

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY *of*

# ISRAEL



BERNARD REICH  
DAVID H. GOLDBERG

THIRD  
EDITION



The logo for the Historical Dictionary is centered on a solid red rectangular background. It features the letters 'H', 'D', and 'D' in a large, bold, gold-colored serif font. The word 'HISTORICAL' is written in a smaller, gold-colored serif font across the middle of the first 'D', and the word 'DICTIONARY' is written in the same smaller font across the middle of the second 'D'.

# H D D HISTORICAL DICTIONARY

The historical dictionaries present essential information on a broad range of subjects, including American and world history, art, business, cities, countries, cultures, customs, film, global conflicts, international relations, literature, music, philosophy, religion, sports, and theater. Written by experts, all contain highly informative introductory essays on the topic and detailed chronologies that, in some cases, cover vast historical time periods but still manage to heavily feature more recent events.

Brief A–Z entries describe the main people, events, politics, social issues, institutions, and policies that make the topic unique, and entries are cross-referenced for ease of browsing. Extensive bibliographies are divided into several general subject areas, providing excellent access points for students, researchers, and anyone wanting to know more. Additionally, maps, photographs, and appendixes of supplemental information aid high school and college students doing term papers or introductory research projects. In short, the historical dictionaries are the perfect starting point for anyone looking to research in these fields.

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# Historical Dictionary of Israel

*Third Edition*

Bernard Reich  
David H. Goldberg

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*For the Reich grandchildren: Morgan Riley, Katherine Belle, Evan Isaac,  
Sidney Elizabeth, John Alexander, Benjamin Hiro, and Andrew Ryan.*

*—Bernard Reich*

*For Sheri and our children: Adara, Shayna, Rebecca, and Paul.*

*—David H. Goldberg*





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## Editor's Foreword

Few countries have attracted more attention and generated more controversy than Israel. Born out of struggle, it has been compelled to defend itself in a series of wars to survive, even as it has pursued the elusive goal of peace and stability. Domestically, it succeeded in creating a modern democratic state based on the infrastructure of governmental institutions established under the British Mandate for Palestine (1922–1948). A greater challenge was to generate a productive and relatively prosperous economy despite the virtual absence of natural resources. And the country's most exacting challenge has been bringing together people of many backgrounds, races, and religions into a workable society. Despite its small size, Israel has been repeatedly thrust into a maelstrom of regional and world affairs, whether defending itself in the Middle East or establishing congenial relations with distant countries and international institutions. Although much of the news out of Israel relates to the country's struggle for survival, the country also has a long list of achievements, such as kibbutzes, scientific research, and cultural superstars.

Unlike other volumes in the series *Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East*, this book is not just telling us more about a country that is inadequately known. Much has been said and written about Israel. It is far more important to put this information in perspective, to describe threats and promises, accomplishments, and failures. An extensive chronology chronicles events, and the introduction provides the big picture. The dictionary section contains hundreds of entries on significant people; places and events; government institutions and political parties; wars and conflicts; and aspects of Israel's economy, society, and culture. There is a vast literature on Israel, and the bibliography is a good place to dive in and find other useful reading.

This third edition of *Historical Dictionary of Israel*, which is considerably expanded and updated, was written by Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg. Dr. Reich is the author of the first edition, and Drs. Reich and Goldberg jointly wrote the *Political Dictionary of Israel* and the second edition of this historical dictionary. Dr. Reich taught political science and international affairs at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., for more than four decades. He also authored, coauthored, or edited various books on Israel and the region and served as a consultant to government and business worldwide. Dr. Goldberg taught political science and international relations at York University in Toronto, Canada, and was the director of research and education for the Canada-Israel Committee. He, too, has authored or coedited

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several books on themes relating to Israeli and Middle Eastern political and security affairs. Between them, they have produced an even more useful resource guide to Israel at a particularly significant juncture in the country's evolution.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor

## Preface

Few countries of its size have attracted more attention and generated more controversy than Israel. It is a country beset by conflict in its region and faced with the need to integrate immigrants and to weld individuals of disparate backgrounds and ethnicities into a modern and advanced state. And although small in size and population, it has played a significant role in international relations. The state of Israel has been a magnet for attention. It has preoccupied students, observers, scholars, and journalists since its independence in 1948. Israel and its politics, hotly and vigorously debated both at home and abroad, have been the subject of a substantial and often highly partisan—both supportive and critical—literature.

This book is designed to provide in a single source a comprehensive and up-to-date reference with detailed information about numerous aspects of the political life of contemporary Israel and to serve as a guide to the complexities and nuances of contemporary Israeli politics. Although its scope is more political and contemporary, this volume builds on the earlier *Historical Dictionary of Israel* (Scarecrow Press); *Political Dictionary of Israel* (Scarecrow Press); *Historical Dictionary of Israel*, second edition (Scarecrow Press); *The A to Z of Israel* (Scarecrow Press); and other writings by us. It seeks to fill a gap in the literature by providing information about the various diplomatic and political personalities, institutions, organizations, events, concepts, and documents that together define the political life of the Jewish state. This dictionary is designed to include the references needed by the student, scholar, and journalist, as well as the general reader, to understand Israel. Hundreds of entries are alphabetically arranged and cross-referenced. A bibliography is provided to facilitate further reading and research on the broader subjects and themes of Israel. There is a chronology of major events, an appendix of leading personalities, and other basic information. We trust this work will be a useful addition to the literature and will provide both students and scholars with information and descriptions, as well as bibliographical references, for further study and will serve as a basic research tool containing factual information.

To ensure both scholarly comprehensiveness (especially given the extensive subject matter appropriate for discussion) and conciseness (to create a “user-friendly” volume), we made difficult but necessary choices concerning terms, names, topics, and issues to be included or excluded. These choices were based on our knowledge and understanding of Israeli politics and on the

judgments of others who, through their questions, writings, comments, and observations, suggested the need to further explain various elements of politics and policy in contemporary Israel.

Israel's history has always been intense and frenetic, encompassing directly or indirectly virtually all aspects of life in the state. We have sought to capture these developments by a continuous revision through June 2016.

## Acknowledgments

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\* \* \*

This third edition of *Historical Dictionary of Israel* has had the benefit of suggestions of important and knowledgeable colleagues and friends including Shmuel Ben-Gad and Dr. David Ettinger of George Washington University Library; Dana Yasur-Landau, a Ph.D. candidate at George Washington University; and Professor Emeritus Sanford Silverburg of Catawba College. Important contributions to the composition of the book were also made by Shirli Shavit of Na'amat (Israel), Hanna Commanasher-Schwartz (Israel), and Alina Ianson of Hadassah–WIZO (Canada). The preparation of this book also benefited from the technical skills of Kaifeng (Harry) Wu.





## Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADP	Arab Democratic Party
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
AMAN	Agaf Modiin (intelligence branch)
AMIA	Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina
BCE	before the common era (BC)
CE	common era
CRM	Citizens' Rights and Peace Movement (Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrach Uleshalom; Ratz)
DA	Democracy and Aliyah
DASH	<i>See</i> DMC
DFPE	Democratic Front for Peace and Equality
DMC	Democratic Movement for Change (DASH) (Hatnua HaDemocratit LeShinui)
DMI	Director of Military Intelligence
DOP	Declaration of Principles (Israel and the PLO, 1993)
EU	European Union
FATAH	Harakat al-Tahrir al-Falistin (Movement for the Liberation of Palestine; "Conquest")
GAHAL	Gush Herut Liberalim (Herut liberal bloc)
GIL	Gimla'ey Israel LaKnesset (Pensioners of Israel to the Knesset)
GNU	Government of National Unity
HABAD	Hokhmah, Binah, Daat (wisdom, comprehension, knowledge)
HADASH	Hazit Demokratit Leshalom Uleshivyon (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality)
HAMAS	Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement)
IAEC	Israel Atomic Energy Commission

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IAF	Israel Air Force
IAI	Israel Aerospace (formerly Aircraft) Industries
IB	Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)
IBA	Israel Broadcasting Authority
IDF	Israel Defense Forces (Zvah Hagana Leyisrael [ZAHAL])
ILA	Israel Lands Authority
IMI	Israel Military Industries (Taas)
IRGUN	Irgun Tzvai Leumi (National Military Organization, Etzel)
JA	Jewish Agency
JNF	Keren Kayemet Le Israel—Jewish National Fund
LEHI (LHY)	Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel or Stern Group)
MAFDAL	<i>See</i> NRP
MAHAL	Mitnadvei Hutz Laeretz (foreign volunteers)
MAPAI	Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael (Workers Party of the Land of Israel, Israel Workers Party)
MAPAM	Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet (United Workers Party)
MDA	Magen David Adom (Red Shield of Israel)
MFO	Multilateral Force and Observers
MK	Member of the Knesset
MOSSAD	HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim (Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations)
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAHAL	Noar Halutzi Lohaim (Fighting Pioneering Youth)
NRP	Miflaga Datit Leumit (National Religious Party—MAFDAL)
NUG	National Unity Government
NZO	New Zionist Organization
PA	Palestinian Authority
PALMAH	Plugot Mahat (“Assault Companies”)
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PIJ	Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami al-Filastini (Palestinian Islamic Jihad)

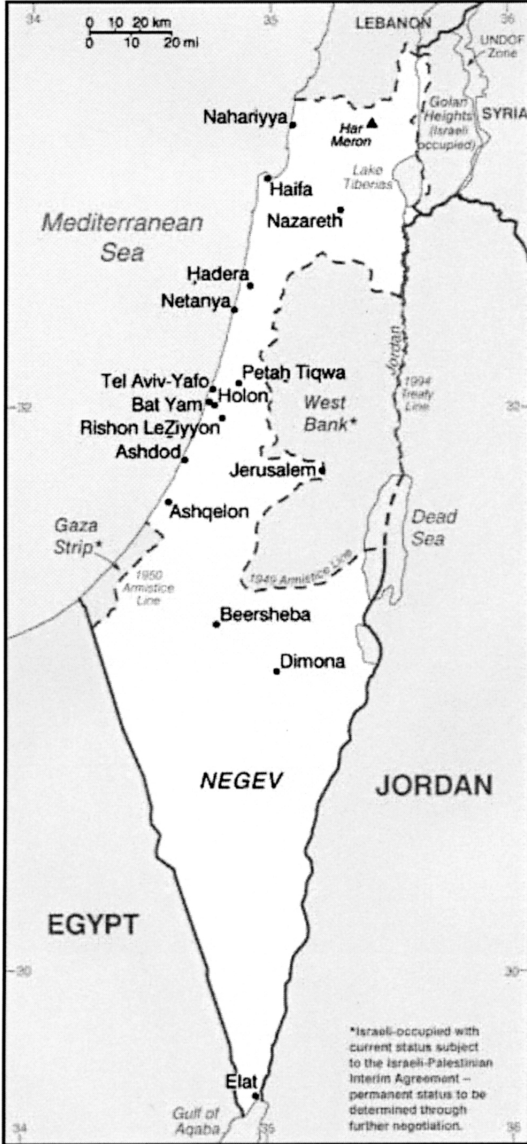
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PLP	Progressive List for Peace
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PNC	Palestine National Council
RAFI	Reshimat Poalei Israel (Israel Labor List)
RAKAH	Reshima Komunistit Hadasha (New Communist List)
RATZ	Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrah UleShalom (Citizens' Rights & Peace Movement; CRM)
SAM	surface-to-air missiles
SHABAK	<i>See</i> SHIN BET
SHAI	Sherut Yediot (Information Service)
SHAS	Sephardi Torah Guardians
SHIN BET	Sherut Bitahon Klali—SHIN BET (SHABAK) (General Security Services)
SLA	South Lebanese Army
TAAS	Taasiya Tzvait (Israel Military Industries)
TAMI	Tenuah Lemassoret Israel (Movement for a Traditional Israel)
TIPH	Temporary International Presence in Hebron
UAL	United Arab List
UAR	United Arab Republic
UIA	Keren HaYesod—United Israel Appeal
UJA	United Jewish Appeal (United Jewish Communities—The Federations of North America)
UN	United Nations
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

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UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UPA	United Palestine Appeal
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics/Russia
UTJ	United Torah Judaism
UAV	unmanned aerial vehicle, drone
V15	Victory 2015
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WOJAC	World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries
WZO	World Zionist Organization
ZAHAL	<i>See</i> IDF
ZAKA	Zihuy Korbanot Ason (Disaster Victim Identification)

# Map

### Israel



# Chronology

**c. 17th century BCE** The period of the Jewish patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.

**c. 1250–10 BCE** The Exodus of the Jews from Egypt, wandering in the desert of Sinai, and the conquest of Canaan under Joshua.

**c. 1020–1004 BCE** King Saul. Establishment of the Israelite kingdom.

**c. 1004–965 BCE** King David. Consolidation and expansion of the kingdom.

**c. 961–928 BCE** King Solomon. The Temple is built in Jerusalem.

**c. 928 BCE** Division of the state and the establishment of kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

**c. 722 BCE** Assyrian conquest of Samaria, kingdom of Israel; a large number of Jews are exiled.

**c. 586 BCE** Jerusalem is conquered, and the Temple is destroyed. Mass deportation of Jews to the Babylonian captivity.

**c. 520–515 BCE** The Temple is rebuilt.

**c. 167–160 BCE** Hasmonean rebellion under Judah Maccabee.

**164 BCE** Jerusalem is liberated, and the Temple is rededicated.

**37–4 BCE** Reign of Herod.

**c. 19 BCE** The Temple is rebuilt.

**AD/CE 66** Jewish revolt against Rome.

**70** Siege of Jerusalem; destruction of the Temple by Romans. Direct Roman rule is imposed until 395. Beginning of the Jewish Diaspora.

**73** Fall of Masada.

**132–35** Bar Kochba War.

**135** Jews are expelled from “Palestine,” a name given to Judea by Rome.

**395–638** Byzantine rule.

**638** Arab Muslim armies conquer Jerusalem.

**c. 636–1072** Arab rule.

**1072–1099** Seljuq rule.

**1099** Jerusalem captured by the Crusaders.

**1099–1291** Crusader rule with interruptions.

**1187** Jerusalem is captured by Saladin.

**1291–1516** Mameluke rule.

c. **1517–1917** Ottoman Turkish rule.

**1878** Petah Tikva is founded.

**1882–1903** The First Aliya.

**1882** Hibbat Zion Movement started. Rishon LeZion is founded.

**1894** Dreyfus trial in France.

**1896** Publication of *Der Judenstaat* by Theodor Herzl.

**1897** The first Zionist Congress is held in Basle, Switzerland. The World Zionist Organization is founded.

**1901** The Jewish National Fund is established.

**1904** Theodor Herzl dies.

**1904–1914** The Second Aliya.

**1909** Kibbutz Degania is founded. Tel Aviv is established.

**1917 2 November:** The Balfour Declaration is issued. **November:** The British army captures Jerusalem. **December 11:** General Edmund Allenby enters Jerusalem's Old City.

**1919–1923** The Third Aliya.

**1920** Mandate over Palestine is granted to Great Britain at San Remo, although it is not formalized until 1922. Herbert Samuel is appointed high commissioner for Palestine. Histadrut and Hagana are founded.

**1921** Moshav Nahalal is founded.

**1922 3 June:** The Churchill White Paper is issued. **July:** The Palestine Mandate is formally ratified by the League of Nations.

**1924–1928** The Fourth Aliya.

**1925** The Hebrew University of Jerusalem is inaugurated on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem.



**1929** Arab riots take place in Jerusalem, and massacres occur in Hebron and Safed.

**1929–1939** The Fifth Aliya.

**1935** The Revisionist movement, headed by Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky, secedes from the World Zionist Organization and establishes the New Zionist Organization.

**1937 7 July:** The Peel Commission Report is issued; the first proposal to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.

**1939 17 May:** The British White Paper severely restricts Jewish immigration to Palestine and Zionist land purchases.

**1942 May:** The Biltmore Program is promulgated by Zionists at a conference in New York.

**1945 November:** The Anglo–American Committee of Inquiry is established.

**1946 22 July:** The British headquarters in King David Hotel, Jerusalem, is bombed.

**1947 25 February:** Great Britain turns the Palestine issue over to the United Nations. The UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) examines the problem and recommends solutions. **29 November:** The UN General Assembly (UNGA) adopts a resolution (UNGA Resolution 181 [II]) providing for an independent Jewish state in Palestine to be united economically with an independent Arab state. An international regime is to be established in Jerusalem. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) support the partition plan. **December:** Jewish–Arab communal warfare in Palestine intensifies after the adoption of the partition plan.

**1948 14 May:** Proclamation of the independence of the state of Israel. The United States extends de facto recognition. David Ben-Gurion becomes the first prime minister of Israel. **15 May:** The British Mandate for Palestine is terminated; Armies of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria invade, and the first Arab-Israeli war (Israel's War of Independence) officially begins. The United States and the USSR recognize Israel. **11 June:** The first truce in Arab-Israeli hostilities begins. **8 July:** The truce ends. **18 July:** The second truce begins. **15 October:** The truce ends. **11 December:** The UNGA adopts Resolution 194.

**1949 25 January:** The election for Israel's First Knesset (parliament). **14 February:** The First Knesset opens in Jerusalem. **16 February:** Chaim Weizmann is elected first president of Israel. **24 February:** Armistice Agreement with Egypt is achieved. **8 March:** First session of the Knesset begins in Tel Aviv. **10 March:** Israel's first regular government is established under

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. **23 March:** Armistice Agreement concluded with Lebanon. **3 April:** Armistice Agreement with Jordan. **11 May:** Israel becomes a member of the UN. **20 July:** Armistice Agreement with Syria. **12 September:** The Compulsory Education Law is passed by the Knesset. **2 November:** The Weizmann Institute of Science is inaugurated. **December:** King Abdullah of Jordan annexes that part of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion: the West Bank and East Jerusalem. (The annexation is ratified by the Jordanian parliament in April 1950.) **13 December:** The resolution to transfer the Knesset and the government to Jerusalem is adopted. **26 December:** The Knesset session resumes in Jerusalem.

**1950 January:** Egyptians occupy the islands of Tiran and Sanafir at the southern entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, thus blocking passage to the Israeli port of Eilat. **4 January:** The Knesset ratifies a government statement opposing the internationalization of Jerusalem. **25 May:** The Tripartite Declaration (Britain, France, the United States) regulates arms sales to the Middle East. **13 June:** The Knesset adopts a resolution on the manner in which a written constitution for the state is to be devised. **July:** The beginning of large-scale immigration to Israel from Iraq. **5 July:** The Law of Return, confirming the right of every Jew to settle in Israel, is passed by the Knesset. **24 September:** The airlift of Jews from Yemen to Israel is concluded.

**1951 March:** Israel launches a three-year plan to drain the Huleh swamps for irrigation and for the generation of hydroelectric power. **July:** The airlift of Jews from Iraq to Israel is completed. **20 July:** King Abdullah of Jordan is assassinated, ostensibly because of secret negotiations with Israel. **30 July:** The election for the Second Knesset. **14 August:** The twenty-third Zionist Congress opens in Jerusalem. **1 September:** The UN Security Council (UNSC) condemns Egyptian anti-Israel blockade in the Suez Canal.

**1952 23 July:** The Free Officers coup ousts King Farouk of Egypt. **9 November:** President Chaim Weizmann dies. **8 December:** Yitzhak Ben Zvi is elected the second president of Israel.

**1953 2 September:** Israel initiates the second phase of the Jordan Development Plan. **14 October:** Israel Defense Forces (IDF) troops carry out a reprisal raid against the Jordanian village of Kibya. **5 November:** Ben-Gurion resigns as Prime Minister. Moshe Sharett becomes Israel's second prime minister.

**1954 January:** Moshe Dayan becomes the chief of staff of IDF. Gamal Abdul Nasser becomes prime minister and president of Egypt. **2 June:** Hebrew University dedicates its new campus in Givat Ram neighborhood of Jerusalem. **July :** Lavon Affair occurs. **19 July:** The Yarkon-Negev pipeline, built to irrigate 25,000 acres in the Negev, is opened. **28 September:** Egypt

seizes the *Bat Galim*, an Israel flag merchant vessel, at Suez when it attempts to transit the Suez Canal, and its crew is imprisoned. **12 October:** Thirteen Jews are indicted in Egypt on charges of espionage in regard to the Lavon Affair.

**1955 28 February:** Israel raids the Gaza Strip in retaliation for guerrilla activity against Israel. **26 July:** The election for the Third Knesset. **15 August:** The Third Knesset opens. David Ben-Gurion again becomes prime minister. **27 September:** President Nasser of Egypt signs an agreement with Czechoslovakia to obtain vast quantities of arms. **3 October:** Czechoslovakia announces confirmation of an arms deal with Egypt. Later it is revealed to be a Soviet–Egyptian transaction. **November:** Ben-Gurion again becomes prime minister of Israel.

**1956 24 April:** The twenty-fourth Zionist Congress opens in Jerusalem. **26 July:** Egyptian president Nasser announces the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. **29 October:** Israel moves against Egyptian *fedayeen* bases and prepares for attack in the Sinai Peninsula to eliminate commando bases. Israel invades Sinai. The Sinai War begins. **5 November:** France and Great Britain invade the Suez Canal Zone. **6 November:** Israel announces acceptance of a cease-fire in the Sinai Peninsula. **7 November:** Egypt, France, and Britain accept the cease-fire. **22 December:** Anglo–French troops complete their withdrawal from the Suez Canal Zone.

**1957 Early March:** Israel evacuates Sinai and the Gaza Strip. The UN Emergency Force (UNEF) is established. **22 January:** Israel evacuates all of Sinai except Gaza and Sharm el-Sheikh. **1 March:** Israel agrees to evacuate Gaza and Sharm el-Sheikh. **8 March:** UNEF forces take over from Israel the garrisoning of Sharm el-Sheikh and the administration of the Gaza Strip. **25 March:** The first large vessel arrives at the Israeli port of Eilat. **29 March:** Convoy traffic resumes through the Suez Canal. **31 October:** The ARAD Zone Research Institute opens in Beersheva.

**1958 16 January:** The Beersheva-Eilat highway, Israel’s “dry-land Suez Canal,” opens. **February:** The United Arab Republic (UAR) of Egypt and Syria is established. **4 December:** The cornerstone of the new Knesset building is laid in Jerusalem.

**1959 3 November:** The election for the Fourth Knesset. **18 November:** Israeli finance minister Levi Eshkol announces that diversion of water from the Jordan River for irrigation purposes has become a priority project for Israel.

**1960 1 February:** Israeli and Syrian forces clash in the demilitarized zone. **March:** Prime Minister Ben-Gurion visits the United States and Great Britain. **26 April:** Israel’s National Water Council approves a plan for laying a

giant conduit to carry water from the Sea of Galilee to southern Israel. **23 May:** Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann is kidnapped from Argentina for trial in Israel.

**1961 11 April:** The Eichmann trial opens in Jerusalem. **5 July:** Israel launches its first meteorological space rocket. **20 July:** The cornerstone of the deep seaport of Ashdod is laid. The millionth immigrant since the establishment of the state arrives. **15 August:** The election for the Fifth Knesset.

**1962 31 May:** Convicted Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann is executed. **30 June:** 10 years of activities of the United States Operations Mission in Israel are completed. **27 September:** Announcement that the United States has agreed to supply Israel with Hawk ground-to-air missiles for defense, the first direct sale of significant American weapons to Israel. **30 October:** Yitzhak Ben Zvi is reelected for a third term as president of Israel.

**1963 20 March:** The Knesset calls upon the Bonn government to terminate the activities of German scientists in Egypt. **18 April:** Work begins on the construction of Carmiel, a new town in Galilee. **23 April:** President Yitzhak Ben Zvi dies. **21 May:** Shneur Zalman Shazar is elected as Israel's third president. **16 June:** David Ben-Gurion resigns from his post as prime minister and minister of defense. **26 June:** A new government, with Levi Eshkol as prime minister, takes office. **11 July:** *Shalom*, Israel's largest passenger liner, is launched in France. **21 October:** Prime Minister Levi Eshkol announces far-reaching relaxations of military government restrictions on Israel's Arab citizens.

**1964 January:** The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is created in Cairo. Ahmed Shukairi becomes its first chairman. **1 January:** Yitzhak Rabin becomes chief of staff of the IDF. **5 January:** Pope Paul VI begins a pilgrimage to Christian sites in the Holy Land. **June:** Israel's National Water Carrier begins operation.

**1965 1 January:** Fatah is established and launches its first attack against Israel. **2 November:** The election for the Sixth Knesset.

**1966 January:** Golda Meir resigns as foreign minister and is succeeded by Abba Eban. **30 August:** The Knesset building is formally opened. **October:** S. Y. Agnon wins Nobel Prize in Literature. **12 November:** An Israeli patrol car detonates a land mine near the Jordan frontier, killing three soldiers and injuring six. Israel complains to the UNSC. **13 November:** Israeli forces launch an attack on the Jordanian village of es-Samu in response to the killing of Israelis.

**1967 7 April:** During an air clash, six Syrian MiG 21s are shot down by Israeli planes. **15 May:** The United Arab Republic (UAR) puts its forces on a state of alert and begins extensive redeployment of military units. **18 May:** The UAR asks the UN to remove UNEF from the Egypt–Israel armistice line, and the UN complies. Israel announces that it is taking “appropriate measures” in response to the UAR buildup in the Sinai. **22–23 May:** UAR president Nasser announces an Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, cutting off Israel’s access to the Red Sea through the port of Eilat. **1 June:** Prime Minister Levi Eshkol forms a broadly based Government of National Unity with former chief of staff Moshe Dayan as minister of defense. **5 June:** Hostilities commence between Israel and the Arab states in the Six-Day War. **6 June:** The UAR closes the Suez Canal to all shipping. The UAR breaks relations with the United States over allegations of U.S. support for Israel in the war. **7 June:** Jordanian and Israeli governments accept the UN call for a cease-fire. At the conclusion of hostilities, the Israelis establish themselves at the Jordan River and have control of the West Bank and East Jerusalem. **8 June:** The cease-fire goes into effect between the UAR and Israel. Israeli forces occupy the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. **10 June:** The USSR breaks diplomatic relations with Israel. Other Soviet-bloc European countries, except Romania, follow suit. **11 June:** A cease-fire goes into effect between Israel and Syria. The Israeli forces have penetrated beyond the former demarcation line, establishing themselves on the Golan Heights. **12 June:** In a policy speech to the Knesset, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol declares that Israel could not return to the prewar situation and demands that the Arabs make peace with Israel. **28 June:** The Israeli minister of the interior announces new municipal boundaries for Jerusalem in accordance with enabling legislation passed the previous day by the Knesset; former Jordanian-held East Jerusalem is included within the new municipal jurisdiction. **August–September:** The Arab summit meeting at Khartoum, Sudan, declares the position of no recognition, no negotiation, and no peace with Israel. **21 October:** The Israeli destroyer *Eilat* is sunk by UAR patrol boats off the Sinai coast. In reprisal, on 24 October, Israel shells the Suez Canal and its oil refineries. **22 November:** The UNSC adopts Resolution 242. **December:** The mission of Gunnar Jarring to implement UNSC Resolution 242 begins.

**1968 27 January:** The Israeli submarine *Dakar* disappears in the Mediterranean Sea. **26 December:** *Fedayeen* who had just arrived from Beirut attack an El Al plane at an Athens airport. **28 December:** Israeli helicopter-borne commandos attack aircraft at a Beirut airport in retaliation for Palestinian aircraft hijacking and other aircraft attacks.

**1969 February:** Yasser Arafat, head of Fatah, becomes chairman of the PLO. **26 February:** Prime Minister Levi Eshkol dies. **Early March:** The War of Attrition begins along the Suez Canal. **7 March:** Golda Meir becomes prime minister. **28 October:** The election for the Seventh Knesset.

**1970 January:** The Bar-Lev Line is completed along the Suez Canal. **7 August:** The War of Attrition is ended by a cease-fire. **September:** The Jordan civil war. The PLO is ousted from Jordan by King Hussein's army. **28 September:** Nasser dies. Anwar Sadat becomes president of Egypt.

**1972 30 May:** Japanese gunmen, acting for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), shoot up Israel's Lod Airport. **5 September:** The Munich Olympics massacre of Israeli athletes by Black September terrorists.

**1973 10 April:** Ephraim (Katchalski) Katzir is elected the fourth president of Israel. **6 October:** The Yom Kippur War begins. **22 October:** UNSC Resolution 338 is adopted. **November:** The Agranat Commission concerning Israel's conduct of the Yom Kippur War is established. **11 November:** Israel–Egypt cease-fire is signed at Kilometer 101. **21 December:** Geneva Peace Conference is convened. **31 December:** The election for the Eighth Knesset.

**1974 17 January:** Egypt–Israel Disengagement Agreement is signed at Kilometer 101. **10 April:** Prime Minister Golda Meir resigns. **22 April:** Yitzhak Rabin becomes Israel's sixth prime minister. **15 May:** Hostage-taking by Palestinian infiltrators in Maalot results in deaths of 21 schoolchildren. **31 May:** Israel and Syria sign a disengagement agreement in Geneva. **28 October:** PLO declared the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" at Arab League summit in Rabat, Morocco. **13 November:** Arafat addresses the UNGA; PLO is later granted observer status.

**1975 4 September:** Egypt and Israel sign Sinai II disengagement agreement. **10 November:** UNGA adopts Resolution 3379 declaring Zionism to be a form of racism.

**1976 4 July:** Operation Entebbe: Israeli commandos free hostages at Entebbe Airport, Uganda.

**1977 April:** Yitzhak Rabin resigns as prime minister. Shimon Peres is selected as Israel Labor Party leader. **17 May:** The election for the Ninth Knesset. Menachem Begin's Likud (Union) Party emerges as the largest party. **21 June:** Begin forms the government coalition, with himself as prime minister, the first non-Labor government in Israel's history. **November:** President Anwar Sadat of Egypt announces to the Egyptian National Assembly his willingness to visit Israel to discuss peace; the Knesset overwhelm-

ingly approves an invitation to Sadat. Sadat arrives in Jerusalem and addresses the Israeli Knesset. Negotiations begin. **25–26 December:** Begin meets Sadat in Ismailia, Egypt.

**1978 March:** Following an attack on an Israeli bus, Israel launches (on 14 March) Operation Litani against Palestinian bases in Lebanon. **19 April:** Yitzhak Navon is elected the fifth president of Israel. **May:** The U.S. Congress approves a weapons package for Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. **13 June:** Israel completes the withdrawal of its armed forces from Lebanon, and the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) takes up positions there. **18–19 June:** The Leeds Castle Conference takes place. **5–17 September:** Sadat, Begin, and U.S. president Jimmy Carter meet at a summit at Camp David, Maryland. The Camp David Accords are signed on the 17th at the White House in Washington, D.C. **12 October:** Egypt and Israel begin peace negotiations at the Blair House in Washington to implement the Camp David Accords. **October:** Begin shares the Nobel Peace Prize with Sadat. **10 December:** The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded jointly to Begin and Sadat in Oslo, Norway.

**1979 26 March:** The Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty is signed in Washington. **30 April:** The first Israeli freighter passes through the Suez Canal. **25 May:** Israel begins a withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula; Egypt and Israel begin a discussion of Palestinian autonomy issues. **October:** Moshe Dayan resigns as foreign minister.

**1980 February:** Egypt and Israel exchange ambassadors. **March:** Yitzhak Shamir is appointed foreign minister. **30 July:** The Knesset adopts a basic law reaffirming the united Jerusalem as Israel’s capital.

**1981 7 June:** Israel destroys the Osirak nuclear reactor near Baghdad, Iraq. **30 June:** The election for the Tenth Knesset. Likud secures the largest number of seats. A Begin coalition government secures a vote of confidence from the Knesset in August. **6 October:** Egyptian president Anwar Sadat is assassinated. **30 November:** The United States and Israel sign a memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation. **14 December:** Israel extends its “law and jurisdiction” to the Golan Heights.

**1982 25 April:** Israel completes its withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula and returns it to Egypt. **6 June:** The War in Lebanon (Operation Peace for Galilee) begins. Israel invades Lebanon in an attempt to destroy PLO bases. **July–August:** The Israeli siege of Beirut. **September:** Bashir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon, is assassinated. Massacres take place at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The Kahan Commission is established to inquire into the massacres.

**1983 February:** Kahan Commission reports its findings. Ariel Sharon resigns as defense minister and is replaced by Moshe Arens. **22 March:** Chaim Herzog is elected Israel's sixth president. **17 May:** Israel and Lebanon sign an agreement concluded with the assistance of U.S. secretary of state George Shultz. **16 September:** Menachem Begin resigns as prime minister. **October:** Yitzhak Shamir forms a new government and takes office as prime minister.

**1984 5 March:** Lebanon abrogates the 17 May 1983 agreement with Israel. **23 July:** The election for the Eleventh Knesset. **September:** The Government of National Unity is formed, with Shimon Peres (Labor) as prime minister and Yitzhak Shamir (Likud) as alternate prime minister and foreign minister. Operation Moses begins mass immigration of Ethiopian Jews (Falashas) to Israel.

**1985 January:** Israel announces intention to withdraw unilaterally from Lebanon. **July:** IDF completes withdrawal from Lebanon. A security zone is established in southern Lebanon astride the Israeli-Lebanese frontier. **5–8 October:** *Achille Lauro* hijacking by Palestinian terrorists results in killing of American Leon Klinghoffer.

**1986 July:** Prime Minister Shimon Peres visits King Hassan II in Morocco. **20 October:** The Government of National Unity rotation shifts Shamir to the position of prime minister and Peres to the post of foreign minister.

**1987 8 December:** An Israeli truck hits a Palestinian car in the Gaza Strip, killing four and inciting anti-Israeli violence throughout Gaza. **9 December:** Arab uprising (intifada) begins in the West Bank and Gaza, challenging Israel's authority in the Occupied Territories.

**1988 February:** Hamas is created in Gaza. **September:** Israel launches a space satellite. **29 September:** Taba is awarded to Egypt by an international arbitration panel. **1 November:** The election for the Twelfth Knesset. **15 November:** The Palestine National Council (PNC), meeting in Algiers, declares an independent Palestinian state and issues ambiguous statements concerning acceptance of UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338. **13 December:** Arafat, at a press conference, recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounces terrorism. The United States announces that it will begin a dialogue with the PLO in Tunis. **22 December:** Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir presents his coalition government to the Knesset.

**1989 15 March:** Egypt takes control of Taba. **14 May:** The cabinet formally approves the Shamir Plan peace initiative. **28 July:** An Israeli commando team seizes Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid, a leading figure of Hezbollah, in Lebanon.



**1990 January:** Soviet Jews begin to arrive in Israel in large numbers. **13 March:** Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir dismisses deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres from the government, and the other Labor Party cabinet ministers resign. **15 March:** The Knesset passes a motion of no-confidence in the Shamir-led government by a vote of 60 to 55. **26 April:** Labor Party leader Shimon Peres returns the mandate to form a government to President Chaim Herzog after failing in his efforts. **27 April:** Yitzhak Shamir accepts the mandate to form a new government. **11 June:** The Knesset approves Shamir's narrow coalition government composed of Likud and right-wing and religious parties. **20 June:** President George H. W. Bush suspends the U.S. dialogue with the PLO. **30 September:** Consular relations are reestablished between Israel and the USSR. **5 November:** Kach Party leader Rabbi Meir Kahane is assassinated in New York. **16 November:** Agudat Israel joins Shamir's Likud-led coalition government. **25 November:** The cabinet approves Ehud Barak as 14th chief of staff of the IDF.

**1991 16 January:** Allied forces launch a massive air campaign against Iraq (Operation Desert Storm). In the ensuing Persian Gulf War, Iraq launches 39 Scud missiles against Israel, as well as at Saudi Arabia. **3 February:** Mole-det Party's Rehavam Zeevi joins the cabinet as a minister without portfolio. **18 October:** Israel and the USSR restore diplomatic relations. **30 October:** Peace conference organized by the United States and the USSR convenes in Madrid, Spain. **10 December:** Rounds of bilateral Arab-Israeli negotiations begin in Washington, D.C. **16 December:** The UNGA repeals the "Zionism is Racism" resolution.

**1992 24 January:** Israel and the People's Republic of China establish diplomatic relations. **29 January:** India announces it will establish formal diplomatic relations with Israel. **17 March:** Thirty are killed and more than 200 wounded in a bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina. **18 March:** Direct election of the prime minister approved by the Knesset. **May:** The first round of multilateral working group meetings begin at Moscow conference. **June:** Israel and South Korea renew diplomatic relations. **23 June:** The election for the Thirteenth Knesset. Yitzhak Rabin's Labor Party wins. **13 July:** Rabin's coalition with Meretz and SHAS assumes power, with Rabin serving as prime minister and defense minister and Shimon Peres as foreign minister and deputy prime minister. **August:** Israel and the Vatican establish a joint commission to examine the normalization of relations. **September–November:** The second round of multilateral peace talks occur, the first since the Israeli election; some progress is reported despite continued disputes over Palestinian representation. **18 September:** Israel and India sign an industrial cooperation agreement. **8 October:** Israel withdraws its previous objection to the participation of Palestinians from outside the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jerusalem in multilateral peace talks, but it contin-

ues to bar PLO and PNC members. **4 December:** Israeli-Palestinian back-channel discussions begin in Europe. **17 December:** Israel orders the temporary expulsion to Lebanon of some 415 Muslim extremists in response to the terrorist attacks on Israeli soldiers.

**1993 January–February:** Deputy foreign minister Yossi Beilin discloses the existence of Oslo talks to Peres, who in turn informs Rabin. Oslo negotiators begin drafting a declaration of principles for the interim Israel–PLO agreement. **19 January:** The Knesset repeals legislation prohibiting PLO contacts. **11 March:** In meeting with Rabin, U.S. president William J. Clinton pledges to “minimize risks” of peace for Israel. Rabin reportedly accedes to the U.S. request to permit PLO activist Faisal Husseini to join the Palestinian delegation to bilateral talks in Washington, D.C. **23 March:** Benjamin Netanyahu is elected leader of the Likud Party, succeeding Yitzhak Shamir. **24 March:** Ezer Weizman is elected the seventh president of Israel. **May:** Rabin agrees to upgrade the Oslo talks to official level, sending the foreign ministry director general Uriel Savir to negotiate on Israel’s behalf and authorizing the foreign ministry legal expert Yoel Zinger to draft the Declaration of Principles (DOP). **25 July:** Israel launches the bombardment of Hezbollah bases in southern Lebanon (Operation Accountability); the United States brokers a cease-fire and agreement between Israel and Lebanon (acting on Hezbollah’s behalf) to avoid firing on the other’s civilian populations. **20 August:** Israeli and PLO officials initial the DOP in Oslo, Norway. **30 August:** The Israel cabinet approves the DOP; two ministers (Arye Deri of SHAS and Labor’s Shimon Shitreet) abstain from the vote. **9 September:** Rabin and Arafat exchange letters of mutual recognition on behalf of Israel and the PLO. **13 September:** The Israel–PLO DOP is signed by Peres and the PLO’s Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) on the White House lawn. Rabin and Arafat shake hands. **14 September:** Israel and Jordan sign Common Agenda for future negotiations. Rabin meets with King Hassan II in Morocco. **23 September:** The Knesset approves the DOP by a vote of 61 to 50, with 8 abstentions. **October:** Rabin visits Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim country. **2 November:** Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek is defeated by Likud’s Ehud Olmert. **December:** The third round of Israeli–Palestinian talks on implementing the Oslo Accords occurs in Cairo, Oslo, and Paris. **14 December:** By a vote of 155 to 3 and 1 abstention the UNGA adopts a resolution expressing “full support” for the Israeli–Palestinian peace process. **29 December:** Peres and Abbas conclude a draft agreement on security arrangements for Gaza and Jericho border crossings. **30 December:** Israel and the Vatican sign a basic agreement to establish diplomatic ties.

**1994 January:** Israel, Jordan, and Egypt agree on a joint program to control maritime pollution in the Gulf of Aqaba. **9 February:** Peres and Arafat sign a partial agreement on implementing the Gaza–Jericho agreement. **25 Febru-**

**ary:** Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein kills 29 Palestinian worshipers and wounds more than 100 others in Hebron’s Tomb of the Patriarchs (Ibrahim Mosque) in Hebron. Shamgar Commission of Inquiry is established. **28 March:** Six Palestinian members of Fatah, Arafat’s PLO faction, are shot dead by undercover Israeli troops in Jabaliya in the occupied Gaza Strip. **31 March:** Israel and the PLO agree on the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH). **27 April:** Israel and China sign a memorandum of understanding on energy. **29 April:** The Israel–PLO economic cooperation agreement is signed in Paris. **4 May:** Israel and the PLO sign the Cairo agreement for establishing self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. **13 May:** The IDF withdraws from Jericho, transferring authority to the PLO. **18 May:** The IDF completes the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip (except for security positions near several small settlements in the north); joint Israeli–Palestinian security patrols in Gaza begin on 21 May. **3 June:** Israel and Turkey sign a bilateral trade agreement. **12 June:** The Arrow 2 interceptor missile system is successfully tested. **16 June:** Israel and the Vatican establish full diplomatic relations. **1 July:** Arafat visits the Gaza Strip for the first time in 27 years. **18 July:** 95 are killed and hundreds wounded in AMIA bombing in Buenos Aires, Argentina. **25 July:** The Washington Declaration on Israel–Jordan peace is signed; Rabin and King Hussein address joint session of the U.S. Congress. **3 August:** The Knesset, by a vote of 77 to 9, with 4 abstentions, reaffirms Jerusalem’s status as the “eternal capital of Israel, and Israel alone.” **8 August:** Prime Minister Rabin visits King Hussein in Jordan in the first official visit to Jordan by an Israeli leader. **29 August:** The “early empowerment” agreement on the transfer of civilian authority in parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is signed. **1 September:** Israel and Morocco sign an agreement to open liaison offices in Tel Aviv and Rabat. **1 October:** The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) announces the suspension of secondary and tertiary applications of the economic boycott of Israel. **9 October:** IDF soldier Nahshon Waxman is kidnapped by a Hamas cell demanding the release of comrades in Israeli prisons. **14 October:** Waxman is killed during a failed Israeli rescue attempt. An Israeli officer and three Hamas kidnappers also die. **17 October:** Israel and Jordan initial a peace treaty in Amman, Jordan. **26 October:** Israel and Jordan sign a peace treaty; King Hussein subsequently makes his first official visit to Israel, where he and Rabin formally exchange copies of the treaty. **October:** Rabin and Peres share Nobel Peace Prize with Arafat. **3 November:** First visit by a Turkish prime minister to Israel. **27 November:** Israel and Jordan establish diplomatic relations. **December:** IDF chief of staff Ehud Barak and his Syrian counterpart, Hikmat Shihabi, meet in Washington, D.C., to discuss security arrangements for the Golan Heights and related matters. **10 December:** Rabin, Peres, and Arafat are awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway. **11 December:** Israel and Jordan open their respective embassies in Amman and Tel Aviv.

**21 December:** Israel and India sign a wide-ranging trade agreement. **26 December:** Rabin becomes the first Israeli prime minister to visit Oman. The Knesset, by a vote of 56 to 6 (with 32 abstentions), passes the Gaza/Jericho Agreement Implementation Law (limiting of activities), barring any PLO or Palestinian Authority (PA) political activity in eastern Jerusalem and the rest of Israel and areas of the West Bank and Gaza still under Israeli control.

**1995 2 February:** Leaders of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the PLO hold a summit meeting in Cairo, affirming cooperation against terrorism. **7–8 February:** Officials from the United States, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and the PLO meet in Taba, and sign a joint declaration calling for an end to the boycott of Israel. **12 February:** Experts from the United States, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and the PLO meet in Washington, D.C., to coordinate the fight against terrorism. **14 March:** Israel and Syria agree to resume direct peace talks involving Israel's ambassador to the United States, Itamar Rabinovich, and his Syrian counterpart, Walid al-Moualem. **April:** The Ofeq (Horizon) 3 satellite is launched by Israel. **30 July:** The successful test flight of the Arrow 2 interceptor missile. **11 August:** Israeli and Palestinian delegations meet in Taba and reach a partial agreement on IDF redeployment in the West Bank. **19 September:** First visit by a Japanese prime minister to Israel. **28 September:** Israeli–Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Oslo II) is signed in Washington, D.C. **30 September:** Peres and Omani foreign minister Yousuf Bin Alawi agree to establish interest offices in Muscat and Tel Aviv and to work toward economic and technical cooperation. **6 October:** A paramilitary Egyptian police officer kills seven Israeli tourists at the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Ras Burka. **24 October:** U.S. Congress passes the Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act, requiring the transfer of the embassy to Jerusalem by May 1999. **1 November:** Yossi Beilin and Abbas sign the “document of understanding” on terms of permanent status arrangements between Israel and the PA. **4 November:** Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by Yigal Amir in Tel Aviv; Peres becomes interim Prime Minister; Shamgar Commission of Inquiry finds a serious lapse in security around Rabin but no evidence of conspiracy in his murder. **20 November:** The Treaty of Association with the European Union (EU) is signed, institutionalizing political relations at ministerial level, expanding the scope of the EU–Israel free trade zone, and granting Israel membership in the EU's research and development program. The treaty is ratified by the European Parliament in February 1996. **22 November:** The Knesset votes its confidence in Peres's new government by a vote of 62 to 8, with 32 abstentions. **4 December:** Amir Peretz becomes Histadrut chairman. **11 December:** Peres and Clinton meet in Washington, D.C., the first time since Rabin's assassina-

tion. **11–27 December:** IDF completes withdrawal from six major West Bank cities. **27 December:** Israelis and Syrians meet at Wye Plantation in Maryland.

**1996 5 January:** The “engineer,” Yahya Ayash, mastermind of Hamas suicide bombings, is killed in Gaza. **20 January:** Arabs in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank elect the first Palestinian Legislative Council; candidates affiliated with Fatah and pro-Arafat independents win 67 of 88 seats (75 percent), with Arafat taking 88.1 percent in the simultaneous election for president. **27 January:** Israel and Oman sign agreement to open liaison offices in Muscat and Tel Aviv. **12 February:** Arafat is sworn in as Palestinian Authority (PA) president. **7 March:** The first meeting of the Palestinian Legislative Council occurs in Gaza. **13 March:** The Summit of the Peacemakers is convened at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. **14–16 April:** Thirteen are wounded by Katyusha rockets fired into northern Galilee from Hezbollah bases in Lebanon. In retaliation, Israel launches an air and missile barrage (Operation Grapes of Wrath) to push Hezbollah out of firing range of the Galilee and south Lebanon security zone. **18 April:** An IDF bombardment of suspected Hezbollah missile emplacements results in the accidental death of 11 Lebanese civilians in the village of Nabatiya al-Fawqa and 102 at a UN refugee base at Kfar Qana; Israel is widely condemned for these deaths. **22 April:** The twenty-first Palestinian National Council meeting in Gaza resolves that the PLO charter is “hereby amended by canceling the articles that are contrary to the letters exchanged between the PLO and the government of Israel 9–10 September 1993” and instructs the PNC’s legal committee to present a redrafted charter within six months. Prime Minister Peres declares that the PLO has fulfilled its obligation to change the charter; other Israelis disagree with that assessment. **5–6 May:** The first session of the Israel–PLO permanent status talks convenes at Taba, Egypt. **29 May:** In the first direct election of the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu defeats Shimon Peres by less than one percent (50.4 percent to 49.5 percent), though among Jewish voters, there is an 11 percent differential (55.5 percent to 44.5 percent). The concurrent election of the Fourteenth Knesset is won by Netanyahu’s Likud Party. **2 June:** Danny Yatom becomes head of the Mossad. **17 June:** Netanyahu’s six-party governing coalition (holding 66 of 120 seats) is presented to the Knesset. **22–23 June:** Arab leaders threaten to reconsider relations with Israel if the new government forsakes the land for peace formula; they also reiterate their demand for Israel’s withdrawal from “all the Arab territory it captured in the 1967 war, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, as well as from South Lebanon [Israel] must also dismantle settlements and let the Palestinians set up an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with East Jerusalem as its capital.” **4 September:** Netanyahu and Arafat meet for the first time. **24–30 September:** The cabinet approves the

opening of a new exit to an existing ancient tunnel running beneath Jerusalem's Western Wall; Palestinian rioting ensues, resulting in 59 Arab and 15 Israeli deaths. **1–2 October:** Netanyahu and Arafat join Jordan's King Hussein and U.S. president William J. (Bill) Clinton at a mini summit in Washington, D.C.; Israeli and Palestinian leaders reaffirm their commitment to abide by obligations undertaken in the Oslo Accords. **5 November:** Israeli and Palestinian tourism bureaus announce plan to jointly market tourism. **26 November:** PA announces it will boycott meetings of multilateral working groups (except those dealing with the refugee issue) to protest Israel's "lack of seriousness in implementing interim agreements." **29 December:** Ezer Weizman becomes the first Israeli president to visit India, signing four bilateral trade and agricultural agreements and opening a model high-tech farm to be administered by Mashav, the foreign development arm of the Israel foreign ministry.

**1997 1 January:** Six Palestinians are wounded when a deranged IDF soldier opens fire in Hebron. **15 January:** Israel and the PA conclude the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron; appended to the protocol are two additional documents: a "Note for the Record" listing outstanding obligations to be fulfilled by each side, and a U.S. "Letter of Assurance" to Israel regarding terms of reference for further IDF redeployments. **16 January:** By a vote of 87 to 17 (with 1 abstention) the Knesset endorses the Hebron agreement. **4 February:** 73 soldiers die when two IDF helicopters collide near the Lebanon border. **17 February:** Israeli–Palestinian talks on implementing interim agreements resume in Jerusalem. **26 February:** Har Homa housing project in eastern Jerusalem is approved by the cabinet; Palestinian leaders warn that the start of construction could provoke renewed violence. **7 March:** The United States vetoes a proposed UNSC resolution criticizing the Har Homa project. **9 March:** Jordan's King Hussein sends a letter to Netanyahu expressing "distress" over the stalemate in negotiations with the Palestinians and questioning whether it is Netanyahu's "intent to destroy" the peace process. **13 March:** Seven Israeli schoolgirls are killed when a deranged Jordanian soldier opens fire at Naharayim; King Hussein makes unprecedented condolence calls to the families of the victims. **18 March:** Israeli bulldozers begin construction work at Har Homa. **31 March:** Arab foreign ministers recommend that Arab countries cease normalizing relations with Israel and restore the economic boycott and that they suspend participation in multilateral peace talks to protest the absence of progress in bilateral talks. **24 April:** The UNGA, meeting in a rare "emergency special session," adopts a resolution criticizing Har Homa project; Israel and the United States oppose the resolution as one sided, unnecessary, and detrimental to the peace process. **July:** Finance Minister Yaacov Ne'eman mandated to achieve compromise among various streams of Judaism in Israel on the Who Is a Jew controversy.

**15 July:** The UNGA overwhelmingly condemns continued work at Har Homa and makes veiled threats to apply partial economic sanctions and take steps to isolate Israel at the UN. **22 September:** Two staffers at the Israeli embassy in Amman, Jordan, are wounded in terrorist attack. **25 September:** Khaled Mashaal, head of the Hamas political office in Jordan, is wounded in a botched Mossad assassination attempt in Amman. Jordan reacts by temporarily suspending security cooperation. Israel acquiesces to King Hussein's demand to release the founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, and other Hamas activists. **1 October:** Israel frees Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. **10 November:** Israel and the Vatican sign an agreement granting special legal status to Catholic Church institutions in Israel. **18 November:** Netanyahu and King Hussein meet in London to resume bilateral security cooperation after the "Mashaal Affair." **25 November:** Israeli and Jordanian navies hold joint search-and-rescue training exercises in the Gulf of Eilat. **4 December:** In an open letter, Jordan's King Hussein criticizes Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for his "unending attempt to destroy the Oslo Pact."

**1998 4 January:** Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai declares Israel's readiness to negotiate an IDF withdrawal from southern Lebanon on the basis of UNSC Resolution 425 (1978). David Levy resigns as foreign minister and withdraws his Geshet faction from the governing coalition to protest the stalemate in the peace process and proposed budget cuts. **7 January:** Israel, Turkey, and the United States hold joint naval search-and-rescue training exercises; "Reliant Mermaid" exercises are observed by the commander of the Jordanian navy. **16 January:** In a meeting at the Vatican with Government Minister Moshe Katsav, Pope John Paul II expresses interest in visiting Israel. **20 January:** Death of Zevulun Hammer, leader of the National Religious Party and education minister and deputy prime minister. **27–28 January:** In meetings in Washington, D.C., Finance Minister Yaacov Ne'eman reaffirms the goal of reducing dependence on U.S. financial aid. **24 February:** Mossad head Danny Yatom resigns over "Mashaal Affair." **4 March:** Ezer Weizman reelected to second term as president of Israel. **8–10 March:** Government ministers Ariel Sharon and Natan Sharansky make separate visits to Jordan, and Crown Prince Hassan makes first visit by a Jordanian leader to Israel since "Mashaal Affair." **18 March:** 81 U.S. Senators sign a letter to President Clinton expressing concern about reported White House pressure on Israel to make unsafe concessions in negotiations with the PA. **9 October:** Ariel Sharon is named foreign minister and Israel's chief negotiator of final-status agreements with the PA. **23 October:** Netanyahu and Arafat conclude Wye River Memorandum. **31 October:** The United States and Israel sign a memorandum of agreement on strategic security cooperation (particularly against the threat of nonconventional weapons of mass destruction and long-range ballistic missiles). **17 November:** Knesset ratifies

Wye River Memorandum by a vote of 75 to 19, with 9 abstentions and 14 absent. **18 November:** Foreign Minister Sharon and PA Minister Mahmoud Abbas formally launch final-status negotiations. **20 November:** Israel redeploys from areas between Jenin and Nablus in northern West Bank, implementing the first phase of the Wye River Memorandum. **29 November:** The first operational Arrow antimissile missile system is transferred from Israel Aircraft Industries to the Defense Ministry's Homa ("Wall") project. **9 December:** For the first time the UNGA includes anti-Semitism in its definition of racism. **14 December:** At a special meeting in Gaza, and in the presence of U.S. president William J. (Bill) Clinton, the PNC ratifies changes to its covenant stipulated in Arafat's 22 January 1998 letter to Clinton. Israel calls the changes "satisfactory." **21 December:** Faced with likely defections of key coalition partners in a Knesset no-confidence vote over his government's handling of the peace process, Netanyahu supports legislation to prepare for general elections. All-party agreement is reached setting 17 May 1999 as a date for direct election of the prime minister and election of the Fifteenth Knesset. **22 December:** Dan Meridor quits Likud, announcing intention to run for prime minister as head of a new centrist political party. This proposed party ultimately is subsumed within the new Center Party, headed by Yitzhak Mordechai. **28 December:** Ze'ev Binyamin Begin quits Likud, announcing intention to enter the race for prime minister as head of the New Herut (Herut Hahadasha) Party. This party subsequently is incorporated into the new right-wing National Union coalition, with Begin as its candidate for prime minister.

**1999 23 January:** Prime Minister Netanyahu dismisses defense minister Yitzhak Mordechai. **7 February:** Death of Jordan's King Hussein. **25 March:** Azmi (Ahmed) Bishara becomes the first Israeli Arab to declare his candidacy for election as prime minister. **15–16 May:** On the eve of the general elections, Azmi Bishara, Yitzhak Mordechai, and Ze'ev Binyamin Begin withdraw from the prime ministerial race, creating a two-way contest between Benjamin Netanyahu and former IDF chief of staff Ehud Barak. **17 May:** Barak defeats Benjamin Netanyahu in the direct election for prime minister, receiving 56.1 percent of the popular vote (1,791,020) compared to 43.9 percent (1,402,474) for Netanyahu. In elections for the Fifteenth Knesset, Barak's Israel Labor Party/One Israel (Israel Ahat) wins 26 seats, compared to 19 seats for Likud. **28 May:** Wreckage of the submarine *Dakar* is located in the Mediterranean. **June–July:** Prime Minister Barak and Syria's president Hafez al-Assad exchange rare public compliments. **6 July:** Knesset approves Barak's government and he is sworn in as prime minister. Barak presents his broad, seven-party, 75-member governing coalition and its program before the Knesset for ratification; in his inaugural speech as prime minister, Barak urges Israel's Arab neighbors to resume the pursuit of peace



initiated by his mentor, Yitzhak Rabin. Avraham Burg is elected speaker of the Fifteenth Knesset. **14–15 July:** Turkish president Suleyman Demirel makes an official visit to Israel. **26 July:** At the invitation of Knesset speaker Avraham Burg, Ahmad Qurie (Abu Ala), speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council, conducts an official visit to the Knesset. **5 August:** MK Nawaf Massalha is appointed to the post of deputy foreign minister, the first Israeli Arab to hold a cabinet portfolio. **30 August:** Morocco renews political contacts with Israel frozen during the Netanyahu years. **September:** In a plea bargain, Israeli-American Samuel Sheinbein admits committing premeditated murder in Maryland and is sentenced to 24 years in an Israeli prison. **2 September:** Ariel Sharon is elected leader of Likud. **4 September:** Barak and Arafat sign an agreement at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt to implement the outstanding elements of the Wye River Memorandum. A target date for completing the final-status peace negotiations is set for September 2000, with a “framework agreement” scheduled for February 2000. **8 September:** The cabinet approves the Sharm el-Sheikh accord by a vote of 19 for and 1 against, with 1 abstention and 4 ministers absent. **9 September:** The Knesset ratifies the Sharm el-Sheikh agreement by 54 to 23 vote, with 2 abstentions and with a number of coalition members absent. **13 September:** Foreign Minister David Levy and Palestinian negotiator Mahmoud Abbas formally relaunch final-status peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians. **28 October:** Mauritania establishes diplomatic ties with Israel, becoming the third Arab country (after Egypt and Jordan) to do so. **1 November:** In a test flight, the Arrow antimissile missile successfully finds and destroys a simulated Scud missile in midflight. **8 November:** Israel and the PLO begin permanent status talks in earnest in Ramallah. **December:** Israel, Turkey, and the United States participate in “Reliant Mermaid 1999” search-and-rescue naval exercises. Evidence emerges of President Ezer Weizman’s having received substantial financial gifts. **8 December:** President Clinton announces the agreement of Israel and Syria to resume formal talks. **15–16 December:** Barak and Syrian foreign minister Farouk al-Sharaa meet with Clinton in Washington, D.C. **21 December:** Barak and Foreign Minister David Levy meet with Arafat in Ramallah in an attempt to reconcile differences over a further 5 percent redeployment. **29 December:** Israel releases 26 Palestinian security prisoners as a Ramadan good-will gesture.

**2000 3–10 January:** Barak and Syria’s Farouk al-Sharaa and their respective delegations meet with U.S. mediators in Shepherdstown, West Virginia. **20 January:** The attorney general orders a criminal investigation of President Ezer Weizman over alleged financial improprieties. Weizman subsequently addresses the nation, declaring “I do not intend to resign.” **27 January:** A criminal investigation is ordered into the fund-raising activities of Ehud Barak’s One Israel coalition in the 1999 election campaign; simultaneous inves-

tigations are launched into the fund-raising activities of four other political parties. Barak and Justice Minister Yossi Beilin subsequently announce the formation of a public committee headed by retired Supreme Court justice Dov Levin to examine campaign financing laws in Israel. **1 February:** The multilateral track of the Middle East peace process negotiations is revived at a conference in Moscow after a three-year hiatus; Syria and Lebanon continue to boycott the multilateral process. **3 February:** Barak and Foreign Minister David Levy meet with Arafat at the Erez Crossing in attempt to resolve differences over a third redeployment; Palestinians declare a “major crisis” in the negotiations, blocking the completion of the framework agreement on a permanent settlement by the 13 February 2000 target date. **21–26 March:** Pope John Paul II visits Israel. **May:** The IDF completes the unilateral withdrawal from the south Lebanon security zone. **10 July:** President Ezer Weizman resigns. **11 July:** The Camp David II summit of Clinton, Barak and Arafat convenes at Camp David, Maryland. **25 July:** Camp David II ends without an agreement. **31 July:** Moshe Katzav is elected Israel’s eight president. **28 September:** Likud leader Ariel Sharon briefly visits the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Clashes occur between Palestinians and Israeli security and spread in the West Bank and Gaza. The al-Aksa intifada begins. **16 October:** An international crisis summit convenes at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, to end the violence. **9 December:** Barak announces he will resign as prime minister.

**2001 27 January:** The Taba talks between Israel and the Palestinians end without an agreement, despite Clinton’s “bridging ideas.” **6 February:** Ariel Sharon defeats Ehud Barak in the direct election for prime minister by a landslide of 62.6 percent to 37.2 percent. **7 March:** Sharon’s coalition government is sworn in. **4 May 2001:** Report of investigation into Al-Aksa intifada headed by former U.S. senator George J. Mitchell is issued. **17 October:** Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze’evi is assassinated in Jerusalem by the PFLP. **13 December:** Israel declares Arafat “irrelevant” in the struggle against terrorism.

**2002 3 January:** The *Karine A* is intercepted by the IDF carrying arms to Gaza. **12 March:** By a vote of 14 for and 0 against, with 1 abstention (Syria), the UNSC adopts Resolution 1397, articulating for the first time the council’s “vision of a region where two States, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders”; the resolution also demands an “immediate cessation of all acts of violence, including all forms of terror, provocation, incitement and destruction” and affirms the council’s support for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire as called for in the Mitchell Report and Tenet work plan. **27–28 March:** Saudi Arabia formally presents a peace proposal at an Arab League summit meeting in Beirut, Lebanon. **31 March:** Sharon and the cabinet declare “war against terrorism” and label Arafat as an

“enemy of the entire free world.” **April–June:** Operations Defensive Shield and Determined Path: the reoccupation of Palestinian areas by the IDF. **24 June:** U.S. president George W. Bush articulates a vision of Israel–Palestine peace and a two-state solution. **October:** Israeli scholar Daniel Kahneman shares Nobel Prize in economics. **30 October:** Labor leaves Sharon’s Likud-led governing coalition. **31 October:** Former IDF chief of staff Shaul Mofaz becomes minister of defense.

**2003 16 January:** NASA launches the space shuttle *Columbia* on mission STS-107; the first Israeli astronaut, Ilan Ramon, is onboard. **1 February:** The space shuttle disintegrates on reentry to earth. All onboard are killed. **March:** Mahmoud Abbas appointed PA prime minister by Arafat. **29 April:** Abbas and his cabinet are approved by the Palestinian legislature. **30 April:** The Quartet Roadmap is presented to Sharon and to Abbas. **4 June:** Middle East Peace Summit at Aqaba, Jordan. President Bush meets with King Abdullah of Jordan and prime ministers Sharon and Abbas.

**2004 14 April:** President Bush gives a letter to Sharon implying U.S. support for a permanent settlement presence beyond the Green Line and for the right of return of Palestinian refugees solely to an independent Palestinian state. **25 August:** Gal Friedman wins first Olympic gold medal for Israel. **October:** Aaron Ciechanover and Avram Hershko of the Technion share the Nobel Prize in chemistry. **28 October:** Sharon’s Gaza disengagement plan passes a vote in the Knesset. **11 November:** Yasser Arafat dies.

**2005 13 March:** Dan Halutz appointed chief of staff of the IDF. **11 April:** Sharon meets with President Bush at his ranch in Crawford, Texas. **15 August:** Israel begins withdrawing settlers and troops from the Gaza Strip. **22 August:** Israel completes the evacuation of all Israeli civilians from the Israeli communities in the Gaza Strip in accordance with the implementation of the Disengagement Plan Law of 2005. **23 August:** Israel completes disengagement in West Bank. **11 October:** Robert J. Aumann of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem shares the Nobel Prize in economics. **10 November:** Amir Peretz elected Labor Party chairman. **21 November:** Sharon announces his departure from Likud and the formation of a new centrist political party (eventually named Kadima [Forward]). **18 December:** Sharon is hospitalized after a mild stroke.

**2006 4 January:** Sharon suffers a massive cerebral hemorrhage; Ehud Olmert becomes acting prime minister and interim Kadima leader. **18 January:** Tzipi Livni appointed foreign minister. **25 January:** Hamas wins Palestinian parliamentary election. **28 March:** Kadima wins election for the Seventeenth Knesset with 28 seats. **May:** Olmert presents his government to the Knesset. **25 June:** IDF soldier Gilad Shalit is kidnapped by Hamas-affiliated Palestinians. **28 June:** IDF forces enter the southern Gaza Strip (Operation Summer

Rains). **12 July–14 August:** Second Lebanon War. **12 July:** Hezbollah kidnaps two IDF soldiers in a cross-border raid in northern Israel. **13 July:** Israel begins bombing the runways at Beirut’s airport and imposes a naval blockade of Lebanon. Hezbollah rocket attacks strike the northern Israeli city of Haifa. **22 July:** Israeli ground troops enter Lebanon. **11 August:** The UNSC approves a resolution calling for a “full cessation of hostilities” in Lebanon. **14 August:** A cease-fire takes effect. Israel–Hezbollah fighting ends. **18 September:** Winograd Commission begins investigation into conduct of Lebanon war. **1 October:** Israel completes military withdrawal from Lebanon. **23 December:** Olmert and Abbas meet formally.

**2007 17 January:** Dan Halutz resigns as IDF chief of staff. **22 January:** Gabriel “Gabi” Ashkenazi appointed IDF new chief of staff. **23 January:** Attorney general Menachem Mazuz announces decision to charge President Moshe Katsav with rape, sexual harassment, obstruction of justice, fraud, and breach of trust. **29 January:** Raleb Majadele is sworn in as Israel’s first Muslim cabinet minister. A Palestinian suicide terrorist bomber strikes in Eilat for the first time. **31 January:** Moshe Katsav takes temporary leave of absence from the office of the presidency; he is replaced on an interim basis (January–July 2007) by Knesset speaker Dalia Itzik. **June:** Hamas violently seizes control of Gaza from Fatah. **13 June:** Shimon Peres is elected Israel’s ninth president. **15 July:** Peres takes office as president. **6 August:** Olmert and Abbas meet in West Bank city of Jericho to continue talks. **19 September:** Israel’s security cabinet unanimously determines “Hamas is a terrorist organization that has taken control of the Gaza Strip and turned it into hostile territory.” **27 November:** Annapolis Conference convened at the invitation of the United States for two purposes: to commence the process of Israeli-Palestinian direct negotiations leading to the two-state solution, and to coordinate international support for efforts to construct the institutions and culture for an independent and democratic Palestinian state.

**2008 9–11 January:** George W. Bush makes his first visit to Israel since becoming president of the United States. Bush expresses confidence that an Israeli–Palestinian agreement can be reached before he leaves office at the end of 2009. **16 January:** Avigdor Lieberman resigns from the cabinet and his Israel Beiteinu party withdraws support for Ehud Olmert’s Kadima-led government. **21 January:** Israel launches a sophisticated Israeli-built reconnaissance satellite atop an Indian missile from a launch site in India. **30 January:** Winograd Committee issues its final report calling the Second Lebanon War (2006) a “serious missed opportunity” for Israel. **4 February:** One Israeli civilian is killed and 11 others are wounded in a suicide bombing in the southern town of Dimona; a second suicide bomber is killed by police before he can set off his explosives belt. **26 February:** Israel’s Supreme Court rejects the petition calling for repeal of the plea bargain reached by

disgraced former president Moshe Katzav on sexual harassment charges. **February–March:** IDF initiates Operation Warm Winter against missile bases in the Gaza Strip. **6 March:** Eight students are killed and dozens of others are wounded by a lone gunman in attack at Jerusalem yeshiva. **16 July:** Hezbollah returns remains of two Israeli soldiers in exchange for 5 Lebanese militants and bodies of 199 others. **6 September:** Israeli air strike, code-named Operation Orchard, destroys Syria’s nuclear reactor. **17 September:** Tzipi Livni is elected new Kadima leader, but is unable to form a viable governing coalition among parties in the Knesset. Incumbent coalition headed by Ehud Olmert remains in office in caretaker capacity. **27 December 2008–18 January 2009:** IDF conducts Operation Cast Lead in the Gaza Strip in response to unrelenting Hamas rocket and missile fire at civilian population centers across southern Israel from northern Gaza.

**2009 January:** Tamar natural gas offshore field discovered. **3 January:** IDF launches ground offensive in Gaza Strip, escalating Operation Cast Lead. **17 January:** Israel announces unilateral cease-fire in Gaza war; IDF completes withdrawal from Gaza Strip four days later. **10 February:** Eighteenth Knesset election results in 28 seats for Kadima and 27 seats for Likud. Assessing the overall configuration of the new Knesset, President Peres invites Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu to form the next government. **19 March:** Moshe Katzav formally indicted for rape and other sexual offenses. **April:** United Nations Human Rights Council inquiry (headed by South African jurist Richard Goldstone) established to investigate alleged human rights violations during the recent Gaza war. **4 April:** City of Tel Aviv centennial celebrations begin. **11–15 May:** Pope Benedict XVI visits Israel and Palestinian areas. **19 May:** Prime Minister Netanyahu meets U.S. president Barack Obama at the White House. **14 June:** Netanyahu endorses, for the first time, the concept of a “demilitarized Palestinian state” alongside Israel. **30 August:** Ehud Olmert is charged with fraud and tax evasion with regard to three separate police investigations against him; the first time in Israel’s history an indictment is served against a former occupant of the office of prime minister. **15 September:** The Goldstone Report is released, accusing Israel of deliberately targeting Palestinian civilians in Gaza and using Palestinian civilians as “human shields.” **24 September:** Netanyahu warns the UNGA that Iran’s efforts to obtain nuclear weapons pose a significant threat to world peace. **25 November:** Israel implements a 10-month moratorium on new West Bank settlement construction. **10 December:** Ada Yonath of the Weizmann Institute receives Nobel Prize in chemistry, the first Israeli woman to win the Nobel Prize.

**2010 31 May:** Israeli security forces board the *Mavi Marmara*. **June:** Leviathan natural gas field discovered. **22 June:** Ofek-9 reconnaissance satellite launched. **26 September:** Israel’s 10-month moratorium on new settlement

construction expires. **14 November:** Netanyahu government approves plan to transport additional 8,000 Falash Mura (Ethiopian Jews) to Israel. **30 December:** Moshe Katzav is convicted of rape and other sexual offences; he is later sentenced to a seven-year prison term which he begins on 7 December 2011.

**2011 17 January:** Labor leader Ehud Barak and four other Labor MKs resign to form the new Atzmaut (Independence) Knesset faction. **1 April:** Richard Goldstone publicly retracts the most serious accusations made against Israel in the September 2009 UN report bearing his name. **7 April:** First successful use of Iron Dome missile defense system against rocket fired from Gaza. **8 April:** Israel becomes the only non-European member of CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research. **14 July:** The start of popular protests demanding social and economic reforms in Israel, focusing on cost of living and housing prices. **2 September:** Turkey expels Israel's ambassador, downgrades ties and cancels all bilateral military agreements in reaction to *Mavi Marmara* incident. **2 September:** UN Secretary General issues report on *Mavi Marmara* (Palmer Report). **9 September:** The Israeli Embassy in Egypt is overrun by protestors. **5 October:** Daniel Shechtman of the Technion shares Nobel Prize in chemistry. **18 October:** Gilad Shalit is released in a controversial deal with Hamas in exchange for 1,027 Palestinian and Israeli-Arab prisoners.

**2012 5 January:** Ehud Olmert is charged with accepting bribes while mayor of Jerusalem. **13 February:** An explosive device detonates near Israel's embassy in New Delhi, India. Explosives are also discovered near the Israeli embassy in Tblisi, Georgia. **21 February:** Israel's Supreme Court rules unconstitutional the controversial legislation (Tal Law) enabling widespread exemptions from military service for men studying in ultra-Orthodox yeshivas. **27 March:** Shaul Mofaz wins Kadima Party leadership, defeating incumbent leader Tzipi Livni. **8 May:** Kadima joins Netanyahu's coalition government, only to quit two months later in a dispute over legislation to integrate ultra-Orthodox men into the IDF. **30 June:** Death of former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir. **10 July:** Ehud Olmert is convicted on one count of breach of trust, acquitted on two other charges. **18 July:** Hezbollah suicide bombing of Israeli tourist bus at airport in Burgas, Bulgaria. **1 August:** Expiration of law enabling widespread military exemptions for ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) yeshiva students. **25 October:** Likud-Beiteinu electoral alliance formed by Netanyahu and Avigdor Lieberman. **14–21 November:** Israel launches Operation Pillar of Defense against Hamas and other Palestinian groups in Gaza. Iron Dome achieves near 90 percent effectiveness in protecting civilian population centers against incessant missile fire from Gaza. **26 November:** Ehud Barak announces intention to retire from politics before next Knesset election; Atzmaut faction soon dissolves and disappears. **29**

**November:** Palestinian UN delegation has status raised to “observer state.”  
**14 December:** Avigdor Lieberman resigns as foreign minister and deputy prime minister pending results of fraud trial.

**2013 22 January:** Likud-Beiteinu alliance wins election for the Nineteenth Knesset, with 31 seats. **18 March:** Netanyahu forms 68-seat coalition, comprised of Likud-Beiteinu and three centrist secular national religious parties. **20 March:** U.S. president Barack Obama begins visit to Israel, the Palestinian territories and Jordan. **22 March:** Prime Minister Netanyahu apologizes to his Turkish counterpart over operational errors resulting in the loss of Turkish life in the *Mavi Marmara* incident. **28 July:** Israel releases 104 Palestinian prisoners as a good-will gesture toward restarting peace talks with Mahmoud Abbas’s PA. **29 July:** U.S. secretary of state John Kerry launches resumption of Israel-PA direct negotiations, with the goal of achieving the framework for final status negotiations within nine months (by 29 April 2014). **7 October:** Death of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, iconic former Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel and spiritual leader of the Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS) Party. **October:** Israeli scholars Arie Warshel and Michael Levitt share the Nobel Prize in chemistry. **6 November:** Avigdor Lieberman is acquitted on charges of fraud and breach of trust; he subsequently resumes his foreign ministry portfolio. **24 November:** P5+1 Joint Plan of Action accord with Teheran on timeframe for reining in Iran’s nuclear weapons program; Israel responds with skepticism.

**2014 11 January:** Death of former prime minister Ariel (Arik) Sharon. **2 March:** Thousands of ultra-Orthodox Israelis demonstrate in opposition to draft Knesset legislation ending military deferments. **5 March:** IDF seizure of the *Klos-C* in Red Sea as part of Operation Full Disclosure. **11 March:** Knesset, by vote of 67 to 0, raises to 3.25 percent of the popular vote (from 2 percent) the threshold for parties to enter the parliament. **12 March:** By a 65-1 vote, Knesset ends blanket ultra-Orthodox military exemptions and levies individual criminal penalties against draft-dodgers. **31 March:** Ehud Olmert convicted of bribery charges in Holyland real estate scandal. **April 2014:** OFEQ-10 surveillance satellite launched into orbit. **23–24 April:** Israel suspends peace talks with Palestinians in response to Fatah-Hamas reconciliation, saying Hamas participation in the Palestinian government makes peace talks impossible. **29 April–1 May:** U.S. 9-month effort to broker Israeli-Palestinian peace deal ends. Secretary of State Kerry acknowledges that months of face-to-face talks had failed to produce any visible progress or deal. **13 May:** Ehud Olmert sentenced to six years in prison and ordered to pay fine of about \$290,000 after conviction in Holyland Real Estate Scandal. **25 May:** Pope Francis visits Israel, the Palestinian territories, and Jordan; he invites President Shimon Peres and PA president Mahmoud Abbas to join him at the Vatican (on **8 June**) to pay for peace. **10 June:** Reuven “Rubi”

Rivlin is elected Israel's tenth president. **12–13 June:** Three teenaged Israeli yeshiva students are kidnapped near Gush Etzion in the West Bank. Israel launches Operation Brother's Keeper in searching for them. **15 June:** Knesset designates 30 November as the national day to commemorate the experiences of more than 850,000 Jews who fled or were evicted from Arab countries at the time of Israel's establishment. **18 June:** Israel is admitted to UN's Western European and Others (WEOG) group, despite the opposition of Arab and Muslim countries. **26 June:** Shimon Peres is awarded the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal. **30 June:** Netanyahu announces discovery of the murdered bodies of the three abducted Israeli youths—Eyal Yifrach, Gilad Sha'ar, and Naftali Frenkel—in a field north of Hebron. **1 July:** Funeral of the three kidnapped Israeli youths. **2 July:** The burned body of a 16-year-old Arab youth from Jerusalem is found in Jerusalem Forest, the victim of a suspected revenge murder. **6 July:** Those suspected of involvement in the young Arab teen's murder, including those expressing extreme right-wing ideologies, are arrested by Israeli police. In late November, three of the suspects, including two teenagers, are found guilty of the murder. **7 July:** Avigdor Lieberman announces dissolution of the Likud–Israel Beiteinu alliance. **7 July–26 August:** IDF wages Operation Protective Edge against Hamas and other terrorist groups in Gaza in response to unrelenting missile attacks against Israeli civilian population centers. **August:** Israel's state comptroller announces the intention to investigate decision making at the military and political levels during Operation Protective Edge, with a focus on possible operational misconduct. **2 November:** U.S. Supreme Court hears arguments on whether Congress may order that American children born in Jerusalem may be listed on their passports as born in Israel. **6 November:** Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda announces that actions of Israeli commandos in 2010 *Mavi Marmara* incident will not be investigated by the International Criminal Court (ICC). **18 November:** Two Palestinian terrorists attack Jewish worshippers at a synagogue in Jerusalem's Har Nof neighborhood, killing four worshippers and wounding seven others. Israeli Druze police officer is also killed while responding to the attack. **2 December:** Netanyahu fires Finance Minister Yair Lapid and Justice Minister Tzipi Livini, prompting the departure of their respective parties from the government; Netanyahu also announces intention to seek early Knesset elections. **3 December:** Final passage by the U.S. Congress of the U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership Act, naming Israel "a major strategic partner." The Act is subsequently signed into law by President Obama. **7 December:** Two military facilities near Damascus, Syria (reportedly containing Iranian weapons for Hezbollah) are destroyed by airstrikes. Israel declines comment other than to reiterate its long-standing policy of preventing transfers of sophisticated weapons to terrorist organizations. **8 December:** Nineteenth Knesset votes to dissolve itself and to terminate Israel's thirty-third government in readiness for election for



Twentieth Knesset in March 2015. **10 December:** Labor leader Yitzhak (Isaac) Herzog and Hatnua's Tzipi Livni announce formation of Zionist Union joint slate for 2015 Knesset election in effort to prevent Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud from winning fourth consecutive term. **December:** The U.S. Congress earmarks \$3.7 billion allocation for Israel—\$3.1 billion in regular annual military aid and an extra \$619 million for continued production of Iron Dome and other elements of Israel's missile defense system. **15 December:** Eliyahu (Eli) Yishai forms Yachad-Ha'am Itanu Party as splinter from SHAS. **17 December:** European Union court annuls Hamas' inclusion on the EU list of terrorist organizations. **24 December:** Israel announces purchase of four new Sa'ar missile boats from Germany. **27 December:** Death of Ben Ammi Ben-Israel, leader of the Black Hebrews movement in Israel. **30 December:** Israel's population stands at 8.3 million, 6.2 million (74.9 percent) Jewish and 1.7 million (20.7 percent) Arab. UNSC defeats draft resolution that would have predetermined, without negotiations, parameters for a final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, including a Palestinian state with its capital in East Jerusalem. Arye Deri, political leader of SHAS suddenly resigns his Knesset seat; his resignation as SHAS leader is rejected by the party's Council of Torah Sages. **31 December:** Netanyahu is overwhelmingly reaffirmed as Likud chairman.

**2015 1 January:** The PA is accepted as a member state of the International Criminal Court (ICC). **6 January:** Hussan Qawasmeh is sentenced to 75 years in prison for his role in the June 2014 abduction and murder of three Israeli teenagers in the West Bank. **16 January:** At the request of the PA, ICC chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda opens a preliminary investigation into "the situation in Palestine." **18 January:** Alberto Nisman, chief investigator of the 1994 AMIA bombing in Buenos Aires, Argentina, is found dead. **19 January:** A helicopter airstrike on a Hezbollah convoy in Syria kills the son of Hezbollah's late military commander and a senior Iranian general. Israel withholds comment. **20 January:** Israel's state comptroller opens an investigation into military and political decision making during Operation Protective Edge. **27 January:** Two of four rockets fired from Syria explode in open areas on Golan Heights. **28 January:** Hezbollah cross-border attack kills two Israeli soldiers and wounds seven others. **2 February:** Jordan announces return of its ambassador to Israel. **3 February:** William Schabas resigns as head of UN Human Rights Council inquiry on 2014 Gaza war. **12 February:** Israel's Central Election Committee votes to disqualify Israeli Arab MK Hanin Zoabi from participation in the election for the Twentieth Knesset. Also disqualified is ultranationalist Baruch Marzel. **16 February:** Gadi Eizenkot becomes IDF chief of staff. **16 February:** Moshe Ya'alon makes first official visit to India by an Israeli defense minister. **18 February:** Israel's Supreme Court overturns Central Election Committee decision to disqualify

Hanin Zoabi and Baruch Marzel from participating in 2015 Knesset election. **26 February:** Israel and Jordan sign major agreement to replenish the Dead Sea by carrying water from the Red Sea. **3 March:** Netanyahu warns joint session of the U.S. Congress about a “bad” Iran nuclear deal. **5 March:** The PLO Central Council votes to recommend that the PA end security cooperation with Israel. **8 March:** In a communique, Israel’s cabinet declares that the nuclear deal being formulated by the U.S.-led P5+1 group “will allow Iran a break-out time of one year or less. We will continue to take all possible action to deny the largest terrorist state in the world the ability to produce the most dangerous weapon in the world.” **17 March:** Benjamin Netanyahu leads Likud to a fourth consecutive victory, winning taking 30 seats in the election of the Twentieth Knesset, compared to the Zionist Union’s 24 seats. **18 March:** Egyptian firm signs an estimated \$1.2 billion deal to export natural gas from Israel’s Tamar field. **23 March:** Netanyahu publicly apologizes to Israel’s Arab citizens for the “hurt” caused by comments he made in the Knesset election campaign. **25 March:** President Reuven “Rubi” Rivlin receives official results of the election for the Twentieth Knesset and invites Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu to form Israel’s next government. **26 March:** Majority (61) of Knesset members recommend Netanyahu for prime minister. **27 March:** Israel transfers millions of dollars in tax revenues to PA frozen since December 2014 in response to the PA’s joining the ICC and requesting a war crimes investigation against Israel. **30 March:** Ehud Olmert found guilty of unlawfully accepting money from an American supporter in a retrial on corruption charges. **31 March:** The 120 members of the Twentieth Knesset are sworn in. **1 April:** State of Palestine formally joins the International Criminal Court. **2 April:** Israel calls the U.S.-led P5+1 framework nuclear agreement with Iran “a historic mistake that will make the world much more dangerous.” **20 April:** Women of the Wall read from a full-size Torah scroll during prayers in the women’s section at the Western Wall for the first time. **20 April:** President Rivlin grants Netanyahu a 14-day extension to form a new governing coalition. **23–24 April:** Israel celebrates its 67th Independence Day (Yom Ha’atzmaut). **23 April:** Missiles are launched from Gaza into Israel for the first time since the 2014 war; IDF responds by striking suspected missile-launching sites. **26 April:** Prime Minister–elect Netanyahu and President Rivlin decline to meet with former U.S. president Jimmy Carter over his anti-Israeli stance. **3 May:** Tel Aviv rally highlighting socioeconomic demands of Israel’s Ethiopian Jewish community turns violent. **4 May:** Israel Beiteinu leader Avigdor Lieberman announces that his party would not join a Likud-led coalition government. **7 May:** Netanyahu announces formation of a governing coalition composed of five parties that together hold 61 seats in the 120-member Knesset. **13 May:** Vatican officially recognizes the state of Palestine. **14 May:** Netanyahu’s new 20-minister cabinet is approved by a narrow 61-59 Knesset vote. **15 May:** Death of

Moshe Levinger, founder of Kiryat Arba and of Gush Emunim. **26 May:** Ehud Olmert sentenced to eight months in prison for fraud, breach of trust, and tax evasion. **29 May:** Ze'ev Binyamin (Benny) Begin resigns from Netanyahu's government to enable the appointment of Gilad Erdan as strategic affairs and public security minister. **3 June:** U.S. president Obama invokes waiver in Jerusalem Embassy Act (1995) postponing relocation of the American embassy to Jerusalem for at least another 6 months. **8 June:** The U.S. Supreme Court strikes down legislation that would have allowed American parents of children born in Jerusalem to obtain passports saying the children were born in Israel. The court rules that the president must determine U.S. policy concerning the status of Jerusalem, not Congress. **14 June:** Netanyahu says Israeli report "proves unequivocally that the actions carried out by the IDF and the security forces during [Operation Protective Edge] were in accordance with international law." **17 June:** Head of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) acknowledges that Hamas hid weapons at UNRWA-run schools and clinics during the 2014 Gaza war, with the knowledge of UN staff. **21 June:** Egypt appoints first ambassador to Israel since 2012. **22 June:** Israel rejects the UN Human Rights Council report on the 2014 Gaza war, calling it "politically motivated and morally flawed from the outset." **25 June:** The Vatican signs its first treaty with the state of Palestine concerning the status of the Catholic Church in Palestinian Authority areas, including East Jerusalem. **28–29 June:** Israel navy intercepts the *Marianne* bound for the Gaza Strip to protest Israel's maritime blockade. **14 July:** Iran and the U.S.-led P5+1 reach an accord designed to significantly limit Iran's nuclear capability. Israel calls it a "historic mistake" that will permit Iran to become a "terrorist nuclear superpower." **15 July:** Knesset Ethics Committee issues "severe reprimand" against Israeli-Arab Knesset member Basel Ghattas for his participation in efforts to breach Israel's naval blockade of the Gaza Strip. **16 July:** Israel rejects as cynical, hypocritical, and politically motivated the ICC decision to order Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda to reopen the investigation against Israel in *Mavi Marmara* incident. **27 July:** Chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda appeals the ICC order, arguing that the judges did not consider "the unique context of violent resistance" confronting Israeli forces aboard the *Mavi Marmara*. **28 July:** U.S. Parole Commission issues Notice of Action granting parole to Jonathan J. Pollard. **30 July:** Teenager Shira Baki is stabbed to death in a Jerusalem gay pride parade. **31 July:** An arson attack on the Dawabsha family in Duma is viewed by Israeli officials as a terrorist act committed by extremist Jews against Arabs. **6 August:** Six people are stabbed, one mortally, at the LGBT/gay pride parade in Jerusalem; the lone suspect is an ultra-Orthodox Jewish man only recently released from prison for a similar attack on a 2005 gay pride parade. **5 August:** Dani Dayan, former leader of the Yesha settler community, is appointed ambassa-

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dor to Brazil; Brazilian government hesitates to accept his credentials and the appointment is withdrawn. **6–7 August:** Israeli leaders condemn as “terrorism” the overnight firebombing of the West Bank village of Duma resulting in the death of an 18-month-old Palestinian child and subsequent death of the child’s father; suspected Jewish extremists are immediately rounded up by Israeli authorities. **16 August:** Cabinet approves deal with private investors to increase development of Israel’s offshore natural gas fields. **September:** SodaStream relocates production plant from West Bank settlement of Ma’aleh Adumim to Negev industrial park, citing only “marginal” effect of the anti-Israeli international boycott campaign. **September:** Israel’s population stands at 8.4 million, some 6.3 million (75 percent) of which are Jews and 1.7 million (20.7 percent) Arabs. **10 September:** Israel reopens its embassy in Egypt. **13 September:** The beginning of a wave of seemingly random terrorist attacks targeting Israelis in Israel and the West Bank, including rock-throwing, stabbings, fire bombings, stoning, violent riots, and shootings. It was the beginning of what became a trend that continued into 2016. **30 September:** Mahmoud Abbas declared that the Palestinians are no longer bound by mutual agreements with Israel, including the Oslo Accords. **16 October:** Palestinian rioters set fire to Joseph’s Tomb in Nablus, revered as the burial place of Joseph, son of Jacob. **27 October:** Ehud Olmert is ordered to serve jail time after the Supreme Court of Israel upholds his conviction in the Holy Land real estate corruption scandal but reduces his prison sentence to 18 months from six years. He will start serving his sentence on 15 February 2016. He is the first prime minister in Israel’s history to be sent to prison. **7 November:** Death of Yitzhak Navon, Israel’s fifth President at age 94. **9 November:** Netanyahu meets with U.S. president Obama at the White House for the first time since the Iran nuclear deal. Netanyahu describes it as “one of the best meetings” he’s had with Obama. **20 November:** Jonathan J. Pollard is paroled from a U.S. federal prison. **27 November:** Senior officials confirm that Israel would soon inaugurate for the first time an official diplomatic mission in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. The new legation would be officially accredited to the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), which is based in Abu Dhabi. **2 December:** Defense Minister Moshe Ya’alon tells the U.S. Congress that attempts by Iran to transfer chemical or advanced weapons to Hezbollah via Syria “will not be tolerated.” **3 December:** The Shin Bet arrests “youths belonging to a Jewish terror group” suspected of 31 July 2015 arson attack in West Bank Palestinian village of Duma. **4 December:** Death of longtime left-wing Zionist Knesset member Yossi Sarid at 75. **10 December:** Arrow 3 missile hits a target in space meant to simulate the trajectory of the long-range ballistic missiles of Israel’s adversaries, including Iran. **20 December:** Convicted terrorist and senior Hezbollah operative Samir Kuntar is killed in an airstrike in Damascus, Syria. **20 December:** Silvan Shalom resigns from the cabinet and Knesset due to a

personal scandal. **21 December:** Magic Wand medium-range missile defense interceptor—also known as David’s Sling—is declared fully operational and ready for delivery to the Israel Air Force in 2016. **31 December:** Israel’s population reaches 8,462,000: 6.335 million Jews (74.9 percent), 1.757 million Arabs (20.7 percent), and 370,000 others (4.4 percent).

**2016 1 January:** Egyptian ambassador returns to Israel for the first time since 2012. **5 January:** Yossi Cohen officially assumes role as 12th head of Mossad, succeeding Tamir Pardo. **5 January:** Plans are approved for the establishment of a new Druze town near Tiberias, reportedly the first new Druze town to be built since the founding of the State of Israel. **10 January:** Cabinet approves appointment of SHAS leader Arye Deri as interior minister. **11 January:** Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is confirmed as the sole, unopposed candidate in the Likud leadership election scheduled for 23 February 2016. **12 January:** INS *Rahav*, Israel’s fifth and latest Dolphin-class submarine arrives at Haifa naval base, completing its journey from Kiel, Germany, where it was constructed. **13 January:** Credentials of Israel’s ambassador accepted by the president of the recently renamed Islamic Republic of Gambia. **17 January:** Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu denounces the lifting of economic sanctions against Teheran, declaring that, “Israel’s policy has been and will remain exactly what has been followed: to not allow Iran to acquire nuclear weapons.” **18 January:** Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu welcomes visiting Indian External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj: “The Middle East’s only democracy welcomes the foreign minister of the world’s greatest democracy.” **31 January:** Israel’s cabinet, in a split vote, approves for the first time ever, creation of a non-Orthodox mixed-sex prayer area at the Western Wall in Jerusalem’s Old City. **4 February:** Two Israeli minors found guilty of the July 2014 murder of Arab teen Muhammad Abu Khdeir are sentenced to lengthy prison terms. **15 February:** Former prime minister Ehud Olmert begins an 18-month prison sentence for bribery and obstruction of justice. **17 March:** Meir Dagan, former Mossad director, dies at the age of 71. **21 March:** Last remaining Jews of Yemen are rescued and brought to Israel in a covert operation. **23 March:** Israeli author Aharon Megged dies at the age of 95. **24 March:** Video of Israeli soldier Sgt. Elor Azaria killing already wounded Palestinian terrorist goes viral. Defense Minister Moseh Ya’alon supports the decision of IDF to proceed with manslaughter charges. **13 April:** Israel, Greece, and Cyprus hold the first joint firefighting/emergency cooperation drill. **15 April:** UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) overwhelmingly adopts a resolution referring to Jerusalem’s Temple Mount only by its Muslim name, Al Aksa Mosque/Al-Haram Al Sharif. Israel rejects the resolution as “yet another absurd UN decision” that ignores the Jewish people’s unique connection to Jerusalem, “its eternal capital.” **17**

**April:** Israel's cabinet convenes on the Golan Heights, signaling that it is "an integral part of the state of Israel." **May:** Netanyahu declines to participate in an international peace conference proposed by France, reiterating that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be resolved only through direct, bilateral negotiations. **4 May:** Israel is invited by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to open an office at its Brussels headquarters. IDF deputy chief of staff's public warning of the "first signs of intolerance, violence, and self-destruction" in modern-day Israel akin to those of Nazi-era Germany provokes charges of inappropriate military intervention in political affairs of the state of Israel. A showdown ensues between Netanyahu and Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon. **9 May:** Israel's population, on the eve of Yom Ha'atzmaut, stands at 8.522 million, 6.377 million Jews (74.8 percent) and 1.771 million Arabs (20.8 percent). **20 May:** Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon resigns from the coalition and Knesset in dispute with Prime Minister Netanyahu. Avigdor Lieberman, leader of the Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home) party, is nominated as the new defense minister. **24 May:** Cabinet approves Avigdor Lieberman as defense minister. **25 May:** Central Bureau of Statistics reports that some 3.2 million people have immigrated to Israel since the founding of the state in May 1948. **28 May:** Moshe Ya'alon bids farewell to the Defense Ministry, cautioning IDF senior command that "an army needs to win, but it also needs to stay humane." **30 May:** Avigdor Lieberman is sworn in as defense minister. Knesset approves Lieberman as minister of defense by a vote of 55 to 43. Israel Beiteinu party joins the Netanyahu-led government, adding five Knesset seats to the coalition (from 61 to 66). Netanyahu reaffirms the readiness of the reconstituted government for negotiations with Palestinians and the Arab world. **8 June:** Palestinian gunmen kill four Israelis in a terrorist attack in Tel Aviv. **13 June:** For the first time ever, Israel's UN ambassador is elected to a permanent chair in the General Assembly committee, over strong Arab and Muslim opposition. **16 June:** Moshe Ya'alon announces his intention to challenge Benjamin Netanyahu for prime minister in the next election. **28 June:** Israel and Turkey reestablish diplomatic relations and sign a reconciliation agreement.

# Introduction

Israel is an independent Jewish state, small in size and population, located at the southwestern tip of Asia on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. It achieved independence in May 1948. Since biblical times, Jews of the Diaspora have hoped that they would return to Zion, the “promised land” where the ancient Jewish state had been located as described in the Bible. Over the centuries, Zionism focused on spiritual, religious, cultural, social, and historical links between Jews and the holy land. Political Zionism, with the establishment of a Jewish state as its goal, and Jewish immigration to Palestine, both developed in 19th-century Europe, partly as responses to anti-Semitism. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire during World War I and its dismemberment during the subsequent peace conferences led to British administration of Palestine (under a League of Nations mandate) and set the stage for the eventual independence of Israel.

Israel has achieved rapid development and impressive accomplishments in the social and scientific arenas, even though it has been in a state of war since independence and continually must be prepared to defend its existence. It has been the Middle East’s most politically and socially innovative state and has achieved prosperity for its people. Israel has built a democratic system unlike that of any other in the Middle East and has melded more than 3 million immigrants from more than 100 countries into a uniquely Israeli population. In a country almost devoid of natural resources, its people have achieved a high standard of living.

Despite peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan, an aborted agreement with Lebanon, a series of interim agreements with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Palestinian Authority (PA), and periodic U.S.–sponsored talks with Syria, Israel’s pursuit of permanent peace with its neighbors is far from complete. The continuing Arab-Israeli conflict and the potential for conflict with other elements of the broader Muslim world remain central tests of Israel’s foreign and defense policies.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Israel is a parliamentary democracy but has no formal written constitution. Since independence, a series of Basic Laws have been enacted that enshrine the principles of democracy in Israel and guide Israel's actions and are intended, in time, to form portions of a consolidated constitutional document.

The president is the head of state and is elected by the Knesset (parliament). The president's powers and functions are primarily ceremonial, and his or her actual political power is very limited. The prime minister is head of government and, as the chief executive officer, wields considerable power. The prime minister forms the government (or cabinet), whose members head the ministries and agencies of government. The prime minister determines the agenda of cabinet meetings and has the final word in policy decisions, although such decisions are often arrived at through bargaining and compromise among the coalitions of parties that, since independence, have constituted Israel's governments. Decisions by the government determine the direction and policy of the state.

Legislative power resides in the Knesset, a unicameral body of 120 members that is the supreme legislative authority in the state. The Knesset's main functions are similar to those of other modern parliaments and include votes of confidence or no confidence in the government and legislation, participation in the formulation of national policy, approval of budgets and taxation, election of the president, and general monitoring of the activities of the executive branch. All members of the Knesset are elected at large in a national and general election in which seats are allocated by a complex system of proportional representation.

The judiciary in Israel consists of secular and religious court systems. The Supreme Court is the highest court in the land, hears appeals from lower courts in civil and criminal cases, and acts to protect the rights of Israeli citizens. While it does not have the power of judicial review, the Supreme Court has in recent years adopted a more activist role, both in invalidating administrative actions it regards as contrary to the law and in commenting on broader social issues. Each major religious community has its own religious courts that have jurisdiction over matters of personal status, such as marriage and divorce, alimony, probate, and inheritance.

Israel has a large number of political parties that represent a wide spectrum of views, positions, and interests. There are also religious and special-issue parties that focus on a particular subject or theme, as well as some political parties that represent the interests of Israeli Arabs and other minority and ethnic communities.



## SOCIETY

At independence, Israel had some 806,000 citizens (650,000 Jews and 156,000 non-Jews). Israel's population by June 2016 stood at 8.522 million, some 75 percent of which were Jews. Israel's non-Jewish population has grown dramatically since 1948, mostly as a result of high rates of natural growth. The Jewish population has increased more than fivefold since independence, with some 3.2 million Jewish immigrants (through May 2016), many of whom came from Arab and Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Beginning in the late 1980s, over 1 million immigrants from the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) added substantially to Israel's population, while smaller but more dramatic immigrations came from Ethiopia. Under the Law of Return, any Jew, with some specific exceptions, may immigrate to Israel and receive citizenship. Immigrants are provided with housing and language and vocational training to speed their integration into the mainstream of Israeli society.

Israel's Jews are of a single religious faith and share a spiritual heritage and elements of historical experience. However, ethnically and culturally, they are heterogeneous. The Jewish population is composed of immigrants from numerous countries and reflects a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups; degrees of religious observance; and cultural, historical, and political backgrounds. And their religious practices vary considerably, from ultra-Orthodox (known as "Haredi") to secular, with substantial differences in liturgy and in observance of Jewish law.

The two main groups in Israel's Jewish population are the Ashkenazim (that is to say, Jews of Central and East European origin) and the Sephardim or Orientals (Jews who came to Israel from the countries of the Middle East and the Mediterranean area). Although the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population was of Ashkenazi origin at independence, Israeli society is now split between the Ashkenazim and Jews of Sephardic origin, who are also referred to as "Edot Hamizrach" (eastern or Oriental communities). Increasingly, ethnic divisions are becoming less relevant as the instances of cross-cultural marriages grow and as native-born Israelis identify themselves not as Ashkenazi or Sephardic but as "Sabra."

Geographically, Israel is a Middle Eastern country, but its culture, society, and political system remain primarily Western in nature and orientation. The early Zionists were primarily from Russia and Poland and laid the foundations for an essentially European culture in Palestine, and subsequent immigration accelerated the trend. The Western immigrants created and developed the structure of land settlement, institutions, trade unions, political parties,

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and educational systems in preparation for a Western-oriented Jewish national state. Future immigrants from non-Western countries had to adapt to a society that had formed these institutions.

After the Holocaust (known to most Israelis as “Shoah”) and the creation of Israel, whole Jewish communities were transported to Israel from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. This massive immigration created a situation in which a large portion of Israel’s population had societal and cultural traditions different from those of their Western coreligionists who constituted the majority and dominant element in Israel. The religious traditions of Judaism provide a common core of values and ideals, but there are major differences in outlook, frames of reference, levels of aspiration, and other social and cultural components. Although steps have been taken to alleviate the situation, Israel continues to suffer from ethnic-cultural cleavages, a socioeconomic gap, and consequent inequalities within the Jewish community.

Israel’s non-Jewish citizenry, constituting 20.8 percent of the total population in May 2016, consists primarily (20.7 percent) of the Arabs (and their descendants) who remained in what became Israel after the 1948–1949 Arab-Israeli war. The Muslim population, which constitutes about three-fourths of the non-Jewish population, is predominantly Sunni. Christians constitute about 9 percent of the non-Jewish population. Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox constitute more than 80 percent of that number, but there are also Roman Catholics, Maronites, Armenians, Protestants, Anglicans, and Aramaeans. The Druze constitute another 9 percent of Israel’s non-Jewish population.

Although their legal status is the same as Israel’s Jewish population, Israel’s Arab citizens are confronted by problems qualitatively different. Between 1948 and the mid-1960s, activities of the Arab community were regarded primarily as concerns of Israel’s security system, and most of the areas inhabited by the Arabs were placed under military control. The restrictions were gradually modified, and in 1966, the military government was abolished. Although Israeli Arabs vote, sit in the Knesset, serve in government offices, have their own schools and courts, and prosper materially, many face difficulties in adjusting to Israel’s modern, Jewish, and Western-oriented society. The Arabs tend to live in separate sections of major cities. They speak Arabic, attend a separate school system, and generally do not serve in the army. The Arab and Jewish communities in Israel have few points of contact, and those that exist are not intimate; they are separate societies that generally continue to hold stereotypical images of each other that often are reinforced by the tensions and problems generated by the larger Arab-Israeli conflict. There is mutual suspicion and antagonism, and there is still a Jewish fear of the Arabs—a result of wars and terrorism.

Israel is a Jewish state; nevertheless, it guarantees all of its citizens—in law and in practice—freedom of religion and conscience and considerable autonomy under a derivative of the *millet* system maintained from the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, there have been tensions and often open clashes between the religious and secular segments of the Jewish community and between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox denominations. At issue are the authority and power of the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox religious authorities and their desire to mold Israeli society in their preferred image. Debate has focused on the appropriate relationship between religion and the state, between the religious and secular authorities, and between the Orthodox-dominated religious establishment and non-Orthodox streams of Judaism (i.e., Conservative/Masorti and Reform/Progressive Jewry). At the core of this debate is the contentious question “Who is a Jew?” The issue has philosophical, theological, political, and ideological overtones with specific practical dimensions in connection with immigration, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and conversion as well as in registration of identity cards and in the official collection of data and information. The question relates to the application of legislation, such as the Law of Return, the Nationality Law, and other laws passed by the Knesset. Despite ongoing efforts, no permanent solution to the enduring Who Is a Jew? controversy has occurred. A more practical element of the debate relates to the Status Quo Agreement negotiated by Israel’s founding prime minister David Ben-Gurion with Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox religious leaders to secure their communities’ support for statehood in May 1948. Opponents of the agreement charge that it places an unfair burden on other elements of Israeli society to undertake the responsibilities for which the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox are excluded by virtue of Ben-Gurion’s 1948 agreement (including military service). Despite Supreme Court repudiation of religious military exemptions, efforts to find a legislative solution that will achieve Knesset approval, without bringing down a coalition government, have yet to bear fruit.

## GEOGRAPHY

Israel is a small country whose land borders (except with Egypt, Jordan, and the sea) are not permanent and recognized and whose size has not been determined precisely due to the absence of permanent and comprehensive peace. Within the frontiers established by armistice agreements signed in spring 1949 at the end of the first Arab-Israeli war, Israel was less than 8,000 square miles (some 20,700 square kilometers) and was bounded on the north by Lebanon; on the northeast by Syria; on the east by the West Bank, Jordan,

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and the Dead Sea; on the southwest by Egypt (sitting in occupation of the Gaza Strip); and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. The country is 264 miles long and, at its widest, some 70 miles.

Israel may be divided into four main natural land regions: the coastal plain, the highlands of Judea and Samaria, the Rift Valley, and the Negev Desert. The coastal plain lies along the Mediterranean and is composed of a generally narrow and sandy shoreline bordered by fertile farmland varying up to 25 miles in width from the northern border to the Israel-Egypt border in the southwest. Most Israelis live in the coastal plain, and most of the industry and agriculture are located there. A series of mountain ranges run north to south from the Galilee to the Negev. The mountains of Galilee stretch southward to the Jezreel Valley, south of which are the mountains and hills of Samaria, Judea, and the Negev. Upper Galilee is the highest part of the country. Lower Galilee's hills are more broken. The highlands of Galilee are where most of Israel's Arabs live in a triangular-shaped area that includes the city of Nazareth. Mount Meron, Israel's highest mountain, is here. The Judean hills include Jerusalem. There is also the Carmel mountain range near Haifa.

The Rift Valley is part of the Great Syrian-African rift—the deepest valley on earth. In Israel, it includes the Jordan Valley, which is located between the mountains of Judea and Samaria in the west and the mountains of Jordan to the east; the Hula Valley between the mountains of Galilee and the Golan Heights; the Jezreel Valley between the mountains of Galilee and Samaria; and the Arava, a long and arid valley running from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea. Portions of the Arava were ceded to Jordan in the 1994 peace treaty and then leased back to Israeli farmers. The Dead Sea, a saltwater body, is part of the Rift Valley area and is the lowest land area on earth, about 1,286 feet below sea level. The Negev is an arid area of flatlands and limestone mountains that stretches southward from the Judean Desert, which lies between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea.

The Jordan River, the longest of Israel's rivers, flows north to south through the Sea of Galilee (also known as Lake Kinneret and Lake Tiberias) and empties into the Dead Sea. Most of Israel's other rivers are small and generally seasonal in nature, except for the Kishon (which is about 8 miles long, flows east to west, and empties into the Mediterranean north of Haifa) and the Yarkon (which is about 16 miles long, flows east to west, and empties into the Mediterranean at Tel Aviv).

Israel's climate generally is Mediterranean in nature—marked by hot and dry summers and cool but relatively mild winters. There is sunshine from May through mid-October, and no rain falls during this season. Periods of hot and dry weather brought by easterly winds occur at the beginning and end of the summer, usually in May and September. The hot, dry, sandy, easterly wind of biblical fame is commonly known as *khamsin*, from the

Arabic for *fifty*. The rainy season begins about mid-October, but it is only in December that rainy days become frequent. Winter weather alternates between short but heavy rainy spells and sunshine. March and April are cool, with occasional rains of short duration. There is a variation of climate by region, partly as a consequence of differences in altitude. North of Beersheba, Israel has a Mediterranean climate, but the Negev is generally arid, and cultivation there is impossible without irrigation. The Jordan Valley is hotter and drier than the coastal plain. Tiberias and the Jordan Valley enjoy warm temperatures and little rainfall. In the hilly regions (including Jerusalem and the Upper Galilee), temperatures drop toward the freezing point, and brief snowfalls are not unusual.

## HISTORY

The new state of Israel came into being on 14 May 1948 with the termination of the British Mandate for Palestine, but its creation was preceded by more than 50 years of efforts by Zionist leaders to establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine. The modern history of Israel may be dated from the Jewish immigration to Palestine in the second-half of the 19th century from Europe, especially Russia and Poland.

The practical and modern effort to establish a state began with the founding of the Zionist Movement and the creation of the World Zionist Organization by Theodor Herzl at the end of the 19th century. Waves of state-sponsored anti-Semitism (pogroms) in Eastern Europe and incidents such as the Dreyfus Affair in Western Europe were important contributing factors in the development of modern political Zionism. Zionist aspirations were given impetus with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration (1917) in which the British government expressed support for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Jewish immigration to Palestine grew throughout this period, but with the advent of the Nazi regime in Germany and the Holocaust, the numbers escalated rapidly in the 1930s. With the end of World War II, there was pressure for the remnants of European Jewry to be permitted to immigrate to Palestine despite British restrictions. The Arab reaction to the effort to create a Jewish state was negative and frequently violent.

On 29 November 1947, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the partition plan (Resolution 181-II), which called for the division of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state (linked by an economic union) and for an international administration for Jerusalem. The plan was accepted with reluctance by the Zionists but denounced by the Arab world, which prepared for war to ensure that all of Palestine would be an Arab state.

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Between November 1947 and May 1948, the Arab community in Palestine, with the active encouragement of neighboring Arab countries, waged a campaign of terror against the Jewish settlement (*yishuv*) in an effort to prevent implementation of the partition plan. This Arab terror provoked small militant elements of the Zionist community to launch violent reprisals against the Arabs as well as against symbols of a British Mandatory Authority that was accused of siding with the Arabs.

With the British withdrawal from Palestine in May 1948, the new Jewish state proclaimed its independence. David Ben-Gurion became the prime minister of the state of Israel, and Chaim Weizmann was elected president. The new government was soon recognized by the United States and the USSR, as well as by many other states. The Arab League declared war on Israel, and the neighboring Arab states announced that their armies would enter the former Palestine Mandate, ostensibly to “restore order.” A long and bitter war ensued between Israel and armies from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, with assistance from other Arab League members.

In the spring of 1949, armistice agreements were signed between Israel and each of the bordering states (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon), which established a frontier (armistice line) between Israel and each of the neighboring states, and portions of these areas were demilitarized. Peace negotiations to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict were to follow but did not. As a consequence of the war, Israel encompassed more territory than had been allocated to it by the partition plan. Portions of the territory allocated to the Palestinian Arab state came under Egyptian (the Gaza Strip) and Jordanian (the West Bank) control. Jerusalem was divided between Israel and Jordan. Under the terms of the armistice with Jordan, Israelis and other Jews were to be accorded access to Jewish holy places in Jerusalem’s Old City and in the West Bank. However, this did not occur.

Israel has fought seven major wars (in 1948–1949, 1956–1957, 1967, 1969–1970, 1973, 1982, and 2006) with the Arab states to secure its position, in addition to frequent skirmishes and three major wars with Palestinian terrorist groups in the Gaza Strip in 2009–2009, 2012, and 2014. Israel has signed a series of interim agreements with the PLO and the PA and has held sporadic substantive talks with Syria under U.S. sponsorship. But formal peace has eluded Israel with all but Egypt and Jordan, and a comprehensive peace agreement with all of its neighbors appears still far away.

Soon after its independence, Israel moved to function as a regular state. Elections for a parliament (Knesset) were held on 25 January 1949, and regular parliamentary and presidential elections have been held, as required by law, since then, but Israel’s progress in its domestic life was not matched by comparable developments with the Arab states; frequent border incidents and clashes characterized the early 1950s.

Tensions continued to increase, and the situation was exacerbated by external (primarily Soviet) arms supplies to Israel's regional adversaries, Palestinian terrorist incursions into Israel, and Israeli retaliatory raids on *fedayeen* bases in Egyptian-controlled Gaza. In the summer of 1956, Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, and tensions grew. In late October, Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula to destroy hostile Egyptian military positions and to reopen the blockaded Strait of Tiran. In a brief war, Israel captured the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. Following a British and French ultimatum (coordinated in advance in top-level, secret, tripartite—British, French, and Israeli—meetings), British and French forces were interposed between Israel and Egypt along the Suez Canal. Eventually, Israel was forced by U.S. pressure to withdraw from Egyptian territory and from the Gaza Strip. The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was stationed on the frontier between the two states and helped ensure quiet along the border for the next decade. The sea lanes through the Strait of Tiran to Israel's port of Eilat were opened to Israeli shipping, but the hope that peace talks might follow was not realized. Although the other Arab states did not join in the 1956–1957 hostilities, they made no effort to reach a peace agreement with Israel, and their territories often became bases for Palestinian terrorist attacks across the border into Israel. Israel maintained its military posture and capability to deal with the Arab threat.

In 1966 and 1967, Israel again focused on the problems associated with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Border incidents became more serious, and escalation toward conflict began in late 1966 and early 1967 as clashes between Israel and Syria contributed to regional tensions. In May 1967, President Nasser of Egypt demanded the removal of United Nations (UN) forces from Sinai and Gaza, mobilized the Egyptian military, and moved troops and equipment into demilitarized areas. Nasser also announced the closing of the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping. Other factors also contributed to the growing tensions. On 5 June 1967, Israel launched a preemptive military strike against Egypt. Other Arab states joined in the hostilities, which spread to include Jordan, Syria, and Iraq, among other Arab participants.

The Six-Day War of June 1967 substantially altered the nature and parameters of the Arab-Israeli dispute. The realities of Arab hostility and the nature of the Arab threat—the term “politicide” was used by Israeli analyst Yehoshafat Harkabi to describe the Arab goal of destroying Israel—and the difficulties of achieving a settlement became more obvious. The issues of the conflict changed with the extent of the Israeli victory: Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights. Israel adopted the position that it would not withdraw from those territories until there were negotiations with the Arab states leading to peace agreements that recognized Israel's right to exist and accepted Israel's permanent position and borders. The Arab response to these terms of reference

was the “three nos” adopted at the Khartoum, Sudan, meeting of the Arab League in September 1967: no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel. Throughout the period between the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War (1973), the focal point was the effort to achieve a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to secure a just and lasting peace based on UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967, which recommended an exchange of land for peace between Israel and the Arab states. Although some of the efforts were promising, peace was not achieved, and there was little movement in that direction. The 1969–1970 War of Attrition (launched by Egypt against Israeli military positions along the Suez Canal in April 1969) marked the fourth round of hostilities between Israel and the Arabs; it was also unique in involving direct military engagements between Israelis and Soviet pilots flying Egyptian aircraft. In this period a restructured PLO emerged under the leadership of Yasser Arafat and posed new challenges to Israel’s security in the form of terrorist attacks inside Israel and on Israeli and Jewish targets internationally.

On 3 October 1973, Egyptian and Syrian military forces launched surprise attacks on Israeli positions along the Suez Canal and in the Golan Heights. Despite initial Arab advances on both fronts, Israel pushed Syria back beyond the 1967 cease-fire line and crossed the Suez Canal to take a portion of the West Bank. The war increased Israel’s dependence on the United States, as no other country would provide Israel with the vast quantities of modern and sophisticated arms required for war or the political and moral support necessary to negotiate peace.

The 1973 war was followed by renewed and intensified efforts to achieve Arab-Israeli peace. An extended process of “shuttle diplomacy” launched by U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger resulted in two disengagement of forces agreements in the Sinai (January 1974 and September 1975) and one disengagement agreement involving Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights (May 1974). However, efforts at building comprehensive peace out of these partial agreements did not succeed. A major step toward comprehensive peace occurred in 1977 with the announcement by Egyptian president Anwar Sadat that he was prepared to negotiate peace directly with the Israelis. His November 1977 visit to Israel ultimately led to the Camp David Accords in September 1978 and the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty signed on 26 March 1979 (both witnessed by U.S. president Jimmy Carter). “Normal relations” between Egypt and Israel began officially on 26 January 1980, when Israel completed its withdrawal from two-thirds of the Sinai Peninsula, as called for in the peace treaty, and land, air, and sea borders between the two states were opened. In late February of that year embassies were opened in Cairo and Tel Aviv, and on 26 February, Ambassadors Eliahu Ben-Elisar of Israel and Saad Mortada of Egypt presented their credentials.



Despite the peace treaty with Egypt and its implementation, Israel's other borders remained tense, and problems often emerged. The frontier with Lebanon had been relatively quiet between the 1948–1949 war and the early 1970s, when the PLO was forced out of Jordan (after its failed attempt to overthrow King Hussein) and ultimately took up positions in Lebanon. Cross-border PLO terrorist raids into northern Israel and Israeli retaliations (such as 1978's Operation Litani to push PLO forces out of firing range of northern Israel) escalated tensions. The PLO's presence in Lebanon exacerbated an already complicated balance among that country's indigenous sectarian, political, and military forces, an arrangement that broke down completely in 1975 with the start of civil war in Lebanon. In order to protect its interests, Syria became increasingly involved militarily in Lebanon. The continued presence in eastern Lebanon of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) that had been moved there by Syria in the spring of 1981 remained an Israeli concern, as were PLO attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets worldwide despite a U.S.–arranged cease-fire in the summer of 1981.

On 6 June 1982, Israel launched a major military action against the PLO in Lebanon (Operation Peace for Galilee). The military objective was to ensure security for northern Israel, to destroy the PLO infrastructure that had established a state within a state (“Fatahland”) in Lebanon, to eliminate a center of international terrorism, and to destroy a base of operations from which Israel could be threatened; the success of the military operation also involved the early neutralization of the Syrian SAM emplacements in eastern Lebanon. But the political objectives of the operation were not so precise. In many respects, the results were ambiguous. Under U.S. and international protection, the PLO was permitted to withdraw most of its forces from Lebanon in August 1982. Israel's northern border was temporarily more secure, but the Israeli troops that remained in Lebanon became targets of Iranian-backed Shia Islamist Hezbollah terrorists and others, and numerous casualties resulted. A May 1983 agreement between Israel and Lebanon that would have facilitated a withdrawal of Israeli forces was abrogated a year later by Lebanon under pressure from Syria. In 1985, the bulk of Israeli forces were withdrawn unilaterally from Lebanon, but a narrow “security zone” north of the border was manned by Israeli soldiers and members of the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army (SLA). The costs of the war in Lebanon were high, as were the costs of Hezbollah's continuing war of attrition against Israeli and Israeli-backed targets in the security zone.

On 24 May 2000, the government of Prime Minister Ehud Barak unilaterally evacuated the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) completely from the security zone in south Lebanon in full accordance with Israel's obligations under UNSC Resolution 425 (1978). The withdrawal was unambiguously accepted by the Security Council as meeting the obligations, and the international boundary was marked and noted as the Blue Line. The Lebanon withdrawal

was received with great relief by an Israeli public that had suffered the military as well as moral costs of Israel's lengthy occupation of southern Lebanon. Barak hoped the evacuation would alter the dynamic of the Middle East peace process. Unfortunately, Israel's Arab interlocutors adopted another perception of the Lebanon evacuation. Whereas Barak insisted that Israel was acting magnanimously and from a position of relative strength, the Arabs almost universally interpreted the unilateral evacuation from Lebanon as a sign of Israeli weakness and public war weariness that could be exploited politically and militarily. Certainly this was the lesson taken from the Lebanon evacuation by various Palestinian factions operating in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

With the departure of the PLO forces from Lebanon, attention focused on divisions among Israelis over the status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Although the internal debate over these territories had been a core issue since they were occupied by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War, their status took on new immediacy in the wake of the Palestinian rioting (intifada) in the West Bank and Gaza that began in early December 1987. However, while it prompted extensive public debate, the intifada did not facilitate agreement among Israelis about a clear policy option for addressing the complex set of disputes with the Palestinians, a problem exacerbated by the continuation of a widespread Arab consensus on avoiding relations with Israel.

The August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait tested the government of Yitzhak Shamir, which had to decide whether to abide by U.S. calls not to respond militarily to the 39 Scud missiles fired at Israel by Saddam Hussein's army. The participation of Arab confrontation states in the multilateral coalition that fought the Persian Gulf War (January–February 1991) caused the first discernible crack (since the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty) in the Arab consensus concerning Israel. This helped create the atmosphere for the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference (October 1991) that set in motion bilateral and multilateral processes of negotiations co-sponsored by the United States and the USSR (later Russia). These negotiations, while unprecedented in their scope, did not generate any immediate substantive progress. Progress was produced through secret backchannel communications—and then formal negotiations—involving Israelis and PLO representatives in the spring and summer of 1993 that were held under the good offices of the foreign minister of Norway.

The exchange of letters of recognition between Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat on 9 September 1993, and the signing of the Israel–PLO Declaration of Principles (DOP) on 13 September 1993 set in motion a series of interim agreements affecting parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. However, these interim agreements—first with the PLO and then with the PA elected in January 1997—did not ameliorate the protracted debate among Israelis over the final political status of the West

Bank (known to many Israelis as *Judea* and *Samaria*) and the Gaza Strip, or the Arab and Jewish populations there. To the contrary, the internal debate was exacerbated by widespread terrorism against Israelis in the spring of 1996 by Muslim extremist groups, such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and by secular Palestinian groups opposed to the Oslo Accords—terrorism that the PA under the leadership of Yasser Arafat seemingly was unable or unwilling to combat.

Despite their inherent instability and uncertainty, the Israel–PLO interim agreements established an atmosphere in which substantive progress involving Israel and other Arab parties could be achieved. Principal among these was the Common Agenda for future negotiations signed with Jordan on 14 September 1993, which laid the groundwork for the Washington Declaration (25 July 1994) and the Israel–Jordan Peace Treaty (26 October 1994). There were also diplomatic and/or commercial openings with a number of Arab countries; the secondary and tertiary aspects of the Arab economic boycott of Israel were officially suspended by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC); and periodic high-level talks, under U.S. sponsorship, were held with Syria about security arrangements on the Golan Heights and related issues.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in September 2005, then prime minister Ariel Sharon offered a perspective to guide future Israeli policy with the Arab world:

The right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel does not mean disregarding the rights of others in the land. The Palestinians will always be our neighbors. We respect them, and have no aspirations to rule over them. They are also entitled to freedom and to a national, sovereign existence in a state of their own.

Sharon thus became the first Israeli prime minister to express support in principle for an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. Sharon was articulating the new national consensus that had emerged, in reaction to the al-Aksa intifada and across many segments of the Jewish Israeli political spectrum, in favor of *separating* from the Palestinians, even if this meant making emotionally painful decisions. It was this new consensus that reinforced Sharon’s decision to unilaterally withdraw some 9,500 settlers and military personnel from the Gaza Strip and four northern West Bank settlements in the summer of 2005.

While some of these developments were important in and of themselves, the Israeli hope for permanent peace and normalized relations with all of its neighbors continued to prove illusory. Militating against this goal were a number of factors, including

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- The continued threat of Palestinian terrorism, including missile fire, emanating from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (persisting even after Sharon's 2005 Gaza withdrawal and provoking 3 major wars in Gaza involving Israel and Hamas and other Palestinian groups, in 2008–2009, 2012, and 2014)
- The increased radicalization of the Palestinian community (reflected in the January 2006 election of the militant Sunni Islamist Hamas) and Hamas' June 2007 violent ousting of Fatah from Gaza
- The protracted war of attrition waged by Iranian- and Syrian-supported Hezbollah Shia Islamist extremists across Israel's UN-recognized Blue Line with Lebanon (to which the IDF had unilaterally withdrawn in May 2000), which climaxed in a major war involving Israel and Hezbollah in July–August 2006
- Syria's alliance with Iran in supporting Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and other groups opposed to the Arab-Israeli peace process
- International efforts—initiated at the 2001 World Conference Against Racism (Durban Conference) and supported by UN human rights agencies as well as on the European street and on many North American university campuses—to compel Israel to concede to Palestinian political and territorial demands under the threat of international boycotts, divestments, and sanctions (BDS)
- The existential threat to Israel posed by Iran's nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missile program

Renewed warfare broke out with Hezbollah in southern Lebanon in July–August 2006. As Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert noted, the war was the direct result of the failure of the Lebanese government to fulfill its core UNSC obligation after Israel's May 2000 unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, namely to apply the sovereign authority of Lebanon's government and central army over the entire country. To the contrary, the Lebanese government permitted Hezbollah—an Iranian-sponsored, militant, Shia Islamist organization dedicated to Israel's destruction—to maintain absolute control over the region of southern Lebanon abutting Israel's northern border. In the two or three years preceding the Second Lebanon War (2006), Hezbollah built elaborate networks of underground bunkers throughout southern Lebanon for secreting thousands of sophisticated medium- and long-range missiles that had been smuggled in from Iran through Syria. Close to 4,000 of those missiles were fired at Israel during the 2006 war, causing significant damage, especially to civilian population centers in north-central Israel.

The IDF's inability to find an immediate “solution” for the Hezbollah missiles made the Second Lebanon War (2006) one of Israel's most controversial military experiences, as did the reported ill-preparedness of some reserve forces for battle as well as the apparent confusion between and

among military and civilian decision-makers. Public criticism about such issues led to the establishment of an official governmental investigative committee (the Winograd Committee) and ultimately forced the resignation of the IDF chief of staff and other senior officers of the IDF. The Second Lebanon War (2006) ended with the adoption of a tenuous cease-fire by the UNSC on 11 August 2006, which came into effect on 14 August 2006. While hopeful that UNSC Resolution 1701 could help bring greater stability to Lebanon, Israelis generally acknowledged that it alone was unlikely to deliver the greater peace and normalcy on their northern border they continued to seek.

With a delicate deterrence situation across the Lebanon border in place, the focus again shifted to the Gaza front. The January 2006 election victory of Hamas in the Palestinian legislative elections reduced the prospects for negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians and contributed to growing instability and violence on the Israel front with the Gaza Strip. Hamas, a terrorist organization dedicated to Israel's destruction, clearly declared that it would neither recognize nor negotiate with Israel, nor accept its existence. After the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza in summer 2005, Hamas initiated a campaign of launching daily rocket attacks on Israeli towns and other targets in the southern portion of Israeli territory. In June 2006, Hamas forces tunneled into Israel from Gaza, attacked an Israeli patrol, killed two soldiers, and kidnapped a third (Gilad Shalit). Shalit was held hostage by Hamas for over five years before being exchanged for more than 1,000 Israeli-held Palestinian prisoners (many convicted terrorists).

After Hamas seized full control of the Gaza Strip in June 2007, having ousted rival Fatah in a bloody power struggle, the situation between Israel and Gaza deteriorated further. Hamas and other Palestinian groups in Gaza launched daily rocket and missile attacks on population centers in southern Israel; those attacks triggered limited skirmishes as well as three wars in Gaza involving the IDF and (primarily) Hamas: Operation Cast Lead (December 2008–January 2009); Operation Pillar of Defense (November 2012); and Operation Protective Edge (July–August 2014). These wars were asymmetrical: Israel had fighter aircraft and a navy as well as thousands of ground forces supported by tanks and artillery, while Hamas and the other Palestinian terrorist groups had none. The Iron Dome antimissile defense system was very effective in protecting Israeli civilians, while Gaza's civilian population had no equivalent capability. Nevertheless, the use by Hamas of Iranian- and Syrian-supplied missiles of unprecedented range of fire (causing residents of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem to race to bomb shelters for safety) changed the combat dynamic. Israeli casualties resulting from the three wars were limited: 10 soldiers and 3 civilians in the 2008–2009 war; 2 soldiers and 4 civilians in 2012; 64 soldiers and 9 civilians in 2014. Casualties on the Palestinian side were much greater. Israel charged that the lives of the Palestinian civil-

ian population in Gaza were jeopardized by Hamas' strategy of hiding their weapons, arms depots, rocket launchers, and military commanders in civilian infrastructures including apartment complexes, mosques, schools, and hospitals. Also complicating the situation for the IDF was the difficulty of identifying un-uniformed terrorist fighters interspersed among civilian populations. Israel rejected the accusation, made in UN reports following the 2008–2009 and 2014 wars, that Israel deliberately targeted civilian populations in Gaza as morally flawed, politically motivated, and part of the campaign to delegitimize the state of Israel.

## ISRAEL FACES THE FUTURE

While stability and peace with its Arab neighbors remains elusive, Israel's first seven decades have been marked by significant achievements in the arts and sciences as well as in many other sectors. Israel's economy has made substantial progress, and the economic well-being of its people has improved appreciably since independence, when Israel was a poor country with weak agricultural and industrial sectors and a dependence on imported consumer goods, raw materials, and food. Although virtually bereft of natural resources and faced with substantial burdens of immigrant absorption and defense, Israel had become an economic power by regional standards by the beginning of the 21st century.

Massive immigration created challenges in Israel's early years, but it also endowed Israel with a motivated and skilled labor force. Israel has developed its own highly regarded educational and scientific establishment. Illiteracy is virtually nonexistent, and Israel's population is one of the most highly educated in the world. Twelve Israelis have been awarded the Nobel Prize in four categories: Peace; Literature; Chemistry; and Economics. Israel is at the forefront of scientific accomplishment in fields such as irrigation and water usage, energy technology, computer science, aerospace technology, and medical research. Its people are relatively prosperous, and its economy is well managed.

The unanimous decision of the 31 member states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in May 2010 to invite Israel to become a member was a signpost in the integration of the Israeli economy with the global economy. The invitation to become an OECD member recognized Israel's achievements as well as its ability to contribute to the OECD and to the overall world economy. In effect, the invitation and subsequent membership (formally signed in November 2010) signifies Israel's admittance into the "club of developed states" but also requires Israel to continue to work to achieve OECD standards in various areas by fighting

corruption, protecting intellectual property, legislating international bribery, improving the performance of the educational system, and addressing the significant gap between the wealthiest and poorest Israelis.

By mid-2015, the OECD, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and Bank of Israel (BOI) had each determined that Israel's economy was performing well. Inflation remained low (at 0.30 percent), as did unemployment (5.4 percent). The economy had recovered from a brief standstill, including a virtual collapse in foreign tourism, resulting from the 2014 war in Gaza. The IMF in November 2015 projected a 3.3 percent growth rate for Israel's economy in 2016, among the highest growth rates for all developed countries. The BOI expected the pace of gross domestic product (GDP) to improve to 3.7 percent in 2016.

Despite Israel's significant achievements, there were those who felt they had been bypassed by the system. A tent-city social-justice movement, initially focusing on housing costs, began to appear in Tel Aviv in July 2011 and had expanded by mid-August and subsequently into demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of protestors in several cities focusing on the widening gap between rich and poor and related economic and social issues. They sought a revision of the social contract. In response to the protests, the Benjamin Netanyahu government established a panel of experts, led by economics professor Manuel Trajtenberg (Trachtenberg), to suggest socioeconomic reforms (new housing, education, and tax measures) that would address the protesters demands. The process continued into the fall and winter 2011.

Israel's accomplishments are especially notable in the fields of science and technology. One indicator of Israel's scientific prowess is its satellite technology capabilities. On 9 April 2014 Israel launched the *Ofeq* (*Ofek*) 10 satellite, widely referred to as a spy satellite, from an air base in Israel. It was placed by an Israel Aerospace Industries–manufactured Shavit booster rocket in a low orbit, where it joined a number of predecessors, mostly designed for intelligence gathering. Israel remains one of a few countries that can launch a satellite based on domestic technology and the achievement of its own industries and intellect. With the Iron Dome missile defense system, Israel became the only country to have effectively deployed such a system against short-range ballistic missiles. The future deployment of other elements of Israel's multi-tiered strategic missile defense system—Arrow, Magic Wand (also known as David's Sling), and Iron Beam—all developed by Israeli companies and many coproduced with U.S. defense contractors, should make civilian population centers throughout Israel secure against short-, intermediate- and long-range ballistic missiles fired by adversaries anywhere in the Middle East.

Israel's achievements are all the more impressive in light of the human and material resources it must annually devote to defense and security. In 2014 Israel's defense spending was \$23.2 billion, representing 5.2 percent of GDP. Recent efforts by finance ministry officials to bring defense spending into line with other government ministries have crashed against the realities of the multiple security threats that Israel must confront on a daily basis. The military budget for 2015–2016 (approved by the Twentieth Knesset on 18 November 2015) was \$15.47 billion, constituting slightly more than 18 percent of the state budget (2015) of \$84.65 billion and 6.2 percent of GDP.

At the heart of Israel's agenda for the future is the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict, with its dimensions of potential conflict and of peace, but placed within the context of numerous territorial and political disputes still to be resolved (including the dispute with Iran and its Shia-terrorist supporters as well as radical Sunni Islamists). Israel's need and desire for peace is not a subject for debate among Israelis, although the means to that end are. The quest for peace remains a central theme of national life, but Israelis are also preoccupied with survival and security.

Israel has fought major wars and countless skirmishes with its regional adversaries, has built an impressive and highly sophisticated but costly military, and has established and holds a strategic edge over its neighbors. Israelis continuously recalculate the military balance between themselves and the Arab and Islamic worlds. Concerns about weapons acquisitions, force structure, capability, and the willingness of Arab and Islamic nations as well as non-state terrorist organizations to engage in battle with Israel are never far from the center of attention. Factors in these assessments include the regional instability accompanying the revolutionary changes that have occurred recently throughout the Islamic Middle East, fueled by tensions between radical (Shia and Sunni) Muslims and moderate Muslims as well as the transfer of conventional and nonconventional weapons (nuclear and chemical), technology, and long-range ballistic missiles by extraregional actors, such as Russia, to such militant Arab and Islamic countries as Iran and Syria, as well as to terrorist groups like Hezbollah and Hamas. The possibility of a war with potentially high casualties and other unbearable costs remains a matter of deep public concern. For most Israelis, the prospects for a future in which they live in peace with their immediate and more distant neighbors in the Middle East seem to be at a point beyond the immediate future. Nevertheless, Israelis carry on with their daily lives—creating, inventing, producing, and otherwise contributing to Israel's many economic, artistic, educational, and scientific achievements.



# A

**ABBAS, MAHMOUD (ABU MAZEN) (1935– )**. Born in Safed, **Mandate Palestine**. During the 1948–1949 Arab-Israeli war, he and his family moved to **Syria**, where he graduated with a law degree from the University of Damascus. In 1982, he defended his doctoral dissertation at Moscow University on the “secret ties between Nazis and the Zionist Movement leadership.” Two years later, he published a book in **Jordan** based on these findings titled *The Other Side: The Secret Relationship between Nazism and Zionism*. In 1957, Abbas was one of the founding members of **Fatah** (“**Conquest**”) and remained a close confidant of **Yasser Arafat**. He became a member of the Fatah central committee and was elected to the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) executive committee in 1980. Elected to the first **Palestinian Legislative Council** in 1996, he was a principal negotiator of the 1993 **Oslo Accords** with Israel and signed the Israel–Palestine Liberation Organization **Declaration of Principles** on 13 September 1993 on behalf of the Palestinians. In 1995, he conducted a series of secret talks with **Israel Labor Party** (**Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit**) member of the **Knesset** and deputy foreign minister **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin** on the framework for a permanent Israeli-Palestinian settlement. In 1997, he was named by Arafat as his designated successor. He wrote a book published in Arabic under the title *The Path to Peace (Through Secret Channels*, in English).

Beginning in the fall of 2000, Abbas publicly criticized the militarization of the **Al-Aksa intifada**; though he supported the continuation of the Palestinian struggle against Israel, he claimed the use of armed violence and terror against Israelis, especially against civilians inside the **Green Line**, was only provoking greater and greater retaliation by Israel that was resulting in more Palestinian casualties and the destruction of the Palestinian social and economic infrastructure. In March 2003, Abbas was appointed to the newly formed position of prime minister of the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) by Arafat. However, frustrated by his inability to wrest real authority over Palestinian affairs away from Arafat, Abbas resigned on 6 September 2003. Abbas essentially disappeared from Palestinian political life until the fall of 2004, when he and Ahmed Queria (Abu Alla) took over the daily operation of both

the PA and the PLO from the ailing Arafat. After Arafat's death in November 2004, Abbas became acting chairman of the PLO; on 9 January 2005, he was elected chairman of the PA, taking 62 percent of the popular vote. In the subsequent period, he contended with **Ismail Haniya** of **Hamas**, who was elected as prime minister in the elections of 2006. The Palestinian internecine conflict led to the separation of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** into two contending Palestinian areas. While Haniya and Hamas continued violent action against Israel and Fatah, Abbas pursued a dialogue with Israel, seeking to move in the direction of resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Fatah lost control of the Gaza Strip to Hamas in an armed confrontation in June 2007. While Abbas retained the presidency of the PA, his power, influence, and credibility were severely compromised. At the **Annapolis Conference** in November 2007, Abbas agreed with Israeli prime minister **Ehud Olmert** to undertake intense direct bilateral negotiations toward the goal of achieving by the end of 2008 an Israeli-Palestinian peace treaty based on the concept of the **two-state solution** envisioned by President **George W. Bush** of the **United States** and in the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**. While Abbas and Olmert occasionally met, little substantive diplomatic progress was achieved. Moreover, the reiteration by Abbas of maximalist positions about such issues as borders, **settlements**, **Jerusalem**, and the **right of return** had the effect of diminishing Israeli popular confidence in the prospects of a negotiated agreement in the foreseeable future. Like Arafat before him, Abbas maintained tight control over PLO and Fatah affairs. On 1 September 2015 Abbas announced his intention to resign as the chairman of the PLO executive committee; he would, however, remain chairman of Fatah, the PLO's dominant faction, as well as president of the PA. On 30 September 2015 Abbas told the **United Nations** General Assembly that the Palestinian Authority was no longer bound by the Oslo Accords. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ABDULLAH II (1962–)**. King of **Jordan** who succeeded his father, King Hussein, in February 1999 and sustained the peace treaty with Israel. In the spring of 2007, he served (along with **Egypt's** then-president Hosni Mubarak) as the point man in renewed efforts by the **Arab League** to achieve a common basis for dialogue with Israel.

**ABRAHAM**. The father of the Jewish people and the first of the patriarchs of Judaism. He migrated from Ur of the Chaldeans to Haran and then to the Promised Land around the second millennium BC. He was the father of both Isaac and Ishmael and, as such, is considered the ancestor of both **Arabs** and Jews.

**ABU GHOSH.** An **Arab** village west of **Jerusalem** on the road to **Tel Aviv** whose inhabitants were known for their friendly relations with their Jewish neighbors. During Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, they did not participate in the fighting.

**ABU MAZEN.** *See* **ABBAS, MAHMOUD (ABU MAZEN) (1935–)**.

**ABUHATZEIRA, AHARON (1938–)**. Born in Morocco, he **immigrated** to Israel in 1949. He served as mayor of Ramle from 1971 to 1977. First elected to the Eighth **Knesset** on the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** list in December 1973 he was reelected to the Ninth Knesset on the same ticket in 1977. He served as minister of **religious affairs** (June 1977–August 1981). He split with the NRP over its alleged bias against **Sephardim** (*see* **ORIENTAL JEWS**), ran in the 1981 Knesset election as the head of the **Tami Party** list, and was appointed minister of labor and social welfare and minister of immigrant (*see* **ALIYA**) absorption. He was reelected in the 1984 Knesset election as the leader of Tami. In 1988, he was elected to the Knesset on the **Likud (Union) Party** list.

**ACHRAYUT LEUMIT (NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY).** The name initially applied to the new parliamentary group headed by **Ariel Sharon** that split off from the **Likud (Union) Party** toward the end of the Sixteenth Knesset in November 2005. Some two months later, it changed its name to **Kadima (Forward)**. Among its members were **Meir Shitreet (Sheetrit)**, **Ronnie Bar-On**, **Tzipi Livni**, and **Ehud Olmert**. *See also* **POLITICAL PARTIES**.

**ACRE (AKKO).** A coastal city in western **Galilee** located along the Mediterranean Sea at the north end of **Haifa** Bay. The city has a long history but became well known during the **British Mandate** period because the British authorities used the medieval fortress as the country's central prison for political prisoners as well as criminals. The city had an estimated population of 47,200 in 2012.

**ADALAH (“Justice” in Arabic).** **Haifa**-based human rights group established in November 1996 to defend the rights of **Palestinians** in the **Occupied Territories**.

**ADENAUER, KONRAD (1876–1967).** **Germany's** first postwar chancellor, who believed that there should be reconciliation between Germany and the Jewish people. He admitted the crimes committed by Germany against

the Jewish people and negotiated two reparation agreements with **Israel** in the 1950s, thereby providing substantial economic support to the Jewish state in its early stage of growth. *See also* HOLOCAUST (THE SHOAH).

**ADMINISTERED AREAS.** *See* OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

**THE AFFAIR.** *See* LAVON AFFAIR.

**AGAF MODIIN (AMAN).** *See* DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (DMI).

**AGNON, SHMUEL YOSEF (1888–1970).** One of Israel's greatest Hebrew authors. In Hebrew he is known by the pseudonym Shai Agnon; in English his works are published under the name S. Y. Agnon. He was born Shmuel Yosef Halevi Czaczkes on 17 July 1888, in Buczacz, Galicia, Ukraine. In 1908 he moved to **Palestine**, settling in Jaffa. The first story he published there was *Agunot* ("Forsaken Wives"). He used the pen name "Agnon," derived from the title of the story, which he adopted as his official surname in 1924. In 1912 he published a novella, *Vehaya Ha'akov Lemishor* ("The Crooked Shall Be Made Straight"). In 1913 Agnon moved to Germany where Salman Schocken, a successful Jewish businessman and later a publisher, became his literary patron. In 1924 Agnon returned to Palestine and permanently settled there. In 1931, his novel *Hachnasat Kalla* ("The Bridal Canopy") assured his place in Hebrew literature. Other popular works included *Sippur Pashut* ("A Simple Story") and *Tmol Shilshom* ("Only Yesterday"). In 1971, his last novel, *Shira*, was published posthumously. Agnon's works attempted to recapture the fading traditions of the European *shtetl*. They also dealt with the tension between the traditional Jewish life of the *shtetl* and the modern world, including the "new Jew" that the **Zionist** Movement sought to create in Palestine. He was influenced by fellow authors and Hebraists such as **Haim Nahman Bialik**, Yosef Haim Brenner, and **Ahad Haam**. Agnon was twice awarded the **Israel Prize** for literature, in 1954 and 1958. In 1966 he was the co-recipient of the **Nobel Prize** in literature, "for his profoundly characteristic narrative art with motifs from the life of the Jewish people." In his acceptance speech Agnon introduced himself in Hebrew, saying "As a result of the historic catastrophe in which Titus of Rome destroyed Jerusalem and Israel was exiled from its land, I was born in one of the cities of the exile. But always I regarded myself as one who was born in Jerusalem." Agnon died in Jerusalem on 17 February 1970. His personal archive was transferred to the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. His home in Jerusalem became a museum, Beit Agnon.

**AGRANAT, SHIMON (1906–1992).** Jurist. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, on 5 September 1906, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1930, where he settled in **Haifa**. He was appointed a justice of Israel's Supreme Court in 1950 and served on the five-member panel that adjudicated the trial of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann** in 1962. He became chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1965 and served as head of the **Agranat Commission of Inquiry**, established by the government in 1973. Agranat died in Jerusalem on 10 August 1992.

**AGRANAT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.** In November 1973, the government of Israel appointed a five-man commission of inquiry to investigate the events leading up to the **Yom Kippur War** (1973), including information concerning the enemy's moves and intentions; assessments and decisions of military and civilian bodies regarding this information; and the **Israel Defense Forces'** (IDF) deployments, preparedness for battle, and actions in the first phase of the fighting. The commission was composed of Supreme Court chief justice **Shimon Agranat**; Justice **Moshe Landau** of the Supreme Court; State Comptroller Yitzhak Nebenzahl; and two former chiefs of staff of the IDF, **Yigael Yadin** and **Chaim Laskov**. The commission issued an interim report in April 1974 that focused primarily on events prior to the outbreak of hostilities and the conduct of the war during its early stages. Among its findings were that Prime Minister **Golda Meir** and Defense Minister **Moshe Dayan** were not responsible for Israel's lack of preparation for the Yom Kippur War and that faulty intelligence analysis was the primary failure. Lieutenant General **David Elazar** subsequently resigned as chief of staff of the IDF, and Major General **Yitzhak Hofi** was named as his temporary replacement. The commission's report also called for a new director of military intelligence to replace major general Eli Zeira and the reassignment of three other intelligence officers.

**AGRICULTURE.** Its central place in **Zionist** ideology, dominant role in the **settlement** of the country, important function in absorbing new **immigrants** (*see* ALIYA), and security aspects have assured agriculture its priority in Israel's economic policies. The government has been involved in developing, subsidizing, and controlling agricultural activity, including fishing and forestry, since independence. The agricultural sector uses modern scientific methods and has significantly expanded the area under cultivation through irrigation drawn mainly from the **Jordan River**. Agricultural research is extensive, and farmers are quick to adopt improved techniques and respond to changes in market conditions. Israel has become self-sufficient in food production and is an exporter of various foods, including citrus and other fruits, vegetables, and poultry products. In spite of its rapid growth, agricul-

ture's prominent position has gradually eroded to the point where it contributes only about 5 percent of the gross national product, and it is a diminishing source of employment, primarily because of improved techniques and mechanization. Farm organization is predominantly cooperative, with the **moshav** being the most popular form, while private farming is primarily the domain of non-Jewish sectors, mostly **Arabs** and some **Druze**.

**AGUDAT ISRAEL (ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL).** Agudat Israel (the Aguda) is a movement that views the Torah as the only legitimate code of laws binding upon Jews. It is a religiously oriented **political party** representing the interests of a section of **Haredi** (ultra-Orthodox) Jewry living both in and outside the Jewish state. It was established and its policies and programs delineated in Kattowitz (Katowice), Poland, in 1912 during a conference of the major Eastern European and German-Austro-Hungarian Orthodox rabbis. It was formed, to a significant extent, in reaction to the growth of political **Zionism**, with its secular majority. The original concept was to unite Orthodox groups in Eastern and Western Europe into a united front in opposition to Zionism and its efforts to alter Jewish life, but there were different perspectives on a number of issues. The Aguda was to be a Torah movement directed by a **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah)**, which was to be the supreme authority in all matters.

Originally, Agudat Israel was ambivalent concerning the resettlement of **Palestine**. Jewish law and tradition supported settling in Palestine, and the **Holocaust** made it a practical necessity, but there was a problem because many of the new settlers did not observe Jewish law. Agudat Israel has held aloof from Zionism and dissociated itself from the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)** and the **Jewish Agency** because of its conviction that by cooperating closely with such irreligious elements, it would fail in the supreme aim of imposing the absolute rule of Jewish religion upon Jewish life. It opposed the concept of a Jewish national home and of a Jewish state not founded on Jewish law and tradition. Agudat Israel opposed the Zionist view that Jews had to leave the **Diaspora**, settle in Palestine, and build a new society there in order to live a proper Jewish life. The Orthodox groups held that the concept of the "ingathering of the exiles" and the return to **Zion** could not be separated from the divine Messianic redemption, for which the time had not yet come.

In Palestine, Agudat Israel acquired land, founded the **settlement** of Mahane Yisrael, and established its own schools. It carried on an active anti-Zionist political campaign in British circles and in the world press in the 1920s. In England, it denied the Jewish Agency's right to act as the representative of the Jewish people and demanded recognition but was turned down. In Palestine, it was opposed to the organization of the Jewish community along the lines of Zionist ideology and opted out of the officially recognized

Jewish community (**Knesset Yisrael**). It also did not recognize the authority of the chief rabbinate established by the British and set up its own rabbinical court. However, in the late 1920s, with the arrival of significant numbers of new Agudat Israel members from Europe who wanted to participate in the economic and social development of the **Yishuv** and who could not accept the idea of complete isolation from the WZO and the Zionist Movement, the Agudat Israel leadership in Palestine was reorganized. The end result was that some of the older and more conservative elements broke away from the movement and later formed the ultraconservative **Neturei Karta**.

The genocide of European Jewry helped to convince Agudat Israel of the value of Zionism, and the movement granted de facto recognition to the **Yishuv**. At the same time, it retained its reservations concerning the establishment of an independent Jewish state. Prior to Israel's independence, an arrangement was concluded with **David Ben-Gurion**, then chairman of the Jewish Agency, in which Agudat Israel agreed to support the state on condition that the status quo in religious matters be maintained (*see* STATUS QUO AGREEMENT). Agudat Israel then joined the Provisional Council of State and participated in Israel's first government. Although it boycotted the institutions of the Jewish community in Palestine, it eventually became a political party in 1948, and since independence, it has contested the various **Knesset** elections and has been represented in it. It now accepts the state but without ascribing any religious significance to it. It has been represented in parliament since 1948 and has supported most of the coalition governments, but since 1952, it had refused to accept a **cabinet** portfolio. However, on 27 August 2015, Agudat's Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah) authorized party leader and deputy health minister Ya'acov Litzman to accept the position of health minister in the coalition government formed by **Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu** (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET).

The movement's voting strength lies in **Jerusalem** and Bnai Brak (east of **Tel Aviv**) and consists mostly of **Ashkenazim**. All crucial policy decisions are made not by the party's Knesset members or its membership but by the 12-member Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei Hatorah). Besides the council, the party's central institutions are the Great Assembly, composed of representatives of the local branches; the Central World Council; and the World Executive Committee. It has a youth movement (Tzeirei Agudat Yisrael), a women's movement (Neshei Agudat Yisrael), and its own school and yeshiva network in which religious instruction is a major part of the curriculum. The government supplies most of the funds for the school system. Historically, the party's support for coalition governments was secured only after the construction of lengthy coalition agreements containing numerous

concessions to the group's ultra-Orthodox religious perspectives; for example, strict Sabbath laws and revision of legislation to accommodate Orthodox Jewish principles.

During the 1988 Knesset election campaign, the political fortunes of Agudat Israel were strengthened by the intervention of the Brooklyn-based Lubavitcher rebbe **Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson** and by the Vishnitzer rebbe and the Gerer rebbe. Some observers attributed the winning of three Knesset seats to this support.

Long-standing personal and political rivalries between factions of Agudat Israel headed by Rabbi Schneerson and **Rabbi Eliezer Schach** led to the formation of a breakaway faction of ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews known as **Degel HaTorah**, which ran a separate list of candidates in the 1988 Knesset election. In 1992 and 1996, Agudat Israel and Degel HaTorah agreed to submit joint slates of candidates under the banner of the **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** party, winning four seats in each election. Consistent with their non-Zionist political orientation, the leaders of UTJ agreed to join the Likud-led coalition headed by Benjamin Netanyahu but refused to sit as members of the cabinet, although party leader **Rabbi Meir Porush** did serve as deputy minister in the powerful ministry of housing and construction. Agudat Israel and Degel HaTorah submitted joint lists as UTJ in the 2006, 2009, and 2013 Knesset elections. Agudat Israel, as part of United Torah Judaism, won four seats in the March 2015 election for the Twentieth Knesset and agreed to join the government again formed by Netanyahu. Before agreeing to join the coalition Agudat Israel extracted significant concessions from the prime minister-elect, specifically with regard to Haredi exemption from military service (*see* EQUAL SERVICE LAW).

The strong influence of Ashkenazi Jews in Agudat Israel contributed to the formation of a breakaway faction of ultra-Orthodox Sephardim (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) known as **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** prior to the 1984 Knesset election. In addition, one of the most significant changes in Israeli politics beginning as early as the late 1980s was the growing involvement of Agudat Israel in “secular” affairs of state in Israel, manifested most prominently in its active support for **West Bank** and **Gaza** settlers and its opposition to territorial concessions in peacemaking.

**AHAD HAAM (ONE OF THE PEOPLE) (1856–1927).** The pseudonym used by Asher Zvi Ginzberg, founder and proponent of the cultural **Zionism** Movement. Born on 18 August 1856 in Skvira, near Kiev, he began to learn Hebrew as a youngster and developed a substantial background in Jewish literature and lore. He later settled in Odessa and engaged in commerce but came to the conclusion that the plight of Russian Jewry could only be alleviated by **settlement** in **Palestine**. He joined the central committee of the **Hoveve Zion (Lovers of Zion)** Movement but criticized its ideas and meth-



ods. In 1895, he turned to writing as a profession and soon began editing *Hashiloah*, a Hebrew monthly. Ahad Haam became an opponent of political Zionism and the **World Zionist Organization** established in 1897, rejecting the creation of a Jewish state as an immediate object of national policy. He sought instead a truly “Jewish” state that could be achieved only after a substantial period of national education and after the establishment of a cultural center for Jewish life in **Palestine**. In 1908, he moved to London, where he engaged primarily in business activities. In 1922, he settled in **Tel Aviv**. Ahad Haam died on 2 January 1927 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**.

**AHDUT HAAVODA (UNITY OF LABOR)**. A **Zionist** socialist association of Jewish workers in **Palestine**. It was established in 1919 by a majority of the members of the **Poalei Zion** (Workers of Zion) Party, along with some members of **Hapoel Hatzair**. Its ambition was to unite all Jewish workers in **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)** and all federations and parties in the Jewish Labor Movement and the Zionist Movement abroad. Ahdut Haavoda joined the World Alliance of Poalei Zion. It was active in the promotion of immigration to Palestine (*see* ALIYA), immigrant absorption, and public works. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**AHDUT HAAVODA POALEI ZION (WORKERS OF ZION)**. A **political party** established in 1946 following an earlier split in **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** by the merger of **Poalei Zion** (Workers of **Zion**) and smaller socialist **Zionist** groups. In 1948 it united with Mifleget Poalim–**Hashomer Hatzair** to form **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party)** and, as such, contested the 1949 and 1951 Knesset elections. In the early 1950s, it split with Mapam, reestablished itself as an independent party, and won ten seats in the 1955 Knesset election, seven in 1959, and eight in 1961. It formed the **Alignment (Maarach)** with Mapai and contested the 1965 and subsequent **Knesset** elections in that political unit.

