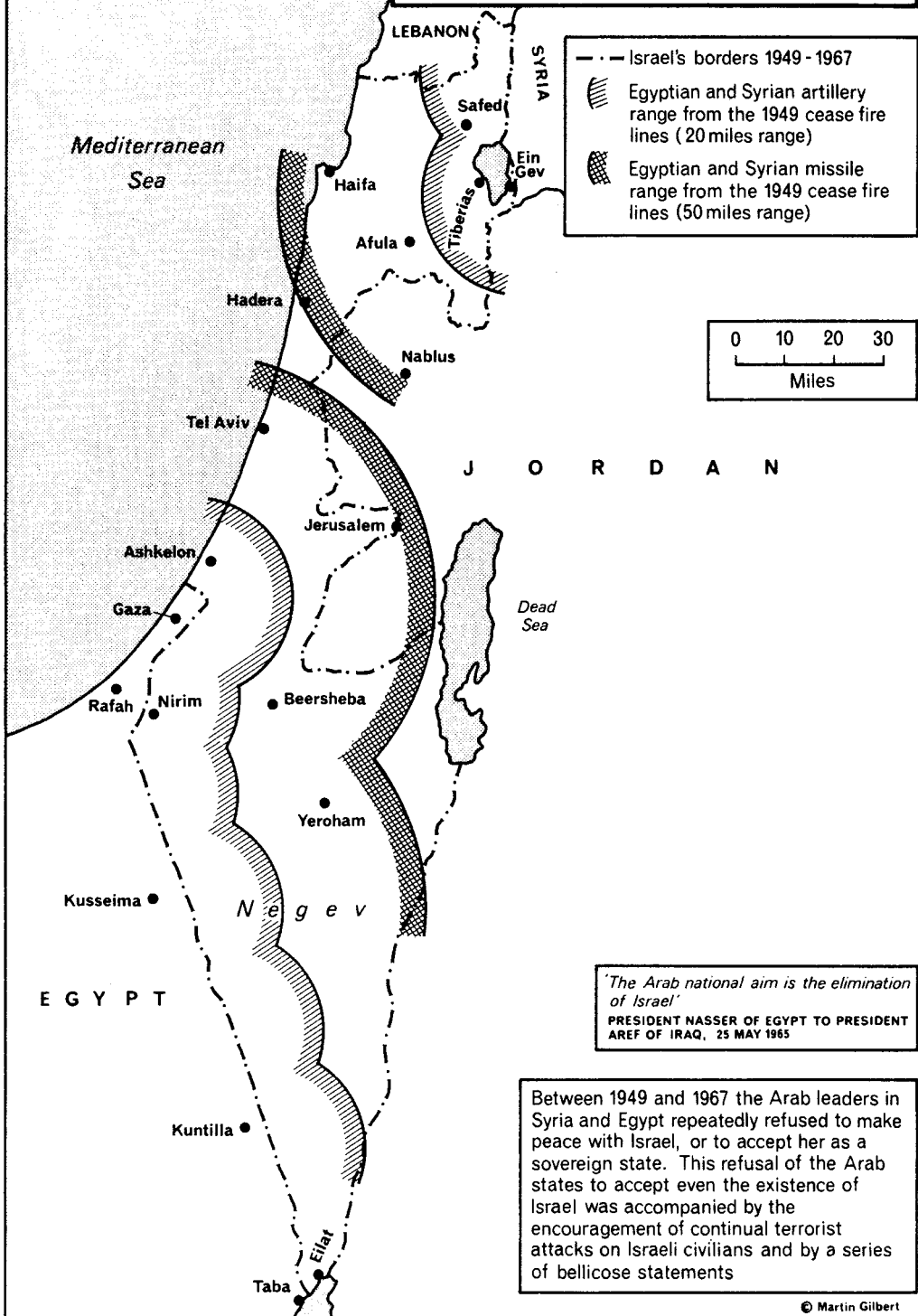
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# JERUSALEM: DIVIDED CITY 1948-1967

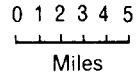
From 1949 to 1967 Jordan refused access to Israeli's wishing to visit Old Jerusalem. In June 1967 Israel occupied the Old City, destroyed the partition barriers, and established an Israeli administration for the whole city



# ISRAEL'S SENSE OF INSECURITY 1949 - 1967

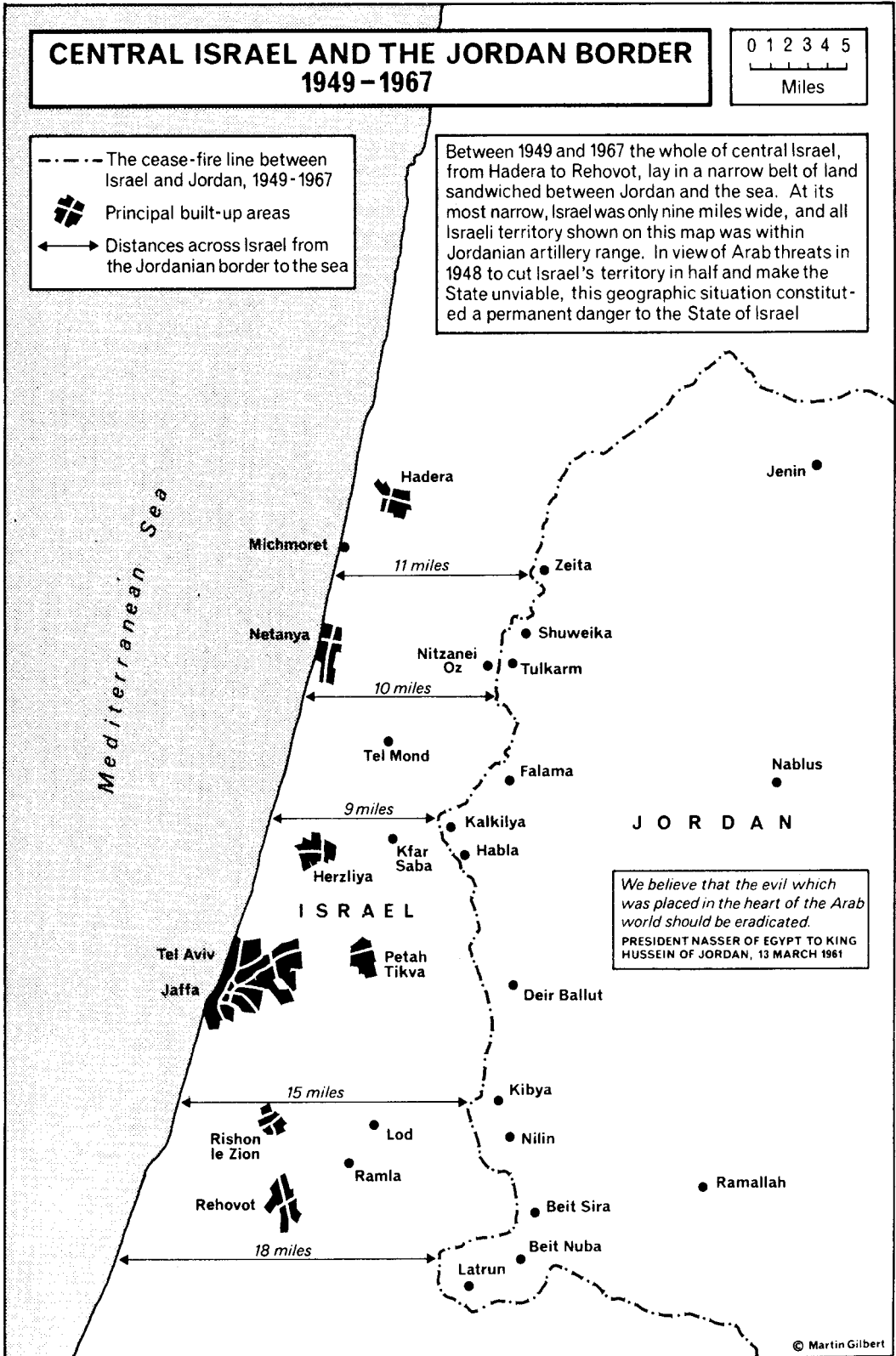


# CENTRAL ISRAEL AND THE JORDAN BORDER 1949 - 1967



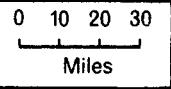
- The cease-fire line between Israel and Jordan, 1949 - 1967
- Principal built-up areas
- Distances across Israel from the Jordanian border to the sea

Between 1949 and 1967 the whole of central Israel, from Hadera to Rehovot, lay in a narrow belt of land sandwiched between Jordan and the sea. At its most narrow, Israel was only nine miles wide, and all Israeli territory shown on this map was within Jordanian artillery range. In view of Arab threats in 1948 to cut Israel's territory in half and make the State unviable, this geographic situation constituted a permanent danger to the State of Israel



*We believe that the evil which was placed in the heart of the Arab world should be eradicated.*  
PRESIDENT NASSER OF EGYPT TO KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, 13 MARCH 1961

# THE ARAB REFUGEES 1949-1967



In April 1949, at the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission at Lausanne, Israel offered to repatriate 100,000 Arab refugees within the framework of a general settlement. The Arab delegations rejected the offer. In 1950 the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) proposed resettling Arab refugees in Sinai, Jordan and Syria, but the Arab Governments also rejected this proposal. In 1952 the UN Refugee Rehabilitation Fund offered the Arab States \$200 million to find 'homes and jobs' for the refugees. The Arab States used some of the money for relief work, but did not even apply for the greater part of the fund

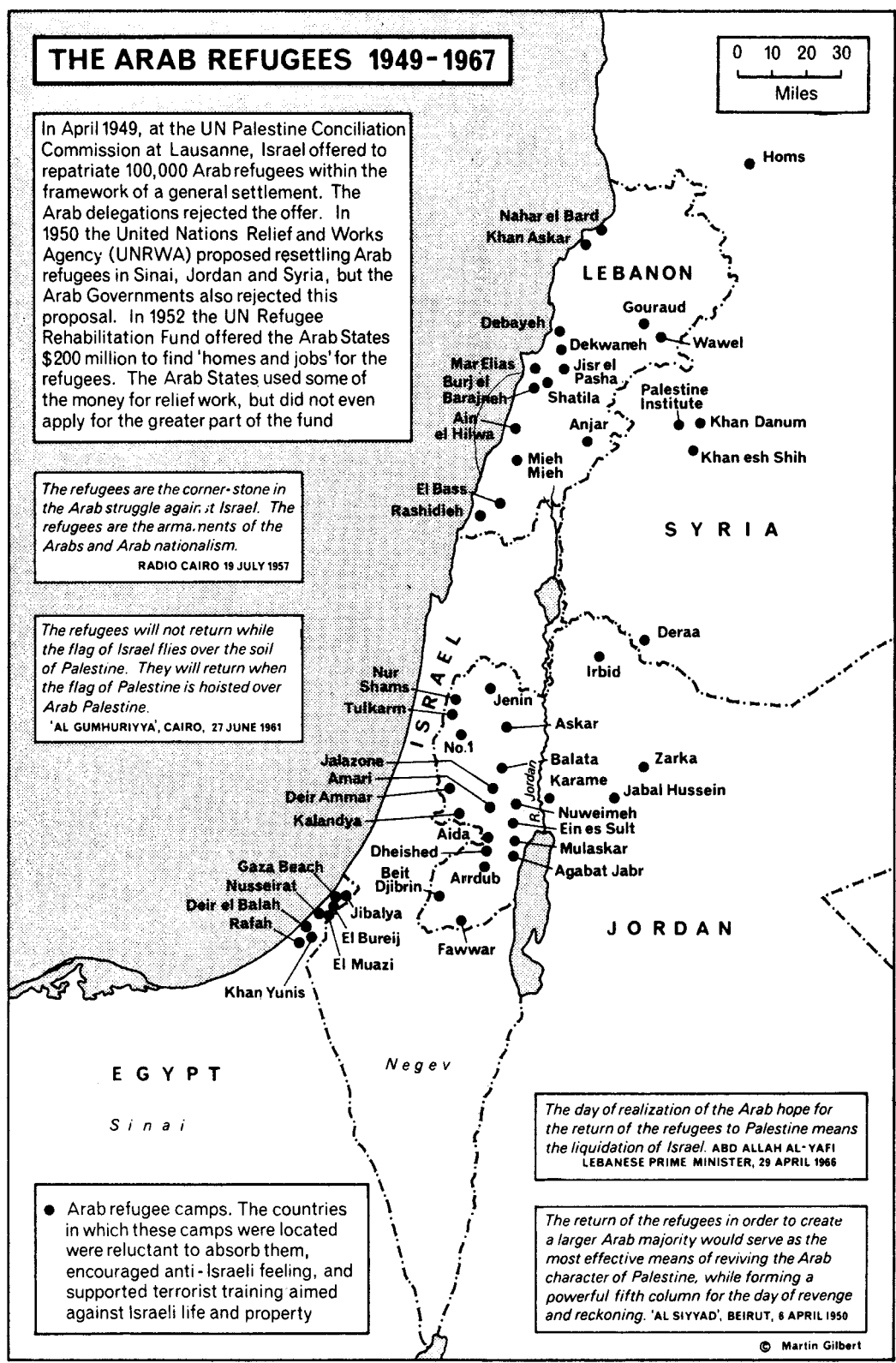
*The refugees are the corner-stone in the Arab struggle against Israel. The refugees are the armaments of the Arabs and Arab nationalism.*  
 RADIO CAIRO 19 JULY 1957

*The refugees will not return while the flag of Israel flies over the soil of Palestine. They will return when the flag of Palestine is hoisted over Arab Palestine.*  
 'AL GUMHURIYYA', CAIRO, 27 JUNE 1961

*The day of realization of the Arab hope for the return of the refugees to Palestine means the liquidation of Israel. ABD ALLAH AL-YAFI LEBANESE PRIME MINISTER, 29 APRIL 1966*

*The return of the refugees in order to create a larger Arab majority would serve as the most effective means of reviving the Arab character of Palestine, while forming a powerful fifth column for the day of revenge and reckoning. 'AL SIYYAD', BEIRUT, 6 APRIL 1950*

● Arab refugee camps. The countries in which these camps were located were reluctant to absorb them, encouraged anti-Israeli feeling, and supported terrorist training aimed against Israeli life and property



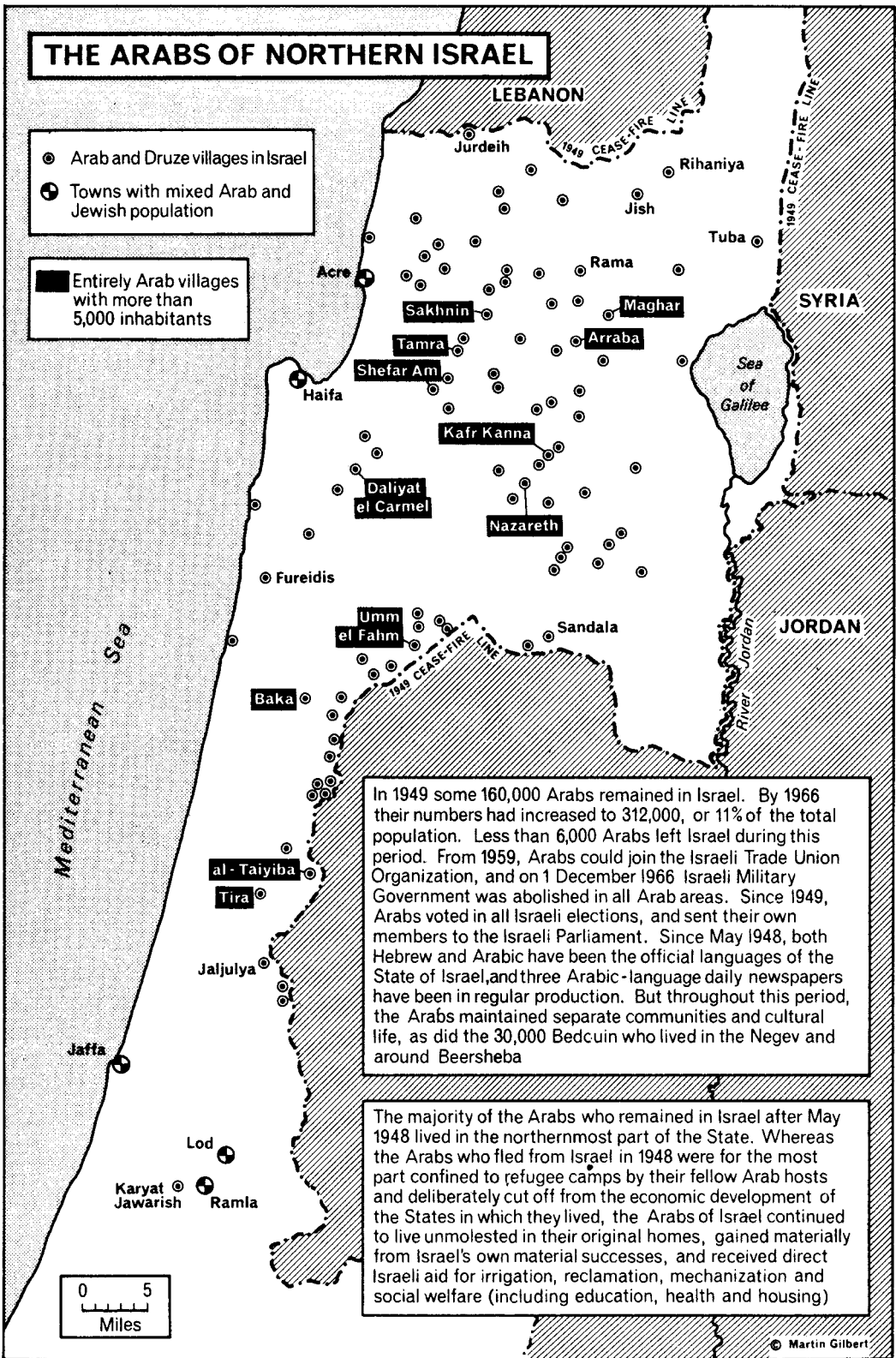


# THE ARABS OF NORTHERN ISRAEL

○ Arab and Druze villages in Israel

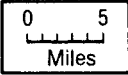
⊕ Towns with mixed Arab and Jewish population

■ Entirely Arab villages with more than 5,000 inhabitants

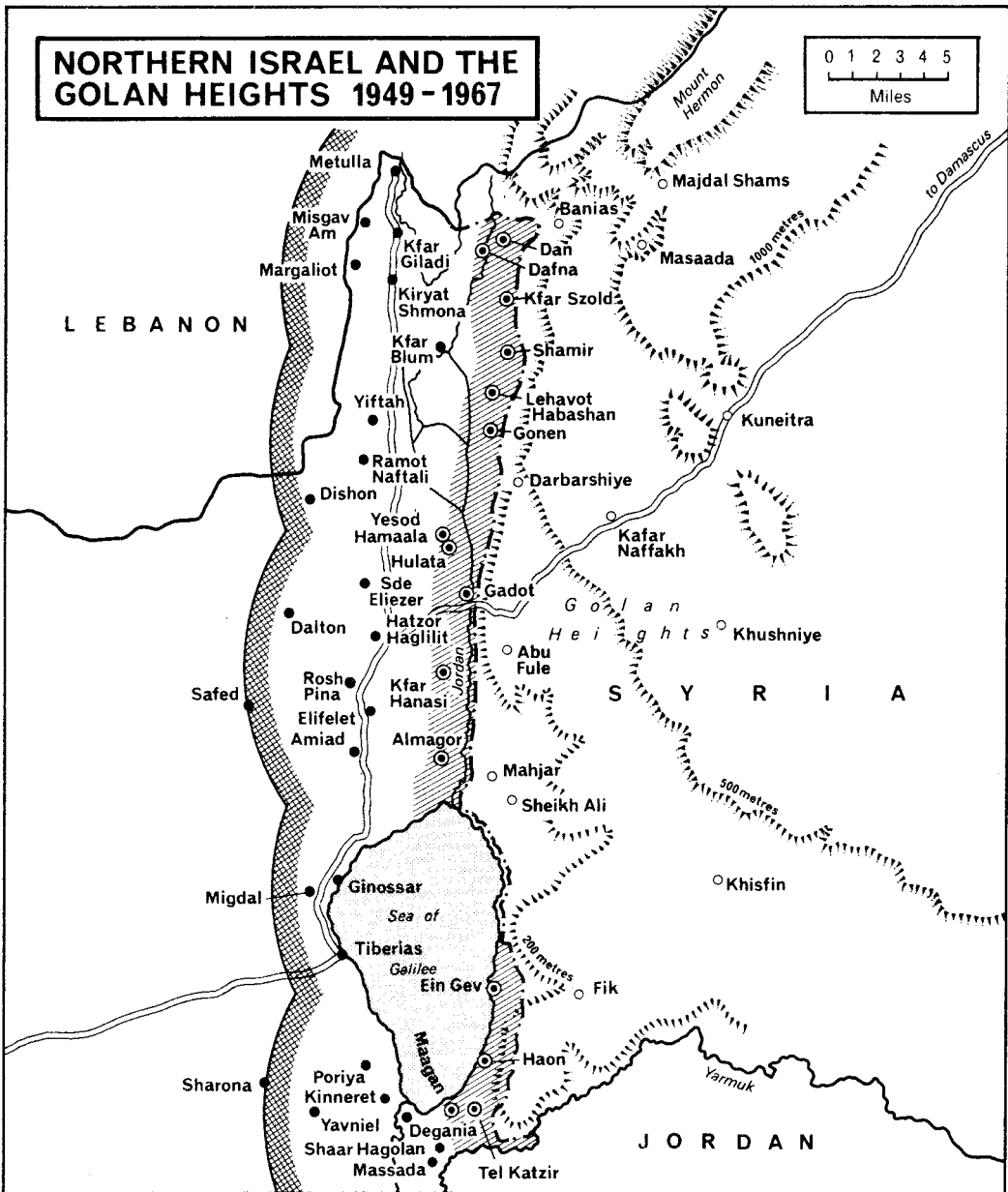
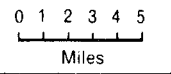


In 1949 some 160,000 Arabs remained in Israel. By 1966 their numbers had increased to 312,000, or 11% of the total population. Less than 6,000 Arabs left Israel during this period. From 1959, Arabs could join the Israeli Trade Union Organization, and on 1 December 1966 Israeli Military Government was abolished in all Arab areas. Since 1949, Arabs voted in all Israeli elections, and sent their own members to the Israeli Parliament. Since May 1948, both Hebrew and Arabic have been the official languages of the State of Israel, and three Arabic-language daily newspapers have been in regular production. But throughout this period, the Arabs maintained separate communities and cultural life, as did the 30,000 Beduin who lived in the Negev and around Beersheba

The majority of the Arabs who remained in Israel after May 1948 lived in the northernmost part of the State. Whereas the Arabs who fled from Israel in 1948 were for the most part confined to refugee camps by their fellow Arab hosts and deliberately cut off from the economic development of the States in which they lived, the Arabs of Israel continued to live unmolested in their original homes, gained materially from Israel's own material successes, and received direct Israeli aid for irrigation, reclamation, mechanization and social welfare (including education, health and housing)



# NORTHERN ISRAEL AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS 1949-1967



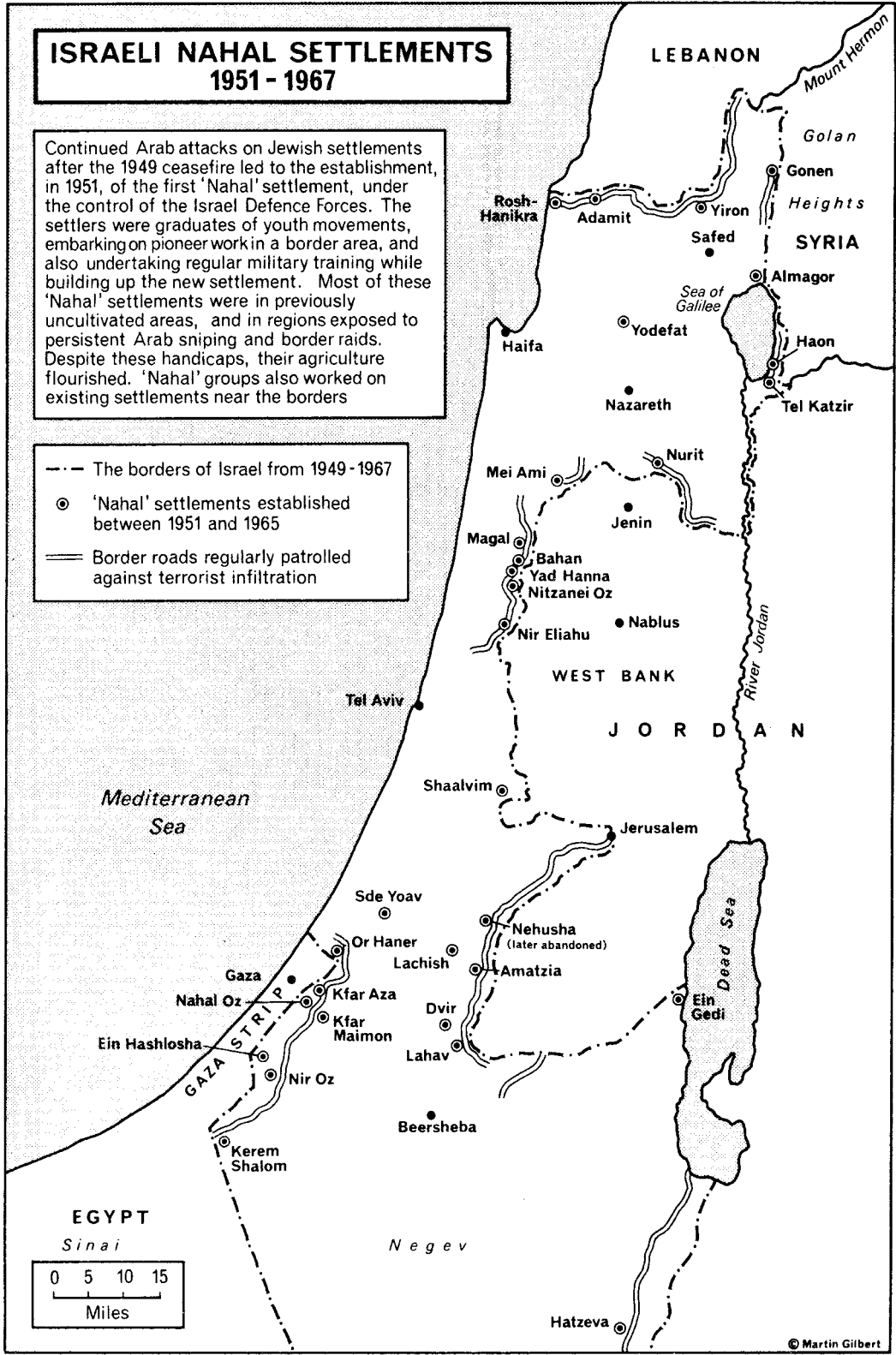
At the cease fire of 1949, Syria retained control of the Golan heights, which had been part of Syria since 1923. But instead of transforming this bleak region by cultivation, the Syrian Government fortified it, and used it as a base for repeated bombardments of Israeli settlements. Sixteen of these settlements were within two miles of the border. Despite the constant danger from bullets, mines and shells, the farmers continued to work their fields, while women and children accepted the dangers as a part of daily life

- The borders of Israel from 1949 to 1967
- ~ The Golan Heights: contour lines
- /// Area within two miles of the Syrian border
- ⊙ Israeli settlements within two miles of the Syrian border
- ▨ Syrian artillery range (ten miles)
- Israeli towns and settlements within Syrian artillery range of only 10 miles (Not all settlements are shown)

# ISRAELI NAHAL SETTLEMENTS 1951 - 1967

Continued Arab attacks on Jewish settlements after the 1949 ceasefire led to the establishment, in 1951, of the first 'Nahal' settlement, under the control of the Israel Defence Forces. The settlers were graduates of youth movements, embarking on pioneer work in a border area, and also undertaking regular military training while building up the new settlement. Most of these 'Nahal' settlements were in previously uncultivated areas, and in regions exposed to persistent Arab sniping and border raids. Despite these handicaps, their agriculture flourished. 'Nahal' groups also worked on existing settlements near the borders

- The borders of Israel from 1949 - 1967
- ⊙ 'Nahal' settlements established between 1951 and 1965
- ==== Border roads regularly patrolled against terrorist infiltration



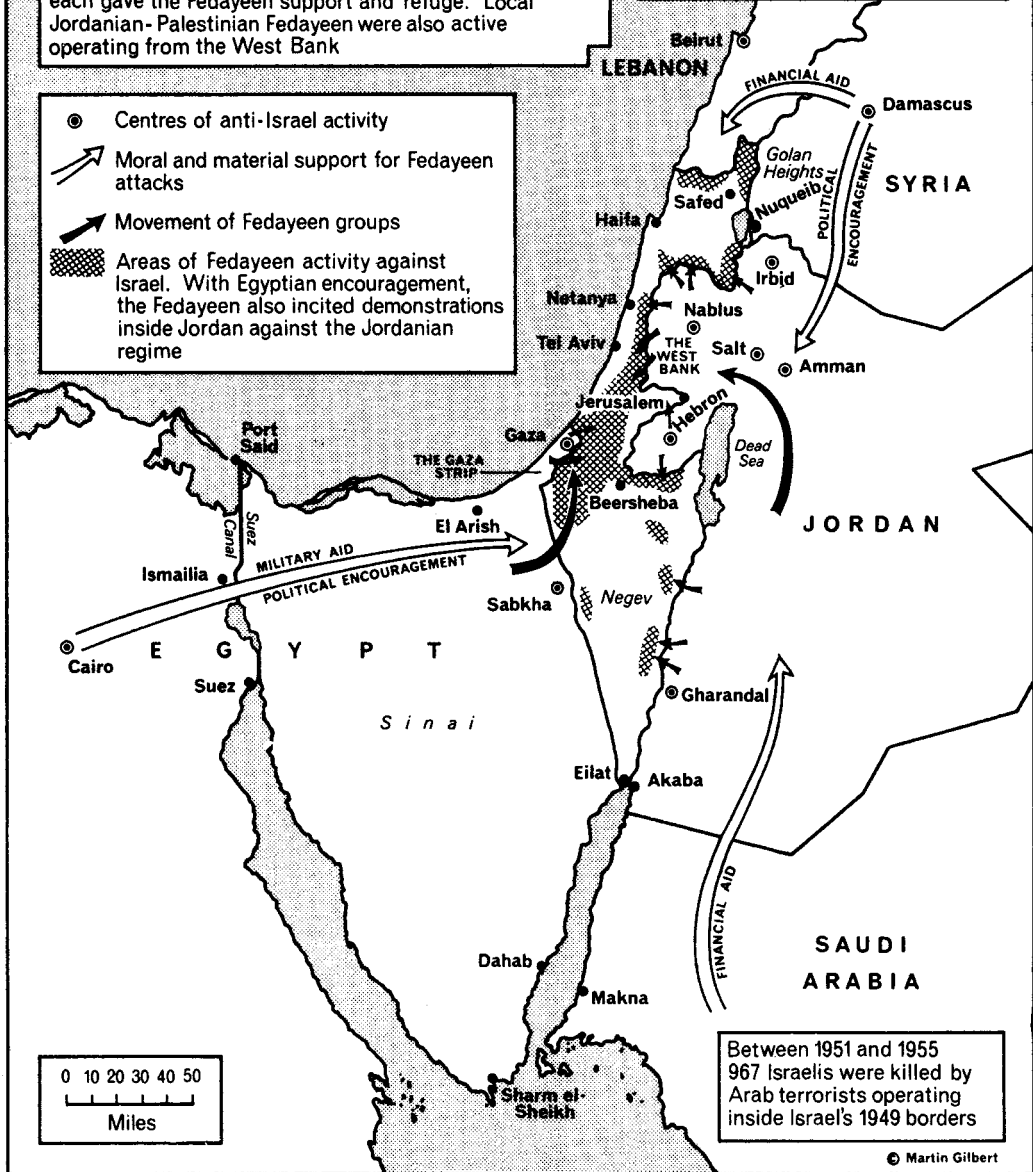
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# TERRORIST RAIDS INTO ISRAEL 1951 - 1956

Palestinian terrorist groups, or Fedayeen, began systematic raids into Israel from 1950. Towards the end of 1954, the Egyptian Government supervised the formal establishment of Palestinian terrorist groups in the Gaza strip and north-eastern Sinai. Throughout 1955 an increasing number of raids were launched into Israel. From 1951 to 1956, Israeli vehicles were ambushed, farms attacked, fields boobytrapped and roads mined. Fedayeen from Gaza also infiltrated into Jordan, and operated from there. Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon each gave the Fedayeen support and refuge. Local Jordanian-Palestinian Fedayeen were also active operating from the West Bank

YEAR	FROM	ISRAELI DEAD
1951	JORDAN	111
	EGYPT	26
1952	JORDAN	114
	EGYPT	48
1953	JORDAN	124
	EGYPT	38
1954	JORDAN	117
	EGYPT	50
1955	JORDAN	37
	EGYPT	241
1951-55	SYRIA	55
	LEBANON	6

- Centres of anti-Israel activity
- ↗ Moral and material support for Fedayeen attacks
- ➔ Movement of Fedayeen groups
- ▨ Areas of Fedayeen activity against Israel. With Egyptian encouragement, the Fedayeen also incited demonstrations inside Jordan against the Jordanian regime

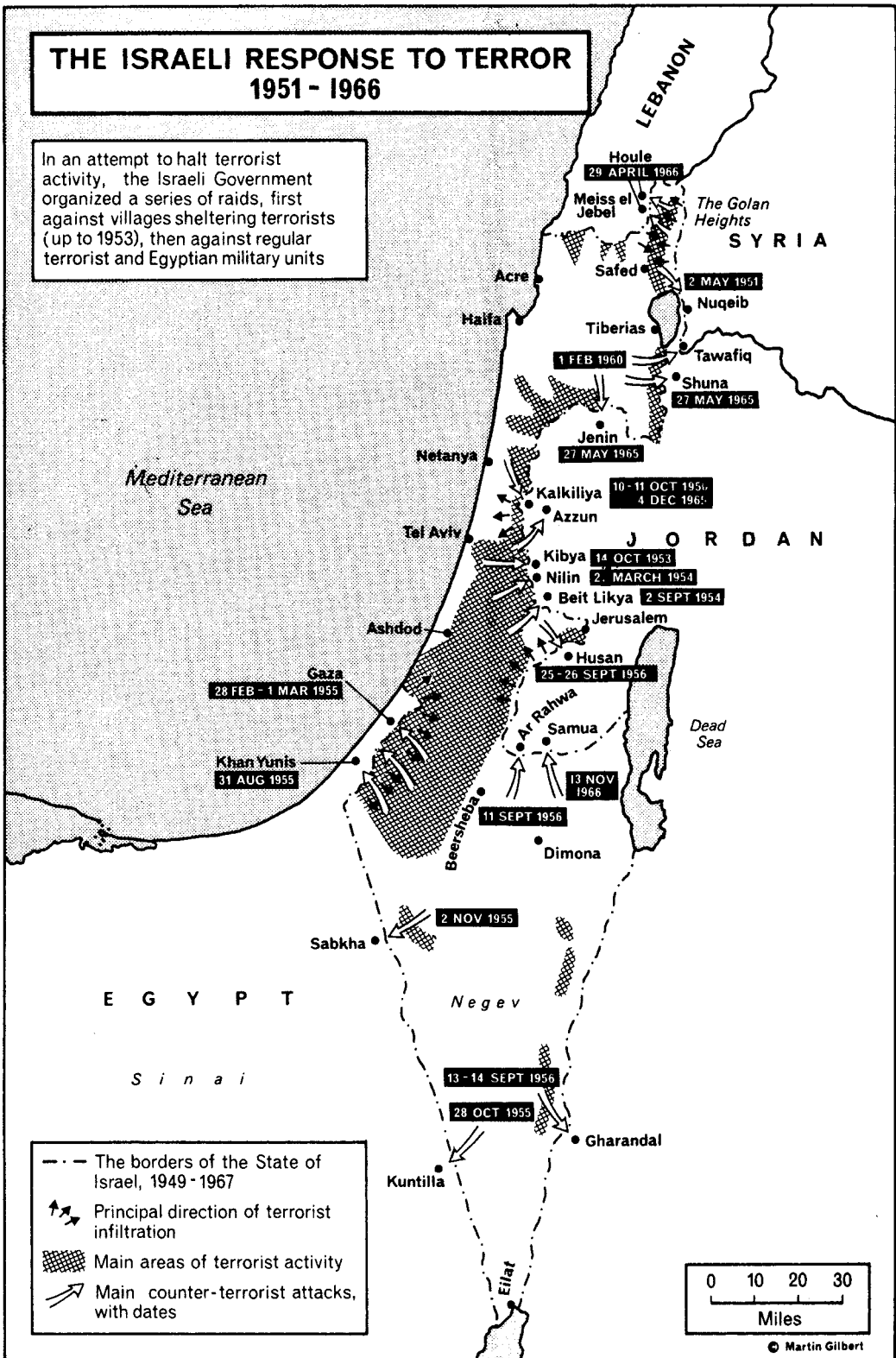


Between 1951 and 1955 967 Israelis were killed by Arab terrorists operating inside Israel's 1949 borders

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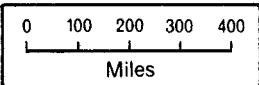
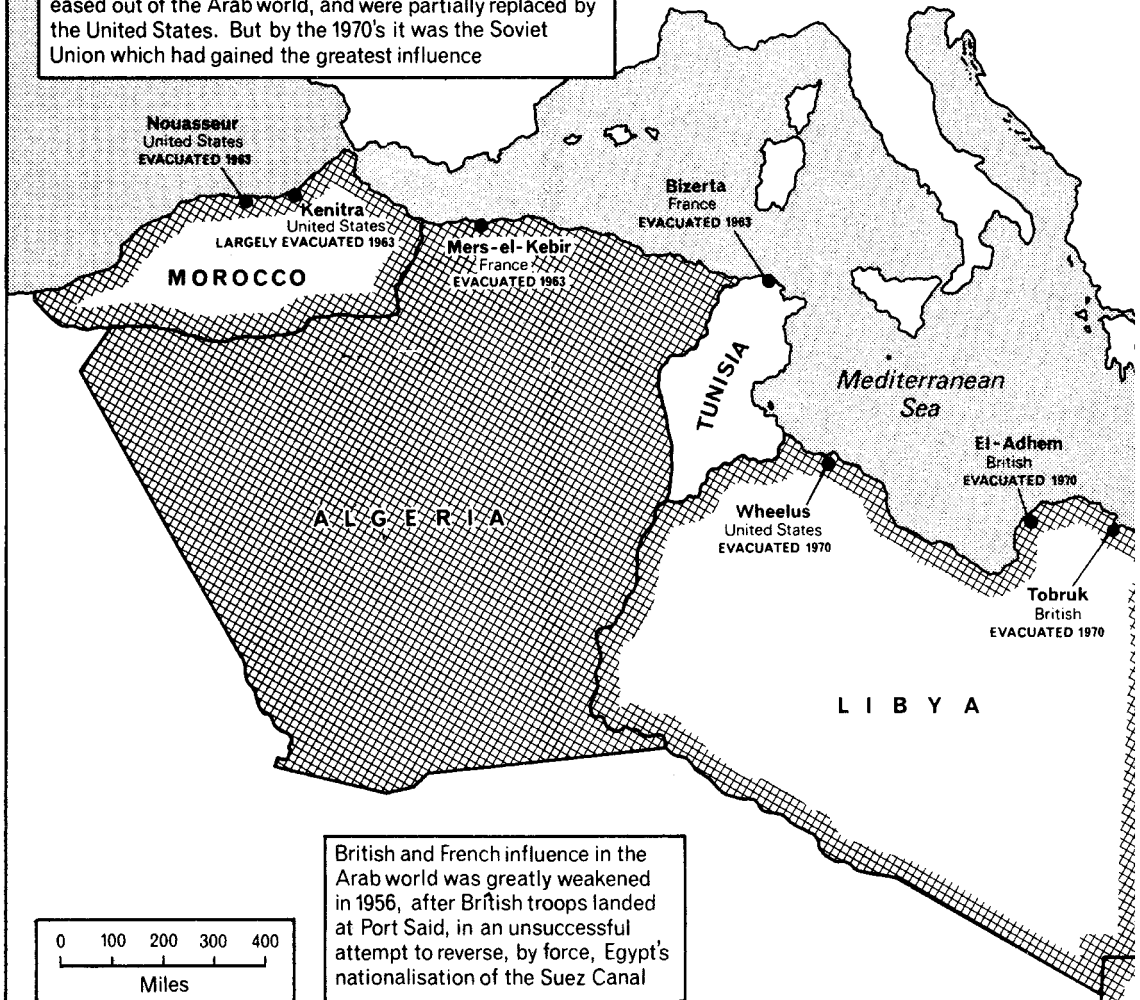
# THE ISRAELI RESPONSE TO TERROR 1951 - 1966

In an attempt to halt terrorist activity, the Israeli Government organized a series of raids, first against villages sheltering terrorists (up to 1953), then against regular terrorist and Egyptian military units



# THE CHANGING BALANCE OF POWER IN THE ARAB WORLD 1953 - 1973

During the 1950's Britain and France were to a large extent eased out of the Arab world, and were partially replaced by the United States. But by the 1970's it was the Soviet Union which had gained the greatest influence

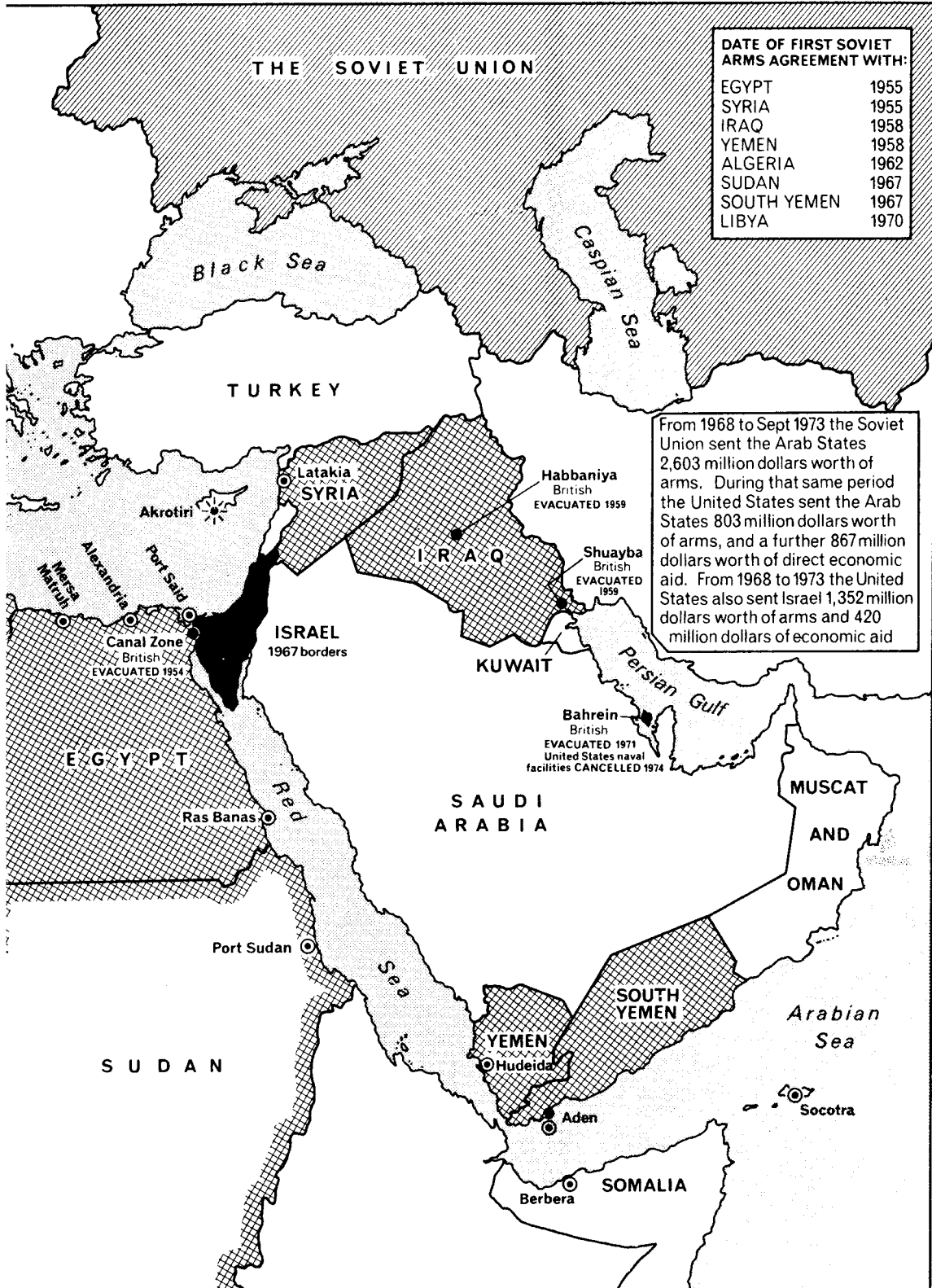


British and French influence in the Arab world was greatly weakened in 1956, after British troops landed at Port Said, in an unsuccessful attempt to reverse, by force, Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal


- Western naval and air bases (French, British and United States) in existence in 1953, but abandoned by 1973
- ⊙ Soviet naval bases and facilities established between 1963 and 1973
- ☼ British air base (in Cyprus) whose use was denied to the United States by Britain during the Middle East war of October 1973
- ▨ Arab countries which received the majority of their arms from the Soviet Union, 1971-1973
- ▩ Other Arab countries receiving Soviet military aid since 1967


### VALUE OF SOVIET ARMS SUPPLIES 1965-1970 (in dollars)


Egypt	\$4,500 million
Iraq	\$500 million
Syria	\$450 million
Algeria	\$250 million
Others (Sudan, South Yemen, Yemen, Libya)	\$1,000 million
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$6,700 million</b>

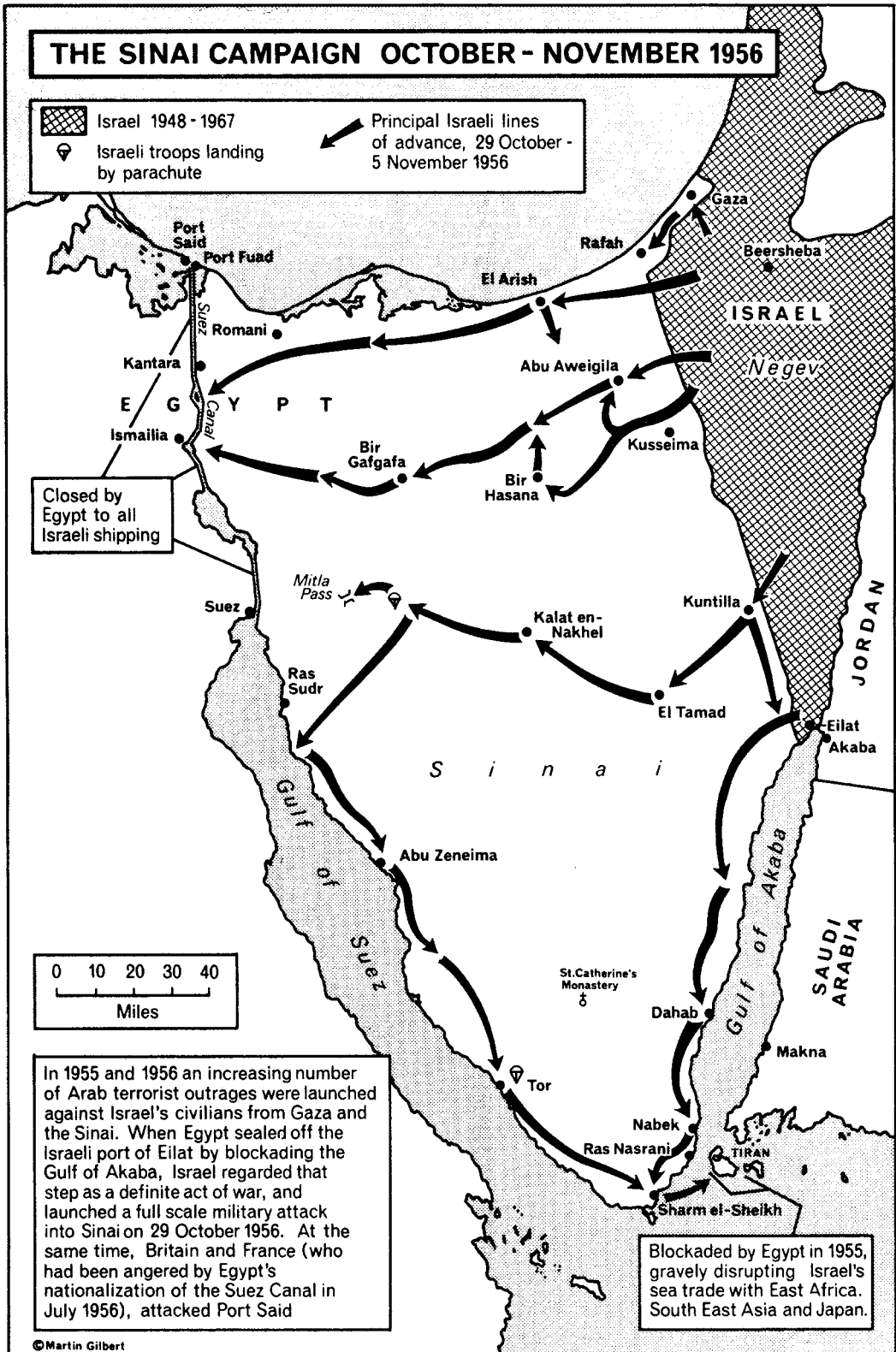


# THE SINAI CAMPAIGN OCTOBER - NOVEMBER 1956

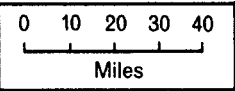
 Israel 1948 - 1967

 Israeli troops landing by parachute

 Principal Israeli lines of advance, 29 October - 5 November 1956



Closed by Egypt to all Israeli shipping



In 1955 and 1956 an increasing number of Arab terrorist outrages were launched against Israel's civilians from Gaza and the Sinai. When Egypt sealed off the Israeli port of Eilat by blockading the Gulf of Akaba, Israel regarded that step as a definite act of war, and launched a full scale military attack into Sinai on 29 October 1956. At the same time, Britain and France (who had been angered by Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956), attacked Port Said

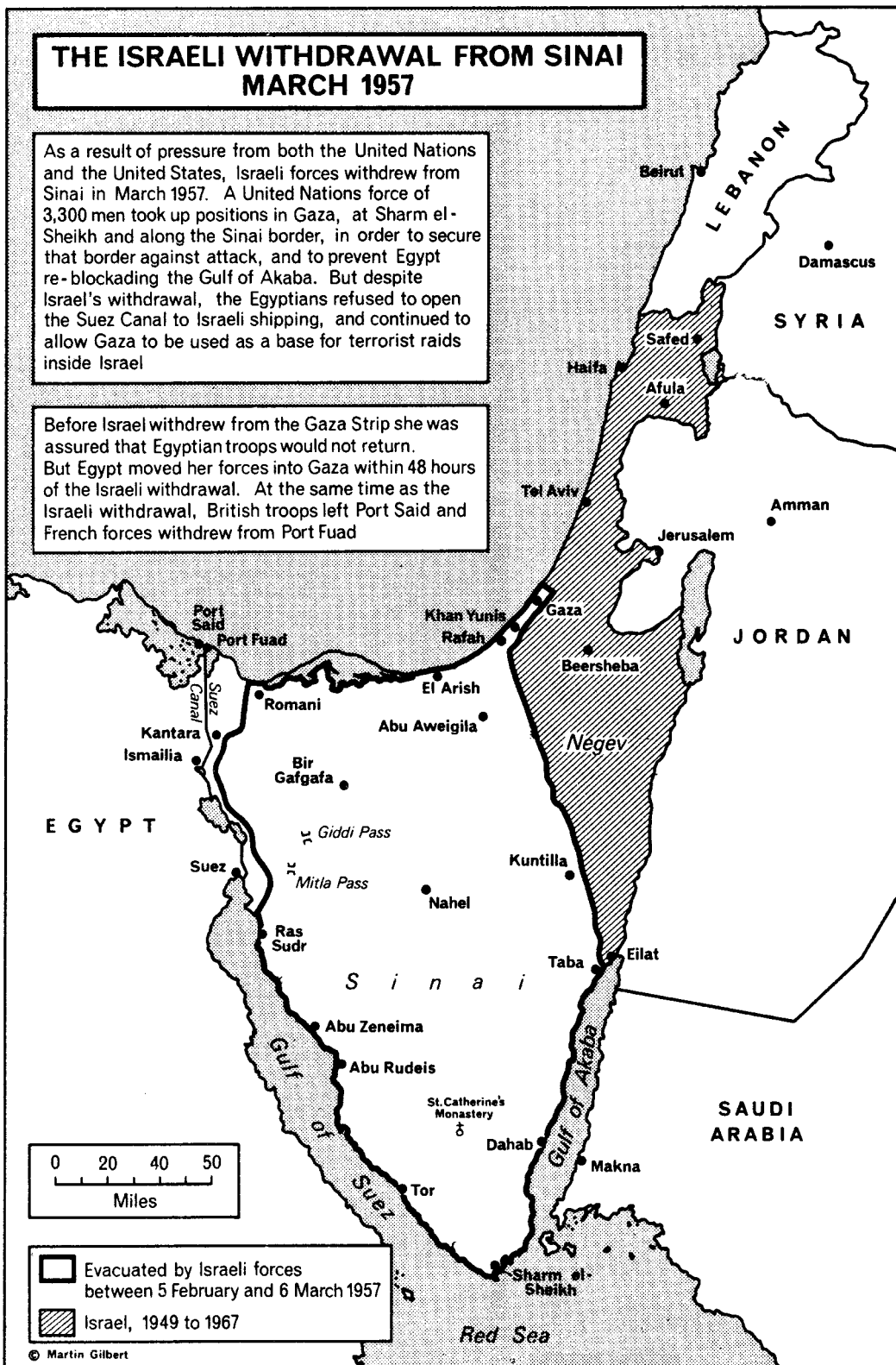
Blockaded by Egypt in 1955, gravely disrupting Israel's sea trade with East Africa, South East Asia and Japan.



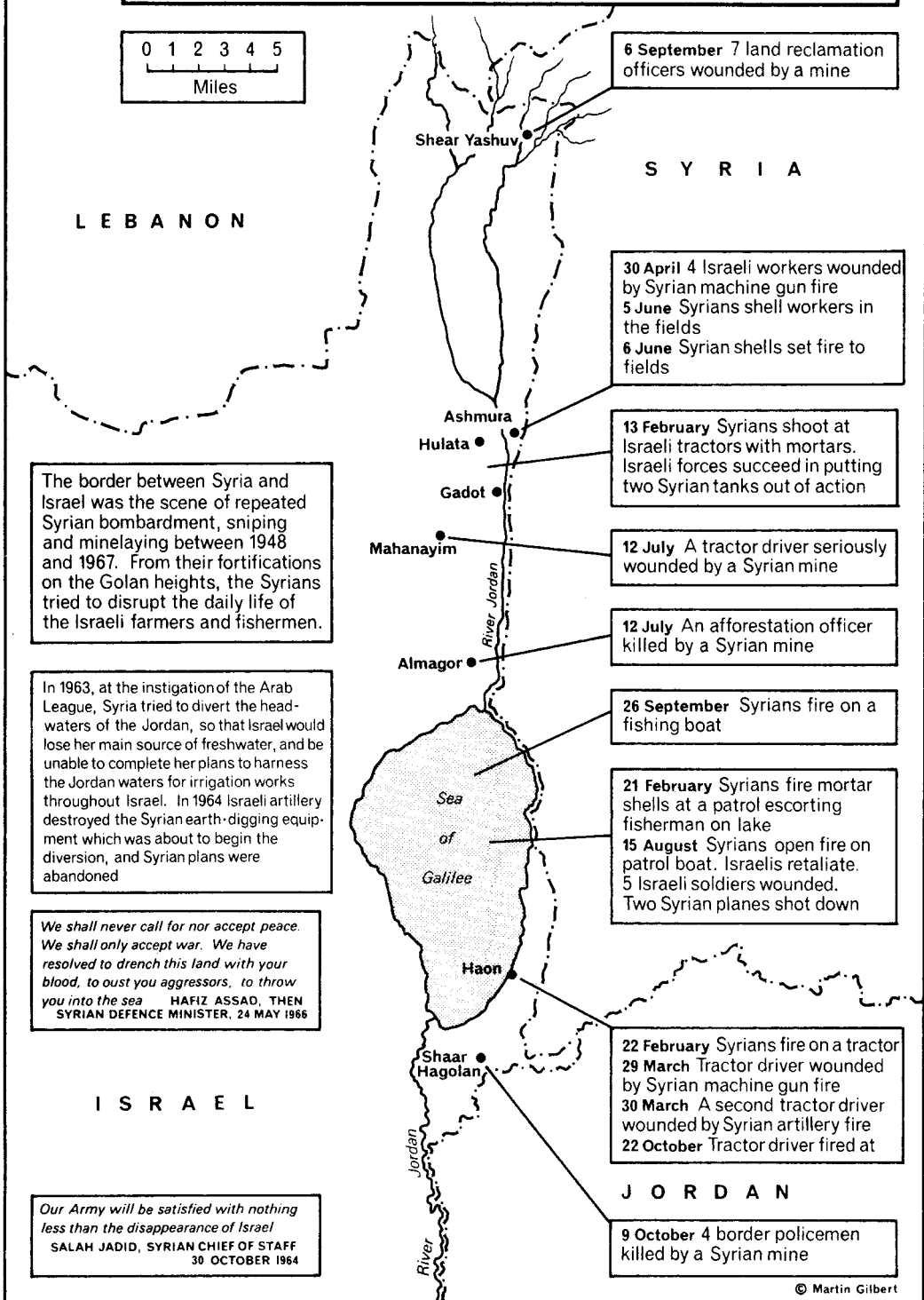
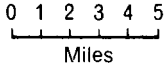
## THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI MARCH 1957

As a result of pressure from both the United Nations and the United States, Israeli forces withdrew from Sinai in March 1957. A United Nations force of 3,300 men took up positions in Gaza, at Sharm el-Sheikh and along the Sinai border, in order to secure that border against attack, and to prevent Egypt re-blockading the Gulf of Akaba. But despite Israel's withdrawal, the Egyptians refused to open the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping, and continued to allow Gaza to be used as a base for terrorist raids inside Israel.

Before Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip she was assured that Egyptian troops would not return. But Egypt moved her forces into Gaza within 48 hours of the Israeli withdrawal. At the same time as the Israeli withdrawal, British troops left Port Said and French forces withdrew from Port Fuad.



# SYRIAN ACTIVITY AGAINST ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS FEBRUARY - OCTOBER 1966



**6 September** 7 land reclamation officers wounded by a mine

S Y R I A

**30 April** 4 Israeli workers wounded by Syrian machine gun fire  
**5 June** Syrians shell workers in the fields  
**6 June** Syrian shells set fire to fields

The border between Syria and Israel was the scene of repeated Syrian bombardment, sniping and minelaying between 1948 and 1967. From their fortifications on the Golan heights, the Syrians tried to disrupt the daily life of the Israeli farmers and fishermen.

**13 February** Syrians shoot at Israeli tractors with mortars. Israeli forces succeed in putting two Syrian tanks out of action

In 1963, at the instigation of the Arab League, Syria tried to divert the headwaters of the Jordan, so that Israel would lose her main source of freshwater, and be unable to complete her plans to harness the Jordan waters for irrigation works throughout Israel. In 1964 Israeli artillery destroyed the Syrian earth-digging equipment which was about to begin the diversion, and Syrian plans were abandoned

**12 July** A tractor driver seriously wounded by a Syrian mine

**12 July** An afforestation officer killed by a Syrian mine

*We shall never call for nor accept peace. We shall only accept war. We have resolved to drench this land with your blood, to oust you aggressors, to throw you into the sea* HAFIZ ASSAD, THEN SYRIAN DEFENCE MINISTER, 24 MAY 1966

**26 September** Syrians fire on a fishing boat

**21 February** Syrians fire mortar shells at a patrol escorting fisherman on lake  
**15 August** Syrians open fire on patrol boat. Israelis retaliate. 5 Israeli soldiers wounded. Two Syrian planes shot down

I S R A E L

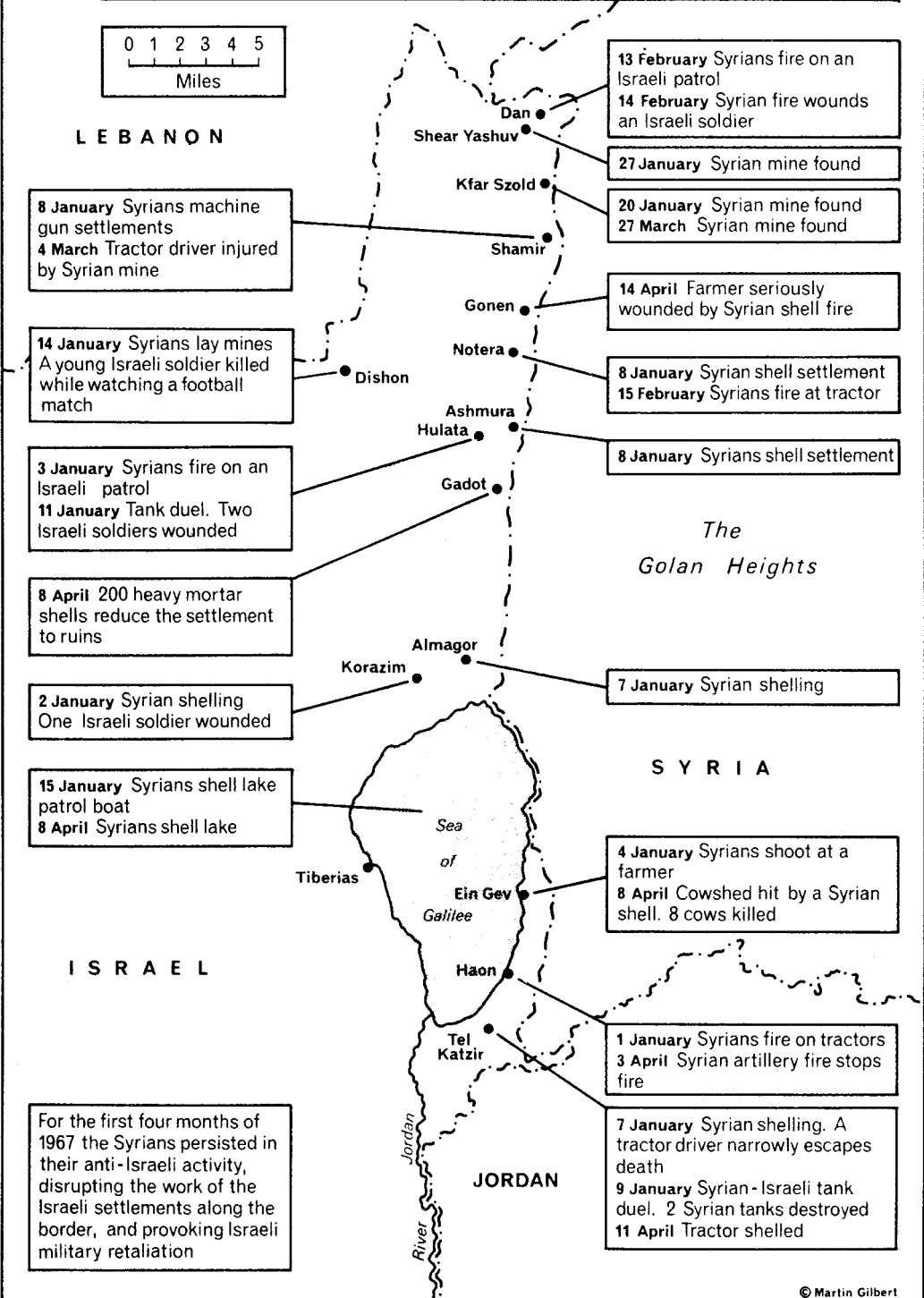
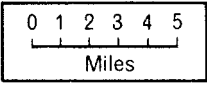
**22 February** Syrians fire on a tractor  
**29 March** Tractor driver wounded by Syrian machine gun fire  
**30 March** A second tractor driver wounded by Syrian artillery fire  
**22 October** Tractor driver fired at

*Our Army will be satisfied with nothing less than the disappearance of Israel*  
 SALAH JADID, SYRIAN CHIEF OF STAFF  
 30 OCTOBER 1964

J O R D A N

**9 October** 4 border policemen killed by a Syrian mine

# SYRIAN ACTIVITY AGAINST ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS JANUARY - APRIL 1967



**8 January** Syrians machine gun settlements  
**4 March** Tractor driver injured by Syrian mine

**14 January** Syrians lay mines  
A young Israeli soldier killed while watching a football match

**3 January** Syrians fire on an Israeli patrol  
**11 January** Tank duel. Two Israeli soldiers wounded

**8 April** 200 heavy mortar shells reduce the settlement to ruins

**2 January** Syrian shelling  
One Israeli soldier wounded

**15 January** Syrians shell lake patrol boat  
**8 April** Syrians shell lake

For the first four months of 1967 the Syrians persisted in their anti-Israeli activity, disrupting the work of the Israeli settlements along the border, and provoking Israeli military retaliation

**13 February** Syrians fire on an Israeli patrol  
**14 February** Syrian fire wounds an Israeli soldier

**27 January** Syrian mine found

**20 January** Syrian mine found  
**27 March** Syrian mine found

**14 April** Farmer seriously wounded by Syrian shell fire

**8 January** Syrian shell settlement  
**15 February** Syrians fire at tractor

**8 January** Syrians shell settlement

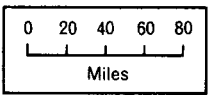
**7 January** Syrian shelling

**4 January** Syrians shoot at a farmer  
**8 April** Cowshed hit by a Syrian shell. 8 cows killed

**1 January** Syrians fire on tractors  
**3 April** Syrian artillery fire stops fire

**7 January** Syrian shelling. A tractor driver narrowly escapes death  
**9 January** Syrian - Israeli tank duel. 2 Syrian tanks destroyed  
**11 April** Tractor shelled

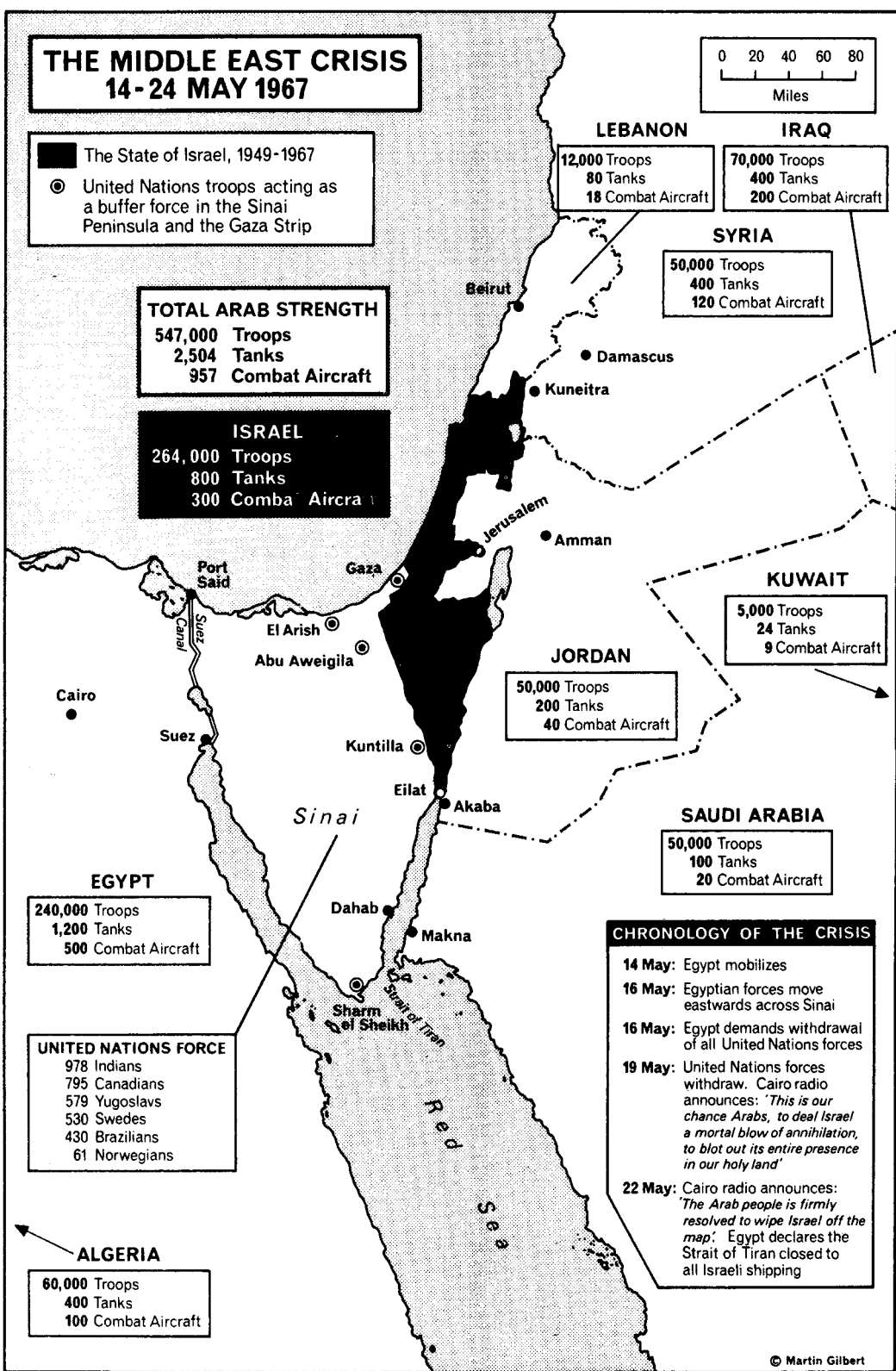
# THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS 14-24 MAY 1967



The State of Israel, 1949-1967  
 United Nations troops acting as a buffer force in the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip

**TOTAL ARAB STRENGTH**  
 547,000 Troops  
 2,504 Tanks  
 957 Combat Aircraft

**ISRAEL**  
 264,000 Troops  
 800 Tanks  
 300 Combat Aircraft



**LEBANON**  
 12,000 Troops  
 80 Tanks  
 18 Combat Aircraft

**IRAQ**  
 70,000 Troops  
 400 Tanks  
 200 Combat Aircraft

**SYRIA**  
 50,000 Troops  
 400 Tanks  
 120 Combat Aircraft

**JORDAN**  
 50,000 Troops  
 200 Tanks  
 40 Combat Aircraft

**KUWAIT**  
 5,000 Troops  
 24 Tanks  
 9 Combat Aircraft

**SAUDI ARABIA**  
 50,000 Troops  
 100 Tanks  
 20 Combat Aircraft

**EGYPT**  
 240,000 Troops  
 1,200 Tanks  
 500 Combat Aircraft

**UNITED NATIONS FORCE**  
 978 Indians  
 795 Canadians  
 579 Yugoslavs  
 530 Swedes  
 430 Brazilians  
 61 Norwegians

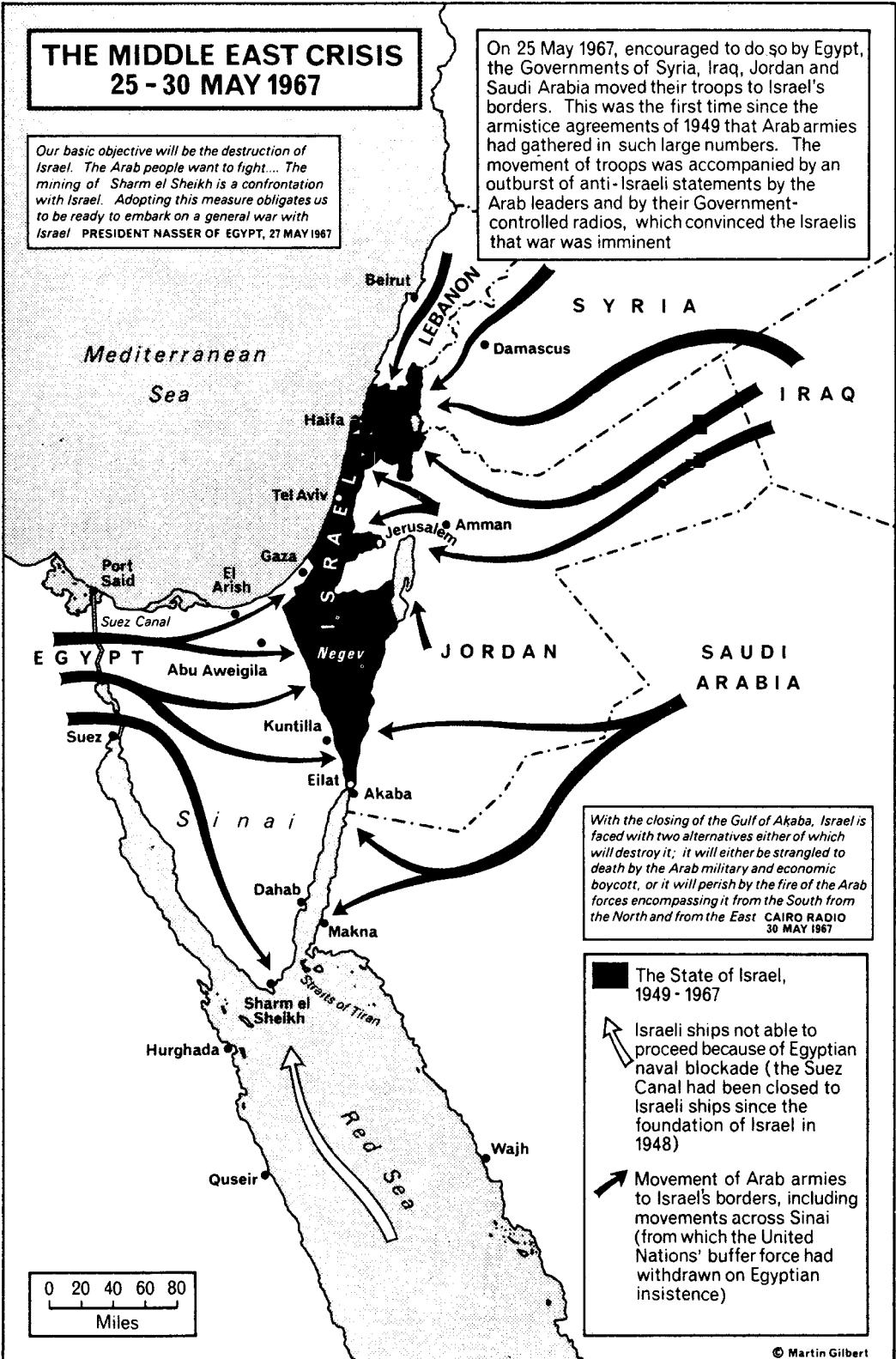
**ALGERIA**  
 60,000 Troops  
 400 Tanks  
 100 Combat Aircraft

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE CRISIS**  
**14 May:** Egypt mobilizes  
**16 May:** Egyptian forces move eastwards across Sinai  
**16 May:** Egypt demands withdrawal of all United Nations forces  
**19 May:** United Nations forces withdraw. Cairo radio announces: *'This is our chance Arabs, to deal Israel a mortal blow of annihilation, to blot out its entire presence in our holy land'*  
**22 May:** Cairo radio announces: *'The Arab people is firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the map'*. Egypt declares the Strait of Tiran closed to all Israeli shipping

# THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS 25 - 30 MAY 1967

*Our basic objective will be the destruction of Israel. The Arab people want to fight... The mining of Sharm el Sheikh is a confrontation with Israel. Adopting this measure obligates us to be ready to embark on a general war with Israel* PRESIDENT NASSER OF EGYPT, 27 MAY 1967

On 25 May 1967, encouraged to do so by Egypt, the Governments of Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia moved their troops to Israel's borders. This was the first time since the armistice agreements of 1949 that Arab armies had gathered in such large numbers. The movement of troops was accompanied by an outburst of anti-Israeli statements by the Arab leaders and by their Government-controlled radios, which convinced the Israelis that war was imminent



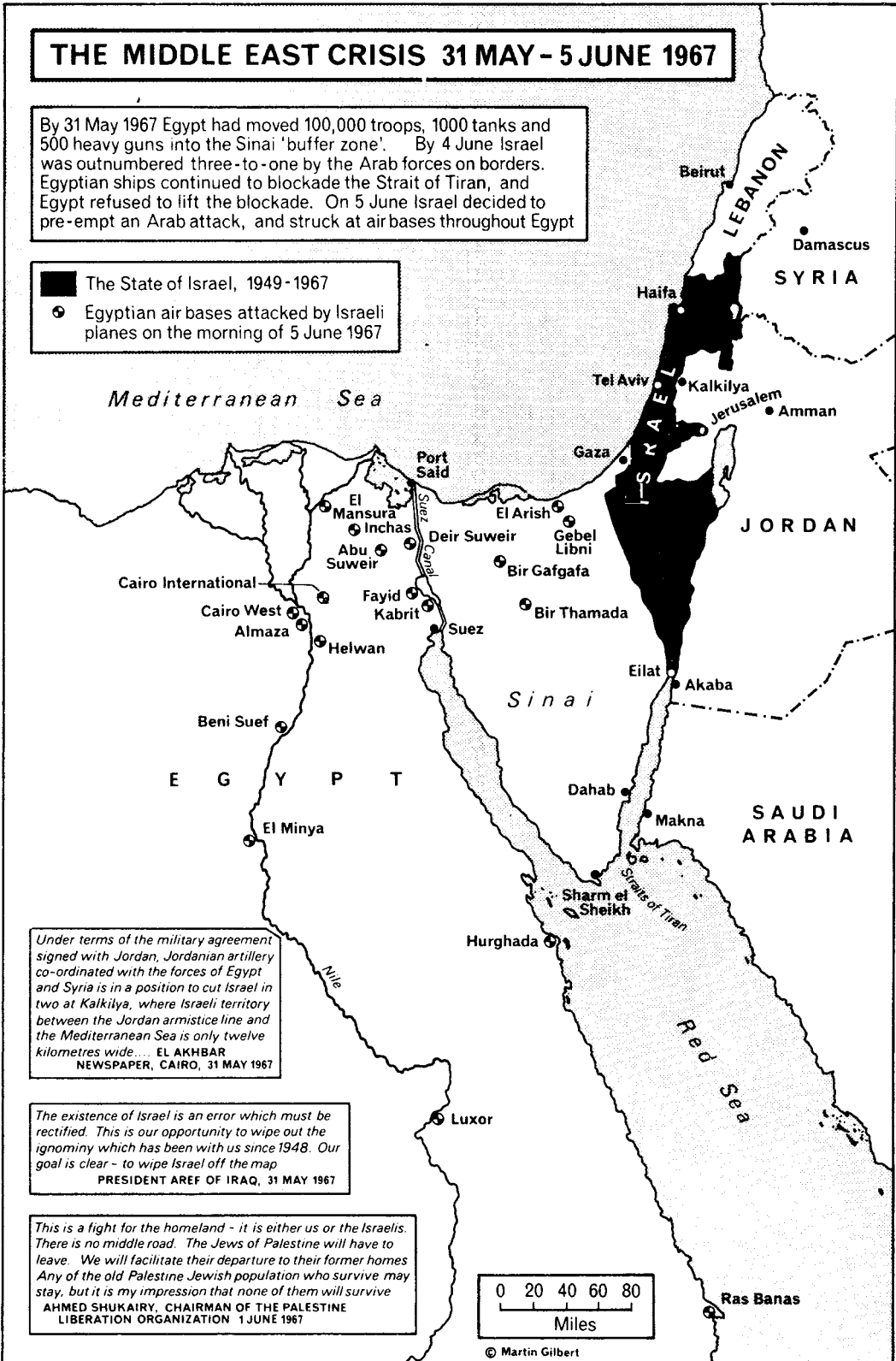
*With the closing of the Gulf of Akaba, Israel is faced with two alternatives either of which will destroy it; it will either be strangled to death by the Arab military and economic boycott, or it will perish by the fire of the Arab forces encompassing it from the South from the North and from the East* CAIRO RADIO 30 MAY 1967

- The State of Israel, 1949 - 1967
- Israeli ships not able to proceed because of Egyptian naval blockade (the Suez Canal had been closed to Israeli ships since the foundation of Israel in 1948)
- Movement of Arab armies to Israel's borders, including movements across Sinai (from which the United Nations' buffer force had withdrawn on Egyptian insistence)

# THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS 31 MAY - 5 JUNE 1967

By 31 May 1967 Egypt had moved 100,000 troops, 1000 tanks and 500 heavy guns into the Sinai 'buffer zone'. By 4 June Israel was outnumbered three-to-one by the Arab forces on borders. Egyptian ships continued to blockade the Strait of Tiran, and Egypt refused to lift the blockade. On 5 June Israel decided to pre-empt an Arab attack, and struck at air bases throughout Egypt

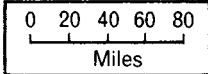
- The State of Israel, 1949-1967
- Egyptian air bases attacked by Israeli planes on the morning of 5 June 1967



*Under terms of the military agreement signed with Jordan, Jordanian artillery co-ordinated with the forces of Egypt and Syria is in a position to cut Israel in two at Kalkilya, where Israeli territory between the Jordan armistice line and the Mediterranean Sea is only twelve kilometres wide. ... EL AKHBAR NEWSPAPER, CAIRO, 31 MAY 1967*

*The existence of Israel is an error which must be rectified. This is our opportunity to wipe out the ignominy which has been with us since 1948. Our goal is clear - to wipe Israel off the map*  
**PRESIDENT AREF OF IRAQ, 31 MAY 1967**

*This is a fight for the homeland - it is either us or the Israelis. There is no middle road. The Jews of Palestine will have to leave. We will facilitate their departure to their former homes. Any of the old Palestine Jewish population who survive may stay, but it is my impression that none of them will survive*  
**AHMED SHUKAIRY, CHAIRMAN OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION 1 JUNE 1967**

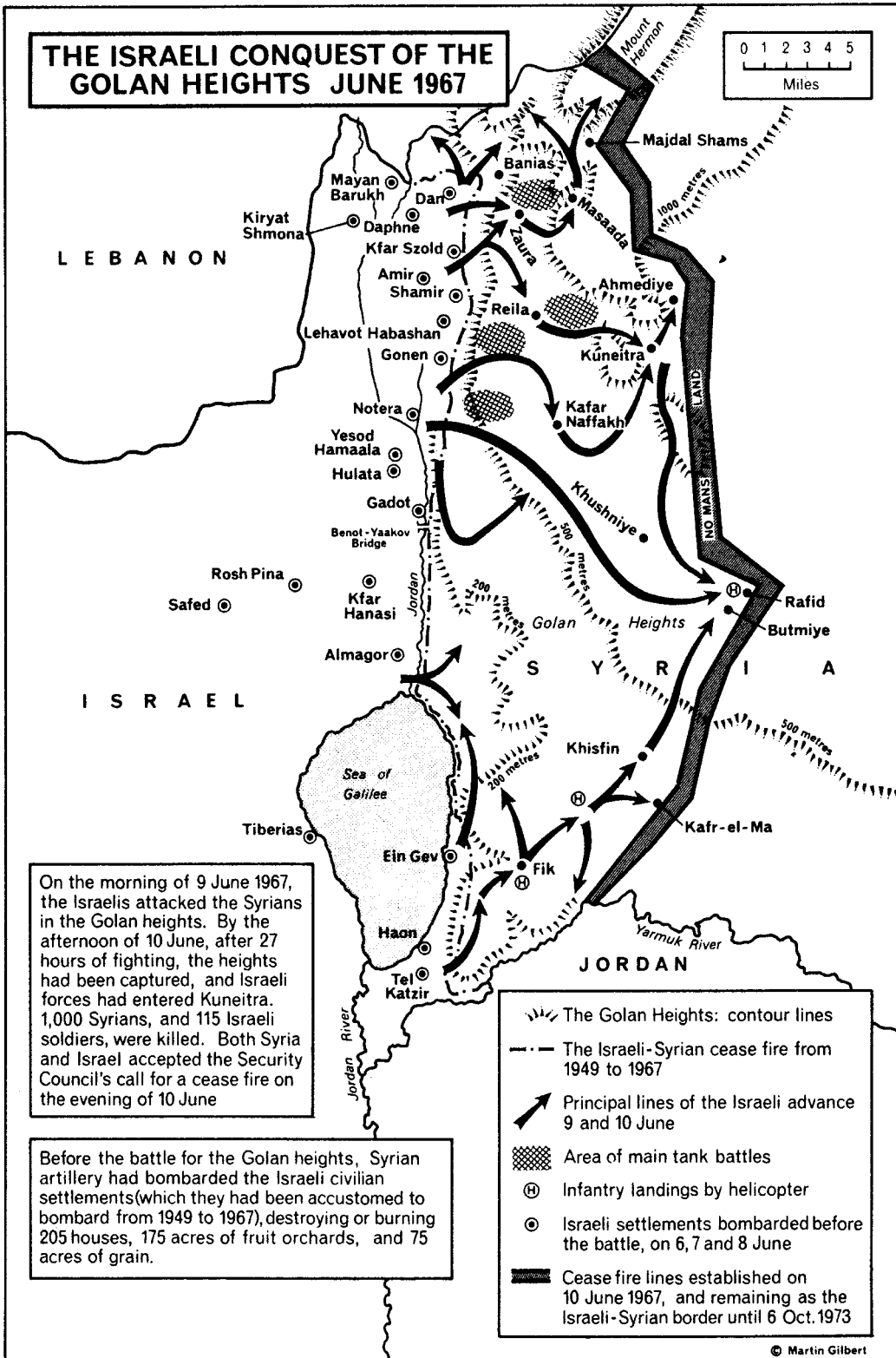
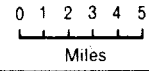


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# ISRAELI CONQUESTS 1967



# THE ISRAELI CONQUEST OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS JUNE 1967



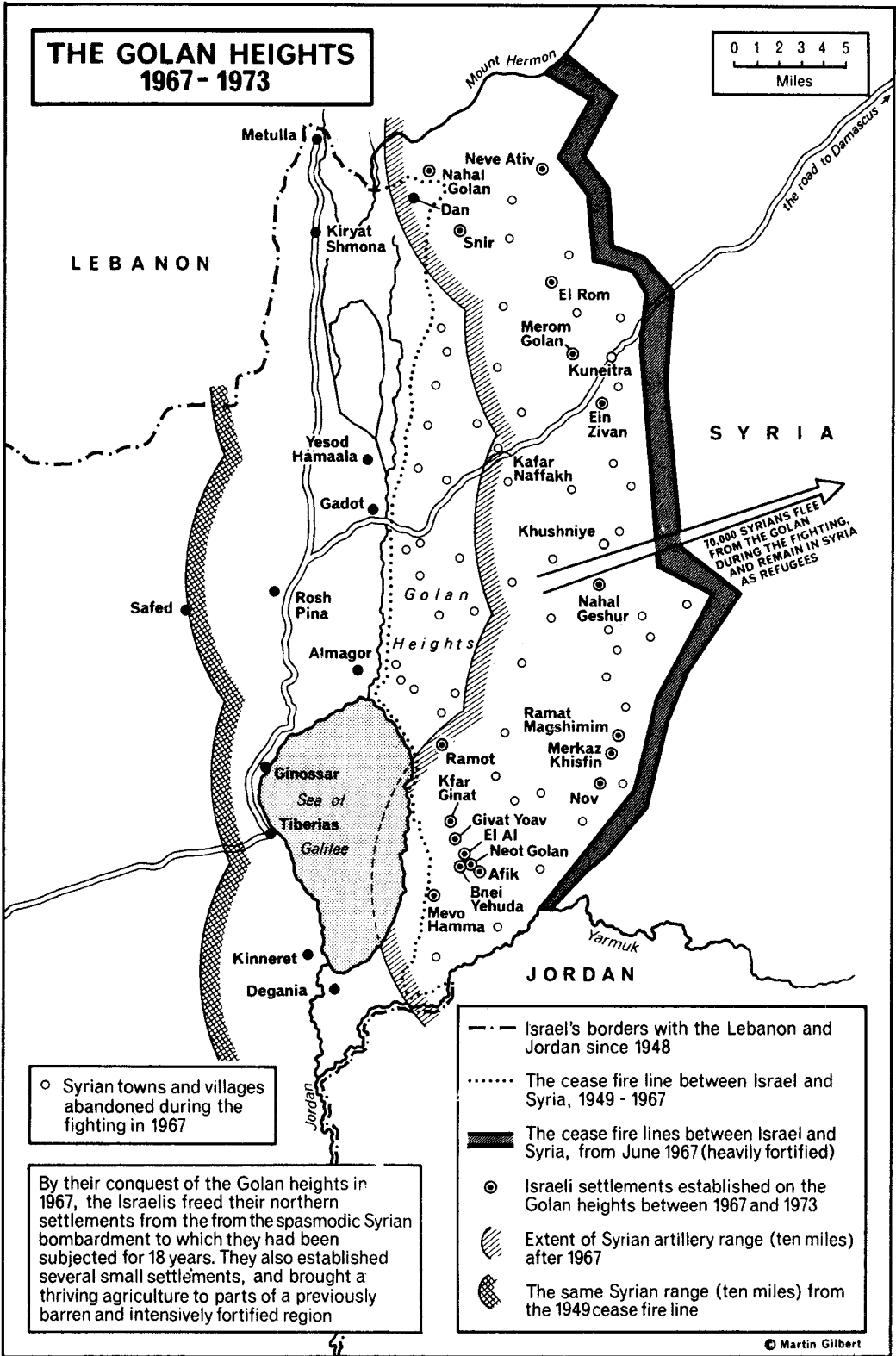
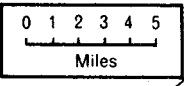
On the morning of 9 June 1967, the Israelis attacked the Syrians in the Golan heights. By the afternoon of 10 June, after 27 hours of fighting, the heights had been captured, and Israeli forces had entered Kuneitra. 1,000 Syrians, and 115 Israeli soldiers, were killed. Both Syria and Israel accepted the Security Council's call for a cease fire on the evening of 10 June

Before the battle for the Golan heights, Syrian artillery had bombarded the Israeli civilian settlements (which they had been accustomed to bombard from 1949 to 1967), destroying or burning 205 houses, 175 acres of fruit orchards, and 75 acres of grain.