**AHMADINEJAD, MAHMOUD (AHMADINEZHAD) (1956– )**. Mayor of Teheran (2003–2005), president of the Islamic Republic of **Iran** (3 August 2005 to 3 August 2013). As president, Ahmadinejad’s provocative behavior with regard to Israel and the Jewish people in general served to exacerbate an already tense bilateral relationship between Israel and Iran. In October 2005, he gave a speech opposing **Zionism** and agreed with a statement he attributed to Ayatollah Khomeini that the “occupying regime must be wiped off the map” and referred to Israel as a “disgraceful stain [in] the Islamic world.” In December 2005, Ahmadinejad made several controversial statements regarding the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** and the state of Israel, referring to the

Holocaust as a “myth” and criticizing European laws against Holocaust denial. He said that although he does not know to what extent the Holocaust occurred, if it had in fact occurred, European countries should make amends to the Jewish people by giving them land to establish a state in Europe (**Germany**, Austria, or other countries), the **United States**, Canada, or Alaska instead of making the “innocent nation of **Palestine** pay for this crime.” He also hosted an international conference of major Holocaust revisionist historians. In October 2006, Ahmadinejad warned Europe that it was stirring up hatred in the Middle East by supporting Israel and that it “may get hurt” if the anger were to grow. Israel’s view of Iran as an existential threat grew with the increase of Ahmadinejad’s rhetoric. Among Iran’s leadership cadre he remains a leading denier of Israel’s right to exist.

**AL-AKSA INTIFADA.** Widespread Palestinian anti-Israel violence and terrorism that began in late September 2000 and continued sporadically, resulting in thousands of deaths on both sides. The reference to Al-Aksa was appropriated by the **Palestinians** and their international supporters to imply that the violence was provoked by a brief visit to the Temple Mount compound in **Jerusalem’s** old city—the site of the **Al-Aksa Mosque** and the Dome of the Rock—by then **Likud** leader **Ariel Sharon** on 28 September 2000. This alleged causal connection, however, was explicitly repudiated in the report prepared by an international committee headed by former U.S. senator George Mitchell. The **Mitchell Committee Report** (issued on 21 May 2001) also repudiated the image of the post-September 2000 violence and terror as a spontaneous, grassroots, popular Palestinian expression of frustration with the continuing Israeli occupation and the lack of diplomatic progress, as had been the case with the original **intifada** that began in December 1987. The evidence, supported by the public acknowledgment of key Palestinian actors, including **Fatah-Tanzim** leader **Marwan Barghouti** and former **Palestinian Authority** communications minister Imad Falouji, overwhelmingly demonstrated that the Al-Aksa intifada was a premeditated reaction by the Palestinian leadership to the failure of talks at Camp David, Maryland, in July 2000 involving **Yasser Arafat**, Israel’s prime minister **Ehud Barak**, and U.S. president **William J. (Bill) Clinton**. Arafat’s strategic goal was to use the threat of daily violence and terrorism against Israeli civilians to pressure them to demand that their government make territorial concessions to the Palestinians—concessions beyond the offer made at **Camp David II** by Barak—and at no political cost to the Palestinians (in terms of Arafat’s having to sign an “end of conflict” agreement with the Israelis).

Also distinguishing the Al-Aksa intifada from the first intifada was the widespread use of **suicide bombers** as an increasingly popular weapon of terror against Israeli civilian targets by such Islamic militant groups as **Ha-**

mas (**Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya**) and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**, as well as by radical elements of Arafat's ostensibly secular Fatah, such as the **Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades**.

Arafat's death on 11 November 2004 and the succession of **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen), who from the outset had distinguished himself among Palestinian leaders by consistently criticizing what he termed the "militarization" of the Palestinian struggle against Israel, changed the terms of reference of the Al-Aksa intifada. This fact was reflected in the cease-fire understandings agreed to by Abbas and Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon at **Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt**, on 8 February 2005. Nevertheless, sporadic Palestinian violence and terror associated with the Al-Aksa intifada continued. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**AL-AKSA MARTYRS BRIGADES.** An armed, militant wing of **Fatah** that rose to prominence at the start of the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Although initially focusing most of its attacks on the Israeli military and Jewish settlers in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**, it soon expanded its operations to include military and civilian targets in Israel. Its cells were responsible for numerous terrorist attacks, including **suicide bombings**, against Israel during the second intifada and especially after Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in August 2005.

**AL-AKSA MOSQUE.** Considered by Muslims to be the third holiest site in Islam (after Mecca and Medina, both in Saudi Arabia), it was initially constructed in the year 638 on **Jerusalem's Temple Mount** overlooking the **Western Wall** and on land believed by Jews to be the site of the First and Second Temples. It suffered from neglect and disrepair under Ottoman rule. Under the **British Mandate for Palestine**, responsibility for the care of the mosque was granted to Abdullah, the emir of Transjordan, who appointed a *waqf* (Islamic holy trust) to administer it and other Muslim holy places in Jerusalem. Though designated in the 1947 UN Partition Plan (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN) to be under international administration, the mosque, along with the rest of Jerusalem's old city, was occupied by **Jordan** between 1948 and 1967. The areas fell to Israeli control in the **Six-Day War (1967)**.

Owing to Muslim sensitivities, Defense Minister **Moshe Dayan** ordered the removal of the Israeli **flag** from the minaret above Al-Aksa Mosque and forbade Israeli soldiers from setting foot on any part of the mosque or the surrounding Temple Mount. Pledging to Muslim and Christian authorities that their religious rights in Jerusalem would be respected under Israeli ad-

ministration, Dayan took steps to ensure that control over the administration of the Al-Aksa Mosque remained in the hands of the Jordanian-dominated waqf.

Despite Israeli efforts to abide by these commitments, the mosque and the Temple Mount was a source of protracted tension between Arabs and Israelis and the setting for several violent incidents. In January 1984, Israeli security forces discovered a cache of weapons and explosives hidden near the mosque; these were to be used in an attack by ultra-Orthodox Jewish militants (members of the **Temple Mount Faithful**) determined to start construction of a Third Temple there. In October 1990, violent clashes involving stone-throwing Palestinian youths, Jewish religious zealots, and Israeli forces resulted in the deaths of nineteen Arabs and the wounding of more than 140 others; some Israeli soldiers and civilians as well as tourists praying at the Western Wall directly below the Temple Mount were also wounded in the incident.

The Al-Aksa Mosque is also a source of intra-Arab rivalry. In the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty** of 1994, it was stipulated that in any permanent peace agreement, consideration would be given to Jordan's special interest in the mosque and in other Muslim holy places in Jerusalem. This provision was perceived by the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) as a direct challenge to its political interests in Jerusalem. In reaction, the PLO established its own waqf over Jerusalem to compete with the Jordanian-sponsored one, and pro-Jordanian journalists and newspapers in the **West Bank** and **Gaza Strip** were harassed by Palestinian officials. Also involved in the internal Arab rivalry is the government of Saudi Arabia, which seeks to justify its claim over the mosque by virtue of Saudi administration over Mecca and Medina. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**AL-HAMISHMAR.** Israeli daily newspaper founded in **Tel Aviv** on 30 July 1943 as the organ of the socialist **Zionist Hashomer Hatzair** faction within the **Histadrut** and **Mapam** (following the merger of Hashomer Hatzair and **Ahdut Haavoda** early in 1948). Its literary supplement, edited for many years by **Abraham David (Avraham) Shlonsky**, became an important vehicle of artistic and political expression for young Israeli writers emerging from left-wing secular **kibbutzim**. The newspaper ceased publication on 31 March 1995.

**ALIGNMENT (MAARACH).** A political bloc formed in 1965 between the **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael-Israel Workers Party)** and **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** parties. In 1968, it joined with **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel-Israel Labor List)** to form the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. An alignment subsequently was formed with **Mapam**

(**Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party**) to contest the election of the Seventh **Knesset**, although both Mapam and the Israel Labor Party retained their own organizations and memberships. The Alignment led Israel's government coalitions between 1965 and 1977, when it lost the Knesset election and became the opposition in parliament. In September 1984, it joined in the **Government of National Unity** with the **Likud (Union) Party**. As a consequence, Mapam and Yossi Sarid of the Labor Party withdrew from the Alignment, while **Ezer Weizman's Yahad** Party joined the Alignment. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ALIYA.** Derived from the Hebrew word for *ascent* or *going up*. The immigration of Jews from the **Diaspora** to the Holy Land (**Palestine** and, later, Israel). Jewish immigration to and **settlement** in the land of Israel is a central concept in **Zionist** ideology, and the “ingathering of the exiles” was the primary objective of the Zionist Movement. However, even before the founding of the Zionist Movement, there was immigration to **Eretz Israel**. Throughout Jewish history, small numbers of Jews had always migrated to the Holy Land in keeping with the Jewish **religion's** concept that to live and die in the Holy Land was an important precept. Over the centuries, Jews migrated to Eretz Israel and lived in the four holy cities: **Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron**. With the practical and political Zionism of the 19th century, beginning in the 1880s, the numbers of Jewish immigrants to Palestine grew dramatically, but they also varied in number, depending on practical conditions both in their countries of origin and in Palestine (and later Israel).

Immigration to Palestine traditionally has been divided into five major phases or *aliyot* (waves of immigration) between the 1880s and World War II. During the First Aliya (1882–1903), some 20,000 to 30,000 individuals immigrated to Palestine, primarily in groups organized by the **Hoveve Zion** and **Bilu Movements** in **Russia** and Romania. Some arrived on their own, mostly from Galicia. The **Second Aliya** (1904–1914) involved some 35,000 to 40,000 young pioneers, mostly from Russia. In the Third Aliya (1919–1923), some 35,000 young pioneers immigrated to Palestine from Russia, Poland, and Romania. The Fourth Aliya (1924–1931) involved mainly middle-class immigrants from Poland, numbering some 88,000. The Fifth Aliya (1932–1938) consisted of some 215,000 immigrants, mainly from central Europe. During World War II (1939–1945), immigration to Palestine continued both legally and illegally (*see* ALIYA BET) and totaled some 82,000. After World War II (1945) until the independence of Israel in May 1948, there were severe **British Mandate** restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine, but still some 57,000 Jews arrived. After Israeli independence, the flow of immigrants to Palestine grew dramatically, as Israel allowed free immigration and whole communities opted to move to the Holy Land. Begin-

ning in 1989, large-scale immigration brought to Israel some 750,000 Jews from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics/Russia** and **Ethiopia**. By the 21st century, some 3.16 million Jewish immigrants (through March 2016) had arrived in Israel since statehood in May 1948. The significant escalation of incidents of **anti-Semitism** contributed to an increase in aliya from **France** and other Western European countries.

**ALIYA BET.** A term for the illegal immigration (see ALIYA) of Jews into **Palestine** under the **British Mandate** in defiance of British severe restrictions associated with the **White Paper of 1939**. Closely associated with Bricha, the underground organized effort by the **Hagana** and other groups operating in southern Europe as well as in Palestine to assist survivors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** secretly enter Palestine in violation of British policy.

**ALLENBY BRIDGE.** Also known as the King Hussein Bridge, it was named for Sir Edmund Allenby, the British general who commanded the **Egyptian Expeditionary Force** during World War I. It spans the **Jordan River** just north of the **Dead Sea**. It was central to the **open bridges policy** instituted by Israel after the **Six-Day War** (1967), whereby Israelis and **Jordanians** maintained a high level of commercial contact even in the absence of formal peace. According to the Cairo Agreement of May 1994, access to the bridge is controlled by Jordan on the East Bank and by the **Palestinian Authority** on the **West Bank**, with Israeli officials maintaining a presence on the Palestinian side for purposes of security. The bridge remains a principal point of contact between Israelis, **Palestinians**, and Jordanians.

**ALLON, YIGAL (FORMERLY PAICOVITCH) (1918–1980).** Soldier, military strategist, politician. Born at Kfar Tabor (Mesha) in lower **Galilee** on 10 October 1918, he graduated from the Kadourie **Agricultural School** and later studied at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and St. Antony's College, Oxford. In 1937, he helped to found and became a member of **Kibbutz Ginnosar**. During the Arab riots of 1936–1939 in **Palestine**, Allon served in the underground defense forces commanded by **Yitzhak Sadeh**. In 1941, he helped found the **Palmah** and assisted in British surveillance. In 1942, he headed an underground intelligence and sabotage network in **Syria** and **Lebanon**. The following year, he became the deputy commander of the Palmah and in 1945 became its commander, a post he retained until 1948 when the Palmah was integrated into the newly formed **Israel Defense Forces**. In this capacity, he directed sabotage against civil and military installations of the **British Mandate** government and supported **Aliya Bet**. He

was commander of the southern front in the latter phases of Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and helped drive the Arab armies out of the **Negev**.

After Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** dissolved the Palmah, Allon entered politics. In 1954, he was elected to the **Knesset** and served as minister of labor from 1961 to 1967. In June 1967, he participated in the inner war **cabinet** which helped to plan the strategy of the **Six-Day War (1967)**. He was the author of the **Allon Plan**. In July 1968, he became deputy prime minister and minister for immigrant (*see* ALIYA) absorption. From 1969 to 1974, he served as deputy prime minister and minister of **education** and culture, and from 1974 to 1977 he was deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. Allon died on 29 February 1980 in Afula.

**ALLON PLAN.** A proposal developed by **Yigal Allon** to establish peace and secure borders for Israel after the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Essentially, the plan called for the return of the densely populated areas in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** to Arab control as well as a return of most of the **Sinai Peninsula** to **Egypt**. Israel would retain control of the **Jordan River** valley and mountain ridges, where it could establish **settlements** and early-warning systems (of radar and other devices) to provide warnings against attacks from the east. There would be adjustments to the 1949 armistice lines, and Israel would retain **Jerusalem** and the **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)** of settlements south of Jerusalem. Other specifics were included in the detailed plan. The plan was never adopted as the official policy of Israel, but the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**–led governments of Israel until 1977 pursued its settlement policy using the Allon Plan as its guideline.

In 1996, a new **political party, The Third Way (Derech HaSlisheet)**, ran on a policy platform regarding the future status of the West Bank that borrowed heavily from the Allon Plan. In late 1996 and 1997, the **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition government of **Benjamin Netanyahu** articulated a vision of a permanent settlement with the **Palestinians** derived from the original Allon Plan and with adjustments to reflect prevailing realities in the **Occupied Territories**, a vision that Netanyahu called the “Allon Plan Plus.” *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ALONI, SHULAMIT (1929–2014).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister; prominent feminist. Born on 29 November 1928 in **Tel Aviv**. A committed secularist and civil libertarian, she fought what she called the rigid control exercised by Israel's Orthodox rabbinical authority over such issues as marriage, divorce, and other areas of personal status. She was first elected to the Knesset on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list in 1965 but was dropped from the list for the 1969 and 1973

elections. She ran independently and led the **Citizens' Rights Movement**—(CRM; *see* CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENT (CRM; HATNUA LEZHUIOT HAEZRACH ULESHALOM; RATZ)—in the 1973 elections, when it secured three seats. CRM subsequently joined the coalition government led by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** in 1974, with Aloni serving as minister without portfolio. She subsequently resigned from the coalition to protest the inclusion of the **National Religious Party** (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL) in the government. The **Meretz** left-wing **Zionist** electoral alliance, under Aloni's leadership, won 12 seats in the 1992 Knesset election. Between 1992 and 1996, she held ministerial portfolios in the Labor-led coalition headed by Rabin and in that capacity introduced a number of measures that upset the ultra-Orthodox member of the coalition, **SHAS**—*see* SEPHARDI TORAH GUARDIANS (SHAS). Aloni retired from party politics prior to the 1996 election. She died on 24 January 2014. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ALSHEICH, RONI (1963– )**. Born in Jerusalem on 20 March 1963 to parents of Yemenite descent, Alsheich entered the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) in 1981 and became a paratrooper, rising to command an elite combat-engineering company. He joined the **Shin Bet (Shabak)** in December 1988 and rose quickly, due to his counterterrorism operational capabilities. Shin Bet deputy director since September 2014, on 25 September 2015 his nomination as inspector general (commissioner) of the **Israel Police** was announced by public security minister **Gilad Erdan**. On 11 October 2015, Israel's **cabinet** unanimously approved Alsheich's appointment to the three-year position, to take effect on 11 November 2015. *See also* TERRORISM; TERRORISM 2015.

**ALTALENA AFFAIR**. In June 1948, a ship arrived on the coast of Israel from **France** with immigrants (*see* ALIYA) and arms and ammunition for delivery to the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)**. The nascent government of Israel under Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** ordered that the ship and its cargo be placed at its disposal, but the Irgun refused. In the subsequent battle between the army and the Irgun, the government forces prevailed, and the ship was sunk. Soon afterward, the Irgun was disbanded, and its members were incorporated into the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). The incident made it clear that the government would not tolerate challenges to its authority or the existence of armed forces competing with the IDF. The incident contributed to the animosity between Irgun leader **Menachem Begin** and Ben-Gurion that characterized Israeli politics in subsequent decades.



**ALTER, SIMCHA BUNIM (1897–1992).** Prominent **Hasidic** rabbi. He was born on 6 April 1898 in Gora Kalwaria, Poland, and immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1934. He was named the head of the Ger (Gur) Hasidic Dynasty in 1977 and served in that position until his death in August 1992. He was an influential figure behind the scenes in Israeli politics as leader of one of the largest Orthodox Jewish dynasties and as head of the **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah)**, the spiritual adviser to **Agudat Israel**. He campaigned for strict adherence to *Halacha* and for religious legislation in Israel. He died on 6 August 1992 in Jerusalem. His role as head of the Ger Hasidic community was then taken by his half-brother, Rabbi Pinchas Menachem Alter, who served in that role from 1992 until his death in March 1996.

**ALTERMAN, NATAN (1910–1970).** One of Israel's first and most prominent Hebrew poets. Born in Warsaw, Poland, he arrived in **Palestine** in 1925 and published his first poem in 1931. His satirical political verse, which gave voice to the **Zionist** community's struggle against the policies of the **British Mandate** authority in the 1940s, earned him the nickname "the poet of the **Yishuv**." Much of his popular work was reflected in his weekly newspaper column in *Ha'aretz*, which he began writing in 1934, and in *Davar* from 1943. During World War II, much of Alterman's poetry dealt with Jewish symbols and themes, and his works were imbued with the horrors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. With the end of the war, his works linked the Holocaust to illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine (see ALIYA BET) and Israel's **War of Independence**. In his later years, Alterman used his poetry to voice strong support for permanent retention of Arab territory won by Israel in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and the concept of a **Greater Israel**. Alterman died on 28 March 1970 in **Tel Aviv**. See also THEATER.

**AM ECHAD.** See ONE PEOPLE (AM ECHAD).

**AM SHALEM (WHOLE NATION).** Moderate Orthodox **political party** established in April 2011, some five months after its founder, Rabbi **Haim Amsalem**, was expelled from the parliamentary caucus of the **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)** and forced to sit as an independent member of **Knesset**. Its name is a derivative of its founder's surname. It failed to pass the threshold for gaining entry into the Nineteenth Knesset (2013) or the Twentieth Knesset (2015).

**AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (AIPAC).** Principal American pro-**Israel** lobby group; considered among the most powerful political actors in Washington, D.C. Its core activities include en-

surging Israel's share of annual U.S. foreign military financing as well as separate U.S. funding for Israel in crisis situations and for special projects; facilitating government-to-government as well as business-to-business partnerships, such as the U.S.–Israel Strategic Partnership Act as well as joint production of Israel's **Iron Dome** missile defense system by Israeli and American defense contractors; and helping to assuage bilateral policy disputes and issues of dissonance that naturally arise despite the “special relationship” that binds Israel and the **United States**.

AIPAC engages the White House and U.S. Congress as well as state and defense departments, and it often has played-off one institution against the other in order to achieve its political interests. Its success is measured by its bipartisanship and ability to adapt to changes in the executive and legislative branches of American government while remaining focused on its core goal of strengthening the U.S.–Israel bilateral relationship.

American presidents often use their speeches at AIPAC's annual policy conference to test reactions by America's strongest supporters of Israel (Jews and non-Jews alike) to possible changes in U.S. Middle East policy. Presidential candidates use their speeches to AIPAC to establish their credibility as a “friend” of Israel and to lay out their plan for the Mideast once elected.

**AMIA (ASOCIACION MUTUAL ISRAELITA ARGENTINA).** Jewish center in Buenos Aires, **Argentina**, where a **terrorist** bombing on 18 July 1994 killed 86 and injured 200. Over the years the investigation into the attack was marred by incompetence and accusations of cover-ups and political machinations. A 2006 special investigation determined that the attack was carried out by **Hezbollah** with the support of senior officials at **Iran's** embassy in Buenos Aires and with the knowledge and consent of the Iranian government in Teheran. In 2012, former president Carlos Menem and other former senior Argentine officials were arrested on charges of concealing evidence or otherwise obstructing the investigation of the AMIA bombing. On 14 January 2015 Argentine special prosecutor Alberto Nisman formally accused President Christina Fernandez de Kirshner and Foreign Minister Hector Timerman of conspiring with Teheran to shield 8 senior Iranian officials from prosecution for the attack in exchange for Iranian oil. On 19 January 2015 special prosecutor Nisman was found dead in his apartment shortly before his scheduled testimony before Argentina's parliament to lay out the legal basis for the arrest of the country's president and foreign minister for their complicity in the AMIA bombing. On 13 February 2015, the prosecutor who inherited the AMIA file reaffirmed the accusations leveled by Alberto Nisman, but in late March 2015, those accusations were dismissed by a federal appeals court. In mid-April 2015, Argentina's Senate unanimously approved a bill that offered one-time financial compensation to the families of the 85 Argentine citizens killed in the AMIA center bombing.

**AMICHAÏ, YEHUDA (1924–2000).** Israeli poet and author; considered one of Israel’s greatest modern Hebrew poets and one of the first to introduce colloquial Hebrew into modern Israeli literature. He was born as Ludwig Pfeuffer in Wurzburg, **Germany** on 3 May 1924 into a religiously observant and **Zionist** home in which both Hebrew and German were spoken. He immigrated (see ALIYA) with his family to **Mandate Palestine** in 1935, at age 11, living briefly in **Petah Tikva** before settling in **Jerusalem** in 1936. He volunteered for service with the British Army’s **Jewish Brigade** in World War II, before joining the **Palmah** in 1946. During Israel’s **War of Independence (1948–1949)** he fought on the southern front, which witnessed some of the heaviest bloodshed on both sides. After the War of Independence, he studied Bible and Hebrew literature at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. Encouraged by one of his professors, he published his first book of poetry, *Achshav Uve-Yamim HaAharim* (“Now and in Other Days”) in 1955. He changed his name to Yehuda Amichai, which literally translates to “my people lives,” as part of the Zionist practice of taking on Hebrew names. He once told an interviewer that adopting the name “Amichai” was appropriate because “it was Socialist, Zionist, and optimistic.” Amichai’s works were popular because of their expression of his intense Israeli nationalism as well as his focus on common subjects to which the average Israeli (and non-Israeli) reader could relate. Also making him popular was Amichai’s innovative use of the **Hebrew language**, including the incorporation in his poetry of the colloquialisms and slang expressions of modern-day Israel. He became known as one of Israel’s “national poets,” having published 13 books of poetry in Hebrew—although he also published two novels, a book of short stories, children’s literature and radio sketches. His works have been translated into some 40 languages. Amichai was invited by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** to read from his poems at the **Nobel Peace Prize** ceremony in 1994. He was the recipient of many awards and honors. The citation for his **Israel Prize** for Hebrew Poetry (1982) credits Amichai with having “effected a revolutionary change in both the subject matter and the language of poetry.” He was named an Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1986) and a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1991). His work is included among the list of the “100 Greatest Works of Modern Jewish Literature.” Amichai’s works available in English include *Not of This Time, Not of This Place* (1968), *Songs of Jerusalem and Myself* (1973), *Poems of Jerusalem* (1988), *Even a Fist Was Once an Open Palm with Fingers* (1989), *Exile at Home* (1998) and *Open Closed Open* (2000). Amichai died of cancer on 22 September 2000, at age 76.

**AMIR, YIGAL (1970–).** The assassin of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**. Born on 23 May 1970 in Herzliya and raised in a religiously observant Sephardic (see ORIENTAL JEWS) family, he was educated in Orthodox

schools affiliated with the **Ashkenazi**-dominated **Agudat Israel** (Association of Israel) Movement. Following high school, he studied in the Karem Dyaneh yeshiva. Part of his military service was spent in the elite Golani infantry brigade. After the military, he studied law and computer science at **Bar-Ilan University** and won a place in the university's prestigious Institute for Advanced Jewish Studies. He murdered Rabin at the conclusion of a peace rally in **Tel Aviv** on the evening of 4 November 1995. He explained that he was motivated by an intense displeasure over the territorial concessions made by the Rabin government in the context of the **Oslo Accords**. On 27 March 1996, he was convicted and sentenced to life in prison for the murder. On 28 March 1996, a commission of inquiry headed by the former president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel, Justice **Meir Shamgar**, concluded that Amir had acted alone in assassinating Rabin.

**AMIT, MEIR (FORMERLY SLUTZKY) (1925–2009)**. Third director of **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in Tiberias, he joined the **Hagana** in 1936 and was a member of **Kibbutz Alonim** between 1939 and 1952. He served in Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and later served in several senior command positions. He studied business administration in the **United States**. He was head of Israel's foreign **intelligence service**, Mossad, from 1963 to 1968 and was managing director of **Koor Industries** until 1977. He was one of the founding members of the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit LeShinui)** in 1976 and served in the Knesset. He served as minister of transport in the 1977 government led by **Menachem Begin** but in 1978 left the government and joined **Shinui**. In 1980, he joined the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. In retirement Amit served as chairman of Israel's Center for Special Studies. He died on 17 July 2009.

**AMITAL, RABBI YEHUDA (1924–2010)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Transylvania on 31 October 1924, as a boy he studied in a traditional *heder* and yeshiva and had virtually no formal secular **education**. In 1943, the Nazis deported him to a labor camp, and his family perished in Auschwitz. He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in December 1944 and joined the **Hagana**, participating in the battles of **Latrun** and the western **Galilee** during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. He resumed his yeshiva studies in **Jerusalem**, where he was ordained as a rabbi. He was the founder and dean (Rosh Yeshiva) of the Orthodox Har Etzion Yeshiva, located in the **West Bank settlement** of Alon Shvut; the founder of the national-religious *hesder* yeshiva system, which combines Orthodox religious studies with military service; and the founder and former chairman of

the **Meimad (Dimension)** Party or “Movement for the Religious Center (Tenua Mercazit Datit),” that broke away from the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** in 1988 to protest the NRP’s shift to the political right on many domestic and foreign policy issues. Under Amital’s leadership, Meimad ran lists in the 1988 and 1992 Knesset elections, but in each instance, the party failed to win a sufficient share of the vote to take seats in the Knesset. He agreed to serve as minister without portfolio in the government formed by **Shimon Peres** after the November 1995 assassination of **Yitzhak Rabin**. Amital sought to promote dialogue and to lessen polarization within Israeli society on both domestic and security policy issues. On matters of peace and security, he supported the principle of territorial compromise based on the notion that the “good of the people and state of Israel takes precedence over political control over the entire land of Israel.” While wishing to see increased adherence to *Halacha* among Jewish Israelis, he opposed what he perceived as the “religious coercion” exerted by the ultra-Orthodox **political parties** in seeking to force through legislation affecting the **status quo agreement** over religious affairs. He advocated maximum tolerance among Israelis and between Jewish Israelis and **Diaspora** Jewish communities with regard to the contentious **Who Is a Jew?** debate. Amital remained the spiritual leader of Meimad. He died on 9 July 2010 at age 85.

**AMONA.** A small, illegal **Gush Emunim settlement outpost** near the **West Bank settlement** of Ofra that was evacuated and demolished by Israeli police and soldiers in early 2006. The evacuation took place despite rioting by some 4,000 protestors, mostly settler youth determined to test the resolve of acting prime minister **Ehud Olmert**. A parliamentary commission of inquiry, in its interim report issued on 21 March 2006, concluded that all parties were to blame for the unprecedented violence: the political echelon did not make the necessary preparations and did not coordinate the evacuation operation with forces tasked with the mission; settler leaders belonging to the **Yesha** Council lost control over the settlers, especially the so-called **hilltop youth**; and police officers involved in the evacuation used excessive force. *See also* PRICE TAG ATTACKS; SETTLEMENT OUTPOSTS.

**AMOR, SHAUL (1941–2004).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Boujad, Morocco, on 24 December 1940, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1956. He was formerly head of a local municipal council in northern Israel. A **Likud (Union) Party** member of the Knesset since 1988, he was his party’s candidate for **president** of Israel in 1998 but was defeated by the incumbent, **Ezer Weizman**. In January 1999, Amor was named minister without portfolio in the government of **Benjamin Netanyahu**.

**hu.** In May 1999, he was appointed ambassador to Belgium and Luxembourg, though this appointment was challenged on the grounds that it was made to compensate Amor for having been bumped from a secure slot on the Likud list of candidates contesting the 17 May 1999 election to the Fifteenth Knesset. He died on 2 October 2004.

**AMSALEM, RABBI HAIM (1959–).** Member of **Knesset**. Born in Oran, Algeria, on 12 October 1959, and immigrated (see **ALIYA**) to Israel in 1970. A founding member of the **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)** Party, he was first elected to the Seventeenth **Knesset** on the SHAS list in 2006 and reelected, again on the SHAS list, to the Knesset in 2009. In late 2010 he was expelled from the SHAS parliamentary caucus and from the party for accusing the party's leadership—including the revered Rabbi **Ovadia Yosef**—of having abandoned their core constituents, **Oriental Jews**, especially Israelis of Moroccan descent. Amsalem charged that SHAS leaders had instead adopted the practices and traits of their **Haredi** Lithuanian **Ashkenazi** counterparts and their hardline and insular approach toward Judaism and ambivalent attitude toward the secular state of Israel. Amsalem sat as an independent member of Knesset through the balance of the Eighteenth Knesset. In April 2011 he founded the **Am Shalem (Whole Nation)** political party that failed to pass the threshold for gaining entry to the Knesset in the elections of 2013 and 2015.

**ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.** A committee of representatives from **Great Britain** and the **United States** appointed in November 1945 to study the question of Jewish immigration (see **ALIYA**) to **Palestine** and the future of the **British Mandate**. After numerous meetings and hearings in the region and elsewhere, it issued a report on 20 April 1946. The recommendations included, among others, the immediate issuing of 100,000 immigration certificates for Palestine to Jewish survivors of Nazi and fascist persecution. Although U.S. president Harry Truman accepted much of the report, especially the recommendation concerning Jewish immigration, the British government did not accept the report. The Palestine problem was turned over to the **United Nations**. See also **ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT**.

**ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE.** An international conference convened at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, on 27 November 2007, at the invitation of the **United States**. The declared goals of the conference were: (1) to signal international support for efforts by **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman and **Palestinian Authority (PA)** president **Mahmoud Abbas** and Israeli prime minister **Ehud Olmert** to commence a

process of direct negotiations leading to the realization of Israeli-Palestinian peace based on the **two-state solution** formula envisioned by U.S. president **George W. Bush** and in the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**; and (2) to coordinate international support for efforts undertaken by Abbas and the **Fatah**-led PA to construct the institutions and culture for an independent and democratic Palestinian state.

In opening the conference on 27 November 2007, Bush read a joint understanding coauthored by representatives of Israel and the PLO that expressed the parties' 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 nonviolence; to confront terrorism and incitement, whether committed by Palestinians or Israelis." In furtherance of the goal of "two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security," Israel and the PLO undertook to "immediately launch good-faith bilateral negotiations in order to conclude a peace treaty, resolving all outstanding issues, including all core issues without exception, as specified in previous agreements." The parties agreed to "make every effort" to conclude an agreement before the end of 2008. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ANTI-SEMITISM.** The hatred of the Jewish people, either by individuals, groups, or states, and one of the major factors motivating modern **Zionism**. The founder of political Zionism, **Theodor Herzl**, was drawn to the notion of independent Jewish statehood by the discriminatory treatment of a Jewish **French** army officer, **Alfred Dreyfus**. Herzl and other political Zionists—especially those from Eastern Europe who had experienced **pogroms** and other forms of state-sponsored anti-Semitism—came to the conclusion that the only solution to the centuries-old **Jewish Question** confronting European society was for the Jews to have a state of their own.

**APRIL 14 LETTERS.** In an exchange of correspondence with Israel's prime minister **Ariel Sharon** on 14 April 2004, U.S. president **George W. Bush** made two specific declarations that were interpreted as marking fundamental changes in America's approach toward Middle East peacemaking and in U.S.–Israel relations. First, Bush declared: "In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli population centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949." This was interpreted as the acceptance by the **United States** of the idea of Israel's retention of a permanent, albeit limited, **settlement** presence in the **West Bank** in the context of a negotiated final peace agreement with the **Palestinians**. Second, Bush declared: "It seems clear that an agreed, just, fair, and realistic framework for a

solution to the Palestinian refugee issue as part of any final status agreement will need to be found through the establishment of a Palestinian state and the settling of Palestinian refugees there rather than Israel.” From Israel’s perspective, this statement effectively ended the Palestinian demand for the **right of return** of refugees to Israel. In his letter to Bush, Sharon reaffirmed Israel’s commitment to the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ARAB BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.** An Arab economic boycott was imposed on the **Yishuv** soon after the founding of the **Arab League** (League of Arab States) in 1945 and maintained by the Arab states against Israel since the establishment of the state. The boycott had primary, secondary, and tertiary applications and was part of the Arab effort designed to weaken and ultimately destroy Israel. Until 1950, the boycott barred Arab businesses from dealing with Israel. After April 1950, foreign shippers carrying goods or immigrants (*see* ALIYA) to Israel were warned that they were subject to blacklisting in Arab states and would be denied access to Arab port facilities. Later, firms represented in Israel were added to the boycott list. Implementation of the boycott regulations by the Arab states varied substantially from country to country and from time to time. In the 1970s, the U.S. Congress adopted legislation outlawing compliance by businesses in the **United States** with the boycott. **Egypt**, since 1979, openly deals with Israel, and some trade takes place unofficially and informally between Israel and other Arab partners. The secondary and tertiary applications of the boycott were formally suspended by the Gulf Cooperation Council in the early 1990s, but the primary political boycott remained formally in effect. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ARAB COOPERATION AND BROTHERHOOD.** An Arab **political party** that won seats in the **Knesset** elections (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL) of 1959, 1961, and 1965. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL.

**ARAB DEMOCRATIC LIST.** An Arab **political party** that contested and won seats in the Knesset elections (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL) of 1949, 1951, and 1955. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL.

**ARAB DEMOCRATIC PARTY.** A **political party** formed in 1988 by former **Alignment (Maarach)** member of **Knesset Abd El-Wahab Darawsh** that contested the 1988 Knesset election. Its platform called for appropriate and active representation for **Arabs in Israel** in all state institutions. In foreign policy, it called for the recognition of the right of the **Palestinians** to self-determination. It advocated convening an international peace conference



with the participation on an equal basis of all the parties involved, including the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It called for the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied in the **Six-Day War** (1967) and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the **West Bank**, the **Gaza Strip**, and eastern **Jerusalem**. It won one seat in the 1988 Knesset election, two in 1992, and four in 1996, when it ran on a joint slate with the **United Arab List (UAL)**. *See also* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ARAB FARMERS AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY.** An Arab political party that contested the Knesset elections (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL) of 1951, 1955, and 1959 and won a single seat in each instance. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ARAB LEAGUE (LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES).** Founded on 22 March 1945 in Alexandria, **Egypt**, to coordinate increased Arab economic, cultural, and political unity. Its highest decision-making body is the Arab League Council, comprised of the heads of member states and based on equal representation. The Arab League has played a central role in the conflict with Israel. In 1946, it instituted a boycott on trade with the **Zionist** community in **Palestine** (this embargo was transferred to the state of Israel after independence in May 1948). On 17 December 1947, the Arab League formally rejected the **United Nations** Partition Plan (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN), called for an independent Arab state in all of Palestine, and resolved (on 9 February 1948) to prevent the birth of Israel. In January 1964, at a summit meeting in Cairo, the league endorsed the creation of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. At the **Khartoum Arab Summit** of September 1967, it issued its infamous “three noes”—no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel. At its Rabat Conference (October 1974), the league recognized the PLO as the “sole legitimate representative” of the **Palestinians**. It opposed the **Camp David Accords** of September 1978, expelling Egypt and “temporarily” moving its headquarters to Tunis from Cairo.

The Arab League became increasingly fragmented over inter-Arab disputes (such as the **Lebanon** civil war, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and **Iraq**’s August 1990 invasion of Kuwait) as well as over developments on the peace front with Israel, including the peace treaties with Egypt (1979) and **Jordan** (1994) and the Israel–PLO **Declaration of Principles** (1993). Also impinging on the internal unity and effectiveness of the Arab League was the growing tendency of member states to place their individual national interests before pan-Arab considerations, especially but not exclusively in regard to relations with Israel. At its Beirut Summit in 2002, the Arab League

unanimously endorsed the plan put forward by the government of Saudi Arabia: preconditioned normalization of relations with Israel on Israel's return to the pre-June 1967 lines, acceptance of an independent Palestinian state in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** with its capital in the eastern part of **Jerusalem**, and the opening of Israel's (reduced) borders to Palestinian refugees and their descendants via the **right of return**. These terms of reference—already viewed as nonstarters by Israel and the **United States**—were reaffirmed by the Arab League at its March 2007 summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. *See also* ARAB BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL; ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ARAB LIST (UAL)**. Electoral list registered on 20 January 2015 by former **United Arab List-Ta'al Arab Movement for Change** member of **Knesset** Taleb a-Sanaa to contest the March 2015 Knesset election. It was separate from the **Joint List** unified slate formed by the UAL-Ta'al and other mainly **Arab political parties** to contest the election, and from which a-Sanaa was excluded. A-Sanaa's splinter faction failed to pass the qualifying threshold for taking seats in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ARAB MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (TA'AL)**. *See* TA'AL (ARAB MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE).

**ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES**. Arab **political parties** have been a part of the Israeli political scene since independence, and the **Arabs in Israel** have been represented on a regular basis in the **Knesset**. In elections to the **Knesset** between 1949 and 1969, the majority of Israeli Arabs supported the dominant Jewish party or the Arab political party lists affiliated with it. In 1973 and 1977, this support declined; the mixed Arab and left-wing Jewish **Communist Party (Rakah)**—*see* NEW COMMUNIST LIST (RAKAH)—secured nearly 50 percent of the Arab votes in 1977. To a great extent, this reflected growing Arab nationalism and support for the **Palestinians**, causes espoused by the Communists. Overall, Arab participation in the political process also declined during the same period.

In 1981, the **Alignment (Maarach)** tripled its vote among Israel's Arabs compared to 1977; this was seen as a vote for the best of bad alternatives. Much of the turn to the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** was seen as a vote against the **Likud (Union) Party** and grew out of disappointment with **Menachem Begin's** ignoring the Arab problem in Israel. There was an unexpectedly low turnout of Arab voters and a sharp decline in support for Rakah. In the 1988 election, Rakah won four seats. In 1992, the Arab and mixed Arab-Jewish parties won five Knesset seats; while 47 percent of Arab votes went to the Arab parties, 30 percent went to center-left

**Zionist** parties (Labor 20.3 percent, **Meretz** 9.7 percent). In 1996, the vast majority of Arabs casting valid ballots voted for **Shimon Peres** for **prime minister**; in the Knesset vote, the **United Arab List (UAL)–Arab Democratic Party** won four seats, while the Israel Communist Party–**Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)** took five mandates. In the 1999 election, Arab political parties won a total of 10 seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999).

On 22 January 2015, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash), **National Democratic Assembly (Balad)**, **Ta'al Arab Movement for Change**, and **United Arab List (UAL)** parties joined with the southern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel to form a unified electoral list to contest the election for the Twentieth Knesset. The electoral alliance, running under the banner of the **Joint List**, was headed by **Haifa** attorney **Ayman Odeh**, a member of Hadash who had never served in the Knesset. This was the first time in Israel's history that the major Arab parties had all run on a single electoral list. The parties united out of concern that running individually they would all fall short of the higher threshold of 3.25 percent of the popular vote needed to enter the Knesset, set in the **Governance Bill (2014)**. Boycotting the joint Arab list were the more hardline northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel and a pro-Palestinian, secular, Israeli-Arab Movement, with both groups calling for a general boycott of the Knesset election on the part of Israel's Arab community. Former United Arab List–Ta'al Party member of Knesset Taleb a-Sanaa, whose name had been excluded from the slate of the new joint Arab alliance, formed his own electoral list (the **Arab List**) that unsuccessfully contested the 2015 Knesset election. The Joint List of primarily Arab candidates took an unprecedented 13 mandates in the 2015 election, becoming the third-largest party in the Twentieth Knesset. Polling data discerned that 63.5 percent of Israeli Arabs cast ballots in the 2015 Knesset, up from 45 percent in the 2013 election; the data further indicated that 82 percent of Israeli Arabs voted for Arab parties comprising the Joint List compared to 67 percent who voted for Arab parties in 2013.

**ARAB PROGRESS AND WORK.** An **Arab political party** that contested the 1951, 1955, 1959, 1961, and 1965 Knesset elections (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL) and won seats in parliament. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL.

**ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.** The Arab-Israeli conflict has been and continues to be the central concern and focus of Israel and affects all aspects of national life. In the period prior to Israel's independence, the Arabs of **Palestine** actively opposed **Zionist** efforts to create a Jewish state through attacks on Jewish settlers and **settlements**, riots and demonstrations, and opposition

to Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) and land purchases. Arab opposition to the **United Nations** Partition Plan (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN) of November 1947 was followed by a de facto war in Palestine until the termination of the **British Mandate**. With the formal end of **Great Britain**'s role and the establishment of an independent Israel in May 1948, the first of seven major Arab-Israeli wars began.

Israel and the Arab states have fought in Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**; the **Sinai War (1956)**; the **Six-Day War (1967)**; the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)**; the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**; the **War in Lebanon (1982)**; and the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. Since its 2005 withdrawal from the **Gaza Strip**, Israel also has fought three major wars there against **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and other Iranian- and Syrian-backed **terrorist** Islamist groups committed to Israel's destruction.

Beginning in December 1987, Israel was confronted with widespread Palestinian disturbances—**intifada**—in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**; a second round of widespread Palestinian violence and terror, known as the **Al-Aksa intifada**, began in late September 2000. There was also a war of attrition between **Hezbollah** and other Islamic extremist groups and Israeli and Israel-backed forces prior to Israel's May 2000 withdrawal from southern **Lebanon**, as well as ongoing terrorism by such militant Palestinian factions as Hamas and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ; Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)** against Israelis in the **Occupied Territories** and in major Israeli cities. Following Israel's unilateral withdrawal in 2005, unrelenting Hamas missile and rocket fire from the Gaza Strip at population centers in the **Negev** region as well as toward cities deeper in Israel provoked three major **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** operations in Gaza in 2008–2009 (**Operation Cast Lead**), 2012 (**Operation Pillar of Defense**), and 2014 (**Operation Protective Edge**).

Israel is monitoring and assessing the security implications of Iran's nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic weapons program and Iranian-sponsored terrorism targeting Israel as well as the revolutionary changes throughout the Islamic Middle East fueled by tensions between radical (Shia and Sunni) Muslims and moderate Muslims.

Substantial efforts to end the Arab-Israeli conflict and achieve peace, often involving outside efforts (especially on the part of the **United States**), have yielded **armistice agreements** (1949); cease-fires at the end of the several conflicts; disengagement of forces agreements in 1974 and 1975; the **Camp David Accords** of 1978; the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 1979; the **Declaration of Principles** and the **Oslo Accords** with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** beginning in 1993; and the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty** of 1994. On 29 July 2013, U.S. secretary of state **John Kerry** formally initiated a process of intense diplomacy with the goal of achieving a framework for an Israeli-Palestinian final status agreement within 9 months, by 29

April 2014; this effort ended without any discernible progress. On 30 September 2015, Palestinian Authority (PA) president Mahmoud Abbas told the **United Nations** General Assembly that he and the PA would no longer be bound by the Oslo Accords. Israel responded by calling on Abbas and the PA to accept Israel's offer to resume direct bilateral negotiations without preconditions, as both sides agreed to in the Oslo Accords.

While Israel is formally at peace with **Egypt** and **Jordan** and has a de facto working arrangement with some other Arab states and with the PLO, permanent resolution of the conflict has eluded Israel.

**ARABS IN ISRAEL.** Israel's **Declaration of Independence** commits to "foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants . . . based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel." Israel's non-Jewish citizenry is composed mainly of the Arabs who remained in what became Israel after the 1949 **armistice agreements** and their descendants. By September 2015, that group had grown to some 1.74 million, or 20.7 percent of the overall population, primarily as a result of a high birth-rate. The Muslim population, which constitutes about three-fourths of the non-Jewish population, is predominantly Sunni. Christians constitute about 9 percent of the non-Jewish population. Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox constitute more than 80 percent of that number, but there are also Roman Catholics, Maronites, Armenians, Protestants, Anglicans, and **Aramaicans**.

The non-Jewish communities have special status, similar to that enjoyed under the Ottoman *millet* system. After Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and the 1949 armistice agreements, the activities of the Arab community were regarded primarily as concerns of Israel's security system, and most of the areas inhabited by the Arabs were placed under military control. Military government was established in those districts, and special defense and security zones were created. Israel's Arabs were granted citizenship with full legal equality but were forbidden to travel into or out of security areas without permission of the military. Those who argued in support of the military administration saw it as a means of controlling the Arab population and of preventing infiltration from neighboring hostile Arab states, sabotage, and espionage. It was argued that the very existence of the military administration was an important deterrent measure. However, as it became clear that Israel's Arabs were not disloyal and as Israel's security situation improved, pressure for relaxation and then for total abolition of military restrictions on Israel's Arabs grew in the **Knesset** and in public debate. The extensive restrictions were gradually modified, and on 1 December 1966, military government was abolished. Functions that had been exercised by the military government were transferred to relevant civilian authorities.

The non-Jewish community has undergone other substantial changes since 1948. **Education** has become virtually universal. Local authority has grown, and through the various local authorities, the Arabs have become involved in local decision making and provision of services. The traditional life of the Arab has been altered by new **agricultural** methods and increased employment in other sectors of the **economy**—especially **industry**, construction, and services. Social and economic improvements have included more urbanization, modernization of villages, better infrastructure, improved **health** care, and expanded educational opportunities.

In a meeting on 21 May 2015 with Ayman Odeh, head of **The Joint List** mainly **Arab political party**, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** pledged to address issues of chronic inequality confronting Israel's Arab community including high unemployment (especially among young Arabs), housing, and funding for Arab municipalities and the Arab school system. On the same day, President **Reuven Rivlin** underscored the importance of Jewish-Arab coexistence in Israel: "We live in one country not because we were condemned to live together but because we were chosen to live together. We are a Jewish and democratic country where 20 percent are Arab citizens and we must learn to live together . . . We live in a gallery of cultures as citizens of the same nation that requires all of us to listen to one another." On 31 August 2015 Netanyahu and Israeli-Arab political leaders agreed to a multiyear, multimillion dollar plan to strengthen the country's Arab community. Netanyahu said: "I am the prime minister of all citizens of Israel. The assistance plan that we decided on today is a significant rectification and an additional step designed to integrate the Arab citizens of Israel into Israeli society as equals among equals." *See also* BEDOUIN; DRUZE (DRUSE).

**ARAD, RON (1958–)**. Born on 5 May 1958 in Hod HaSharon, Arad is the missing Israeli airman believed to be held by **Iran** or by **Hezbollah** or other Iranian-backed Lebanese militant groups. On 16 October 1986, an Israel Air Force Phantom aircraft was downed by mechanical problems over Sidon in southern **Lebanon**. The pilot and the navigator bailed out and landed safely, and the pilot was rescued by an Israeli helicopter patrol. However, the navigator, Captain Ron Arad, was taken prisoner by a local cell of the Amal Shia organization. Direct responsibility for Arad's welfare was passed to Mustafa Dirani, the head of Amal's security service. At the beginning of 1988, Dirani split from Amal over ideological differences, forming a pro-Iranian group called the Faithful Resistance and taking Arad with him. Dirani's group was subsequently incorporated into the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, and there is speculation that Arad was transferred to Iranian forces in Lebanon or perhaps moved to Iran itself. Neither Iran nor Hezbollah ever formally acknowledged that they were holding Arad, but in July 1998, a senior Hezbollah official publicly pledged to search for information about him.

Arad's name was frequently mentioned in negotiations over prisoner exchanges involving Israel and Hezbollah and other Lebanese-based guerrilla factions, and indeed, over the years, Israeli forces captured top Hezbollah and Amal officials in part in the hope of acquiring reliable information about Arad's status or exchanging the officials for him. Arad (or reliable information about him) was not part of a 29 January 2004 exchange of prisoners involving Israel and Hezbollah; it was speculated that such information was being withheld by Hezbollah until Israel agreed to release additional terrorists. Arad's status—as well as the status of other soldiers missing in Lebanon—remains a very sensitive issue for many Israelis. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**ARAFAT, YASSER (ABU AMMAR) (1929–2004).** A founder and longtime leader of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. Born on 24 August 1929 in Cairo of **Palestinian** parents. While acquiring a degree in civil engineering in **Egypt**, he became involved in Palestinian politics as president of the General Union of Palestinian Students and as a member of a *fedayeen* guerrilla group. He also received training in sabotage at an Egyptian army college. From 1958 to 1962, he worked in Kuwait but then moved to Beirut and later Damascus, where he helped found the **Fatah** guerrilla movement. In 1968, he moved his base of operations to **Jordan**, near the village of Karameh. In February 1969, Fatah secured control of a majority of seats on the Palestinian National Council, and Arafat became chairman of the executive committee of the PLO.

In September 1970, Arafat helped organize a civil war in Jordan, the goal being to oust the regime of **King Hussein** and replace it with a PLO-dominated government. When this failed, the PLO moved to **Lebanon**, where it set up a state within a state in Beirut and much of southern Lebanon (“**Fatahland**”) and waged an international campaign of terror against Israel and against Israeli and Jewish targets worldwide. These attacks provoked major Israeli retaliatory operations against PLO bases in Lebanon (e.g., **Operation Litani** in 1978 and 1982's **Operation Peace for Galilee** [*see* WAR IN LEBANON (1982)]). The PLO's presence in Lebanon also disrupted the country's delicate balance of sectarian and political forces and directly contributed to the outbreak of civil war in 1975.

After being forced out of Lebanon in September 1982 at the end of Operation Peace for Galilee, Arafat moved his base of operations to Tunis, from where he continued to coordinate the PLO's campaign of **terrorism** against Israel. Arafat ran a parallel political and diplomatic offensive designed to solidify the PLO's status as the “sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people” in their struggle against Israel. In February 1985, he signed an accord with Jordan's King Hussein that established a framework for a joint

PLO–Jordanian approach for negotiations with Israel. At a November 1988 meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers, Arafat unilaterally declared independent Palestinian statehood and issued ambiguous statements implying the PLO's acceptance of **United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242** (1967) and **338** (1973) as the basis for negotiations with Israel; in subsequent days and weeks, Arafat, at prodding from the **United States**, provided greater clarification on these matters as well as on the PLO's renunciation of terror.

Arafat's international credibility was adversely affected by his decision to publicly embrace Saddam Hussein following **Iraq's** August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. However, the consummate political survivor, he weathered these political storms and reasserted personal control over the Palestinian movement and over Palestinian diplomacy. He approved the secret discussions with Israel in the spring and summer of 1993 that culminated in the **Oslo Accords**, and he achieved his long-standing goal of being recognized as an international statesman by representing the Palestinians at the signing of the Israel–PLO **Declaration of Principles** on 13 September 1993 and by being awarded the 1994 **Nobel Peace Prize** (along with Israel's **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Shimon Peres**). In January 1996, Arafat was elected the first president of the executive committee of the **Palestinian Legislative Council** and the **Palestinian Authority** (PA).

Since the signing of the Declaration of Principles and the election of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Arafat had to balance a number of competing political pressures. Central to these was the tension inherent in his commitment to help fight terror emanating from areas of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** being transferred to Palestinian control on the one hand and on the other, his desire to co-opt militant secular and religious elements of the Palestinian movement opposed to the Oslo process. The delicacy of this balancing act came to a head with the string of **suicide bombings** inside Israel committed by **Hamas** and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad** activists in February and March of 1996. In addition, Arafat was subjected to growing internal criticism for his dictatorial leadership methods; the opulent lifestyles of senior members of his cabinet amid the continuing economic squalor in the Palestinian autonomous areas in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the inefficiency, duplication of efforts, and corruption rampant in Fatah and the Palestinian governmental institutions; and the human rights abuses and other excesses committed by elements of the multilayered Palestinian security forces.

In July 2000, Arafat agreed to attend the **Camp David II** summit with U.S. president **William J. (Bill) Clinton** and Israeli prime minister **Ehud Barak**. Despite creative ideas for ending the diplomatic stalemate, the talks failed; contributing to this failure were Arafat's insistence on exclusive Palestinian control over the **Temple Mount** in **Jerusalem's** old city and his



demand for the **right of return** of Palestinian refugees to Israel. In late September 2000, widespread Palestinian violence and terrorism against Israel broke out. It quickly became apparent that the **Al-Aksa intifada** was a premeditated action by Arafat designed to squeeze additional concessions out of Israel. Arafat rejected Clinton's "bridging proposals" at the **Taba** talks of January–February 2001.

With the change of administration in the United States came a significant change in approach toward Arafat. Whereas during its two terms in office, the Clinton administration had sought to move Arafat toward a more accommodative position vis-à-vis Israel through inducements and almost daily contacts, the new administration of **George W. Bush** took a very different approach, one premised on isolating Arafat and minimalizing his influence over Palestinians and Palestinian affairs.

In an attempt to temper international criticism as well as growing internal dissent, in March 2003, Arafat appointed **Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)** to be prime minister of the PA. However, Abbas resigned on 6 September 2003, frustrated by Arafat's refusal to divest any real power to him. Arafat died on 14 November 2004 in a hospital outside Paris and was buried in Ramallah.

**ARAMAEANS.** Groups of ancient Semitic-language tribes whose language came to dominate the Middle East before the emergence of Arabic. The Aramaeans are thought to have migrated to the region from the Arabian Peninsula between the 15th and 13th centuries BCE, eventually settling much of the Levant and Fertile Crescent. Although eventually subsumed by larger, more powerful empires, minority communities of Aramaean descent remain in modern-day Middle Eastern states. On 16 September 2014, Israel's interior ministry recognized Aramaean as a separate national identity in the country's population registry, allowing some two hundred Christian families identifying as Aramaean (ethnically, culturally, linguistically) to now register as Aramaeans rather than as Arabs. *See also* RELIGION.

**ARAVA.** A part of the **Negev** Desert, it is a narrow and arid plain about 100 miles long and some 10 miles wide stretching north to south from the **Dead Sea** to **Eilat**. The frontier between Israel and **Jordan** runs through the Arava from north to south. Portions of the Arava were ceded to Jordan in the 1994 **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty** and then leased back to Jewish farmers.

**ARBELI-ALMOZLINO, SHOSHANA (1926–2015).** Former member of **Knesset**, deputy Knesset speaker, and **government** minister. Born on 26 January 1926 in Mosul, Iraq, she immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1947. A **Labor-Alignment** Knesset member from 1965 to 1992, she was a deputy Knesset speaker from 1977 to 1981. In September 1984 she

was appointed deputy minister of health and served as minister of health from 1986 to 1988. Arbeli-Almozlino died on 12 June 2015 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** at age 89.

**ARENS, MOSHE (1925– )**. Aeronautical engineer; member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, on 27 December 1925, in 1939, his family immigrated to the **United States**, and he served in the U.S. Army during World War II. He secured a B.Sc. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology but went to Israel at the outbreak of the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and served in the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) led by **Menachem Begin**. After the war, he settled in Mevo Betar but returned to the United States in 1951 and secured an M.A. in aeronautical engineering from the California Institute of Technology in 1953. He then worked for a number of years on jet engine development in the United States. In 1957, he took a position as an associate professor of aeronautical engineering at the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology**. He joined **Israel Aerospace Industries** in 1962 (when it was Israel Aircraft Industries), where he was vice president for engineering, while continuing his relationship with the Technion. He was awarded the Israel Defense Prize in 1971.

Arens was active in **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** politics from the outset. He was first elected to the Knesset in 1974, and after the **Likud (Union) Party** victory of 1977, he became chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He voted against the **Camp David Accords** but subsequently supported the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** as an established fact. He was appointed ambassador to Washington in February 1982 and there introduced **Benjamin Netanyahu** as an embassy staff member and into Likud politics. Arens became defense minister in 1983, succeeding **Ariel Sharon**. He was a well-regarded technocrat and gained substantial kudos for his activities as ambassador to Washington in the wake of the report of the **Kahan Commission of Inquiry**. His record as defense minister gained him similar positive reactions. He served as minister without portfolio in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984 until he resigned to protest the government's decision to halt production of the **Lavi** fighter aircraft. Arens served again as minister without portfolio from April to December 1988, when he became foreign minister in the Likud-led Government of National Unity. In June 1990, he became minister of defense in **Yitzhak Shamir's** Likud-led coalition government, a position he held throughout the **Persian Gulf War** (1991). He retired from party politics after the 1992 Knesset election.

On 11 January 1999, Arens left retirement to challenge Netanyahu for the leadership of the Likud Party but was soundly defeated by him in the party primary held on 26 January 1999. Arens was subsequently appointed interim defense minister, replacing the fired **Yitzhak Mordechai**, and he was elected

to the Fifteenth Knesset on the Likud list on 17 May 1999. Arens was not included on the Likud slate for the 2003 Knesset election. He is chairman of the International Board of Governors of the **Ariel University Center of Samaria**, and researches and writes extensively of the activities of the Jewish underground in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

**ARGENTINA.** From the outset, Israel's relations with Argentina have been characterized by mistrust. Argentina abstained from voting on the **United Nations Palestine Partition Plan** of November 1947 and accorded official recognition to Israel only in 1949. Early efforts to enhance bilateral relations were complicated by the capture in Buenos Aires of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann** by Israeli agents in 1960 and by long-standing allegations that after World War II, Argentina became a haven for other Nazi war criminals. A subtle positive change in the relationship began to occur in the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s, typified by Argentina's opposition to the United Nations' infamous "Zionism Is Racism" Resolution (*see* UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379) and by Israeli sales of military hardware to Argentina. In 1991, Carlos Menem became the first Argentine head of state to make an official visit to Israel. Menem sought to mediate **Syrian**-Israeli negotiations over the **Golan Heights** and offered his assistance in uncovering information about the status of Israeli soldiers missing in action in neighboring Arab countries.

In the early 1990s, bilateral relations with Argentina were severely compromised by two terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires: the 17 March 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy, which left 29 dead and some 230 others wounded; and the 18 July 1994 bombing of the **AMIA (ASOCIACION MUTUAL ISRAELITA ARGENTINA)** center that killed 86 and wounded 200. These attacks—and the apparent laxness of Argentine officials in identifying, arresting, and prosecuting the culprits—caused considerable anxiety on the part of Argentina's 300,000 Jews and tension in bilateral relations with Israel. In defending herself against accusations of conspiring with Teheran to shield eight senior **Iranian** officials from prosecution for the attack in exchange for Iranian oil, Argentina's president Christina Fernandez de Kirshner in 2015 publicly intimated that Israeli agents were involved in the bombings of the Israeli Embassy and the AMIA center. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; TERRORISM.

**ARGOV, SHLOMO (1929–2003).** Born on 14 December 1929 in **Jerusalem**, Argov was the descendant of a family that had lived in Jerusalem for seven generations. As a young man and a member of the **Palmah**, he was wounded in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** in the battle for **Safed**. He received a B.A. in political science from Georgetown University in

Washington, D.C. (1952), and an M.A. in international relations from the London School of Economics (1955). After several years in the **Prime Minister's** Office under **David Ben-Gurion**, he joined the foreign affairs ministry in 1959. His first postings were to the Israeli embassies in Ghana and Nigeria. He later served in New York and Washington, D.C., and as deputy director general for information before being appointed ambassador to Mexico (1971–1974) and the Netherlands (1977–1979). In September 1979, he assumed the post of ambassador to **Great Britain**.

On 3 June 1982, Ambassador Argov was shot and critically wounded by **Palestinian** terrorists from the Abu Nidal group outside London's Dorchester Hotel. The assassination attempt was a primary cause of the 1982 **War in Lebanon (Operation Peace for Galilee)**. Argov was hospitalized in Jerusalem for 21 years and remained permanently incapacitated until his death on 23 February 2003.

**ARIDOR, YORAM (1933–)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 24 October 1933 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, Aridor received a B.A. in economics and political science and an M.Jur. from the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. He was first elected to the Knesset from the **Herut (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** faction of **Gahal** in October 1969 and re-elected to subsequent Knessets as a member of the **Likud (Union) Party** bloc. He served as the chairman of the Herut faction in the **Histadrut** from 1972 to 1977, was a member of the Herut central committee since 1961, and served as chairman of the Herut secretariat since October 1979. From July 1977 to January 1981, he served as deputy minister in the **Prime Minister's** Office. For varying lengths of time during this period, he was also responsible for the activities of the ministries of justice, labor and social welfare, transport, communications and **Industry**, and commerce and **tourism**. In January 1981, he was appointed minister of communications. Aridor later became minister of finance in the government of **Menachem Begin** and also served as the original finance minister in the new government of **Yitzhak Shamir** (1983). He resigned on 13 October 1983 amid substantial furor over his proposal that Israel link its economy directly to the **United States'** dollar. After his resignation, Prime Minister Shamir sought to calm public concerns and distanced himself from Aridor and his proposals. Aridor subsequently served as Israel's ambassador to the **United Nations**. In 2002, he was named to the board of directors of Bezeq, Israel's largest telecommunications company. He also chaired a commission that examined state assistance to public institutions.

**ARIEL.** In 1978, 40 families led by Ron Nachman and with the approval of the Israeli government took up residence on a barren hilltop in the **West Bank**. The outpost was granted development-town status. The residents chose the name Ariel, a biblical reference to **Jerusalem** and the **Temple Mount** (Isaiah 29:1). Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** visited the city in July 2005, at which time he stated: “I reiterate and clarify that this bloc [of **settlements**] is one of the most important and will be part of the State of Israel forever. There is no other thought or objective. . . . This bloc will always be an inseparable part of the State of Israel and be territorially contiguous with the State of Israel like the other blocs.” Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** added Ariel as one of the settlement blocs to be included as part of his proposed “convergence” for the West Bank. It is currently described as the fourth-largest settlement in the West Bank, after Modi’in Illit, Beitar Illit, and **Ma’aleh Adumim**. The regional capital of **Samaria**, Ariel is one of only four settlements classified by Israel as a “city.” Its population is about 18,000; it is also a temporary home to some 15,000 students who attend the **Ariel University Center of Samaria**.

**ARIEL UNIVERSITY CENTER OF SAMARIA.** A public university located in the **West Bank** settlement of **Ariel** with a student body (in 2012) of approximately 15,000, including some 600 Israeli-Arab students. Founded in 1982 as a regional branch of **Bar-Ilan University** and originally located in the **settlement** of Kedumim, it was later moved to **Ariel** where a permanent campus was built. In the 2004–2005 academic year, its affiliation with Bar Ilan University ended and the center became an independent public college, one of Israel’s largest. In August 2007, prior to achieving official university status, the college was renamed Ariel University Center of Samaria. Although Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** endorsed the name change, both his minister of education and the Council for Higher Education rejected it, with the latter announcing that it would not recognize degrees awarded by the college. The name change was formally recognized in 2010, although the college remained without university accreditation. On 17 July 2012, the Council for Higher Education granted the institution full university status, despite the opposition of the Council of Presidents of Israeli Universities. Ariel University Center of Samaria cooperates and is affiliated with post-secondary educational institutions around the world. The university and its staff have been the target of boycotts, both in Israel and abroad, due to its location beyond the **Green Line**, in the **Occupied Territories**. *See also* EDUCATION.

**ARIELI, SHAUL (1959–)**. Soldier, **government** adviser, peace advocate. Career officer in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, serving in various senior positions. Military adviser in peace negotiations with the **Palestinians** for Prime Ministers **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Ehud Barak**. Prominent participant in the private **Geneva Initiative**, the Council for Peace and Security, and other groups advocating a **two-state solution** to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *See also* OSLO ACCORDS; PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).

**ARMED FORCES.** *See* ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HA-GANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS (1949).** In the spring of 1949, Israel and each of the neighboring states signed four separate armistice agreements terminating the hostilities of Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. **Iraq**, although a participant in the conflict, refused to do so. The agreements were to end the hostilities and pave the way for negotiations for peace. The latter did not occur. The armistice negotiations were held under the auspices of **United Nations** Acting Mediator for **Palestine** Ralph Bunche. **Egypt** signed an armistice agreement with Israel on 24 February 1949, **Lebanon** on 23 March 1949, **Jordan** on 3 April 1949, and **Syria** on 20 July 1949. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ARROW MISSILE.** An anti-ballistic missile defense system developed jointly by Israel and the **United States** beginning in the mid-1980s. Designed to intercept and destroy long-range ballistic missiles, the Arrow 2 and Arrow 3 are core components of Israel's multilayered strategic missile defense system against the threat of new generations of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) being developed by **Iran** and other regional adversaries. Other elements of the missile defense system include **Iron Dome**, **Iron Beam**, and **Magic Wand** (also known as David's Sling).

Israel's development of the Arrow program was launched in 1986 in response to the acquisition by Arab states of surface-to-surface missiles in the early 1980s. Initially intended to intercept short-to-medium-range ballistic missiles, the Arrow's design was modified to deal with longer-range threats after Iraqi **Scud missile** attacks during the **Persian Gulf War (1991)** drew attention to gaps in Israel's missile defense capabilities.

In August 1998, Israel approved the accelerated development of the Arrow against the background of Iran's testing of a new ballistic missile system. The Arrow's three components—missile, radar system, and fire control system—were successfully tested together for the first time on 14 September 1998. The first operational Arrow missile was transferred from its principal contractor, **Israel Aircraft (later Aerospace) Industries (IAI)**, to the Is-

rael's defense ministry on 29 November 1998. The first Arrow 2 operational battery was deployed in March 2000. A modified Arrow 2 became operational in 2012. Upgrading and testing of the Arrow 2 and Arrow 3 continues.

The Arrow system was developed and produced domestically by Israeli engineers and Israeli companies. But early in the 21st century its principal contractor, Israel Aerospace Industries, and the American aerospace contractor Boeing signed a series of agreements to have significant components of the system produced at Boeing's Huntsville, Alabama, facility.

The Arrow 3 passed a full interception test on 10 December 2015, hitting a target in space meant to simulate the trajectory of the long-range weapons held by Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah, according to Israel's defense ministry. This successful test was described as an important step toward the deployment of the Arrow 3 as the top tier of Israel's integrated missile defense system. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**ART, LITERATURE, AND CULTURE IN ISRAEL.** All elements of art, literature, and culture in Israel are a product of the tremendously diverse cultural origins, languages and traditions of the country's population. Israel is a Jewish state; nevertheless, countless other faiths and religions make up and contribute to the country's complex reality. Israel's Muslim and Christian Arabs, Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics, **Druze** and **Bedouin** are guaranteed—in law and in practice—freedom of religion and conscience and considerable autonomy in expressing their unique cultures and traditions, just as are diverse segments of Jewish Israeli society.

Many artists and writers have found inspiration in Israel's struggle to militarily sustain itself and to achieve international legitimacy. Many others have been inspired by Israel's efforts to surmount its internal challenges, including the "ethnic" tension between **Ashkenazim** and Sephardim (see ORIENTAL JEWS), the wealth gap between elites and poor, the struggle between religious and secularist trends in Israeli society, and the efforts of **Israel's Arab** minority to integrate yet maintain its unique identity (*see* ARABS IN ISRAEL).

The origins of visual art in the **Yishuv** is dated to the establishment of the **Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design** in **Jerusalem** in 1906. Many of the works generated in Bezalel's early years were based on traditional Jewish and biblical themes. Over time, however, a new group of artists, that identified themselves as "Hebrew" rather than "Jewish," adopted motifs that focused on the **Zionist** concept of the "New Jew" (as distinct from the powerless Jew of the *shtetl* [a small, impoverished village of Russia and Eastern Europe]), and emphasized the physical landscape of the future Jewish Homeland in **Palestine**. It was this second school that influenced future generations of artists and sculptors in Israel.

Israel art is displayed in museums and galleries as well as public institutions (e.g., the **Knesset**, hospitals, and universities) throughout the country. It is said that there are more museums per capita in Israel than in any other country in the world. The Israel Museum, Israel's national museum, was founded in 1965 and is situated in Jerusalem near the Knesset, the **Supreme Court** of Israel and the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. It is ranked among the world's leading art and archeological museums; among its many institutions is the Shrine of the Book (in which are maintained the legendary Dead Sea Scrolls). A short list of other prominent Israel museums includes

- The **Tel Aviv** Museum of Art, a municipal museum envisioned and founded in 1932 by the first mayor of **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, Meir Dizengoff, and today one of Israel's leading artistic and cultural institutions.
- Beit Hatfutsot—Museum of the Jewish People (**Diaspora** Museum), founded in 1978 and located on the campus of **Tel Aviv University**. In 2005 the Knesset passed the Beit Hatfutsot Law defining the Diaspora Museum as “the National Center for Jewish communities in Israel and around the world.”
- Beit Lohamei Haghetatot—The Ghetto Fighters' House Museum, founded in 1949, is not only the first **Holocaust** museum in the world but also the first of its kind to be established by Holocaust survivors and emphasizing the “bravery, spiritual triumph and the incredible ability” of survivors of the **Shoah** to rebuild their lives in the thriving **kibbutz** community in Israel in which the museum is located.

Prominent museums or galleries in Israel exhibiting the art and antiquities of the country's other faith communities include

- Jerusalem's L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum of Islamic Art
- Franciscan Museum/Studium Biblicum Franciscum, located on the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem's Old City and focusing on Christian antiquities of the Roman Era
- Edward and Helen Mardigian Museum of Armenian Art and History, located in the Old City's Armenian Quarter
- Amir Ganem Druze Museum, located in the Upper Galilee village of Hurfeish
- Joe Alon Museum of Bedouin Culture, located near **Beersheva** in the **Negev** Desert

Of all art forms in Israel, music has perhaps benefited the most from the country's cultural diversity. Over time there occurred a fusion of the liturgically inspired Jewish folk music of the early waves of immigrants (see ALIYA) from Eastern and Central Europe with the Arabic-influenced unique



rhythms and melodies of the post-1948 immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa, and, finally, with the musical traditions of the later waves of immigration from the former **Soviet Union** and **Ethiopia**. The **Israel Philharmonic Orchestra** (based in Tel Aviv) has been Israel's national orchestra since its establishment as the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra in 1936. Other world-class orchestras can be found in Jerusalem, **Haifa**, **Beersheva**, and elsewhere in the country. Many popular entertainers have found their start as members of **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) entertainment units. A short list of Israeli popular musicians and singers includes **Yosef "Yossi" Banai**, **Arieh Lieb "Arik" Einstein**, David "Dudu" Fisher, **Naomi Shemer**, Aviv Geffen, Chava Albertstein, and David Broza. Israeli performers have won the prestigious Eurovision Song Contest on three occasions: 1978, 1979, 1998.

Israel has a long tradition of producing brilliant classical musicians, conductors, composers, and teachers, many of whom have achieved global acclaim. A short list would include conductors Pinchas Zuckerman and Daniel Barenboim; violinists Itzhak Perlman, Ilona Feher, and Miriam Fried; cellists Inbal Segev and Doron Toister; bassoonist and teacher Mordechai Rechtman; clarinetists Chen Halevi and Sharon Kam; pianists Bracha Eden, Alexander Tamir, Arnon Erez, and Daniel Gortler; and composers Verdina Shlonsky, Marc Lavry, and Nurit Hirsh. India-born **Zubin Mehta** has been affiliated with the **Israel Philharmonic Orchestra** since 1969 and its music director for life since 1981.

The origins of Hebrew literature in Israel is dated to **Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's** work to transform biblical Hebrew into the lingua franca of the modern Jewish nation-state. The foundations of modern Hebrew literature in pre-state **Palestine** were largely laid by members of the **Second Aliya** (1904–1914). After World War I and the Russian Revolution, the center of Hebrew literature shifted from Eastern Europe to Palestine. Influential Hebrew-language literary periodicals and journals such as *Ha'Adamah* and *Ma'abarot* emerged in **Mandate Palestine** in the 1920s and 1930s. Several pioneers of Hebrew literature immigrated to Palestine in this period, and people such as **Haim Nahman Bialik**, **Ahad Haam**, and **Shaul Tschernichowsky** inspired younger Hebrew writers. The work of **S. Y. Agnon** and others of the first generation of Palestine-based Hebrew writers, while of excellent quality, tended to focus on life in the European *shtetl*. However, for the next generation of writers—for writers such as **Abraham David Shlonsky** and Uri Zvi Greenberg—the framework was decidedly Zionist, including the challenges of **Aliya** and life in the **kibbutz**, and the building of the Jewish homeland in Palestine as an antidote to the rootlessness of the Diaspora. A third generation of Hebrew writers emerged shortly after Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. Its defining characteristic was that for many of its key figures, including **Yehuda Amichai**, **Moshe Shamir**, **Aharon Megged**, and **S. Yizhar (Yizhar Smilansky)**, Hebrew was their native lan-

guage, being either *sabras* or having arrived in Palestine/Israel at a young age. The “1960s” generation of Hebrew writers, including **A. B. Yehoshua**, **Amos Oz**, **Amos Elon**, Aharon Appelfeld, and Yoram Kaniuk, initiated a revolution of sorts in Israeli literature by forcing a sharper focus on the country, including social and economic issues like the **Second Israel** as well as on Israel’s relationship with the outside world. It was also this generation among Hebrew writers in Israel (and against the backdrop of the historic arrest, trial and execution of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann**) that first confronted the impact of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** on the Israeli national psyche. The generations of writers of Hebrew literature in Israel born after the **Six-Day War (1967)** have explored many fields; many have examined fundamental questions of Israeli identity in the context of growing collective tensions over Israel’s religious, social, and economic future direction as well as over Israel’s relationship with the Palestinians and the broader Arab and Muslim world. A short list of contemporary writers of Hebrew literature in Israel includes David Grossman, **Etgar Keret**, Orly Castel Bloom, Gail Hareven, and Eshkol Nevo (the grandson of Israel’s third **prime minister, Levi Eshkol**). A distinctive body of Hebrew literature penned by Israeli-Arab authors such as Sayed Kashua and Anton Shamas has emerged in recent years. Shamas is known mainly for his writing in Hebrew and his Hebrew translations of classic Arabic literature, including the novels of former Israeli-Arab Knesset member **Emile Habibi**. Shamas’s novel *Arabesques* (1986), lauded by the *New York Times Book Review*, has been translated into eight languages, but it has never appeared in Arabic.

Films have been made in Mandate Palestine. In the years immediately after statehood was proclaimed, films made in Israel were Zionist, highlighting Israel’s military successes, the absorption of waves of immigration, the kibbutz, and “making the desert bloom.” Film also had an important educational function in facilitating immigrants’ learning of the **Hebrew language** and adaptation to Israeli social and cultural norms. The cinema industry in Israel has grown significantly in the ensuing decades, both in terms of subject matter and international reputation. The Israel Academy of Film and Television was established as a nonprofit equivalent of the U.S.–based Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Each year, the academy presents the Ophir Award (Israeli Oscars) to recognize excellence of professional achievement in the Israel film industry. Separate awards are also now given in the field of television production. The first Israel Academy Award ceremony was held in 1982. Since 1991, the Ophir Award winner for Best Film is automatically designated the Israeli submission for the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film. Israel has submitted Israeli-made films for this category since 1964, and 10 have been nominated for the Best Foreign Language Oscar, although no Israeli-made film has ever won the award. Many of the best creators, writers, producers, and directors of Israeli films are being

trained at Israeli universities and colleges or at Israel-based institutions such as the Sam Spiegel Film and Television School (formerly the Jerusalem Film and Television School) and the Ma'aleh School of Television, Film and the Arts, both based in Jerusalem. Major annual international film festivals in Jerusalem and Haifa have become popular venues for the world's best actors and filmmakers as well as important platforms for presenting Israeli-made films. There is also a growing number of Israeli and Israeli-born actors that have found popularity in Israel and internationally. A short list of such actors includes Gila Almagor, Chaim Topol, Natalie Portman, Alona Tal, and Ayelet Zurer. Israeli writer/producer Gideon Raff created the Israeli television series *Hatufim (Prisoners of War)*, which became the basis for the Emmy Award-winning U.S. drama *Homeland*. In December 2013 it was revealed that Israeli actress Gal Gadot would be filmdom's new *Wonder Woman*. See also MEDIA IN ISRAEL; THEATER.

**ARUTZ SHEVA-ISRAEL NATIONAL NEWS (LITERALLY "CHANNEL SEVEN")**. Israeli media network identifying with religious Zionism. Promotes right-wing positions and serves as the "voice" of the Jewish settlement movement. Originated in 1988 as an offshore, pirate response to *Voice of Peace* and to provide a vehicle for political expression for Israelis opposed to shifting Israeli popular and governmental attitudes toward relations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, *Arutz Sheva* describes itself as "the only independent" news source in Israel and a counterbalance to "negative thinking" and "post-Zionist" attitudes." Its Internet news website has been operating since 1995 and today offers three versions: Hebrew (with 42,235 average viewers), English (12,908), and Russian (229,598). Broadcasts of its English-language Internet radio station are simulcast on radio stations in the United States, Canada, and South Africa. Its *B'Sheva* newspaper currently has the third-largest weekend circulation among Israeli Hebrew-language newspapers, with 7 percent of the market. *Arutz Sheva* is accessible at [www.israelnationalnews.com/](http://www.israelnationalnews.com/).

**ASEFAT HANIVCHARIM**. See ASSEMBLY OF THE ELECTED (ASEFAT HANIVCHARIM).

**ASHDOD**. A modern city founded in 1955 and that takes its name from an ancient Philistine town that was located nearby on the southern portion of the coastal plain. Its important deep water port on the Mediterranean Sea was opened in 1966. Ashdod had an estimated population of 240,400 at the beginning of 2013, the fifth-largest city in Israel.

**ASHKELON.** A modern city in the western **Negev** Desert, some 10 kilometers north of the **Gaza Strip**. Near to the modern city are the remains of the ancient seaport of Ashkelon, which was one of the oldest and largest seaports in biblical Canaan. Archaeological excavations have discovered evidence of settlement in the area since the Bronze Age. The Israeli national plan of June 1949 designated the former Arab village of Majdal as the site for a regional urban center of 20,000. By 1961, Ashkelon ranked eighteenth among Israeli urban centers with a population of 24,000. Currently, it is Israel's thirteenth-largest city with an estimated population of 120,000. It is a northern terminus for the trans-Israel pipeline, which brings petroleum products from **Eilat** to an oil terminal at the port. In 2005, the world's then-largest water desalination plant opened at Ashkelon with a capacity of 330,000 cubic meters of water per day. These Israeli strategic assets have been targeted by **Qassam missiles** launched from the Gaza Strip since Israel's 2005 **unilateral disengagement**.

**ASHKENAZI, GABRIEL "GABI" (1954– ).** Nineteenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF; 2007–2011). Born on 25 February 1954 in **Moshav Khagour**, Ashkenazi joined the IDF's elite **Golani Brigade** in 1972 and headed it between 1986 and 1988. Ashkenazi served as deputy chief of the general staff from 2003 to 2005 but left the IDF when he was not chosen as chief of staff in 2005. He was named director general of the ministry of defense in July 2006. Israel's **cabinet** approved his appointment as 19th chief of staff of the IDF on 14 February 2007. Ashkenazi succeeded **Dan Halutz**, who resigned amid the controversy surrounding the IDF's conduct of the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. In December 2008 and January 2009 Ashkenazi commanded **Operation Cast Lead**—see **WAR IN GAZA (2008–2009)**—during which the IDF fought against **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and other Palestinian forces in the **Gaza Strip**. While he shared Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s growing concern about the threat it posed, Ashkenazi did not favor an Israeli preemptive strike to cripple **Iran**'s nuclear weapons program, believing the regional and international consequences would be harmful to Israel's interests. He remained chief of staff until 2011 when he was succeeded by **Benjamin ("Benny") Gantz**. On 14 February 2011 Ashkenazi retired from the army and initiated a successful career in the private sector.

**ASHKENAZI JEWS (PL. ASHKENAZIM).** Jews of eastern and central European extraction, Ashkenazi Jews were the main components of the first waves of **Zionist** immigration (see **ALIYA**) to **Palestine**, where they encountered a small Jewish community that was primarily Sephardi (see **ORIENTAL JEWS**). The Ashkenazi Jews had fled from the Jewish ghettos

of primarily Eastern Europe (including Russia) and sought to build a new society, primarily secular and socialist in nature. They formed the bulk of the political and military elites during the **Yishuv** and in the formative years of the state.

**ASSEMBLY OF THE ELECTED (ASEFAT HANIVCHARIM).** During the **British Mandate** period, the Jewish community in **Palestine (Yishuv)** established and developed institutions for self-government and procedures for implementing political decisions, thereby laying the foundations for the future state of Israel. All significant Jewish groups belonged to the organized Jewish community (with the exception of the ultra-Orthodox **Agudat Israel**, then anti-**Zionist**, which refused to participate) and by secret ballot chose the Assembly of the Elected as its representative body. It was first elected in 1920. It met at least once a year, and between sessions its powers were exercised by the National Council (Vaad Leumi), which it elected. The assembly was formally abolished in February 1949, and its functions and authority were transferred to the **Knesset**.

**ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL.** *See* AGUDAT ISRAEL (ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL).

**ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION.** *See* ISRAEL ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION.

**ATOMIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.** During his tenure as **prime minister**, **David Ben-Gurion** suggested that Israel's scientists begin to develop atomic energy as a source of power for a country essentially devoid of natural resources and as a component of broader scientific research. In 1956, it was decided that a research reactor would be established at Nahal Sorek, south of Tel Aviv. When the reactor went critical on 16 June 1960, it became a major facility for research and teaching. A second experimental reactor near **Dimona** became operational in 1964. Israeli scientists established an international reputation for their work on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, but there has been more focus on whether Israel has developed a nuclear weapon for potential use by its defense forces.

It is generally believed that Israel possesses the scientific and technological know-how, the necessary components and nuclear material, and the capability to develop and deliver a nuclear weapon, but Israel has never confirmed (or specifically denied) the existence of this weapon. Preferring a policy of "constructive ambiguity," successive Israeli governments have echoed the 24 December 1965 sentiments of Labor Minister **Yigal Allon**: "Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle

East, but it will not be the second either.” On 18 May 1966, Prime Minister **Levi Eshkol** told the **Knesset**: “Israel has no atomic arms and will not be the first to introduce them into our region.” In May 1969, Prime Minister **Golda Meir** reiterated, “Israel has no nuclear bomb. Israel has no intention of using nuclear bombs.” In 1974, President **Ephraim Katzir** stated that Israel “has the potential” to build nuclear weapons and could do so “within a reasonable period of time,” but on 7 September 1975, Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** again said that Israel was “a nonnuclear country” and “it will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the area.” On 29 September 1980, Foreign Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** stated in the **United Nations** General Assembly that “Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Arab-Israel dispute.” When **India** and **Pakistan** conducted nuclear tests in 1998, the reaction in Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**’s office was to reiterate the standard Israeli response to any inquiry about its nuclear program—“We will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East”—and to direct attention to **Iran**’s suspected clandestine nuclear weapons program.

In its declared policy, Israel has not categorically renounced nuclear weapons but neither has it chosen to make a demonstration of its nuclear explosive capability, nor has it developed a demonstrable nuclear armament force.

There is the sense that the “nuclear ambiguity” introduced by the construction of the **Dimona** nuclear reactor in the **Negev** in the 1950s and 1960s has served Israel well in “creating fear without creating anger,” as the policy has been defined, and is in no need of change. In a 26 September 1969 White House meeting, Prime Minister Golda Meir and U.S. president Richard M. Nixon agreed Israel would not test atomic weapons, disclose possession of them or threaten any country with them, and, in turn, the United States would tolerate but not acknowledge Israel’s nuclear weapons program. Israel’s possession of nuclear weapons has been widely suspected for decades, but by refusing to acknowledge them, Israel has spared the United States the need to impose sanctions under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). **Shimon Peres**, who as a young official was instrumental in building the Dimona reactor, explained in an interview, “We managed to create sufficient suspicion for there to be deterrence without having gotten to a status of clarity which would behoove sanctions against us.”

In September 2015, Israel’s military censors for the first time permitted convicted nuclear spy **Mordechai Vanunu** to give a lengthy, primetime interview on Israeli television in which he reiterated the disclosure of the activities at the Dimona nuclear reactor that led to his arrest, conviction, and imprisonment for espionage and treason. Whether or not this change in censorship policy reflected a shift in Israel’s broader approach to nuclear questions remains to be seen.

In September 1996, Israel joined the overwhelming majority of the United Nations General Assembly in signing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), but the **government** and **Knesset** have yet to formally ratify the treaty. According to a senior Israeli diplomat, “The CBTB is a treaty that Israel intends to ratify. It will do [so] when the time is ripe, when certain conditions are met.” Those conditions are said to include **Iran**’s recognition of Israel. As the same Israeli diplomat commented on 24 June 2015, “How can any country be expected to join an arms control arrangement with a country that doesn’t even recognize its right to exist?”

**ATTORNEY GENERAL.** The attorney general is the chief legal officer of the state and the formal legal adviser to the government. He is appointed by the government based on the nomination of the minister of justice and performs the functions of legal adviser to the government, legal draftsman of all bills proposed by the government to the **Knesset**, and representative of the state before all courts. He is administratively but not professionally subordinated to the minister of justice (who is a politician representing his party in the government). The office of the attorney general was created in order to ensure that the government receives independent nonpolitical advice and representation. Refer to appendix B.

**ATZMAUT (INDEPENDENCE).** Name taken by the **Knesset** faction formed with the 17 January 2011 departure from the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)** of party leader **Ehud Barak** and four other Labor members of the Knesset. The precipitating factor was the turmoil in Labor over the party’s presence in **Benjamin Netanyahu**’s **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition **government** and defense minister Ehud Barak’s support for the government’s hawkish approach toward relations with the Palestinians. While all remaining Labor ministers resigned, Barak and Atzmaut members remained part of the coalition, with Barak retaining the powerful defense portfolio. On 26 November 2012, Barak announced his intention to retire from politics. Nine days later it was announced that Atzmaut would not contest the 2013 Knesset election, with most of its members drifting to other **political parties** or withdrawing from electoral politics.

**AUERBACH, RABBI SHMUEL (1931–).** Prominent ultra-Orthodox (**Haredi**) rabbi. Born in **Jerusalem** during the **British Mandate for Palestine**, he is widely regarded as a leading non-Hasidic Lithuanian authority on questions of **Halacha**. He is a member of the **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah)**, the supreme authority in all matters affecting the **Ashkenazi-dominated United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** party. *See also* RELIGION.

**AUMANN, ROBERT J. (YISRAEL) (1930–)**. **Nobel Prize** co-recipient. Aumann was born in Frankfurt, **Germany**, but fled to the **United States** in 1938 with his parents. He received a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1955 and immigrated (see ALIYA) to Israel in 1956. He holds U.S. and Israeli citizenship. Aumann became a faculty member at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and received the **Israel Prize** in economics in 1994. In 2005, Aumann and American Thomas C. Schelling shared the Nobel Prize in economics for their work on game theories that help to explain conflicts.

**AYASH, YAHYA (1966–1996)**. Known as “the Engineer,” he introduced **suicide bombing** into the anti-Israeli **terrorism** tactics of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and manufactured suicide bomb belts. He was killed on 5 January 1996 in a **Shin Bet (Shabak)** operation in which he used a cell phone packed with explosives that was remotely detonated. *See also* TARGETED ASSASSINATIONS.



# B

**BADER-OFER PROCESS.** The popular name given to a 1973 amendment to the **Basic Law: Knesset Elections**, providing a complicated formula for distributing “surplus votes” that frequently occur as a result of Israel’s proportional representation electoral system. Based on the “d’Hondt” system widely used in Western Europe, the Bader-Ofer process (named for the **Likud** and **Labor-Alignment** politicians who jointly sponsored the amendment) is the method used for allocating the share of the popular vote that went to parties that failed to achieve the minimum percentage required to win seats in the **Knesset** (the threshold was raised from 1 percent to 1.5 percent with the 1992 election; it presently stands at 3.25 percent of the popular vote). A form of this system was applied in the 1949 Knesset election and in all elections since 1973. Between 1961 and 1969, the party with the largest “remainder” of votes won the vacant seat or seats. Approval of the Bader-Ofer amendment was forced through the Knesset by the Labor-Alignment and Likud over the objections of most smaller political parties, which charged that the formula favored the large parties and as such worked against the principle of equal representation. *See also* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL; GOVERNANCE ACT.

**BAHAI.** A religion founded in Persia in 1862 by Mirza Hussein Ali “Baha’ullah (Glory of God),” who was exiled from Persia in 1853 and subsequently imprisoned by the Ottoman government in Akko (**Acre**). After his death in Acre in 1892, the leadership of the movement passed to his son, Abdul-Baha. It grew out of Babism, one of the sectarian deviations of Shia Islam. Bahai’s main holy places are in **Haifa** (Tomb of the Bab) and in Bahji, near Acre (site of the Tomb of Baha’ullah). The principles of Bahaism stress the “unity of all religions, world peace, and universal **education**.” It claims to be an all-embracing world religion. On 8 June 1999, the world’s first academic chair in Bahai studies was dedicated at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**.

**BAKER, JAMES III (1930–)**. **United States** Secretary of State under President **George H. W. Bush** (January 1989–August 1992) who played a central role in encouraging Israel not to respond to **Iraqi Scud missile** attacks during the **Persian Gulf War** (1991) and in facilitating the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** (October 1991). He wrote about his Arab-Israeli peacemaking experiences in *The Politics of Diplomacy* (1995). *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**BALAD.** *See* NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (BALAD).

**BALFOUR DECLARATION.** The Balfour Declaration was issued by the government of **Great Britain** on 2 November 1917. Substantial effort by the **Zionist** organization, with a special role played by **Chaim Weizmann**, preceded the government's decision, made after lengthy discussion and some divisiveness. The declaration took the form of a letter from Arthur James Balfour, the foreign secretary, to Lord Rothschild, a prominent British Zionist leader. It stated as follows: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in **Palestine** of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The declaration was vague and sought to assuage the fears of prominent Jews in Great Britain as well as those of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. Nevertheless, it engendered much controversy then and since. Among the problems was its apparent conflict with arrangements made during World War I by the British with the **French** and the **Arabs** concerning the future of the Middle East after the termination of hostilities. Foremost among those was the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, which the Arabs saw as a promise that an independent Arab kingdom would include all of Palestine, although the British later argued that they had excluded the territory west of the **Jordan River** from that pledge. The Balfour Declaration provided a basis for Zionist claims to Palestine. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.

**BANAI, YOSEF (YOSSI) (1932–2006).** An Israeli cultural icon, he was a multidisciplinary artist in stage managing, playwriting, satire, cinema, and singing. Born on 13 April 1932 in **Jerusalem**, he joined the **Habimah Theater** in the mid-1950s, where he worked most of his career. He quickly achieved fame as a talented writer of satire, comedian, and musician. He also wrote books, including *I Sing to Pass Away the Time, When My Mother Was Queen*, and *Letters in the Wind*, as well as two books for children. He re-

ceived the Israel artists union's Lifetime Achievement Prize in 1993 and the **Israel Prize** for theater in 1998. Banai died of cancer on 11 May 2006. *See also* THEATER.

**BANK OF ISRAEL.** The question of creating a central bank was discussed in the early days of Israel's statehood, but the matter was temporarily shelved due to the more immediate challenge of fighting for Israel's survival in its **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. The immediate focus was on the matter of issuing a currency for the new state. This was addressed in the Bank Notes Ordinance, 5708-1948, which came into effect on 17 August 1948. The ordinance defined the authority to issue banknotes in a charter between the provisional **Council of State** and the Anglo-Palestine Bank (a private corporation founded by the **Zionist** Movement in 1903 and later known as Bank Leumi Le-Israel B.M.). The other functions normally associated with a central bank, such as regulating and directing monetary policy and banking supervision, were temporarily housed with Israel's nascent ministry of finance.

The Bank of Israel Law 5714-1954 was adopted by the **Knesset** on 24 August 1954 and took effect on 1 December 1954. On that same day, the Bank of Israel (BOI) was officially established. The functions of the Bank were defined in section 3 of the law as follows: "to administer, regulate and direct the currency system, and to regulate and direct the credit and banking system in Israel, in accordance with the economic policy of the government and the provisions of the Law, with a view to promoting by monetary measures (1) the stabilization of the value of the currency in Israel and outside Israel; (2) a high level of production, employment, national income and capital investments in Israel." Under the provisions of the Bank of Israel Law and subsequent implementing legislation, the Bank has a range of responsibilities. These include regulating and directing monetary policy, offering economic advice to the government, managing Israel's foreign exchange reserve, supervising banking, promoting financial stability, and issuing currency. The Bank of Israel operates independently of the government.

The governor of the bank is appointed by Israel's **president** on the recommendation of the **government**. The first governor of the Bank of Israel was **David Horowitz**, who served from 1954 to 1971. Other governors of the bank have included Moshe Sandbar (1971–1976), Arnon Gafny (1976–1981), Moshe Mandelbaum (1982–1986), Michael Bruno (1986–1991), Ya'akov Frenkel (1991–2000), David Klein (2000–2005), and **Stanley Fischer** (2005–2013). Since November 2013 **Karnit Flug** has been governor of the Bank of Israel.

**BANKING IN ISRAEL.** The Anglo-Palestine Bank was established by the **World Zionist Organization** in 1903, as the first modern bank in **Palestine**, to support Jewish land purchases and the expansion of the **Zionist** enterprise in the **Yishuv**. The Anglo-Palestine Bank was a private corporation which later was renamed Bank Leumi Le-Israel B.M. (or Bank Leumi). After Israel's independence, several other banks were established and, collectively, Israel's banking sector played an important role in the stabilization of the country's **economy** and its evolution from a small, **agricultural** economy into (by the 21st century) a regional economic powerhouse.

The **Bank of Israel** supervises and regulates Israeli banks based on legislative authority prescribed in the Bank of Israel Law 5714-1954. Direct responsibility for monitoring Israeli banks rests with the supervisor of banks, whose authority is defined in specific laws and ordinances.

Banking in Israel was radically restructured in 1983 when a stock crisis led to the nationalization of a number of Israel's largest banks. A government commission determined that the crisis was caused by bank-stock manipulation by senior managers of Israel's major banks. Such activity occurred throughout much of the 1970s, and with the knowledge of government regulatory authorities. The "good times" came to a halt in early October 1983 when growing numbers of Israelis sold their bank stocks at an unprecedented rate. Finance Minister **Yoram Aridor** reluctantly intervened with a plan centered on the Israeli government's nationalization of five of the country's largest banks, at a cost to the Israeli taxpayer of \$6.9 billion. Over the subsequent decades, successive Israeli governments gradually sold off the government's holdings in the banks, relinquishing its last remaining shares in May 2014.

Historically, Israel's banking sector has been characterized by a tight concentration of power. The supervisor of banks reported that in 2013, five banking groups controlled 94 percent of the Israeli banking market. The two largest groups, Bank Leumi and Bank Hapoalim, controlled a clear majority (58 percent) of the market.

Israel's banking sector remained noticeably stable during the global economic fluctuations of the early 21st century due to the close supervision of the Bank of Israel as well as the lessons derived from the bank-stock crisis of 1983.

**BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY.** An independent coeducational university (with a current student body of approximately 24,000) founded in 1955 and located in **Ramat Gan**. The university, named for Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan, was established under the auspices of the Religious **Zionists** of America movement. The university's declared purpose is to train students in both Jewish and secular studies and to revitalize and rebuild Jewish identity. *See also* EDUCATION; RELIGION.

**BAR KOCHBA WAR.** In 63 BC, the Roman leader Pompey conquered **Judea** and **Jerusalem**, inaugurating a period of relative calm that ended with a Jewish revolt in 66 AD. The revolt was put down, and Titus, commander of the Roman forces, conquered Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple in 70 AD. After the revolt of Simon Bar Kochba (132–135), Jerusalem was destroyed, large numbers of Jews were killed or enslaved, and Jewish sovereignty over the area was terminated. Many Jews were dispersed throughout the world (a scattering known as the **Diaspora**), and the idea of an ultimate return to the Promised Land went with them. Bar Kochba is credited with organizing a nearly total popular revolt against the Roman emperor Hadrian that lasted for some three years. The rebuilding of Jerusalem as a Roman colony and the prohibition of circumcision were contributory factors, but the revolt had been developing for a considerable period. The Roman counterattack, with an army of 35,000, began in 133. In 134–135, the Romans invaded Betar, Bar Kochba's last stronghold, and gradually reduced the remaining hill and cave strongholds. Bar Kochba was killed when Betar fell; records speak of the destruction of 50 fortresses and 985 villages and of 580,000 Jewish casualties, besides those who died of hunger and disease. As a result of the revolt, Judea fell into desolation, its population was annihilated, and Jerusalem was barred to Jews.

**BAR-LEV, HAIM (1924–1994).** Eighth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF; 1968–1972), member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 16 November 1924 in Vienna, Austria, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1939 from Zagreb, Yugoslavia. He graduated from the Mikveh Yisrael **agricultural** school. While still in school, he joined the **Hagana** and later joined and served in the **Palmah** (1942–1948). During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** he commanded a battalion of the **Negev** Brigade that repulsed the **Egyptian** attack. In the **Sinai War (1956)**, he was a colonel in command of the Armored Corps, and his unit was among the first to reach the Suez Canal. From 1957 to 1961, Bar Lev commanded the Armored Corps. He became commanding officer of the Northern Command in 1962. From 1964 until May 1966, when he went to Paris for advanced military courses, he served as chief of the general staff branch operations of the IDF. He returned to Israel in May 1967 and was appointed deputy chief of staff. Between 1 January 1968 and 1972, Bar-Lev served as Israel's eighth chief of staff. His tenure as chief of staff coincided with a period in which the IDF had to convert from an attack-oriented army into a defensive one without forfeiting any of its offensive qualities and capabilities. Under his leadership the IDF reversed the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)** and created what came to be known as the **Bar-Lev Line**—the fortification system along the Suez Canal. During the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, he served as commander of the Egyptian Front. After his retirement from the military Bar-Lev entered poli-

tics and was elected in the 1973 Knesset election on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list. He served as minister of commerce, **industry**, and development between 1972 and 1977. In 1978, Bar Lev was elected secretary general of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. From 1984 to 1988, he served as minister of police in the **Government of National Unity**, and he was reappointed to that post in the government in December 1988. In 1992, he was named Israel's ambassador to Russia. He died in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 2 May 1994.

**BAR-LEV LINE.** A static defense system on the east bank of the Suez Canal constructed by the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** during **Haim Bar Lev's** tenure as chief of staff (1968–1972). The Bar Lev Line was essentially a series of fortifications and strong points constructed along the Suez Canal to withstand artillery shelling and other weapons and intended to reduce Israeli manpower requirements and potential casualties along the canal. It was overrun by the **Egyptian** army in the early hours of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. *See also* WAR OF ATTRITION (1969–1970).

**BAR-ON, RONNIE (1948–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 2 June 1948 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, in January 1997, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** announced that Bar-On, a **Jerusalem**-based criminal lawyer and **Likud (Union) Party** activist, was to become Israel's next **attorney general**. A scandal ensued, and Bar-On resigned. It was soon reported that the Bar-On appointment was in fact the result of extortion on the part of **Arye Deri**, the then embattled leader of the **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** Party. Reportedly, Deri had conditioned SHAS's approval for the January 1997 **Hebron** agreement with the **Palestinians** on Bar-On's appointment and threatened to bring down the Netanyahu government if Bar-On was not chosen. Netanyahu denied the report but suggested that the police open an investigation. The police ultimately recommended four indictments, but state attorney Edna Arbel and the incumbent attorney general **Elyakim Rubinstein** decided there was insufficient evidence that would stand up in court against Netanyahu and the then-justice minister **Yitzhak "Tzachi" Hanegbi**. On 15 June 1997, Israel's **Supreme Court** upheld the decision of the attorney general not to prosecute the **prime minister** or justice minister in the so-called Bar-On Affair. Cleared of all wrongdoing, Bar-On was elected to the Knesset on the Likud list in 2003, but was one of the Likud members of Knesset to follow **Ariel Sharon** out of the party in November 2005. He was reelected on the **Kadima (Forward)** Party list in the 2006 and 2009 Knesset elections and served in a number of **cabinet** portfolios, including finance minister (2007–2009). On 5 December 2013 Bar-On announced that he would not contest election for the Nineteenth Knesset in 2013.

**BARAK, AHARON (1936– ).** Government adviser, attorney general, president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel. Born on 16 September 1936 in Lithuania, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1947. He studied law, economics, and international relations at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, receiving an M.A. in law in 1958 and a doctorate in law in 1963. Appointed professor of law at Hebrew University in 1968, he was named dean of the university's law faculty in 1974 and was awarded the **Israel Prize** in legal sciences in 1975. In that same year, he succeeded **Meir Shamgar** as Israel's attorney general, a position he held until 1978. Part of Israel's legal team at the **Camp David** talks in 1978, he was instrumental in crafting key provisions of the peace accords with **Egypt**. Appointed a justice of the **Supreme Court** of Israel in 1978, he became deputy president of the court in 1993 and president of the court on 13 August 1995, again succeeding Shamgar. Barak was instrumental in promoting the Supreme Court's increased activism and the "constitutional revolution" experienced in Israel in the 1990s. Several of his judgments, especially with regard to the balance between Jewish religious law, *Halacha*, and secular law made him the object of much derision, including threats to his personal security, allegedly emanating primarily from militant elements of the ultra-Orthodox sector of Israeli society. Barak retired from the court in September 2006 and resumed his academic career.

**BARAK, EHUD (FORMERLY BROG) (1942– ).** Israel's tenth prime minister (1999–2001) and 14th chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF; 1991–1995). Born on 12 February 1942 in **Kibbutz Mishmar Hasharon**, his parents immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in the 1930s from Lithuania and Poland. He enlisted in the IDF in 1959, was schooled in various military education courses, and completed a number of significant military assignments. He pursued undergraduate studies in physics and mathematics at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and received a master's degree from Stanford University in California in systems analysis. He served as **director of military intelligence** (1985–1986) and later as deputy chief of staff of the IDF beginning in May 1987. He became chief of staff in April 1991 and retired from the IDF in 1994. Upon retirement, Barak immediately entered the politics of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. **Yitzhak Rabin** appointed him minister of the interior, and he became foreign minister under **Shimon Peres**. In June 1997, he replaced Peres as Labor chairman. As the leader of the expanded **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** alliance, Barak was elected prime minister on 17 May 1999, defeating the **Likud (Union) Party's Benjamin Netanyahu** by a margin of 56.1 percent to 43.9 percent. On 6 July 1999, he presented his governing coalition to the **Knesset** for ratification, with himself serving as prime minister, defense minister, and acting minister of **agriculture**.

As prime minister, Barak set out an ambitious program, especially in the diplomatic arena. With Palestinian leader **Yasser Arafat**, he set 13 February 2000 as the target date for preparing a Framework Agreement for an Israeli-Palestinian permanent peace agreement. He reaffirmed his campaign pledge to withdraw the IDF from its south **Lebanon security zone** within one year of taking office. He participated in formal talks (in Washington, D.C., and Shepherdstown, West Virginia) with **Syria's** foreign minister Farouk al-Sharaa, while reiterating his commitment to hold a national referendum on a final agreement affecting the status of the **Golan Heights**. When Barak's efforts (with president of the **United States William J. [Bill] Clinton's** assistance) to persuade Syria's Hafez al-Assad to participate in a broader regional settlement involving Lebanon failed, Barak withdrew the IDF unilaterally from southern Lebanon on 24 May 2000.

At **Camp David**, Maryland, in July 2000, Barak and Arafat met in a summit with Clinton; in an effort to force Arafat's hand, Barak offered unprecedented territorial concessions in exchange for an "end of conflict" agreement from the **Palestinians**. Barak's **Camp David II** deal was rejected by Arafat. Ironically, what Arafat viewed as insufficient, most members of Barak's own governing coalition viewed as reckless. In the hopes of saving his government, Barak took the unprecedented constitutional step of simultaneously resigning and calling for a snap new direct election for prime minister and initiating a new round of diplomatic negotiations with the Palestinians amid the upsurge of Palestinian **terrorism** against Israelis associated with the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Despite Clinton's "bridging ideas," the **Taba** talks (December 2000–January 2001) that continued until the eve of the February 2001 election in Israel failed to produce the diplomatic breakthrough with the Palestinians that Barak needed to save his government (and his own political power).

In the special direct election for prime minister held on 6 February 2001, Barak was soundly defeated by Likud leader **Ariel Sharon** (62.3 percent to 37.6 percent). Barak immediately resigned as One Israel (Israel Ahat) leader and as member of the Knesset (MK). He did not seek reelection to the Sixteenth Knesset in 2003 but remained actively engaged in Israel Labor Party politics. Barak withdrew from the 2005 Labor leadership race that was ultimately won by **Amir Peretz** on 9 November 2005.

Barak was reelected Israel Labor Party leader on 13 June 2007, taking 51.3 percent of the vote in a leadership primary, compared to 47.7 percent for Labor MK and former **Shin Bet** director Ami Ayalon. Barak subsequently replaced Amir Peretz as defense minister in **Ehud Olmert's Kadima (Forward)**-led coalition government. On 17 January 2011, Barak and four other Labor Party MKs quit the party to form the **Atzmaut (Independence)** Knesset faction, in a dispute over Labor's participation in Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud-led coalition government. While Labor quit the government, Barak



and Atzmaut remained part of the coalition with Barak as defense minister. On 26 November 2012 Barak announced his intention to retire from politics. Nine days later it was announced that Atzmaut would not contest the 2013 election. Barak remains a prominent commentator on intelligence and security affairs. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**BARAM, UZI (1937– ).** Member of **Knesset**. Born on 6 April 1937 in **Jerusalem** and educated at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, he was initially a member of the Knesset on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list. He served as secretary general of the **Israel Labor Party (Miflagat Haavoda Ha-Israelit)** from 1984 until he resigned in January 1989 to protest Labor's decision to join the **Government of National Unity** headed by the **Likud (Union) Party's Yitzhak Shamir**. In May 1996, Baram was reelected to the Fourteenth Knesset on the Labor list and he was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** alliance list. He did not contest the 2003 Knesset election but retained influence within Labor.

**BARBIVAI, ORNA (1962– ).** The first woman in the history of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** to be promoted to the rank of major general and only the second female to serve on the chief of staff's general staff. Born on 5 September 1962, Barbivai is the daughter of an immigrant (*see* ALIYA) from Romania and an **Iraqi** immigrant. She has served her entire 30-year career in the IDF Human Resources Directorate; on 23 June 2011 she was appointed commander of the directorate and promoted to the rank of major general. Her rank is the IDF's second highest, directly reporting to the chief of staff. Commenting on her appointment, Barbivai said, "I am proud to be the first woman to become a major general and to be part of an organization in which equality is a central principle . . . 90 percent of jobs in the IDF are open to women and I am sure that there are other women who will continue to break down barriers." *See also* WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

**BARENBOIM, DANIEL (1942– ).** Controversial Israeli pianist, composer, and conductor. He was born in Buenos Aires, **Argentina**, to parents of Russian Jewish descent. The family moved to Israel in 1952. He once directed Richard Wagner's music before an Israeli audience (controversial because of Adolf Hitler's infatuation with Wagner's work) and played concerts in Ramallah during the **intifada** to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian civilian population. He was awarded the Wolf Prize in Israel in 2004 for his dedication to human rights and a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**BARGHOUTI, MARWAN (1959– )**. Leader of the **Fatah-Tanzim** and major organizer of the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Born in Ramallah, Barghouti, became active in **Fatah** as a teenager. Arrested for his participation in anti-Israel demonstrations in 1976, he learned to speak fluent Hebrew during his incarceration in Israeli prisons. His role in organizing the Al-Aksa intifada in the fall of 2001 gave him hero status in the eyes of many **Palestinians**. Barghouti was arrested on 15 April 2002 and on 20 May 2004 was convicted by an Israeli civilian court on five counts of murder, one of the victims being a Greek Orthodox monk. He also was found guilty of attempted murder relating to a failed suicide car bomb attack. On 6 June 2004, Barghouti was sentenced to five consecutive life sentences for the five murders and 40 years imprisonment for the attempted murder. Despite his imprisonment Barghouti remains a major actor in Fatah and Palestinian politics generally. *See also* **TERRORISM**.

**BASIC LAW**. As early as 1947, the executive of the **Vaad Leumi** appointed a committee headed by Zerah Warhaftig to study the question of a constitution for the new state. In December 1947, the **Jewish Agency** executive entrusted Dr. Leo Kohn, professor of international relations at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** with the task of preparing a draft constitution. On 8 July 1949, the provisional **Council of State** appointed a Constitutional Committee. The First **Knesset** devoted much time to a profound discussion of the issue of a constitution for the state of Israel. The major debate was between those who favored a written document and those who believed that the time was not appropriate for imposing rigid constitutional limitations. The latter group argued that a written constitution could not be framed because of constantly changing social conditions, primarily the result of mass immigration (*see* **ALIYA**) and a lack of experience with independent governmental institutions. There was also concern about the relationship between state and **religion** and the method of incorporating the precepts and ideals of Judaism into the proposed document.

The discussion of these issues continued for more than a year, and on 13 June 1950 the Knesset adopted a compromise that postponed the real issue indefinitely. It was decided in principle that a written constitution would be adopted ultimately but that for the time being there would be no formal and comprehensive document. Instead, a number of fundamental, or basic, laws would be passed dealing with specific subjects that might in time form chapters in a consolidated constitution. A number of basic laws dealing with various subjects have been adopted: **The Knesset** (1958); **Israel Lands** (1960); **The President of the State** (1964); **The Government** (1968); **The State Economy** (1975); **The Army** (1976); **Jerusalem, Capital of Israel** (1980); **The Judiciary** (1984); **The State Comptroller** (1988); **Human Dignity and Liberty** (1992); and **Freedom of Occupation** (1992). The basic

laws thereby provide a definitive perspective of the formal requirements of the system in specific areas of activity, a “written” framework, in a sense, for governmental activity.

**BASIC LAW: THE ARMY.** Passed on 31 March 1976 by the Eighth **Knesset**. Until the basic law was passed, the constitutional and legal basis for the operation of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** was to be found in the IDF Ordinance of 1948. The basic law follows that ordinance, adding instructions regarding the subordination of the military forces to the government, the status of the chief of staff, and other instructions on issues dealt with by the **Agranat Commission**.

The basic law states that the IDF is the army of the state and deals with compulsory military service and enlistment, as well as the instructions of the army and its orders. It states that “outside the Israel Defense Forces no armed force is to be set up or maintained, except in accordance with the law.”

Among other provisions, the law provides that

The Defence Army of Israel is the army of the State. . . . (a) The Army is subject to the authority of the Government. (b) The Minister in charge of the Army on behalf of the Government is the Minister of Defence. . . . (a) The supreme command level in the Army is the Chief of the General Staff. (b) The Chief of the General Staff is subject to the authority of the Government and subordinate to the Minister of Defence. (c) The Chief of the General Staff shall be appointed by the Government upon the recommendation of the Minister of Defence. . . . The duty of serving in the Army and recruitment for the Army shall be as prescribed by or by virtue of Law. . . . The power to issue instructions and orders binding in the Army shall be prescribed by or by virtue of Law. . . . No armed force other than the Defence Army of Israel shall be established or maintained except under Law.

**BASIC LAW: FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION.** Its new version, which replaced the law of 1992, was passed on 9 March 1994 by the Thirteenth **Knesset**. The law lays down the right of “every citizen or inhabitant to engage in any occupation, profession or trade” unless a “law which corresponds with the values of the state of Israel, and which was designed for a worthy end” determines otherwise. The law includes an instruction regarding its permanence and protection from changes by means of emergency regulations. Only a majority of the Knesset members can amend the law.

Among other provisions, the law provides that

Fundamental human rights in Israel are founded upon recognition of the value of the human being, the sanctity of human life, and the principle that all persons are free; these rights shall be upheld in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Is-

rael. . . . The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect freedom of occupation, in order to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and **democratic** state. . . . Every Israel national or resident has the right to engage in any occupation, profession or trade.

**BASIC LAW: THE GOVERNMENT.** The law, passed on 13 August 1968 by the Sixth **Knesset**, deals with the principles regarding the service of the elected **prime minister** and his **government**; formation of the government and the qualifications for becoming minister; the procedures leading up to the formation of a government, its actual formulation, the way it functions, the distribution of functions among its members, its work procedures, and its powers; the powers of the ministers and deputy ministers; the tenure of office of the ministers and their salary; the continuity of the government; and the conditions for the resignation or removal of the prime minister, which lead to new general elections. Only a majority of the Knesset members can amend the law.

An amended version of the law, adopted on 17 March 1992 by the Twelfth Knesset, allowed for the direct election of the prime minister of Israel. This amended law, which came into effect with the simultaneous election of **Benjamin Netanyahu** and the Thirteenth Knesset in 1996, was also in effect for the 1999 election of **Ehud Barak** and the Fourteenth Knesset. In addition, it was by reference to the 1992 version of Basic Law: The Government that **Ariel Sharon** was voted into office in the special direct election for the prime minister alone in 2001. However, general dissatisfaction among Israelis with the continued disarray in the electoral process led the Knesset to rescind the 1992 amendment to Basic Law: The Government, specifically, the direct election of the prime minister, on 3 March 2001. With only minor variations, the law was returned to the version passed by the Knesset in 1968.

Pursuant to an amendment to the Basic Law: The Government incorporated in the omnibus **Governance Act** of 2014, the size of the **cabinet** was limited to 19 members, including the prime minister, plus four deputy ministers. The position of minister without portfolio was eliminated.

The Basic Law: The Government provides that the government is the executive authority of the state and its seat is **Jerusalem**. It is comprised of the prime minister and other ministers who will be appointed by the prime minister and approved by the Knesset.

The 34th government of Israel, headed by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, was announced on 7 May 2015; it was introduced to and approved by the Knesset and sworn in on 14 May 2015.

**BASIC LAW: HUMAN DIGNITY AND LIBERTY.** The law was passed on 17 March 1992 by the Twelfth **Knesset**. Sections of it were subsequently integrated into the 1994 version of **Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation**. In

view of the fact that the Knesset was unsuccessful in its endeavors to enact the Basic Law: Human Rights in its entirety due to the opposition of the religious parties to some of its provisions, it was decided to enact those sections of the law on which there were no basic differences of opinion. Until the dissolution of the Thirteenth Knesset two basic laws were passed that will eventually constitute part of the complete law: Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty, and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. The Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty declares that basic human rights in Israel are based on recognition of the value of man, the sanctity of his life, and the fact that he is free. The goal of the law is “to defend Human Dignity and Liberty, in order to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and **democratic** state.” The law defines human freedom in Israel as being the right to leave the country and enter it; to privacy and intimacy; to be protected from searches relating to one’s private property, body, and possessions; and to avoid violations of the privacy of one’s speech, writings, and notes. Violation of the dignity or freedom of man is permitted only in accordance with the law. The law includes an instruction regarding its permanence and protection from changes by means of emergency regulations:

The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect human dignity and liberty, in order to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. . . . There shall be no violation of the life, body or dignity of any person as such. . . . There shall be no violation of the property of a person. . . . All persons are entitled to protection of their life, body and dignity. . . . There shall be no deprivation or restriction of the liberty of a person by imprisonment, arrest, extradition or otherwise. . . . All governmental authorities are bound to respect the rights under this Basic Law.

**BASIC LAW: ISRAEL LANDS.** Passed on 25 July 1960 by the Fourth **Knesset**, the basis of the law is the special relationship between the people of Israel and the land of Israel and its redemption. The law ensures that the state lands, which constitute about 90 percent of the lands in the state, should remain national property. The law prohibits the transfer of ownership over lands owned by the state, the Development Authority, or the **Jewish National Fund**, either by sale or by any other means, with the exception of types of land or transactions that have been specified in the law.

**BASIC LAW: JERUSALEM, CAPITAL OF ISRAEL.** Passed on 30 July 1980 by the Ninth **Knesset**, the intention of the law is to enshrine the status of **Jerusalem** as the capital of Israel, to secure its integrity and unity, and to concentrate all the instructions, which were scattered in various laws, regard-

ing the location of national institutions. The law deals with the holy places, secures the rights of the members of all **religions**, and declares that Jerusalem will be granted special preferences with regard to its development.

Among other provisions, the law provides that

Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel. . . . Jerusalem is the seat of the **President** of the State, the Knesset, the **Government** and the **Supreme Court**. . . . The Holy Places shall be protected from desecration and any other violation and from anything likely to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings towards those places. . . . (a) The Government shall provide for the development and prosperity of Jerusalem and the well-being of its inhabitants by allocating special funds, including a special annual grant to the Municipality of Jerusalem (Capital City Grant) with the approval of the Finance Committee of the Knesset. (b) Jerusalem shall be given special priority in the activities of the authorities of the State so as to further its development in economic and other matters. (c) The Government shall set up a special body or special bodies for the implementation of this section.

**BASIC LAW: THE JUDICIARY.** Passed on 28 February 1984 by the Tenth **Knesset**, the law deals with the judicial authority; the institutions of the judiciary; the principle of independence on matters of judgment; the openness of judicial proceedings; the appointment of judges and their qualifications and tenure of office; the powers of the **Supreme Court**; the right of appeal, further hearing, and retrial; and the principle of settled law. The law does not deal with the authority of the courts to examine the legality of laws, that is, the power of judicial review. This will be addressed in the Basic Law: Legislation when it is enacted. The law includes an instruction regarding its permanence and protection from changes by means of emergency regulations.

Among other provisions, the law provides that

(a) Judicial power is vested in the following courts: (1) the Supreme Court; (2) a District Court; (3) a Magistrate's Court; (4) another court designated by Law as a court. In this Law, "judge" means a judge of a court as aforesaid. (b) Judicial power is vested also in the following: (1) a **religious** court (*beit din*); (2) any other court (*beit din*); (3) another authority all as prescribed by Law. (c) No court or court (*beit din*) shall be established for a particular case. . . . A person vested with judicial power shall not, in judicial matters, be subject to any authority but that of the Law. . . . Only an Israeli national shall be appointed judge. . . . (a) The seat of the Supreme Court is **Jerusalem**. (b) The Supreme Court shall hear appeals against judgments and other decisions of the District Courts. (c) The Supreme Court shall sit also as a High Court of Justice. When so sitting, it shall hear matters in which it deems it necessary to grant relief

for the sake of justice and which are not within the jurisdiction of another court (*beit mishpat* or *beit din*). (d) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of subsection (c), the Supreme Court sitting as a High Court of Justice shall be competent—(1) to make orders for the release of persons unlawfully detained or imprisoned; (2) to order State and local authorities and the officials and bodies thereof, and other persons carrying out public functions under law, to do or refrain from doing any act in the lawful exercise of their functions or, if they were improperly elected or appointed, to refrain from acting; (3) to order courts (*batei mishpat* and *batei din*) and bodies and persons having judicial or quasi-judicial powers under law, other than courts dealt with by this Law and other than religious courts (*batei din*), to hear, refrain from hearing, or continue hearing a particular matter or to void a proceeding improperly taken or a decision improperly given; (4) to order religious courts (*batei din*) to hear a particular matter within their jurisdiction or to refrain from hearing or continue hearing a particular matter not within their jurisdiction, provided that the application under this paragraph did not raise the question of jurisdiction at the earliest opportunity; and if he had no measurable opportunity to raise the question of jurisdiction until a decision had been given by a religious court (*beit din*), the court may quash a proceeding taken or a decision given by the religious court (*beit din*) without authority. (e) Other powers of the Supreme Court shall be prescribed by Law.

**BASIC LAW: THE KNESSET.** Passed on 12 February 1958 by the Third **Knesset**. It states that the Knesset is the house of representatives of the state, that its seat is in **Jerusalem**, and that upon election it should include 120 members. The law deals with the electoral system, the right to vote and be elected, the Knesset's term of office, the principles relating to the Knesset elections (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL), the service of Knesset members, the parliamentary immunity of the Knesset members and the Knesset buildings, and the work of the Knesset and its committees. Amendment 9 of the law, passed on 31 July 1985, states that a list may not participate in the election if there is in its goals or actions a denial of the existence of the state of Israel as the state of the Jewish people, a denial of the democratic nature of the state, or incitement to racism.

Among other provisions, the law provides that

The Knesset is the parliament of the State. . . . The Knesset shall, upon its election, consist of one hundred and twenty members. . . . The Knesset shall be elected by general, national, direct, equal, secret and proportional elections, in accordance with the Knesset Elections Law; this section shall not be varied save by a majority of the members of the Knesset. . . . The term of office of the Knesset shall be four years from the day on which it is elected. . . . If the seat of a member of the Knesset falls vacant, it shall be filled by the candidate who, in the list of candidates which included the name of the late member, figured immediately after the last of the elected

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candidates. . . . A candidates' list shall not participate in elections to the Knesset if its objects or actions, expressly or by implication, include one of the following: (1) negation of the existence of the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people; (2) negation of the democratic character of the State; (3) incitement to racism.

**BASIC LAW: THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE.** Passed on 16 June 1964 by the Fifth **Knesset**. The law was basically a reenactment of previous instructions, which were scattered in other laws. It deals with the status of the **president** of the state, his election by the Knesset, his qualifications and powers, and the procedures of his work.

Among other provisions, the law provides that

A President shall stand at the head of the State. . . . The place of residence of the President of the State shall be **Jerusalem**. . . . The President of the State shall be elected by the Knesset for five years [now amended to one seven-year term]. The election of the President of the State shall be by secret ballot at a meeting of the Knesset assigned only for that purpose. . . . The candidate who has received the votes of a majority of the Members of the Knesset is elected. . . . (a) The President of the State (1) shall sign every Law, other than a Law relating to its powers; (2) shall take action to achieve the formation of a **Government** and shall receive the resignation of the Government in accordance with Law; (3) shall receive from the Government a report on its meetings; (4) shall accredit the diplomatic representatives of the State, shall receive the credentials of diplomatic representatives sent to Israel by foreign states, shall empower the consular representatives of the State and shall confirm the appointments of consular representatives sent to Israel by foreign states; (5) shall sign such conventions with foreign states as have been ratified by the Knesset; (6) shall carry out every function assigned to him by Law in connection with the appointment and removal from office of judges and other office-holder's. (b) The President of the State shall have power to pardon offenders and to lighten penalties by the reduction or commutation thereof. (c) The President of the State shall carry out every other function and have every other power assigned to him by Law.

**BASIC LAW: THE STATE COMPTROLLER.** Passed on 15 February 1988 by the Twelfth **Knesset**. Most of the law is a recapitulation of previous instructions that were scattered in other laws. The law deals with the powers, tasks, and duties of the state comptroller in his or her supervision of government bodies and as ombudsman; the manner in which he or she is elected (by the Knesset); and the budget of the comptroller's office. The law states that the state comptroller is responsible solely to the Knesset.

Among other provisions, the law provides that



The State Audit shall be implemented by the State Comptroller. . . . (a) The Comptroller will audit the **economy**, the property, the finances, the obligations and the administration of the State, of Government Ministries, of all enterprises, institutions, or corporations of the State, of Local Authorities, and of bodies of other institutions which were defined as law subject to audit by the State Comptroller. (b) The State Comptroller shall inspect the legality, integrity, managerial norms, efficiency and economy of the audited bodies, as well as any other matter, which he deems necessary. . . . The State Comptroller will investigate complaints from the public about bodies and persons, as provided by law: in this capacity the State Comptroller shall bear the title “Commissioner for Complaints from the Public.” . . . In carrying out his functions, the State Comptroller shall be accountable only to the Knesset and not to the **Cabinet**. . . . (a) The State Comptroller shall be chosen by the Knesset in a secret ballot; the exact arrangements shall be set by law.

**BASIC LAW: THE STATE ECONOMY.** Passed on 21 July 1975 by the Eighth **Knesset**, the law lays down the framework for the budget laws and the basic rule, according to which no taxes, compulsory loans, other compulsory payments and fees may be imposed or their rates changed, except by law or in accordance with it. Regulations imposing compulsory payments are subject to the approval of the Knesset or one of its committees. In addition, the law deals with the authority to reach agreements involving state assets, the acquisition of rights and the undertaking of obligations in the name of the state, the state budget and its formulation, the printing of banknotes, and the minting of coins. The law also states that the “state **economy** is subject to the control of the **State Comptroller**.”

**BASLE PROGRAM.** On 23 August 1897, in Basle (Basel), Switzerland, **Theodor Herzl** convened the first World **Zionist** Congress representing Jewish communities and organizations throughout the world. The congress established the **World Zionist Organization** (WZO) and founded an effective, modern, political, Jewish national movement enunciating that “Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in **Palestine** secured under public law.” Zionism rejected other solutions to the **Jewish Question** and was the response to centuries of **anti-Semitism**, discrimination, persecution, and oppression. It sought redemption through self-determination. Herzl argued in *Der Judenstaat*: “Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.”

For the attainment of the aims of the Basle Program, the congress envisaged the promotion of the settlement of Palestine by Jewish farmers, artisans, and trades people; the organization and unification of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate local and general institutions in accordance with the

laws of each country; the strengthening of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness; and preparatory steps toward securing the consent of governments, which is necessary to attain the aim of Zionism. *See also* DREYFUS, ALFRED (1859–1935); JERUSALEM PROGRAM.

**BATSHEVA DANCE COMPANY.** A **Jerusalem**-based contemporary ballet company founded in 1964 by famed international ballet master Martha Graham and patroness of the arts Baroness Batsheva De Rothschild. It is mandated “to excel in art and to strengthen common human values through the power of creativity.” *See also* THEATER.

**BEDOUIN.** Traditionally nomadic Arab tribes for the most part originating in the Hejaz district of modern Saudi Arabia who traversed transnational boundaries. Communities today are found in Israel and the **West Bank**, along with **Egypt** (almost exclusively in the **Sinai Peninsula**) and in **Jordan**’s **Arava** Desert. In Israel, the Bedouin community of approximately 250,000 is divided into three geographic groupings. The vast majority—some 150,000—reside in the **Negev** region of southern Israel. Another 20,000 live in Israel’s central region. And 80,000 Bedouin reside in the north. Since statehood, Israel’s Bedouin population has increased tenfold due to a naturally high birthrate—about 5 percent—combined with a significant drop in infant mortality and increased life expectancy resulting from access to modern **health** and medical services.

The Bedouin citizens of Israel have advanced through two routes: **education** and voluntary service in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Education has been a key element in the improvement in the Bedouin’s standard of living. The illiteracy rate among the Bedouin has dropped from 95 percent at the time of Israel’s founding in 1948 to below 25 percent in 2013, despite the Bedouin culture’s strong disinclination toward education for females. In 2006, Rania al-Oqbi became the first female Bedouin physician to graduate from an Israeli university (**Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**). Also in 2006, Ismail Khaldi, a former shepherd, became the first Bedouin to be appointed an Israeli envoy, becoming consul general to San Francisco. The other principal avenue for social advancement for the Bedouin has been service in the IDF. Each year, between 5 and 10 percent of the Bedouin population of draft age volunteer for the Israeli army (unlike **Druze** and Circassian Israelis, they are not required by law to do so). Many Bedouin soldiers today serve with distinction in frontline fighting units alongside their Jewish counterparts and receive the financial and social benefits for doing so. Several Bedouin soldiers have been killed in battle and in **terrorist** attacks.

Many Bedouin played an important part as volunteer trackers for the **Hagana** in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and in special units established in the 1950s to stop *fedayeen* incursions from **Jordan**.

Despite an objective improvement in their standard of living, the status of the Bedouin in Israel remains problematic. Many remain tied to a traditional way of life that is completely at variance with the realities of industrialized, 21st century Israel. A particular area of dispute is the issue of landownership, especially in the Negev, where some Bedouin tribes insist on constructing semipermanent structures on their nomadic routes in the same manner as their people have done for generations, irrespective of modern Israeli laws and regulations pertaining to deeds, building permits, and the like. In 2013, **Ze'ev Binyamin Begin** and Ehud Praver, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s director of planning, introduced a plan to regulate unregistered Bedouin villages in the Negev region. This plan was rejected by the Bedouin as unfair and opposed in Israel and by international human rights activists. While efforts to find compromise solutions to Bedouin disputes continue, the danger of violent expressions of civil unrest involving more restive elements of the Negev-Bedouin population has increased in recent years.

**BEERSHEVA (BEERSHEBA)**. The capital of the **Negev**, it lies on the region's northern edge. It has a current population of approximately 197,300. Its name is of biblical derivation, meaning either "Well of Seven" or "Well of Oath," and is the place where **Abraham** settled. It is a new city built on an ancient site dating back to the age of the patriarchs some 4,000 years ago. Since 1948, the city has experienced rapid industrial and residential development and has evolved from a small backward town to a bustling city. It is the center of mining and **agricultural** projects in that sector and the location of **Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**.

**BEGIN, BENYAMIN (BENNY)**. *See* BEGIN, ZE'EV BINYAMIN (1943–).

**BEGIN, MENACHEM (1919–1992)**. Israel's seventh **prime minister**. Born on 16 August 1919, the son of Zeev-Dov and Hassia, in Brest-Litovsk, White Russia (later Poland). He was educated in Brest-Litovsk at the Mizra-chi Hebrew School and later studied and graduated in law at the University of Warsaw. After a short association with **Hashomer Hatzair**, he became a devoted follower of **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky**, the founder of the **Revisionist Zionist** Movement. At the age of 16, he joined Betar, the youth movement affiliated with the Revisionists, and in 1932, he became the head of the organization department of Betar in Poland. After a period of service as head of Betar in Czechoslovakia, he returned to Poland in 1937 and in

1939 became head of the movement there. Upon the outbreak of World War II, he was arrested by the Russian authorities and confined in concentration camps in Siberia and elsewhere until his release in 1941. He then joined the Polish army and was dispatched to the Middle East. After demobilization in 1943, he remained in **Mandate Palestine** and assumed command of the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi)**. For his activities against the British authorities as head of that organization, which included the bombing of British military and civilian command headquarters in **Jerusalem's King David Hotel** in July 1946, he was placed on their "most wanted" list but managed to evade capture by living underground in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**.

Begin was directly involved in the **Altalena Affair**; the command to have the Irgun ship destroyed galvanized Begin's decades-long political rivalry with Israel's founding prime minister, **David Ben-Gurion**.

With the independence of Israel in 1948 and the dissolution of the Irgun, Begin founded the **Herut (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement) Party** and represented it in the **Knesset** from its first meetings in 1949. He became Herut's leader, retaining that position until he resigned from office as prime minister and retired from public and political life in 1983. Herut was known for its right-wing, strongly nationalistic views, and Begin led the party's protest campaign against the reparations agreement with West **Germany** in 1952. He was instrumental in establishing the **Gahal** faction (a merger of Herut and the **Liberal Party [Hamiflaga HaLiberalit]**) in the Knesset in 1965. He developed a reputation as a gifted orator, writer, and political leader. He remained in opposition in parliament until the eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, when he joined the government of national unity as minister without portfolio. He and his Gahal colleagues resigned from the government in August 1970 to oppose the **Golda Meir–led government's** acceptance of the peace initiative of **United States** secretary of state William Rogers, which implied the evacuation by Israel of territories occupied in the course of the Six-Day War. Later, Gahal joined in forming the **Likud (Union)** bloc in opposition to the governing **Alignment (Maarach)**, and Begin became its leader.

In June 1977, Begin became Israel's first nonsocialist prime minister when the Likud bloc secured the mandate to form the government after the May Knesset election. He also became the first Israeli prime minister to meet officially and publicly with an Arab head of state when he welcomed **Egyptian** president **Anwar Sadat** to Jerusalem in November 1977. He led Israel's delegations to the ensuing peace negotiations and signed, with Sadat and U.S. president **Jimmy Carter**, the **Camp David Accords** in September 1978. In March 1979, he and Sadat signed the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**, with Carter witnessing the event, on the White House lawn. Begin and Sadat shared the 1978 **Nobel Peace Prize** for their efforts. For Begin and Israel, it was a momentous but difficult accomplishment. It brought peace with Is-

rael's most populous adversary and significantly reduced the military danger to the existence of Israel by neutralizing the largest Arab army with which Israel had fought five wars. But, it was also traumatic given the extensive tangible concessions required of Israel, especially the uprooting of Jewish **settlements** in the **Sinai Peninsula**.

The Knesset election of 30 June 1981 returned a Likud-led coalition government to power in Israel, contrary to early predictions that projected a significant Alignment victory. Begin again became prime minister, and his reestablished governing coalition contained many of the same personalities as the outgoing group and reflected similar perspectives of Israel's situation and appropriate government policies. He also served as minister of foreign affairs in 1979–1980 and as minister of defense from May 1980 to August 1981.

Israel's **War in Lebanon (1982)** occasioned loud debate and demonstration within Israel, resulted in substantial casualties, and led, at least initially, to Israel's increased international isolation and diplomatic clashes with the United States. Many of the outcomes were muted over time, but the war left a legacy that continued to be debated long after Begin retired from public life. It was also a factor in Begin's decision to step down from the Prime Minister's Office, but it was a decision he chose and was not forced to make. Within Israel, Begin's tenure was marked by prosperity for the average citizen, although there were indicators (such as rising debt and inflation levels) that this might prove costly in the long term. The standard of living rose, as did the level of expectations. The ultra-Orthodox **Haredi** parties enhanced their political power and secured important concessions to their demands from a coalition that recognized their increased role in maintaining the political balance and from a prime minister who was, on the whole, sympathetic to their positions.

Israel's relationship with the United States underwent significant change during Begin's tenure. The ties were often tempestuous, as the two states disagreed on various aspects of the regional situation and the issues associated with resolution of the **Arab-Israeli conflict**. Nevertheless, U.S. economic and military assistance and political and diplomatic support rose to all-time high levels.

Begin's political skills were considerable and apparent. Despite his European origins and courtly manner, he was able, through his powerful oratorical skills, charismatic personality, and political and economic policies, to secure and maintain a substantial margin of popularity over other major political figures, particularly the opposition leaders. At the time of his resignation, he was the most popular and highly regarded of Israeli politicians, as the public opinion polls regularly indicated.

Begin's decision to resign as prime minister of Israel on 16 September 1983 brought to an end a major era in Israeli politics. It was a surprise and a shock to Israelis, notwithstanding Begin's earlier statements that he would retire from politics at age 70. Although no formal reason for his resignation was forthcoming, Begin apparently believed that he could no longer perform his tasks as he felt he should, and he seemed to be severely affected by the death of his wife the previous year and by the continuing casualties suffered by Israeli forces in **Lebanon**.

Menachem Begin died on 9 March 1992.

**BEGIN, ZE'EV BINYAMIN (1943– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 1 March 1943 in **Jerusalem**, he is the son of Aliza and **Menachem Begin**. He earned his B.Sc. and M.Sc. from the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and his Ph.D. in geology from the University of Colorado and in 1965 began working for the Israel Geological Survey prior to entering politics. A member of the Knesset representing the **Likud (Union) Party** since 1988, he was a member of the important Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and its Subcommittee on National Defense Policy, and other Knesset committees, as well. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu appointed him minister of **science** in 1996 but he resigned in January 1997 to protest the **Hebron** agreement. On 28 December 1998, Begin formally quit the Likud and announced the formation of the **New Herut (Herut Hahadasha)** party, with himself as its leader and candidate for prime minister. This party subsequently joined with **Moledet (Homeland)** and **Tekuma (Renewal)** to form the right-wing **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)**, with Begin as its leader and prime ministerial candidate. On the eve of the 17 May 1999 elections, Begin withdrew from the race for prime minister. He retired from political life when the National Union won only four seats in the Fifteenth Knesset, calling himself a “cantor without a congregation.” Begin resumed his career in science and education and was appointed Director of the Geological Survey of Israel. In November 2008, Begin announced his decision to return to electoral politics; he was reelected to the Knesset in the 2009 election in fifth place on the Likud list. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu honored his promise to Begin by appointing him minister without portfolio in Israel's 32nd government. Begin did not seek reelection in the 2013 Knesset election. As a private citizen, he worked with Ehud Praver, Netanyahu's director of planning, to develop a plan to regulate unregistered **Bedouin** villages in the **Negev** region. Begin returned to the Knesset in the 2015 Knesset election, having run in the eleventh place on the Likud list, the spot reserved for a candidate appointed by party leader Benjamin Netanyahu. Initially named a minister without portfolio in Netanyahu's new coalition government, Begin resigned from the **cabinet** on 30 May 2015 to make space for popular Likud Knesset member **Gilad Erdan**.

**BEILIN, JOSEPH “YOSSI” (1948– )**. Member of **Knesset**, government minister, peace advocate. Born on 12 June 1948 in **Petah Tikva**, he earned a Ph.D. in political science at **Tel Aviv University**. While working as a reporter for *Davar*, he met and impressed **Shimon Peres**, who hired him to be **Israel Labor Party (Miflaget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** spokesman. As deputy foreign minister, he was involved in the secret Israeli talks in Oslo with **Palestinian** officials in the spring and summer of 1993, which culminated in the Israel–Palestine Liberation Organization **Declaration of Principles**. In 1995, he conducted a series of secret talks with Palestinian official **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen) on the framework for a permanent Israeli-Palestinian settlement. He sought the Labor Party leadership in 1997 but was defeated by former **Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff **Ehud Barak**. Initially elected to the Knesset in 1988 on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list, he was reelected in the 1992 Knesset election on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** list. He was appointed justice minister by Barak; from August 2000 to March 2001, he also held the religious affairs portfolio. On 31 March 2004, Beilin was elected leader of **Yahad-Social Democratic Israel**, a new left-wing **Zionist political party** formed out of the reconstituted **Meretz** faction. Under his leadership, the party won only five seats in the March 2006 Knesset election. In December 2007, Beilin announced that he would not contest reelection as Yahad Party leader.

In December 2003, Beilin headed the Israeli contingent of private notables that, with their Palestinian counterparts headed by former **Palestinian Authority** minister Yasser Abed Rabbo, published the **Geneva Initiative** formula for a permanent Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement. Beilin is the author of several books, including *Touching Peace: From the Oslo Accords to a Final Agreement*; *His Brother’s Keeper*; and *Manual for a Wounded Dove*.

**BEINISCH, DORIT (1942– )**. Ninth president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel, the first woman in Israel’s history to hold that position. Born Dorit Werba on 28 February 1942 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** in **Mandate Palestine**, she began her judicial career in 1968 as a prosecutor in the **Jerusalem** district. In 1982, she became the deputy state prosecutor and in 1989 the state prosecutor. In 1995, she was named to the Supreme Court. On 14 September 2006 she was unanimously selected as Supreme Court president, succeeding **Aharon Barak**. She retired from the bench on 28 February 2012 and was replaced by Asher Grunis.

**BEIRUT AIRPORT RAID (1968)**. On 28 December 1968, Israeli helicopter gunships raided the international airport in Beirut, **Lebanon**, destroying 13 or 14 commercial aircraft belonging to Lebanon’s Middle East Airways. The raid was in retaliation for an attack the previous day on an **El Al** aircraft

in Athens, Greece, by members of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of **Palestine**. It was part of an Israeli strategy to pressure the Lebanese central government to apply sovereign authority over the border region with Israel and to prevent the **Palestine Liberation Organization** and other militant factions from using the region as a base for **terrorist** strikes against Israel and against Israeli and Jewish targets internationally. However, the Lebanese government was too weak and the **Israel Defense Forces** ultimately had to take matters into its own hands, launching a series of small (and a few larger) initiatives to push the Palestinian groups out of firing range. *See also* OPERATION LITANI; WAR IN LEBANON (1982).

**BEN-AHARON, YITZHAK (FORMERLY NUSSBAUM) (1906–2006).** Labor ideologue and activist. Born on 17 July 1906 in the Suczawa district of Bokovina in present-day Romania. He joined **Hashomer Hatzair** at 14, studied political science at Berlin University, and returned home to become Hashomer leader in 1925. He immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1928, where he became one of the founders of **Kibbutz Givat Haim** in 1933. In 1935, he was sent by Hehalutz to **Germany** to help rescue as many Jews as possible, but he was arrested and expelled by the Nazis. In 1938–1939, he was secretary of **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**. In 1940, he volunteered for service with the British army, was captured in Greece, and spent four years as a prisoner of war. Released in 1945 and demobilized from the British army, he became one of the leaders of **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** and of **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hamuehedet–United Workers Party)**. Ben-Aharon was a signatory of Israel's **Declaration of Independence**. He represented Mapam in the First and Second **Knessets**, Ahdut Haavoda from the Third to the Fifth **Knessets**, and Maarach—*see* ALIGNMENT (MAARACH)—in the Seventh and Eighth **Knessets**.

From 1956 to 1962, he served as minister of transport, and from 1969 to 1973 he was secretary general of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)**. As head of the Histadrut, he admitted **Arab Israeli** workers for the first time and lambasted Prime Minister **Golda Meir** and her government for allegedly abandoning their socialist roots. Analysts have attributed the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**'s 1968 unification to the malaise identified in his seminal 1963 essay "The Courage to Confront the Coming Calamity." Following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, Ben-Aharon called for a unilateral withdrawal from the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967. He retired from active politics in 1977 and was the subject of a 1991 documentary film, *No Regrets*. In 1995, he was awarded the **Israel Prize**. In November 2005, at the age of 98, he endorsed the candidacy of Histadrut leader **Amir Peretz** in the Labor Party leadership race against **Shimon Peres**. He died on 19 May 2006 at the age of 99.



**BEN-ELIEZER, BINYAMIN (BENJAMIN) “FUAD” (1936– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 12 February 1936 in Basra, **Iraq**, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1949 and was a career officer in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). He served as a commander in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and was a member of the IDF Military Mission to Singapore from 1970 to 1973. In 1977, he was appointed first commanding officer in Southern **Lebanon**, serving as the IDF liaison with the local Christian community. From 1978 to 1981, he served as IDF commander in the **West Bank**, and in 1983–1984 he was government coordinator of activities in the **Occupied Territories**. He was first elected to the **Knesset** in 1984 on **Ezer Weizman’s Yahad** list, which subsequently joined with the **Alignment (Maarach)**. Reelected to the **Knesset** in 1988 and 1992, he served as minister of construction and housing from 1992 to 1996. Reelected in the 1999 election on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** list, Ben-Eliezer was appointed minister of construction and housing by **Ehud Barak** on 6 July 1999. Five days later, he was named deputy prime minister. Between 2001 and 2003, he served as defense minister in the **Likud (Union) Party–Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** broad-based coalition formed by **Ariel Sharon** following the special election for prime minister in February 2001. He contended for the Labor Party leadership in 2003 but lost to former **Haifa** mayor **Amram Mitzna**. Reelected to the Sixteenth **Knesset** (2003) on the One Israel (Israel Ahat) slate, he was appointed minister of national infrastructure upon the party’s entry into the Likud-led governing coalition on 10 January 2005. He contested the November 2005 Labor leadership race but lost again, this time to **Amir Peretz**. Reelected to the Seventeenth **Knesset** (2006) on the Labor list, he was appointed minister of national infrastructure in Ehud Olmert’s **Kadima (Forward)**–led government. He was reelected in the 2009 election on the Labor list, and was appointed minister of **industry**, trade and labor in **Benjamin Netanyahu’s Likud**–led coalition government. He resigned from the coalition after Ehud Barak left Labor to establish the **Atzmaut (Independence)** **Knesset** faction in January 2011. Reelected in the 2013 **Knesset** election on the Labor list, Ben-Eliezer later resigned his seat for health reasons. In June 2014 Ben-Eliezer ended his efforts to win election as Israel’s **president** due to allegations of financial impropriety. In January 2015, the police recommended that he and others stand trial for a series of financial improprieties, including bribery, fraud, money laundering, tax offenses, and breach of trust.

**BEN-ELISSAR, ELIAHU (FORMERLY GOTTLIEB) (1932–2000).** Diplomat. Born on 2 August 1932 in Radom, Poland, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1942. His original family name was Gottlieb, but when he changed it to Hebrew, he did so by combining the first half of his father’s two names (Eliezer Yisrael) to create Ben-Elissar. He was

educated at the University of Paris in political science and international law, and during his time in Paris, he was enlisted by the **Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**, where he worked until 1965. In 1965, he left the Mossad to pursue his doctorate at the University of Geneva, where he wrote a thesis on the Jewish factor in the foreign policy of the Third Reich. It was published as a book in 1969. He returned to Israel and worked as a correspondent for several European newspapers. He also became involved in **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** political activities and in 1971 began to serve as head of the party's information department. He later served as director general of Prime Minister **Menachem Begin's** office and as Israel's first ambassador to **Egypt**. A member of the **Knesset** on the **Likud (Union) Party** list, he served as chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Tenth Knesset. In 1996–1997, he served as Israel's ambassador to Washington. In April 1998, he was named ambassador to **France**. He died on 12 August 2000 in Paris.

**BEN-GURION, DAVID (FORMERLY GRUEN) (1886–1973)**. Leader of **Zionist** activities in pre-state **Palestine (Yishuv)**, Israel's first prime minister. Born in Plonsk, Poland, on 16 October 1886, he became a committed Zionist in childhood under the influence of his father and grandfather. He arrived in Jaffa in September 1906, was elected to the Central Committee of the **Poalei Zion (Workers of Zion) Movement**, and began organizing workers into unions. In 1910, he joined the editorial staff of a new Poalei Zion paper, *Ahdut (Unity)*, in **Jerusalem** and began publishing articles under the name Ben-Gurion. He joined a group of young socialist Zionists who went to study at Turkish universities and moved in 1912 to the University of Constantinople, where he earned a law degree with highest honors. In 1914, he returned to **Palestine** and resumed his work as a union organizer but in 1915 was exiled by Ottoman authorities. In May 1918, he enlisted in a Jewish battalion of the British Royal Fusiliers and sailed to **Egypt** to join the Expeditionary Force. From 1921 to 1935, Ben-Gurion was the secretary general of the **Histadrut** and was instrumental in the founding of the United Labor Party, which eventually became **Mapai**.

In the 1920s and 1930s, **Chaim Weizmann**, the head of the **World Zionist Organization** and chief diplomat of the Zionist Movement, ran overall Zionist affairs while Ben-Gurion headed Zionist activities in Palestine, where his major rival was **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky**. Convinced that **Revisionist** Zionists under Jabotinsky were endangering the drive toward eventual statehood, Ben-Gurion sought to undermine and discredit Revisionism. When **Menachem Begin** became the leader of Revisionism in the 1940s and the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi)** increased militant actions against the British, Ben-Gurion intensified his efforts to discredit Revisionism and its leader. In 1935, he defeated the forces of Weizmann and was elected chairman of the

**Jewish Agency** executive, a post in which he served from 1935 to 1948. Recognized as the founder of Israel, Ben-Gurion served as **prime minister** from 1948 to 1963, except for 2 years beginning December 1953, when he voluntarily retired to **Sde Boker** in the **Negev** to seek respite from the rigors of his long political career and to dramatize the significance of pioneering and reclaiming the desert. In 1955, when **Pinhas Lavon** was forced to resign as minister of defense, Ben-Gurion left Sde Boker to become minister of defense in the **government** headed by **Moshe Sharett**. After the Knesset election of 1955, Ben-Gurion undertook to form a new government. However, the eruption of the **Lavon Affair** in 1960 brought disarray to Ben-Gurion's **Mapai** Party and his political base eroded. He resigned as prime minister in June 1963. In 1965, he founded a new **political party**, **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)**, and remained in the **Knesset** until his resignation in 1970. He died on 1 December 1973 in **Ramat Gan**. He was buried at Sde Boker in the Negev.

**BEN-GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV**. Located in **Beersheva**, the regional capital of the **Negev**, it was founded in 1969 with a mandate to spearhead social, agricultural, and industrial growth in Israel's arid southern region. It currently has a student body of approximately 20,000. *See also* EDUCATION.

**BEN-ISRAEL, BEN AMMI (1938–2014)**. Leader of the **Black Hebrew** community in Israel, based largely near **Dimona** in the **Negev** region. Born Ben Carter in Chicago, Illinois, on 12 October 1938, Ben Ammi claimed to have adopted his Hebrew name after studying the Bible. To his followers, who called him “father” or “holy father,” he was a prophet-like figure. He claimed to have had a vision in 1966 in which the angel Gabriel told him to lead an exodus of black Americans to Israel. He led about 350 of his followers to the West African country of Liberia in 1967 and from there he led some 140 to Israel beginning in 1969. He became an Israeli citizen in 2013, though he never converted to Judaism. He died in **Beersheva** on 27 December 2014, and was reportedly survived by 4 wives, 25 children, 45 grandchildren and 15 great-grandchildren.

**BEN-YEHUDA, ELIEZER (FORMERLY PERLMAN) (1857–1922)**. Pioneer of the restoration of Hebrew as a living, spoken language; generally considered the “father of the **Hebrew language**.” Born on 7 January 1858 in Lushky, Lithuania, Ben-Yehuda became interested in the restoration of the Jews to their ancient homeland and in the revival of the Jewish language. In 1881, he settled in **Palestine** with his wife and began editing and publishing dailies, weeklies, and periodicals in Hebrew. In 1889, together with several

others, he established the Vaad Halashon Haivrit, the Hebrew Language Council, whose main task was the coining of new Hebrew words. Ben-Yehuda developed a comprehensive dictionary of the Hebrew language containing words ranging from those found in the Bible to those in modern Hebrew literature. Ben-Yehuda died on 16 December 1922 in **Jerusalem**. On 1 November 2007, the general assembly of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) announced that Ben-Yehuda was worthy of international recognition and commemoration for his unique contribution to humanity. He will join a list of intellectuals, scientists, and artists honored by the organization for having influenced world culture, including author Nikolai Gogol, composer Josef Haydn, French playwright Eugene Ionesco, and scientists Galileo Galilei and Charles Darwin.

**BEN-ZVI, YITZHAK (FORMERLY SHIMSHELEVITZ) (1884–1963).** Israel's second **president**. Born on 6 December 1884 in Poltava, Ukraine, Russia, he was educated at a traditional *heder* and then at a Russian *gymnasium*. He joined **Zionist** groups and in 1904 made his first visit to **Palestine** and helped to found the **Poalei Zion** (Workers of Zion) Party. He entered Kiev University in 1905, but then strikes closed down the university for that year. During the **pogroms** of November 1905, he participated in Jewish self-defense groups in Poltava. In 1906, he was among the participants at the first meeting of the Poalei Zion movement of Russia. In June 1906, while his family was imprisoned by Russian police for illegal possession of weapons, he escaped to Vilna, where he attempted to coordinate Poalei Zion activities in different countries. He settled in Palestine in 1907 and that same year was the Poalei Zion delegate to the eighth Zionist Congress at The Hague. He helped found the Hebrew socialist periodical *Ahdut* (Unity) in 1910. After his deportation from Palestine by the Ottomans, he traveled to New York City and in 1915 founded the Hehalutz (The Pioneer) Movement in America.

During World War I, Ben-Zvi and **David Ben-Gurion** organized a volunteer movement for Jewish battalions in the **United States**. Ben-Zvi then served as a soldier in the **Jewish Legion** of the British Royal Fusiliers. Returning to Palestine in 1918, he was appointed to the Palestine Advisory Council in 1920 but resigned the following year after the Jaffa riots. He was one of the founders of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** in 1920. He joined the **Vaad Leumi (National Council)** and remained a member until Israel was established as a state. He was a member of the **Knesset** from 1948 to 1952 and also served on the **Jerusalem** municipal council. A signer of Israel's **Declaration of Independence**, Ben-Zvi was elected to the First **Knesset** in 1949 and to the Second Knesset in 1951 on the **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** list. After **Chaim Weizmann**'s death, he was elected Israel's president in 1952 and reelected in

1957. As president, he encouraged intellectual gatherings at his residence to discuss literary, academic, and artistic concerns. In 1962, he was elected for a third term but died in office in April 1963.

**BENIZRI, SHLOMO (1937–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 7 February 1961 in **Haifa**, he was first elected to the thirteenth Knesset in 1992 on the **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** list and was reelected in the 1996, 1999, 2003, and 2006 Knesset elections, all on the SHAS list. He served as deputy health minister, minister of health, and minister of labor and social welfare during the 1990s and early 2000s. He was later convicted of accepting bribes, breach of trust, obstructing justice, and conspiracy to commit a crime, and was sentenced to 18 months in prison. On appeal, Israel's **Supreme Court** upheld the sentence and added an additional four years of prison time.

**BENNETT, NAFTALI (1972–).** Software entrepreneur, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 25 March 1972 in **Haifa** to immigrants (see ALIYA) from the **United States**, he attended yeshiva high school and became active in the youth leadership wing of **Zionist Bnei Akiva**. Service in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** included stints in elite **Sayeret Matkal** operations in South **Lebanon**, including **Operation Grapes of Wrath**. He also saw combat during the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**.

Bennett became a multimillionaire as a software entrepreneur in the **United States**, co-founding a software company that was sold for \$145 million. Returning to Israel he resumed his software career and also facilitated investment capital ventures. He served from 2006 to 2008 as chief of staff for **Likud** leader **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Appointed in January 2010 as director-general of the **Yesha** Council, he clashed politically on many occasions with Netanyahu and came to realize that his ideology and political vision were inconsistent with those of the Likud Party. In April 2012 he broke away from Likud and joined **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**. He announced his candidacy for the party leadership and demanded that it select its leader and electoral list through open ballot. On 6 November 2012 Bennett won the party leadership by an overwhelming margin. A week later, primaries for the party's electoral list were held, with several top spots secured by Bennett loyalists. Bennett led an upbeat and aggressive campaign for the January 2013 Knesset election, leading one pundit to describe him as "the first Right-wing hipster in Israeli politics." The secret of Bennett's success was his appeal to a new type of Israeli voter. In addition to the party's traditional electoral base among Israel's religious Zionist community, including **West Bank settlers**, Bennett attracted support among young, secular Jewish Israelis in part by using social media to communicate his message.

Ideologically, Bennett opposes a separate Palestinian state and the proposed **two-state solution** for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He advocates instead Israel’s unilateral annexation of the West Bank and the granting of limited autonomy to the territory’s Arabs. Bennett’s hardline stance toward the **Palestinians** was increasingly attractive to Jewish Israelis disillusioned with the deteriorating **Oslo Accords** and instability along Israel’s border with the **Gaza Strip**.

Under Bennett’s leadership, HaBayit HaYehudi won 12 seats in the 2013 Knesset election. Bennett was appointed minister of the **economy** and minister of religious services in Netanyahu’s new coalition government. He supported the government on important initiatives affecting IDF integration of **Haredim** and religious conversions. But tensions with Netanyahu arose frequently over security matters—over what Bennett saw as the **prime minister**’s failure to “complete the job” in confrontations with Gaza-based Palestinian terrorists and Netanyahu’s “capitulation” to U.S. pressure concerning Palestinian diplomacy. Under Bennett’s leadership, HaBayit HaYehudi took eight mandates in the 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). Because of the election outcome, Bennett and his party gained significant influence in the formation of the new government and the construction of its program. Bennett became minister of **education** in the government established in May 2015.

**BERGMANN, DAVID ERNST (1903–1975)**. Atomic **scientist**. Born in Karlsruhe, **Germany**, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1934, becoming scientific director of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute (later **Weizmann Institute of Science**). He conducted advanced scientific research for **France** and **Great Britain** during World War II while serving on the Technical Committee of the **Hagana**. In 1948, he was appointed director of the scientific research department of the Israel ministry of defense. From 1949 to 1952, he was scientific director of the **Weizmann Institute of Science** in Rehovot. He was appointed chairman of Israel’s **Atomic Energy Commission** in 1952, a position he held until 1966. Beginning in 1953, he was also professor of organic chemistry at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. Recipient of the Israel Defense Prize in 1966 and **Israel Prize** in 1968, Bergmann was a member of Israel’s National Council for Research and Development and the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanity and a life member of the prestigious New York Academy of Sciences. He died on 6 April 1975 in **Haifa**.

**BERKO, ANAT (1960– )**. Member of **Knesset**, **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) career officer, leading authority on **terrorism**. Born on 14 January 1960 to parents who had immigrated (*see* ALIYA) from **Iraq**. After complet-

ing her mandatory national service she remained in the IDF for twenty-five years, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. She served as a lecturer at Israel's National Defense College, the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) in Herzliya, and as a visiting professor at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. She was placed twenty-third on the **Likud (Union) Party** election list in 2015 in a slot reserved for a candidate chosen by party leader **Benjamin Netanyahu** and was elected to the Twentieth Knesset. Berko holds a Ph.D. in Criminology. Her specialization has been terrorists and terrorism. She has published two books: *The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and Their Dispatchers* (2009); and *The Smarter Bomb: Women and Children as Suicide Bombers* (2012).

**BERMAN, YITZHAK (1913–2013).** Member of **Knesset**, Knesset speaker, **government** minister. Born in Russia, he immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1921. After completing his schooling in **Jerusalem**, he studied law in London. He served in the British army from 1942 to 1945. He joined the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi)** and served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. He then entered business, in which he was active until 1954, when he opened a private law practice. In 1968, he became active in the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)**. He was first elected to the Ninth **Knesset** on behalf of the Liberal faction of the **Likud (Union) Party** bloc in May 1977 and served as chairman of the House Committee until his election as speaker of the Knesset on 12 March 1980. After being reelected to the Tenth Knesset, he was sworn in as minister of energy and infrastructure on 5 August 1981 and served until 1982 when he resigned. Berman died on 4 August 2013 in **Tel Aviv**.

**BERNADOTTE PLAN.** The Bernadotte Plan, submitted by Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden to the **United Nations** in 1948, called on Israel to relinquish control over the southern **Negev** in return for retention of western and central **Galilee**. The plan also called for the repatriation of all **Arab** refugees who had fled from **Palestine** during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, the merger of the Arab part of **Palestine** with **Jordan**, and the making of **Haifa** into an international port. The proposal raised opposition from both Jews and Arabs and was rejected by the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly in early December 1948. Bernadotte was assassinated in **Jerusalem** on 17 September 1948. The assassins were never apprehended, but they were believed to be associated with the militant **Stern (Gang) Group**.

**BETA ISRAEL.** An Amharic term derived from the Hebrew for *House of Israel* for Jews of **Ethiopian** origin. Similar to the term *Falasha* (Amharic for *strangers*). See also FALASH MURA.

**BETAR.** Hebrew acronym for Brit Yosef Trumpeldor (Joseph Trumpeldor Pact). A **Revisionist Zionist** youth movement founded in 1923 in Riga, named after **Joseph Trumpeldor**, and affiliated with **Revisionist Zionism**, the movement's ideological mentor was **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky**. BETAR's ideological tenets were Jewish statehood, territorial integrity of the homeland, ingathering of the exiles, the centrality of the Zionist idea, cultivation of the **Hebrew language**, social justice, military preparedness for defense, national service, and *hadar*—a code of honor and strict personal behavior. Following Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, BETAR founded **agricultural** and rural **settlements**. It also supports a **sports** society by the same name.

**BETHLEHEM.** A city in the **West Bank** located about five miles (eight kilometers) south of **Jerusalem** and is the traditional birthplace of Jesus Christ. Bethlehem is chiefly a religious shrine with many churches and other religious institutions. It was a walled city during the time of King **David**, who was born there. Christian crusaders captured it in the first crusade but the Ottoman Turks gained control of the area in the 1500s. In 1917, during World War I, British forces led by General Allenby took it. It was part of the West Bank area annexed by **Jordan** in 1949, and Israel gained control during the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Control was initially transferred to the **Palestinians** in late 1995 within the context of the **Oslo II** Interim Agreement but largely retaken by Israel in **Operation Defensive Shield** in the spring of 2002. On 3 April 2002, the Church of Nativity, the traditional birthplace of Christianity, was taken over by dozens of heavily armed Islamic **terrorist** fugitives fleeing Israeli forces. For several weeks a standoff ensued, with Israel assiduously avoiding assaulting the terrorists for fear of damaging the church and thereby provoking crises with the **Vatican** and the broader Christian world. The standoff was finally resolved on 10 May 2002 through the intervention of the government of Italy and other international actors.

The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics' current (2015) estimated population of the Bethlehem Governorate is 216,114 but the city itself has a population of about 32,000. The majority of the city's residents since biblical times have been Christian. However, Bethlehem's Christian community today is rapidly dwindling, and the town's population is overwhelming Muslim. The demographic shift began as early as 1948 when, after Israel's **War of Independence**, the Bethlehem area experienced an influx of thousands of Muslim refugees from the villages in the southern part of Jerusalem, and the



three resultant refugee camps over time effectively became Bethlehem neighborhoods. By 1995 the proportion of Christians in Bethlehem had dropped to 35 percent; it is currently estimated at between 20 and 25 percent. The majority of Christians fled Bethlehem due to the increasing infusion of Palestinian nationalism with radical Sunni Islamism that decrees violence against Jews *and* Christians. The manifestation of this ranges from harassment and violent assaults targeting the owners of Christian shops in Manger Square by Muslim businessmen/gangsters to the systematic degradation of cornerstone churches and other ancient Christian institutions in Bethlehem, including the 2002 occupation of the Church of the Nativity by Islamist terrorists.

**BEZALEL ACADEMY OF ARTS AND DESIGN.** Jerusalem-based academy of arts and design named for Bezalel, the man who is traditionally believed to have been appointed by Moses to build the Tabernacle to hold the Ten Commandments given to the Jews at Mount Sinai. The original school was founded by the **German** Jewish immigrant Boris Schatz and opened in 1906 with the help of German **Zionists**. Schatz viewed the school as a means not only of enabling Jews of the early **Yishuv** to find an alternative to charity by working in arts and crafts but also of developing a uniquely Jewish national style of artistic expression consistent with **Zionism**'s spirit of national renaissance. Closed by Turkish imperial authorities on the eve of Jerusalem's being overrun by Allied forces in 1917, the school was able to reopen after World War I with the assistance of the **World Zionist Organization**, but it closed again in 1929 because of lack of funds. In 1935, it was reopened as the New Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts. Relocated to **Mount Scopus** in the 1990s, it remains one of Israel's leading centers of excellence in visual arts and design. *See also* THEATER.

**BIALIK, HAIM NAHMAN (1873–1934).** One of the most influential Hebrew poets and writers of modern times, he was born on 9 January 1873 in Radi, Russia. In many of his poems, he stressed the vital role of the Beit Hamidrash (House of Study) and extolled the tradition of learning in Jewish life, but his main preoccupation was with the rebirth of the Jewish people and their return to **Zion**. In 1924 he settled in **Palestine**, played an important role in numerous cultural institutions, and was also president of the Vaad Hala-shon Haivrit, the **Hebrew Language** Council. Bialik died on 4 July 1934 in Vienna, Austria.

**BIELSKY, ZEEV (1946–).** Chairman of the executive of the **Jewish Agency** for Israel and the **World Zionist Organization** (2005–2009). Born on 13 March 1949 in **Jerusalem**, he served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** from 1967 to 1970, retiring with the rank of major. Mayor of the city of

Ra'anana from 1989 to 2005, and again since 2013. Appointed chair of the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization following the surprise resignation of **Sallai Meridor** on 28 June 2005. He was formally elected to the two positions in 2006. He was succeeded by **Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky** on 26 June 2009. Prior to the 2009 **Knesset** elections Bielsky was placed fifteenth on the **Kadima (Forward)** Party list and entered the Knesset when the party took 28 mandates in the Eighteenth Knesset. He chose not to run in the 2013 elections, choosing to resume his position as mayor of Ra'anana.

**BILTMORE PROGRAM.** After World War I, when the **British Mandate** replaced Ottoman rule in **Palestine**, the focus of **Zionist** political and diplomatic endeavor was **Great Britain**. However, during and after World War II, political necessity and reality resulted in a shift in focus to the **United States**. The Biltmore Program was adopted by the Extraordinary Zionist Conference in New York City on 11 May 1942 in response to Great Britain's policy toward the Jewish national home, particularly the restrictions on land sales and immigration (*see* ALIYA) imposed on Jews in Palestine in the **White Paper of 1939**. The program became the basis for Zionist effort until Israel's independence and was a harbinger of change. It rejected efforts to restrict Jewish immigration and **settlement** in Palestine and called for the fulfillment of the **Balfour Declaration** and the mandate, urging that "Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth." The Biltmore Program reflected the urgency of the situation in which the Jewish leadership found itself as a consequence of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** and the need to provide for the displaced Jews of Europe.

**BILU MOVEMENT.** A **Zionist** society and movement of **Palestinian** pioneers from the nonreligious Jewish-Russian intellectual leadership, founded in Kharkov, Russia, in 1882, which spearheaded the **First Aliya**. It derived its name from the **Hebrew** acronym of the biblical verse "Bet Yaakov Lkhu Vnelha" ("House of Jacob, come ye and let us go," Isaiah 2:5), which served as its slogan. Its aim was the national renaissance of the Jewish people, the development of its productiveness, and its return to **agriculture**. The society was founded after the anti-Jewish **pogroms** in Russia of 1882 and the arrival of the first group of Bilu settlers in Palestine in July 1882. Although their concrete achievements of establishing **settlements** were limited, the moral and historical effect of the movement was substantial because the ideals it represented continued to inspire successive generations.

**BISHARA, AZMI (AHMED) (1956– ).** Arab-Israeli member of **Knesset**. Born in **Nazareth** to Christian Arab parents, he was educated in East Germany. A professor of philosophy at Bir-Zeit University in the **West Bank**,

Bishara was the founder and head of the **National Democratic Alliance (Balad)** Party. He was first elected to the **Knesset** in 1996 on the list of the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)** Party. He subsequently broke from Hadash and Balad ran independently in the Fourteenth Knesset. In 1999, he became the first Arab citizen to run to become Israel's **prime minister**, campaigning for the extending of full civil and political rights to the Arab community and demanding that Israel be transformed into a "state of all its citizens" and not simply a "Jewish state." Bishara also criticized Israeli policy toward the **Golan Heights** during highly publicized meetings in Damascus with the president of **Syria**, Hafez al-Assad, and expressed sympathy for **Hezbollah** and other groups waging a war of attrition on Israel's border with **Lebanon**. He withdrew from the prime ministerial race on the eve of the 17 May 1999 election, throwing his support to the candidacy of **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** leader **Ehud Barak**. Under Bishara's leadership, the National Democratic Alliance (Balad) won two seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999), three seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003), and three seats in the Seventeenth Knesset (2006).

Bishara abruptly resigned from the Knesset in April 2007 amid a police investigation into allegations of his aiding and passing information to the enemy during wartime, contacts with a foreign agent, and receiving large sums of money transferred from abroad. Bishara denied the accusations but soon fled the country. He currently resides in Qatar and is a leader in the international campaign to delegitimize the state of Israel and **Zionism**.

**BITON, CHARLEY (1947– )**. One of the founders of Israel's **Black Panthers** social and economic protest movement. Born on 11 April 1947 in Casablanca, Morocco, and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1949. He was elected to the Eleventh (1984) and Twelfth (1988) **Knessets** on the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)** list and led a campaign to have amnesty granted to prisoners (mainly poor Sephardim—*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) incarcerated in Israeli prisons in 1998 to mark the country's fiftieth anniversary. Biton remains an advocate for improved social and economic rights for disadvantaged Israelis. *See also* SECOND ISRAEL.

**BLACK HEBREWS**. The name applied to a community of African Americans who arrived in Israel in the late 1960s and early 1970s claiming to be the "rightful inheritors of **Jerusalem** and the Holy Land" and who have remained in the country illegally ever since. Founded in the Black ghettos of Chicago in the early 1960s, its members claimed to be the "true descendants" of **Abraham** and the biblical Israelites; they rejected the legitimacy of the state of Israel and predicted that "by 1977, the lands and the institutions now

being controlled by the illegal government occupying that land [Israel] will be in the hands of Black people from America, with the authority of the Original African Hebrew Israelite Nation of Jerusalem.”

The first group of 39 Black Hebrews arrived in Israel via Liberia on 21 December 1969. They asked to be granted immediate immigrant (*see* ALIYA) status under the **Law of Return**. Befuddled Israeli immigration officials deferred responding to this request until the religious status of the group’s members could be clarified; in the meantime, they were granted tourist visas; were settled in the **Negev development town** of **Dimona**; and given assistance in obtaining housing, employment, **Hebrew language** instruction, and other support usually provided to new immigrants. Shortly thereafter, other Black Hebrews arrived in two groups and joined their colleagues in Dimona. In due course, Israeli rabbinical authorities determined that the Black Hebrews were not Jewish and the interior ministry began expulsion proceedings against those who had either entered the country illegally or whose tourist visas had expired. On appeal, an Israeli court ruled that because the Black Hebrews were not Jewish, they could not benefit from the Law of Return and that the interior ministry was acting legally in ordering the deportation of those who were living in the country illegally.

Despite this ruling, successive Israeli governments continued to avoid deporting the group’s members, seemingly fearful of eliciting charges of racism and of provoking tensions between American Jewish and Black communities. In the meantime, the Black Hebrew community in Israel grew to some 3,000 members, most of whom lived in squalid conditions in Dimona, Arad, and Mitzpe Ramon.

In July 2003, Israel granted permanent resident status to the black Hebrews. The movement’s founder and longtime leader **Ben Ammi Ben-Israel** died in Beersheva on 27 December 2014.

**BLACK PANTHERS.** Although there had been riots in the Middle Eastern neighborhood of **Wadi Salib** in 1959, no significant political movement developed in the **Sephardic** and **Oriental Jewish** community until the 1970s. Then, a militant protest group formed by some young Jews of North African background who chose to call themselves Black Panthers took to the streets to oppose what they regarded as discrimination by Ashkenazi-dominated Israeli establishment against the Oriental Jewish community. They helped to generate awareness and a plethora of public investigations and government study commissions. Demands for more opportunities in **education** and social services were part of the effort to achieve improvement in the Oriental Jewish community’s socioeconomic status. These efforts achieved some amelioration of the situation but did not effect substantial change.

**BLACK SEPTEMBER (CRISIS).** The crisis in **Jordan** in September 1970 between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and segments of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, particularly the Popular Front for the Liberation of **Palestine** and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. **Palestinians** challenged the authority of **King Hussein** and sought to engage in **terrorist** activity without constraint from Jordan against Israel. Tensions between the PLO and Jordan deteriorated into open conflict on 1 September 1970. A formal cease-fire ended the conflict, and the PLO's use of Jordan as a base of operations against Israel ended. The PLO shifted its bases to **Syria** and then to **Lebanon**.

**BLACK SEPTEMBER (TERRORIST GROUP).** A **Palestinian terrorist** group, it was responsible for the kidnapping and murder of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, **Germany**.

**BNAI ISRAEL OF INDIA (CHILDREN OF ISRAEL).** A Jewish community indigenous to western **India** near Bombay whose origins are a mystery. In 1947, there were some 24,000 members of the community living in India, but most subsequently immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel. In 1961, a controversy erupted in Israel as to whether the Bnai Israel were Jews according to Jewish law. The controversy ended in 1964 when Prime Minister **Levi Eshkol** declared adherents of the Bnai Israel as Jews in every respect. Nevertheless, four decades later, in September 2005, the chief rabbi of **Petah Tikva** reportedly declined to recognize the local marriage involving a member of the Bnai Israel due to questions about his community's status according to *Halacha*. *See also* LAW OF RETURN (1950).

**BNEI AKIVA.** The youth branch of the **Mizrachi**–Hapoel Hamizrachi World Movement, founded in **Palestine** in 1922. **Zionist** in ideology, its guiding principles are loyalty to Torah, the land of Israel, and the Jewish people. Its specific aim was initially to train its members for a life of Torah VaAvoda (Torah and Labor), reflected in religious **kibbutz** activity under the banner of the **HaKibbutz Hadati** Movement. The first Bnei Akiva kibbutz, En Tzurim, was founded in 1946 in the **Hebron** hills. After **Jordan**'s occupation of that area during the **War of Independence**, En Tzurim was relocated to the **Negev** Desert; it subsequently became the site of Yeshivat Hakibbutz Hadati, the principal yeshiva of the religious Zionist kibbutz movement. Since statehood, Bnei Akiva members served in the **Nahal** unit of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, establishing kibbutzim, farms, and other **settlements** in remote parts of the country. They also became the backbone of the *Hesder* religious Zionist yeshiva system in which students combine religious studies with military service. In recent years, graduates of the Bnei Akiva system

have entered the upper echelons of the IDF command structure. *See also* GUSH EMUNIM (BLOC OF THE FAITHFUL); NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY (NRP; MIFLAGA DATIT LEUMIT–MAFDAL).

**BNEI MENASHE.** An estimated 7,000 people of Mizo-Kuki-Chin descent inhabiting the **Indian** states of Mizoram and Manipur on the borders of Burma and Bangladesh in northeastern India who believe they are descendants of Menashe, a legendary Lost Tribe of Israel. In March 2005, Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) chief rabbi Shlomo Amar announced that members of the Bnei Menashe tribe were “descendants of the Jewish people.” As a consequence, they could “return home to Israel” under the terms of the **Law of Return**. In the fall of 2006, a planned airlift (originally scheduled for 21 November) of 218 members of the Bnei Menashe was cancelled because of concern over potential harm to Israel-India diplomatic relations. The immigration (*see* ALIYA) was rescheduled to take place in smaller and staggered groups. The first 51 of the new immigrants arrived in Israel on 21 November 2006. On 18 June 2015 a group of 78 Bnei Menashe arrived in Israel, bringing the number to have immigrated to Israel to more than 3,000. The flight was believed to be the first in a series of three; the expected arrival of the other two planes in summer 2015 would bring the total of newcomers to approximately 250. *See also* WHO IS A JEW?.

**“BOMB IN THE BASEMENT”.** Israel’s long-standing policy of ambiguity—of neither confirming nor denying—possession of a nuclear weapon. *See also* ATOMIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

**BORDER POLICE.** In Hebrew, *Mishmar HeGevul*, and often referred to by the Hebrew acronym MAGAV. Their green uniforms and green berets derive from the **Green Line** of the 1949 armistice agreements. Created in 1953, the Border Police are officially part of the Israel national police. When stationed in the **West Bank** they operate under the command of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Admission to the service is competitive. It tends to attract Israel’s non-Jewish minorities—**Druze** currently compose some 10 percent of the membership—along with Jews of Middle Eastern (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) background and new immigrants (*see* ALIYA). The service’s primary task is border security, but they have also deployed to assist the IDF in **Jerusalem** and the West Bank to maintain order. The Border Police were originally known as the Frontier Corps and functioned under the IDF to provide security in the border areas and rural parts of the country. *See also* ISRAEL POLICE.

**BOROCHOV, BER (1881–1917).** Principal **Zionist** theoretician and godfather of the intellectual nexus between socialism and Zionism. Born on 21 June 1881 in Zolotonosha, Ukraine, he received a secular **education** and after his studies joined the Social Democrat Organization while participating in local Zionist study circles. Disenchanted by state-sponsored **pogroms** and anti-Jewish sentiment among the Social Democrats, he concentrated solely on Zionist activity. His revolutionary ambition to meld Zionism with socialist values gave birth to various Zionist workers' movements and parties. Borochov died on 17 December 1917 in Kiev of pneumonia.

**BRIT SHALOM.** A Jewish organization based in **Mandate Palestine** and devoted to the promotion of a working arrangement between **Zionism** and Arab nationalism. The main goal was to promote a binational state in Palestine rather than a Jewish state. It was a small and loosely shaped organization composed primarily of Jewish intellectuals and other prominent Jewish figures and reached its peak in the 1920s and 1930s. In many respects, it was more of a debating society and study group than an active political organization. **Martin Buber** and **Judah Leib Magnes** were among its members. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.** At the end of World War I, the great powers dismantled the Ottoman Empire. **Great Britain** was granted control over **Palestine** under the League of Nations mandate system and retained control of the territory from 1922 to 1948. It was during the **British Mandate** period that most of the political, economic, and social institutions of Israel were formed; its political parties launched; and the careers of its political elite begun. In the spring of 1947, the British turned the problem of the future of the mandate over to the **United Nations**, which established the **United Nations Special Committee on Palestine** (UNSCOP) to review the situation and to offer suggestions for disposition of the territory. UNSCOP's majority report, which called for the partition of Palestine (see PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN), was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1947. The British terminated the mandate and its presence in Palestine on 15 May 1948.

**BROTHER DANIEL CASE.** A 1962 ruling by the **Supreme Court of Israel** affecting the **Who Is a Jew?** issue. Daniel Rufeisen was born in 1922 and reared in Poland as a Jew named Oswald Rufeizin (Oswald Rufeisen). He was hidden by Roman Catholics during World War II, converted to Catholicism, and became a Carmelite monk. He moved to Israel, settling in **Haifa**, and claimed citizenship and special benefits restricted to Jewish immigrants (*see* ALIYA) under the **Law of Return** based on the fact that he was born to

a Jewish mother. The interior minister, Moshe Shapira of the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**, rejected this appeal, arguing that although by a strict definition of *Halacha* Brother Daniel was indeed born Jewish, the fact that he had willingly converted to another **religion** meant that he had forfeited his claims as a Jew. If he wanted to immigrate to Israel under the terms of the Law of Return, he would have to consent to be “reconverted” to Judaism. In 1962, the Supreme Court ruled against Brother Daniel’s appeal, although the court emphasized that it was basing its judgment on secular grounds rather than an Orthodox interpretation of *Halacha*. Brother Daniel was later accorded Israeli citizenship by the interior ministry. He died in August 1998.

**B'TSELEM (THE ISRAELI INFORMATION CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES)**. Israeli group established in 1989 specifically to “document and **educate** the Israeli public and policymakers about [Israeli] human rights violations in the **Occupied Territories**” and to “help create a human rights culture in Israel.” The word *B'Tselem* in Hebrew means literally “in the image of,” as in “And God created humans in his image. In the image of God did He create him” (Genesis 1:27). While highly regarded internationally, B'Tselem has been criticized for employing excessive and inflammatory rhetoric in its depiction of Israeli actions, exaggerating Palestinian casualty rates, relying on anecdotal evidence, automatically rejecting Israeli evidence as “tainted” and giving lip-service to legitimate Israeli security concerns while ignoring Palestinian **terrorist** provocations.

**BUBER, MARTIN (1878–1965)**. Prominent Jewish **religious** philosopher. Born on 8 February 1878 in Vienna, Austria, he settled in **Palestine** in 1938. Author of many books on Jewish philosophy, general philosophy, **Hasidism**, theology, **Zionist** theory, and the Bible, his fame was based primarily on his philosophy of a dialogue between God and man, as expressed in his books *Between Man and Man* (1947) and *I and Thou* (1958). He joined **Judah Leib Magnes** and the **Brit Shalom** and **Ihud** movements and advocated Arab-Jewish rapprochement as well as an Arab-Jewish binational state in Palestine. He died on 13 June 1965 in **Jerusalem**.

**BUFFETT, WARREN E. (1930– )**. An American multibillionaire investor who, in May 2006, purchased 80 percent of the **ISCAR** metalworking company in Israel, one of the leading industries in Israel. Buffett’s company, Berkshire Hathaway, bought its controlling share of ISCAR, and the deal was announced on 5 May 2006. Buffet’s investment, his first outside the **United States**, was an important asset to Israel’s financial community and a



vote of confidence in the fundamental strength of the Israeli **economy**. In May 2013 Buffett paid \$2 billion for the remaining 20 percent of ISCAR stock and committed to keep the company headquartered in Israel, which he described as the “most promising investment hub” outside the United States. “I’m not Jewish, but Israel reminds me of the United States after its birth,” Buffett told the Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot*. “The determination, motivation, intelligence and initiative of its people are remarkable and extraordinary. I’m a big believer in Israel’s economy.” Buffett added, “I didn’t invest the money in any other country. That’s the strongest vote of confidence I can give you, no?”

**BURG, AVRAHAM (1955–)**. Member of **Knesset**, Knesset speaker, **Jewish Agency** and **World Zionist Organization** head. Born in **Jerusalem**, he is the son of veteran **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** politician **Yosef Burg**. A graduate of the Orthodox *Hesder* yeshiva system, he began his political career in 1985 as adviser to Prime Minister **Shimon Peres** on Israel-Diaspora affairs. First elected to the Knesset on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list in 1988 and reelected in 1992, he did not stand for election in 1996. In June 1995, he was elected chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization (WZO), replacing **Simha Dinitz**. In December 1997, he was reelected to a second two-year term. He was a proponent of religious tolerance among Israeli Jews, continuing peace negotiations with the **Palestinians**, and the streamlining of the Jewish Agency and the WZO to reflect current political and financial circumstances affecting the Israel-Diaspora relationship. He reentered party politics in the spring of 1999, winning a seat in the Knesset on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** list. He was overwhelmingly elected speaker of the Fifteenth Knesset on 6 July 1999. Burg lost the 2003 One Israel leadership race to former **Haifa** mayor **Amram Mitzna** but was reelected in the 2003 Knesset election. He subsequently announced his retirement from party politics. He was an active participant in the private Israeli-Palestinian **Geneva Initiative** (December 2003). In 2007, Burg published a book called *Defeating Hitler*, in which he described the impact of the continuing trauma of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** on Israeli society. In June 2007, Burg became embroiled in a public controversy over his suggestion that Israel be defined not as a “Jewish State” but as a “State of the Jews” to incorporate its minority (mainly Arab) citizens. Long a critic of Israel’s policy toward the **Occupied Territories**, in 2012 Burg endorsed a boycott of products generated in **West Bank settlements** and said that he personally does not cross the **Green Line**. In January 2015, Burg announced that he had joined the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)** and would be voting for the party in the March 2015 Knesset election. In a subsequent

interview in *Yediot Ahronot* he declared that Israel's future was a choice between becoming a fundamentalist Jewish state or a binational Jewish-Arab confederation with open borders and part of a regional union.

**BURG, YOSEF (1909–1999).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 31 January 1909 in Dresden, **Germany**, from 1928 to 1931 he completed his rabbinical studies at the seminary in Berlin and studied in the faculty of humanities at Berlin University. In 1933, he received a Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig. In 1938, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine**, and from 1939 to 1951, he served as a member of the World **Zionist** Council. Between 1946 and 1949, he carried out a number of missions in Europe to rescue **Holocaust (The Shoah)** survivors. Initially elected on behalf of the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** to the First Knesset in January 1949, he was reelected to subsequent Knessets. He served as deputy speaker in the First Knesset, minister of **health** from 1951 to 1952, minister of posts from 1952 to 1958, minister of social welfare from 1959 to 1970, and minister of the interior from 1970 to 1984. On 5 August 1981, in addition to his post as minister of the interior and as chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Negotiations for Autonomy for the Arab Residents of **Judea, Samaria**, and the **Gaza** District, Burg assumed the post of minister of religious affairs. In the **Government of National Unity**, he served as minister of **religion** from 1984 until his resignation from the post in 1986. He later served as world chairman of the **Mizrachi** Movement. He died on 15 October 1999 in **Jerusalem**.

**BUSH, GEORGE, H. W. (1924– ).** President of the **United States** from 1989 to 1993. He and his secretary of state, **James Baker** (1989–1993) focused on low-key efforts to maintain the dialogue between Israel and the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** established in the last days of the previous Ronald Reagan administration. Bush and Baker persuaded the **Yitzhak Shamir**–led government not to respond militarily to the **Scud missiles** fired at Israel by **Iraq** during the first **Persian Gulf War** (1991). The Bush administration pressured the Shamir government to participate in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** (October 1991), and the two governments became embroiled in a rare public dispute, with senior White House officials threatening to withhold approval of loan guarantees for Israel's resettlement of immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** unless the Shamir government modified its **settlement** activity in the **West Bank** and **Gaza Strip**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**BUSH, GEORGE, W. (1948–)**. President of the **United States** from 2001 to 2009. He set out to avoid the path of intensive personal intervention in Middle Eastern affairs that had preoccupied his predecessor, **William J. (Bill) Clinton**. Nevertheless, Bush was soon drawn into the maelstrom of regional affairs by the al-Qaeda **terrorist** attacks of 11 September 2001 and the war against **Iraq** (2003). On 24 June 2002, Bush fundamentally redefined the terms of reference of the Israeli-Palestinian relationship by declaring support in principle for an independent Palestinian state within the context of a negotiated **two-state solution** and making U.S. support for that independent state conditional on the Palestinians' election of "leaders not compromised by terror." These terms of reference were subsequently incorporated into the **Roadmap** for Israeli-Palestinian peace endorsed by the Middle East **Quartet**. In his **April 14 letters** that were exchanged with Israeli prime minister **Ariel Sharon** in 2005, Bush made seemingly definitive statements of U.S. policy concerning the limits of Israeli withdrawal from the **Occupied Territories** in a negotiated final agreement and the Palestinian **right of return**.

On 27 November 2007, Bush convened an international conference at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. The declared goals of the **Annapolis Conference** were to signal international support for efforts by **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) chairman and **Palestinian Authority** (PA) president **Mahmoud Abbas** and Israeli prime minister **Ehud Olmert** to commence a process of direct negotiations leading to the realization of Israeli-Palestinian peace based on the two-state formula envisioned by Bush in his June 2002 statement and to coordinate international support for efforts undertaken by Abbas and the **Fatah ("Conquest")**-led PA to construct the institutions and culture for an independent and democratic Palestinian state. From 9 January to 11 January 2007, Bush made his first visit to Israel since becoming president. He met with Olmert in Jerusalem and with Abbas in Ramallah and expressed confidence that an Israeli-Palestinian agreement could be reached before he left office in January 2009. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.



# C

**CABINET.** The cabinet or government is the central policymaking body of the Israeli governmental system. From statehood until 1996, the **president** was empowered to designate a member of the **Knesset**, almost always the leader of the party holding the most seats, to form a government. Pursuant to the amended **Basic Law: The Government** (1992), the process for selecting the **prime minister** was changed to one of direct election; in 1996 and 1999, this occurred simultaneously with general elections (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL) for the Knesset, whereas in 2001, there was a special election for prime minister alone. However, in March 2001, the Basic Law: The Government was amended once again, retracting those provisions allowing for the direct election of the prime minister.

The prime minister must be a citizen of Israel of at least 30 years of age and a member of the Knesset. Ministers are usually, but not necessarily, members of the Knesset (MKs). The prime minister-elect has 45 days within which to form a **government** and present that government and its guiding principles before the Knesset for a vote of confidence. If within that period the prime minister-elect is unable to form a government, the president is empowered to ask another MK (normally the leader of the party with the second-largest number of seats in the Knesset) to try to form a viable government. If, after the constitutionally mandated 28 days, a government still cannot be formed, the president has the discretion to either accord a brief extension, revert the prerogative for forming the government to the leader of the largest party in the Knesset, look to another MK to try to form the government, or advise the Knesset to dissolve in preparation for new general elections.

The government is constituted upon obtaining a vote of confidence from the Knesset, which must approve the composition of the government, the distribution of functions among the ministers, and the basic guidelines of the government's policy. The cabinet is collectively responsible to the Knesset, reports to it, and remains in office as long as it enjoys the confidence of that body. Until March 1990, there had never been a successful motion of no confidence by the Knesset causing the ouster of a government. Under the

Basic Law: The Government (2001), there are several ways to terminate a cabinet's tenure. The first is a vote of no confidence in the prime minister and government, which requires the support of a majority of **61** MKs to pass. There is also the possibility for the prime minister himself or herself to inform the president that the government cannot continue to function properly; the president is then empowered to ask another MK to try to form a new government and, if that fails, to recommend the dissolution of the Knesset and that new general elections be held.

The cabinet decides Israel's policies in all spheres, subject to Knesset approval, and it generally initiates the largest portion of legislation. Increasingly much of the cabinet's work has been conducted by a small and select group of ministers meeting informally in a "**kitchen cabinet**"—for example, as occurred when **Golda Meir** was the prime minister—or in ministerial committees on issues such as security and defense.

Ministries are divided among the parties forming the coalition in accordance with the agreement reached by the parties and generally reflect their size and influence. The most important positions in the cabinet aside from the prime minister tend to be defense minister, foreign minister, and finance minister.

To date, no party has received enough Knesset seats to be able to form a government by itself (that is, at least 61 seats of the 120-seat Knesset). Thus, all Israeli governments have been based on coalitions between two or more parties, with those remaining outside the government making up the opposition. The coalition is based on agreement among the parties in the government defining common policy goals and the principles that are to guide its activities. The coalition agreement is not a legally binding document. Though one of the goals behind the change to the direct election of the prime minister was to make the coalition-formation process more stable and less vulnerable to coalition pressures, this proved not to be the case in practice.

In the spring of 2009, prime minister-elect **Benjamin Netanyahu** formed a coalition government composed of six parties representing diverse political interests and demands on the system and on the prime minister. Israel's thirty-second government was sworn in on 31 March 2009. The **Thirty-Fourth government of Israel**, again headed by Netanyahu, was formed on 7 May 2015, and introduced to and approved by the Knesset on 14 May 2015. It was a narrow, 61-member coalition composed of five parties. On 27 August 2015 the **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedoleit HaTorah)** of the **United Torah Judaism** Party authorized deputy health minister Yaakov Litzman to accept the position of health minister in the coalition, marking the first time since 1952 that an Ashkenazi Haredi political party had agreed to fully participate in an Israeli cabinet. On 30 May 2016, the size of Israel's Thirty-Fourth government grew to 66 Knesset seats (from 61) with the inclusion of the **Israel Beiteinu** Party.

**CAMERI THEATER.** Initially established in **Tel Aviv** in 1944, it became the first **theater** company to produce original **Hebrew** works based on themes pertinent to everyday life in the **Yishuv**. Since 1970, it has been the Tel Aviv municipal theater.

**CAMP DAVID II (2000).** From 11 July to 22 July 2000, President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States**, Israeli prime minister **Ehud Barak**, and **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman and **Palestinian Authority** president **Yasser Arafat** and their respective delegations met for ongoing discussions at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland. The purpose was to try to work out a comprehensive permanent status Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement. Although creative ideas for bridging the Israeli and **Palestinian** positions on such issues as **settlements**, final borders, refugees, and **Jerusalem** were put forward, mainly by the Israelis and the Americans, no agreement was reached. *See also* AL-AKSA INTIFADA; ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1978).** **Egyptian** president **Anwar Sadat**'s historic visit to **Jerusalem** in November 1977 was followed by negotiations in which the **United States**—and President **Jimmy Carter** personally—played an active and often crucial role. In September 1978, President Carter, President Sadat of Egypt, Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** of Israel, and their senior aides held an extraordinary series of meetings for 13 days at Camp David, Maryland, during which they discussed Egyptian-Israeli bilateral relations and the **Arab-Israeli conflict**. On 17 September 1978 at the White House, they announced the conclusion of two accords that provided the basis for continuing negotiations for peace: a “Framework for Peace in the Middle East”; and a “Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel.”

The Middle East framework set forth general principles and some specifics to govern a comprehensive peace settlement, focusing on the future of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. It called for a transitional period of no more than five years during which Israel's military government would be withdrawn (although Israeli forces could remain in specified areas to ensure Israel's security) and a self-governing authority would be elected by the inhabitants of these areas. It also provided that “Egypt, Israel, **Jordan** and the representatives of the Palestinian people” should participate in negotiations to resolve the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, Israel's relations with Jordan based on **United Nations Security Council Resolution 242**, and Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders.

The Egypt-Israel framework called for Israel's withdrawal from the **Sinai Peninsula** and the establishment of normal, peaceful relations between the two states.

In addition to the two frameworks, there was a series of accompanying letters clarifying the parties' positions on certain issues.

The Egyptian cabinet approved the Camp David Accords on 19 September, and on 28 September, the Israeli **Knesset** voted 84 to 19 (with 17 abstentions) to endorse them. The accords led to negotiations and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1979)**.

**CARTER, JIMMY (1924–)**. President of the **United States** from 1977 to 1981, he played an active role in negotiations between Israel and **Egypt** that led to the **Camp David Accords** and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; BEGIN, MENACHEM (1919–1992); EGYPT; SADAT, ANWAR (1918–1981).

**CENTER LIBERAL PARTY**. *See* LIBERAL CENTER PARTY.

**CENTER PARTY**. An ideologically centrist **political party** formed in late 1998 to contest the 17 May 1999 election to the Fifteenth **Knesset**. Its founders were former **Likud (Union) Party** members of the Knesset and **cabinet** ministers **Dan Meridor**, **Ronnie Milo**, and **Yitzhak Mordechai**, and former **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff **Amnon Lipkin-Shahak**. In seeking to create a third political constituency, the party's founders were responding to strong popular support for a political party that would occupy the ideological middle ground between the Likud and **Israel Labor (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** parties and their respective alliance partners. On foreign and security policy, the Center Party platform advocated "examining Palestinian interests, including their aspiration for a state, in the framework of [final status] negotiations, while maintaining [Israel's] vital interests." With regard to relations with **Syria** and **Lebanon**, the party envisioned a "new strategic situation in the north with territorial compromise on the **Golan [Heights]**." Its domestic policy platform promised increased national unity based on a more equitable distribution of resources to all segments of Israeli society; efforts to improve the country's educational system; the promulgation of a formal, written constitution (see **BASIC LAW**); and an end to "**religious coercion**" practiced by the ultra-Orthodox political parties.

The Center Party selected as its leader the former defense minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who also was its candidate for **prime minister** until the eve of the 17 May 1999 elections, when Mordechai withdrew and threw his support to **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** candidate **Ehud Barak**. The party won six seats in the Fifteenth Knesset and joined the governing coalition announced by



Barak on 6 July 1999, with Mordechai as transportation minister and Lipkin-Shahak as minister of **tourism**. The party dissolved in 2001 during the Fifteenth Knesset, with its key actors either returning to their roots in the Likud Party or withdrawing from party politics.

**CENTER-SHINUI MOVEMENT.** A political bloc made up of three **political parties**: **Shinui**, the **Independent Liberal (HaLiberalim Haatzmaim)**, and the **Liberal Center**. Shinui was formed in 1974 by **Tel Aviv University** law professor **Amnon Rubinstein**. In 1976, it joined with other groups to form the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit LeShinui)**, a centrist party headed by **Yigael Yadin** that won 15 seats in the 1977 Knesset election. With the demise of the DMC, Shinui set out on its own, winning two seats in the 1981 Knesset election and three in the 1984 Knesset election. It was a junior partner in the 1984–1988 **Government of National Unity**. It joined with the Independent Liberal and Liberal Center parties to form the Center-Shinui Movement and won two seats in the 1988 Knesset election.

In 1988, it campaigned on a platform that claimed it was the only political body combining an aspiration for peace based on compromise, a socio-economic concept encouraging a free and enterprising **economy**, the protection of individual rights, and opposition to **religious** coercion. It declared that it would not join a coalition government formed by the **Likud (Union) Party** and involving the religious parties. It also focused on a free-market economy encouraging growth and creativity rather than the failed bureaucratic approaches of the **Alignment (Maarach)**. In the diplomatic realm, the movement favored a peace agreement with the Arabs, arguing that this would free Israel from the cycle of war and bloodshed and prevent it from becoming a binational state that would rule over another people. Such a peace agreement would be based on the principle of **land for peace**. Israel's security would be guaranteed by secure border adjustments, security arrangements, and the demilitarization of evacuated areas (*see* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT).

In 1992, the Center-Shinui Movement joined with two other left-wing **Zionist** parties (**Citizens' Rights and Peace Movement [CRM; Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrach Uleshalom; Ratz]** and **Mapam [Mifleget Poalim Hamuehedet–United Workers Party]**) to form the **Meretz/Democratic Israel** coalition that won 12 seats in the Thirteenth **Knesset** and participated in the Labor-led coalition governments in the 1990s headed by **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Shimon Peres**. However, Shinui split from Meretz to run independently in the 1999 Knesset election, while in March 2004, Meretz refashioned itself as **Yahad–Social Democratic Israel** under the leadership of former Labor member of the Knesset and government minister **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin**.

**CHABAD.** *See* HABAD (CHABAD).

**CHEN (WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS).** Since its inception, **women** have served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, female soldiers participated occasionally in combat, but since 1949, no women had been allowed to do so. Women normally serve in the army for two years. However, women over twenty-four, married women, and women with religious objections are exempt from military service. The Women's Corps was for decades responsible for the placement, conditions of service, and well-being of women in the service. Women normally serve as clerks, drivers, radar operators, nurses, medical doctors, social workers, teachers, and instructors at the various service branch schools, as well as in various intelligence duties, the legal service of the IDF, and administrative capacities. In the mid- to late 1990s, steps were taken to gradually integrate female soldiers into some frontline units of the IDF. On 1 August 2001, CHEN (Women's Army Corps) was incorporated into the IDF general staff rather than continuing to act as an independent unit. The commander of the Women's Corps, Brigadier General Suzy Yogev, was appointed an adviser on women's affairs to the chief of staff. The position of the chief of staff's adviser on women's affairs was downsized to a staff position in October 2006. Feminists expressed concern that the decision would undermine Israeli women's struggle for equality and accessibility in a military force that remains chauvinistic and exclusionary. However, today, 92 percent of the IDF's positions are open to women. On 8 August 2011 **Rachel Tevet-Vizel** was appointed adviser on women's affairs to the chief of staff; her promotion to the rank of brigadier general made her one of the four highest-ranking women in the IDF. On 23 June 2011, **Orna Barbivai** became the first woman in the history of the IDF to be promoted to the rank of major general and only the second woman to be a member of the IDF chief of staff's general staff. *See also* WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

**CHIEF RABBINATE.** *See* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL.

**CHINA.** Israel was among the first countries in the world to recognize the People's Republic of China in January 1950, but official relations were established only in 1992. Since then, substantial links have been created between the two countries, as many agreements were signed in the areas of trade aviation, culture, and scientific cooperation. A binational research and development foundation was established; bilateral agricultural, dual taxation, and investment encouragement agreements also were signed. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** visited China in May 2013 and five agreements were signed during his visit. Numerous reciprocal ministerial visits have taken

place. In recent years Israel and China have developed increasingly close commercial, military, and strategic links. China is Israel's third-largest trading partner globally and Israel's largest trading partner in Asia. The value of bilateral trade increased from \$50 million in 1992 to over \$10 billion in 2013. More than 1,000 Israeli start-up companies are said to have set up operations in China, and Chinese investors have begun to show a growing interest in Israeli firms. In March 2015, Israel was invited to become a founding member of China's newly constituted Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), opening the way to further growth in bilateral financial relations as well as increased access to the Asian market for Israeli business interests. In the first half of 2015, Chinese companies invested more than \$2 billion in Israeli ventures compared to just \$300 million for all of 2014. Economists were forecasting China would soon surpass the **United States** as Israel's largest trading partner. Military trade and strategic cooperation have become important components of Israel's relationship with China. Israel is now China's second-largest foreign supplier of arms (following Russia). China has become an important market for Israeli military industry and arms manufacturers, purchasing a wide array of military equipment and technology, including communications satellites. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**CHURCHILL WHITE PAPER.** Also known as the Churchill Memorandum. An official statement of British policy regarding the geographic boundaries of the **Palestine Mandate** and the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as contained in the **Balfour Declaration** (November 1917). It reaffirmed the British commitment to a Jewish national home in Palestine. It was issued by the British Government on 1 July 1922 and was accepted on 6 July by the House of Commons and by the Council of the League of Nations on 29 September 1922.

**CIECHANOVER COMMISSION.** Committee established by the **Benjamin Netanyahu** government to investigate the **Mossad**'s botched attempted assassination of **Hamas** official **Khaled Mashaal** on 25 September 1997 in Amman, **Jordan**. Officially designated as a "clarification" committee that was to report to the **cabinet** alone, it was chaired by Joseph Ciechanover, former legal adviser to Israel's defense ministry, director general of the foreign ministry, and chairman of the board of directors of **El Al**.

The committee's final report was submitted to the government in mid-February 1998. It was highly critical of all aspects of the failed Mashaal operation, calling it "amateurish" and "negligent." While it absolved **Prime Minister** Netanyahu of responsibility for the actual operation, it did rebuke him for approving an attempted assassination on Jordanian soil. The report

laid much of the blame for the botched operation at the feet of Mossad chief **Danny Yatom** and his director of operations. (The latter, whose name was withheld for security reasons, had already resigned on 14 November 1997.) Among the report's specific findings were the following: the Mossad did not inform its representative in Amman of the planned attempt; many of the details of the plan were left vague; there were not enough agents or enough escape vehicles; the Mossad did not expect Mashaal to have bodyguards; and the agents surrendered immediately when caught. The committee was divided on whether Yatom should be fired for his role in the debacle, leaving it up to the prime minister and cabinet to determine his fate; Yatom resigned on 24 February 1998. Finally, the Ciechanover Commission recommended the appointment of a special intelligence adviser in the Prime Minister's Office to advise the prime minister on all clandestine operations and to liaise between the Prime Minister's Office, the Mossad, and other branches of the **intelligence services** and security community.

**CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENT (CRM; HATNUA LEZHUIOT HAEZRACH ULESHALOM; RATZ).** A social liberal **political party** established by **Shulamit Aloni**, a former **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** member and civil rights activist, in August 1973, although it began to develop in earnest following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, when there was substantial discontent with the Labor Party. It called for electoral reform; the introduction of a **Basic Law** protecting human rights; recognition of a Palestinian entity and the Palestinian right to self-determination; the separation of **religion** and state; and equal rights for **women**.

In the election to the Eighth **Knesset**, which took place on 31 December 1973, the CRM won three seats and joined the government coalition for a brief period in 1974. It gained only one seat in the elections to both the Ninth Knesset (1977) and the Tenth Knesset (1981), but following the 1981 election, Aloni joined the **Alignment (Maarach)** so that it would have the same number of seats (48) as the **Likud (Union)** bloc, and thus the latter would be blocked in its efforts to form the new government. The tactic failed, and in 1984, the CRM struck out on its own, taking with it a number of young Labor Party activists (such as **Yossi Sarid**) who had become disenchanted with Labor's infighting and its perceived gradual shift away from its founding ideological convictions. The CRM won three seats and five seats in the 1984 and 1988 Knesset elections, respectively. In 1992, it joined with **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet—United Workers Party)** and **Center-Shinui Movement** to form the **Meretz/Democratic Israel** faction that won 12 Knesset mandates and participated in the 1992–1996 Labor-led coalition governments of **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Shimon Peres**.

The party changed character in the 1980s, becoming a party whose membership is drawn from a variety of older groups. It was now composed of the historical CRM, including liberals and secularists; the academics of the “group of 100” (including former **Peace Now (Shalom Achshav)** and Labor Party doves); and former **Shelli (Shalom LeYisrael–Peace for Israel)** members. Its constituency was primarily the “middle class” **Ashkenazi** population, and its platform emphasized civil rights for all Israelis. It continued to oppose discrimination based on religion, sex, or ethnic identification, and advocated a peace settlement with the **Arabs** and the **Palestinians**. Beginning with the 1988 Knesset election, it supported a platform that recognized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and called on the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** to recognize Israel’s right to a sovereign and secure existence so that the PLO would be able to participate in peace negotiations as the representative of the Palestinian people. It believed that the Palestinian people should ultimately decide what form their self-determination should take. On domestic issues, it stood for the separation of religion and state.

In 1996, long-time CRM and Meretz leader Shulamit Aloni retired from party politics and was succeeded by **Yossi Sarid**. In the 1996 Knesset election, the CRM and Meretz won 9 seats, down from 12 in 1992. The CRM and Meretz made two significant changes to their **foreign policy** platform for the 17 May 1999 Knesset election: they called for the unilateral withdrawal of Israeli forces from the south **Lebanon security zone**, and, while promoting the national consensus in favor of the continued unified status of **Jerusalem** under Israeli sovereignty, they called for greater respect for Palestinian representatives and institutions in the city. In 1999, the party also campaigned aggressively against the special privileges accorded by the incumbent **Benjamin Netanyahu**–led government to the ultra-Orthodox political parties and their constituents.

The party won 10 seats in the 1999 Knesset election and joined the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)**–led governing coalition headed by **Ehud Barak**. Support for Meretz slipped to only six mandates in the election to the 2003 Knesset election, after which Sarid resigned as leader. On 21 March 2004, the membership of Meretz voted overwhelmingly to change the name of their party to **Yahad–Social Democratic Israel**, under the leadership of former Labor Knesset member and government minister **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin**. Under Beilin’s leadership, the new party won only five seats in the 2006 Knesset election. The Citizen’s Rights and Peace Movement ceased to exist in 1997.

**CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.** *See* CITIZENS’ RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENT (CRM; HATNUA LEZHUIOT HAEZRACH ULESHALOM; RATZ).

**CLINTON, WILLIAM J. (BILL; 1946–)**. President of the **United States** from 1993 to 2001. As president, he became deeply and directly involved in Arab-Israeli diplomacy, most notably efforts to achieve a permanent settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He hosted the signing of the historic Israel–Palestine **Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles** (September 1993). He mediated the negotiations that culminated in the **Wye River Memorandum** (1998) and the **Sharm el-Sheikh** cease-fire agreement (October 2000). He also served as an interlocutor in the unsuccessful **Camp David II** and **Taba** talks. Clinton witnessed two major Israel–**Jordanian** agreements, the Common Agenda of 14 September 1993 and the Peace Treaty of 26 October 1994; he also expended tremendous energy in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to achieve an agreement between **Syria** and Israel over the **Golan Heights**. He hosted bilateral talks with senior Israeli and Syrian officials in Washington, D.C., and Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and held an unprecedented meeting with Syrian president Hafez al-Assad in Geneva, Switzerland, in March 2000. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**COHEN, GEULA (1925–)**. Member of **Knesset**, ultranationalist advocate. Born on 25 December 1925 in **Tel Aviv** to parents of Yemenite and Moroccan background. In her youth, she was a member of **BETAR** and the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)**, and in 1943, she joined **LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael–Fighters for the Freedom of Israel; Stern Group)**. Later, she was arrested and sentenced to prison by the British authorities in **Palestine**. She graduated from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and worked as a journalist. After the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Cohen became involved in the question of Soviet Jewry and in 1970 joined the **Herut Party (Tenuat Ha-Herut–Freedom Movement)**. She was elected to the Eighth Knesset (1973) on the Herut list. She left Herut in June 1979 in opposition to the **Camp David Accords** and the Arab-Israeli peace process. She was elected to the Tenth and subsequent Knessets on the ultranationalist **Tehiya (Renaissance)** list, a party she helped to found and lead. The failure of Tehiya to pass the threshold for winning seats in the Thirteenth Knesset (1992) led Cohen to retire from party politics. Nevertheless, she remained a strong supporter of nationalist positions. A resident of the **West Bank** settlement of **Kiryat Arba**, Cohen was a vigorous opponent of the **Oslo Accords**. She is the mother of **Yitzhak “Tzachi” Hanegbi**, veteran Knesset member and **government** minister.

**COHEN, RAN (1937–)**. Born in **Iraq**, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1950. He served as chairman of the Beit Or Aviova Organization for the rehabilitation of drug users. First elected to the **Knesset** in 1984 on the **Citizens’ Rights and Peace Movement (CRM; Hatnua Lezhuiot Haez-**

**rach Uleshalom; Ratz**) list, he became a member of the CRM Executive Committee and chairman of the party's faction in the **Histadrut**. He served as deputy minister of construction and housing from June 1992 to January 1993. On 17 May 1999, he was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset on the **Meretz** list and was appointed minister of **industry** and trade by **Ehud Barak**. Reelected to the Sixteenth Knesset on the Meretz list in 2003, he was defeated by **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin** in a one-on-one race for leadership of the reconfigured **Yahad–Social Democratic Israel** Party that was formed out of Meretz in May 2004. He was reelected to the Knesset in March 2006 on the Yahad-Social Democratic Israel list. On 1 November 2008, Cohen announced his intention to retire from political life and not to seek a spot on his party's list for the 2009 Knesset election. Since 2011 Cohen has served as chairman of the Standards Institute of Israel.

**COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY. Basic Law: The Knesset** provides for the creation of commissions of inquiry to investigate matters determined by the **Knesset**:

The Knesset may appoint commissions of inquiry—either by empowering one of the permanent committees in that behalf or by electing a commission from among its members—to investigate matters designated by the Knesset; the powers and functions of a commission of inquiry shall be prescribed by the Knesset; every commission of inquiry shall include also representatives of party groups which do not participate in the **Government**, in accordance with the relative strength of the party groups in the Knesset.

The **Agranat, Kahan, Shamgar, Ciechanover, and Or Commissions** have investigated a range of subjects.

**COMMUNIST PARTY.** The Communist Movement began in **Palestine** in 1919 during the **British Mandate** and has existed continuously since that time, although it has been plagued by internal divisions and splits. Although isolated from the mainstream of political life and prevented from joining the **government**, Communist parties have been legal in Israel since independence and have been represented in the **Knesset** continuously. On average, the Communists secure four or five seats in the Knesset.

The **Israel Communist Party (Miflaga Kommunistit Yisraelit; Maki)** was founded in 1948 and split in 1965. The splinter group, the **New Communist List (Rakah; Reshima Komunistit Hadasha)** was pro-Moscow and strongly anti-**Zionist** and primarily drew its membership from Israel's Arab population. In 1977, a merger of the Communist Party and the **Black Panthers** resulted in the creation of the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)**. Drawing on support from disadvantaged classes of Jew-

ish and **Arab Israelis**, Hadash has been a fixture in the official forces of the Knesset beginning with the 1977 Knesset election and continuing throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and into the second decade of the 21st century, averaging three to four seats in Knesset elections.

Its domestic policy platform has tended to focus on measures to improve the lot of all disadvantaged Israelis and the extension of full rights and opportunities to Israeli Arabs. In security and **foreign policy**, it was among the first **political parties** to advocate open contacts with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO), complete Israeli withdrawal from the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**, and the establishment there of an independent Palestinian state. Since the first Knesset, the Communist Party was led by **Meir Wilner**. In 1990, the leadership of the party was taken over by Towfik Ziad, the former mayor of **Nazareth**, who in turn was succeeded by Hashem Mahameed, the former mayor of the Arab village of Umm el Fahm. In November 1997, Mahameed resigned as chairman of Hadash's ruling council, citing his frustration over internal divisions within the party. Between 1999 and 2015 the party was led by Mohammad Barakeh.

Hadash was among the group of mainly **Arab political parties** that unified to form **The Joint List** to contest the March 2015 Knesset election. As leader of its largest party, Hadash's **Ayman Odeh** was named leader of the electoral alliance.

**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.** The name applied to the First **Knesset** that was elected in January 1949. In March 1948, a temporary National Council of State assumed administrative responsibility over areas of **Palestine** under Jewish control. It was this body, under the leadership of **David Ben-Gurion** and serving as a provisional **government** that proclaimed Israel's independence on 14 May 1948. It directed the war against the Arab states, levied taxes, and established governmental institutions and social service agencies. It functioned from 14 May 1948 to early 1949. On 18 November 1948, the provisional government passed the Constituent Assembly Elections Ordinance, calling for the election of a Constituent Assembly. Two months later, the transition ordinance was adopted, and the provisional government transferred its authority to the Constituent Assembly that was elected on 25 January 1949 and convened for the first time on 14 February. Three weeks later, it declared itself the First Knesset.

On 16 February 1949, the Constituent Assembly enacted the Transition Law. For all intents and purposes, this law was a mini-**constitution**, containing chapters on the Knesset, the **president**, the government, and other institutions, but the assembly never formally debated a written constitution. It did table a draft constitution authored by Leo Kohn, a political adviser to **Prime Minister** Ben-Gurion, but it did not take up the issue again until it met as the first Knesset.



**CONSTITUTION.** *See* BASIC LAW.

**CONVERGENCE (TOKHNIT HAHITKANSUT).** Term initially applied by **Kadima (Forward)** party leader **Ehud Olmert** in the 2006 Knesset election campaign to describe his plan, if elected **prime minister**, for the future of the **West Bank**. According to the Convergence Plan, most of the Israeli **settlements** beyond Israel's West Bank **security barrier** would be evacuated or consolidated into the three large settlement blocs of **Ma'aleh Adumim**, **Ariel**, and **Gush Etzion**—*see* ETZION BLOC (GUSH ETZION)—which would be incorporated into Israel. The Olmert government later came to use the term “realignment” to describe the plan. *See also* HITKANSUT.

**CORFU, HAIM (1921–2015).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 6 January 1921 in **Jerusalem**, he studied law at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and served on the Jerusalem city council. In the Seventh and Eighth Knessets, as a member of the **Herut (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**, he sat on the Finance Committee, and in the Ninth Knesset he was Herut coalition chairman as well as a member of the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Committee. On 5 August 1981, Corfu was sworn in as minister of transport and served in that position in the **Government of National Unity**. He died on 23 February 2015.

**COUNCIL OF STATE (MOETZET HAMEDINA HAZMANIT).** Israel's **Declaration of Independence** provided for the transformation of the 37-member People's Council into the Provisional State Council, which was to serve as the country's provisional legislature for the first nine months of independence. The executive arm of the People's Council, the People's Administration, consisting of 13 members, became the provisional **government** by the same instrument. In keeping with its provisional functions, the council sought to confine its legislative activity to a minimum. Its first enactment was for the continuance in force of virtually the whole body of mandatory law as well as of the regulations and orders that had been issued by the **Jewish Agency for Palestine**. Nevertheless, in meeting emergent demands of the new state, the council, during its short life of 40 weekly sittings, passed 98 ordinances, including important organic laws, fiscal measures, and amendments to mandatory ordinances. The council met for the last time on 10 February 1949 and ceased to exist with the convocation of the **Constituent Assembly** on 14 February 1949.

**COUNCIL OF TORAH SAGES (MOETZET GEDOLEI HATORAH).**

The supreme authority in all matters affecting the ultra-Orthodox **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** Party. The council, instituted in the 1920s, is a group of revered scholars and rabbis, heads of mainly **Ashkenazi** yeshivas (religious schools), and members of **Hasidic** dynasties who represent the various factions of the Aguda Movement. Council members are chosen for their scholarly merit and prestige in the realm of Orthodox Jewry. The Council of Torah Sages continues to be the supreme decision-making body for Aguda adherents, and its decisions are sovereign in all questions affecting the membership, including religious and political matters, such as joining or remaining in a **government** coalition. This authority derives from the personal standing and reputation of its members, who have achieved recognition as qualified interpreters of *Halacha* and are viewed with high esteem by members of Aguda. Since 1952, the council traditionally had not permitted its representatives in the **Knesset** to accept ministerial appointments. This, however, changed on 27 August 2015 when the Council of Torah Sages of **United Torah Judaism**, an Ashkenazi **Haredi** electoral alliance comprised of Agudat Israel and **Degel HaTorah**, authorized deputy health minister Yaakov Litzman to accept the position of health minister in the coalition government headed by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**CUNNINGHAM, ALAN GORDON (1887–1983)**. Born in Dublin, he was a soldier who served as the last British high commissioner for **Palestine**. He had a distinguished military career, achieving the rank of general and being appointed high commissioner for Palestine in 1945. He left Palestine on 14 May 1948, when the mandate ended and the state of Israel declared its independence. *See also* BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.

**CURRENCY**. The Israel pound (*lira Yisraelit*) became the first currency of the modern state of Israel in August 1948. It replaced the **Palestine** pound that had been introduced by **Great Britain** in 1927 and was subdivided into 1,000 mils. Pursuant to the Bank Notes Ordinance 5708-1048 of August 1948, the Anglo-Palestine Bank (later Bank Leumi-LeIsrael B.M.) began to issue new banknotes and coins on behalf of the state of Israel. On these banknotes, the term *lira* replaced the *pound*, and the Hebrew *pruta* replaced the *mil*. In 1960, the subdivision of the Israel pound (IP) was changed from 1,000 prutot to 100 agorot per 1 IP.

Consistent with the general trend toward the Hebraicizing of names of senior Israeli government officials and governmental institutions, legislation was adopted in 1969 instructing the minister of finance to change the name of Israel's currency from lira to shekel. The choice of the new name for

Israel's currency was itself deeply symbolic. The use of the shekel as a measure of weight, currency, and taxation was referred to in the Jewish Bible: "This shall they give—everyone who passes through the census—a half shekel of the sacred shekel, the shekel is twenty geras, half a shekel as a portion to God" (Exodus 30:13). The payment of the shekel was also the symbolic dues established for membership and voting rights at the first congress of the **World Zionist Organization** that met in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897.

The law instructing the minister of finance to change the name of Israel's currency from lira to shekel left the timing of the change to the minister's discretion. As it was, the minister of the day chose to implement the change only in February 1980, within the context of an effort by Prime Minister **Menachem Begin's Likud**-led coalition government to persuade the Israeli public to accept a program of severe austerity designed to curb rampant overspending and inflation. The Israel shekel (IS), equal to 10 lirot (IPs) was divided into 100 new agorot, each equal to 10 "old" agorot. The further devalued New Israel Shekel (NIS) was introduced in 1985 as part of an economic stabilization program approved by the **Government of National Unity** headed by Prime Minister **Shimon Peres**. The NIS was equal to 1,000 old shekels and was divided into 100 agorot, each equal to 10 old shekels. Initially affected by the **Bank of Israel's** tight regulatory policy, the NIS has been a freely convertible currency since 2003. It is used as legal tender in Israel as well as throughout areas of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** under the control of the **Palestinian Authority**.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIAN-EGYPTIAN ARMS DEAL.** On 27 September 1955, **Egyptian** president Gamal Abdel Nasser announced an agreement to have Egypt purchase some \$320 million worth of Soviet-built weapons from Czechoslovakia. Payment on an interest-free-basis would be spaced out over 12 years in shipments of Egyptian cotton. In addition to the weapons, Czech and Soviet instructors would be sent to Egypt. In a parallel treaty, **Syria** purchased from Soviet bloc countries tanks, MiG jet fighters, artillery pieces, and armored vehicles. The implications of the arms sale were great. Among other things, it emboldened Nasser to continue his hostile behavior toward Israel (including sponsoring and giving safe haven to **Palestinian fedayeen** groups operating against Israel from bases in the Egyptian-held **Gaza Strip** and taking steps to remilitarize parts of the **Sinai Peninsula** in violation of the 1949 **armistice agreement** with Israel). These actions in turn caused a heightened sense among Israel's leadership about the long-term security threat posed by Egypt and the need to preempt this threat, thereby accelerating the slide toward war in the fall of 1956. *See also* SINAI WAR (1956); UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR/RUSSIA).



# D

**DA.** Also Democracy and Aliya, and Yes: the Russian initials for *Demokratia v'Aliyah* (democracy and immigration—*see* ALIYA) and the Russian word for “yes.” A **political party** formed in February 1992 by Yuli Kosharovski to represent the interests of Jewish immigrants from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**. It focused its platform on deregulation of the **economy**, passage of a civil rights law, separation of **religion** and politics, and more assistance for Soviet immigrants. It participated in the 1992 election but failed to win seats in the **Knesset**. *See also* “RUSSIAN” VOTE.

**DAKAR.** Israeli submarine that sank on its maiden voyage on 27 January 1968. The *Dakar* was built in 1945 and was bought from **Great Britain** in June 1965. It, along with other craft, underwent extensive renovations in Portsmouth Harbor. On 9 January 1968, the sub left Portsmouth. On 24 January, as it was believed to be passing south of Crete, it lost radio contact. Sixty-nine Israeli crew members were lost with the sub. A series of naval searches turned up no trace of the vessel, but 13 months later, one of its emergency buoys washed ashore in **Egypt**. Searches off the Egyptian coast, made possible in the 1980s after relations between Israel and Egypt improved, were unsuccessful, as was a reported expedition near the Mediterranean island of Rhodes. Because the submarine was lost only months after Israel fought a war against Egypt, some theorized that it might have been attacked by Egyptians or their Soviet allies. There is no evidence to support that theory, however, and Israeli experts say they still believe there could have been a collision, fire, mechanical failure, or other accident. Despite the time that had passed, Israel kept the investigation into the *Dakar*'s fate active. Families of the victims banded together in a loose support group and assemble each year at a memorial that stands in a **Jerusalem** military cemetery. The wreckage of the *Dakar* was finally discovered on 28 May 1999, 9,514 feet below the surface of the Mediterranean Sea between Crete and Cyprus.

**DAMARI, SHOSHANA (1923–2006).** Singer and cultural icon known by many as the “Queen of Israeli Song” and the “Voice of Israel.” Born in Dhamar, Yemen, she was brought to **Palestine** by her parents at the age of two. Her musical career began as a child, when she accompanied her mother on drums and in song at events in the **Yishuv**’s Yemenite community. At age 13, Damari left her parents’ home in **Rishon LeZion** and moved to **Tel Aviv** to study at the Shulamit drum studio, where the studio director, Shlomo Bushemi, quickly became her manager and, ultimately, her husband. In 1936, the year that she moved to Tel Aviv, Damari appeared in a solo concert in the Li-La-Lo Musical **Theater** and immediately became a permanent member of its company. One song written for the company, using lyrics by the poet **Natan Alterman** and Moshe Wilensky, *Kalaniyot* (Anemones), became synonymous with Shoshana Damari. She continued to collaborate with Alterman and Wilensky in the production of songs that became classics in the early Israeli vocal music genre. To many, Damari will always be identified with the nationalistic songs about Israel’s **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and the **Palmah** generation. Beginning in the early 1950s, she traveled widely to Western countries, where she became the image of Israeli culture. In 1988, Damari was awarded the **Israel Prize** for lifetime achievement and in 2001, the Israeli Union of Performing Artists held a salute to her. Damari’s creativity was expressed in a variety of mediums in addition to singing, including clothing and jewelry design, painting, and sculpture. She died on 14 February 2006 in Tel Aviv.

**DANON, DANNY (1971– ).** Member of **Knesset**, **government** minister, UN ambassador. Born in **Ramat Gan** on 8 May 1971, he participated in the **Revisionist Zionist Betar** youth movement. He secured the twenty-third position on the Likud list for the 2006 parliamentary election but failed to gain entry to the Knesset when Likud took only 12 mandates in the election. In June 2006 Danon was elected chairman of the World **Likud (Union) Movement**. In July 2007 he lost the primary for the leadership of the Likud Party, finishing third with 3.5 percent of the vote, behind **Moshe Feiglin** (23 percent) and **Benjamin Netanyahu** (73 percent). He gained entry to the Knesset in 2009, at twenty-fourth place on the Likud list, and served as a deputy Knesset speaker. A foreign- and security-policy hawk, Danon in August 2011 told an interviewer from *Al-Jazeera English* television, “There is place only for one state in the land of Israel . . . I do not believe in a **two-state solution**.” Reelected to the Knesset in 2013 he was appointed deputy defense minister by Netanyahu but he was fired on 15 July 2014 after publicly criticizing Netanyahu’s response to Palestinian rocket and missile fire at Israeli civilian population centers from the **Gaza Strip** leading to **Operation Protective Edge** (see **WAR IN GAZA** (2014)). Danon received 19 percent compared to the 75 percent taken by Netanyahu in the Likud leadership primary

on 31 December 2014. He was reelected in the March 2015 Knesset election on the Likud list and was appointed minister of **science**, technology and space by Netanyahu. On 14 August 2015, he was named Israel's new ambassador to the **United Nations**.

**DARAWSHE (DAROUSHA), ABD EL-WAHAB (1943– )**. Born in Kfar Iksal on 12 October 1943, he was an Israeli **Arab** member of the **Knesset** who resigned from the **Alignment (Maarach)** in March 1988 and formed a one-man parliamentary faction. His **Arab Democratic Party (ADP)** contested the 1988 **Knesset election** and won a single seat in parliament. The ADP won two seats in the Thirteenth Knesset (1992) and four in the Fourteenth Knesset (1996), when it ran on a joint electoral slate with the **United Arab List (UAL)**. The UAL–ADP alliance won five seats in the 17 May 1999 election to the Fifteenth Knesset. Darawshe did not contest election to the Sixteenth Knesset (2003). *See also* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES.

**DASH**. *See* DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (DMC, HAT-NUA HADEMOCRATIT LESHINUI).

**DAVAR (THE WORD)**. A daily **Hebrew-language** newspaper published in **Tel Aviv**, the third Hebrew daily newspaper to appear in **Palestine** under the **British Mandate**. It was established by Moshe Beilinson and **Berl Katznelson**, with Katznelson as its first editor. The first edition was published on 1 June 1925 under the name *Davar-Iton Poalei Eretz Yisrael* (Davar-Newspaper of Eretz Yisrael Workers). Upon Katznelson's death in 1944, **Shneor Zalman Shazar**, later Israel's third **president**, took over as editor. Hana Zemer edited the paper between 1970 and 1990. It was established by the **Histadrut**, and as a result of the dominance of the Labor Movement in the leadership of the **World Zionist Organization** and the **Jewish Agency for Palestine** under the mandate and in Israeli **government** after independence, *Davar* became, for all practical purposes, the unofficial organ of the leadership and government of Israel. It ceased publication in May 1996.

**DAVID**. Second king of Israel (1004–965 BC). He defeated the Philistines and reclaimed much of the original land of Canaan, established **Jerusalem** as the center of Jewish life, reunited the 12 tribes of Israel, pacified the area, and made Israel into a major regional force.

**DAVID'S SLING**. *See* MAGIC WAND.

**DAYAN, MOSHE (1915–1981).** War hero, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 20 May 1915 in **Kibbutz Degania** and grew up in **Nahalal**, Dayan was one of the first to join the **Palmah** when it was established on 18 May 1941 and served under **Orde Wingate** in his “night squads.” From 1939 to 1941, Dayan was detained by the British in **Acre** prison but was released in order to head a squad of **Hagana** members who joined the British in an Allied operation on 7 June 1941 that was intended to destroy bridges in Vichy **French-held Syria**. During an assault on a police station, he lost his left eye. In July 1948, he was made the commanding officer of **Jerusalem**, while it was under siege. In that capacity, he took part in informal negotiations with King **Abdullah** of **Jordan** and later served as a member of the Israeli delegation to the armistice negotiations in Rhodes. Between 1950 and 1953, Dayan served as commander of the southern and northern commands of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and later head of the general branch of operations in the general staff. In December 1953, he was appointed chief of staff after a stormy **cabinet** Defense Committee meeting and with Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion**’s support.

Dayan led the IDF during the **Sinai War (1956)** and was discharged from the IDF in January 1958. In November 1959, he was elected as a member of the **Knesset** on the **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** list and became minister of **agriculture** in Ben-Gurion’s government. In 1963, Ben-Gurion left Mapai over the **Lavon Affair** and established **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)**. After much hesitation, Dayan joined Ben-Gurion and **Shimon Peres** (who served during this period as deputy defense minister). But, Dayan continued to serve as minister of agriculture under Prime Minister **Levi Eshkol**. Dayan brought to Israeli agriculture methods of long-range planning and national allocation of such resources as water. He resigned from the cabinet on 4 November 1964, when Eshkol tried to prevent him from participating in the formulation of defense policy. In 1965, he was elected to the Sixth Knesset on the Rafi ticket. Dayan went briefly to Vietnam to observe and write about the war.

Just prior to the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Eshkol was forced by popular demand, against his expressed will, to appoint Dayan to the post of minister of defense. Although Dayan did not have time to change the IDF’s operational plans, his position as minister of defense inspired the country with confidence and helped Eshkol to decide on a preemptive strike. Within hours of the city’s reunification by Israeli forces, Dayan ordered the institution of restrictions to maintain the “status quo” concerning the **Temple Mount** in Jerusalem’s Old City. After the war, Dayan supported the research and development functions of the ministry of defense as a means of replenishing the equipment and ammunition of the IDF, in light of the arms embargo imposed by **France**. He also initiated the **open bridges policy** across the **Jordan River** providing an infrastructure for coexistence between Israel and the



Arabs. When Eshkol died suddenly in February 1969 and was succeeded by **Golda Meir**, Dayan remained as minister of defense. He was among those blamed by the public (though officially exonerated, along with Meir, by the **Agranat Commission**) for the delay in the mobilization of Israel's reserve forces at the time of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. Nevertheless, Dayan continued to serve under Meir's leadership after the Knesset election of 31 December 1973.

When Meir resigned in April 1974, however, new prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin** did not include Dayan in the **cabinet**. Between 1974 and 1977, Dayan served as an **Alignment (Maarach)** member of the Knesset and was active in archaeological excavations. When **Menachem Begin** became prime minister after the May 1977 elections, Dayan (as an independent member of the Knesset) joined the government as foreign minister and in that capacity played a crucial role in the negotiations that led to the **Camp David Accords** and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**. Dayan resigned from the coalition in 1979 over differences of viewpoint and policy between himself and the prime minister in regard to autonomy negotiations for the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. On 4 April 1981, Dayan established a new **political party, Telem**, which had as one of its primary goals to support Dayan's proposals concerning the **Occupied Territories**. The party secured two mandates in the 1981 **Knesset election**.

Dayan died on 16 October 1981.

**DEAD SEA.** The lowest point on earth. Located about 30 miles east of **Jerusalem** and shared by **Jordan** and Israel, it is 49 miles long and 11 miles wide, has a 1,309-foot maximum depth, and is 1,299 feet below sea level. Its salty water has a high content of minerals and other chemical elements including magnesium chloride (52 percent), sodium chloride (cooking salt, 30 percent), calcium chloride (12 percent), potassium chloride (4 percent), and magnesium bromide (1 percent). One of Israel's major **industries** is the extraction of these minerals from the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea has also become a major **tourist** attraction for both Israeli and international visitors who seek to benefit from the medicinal value of its mineral waters. The peace treaty with Jordan and interim agreements with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** included provisions for the joint exploitation of Dead Sea minerals and tourism ventures. On 26 February 2015, Israel and Jordan signed an agreement for the **Two Seas Canal Project**, a major water-sharing project that was designed to serve the water needs of both countries and replenish the dwindling waters of the Dead Sea. *See also* ECONOMY.

**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.** The **United Nations** Partition Plan (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN) of November 1947 provided for the establishment of a Jewish state in **Palestine**. The date of the termination of the **British Mandate** was set for 15 May 1948, and with that date nearing, the **Zionist** General Council decided that the Jewish people would establish an independent regime in their homeland. This decision, put forth in a resolution, paved the way for the Declaration of Independence. A five-man committee was established to prepare the declaration, and a four-man committee, including **David Ben-Gurion**, worked out the final draft. The Declaration of Independence was read on 14 May and went into effect the following day. The declaration provides for a Jewish state in the land of Israel, and it recalls the religious and spiritual connection of the Jewish people to the land of Israel, but it does not mention boundaries. It notes that “it will guarantee freedom of **religion** and conscience, of language, **education**, and culture.” The document does not address the meaning of a Jewish state or the roles that would be played by religious forces and movements (especially by their **political parties**) in such an entity. Refer to appendix A.

**DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (13 SEPTEMBER 1993).** A document signed at the White House in Washington, D.C., by Israel and the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, concluding months of secret negotiations in **Oslo**, Norway, and elsewhere in Europe. The document was signed by Israeli foreign minister **Shimon Peres** and PLO Executive Committee member **Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)**. The signing was witnessed by President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States (U.S.)**, Israeli prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin**, PLO chairman **Yasser Arafat**, U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher, and Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrov. Key provisions of the Declaration of Principles included the following: Israel and the PLO exchanged recognition; the PLO accepted **United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolutions 242** and **338** as the basis for negotiations and renounced the use of **terrorism** and violence to resolve outstanding disputes with Israel; the parties agreed to the formation of a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority that would administer areas of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** during a five-year transitional period leading to a permanent settlement; and, there was an agreement to defer until the final status phase of negotiations (to begin no later than the third year of the interim period) decisions about **Jerusalem**, refugees, **settlements**, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest. The Declaration of Principles went into effect on 13 October 1993, and subsequent negotiations led to further interim agreements affecting the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of **Jericho**; the transfer of authority over civil affairs in major Arab population centers in the West Bank; the election of a **Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)** and

Executive Committee in January 1996; and the **Israeli Defense Forces'** redeployment from much of the West Bank town of **Hebron** in January 1997. *See also* OSLO ACCORDS; WYE RIVER MEMORANDUM (1998).

**DECLARATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.** *See also* DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Refer to appendix A.

**DEGANIA.** Israel's first **kibbutz**. In 1909, a group of Russian immigrants (*see* ALIYA) built a cooperative worker's **settlement** located at the exit of the **Jordan River** from Lake Kinneret (*see* SEA OF GALILEE) on a site that commanded the approach to the **Galilee** and **Haifa**, on land purchased by the **Jewish National Fund**. Degania was established as a completely integrated communal settlement, where its members lived and worked together. Part of the original land was given to another group of settlers who founded Degania Bet in 1919. Subsequently, the original settlement became known as Degania Aleph, and it served as a prototype for all subsequent communal settlements. The kibbutz is the birthplace of **Moshe Dayan**.

**DEGEL HATORAH.** A mainly **Ashkenazi** ultra-Orthodox religious **political party** that broke away from **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** and secured two seats in the 1988 Knesset election. The party was founded by **Rabbi Eliezer Schach**, the head of the Ponevesher Yeshiva and a former member of the presidium of the **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah)** who decided that Agudat Israel was not loyal to its original ideals and objectives. Among Agudat Israel's perceived faults was its connection to the **Habad Hasidim** and its leader, **Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson**, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, who Rabbi Schach considered heretical. Degel HaTorah supported the **Likud (Union) Party**-led **government** established in June 1990. In 1992, Degel HaTorah agreed to participate with Agudat Israel on a joint electoral list known as **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)**, which won four seats in the Thirteenth **Knesset**. Degel HaTorah continued to run on a joint slate with Agudat Israel under the UTJ banner in subsequent elections, and it agreed to join Likud-led governments. But consistent with its non-**Zionist** ideological orientation it declined to accept full **cabinet** portfolios. Degel HaTorah, as part of United Torah Judaism, won four seats in the March 2015 legislative election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET) and agreed to join the government formed by Likud's **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Because of the election outcome, the party had significant influence in the formation of the new government and extracted important concessions from the prime minister-elect, specifically with regard to **Haredi** exemption from military service (*see* EQUAL SERVICE LAW). As part of the

United Torah Judaism electoral alliance, Degel HaTorah in late August 2015 accepted a ministerial portfolio in the Netanyahu government, the first time since 1952 that an Ashkenazi Haredi political party had agreed to fully participate in a government of Israel. *See also* STATUS QUO AGREEMENT.

**DEMJANJUK, JOHN (IVAN THE TERRIBLE) (1920–2012).** Born April 3 in Kiev, Ukraine, and an accused Nazi war criminal. Demjanjuk entered the **United States** after World War II and became an autoworker in Cleveland, Ohio. He lost his U.S. citizenship in 1981 after the U.S. Justice Department built a case that he was “Ivan the Terrible,” the gas chamber operator at the Nazi death camp of Treblinka, and in 1986, he was extradited to Israel. In 1988, he was found guilty and sentenced to death, but he appealed the verdict. On 29 July 1993, the Israeli **Supreme Court** nullified the death sentence and overturned his conviction of war crimes on grounds that new evidence from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** had created reasonable doubt that he was Ivan the Terrible. He was thus freed to leave Israel.

In 1998, a Federal District Court judge ruled that Demjanjuk’s U.S. citizenship could be restored. This ruling prompted the Justice Department to file a new civil complaint against Demjanjuk that focused on allegations that he served as a guard at the Sobibor and Majdanek camps in Poland and at the Flossenburg camp in Germany. It additionally accused Demjanjuk of being a member of a SS-run unit that took part in capturing nearly two millions Jews in Poland. A court ruled that the Justice Department had proved its case against Demjanjuk and in December 2005 he was ordered deported to Ukraine. But even if Demjanjuk lost all appeals, he would remain in the United States as a “stateless alien” if no country were willing to accept him. He died on 17 March 2012 in Germany of natural causes. *See also* HOLOCAUST (THE SHOAH).

**DEMOCRACY AND ALIYA (DA).** *See* DA.

**DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY (HADASH).** In 1977, Rakah—*see* COMMUNIST PARTY; NEW COMMUNIST LIST (RAKAH)—and some members of the Israeli **Black Panthers** joined to form the Hadash (acronym for Hazit Demokratit Leshalom Uleshivyon) **political party**. Drawing on support from disadvantaged classes of Jewish and **Arab Israelis**, Hadash, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, was a fixture in the opposition forces of the **Knesset** beginning with the 1977 Knesset election and continuing throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and into the second decade of the 21st century, averaging three to four seats in **Knesset elections**. Its program has called for Israeli withdrawal from all the territories

occupied in the **Six-Day War (1967)**, the establishment of an independent **Palestinian** state, recognition of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and subsequently the **Palestinian Authority (PA)** as the representative of the Palestinians, and a number of measures to improve the situation of the disadvantaged classes in Israel. Hadash was among the group of mainly Arab political parties that on 22 January 2015 unified to form **The Joint List** to contest the March 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). As leader of its largest party, Hadash's head **Ayman Odeh** became leader of the new electoral alliance. *See also* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.** One of the remaining units of the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit LeShinui)** after it disintegrated in 1978. The movement remained in the **Likud (Union) Party**–led governing coalition, but the party ceased to exist in 1981. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (DMC, HATNUA HA-DEMOCRATIT LESHINUI).** The DMC, also known by the acronym DASH, was a **political party** formed in 1976 to contest the 1977 Knesset election. In May 1976, Professor **Yigael Yadin** appeared on Israeli television and announced that he would form a new political party to contest the next election with a program that concentrated on domestic political reform. He suggested that the party would play a key role in any future **government** coalition. He had decided to enter politics and create the party because the country urgently needed certain reforms to enable it to combat social and economic ills. Yadin believed that electoral reform must be the nation's first priority because the proportional representation system had created a leadership crisis. He also called for reductions in the number of government ministries and drastic cuts in the government budget.

The nucleus of the party was formed around academic and governmental personalities. The **Shinui** movement, headed by Professor **Amnon Rubinstein**, joined, and the party took the name Democratic Movement for Change. The party contested the 1977 Knesset election and won a surprising 15 seats. The unexpected **Likud (Union) Party** victory provided the base for DMC's efforts to influence the nature and direction of Israeli politics. Its main goal was to become a partner in the **Menachem Begin**–led coalition with a significant political role. During the 1977 election campaign, DMC demanded a number of crucial points: a significant reduction in the number of government ministries, an economic program designed to reduce inflation, programs for disadvantaged areas, electoral reform, and support for DMC views on **foreign policy**. The DMC soon entered into negotiations to enter

the Likud-led government coalition, but there were problems resulting from divergent foreign policy views and positions. Ultimately, the DMC would join the coalition, with Yadin serving as deputy **prime minister**. Unlike other political parties, however, DASH's membership cut across the spectrum of political ideologies and party affiliations. After joining the coalition government, the party split into several smaller groups and disintegrated by the time of the 1981 **Knesset** election.

**DER JUDENSTAAT.** **Theodor Herzl** was the driving force for the creation of the political ideology and worldwide movement of modern political **Zionism**. Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*), published in Vienna on 14 February 1896, in which he assesses the situation and problems of the Jews and proposes a practical plan for resolution of the **Jewish Question**. It contains an examination of the status of the Jewish people and a detailed plan for creating a state in which Jews would reconstitute their national life in a territory of their own. Herzl sets forth his concept of a Jewish homeland, believing this was the only solution to **anti-Semitism**. Herzl's pamphlet was the catalyst for a campaign to influence European leaders on behalf of the Zionist cause. As a result of this initiative, the first World Zionist Congress was convened in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, at which the **World Zionist Organization** was established. Subsequently, Herzl traveled widely to publicize and gain support for his ideas.

**DERI, RABBI ARYE (1959– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 17 February 1959 in Morocco, Deri was brought to Israel by his family in 1968. He was educated at Porat Yosef Talmudic College and Yeshivat **Hebron** in **Jerusalem**. He became secretary general of the **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** Party in 1985 and has remained in positions of influence since. He became minister of interior in the government established in December 1988, although he was not a member of the Knesset, and retained that position in the government established in June 1990. Under Deri's leadership, SHAS won six seats in the Thirteenth Knesset (1992) and agreed to join the governing coalition headed by **Yitzhak Rabin**, with Deri serving as interior minister. However, SHAS soon left the coalition over differences with **Meretz** about religious policy and because of criminal charges against Deri. These charges precluded Deri's participation in the coalition government formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in 1996.

On 17 March 1999, at the conclusion of one of the longest trials in Israeli judicial history, Deri was found guilty on charges of bribery, corruption, and abuse of the public trust. The court found that he had developed and sustained an illegal relationship with his old yeshiva friends once in government. The court found that from 1985 to 1989, Deri accepted \$155,000 in

bribes in exchange for steering substantial public funds to the yeshiva. The directors paid him off partly with the public funds thus diverted. The court determined that the bribes included cash payments as well as trips to New York and London and helped in buying a luxury apartment in **Jerusalem**. He was also accused of obstruction of justice during the nine-year-long case. The verdict outraged ultra-Orthodox Sephardic Jews (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS), who saw Deri as a champion of their underclass community. They proclaimed him to be a victim of bias against both religious Jews and Sephardic Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin. On 15 April 1999, Deri was sentenced to four years in prison along with a substantial fine. The conviction was appealed.

Deri's conviction became a key issue in the 1999 Knesset election campaign, with opposition politicians emphasizing Deri's close personal relationship with the **prime minister** as a symbol of the Netanyahu government's overall inefficiency and corruption, with secularist politicians (such as **Yosef [Tommy] Lapid**) linking Deri's crimes to the alleged overall corruption of the **Haredi political parties**, and with many of Deri's supporters rallying around him and SHAS in the belief that his conviction was a politically motivated act designed to discriminate against both Sephardic and ultra-Orthodox segments of Israeli society.

During the 1999 election campaign, **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** leader **Ehud Barak** declared his determination not to invite SHAS into his coalition government so long as Arye Deri remained the party's political leader. This declaration posed a serious dilemma for **Rabbi Ovadia Yosef** and other leaders of SHAS: they could retain Deri as their political leader but remain outside government (and hence, without direct access to power and influence), or they could distance themselves from Deri in order to join the Barak-led coalition. After much soul searching, Deri announced his formal resignation from the Knesset and from all of SHAS's political activities on 16 June 1999. This decision was approved by Rabbi Yosef and the other members of SHAS's **Moetzet Hachmei Hatorah (Council of Torah Sages)**, thereby opening the way for SHAS to enter Barak's government on 6 July 1999.

Deri's prison sentence was reduced on appeal to three years, and he ultimately served two years and was released in July 2002. Although he resumed his place at the core of SHAS's elaborate educational, social, and communitarian network, as a form of penance for his immoral behavior he was denied access to the party's political process by Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. This political exile was lifted only in 2012.

Deri's return to politics—and his expectation of immediately resuming his leadership position—after a 13-year break created instability within SHAS, including reopening Deri's long-standing rivalry with current party leader, **Eliyahu “Eli” Yishai**. Deri, Yishai, and veteran SHAS Knesset member Ariel Atias were forced into a troika to lead the party's campaign for the

2013 Knesset election. However, Deri and Yishai and their respective supporters focused as much effort in the election campaign undermining the credibility of their rival as asserting SHAS's party platform and core interests.

In May 2013 Deri was confirmed as SHAS's sole political leader. The movement's spiritual leader Rabbi Ovadia Yosef died on 7 October 2013. His successor was unable to end the hostility between Deri and Yishai that reemerged in the late fall of 2014 and that culminated in Yishai's 15 December 2014 decision to create the splinter **Yachad-Ha'am Itanu** Party.

The revelation of disparaging remarks about Deri by the late Rabbi Yosef initiated a two-week period (in late December 2014 and early January 2015) of remarkable events in which Deri resigned as SHAS chairman; resigned from the Knesset; and then accepted "with humility and bowed head" the written order of SHAS's new spiritual leader Rabbi Shalom Cohen: "You have no permission whatsoever to leave, and I hereby instruct you to come back and lead the holy movement." Under Deri's leadership, SHAS won seven seats in the 2015 Knesset election and Deri was named minister of the economy and minister of the development of the Negev and Galilee in the coalition government formed by Benjamin Netanyahu in May 2015. On 3 November 2015 Deri resigned as economy minister to open the way for Netanyahu to implement a protected **natural gas** investment deal; he retained the Negev and Galilee development portfolio. Deri and SHAS extracted important concessions from Netanyahu in the coalition-building process following the election for the Twentieth Knesset, primarily with regard to Haredi exemption from military service (*see* EQUAL SERVICE LAW). On 10 January 2016, Deri was appointed interior minister. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**DEVELOPMENT TOWNS.** Towns built since the early 1950s, primarily in regions remote from the established population centers, which have several purposes. These include the dispersal of population and **industry** for both economic and security reasons and the development of administrative and economic centers for the more rural areas of the country. The idea was to create new urban centers as opposed to additional farming villages that had been the pattern in the prestate period. This would also provide facilities for the absorption and integration of the large numbers of new immigrants (*see* ALIYA) to the country. Among the development towns are Kiryat Shmona, Maalot, Karmiel, Migdal Haemek, Bet Shemesh, **Ashdod**, Netivot, Arad, **Dimona**, and Mitzpe Ramon.



**DIAMONDS.** The diamond **industry** in Israel dates back to 1939. Its pioneers were industrialists who had come to **Palestine** from Belgium and Holland before World War II and members of the Jewish community in Palestine. The industry expanded dramatically during World War II, when the European countries were cut off from their sources of raw diamonds and traditional markets. The industry diminished immediately after the war but began to grow again in the 1950s. Israel has since become a major force in the production of finished and polished diamonds and a major factor in the world trade of diamonds, although these precious stones are not found naturally in the country. Israel is currently one of the world's three major centers for polished diamonds, along with Belgium and **India**. The diamond industry constitutes about 24 percent of Israel's current total exports, while gross diamond exports represented 30.5 percent of the country's total exports in 2011. The **United States** is the largest market for Israel's polished diamonds, accounting for 36 percent of overall export; Hong Kong is second at 28 percent; and Belgium represents 8 percent. India has also become an important diamond trading partner for Israel. Diamonds constituted 56.4 percent of total bilateral trade with Israel in 2013 (\$2.48 billion out of \$4.39 billion). In 2010, Israel took its turn as rotating chair of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme, a **United Nations**-sponsored process "to ensure that diamond purchases were not financing violence by rebel movements and their allies seeking to undermine legitimate governments." *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**DIASPORA.** A Greek word meaning "scattering" that has been used since the Babylonian exile in 586 BC, referring to the dispersion of the Jews and the Jewish communities outside Israel. It is interchangeable with the **Hebrew** term *Golah*.

**DICHTER, AVRAHAM (AVI DICTER) (1952–).** Soldier, **Shin Bet (Shabak)** director, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in **Ashkelon** on 4 December 1952, he was awarded for bravery in battle during a long military career, including a period with the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** elite **Sayeret Matkal**. After his release from the IDF, he joined Shin Bet (Shabak) and studied Arabic. In 1992, he was appointed head of the agency's southern sector, and in that capacity, he oversaw the targeted killing of **Yahya Ayash**, **Hamas'** chief bomb maker. In 1996, shortly after the assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**, Dichter was appointed head of Shin Bet's Protection Branch. In 1999, he was named the agency's deputy director, and in 2000, he became Shin Bet director. His tenure coincided with the **Al-Aksa intifada**; he advocated both the policy of the targeted killing of **terrorist** leaders and the construction of Israel's **West Bank security barri-**

er. On 15 May 2005, Dichter completed his five-year term as Shin Bet director and retired from the service; there was some speculation that he was not offered a second term because of his initial opposition, on security grounds, to Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon's Gaza** disengagement plan—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). At the conclusion of the 100-day “cooling off” period (during which retiring senior government officials and military officers are banned from participating in political affairs), Dichter joined Sharon's **Kadima (Forward)** Party. Elected to the Seventeenth Knesset on the Kadima list, on May 2006, Dichter was named minister of internal security in **Ehud Olmert's** Kadima-led coalition government. Dichter sought the leadership of the Kadima Party in 2009 but came in fourth with only 6.5 percent of the vote in the leadership primary. He retained his seat in the 2009 Knesset election in ninth place on the Kadima list. On 3 August 2011, Dichter joined 39 other Knesset members in proposing a new **basic law** that explicitly would define Israel as the “Nation-State of the Jewish People.” In August 2012, he resigned his Knesset seat and as a private citizen joined **Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud (Union) Party**—led coalition government as minister of home front defense, a position he vacated in March 2015. Dichter reentered the Knesset in the March 2015 legislative election on the Likud Party list.

**DIMONA.** A **development town** in the central **Negev** with a population of 33,100 in 2012. Founded in 1955, its name is derived from the book of Joshua in the Bible. It has become a center for textile and other manufacturing activities. Israel, with **French** technical assistance, established a uranium/heavy water nuclear reactor in Dimona in 1964.

**DINITZ, SIMHA (1929–2003).** **Government** adviser; member of **Knesset**; ambassador to the **United States**. Born in **Tel Aviv** on 23 June 1929, he was educated at the University of Cincinnati and Georgetown University, where he received bachelors and master's degrees. He served as a political adviser to Prime Minister **Golda Meir**, director general of Prime Minister Meir's office (1969–1973), and ambassador to the United States (1973–1978). Later, he served as vice president of the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and then as an **Alignment (Maarach)** member of the Knesset. He later became chairman of the **World Zionist Organization** and **Jewish Agency**, a position that he was compelled to relinquish in the context of charges of financial impropriety. His conviction on these charges was reversed on appeal to Israel's **Supreme Court**. Dinitz died in **Jerusalem** on 23 September 2003.

**DIRECT ELECTIONS.** For a brief period, Israel selected the **prime minister** through a direct election process, casting a separate ballot for the prime minister. This replaced the system whereby Israelis voted only for the **political party** of their choice, and the mandate to form a government was awarded by the **president** to the leader of usually the largest party in the **Knesset**. The direct election process was utilized only in the 1996, 1999, and 2001 elections. *See also* BASIC LAW: THE GOVERNMENT; ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL.

**DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (DMI).** The DMI heads the Intelligence Branch (AMAN; acronym for Agaf Modiin) of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** general staff. Its function is to provide intelligence for the planning of Israel's defense policy and for war, and to provide intelligence to the IDF and to other **government** bodies, especially the **cabinet**. The first head of AMAN was Isar Beeri (1948–1949). He was followed by **Chaim Herzog** (1949–1950 and 1959–1962). Benjamin Gibli served from 1950 to 1955. Yehoshafat Harkabi held the post from 1955 to 1959. Subsequent DMIs include **Meir Amit**, 1962 to 1964; Aharon Yariv, 1964 to 1972; Eliahu Zeira, 1972 to 1974; Shlomo Gazit, 1974 to 1978; Yehoshua Saguy, 1978 to 1983; **Ehud Barak**, 1983 to 1985; **Amnon Lipkin-Shahak**, 1986 to 1991; Uri Saguy, 1991 to 1995; **Moshe Ya'alon**, 1995 to May 1998; Amos Malcha, May 1998 to 2001; Aharon "Farkash" Ze'evi, 2002 to 2005; Amos Yadlin, 2006 to 2010; Aviv Kokhavi, 2010 to 2014; and, since 2014, Herzl Ha-Levi.

**DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES.** *See* ISRAEL-EGYPT DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974); ISRAEL-SYRIA DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974).

**DISENGAGEMENT PLAN (TOKHNIT HITNATKUT).** *See* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT).

**DISKIN, YUVAL (1956– ).** Twelfth director of the **Shin Bet (Shabak)**, between May 2005 and May 2011. Born in Givatayim on 11 June 1956, he began his service in the Shin Bet as a coordinator in the Tul Karem (Tulkarm) sector of the northern **West Bank**. His rise through the ranks was meteoric. Among the positions he held were deputy head of the **Jerusalem** district, which also oversees the West Bank; head of the Arab department; head of the Jerusalem district in the years following the signing of the **Oslo Accords**; and deputy head of the Shin Bet from 2000 to 2003. In the summer of 2003, he temporarily left the Shin Bet to study, and during this period, he served as special adviser to **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim**

**Meyuhadim**) head Meir Dagan, helping him promote and implement a number of reforms in that organization. On May 15, 2005, he was selected by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** to replace **Avraham (Avi) Dichter** as Shabak director. Many of the details associated with Diskin's activities as Shabak director remain confidential. On 15 May 2011 he was succeeded by his former deputy, Yoram Cohen. Since leaving the Shin Bet, Diskin became harshly critical of **Benjamin Netanyahu's** diplomatic and security policy. He called "illusional" Netanyahu's belief that the diplomatic status quo with the **Palestinians** is sustainable and claimed that the existential threat to Israel of Iran's nuclear weapon is "dwarfed" by the danger of failed peace talks with the **Palestinian Authority** toward a **two-state solution**. *See also* INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.

**DOR SHALOM (GENERATION OF PEACE)**. An extraparliamentary interest group advocating continuation of the peace process with the **Palestinians** on the basis of the **Oslo Accords**. One of its founders and public spokesman was Yuval Rabin, son of **Yitzhak Rabin**. *See also* PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).

**DORI, YAACOV (1899–1973)**. First chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Born in Odessa, Russia, he was brought to **Palestine** as a child and joined the **Jewish Legion**. He later studied engineering in Belgium. After returning to Palestine, he joined the technical department of the **Zionist** executive and became active in the **Hagana**. He became chief of staff of the Hagana in 1938, and, with the establishment of the IDF in 1948, he was appointed chief of staff. In this capacity, he commanded the Israeli army in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. From 1951 to 1965, he served as president of the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology**. He died on 22 January 1973 in **Haifa**.

**DREYFUS, ALFRED (1859–1935)**. A **French Jew** and artillery captain attached to the general staff of the French army who, in 1894, was accused of selling military secrets to **Germany** and placed on trial for espionage and treason. He was tried by a military court and sentenced to life in prison on Devil's Island. His sentence was contested by a minority group consisting mainly of intellectuals, called "Dreyfusards," who claimed the evidence against him was based on forged documents. Among other developments, the trial led author Emile Zola to write his famous "J'accuse" in 1898. Public opinion became so aroused that the military was forced to reopen the case. Dreyfus was again found guilty, but the sentence was reduced to 10 years in prison. Dissatisfaction with the verdict persisted, and in 1906, Dreyfus was exonerated. The sharp controversy that the case triggered caused a wave of

**anti-Semitic** demonstrations and riots throughout France. The Dreyfus trial was considered an important indicator of growing anti-Jewish sentiment in Europe and helped to awaken Jewish nationalistic feeling. **Theodor Herzl** covered the first Dreyfus trial as a newspaper correspondent and later said that the case convinced him that assimilation was not the solution to the problem of anti-Semitism. *See also* DER JUDENSTAAT; JEWISH QUESTION; ZIONISM.

**DRONES (UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLES; UAVS).** By the 21st century, Israel had become a world leader in the development and use of remote-controlled, pilotless aircraft historically deployed for military and special operation applications. The two major producers of UAVs in Israel are Elbit Systems and **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)**. These two companies and smaller domestic producers benefit from a close symbiosis with the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. A 2013 report by IHS Jane's indicates that more than one-half of all of Israel's air force operations are conducted by drones. Drones are routinely used in the surveillance of Israel's borders with **Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egyptian-Sinai,** and the **Gaza Strip**. They are deployed in the **targeted assassination** of senior **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** military commanders and other terrorist leaders and in the discovery of rocket launchers and terrorist-infiltration tunnels in Gaza. Drones were used to distribute mass warnings to Palestinian civilians to evacuate their homes prior to Israeli shelling of Gaza neighborhoods during **Operation Protective Edge** and were being used to monitor compliance of Hamas, **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**, and other terror groups with the cease-fire that brought an end to the **Gaza War 2014**. According to the *Financial Times*, by 2013 Israel was the world's largest exporter of drone and UAV technology, with UAV-related exports between 2005–2012 valued at more than \$4.6 billion and accounting for almost 10 percent of all Israeli military exports in that same period. More than half of Israeli UAV exports were to Europe, while a third went to Asia-Pacific countries, including Azerbaijan and **India**. Another 11 percent of UAV exports were to Latin America, while close to 4 percent went to the **United States** and 1.5 percent to Africa. The top clients for Israel's drones were the United Kingdom, India, and Brazil. In 2013, Israel signed a \$100 million deal with India to upgrade its drones. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**DRUCKMAN, HAIM (1933– ).** Religious **Zionist** educator, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in Poland, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1944. A founder and leader of the **Bnei Akiva** youth movement. He was elected to the Knesset in the 1977 parliamentary election

on the list of the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** and was reelected in the 1981 **Knesset election**. From 11 August 1981 to 2 March 1982 he served as deputy minister of education. In October 1983, Druckman split from the NRP and sat as an independent member of the Knesset. He helped to establish the **Morasha (Heritage) Party** to contest election to the Eleventh Knesset (1984) and was reelected to the Knesset on the Morasha list. He did not seek reelection for the 1988 Knesset election and subsequently withdrew from party politics. A founder of the militant **Gush Emunim**, he is a forceful opponent of territorial compromise in the **Occupied Territories**, suggesting that it is permissible under *Halacha* for **Israel Defense Forces** soldiers to disobey command orders to evacuate Jewish **settlements**. Druckman was especially prominent in his opposition to Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**'s plan to disengage from the **Gaza Strip** and parts of the northern **West Bank**. In 1997 and 1998, Rabbi Druckman headed a committee of representatives of various streams of Judaism mandated to achieve compromise on the status of adopted children converted to Judaism outside Israel. He was appointed to head the committee of rabbis from various streams of Judaism to prepare those wishing to convert to Judaism in Israel, as recommended by a government committee headed by **Yaakov Ne'eman**. Druckman returned to electoral politics in 1999, when he was inserted into the second slot on the National Religious Party's list of candidates for election to the Fifteenth Knesset. He did not seek reelection in 2003, choosing instead to return full time to his role as Rosh Yeshiva (Head) of Ohr Etzion Yeshiva, a religious Zionist *Hesder* yeshiva, where students combine military training and Orthodox religious studies. In 2012 Druckman was awarded the **Israel Prize** for his contribution to education in Israel. *See also* RELIGION.

**DRUZE (DRUSE)**. The Druze are a self-governing religious community that broke from Islam in the 11th century. Their religious practices are highly secretive and complex, and the community is very tightly knit. The Druze live primarily in **Syria** and **Lebanon**. In Israel, they number some 166,000 (about 9 percent of Israel's non-Jewish population) and reside in the upper and lower **Galilee** and Mount Carmel regions and on the **Golan Heights**. The Druze are considered a separate community by the state of Israel. Most speak fluent Hebrew, and members of the community have attained success in Israeli politics as well as with Israel's **border police** service and the military. The Druze are the only Arabs conscripted into the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. According to the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* (June 2011), a growing number of Israeli Druze youth were volunteering for service with elite combat units of the military. Druze soldiers have participated in all the Arab-Israeli wars for Israel, frequently fighting—and dying—with distinction for

their country. In the Mount Carmel village of Daliyat al-Carmel there is a memorial to Druze soldiers who have lost their lives while serving in Israel's defense.

On 5 November 2014 Druze border police chief inspector Jidan Assad was killed when a car driven by a terrorist rammed a pedestrian light-rail station in **Jerusalem**. Druze police master sergeant Zidan Saif was killed while responding to the 18 November 2014 terrorist attack at the Kehilat Bnei Torah synagogue in the Har Nof neighborhood of Jerusalem. On 26 November 2014 Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** paid tribute to the two Druze servicemen and reiterated to Druze community leaders the central role that their community plays in Israeli life. "You are our very flesh. You are an organic part of Israeli society. Your heroic policemen and soldiers have fallen in order to defend the state and all its citizens, but we will defend your rights and your security," Netanyahu said. "There is a deep emotional commitment here that found expression in the crowds who came to [Sgt. Saif's] funeral. This emotionally underscored what Israeli citizens feel and what I feel."

**DULZIN, ARYE LEON (1913–1989)**. **Jewish Agency for Israel** and **World Zionist Organization (WZO)** head. Born in Minsk, Russia, on 31 March 1913, he immigrated to Mexico in 1928, where he became active in Zionist matters. He served as secretary general of the Zionist Federation of Mexico and as its president (from 1938 to 1942). He settled in Israel in 1956 and became a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency. He served on a number of other boards and in various executive positions and was involved in the activities of the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)**. In 1969, he became minister without portfolio. Dulzin served as treasurer of the Jewish Agency from 1968 to 1978 and was elected chairman of the World Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency in 1978. In 1986, he broke with the Liberal Party and helped to form the **Liberal Center Party**. He retired in 1987 and died in **Tel Aviv** two years later.

**DURBAN CONFERENCE**. Perhaps the nadir in Israel's historically tenuous relationship with the **United Nations (UN)**. The third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance (WCAR) and the associated conference of nongovernmental organizations and other human rights activists convened in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 7 September 2001. The laudable goals of the WCAR were undermined and delegitimized as the conference was hijacked by those countries and other nongovernmental actors interested in promoting a narrow anti-Israel and **anti-Semitic** agenda. Concern about the discriminatory and unconstructive nature of the proceedings led the **United States** to join Israel in

walking out and then boycotting the conference. In the end, the Middle East provisions of the final conference communiqué were somewhat less shrill and defamatory toward Israel than initially anticipated. This being said, in the minds of most observers, the very fact that senior UN officials, including the influential UN high commissioner for human rights, allowed an important conference on international human rights to become derailed and transformed into a vehicle for delegitimizing Israel and dehumanizing the Jewish people marked a serious deterioration not only in Israel's relationship with the UN but also in the world body's credibility as a peacemaker. *See also* ZIONISM.



# E

**“EARTHQUAKE”**. The **Yom Kippur War** (1973) resulted in an Israeli military victory but unleashed substantial tensions in the economic, political, and psychological arenas in Israel. Protest groups focusing on various aspects of the resulting situation were formed. Israelis were concerned with war losses, the failure of military intelligence, initial battlefield reverses, questions about war-associated political decisions, and deteriorating economic and social conditions at home accompanied by diplomatic reverses abroad. This malaise affected the body politic during much of the tenure of **Yitzhak Rabin** as **prime minister** (1974–1977) but seemed to reach a crucial level in conjunction with the 1977 **Knesset election**, when many of the forces set in motion by the Yom Kippur War and its aftermath seemed to coalesce, causing a major fissure in the political landscape in Israel. The electorate gave the largest number of votes to the **Likud (Union) Party** bloc, led by **Menachem Begin**, and the **Israel Labor Party (Hamifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** lost a substantial number of seats compared to the results of the 1973 election. The results ended Labor’s dominance of Israeli political life that had begun in the **Yishuv** period, and Begin subsequently formed a Likud-led coalition government. This sudden shift in political direction, together with the aftershocks it caused, have been likened to an “earthquake,” the descriptive term often attached to this period in Israeli political development.

**EAST FOR PEACE (HAMIZRACH LESHALOM)**. A peace advocacy association organized by a group of intellectuals after Israel’s first **War in Lebanon** (1982), in part to counter the hardline image of Jews from **Arab** countries. This group believed that peace is essential for Israel and that **Oriental Jews** should play a role in the effort to achieve it.

**EAST JERUSALEM**. *See* JERUSALEM.

**EBAN, ABBA (FORMERLY AUBREY) (1915–2002)**. Statesman, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in Cape Town, South Africa, on 2 February 1915 to Lithuanian-Jewish parents, he grew up in **Great**

**Britain.** While a student of Middle Eastern languages and classics at Cambridge University, he founded the University Labour Society, was president of the Students' Union, and was active in debating and **Zionist** circles. During World War II, he served as a major to the British minister of state in Cairo and then as an intelligence officer in **Jerusalem**. In 1946, he became the political information officer in London for the **Jewish Agency for Palestine** and, the following year, the liaison officer for the Jewish Agency with the **United Nations Special Committee on Palestine** (UNSCOP). In May 1948, he became Israel's permanent delegate to the **United Nations**. From 1950 to 1959, he served as both Israel's ambassador to the **United States** and to the **United Nations**. In 1959, Eban was elected to the Knesset on the **Mapai (Miflaget Poalei Eretz Yisrael—Israel Workers Party)** list. He served as minister of **education** and culture from 1960 to 1963 and was deputy **prime minister** from 1964 to 1965. He also served as president of the **Weizmann Institute of Science** at Rehovot from 1959 to 1966. In 1966, Eban became minister of foreign affairs, a position that he held until 1974. He served as chairman of the Knesset Committee for Security and Foreign Affairs from 1984 to 1988. The **Israel Labor Party (Miflegat Haavoda HaIsraelit)** dropped him from its list of candidates for the 1988 Knesset election. After retiring from party politics, he continued to be a keen observer of and prolific commentator about security and **foreign policy** and Israel's place in the international system. Eban died on 17 November 2002 in **Tel Aviv—Yafo**.

**ECONOMY.** Israel's economy has made impressive progress, and the economic well-being of its people has improved significantly since independence, when Israel was a poor country with weak agricultural and industrial sectors and a dependence on imported consumer goods, raw materials, and food. Economic growth was stimulated by a massive influx of immigrants (*see* ALIYA) and large governmental and private capital flows from abroad. Although virtually bereft of natural resources and faced with substantial burdens of immigrant absorption and defense, Israel had become an economic power by regional standards by the beginning of the 21st century and its people generally had become prosperous. Life expectancy is among the highest in the world; Israel has maintained a substantial level of social services for its population; and its gross national product has made dramatic progress. Nevertheless, Israel's economy remains dependent on foreign assistance and is burdened with an extraordinarily heavy debt-repayment responsibility.

Israel's economy grew rapidly after independence. Between 1950 and 1972, the country maintained a real economic output rate of nearly 10 percent per year, and its output per worker nearly tripled. This was accompanied by significant increases in the standard of living. Inflation became a problem as the economy reached double-digit inflation in the early 1970s and triple-

digit inflation (more than 400 percent) by the 1984 Knesset election. It was subsequently brought down to some 15 percent by 1987 through the efforts of the 1984–1988 **Government of National Unity**. Balance-of-payments problems also marked the economy in the 1980s.

Israel lacks substantial natural resources—it has limited amounts of various chemicals, such as potash and phosphates, and water supplies—but this has been offset by the unusually valuable asset Israel has in its human resources. Massive immigration created problems in Israel’s early years, but it also endowed Israel with a motivated and skilled labor force. Israel has developed its own highly regarded educational and scientific establishment. Illiteracy is virtually nonexistent (in fact, with a literacy rate of 97.8 percent, Israel is a world leader), and Israel’s population is one of the most highly educated in the world.

For decades, Israel’s only significant domestic energy source was **solar** power; Israel has no coal or hydroelectric power potential and possessed very little oil and **natural gas**. Energy requirements were met largely by crude oil and coal imports, and nuclear power has been under study. The discovery of large natural-gas fields off Israel’s Mediterranean coast in the early 21st century is considered a potential “game-changer” affecting Israel’s long-term energy requirements as well as Israel’s overall economic situation.

Israel has historically lacked the capital necessary for its economy to function efficiently, and since 1948, it has relied heavily on foreign capital inflows to finance the economy and for current expenditures. External sources have included loans, grants, contributions, outside investments, government aid from the **United States**, the sale of Israel bonds (*see* STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS), German reparations and restitution payments, and donations from **Diaspora** Jewish communities. These sources have permitted Israel to pursue a policy of rapid economic and demographic expansion.

The country’s economy today has reached a significant level of accomplishment. Its size has doubled since 1986, and in 2015 Israel’s gross domestic product stood at \$321 billion, compared to about \$12 billion at the beginning of the 21st century. Israel is in the forefront of scientific research and achievement in fields such as irrigation and water usage, energy technology, computer science, aerospace technology, and scientific and medical research. Its economy is well managed and its people are relatively prosperous (with a 2015 per capita gross domestic product of more than \$34,000 compared to some \$24,000 in 2005). Israel is one of the world’s most “financially literate” countries in the world, according to a 2015 survey released jointly by Standard & Poor’s, Gallup, the World Bank and the Global Financial Literacy Center at George Washington University.

Beginning in 2004, the adverse economic effects of the **Al-Aksa intifada** had worn off, and foreign investors and businessmen recognized the long-term resilience of the Israeli economy despite the absence of peace and

continuing **terrorist** attacks. Between 2004 and 2013 economic growth averaged nearly 5 percent per year, led by exports. Although it suffered significant temporary disruptions as the result of incessant rocket fire on population and industrial centers in north-central Israel from southern **Lebanon** in 2006 and on the **Negev** and southern Israel since Israel's 2005 withdrawal from the **Gaza Strip**, the fundamentals of Israel's economy remain remarkably strong, stable, and durable, leading major investment analysts to predict sustained growth and integration with the globalized economic system.

The global financial crisis of 2008–2009 caused a brief recession in Israel, but the country entered the crisis with solid fundamentals, following years of prudent fiscal policy set by the **Bank of Israel** and a resilient banking sector (*see* BANKING IN ISRAEL). In fact, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in a report issued in November 2015 noted that among the 37 advanced economies identified by the IMF, Israel's was one of only 3 that did not experience a contraction in the aftermath of the financial crisis (along with those of Australia and South Korea). Strong trade ties beyond the Middle East have insulated Israel's economy from the spillover effects of the recent chaos occurring among Israel's Arab and Muslim neighbors (*see* FOREIGN TRADE).

The integration of the Israeli economy with the global economy continued with imports at the rate of 34.5 percent of GDP and exports at 38.4 percent in April 2016. Other statistics showed similar economic strength. The integration of the Israeli economy was most poignantly reflected in the unanimous decision of the 31 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in May 2010 to invite Israel to become a member (membership was formally signed in November 2010).

According to the Bank of Israel, the Israeli economy has returned to the moderate but steady rate of growth that characterized it prior to the 2014 war in Gaza. More specifically, data for the fourth quarter of 2014 indicated accelerated activity—an increase of 6.5 percent—which reflected a correction from the previous quarter's slowdown (including the virtual collapse of income from foreign **tourism**) resulting from the war against Hamas—*see* WAR IN GAZA (2014).

By June 2016 the OECD, IMF, and Bank of Israel (BOI) had separately concluded that Israel's economy was performing well despite the continuing global economic chaos. Inflation remained low (at .9 percent), and the unemployment rate stood at 4.9 percent. In April 2016 the BOI projected a 2.8 percent growth rate for Israel's GDP in 2016 and a 3 percent growth rate in 2017. One additional indicator of the overall strength and stability of the Israeli economy: Israel's public debt levels have been steadily falling for years and are well below the average of many other developed countries.

**EDELSTEIN, YULI (YOEL) (1958– )**. Member of **Knesset** and Knesset speaker, **government** minister. Born on 5 August 1958 in Chernovitz, **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**, he studied foreign languages at the Moscow Institute for Teacher Training. In 1977, he asked for an exit visa from the USSR but was refused. Eventually, he was sent to prison as a **Prisoner of Zion**. He was set free on the eve of Israeli Independence Day in 1987, and he immigrated (see **ALIYA**) to Israel. In 1990, he graduated from the **Jerusalem** Fellows Program, and from 1990 to 1993, he was a department head at the Melitz Center for **Zionist Education**. In 1993–1994, Edelstein served as an adviser to then opposition leader **Benjamin Netanyahu**. A founding member of the **Israel B'Aliya (Israel for Immigration/Israel Moving Upward)** Party in 1996, he was first elected to the Fourteenth Knesset (1996) on the party's list. He served as minister of immigrant absorption in the **Likud (Union) Party**-led government headed by Netanyahu from 1996 to June 1999. He was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) and the Sixteenth Knesset (2003; along with Marina Solodkin) on the Israel B'Aliya list but then chose to amalgamate with the Likud Party; from March 2001 to February 2003, Edelstein served as deputy minister of immigrant absorption in the governing coalition headed by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**. He retained his seat in the 2003 Knesset election on the Israel B'Aliya list, shortly after which Israel B'Aliyah merged into Likud. Edelstein sat in the fourteenth slot on the Likud Party list of candidates for the 2006 Knesset election and lost his seat when Likud was reduced to 12 seats. However, in February 2007 he reentered the Knesset as a replacement for Danny Naveh. He retained his seat in the 2009 Knesset election in twelfth place on the Likud list, and was appointed minister of public diplomacy and diaspora affairs. He was reelected in the 2013 Knesset election on the Likud list and on 17 March 2013 was elected Knesset speaker. He retained this position following his reelection on the Likud list in the March 2015 election of the Twentieth Knesset. In his 31 August 2015 address to the World Conference of Speakers of Parliament, Edelstein invited his Arab counterparts to meet him in Jerusalem.

**EDOT HAMIZRACH**. *See* ORIENTAL JEWS.

**EDUCATION**. Education has been a priority for Israel since independence, although there was already substantial growth of Jewish education under the **British Mandate**. During Israel's earliest years, the educational system was characterized by tremendous expansion, which resulted from large-scale immigration (*see* **ALIYA**), primarily from the Middle East and North Africa, with large numbers of children, and the Compulsory Education Law of 1949. The educational system required facilities and teachers to deal with these needs, and initially, there were shortages of both. The system faced addition-

al challenges created by the substantial immigration from numerous countries with different linguistic and educational backgrounds. The integration of Jews coming from all parts of the world continues, as a basic challenge is the differences among the various Jewish communities in education, lifestyle, history, tradition, and culture. The challenge to revive **Hebrew** and develop it as a living language and the centerpiece of the system was compounded by the need to blend the cultures of the numerous immigrants from the various countries of the world.

Education is a basic element of Jewish tradition and is given a high priority in Israeli society. In 1949, the **Knesset** passed the Compulsory Education Law, which made regular school attendance obligatory for all children from age five to fourteen, and tuition fees were abolished in state-funded schools for these nine years. Since 1978, school attendance has been compulsory to age sixteen and free to age eighteen. A recent expansion of the Compulsory Education Law mandates that all children from the age of three must attend school, meaning that Israel has 100 percent enrollment of three-year-olds and 45 percent of two-year-olds in early-childhood programs, well above the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) averages of 74 percent and 39 percent, respectively.

Because of the special characteristics of Israel's major communities—Jewish, **Arab**, and **Druze**—which differ in language, history, and culture, two basic school systems are maintained: the Jewish system, with instruction in Hebrew, and the Arab/Druze system, with instruction in Arabic. Both systems are financed by and accountable to the ministry of education but enjoy a large measure of internal autonomy and independence. The Arab/Druze education system, with separate schools for Arab and Druze pupils, provides the standard academic and vocational curricula, adapted to emphasize Arab or Druze culture and history. Religious instruction in Islam or Christianity is provided by Arab schools if the community elders so determine. Due to the Compulsory Education Law and changes in traditional Arab/Druze attitudes toward formal education, there has been a substantial increase in general school attendance, particularly at the high school level, as well as in the number of female pupils.

Israel has one of the highest rates of postsecondary education in the world, with significant achievements in academic-based scientific and industrial research and development, as well as several **Nobel** laureates. Institutions of higher education in Israel were established prior to the founding of the state in 1948 and have figured prominently in its development. The first three institutions—**Technion-Israel Institute of Technology**, **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, and **Weizmann** (originally **Sieff Institute of Science**—opened in 1924, 1925, and 1934, respectively, in order to train engineers, scientists, and architects to build a new state and to attract Jewish students and scholars from around the world. The quality and quantity of higher

education offerings in Israel have grown exponentially since independence. In the succeeding years, Israel established another six world class public universities and more than forty regional, vocational, and professional colleges and schools.

By the 21st century, more than a quarter of a million students attended an institution of higher learning. The nine major universities in Israel are Technion, Hebrew University, Weizmann Institute, **Bar-Ilan University**, **Tel Aviv University**, **Haifa University**, **Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**, **Open University of Israel**, and **Ariel University Center of Samaria**. While publicly financed, all schools of higher education maintain academic freedom and function with a great measure of independence. Israel's universities conduct major research projects in addition to teaching students in the full range of academic disciplines. The Council for Higher Education is an independent public body comprised of government officials, leading academics, and community members appointed by Israel's **president** that functions as an accrediting and regulatory body; proposes research, planning, and development priorities to the government; and coordinates between and among the various institutions.

**EFRAT (EFRATA)**. A **settlement** community located in the hills of **Judea** between **Jerusalem** and **Hebron**. Founded in 1980, it is the “urban center” of the **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)** of settlements. It is essentially a middle-class “bedroom community,” with many of its 9,300 residents commuting daily to workplaces in Jerusalem and elsewhere inside the **Green Line**. It is generally considered to be one of the “consensus communities” that will ultimately be incorporated by Israel within the context of any final negotiated peace settlement with the **Palestinians**.

**EGGED (LITERALLY “UNION”)**. Bus **transportation** cooperative created in 1933 through the merger of four smaller bus cooperatives. In 1951, Egged merged with the northern Shahar bus company and the southern Drom Yehuda bus company, creating a countrywide public transportation system. After the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Egged merged with the Hamekasher bus company of **Jerusalem**. The name *Egged* was given to the cooperative by the great Hebrew poet **Haim Nahman Bialik** in reference to the original merger. During times of crisis, such as the 1956, 1967, and 1973 wars, Egged buses and drivers helped to reinforce the logistic systems of the **Israel Defense Forces** by driving soldiers and transporting food to the battlefield.

**EGYPT**. Israel's neighbor to the west and the southwest with which it fought in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, the **Sinai War (1956)**, the **Six-Day War (1967)**, the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)**, and the **Yom Kippur**

**War (1973).** During the War of Independence, Egyptian forces succeeded in retaining a portion of the territory that was to have been a part of the Arab state in **Palestine** and known since as the **Gaza Strip**. Egypt held the territory under military control until 1967, except for a brief period in 1956–1957, when Israel held it during and immediately after the Sinai War. Following the Egyptian revolution and the accession of Gamal Abdul Nasser to power in the 1950s, the stage was set for a second round of warfare. Cross-border *fedayeen* raids from Gaza into Israel and a substantial increase in the armaments of the Egyptian army (via the **Czechoslovakian-Egyptian arms deal** of 1955), as well as the increased activism of the Nasser regime, helped to provide the context for the Sinai War.

The conclusion of that conflict was followed by a decade of relative calm along the Egypt-Israel frontier that was broken by the Six-Day War, in which Israel again took the Gaza Strip along with the **Sinai Peninsula**. The War of Attrition, initiated by Nasser in the spring of 1969, was terminated by a cease-fire in the summer of 1970. The Egyptian and Syrian-initiated Yom Kippur War was followed by movement in the direction of a settlement. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger of the **United States** helped to arrange an **Israel-Egypt disengagement agreement**, which was signed in January 1974, and the **Sinai II Accords** of September 1975. Following the 1977 initiative of president **Anwar Sadat**, Israel and Egypt began negotiations for peace, which led to the **Camp David Accords** in September 1978 and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of March 1979.

Peace and the normalization of bilateral relations followed—ambassadors were exchanged, trade and **tourism** developed, and continued contacts were sustained between the two states. Nevertheless, the relationship between the two countries could best be characterized by the concept of a “cold peace,” in which formal ties exist and some intercourse occurs, but their links could not be characterized as friendly or warm in nature. There are continuing differences between Cairo and **Jerusalem** over relations with the **Palestinians** as well as over Egypt’s concerns about Israel’s status on the broader Middle Eastern geopolitical, economic, and strategic landscape. An area of concern from Israel’s perspective relates to Egypt’s fulfillment of its responsibility to maintain security along the Gaza-Sinai border, including stopping the smuggling of weapons through underground **tunnels** following Israel’s 2005 disengagement from Gaza.

Israel was a keen observer to the momentous events in Egypt between 25 January and 10 February 2011 that culminated in the ouster of president Hosni Mubarak. Although Israel considered these developments an internal Arab affair, it was deeply concerned by the instability on its border with its largest and most powerful traditional Arab adversary as well as the implications for the peace treaty with Egypt of the election of a new Egyptian government affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and sympathetic toward



Palestinian extremist groups committed to Israel's violent destruction. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** announced on 28 January 2011 that Israel was keeping a close eye on the situation in neighboring Egypt but was refraining from taking a political stance; government ministers were formally instructed to refrain from commenting due to the sensitive nature of the situation. The Netanyahu government was equally guarded in its response to the June 2013 ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood–affiliated government by a military coup headed by army chief Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Over time, a working relationship of sorts developed between Jerusalem and the new Egyptian government, particularly with regard to the threat of terrorism posed against both parties by Iranian-sponsored **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in the Gaza Strip as well as radical Sunni Islamist groups operating near the Egyptian-Israeli border in the Sinai Desert.

Reflecting the warming of ties between the two countries, on 21 June 2015 Egyptian president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi confirmed the appointment of Egypt's first ambassador to Israel since 2012—when Egypt's ambassador in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** was recalled to protest **Operation Pillar of Defense**. There is also growing cooperation and the sharing of intelligence between Egypt and Israel about the strategic implications of an international agreement over Iran's nuclear weapons program. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; ARAB LEAGUE (LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES); FOREIGN POLICY; TABA.

**EGYPT-ISRAEL DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974).** *See* ISRAEL-EGYPT DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974).

**EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY (1979).** A peace treaty signed in Washington, D.C., on 26 March 1979 between the Arab Republic of **Egypt** and the state of Israel under the auspices of the **United States**, which ended the state of war between the two countries. *See also* BEGIN, MENACHEM (1919–1992); CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1978); CARTER, JIMMY (1924–); SADAT, ANWAR (1918–1981).

**EHRlich, SIMHA (1915–1983).** Member of **Knesset** and government minister. Born in Lublin, Poland, Ehrlich received a traditional Jewish **education** and at an early age became an active member of the **General Zionist** youth movement, immigrating (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** at the age of nineteen. During his first years in the country he worked as an **agricultural** laborer and studied commerce and economics. He began his public and political career in the Union of General **Zionists** and rose through its ranks. He was elected to the **Tel Aviv–Yafo** Municipal Council in 1955 and continued

to serve on it until his election to the seventh Knesset in 1969. In 1962, he became deputy mayor of Tel Aviv. He also became president of the national secretariat of the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)** and, later, chairman of its national secretariat and member of the **Gahal** Executive Committee.

During the Seventh and Eighth Knessets, Ehrlich served on the Knesset Finance Committee and was chairman of its Subcommittee for the Defense Budget. In the Ninth Knesset, he served as minister of finance from June 1977 to November 1979, when he was appointed deputy prime minister. While serving as finance minister, he declared a new economic plan designed to reduce the role of the government in the economy and apply free-market principles. The plan sought to modify the existing socialist system, check inflation, cut the **foreign trade** deficit, increase the growth rate, and promote foreign investment. On 5 August 1981, following his reelection to the Tenth Knesset, he was sworn in as deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture. Ehrlich died on 19 June 1983.

**EICHMANN, ADOLF (1906–1962)**. Nazi war criminal. Born in Solingen, **Germany**, on 19 March 1906, Eichmann was a German SS officer who presided over the implementation of Adolf Hitler's "final solution," the extermination of European Jews in the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. Captured by the Americans at the end of the war, Eichmann escaped to **Argentina**, where he was recaptured in 1960 by agents from the Israeli **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**. He was tried in public on charges of crimes against the Jewish people and war crimes against humanity. In his memoirs, published only in 1999, Eichmann writes: "Obeying an order was the most important thing to me." This is how he sought to explain his role in the systematic murder of six million Jews. The trial began in **Jerusalem** on 11 April 1961, and on 11 December 1961 the court found Eichmann guilty and sentenced him to death. After appeals, he was executed on 31 May 1962. The trial focused world attention on the tragedy of European Jewry and the systematic efforts of Nazi Germany to exterminate the Jewish communities of Europe in the Holocaust. *See also* EITAN, RAFAEL "RAFI" (1926–); HAREL, ISSER (FORMERLY HALPERIN) (1912–2003); MALKIN, PETER ZVI (1927–2005).

**EILAT (ELAT, ELATH)**. Israel's southernmost city, with a population of 48,100 (2013). It is a deep water port on the **Gulf of Aqaba**, connecting Israel with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. It is named for the ancient city of Eilat, which is mentioned in the Bible as a city through which the Israelites passed during their desert wanderings. It later served as a port city for numerous empires and conquerors of the area. Prior to the opening of the Suez

Canal to Israeli shipping, Eilat was Israel's major gateway for goods from the Far East, the Indian Ocean, Asia, and East Africa. Eilat also serves as an important center for oil distribution; a pipeline carries oil from the city to Israel's Mediterranean coast and from there, the oil is either exported or sent to a refinery in **Haifa**. Eilat's natural beauty and seaside location make it a year-round resort and a **tourist** mecca. Modern Eilat was founded in 1948.

Eilat's importance increased after 1950, when **Egypt** banned Israeli ships from the Suez Canal. Without the canal, the Gulf of Aqaba became Israel's only outlet to the Red Sea, but Egypt also blocked the entrance to the Gulf at the **Strait of Tiran**. The gulf was opened as a result of the **Sinai War (1956)**, and Eilat then grew rapidly in both size and importance. Egypt's blockade of the gulf in May 1967 was a major cause of the **Six-Day War**.

**EIN GEDI**. An oasis of waterfalls and animal life near the **Dead Sea** and **Masada**.

**EINSTEIN, ARIEH LIEB "ARIK" (1939–2013)**. Iconic Israeli singer, songwriter, actor, and screenwriter; described as the most influential Israeli popular artist of all time. Born on 3 January 1939 in **Tel Aviv**, he performed in the **Israel Defense Forces'** (IDF) prestigious **Nahal** Brigade entertainment troupe. Performing only in **Hebrew**, he recorded over 500 songs in 34 albums over a 50-year career, collaborating with many of Israel's finest performers. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** said of Einstein, "Arik, you are Israel. The beautiful and charming Israel that we all grew up to adore"; a prominent music critic said, "Arik Einstein is more than the greatest Israeli artist of all time. Einstein is the real Israel himself." He died on 26 November 2013 in Tel Aviv at age 74. *See also* THEATER.

**EITAM, EFRAIM "EFFIE" (1952–)**. Decorated soldier; member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 25 July 1952 in **Kibbutz Ein Gev**, Eitam studied at the **University of Haifa** and the Royal College of Defense Studies in London. A career officer in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), he commanded an elite commando unit in **Operation Entebbe** (July 1976) in addition to serving as commander of an armored division in the northern command and commanding the Israeli forces in southern **Lebanon** in 1989–1999. He was awarded the medal of valor for courage under fire in the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He retired from the IDF in 2000 with the rank of brigadier general.

In April 2002, Eitam was named leader of the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**, succeeding **Yitzhak Levy**, who had stepped aside in favor of Eitam. At the same time, Eitam was appointed minister without portfolio in Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**'s governing coal-

tion. In September 2002, he was appointed minister of national infrastructures. On 28 February 2003, Eitam was named minister of housing and construction, however he resigned this posting on 8 June 2004 to protest the proposed evacuation of settlers in Sharon’s **Gaza disengagement** plan (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut). In February 2005, Eitam was ousted as NRP leader in a policy dispute. He and Yitzhak Levy split from the NRP to form their own mini-faction in the Knesset called the **National Religious Zionist Renewal Party** (renamed Ahi); this faction was subsequently integrated with the **National Union (Haichud HaLeumi)** Party. On 2 February 2006 Eitam was among three nationalist members of Knesset who joined thousands of settlers blocking the demolition of the **Gush Emunim** illegal settlement outpost of **Amona**; he received minor injuries when the confrontation between settlers and Israeli police turned violent. He was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election on the National Union-National Religious Party joint list; he caused controversy by describing **Arabs in Israel** as “a fifth column, a group of traitors” and by calling for the expulsion of **Palestinians** from **Judea and Samaria** (the **West Bank**). In March 2008, he called for the expulsion of Israeli-Arab members of the Knesset: “One day we will expel you to Gaza from this house and from the national home of the Jewish people.” Prior to the 2009 Knesset election, Eitam’s Ahi faction of the National Union Party became independent and merged with the **Likud (Union) Party**, but Eitam decided to retire from political life. In retirement, Eitam joined the side of the security-intelligence debate advocating a forceful Israeli response to **Iran’s** nuclear weapons program.

**EITAN, RAFAEL “RAFI” (1926– )**. Leader of the **Gil (Gimla’ey Israel LaKnesset)** party, literally, “Pensioners of Israel to the Knesset.” He was born on 23 November 1926 in **Kibbutz** Ein Haron and grew up in Ramat HaSharon. He was educated at the agricultural school in Givat HaShloshah and the London School of Economics, where he received a B.S.E. in economics. As a teenager, he joined the **Hagana** and then shifted to the **Palmah** upon the completion of high school in 1944. He became involved in various clandestine activities involving the illegal **immigration (Aliya Bet)** of Jewish refugees. During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, Eitan served in military intelligence; after the war, he worked in Israel’s **intelligence services** community. In 1960, he headed the joint interagency operation that captured **Adolf Eichmann**. During 1964–1966, Eitan headed an operation in which armaments sold and delivered by **Germany** to the **Egyptian** government of Gamal Abdul Nasser “disappeared.” He was also involved in the secret planning of Israel’s attack on **Iraq’s Osirak (Osiraq) nuclear reactor** in June 1981.

Eitan was appointed adviser on **terrorism** to Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** in 1978 and in 1981 was named head of the ministry of defense's bureau of scientific relations (Lekem). In that capacity, he became one of the "handlers" of **Jonathan Jay Pollard**. Eitan resigned over the "Pollard Affair." He was asked to lead the Gil (Pensioners') Party in the Knesset election on 28 March 2006. The party of the retirees won seven **Knesset** seats and joined Israel's Thirtieth government, headed by **Kadima (Forward)**'s **Ehud Olmert**, with Eitan serving as minister responsible for pensioner affairs. Gil failed to pass the threshold for a seat in the Eighteenth Knesset (2009) and did not contest the 2013 or 2015 Knesset elections.

**EITAN, RAPHAEL "RAFUL" (FORMERLY KAMINSKY) (1929–2004)**. War hero; 11th chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**; member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 11 January 1929 in Tel Adashim and educated at **Tel Aviv** and **Haifa universities**, he pursued a military career joining the **Palmah** at age 16 and ultimately serving as IDF chief of staff (1978–1983), leading **Operation Peace for Galilee**—see **WAR IN LEBANON** (1982). But the **Kahan Commission** found that he should have anticipated the danger posed by the Christians to the **Palestinians** and opposed their admission to the **Sabra and Shatila refugee camps**.

Eitan first joined the Knesset in 1984 on the **Tehiya-Tsomet (Renaissance-Tzomet; Movement for Zionist Renewal)** Party joint list. In 1988, he and Tsomet ran as a separate electoral list, winning two Knesset seats. In June 1990, Tsomet joined **Yitzhak Shamir's Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition, with Eitan serving as minister of **agriculture**. Initially expressing an interest in running for the direct election of the **prime minister** in 1996, Eitan ultimately agreed to withdraw his candidacy and to have Tsomet enter into a joint electoral list along with Likud and **Gesher (Bridge)**. Eitan served as minister of agriculture and rural development, minister of the **environment**, and deputy prime minister in the government formed by Likud's **Benjamin Netanyahu** after the May 1996 election. He and Tsomet failed to pass the threshold for winning seats in the election to the Fifteenth Knesset held on 17 May 1999. Eitan drowned off the port of **Ashdod** in 2004.

**EIZENKOT, GADI (1960–)**. Since 15 February 2015, 21st chief of general staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Born on 19 May 1960 in Tiberias and raised in **Eilat**, he enlisted in the IDF in November 1978 as an infantryman. He was appointed commander of the famed Golani Brigade in 1997. In 1999 he was named military secretary to **Prime Minister** and Defense Minister **Ehud Barak**. He took over control of the northern command amid the shake-up following the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. In 2011 Eizenkot was

considered for the position of IDF chief of staff but he chose to defer to the more experienced **Benjamin (Benny) Gantz**. After a break to pursue post-graduate studies at the **University of Haifa**, he served as Gantz's deputy chief of staff until being named the 21st chief of the IDF general staff on 28 November 2014. He was officially installed on 15 February 2015. *See also* TERRORISM 2015.

**EL AL (UPWARD)**. Israel's national airline. One of the first decisions of the new state of Israel after independence was to establish a national airline to ensure that the state, surrounded by hostile neighbors, would have an air link to the outside world. Among the airline's first activities was flying whole communities of Jewish immigrants (*see* ALIYA) to Israel from neighboring **Arab** states. It has grown to become a significant international air carrier.

On 30 September 1948, **Chaim Weizmann**, flying from Geneva to be sworn in as Israel's first **president**, arrived aboard an Israeli Air Force DC-4, repainted and reregistered one day earlier as a commercial aircraft bearing the name *El Al*. On 15 November 1948, El Al was legally incorporated as Israel's national airline. It was also initially known as the Israel National Aviation Company. Its first director was Aryeh Pincus, a Jewish immigrant from South Africa. El Al undertook its first international commercial flight, to Rome, Italy, on 31 July 1949, and inaugurated its commercial cargo service in 1950, using military surplus aircraft.

El Al was always more than Israel's national airline; it has been a vital participant in the nation-building process. In the 1950s and 1960s, El Al aircraft were used in the airlifting of more than 160,000 Jewish immigrants from **India**, **Iran**, **Iraq**, and Yemen as part of **Operation Magic Carpet** and **Operation Ali Baba**.

El Al reported its first profit in 1960, when more than 50 percent of all travelers to Israel arrived aboard the company's aircraft. By 1961, El Al was carrying 56,000 passengers each year and was ranked thirty-fifth in the world in number of accumulated passenger miles. In 1968, the company initiated regular flights to Bucharest, Romania, as well as cargo flights to Europe and the **United States**. Despite increasing security costs associated with counterterrorism, El Al was reporting a net profit by the early 1970s, with flights extended to Cairo in April 1980 following the signing of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**.

El Al operations were suspended briefly in late 1982, when the company lost \$123.3 million due primarily to crises in labor-management relations. The company resumed operations in January 1983 under receivership. By 1987, El Al was again reporting a profit, with nonstop flights from Los Angeles to Ben-Gurion Airport inaugurated in May 1988. Direct flights to Poland and Yugoslavia began in 1989. After years of trying, El Al was

finally granted permission from the government of the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** to initiate direct charter flights from Moscow in August 1991. Over the next three years, El Al, in cooperation with Aeroflot, transported more than 400,000 Russian immigrants to Israel. On 24 May 1991, an El Al Boeing 747 carried 1,087 **Ethiopian Jews** from Addis Ababa to Israel as part of **Operation Solomon**.

El Al experienced continued growth and expansion in the 1990s and into the first decades of the 21st century. Direct flights were established to destinations in the Far East. In June 1996, El Al initiated its first flight to Amman, **Jordan**. The receivership situation that the company had been operating under since 1982 was lifted in February 1995. And in June 2003, the first phase of the long-anticipated privatization of the company was implemented when 15 percent of El Al shares were listed on the **Tel Aviv Stock Exchange**. As of October 2014, El Al's major shareholders are Knafaim Holdings (36 percent), Ginspurg Group (10 percent) and Delek Group (10 percent). From its humble beginnings in 1948, El Al in 2011 had grown into a major international airline employing a staff of more than 6,000 globally and has a fleet of some 50 aircraft servicing 48 destinations on 4 continents. In August 2010, El Al and American Airlines signed an agreement to connect flights between Israel and 61 destinations in the United States beginning October 2010, via John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York. In the third quarter of 2013, El Al's revenue rose 6.2 percent to \$643.3 million, the highest in five years. One year later, revenue suffered a temporary slip (as did all elements of Israeli **tourism**) as the result of the disruption in daily life due to the **War in Gaza (2014)**. However, flights on El Al soon returned to normal.

Even as it experiences continued growth, El Al is compelled to bear the operational and financial burden of security and counterterrorism. The first **terrorist** attack against El Al occurred on 22 July 1968, when Palestinian skyjackers forced an El Al jetliner to land in Algeria. On 26 December 1968, terrorists attacked an El Al jet at the airport in Athens, Greece, prompting the airline to use special guards as its regular security force. On 18 February 1969, terrorists attacked an El Al airliner at a Zurich, Switzerland airport. On 6 September 1970, El Al security repelled an attempted skyjacking by a Palestinian terrorist group. Such attacks compelled El Al, in coordination with the **Shin Bet (Shabak)** and other agencies of Israel's **intelligence services** network, to institute counterterrorism measures that today make El Al the most secure airline in the world. While much of El Al's counterterrorism program emphasizes detecting, isolating, and neutralizing potential terrorists before they have the opportunity to enter an aircraft (through a complex, multilayered screening of passengers), in reaction to the attempted shooting-

down of an Israeli charter flight in **Kenya** in 2002, the airline is investigating the application to civilian airliners of the “Flight Guard” infrared antimissile system designed by a subsidiary of **Israel Aircraft Industries** (IAI).

**ELAZAR, DAVID “DADO” (1925–1976)**. Ninth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Born on 27 August 1925 in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, he was brought to **Palestine** as part of the Youth **Aliya** in 1940. In 1946, he joined the **Palmah**. In the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he participated in the fighting for **Jerusalem** and later in the **Sinai Peninsula**. After a period as a training officer and as an operations officer in the central command, he took a leave of absence in 1953 to study economics and Middle Eastern studies at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. In the **Sinai War (1956)**, Elazar fought in the **Gaza Strip**. In 1961, he was promoted to the rank of major general. In November 1964, he was appointed commander of the northern command, which, during the **Six-Day War (1967)** captured the **Golan Heights**. He was appointed head of the staff branch in 1969, and he served as the chief of staff of the IDF from January 1972 to April 1974. Elazar resigned in April 1974 after the release of the findings of the **Agranat Commission of Inquiry**, which blamed him for the initial setbacks at the beginning of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, for excessive confidence in the ability of the army to contain the **Egyptian** and **Syrian** attacks without calling up the reserves, and for incorrect assessments and a lack of preparedness of the IDF at the outbreak of the war. The commission recommended the termination of his role as chief of staff. He later joined the **ZIM** shipping company as managing director. He died on 15 April 1976 and is buried on **Mount Herzl (Har Herzl)** in Jerusalem.

**ELDAD, ISRAEL (FORMERLY SCHEIB) (1910–1996)**. A leader of the **LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael—Fighters for the Freedom of Israel; Stern Group)**. Born in Pidvolochysk, Galicia, on 11 November 1910, and educated at the rabbinical seminary in Vienna and the University of Vienna. While teaching in Vilna, Poland, he was invited by **Menachem Begin** to join the local leadership of **Betar**. He met **Avraham Stern**, founder of LEHI for the first time in 1938. Arriving in **Palestine** in 1941 he became a member of the LEHI headquarters staff and became the group’s leader, along with **Yitzhak Shamir** and **Nathan Yellin-Mor**, after Avraham Stern’s death in February 1942. He became chief ideologue of the Stern (Gang) Group/LEHI and **Revisionist Zionism**. During World War II Eldad made clandestine radio broadcasts, wrote articles for underground publications, and prepared bulletins that were illegally pasted on walls. He was freed from a British prison in a LEHI attack in 1946. After Israel’s statehood in May 1948, Eldad resumed his



career as an academic, teaching at the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology** and **Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**. He died on 22 January 1996.

**ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET.** The election of Israel's Twentieth **Knesset** took place on 17 March 2015. Of the 26 parties that registered to submit lists of candidates, only 25 participated. This election was the first in which new legislation (the **Governance Bill** of March 2014) raising the minimum electoral threshold for a party to enter the Knesset to 3.25 percent of the vote, up from the 2 percent threshold in the 2013 Knesset election, was employed. Some smaller political parties, fearing that they would fail to pass the new threshold on their own, decided to unite in electoral alliances. Almost 6 million Israelis—5,883,365—were eligible to vote. The turnout among eligible voters was 71.8 percent, the highest voter turnout for any Knesset election since 1999. Ten parties passed the electoral threshold to enter the Knesset.

The **Likud (Union) Party** won the largest number of seats in the election, 30. This was Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu's** fourth consecutive Knesset electoral victory as party leader. The second largest number of seats, 24, went to **The Zionist Union**, an electoral alliance led by **Yitzhak (Buji) Herzog** and comprised of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and **Tzipi Livni's Hatnua (The Movement) Party**.

**The Joint List**, a new alliance of largely Israeli **Arab political parties—Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash), National Democratic Assembly (Balad), Ta'al Arab Movement for Change, United Arab List (Ra'am)**, and the southern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel—won 13 Knesset seats. The new list was composed of small parties who responded to the new, higher qualifying threshold by setting aside their differences and contesting the election under a single unified banner.

**Yair Lapid's Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)** placed fourth with 11 seats, down from the 19 it had won in the 2013 election. Fifth place, with 10 mandates, went to **Kulanu (All of Us)**, a new party led by former Likud Knesset member and **government** minister **Moshe Kahlon**, whose campaign focused on the domestic, social, and **economic** issues raised in Israel's 2011 **social justice protest**.

**Naftali Bennett's HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)** won eight seats, a drop from the 12 it won in the 2013 election. **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)** fell from 11 seats in 2013 to seven in 2015. **Avigdor Lieberman's Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** took six mandates compared to the 11 seats it won in 2013 as part of the **Likud – Israel Beiteinu** alliance. The ultra-Orthodox **United Torah Judaism** won six seats, and the left-wing Zionist **Meretz** won five seats.

Falling short of the electoral threshold was **Yachad-Ha'am Itanu (Together—The People Are with Us)**, linked in an electoral alliance with ultra-nationalist **Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Strength)**. Also failing to pass the threshold was **U'bezchutan**, the first ultra-Orthodox women's political party in Israeli history to register to submit a list of candidates to contest a Knesset election.

**ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL.** The electoral system in Israel is based primarily on two laws: the **Basic Law: The Knesset** (1958) and the Knesset Elections Law (1969). The **Knesset** is elected every four years but may dissolve itself and call for new elections before the end of its term. Elections to the Knesset are general, nationwide, direct, equal, secret, and proportional. The entire country is a single constituency. Every citizen is eligible to vote from age 18—provided the courts have not deprived the individual of this right by law—and to be elected from age 21. The **president, state comptroller, judges, and other senior public officials, as well as the chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces and other high-ranking military officers, are disqualified from presenting their candidacy for the Knesset unless they have resigned their positions by a specified date (usually 100 days) prior to the elections.**

Each political party registers its list of candidates and presents its platform. There is no rule regarding the way candidates are to be chosen and the order in which they are to be presented in each list because this is the sole prerogative of the parties or the groups submitting the list. Some **political parties** make use of an organizing committee or other internal mechanism while others now establish their lists through primary elections. Several parties also now reserve slots on their electoral slates for women, representatives of immigrant (*see* ALIYA) communities, and other special-interest constituencies.

Parties represented in the outgoing Knesset are automatically eligible to stand for reelection. Additional parties may contest elections, provided they obtain the requisite number of signatures of eligible voters and deposit a bond, which is refunded if they succeed in receiving at least 3.25 percent of the popular vote, which is the threshold a party must pass for taking a seat in the Knesset. The qualifying threshold had been 2 percent in the 2013 Knesset election but was increased to 3.25 percent with the passage of the **Governance Bill** of March 2014.

A treasury allocation for each Knesset member is granted to each party represented in the outgoing Knesset in order to contest their reelection campaign. New parties receive a similar allocation retroactively for each Knesset member they actually elect. The state comptroller reviews the disbursement of all campaign expenditures. There are limitations on the amount of money a party can spend and on private campaign donations to parties from Israeli

citizens. Restrictions also exist on campaign advertising. Foreign electoral campaign donations to Israeli political parties are prohibited. Despite this prohibition, charges of intervention by foreign actors to affect the outcome of Israeli elections have arisen on several occasions—*see* V15 (VICTORY 2015).