- The Golan Heights: contour lines
- The Israeli-Syrian cease fire from 1949 to 1967
- Principal lines of the Israeli advance 9 and 10 June
- Area of main tank battles
- Infantry landings by helicopter
- Israeli settlements bombed before the battle, on 6, 7 and 8 June
- Cease fire lines established on 10 June 1967, and remaining as the Israeli-Syrian border until 6 Oct. 1973



# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS 1967 - 1973



70,000 SYRIANS FLEE FROM THE GOLAN DURING THE FIGHTING, AND REMAIN IN SYRIA AS REFUGEES

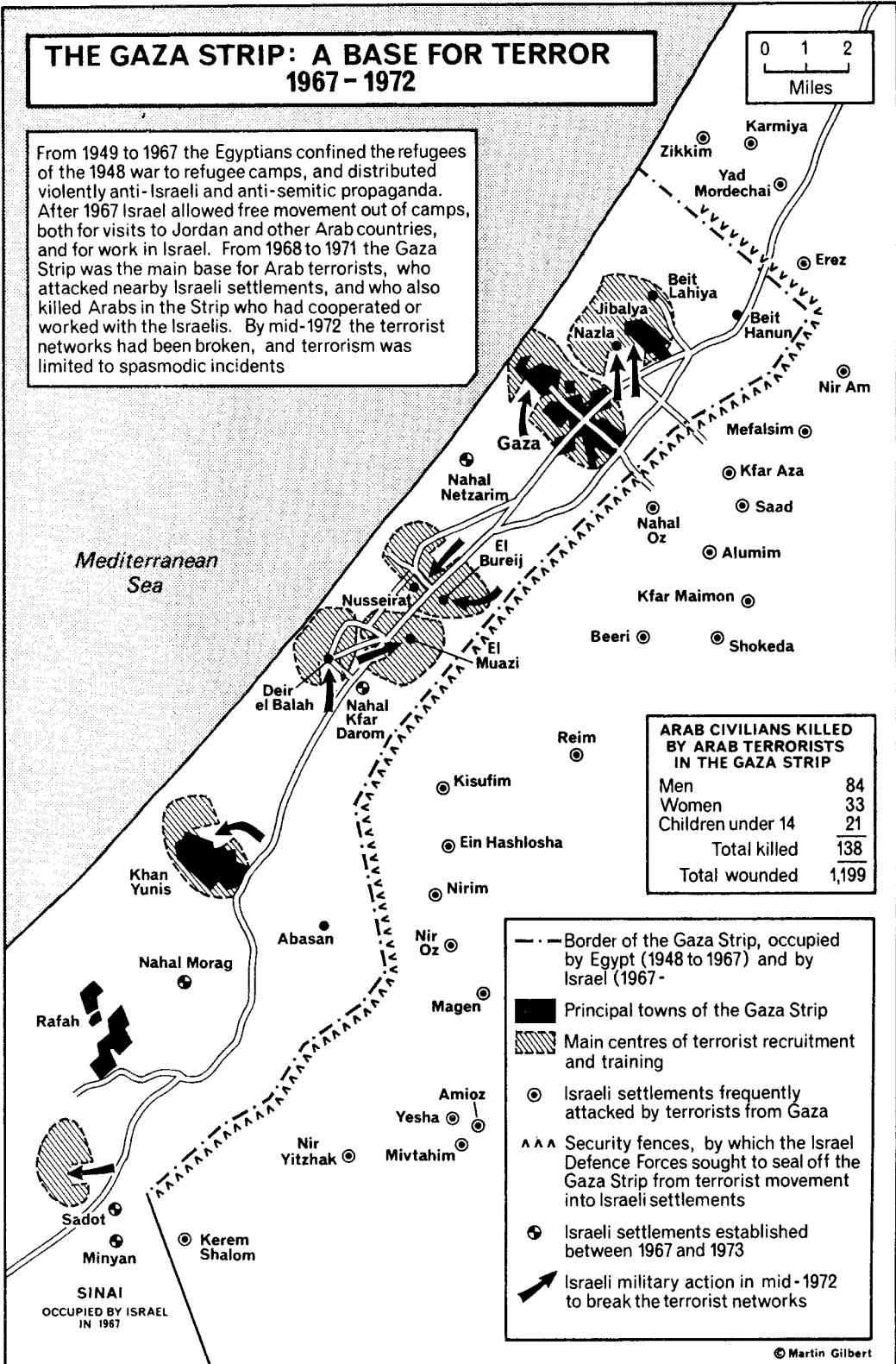
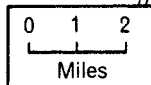
○ Syrian towns and villages abandoned during the fighting in 1967

By their conquest of the Golan heights in 1967, the Israelis freed their northern settlements from the from the spasmodic Syrian bombardment to which they had been subjected for 18 years. They also established several small settlements, and brought a thriving agriculture to parts of a previously barren and intensively fortified region

- — — Israel's borders with the Lebanon and Jordan since 1948
- ..... The cease fire line between Israel and Syria, 1949 - 1967
- ▬ The cease fire lines between Israel and Syria, from June 1967 (heavily fortified)
- Israeli settlements established on the Golan heights between 1967 and 1973
- ▨ Extent of Syrian artillery range (ten miles) after 1967
- ▩ The same Syrian range (ten miles) from the 1949 cease fire line

# THE GAZA STRIP: A BASE FOR TERROR 1967 - 1972

From 1949 to 1967 the Egyptians confined the refugees of the 1948 war to refugee camps, and distributed violently anti-Israeli and anti-semitic propaganda. After 1967 Israel allowed free movement out of camps, both for visits to Jordan and other Arab countries, and for work in Israel. From 1968 to 1971 the Gaza Strip was the main base for Arab terrorists, who attacked nearby Israeli settlements, and who also killed Arabs in the Strip who had cooperated or worked with the Israelis. By mid-1972 the terrorist networks had been broken, and terrorism was limited to spasmodic incidents

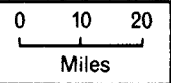


ARAB CIVILIANS KILLED BY ARAB TERRORISTS IN THE GAZA STRIP	
Men	84
Women	33
Children under 14	21
<b>Total killed</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>Total wounded</b>	<b>1,199</b>

- Border of the Gaza Strip, occupied by Egypt (1948 to 1967) and by Israel (1967 - )
- Principal towns of the Gaza Strip
- ▨ Main centres of terrorist recruitment and training
- ⊙ Israeli settlements frequently attacked by terrorists from Gaza
- ▲▲▲ Security fences, by which the Israel Defence Forces sought to seal off the Gaza Strip from terrorist movement into Israeli settlements
- ⊕ Israeli settlements established between 1967 and 1973
- ➔ Israeli military action in mid-1972 to break the terrorist networks

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# TERRORIST ACTIVITY AGAINST ISRAEL JUNE 1967 - DECEMBER 1968



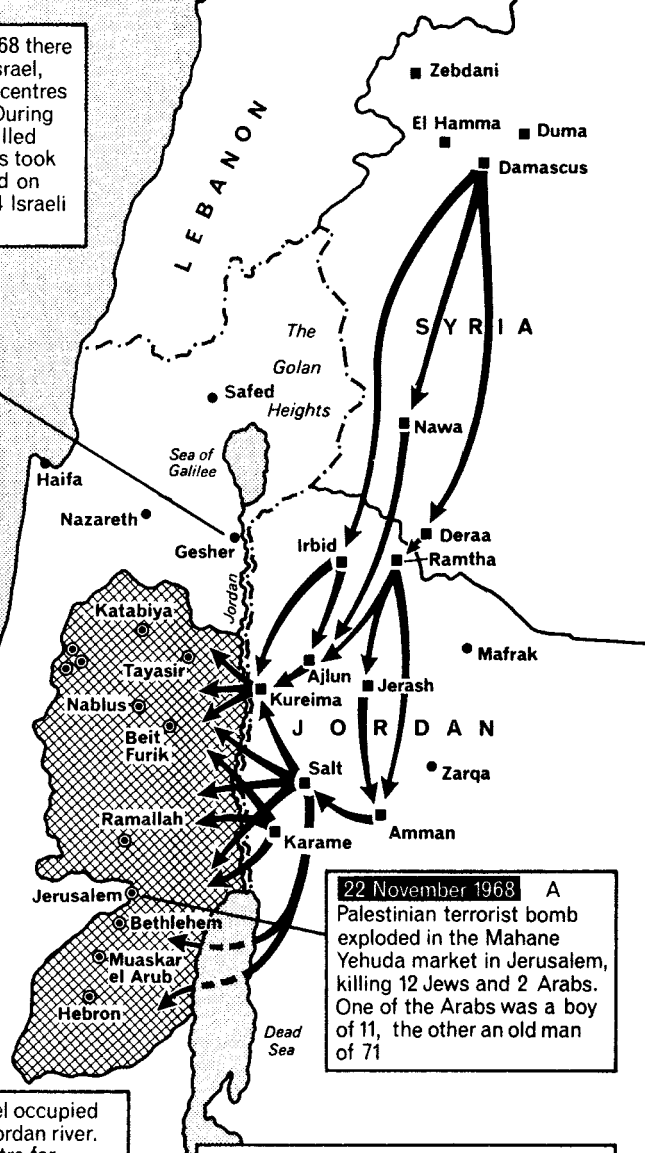
Between June 1967 and December 1968 there were 159 terrorist raids deep inside Israel, mostly directed against busy civilian centres such as bus stations and markets. During this period 47 Israeli civilians were killed and 330 injured. A further 1029 raids took place in border areas. In these, and on the counter-terrorist operations, 234 Israeli soldiers were killed and 785 injured

### AN ISRAELI CIVILIAN SETTLEMENT 1968: A TYPICAL BORDER STORY

- 22 Jan: Bazooka shelling, 2 wounded
- 11 Feb: Shelling
- 12 Feb: 2 soldiers wounded clearing mines
- 15 Feb: Shelling. Dining hall, milking shed and childrens' home damaged
- 13 June: Shelling. 6 farmers wounded. Crops, fields set on fire

Mediterranean Sea

Tel Aviv



22 November 1968 A Palestinian terrorist bomb exploded in the Mahane Yehuda market in Jerusalem, killing 12 Jews and 2 Arabs. One of the Arabs was a boy of 11, the other an old man of 71

As a result of the Six Day War, Israel occupied the Jordanian territory west of the Jordan river. Before 1967 this area had been a centre for Palestinian terrorist raids into Israel. From June 1967 to December 1968 the terrorists sought to establish permanent bases inside the Israeli occupied West Bank, hoping to advance from sporadic terrorism to mass guerilla activity. Syria assisted their training. Iraq and Jordan facilitated their transport. Egypt and Algeria encouraged recruitment. By December 1968 the Israelis had defeated all but a small handful of these West Bank terrorists, the majority of whom were captured and imprisoned

- - - Israel's borders, 1967 - 1973
- ▨ The West Bank, administered by Israel, June 1967 -
- Terrorist training and transit camps outside Israel
- ↙ Main terrorist routes
- ⊙ Centres used by terrorists inside the West Bank

# ISRAELI SECURITY MEASURES AND THE JORDAN VALLEY 1967 - 1970

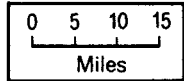
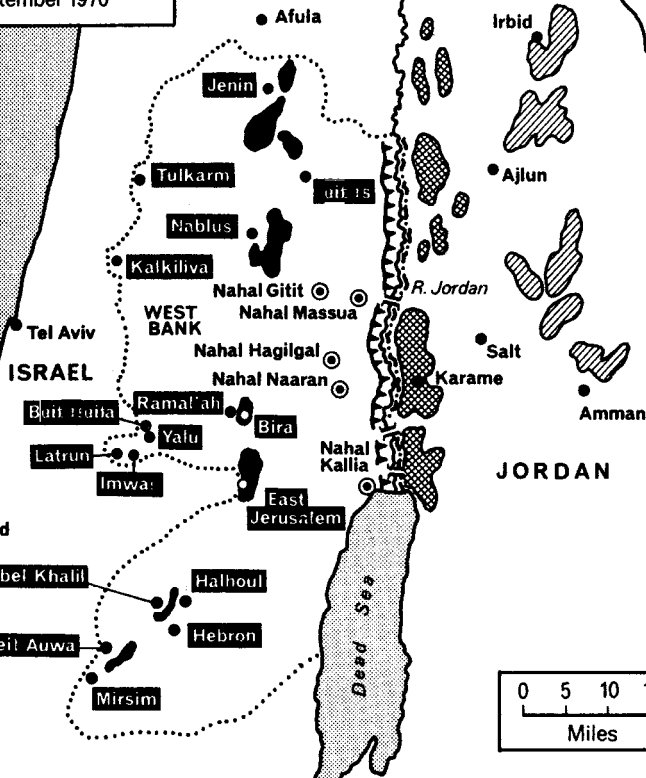
- Israeli military settlements (Nahal settlements) established 1967 - 1969
- ⚔ Main Israeli border defences (forts, minefields, artillery units) established 1968-1970
- ⚖ Bridges open to Arab civilian trade and traffic in both directions, and across which Arabs suspected of terrorism were expelled
- Main areas of terrorist activity, June - December 1967
- ▨ Main terrorist bases, for frequent raids across the Jordan, January - March 1968
- ▨ Main terrorist bases (after the Karame raid) used for spasmodic raids across the Jordan, April 1968 - September 1970

- Towns and villages in which the Israeli military authorities blew up Arab houses between June 1967 and November 1969, as reprisals against terrorist activity. In all, more than 5,000 houses were destroyed, and more than five hundred Arabs expelled from the West Bank. By October 1973 more than a thousand Arabs had been expelled
- - - The Israel - Jordan cease-fire line established in June 1967
- ⋯⋯⋯ The 'Green Line' cease-fire line between Israel and Jordan from 1949 to 1967

*Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine... the liberation of Palestine is a national duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the great Arab homeland and to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine... the partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are fundamentally null and void.*

THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COVENANT,  
adopted 17 JULY 1968 by the Palestine  
National Council

Mediterranean  
Sea



Between 1967 and 1970, Arab terrorists on the West Bank killed 12 Israelis, as well as over 50 Arabs whom they accused of 'collaborating' with Israel. Israeli forces were active in driving the terrorists towards the Jordan river, and on 21 March 1968 crossed the river in force to attack the terrorist base at Karame. Following this raid, the Israeli army established a fortified line along the Jordan, with a border fence and minefields, effectively sealing the border, and the terrorists themselves withdrew eastwards from the valley to the mountains. During 1970 terrorist acts on the West Bank stopped almost completely. They began again, on a small scale, after October 1973

## THE WEST BANK UNDER ISRAELI MILITARY ADMINISTRATION 1967-

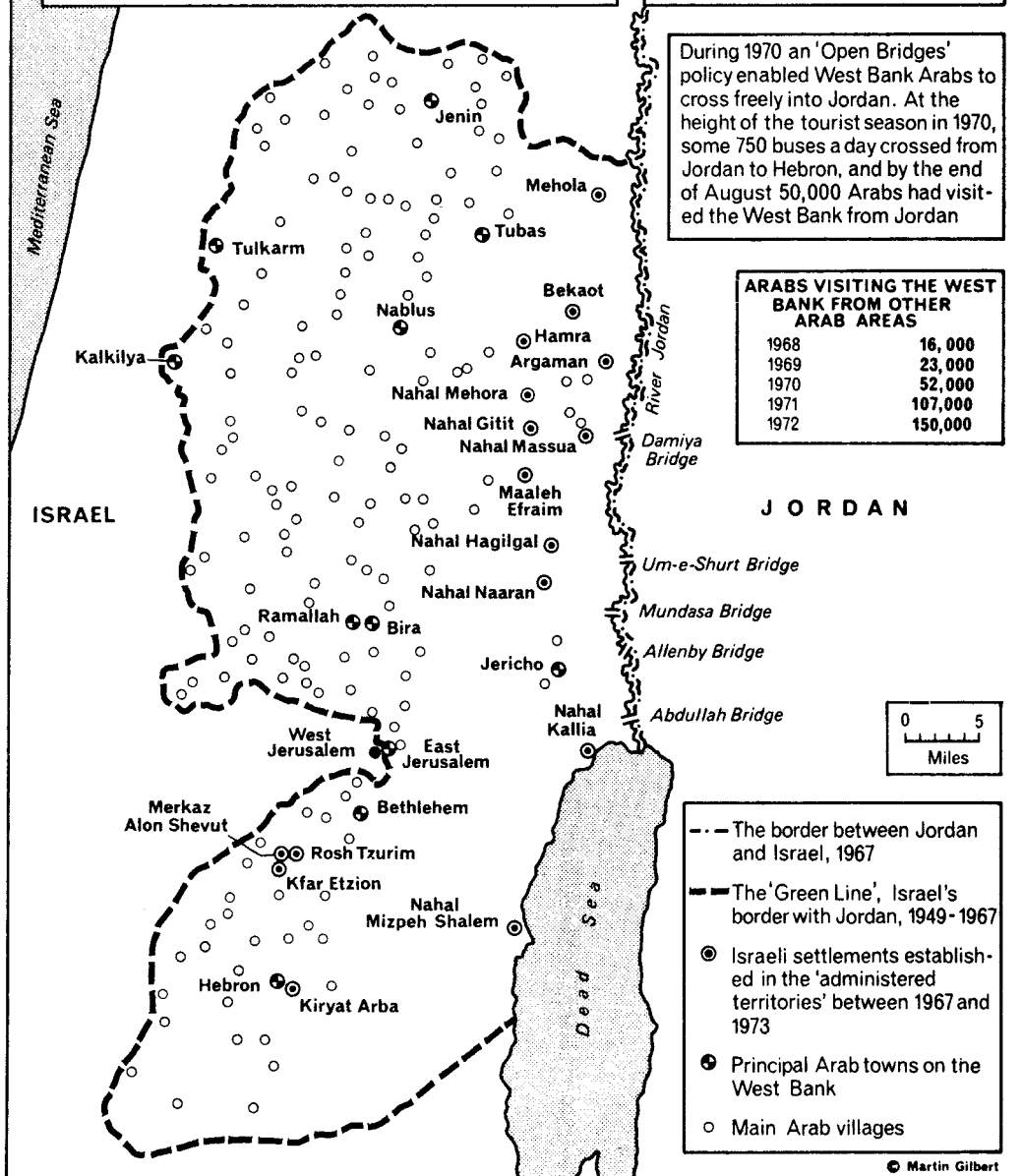
The Israeli conquest of the West Bank in June 1967 brought 600,000 Arabs under Israeli military administration. The Israelis encouraged and financed economic development, and by the end of 1970 Arab unemployment had dropped from 12% to 3%. By 1972 over 60,000 Arabs crossed the 'Green Line' every morning to work in Israel. At the same time, over 100,000 Arabs visited other Arab states for work, education and business. By 1973 over 14,500 West Bank Arabs were working in local administration in the West Bank

Sixteen Israeli settlements were founded in the West Bank between 1967 and 1973, with a total civilian population of 1,150. One of these settlements was near Hebron, where Jews had lived for more than two thousand years, before being driven out by the Arabs in 1929. Another group of settlements, the Etzion Bloc, was established on the site of settlements destroyed by the Arabs in 1949. At the same time, 44,000 Arabs who had fled from the West Bank in 1967, returned by 1972

During 1970 an 'Open Bridges' policy enabled West Bank Arabs to cross freely into Jordan. At the height of the tourist season in 1970, some 750 buses a day crossed from Jordan to Hebron, and by the end of August 50,000 Arabs had visited the West Bank from Jordan

### ARABS VISITING THE WEST BANK FROM OTHER ARAB AREAS

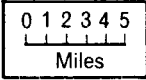
1968	16,000
1969	23,000
1970	52,000
1971	107,000
1972	150,000



# LEBANON: A BASE FOR TERROR 1968 - 1973

-  'Fatahland' the main area of Palestine terrorist training in the Lebanon
-  Main area of terrorist 'front-line' bases in southern Lebanon
-  Principal Palestinian terrorist camps in southern Lebanon
-  Israeli border settlements frequently attacked

From October 1968, Palestinian terrorists operated against northern Israel from inside Lebanon, shelling farms, burning crops, and carrying out raids on settlements. By mid-1972 there were 5,000 armed terrorists in southern Lebanon, including 1,000 Libyan and 500 Syrian volunteers






Palestinian refugee camp in which the Japanese terrorists who carried out the Lod Airport massacre were trained





METULLA	
ATTACKS ON A BORDER TOWN OF 800 PEOPLE: A SAMPLE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY	
20 Aug 1969	Bazooka shelling
20 Nov 1969	Tractor driver wounded by a mine
13 Dec 1969	Two villagers killed by bazooka fire while watching an outdoor film
1 Jan 1970	A 54 year old villager kidnapped (released 14 months later)
14 June 1970	Bazooka shelling; Villagers forced to sleep in underground shelters
5 Aug 1970	Four boys wounded by shellfire
16 Nov 1970	Plantation set on fire by shellfire

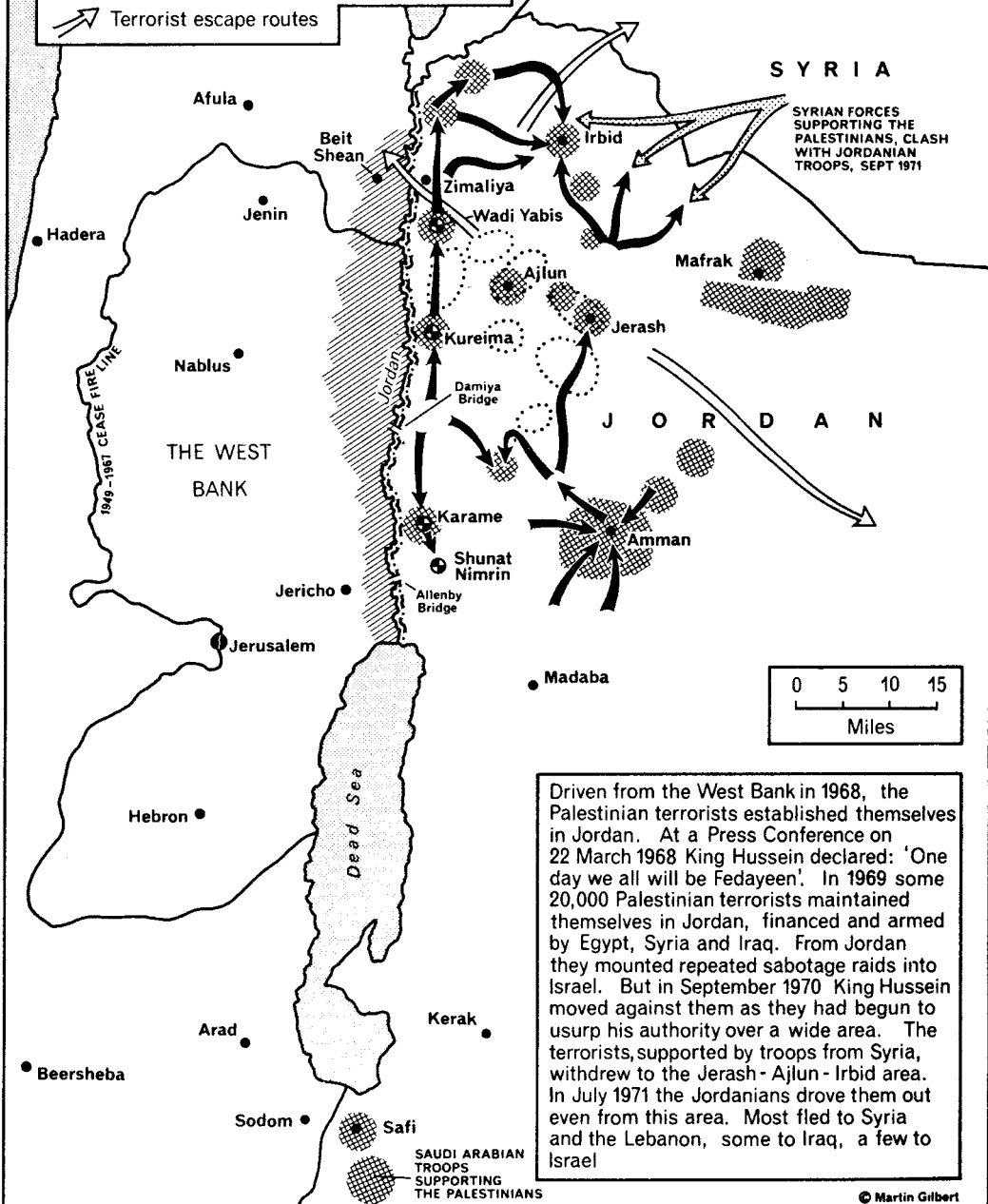
*Lebanon will continue to honour its commitments and will serve in solving the Palestine problem*  
**SAEB SALFM, LEBANESE PRIME MINISTER**  
 8 JUNE 1973

© Martin Gilbert

# JORDAN: A BASE FOR TERROR 1968 - 1971

-  Main lines of Jordanian attacks against the Palestinian terrorists, September 1970
-  Areas remaining under terrorist control, September 1970 to July 1971, and occupied by Jordanian troops in July 1971
-  Terrorist escape routes

-  The cease-fire line between Israel and Jordan 1967
-  Palestinian bases along the Jordan river (inside Jordan)
-  Limit of terrorist penetration across the Jordan, 1968 - 1971
-  Jordanian territory under terrorist control, 1968 - 1970



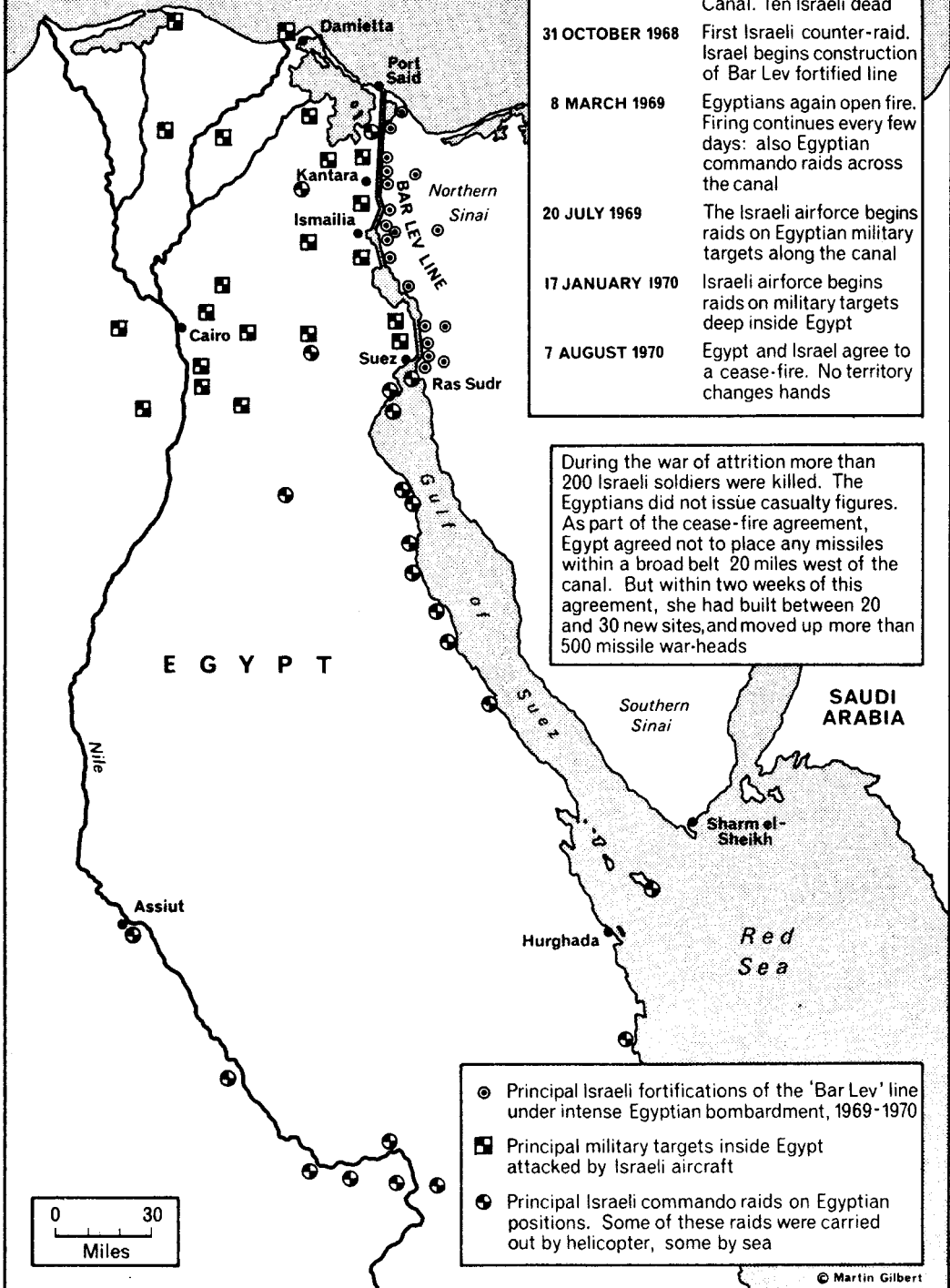
Driven from the West Bank in 1968, the Palestinian terrorists established themselves in Jordan. At a Press Conference on 22 March 1968 King Hussein declared: 'One day we all will be Fedayeen'. In 1969 some 20,000 Palestinian terrorists maintained themselves in Jordan, financed and armed by Egypt, Syria and Iraq. From Jordan they mounted repeated sabotage raids into Israel. But in September 1970 King Hussein moved against them as they had begun to usurp his authority over a wide area. The terrorists, supported by troops from Syria, withdrew to the Jerash - Ajlun - Irbid area. In July 1971 the Jordanians drove them out even from this area. Most fled to Syria and the Lebanon, some to Iraq, a few to Israel

# THE WAR OF ATTRITION 1969 - 1970

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR OF ATTRITION

- 26 OCTOBER 1968** Egyptians open fire at Israeli positions on the east bank of the Suez Canal. Ten Israeli dead
- 31 OCTOBER 1968** First Israeli counter-raid. Israel begins construction of Bar Lev fortified line
- 8 MARCH 1969** Egyptians again open fire. Firing continues every few days: also Egyptian commando raids across the canal
- 20 JULY 1969** The Israeli airforce begins raids on Egyptian military targets along the canal
- 17 JANUARY 1970** Israeli airforce begins raids on military targets deep inside Egypt
- 7 AUGUST 1970** Egypt and Israel agree to a cease-fire. No territory changes hands

During the war of attrition more than 200 Israeli soldiers were killed. The Egyptians did not issue casualty figures. As part of the cease-fire agreement, Egypt agreed not to place any missiles within a broad belt 20 miles west of the canal. But within two weeks of this agreement, she had built between 20 and 30 new sites, and moved up more than 500 missile war-heads



© Martin Gilbert



# TERRORISM INSIDE ISRAEL: SOME EXAMPLES, 1969 - 1972

Between June 1967 and March 1971, 120 Israeli civilians and 183 soldiers were killed by terrorists inside Israel. A further 1,574 were wounded. (The terrorists claimed 8,575 Israeli dead). During the same period, Israeli troops killed 1,873 terrorists inside Israel, and captured over 3,000, all of whom were imprisoned (there is no death penalty in Israel)

*Our basic aim is to liberate the land from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River. We are not concerned with what took place in June 1967, or in eliminating the consequences of the June war. The Palestine revolution's basic concern is the uprooting of the Zionist entity from our land and liberating it..... supported by the iron fist of the Arab masses*  
YASSIR ARAFAT, IN AMMAN, REPORTED IN 'FATEH'  
5 AUGUST 1970

**22 October 1969** 2 Jews killed when a terrorist bomb blew up a house

**22 May 1970** Eight children (aged 6 to 9 years) killed when a terrorist shell struck their bus

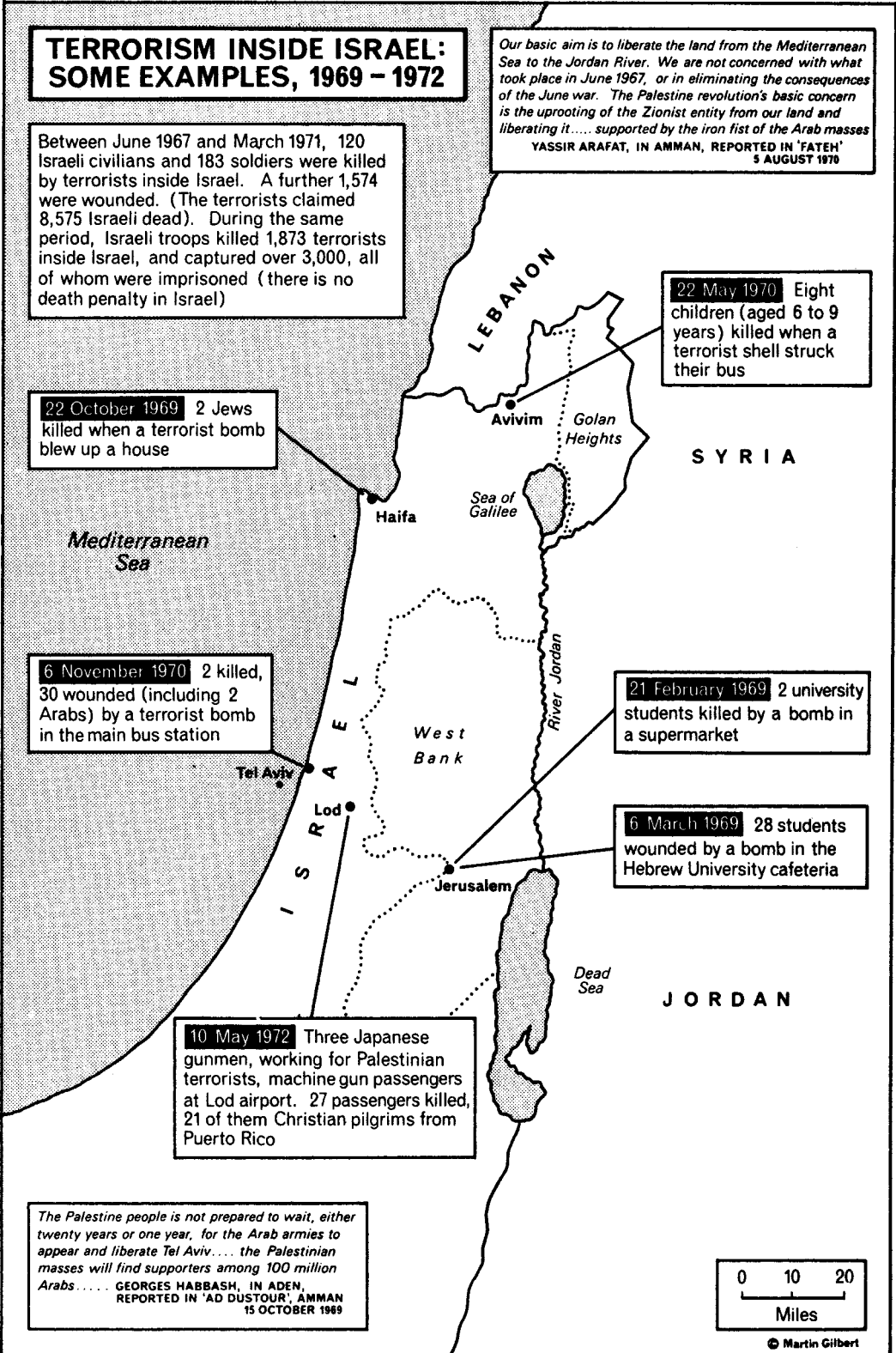
**6 November 1970** 2 killed, 30 wounded (including 2 Arabs) by a terrorist bomb in the main bus station

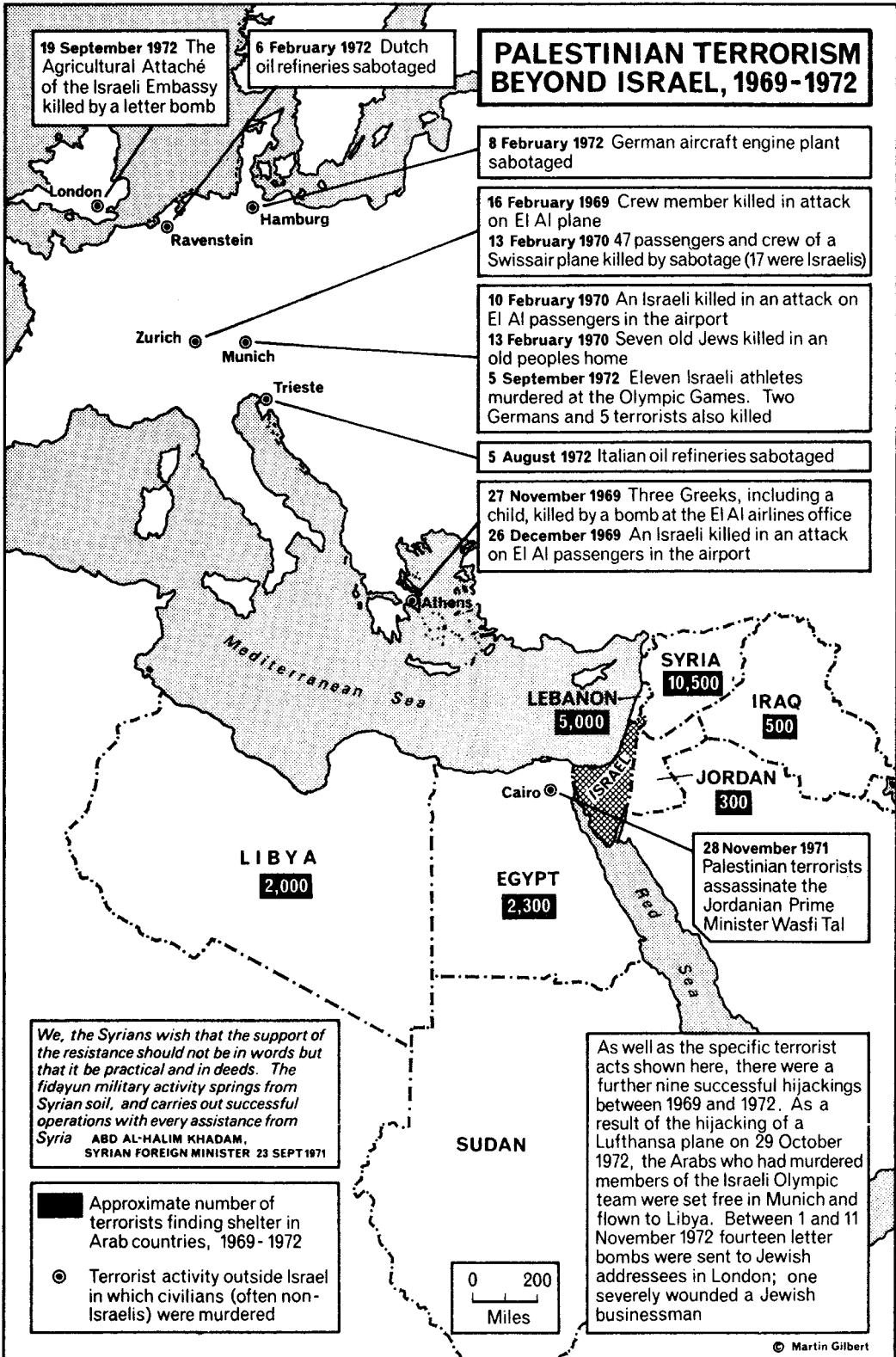
**21 February 1969** 2 university students killed by a bomb in a supermarket

**6 March 1969** 28 students wounded by a bomb in the Hebrew University cafeteria

**10 May 1972** Three Japanese gunmen, working for Palestinian terrorists, machine gun passengers at Lod airport. 27 passengers killed, 21 of them Christian pilgrims from Puerto Rico




*The Palestine people is not prepared to wait, either twenty years or one year, for the Arab armies to appear and liberate Tel Aviv.... the Palestinian masses will find supporters among 100 million Arabs.....*  
GEORGES HABBASH, IN ADEN,  
REPORTED IN 'AD DUSTOUR', AMMAN  
15 OCTOBER 1969



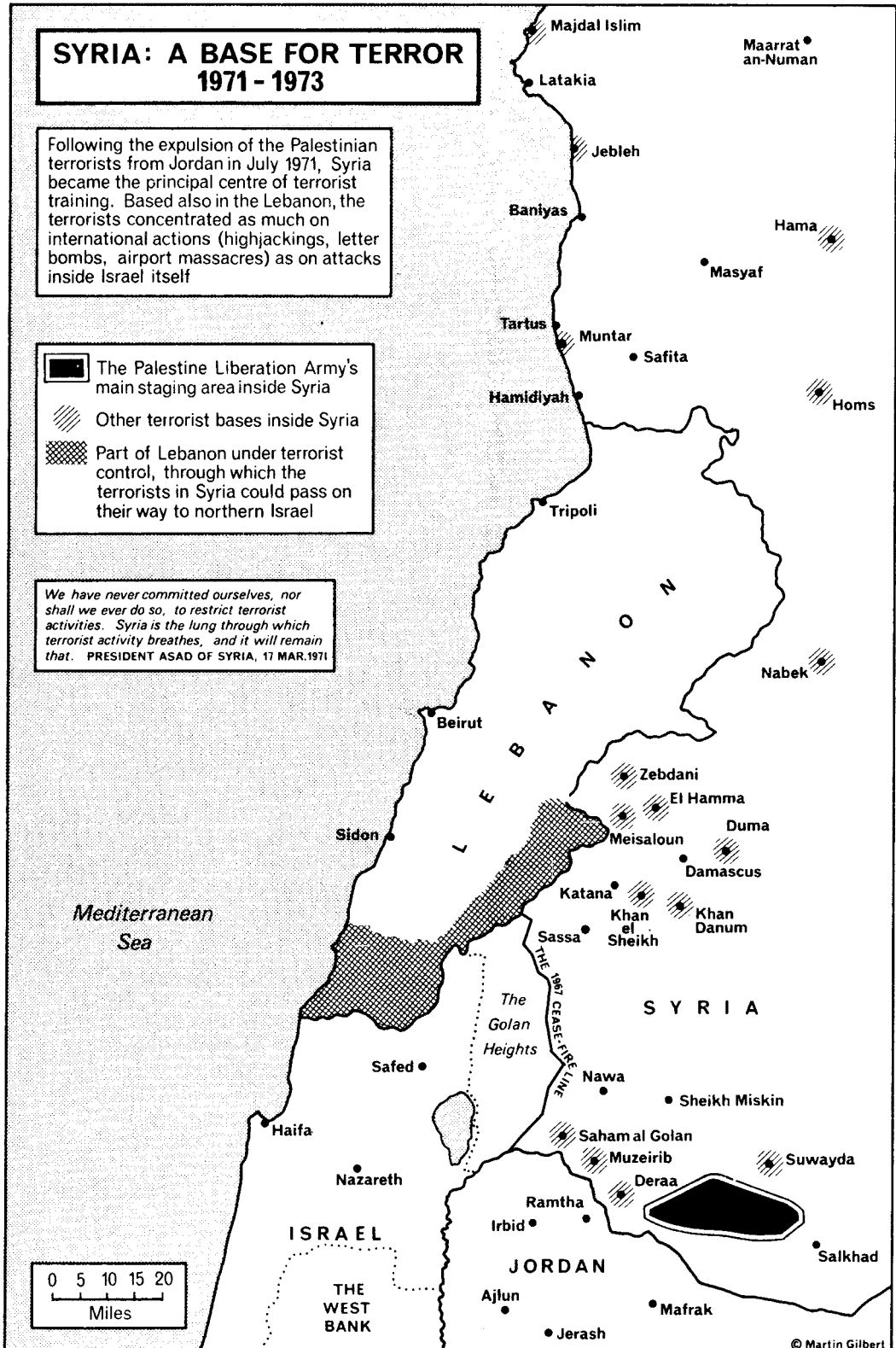


# SYRIA: A BASE FOR TERROR 1971 - 1973

Following the expulsion of the Palestinian terrorists from Jordan in July 1971, Syria became the principal centre of terrorist training. Based also in the Lebanon, the terrorists concentrated as much on international actions (hijackings, letter bombs, airport massacres) as on attacks inside Israel itself

-  The Palestine Liberation Army's main staging area inside Syria
-  Other terrorist bases inside Syria
-  Part of Lebanon under terrorist control, through which the terrorists in Syria could pass on their way to northern Israel

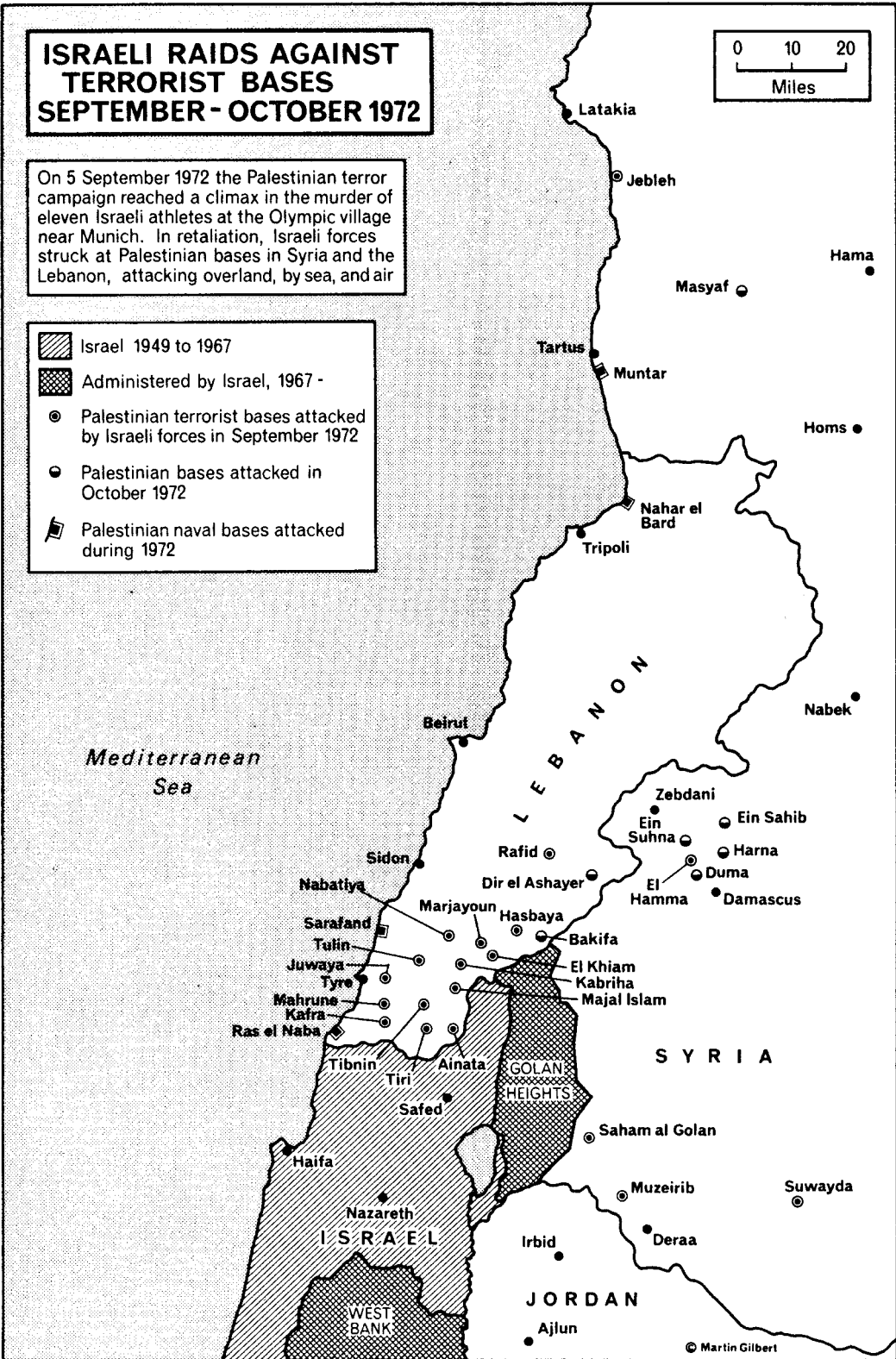
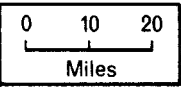
*We have never committed ourselves, nor shall we ever do so, to restrict terrorist activities. Syria is the lung through which terrorist activity breathes, and it will remain that.* PRESIDENT ASAD OF SYRIA, 17 MAR. 1971



# ISRAELI RAIDS AGAINST TERRORIST BASES SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 1972

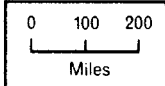
On 5 September 1972 the Palestinian terror campaign reached a climax in the murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the Olympic village near Munich. In retaliation, Israeli forces struck at Palestinian bases in Syria and the Lebanon, attacking overland, by sea, and air

-  Israel 1949 to 1967
-  Administered by Israel, 1967 -
-  Palestinian terrorist bases attacked by Israeli forces in September 1972
-  Palestinian bases attacked in October 1972
-  Palestinian naval bases attacked during 1972

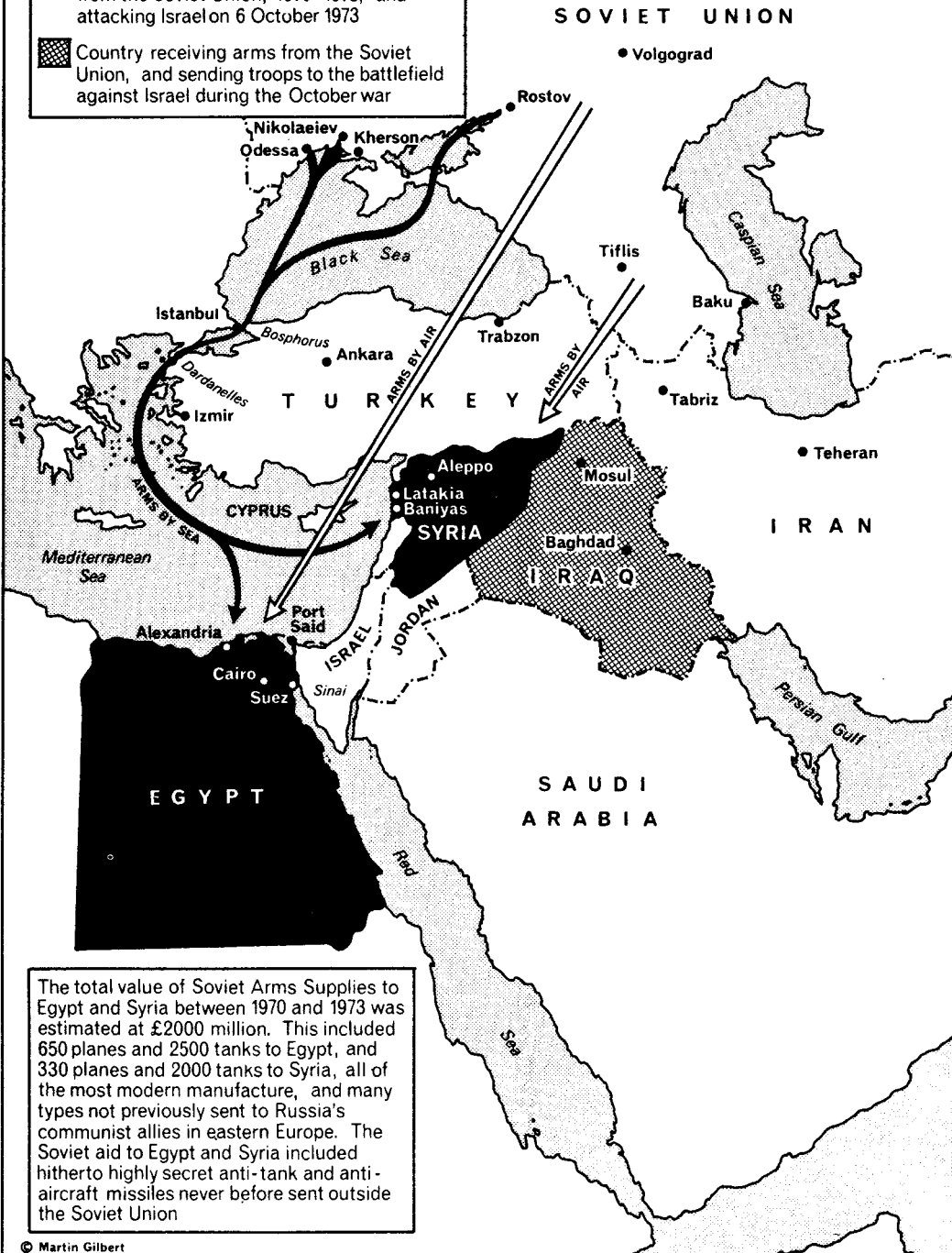


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# SOVIET ARMS SUPPLIES TO THE MIDDLE EAST JANUARY 1970 - SEPTEMBER 1973



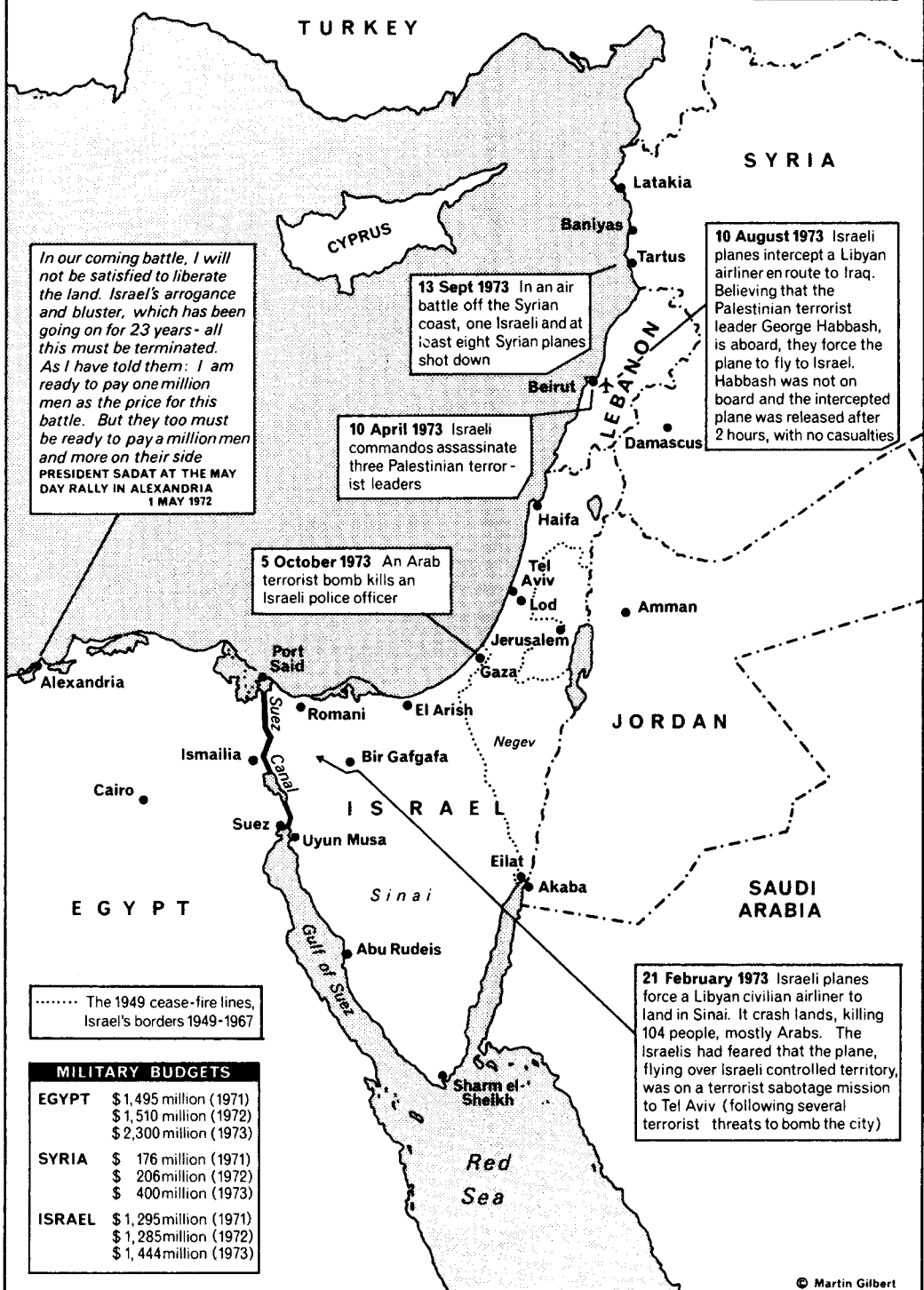
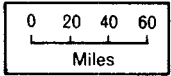
- Countries receiving substantial arms supplies from the Soviet Union, 1970-1973, and attacking Israel on 6 October 1973
- Country receiving arms from the Soviet Union, and sending troops to the battlefield against Israel during the October war



The total value of Soviet Arms Supplies to Egypt and Syria between 1970 and 1973 was estimated at £2000 million. This included 650 planes and 2500 tanks to Egypt, and 330 planes and 2000 tanks to Syria, all of the most modern manufacture, and many types not previously sent to Russia's communist allies in eastern Europe. The Soviet aid to Egypt and Syria included hitherto highly secret anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles never before sent outside the Soviet Union

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# THE BUILD UP TO WAR, 1972 - 1973



*In our coming battle, I will not be satisfied to liberate the land. Israel's arrogance and bluster, which has been going on for 23 years - all this must be terminated. As I have told them: I am ready to pay one million men as the price for this battle. But they too must be ready to pay a million men and more on their side*  
**PRESIDENT SADAT AT THE MAY DAY RALLY IN ALEXANDRIA**  
 1 MAY 1972

**13 Sept 1973** In an air battle off the Syrian coast, one Israeli and at least eight Syrian planes shot down

**10 April 1973** Israeli commandos assassinate three Palestinian terrorist leaders

**5 October 1973** An Arab terrorist bomb kills an Israeli police officer

**10 August 1973** Israeli planes intercept a Libyan airliner en route to Iraq. Believing that the Palestinian terrorist leader George Habbash, is aboard, they force the plane to fly to Israel. Habbash was not on board and the intercepted plane was released after 2 hours, with no casualties

**21 February 1973** Israeli planes force a Libyan civilian airliner to land in Sinai. It crash lands, killing 104 people, mostly Arabs. The Israelis had feared that the plane, flying over Israeli controlled territory, was on a terrorist sabotage mission to Tel Aviv (following several terrorist threats to bomb the city)

..... The 1949 cease-fire lines, Israel's borders 1949-1967

MILITARY BUDGETS	
EGYPT	\$ 1,495 million (1971)
	\$ 1,510 million (1972)
	\$ 2,300 million (1973)
SYRIA	\$ 176 million (1971)
	\$ 206 million (1972)
	\$ 400 million (1973)
ISRAEL	\$ 1,295 million (1971)
	\$ 1,285 million (1972)
	\$ 1,444 million (1973)

## PALESTINIAN TERRORISM BEYOND ISRAEL, 1973

**30 December** Unsuccessful assassination attempt on J. Edward Sieff, President of Marks and Spencer. The Cairo newspaper Al-Ahram later demanded an Arab boycott on all goods from Marks and Spencer stores

**4 October** Following a terrorist hijacking, the Austrian Government agreed to terrorist demands to close down the Schonau transit camp for Jewish refugees en route from Russia to Israel

**5 September** Italian police arrest five Arabs in a flat near the airport. The Arabs had a SAM 7 missile intended for shooting down an Israeli plane  
**17 December** Terrorists kill 33 airline passengers (including 2 Moroccan politicians) during a hijacking

**5 August** Four people killed and fifty five injured during a terrorist hijacking attempt

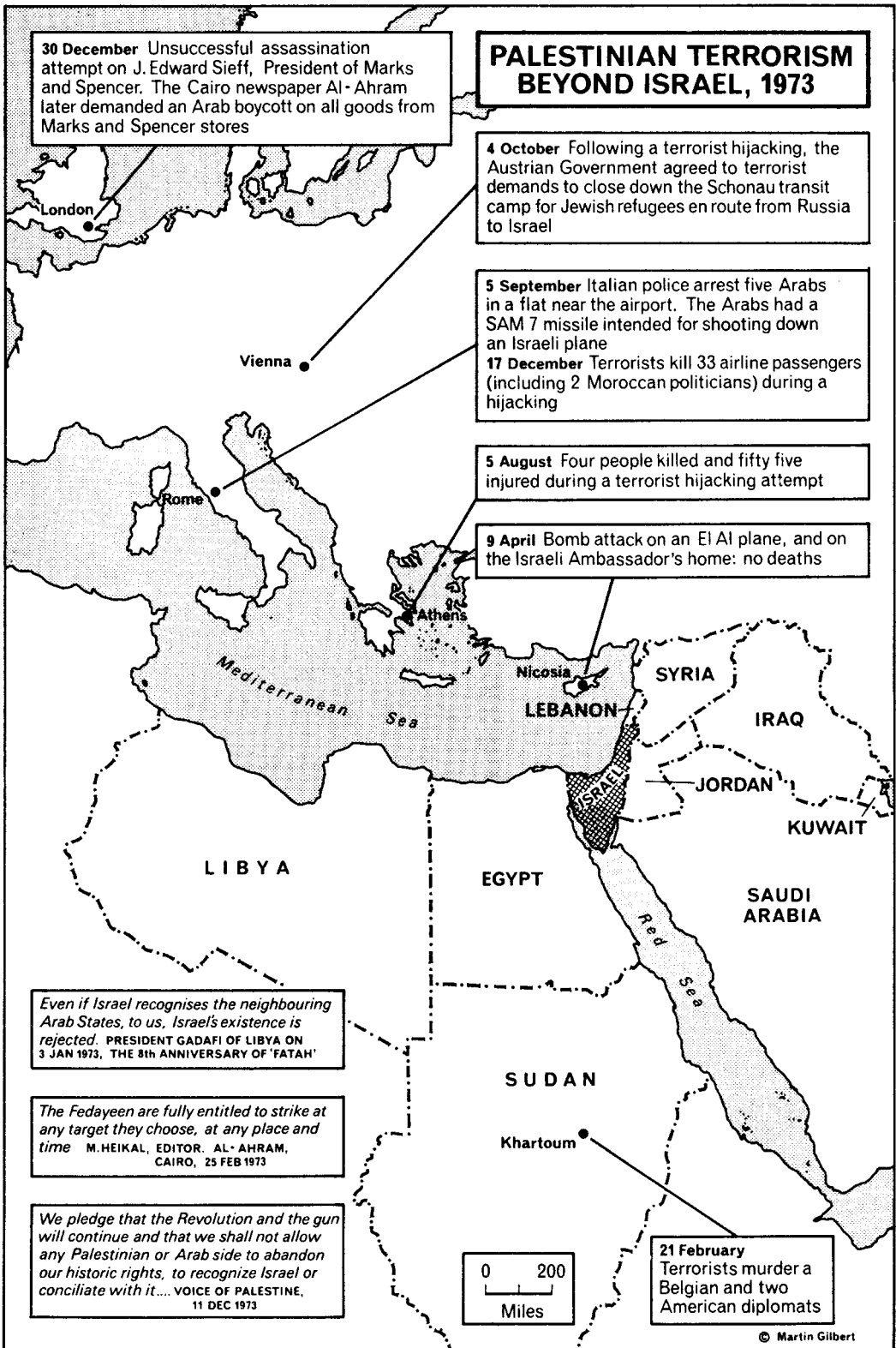
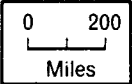
**9 April** Bomb attack on an El Al plane, and on the Israeli Ambassador's home: no deaths

*Even if Israel recognises the neighbouring Arab States, to us, Israel's existence is rejected.* PRESIDENT GADAFI OF LIBYA ON 3 JAN 1973, THE 8th ANNIVERSARY OF 'FATAH'

*The Fedayeen are fully entitled to strike at any target they choose, at any place and time* M. HEIKAL, EDITOR. AL-AHRAM, CAIRO, 25 FEB 1973

*We pledge that the Revolution and the gun will continue and that we shall not allow any Palestinian or Arab side to abandon our historic rights, to recognize Israel or conciliate with it....* VOICE OF PALESTINE, 11 DEC 1973

**21 February** Terrorists murder a Belgian and two American diplomats

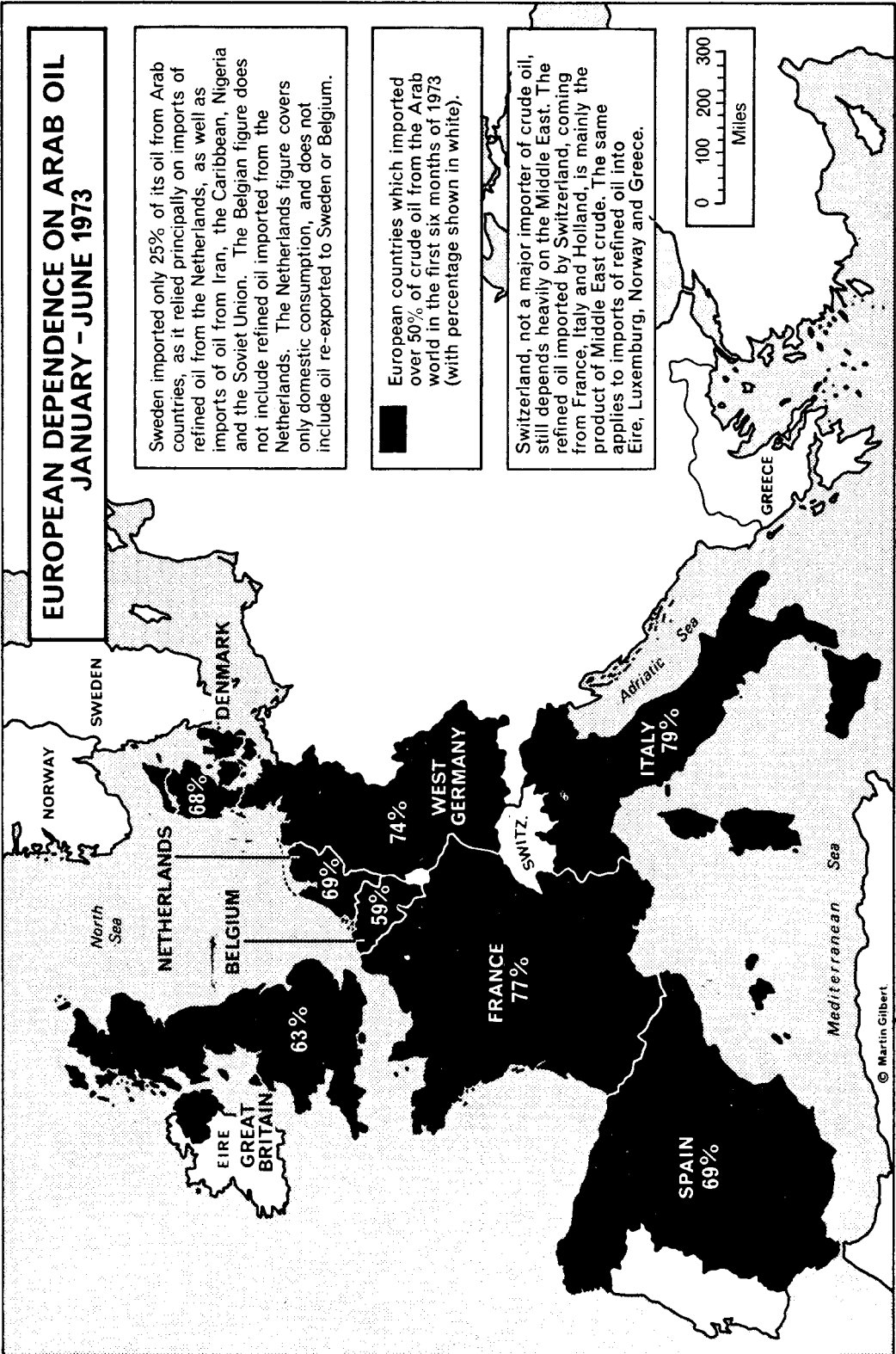
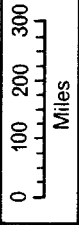


# EUROPEAN DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OIL JANUARY - JUNE 1973

Sweden imported only 25% of its oil from Arab countries, as it relied principally on imports of refined oil from the Netherlands, as well as imports of oil from Iran, the Caribbean, Nigeria and the Soviet Union. The Belgian figure does not include refined oil imported from the Netherlands. The Netherlands figure covers only domestic consumption, and does not include oil re-exported to Sweden or Belgium.

European countries which imported over 50% of crude oil from the Arab world in the first six months of 1973 (with percentage shown in white).

Switzerland, not a major importer of crude oil, still depends heavily on the Middle East. The refined oil imported by Switzerland, coming from France, Italy and Holland, is mainly the product of Middle East crude. The same applies to imports of refined oil into Eire, Luxembourg, Norway and Greece.

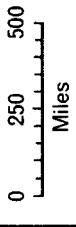


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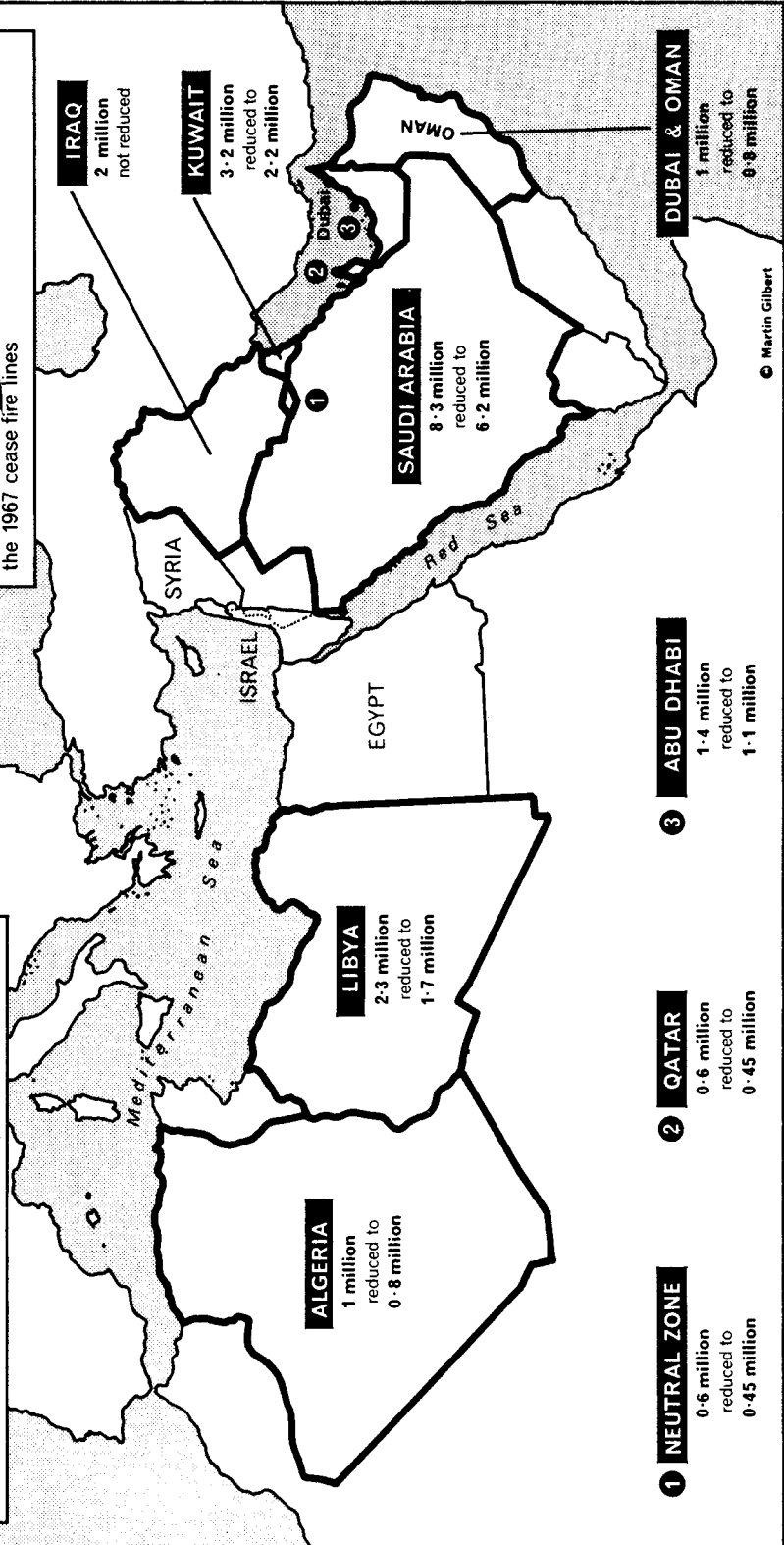


# ARAB OIL PRESSURE SEPTEMBER - NOVEMBER 1973

Arab oil producing states reducing supplies. The figures show the daily production of barrels of oil (in millions of barrels) in September 1973, and the reduced figure for November 1973.



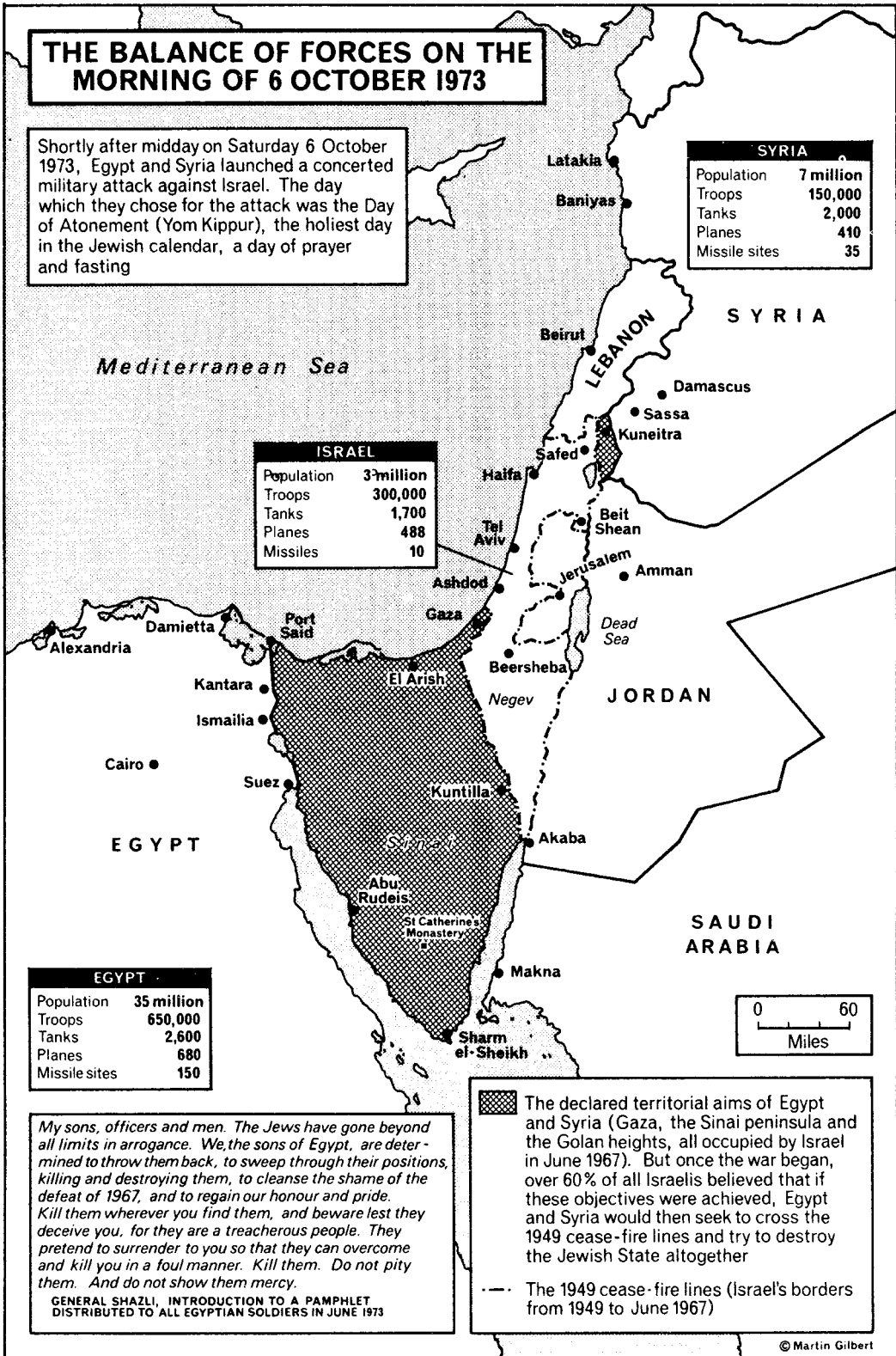
On 17 October 1973, eleven days after Egypt and Syria had attacked Israel, the Arab producing states agreed to cut supplies of oil to the oil importing states, hoping thereby to put political pressure on Israel. On 4 November 1973 these same Arab states, with the exception of Iraq, agreed to a 25% cut in oil exports below the September level, in order to persuade the oil importers that Israel should be made to return to the 1967 cease fire lines



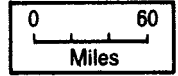
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## THE BALANCE OF FORCES ON THE MORNING OF 6 OCTOBER 1973

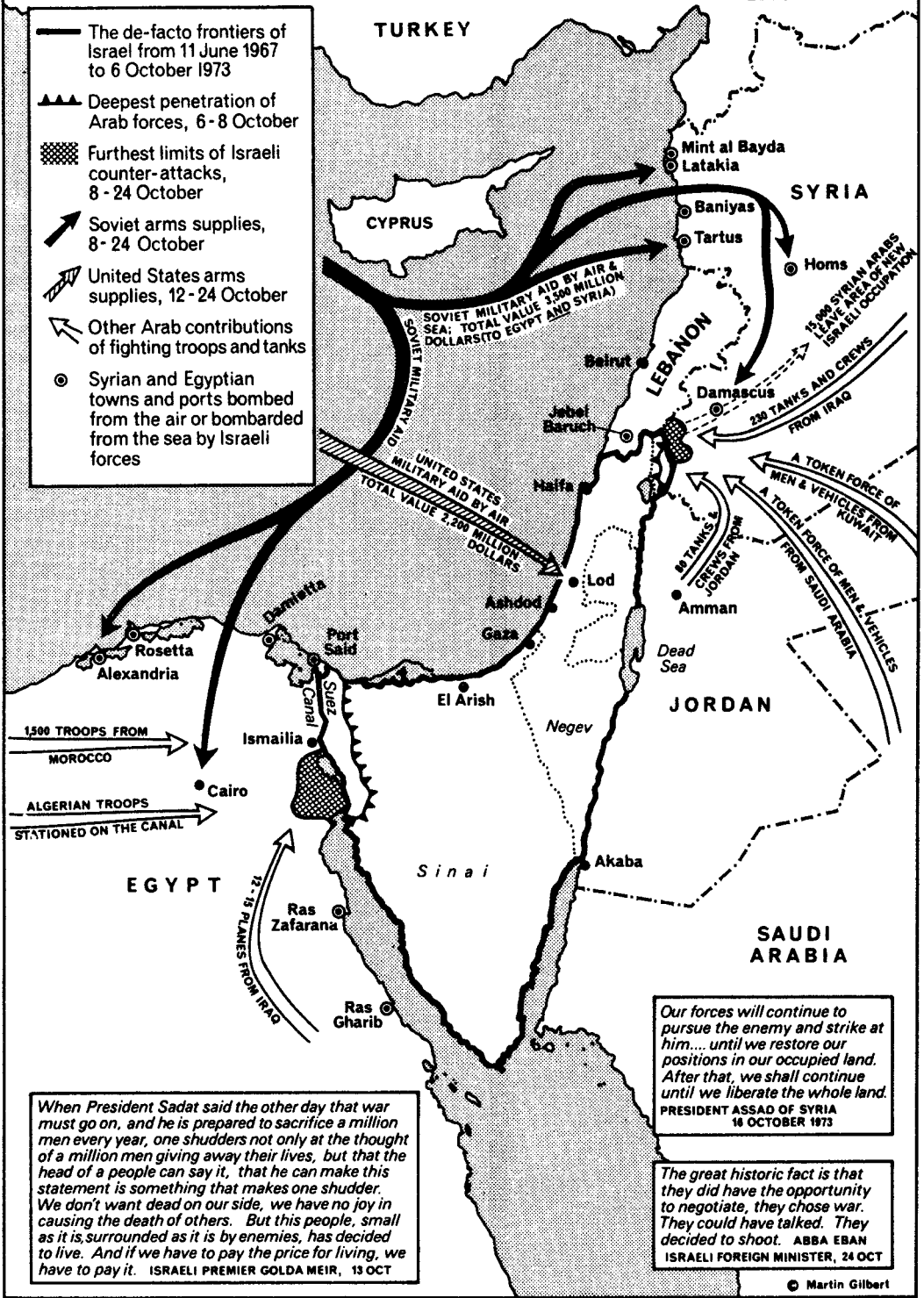
Shortly after midday on Saturday 6 October 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a concerted military attack against Israel. The day which they chose for the attack was the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, a day of prayer and fasting



# THE OCTOBER WAR, 6-24 OCTOBER 1973



- The de-facto frontiers of Israel from 11 June 1967 to 6 October 1973
- Deepest penetration of Arab forces, 6-8 October
- Furthest limits of Israeli counter-attacks, 8-24 October
- Soviet arms supplies, 8-24 October
- United States arms supplies, 12-24 October
- Other Arab contributions of fighting troops and tanks
- Syrian and Egyptian towns and ports bombed from the air or bombarded from the sea by Israeli forces

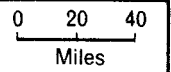


*When President Sadat said the other day that war must go on, and he is prepared to sacrifice a million men every year, one shudders not only at the thought of a million men giving away their lives, but that the head of a people can say it, that he can make this statement is something that makes one shudder. We don't want dead on our side, we have no joy in causing the death of others. But this people, small as it is, surrounded as it is by enemies, has decided to live. And if we have to pay the price for living, we have to pay it. ISRAELI PREMIER GOLDA MEIR, 13 OCT*

*Our forces will continue to pursue the enemy and strike at him... until we restore our positions in our occupied land. After that, we shall continue until we liberate the whole land. PRESIDENT ASSAD OF SYRIA 14 OCTOBER 1973*

*The great historic fact is that they did have the opportunity to negotiate, they chose war. They could have talked. They decided to shoot. ABBA EBAN ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER, 24 OCT*

# ISRAEL AT WAR, 6-24 OCTOBER 1973



- The de-facto frontiers of Israel from 6 June 1967 to 6 October 1973
- ..... The 'Green Line', Israel's Sinai, West Bank and Golan borders between 1949 and 1967
- Israeli civilian settlements hit by Syrian rockets, or by terrorist shells fired from behind the Lebanese border
- ▲ The furthest advance of the Egyptian and Syrian armies

**6-24 October** Throughout the war these bridges remained open for Arab civilians, and for Arab exports to Jordan

**16 October** Israel distributes welfare food to 13,000 Arabs in the Gaza Strip and El Arish, and to 60,000 Bedouin at Rafah. In addition, 10,000 food packages are distributed by Israel in honour of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan

**13 October** The Municipality of Arab Nazareth participates in the Israel Government voluntary war loan. Throughout Northern Israel, Arabs volunteer to drive vehicles, give blood, and make cash contributions to Israel's war effort

**11 October** Several hundred Arabs request permission to do volunteer work for Israeli war effort

**9 October** Arab workers resume their work across the 'Green Line' with resumption of special bus services, suspended on October 6

**6-24 October** More than 16,000 Israelis returned to Israel from abroad. The majority at once joined their military units

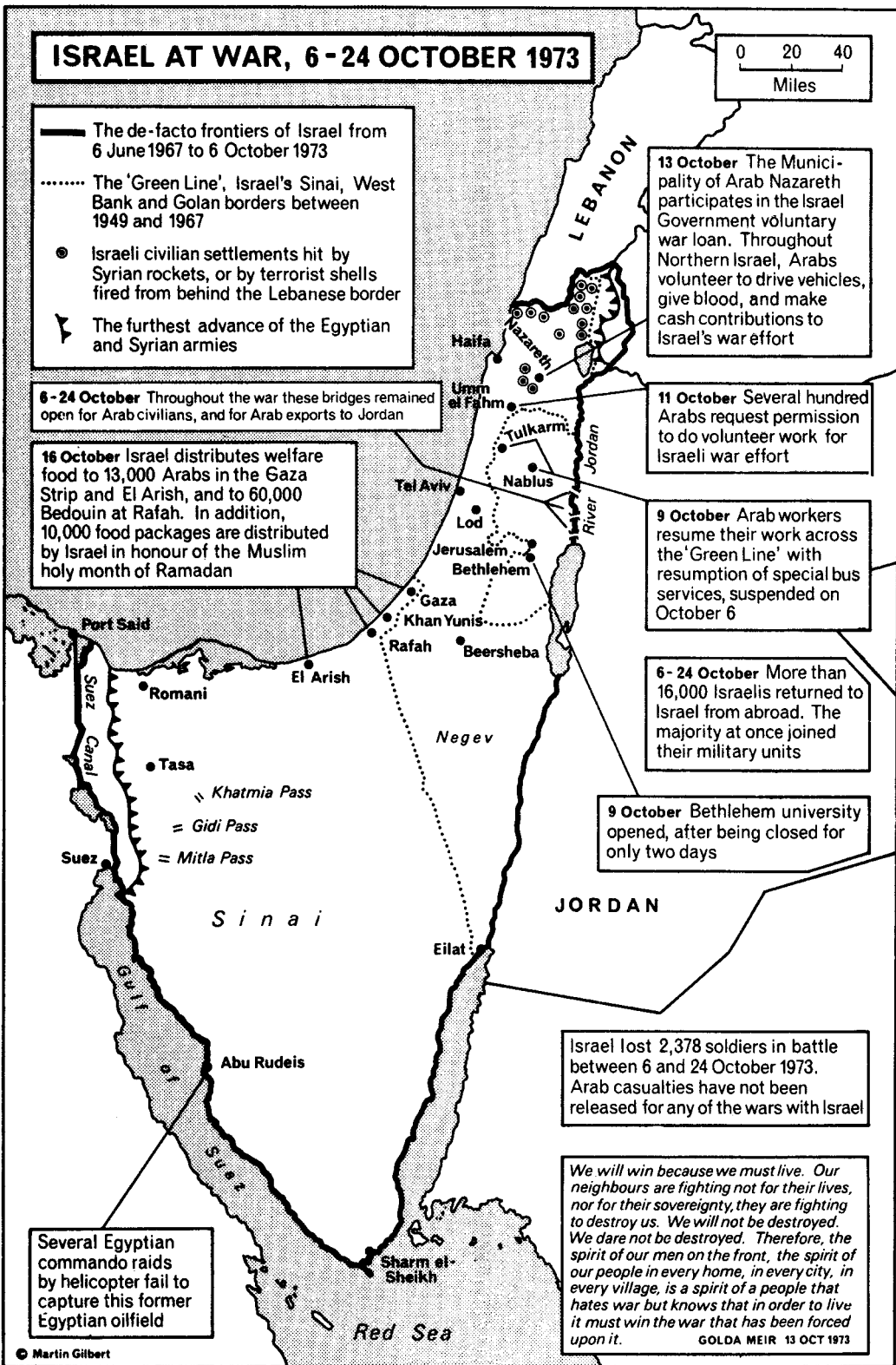
**9 October** Bethlehem university opened, after being closed for only two days

Israel lost 2,378 soldiers in battle between 6 and 24 October 1973. Arab casualties have not been released for any of the wars with Israel

*We will win because we must live. Our neighbours are fighting not for their lives, nor for their sovereignty, they are fighting to destroy us. We will not be destroyed. We dare not be destroyed. Therefore, the spirit of our men on the front, the spirit of our people in every home, in every city, in every village, is a spirit of a people that hates war but knows that in order to live it must win the war that has been forced upon it.*

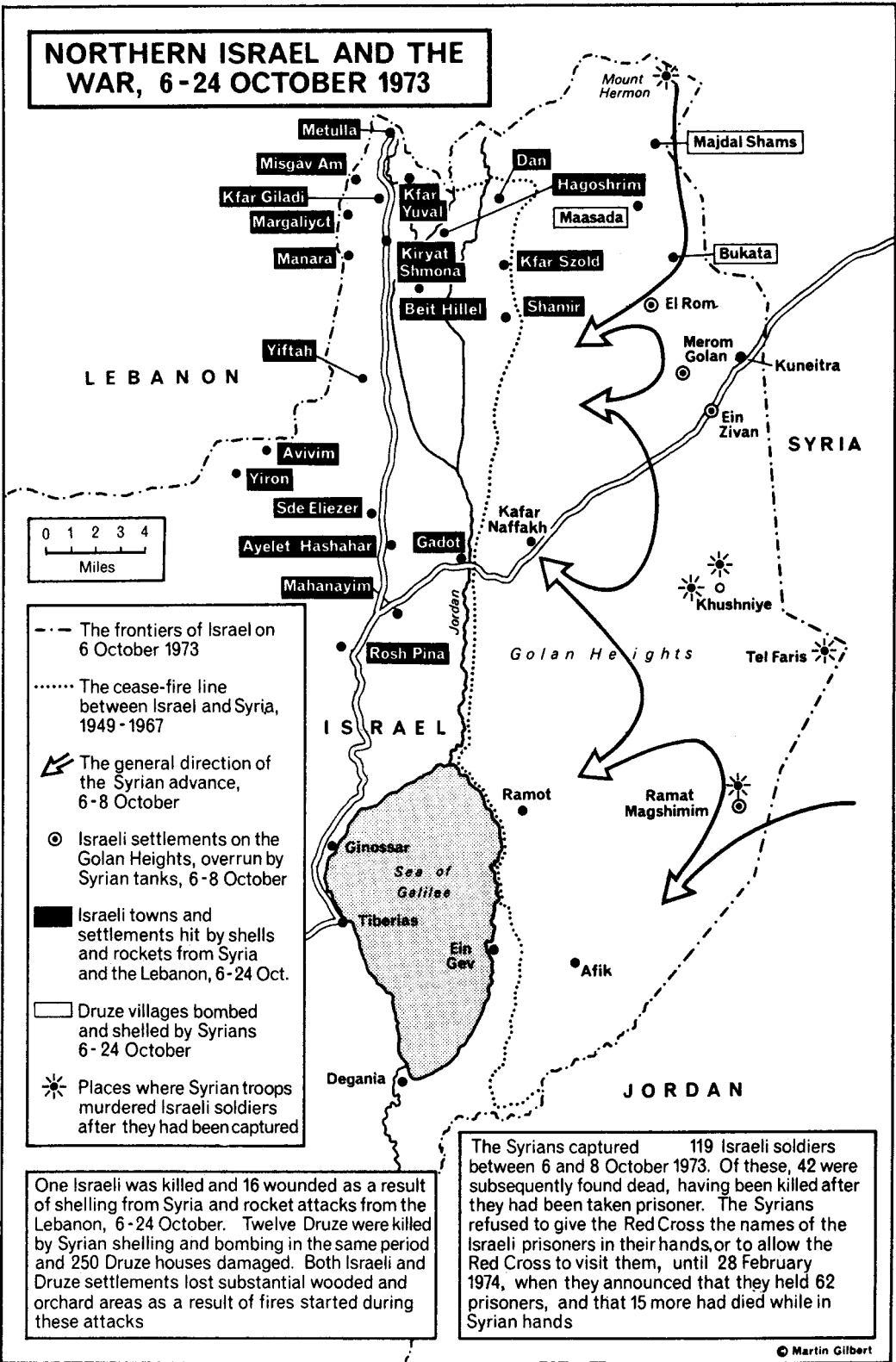
GOLDA MEIR 13 OCT 1973

Several Egyptian commando raids by helicopter fail to capture this former Egyptian oilfield



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# NORTHERN ISRAEL AND THE WAR, 6-24 OCTOBER 1973



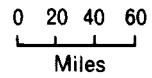
- - - The frontiers of Israel on 6 October 1973
- ..... The cease-fire line between Israel and Syria, 1949-1967
- ↙ The general direction of the Syrian advance, 6-8 October
- ⊙ Israeli settlements on the Golan Heights, overrun by Syrian tanks, 6-8 October
- Israeli towns and settlements hit by shells and rockets from Syria and the Lebanon, 6-24 Oct.
- Druze villages bombed and shelled by Syrians 6-24 October
- ★ Places where Syrian troops murdered Israeli soldiers after they had been captured

One Israeli was killed and 16 wounded as a result of shelling from Syria and rocket attacks from the Lebanon, 6-24 October. Twelve Druze were killed by Syrian shelling and bombing in the same period and 250 Druze houses damaged. Both Israeli and Druze settlements lost substantial wooded and orchard areas as a result of fires started during these attacks

The Syrians captured 119 Israeli soldiers between 6 and 8 October 1973. Of these, 42 were subsequently found dead, having been killed after they had been taken prisoner. The Syrians refused to give the Red Cross the names of the Israeli prisoners in their hands, or to allow the Red Cross to visit them, until 28 February 1974, when they announced that they held 62 prisoners, and that 15 more had died while in Syrian hands

## THE JEWS OF SYRIA 1936-75

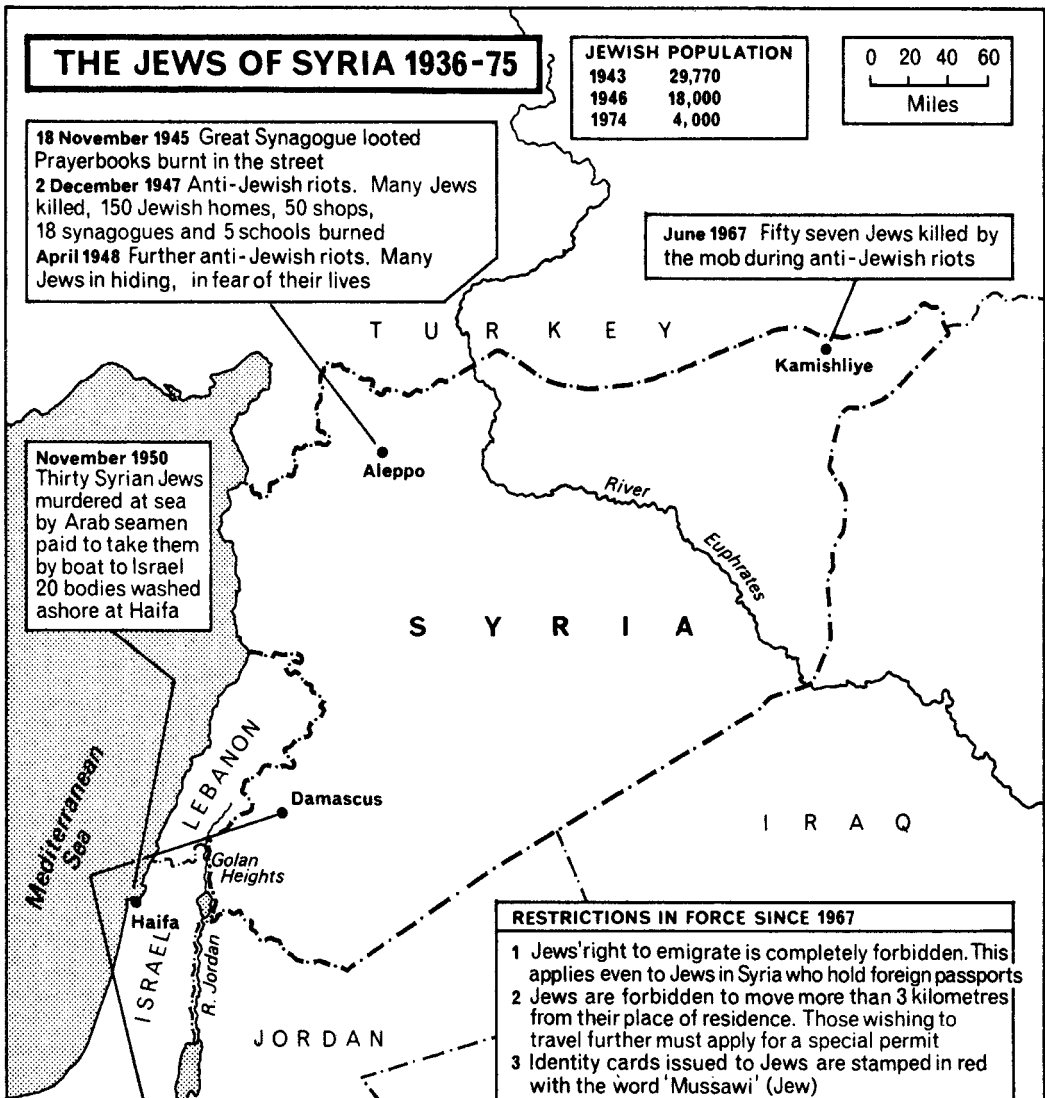
JEWISH POPULATION	
1943	29,770
1946	18,000
1974	4,000



**18 November 1945** Great Synagogue looted  
Prayerbooks burnt in the street  
**2 December 1947** Anti-Jewish riots. Many Jews killed, 150 Jewish homes, 50 shops, 18 synagogues and 5 schools burned  
**April 1948** Further anti-Jewish riots. Many Jews in hiding, in fear of their lives

**June 1967** Fifty seven Jews killed by the mob during anti-Jewish riots

**November 1950**  
Thirty Syrian Jews murdered at sea by Arab seamen paid to take them by boat to Israel  
20 bodies washed ashore at Haifa






**1936-9** Headquarters of anti-Jewish propaganda, intensified after visit of Nazi officers from Germany  
**1938** Jews frequently stabbed on streets  
**June 1945** A Jewish educationalist murdered  
**5 August 1949** Bomb thrown in synagogue on sabbath eve. 12 killed, 26 injured  
**December 1949** Jewish Community Council dissolved  
**8 February 1967** Ministry of Defence Circular lists 47 Jewish merchants and forbids army personnel to trade with them  
**March 1974** Four young Jewesses murdered while attempting to leave Syria.  
Since 1971 at least 50 Jews (men, women and children) arrested. Many tortured. Beatings in streets commonplace