The Central Elections Committee, headed by a justice of the **Supreme Court** of Israel and including representatives of the parties holding seats in the Knesset, is responsible for conducting the elections. In 2015 the Central Elections Committee was headed by Justice **Salim Jubran**. As authorized by the Basic Law: The Knesset, the Central Elections Committee may disqualify an individual candidate or an entire list of candidates from participating in an election if they act directly or indirectly against the existence of the state of Israel as the state of the Jewish people or against its democratic nature; incite racism; or support the armed struggle of an enemy or a terrorist organization against the state of Israel. The Central Elections Committee on 12 February 2015 voted to disqualify two candidates—**Baruch Marzel** of the ultranationalist **Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Strength)** Party and **Hanin Zuabi** of the **National Democratic Alliance (Balad)**—from contesting the March 2015 election. On 18 February 2015 both disqualifications were overturned on automatic appeal to the Supreme Court.

On Election Day each voter casts a ballot for one party—its list of candidates and its platform as a whole having been presented prior to the election. Knesset seats are assigned in proportion to each party’s percentage of the total national vote. Knesset seats are allocated according to the sequence in which the candidates appear on their respective party lists. Since the establishment of Israel, a large number of small parties have received representation in the Knesset, thus ensuring the representation of a wide spectrum of political views. Nevertheless, concern about an inability to pass the higher threshold for taking seats in the Knesset (3.25 percent of the vote) led four small, mainly **Arab political parties** to contest the 2015 Knesset election on a single unified list (*see* THE JOINT LIST).

**ELIAV, ARIE “LOVA” (1921–2010)**. Member of **Knesset**, prominent peace advocate. Born as Lev Lipschitz in Moscow on 21 November 1921, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** with his parents in 1924 and was educated at **Herzliya High School (Gymnasia Herzliya)** in **Tel Aviv**. He served in the **Hagana** from 1936 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1945 with the British army. He served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. From 1958 to 1960, Eliav served as the first secretary in the Israeli Embassy in Moscow. He served as the secretary general of the **Alignment (Maarach)** from 1969 to 1971. Following the **Six-Day War (1967)**, he became increasingly critical of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**, particularly its policies toward the Arab

population of the **Occupied Territories**. He eventually split from Labor and formed a leftist group called the Independent Socialists. In 1977, this party joined other leftist groups and formed **Shelli (Shalom LeYisrael–Peace for Israel)**. The party advocated the establishment of an Arab Palestinian state alongside Israel, Israel’s withdrawal to pre-1967 borders, and negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. After serving in the Knesset for 13 years, Eliav resigned in 1977. He rejoined Labor in 1986 and was reelected to the Knesset in 1988 on the Alignment list. Eliav received the **Israel Prize** in 1988 and remained an active and respected elder statesman of Israel’s peace movement. He died on 30 May 2010 in Tel Aviv.

**ELON, AMOS (1926–2009)**. Prominent Israeli journalist, author, and social critic. Born in Vienna, Austria, on 4 July 1926, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1933. In the 1950s he wrote for *Ha’aretz* about the **Second Israel** and other social challenges confronting the young Jewish state. Author of nine books, his 1967 book, *Journey through a Haunted Land: The New Germany*, challenged Jewish Israelis to look beyond **Germany’s** Nazi past. He rose to international fame in the early 1970s with publication of *The Israelis: Founders and Sons*, which was considered an honest portrait of the strengths and failings of the early **Zionists** in Palestine. Elon died in Tuscany, Italy, on 25 May 2009, at the age of 82.

**ELON, BENYAMIN “BENNY” (1954– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in **Jerusalem**, he and his family have resided in the **West Bank** religious **settlement** of Beit El for more than two decades, where he heads the local rabbinical seminary (*yeshiva*). He was first elected to the Knesset in 1996 as a member of **Moledet (Homeland)**, a party that advocated the voluntary “transfer” of **Palestinians** from the West Bank and **Gaza Strip**. In 1999, Moledet allied with other small parties to form the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)** party, under the leadership of **Rehav-am Ze’evi**. After Ze’evi’s assassination in the fall of 2001, Elon was selected to replace him as Moledet leader and minister of **tourism**. He subsequently served two terms as tourism minister (in 2001–2002 and 2003–2004). A strong advocate of Israel’s permanent retention of **Judea, Samaria**, and Gaza and of continued Jewish settlement of those areas, Elon actively worked to thwart **Ariel Sharon’s** Gaza **disengagement** plan (*Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut*). In February 2006 Elon was diagnosed with throat cancer but he nevertheless led the National Union-**National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** joint list to a total of nine seats in the 28 March 2006 Knesset election. He did not seek reelection in the 2009 Knesset election, choosing to resume his career as a religious educator.

**EMIGRATION.** Despite the fact that since 1948 Israel had successfully absorbed over 3 million immigrants (*see* ALIYA), there was also the phenomenon of emigration from the country. Essentially, persons leaving the country for long-term absences and de facto emigration belonged to one of three distinct groups: former immigrants returning to their country of origin; former immigrants emigrating to a third country; or emigrants who were born and raised in Israel. Historically, the number of emigrants was always only a small proportion of the overall population and was outweighed by the number of immigrants to Israel. Nevertheless, based on emigration rates since 1948, it is estimated that between 549,000 and 600,000 Israelis are currently living abroad. According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) 2012 data, large expatriate communities exist in the **United States** (150,000), **Canada** (25,000), **Germany** (14,000), **Great Britain** (13,500), **Australia** (10,100), and **France** (8,700), with other Israeli expat communities in Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Brazil, Chile, and Ecuador. However, according to the CBS data, rates of emigration seem to be declining, suggesting that Israelis are much less inclined to permanently leave the country than they were ten or twenty years ago. The last year, 2012, for which CBS data on long-term emigration are available reflects the lowest rate of emigration since Israel's founding in 1948. Some 15,900 Israelis left Israel for over a year in 2012, but about 13,500 expatriate Israelis returned—for a net loss of 2,400 citizens, compared to an average of nearly 10,000 per year between 1986 and 2008. According to border control officials, approximately a quarter of those who emigrated in 2012 and remained abroad for over a year have since returned as well. The figures also show that over 50 percent of Israelis who leave are among those who have immigrated to Israel from third countries, with many of those choosing to return to their country of origin.

Inasmuch as it was inconsistent with the core principles of **Zionism**, emigration from Israel was always treated derisively (indeed, the term used to describe the act of leaving the country, *yerida*, translates literally as “going down” or “descending,” as in “going down from **Zion**”). Nevertheless, over the years, efforts have been made to entice Israelis residing abroad to return home. Not surprisingly, a positive correlation was discerned between the number of returnees and the strength of the Israeli **economy** and the prospects for peace and stability with Israel's neighbors.

**ENAV, ZALMAN.** Renowned Israeli architect who, as a civilian volunteer, played an instrumental role in drafting the lines for Israel's withdrawals in Sinai in the context of various accords with **Egypt**. At the instruction of General **Avraham Tamir**, he worked with senior Egyptian officials in preparing the maps at **Kilometer 101** following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He also advised the Israeli delegations in the drawing of boundaries and final map lines with respect to the Israel-Egypt disengagement of forces agree-

ments in 1974 and 1975, and the negotiations at Camp David, Maryland—*see* CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1978). At the last-minute behest of Prime Minister **Menachem Begin**, Enav worked all night to redraw one of the maps crucial to the conclusion of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1979)**.

**ENGLAND.** *See* GREAT BRITAIN.

**ENTEBBE OPERATION.** *See* OPERATION ENTEBBE.

**ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN ISRAEL.** Out of necessity, Israel became a major innovator and world leader in many areas of sustainable development. As Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** said in his address at the Paris Climate Conference on 30 November 2015, “Israel has had to optimize all its life. We had no material resources. . . . We have learned to do more with less.” Protecting the environment is an area of political consensus in an otherwise generally fractious society. All Israelis are environmentally involved and in agreement on the issues that need to be addressed.

Israel’s climate is generally Mediterranean in nature but there are regional variations due to differences in elevation and levels of precipitation. Water conservation is part of the Israeli (and before that, **Zionist**) national psyche; cutting-edge technologies are developed to optimize its use. About 60 percent of Israel’s land area is covered by the **Negev Desert** in the south. The Negev is generally arid and cultivation would have been impossible without the revolutionary drip-irrigation technology and the seeds for water-efficient crops that were developed by Israeli scientists. Management of water supply is the responsibility of **Mekorot—The National Water Authority**; its **National Water Carrier** circulates water throughout the country. Water is pumped from the **Sea of Galilee** (Israel’s only freshwater lake) and from Israel’s two main aquifers (the coastal aquifer and the mountain aquifer). Rainwater is captured and reused. Israel is a world leader in the treatment and reuse of sewage and in the desalination of sea water.

A water supply crisis emerged by the late 1990s. There had been a severe drop in the level of water in the Sea of Galilee due to consecutive years of poor rainfall. At the same time, growing pressure for water resulting from increasing population and industrial development led to the overpumping of Israel’s natural water resources. Israel sought to balance the supply-demand water crisis in ways that would support sustainable development (i.e., address the water crisis in ways that protect the broader environment).

The government of Israel chose (in coordination with the private sector) to invest substantially in seawater desalination. Four desalination plants are currently operating (**Ashkelon**, Palmachim, Hadera, Sorek), with the opening of a fifth plant (**Ashdod**) said to be imminent. The potable water produced by

the sea water desalination plants will soon account for some 80 percent of domestic water consumption in Israel, with the remaining 20 percent drawn from the Sea of Galilee and the two aquifers.

Israel recognizes and is actively confronting other environmental challenges. Population growth, automobile emissions and industrialization have resulted in an increase in smog and other forms of air pollution in Israel's major cities—**Jerusalem, Tel Aviv–Yafo, and Haifa**—as well as in industrial centers like **Ashdod**. Population growth, urban sprawl, and industrial expansion have also contributed to noise pollution, population density, loss of open space, and a significant challenge concerning the disposal of solid-waste.

“Life and Environment” is an umbrella for 130 environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Israel. Groups such as the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI), *Adam Teva V'Din*–Israel Union for Environmental Defense (IUED), and the **Israel Green Party (Hayerukim)**—which maintains a presence in the Israeli political consciousness disproportionate to its rate of support in **Knesset** elections—hold the Israeli government accountable on environmental issues.

Israel was ranked first in the 2014 Global Clean-Tech Innovation Index, sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth. In 2015 the “Green Knesset Report” resulted in the implementation of energy-saving measures affecting everything in Israel's parliament from paper use to lighting and air-conditioning, and including the placement of solar panels on the institution's roof.

For decades, Israel has been a pioneer in the development and practical application of wind and **solar energy**. Israel's successes in countering desertification and in “making the desert bloom” are legendary. The first bio-waste power plant in Israel will be built in 2016 to generate energy from organic and animal waste. Israeli scientists always have taken the lead in discovering ways to reduce global dependence on crude oil and in developing clean and cost-efficient fuel alternatives, even as they seek viable ways to transition away from gas and oil to renewable energy.

Israel always has shared with the international community its sustainability and environmental-conservation technology, experience, and expertise. A prominent example is Israel's drip-irrigation technology, which continues to significantly impact the lives of millions of people in the developing world. The water-saving technology enables farmers in Africa, Asia and most recently in India to significantly increase the amount of land for crop growing, including semiarid land as well as desert, and to decrease the cost of yielding crops on that land by reducing the need for expensive water by up to 90 percent.

As part of the **Declaration of Principles** signed with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in 1993, Israel agreed to share water with **West Bank-Gaza Palestinians**, but this idea was shelved with the collapse of the **Oslo Accords**. In 2015, Israel and **Jordan** agreed to replenish the rapidly shrinking **Dead Sea** by carrying water from the Red Sea.

At the 2015 Paris Climate Conference, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced that 17 percent of the electricity generated in Israel will be from renewable sources by 2030. Israel also pledged to significantly reduce per capita greenhouse emissions. Although the challenges are great, most environmentalists in Israel express measured optimism, believing that protecting the environment is an area of political consensus around which all Israelis, and their governments, can agree and work together. Optimism is also based on the Israeli public's innovative "start-up nation" spirit and Israel's long record of leadership in many areas of sustainable development.

**EQUAL SERVICE LAW.** Controversial legislation adopted on 12 March 2014 that meant to "equal the burden" among all sectors of Israeli society by effectively ending military deferments for those men studying in ultra-Orthodox rabbinical seminaries (yeshivas). With the **Haredi** and secular opposition parties in the **Knesset** boycotting the vote, the legislation passed by a near-unanimous vote of 65 to 1. Particularly upsetting to its opponents was the inclusion in the Equal Service Law of a provision to impose individual criminal sanctions against those ultra-Orthodox students who dodge **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** service or other forms of national service, including **Sherut Leumi**. Proponents of an equal draft criticized delaying the imposition of such criminal sanctions until 2017. The Equal Service Law was a component of the omnibus **Governance Act** adopted by the Knesset in March 2014. In late April 2015, prime minister-elect **Benjamin Netanyahu** effectively reversed the Equal Service Law as a concession to **United Torah Judaism** and **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)** in order to entice the ultra-Orthodox parties into the coalition **government** Netanyahu was trying to form following the March 2015 election of the Twentieth Knesset. The Equal Service Law was formally nullified on 23 November 2015 when the Knesset by a vote of 40 for and 36 against approved new legislation that effectively postpones ultra-Orthodox mandatory enlistment until 2020 and after that leaves the setting of draft targets at the discretion of the defense minister.

**ERDAN, GILAD MENASHE (1970– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in **Ashkelon** on 30 September 1970. Achieved the rank of captain in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and graduated as a lawyer from **Bar-Ilan University**. Served as chair of **Likud** Youth. Served as advis-



er to **Likud (Union) Party** Knesset member **Ariel Sharon** (1996) and to Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** (1996–1998). Elected for the first time in the 2003 Knesset election on the Likud list and reelected since; appointed government minister for the first time in 2009 and served in a variety of portfolios in all subsequent governments. Won the Likud Party primary in November 2014 and thus sat second after party chairman Netanyahu on the party's list for the 2015 Knesset election. Erdan was initially excluded from the coalition government formed by Netanyahu after the election. This was rectified when **Ze'ev Binyamin (Benny) Begin** resigned as minister without portfolio, allowing Erdan to be named on 25 May 2015 as minister for public security, strategic affairs and information.

**EREZ HADASHA (THE NEW LAND).** A political party founded in October 2012 to contest the January 2013 **Knesset** election. Its youthful, **Tel Aviv-Yafo** –based leadership pledged to usher in a cleaner, more transparent style of politics for Israel by targeting the close relationship between big business, media, and government, and by publishing the party's donor list and providing detailed information about its candidates' finances. Also distinguishing Eretz Hadasha from other political parties participating in the election campaign was its almost total reliance on social media for communicating its platform to potential voters. It fell well short of the 2 percent threshold required to win seats in the Nineteenth Knesset (2013).

**EREZ ISRAEL (EREZ YISRAEL).** A **Hebrew** term meaning “land of Israel,” used to refer to **Palestine**. The term is found in the Bible, Talmud, and later literature and refers to the land of ancient Israel: all of Palestine, including **Judea and Samaria**.

**EREZ CROSSING.** Major crossing point on the boundary between Israel and the **Gaza Strip**. In times of peace, it has served as a major transit juncture for goods and Palestinian workers entering Israel. Pursuant to the Israel–**Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) Economic Protocol of 29 April 1994 (“Paris Protocol”), an industrial park was established at the Erez Crossing to stimulate employment and other economic opportunity for the **Palestinians**. The crossing was frequently closed in response to increases in Palestinian violence and terror, and the industrial park lay dormant. Erez Crossing itself was the site of several **suicide bombings** and other serious **terrorist** attacks during the **Al-Aksa intifada**. The crossing is currently restricted to Arab residents under the jurisdiction of the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) and to **Egyptian** nationals or international aid officials only. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**EROS-B (EARTH REMOTE OBSERVATION SYSTEM-B).** A spy **satellite** launched on 25 April 2006 for the purpose of monitoring conventional and nonconventional strategic threats posed by Israel's distant enemies, including **Iran**. It was reported that the satellite's main purpose was to track Iran's nuclear program. It was launched from a Siberian base atop a Russian rocket and transmitted its first pictures to Earth within days. ImageSat, the owner of EROS-B, is a private conglomerate owned by **Israel Aircraft Industries** (42 percent), Elbit Systems (8 percent), and various foreign investors. It shares the images it receives from the satellite with agencies of Israel's **intelligence services** and derives revenue by selling other images to civilian and foreign interests. *See also* OFEQ (HORIZON) SATELLITE.

**ESHKOL, LEVI (FORMERLY SHKOLNIK) (1895–1969).** Israel's fourth **prime minister**. Eshkol was born in Oratovo in the Kiev district of Ukraine on 25 October 1895. In January 1914, he set out as part of a contingent representing the **Zionist** youth organization, **Hapoel Hatzair (The Young Worker)**, to the port of Trieste, from where he sailed for Jaffa (Yafo). At first, he served as a common farm laborer and watchman but soon became involved in the building of a pumping station and was elected to the Workers' **Agricultural Council** of **Petah Tikva**. He entered military service in the **Jewish Legion** and upon demobilization in 1920 helped to create **Kibbutz Degania** Bet. When the **Histadrut** was created in 1920, Eshkol joined the executive board, and when **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** was founded in 1929, he was elected to its Central Council. **David Ben-Gurion** became a powerful figure in the party, and with him, Eshkol was drawn into the party leadership. Eshkol increasingly was seen as a political appendage to Ben-Gurion because of the parallels in their careers and their friendship.

After Israel's independence, Eshkol was appointed as director general of the ministry of defense. He was appointed head of the land **settlement** department of the **Jewish Agency** in 1949. In 1951, he became minister of agriculture and development and the following year minister of finance. Eshkol replaced Ben-Gurion as prime minister in June 1963 and served in that position until his death in February 1969. He and Ben-Gurion split over the **Lavon Affair**, which led to the defection of Ben-Gurion from Mapai and the creation of **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)**.

Eshkol was known for his contributions to Israel's economic development in a crucial period and for his skills as a conciliator. He led Israel through the **Six-Day War (1967)** and the crisis that preceded it. He was considered one of the more dovish of Israel's leaders and did not wish to formally annex areas inhabited after the Six-Day War by large numbers of Arabs. This said,

on 27 June 1967 he issued an administrative order to apply Israeli law and administration to East **Jerusalem**. Eshkol died on 6 February 1969 in Jerusalem.

**ETHIOPIA/ETHIOPIAN JEWS.** Sometimes called **Falashas**, meaning “strangers.” Folklore in Ethiopia and in some traditional Jewish circles explains the existence of the Jewish community in Ethiopia as deriving from the 10th-century BC union of Israel’s King Solomon and the queen of Sheba. Others say Jews have been in Ethiopia since the destruction of the first temple in 586 BC and that they could be descendants of the lost tribe of Dan. In Ethiopia, the Jews lived primarily in small villages in the mountainous regions, where they were subsistence farmers with a close-knit social structure and family life.

Israel’s relationship with Ethiopia began in the prestate period when, acting on behalf of the British government, the **Zionist** community in **Palestine** provided military and technical assistance to the forces of Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie in their efforts to evict the invading Italian army. The quality of bilateral relations expanded in 1960 when Israel assisted Ethiopia in combating an Arab-backed rebellion in the breakaway province of Eritrea. In return for this assistance, Ethiopia granted Israel de jure recognition in 1961. Over the subsequent decade, Israel sent hundreds of military and economic advisers to Ethiopia, and Israeli academics played a role in helping to establish the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa. Ethiopia severed diplomatic relations with Israel in October 1973 under pressure from the Arab and Muslim oil-producing countries.

In 1977, Israel agreed to airlift military and medical supplies to Ethiopia in exchange for Israel’s being permitted to take about 200 Ethiopian Jews on the returning transport planes. Between 1980 and 1984, some 7,000 Ethiopian Jews fled the civil war in their country and made their way to Israel; many arrived only after spending many months in squalid refugee camps in neighboring Sudan. During a period of about two months beginning in November 1984, more than 6,500 Ethiopian Jews were airlifted to Israel as part of **Operation Moses**. An additional 700 were transported to Israel in March 1985 in **Operation Sheba**. In total, some 14,300 Ethiopian Jews reached Israel between 1972 and August 1985. In May 1991, **Operation Solomon** brought an additional 14,400 Ethiopian Jews to Israel, all in a 24-hour period. From the **Falash Mura** compound in Addis Ababa came 3,105 immigrants (see ALIYA) to Israel.

In a June 1997 cabinet decision concerning the Ethiopian Jews, Israel’s interior ministry was instructed to extend the mission of the special consul in Addis Ababa to examine the right to immigrate by the communities in **Kwara** (Qwara) and Gondar provinces in accordance with the **Law of Return**. The ministry also sought to expedite the immigration procedures, but condi-

tions in Ethiopia led to fraudulent attempts to immigrate, and lack of adequate records slowed the process. In May and June 1999, steps were undertaken to bring to Israel the remnants of the Jewish community residing in Kwara (Qwara) Province.

The airlift of Ethiopian Jews to Israel raised the issue of whether the Ethiopian Jews were in fact to be considered Jews under Jewish law and practice. The spiritual leaders of the Ethiopian community, known as *kessim* (singular, *kess*), were excluded from acting as rabbis in Israel despite their traditional role among the Ethiopians as rabbis and were prohibited from performing weddings, but there was the broader issue of discrimination and related matters. The central issue was the recognition of the rights of Ethiopian Jews in all aspects of Israeli life and society. In part, the issue derives from the fact that the Ethiopian Jews were isolated from Jewish oral law and rabbinical interpretations and relied instead on the Torah as the basis of their beliefs. The Ethiopian Jews refer to themselves as **Beta Israel** (“House of Israel”). Israel’s chief rabbinate (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL) insisted that the *kessim* catch up on the oral law to be certified as practicing rabbis in Israel.

In Ethiopia the *kessim* presided over marriages and divorces, circumcisions, and funerals, and they sought the same rights in Israel. Israel’s chief rabbinate refused until they studied relevant Jewish law and were appropriately certified.

A related issue was the fate of thousands of Ethiopian Christians of Jewish descent (*see* FALASH MURA) and the campaign to bring them to Israel.

There were some 135,000 Jews of Ethiopian descent living in Israel in 2015. Though there were some serious problems in the early stages of their absorption, the vast majority of Ethiopian Jews gradually became integrated in Israeli society, with service in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) serving as a particularly important vehicle for the integration and social advancement of second-generation Ethiopian Jewish immigrants. In May 2015, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** pledged that government resources would be directed to “resolve problems in education, housing, culture, religion, employment and in other areas” still impeding the Ethiopian Jewish community’s full integration into Israeli society. *See also* WHO IS A JEW?

**ETZEL.** *See* IRGUN (IRGUN TZVAI LEUMI, ETZEL).

**ETZION BLOC (GUSH ETZION).** A group of Jewish **settlements** in the hills of **Judea** between **Jerusalem** and **Hebron** taken by **Jordan** during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. The bloc included Kfar Etzion (the oldest of the **settlements**, founded in 1943), Massuot Yitzhak, Ein Tzurim, and Rvadim. After numerous attacks by the Jordanian Arab Legion and other

Arabs, the Etzion Bloc fell on 14 May 1948. The area was recaptured by Israel during the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Subsequently, settlements were reestablished in the area; many are considered hotbeds of **Gush Emunim** and other religious and secular nationalist opponents of territorial compromise in negotiations with the **Palestinians**. That said, the Etzion Bloc is generally considered a “consensus community” that will ultimately be incorporated by Israel in the context of a permanent peace agreement. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**EXODUS 1947.** The name of a ship bringing illegal immigrants (*see* ALIYA BET) to **Palestine** under the auspices of the **Hagana** in 1947. The ship, originally named the *President Warfield*, was purchased by the Hagana to transport immigrants (*see* ALIYA), mostly survivors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**, to Palestine. It departed from **France** in July 1947, but the British navy escorted the ship to **Haifa** and boarded it. The refugees were refused permission to enter **Mandate** Palestine because of the restrictions on Jewish immigration set by the **White Paper of 1939** and were forced to return in British ships to Europe, mostly to **Germany**. *See also* BILTMORE PROGRAM; BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.

**EXPULSION PLAN.** The name used by the opposition to refer to the disengagement plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT)—the plan to evacuate the military and all **settlements** from the **Gaza Strip** and four settlements in the northern **West Bank**, put into effect in August 2005 by the coalition **government** of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**.



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**FALASH MURA.** Descendants of **Ethiopian Jews** who either converted to Christianity or assimilated out of Judaism but still claim to be Jewish and generally are perceived as such by non-Jews in **Ethiopia**. The first group of Falash Mura immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from Ethiopia arrived in Israel on 15 March 1998.

The ministerial Committee on Absorption and **Diaspora** decided in July 1997 to enable the immigration to Israel over the coming year of about 4,000 Falash Mura living in transit camps in Addis Ababa. The goal was to bring the balance of the estimated 17,000 Falash Mura to Israel within three years. A special interministerial committee was formed by the **Ehud Olmert** government in November 2006 to consider ways of maintaining the flow of Falash Mura to Israel despite cuts in the state budget.

Operation Dove's Wings, initiated in the fall of 2012 by the **Jewish Agency** on behalf of Israel, effectively completed the airlifting of most remaining Falash Mura to the country by October 2013. Israel's **cabinet** on 15 November 2015 approved the immigration of an additional 9,000 Falasha Mura. *See also* LAW OF RETURN (1950); OPERATION MOSES; OPERATION SHEBA; OPERATION SOLOMON; WHO IS A JEW?

**FALASHAS.** *See* ETHIOPIA/ETHIOPIAN JEWS; FALASH MURA.

**FATAH ("CONQUEST").** The oldest and largest faction of the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO), its name is a reversed acronym for *Harakat al-Tahrir al-Falistin* (Movement for the Liberation of **Palestine**). It was founded in 1957 by a group of **Palestinian** students in Cairo and Kuwait that included **Yasser Arafat**, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Farouk Kaddoumi, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), and Khalid al-Hassan (Abu Said). Its first armed action against Israel took place on 1 January 1965. However Fatah did not come into prominence until after the **Six Day-War (1967)**. The movement's status was enhanced by the battle near the **Jordanian** village of Karameh on 21 March 1968, in which Fatah fighters supported by Jordanian army forces held off a 15,000-man unit of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), inflicting

substantial losses. Under Arafat's leadership, Fatah joined the PLO in 1968 and won control over its executive committee a year later. Its members were prominently placed in the **Palestinian Authority (PA)** and the **Palestinian Legislative Council** and in the institutions of the Palestinian Self-Government Authority established in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** in the context of the **Oslo Accords**. Youthful, militant elements of Fatah, such as **Fatah-Tanzim** and the **Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades** took a leading role in prompting political reform within the organization by openly demanding an end to Arafat's corrupt, inefficient, and anti-democratic governance; these groups, ostensibly operating independently of Arafat's direct control, were also among the leaders of the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Fatah lost control of the Palestinian Legislative Council to **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in the January 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. Fatah lost control of the Gaza Strip to Hamas in an armed confrontation in June 2007. While **Mahmoud Abbas** retained the presidency of the PA, his power, influence, and credibility, and that of Fatah and the PLO, were severely compromised. The reiteration of maximalist positions about such issues as borders, settlements, and the "right of return" by Abbas and senior Fatah officials had the effect of diminishing Israeli popular confidence in the prospects of a negotiated agreement in the foreseeable future. Israel responded to the formation in April 2014 of the Fatah-Hamas "Palestinian Unity Government" by temporarily freezing diplomatic relations with the PA; it was irrational for Israel to discuss peace with a government that included members of an organization committed—in word and deed—to Israel's destruction. Like Arafat before him, Mahmoud Abbas has maintained tight control over Fatah affairs. On 1 September 2015 Abbas announced his intention to resign as the chairman of the PLO executive committee. However, he would remain chairman of Fatah as well as president of the Palestinian Authority. *See also* FATAH-TANZIM.

**FATAH-TANZIM.** The armed wing of **Fatah**, the largest faction of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, set up in 1995 by PLO leader **Yasser Arafat** and the Fatah leadership to serve a dual function. On the one hand, acting as a semiautonomous agency, it was to engage Israeli security forces and **settlers** without officially breaking signed agreements with Israel entered into by the PLO or the Fatah-dominated **Palestinian Authority (PA)** and thereby giving Arafat a degree of "deniability." On the other hand, as a paramilitary organization with a popular base, the Fatah-Tanzim was also to act as a counterweight to the military wing of the Islamist opponents of the PLO and the PA, namely **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**. The Tanzim played a leading role in initiating and sustaining the **Al-Aksa intifada**. The group's leader **Marwan Barghouti** was sentenced in 2004 to



five consecutive life sentences in Israeli prisons on five counts of murder related to the Al-Aksa intifada. *See also* SUICIDE BOMBINGS; TERRORISM.

**FATAHLAND.** The name applied to the Arqub area of southern **Lebanon** controlled by the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) from the late 1960s until the **War in Lebanon (1982)**, when much of the PLO military apparatus was forced to evacuate the country. The name is derived from **Fatah**, the largest PLO faction headed by **Yasser Arafat**. The PLO occupied the area, located in the foothills of Mount Hermon and bordered by the Hasbani River to the west and **Syria** to the east, when its leadership was evicted from **Jordan** following the September 1970 civil war. Fatahland was the staging ground for **terrorist** attacks on northern Israel throughout the 1970s, attacks that provoked massive **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) retaliations such as **Operation Litani** (1978) and **Operation Peace for Galilee** (1982). There was also a vast network of PLO-controlled schools, nurseries, hospitals, and **industry**, transforming Fatahland into a virtual “state within a state” in southern Lebanon.

**FEDAYEEN.** Arabic term meaning “those who sacrifice themselves” or “men of sacrifice.” The term applied to Palestinian guerrilla units that were formed in Palestinian refugee camps following Israel’s **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and, with **Egyptian** training and logistical support, launched **terrorist** raids from bases in the **Gaza Strip** into Israel beginning in the summer of 1955.

**FEIGLIN, MOSHE (1962– ).** Leader of the **Manhigut Yehudit (Jewish Leadership Movement)** right-wing faction formerly within the **Likud (Union) Party** and increasingly potent force in Israeli politics. He sought to reshape Israel according to his own ultranational and Orthodox definition of Judaism. He and like-minded activists worked to thwart the 2005 withdrawal from the **Gaza Strip** while at the same time taking steps toward making Israel “more Jewish.” Feiglin argued, “The disengagement has no logic, either military, demographically, or otherwise. It is simply a desire to disengage from Israel’s Jewish identity.” His faction’s literature cited Genesis 35:12, in which the patriarch Jacob, renamed Israel, is promised by God that the “land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.” Under Manhigut Yehudit, many of Israel’s more than one million **Arab** citizens would lose their right to live in the country because “their representatives show complete disloyalty to Jewish sovereignty.”

For Feiglin, keeping all the land of Israel (*see* ERETZ ISRAEL (ERETZ YISRAEL))—which he defines as reaching at least from **Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula** to the Euphrates River in **Iraq**—is the embodiment of God’s will. The former army officer who specialized in defusing mines and who was later the owner of a computer company says, “The miraculous return of the Jewish people to its land after 2,000 years proves that this people has a father in heaven. When we ourselves deny this, it results in catastrophe not only for the Jews in the land of Israel but the entire world.”

Feiglin, who got his start in politics by organizing grassroots protests against the **Oslo Accords**, said he would stress “nonviolent civil rebellion” in Israel, such as blocking highways. According to Feiglin, using force against Israeli soldiers carrying out the Gaza withdrawal was “moral” but politically unwise. His strategy of disrupting the Gaza disengagement by urging religious soldiers to refuse orders to evict settlers was largely unsuccessful. In what he subsequently acknowledged was an effort to force the settlers’ concerns onto the public agenda, Feiglin ran for the Likud leadership when the party held its leadership primary in December 2005 in preparation for the March 2006 Knesset election. Although he trailed well behind the eventual winner, **Benjamin Netanyahu**, Feiglin surprised many observers by taking 12 percent of the vote among those Likud Party members who participated in the primary. He and Netanyahu subsequently struggled over the place for himself and members of his right-wing faction on the Likud slate for the 28 March 2006 Knesset election. Feiglin was again defeated by Netanyahu for the Likud leadership on 14 August 2007, this time receiving 23 percent of the vote compared to Netanyahu’s 73 percent. Feiglin was first elected to the **Knesset** in 2013 on the list of the joint **Likud–Israel Beiteinu** electoral alliance. Having been ousted from the Likud’s list for the 2015 Knesset election, on 5 January 2015 Feiglin announced his departure from the party.

**FIGHTERS FOR THE FREEDOM OF ISRAEL (LOHAMEI HERUT YISRAEL-LEHI).** *See* STERN (GANG) GROUP.

**FIGHTERS LIST.** A **political party** based largely on members and sympathizers of **LEHI (LOHAMEI HERUT YISRAEL–FIGHTERS FOR THE FREEDOM OF ISRAEL; STERN GROUP)**. It contested and won a seat in the First **Knesset** but did not contest the Second **Knesset** election and ceased to be a political force.

**FINAL-STATUS TALKS.** *See* OSLO ACCORDS.

**FIRST ALIYA.** *See* ALIYA.

**FISCHER, STANLEY (1943–)**. Citizen of the **United States** who was born in Zambia and appointed governor of the **Bank of Israel** in January 2005. Governor of the **Bank of Israel** from 1 May 2005 to July 2013, when he formally resigned the position. He serves as vice chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System.

**FLAG**. Israel's flag was the flag adopted by the first World **Zionist** Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897. A white talit, or prayer shawl, with blue stripes, to which a Star of David was embedded, became the flag of the Zionist Movement. It was officially adopted and described as Israel's flag in 1948. The background is white, and on it are two stripes of dark sky blue, 25 centimeters broad, across the length of the flag, at a distance of 15 centimeters from the top and bottom of the flag. In the middle of the white background, between the two blue stripes and equidistant from the blue stripes, is a Star of David composed of six dark, sky-blue stripes, 5.5 centimeters broad, which form two equilateral triangles, the bases of which are parallel to the two horizontal stripes.

**FLATTO-SHARON, SHMUEL (1930–)**. Member of **Knesset**. Born in Lodz, Poland, he immigrated as a child to **France** and became a successful businessman. He ran in the 1977 **Knesset** election and again in 1981. When he first ran for parliament, he neither spoke nor understood **Hebrew** and was a new immigrant (*see* ALIYA). France had requested his extradition to stand trial on charges of illegal financial transactions, embezzlement, and fraud. Nevertheless, he won more than enough votes to secure a seat in the parliament, and as a member of the **Knesset**, he gained immunity from extradition. He was later convicted in Israel of bribing voters in the 1977 election and was sentenced to nine months in prison and suspended from the **Knesset**. He failed in bids for reelection in 1981 and 1984. Undeterred, Flatto-Sharon succeeded in various business ventures, including real estate. Today, he is a philanthropist, outspoken radio talk show personality, and political activist for the release of **Jonathan J. Pollard** from prison in the **United States** and on behalf of establishing casinos in Israel. In 2006, he announced plans to establish an Israel-based English- and French-language commercial television station that would serve as an Israeli public relations vehicle equivalent to Qatar's Al Jazeera TV. In mid-December 2014 he announced his intention to vie for a slot on the **Likud (Union) Party** list for the 2015 **Knesset** election; he failed in this effort.

**FLUG, KARNIT (1955–)**. Since 13 November 2013, governor of the **Bank of Israel** (BOI), the first woman in Israel's history to hold this important position. Born in Poland on 9 January 1955, she immigrated to Israel (*see*

ALIYA) with her family at age three. She has been deputy director of the Bank of Israel's research department (1997–2001), director of the research department and member of the bank's senior management team (2001–2011), and deputy governor of the bank (July 2011–November 2013). She was appointed acting governor of the Bank of Israel in July 2013 upon the formal resignation of **Stanley Fischer**, who recommended Flug as his successor. After a lengthy search that tended to focus on other candidates, Israel's **government** on 20 October 2013 announced the appointment of Flug as the new governor of the Bank of Israel; she officially took office on 13 November 2013.

**FOREIGN POLICY.** Since independence, Israel has sought positive relations with most members of the international community. It has joined and participated in the work of international organizations (despite long-standing efforts by the Arabs and their supporters to isolate and ostracize Israel at the **United Nations** and in other international fora), and it has sought to establish and maintain friendly relations with as many states as possible. Within the framework of this broad effort, there has been a particular focus on relations with the **United States** and the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR/Russia)**.

Israel had a variable relationship with the USSR and the members of the Eastern bloc since before independence. Although the USSR supported the UN Partition Plan (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN) of 1947 and Israel's independence in 1948, relations deteriorated rapidly, and Moscow shifted to a pro-Arab position, including providing economic assistance and arms to such front-line Arab states as **Egypt** and **Syria** by the mid-1950s. Since 1967, when the USSR and the Eastern bloc states, except Romania, broke diplomatic relations with Israel, the questions of a Soviet role in the **Arab-Israeli conflict**, the peace process, and the status of Jews in the Soviet Union were central themes in Israel-Soviet relations. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, a thaw developed, and relations between Israel and the Soviet camp improved in a number of spheres. Formal diplomatic relations between Israel and the USSR were restored in October 1991 in conjunction with the start of the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** under joint U.S. and Soviet sponsorship. Moscow permitted the migration of Soviet Jews to Israel, a process that ultimately swelled to more than 750,000 Jewish immigrants (*see* ALIYA) in the 1990s.

The special but central and complex relationship between Israel and the United States has been more significant. The relationship revolves around a broadly conceived ideological factor. Moreover, it is based on substantial positive perception and sentiment evident in public opinion and official statements and manifested in political-diplomatic support and military and economic assistance. However, the U.S.–Israel relationship has not been en-

shrined in a legally binding commitment joining the two states in a formal alliance. Undergirding the relationship is a general agreement on broad policy goals. The two states maintain a remarkable degree of parallelism and congruence on such objectives as the need to prevent major war in the Middle East, to achieve a negotiated resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict that does not endanger Israeli security, and to strengthen Israel's economic and social well-being.

Nevertheless, there have been instances of noncongruence of policy between Washington and **Jerusalem** on specific issues that have derived from various differences of perspective, for example, disputes with the **Mena-chem Begin** and **Yitzhak Shamir** governments over **West Bank settlement** activity and differences between the **Benjamin Netanyahu** governments and the **William J. (Bill) Clinton** administration over Palestinian diplomacy and the **Barack Obama** administration over the means for addressing the threat to Israel's security posed by **Iran's** nuclear weapons and ballistic missile program. These differences aside, the United States is an indispensable ally that provides Israel with economic, technical, military, political, diplomatic, and moral support. It was seen as the ultimate protector against the USSR in the Cold War and, since the demise of the USSR, against militant Islamist **terrorism** and rogue regimes, and it is the primary (if not sole) guarantor of Israel's qualitative military advantage over its regional adversaries.

Israel has seen Europe and the developing world (especially Africa and Latin America) as important components of its overall foreign policy. It has sought to maintain positive relations with Europe based on the commonality of the Judeo-Christian heritage and the memories of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. The European Union is also an important trading partner for Israel given the long-standing refusal of its immediate Arab and Muslim neighbors to engage in normal commercial relations. Israel's approach to the developing world historically has focused on its ability to provide technical assistance in the development process.

The emergence in the latter part of the 20th century and the early 21st century of important political and economic actors in Asia, Southeast Asia, South America—including **India** and **China**—and the republics of the former Soviet Union has precipitated a gradual broadening of Israel's foreign policy lens to incorporate those sectors.

Israeli foreign policy was affected by fundamental strategic changes throughout much of the Middle East in the early 21st century. Those changes were wrought by such developments as the popular revolutions that precipitated the ousting of autocratic regimes (“Arab Spring”) and the subsequent counterrevolutions (“Arab Winter”); the radical Sunni Islamist threat that arose initially in Iraq and Syria; and Iran's ambition of Shia Islamist regional dominance, supported by Teheran's subversion of moderate Sunni Arab emirates in the Persian Gulf, sponsorship of **Hezbollah** in **Lebanon** and Pales-

tinian groups in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** committed to Israel's violent destruction, and its program to acquire nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles. Many of these strategic regional changes caused uncertainty and instability for the Jewish state; some analysts suggested that they also opened the prospect for new foreign policy partnerships for Israel with its moderate Sunni Arab regional neighbors, based on intersecting mutual strategic interests.

Nevertheless, the continuing centrality of the United States as the primary facilitator of assistance to Israel, as well as of mediation in Arab-Israeli peacemaking, has caused Israelis to focus increasingly on solidifying relations with the United States. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE.

**FOREIGN TRADE.** The foreign markets for Israeli products and even the pattern of industrial growth were shaped by the **Arab** economic **boycott** that precluded the possibility of Israel developing close trade links to the economies of its immediate neighbors. Instead, the country had to seek more distant markets. The peace agreements with **Egypt** and **Jordan** and the accords with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) led to a partial suspension of the Arab boycott in the early 1990s, which resulted in only modest improvements in the level and quality of commercial interaction between Israel and its regional neighbors. It is also a fact that there is limited compatibility between Israel's advanced industrial **economy** and those of its Arab and Muslim neighbors.

Israel's exports exceeded \$63.14 billion in 2014 and constituted some 33 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). Major exports include cut **diamonds**, pearls, and other precious metals and stones; electrical machinery and equipment; mechanical machinery and appliances; sound and TV recorders and reproducers and computer equipment; and pharmaceutical products and fertilizers. **Tourism** is also an important earner of foreign exchange. Israeli imports were valued at more than \$73.11 billion in 2014, representing 31.55 percent of GDP. Main imports include oil and other mineral fuels; uncut diamonds and other precious metals and stones; mechanical machinery and appliances; electrical machinery and electronics; and vehicles and their parts.

Israel's major trading partners include the **United States** and the European Union (EU), as well as **China** and Hong Kong, and more recently, **India**. In July 2015, Jerusalem achieved a significant breakthrough by joining the signing ceremony for China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, gaining enhanced access to the vast Chinese market. In 2014 Israel's bilateral trade with Japan increased by 10 percent to \$1.75 billion. In May 2015 Israel's **cabinet** launched a program to strengthen ties with the Pacific Alliance, comprised of Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and other Latin American countries. The establishment of free-trade agreements with the United States

and the EU were important for Israel's export market. Israel also has **free-trade area** agreements with Canada, **Turkey**, and several countries in Eastern Europe, and it has made important economic inroads among the republics of the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)** and Asia. Israel's economy is fully interconnected with the global economy, to the extent that economic trends elsewhere in the world, such as in Russia, Asia, and Southeast Asia, have a direct bearing on the well-being of the Israeli economy.

The export of weapons and technology has become a major component of Israel's overall foreign trade. On 21 May 2015 the ministry of defense announced that Israel's military exports in 2014 were valued at approximately \$5.6 billion. Exports have involved planes and aeronautic systems, **drones**, command and control and communications systems, air defense systems, radars, electronic warfare suites, precision weapons, and advanced protection systems. The region that bought the highest number of Israeli products in 2014 was Asia Pacific, followed by North America, Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Leading Israeli defense contractors, including **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)** and **Rafael Advanced Defense Systems**, ranked among the top 10 defense exporters in the world. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**FRANCE.** The relationship between France and Israel has evolved through a series of stages over the years, as had France's relationship with the **Zionist** Movement in the earlier decades of the 20th century. Although France voted for the **Palestine Partition Plan** in November 1947 and recognized Israel in 1949, relations between the two states remained cool. In 1950, France joined with the **United States** and **Great Britain** in the Tripartite Declaration, which sought to stabilize the situation in the Middle East by limiting arms supply to the region. In subsequent years the relationship between Paris and **Jerusalem** improved, and by 1954–1955, France and Israel had signed a number of agreements relating to arms supply and nuclear energy. A political-military marriage of convenience between the two countries developed as the revolt against France in Algeria gained support from President Gamal Abdul Nasser in **Egypt** and Nasser clashed with France over the nationalization of the Suez Canal. France and **Great Britain** reached a secret agreement with Israel that led to the **Sinai War (1956)**. France became Israel's primary supplier of military equipment (including tanks and aircraft) until the **Six-Day War (1967)**, and close links were established in other sectors as well. France also assisted Israel in the construction of a nuclear reactor at **Dimona** in the **Negev**.

However, after Charles de Gaulle came to power in France in 1958 and suggested a need to resolve the Algerian issue, relations between Israel and France began to cool—a trend that accelerated after the accord in 1962 that led to Algerian independence. The Six-Day War became a more significant watershed, as France announced in early June 1967 an embargo on arms

shipments to the Middle East, a decision that severely and negatively affected Israel because France had been Israel's primary arms supplier. De Gaulle's antipathy to Israel and its policies grew after the 1967 war, and the trend accelerated even further when Georges Pompidou became president. After Israel's **Beirut airport raid** in December 1968 (following a **terrorist** attack on an **El Al** aircraft in Athens, Greece), France imposed a total embargo on arms deliveries to Israel. In December 1969, Israel smuggled five gunboats (that had been built for Israel and paid for) out of Cherbourg harbor. This led to an intensification of the French arms embargo and a deterioration in relations that was further compounded by growing French dependence on Arab oil and a desire to sell military equipment to the Arab states. Among the factors in the relationship were French efforts to secure the **Venice Declaration** of the European Community in 1980, which was condemned by Israel.

Bilateral relations improved when Francois Mitterrand became French president and paid a state visit to Israel in early 1982. Relations in other sectors also improved in subsequent years despite some interruption in the trend as a result of the **War in Lebanon (1982)**. Bilateral relations were again strained during the **intifada** and **Al-Aksa intifada** as France, under President Jacques Chirac and along with much of the rest of the European Union, adopted a perspective on the Arab-Israeli peace process that most Israelis interpreted as pro-**Palestinian** in orientation. Also complicating Jerusalem's bilateral relationship with Paris was a significant rise in **anti-Semitic** incidents in France, many of them attributed to the country's increasingly large and restive Muslim population. Chirac's criticism of Israel's military actions in the **Gaza Strip** and **Lebanon** in the summer of 2006 as "disproportionate" also contributed to bilateral tensions. At the same time, France continued to use its historical and commercial contacts with **Syria** and Lebanon in an effort to facilitate progress toward peaceful relations with Israel on those two fronts.

The election of conservative candidate Nicolas Sarkozy to succeed Chirac as France's president in May 2007 was generally perceived as a positive development in Israel-France bilateral relations. This perception was reinforced by more forceful positions adopted by the new French government with regard to such regional security issues as **Iran's** nuclear ambitions and Syria's intervention in Lebanon. In November 2013 French president Francois Hollande visited Israel; senior Israeli officials used the opportunity to praise France's longstanding friendship and commitment to Israel's security and the Hollande government's efforts to achieve a nuclear agreement with Iran. However, in spring 2015 the leaders of France's Jewish communities rebuked the Hollande government, charging that its attitudes toward Israel risked the traditionally friendly bilateral ties between the two countries. The Jewish community leaders' 21 April 2015 letter to foreign minister Laurent



Fabius cited in particular France's support for anti-Israel resolutions at the **United Nations**; its readiness to give safe haven to Palestinians suspected of responsibility for **terrorist** attacks against Israel and/or Jewish targets; and France's pressuring of Israel to resume negotiations with the Palestinians on terms threatening to Israel's vital security interests. Many French Jews currently view the renewed and significant increase in anti-Semitic incidents and general terrorism throughout France as a signal that their status as French citizens has been compromised and are beginning to immigrate (*see* ALIYA) to Israel. Since 2010 some 20,000 French Jews have moved to Israel. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**FREE CENTER PARTY (HAMERKAZ HAHOFSHI).** Political party founded by Shmuel Tamir in 1967, when he and two other **Knesset** members split from the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** because of ideological differences. In 1973, the Free Center rejoined Herut. Subsequently, the larger portion of the Free Center, excluding Tamir, joined the La'am faction (organized in 1977) within the **Likud (Union) Party**. Tamir joined **Yigael Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit Leshinui)**.

**FREE TRADE AREA.** The U.S. Congress in October 1984 authorized the president to negotiate a free-trade-area agreement with Israel. The idea was broached during a meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** in November 1983 and subsequently, the president sought the requisite congressional approval to negotiate such an agreement. Under the arrangement, Israel became the first country in the world to enjoy a bilateral free-trade arrangement with the **United States**. It allows Israel access to its largest single trading partner on substantially improved terms, thereby aiding its export capability. Under the arrangement, Israel eventually will gain virtually complete and permanent duty-free access to one of the world's largest markets. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**FRIDMAN, GAL (1975–).** The first Israeli athlete to earn an Olympic gold medal. He won the windsurfing competition at the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, Greece.

**FRIEDMANN, DANIEL (1936–).** Israel's seventh justice minister. Nominated by Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** and unanimously approved by the **cabinet** as justice minister on 6 February 2007 to replace **Haim Ramon**. In 2009 he was succeeded by **Ya'akov Ne'eman**. He served as dean of the law faculty at **Tel Aviv University** and received the 1991 **Israel Prize** for

achievement in the field of law. His efforts to reform aspects of Israel's judicial system, including limiting the **Supreme Court's** power of judicial review of legislation, placed him in conflict with the then new Court president **Dorit Beinisch**.

**FUNDAMENTAL LAWS.** *See* BASIC LAW.

# G

**GABRIEL MISSILE.** A missile developed by **Israel Aircraft (Aerospace) Industries (IAI)** that was the first operational sea-to-sea missile in the Western world. The Gabriel has since become a centerpiece of Israel's arms export **industry**, with lucrative sales throughout the world. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE.

**GADNA (ISRAELI YOUTH CORPS).** Gadna began operating some 10 years before the establishment of the state. Over the years, it has had a variety of names and tasks, but its primary purpose has remained to educate Israel's youth on good citizenship, loyalty, and preparation for national service; to make the youth aware of national security problems; and to develop the physical fitness of youth. During the riots in **Palestine** in the 1936–1939 period, the leaders of the **Yishuv** reached the conclusion that all able-bodied individuals were needed, and the mobilization of young boys was begun. A number of groups were established. In the summer of 1948, the chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** signed the order for the establishment of Gadna. The intent was not to send these youngsters into combat, but occasionally this was done during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. The basic purpose is to train and prepare Israeli youth between the ages of 14 and 18 for national duty. In 2007, approximately 19,000 of the 73,000 pupils—male and female—enrolled in the eleventh grade in state and religious schools were participants in the week-long Gadna training. In the **education** ministry, there were plans to significantly expand the level of participation. The Gadna program continues to be seen as a means by which to educate Israel's youth to civil and social commitment to the state, which includes service in the military forces or alternative national service, such as **Sherut Leumi**.

**GAHAL.** In 1965, **Herut (Tenuat HaHerut—Freedom Movement)** was joined by the former **General Zionists** in the **Independent Liberal Party (HaLiberalim Haatzmaim)** to form the parliamentary bloc Gahal (acronym for Gush Herut Liberalim—Bloc of Herut and the Liberals) under the leader-

ship of **Menachem Begin**. The Gahal Agreement was signed on 25 April 1965. Among other elements, the agreement fixed the ratio of Herut and Liberal members of **Knesset** and the placement of candidates from the two parties on the Gahal election list. Each of the parties got 11 of the first 22 slots on the list, with Herut getting the first, the Liberals the second, and so on. From that point to the fortieth position, Herut got 11 seats and the Liberals got seven. From that point on, the agreement again provides for one each. This complex arrangement was disrupted by the joint electoral list involving **Likud**, **Tsomet (Movement for Zionist Renewal)**, and **Gesher (Bridge)** for the 1996 Knesset election. Gahal joined the government of national unity formed on the eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)** and was represented in the **cabinet** by Begin and Joseph Saphir. Likud (Unity) was formed in 1973 as a parliamentary bloc by the combination of Gahal and **La'am (Toward the People)**, and Begin retained his dominant role. The activities of Herut have been integrated into the **Likud (Union) Party**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**GALEI ZAHAL. Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Radio** is a statewide radio network run by the IDF with a wide range of programming.

**GALILEE.** The northernmost third of Israel. Divided into an Upper Galilee (mostly mountainous), a Lower Galilee (more hilly in nature), and a Western Galilee. It retained a large Arab population after the establishment of Israel, including substantial numbers of **Druze**.

**GALILI, ISRAEL (FORMERLY BERCZENKO) (1910–1986).** Soldier, **government** adviser, member of **Knesset**, and **cabinet** minister. Born in Brailov, Ukraine, Russia, on 10 February 1911, Galili was taken to **Palestine** at the age of four. There he became active in various **Zionist** and labor activities at a young age and remained active throughout his life. He helped found **Kibbutz Naan**, where he remained a member. He joined the **Hagana** and rose through the ranks to become deputy commander in chief. In the provisional government of Israel established in 1948, he served as deputy minister of defense. He was a member of **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** and served in the Knesset from its inception. In 1966, he became a member of the **cabinet** as a minister without portfolio. He played an especially important role in **foreign policy** and security decisions when **Golda Meir** was **prime minister** and was a significant member of her “**kitchen cabinet**.” Galili died on 8 February 1986. *See also* GALILI DOCUMENT.

**GALILI DOCUMENT.** A compromise brokered by **Alignment (Maarach)** stalwart **Israel Galili** in the summer of 1973 for the purpose of maintaining party unity. It committed the party to supporting the establishment of **settlements** in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**, the building of the town of **Yamit** in the **Sinai Peninsula**, and the integration of the **economy** of the **Occupied Territories** with that of Israel. This compromise satisfied such **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** hawks as **Moshe Dayan** (who had been threatening to bolt the party over its apparent softness on the issue of settlements), but it was opposed by such moderates as **Abba Eban**, who viewed it as a legitimization of the policy of “creeping annexation” advocated by the opposition **Gahal** Party in the **Knesset** headed by **Menachem Begin**. The Galili Document was dropped by Labor following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and replaced by a new 14-point platform supported by Eban and the party’s moderate wing that made no explicit or implicit reference to the retention by Israel of any of the Occupied Territories, except **Jerusalem**. The platform also referred, for the first time, to Labor’s recognition of the need for Palestinian self-expression in a **Jordanian-Palestinian** state.

**GALUT.** *See* DIASPORA.

**GANTZ, BENJAMIN “BENNY” (1959–).** Twentieth chief of general staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** from 2011 to 2015. Born in Kfar Ahim, a small **moshav** in south-central Israel on 9 June 1959, he was accepted to the paratrooper unit of the IDF infantry corps. A graduate of the Command and Staff College and the National Security College, as an officer he commanded many of the IDF’s elite units; he also served as IDF military attaché in the **United States** from 2007 to 2009. On 13 February 2011 he was appointed chief of staff and promoted to the rank of lieutenant general. Gantz led the IDF in **Operation Pillar of Defense (2012)** and **Operation Protective Edge (2014)** in the **Gaza Strip**. In February 2012 he was awarded the Legion of Merit, an American military designation awarded for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding activities. He was succeeded as chief of staff on 28 November 2014 by his deputy, **Gadi Eizenkot**, and he formally retired from the IDF on 15 February 2015.

**GAS.** *See* NATURAL GAS.

**GAZA STRIP.** The southernmost section of the coastal plain of **Mandate Palestine**. It is some 25 miles long and between four and eight miles in width. Its major city is Gaza, and there is substantial citrus **agriculture**. Although it lies between **Israel** and **Egypt**, it belongs to neither, and its

disposition remains a matter of dispute. The territory, heavily populated by Palestinian Arabs, was to have been part of a Palestinian Arab state under the terms of the 1947 **United Nations** Partition Plan for Palestine (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN). However, it was taken by the Egyptian army during Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and placed under Egyptian military administration. Held briefly by Israel in 1956–1957 (after the **Sinai War**), the Gaza Strip was then returned to Egyptian control, where it remained until 1967, when Israel again occupied the area during the **Six-Day War**. Egypt did not claim sovereignty over the Gaza Strip as a part of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**, and negotiations concerning its status made little progress.

Violence and protests directed at Israel and the Israeli administration in the area began increasing considerably in late 1987, and both Jews and Arabs were killed during the course of the **intifada**. Pursuant to the Israel–Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Gaza–Jericho First Implementing Agreement (Cairo, May 1994), control over much of the Gaza Strip was transferred to the Palestinian self-rule authority, with the exception of a handful of small **settlements** in northern Gaza that continued to be defended by the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Those settlements were major targets of Palestinian **terrorist** attacks and **Qassam missiles** fired during the **Al-Aksa intifada**, and weapons were smuggled to terrorists in Gaza through **tunnels** extending from the **Sinai Peninsula**.

In December 2003, Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** announced his plan to unilaterally disengage Israeli military forces and civilians from the Gaza Strip (along with four isolated settlements in the northern **West Bank**). Among the factors provided by proponents of the **disengagement plan**—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT)—was the untenable status of 8,500 Jewish settlers in Gaza among 1.3 million Palestinians. Israel's disengagement from the Gaza Strip was completed on 12 September 2005.

Control over the Gaza Strip was seized by **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in June 2007 when its fighters violently evicted **Fatah (“Conquest”)** officials from Gaza. Israel and Egypt responded to Hamas' actions by tightening their respective boundaries with the Gaza Strip; this included a blockade of access to Gaza by sea. Massive quantities of funds, weapons, and weapon components supplied by **Iran** and **Syria** were smuggled into Gaza through a sophisticated network of tunnels reaching Gaza from Sinai. The tunnels were also used to infiltrate and commit terrorist attacks against Israeli citizens and security personnel situated near Gaza. On 25 June 2006 Israeli corporal **Gilad Shalit** was kidnapped from the **Kerem Shalom** crossing in the **Negev Desert** near southern Gaza.

Periods of unrelenting missile and rocket fire from Gaza on **Sderot** and other communities in southern Israel and increasingly also toward cities previously beyond Hamas' range of fire compelled Israel to launch separate military operations against Hamas and other Gaza-based terrorist groups in 2008–2009 (**Operation Cast Lead**); 2012 (**Operation Pillar of Defense**); and 2014 (**Operation Protective Edge**). In each operation Israeli military personnel took extraordinary measures to limit casualties among Gaza's civilian population. Some civilian casualties were the result of error or excessive actions by individual Israeli soldiers. But in many cases they were due to the Hamas leadership's strategic decision to endanger Gaza's civilian population by having its ununiformed fighters hide amid the civilian population; by storing weapons in (and under) civilian population centers including mosques, schools, daycare centers, hospitals, and private homes; and by firing transportable missiles from population centers, knowing that Israel would automatically return fire to the site from where the initial fire originated.

The vision of security, prosperity, and independence for the people of the Gaza Strip afforded by Israel's 2005 disengagement has been undermined by violence resulting from continued Hamas terrorism against Israel. Economically Gazans suffer from Hamas' failure to take the steps necessary to end the trade embargo as well as the diversion of international reconstruction assistance for Gaza to the replenishment of terrorist weapons arsenals and construction of additional tunnels for the "next round" of warfare against Israel. The building of institutions of civil society and a democratic culture in the Gaza Strip has been retarded by the Hamas leadership's imposition of a strict interpretation of Islamic law (*sharia*). *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI); TERRORISM.

**GENERAL FEDERATION OF JEWISH LABOR.** *See* HISTADRUT (GENERAL FEDERATION OF LABOR).

**GENERAL SECURITY SERVICES (SHABAK).** *See* SHIN BET (SHABAK).

**GENERAL ZIONIST PARTY (HATZIONIM HAKLALIYIM).** In June 1946, the General Zionists A and B, previously separate **political parties**, joined to form the General Zionist Party. The General Zionists, Group A, in the main represented middle-class interests as well as members of the liberal professions. Group B was more outspokenly right wing in orientation. The social outlook of the party was largely determined by the fact that it relied for support mainly upon the industrialists, merchants, citrus growers, and land-

lords and the various professional associations formed by them. When the General Zionist Party was created, its constituent elements survived within it as organized groupings, and real cohesion was never achieved. After Israeli independence, the rift between the two groups became greater. The crisis culminated in August 1948 with a split of the party, when the former General Zionists A broke away to take part in the formation of the new **Progressive Party (Hamiflaga HaProgressivit)**. The party represented a large section of the secular nonsocialist element among the Jewish population of Israel and sought to portray itself as a center party in the early 1950s. It was represented in the **Knesset** from 1949 to 1961.

**GENEVA INITIATIVE (GENEVA ACCORD)**. Name applied to a private understanding signed on 1 December 2003 in Switzerland between groups of Israeli and Palestinian former parliamentarians and other notables headed by **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin** and Yasser Abed Rabbo. Premised largely on the terms of reference established at the **Camp David II** and **Taba** talks (2000–2001), its essential provisions included a **two-state solution** based on the pre-1967 lines with “minor, mutual modifications” and territorial exchanges; Israeli and Palestinian areas of **Jerusalem** as capitals of the respective states, with each side’s holy places falling under its sovereignty; the Palestinian state to be “nonmilitarized” but with a strong security force; and security arrangements to be guaranteed for Israel but without violating Palestinian sovereignty, to be overseen by a multinational force stationed in the new independent Palestinian state. The initiative prescribed offering the Palestinian refugees options among five permanent places of residence, although it emphasized that all options other than access to the Palestinian state “are at the sovereign discretion of the State concerned.” The initiative proposed an “end to the conflict and all claims” but was not endorsed by the government of Israel nor the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** or the **Palestinian Authority (PA)**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**GERMANY**. The relationship between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany (formally West Germany) has been described by observers as “special.” The complex relationship grew out of developments related to the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**, the crimes committed by the Germans against the Jews, and the subsequent efforts on the part of Germany to normalize its relationship with Israel and to integrate itself into the international system.

Germany’s approach to Israel had its origins in the views and policies of Germany’s first postwar chancellor, **Konrad Adenauer**, who believed that there should be reconciliation between Germany and the Jewish people. Adenauer admitted the crimes committed by Germany against the Jewish people and argued that the rehabilitation of the Jews through moral and material



reparations by Germany was essential. Israel was to receive material restitution from Germany, and after negotiations that began in the early 1950s, a restitution agreement was signed in September 1952 by Israel, Germany, and the Conference of Jewish Material Claims against Germany, despite strong Arab opposition. The agreement was of great importance to Israel, as it provided substantial economic support at a crucial time for the young state. Germany subsequently became a supplier of military equipment to the Jewish state. Nevertheless and despite the significance of this agreement for Israel, there was strong opposition in Israel to any arrangement with Germany, and diplomatic relations between the two states were not a realistic option. For Germany, the agreement was crucial in helping to restore its international position and to help prepare the way for its reintegration into the Western European alliance structure.

Despite various high-level meetings and continued economic assistance and military sales, a number of issues precluded substantial movement toward a diplomatic relationship between Israel and Germany for some time. These included the trial of **Adolf Eichmann**, which rekindled old memories, and the activities of German scientists in assisting in the development of Arab military capabilities. Diplomatic relations were not established until 1965. Although many Israelis remained concerned about dealing with the successor state to Nazi Germany, contacts between Israel and Germany soon flourished in all sectors and at all levels. Germany has become a major trading partner, and its aid to Israel has been indispensable to the economic growth of the state. Germany has in the 21st century also become a major supplier of Dolphin-class nuclear-powered submarines to Israel. In April 2015 Germany approved the delivery of the fifth of six promised Dolphin submarines; the sixth was scheduled to be delivered by 2017 and Israel was reported to be interested in ordering three more. In May 2015 Israel's defense ministry signed a contract to purchase four German-built patrol vessels; their mission would include defending gas-drilling rigs and supporting search and intervention efforts off Israel's Mediterranean coast.

Although Germany has become increasingly critical of some of Israel's policies concerning the **Palestinians** and the **Arab-Israeli conflict**, the Holocaust factor continues to play a special role in Germany's approach to Israel.

In 2000, German president Johannes Rau made a state visit to Israel and addressed the **Knesset** in German; his successor, Horst Koehler, did the same in January 2005. Angela Merkel, who became chancellor in 2005, described the Israel-Germany relationship in these terms: "For us, relations with Israel are a precious treasure that we must preserve. We and the coming generations must therefore be aware of our history and the responsibility it entails. We must take a clear and public stand about maintaining close relations with the Jewish community in Germany and of course close relations with Israel,

especially on the level of personal encounters.” In February 2014 Merkel was awarded Israel’s Presidential Medal, the Jewish state’s highest civilian honor, recognizing her “unwavering commitment” to the Jewish state as well as her fight against anti-Semitism and racism.

The 14th European Maccabi Games (27 July 2015–5 August 2015) were held in Germany for the first time, with the opening ceremony symbolically taking place in Berlin’s Olympic Stadium, the site of the 1936 Olympic Games. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**GESHER.** Hebrew for *bridge*; also a breakaway **political party** from **Likud** formed by **David Levy** on 20 February 1996 as a response to a perceived bias among the Likud leadership against Moroccans and other Sephardic Jews (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS). It was also generally understood that Levy’s departure from Likud was related to his personal rivalry with **Benjamin Netanyahu** (who defeated Levy in a bitter 1993 race to succeed **Yitzhak Shamir** as **Likud [Union] Party** leader). Geshet ultimately joined the Likud and **Tsomet (Movement for Zionist Revival)** parties in a unified “national camp” list to contest the 1996 Knesset **election**. Geshet participated in the coalition **government** established by Netanyahu in June 1996, with Levy serving as both foreign minister and deputy **prime minister**. In the spring of 1999, Geshet agreed to join with the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and **Meimad (Dimension)** to form the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** electoral alliance that won 26 seats in the May 1999 Knesset election and that dominated the governing coalition formed by **Ehud Barak**, with Levy once again serving as foreign minister and deputy prime minister. Levy quit the Barak government to protest the **Camp David II** offer and returned to the ranks of the Likud Party, thereby bringing about an end to Geshet.

**GESHER THEATER.** A bilingual—Russian and **Hebrew**—**theater** based in **Tel Aviv**. It was founded in 1991 with the support of Israel’s ministry of **education** and culture, the **Jewish Agency**, the city of Tel Aviv, the Tel Aviv Development Foundation, and the **Zionist** Forum. It was initially comprised mostly of Russian-speaking new immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**. The theater’s founder and artistic director, Yevgeny Arye, had been a successful stage and screen director in Moscow. The theater is one of the only truly bilingual theaters in the world, performing with the same troupe in Russian and in Hebrew alternately. It became the first Israeli theater company to be invited to perform at the prestigious Festival d’Avignon in July 1993.

**GIL (GIMLA' EY ISRAEL LAKNESSET).** Literally, “pensioners of Israel to the **Knesset**”; a **political party** representing the interests of Israel’s retired and senior citizens. The party’s shortened name, *Gil*, translates as “age.” In various elections in the 1990s, it had failed to attract sufficient support to pass the threshold for winning seats in the Knesset. However, under the leadership of former senior **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)** official **Rafael “Rafi” Eitan**, Gil won seven seats in the March 2006 Knesset election. It joined Israel’s 30th **government** formed by **Ehud Olmert** in May 2006, with Eitan and Yaakov Ben-Yazri serving in the **cabinet**. Gil failed to pass the threshold for winning entering the Knesset in the 2009 Knesset election and did not contest the 2013 or 2015 Knesset elections.

**GINZBERG, ASHER ZVI.** *See* AHAD HAAM (ONE OF THE PEOPLE) (1856–1927).

**GISHA.** Founded in 2005 and based in **Tel Aviv**, Gisha is a political advocacy group focusing on the rights of **Palestinians**, especially those residing in the **Gaza Strip**.

**GIVAT HAMATOS.** Literally, “Airplane Hill,” named after an Israeli military airplane and pilot shot down in the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Described as the last significant patch of open land in southeastern **Jerusalem** straddling the pre-1967 **Green Line**, and bordered by the Jerusalem neighborhoods of Talpote in the north, Gilo in the south, and the Arab neighborhood of Beit Safafa in the west. It is bordered on the southeast by the community of **Har Homa**. Critics argued Givat Hamatos would be the first Jerusalem residential community established by Israel beyond the Green Line since Har Homa in 1987. Critics further charged that, together with Gilo and Har Homa, Givat Hamatos would create a near-contiguous chain of Jewish neighborhoods along Jerusalem’s southern fringe, hindering Arab residents’ passage from Beit Safafa to the nearby **West Bank** city of **Bethlehem**. **Palestinians** claimed that the project to construct 2,6100 housing units was part of Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**’s strategy to isolate eastern Jerusalem’s Arab neighborhoods—which many Palestinians envisioned as their future capital—from Palestinians in the West Bank.

**GLICK, YEHUDA.** Rabbi who campaigned for more Jewish access and rights, including Jewish prayer rights, on the **Temple Mount in Jerusalem**. He was shot and seriously wounded in a drive-by shooting in late October 2014. In June 2016 he entered the **Knesset** on the Likud party list as the replacement for **Moshe Ya’alon**.

**GLOBES.** **Hebrew-language** Israeli daily evening financial newspaper. Founded in 1983 by Haim Bar-On and Eliezer Fishman, and dealing with Israeli and international economic news, it is the oldest financial newspaper in Israel. Edited by Haggai Golan, *Globes* has a daily circulation of 45,000. It launched an online edition in 1997. Accessible at [www.globes.co.il](http://www.globes.co.il). *serveen*.

**GOLAN HEIGHTS.** A zone east of the Huleh Valley and the **Sea of Galilee** that abuts Mount Hermon. It is a sparse territory some 41 miles long and 15 miles wide. The border between Israel and **Syria** has been in dispute since the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948. In 1949, the **armistice agreement** designated small areas on the western side of the border as demilitarized zones. Many of the clashes between Syria and Israel between 1949 and 1967 developed from Israel's efforts to assert control over these parcels of land.

In the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israel occupied the Syrian territory known as the Golan Heights and began to establish **settlements** there, and it was placed under military administration. During the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, Syria briefly recaptured a portion of the Golan Heights, but Israel quickly took additional Syrian territory. The **Israel-Syria Disengagement of Forces Agreement** of 1974 resulted in Syria's regaining some territory lost in 1967. A **United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)** was deployed, and no major incidents and only a few minor ones have occurred since 1974. Since the late 1970s, the focus of Israeli-Syrian tension had been in **Lebanon** because of the use by the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and later **Hezbollah** of Syrian-controlled Lebanese territory for strikes against Israel.

On 14 December 1981, the Israeli government presented a bill to the **Knesset** that applied the law, jurisdiction, and administration of the state to the Golan Heights. The bill passed all three readings required in the Knesset and was adopted by a vote of 63 in favor and 21 against. Explaining this action, Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** declared, "In this matter of the Golan Heights there is a universal, or nearly universal, national consensus in Israel." Begin also stated that the law did not alter Israel's readiness to negotiate all outstanding issues with Syria, including the issue of final borders. The government cited several reasons for proposing the bill to the Knesset. After 14 years of administration, the Syrians had rejected all efforts to bring them into a peace process. The Syrians had refused to accept the **Camp David** peace process, had installed surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) in Lebanon that were a direct threat to Israel, and in their occupation of Lebanon directly aided the PLO in its border attacks against Israel.

The action by the Knesset changed the status of the Golan Heights from military to civil jurisdiction. The **Druze** farmers who lived there had the option of receiving Israeli citizenship. In 2012, the population of the Golan

numbered 20,000 Jewish Israelis in 32 farms, moshavim, and villages; 20,000 Druze in four villages; and one village of less than 500 Alawite Muslims.

Following the Knesset vote on the Golan bill, Washington condemned the act, stating that the swift nature of the Israeli action surprised the **United States**, was harmful to the peace process, and violated the **Camp David Accords** and the letter and spirit of **United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions 242** and **338** calling for the negotiated settlement of disputes based on the **Land for Peace** formula. A U.S. state department spokesman noted, “We continue to believe that the final status of the Golan Heights can only be determined through negotiations between Syria and Israel based upon Resolutions 242 and 338.” On 17 December 1981, the UN Security Council adopted unanimously a resolution holding “that the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and without international legal effect; [and that] Demands that Israel, the occupying power, should rescind forthwith its decision.” The United States announced that it was suspending the U.S.–Israel **Memorandum of Understanding** on Strategic Cooperation. Additionally, the U.S. administration canceled several bilateral economic agreements that would have provided Israel with opportunities to sell Israeli-made arms to nations friendly to the United States using U.S. credit dollars. The Ronald Reagan administration also canceled several planned purchases of Israeli-made arms.

Following the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**, Israeli and Syrian officials met periodically to discuss the status of the Golan Heights and related matters. Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** declared that the depth of Israel’s withdrawal from the Golan Heights would be determined by the depth of peace and normalized relations offered in exchange by Syria. Rabin pledged to hold a national referendum on the issue. U.S.–sponsored talks in Washington and at the Wye Plantation in Maryland involving the chiefs of staff of the Israeli and Syrian militaries and Israel’s ambassador to the United States and his Syrian counterpart, were reportedly proceeding well on the eve of Rabin’s assassination. The talks stalemated after Rabin’s death and broke down in the context of Syria’s refusal to explicitly condemn the string of **suicide bombings** that rocked Israel in February and March of 1996.

While Syrian officials played an important part in containing the damage caused by violent exchanges between Israel and Hezbollah in southern **Lebanon in Operation Grapes of Wrath** (April 1996), Israeli officials continued to contend that Syria chose to permit a level of instability in southern Lebanon in the hopes of compelling Israel to cede sovereignty over all of the Golan Heights to Syria. On 26 January 1999, the Knesset passed the Golan Heights Law that required a majority Knesset vote in order to give up any part of Israeli sovereign territory. The law also required the drafting of a

**basic law** on popular referendums after the 1999 Knesset election that would force any decision to relinquish Israeli land to be put to a referendum of Israeli voters in addition to the Knesset vote.

After **Ehud Barak** became prime minister in 1999, the status of the Golan Heights reemerged as a prominent public policy issue. Barak (who as **Israel Defense Forces** chief of staff had participated in talks in the United States with his Syrian counterpart) offered to resume negotiations with Damascus over the Golan from the point where they had left off in the spring of 1996. Barak also reaffirmed Rabin's pledge to hold a national referendum over the future of the Golan. After months of behind-the-scenes indirect diplomacy involving the United States, Israel, and Syria, direct discussions resumed in Washington, D.C., on 15 December 1999. The negotiations, headed by Prime Minister Barak and Syria's foreign minister Farouk a-Sharaa, continued in Shepherdstown, West Virginia. U.S. president **William J. (Bill) Clinton** met with Syrian president Hafez Assad in Geneva, Switzerland, in April 2000 in an attempt to finalize the terms of an agreement with Israel concerning the Golan. This, however, failed to materialize, as did Barak's efforts to link his planned final withdrawal of Israeli forces from their **security zone** in southern Lebanon to a broader agreement with Syria concerning the Golan.

Despite periodic rumors and speculation, often related to exercises in public diplomacy undertaken by the Syrians designed to alleviate U.S. and international pressure on the Bashir Assad regime in Damascus, little progress has been made toward resolving the dispute over the Golan Heights. Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** implied a readiness to resume negotiations with Syria about the status of the Golan Heights within the context of the broader process of regional peace and normalization of relations with Israel envisioned as a derivative of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations initiated at the **Annapolis Conference** on 27 November 2007.

Israel considers the civil war in Syria to be an internal Arab affair; nevertheless, security officials remain keenly alert to developments in the conflict. Of particular concern is the status of the Golan Heights, specifically the threat of radical Sunni Islamist forces affiliated with the Islamic State or **Iranian**-backed Shia Islamist forces establishing a **terrorist** presence in the Heights, close to the border with Israel. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**GOLDBERG, LEA (1911–1970)**. Prominent **Hebrew** poet, critic, literary scholar. Born in Koeningsberg, **Germany** (East Prussia), on 29 May 1911, she immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1935. Her first volume of Hebrew verse, *Tabaot Ashan* (Smoke Rings) appeared shortly after her arrival in **Tel Aviv**. She joined the staff of *Ha'aretz* and *Davar* and became the children's books editor of the Sifriyat Poalim publishing house and literary adviser to the Habonim Theater. She also served as literary editor and theater

critic for *al Hamishmar*. In 1952, she founded the department of comparative literature at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and remained the department's chair until her death in **Jerusalem** on 15 January 1970.

**GOLDSTEIN, BARUCH (1956–1994)**. The perpetrator of an attack at the Tomb of the Patriarchs (known by Muslims as the Ibrahim Mosque) in the **West Bank** city of **Hebron** on 25 February 1994 that left 29 Arab worshippers dead and more than 100 others wounded. Goldstein, an American-born resident of the nearby **settlement** of **Kiryat Arba** and a follower of **Rabbi Meir Kahane** and the **KACH** movement, was killed by some of the survivors of the massacre. A **commission of inquiry** headed by president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel Justice **Meir Shamgar** concluded on 26 June 1994 that Goldstein had acted alone in committing this “base and murderous” massacre. *See also* **HEBRON MASSACRE**; **SHAMGAR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**.

**GOLDSTONE REPORT**. *See* **UNITED NATIONS FACT-FINDING MISSION ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (GOLDSTONE REPORT)**.

**GOLOMB, ELIYAHU (1893–1945)**. A founder of the **Hagana**. Born in Volkovysk, Russia, on 2 March 1893, he immigrated (*see* **ALIYA**) to **Palestine** as a youth and graduated from Herzliya High School. He served with the **Jewish Legion** in Palestine during World War I and was active in the **Zionist Labor Movement**, serving as the chief spokesman on defense matters for **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**. One of the founders of the Hagana in 1921, he was a member of its Command Council and its informal leader until his death. In the 1920s and 1930s, he directed clandestine arms procurement operations for the **Yishuv** in contravention of the policies of the **British Mandate** authority. Together with Shaul Avigur and **Berl Katznelson**, Golomb participated in the foundation, organization, and financing of the Hagana's program of illegal Jewish immigration (**Aliya Bet**) of European Jews to Palestine in 1938–1940. He led Hagana activities and development during the Arab Revolt (1936–1939), encouraging enlistment in the Jewish **settlement** policy and in the British army during World War II in order to lay a legal basis for the strengthening and improvement of the Hagana. In addition, he was an early advocate of Jewish air power and the establishment in 1940 of the Hehalutz flight school in the **United States**. Golomb died on 11 June 1945 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. His home in Tel Aviv was subsequently turned into the Hagana museum and archives, known as Beit Eliyahu.

**GONEN, SHMUEL (FORMERLY GORODISH) (1930–1991).** Soldier. Gonen came to **Palestine** with his parents from Lithuania when he was three years old and attended a yeshiva. He joined the **Hagana** in 1944 and rose through the ranks to become a general officer. He gained fame in the **Six-Day War (1967)** when his tank brigade broke through **Egyptian** defenses in northern **Sinai**. He led the southern command in the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, but after the war he was among those criticized by the **Agranat Commission** and was suspended. The suspension was later reversed on condition that he not be appointed as a corps commander. He retired from the army in 1976 and left for Africa, where he embarked on various business ventures. He never returned to Israel except for short visits. He died on 30 September 1991.

**“GOOD-BYE, FRIEND” (SHALOM HAVER).** A memorial bumper sticker distributed after the assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and reflecting the sentiment spoken by President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States** in tribute to Rabin at his funeral. In February 1996, new bumper stickers read “Good-bye, friends,” a response to this and a **terrorist** attack that month by two **Palestinian suicide bombers** that killed 25 people.

**GORDON, AHARON DAVID (A. D.) (1856–1922).** A Hebrew writer and spiritual mentor of Labor **Zionists** who believed in Jewish **settlement** of the land. Gordon was born on 9 June 1856 in Troyanov, Russia. He was given a position in the financial management of Baron Horace Guenzburg’s estate and remained in this position for 23 years. In 1904, because he had to find other employment, he moved to **Palestine**, and five years later, he brought his family. He became involved in manual **agricultural** work but also started writing articles in 1909 concerning his outlook on labor, Zionism, and Jewish destiny, which became known as the “**religion** of labor.” He died on 22 February 1922 in **Kibbutz Degania**.

**GORDONIA.** Youth movement initially founded in 1923–1924 in Galicia (Poland) and based on the tenets of **A. D. Gordon**. It founded several new **settlements** and small kevtzot in **Palestine** and also sent members to help reinforce older settlements. In 1933, its settlements amalgamated with Hever Hakevutzot to form Hever Hakevutzot–Igud Gordonia, and in 1941, Gordonia merged with Maccabia Hatzair, which had developed as a Jewish scouting movement in **Germany** and Czechoslovakia. In 1945, the movement united with part of Hamahanot Haolim to form Hatenua Hameuhedet, the General Movement of Student Pioneering Youth in the Land of Israel.



**GOREN, RABBI SHLOMO (1917–1994).** Prominent rabbi. Born 3 February 1917 in Poland, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1925. He was educated at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and served as chief rabbi of **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. He also served as chief chaplain of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and as **Ashkenazi** chief rabbi of Israel (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL). In the **Six-Day War (1967)**, he celebrated with IDF soldiers the reunification of **Jerusalem** at the **Western Wall**. In the 1970s and 1980s, he became increasingly associated with extreme factions of the **West Bank** settler movement. In 1993, he created controversy when he ruled that it was permissible according to *Halacha* (Jewish religious law) for IDF soldiers to disobey orders to evacuate **settlements**. He died on 29 October 1994.

**GOVERNANCE ACT.** An amendment to the **Basic Law: The Government**, the Governance Bill became law on 11 March 2014 in the **Knesset** by a vote of 67 to 0, as the opposition parties boycotted the vote. The omnibus bill was a series of measures that included raising the electoral threshold to enter the Knesset from 2 percent of the popular vote to 3.25 percent. The act also limited the size of the **cabinet** to 18 ministers.

Supporters of the higher electoral threshold argued that it would cut down on fragmented coalition **governments**, increase government stability, and allow the government to focus on overarching national priorities by reducing the influence of the kind of smaller, single-issue parties who dominated Israel's coalition governments in the 1990s. Advocates hoped that the smaller parties, fearing failure to pass the threshold, would either merge with more established parties or drop out of future elections entirely. They might also form electoral alliances among themselves.

Opposition to the raising of the electoral threshold largely centered on the fear that Israel's four largely Arab **political parties** would be unable to pass the higher threshold, effectively disenfranchising approximately one-fifth of Israel's population. Throughout Israel's history, efforts by **Arab** members of the Knesset (MKs) to form electoral alliances had unsuccessful. Responding to the fear of failing to pass the threshold on their own, the Arab parties in January 2015 unified under the banner of **The Joint List**.

The Governance Act also limited the size of the cabinet to nineteen ministers (including the **prime minister**) and four deputy ministers and eliminated the post of minister without portfolio. It also dramatically changed the process through which 61 MKs can topple a government via a no-confidence vote in the Knesset plenum. Another component of the omnibus bill also effectively ended military deferments for ultra-Orthodox yeshiva students (*see* EQUAL SERVICE LAW).

**GOVERNMENT.** *See* BASIC LAW: THE GOVERNMENT.

**GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.** A coalition **government** of the **Israel Labor Party** and **Likud** formed following the 1984 Knesset election, which lasted until the 1988 **Knesset** election. Under the terms of the national unity agreement, Labor's **Shimon Peres** served as **prime minister** from 1984 to 1986, while Likud's **Yitzhak Shamir** served as foreign minister and deputy prime minister; the two rotated positions halfway through the government's tenure in 1986. The Government of National Unity took important steps toward alleviating inflation and withdrew most of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** from **Lebanon**. A variant of the government of national unity was formed following the 1988 election, but it was led by Shamir and lasted only until the spring of 1990. **Ariel Sharon** formed a Likud-Labor unity government in 2002 that lasted only until 2003. *See* ROTATION.

**GREAT BRITAIN.** Israel's relationship with Great Britain antedates Israel's independence and can be traced to the period of World War I when, among other arrangements concerning **Palestine**, the British government issued the **Balfour Declaration**, which endorsed the concept of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The declaration was seen as support for the **Zionist** claim to a Jewish state in Palestine. The British were granted (by the League of Nations) the mandate over Palestine after the end of the war and retained their control until the establishment of Israel's independence in May 1948. Britain did not support the establishment of the Jewish state and supplied arms to the neighboring Arab states during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** in addition to supporting the Arab position in the **United Nations (UN)**. Britain recognized Israel in 1949.

In May 1950, Britain joined with **France** and the **United States** in a Tripartite Declaration to limit arms sales to the region in an effort to ensure regional stability. The ensuing years were marked by a coolness in British-Israel relations, while London retained close links with many of Israel's Arab neighbors. Nevertheless, in the fall of 1956, Britain joined with France and Israel in a tripartite clandestine plan to deal with the policies and activities of President Gamal Abdul Nasser of **Egypt**. Nasser sought to accelerate the British withdrawal from Egypt and the Suez Canal zone and to undermine British influence elsewhere in the Arab world. In July 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which the British regarded as having economic value and strategic significance. Israel invaded Egypt in the **Sinai War (1956)** and Britain and France soon joined in after giving both Egypt and Israel an ultimatum. The convergence of interests and the marriage of convenience that resulted soon came apart under the pressure of the international community, especially the United States.

In the 1960s, there was small growth and improvement in relations between Israel and Britain, which included the sale of some military equipment to Israel. At the same time, London was in the process of reordering its relationship with the Arab states, especially its former colonial territories. Sympathy for Israel was widespread in Great Britain at the outbreak of the **Six-Day War (1967)**. It was Britain's UN representative Lord Caradon who was instrumental in the drafting of **UN Security Council Resolution 242**, but Britain did not play a major role in trying to achieve peace in the years immediately following the 1967 war.

The succeeding years saw a variation in the bilateral relationship, with links alternately improving and worsening based on changes of personalities in decision-making positions in both Britain and Israel. Britain's role in the European Community and its advocacy of the **Venice Declaration** of 1980, which sought a resolution of the **Arab-Israeli conflict** on terms deemed problematic by Israel, remained an irritant in the relationship. There was generally perceived to be a degree of continuity in British policy between the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major and the Labour governments of Tony Blair. Despite occasional disputes with Israeli governments over specific policies and actions (especially with regard to outbursts of **Palestinian** violence in the **West Bank** and **Gaza Strip**), relations between London and **Jerusalem** were generally viewed as positive and constructive. As the Blair government found common cause with Israel in relation to opposition to **terrorism** originating from the Middle East (especially after the 7 July 2005 bombings in London), there was a perceptible warming in the bilateral relationship. Blair's appointment, upon his retirement as Britain's prime minister in June 2007, as peace envoy for the Middle East **Quartet**, was viewed favorably by most Israelis.

In recent years there has been much growth in the bilateral partnership between Great Britain and Israel, in particular in the fields of trade, investment, **science**, and technology. Bilateral trade is currently valued at more than \$7.013 billion. A successful high-technology hub has been established in Israel to encourage British-Israeli partnerships in digital, biomedical, and cleantech industries. There also has been increased cooperation between the two governments against shared security threats, including radical Islamist terrorism. The two countries also are sharing defense and security technology: Great Britain's Watchkeeper unmanned aerial vehicle (drone) is being developed and built in conjunction with Israel's Elbit Systems. Britain has supported European-led efforts to move diplomacy with the Palestinians forward in ways considered to be unsafe by Israel, has signed the July 2015 nuclear agreement with Iran opposed by Israel, and has subsequently reestablished diplomatic relations with **Iran**. Nevertheless, recent British governments also have reiterated their support for Israel's right to exist and opposi-

tion to attempts to boycott, divest, or sanction the Jewish state. *See also* BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE; FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE; SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT.

**GREATER ISRAEL.** The concept of Israel's retaining permanently all of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**, including the territories occupied in the **Six-Day War (1967)** as well as parts of historic **Palestine** "promised" to the **Zionists** in the **Balfour Declaration** and the League of Nations mandate for Palestine. Inherited from the **Revisionists** of **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky**, it was the bedrock of **Likud (Union) Party** ideology for many years. However, the Greater Israel concept also found expression among veteran **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael-Israel Workers Party)** activists as well as among **Tehiya (Renaissance)** and other right-wing political movements that were opposed to the territorial concessions made in the **Camp David Accords** with **Egypt** and the concessions in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** made by both Likud—and **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**—led governments in negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and the **Palestinian Authority (PA)** ensuing from the **Oslo Accords** and the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**GREEN LEAF PARTY.** Boaz Wachtel, a former drug counselor, created this single-issue **political party** as a means of attempting to legalize marijuana in Israel. The party did not win any mandates in the Eighteenth **Knesset** (2009), Nineteenth **Knesset** (2013), or Twentieth **Knesset** (2015).

**GREEN LINE.** The frontier lines between Israel and the neighboring **Arab** states (**Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria**) established by the **armistice agreements** of 1949.

**GREEN PARTY.** *See* ISRAEL GREEN PARTY (HAYERUKIM).

**GULF OF AQABA.** Israel also refers to it as the Gulf of **Eilat**, derived from the port city of Eilat at its head. The Gulf of Aqaba is about 100 miles long, with a coastline shared by Israel, **Egypt, Jordan**, and Saudi Arabia. At its northern end are the Israeli port of Eilat and the Jordanian port of Aqaba. At the southern end, where the gulf meets the Red Sea, there are two islands: Tiran and Sanafir. The navigable channel is between Tiran and the coast of the **Sinai Peninsula** and is three nautical miles wide. The point on the Sinai coast directly facing Tiran is Ras Nasrani, near **Sharm el-Sheikh**. Egypt set up gun emplacements there to prevent shipping through the **Strait of Tiran**, and Israel destroyed the guns on 3 November 1956.

Israel's use of the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba had been a factor in the relations between Egypt and Israel and in the **Sinai War (1956)** and the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Since the Israeli occupation of the Sinai Peninsula in 1956 and later withdrawal in 1957, Israeli ships have used the strait and the gulf, except for a brief interruption in 1967. President Gamal Abdul Nasser's announced blockade of the strait on 22 May 1967 was considered by Israel as a war provocation and by the **United States** as a major act leading to the June 1967 conflict. To avoid a repetition of the blockade, the **United Nations (UN)** adopted **UN Security Council Resolution 242** in November 1967, the basic document in the quest for an **Arab-Israeli** peace settlement. Resolution 242 called inter alia for freedom of navigation in international waterways, including the Strait of Tiran and Gulf of Aqaba.

The narrowness of the Gulf of Aqaba and the disparate claims by the coastal states have the potential to cause problems of maritime boundary delimitations. Both Egypt and Saudi Arabia have claimed twelve miles of territorial seas and additional six miles of contiguous zones. Israel has claimed six miles of territorial seas, and Jordan has claimed three miles without any contiguous zones.

Because the Gulf of Aqaba is very deep and because no natural resources have been discovered in it, no disputes over exploitation rights have arisen, but disputes over navigation, mostly concerning shipping to and from Eilat, have occurred. After the Israeli occupation of the western shore of the Strait of Tiran in 1967, ships of all states again enjoyed the right of passage through the strait and the gulf. To ensure freedom of navigation, the 1979 **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** provided that after Israel withdrew from the shores and entrances of the Gulf of Aqaba in 1982, the area would be controlled by a multinational force established by the concerned parties and stationed in the area of Sharm el-Sheikh. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**GULF OF EILAT.** *See* GULF OF AQABA.

**GULF WAR.** *See* PERSIAN GULF WAR (1991).

**GUR, MORDECHAI "MOTTA" (1930–1995).** Tenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and war hero. Gur was born in **Jerusalem** on 6 May 1930, and at the age of 17 he joined the youth battalion of the **Hagana** during the mandate period and later served in the **Palmah**. After the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he attended the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and studied politics and Middle Eastern studies while still in the military. He became a paratrooper and helped to develop the Israeli style of commando counterterrorism raids on Arab targets across enemy lines before the **Sinai War (1956)**. He commanded the IDF's elite Golani Brigade from 1961 to

1963. During the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Gur commanded the paratroop brigade that captured east Jerusalem and the walled city. He reported, “The Temple Mount is in our hands.” In August 1967, he became commander of the **Gaza Strip** and northern **Sinai Peninsula**.

Gur was a graduate of Ecole de Guerre in Paris. He served as military attaché in Washington from August 1972 to December 1973. He served as chief of staff of the IDF from 1974 to 1978, taking over after **David Elazar** resigned from that post. As chief of staff, Gur oversaw the planning of **Operation Entebbe**, the 4 July 1976 rescue of hostages from the Entebbe airport in Uganda. After leaving the IDF in 1978, he became director general of a division of **Koor Industries**. In 1981, he ran for the **Knesset** on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list and won a seat. He served as minister of **health** in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984 and became minister without portfolio in the government established in December 1988. Gur served as deputy minister of defense under **Yitzhak Rabin** and as Rabin’s chief liaison to Jewish **settlers** from 1992 until his death. Despondent during a bout with cancer, Gur committed suicide on 16 July 1995. Gur was also well known in Israel for his children’s books about a paratrooper unit and their fighting mascot, a dog named Azit.

**GUSH EMUNIM (BLOC OF THE FAITHFUL)**. A movement that promotes the establishment of Jewish **settlements** in **Judea**, **Samaria**, and **Gaza** as a means of promoting permanent retention of these areas, especially the **West Bank**. It is an aggressive settlement movement that combines **religious** fundamentalism and secular **Zionism** to create a new political force. Its leaders assert a biblically based Jewish claim to **Judea and Samaria**. Gush Emunim became active after the **Six-Day War (1967)** in establishing Jewish settlements in the **Occupied Territories**, but it was not until after the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** that it organized politically in order to oppose territorial concessions and to promote the extension of Israeli sovereignty over the Occupied Territories.

The founding meeting of Gush Emunim took place in 1974 at the **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)**. Among those playing leading roles in the movement’s founding were **Rabbi Moshe Levinger**, the leader of the **Kiryat Arba** settlers; Hanan Porat, one of the revivers of Jewish settlement in Gush Etzion; Rabbi **Haim Druckman**, an educator who was one of the leaders of the **Bnei Akiva** religious youth movement and subsequently became a member of the **Knesset**; Rabbi Eliezer Waldman; and Rabbi Yohanan Fried.

Gush Emunim began as a faction within the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** but because of distrust of the NRP’s position concerning the future of Judea and Samaria, the movement left the party and declared its independence. Its members, mostly yeshiva graduates, rabbis, and teachers, launched an information campaign to explain

their position. Gush Emunim has since refused to identify with any **political party** and has gained a unique political status. During the tenure of the government of **Yitzhak Rabin** from 1974 to 1977, Gush Emunim protested the disengagement agreements with **Egypt** and **Syria**, staged demonstrations in Judea and Samaria to emphasize the Jewish attachment to those parts of the land of Israel, and engaged in unauthorized settlement operations in the Occupied Territories. Gush Emunim's primary commitment is to settlement beyond the 1949 **armistice agreement** demarcation lines, which had served as the de facto borders between Israel and the **Jordanian**-annexed West Bank and between Israel and the Egyptian-administered Gaza Strip and Sinai from 1949 to 1967. Gush Emunim has continued to push for settlements in all parts of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**.

Gush Emunim's spiritual authorities and political leaders were educated in Yeshivat Merkaz Harav, whose founder was **Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook**, the first **Ashkenazi** chief rabbi of **Palestine**. Kook believed that the era of redemption for the Jewish people had already begun with the rise of modern political Zionism and the growing Zionist enterprise in Palestine. Israel's victory in the Six-Day War transformed the status of Kook's theology. It seemed clear to his students that they were living in the messianic age and believed that redemption might be at hand. Kook's views were expounded and expanded by his son, **Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook**, who succeeded him as the head of Yeshivat Merkaz Harav.

Gush Emunim has become a highly complex social and institutional system comprised of a settlement organization, regional and municipal councils, and independent economic corporations. Its spiritual leadership is composed of distinguished rabbis and scholars. Though a powerful force in Israeli politics, Gush Emunim never organized itself into a political party that would vie for seats in the Knesset. Increasingly, its political interests in this regard were represented by the NRP, which by the 1980s entered into a close political association with the settler community in the West Bank generally and with the Gush Emunim in particular. Prominent rabbis and members of Gush Emunim were among the most vociferous opponents of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon's unilateral disengagement** from the Gaza Strip and isolated areas of the northern West Bank completed in August 2005. With the demise of the **National Religious Party**, Gush Emunim's political support shifted to the ultranationalist **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)** party and the splinter **Otzma LeIsrael (Strength to Israel)/Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Strength)** parties.

**GUSH KATIF.** Literally, "harvest bloc"; a series of 16 settlements in the **Gaza Strip** between the Mediterranean Sea and the Palestinian towns of Rafah and Khan Younis. The main access road connecting Gush Katif to Israel ran through the **Kissufim Crossing** junction. The **settlements** in Gush

Katif were Bedolah, Bnei Atzmon, Dugit, Elei Sinai, Gadid, Gan Or, Ganei Tal, Katif, Kerem Atzmona, Kfar Darom, Kfar Yam, Morag, Netzer Hazani, Netzarim, Neve Dekalim, Nisanit, Pe'at Sade, Rafiah Yam, Shirat Hayam, Slav, and Tel Katifa. All of the settlements were created after the **Six-Day War (1967)**, when Israel took control of the Gaza Strip from **Egypt**; they were to serve, in the first instance, as trip-wires and the first line of defense against anticipated renewed attacks against Israel from the south. The civilian population of Gush Katif and the **Israel Defense Forces'** units deployed to protect them increasingly were targeted by **terrorists** during the **intifada** and the **Al-Aksa intifada**. The Israeli presence in Gush Katif, both civilian and military, was withdrawn in August–September 2005 in the implementation of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon's** Gaza **disengagement plan**—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHIT-NATKUT).

**GUTMAN, NAHUM (1898–1980)**. Prominent Israeli artist. Born in Tele-neshty, Bessarabia, on 5 October 1898, he was brought to **Palestine** at the age of seven by his father, poet and novelist Simha Alter Gutmann (who wrote under the pseudonym Simha Ben-Zion). Nahum Gutman studied art at the **Bezalel School in Jerusalem** and served with the **Jewish Legion** under British military command in Palestine during World War I. After the war, he studied in Vienna, where he met the great Hebrew poet **Haim Nahman Bialik** and illustrated several of his works. Upon his return to Palestine in 1926, Gutman published several books for children and adults on life in early **Tel Aviv**, with his own drawings, accompanying prose, and painted landscapes and local scenes. He was the recipient of numerous honors, including the **Israel Prize** in 1978 for his contribution to the arts. Gutman died on 28 November 1980 in Tel Aviv.



# H

**HA'AM ITANU.** *See* YACHAD-HA'AM ITANU (THE PEOPLE ARE WITH US).

**HA'ARETZ** (literally, “THE LAND”). Israel’s oldest **Hebrew-language** daily newspaper established on 18 June 1919 by a group of socialist-oriented **Zionist** pioneers mainly from **Russia** and initially called *Hadashot Ha'aretz* (“News of the Land”). Initially published in **Jerusalem**, it moved to **Tel Aviv** in 1923 and found sustainable funding under the exclusive ownership of the Schocken family (1937–2006). Gershon Schocken became the chief editor in 1939 and held that position until his death in 1990. Schocken defined the paper’s editorial policy as independent of any **political** party and staunchly liberal-left on foreign and domestic issues, a perspective maintained by subsequent editors-in-chief including Hanoch Marmari, David Landau, Dov Alfon, and Aluf Benn. *Ha'aretz* is considered by many to be Israel’s newspaper of record, its readership including members of the country’s intelligentsia and its political and economic elites. In 1997 *Ha'aretz* launched an English-language edition in coordination with the *International Herald Tribune*; it also has an Internet edition. Accessible at [www.haaretz.com/](http://www.haaretz.com/).

**HABAD (CHABAD).** Acronym for Hokhmah, Binah, Daat (Chachmah, Binah, Da’at; Wisdom, Comprehension, Knowledge). A central stream of Hasidut (whose adherents are called **Hasidim**), its founder was Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Lyady. It began in Belorussia in a town called Lubavitch (therefore, these Hasidim are called Lubavitchers, and their rabbi is the rabbi of Lubavitch—the Lubavitcher rebbe). Its political interests in Israel are represented primarily through **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**. *See also* LUBAVITCH HASIDIC SECT; RELIGION.

**HABAYIT HAYEHUDI (THE JEWISH HOME).** Religious Zionist political party established in 2008. With only three mandates in the Eighteenth **Knesset**, it was perceived by many Israelis as one of several far-right religious **political parties**. But it subsequently found new electoral popularity and influence under the new leadership of **Naftali Bennett**.

It was generally viewed as the successor to the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**, a long-standing part of Israel’s political and electoral scene that by the mid-2000s had been torn asunder by ideological disputes and political rivalries. By March 2006, remnants of the NRP had merged with the secular-nationalist **National Union (Haichud He-lumi)**. The joint list garnered nine mandates in the 2006 Knesset election. In November 2008 internal disputes within the National Union led to the formation of a splinter party which ultimately took the name HaBayit HaYehudi. The new party, with an electoral list dominated by former NRP members of Knesset, took three mandates in the 2009 Knesset election.

In November 2012 HaBayit HaYehudi held internal primaries for party leadership. Political neophyte **Naftali Bennett** won the party’s leadership, defeating the incumbent leader by a margin of 67 percent to 33 percent. A week later primaries for the remaining members of the party’s electoral list were held, with several top spots secured by Bennett loyalists. In the 22 January 2013 Knesset election, HaBayit HaYehudi won 12 seats and eventually entered the coalition **government** headed by the **Likud (Union) Party’s Benjamin Netanyahu**, with three ministries.

Driven by Bennett’s charismatic leadership, HaBayit HaYehudi appealed to and attracted electoral support from a new type of right-leaning Israeli voter. In addition to its traditional base among Israel’s religious Zionist community, including **West Bank** settlers, the party also gained support among young, religiously “traditional” as well as secular Jewish Israelis in part by using social media to communicate its core messages and policy platform.

Ideologically, HaBayit HaYehudi claims (in the NRP’s tradition) to work toward bridging the gap between Jewish Israel’s religious and secular communities even as it focuses on its objective of maximizing the application of **Halacha** (Jewish religious law) in the daily life of all Jewish Israelis. It opposes what it calls the “coercive” methods used by the ultra-Orthodox political parties in seeking to achieve this goal.

Its approach to foreign and security policy is decidedly hawkish. It is vehemently opposed to a **two-state solution** to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, instead presenting a plan (proposed by Bennett) for Israel’s unilateral annexation of the West Bank and the granting of limited autonomy to the area’s **Palestinians**.

Anett Haskia, a Muslim Israeli Arab resident of a **kibbutz** near **Petah Tikva**, sought a spot on the party’s list for the 2015 Knesset election. “I want a full State of Israel,” she explained. “Settlements don’t bother me. It’s the

Jewish home. It's the Jewish state." Even with her poor performance in the party's primary, she believed that HaBayit HaYehudi voters had embraced her despite her background. Her chances of winning a Knesset seat were always slim, she acknowledged, but her optimism—and her support for the party—was undiminished.

HaBayit HaYehudi won eight seats in the 2015 Knesset election; on 6 May 2015 it agreed to join the coalition government formed by Benjamin Netanyahu. Because of the 2015 election outcome, the party gained significant influence in the formation of the new government and the construction of its program (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET).

**HABERFELD, HAIM (1933–2002).** Former **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** member of **Knesset**, he served as chairman of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** from 1992 to 1994, when his Labor Party list was defeated by the independent faction headed by former Labor Knesset member **Haim Ramon**, thereby ending Labor's 74-year control over the Histadrut.

**HABIBI, EMILE (1922–1996).** Arab Israeli author, recipient of the **Israel Prize** for literature, and former veteran Israel **Communist Party** member of **Knesset**. He was born in **Haifa** on 28 January 1922, and from 1941 to 1943, he was cultural affairs reporter and editor of the Arabic section of *Broadcasting House* in **Jerusalem** and ran the network's cultural department. He joined the Communist Party in 1943, and when the party split into Jewish and Arab factions in 1945, he helped establish the Arab Communists' League for National Liberation. After Israel's independence, Habibi was one of the founders of the Israel Communist Party, which reunited the Jewish and Arab factions, and represented the party in the Knesset from 1952 to 1972. After leaving the Knesset, he concentrated on writing and editing the Communist Party newspaper *Al-Ittihad*, which he edited until 1989, when he broke with the Communist Party in the wake of the political changes in the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**.

Habibi was one of the most popular and well-known authors in the Middle East. He received Israel's highest cultural award, the Israel Prize, in 1992 and the **Palestine Liberation Organization's** Jerusalem Medal in 1990. He asserted his Arab identity but also advocated Jewish-Arab coexistence and mutual recognition between Israelis and **Palestinians**. He depicted the predicament of Arabs in Israel caught between Arab identity and Israeli citizenship. His most famous novel, *The Optimist*, depicts the combination of optimism and pessimism that characterizes the lives of Israeli Arabs; it has been translated into many languages and staged as a play in both Arabic and Hebrew. Habibi died in Nazareth on 2 May 1996.

**HABIMAH THEATER.** Literally, “The Stage”; Israel’s national Hebrew theater, based in **Tel Aviv**. Founded as a **Hebrew-language** theater by directors Nahum Zernach and Constantin Stanislavsky in Moscow in 1917, it moved permanently to **Palestine** in 1931. Among its early star performers was **Hanna Rovina**, the “First Lady of Hebrew Theater.” Today, the theater’s repertoire includes traditional plays on Jewish themes, works of contemporary Hebrew playwrights, and translations of international works.

**HADASH.** *See* DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY (HADASH).

**HADASSAH. The Women’s Zionist Organization of America** founded in 1912 at the instigation of Henrietta Szold. (The name *Hadassah* is the Hebrew name for Esther, a Jewish queen who dedicated herself to the saving of her people. It is also the equivalent of myrtle, a plant indigenous to Israel.) Its activities in **Palestine** and Israel were limited at first to **health** and medical care and then extended to include social and educational projects. At the Second Zionist Congress (1898), **Theodor Herzl** asked Mrs. Richard Gottheil to direct her energies to enlisting the interest of her American colleagues in the principles of **Zionism**. Mrs. Gottheil joined a group of the Daughters of **Zion**, which met in New York and introduced the name “Hadassah Circle.” In 1907, Henrietta Szold joined this group, and in 1909, she and her mother visited Palestine. On her return, Szold described the distressing social and health situation in Palestine, and the group developed a program of action. On 24 February 1912, the national organization of Daughters of Zion was established, and the New York chapter retained the name *Hadassah*. At the suggestion of Professor Israel Friedlander, the Daughters of Zion adopted the motto “The healing of the daughter of my people.” Hadassah began its involvement in health and medical services in Palestine and Israel in 1913 and has continued in those areas since. *See also* DIASPORA; HADASSAH HOSPITAL.

**HADASSAH HOSPITAL.** The largest medical facility in Israel, this internationally prominent facility is affiliated with the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. Founded by the **Women’s Zionist Organization of America**, Hadassah’s first hospital was opened in 1939 on **Mount Scopus** in **Jerusalem**. Throughout World War II, it was used by the Allied authorities, and by the war’s end, it had become the medical focal point not only for **Palestine** but for the entire region. On 13 April 1948, a convoy traveling to Mount Scopus from Jerusalem was ambushed by Arab guerrillas, leaving some 75 hospital personnel dead. Shortly afterward, civilians were evacuated and the hospital was left under guard of the **Hagana** and later the **Israel Defense**

**Forces** (IDF). When Mount Scopus was demilitarized (as part of the 1949 Israel-Jordan armistice agreement), its main access road was placed under the supervision of the **United Nations**. An Israeli police unit was stationed in the abandoned hospital and the adjoining Hebrew University facilities. Upon the reunification of Jerusalem in the **Six-Day War (1967)**, steps were immediately taken to reopen the Hadassah Hospital. Functions of the hospital are now split between Mount Scopus and a 300-acre facility at Ein Kerem.

**HAGANA (“DEFENSE”)**. The security force of the **Yishuv** was established in **Palestine** in 1920 as a clandestine defense organization for the purpose of protecting Jewish life and property against Arab attacks. In 1941, it created a commando or “striking” force, the **Palmah** (a full-time military force of volunteers, something of a professional and elite unit), which later provided a large proportion of the senior officers in the early years of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Officially, Hagana ceased to exist on 31 May 1948, when the IDF was constituted.

**HAGANA BET.** *See* IRGUN (IRGUN TZVAI LEUMI, ETZEL).

**HAICHUD HALEUMI.** *See* NATIONAL UNION (HAICHUD HALEUMI).

**HAIFA.** A major deep-water port city on the Bay of Haifa on the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, it lies on and around Mount Carmel. It is the administrative center of the north of Israel and is an important manufacturing and cultural center. The city is composed of three sections: the lower section, which spreads around the bottom of Mount Carmel, includes port facilities, warehouses, and apartment buildings; the main business district covers most of the mountain slopes; and the upper part of Haifa consists mostly of large houses, apartment buildings, and gardens and parks on top of the mountain.

In 1959, riots in the **Oriental Jewish** (primarily North African) **Wadi Salib** neighborhood in Haifa drew attention to the social and economic challenges facing the **Second Israel**.

Many religious landmarks are located in Haifa, including the **Bahai** Temple, the Monastery of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and Elijah’s Cave. Haifa has two universities—the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology** and **Haifa University**. The city’s **industries** include oil refining and the manufacture of cement, chemicals, electronic equipment, glass, steel, and textiles. Haifa is also a shipping and railroad center.

People lived in what is now the Haifa area about 3,000 years ago. Haifa was a small town until the mid-1850s, when it was first used as a port. By 2015, it had a population of about 272,000, roughly evenly split between

Jews and **Arabs**. The city has been viewed by many as a unique example of peaceful coexistence between Arabs and Jews in Israel. During the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**, Haifa was hit by **Katyusha rockets** and other missiles fired by **Hezbollah**.

**HAIFA UNIVERSITY.** Haifa University was established in 1963 under the joint auspices of the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and the Haifa Municipality. In 1972, it gained academic accreditation as a separate institution from the Council for Higher **Education**. It was located atop Mount Carmel in 1966 and is the educational center for the northern region of Israel. By 2015, it had a student body of over 18,000, including many **Israeli Arabs** and **Druze**; it also has a high proportion of new immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** as well as third- and fourth-generation Israelis from **moshavim** and **kibbutzim**. The university is said to be a microcosm of the diverse city in which it resides.

**HAKIBBUTZ HAARTZI.** Hakibbutz Haartzi came into being as a **settlement** federation in 1927. Its ideological foundations are **Zionism** and socialism. It advocates the combination of settlement with the class struggle and for many years demanded of its members total identification with the **kibbutz** federation's political philosophy, a concept that was termed *collective ideology*. However, in the course of time, the intensity of this collective ideology diminished, and today some members of Hakibbutz Haartzi publicly identify with other **political parties** (noticeably on the left). It was from this kibbutz movement that **Hashomer Hatzair** developed, and this party founded with Sia Bet in 1949 and the **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party)**.

**HAKIBBUTZ HADATI.** The Federation of Religious **Zionist Kibbutzim** in Israel affiliated since its inception in 1934 with the religious Zionist **Mizrachi** movement and the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**. The first religious kibbutz, Tirat Tzevi, was established in 1930 by **German-Jewish** immigrants (*see* ALIYA) affiliated with such religious Zionist youth movements as Hashomer Hadati and **Bnei Akiva**. The movement's founders were motivated by a desire to integrate the labor-socialist principles central to early Zionist initiatives in **Palestine** with Orthodox religious observance. It arose in part as an Orthodox response to the secularist tendencies exhibited by many of the early kibbutzim. Many of its earliest **settlements**, such as the **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)**, were destroyed in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. After the **Six-Day War (1967)**, it moved to immediately reestablish several of them. Elements of the religious kibbutz movement are affiliated with **Gush Emunim**.

**HAKIBBUTZ HAMEUHAD (UNITED KIBBUTZ).** Hakibbutz Hameuhad was founded in 1927 by the association of **Kibbutz En Harod** and other kibbutz **settlements**. Its program was finally crystallized in 1936: establishing a large collective of settlements that could grow even larger and engage in all spheres of **industry**. Each kibbutz was an autonomous unit. This kibbutz federation regards itself as fulfilling the historic mission of the **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor) Party** (founded in 1919) within the **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party) Party** and its heir—the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. Because of differences of opinion on ideological and **political party** matters, Hakibbutz Hameuhad split into two factions in 1951, and Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim was formed. Both are reunited in the United Kibbutz Movement. Between 1944 and 1968, Hakibbutz Hameuhad provided the political base for the Sia Bet faction that split from Mapai in 1944 to form the Ahdut Haavoda Party. It united with Mapai and **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)** to found the Israel Labor Party in 1968.

**HAKUMKUM (“THE KETTLE”).** Israel’s first **Hebrew** satiric **theater**, established in **Palestine** in 1927. It disbanded in the 1930s.

**HALACHA.** Jewish religious law. Debates over the interpretation of *Halacha*, and over the role of **religion** and religious law in the affairs of the modern state, have bedeviled Israelis since before statehood. *See also* LAW OF RETURN (1950); WHO IS A JEW?

**HALEVY, EPHRAIM (1934–).** Ninth director of **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**, 1998–2002. Born in **Great Britain**, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel with his parents in 1948. He graduated in law from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. He joined the **Mossad** in 1961 and served in the agency’s operational unit but spent most of his years in the “Tevel” (**Hebrew** for “universe”) division, which operates as the liaison division charged with the Mossad’s contacts with its counterparts abroad, including those with which Israel has no official ties. In 1990, Halevy was appointed deputy Mossad chief and served for five years until he retired and was then appointed by **Yitzhak Rabin** as his special mediator with **King Hussein of Jordan**. He served as the secret channel between the Israeli **prime minister** and the royal court in Amman prior to the signing of the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty**. Halevy was named head of the Mossad by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in March 1998. He is said to have maintained close and friendly relations with the royal court in Amman and was asked to help mend fences with the monarchy following the aborted **Mashaal Affair** in Amman. In October 2002, Halevy was appointed the second head of Israel’s

National Security Council and an adviser to Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**. In August 2003, he resigned from this position in a dispute with Sharon over the value of the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace** for Israel, and he went to teach at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Halevy is considered a hard-headed pragmatist on Israel’s relations with the **Palestinians**; he believes in an aggressive approach, but at the same time in recognizing the more moderate elements of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** as a partner in the Palestinian government. Halevy believes that **Iran** should be prevented from becoming a nuclear power but fears the regional and international ramifications of an Israeli unilateral attack, including Israel’s relationship with the **United States**: “Never, but NEVER surprise the president of the United States is a dictum I learned very quickly when entering the Mossad in 1961.” He also claimed that “the growing **Haredi** radicalization [of Israeli society] poses a bigger risk than [former firebrand Iranian president Mahmoud] **Ahmadinejad**.” Since 2004, Halevy has served as head of Hebrew University’s Center for Strategic and Policy Studies. He also chairs the Israel national center for Jewish history. In 2005, Halevy was awarded the **Israel Prize** for special contributions to the state. In 2006, he published his memoirs, *Man in the Shadows*.

**HALUTZ (“PIONEER”).** A term used in the **Zionist** Movement and in Israel to designate an individual who devoted himself or herself to the ideals of **settlement** and building up Jewish **Palestine** with physical labor, especially in **agriculture**.

**HALUTZ, DAN (1948– ).** Eighteenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, serving from 2005 to 2007. Born in **Tel Aviv** on 7 August 1948. In 1966, he began his military career in the Israel Air Force (IAF) pilots’ course as a cadet, completing it in 1968 as a fighter pilot and serving from the end of 1969 in the first Phantom squadron of the IAF. Halutz flew forty operational flights during the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)**. Released from the IDF in 1973, he began his academic studies and earned a B.A. in economics but returned to the Phantom squadron with the outbreak of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. In the course of some 43 operational flights, Halutz shot down three enemy aircraft. In 1978, he was again released from the IDF and served as a pilot in the reserves for four years. He returned to active duty in 1982, when he started to fly F-16 aircraft. In 1984, he received the command of the Phantom squadron and in 1986 was chosen as head of the operational unit of the **Lavi** aircraft project.

In 1991, Halutz was appointed commander of the Hazor Air Force Base. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and appointed head of the IAF squadron in 1993. In 1995, Halutz was appointed chief of staff of the



IAF, rising to the rank of major-general in 1998, when he was appointed the first commander of the IDF operations branch. He again served as commander of the IAF from 2000 to 2004, when he was appointed to the position of deputy chief of the IDF general staff. On 1 June 2005, Halutz was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and appointed the eighteenth chief of the IDF general staff. He was the first former air force commander to become chief of staff. He took command with plans for sweeping reforms to upgrade Israeli capabilities against long-range strategic threats as well as against urban **terrorism**. He intended to restructure the ground forces, create new commands, and accelerate a process of modernization.

Accepting the brunt of the criticism for the errors committed by the IDF in its prosecution of the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**, Halutz resigned of his own free will as chief of staff on 17 January 2007. Currently he serves as chairman of Etgarim: Israel Association for the Disabled. In August 2013 he became chairman of the Israel Basketball Association. *See also* WINOGRAD COMMITTEE.

**HAMAHANOT HAOLIM (IMMIGRANTS' CAMPS).** Israeli youth movement founded in 1927 by pupils of Herzliya High School in **Tel Aviv**. Based on socialist **Zionist** ideology, it worked to indoctrinate the youth of the **Yishuv**, especially the new immigrant (*see* ALIYA) youth, toward the principles of *halutziyut* (pioneering); **settlement** on the land—especially the **kibbutz**; equality and cooperation; the value of labor; and mutual aid. A key component of the movement's philosophy was the concept of *shnat sherut*, whereby members dedicated part of the last year of their high school studies to group activities, often volunteering at **Nahal** units establishing new **kibbutzim** or other settlements in Israel's hinterlands. In 1930, the movement joined with the Scouts Legion from **Jerusalem**, **Petah Tikva**, and **Haifa**, and it became affiliated in 1931 with the Kibbutz Hameuhad (United Kibbutz) Movement within the framework of the **Histadrut**. In 1956, the movement united with the Dror (Freedom) youth movement and adopted the name Dror Hamahanot Haolim. In 1980–1981, it affiliated with Ihud Habonim to form Habonim-Dror as a result of the creation of Hakatam (United Kibbutz Movement). It then resumed the use of its original name.

**HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA).** Palestinian militant Islamist movement founded in the **Gaza Strip** in December 1987; also known as the Islamic Resistance Movement. Its name means literally “zeal” or “enthusiasm” in Arabic. An offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood in **Egypt**, Hamas arose shortly after the outbreak of the first Palestinian **intifa-**

**da.** The Hamas Charter—the Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement—was published on 18 August 1988. Its declared goal is the destruction of Israel and its replacement with a Palestinian Islamic State.

**Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Yassin** was Hamas' founder, spiritual leader, and bearer of ultimate political authority. He was arrested by Israel in May 1989 and sentenced to life imprisonment on **terrorism** charges. Yassin was released by Israel and permitted to return to the Gaza Strip following the failed **Mossad** attempted assassination of Hamas senior political activist **Khaled Mashaal** in Amman, **Jordan**, in September 1997. Yassin was killed by the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** in a **targeted assassination** on 22 March 2004. His successor, **Abdel Aziz Rantisi**, was killed in a similar manner one month later, on 14 April 2004.

Its charter commits Hamas to the destruction of Israel and to raising the “banner of Allah over every inch of **Palestine**.” By implication, then, Hamas is opposed not only to Israel but also to Palestinian secular nationalist forces, namely the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and **Fatah**. After the signing of the **Oslo Accords** in 1993, Hamas' dual goal was to undermine the peace process and to replace Fatah as the leadership of the **Palestinians** in the **West Bank** and Gaza Strip. While it used terrorism to achieve the former goal, Hamas worked to build up its own stature among the Palestinian people through the creation of a sophisticated network of mosques, schools, hospitals, and other social-welfare agencies that provided free or subsidized services to the poorest segments of Palestinian society that were chronically underserved by the Fatah-dominated **Palestinian Authority (PA)**. Hamas' efforts in this area—as well as its reputation for honesty, in contrast to the many Fatah senior officials accused of corruption—help to explain the broad popularity it summoned to defeat Fatah in the **Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)** elections held on 5 January 2006.

The first recorded Hamas terrorist **suicide bombing** against Israel took place in April 1993. It is believed to be responsible for more than 500 deaths in 350 separate terrorist attacks since 1993. Hamas curtailed major terrorist activities in 2005 after agreeing to an intra-Palestinian temporary period of calm (*tahadiya*) brokered by PA president **Mahmoud Abbas** in February 2005. Despite Hamas' general adherence to the calm, it maintained its military capabilities and launched **Qassam missiles** from the Gaza Strip against Israeli targets, both before and after the implementation of Israel's summer 2005 **unilateral disengagement plan**.

Hamas surprised most pundits by winning the majority of votes in the PLC elections that occurred on 25 January 2006, taking 74 of 132 seats compared to 45 for the incumbent Fatah. Since the election, the significant increase in the number of Qassam missiles being fired at **Sderot** and other Israeli population centers in the **Negev** and southern Israel were attributed to other Palestinian terror groups in order to give the Hamas-led PA a measure of deniability.

ity. Nevertheless, virtually all international donors cut off direct financial assistance to the PA until Hamas unambiguously agreed to the conditions set by the Middle East **Quartet**: the end to violence, recognition of Israel, and acceptance of previous agreements with Israel, including the Quartet **Roadmap for Peace**.

Those hoping that ascension to political power—and the accountability that comes with it—would force Hamas to moderate its extremist agenda were no doubt disappointed by PA prime minister **Ismail 'Abd Al-Salaam Ahmad Haniya**'s failure to meet the Quartet's conditions and especially by his government's management of the crisis ensuing from the attack by Hamas activists on an IDF post at **Kerem Shalom** on 25 June 2006 in which several Israeli soldiers were killed and another, **Gilad Shalit**, was taken hostage. Israel launched a major military action in Gaza (**Operation Summer Rain**) in pursuit of Shalit and his captors and held Hamas, as the de facto authority in Gaza, responsible for the safety of its kidnapped soldier.

Speculation that the terrorist operation was ordered by Hamas' political head Khaled Mashaal in Damascus without Haniya's prior knowledge, combined with Haniya's refusal to take steps either to rein in those responsible for the attack or assist in the search for the kidnapped Israeli soldier, reinforced the Israeli (and international) image of Hamas as a terrorist organization operating in irresponsible ways contrary to the long-term national interests of the Palestinian people.

Israel rejected the results of the 8 February 2007 Saudi-brokered agreement that ostensibly brought the two rival Palestinian factions, Hamas and Fatah, into a Palestinian unity government. From Israel's perspective, the fundamental question of Hamas' refusal to commit to ending anti-Israel terrorism or recognizing—unconditionally—Israel's right to exist in peace had not been addressed in the agreement. Israel considered Hamas' military defeat of Fatah in the Gaza Strip in June 2007 an internal Palestinian issue.

Hamas smuggled Iranian- and Syrian-supplied weapons and infiltrated terrorists through sophisticated networks of **tunnels** connecting Egyptian **Sinai** to the Gaza Strip; tunnels were also used to infiltrate terrorists from Gaza into Israel. Indiscriminate rocket and Qassam missile fire from Gaza attributed to Hamas toward Israeli civilian population centers contributed to major confrontations with the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, including **Operation Cast Lead (2008–2009)**, **Operation Pillar of Defense (2012)**, and **Operation Protective Edge (2014)**. There have also been numerous border skirmishes. Hamas also took credit for a series of terrorist attacks in **Jerusalem** in late 2014 and early 2015. *See also* **TERRORISM 2015**.

On 23 April 2014 Hamas and rival **Fatah** agreed to form a Palestinian unity government. Israel responded to Hamas' participation in the new Palestinian government by temporarily freezing diplomatic relations with the PA, saying it was irrational for Israel to discuss peace with a government that

included members of an organization committed—in word and deed—to Israel’s destruction. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** reiterated Israel’s position that Hamas was welcome to join the negotiations once it met the conditions set by the Quartet and most of the international community: an end to violence; recognition of Israel; and acceptance of previous agreements with Israel.

As Hamas remains committed to its charter’s call for the destruction of Israel, there are said to be differences between Khaled Mashaal, the organization’s overall leader, based in Qatar, and Ismail Haniya and the Gaza-based Hamas leadership over the idea of a long-term truce (*hudna*) with Israel; there were reports in summer 2015 of secret talks between Israelis and some Hamas officials in this regard. Analysts speculated that the Gaza-based Hamas leadership was feeling increasingly isolated and insecure, having lost the military cover provided by the deposed Muslim Brotherhood–affiliated government in Egypt as well as a reduction in the financial support and weapons supplied by Iran in a dispute over Hamas’ support for the rebel side in the Syrian civil war. Hamas also is said to be facing an increasingly strong challenge for control in Gaza from radical Sunni Islamist groups affiliated with the Islamic State (IS) or al-Qaeda.

**HAMATATEH (“THE BROOM”).** Hebrew satiric theater company, established in **Palestine** in 1928. It ceased to function in the 1930s.

**HAMERCAZ.** See CENTER PARTY.

**HAMIZRACH LESHALOM.** See EAST FOR PEACE (HAMIZRACH LESHALOM).

**HAMMER, ZEVULUN (1936–1998).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 31 May 1936 in **Haifa**, he received a B.A. in **education** and Jewish studies from **Bar Ilan University** in 1964 and graduated from the National Defense College. A founder of the **Bnei Akiva** youth movement, **Gush Emunim**, and the *Hesder* yeshiva system (which combines military service with Orthodox religious studies), Hammer was a strong proponent of religious **Zionism**. First elected on behalf of the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumi–MAFDAL)** to the Seventh **Knesset** in October 1969 and reelected to subsequent Knessets, Hammer was a member of the Defense and Foreign Affairs and Education and Culture committees of the Knesset. Hammer served as minister of welfare from 1975 to 1976 and became minister of education and culture in June 1977 to 1984. He was minister of **religious affairs** from October 1986 to December 1988 and again became minister of religious affairs in the government established in

December 1988. In June 1990, he assumed the portfolio of minister of education and culture. He served as minister of education, culture, and **sport** and deputy **prime minister** from 1996 until his death on 20 January 1998. He was respected as one of the wildest and most pragmatic of Israeli politicians. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**HANEGBI, YITZHAK “TZACHI” (1957– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in **Jerusalem** on 20 February 1957 and educated at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, he is the son of former **Tehiya** Knesset member **Geula Cohen**. He managed the **Likud (Union) Party** election campaign in 1984 and served as adviser to the foreign minister (1984–1986) and director of the **Prime Minister’s** Office (1986–1988). He was a Likud member of the Knesset beginning in 1988. He served as minister of **health** from June to November 1996 and was named minister of justice in November 1996, a position he held until July 1999. In 1997, he began serving as chairman of the Likud Party’s central committee. Reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) and Sixteenth Knesset (2003), he served as minister of public security until 6 September 2004, when he was demoted to minister without portfolio due to a personal financial scandal. The scandal seemingly behind him, Hanegbi was appointed minister of Jerusalem affairs on 4 May 2005. He left Likud and joined **Ariel Sharon’s Kadima (Forward) Party** in late 2005 and was returned in the 2006 Knesset election on the Kadima list. In the Seventeenth Knesset (2006–2009), he chaired the influential Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Placed fourth on the Kadima list, he retained his seat in the 2009 Knesset election. However, he resigned his Knesset seat upon the conclusion of his four-year trial on charges of fraud, breach of trust, and election bribery. He was cleared of all charges but was found guilty of perjury. On 9 November 2010, Hanegbi was fined for his actions and in a split-decision the court added moral turpitude to the offense. Two days later Hanegbi suspended himself from the Knesset. He quit Kadima and resumed his membership in the Likud Party to protest Kadima’s July 2012 withdrawal from **Benjamin Netanyahu’s** coalition government. Reelected on the Likud list to the Nineteenth Knesset (2013), he served as deputy minister of foreign affairs as of 2 June 2014; beginning on 24 December 2014, he served also as deputy minister of health. Reelected in the 2015 Knesset election he resumed his position as chair of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.

**HANIYA (HANIYEH), ISMAIL 'ABD AL-SALAAM AHMAD (ABU AL-'ABD).** Senior **Hamas** leader. Born in 1962 in the al-Shati refugee camp in the **Gaza Strip**, he headed Hamas’ “Change and Reform” Party that won the **Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)** election that occurred on 25 January 2006, taking 74 of 132 seats compared to 45 for the incumbent

**Fatah.** Haniya formally became prime minister of the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) when the composition and program of his Hamas-dominated government was ratified by the PLC on 29 March 2006. From the outset, Haniya's ability to govern was tested from various quarters. These included Hamas' political leader, **Khaled Mashaal**, based in Damascus; PA president **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen); elements of rival Fatah that refused to recognize the legitimacy of Hamas' electoral victory; and militant cells of Haniya's own Hamas movement that were unwilling to abide by the centralized discipline through which Hamas—as an accountable governmental institution—now had to operate. Also undermining Haniya's effectiveness was the severe economic deprivation in the Palestinian areas, especially the **Gaza Strip**, resulting largely from Hamas' refusal to meet the conditions established by the Middle East **Quartet** to permit the continued direct transfer of developmental funds to the Hamas-led PA: an unambiguous end to violence, recognition of Israel, and acceptance of previous agreements with Israel, including the **Roadmap for Peace**. *See also* TERRORISM.

**HANOAR HADATI HAOVED VEHALOMED.** Literally, “Working and Studying Religious Youth”; an Israeli youth movement founded in 1952 by members of **Bnei Akiva** who recognized the need to provide a framework of **education** and social assistance for religious working youth in Israel. Members studied at vocational yeshivas and other religious vocational institutions. In addition, the movement provided assistance to alienated religious youth as well as youth-leader training in Israel's outlying **development towns**.

**HAOLAM (THE WORLD).** **Hebrew-language** weekly newspaper; official organ of the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)**. It was a translation of *Die Welt*, the first **German-language** organ of the WZO. Established in 1907 in Cologne, Germany, *Haolam* was published and edited in that city by its founder, Nahum Sokolow, until 1909. Beginning in 1923, it was edited by Moshe Kleinman. It moved to **Jerusalem** in 1936 and ceased publication in 1949.

**HAOLAM HAZEH.** A **political party** founded in 1965 that focused on peace as the supreme aim and called for negotiations for a peace settlement between Israel and the Palestinian Arab state that should arise in the land of Israel—*see* ERETZ ISRAEL (ERETZ YISRAEL). It also called for free state welfare services for all of Israel's citizens. It won one seat in the **Knesset** elected in 1965 and two seats in the Knesset elected in 1969. *See also* PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).

**HAPOEL HAMIZRAHI (WORKERS OF THE SPIRITUAL CENTER).** *See* MIZRACHI.

**HAPOEL HATZAIR (THE YOUNG WORKER).** A Zionist socialist political party established in 1905 by east European pioneers (*halutzim*) in Palestine. In general, it sought to distinguish itself from the other socialist groups, especially **Poalei Zion**. It established **Degania**—the first **kibbutz**. In 1930, it joined with **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** to found **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**. Strongly committed to the idea that labor was a prerequisite for the realization of Zionist aspirations in Palestine, it also advocated the exclusive employment of Jewish labor (in Hebrew, *Avoda Ivri*). It was a founding institution of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** in 1920.

**HAR HOMA.** Known to **Arabs** as **Jebel Abu-Ghneim**, the area is about 1 mile north of **Bethlehem** on the southern outskirts of **Jerusalem**. It is located between **Kibbutz** Ramat Rahel and the Arab neighborhood of Beit Shaur, just beyond the **Green Line**. A rocky promontory, it was a largely uninhabited hilltop in an increasingly dense urban landscape. At 2,500 feet above sea level and 3,900 feet above **Dead Sea** level, the site offers commanding vistas of Jerusalem's old city and of the **Judean** desert. Good new roads make it a 10-minute drive to Jerusalem's main shopping districts.

Israeli proposals to build residential communities at Har Homa predate the **Oslo Accords**, though the plans had been deferred by the governments of **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Shimon Peres** for fear of upsetting the diplomatic process. The project required the appropriation of land from both Jewish and Arab landowners. Israel's **Supreme Court** upheld the government's right to appropriate this land in order to meet the housing needs of the public at large. After the initial groundbreaking for the project in March 1997, the **Palestinian Authority (PA)** angrily broke off peace talks, beginning an impasse that lasted until the negotiations at the **Wye River** Plantation in October 1998. The **United Nations** adopted resolutions of condemnation against Israel regarding the project, and under Arab pressure the General Assembly used the Har Homa controversy as a pretext to call upon the government of Switzerland to convene an unprecedented meeting of the high contracting parties to the fourth Geneva Convention to discuss ways of forcing Israel to apply the convention in the **Occupied Territories** and in Jerusalem.

**Palestinians** viewed the Har Homa project as part of an Israeli plan to encircle Arab sections of Jerusalem and to erect physical barriers between the city and areas of the **West Bank** transferred to Palestinian control under the Oslo process and in any future peace agreement. Along with other neighborhoods of Jerusalem, such as Ramot, Talpiot, and Gilo, Har Homa contributes

to a ring of Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem. There were preliminary discussions within the Israeli government about the construction of additional residential housing units at Har Homa around the time of U.S. president **George W. Bush**’s visit to Israel and the Palestinian Authority areas in January 2008. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**HARARI, MICHAEL “MICKEY” (1927–2014).** Senior operative of **Mossad (Hamossad LeModiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)** responsible for commanding Israel’s retaliation after the **Munich Massacre**. Born in **Tel Aviv** on 18 February 1927, he lied about his age to join the **Palmah** at age 16. He was sent to France in 1946 to coordinate illegal immigration (**Aliya Bet**) of survivors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** to **Palestine**. After the proclamation of Israel’s statehood, Harari established security protocols at Lod (subsequently renamed, Ben-Gurion) Airport and, later, at Israeli embassies around the world. In 1954 he was appointed commander of Mossad’s human intelligence services. In 1970 he became head of Mossad’s special operation’s division and established within it a unit that among other things specialized in **targeted assassinations**.

Harari commanded Operation Wrath of God targeting **Black September** and **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** terrorists responsible for the Munich Massacre (1972). His unit gathered intelligence enabling the April 1973 Spring of Youth operation in Beirut, **Lebanon**, against senior PLO operatives tied to Munich. In addition, information gathered by Harari’s unit was instrumental in the conduct of **Operation Entebbe** (1976). The one significant blemish on Harari’s Mossad career was the 1973 assassination in Lillehammer, Norway, of a man misidentified as a senior PLO commander believed to be involved in the Munich massacre. Harari’s resignation over the incident was rejected by Prime Minister **Golda Meir**, but it reportedly blocked his rise to Mossad’s directorship.

In 1980, after 37 years of service, Harari retired from Mossad. However, he remained close to the agency and in 2007 received a medal for a special project he had undertaken, purportedly related to **Iran**’s nuclear weapons program. The details of that project, like those regarding many of the operations “Mickey” Harari undertook during his long career of espionage, remain shrouded in secrecy. Harari died on 21 September 2014 at 87.

**HAREDI (“GOD FEARING”; PL. HAREDIM).** The term usually used to describe the ultra-Orthodox Jewish **religious** community in Israel, whose political interests are represented, in most cases, by such **political parties** as **Agudat Israel (Association for Israel)**, **Degel Hatorah**, **United Torah Judaism**, and **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)**. While this community is generally non-**Zionist** in political orientation—believing that the full national



renewal of the Jewish people must await the arrival of the Messiah—most Haredim have come to terms with Zionism and have, to one degree or another, become integrated with modern Israeli society. Only a small, extreme element of the Haredi community, represented by such marginal groups as the **Neturei Karta**, actually pursue a policy of noncontact with Israeli society and can be described as anti-Zionist. This small population rejects the notion of an Israeli polity and views the use of the **Hebrew language** in the state of Israel as blasphemous because it is the “language of God.” Demographically, the Haredim (along with the “modern Orthodox”) are among the fastest growing segments of the Jewish Israeli population.

**HAREL, ISSER (FORMERLY HALPERIN) (1912–2003).** A founder of Israel’s **intelligence services**. He was born in Russia and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1931, and was one of the original founders of **Kibbutz Shfaim**. He was active in the **Hagana** and during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** he headed the Hagana’s Information Service (SHAI) and was a member of the National Command. In 1952, he was appointed head of the **Mossad (Mossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**, the central intelligence and security service of Israel. During his service in this post, he commanded the special operation to capture the Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann**. In 1963, he resigned his post over a disagreement with Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** on the question of **German** scientists in **Egypt**. In 1965, he was appointed as an intelligence consultant to Prime Minister **Levi Eshkol**, but he resigned this post after a short tenure. Harel joined Ben-Gurion’s newly created **National List** prior to the 1969 election and was one of four candidates from the party to be elected to the Seventh **Knesset**. He failed to win reelection to the Eighth Knesset in 1973 and spent the remainder of his life writing books relating to the security and intelligence of Israel. By far, his most famous work was *The House on Garibaldi Street*, which chronicled the 15-year investigation that culminated in the Mossad’s capture of Eichmann in **Argentina** in 1960. Harel died on 18 February 2003 at age 91.

**HARMAN, AVRAHAM (1915–1992).** Diplomat. Born in London, the son of a rabbi, he earned a law degree from Wadham College, Oxford. He moved to **Jerusalem** in 1938 and held various positions with the **Jewish Agency for Palestine**. When Israel became independent, he was named deputy director of the government information office. He held various diplomatic posts in Canada, at the **United Nations**, and in New York City. He served as director of the Jewish Agency’s information department before being sent to Washington to replace **Abba Eban** as Israel’s ambassador to the **United States**,

where he served from 1959 to 1968. He served from 1968 to 1983 as president of **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and as its chancellor until his death in Jerusalem on 23 February 1992.

**HASHOMER HATZAIR.** Literally, “the young guard”; the oldest of the **Zionist** youth movements in Israel and abroad. Its mandate remains to instill in its members national values, Zionist awareness, and socialist ideals, as well as to prepare them for **kibbutz** life. **Hakibbutz Haartz** is its affiliate.

**HASIDIM (“THE PIOUS”).** A religious movement founded by Israel Baal Shem Tov around 1735. He was not a rabbi but journeyed widely as an itinerant preacher and proclaimed a philosophy of faith, love, and joy. His preaching was both widely acclaimed and condemned. The Vilna Gaon excommunicated him. His philosophy spread throughout Eastern Europe, where most Jews were concentrated at that time, and had a revolutionary effect on Jewish life. It also generated strong opponents (the *Mitnagdim*). *Hasidim* are still a vital aspect of contemporary Judaism, and numerous Hasidic dynasties of prominent rabbis continue to have large groups of followers in Israel and abroad. *See also* HAREDI (“GOD FEARING”; PL. HAREDIM).

**HATANUA HAMEUHEDET (HATENUA HAKLALIT SHEL HANOAR HALOMED HALUTZI BEERETZ YISRAEL).** General movement of Student Pioneering Youth in the Land of Israel—*see* ERETZ ISRAEL (ERETZ YISRAEL); Israeli youth movement founded late in 1945 through the merger of **Gordonia**-Maccabi Hatzair with a minority faction from Mahanaot Haolim, which had left that movement several months earlier following the split in **Mapai (Mifleget Hapoel Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**. It was linked ideologically to Mapai and indoctrinated its members to become adherents to the principles of labor **Zionism** and *halutziyut* (pioneering). Its emblem featured three ears of corn, a sickle, and the Shield of David surrounded by olive leaves. Graduates in the prestate period were the backbone of the **Palmah** and received both **agricultural** and military training in its camps and **kibbutzim**. After Israel’s establishment, they comprised the core of the **Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)**’s **Nahal** paramilitary units that established and defended many of the country’s isolated **settlements** and **kibbutzim**. In May 1959, the movement united with Hanoar Haoved; the combined movement adopted the name Hahistadrut Hakelalit Shel Hanoar Haoved Vehalomed Haivri BeYisrael, the General Federation of the **Hebrew** Working and Student Youth in Israel. It remains part of the country’s active kibbutz movement.

**HATIKVA (THE HOPE).** Anthem of the **Zionist** Movement adopted at the first Zionist Congress in 1897 and the national anthem of the state of Israel. It expresses the hope and yearning of the Jew for the return to **Zion**. It was written by the Jewish poet Naftali Herz Imber and first published in **Jerusalem** in 1886:

As long as the Jewish spirit is yearning deep in the heart,  
With eyes turned toward the East, looking toward Zion,  
Then our hope—the two-thousand year-old hope—will not be lost:  
To be a free people in our land,  
The land of Zion and Jerusalem.

**HATNUA (THE MOVEMENT).** Liberal-centrist political party formed by former **Kadima (Forward)** Party leader and foreign minister **Tzipi Livni** in late 2012 to contest the January 2013 **Knesset** election. It was formed from the remnants of the liberal-centrist **Hetz Party**—a splinter from **Shinui**—that failed to pass the threshold for entering the **Knesset** in 2006. Following months of speculation, Livni announced Hatnua’s establishment on 27 November 2012, describing it as a “liberal, secular, and democratic party.” It distinguished itself from the other liberal-centrist parties contesting the 2013 **Knesset** election, including **Labor** and **Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)**, by having its platform focus almost exclusively on the need for a peace settlement with the **Palestinians** and a **two-state solution**. It won six seats in the 22 January 2013 **Knesset** election and joined the **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition **government** headed by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, with two ministerial posts. The party left the government on 2 December 2014 when Livni was fired by Netanyahu. On 10 December 2014 Livni announced an agreement for Hatnua to contest the election on the **Zionist Union** joint center-left ticket with the Israel Labor Party. The combined list won 24 seats in the election of the Twentieth **Knesset**, compared to the 30 mandates taken by Netanyahu’s **Likud Party**.

**HATNUA HAKIBBUTZIT HAMEUHEDET.** See UNITED KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT (HATNUA HAKIBBUTZIT HAMEUHEDET).

**HATZOFEH (“THE OBSERVER”).** **Hebrew-language** daily newspaper published in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** and representing an Orthodox religious perspective. Founded in 1937 by Rabbi Meir Bar Ilan, it was affiliated with the **Mizrachi** Movement and served as the organ of the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** and Israel’s national religious community. It ceased publication in December 2008 after 71 years of operation.

**HAUSNER, GIDEON M. (1915–1990).** Chief prosecutor at the trial of **Adolf Eichmann**. Born in Lvov, Galicia, on 26 September 1915, he was brought to **Palestine** in 1927 and graduated from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** in 1940 and from the **Jerusalem** Law School in 1941. He was in private law practice from 1946 to 1960. From 1960 to 1963, Hausner served as **attorney general** of the state of Israel and in that capacity served as the chief prosecutor at the trial of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann**. He was elected to the **Knesset** on the **Independent Liberal Party (HaLiberalim Haatzmaim)** ticket in 1965 and served until 1977. He wrote about his experiences during the Eichmann trial in *Justice in Jerusalem*. Hausner died on 15 November 1990.

**HAWK MISSILE.** An antiaircraft missile that was the first significant weapon system sold by the **United States** to Israel in 1962.

**HAYERUKIM.** See ISRAEL GREEN PARTY (HAYERUKIM).

**HAZAN, YA'ACOV (1899–1992).** Left-wing **Zionist** activist, **Israel Prize** recipient. Born in Brest Litovsk, Russia, on 4 June 1899, and educated in Warsaw at the Technological Institute. He immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1923 as a member of **Hashomer Hatzair** and participated in construction work in the Jezreel Valley. Beginning in 1925, he coordinated the Hashomer Hatzair leadership and traveled abroad on its behalf. In 1927, he participated in the founding of the movement's second **kibbutz**, Mishmar Haemek, and of the Kibbutz Artzi Movement. He was second to **Meir Ya'ari** in the Kibbutz Artzi leadership and subsequently in the **political parties** to which the movement belonged. With the formation of **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party)** in 1948, he became one of the leaders of the left-wing Zionist Party and initially called for close relations between Israel and the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**. In subsequent years, however, he became disillusioned with Moscow and was involved in expelling more hardline pro-Soviet elements from Hashomer Hatzair. He was very active in the 1954 split of Mapam, which marked the beginning of the Hashomer Hatzair leadership's disenchantment with the dream of a left-wing labor movement as an alternative to **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**. After the Mapam split, and even more so in the 1960s, he strove to facilitate improved cooperation between the labor movement and the **Alignment (Maarach)**. For his contribution to the state, Hazan was awarded the Israel Prize in 1989. He died on 22 July 1992.

**HAZAZ, HAIM (1898–1973).** **Hebrew-language** novelist and playwright. He was born on 16 September 1898 in Ukraine. After receiving a traditional **education**, he wandered throughout Russia during World War I and much of the Russian Revolution. He fled from Crimea to Istanbul, **Turkey** in 1921, and later lived in Paris before immigrating (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1932. His early writings in Palestine focused on the confused world of immigrants and pioneers (*halutzim*) in the renewed Jewish homeland. During the 1940s and 1950s, Hazaz turned his attention to the status of Palestine's Yemenite Jews, including the tension between their traditional ways and the secular mores of modern Israel. His last novel, *Bekolar Ehad (In the Same Gallows)*, examined the world of the Jewish underground groups in the period leading up to the end of **British Mandate**. Hazaz died on 24 March 1973 in **Jerusalem**.

**HAZIT DEMOKRATIT LESHALOM ULESHIVYON (HADASH).** *See* DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY (HADASH).

**HEALTH.** **Palestine** at the beginning of the 20th century was a backward area with substantial diseases, including malaria and numerous other ailments, as well as high infant mortality rates and other indicators of poor medical circumstances. Contemporary Israel's situation is quite different. When the state was established in 1948, the **government** created a ministry of health to serve as an administrative organ to supervise the functioning of the existing health organizations and to deal with the needs of the new state. Numerous health care–related organizations have been created. These include voluntary organizations, such as the **Kupat Holim**, the **Hadassah** Medical Organization, the **Magen David Adom**, and various other groups.

The basis of Israel's health care system was developed during the **British Mandate** by the British authorities as well as by Jewish organizations in Palestine and in the **Diaspora**. The tradition of health care provision antedates the founding of the state and in some instances even the **Zionist** Movement. Jewish clinics established in **Jerusalem** in the 19th century provided services to all citizens of the city regardless of **religion**, and some have evolved into modern hospitals, such as Bikur Holim and Shaare Zedek. In 1913, Hadassah sent two trained nurses to work in Jerusalem; from this small beginning, there eventually evolved the massive Hadassah–**Hebrew University of Jerusalem** Medical Center with its attendant hospitals, clinics, and schools of medicine. Kupat Holim, Israel's first health insurance arrangement was established by the **Histadrut** soon after the latter's founding in 1920 to provide health care for its members. Thus, by the time Israel became independent, there was a substantial health services infrastructure.

The post-independence wave of new immigrants (*see* ALIYA) that included survivors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** from Europe as well as substantial immigration from developing countries brought with them health problems that challenged the existing system to meet the needs and to expand to provide services that were new and different from those prior to that time. From that starting point, Israel has created a modern health care system that rivals many of those in the most developed states, and Israel's achievements in the health field are among the most impressive in the world.

There are more than 60 general and specialized hospitals in Israel in addition to a highly developed network of community-oriented primary care clinics throughout the country operated by the ministry of health, private health care providers ("sick funds"), or municipalities. In 2015, Israel was ranked as the sixth-healthiest country in the world, with a "health grade" of 89.45 percent based on such indicators as life expectancy, immunization rates and smoking rates among young people. There are some 26,000 physicians in Israel, 40 percent of whom are women and many of whom are salaried employees of hospitals and sick funds. The ratio of physicians to 1,000 persons is about 3.3 percent, one of the highest levels in the world. Life expectancy in Israel is 81.8 years, again among the best in the world. One of the factors contributing to the high numbers of physicians is the absorption and integration of the recent mass immigration (*see* ALIYA) from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**.

Israel has five medical schools, each affiliated with a major university. In addition to medical schools, there are two schools of dentistry in addition to medical training centers, two schools of pharmacology, and some 20 nursing schools.

Even though health insurance was not mandatory in Israel until 1995, 96 percent of the population was insured through one of the private sick funds that had evolved in the early years of statehood. However, by the early 1990s it was recognized that the national health care system was in dire need of financial restructuring and modernization. The exponential increase in medical procedures, combined with the addition of close to one million new immigrants from the former Soviet Union and **Ethiopia** beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, accelerated the budgetary crisis confronting Israel's health care system. On 1 January 1995, the National Health Insurance Law went into effect. The law made health insurance coverage mandatory for all citizens and permanent residents and sought to establish a more equitable partnership between the state, employers, and private sick funds in the provision of health insurance coverage.

**HEBREW LANGUAGE.** The official language of the state of Israel, Hebrew, is a Semitic language in which most of the Bible, the Mishna, parts of the Talmud, and much of rabbinic and secular Jewish literature are written. It

is written from right to left. Until the Babylonian exile (in 586 BC), Hebrew was the sole language of the Jews. After the exile, Aramaic came into widespread use, although some Hebrew was still utilized. Both the Babylonian and **Jerusalem** Talmuds are written in Aramaic rather than Hebrew. In countries of the **Diaspora**, the Jewish communities adopted local languages and substantially limited their use of Hebrew as a language of communication, although it remained a language of Jewish literature and prayer. As the language of the Bible and prayer, it was considered the sacred tongue. When the first pioneers (*halutzim*) came to **Palestine** in the 1880s, it seemed natural to use Hebrew as the vernacular language.

The revival of the Hebrew language was closely associated with the work of **Eliezer Ben-Yehuda**, who arrived in Palestine in 1881 and sought to promote the use of Hebrew as a spoken language. There was opposition from skeptics, who felt that the language was not rich enough to deal with contemporary matters and from the ultrareligious who objected to the use of the sacred tongue for practical, everyday concerns. There was a vocabulary gap as a consequence of centuries of limited use. Ben-Yehuda founded the Vaad Halashon Haivrit (Hebrew Language Council) in 1890 for the purpose of coining and creating new Hebrew words for modern usage. After the independence of Israel, this body became the Akademiya Lalashon Haivrit (the Hebrew Language Academy). Hebrew made great strides among the pioneers who arrived in Palestine prior to 1948 and was well entrenched by the time of Israel's independence and the influx in Israel of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants (*see* ALIYA) in the late 1940s and early 1950s, who would have to learn Hebrew to become integrated with the society of the new state.

**HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM.** A prominent institution of higher learning located in **Jerusalem** with a student body by 2015 of over 23,500. Hebrew University was formally opened on 1 April 1925, on **Mount Scopus** and remained there until the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, when it became an enclave in **Jordanian**-held territory. The main focus of university life then was transferred to a new campus at Givat Ram. After Israel recaptured the surrounding areas and restored the Mount Scopus campus to the university during the **Six-Day War (1967)**, the university embarked on an ambitious scheme to dramatically increase its activities on the Mount Scopus campus. In 1981, Mount Scopus again became the main campus.

Hebrew University's Jewish National and University Library is the national library of the Jewish people and the state of Israel. It was founded as a world center for the preservation of the literature of Jewish thought and culture in 1892, and it has grown to become the world's largest collection of

Judaica and Hebraica. **Judah Magnes** was instrumental in the creation of the university, serving as its first president. **Chaim Weizmann**, Albert Einstein, and Sigmund Freud were among the members of the first board of governors.

Hebrew University is consistently ranked among the world's top academic institutions, with eight of its faculty or affiliated faculty as **Nobel Prize** recipients. *See also* EDUCATION.

**HEBRON (HEVRON)**. Sometimes referred to as **Kiryat Arba**; a town southwest of **Jerusalem** in the hills of **Judea**. It is one of the oldest cities in the world and played an important part in the ancient history of the Jewish people. It was the residence of the Jewish patriarchs and served as King **David**'s capital before he conquered Jerusalem. According to Jewish tradition, **Abraham**, **Isaac**, and **Jacob** and their wives (Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah) are buried in Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs (Machpela). The traditional site of the cave, over which a mosque was erected, is one of the most sacred of Jewish shrines. King David first ascended the throne there.

The Arabs call it Al Halil. The meaning of the name *Al Halil* is "the friend" or "lover," the nickname given to Abraham, considered a holy man in Islam who lived and was buried in Hebron. His full nickname, Al Halil Al Rachman, means "the lover of the God." In Isaiah's prophesy, God calls Abraham "my friend" (Isaiah 41:8), and in the Book of Second Chronicles, he is called "Abraham, God's friend" (2 Chronicles 20:7). In the Koran, it is written "saintly Abraham, whom Allah himself chose to be his friend [in Arabic: Ibrahim Hallilian]" (Koran 4, Women 125). The Jewish legend finds in the name Hebron a combination of the two words *Haver-Naeh*, meaning "a nice company" or "friend," which alludes to Abraham because it was said, "a nice friend—that is Abraham" (Genesis 4:13).