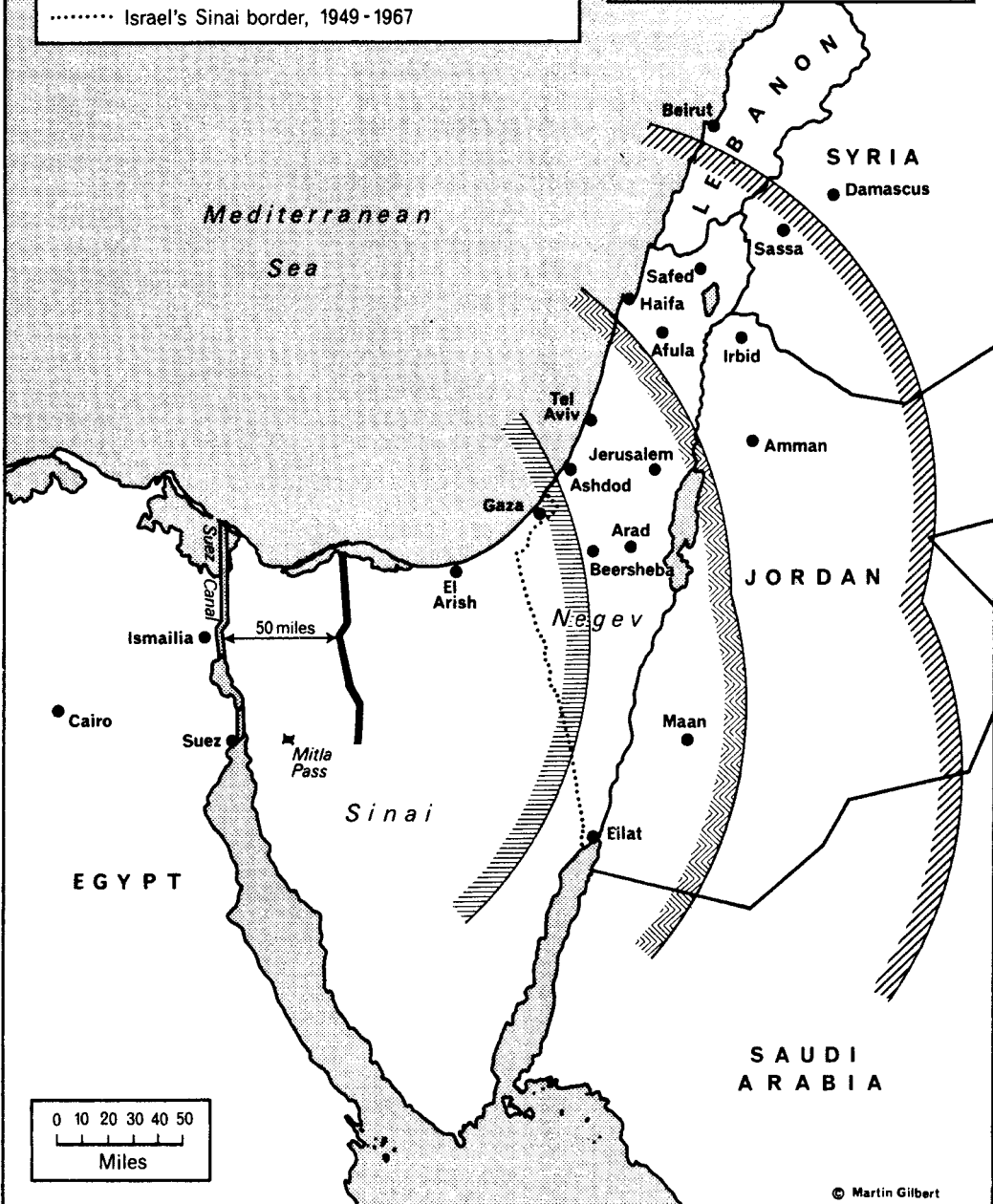
### RESTRICTIONS IN FORCE SINCE 1967

- 1 Jews' right to emigrate is completely forbidden. This applies even to Jews in Syria who hold foreign passports
- 2 Jews are forbidden to move more than 3 kilometres from their place of residence. Those wishing to travel further must apply for a special permit
- 3 Identity cards issued to Jews are stamped in red with the word 'Mussawi' (Jew)
- 4 Jews are normally subject to a 10 p.m. curfew
- 5 Jews allowed six years elementary schooling only
- 6 Jewish houses in Kamishiye are marked in red
- 7 Jews barred from jobs in the public service, in public institutions or in banks
- 8 Government and military personnel are forbidden to purchase from Jewish shops
- 9 Foreigners may not visit the Jewish quarter unescorted
- 10 Jews forbidden to own radios or telephones, or to maintain postal contact with outside world
- 11 No telephones are installed in Jewish homes
- 12 The possessions of deceased Jews are confiscated by the Government. Their heirs must then pay for the use of the property. If they cannot, it is handed over to the Palestinian Arabs
- 13 Only two Jewish schools open in Damascus. Their directors and most of their teachers are Muslims. Exams usually ordered to be held on the sabbath

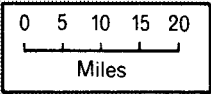
## MIDDLE EAST ARMS SUPPLIES: SCUD

-  'Scud' range if fired from Ismailia
-  'Scud' range if fired from a line 50 miles east of the Suez Canal
-  'Scud' range if fired from the pre-1967 cease-fire line (Israel's borders from 1949 to 1967)
- ..... Israel's Sinai border, 1949-1967

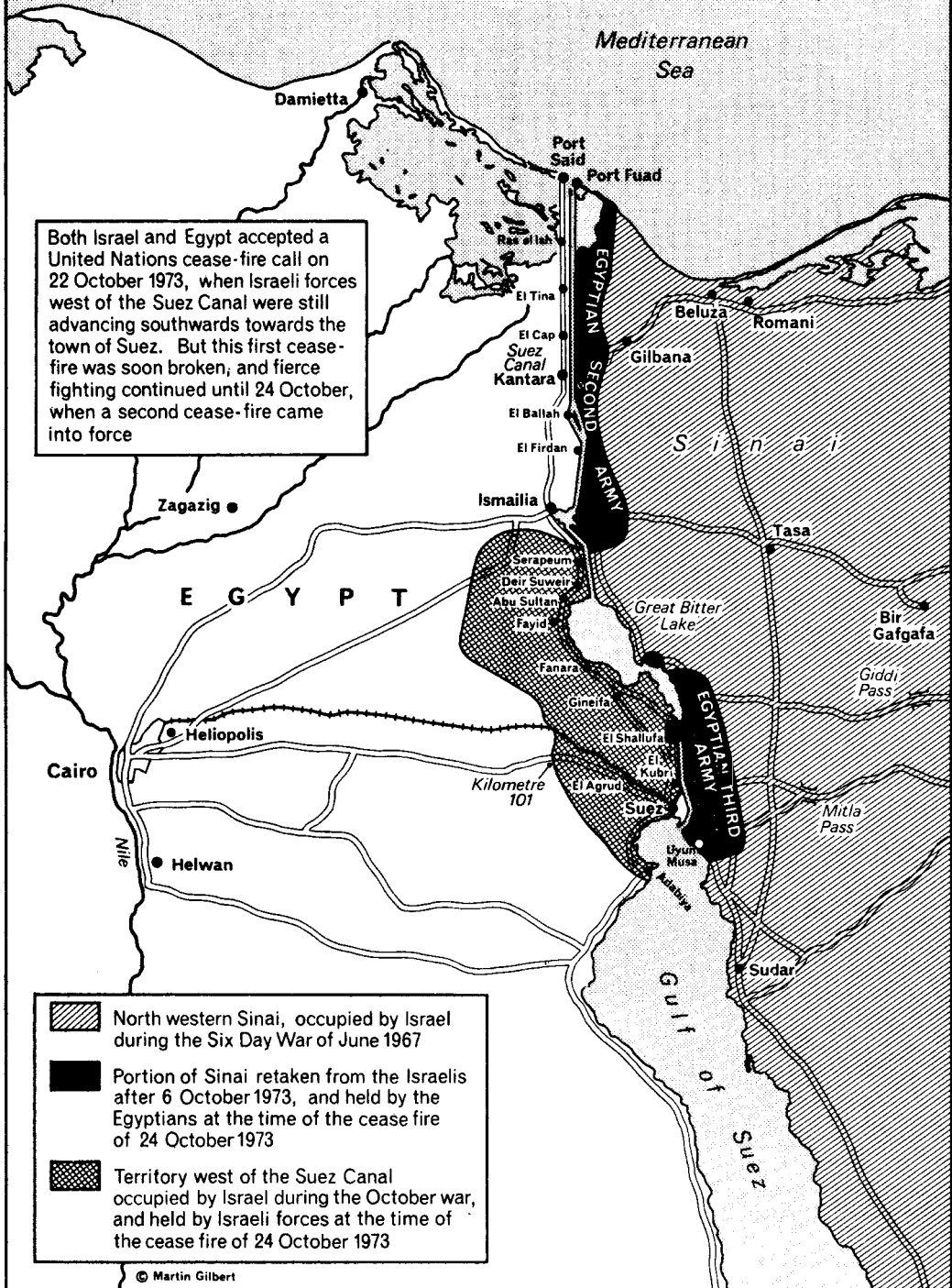
On 2 November 1973 it was announced in Washington that Egypt had received Soviet surface-to-surface missiles with a range of 160 miles. These 'Scud' missiles can be armed with either high explosive warheads, or nuclear warheads. Washington later confirmed that Syria had also been sent 'Scud' missiles from the Soviet Union. These, if fired from Sassa, could hit Beersheba






# THE EGYPTIAN FRONT AT THE CEASE FIRE OF 24 OCTOBER 1973

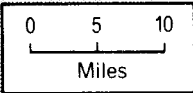


Both Israel and Egypt accepted a United Nations cease-fire call on 22 October 1973, when Israeli forces west of the Suez Canal were still advancing southwards towards the town of Suez. But this first cease-fire was soon broken, and fierce fighting continued until 24 October, when a second cease-fire came into force



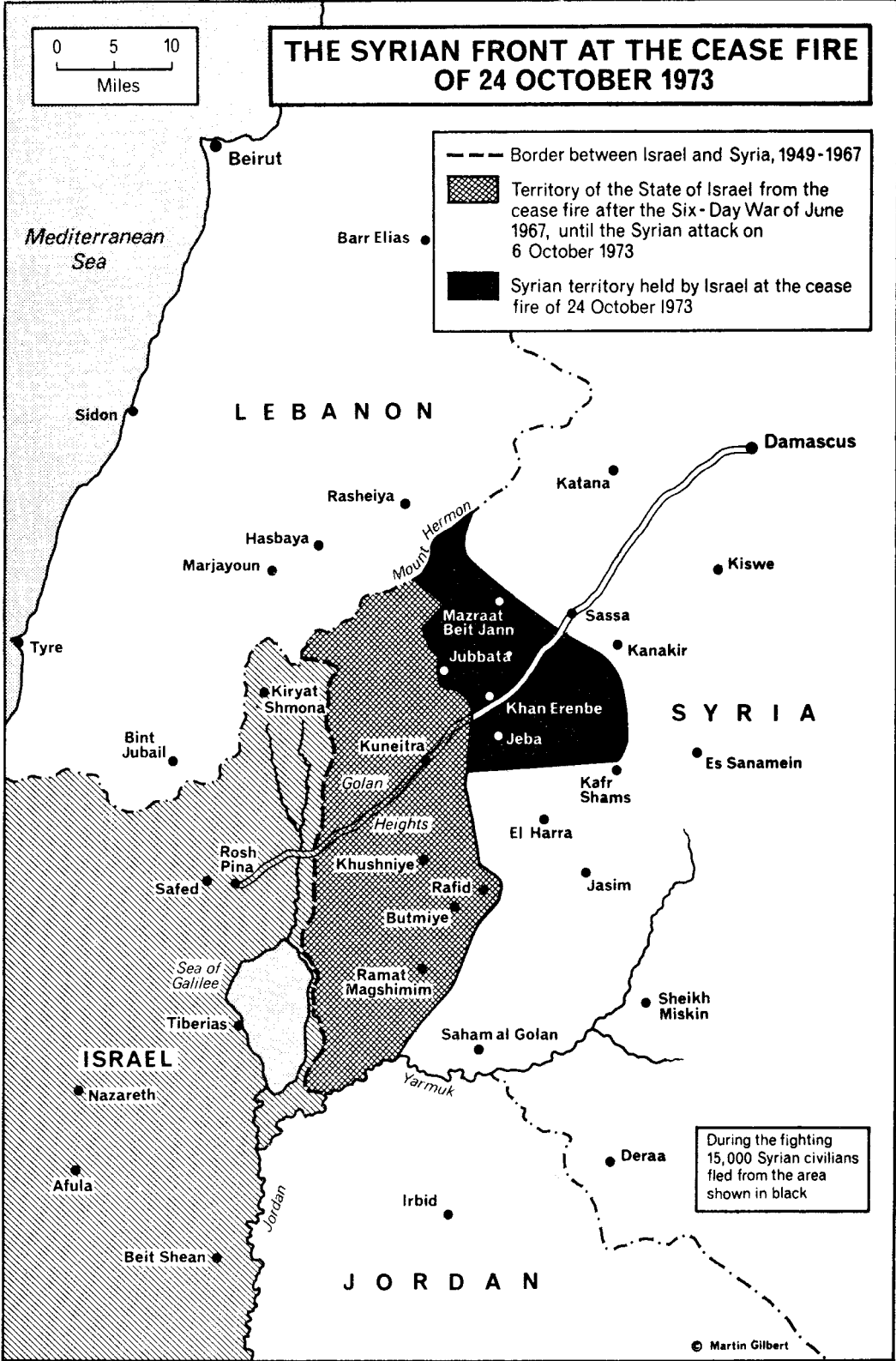
-  North western Sinai, occupied by Israel during the Six Day War of June 1967
-  Portion of Sinai retaken from the Israelis after 6 October 1973, and held by the Egyptians at the time of the cease fire of 24 October 1973
-  Territory west of the Suez Canal occupied by Israel during the October war, and held by Israeli forces at the time of the cease fire of 24 October 1973





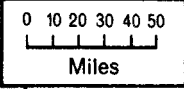
# THE SYRIAN FRONT AT THE CEASE FIRE OF 24 OCTOBER 1973

- Border between Israel and Syria, 1949-1967
- Territory of the State of Israel from the cease fire after the Six-Day War of June 1967, until the Syrian attack on 6 October 1973
- Syrian territory held by Israel at the cease fire of 24 October 1973



During the fighting 15,000 Syrian civilians fled from the area shown in black

# ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN DISENGAGEMENT PROPOSALS NOVEMBER 1973

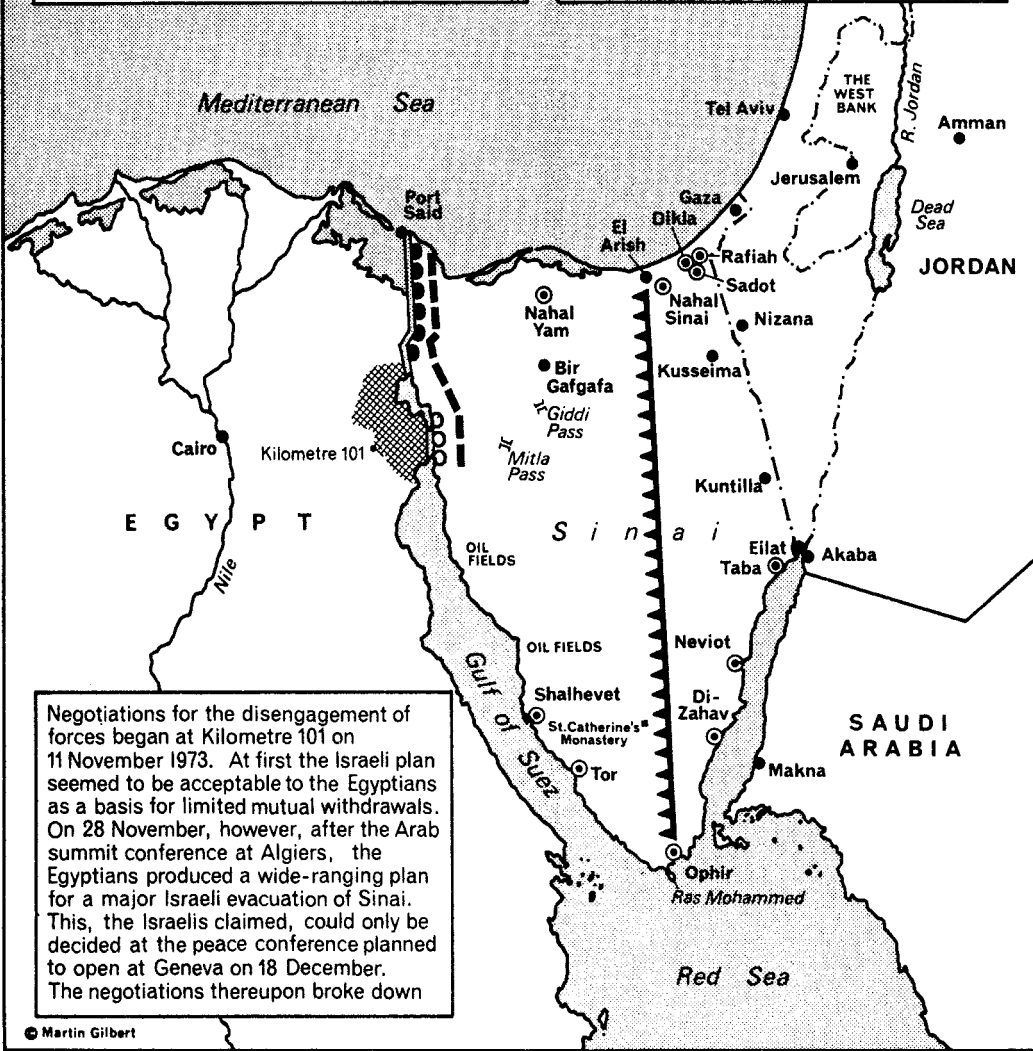


- ISRAELI PROPOSAL**
1. Israeli forces to withdraw altogether from the west bank of the Suez Canal
  2. The Egyptian second army to remain on the east bank of the canal
  3. The Egyptian third army to withdraw to the west bank of the canal, but to be replaced by a small Egyptian police force, larger than a token force
  4. All Israeli troops to withdraw to a line some ten kilometres west of the 1967-1973 cease-fire line along the canal, keeping the passes under Israeli control

- EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL**
1. All Israeli forces to be withdrawn east of a line from El Arish to Sharm el-Sheikh, with further withdrawals to be a matter for the Peace Conference

--- The 1949 cease-fire line, Israel's de-facto border, 1949-1967

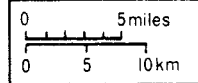
⊙ Israeli settlements in Sinai, established between 1967 and 1973



Negotiations for the disengagement of forces began at Kilometre 101 on 11 November 1973. At first the Israeli plan seemed to be acceptable to the Egyptians as a basis for limited mutual withdrawals. On 28 November, however, after the Arab summit conference at Algiers, the Egyptians produced a wide-ranging plan for a major Israeli evacuation of Sinai. This, the Israelis claimed, could only be decided at the peace conference planned to open at Geneva on 18 December. The negotiations thereupon broke down

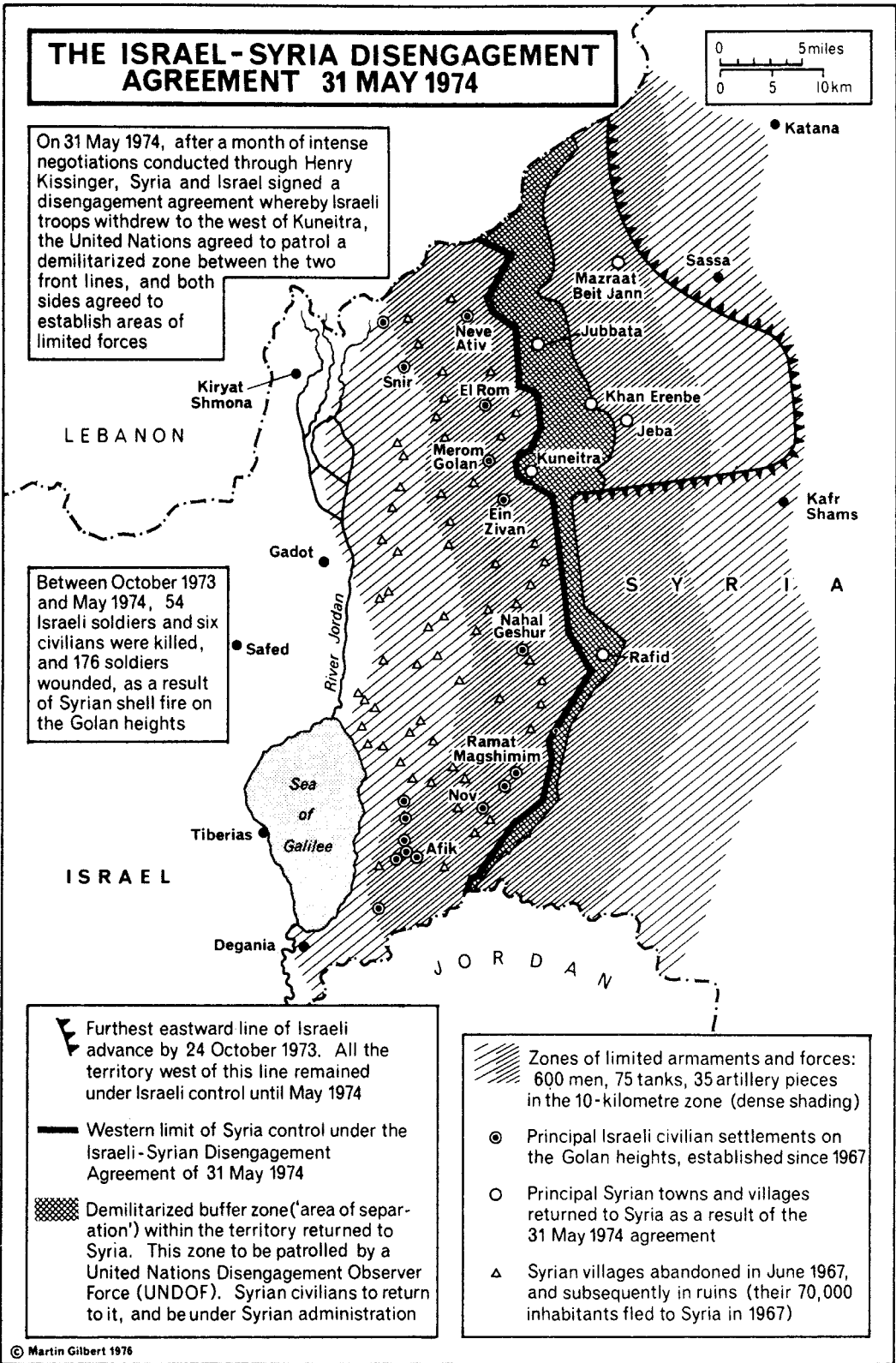
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# THE ISRAEL-SYRIA DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT 31 MAY 1974



On 31 May 1974, after a month of intense negotiations conducted through Henry Kissinger, Syria and Israel signed a disengagement agreement whereby Israeli troops withdrew to the west of Kuneitra, the United Nations agreed to patrol a demilitarized zone between the two front lines, and both sides agreed to establish areas of limited forces

Between October 1973 and May 1974, 54 Israeli soldiers and six civilians were killed, and 176 soldiers wounded, as a result of Syrian shell fire on the Golan heights



Furthest eastward line of Israeli advance by 24 October 1973. All the territory west of this line remained under Israeli control until May 1974

Western limit of Syria control under the Israeli-Syrian Disengagement Agreement of 31 May 1974

Demilitarized buffer zone ('area of separation') within the territory returned to Syria. This zone to be patrolled by a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF). Syrian civilians to return to it, and be under Syrian administration

Zones of limited armaments and forces: 600 men, 75 tanks, 35 artillery pieces in the 10-kilometre zone (dense shading)

Principal Israeli civilian settlements on the Golan heights, established since 1967

Principal Syrian towns and villages returned to Syria as a result of the 31 May 1974 agreement

Syrian villages abandoned in June 1967, and subsequently in ruins (their 70,000 inhabitants fled to Syria in 1967)

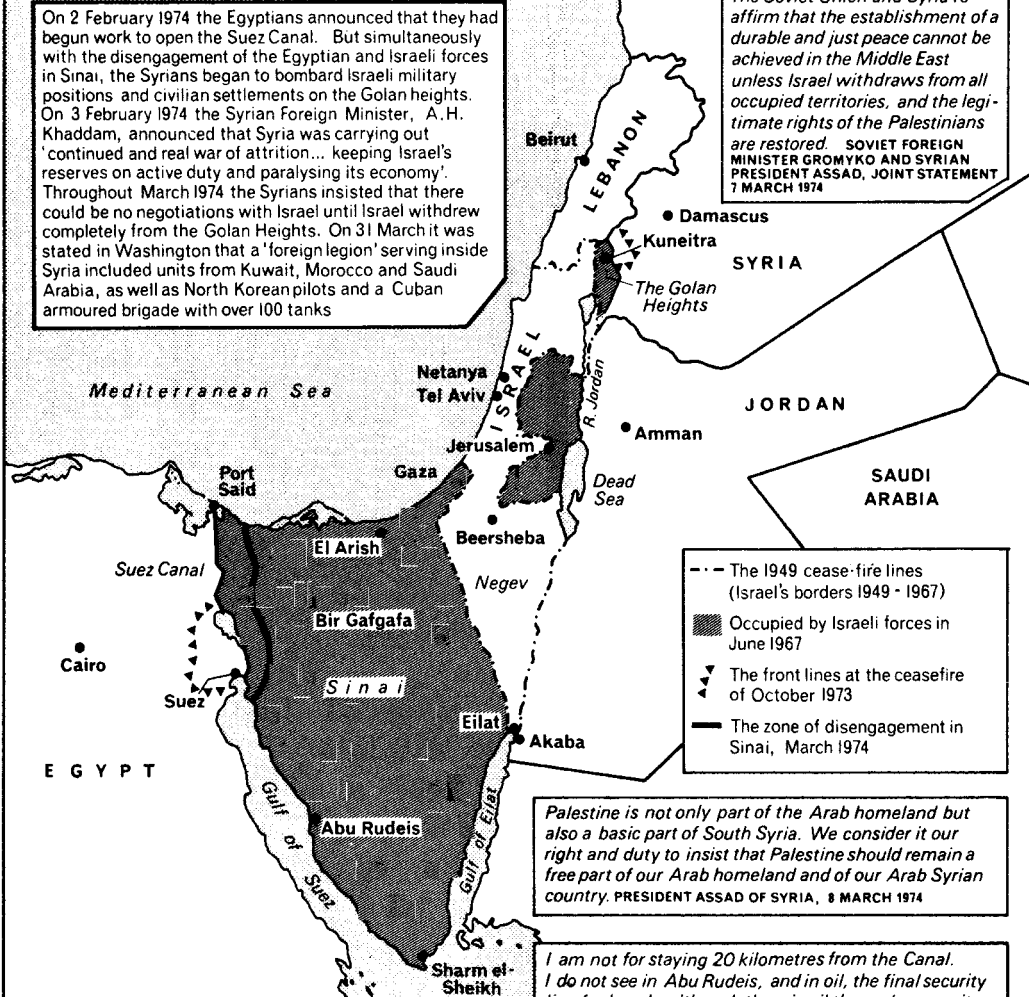
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# THE ARAB - ISRAELI CONFLICT: AIMS AND OPINIONS NOVEMBER 1973 - MARCH 1974

On 2 February 1974 the Egyptians announced that they had begun work to open the Suez Canal. But simultaneously with the disengagement of the Egyptian and Israeli forces in Sinai, the Syrians began to bombard Israeli military positions and civilian settlements on the Golan heights. On 3 February 1974 the Syrian Foreign Minister, A.H. Khaddam, announced that Syria was carrying out 'continued and real war of attrition... keeping Israel's reserves on active duty and paralysing its economy'. Throughout March 1974 the Syrians insisted that there could be no negotiations with Israel until Israel withdrew completely from the Golan Heights. On 31 March it was stated in Washington that a 'foreign legion' serving inside Syria included units from Kuwait, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, as well as North Korean pilots and a Cuban armoured brigade with over 100 tanks

*The war is not over yet. We must admit that our territory has not yet been liberated and we have another fight before us for which we must prepare.* GENERAL GAMASSY, EGYPTIAN CHIEF OF STAFF, 4 MARCH 1974

*The Soviet Union and Syria reaffirm that the establishment of a durable and just peace cannot be achieved in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all occupied territories, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are restored.* SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD, JOINT STATEMENT 7 MARCH 1974



--- The 1949 cease-fire lines (Israel's borders 1949 - 1967)  
 ■ Occupied by Israeli forces in June 1967  
 ▲ The front lines at the ceasefire of October 1973  
 — The zone of disengagement in Sinai, March 1974

*Palestine is not only part of the Arab homeland but also a basic part of South Syria. We consider it our right and duty to insist that Palestine should remain a free part of our Arab homeland and of our Arab Syrian country.* PRESIDENT ASSAD OF SYRIA, 8 MARCH 1974

*I am not for staying 20 kilometres from the Canal. I do not see in Abu Rudeis, and in oil, the final security line for Israel - although there is oil there - because it means also control of the Suez Canal. I can see all the reasons for wanting control on the Gulf of Eilat, but I cannot think we will have peace with Egypt while we control not only the entrance to Eilat but also the entrance to Suez.* M. DAYAN, ISRAELI DEFENCE MINISTER, 10 MARCH 1974

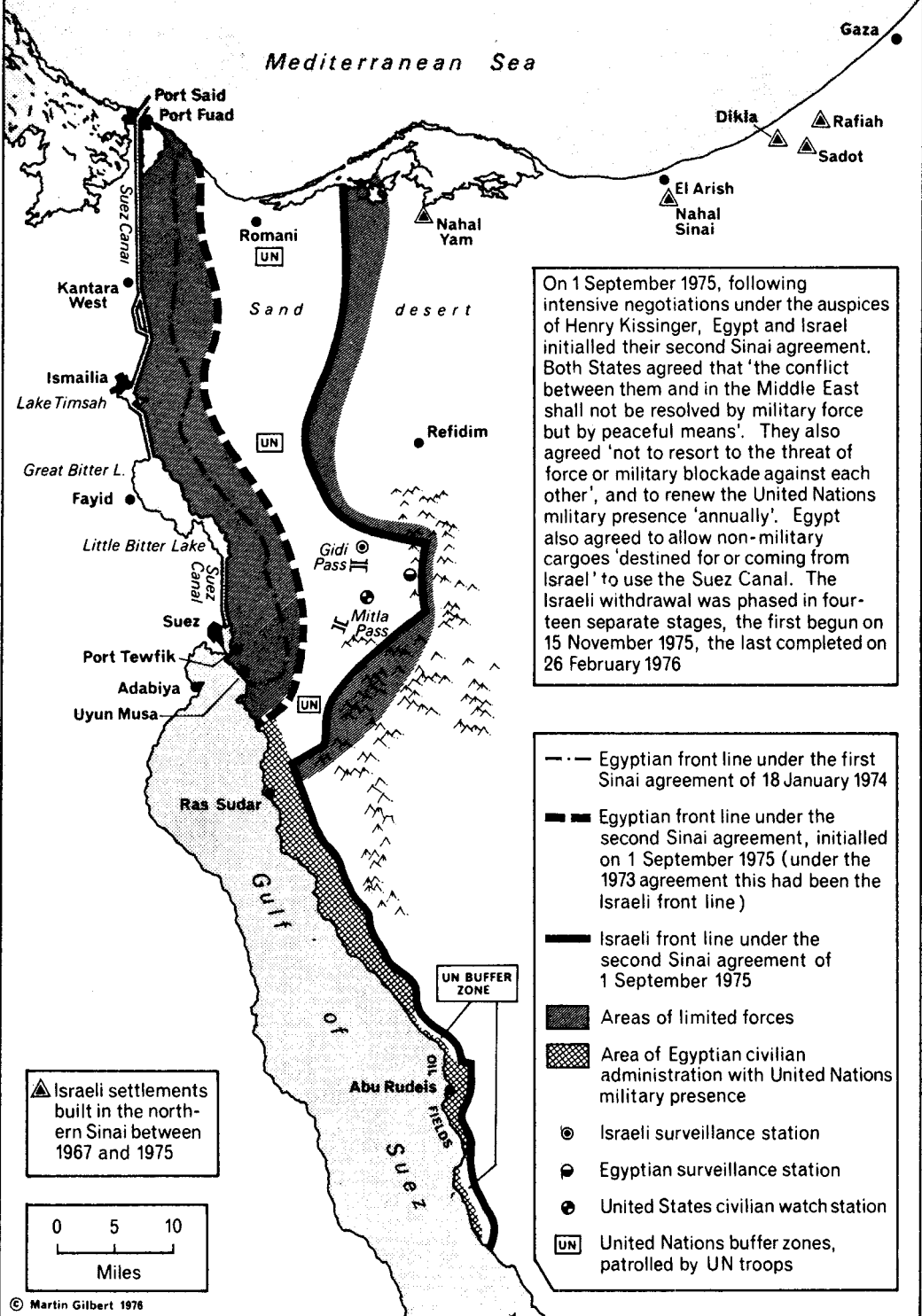
*We stick to our stand that Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories she occupied since June 1967, and say that there can be no peace in this area without complete withdrawal. We also need not say that Arab Jerusalem, that precious jewel on the forehead of this homeland, will never and under no circumstances come under any sovereignty other than absolute Arab sovereignty.* KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, 2 DEC 1973

*For the Syrians, the occupied territories means not only the Golan Heights, but Jerusalem, and even Tel Aviv.* U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, HENRY KISSINGER, 11 MARCH 1974

*...we will not descend from the Golan, we will not partition Jerusalem, we will not return Sharm el-Sheikh, and we will not agree that the distance between Netanya and the border shall be 18 kilometres.... But if we want a Jewish State we have to be prepared to compromise on territory.* GOLDA MEIR, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER, 29 DEC 1973

*.... the talk in Israel about a demilitarized Sinai should stop. If they want a demilitarized Sinai, I shall be asking for a demilitarized Israel.* PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT, 'TIME' MAGAZINE, 25 MARCH 1974

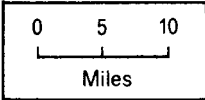
# THE SECOND SINAI AGREEMENT | SEPTEMBER 1975



On 1 September 1975, following intensive negotiations under the auspices of Henry Kissinger, Egypt and Israel initialled their second Sinai agreement. Both States agreed that 'the conflict between them and in the Middle East shall not be resolved by military force but by peaceful means'. They also agreed 'not to resort to the threat of force or military blockade against each other', and to renew the United Nations military presence 'annually'. Egypt also agreed to allow non-military cargoes 'destined for or coming from Israel' to use the Suez Canal. The Israeli withdrawal was phased in fourteen separate stages, the first begun on 15 November 1975, the last completed on 26 February 1976

- Egyptian front line under the first Sinai agreement of 18 January 1974
- Egyptian front line under the second Sinai agreement, initialled on 1 September 1975 (under the 1973 agreement this had been the Israeli front line)
- Israeli front line under the second Sinai agreement of 1 September 1975
- ▨ Areas of limited forces
- ▩ Area of Egyptian civilian administration with United Nations military presence
- ⊙ Israeli surveillance station
- Egyptian surveillance station
- United States civilian watch station
- UN United Nations buffer zones, patrolled by UN troops

▲ Israeli settlements built in the northern Sinai between 1967 and 1975



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# TERRORISM INSIDE ISRAEL 1974

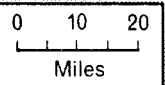
From April to December 1974, Palestinian terrorist groups, crossing from both the Lebanon and Syria, killed 59 Israelis, mostly civilians and including many children. In June 1974 the Palestine Liberation Organisation (the PLO) increased its executive to 14 members, including the Fatah (led by Arafat), Saika (controlled by Syria), the Popular Front General Command (supported by Libya), the Arab Liberation Front (controlled by Iraq), the PDFLP (led by Hawatmeh, based in the Lebanon) and the PFLP (led by Habash, based in the Lebanon). This last group, which withdrew from the PLO in September 1974, carried out several independent terror attacks

On 9 December 1974 the Greek Catholic Archbishop Hilarion Capucci was found guilty by an Israeli court of smuggling weapons and explosives into Israel from the Lebanon, on behalf of El Fatah. He was sentenced to twelve years in prison

**6 December** A terrorist wounds two Israelis in a kibbutz

**26 June** Three terrorists, landing from the sea, kill a woman and her two children in their flat near the seashore

**11 December** Two civilians killed, 44 injured, in a cinema, when a terrorist in the audience threw a bomb



*'On your behalf and on behalf of the Palestinian people, the gun will continue to liberate Palestine.... The Ramadan War was an important turning point. For the first time the decision to fight was an Arab decision and its most important result was this war. Perhaps in ten years time, another decision will be taken to liquidate the arrogant enemy completely.'* ARAFAT, SPEECH AT THE PALESTINE POPULAR CONGRESS JEDDA, 24 JANUARY 1974

*'The road is still long. Just as the Hattin campaign was only the beginning of the Crusaders' defeat, the Ramadan campaign is only the beginning of the advance of the Arab nation. This advance will cease only in Tel Aviv'* ARAFAT, SAUT FALASTIN RADIO STATION, 10 JUNE 1974

**15 May** Terrorists seize a school, killing 26 people (including two Arab women on their way to work and 20 Israeli schoolchildren). A further 60 children were wounded.

**11 April** Sixteen civilians and 2 soldiers killed by terrorists who seized a block of flats

**13 June** Terrorists dressed in hippy clothes kill three women working in a kibbutz

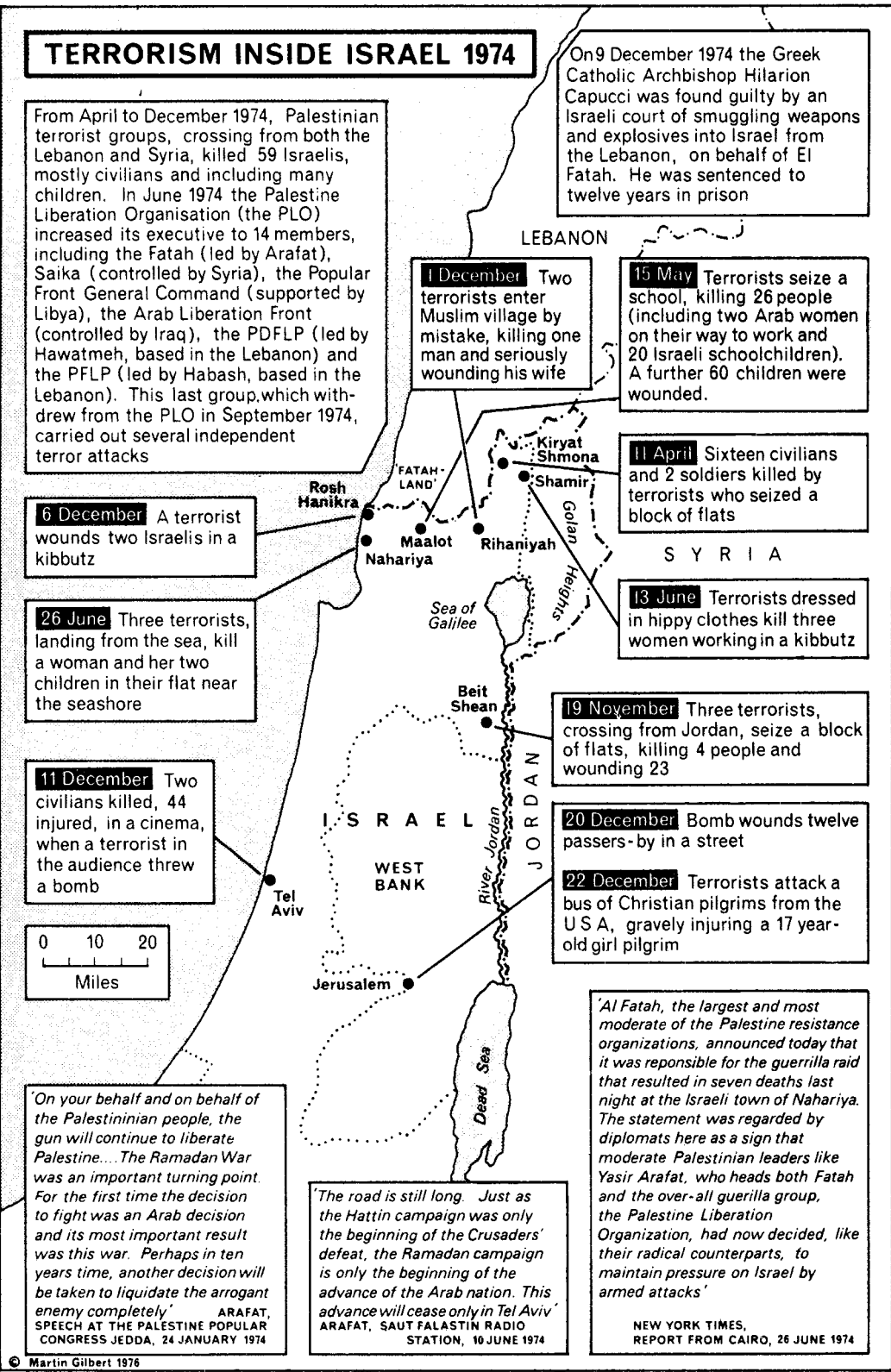
**19 November** Three terrorists, crossing from Jordan, seize a block of flats, killing 4 people and wounding 23

**20 December** Bomb wounds twelve passers-by in a street

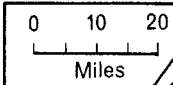
**22 December** Terrorists attack a bus of Christian pilgrims from the U S A, gravely injuring a 17 year-old girl pilgrim

*'Al Fatah, the largest and most moderate of the Palestine resistance organizations, announced today that it was responsible for the guerrilla raid that resulted in seven deaths last night at the Israeli town of Nahariya. The statement was regarded by diplomats here as a sign that moderate Palestinian leaders like Yasir Arafat, who heads both Fatah and the over-all guerilla group, the Palestine Liberation Organization, had now decided, like their radical counterparts, to maintain pressure on Israel by armed attacks'*

NEW YORK TIMES, REPORT FROM CAIRO, 26 JUNE 1974



# TERRORISM INSIDE ISRAEL 1975



During 1974 and 1975 there were 36 border crossings by Arab terrorists, most of whom were killed by Israeli troops within a few hours. There were also 170 shelling of Israeli settlements by Katyusha rockets firing from 'Fatahland'. In an attempt to destroy terrorist arms dumps and mission control centres, Israeli naval and air forces attacked terrorist bases on several occasions. These bases being situated inside Palestinian refugee camps, civilian casualties were sometimes high: on 2 December 1975 as many as 70 Palestinians, including civilians were killed

**15 June** A group of four terrorists kill two civilians and wound six

**21 November** Terrorists crossing from Syria through the U.N. lines, kill three Israeli soldier-students

**6 March** Seven Lebanon-based terrorists land from the sea and kill 18 civilians in a hotel, including 2 Swiss, 2 Dutch, 1 German and 1 Somali tourist. 3 Israeli soldiers also die

**10 June** Terrorist killed after shooting at a roadside queue of soldier-hitchhikers

**5 January** An elderly blind man and a nine year old boy wounded during three bomb explosions

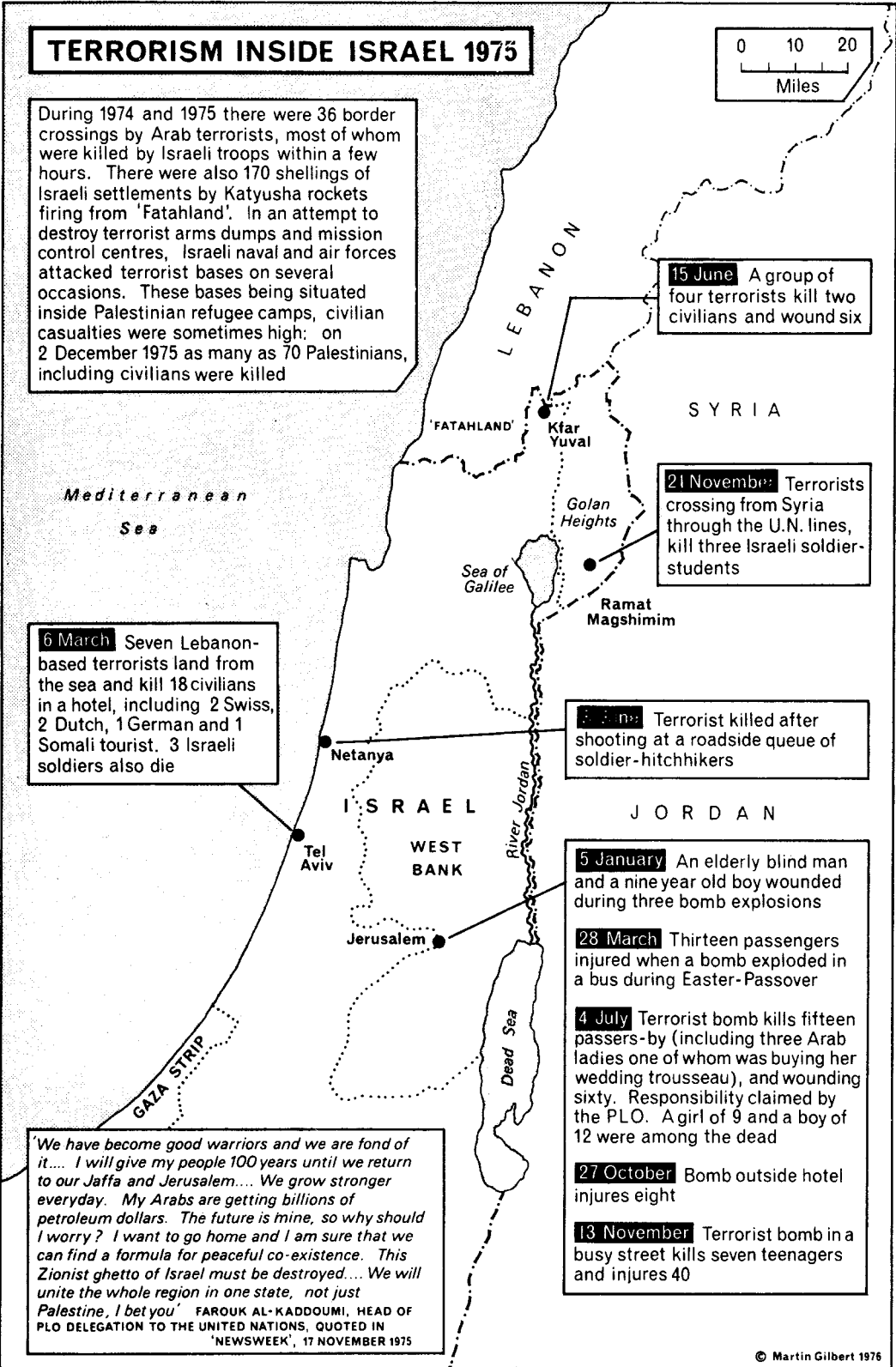
**28 March** Thirteen passengers injured when a bomb exploded in a bus during Easter-Passover

**4 July** Terrorist bomb kills fifteen passers-by (including three Arab ladies one of whom was buying her wedding trousseau), and wounding sixty. Responsibility claimed by the PLO. A girl of 9 and a boy of 12 were among the dead

**27 October** Bomb outside hotel injures eight

**13 November** Terrorist bomb in a busy street kills seven teenagers and injures 40

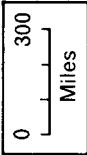
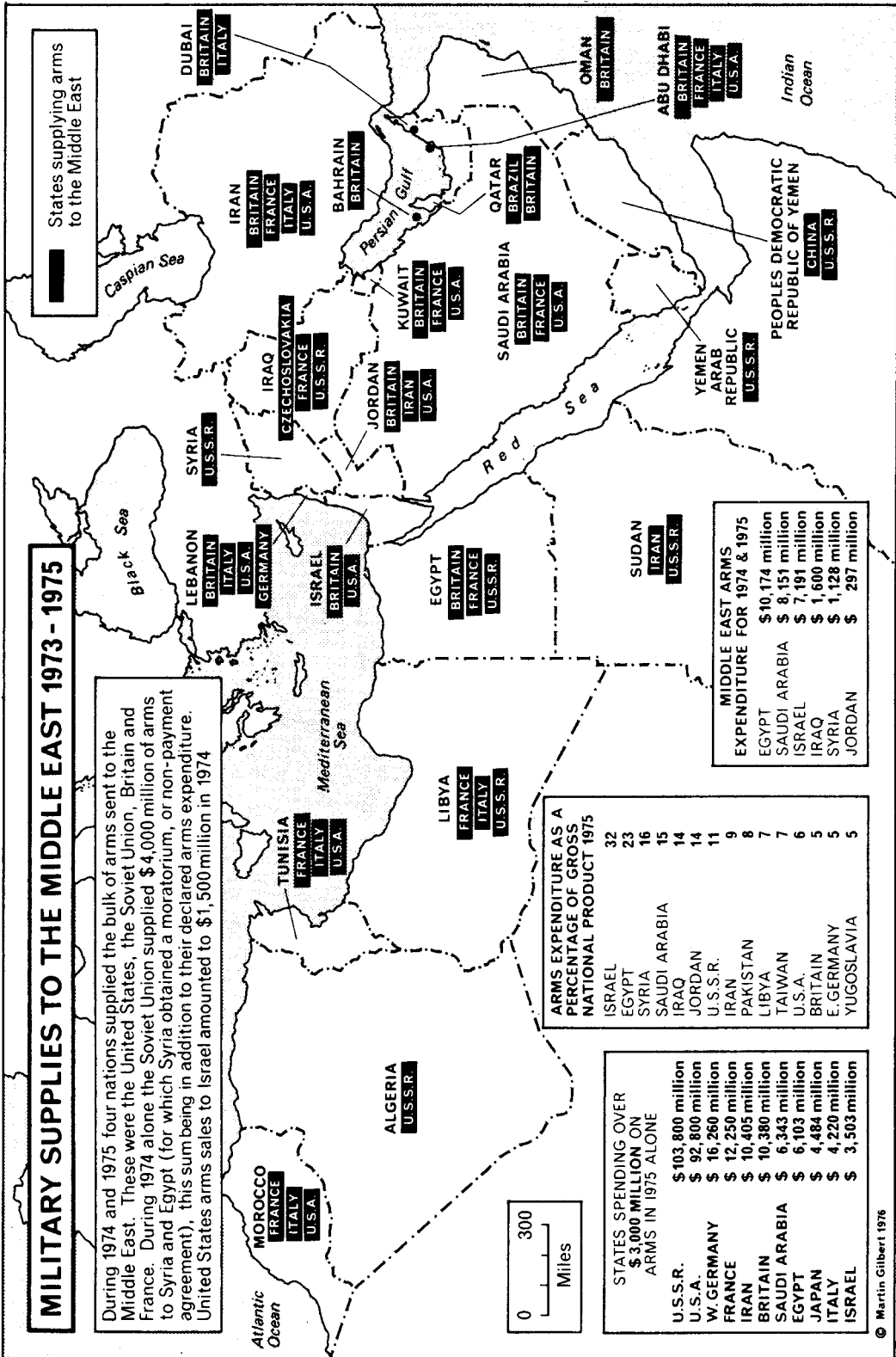
*'We have become good warriors and we are fond of it.... I will give my people 100 years until we return to our Jaffa and Jerusalem.... We grow stronger everyday. My Arabs are getting billions of petroleum dollars. The future is mine, so why should I worry? I want to go home and I am sure that we can find a formula for peaceful co-existence. This Zionist ghetto of Israel must be destroyed.... We will unite the whole region in one state, not just Palestine, I bet you'* FAROUK AL-KADDOUMI, HEAD OF PLO DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, QUOTED IN 'NEWSWEEK', 17 NOVEMBER 1975



# MILITARY SUPPLIES TO THE MIDDLE EAST 1973 - 1975

During 1974 and 1975 four nations supplied the bulk of arms sent to the Middle East. These were the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France. During 1974 alone the Soviet Union supplied \$4,000 million of arms to Syria and Egypt (for which Syria obtained a moratorium, or non-payment agreement), this sum being in addition to their declared arms expenditure. United States arms sales to Israel amounted to \$1,500 million in 1974

States supplying arms to the Middle East



**ARMS EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT 1975**

ISRAEL	32
EGYPT	23
SYRIA	16
SAUDI ARABIA	15
IRAQ	14
JORDAN	14
U.S.S.R.	11
IRAN	9
PAKISTAN	8
LIBYA	7
TAIWAN	7
U.S.A.	6
BRITAIN	5
E. GERMANY	5
YUGOSLAVIA	5

**STATES SPENDING OVER \$3,000 MILLION ON ARMS IN 1975 ALONE**

U.S.S.R.	\$ 103,800 million
U.S.A.	\$ 92,800 million
W. GERMANY	\$ 16,260 million
FRANCE	\$ 12,250 million
IRAN	\$ 10,405 million
BRITAIN	\$ 10,380 million
SAUDI ARABIA	\$ 6,343 million
EGYPT	\$ 6,103 million
JAPAN	\$ 4,484 million
ITALY	\$ 4,220 million
ISRAEL	\$ 3,503 million

**MIDDLE EAST ARMS EXPENDITURE FOR 1974 & 1975**

EGYPT	\$ 10,174 million
SAUDI ARABIA	\$ 8,151 million
ISRAEL	\$ 7,191 million
IRAQ	\$ 1,600 million
SYRIA	\$ 1,128 million
JORDAN	\$ 297 million

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## MIDDLE EAST CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARAB MILITARY PREPAREDNESS 1974-1975

30 October 1974. At the Rabat Conference of Arab leaders, six oil producing states agreed to pay \$2000 million a year for four years to those states confronting Israel. In 1973 \$1,500 million was paid over, in 1974 \$1,000 million

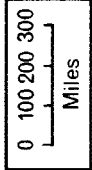
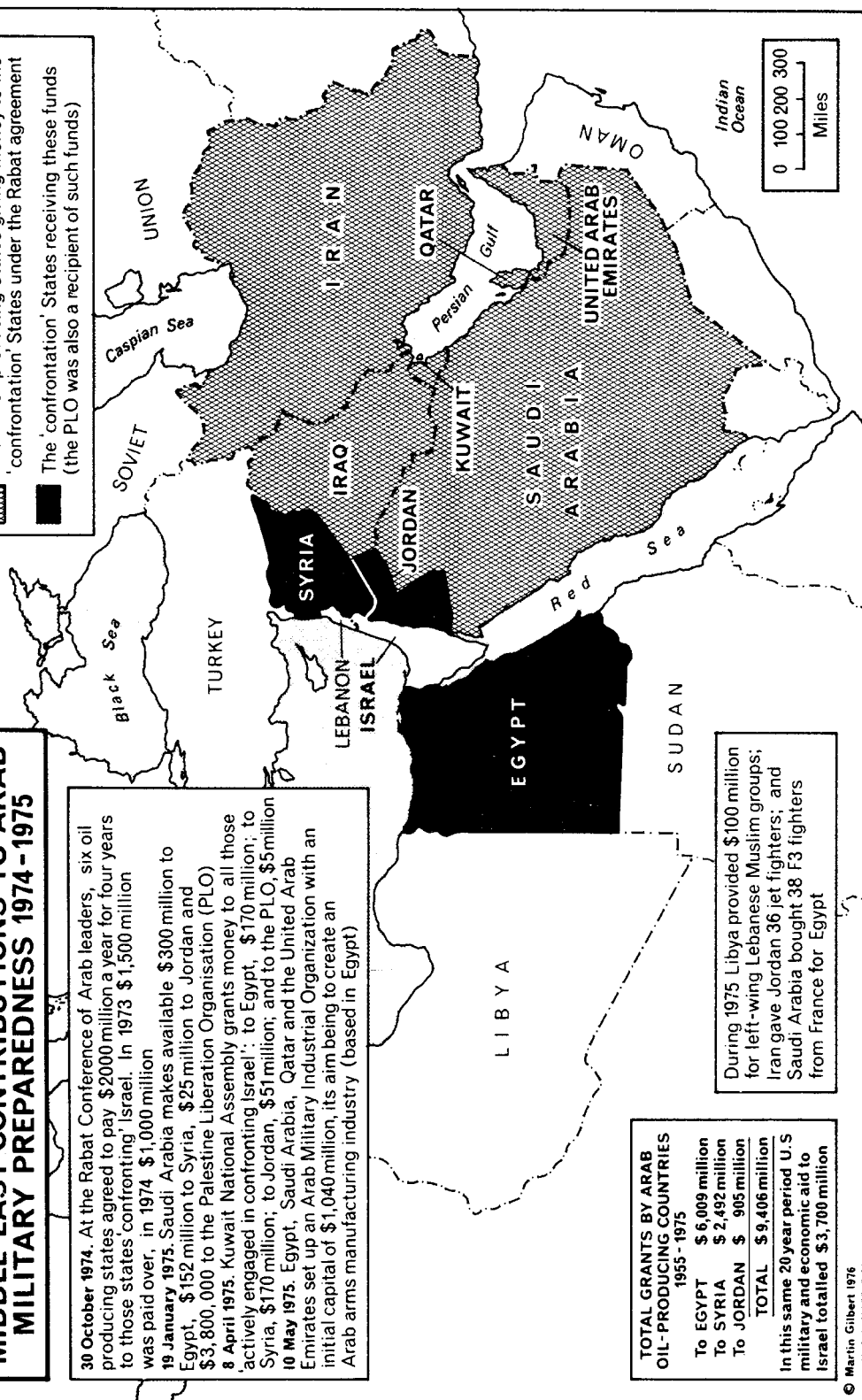
19 January 1975. Saudi Arabia makes available \$300 million to Egypt, \$152 million to Syria, \$25 million to Jordan and \$3,800,000 to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)

8 April 1975. Kuwait National Assembly grants money to all those actively engaged in confronting Israel: to Egypt, \$170 million; to Syria, \$170 million; to Jordan, \$51 million; and to the PLO, \$5 million

10 May 1975. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates set up an Arab Military Industrial Organization with an initial capital of \$1,040 million, its aim being to create an Arab arms manufacturing industry (based in Egypt)

The six oil-producing States giving money to the 'confrontation' States under the Rabat agreement

The 'confrontation' States receiving these funds (the PLO was also a recipient of such funds)



TOTAL GRANTS BY ARAB OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES 1955 - 1975	
To EGYPT	\$ 6,009 million
To SYRIA	\$ 2,492 million
To JORDAN	\$ 995 million
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 9,496 million</b>

In this same 20 year period U.S. military and economic aid to Israel totalled \$3,700 million

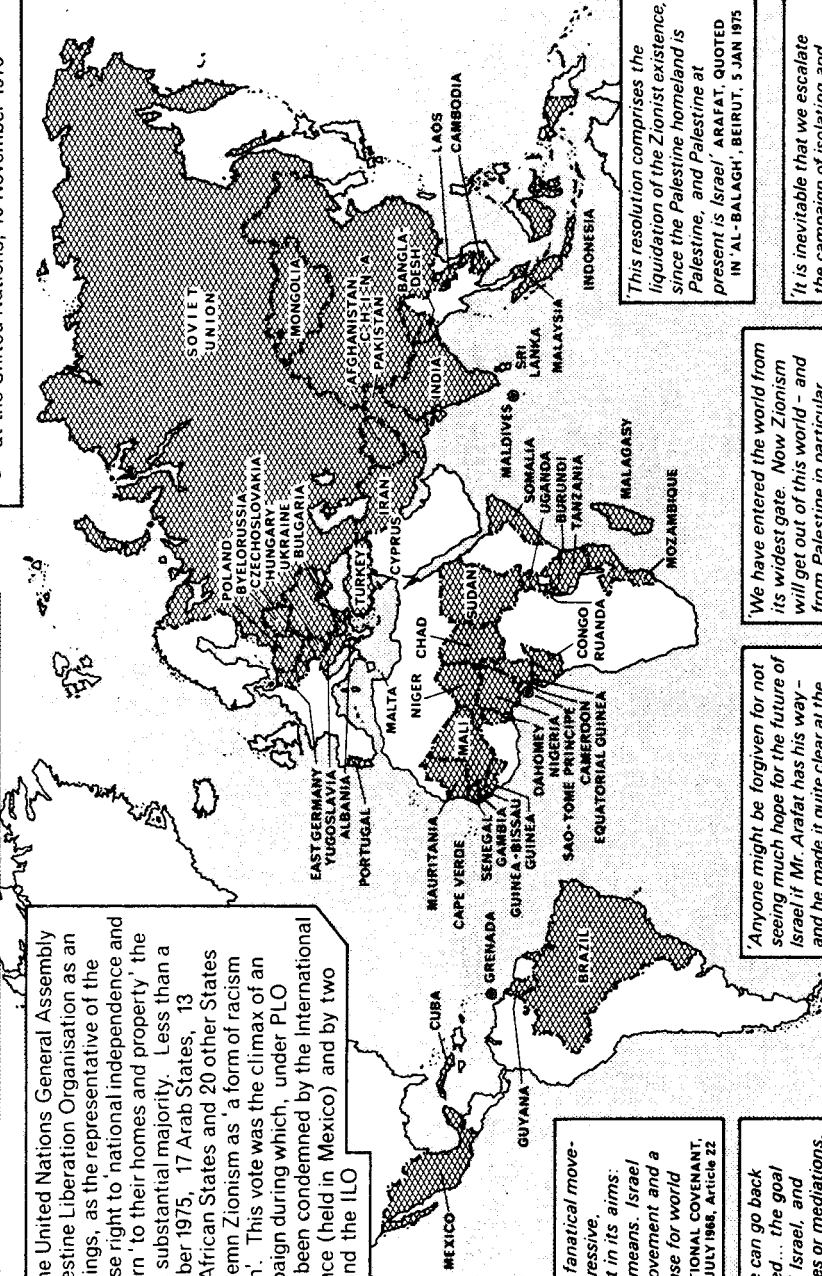
During 1975 Libya provided \$100 million for left-wing Lebanese Muslim groups; Iran gave Jordan 36 jet fighters; and Saudi Arabia bought 38 F3 fighters from France for Egypt

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## STATES CONDEMNING ZIONISM 10 NOVEMBER 1975

On 22 November 1974 the United Nations General Assembly voted to accept the Palestine Liberation Organisation as an observer at all UN meetings, as the representative of the Arab Palestinians, whose right to 'national independence and sovereignty' and to return 'to their homes and property' the Assembly asserted by a substantial majority. Less than a year later, on 10 November 1975, 17 Arab States, 13 Communist States, 22 African States and 20 other States voted in the UN to condemn Zionism as 'a form of racism and racial discrimination'. This vote was the climax of an intense year-long campaign during which, under PLO influence, Zionism had been condemned by the International Women's Year Conference (held in Mexico) and by two UN bodies, UNESCO and the ILO

Non-Arab States voting to condemn Zionism at the United Nations, 10 November 1975



*'Zionism... is a racist and a fanatical movement in its formation: aggressive, expansionist and colonialist in its aims: and Fascist and Nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and a human and geographical base for world imperialism'* PALESTINE NATIONAL COVENANT, 17 JULY 1968, Article 22

*'We shall never stop until we can go back home and Israel is destroyed... the goal of our struggle is the end of Israel, and there can be no compromises or mediators. We don't want peace, we want victory. Peace for us means Israel's destruction, and nothing else'* ARAFAT, NEW REPUBLIC, 16 NOVEMBER 1974

*'Anyone might be forgiven for not seeing much hope for the future of Israel if Mr. Arafat has his way - and he made it quite clear at the end that the terms of the Palestine settlement must be his and his alone'* ALISTAIR COOKE, LETTER FROM AMERICA, 17 NOVEMBER 1974

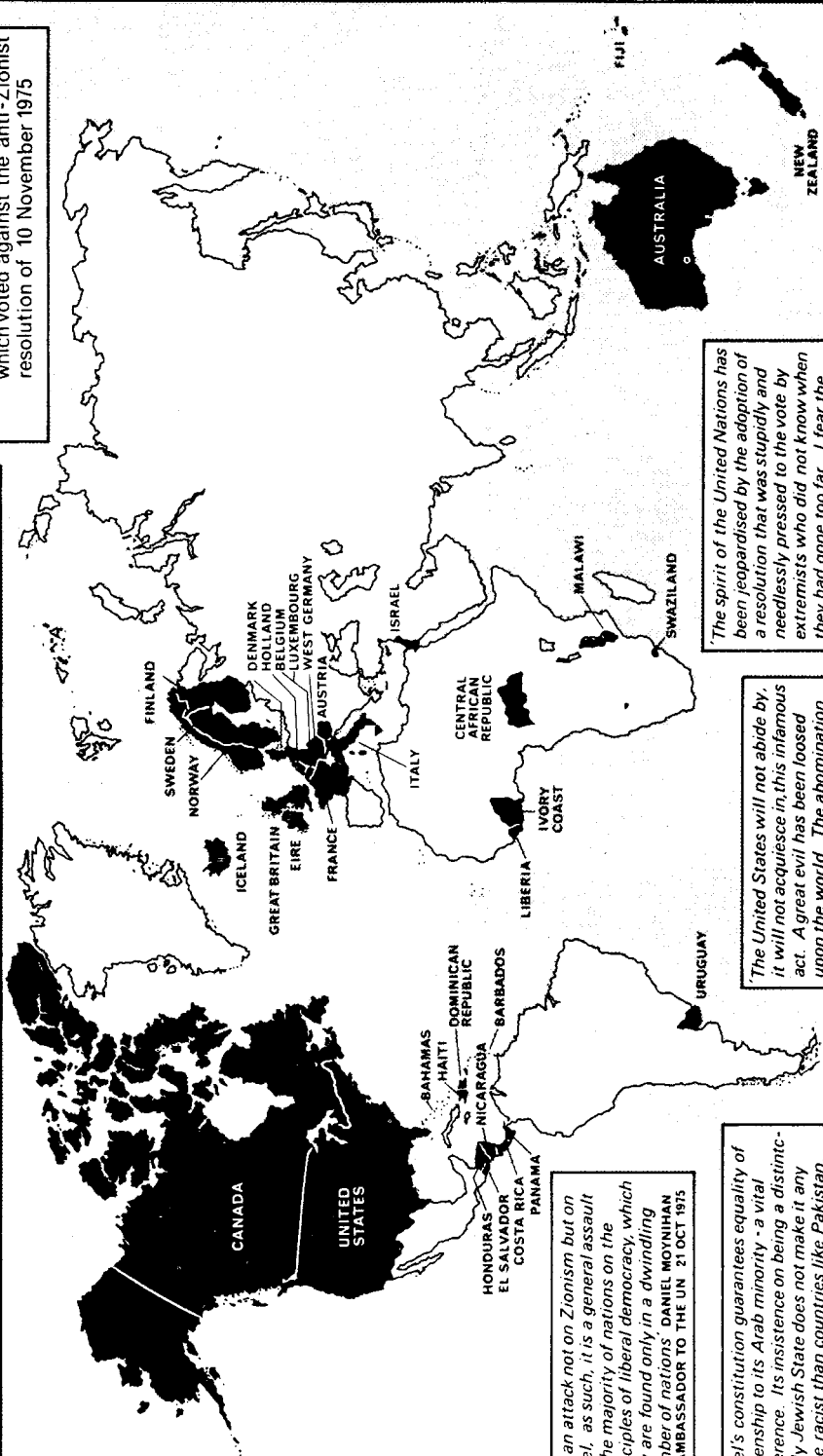
*'We have entered the world from its widest gate. Now Zionism will get out of this world - and from Palestine in particular under the blow of the people's struggle'* ARAFAT AT THE U.N., 22 NOVEMBER 1974

*This resolution comprises the liquidation of the Zionist existence since the Palestine homeland is Palestine, and Palestine at present is Israel'* ARAFAT, QUOTED IN 'AL-BALAGH', BEIRUT, 5 JAN 1975

*'It is inevitable that we escalate the campaign of isolating and rejecting Israel from the international community and from the UN'* FAHMI, 24 MARCH 1975

# STATES REFUSING TO CONDEMN ZIONISM 10 NOVEMBER 1975

■ The 35 States, including Israel, which voted against the anti-Zionist resolution of 10 November 1975



*'It is an attack not on Zionism but on Israel, as such, it is a general assault by the majority of nations on the principles of liberal democracy, which now are found only in a dwindling number of nations'* DANIEL MOYNIHAN US AMBASSADOR TO THE UN, 21 OCT 1975

*'Israel's constitution guarantees equality of citizenship to its Arab minority - a vital difference. Its insistence on being a distinctly Jewish State does not make it any more racist than countries like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia or Mauritania, which, constitutionally, call themselves Islamic States'*

THE OBSERVER, LONDON, 9 NOVEMBER 1975

*'The spirit of the United Nations has been jeopardised by the adoption of a resolution that was stupidly and needlessly pressed to the vote by extremists who did not know when they had gone too far. I fear the evil consequences of this vote will appear only too quickly'* G. THORN PRESIDENT, UN ASSEMBLY, 10 NOV 1975

*'The United States will not abide by it will not acquiesce in this infamous act. A great evil has been loosed upon the world. The abomination of antisemitism has been given the appearance of international sanction'*

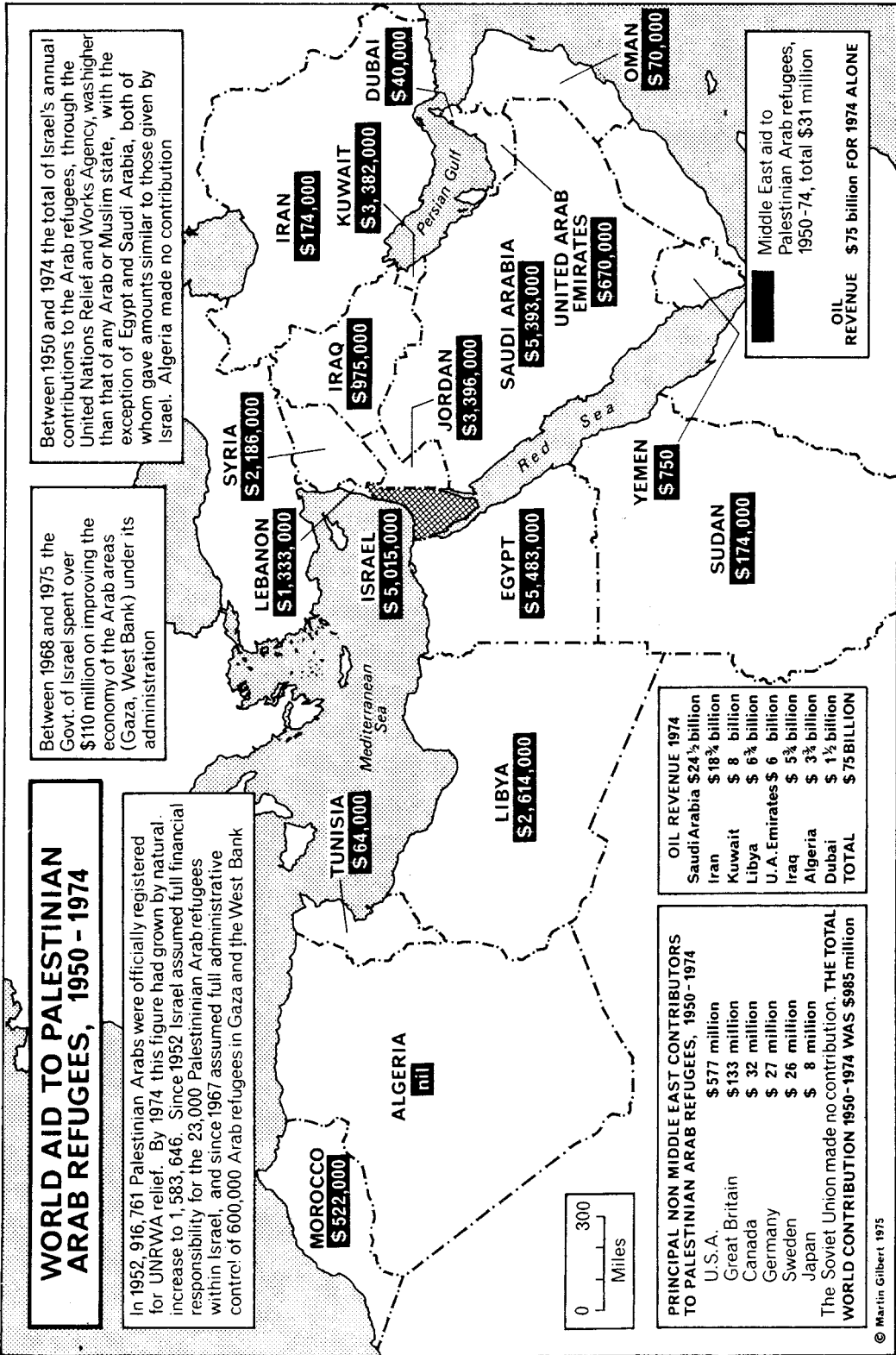
DANIEL MOYNIHAN 10 NOV 1975

# WORLD AID TO PALESTINIAN ARAB REFUGEES, 1950 - 1974

In 1952, 916,761 Palestinian Arabs were officially registered for UNRWA relief. By 1974, this figure had grown by natural increase to 1,583,646. Since 1952 Israel assumed full financial responsibility for the 23,000 Palestinian Arab refugees within Israel, and since 1967 assumed full administrative control of 600,000 Arab refugees in Gaza and the West Bank

Between 1968 and 1975 the Govt. of Israel spent over \$110 million on improving the economy of the Arab areas (Gaza, West Bank) under its administration

Between 1950 and 1974 the total of Israel's annual contributions to the Arab refugees, through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, was higher than that of any Arab or Muslim state, with the exception of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, both of whom gave amounts similar to those given by Israel. Algeria made no contribution



**PRINCIPAL NON MIDDLE EAST CONTRIBUTORS TO PALESTINIAN ARAB REFUGEES, 1950 - 1974**

U.S.A.	\$577 million
Great Britain	\$133 million
Canada	\$32 million
Germany	\$27 million
Sweden	\$26 million
Japan	\$8 million
The Soviet Union	made no contribution.
<b>THE TOTAL WORLD CONTRIBUTION 1950-1974 WAS \$985 million</b>	

**OIL REVENUE 1974**

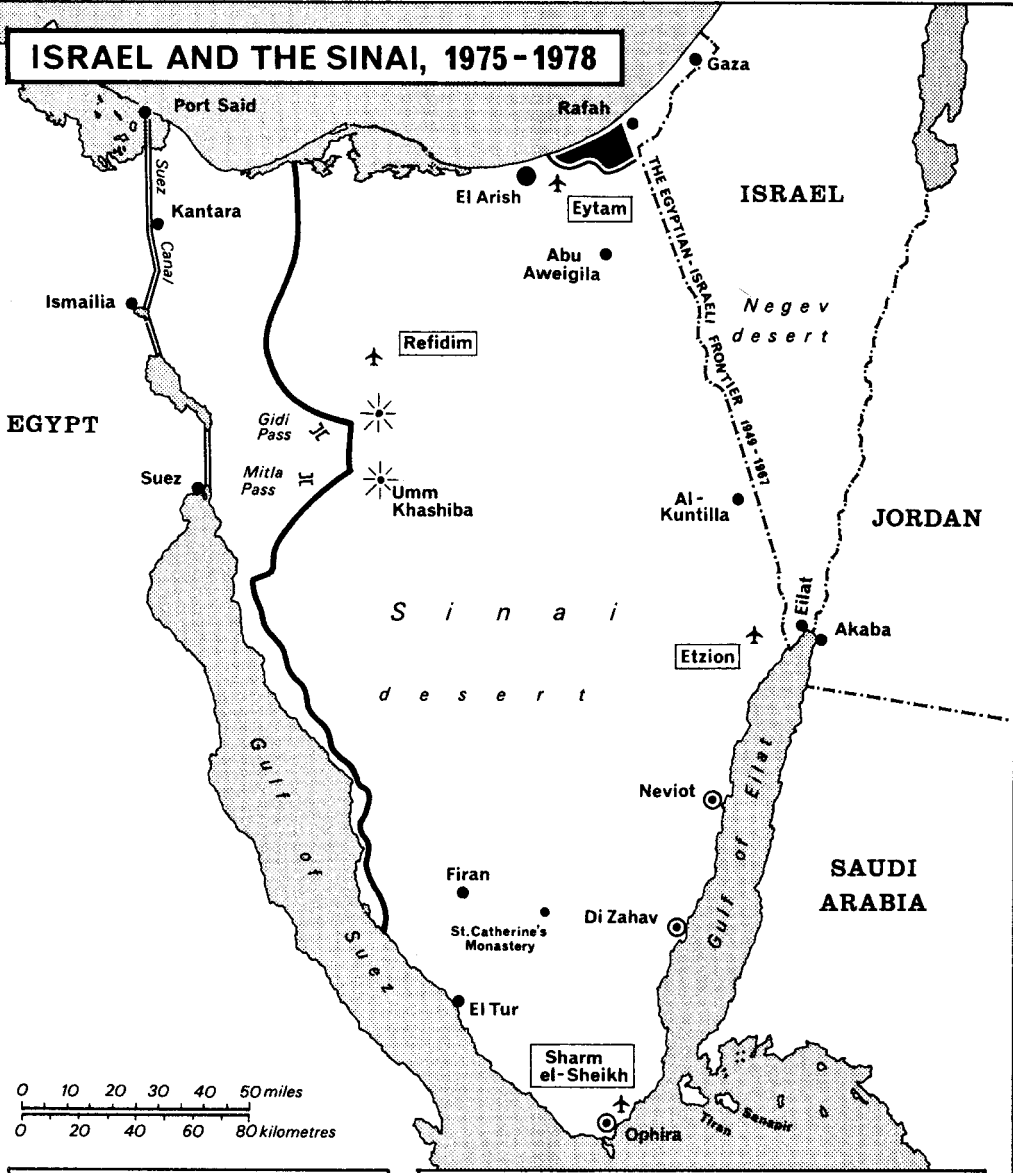
Saudi Arabia	\$24 1/2 billion
Iran	\$18 1/2 billion
Kuwait	\$8 billion
Libya	\$6 billion
U.A. Emirates	\$6 billion
Iraq	\$5 1/2 billion
Algeria	\$3 1/2 billion
Dubai	\$1 1/2 billion
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$75 BILLION</b>

Middle East aid to Palestinian Arab refugees, 1950-74, total \$31 million

**OIL REVENUE \$75 billion FOR 1974 ALONE**

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# ISRAEL AND THE SINAI, 1975 - 1978



On the night of Sunday 18 September 1978, President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel signed a comprehensive agreement, including the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Sinai. The map opposite illustrates the main features of that agreement in regard to Sinai. In addition, Israeli ships were to have 'free passage' through the Suez Canal and Gulf of Akaba (Eilat). On 27 September 1978 the Israeli Parliament agreed to the withdrawal of all Israeli settlements in Sinai, including those in the Rafah salient.

- Principal Arab town in the Sinai (home of 12,000 Arabs)
- Western boundary of Israeli-occupied Sinai, as established by the second Sinai agreement between Israel and Egypt on 1 September 1975 (when there were 48,000 Bedouin living in the Sinai).
- ⊙ Israeli settlements established in the Sinai by 1978 (home of 800 Jews).
- The Rafah salient, in which eleven Israeli settlements were established by 1978 (home of 2,000 Jews).
- ☼ United States early warning stations.
- ✈ Israeli-built air bases, thus : **Etzion**

© Martin Gilbert 1978

# ISRAEL, THE P.L.O., AND THE LEBANON, 1976 - 1978

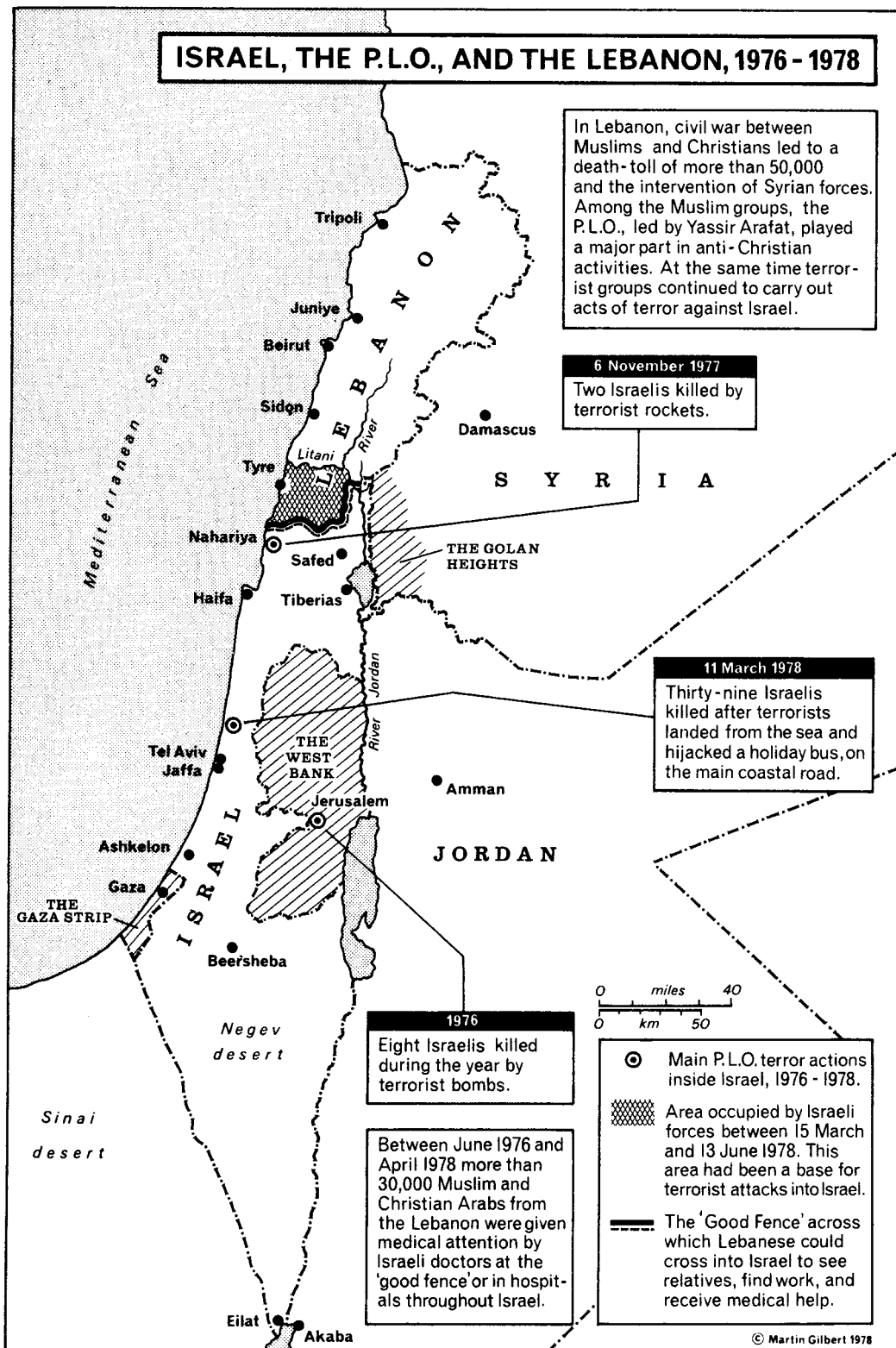
In Lebanon, civil war between Muslims and Christians led to a death-toll of more than 50,000 and the intervention of Syrian forces. Among the Muslim groups, the P.L.O., led by Yassir Arafat, played a major part in anti-Christian activities. At the same time terrorist groups continued to carry out acts of terror against Israel.

**6 November 1977**  
Two Israelis killed by terrorist rockets.

**11 March 1978**  
Thirty-nine Israelis killed after terrorists landed from the sea and hijacked a holiday bus, on the main coastal road.

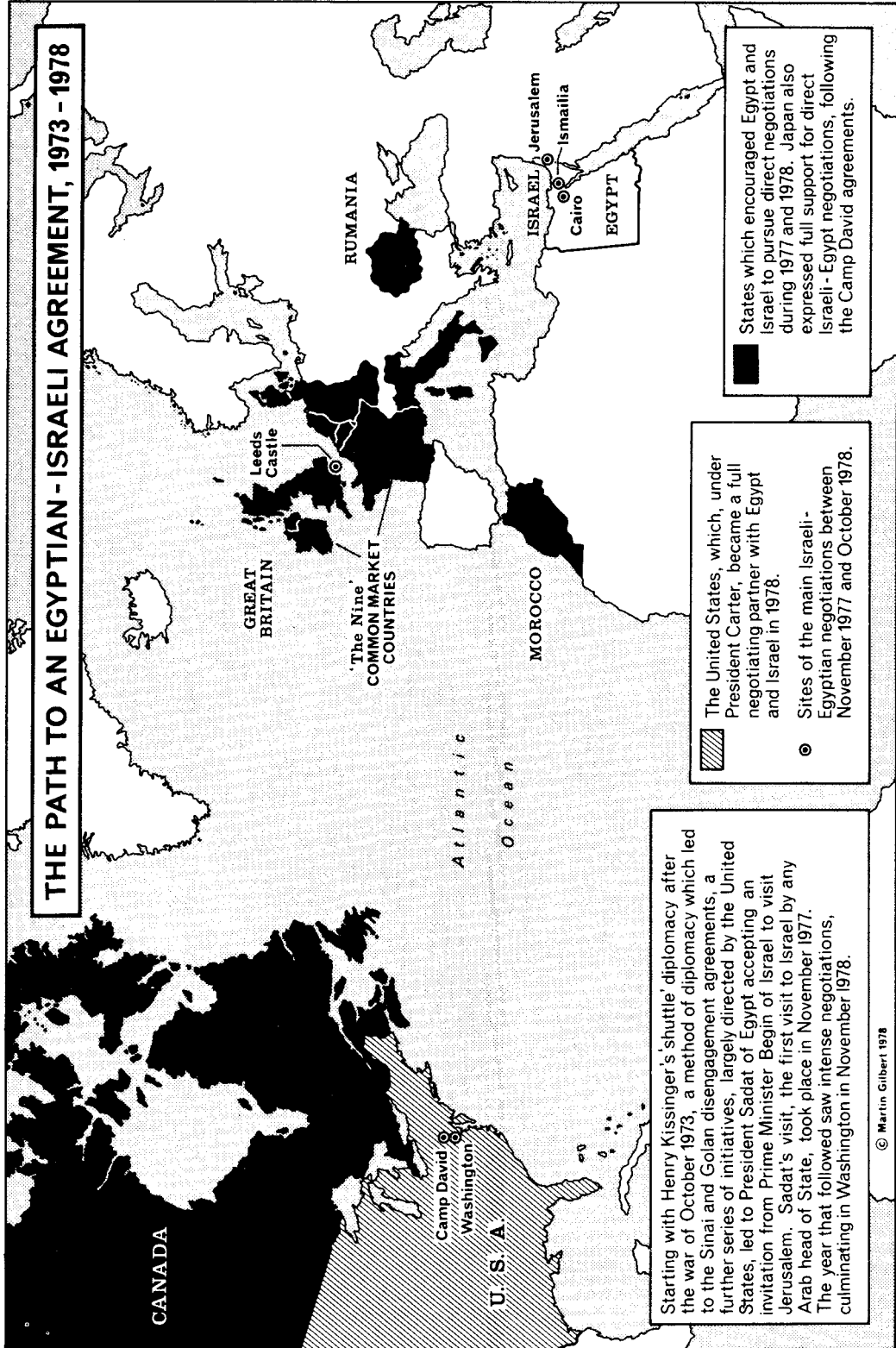
**1976**  
Eight Israelis killed during the year by terrorist bombs.

Between June 1976 and April 1978 more than 30,000 Muslim and Christian Arabs from the Lebanon were given medical attention by Israeli doctors at the 'good fence' or in hospitals throughout Israel.






- ⊙ Main P.L.O. terror actions inside Israel, 1976 - 1978.
- ▨ Area occupied by Israeli forces between 15 March and 13 June 1978. This area had been a base for terrorist attacks into Israel.
- The 'Good Fence' across which Lebanese could cross into Israel to see relatives, find work, and receive medical help.

# THE PATH TO AN EGYPTIAN - ISRAELI AGREEMENT, 1973 - 1978



Starting with Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy after the war of October 1973, a method of diplomacy which led to the Sinai and Golan disengagement agreements, a further series of initiatives, largely directed by the United States, led to President Sadat of Egypt accepting an invitation from Prime Minister Begin of Israel to visit Jerusalem. Sadat's visit, the first visit to Israel by any Arab head of State, took place in November 1977. The year that followed saw intense negotiations, culminating in Washington in November 1978.

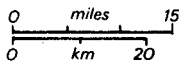
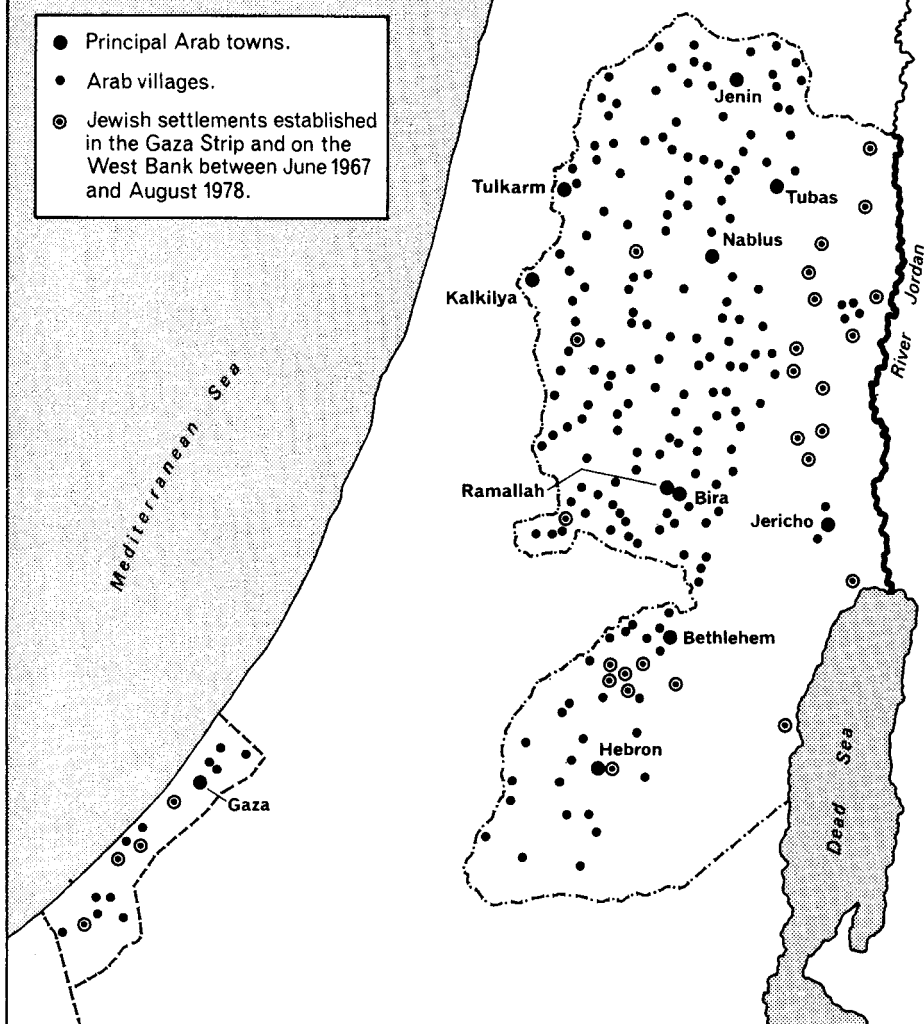
 The United States, which, under President Carter, became a full negotiating partner with Egypt and Israel in 1978.  
 Sites of the main Israeli-Egyptian negotiations between November 1977 and October 1978.

 States which encouraged Egypt and Israel to pursue direct negotiations during 1977 and 1978. Japan also expressed full support for direct Israeli - Egypt negotiations, following the Camp David agreements.

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# CAMP DAVID, THE WEST BANK, AND THE GAZA STRIP

- Principal Arab towns.
- Arab villages.
- ⊙ Jewish settlements established in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank between June 1967 and August 1978.



On 18 September 1978, at Camp David, near Washington, Israel and Egypt agreed to set up an 'elected self-governing authority' on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The agreement added: 'A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of Israeli forces into specified security locations'. After this, and within three years, 'negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and its relationship with its neighbours, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan'. These negotiations 'will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza'.

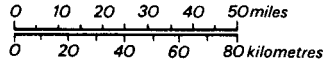
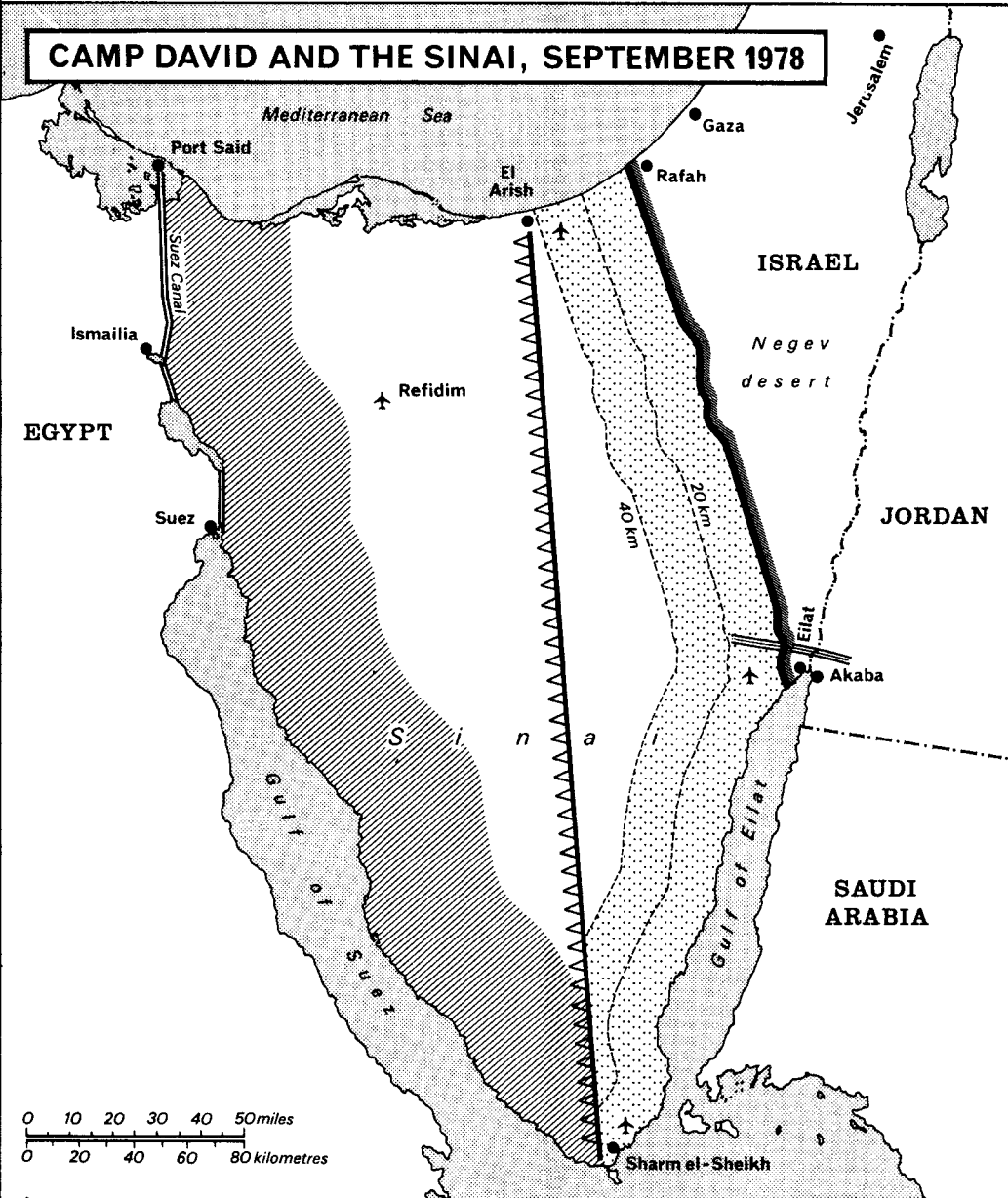
WEST BANK POPULATION, 1978	
Arabs	650,000
Jews	5,500

GAZA STRIP POPULATION, 1978	
Arabs	380,000
Jews	800

- The cease-fire line between Israel and Jordan, 1949 - 1967.
- The River Jordan, boundary between Israel and Jordan following the Six-Day War of June 1967.