Hebron was a town of uninterrupted Jewish presence from ancient times until August 1929, when 67 Jewish seminary (yeshiva) students were killed and some sixty others were wounded in Arab riots. Between Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and the **Six-Day War (1967)**, when Israel captured the city, Israelis had no access to the city or the Cave of the Patriarchs. After the Six-Day War, Israelis flocked to Hebron's religious sites, and it became a central focus of activity for **Gush Emunim**. The 450 or so followers of the late **Rabbi Moshe Levinger**, situated in a series of buildings in Hebron, along with the residents of the nearby **settlement** of Kiryat Arba, are among the strongest opponents of territorial concessions to the **Palestinians**. Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs (Ibrahim Mosque) was the site of the massacre of 29 Arab worshippers by **Baruch Goldstein** in February 1994 (*see* HEBRON MASSACRE). In January 1997, Israel and the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** concluded an agreement to transfer control of 80



percent of Hebron to Palestinian authority, with the **Israel Defense Forces** remaining in the other 20 percent to protect the city's Jewish population. *See also* TOMB OF THE PATRIARCHS.

**HEBRON MASSACRE.** On 29 February, 1994, Dr. **Baruch Goldstein**, a resident of the **settlement** of **Kiryat Arba** and follower of **Rabbi Meir Kahane** and his **KACH** movement, opened fire with an assault rifle on Arab worshipers in **Hebron's** Cave of the Patriarchs (known to Muslims as the Ibrahim Mosque), killing 29 and wounding more than 100 others. Goldstein was killed by survivors of the attack. It was one of the bloodiest single days in the **Occupied Territories** since the **Six-Day War (1967)**. The attack was immediately condemned by the government of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and all parties in the **Knesset**. A **commission of inquiry** headed by the president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel, Justice **Meir Shamgar**, concluded on 26 June 1994 that Goldstein had acted alone in committing this “base and murderous” massacre (*see* SHAMGAR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY). The attack, which was condemned by the **United Nations** Security Council, caused a brief disruption in autonomy negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and led to the imposition of a **Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH)** composed of unarmed European observers.

**HERLITZ, ESTHER (1921– ).** Diplomat; member of **Knesset**; feminist. Born in Berlin, **Germany**, on 9 October 1921 into a committed **Zionist** family, she benefited from a secular education and was tutored in **Hebrew** from an early age. In 1933 she and her family immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine**. In World War II she enlisted in the British Army and gained expertise in among other things intelligence gathering and analysis valuable to the **Hagana** in the struggle against local Arabs in Palestine and the broader Arab world. In 1947 Herlitz was among the 25 candidates (of several hundred applicants) accepted into a new school for diplomats established by the **Jewish Agency**. In March 1948 she was appointed deputy commander of the women's corps in **Jerusalem's** besieged Jewish Quarter—*see* WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1948–1949). In the summer of 1948 Israel's first foreign minister **Moshe Sharett** had Herlitz seconded to the ministry of foreign affairs, and in September 1949 she was appointed a member of the Israel delegation to the **United Nations** in New York City. In 1950 she was moved to the Israel Embassy in Washington, D.C., where she gained valuable experience from senior staff including **Chaim Herzog** and **Teddy Kollek** as well as Ambassador **Abba Eban**. In 1954 she moved on to the Israel consulate in New York City. During a leave of absence from the foreign ministry (1958–1962), Herlitz established and headed the international department of

**Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party).** In 1962 Herlitz returned to the foreign ministry and in 1966 she became the first woman after **Golda Meir** to be appointed an Israeli ambassador, serving in Denmark between 1966 and 1971. In 1974, she was elected to the Eighth **Knesset** on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list and was reelected to the Ninth Knesset in 1977. She was the first woman to serve on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Herlitz was a member of the Prime Minister’s Committee on the Status of Women established by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** in 1975 and chaired by **Ora Namir**, and she was part of the broad-based women’s caucus in the Knesset in the late 1970s and early 1980s that drove the formulation and passage of legislation affecting the interests of women and the elderly in Israel. Herlitz was awarded the **Israel Prize** for lifetime achievement on **Yom Haatzmaut (Independence Day)** 2015.

**HERUT HAHADASHA.** *See* NEW HERUT (HERUT HAHADASHA).

**HERUT PARTY (TENUAT HAHERUT–FREEDOM MOVEMENT).** A political party founded by the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) in June 1948 after the independence of Israel and the dissolution of the Irgun as an underground fighting force. Herut is descended from the **Revisionist Zionism** of **Vladimir Ze’ev Jabotinsky**. The Revisionists advocated militant ultranationalistic action as the means to achieve Jewish statehood. Revisionism called for the creation of a Jewish state in “**Greater Israel**” (i.e., all **Palestine** and **Jordan**), rapid mass immigration (*see* ALIYA) of Jews into Palestine, formation of a free-enterprise **economy**, rapid industrialization—as opposed to agricultural **settlements**—to increase employment opportunities, a ban on strikes, and a strong army. **Betar**, the Revisionist youth movement, was founded by Jabotinsky in 1920 and continues as the Herut youth wing.

**Menachem Begin** founded the Irgun and established Herut as its political arm to advocate the Revisionist program within the new political context of the state of Israel. Herut’s basic political orientation has changed little over the years. It advocates the “inalienable” right of Jews to settle anywhere in Israel, in its historic entirety, including **Judea and Samaria** (the **West Bank**). Herut advocates the unification of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)** within its historic boundaries and favors a national economy based on private initiative and free market competition. Other policies include a minimum of economic controls, a restructured free-enterprise system to attract capital investment, and prohibition of the right to strike.

In 1965, Herut combined with the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)** to form **Gahal**. In 1973, Gahal and several small parties combined to form the **Likud (Union) Party**. Within Herut and Likud, Menachem Begin was

the primary force from Israel's independence until his retirement in 1983. He was regarded by many as a heroic figure because of his role as a leader of the Irgun underground in the Israeli struggle for independence. Upon Begin's retirement, **Yitzhak Shamir** became party leader and **prime minister**, although he was challenged within Herut, especially by **David Levy** and **Ariel Sharon**. Shamir retired from party politics after the 1992 election and was replaced as Likud leader by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Netanyahu resigned as party leader on 17 May 1999 following his defeat in the direct election for prime minister; he was succeeded on 2 September 1999 by Sharon. Upon Sharon's departure in 2005, Netanyahu was again elected to lead Herut and Likud and has remained leader. The activities of Herut have been integrated into the Likud Party.

**HERZL, THEODOR (1860–1904).** The founder of modern political **Zionism**, Herzl was the driving force in the creation of the political ideology and the worldwide movement that led to the establishment of Israel. Born in Pest, Hungary, on 1 May 1860, he was an assimilated Jew who later moved from Hungary to Austria. He studied law but became involved in literature and wrote short stories and plays. He worked as the Paris correspondent of the Viennese daily newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* from 1891 to 1895. Growing **anti-Semitism in France** contributed to Herzl's interest in the Jewish problem. As a journalist, he observed the trial of **Alfred Dreyfus** and was affected by the false accusations leveled against the French Jewish army officer and by the episodes of anti-Semitism that accompanied the trial and the disgrace of Dreyfus.

Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), published in Vienna in 1896, in which he assessed the situation and problems of the Jews and proposed a practical plan for the establishment of a Jewish state for resolution of the **Jewish Question**. Herzl argued: "Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves." Subsequently, Herzl traveled widely to publicize and gain support for his ideas. He found backing among the masses of east European Jewry and opposition among the leadership and wealthier segments of the western Jewish communities.

On 23 August 1897, in Basle, Switzerland, Herzl convened the first World Zionist Congress representing Jewish communities and organizations throughout the world. The congress established the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)** and founded an effective, modern, political, Jewish national movement with the goal, enunciated in the **Basle Program**, the original official program of the WZO: "Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in **Palestine** secured under public law." Zionism rejected other solutions to the Jewish Question and was the response to centuries of discrimination, persecution, and oppression. It sought redemption through self-

determination. Herzl died in Austria on 3 July 1904 and was buried in Vienna. In August 1949, his remains were reinterred on **Mount Herzl** in **Jerusalem**.

**HERZLIYA HIGH SCHOOL (GYMNASIA HERZLIYA)**. First Hebrew high school in **Palestine**. It was founded in Jaffa (Yafo) in 1905 for the purpose of providing a Jewish and secular **education** using Hebrew as the language of instruction. It was originally called the Gymnasia Ivrit of Jaffa and later renamed for **Theodor Herzl**. It helped to educate generations of Jewish youth. An office building, Shalom Meir Tower, was controversially built atop this school in 1965.

**HERZOG, CHAIM (HAIM) (1918–1997)**. Israel's sixth **president** (1983–1988). Born in Belfast, Ireland, on 17 September 1918, he was the son of Rabbi **Isaac Halevi Herzog**, who later became the first chief rabbi (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL) of the state of Israel. He received an **education** in Ireland and at the University of London, Cambridge, and **Hebron** Yeshiva in **Jerusalem**. He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1935. During World War II, he served in the British army and became head of **intelligence** in the northern zone of **Germany**. During Israel's **War of Independence** in 1948, Herzog served as an officer in the battle for **Latrun**. He was **director of military intelligence** from 1948 to 1950 and 1959 to 1962. He served as military attaché in Washington from 1950 to 1954 and then became the commanding chief of the Jerusalem district from 1954 to 1957. He was chief of staff of the southern command from 1957 to 1959. After retiring from the army in 1962, he directed an industrial investment company. Beginning in 1967 with the **Six-Day War**, Herzog was the leading military commentator for Israel Broadcasting Services (**Kol Israel**). He was the first military commander of the **West Bank** after the Six-Day War. He served as Israel's representative at the **United Nations** from 1975 to 1978; his 10 November 1975 repudiation in the General Assembly of the infamous "**Zionism is Racism**" resolution is considered one of the most articulate defenses of **Zionism** and the right of the Jewish people to statehood. Herzog was elected to the Tenth **Knesset** in 1981 on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list. In 1983, he was elected president of Israel and was reelected in 1988. He died on 17 April 1997. *See also* UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379.

**HERZOG, ISAAC HALEVI (1888–1959)**. Chief rabbi (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL) of **Palestine** and Israel (1936–1959). He was born in Lomza, Russian Poland, on 3 December 1888, and educated in England, where he was ordained and attained a doctorate from the University of Lon-

don. He served as a rabbi in Belfast and became chief rabbi of the Irish Free State in 1925. He was chosen chief rabbi of Palestine in 1936. His son **Chaim Herzog** became a significant figure in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) and was elected **president** of Israel, while his younger son **Ya’acov (Jacob David) Herzog** became an important figure in Israel’s **foreign policy** and political establishment. He died on 25 July 1959 in **Jerusalem**.

**HERZOG, YA’ACOV (JACOB) DAVID (1921–1972)**. Israeli diplomat, lawyer, political adviser. Second son of the first chief rabbi (*see* RABBI-NATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL) of Israel, **Isaac Halevi Herzog** and the brother of the country’s sixth **president, Chaim Herzog**. Ya’acov David Herzog was born on 21 December 1921 in Dublin, Ireland, and settled in **Mandate Palestine** in 1939. He was a member of the **Hagana clandestine intelligence services** (SHAI) during the years of the mandate. His education included rabbinic ordination, a law degree from the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, and a doctorate in international law from the University of Ottawa. In 1949, Herzog joined Israel’s foreign ministry and headed the **Jerusalem** and Christian Affairs Department, later heading the North America Division. He served as personal adviser to Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** during the **Sinai War (1956)**. While serving as Israel’s ambassador to Canada (1960–1963), Herzog famously debated Israel’s legitimacy as a Jewish state with British scholar Arnold Toynbee at Montreal’s McGill University. He is acknowledged as the principal architect and implementer of Israel’s early diplomatic relations with the Catholic Church and the **Vatican**. His reputation as a Talmudic scholar led to his being offered the position of chief rabbi of **Great Britain** and the Commonwealth, a position which he declined. From 1965 until his premature death, Herzog served as director general of the Prime Minister’s Office under **Levi Eshkol** and **Golda Meir**. As their key adviser on **foreign policy** issues, he was the first senior Israeli official to secretly meet **Jordan’s King Hussein** in 1963 and to establish a secret diplomatic channel, mainly in London, England, that ultimately culminated in the 1994 **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty**. Herzog died in **Jerusalem** on 9 March 1972.

**HERZOG, YITZHAK (OR ISAAC) “BUJI” OR “BOUGIE” (1960– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. First elected on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list in the 2003 Knesset election and appointed minister of housing and construction on 10 January 2005. Scion of one of Israel’s most influential political families, the son of **Chaim Herzog** and grandson of **Rabbi Isaac Halevi Herzog**. He was slotted second on the Labor Party list for the 2006 Knesset election and appointed minister of **tourism** in the **Kadima (Forward)** Party–led coalition formed by **Ehud**

**Olmert** on 4 May 2006. He served in that portfolio until 21 March 2007 when he was appointed social affairs minister as well as minister of the **Diaspora**, society, and the fight against **anti-Semitism**. He again sat second on Labor's list for the 2009 Knesset election and was appointed minister of welfare and social services in **Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud (Union) Party**-led coalition **government**. He resigned from the **cabinet** after **Ehud Barak** left Labor to establish the **Atzmaut (Independence)** faction in January 2011. In September 2011, Herzog was an unsuccessful candidate for the Labor Party leadership, finishing third behind **Amir Peretz** and **Shelly Yachimovich**. He subsequently defeated Yachimovich in the Labor leadership primary held on 22 November 2013 by a margin of 58.5 percent to 41.5 percent. One of Herzog's earliest priorities as leader was to reassert Labor's credibility on **foreign policy** and security affairs, issues that had been largely ignored under Yachimovich's tenure in favor of the socioeconomic agenda that had failed to attract votes to Labor in the 2013 Knesset election.

On 10 December 2014 Herzog and **Hatnua (The Movement)** leader **Tzipi Livni** announced an agreement to contest the March 2015 Knesset election under **The Zionist Union** joint banner. The Labor-Hatnua alliance took 24 seats in the 2015 Knesset election, compared to the 30 seats won by Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud Party. As opposition leader in the Twentieth Knesset, Herzog publicly endorsed Netanyahu's position on the July 2015 international nuclear agreement with **Iran** to provide almost across-the-board Israeli political opposition to the deal.

**HESS, MOSES (1812–1875)**. Early **Zionist** thinker. Born in Bonn, **Germany**, on 21 January 1812, Hess was one of the first to try to integrate two powerful ideological and political forces—socialism and Zionism. His book, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Last National Problem*, published in 1862, was a reaction to both 19th-century European nationalism and blatant **anti-Semitism**. It helped lay the intellectual foundations for **Theodor Herzl** and other early proponents of modern political Zionism. Hess died in Paris on 6 April 1875.

**HEVRAT OVDIM**. The cooperative association of all members of the **Histadrut** organized in 1923. It served as the ultimate legislative, supervisory, and managerial authority for all of the Histadrut's economic enterprises, as well as their official legal framework. These enterprises are independent, with Hevrat Ovdim supervising management, authorizing plans, and overseeing operations.

**HEZBOLLAH (HIZBALLAH).** A radical Shia Muslim group formed in 1983, it is also known as the Party of God, as well as by several other names, including Islamic Jihad; Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of **Palestine**; **Palestinian Islamic Jihad**; Revolutionary Justice Organization; and Organization of the Oppressed on Earth. Sponsored, funded, trained, and inspired by **Iran**, Hezbollah is ideologically committed to the destruction of Israel and the **United States**, and the elimination of all Western influences from the Islamic Middle East. Its military wing, the Islamic Resistance (al-Muqawama al-Islamiya), is directly or indirectly linked to the deaths of hundreds of Americans and other Western soldiers in **terrorist suicide bombings** in **Lebanon** in the 1980s. It kidnapped and murdered U.S. Marine colonel William R. Higgins and the CIA station chief in Beirut, William Buckley, and kidnapped around 30 other Westerners in Lebanon between 1982 and 1992. Internationally, Hezbollah was responsible for the bombings of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, **Argentina**, in March 1992 and Buenos Aires' **AMIA** Jewish community center in July 1994.

Hezbollah's founding secretary general, Abbas al-Mussawi, was killed in a **targeted assassination** by Israel on 16 February 1992. Since 1992, the Majlis al-Shura (Consultative Council), Hezbollah's highest governing body, has been led by Hassan Nasrallah. Hezbollah's leading intellectual figure and spiritual guide has been Sheikh Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, a prominent, Beirut-based Shiite cleric with strong ties to revolutionary Iran.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Hezbollah engaged in a terrorist war of attrition against Israel's presence in Lebanon. Following the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) redeployment in 1985, this war of attrition primarily focused on IDF soldiers remaining in the south Lebanon **security zone** as well as members of the Israel-backed **South Lebanese Army (SLA; The Free Lebanon Militia; The Army of Free Lebanon)**. Hezbollah also periodically launched **Katyusha rockets** on Israeli population centers in the northern **Galilee** region. In April 1986, Israel launched **Operation Grapes of Wrath** to push Hezbollah's Katyushas out of firing range and to pressure the Lebanese government to impose its central authority over the area north of the border region where Hezbollah was operating with impunity.

On 24 May 2000, Israel withdrew unilaterally from the security zone to the internationally recognized border with Lebanon. The pullout was certified by the **United Nations** as complete and in full accordance with Israel's obligations under **United Nations Security Council Resolution 425**. Hezbollah rejected this on the pretext that the **Sheba (Sheba'a) Farms** area belongs to Lebanon.

On 7 October 2000, Hezbollah guerrillas crossed the internationally recognized border with Israel and kidnapped three IDF soldiers. The remains of the three soldiers were returned, along with a kidnapped Israeli civilian, in a January 2004 prisoner exchange with Hezbollah. Hezbollah continued to

launch periodic attacks against Israeli military personnel and fire missiles at population centers in northern Israel from bases in southern Lebanon. Despite its ties to Syria, Hezbollah won seats in Lebanon's parliament in elections held in the spring of 2005 and became part of the country's new coalition government. In the subsequent decade, Hezbollah's Shia allies came to dominate major elements of Lebanon's political system. Analysts suggest that Hezbollah's popularity among the Lebanese people has dropped significantly due to the renewal of violence among Lebanon's sectarian communities caused by Hezbollah's deepening involvement in the civil war in Syria in support of the unpopular Bashir Assad regime. Additionally, Hezbollah's constant warmongering toward Israel is viewed as inconsistent with the desire of increasingly large numbers of Lebanese for economic prosperity and regional stability.

On 12 July 2006, Hezbollah attacked IDF positions on Israel's side of the internationally recognized border, killing eight Israeli soldiers and taking two others hostage. Hezbollah simultaneously fired waves of Katyusha rockets on population centers in northern Israel, including **Haifa**. Hezbollah's attacks prompted an aggressive military response from Israel, code-named **Operation Changing Direction**. While it was able to launch long-range missiles that fell deep inside Israel and could claim a "victory" by withstanding the overwhelming IDF air and ground assault on southern Lebanon, Hezbollah emerged from the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** severely weakened. Much of its command and communication structure had been destroyed, along with most of its weapons depots and missile launchers. Its fighters no longer controlled the border region with Israel, having been displaced by the Lebanese army backed by a UN peacekeeping force—**United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**—operating under a strengthened mandate provided by **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701** (14 August 2006). Efforts to uphold the resolution's embargo on arms shipments from Iran and Syria to Hezbollah and other Lebanese militias made it highly unlikely that Hezbollah would be able to constitute the military threat to Israelis that it had prior to the war. Beginning in 2012–2013, Israel initiated a series of strikes against convoys transporting sophisticated Syrian-, Iranian-, and Russian-supplied weapons through Syria to Hezbollah bases in Lebanon in explicit violation Security Council Resolution 1701. These strikes were initiated in support of Israel's declared "red line" of denying the transfer weapons to Hezbollah that would disrupt the deterrence relationship established across the Israel-Lebanon border following the Second Lebanon War. Concerns among Israeli security officials about Hezbollah's preparations for renewed hostilities with Israel, marked by belligerent threats from leader Hassan Nasrallah and reports of the organization's acquisition of up to 160,000 missiles (as of May 2016) and reported efforts to build tunnels under



the border with Israel, are to some extent offset by the significant losses Hezbollah is continuing to suffer from its misadventure in the Syrian civil war.

**HIBBAT ZION MOVEMENT.** *See* HOVEVE ZION (LOVERS OF ZION).

**HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.** *See* SUPREME COURT.

**HILLEL, SHLOMO (1923– ).** Diplomat, member of **Knesset**, Knesset speaker, **government** minister. Born in Baghdad, **Iraq**, the youngest of 11 children of a merchant. In 1933, Hillel went to **Palestine** and studied at the **Herzliya High School** in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. He was one of the founders of **Kibbutz** Maagen Michael. In 1946, he returned to Iraq to help organize the emigration of Iraqi Jews and was active in the illegal immigration (*see* ALIYA BET) from Arab countries to pre-independence Israel. Following Israel’s independence, he was involved in the arrangements for the emigration in the early 1950s of virtually all of Iraq’s Jewish community. He became a **Mapai (Mifleget Poaeli Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** member of the **Knesset** but resigned in 1959. He joined the Israeli diplomatic corps and served as Israel’s ambassador to a number of French-speaking African countries and in 1963 became head of the African division of the foreign ministry. First elected to the Knesset on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list in 1974, he was reelected on the **Alignment/Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list in all elections through to the Twelfth Knesset (1988). He became minister of police in December 1969 and served as minister of the interior and police from 1974 to 1977. In 1984, he was elected speaker of the Eleventh Knesset, and was reelected in the 1988 Knesset election. After leaving the Knesset in 1992, Hillel was appointed the chairman of the world board of the **United Israel Appeal (UIA)**. In 1993 he was appointed president of the Society for the Preservation of Israel Heritage Sites (SPIHS), a position that he continues to hold. In 1998, Shlomo Hillel was awarded the **Israel Prize** for special contributions to the society and the state. His experiences in helping to bring the Jews of Iraq to Israel were described in his book, *Operation Babylon*.

“**HILLTOP YOUTH**”. Term commonly applied to small, loosely affiliated groups of religious or secular ultranationalist young **West Bank settlers**, some of whom have been implicated by Israeli internal security officials in vigilante **price-tag attacks** targeting **Palestinians**, Islamic mosques, Christian churches, and the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**.

The term “hilltop youth” derives from the practice of establishing unauthorized and illegal settlement outposts on isolated high grounds beyond the boundaries of existing West Bank **settlements** and often overlooking—and meant to intimidate—local Palestinian farmers and villagers.

The movement’s origin was rooted to the IDF’s March 2003 dismantling of “Hilltop 26,” an illegal outpost adjacent to **Kiryat Arba**. One of the founders of this illegal outpost was Netanel Ozeri, a **KACH** and **Kahane Chai** follower. Ozeri was a popular teacher who inspired his young students to adopt a militant, messianic approach to **Zionism** premised on a literal *return* to **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**. Despite his death in a **terrorist** attack, Ozeri inspired West Bank settler youth, particularly those who had reportedly experienced social dislocation due to their failure to establish careers as religious scholars in West Bank rabbinical seminaries or as officers in the IDF. Many of those young people found an outlet for their frustration through rejection of authority; wild, violent behavior; and acts of vandalism. Many of them relocated to isolated settlement outposts in the West Bank and thus became the core of the so-called hilltop youth.

Accusing the mainstream **Yesha** settlement leadership of having lost their ideological way, they chose to withdraw to their makeshift homes in the outposts, many raising large families and seeking to lead self-sufficient lives. Many also have been involved in organizing active resistance to IDF efforts to impose court-ordered demolitions of settlement outposts. They also have taken actions meant to intimidate local Palestinian communities. According to Israel’s **Shin Bet (Shabak)** internal security agency, members of hilltop youth communities are prime suspects in vigilante attacks against Palestinians in the West Bank and in Arab neighborhoods of East **Jerusalem**.

Shin Bet officials believe that those actively engaged in price-tag attacks constitute a small proportion of the overall population of the hilltop youth community (which is estimated at no more than 1,000). At the same time, Israeli security officials acknowledge the extreme problem in identifying suspects because the very close insularity of hilltop youth communities make it difficult to penetrate them and recruit informants.

**HISTADRUT (GENERAL FEDERATION OF LABOR).** The General Federation of Labor in Israel was founded in **Haifa** in December 1920 as a federation of Jewish labor (*HaHistadrut Haklalit Shel Ha’ovdim Ha’ivrim Be’eretz Yisrael*). In 1966, the term *Ha’ivrim* was dropped from the organization’s name, thus admitting **Arabs in Israel** to full membership. The purpose was to unite and organize all workers, to raise their standard of living, and to defend their economic interests, as well as to represent their interests in other areas. It remains the country’s biggest employer, with approximately 650,000 Israeli workers or one-third of Israel’s workforce as direct members

and another 200,000 as affiliate members. In addition, the Histadrut controls the Hapoel **sports** organization, the Na'amat **women's** organization, and the biggest **health** insurance fund, **Kupat Holim**.

The Histadrut provides a wide range of services to its members. It cooperates with the government in numerous areas related to domestic and **foreign policy** and carries out many functions that are normally government activities in other modern states. Many of its leaders have served in major government posts (including that of **prime minister**) before and after working in Histadrut. Its decision-making bodies are organized along partisan political lines, and the organization as a whole has long been closely aligned with the leaders and policies of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**.

The Histadrut's constitution states, "The General Federation unites all workers in the land, as long as they live by their own toil without exploitation of another's labor, for the arrangement of all **settlement** and economic matters as well as cultural affairs of workers in the land, for the upbuilding of a Jewish workers' commonwealth in **Eretz Israel**." The founding convention also established a workers' bank (now known as Bank Hapoalim), Israel's largest. The Histadrut evolved into a major institution in the **Yishuv** and the state of Israel.

The Histadrut has a number of constituent bodies. The general convention is the supreme authority of the Histadrut and its legislature. Its decisions bind all members and all units of the organization. It is elected once every four years in general, direct, secret, and proportional elections. The convention chooses the council (Moetzet HaHistadrut), whose composition is based on and reflects the political makeup of the convention. The Histadrut council is the supreme institution of the Histadrut between conventions. The Histadrut executive is the governing executive body. It is chosen by the council in keeping with the party makeup of the Histadrut convention. It chooses the central committee and the secretary general. The Histadrut central committee is its cabinet. It is chosen by the executive and formally serves as its secretariat, conducting the day-to-day operations of the labor federation. It is composed only of members of the ruling coalition. The Histadrut secretary general is chair of the executive and the council and is extremely powerful.

The overall power and influence of the Histadrut declined due in large measure to efforts in the 1990s to breakup and privatize giant consortiums, efforts that pitted the Histadrut against **Israel Labor Party, Kadima** and **Likud Party** governments alike.

Though somewhat weakened by this trend as well as by significant changes and political divisions within the organization itself, the Histadrut remains very much a force to be reckoned with in Israeli economic, social, and political affairs. In the spring of 1999, Histadrut chairman (and former Labor member of the **Knesset**) **Amir Peretz** established a separate workers'

**political party, One People (Am Echad)** that won two seats in the 1999 Knesset election and three seats in the 2003 election. Am Echad decided to reunite with Labor in May 2004, and in November 2005, Am Echad and Histadrut leader Peretz was elected head of the **Israel Labor Party**.

Since its inception, there have been 14 secretaries general of the Histadrut: **David Ben-Gurion** (1921–1935), David Remez (1935–1945), Yosef Sprinzak (1945–1949), **Pinhas Lavon** (1945–1950, 1955–1961), Mordechai Namir (1951–1955), Aharon Becker (1961–1969), **Yitzhak Ben-Aharon** (1969–1973), Yeruham Meshel (1973–1984), **Israel Kessar** (1984–1992), **Haim Haberfeld** (1992–1994), **Haim Ramon** (1994–1995), Amir Peretz (1995–2006), and Ofer Ayani (2006–2014). Avi Nissankoren was chosen to succeed Ayani as secretary general of the Histadrut in May 2014.

**HITKANSUT**. Literally, “convergence,” “engagement,” “pulling-in,” or “ingathering”; the **Hebrew** term used by **Kadima (Forward)** Party leader **Ehud Olmert** in the 2006 **Knesset** election campaign to describe his plan for the future of Jewish **settlements** in the **West Bank**.

**HITNATKUT**. *See* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT).

**HOFI, YITZHAK (1927–2014)**. War hero and fifth director of **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**, serving from 1973 to 1982. Born in **Tel Aviv**, on 25 January 1927, he fought with the **Palmah** in Israel’s **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and then served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** for close to three decades. Beginning as a paratrooper, he rose to the rank of major general, serving as director of operations in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and head of the northern command during the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. Hofi’s prescience in the fall of 1973 in calling for reinforcements for the northern command, giving time for reserves to arrive after Syria’s surprise attack on Yom Kippur, enabled the IDF to stabilize the northern front and ultimately reverse the Syrian advance. In April 1974 Hofi was named acting IDF chief of staff, after the incumbent chief of staff, **David Elazar**, resigned upon publication of the **Agranat Commission** report. When the permanent appointment went to another candidate Hofi resigned from the IDF. Later that year Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** offered Hofi the job of director of Mossad, a position he held for eight years. Under his command Mossad supported **Operation Entebbe** and the **Osirak** air strike in **Iraq**. It also continued the pursuit and **targeted assassination** of **Black September** operatives complicit in the **Munich Massacre**. The relationship Hofi forged with Moroccan officials, including King Hassan II, laid the

groundwork for secret talks involving senior **Egyptian** officials and the then Israeli foreign minister **Moshe Dayan** that culminated in the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1979)**. Hofi died on 15 September 2014 in **Ramat Gan**.

**HOLOCAUST (THE SHOAH)**. Its origins were in **Germany** in January 1933, when the Nazis took power. It ended with the surrender of Nazi Germany at the end of World War II in May 1945. The period of Nazi control of Germany saw increasingly repressive actions against Jews in the territories under Nazi Germany's control—an ever-expanding area as Adolf Hitler's military successes conquered more and more countries and their populations. Under Nazi Germany, millions of European Jews lived in agony and fear and some six million were tortured and killed. This was part of a systematic attempt to exterminate the Jewish people. After World War II, large portions of the remaining Jewish populations immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel. Israel remembers the Holocaust each year on the 27th day of Nisan of the Jewish calendar—known as **Yom Ha'Shoah**. The Holocaust continues to have a major effect on Israel's collective psychology and on virtually every aspect of Israeli politics and security and **foreign policy**. *See also* EICHMANN, ADOLF (1906–1962).

**HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY**. On 1 November 2005, the **United Nations** General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by Israel and designated 27 January as **Holocaust** Remembrance Day. The resolution rejects Holocaust denial and encourages countries to develop educational programs about the horrors of genocide. It also condemns religious intolerance, incitement, harassment, and violence based on ethnic origin or religious belief.

**HOLYLAND REAL ESTATE SCANDAL**. A real estate scam, described as Israel's largest corruption scandal; it brought down several public figures including former prime minister **Ehud Olmert**. Olmert was convicted of taking bribes from real estate developers when he was mayor of **Jerusalem** between 1993 and 2003. He was sentenced to six years in prison and fined one million shekels (\$290,000).

**HOROWITZ, DAVID (1899–1979)**. First **Bank of Israel** governor (1954–1971). Born at Drogobych near Lvov in the Ukraine and educated at Lvov and Vienna, Horowitz, immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1920. He became a member of the executive committee of the **Histadrut** in 1923 but also worked with a number of enterprises, served on government committees, and became director of the economic department of the **Jewish Agency**. After Israel's independence, Horowitz became director general of

the ministry of finance. In 1954, he became governor of the **Bank of Israel**, a position that he held until 1971. He was responsible for the stability of Israel's **currency** at home and abroad and for the management of the public debt, among other functions.

**HOVEVE ZION (LOVERS OF ZION).** A movement that was established in 1882, as a direct reaction to the widespread **pogroms** in Russia (especially Odessa) in 1881, for the purpose of encouraging Jewish **settlement in Palestine** and achieving a Jewish national revival there. The founders concluded that the way to save the Jewish people was to return to **Zion** and rebuild the land. They generally favored practical **Zionist** settlement in **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**. The members of the Hibbat Zion Movement joined farm villages or established new ones (such as **Rishon LeZion**, Zichron Yaakov, and Rosh Pina) in conformity with their view that immigration (*see* ALIYA) and settlement in Palestine would alleviate the problems confronting the Jewish communities in Europe.

**HULEH VALLEY.** A region in the upper and eastern portion of **Galilee**, bounding the **Golan Heights**. Swamps were formed around Lake Huleh and were the cause of malarial conditions, leading to high mortality rates and low living standards. Although earlier plans existed, Israel launched a major effort to drain the swamps beginning in 1951. By 1958, the project was concluded and successful: fertile land in the valley was reclaimed, water was made available for irrigation, and the threat of malaria was eliminated.

**HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM.** *See* BASIC LAW: HUMAN DIGNITY AND LIBERTY.

**HURVITZ, YIGAEEL (1918–1994).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Nahalat Yehuda, Hurvitz originally worked in **agriculture** but became an industrialist. He was first elected to the Seventh **Knesset** in October 1969 on the **State List** and was reelected subsequently. He later served as chairman of the **La'am** faction of the **Likud (Union) Party**. He became minister of **industry**, commerce, and **tourism** in 1977 but resigned in September 1978. He replaced **Simha Ehrlich** as minister of finance in November 1979. He advocated tough economic policies; promoted austerity; and sought sharp cuts in subsidies, a reduction in civil service employment, some wage freezes, and other measures to reduce government expenditure. Under his stewardship, Israel's **currency** was converted, with the pound replaced by the shekel (a term drawn from the Bible), worth 10 Israeli pounds. Hurvitz later resigned his position, left Likud, and was elected to the Knesset in 1981 on **Moshe Dayan's Telem** Party list. In 1984, he entered the

Knesset as the leader of the **Ometz (Courage to Cure the Economy)** list. He served as minister without portfolio in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984. Hurvitz was elected to the Knesset on the Likud list in 1988. He retired from the Knesset in 1992 and died on 10 January 1994.

**HUSSEIN, KING OF JORDAN (KING HUSSEIN, HUSSEIN IBN TALAL) (1935–1999).** Born in Amman, **Jordan**, on 14 November 1935, he witnessed the assassination of his grandfather, King Abdullah I, at **Jerusalem's Al-Aksa Mosque** on 21 July 1951. His father, Talal, ruled Jordan for only a brief period due to mental illness before Hussein was proclaimed monarch on 11 August 1952. He continued to rule until his death. On the eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Hussein rejected an Israeli offer to maintain the status quo in Jerusalem and the **West Bank** if Jordan agreed not to join the Arab military alliance confronting Israel. During the war, Jordan lost control over these territories, although Israel permitted a degree of Jordanian influence to remain.

In many years of secret contacts with Israelis, Hussein always reflected a pragmatism that contributed to the popularity of the “**Jordan Option**,” especially among elements of the **Israel Labor Party (Miflegat Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. Although he formally renounced Jordanian claims to the West Bank on 31 July 1988, Hussein remained actively engaged in diplomatic consultations about its final disposition and that of Jerusalem's old city. On 14 September 1993, Israel and Jordan initialed a common agenda for future negotiations; the issuing of the **Washington Declaration** on 25 July 1994 marked the completion of this agenda.

Hussein described the signing of the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty** on 26 October 1994 and the warm personal relationship that he cultivated with Israel's **Yitzhak Rabin** as highlights of his personal life. He offered a moving tribute to Rabin at the latter's November 1995 funeral. He took the remarkable step of making personal condolence calls on the families of Israeli school girls killed by a deranged Jordanian soldier in March 1997. Hussein interrupted his treatment for cancer to participate in the crucial final stages of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations that culminated with the **Wye River Memorandum** of 23 October 1998. He died on 7 February 1999 and was succeeded by his eldest son, **King Abdullah II**, who continued his father's pragmatic approach toward relations with Israel.







**IHUD (UNITY).** A Jewish group in **Palestine** during the **British Mandate** that advocated an **Arab-Jewish** binational state in Palestine. **Judah Magnes** believed that a determined effort should be made to avert a direct clash between Arabs and Jews. Along with others, such as theologian and philosopher **Martin Buber**, he helped to form in 1942 a group called Ihud. It advocated a binational solution to the problem of Palestine and argued for that view before the **United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP)**. After the establishment of Israel, Ihud (and Magnes) argued for the establishment of a confederation in the Middle East that would include Israel and Arab states. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**IHUD HAKVUTZOT VEKIBBUTZIM.** Founded in 1951 by the merger of Hever Hakvutzot with a group of **kibbutzim** that broke away from **Hakibbutz Hameuhad**. It provides economic, organizational, and social services to the kibbutzim of Oved Hatzioni and **Poalei Agudat Israel (Workers of the Association of Israel)**. Its members generally identify with the basic principles of the **Israel Labor Party (Miflegat Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**IMMIGRATION.** *See* ALIYA.

**INDEPENDENCE, DECLARATION OF.** *See* DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

**INDEPENDENCE DAY (YOM HA'ATZMAUT).** The day on which Israelis commemorate the anniversary of the state's founding. It is preceded a day earlier by **Yom Ha'Zikaron** (*see* MEMORIAL DAY), when the entire country stops to "remember" the more than 23,320 soldiers and civilians who have given their lives in defense of the land of Israel or as the result of **terrorism** since the start of organized Jewish **settlement** in the 1880s. While Jewish Israelis treat Independence Day as a celebration, most **Arab citizens of Israel** mark it as a day for mourning the *nakba* ("disaster") associated with

Israel's creation. Independence Day is celebrated annually on 14 May. On the Jewish calendar, it is commemorated on the sixth day of the month of Iyar.

**INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (SCHABAS COMMISSION).** **United Nations** Human Rights Council (UNHRC) commission initially headed by human rights law professor **William Schabas** mandated to investigate alleged violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law in Israel's 2014 conflict with **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in the **Gaza Strip**. The Israeli government refused to cooperate with the inquiry in part because of the UNHRC's long-standing anti-Israel bias. Another contributing factor was commission head Schabas's highly prejudicial opinions concerning Israel and Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**. The commission heard testimony, including that from residents of Israeli civilian communities in the **Negev** and southern Israel who were deliberately targeted by Hamas missile attacks prior to the **War in Gaza (2014)**. However, the proceedings were sidetracked by a controversy surrounding Schabas, who resigned as head of the investigation on 3 February 2015. Netanyahu said that the report that Schabas was working on should be discarded. He also said that the controversy was an indictment of the anti-Israel bias that permeates the UN Human Rights Council, "the same body that only in 2014 passed more resolutions against Israel than against **Iran, Syria** and North Korea combined . . . Hamas, other terrorist organizations and the terror regimes around us are the ones who need to be investigated, and not Israel." American judge Mary McGowan Davis was appointed to replace Schabas as head of the 2014 Gaza war investigation. Her own credibility was said to have been adversely affected by her involvement with the discredited 2009 **Goldstone Report**.

The commission issued its report on 22 June 2015. While acknowledging that both sides may have committed war crimes, it explicitly accused Israel of deliberately targeting civilian population centers in the Gaza Strip, among other "excessive" acts of violence. Israel rejected the report as "politically motivated and morally flawed from the outset." Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had the support of most Israelis in declaring, "Israel doesn't commit war crimes, but defends itself from a terrorist organization which calls for its destruction." The IDF activated its own investigative processes and indicted individual soldiers for specific actions beyond the rules of engagement and international law. On 3 July 2015, the UN Human Rights Council by a vote of 41 for and 1 against (the **United States**), with five abstentions, approved a resolution welcoming the report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Gaza Conflict.

**INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY (HALIBERALIM HAATZ-MAIM).** A **political party** formed in 1965 by members of the Progressive faction in the **Liberal Party**. The Liberal Party split when the majority decided to join with the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** to form **Gahal**. Those who were concerned with the apparent rightward shift formed the new party. It contested **Knesset** elections beginning in 1965 and joined in the **governments** led by the **Alignment (Maarach)** until 1977, when they lost their last Knesset seat. They later joined the Alignment.

**INDIA.** India recognized Israel on 18 September 1950 but established full diplomatic relations only on 29 January 1992. Israel had opened a consulate in Bombay in the early 1950s but its functions and jurisdiction were extremely limited. **Ezer Weizman** became the first Israeli **president** to visit India in 1996. Since the early 1990s, India and Israel have developed increasingly strong bonds of friendship that are reflected in commercial and military trade and in the sharing of strategic intelligence against Islamist **terrorism**. The annual bilateral trade between Israel and India was \$2.5 billion in 2004; it increased to \$4.5 billion by 2014. Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** visited India in September 2003, the first visit by a sitting prime minister since Israel and India established diplomatic relations in 1992.

On 21 June 2008, Israel launched a sophisticated reconnaissance satellite atop an Indian missile from a launch site in India. The launch was viewed as an expression of the growing cooperation between Israel and India in the security spheres as a whole, and in particular in the fields of missiles, radar, and satellites. While control of the **TECSAR** satellite, manufactured by **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)**, was in Israel's hands, Indian media reported that Israel would provide India access to some of the reconnaissance data.

There has been a significant increase in Israel-India bilateral trade relations in recent years. Bilateral trade, excluding defense, in 2012 was worth \$4.43 billion; in 2013 this dipped slightly to \$4.39 billion but then increased to \$4.5 billion in 2014. Major exports from India to Israel include precious stones and metals, chemical products, textile and textile articles, plants and vegetable products, mineral products, rubber and plastic products, base metals, and machinery. Major exports from Israel to India include precious stones and metals, chemical and mineral products, base metals, machinery, and transport equipment. In 2013, India was Israel's tenth-largest trading partner and Israel's third-largest trading partner in Asia (after **China** and Hong Kong). Diamonds constituted 56.4 percent of total bilateral trade in 2013 (\$2.48 billion out of \$4.39 billion).

By 2013–2015, India had become the largest customer of Israeli defense exports, with the annual value of arms deals between the two countries exceeding \$1 billion and constituting nearly 15 percent of all Israeli defense

exports. India is among the biggest customers for Israeli-built **drones** as well as anti-aircraft systems, antitank guided missiles, and other weapons systems and support networks. On 16 February 2015 **Moshe Ya'alon** made the first official visit to India by an Israeli defense minister. Ya'alon described the visit as “incredibly significant for the strengthening of ties with a rising world power such as India . . . India is a true friend to Israel, and advancing joint interests will greatly benefit both nations and their defense establishments, which have excellent relations.”

Over the years, Indian governments had preferred to keep a low profile regarding security cooperation with Israel. This changed with the election of Narendra Modi in spring 2014. Since his BJP Party took power, India's prime minister has been a loud and strong supporter of Israel, meeting with Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** at the **United Nations** in September 2014. On 31 May 2015 it was announced that Modi would become the first Indian prime minister to visit Israel, underscoring increasingly close ties between the two countries. India abstained in the 3 July 2015 vote of the **United Nations** Human Rights Council on a report critical of Israel's actions in the 2014 Gaza War—see INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (SCHABAS COMMISSION). This abstention was interpreted by one Israeli commentator as a “significant testament to the strong ties that have developed between Israel and India over the last 20 years, and which are taking off now under Prime Minister Narendra Modi.” On 14 October 2015, President Pranab Mukherjee became the first Indian head of state to visit Israel, meeting with Israel's president **Reuven “Rubi” Rivlin** and addressing a special session of the **Knesset**. See also FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**INDUSTRY.** Industry became an important, diverse, and fast-growing sector of the Israeli **economy** that contributed about one-third of the gross national product by the late 1970s and also became a major source of employment and of commodity exports. The manufacturing sector output is similar in range, sophistication, and quality of products to that of smaller industrialized countries. Textile manufacturers produce a range of goods, including knitwear and high-fashion clothing, and there are also plastics, electronics, high-technology scientific and optical equipment, and food processing. The cutting and polishing of **diamonds** remains a major export industry. Israel's defense industries are dominated by many companies with close ties to the military, of which **Rafael Advanced Defense Systems** and **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)** are the largest. The mineral and chemical industry depends heavily on the **Dead Sea**, which is the country's leading mineral source and supplies magnesium chloride, potassium chloride (potash), table salt, chlorine, and calcium and magnesium bromide. The **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty** and interim agreements with the **Palestine Liberation Organ-**

**ization (PLO)** have included provisions for the joint exploitation of minerals extracted from the Dead Sea region as well as the encouragement of **tourism** and manufacturing in the region.

Government policy has supported industrial development with an export orientation to ease the country's chronic balance-of-payments problem. Emphasis has been given to **science**-based industries, with a large value added by domestic manufacturing, particularly since the 1960s. This was the kind of export (e.g., chemicals, metal products, machinery, and electronic equipment) that, along with polished gem diamonds, grew most rapidly in the 1970s. Diamonds are the only product in which Israel has more than a peripheral share in any foreign market, although Israeli-manufactured arms and weapons systems have become very popular internationally and have become an important dimension of the country's export policy.

The economy of Israel is today considered a "very highly developed," technologically advanced, industrial market economy; in 2015 it ranked 18th among 187 nations on the United Nations Human Development Index. The country's major industrial sectors include high-technology products, metal products, electronic and biomedical equipment, agricultural products, processed foods, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and transport equipment; the Israeli diamond industry is one of the world's centers for diamond cutting and polishing. One of the country's largest employers is Israel Aerospace Industries, which produces a wide range of aviation and defense products for use by Israel's security and **intelligence services** as well as increasingly for export to lucrative markets throughout the world. Another large employer is **Teva Pharmaceutical Industries**, now the world's largest generic pharmaceutical company.

Relatively poor in natural resources, Israel depends on imports of petroleum, raw materials, wheat, motor vehicles, uncut diamonds, and production inputs, though the country's nearly total reliance on energy imports may change with recent discoveries of large **natural gas** reserves off its Mediterranean coast.

Israel has become a major player in software, telecommunications, and semiconductor development. Its strong educational infrastructure and high-quality incubation systems for new ideas provides the infrastructure for a high concentration of high-tech industries, which are backed by a strong venture capital industry. With its high concentration of high-technology companies, the coastal plane extending from **Tel Aviv-Yafo** to **Haifa** has become known as "Silicon Wadi." Numerous Israeli high-tech start-ups have been acquired by global corporations, and the first research and development centers outside the **United States** for industrial giants including Intel, Microsoft, and Apple have been situated in Israel. *See also* TEL AVIV STOCK EXCHANGE (TASE).

**INGATHERING OF THE EXILES (KIBBUTZ GALUYOT).** The concept that the exiled Jewish communities in the **Diaspora** would be gathered in Israel was derived from the Bible. The ingathering of the exiles became an important element in **Zionism** during the prestate period and was enshrined in the **Law of Return** passed by the **Knesset** after independence. *See also* ALIYA.

**INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.** Given the existential military threats constantly confronting them, Israelis have always placed a high priority on military intelligence, and from the start of Jewish **settlement** in **Palestine**, the **Zionists** relied on organized intelligence gathering and assessment. The intelligence service of the **Hagana**, known as SHAI, initially concentrated on detecting threats to **Yishuv** communities posed by local bands of Arabs, but it also developed expertise about military and political affairs in the broader Arab world. During World War II, its personnel undertook intelligence and espionage activities in pro-Axis Arab countries in support of the British war effort. At the end of the war, SHAI became actively engaged in **Aliya Bet**, the illegal immigration of Jews to Palestine. By the spring of 1947, SHAI was preparing for the end of the **British Mandate** by gathering detailed information about the political attitudes of local Arab villages and the military capabilities of the neighboring Arab countries that were massing troops on the borders of Palestine.

Today, intelligence functions are performed by a variety of agencies, including the **Israel Defense Forces** (under the **director of military intelligence**), **Shin Bet (Shabak)**/General Security Services, the political research department of the foreign ministry, and the Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations, otherwise known as **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**. The appointment of a special intelligence adviser in the **Prime Minister's** Office to liaise between the Prime Minister's Office and the various branches of Israel's intelligence and security agencies was a principal recommendation of the **Ciechanover Commission** report into the **Mashaal Affair**. Despite bureaucratic divisions of labor and budgetary constraints, intelligence and assessment remains a vital element of Israel's national security doctrine.

**INTIFADA.** Name applied to the Palestinian uprising in the **West Bank** and **Gaza Strip**, which began in December 1987 in strong and occasionally violent opposition to continued Israeli occupation of those territories. The uprising became a test of will and policy between **Palestinians** in the territories occupied by Israel in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and Israel. Israel sought to end the uprising and restore law and order in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Palestinians saw the uprising as a means to end Israeli occupation and to

promote an independent Palestinian state. Palestinians sought to accelerate the political process and, in particular, to gain a representative role for the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in negotiations with Israel and the **United States**.

Confrontation and violence marked the evolution of the intifada, with a growing toll of casualties on both sides. For the Palestinians, the intifada seemed to provide a catharsis but also a high cost in casualties, imprisonment, loss of **education** and employment, and growing divisions within the Palestinian population. For Israel, the intifada posed a major challenge on a number of counts, including damage to its international image, divisions within the body politic on how to respond, the monetary costs of increased military reserve duty, and the costs of other disruptions of the **economy**.

The intifada began with a series of incidents (the stabbing death of an Israeli by a Palestinian in Gaza City; a traffic accident in which four Palestinians were killed; and subsequent riots in the Jabaliya refugee camp) in early December 1987. Over the ensuing period, the violence seemed to grow and to gain increasing international attention for the status of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Defense Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** argued that this was not typical **terrorism** but civilian violence carried out by a considerable portion of the Palestinian population by means available to every individual, such as stones, Molotov cocktails, barricades, and burning tires. The difficulty for Israel was to devise a means to defuse the violence. For both sides, the intifada portended continuing confrontations over time.

By the time of the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** (October 1991) and the Israel–PLO **Declaration of Principles** (September 1993), the intifada had petered out, though periodic clashes between Palestinian demonstrators and **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** soldiers and **settlers** in the West Bank and Gaza Strip continued to occur. Moreover, Muslim extremist groups as **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**, both of which arose out of and grew to prominence during the intifada, continued to wage a terrorist war of attrition against Israel.

**IR AMIM (CITY OF NATIONS, CITY OF PEOPLES).** Founded in 2000, Ir Amim is an organization monitoring Israeli government activities in areas of **Jerusalem** beyond the **Green Line**, including Jewish residential housing and the **separation barrier**.

**IRAN.** Iran is a Persian, Muslim, non-Arab state located in the predominantly Arab Middle East. It opposed the creation of the Jewish state in the **United Nations** General Assembly vote in November 1947 on the **Palestine Partition Plan** but subsequently established diplomatic relations with Israel. Dur-

ing the reign of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, mutually beneficial relations developed between Israel and Iran that involved, among other activities, the sale of oil to Israel and Israeli assistance with various developmental projects in Iran. Positive, if low-profile, political linkages were also established.

Following the Iranian Revolution in 1978, diplomatic relations between the two states were broken as the Islamic Republic of Iran established close formal links with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. Under the Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran called for the termination of the Jewish state and the liberation of **Jerusalem** from Israeli control (*see* JERUSALEM DAY). Despite this hostile rhetoric, Israel was involved in clandestine efforts of the **United States** to transfer weapons to Teheran during the Iran-**Iraq** War of the 1980s (“Irangate”) in exchange for the release of American hostages held in **Lebanon** by Iranian-backed forces.

Hostility and vituperative rhetoric have been the hallmarks of Iran’s approach to Israel since the accession of the Islamic Republic regime in Teheran. This hostility is manifested in Iran’s active support for such Islamist **terrorist** groups as **Hezbollah**, **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**, and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)** that commit acts of terror against Israel and against Israeli and Jewish targets internationally. Teheran also remains steadfastly opposed to the Arab-Israeli peace process and has acted to destabilize the Middle East, including developing weapons of mass destruction and a long-range missile capability to deliver those weapons. After becoming president of Iran, **Mahmoud Ahmadinejad** in 2005 made a series of speeches and statements in which he raised doubts about the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** and threatened the use of nonconventional weapons against Israel. Ahmadinejad’s successor as president, Hassan Rouhani, maintained the positions articulated by his predecessor.

Iranian antipathy to Israel has been continuous and reflected in verbal as well as physical attacks through proxies operating in the Arab world, including Hezbollah in **Lebanon**, Hamas in the **Gaza Strip**, and the Bashar Assad regime in **Syria**.

Iran seeks the destruction of the Jewish State and Iranian Shia control of the **Al-Aksa Mosque** (the third holiest site in Islam) and the entire city of **Jerusalem**.

Rhetorical attacks on Israel and threats for its destruction and removal from all maps of the world are continuous and initiated at the highest level of Iran’s religious, military, and political structure.

Iran’s efforts to develop its nuclear capacity and to “build a bomb” currently pose perhaps the most existential threat to the Jewish State—these activities are coordinated with the development of a missile and rocket program for inter alia nuclear-capable missiles with a range that clearly includes



all of Israel. Threats to “wipe Israel off the map” are made often and by the most senior officials, including Iran’s supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

By the mid-2000s, U.S. and other Western powers’ concerns about Iran’s nuclear and missile program, and Iran’s rhetorical focus on Israel’s destruction had led to the implementation of international measures that included sanctions and other restrictions on Iran’s international activities.

Sporadic international diplomatic efforts often led by the **United States** to restrict and control Iran’s effort and thus, partly, to reduce and remove the threat against Israel’s destruction have borne few positive outcomes.

In 2014–2015 a major international effort led by the United States sought to reduce the threat to Israel and regional security generally and to global stability posed by Iran’s nuclear missile program.

While Washington and Jerusalem were in accord on the ultimate objective of this effort, they disagreed often on the appropriate means of achieving the end and the extent to which Israel (and the United States) could rely on any agreement or arrangement with Iran.

The so-called P5+1 international grouping of states reached a “framework” nuclear agreement with Iran on 2 April 2015; a final arrangement was announced in Vienna on 14 July 2015.

Israeli leaders, among other states, saw significant problems with the arrangement and they voiced strong opposition to the nuclear deal. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** warned that it was “a historic mistake for the world” because concessions to Iran outstripped reciprocal concessions by Iran. International economic sanctions were to be removed while Teheran retained essential components of its nuclear and long-range ballistic missile program. Despite the deal, Iran remained within reach of becoming a “threshold” nuclear weapons state. Despite U.S. president **Barack Obama**’s reassurances, Netanyahu was joined by many Israelis from across Israel’s political spectrum when he declared, “The . . . [Iran] Agreement . . . impairs Israel’s national security.”

On 1 October 2015, Netanyahu, in an address to the **United Nations** General Assembly, chastised the international body for failing to recognize one of the fundamental weaknesses, from Israel’s perspective, in the arrangement with Teheran: “We see a world celebrating this bad deal, rushing to embrace and do business with a regime openly committed to our destruction.” He reiterated Israel’s determination to never allow Iran “to break in, to sneak in, or to walk into the nuclear weapons club.”

**IRAQ.** An Arab state in the Middle East situated in the northeastern portion of the Arabian Peninsula on the Persian Gulf. Although Iraq does not border Israel, it had been an active participant in the **Arab-Israeli conflict** for much of the period since 1947 and fought against Israel in the **War of Indepen-**

**dence (1948–1949)**, the **Six-Day War (1967)**, and the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. It was the only Arab country that went to war against Israel in 1948 that refused to sign an **armistice agreement**. During the 1980s and 1990s, Iraq's pan-Arab Ba'athist regime was increasingly associated with the Arab confrontation states. Iraq was among those Arab states that took the lead against **Egyptian** president **Anwar Sadat's** overtures to Israel in 1977 and 1978; it opposed the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 1979; and it harbored and supported anti-Israel Palestinian **terrorist** groups. In 1981, Israel destroyed Iraq's **Osirak** nuclear reactor, arguing it secretly was developing nuclear weapons.

At the same time, during the course of the **Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988)**, Baghdad was preoccupied with developments in the Persian Gulf area, and the cause against Israel became of much lesser consequence. With the end of gulf hostilities, Israel became increasingly concerned about Iraqi intentions, particularly the large size, capability, and battle experience of Iraq's military; its ability and willingness to use missiles and chemical and biological warfare in its war with Iran; and its support of the Palestinian cause against Israel.

The Iraqi attack against and occupation of Kuwait in August 1990 and the crisis that followed confirmed many Israeli fears. During the **Persian Gulf War (1991)** between Iraq and an international coalition, Iraq launched 39 **Scud missiles** with conventional warheads in 18 attacks against Israel that killed and wounded Israelis and caused substantial property damage. This unprovoked attack occasioned substantial concern and debate in Israel about an appropriate response. The **Yitzhak Shamir**–led **government** decided that it would accede to requests by the **United States** that it not respond militarily to the aggressive acts by Iraq. Based largely on its Gulf War experience, however, Israel—with U.S. cooperation and assistance—began the development of various mechanisms to improve its capacity to defend against or deter attacks by long-range ballistic missiles.

Though weakened by international sanctions imposed by the **United Nations** following the Persian Gulf War, Saddam Hussein's Iraq continued to be considered a military threat by Israel. Specifically, Iraq was believed to be still secretly developing weapons of mass destruction and the capacity to deliver them against Israel; moreover, despite the sanctions regime, Iraq in the late 1990s became one of the largest benefactors of Palestinian terror against Israel, with Saddam Hussein offering increasingly generous financial packages to the families of young Palestinians who killed themselves in mass-casualty **suicide bombings** targeting Israeli civilians.

Iraq's defeat in the second Gulf War and Saddam Hussein's removal from power and ultimate capture by a U.S.–led multinational coalition was greeted with relief by Israelis. Nevertheless, there was much uncertainty about the implications for Israel and regional peacemaking over the course of events

(including the violence and insurgency) in post-Saddam Iraq. Israel considers the post-Saddam Hussein struggle for stability and political power in Iraq to be an internal, intra-Arab affair. Nevertheless, Israel shares with moderate Arab countries a growing concern with the threat of local terrorism and regional instability caused by groups associated with the radical Sunni Islamist insurgency emanating from Iraq (as well as neighboring **Syria**).

**IRGUN (IRGUN TZVAI LEUMI, ETZEL)**. Also called **Hagana Bet**; a Jewish paramilitary organization in **Palestine** formed in 1931 and headed by Abraham Tehomi (formerly Silber) that was organized on a military basis and stressed military training and discipline. In its early years, civilian backing was provided by a broadly based board consisting of representatives of all nonsocialist **political parties** in the **Yishuv**. The rank and file of the organization consisted overwhelmingly of members of **Betar** and young **Revisionists**, but the Revisionist Movement had at that stage no decisive influence over the body. In 1937 Tehomi reached an agreement with the **Hagana** for the merger of the two defense bodies. This led to the formation in 1940 of the splinter **LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael—Fighters for the Freedom of Israel)** also known as **Stern Group** or **Stern (Gang) Group**—named for its founder, **Avraham Stern (Yair)**. Irgun asserted that only active retaliation would deter the Arabs. Its ideology, based on the teachings of **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky**, was built on the principle that armed Jewish force was the prerequisite for the Jewish state and that every Jew had a natural right to enter Palestine. Irgun's first commander was Robert Bitker, who was succeeded by Moshe Rosenberg and then by David Raziel. Its symbol was a hand holding a rifle over the map of the original Palestine **Mandate**, including **Transjordan**, with the motto *rak kach* ("only thus"). The **Jewish Agency** strongly denounced Irgun's "dissident activities," which the **British Mandate** administration countered by suppression and mass arrests. Until May 1939 Irgun's activities were limited to retaliation against Arab attacks. After the publication of the British **White Paper** of 1939, the British Mandate authorities became Irgun's main target. Another major field of activity was the organization of **Aliya Bet** (illegal immigration) and helping "illegal" immigrants land safely.

With the outbreak of World War II, Irgun announced the cessation of anti-British action and offered its cooperation in the common struggle against Nazi **Germany**. Its commander in chief, David Raziel, was killed in **Iraq** in May 1941 while leading Irgun volunteers on a special mission for the British. Raziel's successor was **Yaakov Meridor**, who in turn was replaced by **Menachem Begin** in December 1943, who remained in command until 1948.

In January 1944, Irgun declared that the cessation of anti-British activities was over and that a renewed state of war existed with the British. Irgun demanded the liberation of Palestine from British occupation. Its attacks

were directed against such government institutions as immigration, land registry and income tax offices, and police and radio stations. Limited cooperation was established in the late fall of 1945 between Irgun, LEHI, and Haganah, with the formation of the Hebrew Resistance Movement. Cooperation between the three forces lasted, with occasional setbacks, until August 1946. On July 22 of that year Irgun blew up the British army headquarters and the secretariat of the Palestine government in the **King David Hotel** in **Jerusalem**.

When organized Arab bands launched murderous anti-Jewish attacks after the **United Nations** adopted the **Palestine Partition Plan** on 29 November 1947, Irgun vigorously counterattacked. Among these actions was the capture on 10 April 1948 of the village of Deir Yassin by Irgun and LEHI forces, which resulted in a reported 240 Arab civilian casualties, although recent Palestinian research suggests that the actual number of casualties may have been exaggerated.

When the state of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May 1948, Irgun announced that it would disband and transfer its men to the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). For several weeks, however, until full integration was completed, Irgun formations continued to function as separate units operating in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**.

On 20 June 1948, a cargo ship, the *Altalena*, purchased and equipped in Europe by Irgun and its sympathizers and carrying 800 volunteers and large quantities of arms and ammunition, reached Israel's shores. Irgun demanded that 20 percent of the arms be allocated to its still independent units in Jerusalem, but **David Ben-Gurion** and the nascent Israeli government ordered the surrender of all arms and of the ship. When the order was not complied with, government troops were ordered to open fire on the ship, which consequently went up in flames off **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. On 1 September 1948, the remaining units of the Irgun disbanded and joined the IDF.

**IRGUN TZVAI LEUMI (NATIONAL MILITARY ORGANIZATION, ETZEL)**. *See* IRGUN (IRGUN TZVAI LEUMI, ETZEL).

**IRON DOME**. Known to Israelis by the Hebrew term *Kippat Barzel*. The name applied to a missile defense system designed by Israeli scientists to intercept and destroy short-range missiles and other projectiles fired from distances of 2.5 miles to 43 miles. Designed to differentiate between incoming projectiles threatening civilian population centers and those likely to land in open spaces, and then to track, intercept and destroy the former while ignoring the latter. First deployed in late 2011, it has demonstrated high levels of efficiency in combat situations.

Designed by Israeli scientists and developed by Israeli companies, Iron Dome is the first layer of the country's multitiered strategic defense system, protecting against short-range missiles. Other elements of the system include **Magic Wand** (also known as David's Sling), Iron Beam, and **Arrow**. Short-range missile defense development was accelerated in response to **Katyusha rockets** fired by **Hezbollah** into north-central Israel during the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** and the thousands of missiles fired from the **Gaza Strip** into southern Israel since implementation of Israel's 2005 **unilateral disengagement** plan—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). In its first combat deployment in March 2012, Iron Dome intercepted at least 56 of 71 rockets fired by Palestinian terror groups from Gaza and deemed threatening to **Sderot** and other population centers in the **Negev** and southern Israel. Another Iron Dome battery was deployed near the southern city of **Eilat** in July 2012 in response to rocket attacks from **Egyptian-Sinai**.

Israeli officials claimed that Iron Dome scored an efficiency rating of 85 percent and was considered a “game changer” in **Operation Pillar of Defense** (2012). In the first three days of combat, the system identified some two-thirds of the more than 1,000 missiles and rockets fired toward Israel as *not* posing a threat to civilian population centers while intercepting and destroying 90 percent of the remaining 300 missiles that did constitute a threat. Iron Dome was deemed to be equally efficient in **Operation Protective Edge** (2014). During the 51-day conflict an estimated 4,500 missiles, rockets and mortar shells were fired toward Israel from the Gaza Strip by **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**; some 600 of those projectiles were identified by the Iron Dome system as threatening to civilian population centers, intercepted, and destroyed.

After the **War in Gaza (2014)**, Israeli security specialists speculated that a minimum of 13 Iron Dome batteries would be needed to provide nationwide air-defense coverage against short-range missile and rocket threats from Gaza and the **West Bank** as well as from **Lebanon, Syria** and **Egyptian-Sinai**. Each Iron Dome battery reportedly cost \$30–\$50 million to produce and deploy, while each interceptor missile cost between \$30,000 and \$50,000. Every Iron Dome interception of an incoming projectile cost about \$100,000.

A May 2014 U.S.–Israel agreement provided for the immediate infusion of \$429 million into continued Iron Dome development in return for “meaningful coproduction opportunities for U.S. industry.” **Rafael Advanced Defense Systems**, Iron Dome's chief contractor, and U.S. defense contractor Raytheon agreed to coproduce the system. On 1 August 2014 the U.S. Congress passed an emergency supplemental allocation of \$225 million to Israel for

Iron Dome research and deployment. In December 2014 Congress appropriated an additional \$619 million for continued production of Iron Dome (and other elements of Israel's strategic missile defense program).

**ISAAC.** Jewish patriarch. The only son of **Abraham** and Sarah, the father of Esau and Jacob, who was renamed Israel. Isaac was not Abraham's firstborn, or only, son. Fourteen years earlier, Sarah (then called Sarai) had arranged for a child to be born to Abraham through her own Egyptian maidservant, Hagar, from whom **Ishmael** was born. Abraham's covenant with God was affirmed through his readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac on the altar at Mount Moriah on what is today known as the **Temple Mount** in **Jerusalem's** old city.

**ISCAR.** ISCAR Metalworking is a giant metal-cutting tools company based in northern Israel founded and controlled by the Wertheimer family. **Warren E. Buffett's** Berkshire Hathaway purchased 80 percent of the company in 2006 for \$4 billion in his first investment outside the **United States**. It was the largest single investment to date in Israel's **economy**. In May 2013 Buffett paid \$2 billion for the remaining 20 percent of ISCAR stock and committed to keep the company headquartered in Israel. *See also* INDUSTRY.

**ISHMAEL.** The son of **Abraham** and Hagar, the Egyptian maidservant of his wife Sarah (then known as Sarai). When Sarai stopped having children, she arranged to have a child with Abraham by Hagar (Genesis 16:1–4). After the birth of **Isaac**, Hagar and Ishmael were sent away at Sarah's insistence. God appeared and spoke to Hagar, assuring her that He would watch over them and see them prosper (Genesis 21:17–19). Isaac and Ishmael met again when they buried their father Abraham at the Cave of the Patriarchs (Machpela) in **Hebron**; Jews and Arabs both worship at the Machpela. Ishmael had 12 sons, who became the founders of tribes that spread from **Egypt** to what is today **Iraq**. He is considered the patriarch of the Arabs.

**ISLAMIC JIHAD.** *See* PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI).

**ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL.** A movement that ostensibly advocates Islam among **Arab citizens** of Israel; it was founded in **Mandate Palestine** as the result of cooperation between the Grand Mufti of **Jerusalem** Haj Amin al-Husseini and the Muslim Brotherhood, based in Egypt, which is the parent movement of the Islamic Movement in Israel. The movement is split into two branches: a hardline northern branch and a more moderate southern branch. The two branches have adopted very different paths. The

northern branch has maintained a firm dogmatic stance toward Israel, including inciting violence and funneling illegal financing to **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** through its schools, mosques, and social-welfare institutions. Its leaders have spent significant time in Israeli prisons. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** accused the northern branch, particularly its leader Sheikh Raed Salah, of inciting much of the anti-Israel Arab **terrorism** that occurred in October 2015. On 27 October 2015, the Jerusalem District Court upheld a 2013 conviction against Sheikh Raed Salah for incitement to violence based on language used in a 2007 sermon in **East Jerusalem**; Salah was sentenced to an 11-month jail sentence that began 15 November 2015. Israel's security cabinet outlawed the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel on 17 November 2015, labeling it "a separatist and racist group, which does not recognize the institutions of the State of Israel, denies its right to exist, and calls for the reestablishment of an Islamic Caliphate."

The southern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel chose a different, more pragmatic path than its northern counterpart, working inside Israel's political process in trying to improve the lives of the country's Muslim and Arab communities. Its leaders initially ran for election to the **Knesset** jointly with the **Arab Democratic Party** and since 2000 the movement has run independently under the banner of the **United Arab List**. The southern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel, in affiliation with the United Arab List, joined Israel's other mainly **Arab political parties** on 22 January 2015 in agreeing to form **The Joint List** alliance to contest the March 2015 election for the Twentieth Knesset.

**ISRAEL AHAT.** *See* ONE ISRAEL (ISRAEL AHAT).

**ISRAEL AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES (IAI).** The institutional successor to **Israel Aircraft Industries** as the centerpiece of Israel's armaments industries. It grew rapidly from a company of less than 100 employees when founded to more than 20,000. Initially, IAI produced a wide range of items, some under license, including aircraft (such as the Fouga-Magister), ammunition, armor, radar/sonar, and gyroscopes. In the 21st century, the company's mandate shifted to the production of aviation and space technology research and development, including aircraft upgrades, avionics and photographic systems, pilotless aircraft, **drones**, missiles and missile launchers, and satellites.

The idea to form an aircraft **industry** combining the special security needs of Israel with the development of **industry** originated in the ministry of defense during the 1950s. The reasons were Israel's strategic dependence on a capability to manufacture arms, the high cost of foreign-made arms, and the fear of an arms embargo. Maintenance was a problem for both the air force

and **El Al**, Israel's national airline, which was dependent upon maintenance facilities abroad. The need to establish an aeronautical and technological center in Israel was considered acute.

**Al Shwimmer**, an American aeronautical engineer who had volunteered for service in the Israeli air force, established a small factory in California called Intercontinental Airways, which dealt mainly with repairing old airplanes. In 1951, he met with **Shimon Peres**, then the head of an Israeli arms acquisition delegation, and proposed that his company look for scrap metal for Mustang planes (which were then very popular in the Israeli air force), renovate the planes, and send them to Israel. The idea was broached to **Prime Minister** and Defense Minister **David Ben-Gurion**, who accepted it. Ben-Gurion proposed that Shwimmer relocate the factory to Israel, and this was the beginning of IAI.

Shwimmer submitted his proposal for the establishment of an aircraft industry to the prime minister, which included two projects calling for the establishment of a base in Israel that would be able to repair and overhaul all types of aircraft, both military and civilian, including engines, with the independent production of planes in Israel. The second project was not accepted by the government because it seemed unrealistic. The first, however, was to be fulfilled by creating Bedek, a company established in 1951 according to a special agreement between Shwimmer and the government. The factory grew quickly. In the early 1960s, Bedek's management decided to proceed with the original proposal to attempt to produce new aircraft in Israel. Among the problems they encountered was the lack of a crystallized and experienced engineering body, which was reflected in the manufacturing of the Fuga and the "Stratocruiser." However, this problem was solved by the mid-1960s.

On 31 March 1968, Bedek was transformed from a subdivision of the defense ministry to an independent company. It then was divided into three units: the Bedek-Metosim unit, which primarily dealt with the repair and rebuilding of airplanes; an aircraft manufacturing unit, which focused on the manufacture of new aircraft; and an engineering unit, which dealt with research and development. That same year, the company took unto itself, for the first time, the design and manufacture of a whole plane, the Arava, which was a light plane carrying up to 20 people that could land and take off on short runways. The Arava was produced in both a civilian and military version. In the early 1970s, Bedek revised its goals and decided to produce a made-in-Israel fighter plane. The first such plane was the **Kfir**.

Other than production and repair of aircraft, IAI also dealt with the production of other sophisticated weapons systems, including the *Mazlat* (Hebrew acronym for "pilotless aircraft"). Among other weapons systems was the **Gabriel**, a sea-to-sea missile that later became one of IAI's primary export commodities. In addition, IAI produced several ships, such as the Dabour-class corvette, as well as armored vehicles, electrical and communi-



cation systems, and helicopters. Many of these items were produced by one of the company's many subsidiaries, including Alta, Tama, Mabat, Shahal, and Pamal.

In the mid-1990s, Israel Aircraft Industries came under the scrutiny of a government commission mandated to examine the future of Israel's defense industry. The Peled Commission concluded that in order to compete in the future, the Israeli defense industry would have to undergo significant structural reform. At the core of this reform would be IAI itself which, according to the commission's recommendations, would concentrate on all aviation and space technology research and development, including aircraft upgrades; avionics and photographic systems; pilotless aircraft development and manufacturing; missiles and missile launchers; and satellites. On 6 November 2006, IAI changed its corporate name to Israel Aerospace Industries to more accurately reflect the current scope of its business activities, which includes not just aircraft, but also systems, satellites and launchers, as well as maritime and ground systems.

In the 21st century IAI remains Israel's largest aerospace and defense company and a world leader in aircraft conversion and modernization, drone production, communications, and avionics and defense electronics. It was a principal cocontractor (with the American aircraft contractor Boeing) for the **Arrow** long-range anti-ballistic missile defense system. It is also a world leader in the development and deployment of space-based satellite technology, including the **OFEQ (Horizon)** observation satellite, AMOS communications satellite, and Shavit satellite launcher. IAI defense systems in use by the IDF include upgraded F-16, F-15, and F-4 aircraft; Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles; and Phalcon Early Warning aircraft. A vast array of Israel Aeronautics Industry products is popular in the global arms market place. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES (IAI).** *See* ISRAEL AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES (IAI).

**ISRAEL ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION.** Agency established on 13 June 1952 by Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** to advise the **government** in areas of nuclear policy and in setting priorities in nuclear research and development. It represents Israel in international organizations in the nuclear field, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, and maintains relations with relevant national authorities of other states. The commission's activities began in a research institute near Rehovot. The IAEC operates two research centers: the Soreq Nuclear Research Center, founded in 1958, and the Nuclear Research Center **Negev**. The Nuclear Research Center Negev was established at the end of 1959, and the research reactor in the center was

first operated in 1960. The IAEC is one of Israel's most clandestine bodies. It belongs to the **Prime Minister's** Office and has ties with the defense ministry. It is responsible for operating the nuclear reactor in **Dimona**, which foreign reports say manufactures plutonium. *See also* ATOMIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT; BERGMANN, DAVID ERNST (1903–1975).

**ISRAEL B'ALIYA (ISRAEL FOR IMMIGRATION/ISRAEL MOVING UPWARD).** A **political party** headed by **Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky** and comprised mostly of immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** that ran for the first time in the 1996 election and won seven **Knesset** seats. It participated in the governing coalition formed by the **Likud (Union) Party's Benjamin Netanyahu**. Israel B'Aliya advocated increased funding for the absorption of immigrants. It also adopted a liberal perspective on domestic economic and social issues including the recognition by religious authorities of conversions to Judaism performed by non-Orthodox rabbis and the patrilineal line of Jewish descent (*see* WHO IS A JEW?). On security and **foreign policy**, it sought to present itself as a centrist party—contending that future Israeli governments must be prepared to abide by international obligations entered into by previous governments (e.g., the **Oslo Accords**) but at the same time demanding full compliance from the Arab side in all peace agreements.

Israel B'Aliya won six seats in the 1999 Knesset election; Sharansky was appointed interior minister by **One Israel's (Israel Ahat) Ehud Barak**, with Marina Solodkin serving as deputy minister of immigrant absorption. However only days after the new government was formed Israel B'Aliya was rocked by the departure of two of its Knesset members, who moved to set up an independent faction in the Knesset. Israel B'Aliya left the Barak government in the spring of 2000 to protest the territorial concessions the **prime minister** was offering to the **Palestinians at Camp David II** (July 2000). Israel B'Aliya took only two seats in the 2003 Knesset election, with party founder and former leader Natan Sharansky losing his seat as a consequence. Rather than sitting in the Knesset as a miniparty, its members chose to be integrated with the **Likud (Union) Party**. *See also* "RUSSIAN" VOTE.

**ISRAEL BEITEINU (IB; ISRAEL OUR HOME).** A right-of-center, Russian immigrant (*see* ALIYA) political party headed by former **Likud (Union) Party** insider and **Benjamin Netanyahu** adviser **Avigdor Lieberman** that won four seats in the election for the Fifteenth **Knesset** in 1999. Lieberman stressed the party's intention to bring about public unity and peace agreements with a consensus, however the focus of the party platform was on immigrant needs: housing, strengthening of **development towns**, fighting unemployment, **education**, employment equality, and immigration absorp-

tion. On 1 February 2000, it joined with the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)** faction in the Knesset to form the Israel Beiteinu–National Union alliance. This party won a surprising seven seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003) and joined the coalition **government** formed by **Ariel Sharon** on 28 February 2003. However, its ministers (Lieberman and **Binyamin Elon**) were dismissed from the **cabinet** in June 2004 due to a dispute over the **prime minister’s** plan to disengage from the **Gaza Strip** and areas of the northern **West Bank**.

Israel Beiteinu chose to submit an independent list for the 2006 Knesset election and won 11 seats. It joined **Ehud Olmert’s Kadima (Forward)** party–led government, with Lieberman serving as deputy prime minister and minister of strategic threats in the prime minister’s office. On 16 January 2008, Lieberman resigned from the **cabinet** and Israel Beiteinu withdrew its support for the coalition to protest Olmert’s negotiating strategy toward the Palestinians.

Israel Beiteinu won 15 seats in the 2009 parliamentary election and became the third-largest party in the Eighteenth Knesset; it joined Benjamin Netanyahu’s government, with Lieberman serving as deputy prime minister and foreign minister. On 25 October 2012, Lieberman and Netanyahu announced the formation of a joint list to contest the 2013 general election. The **Likud–Israel Beiteinu (Likud-Beiteinu)** joint slate took 31 mandates in the 22 January 2013 Knesset election—11 were members of Israel Beiteinu. Party leader Avigdor Lieberman retained his foreign affairs portfolio in Netanyahu’s new government. Lieberman announced the dissolution of the Likud–Israel Beiteinu alliance on 9 July 2014. Running on its own and under Lieberman’s leadership, Israel Beiteinu won six seats in the March 2015 Knesset election. On 4 May 2015, Lieberman announced that he would not participate in the coalition being established by prime minister-elect Netanyahu following the 2015 election and the party would join the opposition parties in the Twentieth Knesset. On 24 May 2016, Israel Beiteinu joined Netanyahu’s government. *See also* “RUSSIAN” VOTE.

**ISRAEL BONDS.** *See* STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS.

**ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).** Israel’s military is under a unified command of land, air, and sea forces. It is subject to the authority of the **government** and carries out its policy. The minister of defense is in charge of the IDF and is a civilian, although he or she may have had a previous career in the professional military (e.g., **Moshe Dayan**, **Ezer Weizman**, **Yitzhak Rabin**, **Yitzhak Mordechai**, **Ariel Sharon**, **Ehud Barak**, **Shaul Mofaz**, and **Moshe Ya’alon**). A special ministerial committee generally headed by the **prime minister** deals

with security matters on behalf of the government. Military service in the armed forces is compulsory, and eligible men and **women** are drafted at 18. Men generally serve for three years, women for two. Men remain liable for reserve duty until 45, while women remain liable until they reach 24. By 2015 women were eligible to serve in virtually all units of Israel's military forces, with the exception of the tank service. Israel's **Arab** citizens are not required to serve, but they can and a growing number do volunteer. **Druze** men have been drafted into the IDF since 1957 at the request of their communities.

The IDF was constituted on 31 May 1948 as the institutional successor to the **Hagana**. The constitutional and legal basis for its operation is enshrined in the IDF Ordinance of 1948 and the **Basic Law: The Army** of 31 March 1976.

The IDF is composed of a small standing force consisting of career officers, noncommissioned officers, and draftees, as well as reserve officers. The reserve forces are regularly called to active status for training and service, and they constitute the bulk of the military personnel. The IDF is responsible for the security of the country, and its primary task is to defend the state from the enemy. Nevertheless, it performs other tasks that serve the public good. It helps in the absorption of new immigrants (*see* ALIYA), the enhancement of **education** for recruits, and the provision of teachers to some developing areas. It has also been tasked to global disaster zones, including countries without relations with Israel, to provide medical and research-and-rescue services (*see* OPERATION ISLANDS OF HOPE).

Beginning in the late 1990s, the IDF was subjected to significant scrutiny and review, mostly for the purpose of confronting the strategic challenges posed in the 21st century but also to address apparent changes in popular attitudes about the role of the military in Israeli society, including the role of women, the ultra-Orthodox and Israeli **Arabs** in the military. In 2015, the IDF was comprised of 160,000 regular standing forces and 630,000 reservists. The military budget for 2015–2016 (approved by the Twentieth **Knesset** on 18 November 2015) was \$15.47 billion (NIS 60.1 billion), constituting slightly more than 18 percent of the total Israel state budget (2015) of \$84.65 billion (NIS 329.5 billion).

**ISRAEL ECHAD.** *See* ONE ISRAEL (ISRAEL AHAT).

**ISRAEL-EGYPT DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974).** On 20 October 1973, the **United Nations** Security Council (UNSC) adopted **UNSC Resolution 338**, which called for an immediate cease-fire in the **Yom Kippur War** (1973) and the implementation of **UNSC Resolution 242** and explicitly required negotiations “between the parties.” Subsequently,

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger from the **United States** negotiated the Israel-**Egypt** Disengagement of Forces Agreement of 1974. It brought about the reaffirmation of the cease-fire achieved at the end of the Yom Kippur War, the disengagement and separation of Israeli and Egyptian military forces, and the creation of disengagement zones between the opposing forces.

**ISRAEL GREEN PARTY (HAYERUKIM).** Environmentalist **political party** previously led by former **Meretz Knesset** member and one of the founders of **Peace Now (Shalom Achshav)**, Dedi Zucker. The party, according to Zucker, places “equal importance on fighting for human rights, community based economic enterprises, feminist and gay rights, multiculturalism and the decentralization of government power into more grass-roots movements.” It failed to pass the threshold for winning seats in the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset (1999), the Sixteenth Knesset (2003), the Seventeenth Knesset (2006), the Eighteenth Knesset (2009), the Nineteenth Knesset (2013), or the Twentieth Knesset (2015).

**ISRAEL HAYOM (LITERALLY “ISRAEL TODAY”).** **Hebrew-language** daily newspaper distributed free of charge throughout Israel. First published on 30 July 2007, it became the newspaper with the largest daily circulation in Israel within four years of its inception, with a reported weekday readership (for 2011) of 39 percent compared to its closest competition, *Yediot Ahronot*, with 37 percent. Owned by Israeli-American billionaire Sheldon Adelson (who is believed to invest about \$20 million a year in the newspaper) and edited by Amos Regev, *Israel HaYom* has attracted some of Israel’s finest journalists and has adopted a conservative, center-right editorial perspective closely in line with that of **Benjamin Netanyahu** and the **Likud Union Party**. *Israel HaYom* has an English-language Internet edition ([www.israelhayom.co.il](http://www.israelhayom.co.il)).

**ISRAEL-JORDAN PEACE TREATY.** On 17 October 1994, Israeli and **Jordanian** negotiators initialed a peace agreement in Amman, Jordan. The treaty was formally signed by Prime Minister Abdul-Salam Majali of Jordan and Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** of Israel in a gala ceremony on 26 October 1994 in the Jordan Valley. The treaty was comprised of 30 articles and 5 annexes, which addressed such diverse issues as boundary demarcations, **water** issues, policy cooperation, environmental issues, refugees, and mutual border crossings. The international border (left undefined since the 1948 war and the 1949 **armistice agreements**) was to be based on maps dating from the **British Mandate**. In a novel move, Jordan agreed to lease back (for 25 years, with an option to renew) to Israel farmland in the **Arava**

Desert that was returned to Jordan in the treaty. Yet another interesting element was Israel's commitment to respect Jordan's special interests in Muslim holy places in **Jerusalem** in any peace agreement affecting the city. The treaty also formalized cooperation between Israel and Jordan in the areas of **tourism** and other economic endeavors, the exploiting and distribution of water and other natural resources, and combating **terrorism**.

### **ISRAEL LABOR PARTY (MIFLEGET HAAVODA HAISRAELIT).**

The successor to **Mapai** that dominated the politics of the prestate **Yishuv** and the first three decades of independence. On 21 January 1968, Mapai merged with two other labor parties, **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** and **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)**, to form the Israel Labor Party. The merger did not eliminate the differences between the coalition's components but instead shifted the quarrels to the intraparty sphere. It was within the confines of the Labor Party that the problems of political leadership and succession for the **government** of Israel were resolved. Beginning with the 1969 **Knesset** election, the Labor Party was joined in an electoral alliance (the **Alignment [Maarach]**) with **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Ha-meuhedet–United Workers Party)**, although both parties retained their own organizational structures and ideological positions. The new party retained Labor's dominant position until 1977, when lackluster leadership, corruption scandals, and the founding of the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit LeShinui)** made way for the victory of the **Likud (Union) Party**. Mapam left the Alignment in 1984 to protest the party's agreement to form a **Government of National Unity** with the **Likud (Union) Party**.

Labor's policies are **Zionist** and socialist. They include support for the immigration (*see* ALIYA) of Jews to Israel; establishment of a social-welfare state; and a state-planned and publicly regulated **economy** with room for the participation of private capital, full employment, minimum wages, and the right to strike. Labor stands for the separation of **religion** and the state, although it has historically made major concessions to the religious parties in this area. It supports equality for minorities, including the **Arabs** of Israel.

Historically the "**Jordan Option**" was the cornerstone of Labor's approach for resolving the dispute over territories occupied in the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Viewing the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** as a **terrorist** organization, Labor preferred to negotiate with **Jordan's King Hussein**. This approach changed in 1993, when, in the context of the **Oslo Accords** and the **Declaration of Principles** negotiated with the PLO, Labor prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin** agreed to recognize the PLO and to undertake a complex negotiating formula that required Israel to cede territory in the

**West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** to an elected Palestinian self-governing authority in return for normalized relations and an end to **terrorism** and all other forms of violence.

For many years, Labor Party politics was characterized by an intense power struggle between Rabin and **Shimon Peres**. Peres, once an ally of **Moshe Dayan** and **David Ben-Gurion** in the breakaway Rafi faction, served as defense minister in Rabin's first government (1974–1977). In 1977, Peres replaced Rabin as Labor chairman when, on the eve of national elections, Rabin was forced to step down after admitting that he and his wife had maintained an illegal bank account in the **United States** while he was serving as Israel's ambassador there. Under Peres, Labor was defeated in the 1977 election, but Peres retained the leadership of the party, withstanding a challenge by Rabin at Labor's December 1980 national convention. Rabin served as defense minister in the **Government of National Unity** led by Peres in 1984 and continued in that position in the unity government formed in 1988, with Peres as finance minister.

After several tries, Rabin finally succeeded in ousting Peres as Labor Party leader in early 1992 and led his party to victory in the 23 June 1992 election to the Thirteenth **Knesset**. In the new government, Rabin served as both prime minister and defense minister and appointed Peres as foreign minister. To the surprise of many observers, the two old rivals achieved a modus vivendi and together set Israel on a new course that resulted in a series of interim agreements with the PLO, the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty**, and the opening of substantive negotiations with a number of Arab countries (including **Syria**).

Following the November 1995 assassination of Rabin, the leadership of the Labor Party reverted to Peres, who was narrowly defeated by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in the first direct election of the prime minister on 29 May 1996. Peres resigned as party leader in June 1997 and was replaced by former **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) chief of staff **Ehud Barak**. Prior to the 1999 election, Barak signed separate agreements to draw the **Gesher** and **Meimad (Dimension)** parties into the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** Party. The expanded electoral alliance won the 1999 Knesset election, taking 26 seats, while in the simultaneous direct election for prime minister, Barak defeated Likud leader Netanyahu by a margin of 56.1 percent to 43.9 percent.

Barak, who campaigned on the themes of an "Israel of change and hope" and a "revolution in the State of Israel," presented his seven-party coalition and its program before the Knesset on 6 July 1999. A centerpiece of Labor/One Israel's domestic platform was Barak's pledge to severely redefine the **status quo agreement** that had conditioned Israel's religious affairs since independence, beginning with a move to end most deferments from military service for men studying in Orthodox rabbinical institutions. In terms of security and **foreign policy**, the party laid forth the following "red lines" for

final status negotiations with the Palestinians: **Jerusalem** would remain united under Israeli sovereignty; there would be no return to the pre-**Six-Day War** lines; there would be no Arab or Palestinian army west of the **Jordan River**; and most Jewish residents of the **West Bank** would live in large **settlement** blocs under Israeli sovereignty. Barak also pledged that his government would hold a national referendum on a final-status agreement with the **Palestinians**. Barak pledged to withdraw the IDF from **Lebanon** within one year of taking office and to resume meaningful negotiations with Syria toward an agreement affecting both the south Lebanon **security zone** and the **Golan Heights**.

Barak worked hard to fulfill his ambitious program, especially in the diplomatic realm. Serious negotiations were conducted with the Syrians in Washington, D.C., and Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and consistent with Barak's campaign pledge, the IDF was withdrawn from Lebanon in May 2000, within one year of his becoming **prime minister**. With the Palestinians, Barak sought to redefine the diplomatic terms of reference by offering territorial concessions at the **Camp David II** talks (July 2000) that, in many cases, exceeded the red lines of all previous Israeli governments. More disturbing still, for many Israelis, was Barak's readiness to "make concessions under fire": to agree to even greater concessions recommended by U.S. president **William J. (Bill) Clinton** at the **Taba** talks in December 2000–January 2001, three months into the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Israel's body politic could neither understand nor countenance this type of behavior in their prime minister.

Indeed, Barak lost the confidence of the majority of his governing coalition over the Camp David–Taba negotiations with the Palestinians, and he was subsequently trounced by Likud leader **Ariel Sharon** in the direct election for prime minister held on 6 February 2001, with Sharon taking 62.3 percent compared to Barak's 37.6 percent. Barak immediately resigned as Labor Party leader and was temporarily replaced by Peres, who led the party into a new national unity coalition headed by Sharon.

On the eve of the 2003 Knesset election, the popular former mayor of **Haifa**, **Amram Mitzna**, was elected leader of the Labor/One Israel Party, defeating **Binyamin Ben-Eliezer** and **Yosef Burg**. Several elements of the party's 2003 policy platform would ultimately be reflected in the policies of Israel's 30th government headed by Sharon, including Sharon's plan to disengage from the **Gaza Strip** and from parts of the northern West Bank. However, in the 2003 election campaign, the memories of the errors made by successive Labor-led governments during the **Oslo peace process** and the **terrorism** of the Al-Aksa intifada were still too fresh in the minds of the Israeli electorate, the result being a resounding defeat for Labor, which took only 19 seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (down from 26).



Mitzna immediately resigned as leader, with the indefatigable Peres stepping in once again as leader on a temporary basis. In May 2004, an agreement was reached to have **Amir Peretz's One People (Am Ehad)** Party reintegrated with Labor. Labor reentered the Sharon-led coalition on 10 January 2005 to help it win parliamentary approval for the controversial Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). Nevertheless, it was generally agreed that the Israel Labor Party was at an existential crossroads.

On 9 November 2005, Labor held a leadership primary in preparation for an anticipated early election for the Seventeenth Knesset. Despite a consistent lead in public opinion surveys over all competitors, the incumbent party leader Shimon Peres was defeated in the first round of voting by **Histadrut** leader and former One People (Am Ehad) leader Amir Peretz by a margin of 42.2 percent to 40 percent. Peretz ran on a campaign that emphasized, among other things, returning Israel to its social-democratic ideological roots and placing the quality of domestic social and economic policy above foreign and security policy, and the election of the Moroccan-born Peretz threatened to reshape the Israel Labor Party and perhaps the very nature of Israeli politics. Labor won 19 seats in March 2006 Knesset election. It joined the **Kadima (Forward)**–led government headed by **Ehud Olmert**, and Peretz became defense minister. On 13 June 2007, Ehud Barak was reelected Labor Party leader, taking 51.3 percent of the vote in a leadership primary, compared to 47.7 percent for Labor Knesset member (MK) and former **Shin Bet (Shabak)** head Ami Ayalon. Barak subsequently replaced former Labor Party leader Peretz as minister of defense. On 17 January 2011, Barak and four other Labor Party members of Knesset quit the party to form the **Atzmaut (Independence)** Knesset faction in a dispute over Labor's participation in Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud–led government. While Labor quit the government, Barak and Atzmaut remained part of the coalition with Barak as defense minister. Former Labor Party MK Michael Harish served as temporary Labor Party chairman from 23 January 2011 until the September 2012 election of the party's new leader, **Shelly Yachimovich**. In the 12 September 2012 leadership primary Yachimovich came in first among the four contenders, receiving 32 percent of votes cast (below the minimum 40 percent for victory required under the Labor Party constitution). The 21 September 2011 run-off vote resulted in a 54 percent to 40 percent victory for Yachimovich over former party leader Amir Peretz, making her only the second woman, after **Golda Meir**, to serve as leader of the Israel Labor Party. Under Yachimovich's leadership Labor won only 15 seats in the 2013 Knesset election. On 22 November 2013 Yachimovich was defeated in the Labor leadership primary by **Yitzhak (Isaac) "Buji" Herzog** by a margin of 58.5 percent to 41.5 percent. On 10 December 2014 Herzog and **Hatnua (Movement)** leader **Tzipi Livni** announced the formation of **The Zionist Union**

center-left alliance to contest the 2015 Knesset election. The alliance took 24 seats in the election, compared to the 30 seats won by Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud, and Herzog and Livni became opposition coleaders in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ISRAEL LANDS AUTHORITY.** Agency responsible for administering state-owned land, which comprised some 90 percent of pre-1967 Israel. In the prestate period, responsibility for purchasing and reclaiming areas of **Palestine** for Jewish **settlement** was held by the **Jewish National Fund** (JNF). After independence, many of these functions passed naturally to state institutions, including the Israel Lands Authority, with the efforts of the JNF directed to the reclamation of uncultivable land. Though initially part of the ministry of **agriculture**, the Lands Authority was placed under the jurisdiction of the new ministry of national infrastructure established in 1996 by the **Benjamin Netanyahu** government.

**ISRAEL-LEBANON AGREEMENT OF 17 MAY 1983.** In the wake of the **War in Lebanon (1982)**, Israel engaged in negotiations brokered by the **United States** with **Lebanon** concerning the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon and related arrangements. After months of discussion, an agreement was reached on 17 May 1983 that provided for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and noted that "they consider the existing international boundary between Israel and Lebanon inviolable." Israel committed itself to withdraw from southern Lebanon in return for specific security arrangements in the south and some elements of normalization approaching, but not quite becoming, a peace treaty. It was an important milestone in Israel's relations with the Arab states. Although signed and ratified by both states, the government of Lebanon abrogated the agreement in March 1984 under heavy pressure from **Syria**.

**ISRAEL MILITARY INDUSTRIES (IMI; TAASIYA TZVAIT, ALSO KNOWN AS TAAS).** An Israeli weapons contractor specializing in the development, integration, and manufacture of weapons and land, air, and naval combat systems. Its products have been qualified with the U.S. military (Air Force, Army, and Navy) and NATO countries, although its most prominent customer remains the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), with which it maintains a close working relationship. Established in 1933, IMI initially focused on the retrofitting or manufacture of firearms, ammunition, and other military technology for domestic use by the **Hagana** and other **Zionist** forces in defense of Jewish communities against Arab attacks in the pre-state **Yishuv**. In the decades since the declaration of Israel's statehood in 1948, IMI has become a major player in the weapons and weapons technology international

marketplace. The company's first major arms export product was the Uzi submachine gun, although IMI gradually developed a wide range of weapons and technology for defense and homeland security export. IMI initially was a government corporation fully owned by the state of Israel. In 2005, however, the company's Magen small arms division was privatized and renamed Israel Weapons Industries.

**ISRAEL OUR HOME.** *See* ISRAEL BEITEINU (IB; ISRAEL OUR HOME).

**ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA (IPO).** Founded in December 1936 as the Palestinian Symphony Orchestra, it was initially conceived by the violinist Bronislaw Huberman, who in 1934 set out to establish a center of artistic and educational excellence in **Palestine**. The project soon also developed into a means through which to provide immigration (*see* ALIYA) certificates both for Jewish musicians in Nazi **Germany** and for many other refugees from Europe. The orchestra's first season opened under Maestro Arturo Toscanini. Leonard Bernstein maintained close ties with the orchestra from 1947, and in 1988, the IPO bestowed on him the title of laureate conductor, which he retained until his death in 1990. The **Indian**-born conductor **Zubin Mehta** has been associated with the IPO since 1969; he was appointed music director for life in 1981. Kurt Masur is the IPO's honorary guest conductor, a title granted to him in 1992. Yoel Levi serves as principal guest conductor. The secretary general of the orchestra is Avi Shoshani. The IPO has a subscriber base of approximately 26,000. In addition to attracting tremendous musical talent to Israel, the IPO has toured widely and served as the country's musical ambassador. It prides itself on having continued to perform even during periods of hostility and warfare. *See also* THEATER.

**ISRAEL-PLO DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.** *See* DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (13 SEPTEMBER 1993).

**ISRAEL POLICE.** Known in Hebrew as *Mishteret Yisra'el*. Policing and law enforcement throughout the country are the responsibility of the Israel Police service. It is under the jurisdiction of the minister of public security. The Israel Police is a national service and operates throughout Israel, the **Golan Heights** and areas of the **West Bank** in which Israel maintains civilian control. There are no local or municipal police departments in Israel. As with most other police forces in the world, the service's responsibilities include crime prevention and law enforcement. They maintain law and order in all sectors. They fight crime through investigation and the apprehension of offenders. They deal with drug- and human-trafficking and extortion. They

also work with other services to prevent and thwart terror and terrorists. *See also* BORDER POLICE; INTELLIGENCE SERVICES; SHIN BET (SHABAK).

**ISRAEL PRIZE.** The country's highest cultural honor awarded annually by the Israel ministry of education and culture on **Independence Day (Yom Ha'atzmaut)** to an average of nine or ten recipients for outstanding achievement in various fields, including Jewish studies, Torah, humanities, sciences, and the arts. The prize was first awarded in 1953. It is given out in the presence of the **prime minister** but the prize committees are famously independent; their selection process is kept confidential and aspires to be free from outside interests. According to Israel's **president Reuven "Rubi" Rivlin**, "The Israel Prize is dear to all our hearts. . . . We must do everything to guard it."

**ISRAEL-SYRIA DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974).** An agreement between **Syria** and Israel achieved in May 1974 through the shuttle diplomacy of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger of the **United States**. It brought about the reaffirmation of the cease-fire achieved at the end of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, the disengagement and separation of Israeli and Syrian military forces on the **Golan Heights**, and the creation of disengagement zones between the opposing armies.

**ISRAELI ARABS.** *See* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES; ARABS IN ISRAEL; BEDOUIN; DRUZE (DRUSE).

**ITZIK, DALIA (1952– ).** Member of **Knesset**, Knesset speaker, acting **president** of the state of Israel. Born in **Jerusalem** on 20 October 1952 and a teacher by training, from 1982 to 1988 she served as chairperson of the Jerusalem Teachers' Association. She was also a member of the Jerusalem City Council and deputy mayor of the city from 1989 to 1993. First elected to the **Knesset** in 1992 on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda Ha-Israelit)** list, she was reelected in 1996 and 1999. Itzik was appointed environment minister on 6 July 1999, the only female member of the original **cabinet** formed by **One Israel (Israel Ahat)**'s **Ehud Barak**. Returned to the Knesset in the 2003 election, she was appointed minister of communications on 10 January 2005. Itzik was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election on the **Kadima (Forward)** Party list. On 4 May 2006, she made history by being elected as the first female speaker of the Knesset. After President **Moshe Katzav** requested and received a temporary leave of absence in January 2007, Livni became acting president for the duration of his period of absence. She served in that capacity until **Shimon Peres** took office as Israel's

ninth president on 15 July 2007. Returning to electoral politics, Itzik was reelected to the Knesset in the 2009 election in third place on the Kadima Party list and subsequently served as the party's caucus chairperson. On 5 December 2012, in the days leading up to the 2013 Knesset election and with the Kadima Party in disarray, Itzik announced she was taking a break from politics. Itzik vied for the 2014 Israeli presidential election, coming third with 28 votes in the first round of voting, compared to the 31 votes garnered by **Meir Shitreet** and the 44 taken by the eventual winner **Reuven "Rubi" Rivlin**. *See also* WOMEN IN ISRAEL.



# J

**JABAL ABU GHNEIM.** *See* HAR HOMA.

**JABOTINSKY, VLADIMIR ZE'EV (1880–1940).** **Zionist** icon; ideological forerunner for contemporary Herut and Likud leaders. Born in Odessa, Russia, on 18 October 1880, Jabotinsky was the founder of the World Union of **Zionist Revisionists** in 1925, which later branched off into the **New Zionist Organization**. The union advocated the establishment of a Jewish state, increased Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA), and militant opposition to the **British Mandate** authorities in **Palestine**. Jabotinsky's philosophy provided the ideological basis for the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**. He studied law in Bern and Rome but became interested in the Zionist cause with the growth of **pogroms** in Russia. After the beginning of World War I, Jabotinsky promoted the idea of a **Jewish Legion** as a component of the British army that liberated Palestine from the Turks, and he later joined it. In March 1921, he joined the Zionist executive but resigned in January 1923 to protest the perceived lack of resistance on the part of the Zionist leadership to British Middle East policy, specifically the unilateral secession of Transjordan from the Palestine mandate in 1922.

In 1923, Jabotinsky founded Brit Trumpeldor (**Betar**), and in 1925, the World Union of Zionists-Revisionists was formed in Paris, and he became president. Jabotinsky later seceded from the **World Zionist Organization** and founded (in Vienna in 1935) the New Zionist Organization, of which he became president. He campaigned against the British plans for the partition of Palestine and advocated and promoted illegal Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA BET) to Palestine. He died on 4 August 1940 in New York City, and his remains were transferred to Israel and reburied on **Mount Herzl** in **Jerusalem** in July 1964. His influence on Israel's history and politics is substantial. His ideas of Jewish power and self-sufficiency as well as "the Iron Wall" remain the ideological basis of the Herut and **Likud (Union)** parties and influenced the thinking and policies of **Menachem Begin**, **Yitzhak Shamir**, and **Benjamin Netanyahu**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**JACOB.** Jewish patriarch. Twin son of **Isaac** and Rebekah (Genesis 25:26) and a gentle man “who dwelled in tents,” from birth, he competed with his “hunter” twin, Esau, for their father’s attention and love. With Rebekah’s assistance, he stole the birthright that legitimately belonged to Esau as the elder of the twins. Jacob, who was renamed Israel (literally, “one who has struggled with God”) had 12 sons who became the founders of the 12 tribes of Israel. He is buried in the Cave of the Machpela in **Hebron**.

**JARRING, GUNNAR (1907–2002).** Swedish ambassador to the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**. He was appointed by **United Nations** secretary general U Thant in November 1967 as a special representative to assist in Arab-Israeli peace efforts based on the principles outlined in **United Nations Security Council Resolution 242** of 22 November 1967.

**JEBEL ABU-GHNEIM.** *See* HAR HOMA.

**JERICHO.** Located northwest of the northern end of the **Dead Sea**. Ancient Jericho is considered by some to be the oldest city in the world—dating back to 7000 BC. It is mentioned in the Bible and was conquered by the Israelites led by Joshua when they entered the land of Canaan. The city has been built and rebuilt throughout the centuries. Control over Jericho was transferred to the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** under the terms of the May 1994 Cairo Agreement. Control was again transferred to the **Palestinians** in the context of a cease-fire understanding agreed to by **Ariel Sharon** and **Mahmoud Abbas** in February 2005. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**JERICHO MISSILE.** An Israeli-produced surface-to-surface ballistic missile. The short-range version, the **Jericho I**, was said to have a range of up to 500 kilometers and to be armed with a conventional warhead. Its intermediate-range counterpart, the Jericho II, was a two-stage missile with a range of about 1,500 kilometers and was capable of carrying a conventional warhead or a nonconventional (chemical or nuclear) warhead. Israeli development of the Jericho began in 1963 in cooperation with **France**. Development of the Jericho II began in the mid-1970s, with **Israel Aircraft (later Aerospace) Industries (IAI)** as the prime contractor. The Jericho has never been tested in combat, although there were reports of plans to deploy it in both the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and the **Persian Gulf War (1991)**. The Jericho is considered a vital component of Israel’s multitiered strategic missile defense system to deter and defend against short-, intermediate- and long-range ballistic missile threats posed by **Iran** and other regional and extraregional adversaries. Other components of Israel’s missile defense system include



**Arrow, Iron Dome, Iron Beam, and David's Sling** (also known as **Magic Wand**). *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**JERUSALEM.** Jerusalem is Israel's largest city and its declared capital. It is a holy city for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. In 1947, when the **United Nations** voted to partition **Palestine** into a Jewish state and an Arab state, Jerusalem was to be internationalized. However, the city was divided between **Jordan** (East Jerusalem, including the walled old city) and Israel (West Jerusalem, the new city) during Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. Israel made its portion of Jerusalem its capital. Nevertheless, most countries did not accept that decision, and many retained their embassies in **Tel Aviv**. In the **Six-Day War (1967)** Israel gained control of East Jerusalem and merged it with the western portion of the city.

On 30 July 1980, the **Knesset** passed the **Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel, 5740-1980**, which declared the following:

Jerusalem united in its entirety is the capital of Israel. Jerusalem is the seat of the **President** of the State, the Knesset, the **Government** and the **Supreme Court**. The Holy Places shall be protected from desecration and any other violation and from anything likely to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different **religions** to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places.

The law also provided that the government would work for the development and prosperity of the city and the welfare of its inhabitants and would give special priority to this activity.

West Jerusalem is the modern part of the city. East Jerusalem includes the walled old city, the site of many ancient holy places. Among prominent holy places are the **Western Wall** (Wailing Wall) and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (which is believed to stand on the hill of Calvary, or Golgotha, where Jesus was crucified and buried). The church is shared by several Christian sects, who believe that many events in Jesus's life took place in Jerusalem. The Dome of the Rock (which stands near the Wailing Wall) was built over the rock from which, according to Islam, Muhammed rose to heaven.

For Muslims, Jerusalem is the third holiest city in Islam after Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. In Jewish tradition, it was at the Dome of the Rock that **Abraham** prepared to sacrifice his son **Isaac** as God commanded (the *Akeda*). This area is generally referred to as the **Temple Mount**. Jews also consider Jerusalem a holy city because it was their political and religious

center in biblical times. About 1000 BC, King **David** made Jerusalem the capital of the united Israelite tribes. David's son, King Solomon, built the first Temple of the Jews in the city.

In the **Oslo Accords**, Israel and the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** agreed to defer discussions about Jerusalem until the final status stage of negotiations. In the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty** (1994), it was agreed that Jordanian interests in Jerusalem's Muslim holy places would be taken into account in a final settlement affecting the city.

At the **Camp David II** negotiations (July 2000), Israel's **Ehud Barak** proposed to transfer Arab-dominated areas of East Jerusalem to the **Palestinians** and to share sovereignty in the old city and over the religiously sensitive Temple Mount. This offer was rejected by Palestinian leader **Yasser Arafat**, who demanded exclusive Palestinian sovereignty and reportedly questioned any Jewish religious or historical attachment to Jerusalem. At the subsequent **Taba** talks, President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States** put forward a "bridging proposal" whereby the Palestinians would have sovereignty *on* the Temple Mount while Israel would have sovereignty *under* the Temple Mount (where the ancient archaeological artifacts, including elements of the original temple, are believed to be found). This controversial proposal was accepted in principle by Barak but rejected by Arafat.

A poll conducted by Herzog Academic College in May 2015 discerned that an overwhelming majority of Jewish Israeli respondents, 92 percent, supported keeping Jerusalem unified as Israel's permanent and eternal capital.

Since the first modern census in the mid-19th century, Jews have constituted the majority of Jerusalem's population. By January 2015 Jerusalem's population stood at 849,800—some 62 percent Jewish, 25 percent Muslim, and 2 percent Christian. Jerusalem residents made up some 10 percent of Israel's total population. *See also* JERUSALEM DAY (YOM YERUSHALIM); MOUNT SCOPUS (HAR HATZOFIM); MOUNT ZION; TEMPLE MOUNT; WESTERN WALL.

**JERUSALEM DAY.** An annual event initiated by revolutionary **Iran**'s spiritual and political leader Ayatollah Khomeini as a show of solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs in their struggle against Israel. He called for all the Muslims of the world and the Muslim governments to join together to support legitimate rights of the Palestinian people against Israel. Jerusalem Day is marked annually on the fourth Friday of the month of Ramadan.

**JERUSALEM DAY (YOM YERUSHALIM).** The day on which Israelis and Jews throughout the world commemorate the reunification of the city of **Jerusalem** during the **Six-Day War (1967)**. On 7 June 1967, an **Israel**

**Defense Forces (IDF)** paratroop brigade led by **Mordechai (Motta) Gur** captured the walled city and East Jerusalem, those areas held by **Jordan** since the end of the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and from which Israelis had been denied access (in violation of the 1949 **armistice agreement**). Gur's brief report, "The Temple Mount is in our hands," became a major element of the Israeli national psyche. Yom Yerushalim is commemorated each year on the 28th day of the Jewish month of Iyar.

**JERUSALEM EMBASSY ACT OF 1995.** The U.S. Congress adopted this act overwhelming in both houses on 13 October 1995. Section 3a noted, "Statement of the policy of the **United States**. (1) **Jerusalem** should remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected; (2) Jerusalem, should be recognized as the capital of the State of Israel; and (3) the United States Embassy in Israel should be established in Jerusalem no later than May 31, 1999."

The act also included a stipulation allowing the president to issue a waiver every six months to keep the embassy in **Tel Aviv** if he or she determines such is necessary to protect the national security interests of the United States. Since 1999, each president—Clinton, Bush, and Obama—has used the waiver. On 8 June 2015 the U.S. Supreme Court, in a separation of powers case, struck down a law that would have allowed American parents of children born in Jerusalem to obtain passports saying the children were born in Israel. The court ruled that the president must determine U.S. policy concerning the status of Jerusalem, not Congress. This ruling effectively affirmed the president's authority to apply the Jerusalem Embassy Act waiver to keep the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv.

**JERUSALEM POST.** English-language daily newspaper founded on 1 December 1932 in **Jerusalem** as the *Palestine Post*. Its founding editor was Gershon Agron. It was renamed the *Jerusalem Post* on 23 April 1950. Formerly regarded as left-wing, the paper underwent a noticeable shift to the right in the late 1980s. Beginning in 2004, under then editor-in-chief David Horowitz, the paper took a more centrist position, competing against the staunch left-liberal *Ha'aretz*. Its current editor Steve Linde seeks balanced coverage together with views from across the political spectrum, focusing on Israel, the Middle East, the Jewish world, and interfaith relations. In 1989, the paper was purchased by Hollinger. Under the control of Canadian conservative newspaper magnate Conrad Black, the paper became strongly supportive of the **Likud (Union) Party**. A number of journalists resigned from the *Post* after Black's takeover and founded the left-wing weekly *Jerusalem Report*, which eventually was sold to the *Post*. On 16 November 2004, Hollinger sold the paper to Mirkaei Tikshoret, a **Tel Aviv**-based media con-

glomerate controlled by Eli Azur. The *Jerusalem Post* today has a daily circulation in Israel of 15,000, but it is widely read by Israeli politicians, foreign journalists, and the diplomatic corps and so has a broader reach than other newspapers in Israel. In December 1996, the newspaper instituted a successful [jpost.com](http://jpost.com) online edition that also offers a French-language version. Accessible at [www.jpost.com](http://www.jpost.com).

**JERUSALEM PROGRAM.** In 1968, the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)** adopted the **Jerusalem Program**, which essentially replaced the **Ba-ble Program** of 1897. The Jerusalem Program provided, “The aims of **Zionism** are: The Unity of the Jewish people in its historic homeland **Eretz Israel** through **Aliya** from all countries; The strengthening of the State of Israel which is based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace; The preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew **education** and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values; The protection of Jewish rights everywhere.”

**JEWISH AGENCY (JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE, JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL).** A quasi-governmental institution established in the 1920s under the terms of the **Palestine mandate** to advise and cooperate with the British authorities in the task of establishing the Jewish national home in Palestine. Article 4 of the mandate for Palestine provided for the recognition of an appropriate “Jewish Agency” as a “public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.” Article 6 of the mandate stipulated that the British administration of Palestine should, “in cooperation with the Jewish Agency,” encourage **settlement** by Jews on the land. Article 11 provided that the administration might arrange with the Jewish Agency “to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, insofar as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration.” The mandate itself recognized the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)** as such Jewish Agency (Article 4) and directed the WZO to “take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty’s Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home.” The WZO, on its part, undertook steps to secure such cooperation.

The WZO performed its functions until a **Jewish Agency** for Palestine (which included both non-**Zionist** and Zionist Jews) was formally constituted in 1929. It provided the apparatus for worldwide Jewish participation in the building of the Jewish home in Palestine. The Jewish Agency worked with the governing agencies of the **Yishuv** and, particularly, with the **Vaad Leumi**. Generally, it promoted immigration (*see* ALIYA), settlement, and economic development and mobilized support for Jewish efforts in Palestine. Its political department acted as the “foreign ministry” of the quasi-government in Palestine. It negotiated with the Palestine government and **Great Britain**, and it represented the cause of the Jewish national home before appropriate organs of the League of Nations and the **United Nations**. The Jewish Agency’s officials, along with those of the Vaad Leumi and other organs of the Yishuv, provided Israel’s ministries with a trained core of civil servants and political leaders. **David Ben-Gurion**, who served as Israel’s first **prime minister** and minister of defense, was chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency, and **Moshe Sharett** (Israel’s first foreign minister) was a director of the agency’s political department.

One of the main tasks of the Jewish Agency during the period of the British administration of Palestine was to represent the Zionist Movement and world Jewry before the mandatory government, the League of Nations, and the British government in London. It also served as part of the governing structure of the Yishuv. It promoted Zionism, encouraged and facilitated immigration, raised funds, engaged in social-welfare activities, promoted Jewish culture, developed economic enterprises, and formulated domestic and external policies for the Jewish community.

It was realized long before 15 May 1948 that the future independent and sovereign Jewish state would be fully responsible for the conduct of its domestic and foreign affairs and that some functions hitherto exercised by the Jewish Agency would have to be transferred to the state. But, it was also obvious that the state would not and could not deal with all matters that had been in the purview of the Jewish Agency (in particular, immigration, absorption of immigrants, and land settlement), not only for financial reasons, but also because they were a global Jewish responsibility and not an internal affair of Israel. It was felt that the Jewish Agency would be needed to express the partnership of the Jewish people all over the world with Israel in the historic enterprise of building the modern independent Jewish state and to channel and utilize properly the aid that was expected and forthcoming from **Diaspora Jewry**.

The Jewish Agency/WZO, even though nongovernmental, performs functions instrumental to Zionism and important to the Israel government’s activities; its personnel often move to and from positions of responsibility within the government. Upon independence, the government of Israel began to assume many of the functions previously performed by this institution and

formalized its relationship with it through legislation and administrative decisions. The Jewish Agency today is responsible for the organization of Jewish immigration to Israel; the reception, assistance, and settlement of immigrants; care of children; and aid to cultural projects and institutions of higher learning. It fosters Hebrew **education** and culture in the Diaspora, guides and assists Zionist youth movements, and organizes the work of the Jewish people in support of Israel.

The mutual relations of the state and the Jewish Agency were put on a firm legal basis by the Law on the Status of the World Zionist Organization–Jewish Agency of 5713 (1952), Article 4 of which declares: “The State of Israel recognizes the WZO as the authorized agency that will continue to operate in the State of Israel for the development and settlement of the country, the absorption of immigrants from the diaspora and the coordination of the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations active in those fields.” After the **Six-Day War (1967)**, it was suggested that while the Jewish Agency/WZO should remain in charge of immigration, the absorption and integration of immigrants should become largely a responsibility of the government. A new ministry for the absorption of immigrants was established. In recent years, the Jewish Agency and the WZO have been restructured to reflect changes in Israel-Diaspora relations.

When **Sallai Meridor** took over as head of the Jewish Agency in June 1999, he said that while the agency would continue to help Jews settle in Israel, it would expand its mission into strengthening Jewish identity, especially among young Jews, and peoplehood. Meridor unexpectedly resigned as Jewish Agency head in late May 2005 and was succeeded by former Ra’anana mayor **Zeev Bielsky**. Former **Prisoner of Zion** and member of **Knesset Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky** has served as chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency for Israel since June 2009.

**JEWISH BRIGADE.** Established formally by a decision of the British government in September 1944 to join in the Allied fight against the Axis in World War II. Its origins go back to 1939, when some 130,000 Palestinian Jews registered as volunteers for military service in the struggle against Nazi **Germany** and its allies. During the war, members of the unit served in various capacities in the fight against the Axis, primarily in operations in the Middle East.

**THE JEWISH HOME.** *See* HABAYIT HAYEHUDI (THE JEWISH HOME).

**JEWISH LEADERSHIP FACTION.** *See* MANHIGUT YEHUDIT (JEWISH LEADERSHIP MOVEMENT).

**JEWISH LEGION.** Military units formed by Jewish volunteers in World War I to fight alongside British troops for the liberation of **Palestine** from the **Turks**.

**JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (JNF; KEREN KAYEMET LE ISRAEL).** Various organizations and units were created to carry on the work in **Palestine** of the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)**. The JNF was founded in 1901 at the fifth **Zionist** Congress. It was mandated to handle land purchases and development. In 1960, the **Knesset** passed the Israel Lands Administration Act, which transferred ownership of the land owned by the JNF/Keren Kayemet LeIsrael to the state of Israel. The JNF now focuses on afforestation and reclamation of land in Israel. Since its inception, the JNF has planted over 240 million trees in Israel, built 180 dams and reservoirs, developed 250,000 acres of land, and established more than 1,000 parks. It was awarded the **Israel Prize** in 2002 for lifetime achievement and special contribution to society and the state of Israel. In 2006, the JNF signed a 49-year lease agreement with the State of Israel which gives it control over some 74,000 acres of land in the **Negev** Desert for the development of forests. Toward the end of the 1980s, the JNF undertook several large-scale **water** conservation projects, involving the building of dams and reservoirs. It was involved in a range of massive infrastructure development projects to meet the challenge of settling waves of Jewish immigration (see **ALIYA**) from the **Soviet Union** and **Ethiopia**, focusing on the **Galilee** and Negev regions. In 2014 the JNF controlled some 13 percent of the land in Israel worth, according to the organization, \$2 billion. In the same year, the JNF generated \$567 million in revenue, including \$35 million in donations; about \$20.2 million of these donations reportedly came from North America. The JNF reported that in 2014 it allocated \$21.3 million for educational purposes and donated \$15.1 million to the World Zionist Organization.

**JEWISH QUESTION.** For centuries, European society sought to find an appropriate means for addressing the so-called Jewish Question, the relationship between the Christian majority and the Jewish minority. When various remedies—including emancipation, assimilation, separation, and overt persecution and discrimination (in the form of state-sponsored **pogroms** and other forms of **anti-Semitism**)—failed to “solve” the problem, a growing number of Jews turned to political **Zionism** and independent statehood in **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**. See also *DER JUDENSTAAT*; HERZL, THEODOR (1860–1904).

**THE JEWISH STATE.** See *DER JUDENSTAAT*.

**JOINT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE.** A Joint Emergency Committee—composed of members of the executive of the **Jewish Agency** for Palestine and the **Vaad Leumi (National Council)** of the Jewish community in **Palestine (Yishuv)**—was formed in the autumn of 1947, at which time the **United Nations** was considering the future of the **Palestine Mandate** and it had become obvious that the British were intent on withdrawal.

The committee was formed to make appropriate arrangements for the transfer of power from the mandatory administration to the **government** of the proposed Jewish state, and it sought to fill the void created by the disintegration of the British role. It drafted a legal code and a proposed constitution, developed a roster of experienced civil servants willing to serve the future government, and instituted vigorous recruitment for the **Hagana** to preserve the security of the Jewish community of Palestine. It disbanded in March 1948 and was succeeded by the Peoples Council, which became the de facto government of Israel upon independence.

**THE JOINT LIST.** Unified list of **Arab political parties** in Israel formed on 22 January 2015 to contest the forthcoming election for the Twentieth **Knesset**. Participating in the list were the mixed Arab-Jewish **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash) Party**, and the **National Democratic Assembly (Balad)**, **Ta'al Arab Movement for Renewal**, and **United Arab List (Ra'am)** parties, as well as the southern branch of the **Islamic Movement in Israel**. Hadash was the largest member of the alliance. As such, Hadash executive **Ayman Odeh** headed the alliance's electoral list. This was the first time in Israel's history that the major Arab parties had all run on a single electoral list. The parties united out of concern that running individually they could all fall short of the higher threshold of 3.25 percent of the popular vote needed to enter the Knesset (raised from 2 percent) set in the **Governance Act (2014)**. Boycotting the Joint List were the fundamentalist northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel and a pro-Palestinian secular Israeli Arab movement, with both groups calling for a general boycott of the Knesset election on the part of Israel's Arab community. Former **United Arab List-Ta'al Party** member of Knesset Taleb a-Sanaa, whose name had been excluded from the list of the new joint Arab alliance, formed his own electoral list (the **Arab List**) that unsuccessfully contested the 2015 Knesset election. The Joint List won 13 seats, becoming the third-largest party in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**JORDAN (FORMERLY TRANSJORDAN).** The Hashemite kingdom of Jordan is Israel's neighbor to the east with which it has fought in several wars and with which it has been in a formal state of peace since 1994. Following



the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, Jordan and Israel signed an **armistice agreement** that established the de facto frontiers between the two states during the period from 1949 to 1967. During the 1948–1949 war, Jordan occupied a portion of the territory of the **Palestine Mandate** that had been allocated by the **United Nations** Partition Plan (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN) to the Arab state of Palestine and retained control of that area that became known as the **West Bank** as well as the eastern part of **Jerusalem** (including the walled old city). It later annexed that territory. The frontier between the two states varied from peaceful to one across which **terrorist** raids and reprisals took place. On the eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israeli officials in secret talks with **King Hussein** promised to maintain the status quo in Jordanian-controlled territories in return for a Jordanian decision to remain out of the hostilities. However, Jordan joined in the Arab fighting against Israel in the war, during which time Israel took control of the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan. Jordan abstained during both the **Sinai War (1956)** and the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)**. During the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, King Hussein committed only token forces to the battle against Israel, and these fought alongside **Syrian** troops in the **Golan Heights**.

Secret negotiations between senior Israeli officials and King Abdullah I took place prior to the creation of Israel, and substantial high-level contacts between the two states continued over the years since. The **open bridges policy** instituted by **Moshe Dayan** permitted the continued flow of people and goods across the **Jordan River** between Jordan and Israel after the Six-Day War. Numerous other contacts of various kinds at various levels and on numerous themes also took place. The concept of a “**Jordan option**,” which assumed that Jordan could represent the **Palestinians** as a means of resolving the **Arab-Israeli conflict**, was for many years a core component of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**’s approach to peacemaking.

On 14 September 1993 (one day after the signing of the **Israel–Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles**), Israel and Jordan initialed a substantive common agenda for peacemaking. On 25 July 1994, Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and King Hussein signed the **Washington Declaration**, symbolizing the completion of this agenda. On 17 October 1994, Israel and Jordan initialed a peace treaty in Amman; the official signing ceremony, witnessed by President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States**, took place in the **Arava** Desert on 26 October 1994.

Although based on common interests and long-standing understandings (especially concerning issues of security), the Israeli-Jordanian relationship is not without its occasional stresses and strains. For example, in early March 1997 King Hussein sent a pointed letter to Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** expressing “distress” over the course of Israeli–PLO peace negotiations. A few days later (13 March 1997), seven Israeli schoolgirls were killed

when a deranged Jordanian soldier shot at their bus at the Naharayim border stop (a place known by both sides as the “peace island”); King Hussein subsequently made unprecedented condolence calls on the families of the victims of the attack. A temporary crisis in bilateral relations arose in the fall of 1997, when **Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)** agents carrying forged Canadian passports tried to assassinate **Khaled Ma-shaal**, head of the **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** political office in Amman. Nevertheless, despite occasional disruptions, the peace treaty with Jordan remains the most secure of Israel’s relationships with its Arab neighbors.

The death of King Hussein in February 1999 and his choice of his son Abdullah as the new king reflected continuation of the positive relationship between the two states. Under **King Abdullah II**, relations between the two countries have continued to develop. **Tourism** is substantial, and joint ventures in a number of economic sectors have become somewhat commonplace. Cooperation on issues such as the environment and **water** sharing has proven to be beneficial to both economies. On 26 February 2015, Israel and Jordan signed an agreement to replenish the **Dead Sea** by carrying water from the Red Sea. Israel-Jordan bilateral coordination in the areas of border security and counterterrorism has continued. Jordan has become an increasingly important player in the peace efforts by the United States, and later the **Quartet**, designed to bring about resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as in regional efforts to confront the spread of Sunni radical extremism in neighboring **Iraq** and **Syria** (a concern shared by Israel).

“**JORDAN IS PALESTINE**”. A philosophy espoused mainly by the political right in Israel that viewed the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan as a Palestinian state. From this perspective, the **Balfour Declaration** and the League of Nations mandate for **Palestine** (see BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE) applied to areas on both sides of the **Jordan River**, and **Great Britain**’s decisions to unilaterally separate the area east of the river from the mandate and to establish Transjordan in the early 1920s were illegitimate. **Revisionist Zionists** viewed the Zionist leadership’s acceptance of this state of affairs as a capitulation. Nationalist Zionists continued to contend that the Arab demand for a Palestinian state was unnecessary, inasmuch as one already existed in Jordan. Hence, there was no need for *another* Palestinian state west of the Jordan River, where Israel was located. This view was never accepted by either the Palestinian leadership or the king of Jordan. In renouncing Jordan’s claim to the **West Bank** in July 1988, **King Hussein** specifically noted that “Jordan is not Palestine.” With the **Israel–Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles** and the **Israel–Jordan Peace Treaty**, the “Jordan Is Palestine” argument lost much of its appeal among average Israelis.

**“JORDAN OPTION”.** An approach to a peaceful resolution of the **Arab-Israeli conflict** that suggested that Israel and **Jordan** would negotiate to determine the future of the **West Bank (Judea and Samaria)** because Jordan between 1949 and 1967 had been the power controlling the area and appeared amenable to possible participation in a peace process. It had been a major element of **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** policy until the **Oslo Accords** and the **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty**.

**JORDAN RIVER.** The Jordan, some 205 miles long, flows north to south through the **Sea of Galilee**, ends in the **Dead Sea**, and forms the boundary between **Palestine** and **Jordan** (Transjordan). It originates in the snow and rain of Mount Hermon, and its sources are the Hasbani River in **Lebanon**, the Baniyas River in **Syria**, and the Dan River in Israel.

**JOSEPH’S TOMB.** A tomb located in the **West Bank** city of Nablus (biblical Shechem) that is revered by both Jews and Muslims. Jewish tradition believes it to be the burial place of Joseph, the son of **Jacob**, who is also venerated by Muslims as the twin brother of Esau, son-in-law of **Ishmael**. Some Muslims revere the tomb as the burial place of a Muslim sheikh named Yossef. Israeli security forces and Palestinians have clashed often at Joseph’s Tomb.

**JUBRAN, SALIM (JOUBRAN) (1947– ).** The first Israeli **Arab** to be appointed to a permanent seat on the **Supreme Court** of Israel, in May 2004. Born in **Haifa** to a Christian family, he was educated at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and went into private legal practice in 1970. In 1982, he was appointed as a judge to Haifa’s magistrate’s court, and in 1993 he was promoted to the city’s district court, where he served for 10 years. In 2003, Jubran was initially given a temporary appointment to the Supreme Court; this was made a permanent appointment in May 2004. In 2015, Justice Jubran served as chairman of Israel’s Central Elections Committee, overseeing the 17 March 2015 election of the Twentieth **Knesset**.

**JUDAH.** *See* JUDEA.

**JUDEA.** The kingdom of Judea (Judah) maintained its capital at **Jerusalem** until 586 BC, when the Babylonians destroyed the Temple, ended the kingdom, and transferred the leadership and much of the Jewish population in exile to Babylon. Under Cyrus of Persia, the Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem, and the rebuilding of the Temple began.

**JUDEA AND SAMARIA.** Terms used in Israel to refer to the **West Bank**.

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**JUNE WAR (1967).** *See* SIX-DAY WAR (1967).

# K

**KACH** (“**THUS**”). A political movement on the extreme right of Israel’s political spectrum founded and led by **Rabbi Meir Kahane** until his death. It is essentially a secular nationalist movement that focuses on the Arab challenges to Israel and its Jewish character. In the 1984 **Knesset** election, after failure in previous attempts, Kach succeeded in gaining nearly 26,000 votes and one seat in the **Knesset**. Kahane had campaigned on a theme of “making Israel Jewish again” by seeking the expulsion of the **Arabs** from Israel, as well as from the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. Initially, the party was banned from participation in the 1984 Knesset election by the Central Elections Committee on the grounds that its program was antidemocratic and racist, but the ruling was reversed by the **Supreme Court of Israel**—a move that gained the party additional publicity and probably facilitated its efforts to secure a Knesset seat.

Despite Kahane’s success in the 1984 election, he was considered an extremist, even by many on the right, and his political ideology and programs remain marginal in Israel and are still considered by the majority of Israelis in that vein. He was ruled out as a political ally and coalition partner by all the major factions in the Knesset, including the ultranationalist **Tehiya (Renaissance)**. Kach was banned from participation in the 1988 Knesset election by the Central Elections Committee on the grounds that it was racist; similar grounds were cited for banning it from participating in the 1992 and 1996 Knesset elections. After the murder of Rabbi Kahane, Rabbi Avraham Tolidano was chosen as his successor in March 1991.

Disputes over tactics and personal rivalries within Kach led to the formation of a breakaway faction calling itself **Kahane Chai (Kahane Lives)** and headed by Benjamin Kahane, son of Rabbi Meir Kahane. Both KACH and Kahane Chai were outlawed and officially disarmed after the February 1994 massacre of Arab worshipers in **Hebron** by Dr. **Baruch Goldstein**, a KACH activist (*see* **HEBRON MASSACRE**). Nevertheless, followers of Rabbi Meir Kahane remain active and are considered to be among the most militant opponents of the **Oslo Accords** and of territorial compromise in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

**KADIMA (FORWARD).** The name eventually adopted by the new political party established by **Ariel Sharon** upon his departure from the **Likud (Union) Party** on 21 November 2005. Vice Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** took over leadership after the debilitating stroke suffered by Sharon on 4 January 2006. Olmert led the party to victory in the 28 March 2006 **Knesset** election, winning 29 seats. Kadima was the largest party represented in Israel's 31st government, presented to the **Knesset** by Olmert on 4 May 2006.

Kadima sought to portray itself as a centrist alternative to the two traditional ideological poles in Israeli electoral politics represented by Likud and the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. It acknowledged the demographic and political reality leading to additional disengagements in the **West Bank**. While it preferred to achieve this goal through negotiations, Kadima would act unilaterally in the absence of a credible Palestinian negotiating partner if necessary.

In 2006, Olmert specified that his government would hold onto the three major West Bank **settlement** blocs of **Ariel**, Gush Etzion (**Etzion Bloc**), and **Ma'aleh Adumim** in a permanent agreement with the **Palestinians**. Moreover, Israel's eastern border, that is, the settlements of the **Jordan Valley**, "cannot be renounced," Olmert asserted. The **security barrier** would be completed at an expedited pace, with priority given to the **Jerusalem** region, and Jerusalem would be "kept united."

Despite the violent confrontations that occurred between militant settlers and Israeli soldiers sent to dismantle the illegal settlement of **Amona** in February 2006, Olmert pledged to maintain a dialogue with responsible settlers and to treat them respectfully. He also promised to make clear his intentions with regard to the evacuation of settlements from the outset.

Domestically, Kadima portrayed itself as a pragmatic midpoint between the conservative "trickle down" economics of **Benjamin Netanyahu's** Likud Party and the "neo-socialism" of the Israel Labor Party.

The challenge for Olmert was to use the Kadima Party's success at the polls in the 2006 Knesset election as the basis upon which to construct a credible, permanent, centrist third alternative to Likud and the Israel Labor Party for Israeli voters. Olmert's Kadima-led coalition **government** survived the **Winograd Committee's** sharp criticism of the prime minister's (and defense minister's) management of the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. However, questions of personal integrity and financial impropriety forced Olmert to resign. On 30 July 2008 he announced that he would not contest the Kadima leadership review that September and would resign from office once a new leader had been elected. On 17 September 2008 Justice Minister **Tzipi Livni** was elected as the new Kadima leader, defeating former **Israel Defense Forces** chief of staff **Shaul Mofaz**. When Livni announced her inability to form a viable governing coalition, 10 February 2009 was the date set for election of a new Knesset. Under Livni's leadership Kadima won one

more seat (28) than Netanyahu's Likud (27) in that election, but Israel's **president, Shimon Peres**, assessing the overall configuration of the new Knesset, gave Netanyahu the opportunity to form the government. On 27 March 2012, Mofaz defeated Livni in the Kadima leadership primary by a margin of 64.5 percent to 35.5 percent.

In November 2012, Livni announced the formation of a new centrist party, **Hatnua (Movement)** and poached seven Kadima Knesset members. In the 2013 Knesset election, Kadima lost almost 90 percent of its vote share from the 2009 election and narrowly crossed the electoral threshold with just two seats in the Knesset. On 27 January 2015 Mofaz, facing the prospect of his party's decimation in the forthcoming election for the Twentieth Knesset, announced his retirement from politics. With the party in disarray, Kadima declined to participate in the 2015 Knesset election. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**KADISHMAN, MENASHE (1932–2015)**. Iconic Israeli sculptor and painter. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 21 August 1932 to Russian immigrant parents. Best known for his depiction of sheep that he said were a metaphor for Israeli soldiers who died in wars. His sculptures and paintings have been displayed in Israel and throughout the world. Kadishman was awarded the 1995 **Israel Prize** for sculpture. He died on 8 May 2015.

**KAHALANI, AVIGDOR (1944–)**. War hero, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 16 June 1944 in **Mandate Palestine**, he holds degrees from **Tel Aviv University** and **Haifa University**. He served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and rose to the rank of brigadier general. In the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** he was commander of an armored battalion on the **Golan Heights** and was commended for his bravery in reversing the initial **Syrian** advance. He became an **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** member of the Knesset following the 1992 legislative election but quit to protest Labor's apparent flexibility vis-à-vis the Golan Heights. He helped found and headed a new political party, **The Third Way (Derech HaSlisheet)** that won four seats in the Fourteenth Knesset (1996). He served as minister of internal security in **Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud (Union)**-led coalition **government** established in 1996. Kahalani headed the Third Way in the May 1999 Knesset election, but the party failed to pass the threshold for winning seats in the Knesset. He joined Likud and held the 43rd slot on that party's list for the 2003 Knesset election, but failed to win a seat when Likud took only 38 mandates in the election. Since retiring from electoral politics Kahalani remains an advocate for the rights of Israel's soldiers and for Israel's retention of the Golan Heights. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**KAHAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.** Toward the end of the **War in Lebanon (1982)**, Christian Phalangist forces massacred **Palestinians** at the **Sabra and Shatila refugee camps** in the Beirut area. Some alleged that the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** should have known and could have prevented the massacres because the camps were within the army's supposed range of control. The resultant anguish within Israel led to the decision taken by the **cabinet** on 28 September 1982 to create a **commission of inquiry** chaired by Yitzhak Kahan, president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel. Other members of the commission were **Aharon Barak**, justice of the Supreme Court, and Yona Efrat, a reserve major general in the IDF. The Kahan Commission's terms of reference were described in the following way: "The matter which will be subjected to inquiry is: all the facts and factors connected with the atrocity carried out by a unit of the Lebanese Forces against the civilian population in the Shatila and Sabra camps."

Its final report was issued in February 1983. Among other recommendations, it was suggested that Major General Yehoshua Saguy not continue as **director of military intelligence** and the division commander brigadier general Amos Yaron not serve in the capacity of a field commander in the IDF. Among other results of the report and recommendations was the resignation of **Ariel Sharon** as minister of defense. The commission charged Sharon with personal responsibility for the decision to allow the Phalangists to enter Sabra and Shatila.

**KAHANE, RABBI MEIR (1932–1990).** Member of **Knesset**; founder of the right-wing **KACH Party**. Born in Brooklyn, New York, on 1 August 1932, the son of an Orthodox rabbi, he became an ordained rabbi in the 1950s. In 1946 he joined **Betar**. He studied at the Mirrer Yeshiva in Brooklyn and later attended Brooklyn College and then studied law at New York University. He founded the Jewish Defense League (JDL) in 1968 as a response to vicious outbreaks of **anti-Semitism** in New York and a perceived need to change the Jewish image. The JDL became known for its violent methods, especially those designed to call attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Kahane immigrated (see ALIYA) to Israel in 1971, where he was arrested numerous times and served some months in prison in 1981 under protective detention for threatening violence against Palestinian protesters in the **West Bank**. He founded and led the KACH Party and was elected to the **Knesset** in 1984. A prolific author, Kahane advocated the necessity of retaining Israel's Jewish character as its first priority. Thus, he proposed that the **Arabs** should leave Israel and the West Bank and **Gaza Strip** and go to other locations in the Arab world because of the violence they have perpetrated



against the Jews and because their growing numbers would threaten the Jewish nature of the Israeli state. Kahane was assassinated while on a speaking engagement in New York City on 5 November 1990.

**KAHANE CHAI (KAHANE LIVES).** A splinter from the militant **Kach** Movement founded by the late **Rabbi Meir Kahane** in the 1980s. It was headed by Rabbi Kahane's son, Binyamin. Both it and Kach were outlawed and officially disarmed in the immediate aftermath of the February 1994 **Hebron Massacre**. Nevertheless, Binyamin and his followers continued to operate underground. He and members of his family were killed in a **terrorist** attack on 31 December 2000.

**KAHLON, MOSHE (1960–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Hadera on 19 November 1960 to parents who had immigrated (see **ALIYA**) from Libya. First elected on the **Likud (Union) Party** list to the Knesset in 2003 and appointed a deputy speaker of the Knesset. He placed third on the Likud list for the 2006 Knesset election and then sixth for the 2009 election. Kahlon was appointed minister of communications and subsequently also took on the welfare and social services portfolio. In the Knesset he gained a reputation as a champion of economically disadvantaged sectors of Israeli society. He backed a bill to reduce electricity charges for poor families and headed an inquiry into bank fees. He was most famous for his efforts, first as a member of the Knesset and then as communications minister, to open up the mobile telecom industry to competition, leading to reduced rates for Israeli consumers. In late October 2012, Kahlon announced that he was taking a break from politics and would not be seeking a place on Likud's list for the 2013 Knesset election. He reemerged only in April 2014 with an announcement of his intention to return to electoral politics "imminently," once the appropriate "framework" had been determined. On 27 November 2014 Kahlon announced the formation of a new political party to contest the March 2015 election for the Twentieth Knesset. The party was officially registered on 10 December 2014 as **Kulanu (All Of Us)**. Kahlon attracted prominent individuals to his party's electoral list, including Israel's former ambassador to the **United States**, Michael Oren. The party won 10 seats in the Twentieth Knesset and agreed to join the Likud-led coalition government formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** with Kahlon as finance minister. On 10 June 2015 Kahlon introduced the first phase of his plan to lower housing costs in Israel, fulfilling a major element of his party's socioeconomic platform. *See also* **POLITICAL PARTIES**.

**KAPLAN, ELIEZER (1891–1952).** **Zionist** official involved in early economic projects in **Palestine**. Born in Minsk, Russia, he was educated in Russia and became active in Zionist affairs. He visited Palestine briefly in 1920 and settled there in 1923. In 1933, he became a member of the executive of the **Jewish Agency**, becoming the head of its finance and administrative department. He was a central figure in the planning and organizing of economic and development projects in Palestine. After the independence of Israel, he became the first minister of finance and later deputy **prime minister**. He died on 13 July 1952.

**KARINE-A.** A ship purchased in **Lebanon** and loaded with arms in **Iran** that sailed toward the **Gaza Strip**. In the Red Sea, Israeli naval commandos intercepted it (*see* OPERATION NOAH'S ARK) between Sudan and Saudi Arabia on 3 January 2002; operating from both sea and air the commandos boarded the ship, surprised the crew, and took control without firing a shot. The *Karine-A* was carrying 50 tons of weapons and explosives for use against Israel by the **Palestinians**, including short- and long-range **Katyusha rockets**, antitank missiles, mortars, mines, sniper rifles, shotguns, and more. The seized ship was redirected to **Eilat**.

The **Palestinian Authority (PA)** had purchased the ship and was responsible for shipping the weapons to its territory. The financing of the whole operation was done by the leaders of the PA, and the commander of the ship was a senior officer in the Palestinian Naval Police. *See also* TERRORISM.

**KARNI CROSSING.** A cargo terminal on the border between Israel and the **Gaza Strip**. Located at the eastern end of Gaza, it was built in late 1993 to allow Palestinian merchants to export and import goods. The Karni Crossing was also used by the residents of the Netzarim **settlement** because the Karni road was the only route on which settlers were permitted to travel. During the **Al-Aksa intifada**, the Karni terminal was targeted for **terrorist** attacks several times. Since Israel's 2005 withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the Karni Crossing was used primarily for back-to-back transfers, in which merchandise and produce for the Israeli market must be removed from a Palestinian truck and placed in an Israeli truck, and vice versa for goods being imported into the Gaza Strip. The crossing was periodically closed by Israel for security reasons. *See also* SUICIDE BOMBINGS.

**KATIF.** *See* GUSH KATIF.

**KATYUSHA ROCKET.** A small-caliber, unguided, Soviet-made, ground-to-ground rocket. Variants were used against Israeli targets by the **Egyptian** army in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and by

the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) during its years of presence in southern **Lebanon**. Beginning in the mid-1980s, Katyusha rockets were fired at Israeli positions in southern Lebanon and at Israeli towns and villages in the northern **Galilee** by Lebanon-based **Hezbollah**, AMAL Shia guerillas, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command. The Katyusha was also one of the weapons of choice used by Palestinian factions to harass **Gaza Strip settlements**, as well as **Sderot** and other Jewish communities close to Gaza both before and after Israel's summer 2005 **unilateral disengagement**. *See also* **TERRORISM**.

**KATZAV, MOSHE (1945–)**. Israel's eighth **president** (2000–2007), he resigned in disgrace on 1 July 2007. Born in Yazd, **Iran**, he arrived in Israel in 1951, graduated from the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and served as mayor of the southern city of Kiryat Malachi. He was first elected to the **Knesset** on the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1977. He was minister of labor and social affairs in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984 and became minister of transport in the government established in December 1988. He retained the latter position in the **Yitzhak Shamir**–led government established in June 1990. Katzav served as minister of **tourism** and deputy **prime minister** (and the **cabinet** minister responsible for liaising with Israel's **Arab** community) in the government formed after the 1996 Knesset election. Returned in the 1999 Knesset election, Katzav was elected Israel's eighth president on 31 July 2000, defeating **Shimon Peres** by a 63-57 vote among members of the Knesset. On 24 January 2007, Katzav asked the Knesset for a leave of absence from the office of the presidency following an announcement by Israel's **attorney general** Menachem Mazuz that he would charge Katzav with rape and other offenses relating to at least 10 former female employees. During his official three-month leave of absence, beginning on 25 January 2007, Katzav's duties as president were handled on an interim basis by Knesset speaker **Dalia Itzik**. On 28 June 2007, Katzav's lawyers reached a controversial plea bargain settlement with the attorney general. According to the deal, Katzav would plead guilty to several counts of sexual harassment and indecent acts and receive a suspended jail sentence and pay compensation to two of his victims. The more serious rape charges brought by a former employee were dropped, as well as Katzav's original charges of her blackmailing him. Katzav's resignation took effect on 1 July 2007. He was succeeded as president by Shimon Peres. On 26 February 2007, the **Supreme Court** of Israel rejected petitions from women's groups calling for Katzav's plea bargain to be repealed.

**KATZIR, EPHRAIM (FORMERLY KATCHALSKI) (1916–2009).** Israel's fourth **president**. Born in Kiev, Russia, on 16 May 1916, he was brought to **Palestine** by his parents in 1922 and was educated at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, where he received his master's degree in 1937 and his doctorate in 1941. From 1941 to 1948, he held posts at Hebrew University and as a research fellow at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute and Columbia University. During Israel's **War of Independence** (1948–1949) he headed the **science** corps of the **Hagana**. In 1949, he joined the department of biophysics at the **Weizmann (formerly Sieff) Institute of Science** in Rehovot and became department head. He did research on proteins and polyamino acids and was a member of numerous scientific organizations. He became president of Israel in April 1973 and remained in that position until 1978. In keeping with **Zionist** policy and practice that government officials adopt Hebrew names, he changed his name from Katchalski to Katzir. In 1978, he became the head of the center for biotechnology at **Tel Aviv University** and a professor at the Weizmann Institute. Katzir died on 30 May 2009 at his home in Rehovot.

**KATZNELSON, BERL (1887–1944).** Labor **Zionist** ideologue and organizer. Born in Bobruisk, Russia, on 25 January 1887, he became active at an early age in the Jewish socialist groups of Russia as well as labor **Zionists** and socialist Zionists. Arriving in **Palestine** in 1909, he set about organizing labor unions among the Jewish farm workers. During World War I, he created *Hamashbir*, a consumer cooperative, and the beginnings of **Kupat Holim**, a cooperative sick fund. He supported **Eliyahu Golomb** in the latter's efforts to build the **Hagana** as a public organization not controlled by **Hashomer Hatzair**. In 1921–1922, he traveled to the **United States** to raise money for the creation of Bank Hapoalim as a workers' bank, and in 1925, he founded the **Histadrut** daily newspaper *Davar*, becoming its first editor.

In the 1920s, Katznelson was one of the architects of the alliance between the labor movement and **World Zionist Organization** (WZO) president **Chaim Weizmann**, an alliance that grew stronger as the challenge posed by **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky** and his **Revisionist** Movement to the policies of both the labor-dominated **Jewish Agency** and the WZO increased. Like Weizmann, Katznelson sought to maintain a pragmatic ideological line. While he opposed Jabotinsky's statements concerning the Arabs, his own attitudes hardened somewhat, especially after the Arab riots of 1929. He was suspicious of the policies of the **British Mandate** authority but had increasing reservations concerning the anti-Jewish attitudes of the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) and was openly critical of elements of the **Zionist Left** who left Palestine for the USSR. Katznelson opposed the idea of partition in 1937 and was an ardent supporter of the Hagana's illegal immigration (**Aliya Bet**) activities. However, he was equally ardent in his criti-

cism of the radicalization of the **education** program of **Hakibbutz Hameuhad** (United Kibbutz Movement), as reflected in increasing leftist tendencies, an unwillingness to find any common ground with the Revisionists, and even a growing sympathy with the USSR.

Between 1936 and 1939, Katznelson took steps to moderate this radicalization. Although his initial response to the **White Paper of 1939** was to endorse a radical posture against **Great Britain**, the outbreak of World War II led him to join **David Ben-Gurion**, Weizmann, and most other Zionist leaders to demand the immediate creation of a Jewish state upon the defeat of Nazi **Germany**. Although the majority of **Mapai (Mifleget Poeli Eretz Yisrael—Israel Workers Party)** supported the **Biltmore Program** of 1942, differences over the issue caused Mapai to split in mid-1944. Already deeply affected by the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**, Katznelson suffered further from the split with Hakibbutz Hameuhad, and he died a few months later on 13 August 1944 in **Jerusalem**.

**KENYA.** On 28 November 2002, two shoulder-launched missiles were fired at an Israeli charter airliner (an Arkia Airlines Boeing 727) as it took off from the Mombasa, Kenya, airport with Israeli tourists aboard. Both missiles narrowly missed the aircraft. On 6 December of that year, Kenyan police found the missiles. A **suicide bombing** at the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa, frequented by Israeli tourists, was timed to coincide with the attempted missile strike and killed Israelis and others. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; TERRORISM.

**KEREM SHALOM.** An international crossing point on the Gaza Strip–Egypt border, located at the point where Israel’s border meets those of **Egypt** and the **Gaza Strip**. Pursuant to an Israeli-Palestinian agreement of 15 November 2005, **Palestinian Authority (PA)** customs officials were to clear incoming cargo at Kerem Shalom under the supervision of Israeli customs agents, with the **United States** and the European Union assisting in the resolution of disputes. However, due primarily to the collapse of trust and cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian officials, the Kerem Shalom crossing was only infrequently used. On 25 June 2006, a team of Palestinian **terrorists** killed two Israeli soldiers, kidnapped a third—*see* SHALIT, GIL-AD (1986–)—and wounded several others after tunneling beneath Kerem Shalom from the Gaza Strip. Both before and after the 2014 war in Gaza (**Operation Protective Edge**), **Shin Bet (Shabak)** and Israeli customs officials intercepted dozens of attempts by professional smugglers to sneak contraband into the Gaza Strip through the Keren Shalom passing, contraband that was suspected to be heading for Palestinian terror groups in Gaza.

Items seized included diving suits, polyurethane rocket propellant, carbon and sulfur rods for blast furnaces used in the production of weapons, and fiberglass used in the manufacture of long-range rockets.

**KEREN HAYESOD (PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND).** The major fund-raising and financial institution of the **World Zionist Organization** that financed its activities in **Palestine**. The 1920 **Zionist** conference created the fund to finance immigration (*see* ALIYA) to Palestine and rural **settlement** there, and in March 1921, the Keren Hayesod/Palestine Foundation Fund was registered as a British company. In the subsequent years, it was the agency that funded the building of the Jewish state in Palestine and Israel (as the transformed **United Israel Appeal**). Its funds came from contributions, and it financed activities in the areas of immigration, absorption, settlement, **water** resource development, and economic investment. Keren Hayesod was incorporated as an Israeli company by a special act of the **Knesset**, the Keren Hayesod Law of 18 January 1956.

**KEREN KAYEMET LE ISRAEL.** *See* JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (JNF; KEREN KAYEMET LE ISRAEL).

**KERET, ETGAR (1967– ).** Israeli writer known for his short stories, graphic novels, and scriptwriting for film and television. Considered part of a “new generation” of Israeli authors. Born in Ramat Gan, on August 20, 1967, to parents who had survived the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. His second book, *Missing Kissinger* (1994), caught the attention of the general public. The short story *Siren*, which deals with the paradoxes of modern Israeli society, is included in the curriculum for the Israeli matriculation exam in literature. His memoir *The Seven Good Years* was published in 2015. He has also written comic books and books for children. In 2010, Keret received the Chevalier (Knight) Medallion, France’s highest award for the arts.

**KERRY, JOHN (1943– ).** Secretary of state of the **United States** under President **Barack Obama** since February 2013, who in the spring of 2013 resumed U.S.–mediated efforts to achieve Israeli-Palestinian peace. On 29 July 2013 Kerry with Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** and **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman and **Palestinian Authority** president **Mahmoud Abbas** formally initiated a process of intense diplomacy with the goal of achieving a framework for an Israeli-Palestinian final status agreement within nine months, by 29 April 2014. Despite Kerry’s efforts the negotiations collapsed without the desired breakthrough. Speaking publicly for the first time about the collapsed talks between Israelis and Palestinians, Kerry acknowledged that nine months of face-to-face talks had failed to

produce any visible progress or deal and said the United States would take a “hard look” at what to do next. “Both parties still indicate that they feel it’s important to find a way to negotiate,” Kerry said. “We believe the best thing to do right now is pause, take a hard look at these things, and find out what is possible and what is not possible in the days ahead.” Kerry also was centrally involved in the negotiation of controversial international agreements affecting **Iran**’s nuclear weapons program, agreements that many Israelis—and their government—believe threaten Israel’s security.

**KFIR.** An Israeli-designed and -produced fighter aircraft, initially developed in the early 1970s. First used in combat missions in 1977, it had a maximum speed of Mach 2.3 and an operational altitude of 58,000 feet. Developed by **Israel Aircraft Industries** (IAI), the Kfir was designed to be employed in either an air-defense or ground-attack role. Depending on its role, it had an unrefueled range of between 548 and 737 miles. It was air-refuelable. Deployed by the Israel Air Force, it also became a popular element of Israel’s military export **industry**. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE; ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**KHARTOUM ARAB SUMMIT.** At the Khartoum Summit in early September 1967, the members of the **Arab League** of States agreed to unite their efforts “to eliminate the effects of the [Israeli] aggression” in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and to secure Israeli withdrawal from the **Occupied Territories** within the framework of the “main principles” to which they adhere: “no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiation with it, and adherence to the rights of the **Palestinian** people in their country.” This statement became known as the “Three Nos.” *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**KIBBUTZ (PL. KIBBUTZIM).** The kibbutz (a word meaning “collective settlement” that comes from the Hebrew for “group”) was a socialist experiment, a voluntary grouping of individuals who hold property in common and have their needs satisfied by the commune. Every kibbutz member participates in the work. All the needs of the members, including **education**, recreation, medical care, and vacations, are provided by the kibbutz. The earliest kibbutzim were founded by pioneer immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from Eastern Europe who sought to meld socialism and **Zionism** and thus build a new kind of society. They have been maintained by a second and third generation as well as by new members.

Initially, the kibbutzim focused on the ideal of working the land and became known for their crops, poultry, orchards, and dairy farming. As modern techniques, especially automation, were introduced and as land and **water** became less available, many of the kibbutzim shifted their activities or

branched out into new areas, such as **industry** and **tourism**, to supplement their agricultural pursuits. Kibbutz factories now manufacture electronic products, furniture, plastics, household appliances, farm machinery, and irrigation system components. *See also* ECONOMY; HAKIBBUTZ HAARTZI; HAKIBBUTZ HAMEUHAD (UNITED KIBBUTZ); IHUD HAKVUTZOT VEHAKIBBUTZIM; UNITED KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT (HATNUA HAKIBBUTZIT HAMEUHEDET).

**KIBYA (QIBYA).** The **Jordanian** village that was the site of the first major retaliatory raid by Israel in response to **terrorist** incursions from neighboring Arab countries. On 15 October 1953, Palestinian infiltrators from Jordan murdered a young **woman** and two of her children in the Israeli **settlement** of Yehud. Israeli **intelligence services** identified the Jordanian village of Kibya as one of the bases used by the infiltrators for this and other attacks. Despite the opposition of Prime Minister **Moshe Sharett** (who reportedly preferred to work indirectly with the Jordanian government in stopping the terrorist incursions), a special antiterrorist squad of Israeli soldiers, Unit 101, commanded by **Ariel Sharon**, raided Kibya on 14–15 October 1953. In the course of the attack, about 12 Jordanian soldiers were killed, along with some 60 Jordanian civilians. Though the Kibya raid produced the short-term benefit of temporarily deterring cross-border terrorist incursions, the diplomatic costs to Israel were substantial, including condemnations by the **United States**, **Great Britain**, and the **United Nations Security Council**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; *FEDAYEEN*; ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**KILOMETER 101.** The point along the Cairo-Suez road where, after the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, Israeli and **Egyptian** military officials met for negotiations toward implementing the conditions of **United Nations Security Council Resolution 338**, beginning on 28 October 1973. The talks, mediated by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger of the **United States**, resulted in a six-point agreement, signed by Egyptian general Abdul Ghani Gamassy and Israeli general Aharon Yariv, on 11 November 1973. The Kilometer 101 talks set the stage for the **Israel-Egypt Disengagement of Forces Agreement** of 1974.

**KING-CRANE COMMISSION.** At the time of World War I, perhaps the most significant American concern and its first political involvement in the Middle East was the formation of an investigating commission that was sent to the region and offered suggestions concerning its future. At a meeting of the Big Four in March 1919, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson proposed that a commission visit **Syria** to elucidate the state of opinion in the region and



report on its findings to the Versailles peace conference. The U.S. sent two representatives, Henry C. King, president of Oberlin College, and Charles R. Crane, a manufacturer, to the area, but neither the British nor the **French** joined the commission. The King-Crane Commission was the first significant American involvement in the political affairs of the area, although, in the final analysis, the inquiry had no real impact. Neither the Allies nor the United States gave it serious consideration. King and Crane arrived in **Palestine** in June 1919, conducted interviews and studied reports and documents. In August of that year, the commission submitted its report to the American delegation for use at the peace conference. Generally, it argued against the **Zionist** objectives and sought to include **Palestine** within a larger Syrian mandate that would include **Lebanon** and Palestine. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**KING DAVID HOTEL.** Built in 1930 in **Jerusalem**, it housed the headquarters of the British military and civilian command in **Palestine** after World War II. On 22 July 1946, the southwest corner of the building was destroyed by a bombing committed by the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi). A total of 91 people were killed in the attack: 41 Arabs, 28 British, 17 Jews, and 5 others. According to the Irgun's leader **Menachem Begin**, the bombing was a political act, a demonstration that the Irgun could strike at the very heart of the authority of the **British Mandate for Palestine**. The attack was condemned by the **Jewish Agency** leadership. Nevertheless, it prompted a crackdown by British security authorities on **Zionist** activities in Palestine. The King David Hotel was rebuilt in 1948. *See also* GREAT BRITAIN.

**KIRYAT ARBA.** A Jewish **settlement** established at **Hebron** after the **Six-Day War (1967)**. The name *Kiryat Arba* (Kiryat Haarbah) is mentioned in the Bible: “Kiryat Arba, that is Hebron” (Joshua 15:54); “Hebron, formally called Kiryat Arba” (Judges 1:10); “Kiryat Arba, that is Hebron” (Genesis 35:27); and “some of the men of Judah [*see* JUDEA] lived in Kiryat Arba and its villages” (Nehemiah 11:25). In the Cave of the Patriarchs (Machpela) in Hebron are the tombs of **Abraham**, **Isaac**, and **Jacob** and their wives (Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, respectively). An old Jewish tradition has it that this cave is also the burial place of Adam and Eve, who lived in Hebron after their banishment from the Garden of Eden. The name *Kiryat Arba* (Town of the Four) was chosen to allude to the four pairs who are buried there.

**KISHON, EPHRAIM (1924–2005).** Israel's premier satirist who was known for his biting wit. Born as Ferenc Hoffmann in Budapest, Hungary, on 23 August 1924, he survived the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1949, where he changed his name. A writer known

for his books and movies, his 1964 play *Salah Shabati* lampooned Israeli society for making life hard for new immigrants. The eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)** marked the peak of Kishon's popularity in Israel, as he captured with sensitivity and humor the day-to-day atmosphere of a country under siege from the perspective of a Jewish Holocaust survivor who was amazed and beguiled to realize that his country had managed to withstand the Arab threat to destroy him again and again. Although his popularity in Israel began to wane in the 1970s, Kishon won growing acclaim in **Germany** and German-speaking countries, where he received awards and secured staggering sales. According to his son, Kishon viewed his success in Germany as one of a "great feeling, that the children of my hangmen are my admirers." Kishon won the **Israel Prize** for lifetime achievement in 2003. He died on 29 January 2005 in Switzerland, where he had spent much time in his later years. Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** eulogized Kishon as "one of the cultural giants of our generation."

**KISSUFIM CROSSING.** The main junction point on the road connecting Israel and the **Gush Katif settlement** bloc that was located in the south edge of the **Gaza Strip** along the Mediterranean Coast. It was the site of many clashes between Israeli soldiers and **Palestinian** guerillas as well as Palestinian **terrorist** attacks, including **suicide bombings**, targeting soldiers and settlers during the first **intifada** and the **Al-Aksa intifada**.

**"KITCHEN CABINET"**. Although the **cabinet** is the primary policymaking body of Israel and is empowered to decide Israel's policies in all areas of activity subject to the approval of the **Knesset**, at times, much of the cabinet's work has been conducted by a small and select group of ministers meeting informally. When **Golda Meir** was **prime minister**, these informal meetings generally were referred to as the "kitchen cabinet."

**KLOS-C.** A Panamanian-registered merchant cargo ship intercepted and boarded by **Israel Defense Forces** commandos in the Red Sea on 5 March 2014 during **Operation Full Disclosure**. The ship was discovered to be transporting a large quantity of **Iranian**-supplied and **Syrian**-made missiles as well as mortars and assault rifle ammunition that **Mossad (HaMossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)** and other Israeli **intelligence services** agencies suspected were destined for Palestinian **terrorist** groups in the **Gaza Strip**.

**KNESSET (PARLIAMENT).** The **Knesset** is the supreme authority in the state, its authority being derived from the **Basic Law: The Knesset** adopted on 12 February 1958 by the Third Knesset. Its laws are theoretically the

source of all power and authority, although in reality, decisions are made by the **prime minister** and the **government** (or **cabinet**) and ratified by the Knesset. The Knesset's name is derived from the ancient **Knesset Hagedola** ("Great Assembly"). The modern body is based, to a large extent, on the British model, adapted to Israel's needs and special requirements. It is a unicameral body of 120 members elected for four-year terms by general, national, direct, equal, secret, and proportional suffrage in accordance with the Knesset Elections Law (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL). Citizens may be elected to the Knesset if they are at least 21 years of age. The entire country elects all members; there are no separate constituencies. This system derives from that used by the **World Zionist Organization** and the **Histadrut** and other elements in the **Yishuv** prior to Israel's independence.

All Israeli citizens age 18 and over may vote in Knesset elections without regard to sex, religion, or other factors, unless deprived of that right by a court of law. Voters cast their ballots for individual **political parties**, each with rival lists of candidates, rather than for individual candidates. Each party may present the voter with a list of up to 120 names—its choices for Knesset seats. An important part of the Knesset's work is done within the framework of its major committees: the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of **Women**; Committee on Scientific and Technological Research and Development; Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee; Economics Committee; **Education** and Culture Committee; Finance Committee; House Committee; Foreign Affairs and Security Committee; Immigration (*see* ALIYA) and Absorption Committee; Interior and Environment Committee; Labor and Welfare Committee; and State Control Committee.

**KNESSET ELECTIONS.** *See* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL; RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL.

**KNESSET HAGEDOLA.** Literally, "the great assembly"; the supreme legislative body of the Jewish people at the beginning of the Second Temple period in ancient Israel following the return from the Babylonian exile (from c. 538 BCE). The name of the modern parliament of Israel—the **Knesset**—is derived from it.

**KNESSET YISRAEL.** The term used to refer to the organizational structure of the **Yishuv** during the **British Mandate**.

**KOL ISRAEL (THE VOICE OF ISRAEL).** The cornerstone of electronic **media** in Israel; governed by the Israel Broadcasting Authority Act adopted by the **Knesset** in 1965.

Broadcasting in Israel had its roots both in the official service operating under the **British Mandate** and the clandestine Jewish broadcasts set up by paramilitary underground groups (for example, Kol Israel ha-Lohemet (The Voice of Fighting Zion), established by the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) in March 1939). In 1940, Kol Israel (The Voice of Israel), was aired for the first time as the radio broadcasting network of the **Hagana**. In 1950, it became the Israel army broadcasting network, Galei Tzahal. Kol Israel came into existence in its own right in May 1948, with a live broadcast of the proclamation of independence and the ceremony of signing the declaration at the **Tel Aviv** Museum. The first broadcast of Kol Israel television occurred on **Independence Day (Yom Ha’atzmaut)** 1968. The first color transmission by Kol Israel television occurred in November 1977, with live coverage of the historic visit of **Egyptian** president **Anwar Sadat** to Israel. Color broadcasts became the norm in Israel by the mid-1980s, when Kol Israel stopped filming in black-and-white.

Early on, efforts were made to have Kol Israel serve as a national institution with an emphasis on **Zionist education** and educational programming. Radio and television broadcasts were aired in Hebrew, Arabic, and English. Additional programming in Russian, Amharic (the ancient language spoken by many **Ethiopian Jews**) and other languages was introduced to accommodate immigrant waves (*see* ALIYA).

Until the late 1980s, broadcasting in Israel was a monopoly controlled tightly by the state, through the Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA). However, in the early 1990s legislation was changed to permit the opening-up of the system, including the creation of a Second Israel Broadcasting Authority, a second government-controlled television channel and local radio stations, and privately run commercial television, cable, and (ultimately) satellite television. On 29 July 2014, the Knesset approved a plan to dismantle the IBA and Kol Israel and establish an alternate three-channel system, in what most observers considered to be a sweeping change to television broadcasting in Israel. Accessible at [www.kol-israel.com/](http://www.kol-israel.com/) or [www.iba.org.il](http://www.iba.org.il).

**KOLLEK, THEODORE “TEDDY” (1911–2007)**. Longtime mayor of **Jerusalem**. Born in Vienna on 27 May 1911, he early on became involved in **Zionism**. He settled in **Palestine** in 1934 and was one of the founders of **Kibbutz** Ein Gev. From 1940 to 1947 he served on the staff of the political department of the **Jewish Agency**. After Israel’s independence, he became the number-two official in Israel’s embassy in Washington. He served as director general of the **Prime Minister’s** Office from 1952 to 1964. Affiliated with **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**, he followed **David Ben-Gurion** when he left the party and founded **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)**. At the head of the Rafi ticket, he was elected mayor of Jerusalem in 1965.

When Jerusalem was reunited as a consequence of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, it posed a particular challenge to the mayor, who had to extend the services of the city to East Jerusalem and was now mayor of the entire city. He led the One Jerusalem Party, a loose coalition of **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** members and personal supporters of Kollek that established control of Jerusalem's city council in 1978. Kollek remained mayor of Jerusalem until November 1993, when he was defeated by **Likud (Union) Party** candidate **Ehud Olmert**. During his long tenure, Kollek established the Jerusalem Fund, which raises international charitable funds to help maintain the city's institutions and alleviate social and economic inequities among its diverse population. He died on 2 January 2007.

**KOOK, RABBI AVRAHAM YITZHAK HACOHEN (1865–1935)**. First chief **Ashkenazi** rabbi of **Palestine** (1921–1935). Born in Griva, Latvia, he studied in various Eastern European yeshivot and served as rabbi for a number of communities. In 1904, he settled in Palestine where he served as rabbi of the Jewish community of Yafo (Jaffa). Stranded in Europe during World War I, he returned to Palestine in 1919 and became the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of **Jerusalem**. When the chief rabbinate of Palestine was established by the **British Mandate** authority in 1921, he was chosen Ashkenazi chief rabbi and held that position until his death in 1935. He developed a nationalist-**religious** philosophy and pursued the **Zionist** ideal, believing that the building of the secular state of Israel played a crucial role in the spiritual redemption of the Jewish people. He established his own yeshiva in Jerusalem (Merkaz Harav), where he focused on the ideal of a religious-national renaissance for the Jewish people. He was outspoken in his criticism of the administration of the British Mandate in Palestine. He established the theological basis for the national religious or religious Zionist Movement. He died in Jerusalem in 1935. *See also* RELIGION.

**KOOK, RABBI ZVI YEHUDA (1891–1982)**. Born in Lithuania on 23 April 1891, he was educated at Jewish religious schools as well as at universities in **Germany**. He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) with his parents to **Palestine** in 1904, where his father, **Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacoen Kook** later became the first chief **Ashkenazi** rabbi. He became head of the Merkaz Harav Yeshiva upon his father's death in 1935 and published numerous religious and other commentaries. He was an ardent **Zionist**, participated in **Gush Emunim** activities, and became the movement's spiritual mentor.

**KOOR INDUSTRIES**. An umbrella organization for major industrial and craft concerns throughout Israel. It was established in 1944 as part of **Solel Boneh**, a construction concern whose aims included developing heavy-in-

dustry factories. The establishment of Koor was part of the **Histadrut's** general plan to ensure basic industry for the **Yishuv** that would maximize the use of existing raw materials, enable a planned distribution of the factories such that they would provide employment in **development towns** and areas, and help the Yishuv's balance of payments both by creating local products to replace imports and in supporting the export industry. Such an industry was also to be the basis for an independent security industry and a source of training for Jewish workers, and it was hoped that it would ensure the labor movement's special place in defining the direction and development of the **economy** in the future.

In 1958, Solel Boneh was reorganized and divided into three companies: construction and public works throughout the country; construction and pavement abroad; and different types of industrial production. This made Koor an independent company, although still part of the group of companies owned by the Histadrut, which rapidly became the largest concern in Israel. Despite its status as Israel's largest conglomerate, Koor experienced severe economic difficulties in the late 1980s. It sold off various subsidiaries, closed unprofitable units, and defaulted on some bank loans. In the fall of 1991, banks in the **United States** and Israel, the government of Israel, and **Hevrat Ovdim** signed a financial restructuring agreement designed to rescue Koor. Large segments of the company were sold off to private investors in the context of the general trend toward privatizing the Israeli economy and the breaking-up of monopolies. Nevertheless, Koor Industries through its various subsidiaries remained profitably engaged in sectors of the Israeli economy including agrochemicals, biotechnology, telecommunications, and asset management. In March 2014, Koor was taken over by an Israeli-based holding company listed on the **Tel Aviv Stock Exchange**.

**KULANU (ALL OF US)**. Centrist **political party** formed on 27 November 2014 by former **Likud (Union) Party** member of **Knesset** and **government minister Moshe Kahlon**. The initially nameless party was officially registered on 10 December 2014 as **Kulanu (All of Us)** to contest the March 2015 Knesset election. Kahlon attracted a number of prominent individuals to his party's electoral list, including Israel's former ambassador to Washington Michael Oren, a former deputy mayor of **Jerusalem** and a recipient of the **Israel Prize**. Kulanu was presented as a centrist party that sought to appeal to both populist and socially liberal camps. It sought to capitalize on Kahlon's self-described membership in both Israel's "national camp" and its "social camp." The party's platform reflected Kahlon's support for egalitarian economics and for issues affecting the middle class, as well as his strong working-class appeal and his devotion to his roots among lower-middle class Sephardic (see **ORIENTAL JEWS**) communities. Kahlon had gained a reputation in the Knesset as a champion of economically disadvantaged sectors of

Israeli society, famously opening up the mobile telecom industry to competition and leading to reduced rates for Israeli consumers. Kulanu won 10 seats in the 2015 election for the Twentieth Knesset and joined the Likud-led coalition formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in May 2015, with 3 cabinet portfolios. *See also* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET.

**KULANU CHAVERIM-NA NACH (WE ARE ALL FRIENDS).** **Political party** founded by the Breslov **Hasidim** sect that promoted the power of prayer and the study of the teachings of Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. It failed to win enough votes to secure entry into the Nineteenth **Knesset** (2013) or the Twentieth Knesset (2015).

**KUPAT HOLIM (SICK FUND).** A comprehensive **health** insurance scheme of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** founded in 1911. When the Histadrut was formed in 1920, two health insurance schemes merged into a joint sick fund that maintained its own medical staff. It provided medical services for its members and new immigrants (*see* ALIYA), who were given automatic Kupat Holim coverage on arrival. It had clinics throughout Israel as well as numerous other facilities, including hospitals. By the 21st century, the role of Kupat Holim had changed significantly, as Israel's entire health care system had undergone radical restructuring and privatization.

**KWARA JEWS.** An estimated 6,000 **Ethiopian Jews** living in the remote Kwara region near the border of the Sudan were unable to reach Addis Ababa to participate in **Operation Solomon (Operation Shlomo)**, Israel's May 1991 mass airlift of Ethiopian Jews. A year after Operation Solomon, about 3,500 Jews from Upper Kwara Province managed to immigrate to Israel (*see* ALIYA), but approximately 3,500 in Lower Kwara remained stranded. In June 1999, then foreign minister **Ariel Sharon** was appointed to coordinate with the **Jewish Agency** for Israel the overall Israeli program for bringing about the speedy arrival of the approximately 3,500 Kwara Jews remaining in Ethiopia. Immigrant (*see* ALIYA) absorption minister **Yuli Edelstein** was to head an interministerial team for coordinating absorption of the immigrants in Israel. Medical aid and food was dispatched by Israel to the Jews in Kwara. On 29 July 1999, 91 Jews from the Kwara region arrived in the initial operation to rescue the remnants of that community. In 37 days, Israel and the Jewish Agency brought 1,388 Kwara Jews to Israel on 10 flights from Addis Ababa. The operation was kept secret to avoid leaks to the press, which might have embarrassed the Ethiopian government and caused them to stop it. Israel's **cabinet** on 16 November 2015 announced the re-

sumption of immigration of Jews from Ethiopia, specifically from the Gondar region where most of the remaining Kwara Jews in the country are concentrated. *See also* LAW OF RETURN (1950).



# L

**LA'AM PARTY (TOWARD THE PEOPLE).** One of the components that formed the **Likud (Union) Party** in 1973. It was composed of parts of the **Free Center Party (Hamerkaz HaHofshi)**, the **State List**, and the **Land of Israel Movement**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**LABOR ALIGNMENT.** *See* ALIGNMENT (MAARACH).

**LABOR PARTY.** *See* ISRAEL LABOR PARTY (MIFLEGET HAAVODA HAISRAELIT).

**LAHAD, ANTOINE (1927–2015).** Christian **Lebanese** commander of the **South Lebanese Army (SLA)** from January 1984, following the death of the army's founder, Major Saad Georges Haddad. Born into a Maronite Catholic family in the Lebanese village of Al Qattara in 1927 he graduated from the Lebanese Military Academy in 1952. One of Lahad's first moves as commander of the SLA was to change his force's name from the Christian Free Lebanon Militia to the South Lebanese Army to reflect the fact that it was not just for Christians but for all Lebanese who opposed the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and **Syrian** presence in the country. With the reduced influence of the PLO in Lebanon following Operation Peace for Galilee—*see* WAR IN LEBANON (1982)—the primary activity for Lahad and the SLA became cooperating with the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** in combating the Syrian- and Iranian-backed **Hezbollah** and other Shia Muslim militias operating in and around the **security zone**. In the late 1990s, Lahad expressed reservations about a proposed unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the security zone, fearful of reprisal attacks against SLA fighters and their families by rival Lebanese forces. The SLA collapsed after Israel's withdrawal from South Lebanon in May 2000. Soon afterwards he went to **France** to meet up with family but was denied entry to the country. He subsequently briefly lived in Israel, where he published his autobiography, *In the Midst of a Storm*, in **Hebrew** in 2004. Lahad died in Paris on 11 September 2015 at 88.

**LAHAT, SHLOMO “CHEECH” (FORMERLY LINDNER) (1927–2014).** Military commander; mayor of **Tel Aviv–Yafo** (1973–1993). Lahat was born on 9 November 1927 in Berlin, Germany, and immigrated (see **ALIYA**) with his family to **Mandate Palestine** in 1933, where they settled in Rehovot. He served in the **Hagana** and then the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) where he rose to the rank of major general. He was appointed by then defense minister **Moshe Dayan** as the first governor of East **Jerusalem** during the **Six-Day War (1967)**. In November 1973 he was elected mayor of Tel Aviv–Yafo at the head of the **Likud (Union) Party** list. He served four consecutive terms, until 1993. As mayor he set the city on a course of rapid development toward its current status as Israel’s financial, commercial, and industrial center. Lahat died on 1 October 2014.

**LAKE KINNERET.** *See* SEA OF GALILEE.

**LAKE TIBERIAS.** *See* SEA OF GALILEE.

**LAND DAY.** An annual commemoration by Israel’s **Arab** population of the killing on 30 March 1976 of six demonstrators who had been protesting the confiscation of Arab land in **Galilee**. Though historically restricted to peaceful marches, Land Day in recent years has been characterized by violent demonstrations by segments of the Arab community.

**LAND FOR PEACE.** The general concept that Israel would return land (the amount subject to negotiations) occupied during the **Six-Day War (1967)** in exchange for peace, recognition, and normalization of relations with the Arab states. The principle was enshrined in **United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242** (1967) and **338** (1973). It was accepted as the framework for Arab-Israeli negotiations by all parties to the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** of 1991.

**LAND OF ISRAEL.** *See* ERETZ ISRAEL (ERETZ YISRAEL).

**LAND OF ISRAEL MOVEMENT.** A political movement established in the aftermath of the **Six-Day War (1967)** that argued in favor of Israel’s retaining most of the territories occupied in the war. Many of the movement’s guiding principles found political expression in the **Gush Emunim** settler movement and the **Tehiya (Renaissance)** Party.

**LANDAU, HAIM (1916–1981).** Pre-state paramilitary commander, member of **Knesset**, **government** minister. Born on 10 September 1916 in Cracow, Poland, in 1935 he immigrated (*see* **ALIYA**) to **Mandate Palestine** and

enrolled at the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology** in **Haifa**, where he received a degree in construction engineering in 1944. Shortly after his arrival in Palestine, he joined the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel). In 1944, he served as deputy commander of the Irgun and was subsequently appointed chief of its general command, a post that he held until 1948. One of the founding members of the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**, he was elected to the First Knesset in January 1949 and reelected to all subsequent Knessets until the Ninth. In December 1969, he joined the **Government of National Unity** as minister of development, a position he held until the resignation of **Gahal** from that government in August 1970. He was appointed minister without portfolio in January 1978. In January 1979, he was appointed minister of transport. He died on 16 October 1981.

**LANDAU, MOSHE (1912–2011)**. Fifth president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel. Born on 29 April 1912 in Danzig and educated in law at the University of London, he settled in **Mandate Palestine** in 1933. In 1948, he was appointed a judge of the **Haifa** District Court, a position he held until 1953, when he was appointed a justice of Israel's Supreme Court. He was the presiding judge at the trial of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann** and served as president of the Supreme Court from 1980 to 1982. In 1987, he was appointed to head a **commission of inquiry** to examine the methods used by the **Shin Bet (Shabak)** General Security Service in interrogating suspected **terrorists**. The Landau Commission determined that in dealing with dangerous terrorists who represent a grave threat to the safety and security of the state of Israel and its citizens, “the use of a moderate degree of pressure, including physical pressure” in order to obtain crucial information, was unavoidable under certain circumstances. Although it established specific measures and parameters for guarding against the inappropriate use of interrogation methods, the Landau Commission was accused by the **United Nations** and international human rights monitoring agencies of having legitimized activities often defined as torture. Landau died on 1 May 2011. *See also* INTELLIGENCE SERVICES; TARGETED ASSASSINATIONS.

**LANDAU, UZI (1943– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 2 August 1943 in **Haifa**, Landau earned a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He served in the Knesset from 1984 to 2006 on behalf of the **Likud (Union) Party** list. He served as minister of internal security in Israel's Twenty-Ninth Knesset (2001–2003) and as minister in the **Prime Minister's** Office in the Thirtieth Knesset from February 2004 to October 2004. He was not slotted high enough on the Likud list for the 2006 election to retain his seat in the Knesset. He was reelected in the 2009 Knesset election, this time on the list of the **Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our**

**Home**) Party. In March 2009 he was appointed minister of national infrastructures in the Likud-led coalition formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**; in 2012 he renamed the portfolio the ministry of energy and water resources, serving until March 2013. On 12 October 2011 Landau was one of only three **cabinet** ministers to vote against the exchange of 1,027 Palestinian terrorists in Israeli prisons for kidnapped Israeli soldier **Gilad Shalit**, calling the proposed deal a “great victory for terrorism.” Reelected in the 2013 Knesset election on the combined list of the **Likud–Israel Beiteinu** alliance, Landau was appointed minister of tourism in Netanyahu’s new government. On 28 December 2014 he announced that he was retiring from politics and would not contest the 2015 Knesset election.

**LAPID, YAIR (1963– )**. Author, media personality, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 5 November 1963 in Tel Aviv, he is the son of **Yosef (Tommy) Lapid**. On 8 January 2012 Yair Lapid announced his decision to leave journalism and enter electoral politics. He founded the liberal-centrist **Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)** Party on 20 April 2012 to contest election to the Nineteenth Knesset (2013). Lapid aggressively championed the principle of the “equal sharing of the burden” among all Israeli taxpayers, and pledged to work to see to it that all eligible Israelis be included in military or national service (**Sherut Leumi**), including the thousands of **Haredim** who had since statehood received automatic exemption from service by virtue of the **status quo agreement** negotiated between Israel’s founding prime minister **David Ben-Gurion** and the Orthodox religious leadership. Lapid demanded that any amendments to military service legislation include criminal sanctions for draft-dodging.

Lapid adopted a centrist perspective on foreign and security matters, placing “most of the blame” on the Palestinian side for the stalemate in Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy. He spoke in general terms about the vision of a **two-state solution**, “two states for two peoples,” while demanding that Israel maintain the large **settlement** blocs in the **West Bank**, with **Jerusalem** unified and under Israel’s control, and Israel receiving sustainable security guarantees. “We’re not looking for a happy marriage with the Palestinians,” Lapid said, “but for a divorce agreement we can live with.” On the broader strategic challenges confronting Israel, including **Iran**’s pursuit of nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles, Lapid remained generally silent.

Under Lapid’s leadership, **Yesh Atid** won 19 seats in the 2013 Knesset election and agreed to join the new **Likud (Union) Party**–led governing coalition formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**, with Lapid serving as finance minister. Lapid facilitated compromise legislation affecting ultra-Orthodox integration into the **Israel Defense Forces** (see **EQUAL SERVICE LAW**), and religious conversions. But he clashed with several **cabinet** colleagues over difficult financial austerity measures as well as with Netanyahu over

Lapid's perceived role in a plan to oust the prime minister from power. Lapid was fired by Netanyahu on 2 December 2014, leading Yesh Atid to leave the **government** and prompting Netanyahu to go for early elections. Lapid and Yesh Atid won 11 seats in the 2015 parliamentary election, and joined the opposition in the Twentieth Knesset.

**LAPID, YOSEF (TOMMY) (1931–2008).** Media personality, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 27 December 1931, he grew up as Tomislav Lampel in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia. His father was killed in the Mauthausen concentration camp, but he and his mother survived World War II and the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** in the Jewish ghetto in Budapest, Hungary. He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1948, changed his name to Lapid, served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, and studied law. He became a journalist and author and served as an editor and editorial writer at *Maariv*. He also appeared on the prime-time, political talk show *Popolitika*, which was important in his political life. In March 1999, he was approached to head the **Shinui** Party and he agreed to join them. He ran a political campaign bashing ultra-Orthodox Jews, railing against their “medieval,” antidemocratic ways, special privileges, and raids on the public trough. Under Lapid's leadership, Shinui won six seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) and 15 seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003). Shinui agreed to join the **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition government formed by **Ariel Sharon** on 28 February 2003 (on the condition that there be no **Haredi** parties in the coalition), with Lapid serving as justice minister and deputy prime minister. Accused of placing principle above *realpolitik*, Lapid and Shinui were dismissed from the **cabinet** in December 2004 over Lapid's refusal to abide the inclusion of ultra-Orthodox parties to shore up Sharon's government in the struggle to achieve parliamentary support for the Gaza **unilateral disengagement**. Shinui split up in the run-up to 2006 Knesset election in disputes over policies and personalities. Lapid left Shinui two weeks before the March 2006 election to join the Hetz splinter faction but served only as a figurehead and was accorded the honorary 120th slot on its electoral list. Hetz won no seats in the 2006 Knesset election and Lapid announced his retirement from electoral politics in July 2006, although he remained very much a public personality through his participation on radio and television current affairs programs and his chairmanship of the **Yad Vashem** Holocaust memorial. Lapid died on 1 June 2008.

**LASKOV, CHAIM (1919–1982).** Fifth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, serving from 1958 to 1961. Born in Russia, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** with his parents in 1925. His father was murdered by Arabs in 1930 in **Haifa**, where he studied in the Reali High

School. Laskov joined the **Hagana** at a young age and entered **Orde Win-gate's** "Special Night Squadrons." Following the outbreak of World War II, he volunteered for the British army and served in North Africa and Europe. He was released from the British army with the rank of major. After the war, he helped organize the purchasing of weapons in Europe to be smuggled into pre-state Israel. When he returned to Israel, he became the chief training and **education** officer of the Hagana. He commanded the first armored battalion of the IDF in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and later the 7th Brigade during the battles to free the **Galilee** region. After the war, Laskov attained the rank of major general and held many senior command positions before and during the **Sinai War (1956)**. He served as chief of staff of the IDF between 1958 and 1961, and in November 1972, he became the commissioner of soldiers' complaints in the defense ministry. He was a member of the **Agranat Commission of Inquiry** that was established after the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. Laskov died on 8 December 1982.

**LATRUN**. A locality with a monastery at the foot of the **Judean** hills on the road from **Tel Aviv** to **Jerusalem**. The monastery was founded in the 19th century by **French** Trappist monks. It is located at a strategic crossroads linking the Mediterranean coast to Jerusalem where the coastal plain meets the Judean hills. The Ayalon Valley, where Joshua completed the conquest of Canaan, is located here. During the **British Mandate**, a police fortress was built at the strategic location as was a detention camp where many Jewish political prisoners were held. A major effort was made by the Jews during Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** to take this area in order to open the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, but it failed, and an alternative "Burma Road" had to be built to transport vital supplies to Jerusalem's embattled Jewish sector. The area was captured by Israel during the **Six-Day War (1967)**.

**LAU, RABBI YISRAEL (ISRAEL) MEIR (1937– )**. Prominent rabbi, **Israel Prize** recipient. Born on 1 June 1937 in the Polish town of Piotrków Trybunalski, Rabbi Lau is a survivor of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In 1946 he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel. Before being elected **Ashkenazi** chief rabbi (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL) in 1993 (a position he held until 2002), he was chief rabbi and president of the Rabbinical Court of **Tel Aviv–Yafo** from 1988 to 1993. On 17 April 2005, he was again elected chief rabbi of Tel Aviv. He was the recipient of Israel Prize in 2005 for his "unique contribution to society and community." Rabbi Lau's son, Rabbi David Lau, was elected Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel on June 24, 2013. *See also* RELIGION.

**LAVI.** On 8 February 1980, then defense minister **Ezer Weizman** approved plans for the development and production by **Israel Aircraft (later Aerospace) Industries (IAI)** of a single-engine fighter aircraft to be known as the Lavi. Although the fighter was to be developed and built by Israel, much of the funding for the project was to come from the **United States**. The first full-scale mock-up of the aircraft was revealed at the beginning of 1985. The first Lavi (B-01) flew on 31 December 1986, piloted by IAI chief test pilot Menachem Schmoll. The project was cancelled on 30 August 1987 against a background of massive cost overruns (\$1.5 billion had already been expended on research and development) in a period of severe fiscal austerity introduced in 1985 by the **Government of National Unity**. Prominent Israelis, including former defense minister **Moshe Arens**, charged that the United States pressured Israel to cancel production of the Lavi because it represented significant competition for the American arms and aircraft **industry** and because production of an Israeli jet fighter would reduce the country's dependence on the United States in maintaining its qualitative military advantage. *See also* ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]); KFIR.

**LAVON, PINHAS (FORMERLY LUBIANIKER) (1904–1976).** Key figure in the “affair” that clouded Israel's political life for almost a decade from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. Born on 12 July 1904 in Kopychynsti in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Lavon studied law at the University of Lviv, where he organized **Histadrut** groups in the region. He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1929 at the age of 25, became active in **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**, and served as its secretary from 1935 to 1937. After Israel's independence, he was elected to the First **Knesset** and was appointed minister of **agriculture** in **David Ben-Gurion's** second government. He retained his seat in the 1951 Knesset election and in 1952 was appointed minister without portfolio. Following Ben-Gurion's resignation, he was appointed minister of defense in 1954. However, following the **Lavon Affair**, in which he was accused of involvement in **terrorist** bombings in **Egypt**, he resigned from the **cabinet** and was elected secretary general of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)**. Nevertheless, he remained a member of the Knesset following the elections of the Third Knesset (1955) and the Fourth Knesset (1959). He was subsequently absolved of any involvement in the Egyptian bombings. He retired from public life in 1964 after long-standing discord with Ben-Gurion. Lavon died in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 24 January 1976.

**LAVON AFFAIR.** The “affair” that clouded Israel’s political life for almost a decade from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s and resulted in the downfall of a government and the splitting-up of the country’s ruling **Mapai Party (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael—Israel Workers Party)**. **Pinhas Lavon** was Israel’s defense minister in 1954, when Israeli agents were arrested in **Egypt**, apparently for trying to bomb U.S. facilities in Cairo and Alexandria and other targets in an effort to turn **Great Britain** and the **United States** against Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser. The government of Prime Minister **Moshe Sharett** had not been consulted, and Lavon claimed that he had not been aware of the plan. However, Colonel Binyamin Gibli, head of military intelligence, insisted that Lavon had personally instructed him to proceed. An inquiry was ordered but no conclusion was reached. As a consequence of later revelations, the **cabinet** was convinced that the evidence against Lavon had been fabricated and the government issued a statement that the 1954 operation had been ordered without Lavon’s knowledge. Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion**, who had been outvoted in the cabinet, called the resolution absolving Lavon a miscarriage of justice. In protest against the intrusion of the executive into the sphere of the judiciary, Ben-Gurion resigned and brought down the government. He told Mapai that he would not accept a mandate to form a new government as long as Lavon represented the party as secretary general of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)**. The party’s central committee ousted Lavon in 1961.

**LAW OF RETURN (1950).** The law was adopted by the **Knesset** on 5 July 1950 and has provided the formal basis for the substantial immigration (*see* ALIYA) that has taken place since independence. It assures virtually unlimited and unfettered Jewish immigration to Israel by providing that every Jew has the right to immigrate to Israel and to settle there unless the applicant is engaged in an activity “directed against the Jewish people” or one that may “endanger public **health** or the security of the state.” An amendment to the law in 1954 also restricted those likely to endanger public welfare. Upon entry, a Jew is eligible to automatically acquire citizenship. The concept of unlimited immigration, which has been reinforced by the programs and actions of successive governments and has had overwhelming support in the Knesset and from Israel’s Jewish population, has brought more than 3 million Jewish immigrants to Israel from more than 100 countries.

**LEBANON.** Israel’s neighbor to the north. During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, Lebanon joined in the fighting against Israel despite that country’s Christian majority and the control of the body politic by that segment of the Lebanese population. Lebanon essentially abstained from participation in the **Sinai War (1956)**, the **Six-Day War (1967)**, and the **War of**



**Attrition (1969–1970).** After the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** was ousted from **Jordan** in September 1970, it moved into Lebanon via **Syria** and established a base of operations and a virtual state within a state (known as **Fatahland**) in the south. Attacks against targets in Israel by the PLO from Lebanon led to Israeli retaliatory strikes as well as two major military operations: **Operation Litani** (1978) and **Operation Peace for Galilee** (1982)—*see* WAR IN LEBANON (1982).

While the PLO was building its base of operations and striking against Israel, these developments were contributing to the disintegration of Lebanon that had already begun because of disagreements among the various Lebanese indigenous sectarian factions over the distribution of socioeconomic and political power. A civil war broke out in Lebanon in 1975 and did not end until the **Arab League**–sponsored Taif agreement of 1989. In the intervening years, some 40,000 Syrian troops entered Lebanon, ostensibly as peacekeepers and at the invitation of the Lebanese government and the Arab League. Under the terms of the Taif agreement, Syrian forces were to be withdrawn incrementally from Lebanon, but it was only in the spring of 2005 and under intense pressure from the **United States** and other international actors that Syria ended its military occupation of Lebanon.

With the absence of effective control by the Lebanese government in Beirut, the PLO was able to use Lebanese territory for attacks into Israel. After a number of these strikes, Israel launched Operation Litani in March 1978. Despite the subsequent establishment of the **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** in the border region, periodic attacks into Israel continued. In June 1982, Israel launched Operation Peace for Galilee to rectify the situation. A cease-fire in the **War in Lebanon (1982)**, brokered by the United States, permitted the PLO to evacuate its forces from Lebanon. Subsequently, Washington brokered an agreement between Israel and Lebanon—the **Lebanon Agreement of 17 May 1983**—which called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon in return for near-normalized relations. The agreement was subsequently abrogated by the Lebanese government under pressure from Syria. Israel completed its withdrawal from much of Lebanon in 1985, while a **security zone** was established in Lebanon along a narrow strip of land abutting Israel's northern border. However, after that, Israel fought a war of attrition against Syrian- and **Iranian**-sponsored militant Shia forces, such as **Hezbollah** and Amal. Attacks by these groups on Israeli forces and forces of the pro-Israel **South Lebanese Army** based in the security zone and **Katyusha rocket** strikes into northern Israel prompted two major **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** operations in southern Lebanon: **Operation Accountability** (1992) and **Operation Grapes of Wrath** (1996). Continuing IDF losses led to increased public debate about Israel's status in southern Lebanon.

In the absence of any immediate prospect for a negotiated settlement with either Beirut or Damascus, Israel in the spring of 1998 announced its readiness to withdraw unilaterally from southern Lebanon on the basis of **United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 425** (1978) but conditioned this withdrawal on the readiness and the ability of the Lebanese government to apply its sovereign authority in the border region. During the 1999 **Knesset** election campaign, **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** candidate **Ehud Barak** pledged to withdraw Israeli forces from Lebanon within one year of being elected **prime minister**. In May 2000, Barak fulfilled this pledge. However, unable (even with the active involvement of U.S. president **William J. [Bill] Clinton**) to persuade Syrian president Hafez Assad to participate in a broader regional accord, Barak was compelled to withdraw unilaterally from southern Lebanon.

On 24 May 2000, the government of Israel completed the withdrawal of its forces from southern Lebanon to the international border in accordance with UNSC Resolution 425. Israel announced that its withdrawal was undertaken in full compliance with UNSC Resolution 425 and redeployed its forces along the recognized international border between the two countries. The primary purpose was to ensure the security of Israel and its citizens and to promote stability and peace in the region. Israel had no territorial aspirations in Lebanon and wanted to see the Lebanese government restore and exercise its sovereignty and authority throughout the border region that Israeli forces had left.

The implementation of UNSC Resolution 425 constituted an important step forward, designed to bring about an end to the ongoing **terrorism** and confrontation on Israel's northern border and to facilitate further progress in the peace process. Following the withdrawal from Lebanon, Israel hoped that peace and security would be restored to both sides of the international border. Israel also expected that the government of Lebanon would take effective control of southern Lebanon. According to UNSC Resolution 425, the **United Nations** was to take action to deploy appropriate armed forces with the capacity to ensure the return of Lebanon's effective authority in the area.

In 2005 and after, the Israelis were carefully watching to see whether the formal end of the Syrian military occupation of Lebanon, coupled with efforts at democratic reform in Lebanon's diverse multiethnic society, might contribute to progress toward stabilization and normalization of the country's relations with Israel. This proved elusive with the Hezbollah attack on Israel in July 2006 that precipitated **Operation Changing Direction** and the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** between Israel and Hezbollah. The cease-fire involving Israel and Hezbollah imposed under **UNSC Resolution 1701** (11 August 2006) formally held, but other conditions stipulated by the resolution went unfulfilled, including the immediate and unconditional release of two Israeli soldiers kidnapped by Hezbollah (the soldiers' remains were returned

only in the context of a 2008 prisoner exchange); the end of Syrian intervention in Lebanese internal affairs; and the end of Iran and Syria's smuggling of weapons to Hezbollah.

Israel considers the recent reigniting of sectarian violence in Lebanon to be an internal, intra-Arab affair, the spillover of the civil war in neighboring Syria and Hezbollah's unpopular intervention (at Iran's behest) in that war in support of the Bashar Assad regime. Meanwhile Israel watches with significant concern Hezbollah's remilitarization of southern Lebanon with missiles and other weapons supplied by Syria, Iran, and **Russia** and in explicit violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701. Israel hopes for stability and normalized relations with its neighbor on its northern border. But it has reiterated, and enforced with action, its "red line" to deny to Hezbollah or any other group the types of weapons that would disrupt the deterrence relationship established across the Israel-Lebanon border following the Second Lebanon War (2006). *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**LEBANON WAR (1982).** *See* WAR IN LEBANON (1982).

**LEBANON WAR (2006).** *See* OPERATION CHANGING DIRECTION; SECOND LEBANON WAR (2006).

**LEHI (LOHAMEI HERUT YISRAEL—FIGHTERS FOR THE FREEDOM OF ISRAEL; STERN GROUP).** *See* STERN (GANG) GROUP.

**LEIBOWITZ, NECHAMA (1905–1997).** Respected biblical scholar and educator. Born in Riga, Russia, and educated in Berlin, **Germany**, she immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1930. She taught for many years at various religious and secular institutions, including the **Mizrachi** Women Teachers Seminary and **Tel Aviv University**. In 1942, she began the practice of distributing stenciled pages of questions on the weekly Torah portion. Over the years, the "Pages" became increasingly popular, reaching ever-broader sectors of Israeli society. Widely recognized as one of the most influential and popular Torah educators of the 20th century, Leibowitz was awarded the **Israel Prize** for **education** in 1956. She died on 12 April 1997 in **Jerusalem**. *See also* RELIGION; WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

**LEVI-TANAI, SARA (1910 or 1911–2005).** Choreographer/Dancer. Born in **Jerusalem** to Yemenite immigrants (*see* ALIYA), she was orphaned as a child and ended up at the Meir Shefaya Youth Village, where she was introduced to the arts. In 1924 she was awarded a scholarship to the Levinsky Teachers' College. As a kindergarten teacher she began to write children's songs and invent rhythmic games. She was drawn to the **theater** but was

rejected because of her strong Yemenite accent. In 1940, she moved to **Kibbutz** Ramat HaKovesh where, aside from continuing her work as a kindergarten teacher, she organized holiday ceremonies. **Operation Magic Carpet**, which brought masses of Yemenite Jewish immigrants to Israel in the early days of statehood, led Levi-Tanai to focus on aspects of Yemenite culture, especially dance. Although she had no professional training as a dancer, in September 1949, she assembled a group of Yemenite boys and girls to teach them to dance. This group ultimately evolved into the world-famous Inbal Dance Company, in which Levi-Tanai sought, through dance, to synthesize the experiences of **Ashkenazi** Jewry and of modern Israel with the ancient cultures, traditions, and experiences of Sephardic Jews (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS). She died on 3 October 2005 in **Ramat Gan**.

**LEVINGER, RABBI MOSHE (1935–2015)**. Born in **Jerusalem**, Rabbi Levinger planned and initiated the Jewish return to the **West Bank** town of **Hebron** at Passover in 1968 and continued to live there. He was a founder of **Gush Emunim** and was among its leaders and activists. In May 1990, he began serving a five-month prison sentence for causing the death of an Arab shopkeeper in Hebron in September 1988. He and his followers were among the most militant opponents of the **Oslo** process and especially the January 1997 agreement to withdraw the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** from much of Hebron. Levinger died on 16 May 2015 in Hebron.

**LEVY, DAVID (1937– )**. Born in Rabat, Morocco, he has lived in the **development town** of Beit She'an since immigrating (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1957. A former construction worker, he began his political career in the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** and served as chairman of its **Likud (Union) Party** faction. He was deputy head and head of the Beit She'an Local Council (1964–1977) and the Likud candidate for the position of secretary general of the Histadrut in the 1977 and 1981 elections. He was first elected on behalf of the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** faction of **Gahal** to the Seventh **Knesset** in October 1969 and was reelected to subsequent Knessets. Levy was appointed minister of immigrant absorption in June 1977 and minister of construction and housing in January 1978. In August 1981, he became deputy prime minister and minister of construction and housing and retained those posts in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984. In the **government** established in December 1988, he became deputy prime minister and minister of construction and housing. He served as deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs in **Yitzhak Shamir's** Likud-led government established in June 1990. In 1993, Levy lost a bitter race to succeed Shamir as Likud leader to **Benjamin Netanyahu**. He and his followers subsequently withdrew from Likud to

form the **Gesher (Bridge) Party** and submitted an independent slate for the 1996 Knesset election. In addition, Levy declared his candidacy for the direct election for prime minister. Gesher subsequently agreed to participate in a joint “national camp” electoral list along with Likud and **Tsomet (Movement for Zionist Renewal)**. In return for receiving secure slots on the joint list for himself and his cohorts, Levy agreed to pull out of the prime ministerial race and to support Netanyahu’s candidacy. After the 1996 election, he was appointed foreign minister and deputy prime minister, positions he held until his resignation in January 1998, ostensibly due to disputes with Netanyahu over the peace negotiations with the **Palestinians** as well as over perceived discriminatory treatment of disadvantaged sectors of the Israeli society—including Moroccans and other Sephardim (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS)—in the proposed 1998 state budget.

In the spring of 1999, Gesher joined with Labor and **Meimad (Dimension)** to form the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** electoral alliance that successfully contested the 1999 Knesset election, with Levy installed in the third slot on the joint list. He was appointed foreign minister in Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**’s coalition government and was subsequently named deputy prime minister. Levy was reelected to the Sixteenth Knesset (2003) on the Likud list. He was not slotted high enough on the Likud list to win reelection to the Seventeenth Knesset in 2006.

**LEVY, MOSHE (1936–2008)**. Twelfth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, serving from 1983 to 1987. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, he studied economics and the history of Islamic countries at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. He joined the IDF in 1954 and served in the Golani Brigade and the paratroopers and held a series of senior commands. From 1982 to 1983 he served as deputy chief of staff of the IDF. He served as chief of staff from 1983 to 1987. Levy died on 8 January 2008 in the northern city of Afula.

**LEVY, RABBI YITZHAK (1947–)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government minister**. Born in Casablanca, Morocco, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1957 and was educated at the ultra-Orthodox Yeshivot Hakotel, where he received his rabbinical ordination. He served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, achieving the rank of major. He is a member of the executive of the **Bnei Akiva** youth movement and its world secretariat, and is one of the founders of the **West Bank settlement** of Elon Moreh.

First elected to the Knesset in 1988 on the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** list, he served as the party’s secretary general from 1986 to 1995 and was appointed minister of **transportation** by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** in June 1996. In February 1998, he was elected NRP leader, succeeding the late **Zevulun Hammer**; he

completed Hammer's term as minister of **education** and culture. He also served as minister of religious affairs until August 1998, when the position rotated to Eli Suissa of the **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)**. Reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset in 1999 on the NRP list, he was appointed minister of housing and construction on 6 July 1999 by Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**. However, he resigned (along with other NRP ministers) to protest the concessions being offered to the **Palestinians** by Barak at the **Camp David II** talks.

In April 2002, Levy relinquished the chairmanship of the NRP to former IDF general **Efraim (Effie) Eitam** and was appointed minister without portfolio. He was appointed deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office in March 2003 but resigned in June 2004 to protest the evacuation of **settlements** as part of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**'s Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan. In the spring of 2005 Levy and Eitam broke from the NRP to form their own right-wing splinter faction in the Knesset, the **National Religious Zionist Renewal Party**. The Levy-Eitam faction in turn was incorporated into the right-wing **National Union (Haichud HaLeumi)** Party. Levy was returned in the 2006 Knesset election on the joint National Union–NRP list. In December 2008 Levy announced that he was retiring from politics, citing the decision of the new **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home) Party** to select its electoral list through primaries rather than through the traditional internal selection process.

**LIBERAL CENTER PARTY.** A political party formed in 1985 by **Liberal Party (HaMiflaga HaLiberalit)** members who left the **Likud (Union) Party**. Its leaders included former **Tel Aviv–Yafo** mayor **Shlomo Lahat** and then **Jewish Agency** chairman **Arye Leon Dulzin**, as well as former **government** minister and **Knesset** speaker **Yitzhak Berman**. Its political platform opposed the annexation of the **Occupied Territories** as well as the “bina-national state” that would result from such an annexation. It argued that Israel must be a Jewish and **Zionist** state and should be prepared to give up territories for peace. **Jerusalem** was not a matter for negotiation, and the party rejected the creation of an independent **Palestinian** state between Israel and **Jordan**. The party's platform also stressed the equality of all Israeli citizens regardless of **religion**, race, or sex. It later became part of the **Center–Shinui Movement**.

**LIBERAL PARTY (HAMIFLAGA HALIBERALIT).** A political party established during the fifth **Knesset** (1961–1965) by a merger of the **General Zionist Party (Hatzionim Haklaliyim)** and the **Progressive Party (Hami-flaga HaProgressivit)**. The party's beginnings can be traced to middle-of-the-road **Zionists** who wanted to unify all Zionists without regard to social-

ist, **Revisionist**, or religious feelings. They stressed industrial development and private enterprise. This group split into two wings in 1935: General Zionists A, the larger of the two groups led by **Chaim Weizmann**, on the left, and General Zionists B, on the right. Both were comprised of industrialists, merchants, landlords, white-collar professionals, and intellectuals. The two factions merged in 1946 to form the General Zionist Party and split again in 1948, when one group formed the Progressive Party. They merged once again in 1961 as the Liberal Party and won 17 seats in the **Knesset** election that year, the same as the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**. In 1965, Herut and the Liberals set up an electoral alliance called **Gahal**. Seven Liberals in the Knesset refused to join Gahal and formed the **Independent Liberal Party (HaLiberalim Haatzmim)**. From 1965 to 1977, the Independent Liberals averaged about 3.5 percent of the vote and retained four or five Knesset seats. In 1971, they won only one seat, and in 1981, with only 0.6 percent of the vote, they disappeared from the Knesset.

In the meantime, in 1973, retired general **Ariel Sharon**, then a member of the Liberal Party within Gahal, advocated a wider union of parties that could present itself as a genuine alternative to the **Alignment (Maarach)**. Sharon and **Ezer Weizman** successfully brought the **Free Center Party (HaMerkaz Hahofshi)**, the **State List**, and the **Land of Israel Movement** (an interest group advocating immediate Israeli **settlement** and development of the **Occupied Territories**) into the Herut-Liberal alliance to form the **Likud (Union) Party**.

**LIEBERMAN, AVIGDOR (1958– )**. Member of **Knesset** and government minister. Born on 5 June 1958 in the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**, Lieberman immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel from Moldova (then part of the USSR) in 1978 and became a right-wing student activist on Israeli university campuses. Director general of the **Prime Minister's Office for Benjamin Netanyahu**, he resigned on 23 November 1997 under pressure from elements of the **Likud (Union) Party** who accused him of improperly influencing a party conference to strengthen Netanyahu's control of the party. He was a founder of the **Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home) Party** and won a seat in the **Knesset** in the 1999 election on that party's list, drawing significant electoral support from Israel's Russian immigrant community, which identified with key elements of the party's platform but also with Lieberman's strong and decisive leadership persona (*see* "RUSSIAN" VOTE). Reelected in the 2003 Knesset election as head of an electoral alliance involving Israel Beiteinu and the ultranationalist **National Union (Haichud Haleumi) Party**, Lieberman was appointed minister of national infrastructure in March 2001 by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** and became minister of transportation in February 2003. He was dropped from the **cabinet** in June 2004 in a dispute over the evacuation of **settlements** as part of Sharon's

Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan. Lieberman was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election as head of Israel Beiteinu. Lieberman and Israel Beiteinu joined **Ehud Olmert's Kadima**-led coalition on 23 October 2006, with Lieberman serving as deputy prime minister and minister of strategic threats in the Prime Minister's Office. On 16 January 2008, Lieberman resigned from the **cabinet** and his party withdrew its support in the Knesset for the Olmert government in a dispute over negotiations with the **Palestinians**.

Lieberman was reelected in the 2009 Knesset election and joined Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud-led government, serving as deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. On 25 October 2013 he and Netanyahu announced the formation of a joint electoral list to contest the 2013 parliamentary election. The **Likud–Israel Beiteinu (Likud-Beiteinu)** joint slate won 31 seats in the January 2013 Knesset election—11 were Israel Beiteinu members. Lieberman retained his foreign affairs portfolio in the new government. He announced the dissolution of the Likud–Israel Beiteinu alliance on 9 July 2014. Under Lieberman's leadership Israel Beiteinu won six seats in the 2015 Knesset election. On 4 May 2015 he announced that he was resigning as foreign minister and that he and his party would not participate in the coalition government being constructed by prime minister-elect Netanyahu following the 2015 Knesset election. He became minister of defense on 31 May 2016.

**LIKUD (UNION) PARTY.** Likud (formally, Likud–National Liberal Movement), was established in 1973, and the alliance crystallized at the time of the 1977 election. It consisted of the **Gahal** alliance (**Herut [Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement]** and the **Liberal Party [HaMiflaga HaLiberalit]**); the **La'am (Toward the People)** alliance (the **State List** and the **Free Center Party [HaMerkaz HaHofshi]**); **Ahdut (Unity)**; a one-man faction in the **Knesset**); and **Shlomzion, Ariel Sharon's** former party.

From the First Knesset, Likud and its predecessors had been led by **Menachem Begin**. With Begin's retirement in 1983, leadership passed to **Yitzhak Shamir**, who in turn was succeeded by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in 1993. Netanyahu resigned as party leader after his defeat by **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** leader **Ehud Barak** in the direct election for **prime minister** on 17 May 1999 and in the concurrent legislative election in which Likud won only 19 seats in the Fifteenth Knesset. Netanyahu was replaced by Ariel Sharon, who defeated Barak in the February 2001 special election for prime minister and then led Likud to a decisive victory in the 2003 Knesset election, taking 40 seats compared to only 19 for the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**.



In November 2005, Sharon caused a political “earthquake” by quitting Likud and forming a new political party that eventually was called **Kadima (Forward)**. In December 2005, Netanyahu was elected to again lead Likud and has since remained leader, leading Likud to four consecutive terms in office from 2009 to 2015.

Likud came to power in Israel in 1977, ousting the Israel Labor Party–led government for the first time since Israel became independent. Although it retained its government position after the 1981 elections, its majority in the Knesset seldom exceeded two or three votes. In 1984, it lost its majority and joined with the **Alignment (Maarach)** to form a **Government of National Unity**, in which it shared power and ministerial positions (*see* ROTATION). In the 1988 Knesset election, it again emerged as the dominant party but without a majority. A Likud-dominated government with Shamir as prime minister and with Labor as the junior partner was formed in December 1988. In 1992, Likud, under the leadership of Shamir, was narrowly defeated by a revitalized Labor Party headed by **Yitzhak Rabin**.

Likud is right of center, strongly nationalist, and assertive in **foreign policy**. Its domestic policy platform emphasizes continued efforts to sustain the growth of the Israeli **economy**, containment of the country’s rate of inflation, progress in the areas of privatization of state-owned businesses and foreign investment, and continued support and encouragement of the country’s high-tech industrial sector. With regard to foreign and security policy, Likud traditionally served as the magnet for secular-nationalist voters opposed to territorial compromise. However, since Begin’s historic return of the **Sinai Peninsula** in exchange for peace with **Egypt**, Likud policy has emphasized the principle of “Security with Peace.” The party presents itself as prepared to undertake selective territorial compromise in the pursuit of peace, as long as Israel’s fundamental security interests are guaranteed and the Jewish people’s historical attachments to **Eretz Israel** are recognized and respected.

The 2005 evacuation of **settlers** from the **Gaza Strip** and **West Bank** provoked a rebellion against party leader Ariel Sharon among Likud members of the Knesset and threatened to divide the party. This rebellion contributed directly to Sharon’s decision on 21 November 2005 to bolt the Likud (taking a number of key Likud ministers with him) and establish the new centrist Kadima (Forward) Party to contest the March 2006 Knesset election. On 19 December 2005, Netanyahu was elected to once again lead the Likud Party, taking 44 percent of the vote in a leadership primary. Others contesting for the leadership included the incumbent foreign minister **Silvan Shalom** (33 percent); leader of Likud’s right-wing **Manhigut Yehudit (Jewish Leadership Movement)** faction **Moshe Feiglin** (12 percent); and **agriculture** minister **Yisrael Katz** (9 percent). Under Netanyahu’s leadership, Likud won only 12 seats in the 2006 Knesset election. Netanyahu’s leadership

of Likud was overwhelmingly reaffirmed in a 14 August 2007 leadership primary, taking 73 percent of the vote, compared to the 23 percent garnered by Feiglin.

Likud won 27 seats in the 2009 Knesset election, compared to the 28 seats won by the Kadima Party, headed by **Tzipi Livni**. But Israel's president **Shimon Peres**, having assessed the overall configuration of the newly elected Knesset, gave Netanyahu the first opportunity to form a viable new governing coalition, which he successfully was able to do. Netanyahu led the **Likud–Israel Beiteinu (Likud–Beiteinu)** alliance to victory in the 2013 Knesset election, winning 31 seats—20 were members of Likud. Netanyahu easily defeated **Danny Danon** in the 31 December 2014 Likud leadership primary by a margin of 75 percent to 19 percent. Likud won a fourth consecutive victory in the March 2015 Knesset election, taking 30 mandates. The new Likud-led coalition government, headed by Netanyahu, was approved by the Knesset on 14 May 2015.

**LIKUD–ISRAEL BEITEINU (LIKUD–BEITEINU).** Electoral alliance formed in the fall of 2012 by the **Likud (Union)** and **Israel Beiteinu** (Israel Our Home) parties. On 25 October 2013, Likud leader and prime minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** and Israel Beiteinu leader and foreign minister **Avigdor Lieberman** announced that their respective parties had established an electoral alliance in preparation for the 23 January 2013 **Knesset** election. Netanyahu described the union as “a joining of forces” that would give the two parties “the strength to defend Israel from military threats, and the strength to spearhead social and economic changes in the country.” The alliance brought together a total of 42 Knesset members—27 from Likud, 15 from Israel Beiteinu. It was approved by the Likud's central committee on 29 October 2012. Prominent Likud members expressed concern about the ability of the party to retain its traditional center-right values and voter appeal once it joined forces with the hawkish Israel Beiteinu. Likud members of Knesset were concerned that their spots on the electoral list would be compromised. Much of the opposition within Likud focused on Israel Beiteinu leader Avigdor Lieberman, both his legal problems and his thinly veiled ambition to subvert Netanyahu and become head of a broad right-wing political alliance and (ultimately) prime minister. The Likud–Israel Beiteinu alliance took 23.34 percent of the popular vote in the 23 January 2013 election, translating to 31 Knesset seats—the most among all parties contesting the election—20 were members of Likud and 11 of Israel Beiteinu. Israel Beiteinu leader Avigdor Lieberman announced the dissolution of the alliance on 9 July 2014.

**LIPKIN-SHAHAK, AMNON (1944–2012).** Fifteenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, serving from 1995 to 1998. Born on 18 March 1944 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** to an affluent seventh-generation Israeli family, at the age of 14 he entered a military boarding school in **Haifa**. A graduate of the IDF Command and Staff College and the National Defense College, he joined the paratroop brigade in 1962 and served as a paratroop commander in the **Six-Day War (1967)**. He was decorated for actions in counterterrorism operations against the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, and served as deputy commander of a paratroop brigade in the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He moved rapidly up the ranks of the IDF, becoming deputy chief of staff under **Ehud Barak** in 1991, and chief of staff in 1995. Lipkin-Shahak formally retired from active military service on 24 December 1998; only days later, on 6 January 1999, he announced his candidacy for the post of **prime minister** as the head of the new **Center Party**. His campaign was premised on the themes of the need for national unity and for a return to honesty and integrity in Israeli political life; he was also highly critical of the political policies and personal behavior of the incumbent prime minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Though he initially scored well in public opinion surveys, Lipkin-Shahak's campaign for prime minister rapidly lost steam and he eventually relinquished to Yitzhak Mordechai his leadership of the Center Party and its (unsuccessful) nomination for prime minister. Lipkin-Shahak was elected to the **Knesset** for the first time, from the Center Party list, in 1999 and was appointed minister of **tourism** in **Ehud Barak's One Israel (Israel Ahat)**–led government. In June 2000 he also took on the **transportation** portfolio and held both positions until his resignation from the Knesset in March 2001. He was a participant and signatory to the private **Geneva Initiative** of December 2003. Lipkin-Shahak died on 19 December 2012.

**LIVNAT, LIMOR (1950–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 22 September 1950 in **Haifa**, she became involved politically during her studies at **Tel Aviv University**, becoming head of the **Likud (Union) Party's** youth wing in 1977. She first entered the Knesset on 14 April 1992, shortly before the 1992 legislative election, as a replacement (on the Likud list) for **Haim Corfu**. She retained her seat in the 1992 Knesset election on the Likud list. Reelected in the 1996 Knesset election, she was appointed minister of communications in **Benjamin Netanyahu's** Likud-led coalition government and sought to use her position to influence greater competition in Israel's telecommunications sector. She resigned from the cabinet in 1997 in a dispute with Netanyahu and supported **Ariel Sharon's** successful campaign to become the party's new chairman after Likud's poor showing in the 1999 Knesset election led to Netanyahu's resignation. Livnat was appointed minister of **education** in the government formed by Sharon after his victory over **Ehud Barak** in the 2001 special election for prime minister. Reelected

in the 2003 Knesset election, Livnat continued to serve as education minister from February 2003 to January 2006. She retained her seat in the 2006 and 2009 Knesset elections, after which she was appointed to the new portfolio of minister of culture and sport. Prior to the 2013 Knesset election she lost her place as the top-ranking woman on the Likud's electoral slate, finishing below Tzipi Hotovely and **Miriam “Miri” Regev** in the party primaries. Nevertheless, she was reelected to the Knesset on the Likud list and continued to serve as minister of culture and sport. On 8 December 2014 Livnat announced that she was leaving politics and would not contest the March 2015 Knesset election. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

**LIVNI, TZIPI (1958– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 8 July 1958 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, after graduating from **Bar Ilan University's** faculty of law she worked (from 1980 to 1984) for Israel's foreign **intelligence service Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**. First elected to the Knesset on the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1999, she was appointed minister of regional cooperation in July 2001. She was appointed minister of justice in January 2005 and was reappointed to that portfolio on 1 October 2005. She joined the newly established **Kadima (Forward) Party** in November 2005 and became foreign minister in January 2006. Reelected on the Kadima list in the 2006 Knesset election, she was appointed foreign minister and acting prime minister in **Ehud Olmert's** government. Livni also served as minister of justice from November 2006 to February 2007.

On 17 September 2008 Livni was elected leader of the Kadima Party, defeating former **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff **Shaul Mofaz**. When Livni announced her inability to form a viable governing coalition, consensus was reached among the leaders of the parties in the Knesset to hold an election for a new legislature on 10 February 2009. Under Livni's leadership Kadima won one more seat (28) than **Benjamin Netanyahu's** Likud (27) in that election, but Israel's president, **Shimon Peres** gave Netanyahu the first opportunity to form the government. On 27 March 2012 Mofaz defeated Livni in the Kadima leadership primary by a margin of 64.5 percent to 35.5 percent. On 1 May 2012 Livni resigned from the Knesset.

On 27 November 2012 she announced the formation of the new **Hatnua (Movement) Party**, poaching seven sitting members of the Knesset from Kadima in the process. Livni's new party won six seats in the 2013 Knesset election and was the first party to join Benjamin Netanyahu's new coalition government, with Livni serving as justice minister and head of negotiations with the **Palestinians**. Livni was fired by Netanyahu on 2 December 2014, leading to Hatnua's departure from the **cabinet** and expediting the timetable for the election for the next Knesset. On 10 December 2014, Livni and **Israel**

**Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** leader **Yitzhak Isaac (Buji) Herzog** announced the formation of **The Zionist Union** joint list to contest the 2015 Knesset election, with the explicit goal of denying Benjamin Netanyahu and the Likud a fourth consecutive term in government. It was agreed that if the Zionist Union formed the government, the alliance's coleaders would rotate power. On the eve of the election Livni announced that she had told Herzog she would forgo the rotation agreement. As Livni explained, "I made it clear that we had to do everything to replace Benjamin Netanyahu, and to replace him the rotation cannot be a stumbling block." The Zionist Union alliance won 24 seats in the 17 March 2015 Knesset election compared to the 30 seats won by Likud. Livni became coleader of the opposition in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

**LOHAMEI HERUT YISRAEL.** *See* STERN (GANG) GROUP.

**LUBAVITCH HASIDIC SECT.** A movement founded in Eastern Europe in the 18th century (around 1734) by Israel Ba'al Shem Tov. Emerging as a conservative backlash to the liberal enlightenment (*Haskala*) beginning to prevail among the European Jewish intelligentsia, it emphasized a spiritual and emotional renewal of the connection between Jews and God. Beginning in 1764, small groups of **Hasidim** made their way to **Palestine**, establishing **Ashkenazi** communities in **Safed**, **Hebron**, B'nai Brak, Tiberias, and **Jerusalem**. The first Hasidic rabbinical court in **Jerusalem** was established in 1855. Most Hasidic leaders, with the exception of extremist groups, welcomed the **Balfour Declaration**. Among the most active proponents of Hasidic immigration (*see* ALIYA) to Palestine was the influential Rabbi Avraham Mordechai Alter of Gur (the Gur Rebbe). Nevertheless, the leaders of some Hasidic sects were anti-**Zionist** in orientation (based on the belief that Jewish national renewal only was possible when the Messiah arrived) and actively opposed **Aliya**.

The **Holocaust (The Shoah)** caused a practical acceptance of Zionism by most Hasidic leaders, and the postwar years witnessed a significant growth in the Hasidic movement in Israel. Among the most important aspects of this growth was the establishment in 1949 of Kfar Habad under the auspices of the Lubavitch Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak Schneerson. Under the leadership of his successor, **Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson** (The Rebbe), the influence in Israeli politics of the Lubavitch Hasidim grew tremendously, impacting the outcome of several elections in the 1980s and the 1990s. The political interests of the movement are represented for the most part by **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**. *See also* HABAD (CHABAD).

**LUBRANI, URI (1926–)**. Diplomat and **government** adviser; Israel's ambassador to **Iran** prior to the 1979 revolution. Born in **Germany** on 7 October 1926, he was educated at the Reali School in **Haifa** and London University. Between 1944 and 1948 he served first in the **Hagana** and then the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). He subsequently worked in the Israeli foreign ministry, with ambassadorial postings in Uganda with concurrent accreditation to Burundi and Rwanda, as well as to **Ethiopia**, during which he coordinated **Operation Solomon**, Israel's massive airlift of **Ethiopian Jews** from Addis Ababa in May 1991. In 1992 he headed the Israeli delegation in negotiations with **Lebanon** in Washington, D.C., ensuing from the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference (1991)**. From 1973 to 1978 Lubrani headed Israel's diplomatic mission in Iran, with the rank of ambassador. After the Iranian revolution he served as a senior adviser to successive Israeli governments on military and political relations with Iran, **Lebanon**, and **Syria**. He served as coordinator of IDF activities in Lebanon in the period following **Operation Peace for Galilee (1982)** and after the IDF withdrawal from Lebanon in May 2000 he was chief adviser to successive Israeli governments on relations with Shia Muslim groups in Lebanon, including **Hezbollah**. He continued to serve as a senior adviser on Arab and Iranian affairs until his retirement from public service on 29 November 2015.

# M

**MAABAROT (TRANSIT CAMPS).** Temporary accommodations provided by Israel for mass immigration (*see* ALIYA) between 1950 and 1954 to facilitate absorption of new immigrants into the Israeli system. The conditions in the camps were problematic, and demonstrations and other difficulties resulted. More permanent housing was soon constructed, and a new system for immigrant absorption was devised and put into effect in 1954.

**MA'ALEH ADUMIM.** The most populous **settlement** in the **West Bank** (some 40,000 in 2015), just east of **Jerusalem**. The name is derived from the book of Joshua (15:6–18), in which Ma'aleh Adumim is described as a border area between the tribes of Judah (*see* JUDEA) and Benjamin. The name refers to the route leading from the **Jordan** Valley to Jerusalem dominated by the “reddish hues” in the rock formations. Established by 23 families on the seventh night of Chanukah 1975, its founding members spanned a wide sociocultural and political spectrum. In 1991, Ma'aleh Adumim was officially declared a city, becoming the first “Jewish city” in the West Bank and the **Gaza Strip**. In January 2003, a new two-mile road connecting Ma'aleh Adumim westward to Jerusalem was officially opened. It features two tunnels that run under the campus of **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** on **Mount Scopus**.

In 2005, the government of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** announced plans to build residential housing in the area east of Jerusalem and west of Ma'aleh Adumim known as “E-1” (thereby implementing a plan that had been approved in principle by successive Israeli governments since the early 1990s). While Israel presented this plan as a legitimate response to the continued natural growth of Ma'aleh Adumim and neighboring communities, the **Palestinians** and their supporters charged it was an attempt by Israel to complete the “encirclement” of Jerusalem and deny the Palestinians access to the **Jordan** Valley. Although the fate of the E-1 project was uncertain, the long-standing Israeli popular consensus remained that any viable permanent agreement with the Palestinians must involve the redrawing of the **Green Line** to facilitate the incorporation of Ma'aleh Adumim with Israel. In **Ehud**

**Olmert's Convergence plan**, there was specific reference to Ma'aleh Adu-mim as one of the three **settlement** blocs—along with the Etzion Bloc (**Gush Etzion**) and **Ariel**—into which the majority of West Bank settlements beyond Israel's West Bank **security barrier** would be collapsed and that would be incorporated under permanent Israeli sovereignty.

**MA'ALOT MASSACRE.** On 13 May 1974, a series of **terrorist** incidents near the town of Ma'alot-Tarshisah, in western Upper **Galilee**, left a total of 35 dead and 70 others wounded. Israeli soldiers, searching for the terrorist assailants of two civilians near Moshav Elkosh, caught up with the three-man **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) squad near Ma'alot. Killing three residents of a private home and then a street sweeper, the terrorists took 85 students and teachers hostage at the Nativ Meir School. Demanding the release of 20 of their comrades from Israeli prisons and safe passage for themselves and their hostages to Damascus, **Syria**, the terrorists concentrated all their hostages in one classroom and wired it with explosives. The Israeli government allowed the release of the 20 prisoners but refused to accede to the terrorists' demand to take the hostages to Damascus. Having reached an impasse in the negotiations, the Israeli government ordered the military to storm the school. In the raid, 21 children, three terrorists, and a soldier died. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**MAAPILIM.** Name applied to the illegal immigrants (*see* ALIYA BET) who entered **Palestine** despite the strict immigration restrictions imposed by the **British Mandate** authorities in response to Arab rioting in the 1930s. The beginning of such immigration, called *haapalah*, dates to 1934. It peaked in the immediate post-World War II period, with the aim of providing refuge for survivors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**.

**MAARACH.** *See* ALIGNMENT (MAARACH).

**MAARIV** (literally, "EVENING"). An afternoon daily, **Hebrew-language**, politically independent, and secular newspaper that first appeared on 15 February 1948, published in **Tel Aviv**. For many years the controlling stake in *Maariv* was held by the Nimrodi family, one of Israel's wealthiest families, with Yaakov Nimrodi serving as the paper's chairman. After the Nimrodi family gave up controlling interest the paper experienced a series of debilitating labor disputes and financial crises. Under new ownership the daily newspaper was relaunched in May 2014 as *Maariv-Hashavua*, and a weekend edition called *Maariv-Sofhashavua*. Its current editors-in-chief are Doron Cohen and Golan Bar-Yosef. Accessible at [www.maariv.co.il](http://www.maariv.co.il).



**MACCABIAH GAMES.** Quadrennial Jewish Olympics held in Israel the year following the Summer Olympic Games. Staged under the auspices of the Israel-based Maccabi World Union, Jewish athletes from throughout the world compete. The first Maccabiah Games were held in **Palestine** from 28 March–6 April 1932. A tragedy marred Maacabiah XV in 1997: At the very outset of the opening ceremonies, as parading athletes and country officials were preparing to enter Ramat Gan Stadium for the march-by, a temporary bridge collapsed. Four Australian athletes were killed in the accident, and many others were injured. The Fourteenth European Maccabi Games (27 July 2015–5 August 2015) were held in Germany for the first time, with the opening ceremony symbolically taking place in Berlin’s Olympic Stadium, the site of the 1936 Olympic Games.

**MACDONALD PAPER.** *See* WHITE PAPER (MACDONALD PAPER) OF 1939.

**MACMICHAEL, SIR HAROLD ALFRED (1882–1969).** Born in **Great Britain**, he served as high commissioner and commander in chief for **Palestine** (and also as high commissioner for **Transjordan**) from 1938 to 1944. His tenure in Palestine was characterized by increasing tension between Arab and Jewish communities as well as between the **Zionists** and the **British Mandate**. MacMichael oversaw implementation of the **White Paper of 1939**, which called for severe restrictions on Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) and land purchases in Palestine. By the time of his departure from Palestine at the end of August 1944, there was virtually no contact between British Mandate authorities and the Jewish leadership, many of whom held MacMichael personally responsible for the fate of Jewish refugees fleeing the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** yet denied admittance to Palestine.

**MADRID MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE.** An Arab-Israeli peace conference convened in Madrid, Spain, beginning on 30 October 1991 at the invitation of the **United States** and the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** in an attempt by U.S. secretary of state **James Baker** to capitalize on changes in the Middle East strategic landscape resulting from the end of the first **Persian Gulf War** (1991). The conference was an important step on the road to peace in that it involved direct, bilateral, public, and official peace negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**MAFDAL.** *See* NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY (NRP; MIFLAGA DAT-IT LEUMIT–MAFDAL).

**MAGEN DAVID (SHIELD OF DAVID).** A Jewish symbol. It appears on the **flag** of the state of Israel, as it did on the flag of the **Zionist** Movement. It consists of two superimposed triangles that form a six-pointed star. Although an ancient symbol, it became widely used in Europe for the Jewish communities in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1897, the first Zionist Congress chose it as the symbol of the movement and of the **World Zionist Organization**. It was employed by the Nazis during the **Holocaust (The Shoah)** as a means of identifying Jews. The Flag and Emblem Law of Israel adopted by the First **Knesset** on 24 May 1949 incorporated the Magen David into the official flag of Israel.

**MAGEN DAVID ADOM (RED SHIELD OF DAVID).** Israel's equivalent of the Red Cross or Red Crescent, which provides emergency medical services. The first group was founded in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** in 1930, and in 1935 a national organization was formed. After Israel's independence, it sought to affiliate with the Geneva-based International Red Cross, but this was rejected as the Red Cross refused to recognize the Magen David Adom symbol. On 8 March 2000, the American Red Cross board of governors unanimously passed a resolution admitting Magen David Adom as a full member of the Red Cross. In late 2005, a consensus among its leaders appeared in favor of the adoption of a new symbol, a diamond that would enable Magen David Adom to take its rightful place as a full member of the International Red Cross. In the meantime, the refusal of the Red Cross to accord it membership had not stopped Magen David Adom from becoming a major provider of humanitarian assistance to international relief operations throughout the world, including in Muslim countries with which Israel does not have diplomatic relations. In June 2006, Magen David Adom was formally admitted into the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies by a vote of 237 to 54, with 44 abstentions. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; OPERATION ISLANDS OF HOPE.

**MAGIC CARPET.** *See* OPERATION MAGIC CARPET.

**MAGIC WAND.** Missile defense system, also known as David's Sling. It is designed to defend against medium- and long-range ballistic missiles or cruise missiles fired toward Israel at ranges of 45 miles to 180 miles. It is part of Israel's strategic missile defense system; the other elements include **Iron Dome**, Iron Beam, and **Arrow**. **Rafael Advanced Defense Systems** was initially contracted to develop the project in 2006. An agreement was subsequently reached by **Jerusalem** and Washington whereby Israel would receive U.S. financial support for the continued development of Magic Wand in return for coproduction agreements with American companies. An agree-

ment was subsequently reached to have Magic Wand jointly developed by Rafael and the American defense contractor Raytheon. On 21 December 2015 it was announced that Magic Wand, having successfully completed its final series of tests, was fully operational and ready for delivery to the Israel Air Force (IAF) in 2016, where the system would undergo additional real-world exercises before its deployment.

**MAGNES, JUDAH LEON (1877–1948).** Educator; peace advocate. Born in San Francisco, he was ordained as a rabbi at Hebrew Union College in 1900. An ardent **Zionist**, he was active in many of the American Zionist organizations prior to his settling in **Palestine** in 1922. He was among those who helped create the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and became its chancellor in 1925. After reorganization, he became the president of the university in 1935, a post in which he remained until he died. He became an advocate of a binational state in Palestine as a means of preventing bloodshed with the **Palestinians**, which he believed would be associated with efforts to establish a Jewish state, and in 1929 helped found **Brit Shalom**. In 1942, he founded the **Ihud (Unity)** organization for better understanding between **Arabs** and Jews. Magnes continued to advocate a binational state until after the establishment of Israel. He died on 27 October 1948 in New York. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; BUBER, MARTIN (1878–1965).

**MAHAL.** Acronym for *Mitnadvei Hutz Laeretz* (literally, “foreign volunteers”); a group of some 3,000 Jewish and non-Jewish World War II veterans primarily from the **United States**, **Great Britain**, and Canada who came to **Palestine** to fight for Israel in its **War of Independence (1948–1949)**.

**MAJADELE, RALEB (1953–).** Israeli-Arab member of **Knesset**, in January 2007 he became Israel’s first Muslim **cabinet** minister. Born on 5 April 1953 in Baka el-Gharbia in northern Israel, Majadele served as head of the **education** and **sports** department of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)**. He first entered the Knesset in 2004 as a member of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. He had been placed twentieth on the party’s list for the 2003 Knesset election and failed to gain a Knesset seat when the party took only 19 mandates. However, he entered the Knesset on 28 June 2004 as a replacement on the Labor list for **Avraham Burg** who had resigned his Knesset seat. On 28 January 2007, he was appointed minister without portfolio in **Ehud Olmert’s Kadima (Forward)**–led coalition government; he served in this portfolio until 21 March 2007, when he was appointed minister of **science**, culture, and sports. Majadele was placed on the Labor list for the 2009 Knesset election but lost his seat as the party was

reduced to 13 seats. However, he reentered the Knesset on 13 April 2009, again as a replacement for a party member who had resigned her seat. For the 2013 Knesset election he was placed seventeenth on the Labor list and lost his seat again when the party won only 15 seats. But, as in the past Majadele reentered the Knesset as a replacement, this time on 14 December 2014 for **Binyamin Ben-Eliezer** who had resigned his seat for health reasons. Majadele did not contest the 2015 Knesset election. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL.

**MAKI.** *See* COMMUNIST PARTY.

**MAKLEFF, MORDECHAI (1920–1978).** Third chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, serving in 1952 and 1953. Born in **Mandate Palestine**, he volunteered in the 1930s to serve in the **Hagana** in **Orde Wingate's** “Special Night Squadrons.” During World War II, he served in the British army. He left the British army with the rank of major. In the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he took part in combat as a brigade commander along the northern front. He became commander of military intelligence and served as the deputy chief of staff of the IDF in 1951–1952. He served as chief of staff in 1952–1953. Following his retirement from the military, he became general manager of Israel's electric company and the Israel Chemicals Company, and held other public posts. He died on 2 February 1978.

**MALKIN, PETER ZVI (1927–2005).** Long-time **Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)** agent involved in the capture of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann**. Born Zvi Malchin, either in Poland (according to his son Omer) or in **Mandate Palestine** (according to his own biography), he spent his childhood in Poland, but with growing **anti-Semitism** there, he settled with his family in Palestine in 1933.

After serving in the **Hagana**, he was recruited by the Mossad after independence in 1948. In the spring of 1960, Malkin was part of a team of Mossad agents sent to Buenos Aires, **Argentina**, to kidnap Eichmann, who was living in a suburb under the alias Ricardo Klement. On 11 May 1960, Eichmann alighted from the bus and walked toward his house on Garibaldi Street. Malkin approached him and uttered the only words of Spanish he knew, “Un momentito, Señor.” He grabbed Eichmann's arm and with his colleagues wrestled Eichmann into a waiting car and drove him to a “safe house,” where he was interrogated for 10 days. Standing guard over Eichmann during this time, Malkin began to draw him, using the sketch pencils, acrylic paints, and make-up he carried in his disguise kit.

Malkin served a total of 27 years in the Mossad, eventually becoming its chief of operations. He retired in 1976 and authored a memoir, *Eichmann in My Hands*. He adopted the name Peter and modified his last name. He died on 1 March 2005 in New York.

**MANDATE.** *See* BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.

**MANDELBAUM GATE.** The sole access point between Israeli—and **Jordanian**—held parts of **Jerusalem** between 1948 and 1967. Although according to the 1949 **armistice agreement** with Jordan, Israelis and other Jews were to have access to religious holy places in the old city via the Mandelbaum Gate, in reality access was made available only to non-Jews. The gate was one of the fronts used by Israeli forces that retook the old city in the **Six-Day War (1967)**.

**MANHIGUT YEHUDIT (JEWISH LEADERSHIP MOVEMENT).** Formerly Orthodox, right-wing faction of the **Likud Party** headed by **Moshe Feiglin**. Its declared goal was to “bring genuinely Jewish leadership to Israel”; “to accomplish our goal, we plan to take over the leadership of the Likud—the only party in Israel that is a microcosm of Israeli society.” It opposed **Ariel Sharon**’s Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan and worked for Sharon’s ouster as Likud leader. Feiglin took 12 percent of the vote in the 19 December 2005 Likud leadership primary won by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. He and Netanyahu subsequently engaged in an often heated debate over the inclusion of Manhigut Yehudit members on the Likud slate (and its policies on the party platform) for the March 2006 Knesset election. Feiglin was soundly defeated by Netanyahu in the Likud Party leadership primary in August 2007, receiving only 23 percent of the vote compared to Netanyahu’s 73 percent. Feiglin’s exclusion from the Likud list of candidates for the 2015 Knesset election constituted the end of the Manhigut Yehudit movement’s relationship with Likud. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**MAPAI (MIFLEGET POALEI ERETZ YISRAEL–ISRAEL WORKERS PARTY).** Mapai originated with the union of two smaller **political parties**, **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** and **Hapoel Hatzair (The Young Worker)**, in 1930, but the roots of the movement can be traced to the turn of the century in Europe, especially Russia. Its program, a combination of **Zionist** and socialist ideologies, focused on the development of the Jewish people in **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)** as a free working people rooted in an **agricultural** and **industrial economy** and developing its own **Hebrew** culture. It supported membership in the world movement of the working class and cooperation in the struggle to eliminate class subjugation and social

injustice in any form. Mapai soon became the dominant party in the **Yishuv** and controlled the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** as well as the national council and the **Jewish Agency**. Many of the noted figures in the creation of Israel came from Mapai, including **David Ben-Gurion**, **Moshe Sharet**, **Golda Meir**, **Moshe Dayan**, and others.

In the elections for the **Knesset** from Israel's independence until 1965, when it ran in the framework of the **Alignment (Maarach)**, Mapai won the largest number of seats and its leader was given the mandate to form the **government**. All of Israel's prime ministers and Histadrut secretaries general, as well as many other senior members of the Israeli administration and political elite, were Mapai members in the period from its founding until its merger into the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. It was the leading member of all government coalitions and generally held the key portfolios of defense, foreign affairs, and finance, as well as the post of **prime minister**. The party permeated the government, the bureaucracy, the economy, and most of the other institutions of Israel. Political advancement in Israel and membership in Mapai were generally coincident. In 1965, Mapai joined with Ahdut Haavoda to form the **Alignment** to contest the Knesset election. In 1968, the Alignment joined with **Rafi** to form the Israel Labor Party. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**MAPAM (MIFLEGET POALIM HAMEUHEDET-UNITED WORKERS PARTY)**. Mapam was organized in 1948, when **Hashomer Hatzair** merged with radical elements from **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)**. It is a left-wing, socialist-Zionist mixed Jewish-Arab political party. From its beginnings, the party was more Marxist than **Mapai (Mifleget Poali Eretz Yisrael-Israel Workers Party)**. The former **Ahdut Haavoda** members left in 1954 because of Mapam's pro-Soviet orientation and acceptance of **Arabs** as party members. Although the party's domestic policy was essentially indistinguishable from Mapai's, Mapam's share of the vote in national elections declined steadily before it joined the **Alignment (Maarach)** for the 1969 **Knesset** election. Mapam ended its alliance with the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** in September 1984 over the issue of the formation of a **Government of National Unity** with the center-right **Likud (Union) Party**. Mapam's longtime leader was **Victor Shemtov**.

Drawing support primarily from the socialist **Kibbutz** movement as well as segments of the Israeli Arab community, Mapam historically advocated a policy of compromise in relations with the **Palestinians**. Domestically, it championed freedom of religious expression among Israeli Jews and the extension of equal rights for all Israelis. In 1992, it joined with the **Citizens' Rights and Peace Movement (Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrach Uleshalom; Ratz)** and **Shinui** to form the **Meretz/Democratic Israel** alliance that won 12 seats in the 1992 Knesset election and participated in the coalition govern-

ments headed by **Yitzhak Rabin** (1992–1995) and **Shimon Peres** (1995–1996). Mapam, as part of Meretz, averaged five to six seats in Knesset elections between 2003 and 2013; Meretz won five seats in the 2015 Knesset election.

**MARON, HANNA (1923–2014).** Actress dubbed the “first lady of Israeli theater.” Born Hanna Meiezrak in Berlin, **Germany**, on 22 November 1923, she immigrated (see **ALIYA**) with her family to **Mandate Palestine** in 1933 after Hitler’s rise to power. She entertained the **Jewish Brigade** of Palestinian Jews who volunteered for the British army for service in the Middle East during World War II. In 1945 she joined the **Cameri Theater** and helped to introduce new works by Israeli dramatists such as **Natan Alterman** and **Moshe Shamir** into the company’s repertoire. She became one of Israel’s leading actresses. In 1970 she lost her leg as the result of a **Palestinian terrorist** hijacking of her **El Al** flight, but she resumed her acting career a year later. Maron received the **Israel Prize** in 1973 for her contribution to Israeli theater. She died in Tel Aviv on 30 May 2014.

**MARZEL, BARUCH (1960– ).** U.S.–born ultranationalist Orthodox political activist, resident of the **West Bank settlement** of **Hebron**, and adherent of the outlawed extremist **KACH** and **Kahane Chai** movements. He failed to win election to the **Knesset** in 2003, 2006, and 2013, on the lists of various small far-right parties. On 12 February 2015, the Israel Central Elections Committee by a narrow margin of 17-16 voted to disqualify him from seeking election to the Knesset on the list of the **Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Strength) Party** due to his racist views. This disqualification was overturned on automatic appeal to the **Supreme Court** of Israel on 18 February 2015. Marzel’s party’s platform called for the annexation by Israel of **Judea and Samaria** and the “transfer” to neighboring countries (voluntarily or by force) of the area’s Arab residents. Marzel also had claimed that most of Israel’s Arab citizens were “disloyal” and “certainly don’t belong here.” Marzel and Otzma Yehudit failed in the March 2015 election to pass the threshold for winning seats in the Twentieth Knesset.

**MASADA (MASSADA).** A natural rock fortress in the **Judean Desert** on the shore of the **Dead Sea**, located south of Ein Gedi, where a group of Jewish zealots held out against a Roman siege for seven months in 73 AD. When the Romans finally entered the fortress, they found that the defenders had committed suicide rather than be taken alive. This heroic stand led to the pledge of Israeli youngsters that “Masada shall not fall again.” Excavations

of the site in the 1950s led by archaeologist **Yigael Yadin** documented much of the historical writings of the Roman historian Josephus concerning the events at Masada.

**MASHAAL, KHALED (1956–)**. Political leader of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**. Born in 1956 in the Silwad neighborhood of the **West Bank** city of Ramallah, the group's senior political leader is believed by Israel to be "responsible for the murder of innocent civilians." Two **Mossad** agents bungled an attempted assassination of Mashaal on 25 September 1997 in Amman, **Jordan** (see MASHAAL AFFAIR). Since the death of Hamas founder **Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Yassin** in 2004, Mashaal's influence over Hamas has grown and he was appointed the world leader of Hamas. For many years, he was based in Damascus, **Syria**, but was forced to relocate to Qatar due to Hamas' support for antiregime forces in the civil war in Syria. He fostered a warmer relationship for Hamas with **Iran's** revolutionary regime that included the unprecedented transfer of Iranian arms and funds to the Hamas leadership in the **Gaza Strip**. There were reported occasional differences of viewpoint between the hard line Mashaal and **Ismail 'Abd Al-Salaam Ahmad Haniyeh** and the Gaza-based Hamas leadership over future relations with Israel. See also MASHAAL AFFAIR.

**MASHAAL AFFAIR**. A bungled **Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)** attempt at assassinating **Khaled Mashaal**, a senior **Hamas** political leader believed by Israel to be "responsible for the murder of innocent civilians." The incident occurred on 25 September 1997 in Amman and seriously soured relations with **Jordan**. The two Mossad agents, carrying forged Canadian passports, were captured, and in return for their release, Israel had to free Hamas founder **Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Yassin** and dozens of other **Palestinian** and Jordanian security prisoners from Israeli prisons. The affair ultimately forced the resignation of Mossad chief **Danny Yatom** and his director of operations. The **Ciechanover Commission** reported in February 1998 to Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** that the Mossad and its head (Yatom) bore full responsibility for the failed assassination attempt.

**MASORTI MOVEMENT**. The movement of Conservative Judaism in Israel. The founders sought to establish an alternative to Orthodox Judaism—they established neighborhood synagogue centers (*kehillot*) and educational programs and institutions. Although the educational and academic programs appeared to be successful, Masorti institutions did not initially attract or sustain large numbers of native-born Israelis, as Judaism and Orthodoxy appear still to be equated in the minds of most Jewish Israelis. In an address to the general assembly of the **United Jewish Appeal (UJA)/United Jewish**



Communities—Jewish Federations of North America on 10 November 2015, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** promised additional Israel state funding and other support for the Masorti/Conservative and Progressive/Reform movements in Israel. *See also* RELIGION.

**MAVI MARMARA INCIDENT.** On 31 May 2010, a flotilla of six vessels attempting to breach Israel’s naval blockade of the **Gaza Strip** was boarded by Israeli naval commandos. The flotilla had been instructed to change course by the Israeli forces. Satisfied with the international media coverage their activities had elicited, the vast majority of passengers complied. But a group of militant activists aboard one of the vessels, the *Mavi Marmara*, met Israeli boarding personnel with armed resistance. The ensuing clash resulted in the deaths of nine passengers and the wounding of several others. The **United Nations** investigation into the event, known as the **Palmer Report** (after its chair, Geoffrey Palmer, the former prime minister of New Zealand) discerned that Israel was justified in defending its naval blockade of the Gaza Strip inasmuch as the blockade was initially imposed as a legitimate security measure to prevent the smuggling of weapons to terrorist groups; and there existed serious questions about “the conduct, true nature and objectives of the flotilla organizers” who acted recklessly in attempting to breach the blockade. While it criticized the use of “excessive and unreasonable” force by Israeli boarding personnel, the Palmer Report acknowledged that the Israeli personnel “faced significant, organized and violent resistance” when they boarded the *Mavi Mamara*. The fact that eight of the dead on board the *Mavi Marmara* were Turkish nationals led to a major crisis in Israel’s bilateral relationship with Ankara. On 22 March 2013, in a telephone conversation with his Turkish counterpart arranged by U.S. president **Barack Obama**, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** voiced regret for the loss of life in the *Mavi Marmara* incident and apologized for any operational errors that led to the death of the Turkish activists. On 6 November 2014 chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda announced that the actions of Israeli commandos in the *Mavi Marmara* incident would not be investigated by the International Criminal Court (ICC). However, justices of the ICC, in a split vote, on 16 July 2015 ordered chief prosecutor Bensouda to reopen the investigation against Israel, claiming that the deaths on the *Mavi Marmara* were “systematic or resulted from a deliberate plan or policy to attack, kill or injure civilians.” Israel rejected the justices’ decision as cynical, hypocritical, and politically motivated; chief prosecutor Bensouda appealed the order to reopen the investigation against the actions of Israeli security personnel, arguing that the ICC judges did not consider “the unique context of violent resistance aboard the *Mavi Marmara*.” In late June 2015 the Turkish foreign minister confirmed reports of secret Turkish-Israeli talks toward achieving a rapprochement, with a focus on Israel offering compensation to the families of casualties of

the *Mavi Marmara*. See also FOREIGN POLICY; REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PANEL OF INQUIRY ON THE 31 MAY 2010 FLOTILLA INCIDENT (ALSO KNOWN AS THE PALMER REPORT).

**MEA SHEARIM (HUNDRED GATES).** A neighborhood of **Jerusalem** located near the pre-June 1967 **Green Line** with **Jordan** and the **Mandelbaum Gate**. It was one of the first neighborhoods built outside the walls of the old city of Jerusalem, around 1874. The first residents were Orthodox Jews who sought to escape the crowded conditions in the old Jerusalem community. The name is derived from the book of Genesis in the Bible. It has become the symbol of religious extremism because the neighborhood is under the influence of the militantly Orthodox **Neturei Karta**, though not all who live there are members of that group. The inhabitants of the area tend to be very traditional and ultrareligious in their outlook.

**MECHDAL.** A Hebrew word meaning “omission”; a term widely used in Israel in the aftermath of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** to refer to the failures of the **government** and military commanders to be fully prepared for the outbreak of the war and to respond to the initial attacks by **Egypt** and **Syria**. See also AGRANAT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

**MEDIA IN ISRAEL.** Israeli society has been described as being “news-obsessed.” Israel has one of the highest newspaper readership rates among Western democracies, a fact that is attributed to a high literacy rate and an intense interest in politics and foreign affairs. There were **Hebrew**-language newspapers in Ottoman **Palestine** by the 1860s. In advocating the agenda of their disparate communities of Jewish settlers, such newspapers were continuing the Eastern European *shtetl* (small, self-contained, Jewish village) tradition of having a large number of newspapers reflecting a wide range of opinions on the social, economic, religious, and/or political issues.

The so-called party papers played an important role in facilitating the intense ideological debates that dominated the political discourse in the pre-state **Yishuv** and in the early decades of Israel's statehood. A list of such party papers and their ideological orientation (in parentheses) includes **Davar** (Labor Zionist), **Hatzofeh** (national religious), **al-HaMishmar** (socialist Zionist), **Hamodia** (ultra-Orthodox), and **Al-Ittihad** (Communist). Such press outlets were official organs of specific political parties or very closely aligned with the ideological perspectives and programs of those parties. Their primary function was to use the “power of the press” to influence political attitudes and electoral behavior. The 1930s and 1940s and the first 20 years of statehood marked the halcyon days of the party newspapers in Zionist and Israeli politics, functioning alongside politically independent

papers such as *Yediot Ahronot*, *Haaretz*, and *Maariv*. Virtually every newspaper stand in Israel comprised an animated marketplace of ideas and ideological debate. By the late-1970s and 1980s, however, the popularity of party newspapers had declined, leading to their virtual demise by the 1990s and 2000s. Among the ideological papers to cease publication were *Al-HaMishmar* (1995), *Davar* (1996), and *Hatzofeh* (2008). Contributing to this were changes in the political culture in Israel, including the public's growing impatience with the polarizing effect of the incessant ideological battles between political parties and movements of earlier generations.

A dramatic change had emerged in the relationship between the newspaper industry and government in Israel beginning by the late 1970s. Freedom of the press is guaranteed in Israel's **Declaration of Independence** (refer to appendix A) and in an independent judiciary as well as in practice. But aspects of this freedom were voluntarily constrained by much of the press in Israel's early decades, particularly with respect to national security issues. The Israeli Military Censor is a unit in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Directorate of Military Intelligence** mandated to monitor the publication of information affecting the security of the state. It has the authority to suppress information it deems compromising from being published in Israeli media outlets. Former president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel **Aharon Barak** ruled that, when in direct conflict, the right to life supersedes the right to expression (i.e., the right of Israeli media outlets to publish information deemed by the Military Censor as compromising national security). Controversies surrounding the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, the **War in Lebanon (1982)**, and the first **intifada** caused some Israeli journalists to adopt a more jaundiced view of Israeli security policy and of the media's relationship with Israel's political and military leadership, and to challenge heretofore sacrosanct national institutions, including the IDF. A growing number increasingly challenged the extent of authority of the Military Censor.

At the beginning of the 21st century, two other significant trends affected the newspaper industry in Israel. Major newspapers were consolidated under the control of a handful of owners or ownership groups. These owners included the *Yediot Ahronot* Group, headed by Arnon Mozes; Eli Azur's Mirkaei Tikshoret Group; the *Haaretz* Group, controlled by the Schocken family; and the papers owned by American-Israeli businessman Sheldon Adelson. The other trend was the proliferation of Internet editions generated by several major Israeli newspapers as well as the emergence of Internet-only news outlets such as the *Times of Israel* and *Arutz Sheva—Israel National News*.

The electronic media (radio, television, cable, and satellite) environment in Israel experienced revolutionary change beginning in the 1980s, and it is on the cusp of additional radical change. The cornerstone of the country's electronic media is **Kol Israel (The Voice of Israel)**, administered by the Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA). The first official broadcast by Kol Is-

rael radio was live coverage of the 14 May 1948 proclamation of Israel's independent statehood. The first broadcast of Kol Israel television occurred on **Independence Day (Yom Haatzmaut) 1968**.

As the longtime anchor of *Mabat* ("Outlook"), the prime-time news broadcast of Kol Israel Channel 1 television, Haim Yavin was known in Israel as "Mr. Television." To the extent that he was perceived as *the* voice of authority in a tightly controlled, single-channel, national television system, it could be said that Yaniv might have influenced public opinion in Israel. But the scholarly evidence of such influence is inconclusive.

Electronic broadcasting in Israel remained a monopoly tightly controlled by the state until the late 1980s, when radical change in the regulatory framework began to occur. In 1990, the **Knesset** adopted legislation which resulted in the creation of the Second Israel Broadcasting Authority. The Second Authority for Television and Radio was mandated to regulate the licensing of commercial television and radio broadcasts in Israel, and to enable a competitive marketplace involving commercial electronic media broadcasters and the public system administered by the IBA. Additional legislative measures later were instituted to govern the plethora of cable and satellite broadcasters that since the late 1990s had entered the Israeli marketplace. Additional significant structural reform in the electronic media system in Israel was announced. In March 2014 Israel's **cabinet** approved a plan to close the Israel Broadcasting Authority and replace it with a new public broadcasting body—to be called the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation—that would create and administer three separate television channels: two separate Hebrew—and Arabic—language channels, and a channel devoted to programming for children. Also part of the reform package was the plan to create eight new national radio stations to replace the existing Kol Israel national radio network.

The television landscape in Israel currently includes four state-owned public channels and a vast and ever-growing array of private commercial channels, including cable and satellite networks that broadcast in Hebrew and Arabic and numerous other domestic and foreign languages, whose broadcasts are aired throughout the world. Most prominent among commercial television channels in Israel are Channel 2, Channel 10, and the i24 news channel (which broadcasts in English, French, and Arabic, although not in Hebrew). Popular radio channels include Kol Israel and Galei Tzahal (Army Radio).

Like Israel's newspaper industry, the electronic media sector experienced a consolidation of major television, radio, cable, and satellite outlets under the control of a handful of owners/ownership groups. Among these are YES satellite television, owned by Israel's largest telecommunications conglomer-

ate, Bezeq; HOT Israel cable, owned by a Dutch-based telecommunications multinational; and the national and regional cable and television networks owned by Eli Azur's Mirkaei Tikshoret Group.

**MEGGED, AHARON (1920–2016).** Prominent Hebrew author. He was born on 10 August 1920 in in Włocławek, Poland, as Aharon Greenberg, and brought to **Palestine** at the age of six, where he was raised in Ra'anana and educated at the **Herzliya High School**. He joined the pioneer youth movement when he finished high school, training at **Kibbutz** Givat Brenner. From 1939 to 1950 he was a member of Kibbutz Sedot Yam. He was one of the founders of the *Masa* weekly literary supplement, which he edited for 15 years. In addition, he worked as a literary editor for the newspapers *Lemeh-rhav* and *Davar*. From 1968 to 1971 he served as cultural attaché at the Israeli Embassy in London. The author of some 35 books, Megged won the 1974 Bialik Prize for *Evyatar Notebooks* and *Of Trees and Stones*. He was awarded the **Israel Prize** for his contribution to literature in 2003. He also is the recipient of many prestigious prizes and accolades for his works. His favorite subject often is that of many contemporary Israeli authors: the nostalgic preoccupation with the Jewish identity from which the “new Jew,” the **Sabra**, sought to free himself in the state of Israel from the negative stereotype of the “old Jew” (the powerless, ghettoized European Jew). He died in March 2016.

**MEHTA, ZUBIN (1936– ).** Since 1981, music director for life of the **Israel Philharmonic Orchestra** (IPO). Mehta was born on 29 April 1936 into an **Indian** Parsi family in Bombay (now Mumbai), India. The IPO appointed him music advisor in 1969, music director in 1977, and music director for life in 1981. He is also honorary conductor of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

**MEIMAD (DIMENSION).** Acronym for Tenua Mercazit Datit, “the Movement for the Religious Center.” Founded in 1988 as a reaction to the sharp move to the political right of the **National Religious Party (NRP, Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**, it was a dovish religious **political party** drawing much of its membership from those Israeli voters formerly affiliated with the NRP. Meimad sought to promote dialogue and lessen polarization within Israeli society. It worked with other groups in Israel and the **Diaspora** toward the goal of achieving reconciliation on the contentious **Who Is a Jew?** debate. Senior Meimad activists also participated in meetings with the religious leaders of the Muslim and Christian communities in Israel. On matters of

peace and security, Meimad followed the principle that the “good of the people and State of Israel takes precedence over political control over the entire Land of Israel.”

Meimad’s founder was **Rabbi Yehuda Amital**, the prominent head of the Har Etzion yeshiva in the **West Bank settlement** of Alon Shvut. The party did not win any seats in the 1988 or 1992 Knesset elections, but Rabbi Amital agreed to serve as minister without portfolio in the coalition **government** formed by **Shimon Peres** following the November 1995 assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**. Meimad did not submit a list of candidates for the Fourteenth **Knesset** election (1996), but it did publicly endorse the prime ministerial candidacy of Peres, in part to demonstrate that the “whole religious community is not on one side” of the political debate.

In the spring of 1999, Meimad agreed to join with the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and **Gesher (Bridge)** parties to form the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** alliance that won 26 seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) and formed the new government, under **Ehud Barak**, with Meimad’s political leader, **Rabbi Michael Melchior** serving as a minister in the Prime Minister’s Office with responsibility for Israel-Diaspora relations and social affairs. In 2003, Meimad once again joined Labor in contesting the Knesset election but this time the alliance took only 19 seats. On 10 January 2005, Meimad joined the **Likud (Union) Party**–led governing coalition headed by **Ariel Sharon**, with Melchior serving as deputy **education** minister. In June 2005, Melchior was appointed deputy minister in the Prime Minister’s Office, with responsibility for Diaspora affairs and social affairs. In 2006, the Labor-Meimad alliance won 19 seats in the Seventeenth Knesset. In November 2008 Meimad ended its alliance with Labor after being informed that the tenth spot on Labor’s list of candidates would no longer be reserved for Meimad. In December 2008 Meimad established an electoral alliance with the **Israel Green Party (Hayerukim)** to contest the 2009 Knesset election, but the alliance failed to pass the threshold for winning seats in the Eighteenth Knesset. Meimad members suffered a loss with the July 2010 death of their founder and spiritual leader Rabbi Yehuda Amital. A second blow came with the 11 December 2012 announcement by the party’s political leader, Rabbi Michael Melchior, of his decision to not contest the forthcoming 2013 Knesset election but instead pursue “the Meimad mission from beyond the political arena.” *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**MEIR, GOLDA (FORMERLY MEYERSON) (1898–1978).** She was born Golda Mabovitch in Kiev, Russia, on 3 May 1898. In 1903, her family moved to Pinsk and, three years later, settled in Milwaukee. She graduated from high school in Milwaukee and attended the Milwaukee Normal School for Teachers. At age 17, she joined **Poalei Zion**. She married Morris Meyerson in December 1917, and in 1921, they immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Pales-**

**tine.** They settled in **Kibbutz** Merhavayah but later moved to **Tel Aviv–Yafo** and then to **Jerusalem**. In 1928, she became secretary of the **Women’s Labor Council** of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** in Tel Aviv. When **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** was formed in 1930 by the merger of **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** and **Hapoel Hatzair (The Young Worker)**, she quickly became a major figure in the new **political party**.

In 1934, Meyerson was invited to join the executive committee of the Histadrut and became head of its political department. In 1946, when **British Mandate** authorities arrested virtually all the members of the **Jewish Agency** executive and the **Vaad Leumi** that they could find in Palestine, she became acting head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, replacing **Moshe Sharett**. In the months immediately preceding Israel’s **Declaration of Independence**, she met secretly with **King Abdullah** of Transjordan to dissuade him from joining the **Arab League** in attacking Jewish Palestine, but her efforts failed.

In early June 1948, Meyerson was appointed Israel’s first minister to Moscow but returned to Israel in April 1949. She was elected to the First **Knesset** in 1949 on the Mapai ticket and became minister of labor, a post she held until 1956, when she became foreign minister for a decade under prime ministers **David Ben-Gurion** and **Levi Eshkol**. As minister of labor, her principal function was the absorption of hundreds of thousands of immigrants (*see* ALIYA) who arrived in Israel in the first years after independence. She initiated large scale housing and road building programs and strongly supported unlimited immigration, and she helped to provide employment and medical care for the immigrants.

When she succeeded Sharett as foreign minister in 1956, she converted her name to **Hebrew** and became known as Golda Meir. As foreign minister, she concentrated on Israel’s aid to African and other developing nations as a means of strengthening Israel’s international position (*see* FOREIGN POLICY). She resigned as foreign minister in January 1966 and was succeeded by **Abba Eban**. Because of her enormous popularity in Mapai, she was prevailed upon to accept appointment as general secretary of the party, and, in that position, was Prime Minister Eshkol’s closest adviser. In January 1968, she was instrumental in facilitating the union of Mapai, **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)**, and Ahdut Haavoda as the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. After serving for two years as secretary general, she retired from public life.

Following Eshkol’s sudden death in February 1969, party leaders prevailed upon Meir to become Israel’s fourth prime minister in March 1969. She retained the government of national unity that Eshkol had constructed at the time of the **Six-Day War (1967)**. In the **Knesset** election at the end of October 1969, Labor won 56 seats and Meir once again became prime minis-

ter. She led Israel through the trauma of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and its aftermath. Following the 1973 election, which was postponed until 31 December, Meir had great difficulty in forming a coalition government with **Moshe Dayan** continuing in his role as minister of defense. In April 1974, she resigned. She died on 8 December 1978.

**MEKOROT WATER COMPANY.** Formed in 1937 by the **Jewish Agency**, **Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet Le Israel)**, and **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)**, Mekorot was mandated to supply, store, and distribute water for irrigation and domestic use to the **Yishuv**. The government of Israel became a partner in 1956, and in 1959, the corporation was chartered as the National Water Authority. Its activities included the search for new sources of water through drilling, the transport of water to arid zones of the country, and the conservation of water. Mekorot's crowning achievement was the **National Water Carrier**, an 81-mile pipeline project initiated in 1953 and completed in 1964 that carried water from the **Jordan River** and Lake Kinneret in the north to southern Israel and the **Negev**. Today, Mekorot supplies 1.3 cubic meters of water per year, which accounts for 90 percent of Israel's drinking water and 70 percent of all the water supply in the country. In addition, the company concentrates increased attention on water desalination, waste water reclamation and reuse, flood water capture, and water quality.

**MELCHIOR, RABBI MICHAEL (1954– ).** Chief rabbi of Norway, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in Copenhagen, Denmark, on 31 January 1954, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1985. He had served as chief rabbi of Norway prior to immigrating to Israel. Since 1995 he served as political leader of the moderate Orthodox **Meimad (Dimension) Party**. First elected to the Knesset in the 1999 election on the joint list of the **One Israel (Israel Ahat) Party**, Melchior was appointed a minister in the **Prime Minister's Office** (under **Ehud Barak**) with responsibility for **Israel-Diaspora** relations and social affairs, a position he held until February 2001. He served as deputy foreign minister in the **Likud (Union) Party-Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** unity coalition **government** formed by **Ariel Sharon** (2001–2002) and was appointed deputy minister of **education**, culture, and **sports** upon Labor's reentry to the Sharon-led government on 10 January 2005. In June 2005, Melchoir was appointed deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office, again with responsibility for **Diaspora** affairs and social affairs. He was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election on the joint Labor-Meimad list. In December 2008 Melchior took Meimad into an electoral alliance with the **Israel Green Party (Hayerukim)** to contest the 2009 Knesset election, but the alliance failed to pass the thresh-



old for winning Knesset seats. On 11 December 2012 Melchior announced his decision to not contest the forthcoming 2013 Knesset election but instead pursue “the Meimad mission from beyond the political arena.”

**MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING (MOU).** In November 1981, Israel and the **United States of America** negotiated and signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on strategic cooperation, in which it was agreed that U.S.–Israel strategic cooperation “is designed against the threat to peace and security of the region caused by the Soviet Union—*see* UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR/RUSSIA)—or Soviet-controlled forces from outside the region introduced into the region.” The MOU was suspended in December 1981 in the wake of Israel’s extension of its law and jurisdiction to the **Golan Heights**, but additional memoranda were signed in subsequent years. A new MOU, emphasizing cooperation against the threat of long-range ballistic missiles, was signed on 30 October 1998. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**MEMORIAL DAY. Yom Ha’Zikaron**, the day that honors the soldiers who have fallen in Israel’s defense since before statehood, occurs the day before **Independence Day (Yom Ha’atzmaut)** according to the Jewish calendar. Israel’s citizens remember their fallen war heroes and victims of **terrorism** who fell in the long struggle for the Jewish people’s return to its land. The count (which in 2016 exceeded 23,477 soldiers and civilians) begins in 1860, the year the first **Jerusalem** neighborhood was built outside the old city walls.

**MERETZ/DEMOCRATIC ISRAEL.** An electoral list formed prior to the 1992 Knesset election through the amalgamation of three left-wing **Zionist political parties**: **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party)**; the **Citizens’ Rights and Peace Movement (CRM; Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrach Uleshalom; Ratz)**; and **Shinui**. The movement’s domestic and foreign policy platform was decidedly liberal in character. It advocates immediate, unconditional negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and **Palestinian Authority (PA)**; acceptance of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** as a part of Palestinian society that must be included in negotiations; the withdrawal of all Jewish **settlements** in the **West Bank** (and before the 2005 disengagement) in the **Gaza Strip**; and a **two-state solution** to the Israel-Palestinian conflict. On the domestic front, Meretz advocated complete separation of **religion** from political affairs; the promulgation of a formal, written constitution for Israel that would ensure the rights of Israel’s minorities; and an end to the kind of inequities that were highlighted in Israel’s 2011 **social justice protests**.

Under the leadership of the veteran CRM leader **Shulamit Aloni**, Meretz won 12 seats in the 1992 Knesset election and joined the coalition **government** headed by **Yitzhak Rabin** and the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. The party slipped to nine seats in the Fourteenth Knesset (1996) under the leadership of **Yossi Sarid**, who had succeeded Aloni in 1996. In the spring of 1999, Shinui left Meretz in order to run independently in the election to the Fifteenth Knesset, winning six seats. Despite the loss of Shinui, Meretz went on to win 10 seats in the 17 May 1999 election. Meretz joined the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)**–led coalition government headed by **Ehud Barak**, with two ministerial portfolios.

On 31 March 2004, the party's membership voted to transform themselves into a new left-wing Zionist Movement, **Yahad–Social Democratic Israel**, under the chairmanship of former Labor member of Knesset and government minister **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin**. Under Beilin's leadership, the new party won only five seats in the 2006 Knesset election. Returning to its roots, Meretz took three mandates in the 2009 Knesset election and six in the 2013 election. Under the leadership of Zehava Gal-On the party won five seats in the Twentieth Knesset (2015).

**MERIDOR, DAN (1947–)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in **Jerusalem** on 23 April 1947, he is the son of former **Irgun** commander and **Herut Knesset** member **Yaacov Meridor**, making the younger Meridor a “Likud prince.” A graduate of the faculty of law at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, he served as **cabinet** secretary from 1982 to 1984. First elected to the **Knesset** on the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1984, he became minister of justice in the government established in December 1988 and retained that position in the government of June 1990. In July 1996 he agreed to serve as finance minister in the Likud-led governing coalition headed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. He resigned in June 1997 to protest the perceived lack of support from the **prime minister** for the package of economic reforms that he sought to institute.

On 22 December 1998, Meridor quit the Likud in order to form his own centrist party that would contest election to the Fifteenth Knesset; he also announced his candidacy for the position of prime minister. He subsequently joined with former Likud members of the Knesset **Ronnie Milo** and **Yitzhak Mordechai** and former **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff **Amnon Lipkin-Shahak** to form the **Center Party** to contest the 17 May 1999 Knesset election. When the Center Party dissolved during the Fifteenth Knesset, Meridor temporarily returned to Likud but then took his leave of party politics, becoming international chair of the Jerusalem Foundation. He headed a blue-ribbon committee that in April 2006 presented a 250-page report to the IDF general staff and to Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** recommending a new national defense doctrine for Israel. Meridor took part in the **Winograd**

**Committee** that looked at Israel's actions in the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. Reentering the Eighteenth Knesset in 2009 on the Likud list, Meridor was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of intelligence and atomic energy by prime minister–elect Benjamin Netanyahu. He did not contest the 2013 Knesset election but remained a keen observer of Israel's foreign and security policy.

**MERIDOR, SALLAI (1955–)**. **Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization** head. Known as one of the “**Likud** princes,” he is the son of **Yaacov Meridor**, a former **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) commander (1941–1943) who served as a **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** Knesset member in the 1960s. He served as an intelligence officer in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, was an adviser to various government ministries, and participated in the negotiations ensuing from the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. He chaired the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization for six years, from 1999 to 2005, when he was succeeded by **Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky**. In October 2006 Meridor was appointed Israeli ambassador to the **United States**, a position he held until 2009, when he was succeeded by Michael Oren. He currently serves as international chairman for the **Jerusalem** Foundation.

**MERIDOR, YAACOV (1913–1995)**. Prestate underground commander, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 29 September 1913 in Lipno, Poland, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1932, where in the following year he joined the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel), which he later commanded from 1941 to 1943. He served in the First through the Sixth Knessets. He was the founder and chairman of the board of directors of Maritime Fruit Carriers, and served on the board of directors of the Atlantic Fisheries and Shipping Company. On 5 August 1981, following his election to the Tenth Knesset, he was sworn in as minister of **economic** affairs. He also served as minister of economic affairs from October 1983 to September 1984. He is the author of *Long Is the Road to Freedom*. He died on 30 June 1995.

**MIFLEGET HOK HATEVA**. *See* NATURAL LAW PARTY (MIFLEGET HOK HATEVA).

**MILITARY**. *See* HAGANA (“DEFENSE”); ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**MILO, RONNIE (1949–)**. **Tel Aviv–Yafo** mayor, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born as Ron Milikovsk in Tel Aviv on 26 November 1949, Milo was educated at the faculty of law of **Tel Aviv University**. He was first elected to the **Knesset** on the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1977. He became minister of ecology and environmental protection in the government established in December 1988 and assumed the position of minister of police in the government established in June 1990. Mayor of Tel Aviv–Yafo from November 1993 to 1999, in May 1998 Milo announced his candidacy for **prime minister** as the leader of a new centrist political movement called **Atid (Future)**, which pledged to “bridge gaps” among Israelis on political, religious, and social grounds. Milo subsequently joined with **Dan Meridor**, **Yitzhak Mordechai**, and former **Israel Defense Forces** chief of staff **Amnon Lipkin-Shahak** in forming the new **Center Party** that won six seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999), with Milo returning to the Knesset. From August 2000 to January 2001, Milo served as minister of **health** under **Ehud Barak** and from August 2001 to February 2003, as minister for regional cooperation under **Ariel Sharon**. When the Center Party dissolved during the Fifteenth Knesset, Milo returned to Likud but he failed to receive a secure slot on the party’s slate for the 2003 Knesset election. He subsequently became involved in a number of private business ventures. He also hosts a weekly public affairs program on Israeli TV.

**MITCHELL COMMITTEE REPORT**. Formally called the “**Sharm el-Sheikh** Fact-Finding Committee Report,” its report was submitted to the White House on 30 April 2001 and issued on 21 May 2001. It was drafted by an international blue-ribbon committee of notables established after the October 2000 summit at Sharm el-Sheikh, **Egypt**, and was headed by former U.S. senator George Mitchell to investigate the causes of the outbreak of the **Al-Aksa intifada** in late September 2000. It called for an immediate cease-fire and the resumption of peace talks and cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian security officials on the ground; a freeze on Israeli **settlement** construction; and, the lifting by Israel of economic restraints in Palestinian areas, even as it acknowledged that many of those restraints were being taken for security reasons. It called for further steps by the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) to prevent Palestinian attacks on Israelis, steps by Israel to limit the use of lethal force against **Palestinians**, and a “100 percent effort” by Palestinians to rein in **terrorism**. Israel welcomed the Mitchell Committee Report, although it expressed a difference of opinion about the status of settlements, arguing that the continued expansion of settlements for “natural growth” was permitted under the **Oslo Accords**. The Palestinian side also welcomed the report but cited as a “deficiency” its failure to set forth how the commitments must be implemented.

**MITZNA, AMRAM (1945– )**. Military officer, **Haifa** mayor, member of **Knesset**. Born on 20 February 1945 on **Kibbutz** Dovrat, Mitzna was raised in Kiryat Haim near Haifa, graduating from the prestigious Reali military boarding school. He holds degrees from **Haifa University**; he also completed studies in international affairs at Harvard University. He joined the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) in 1963, serving mainly in the Armored Corps and rising from tank commander to divisional commander. As a brigadier general, he criticized defense minister **Ariel Sharon**'s handling of the **Lebanon War (1982)**. As commander of the **West Bank** from 1986 to 1990 he was responsible for dealing with the early stages of the **intifada**, including implementing defense minister **Yitzhak Rabin**'s order to "break the bones" of **Palestinian** demonstrators. In 1990, Mitzna was appointed head of the IDF planning division, and in 1993, he retired from the IDF with the rank of major general.

In November 1993, Mitzna was elected mayor of Haifa, and in November 1998 he was reelected to a second term with 65 percent of the votes. On 19 November 2002 Mitzna defeated **Binyamin Ben-Eliezer** in the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** leadership primary to become party chairman, taking 54 percent of the vote. In the 28 January 2003 Knesset election, Mitzna and the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** alliance were soundly defeated, with Labor and its alliance partners winning only 19 Knesset seats compared to 37 for Ariel Sharon and the **Likud (Union) Party**. In May 2003 Mitzna resigned as Labor Party leader. In November 2005, he resigned his Knesset seat and was appointed by the interior minister to serve as acting mayor of the southern **Negev** town of Yeruham; he served in that capacity until 2010. On 1 December 2012, he joined **Tzipi Livni**'s new **Hatnua (The Movement)** Party and was elected in the 2013 Knesset election in second place on the party's list. On 24 December 2014 Mitzna announced he was retiring from politics and would not contest the 2015 Knesset election.

**MIZRACHI**. A **religious Zionist political party** that came into being in 1902, although its central concepts can be identified as early as the 1880s. The founders of the movement did not see an inherent contradiction between traditional Judaism and Zionism. Mizrachi and its labor offshoot, Hapoel Hamizrachi (founded in 1922), functioned as part of the **World Zionist Organization** (WZO) and the **Yishuv** institutions in **Palestine**. The fundamental principle on which the Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi were based is adherence to Jewish religion and tradition. Both parties sought to secure the adoption of the religious precepts of Judaism in the everyday life of the Yishuv and to found the state of Israel constitutionally upon **Halacha** (Jewish religious law).

The difference between the two parties was in the social composition of their membership, which gave each a distinctive social outlook. The attitude of Mizrahi on internal social issues was largely determined by the fact that its members were drawn almost entirely from the middle class. As distinct from the Mizrahi, Hapoel Hamizrachi was composed exclusively of Orthodox working-class elements. In addition to being a political party, Hapoel Hamizrachi served as a professional organization, fulfilling all the functions the **Histadrut** performs for its members. In the 1951 **Knesset** election, Mizrahi won two seats and Hapoel Hamizrachi won eight seats. In 1955, Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrachi formed the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** to contest the Knesset election as a religious political party seeking to combine religious concerns and a moderate socialist orientation in economic matters within a **Zionist** framework. A centerpiece of Mizrahi's religious-Zionist philosophy is the *Hesder* yeshiva system that combines military service with Orthodox religious studies.

**MIZRAHI DEMOCRATIC RAINBOW (HAKESHET HADEMOCRATIT HAMIZRAHIT).** A nongovernmental organization that “strives to bring about a meaningful change in Israeli society and implement values of democracy, human rights, social justice, equality and multiculturalism,” by challenging the long-standing dominance of Israel's **Ashkenazim** in four specific fields: land (including its zoning and use), employment and unemployment, **education**, and coalition building (both with regard to Israeli domestic politics and internationally). Among the movement's leaders are Yossi Yona, a professor of philosophy at **Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**; Yehuda Shenhav, a sociologist at **Tel Aviv University**; and Itzhak Saporta, a lecturer in business administration at Tel Aviv University. *See also* ORIENTAL JEWS.

**MODA'I, YITZHAK (1926–1998).** Diplomat, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 17 January 1926, he received a BSc in chemical industrial engineering from the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology** in 1947, a graduate degree in economics from the University of London in 1957, and a law degree from the Tel Aviv–Yafo branch of the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** in 1959. He served as Israel's assistant military attaché in London in 1951–1952; on the Israel-Syria and Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commissions; and as an observer, on behalf of Israel, at several sessions of the Council of Europe. After the **Six-Day War (1967)**, he served as military governor of the **Gaza Strip** and then became involved in private industry. First elected on behalf of the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)** faction of the **Likud (Union) Party** to the Eighth **Knesset** in December 1973 and reelected to the Ninth Knesset (1977),

he served on the Economics and State Control committees of the Knesset. He served as president of the Israel-America Chamber of Commerce and general manager of Revlon (Israel). Moda'i served as minister of energy and infrastructure from 1977 to 1981 and as minister of communications from 1979 to 1981. He became minister of finance in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984 and later served as minister without portfolio. He became minister of economics and planning in the government established in December 1988. In June 1990, he assumed the minister of finance portfolio in the new **Yitzhak Shamir**-led government. Moda'i died on 22 May 1998.

**MOETZET GEDOLEI HATORAH.** *See* COUNCIL OF TORAH SAGES (MOETZET GEDOLEI HATORAH).

**MOETZET HACHMEI HATORAH.** *See* SEPHARDI TORAH GUARDIANS (SHAS).

**MOFAZ, SHAUL (1948).** Sixteenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** (1998–2002), member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in **Iran**, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1957, grew up in **Eilat** and went to the **Nahalal agricultural** high school. He entered the IDF in 1966, fought in the **Six-Day War (1967)**, the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)**, the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, and the **War in Lebanon (1982)**. He commanded the cover unit in **Operation Entebbe** (1976). He held several senior command positions before being appointed the IDF's chief of staff on 9 July 1998, a position he held until his retirement from active service in 2002. Upon his retirement, he immediately joined the **Likud (Union) Party**, and although not a member of the Knesset, he was appointed minister of defense in November 2002. Elected for the first time in the 2003 Knesset election, he was reappointed to the defense portfolio.

Upon **Ariel Sharon**'s departure from Likud in November 2005, Mofaz entered the party's leadership race. A day after reiterating his determination to remain "at home" in the Likud (and trailing badly in the leadership polls), Mofaz quit the party and joined Sharon's new **Kadima (Forward)** party in December 2005. Mofaz was returned in the 2006 Knesset election on the Kadima list and appointed minister of **transportation** and road safety and deputy **prime minister** in **Ehud Olmert**'s government. In 2008, and with the blessing of **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS) Party** spiritual leader Rabbi **Ovadia Yosef**, Mofaz announced that he would run for the leadership of the Kadima Party, to succeed Olmert. But on 17 September 2008 he lost the Kadima leadership primary to **Tzipi Livni** by a margin of 43.1 percent to 42.0 percent. Placed second on the Kadima list, Mofaz was reelected to the Knesset in the 2009 elections, but lost his **cabinet** position when Likud

formed the government. On 27 March 2012, Mofaz won the Kadima Party leadership primaries, defeating Tzipi Livni by a margin of 61.7 percent to 37.23 percent. Mofaz pledged during the leadership primary that he would not take Kadima into a coalition led by the Likud's **Benjamin Netanyahu**. But on 9 May 2012, he and Netanyahu completed a secret agreement to have Kadima join Netanyahu's government, with Mofaz serving as vice prime minister. Mofaz withdrew Kadima from the coalition two months later, on 17 July 2012, citing Netanyahu's failure to fulfill commitments with respect to the integration of ultra-Orthodox men into the military.

Under Mofaz's leadership, Kadima won only two seats in the 2013 Knesset election. On 27 January 2015 he announced that he was retiring from politics and would not contest the 2015 Knesset election.

**MOKED.** A **political party** formed by the combination of the Israel **Communist Party** and Tchelet Adom (Blue-Red) Movement that won a seat in the **Knesset** in the 1973 election. It later merged into **Shelli (Shalom LeYisrael—Peace for Israel)**.

**MOLEDET (HOMELAND) PARTY.** A secular, ultranationalist **political party** created for the 1988 **Knesset** election by **Israel Defense Forces** reserve general **Rehavam (“Gandhi”) Ze’evi**. It was strongly opposed to the **Oslo Accords** and to any territorial concessions to the **Palestinians**. It advocated the transfer of the Arab population of the **Occupied Territories** to neighboring Arab countries. In 1991, it joined the narrow right-wing coalition formed by **Yitzhak Shamir**, but it subsequently quit to protest Israel's participation in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. In 1992, there was a petition to the Central Elections Committee to disqualify Moledet on the grounds that its program was antidemocratic and racist; Moledet spokesmen countered that the “transfer” it advocated would be instituted exclusively on a voluntary basis. The Central Elections Committee held in favor of Moledet, and it went on to win three seats in the Thirteenth **Knesset** (1992) and two seats in the Fourteenth **Knesset** (1996). Moledet joined with the **New Herut (Herut HaHadasha)** and **Tekuma (Renewal)** parties to form the new **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)** Party that won four seats in the Fifteenth **Knesset** (May 1999) and seven seats in the Sixteenth **Knesset** (2003). As a member of National Union, Moledet founder and leader Ze’evi was appointed minister of **tourism** in March 2001, however he resigned on 15 October 2001. Moledet was a minor partner in the National Union alliance, which, together with the **National Religious Party (Miflaga Datit Leumit—MAFDAL)**, won nine seats in the Seventeenth **Knesset** (2006). On 3 November 2008 the party announced a merger with elements of the National Union, the National Religious Party and Tekuma to form a new right-wing



party, later named **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**. However, Ha-Bayit HaYehudi excluded former Moledet members from the top slots of its list of candidates for the 2009 Knesset election. Moledet then quit HaBayit HaYehudi and joined the revived National Union. Although the National Union won four seats, the Moledet candidate, sitting in fifth position on the party's list, failed to enter the Eighteenth Knesset (2009). In the run-up to the 2013 Knesset election Moledet found itself without a political base and its remaining members of Knesset drifted to other, like-minded political parties where their prospects for election appeared better. Despite its demise as a political party, Moledet's political vision—generally associated with former Knesset member **Benyamin Elon**'s call for Israel's annexation of the **West Bank** and the “voluntary” relocation of Palestinians and Israel's **Arabs to Jordan**—continues to impact the political discourse in Israel.

**MONTEFIORE, SIR MOSES (1784–1885)**. Born in Italy and died in England, he was a major benefactor of early **Zionist settlement of Palestine**. A member of a wealthy Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) family, he was brought to England in infancy and rose to become one of London's most successful financiers. He served as president of the influential board of deputies of British Jews from 1835 to 1874. During a visit to Palestine in 1839, he sponsored the first census taken of the Jewish population there since biblical times. In 1849, he established a small textile plant in **Jerusalem**, and in 1854 he initiated a fund-raising drive for the relief of the victims of a famine in Palestine. In 1855 he purchased land near Jaffa (Yafo) that ultimately became the first Jewish orange orchard in Palestine. He established Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the first Jewish residential community outside the walls of Jerusalem's old city. A fund established by Montefiore to mark his 90th birthday (in 1874) was instrumental in facilitating the establishment of early **Hoveve Zion (Lovers of Zion) agricultural** settlements in Palestine.

**MORASHA (HERITAGE) PARTY**. A **political party** created by a splinter group from the **National Religious Party (Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** that joined with **Poalei Agudat Israel (Workers of the Association of Israel)** to contest the 1984 Knesset election. The party advocated more Jewish **settlement** of the **West Bank** and claimed the support of **Gush Emunim**. Hanan Porat and Rabbi **Haim Druckman**, formerly of the NRP, were leaders of the party, which combined **religious** orthodoxy and a demand for more territory. It merged with the NRP faction in the Knesset in July 1986.

**MORDECHAI, YITZHAK (1944–)**. Career military officer, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 22 November 1944 near Zakho, in Kurdish **Iraq**, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1950 and entered the army at 18. During a 33-year (1962–1995) career in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), he held a number of important command positions. He retired from the military with the rank of major general in 1995. Entering party politics, he ranked fourth on the joint **Likud-Tsomet-Gesher** “national camp” list for election to the 1996 Knesset. In June of that year, he was named minister of defense and served as a key member of Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**’s “kitchen cabinet” on peace and security matters.

Publicly fired by Netanyahu on 23 January 1999, Mordechai joined former Likud stalwarts **Ronnie Milo** and **Dan Meridor** and former IDF chief of staff **Annon Lipkin-Shahak** in forming the **Center Party**, ultimately becoming the party’s leader and its candidate for prime minister. He was thus the first serious Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) candidate for **prime minister**. On the eve of the 1999 election he withdrew from the prime ministerial race and threw his support behind **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** candidate **Ehud Barak**. Under Mordechai’s leadership, the Center Party won six seats in the Fifteenth Knesset and joined Barak’s governing coalition with Mordechai serving as transportation minister. On 11 July 1999 he was named a deputy prime minister. Mordechai was forced to resign from the **cabinet** in May 2000 amid a serious personal scandal. On 22 March 2001 he was convicted of sexual assault and given an 18-month suspended sentence. After his conviction, he resigned from the Knesset and disappeared from political life.

**MORESHET AVOT.** *See* TRADITION OF THE FATHERS (MORESHET AVOT).

**MOSHAV (MOSHAV OVDIM).** A cooperative **agricultural settlement**. It is a village composed of a number of families; the average is about 60, each of which maintains its own household, farms its own land, and earns its own income from what it produces. The moshav leases its land from the **Israel Lands Authority** or the **Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet Le Israel)** and, in turn, distributes land to each of its members. Each family belongs to the cooperative that owns the heavy machinery and deals collectively with marketing and supplies and provides such services as **education** and medical care. Families are duty-bound to mutual assistance in cases of need as a result of some misfortune or national service. Hired labor is forbidden except under special circumstances and then only after the village committee has given its approval. Full response is expected to the needs of the nation and the labor

movement. However, over the years there have appeared some deviations from the principles of moshav living. Some now engage in **industry** under similar conditions.

The first moshav, **Nahalal**, was founded in 1921 in the Jezreel Valley. Private homes rather than communal living are the rule, as are private plots of land and individual budgets. Moshavim (plural of *moshav*) have become more numerous than **kibbutzim**. Many of the postindependence immigrants (*see* ALIYA) to Israel were attracted to the concept of cooperative activity based on the family unit rather than the kibbutz's socialist communal-living approach. The moshavim are organized in the countrywide Tnaut Moshavei Haovdim—the Moshav Movement. They belong to the Agricultural Workers Union and to the **Histadrut**.

**MOSHAV SHITUFI**. The middle way in **settlement** between the **kibbutz** and the **moshav** ovdim. It resembles the kibbutz in its communal production and is like the moshav in its individual, family-consumer framework. The first moshav shitufi was set up in 1936 at Kfar Hittim. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**MOSHAVA**. Literally, “colony”; a private farming village. The first was founded in **Palestine** in 1878 and known as **Petah Tikva**. Others included **Rishon LeZion**, Rosh Pina, and Nes Ziona. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**MOSSAD (HAMOSSAD LEMODIIN VETAFKIDIM MEYUHADIM)**. The Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations, otherwise known as Mossad, was mandated by the state of Israel to collect information, analyze intelligence, and perform special covert operations beyond its borders. It operates according to the biblical precept, “Where no counsel is, the people fall, but in the multitude of counselors there is safety” (Proverbs 11:14).

**David Ben-Gurion**, Israel's first **prime minister**, voiced his views on the establishment of **intelligence service** agencies to operate on behalf of the nascent state. On 7 June 1948, he held his first meeting on this matter with intelligence officials. On 13 December 1949, Ben-Gurion appointed foreign ministry special operations' adviser and former **Jewish Agency** state department official **Reuven Shiloah** to establish and head the Institute for Collating and Co-ordinating Intelligence Operations. This date is considered the date Mossad was established.

On 2 March 1951, as a result of the experience gained in running state intelligence agencies, particularly in overseas' operations, Ben-Gurion ordered Shiloah to set up the “directorate” within the Institute for Coordination to take all overseas intelligence operations under its wing. The foreign ministry and, to a lesser extent, other agencies had hitherto operated abroad. Shi-

loah served as Mossad director until September 1952. He and Ben-Gurion shaped the Mossad to address the reality and the needs of the state of Israel in its early years.

Over the years, the Mossad expanded into many fields, the most prominent of which were covert intelligence gathering beyond Israel's borders; developing and maintaining special diplomatic and other covert relations; preventing the development and procurement of nonconventional weapons by hostile countries; preventing **terrorist** acts against Israeli targets abroad; bringing Jews home from countries where official immigration (*see* ALIYA) agencies are not allowed to operate; producing strategic, political, and operational intelligence; and planning and carrying out special operations beyond Israel's borders. Among the best known of such "special operations" was the capture of Nazi war criminal **Adolf Eichmann** in **Argentina** by Mossad agents in 1960 and his clandestine transfer to Israel for trial. Many other covert operations remain confidential.

The directorate was the initial incarnation of the main collection unit in the Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations. In 1952, Shiloah retired, and General Security Agency chief **Isser Harel** was appointed in his stead. More recently, Mossad chiefs have included Shabtai Shavit, **Danny Yatom**, and **Ephraim Halevy**. Meir Dagan was appointed director of the Mossad by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** in August 2002, replacing outgoing director Halevy. He was reconfirmed by Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** in February 2007 and served until 2011 when he was succeeded by Tamir Pardo. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s national security adviser Yossi Cohen was introduced in early December 2015 as the Mossad's next director, replacing Tamir Pardo, who stepped down in January 2016. Cohen became the Mossad chief in May 2016.

Although shaken by a series of highly publicized operational failures (such as the botched attempted assassination of senior **Hamas** operative **Khaled Mashaal** in Amman, **Jordan**, in 1997) and personnel changes, the Mossad remains an indispensable component of Israel's intelligence and security community.

**MOUNT HERZL (HAR HERZL)**. A hill on the western outskirts of **Jerusalem** on which is located the grave of **Theodor Herzl**, whose remains were transferred there from Vienna in 1949. Other prominent **Zionist** and Israeli figures, including the assassinated prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin**, are also buried there.

**MOUNT SCOPUS (HAR HATZOFIM)**. A hill in **Jerusalem**; site of the first campus of the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, which was cut off from Jewish Jerusalem during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** but

remained under Israel's control. From 1948 to 1967, the enclave was held by a small contingent of Israelis who were periodically relieved by convoys under **United Nations** escort. In the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israel recaptured the surrounding territory, and the Hebrew University began to rebuild and expand its facilities on Mount Scopus.

**MOUNT ZION.** A hill in **Jerusalem** located outside **Zion** Gate of the old walled city. Tradition places the tomb of King **David** on Mount Zion.

**MULTILATERAL TALKS.** At the Moscow Middle East Peace Conference in January 1992, a multilateral diplomatic track was established to complement the bilateral negotiating process between Israelis and Arabs initiated at the **Madrid Middle East Conference** of October 1991. The 36 parties attending the Moscow meetings agreed on the establishment of five working groups (comprised of Middle East parties and others) to deal with arms control and regional security, economic development, the environment, water resources, and refugees. Each working group had a designated gavelholder and facilitators, and each working group was represented on a steering group—cochaired by the **United States** and Russia—that guided the multilateral negotiating process. Although designed to operate parallel to the bilateral negotiations, the activities of the multilateral talks were directly affected by the shifting fortunes of Israel's direct separate negotiations with its various Arab neighbors. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS (MFO).** **Egypt** and Israel created the peacekeeping Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in 1981 as an independent organization to supervise the security provisions of the 1979 peace treaty and prevent violations. A number of countries provided soldiers to oversee checkpoints and control centers in the **Sinai Peninsula** and verify the demilitarization and limited armaments regime. The Civilian Observer Unit conducts verification inspections in Sinai and Israel along the border. Freedom of navigation in the **Strait of Tiran** is ensured by a patrol unit of three vessels. The director general is a private American citizen suggested by the **United States** and appointed by the parties. On 3 September 2015 six members of the MFO—four Americans and two Fijians—were wounded in two blasts in the northeastern section of the Sinai. The attacks, which were attributed to militant Sunni Islamist forces or Sufi rebel groups, fueled the ongoing debate about the future of the MFO. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY (1979).

**MUNICH MASSACRE.** On 5 September 1972, eight members of the **Black September** faction of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** broke into the competitors' residence at the Munich, **Germany** Summer Olympic Games and took 13 Israeli athletes hostage. Two of the athletes escaped, while two others were killed in countering the initial attack. The remaining nine Israelis were held hostage by the **terrorists**, who sought to exchange them for Israeli and West German cooperation in releasing 234 of their comrades incarcerated in Israeli and West German prisons and providing the terrorists with three airplanes and safe passage out of Germany. Faced with the refusal of both Israel and West Germany to release the 234 prisoners, the terrorists reduced their demands to one plane that was to fly them to Cairo, **Egypt**, where they threatened to execute the Israeli hostages if Israel did not release the Palestinian prisoners. While boarding the aircraft at the Munich airport, the terrorists were attacked by a West German antiterrorism unit. In the ensuing firefight, the terrorists killed their nine Israeli hostages and the German soldiers killed five of the eight terrorists; the other three terrorists were captured (but they were subsequently released in exchange for a hijacked Lufthansa airplane). The government of **Prime Minister Golda Meir** responded to the Munich attack by forming a special secret antiterrorist unit (codenamed Operation Wrath of God, among others) mandated to hunt down and assassinate those responsible for organizing the Olympic massacre. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

# N

**NAHAL.** Derived from the Hebrew words *Noar Halutzi Lohaim*, meaning “Fighting Pioneering Youth”; a formation within the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** that combines military training and operations with pioneering **settlement** and **agricultural** training. After completing basic training, Nahal groups are allocated to settlements for a period of combined agriculture and military training. The Nahal program derived from the security needs of the pioneering agricultural settlements that developed from the immigration (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** starting in the latter part of the 19th century.

The hostile environment and security situation in Palestine helped to dictate the requirement for self-defense against armed attack. The Nahal program was formalized in the summer of 1948 by Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** for the specific purpose of encouraging the flow of people into the agricultural settlements and maintaining the pioneering spirit. The Nahal was the natural continuation of the pioneering traditions of the waves of immigration to Israel. Since its establishment, Nahal has created new settlements and assisted in the establishment of others. It has opened up undeveloped areas and created a presence at sensitive border points. Originally a unit within **Gadna**, it was separated from it in September 1949. On 1 August 1998, Nahal officially disappeared as a separate branch of the IDF and became a part of the **education** and Gadna branch.

**NAHALAL.** An **agricultural settlement** in the western Jezreel Valley. Founded in 1921, it was the first **moshav ovdim** and became the prototype of this type of settlement. It was laid out in a circle, with the houses grouped around a central section of public buildings.

**NAMIR, ORA (1930– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister, feminist, diplomat. Born as Ora Toib in Hadera on 1 September 1930, Namir was brought up on a **moshav** founded by her parents, who had immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** from Ukraine. She served as an officer in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, and in the early 1950s she worked at the Israel Consulate in New York and studied at Hunter College. In 1967 Namir

was elected secretary general of *Mo'ezet ha-Po'a lot*, the Histadrut's Council of Women Workers, also known as Pioneer Women or Na'amat. She held this position from 1967 to 1979. First elected to the Knesset in 1973 on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list, she was reelected to all subsequent Knessets until the election of the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996. As a legislator she soon developed a reputation as a powerful advocate of the rights of women and the economically and socially disadvantaged sectors of Israeli society. She was named by **Yitzhak Rabin** to the coalition **government** formed after the election of the Thirteenth Knesset, serving initially as environment minister (13 July 1992–31 December 1992) and then as labor and social-welfare minister (31 December 1992–21 May 1996), a position she retained in the government formed by **Shimon Peres** after Rabin's assassination. In 1975, which was designated by the **United Nations** as the International Year of the Woman, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin appointed Namir as chair of Israel's first Prime Minister's Committee on the Status of Women. The work of the Namir Committee laid the groundwork for important legislation related to women's status and the rights of disadvantaged sectors of Israeli society that was adopted by the Knesset in the late 1970s and 1980s. On 21 May 1996, after successfully overcoming a brain tumor and unsuccessfully vying for the chairmanship of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** following Rabin's assassination, Namir resigned from the Knesset and the cabinet to become Israel's ambassador to China and nonresident ambassador to Mongolia, roles she held until 2000. After returning to Israel she joined **Amir Peretz's One People (Am Echad) political party**, and was placed fifth on its list for the 2003 Knesset election. However, she failed to achieve reentry to the Knesset when the party won only three seats in the Sixteenth Knesset.

**NARKISS, UZI (1925–1997)**. Hero of the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Born on 6 January 1925 in **Jerusalem**, he began his military career as a teenager in the **Hagana**, participating in the 1946 demolition of the bridges across the **Jordan River** that were used by Arab irregulars infiltrating **Mandate Palestine** to attack Jewish communities. Later, he was in brief command of the defense of the **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)**. In 1948, he became an operations officer and then a battalion commander under **Yigal Allon** in the south. He also was assigned to Hagana commander **Yitzhak Sadeh**. Narkiss was a deputy battalion commander in the **Palmah** brigade commanded by **Yitzhak Rabin** and was ordered in May 1948 to break through to the besieged Jewish quarter of Jerusalem. His men succeeded in blowing a hole in **Zion Gate** and linking up with the beleaguered defenders, but lacking reinforcements and ammunition, he ordered his troops to break out of Jerusalem's old city. The Jewish quarter soon fell.



When the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** ended, Narkiss was a battalion commander in the **Negev** division. He served in various command positions and established Israel's National Security College. In the Six-Day War, he headed the central command and directed the battle for the liberation of Jerusalem. He commanded the brigades that retook the old city of Jerusalem during the war. Narkiss reentered the walled city, together with Defense Minister **Moshe Dayan** and **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff Yitzhak Rabin. After retiring from the IDF in 1968, he worked for 25 years with the **Jewish Agency**, serving as director general of the information department and the immigration (*see* ALIYA) and absorption department. He also served as chairman of the Government Coins and Medals Corporation and devoted himself to maintaining the soldiers' memorial on Ammunition Hill in Jerusalem. Narkiss died on 17 December 1997 in Jerusalem.

**NATIONAL COUNCIL.** *See* VAAD LEUMI (NATIONAL COUNCIL).

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE.** *See* CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (BALAD).** An **Arab political party** founded by former **Knesset** member **Azmi Bishara**. In 1996, it ran as part of an electoral coalition with the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)**. It ran independently in the 1999 Knesset election, winning two seats. Its policy platform emphasizes the granting of full civil and political rights to **Israeli Arabs** and the need for Israel to “become a state of [all] its citizens, not a Jewish state.” Balad was initially barred from contesting the 2003 Knesset election due to Bishara's explicit support for **Hezbollah terrorism** against Israel as well as Balad's call for Israel to become a “state for all its citizens,” which was considered by the Central Elections Committee to be contrary to the interests of the Jewish state according to the **Basic Law: The Knesset**. However, Israel's **Supreme Court** overturned the disqualifications of both Bishara and Balad, and the party went on to win three seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003) and Seventeenth Knesset (2006). Party leader Bishara abruptly resigned his Knesset seat in April 2007—and he subsequently fled the country—amid a police investigation as to whether his contacts with foreign actors exceeded his parliamentary immunity. In 2015, Balad was among the primarily Arab political parties that unified to form **The Joint List** to contest the election for the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NATIONAL LIST.** A **political party** headed by former Israeli **prime minister David Ben-Gurion** that was elected to the Seventh **Knesset** (1969). In the course of the Ninth **Knesset** (1973), members of Knesset **Yigael Hur-**

**vitz**, Yitzhak Peretz, and **Zalman Shoval** left the **Likud (Union) Party** and formed the **Rafi** (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)–National List parliamentary group. Toward the end of the Ninth Knesset, Peretz broke away to form the single-member National List splinter faction but 12 days later he returned to the Likud. Hurwitz and Shoval joined with **Moshe Dayan** to form **Telem (Movement for National Renewal)**, which won two seats in the Tenth Knesset (1981). In the course of the Tenth Knesset Telem split and Yigael Hurwitz formed a single-member parliamentary faction called Rafi–National List, which later changed its name to **Ometz**.

**NATIONAL MILITARY ORGANIZATION.** *See* IRGUN (IRGUN TZVAI LEUMI, ETZEL).

**NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY (NRP; MIFLAGA DATIT LEUMIT–MAFDAL).** The National Religious Party (NRP) was founded in 1956 by **Mizrachi** as a religious political party seeking to combine religious concerns and a moderate socialist orientation in economic matters within a **Zionist** framework. It was a merger of Mizrachi, formally established as a party in **Palestine** in 1918, and **Hapoel Hamizrachi (Workers of the Spiritual Center)**, founded in 1922. Hapoel retained a degree of independence as the trade union section of the party responsible for immigration (*see* ALIYA) and absorption, labor and vocational affairs, housing, **settlement**, culture, pension funds and economic affairs, and so on. The central NRP organization was responsible for policy, party organization, religion and rabbinical relations, and publications.

From its beginning, this party of Orthodox religious Zionists began to have an impact, electing 19 percent of the delegates to the twelfth Zionist Congress in 1921. After Israel's independence, the NRP served in every **government** except for a brief period from 1958 to 1959 when it left the coalition over the question of who should be considered a Jew (*see* WHO IS A JEW?) for purposes of immigration. The party was overseen by the World Center, a council elected by the world conference of the party. The conference also elected the chairman of the World Center, the party leader. Delegates to the conference were elected from local party branches by the party members. The party also had a very active youth wing, **Bnei Akiva**, as well as a **sports** organization and a vast network of nurseries/day-care centers, kindergartens, and educational institutions. **Bar Ilan University** and the Mosad HaRav publishing house were established by Mizrachi.

The NRP was founded to emphasize the need for legislation based on **Halacha** (Jewish religious law) and to protect a "Torah true" tradition. It actively supported Jewish immigration, the development of the private sector, and government support of all halachically necessary religious activities,

including a religious school system and rabbinical councils in every city in Israel. These aims were constant since the founding of NRP's predecessors, and had been realized to a large degree. With only some minor intraparty disagreement, the NRP view was that it was organized for religious purposes and had no particular role to play in political, economic, or foreign affairs. It was able to cooperate effectively with **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael—Israel Workers Party)** and the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** primarily because of its willingness to defer to the secularist left on foreign and defense questions in return for support in matters of **religion**. At the same time, the party's commitment to religious Zionism was reflected in the establishment of the *Hesder* yeshiva system, combining Orthodox religious studies with military service.

With Israel's capture of the **West Bank** and the **Sinai Peninsula** in the **Six-Day War (1967)**, however, NRP political attitudes began to change. The capture of ancient Israeli cities—**Hebron**, Shechem (Nablus), and Old **Jerusalem**—was seen as a miraculous achievement in fulfillment of the covenant between God and the Jewish people. The NRP believed that the return of any of the territory of historic Israel would be a repudiation of that covenant. On that basis, NRP hawks sought to focus the party's efforts on the rapid settlement of the new territory with the aim of securing it for Israel in perpetuity. Most of the party's efforts in this regard were spearheaded by its Bnei Akiva youth wing, which after 1967 sought to appeal to nontraditional voters with the slogan "No return of any part of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**." The youth faction had strong but informal ties with **Gush Emunim**, the leading movement of West Bank settlers. In some respects, Bnei Akiva considered itself the political representation of the Gush Emunim.