# CAMP DAVID AND THE SINAI, SEPTEMBER 1978



— Proposed boundary between Egypt and Israel (the former boundary of 'mandated Palestine'). West of this line, the agreement stipulated 'The full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty'.

↑ Israeli-built airfields, to be used by Egypt 'for civilian purposes only, including possible commercial use by all nations'.

≡ Highway to be built 'with guaranteed free and peaceful passage by Egypt and Jordan'.

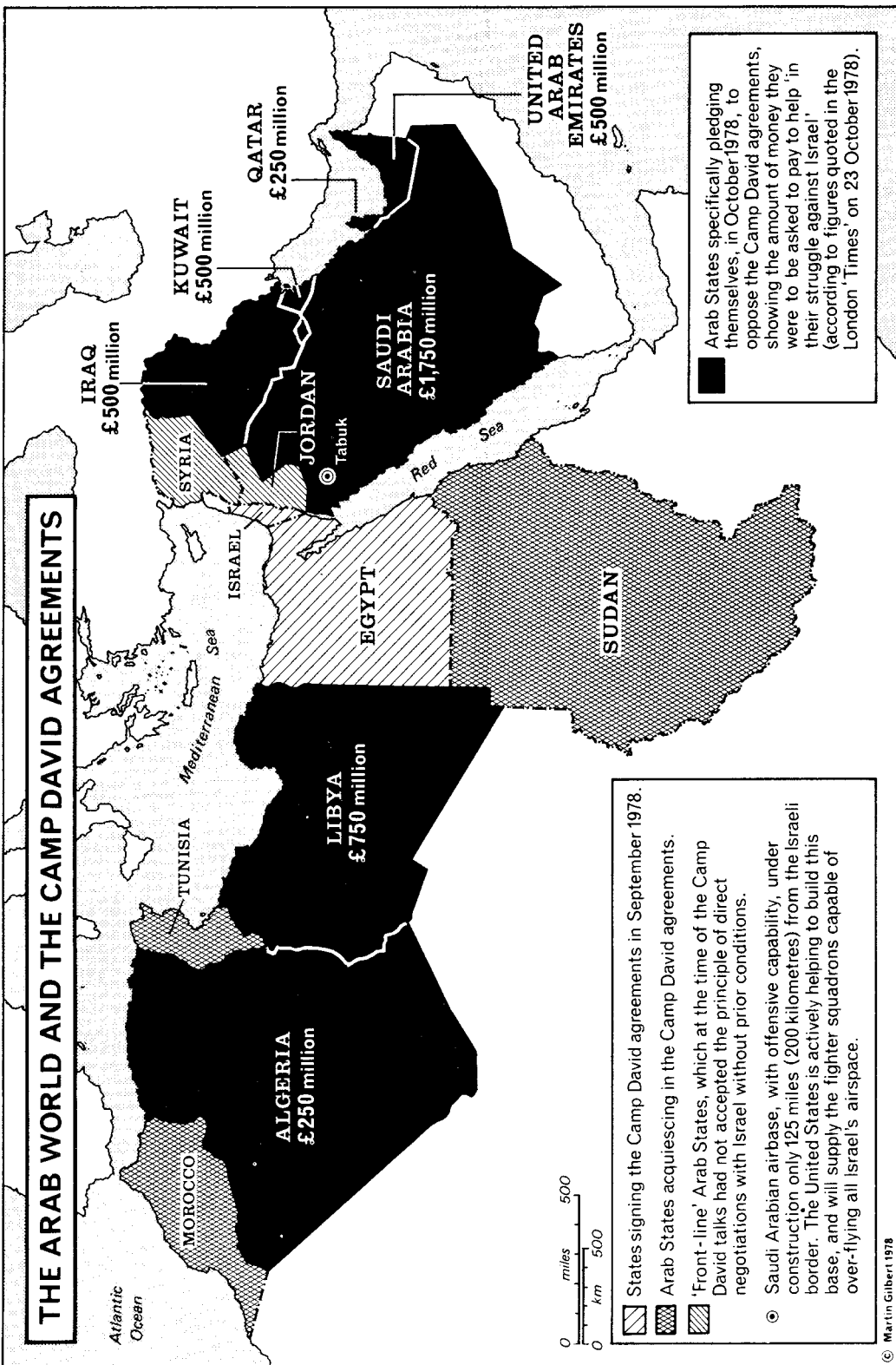
▨ Area of limited Egyptian forces (50 Kilometres)

▩ Area of limited Israeli forces (3 Kilometres)

⋯ Approximate area to be policed by United Nations forces and 'civil police equipped with light weapons'. (20 to 40 Kilometres)

◁ Western boundary of the first phase of Israeli troop withdrawals, to be taken up 'between three months and nine months' after the signing of a peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel.

© Martin Gilbert 1978



# ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM SINCE 1979

At the very moment of a renewal of negotiations and hopes for a Middle East peace process, the rise of Muslim fundamentalism challenged that process, rousing fears in Israel of an enemy whose hostility came from extremists throughout the Islamic world. Each incident reported, whether in neighbouring Egypt or more distant lands, created a sense of unease in Israel at a rising tide of seemingly implacable hostility

Of a total world population of 5,200 million, as many as 1,000 million are Muslim. One fifth of all Muslims live in Arab countries. Only countries with majority Muslim populations are named on this map

On 20 January 1993 delegates from 100 Islamic countries issued the Cairo Declaration, seeking to stem the growth of fundamentalism. In a speech to the delegates, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak urged them to correct "the deformed picture of Islam that is being projected to the world, that Islam is a religion of terrorism, violence and bloodshed"

**14 February 1989**  
Ayatollah Khomeini issues a "Fatwa" ordering the death of a British Muslim writer, Salman Rushdie, living in London, for insulting Islam in his book *Satanic Verses*

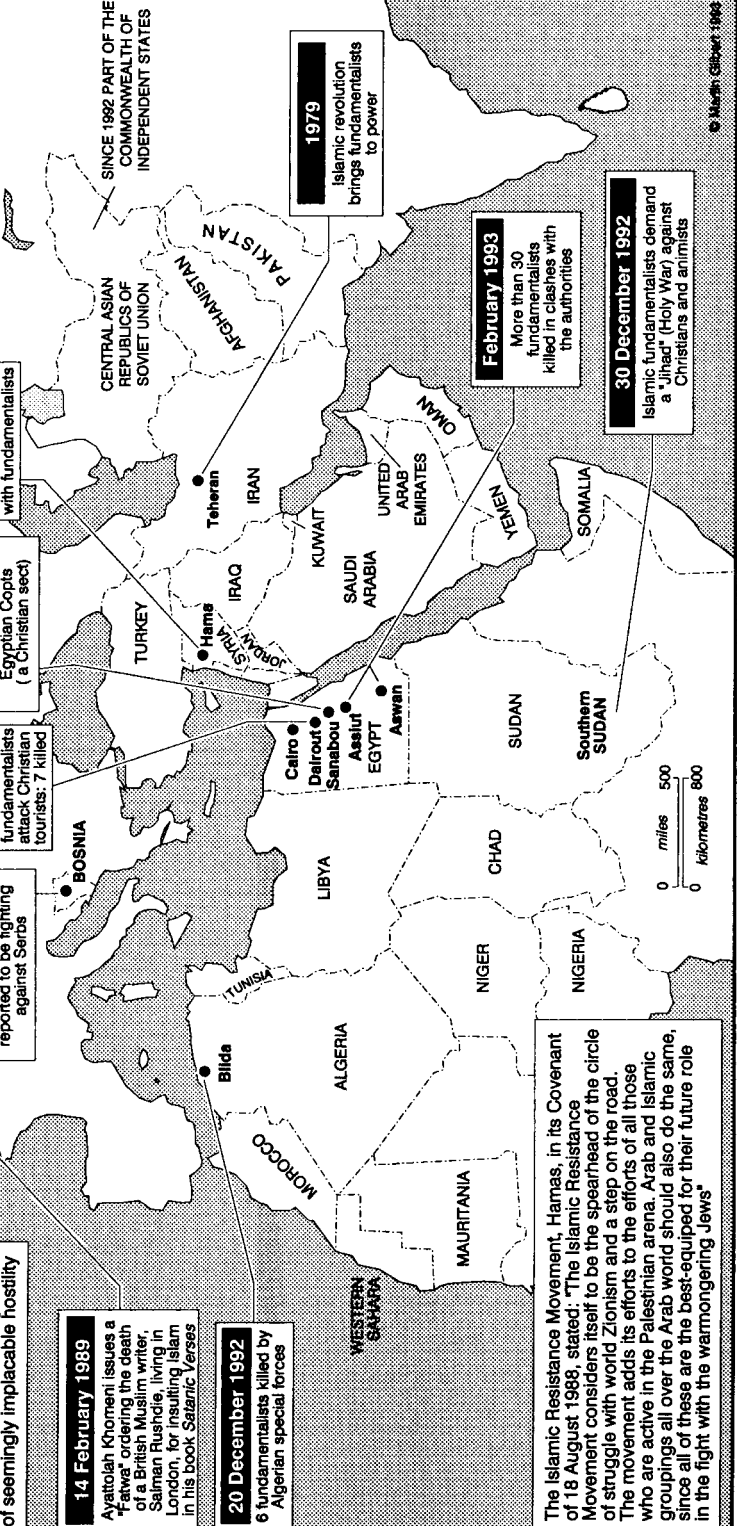
**20 December 1992**  
6 fundamentalists killed by Algerian special forces

**22 January 1993**  
As many as 680 Muslim fundamentalists reported to be fighting against Serbs

**4 January 1992**  
Muslim fundamentalists attack Christian tourists: 7 killed

**4 May 1992**  
13 dead when Islamic fundamentalists attack Egyptian Copts (a Christian sect)

**1982**  
Syrian troops kill at least 5,000 in battle with fundamentalists



**1979**  
Islamic revolution brings fundamentalists to power

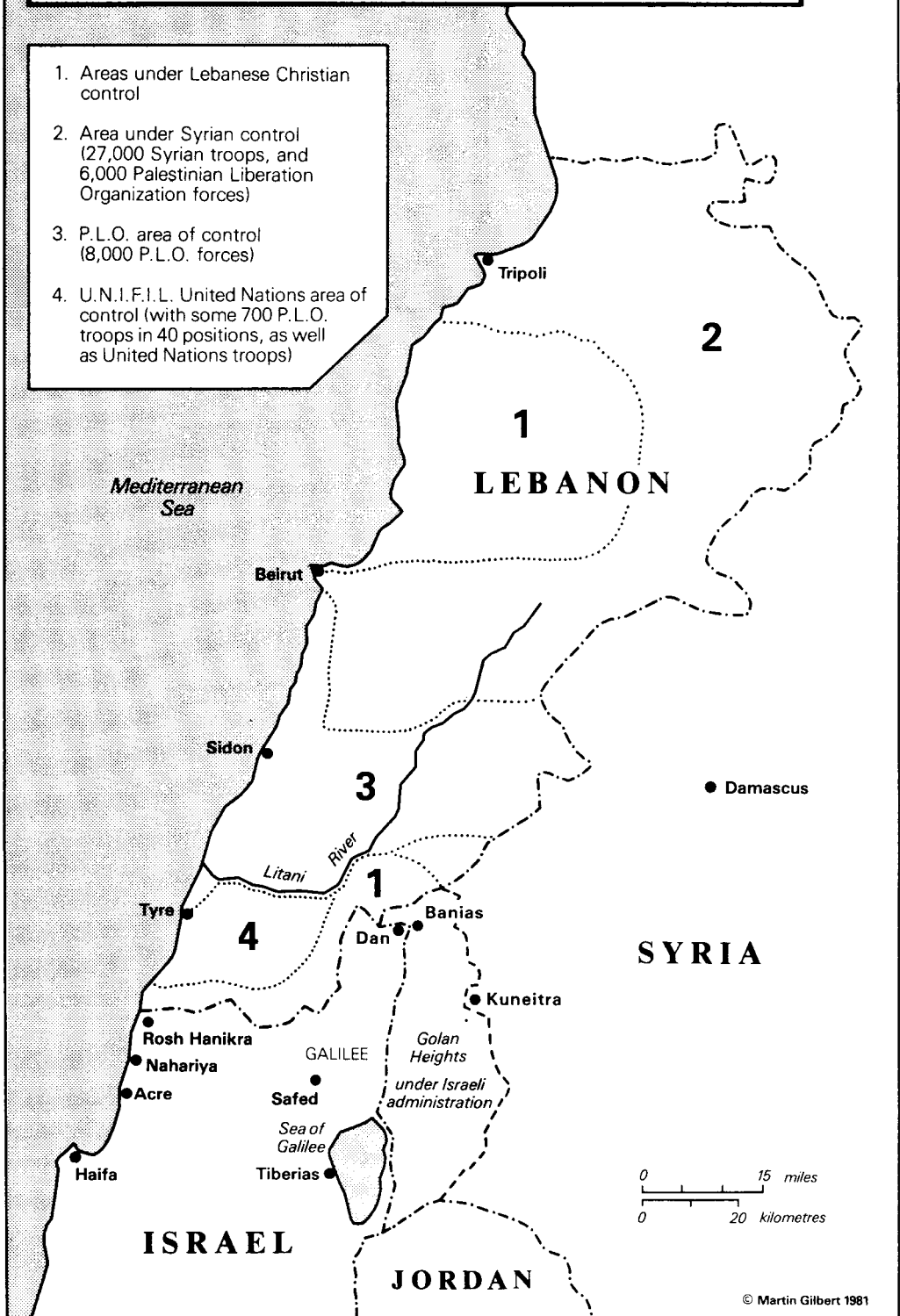
**February 1993**  
More than 30 fundamentalists killed in clashes with the authorities

**30 December 1992**  
Islamic fundamentalists demand a "Jihad" (Holy War) against Christians and animists

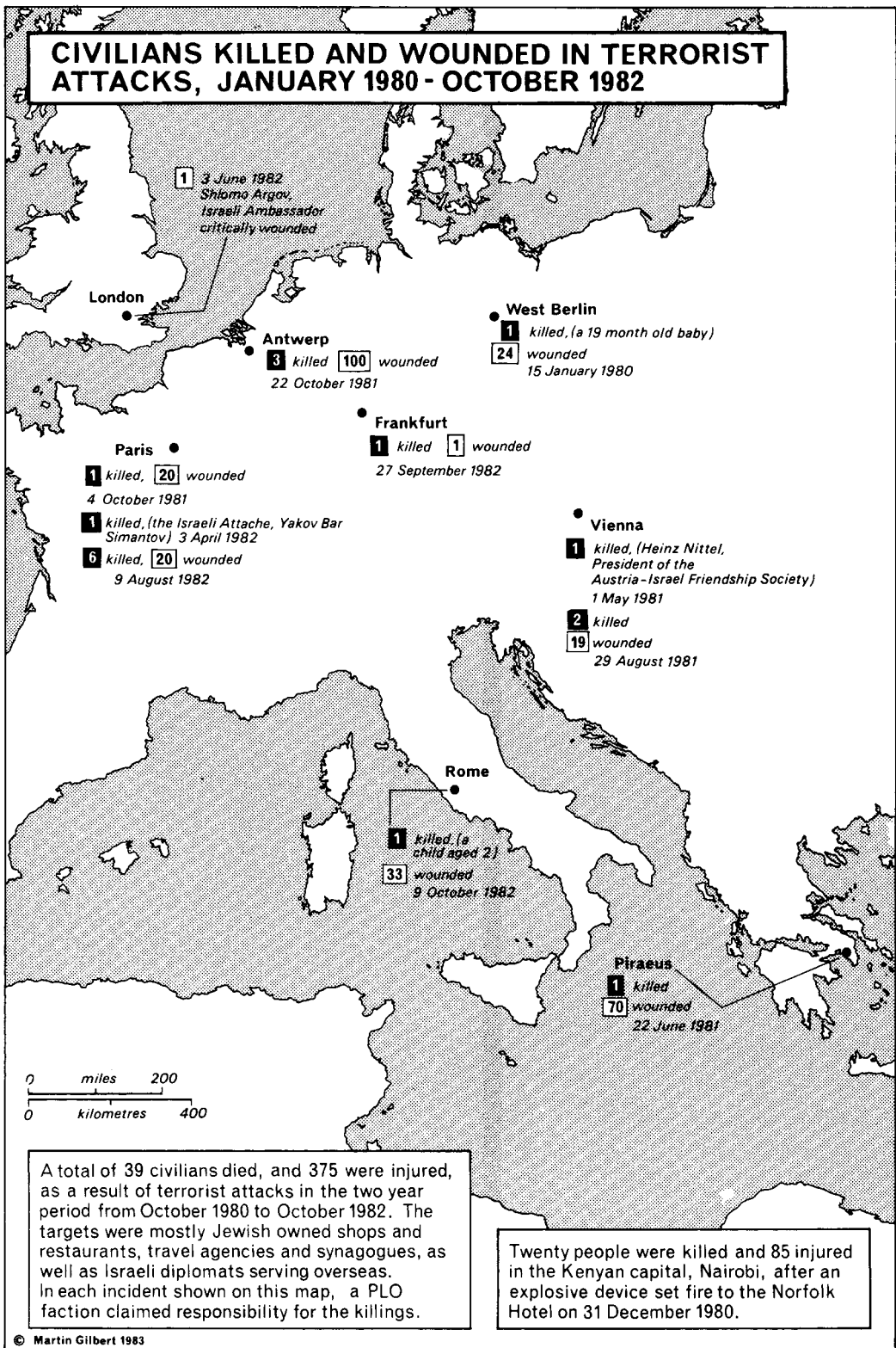
The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, in its Covenant of 18 August 1988, stated: "The Islamic Resistance Movement considers itself to be the spearhead of the circle of struggle with world Zionism and a step on the road. The movement adds its efforts to the efforts of all those who are active in the Palestinian arena. Arab and Islamic groupings all over the Arab world should also do the same, since all of these are the best-equipped for their future role in the fight with the warmongering Jews"

# THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE LEBANON, 1981

1. Areas under Lebanese Christian control
2. Area under Syrian control (27,000 Syrian troops, and 6,000 Palestinian Liberation Organization forces)
3. P.L.O. area of control (8,000 P.L.O. forces)
4. U.N.I.F.I.L. United Nations area of control (with some 700 P.L.O. troops in 40 positions, as well as United Nations troops)



# CIVILIANS KILLED AND WOUNDED IN TERRORIST ATTACKS, JANUARY 1980 - OCTOBER 1982



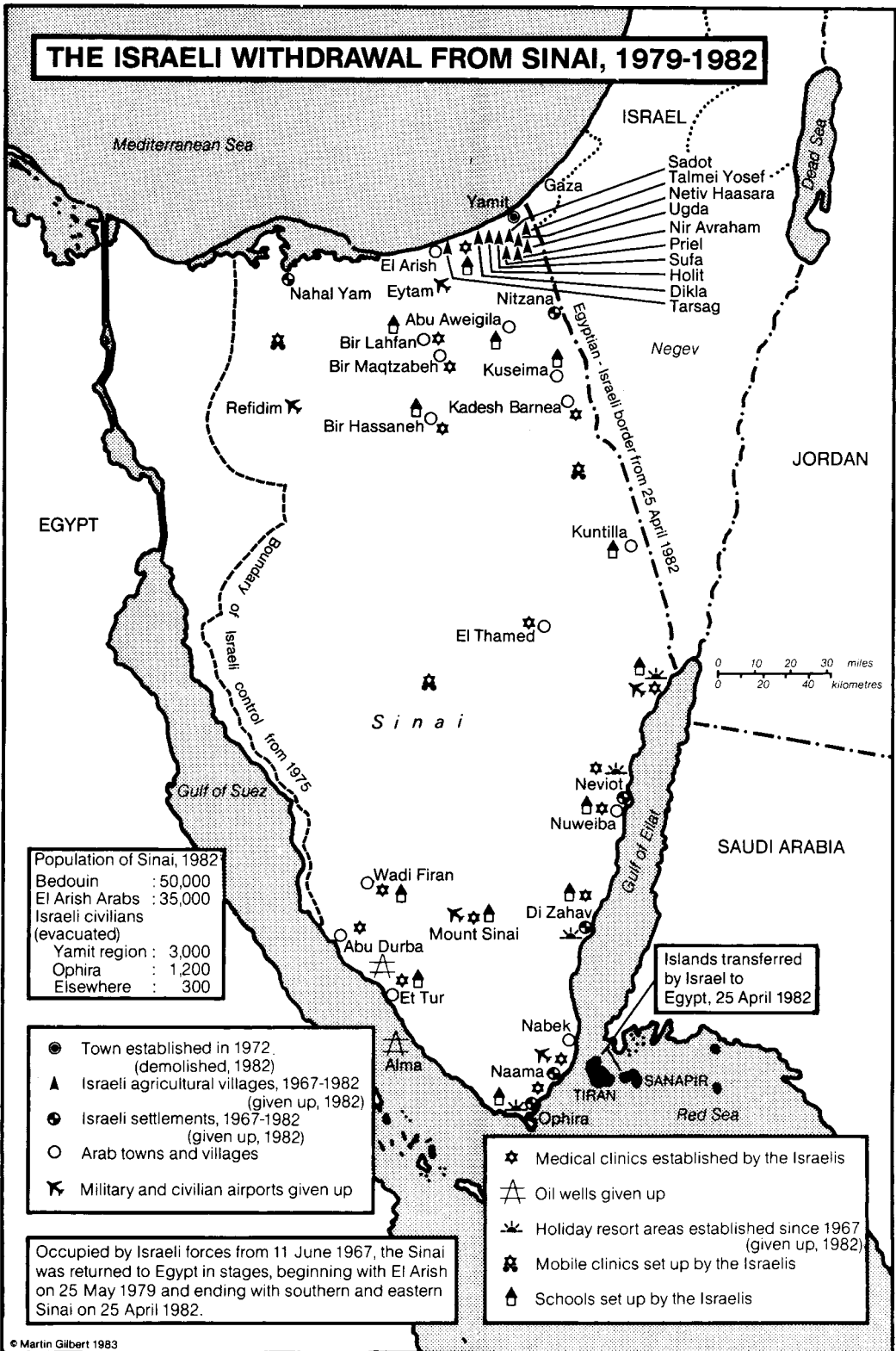
0 miles 200  
0 kilometres 400

A total of 39 civilians died, and 375 were injured, as a result of terrorist attacks in the two year period from October 1980 to October 1982. The targets were mostly Jewish owned shops and restaurants, travel agencies and synagogues, as well as Israeli diplomats serving overseas. In each incident shown on this map, a PLO faction claimed responsibility for the killings.

Twenty people were killed and 85 injured in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, after an explosive device set fire to the Norfolk Hotel on 31 December 1980.

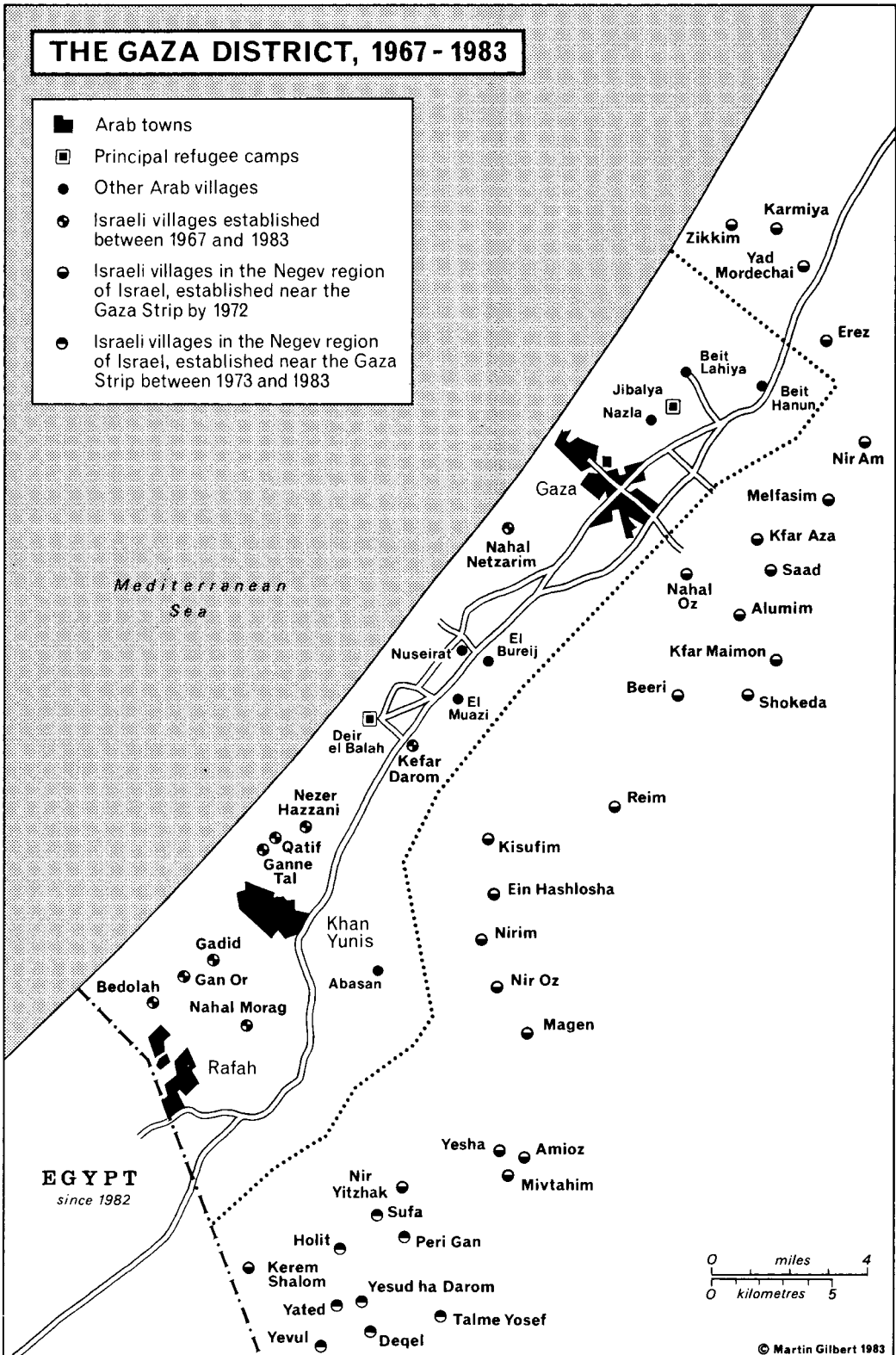
© Martin Gilbert 1983

# THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI, 1979-1982



# THE GAZA DISTRICT, 1967 - 1983

- Arab towns
- ▣ Principal refugee camps
- Other Arab villages
- ⊕ Israeli villages established between 1967 and 1983
- ⊖ Israeli villages in the Negev region of Israel, established near the Gaza Strip by 1972
- ⊙ Israeli villages in the Negev region of Israel, established near the Gaza Strip between 1973 and 1983



© Martin Gilbert 1983

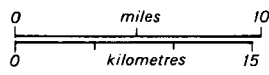
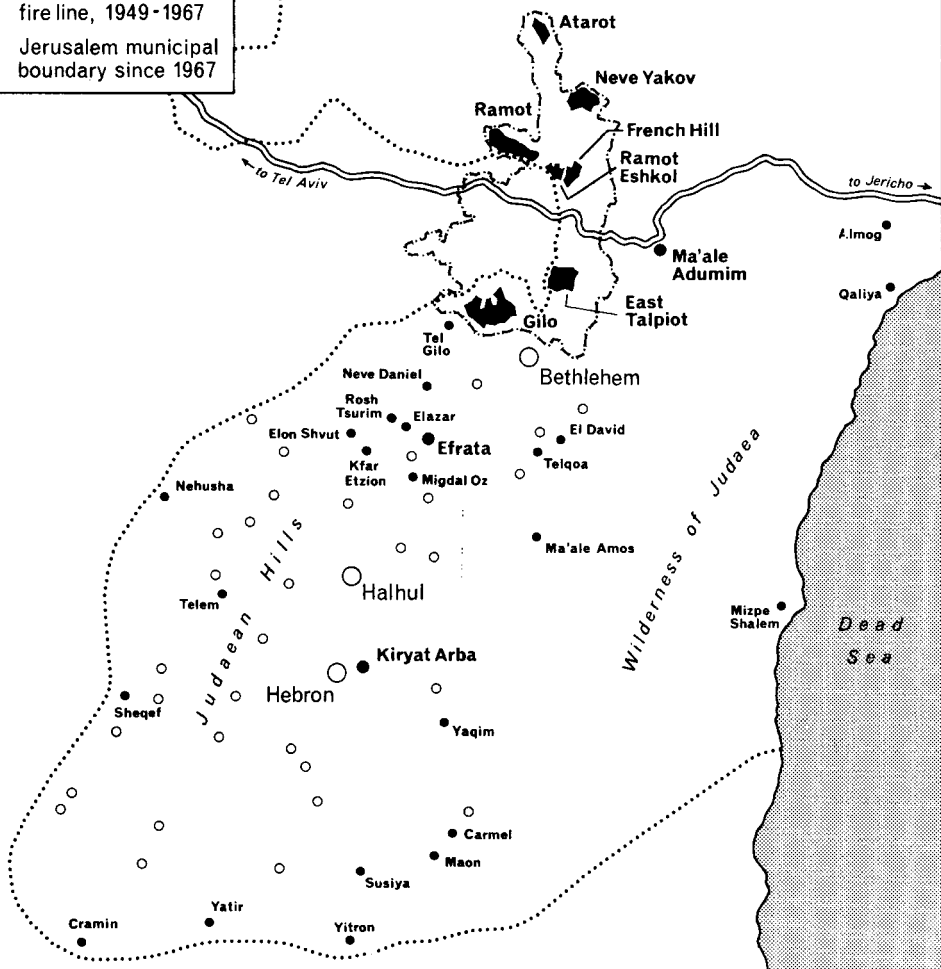
# ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN JUDEAEA, 1967 - 1983

## JERUSALEM POPULATION, 1982

Jews	305,000
Muslim Arabs	109,000
Christian Arabs	11,000
<b>Total population</b>	<b>425,000</b>

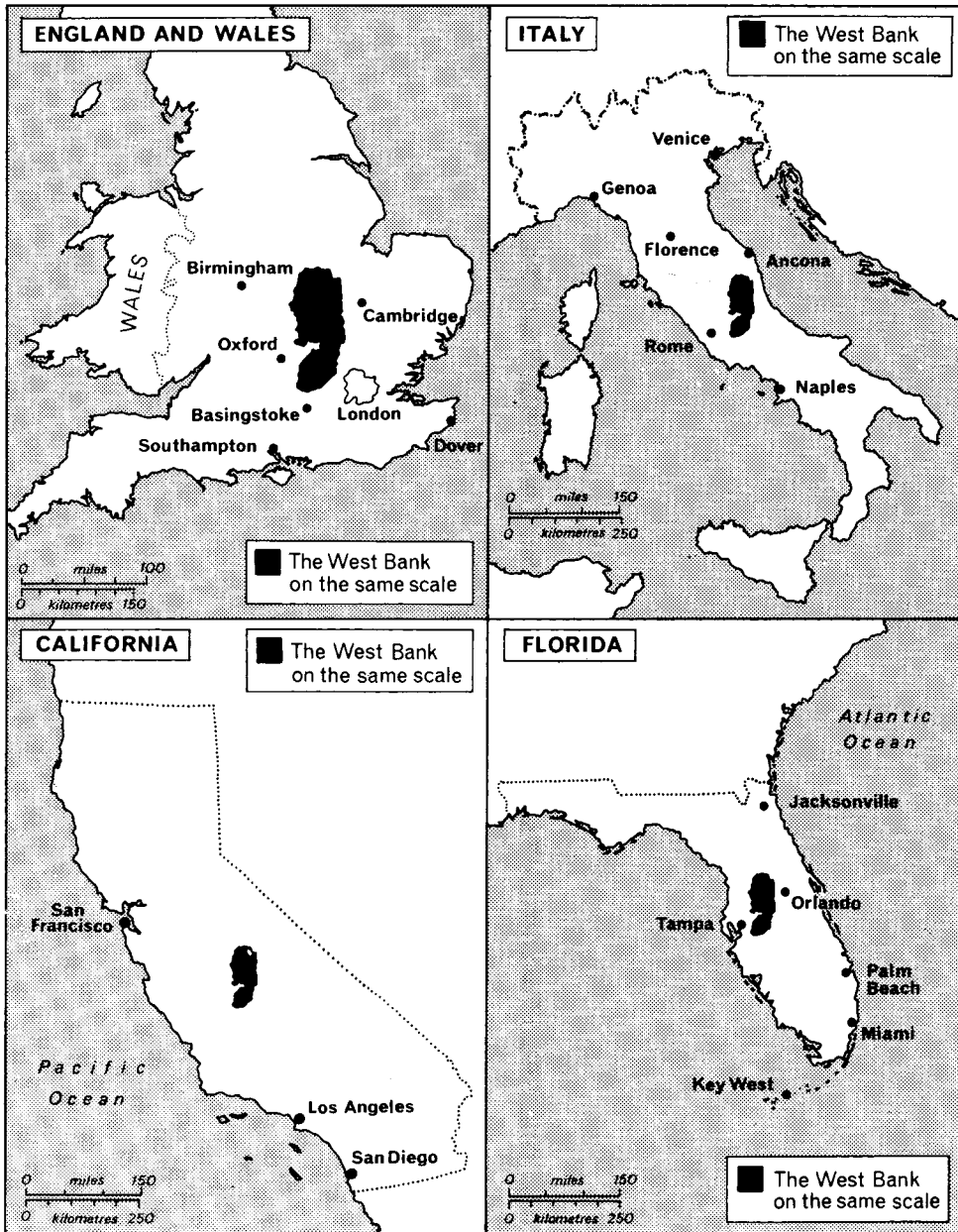
- Principal Arab towns
- Arab villages
- Israeli settlements set up between 1967 and 1983, intended for up to 1,500 families each.
- Israeli settlements set up between 1967 and 1983, intended for up to 300 families each.
- Jerusalem suburbs built by Israel on the former Jordanian side of the 1949-1967 cease fire line

- ..... Israel-Jordan cease-fire line, 1949-1967
- - - Jerusalem municipal boundary since 1967





## THE WEST BANK : COMPARATIVE SIZES



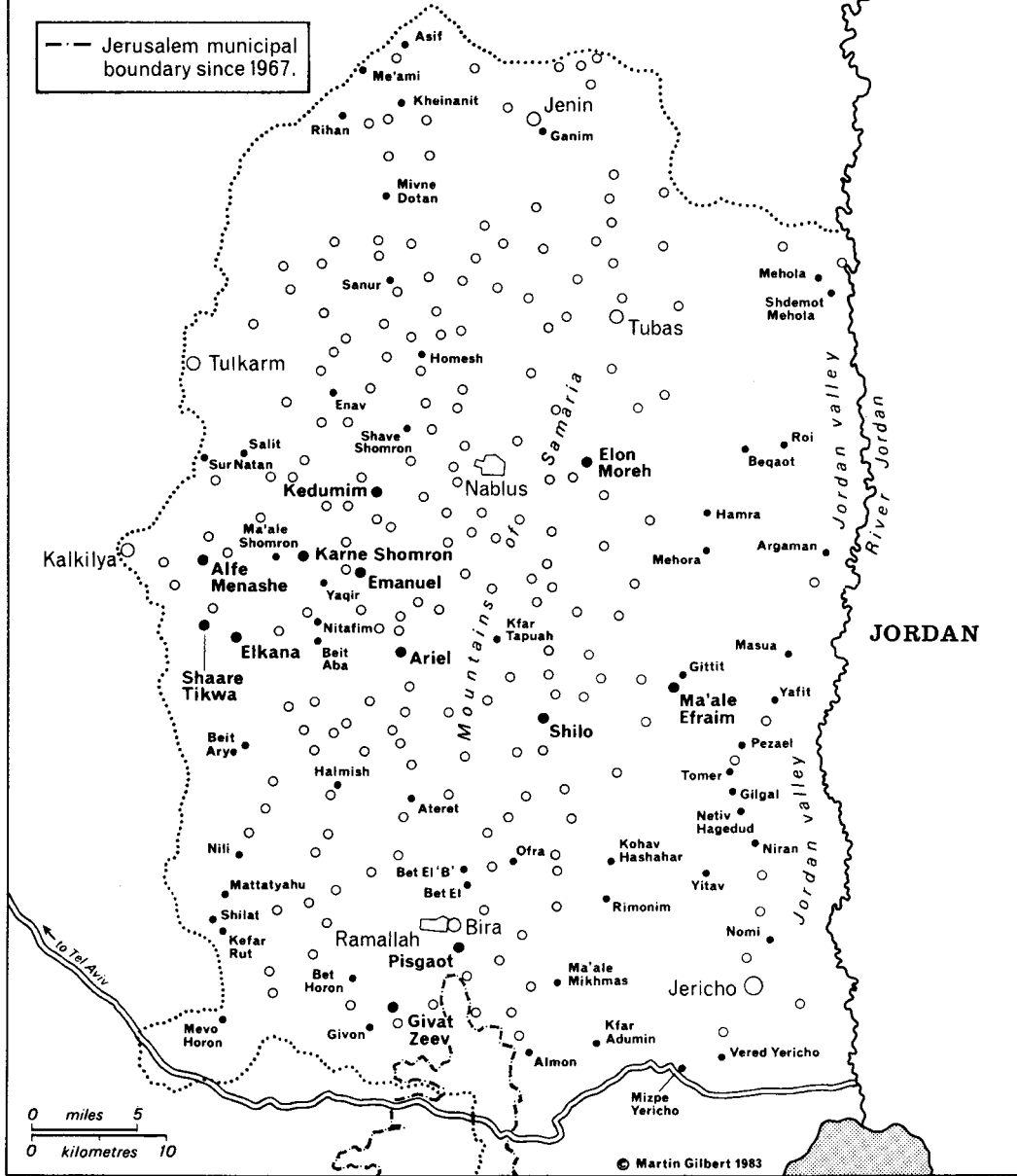
A total of 1,186,000 Arabs were living on the West Bank (721,700) and in the Gaza Strip (464,300) in 1982. The number of Israeli settlers was approximately 20,000. According to Israeli Government plans, it was hoped to raise this figure to 100,000 by the end of the decade, but the main Israeli Opposition parties were opposed to any such expansion, and many of the new settlements shown on the Judaea and Samaria maps had as few as 26 families in July 1983.

# ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN SAMARIA 1967 - 1983

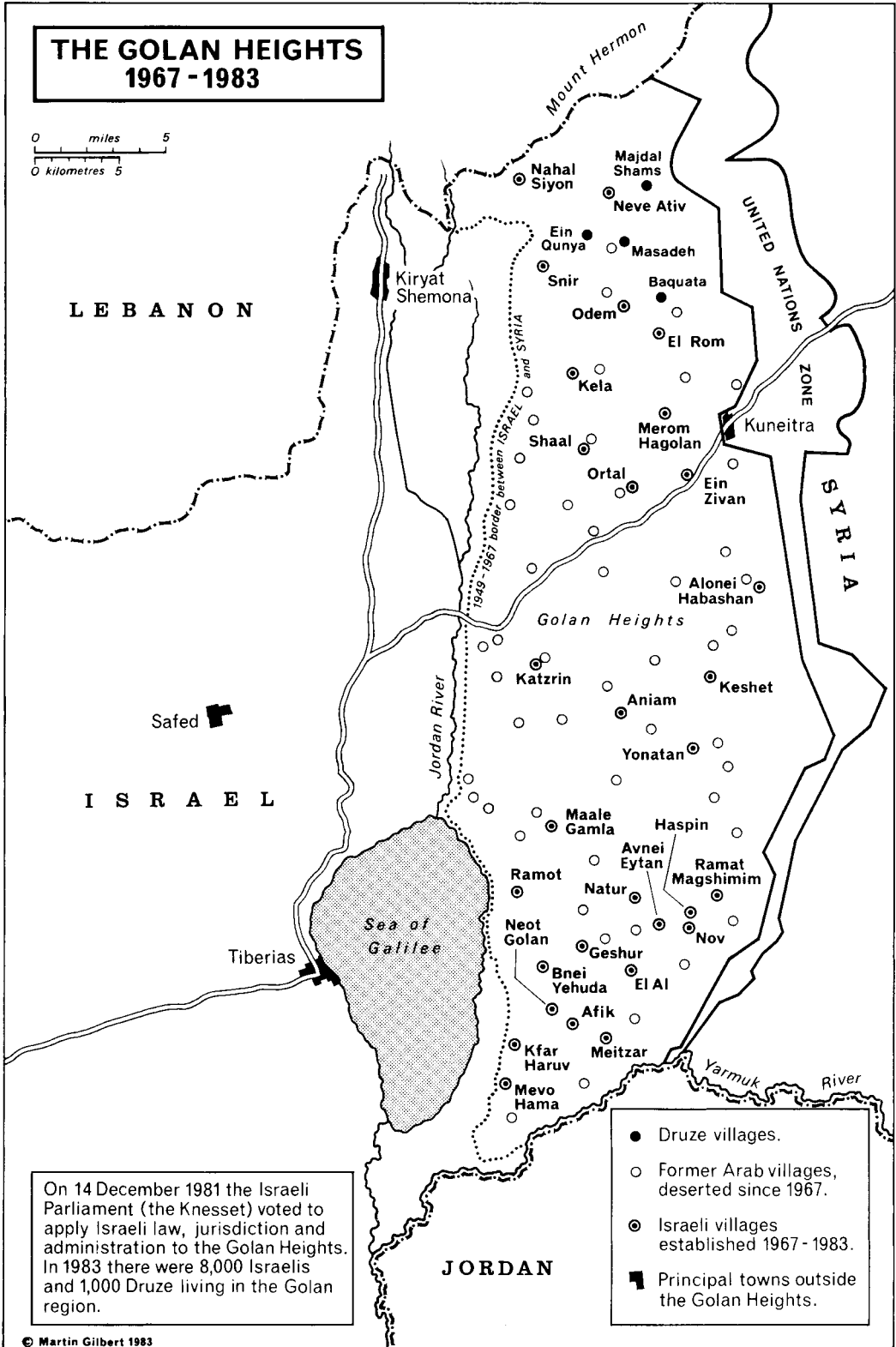
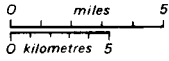
..... Israel - Jordan cease fire line, 1949 - 1967

- Principal Arab towns
- Arab villages
- Israeli settlements set up between 1967 and 1983, intended for up to 1,500 families each
- Israeli settlements set up between 1967 and 1983, intended for up to 300 families each

--- Jerusalem municipal boundary since 1967.



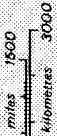
# THE GOLAN HEIGHTS 1967 - 1983



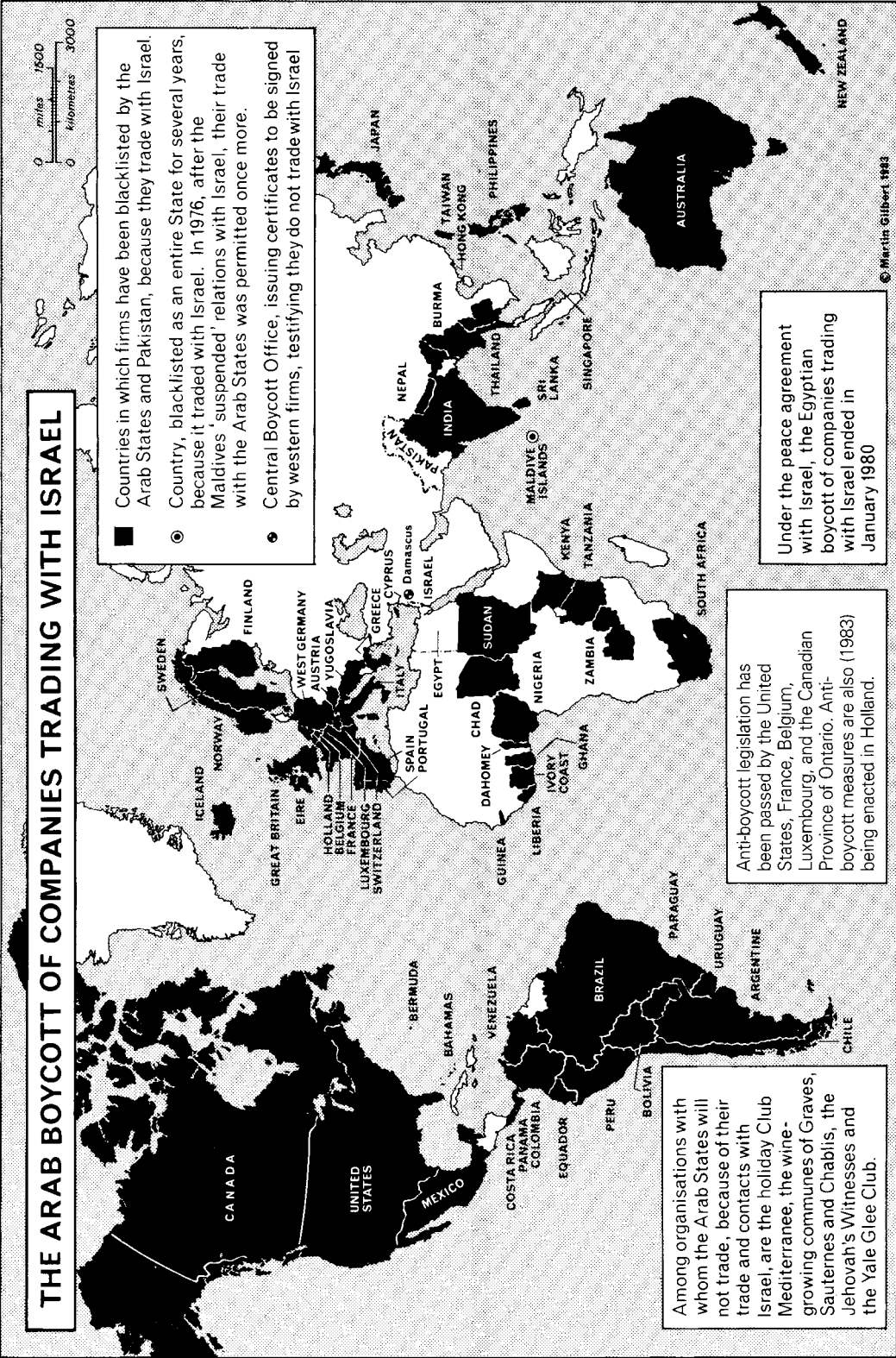
On 14 December 1981 the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) voted to apply Israeli law, jurisdiction and administration to the Golan Heights. In 1983 there were 8,000 Israelis and 1,000 Druze living in the Golan region.

- Druze villages.
- Former Arab villages, deserted since 1967.
- ⊙ Israeli villages established 1967 - 1983.
- Principal towns outside the Golan Heights.

# THE ARAB BOYCOTT OF COMPANIES TRADING WITH ISRAEL



- Countries in which firms have been blacklisted by the Arab States and Pakistan, because they trade with Israel.
- Country, blacklisted as an entire State for several years, because it traded with Israel. In 1976, after the Maldives 'suspended' relations with Israel, their trade with the Arab States was permitted once more.
- Central Boycott Office, issuing certificates to be signed by western firms, testifying they do not trade with Israel



Anti-boycott legislation has been passed by the United States, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Canadian Province of Ontario. Anti-boycott measures are also (1983) being enacted in Holland.

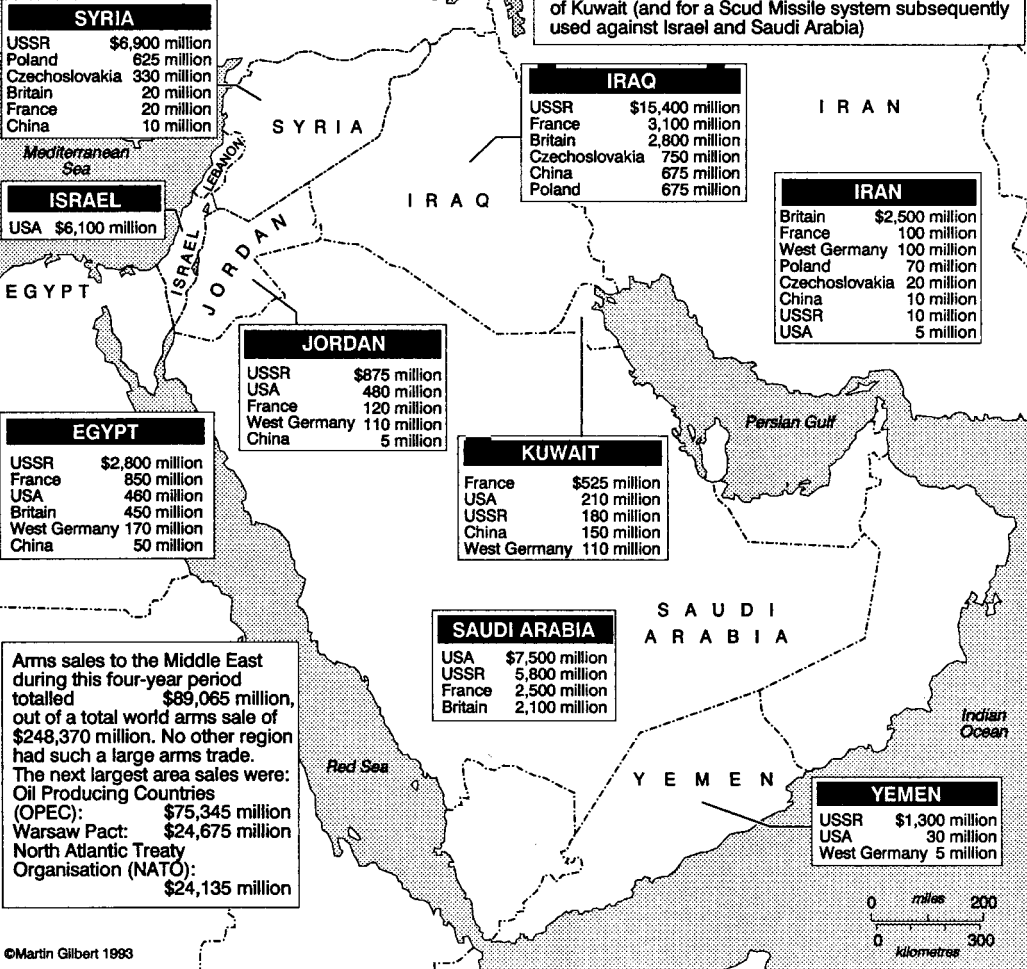
Under the peace agreement with Israel, the Egyptian boycott of companies trading with Israel ended in January 1980

Among organisations with whom the Arab States will not trade, because of their trade and contacts with Israel, are the holiday Club Mediterranee, the wine-growing communes of Graves, Sauternes and Chablis, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Yale Glee Club.

## MIDDLE EAST ARMS RECIPIENTS, 1984 -1988

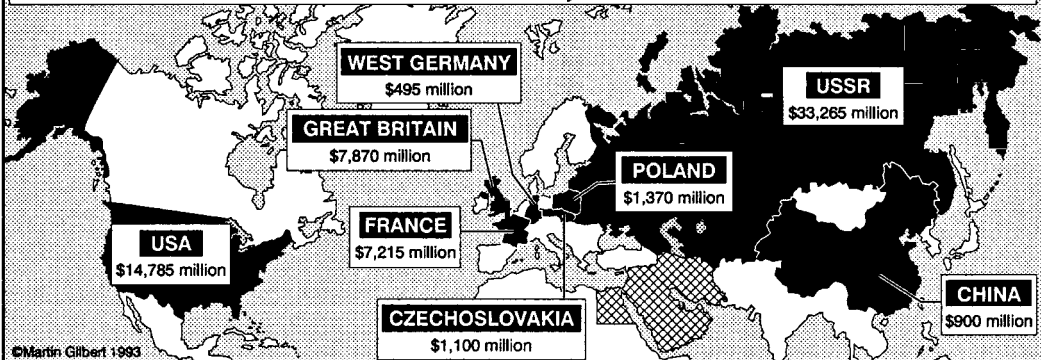
The main suppliers of arms to the Middle East between 1984 and 1988 were the Soviet Union and the United States. With the waning of the Cold War from 1989 this element of Great Power rivalry came to an end

Iran transferred many of its arms purchases to a Muslim fundamentalist group (Hezbollah, or Party of God) in Lebanon. A part of Syria's weaponry was used by its 40,000 troops in Lebanon. Iraq, which was among those countries acquiring arms from both sides of the East-West divide, used them to prepare for the invasion of Kuwait (and for a Scud Missile system subsequently used against Israel and Saudi Arabia)



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## MIDDLE EAST ARMS SUPPLIERS, TOTAL SALES 1984 -1988



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# THE WAR IN LEBANON, 6 JUNE 1982 – 21 AUGUST 1982

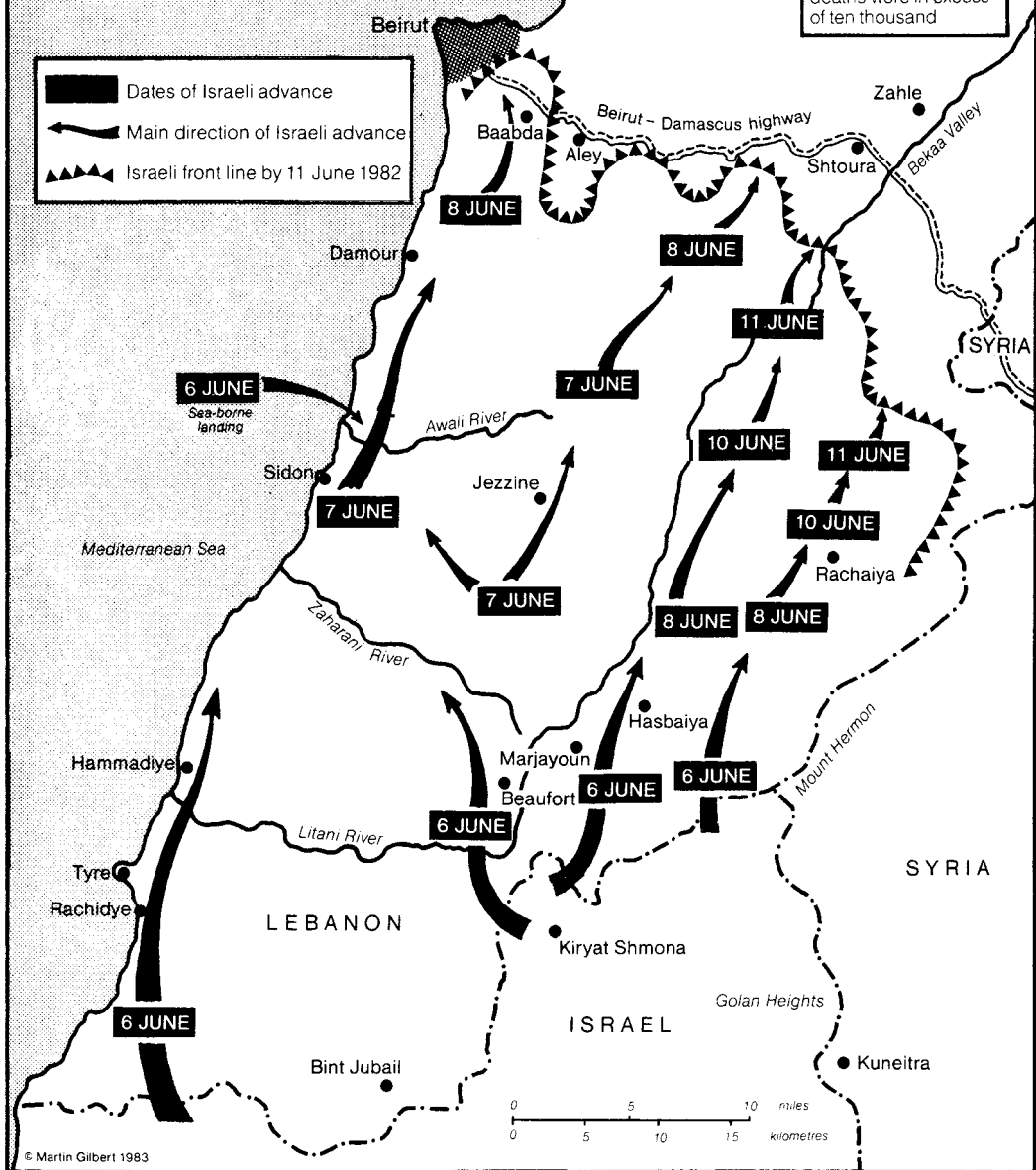
Following the attempted assassination of the Israeli Ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov, on 3 June 1982, and renewed PLO shelling of northern Israel, Israeli forces launched 'Operation Peace for Galilee' on 6 June 1982. Fighting continued until 21 August 1982. Following the start of direct Lebanese-Israeli talks on 28 December 1982, agreement was signed on 17 May 1983 for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. The Syrian Government, however, rejected the call for the withdrawal of Syrian troops.

**ISRAELI ESTIMATE OF WAR DEATHS**

Israeli forces	368
Syrian forces	600
P.L.O. forces	3,000
Lebanese civilians (outside Beirut)	460
(in Beirut)	unknown

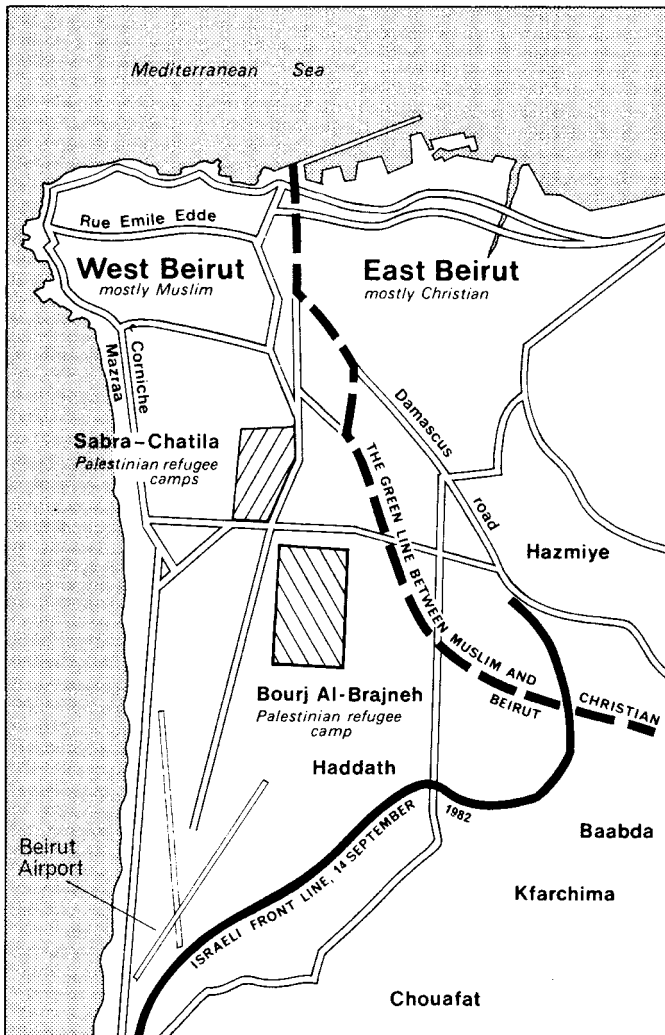
According to Arab sources, Arab civilian deaths were in excess of ten thousand

 Dates of Israeli advance  
 Main direction of Israeli advance  
 Israeli front line by 11 June 1982



© Martin Gilbert 1983

# SABRA AND CHATILA, 16 - 17 SEPTEMBER 1982



## MUSLIMS KILLED BY CHRISTIAN PHALANGISTS

*according to Lebanese Army sources*

- 313 Palestinian men
- 8 Palestinian children
- 7 Palestinian women
- 98 Lebanese men
- 8 Lebanese children
- 7 Lebanese women
- 21 Iranian men
- 7 Syrian men
- 3 Pakistani men
- 2 Algerian men

**474** deaths

*according to Israeli Army sources:*

**700-800** deaths

The killings at Sabra and Chatila were a tragic episode in a cycle of Muslim-Christian killings which had begun during the Lebanese civil war of 1976 and which by the beginning of 1984 had claimed several thousand civilian lives in both communities.

**14 September:** Bashir Gemayel, President Elect of Lebanon, killed in a bomb explosion

**15 September:** Israeli forces occupy West Beirut 'in order to protect the Muslims from the vengeance of the Phalangists' (Israeli PM, Menachem Begin)

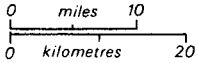
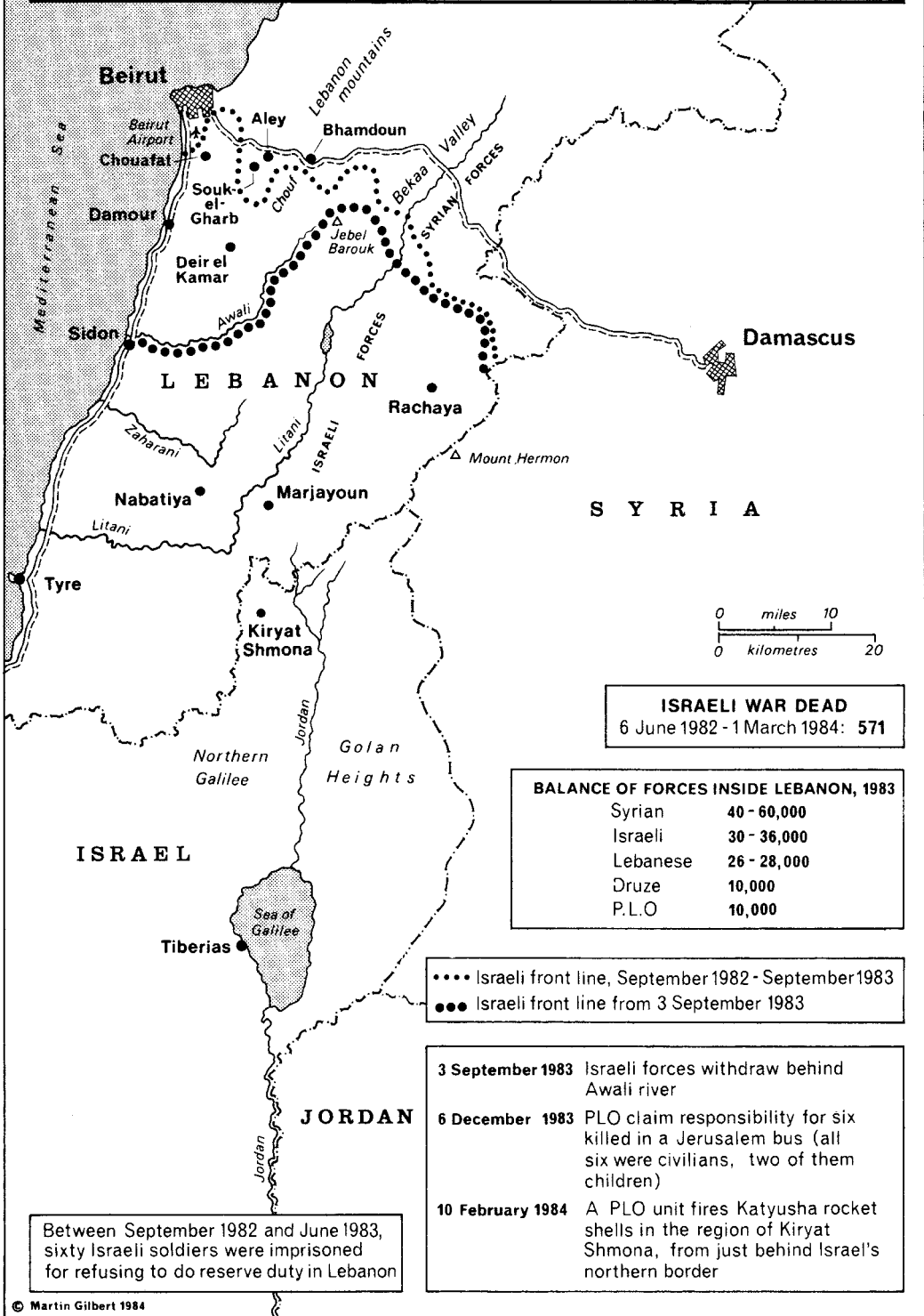
**16 September:** 'Christian Phalangist forces begin sweeping camps in West Beirut. A massacre of men, women and children took place in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps'. (The Times, 3 January 1983)

**23 September:** Amin Gemayel elected President

**28 September:** Israeli forces leave West Beirut

An Israeli judicial enquiry, the Kahan Report, concluded: 'No intention existed on the part of any Israeli element to harm the non-combatant population in the camps'. But the Director of Israeli Military Intelligence was criticized for 'closing his eyes and blocking his ears'; the Israeli Minister of Defence (Ariel Sharon) because humanitarian obligations 'did not concern him in the least'; and the Israeli Prime Minister (Menachem Begin) for unjustifiable 'indifference', and 'for not having evinced during or after the Cabinet session any interest in the Phalangists' actions in the camps'. (Kahan Report, 7 February 1983)

# ISRAEL WITHDRAWS TO THE AWALI, 3 SEPTEMBER 1983



**ISRAELI WAR DEAD**  
6 June 1982 - 1 March 1984: 571

**BALANCE OF FORCES INSIDE LEBANON, 1983**

Syrian	40 - 60,000
Israeli	30 - 36,000
Lebanese	26 - 28,000
Druze	10,000
P.L.O	10,000

..... Israeli front line, September 1982 - September 1983  
 ..... Israeli front line from 3 September 1983

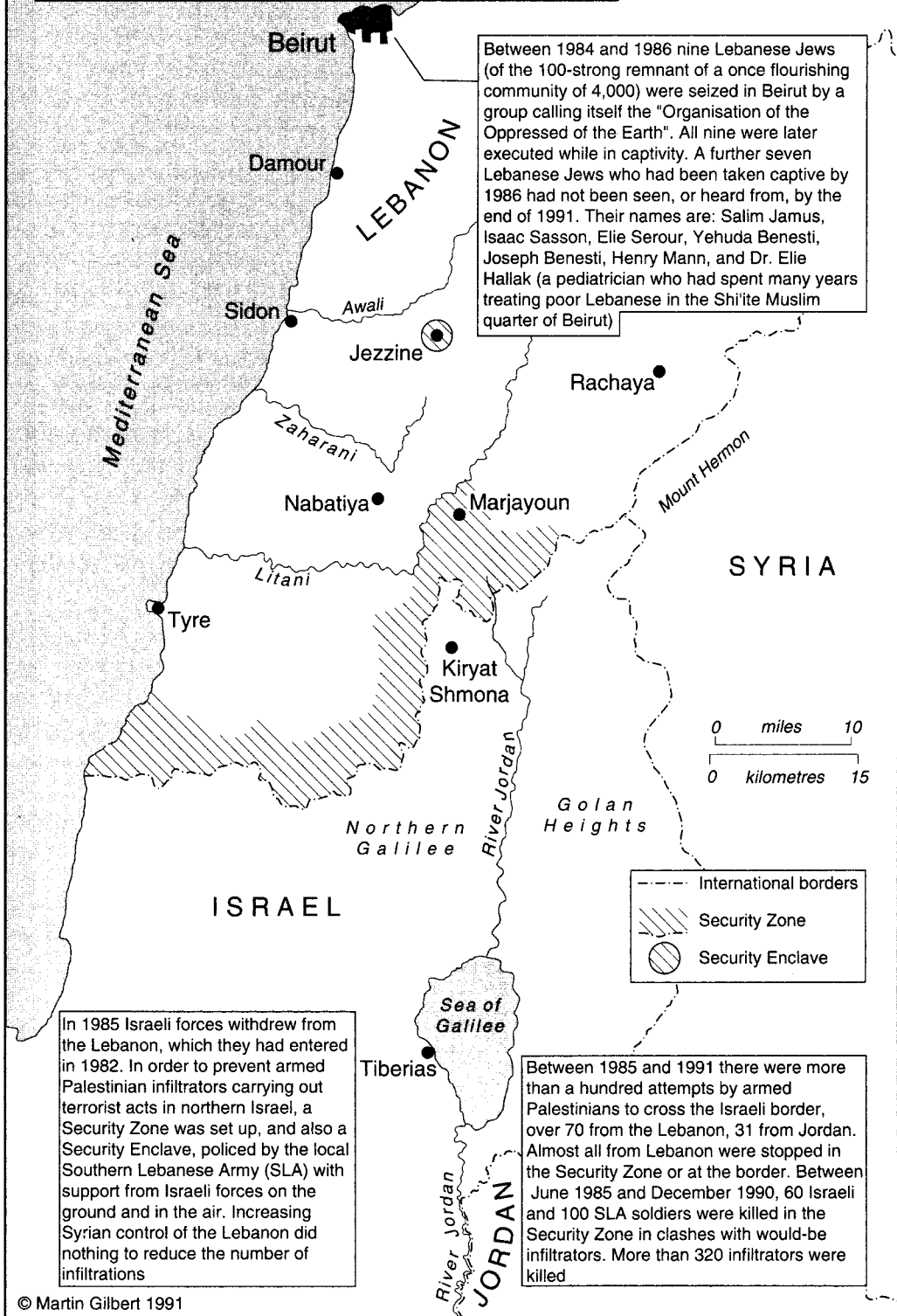
- 3 September 1983** Israeli forces withdraw behind Awali river
- 6 December 1983** PLO claim responsibility for six killed in a Jerusalem bus (all six were civilians, two of them children)
- 10 February 1984** A PLO unit fires Katyusha rocket shells in the region of Kiryat Shmona, from just behind Israel's northern border

Between September 1982 and June 1983, sixty Israeli soldiers were imprisoned for refusing to do reserve duty in Lebanon

© Martin Gilbert 1984



# ISRAEL AND THE LEBANON, 1985-1991

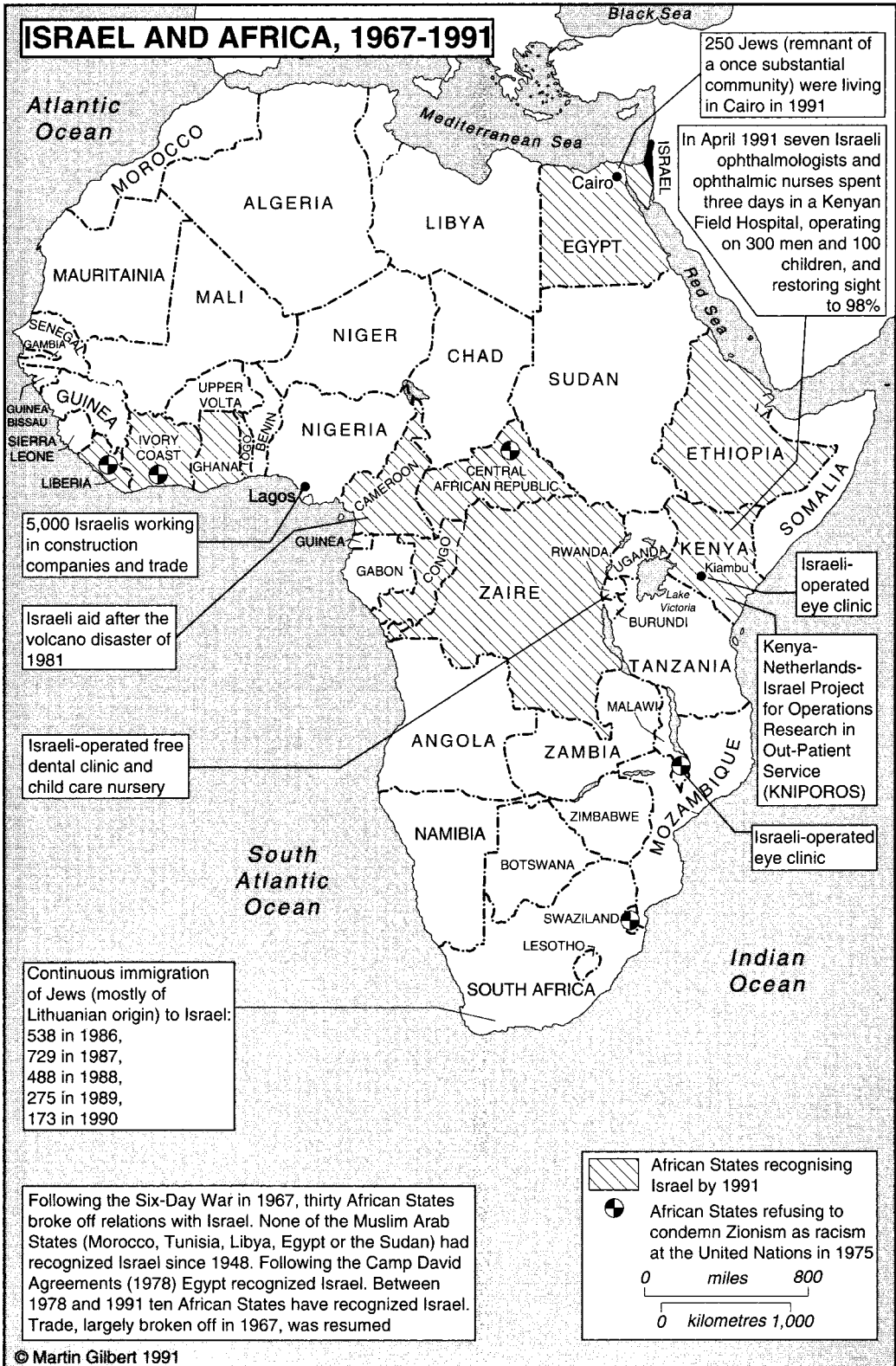


Between 1984 and 1986 nine Lebanese Jews (of the 100-strong remnant of a once flourishing community of 4,000) were seized in Beirut by a group calling itself the "Organisation of the Oppressed of the Earth". All nine were later executed while in captivity. A further seven Lebanese Jews who had been taken captive by 1986 had not been seen, or heard from, by the end of 1991. Their names are: Salim Jamus, Isaac Sasson, Elie Serour, Yehuda Benesti, Joseph Benesti, Henry Mann, and Dr. Elie Hallak (a pediatrician who had spent many years treating poor Lebanese in the Shi'ite Muslim quarter of Beirut)

In 1985 Israeli forces withdrew from the Lebanon, which they had entered in 1982. In order to prevent armed Palestinian infiltrators carrying out terrorist acts in northern Israel, a Security Zone was set up, and also a Security Enclave, policed by the local Southern Lebanese Army (SLA) with support from Israeli forces on the ground and in the air. Increasing Syrian control of the Lebanon did nothing to reduce the number of infiltrations

Between 1985 and 1991 there were more than a hundred attempts by armed Palestinians to cross the Israeli border, over 70 from the Lebanon, 31 from Jordan. Almost all from Lebanon were stopped in the Security Zone or at the border. Between June 1985 and December 1990, 60 Israeli and 100 SLA soldiers were killed in the Security Zone in clashes with would-be infiltrators. More than 320 infiltrators were killed

# ISRAEL AND AFRICA, 1967-1991



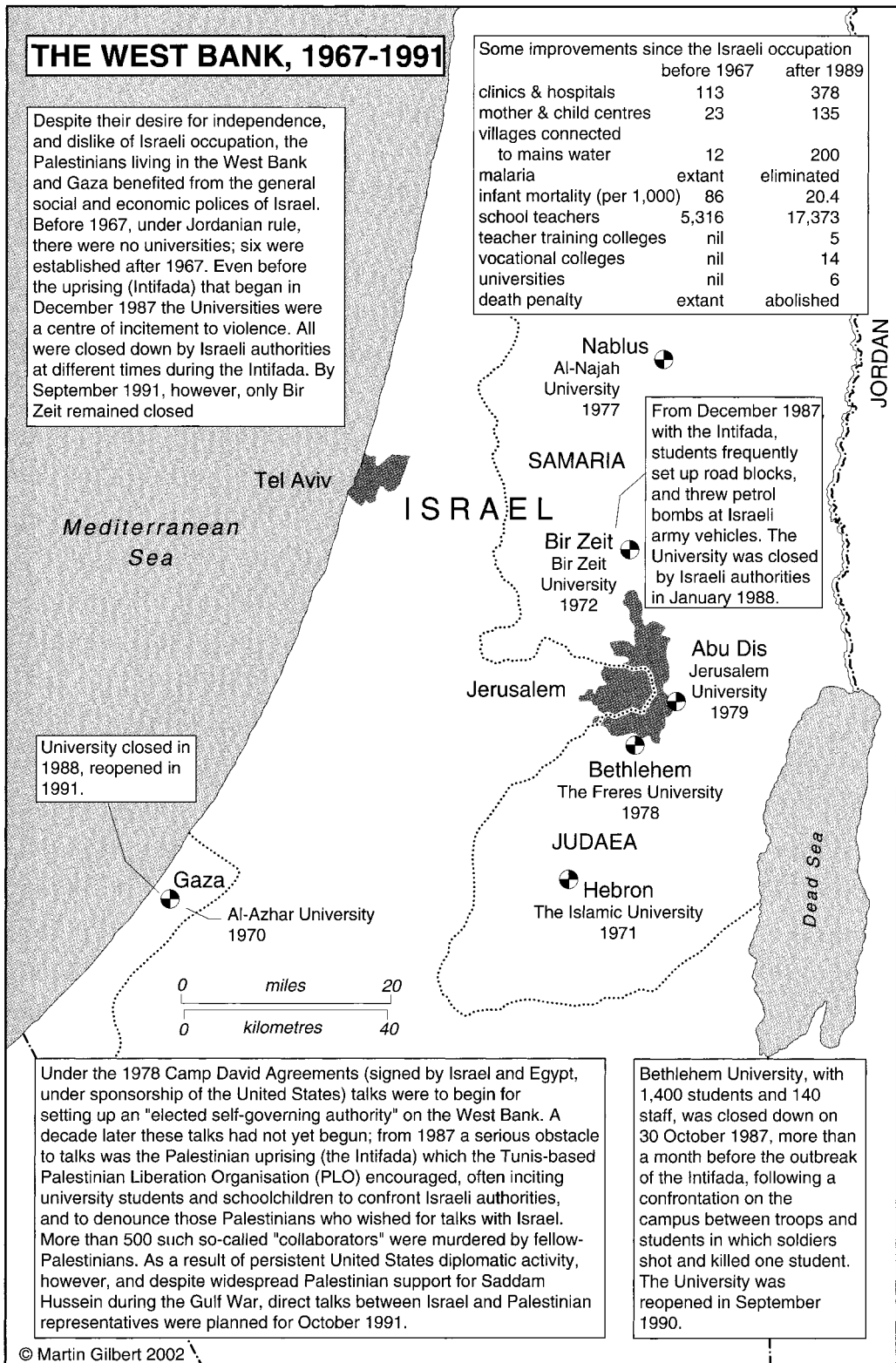
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## THE WEST BANK, 1967-1991

Despite their desire for independence, and dislike of Israeli occupation, the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza benefited from the general social and economic policies of Israel. Before 1967, under Jordanian rule, there were no universities; six were established after 1967. Even before the uprising (Intifada) that began in December 1987 the Universities were a centre of incitement to violence. All were closed down by Israeli authorities at different times during the Intifada. By September 1991, however, only Bir Zeit remained closed

University closed in 1988, reopened in 1991.

	Some improvements since the Israeli occupation	
	before 1967	after 1989
clinics & hospitals	113	378
mother & child centres	23	135
villages connected to mains water	12	200
malaria	extant	eliminated
infant mortality (per 1,000)	86	20.4
school teachers	5,316	17,373
teacher training colleges	nil	5
vocational colleges	nil	14
universities	nil	6
death penalty	extant	abolished



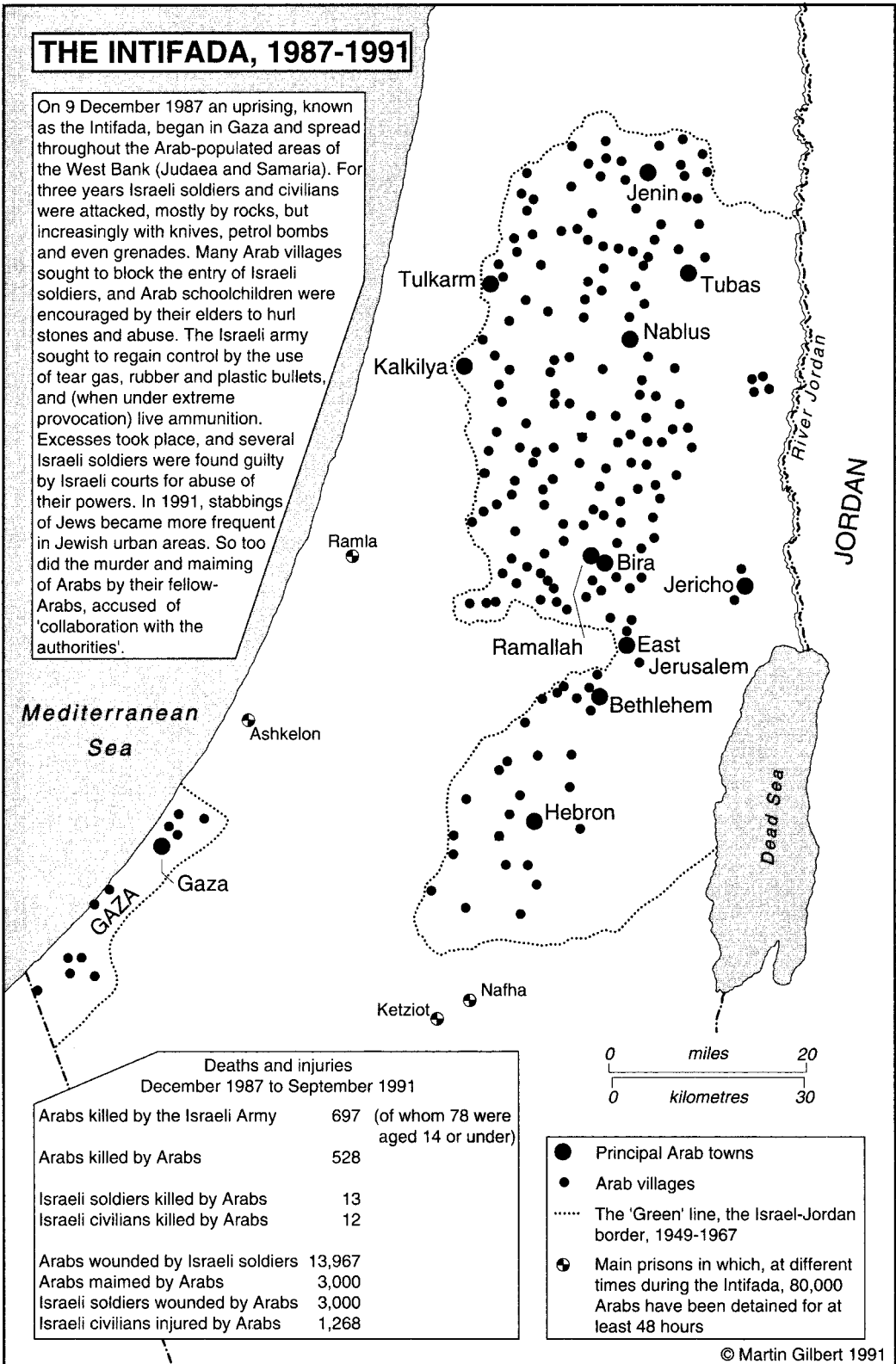
From December 1987 with the Intifada, students frequently set up road blocks, and threw petrol bombs at Israeli army vehicles. The University was closed by Israeli authorities in January 1988.

Under the 1978 Camp David Agreements (signed by Israel and Egypt, under sponsorship of the United States) talks were to begin for setting up an "elected self-governing authority" on the West Bank. A decade later these talks had not yet begun; from 1987 a serious obstacle to talks was the Palestinian uprising (the Intifada) which the Tunis-based Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) encouraged, often inciting university students and schoolchildren to confront Israeli authorities, and to denounce those Palestinians who wished for talks with Israel. More than 500 such so-called "collaborators" were murdered by fellow-Palestinians. As a result of persistent United States diplomatic activity, however, and despite widespread Palestinian support for Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War, direct talks between Israel and Palestinian representatives were planned for October 1991.

Bethlehem University, with 1,400 students and 140 staff, was closed down on 30 October 1987, more than a month before the outbreak of the Intifada, following a confrontation on the campus between troops and students in which soldiers shot and killed one student. The University was reopened in September 1990.

## THE INTIFADA, 1987-1991

On 9 December 1987 an uprising, known as the Intifada, began in Gaza and spread throughout the Arab-populated areas of the West Bank (Judeaea and Samaria). For three years Israeli soldiers and civilians were attacked, mostly by rocks, but increasingly with knives, petrol bombs and even grenades. Many Arab villages sought to block the entry of Israeli soldiers, and Arab schoolchildren were encouraged by their elders to hurl stones and abuse. The Israeli army sought to regain control by the use of tear gas, rubber and plastic bullets, and (when under extreme provocation) live ammunition. Excesses took place, and several Israeli soldiers were found guilty by Israeli courts for abuse of their powers. In 1991, stabbings of Jews became more frequent in Jewish urban areas. So too did the murder and maiming of Arabs by their fellow-Arabs, accused of 'collaboration with the authorities'.



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# THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES BY 1989

LEBANON	13 camps
In camps	143,809
Not in camps	134,800
<b>Total</b>	<b>278,609</b>

SYRIA	10 camps
In camps	75,208
Not in camps	182,789
<b>Total</b>	<b>257,989</b>

GAZA	8 camps
In camps	244,416
Not in camps	200,981
<b>Total</b>	<b>445,397</b>

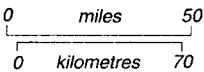
WEST BANK	19 camps
In camps	94,824
Not in camps	278,762
<b>Total</b>	<b>373,586</b>

JORDAN	10 camps
In camps	208,716
Not in camps	636,826
<b>Total</b>	<b>845,542</b>

Number of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza:	818,983
Number of Palestinians in countries bordering on Israel:	1,382,140
<b>Total:</b>	<b>2,201,113</b>

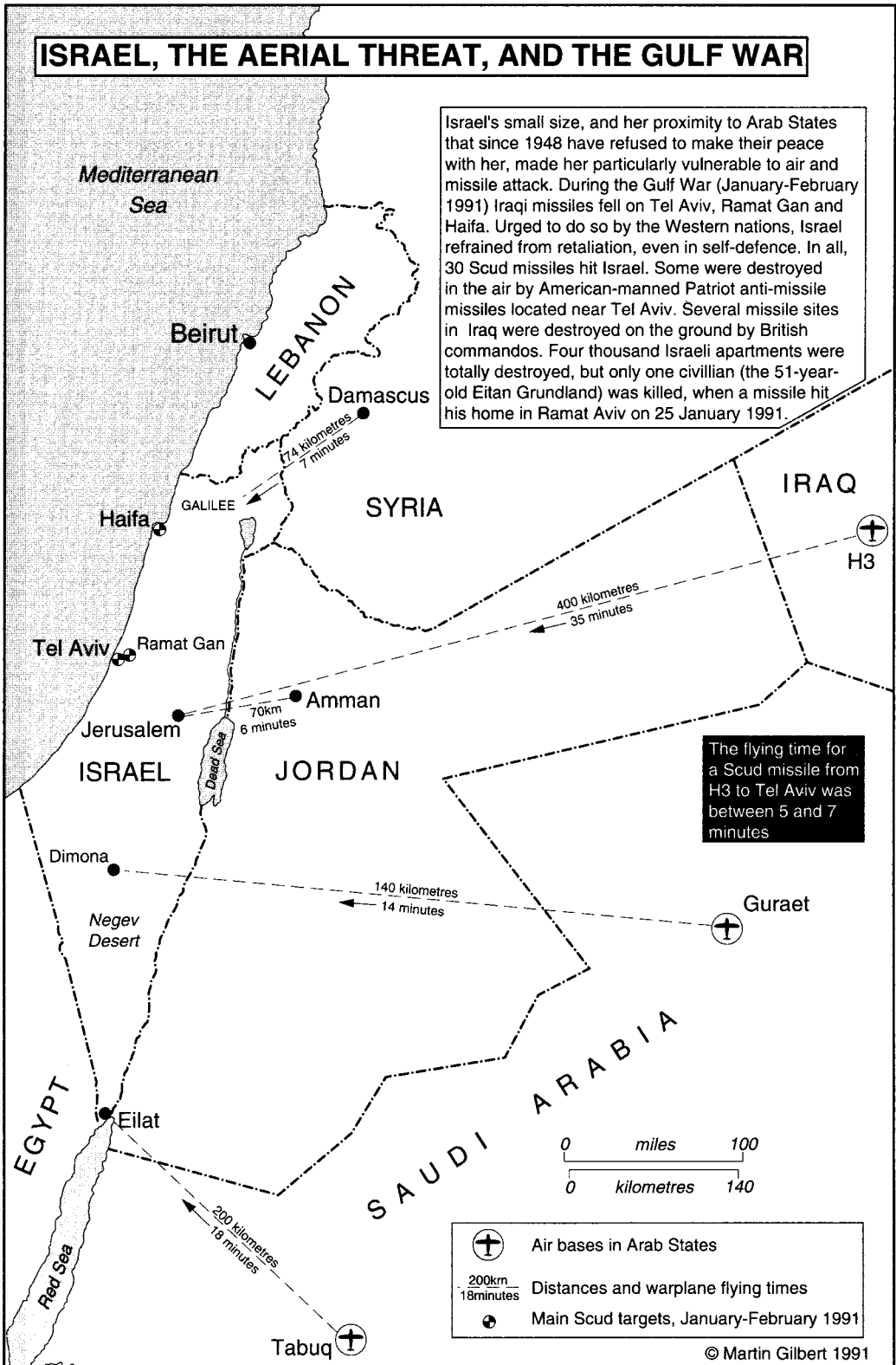
The continued reluctance of Arab States to absorb the Palestinian refugees in their midst, and the political desire of many Palestinians to retain their identity and status as a dispossessed people, led to the perpetuation of the refugee camps set up in 1948 and 1967. These camps received funding from the United Nations, and also from individual Arab States, but were essentially areas of poverty and deprivation. Increasingly, however, Palestinians left the camps, specially in Jordan and on the West Bank, and entered Palestinian Arab society. The 27 camps inside Israel became centres of the uprising that began in December 1987 (the Intifada)

The figures on this map were compiled by the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) as at 30 June 1989



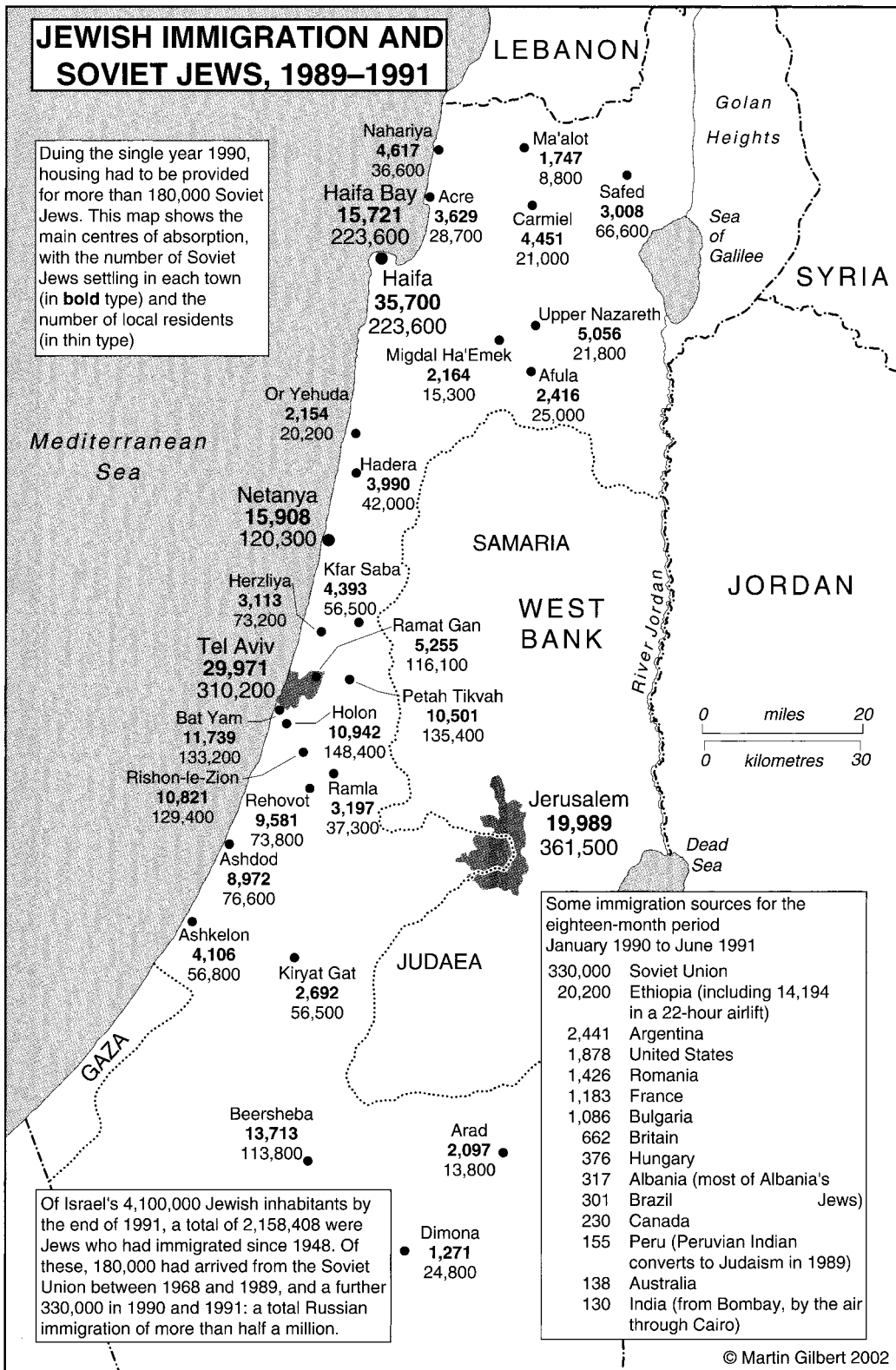
# ISRAEL, THE AERIAL THREAT, AND THE GULF WAR

Israel's small size, and her proximity to Arab States that since 1948 have refused to make their peace with her, made her particularly vulnerable to air and missile attack. During the Gulf War (January-February 1991) Iraqi missiles fell on Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan and Haifa. Urged to do so by the Western nations, Israel refrained from retaliation, even in self-defence. In all, 30 Scud missiles hit Israel. Some were destroyed in the air by American-manned Patriot anti-missile missiles located near Tel Aviv. Several missile sites in Iraq were destroyed on the ground by British commandos. Four thousand Israeli apartments were totally destroyed, but only one civilian (the 51-year-old Eitan Grundland) was killed, when a missile hit his home in Ramat Aviv on 25 January 1991.



# JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND SOVIET JEWS, 1989-1991

During the single year 1990, housing had to be provided for more than 180,000 Soviet Jews. This map shows the main centres of absorption, with the number of Soviet Jews settling in each town (in **bold type**) and the number of local residents (in thin type)



Some immigration sources for the eighteen-month period January 1990 to June 1991

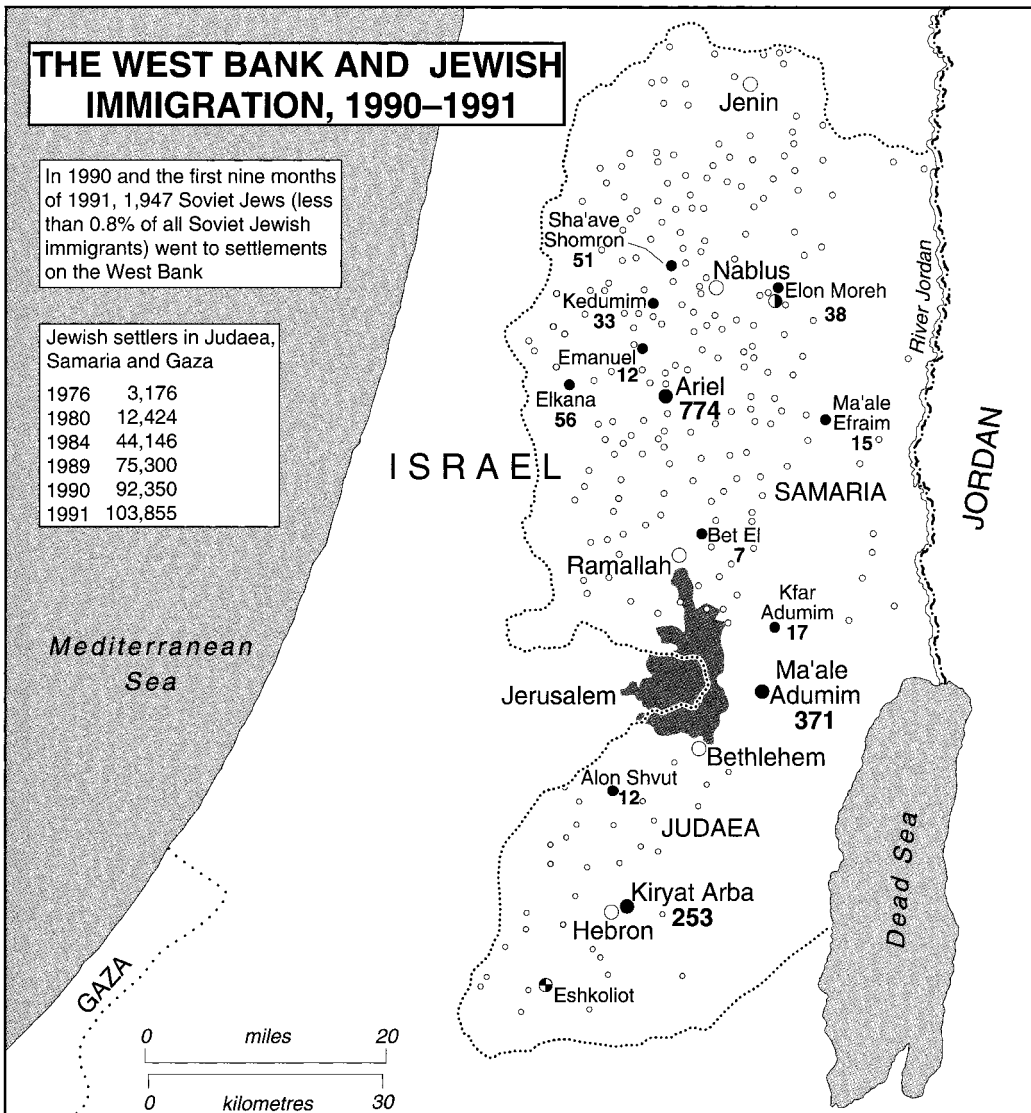
330,000	Soviet Union
20,200	Ethiopia (including 14,194 in a 22-hour airlift)
2,441	Argentina
1,878	United States
1,426	Romania
1,183	France
1,086	Bulgaria
662	Britain
376	Hungary
317	Albania (most of Albania's Jews)
301	Brazil
230	Canada
155	Peru (Peruvian Indian converts to Judaism in 1989)
138	Australia
130	India (from Bombay, by the air through Cairo)

Of Israel's 4,100,000 Jewish inhabitants by the end of 1991, a total of 2,158,408 were Jews who had immigrated since 1948. Of these, 180,000 had arrived from the Soviet Union between 1968 and 1989, and a further 330,000 in 1990 and 1991: a total Russian immigration of more than half a million.

# THE WEST BANK AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1990-1991

In 1990 and the first nine months of 1991, 1,947 Soviet Jews (less than 0.8% of all Soviet Jewish immigrants) went to settlements on the West Bank

Jewish settlers in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza	
1976	3,176
1980	12,424
1984	44,146
1989	75,300
1990	92,350
1991	103,855



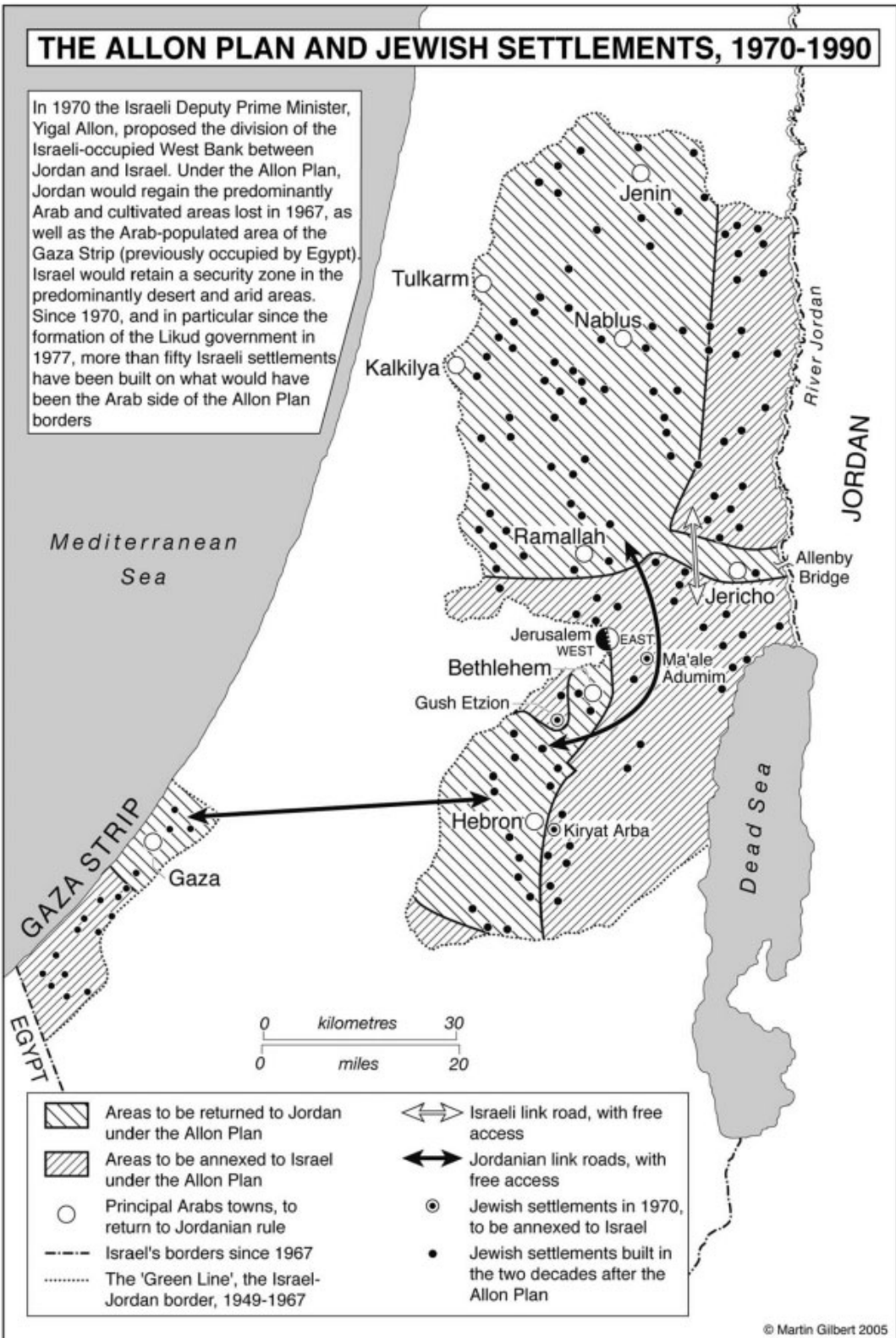
The upsurge in Jewish immigration from 1989 led to fierce protests from the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and from its Chairman Yasser Arafat. According to the Lebanese weekly *Al-Moharer*, published in Paris on 10 April 1990, Arafat declared: "First, I want to say clearly: Open fire on the new Jewish immigrants, be they Soviet, Falasha or anything else. It would be disgraceful of us if we were to see herds of immigrants conquering our land and settling our territory and not raise a finger. I want you to shoot, on the ground or in the air, at every immigrant who thinks our land is a playground and that immigration to it is a vacation or a picnic ... I give you explicit instructions to open fire. Do everything to stop the flow of immigration"

- West Bank settlements to which Soviet Jews went in 1990 and the first nine months of 1991, with numbers of immigrants in bold: totalling 1,947
- West Bank settlement to which 155 Jews from Peru went in 1991.
- ⊕ The 137th Jewish settlement on the West Bank, established 5 August 1991. A month later, United States protests at the continuation of the settlements led to the suspension of a proposed five-year \$10 billion United States loan guarantee for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union.
- Arab towns and villages



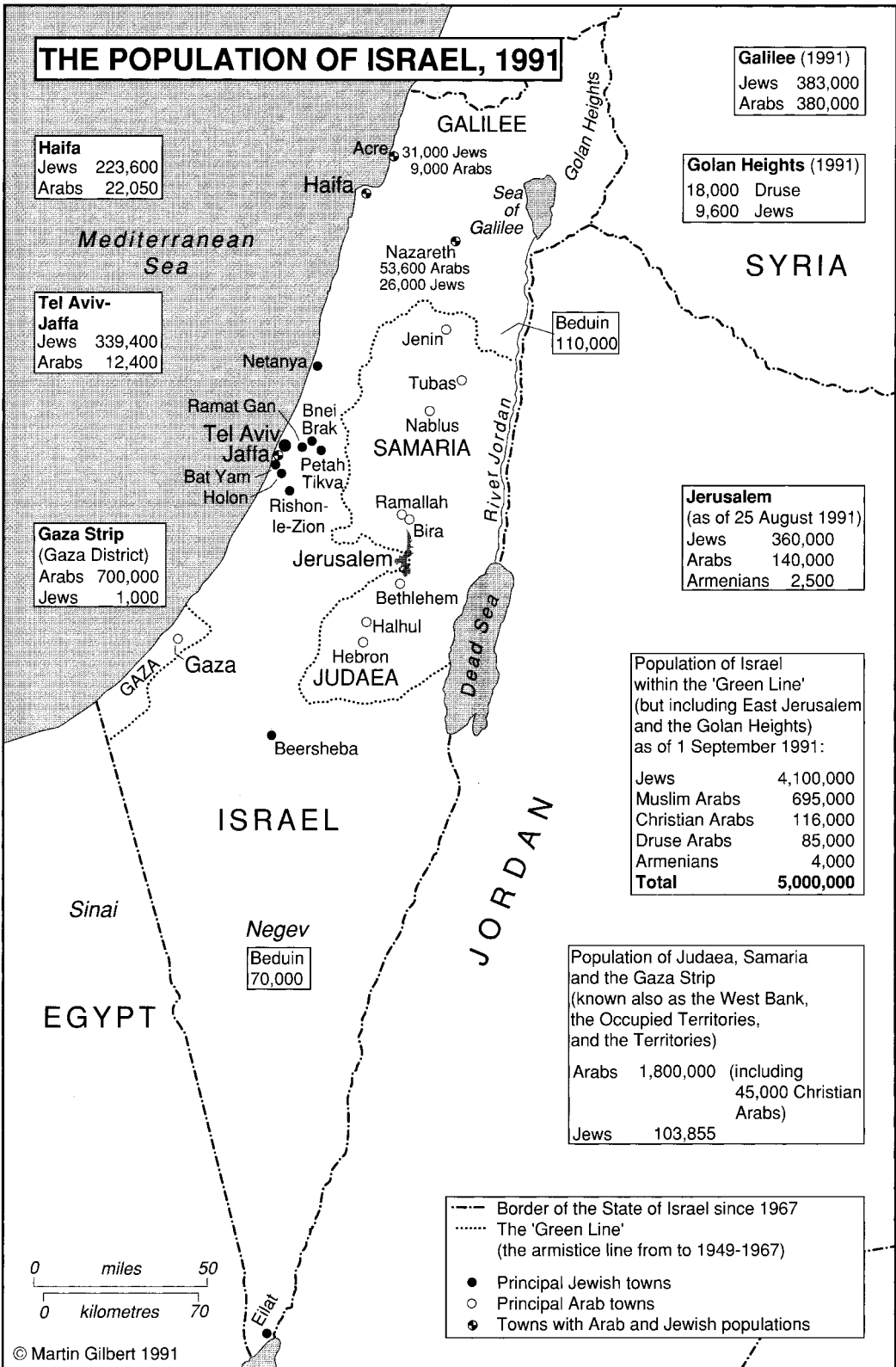
# THE ALLON PLAN AND JEWISH SETTLEMENTS, 1970-1990

In 1970 the Israeli Deputy Prime Minister, Yigal Allon, proposed the division of the Israeli-occupied West Bank between Jordan and Israel. Under the Allon Plan, Jordan would regain the predominantly Arab and cultivated areas lost in 1967, as well as the Arab-populated area of the Gaza Strip (previously occupied by Egypt). Israel would retain a security zone in the predominantly desert and arid areas. Since 1970, and in particular since the formation of the Likud government in 1977, more than fifty Israeli settlements have been built on what would have been the Arab side of the Allon Plan borders



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# THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL, 1991



<b>Galilee (1991)</b>
Jews 383,000
Arabs 380,000

<b>Haifa</b>
Jews 223,600
Arabs 22,050

<b>Golan Heights (1991)</b>
18,000 Druse
9,600 Jews

<b>Tel Aviv-Jaffa</b>
Jews 339,400
Arabs 12,400

**Acre**  
31,000 Jews  
9,000 Arabs

**Nazareth**  
53,600 Arabs  
26,000 Jews

**Beduin**  
110,000

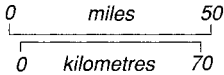
<b>Gaza Strip (Gaza District)</b>
Arabs 700,000
Jews 1,000

<b>Jerusalem (as of 25 August 1991)</b>
Jews 360,000
Arabs 140,000
Armenians 2,500

<b>Population of Israel within the 'Green Line' (but including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights) as of 1 September 1991:</b>	
Jews	4,100,000
Muslim Arabs	695,000
Christian Arabs	116,000
Druse Arabs	85,000
Armenians	4,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,000,000</b>

<b>Population of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip (known also as the West Bank, the Occupied Territories, and the Territories)</b>	
Arabs	1,800,000 (including 45,000 Christian Arabs)
Jews	103,855

- Border of the State of Israel since 1967
- ..... The 'Green Line' (the armistice line from 1949-1967)
- Principal Jewish towns
- Principal Arab towns
- ◐ Towns with Arab and Jewish populations



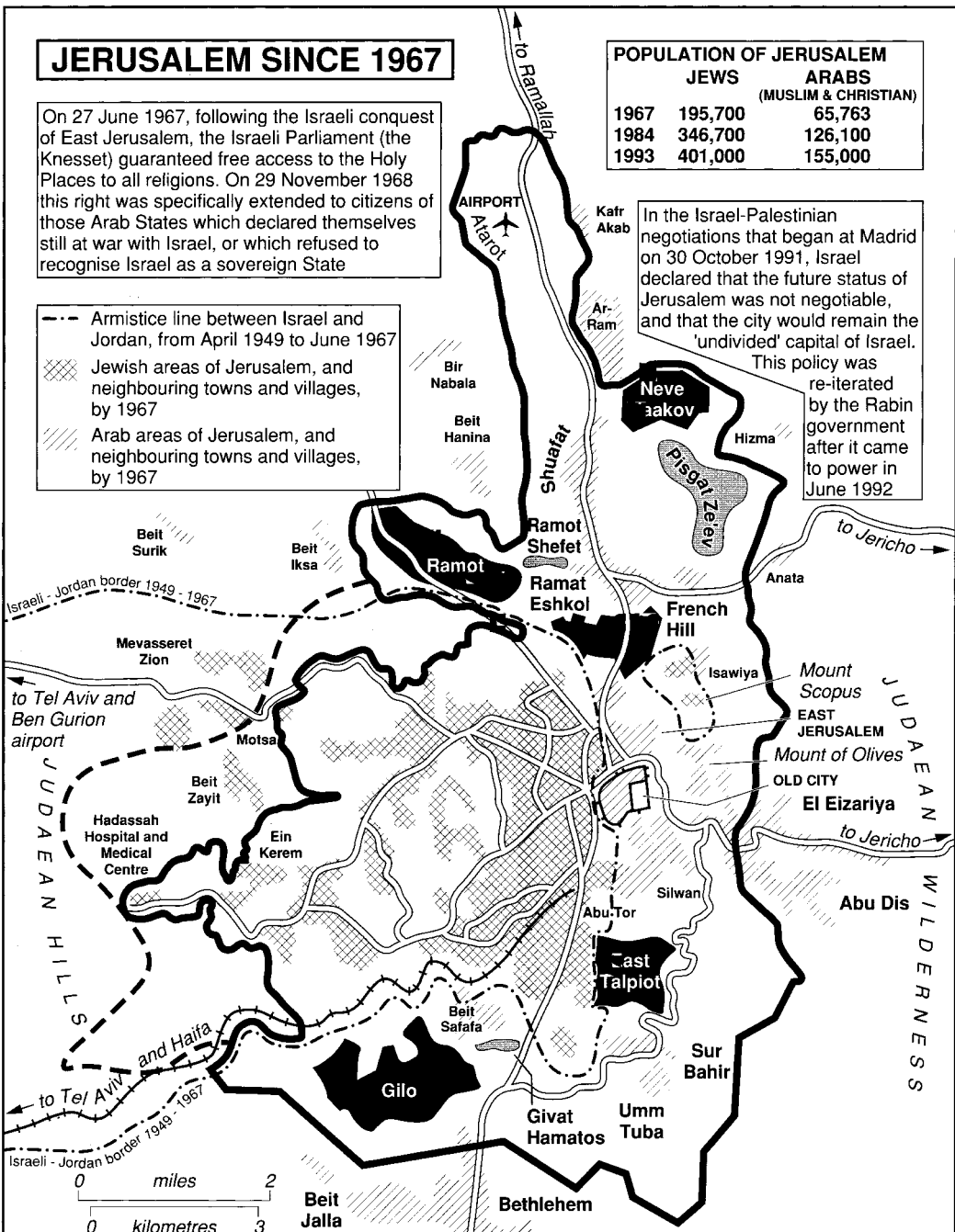
# JERUSALEM SINCE 1967

On 27 June 1967, following the Israeli conquest of East Jerusalem, the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) guaranteed free access to the Holy Places to all religions. On 29 November 1968 this right was specifically extended to citizens of those Arab States which declared themselves still at war with Israel, or which refused to recognise Israel as a sovereign State

- Armistice line between Israel and Jordan, from April 1949 to June 1967
- ▨ Jewish areas of Jerusalem, and neighbouring towns and villages, by 1967
- ▨ Arab areas of Jerusalem, and neighbouring towns and villages, by 1967

POPULATION OF JERUSALEM		
	JEWS	ARABS (MUSLIM & CHRISTIAN)
1967	195,700	65,763
1984	346,700	126,100
1993	401,000	155,000

In the Israel-Palestinian negotiations that began at Madrid on 30 October 1991, Israel declared that the future status of Jerusalem was not negotiable, and that the city would remain the 'undivided' capital of Israel. This policy was re-iterated by the Rabin government after it came to power in June 1992



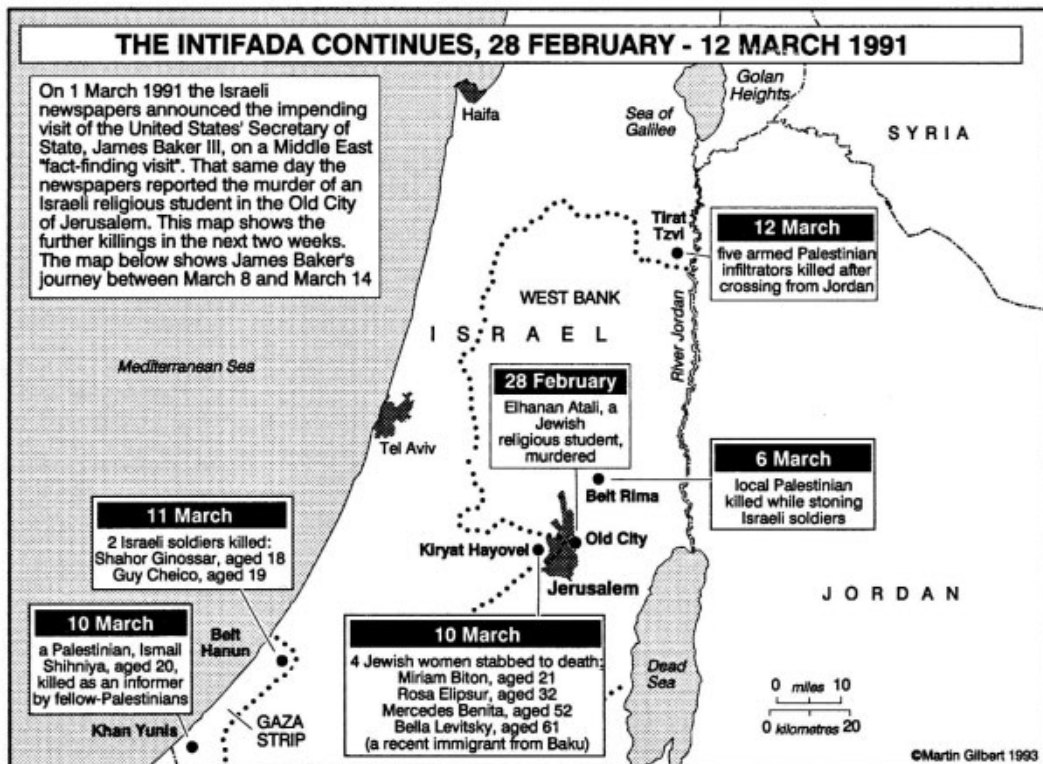
*'For the two decades between 1948 and 1967, Jerusalem stood at the edge of the country, its progress and expansion restricted by an artificially imposed border. With the reunification of the city after the Six-Day War, and its restoration to its rightful place at the centre of the country, a new future opened before Jerusalem. Since 1967, progress in the city has been rapid. The walls and barbed wire have disappeared, houses have been built, the Holy Places opened to all, and equal municipal services extended to the residents of East Jerusalem'*

1975: TEDDY KOLLEK MAYOR OF JERUSALEM 1966-1993

- The municipal boundary of Jerusalem since June 1967
- - - Western extension of the municipal boundary announced on 13 May 1993
- Principal Jewish suburbs beyond the former ceasefire line (the Green Line) built by 1986
- ▨ Jewish suburbs being built beyond the Green Line, 1993-95

## THE INTIFADA CONTINUES, 28 FEBRUARY - 12 MARCH 1991

On 1 March 1991 the Israeli newspapers announced the impending visit of the United States' Secretary of State, James Baker III, on a Middle East "fact-finding visit". That same day the newspapers reported the murder of an Israeli religious student in the Old City of Jerusalem. This map shows the further killings in the next two weeks. The map below shows James Baker's journey between March 8 and March 14



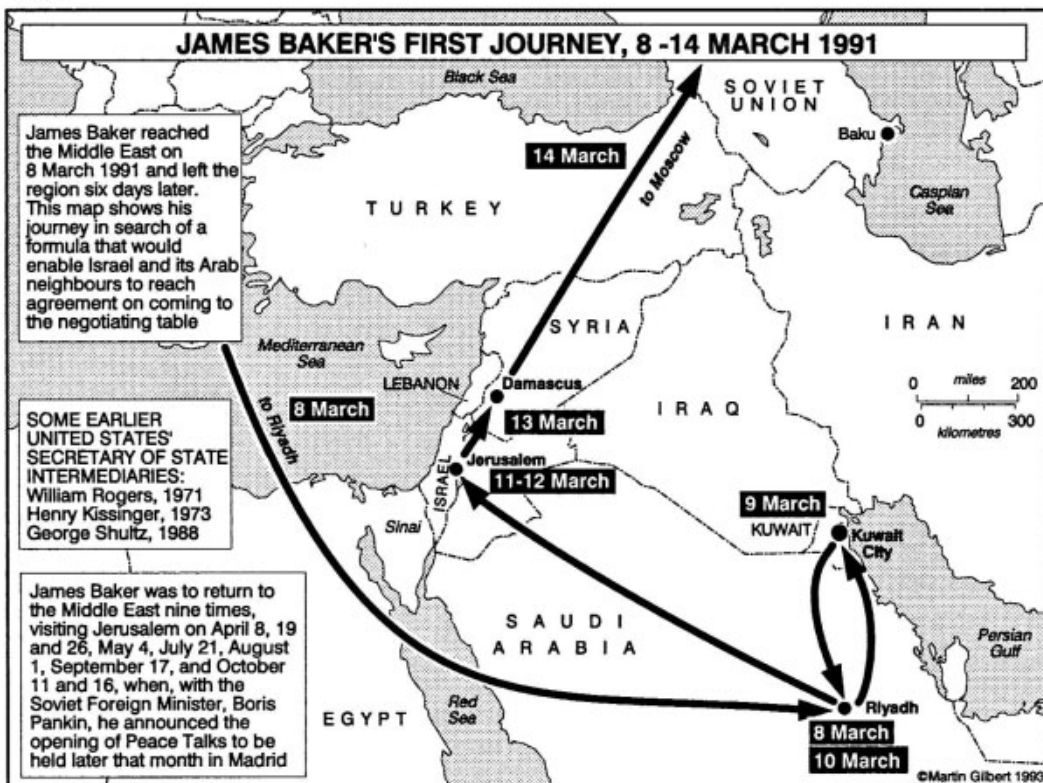
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## JAMES BAKER'S FIRST JOURNEY, 8-14 MARCH 1991

James Baker reached the Middle East on 8 March 1991 and left the region six days later. This map shows his journey in search of a formula that would enable Israel and its Arab neighbours to reach agreement on coming to the negotiating table

**SOME EARLIER UNITED STATES' SECRETARY OF STATE INTERMEDIARIES:**  
William Rogers, 1971  
Henry Kissinger, 1973  
George Shultz, 1988

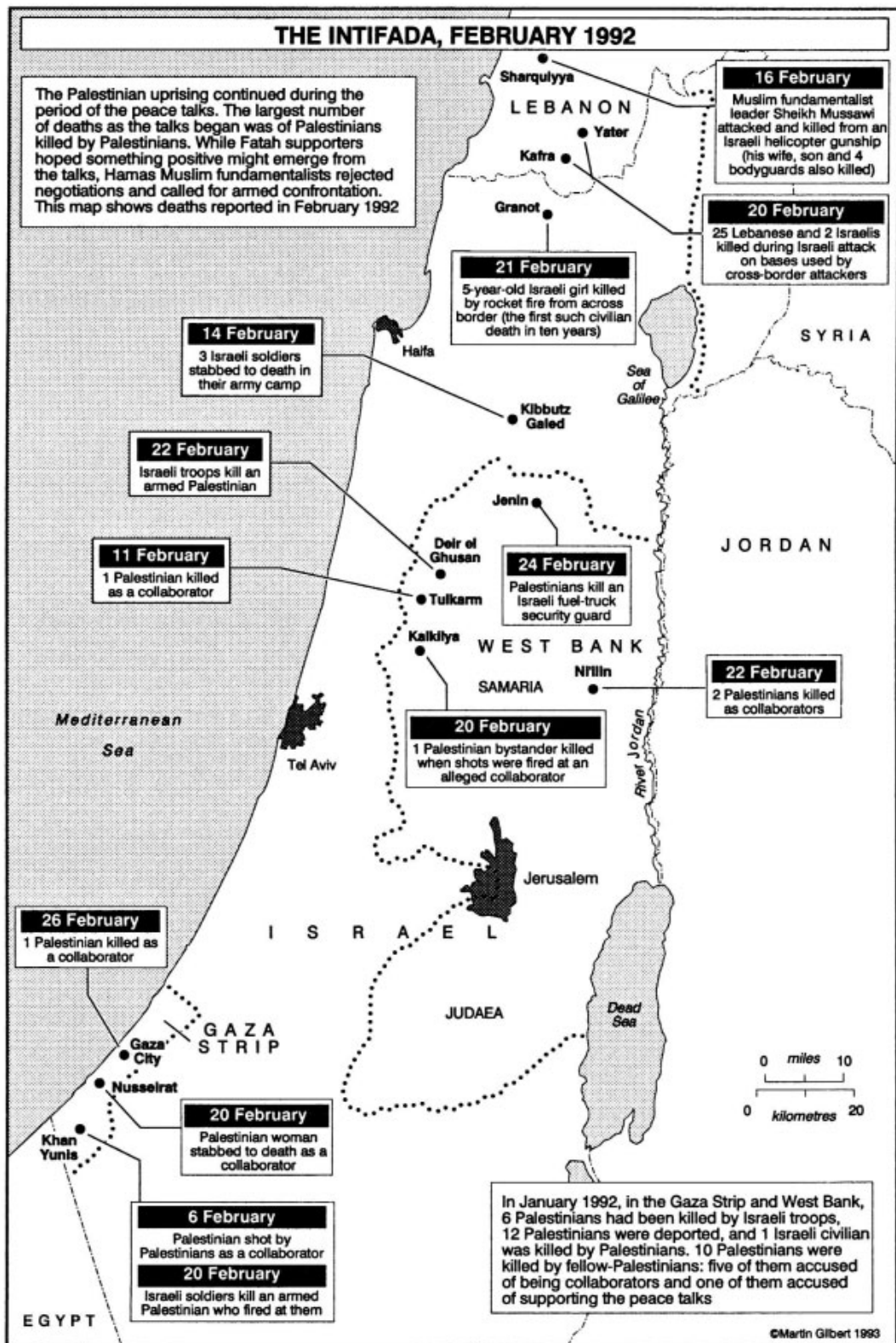
James Baker was to return to the Middle East nine times, visiting Jerusalem on April 8, 19 and 26, May 4, July 21, August 1, September 17, and October 11 and 16, when, with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Boris Pankin, he announced the opening of Peace Talks to be held later that month in Madrid



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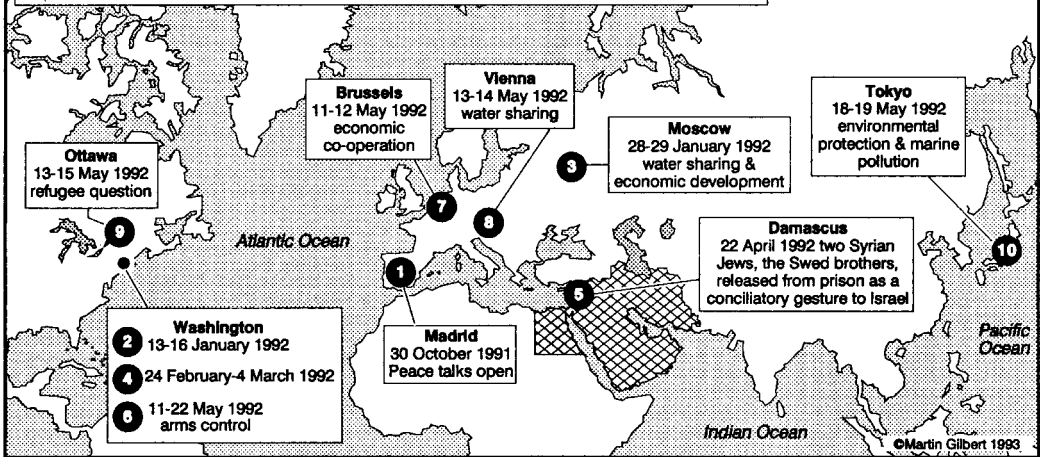
## THE INTIFADA, FEBRUARY 1992

The Palestinian uprising continued during the period of the peace talks. The largest number of deaths as the talks began was of Palestinians killed by Palestinians. While Fatah supporters hoped something positive might emerge from the talks, Hamas Muslim fundamentalists rejected negotiations and called for armed confrontation. This map shows deaths reported in February 1992



## MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS, OCTOBER 1991 - MAY 1992

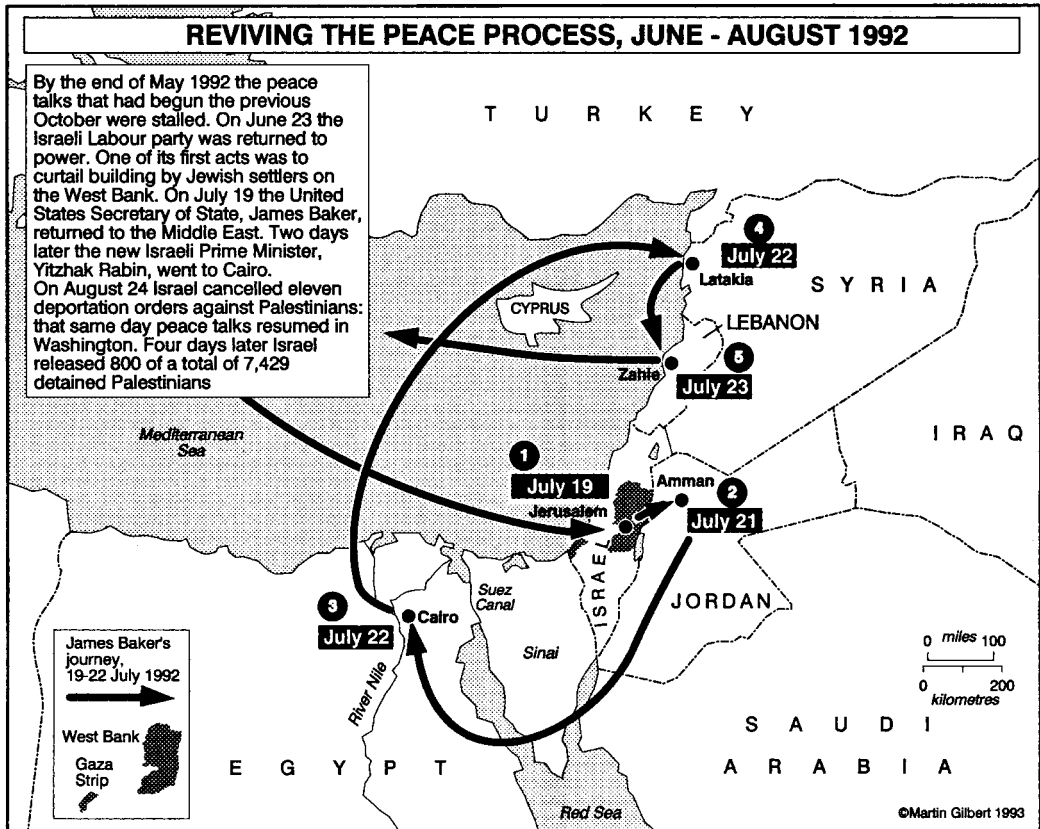
On 30 October 1991 peace talks opened in Madrid sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union: Israeli, Palestinian, Syrian, Lebanese and Jordanian delegates participated. The aim was to reach a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, including a political system acceptable to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and agreements on arms control, water-sharing, the environment, economic co-operation, and the Palestinian refugee question (unresolved since 1948)



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## REVIVING THE PEACE PROCESS, JUNE - AUGUST 1992

By the end of May 1992 the peace talks that had begun the previous October were stalled. On June 23 the Israeli Labour party was returned to power. One of its first acts was to curtail building by Jewish settlers on the West Bank. On July 19 the United States Secretary of State, James Baker, returned to the Middle East. Two days later the new Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, went to Cairo. On August 24 Israel cancelled eleven deportation orders against Palestinians: that same day peace talks resumed in Washington. Four days later Israel released 800 of a total of 7,429 detained Palestinians

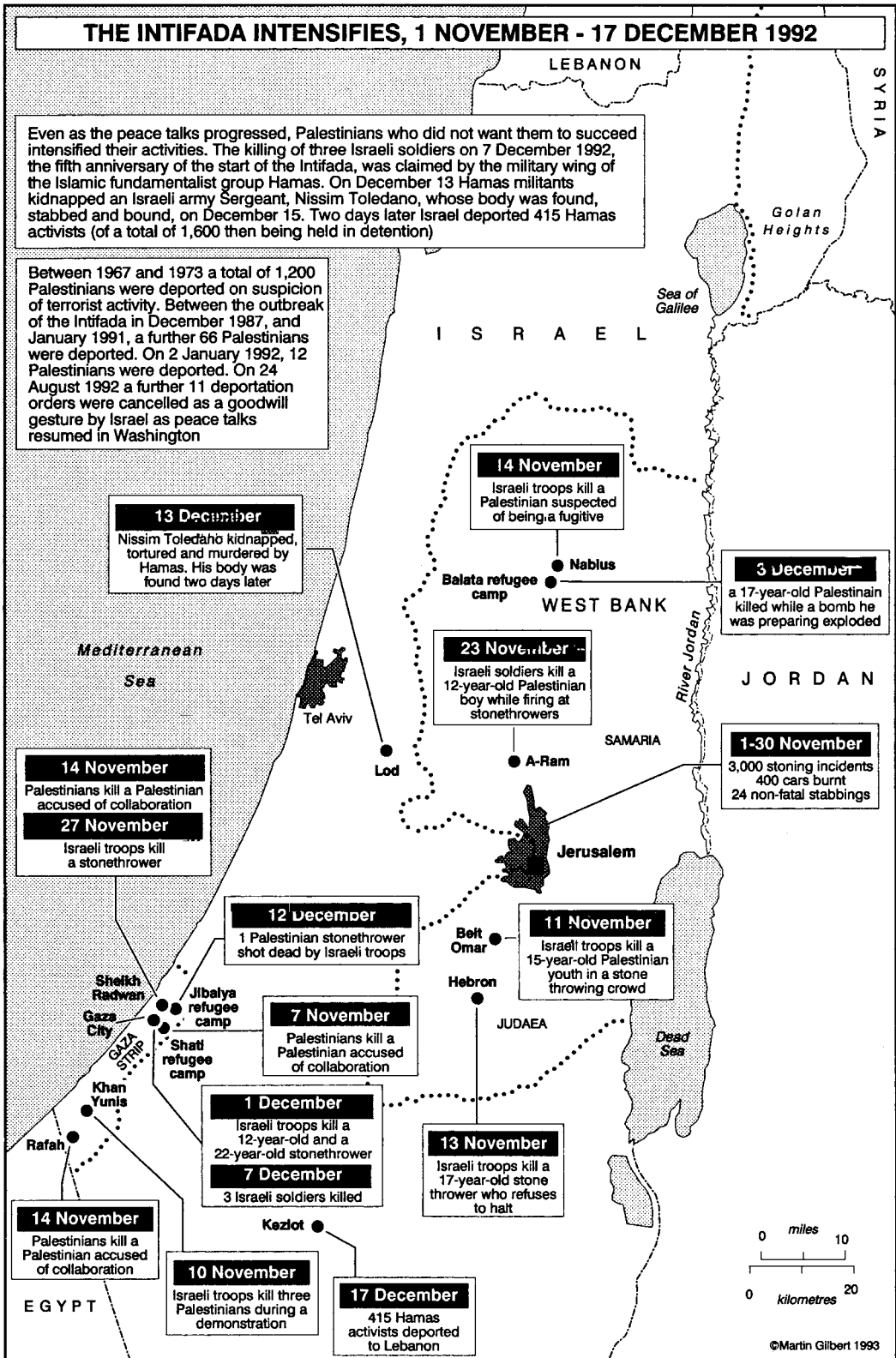


142

# THE INTIFADA INTENSIFIES, 1 NOVEMBER - 17 DECEMBER 1992

Even as the peace talks progressed, Palestinians who did not want them to succeed intensified their activities. The killing of three Israeli soldiers on 7 December 1992, the fifth anniversary of the start of the Intifada, was claimed by the military wing of the Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas. On December 13 Hamas militants kidnapped an Israeli army Sergeant, Nissim Toledano, whose body was found, stabbed and bound, on December 15. Two days later Israel deported 415 Hamas activists (of a total of 1,600 then being held in detention)

Between 1967 and 1973 a total of 1,200 Palestinians were deported on suspicion of terrorist activity. Between the outbreak of the Intifada in December 1987, and January 1991, a further 66 Palestinians were deported. On 2 January 1992, 12 Palestinians were deported. On 24 August 1992 a further 11 deportation orders were cancelled as a goodwill gesture by Israel as peace talks resumed in Washington



- 14 November**  
Israeli troops kill a Palestinian suspected of being a fugitive
- 3 December**  
a 17-year-old Palestinian killed while a bomb he was preparing exploded
- 13 December**  
Nissim Toledano kidnapped, tortured and murdered by Hamas. His body was found two days later
- 23 November**  
Israeli soldiers kill a 12-year-old Palestinian boy while firing at stonethrowers
- 1-30 November**  
3,000 stoning incidents  
400 cars burnt  
24 non-fatal stabbings
- 14 November**  
Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration
- 27 November**  
Israeli troops kill a stonethrower
- 12 December**  
1 Palestinian stonethrower shot dead by Israeli troops
- 11 November**  
Israeli troops kill a 15-year-old Palestinian youth in a stone throwing crowd
- 7 November**  
Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration
- 1 December**  
Israeli troops kill a 12-year-old and a 22-year-old stonethrower
- 13 November**  
Israeli troops kill a 17-year-old stone thrower who refuses to halt
- 7 December**  
3 Israeli soldiers killed
- 14 November**  
Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration
- 10 November**  
Israeli troops kill three Palestinians during a demonstration
- 17 December**  
415 Hamas activists deported to Lebanon

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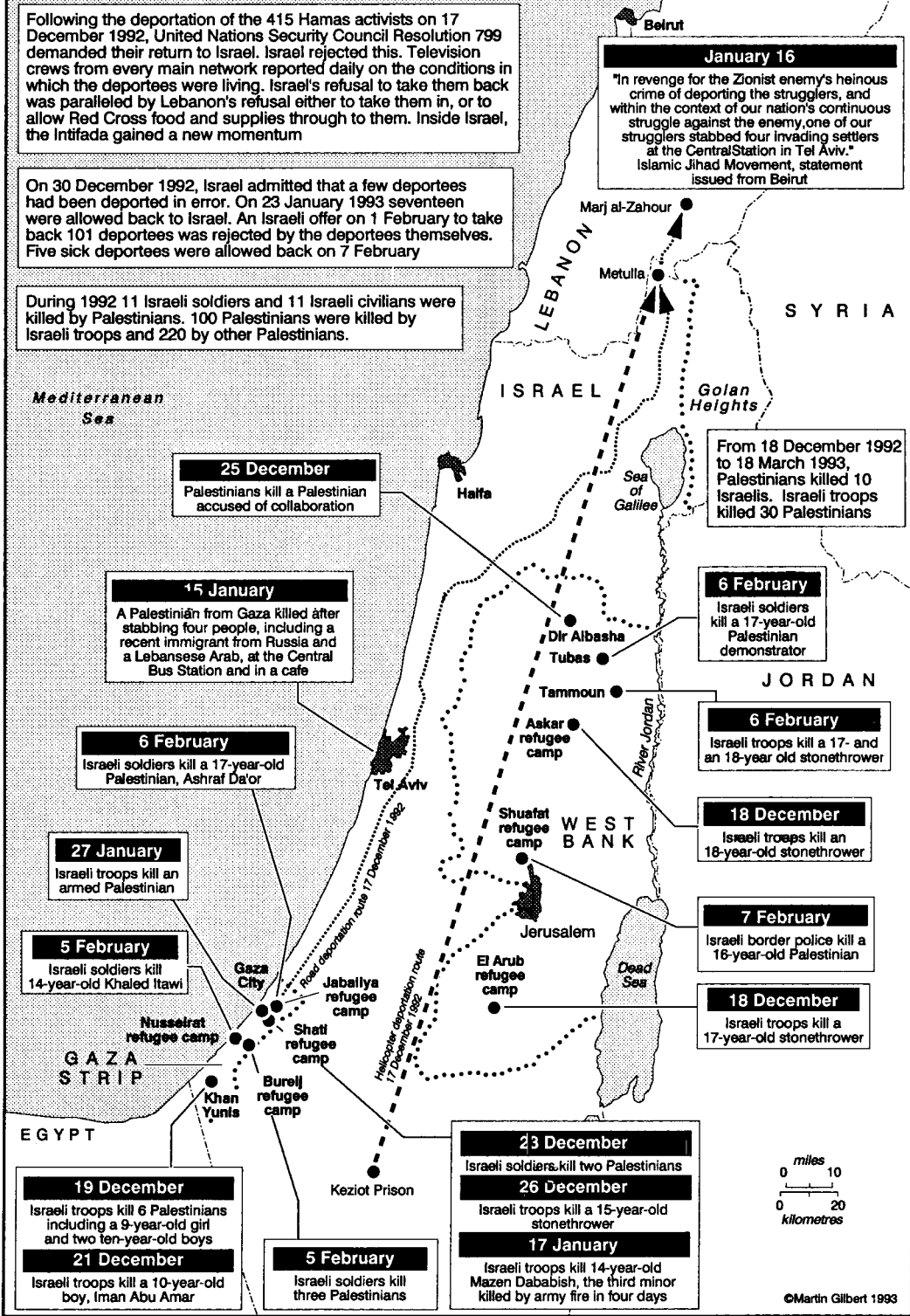


# THE DECEMBER 1992 DEPORTATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

Following the deportation of the 415 Hamas activists on 17 December 1992, United Nations Security Council Resolution 799 demanded their return to Israel. Israel rejected this. Television crews from every main network reported daily on the conditions in which the deportees were living. Israel's refusal to take them back was paralleled by Lebanon's refusal either to take them in, or to allow Red Cross food and supplies through to them. Inside Israel, the Intifada gained a new momentum

On 30 December 1992, Israel admitted that a few deportees had been deported in error. On 23 January 1993 seventeen were allowed back to Israel. An Israeli offer on 1 February to take back 101 deportees was rejected by the deportees themselves. Five sick deportees were allowed back on 7 February

During 1992 11 Israeli soldiers and 11 Israeli civilians were killed by Palestinians. 100 Palestinians were killed by Israeli troops and 220 by other Palestinians.



**January 16**  
 "In revenge for the Zionist enemy's heinous crime of deporting the strugglers, and within the context of our nation's continuous struggle against the enemy, one of our strugglers stabbed four invading settlers at the Central Station in Tel Aviv."  
 Islamic Jihad Movement, statement issued from Beirut

**25 December**  
 Palestinians kill a Palestinian accused of collaboration

From 18 December 1992 to 18 March 1993, Palestinians killed 10 Israelis. Israeli troops killed 30 Palestinians

**15 January**  
 A Palestinian from Gaza killed after stabbing four people, including a recent immigrant from Russia and a Lebanese Arab, at the Central Bus Station and in a cafe

**6 February**  
 Israeli soldiers kill a 17-year-old Palestinian demonstrator

**6 February**  
 Israeli soldiers kill a 17-year-old Palestinian, Ashraf Da'or

**6 February**  
 Israeli troops kill a 17- and an 18-year old stonethrower

**27 January**  
 Israeli troops kill an armed Palestinian

**18 December**  
 Israeli troops kill an 18-year-old stonethrower

**5 February**  
 Israeli soldiers kill 14-year-old Khaled tawi

**7 February**  
 Israeli border police kill a 16-year-old Palestinian

**19 December**  
 Israeli troops kill 6 Palestinians including a 9-year-old girl and two ten-year-old boys

**21 December**  
 Israeli troops kill a 10-year-old boy, Iman Abu Amar

**5 February**  
 Israeli soldiers kill three Palestinians

**23 December**  
 Israeli soldiers kill two Palestinians

**26 December**  
 Israeli troops kill a 15-year-old stonethrower

**17 January**  
 Israeli troops kill 14-year-old Mazen Dababish, the third minor killed by army fire in four days

**18 December**  
 Israeli troops kill a 17-year-old stonethrower

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# "ENCLAVES FOR PEACE", THE BAILEY MAP, 1 FEBRUARY 1993

On 24 October 1991 a plan for three self-governing Palestinian enclaves was put forward by an Israeli expert on Palestinian affairs, Clinton Bailey. The aim was to devise areas of contiguous Arab settlement which would contain the maximum number of Arabs and the minimum number of Jewish settlers. Under this plan, an updated version of which was submitted to the Israeli Cabinet on 1 February 1993, almost 90% (1,076,000) Arabs of the West Bank would be released from Israeli control, while leaving 90% (101,000) of the Jewish West Bank settlers in retained contiguous Israeli territory, and just over 10% (12,470) inside the Arab enclaves.

124,000 Arabs would be outside the enclaves, as would all 140,000 Arabs of East Jerusalem

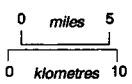
Mediterranean Sea

**KEY**

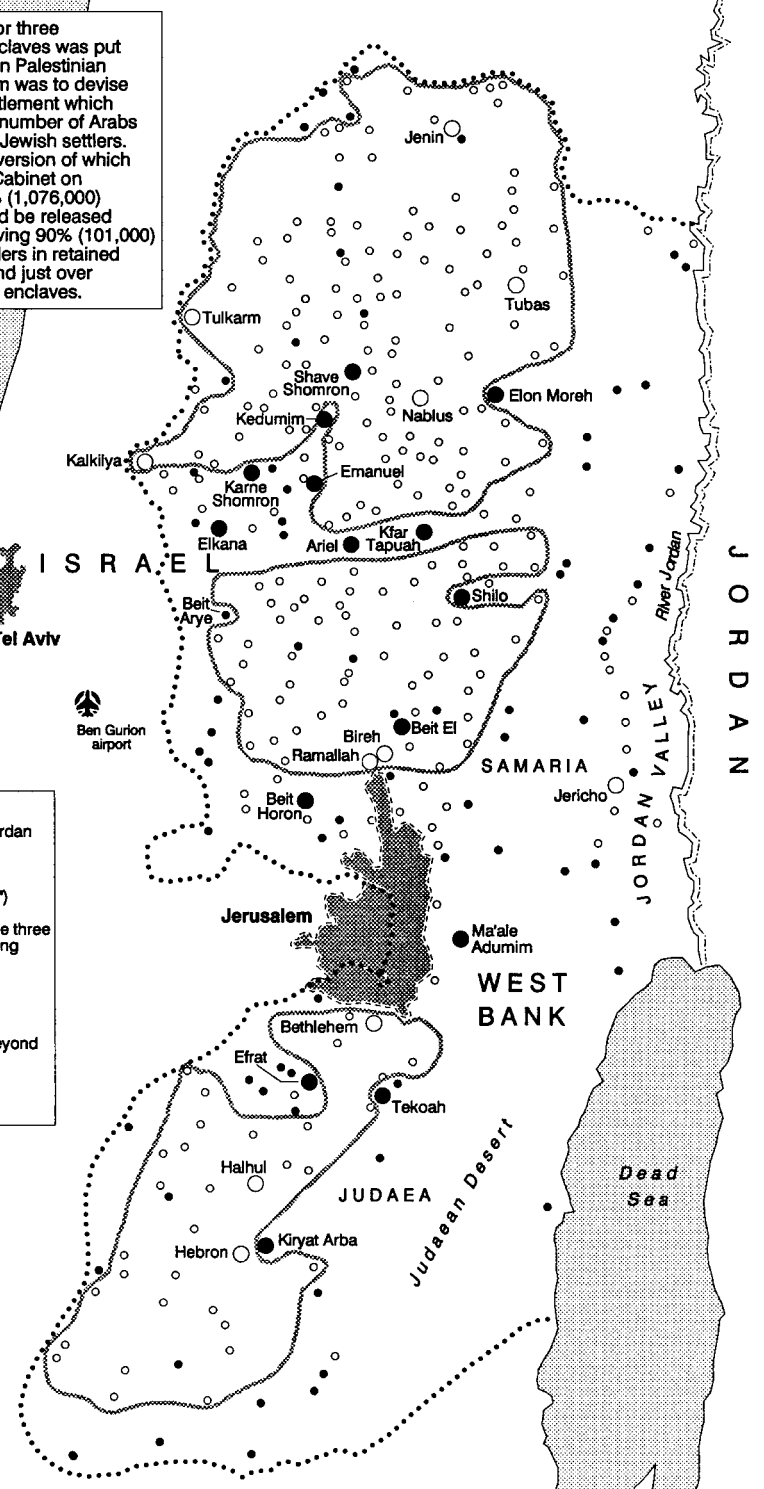
- Israel's border with Jordan since 1967
- ..... The cease fire lines of 1949 (the "Green Line")
- Possible borders of the three proposed self-governing Palestinian enclaves
- ○ Main Palestinian Arab towns and villages
- ● Jewish settlements beyond the "Green Line"
- - - Jerusalem municipal boundary

Under the Bailey plan, the Palestinians would retain the whole of the Gaza Strip, with its 1,000 Jewish settlers

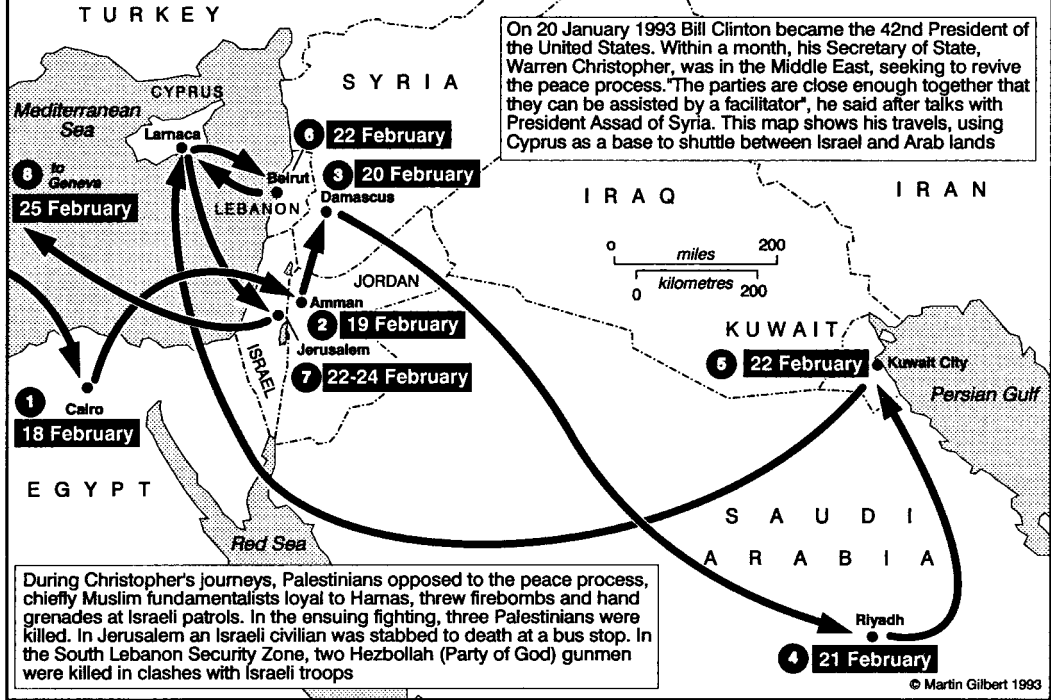
GAZA STRIP



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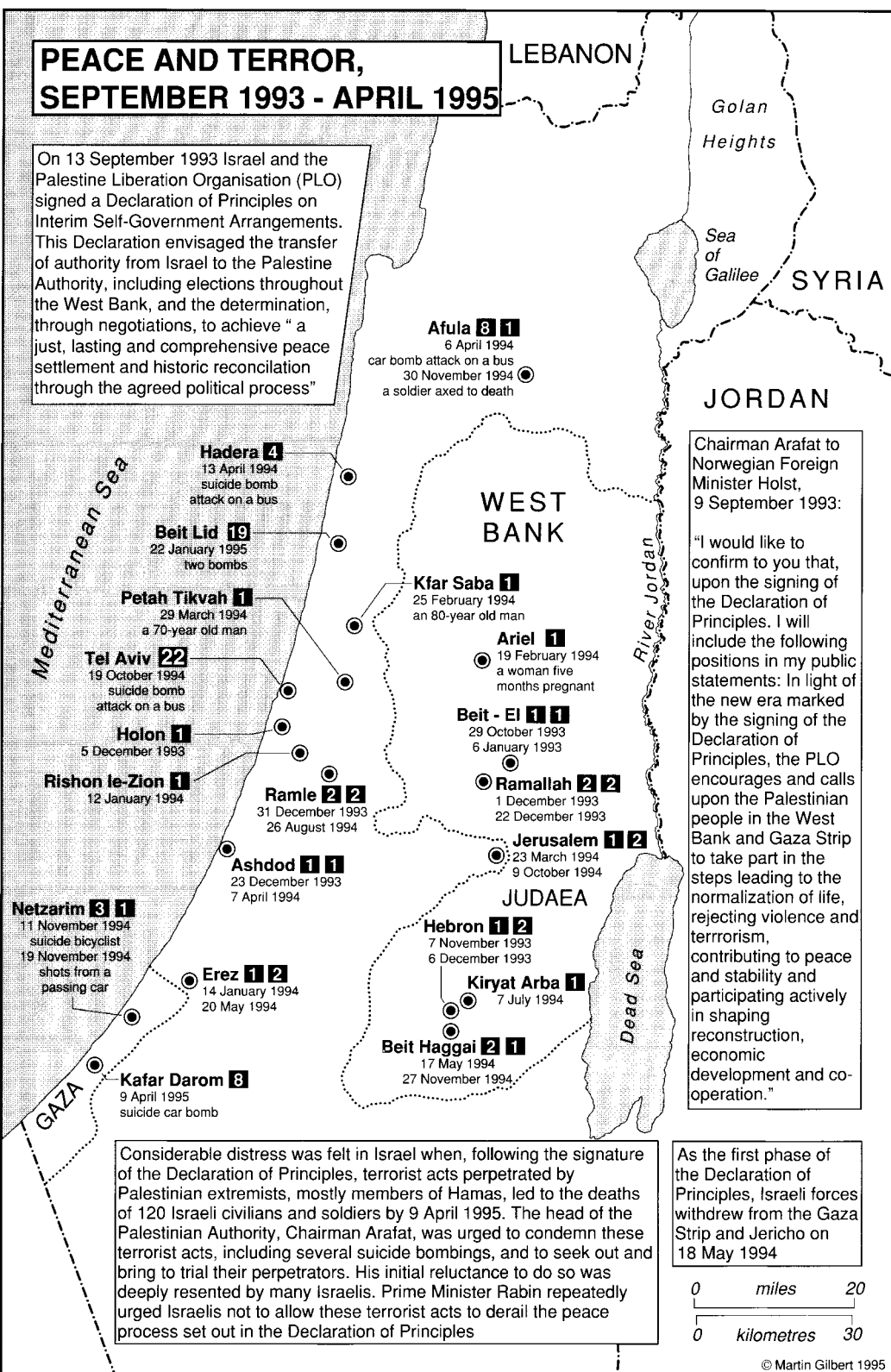


## WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S FIRST JOURNEY 19 - 23 FEBRUARY 1993



# PEACE AND TERROR, SEPTEMBER 1993 - APRIL 1995

On 13 September 1993 Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) signed a Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements. This Declaration envisaged the transfer of authority from Israel to the Palestine Authority, including elections throughout the West Bank, and the determination, through negotiations, to achieve "a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process"



**Afula 3 1**  
6 April 1994  
car bomb attack on a bus  
30 November 1994  
a soldier axed to death

**Hadera 4**  
13 April 1994  
suicide bomb  
attack on a bus

**Beit Lid 19**  
22 January 1995  
two bombs

**Petah Tikvah 1**  
29 March 1994  
a 70-year old man

**Tel Aviv 22**  
19 October 1994  
suicide bomb  
attack on a bus

**Holon 1**  
5 December 1993

**Rishon le-Zion 1**  
12 January 1994

**Ramle 2 2**  
31 December 1993  
26 August 1994

**Ashdod 1 1**  
23 December 1993  
7 April 1994

**Netzarim 3 1**  
11 November 1994  
suicide bicyclist  
19 November 1994  
shots from a  
passing car

**Erez 1 2**  
14 January 1994  
20 May 1994

**Kafar Darom 8**  
9 April 1995  
suicide car bomb

**Kfar Saba 1**  
25 February 1994  
an 80-year old man

**Ariel 1**  
19 February 1994  
a woman five  
months pregnant

**Beit - El 1 1**  
29 October 1993  
6 January 1993

**Ramallah 2 2**  
1 December 1993  
22 December 1993

**Jerusalem 1 2**  
23 March 1994  
9 October 1994

**Hebron 1 2**  
7 November 1993  
6 December 1993

**Kiryat Arba 1**  
7 July 1994

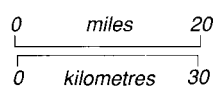
**Beit Haggai 2 1**  
17 May 1994  
27 November 1994

Chairman Arafat to Norwegian Foreign Minister Holst, 9 September 1993:

"I would like to confirm to you that, upon the signing of the Declaration of Principles, I will include the following positions in my public statements: In light of the new era marked by the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and participating actively in shaping reconstruction, economic development and co-operation."

Considerable distress was felt in Israel when, following the signature of the Declaration of Principles, terrorist acts perpetrated by Palestinian extremists, mostly members of Hamas, led to the deaths of 120 Israeli civilians and soldiers by 9 April 1995. The head of the Palestinian Authority, Chairman Arafat, was urged to condemn these terrorist acts, including several suicide bombings, and to seek out and bring to trial their perpetrators. His initial reluctance to do so was deeply resented by many Israelis. Prime Minister Rabin repeatedly urged Israelis not to allow these terrorist acts to derail the peace process set out in the Declaration of Principles

As the first phase of the Declaration of Principles, Israeli forces withdrew from the Gaza Strip and Jericho on 18 May 1994

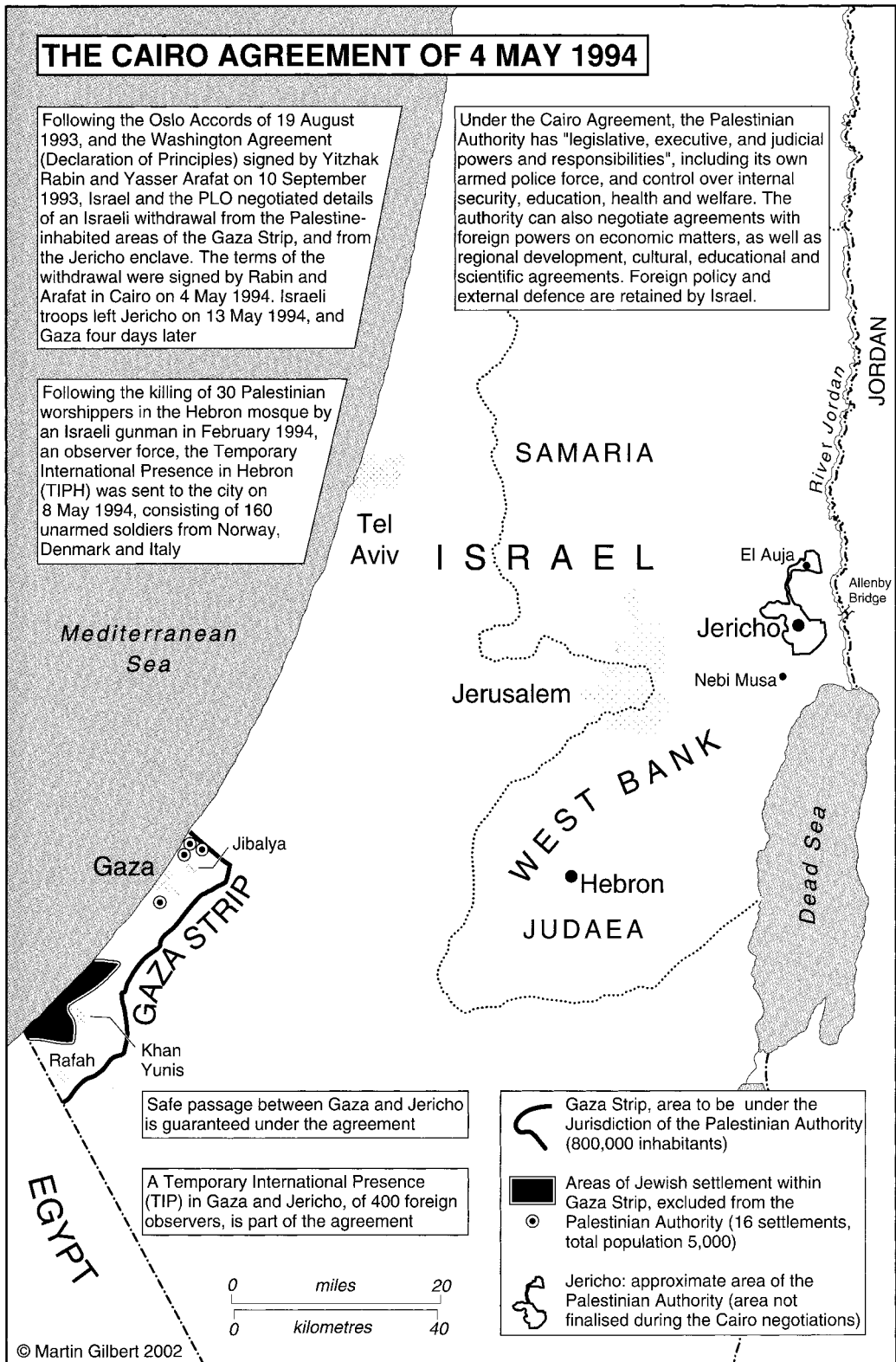


# THE CAIRO AGREEMENT OF 4 MAY 1994

Following the Oslo Accords of 19 August 1993, and the Washington Agreement (Declaration of Principles) signed by Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat on 10 September 1993, Israel and the PLO negotiated details of an Israeli withdrawal from the Palestine-inhabited areas of the Gaza Strip, and from the Jericho enclave. The terms of the withdrawal were signed by Rabin and Arafat in Cairo on 4 May 1994. Israeli troops left Jericho on 13 May 1994, and Gaza four days later

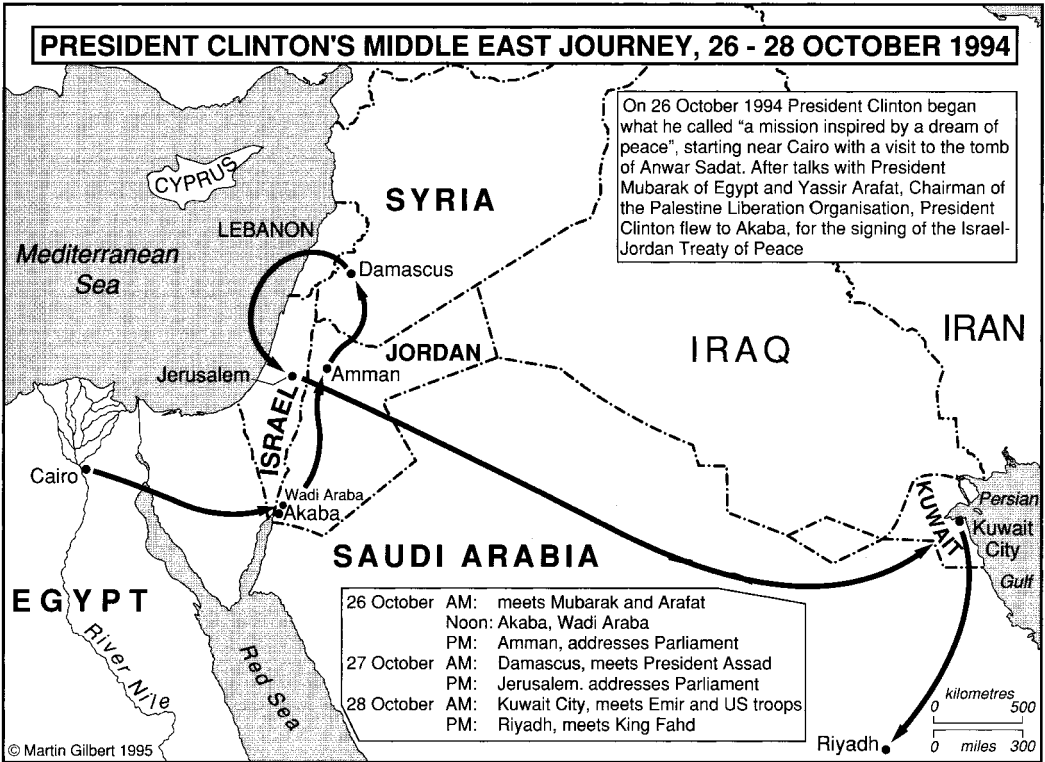
Following the killing of 30 Palestinian worshippers in the Hebron mosque by an Israeli gunman in February 1994, an observer force, the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) was sent to the city on 8 May 1994, consisting of 160 unarmed soldiers from Norway, Denmark and Italy

Under the Cairo Agreement, the Palestinian Authority has "legislative, executive, and judicial powers and responsibilities", including its own armed police force, and control over internal security, education, health and welfare. The authority can also negotiate agreements with foreign powers on economic matters, as well as regional development, cultural, educational and scientific agreements. Foreign policy and external defence are retained by Israel.



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**PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MIDDLE EAST JOURNEY, 26 - 28 OCTOBER 1994**



# THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN, 26 OCTOBER 1994

On 26 October 1994, after forty-six years of hostility, Israel and Jordan signed a Treaty of Peace at the Wadi Araba near Akaba, within sight of the Israeli border

-  Territory returned by Israel to Jordan
-  Areas leased back by Jordan to Israel
-  Border crossings by April 1995

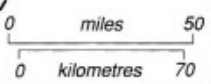


KING HUSSEIN: "The end of a chapter of darkness and the opening of a book of light"

YITZHAK RABIN: "No longer are we a people living apart"

In the peace treaty, Israel and Jordan agreed to "recognise and respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence". Articles in the treaty covered the international boundary, security, establishing of diplomatic and bi-lateral relations, the sharing of water resources, cultural and scientific exchanges, civil aviation, tourism, environment, freedom of navigation, combating crime and drugs, and "the free movement of nationals and vehicles of the other into and within its territory".

Article 9: "Each party will provide freedom of access to places of religious and historical significance. In this regard, Israel respects the present special role of Jordan in Muslim holy shrines in Jerusalem"



# OSLO: THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN INTERIM AGREEMENT

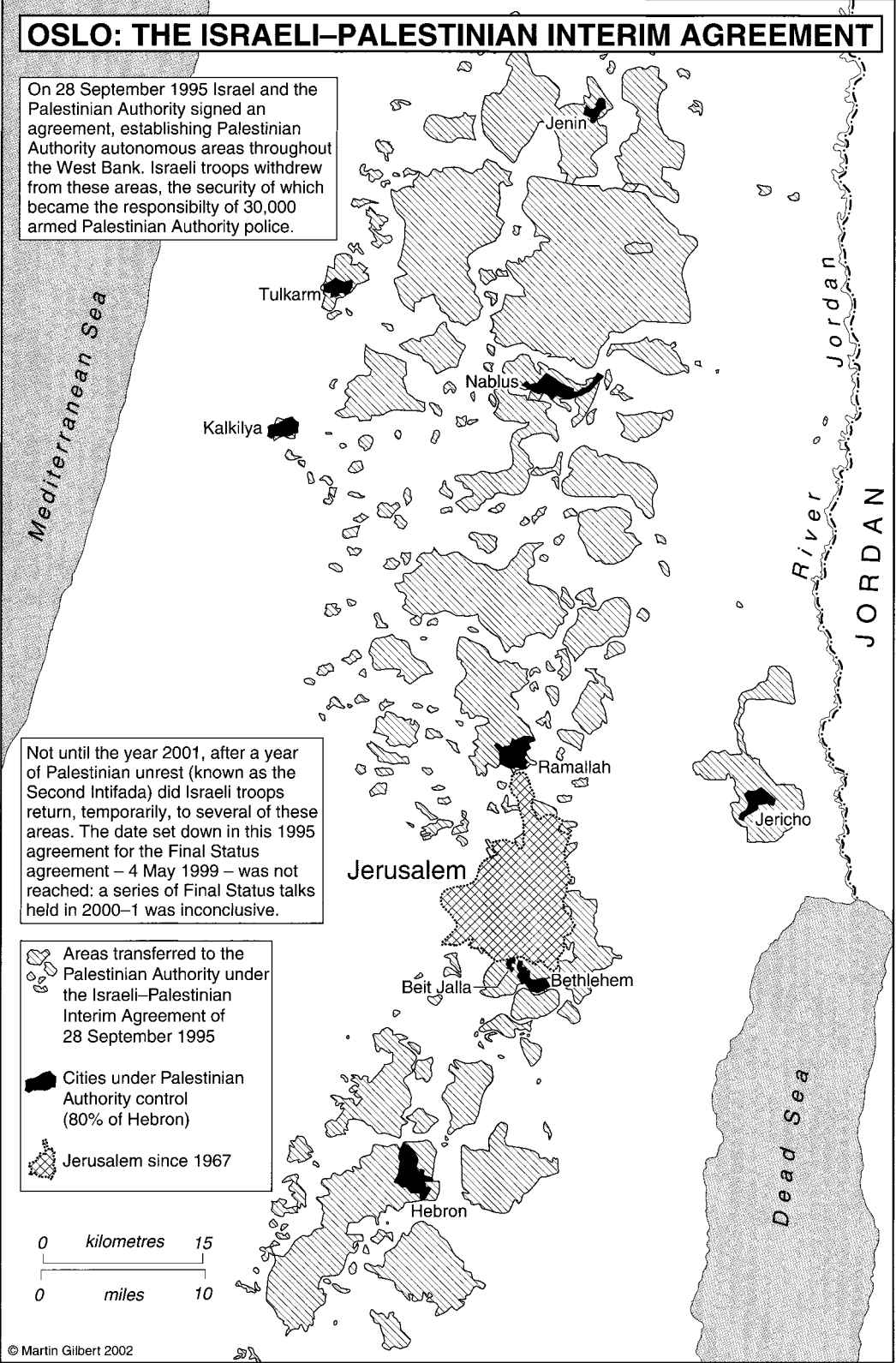
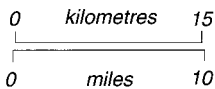
On 28 September 1995 Israel and the Palestinian Authority signed an agreement, establishing Palestinian Authority autonomous areas throughout the West Bank. Israeli troops withdrew from these areas, the security of which became the responsibility of 30,000 armed Palestinian Authority police.

Not until the year 2001, after a year of Palestinian unrest (known as the Second Intifada) did Israeli troops return, temporarily, to several of these areas. The date set down in this 1995 agreement for the Final Status agreement – 4 May 1999 – was not reached: a series of Final Status talks held in 2000–1 was inconclusive.

Areas transferred to the Palestinian Authority under the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement of 28 September 1995

Cities under Palestinian Authority control (80% of Hebron)

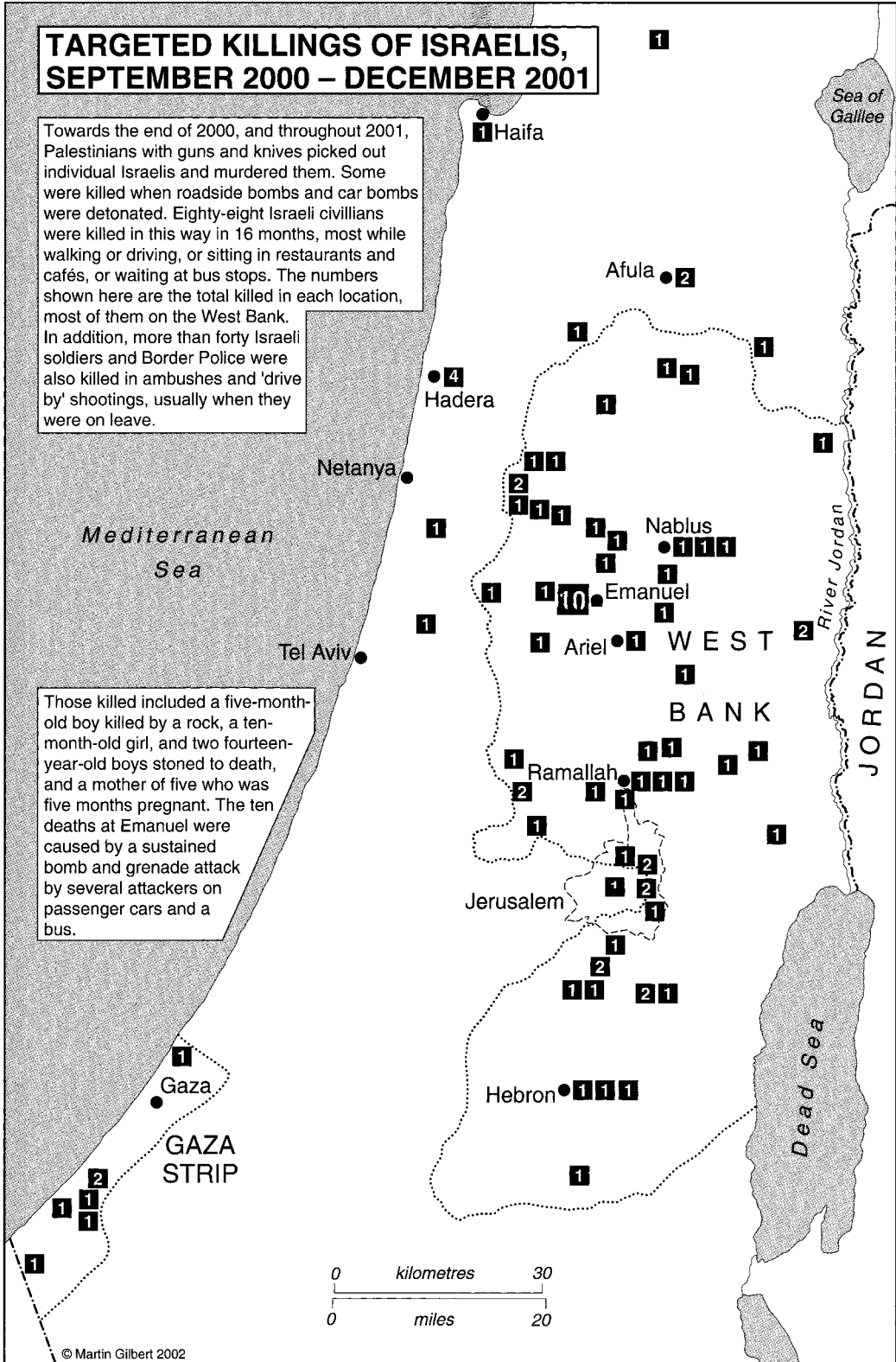
Jerusalem since 1967



# TARGETED KILLINGS OF ISRAELIS, SEPTEMBER 2000 – DECEMBER 2001

Towards the end of 2000, and throughout 2001, Palestinians with guns and knives picked out individual Israelis and murdered them. Some were killed when roadside bombs and car bombs were detonated. Eighty-eight Israeli civilians were killed in this way in 16 months, most while walking or driving, or sitting in restaurants and cafés, or waiting at bus stops. The numbers shown here are the total killed in each location, most of them on the West Bank. In addition, more than forty Israeli soldiers and Border Police were also killed in ambushes and 'drive by' shootings, usually when they were on leave.

Those killed included a five-month-old boy killed by a rock, a ten-month-old girl, and two fourteen-year-old boys stoned to death, and a mother of five who was five months pregnant. The ten deaths at Emanuel were caused by a sustained bomb and grenade attack by several attackers on passenger cars and a bus.



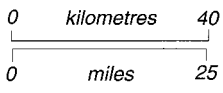
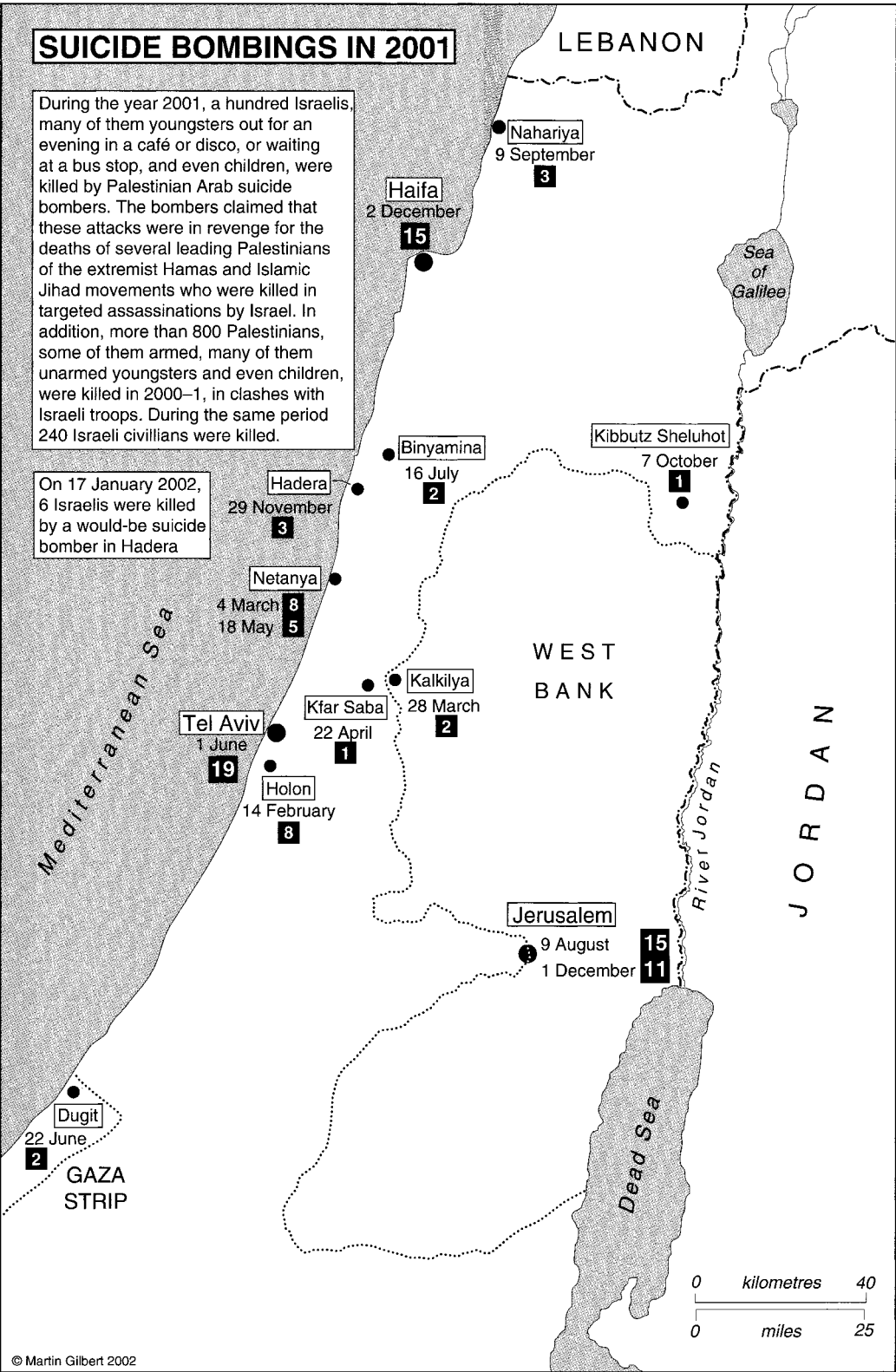
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# SUICIDE BOMBINGS IN 2001

During the year 2001, a hundred Israelis, many of them youngsters out for an evening in a café or disco, or waiting at a bus stop, and even children, were killed by Palestinian Arab suicide bombers. The bombers claimed that these attacks were in revenge for the deaths of several leading Palestinians of the extremist Hamas and Islamic Jihad movements who were killed in targeted assassinations by Israel. In addition, more than 800 Palestinians, some of them armed, many of them unarmed youngsters and even children, were killed in 2000–1, in clashes with Israeli troops. During the same period 240 Israeli civilians were killed.

On 17 January 2002, 6 Israelis were killed by a would-be suicide bomber in Hadera



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# TARGETED ASSASSINATIONS, 2001

Following the renewal of Palestinian killings and suicide bombs in Israeli cities in 2000–2001, Israel embarked on an intensified policy of targeted assassination of those it accused of organizing and preparing terrorist acts. Hitherto this had been mostly overseas (including in Malta, Rome, Paris and Beirut). The places marked in black on this map were those where the main targeted assassinations took place between July and December 2001.

It is a policy of self-defence. When we know of a terrorist who is a ticking bomb, it is incumbent on us to prevent it. And that is what we do.

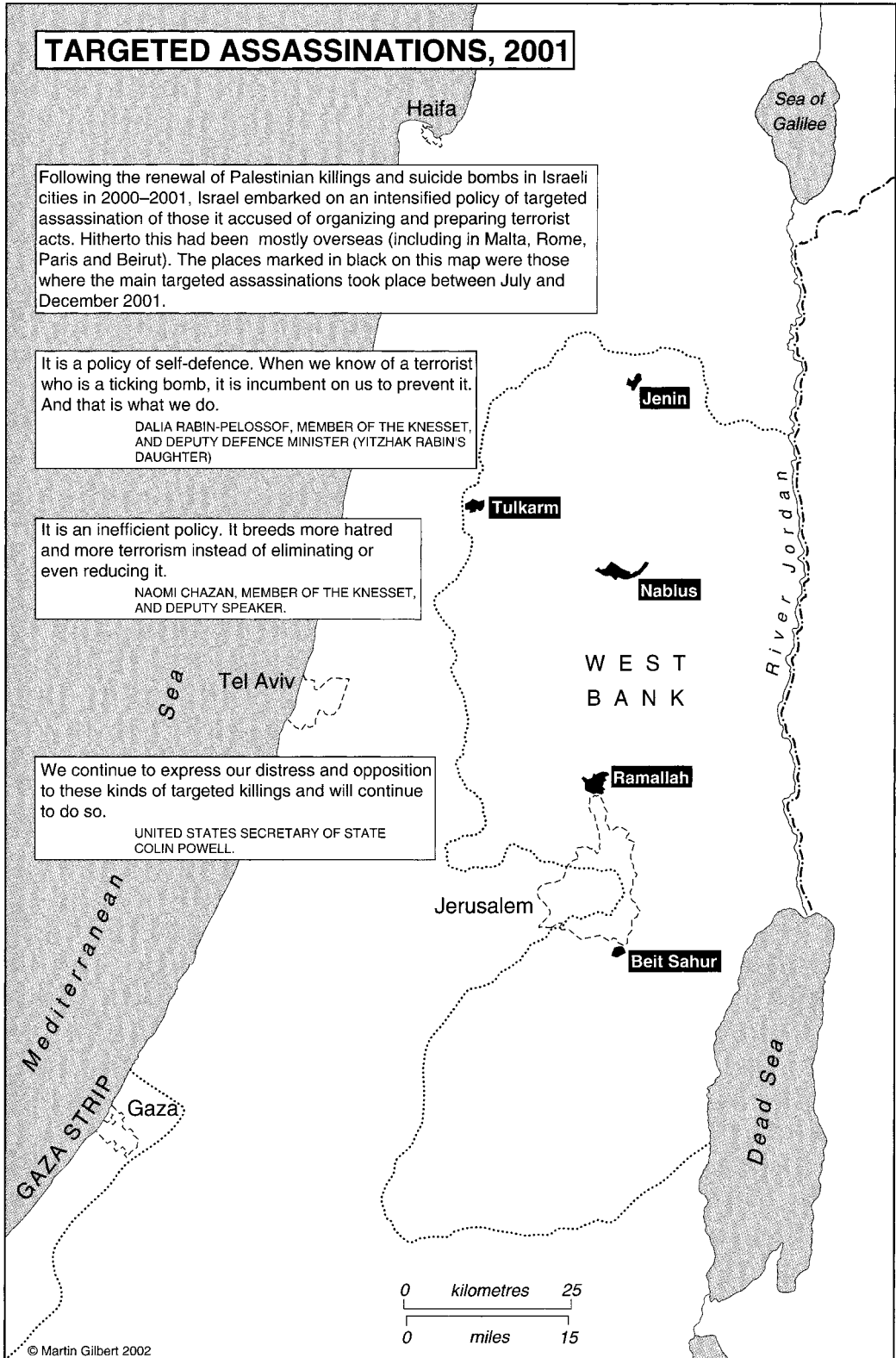
DALIA RABIN-PELOSSOF, MEMBER OF THE KNESSET, AND DEPUTY DEFENCE MINISTER (YITZHAK RABIN'S DAUGHTER)

It is an inefficient policy. It breeds more hatred and more terrorism instead of eliminating or even reducing it.

NAOMI CHAZAN, MEMBER OF THE KNESSET, AND DEPUTY SPEAKER.

We continue to express our distress and opposition to these kinds of targeted killings and will continue to do so.

UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL.

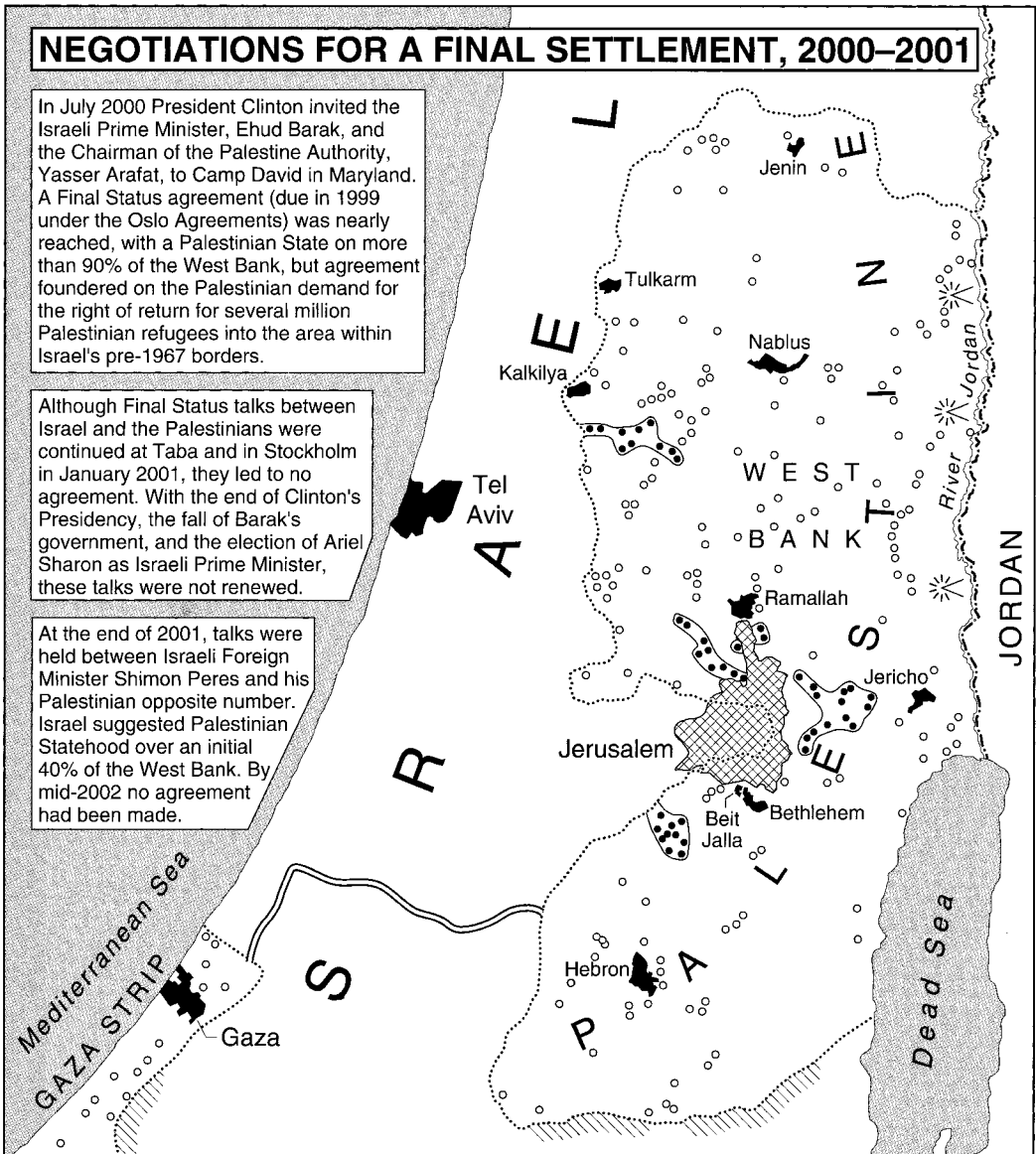


# NEGOTIATIONS FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT, 2000–2001








In July 2000 President Clinton invited the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, and the Chairman of the Palestine Authority, Yasser Arafat, to Camp David in Maryland. A Final Status agreement (due in 1999 under the Oslo Agreements) was nearly reached, with a Palestinian State on more than 90% of the West Bank, but agreement foundered on the Palestinian demand for the right of return for several million Palestinian refugees into the area within Israel's pre-1967 borders.

Although Final Status talks between Israel and the Palestinians were continued at Taba and in Stockholm in January 2001, they led to no agreement. With the end of Clinton's Presidency, the fall of Barak's government, and the election of Ariel Sharon as Israeli Prime Minister, these talks were not renewed.

At the end of 2001, talks were held between Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and his Palestinian opposite number. Israel suggested Palestinian Statehood over an initial 40% of the West Bank. By mid-2002 no agreement had been made.