Youth faction leaders came to increasing prominence in both the NRP and the government. Nevertheless, the NRP also encompassed other factions that represented more flexible (i.e., moderate) points of view on the future of the West Bank. The factionalism of the NRP reflected both personal conflicts and differing policy perspectives. **Yosef Burg** served as the party leader from its founding to the mid-1980s and served in many Israeli **cabinets**. A man of great political skill, he worked successfully to maintain and expand the religious foundation of the state. His seniority and role as head of the largest faction (*Lamifneh*) secured his dominant position in the party, but he did not dictate its positions or policies. His influence was, in part, the result of his shrewd use of patronage in allocating jobs in the party and the party-controlled institutions. As a government minister, he was also able to distribute many public jobs in religious and educational establishments and a variety of posts controlled by the ministry of the interior.

The longtime leader of the party's Bnei Akiva youth wing, **Zevulun Hammer**, became NRP general secretary in 1984. Between the 1984 and 1988 elections, the NRP went through a significant reorganization and there was a

clear shift to the right on political and educational issues. In 1988, Professor **Avner Shaki** was elected to head the party's list of electoral candidates, and Hammer was placed in the second position. The party's platform reflected a hawkish tendency, with great emphasis on the party's relationship with Jewish settlers in **Judea** and **Samaria** and permanent Israeli retention of these areas. As a member of the government at the time, the NRP had supported the **Camp David Accords** in the late 1970s, including the plan to accord limited self-governing authority to West Bank and **Gaza Strip** Palestinians. However, the party's discernible shift to the right in the mid-1980s caused some internal divisions, as reflected in the formation of the breakaway dovish **Meimad (Dimension)** faction prior to the 1988 **Knesset election**. Led by Shaki in the 1988 **Knesset** election, the NRP supported a program that there would be only one state between the **Jordan River** and the Mediterranean Sea: the State of Israel. The NRP, however, was prepared for direct negotiations with neighboring Arab states based on a realistic peace proposal. In 1992, the party platform reflected a continued shift to the right, effectively ruling out the possibility of joining a governing coalition headed by Labor. In the 1992 **Knesset** election, the NRP won six seats but did not join **Yitzhak Rabin's** Labor-led coalition government.

The party's credibility was to some extent shaken by the assassination of **Rabin** by **Yigal Amir**, a member of the religious Zionist community and a graduate of the *Hesder* yeshiva system. However, under the pragmatic leadership again of Zevulun Hammer, the party reasserted its commitment to Zionist values, and having won nine seats in the 1996 **Knesset** election, the NRP was accorded two ministries in the **Likud (Union) Party**-led coalition headed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. The NRP voiced strong opposition within the government to the **Hebron** and **Wye River** diplomatic protocols, frequently threatening to bring the government down if the territorial concessions in those agreements were implemented fully. This threat was fulfilled in late December 1998 when, faced with the NRP's likely support for a **Knesset** no-confidence motion, Netanyahu approved the dissolution of his government and the call for new elections for both **prime minister** and the Fifteenth **Knesset** on 17 May 1999.

In the spring of 1999 the NRP suffered the defections of two of its stalwarts, who shifted allegiance to the new **Tekuma (Renewal)** splinter action that ultimately was incorporated into the right-wing **National Union (Haichud Haleumi) Party** headed by **Ze'ev Binyamin Begin**. The NRP won five seats in the May 1999 **Knesset** election, and after much internal debate it joined the governing coalition headed by **One Israel (Israel Ahat)**'s **Ehud Barak**. But it quit the coalition to protest the concessions offered to the Palestinians by Barak at the **Camp David II** talks. In 2001, the NRP joined the new government formed by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**, with two ministerial portfolios and two deputy ministers.

In April 2002, Yitzhak Levy relinquished the party's leadership to the popular recently retired **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** general **Efraim (Effie) Eitam**. The NRP joined the government headed by Sharon in 2003, but it resigned in June 2004 to protest the proposed evacuation of settlements as part of Sharon's **unilateral disengagement** plan.

The NRP was torn asunder. In the spring of 2005, Eitam and Levy seceded from the party to form their own right-wing splinter faction that they called the **National Religious Zionist Renewal Party**, thereby compromising the integrity of the NRP. In March 2006, the NRP merged with the National Union in an effort to strengthen its electoral prospects, but the joint list took only nine seats in the 2006 Knesset election. On 3 November 2008, the party announced a merger with the National Union, **Tekuma (Renewal)** and **Moledet (Homeland)** to form a new national religious party, later named **Ha-Bayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**. On 18 November 2008, NRP members voted to formally disband the party. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NATIONAL RELIGIOUS ZIONIST RENEWAL PARTY.** The splinter **Knesset** faction created in 2005 by **Efraim (Effie) Eitam** and **Yizhak Levy** when they seceded from the **National Religious Party (Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** in a dispute about the NRP's policy response to the evacuation of settlers as part of **Ariel Sharon's** controversial Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). The faction subsequently agreed to be incorporated into the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi) Party** for the 2006 Knesset election. It later became known by the acronym **AHI**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.** The name initially applied to the new centrist **political party** established by **Ariel Sharon** upon his departure from the **Likud (Union) Party** on 21 November 2005. The new party eventually took the name **Kadima (Forward)**.

**NATIONAL UNION (HAICHUD HALEUMI).** A coalition of right-wing **political parties** that ran for the first time in the May 1999 elections for the Fifteenth **Knesset**, winning four seats. It was comprised of **Moledet (Homeland)**, the **New Herut (Herut HaHadasha)**, and **Tekuma (Renewal)** and headed by former **Likud** member of **Knesset** and **cabinet minister Ze'ev Binyamin (Benny) Begin**. The right of the Jewish People to **settlement** in all parts of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**; repudiation of the **Wye, Hebron** and **Oslo Accords** and opposition to further territorial concessions in the

Land of Israel or the transfer of any area to foreign rule, including the **Golan Heights**; and retention of **Jerusalem**, the “eternal capital,” under Israeli sovereignty, were core elements of the party’s platform.

The National Union surprised many observers by taking seven mandates in the 2003 Knesset election. It joined the governing coalition formed by **Ariel Sharon**, with **Avigdor Lieberman** serving as minister of **transportation** and **Benyamin Elon** as minister of **tourism**. However, the party left the government on 4 June 2004, after Lieberman and Elon were dismissed from the **cabinet** in a dispute over the proposed evacuation of settlers as part of Sharon’s **unilateral disengagement** plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). In 2005, the ranks of the National Union were strengthened by the incorporation of the two-man **National Religious Zionist Renewal Party**. On 1 February 2006 **Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** split from the party to run independently in the forthcoming Knesset election in March of that year. On the eve of the election, the National Union completed a merger with the **National Religious Party (Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**. It ran on a joint platform that proclaimed “The Land of Israel, for the People of Israel, according to the Torah of Israel.” The joint National Union–NRP list won nine seats in the Seventeenth Knesset, nine of which were from the National Union. In 2008, in anticipation of the 2009 Knesset elections, the National Union and NRP formally unified into a single party, called **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**. The goal was to unify the religious Zionist Movement under one political banner. Professor Daniel HersHKovitz was picked to head the newly formed party. However, **Aryeh Eldad** left to form his own Hatikva faction, while **Efraim (Effie) Eitam** and **Yitzhak Levy** reestablished their National Religious Zionist Renewal Party (now known by the acronym AHI) which later merged into the **Likud (Union) Party**. When HaBayit HaYehudi announced its candidate list for the 2009 Knesset election, five of the top six slots went to former NRP members, with only Uri Ariel, formerly of Tekuma, among the top six. The remaining former Moledet members broke away, reestablished their party, and allied with Hatikva, reviving the National Union name. On 13 November 2012, in the run-up to the election of the Nineteenth Knesset, three members of the National Union formed a splinter ultra-nationalist faction called **Otzma LeYisrael (Strength to Israel, Strong Israel)**. Neither it nor the remnants of the National Union garnered enough votes to pass the threshold for entering the Knesset.

**NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT (NUG).** *See* GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

**NATIONAL WATER CARRIER.** The national water carrier, put into operation in 1964, brings water from Lake Tiberias through a series of pipes, aqueducts, open canals, reservoirs, tunnels, dams, and pumping stations to various parts of the country, including the northern **Negev**. *See also* MEKO-ROT WATER COMPANY.

**NATURAL GAS.** Israel began to discover significant gas and oil resources only in the 21st century. Estimates in January 2014 showed Israel with proven oil reserves of 11.5 million barrels and proven natural gas of 10.1 trillion cubic feet. Israel is not among the top 40 natural gas- and oil-producing countries globally, but its reserves are important for Israel's economic security.

The first significant discovery, announced in January 2009, was the Tamar field located some 56 miles west of **Haifa** with an estimated 8.5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Commercial production from the Tamar field began in March 2013. The most significant find, in 2010, was the Leviathan field. Situated some 80 miles west of Haifa, it is believed to have approximately 16–18 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. A new natural gas field, Royeev, discovered in December 2014, was the third-largest in Israeli waters.

While historically Israel had been a natural gas importer (with **Egypt** as the main source), the finds were, according to one analyst, “expected to transform Israel from an energy importer to a major world player in the gas market.”

In June 2013, Israel's government decided to export 40 percent of the country's offshore natural gas. The **Palestinian Authority** and **Jordan** were expected to be likely consumers/importers. Israel and a private Palestinian firm reached an agreement on a 20-year \$1.2 billion deal to supply gas to Palestinian consumers. There were negotiations with Jordan on a 15-year, \$15 billion deal to supply 1.6 billion cubic feet of natural gas to Jordanian consumers. A memorandum of understanding was achieved to supply Egyptian consumers with up to 2.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas per year for seven years from the Tamar field.

Israel's offshore natural gas deposits are more than adequate to essentially end dependence on imported energy. Additional significant amounts are continuing to be discovered off Israel's Mediterranean coast. Exactly how much will be developed for export markets remains unclear for various reasons.

Texas-based Noble Energy and its Israeli partner, a consortium comprised of Delek Drilling and Avner Oil and Gas, were responsible for discovering most of Israel's sizable offshore natural gas deposits. In December 2014, Israel's antitrust regulator informed Noble and its Israeli partners of his decision to revoke their license to work the Leviathan field, claiming that they effectively had formed a cartel that denied other companies fair access to the lucrative field. Although this particular decision was reversed by Israel's

**cabinet** in June 2015, there was a realization that other regulatory actions could affect the pace and scope of gas exploration and development in the future. A new deal to develop Israel's natural gas fields was adopted by a Knesset vote of 59-51 on 7 September 2015 and implemented by the government in May 2016.

Israel's offshore natural gas deposits are a vital strategic asset to be protected by the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). The challenge is protecting the industry's infrastructure—including rigs, offshore platforms, and export terminals—against possible terrorist attack by groups such as **Hezbollah** and **Hamis** using sophisticated weapons supplied by **Iran, Syria, and Russia**.

**NATURAL LAW PARTY (MIFLEGET HOK HATEVA)**. **Political party** headed by Reuven Zelinkovsky that believes that meditation is the answer to Israel's problems, both in the peace process and domestically, including **environmental** issues. It failed to receive enough votes to secure a seat in the Fifteenth **Knesset** (1999) and the Sixteenth Knesset (2003).

**NAUTILUS**. A mobile radar tracking and laser-gun system designed to provide early warning and defense against incoming short-range missiles; it is also known as the Tactical High-Energy Laser. It was deployed by Israel against **Katyusha rockets** and **Qassam missiles**. It was a derivative of the Green Pine radar system jointly developed by Israel and the **United States** for the **Arrow** antiballistic missile system. *See also* ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES (IAI); ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**NAVON, YITZHAK (1921–2015)**. Israel's fifth **president**. He was born in **Jerusalem** on 9 April 1921 to prominent Sephardi (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) lineage, the Navon family, one of the oldest and most distinguished Jerusalem Sephardi families. On his father's side, he came from a wealthy Sephardi family that arrived in **Palestine** from Constantinople (**Turkey**) in the 17th century. On his maternal side, he is of Moroccan background. Navon received an **education** at religious schools and at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, where he studied **Hebrew** literature, Arabic, Islamic culture, and pedagogy. In 1951, he became political secretary to Foreign Minister **Moshe Sharett**. He served as head of Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion**'s office from 1952 to 1963. In 1965, after resigning from the civil service, he was elected to the **Knesset** on the **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)** ticket. In 1972, he was elected chairman of the World **Zionist Council**. Navon served from 1978 to 1983 as the fifth president of Israel. He became deputy prime minister and minister of education and culture in the 1984 **Government of National Unity** and retained those posts in the government



established in December 1988. He remained in the Knesset until 1992 and then left politics. He tended to combine liberal values and **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** socialist ideology with dovish views on **foreign policy** issues. Navon often expressed his views publicly during his tenure as president and was a very popular figure in that position. He was accorded the honorary 120th slot on **The Zionist Union** list for the March 2015 election for the Twentieth Knesset. Yitzhak Navon died on 7 November 2015 at age 94.

**NAZARETH.** A town in northern Israel that was the home of Jesus Christ during his early youth. It is the principal Arab city in Israel and in 2015 had a population of some 74,400. Although traditionally dominated by Christian **Arabs**, the town has in recent years experienced a significant demographic shift, whereby in 2015 some 30 percent of the town's population was Christian and 70 percent was Muslim. The demographic shift has resulted in some tension between Christian and Muslim Arab communities, especially over control over traditional Christian religious sites.

**NE'EMAN, YAACOV (1940–).** Prominent lawyer and **Likud (Union) Party** activist. Born on 16 September 1939 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** to immigrants (see **ALIYA**) from Hungary, he was educated in law at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and at New York University (where he also taught). An expert in the field of tax law, in 1972 he joined the prestigious Tel Aviv law firm headed by **Chaim Herzog** and Michael Fox. In the early 1980s, he served as director general of the finance ministry under Finance Minister **Yigael Hurvitz**. Despite having not been nominated to any electoral list, he was appointed justice minister by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** in June 1996. However, weeks later he resigned amid allegations of perjury and obstruction of justice in the trial of **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** **Knesset** member **Arye Deri**. After being cleared of all charges in the spring of 1997, Ne'emán was appointed finance minister, filling the **cabinet** position left vacant by the resignation of Likud member of Knesset **Dan Meridor**. As finance minister, Ne'emán moved aggressively to slash government spending and to reform Israel's tax system. He also served as the Netanyahu government's point man in efforts to find a workable compromise on the contentious issue of religious conversion. Ne'emán resigned as finance minister on 18 December 1998, citing disarray in Netanyahu's coalition that prevented passage of the 1999 state budget. *See also* NE'EMAN COMMITTEE.

**NE'EMAN, YUVAL (1925–2006).** Prominent nuclear physicist and right-wing political activist. He is widely regarded as founder of Israel's space program and a major figure in Israel's nuclear programs. Born on 14 May 1925 in **Tel Aviv**, he was educated at the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology** and achieved a Ph.D. from London University. He became a professor of physics and served as president of **Tel Aviv University** and he was the recipient of numerous awards and prizes in **science**. He was the founder and chairman of the ultranationalist **Tehiya (Renaissance)** movement from its inception in 1979. He served as minister of science and development from 1982 to 1984, and he held that same portfolio in **Yitzhak Shamir's** narrow right-wing coalition **government** formed in June 1990. Na'eman and Tehiya subsequently quit the government to protest Israel's participation in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. Ne'eman retired from party politics after Tehiya failed to win any seats in the 1992 Knesset election. He died in Tel Aviv on 26 April 2006.

**NE'EMAN COMMITTEE.** Committee established in 1988 and headed by then finance minister **Yaacov Ne'eman** (under the **Benjamin Netanyahu** government) and comprised of representatives of the Orthodox, **Masorti Movement** (Conservative), and Progressive (Reform) streams of Judaism in Israel. It was mandated to achieve consensus on interdenominational disputes over such issues as the right of non-Orthodox rabbis to perform conversions and marriages and to sit on influential local religious councils, in order to preempt the growing number of petitions on these issues before the **Supreme Court** of Israel. Despite limited successes, including the agreement to establish an institute for religious conversions that would be operated by representatives of all streams of Judaism, the overall effectiveness of the work of the Ne'eman Committee was marred by continuing mistrust among its participants. *See also* LAW OF RETURN (1950); RELIGION; WHO IS A JEW?.

**NEGEV.** The triangular southern half of Israel. It extends from **Beersheva** south to the port of **Eilat** on the **Gulf of Aqaba**. The Negev is a semidesert tableland from 1,000 to 2,000 feet (300 to 610 meters) above sea level. It has limestone mountains and flatlands and is covered by a layer of fertile loam that must have water to grow crops. The Israelis have farmed part of the Negev by irrigation with water brought through the **National Water Carrier** from Lake Kinneret (the **Sea of Galilee**) through canals and pipelines. They have also mined phosphates and copper. Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon's** plan (2005) to disengage from the **Gaza Strip** and from areas of the northern **West Bank** included ideas for the significant development of sections of the Negev.

**NETANYAHU, BENJAMIN "BIBI" (1949–)**. Israel's seventeenth **prime minister**. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 21 October 1949 and raised partly in the **United States**, where his father, Professor Benzion Netanyahu, a strong supporter of **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky** and **Revisionist Zionism**, taught medieval Jewish history. From 1967 to 1972, he served in the elite **Sayeret Matkal** antiterrorism unit of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Having graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with degrees in architecture and business administration, he was pursuing a business career in the United States when his older brother Jonathan (Yoni) was killed in **Operation Entebbe** in July 1976. He returned to Israel and established the Jonathan Institute, a foundation devoted to studying ways to fight international **terrorism**. As director of the institute, he edited several major publications, including *International Terrorism: Challenge and Response*; and *Terrorism: How the West Can Win*.

In 1982, Netanyahu was recruited by Ambassador **Moshe Arens** to serve as deputy chief of mission at the Israeli embassy to the United States. From 1984 to 1988, he served as Israel's permanent representative to the **United Nations**. First elected on the **Likud (Union) Party** list, in the 1988 **Knesset** election, he served as deputy foreign minister from 1988 to 1991 and as deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office from 1991 to 1992. He gained international prominence during the **Persian Gulf War (1991)**, when he was interviewed live on American television as **Iraqi Scud missiles** fell on Israel, and then as Israel's chief spokesman at the October 1991 **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**.

On 25 March 1993, Netanyahu was elected to succeed **Yitzhak Shamir** as Likud Party leader, defeating **David Levy**. On 29 May 1996 he defeated **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** leader **Shimon Peres** by less than 1 percent of the popular vote in the first direct election of Israel's prime minister and subsequently presented his **government** to the Knesset. The first head of government to be born in Israel since independence, he was generally viewed as representative of the new generation of Israeli politicians. Although his tenure was marked by a series of missteps and scandals, Netanyahu's government did achieve two significant diplomatic agreements: the January 1997 agreement to transfer control of over 80 percent of the city of **Hebron** to the **Palestinians**, and the October 1998 **Wye River Memorandum**. However, his government provoked international diplomatic controversy by opening an additional entrance to the Hasmonean tunnel underneath **Jerusalem's** old city (which Palestinian propagandists inaccurately portrayed as threatening the structural stability of the **Temple Mount**) and beginning the construction of residential housing in the **Har Homa** section on the southern outskirts of Jerusalem's municipal boundary.

Netanyahu’s government fell on 21 December 1998. On 17 May 1999, he was defeated in the direct election for prime minister, receiving 43.9 percent of the popular vote compared to the 56.1 percent taken by **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** leader **Ehud Barak**. Netanyahu immediately resigned as Likud leader and subsequently relinquished his seat in the Knesset. Nevertheless, he hinted that he might return, telling his followers, “The course we charted together will triumph in the end, and we will all witness this victory. . . . With God’s help, we shall yet return.”

Netanyahu, though not a member of the Knesset, agreed in November 2002 to serve as foreign minister under Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**, a position he held until his reelection in the January 2003 Knesset election. In February 2003, Netanyahu was appointed finance minister, and under his tutelage, the Sharon-led government introduced a series of rigorous reforms designed to move forward Israel’s transition to a market **economy**.

For much of their tenure in office, Netanyahu and Sharon struck a tenuous political balance, with the former offering limited support for the prime minister’s **Gaza Strip** disengagement plan in return for Sharon’s endorsement of the finance minister’s economic reforms. However, the relationship cracked as Netanyahu led a revolt within the Likud caucus and party over the divisive Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). On 7 August 2005, Netanyahu resigned from Sharon’s government in protest of the plan, and on 26 September 2005, Netanyahu and his supporters narrowly lost a vote in the powerful Likud central committee that would have forced an early Likud leadership primary and, theoretically, a delay in the implementation of the Gaza disengagement. Although he did not refer to Netanyahu by name, it was generally understood that Sharon viewed his longtime political rival as the source of much of the infighting within Likud that led Sharon to his momentous November 2005 decision to leave the party and to form his new **Kadima (Forward)** Party to contest the 2006 Knesset election.

On 19 December 2005, Netanyahu was elected to again lead the Likud Party, taking 44 percent of the vote in the leadership primary, compared to 33 percent for Foreign Minister **Silvan Shalom**, 12 percent for **Manhigut Yehudit (Jewish Leadership Movement)** faction leader **Moshe Feiglin**, and 9 percent for **Agriculture** Minister Yisrael Katz. Likud won only 12 seats in the 28 March 2006 Knesset election. Nevertheless, Netanyahu’s control of the Likud Party was overwhelmingly reaffirmed in a leadership primary held on 14 August 2007. He took 73 percent of the vote, compared to 23 percent for Feiglin and 3.5 percent for **Danny Danon**.

Likud won 27 seats in the 2009 Knesset election, compared to the 28 mandates taken by **Tzipi Livni**’s Kadima Party. But Israel’s president **Shimon Peres** gave Netanyahu the first opportunity to form a viable new governing coalition, which he successfully was able to do. Netanyahu led the **Li-**

**kud–Israel Beiteinu (Likud-Beiteinu)** alliance to victory in the 2013 Knesset election, winning 31 seats—20 were members of Likud. Netanyahu easily defeated Danny Danon in the 31 December 2014 Likud leadership primary by a vote of 75 percent to 19 percent. Netanyahu subsequently led Likud to a fourth consecutive term in office in the March 2015 election, winning 30 mandates in the Twentieth Knesset. After arduous negotiations, on 14 May 2015 Netanyahu formed a narrow 61-member coalition government (out of the 120-seat Knesset) composed of five parties. In May 2016 the inclusion of Israel Beiteinu expanded the coalition to 66 Knesset seats.

**NETANYAHU, YONATAN “YONI” (1946–1976).** Born on 13 March 1946 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, Yonatan Netanyahu was the commander of the ground forces of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** operation to rescue Israeli hostages being held by terrorists at the Entebbe airport in Uganda, and he was the only Israeli military casualty of **Operation Entebbe**. He was the older brother of **Benjamin Netanyahu**.

Yonatan Netanyahu joined the IDF in 1964 and proceeded to officer training, where he excelled. During the **Six-Day War (1967)** his paratroop battalion fought in the Sinai Desert and then reinforced Israeli forces in the **Golan Heights**, where he received a wound to his elbow while assisting an injured fellow soldier. After the Six-Day War, he studied briefly at Harvard University, but returned because of the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)** and studied instead at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. In the early 1970s, he joined the IDF’s elite **Sayeret Matkal** commando unit and in the summer of 1972 was appointed the unit’s deputy commander. In 1972, he commanded a raid in which senior **Syrian** officers were captured and exchanged in return for captive Israeli pilots. The following year, he participated in an operation in which members of the **Black September** terrorist group responsible for the murder of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, **Germany** (see **MUNICH MASSACRE**) were tracked and killed.

During the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, Netanyahu commanded a Sayeret Matkal unit in the Golan Heights that killed more than 40 Syrian commando officers in a battle that thwarted the Syrian commandos’ raid in the Golan’s heartland. Also during the war, Netanyahu rescued a fellow soldier who was lying wounded behind Syrian lines. For his wartime bravery, Netanyahu was awarded the Medal of Distinguished Service, Israel’s third highest military decoration. Following the Yom Kippur War, Netanyahu volunteered to transfer to the tank corps, which had suffered heavy casualties during the war. Under Netanyahu’s command, the Barak Armored Brigade became the leading military unit in the Golan Heights. In June 1975, Netanyahu left the Armored Corps and returned to the Sayeret Matkal as unit commander. The operation to rescue Israeli hostages at Entebbe airport was his first major

operation since returning to the unit. He was killed in action on 4 July 1976. Operation Entebbe was posthumously renamed **Operation Yonatan** in honor of Netanyahu.

**NETUREI KARTA.** Aramaic translation is “Guardians of the City”; a group of ultra-Orthodox Jewish religious extremists who live primarily in the **Mea Shearim** section of **Jerusalem** and in Bnei Brak. It derives its name from a passage in the Talmud that refers to those who devote themselves to the study of the Torah as the guardians of the city. The group adheres to strict Orthodox views and follows the lifestyles that were brought to Israel from Eastern Europe. Their dress codes are the traditional long coat and black hats of Eastern European origin. They oppose **Zionism** and have refused to accept Israel as a Jewish state. They oppose the use of the **Hebrew language** for everyday communication because it is the holy language and because to do so would imply acceptance of Israel as the Jewish state. They believe that a Jewish state can be established only by God. Neturei Karta strongly opposes the state of Israel and has indicated a willingness to work with such groups as the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) and Israel’s Arab and Muslim state enemies to oppose the Zionist enterprise.

The group has close ties with the Satmar rebbe and those of similar views who are headquartered in Brooklyn, New York. According to their doctrine, any attempt to regain the holy land by force or against the will of God is considered a sin. The Zionists, in their view, have usurped the holy name “Israel” and have exploited the Jewish **religion** and the holy land to reinforce their positions. Neturei Karta spokespersons have made clear their opposition to Israel and political Zionism in numerous ways. They see themselves as the original Jewish **settlers**, the Palestinian Jews who made their way to the holy land with the clear intent of worshiping God in his “backyard.” They claim to have no political ambitions. They do not recognize the Israeli **flag** and have no “right” to a flag of their own. They have raised the Palestinian flag because they have said it is a flag of a state they consider to be theirs. They have indicated that they wish to be part of a proposed Palestinian state and to be represented in a joint Palestinian–**Jordanian** delegation to struggle against the common Zionist enemy.

**NEW COMMUNIST LIST (RAKAH).** Descended from the Socialist Workers’ Party of **Palestine** (founded in 1919), the party was renamed the **Communist Party** of Palestine in 1921 and the Israel Communist Party (Maki) in 1948. A pro-Soviet, anti-**Zionist** group formed Rakah in 1965. It had both Jewish and Arab members and campaigned for a socialist system in Israel and a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab countries and the Palestinian Arab people. It favored full implementation of **United Nations**

**Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)**, Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, formation of a Palestinian Arab state in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**, recognition of the national rights of the state of Israel and of the Palestinian people, democratic rights and defense of working-class interests, and an end of alleged discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel and against Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) Jewish communities. Rakah contested the 1984 **Knesset** election as the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)**, an alliance with the **Black Panther** Movement of Sephardic Jews, winning four seats in the Knesset. It won one seat in the 1988 Knesset election, three in 1992, and five in 1996. In 1989, Rakah changed its name back to Maki. The party's long-time secretary general **Meir Wilner** retired in the early 1990s. As a component of Hadash, it won an average of three seats in Knesset elections in the 1990s and 2000s, and took four mandates in the 2013 Knesset election. Rakah/Maki, again as part of Hadash, participated in **The Joint List** of primarily Arab political parties that contested the 2015 Knesset election. *See also* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NEW HERUT (HERUT HAHADASHA)**. A right-wing **political party** headed by former **Likud (Union) Party** member of **Knesset** and cabinet minister **Ze'ev Binyamin (Benny) Begin** that competed for the first time in the May 1999 Knesset election as part of the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)** coalition. Emerging in late 1998, it was comprised primarily of former Likud politicians, such as Begin, who had become disenchanted with the leadership of **Benjamin Netanyahu** and/or the decision of the Netanyahu-led governing coalition to agree to significant territorial concessions in the **Hebron** agreement of January 1997 and the **Wye River Memorandum** of 23 October 1998. As part of the right-wing National Union list, New Herut won four seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) and seven seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003). It took nine seats in the Seventeenth Knesset (2006) as part of the National Union—**National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit—MAFDAL)** electoral coalition. It later became integrated into the **HaBayit HaYehudi (Jewish Home) Party**.

**NEW LIBERAL PARTY**. A **political party** founded in 1987 as a merger of three groups: **Shinui**, the **Liberal Center Party**, and the **Independent Liberal Party (HaLiberalim Haatzaim)**. Its leaders included **Amnon Rubinstein**, **Yitzhak Berman**, and **Moshe Kol**.

**NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION**. A worldwide **Zionist** organization created after members of the Union of Zionist **Revisionists** voted to secede from the **World Zionist Organization**. Its aims, articulated at its Constituent

Congress in September 1935, included the creation of a Jewish majority on both sides of the **Jordan River** and the establishment of a Jewish state in **Palestine**. *See also* JABOTINSKY, VLADIMIR ZE'EV (1880–1940).

**NOBEL PRIZE.** Israelis have been awarded the Nobel Prize in four categories. In 1978, Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** and **Egypt's** president **Anwar Sadat** shared the Nobel Peace Prize for their breakthrough agreements at the September 1978 **Camp David** summit meeting with U.S. president **Jimmy Carter** that led to the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (1979)**. In December 1994, Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and Foreign Minister **Shimon Peres**, along with **Palestine Liberation Organization** chairman **Yasser Arafat** were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for concluding the **Oslo Accords** of 1993. **Shmuel Yosef (S. Y.) Agnon** was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1966. The Nobel Prize in chemistry has been awarded to Aharon Ciechanover and Avram Hershko (2004), Ada E. Yonath (2009), Dan Shechtman (2011), and Michael Levitt and Arieh Warshel (2013). David Kahnerman (2002) and Robert J. (Yisrael) Aumann (2005) were awarded the Nobel Prize for their work in economics.

**NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.** *See* ATOMIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT; DIMONA.



# O

**OBAMA, BARACK HUSSEIN II (1961– )**. Since 20 January 2009, forty-fourth president of the **United States**. Recipient of the 2009 **Nobel Peace Prize**. There were tenuous moments in his relationship with Israel and Israel’s supporters in the United States, particularly concerning policy differences about negotiations with the **Palestinians** and over **Iran**’s nuclear weapons program. Nevertheless, the two Obama administrations maintained America’s long-standing and enduring commitment to Israel’s security and survival against all regional adversaries. This was manifested in diplomatic support for Israel at the **United Nations**. And this support was also manifested in steps by the United States to ensure Israel’s “strategic advantage” over its regional adversaries. This included fulfilling the **George W. Bush** administration’s August 2007 memorandum of understanding with Israel that outlined a 10-year framework for U.S. military assistance to Israel. It also included significant U.S. annual military assistance and separate additional support for **Iron Dome** and other components of Israel’s strategic antiballistic missile defense system (many jointly produced with U.S. defense contractors). Speaking alongside Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** at the White House in March 2012, Obama encapsulated the special relationship that has bound the United States and Israel when he declared, “My personal commitment . . . a commitment that is consistent with the history of other occupants of this Oval office . . . to the security of Israel is rock solid . . . the United States will always have Israel’s back when it comes to Israel’s security.” And Obama on 22 May 2015 reassured a Washington, D.C., synagogue audience that, “our commitment to Israel’s security—and my commitment to Israel’s security—is and always will be unshakeable.” In a 28 August 2015 webcast, Obama told American Jewish leaders that the strains in the U.S.–Israel relationship over the July 2015 nuclear agreement with Iran would be quickly resolved once the deal was in place. Obama met with Netanyahu on 9 November 2015 for the first time since the Iran deal. The Israeli prime minister described it as “one of the best meetings” he’d had with Obama.

**OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.** In the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israel occupied various Arab and Arab-held territories, including the **Sinai Peninsula**, the **Gaza Strip**, the **West Bank**, **East Jerusalem**, and the **Golan Heights**. Although commonly referred to as the Occupied Territories, they are often referred to in Israel as **Judea and Samaria**, “administered areas,” or “disputed territories.”

**OCTOBER WAR (1973).** *See* YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973).

**ODEH, AYMAN (1975– ).** Israeli **Arab** member of **Knesset**, leader of the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash) Party**, and head of **The Joint List** electoral alliance. Born on 1 January 1975 in **Haifa**. A lawyer by profession, Odeh became Hadash’s secretary-general in 2006 and was elected the party’s leader in January 2015. As leader of the largest party in the electoral alliance, he became leader of the group of largely **Arab political parties** that unified to contest the March 2015 Knesset election. Under Odeh’s leadership The Joint List alliance won 13 seats in the Twentieth Knesset.

**OFEQ (HORIZON) SATELLITE.** A long-term project intended to provide Israel with an independent space satellite capability. The pace of research and development associated with OFEQ was accelerated in the early 1990s in the context of the reported refusal of the **United States** to provide Israel with satellite data about Iraqi ballistic missile emplacements during the **Persian Gulf War (1991)**. OFEQ1, produced by **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)**, was tested in September 1988. OFEQ2 was tested in April 1990. Both projects reentered the earth’s atmosphere within six months of being launched. OFEQ3, also known as EROS (Earth Resources Observation System), was launched on 5 April 1995; launched on a three-stage Israel-produced Shavit rocket, it was designed to last two years in orbit. OFEQ 7 was launched on 10 June 2007. Israel launched the **TECSAR** reconnaissance satellite, atop an Indian missile from a launch site in India, on 21 January 2008. As with many other projects of Israel’s military-industrial complex, OFEQ is shrouded in secrecy. It is generally assumed that the goal of the project is to provide the Israeli military with an independent reconnaissance satellite capability flying over **Iran**, **Iraq**, and **Syria**. Formally, the government said that it was an “experimental satellite intended for scientific and technological purposes.” It is viewed as a key component of Israel’s capacity to deter the threat of long-range ballistic missiles. The OFEQ-10 satellite, launched into orbit in April 2014, provides Israel’s **intelligence service** agencies with an enhanced ability to monitor and track distant targets effectively. *See also* EROS-B (EARTH REMOTE OBSERVATION SYSTEM-B).

**OLEH (JEWISH IMMIGRANT TO ISRAEL).** *See* ALIYA.

**OLMERT, EHUD (1945–).** Sixteenth **prime minister** of Israel; the only prime minister in Israel's history to be indicted while in office and subsequently sentenced to prison. Born on 30 September 1945 in Nahalat **Jabotinsky** (today part of the community of Binyamina), Olmert was considered one of the “**princes**” of the **Likud (Union) Party**, the son of former **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) fighter and **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** member of **Knesset** Mordechai Olmert.

First elected to the Knesset in 1973 on the Likud list, he was appointed a minister without portfolio in the **government** established in December 1988 and minister of health in the June 1990 government. Returned to the Knesset on the Likud list in 1992 and 1996, he was elected mayor of **Jerusalem** in November 1993, unseating the longtime incumbent, **Teddy Kollek**. Re-elected as mayor in November 1998, he was compelled (by a new law) to relinquish his Knesset seat. Following the May 1999 Knesset election he declared his candidacy to replace **Benjamin Netanyahu** as leader of the Likud Party but was defeated in the leadership vote by **Ariel Sharon**.

After being reelected to the Knesset in 2003, Olmert resigned his position as Jerusalem mayor. In February 2003, he was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of industry, trade and labor, as well as minister of communications, in Ariel Sharon's government. Olmert was a forceful proponent of Sharon's **Gaza Strip disengagement** plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT)—in the Likud caucus, the coalition government, and the Knesset. He was appointed finance minister in the late summer of 2005, replacing Benjamin Netanyahu, who resigned on the eve of the disengagement's implementation.

Olmert was among the most senior Likud caucus members to bolt the party and join Sharon in the new centrist **Kadima (Forward) Party**. As deputy prime minister, he was approved as interim Kadima leader and acting prime minister following the debilitating stroke suffered by Sharon on 4 January 2006. Under his leadership Kadima won the 2006 Knesset election, taking 29 mandates. Olmert then formed Israel's 31st government. Despite explicit criticism by the **Winograd Commission** of his leadership during the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** and record single-digit popularity ratings resulting in part from enduring questions about his personal integrity, Olmert and his government continued to function throughout much of 2007. Olmert announced on 29 October 2007 that he had early-stage prostate cancer but said the cancer was not life threatening and would not distract him from his work.

On 27 November 2007, Olmert participated in an international conference sponsored by the **United States** at the U.S. Naval Academy in **Annapolis**, Maryland, and commenced with **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**

chairman and **Palestinian Authority** (PA) president **Mahmoud Abbas** a process of direct negotiations that, Olmert later said, moved the dialogue closer to the realization of Israeli-Palestinian peace based on the **two-state solution** envisioned by U.S. president **George W. Bush** and in the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**.

Questions of personal integrity and financial impropriety ultimately forced Olmert to resign as Israel's prime minister. On 30 July 2008 he announced that he would not contest the Kadima leadership review that September and would resign from office once a new leader had been elected. In his resignation speech, Olmert said he was "proud to be a citizen of a country in which a prime minister can be investigated [for financial impropriety] like any other citizen," but he insisted that the allegations against him were politically motivated. After Foreign Minister **Tzipi Livni** won the Kadima leadership (17 September 2008), Olmert officially resigned. But when Livni declared her inability to form a viable governing coalition, a new parliamentary election was set for February 2009 and Olmert's government remained in place on a caretaker basis. It was in that capacity that Olmert managed **Operation Cast Lead**. Olmert's tenure as prime minister of Israel formally ended after the February 2009 Knesset election.

On 30 August 2009 Olmert was charged with fraud, breach of trust, falsifying corporate documents, and tax evasion with regard to three separate police investigations against him. This was the first time in Israel's history an indictment had been served against a former occupant of the office of prime minister. On 10 July 2012 he was convicted on one count of breach of trust and acquitted on two other charges relating to those cases. He was given a one-year suspended sentence and fined \$21,000. In January 2012 Olmert was indicted for having accepted bribes with regard to the **Holyland Real Estate Scandal**. He blamed the crimes on his longtime personal secretary, **Shula Zaken**. On 31 March 2014 Olmert and eight other defendants were found guilty in the Holyland Affair. Olmert was convicted of two counts of bribery and of perjury. The presiding judge ruled that Olmert had accepted \$160,000 in bribes while serving as mayor of Jerusalem and had lied about it in court. The judge accused Olmert of "moral turpitude" and of undermining public trust in Israel's elected officials. On 13 May 2014, he received a six-year prison sentence plus an additional two-year suspended sentence and was fined \$290,000 (one million Israeli shekels). He was ordered to report to prison on 1 September 2014 to begin serving his sentence but remained free on appeal. Meanwhile, new evidence, including taped private conversations provided by his former personal secretary Shula Zaken, contributed to the August 2014 decision of Israel's **Supreme Court** to order a retrial of Olmert's July 2012 acquittal on charges that he had unlawfully received millions of dollars in illegal campaign funding from American businessman Morris Talansky while vying for Jerusalem mayor and Likud Party leader.

Olmert was found guilty of corruption on 30 March 2015 and was sentenced to eight months in prison; additionally, he was given a suspended sentence of eight months and fined \$25,000. On 2 July 2015 Olmert appealed this latest conviction and prison sentence to the Supreme Court. With his conviction, prison sentence and fine in the Holyland Affair under appeal, the Court ruled that Olmert could delay the start of his prison sentence pending the outcome of all appeals.

**OMER, DEVORAH (OR DVORA) (1932–2013).** One of Israel's most prolific and popular children's authors. Born 9 October 1932 in **Kibbutz Maoz Haim**, she completed her studies in 1952 and became a teacher. She wrote more than 100 works of fiction and nonfiction for children and youth, as well as plays, radio scripts, a novel for adults, and personal columns in children's magazines. Among her better-known works of fiction are *Tamar's Diary*, *My Father's Son*, *Sarah Aharonson Heroine*, *Omri's Adventures in the Summer of '67*, *To Love until Death*, and *Cradling Stone*. Her works of historical nonfiction include *The Story of Theodor Herzl*, *The Story of David Ben-Gurion*, and *The Story of Menachem Begin*. Omer received the **Israel Prize** for lifetime achievement in 2006. She died on 2 May 2013.

**OMETZ (COURAGE TO CURE THE ECONOMY).** A **political party** founded in 1982 by **Yigael Hurvitz**, an industrialist who had served under **Likud (Union)**–led **governments** as minister of **industry**, commerce, and **tourism** and, later, as minister of finance. The party's primary position was that drastic measures were needed to deal with Israel's substantial **economic** problems. The party won one **Knesset** seat in the 1984 election, and Hurvitz joined the **Government of National Unity** as minister without portfolio in 1984.

**ONE ISRAEL (ISRAEL AHAT).** An electoral coalition comprised of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**, **Gesher (Bridge)**, and **Meimad (Dimension)** parties that took 20.2 percent of the popular vote in the 1999 legislative election, translating to 26 seats in the Fifteenth **Knesset**. Its leader, **Ehud Barak**, defeated **Likud (Union) Party** leader **Benjamin Netanyahu** in the simultaneous, direct election for **prime minister**. Its policies were essentially those of Labor, though Labor's traditional base of electoral support was expanded through the incorporation under the One Israel banner of the Sephardi-dominated (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) Gesher and the moderate Orthodox Meimad. Its representatives dominated the governing coalition presented by Barak to the Knesset on 6 July 1999. In 2003, One Israel was reduced to Labor and Meimad, with the return of **David Levy** and Gesher to Likud. It ran as Labor–Meimad and suffered a major defeat in the

2003 Knesset election, falling to only 19 seats (down from 26 in 1999) under the leadership of former **Haifa** mayor and **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** general **Amram Mitzna**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ONE PEOPLE (AM ECHAD)**. Workers' **political party** headed by then **Histadrut** chairman and former **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** member of **Knesset Amir Peretz** that broke from Labor and ran independently in the 1999 election to the Fifteenth Knesset, winning two seats. It won three seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003) and then agreed to become reintegrated with Labor in May 2004. The One People platform stressed increased privatization without increased unemployment and an increased minimum wage. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**OPEN BRIDGES POLICY**. The term refers to the bridges across the **Jordan River** between **Jordan** and the **West Bank** and Israel as well as to the links between Israel and Jordan developed after the **Six-Day War (1967)**. **Moshe Dayan**, who was minister of defense, allowed the shipment of goods (mostly **agricultural** produce) and later the crossing of people between the two sides of the river.

**OPEN UNIVERSITY OF ISRAEL**. The Open University of Israel is a distance-education university with no single campus and with full- and part-time students from throughout the country. Its flexible schedule and emphasis on self-study and the use of the Internet and video-conferencing to communicate with teachers or with other students makes the Open University's format especially well-suited to those Israelis who are preoccupied with a job, army service, or family responsibilities. The Open University of Israel was planned in 1971 and modeled after the Open University in the United Kingdom. The first semester of studies commenced on 17 October 1976. In 1980, the university was officially recognized as an institution of higher learning, and it was given the authority to grant bachelor's degrees. In 1982, 41 graduates received B.A. diplomas in the university's first diploma ceremony. In 1996, the university also started a master's degree program. As of 2010/2011, the Open University had a student body of 42,900.

**OPERATION ACCOUNTABILITY**. In July 1993, Israel sent forces into southern **Lebanon** in response to the launching of mortar shells and **Katyusha rockets** on Israeli civilian population centers in the northern **Galilee** region. The purpose of the operation was to punish the Iranian- and Syrian-backed **Hezbollah** and the militant Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. By disrupting the lives of the civilian population in southern Lebanon, Israel sought to achieve two goals: to dissuade local vil-

lagers from cooperating with the **terrorist** groups (for example, by allowing them to store weapons and fire missiles at Israeli targets from the relative safety of villages or providing safe haven to the terrorists); and to pressure the Lebanese central government to impose order over the terrorist factions operating with impunity in the border region. The operation ended when the **United States** helped broker a general agreement between Israel and Hezbollah to avoid targeting civilians in their continuing conflict in southern Lebanon.

**OPERATION ALI BABA (OPERATION EZRA AND NEHEMIA).** The airborne transfer to Israel of virtually all of **Iraq**'s ancient Jewish community (about 123,000), which immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1950.

**OPERATION AUTUMN CLOUDS.** Known by Israelis as *Mivtza Ananei Stav*. A short-duration **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) operation by infantry, engineering, and armored forces in November 2006, mainly in the area of Beit Hanoun in the northern **Gaza Strip**. The operation, lasting from 1 November to 7 November 2006, was directed against terror and rocket-launching infrastructure designed to reduce **Qassam missile** attacks launched from the Gaza Strip against **Sderot**, Ashkelon, and other population centers in southern Israel. *See also* HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-IS-LAMIYA).

**OPERATION CAST LEAD.** *See* WAR IN GAZA (2008–2009).

**OPERATION CHANGING DIRECTION.** Code name for the Israeli counteroffensive launched in response to **Hezbollah**'s 12 July 2006 attack on **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) positions on Israel's side of the internationally recognized border—in which eight Israeli soldiers were killed and two others were taken hostage—followed by waves of Hezbollah **Katyusha rockets** fired on population centers in northern Israel. The declared initial objective of the operation was to achieve the safe return of the kidnapped Israeli soldiers (Ehud Goldwasser and Elad Regev) by isolating Hezbollah from the people and government of **Lebanon** and from its sources of funds, weapons, and logistical support in **Syria** and **Iran**. By strategically targeting major highways connecting Lebanon and Syria, as well as Beirut's international airport, the IDF sought to deny Hezbollah the ability to move the kidnapped soldiers out of Lebanon.

As Hezbollah escalated the crisis by targeting **Haifa** and more distant Israeli population centers with advanced missiles acquired from Syria and Iran, the objectives of Operation Changing Direction were modified and expanded. Israel sought once and for all to eliminate the threat posed to the

security of its northern citizens by Hezbollah, in part by pressuring the government of Lebanon to fulfill its obligation (under **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559**) to deploy the Lebanese army to southern Lebanon in order to disarm Hezbollah. The objectives of the operation were to achieve the safe return of the kidnapped Israeli soldiers; to eliminate the threat posed to the security of Israel's northern citizens by Hezbollah's arsenal of Katyusha rockets; and to pressure the government of Lebanon to fulfill its obligation to apply sovereign authority over all parts of the country, including the border region, and disarm Hezbollah.

These three objectives were not completely fulfilled. The two IDF soldiers were not immediately released. Israel did not find a "solution" to Hezbollah's Katyusha missiles. And, while the Lebanese army (backed by international forces and emboldened by **UN Security Council Resolution 1701**) was deployed to southern Lebanon, no serious effort was made by the Lebanese army or government to disarm Hezbollah as required by the UN resolution. Moreover, in what Israel considered to be an explicit abrogation of their responsibilities according to Resolution 1701, commanders of the reconfigured **UN Interim Force in Lebanon** (1978) announced that they had no intention of confronting Hezbollah in order to disarm the organization. *See also* SECOND LEBANON WAR (2006).

**OPERATION DAYS OF PENITENCE.** The name applied to the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) counteroffensive in the northern **Gaza Strip** from 30 September to 15 October 2004 to destroy launching sites of **Qassam missiles** targeting population centers in southern Israel and deter further attacks. The immediate precipitator of the operation was the death of two young Israeli children in **Sderot** by a Qassam missile on 29 September 2004. The operation focused on the northern Gaza towns of Beit Hanoun and Beit Lahia and the Jabaliya refugee camp, which were being used as launching sites for the Qassam missiles. The operation disrupted but did not disable the launching of Qassam missiles from Gaza on population centers in southern Israel. *See also* HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA).

**OPERATION DEFENSIVE SHIELD.** A large-scale counterterrorism military operation conducted by the **Israel Defense Forces** that began on 29 March 2002 with an incursion of the IDF into the **West Bank** city of Ramallah, followed by entry into Tulkarm and Qalqilya on 1 April, Bethlehem on 2 April, and Jenin and Nablus on 3 April. It was commenced after a particularly harsh month of **terrorism** against Israel in March of that year, including the **Passover Massacre** at the Park Hotel in Netanya, in which more than 130 people were killed. The stated goal of the operation was to enter West Bank cities, villages, and refugee camps and destroy the terrorist infrastruc-



ture there that was supported by the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and the **Palestinian Authority (PA)**. Military orders also included the targeting of anyone taking up arms against IDF soldiers during the operation.

At the eruption of fighting in **Bethlehem**, Palestinian gunmen occupied the Church of the Nativity. IDF soldiers surrounded the site, leading to a 38-day standoff, which ended after the **Palestinians** inside agreed to have 13 terrorists among them deported to several different countries. Jenin was the site of an especially heavy confrontation. Palestinian sources falsely claimed a massacre of Palestinian civilians occurred there, but post battle inquiries by human rights organizations and the **United Nations** invalidated these allegations. The final toll of the Jenin battle was 52 to 56 Palestinian Arabs (mostly armed fighters) and 23 Israeli soldiers dead.

On 21 April 2002, the IDF withdrew its troops from the West Bank cities, signifying the official conclusion of Operation Defensive Shield. *See also* SECURITY BARRIER (SECURITY FENCE, SEPARATION FENCE); SEPARATION; SUICIDE BOMBINGS.

**OPERATION ENTEBBE.** On 4 July 1976, an Israeli commando operation, code-named “Thunderbolt,” freed 103 hostages taken from a hijacked jetliner held at the Entebbe airport, Uganda. The jetliner, Air **France** flight 139 originating in **Tel Aviv**, was hijacked on 27 June 1976 by Arab and German **terrorists** on a flight between Athens and Paris. The plane was flown to Uganda, then under the control of Idi Amin. Israel refused to give in to the hijacker’s demands for the release of numerous terrorists held in Israel, six terrorists in West **Germany**, five in Kenya, and others in France and Switzerland. After a week of negotiations, Israeli commandos, under the command of Brigadier General **Dan Shomron**, staged a dramatic and successful raid that later was renamed Operation Yonatan in memory of **Jonathan (Yoni) Netanyahu**, an Israeli officer who was killed during the rescue.

**OPERATION EXODUS.** The name given to the effort begun in 1990 to achieve the emigration of Soviet Jews from the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** and to resettle them in Israel. In 1990–1991 alone, more than 350,000 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel for resettlement and absorption. Between 1990 and 1996, some 750,000 new immigrants arrived from the former Soviet Union. *See also* ALIYA; LAW OF RETURN (1950); WHO IS A JEW?.

**OPERATION EZRA AND NEHEMIA.** *See* OPERATION ALI BABA (OPERATION EZRA AND NEHEMIA).

**OPERATION FULL DISCLOSURE.** **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) operation to intercept and board the Panamanian-registered merchant cargo ship *Klos-C*, suspected of transporting Iranian-supplied weapons to Palestinian terrorist groups in the **Gaza Strip**, on 5 March 2014. Having set out from the Iranian port city of Bander Abbas, the ship was intercepted and boarded by Israeli Navy Shayetet 13 elite commandos in the Red Sea some 93 miles off the coast of Sudan and 932 miles from Israel. It was discovered to be carrying a large quantity of **Syrian-made** long-range missiles, with a range of between 55 and 118 miles. The missiles had been concealed in containers full of Iranian bags marked as cement. After the ship had docked in the port city of **Eilat**, further investigation disclosed additional mortars and rounds of ammunition. According to Israeli intelligence services, once the *Klos-C* reached Sudan, elements of Iran's Quds Force planned to take possession of the missiles and move them on land to the Egyptian Sinai and then smuggle them into the Gaza Strip via tunnels. Israeli officials believed that **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)** was the primary intended recipient of the missiles, though some might have ended up in the hands of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** as well. Israel placed the weapons confiscated from the *Klos-C* on public display. Defense Minister **Moshe Ya'alon** said the results of Operation Full Disclosure provided incontrovertible evidence of Iran's program to fund and arm Palestinian terror groups dedicated to Israel's destruction. IDF chief of staff **Benny Gantz** acknowledged that the weapons discovered on the *Klos-C* epitomized Israel's security challenge. But he added, "For every bullet and rocket [on the ship] we have a return address."

**OPERATION GRAPES OF WRATH.** The name applied to **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) actions in **Lebanon** in the spring of 1996 in response to **Katyusha rocket** firings and **terrorist** attacks on Israeli civilian targets in the upper **Galilee** region of northern Israel. The Israeli government had been under pressure to take action toward improving security. Rocket attacks and **suicide bombings** in Israel had claimed more than 50 victims in February and March 1996. Israeli actions included artillery shelling and the use of helicopter gunships attacking **Hezbollah** targets. Israel used its air force and artillery corps but decided not to utilize ground forces in the operation. In early April 1996, Israel fired missiles and launched air strikes on southern Lebanon bases of the Iranian- and Syrian-backed Hezbollah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. The declared intent of the operation was to protect Israeli towns, villages, and **kibbutzim** by pushing the terrorists out of firing range. By hitting major infrastructure projects in southern Lebanon (such as hydroelectric facilities and highways) and forcing the temporary relocation of the local population northward toward Beirut, Israel sought to achieve two additional goals: to separate the

guerrilla factions from the local villages where they were hiding weapons and launching missiles at Israel; and to compel the Lebanese central government to take steps to apply sovereign authority over the border region (including disarming and disbanding Hezbollah and other guerrilla factions).

Although Operation Grapes of Wrath was initially supported by much of the Israeli public as necessary to ensure the safety of the northern population, the popular mood toward the operation shifted significantly after an errant Israeli missile killed more than 100 Lebanese civilians at a **United Nations** station at Kfar Qana on 18 April 1996. This incident elicited strong condemnation of Israel by the United Nations General Assembly and by the secretary general. Operation Grapes of Wrath ended with a cease-fire brokered by the **United States** on 26 April 1996. According to this agreement, Israel and Hezbollah (represented in the understanding by the government of Lebanon) reiterated their commitment (initially established in the context of **Operation Accountability** of July 1993) to avoid firing on each other's civilian populations. In addition, the 26 April 1996 agreement provided for the establishment of a multiparty monitoring group that would hear and adjudicate complaints of violations of the cease-fire and a consultative group to assist reconstruction in Lebanon. *See also* SECURITY ZONE.

**OPERATION ISLANDS OF HOPE.** Israel's two-week humanitarian aid operation, from 13 November 2013 to 27 November 2013, in the Philippines in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan. The Israeli humanitarian crisis emergency rapid response team consisted of 147 **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) soldiers including medics and logistic personnel as well as search and rescue forces. A total of 2,686 patients, including 848 children, were treated by Israeli doctors in the IDF Field Hospital. Some 60 surgeries were performed, most of them emergency, life-saving surgeries for patients that required urgent medical attention. In addition, Israeli medical personnel delivered some 36 babies. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**OPERATION JONATHAN.** *See* OPERATION ENTEBBE; OPERATION YONATAN.

**OPERATION LITANI.** In March 1978, Israel launched a limited incursion by the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) into southern **Lebanon** to drive the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) from its positions close to the Israeli border from which it had been launching **terrorist** attacks against Israel since before the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. *See also* SECURITY ZONE; UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL); UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 425.

**OPERATION MAGIC CARPET.** The airborne transfer to Israel beginning in December 1948 of virtually the entire Jewish community of Yemen. The operation took a little more than a year and involved some 380 flights. Between 40,000 and 50,000 Yemeni Jews were evacuated. *See also* ALIYA.

**OPERATION MOSES.** The name applied to the massive airlift in late 1984 and early 1985 that brought thousands of **Falashas** (Jews of **Ethiopia**) to Israel from refugee camps in the Sudan. *See also* ALIYA; FALASH MURA; OPERATION SHEBA; OPERATION SOLOMON; RELIGION; WHO IS A JEW?.

**OPERATION NOAH'S ARK.** The **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) operation to intercept the *Karine-A* on the high seas in January 2002.

**OPERATION OPERA (ALSO KNOWN AS OPERATION BABYLON).** Code name applied to the 7 June 1981 Israel Air Force strategic air strike that destroyed the **Osirak nuclear reactor** near Baghdad, **Iraq**.

**OPERATION ORCHARD.** Code name applied to the 6 September 2007 Israel Air Force strategic air strike that destroyed **Syria's** nuclear reactor, which Israel suspected of supporting Damascus' nuclear weapons program.

**OPERATION PEACE FOR GALILEE.** *See* WAR IN LEBANON (1982).

**OPERATION PILLAR OF DEFENSE.** *See* WAR IN GAZA (2012).

**OPERATION PROTECTIVE EDGE.** *See* WAR IN GAZA (2014).

**OPERATION RAINBOW.** Known to Israelis by its **Hebrew** code name Mivtza Keshet Be'anah, brief Israeli military operation (18 May–23 May, 2004) described as the “largest offensive in Gaza since 1967.” The declared goal of the operation was to clear out the **terrorist** infrastructure, find weapons-smuggling tunnels connecting the **Gaza Strip** to **Egypt**, and prevent the shipment of antiaircraft and antitank missiles into Gaza. The immediate precipitating cause of the operation was the killing of 13 Israeli soldiers in terrorist attacks in Zeitoun and Rafah. Militarily, Operation Rainbow was a success. According to the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), three weapons-smuggling tunnels were located and dismantled. Forty armed terrorists were killed, while more than 100 others were injured. Comprehensive arrests of wanted terrorists were undertaken. The IDF also succeeded in securing the ability for operational activity along the Gaza border. *See also* HAMAS

(HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA); PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI).

**OPERATION SHEBA.** On 5 January 1985, the Sudanese government suspended **Operation Moses** following an Israeli press conference revealing details of the airlift of **Ethiopian Jews** from refugee camps in Sudan. The airlift was to have been kept a secret, but foreign news agencies had already leaked reports of the operation. The untimely disruption of Operation Moses left several hundred Jews stranded in Sudan. The **Beta Israel** were removed from Sudan in a Central Intelligence Agency–sponsored airlift labeled Operation Sheba or Operation Joshua. *See also* ALIYA; FALASH MURA; OPERATION SOLOMON.

**OPERATION SHLOMO.** *See* OPERATION SOLOMON.

**OPERATION SOLOMON.** Also known as **Operation Shlomo** (Mivtza Shlomo), it was a massive airlift of some 14,500 **Ethiopian Jews** from Addis Ababa, **Ethiopia**, to Israel carried out by the **Israel Defence Forces (IDF)** on behalf of the government of Israel on the weekend of 24–25 May 1991. *See also* ALIYA; FALASH MURA; OPERATION MOSES; OPERATION SHEBA.

**OPERATION SQUEEZED FRUIT.** The limited **Israel Defense Forces** action launched in mid-October 2006 in the southern **Gaza Strip** that was intended to discover and destroy tunnels from the **Sinai Peninsula** through which weapons were being smuggled to Palestinian **terrorist** groups such as **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ; Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**.

**OPERATION SUMMER RAIN.** Code name for the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** operation in the **Gaza Strip** launched on 28 June 2006 in response to the 25 June attack that resulted in the death of two Israeli soldiers, kidnapping of a third, and wounding of several others by a team of Palestinian **terrorists** that had tunneled from the Gaza Strip beneath the **Kerem Shalom** international crossing point on the Gaza-Egypt border. The operation was launched in response not only to this particular attack but also to the unremitting barrage of **Qassam missiles** being fired from Gaza into southern Israel. The declared goals of Operation Summer Rain were to achieve the safe return of the kidnapped Israeli soldier, **Gilad Shalit**, who was being held in the Gaza Strip by groups affiliated with **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**; to block efforts by those groups to smuggle Shalit out of Gaza;

and to disrupt and dismantle existing terrorist infrastructure and create a buffer zone in the northern Gaza Strip to prevent Qassam rocket fire into Israel.

To pressure **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) chairman and **Palestinian Authority** (PA) president **Mahmoud Abbas**, Prime Minister **Ismail 'Abd Al-Salaam Ahmad Haniya**, and the **Hamas**-led PA to cooperate in the achievement of these objectives, the IDF undertook limited ground incursions into parts of the Gaza Strip, used air- and sea-launched missiles to incapacitate major Palestinian infrastructure projects, and arrested senior Hamas politicians on terrorism related charges. The cities of Khan Yunis and Rafah were isolated from the rest of the Gaza Strip.

Operation Summer Rain did not immediately achieve the release of Corporal Shalit. Nevertheless, it did result in a slowdown in Qassam rocket fire from Gaza into Israel. Moreover, IDF pressure—combined with the economic sanctions imposed by the Middle East **Quartet** on Hamas—contributed to significant developments within Palestinian politics. Of these developments, the most significant were discussions about the formation of a Hamas-**Fatah** “unity government” that focused primarily on the formers’ softening of its opposition to recognition of Israel.

**OPERATION YONATAN.** *See* OPERATION ENTEBBE.

**OR COMMISSION.** Three-member state **Commission of Inquiry** headed by retired **Supreme Court** justice Theodore Or, charged with investigating the riots of October 2000 and the deaths of 13 people from police fire, when thousands of Israeli **Arabs** demonstrated in solidarity with **Palestinians** in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. On 1 September 2003, the Or Commission reported that it found a pattern of government “prejudice and neglect” toward Israel’s Arab minority and accused the police of using excessive force three years earlier in responding to the riots. The commission said that insensitivity by the Israeli establishment permitted widespread discrimination against Israeli Arabs and the buildup of an atmosphere of a combustible nature. Criticizing police tactics used to disperse crowds, the report concluded that Israel “must educate its police that the Arab public is not the enemy, and should not be treated as such.” The commission made specific recommendations about police action and suggestions for changes in governmental attitude and approaches to the Arab population. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL.

**“ORANGE REVOLT”.** The name applied to the revolt against the **unilateral disengagement** in the **Gaza Strip** and the northern West Bank implemented by the government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in the summer of

2005. It referenced the orange-blue divide that developed in Israel. The orange revolt was unprecedented in nature and larger than any that had been seen previously in Israel. Orange was the color chosen by the settlers and others (particularly of the more religious sector) who opposed the pullout of Jewish settlers and **settlements** from the Gaza Strip and four West Bank settlements in 2005. Blue, one of the traditional colors of the Israeli **flag**, was for those who supported the decision to disengage. The blue side was clearly larger, and support for disengagement was clearly a majority perspective among Israelis.

**ORIENT HOUSE.** A building in East **Jerusalem** owned by the family of the late veteran **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and **Palestinian Authority (PA)** official Faisal Hussein. It served as the effective headquarters for the Palestinian delegation to the 1991 **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. Since the start of the **Oslo Accords** peace process, the **Palestinians** continued to use Orient House as a seat of their political activities in East Jerusalem, insisting on holding meetings there with foreign diplomats and journalists. That this activity took place despite the fact that the **Declaration of Principles** and subsequent implementing agreements specifically restricted Palestinian political affairs to areas outside Jerusalem and prevented the PA from conducting defense and **foreign policy** was viewed by Israel as a direct challenge to its sovereignty over the unified city. In response, successive Israeli governments since 1993 introduced legislation granting police the authority to close Orient House. However, Israel was under international pressure not to implement this legislation for fear of provoking a diplomatic crisis. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ORIENTAL JEWS.** Originally, the term was used to refer to the Jews from Spain expelled from the Iberian Peninsula during the Inquisition, but currently, the term is used when referring to all Jews of non-Western European descent. Israel's non-**Ashkenazi** Jews are referred to as "Edot Hamizrach" (eastern, or Oriental, communities), **Sephardim**, or Oriental Jews. The term *Sephardim* (derived from the **Hebrew** name for Spain) is often used to refer to all Jews whose origin is in the Arab world and Muslim lands, although it properly refers to the Jews of Spain and the Iberian Peninsula and the communities they established in areas to which they immigrated after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula.

Iberian Jews hold the strong traditional beliefs of the Sephardim, and often their **educational** and living standards are lower than the Ashkenazi Jews. Prior to the wave of immigration from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** in the 1990s, they constituted a growing majority of Israel's population. The Iberian Jews generally spoke Ladino, a Judeo-Spanish language

originally written in medieval Hebrew letters and later in Latin letters (much as the Ashkenazi Jews spoke Yiddish), whereas those of the Middle Eastern communities did not.

Most of the Oriental Jews' immigration (*see* ALIYA) came in the years after Israel's independence from the eastern **Arab** states (such as **Iraq**) and from **Iran**, where the Jews had resided for more than 2,000 years and often had substantial centers of learning. The community is diverse and pluralistic, although a collective “Oriental” identity appears to be emerging. The prominence of the “ethnic issue” in Israeli politics (sometimes referred to as the “ethnic demon”) was increased by the election of the Moroccan-born **Amir Peretz** as the leader of the **Israel Labor Party** in the fall of 2005. *See also* SECOND ISRAEL.

“**ORIENTAL REVOLT**”. The lack of substantial political organization in the **Oriental Jewish** population in the first decades after Israel's independence meant that its method of expression was by casting votes for, or withholding them from, the major established political parties. This seemed to reach a plateau in the 1981 **Knesset** election, when the Oriental Jewish vote for the **Likud (Union) Party** led the Israeli media to speak of an “Oriental revolt,” and the Jewish “ethnic issue” became more public during the campaign. It seemed to suggest full scale Oriental Jewish efforts to be heard in the electoral process and to follow the pattern foreshadowed in the 1977 election and replicated in the 1984 election, although the ethnic issue was all but eliminated from the latter campaign. *See also* SECOND ISRAEL.

**ORR, ORI (OR URI) (1939– )**. Soldier, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Orr was born in the **moshav** of Kfar Haim on 22 April 1939. During a 30-year career in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** he saw service in four wars—the **Six-Day War (1967)**, **War of Attrition (1969–1970)**, **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, and **War in Lebanon (1982)**—and held many senior command positions, retiring with the rank of brigadier general. Retired from active military service, Orr served, between 1987 and 1992, as director general of the **Jewish National Fund (JNF; Keren Kayemet Le Israel)**, and as a member of the board of directors of **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)** from 1988 to 1991. First elected in the 1992 **Knesset** election on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list, he served as chairman of the **Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee**. He was appointed deputy defense minister in the **government** formed by **Shimon Peres** in late November 1995 after the assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**. Orr was reelected on the Labor list in 1996 in the election of the Fourteenth **Knesset** election but lost his seat in the Fifteenth **Knesset (1999)** when he was pushed from a secure slot on Labor's **One Israel (Israel Ahad)** electoral



alliance with **Gesher** and **Meimad (Dimension)**. Finished with politics, Orr resumed his involvement with Israel Aerospace Industries, serving as chairman of the company's board of directors between 1999 and 2003. He is the author of two biographical memoirs (both in Hebrew): *Follow Me* (1994); and *These Are My Brothers* (2003); an English-language version of the latter book was released in September 2015.

**OSIRAK (OSIRAQ) NUCLEAR REACTOR.** On 7 June 1981, the Israel Air Force destroyed Iraq's nuclear reactor at Osirak, claiming that it was developing nuclear weapons that could threaten Israel. *See also* OPERATION OPERA (ALSO KNOWN AS OPERATION BABYLON).

**OSLO ACCORDS.** In the spring and summer of 1993, Israeli and **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) officials met secretly in various European locales in an effort to establish the framework for negotiations leading to a permanent peace agreement. These talks occurred under the auspices of the Norwegian government and its foreign minister, Johan Jorgen Holst. The final series of talks took place near the Norwegian capital, Oslo, and concluded with the exchange of letters of recognition between Israel's prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and PLO chairman **Yasser Arafat** on 9 September 1993 and the formal signing of the Israel–PLO **Declaration of Principles** by Israeli foreign minister **Shimon Peres** and PLO official **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen) at the White House on 13 September 1993.

The Declaration of Principles established the goal of an Israel–PLO peace agreement and set the framework and timetable for achieving it. It was followed by a series of partial interim agreements, including the Cairo Agreement of 4 May 1994 (also referred to as the “Gaza-**Jericho** First” Agreement, or the Oslo I Implementing Agreement); an Early Empowerment Agreement signed on 24 August 1994; the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** of 28 September 1995 (also known as the **Oslo II Accords**); the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in **Hebron** signed by Israel and the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) on 17 January 1997; and the **Wye River Memorandum** signed by Israel and the PA on 23 October 1998.

For more than two decades the Oslo Accords existed in principle, neither side wishing to be accused of formally terminating them. But the fundamental principles that underpinned the accords—including an end to the Palestinian resort to violence and efforts by the Palestinian leadership to inculcate within their society the value of peace, and direct bilateral negotiations as the requisite mechanism through which to achieve normalized Israeli-Palestinian relations—had long since been superseded by developments on the ground. On 30 September 2015 PA president Mahmoud Abbas told the **United Na-**

**tions General Assembly** that he and the PA would no longer be bound by the Oslo Accords. Israel responded by calling on Abbas and the PA to accept Israel's offer to resume direct bilateral negotiations without preconditions, as both sides agreed to in the Oslo Accords. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**OSLO II ACCORDS.** This is a short form for the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement on the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**, signed by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) chairman **Yasser Arafat** in Washington, D.C., on 28 September 1995. Major elements of the accords included the arrangements for transferring control over six West Bank towns and cities (**Bethlehem**, Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Qalqilya and Tulkarm) and surrounding Arab villages to the administration of the Palestinian self-government authority and the future redeployment of Israeli forces and security in part of **Hebron**; the division of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into three categories: Area A (areas transferred completely to Palestinian authority for the duration of the interim autonomy period), Area B (areas of shared Israeli and Palestinian jurisdiction), and Area C (areas remaining under full Israeli control and to be gradually transferred to Palestinian jurisdiction with the exception of areas deemed by Israel to be crucial to security); and the arrangements for electing a **Palestinian Legislative Council**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; OSLO ACCORDS.

**OTZMA LEISRAEL (STRENGTH TO ISRAEL, STRONG ISRAEL).** Ultranationalist **political party** established on 13 November 2012 as a splinter party of the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)** and to contest the 2013 **Knesset** election (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL). It failed to win a seat in the Nineteenth Knesset.

**OTZMA YEHUDIT (JEWISH STRENGTH).** Ultranationalist political party, the successor to **Otzma LeIsrael (Strong Israel)**. Registered to contest the March 2015 **Knesset** election, on 29 January 2015 it agreed to run on a joint list with **Eli Yishai's** ultra-Orthodox **Yachad-Ha'am Itanu Party**. The alliance failed to win a seat in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* MARZEL, BARUCH (1960–).

**OZ, AMOS (1939– ).** Noted author, essayist, and political commentator. Born in **Jerusalem**, educated at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and Oxford University, he was a member of **Kibbutz Hulda**. Oz is a widely published author of novels, short stories, essays, and articles in Israel and abroad, including *In the Land of Israel* (1983); *The Slopes of Lebanon* (1989); *Israel, Palestine and Peace Essays* (1994); and *The Slopes of the Volcano* (2006). He

received the **Israel Prize** in 1998, and is the recipient of numerous international accolades. Oz's most recent works of fiction include *Between Friends* (2012) and *Judas* (2014), and his latest works of nonfiction include *How to Cure a Fanatic* (2006) and *Jews and Words* (2014, written with his daughter, Fania Oz-Salzberger). Although a founding member of **Peace Now (Shalom Achshav)** and a long-standing critic of Israel's presence in southern **Lebanon** in the 1980s and 1990s, Oz supported Israel's actions in Lebanon during the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** as legitimate acts of self-defense against unprovoked missile attacks against Israeli civilian population centers by **Hezbollah**. He also supported Israel's actions in the **War in Gaza (2014)**, criticizing **Hamas' (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** tactic of using Palestinian civilians as human shields.



# P

**PALESTINE.** The geographical area of which part is occupied by the state of Israel. Palestine is one of the names for the territory that has also been known as the holy land or the land of Israel (**Eretz Israel/Eretz Yisrael**). The name is derived from the fact that it was called *Palestina* by the Greeks and the Romans because of the Philistines who lived in part of the region. During the period of Ottoman control, it was generally known by the Arabic *Filastin*, although it was part of the province of **Syria**. The League of Nations' **Palestine mandate** (see **BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE**) awarded to **Great Britain** included territory on both sides of the **Jordan River**, but Transjordan was soon separated, and only the area west of the river was referred to as the Palestine mandate between 1922 and 1948. With the establishment of Israel and the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, Palestine ceased to exist as a geographical or political unit.

**PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO).** An organization originally created and established by the **Arab League** in 1964 that claims to represent the Palestinian people wherever they may live. Its original leader was Ahmed Shukeiri, but after the **Six-Day War (1967)** and the substantial Israeli victory with its occupation of the **West Bank** and **Gaza Strip** and East **Jerusalem**, **Yasser Arafat** took over the leadership of **Fatah** (“**Conquest**”), the largest faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and subsequently of the PLO itself. He remained its chairman until his death in November 2004 and was the international representative and symbol of the PLO. Arafat gave voice to its demands and guided its overall direction and policy.

Israel's relationship with the PLO was slow to develop inasmuch as it was viewed by most Israelis as a **terrorist** organization bent on Israel's destruction, a fact enshrined in the **Palestine National Covenant** and manifested in decades of PLO cross-border attacks against Israelis and against Jews internationally. For many years, it was illegal for Israelis to have any contact with anyone suspected of membership in the PLO or the PLO's governing body, the Palestine National Council (PNC). The majority of Israelis were un-

moved by the November 1988 resolution passed by the PNC declaring an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel conditioned its participation in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** on the Palestinian delegation being comprised of individuals ostensibly unaffiliated with the PLO and subsumed within a joint delegation with the **Jordanians**.

The first substantive change in policy occurred in January 1993, when the **Knesset** passed legislation lifting the ban on innocent contacts with PLO members. The next breakthrough came on 9 September 1993, when Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and PLO chairman Arafat exchanged letters of recognition. In the **Declaration of Principles** (13 September 1993), Israel and the PLO outlined the terms of reference for achieving a negotiated permanent settlement of their dispute and began to gradually implement those terms of reference. In January 1996, Arab residents of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East **Jerusalem** elected a **Palestinian Legislative Council** (PLC) and executive committee, headed by President Arafat. With this election, responsibility for areas of the West Bank and Gaza ceded to Palestinian control was transferred from the PLO to the **Palestinian Authority** (PA), but the PLO was still considered the effective sovereign authority in these areas as well as the representative of **Palestinians** residing outside the West Bank and Gaza.

Upon Arafat's death in a hospital near Paris, **France**, on 11 November 2004, control of the PLO fell to the longtime head of its executive committee, **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen). On 9 January 2005, Abbas was elected to succeed Arafat as president of the PA; effective control of the PLO then fell to the Tunisian-based Farouk Kaddoumi in his capacity as Arafat's successor as chair of both the PLO central committee and the mainstream Fatah. The PLO and Fatah lost control of the PLC to **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in the January 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. Fatah (representing the PLO) and Hamas achieved a Saudi-brokered power-sharing agreement in February 2007, but Fatah lost control of the Gaza Strip to Hamas in an armed confrontation in June 2007. While Abbas retained the presidency of the PA, his power, influence, and credibility and that of the PLO were severely compromised. The PLO was further weakened by charges of corruption and inefficiency among its leadership, as well as by internal tension resulting from Abbas's firing of potential challengers to his control over PLO affairs. On 1 September 2015 Abbas announced his intention to resign as chairman of the PLO executive committee. Rather than signaling Abbas's departure from Palestinian political life, this step was viewed as intended to consolidate his power within the PLO by removing some his political opponents and appointing loyalists to the executive committee. He would retain his position as chairman of the PLO's largest faction, Fatah, and as president of the PA. *See also* AL-AKSA MARTYRS BRIGADES; FATAH-TANZIM.

**PALESTINE MANDATE.** *See* BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.

**PALESTINE NATIONAL COVENANT.** The covenant was adopted by the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) in 1964. Its central theme is the elimination of Israel and its replacement by a Palestinian Arab state established in all of **Palestine**. It was replaced by a charter adopted by the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Cairo in July 1968. At the core of the covenant is article 20, which declares that the “**Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine** (*see* BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE) and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void.” Although various Palestinian leaders had suggested that the covenant has been superseded in part by subsequent statements and declarations, the covenant remained formally unchanged as the guide to Palestinian objectives until 14 December 1998.

In his letter of recognition to Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** of 9 September 1993, PLO chairman **Yasser Arafat** pledged to take the necessary steps to formally repeal those provisions of the PNC covenant calling for Israel’s destruction. This commitment was reiterated on several occasions by the PLO leadership. On 24 April 1996, the PNC meeting in **Gaza** passed a resolution declaring null and void the “articles [of the PNC covenant] that are contrary to the [9 September 1993] letters of mutual recognition.” However, this declaration was rejected by many Israelis as vague and imprecise. On 22 January 1998, Arafat wrote to U.S. president **William J. (Bill) Clinton** specifying which provisions of the covenant the PNC was prepared to modify or rescind. On 10 December 1998, the Palestine Central Committee meeting in Gaza, by a vote of 81 to seven (with seven abstentions), voted to revoke the specific clauses of the covenant referred to in Arafat’s letter to Clinton. This decision was ratified on 14 December 1998 by members of the PNC meeting in Gaza; the decision, adopted by a show of hands rather than a formal vote, was witnessed by Clinton.

The government of Israel expressed its satisfaction with the PNC decision, calling it an “important and crucial step in the carrying out of basic Palestinian commitments undertaken in agreements with Israel.” Critics of subsequent Palestinian behavior, however, pointed out that no steps were ever taken by the PNC to replace the hateful clauses of the covenant with provisions that sought to educate the Palestinian people about the benefits of peaceful coexistence with their Israeli neighbors; nor, critics added, did the Palestinian act of recognizing Israel’s existence implied in the rescinding of the covenant clauses calling for Israel’s destruction necessarily equate to the recognition by the Palestinians of Israel’s *legitimacy* as a Jewish state. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN.** The plan adopted by the **United Nations** General Assembly, Resolution 181 II, on 29 November 1947. Based on the majority recommendation of the **United Nations Special Committee on Palestine** (UNSCOP), it called for dividing the **Palestine mandate** (see **BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE**) into an Arab state and a Jewish state, an economic union linking the two states, and an internationalized sector (*corpus separatum*) including **Jerusalem**. It provided the basis for Israel's independence and the resultant **Arab-Israeli conflict**. See also **WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1948–1949)**.

**PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY (PA).** The name initially given to the Palestinian self-government authority established in 1994 with the implementation of the “**Gaza-Jericho First Agreement**” (Cairo Agreement). The name was subsequently applied to the body administering affairs of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** that were transferred to Palestinian jurisdiction pursuant to the Early Empowerment Agreement (24 August 1994); the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (**Oslo II**) Agreement of 28 September 1995; the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in **Hebron** of 17 January 1997; and the **Wye River Memorandum** of October 1998. Under the terms of article 4 of the Cairo Agreement, the “Palestinian Authority will consist of one body of 24 members which shall carry out and be responsible for all the legislative and executive powers and responsibilities transferred to it under the Agreement . . . and shall be responsible for the exercise of judicial functions.” These terms of reference were subsequently superseded by chapter 1 of the Oslo II Agreement, which permitted the election of a **Palestinian Legislative Council** comprised of 82 representatives, from which would be constituted an executive authority composed of a *Ra'ees* (chairman or president), who was to be directly elected in a separate simultaneous vote, and an indeterminate number of members. In the Palestinian legislative elections on 25 January 2006, **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** emerged victorious and nominated **Ismail 'Abd Al-Salaam Ahmad Haniya** as the PA's prime minister. Israel rejected the results of the 8 February 2007 Saudi-brokered agreement that ostensibly brought the two rival Palestinian factions, Hamas and **Fatah (“Conquest”)**, into a Palestinian unity government. From Israel's perspective, the fundamental question of Hamas' refusal to commit to ending anti-Israel terrorism or recognizing—unconditionally—Israel's right to exist in peace had not been addressed in the agreement. The national unity Palestinian government effectively collapsed when Hamas fighters violently ousted **Fatah** officials from the Gaza Strip on 17 June 2007. Israel considered the effective division of the PA into two parts—a Fatah government in the West Bank and Hamas in control of the Gaza Strip—to be an internal Palestinian affair, as it did the failure of the PA to hold regular presidential or legislative elections as stipulated in the



Oslo II agreement. On 23 April 2014 Hamas and Fatah again tried to form a unified Palestinian government. Israel responded by temporarily freezing diplomatic relations with the PA, saying it was irrational for Israel to discuss peace with a government that included members of a **terrorist** organization committed—in word and deed—to Israel’s destruction. PA president and Fatah chairman Mahmoud Abbas in mid-June 2015 announced the dissolution of the unity government with Hamas, and then ordered the Fatah-led PA prime minister to form a broad-based government that would include many viewpoints, including those of Hamas. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (13 SEPTEMBER 1993).

**PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI).** A militant Palestinian group that is designated as a **terrorist** organization by Israel, the **United States**, the European Union, and Canada. It is committed to the creation of an Islamic state in all of historic **Palestine** and the destruction of Israel through attacks against Israeli military and civilian targets on either side of the **Green Line**.

PIJ was formed in the **Gaza Strip** during the 1970s by Fathi Shikaki as a branch of the **Egyptian** Islamic Jihad. Shikaki led the organization for two decades but was killed in Malta in October 1995 under mysterious circumstances; some analysts suggest that he might have been the victim of a power struggle with another Palestinian group, while Shikaki’s followers accuse Israel of having killed him and often attempt to launch major terrorist attacks against Israeli targets on the anniversary of his death. Since Shikaki’s death, PIJ has been led by fellow founder Sheikh Ramadan Abdullah Mohammad Shallah, who is based in Damascus, **Syria**.

Based in Damascus and sponsored by **Iran**, PIJ is smaller than **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** but considered even more extreme in its commitment to an absolutist ideology and ruthless in its methods. Many of the most spectacular **suicide bombing** attacks against Israel in the first two years of the **Al-Aksa intifada** in 2001 and 2002 were launched from PIJ strongholds in the **West Bank** cities of **Hebron** and Jenin. The PIJ terror infrastructure in the West Bank was severely damaged in **Operation Defensive Shield** (2002) and many of its key activists were captured or killed by Israeli forces. However, its base of operations in the Gaza Strip was reinforced, reportedly with increased support from **Iran** (through its proxy, **Hezbollah**).

PIJ refused to participate in the intra-Palestinian temporary calm (*tahaddiya*) brokered by **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman and **Palestinian Authority (PA)** president **Mahmoud Abbas** in February 2005. In the period prior to and immediately after the January 2006 Palestinian legislative election, as Hamas sought to establish international credibility by appearing to distance itself from anti-Israel violence, it was PIJ that picked

up much of the slack, both in terms of firing literally hundreds of rockets into Israel from southern Gaza and attempting to infiltrate suicide bombers into Israel. In 2006 and at the beginning of 2007, PIJ infrastructure in the Jenin region in the West Bank suffered major damage in raids by the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). Nevertheless, PIJ operatives were able to carry out two suicide bombings at the same fast food kiosk at the old Central Bus Station in **Tel Aviv**, killing 11 bystanders. The organization also carried out a suicide bombing attack directed against IDF soldiers in the Gaza Strip, and the IDF narrowly foiled several other attempted PIJ suicide attacks in the West Bank and in Gaza.

Overall, however, there was a reduction in the number of successful PIJ attacks in 2006 relative to 2005, when the organization was responsible for five major suicide bombing attacks, four of which were mass-casualty attacks against civilian targets in Netanya and Hadera. The decrease in 2006 was attributed to the IDF's intensive counterterrorist activities in the West Bank and the construction of the **security barrier**, which makes it difficult for the terrorist organizations to infiltrate suicide bombers. More than 1,000 PIJ operatives were detained in IDF counterterrorism sweeps in 2006. Of the detainees, 96 were designated as potential suicide bombers. Some of the PIJ's senior leaders were killed during counterterrorism actions. Though weakened, PIJ continued in its efforts to infiltrate suicide terrorists. With the assistance of Iran and Syria, PIJ sought to introduce more sophisticated weaponry into the Gaza Strip, including an improved rocket with a reported range of 14.3 miles, thereby threatening a greater segment of Israeli civilian population in the **Negev** Desert and southern Israel. A total of 536 missiles were launched at Israel from Gaza between 1 January 2007 and 14 June 2007 (when Hamas completed its military vanquishing of **Fatah** forces in Gaza). There were an additional 240 missiles fired between 14 June 2007 and 16 October 2007. Responsibility for scores of these missile firings was accepted by PIJ's al-Quds Brigades.

There was a clashing of PIJ and Hamas forces in Gaza in an apparent power struggle in October 2007 that left at least one PIJ activist dead and 12 others wounded. Israel considered such incidents to be an internal Palestinian affair.

Israeli security officials carefully watched as PIJ seemingly became the beneficiary of Iranian support in Gaza beginning in 2012–2013 due to tension in Iran's relationship with Hamas resulting from the latter's decision to support anti-regime rebels in the Syrian civil war. It was reportedly the intended principal recipient of Iranian-supplied weapons on board the intercepted *Klos-C* in March 2014 (see OPERATION FULL DISCLOSURE).

**PALESTINIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL (PLC).** Chapter 1 of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip (Oslo II)** of 28 September 1995 stipulated the conditions for electing a Palestinian Legislative Council and the powers and responsibilities of this body. In accordance with the agreed provisions of the Oslo II Agreement, Palestinian residents of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East **Jerusalem** elected their first PLC on 20 January 1996. In a simultaneous vote, **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman **Yasser Arafat** was elected *Ra'ees* (president) of the PLC's executive authority. Arafat subsequently appointed a committee from the PLC to serve as the executive authority. The PLC was formally installed on 7 March 1996, with its first working session beginning on 21 March 1996. On 9 January 2005, **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen) was elected as the second president of the **Palestinian Authority**, succeeding the deceased Arafat. On 25 January 2006, **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**, represented by the Change and Reform Party, for the first time won the majority of seats in the PLC, taking 74 seats in the 132-seat legislature (and 44.5 percent of the popular vote) compared to 45 seats (41.4 percent) for the rival **Fatah ("Conquest")**. A Hamas-dominated government was subsequently formed under Prime Minister **Ismail 'Abd Al-Salaam Ahmad Haniya**. The PLC effectively ceased to function when Hamas fighters violently ousted Fatah officials from the Gaza Strip on 17 June 2007. Israel considered the effective division of the PLC into two parts—a Fatah government in the West Bank and Hamas in control of the Gaza Strip—to be an internal Palestinian affair, as it did the failure of the PLC to convene since 2007.

**PALMAH.** Acronym for Plugot Mahat-Assault Companies; commando units of the **Hagana** in **Palestine** and later the shock battalions of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. In May 1941, the Hagana created a full time military force of volunteers, a professional and elite unit. The Palmah played a key role in Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**; afterward, its units were integrated into the IDF, with former Palmah members occupying many senior command positions.

**PALMER REPORT.** *See* REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PANEL OF INQUIRY ON THE 31 MAY 2010 FLOTILLA INCIDENT (ALSO KNOWN AS THE PALMER REPORT).

**PARLIAMENT.** *See* KNESSET (PARLIAMENT).

**PARTITION PLAN.** *See* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN.

**PASSOVER MASSACRE.** A **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** **suicide bomber** killed 30 people and wounded more than 140 others gathered for a Passover Seder in the dining room of the Park Hotel in Netanya on 27 March 2002. This attack was one of the major factors contributing to Israel's decision to launch **Operation Defensive Shield** in early April 2002. *See also* TERRORISM.

**PATRIOT MISSILE.** An antiballistic missile system, batteries of which were sent by the **United States** during the **Persian Gulf War (1991)** to help Israel defend itself against **Scud missiles** fired by **Iraq**. Hailed as a revolutionary system that would prevent any Scud from entering Israel, the Patriot system did not live up to its expected capabilities during the Gulf War. After the war, Israeli officials testified before a U.S. Congressional House committee, stating that the system managed to intercept less than 10 percent of all missiles fired by Iraq at Israel.

**PATT, GIDEON (FORMERLY MARCUS) (1933–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 22 February 1933 in **Jerusalem**, Patt studied in religious schools and at the Merkaz Harav yeshiva. After serving in the army, he went to the **United States** to work for Nahum Goldmann, then chairman of the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)**. He received a B.Sc. in economics, international trade, and labor relations from New York University in 1963. In January 1970, he entered the **Knesset** on behalf of the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)** faction of **Gahal**. In January 1979, he was appointed minister of **industry**, commerce, and **tourism**, and on 5 August 1981, he was sworn in as minister of commerce and industry. Patt served as minister of **science** and development in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984. In December 1988, he became minister of tourism and retained that portfolio in the government established by **Yitzhak Shamir** in June 1990. A member of the Thirteenth Knesset, he retired from politics prior to the 1996 election and was appointed CEO of the International Office of Israel Bonds (*see* STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS).

**PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).** Within Israel, between the **Six-Day War (1967)** and the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, two alternatives to the official position developed that focused on the **Occupied Territories** and their disposition. Some argued that Israel should retain the territories occupied in 1967 and establish **settlements** there. The Peace Movement, which was composed of a number of small groups on the left, took time to become organized, in part because the official position pre-empted the movement's main arguments by making overtures to the Arab states that indicated Israel was prepared to return territory for peace and to be magnanimous in victory.

When it became clear that Israel's insistence on direct negotiations for peace was unsuccessful in achieving its objective and when the government began to show an interest in establishing settlements and retaining territories, the Peace Movement became more prominent. It argued that the failure of the peace process could be attributed in large measure to the government of Israel for not taking greater initiatives. The diminished trust in the Palestinian leadership resulting from the breakdown of the **Camp David II** negotiations and the protracted **Al-Aksa Intifada** prompted a significant crisis of conscience among mainstream elements of Israel's Peace Movement. *See also* PEACE NOW (SHALOM ACHSHAV); PELED, MATITYAHU (1923–1995).

**PEACE NOW (SHALOM ACHSHAV)**. A loosely defined interest group established in the spring of 1978, when reserve army officers wrote to Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** urging him to pursue peace vigorously. It worked to keep the subject on the public agenda with rallies and demonstrations. Among its positions was the view that there should be territorial compromise and Israel should relinquish some of the territories taken by Israel in the **Six-Day War (1967)**. It was especially prominent in protests against the **War in Lebanon (1982)** and the **Sabra and Shatila** camp massacres. Fully mobilized in support of the **Oslo Accords** peace process, Peace Now's confidence was badly shaken by the breakdown of the **Camp David II** negotiations and the protracted **Al-Aksa intifada** waged by the **Palestinians** in the first years of the 21st century. Chastened by the realities surrounding them, mainstream elements of Peace Now balanced their belief in the need for territorial compromise with the more immediate imperative of personal and national security for all Israelis. *See also* PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).

**PEEL COMMISSION**. British royal commission appointed in May 1937 to investigate unrest in **Palestine**. It recommended partition of the **British Mandate for Palestine** into an Arab state united with Transjordan and a Jewish state, while retaining a British enclave. The recommendation was later abandoned, but in 1939, in a new **White Paper**, the British dramatically restricted Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) to Palestine. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; GREAT BRITAIN.

**PELED, MATITYAHU (1923–1995)**. Solider, peace activist. Born on 20 July 1923 in **Jerusalem**, he joined the **Palmah** in 1941. Following the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he helped found the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** Staff and Command College. He was among the first high-ranking officers, immediately after the **Six-Day War (1967)**, to call upon Israel to

help the **Palestinians** create their own state in much of the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. Retiring from the IDF in 1975 at the rank of brigadier general, he became one of the first prominent Israelis to advocate direct negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, held secret meetings with PLO representatives, and helped found the Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. In 1984, he (along with the Israeli journalist and political activist Uri Avneri and the Israeli **Arab** lawyer Muhammad Miari) helped found the **Progressive List for Peace (PLP)** and was elected to the **Knesset** on the PLP slate. He was one of the founders of the Israeli peace group Gush Shalom. He also advocated on behalf of Israeli soldiers who refused to serve in the West Bank and Gaza during the **Intifada**. Peres died on 10 March 1995.

**PERES, SHIMON (FORMERLY PERSKY) (1923– )**. Israel's ninth president. He was born on 16 August 1923 in the town of Vishneva, Poland, to Isaac and Sarah Persky. Because of British restrictions and the financial burdens associated with immigration, Isaac Persky immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1931, leaving his wife and two sons behind. The family was reunited in Palestine in 1934. Shimon Peres became involved in the largest of the **Zionist** movements, **Hashomer Hatzair** (Young Guard), and later joined Hanoar Haoved (Working Youth). By 1941, he was a leader in the **Kibbutz** Movement in Palestine, and he continued his efforts within Hanoar Haoved. In 1942, he joined Kibbutz Alumot, and he remained a member until 1957. Peres's military career began in the **Hagana**, and in 1947, he became director of manpower and in that capacity was active in the procurement and manufacture of arms for the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. His successful efforts to develop and acquire arms both at home and abroad gained him recognition as one of the pioneers of Israel's defense **industry**.

After statehood, Peres studied at Harvard University and New York University while continuing his arms acquisition efforts throughout the **United States**. In February 1952, he was appointed deputy director general of the defense ministry; in October of that year he became acting director general, and ultimately director. His focus remained on the acquisition of high-quality weapons for the IDF. To that end, he spent much of his time fostering Franco-Israeli relations, and **France** remained Israel's primary supplier of major weapons systems until after the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Peres succeeded in persuading France to provide Israel with an atomic reactor located at **Dimona**; he also was instrumental in the creation of Bedek, which later came to be known as **Israel Aircraft (later Aerospace) Industries (IAI)**.

Peres's **Knesset** career began in 1959, when he was elected as a member of the **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**, and was included in Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion's cabinet**, which gave

him a larger role in policy debates. In June 1965, Peres resigned his position in **Levi Eshkol's government** to join the returning Ben-Gurion and become secretary general of his new **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)** Party. He managed the party's campaign efforts in the 1965 election, in which it won 10 seats, but the new government did not include Rafi or any of its members. In 1968, Rafi joined with Mapai and **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** to form the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. Between 1969 and 1973, Peres held a variety of senior cabinet portfolios, including minister with responsibility for economic development in the **Occupied Territories**.

In April 1974, when **Golda Meir** resigned as prime minister, **Yitzhak Rabin**, minister of labor and the preferred choice of the Labor Party establishment, won a close leadership vote over Peres, then minister of information in the party's central committee. Peres became the number two man in the party. The new government was established in June 1974, with Rabin as prime minister and Peres as defense minister. Relations between Peres and Rabin were strained during the term of the government as disputes arose over policy, the selection of personnel, and the scope of their authority.

Peres formally announced his intention to challenge Rabin for the party leadership in January 1977. The showdown took place at the Labor Party convention the following month, where Rabin prevailed by a slim majority. However, a series of scandals led Rabin to resign from the Labor Party chairmanship in April 1977, just one month prior to the Knesset election. Peres became the party's new leader, but the election of the Ninth Knesset (1977) was won by **Menachem Begin's Likud (Union) Party**. In June 1977, Peres was affirmed as Labor Party chairman. The 1981 election was Peres's second loss to Begin. In the 1984 election, Peres received the mandate to form the government, Labor having won three seats more than Likud, but he was unable to form a viable majority coalition. This led to the formation of a **Government of National Unity**, which was a new experiment in Israeli politics. A **rotation** agreement was adopted involving Peres and Likud leader **Yitzhak Shamir**. During his tenure as prime minister, Peres presided over the IDF's withdrawal from much of southern **Lebanon** and confronted Israel's severe economic problems with austerity measures. Peres also actively sought to establish diplomatic contacts with King Hassan II of Morocco and **King Hussein of Jordan** and tried to improve relations with the United States that had been strained under the Likud governments of Begin and Shamir.

The 1988 Knesset election, as in 1984, did not produce a clear victory for either Labor or Likud. Peres accepted the position of finance minister in a Shamir-led second Likud-Labor national unity government. But he and the other Labor Party ministers quit the government in the spring of 1990 and

forced a Knesset vote of confidence, which Shamir's government lost. However, Peres's subsequent effort to form a narrow coalition was unsuccessful and he reverted to the role of leader of the opposition in the Knesset.

After several tries, Rabin finally succeeded in ousting Peres as Labor Party chairman in early 1992, and he led his party to victory in the election to the Thirteenth Knesset. Peres served as foreign minister in the new governing coalition. Peres and Rabin achieved a *modus vivendi*, and together they set Israel on a new course that resulted in a series of interim agreements with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO), the 1994 **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty**, and the opening of commercial relations and substantive diplomatic discussions with a number of other Arab countries, including **Syria**. Peres shared the 1994 **Nobel Peace Prize** with Rabin and the PLO's **Yasser Arafat**. Peres actively promoted the vision of a "new Middle East," one premised on the completion of formal peace agreements and the full political, social, and economic integration of Israel into the Middle East.

Peres became interim prime minister and defense minister following Rabin's November 1995 assassination. Seeking his own mandate, he opted for early elections in the spring of 1996. However, by less than 1 percent of the popular vote, he lost the direct election of the prime minister to **Benjamin Netanyahu**, and Labor lost the Knesset election to Likud. Peres subsequently relinquished the chairmanship of the Labor Party. He established an institute bearing his name that was dedicated to promoting economic cooperation between Israelis and **Palestinians**. Peres was accorded the second slot on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** electoral slate for the 17 May 1999 Knesset election, and he was named to a new **cabinet** portfolio, that of regional cooperation minister, in the coalition formed by **Ehud Barak**.

On 31 July 2000, Peres was defeated by **Moshe Katzav** by a vote of 63-57 among Knesset members in a special election to succeed **Ezer Weizman** as the **president** of Israel.

After Barak's defeat by the Likud's **Ariel Sharon** in the special election for prime minister in February 2001, Peres became interim leader of the Israel Labor Party, a position he retained until former **Haifa** mayor **Amram Mitzna** was elected party leader on the eve of the 2003 Knesset election. Peres once again became interim leader with Mitzna's quick departure after Labor's disastrous showing in the election.

From March 2001 to October 2002, Peres served as foreign minister and deputy prime minister in the broad-based national unity coalition formed by Ariel Sharon. When Labor reentered the coalition on 10 January 2005, Peres became vice premier.

On 9 November 2005, Peres was defeated in the first round of voting in the Labor Party leadership primary, taking 40 percent of the vote among Labor Party members compared to 42.4 percent for **Amir Peretz**. (The other candidate, **Binyamin Ben-Eliezer**, received 17 percent of the vote.)



On 30 November 2005, Peres ended his six-decade-long relationship with the Israel Labor Party and announced his support for Ariel Sharon's new **Kadima (Forward)** Party. He was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election on the Kadima list and was named vice prime minister and minister for the development of the **Negev and Galilee** in **Ehud Olmert's** government.

On 13 June 2007, Peres was elected Israel's ninth president. He received the support of 58 of 120 members of Knesset, compared to 21 votes for Colette Avital and 37 for **Reuven "Rubi" Rivlin**. Peres succeeded Moshe Katzav, who had resigned in disgrace on 1 July 2007, and took the oath of office on 15 July 2007. Peres announced in April 2013 that he would not seek to extend his tenure as Israel's president beyond 2014. He officially left office on 24 July 2014. He remains a forceful spokesman for Israel in international forums.

**PERETZ, AMIR (1952–)**. Born on 9 March 1952 in Boujad, Morocco as Armand Peretz, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) with his family to Israel in 1956. Like many others from Arab and African countries arriving in Israel in the 1950s, his family was settled in a frontier **development town**.

Peretz was elected mayor of **Sderot** in 1983 at the age of 31. He was first elected to the **Knesset** in 1988 on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list. He became chairman of the **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** in December 1995. He formed the breakaway **One People (Am Ehad)** workers party in 1999. In May 2004, Peretz and Am Ehad agreed to be reintegrated with the Israel Labor Party. Peretz won the 9 November 2005 Labor leadership primary, taking 42 percent of the votes as against 40 percent for **Shimon Peres** and 17 percent for **Binyamin Ben-Eliezer**. He became the first Moroccan-born politician to lead a major Israeli **political party**. He subsequently withdrew Labor from **Ariel Sharon's Likud-led coalition government**.

Following the 2006 Knesset election, pundits suggested that Peretz was outmaneuvered in the coalition building process by prime minister-elect **Ehud Olmert** into accepting the defense portfolio rather than finance or a social affairs ministry, which had been Peretz's declared preferences. The **Winograd Committee** was strongly critical of Peretz's handling, as defense minister, of the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** but it did not call for his resignation.

Peretz was defeated in the first round of voting in the Labor Party leadership primary that was ultimately won by former party leader and Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** in June 2007. Peretz subsequently relinquished to Barak his position as defense minister in Olmert's government. He retained his seat in the Knesset and was reelected in the 2009 legislative election on the Labor list. He remained with the party when Barak and four other Labor Knesset members broke away on 17 January 2011 to form the **Atzmaut**

**(Independence)** faction. In December 2012, Peretz resigned from the Knesset and quit Labor in order to join **Tzipi Livni's** new **Hatnua (The Movement) Party**. He was elected again to the Knesset in the 2013 election on the Hatnua list and was appointed minister of **environmental** protection in the coalition government formed by Likud's **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Peretz held the portfolio until 11 November 2014 when Hatnua **cabinet** ministers quit in protest of Livni's firing by Netanyahu. He was reelected to the Twentieth Knesset in March 2015 on **The Zionist Union** joint Hatnua-Labor list.

**PERETZ, YITZHAK HAIM (1938– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 26 March 1938 in Casablanca, Morocco Peretz immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1950. He received a traditional **Haredi** education and served as chief rabbi of the city of Ra'anana from 1962 to 1984. In 1984 Peretz became leader of the **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS) Party** and was elected to the Eleventh Knesset on the party's list. In the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984 he served as a minister without portfolio until 18 December 1984, and then as internal affairs minister from 12 December 1984 to January 1987, when he resigned to protest the **Supreme Court** ruling ordering him to recognize as Jewish a woman converted to Judaism by a Reform rabbi (*see* RELIGION). He resumed his participation in the unity **government** after a brief absence; on 25 May 1987 he was appointed a minister without portfolio, a position he retained for the balance of the government's life. In Israel's Twenty-third government formed following the 1988 Knesset election, Peretz served as immigration and absorption minister (22 December 1988–11 June 1990); he retained the same portfolio in Israel's 24th government (11 June 1990–13 July 1992). On 25 December 1990, he left SHAS and founded the splinter Moria faction, though he remained a member of the **cabinet**. Prior to the 1992 Knesset election he joined **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** and was placed second on the alliance's list of candidates in the hope of attracting ultra-Orthodox Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) voters from SHAS and with the understanding that he would resign from the Knesset if his presence did not significantly increase the UTJ's electoral fortunes. UTJ won only three seats in the election, a drop from the seven mandates taken by **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** and **Degel Hatorah** running separately in the previous 1988 election, and Peretz resigned his seat three days into the sitting of the new Knesset. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**PERI, YA'AKOV (1944– )**. Eighth director of **Shin Bet (Shabak)**, member of **Knesset**. Born in **Tel Aviv** on 20 February 1944, Peri joined the Shin Bet in 1966 serving in various senior capacities before being appointed deputy director in 1987. He became the agency's director in 1988. During his tenure

Peri introduced structural reforms intended to address problems that arose during the first **Intifada** as well as the new security situation in Israel in the wake of the **Oslo Accords**. In 1994 Peri took a leave of absence to study at Harvard University. He retired from the Shin Bet in early 1995. He subsequently established a successful business career, serving as CEO for one of Israel's major cellular telephone companies.

In October 2012 Peri joined **Yair Lapid's Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)** with the fifth slot on the party's list for the January 2013 Knesset election. He was appointed **science, technology and space minister** by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**.

In April 2013 Peri was assigned by Netanyahu to chair a new ministerial committee tasked with drafting legislation to "equalize the burden" among all Israelis by ending military exemptions for **Haredi** yeshiva students. The committee presented its recommendations for cabinet approval on 23 May 2013. The report's major recommendations—including criminal sanctions and imprisonment for "draft-dodging" Haredim, and the introduction of secular curriculum into ultra-Orthodox yeshivas receiving state funding—caused an uproar among Israel's ultra-Orthodox rabbinical leadership and within Israel's Haredi community. Deferring to the threats of religious political parties of quitting his governing coalition, Netanyahu arbitrarily terminated the Peri committee's mandate and shelved its report. Peri overrode Netanyahu's objections and presented his committee's recommendations for integrating Haredim with the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** directly to the Knesset. *See also* EQUAL SERVICE LAW.

**PERLMAN, YITZHAK (1945– )**. Virtuoso violinist and teacher. Born on 31 August 1945 in **Tel Aviv** to parents who had immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** from Poland in the 1930s to escape Nazism, he contracted polio at the age of four and continues to use crutches. He studied at Tel Aviv's Academy of Music before attending Julliard in New York City, making his debut at Carnegie Hall in 1963. He is generally considered one of the finest violinists of his generation.

**PERMANENT STATUS TALKS.** *See* OSLO ACCORDS.

**PERSIAN GULF WAR (1991).** On 2 August 1990, **Iraq** invaded Kuwait. The **Arab League** was split on the issue, with **Yasser Arafat** and the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** standing virtually alone within the organization in its support for Saddam Hussein's conquest of its Arab neighbor. Months of international efforts at the **United Nations** and elsewhere to secure the peaceful removal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the restoration of its legitimate government were unsuccessful.

During the war between Iraq and the multilateral coalition led by the **United States** that began on 16 January 1991, Saddam Hussein's forces launched 39 **Scud missiles** with conventional warheads in 18 attacks against Israel. The first missiles hit Israel on 17 January 1991; these were the first strikes of consequence at Israel's civilian population and industrial centers since the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. The missiles caused substantial property damage but few casualties. The military impact of the Scud attacks on Israel was not significant, and Israel's existence was never threatened, but there were important psychological, economic, and political consequences. The narrow right-wing, **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition government headed by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** decided that it would accede to requests by the United States that it not respond militarily to the Scud missile attacks. U.S. president **George H. W. Bush** and Secretary of State **James Baker III** were fearful that an Israeli military response would cause key Arab countries, such as **Egypt** and **Syria**, to end their participation in the anti-Iraq coalition. An important variable in the Israeli decisional calculus was the United States' delivery and deployment in Israel of batteries of **Patriot** antiballistic missile systems. While the Patriot did not fully live up to its expectations (the system intercepted less than 10 percent of all missiles fired by Iraq at Israel during the Persian Gulf War), its arrival had a calming psychological effect on the Israeli public during a difficult period.

Iraq's missile attacks during the Persian Gulf War prompted Israel to accelerate its multitiered strategic antimissile missile defense system program, including the **Arrow**, **Iron Dome**, **Iron Beam**, and **David's Sling (Magic Wand)**.

The seemingly decisive end to the Persian Gulf War stimulated the Bush administration to make an effort to resolve the **Arab-Israeli conflict**, typified by the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** (October 1991).

**PETAH TIKVA.** A city on the coastal plain of Israel northeast of **Tel Aviv**. It was founded in 1878 as an **agricultural settlement**, developed into the first modern Jewish **moshava** in the country, and became known as the “mother of moshavot.” It has become a growing and thriving city with a population of 213,898 in 2013.

**PHILADELPHI ROUTE.** Narrow corridor of land along the border between **Egypt** and the **Gaza Strip**; in biblical times, it was a major trading route. Rife with tunnels used by **Palestinians** to smuggle weapons and ammunition from the Sinai Desert, as well as illegal drugs and other items for sale on the black market. When Israel completed its unilateral withdrawal from Gaza in September 2005, it transferred control over the Philadelphia Route to the Egyptian army, which became responsible for security, includ-

ing stopping smuggling and **terrorist** incursions. In the hope of a positive future, Israel signed agreements with the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) and with Egypt leading to the opening of crossing points at Rafah and elsewhere along the Philadelphi Route and the transfer of civilian products to market. Unfortunately, the Philadelphi Route was more so used for smuggling weapons from Egyptian-Sinai into the hands of terrorist groups in the Gaza Strip. **Suicide bombing** attacks targeting Israeli checkpoints compelled Israel to restrict civilian access to civilian crossing points along the route. Increasingly sophisticated tunnels extending under the Philadelphi Route from Sinai were used to smuggle weapons and terrorists into the Gaza Strip. *See also* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT).

**POALEI AGUDAT ISRAEL (WORKERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL).** A religious labor movement dedicated to the development of the land and the building of a Jewish state in the spirit of the Torah and tradition. Founded in 1922 in Poland to counteract the growth of secularism, socialism, and antireligious tendencies among Jewish workers, this organization was the labor wing of **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**. In the late 1920s, the first Poalei Agudat Israel pioneers arrived in **Palestine**. In 1933, they founded **Kibbutz** Hafetz Hayim. In 1946, the World Union of Poalei Agudat Israel was founded. Its members joined the **Hagana** to fight in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, and it joined the trade union department of the **Histadrut** under a special arrangement. In 1960, it officially split from Agudat Israel and became independent. It joined with a splinter group from the **National Religious Party (NRP: Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** to form the **Morasha (Heritage) Party** to contest the 1984 **Knesset election**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**POALEI ZION.** Literally, “workers of **Zion**”; a **Zionist** socialist workers’ **political party** that began in Russia, Austria, and the **United States** in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Influenced by the writings of the Socialist Zionist theoretician **Ber Borochov**, Poalei Zion’s platform was based on Marxist principles developed along nationalist lines. The party’s worldwide movement was continually involved in arguments on such fundamental issues as cooperative **settlement** activity in **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)** initiated by the labor class, membership in the Zionist Movement (which included members of the bourgeoisie), and the party’s relationship to the Communist International.

**POGROMS.** The term applied to organized, state-sanctioned acts of violent **anti-Semitism** in 19th-century Eastern Europe and Russia that contributed to the evolution of modern political **Zionism** and Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine**.

**POLITICAL PARTIES.** Israel's political parties, many with roots in late 19th- and early 20th-century Europe, fall into several distinct categories, many with cross-cutting ideological and denominational lines. These categories of parties include secular nationalist; left-wing **Zionist**; religious; **Arab** or extreme left-wing mixed Arab-Jewish; and centrist.

The largest of the secular nationalist parties is **Likud (Union)**, which is the successor to the **Revisionist** Zionist Movement of **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky** and **Menachem Begin's Gahal** and **Herut (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** parties. The leadership of the party's current chairman, **Benjamin Netanyahu**, was overwhelmingly reaffirmed in a leadership primary in December 2014; Netanyahu led Likud to its fourth consecutive term in office in the March 2015 election of the Twentieth **Knesset**.

**HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish People)** is perceived as the natural successor to the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**. But it achieved its electoral breakthrough when it strategically expanded its appeal to a new type of right-wing voter beyond its traditional base of support among the religious Zionist community, including among **West Bank settlers**, to include young, religiously “traditional” as well as many secular nationalist Jewish Israelis. It took eight mandates in the 2015 Knesset election and subsequently agreed to join the coalition **government** formed by Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu.

Like the other parties in the secular nationalist camp, **Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** holds to the **Greater Israel** concept and is opposed in principle to any further territorial compromise. What sets it apart is its strong appeal among Israel's vast Russian immigrant (*see* “RUSSIAN” VOTE) community. It took six seats in the 2015 Knesset election; on 4 May 2015, Israel Beiteinu leader **Avigdor Lieberman** announced that he and his party would not participate in the coalition being constructed by the prime minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu.

The **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** is the largest of Israel's left-wing Zionist political parties. In various forms and manifestations it dominated the politics and political culture of the prestate **Yishuv** and Israel for the first quarter century after statehood, until the first victory of Begin's Likud Party in the 1977 Knesset election. Analysts suggest that Labor still is struggling to redefine itself after the collapse of the **Oslo Accords** (with which the party was closely identified) as well as its humbling successive losses to the Likud and **Kadima (Forward)** parties since the 2001 Knesset election. On 10 December 2014 Labor leader **Yitzhak (or Isaac)**

“**Buji**” Herzog formed **The Zionist Union** center-left alliance with **Tzipi Livni’s Hatnua (The Movement)** to contest the 2015 Knesset election. The alliance took 24 mandates in the election compared to the 30 seats won by Likud, and Herzog and Tzipi Livni became co-leaders of the opposition in the Twentieth Knesset.

**Meretz/Democratic Israel** sat with six mandates in the Nineteenth Knesset (2013); this slipped to five in the Twentieth Knesset (2015). It was initially a coalition comprised of three left-wing Zionist parties formed to contest the 1992 Knesset election. Its domestic and foreign policy platform was decidedly liberal in character. It called for Israel’s initiation of direct bilateral negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and later immediate de facto recognition of the Palestinian state and negotiations without preconditions. On the domestic front, it advocated complete separation of **religion** from political affairs; the promulgation of a formal, written constitution (*see* BASIC LAW) for Israel that would ensure the rights of Israel’s minorities; and an end to the kind of inequities highlighted in Israel’s **social justice protests**.

Among Israel’s religious political parties, the largest is the **Sephardi Torah Guardians**, more commonly known by the acronym SHAS. It took seven mandates in the Twentieth Knesset elected in March 2015. SHAS’s political orientation is non-Zionist in that it contends that true redemption of the Jewish people will only occur with the arrival of the Messiah. However, unlike its counterparts from the **Ashkenazic Haredi** parties, SHAS has fully participated in coalition governments since the early 1990s. It strongly opposes attempts to legislate an end to the **status quo agreement** affecting military deferments for ultra-Orthodox yeshiva students, and SHAS accomplished a major policy goal in late April 2015 when prime minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu reversed the **Equal Service Law** as a concession in order to entice SHAS into the coalition **government** Netanyahu was trying to form following the election of the Twentieth Knesset.

**United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** is an electoral coalition comprised of two Ashkenazic Haredi political parties: **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**, representing various **Hasidic** movements in Israel, and **Degel Hatorah**, representing Israel’s non-Hasidic Lithuanian **Haredi** communities. The alliance’s political orientation is non-Zionist. Although it agreed to sit in Israel’s coalition governments, it declined to take on full ministerial responsibility (for to do so would be to contradict the proposition that Jewish salvation would only arrive with the Messiah). On 2 September 2015, deputy minister of health Yaacov Litzman became Israel’s first Ashkenazi Haredi cabinet minister since 1952 when he was instructed by United Torah Judaism’s **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah)** to accept the position of health minister in the coalition government formed by Benjamin Netanyahu following the election of the Twentieth Knesset.

Representatives of Israel's Arab, **Druze**, and **Bedouin** communities are elected to the Knesset in the same way as their Jewish counterparts and are to be found in both Jewish and Arab or extreme left-wing mixed Arab-Jewish political parties (*see* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES). Of this category, the most prominent include the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)**, also known as Rakah; the **National Democratic Assembly (Balad)**; the **United Arab List/Arab Democratic Party (UAL or Ra'am)**; and **Ta'al Arab Movement for Change**. On 22 January 2015, these parties joined with the southern branch of the **Islamic Movement in Israel** to form **The Joint List** unified electoral list to contest the 2015 Knesset election. This was the first time that Israel's largely Arab parties had set aside their diverse ideological, religious, and national interests to all run on a single electoral list. The parties united out of concern that running individually they could all fall short of the higher electoral threshold needed to enter the Knesset set in the **Governance Bill**. The Joint List won 13 seats in the Twentieth Knesset (2015).

The fifth category of political parties inhabiting Israel's complex electoral system includes those generally defined as centrist parties. Centrist parties have tended to have a mercurial existence in Israeli politics, emerging amid much fanfare and with significant impact on the outcome of singular elections but then disappearing from the political scene before the next election. The list of centrist political parties includes the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit LeShinui)**, or more commonly known as DASH; the **Center Party; Shinui**; and **Gil (Gimla'ey Israel LaKnesset)**. **Ariel Sharon's Kadima (Forward)** party is unique among Israel's centrist political parties in that it won the 2006 Knesset election and maintained influence for close to another decade. Other political parties occupying the center of Israeli electoral politics include **Yair Lapid's Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)**, **Tzipi Livni's Hatnua (The Movement)**, and **Kulanu (All of Us)**, formed by former Likud Knesset member **Moshe Kahlon** to contest the 2015 Knesset election.

**"POLITICIDE"**. A term developed by Israeli military strategist Yehoshafat Harkabi to describe the destruction of a state, that is, the Arab goal of destroying Israel. Between 1949 and 1967, Israel was prepared for peace with the Arab states on the basis of the 1949 armistice lines with minor modifications, but after the events of May and June 1967, including the **Six-Day War (1967)**, the stark reality of "politicide" began to enter into these considerations, and many Israelis argued for a need to change the security situation. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.



**POLLARD, JONATHAN JAY (1954–)**. A U.S. Navy civilian intelligence analyst who was arrested in November 1985 and charged with passing confidential information to Israel. His wife, Anne Henderson Pollard, also was arrested. He was reportedly trying to seek refuge in the Israeli Embassy but was denied admittance by embassy officials. Israeli officials denied that he was working for them, suggesting that he might have been operating on his own. He pleaded guilty in June 1986, claiming that the information he passed to Israel was vital to its security and was being deliberately withheld by the **United States**. He was sentenced to life in prison. His wife received a five-year sentence and was released in early 1989. Senior Israeli officials and representatives of American Jewish organizations charged that he was being subjected to excessive and unfair treatment compared to the sentences given to Americans convicted of spying for the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** at the height of the Cold War.

Under heavy pressure from Israel and supporters of Pollard in the United States, President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** reviewed the case in 1993 and again in 1996. Each time, he decided against clemency after receiving recommendations from cabinet officials and agencies involved in the case. On 21 November 1995, Interior Minister **Ehud Barak** granted Pollard Israeli citizenship. On 12 May 1998, Israel formally acknowledged that Pollard had served as an Israeli agent handled by senior members of **Mossad's** Scientific Liaison Bureau (Lakam).

Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** asked President Clinton to grant clemency to Pollard during the **Wye River** peace talks in October 1998, and Clinton said he would review the case. Those supporting clemency argued that Pollard had served long enough; that he spied for a friendly nation, not an enemy; that his release would help the peace process; and that the United States reneged on the plea agreement. Those who opposed clemency argued that Pollard's spying exposed U.S. intelligence methods and personnel; that the case was not related to the peace process; that whom he spied for is irrelevant; and that the sentence was justified by the magnitude of the crime. Over the ensuing years, the case was raised periodically by Israeli officials and various groups in Israel seeking Pollard's release, but these appeals were to no avail.

On 28 July 2015 the U.S. Parole Commission issued a Notice of Action granting parole to Jonathan J. Pollard. Pollard was paroled from a federal prison on 20 November 2015 after serving 30 years of a life sentence. There was no immediate response to Pollard's request that the U.S. Parole Commission waive its five-year prohibition on a parolee's foreign travel so that he could immigrate to Israel.

**PORAT, ORNA (1924–2015).** The “grande dame of Israeli theater”; recipient of the **Israel Prize** in 1979 for lifetime achievement in theater and the 1997 Israel Theater Lifetime Achievement award, among other accolades. Porat died on 6 August 2015. Former **president Shimon Peres** recalled her as “a cultural giant—she introduced theater to Israeli society, especially the young generation” and “educated our children and grandchildren to love the theater.”

**PORUSH, MEIR (1955– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 11 June 1955 in **Jerusalem**, he formerly served as a member of the **Jerusalem** City Council and deputy mayor of Jerusalem. A member of the ultra-Orthodox **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**, he was first elected to the Fourteenth Knesset (1996) on the **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** list and was reelected to subsequent Knessets. On 24 June 1996, Porush was appointed deputy minister of housing in the **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition government headed by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**; on 4 June 2001, he was appointed deputy minister of housing and construction by **Ariel Sharon**. He was reelected again in 2006, and ran for mayor of Jerusalem in 2008, losing to secular politician Nir Barkat, by a margin of 50 percent to 42 percent. Porush retained his Knesset seat in the 2009 legislative election and was appointed deputy minister of **education**. He resigned on 6 February 2011 as part of a rotation agreement. He was elected again in 2013 and 2015, and was appointed deputy minister of education in the government formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in May 2015.

**PORUSH, MENACHEM (1916–2010).** An ordained rabbi, he was born on 2 April 1916 in **Jerusalem** and educated at religious schools. He served as a correspondent for foreign newspapers from 1932 to 1938 and as an editor for **Kol Israel** from 1936 to 1949. He was first elected to the **Knesset** as a member of the **Haredi Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** in 1959. He served as vice mayor of Jerusalem from 1969 to 1974 and deputy minister of labor and social affairs in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984. He was reelected to the Knesset in 1988 and 1992. Porush died on 22 February 2010.

**PRESIDENT (NASI).** *Nasi* in Hebrew means “prince” or, now, “president.” The title *Nasi* is derived from the head of the Sanhedrin, the assembly of Jewish scholars that served as both a legislature and a supreme court until the fifth century. Initially, Israel’s president was elected by a simple majority of the **Knesset** for a five-year term and could be elected for no more than two

consecutive terms. Pursuant to a constitutional amendment adopted during the tenure of **Ezer Weizman**, Israel's president, while still elected by a simple majority of the Knesset, now serves for one seven-year term.

The president is head of state and has powers that are essentially representative in character. In the sphere of **foreign policy**, these functions include signing instruments that relate to treaties ratified by the Knesset, appointing diplomatic and consular representatives, receiving foreign diplomatic representatives, and issuing consular exequaturs (official written accreditations). In the domestic sphere, the president has the power to grant pardons and reprieves and to commute sentences. Subsequent to nomination by the appropriate body, the head of state appoints civil judges, *dayanim* (judges of the Jewish religious courts), *kadis* (judges of Muslim religious courts), the **state comptroller**, the president of the **Magen David Adom** Association, and the governor of the **Bank of Israel** as well as other officials as determined by law. The president signs all laws passed by the Knesset, with the exception of those relating to presidential powers, and all documents to which the state seal is affixed. Official documents signed by the president require the countersignature of the **prime minister** or other duly authorized minister, with the exception of those where another procedure is laid down, as in the case of judges.

The president's powers and functions relating to the formation of the **government** fall into a different category. After elections, or the resignation or death of the prime minister, the president consults with representatives of the parties in the Knesset and selects a member of the Knesset to form a government. This responsibility was particularly germane in the aftermath of the close elections of 1984 and 1988. The president receives the resignation of the government.

Another aspect of the presidential role that could have potential political significance in the future is the office's public position and prestige potential—the president makes visits throughout the country, delivers speeches, and formally opens the first session of each Knesset. Though the president's legal authority is largely ceremonial in nature, the president's power to speak out on social and political issues can have a significant impact on public opinion. Since statehood, Israel has had nine presidents (refer to appendix B). *See also* BASIC LAW: THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE.

**PRICE TAG ATTACKS.** A practice, also known as *Tag Mechir*, premised on exacting “revenge” against Palestinian communities or Israeli security forces for actions deemed harmful to the Jewish **settlement** enterprise. The practice was rooted in Israel's summer 2005 Gaza **unilateral disengagement** (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut), which involved the evacuation of all 21 Jewish settlements in Gaza and four isolated settlements in the **West Bank** (often, only after bitter confrontations between the settlers and Israeli sol-

diers). Another background event was the **Israel Defense Forces'** demolition of **Amona**, a **Gush Emunim** illegal settlement outpost near the West Bank settlement of Ofra, in early 2006. Angry reaction to those incidents precipitated acts of so-called price tag vandalism that Israel's internal security service **Shin Bet (Shabak)** attributed to the extreme **hilltop youth** movement.

Intersections and roads were temporarily blocked to disrupt Israeli security force activities, including the scheduled demolition of additional illegal West Bank settlement outposts. The intensity of vigilante attacks targeting Arab communities in the West Bank and Arab-dominated neighborhoods of East **Jerusalem** increased exponentially. Attacks on property (destruction of olive groves, scratching of Arab-owned cars) grew to include vandalism against Islamic mosques and Christian churches, and then to physical assaults.

The mainstream **Yesha** West Bank settlement community overwhelmingly rejected price tag attacks on moral principle as well as practical grounds, lest such acts undermine the legitimacy of the overall settlement enterprise. Shin Bet officials noted that finding suspected participants was extremely difficult inasmuch as the **hilltop youth** were very insular and hard to penetrate and recruit as informers. It was suspected that perpetrators of attacks might also be finding temporary safe cover from the Shin Bet and police among small, extreme-right-wing West Bank settlements.

Concern among Israelis about the implications of the price tag phenomenon increased significantly with the July 2014 kidnapping murder of a 16-year-old Arab resident of Jerusalem. A manhunt within Israel's settlement and right-wing political communities quickly netted six suspects, three of whom reportedly admitted that the kidnapping and murder of the Arab youth had been motivated by vengeance for the recent kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teenagers. The Arab youth's murder was unprecedentedly condemned as an act of **terrorism** by the Israeli government and shook Israeli society to its core.

In October 2011, Israel's then-president **Shimon Peres** condemned the price tag burning of a mosque, saying, "We will not allow extremists and criminals to undercut the need to live together equally in equality and mutual respect." The 31 July 2015 burning of a West Bank Palestinian home by suspected Jewish extremists, resulting in the death of an 18-month-old child and the later death of the child's father, received equally strong condemnation by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** and politicians from across Israel's political spectrum. The three suspects arrested in late 2015 for the attack, including two teenagers, were believed to be associated with the hilltop youth movement.

**PRIME MINISTER.** The prime minister is Israel's head of government. From 1948 to 1996, the **president** was empowered to designate a member of the **Knesset**, almost always the leader of the party holding the most seats in

the Knesset, to serve as prime minister and to form a government. Pursuant to the revised **Basic Law: The Government** (1992), the prime minister was chosen through direct popular election in 1996, 1999, and 2001. However, the dual-ballot system was discarded, and the traditional single-ballot method was resumed in time for the general election for the Sixteenth Knesset in 2003.

The prime minister must be a citizen of Israel, at least 30 years of age, and a member of the Knesset. The prime minister-elect has 45 days within which to form a **government** and present that government and its guiding principles to the Knesset for a vote of confidence. If within that period a government cannot be formed, a brief extension may be granted, after which time the president is empowered to ask the Knesset member whom he or she deems most likely to be able to form a government, usually the leader of the second-largest party in the Knesset, to try to do so. If, at the end of this process neither individual is capable of forming a government, the president is empowered to either call for new elections or to use the prestige of his or her office to try to persuade the parties to achieve a viable compromise.

While significant, the powers of the prime minister are not all encompassing. He or she is constrained by the need to accommodate the competing interests of the various parties that invariably are involved in forming governing coalitions in Israel. Unlike any other political institution in Israel, the office of the prime minister has been shaped by the men or **women** who have occupied it. Since independence, Israel has had 12 prime ministers (refer to appendix B).

Due to having held the office for most of the country’s early turbulent years, as well as for his dominance of the political institutions of the prestate **Yishuv**, **David Ben-Gurion** established the standard of strong and decisive leadership against which all subsequent Israeli prime ministers have tended to be measured.

**“PRINCES OF THE PARTY”**. The term applied to generally well-educated, politically sophisticated, and financially secure **Likud (Union) Party** activists whose fathers (or mothers) had been prominent in the Revisionists, **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**, or **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)**. Among those fitting this description were **Ze’ev Binjamin Begin**, **Yitzhak “Tzachi” Hanegbi**, **Uzi Landau**, **Limor Livnat**, **Dan Meridor**, **Sallai Meridor**, **Ronnie Milo**, **Benjamin Netanyahu**, and **Ehud Olmert**.

**PRISONERS OF ZION.** The name applied to Jews who were persecuted and often imprisoned or subjected to internal exile by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** for studying Hebrew, practicing Judaism, or requesting to immigrate (*see* ALIYA) to Israel. **Natan Sharansky** was among the most prominent of this group. *See also* LAW OF RETURN (1950).

**PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE (PLP).** A mixed Arab-Jewish **political party** established in 1984 by Israeli Arab lawyer Muhammad Miari and two prominent Jewish leftists, **Matityahu Peled** and Uri Avneri, but supported primarily by Israeli **Arabs**. The **political party** held its first convention in August 1985. In 1988, there was an appeal to the Central Elections Committee to have the PLP disqualified from participating in the race for the Eleventh **Knesset** on the grounds that its policy platform was contrary to the security interests of the state. This appeal was rejected, and the PLP won one seat in the Twelfth Knesset. For the 1992 Knesset election it ran on a platform that advocated full equality for Jewish and Arab citizens (within Israel's pre-1967 boundaries), recognized the right of both Jewish Israelis and **Palestinians** to national self-determination, formally recognized the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, and advocated total Israeli withdrawal from the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** as well as from East **Jerusalem** and the establishment in those areas of an independent Palestinian state. It failed to cross the threshold of 1.5 percent of the popular vote, and its supporters drifted to other Arab or non-**Zionist** Arab-Jewish parties. *See also* PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).

**PROGRESSIVE PARTY (HAMIFLAGA HAPROGRESSIVIT).** A **political party** established in October 1948 by combining Haoved Hazioni, the **Aliya Hadasha**, and the left wing of the General Zionists. Its focus was on domestic social and related issues. Pinhas Rosen represented the party in government coalitions and served as minister of justice. In April 1961, the Progressive Party united with the **General Zionist Party (Hatzionism Haklaliyim)** to form the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)**. In 1965, the former General Zionists decided to establish a parliamentary bloc with the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**. The former Progressives opposed this move, and many split from the Liberal Party to establish the **Independent Liberal Party (HaLiberalim Haatzmaim)**.

# Q

**QASSAM MISSILE.** An unsophisticated steel rocket filled with explosives with only a short range and lacking a guidance system. It was developed by **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and became the missile of choice fired by Hamas and other Palestinian **terror** groups at Israeli soldiers and civilians in the **Gaza Strip** prior to Israel's 2005 **unilateral disengagement** (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut) and at **Sderot** and other Israeli towns, cities, and **kibbutzim** near the Gaza-Israel border after the disengagement.

The missile is named after the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the armed, operational branch of Hamas. The first recorded use of the Qassam missile was in October 2001. The first Qassam to land in Israeli territory was launched on 10 February 2002. The first time an Israeli city was hit was on 5 March 2002, when two missiles hit Sderot. In August 2003, a Qassam landed near the city of **Ashkelon**, the farthest Israeli city from the Gaza Strip to have been struck by Qassam missiles. Another missile landed near Ashkelon on 15 December 2005. Other Israeli communities have also been targeted. The first Israeli death resulting from a Qassam missile strike occurred on 28 June 2004.

From Israel's Gaza disengagement in August 2005 until early 2006, most of the Qassam missile launchings against Israeli targets were reportedly carried out by Hamas from the northern Gaza Strip town of Beit Hanoun. Following Hamas' victory in the **Palestinian Legislative Council** elections on 25 January 2006, other groups such as the **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)** and **Fatah ("Conquest")'s Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades** ostensibly took over many of the firings.

Israel has tried to stop the development and manufacture of the Qassam missiles at their source and to take out the missile launchers. Two significant **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** ground incursions in the Gaza Strip—**Operation Rainbow** (May 2004) and **Operation Days of Penitence** (October 2004)—were in part launched to eliminate missile launchers. In addition, while the primary and declared goal of **Operation Summer Rain** (2006) was to achieve the release of kidnapped Israeli soldier **Gilad Shalit** being

held hostage in Gaza by Hamas, a secondary objective was to disrupt the steady storm of Qassam missiles that had been raining down unremittingly on Sderot and other Israeli population centers in the **Negev** since the Gaza disengagement. Three major IDF actions—the **War in Gaza (2008–2009)**, **Operation Pillar of Defense (2012)**, and the **War in Gaza (2014)**—were in large part provoked by unrelenting Qassam (and other) missile fire at Israel.

**QIBYA.** *See* KIBYA (QIBYA).

**QUARTET.** An informal name applied to the four international powers—the **United States**, the European Union, Russia, and the **United Nations**—which came together beginning in 2002 to discuss and resolve the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. In September 2002, a **Roadmap for Peace** first emerged, although it was not formally released until the following spring.

**QUERIA, AHMED (ABU ALA) (1937–).** Born on 26 March 1937 in 1937 in the village of Abu Dis near **Jerusalem**, this **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** official served as longtime director of finances for **Yasser Arafat**. He participated in contacts with Israeli officials during the 1991 **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** as a member of the official Palestinian delegation. He began the unofficial discussions in Europe with Israeli academics Yair Hirschfeld and Ron Pundik that evolved into the **Oslo Accords** of September 1993. In January 1996, Queria was elected a member of the **Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)** and speaker of the PLC. He negotiated the **Oslo II** agreement in September 1995.

On 5 October 2003, Queria was appointed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority (PA). He threatened to resign more than once when Arafat would not give him control over security and the powers needed to implement much-needed political reforms, but he did not carry out those threats. According to the PA's Draft Basic Law, Queria, as prime minister, was the second in the order of succession, after Arafat. When Arafat became ill in October 2004, Queria took temporary control over the PA while **Mahmoud Abbas** took over Arafat's responsibilities with the PLO. However, in January 2005, it was Abbas who ran for and won the election to permanently succeed Arafat as PA president, with Queria retaining the prime ministership. After **Hamas** succeeded in gaining control of the Palestinian legislature, Queria was replaced as prime minister but remained a prominent member of the Palestinian leadership.



# R

**RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL.** The origins of the institution of the chief rabbinate of Israel date back to when **Palestine** was part of the Ottoman Empire. According to Ottoman regulations, the sultan would appoint one eminent **Turkish** rabbi as chief rabbi of the Jews of the empire, which included Palestine. Residing in Constantinople and bearing the title *Hakham (Haham) Bashi* (literally, “chief sage”), he was the official spokesman of the Jewish community to the authorities, and by *firman* (the sultan’s command), he exercised broad authority over all the religious activities and spiritual concerns of members of the Jewish community throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Hakham Bashi of **Jerusalem** had the title **Rishon LeZion** (First in Zion). The Rishon LeZion gradually came to assume authority over all the religious affairs of the Jews of Palestine. The post of Hakham Bashi was always held by a rabbi of the Sephardi (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) community in Jerusalem, which originally constituted the majority of the **Yishuv**.

Sir **Herbert Samuel**, the first British high commissioner for Palestine, appointed a commission headed by Norman Bentwich, then legal secretary of the mandatory government, which recommended the establishment of an electoral college of 100 members to choose two chief rabbis and a Council of the Chief Rabbinate. In 1921, the electoral college met in Jerusalem, and it elected Rabbi **Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook** and Rabbi Yaakov Meir as chief rabbis and presidents of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate of Palestine. The **British Mandate** government accepted the newly organized chief rabbinate of Palestine as exercising sole jurisdiction in matters of personal status. The office of Hakham Bashi was abolished, and the judgments of the chief rabbinate were enforced by the civil courts. The powers of the chief rabbinate were redefined in the 1928 regulations of the **Knesset Yisrael**, which divided its authority between an **Ashkenazi** chief rabbi and a Sephardi chief rabbi. Membership in the Chief Rabbinate Council was also equally divided between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities. On 12 January 1936, new elections were held, and Rabbi **Isaac Halevi Herzog** was chosen

Ashkenazi chief rabbi and Rabbi Meir reelected Sephardi chief rabbi. As Rabbi Meir was ill, Rabbi Ben Zion Meir Hay Uziel was elected his acting representative. In 1945, Chief Rabbis Herzog and Uziel were reelected.

After the independence of Israel, the first elections for the Council of the Chief Rabbinate were held in March 1955. Chief Rabbi Herzog was reelected, and Rabbi Yitzhak Rahamim Nissim was chosen to replace Rabbi Uziel, who had died in 1953. Ashkenazi chief rabbis have included Kook, Herzog, Issar Yehuda Unterman, Shlomo Goren, Avraham Elkana Kahana-Shapiro, **Yisrael Meir Lau**, Yonah Metzger, and David Lau (since 2013). Sephardi chief rabbis have included Meir, Uziel, Nissim, **Ovadia Yosef**, Mordechai Eliyahu, Eliyahu Bakshi-Doron, Shlomo Amar, and Yitzhak Yosef (since 2013).

The rabbinate deals with all matters of personal status, matrimony, and burial among the Jews of Israel and regulates the public observance of *Kashrut* (dietary laws) and the Sabbath. The **Masorti Movement** (Conservative) and Progressive (Reform) streams of Judaism are not represented in the chief rabbinate, and their rabbis are not recognized for purposes of performing various rituals governed by law, such as marriage and conversions. *See also HALACHA*; RELIGION.

**RABIN, LEAH (1928–2000)**. The wife of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**, who began to emerge in her own right after Rabin's assassination in November 1995. Born on 8 April 1928 in Königsberg, **Germany**, she immigrated (*see* ALIYA) with her family to **Mandate Palestine** shortly after Adolf Hitler's rise to power in 1933. She married Yitzhak Rabin in 1948. She directly linked the **Likud (Union) Party** and its leader **Benjamin Netanyahu** with her husband's assassination and accused the right-wing in Israel of fostering a bitter political climate from which the assassination sprang. Prior to the murder, she had basically played a social role and was involved in charitable activities but had not engaged directly in politics. Her autobiography is titled *Rabin: Our Life, His Legacy*. She died on 12 November 2000 of cancer.

**RABIN, YITZHAK (1922–1995)**. **Prime minister**, war-hero, peacemaker. Born in **Jerusalem** on 1 March 1922 to Russian immigrants (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine**. He entered the prestigious Kadourie Agricultural School in **Galilee** in 1937, and after graduation in 1940, he moved to **Kibbutz** Ramat Yohanan. He joined the **Hagana** in May 1941 and subsequently served in the **Palmah**. He was arrested in a massive sweep by **British Mandate** authorities, and he spent a brief period in a British prison. In October 1947, he was appointed deputy commander of the Palmah. A month before Israel declared

its independence on 14 May 1948, he was put in charge of the Palmah's Harel Brigade and was assigned the task of eliminating Arab strongholds along the strategic **Tel Aviv-Yafo**–Jerusalem road.

Rabin's military career included a variety of positions in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** during Israel's formative years. As army chief of operations, he came into conflict with then deputy defense minister **Shimon Peres** over the question of who should determine the priorities in the acquisition and manufacture of arms: Rabin believed that the decision should be made by professional soldiers rather than by civilians in the defense ministry. The political rivalry with Peres developed into a bitter personal feud. Rabin was appointed chief of staff of the IDF in January 1964 and during his tenure he focused on the restructuring of the army and acquiring more advanced weaponry. In the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Rabin led the IDF to a decisive victory over its Arab adversaries in six days, radically transforming the situation in the Middle East. In February 1968, he became Israel's ambassador to the **United States**, and in March 1973, he returned to Israel.

After the December 1973 Knesset election, Rabin was invited by Prime Minister **Golda Meir** to join the new **cabinet** as defense minister because of **Moshe Dayan's** refusal to serve in the new **government**. When Dayan suddenly announced his willingness to join, Rabin was shifted to the minister of labor portfolio. On 22 April 1974, Rabin was chosen by the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** central committee to succeed Meir as prime minister, but Shimon Peres's strong showing in the party primary earned him the post of defense minister, from which he tried to undermine Rabin's authority at almost every turn in the hope of replacing him. Rabin served as prime minister from June 1974 to May 1977, during which time he concentrated on rebuilding the IDF, to which the successful raid at the Entebbe airport (*see* OPERATION ENTEBBE) contributed by restoring the army's and nation's self-confidence. His government successfully negotiated a second disengagement of forces agreement with **Egypt**, brokered by the United States. Rabin's term as prime minister ended prematurely in 1977 after a cabinet dispute led to the scheduling of early elections. A month before the election, Rabin was forced to step down after admitting that his wife, **Leah Rabin**, had maintained an illegal bank account in the United States. Peres was designated to head Labor's list in the May 1977 Knesset election, but Labor was defeated at the polls by **Menachem Begin's Likud (Union) Party**.

For the next four years, Rabin found himself in Peres's political shadow, and the relationship between the two was highly contentious. Rabin challenged Peres for the party's leadership at its national convention in December 1980, but lost. In 1984, Rabin became minister of defense in the **Government of National Unity** and remained in that position under the rotating prime ministership of both Peres and Likud's **Yitzhak Shamir**. He once

again became minister of defense in the government established in December 1988. As defense minister in the early phases of the **Intifada**, Rabin was responsible for quelling demonstrations and restoring order. He quit the Shamir-led government with the other Labor ministers in the spring of 1990. Rabin failed again in his challenge to Peres in the summer of 1990 for the leadership of the party.

In early 1992 Rabin finally succeeded in ousting Peres as Labor Party chairman. Exploiting his reputation as *Mr. Security*, Rabin led his party to victory in the 1992 Knesset election. In the new government, he served as both prime minister and defense minister and appointed Peres as foreign minister. Though skeptical about dealing with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO), Rabin approved transforming the secret private discussions in **Oslo** between Israelis and **Palestinians** into formal negotiations culminating with the Israeli–PLO **Declaration of Principles**. Unlike his contacts with the PLO's **Yasser Arafat**, which remained cool and formal, Rabin's relationship with **Jordan's King Hussein** was warm and personal. During his tenure, important progress was also made in establishing commercial and diplomatic contacts with Arab countries, including **Syria**. In 1994, Rabin received the **Nobel Peace Prize**, along with Peres and Arafat. At the conclusion of a mass peace rally in Tel Aviv on 4 November 1995, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by **Yigal Amir**. The implications of his murder continue to be felt in Israel and throughout the Middle East.

**RABINOVICH, ITAMAR (1942– )**. Academic, government adviser. Born in **Jerusalem**, he was educated at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, **Tel Aviv University**, and University of California, Los Angeles. An authority on Syria and Lebanon he served as professor of Middle East history at Tel Aviv University and is the author of numerous seminal scholarly works. Israel's ambassador to the **United States** (1992–1996), he was chief negotiator in this period in talks with **Syria** sponsored by the United States. He served as president of Tel Aviv University from 1999 to 2006. He remains a prominent commentator on Israel's foreign and security policy.

**RABINOWITZ, YEHOASHUA (1911–1979)**. Politician and government minister. Born in Poland on 12 November 1911, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1934 and joined **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** in the mid-1950s. He was elected to the **Tel Aviv–Yafo** city council in 1956, became deputy mayor in 1959, and served as mayor from 1969 to 1973. He was appointed finance minister in the government established by **Yitzhak Rabin** in 1974 and remained in office until 1977. He died on 14 August 1979.

**RACHEL, TOMB OF.** The Bible relates that Rachel, one of the matriarchs of the Jewish people, was buried on the way to **Bethlehem**, and a site near that city has been regarded as that spot since ancient times. It has been a place of Jewish pilgrimage.

**RAFAEL, GIDEON (1913–1999).** Diplomat. Born in Berlin, he left **Germany** and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1934, shortly after Adolf Hitler's rise to power. In 1940, he was sent to Europe by the **Hagana** to negotiate with the Nazis for the rescue of some 40,000 German Jews, but the negotiations failed. He served with the British army in World War II and later joined the political department of the **Jewish Agency**, where he worked in intelligence and directed efforts to recover Jewish property lost in the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. In 1947, he was a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the **United Nations** when the General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine (*see* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN). He helped to found the ministry of foreign affairs when Israel became independent. He became an adviser to the Israeli delegation to the United Nations, and from 1953 to 1957, he was in charge of Middle Eastern and United Nations affairs at the foreign ministry. He later served in a series of foreign ministry positions at home and abroad. After working as director general of the foreign ministry from 1968 to 1972, Rafael became ambassador to **Great Britain** from 1973 to 1978, after which he retired. He died in February 1999 in **Jerusalem**. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**RAFAEL ADVANCED DEFENSE SYSTEMS (LITERALLY “AUTHORITY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARMAMENTS”).** One of Israel's largest defense contractors, it develops and manufactures advanced defense systems for domestic consumption by the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and Israeli defense establishment, as well as for foreign export.

Established in 1948 as the **Science Corps** (known by the acronym HEMED), in 1952 it was renamed the Research and Design Directorate within Israel's ministry of defense. The organization was subsequently divided into two separate institutions. The pure scientific research activities remained with HEMED while the development of weapons was placed in a new bureau, called EMET, the name of which was changed to Rafael in 1954.

Faced with the agency's years of significant operating losses in the early 1990s, the Israeli government made the decision to restructure the agency. In 2002 Rafael was formally incorporated as a limited company, although still as a government-owned corporation. In its first year as a limited company, Rafael earned a \$37 million profit on \$830 million in sales.

Rafael has recorded a number of technological achievements over the years, many subject to confidentiality. Among those known to the public were the Shafrir (later named Python) air-to-air missile and the Popeye air-to-ground missile (the Popeye submarine-launched cruise missile (SLCM) was reputed to be nuclear-tipped). According to company officials, its Trophy “active protection system,” attached to armored vehicles, scored a 100 percent rate of efficiency in the **War in Gaza (2014)**, destroying incoming enemy rockets and missiles before they could damage Israeli armored vehicles and tanks.

Rafael is the principal contractor (with the U.S. defense contractor Raytheon) for the **Iron Dome** short-range anti-missile defense system that was deployed with significant efficiency in combat situations in 2012 and 2014. Rafael is also the principal contractor, again with Raytheon, for the **Magic Wand** (David’s Sling) missile defense system.

Rafael also has established itself as an export-market world leader in weapons and weapons technology as well as in dual-use commodities, developing civilian applications based on defense technologies for medical devices, telecommunications, and semiconductors. In 2013, Rafael Advanced Defense Systems had sales of \$2.047 billion and a net profit of \$101 million.

**RAFAH CROSSING.** Since Israel’s August 2005 **disengagement**—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHMIT HAHITNATKUT)—from the **Gaza Strip**, Rafah was a major international crossing on the Gaza-Egypt border; it was known as the “international gateway to Gaza.” Subject to a 15 November 2005 accord brokered by United States secretary of state Condoleezza Rice, Israel and the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) agreed that the Rafah Crossing would be used for the movement of people and goods through the Gaza-Egypt border. Rafah would be operated by the PA on its side, and Egypt on its side, according to international standards. The European Union would monitor activities at the crossing, especially on the Palestinian side, to ensure adherence to those international standards and maintain close and real-time liaison with Israel to address security concerns. Specifically, Israel sought assurances that illegal weapons and **terrorists** would not be smuggled through the crossing and that steps would be taken to halt terrorists’ efforts to transfer weapons and materiel from **Sinai** to Gaza through tunnels underneath the Rafah Crossing.

Prior to Israel’s disengagement from Gaza in 2005, the Rafah Crossing was a major point of daily engagement for Israelis and Palestinians. Initially established following the signing of the **Oslo Accords** in 1993 to stimulate commercial interaction involving Israelis and **Palestinians**, the crossing was closed by the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) after Palestinian terror attacks, often for lengthy periods. Israeli personnel at Rafah were increasingly targeted by **suicide bombers** and other terrorists. In addition, the terrorists’ use

of the nearby Rafah refugee camp as a base for the tunneling of weapons and materiel from Sinai into Gaza caused it to be among the principal targets of IDF counterterrorism activities. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA); PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI).

**RAFI (RESHIMAT POALEI ISRAEL–ISRAEL LABOR LIST).** A political party founded in July 1965 by **David Ben-Gurion** and seven other **Knesset** members. The founders seceded from **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** over the **Lavon Affair**. **Teddy Kollek**, the party's candidate, was elected mayor of **Jerusalem** in 1965, and it secured 10 seats in the **Knesset** that year. It remained in opposition to the government until the eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, when it joined the **Government of National Unity** and **Moshe Dayan** (a Rafi member) became minister of defense. In January 1968, it joined **Mapai** and **Ahdut Haavoda (Unity of Labor)** to form the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. Ben-Gurion and some of his followers opposed Rafi joining in the **Israel Labor Party** and established a new **State List** (*Reshima Mamlakhtit*) party that won four seats in the 1969 **Knesset** election.

**RAKAH (RESHIMA KOMUNISTIT HADASHA–NEW COMMUNIST LIST).** *See* NEW COMMUNIST LIST (RAKAH); COMMUNIST PARTY.

**RAMADAN WAR.** *See* YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973).

**RAMAT GAN.** A city on the outskirts of **Tel Aviv–Yafo** founded in 1914 and into which the first settlers moved in 1922. Since Israel's independence, it has become one of the most important industrial centers of the country. Among its important activities is the **Diamond Center**—the focal point of Israel's diamond industry. **Bar Ilan University** is located there. Ramat Gan has a population of 148,528 (2013).

**RAMON, HAIM (1950–).** Member of **Knesset** and government minister. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 10 April 1950 to Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from Morocco, he was educated at **Tel Aviv University** as a lawyer. He was first elected to the **Knesset** on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list in 1983. He served as minister of **health** from 1992 to February 1994 but resigned from the **government** and quit Labor to protest the proposed reform of Israel's health care system. As the head of an independent political machine, Ramon won the chairmanship of the powerful **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)**

in May 1994, defeating the incumbent Labor Party candidate (**Haim Haberfeld**) and disrupting Labor's 75-year monopoly over the federation. He served as Histadrut chairman from May 1994 to November 1995. In November 1995, he agreed to rejoin Labor and served as minister of the interior, serving in that position until 1996.

On 17 May 1999, Ramon was reelected to the Knesset on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** list, and was appointed minister without portfolio in the **Prime Minister's** Office with responsibility for **Jerusalem** affairs, government reform, and liaison between the government and the Knesset. In August 2000, he was also assigned the interior affairs portfolio. He held both positions until March 2001. Ramon was appointed minister without portfolio on 10 January 2005. He was one of the early proponents of Israel's unilateral disengagement from the **Gaza Strip** and much of the **West Bank**.

In December 2005, Ramon was one of the most prominent Labor members of Knesset to switch allegiance to **Ariel Sharon's** new **Kadima (Forward)** party. He was returned in the 2006 Knesset election on the Kadima list. He became minister of justice in the **Ehud Olmert**–led government but resigned in August 2006 amid a personal scandal. On 31 January 2007, he was found guilty of indecent behavior and sentenced to perform community service. On 4 July 2007 Ramon was appointed vice premier and a minister in the Prime Minister's Office in Olmert's government and served until March 2009. On 30 June 2009, Ramon announced his resignation from the Knesset after 26 years of service.

**RAMON, ILAN (1954–2003).** Israel's first astronaut and a national hero. Ilan Ramon was born in **Tel Aviv** on 20 June 1954 and earned a bachelor of **science** in electronics and computer engineering from **Tel Aviv University**. In 1974, Ramon graduated as a fighter pilot from the Israel Air Force Flight School and accumulated more than 4,000 hours on various types of fighter jets. Ramon was selected to fly in Israel's first squadron of F-16 aircraft, and he rose through the ranks to become a colonel with responsibilities for the department of operational requirements for weapon development and acquisition. Ramon fought in the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and **Operation Peace for Galilee** and participated in **Operation Opera**, the 1981 air strike on the **Iraqi** nuclear reactor at **Osirak**.

In 1997, Ramon was chosen to become Israel's first astronaut and assigned as the payload specialist aboard STS-107 *Columbia*, an American space shuttle. Ramon began training for the mission at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, Texas, in July 1998. Although a secular Jew, Ramon insisted on eating special kosher meals in space and met with rabbis to determine how he could properly observe Shabbat while in orbit. He took a number of personal



and Judaic items into space, including a pencil drawing by a child who was killed at Auschwitz. Ramon himself was a child of survivors of the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**.

*Columbia* took off on 16 January 2003 and successfully orbited for 16 days. While in orbit, Ramon conducted a variety of experiments, and the mission was taken to be a success. However, 16 minutes prior to landing, Ramon and his six American crewmates aboard the space shuttle perished when the *Columbia* disintegrated above the southern **United States**. In July 2005, the control tower at Ben-Gurion Airport was named in Ramon's memory.

The Israel Space Agency and NASA signed an agreement on 13 October 2015 to expand cooperation in civil space activities, enabling the two agencies to conduct joint missions, exchange personnel and scientific data, and share facilities. NASA's first cooperation agreement with Israel in 1996 paved the way for the participation of Israel's first astronaut, Ilan Ramon, on the ill-fated *Columbia* mission. *See also* SCIENCE.

**RANTISI, ABDEL AZIZ (1947–2004)**. A founder of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in 1987, one of its chief political activists in the **Gaza Strip**, and a principal proponent of Hamas' rejectionist ideology toward Israel. He took command of Hamas **terrorist** operations following the **targeted assassination** of Hamas spiritual leader **Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Yassin** on 22 March 2004.

Rantisi was born in Khan Yunis, in Gaza, on 23 October 1947, and was a physician by profession and a lecturer at the Islamic University. He returned to Gaza in September 2000 and was one of the founders of Hamas in September 1987. He served as head of the Hamas cell in Khan Yunis and was among the senior leadership of Hamas during the **intifada**. He was jailed by Israel between 1988 and 1990 and again briefly in 1991. In December 1992, he was temporarily expelled to **Lebanon**, where he served as a spokesperson for the group of other exiled Hamas and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)** terrorists. In December 1993, he was arrested again by Israel and jailed until April 1997. Between 1997 and 2000, Rantisi was jailed periodically by the **Palestinian Authority (PA)**. After the outbreak of the **Al-Aksa intifada** in September 2000, Rantisi's role included virulent incitement, repeatedly calling for **suicide bombings** inside Israel, continued attacks in Gaza, kidnapping of Israeli soldiers, and firing of mortar shells into Israel, while trying to undermine any diplomatic efforts of the PA. These public calls were taken as operational directives of the Hamas leadership. Rantisi was also responsible for establishing and overseeing secret terrorist cells.