## AS DISCUSSED AT CAMP DAVID, TABA AND STOCKHOLM:

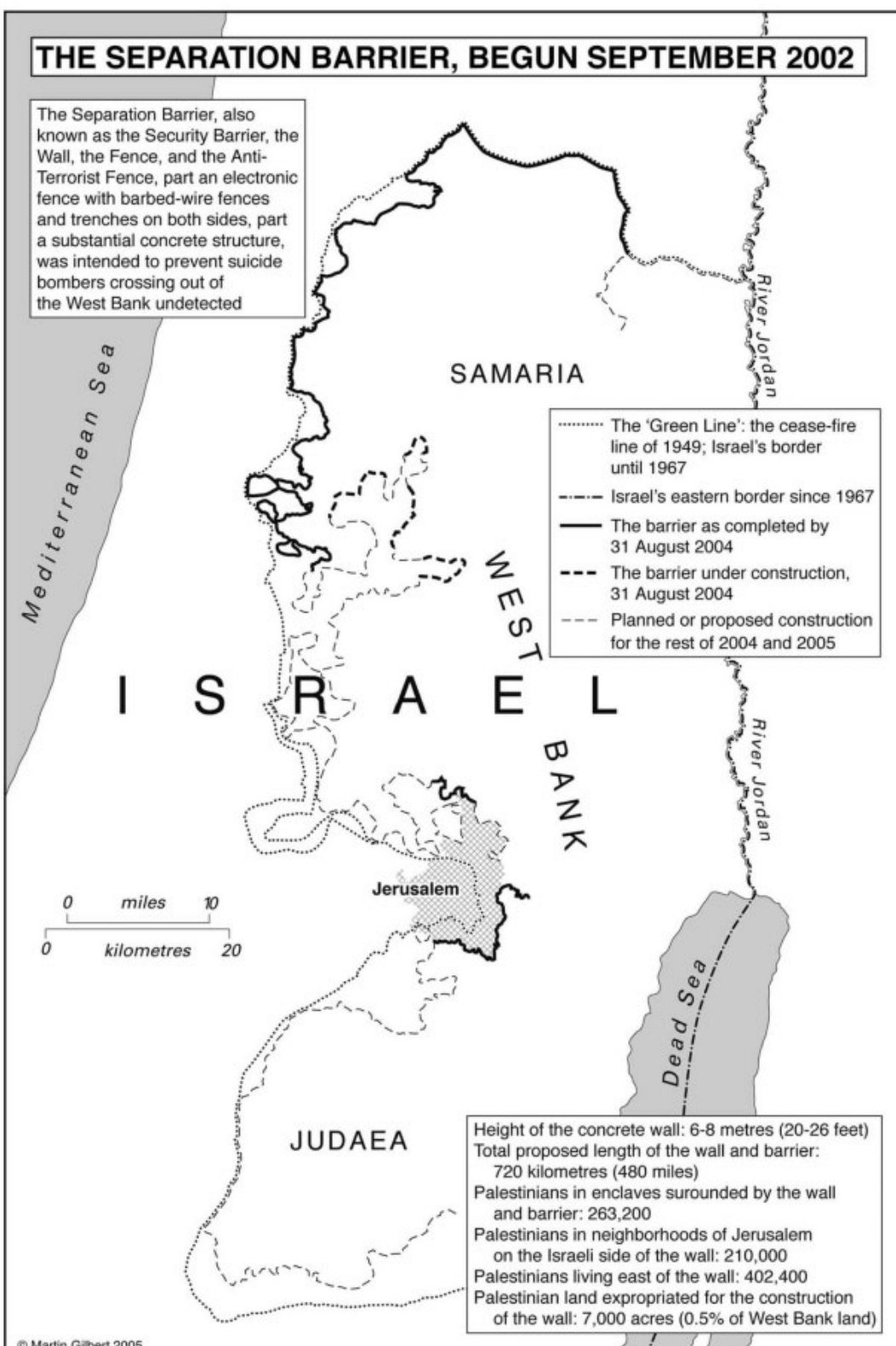
-  The 'Green Line', Israel's border from 1949 to 1967, to be the border of the Palestinian State, with minimal modification
-  Groups of Israeli settlements beyond the Green Line which Israel wished to retain
-  Israeli settlements to be removed
-  Three electronic listening posts to be established by Israel in the Jordan Valley
-  Desert areas in pre-1967 Israel that Israel was prepared to transfer to the Palestinian State to compensate for the settlements retained
-  'Safe Transit' route between Gaza and the West Bank, possibly under Palestinian sovereignty
-  Jerusalem: to be divided on the basis of its Jewish and Arab residents

0 kilometres 30  
0 miles 20

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## THE SEPARATION BARRIER, BEGUN SEPTEMBER 2002

The Separation Barrier, also known as the Security Barrier, the Wall, the Fence, and the Anti-Terrorist Fence, part an electronic fence with barbed-wire fences and trenches on both sides, part a substantial concrete structure, was intended to prevent suicide bombers crossing out of the West Bank undetected



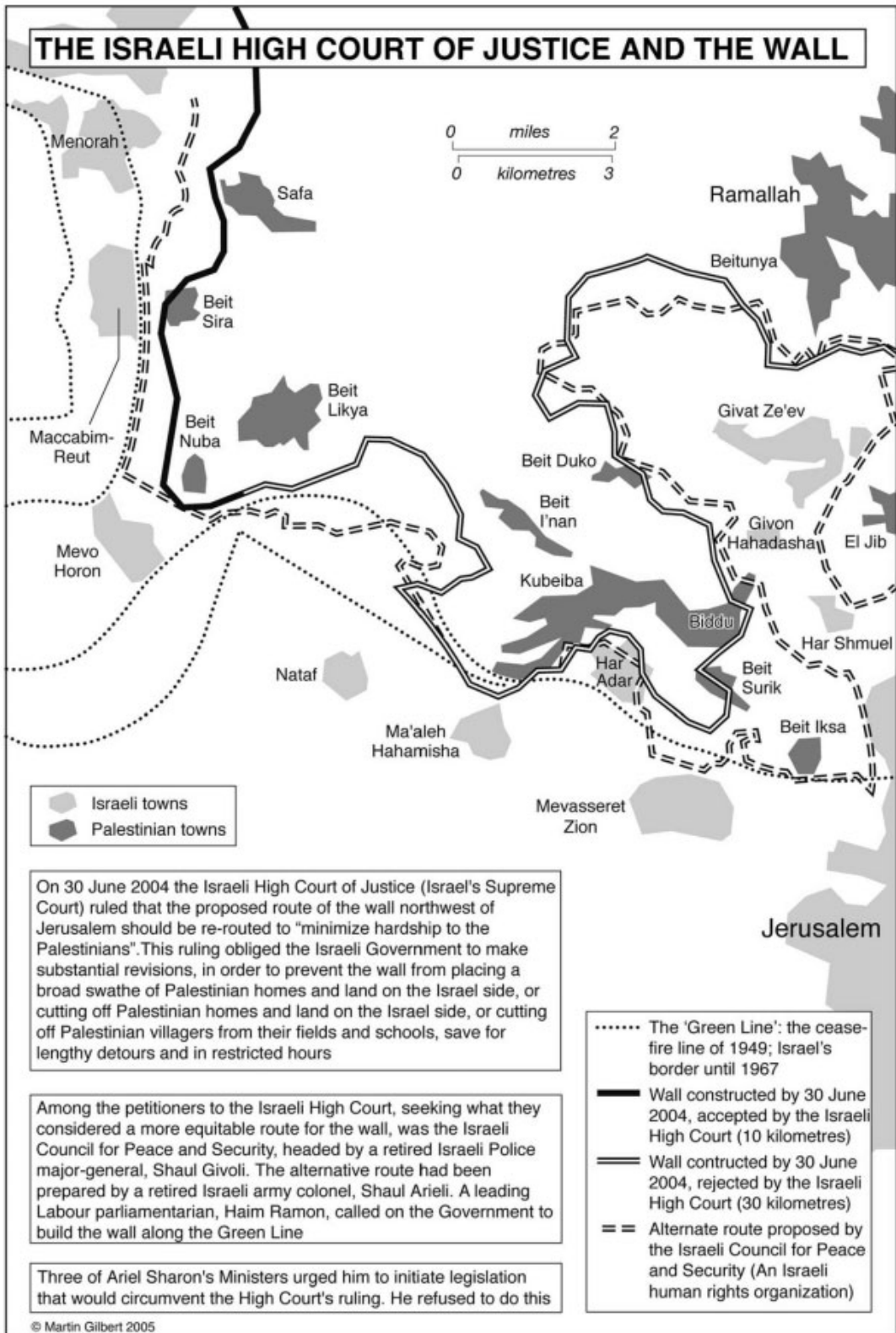
- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- Israel's eastern border since 1967
- The barrier as completed by 31 August 2004
- - - - - The barrier under construction, 31 August 2004
- - - - - Planned or proposed construction for the rest of 2004 and 2005

0 miles 10  
0 kilometres 20

Height of the concrete wall: 6-8 metres (20-26 feet)  
 Total proposed length of the wall and barrier: 720 kilometres (480 miles)  
 Palestinians in enclaves surrounded by the wall and barrier: 263,200  
 Palestinians in neighborhoods of Jerusalem on the Israeli side of the wall: 210,000  
 Palestinians living east of the wall: 402,400  
 Palestinian land expropriated for the construction of the wall: 7,000 acres (0.5% of West Bank land)

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# THE ISRAELI HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE WALL



On 30 June 2004 the Israeli High Court of Justice (Israel's Supreme Court) ruled that the proposed route of the wall northwest of Jerusalem should be re-routed to "minimize hardship to the Palestinians". This ruling obliged the Israeli Government to make substantial revisions, in order to prevent the wall from placing a broad swathe of Palestinian homes and land on the Israel side, or cutting off Palestinian homes and land on the Israel side, or cutting off Palestinian villagers from their fields and schools, save for lengthy detours and in restricted hours

Among the petitioners to the Israeli High Court, seeking what they considered a more equitable route for the wall, was the Israeli Council for Peace and Security, headed by a retired Israeli Police major-general, Shaul Givoli. The alternative route had been prepared by a retired Israeli army colonel, Shaul Arieli. A leading Labour parliamentarian, Haim Ramon, called on the Government to build the wall along the Green Line

Three of Ariel Sharon's Ministers urged him to initiate legislation that would circumvent the High Court's ruling. He refused to do this

- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- Wall constructed by 30 June 2004, accepted by the Israeli High Court (10 kilometres)
- Wall constructed by 30 June 2004, rejected by the Israeli High Court (30 kilometres)
- == Alternate route proposed by the Israeli Council for Peace and Security (An Israeli human rights organization)

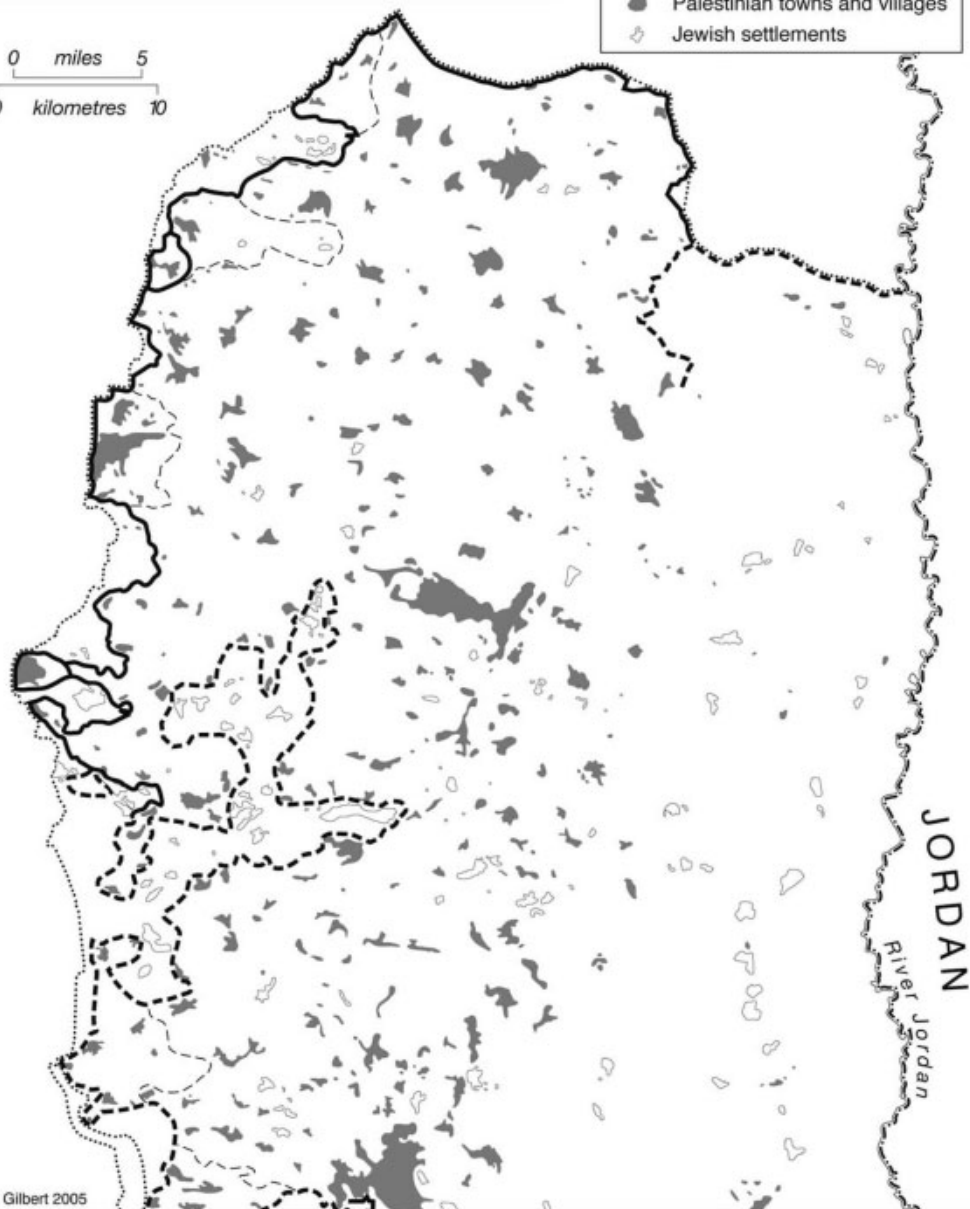
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## THE SEPARATION BARRIER: NORTHERN SECTION

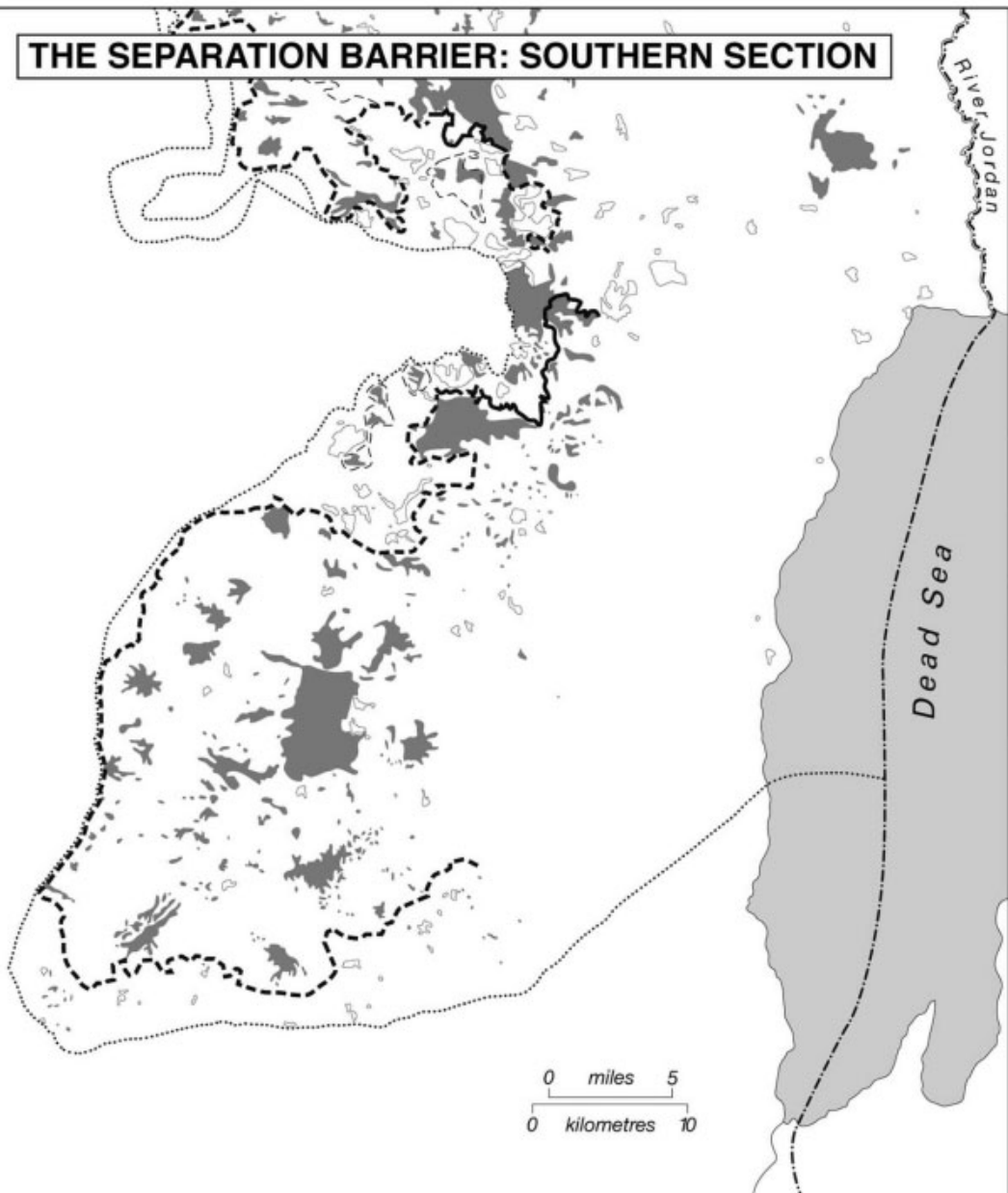
The Separation Barrier, also known as the Security Barrier, the Wall, the Fence and the Anti-Terrorist Fence, part an electronic fence with barbed-wire fences and trenches on both sides, part a substantial concrete structure, was intended to prevent suicide bombers crossing out of the West Bank undetected. Between September 2000 and the completion of all the northern and most of the Jerusalem sectors of the fence eighteen months later, 431 Israelis were killed in 137 suicide bombings, one hundred in March 2002 alone. The rate of killing fell dramatically as the fence was constructed

- Construction completed by August 2004
- - - Construction projected by the end of 2005
- - - Secondary barrier to be constructed
- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- Palestinian towns and villages
- ◊ Jewish settlements

0 miles 5  
0 kilometres 10



## THE SEPARATION BARRIER: SOUTHERN SECTION



In 2004, after completion of the barrier in the northern section (opposite) there were no terrorist attacks across the northern section. That same year there were twenty-one terrorist attacks in the southern section. By December 2004 the number of terrorist incidents initiated from the West Bank had fallen by 84 per cent

- Construction completed by August 2004
- - - Construction projected by the end of 2005
- - - Secondary barrier to be constructed
- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- Palestinian towns and villages
- ◇ Jewish settlements

# ISRAELI OUTPOSTS ON THE WEST BANK: NORTH OF JERUSALEM

The outposts shown on these two maps link up larger Israeli settlements. Their construction has been criticized by many on the Israeli Left, as well as by the British and American Governments

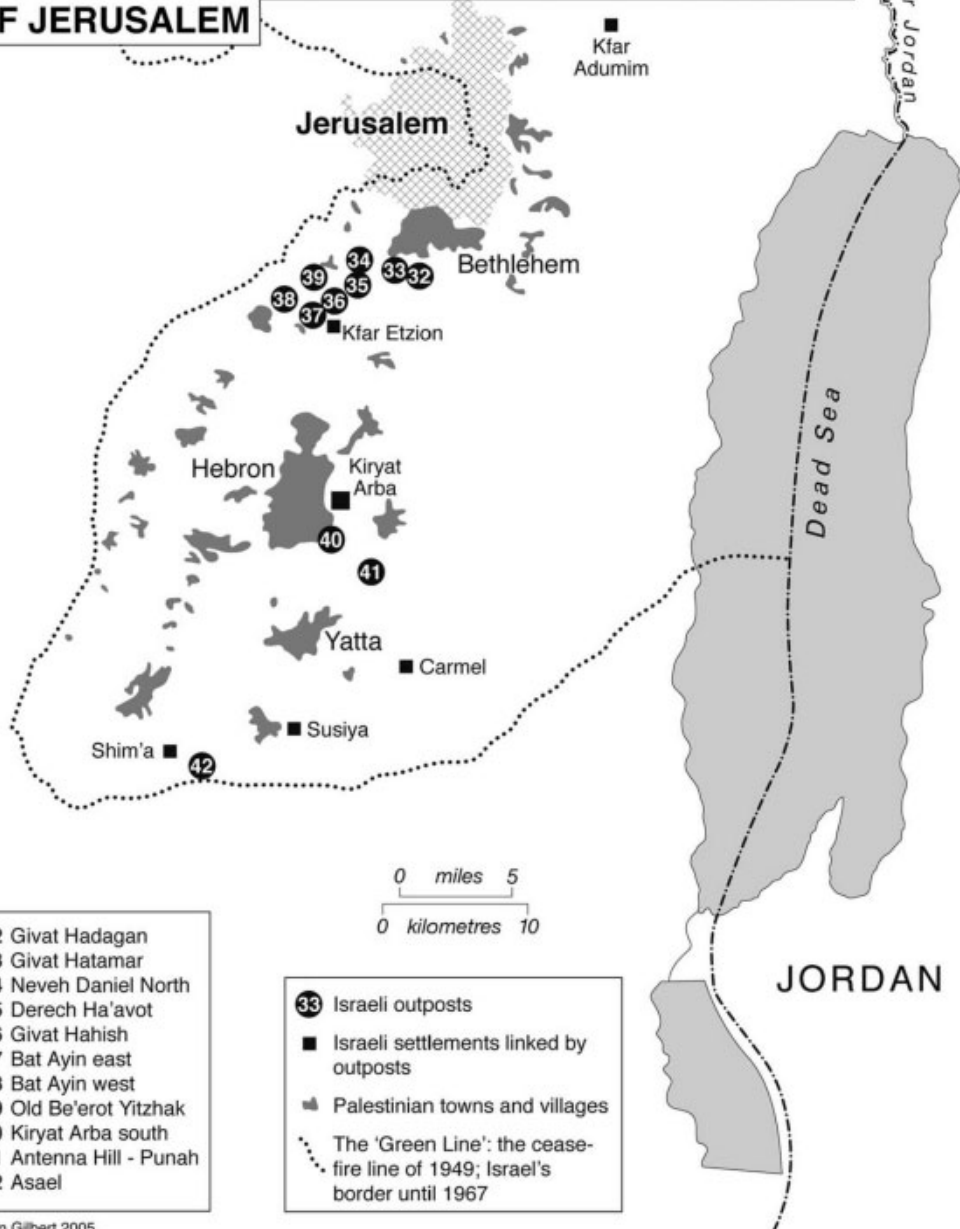
- 1 Israeli outposts
- Israeli settlements linked by outposts
- ▲ Palestinian towns and villages
- ⋯ The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- ▲ The four West Bank settlements to be withdrawn by December 2005 (Israeli Cabinet decision on 6 June 2004)

0 miles 5  
0 kilometres 10

- |                                |                                   |                              |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Point 792 - Skali's farm     | 12 Palgei Mayim - Hirbet a-Shuneh | 22 Adei Ad (Hill 6)          |
| 2 'The Point'                  | 13 Nof Harim                      | 23 Mitzpeh Kramim            |
| 3 Hill 851                     | 14 Hakaron                        | 24 Mitzpeh Shlomo            |
| 4 Hill 782                     | 15 Eli 762 - Haroeh               | 25 Mitzpeh Shlomo south      |
| 5 Hill 836                     | 16 Givat Harel                    | 26 Mitzpeh Danny             |
| 6 Givat Olam (Avri Ran's farm) | 17 Esh Kadosh                     | 27 Ma'aleh Michmash          |
| 7 Hill 777                     | 18 Shvut Rahel-Hill 805           | 28 Mitzpeh Hagit             |
| 8 Havat Gilad                  | 19 The Red House                  | 29 Ein Maboaa                |
| 9 Alonei (Nof Kaneh farm)      | 20 Ahiya (4)                      | 30 The T-junction-Givat Asaf |
| 10 Nir Yakir                   | 21 Shvut Rahel-Hill 704           | 31 Megaron                   |
| 11 Nofei Nehemiah              |                                   |                              |



# ISRAELI OUTPOSTS ON THE WEST BANK: SOUTH OF JERUSALEM



- 32 Givat Hadagan
- 33 Givat Hatamar
- 34 Neveh Daniel North
- 35 Derech Ha'avot
- 36 Givat Hahish
- 37 Bat Ayin east
- 38 Bat Ayin west
- 39 Old Be'erot Yitzhak
- 40 Kiryat Arba south
- 41 Antenna Hill - Punah
- 42 Asael

- 33 Israeli outposts
- Israeli settlements linked by outposts
- ▤ Palestinian towns and villages
- ⋯ The 'Green Line': the ceasefire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

0 miles 5  
0 kilometres 10

© Martin Gilbert 2005

## SUICIDE BOMBINGS, 2002

The increase in suicide bombings in 2002 was a severe shock to Israeli confidence in the peace process. In addition to the 211 civilians killed, a further 1,448 were injured, some of the injuries being of the severest kind, permanently disfiguring and maiming

**211** Number of dead  
(1,448) Number of injured



## TARGETED KILLINGS OF ISRAELIS, 2002

During 2002, in addition to those Israelis killed in suicide bomb attacks, a total of 142 Israelis were killed in acts of terror, most of them by gunfire and bombs against individuals, or groups of individuals, at bus stops, in cars and buses, and in their homes. Some were killed while celebrating the Sabbath and Jewish religious festivals; and in one instance, while casting their votes at a polling booth

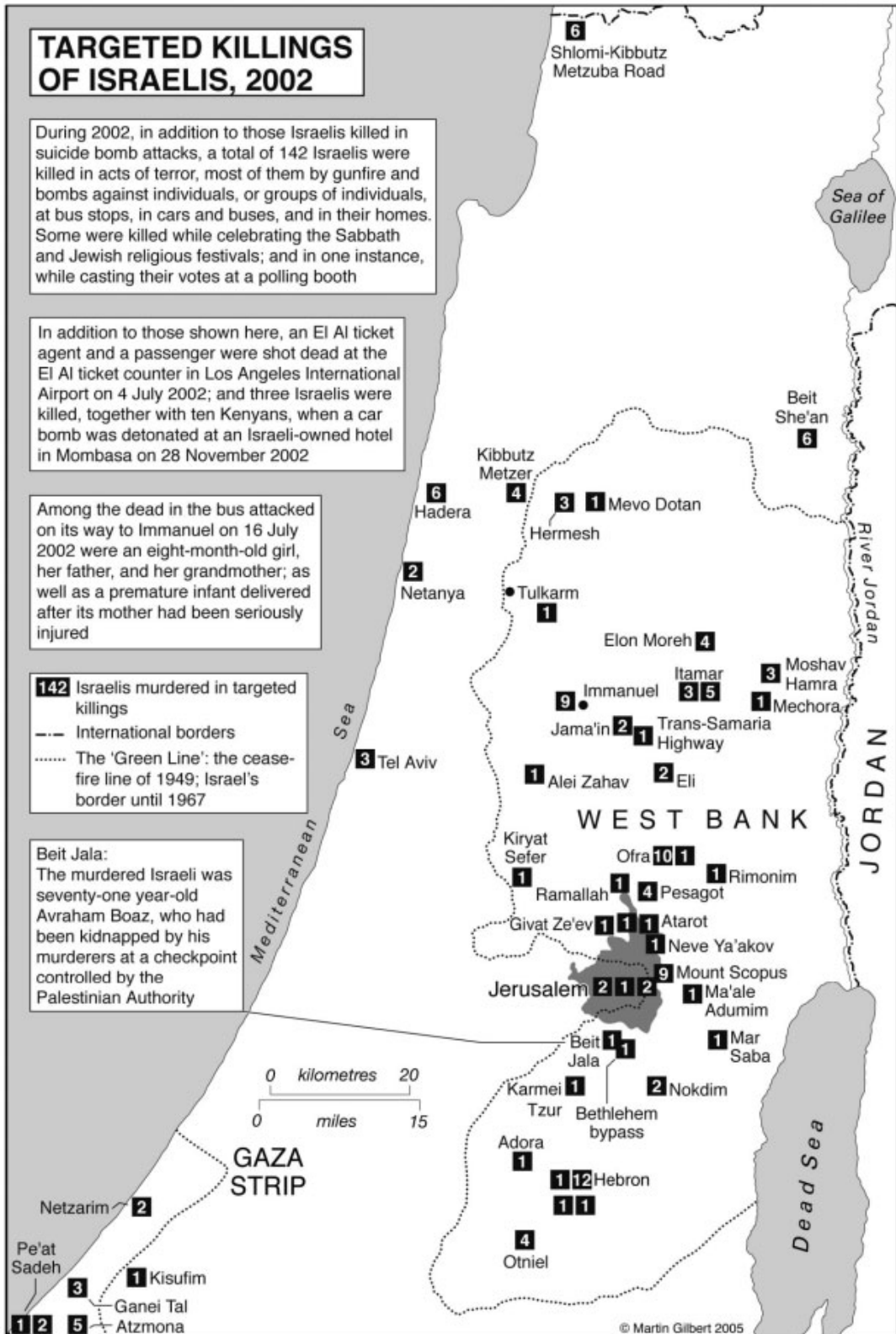
In addition to those shown here, an El Al ticket agent and a passenger were shot dead at the El Al ticket counter in Los Angeles International Airport on 4 July 2002; and three Israelis were killed, together with ten Kenyans, when a car bomb was detonated at an Israeli-owned hotel in Mombasa on 28 November 2002

Among the dead in the bus attacked on its way to Immanuel on 16 July 2002 were an eight-month-old girl, her father, and her grandmother; as well as a premature infant delivered after its mother had been seriously injured

**142** Israelis murdered in targeted killings

--- International borders  
 ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

**Beit Jala:**  
 The murdered Israeli was seventy-one year-old Avraham Boaz, who had been kidnapped by his murderers at a checkpoint controlled by the Palestinian Authority



## TARGETED ASSASSINATION OF PALESTINIANS, 2002

The targeted assassination by Israeli forces of those who were planning and organizing suicide bombings and other acts of terror continued into 2002. In all, thirty-six Palestinians were targeted and killed in 2002. Twenty-seven Palestinian bystanders were also killed

**36** Number of Palestinians killed in targeted assassinations

**24** Number of Palestinian bystanders killed



© Martin Gilbert 2005

## TARGETED KILLINGS OF ISRAELIS, 2003

### THE SECOND INTIFADA: DEATH TOLL

29 September 2000 to 29 September 2004

Israeli deaths: 1,000

Palestinian deaths: 2,736

The Palestinian deaths included 466 members of Hamas, 408 members of Fatah's Tanzim organization and 334 members of Force 17, part of the Palestinian police, killed while carrying out acts of terror; and 1,500 Palestinian bystanders, of whom five hundred were children under the age of eighteen

With the construction of the Security Fence, the number of infiltrations into Israel fell sharply. In 2003, a total of twenty-three Israelis were killed in targeted shootings, mostly at bus stops and while in cars and buses. This was 119 fewer than in the year 2002

In addition to the killings shown here, a sixteen-year-old boy was killed and four other Israelis wounded by shrapnel from a shell fired across the northern border from inside Lebanon

Mediterranean Sea

GAZA STRIP

- 23** Israelis murdered in targeted killings
- International borders
- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

LEBANON

Kafr Kana **1**

Sea of Galilee

**1** Moshav Gadish

Baka al-Garbiyeh **1**

**11** Yabed **1**

Kibbutz Eyal Junction **1**

Rosh Ha'ayin **1**

**1** Tel Aviv

**2** Karnei Shomron

WEST BANK

**1** Shvut Rahel

**11** Ofra

Ramallah **1**

Jerusalem

Ein Karem **2**

**1** Kiryat Arba **2**

**2** Negohot

Dead Sea

JORDAN

**1** Nitzana

0 kilometres 20  
0 miles 15

© Martin Gilbert 2005

## SUICIDE BOMBINGS, 2003 - 2004

The intensity of suicide bombings in 2003 and 2004 continued to undermine Israeli confidence in the peace process. In addition to the 182 civilians killed, 942 were injured, some of the injuries being of the severest kind, permanently disfiguring and maiming. The lull after February 2004 raised hopes of an end to the carnage, for which the Beer Sheva bombing five and a half months later was a setback

**187** Number of dead  
(942) Number of injured



# TARGETED ASSASSINATION OF PALESTINIANS, 2003

The targeted assassination by Israeli forces of those who were planning and organizing suicide bombings and other acts of terror continued throughout 2003. In all, twenty-two Palestinian terrorists were targeted and killed during that period. Forty-nine Palestinian bystanders, including several children, were also killed during these anti-terror attacks

**22** Palestinians killed in targeted assassinations  
**49** Bystanders killed

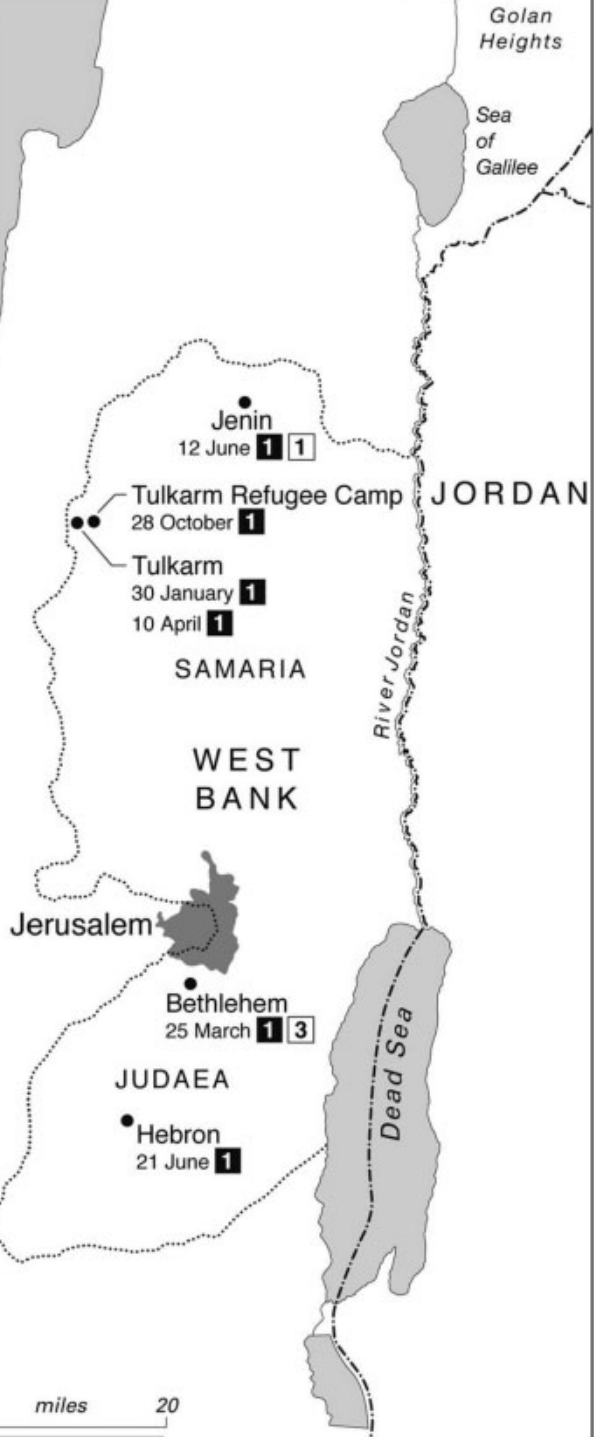
Mediterranean Sea

## Gaza City

- 16 February **6**
- 8 March **4**
- 8 April **2 7**
- 10 April **1**
- 10 June **4**
- 11 June **4 7**
- 12 June **1 6**
- 13 June **1 1**
- 25 June **2**
- 30 August **2**
- 1 September **2**
- 10 September **2**
- 11 September **4**
- 15 September **2**
- 20 October **2 1**
- 23 October **2**
- 25 December **2 3**

- Jabaliya Refugee Camp
- 9 May **1**
- Jabaliya **4**
- Gaza City

- Khan Yunis
- 12 January **2**
- 29 April **1 1**



0 miles 20  
 0 kilometres 30

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## SIXTEEN DAYS IN SEPTEMBER 2004: i

Following the targeted assassination of the two senior figures in Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin (on 22 March 2004) and Dr Abdel Aziz Rantisi (on 17 April 2004), there was an increase in Israeli-Palestinian confrontation. In the sixteen-day period shown on this and the facing map, there were eighty-two violent deaths

**14 September**

Two female would-be suicide bombers surrender to troops at a checkpoint. They had been instructed to explode themselves in Tel Aviv. A few hours before their surrender the Israel Defence Forces had killed the man who had planned their attacks

**15 September**

A fifteen-year-old would-be suicide bomber taken to an Israeli checkpoint by his grandfather and made to surrender. The grandfather did not want the family home blown up as a reprisal for his grandson's act

**16 September**

After a twenty-four-hour confrontation, Egyptian police detain eight armed men trying to cross from Egypt into Gaza

EGYPT

**GAZA STRIP**  
Rafah

**14 September**

A suspected Palestinian collaborator kidnapped by fellow-Palestinians and shot dead (the sixth such execution in Ramallah in eighteen months)

**17 September**

Shots fired from Beit Sahur penetrate a bedroom wall

**22 September**

Two Israeli Border Policemen killed when they intercepted a suicide bomber as she blew herself up at a hitchhiking stop

**20 September**

Two suspected Arab collaborators executed by Palestinian gunmen

**14-19 September**

Nine armed Palestinians and two bystanders killed in four days by Israeli Defence Forces

**22 September**

A Jewish settler shoots dead an unarmed Palestinian civilian, a 46-year-old taxi driver

Mediterranean Sea

Tulkarm

SAMARIA

Beit Iba

Elon Moreh

Nablus

WEST BANK

Ramallah

French Hill

Har Homa

Beit Sahur

JORDAN

Dead Sea

Golan Heights

Sea of Galilee

River Jordan

0 miles 20  
0 kilometres 30



## SIXTEEN DAYS IN SEPTEMBER 2004: ii

On 28 September 2004 an Israeli Secret Service (Shin Bet) report made public, that since the completion of the first portion of the Security Barrier in August 2003 there had been a 84% decrease in the number of Israelis killed in terror attacks

**30 September**  
An Israeli soldier killed

**30 September**  
Thirty-one Palestinians killed in an attack on the area from which the rockets had been fired against Sderot on September 29

**29 September**  
An Israeli woman jogger shot dead. An Israeli army doctor who reached the scene was also killed. Two of the attackers were then killed, one blown up by the explosive belt he was wearing

**27 September**  
Israeli soldier kills two Palestinians attempting to place a bomb

**28-29 September**  
Four Palestinians killed in Israeli attacks

**24 September**  
An Israeli woman killed when a Palestinian-fired mortar shell exploded in her living room

Neve Dekalim  
Rafiah Yam  
Khan Yunis  
Morag

EGYPT

**23 September**  
Israeli soldiers kill two Palestinians as they prepare to fire a missile at the Israeli settlement

**23 September**  
Three Israeli soldiers killed when armed Palestinians penetrated their outpost. Their three attackers were then killed

**24 September**  
A Palestinian killed during an Israeli Army incursion to destroy more than twenty Palestinian homes, in retaliation for the Neve Dekalim mortar death

**27 September**  
Israeli soldiers fail to kill a wanted Palestinian terrorist, but kill his deputy

**29 September**  
A two-year-old Israeli girl and a four-year-old Israeli boy killed by rocket fire from inside the Gaza Strip. Three Palestinians killed in a reprisal air strike

Alei Sinai  
Beit Hanun  
Sderot  
Nir Am

Mediterranean Sea

Deir Hanna

**23 September**  
A seven-kilogramme bomb that was to have been used in a suicide attack retrieved by Israeli security forces

Jenin

SAMARIA

Nablus  
Balata refugee camp

WEST BANK

**27 September**  
Israeli soldiers kill two armed Palestinians seen approaching them

**29 September**  
Two Palestinians killed by Israeli troops after trying to avoid arrest

**29 September**  
One Palestinian killed by Israeli troops trying to avoid arrest

Abu Dis

JORDAN

**28 September**  
Five Israeli border policemen indicted for abusing two Palestinians at a roadblock. An Israeli judge denounces their "dreadful deeds that descend to the lowest levels of interpersonal behaviour"

Dead Sea

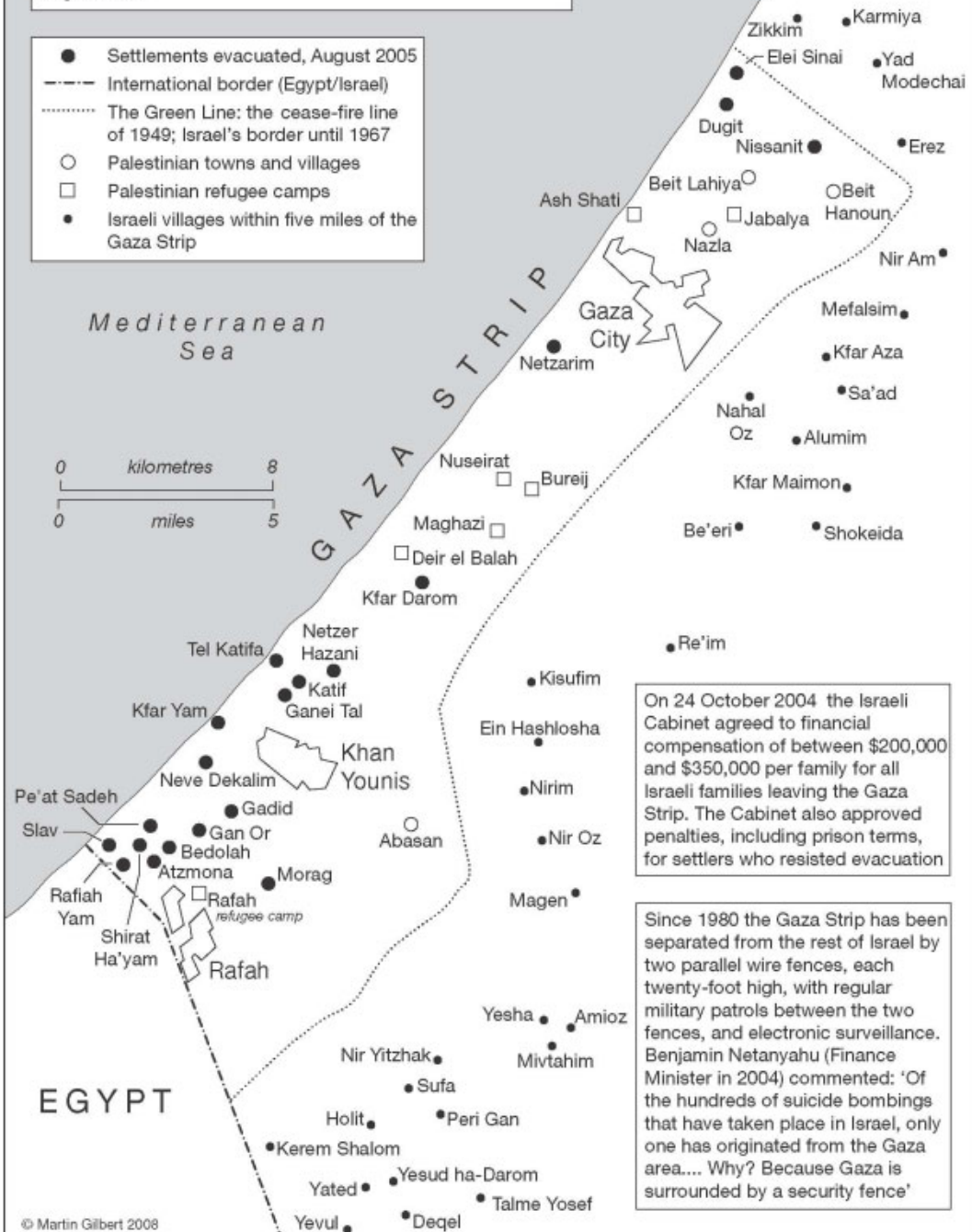
Golan Heights  
Sea of Galilee

0 miles 15  
0 kilometres 20

## SETTLEMENTS IN THE GAZA STRIP EVACUATED, 2005

On 6 June 2004 the Israeli Cabinet approved plans, in a 14-7 vote, for the evacuation of all twenty Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip. These settlements had been established there since 1967. Their 8,800 inhabitants were evacuated in August 2005

- Settlements evacuated, August 2005
- International border (Egypt/Israel)
- ..... The Green Line: the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- Palestinian towns and villages
- Palestinian refugee camps
- Israeli villages within five miles of the Gaza Strip



On 24 October 2004 the Israeli Cabinet agreed to financial compensation of between \$200,000 and \$350,000 per family for all Israeli families leaving the Gaza Strip. The Cabinet also approved penalties, including prison terms, for settlers who resisted evacuation

Since 1980 the Gaza Strip has been separated from the rest of Israel by two parallel wire fences, each twenty-foot high, with regular military patrols between the two fences, and electronic surveillance. Benjamin Netanyahu (Finance Minister in 2004) commented: 'Of the hundreds of suicide bombings that have taken place in Israel, only one has originated from the Gaza area.... Why? Because Gaza is surrounded by a security fence'

# FORTY-EIGHT HOURS OF TERROR, 6-7 OCTOBER 2004

**1** Palestinian aged 51, kidnapped from hospital, shot and killed; Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigade claimed that he had sold land to Jews

**1** fifteen-year-old Palestinian killed when a tank shell hit his house. Ten children wounded

**1** Palestinian killed by a missile fired from an Israeli helicopter gunship

**2** Palestinians killed by Israeli army fire

**1** Palestinian killed by the Israeli army while throwing a Molotov Cocktail

**1** Palestinian girl, aged 16, arrested on suspicion of agreeing to carry out a suicide-bomb attack

**1** Palestinian man fatally wounded by a Palestinian sniper attack on hothouse workers

**1** Thai worker killed in a Palestinian attack  
**3** Palestinian attackers killed

**1** thirteen-year-old Palestinian boy dies from Israeli missile wounds sustained a week earlier  
**2** Palestinian boys, Raid Abu Zaid, 13, and Suliman Abu Ful, 14, killed by a missile fired from an Israeli helicopter after an unmanned drone spotted the two, with two others, preparing to fire a Kassam rocket

Truck bomb  
**30** killed, 120 injured. The 23 Israeli dead included 2 Israeli Arabs

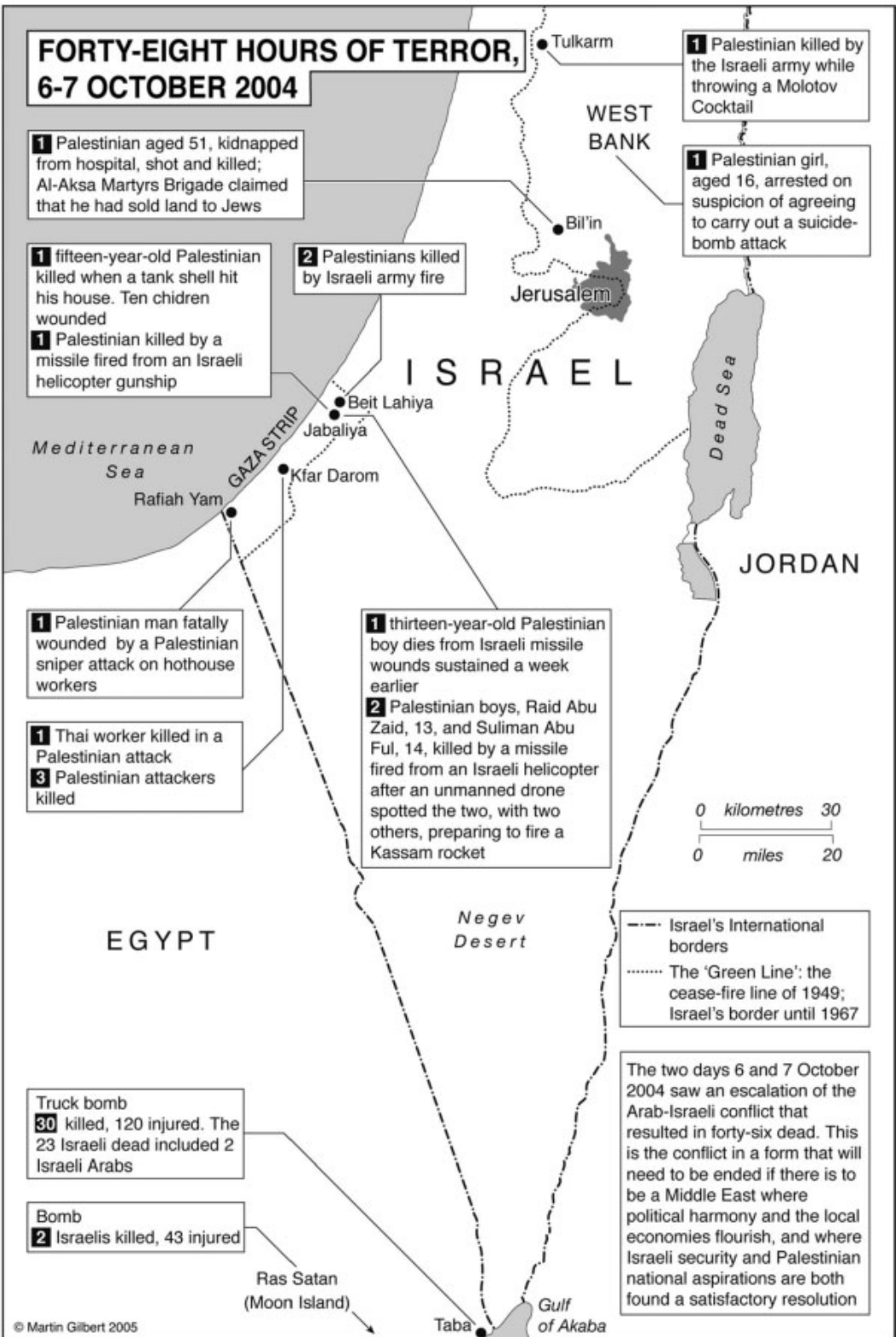
Bomb  
**2** Israelis killed, 43 injured

Ras Satan (Moon Island)

Taba

Gulf of Akaba

© Martin Gilbert 2005



--- Israel's International borders  
..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

The two days 6 and 7 October 2004 saw an escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict that resulted in forty-six dead. This is the conflict in a form that will need to be ended if there is to be a Middle East where political harmony and the local economies flourish, and where Israeli security and Palestinian national aspirations are both found a satisfactory resolution

## THE NEW ISRAEL FUND: PROJECTS IN ARAB TOWNS

The New Israeli Fund (NIF) has been active in Israel since 1979 in projects in Jewish and Arab communities. Its aim is "to promote freedom, justice and equality for all Israel's citizens". It funds its work through a philanthropic partnership of Israelis, North Americans and Europeans, providing financial and technical support to help the growth of community-based organizations within the pre-1967 borders of Israel

The three areas of work of the New Israeli Fund, in both the Jewish and Arab sectors:

- i safeguarding civil and human rights
- ii promoting religious tolerance and pluralism
- iii closing the social and economic gaps in Jewish and Arab society in Israel

● Arab towns and villages within Israel in which the New Israeli Fund is active in helping to set up communal organizations

■ Mixed Jewish-Arab initiatives



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## AVENUES OF CO-OPERATION: PROJECT "COPE"

Project COPE was developed with the aim of improving support for Palestinian and Israeli breast-cancer patients through co-operative activities, and creating the opportunity for an amicable and medically helpful exchange between Palestinian and Israeli women

Members of COPE have participated in international conferences in Washington DC and Oslo, Norway

- Towns in which many Palestinian members of COPE live
- ⊙ Towns in which many Israeli members of COPE live
- Hospitals holding joint tumour board meetings (since January 2003)
- ▲ Towns from which more than fifty Palestinian nurses have gone to Israeli hospitals to train in oncology (no such specialized training being available in Palestinian hospitals)
- Training workshop (April 2003) on breast cancer diagnosis, for Palestinian volunteers

Mediterranean Sea

Between 2000 and 2003, forty breast-cancer survivors and fifty professionals (mostly nurses) participated in twenty-five professional events organized by COPE

During 2002, 2003 and 2004 COPE sought ninety permits to enable Palestinian women to come to meetings in Israel. Although eighty of these permits were approved by the Israeli authorities, fifteen could not be used because they were not issued until too close to the meeting, eight were not respected at a checkpoint, and several more could not be used because checkpoints were unexpectedly closed due to a deterioration in the security situation

Palestinian woman: "At the first meeting I was frightened because it was between Israelis and Arabs, but after fifteen minutes, I realized this disease makes no distinction."

Israeli woman: "At the first meeting I was very excited, because I had hated Arabs in the past, and here I found myself simply wanting to help, because they didn't have the same access to prostheses, wigs, medicines. I felt compassion."

0 miles 15  
0 kilometres 15



Among the supporters of COPE are the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies (ACBP) and the British Consulate-General in East Jerusalem

## THE PERES CENTER FOR PEACE SINCE 1996

The Peres Center for Peace was established in Tel Aviv in 1996. It is "a non-government non-partisan organization dedicated to promoting peaceful relations between Arabs and Israelis". It is named after Shimon Peres, former Israeli Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Nobel Peace Laureate. Fields of activity that span the Arab-Israeli divide include Agriculture, Medicine Health, Sports, Culture, Peace Education, Business and Economics, as well as Civil Society Dialogue and Cooperation

Peres Center for Peace, statement: "We believe that meaningful peace is only possible between peoples with direct and personal knowledge of each other. One of the greatest barriers to peace in today's environment is the negative images and stereotypes that abound in the region. It is our role to create activities that help dispel these myths, while simultaneously addressing real needs within the community, whether social or economic."

● Twinned Peace Sports Schools. The Peres Center for Peace initiated and supports the Twinned Peace Sports Schools. Palestinian and Israeli youth from these schools play and compete in soccer tournaments throughout Israel

■ The Peres Center is actively involved in supporting Palestinian farm cooperatives in Gaza in high-value intensive-labour crop production for export. The crops include strawberries, tomatoes, peppers, sweet potatoes and flowers. Exports go to The Netherlands, Germany Belgium, France and the countries of the former Soviet Union

▲ Four towns where the Israeli Olive Board and the Palestinian Olive Board work together to raise both the quality of olive growing and the production of olive oil

0 miles 20  
0 kilometres 30

The Peres Center seeks to create public awareness about "the obstacles and difficulties at the crossing", and to foster solutions

GAZA STRIP

Khan Yunis  
Rafah

Beit Lahiya  
Beit Hanun  
Gaza City

Sderot

Netivot

Ofakim

Kiryat Ekron

Bnei Aish

Kiryat Gat

Jenin

Tulkarm

Tubas

Nablus

SAMARIA

WEST BANK

Beit Hanina

Isawiya

Zur Baher

Muslim Quarter of Jerusalem

Abu Tor

JUDAEA

Jericho

JORDAN

River Jordan

Sheik Hussein Bridge

Golan Heights

Sea of Galilee

One project of the Peres Center for Peace is to provide Israeli and Palestinian pupils with the computers, software and training to overcome the digital divide, through the provision of Internet-connected Peace Computer Centers in Israeli and Palestinian Schools and communities

© Martin Gilbert 2005

# THE PERES CENTER FOR PEACE: AVENUES OF ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN CO-OPERATION, 2004

- ▲ Peres Center consultants meet date palm growers and continue Israeli-Palestinian co-operation under the Middle East and Mediterranean Integrated Crop Management Programme. The central laboratory for applied research is in Egypt
- Muslim-Palestinian and Jewish-Israeli schoolgirls participate in joint basketball tournaments
- Hospitals to which Palestinian babies and young children are brought from the West Bank and Gaza Strip for operations and medical procedures currently unavailable in the Palestinian hospitals (Saving Children Project)
- Hospitals in which Palestinian physicians train to become independent and to provide parallel medical services in their own communities (Saving Children Project)

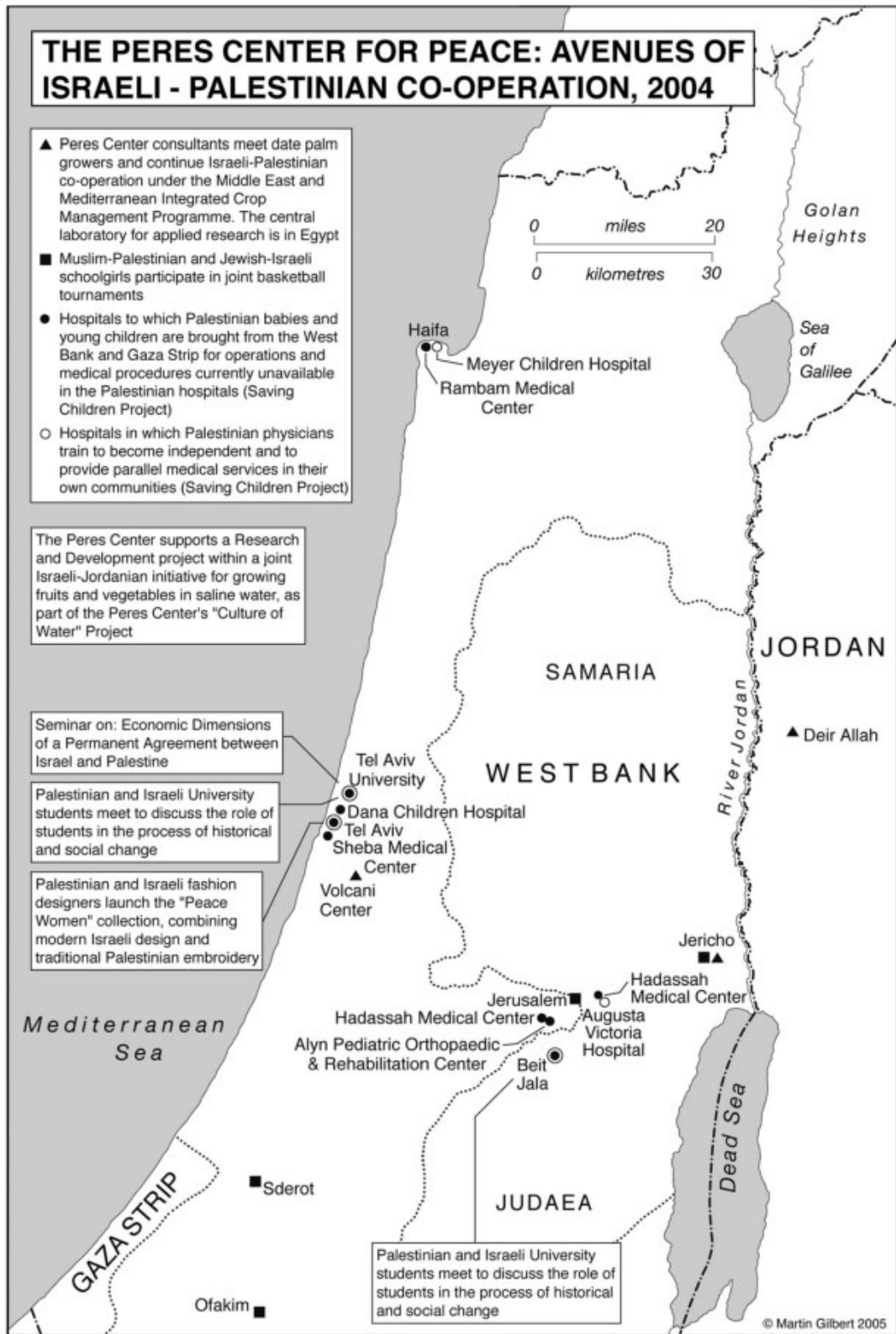
The Peres Center supports a Research and Development project within a joint Israeli-Jordanian initiative for growing fruits and vegetables in saline water, as part of the Peres Center's "Culture of Water" Project

Seminar on: Economic Dimensions of a Permanent Agreement between Israel and Palestine

Palestinian and Israeli University students meet to discuss the role of students in the process of historical and social change

Palestinian and Israeli fashion designers launch the "Peace Women" collection, combining modern Israeli design and traditional Palestinian embroidery

Palestinian and Israeli University students meet to discuss the role of students in the process of historical and social change



© Martin Gilbert 2005



## THE PERES CENTER FOR PEACE: EUROPEAN PROJECTS, JANUARY - JUNE 2004

During 2004, the Peres Center for Peace organized a number of events in Europe at which Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians could meet far from the conflict, and discuss matters of mutual interest and concern

**May**  
A Palestinian and an Israeli child from the Twinned Peace Sport Schools project participate in the final match of the UEFA Championship League

**May**  
Palestinian-Israeli journalists workshop

**April**  
A mixed Palestinian and Israeli team, participants of the Twinned Peace Sports Schools project, invited for a sport and recreation camp. They played against a local youth team

**June**  
Israeli and Jordanian business people meet to discuss obstacles to Israeli-Jordanian trade

**March**  
Meeting of Palestinian and Israeli young political leaders

**June**  
A delegation of Palestinian and Israeli children aged fourteen and fifteen participate in a recreation and Peace Camp Education camp with Slovenian children

**June**  
A Palestinian boy and an Israeli girl, from the Twinned Peace Sports Schools project, invited to participate in the Olympic Torch Relay

**January-April**  
The Aix Group, made up of Palestinian, Israeli and international economists, meet to discuss future economic relations

**May**  
Palestinians and Israelis meet to discuss improving co-operation in medicine and healthcare

**UNITED STATES**  
In April 2004 a mixed Palestinian-Israeli youth soccer team was invited to Texas, to participate in the Dallas Cup, the most popular youth soccer tournament in the United States. A joint delegation of Palestinian and Israeli coaches attended

**May**  
The Peres Center represented at a "We Are the Future" conference for support of children in conflict and post-conflict areas



## THE PERES CENTER FOR PEACE: EUROPEAN PROJECTS, JULY - DECEMBER 2004

During 2004, the Peres Center for Peace organized a number of events in Europe at which Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians could meet far from the conflict, and discuss matters of mutual interest and concern

**JAPAN**  
In August 2004 a joint delegation of young Palestinians and Israelis participate in various cultural activities commemorating Hiroshima Memorial Day

**October**  
Civil Society Leadership Workshop, including Palestinian and Israeli Civil Society leaders

**July**  
A mixed Palestinian-Israeli youth soccer team, participants in the Twinned Peace Sport Schools project, plays a friendly match against a French team and wins

**November**  
Conference for Italian, Palestinian and Israeli pediatricians regarding innovations in pediatric medicine

**July**  
A mixed soccer team of Israeli and Palestinian children participate in the Norway Cup, one of the largest youth soccer tournaments in Europe

**July**  
A mixed Israeli-Palestinian youth team - the "Peace Team" - participates in the sixty-nation Gothia youth soccer tournament. At the official opening ceremony there was a standing ovation for this team: the only team jointly representing two nations

**October**  
Meeting of Palestinian and Israeli historians to discuss different perspectives in their respective historical narratives

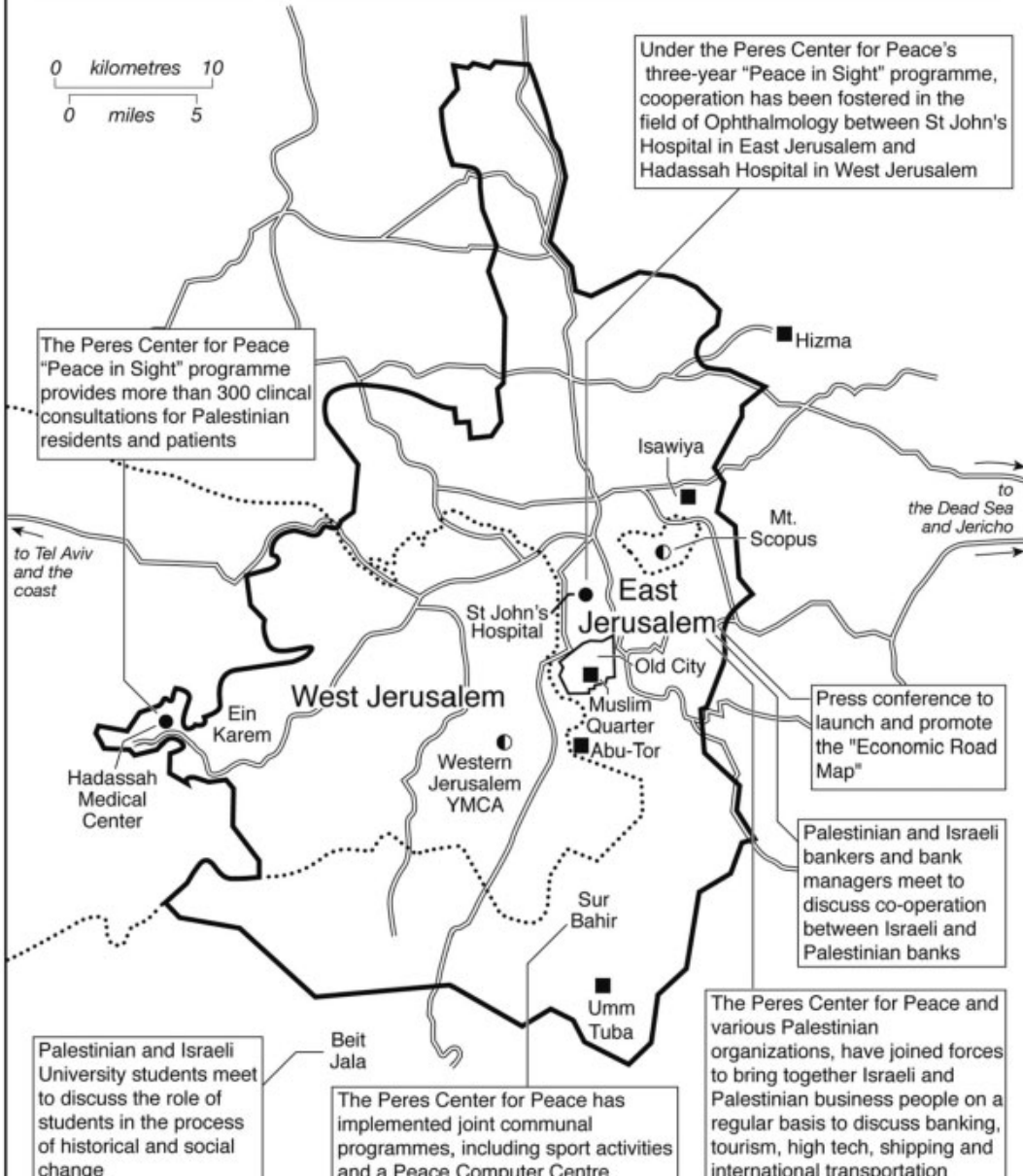
**July**  
A team of Palestinian and Israeli children participate in a Sports and Recreation camp with youth from other conflict areas

0 miles 300  
0 kilometres 500

**July**  
Meeting of Jordanian and Israeli leaders in the "Young Entrepreneur" programme, aimed at providing skills for young entrepreneurship, and promoting co-operation among Jordanian and Israeli youth

## THE PERES PEACE CENTER AND THE JERUSALEM REGION

0 kilometres 10  
0 miles 5



The Peres Center for Peace "Peace in Sight" programme provides more than 300 clinical consultations for Palestinian residents and patients

Under the Peres Center for Peace's three-year "Peace in Sight" programme, cooperation has been fostered in the field of Ophthalmology between St John's Hospital in East Jerusalem and Hadassah Hospital in West Jerusalem

to Tel Aviv and the coast

to the Dead Sea and Jericho

Press conference to launch and promote the "Economic Road Map"

Palestinian and Israeli bankers and bank managers meet to discuss co-operation between Israeli and Palestinian banks

Palestinian and Israeli University students meet to discuss the role of students in the process of historical and social change

The Peres Center for Peace has implemented joint communal programmes, including sport activities and a Peace Computer Centre

The Peres Center for Peace and various Palestinian organizations, have joined forces to bring together Israeli and Palestinian business people on a regular basis to discuss banking, tourism, high tech, shipping and international transportation

- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967
- The post-1967 Jerusalem municipal boundary
- Twinned Kindergartens scheme. The West Jerusalem YMCA kindergarten is both mixed Arab-Jewish, and bilingual

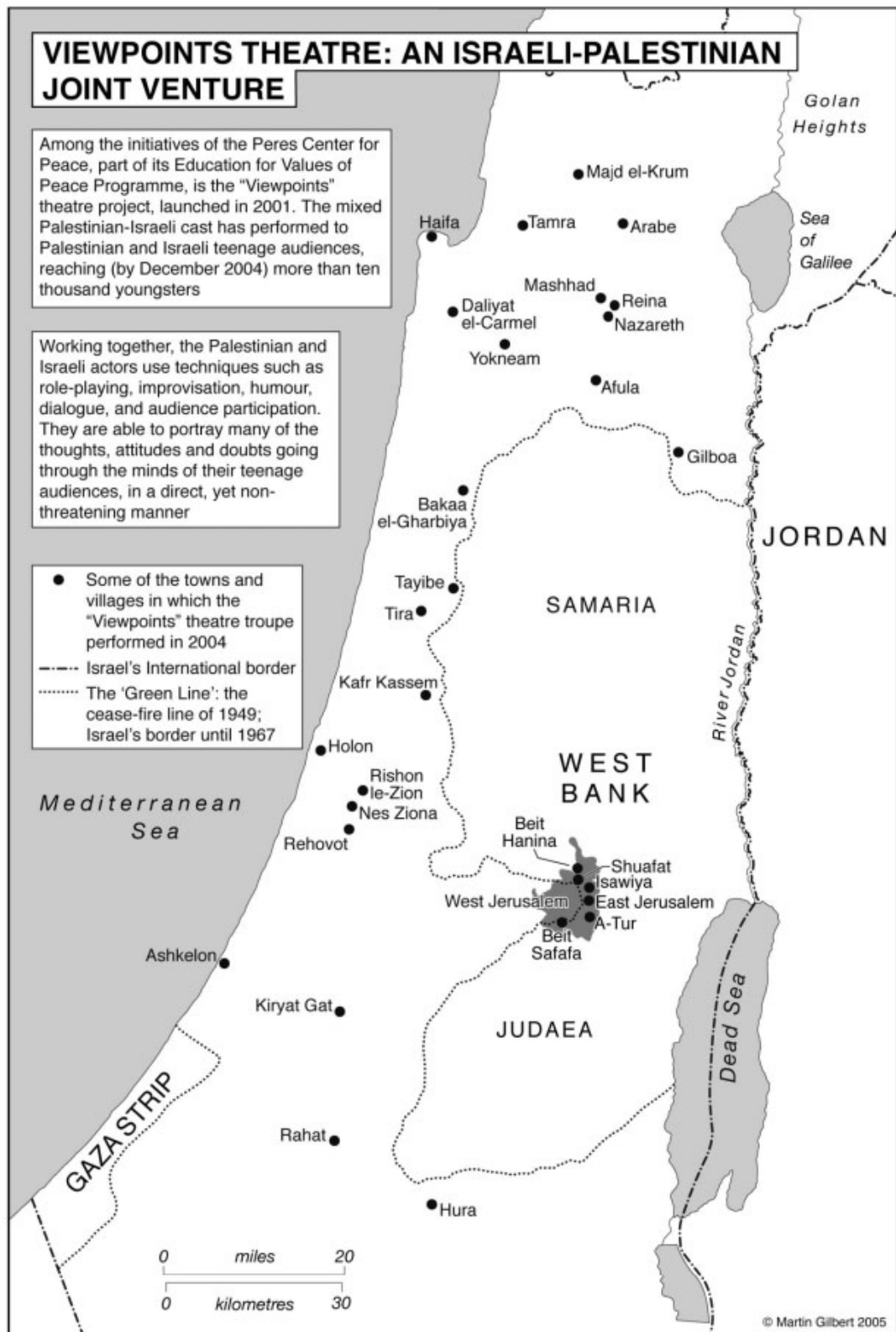
- Palestinian youth soccer teams participating in the Twinned Peace Sport Schools matches with Israeli school teams
- Hospitals to which Palestinian babies and young children are brought from the West Bank and Gaza Strip for operations and medical procedures currently unavailable in the Palestinian hospitals (Saving Children Project)

# VIEWPOINTS THEATRE: AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN JOINT VENTURE

Among the initiatives of the Peres Center for Peace, part of its Education for Values of Peace Programme, is the "Viewpoints" theatre project, launched in 2001. The mixed Palestinian-Israeli cast has performed to Palestinian and Israeli teenage audiences, reaching (by December 2004) more than ten thousand youngsters







Working together, the Palestinian and Israeli actors use techniques such as role-playing, improvisation, humour, dialogue, and audience participation. They are able to portray many of the thoughts, attitudes and doubts going through the minds of their teenage audiences, in a direct, yet non-threatening manner


- Some of the towns and villages in which the "Viewpoints" theatre troupe performed in 2004
- Israel's International border
- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

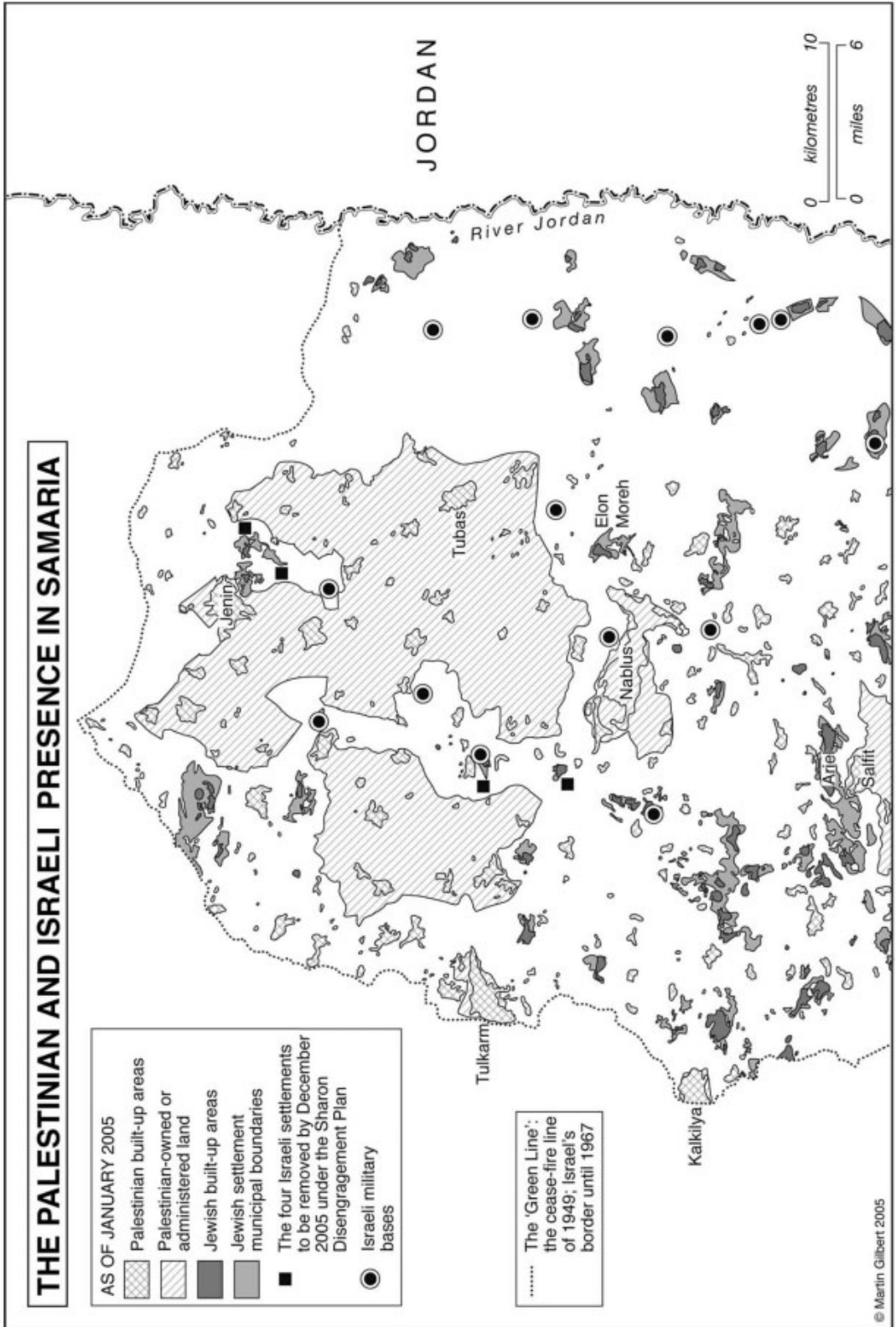


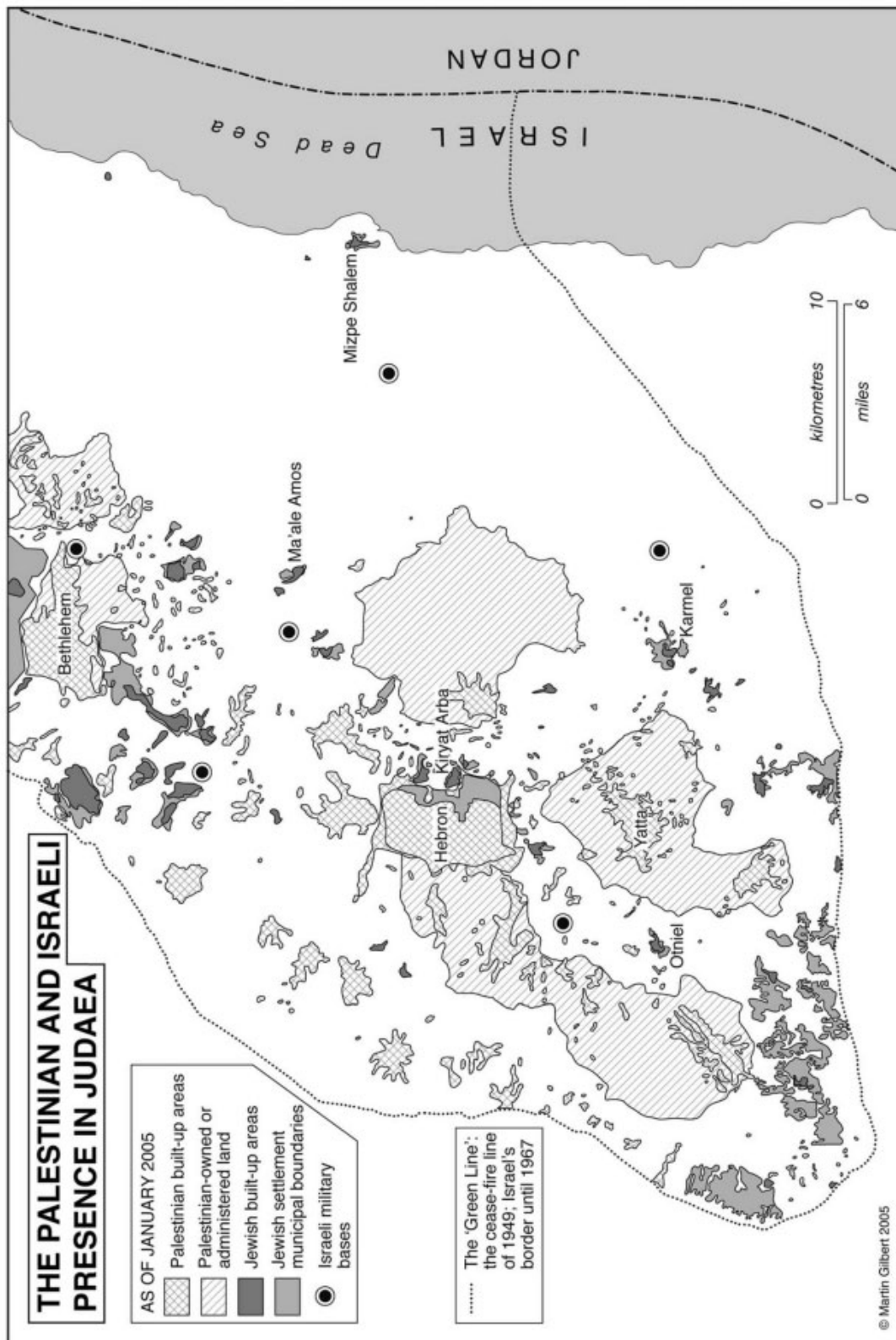
# THE PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI PRESENCE IN SAMARIA

AS OF JANUARY 2005

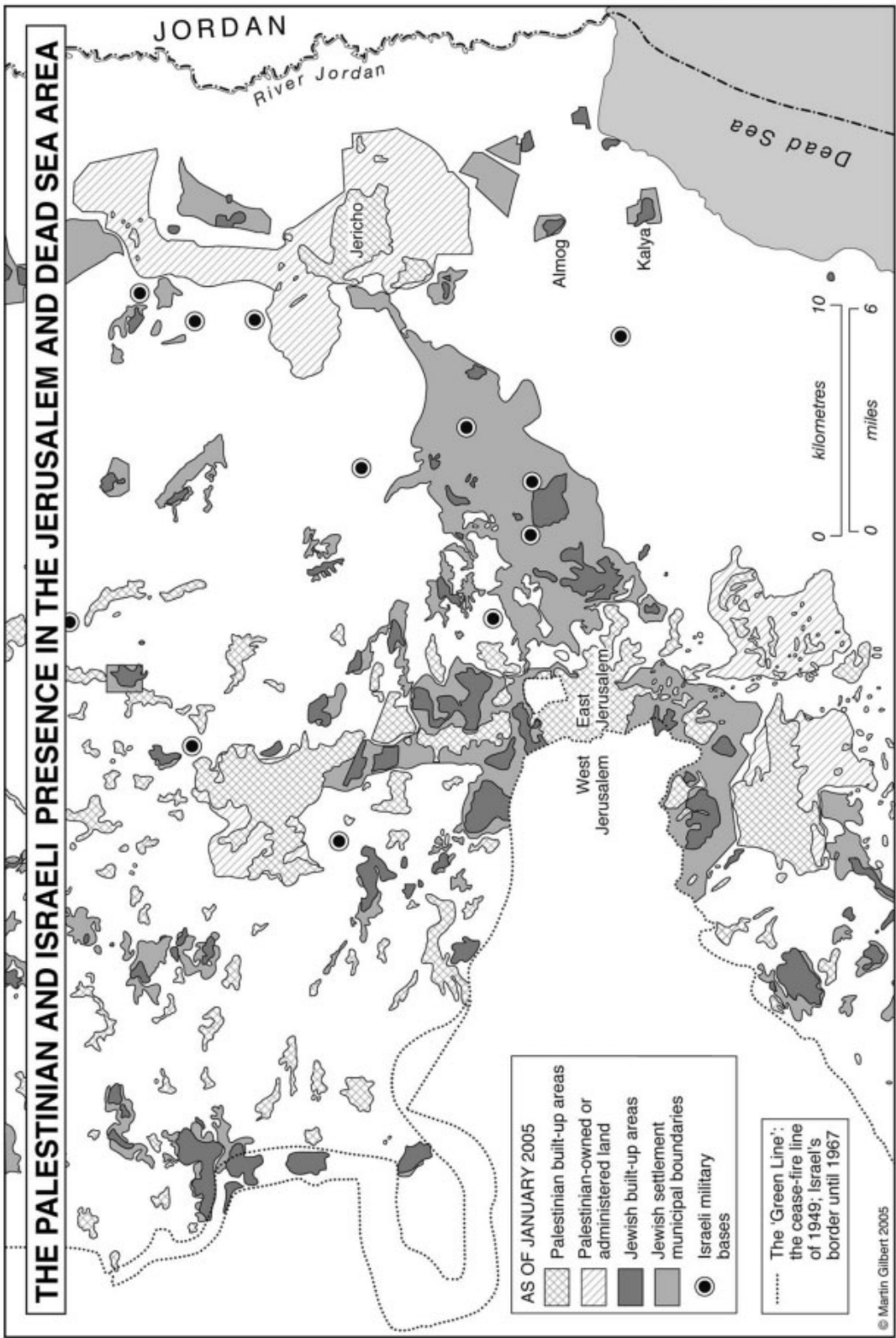
-  Palestinian built-up areas
-  Palestinian-owned or administered land
-  Jewish built-up areas
-  Jewish settlement municipal boundaries
-  The four Israeli settlements to be removed by December 2005 under the Sharon Disengagement Plan
-  Israeli military bases

 The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967



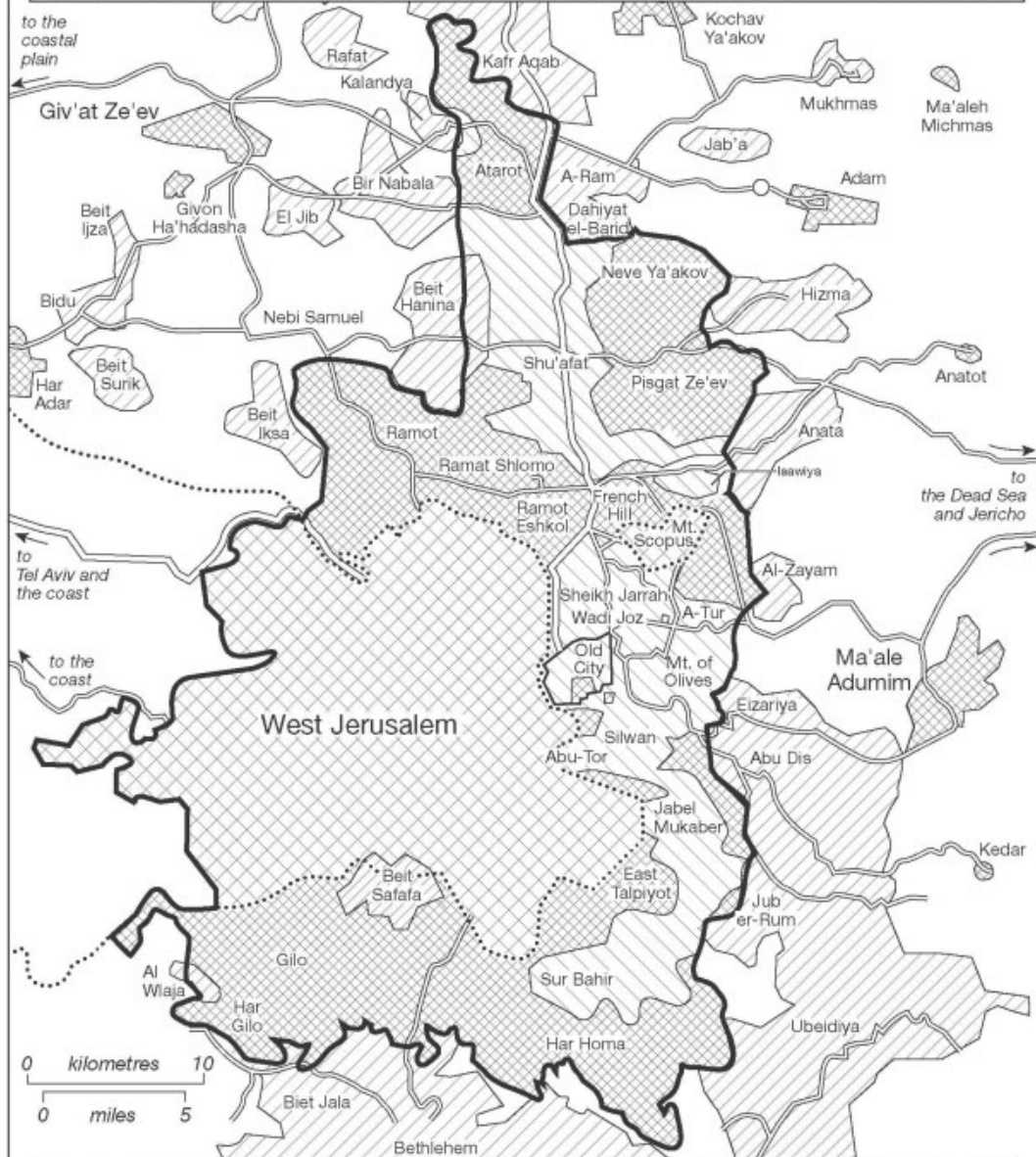


**THE PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI PRESENCE IN THE JERUSALEM AND DEAD SEA AREA**





# JERUSALEM: PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI NEIGHBOURHOODS



Jerusalem within the municipal boundary had a population in 2007 of 736,700, of whom 471,488 were Israeli Jews and 235,744 Palestinian Arabs. The most intertwined proximity of the respective Israeli and Palestinian neighborhoods was in the area between the 1949 cease-fire line (the Green Line) and the Jerusalem municipal boundary established after the Six-Day War, which, with the re-unification of the city, had come under Israeli control. A further 375,000 Arabs lived in the Area B sections shown on this map. Some 50,000 Jews live in the Jerusalem region in the occupied areas beyond the municipal boundaries: 30,000 in Ma'ale Adumim and 10,000 in Giv'at Ze'ev

- ..... The 1949-1967 Israeli-Jordanian border (Green Line)
- The post-1967 Jerusalem municipal boundary
- JEWISH AREAS**
- ▨ West Jerusalem
- ▩ Jewish areas beyond the Green Line, both within the Jerusalem municipal boundary and outside Jerusalem
- PALESTINIAN AREAS**
- ▨ Within the Jerusalem municipal boundary
- ▩ Palestinian areas beyond the Green Line and outside Jerusalem – AREA B of the Oslo Accords – under Palestinian civilian (but Israeli military) control

## INDUSTRIAL PARKS AND A NEW ERA

Starting with the Tefen Industrial Park in 1985, the German born Stef Wertheimer, who had emigrated to British Mandate Palestine before 1939, established a working model whereby Israelis and Palestinians work, individually and together, to create an industrial base to further exports and create employment for both the Israeli and Palestinian sectors

Each Industrial Park aims to be environmentally attractive, and to encourage the liberal arts in the region. Attached to Tefen is a model village, Kfar Vradim

One aim of the Industrial Parks is to encourage the return of both Israelis and Palestinians from their respective diasporas to contribute to the local prosperity, employment and well-being

Mediterranean Sea

Rafiah  
Kerem Shalom

In the year 2000, with the second Intifada, the plans for this joint Industrial Park had to be suspended

EGYPT

Eilat Akaba

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LEBANON

Tefen 1985  
Lavon 1998  
Tel Hai 1996  
Dalton

SYRIA

Nazareth

Industrial Park planned for Israeli Arab young entrepreneurs

WEST BANK

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Courses at the Hebrew University to train young Israeli and Palestinian entrepreneurs to become involved in industrial enterprises and exporting

Dead Sea

JORDAN

Omer 1995

ISRAEL

- ▲ Existing Industrial Parks, with year of opening
- △ Planned Industrial Parks
- The joint Israeli Palestinian Industrial Park that failed

0 miles 50  
0 kilometres 70

An Industrial Park planned on the Jordanian side of the border, with close links to the Israeli side



# THE DEATH OF ARAFAT AND THE PEACE PROCESS

Following the death of Yasser Arafat in Paris on 11 November 2004, there were hopes among both Palestinians and Israelis of a new Palestinian leadership that would return to the negotiating table, with the aim of reviving trust on both sides, and working towards the emergence of a Palestinian State

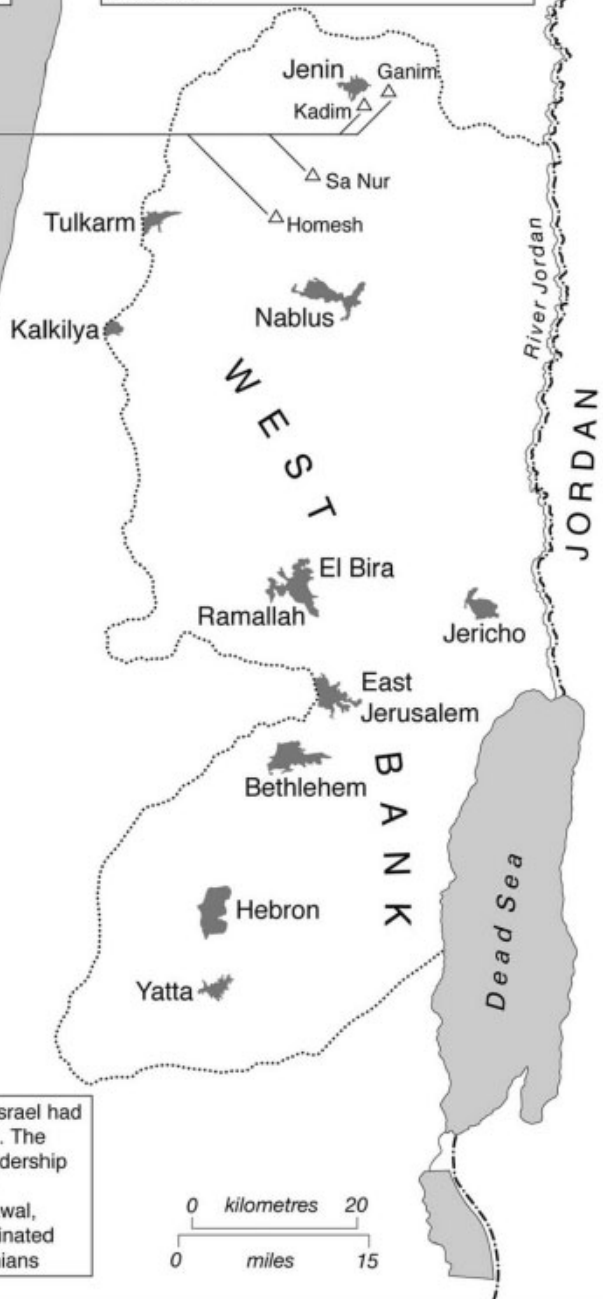
The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, took the moment of Arafat's death to re-iterate Britain's commitment to help restart the peace process, and to encourage the American President to participate in it, with a view to the emergence of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

Israel's decision to withdraw unilaterally from these four West Bank settlements opened up a large area of contiguous Palestinian land for incorporation in a future Palestinian State

Following the murder of five Israeli soldiers in the southern Gaza Strip on 11 December 2004, Mahmoud Abbas - the Palestinian leader expected to be elected President of the Palestinian Authority at elections called for 9 January 2005 - denounced all acts of terror. 'The uprising should be kept away from arms,' he said on 13 December 2004, 'because it is a legitimate right of the people to express their rejection of occupation by popular and social means. The use of arms has been damaging and should end.'

..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

Principal Palestinian towns



Under Prime Minister Sharon, Israel had refused to negotiate with Arafat. The advent of a new Palestinian leadership after Arafat's death offered the opportunity of the Gaza withdrawal, hitherto unilateral, being co-ordinated between Israel and the Palestinians

# TERRITORIAL CHANGES: PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT, JANUARY 2005

In December 2004 the distinguished historical geographer Gidon Biger, Professor at Tel Aviv University, submitted a plan to the Herzliya Conference (an annual gathering of activists and experts) whereby a future Palestinian State would include Egyptian territory in Sinai, in return for territorial modifications



Israeli-occupied Golan Heights to be retained by Israel (600 square kilometres)

Israeli-occupied Golan Heights to be returned to Syria (2000 square kilometres)

West Bank (Jordan Valley) to be retained by Israel

Jordanian territory to be transferred to Syria (200 square kilometres)

In return for Israel retaining the western escarpment of the Golan Heights, Syria would be compensated with land from Jordan. In its turn, Jordan would be compensated by Israeli territory in the Aravah Valley

West Bank areas to be retained by Israel

Palestinian-controlled road for safe passage (78 kilometres)

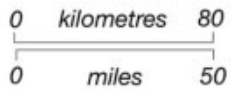
Ecological area under joint Israeli-Palestinian protection

Israeli territory to be transferred to Jordan (200 square kilometres)

Egyptian territory to be transferred to the new State of Palestine (800-1,000 square kilometres)

Israeli territory to be transferred to Egypt (400-500 square kilometres)

PROFESSOR BIGER ON THE EXISTING BORDERS: "They are the results of battles and wars and not agreements, and therefore are not holy lines. There is a possibility to change these lines according to facts on the ground."



This map, presented to the Herzliya Institute for Policy and Strategy, was reprinted in the Financial Times, on 5 January 2004

## THE SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT, FEBRUARY-APRIL 2005

**3 February:** Israel announces it will release 900 Palestinian prisoners.

**8 February:** Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon meet at Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt, and agree to a ceasefire.

**25 February:** Four Israelis killed and thirty wounded by a suicide bomber in Tel Aviv.

**13 March:** Israeli Cabinet approves dismantling unauthorized settlements in the West Bank.

**16 March:** Israeli forces withdraw from Jericho.

**17 March:** Abbas reaches agreement with armed Palestinian groups to halt all violence against Israel until the end of 2005.

**23 March:** Israeli forces withdraw from Tulkarm. A gate in the separation wall is unlocked, enabling free Palestinian movement from Tulkarm to the rest of the West Bank.

**7 April:** Sharon visits relocation sites for Gaza settlers.

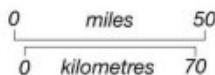
**13 April:** Israeli and Palestinian Mayors meet in Jericho.

**12 April:** Israeli troops dismantle an Israeli civilian outpost (see 13 March in chronology)

"I would like to convey my apologies for all people who were hurt in this terrible cycle of bloodshed. On behalf of millions of Israelis, I would like to convey my deep regret and sadness over what has happened to the Palestinian people." Eli Moyal, Mayor of Sderot, 13 April 2005

On 14 April 2004 President George W. Bush, at a meeting with Ariel Sharon, agreed that the larger Israeli settlement blocks, Ariel, Gush Etzion and Ma'ale Adumim, would remain part of Israel under any future Israeli-Palestinian "final status" agreement. In March 2005 Sharon stated that this agreement would include 3,500 homes to be built between Ma'ale Adumim (with 30,000 inhabitants) and Jerusalem. On 27 March 2005 Mahmoud Abbas described the proposed Israeli annexation of any settlements as "unacceptable"

EGYPT

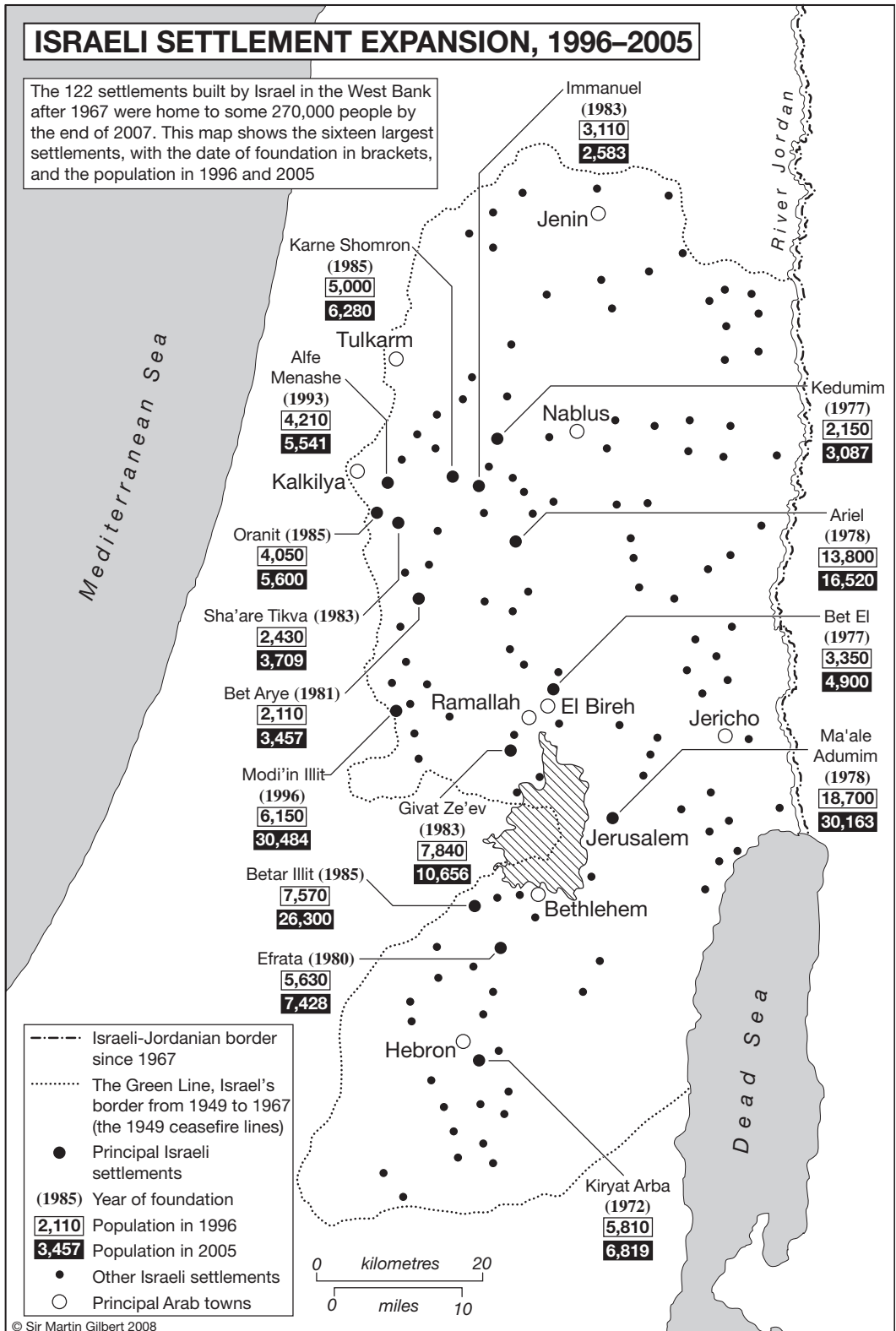


- Towns from which 16 Israeli and 20 Palestinian Mayors and heads of local town councils met in Jericho on 13 April 2005 to discuss a one-year "civilian truce" ("hudna")
- ▲ Proposed main relocation site for Gaza settlers
- ..... The 'Green Line': the cease-fire line of 1949; Israel's border until 1967

© Martin Gilbert 2005

# ISRAELI SETTLEMENT EXPANSION, 1996–2005

The 122 settlements built by Israel in the West Bank after 1967 were home to some 270,000 people by the end of 2007. This map shows the sixteen largest settlements, with the date of foundation in brackets, and the population in 1996 and 2005



# ISRAELI TERROR VICTIMS, 2005-2007

0 kilometres 20  
0 miles 10

Both before and after the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip on 23 August 2005, acts of Palestinian terror, including rockets fired into Sderot, and suicide bombings, continued. The numbers of those killed in each act of terror are shown on this map

**3** including 2 sixteen-year-olds, by a suicide bomber outside a shopping mall

**5** killed by a suicide bomber at the entrance to a shopping mall

**5** killed by a suicide bomber at the Stage night club

**11** Killed in a suicide bombing in a restaurant during the Passover holiday

**3** 2 Palestinian and 1 Chinese worker killed when a Palestinian-fired rocket hit a packing shed

**1** 22-year-old Dana Galkowicz, killed by a rocket fired from the Gaza Strip

**1** Twenty-seven-year-old Katy David stabbed and beaten to death

**6** killed in a suicide bombing in an open-air market

**1** Shmuel Mett, a 22-year-old religious student from Britain

**2** The last terror victims of 2007: two soldiers on leave, Corporal Ahikam Amihai, 20, and Sergeant David Rubin, 21, shot dead while hiking, December 28

Among the eleven killed by the suicide bomber at a Tel Aviv restaurant on 17 April 2007 were Jews from Romania, France and the United States

**3** Killed in a suicide bombing in a bakery  
Eilat

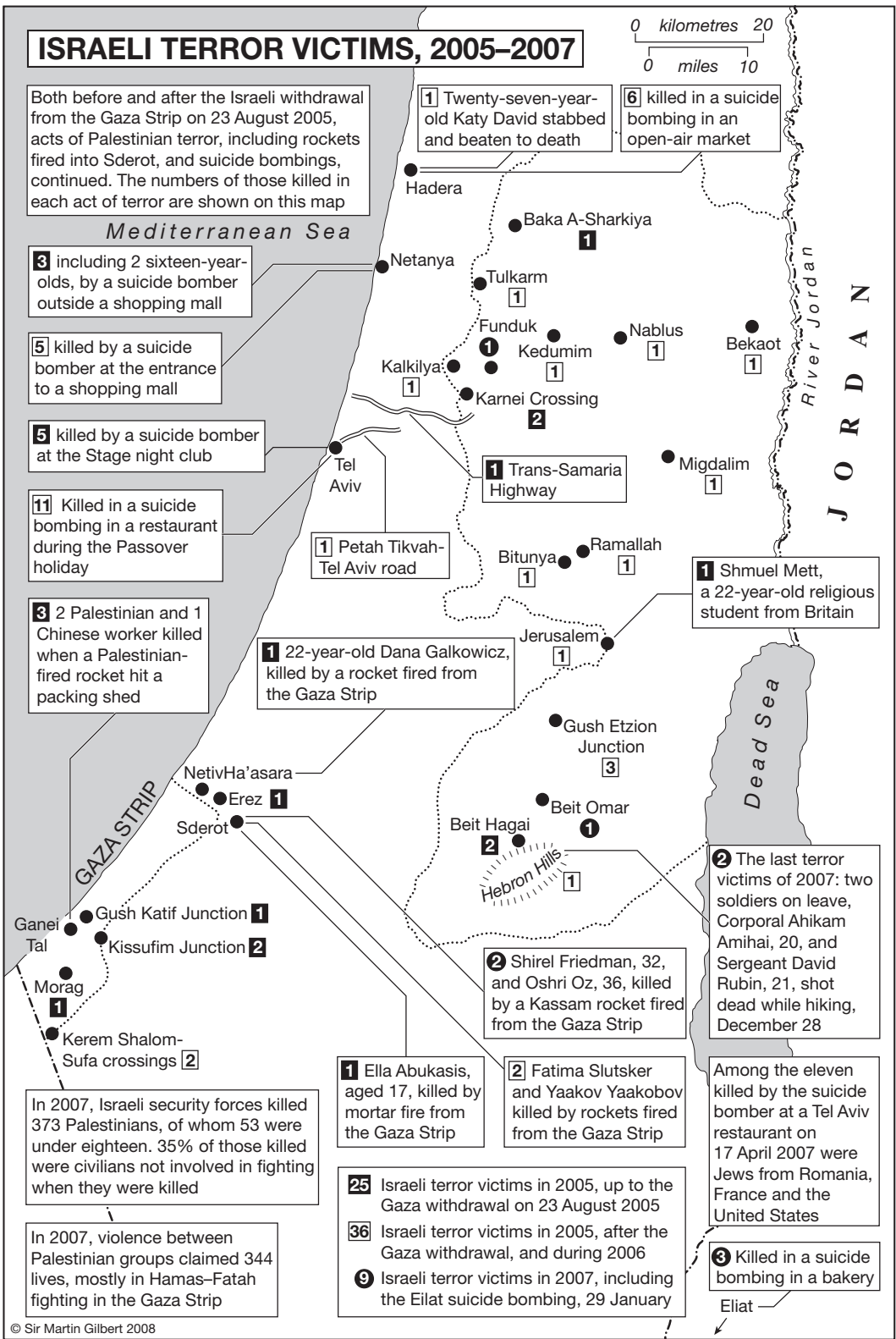
In 2007, Israeli security forces killed 373 Palestinians, of whom 53 were under eighteen. 35% of those killed were civilians not involved in fighting when they were killed

In 2007, violence between Palestinian groups claimed 344 lives, mostly in Hamas-Fatah fighting in the Gaza Strip

**1** Ella Abukasis, aged 17, killed by mortar fire from the Gaza Strip

**2** Fatima Slutsker and Yaakov Yaakobov killed by rockets fired from the Gaza Strip

**25** Israeli terror victims in 2005, up to the Gaza withdrawal on 23 August 2005  
**36** Israeli terror victims in 2005, after the Gaza withdrawal, and during 2006  
**9** Israeli terror victims in 2007, including the Eilat suicide bombing, 29 January



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# PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S MARTYRDOM AND ITS AFTERMATH, 2002-2007

Ten Palestinian women acted as suicide bombers between 2002 and 2006. This map shows their home towns, and the place and effect of their suicide. For many Palestinians, these women are martyrs who gave their lives – and by that means killed others – for the Palestinian cause. Palestinian textbooks, in both Fatah and Hamas schools, were still praising them in 2007, something that Israelis found difficult to reconcile with the revived peace process

On 20 May 2007, at the Erez checkpoint, Israeli secret servicemen thwarted a double suicide bomb mission. Fatima Zak, a mother of eight in her final month of pregnancy, and her niece Ruda Habib, a mother of four, planned to blow themselves up at a restaurant or wedding party in Netanya and Tel Aviv. From 2003 to 2007 Zak had been the Director of Islamic Jihad's Women's Labour Department in Gaza City

Mervat Masaoud  
18-year-old student  
6 November 2006  
killed 2  
at a checkpoint in the Gaza Strip

Fatima Omar Mahmud al-Najar  
57-year-old mother of nine,  
with 41 grandchildren  
23 November 2006  
wounded 5 soldiers  
at a checkpoint in the  
Gaza Strip

Ayat Akhras  
18-year-old high school student  
29 March 2002  
killed 2, injured  
28 in Jerusalem

Reem Salih Al-Rayasha  
21-year-old mother of  
two children  
14 January 2004  
killed 4 soldiers  
at the Erez checkpoint

On 27 February 2002, the day of Daren Abu Aysheh's suicide bombing, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader of Hamas, issued a fatwa giving permission to women to participate in suicide attacks, and confirmed that they would be rewarded in Paradise

- ▲ Home towns of the women suicide bombers
- Target cities of the women suicide bombers

Daren Abu Aysheh  
21-year-old student  
27 February 2002  
injured 4 Israelis  
at the Maccabim  
roadblock

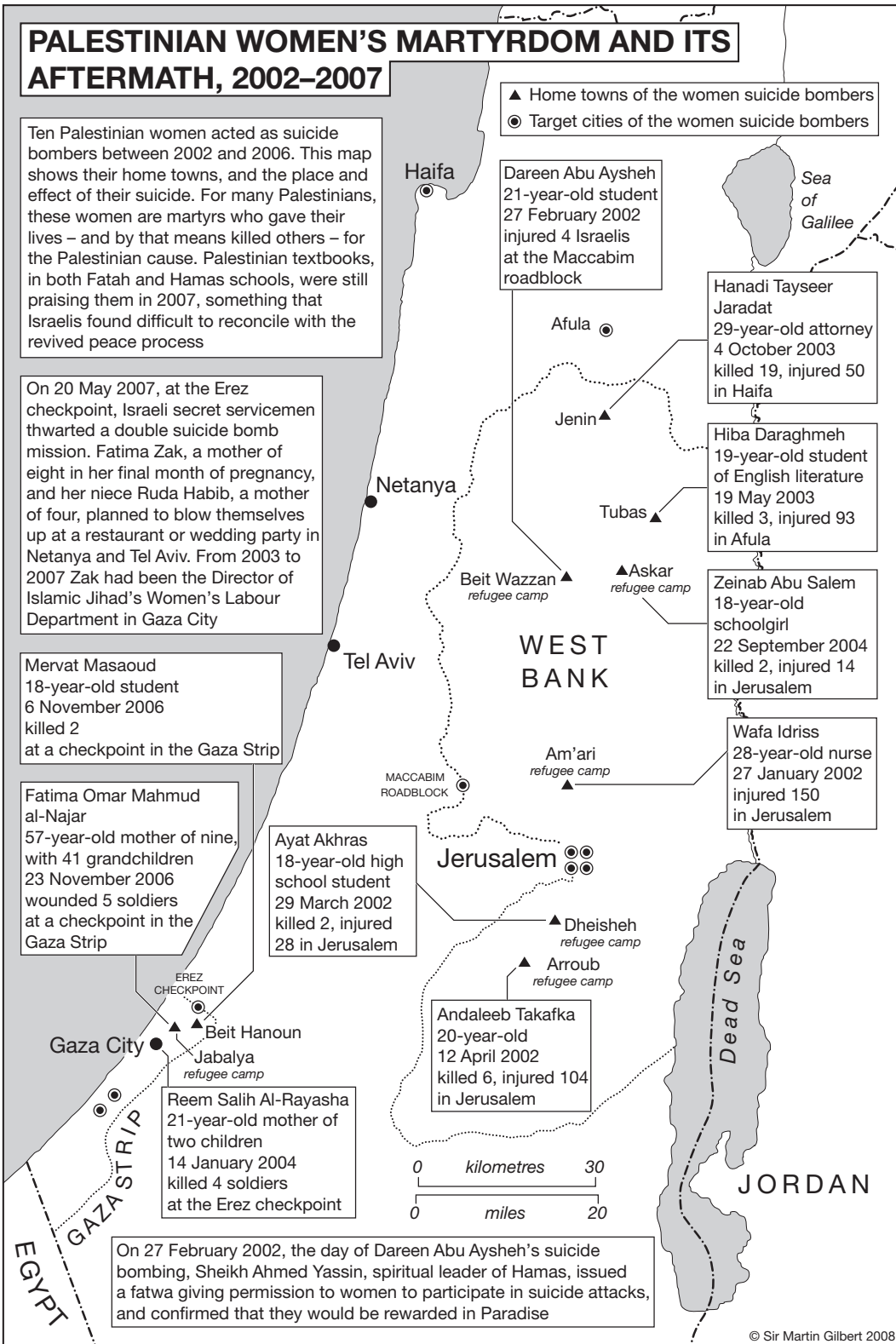
Hanadi Tayseer  
Jaradat  
29-year-old attorney  
4 October 2003  
killed 19, injured 50  
in Haifa

Hiba Daraghme  
19-year-old student  
of English literature  
19 May 2003  
killed 3, injured 93  
in Afula

Zeinab Abu Salem  
18-year-old  
schoolgirl  
22 September 2004  
killed 2, injured 14  
in Jerusalem

Wafat Idriss  
28-year-old nurse  
27 January 2002  
injured 150  
in Jerusalem

Andaleeb Takafka  
20-year-old  
12 April 2002  
killed 6, injured 104  
in Jerusalem



# THE GAZA STRIP: THE UNREMITTING CONFRONTATION, 2004–2007

Israeli forces evacuated the Gaza Strip in August 2005, having supervised the evacuation and dismantling of all Jewish settlements there. Within two weeks, rockets fired from the Gaza Strip began to fall again on the Israeli town of Sderot

Between 2004 and 2007 there were 9 deaths from rocket attacks on the 22,000-inhabitant town of Sderot. Israeli counterattacks on the launch pads, rocket factories and rocket operatives killed at least 150 Palestinians, including many children

November 2006: A woman Hamas suicide bomber blows herself up in unsuccessful attempt to kill Israeli troops. Aged fifty-seven, she is honoured in Gaza as the oldest suicide bomber

5 January 2007: Sheikh Abdel Nasser, a prominent Islamic scholar affiliated with Fatah, is killed by Hamas gunmen after preaching a sermon appealing for calm, and urging an end to Hamas–Fatah fighting

12–13 May 2007: Hamas–Fatah clashes leave 26 dead. Five days later, 15 more have been killed

26 July 2006: 23 Palestinians, including at least 14 gunmen, and three young girls are killed  
29 July 2006: Israel arrests almost all the Hamas leaders

22 May 2007: Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh, on the rocket attacks: 'We will keep to the same path until we win one of two goals, victory or martyrdom'

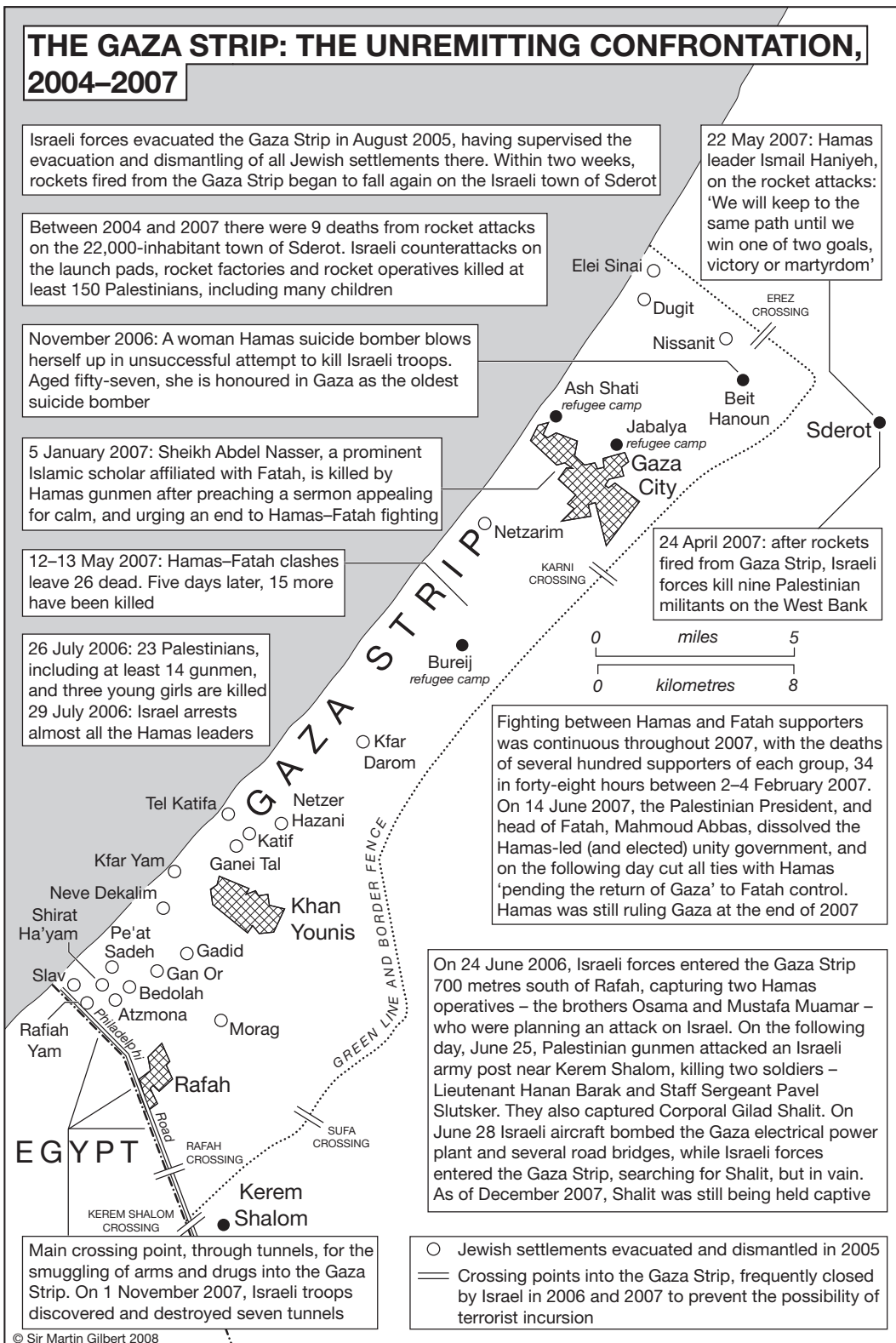
24 April 2007: after rockets fired from Gaza Strip, Israeli forces kill nine Palestinian militants on the West Bank

Fighting between Hamas and Fatah supporters was continuous throughout 2007, with the deaths of several hundred supporters of each group, 34 in forty-eight hours between 2–4 February 2007. On 14 June 2007, the Palestinian President, and head of Fatah, Mahmoud Abbas, dissolved the Hamas-led (and elected) unity government, and on the following day cut all ties with Hamas 'pending the return of Gaza' to Fatah control. Hamas was still ruling Gaza at the end of 2007

On 24 June 2006, Israeli forces entered the Gaza Strip 700 metres south of Rafah, capturing two Hamas operatives – the brothers Osama and Mustafa Muamar – who were planning an attack on Israel. On the following day, June 25, Palestinian gunmen attacked an Israeli army post near Kerem Shalom, killing two soldiers – Lieutenant Hanan Barak and Staff Sergeant Pavel Slutsker. They also captured Corporal Gilad Shalit. On June 28 Israeli aircraft bombed the Gaza electrical power plant and several road bridges, while Israeli forces entered the Gaza Strip, searching for Shalit, but in vain. As of December 2007, Shalit was still being held captive

Main crossing point, through tunnels, for the smuggling of arms and drugs into the Gaza Strip. On 1 November 2007, Israeli troops discovered and destroyed seven tunnels

○ Jewish settlements evacuated and dismantled in 2005  
= Crossing points into the Gaza Strip, frequently closed by Israel in 2006 and 2007 to prevent the possibility of terrorist incursion

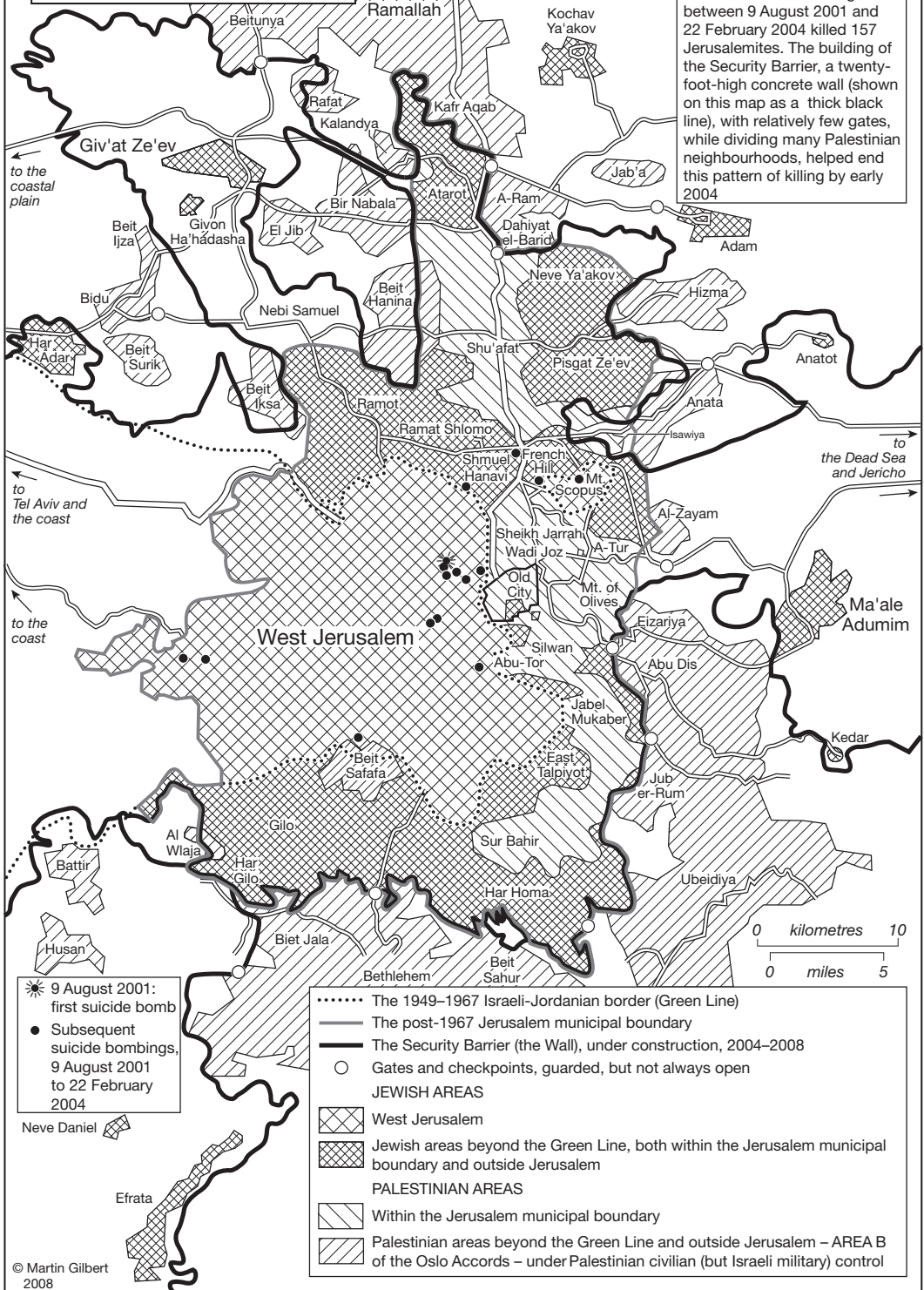


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# SUICIDE BOMBINGS AND THE SECURITY BARRIER ('THE WALL'): JERUSALEM, 2001–2008

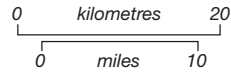
Sixteen suicide bombings between 9 August 2001 and 22 February 2004 killed 157 Jerusalemites. The building of the Security Barrier, a twenty-foot-high concrete wall (shown on this map as a thick black line), with relatively few gates, while dividing many Palestinian neighbourhoods, helped end this pattern of killing by early 2004





# THE WEST BANK: CHECKPOINTS AND CLOSED AREAS, 2007

Throughout 2007 the question of restrictions and obstacles in the way of Palestinian movement, regarded by Israel as a matter of security to prevent acts of terror, was a cause of distress to the Palestinians, adversely affecting their economic and social life. On the eve of the Annapolis talks (27–28 November 2007) Israel agreed to reduce the number of checkpoints. This map shows the principal checkpoints in place at the time of Annapolis. It also shows those areas of the West Bank and the eastern suburbs and environs of Jerusalem, largely inaccessible to Palestinian residents of the West Bank



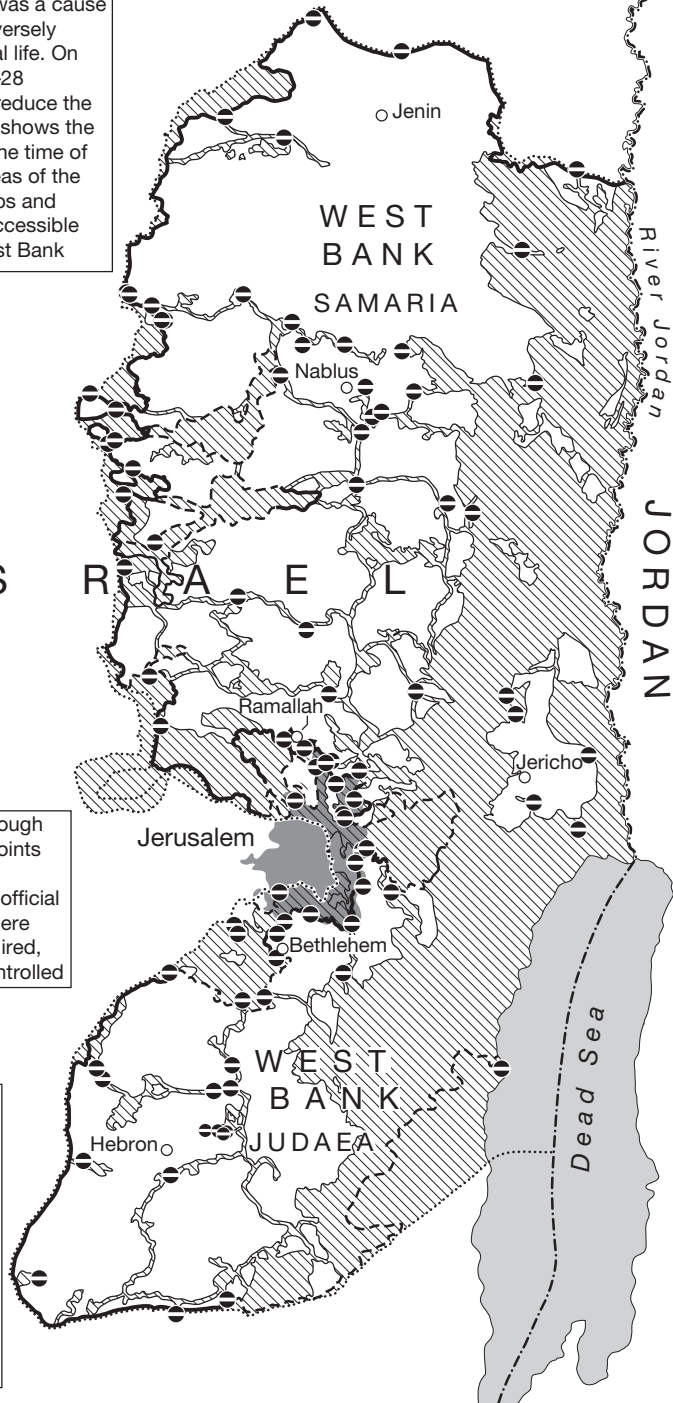
Mediterranean Sea

I S R A E L

River Jordan  
JORDAN

In order to cross through many of the checkpoints shown on this map, Palestinians require official permits. In areas where permits are not required, access is strictly controlled

- ..... The Green Line
- Barrier constructed and under construction, March 2007
- - - Barrier, planned route
- Checkpoints
- ▨ Areas of the West Bank inaccessible to Palestinians or subject to severe restrictions of movement



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# THE ISRAEL-HEZBOLLAH WAR, 2006: ISRAEL

July 13: The first rocket death, a recent Jewish immigrant from Argentina, Monica Lehrer Zeidman, aged 40

July 17: Tony Matar, an Israeli Arab whose restaurant had been attacked in 2003 by a suicide bomber, killing 21 people, decides after two days of rocket fire on Haifa to reopen the restaurant and to continue 'business as usual'

August 6: in highest death toll from a single rocket, 12 Israeli reservist soldiers killed

July 25: a fifteen-year-old Israeli-Arab girl, Doa Abbas, killed by rocket fire

August 2: an Israeli Arab mother and her five-year-old son killed

August 6: five rockets fell near this West Bank village. No casualties

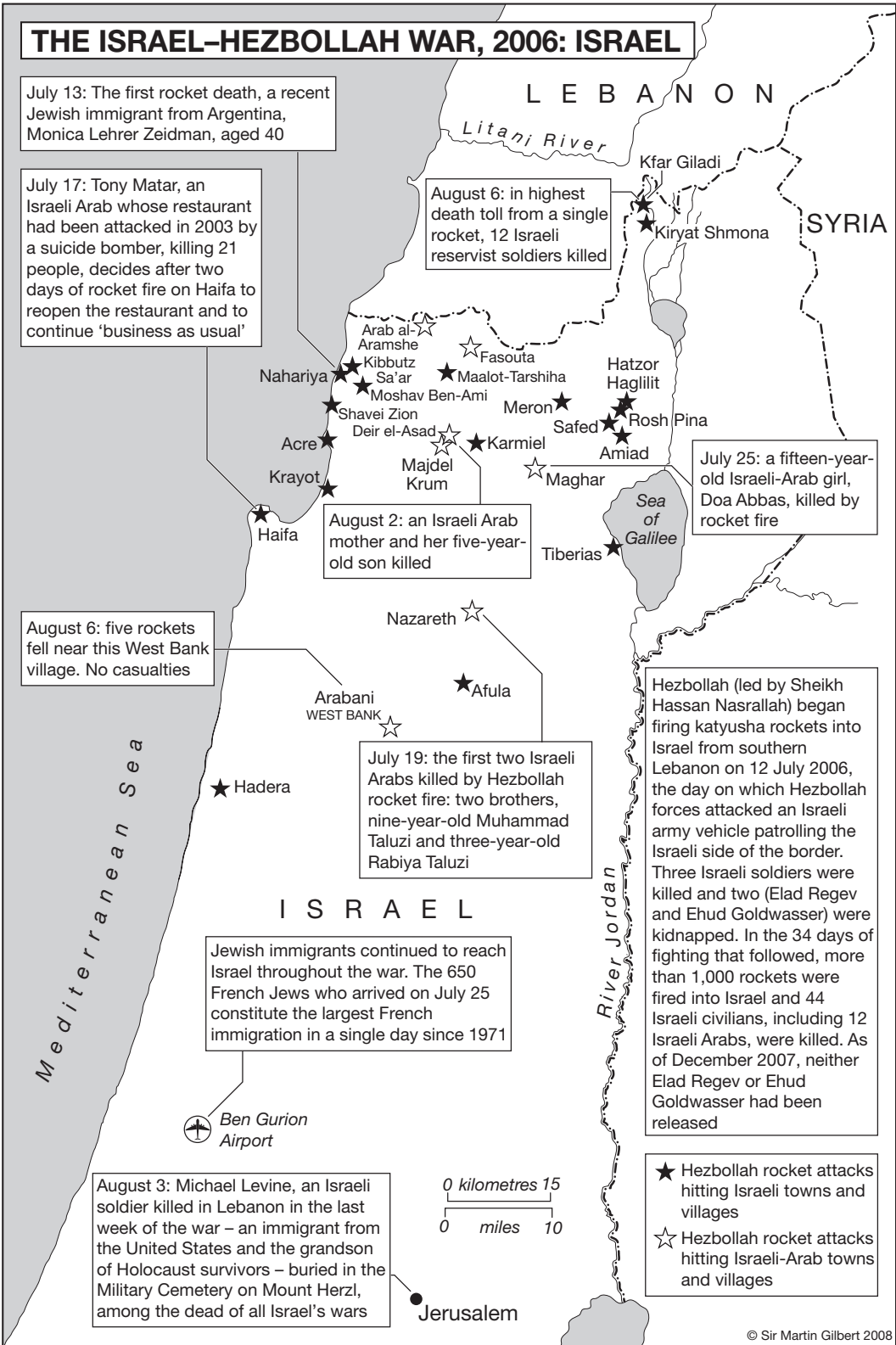
July 19: the first two Israeli Arabs killed by Hezbollah rocket fire: two brothers, nine-year-old Muhammad Taluzi and three-year-old Rabiya Taluzi

Hezbollah (led by Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah) began firing katyusha rockets into Israel from southern Lebanon on 12 July 2006, the day on which Hezbollah forces attacked an Israeli army vehicle patrolling the Israeli side of the border. Three Israeli soldiers were killed and two (Elad Regev and Ehud Goldwasser) were kidnapped. In the 34 days of fighting that followed, more than 1,000 rockets were fired into Israel and 44 Israeli civilians, including 12 Israeli Arabs, were killed. As of December 2007, neither Elad Regev or Ehud Goldwasser had been released

Jewish immigrants continued to reach Israel throughout the war. The 650 French Jews who arrived on July 25 constitute the largest French immigration in a single day since 1971

August 3: Michael Levine, an Israeli soldier killed in Lebanon in the last week of the war – an immigrant from the United States and the grandson of Holocaust survivors – buried in the Military Cemetery on Mount Herzl, among the dead of all Israel's wars

- ★ Hezbollah rocket attacks hitting Israeli towns and villages
- ☆ Hezbollah rocket attacks hitting Israeli-Arab towns and villages



# THE ISRAEL-HEZBOLLAH WAR, 2006: LEBANON

Following the first Hezbollah rockets fired into Israel on 12 July 2006, Israel launched a series of air strikes on Lebanon, hitting 59 targets on the first day, while Israeli troops crossed the border into southern Lebanon. In the fighting and air strikes that followed, 500 Hezbollah fighters, 119 Israeli soldiers and 1,191 Lebanese civilians were killed

July 14: Four Israeli sailors killed when a Hezbollah-fired radar-guided missile hits their ship, part of the Israeli naval blockade of Lebanon during the war

- 1,100 Americans
- 4,100 Danes
- 1,500 Swedes
- 800 French
- 700 Norwegians
- 470 Romanians
- 400 Italians
- 300 Greeks
- 250 Austrians
- 200 Australians
- 100 Bulgarians
- 75 Czechs
- 24 Slovaks
- 30,000 Lebanese
- Canadians

July 18-21: to escape the bombing, more than 10,000 foreign nationals and dual citizens are evacuated from Beirut, including by a small unit of United States Marines that landed on July 20

July 26: an Israeli missile accidentally targets a United Nations building, killing four United Nations Truce Supervision (UNTSO) soldiers, from Austria, Canada, China and Finland

August 2: Israeli special forces in operation

700 Germans  
270 Russians  
200 Filipinos  
having travelled from Beirut, leave by air

August 13: Uri Grossman (son of the Israeli writer David Grossman, who on August 12 had spoken at an anti-war rally in Tel Aviv) killed in action. He was two weeks short of his twenty-first birthday. All fighting ceased with the ceasefire on August 14

August 12-13: 10,000 Israeli troops advance to the Litani River in the 48 hours before the ceasefire: 30 Israeli soldiers killed

1 December 2006: United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan submits a report to the Security Council stating that 822 Israeli cluster bomb strike sites had been recorded in southern Lebanon, with 60,000 cluster bomblets having been cleared by the United Nations Mine Action Coordination Centre. On 28 January 2007, the United States State Department declared that Israel 'may have violated agreements' with the United States when it fired American-supplied cluster munitions into civilian areas of southern Lebanon. In the month after the ceasefire, 13 Lebanese are killed by previously unexploded cluster bombs

July 30: an Israeli air strike on a suspected rocket launch site in Kafr Kana kills 57 Lebanese civilians, including 28 children

- ★ Principal Israeli air strikes
- ⊕ Israeli air base (less than 10 minutes flying time to Beirut)
- Israeli military incursions and areas of fierce fighting
- ← Initial evacuation of foreigners, 18-21 July 2006

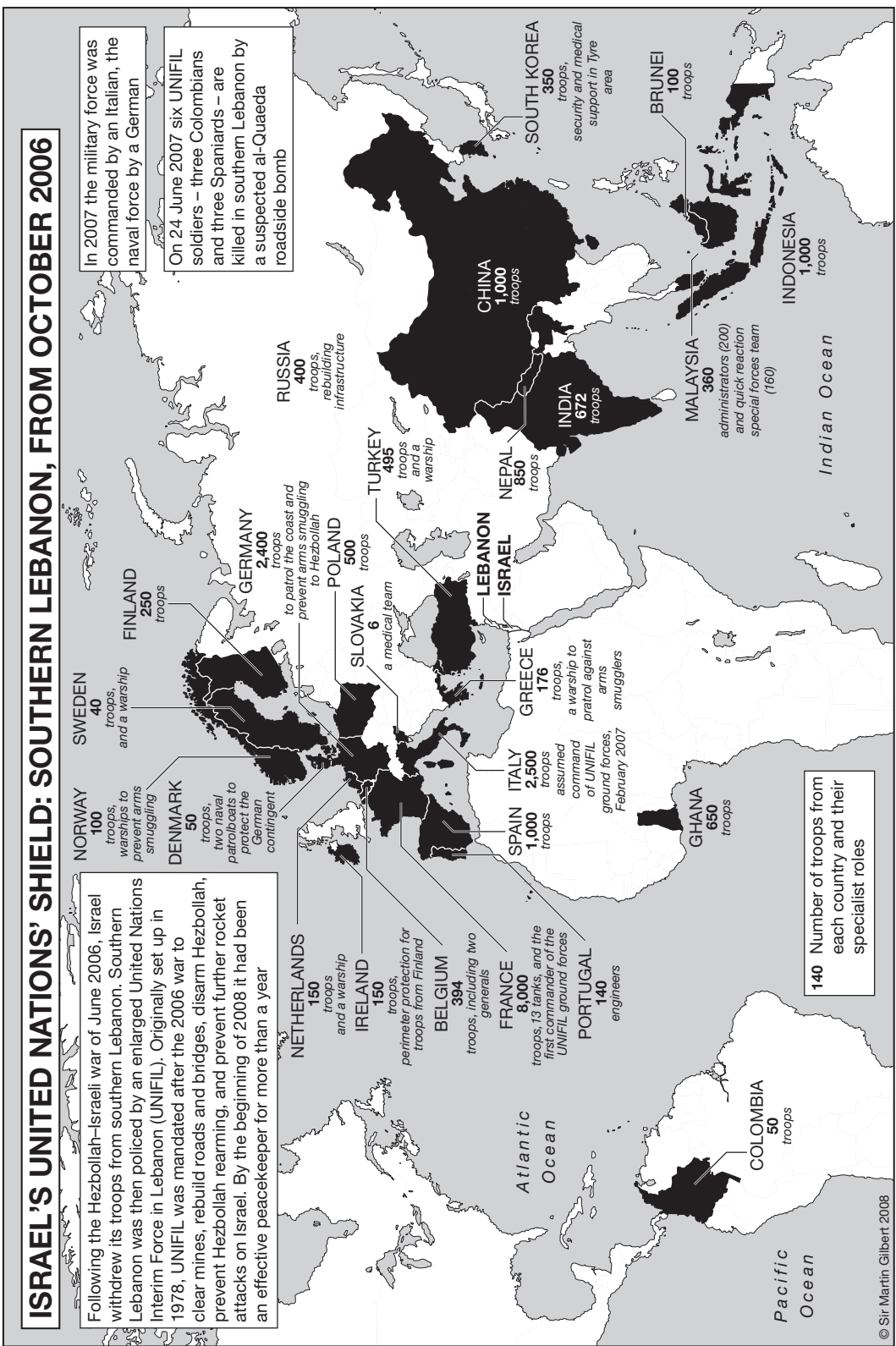
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# ISRAEL'S UNITED NATIONS' SHIELD: SOUTHERN LEBANON, FROM OCTOBER 2006

Following the Hezbollah-Israeli war of June 2006, Israel withdrew its troops from southern Lebanon. Southern Lebanon was then policed by an enlarged United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Originally set up in 1978, UNIFIL was mandated after the 2006 war to clear mines, rebuild roads and bridges, disarm Hezbollah, prevent Hezbollah rearming, and prevent further rocket attacks on Israel. By the beginning of 2008 it had been an effective peacekeeper for more than a year

In 2007 the military force was commanded by an Italian, the naval force by a German

On 24 June 2007 six UNIFIL soldiers – three Colombians and three Spaniards – are killed in southern Lebanon by a suspected al-Qaeda roadside bomb



140 Number of troops from each country and their specialist roles

# THE CONTINUING SEARCH FOR ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN GOODWILL, 2007

Amid the conflict, efforts were continuous on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian divide to find areas of cooperation and goodwill. This map shows some of the efforts that were made in 2007

500 Palestinian and Israeli youngsters participated during 2007 in the finals of the mixed Palestinian-Israeli soccer matches. 1,600 youngsters participated in the preliminary rounds. In the finals, the joint Kiryat Gat – Beit Safafa girls football team, representing Canada, was presented with its trophy by the Canadian Ambassador to Israel, Jon Allen. The Kiryat Shmona-Jericho team represented South Africa, and the Yeruham-Bethlehem team represented Holland

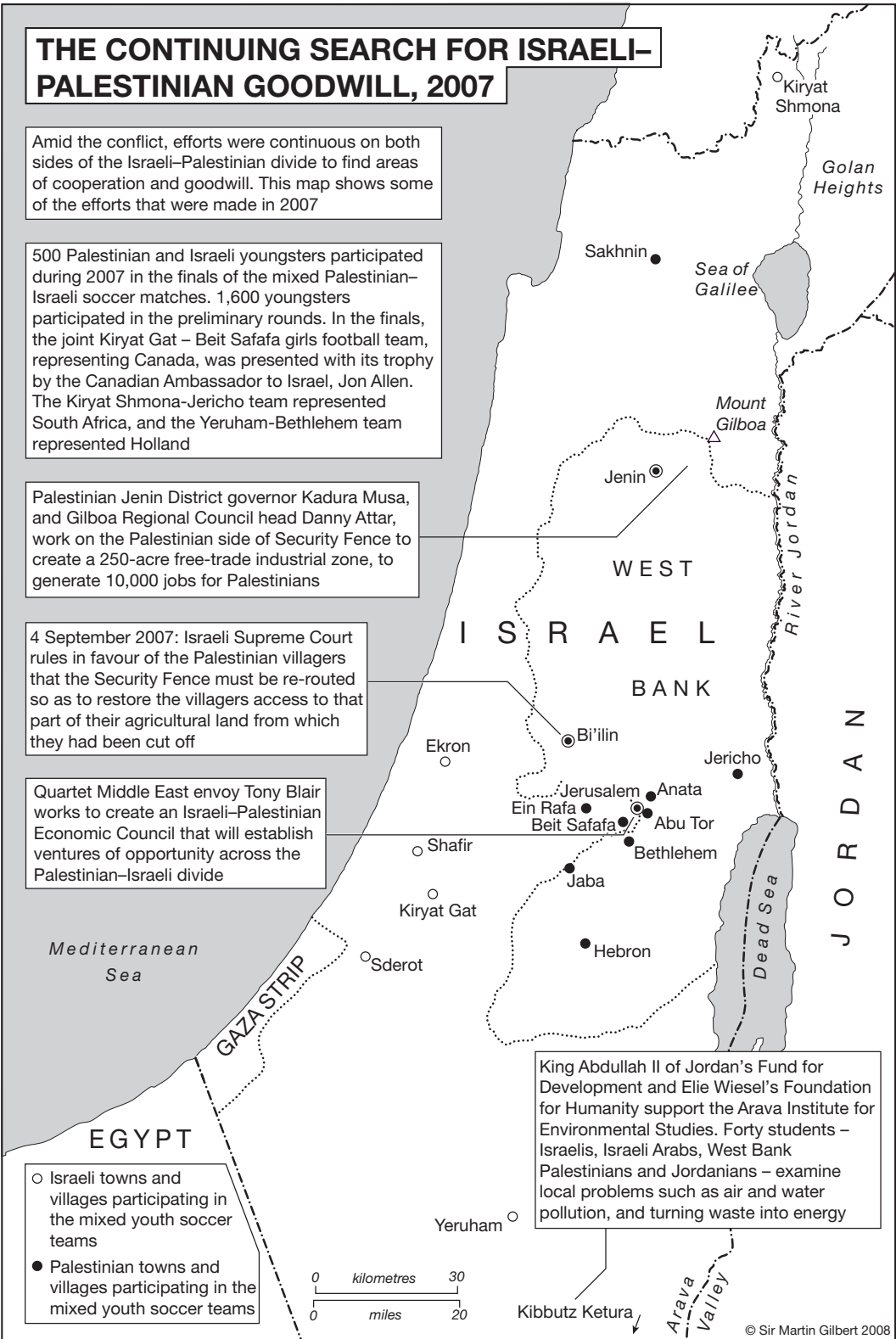
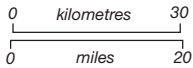
Palestinian Jenin District governor Kadura Musa, and Gilboa Regional Council head Danny Attar, work on the Palestinian side of Security Fence to create a 250-acre free-trade industrial zone, to generate 10,000 jobs for Palestinians

4 September 2007: Israeli Supreme Court rules in favour of the Palestinian villagers that the Security Fence must be re-routed so as to restore the villagers access to that part of their agricultural land from which they had been cut off

Quartet Middle East envoy Tony Blair works to create an Israeli-Palestinian Economic Council that will establish ventures of opportunity across the Palestinian-Israeli divide

King Abdullah II of Jordan's Fund for Development and Elie Wiesel's Foundation for Humanity support the Arava Institute for Environmental Studies. Forty students – Israelis, Israeli Arabs, West Bank Palestinians and Jordanians – examine local problems such as air and water pollution, and turning waste into energy

- Israeli towns and villages participating in the mixed youth soccer teams
- Palestinian towns and villages participating in the mixed youth soccer teams



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# PALESTINIAN REFUGEES, 1948–2008

Following the 1948 Israeli War of Independence, UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) was established by United Nations General Assembly resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 to carry out direct relief and works programmes for Palestinian refugees. The Agency began operations on 1 May 1950. In the absence of a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, the General Assembly has repeatedly renewed UNRWA's mandate, most recently extending it to 30 June 2008

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, UNRRA (the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) – set up on 9 November 1943 – was responsible for more than a million Displaced Persons (Jews and non-Jews) in Europe. By 1952, all of them had been found new homes in countries worldwide. Following the Israeli War of Independence, 840,000 Jews were expelled from Arab and Muslim lands. 580,000 found permanent homes in Israel, others in Britain, Europe and the Americas. Only UNRWA kept its refugees in camps, rather than seeking to integrate them in the host countries, all of which were Muslim and Arab lands. Because of this policy of maintaining them as refugees, the original 725,000 Palestinian refugees are now 4,448,429. In contrast, thanks to UNRRA, the descendants of the DPs of 1945 are all citizens of the countries in which they live

▲ Palestinian refugee camps in 2008, with the numbers registered in each (2007)

Harab (Aleppo) 17,703

▲ Hama 7,578

▲ Homs 13,230



In 2007 the total numbers of registered UNRWA refugees, both in camps and outside them, was 1,858,362 (Jordan), 408,438 (Lebanon), 442,363 (Syria), 722,302 (West Bank), and 1,016,964 (Gaza), a total of 4,448,429

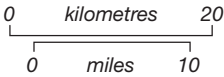
Since 1948, UNRWA has fed, housed, clothed, educated and given health care to the children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of the original 725,000 refugees: in 2007 there were 4,448,429 registered Palestinian refugees in the Middle East. This map shows their camps and the numbers in each camp



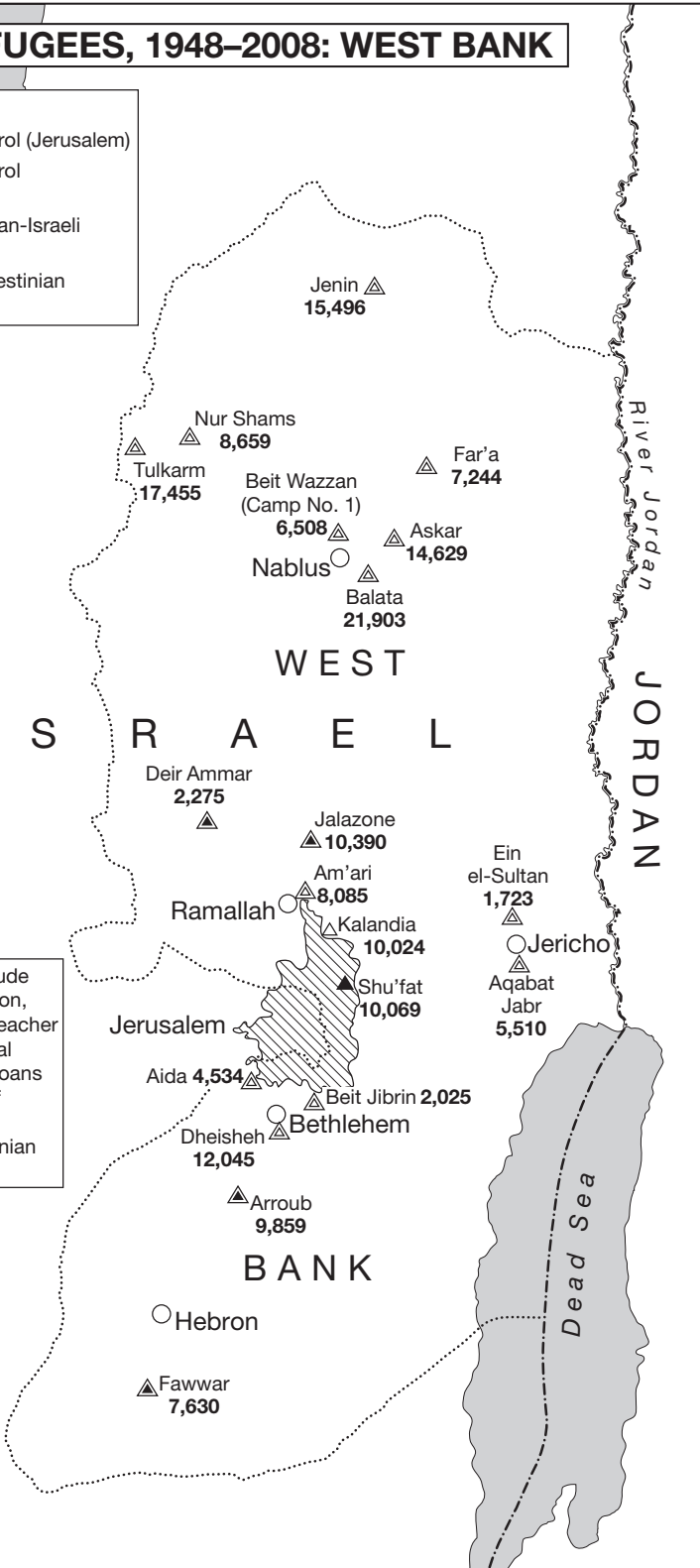
# PALESTINIAN REFUGEES, 1948–2008: WEST BANK

- ..... The Green Line
- ▲ Camp under full Israeli control (Jerusalem)
- △ Camp under full Israeli control (Oslo Accords, Area C)
- ▲ Camps under joint Palestinian-Israeli control (Area B)
- △ Camps under exclusive Palestinian Authority control (Area A)

Facilities provided by UNWRA include secondary and elementary education, vocational and technical training, teacher training, healthcare, relief and social services, and (since 1993) 30,532 loans for microfinance, to a total value of \$38 million. UNWRA also pays the salaries of more than 4,000 Palestinian members of its local staff



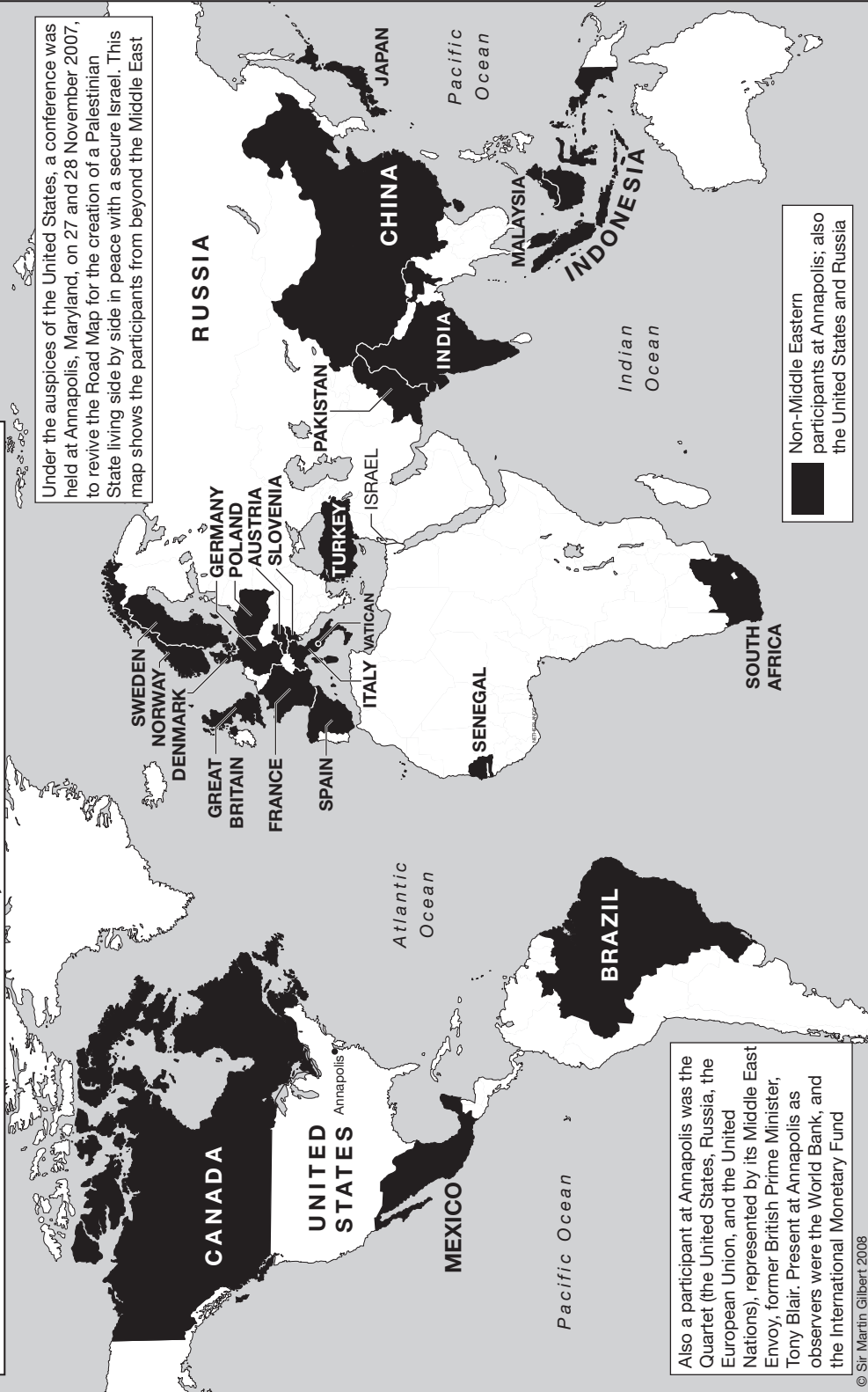
The total number of Palestinian refugees on the West Bank, both in camps and outside them, as registered by UNRWA in 2007, was 722,302. This map shows the Palestinian refugee camps on the West Bank in 2008, with the numbers registered in each in 2007



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# THE ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE, 2007: GLOBAL PARTICIPANTS

Under the auspices of the United States, a conference was held at Annapolis, Maryland, on 27 and 28 November 2007, to revive the Road Map for the creation of a Palestinian State living side by side in peace with a secure Israel. This map shows the participants from beyond the Middle East



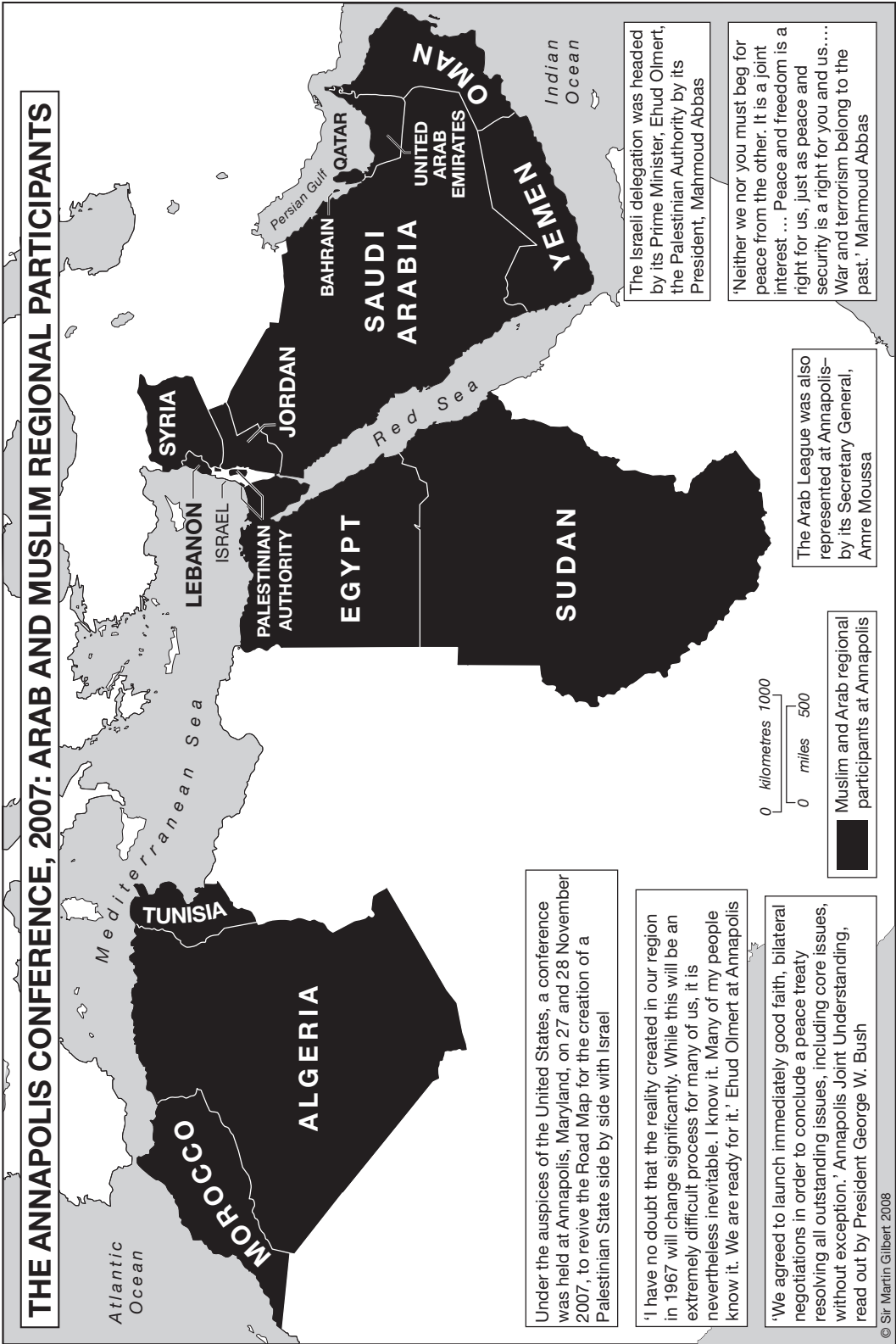
Non-Middle Eastern participants at Annapolis; also the United States and Russia

Also a participant at Annapolis was the Quartet (the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations), represented by its Middle East Envoy, former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair. Present at Annapolis as observers were the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund

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# THE ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE, 2007: ARAB AND MUSLIM REGIONAL PARTICIPANTS



Under the auspices of the United States, a conference was held at Annapolis, Maryland, on 27 and 28 November 2007, to revive the Road Map for the creation of a Palestinian State side by side with Israel

'I have no doubt that the reality created in our region in 1967 will change significantly. While this will be an extremely difficult process for many of us, it is nevertheless inevitable. I know it. Many of my people know it. We are ready for it.' Ehud Olmert at Annapolis

'We agreed to launch immediately good faith, bilateral negotiations in order to conclude a peace treaty resolving all outstanding issues, including core issues, without exception.' Annapolis Joint Understanding, read out by President George W. Bush

■ Muslim and Arab regional participants at Annapolis

0 kilometres 1000  
0 miles 500

The Arab League was also represented at Annapolis—by its Secretary General, Amre Mousa

The Israeli delegation was headed by its Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, the Palestinian Authority by its President, Mahmoud Abbas

'Neither we nor you must beg for peace from the other. It is a joint interest ... Peace and freedom is a right for us, just as peace and security is a right for you and us.... War and terrorism belong to the past.' Mahmoud Abbas

# THE ROAD TO ANNAPOLIS, 2005-2007: ELEVEN STEPS

**3** 27 May 2005. Paul Martin, Prime Minister of Canada, pledges \$9.5 million for Palestinian judicial reform and housing projects, monitors for the coming Palestinian elections, border management, and scholarships for Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon

**8** 19 July 2007. Lisbon: Quartet envoy Tony Blair says: 'There is a sense that we can regain momentum. That is the crucial thing... These people of peace can then feel that the force is with them, and not with those who want conflict'

**5** 22 December 2006. Olmert and Abbas, meeting in Olmert's office in Jerusalem, agree to 'confidence building measures', including Israel's release of tax revenues to the Palestinians

**6** 13 January 2007. United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, in one of more than ten visits to the region, expresses support in Jerusalem for the Road Map route to Palestinian statehood: 'It is the Quartet's document. It is the Israeli document. It is the Palestinian document'

**10** August to November 2007: Abbas and Olmert meet repeatedly in Jerusalem to work out an agenda for peace talks at Annapolis and beyond

**2** 26 May 2005. Abbas meets President George W. Bush. In return for Abbas' pledge to crack down on terrorists, Bush pledges \$50 million to the Palestinian Authority and reiterates United States support for a Palestinian State. The \$50 million is the first direct aid the United States has given to the Palestinians; previous donations had gone through non-governmental organizations

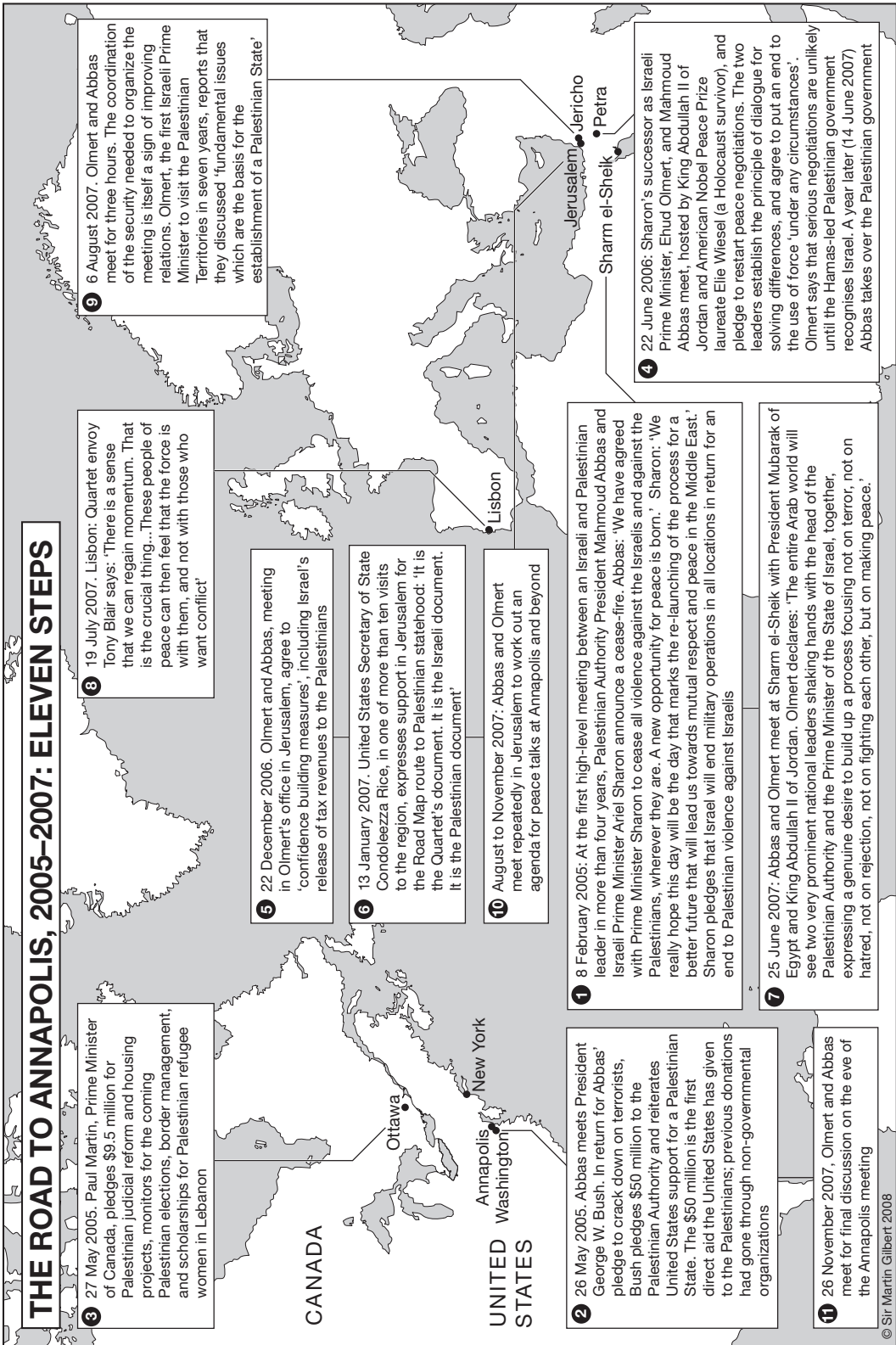
**11** 26 November 2007. Olmert and Abbas meet for final discussion on the eve of the Annapolis meeting

**1** 8 February 2005: At the first high-level meeting between an Israeli and Palestinian leader in more than four years, Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon announce a cease-fire. Abbas: 'We have agreed with Prime Minister Sharon to cease all violence against the Israelis and against the Palestinians, wherever they are. A new opportunity for peace is born.' Sharon: 'We really hope this day will be the day that marks the re-launching of the process for a better future that will lead us towards mutual respect and peace in the Middle East.' Sharon pledges that Israel will end military operations in all locations in return for an end to Palestinian violence against Israelis

**7** 25 June 2007: Abbas and Olmert meet at Sharm el-Sheikh with President Mubarak of Egypt and King Abdullah II of Jordan. Olmert declares: 'The entire Arab world will see two very prominent national leaders shaking hands with the head of the Palestinian Authority and the Prime Minister of the State of Israel, together, expressing a genuine desire to build up a process focusing not on terror, not on hatred, not on rejection, not on fighting each other, but on making peace.'

**9** 6 August 2007. Olmert and Abbas meet for three hours. The coordination of the security needed to organize the meeting is itself a sign of improving relations. Olmert, the first Israeli Prime Minister to visit the Palestinian Territories in seven years, reports that they discussed 'fundamental issues which are the basis for the establishment of a Palestinian State'

**4** 22 June 2006: Sharon's successor as Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, and Mahmoud Abbas meet, hosted by King Abdullah II of Jordan and American Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel (a Holocaust survivor), and pledge to restart peace negotiations. The two leaders establish the principle of dialogue for solving differences, and agree to put an end to the use of force 'under any circumstances'. Olmert says that serious negotiations are unlikely until the Hamas-led Palestinian government recognises Israel. A year later (14 June 2007) Abbas takes over the Palestinian government



# ANNAPOLIS AND BEYOND, FIRST STEPS TO AGREEMENT, NOVEMBER 2007–JANUARY 2008

**1** At Annapolis, on 27 and 28 November 2007, President Bush reads out the 'Joint Understanding' agreed by Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, and the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas: 'We express our determination to bring an end to bloodshed, suffering and decades of conflict between our peoples, to usher in a new era of peace, based on freedom, security, justice, dignity, respect and mutual recognition, to propagate a culture of peace and non-violence, and to confront terrorism and incitement, whether committed by Palestinians or Israelis.' Olmert and Abbas pledge to meet continuously throughout 2008 until final agreement is reached

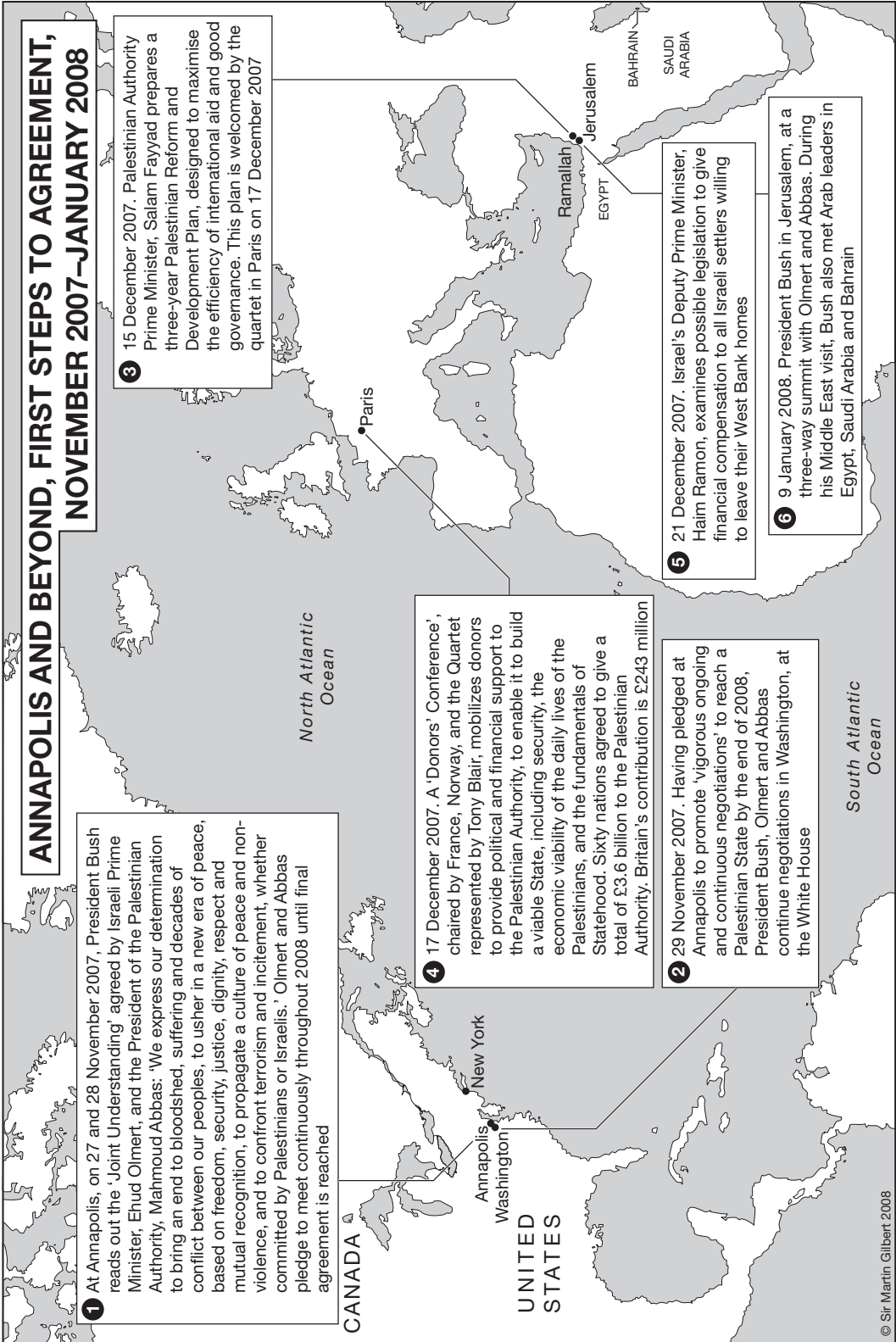
**4** 17 December 2007. A 'Donors' Conference', chaired by France, Norway, and the Quartet represented by Tony Blair, mobilizes donors to provide political and financial support to the Palestinian Authority, to enable it to build a viable State, including security, the economic viability of the daily lives of the Palestinians, and the fundamentals of Statehood. Sixty nations agreed to give a total of £3.6 billion to the Palestinian Authority. Britain's contribution is £243 million

**2** 29 November 2007. Having pledged at Annapolis to promote 'vigorous ongoing and continuous negotiations' to reach a Palestinian State by the end of 2008, President Bush, Olmert and Abbas continue negotiations in Washington, at the White House

**3** 15 December 2007. Palestinian Authority Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad prepares a three-year Palestinian Reform and Development Plan, designed to maximise the efficiency of international aid and good governance. This plan is welcomed by the quartet in Paris on 17 December 2007

**5** 21 December 2007. Israel's Deputy Prime Minister, Haim Ramon, examines possible legislation to give financial compensation to all Israeli settlers willing to leave their West Bank homes

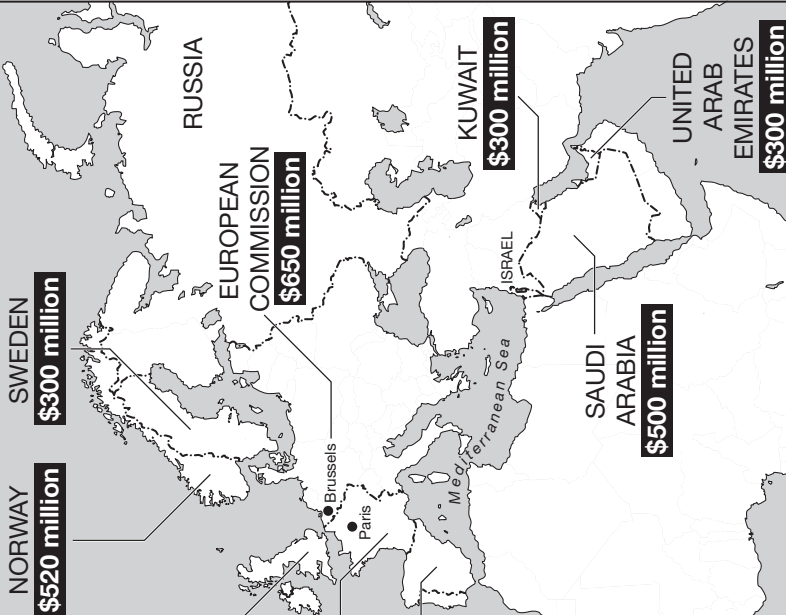
**6** 9 January 2008. President Bush in Jerusalem, at a three-way summit with Olmert and Abbas. During his Middle East visit, Bush also met Arab leaders in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain



# THE TOP ELEVEN DONORS TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY, 2008

At the donor conference held in Paris on 17 December 2007, the Palestinian Authority Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad, asked for \$5.6 billion (\$5.6 billion) over three years to carry out the Palestinian Reform and Development Plan. Of the eighty-eight States represented in Paris, sixty-eight agreed to make payments. The total amount pledged was \$7.4 billion (\$7.4 billion): substantially more than asked for. The European Commission contribution was for the first year alone, with more in prospect if the Annapolis process continued

To the surprise of the Paris donors, Russia limited its contribution to \$10 million 'for healthcare and other urgent needs'



GREAT BRITAIN  
**\$489 million**

FRANCE  
**\$300 million**

SPAIN  
**\$360 million**

The Paris pledges mean that Palestinians overtake Israelis globally as the highest national per-capita recipients of foreign assistance; and with aid constituting 34.5% of Gross National Income; this makes the Palestinian Territory among the most aid-dependent economies in the world

Sums pledged in Paris by the eleven top donors

Much of the sum granted over and above that which Salam Fayyad had requested was to go to the United Nations Consolidated Appeals Process, for the use of United Nations agencies and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) working on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip,

The total sum pledged in Paris was an increase, annually, of less than 25% above the amount given by international donors in 2007 (\$2 billion, of which the European Union and its member States gave \$1.4 billion)

'This is not just a donors' conference, it is a State-building conference'  
Tory Blair at the Paris conference

# THE PORTLAND TRUST: PROJECTS IN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

**Galilee Loan Project (launched October 2006):**  
Together with Koret Israel Economic Development Funds (KIEDF) and the United Jewish Israel Appeal, the Portland Trust provides capital for loan guarantees to small businesses in the north of Israel. To date, more than 500 loans worth \$10 million have been made

Metal-coating factory: forced to shut in 2006 during the war in Lebanon. One bank demanded 100% collateral for a loan, a condition the factory could not meet. Koret lent it \$60,000 in March 2007, since when it has more than doubled employment

Help given to an Arab-owned crockery and glassware shop that could not cover its overheads in the wake of the 2006 war in Lebanon. When the terms of the loan offered by a traditional bank proved too steep, Koret extended credit of \$25,000, enabling the shop to survive

The Portland Trust, founded in London in 2003 by two British businessmen, Sir Ronald Cohen and Sir Harry Solomon, promotes peace and stability between Israelis and Palestinians through economic development. Its Tel Aviv office was opened in June 2005 and its Ramallah office in November 2006

**Microfinance (West Bank and Gaza):**  
The Portland Trust, together with the European Commission and PlaNet Finance, funds and monitors the Palestinian Network for Small & Micro Finance. This Network, established in 2002, comprises 9 microfinance lending institutions (MFIs). Individual MFIs loan small sums to microentrepreneurs. The average loan size is \$5,000, with many loans smaller than \$2,500. MFI-financed projects are located throughout the West Bank and Gaza. They are especially concentrated in Tulkarm, Kalkilya, Ramallah, Hebron and Bethlehem

**Entrepreneur Training (West Bank, begun in December 2007):**  
The Portland Trust, together with local and international partners, will train 1,000 small and micro-entrepreneurs annually for three years, with classes held in cities across the West Bank

**Affordable Housing (from 2007):**  
Together with the Palestinian Authority, local industry partners and donor countries and institutions, the Portland Trust is coordinating a scheme to build up to 15,000 housing units in the West Bank by 2013. The scheme will provide both jobs and homes, boosting the Palestinian economy

750 housing units, January 2009

1,000 housing units, January 2008

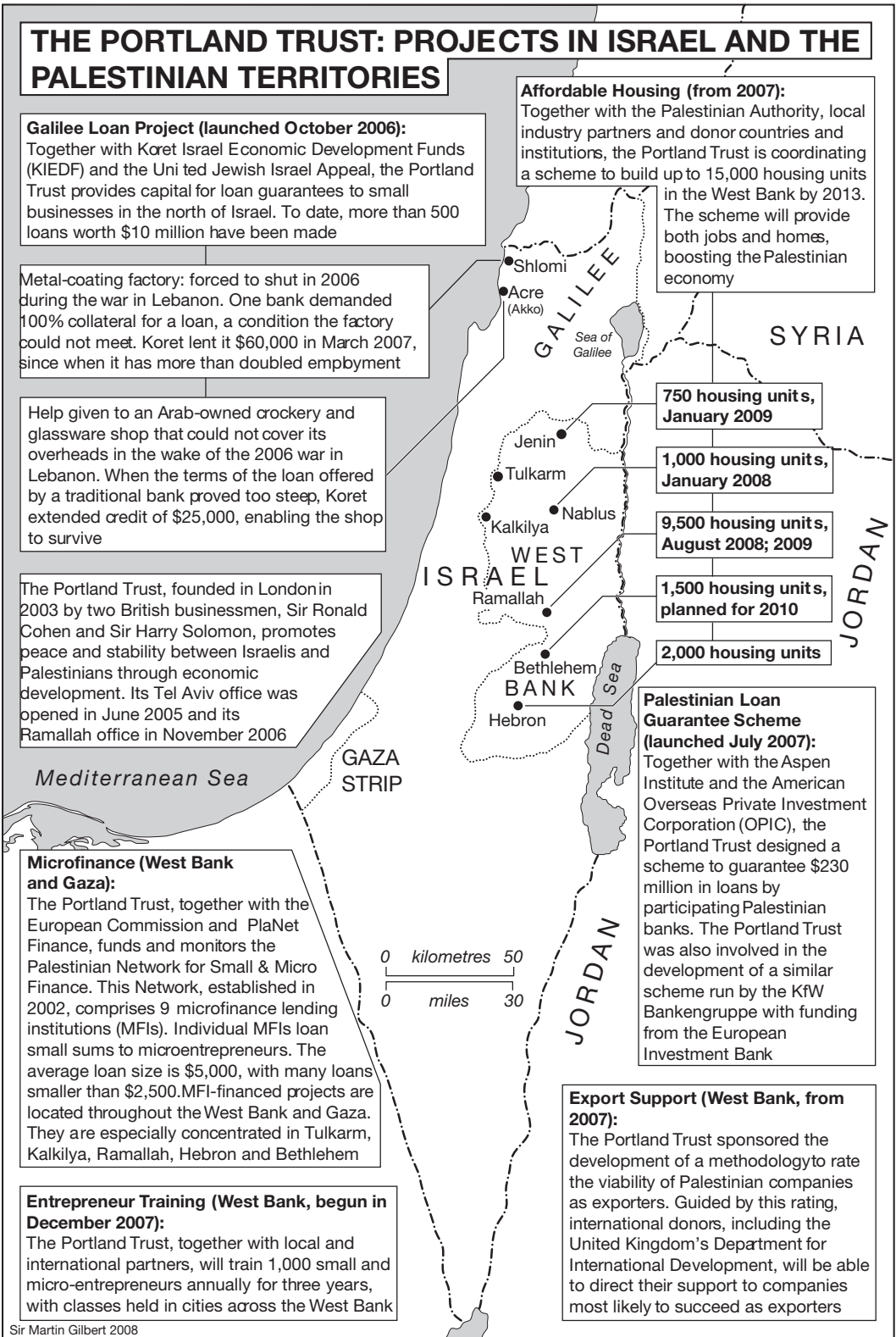
9,500 housing units, August 2008; 2009

1,500 housing units, planned for 2010

2,000 housing units

**Palestinian Loan Guarantee Scheme (launched July 2007):**  
Together with the Aspen Institute and the American Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the Portland Trust designed a scheme to guarantee \$230 million in loans by participating Palestinian banks. The Portland Trust was also involved in the development of a similar scheme run by the KfW Bankengruppe with funding from the European Investment Bank

**Export Support (West Bank, from 2007):**  
The Portland Trust sponsored the development of a methodology to rate the viability of Palestinian companies as exporters. Guided by this rating, international donors, including the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, will be able to direct their support to companies most likely to succeed as exporters



Sir Martin Gilbert 2008

## 'THE SWAP': THE CONTINUING SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT, 2006–2010

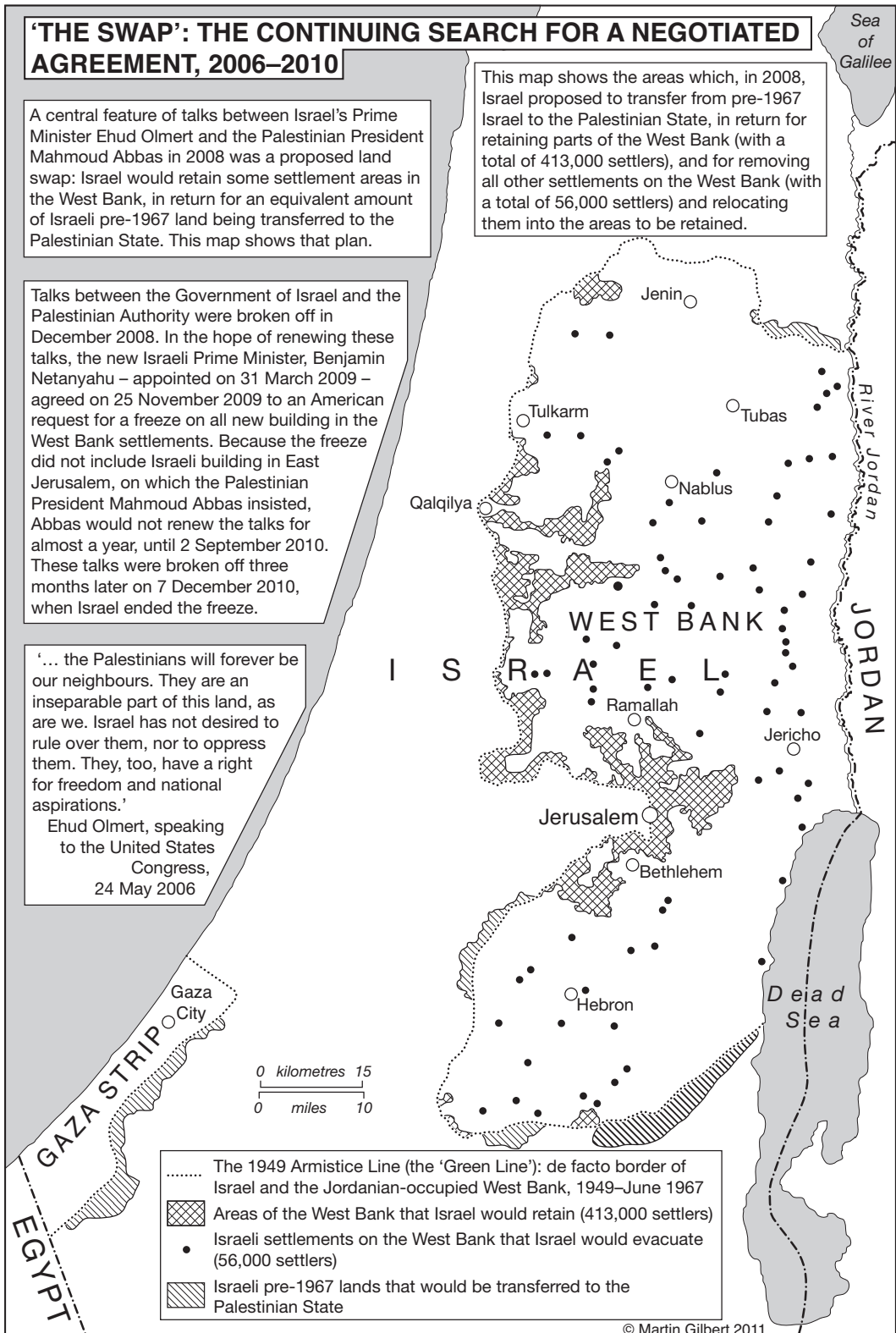
A central feature of talks between Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas in 2008 was a proposed land swap: Israel would retain some settlement areas in the West Bank, in return for an equivalent amount of Israeli pre-1967 land being transferred to the Palestinian State. This map shows that plan.

Talks between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority were broken off in December 2008. In the hope of renewing these talks, the new Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu – appointed on 31 March 2009 – agreed on 25 November 2009 to an American request for a freeze on all new building in the West Bank settlements. Because the freeze did not include Israeli building in East Jerusalem, on which the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas insisted, Abbas would not renew the talks for almost a year, until 2 September 2010. These talks were broken off three months later on 7 December 2010, when Israel ended the freeze.

'... the Palestinians will forever be our neighbours. They are an inseparable part of this land, as are we. Israel has not desired to rule over them, nor to oppress them. They, too, have a right for freedom and national aspirations.'

Ehud Olmert, speaking to the United States Congress, 24 May 2006

This map shows the areas which, in 2008, Israel proposed to transfer from pre-1967 Israel to the Palestinian State, in return for retaining parts of the West Bank (with a total of 413,000 settlers), and for removing all other settlements on the West Bank (with a total of 56,000 settlers) and relocating them into the areas to be retained.



- ..... The 1949 Armistice Line (the 'Green Line'): de facto border of Israel and the Jordanian-occupied West Bank, 1949–June 1967
- ▨ Areas of the West Bank that Israel would retain (413,000 settlers)
- Israeli settlements on the West Bank that Israel would evacuate (56,000 settlers)
- ▧ Israeli pre-1967 lands that would be transferred to the Palestinian State



# ISRAELI WOMEN OBSERVERS AT ISRAELI ROADBLOCKS, 2001–2011

Despite the reduction in the number of checkpoints on the West Bank from 75 in 2001 to 24 in 2011, in part as a result of pressure by Tony Blair and his Quartet Office in Jerusalem (see map 222), the 24 that still remain impede Palestinian movement and give rise to repeated reports of Israeli soldiers' harassment of Palestinians seeking to travel through the West Bank.

In 2005 there were 41 internal Israeli checkpoints on the West Bank. By 2011 these had been reduced to 24.

MachsomWatch (CheckpointWatch) describes itself as 'a movement of Israeli women, peace activists from all sectors of Israeli society, who oppose the Israeli occupation and the denial of Palestinians' rights to move freely in their land'. Since 2001 its members have conducted daily observations of Israel Defense Forces checkpoints in the West Bank, along the separation wall/barrier/fence, on the main roads and on out-of-the-way dirt roads. The reports of its observations are published on the MachsomWatch website, and sent to Israeli public officials and elected representatives.

'This organization – like other human rights organizations, each of which focuses on a different consequence of the occupation – is the least that Israeli citizens can do to try to prevent injustices stemming from the occupation. Life under the anomaly of an occupation regime produces strange solutions, such as the presence of women alongside soldiers in an effort to ensure a more humane routine. The human rights organizations are the State's pride, not a threat that must be liquidated or minimized.'

*Haaretz*, 8 March 2006, about MachsomWatch

On 11 February 2011, it was reported that the Israel Defense Forces would withdraw its forces from Huwwara and dismantle the checkpoint. At MachsomWatch, the report was received with satisfaction. But the group warned that there was nothing dramatic about this step, 'as it will ultimately not reduce Israel's control over the civilian population in the West Bank'.

MachsomWatch's ultimate aim 'is not to remove a few scattered checkpoints, but to end the occupation'.

*Haaretz*,  
15 February 2011

'Through the documentation which discloses the nature of everyday reality, we are attempting to influence public opinion in the country and in the world, and thus to bring to an end the destructive occupation, which causes damage to Israeli society as well as to Palestinian society.'

MachsomWatch website, home page

● Checkpoints visited by women from MachsomWatch in the first two weeks of August 2011



# GILAD SHALIT IN CAPTIVITY, 25 JUNE 2006–18 OCTOBER 2011

Gilad Shalit, a corporal in the Israel Defense Forces, who had begun three-year compulsory military service in July 2005, was captured by Hamas in a cross-border raid near Kerem Shalom on 25 June 2006, and was held in the Gaza Strip until 18 October 2011.

After Shalit's abduction, efforts to obtain his release were continuous. Hamas demanded the release of 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for Shalit, who turned twenty-five on 28 August 2011. Israeli officials said that the list included many prisoners serving life sentences for murder. Hamas would not allow either Shalit's family or the International Red Cross to visit him.

On 1 September 2011, two Muslim US Congressmen and nine other prominent Muslims published a letter urging Hamas to release Shalit. Their hope was that Shalit's release would lead to more goodwill gestures between the militant Palestinian group and Israel, and remove Shalit's imprisonment as an obstacle to substantive peace talks. Akbar Ahmed, a former Pakistani Ambassador to Britain, who was one of those who signed the letter, commented: 'It's a shot in the dark. But if one side can make a gesture purely on the basis of compassion, it might have an impact on the other side.' The letter was timed to the end of the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, when Muslims are called upon to be particularly compassionate. 'We believe Hamas' harsh treatment and five-year detention of Shalit is wrong,' wrote the signatories, who included Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, who spearheaded efforts to build a Muslim community center near Ground Zero.

**6** Simultaneously with the Khan Younis search, Israeli warplanes fly over Syrian President Bashar Assad's palace (Assad being a sponsor of Hamas), 28 June 2006

**12** Issued in Geneva, the Goldstone Report (*Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict*) calls for the immediate release of Gilad Shalit and, while Shalit remained in captivity, calls for access to him by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Hamas rejected both calls, 29 September 2009

**17** On 11 October 2011, it was announced that – following an agreement between Israel and Hamas brokered by Egypt and Germany – Gilad Shalit would be released in exchange for 1,027 Palestinians held in Israeli prisons – many of them convicted murderers. Shalit's release took place on 18 October 2011

**2** Shalit lives here, 1988–2005

**1** Gilad Shalit born, 28 August 1986

**3** Shalit a pupil here, 1999–2005

**11** Israeli protesters block the Erez crossing point for food and medicine to the Gaza Strip in protest at Shalit's continuing captivity, 30 August 2009

**7** The Papal Nuncio to Israel, Archbishop Antonio Franco, seeks Shalit's release through the Catholic Church's Gaza-based parish, 19 July 2006

**5** Israeli forces enter here, in a vain search for Shalit, 28 June 2006

**4** Gilad Shalit abducted near, 25 June 2006

**13** Russia's President Dimitry Medvedev meets Hamas leaders in Damascus and calls for Shalit's release, 11 May 2010

**14** At a press conference with the German President Christian Wulff, the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas calls for the release of Shalit, 30 November 2010

**8** British Prime Minister Gordon Brown meets Shalit's parents, supports their campaign for their son's release, 20 July 2008

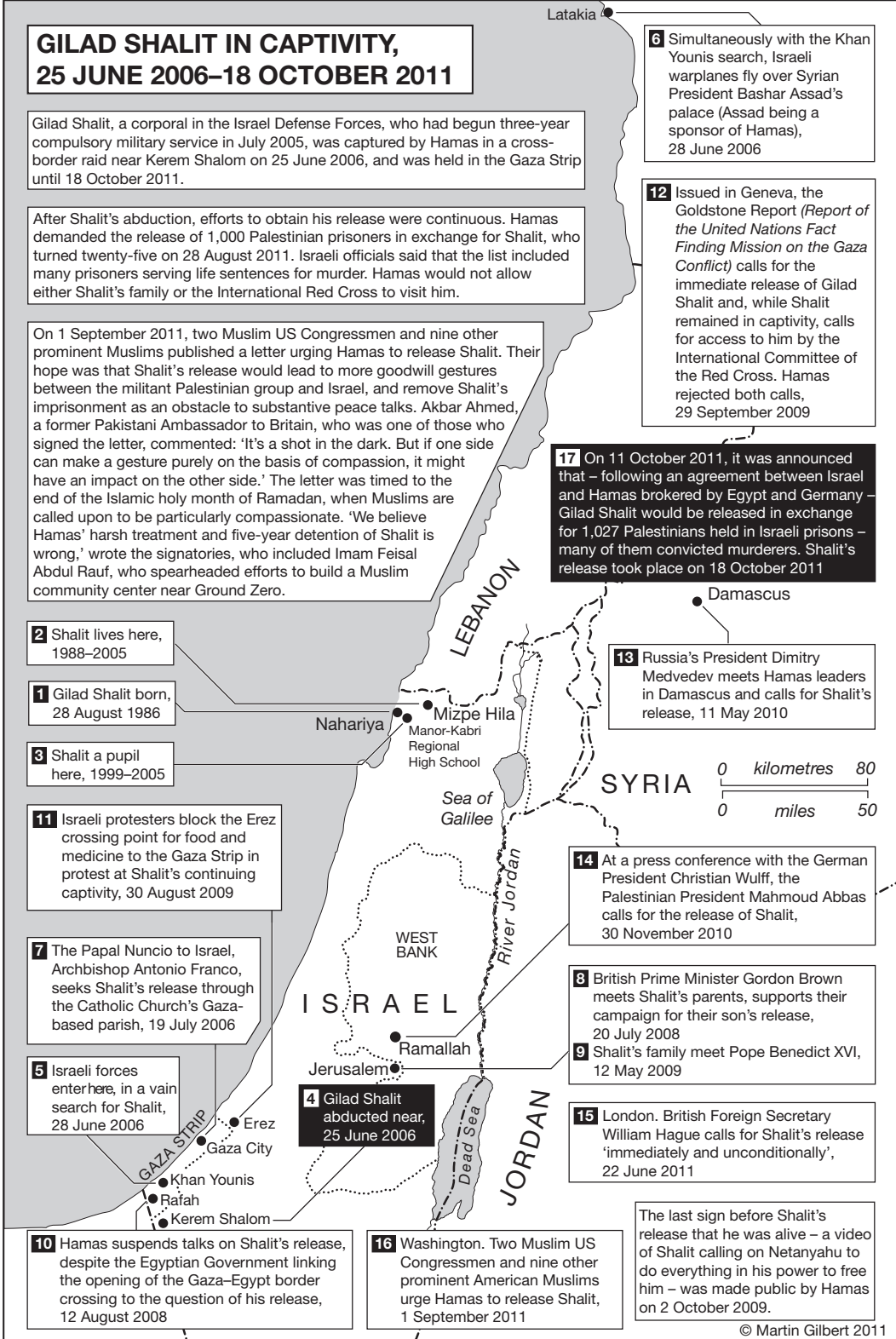
**9** Shalit's family meet Pope Benedict XVI, 12 May 2009

**15** London. British Foreign Secretary William Hague calls for Shalit's release 'immediately and unconditionally', 22 June 2011

**10** Hamas suspends talks on Shalit's release, despite the Egyptian Government linking the opening of the Gaza–Egypt border crossing to the question of his release, 12 August 2008

**16** Washington. Two Muslim US Congressmen and nine other prominent American Muslims urge Hamas to release Shalit, 1 September 2011

The last sign before Shalit's release that he was alive – a video of Shalit calling on Netanyahu to do everything in his power to free him – was made public by Hamas on 2 October 2009.



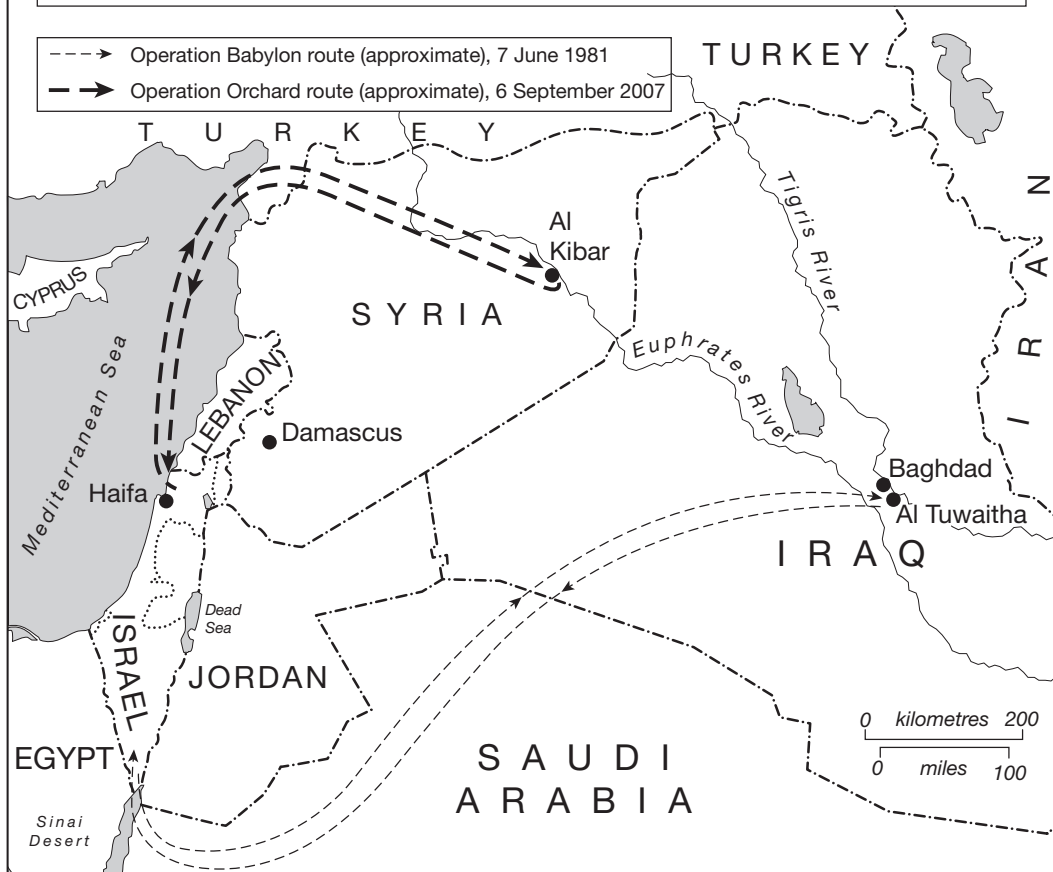


## SYRIA'S NUCLEAR FACILITY DESTROYED, 6 SEPTEMBER 2007

On 6 September 2007, the Israeli Government launched Operation Orchard, an aerial attack that destroyed Syria's Al Kibar nuclear facility. It was 26 years after Operation Babylon (also known as Operation Opera), the 7 June 1981 Israeli air attack on, and destruction of, the Iraqi Osirak nuclear reactor at Al Tuwaitha.

---> Operation Babylon route (approximate), 7 June 1981

- -> Operation Orchard route (approximate), 6 September 2007



Operation Orchard was carried out just after midnight on 6 September 2007. Both the White House and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) later confirmed that American intelligence had indicated that the site was a nuclear facility with a military purpose. The raid was carried out by eight Israeli Air Force (IAF) fighter-bombers, at least four of which crossed into Syrian airspace. According to one report, a team of elite Israeli Special Force commandos reached the site the day before, to highlight the target with laser beams. In April 2011, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) officially confirmed that the site was a nuclear reactor.

On 28 October 2007, the Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert told his Cabinet that he had apologised to the Turkish Prime Minister if Israel had violated Turkish airspace. In a statement released to the newspapers after the meeting, Olmert said: 'In my conversation with the Turkish Prime Minister, I told him that if Israeli planes indeed penetrated Turkish airspace, then there was no intention thereby, either in advance or in any case, to – in any way – violate or undermine Turkish sovereignty, which we respect.'

Telegram from United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to American diplomats overseas (April 2008): 'On September 6, 2007, Israel destroyed the nuclear reactor built by Syria secretly, apparently with North Korea's help. Our intelligence experts are convinced that the attack targeted by the Israelis is in fact an atomic reactor of the same type built by North Korea in Yongbyon. We have good reason to believe that the reactor was not built for peaceful purposes.' Rice added that the attack came only weeks before the reactor was to become operational. (Wikileaks, *European Union Times*, 1 January 2011)

# ISRAELI CIVILIANS KILLED BY ROCKET FIRE FROM THE GAZA STRIP, 2007–2008

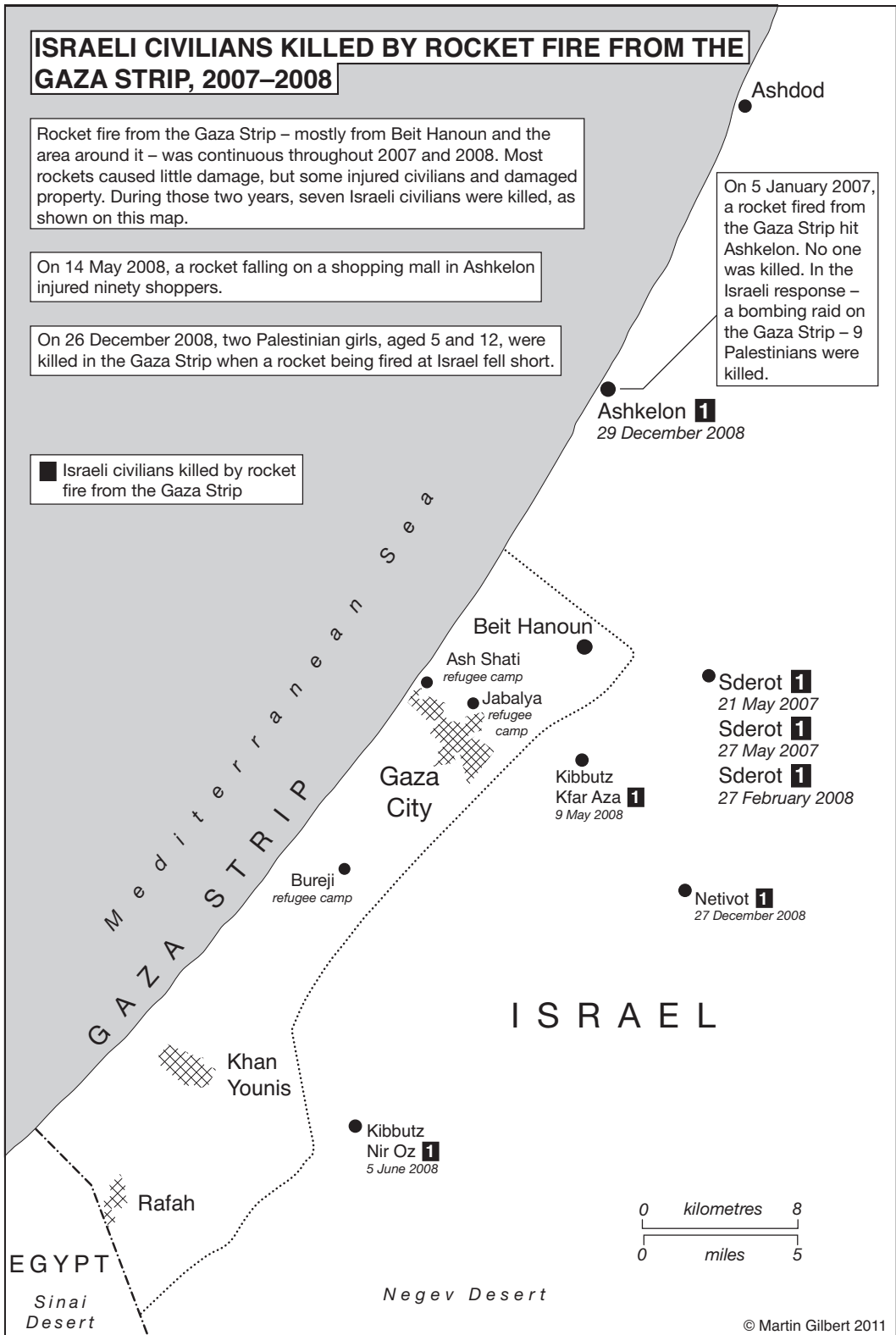
Rocket fire from the Gaza Strip – mostly from Beit Hanoun and the area around it – was continuous throughout 2007 and 2008. Most rockets caused little damage, but some injured civilians and damaged property. During those two years, seven Israeli civilians were killed, as shown on this map.

On 14 May 2008, a rocket falling on a shopping mall in Ashkelon injured ninety shoppers.

On 26 December 2008, two Palestinian girls, aged 5 and 12, were killed in the Gaza Strip when a rocket being fired at Israel fell short.

On 5 January 2007, a rocket fired from the Gaza Strip hit Ashkelon. No one was killed. In the Israeli response – a bombing raid on the Gaza Strip – 9 Palestinians were killed.

■ Israeli civilians killed by rocket fire from the Gaza Strip

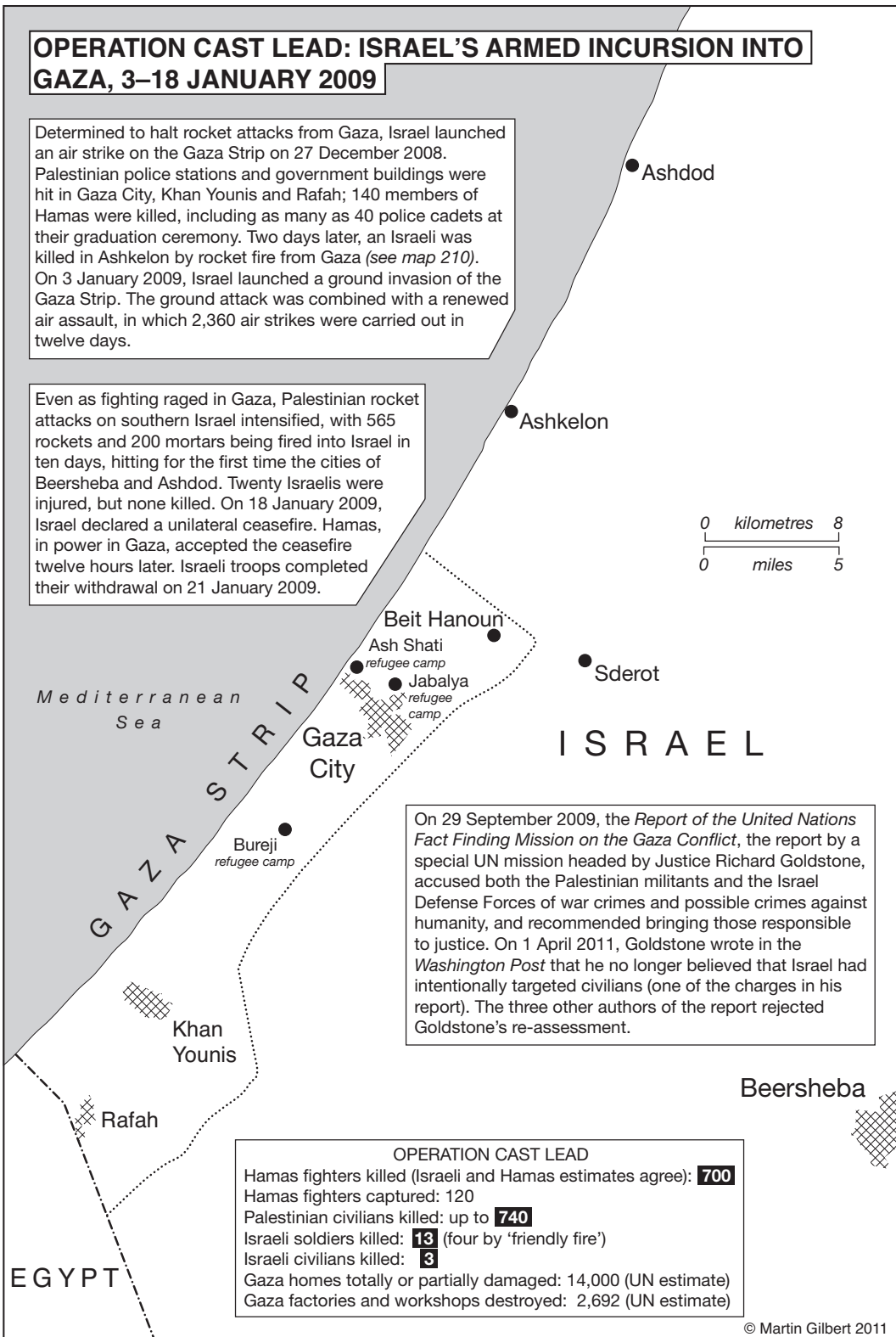


## OPERATION CAST LEAD: ISRAEL'S ARMED INCURSION INTO GAZA, 3–18 JANUARY 2009

Determined to halt rocket attacks from Gaza, Israel launched an air strike on the Gaza Strip on 27 December 2008. Palestinian police stations and government buildings were hit in Gaza City, Khan Younis and Rafah; 140 members of Hamas were killed, including as many as 40 police cadets at their graduation ceremony. Two days later, an Israeli was killed in Ashkelon by rocket fire from Gaza (see map 210). On 3 January 2009, Israel launched a ground invasion of the Gaza Strip. The ground attack was combined with a renewed air assault, in which 2,360 air strikes were carried out in twelve days.

Even as fighting raged in Gaza, Palestinian rocket attacks on southern Israel intensified, with 565 rockets and 200 mortars being fired into Israel in ten days, hitting for the first time the cities of Beersheba and Ashdod. Twenty Israelis were injured, but none killed. On 18 January 2009, Israel declared a unilateral ceasefire. Hamas, in power in Gaza, accepted the ceasefire twelve hours later. Israeli troops completed their withdrawal on 21 January 2009.

0 kilometres 8  
0 miles 5



On 29 September 2009, the *Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict*, the report by a special UN mission headed by Justice Richard Goldstone, accused both the Palestinian militants and the Israel Defense Forces of war crimes and possible crimes against humanity, and recommended bringing those responsible to justice. On 1 April 2011, Goldstone wrote in the *Washington Post* that he no longer believed that Israel had intentionally targeted civilians (one of the charges in his report). The three other authors of the report rejected Goldstone's re-assessment.

**OPERATION CAST LEAD**  
 Hamas fighters killed (Israeli and Hamas estimates agree): **700**  
 Hamas fighters captured: 120  
 Palestinian civilians killed: up to **740**  
 Israeli soldiers killed: **13** (four by 'friendly fire')  
 Israeli civilians killed: **3**  
 Gaza homes totally or partially damaged: 14,000 (UN estimate)  
 Gaza factories and workshops destroyed: 2,692 (UN estimate)

© Martin Gilbert 2011

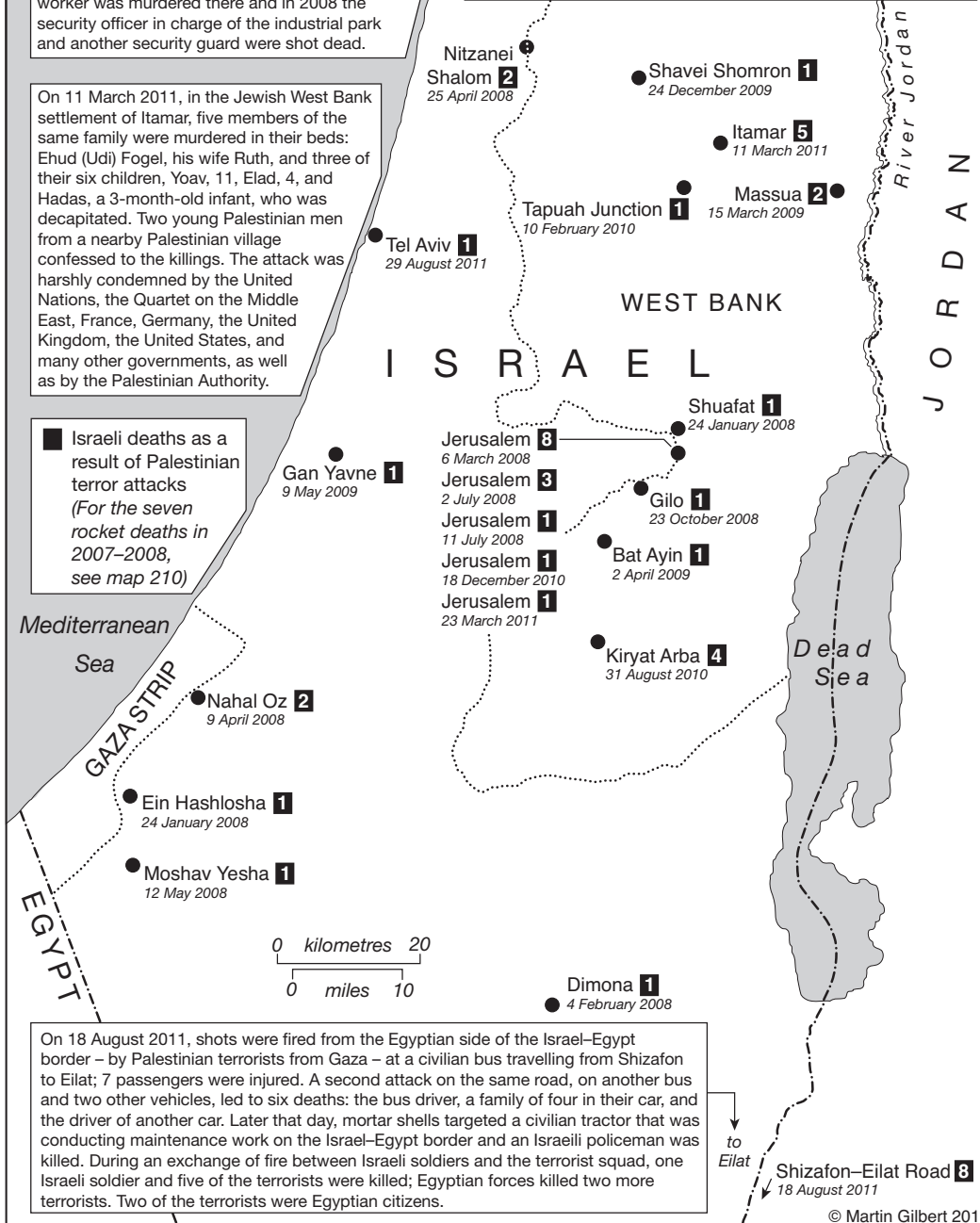
# PALESTINIAN ACTS OF TERROR, 2008–2011

Nitzanei Shalom was built in 1995. It employs 600 Palestinians in Israeli industries. It has a western entrance for Israelis and an eastern entrance for Palestinian labourers. Its legal status is problematic as Israeli labour laws do not necessarily apply, e.g. minimum wage, safety standards, etc. In 1993, at the beginning of the Second Intifada, it was burnt to the ground, but then rebuilt. In 2002 an Israeli worker was murdered there and in 2008 the security officer in charge of the industrial park and another security guard were shot dead.

On 11 March 2011, in the Jewish West Bank settlement of Itamar, five members of the same family were murdered in their beds: Ehud (Udi) Fogel, his wife Ruth, and three of their six children, Yoav, 11, Elad, 4, and Hadas, a 3-month-old infant, who was decapitated. Two young Palestinian men from a nearby Palestinian village confessed to the killings. The attack was harshly condemned by the United Nations, the Quartet on the Middle East, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and many other governments, as well as by the Palestinian Authority.

■ Israeli deaths as a result of Palestinian terror attacks  
(For the seven rocket deaths in 2007–2008, see map 210)

Despite ongoing talks between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority in 2008, spasmodic acts of Palestinian terror, although condemned by the Palestinian Authority, led to an increasingly large number of Israelis questioning the Palestinian commitment to peace with Israel. This scepticism was strengthened when talks between the two sides were broken off in December 2008.

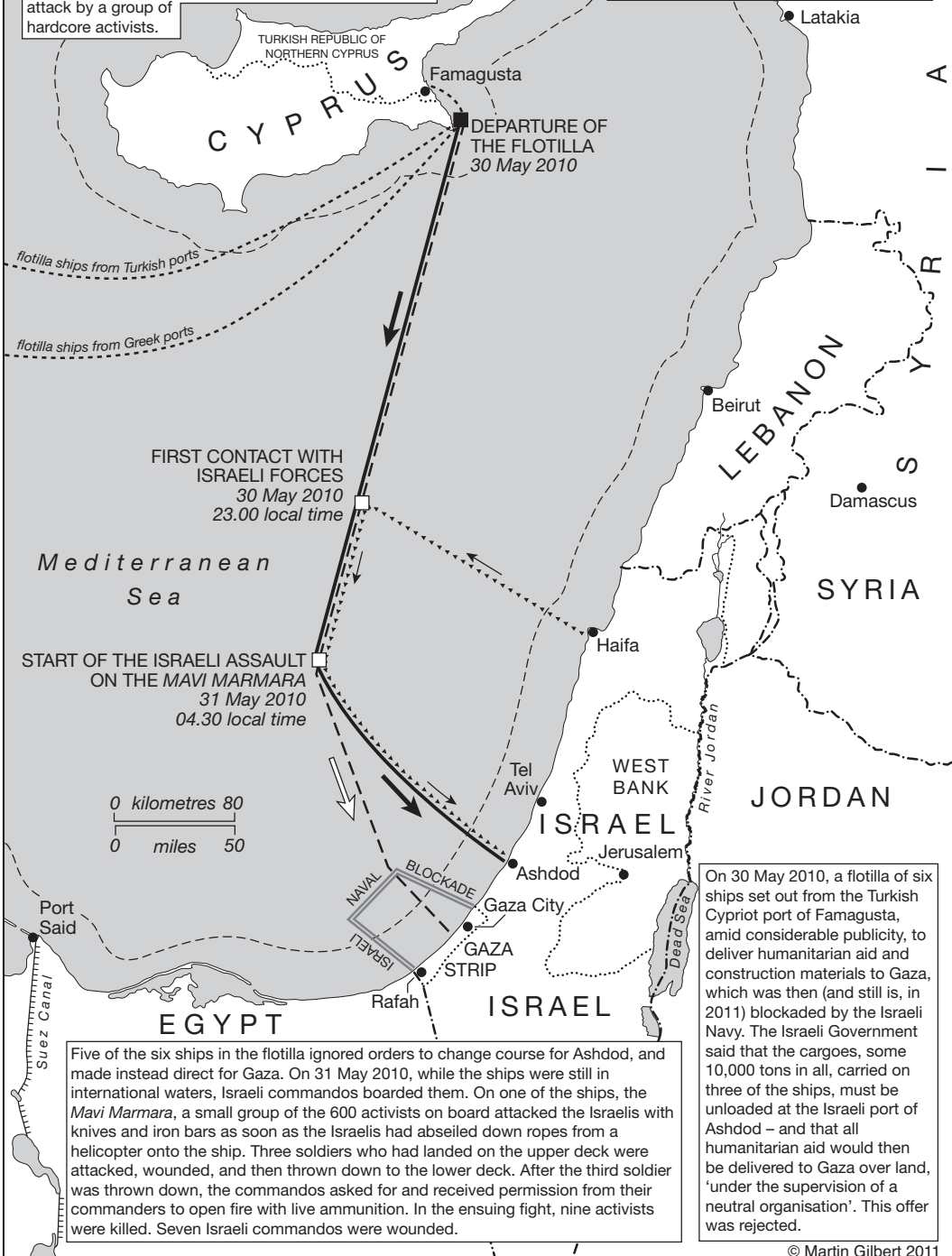


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# THE GAZA NAVAL FLOTILLA, 31 MAY 2010

A United Nations Human Rights Council fact-finding mission described six of the nine passengers' deaths as 'summary execution' by the Israeli commandos. But a BBC documentary concluded that the Israeli forces had acted in self-defence against a premeditated attack by a group of hardcore activists.

- Territorial waters (12.5 nautical miles)
- ==== Israeli naval blockade of Gaza
- - - Planned route of the Gaza flotilla
- Route of the Gaza flotilla
- > Route of Israel Defense Force naval vessels with helicopter support



On 30 May 2010, a flotilla of six ships set out from the Turkish Cypriot port of Famagusta, amid considerable publicity, to deliver humanitarian aid and construction materials to Gaza, which was then (and still is, in 2011) blockaded by the Israeli Navy. The Israeli Government said that the cargoes, some 10,000 tons in all, carried on three of the ships, must be unloaded at the Israeli port of Ashdod – and that all humanitarian aid would then be delivered to Gaza over land, 'under the supervision of a neutral organisation'. This offer was rejected.

Five of the six ships in the flotilla ignored orders to change course for Ashdod, and made instead direct for Gaza. On 31 May 2010, while the ships were still in international waters, Israeli commandos boarded them. On one of the ships, the *Mavi Marmara*, a small group of the 600 activists on board attacked the Israelis with knives and iron bars as soon as the Israelis had abseiled down ropes from a helicopter onto the ship. Three soldiers who had landed on the upper deck were attacked, wounded, and then thrown down to the lower deck. After the third soldier was thrown down, the commandos asked for and received permission from their commanders to open fire with live ammunition. In the ensuing fight, nine activists were killed. Seven Israeli commandos were wounded.

## CONTINUING ROCKET FIRE FROM THE GAZA STRIP, 2009–2011

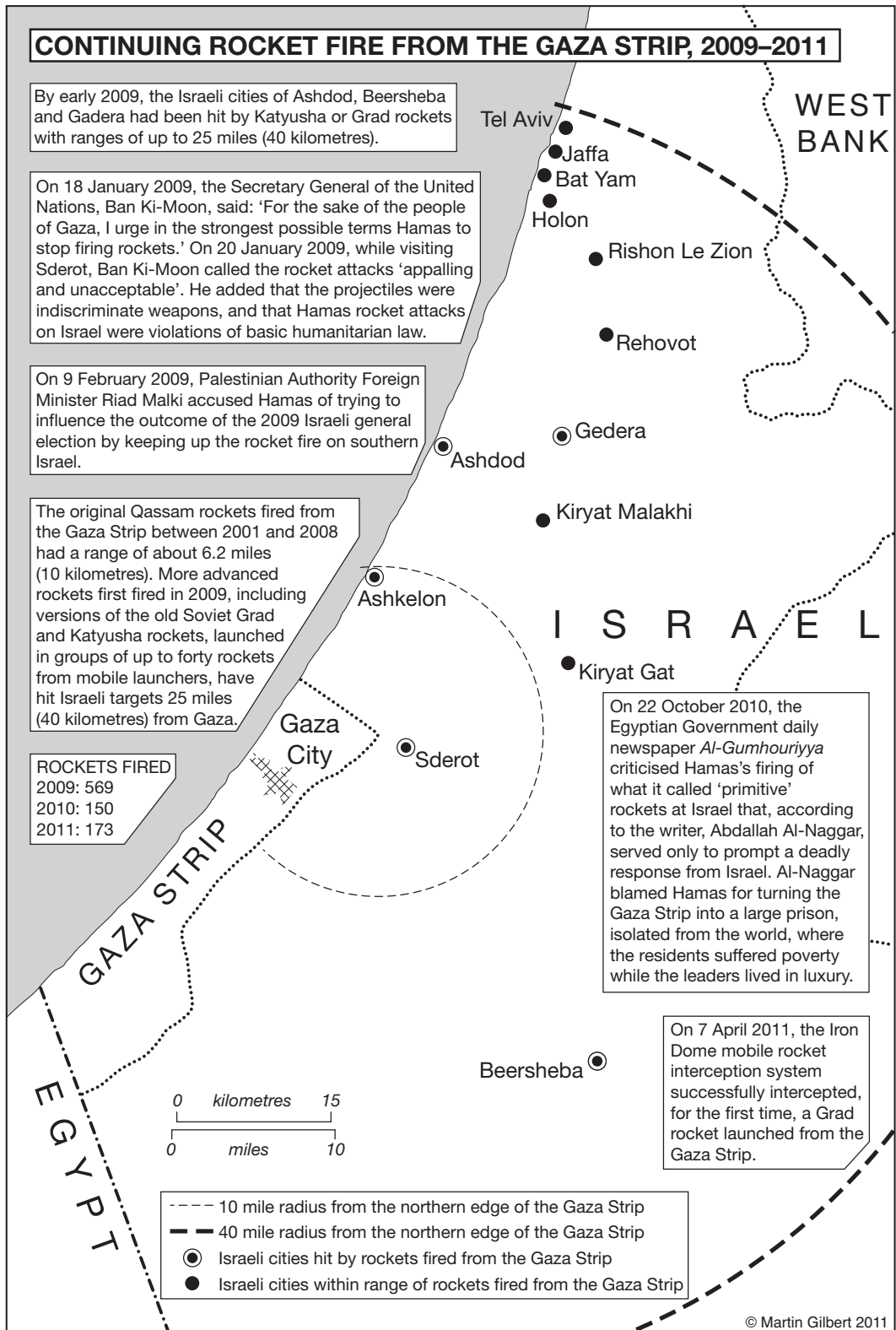
By early 2009, the Israeli cities of Ashdod, Beersheba and Gadera had been hit by Katyusha or Grad rockets with ranges of up to 25 miles (40 kilometres).

On 18 January 2009, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon, said: 'For the sake of the people of Gaza, I urge in the strongest possible terms Hamas to stop firing rockets.' On 20 January 2009, while visiting Sderot, Ban Ki-Moon called the rocket attacks 'appalling and unacceptable'. He added that the projectiles were indiscriminate weapons, and that Hamas rocket attacks on Israel were violations of basic humanitarian law.

On 9 February 2009, Palestinian Authority Foreign Minister Riad Malki accused Hamas of trying to influence the outcome of the 2009 Israeli general election by keeping up the rocket fire on southern Israel.

The original Qassam rockets fired from the Gaza Strip between 2001 and 2008 had a range of about 6.2 miles (10 kilometres). More advanced rockets first fired in 2009, including versions of the old Soviet Grad and Katyusha rockets, launched in groups of up to forty rockets from mobile launchers, have hit Israeli targets 25 miles (40 kilometres) from Gaza.

**ROCKETS FIRED**  
 2009: 569  
 2010: 150  
 2011: 173



On 22 October 2010, the Egyptian Government daily newspaper *Al-Gumhouryya* criticised Hamas's firing of what it called 'primitive' rockets at Israel that, according to the writer, Abdallah Al-Naggar, served only to prompt a deadly response from Israel. Al-Naggar blamed Hamas for turning the Gaza Strip into a large prison, isolated from the world, where the residents suffered poverty while the leaders lived in luxury.

On 7 April 2011, the Iron Dome mobile rocket interception system successfully intercepted, for the first time, a Grad rocket launched from the Gaza Strip.

- 10 mile radius from the northern edge of the Gaza Strip
- .- 40 mile radius from the northern edge of the Gaza Strip
- Israeli cities hit by rockets fired from the Gaza Strip
- Israeli cities within range of rockets fired from the Gaza Strip

## NAKBA DAY, 15 MAY 2011

During the Nakba Day protest on the Lebanon border, 4 Palestinians were killed and 15 wounded, as protesters approached the border from the Lebanese town of Maroun a-Ras. According to eyewitnesses, those killed were shot by Lebanese border guards.

Encouraged by the embattled Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad, thousands of Palestinian refugees living in Syria (some since 1948) marched towards the village of Majdal Shams in the Golan Heights, which Israel had captured from Syria in 1967. Israel Radio reported that at least four people were killed by Israeli troops as they crossed the border. A statement from the Israel Defense Forces said: 'IDF forces opened fire in order to prevent the violent rioters from illegally infiltrating Israeli territory. A number of rioters have infiltrated and are violently rioting in the village. From initial reports there are dozens of injured that are receiving medical care in a nearby hospital.'

Mediterranean  
Sea

In the Gaza Strip, 60 Palestinians were injured by Israeli shelling and machine-gun fire when protesters approached the heavily fortified Erez border crossing.

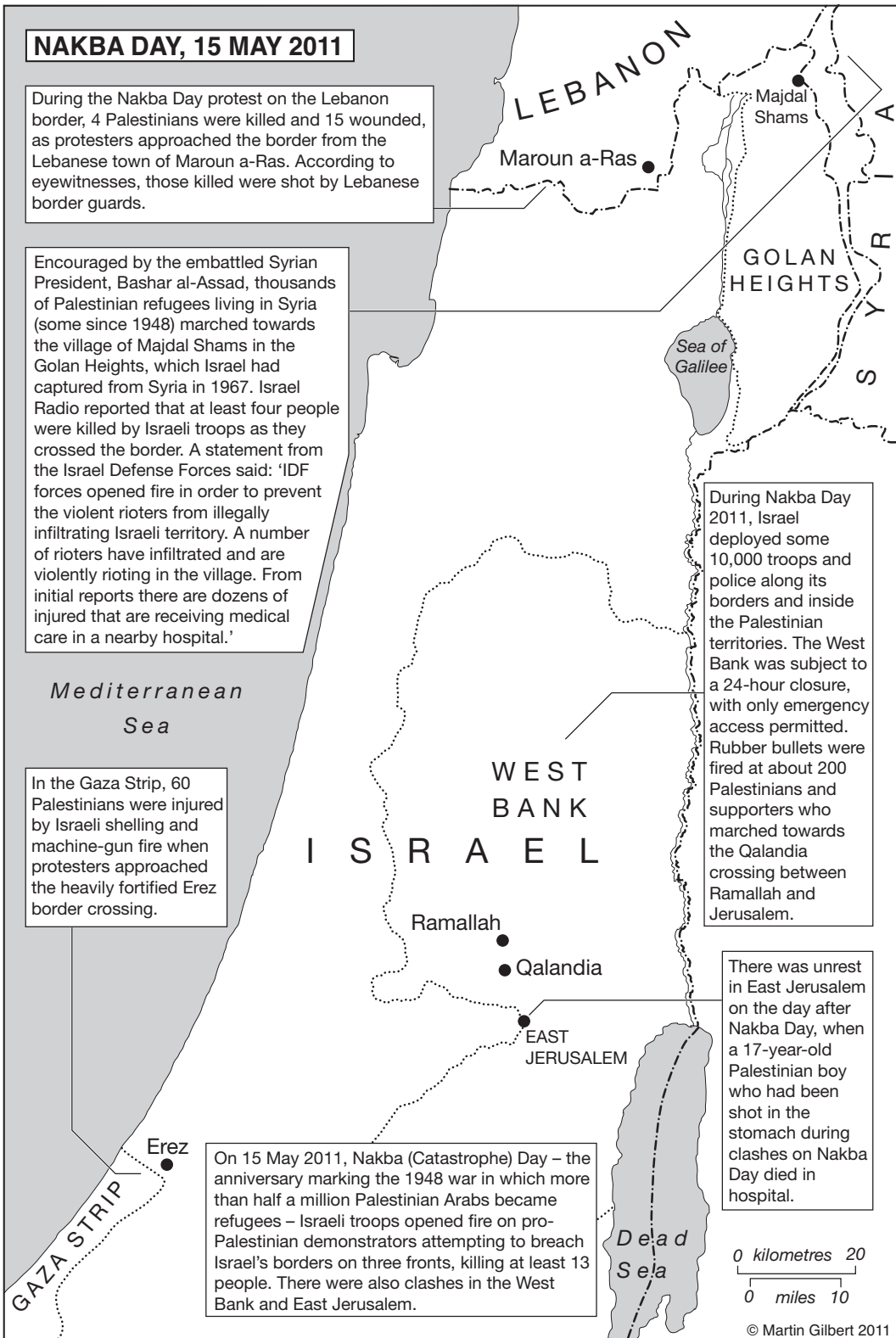
On 15 May 2011, Nakba (Catastrophe) Day – the anniversary marking the 1948 war in which more than half a million Palestinian Arabs became refugees – Israeli troops opened fire on pro-Palestinian demonstrators attempting to breach Israel's borders on three fronts, killing at least 13 people. There were also clashes in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

During Nakba Day 2011, Israel deployed some 10,000 troops and police along its borders and inside the Palestinian territories. The West Bank was subject to a 24-hour closure, with only emergency access permitted. Rubber bullets were fired at about 200 Palestinians and supporters who marched towards the Qalandia crossing between Ramallah and Jerusalem.

There was unrest in East Jerusalem on the day after Nakba Day, when a 17-year-old Palestinian boy who had been shot in the stomach during clashes on Nakba Day died in hospital.

0 kilometres 20  
0 miles 10

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# THE ISRAELI ARAB MINORITY

The Arab population of Israel in 2010 was 1,573,000, representing 20.4% of Israel's population (Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics). Many have family ties to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as to Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Most are Muslim Arabs; some 117,000 are Christian Arabs.

In Haifa, the 26,500 Arab inhabitants make up 10% of the total population.

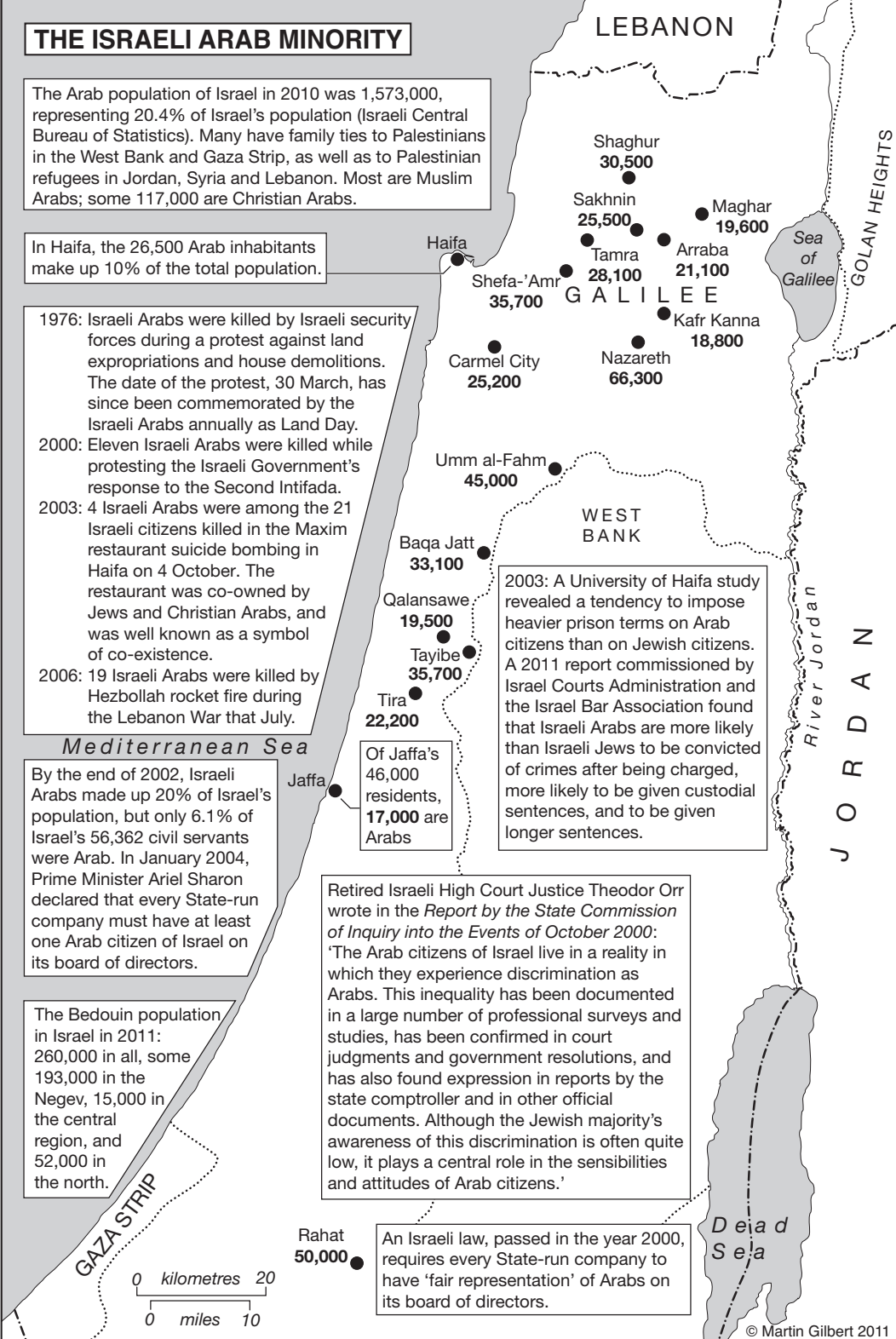
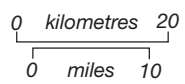
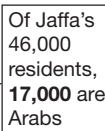
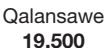
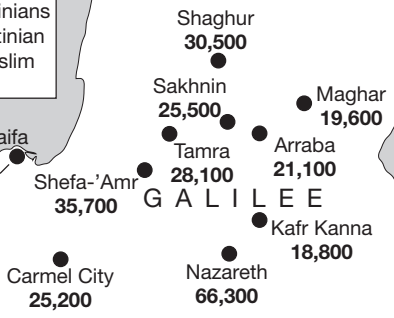
- 1976: Israeli Arabs were killed by Israeli security forces during a protest against land expropriations and house demolitions. The date of the protest, 30 March, has since been commemorated by the Israeli Arabs annually as Land Day.
- 2000: Eleven Israeli Arabs were killed while protesting the Israeli Government's response to the Second Intifada.
- 2003: 4 Israeli Arabs were among the 21 Israeli citizens killed in the Maxim restaurant suicide bombing in Haifa on 4 October. The restaurant was co-owned by Jews and Christian Arabs, and was well known as a symbol of co-existence.
- 2006: 19 Israeli Arabs were killed by Hezbollah rocket fire during the Lebanon War that July.

By the end of 2002, Israeli Arabs made up 20% of Israel's population, but only 6.1% of Israel's 56,362 civil servants were Arab. In January 2004, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon declared that every State-run company must have at least one Arab citizen of Israel on its board of directors.

The Bedouin population in Israel in 2011: 260,000 in all, some 193,000 in the Negev, 15,000 in the central region, and 52,000 in the north.

Retired Israeli High Court Justice Theodor Orr wrote in the *Report by the State Commission of Inquiry into the Events of October 2000*: 'The Arab citizens of Israel live in a reality in which they experience discrimination as Arabs. This inequality has been documented in a large number of professional surveys and studies, has been confirmed in court judgments and government resolutions, and has also found expression in reports by the state comptroller and in other official documents. Although the Jewish majority's awareness of this discrimination is often quite low, it plays a central role in the sensibilities and attitudes of Arab citizens.'

An Israeli law, passed in the year 2000, requires every State-run company to have 'fair representation' of Arabs on its board of directors.





# ISRAELI ARABS AND ISRAELI JEWS: A JOINT SCHOOLS PROJECT, 2010–2011

In 2011 there were 34,000 Jews and 12,000 Arabs in Acco. The 'Peace Child Israel' project uses theatres and the arts to teach Arab–Jewish cooperation.

Mediterranean Sea

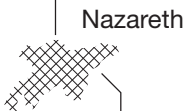
LEBANON

- Arab schools participating in joint projects, 2011–2012
- Jewish schools participating in joint projects, 2011–2012
- ..... The pre-1967 Israel border (1949 cease-fire line)

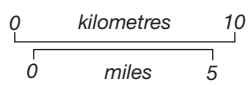
The Abraham Fund Initiatives 'Education for a Shared Society' conducts joint educational programmes for neighbouring Arab–Jewish communities. It is advanced through the fund's bilingual Hebrew–Arabic online resource centre, to reinforce and support the work of civics and coexistence educators in Jewish and Arab schools. An interactive resource centre provides teaching materials and information on democracy and education for shared citizenship. The Jewish and Arab schools shown on this map are linked in joint activities.

The Abraham Fund Police/Arab Community Relations Initiative was established in response to the deaths of 12 Israeli Arabs in October 2000. The programme runs diversity and cultural sensitivity training programmes for police staff and provides a forum for planning and problem-solving partnerships between local police and Arab community leaders.

The Nazareth Metropolitan Area includes five Arab and two Jewish local councils, with a population of some 210,000, of whom more than 125,000 (59%) are Israeli Arabs and 85,000 (41%) are Israeli Jews. It is the only urban area in Israel with more than 50,000 residents where the majority of the population is Arab.

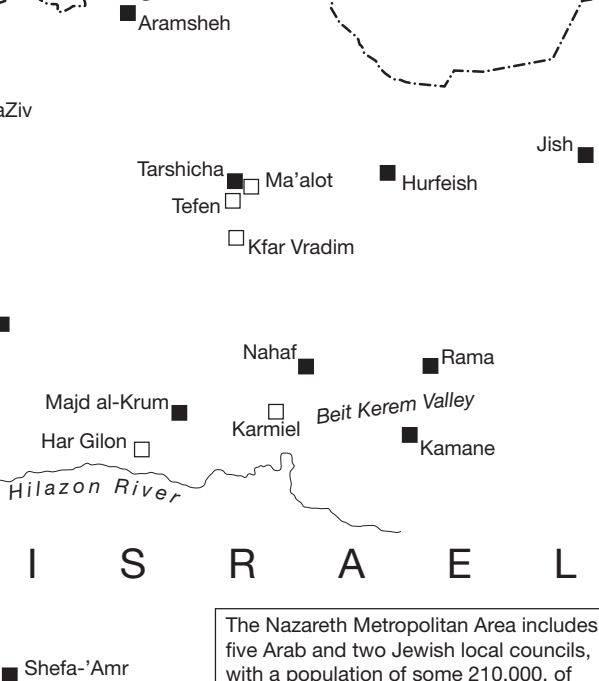


In January 2011, the Abraham Fund participated in the UK Task Force On Issues Facing Arab Citizens of Israel. The visit was based in Nazareth. The Task Force supports Israel's Declaration of Independence promises of social and political equality for Jews and Arabs alike. It is committed to building a shared society between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens. Its six UK founding member organisations were the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the New Israel Fund UK, the Pears Foundation, the UK Friends of the Abraham Fund Initiatives, the United Jewish Israel Appeal and the Zionist Federation.



Umm el-Fahm ●

WEST BANK

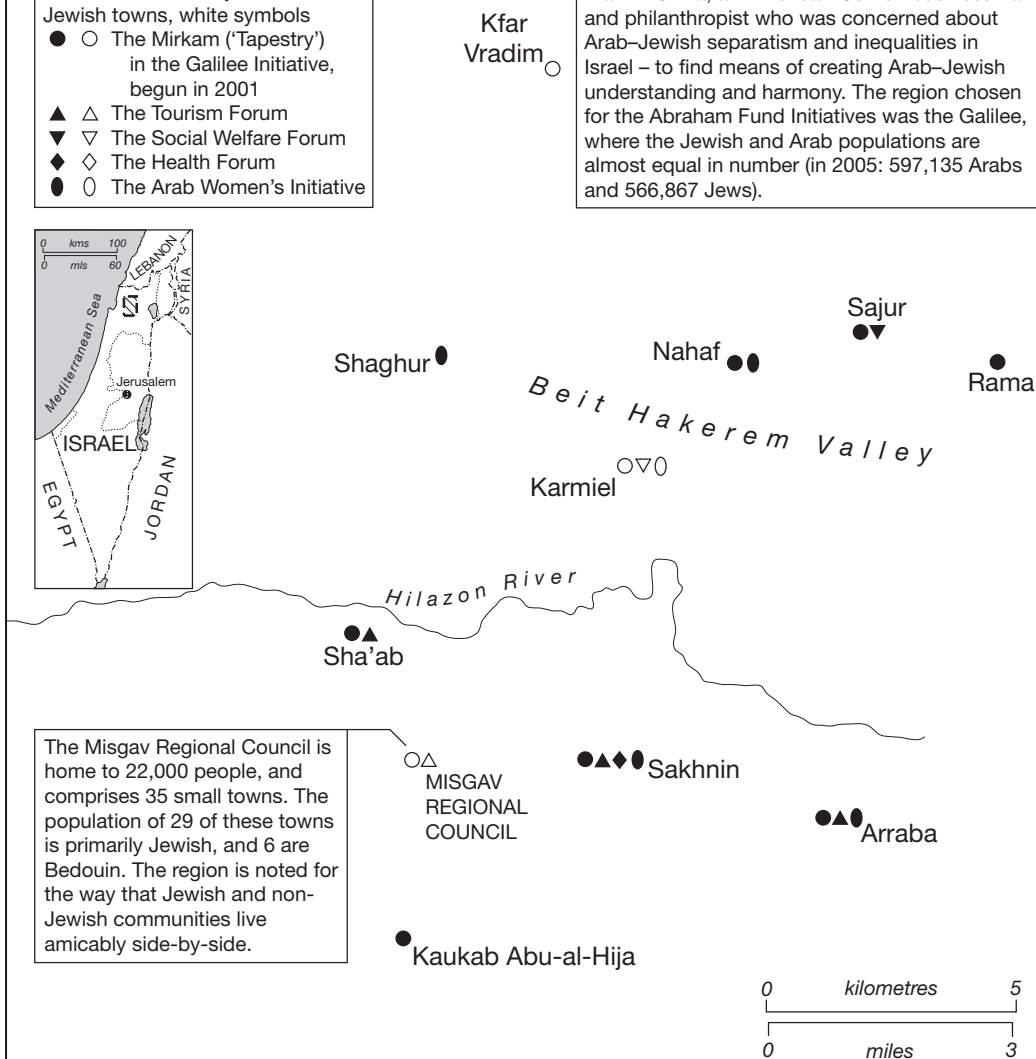


## ISRAELI ARABS AND ISRAELI JEWS: PROJECTS FOR RECONCILIATION, 2000–2011

Arab towns, black symbols;  
Jewish towns, white symbols

- ○ The Mirkam ('Tapestry') in the Galilee Initiative, begun in 2001
- ▲ △ The Tourism Forum
- ▼ ▽ The Social Welfare Forum
- ◆ ◇ The Health Forum
- ○ The Arab Women's Initiative

The Abraham Fund was established in 1989 – by Alan B. Slifka, an American-Jewish businessman and philanthropist who was concerned about Arab-Jewish separatism and inequalities in Israel – to find means of creating Arab-Jewish understanding and harmony. The region chosen for the Abraham Fund Initiatives was the Galilee, where the Jewish and Arab populations are almost equal in number (in 2005: 597,135 Arabs and 566,867 Jews).



The Misgav Regional Council is home to 22,000 people, and comprises 35 small towns. The population of 29 of these towns is primarily Jewish, and 6 are Bedouin. The region is noted for the way that Jewish and non-Jewish communities live amicably side-by-side.

The Abraham Fund's Mirkam ('Tapestry') in the Galilee Initiative was founded in the Beit Hakerem Valley: 12 Jewish and Arab local and regional municipalities, with 110,000 Arab and 70,000 Jewish inhabitants in all, in cooperation with the Jewish and Arab local authorities, as a model of cooperation and coexistence. The Tourism Forum was established to encourage joint municipal tourism ventures in the Hilazon River Valley. The Social Welfare Forum is a shelter in Sakhnin for those with special needs, in cooperation with Karmiel. The Health Forum promotes equality in accessibility and quality of health services. The Arab Women's Initiative 'Partnership for Life' ('Sharikat Haya') encourages greater employment among Arab women in Israel.

Other Abraham Fund Initiatives promote Mayoral Cooperation, Environmental Justice, Regional Planning and Development, Education for Coexistence, and Women's Leadership.

# THE JORDAN VALLEY, 1948–2011



In 1948, during the first Arab–Israeli war, the two Jewish villages in the Jordan Valley – that part of British Mandate Palestine in the valley west of the River Jordan – were overrun and their population forced to leave, as were the 170 Jews living in Jericho. In 1949 the Palestinian city of Jericho and the 21 Palestinian villages and hamlets in the Jordan Valley came under Jordanian occupation. In 1967, Israel occupied the Jordan Valley and began a policy of substantial Jewish settlement. By 2011 there were 39 Israeli settlements, some with a considerable land area.

Under the Allon Plan of 1970 (see map 135), after any Israeli–Palestinian agreement, Israel would retain control of (and sovereignty over) the Jordan Valley – with the exception of a three-mile-wide corridor from the West Bank through Jericho to the Allenby Bridge.

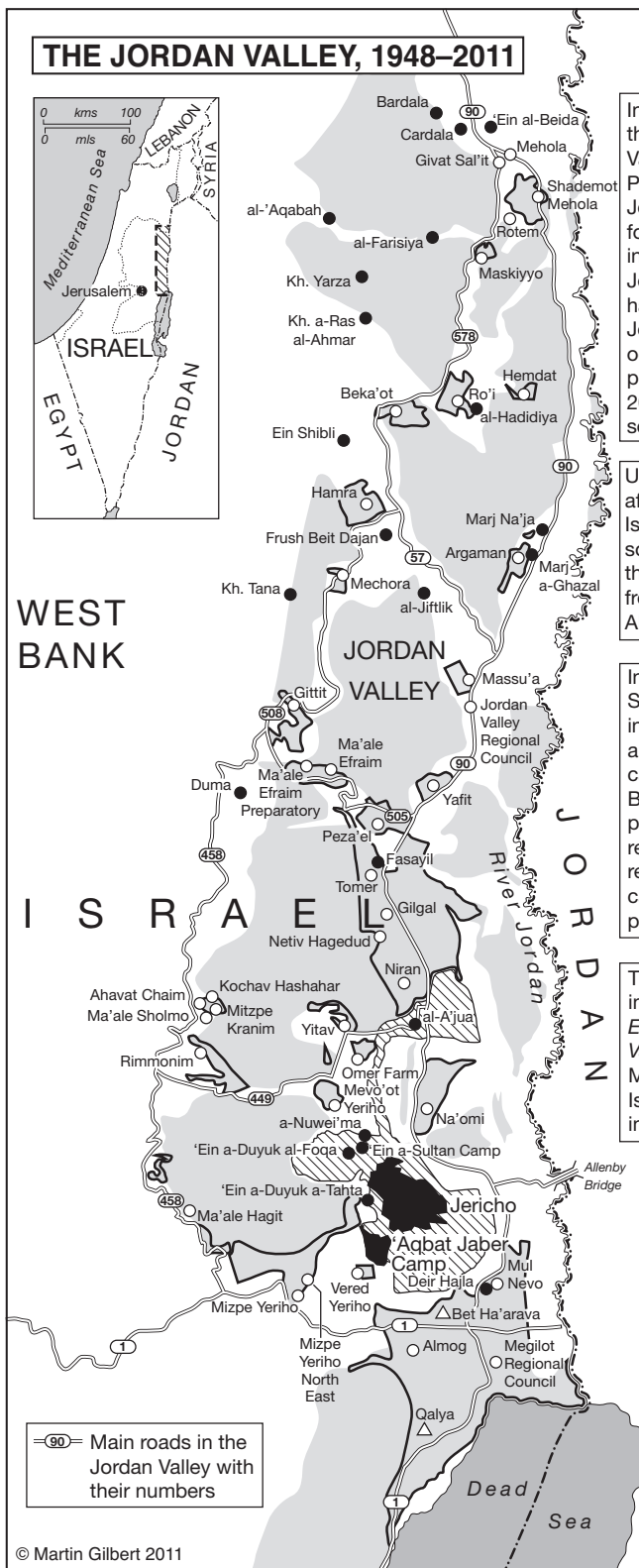
In a 1945 land and population survey by Sami Hadawi, there were 3,010 inhabitants in Jericho, of whom 94% (2,840) were Arab and 6% (170) were Jews. In the first census carried out by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics in 1997, Jericho's population was 14,674; Palestinian refugees constituted 43.6% of Jericho's residents (6,393 people in two refugee camps). In 2011, Jericho had a Palestinian population of more than 20,000.

This map is based upon maps and material in Yael Stein (editor), *Dispossession and Exploitation: Israel's Policy in the Jordan Valley and Northern Dead Sea*, Jerusalem, May 2011, published by B'tselem, The Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.

WEST BANK

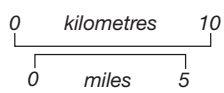
I S R A E L

JORDAN  
River Jordan



- Palestinian towns and villages in the Jordan Valley
- Israeli villages destroyed in 1948
- Israeli settlements built in the Jordan Valley after 1967
- Israeli settlement land area in 2011
- Part of the Jordan Valley under the Palestinian Authority since 1994
- Parts of the Jordan Valley closed to Palestinians, 2011

Main roads in the Jordan Valley with their numbers



## THE HALTING SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT, 2010–2011

While no formal or official talks were held between the Israeli and Palestinian leaders in 2010 and 2011 (to September), informal talks did take place, including those shown on this map.

In Washington, President Obama set out his ideas for a peaceful agreement, based on the land swaps as discussed by Ehud Olmert and Mahmoud Abbas in 2008 (see map 2006). Benjamin Netanyahu responded in Washington five days later, rejecting prior conditions, but setting out his vision for peace.



● Meetings between President Shimon Peres of Israel and President Mahmoud Abbas of Palestine, September 2010 to July 2011.

After meeting Abbas in London in mid-May 2011, the Israeli President, Shimon Peres, flew to the United States for a meeting with President Obama. Israeli and American sources suggested that Obama's 19 May 2011 speech included ideas heard from Peres in that meeting. Obama's mention of the '1967 lines' echoed Peres's remarks in Israel nine days earlier, supporting the '1967 territory' and suggesting that Israelis living in Judeaea and Samaria 'return home' to pre-1967 Israel. Obama said in his speech: 'The borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognised borders are established for both States.'

## THE UNITED NATIONS AND A PALESTINIAN STATE, 23 SEPTEMBER 2011

On 23 September 2010, President Obama told the United Nations General Assembly that he hoped to see a Palestinian State come into being after a year, based on the 1967 borders (the 1949 cease-fire lines) with land swaps (see map 2006). One year later, the United States announced that it would veto any vote in the United Nations Security Council that favoured a Palestinian State – a vote requested by the Palestinian President, Mahmoud Abbas. Speaking in the United Nations General Assembly on 23 September 2011, President Abbas called on the Security Council to recognise a Palestinian State. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu replied that only direct negotiations could lead to Palestinian statehood.

'In the last few weeks, American officials have put forward ideas to restart peace talks. There were things in those ideas about borders that I didn't like. There were things there about the Jewish State that I'm sure the Palestinians didn't like. But with all my reservations, I was willing to move forward on these American ideas. President Abbas, why don't you join me? We have to stop negotiating about the negotiations. Let's just get on with it. Let's negotiate peace. I spent years defending Israel on the battlefield. I spent decades defending Israel in the court of public opinion. President Abbas, you've dedicated your life to advancing the Palestinian cause. Must this conflict continue for generations, or will we enable our children and our grandchildren to speak in years ahead of how we found a way to end it?'

Benjamin Netanyahu, United Nations, New York, 23 September 2011

'If an agreement is not reached, Palestinians will never know the pride and dignity that comes with their own State. Israelis will never know the certainty and security that comes with sovereign and stable neighbors who are committed to co-existence. The hard realities of demography will take hold. More blood will be shed. This Holy Land will remain a symbol of our differences, instead of our common humanity. ... Those of us who are friends of Israel must understand that true security for the Jewish State requires an independent Palestine – one that allows the Palestinian people to live with dignity and opportunity. And those of us who are friends of the Palestinians must understand that the rights of the Palestinian people will be won only through peaceful means - including genuine reconciliation with a secure Israel.'

President Obama, United Nations, New York, 23 September 2011

'Negotiations will be meaningless as long as the occupation army on the ground continues to entrench its occupation, instead of rolling it back, and continues to change the demography of our country in order to create a new basis on which to alter the borders.'

Mahmoud Abbas, United Nations, New York, 23 September 2010



## TONY BLAIR: THE QUARTET AND ISRAEL/PALESTINE, 2007–2011

On 27 June 2007, Tony Blair was appointed Middle East envoy working on behalf of the Quartet: the United States, Russia, the United Nations and the European Union. The announcement came just hours after he stood down after ten years as British Prime Minister, and shortly before it was announced he would no longer be a Member of Parliament.

Between June 2007 and September 2011, Tony Blair made 71 visits to Israel.

'Quartet Representative Tony Blair, along with his team of advisers in Jerusalem, aims to facilitate Palestinian economic growth, improved security and institutional development, so that the political negotiating process can take place in an environment of increased confidence and trust. Israelis, Palestinians and their political leaders need to accept the need for a peace agreement, recognise the economic and social potential that peace can deliver – real and lasting change, rather than violence. They also need to accept that a peace agreement really is possible.'

Website of the Office of Tony Blair

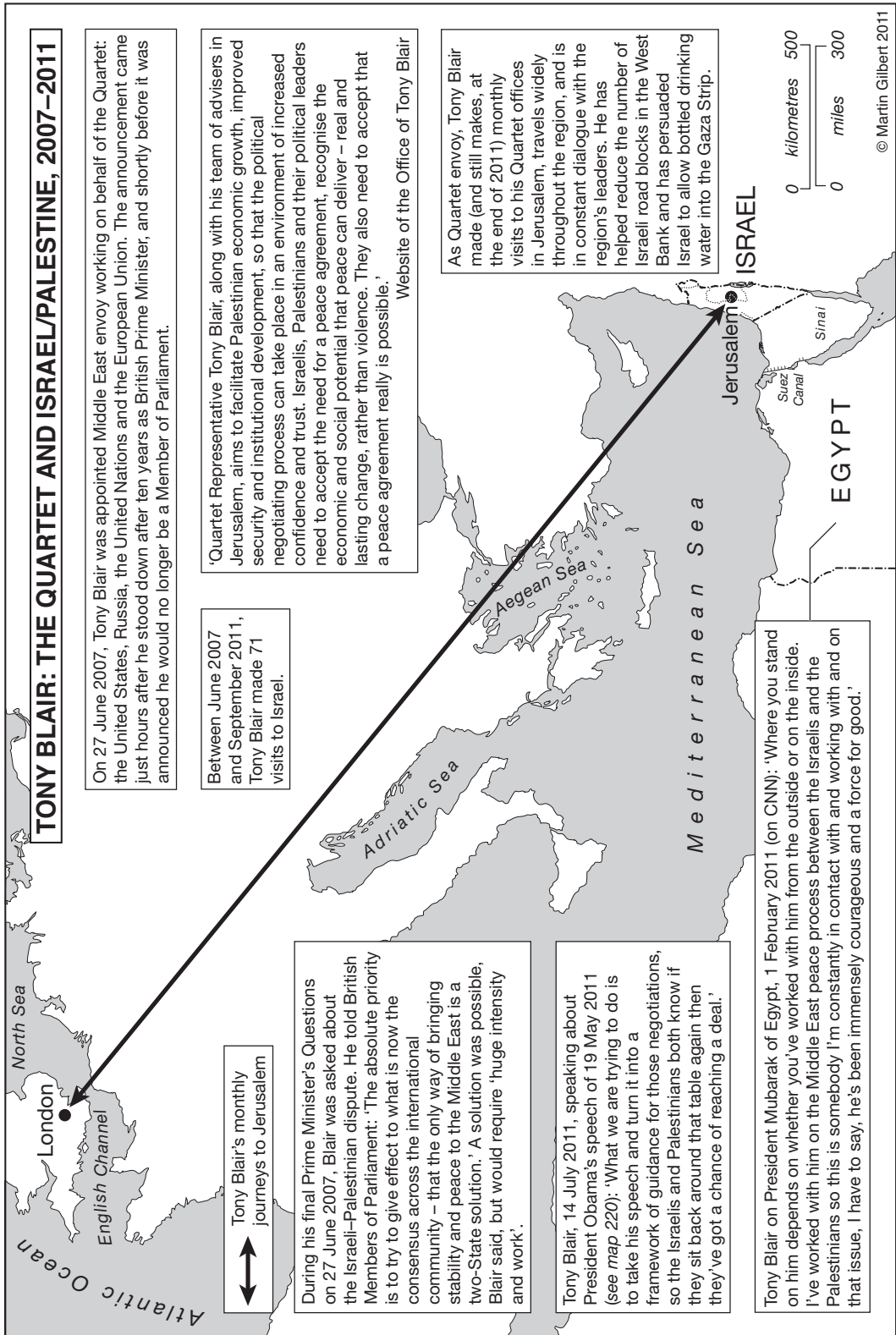
↕  
Tony Blair's monthly  
journeys to Jerusalem

During his final Prime Minister's Questions on 27 June 2007, Blair was asked about the Israeli–Palestinian dispute. He told British Members of Parliament: 'The absolute priority is to try to give effect to what is now the consensus across the international community – that the only way of bringing stability and peace to the Middle East is a two-State solution.' A solution was possible, Blair said, but would require 'huge intensity and work.'

Tony Blair, 14 July 2011, speaking about President Obama's speech of 19 May 2011 (see map 220): 'What we are trying to do is to take his speech and turn it into a framework of guidance for those negotiations, so the Israelis and Palestinians both know if they sit back around that table again then they've got a chance of reaching a deal.'

Tony Blair on President Mubarak of Egypt, 1 February 2011 (on CNN): 'Where you stand on him depends on whether you've worked with him from the outside or on the inside. I've worked with him on the Middle East peace process between the Israelis and the Palestinians so this is somebody I'm constantly in contact with and working with and on that issue. I have to say, he's been immensely courageous and a force for good.'

As Quartet envoy, Tony Blair made (and still makes, at the end of 2011) monthly visits to his Quartet offices in Jerusalem, travels widely throughout the region, and is in constant dialogue with the region's leaders. He has helped reduce the number of Israeli road blocks in the West Bank and has persuaded Israel to allow bottled drinking water into the Gaza Strip.





## TONY BLAIR'S QUARTET JOURNEYS, 2007-2011

This map shows the cities visited by Tony Blair between 2007 and 2011 for meetings of the Quartet (the United States, Russia, the United Nations and the European Union), and also shows other cities in which he conducted negotiations in search of a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israel conflict.



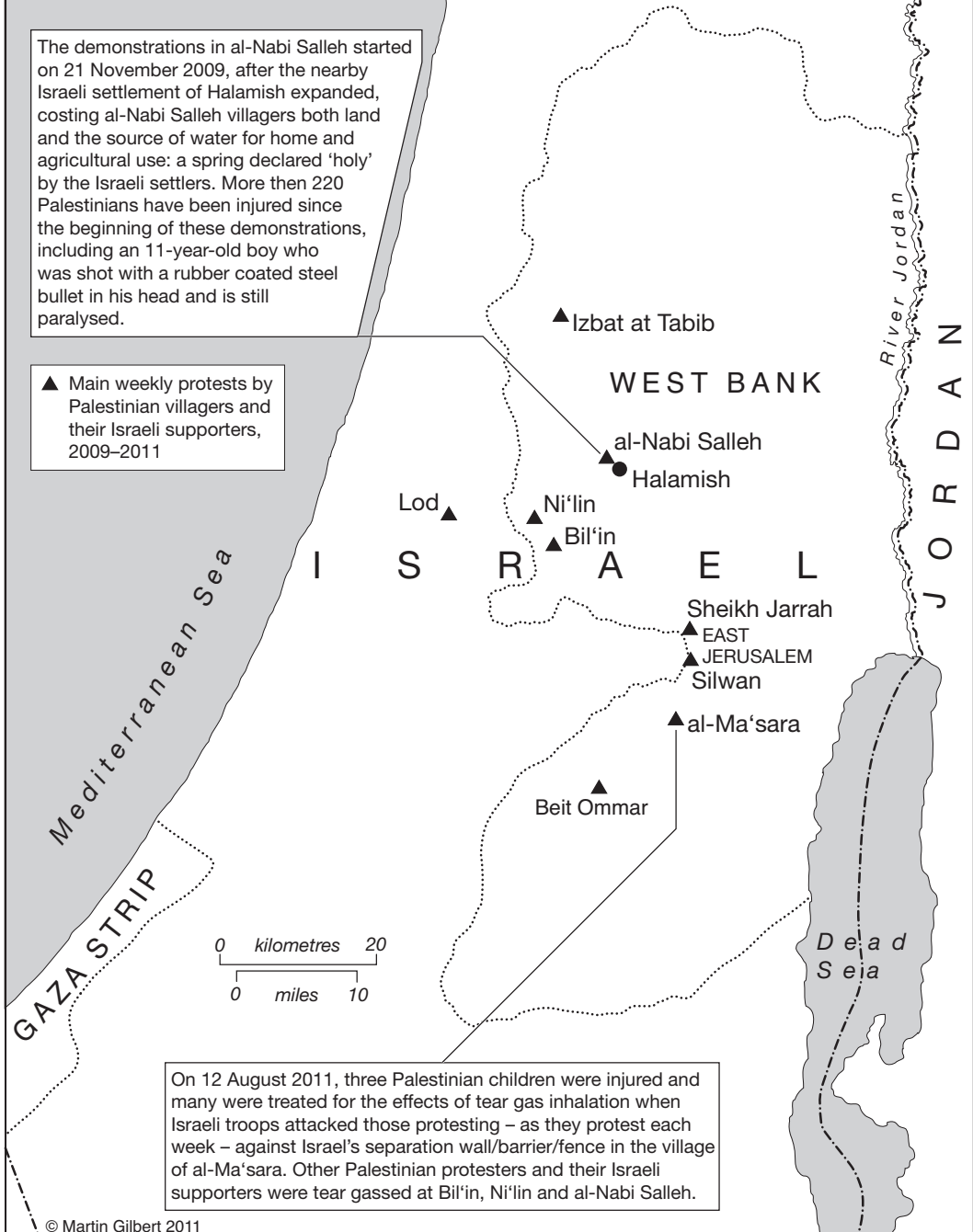
- Meetings of the Quartet at which Tony Blair was present, in furtherance of Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation
- Other cities in which Tony Blair conducted negotiations to try to help resolve the Arab-Israel conflict

## JOINT PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI PUBLIC PROTESTS, 2009-2011

Small groups of Israelis and Palestinians meet regularly together to protest at what both groups see as Israeli injustice towards the Palestinians. These protest meetings take place at Palestinian villages, and at areas in East Jerusalem where the protesters – Israelis and Palestinians alike – feel that the Israeli Government has acted unjustly towards the Palestinians, by taking away their land, denying them access to it, and building Israeli housing on it.

The demonstrations in al-Nabi Salleh started on 21 November 2009, after the nearby Israeli settlement of Halamish expanded, costing al-Nabi Salleh villagers both land and the source of water for home and agricultural use: a spring declared 'holy' by the Israeli settlers. More than 220 Palestinians have been injured since the beginning of these demonstrations, including an 11-year-old boy who was shot with a rubber coated steel bullet in his head and is still paralysed.



▲ Main weekly protests by Palestinian villagers and their Israeli supporters, 2009-2011



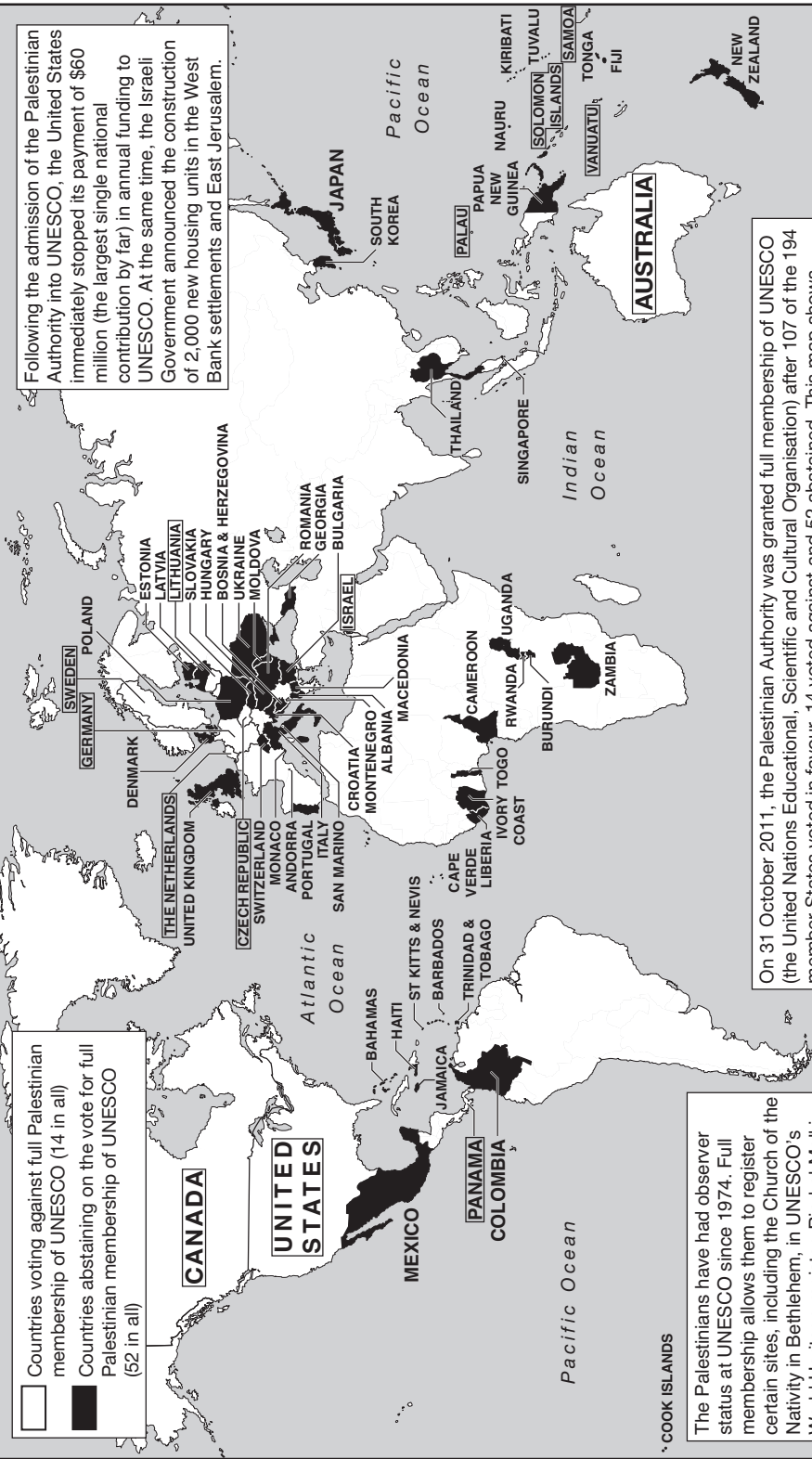
© Martin Gilbert 2011



# THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY BECOMES A FULL MEMBER OF UNESCO, 31 OCTOBER 2011

-  Countries voting against full Palestinian membership of UNESCO (14 in all)
-  Countries abstaining on the vote for full Palestinian membership of UNESCO (52 in all)

Following the admission of the Palestinian Authority into UNESCO, the United States immediately stopped its payment of \$60 million (the largest single national contribution by far) in annual funding to UNESCO. At the same time, the Israeli Government announced the construction of 2,000 new housing units in the West Bank settlements and East Jerusalem.



The Palestinians have had observer status at UNESCO since 1974. Full membership allows them to register certain sites, including the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, in UNESCO's World Heritage register. Riad al-Malki, the Palestinian Foreign Minister, said that the vote would help to 'preserve cultural heritage in Palestine'.

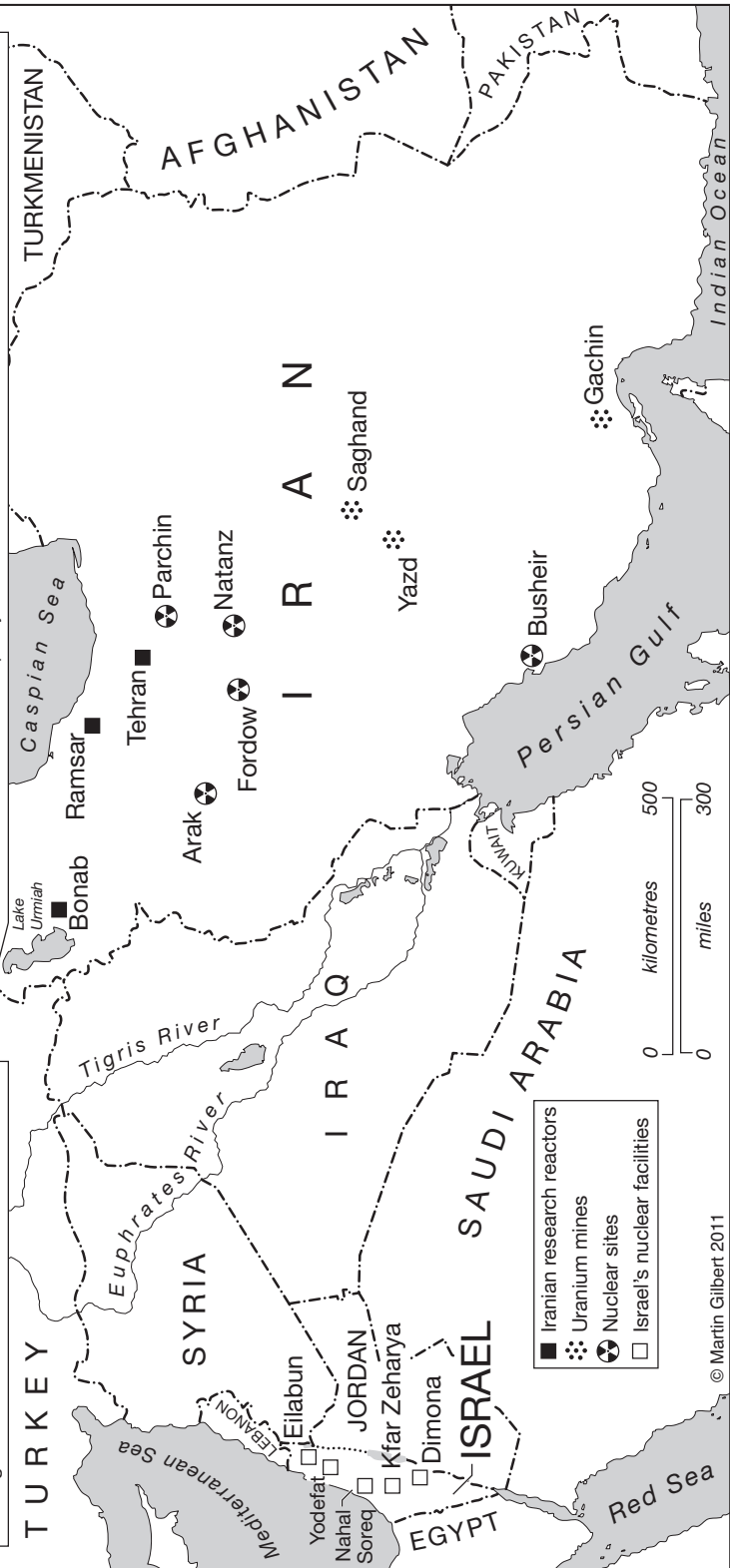
On 31 October 2011, the Palestinian Authority was granted full membership of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) after 107 of the 194 member States voted in favour, 14 voted against and 52 abstained. This map shows those who voted against, and those who abstained. UNESCO was the first international organisation to admit Palestine as a full member, despite strong opposition from several member countries, including the United States.

## THE IRANIAN DIMENSION, 2011-2012

The prospect of Iran building a nuclear weapon was intensified in November 2011 by the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) detailing the most recent Iranian efforts, and ringing alarm bells throughout the world, including in Israel, the United States and Britain. China and Russia, however, initially opposed a strengthening of the existing sanctions on Iran.

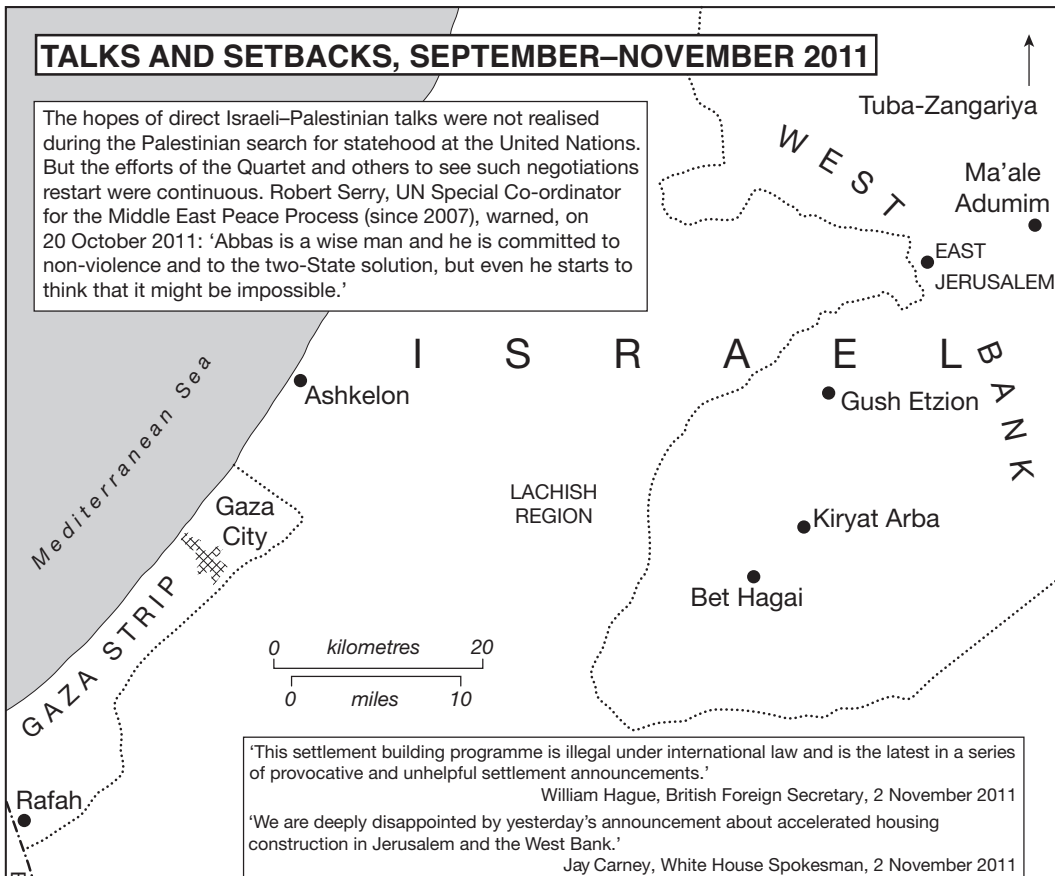
### TWO WEEKS IN NOVEMBER 2011

- 1 November: Israel's Defence Minister Ehud Barak tells the Knesset in Jerusalem that recent developments in the Middle East could 'lead to situations in which Israel will have to defend its interests or act on our own, without needing to rely on regional powers or others for help'.
- 2 November: Ehud Barak in London for meetings with senior British defence officials.
- 2 November: The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reports that Iran has built a steel container for testing explosives needed to detonate a nuclear bomb, and that it had begun to install at Fordow an advanced centrifuge capable of dramatically increasing its production of enriched uranium.
- 9 November: Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu says of the IAEA report: 'The significance of the report is that the international community must bring about the cessation of Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons which endanger the peace of the world and the Middle East'.
- 14 November: Emergency summit in Hawaii, of the United States, Chinese and Russian presidents, discusses the need for a common policy on Iran.



## TALKS AND SETBACKS, SEPTEMBER–NOVEMBER 2011

The hopes of direct Israeli–Palestinian talks were not realised during the Palestinian search for statehood at the United Nations. But the efforts of the Quartet and others to see such negotiations restart were continuous. Robert Serry, UN Special Co-ordinator for the Middle East Peace Process (since 2007), warned, on 20 October 2011: ‘Abbas is a wise man and he is committed to non-violence and to the two-State solution, but even he starts to think that it might be impossible.’



‘This settlement building programme is illegal under international law and is the latest in a series of provocative and unhelpful settlement announcements.’

William Hague, British Foreign Secretary, 2 November 2011

‘We are deeply disappointed by yesterday’s announcement about accelerated housing construction in Jerusalem and the West Bank.’

Jay Carney, White House Spokesman, 2 November 2011

23 September: Mahmoud Abbas, President of the Palestinian Authority, appeals at the United Nations General Assembly in New York for Palestinian statehood.

23 September: 25-year-old Asher Palmer and his 9-month-old son Yonatan are killed when their car overturns after Palestinians threw rocks at it on the West Bank, near the Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba.

23 September: The Quartet (the United States, Russia, the United Nations and the European Union) calls for Israel and the Palestinians to resume peace talks within a month. This does not happen.

3 October: Tuba-Zangariya: Ten days after the death of Asher Palmer and his son, Jewish vigilantes scrawl ‘Revenge’ and ‘Price Tag’ on a mosque which they then set fire to and vandalise. Israel’s President Shimon Peres denounces the act as ‘un-Jewish, illegal and immoral’; one that ‘brings heavy shame upon us’.

26 October: To commemorate the assassination by Israel of its founder, Dr Fathi Shkaki, in Malta in 1995, Islamic Jihad launches a Grad missile against the Lachish Region. No damage or casualties.

26 October: The Quartet brings Israeli and Palestinian negotiators together, to dissuade the Palestinians from seeking statehood through the United Nations, and to restart direct peace talks.

29 October: Israel retaliates against the 26 October missile attack: 5 Islamic Jihad fighters killed near Rafah; 5 in Gaza.

30 October: 56-year-old Moshe Ami is killed in Ashkelon by rocket fire from Gaza.

31 October: UNESCO votes to admit Palestine as a full member (see map 225).

1 November: Israeli Cabinet authorises construction of 2,000 housing units in East Jerusalem, Gush Etzion and Ma’aleh Adumim.

10 November: UNESCO suspends all new projects for the rest of the year because the United States withdrew funding, effectively denying the Palestinians any immediate gain from membership.

11 November: Palestinian hopes of gaining the required nine votes in New York, in the United Nations Security Council, in favour of Palestinian statehood are dashed.

11 November: 55-year-old Israeli Rabbi Dan Mertzbach fails to see an Israeli soldier flagging him down at a West Bank checkpoint near the Bet Hagai settlement, and is shot dead.