Rantisi was killed in a **Shin-Bet (Shabak)**—coordinated targeted assassination in the Gaza Strip on 17 April 2004, in which the IDF targeted a car in which he was riding. He had recently been chosen to replace Sheikh Yassin as Hamas leader.

**RAS AL-AMUD.** A site a few hundred yards east of the **Temple Mount** and south of the Mount of Olives. In July 1997, **Jerusalem** mayor **Ehud Olmert** granted permission for a developer to break ground and begin construction on a Jewish housing project there. Palestinian leaders described the plan as evidence of Israeli bad faith in the peace process and protested the decision to build. The project was subsequently postponed. In January 1998, the interior ministry announced that it had approved residential plans for Ras al-Amud. But Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s office said he would block the project because of its political sensitivity. In August 1998, Jerusalem city authorities approved plans to build 132 apartments for Jewish families in Ras al-Amud. Netanyahu's office again minimized the possibility that the project would go ahead, arguing that the "public order and safety" powers of the government could be used to prevent it. *See also* GIVAT HAMATOS; HAR HOMA.

**RATZ.** *See* CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENT (CRM; HATNUA LEZHUIOT HAEZRACH ULESHALOM; RATZ).

**RAZIEL, DAVID (1910–1941).** Prestate underground fighter. Born David Rossensohn in Smorgon, near Vilna, in the Russian Empire, on 19 December 1910. Brought from **Russia** to Ottoman **Palestine** in 1914, he and his family were expelled to **Egypt** and did not return to Palestine until 1923. He joined the **Hagana** in 1929. One of the original members of the original **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)**, he became the commander in chief of the Irgun in 1938. He was captured and jailed by **British Mandate** authorities after the publication of the May 1939 **White Paper** and the Irgun's violent protests against it. With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Raziel and some of his colleagues pledged to cease anti-British activities for the duration of the war and were released from prison. In May 1941 Raziel, at the behest of the British, led an Irgun squad against the pro-Nazi regime that had taken over in **Iraq**. Raziel was killed in a German air raid near the Iraqi capital on 20 May 1941. **Likud (Union) Party Knesset** member and future Israeli president **Reuven "Rubi" Rivlin** in May 2014 recalled Raziel as "one of those dreamers without whom the people of Israel would not have returned to its country and the state of Israel would not have been established."

**RED CROSS.** *See* MAGEN DAVID ADOM (RED SHIELD OF DAVID).

**REGEV, MIRIAM “MIRI” (1965– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born to a family of Moroccan descent on 26 May 1965 in the town of Kiryat Gat, she served in the **Gadna (Israeli Youth Corps)** before joining the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** spokespersons’ department. Regev was appointed IDF spokesperson in 2005 and promoted to the rank of brigadier general and became a member of the IDF chief of staff’s general staff. She served in this position during Israel’s 2005 withdrawal from the **Gaza Strip** and the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. Regev was first elected to the Knesset in the 2009 election on the **Likud (Union) Party** list and was reelected in the 2013 Knesset election. She is an outspoken foreign and security policy hardliner and critic, within Likud, of Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**’s handling of negotiations with the **Palestinians**. In 2014, she was the driving force behind Knesset legislation intended to tie Netanyahu’s hands at the negotiation table. This included proposed legislation to annex the **Jordan Valley** and to impose Knesset oversight on any peace talks that involve **Jerusalem** or the **right of return** of Palestinian refugees. Although personally secular, Regev is strongly supportive of the right of Jews to pray on the **Temple Mount** in Jerusalem’s old city. Regev was reelected in the 2015 Knesset election in the fifth slot on the Likud list and was appointed minister of culture and sport in the coalition government formed by Benjamin Netanyahu after the election of the Twentieth Knesset.

**RELIGION.** Israel is self-designated as a Jewish state, but Israel is a state and society constructed on modern democratic principles. However, unlike many other democratic states that ostensibly draw a distinction between religion and state, religious issues (narrowly and broadly defined) permeate all aspects of life in Israel.

Although the early **Zionist settlers** were generally secular in religious orientation, the modern nation state they created was replete with symbols directly borrowed from Jewish religious tradition and Jewish history, including the Star of David and the menorah, and with respect for aspects of Jewish law (**Halacha**), the Sabbath, and *kashrut* (Jewish dietary law). The names applied to national institutions and, indeed, the conscious decision to transform Hebrew, the language of the Torah and Jewish religion, into the *lingua franca* of a modern nation state also reflect Jewish tradition. The **Hebrew language** today is a rich and growing language covering all aspects of modern life in Israel, in addition to being the language of Jewish prayer and religious observance.

Despite its Jewish religious roots, Israel guarantees all of its citizens—in law and in practice—freedom of religion and conscience and considerable autonomy under the *millet* system inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The religious authorities of each non-Jewish community (Christian, Muslim,

**Bedouin**, and **Druze**) exercise jurisdiction in all matters involving personal status and family law (marriage, divorce, alimony, and inheritance) and apply religious codes and principles in their own courts.

Israel's Jews are of a single religious faith and share a common spiritual heritage and elements of historical experience. However, there are major differences in outlook, frames of reference, levels of aspiration, and other social and cultural distinctions that divide elements of Israel's Jewish majority population.

The crux of the religion-state relationship in Israel today, indeed throughout the state's history, is the relationship between the religious and secular segments of the Jewish population. The relationship has, over the decades, manifested itself in various forms of tension, including violence. In the final analysis, it is a question of interpreting the meaning of the concept of "Jewish" in the Jewish state and defining **Who Is a Jew?** Thus, the controversy concerns the role of religious forces and movements within the state.

The relationship is often simplistically understood as a tension between *orthodox* and *secular*. In fact, Israel's Jews comprise four main categories. According to 2010 data derived by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), in addition to *hiloniim* (secularists and militant secularists), who are said to loosely represent 42 percent of Israel's Jewish population (a number inflated by the massive immigration (*see* ALIYA) from the former Soviet Union), the nonsecular Jewish population divides into three subgroups: **Haredim** (ultra-Orthodox), 8 percent; *Datiim* (religious Zionists), 12 percent; and *masortim* (traditional Jew), 37 percent. Further complicating the issue are internal disputes among the Haredim along ethnic (**Ashkenazi-Sephardic**—*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) lines and ideological disputes originating in 19th-century Eastern Europe.

Since the prestate period, the political interests of the haredim and *datiim* have been represented by **political parties**; although such parties were initially overwhelmingly Ashkenazi in orientation, they have been joined by Sephardic religious parties since the 1980s. The participation of one or more of these parties in coalition **governments** has tended to be axiomatic, and to the minds of many non-Orthodox Israelis, the religious parties have tended to wield political influence far out of proportion to their actual power.

In an attempt to ensure support for statehood, the leader of the Jewish community in **Palestine** and Israel's first prime minister **David Ben-Gurion** acceded to a series of concessions to the leadership of the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox religious communities on the eve of independence that collectively came to be known as the **status quo agreement**. Among other things, the status quo agreement effectively left the Orthodox establishment in firm control of most issues of daily life in the new Jewish state, everything from respect for the Sabbath and *kashrut* to **education**, marriage, divorce, and the approval of religious conversions (a crucial step for Jewish immi-

grants in order to receive citizenship rights and privileges under Israel's **Law of Return**). The status quo agreement also enabled generations of men studying in Haredi educational institutions to avoid compulsory duty in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), skewing the burden of service to the other, non-Haredi sectors of Jewish Israeli society (*see* EQUAL SERVICE LAW).

Israel is the world's only Jewish state, and many aspects of life in Israel have implications for (and are impacted by) the interests of **Diaspora** Jewish communities. This is especially the case for issues of religion and state in Israel, where the dominant, non-Orthodox, organized streams of Judaism (the **Masorti Movement/Conservative and Progressive/Reform**), which traditionally have represented large segments of major Diaspora communities in North America and Western Europe, have a direct interest in the outcome of the Who Is a Jew? debate in Israel.

In June 2015, a poll discerned that among Jewish Israeli respondents, 59 percent felt Israel should recognize and accord equal authority to rabbis from Conservative, Reform, and Orthodox streams of Judaism. However, despite significant interventions by influential segments of Diaspora Jewish communities and ongoing efforts (including litigation and grassroots political advocacy campaigns) by representatives of the non-Orthodox communities in Israel, matters of religion in Israel—including conversion to Judaism, marriage, and Who Is a Jew?—continue to be dominated by the Orthodox establishment. There have been indications of positive change to the dynamic, but many were reversed by prime minister-elect **Benjamin Netanyahu** as a concession to ultra-Orthodox parties in forming his coalition government after the March 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET), and the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox streams continue to determine religious affairs (broadly defined) for Israel's Jewish majority. *See also* AGUDAT ISRAEL (ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL); DEGEL HATORAH; RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL; SEPHARDI TORAH GUARDIANS (SHAS); UNITED TORAH JUDAISM (UTJ).

**RELIGIOUS SERVICES, MINISTRY OF.** The ministry of religious affairs traditionally had primary responsibility for meeting Jewish religious requirements, such as ensuring *kashrut*, including the supply of ritually killed and prepared (kosher) meat; overseeing rabbinical courts and religious schools; and looking after the autonomous religious needs of the non-Jewish communities. It also provided budgets for the chief rabbinate and rabbinical courts. The post was scrapped on 1 January 2004 but resurrected on 14 January 2008—under pressure from Israel's Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox **political parties**—and renamed the ministry of religious services.

**RENEWAL PARTY.** *See* TEKUMA (RENEWAL).

**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PANEL OF INQUIRY ON THE 31 MAY 2010 FLOTILLA INCIDENT (ALSO KNOWN AS THE PALMER REPORT).** The report of the inquiry established by the **United Nations** secretary-general Ban Ki-moon on 2 August 2010 to investigate the events surrounding the 31 May 2010 *Mavi Mamara* incident—the clashing of Israeli forces and armed demonstrators aboard the ship *Mavi Mamara* attempting to break Israel's naval blockade of the **Gaza Strip**, resulting in the deaths of nine passengers.

The inquiry, chaired by former New Zealand prime minister Geoffrey Palmer, issued its report on 2 September 2011. Its major findings included that Israel was justified in defending its naval blockade of Gaza inasmuch as the blockade was initially imposed as a legitimate security measure to prevent the smuggling of weapons to terrorist groups; and that there existed serious questions about “the conduct, true nature and objectives of the flotilla organizers” who acted recklessly in attempting to breach the blockade. While it criticized the use of “excessive and unreasonable” force by Israeli boarding personnel, the report acknowledged that the Israeli personnel “faced significant, organized and violent resistance” when they boarded the *Mavi Mamara*.

**REVISIONISTS.** A **Zionist political party** founded in 1925 by **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky**. It reflected the demand for a revision of the Zionist executive's conciliatory policy toward the **British Mandate** government and of the system and pace of Zionist activity in **Palestine**. In the Revisionist conception, the Zionist aim was to provide an integral solution to the worldwide Jewish problem in all aspects—political, economic, and spiritual. To attain this objective, the Revisionists demanded that the entire mandated territory of Palestine, on both sides of the **Jordan River**, be turned into a Jewish state with a Jewish majority. The contention of the Revisionists was that worldwide political pressure must be exerted to compel **Great Britain** to abide by the letter and spirit of the **Balfour Declaration** and the Palestine mandate. They stressed the imperative necessity of bringing to Palestine the largest number of Jews within the shortest possible time. The financial instrument of the movement was the Keren Tel Hai (Tel Hai Fund).

Within the **World Zionist Organization** (WZO), Revisionism met with increasingly strong resistance, particularly from the labor groups. The World Union of Zionists-Revisionists was founded in 1925 as an integral part of the WZO, with Jabotinsky as president. The Revisionists strongly opposed expansion of the **Jewish Agency** through inclusion of prominent non-Zionists, which, they felt, would impair the national character, independence, and freedom of political action of the Zionist Movement. From 1929, when the expanded Jewish Agency took over the political prerogatives of the WZO, Jabotinsky consistently urged increasing independence for the Revisionists. In 1935, a referendum held among Revisionists resulted in their secession

from the WZO and the establishment of an independent **New Zionist Organization** (NZO). Eleven years later, when ideological and tactical differences between the NZO and the WZO had diminished, the NZO decided to give up its separate existence. The United Zionists Revisionists (the merger of the Revisionist Union and the Jewish State Party) participated in the election to the 22nd Zionist Congress in **Basle** in 1946. After independence, the political interests of the Revisionists were expressed, from the first **Knesset**, primarily through **Menachem Begin's Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**.

**RIGHT OF RETURN.** The term applied to the long-standing Palestinian demand for the absolute return to Israel of Arab refugees from the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. Proponents legitimize the demand in an interpretation of **United Nations** General Assembly Resolution 194 of 11 December 1948. Israel has consistently rejected this interpretation, arguing further that the right of return does not exist in international law and that its implementation in the case of the **Palestinians** is impractical and a direct threat to Israel's national security. In the negotiations with the Palestinians at **Camp David II**, in July 2000, Israel's prime minister **Ehud Barak** proposed a formula for addressing the Palestinian refugee question whereby the right of return would be applied exclusively to the **West Bank-Gaza** Palestinian state and with the number of actual returnees pegged to the state's absorptive capacity. Also part of Barak's proposal was the permanent resettlement of refugees in the Arab countries of their current residence, such as **Lebanon**, or in third countries; the limited repatriation of refugees to Israel on humanitarian grounds, including family reunification; and the establishment of an international fund to compensate the refugees for lost properties, to which Israel would contribute. Barak's proposals and variations of them presented by President **William J. Clinton** of the **United States** at the **Taba talks** were rejected by **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) chairman **Yasser Arafat**. In an exchange of letters with Israel's prime minister **Ariel Sharon** on 14 April 2004, U.S. president **George W. Bush** stated inter alia that the right of return should be limited to the future independent Palestinian state, alongside Israel. **Palestinian Authority** (PA) president **Mahmoud Abbas's** insistence on the right of return of refugees to Israel is a diplomatic nonstarter from Israel's perspective.

**RISHON LEZION ("FIRST IN ZION").** Title initially accorded to the Sephardi (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) chief rabbi of Israel (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL). Prior to the creation of the chief rabbinate, the title was used for the head of the Sephardi rabbis of **Jerusalem**. Rishon LeZion is also a city on Israel's coastal plain founded in 1882 by immigrants (*see*

ALIYA) from Russia. The name is derived from the Bible. It was the first Zionist **settlement** (along with **Petah Tikva**) in **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**. Part of the greater **Tel Aviv** metropolitan area, Rishon LeZion has a population of 237,600 (2013), making it the fourth largest city in Israel.

**RIVLIN, REUVEN “RUVI” (1939–)**. Israel’s tenth **president**. Born on 9 September 1939 in **Jerusalem**, Rivlin is scion of one of Jerusalem’s oldest Jewish families, having first settled there in 1809. He is a lawyer by training.

Rivlin was first elected to the **Knesset** on the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1988, and served as Likud chairman from 1988 to 1993. He was not slotted high enough on the Likud electoral list and thus lost his seat in the 1992 election, but he was returned to the Knesset following the 1996 election. Reelected in 1999, he served as a deputy Knesset speaker and was appointed minister of communications in March 2001, serving until February 2003, when he was elected speaker of the Knesset following the 2003 election. During his tenure as speaker Rivlin violated the position’s tradition of political neutrality by harshly criticizing Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**’s Gaza Strip **unilateral disengagement** plan—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT). He also criticized Pope Benedict XVI’s May 2009 address at **Yad Vashem** and spoke out against the concept of a **two-state solution** for Israel’s dispute with the **Palestinians**.

Rivlin was reelected in the 2006 and 2009 Knesset elections. He ran as Likud’s candidate in the 2007 election for president but withdrew when it became clear that the **Kadima (Forward)** Party candidate, **Shimon Peres**, had sufficient support to win in a run-off vote.

On 30 March 2009, Rivlin was again elected Knesset speaker, with the support of 90 of 120 Knesset members. Rivlin has long supported the rights of **Israel’s Arabs**. One of his first official acts as speaker was to visit the Israeli-Arab town of Umm el-Fahm, accompanied by two members of Knesset: an Arab member of the left-wing **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)** and a member of the right-wing **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)** parties. In 2010 Rivlin made efforts as speaker to prevent the removal of Knesset member **Hanin Zoabi**’s parliamentary privileges over her controversial presence on board the **Mavi Marmara**. He also maintained a friendship with Arab Knesset member **Ahmad Tibi** despite their diverging views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Rivlin was reelected in the 2013 election in the fourth slot on the joint **Likud–Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** list. He was elected Israel’s tenth president on 10 June 2014, receiving the support of 63 Knesset members in a run off against **Meir Shitreet**, who got 53 votes. He officially took office on 24 July 2014, succeeding **Shimon Peres**.



Rivlin is a native son of Israel who is opposed to the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state and who envisions a **Greater Israel**—stretching from the River **Jordan** to the Mediterranean Sea, with Jerusalem as its undivided capital. In September 2015 he declared that Jewish **settlements** in the **West Bank** are “as Israeli as **Tel Aviv**.” But Rivlin is also a staunch proponent of democracy and civil liberties. In an address shortly after his election as president Rivlin pledged to represent “all the citizens of Israel—Jews, Arabs, **Druze**, rich, poor, religious and less observant. . . . From this moment, I am no longer a party man but everybody’s man, a man of all the people.” Reiterating a theme that he had promoted since becoming president Rivlin said, “A Jewish and democratic state is not a democracy just for Jews, but a Jewish democratic state, democratic and Jewish in one utterance.”

**ROADMAP FOR PEACE.** Formally known as a “Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent **Two-State Solution** to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” The Roadmap for Peace was proposed by the **United States**, Russia, the European Union, and the **United Nations** (known as the Middle East **Quartet**) and called for a final and comprehensive solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by 2005. The Roadmap was first envisioned by U.S. president **George W. Bush** in a speech on 22 June 2002 that called for an independent Palestinian state that would coexist peacefully with Israel. The proposed two-state plan would require the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) to make democratic reforms and renounce **terrorism** in exchange for statehood. Israel, in turn, would have to accept a Palestinian state and stop building **settlements** in the **Gaza Strip** and the **West Bank**. The Roadmap was to be implemented sequentially in three phases. Linkage was also anticipated between implementation of a final peace agreement between Israelis and **Palestinians** (based on the Roadmap’s outlines) and broader regional agreements involving Israel and **Syria** and **Lebanon**. Although the initial anticipated timeframe for its implementation proved impractical, the Roadmap’s vision of “two states, a secure State of Israel and a viable, peaceful, democratic Palestine” remained the only framework for negotiations accepted by both Israel and **Fatah** (“**Conquest**”), although not by **Hamas** (**Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya**).

A version of the Roadmap was released by the U.S. state department on 30 April 2003. On 25 May 2003, Israel said it accepted the Roadmap but with 14 reservations. Among the Israeli concerns, the most significant was the need to link all steps to the requirement—emphasized in the first provision of phase 1—that the “Palestinians immediately undertake an unconditional cessation of violence.” The Roadmap envisioned three phases of sequential peacemaking, with each phase coming into effect only when all of the requirements of the previous phase were met by both parties. *See also* AN-NAPOLIS CONFERENCE; ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**ROSENBLUM, PNINA (1954–)**. Member of **Knesset**; model and millionaire owner of her own line of cosmetics. Born on 30 December 1954 in **Petah Tikva**, she led her own **political party**, the Tnufa Party, into the May 1999 Knesset election for the Fifteenth Knesset. The party did not win a Knesset seat, failing to meet the requisite threshold by a few thousand votes. Rosenblum had no stance on the issues of the peace process; her party platform was instead based on **women's** rights and social reform. Although nominated to the **Likud (Union) Party** slate of candidates for the 2003 Knesset election, her placement on the list was not high enough to secure her a Knesset seat. However, she moved up on the Likud list when **Yitzhak "Tzachi" Hanegbi** quit the party and joined **Ariel Sharon's** new **Kadima (Forward) Party**. Rosenblum was sworn in as a member of the Sixteenth Knesset on 14 December 2005. She announced her retirement from party politics during the campaign leading up to the 2006 Knesset election.

**ROSENNE, MEIR (1931–2015)**. Diplomat and government adviser. Born on 19 February 1931 in Iasi, Romania, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** at the age of 13. He received his Ph.D. in international law at the Sorbonne and is a graduate of the Institute for Advanced International Studies in Paris. Rosenne joined the Israel government service in 1953 and served in a variety of positions. Between 1971 and 1979, he was legal adviser to the Israel foreign ministry and in this capacity advised the Israeli delegation to the negotiations at **Kilometer 101**, the Geneva Peace Talks (1973), and the related negotiations with the **Egyptian** and **Syrian** delegations following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He participated in the negotiations leading to the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**, and until September 1979, he was head of the Israeli team to the autonomy negotiations with Egypt. He became ambassador to **France** in 1979 and served in that capacity until May 1983 when he was nominated to be Israel's ambassador to the **United States**. Subsequent to his diplomatic service, Rosenne became international head of the **State of Israel Bonds Organization**. He died on 14 April 2015. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; FOREIGN POLICY.

**ROTATION**. The coalition agreement between the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and the **Likud (Union) Party** that established the **Government of National Unity** in 1984 provided for the "rotation" of the positions of **prime minister** and foreign minister between Likud's **Yitzhak Shamir** and Labor's **Shimon Peres**. During the first 25 months of the government, Peres was to serve as prime minister and Shamir as foreign minister. They would then "rotate," and Shamir would become prime minister and Peres foreign minister for the second 25 months. Despite dire predictions concerning the fate of the agreement and the government

established under its terms, the rotation took place in October 1986 as scheduled, and the government served its full term. *See also* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL.

**ROVINA, HANNA (1893–1980).** Considered the “first lady of the Hebrew theater.” She was born on 1 April 1893 in the Minsk Province in Ukraine and studied Hebrew in a modern *Heder* and trained to be a teacher in Warsaw. When directors Nahum Zemach and Constantin Stanislavsky established the **Hebrew-language Habimah Theater** in Moscow in 1917, she was invited to join, immediately rising to become the company’s star performer. When Habimah moved permanently to **Mandate Palestine** in 1931, she moved with it and quickly gained status as Israel’s first and finest Hebrew actresses. She was awarded the **Israel Prize** in 1956 for her contribution to Israeli theater. She died in **Tel Aviv** on 2 February 1980.

**RUBIN, REUVEN (1893–1973).** One of Israel’s first and finest artists. Born in Romania on 13 November 1893, he studied at the **Bezalel School in Jerusalem** as well as in **France**, Italy, and Romania before settling in **Tel Aviv** in 1922. He was the first artist to have a one-man show at the Tower of David in Jerusalem in 1924, and his one-man show inaugurated the Tel Aviv Museum in 1932. From 1948 to 1950, he was Israel’s minister plenipotentiary to Romania, and he represented Israel at the Venice Biennale in 1948, 1950, and 1952. He was awarded the **Israel Prize** for his contribution to the arts in 1973. He died on 13 October 1974 in Tel Aviv.

**RUBINSTEIN, AMNON (1931– ).** Academic, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 5 September 1931, Rubinstein graduated in law from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, received a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics, and served as professor of law and dean of the faculty of law at **Tel Aviv University**. He participated in the founding of the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua Ha-Democratit LeShinui)** in the period following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He was chairman of the **Shinui** faction in the Tenth **Knesset** (1981) and served as minister of communications in the 1984 **Government of National Unity** and as minister of **education** in Yitzhak Rabin’s and Shimon Peres’s governing coalitions between 1992 and 1996. Rubinstein was re-elected to the Fourteenth Knesset (1996) and the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) on the **Meretz** list. Retiring from party politics before the 2003 Knesset election, he returned to academic life. He received the 2006 **Israel Prize** for his contribution to judicial research. He is currently dean of the Interdisciplinary Center-Herzliya.

**RUBINSTEIN, ELYAKIM “ELI” (1947– )**. One of Israel’s most experienced public servants. Born in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 13 June 1947, he graduated as a lawyer from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and then served in the legal department and as deputy legal adviser in the ministry of defense from 1973 to 1977. From 1977 to 1981, he served as senior adviser to foreign minister **Moshe Dayan**. He was involved in the **Camp David** negotiations with **Egypt**, and from 1981 to 1985, he served as the foreign ministry’s legal adviser. In 1986, he served briefly as political counselor at the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C. In November 1986, Rubinstein became secretary of the **cabinet**, a position he held for seven years, serving under **Likud (Union) Party** prime minister **Yitzhak Shamir** and **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** prime ministers **Shimon Peres** and **Yitzhak Rabin**. In 1991, he was appointed by Shamir to head the early Washington rounds of negotiations with the joint **Jordanian–Palestinian** delegation ensuing from the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**; he was also involved in talks with the Jordanians after the **Oslo Accords** were signed. Rubinstein resigned as cabinet secretary in April 1994, reportedly because he was upset at having been left in the dark over the Oslo negotiations. However, in November 1994, he was appointed by Rabin to head a committee to oversee implementation of the **Israel–Jordan Peace Treaty**, a position he held until June 1995, when he was appointed a Jerusalem district court judge. From 1997 to 2003, Rubinstein was Israel’s **attorney general**. He was made a justice of Israel’s **Supreme Court** in May 2004. He currently serves as vice president of the Supreme Court.

**RUSSIA**. *See* UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR/RUSSIA).

**“RUSSIAN” VOTE**. Term used to describe the voting behavior of the massive wave of immigration (*see* ALIYA) to Israel from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR/Russia)** since 1989. Surveys indicated that this group self-identified as 77 percent secular and 21 percent traditional in their religiosity and largely right wing in their political attitudes, with 31 percent identifying as right and 31 percent as center-right. **Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky’s** center-right **Israel B’Aliya (Israel For Immigration/Israel Moving Upward) Party** won the support of the overwhelming majority of Russian immigrants who chose to participate in the 1996 **Knesset** election. By the 1999 election the Russian vote had essentially split between Israel B’Aliya and the more overtly right-of-center **Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home) Party** led by **Avigdor Lieberman**. As Russian immigrants became integrated in Israeli society and political culture and less focused on immigrant-related electoral issues, a significant proportion of the Russian immi-

grant vote slipped away and dispersed to other secular, mainly right-of-center parties or religious parties, to the point that it is difficult to now speak of an identifiable "Russian" ethnic vote in Israeli electoral politics. *See also* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL.



# S

**SA'AR, GIDEON (INITIALLY ZARECHENSKY) (1966– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 9 December 1966 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** to a mother of Central Asian/Bukharan descent and a father who had immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel from **Argentina** and became the personal physician of **David Ben-Gurion**. He served as secretary to the **cabinet** from July 1999 to March 2001. He entered party politics in 2003, winning election to the Knesset on the **Likud (Union) Party** list and being appointed Likud caucus chair. Within Likud, he was an outspoken critic of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**'s Gaza Strip **unilateral disengagement** plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HA-HITNATKUT). He retained his seat in the 2006 Knesset election and was reappointed Likud parliamentary group chair; he also was elected a deputy speaker of the Knesset. As a Knesset member, Sa'ar chaired the Knesset Committee on the Status of **Women** and championed the interests of disadvantaged sectors of Israeli society. He also worked in favor of the interests of **West Bank settlements**.

In December 2008 Sa'ar won the most votes in the Likud primaries, placing him second on the party's list of candidates behind party chairman **Benjamin Netanyahu**. After winning reelection he was appointed minister of **education** in Netanyahu's new government. In Likud's 2012 primary, Sa'ar again received the most votes, this time placing him third (behind Netanyahu and **Avigdor Lieberman**) on the **Likud–Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** joint list for the January 2013 Knesset election. He was appointed interior minister after the election.

Sa'ar dropped a political bombshell in September 2014 by announcing his intention to take a break from politics, citing personal reasons. He would not contest the next Knesset election and resigned as interior minister on 4 November 2014. He remained uninvolved in the 2015 Knesset election.

**SABRA.** A term used to refer to native-born Israelis. It is derived from the name of a cactus plant (in Hebrew, *Tzabar*) that grows in Israel. The plant has a sweet and juicy fruit encased in a tough skin that has numerous thorns. This is supposed to characterize the Israelis who are seen as tough on the outside but gentle inside.

**SABRA AND SHATILA REFUGEE CAMPS.** Among the tragic aspects of the **War in Lebanon (1982)** was the September 1982 massacre by Christian Phalangist forces of **Palestinians** at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in the Beirut area. The resultant anguish within Israel over possible Israeli involvement led to the decision to create a **commission of inquiry**, headed by **Supreme Court** chief justice Yitzhak Kahan. *See also* KAHAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

**SADAT, ANWAR (1918–1981).** Sadat became president of **Egypt** after the death of Gamal Abdul Nasser and led Egypt in the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He proposed direct negotiations with Israel to resolve the **Arab-Israeli conflict** and made his historic visit to Israel in November 1977. He signed the **Camp David Accords** of 1978 and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 1979 and established the process of peace and normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel. For his efforts, he and Israel's **Menachem Begin** shared the 1978 **Nobel Prize** for peace. Sadat was assassinated by Muslim **terrorists** on 6 October 1981 while reviewing a military parade in Cairo.

**SADDEH, YITZHAK (1890–1952).** Founder of **Palmah** and **Hagana** commander. Born on 10 August 1892 in Lublin in Russian Poland, Sadeh served in the Russian army in World War I but settled in **Palestine** in 1920. He soon became active in the **Hagana** and in 1941 founded the **Palmah** in response to escalating Arab attacks on Jewish **settlements** throughout the **Yishuv** and served as its commander until 1945. At the beginning of the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he served in the command of the Hagana, and when the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** was established he became commander of the Eighth Armored Brigade. After the war, he resigned from the IDF and assumed a leading role in the left-wing **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party)**. He died on 21 August 1952 in **Petah Tikva**.

**SAFDIE, MOSHE (1938– ).** A world-renowned architect, Safdie was born in **Haifa** on 14 July 1938 and educated and trained in North America. He established a name for himself as the creator of “Habitat 67” at the 1967 World’s Fair Exposition in Montreal. He opened an office in **Jerusalem** in 1970 and became intimately involved with the rebuilding of the old city’s



Jerusalem Quarter and the integration of the old city with the modern new city. Over the years, his involvement expanded to include the planning of the new urban community of Modi'in, the new **Yad Vashem** Holocaust Museum, the **Yitzhak Rabin** Memorial Center, and Ben-Gurion Airport.

**SAFE PASSAGE.** The term applied to a connection or a safe land link for goods and people between the **Gaza Strip** and the **West Bank**, the idea being to ensure the integrity and contiguity of the Palestinian territories. It would also help to ensure the economic viability of the two territories and provide an economic and human contact between the two parts of the Palestinian entity. It would enable the **Palestinians** to start developing an identity with a single state, a central government, and effective institutions of government. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SAFED (TZEFAT).** A city in upper **Galilee** in which Jews have lived for centuries. Beginning in the 16th century, it became an important center of Jewish learning. It has become a center for artists and **tourists**. More than 90 percent of the city's population is Jewish. Safed had a population of about 32,000 in 2015.

**SAMARIA.** Northern section of the highlands of **Palestine**, north of **Judea**, it is 31 miles long and 23 miles wide. The area is very densely populated. It was part of the **West Bank** occupied by **Jordan** in Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and taken by Israel from Jordan in the **Six-Day War (1967)**.

**SAMUEL, HERBERT LOUIS (1870–1963).** First high commissioner of **Mandate Palestine**. First viscount born in Liverpool, England, Samuel entered politics and with the outbreak of World War I he developed an interest in the subject of **Zionism** and the creation of a Jewish national home. He was appointed the first high commissioner of **Palestine** and served from 1920 to 1925, during which time he was instrumental in the establishment of the foundations of the civil administration of Palestine. *See also* BALFOUR DECLARATION.

**SAN REMO CONFERENCE.** An international meeting convened following the conclusion of World War I that determined the precise boundaries for territories captured by the allies. The conference, attended by senior officials from **Great Britain**, **France**, Italy, and Japan, with the **United States** as a neutral observer, was held in San Remo, Italy, in April (19–26) 1920. Also in attendance were prominent Zionists **Chaim Weizmann**, Nahum Sokolow, and **Herbert Louis Samuel**. It was a continuation of a previous meeting

between the Allied powers held in London in February 1920, where agreement was achieved about the **League of Nations** mandate allocations of the Middle Eastern territories of the defeated Ottoman Empire, with Great Britain acquiring **Palestine**. The San Remo Resolution (25 April 1920) incorporated the **Balfour Declaration** (1917) in the **British Mandate for Palestine**, explicitly making it responsible “for putting into effect the declaration made . . . by the British Government and adopted by the other Allied Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.”

**SAPIR, PINHAS (FORMERLY KOSLOWSKY) (1906–1975)**. Yishuv official and early **government** minister. Born in Suwalki, Poland, on 15 October 1906, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1929, took the name Sapir, and settled in Kfar Saba, where he worked in the orange groves. He held a number of local positions and worked with the **Mekorot Water Company** from 1937 to 1947. In February 1948 he was put in charge of the quartermaster branch of the **Hagana**. During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he traveled abroad to purchase arms. Later in 1948, he was appointed director general of the ministry of defense, and from 1953 to 1955, he served as director general of the ministry of finance. In 1955, he was appointed Commerce and **Industry** minister and in 1963 became finance minister. In 1968, he became secretary general of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. In 1969, he again became finance minister, serving in that position until June 1974. He died on 12 August 1975 while serving as chairman of the **Jewish Agency** and the **World Zionist Organization**.

**SARID, YOSSEI (1940–2015)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born 24 October 1940 in Rehovot, he worked as a journalist and then drifted into politics. He shifted from the **Alignment-Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** to the **Citizens’ Rights and Peace Movement (CRM; Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrach Uleshalom; Ratz)** after the 1984 election to protest Labor’s participation with the **Likud (Union) Party** in the **Government of National Unity**. A founder of the **Meretz/Democratic Israel** coalition, he participated in **Yitzhak Rabin**’s Labor-led governing coalition between 1992 and 1996, serving as environment minister from January 1993 to June 1996. He played an increasingly active part in negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**. He became leader of the CRM and Meretz upon the retirement of **Shulamit Aloni** prior to the 1996 election. Under his leadership, Meretz won nine seats in the 1996 Knesset election and 10 seats in the 1999 election. On 6 July 1999, Sarid was appointed **education** minister in the government headed by **One Israel (Is-**

rael Ahat)'s **Ehud Barak**. He resigned as Meretz leader following the 2003 Knesset election, when the party won only six seats, but he retained his seat in the Knesset. In December 2005, Sarid announced his determination to retire from party politics and did not run in the 2006 Knesset election. Sarid died on 4 December 2015 at age 75. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**SATELLITES**. Since the launch of the **OFEQ 1 (Horizon) Satellite** on 19 September 1988, Israel has been one of a small group of countries with the ability to build and launch its own satellites. Israel has three main space satellite families—EROS, AMOS, and OFEQ—to serve its military and communication needs. The EROS (Earth Remote Observation System) family provides remote-sensing and dual-use technology for both the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) and commercial enterprises. AMOS (Afro-Mediterranean Orbiting System) satellites provide Israel, Central Europe, and the Middle East with commercial broadcasting and communications services. The OFEQ family of satellites provides extremely high-resolution imaging that is exclusively for military intelligence interests. The OFEQ-10 satellite, launched into orbit in April 2014 provides Israel's **intelligence services** agencies with enhanced and real-time ability to monitor and track the activities of distant adversaries, including **Iran** and its ballistic missile program.

In 2004, Israel joined the project to build Galileo, the European global navigation satellite system, and it is expected to contribute tens of millions of dollars over the course of the effort. On 21 January 2008 Israel launched a new, Israel-made reconnaissance satellite (**TECSAR**) atop an Indian rocket. *See also* INDUSTRY; SCIENCE.

**SAVIDOR, MENACHEM (FORMERLY KHODOROVSKY) (1918–1988)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 20 August 1918 in Bakhmut, Russia, he moved with his family to Poland in 1923 and became active in the local **Betar** youth movement. After high school, he completed studies in philology in Vilna. In 1941 he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** and joined the British army, serving in the **Jewish Brigade**. He later served in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), where he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He served as director general of the transport ministry and director general of Israel Railways. After running unsuccessfully for mayor of **Tel Aviv–Yafo** in 1973, he was elected in 1977 to the **Knesset** on the **Likud (Union) Party** list, and reelected in 1981 he became speaker of the Tenth Knesset (1981–1984). He left politics in 1984. He died on 2 November 1988.

**SAVIR, URIEL "URI" (1953–)**. Government adviser; principal negotiator for Israel of the **Oslo Accords**. Born in **Jerusalem** on 7 January 1953, Savir studied international relations at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and, from 1984 to 1988, was media adviser and bureau chief for **Shimon Peres** in the latter's capacities as **prime minister** and foreign minister. In November 1988, he was named consul general in New York, a position he held until May 1993 when he was appointed director general of the foreign ministry, again under Peres. He was involved in the final, crucial stages of the negotiations in Oslo, Norway (*see* OSLO ACCORDS) that culminated with the September 1993 signing of the Israel–**Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles**, and he participated in subsequent negotiations with the PLO concerning the Cairo Agreement of May 1994. Savir's experiences in negotiating the Oslo Accords are described in his book *The Process: 1,100 Days That Changed the Middle East*. Leaving government service in 1996, he became the founding executive director of the Peres Center for Peace, a **Tel Aviv-Yafo**–based institute established by Shimon Peres to encourage economic cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians. Savir was elected in the 1999 **Knesset** election on the **Center Party** list. He did not seek reelection in 2003. Savir is honorary president of the Peres Center. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SAYERET MATKAL**. General staff reconnaissance unit of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. It is an elite special forces unit. Its primary activities are counterterrorism, intelligence collecting, and deep reconnaissance. It is modeled after the British Special Air Services (SAS).

**SCHABAS COMMISSION**. *See* INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (SCHABAS COMMISSION).

**SCHABAS, WILLIAM (1950–)**. Head of the **United Nations Human Rights Council** commission mandated to investigate alleged violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law in Israel's **War in Gaza (2014)** with **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and other Palestinian **terrorist** groups. **Israel** refused to cooperate with the investigation in part due to Schabas's highly prejudicial remarks concerning Israel and Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Schabas resigned as head of the investigation on 3 February 2015.

**SCHACH, RABBI ELIEZER (1897–2001)**. Religious and political personality. Born on 1 January 1899 in Vaboilnik, Lithuania, Schach was educated in traditional Orthodox yeshivas in Lithuania and Russia. In 1940, he and his

family escaped to **Palestine**. He became head of the Ponevezh Yeshiva in Bnai Brak, a stronghold of the *Misnagdim*, the branch of ultra-Orthodox **Ashkenazi Jewry** that opposes the **Hasidim**. He was for many years co-chairman of the **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei Hatorah)**, the ruling body of the **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** Movement. His co-chairman was Rabbi **Simcha Bunim Alter**, the head of the Ger (or Gur) Hasidic dynasty. The tension inherent in this relationship was given political expression in intense internal divisions within Agudat Israel. Schach's concern about the growing influence of the Hasidic wing over Agudat Israel's Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) followers prompted him to help form the **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** breakaway faction that won four seats in the 1984 Knesset election, compared to only two seats for Agudat Israel. In 1988, alarmed by the growing influence on Israeli politics of his archrival, **Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson**, the head of the world **Lubavitch** Hasidic sect, Schach and his followers left Agudat Israel and formed the mainly Ashkenazi **Degel HaTorah** Party that won two seats in the Twelfth **Knesset**.

In 1992, on the eve of the election for the Thirteenth Knesset, Rabbi Schach agreed to have Degel HaTorah participate with Agudat Israel in a joint Ashkenazi Haredi list called **United Torah Judaism**. However, Schach made a serious tactical error by permitting Agudat Israel to hold the lion's share of power in the alliance. Moreover, in public statements prior to the election, he implied that Sephardim were not yet ready to take on leadership responsibilities, thereby prompting many Sephardic voters to shift their support to SHAS. Despite this estrangement from the Sephardic community, as well as his advancing age, Schach remained a dominant force in the ultra-Orthodox community's political campaign to have a strict interpretation of Jewish law (*Halacha*) imposed on ever-greater aspects of daily life in Israel. Rabbi Schach died in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 2 November 2001 at the age of 103. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; RELIGION.

**SCHNEERSON, RABBI MENACHEM MENDEL (1902–1994)**. Seventh in a line of grand rabbis, or rebbes, of the **Lubavitch Hasidic** Movement. He was born on 18 April 1902 in the Ukraine, studied mathematics and **science** in Berlin and at the Sorbonne, fled the Nazis in 1941, and immigrated to the **United States**, where he settled in New York City. He rebuilt the Hasidic Movement, which had nearly perished in the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**, into a worldwide movement with substantial influence. In the 1980s, Rabbi Schneerson directed his followers to become actively engaged in Israeli electoral politics—primarily through support for **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**—in order both to block the formation of governments that might be inclined to relinquish territory in the **West Bank** and to promote the introduction of legislation designed to strengthen the authority of Jewish law

(*Halacha*). He was a major political force in Israel, both in the **Knesset** and among the electorate, although he never went there. In fact, except to pray at the Queens cemetery where his father-in-law and wife were buried, he did not venture beyond his Crown Heights stronghold in 37 years. Rabbi Schneerson taught that Jews could hasten the arrival of the Messiah if they practiced the traditions laid out in the Hebrew Bible and interpreted by the rabbis in the Talmud and other classical texts. Some of the rebbe's followers believed that he was the Messiah, the savior promised by the prophets, but Rabbi Schneerson discouraged such talk. His critics charged that his disclaimers were too mild and that he should have put an end to such speculation long ago. Rabbi Schneerson's interventions on behalf of Agudat Israel helped influence the results of the 1984 and 1988 Knesset elections. He died in New York on 12 June 1994. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; RELIGION.

**SCIENCE.** Science has played an integral role in Israel since the late 19th century. **Theodor Herzl** saw a Jewish homeland that would be a scientific center as well as a spiritual and cultural haven. He believed that Jews needed to transform **Palestine's** landscape from a barren and unhealthy ecology into a modern state to accommodate immigrants (*see* ALIYA). **Agricultural** research began in the late 19th century and has continuously been a major emphasis of Israeli science. Other prestate establishments also included medical and public **health** research, industrial research, and basic and applied science at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, **Technion–Israel Institute of Technology**, and the Daniel Sieff Research Center (later the **Weizmann Institute of Science**).

When Israel was established in 1948, a scientific foundation was already in place. Preliminary research continued to focus on the technologies and projects of national importance to the development of the state. Israel has made tremendous strides in the basic and applied research of medical science and biotechnology. Although research is conducted in nearly every existing or potential scientific field, Israeli industrial science is particularly well known and very well regarded for its electronics, optics, computer-based equipment, robotics, and aeronautics. Such initiatives are a major source of employment and an important part of Israel's export base. Israel is also the world leader in agricultural science, with pioneering advancements in the development of drip irrigation. In terms of energy research and alternative fuels and power sources, Israel is among the world's highest per capita users of solar-powered water heaters and some of the most advanced understandings and applications of thermal energy. Israeli scientists are today also world leaders in research in cancer, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, neurodegenerative diseases, and infectious diseases, among other fields of medical research.

Israel's universities conduct nearly 80 percent of the country's publishable research and nearly all of its basic research and basic research training. The Israel Science Foundation (ISF) is a source for most of the competitive, basic-research grant funding as well as a source for special programs. For larger-scale projects, TELEM, a voluntary consortium of the chief scientists of ministry of industry and trade and the ministry of science, culture, and **sports**; the president of the Israel Academy; and representatives of the Council for Higher **Education**, the treasury, and others, coordinates scientific endeavors and offers funding for major projects. All of Israel's universities have programs designed to spin off academic technological advances into the commercial sector. Israeli schools have developed scientific industrial parks adjacent to their campuses in order to commercially exploit laboratory developments.

Israeli scholars publish a disproportionate share of the world's scientific papers (about 1 percent), and Israeli scientists are international experts in a wide range of fields. Six Israeli scientists have won the **Nobel Prize** for chemistry: Aaron Ciechanover and Avram Heersshko (in 2004), Ada E. Yonath (2009), Dan Shechtman (2011), and Arieh Warshel and Michael Levitt (2013).

**SCUD MISSILES.** Land-based, surface-to-surface, short-range ballistic missiles, first designed by the Soviet Union in the late 1950s. The Scud missile was first introduced to the Middle East battlefield prior to the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** by the **Egyptians** to deter Israeli combat aircraft strikes deep into Egyptian territory by threatening ballistic missile use against Israeli civilian population centers. However, the Scud played only a small part in the Yom Kippur War. In the late 1980s, **Iraq** developed two extended-range variants of the missile. During the **Persian Gulf War (1991)**, Iraq fired a total of 39 of these missiles into Israel, inflicting only limited physical damage but causing a great deal of psychological trauma among the Israeli population. The Iraqi Scud missile attacks prompted Israel to accelerate the development of its strategic antimissile missile defense system. *See also* ARROW MISSILE; MAGIC WAND; IRON DOME.

**SDE BOKER.** A **kibbutz** in the **Negev** founded in 1952 and chosen by **David Ben-Gurion** as his residence when not in **Tel Aviv** or **Jerusalem**. His house remains, and he is buried at the kibbutz.

**SDEROT.** A small town on the Mediterranean coast near the **Gaza Strip**. It was the target of thousands of rocket attacks by Palestinian **terrorist** groups from the Gaza Strip, particularly after Israel's 2005 Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut). Ending such attacks and

returning quiet to Sderot and neighboring population centers in southern Israel was a primary motivation for major operations against terror groups in Gaza by the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). *See also* HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA); OPERATION AUTUMN CLOUDS; OPERATION DAYS OF PENITENCE; OPERATION RAINBOW; OPERATION SQUEEZED FRUIT; OPERATION SUMMER RAIN; PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI); QASSAM MISSILE; WAR IN GAZA (2008–2009); WAR IN GAZA (2012); WAR IN GAZA (2014).

**SEA OF GALILEE.** A small (14 miles long and eight miles wide at its broadest point) freshwater lake in northern Israel; often mentioned in the Bible. It is called the Sea of Kinneret (Lake Kinneret) in the Old Testament. The name “**Galilee**” is used in the New Testament. It is also called Lake Tiberias for a city on its shore. The Sea of Galilee lies on the **Jordan** plain in Israel, 30 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. It touches the **Golan Heights** on the northeast. The **Jordan River** flows southward through it.

**SECOND ALIYA.** The Second **Aliya** (1904–1914) was the most significant in terms of Israel’s future political system. Some 40,000 immigrants of Russian and Eastern European origin laid the foundations of the labor movement and established the first Jewish labor **political parties** and **kibbutzim**. They were secularists who sought to modernize and secularize Jewish life in the **Diaspora**, and they brought their political ideas, especially socialist ideology, to **Palestine**, thereby providing the foundations of the future political system.

**SECOND ISRAEL.** A reference to Israel’s Sephardim (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) and their perceived second-class status in Israel. The ultra-Orthodox **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** Party was seen as representing Sephardim (whether Orthodox or not), and their outbreak success in the 1999 Knesset election (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL) was viewed as a victory for the Second Israel.

**SECOND LEBANON WAR (2006).** On 12 July 2006, **Hezbollah** fighters launched an attack across the internationally recognized Blue Line border from **Lebanon** into northern Israel, attacked Israeli soldiers, shot and killed eight of them, and captured two others (Ehud Goldwasser and Eldad Regev) and took them back across the border. Hezbollah simultaneously began to shell population centers in northern Israel including **Haifa** using **Katyusha rockets** provided by **Iran** and **Syria**.



Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** called this an “act of war,” and Israel’s massive air campaign on targets in Lebanon was the initial response. Israel bombed Hezbollah strongholds in the south, and to prevent the supply of arms from Syria and Iran to Hezbollah Israel launched air attacks against Beirut’s airport and major land routes, while a naval blockade prevented shipping from entering or leaving Lebanon’s ports. Israel attacked Hezbollah targets—including weapons storehouses and missile launching points—across the country. Thousands of foreign nationals eventually were evacuated from the war zone.

Meanwhile, Hezbollah attacked Israel with rockets fired on northern Israeli cities, towns, and villages, including Haifa, Israel’s third-largest city and major port. Israel called up reservists and a ground incursion by the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** led to the taking of Lebanese villages and towns south of the Litani River. Israeli forces met fierce resistance from Hezbollah fighters entrenched in underground bunkers, **tunnels**, and caves who were armed with sophisticated antitank missiles and other weapons supplied by Iran and Syria.

Hezbollah’s leader Hassan Nasrallah believed that Israel’s response to the kidnapping of the two Israeli soldiers would be limited. He miscalculated. Israel had additional considerations—its military planners saw Hezbollah as the long arm of Iran. The Israeli war effort was aimed at restoring Israel’s deterrent power, eliminating the Hezbollah rocket threat, and creating conditions for the return of the abducted soldiers.

The initial Israeli air strikes were highly successful. On the night of 12 July 2006, the Israel Air Force destroyed most of Hezbollah’s Iranian-made Zilzal long-range rockets, which were believed capable of hitting **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. Over the next few days, the air campaign reduced Hezbollah’s Beirut headquarters to rubble, destroyed weapon stores, and killed dozens of elite Hezbollah fighters. But it soon became apparent that incessant Hezbollah rocket fire from mobile launchers could only be stopped by a large-scale ground operation. This did not happen until the last days of the war, and Hezbollah was able to continue firing more than 100 rockets a day at Israeli civilians in the north and claim victory on the grounds that Israel had been unable to stop the Katyusha rocket fire.

A cease-fire was instituted on 14 August 2006, on the thirty-fourth day of the war, the operative provision of **United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1701** of 11 August 2006. It called for a “robust” version of the **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** to be installed in southern Lebanon, essentially between the Litani River and the Blue Line, to prevent Hezbollah from reestablishing itself there and using the area to attack Israel. The deployment to southern Lebanon of a more robust UNIFIL was a positive feature of the outcome of hostilities. At the same time, the Lebanese armed forces also deployed in southern Lebanon for the first time in decades.

Thus, Hezbollah was (at least temporarily) removed from the border zone that was its base of operations for attacks against Israel both before and during the 2006 hostilities.

Estimates of the number of Lebanese killed in the war varied from about 850 to 1,200. The number of Israelis killed was put at 44 civilians and 119 soldiers between 12 July and 14 August, with 4,262 civilians wounded. UN officials estimated that 1 million Lebanese and 300,000 Israelis had been displaced by the fighting. More than 1 million Israelis were forced to live in shelters as some 4,000 rockets landed on Israel, of which more than 900 hit communities in more than 160 Israeli cities, town, villages, **kibbutzim**, and **moshavim**. The cost of the war—measured in terms of physical damage to northern Israel caused by Hezbollah rockets and lost manhours in industrial productivity—was estimated in the billions of shekels. Under public pressure, the Olmert-led government agreed to establish separate commissions to investigate the handling of the Second Lebanon War by the government, military, and Home Front Command. The IDF completed its withdrawal from Lebanon on 1 October 2006.

The war with Hezbollah had both positive and negative aspects. Militarily, Israel dealt Hezbollah a severe blow—Hezbollah lost its control of and its position on, the Lebanon—Israel border. Its weapons systems were destroyed and degraded, and it lost much of its arsenal of long range missiles and suffered serious casualties, both killed and wounded. But at the same time, Hezbollah survived (as did Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah’s secretary general) and could sustain what it termed “its resistance” against Israel, still able to fire more than 100 rockets a day against Israeli civilian targets, and to rearm for the seemingly inevitable next round of warfare with Israel. *See also* OPERATION CHANGING DIRECTION; WINOGRAD COMMITTEE.

### **SECURITY BARRIER (SECURITY FENCE, SEPARATION FENCE).**

The physical barrier—a combination of chain-link fences, walls, watchtowers, no-go zones, high-tech sensors, and surveillance cameras—constructed by Israel beginning in 2002 to guard its citizens from **suicide bombers** and other forms of **terrorism** emanating from the **West Bank** during the **Al-Aksa intifada**. The barrier’s primary objective of enhancing the personal security of Israeli citizens was fulfilled immediately, as demonstrated by the more than 90 percent reduction in the number of successful terrorist incursions from areas of the West Bank where construction of the barrier was completed. Nevertheless, the barrier’s construction created a storm of political protest, with the **Palestinians** and their international supporters likening it to an “Apartheid Wall.”

While reaffirming support for Israel’s right to take steps to protect its citizens against terror, including building the security barrier, many Western countries, including the **United States**, did express concern about the exten-

sion of parts of the barrier deeply into Palestinian-dominated areas of the West Bank and the impact this was having on the quality of life of the local Palestinians.

On 30 June 2004, the **Supreme Court** of Israel, in an unprecedented and historic ruling, ordered the **government** of Israel to modify the route of the security barrier. The court reiterated that the state had the sovereign right—and obligation—under international law to construct the barrier where it chose to do so to protect its citizens from terror and affirmed that (contrary to international accusations) the state’s primary motivation in constructing the barrier was national security. Nevertheless, the court concluded that the state, however unwittingly, had not taken due regard of the social, economic, and humanitarian impact of the barrier on the Palestinian civilian population. It ordered that the route of sections of the barrier, specifically those that extended well beyond the **Green Line**, be redrawn.

The revised route of the security barrier, adhering more closely to the Green Line, was approved by the **cabinet** on 20 February 2005. It was assumed, although never explicitly acknowledged by any Israeli official, that the new route would become the future border between Israel and an independent Palestinian state. Construction of the security barrier, in phases, continued through 2006 and 2007. Israel saw the barrier as a significant obstacle to Palestinian terrorist operations, and this was occasionally supported by Palestinian leaders. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; OPERATION DEFENSIVE SHIELD; SHARON, ARIEL “ARIK” (FORMERLY SHEINERMAN) (1928–2014).

**SECURITY ZONE.** A narrow strip (three to nine miles wide) of land north of the Israel-Lebanon border retained by Israel following the withdrawal of most of the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) from Lebanon in the spring of 1985. The area was patrolled by small contingents of IDF soldiers and units of the Israeli-backed **South Lebanese Army** (SLA). The purpose of the security zone was to be a buffer to protect the towns and villages of northern Israel by keeping **terrorists**—such as the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) and **Hezbollah**—out of **Katyusha rocket** range of the border region and by creating a physical barrier to terrorist incursions. However the growing number of Israeli casualties in the security zone caused a heated public debate in the late 1990s about withdrawing IDF forces completely from the area. In the 1999 Knesset election campaign, **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** leader **Ehud Barak** pledged to withdraw the IDF from the security zone within one year of becoming **prime minister**. That commitment was fulfilled on 24 May 2000. The **United Nations** certified that Israel met its obligations under **United Nations Security Council Resolution 425** (1978) and had withdrawn fully from Lebanon.

**SEPARATION.** The concept of Israelis and **Palestinians** living their lives apart. Severing ties between the Jews and their Arab neighbors had been part of Israel's political discourse since at least the **Persian Gulf War (1991)**. It was given formal expression through the construction of Israel's **security barrier** in the **West Bank** and Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon's** plan for a complete and permanent Israeli withdrawal from the **Gaza Strip** and parts of the northern West Bank. Opinion in Israel is divided between those who envision a final peace settlement premised on a complete separation from the Palestinians and those who perceive the need for continued economic contacts across the political borders. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; TWO-STATE SOLUTION; UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HIT-NATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT).

**SEPHARDI, SEPHARDIM.** *See* ORIENTAL JEWS.

**SEPHARDI TORAH GUARDIANS (SHAS).** A **Haredi** (ultra-Orthodox) **political party** established by individuals of Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) background who split from **Agudat Israel** and first contested the 1984 Knesset election. While ideologically close to the **Ashkenazi**-dominated Haredi Agudat Israel, SHAS's founders perceived anti-Sephardic discrimination and wished to get the funds, political-patronage jobs, and other advantages of which they had felt deprived. SHAS formed a **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Hachmei Hatorah)** and its leadership was closely linked to the former Sephardic chief rabbi of Israel, **Ovadia Yosef**. SHAS declared that the Torah was its platform and regarded itself as a movement of spiritual awakening.

Despite a split in the party, SHAS won six seats in the 1988 legislative election and emerged as the third-largest party in the **Knesset** and the largest of the religious parties. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef resigned his position on the Supreme Rabbinical Court in order to campaign actively for SHAS. In this period, the party exhibited a great deal of political pragmatism. In the spring of 1990, it abstained in the vote of confidence that led to the ouster of **Yitzhak Shamir's Likud (Union) Party**-led coalition **government**. Later that spring, it joined Shamir's newly established narrow coalition. SHAS won six seats in the 1992 Knesset election and joined **Yitzhak Rabin's** government led by the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. SHAS's abstention was critical in the Knesset's ratification of the September 1993 Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization **Declaration of Principles**. It subsequently left the Rabin government in disputes over religious legislation; also precipitating its departure was a fraud and corruption criminal case against party leader **Arye Deri**. Though no longer part of the coalition, SHAS continued to serve as a "safety net" for Rabin and foreign minister

**Shimon Peres** by abstaining from Knesset votes relating to the **Oslo Accords**. SHAS won 10 seats in the 1996 Knesset election and joined **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s Likud-led coalition.

Under the tight spiritual guidance of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef and Arye Deri's political leadership, SHAS adopted an approach to foreign and security policy that was seen by many as somewhat more accommodative than the Ashkenazi-dominated Haredi political parties. Rabbi Yosef in the heady early days of the Oslo Accords emphasized that the concept of *pikuah nefesh*, "the saving of human life," takes precedence over all the other commandments in the Torah, including the retention of all of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**. In terms of its domestic policy platform, SHAS advocated the maximum incorporation of Jewish religious law (*Halacha*) and increased respect and representation for Sephardic Jews in Israeli daily life. Substantively, this meant public funding for Sephardic yeshivas, schools, vocational schools, and day-care centers at levels equivalent to those provided to Ashkenazi Haredi communities along with subsidies for large families.

Knesset elections in the 1990s witnessed a steady increase in support for SHAS, including among non-Orthodox Sephardic Jews. Analysts attributed this to SHAS's deliberate strategy of defining itself as an "ethnic" political movement rather than a religious movement, as well as its vast network of subsidized educational institutions and day-care centers, especially in poor urban neighborhoods and underserved regions of the country, including development towns. SHAS used its growing political influence to aggressively push successive coalition governments for legislation affecting the divisive **Who Is a Jew?** issue.

The peak of SHAS's electoral strength was when it won 17 seats in the May 1999 Knesset election, despite party leader Arye Deri's conviction two months earlier for taking bribes. In June 1999 Deri formally resigned as the party's political leader, legally enabling SHAS to join **Ehud Barak's One Israel (Israel Ahat)**-led government. For a short while, SHAS provided Barak with a Knesset safety net regarding his aggressive diplomatic initiatives, but this support was ultimately withdrawn.

Headed by its new leader, **Eliyahu (Eli) Yishai**, SHAS won 11 seats in the 2003 Knesset election but it was blocked from participating in **Ariel Sharon's** Likud-led coalition government by **Yosef (Tommy) Lapid's** virulently anti-clerical **Shinui Party**. SHAS won 12 seats in the March 2006 Knesset election and joined the **Kadima (Forward) Party**-led government formed by **Ehud Olmert**. In late 2008 SHAS declined the opportunity to join a coalition headed by the newly elected Kadima leader **Tzipi Livni**, resulting in the February 2009 Knesset election in which it won 11 seats. It received four cabinet portfolios in the government formed by Benjamin Netanyahu. Its coalition agreement with Likud also allocated billions of shekels for Sephardic yeshivas and other educational institutions, and it boosted child allow-

ances for large families. The agreement also gave SHAS control over Israel's Haredi education system, thus ensuring increased respect and representation for Sephardic Jews and "fair" allocation of funds to Sephardic as well as Ashkenazi Haredi educational institutions.

Former SHAS chairman Arye Deri was convicted in 2000 of taking bribes while serving as interior minister and given a three-year jail sentence, of which, after failed appeals, he served 22 months and was released in 2002. His 2012 return to politics—and his expectation of immediately resuming his leadership position—after a 13-year hiatus created instability, including re-opening Deri's longtime rivalry with then party leader, Eliyahu Yishai. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef and the Council of Torah Sages forced a compromise in October 2012, creating a shaky troika of Deri, Yishai, and senior SHAS Knesset member Ariel Atias to lead the party's campaign for the 2013 Knesset election. The compromise did little to calm the Deri-Yishai rivalry, though Atias sought to put things in the proper perspective, reportedly saying, "In any case, it doesn't matter who the chairman is . . . Rabbi Ovadia Yosef is always above the chairman and it is [Yosef] who decides." SHAS won 11 seats in the 2013 Knesset election but was excluded from Benjamin Netanyahu's new coalition government. In May 2013 Deri was reappointed SHAS's sole political leader. He announced that his major issue moving forward was to work with the Ashkenazi Haredi Party in the Knesset, **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)**, and other opposition parties in challenging the draft legislation that effectively ended exemptions from military service for most rabbinical students in Haredi yeshivas and applied individual criminal sanctions against students dodging the draft (*see* EQUAL SERVICE LAW).

SHAS and its Sephardic Haredi constituency were shaken by the death of their revered teacher (*Maran*) Rabbi Ovadia Yosef on 7 October 2013. Rabbi Shalom Cohen was named to succeed Yosef as SHAS's spiritual leader and head of the Council of Torah Sages. But it was understood that it would be extremely difficult for Cohen to replicate the powerful unity and spiritual leadership Yosef brought to the party. This was clearly evidenced by the failure of the new Council of Torah Sages to end the hostility between Deri and Eli Yishai and their respective supporters that re-emerged in the late fall of 2014, resulting in Yishai's 15 December 2014 decision to leave SHAS and create the splinter **Yachad–Ha'am Itanu (Together–The Nation Is with Us)** party to contest the 2015 Knesset election.

Under Arye Deri's leadership, SHAS won seven seats in the 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). Because of the election outcome, SHAS gained influence in the formation of the new government and the construction of its program. The party won important concessions, particularly with regard to the drafting of ultra-Orthodox students, from prime minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu in order to secure its support for the coalition government that Netanyahu was trying to form.

**SEPHARDIM PARTY.** An ethnic-based **political party** that represented an effort to organize Sephardic and **Oriental Jews** and succeeded in electing four members to the First **Knesset** and two to the Second Knesset. Toward the end of the tenure of the First Knesset, the party split along economic lines, and it eventually disappeared when one of its most prominent leaders, Bechor Shitreet, was co-opted by **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** to serve as minister of police in a series of governments led by **David Ben-Gurion**.

**SETTLEMENT OUTPOSTS.** Small extensions to existing **settlements**, normally established on nearby hillsides without **government** authorization and, hence, illegal under Israeli law. The precise number of such outposts is difficult to ascertain. According to **Peace Now (Shalom Achshav)** there are some 100 such outposts scattered throughout the **West Bank**, the majority populated by **Gush Emunim** and other elements of the settlement community including the so-called militant **hilltop youth**. Steps by Israeli authorities in early 2006 to evacuate and demolish one such outpost, **Amona** (near Ofra), produced rioting by some 4,000 protestors.

The outposts remain a matter of contention in Israeli relations with the **Palestinians** and the **United States**. The Palestinians tend not to believe Israel's commitments to evacuate and demolish the illegal outposts and perceive the emphasis on the outposts as a means through which Israel can divert attention from its obligation (according to the Palestinian interpretation of signed agreements) to withdraw from all settlements in the West Bank.

The outposts were determined to be illegal under Israeli law based on two considerations. They had been established despite the fact Israeli courts had determined that the land on which they were constructed was the legal property of local Palestinian villagers or farmers. Moreover, they were established without the authorization of the **Israel Defense Forces** (the agency responsible for legal Jewish housing activity in the West Bank) or in many cases in explicit contravention of IDF orders to *not* create outposts in a particular area so as to avoid provoking tensions with the local Palestinian population. In late January 2012 Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** appointed a three-member committee headed by former **Supreme Court** justice Edmund Levy to investigate the legal status of unauthorized West Bank settlements. The Levy Committee report was issued in July 2012 and concluded that settlement outposts were not illegal and should be approved by the state. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SETTLEMENTS.** Jewish settlement in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** territory has existed from time immemorial, and this was expressly recognized as legitimate in the **British Mandate for Palestine** adopted by the League of Nations, which provided for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Jewish people's ancient homeland.

Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, Jewish immigrants (*see* ALIYA) began to establish settlements throughout **Palestine**. The purpose of these settlements was to provide security to civilian settlements, **kibbutzim**, and **moshavim** in far-flung areas of Palestine and to establish permanent **Zionist** "facts" on the ground. The paramilitary **Nahal** program combined military service with **agricultural** activities in support of these settlements. Several of the early settlements were destroyed or evacuated in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. Many of them, especially the **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)** and **Hebron**, were reestablished in the immediate aftermath of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, while new settlements were established in the **Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights**.

A great deal of settlement activity occurred between 1967 and 1977 under governments led by the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**, but the emphasis in that period tended to be on using settlements to reinforce Israel's strategic interests in the **Occupied Territories** and around **Jerusalem**. Under Labor, most settlement activity was state sponsored and funded, however in some cases (such as the small settlement established by **Rabbi Moshe Levinger** in Hebron on the eve of Passover, 1968), settlements were established as a result of private initiatives and against government wishes. The pace and scope of settlement activity changed substantially with the ascendance of **Menachem Begin** and the **Likud (Union) Party** to power in 1977, with an emphasis on encouraging maximum Jewish presence in all parts of the Occupied Territories so as to make it difficult to evacuate from them in the context of future peace agreements. Nevertheless, it was under Likud that all settlements in the Sinai Desert (such as **Yamit**) were evacuated in the early 1980s in fulfillment of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**.

Since 1967, no Israeli government has formally introduced as policy the prospect of disbanding and evacuating settlements in the West Bank. The **Galili Document** of 1973 preempted an apparent move by Labor Party doves to place the status of settlements on the negotiating table. During the campaign preceding the 1992 **Knesset** election, Labor Party chairman **Yitzhak Rabin** made vague references to the possibility of Israel's eventually evacuating "political" settlements (that is, settlements established provocatively alongside or amid Arab population centers in the West Bank or in far-flung parts of the territories and offering no strategic value to Israel) while maintaining permanent control over "security" settlements (those settlements vital



to the security of Israeli populations in the West Bank) and **Jerusalem**. However, Rabin never specified which settlements he placed in each category.

At Israel's insistence, discussion of the permanent status of settlements was deferred until the final-status phase of the **Oslo Accords** negotiation process. Nevertheless, the settlements issue was a source of controversy between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators from the outset. In the **Camp David II** negotiations with the **Palestinians** in July 2000, Israel's **Ehud Barak** put forward a proposal that would see approximately 80 percent of West Bank–Gaza settlers concentrated into three major blocs of settlements on 3–5 percent of West Bank land. In December 2003, Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** announced that all 21 Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip and four settlements in the northern West Bank would be evacuated as part of his plan for **unilateral disengagement** (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut) from the Palestinians; the disengagement was implemented in the summer of 2005.

In an exchange of letters with Sharon on 14 April 2004, U.S. president **George W. Bush** stated that, given prevailing realities on the ground, including the existence of Jewish civilian population centers beyond the **Green Line**, it was unrealistic to expect Israel to withdraw fully to the 1949 armistice lines within the context of any permanent peace agreement. The Israelis interpreted this statement as meaning that there would be a permanent Jewish settlement presence in the West Bank. **Kadima (Forward)** Party prime minister **Ehud Olmert's** **convergence** plan, articulated during the 2006 Knesset election campaign, spoke about the integration of settlements beyond the **security barrier** into three major settlement blocs (**Etzion Bloc [Gush Etzion]**, **Ma'aleh Adumim**, and **Ariel**). Since 2009 Likud-led governments have adopted a more cautious approach toward the settlement issue. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SHABAK.** *See* SHIN BET (SHABAK).

**SHAI.** Acronym for Sherut Yediot (“information service”), the **intelligence service** of the **Hagana** established in 1940. *See also* ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEYISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**SHAKED, AYELET (1976–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born Ayelet Ben-Shaul in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** on 7 May 1976, Shaked served as an instructor in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Educated at **Tel Aviv University**, she began her career in Israel's high-technology **industry**. From 2006 to 2008 she served as manager of **Benjamin Netanyahu's** office and between 2010 and 2012 she chaired the “My Israel” right-wing political advocacy movement she had established with future **HaBayit HaYehudi**

**(Jewish Home)** leader **Naftali Bennett**, whom she had worked with in Netanyahu's office. In January 2012 Shaked was hired to a senior position in the **Likud (Union) Party** but she resigned in June of that year and went on to take third place in the HaBayit HaYehudi Party primaries held on 12 November 2012. She entered the **Knesset** when the party won 12 mandates in the 2013 Knesset election, becoming the only avowedly secular Knesset member for the religious **Zionist Party** in the Nineteenth Knesset. Shaked has been described as “an integral part” of HaBayit HaYehudi leader Naftali Bennett's strategy to expand the party's reach beyond its traditional electoral base among Israel's religious Zionist community, to attract non-Orthodox and young secular Jewish Israeli voters to its ranks. She is a security policy hawk: she supports the rights of **West Bank Jewish settlers**, opposes the idea of a **two-state solution** for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and supports efforts to have controversial Arab member of Knesset **Hanin Zoabi** suspended for her role in the *Mavi Mamara* incident. Shaked was reelected in the 2015 Knesset election in third place on the HaBayit HaYehudi list, and was appointed justice minister in Benjamin Netanyahu's new coalition government.

**SHAKI, AVNER (SHAKI, AVNER-HAI) (1926–2005)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 5 February 1926 in **Safed**, Shaki graduated from the faculty of law of **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. He initially entered the Seventh Knesset on 16 July 1970 from the list of the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**, serving until 21 January 1974. He was reelected to the Knesset in the 1984 election and in all subsequent elections until 1999. From 1 September 1970 to 17 July 1972 he served as deputy minister of education and culture. He served as minister without portfolio in Israel's Twenty-third government (22 December 1988–11 June 1990) and minister of religious affairs in Israel's Twenty-fourth government (11 June 1990–13 July 1992). He served as leader of the NRP in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Under his leadership, the party adopted an increasingly hawkish perspective on national security and **foreign policy**. He was a strong critic of the **Oslo Accords** and a leader of the faction of the NRP that threatened to have the party leave the **Benjamin Netanyahu**–led government in response to **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** redeployments in **Hebron** and elsewhere in the **West Bank**. Shaki was not accorded a “secure” slot on the NRP list that contested the 1999 Knesset election. He died on 28 May 2005.

**SHALIT, GILAD (1986– )**. Israeli corporal taken hostage in a Palestinian **terrorist** raid on an **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** post at the **Kerem Shalom** crossing in the **Negev** near the southern **Gaza Strip** on 25 June 2006. The kidnapping and subsequent refusal by forces affiliated with **Hamas (Hara-**

**kat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya**) to unconditionally release Shalit was a major factor in Israel's decision to launch **Operation Summer Rain**. He was held captive by Hamas for over five years, until his release on 18 October 2011 as part of a controversial prisoner exchange deal that involved the transfer of 1,027 Palestinian and Israeli Arab prisoners, many of them convicted terrorists with “Jewish blood on their hands,” from Israeli prisons.

**SHALIT CASE.** In 1968, Benjamin (Binyamin) Shalit, an Israeli-born Jewish naval officer married to a non-Jew abroad, applied to have his two children registered by the Israeli government as Jews. The request was denied by the interior ministry, which wanted to leave blank both the “**religion**” and “nationality” categories of the children's registration cards due to the fact that, having been born to a non-Jewish mother, they were not Jewish according to Jewish religious law (*Halacha*). Shalit, himself an atheist, was prepared to leave the religious category blank, but he wanted his children registered as being of the Jewish nation. The **Supreme Court** of Israel, by a 5-4 decision, supported Shalit's request. The **Knesset**, under pressure from the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**, subsequently amended the **Law of Return** to read that a Jew is one born of a Jewish mother or a woman converted to Judaism according to *Halacha*. This amended legislation caused the court to deny a second request by Shalit in 1972 to register his third child as a member of the Jewish nation. *See also* WHO IS A JEW?.

**SHALOM HAVER (“GOOD-BYE FRIEND”).** *See* “GOOD-BYE, FRIEND” (SHALOM HAVER).

**SHALOM, SILVAN (1958–).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Shalom was born in Tunisia on 4 August 1958, and his family immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel the following year. He was drafted into the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and obtained degrees in economics and accounting from **Ben-Gurion University of the Negev** as well as a law degree and an M.A. in public policy from **Tel Aviv University**, but became a journalist by profession. Among his many public activities, Shalom served as a member of the executive of the Israel Broadcasting Authority and of the board of the Israel Airport Authority, as well as an adviser to the ministers of finance, economy and planning, and justice. He became director general of the ministry of energy in 1990, chairman of the board of the Israel Electric Company between 1990 and 1992, and deputy chairman of the Public Council of Youth Exchange between 1992 and 1993.

Shalom entered politics relatively late, elected to the **Knesset** from the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1992. His government roles included a stint as deputy minister of defense (1997 to 1998) and minister of **science** and technology (1998 to 1999). A staunch ally of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**, he was appointed minister of finance and deputy prime minister in 2001. As minister of finance, he was largely blamed for a series of failed state budget plans and the inability to rescue Israel from an economic recession brought on by a global market slowdown and the **Al-Aksa intifada**. In 2003, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs by Sharon, replacing **Benjamin Netanyahu**. As foreign minister, Shalom was instrumental in facilitating passage of Sharon's controversial Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut) through both the **cabinet** and the Knesset.

Shalom lost the 19 December 2005 Likud Party leadership primary, taking 33 percent of the vote compared to the 44 percent for Netanyahu. He was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election. He initially contested the Likud leadership primary ultimately won by Netanyahu in August 2007. Reelected to the Knesset in 2009 on the Likud list, he was appointed vice prime minister, minister of regional cooperation, and minister for the development of the **Negev** and **Galilee**. In the government formed by Netanyahu after the 2013 election Shalom again was accorded multiple responsibilities, as minister of national infrastructure, **energy**, and **water**, minister for the development of the Negev and Galilee, and minister of regional cooperation. Reelected to the Twentieth Knesset (2015), Shalom was named vice prime minister and minister of internal affairs in Netanyahu's new government; he was later mandated to head Israel's negotiations with the **Palestinians**, as well. On 20 December 2015 Shalom resigned from cabinet and from the Knesset due to a personal scandal.

**SHALOM ACHSHAV.** *See* PEACE NOW (SHALOM ACHSHAV).

**SHAMGAR, MEIR (1925– ).** Attorney general; president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel; head of state commissions of inquiry. Born in Gdańsk, Poland, on 13 August 1925, Shamgar studied history and philosophy at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and law at the Government Law School of London University. In the years leading to statehood, he was a member of the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) and was placed in administrative detention in British colonies in Africa. Returning to **Palestine**, he served in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF), attaining the rank of brigadier general. He served as military advocate general from 1961 to 1968. In 1967–1968, he created the legal framework of the Israeli military government in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. From 1968 to 1975, he served as **attorney general**. Appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel, he became president of the court in

1983. In 1994, he chaired the **commission of inquiry** into the killing of Palestinian worshippers in **Hebron** (see HEBRON MASSACRE). He retired from the Supreme Court in August 1995. On 8 November 1995, he was appointed to head the state commission of inquiry into the assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** (see SHAMGAR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY). Shamgar was the recipient of the 1996 **Israel Prize** for special contribution to the state and society.

**SHAMGAR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.** On 8 November 1995, a state **commission of inquiry** was established to investigate the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** by **Yigal Amir**. It was chaired by the recently retired president of the **Supreme Court** justice **Meir Shamgar**. Its other members were Zvi Zamir (**Mossad** director, 1968–1974) and Ariel Rosen-Zvi (professor of law at **Tel Aviv University**). It submitted its 332-page report on 28 March 1996, two days after Amir's conviction. Its main conclusions fell into two categories. Concerning the assassination itself, it concluded that the **Shin Bet (Shabak)**/General Security Service had no prior knowledge of Amir, though it was criticized for not taking seriously a general description of Amir and his intentions that it received some five months before the assassination. Otherwise, the **intelligence services** were generally exonerated. The Shamgar Commission totally rejected any suggestion of a broad-based conspiracy surrounding the Rabin assassination.

The second section of the report was highly critical of the special unit of the Shin Bet assigned to protect very important people (VIP), including and especially the prime minister. According to the Shamgar Report, the “thinking and performance [of the VIP unit] were extremely flawed, and the management culture of government authorities . . . was weak.” It declared that if Shin Bet director Karmi Gillon and the chief of the agency's protection unit had not already resigned, it would have recommended their dismissal. The commission did recommend the dismissal of the three next-highest-ranking Shin Bet officials in the protection unit, barring two others from command positions for specified periods of time, and lesser sanctions for officials of the next two echelons down. A 118-page classified appendix to the report recommended stronger intelligence liaison and cooperation between the police and the Shin Bet, more intensive surveillance of subversive Jewish organizations, and better control of undercover agents by the Shin Bet. On 31 March 1996, the government of Israel adopted the recommendations of the Shamgar Report.

**SHAMIR, MOSHE (1921–2004).** Popular author and social commentator. Born in **Safed** on 15 September 1921, he was raised in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** and attended the **Herzliya High School**. A member of **Hashomer Hatazir**, he joined the movement's **Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek** from 1941 to 1947 and served in the **Palmah** between 1944 and 1948. It was during this time that Shamir's literary career began as the first editor of *Bamahaneh*, the underground weekly newspaper of the **Hagana** and after statehood the official publication of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. His early success as a writer was based largely on his ability to give popular expression to the idealism and aspiration of the generation that established the kibbutzim and fought Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)**.

Israel's victory in the **Six-Day War (1967)** had a profound impact on Shamir and marked a turning point in his literary career. Following the war, he quit the **Zionist** left and went over to the nationalist right, becoming a founder of the **Land of Israel Movement** that advocated permanent retention of most of the territories taken from the **Arabs** as a strategic buffer against future attacks. He won a seat in the Ninth **Knesset (1977–1981)** on the **Likud (Union) Party** slate as the leader of the party's right-wing **La'am** faction. He resigned from the Likud to protest the **Camp David Agreement with Egypt** and in 1979 was a founding member of the ultranationalist **Te-hiya (Renaissance) Party**. His ideological shift was reflected in much of his later literature, which, in direct contrast to the idealism of his earlier works, tended to focus on problems of class tension in Israeli society, the decline of the kibbutz as an institution, and what Shamir deemed the emptiness of contemporary Israeli values. In 1988 he received the **Israel Prize** for contribution to literature, among other accolades. He died in **Rishon LeZion** on 21 August 2004.

**SHAMIR, YITZHAK (FORMERLY YZERNITZKY) (1915–2012).** Born on 22 October 1915 in Rozhinay (or Rozhnoi) in eastern Poland, he was educated at a Hebrew secondary school in Bialystok, where he became a disciple of **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky** and joined the **Revisionist** youth movement, **Betar**. He studied law at Warsaw University until 1935, when he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** and changed his name to Shamir. He completed his studies at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**.

Shamir joined the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)** in 1937 and rose through the ranks of the organization into leadership positions. In 1940, the Irgun suspended attacks against the **British Mandate** authorities in Palestine and offered its cooperation in the war effort against **Germany**. This action caused a split in the organization and led to the creation of a smaller and more militant group, which Shamir joined. This faction, **LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael—Fighters for the Freedom of Israel)**, was known also as the **Stern (Gang) Group**, named after **Avraham Stern (Yair)**, the group's first

leader. They viewed the British as the main obstacle to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. After Stern was killed by British police in 1942, Shamir helped to reorganize LEHI, establishing a high command known as LEHI Central, which included Shamir, **Nathan Yellin Mor**, and **Dr. Israel Scheib (Eldad)**. Shamir directed LEHI's operations, which became increasingly violent.

A terror campaign was conducted against the British that included the assassination of Lord Moyne, **Great Britain's** senior Middle East official who was stationed in Cairo in 1944. Two LEHI members were captured, tried, convicted, and executed for the crime. The Stern Gang was also suspected in the assassination of Swedish count Folke Bernadotte, who sought to mediate an end to Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** on behalf of the **United Nations**, but these charges were never substantiated and Shamir always refused to comment on the matter. He was arrested twice by British authorities, in 1941 and 1946, but managed to escape both times. He was sent to a detention camp in Eritrea, but he escaped and traveled through **Ethiopia** to Djibouti, ultimately arriving in **France**, where he was given political asylum. He remained in France until he returned to the newly established state of Israel in May 1948.

Shamir found it difficult to enter Israel's new political system, which was dominated by former **Hagana** members and others who had been associated with the labor **Zionist** Movement. He sought election to the **Knesset** in 1949 with a list of candidates comprised of former LEHI members, but this effort failed. Shamir did not pursue elective office again until he joined **Menachem Begin's Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** in 1970. During the period from 1948 to 1955, he was active in a number of private commercial ventures, including directing an association of cinema owners. These were not particularly successful. **Isser Harel**, then head of the **Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**, recruited Shamir into the organization in 1955, where his operational experience from the mandate period could be put to use. He spent a decade with the Mossad and rose to a senior position. For a part of that time, he was stationed in Paris. Shamir left the Mossad in 1965 and returned to private life, where he pursued commercial interests but with only moderate success. He remained active in public life primarily through his efforts at increasing Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel. In 1970, Begin offered him a position in Herut, which Shamir had recently joined, and he was elected to the executive committee and became the director of the Immigration Department.

Shamir successfully ran for election to the Knesset for the first time on the Herut list in 1973 and became a member of the Knesset **State Comptroller** Committee and the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee. He directed Herut's organization department, and in 1975, he was elected chairman of the party's executive committee, a post to which he was reelected unanimously

two years later. Shamir was elected speaker of the Ninth Knesset in June 1977. Loyalty characterized Shamir's service to Begin, both within the **Likud (Union) Party** and in the Begin-led governments in which he served. The most significant issue that separated the two was Begin's decision to negotiate and sign the **Camp David Accords** and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**. Shamir opposed the treaty (as did other Likud leaders, including **Moshe Arens** and **Ariel Sharon**) because he believed Israel was sacrificing too much in return for what he viewed as uncertain guarantees of peace. The withdrawal from the **Sinai Peninsula** and the relinquishing of the security buffer it provided and the sophisticated air bases located there, as well as the dismantling of Jewish **settlements**, was seen as too high a price for Israel to pay. Shamir abstained on the final Knesset vote when the treaty was approved.

Begin appointed Shamir as his foreign minister in March 1980. Shamir's view of the Camp David process changed during his tenure as foreign minister, when he was responsible for implementing the agreements reached, and he became an advocate of that approach for future negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. Shamir was also active in efforts to restore diplomatic relations with several African states, which had been severed at the time of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He supported legislation declaring united **Jerusalem** the eternal capital of Israel as well as the bombing of the **Iraqi** nuclear reactor in June 1981 and the annexation of the **Golan Heights** in December 1981. He saw these actions as contributing to Israel's security. After the 1981 Knesset election, Shamir continued to serve as foreign minister. During this term in office, Shamir was criticized by the **Kahan Commission of Inquiry** because he failed to pass on to appropriate individuals information he received from communications minister Mordechai Zipori suggesting that massacres were taking place in the **Sabra and Shatila refugee camps** in September 1982.

When Begin resigned from office in September 1983, Shamir was the Likud Party compromise choice to succeed him, and he formed the new government. On 10 October 1983, the Knesset endorsed the government and its programs, and Shamir became the **prime minister** of Israel, but many viewed him as an interim leader who would last only until the next Knesset election in 1984. The 1984 Knesset election results were inconclusive, and after a period of intense, lengthy, and complex negotiations, Likud and the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** formed in September 1984 a **Government of National Unity**, the basis of which was a series of compromises and concessions. According to the terms of the agreement, Shamir and Labor's **Shimon Peres** each were to serve for twenty-five months as prime minister, while the other held the position of vice prime minister and foreign minister. Peres was prime minister during the first period and rotated positions with Shamir as agreed in October 1986. The 1988



Knesset elections, as in 1984, did not demonstrate a clear preference for either Likud or Labor among the electorate. After weeks of intensive negotiations, Shamir entered into a new coalition agreement with Labor that placed Labor in an equal position with Likud in the government. The distribution of **cabinet** portfolios among the two blocs was to be equal, but Shamir would remain the prime minister for the full tenure of the government.

In the spring of 1989, under persistent pressure from the **United States**, Shamir (along with defense minister **Yitzhak Rabin**) developed a complex peace initiative focusing on negotiations with the **Palestinians**. Building on the idea of Palestinian elections in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip** and a five year transitional period of local self-government, the Shamir Proposal was approved by the Likud-Labor national unity government on 14 May 1989. However, disagreements with the **George H. W. Bush** administration over specific aspects of the proposal and the absence of a positive response from the Arab side combined to scuttle the plan. Disagreement within the cabinet over the peace process reached a climax in the spring of 1990 that led to a vote of no confidence in the government. Shamir headed a caretaker government and, after an abortive effort by Peres to form a new Labor-led government, Shamir formed a Likud-led narrow coalition government composed of right-of-center and religious **political parties** that won Knesset approval in June 1990.

Shamir governed Israel during the **Persian Gulf War (1991)** and he took the difficult decision to abide by the American request to not respond militarily to Iraqi **Scud missile** attacks. Following the end of the war, his government agreed to participate in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. Shamir became embroiled in a prolonged dispute with the Bush administration and elements of the American Jewish community over U.S. loan guarantees for absorbing Soviet Jewish immigrants and Likud policy toward Jewish settlements in the West Bank. Shamir announced his resignation as Likud leader following the party's defeat in the 1992 Knesset election. He was succeeded as Likud Party chairman by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in the spring of 1993. Shamir retired from party politics in 1996 but remained an active commentator on Israeli foreign and domestic affairs. He died on 30 June 2012 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**.

**SHAPIRA, YOSEF (1926–2013). Government** minister. Born on 26 December 1926 in **Jerusalem**, Shapira received a traditional yeshiva education. He served as the world secretary of the **Bnei Akiva** youth movement and of the world executive of the **Mizrachi** Movement. Although not a member of the **Knesset**, he served in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984 as minister without portfolio representing the ultranationalist **Morasha (Heritage) Party**. He later returned to a career in education. He died on 28 December 2013 in Jerusalem.

**SHAPIRO, RABBI AVRAHAM ELKANAH (1914–2007).** Rabbi; spiritual adviser to **West Bank settlers**. Born in Romania on 20 May 1914, Shapiro immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1949. Educated at ultra-Orthodox yeshivas in **Jerusalem** and **Hebron**, he was an ordained rabbi. He became involved in politics as a member of **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** at the summons of the Gerer rebbe (the rabbi of Gur). In 1983, he was elected Israel's **Ashkenazi** chief rabbi (*see* RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL), a position he held until 1993. After his retirement, he served as one of the spiritual advisors for the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** and for elements of the settler community opposed to the 2005 evacuation of the **Gaza Strip**. Shapiro died on 27 September 2007 in Jerusalem. *See also* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT).

**SHARANSKY, ANATOLY “NATAN” (1948– ).** **Prisoner of Zion**; member of **Knesset** and **government** minister; world **Zionist** leader; human rights activist. Born in Donetsk, Ukraine, on 20 January 1948, he was one of the most famous of those who were denied the right to emigrate from the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** and persecuted and imprisoned by the Soviets because of their avowed commitment to Zionism. He graduated from the Physical Technical Institute in Moscow with a degree in computer **science**. In 1973, Sharansky's *refusenik* experience began—he applied for an exit visa to Israel but was denied for “security” reasons. In July 1974, he married Avital Shteiglitz, whom Soviet authorities forced a few hours after their wedding to leave the country for Israel. In March 1977, *Izvestia* published an article in which Sharansky was accused of collaborating with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Within 10 days, he was arrested on charges of treason and espionage and imprisoned. Sharansky remained in complete isolation for one and one-half years before he was even brought to trial. He was denied counsel of choice and so served as his own defense. Although the government of the **United States** categorically denied any connection between Sharansky and the CIA, he was found guilty of the charges and sentenced to thirteen years imprisonment: three years in isolation and ten years of hard labor. In his last words to the court in the face of persecution, Sharansky spoke of the 2,000 years of exile of the Jewish people: “Next year in **Jerusalem**.” An international campaign calling for his release was waged by his wife in conjunction with organizations around the world.

Finally released from the Soviet Union on 11 February 1986 (in exchange for a Soviet spy being held by the United States), Sharansky went to Israel, where he was reunited with his wife. In 1986, he was elected president of the Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum, an umbrella organization of groups lobbying on behalf of Soviet Jewish immigrants (*see* ALIYA) in Israel. Reluctant to enter

party politics, he resisted pressure to lead the Russian immigrant **DA (Democracy and Aliya, Yes)** list that unsuccessfully contested the 1992 **Knesset** election. However, he agreed to head the **Israel B'Aliya (Israel For Immigration/Israel Moving Upward)** Party that won seven seats in the 1996 Knesset election and joined the governing coalition formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. In June 1996, he was appointed minister of **industry** and trade, served as a member of Netanyahu's "**kitchen cabinet**" on security policy and the peace process, and was Israel's point man on political, economic, military, and cultural relations with Russia and other areas of the former USSR. Israel B'Aliya, under Sharansky's leadership, won six seats in the 1999 Knesset election and on 6 July 1999, it joined **Ehud Barak's One Israel (Israel Ahat)** coalition government, with Sharansky serving as interior minister. Sharansky and Israel B'Aliya left the coalition in 2000 to protest the territorial concessions Barak offered in negotiations with the **Palestinians at Camp David II**.

Sharansky served as minister of construction and deputy **prime minister** in the **Likud–Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda Haisraelit)** national unity coalition formed by **Ariel Sharon** in 2001. The failure of Israel B'Aliya to attract popular support in the 2003 Knesset election (it won only two seats) led to the decision to incorporate with Likud. Sharansky was not elected to the Knesset; he nevertheless served as minister without portfolio with responsibility for Jerusalem social issues and **Diaspora** affairs. He resigned from the cabinet on 2 May 2005 to protest what he considered to be the asymmetrical nature of Sharon's Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan—*see* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HA-HITNATKUT)—with the Palestinians receiving control over the territories from which Israel was disengaging but without having made any concessions of their own. Sharansky was returned in the March 2006 Knesset election on the Likud list, but he retired from the Knesset in November of that year.

In June 2009 Sharansky was elected to chair the Executive of the **Jewish Agency** for Israel and **World Zionist Organization** and was reelected for a second four-year term in February 2013.

Sharansky is the recipient, among many other accolades and awards, of the U.S. Congressional Medal of Honor and the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He remains a powerful advocate of human rights throughout the world. His memoir *Fear No Evil* (1998) has been translated into nine languages. His other books include *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Freedom and Terror* (2006); and *Defending Identity, Its Indispensable Role in Protecting Democracy* (2008).

**SHAREF, ZE'EV (1906–1984)**. **Jewish Agency** and **government** official. Born on 21 April 1904 in Izvor Szeletin, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Sharef became active in the **Poalei Zion** youth movement in Romania.

He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1925 and subsequently held a series of official and semiofficial posts in support of the **Zionist** Movement and the Jewish community in Palestine. From 1943 to 1947, he served as secretary of the political department of the Jewish Agency. He then was charged by the Provisional Council of State with the task of preparing the administrative machinery essential for the functioning of the new state upon termination of the **British Mandate**. From 1948 to 1957, he was secretary of the **cabinet**, and from 1957 to 1959 he served as director general of the **Prime Minister's** Office. He held a number of other senior civil service positions and in 1965 was elected to the **Knesset** on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list. He held a number of cabinet portfolios in the late 1960s and early 1970s. His book *Three Days* describes the crucial events surrounding the termination of the British Mandate and the proclamation of the state of Israel in May 1948. He died on 18 April 1984.

**SHARETT, MOSHE (FORMERLY SHERTOK) (1894–1965).** Israel's first foreign minister and second **prime minister**. Born in Kherson, Ukraine, Russia, on 15 October 1894, and raised in a **Zionist** household, Sharett immigrated (*see* ALIYA) with his family to **Palestine** in 1906, settling in an Arab village in the Samarian Hills. In 1908, the family moved to Jaffa, where his father was a founder of the Ahuzat Bayit Quarter, which later became **Tel Aviv-Yafo**. After high school, he studied law in Constantinople and then volunteered as an officer in the **Turkish** army during World War I. In 1920, while studying at the London School of Economics, he joined the **Poalei Zion** Movement. In 1931, he became secretary of the **Jewish Agency** for Palestine's political department, and in 1933, at the Eighteenth Zionist Conference, he was elected head of the Jewish Agency's political department after the assassination of the department's head, Chaim Arlosoroff. On 29 June 1946, Sharett and other leaders of the Jewish Agency were arrested by the British in Palestine and incarcerated in the **Latrun** prison for four months. During 1947, he sought approval at the **United Nations** for the **United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) Palestine Partition Plan**.

Sharett became Israel's first foreign minister in 1948. Generally perceived as a relative moderate on peace and security issues (especially in comparison to **David Ben-Gurion's** more hawkish approach), Sharett promoted a diplomatic solution to the dispute with Israel's Arab and Muslim neighbors. In addition, as foreign minister, he initially sought a nonaligned status for Israel, but after the Korean War he promoted closer ties with Western democratic countries. He sought contacts with developing nations in Asia and Africa and also signed the Luxembourg Agreement with West **Germany's Konrad Adenauer**. In January 1954, after Prime Minister Ben-Gurion temporarily retired from office, Sharett became prime minister but also retained the

foreign affairs portfolio. With Ben-Gurion's return as prime minister in November 1955, against the background of the **Lavon Affair** and the likelihood of renewed hostilities with **Egypt**, disagreements surfaced between the two men, and Sharett resigned. In 1960, Sharett was elected chairman of the executive of the **World Zionist Organization** and **Jewish Agency for Israel** and remained active in **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)**. He died on 7 July 1965 in **Jerusalem**.

**SHARIR, AVRAHAM (1932– )**. Knesset member and **government** minister. Born on 23 December 1932 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, he studied law at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and became an attorney. He was active in youth and student circles of the General Zionist Organization and served as parliamentary secretary of the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)** until 1964 and as its secretary general from 1974. From 1964 to 1967, he headed the **Jewish Agency's** economic department in the **United States** and served there as an economic consul for Israel from 1970 to 1974. From 1967 to 1970, he was director general of the Employers' Organization, a member of the High Court for Labor Relations, and a member of the Government Committee on Pensions. Sharir was first elected to the Knesset in the May 1977 parliamentary election, after serving as Liberal Party national elections manager. On 5 August 1981, following his reelection to the Tenth Knesset, he was sworn in as minister of **tourism**. He served in this capacity during the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984, as well as justice minister from 30 July 1986 until the formation of the second unity government in December 1988. Relected in the 1988 Knesset election on the **Likud (Union) Party** list, he did not contest the 1992 Knesset election.

**SHARM EL-SHEIKH**. A point on the southern tip of the **Sinai Peninsula** that allows control of the passage of shipping through the **Strait of Tiran** between the Red Sea and the **Gulf of Aqaba**. **Egypt** used this position to prevent shipping to Israel. The **United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)** was introduced to that location following Israel's withdrawal from Sinai in 1957 and remained there, guaranteeing freedom of navigation, until its withdrawal, at Egypt's request, in May 1967. Israel captured the position during the **Six-Day War (1967)** and remained there until after the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 1979, which guaranteed freedom of passage. *See also* SHARM EL-SHEIKH UNDERSTANDINGS.

**SHARM EL-SHEIKH UNDERSTANDINGS**. On 8 February 2005, one month after the election of **Mahmoud Abbas** as president of the **Palestinian Authority (PA)**, a series of bilateral meetings and a four-way meeting involving Abbas, Israeli prime minister **Ariel Sharon**, **Egyptian** president

Hosni Mubarak, and **Jordan’s King Abdullah II**, was convened at **Sharm el-Sheikh**, Egypt. The meetings produced a series of diplomatic understandings. Abbas and Sharon agreed to a mutual cease-fire in fighting ensuing from the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Israel agreed to immediately release 500 Palestinian prisoners as a goodwill gesture, with 400 more to be released later. Steps were to be taken toward withdrawing Israeli forces from the Palestinian population centers partially reoccupied for security purposes during **Operation Defensive Shield**. At the regional level, Egypt and Jordan agreed to return their ambassadors to Israel, who had been recalled following the outbreak of the Al-Aksa intifada in the fall of 2000. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SHARON, ARIEL “ARIK” (FORMERLY SHEINERMAN) (1928–2014)**. Israel’s fifteenth **prime minister**, soldier, statesman. Born on 26 February 1928 in Kfar Malal, a farm village not far from present-day **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. At the age of 14, he joined the **Hagana**, was wounded during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, and subsequently rose swiftly in the ranks of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. In 1952, he established Unit 101 (a special commando force known for its daring operations behind enemy lines), and in 1956, he commanded a paratroop brigade, units of which parachuted into the Mitla Pass to mark the beginning of the **Sinai War (1956)**. He then studied at the British Staff College in Camberley and upon his return was appointed head of the IDF School of Infantry. In 1962, he became director of military training of the IDF and that same year he graduated from the law school of **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. In the **Six-Day War (1967)** he commanded an armored division that fought in the **Sinai Peninsula**, and in 1969 he became commanding officer of the southern command.

In June 1973, Sharon resigned from the IDF, joined the **Liberal Party (Hamiflaga HaLiberalit)** and was instrumental in bringing about the alignment of the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**, the **Free Center Party (Hamerkaz Hahofshi)**, the **State List (Reshima Mamlakhtit)**, and the Liberal Party within the framework of the **Likud (Union) Party** bloc. The **Yom Kippur War (1973)** brought him back to active military duty as a reserve officer in command of an armored division, units of which were the first to cross the Suez Canal and establish an Israeli bridgehead on the Egyptian side. In December 1973, he was first elected to the **Knesset** on behalf of the Liberal Party faction of the Likud bloc. In December 1974, Sharon resigned from the Knesset so that his reserve commission with the IDF might be reinstated. In June 1975, he was appointed adviser on security affairs to Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and held that position until April 1976, when he resigned to form the **Shlomzion Party**, which won two seats in the election to May 1977 Knesset election. Immediately following

the election, Shlomzion merged with the Herut faction of Likud, and it was on this ticket that Sharon was reelected to the Knesset in the 1981 election. He was appointed minister of **agriculture** in June 1977.

On 5 August 1981, Sharon was sworn in as minister of defense but was forced from this position in February 1983 after the publication of the **Kahan Commission of Inquiry** report concerning the September 1982 massacre at the **Sabra and Shatila** refugee camps in **Lebanon**. However, he remained in the **cabinet** and later became minister of **industry** and trade, being reappointed to that position in December 1988. In June 1990, he became minister of construction and housing. In that capacity, he was able to institute a plan to increase substantially the number of Jewish **settlements** in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. Although he initially announced his intention to vie for the prime ministership in 1996, he subsequently withdrew his candidacy and instead concentrated on unifying the center-right vote behind the Likud's prime ministerial candidate, **Benjamin Netanyahu**.

Sharon played an important role in facilitating the formation of the joint "national camp" list for the 1996 Knesset election involving the Likud, **Gesher (Bridge)**, and **Tsomet (Movement for Zionist Revival)** parties. He was initially not included in the cabinet formed by Netanyahu, but after intense negotiations, he agreed to accept a new portfolio, that of minister of national infrastructure. He was also named a member of Netanyahu's "**kitchen cabinet**" on security and **foreign policy** and in that capacity formulated a model of "strategic interests" in the West Bank that helped to set the parameters for the internal debate in Israel over the future nature of relations with the Palestinians. Appointed foreign minister in October 1998, he joined Netanyahu in negotiations with the Palestinians that culminated with the **Wye River Memorandum** of 23 October 1998. Sharon was reelected in the 1999 Knesset election on the Likud list, and he was chosen temporary leader of the party after Netanyahu's resignation following his defeat to **One Israel (Israel Ahat)**'s **Ehud Barak** in the direct election for prime minister and Likud's defeat in the 1999 Knesset election. On 2 September 1999 Sharon was elected Likud Party leader, defeating **Ehud Olmert** and **Meir Shitreet**.

Sharon's brief visit to Jewish holy places on **Jerusalem's Temple Mount** in late September 2000 was seen by some as a contributing factor to the outbreak of the **Al-Aksa intifada**, although the **Mitchell Committee Report** explicitly rejected the Palestinian charge that it was *the* contributing factor. On 6 February 2001, Sharon was elected prime minister of Israel, defeating One Israel leader Ehud Barak in the special election for prime minister by a decisive ratio of 62.3 percent to 37.6 percent of the popular vote. Sharon's overwhelming victory was attributed to the Israeli public's frustration with Ehud Barak and the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda Hlsraelit)**'s failed approach to peacemaking with the Palestinians, encapsulated in the unprecedented concessions offered by Barak—and rejected by the **Palestine**

**Liberation Organization's Yasser Arafat—at Camp David II.** By contrast, Sharon's go-slow, "performance-based" approach toward relations with the Palestinians seemed to be consistent with the new post-Camp David II national consensus in Israel. Sharon formed a broad-based coalition following the 2001 special election involving Likud and Labor that proved to be relatively stable.

Widespread terrorism, including **suicide bombings** in spring 2002 led Sharon to launch **Operation Defensive Shield** and the construction of the **separation barrier** in the West Bank.

In the 2003 Knesset election Sharon and the Likud Party took 38 seats and formed the government.

For many international observers, the successful implementation of his Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut) in August 2005 marked the transformation of Sharon from soldier/warrior to Middle East peacemaker. The irony is that the plan was implemented over the vigorous opposition of growing elements of Sharon's own Likud Party as well as his natural political constituency among the settler community. Feeling increasingly estranged from these constituencies, Sharon on 11 November 2005 caused an "earthquake" in the Israeli political system by quitting the Likud—charging that its traditional "not-one-inch" ideology with regard to the Palestinians had become impractical and harmful to Israel's strategic interests—and announcing plans to form the new centrist **Kadima (Forward)** Party to contest the forthcoming 2006 Knesset election.

On 18 December 2005, Sharon suffered a mild stroke, leaving the hospital two days later. However, he suffered a significant stroke that caused a massive brain hemorrhage on 4 January 2006. His authority as (interim) prime minister and Kadima leader was transferred to vice premier **Ehud Olmert**. Sharon died on 11 January 2014, after more than eight years in a coma.

**SHAS.** *See* SEPHARDI TORAH GUARDIANS (SHAS).

**SHAVIT, SHABTAI (1939– ).** Seventh director of Mossad (**Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim**), from 1989 to 1996. Born on 17 July 1939 in Neshar near **Haifa**, Shavit served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**'s elite **Sayeret Matkal** (General Staff Reconnaissance Unit) and joined the Mossad in 1964, becoming its director in 1989. He ended his 32-year career with the agency on 2 June 1996. Since 2001 he has chaired the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism at the Interdisciplinary Center–Herzliya. He has also served as an adviser to the Israeli National Security Council and an adviser to the **Knesset** Foreign Affairs and National Defense Committee Subcommittee on Intelligence.



**SHAZAR, SHNEUR ZALMAN (FORMERLY RUBASHOV) (1889–1974).** Israel's third **president**. Born in Mir in the Minsk Province of Russia on 24 November 1889, he later moved with his family to Stolbtsy, where he received a traditional *Heder* education. Encouraged by his parents' **Zionism**, he entered **Poalei Zion** in Russia in 1905. During the unsuccessful Russian Revolution of 1905 he participated in Jewish self-defense groups. In 1907 he moved to Vilna, where he wrote for Yiddish-language newspapers in Russia and in the **United States**. He left for **Palestine** in 1911 but returned to Russia, and then beginning in 1912, he studied at several German universities. In 1916, he became one of the founders of the Labor Zionist Movement in **Germany** and the next year he helped found the Hehalutz Movement in Germany. At the Poalei Zion conference in Vienna in 1920, he gained notice as a prominent spokesman for the right wing. He was responsible for the first conference of the World Hehalutz Organization in 1921.

Shazar settled in **Palestine** in 1924, became a member of the secretariat of the **Histadrut**, and joined the editorial board of *Davar*. In 1949, he was elected to Israel's First **Knesset** and served as minister of education and culture, in which he was responsible for the 1949 Compulsory **Education** Law. In 1952, the government of the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** refused to accept him as Israel's ambassador. In that same year, he became a member of the executive of the **Jewish Agency** and headed the department of information and after 1954 the department of education and culture in the **Diaspora**.

Between 1956 and 1960, Shazar was acting chairman of the Jewish Agency's **Jerusalem** executive. He was elected the third president of Israel on 21 May 1963, reelected in March 1968, and served until 1973. As president, he sponsored the Bible Study Circle and the Circle for the Study of the Diaspora. He wrote voluminously on political, social, and historical themes. In January 1964, he was awarded the Bialik Prize for his book on Jewish personalities. He died on 5 October 1974.

**SHEBA (SHEBA'A) FARMS.** An area of about 24 square miles located near Mount Dov on the slopes of Mount Hermon near the border between the **Golan Heights** and **Lebanon**. When the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** withdrew from Lebanon in May 2000 to the Blue Line, it was formally recognized by the **United Nations (UN)** that Israel had withdrawn fully from Lebanon under the terms of **United Nations Security Council Resolution 242** (1978). Nevertheless, **Hezbollah** turned Israel's presence in the area of Sheba Farms into the main pretext for remaining armed and attacking Israel, claiming that it was Lebanese not **Syrian** territory, despite the fact that the UN and the international community has recognized the area as belonging to the Syrian Golan Heights that was captured by Israel in the **Six-Day War** (thereby making it subject to Syrian-Israeli rather than Lebanese-Israeli

negotiations). The area is not historically or geographically unique and cannot be exactly delineated but lies between the Blue Line and Nahal Sion. The Alawi village of Ghajar is in the area.

On 7 October 2000, Hezbollah kidnapped three IDF soldiers from their posts at Sheba Farms. It has been the site of other Hezbollah **terrorist** attacks and **Katyusha rocket** fire. It remained a pretext for Hezbollah to remain armed despite the requirements of **UN Security Council Resolution 425** and subsequent agreements that called for the disarming of Lebanese militias. After the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**, Israeli withdrawal from the area became a major point in the subsequent diplomacy to end the hostilities. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SHEINBEIN, SAMUEL (1980–2014)**. The son of an expatriate Israeli, he was accused of killing, dismembering, and burning Alfredo Enrique Tello Jr. in Maryland in September 1997. He fled to Israel, claimed citizenship under the **Law of Return**, and sought to avoid extradition to face trial in the **United States**. The **Supreme Court of Israel** ruled that he would not be returned to the United States to stand trial because of an Israeli law that prohibited the extradition of Israeli citizens. He was to be tried in Israel. The issue generated tension in U.S.–Israel relations. Prior to his trial in 1999, he agreed to a plea bargain deal in which he admitted to the murder and received a 24-year jail sentence. The **Knesset** later amended Israel's extradition statute that blocked Sheinbein's return to the United States. Israelis who live in Israel and are accused of crimes abroad can be extradited under a valid extradition treaty under certain circumstances. However, the law offers no protection to someone who did not reside in Israel, regardless of that person's Israeli citizenship. Sheinbein died on 23 February 2014 in a shoot-out with guards in an Israeli prison.

**SHELLI (SHALOM LEYISRAEL–PEACE FOR ISRAEL)**. After the split with the **New Communist List (Rakah)** in 1965, **Maki** (*see* COMMUNIST PARTY) became more moderate in its opposition to **government** policies and became primarily Jewish in membership. In 1975, it merged with **Moked**, a socialist party, and in 1977, Moked united with other leftist but non-communist groups to form Shelli. The new **political party** was founded by **Arie Eliav**, a former **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** secretary general. The party's platform called for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state, the withdrawal of Israel to its pre-1967 borders, and political negotiations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** on the basis of mutual recognition. Shelli secured two seats in the 1977 **Knesset**

election—Eliav and Meir Pail, the former Moked leader—but it was unsuccessful in the 1981 election. *See also* PEACE MOVEMENT (PEACE CAMP).

**SHEMER, NAOMI (1930–2004).** Considered the “First Lady of Israeli Song.” Shemer was born on 13 July 1930 in Kvutsat Kinneret, a **kibbutz** on the shore of **Sea of Galilee**, of which her parents were founders. In the 1950s, she served in the **Israel Defense Force’s Nahal** entertainment troupe, studied music at the Rubin Academy in **Jerusalem**, and returned to the Sea of Galilee to teach and write songs for preschool children before ultimately settling in **Tel Aviv**. Shemer wrote both words and lyrics to her own songs, composed music to words by others (such as the poet Rachel), and set **Hebrew** words to internationally known tunes (such as “Hey Jude” by the Beatles). Several of her songs have the quality of anthems, striking deep national and emotional chords in the hearts of Israelis. Her most famous song of this vein is “Yerushalayim shel Zahav” (“Jerusalem of Gold”). She wrote this song in 1967, at the time of the **Six-Day War**. Another of her classic works was “Ho Rav Chovel” (“O Captain My Captain”), which she translated from the Walt Whitman poem and set to song as a tribute to the assassinated prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin**. In 1983, Shemer received the **Israel Prize** for her contribution to Israeli culture. She died on 26 June 2004 at age 73.

**SHEMTOV, VICTOR (1918–2014).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister; early advocate of peace negotiations with the **Palestinians**. Born on 1 February 1915 in Sofia, Bulgaria, he became involved in socialist **Zionism** at an early age. He immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1939 and soon became active in the **Hagana**. He entered politics in 1944, joining the Socialist League, which later helped to form **Mapam (Mifleget Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party)**, and he became secretary general of the Mapam party in 1979. He served as a member of the **Knesset** since 1961. Following the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, Shemtov and fellow **cabinet** minister Aharon Yariv (of the **Alignment [Maarach]**) advocated Israel’s recognition of the **Palestine Liberation Organization** in exchange for PLO recognition of Israel and disengagement from **terror**. The so-called Yariv–Shemtov formula was rejected by the **Yitzhak Rabin**–led coalition government in 1974 and by the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** platform committee. Nevertheless, the core component of the Yariv–Shemtov formula—mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO—was instituted in the context of the **Oslo Accords** of September 1993. Shemtov died on 7 March 2014.

**SHERUT LEUMI** (literally, “NATIONAL SERVICE”). An alternative voluntary national service program for those Jewish Israelis who cannot or do not wish to perform compulsory military service in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). The majority of those who participate are ultra-Orthodox religious women between the ages of 18 and 21, based on the belief that life in the IDF is inconsistent with the young women’s dress codes and modesty requirements. A limited number of men also might be considered eligible for alternative service under specific circumstances. Participating for one to two years, Sherut Leumi volunteers work in various programs. While most are in schools, placements can also involve work with special education students, teens at risk, or new immigrants (*olim*), and in hospitals, health clinics, nursing homes, or bomb shelters. **Israel’s Arabs** are exempt from service in the IDF. Historically, few took up the option but in recent years there has been a noticeable increase in the number of young Israeli Arabs volunteering for national service programs. These volunteers are usually assigned work in social and communal programs in Arab neighborhoods, towns, and villages.

**SHILOAH, REUVEN (FORMERLY ZASLANSKI) (1909–1959)**. One of the founders and first director of **Mossad (Hamossad Lemodiin Vetafkidim Meyuhadim)**. Born in **Jerusalem** in December 1909, Shiloah established clandestine contacts with the Jewish community in **Iraq** in the early 1930s on behalf of the **Jewish Agency** and the **World Zionist Organization**. He organized the intelligence service of the **Hagana**, and also served on the staff of the political department of the Jewish Agency. From 1936 to 1948, he was liaison officer between the Jewish Agency and the British Army in **Mandate Palestine**. In 1945, he was a Jewish Agency observer at the **United Nations** founding conference in San Francisco, and he was involved in the Rhodes and Lausanne talks following Israel’s **War of Independence (1948–1949)** and in the secret negotiations between Israel and King Abdullah of **Jordan** in 1949–1950.

On 13 December 1949, Israel’s first prime minister **David Ben-Gurion** charged Shiloah with the responsibility to establish and head the “Institute for Collating and Co-ordinating Intelligence Operations.” On 2 March 1951, Shiloah was given the authority to take all overseas **intelligence services** under his wing, thus marking the start of his tenure as director of the Mossad, a position he held until September 1952 when he was replaced by **Isser Harel**.

He later served as minister in Israel’s embassy in Washington (1953–1957) and as an adviser to then foreign minister **Golda Meir** (1958–1959).

Shiloah died in Jerusalem on 10 May 1959 of a heart attack. An institute of Middle Eastern and African Studies at **Tel Aviv University** was named in his memory; it subsequently was incorporated into the university's **Moshe Dayan Center** for Middle Eastern and African Studies.

**SHIN BET (SHABAK)**. Acronym for Sherut Bitahon Klali (General Security Services); the organization responsible for the prevention of hostile secret activity in Israel, including espionage and sabotage. It was founded in 1948 and headed by **Isser Harel** until 1954. Carmi Gillon was named head of the Shin Bet in early 1995, replacing Yaacov Peri; however, Gillon was forced to resign less than one year later following the November 1995 assassination of Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and was replaced by the former chief of the Israeli navy, Ami Ayalon. In 2002, Ayalon retired and was succeeded by **Avi Dichter**; he was in turned succeeded by Yuval Diskin in June 2005. Diskin was replaced in 2011 by the current director, Yoram Cohen. In recent years the agency's operational mandate has expanded to focus greater attention on the activities of militant right-wing elements of Israel's Jewish community (such as **Gush Emunim** and the **hill-top youth**) believed responsible for so-called **price-tag attacks** that target **West Bank Palestinians** as well as Christian churches and Jewish-Arab institutions in Israel. Though badly shaken by controversies surrounding the Rabin assassination and a number of other operational failures in the first two years of the **Al-Aksa intifada**, as well as by greater public scrutiny of its methods of operation, the Shin Bet remains an important component of Israel's **intelligence services** and the national security community.

**SHINUI**. Hebrew for "Change." In the wake of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, a small protest group called Shinui was founded by Professor **Amnon Rubinstein** of **Tel Aviv University**. It sought to effect changes in the Israeli political system and political life and developed a party organization but did not have a candidate of imposing stature. In 1976, it joined with others to form the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit Leshinui)** which secured 15 seats in the 1977 Knesset election under the leadership of Professor **Yigael Yadin**, who served as deputy **prime minister** in the coalition formed by **Menachem Begin**.

Shinui sought to present itself as a "centrist" alternative to both **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and **Likud (Union) Party**. It focused on the need for electoral reform and general improvement in the political life of the country and encouraged a free enterprise **economy**, the protection of individual rights (to be enshrined in a formal, written constitution), and opposition to religious extremism. In the **foreign policy** realm Shinui favored a negotiated peace agreement with the **Arabs**, arguing that

this would free Israel from the cycle of war and bloodshed and prevent it from becoming a binational state that would rule over another people. Israel's security would be guaranteed by secure border adjustments, security arrangements, and the demilitarization of evacuated areas.

After DMC's dissolution, Shinui again emerged as an independent political unit and won two seats in the 1981 Knesset election. It won three seats in the 1984 election and was a junior partner in the 1984–1988 **Government of National Unity**. It joined with the **Independent Liberal (HaLiberalim Haatzmaim)** and the **Liberal Center** parties to form the **Center-Shinui Movement** and won two seats in the 1988 Knesset election. In 1992, it joined with two other **Zionist-left** parties (the **Citizens' Rights and Peace Movement [CRM; Hatnua Lezhuiot Haezrach Uleshalom; Ratz]** and **Mapam [Mifletet Poalim Hameuhedet–United Workers Party]**) to form the **Meretz/Democratic Israel** coalition that won 12 seats in the Thirteenth Knesset and participated in the coalition headed by **Yitzhak Rabin**. Shinui and Meretz won nine seats in the 1996 Knesset election.

Prior to the May 1999 Knesset election, Shinui went its own way. Running independently under the leadership of the prominent journalist and television personality, **Yosef (Tommy) Lapid** and on a platform dominated by opposition to what Lapid called “religious coercion” and unfair special privileges accorded the **Haredi political parties**, Shinui won six Knesset mandates. However, unable to reconcile its opposition to working with the ultra-Orthodox parties, Shinui remained outside the governing coalition formed by **Ehud Barak**. Lapid and Shinui experienced their breakthrough in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003). Trading equally on popular disaffection with “politics as usual” and Lapid's traditional anticlerical message, Shinui won an unprecedented 15 Knesset seats and agreed to join **Ariel Sharon's** governing coalition on the condition that no Haredi party be involved in the process. However, Shinui's ministers were dismissed from the government on 1 December 2004 over their failure to support the state budget due to a dispute over the distribution of public funds to ultra-Orthodox communities and to Orthodox political parties. Shinui split during the 2006 Knesset election campaign, and neither faction (Hetz nor the Secular Faction) won enough votes to enter the Knesset. *See also* KADIMA (FORWARD).

**SHITREET (SHEETRIT), MEIR (1948– )**. Member of **Knesset**, deputy Knesset speaker, **government** minister. Born on 10 October 1948 in Morocco, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel in 1957. Educated at **Bar Ilan University**, he served as mayor of Yavneh from 1974 to 1987 and as treasurer of the **Jewish Agency** from 1988 to 1992. First elected to the **Knesset** in 1981 on the **Likud (Union) Party** list, during the Fourteenth Knesset (1996–1999) he served as deputy speaker of the Knesset and as Likud Knesset coalition leader. He served as minister of finance from February to July

1999. Reelected in the 1999 and 2003 Knesset elections, he served as minister without portfolio in the ministry of finance (February 2003 to July 2004), and in July 2004 he was appointed acting minister of **transportation**. He was reappointed to the transportation portfolio in the coalition presented by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** on 10 January 2005. Shitreet was among the most prominent Likud Knesset members to quit the party in November 2005 and join Sharon's new **Kadima (Forward)** Party list that would contest the March 2006 Knesset election. Reelected to the Seventeenth Knesset on the Kadima list, he was appointed minister of housing and construction and in August 2006 was also named acting minister of justice. He was appointed minister of internal affairs on 4 July 2007. Shitreet was reelected in the 2009 Knesset election. On 1 December 2012 he was one of the Kadima Knesset members poached by **Tzipi Livni** when she formed her new **Hatnua (Movement) Party**. Shitreet was reelected in the 2013 Knesset election on the Hatnua list and served as deputy speaker of the Nineteenth Knesset (2013–2015). Disagreeing with Livni's December 2014 decision to contest the 2015 Knesset election as part of **The Zionist Union** joint list with the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)**, Shitreet opted not to contest the election.

**SHLEMUT HAMOLEDET.** The concept of the right of the Jewish people to all of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**. The **Revisionist Party**, established by **Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky** in 1925 and his **New Zionist Organization** supported the principle of Shlemut Hamoledet and rejected Arab claims for national and political sovereignty in **Palestine**.

**SHLOMZION PARTY.** A **political party** formed by **Ariel Sharon** that contested the 1977 Knesset election and won two seats in parliament. It then joined the **Likud (Union) Party** bloc. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**SHLONSKY, ABRAHAM (AVRAHAM) DAVID (1900–1973).** Prominent poet and essayist. Born in the Ukraine on 6 March 1900, he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) in 1921 to **Palestine**, where he worked as a laborer for several years. After a brief sojourn in **France**, he returned to Palestine and in 1925 joined the editorial board of *Davar*. He subsequently worked for *Ha'aretz*. Among the themes of his early poetry were the experiences of the Third Aliya (1919–1923) and the evils of city life. In 1933 he established the literary periodical *Turim*. Beginning in 1939, Shlonsky became identified with **Hashomer Hatzair** and the left-wing of the Labor **Zionist** Movement; he served as editor of several of its literary publications and of Sifriyat Poalim, Hashomer Hatzair's publishing house. He was also active in the international peace movement. A prolific and popular writer, he published

articles, essays, and poetry, including children's literature, much of which appeared in book form. He also translated many classic pieces of literature and plays into popular **Hebrew**. He died in **Tel Aviv** on 18 May 1973.

**SHOAH.** *See* HOLOCAUST (THE SHOAH).

**SHOMRON, DAN (1937–2008).** Thirteenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Born on 5 August 1937 in Ashdot Yaacov, he joined the IDF in 1956. As chief infantry and paratrooper officer of the IDF, he was placed in overall command of **Operation Entebbe**. Shomron became chief of staff of the IDF in 1987 and retained that post until retiring from active service in April 1991. After his retirement, he served as chairman of **Israel Military Industries (IMI)**. He was involved in the early organizing of the **Third Way (Derech HaSlisheet) Party** that made a successful entry into the electoral process in the 1996 **Knesset** election. In late 1996, Shomron served briefly as Israel's chief negotiator in security talks with the **Palestinian Authority (PA)**. He was commissioned to probe the performance of the IDF during the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**, and his strong criticism of serious operational mistakes committed by the IDF senior command contributed to **Dan Halutz's** decision to resign as chief of staff in January 2007. Shomron died in Herzliya on 26 February 2008 at age seventy.

**SHOSTAK, ELIEZER (1911–2001).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. He was born in Poland on 16 December 1911 and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1935. From 1957 to 1959, he studied philosophy and Kabala at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. He was one of the founders of the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**, from which he resigned in 1966, and subsequently was a member of the right-wing **La'am (Toward the People)** of the **Likud (Union) Party** bloc. First elected on behalf of Herut to the Second **Knesset** in July 1951 and reelected to subsequent **Knessets**, he served on the Labor, Economics, Public Services, and Finance committees of the **Knesset**. He also was secretary general of the National Federation of Labor and chairman of the National **Health** Insurance Fund. He became minister of health in June 1977, serving in that post until 1984. Shostak died on 20 August 2001.

**SHOVAL, ZALMAN (FORMERLY FINKELSTEIN) (1930– ).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** adviser. Born on 28 April 1930 in Danzig, he left with his family before World War II for **Tel Aviv**. He served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and studied economics and international affairs at the University of California at Berkeley and at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. He started his career in the Israeli foreign



ministry in the 1950s but left to work at a family business. He later entered politics, beginning his affiliation with the **Rafi Party (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)** under **David Ben-Gurion**. He first became a member of the Knesset from the **State List** slate in 1970. He later joined the Knesset on the **Likud (Union) Party** list. From 1990 to 1992, he served as Israel’s ambassador to the **United States**, a post he resumed in July 1998, completing his term in January 2000. Since 2001, he served as a senior **foreign policy** adviser to Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** and the Likud Party but was critical of Sharon’s Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut). Currently, he serves as a senior foreign policy adviser for Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** and the Likud Party.

**SHTeinman, Rabbi Aharon Yehuda Leib (1912– )**. Prominent non-**Hasidic Haredi Ashkenazi** rabbi and authority on questions of *Halacha* (Jewish religious law) based in Bnei Brak. Born and raised in Brest, Belarus, Shteinman received a traditional non-**Hasidic** ultra-Orthodox Lithuanian religious education. The only member of his family to survive the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**, he later immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel where he was soon recognized as a brilliant religious scholar and educator. Following the 2012 death of Rabbi Yosef Shalom Elyashiv, Shteinman assumed the mantle as the rabbinic leader of Israel’s large non-Hasidic Haredi Lithuanian community. Shteinman was a founder of the non-Hasidic Haredi **Degel HaTorah** and exerted a great deal of political influence in the Haredi Ashkenazi **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** electoral alliance, in which Degel HaTorah is a partner along with the Hasidic Ashkenazi **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**. *See also* AUERBACH, RABBI SHMUEL (1931– ); POLITICAL PARTIES.

**SHWIMMER, AL (1917–2011)**. Founder of **Israel Aircraft** (later, **Aerospace Industries** (IAI)). Shwimmer was born on 10 June 1917 in New York City. An aeronautical engineer, he had established a small factory in California called Intercontinental Airways, which dealt mainly with repairing old airplanes. He was convicted in 1950 of violating the U.S. Neutrality Act for smuggling airplanes to Israel during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. In 1951, he met with **Shimon Peres**, then head of an Israeli arms acquisition delegation, and proposed that his company look for scrap metal for Mustang planes (which were then popular in the Israeli air force), renovate the planes, and ship them to Israel. The idea was broached with **Prime Minister** and Defense Minister **David Ben-Gurion**, who approved it. Ben-Gurion proposed that Shwimmer relocate the factory to Israel, and this was the beginning of IAI. One of the final acts undertaken by President

**William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States** before leaving office was to officially pardon Shwimmer for violating the Neutrality Act by assisting Israel. He died on 10 June 2011 in Ramat Gan. *See also* MAHAL.

**SINAI II ACCORDS (1975)**. A complex set of agreements between Israel and **Egypt** achieved through the shuttle diplomacy of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger from the **United States**. The accords were signed in Geneva, Switzerland on 4 September 1975 by representatives of Egypt and Israel and constituted a significant accomplishment. They consisted of a formal agreement between the two parties, an annex, and a proposal for an American presence in the **Sinai Peninsula** in connection with an early-warning system. In addition, there were **memoranda of understanding** between the United States and Israel and separate U.S. assurances to Israel and Egypt.

This was more than a simple disengagement of military forces because the parties agreed that the “conflict between them and in the Middle East shall not be resolved by military force but by peaceful means.” These were the first steps toward increased accommodation between the parties, and it moved in the direction of a peace settlement. It was in the memorandum of agreement between the United States and Israel regarding the Geneva Peace Conference that the U.S. pledged that it “will continue to adhere to its present policy with respect to the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, whereby it will not recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization so long as the Palestine Liberation Organization does not recognize Israel’s right to exist and does not accept [**United Nations**] **Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338**.” *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SINAI PENINSULA**. The land bridge between Asia and Africa, some 23,000 square miles in size. It has the shape of a triangle and is bounded by the Gulf of Suez in the west, the **Gulf of Aqaba** in the east, and the Mediterranean Sea in the north. Its highest point is Jebel Musa (the biblical Mount Sinai). The peninsula was occupied by Israel in the **Sinai War (1956)**, and after its return to **Egypt** in 1957 it was captured again in the **Six-Day War (1967)**. It was evacuated by Israel and returned to Egypt in accordance with the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 1979. *See also* SINAI II ACCORDS (1975).

**SINAI WAR (1956)**. The war had its origins in the regional tensions that were common after the **Egyptian** Revolution of 1952. The arms race was continuing, and tension grew further when the **Czechoslovakian-Egyptian arms deal**, announced in September 1955, introduced the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** as a major arms supplier to the Arab states of the Middle East. **Palestinian fedayeen** (commando) attacks into Israel were on the in-

crease. At the same time, **Great Britain** and **France** opposed Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal and its support of anti-French rebels in North Africa. Britain and France agreed with Israel that action against the dangers posed by Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser and his policies was essential, and the three powers secretly organized a coordinated operation. The **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) was moved into the **Sinai Peninsula** on 29 October 1956, and by the afternoon of the next day, Britain and France issued an ultimatum (as previously agreed) calling on both sides to stop fighting and to withdraw to positions 10 miles on either side of the Suez Canal. Israel accepted, but Egypt rejected the proposal. By 5 November, Israel had **Sharm el-Sheikh**, Britain and France had withdrawn militarily under pressure from the **United States** (and the USSR), and the fighting ended.

Israel eventually withdrew from all of the territory its forces had occupied during the conflict under the weight of **United Nations** resolutions but especially under pressure from the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. In return for this withdrawal, the United States provided assurances to Israel concerning freedom of navigation through the **Strait of Tiran** and in the **Gulf of Aqaba**. The **United Nations Emergency Force** (UNEF) was created to patrol the Egyptian side of the Egypt-Israel armistice line, which it did until the days immediately preceding the **Six-Day War (1967)**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**SIX-DAY WAR (1967)**. In mid-May 1967, **Egypt** proclaimed a state of emergency, mobilized its army, and moved troops across the **Sinai Peninsula** toward the border with Israel. President Gamal Abdul Nasser requested the removal of the **United Nations Emergency Force** (UNEF) from much of the Egypt-Israel frontier, and **United Nations** secretary general U Thant immediately complied. The UNEF positions were then manned by contingents of the Egyptian armed forces and the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO). Egyptian and Israeli forces faced each other with no buffer and Nasser announced that the **Strait of Tiran** would be closed to Israeli shipping and strategic cargoes bound for Israel's port of **Eilat** (in explicit violation of the commitment to keep the strait open to Israel made by the Eisenhower administration upon Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula after the **Sinai War** of 1956). Israel regarded these actions as illegal, aggressive, and a *casus belli*.

On 30 May 1967, **Jordan** entered into a defense pact with **Syria** and **Egypt**, and **Iraqi** troops were stationed along the Israel-Jordan front. In response to the failure of the international community to take any tangible action to support its position in the developing crisis, Israel decided to act on its own. It created a "wall to wall" domestic political coalition (excluding the Communists) in a government of national unity, and **Moshe Dayan** became

the defense minister. On 5 June 1967, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike against the Egyptian air force and bases in Sinai and Egypt proper. The war was broadened after Jordan and Syria joined in the conflict, initiating their participation by respectively shelling Israeli positions in **Jerusalem** and from the **Golan Heights**. Israel decisively defeated Egypt, Jordan, Syria and their allies and in six days radically transformed the strategic landscape of the Middle East: Israel was in control of territories stretching from the Golan Heights in the north to **Sharm el-Sheikh** in the Sinai Peninsula and from the Suez Canal to the **Jordan River**. The territories included the Golan Heights; Sinai Peninsula; the **Gaza Strip**; the **West Bank** (referred to by many Israelis as **Judea and Samaria**); and East Jerusalem, including the holy old city. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; OCCUPIED TERRITORIES; UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

**“61”**. Sixty-one is a majority in the **Knesset**, which is composed of 120 members.

**SMALL CONSTITUTION**. Israel’s system of government is based on an unwritten constitution. The first legislative act of the **Constituent Assembly** in February 1949 was to enact a Transition Law, often referred to as the Small Constitution that became the basis of constitutional life in the state. Administrative and executive procedures were based on a combination of past experience in self-government, elements adapted from the former mandatory structure, and new legislation. According to the Small Constitution, Israel was established as a republic with a weak **president** and a strong **cabinet** and parliament (**Knesset**). It was anticipated that this document would be replaced in due course by a more extensive and permanent one. A “constitutional revolution” occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s against the background of growing popular pressure for the promulgation of a formal written constitution and bill of rights. *See also* BASIC LAW.

**SMILANSKY, YIZHAR (1916–2006)**. Israeli writer generally known by his pen name S. Yizhar. Born on 27 September 1916, he was raised in Rehovot, attended a teachers’ seminary, and later taught. In the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, he served in an intelligence unit, and in 1949, he was elected to the first **Knesset** on the **Mapai (Mifleget Poalei Eretz Yisrael–Israel Workers Party)** list and served in subsequent Knessets. He studied at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and Harvard University and received a Ph.D. He taught literature at both Hebrew University and **Tel Aviv University**. He acquired his pen name in 1938 when poet and editor Yitzhak Lamdan published Yizhar’s first short novella *Ephraim Hozer Leapeset (Ephraim Goes Back to Alfalfa)*. From then on, he used this new pen

name, and he subsequently published numerous novellas. Smilansky was a great innovator in modern **Hebrew** literature—mingling high-level prose with street slang. In 1959 he was awarded the **Israel Prize** for his work. He died in **Sderot** on 21 August 2006.

**SNEH, EFRAIM (1944– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Sneh was born in **Tel Aviv** on 19 September 1944 and trained as a physician at **Tel Aviv University** medical school. He was a career soldier in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF). He served as medical officer of the paratroops corps during the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. He was chief medical officer of the paratroops and infantry corps (1974–1978) and commanded the medical team in **Operation Entebbe** in July 1976. He also held command positions in the **Lebanon security zone** and the **West Bank** and retired from active military service in 1987 with the rank of brigadier general.

Sneh was first elected to the Knesset on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list in 1992 and served as a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He was appointed minister of **health** by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** on 1 June 1993, remaining in that position in the government formed by **Shimon Peres** on 22 November 1995 following Rabin's assassination. He vied for the Labor Party leadership in June 1997 but was defeated by **Ehud Barak**. He was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** list and was appointed deputy defense minister in the governing coalition headed by Barak. He served in that capacity until Barak's **government** fell in February 2001. From March 2001 to October 2002, he served as minister of **transportation** in the **Likud (Union) Party**–Labor broad-based coalition formed by **Ariel Sharon**. Sneh was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election on the Labor list and served as deputy defense minister in **Ehud Olmert's Kadima (Forward)** party-led coalition government. He held that position until 18 June 2007.

On 25 May 2008 Sneh announced that he would be leaving the Labor Party; he resigned from his seat in the Knesset on the same day.

**SOCIAL JUSTICE PROTEST (ALSO KNOWN AS THE COTTAGE CHEESE PROTEST OR TENT CITY PROTESTS)**. Beginning in June 2011, a series of protests occurred in Israel reflecting growing popular discontent with perceived deficiencies in the country's social and economic system. Such deficiencies included a high cost of living; lack of affordable housing; the diminishing quality of Israel's public **education** and **health** care systems; a tax system that bore heaviest on the middle class; and vast and widening disparities in wealth between Israel's corporate-industrial elite and poorest. During June 2011 consumers successfully boycotted the high cost of

staple commodities such as cottage cheese that had previously been subsidized under Israel's social democratic **economy** but now were being released by **Likud (Union) Party**-led governments to the free market. In July 2011, students protesting the availability of affordable housing pitched tents in upscale districts of **Tel Aviv** and **Jerusalem**. Through the use of social networking, the social protests spread to cities throughout Israel. The protesters represented a cross-section of Jewish Israeli society: youngsters in strollers; middle-aged and senior citizens; secular and Orthodox; middle class and poor; and **Ashkenazi**, **Sephardi** (see **ORIENTAL JEWS**), and **Sabra**. There also were among the participants some **Arab** citizens of Israel. The protesters' demands were ambiguous and fluid, but generally focused on the theme of ending inequality and achieving social justice. On 8 August 2011, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** appointed a committee headed by prominent economist **Manuel Trajtenberg** to propose solutions to some of the protesters' concerns. The momentum of the social justice protests could not be sustained. But many observers suggested that it was the 2011 social justice protests that propelled domestic issues to the top of the agenda for the 2013 **Knesset** election campaign in a way unseen in Israel's recent electoral history, where the focus had tended to be on matters of security.

On 10 June 2015, finance minister **Moshe Kahlon** introduced the first phase of his plan to lower housing costs in Israel. Kahlon said that an Israeli government is "finally taking responsibility and presenting unprecedented reforms, in a balanced manner that will increase the supply of available homes."

**SODASTREAM.** Popular consumer carbonated-product company headquartered in Lod, Israel. Controversy arose when the international campaign to boycott, divest, and sanction (BDS) the state of Israel selectively targeted SodaStream over the location of its primary manufacturing plant in the Mishor Adumim industrial zone of **Ma'aleh Adumim**, a **West Bank** settlement just east of **Jerusalem**. The American actress Scarlett Johansson in January 2014 resigned as an ambassador for Oxfam after she became a SodaStream spokesperson. In terminating her relationship with the UK-based charity, Johansson cited "a fundamental difference of opinion" with regard to Oxfam's explicit support of the boycott of SodaStream and the BDS movement in general. In September 2015, SodaStream closed its factory in Ma'aleh Adumim, with its production lines relocated to a plant in the Idan HaNegev Industrial park in Israel's northern **Negev** region. The company's CEO Daniel Birnbaum emphasized that the decision was largely financial; in first announcing the plan to relocate, in October 2014, the company had cited a savings of some \$9 million in production costs. Birnbaum said the efforts of the anti-Israel campaigners had only harmed the company's Palestinian

workers, many of whom now had much further to travel to get to the relocated plant in the northern Negev or who had lost their jobs (along with their Jewish coworkers) due to the modernization of the new production facility.

**SOLAR ENERGY.** Israel makes substantial use of solar power in a number of different ways. Perhaps the most common manifestation is the solar water heaters that cover rooftops all over the country. They collect solar radiation that heats the water prior to use. The climate of Israel is ideal for employing passive solar heating. In July 2015 Israel signed a deal to build a \$1.05 billion thermo-solar energy plant in Israel's southern Negev desert, aimed at boosting electricity production from renewable energy resources. The plant was expected to come online in the first half of 2018.

**SOLEL BONEH (literally, "PAVES AND BUILDS").** A road building and construction company belonging to the **Histadrut**. During the Arab riots in **Palestine** from 1936 to 1939, Solel Boneh helped build **agricultural settlements**, pave security roads, construct airfields, and erect fortifications. During World War II, it helped the British army pave roads and construct airfields, bridges, and army camps in Palestine and the surrounding region. Solel Boneh subsidiaries supply much of the Israeli national demand for stone, gravel, marble, and cement, as well as most of its plumbing and bathroom fittings. The company employs many factory workers in its various enterprises. Its activities have become international, and since the 1960s, considerable contract work has been carried out in Africa. Its overseas activities are often coordinated with Mashav, the international development assistance arm of the Israel foreign ministry. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**SOUTH LEBANESE ARMY (SLA; THE FREE LEBANON MILITIA; THE ARMY OF FREE LEBANON).** A mostly Christian militia armed and funded by Israel and operating in Israel's **security zone** in southern **Lebanon**. The close working relationship between it and Israel dates from the mid-1970s, when Israel and the Lebanese Christians found common cause in curbing **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorist** activity in southern Lebanon—terrorism that provoked Israeli responses that would invariably harm the interests of the local, mainly Christian, population in the border region. The SLA also opposed the growing autonomous influence of the PLO presence in southern Lebanon—"Fatahland"—that threatened to disrupt the delicate sectarian political balance in the country between Christians and Muslims. In addition, Israel and the SLA shared an opposition to **Syria's** overwhelming military presence in and political influence over Lebanon.

The first formal funding by Israel of the SLA forces headed by Major Saad Georges Haddad occurred in June 1978, although ties with Haddad's militia had existed as early as 1975 and the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon. Following Haddad's death from cancer in January 1984, the leadership of the movement passed to Major General **Antoine Lahad**. He immediately changed the official name of the movement from the Free Lebanon Militia to the South Lebanese Army to reflect the fact that the SLA was no longer just for Christians but for all Lebanese who opposed the PLO and Syrian presence in their country. With the reduced influence of the PLO in Lebanon following **Operation Peace for Galilee**—see WAR IN LEBANON (1982)—the primary focus of SLA activity became cooperating with Israeli forces in combating such Shia Muslim militant groups as **Hezbollah** and Amal. A major Hezbollah strategy was to target SLA fighters in the hopes of demoralizing them and weakening their ties to Israel. One of the arguments used by those Israelis opposed to the **Israel Defense Forces'** 24 May 2000 withdrawal from the security zone was concern about what would happen to Israel's allies in the SLA.

**SOVIET UNION.** *See* UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR/RUSSIA).

**SPORTS.** Sports began to develop during the early years of Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine**, and in the first decade of the 20th century a Maccabi sports organization was founded. With the establishment of the **British Mandate**, sports became increasingly popular, and football (soccer) became the principal form of popular recreation. Hapoel, the sports organization of the **Histadrut**, was organized in **Haifa** in 1924 and was composed of sportsmen and **women** from the unions of the cooperative **settlements**. The **Betar** sports organization was also founded in 1924 under the auspices of the **Revisionist** Movement, and other organizations were established later. Elizur was established in 1939.

Israelis became increasingly sports conscious after independence in 1948, with numerous sports organizations and leagues for many major sports. The sports authority within the ministry of **science**, culture, and sport assists in developing sports facilities and programs, sponsors training of instructors and coaches at the national Wingate Institute of Physical Education and at teacher training institutions, and coordinates the activities of various sports federations and organizations. The first "Jewish Olympics," the **Maccabiah Games**, was held in **Tel Aviv** in 1932, and Jewish athletes from more than twenty countries took part. Games have taken place subsequently, usually every four years.



Israel has participated in various regional and international sports competitions, including the Olympics. Israeli national teams, clubs, and athletes regularly play and win at the highest levels of European sports. Israel first participated in the Olympics in 1952 at the Helsinki games and has sent an official delegation to every subsequent competition, other than the boycotted 1980 Moscow games. At the 1972 **Munich** games (*see* MUNICH MASSACRE), Palestinian **terrorists** murdered 11 Israeli athletes, but Israel has continued to participate in subsequent competitions. **Gal Fridman** became the first Israeli athlete to win an Olympic gold medal, in windsurfing at the Athens 2004 Summer Olympic Games. In summer 2015, Israel sent a delegation of 140 athletes to the European Games in Baku, Azerbaijan, Israel's largest-ever delegation to a sport event, with Israeli athletes bringing home 12 medals in total: two golds, four silvers, and six bronzes. Israelis now are routinely recruited to play in the National Basketball Association (NBA) while U.S.-born Israeli David Blatt coached the Cleveland Cavaliers to the NBA championship round in 2015.

**STATE COMPTROLLER.** In May 1949, the **Knesset** passed the State Comptroller Law 5709, which established, under its aegis, the office of the state comptroller to supervise the activities of the government, the ministries, local authorities, government corporations, and other bodies if the **government** or the Knesset so desires. The comptroller is appointed by the **president** upon recommendation of the Knesset but is independent of the government and responsible only to the Knesset, a regulation that is strictly interpreted. The office's annual report is published and presented to the Knesset. The state comptroller also serves as an ombudsman, dealing with the public's complaints against any institution of the state. Under an amendment to the State Comptroller Law, comptrollers now serve one term of seven years; previously the state comptroller was elected by the Knesset for a five-year term and was eligible for reelection to a second five-year term. In July 1998, Miriam Ben-Porat completed her second term as state comptroller and was succeeded by former **Supreme Court** of Israel justice Eliezer Goldberg; Goldberg was succeeded in the post by former **Haifa** district court president Micha Lindenstrauss in June 2005. In 2012 Lindenstrauss was succeeded by former **Jerusalem** district court justice Yosef Shapira.

The function of the state comptroller is to examine the efficiency, legality, and ethical probity with which the government operates. The comptroller is appointed by the Knesset and submits an annual report to it, as well as any specially requested reports that might be prepared at the Knesset's request from time to time. The annual report contains details on all agencies audited. It provides specific findings and is published. In addition, the state comptroller engages in critical review of the administration of the assets, physical plant, finances, and obligations of the state. The comptroller audits the opera-

tions of government ministries, state-owned enterprises and institutions, corporations in whose operations the government is involved, as well as local authorities and other agencies subject to inspection under law. The powers vested in the comptroller and the variety of agencies it audits are extensive. State comptroller audits are not restricted to accounting matters. The comptroller examines the legality, integrity, management, efficiency, and **economy** of the operations of agencies audited. The comptroller inspects **political parties'** books of account and monitors parties' compliance with the ban on receiving contributions from corporations, expenditure ceilings stipulated by law, and bookkeeping in accordance with guidelines laid down by the comptroller. The comptroller discharges a similar duty concerning local authorities and enforces rules meant to prevent conflicts of interest on the part of ministers and deputy ministers.

When the comptroller's office completes its audits of other agencies, a report is compiled and submitted to the Knesset Control Committee. When a local authority is audited, the comptroller reports to the head of the authority reviewed. These reports are also published, ordinarily upon presentation.

The Knesset Control Committee holds annual discussions on state comptroller reports. The comptroller always takes part in the discussions and invites relevant senior civil servants to attend the committee's deliberations. The committee submits its conclusions and proposals regarding the report to the Knesset plenum for approval. The Knesset, the Control Committee, and the government are entitled to ask the comptroller for an opinion on any matter pertaining to comptroller duties.

Since 1971, the state comptroller has also served as the public complaints commissioner, in effect functioning as an ombudsman, in which role he or she investigates complaints by the public. In this, the comptroller is assisted by a special Public Complaints Commission attached to the office. Anyone may petition the public complaints commissioner. Complaints may be filed against agencies legally subject to auditing by the state comptroller or against persons who work for such agencies. Complaints may cover any action contrary to law, without legal basis, contrary to the principles of sound administration, or involving excessive severity or flagrant injustice. "Actions" may include action taken late or failure to act. The state comptroller and public complaints commissioner are accountable only to the Knesset and are not dependent on the government.

**STATE LIST (RESHIMA MAMLAKHTIT).** Originally founded in 1968 by **David Ben-Gurion** when he and some of his followers in **Rafi (Reshimat Poeli Israel–Israel Labor Party)** refused to join in the new **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. The State List won four seats in 1969, when it could still be considered a **political party** of the Left. In

1973, sizable remnants of the party joined the **Likud (Union) Party** alliance, eventually merging with other groups to form the party's **La'am (Toward the People)** right-wing faction.

**STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS.** In 1950, Prime Minister **David Ben-Gurion** proposed that an Israel bond be floated in the **United States** as a means of securing urgently needed funds for the new state. He visited the United States in May 1951 to launch the bond drive. In their first offering in the United States, Israel bond sales garnered \$52 million. The bonds were later sold in other countries as well. An Israel Bonds Organization was created, and billions of dollars of bonds were sold. In 2013, U.S.–Israel bond sales surpassed \$1.12 billion, the first time domestic sales exceeded the \$1 billion mark. Sales again exceeded \$1.1 billion in 2014. Since 31 October 2011, Israel (Izzy) Tapoohi, a former adviser to Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, has been the president and CEO of the State of Israel Bonds Development Corporation for Israel.

**STATUS QUO AGREEMENT.** Israel's religious structure stems partly from a compromise to obviate clashes that took the form of a so-called status quo agreement worked out by **David Ben-Gurion** with Orthodox religious leaders and religious **political parties** on the eve of Israel's independence. The agreement proposed to retain the situation as it had existed upon independence: individuals would be free to pursue their religious practices in private as they saw fit, while in the public domain, there would be no changes in the prevailing situation. This arrangement thus continued the Ottoman Empire's *millet* system, which allowed each religious community to control its own affairs. This allowed preservation of a large system of religious (especially rabbinical) courts and other government-supported religious institutions. The status quo agreement allowed the Orthodox community to maintain and expand its efforts to assert control over various activities, periodically engendering public conflict and discussion.

A particularly controversial dimension of the status quo agreement was the granting of deferments from service in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** for men studying in **Haredi** (ultra-Orthodox) yeshivas. In December 1998, the **Supreme Court** of Israel ruled that the religious military deferments allowed by the status quo agreement were unconstitutional; the court gave the **Knesset** one year in which to formulate new legislation effecting such deferrals. During the Fourteenth Knesset (1996–1999), **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** leader **Ehud Barak** sought to introduce legislation in the Knesset that would effectively end most exemptions from military duty on religious grounds. This determination to change the status quo agreement was reiterated by Barak both prior to and after his election as **prime minister**

in May 1999 as leader of the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** alliance. The question of how to achieve this change was a key component of Barak's coalition negotiations with both **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** and the **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** parties in June–July of 1999. **Shinui Party** leader **Yosef (Tommy) Lapid** made the status quo agreement and enlistment of ultra-Orthodox men an issue during the negotiations leading up to the formation of the various governing coalitions established by **Ariel Sharon** after his election as prime minister in 2001. However, while Lapid's strategy worked in 2001—in the sense that he was able to veto the participation of any Haredi party in the coalition—in 2005, this hardline strategy backfired, leaving Lapid and Shinui outside a reconfigured Sharon-led coalition that included the ultra-Orthodox UTJ Party.

In mid-December 2005, in the context of the campaign leading up to the 2006 Knesset election, legislation was adopted to introduce a form of “national service” for those segments of Israeli society, including Orthodox rabbinical students, who were unable or unwilling to serve in military units on religious or ethical grounds—*see* SHERUT LEUMI (literally, “NATIONAL SERVICE”). On 11 May 2006, the Supreme Court determined that the legislation (known as the Tal Law) providing for most exemptions from military service for Haredi rabbinical students was in contradiction with the human dignity of those who do perform military service. However, the court determined that the law should be left untouched for an additional 18 months in order to examine if its application would improve. On 18 July 2007, the Knesset decided on an extension of the Tal Law for another five years until 2012. This effectively left in abeyance efforts to breach the societal chasm caused by the status quo agreement.

In July 2012 **Shaul Mofaz's Kadima (Forward) Party** left **Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition government citing Netanyahu's failure to move forward on a pledge to legislate an end to Haredi military deferments afforded in the status quo agreement. Two of the parties that scored well in the 2013 Knesset election, and that subsequently joined Netanyahu's new government—**Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)** and **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**—had championed the issue of “sharing the burden” of military service among all segments of Israeli society and pushed from within the cabinet for such to be enshrined in legislation. On 12 March 2014 the **Equal Service Bill** was adopted by a near unanimous Knesset vote (65-1), with the Haredi and other opposition parties boycotting the vote. Included in the legislation was individual criminal sanctions against Haredi rabbinical students who refused to serve in the IDF or alternate national service. While leaders of the ultra-Orthodox political parties opposed the Equal Service Bill on principle and helped organize mass rallies demand-

ing the continuation of the status quo agreement, others criticized the fact that the legislation called for the phased implementation of the individual criminal sanctions against draft-dodging ultra-Orthodox rabbinical students.

The reinstatement of the military deferrals dimension of the status quo agreement was among the concessions made by Benjamin Netanyahu to the Haredi political parties in the formation of the coalition government following the 2015 Knesset election.

**STERN, AVRAHAM (1907–1942).** Founder of **LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael—Fighters for the Freedom of Israel; Stern Group)**. Stern was born in Suwalki, Poland, on 23 December 1907. At 18, he left Poland and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** where he studied at the Gymnasia High School in **Jerusalem** and enrolled at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. During the 1929 Arab riots, he took part in the defense of Jerusalem as a member of the **Revisionist** Movement under the command of **Vladimir Ze’ev Jabotinsky**. He then went on to help establish the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)** or “National Military Organization,” and at this point, he took for himself the underground name “Yair” after Elazar Ben Yair, the zealot commander at **Masada**. He became the Irgun’s theoretician and ideologue.

As World War II began to engulf the globe, Jabotinsky instructed the Irgun to suspend all military actions against **Great Britain**. Stern disagreed with this position, believing that the British were the enemy of Israel no less than the **Germans** and that the British occupier would have to be driven out of Palestine. In 1940, Stern broke away from the Irgun and founded a group, later to be known as LEHI that declared an all-out war against the British Empire and engaged in personal acts of terror against key British colonial leaders and policemen in Palestine. Stern was arrested by the British in a **Tel Aviv–Yafo** apartment and killed on 12 February 1942.

**STERN (GANG) GROUP.** Also known as **Lohamei Herut Yisrael (LEHI—Fighters for the Freedom of Israel)**. It was a Jewish underground fighting force in **Palestine** that was formed by **Avraham Stern** (“Yair”) in 1940 after a split in the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)**. At the outbreak of World War II, the Irgun ordered the cessation of hostile activities against the **British Mandate** government in Palestine. Stern, insisting that **Great Britain**’s involvement in the war presented the Jewish National Movement with the opportunity to force London to honor its obligations toward the Jewish people, advocated the intensification of anti-British activities. LEHI’s activities were strongly opposed and condemned by the majority of the **Yishuv**, including the leadership of the **Jewish Agency** and **Hagana**, and its

policies were in contradiction even to those of the mainstream Irgun. In February 1942, British police officers tracked down Stern and shot him, and subsequently, many leaders and members of the group were arrested.

A troika command structure composed of **Nathan (Friedmann) Yellin-Mor**, **Yitzhak Shamir**, and **Dr. Israel Eldad (formerly Scheib)** took over responsibility for the military and political activities of the organization, which became known as the Stern Gang. It adopted a policy of individual acts of **terrorism**. In the summer of 1944, the LEHI command decided to extend anti-British hostilities beyond Palestine. In November 1944, Lord Moyne, Great Britain's senior Middle East official, was assassinated in Cairo. The Stern Gang attacked the oil refineries in **Haifa** and various British military installations, businesses, government offices, British military and police personnel, and army trains and other vehicles, increasingly harassing the mandatory administration. The Stern Gang was also suspected in the assassination of Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte, who sought to mediate Israel's **War of Independence (1948–1949)** on behalf of the **United Nations**, but those suspicions were never substantiated. Following the United Nations **Palestine Partition Plan** decision of November 1947, the Stern Gang fought the Arab irregulars who attacked the **Yishuv**. After the proclamation of Israel's independence of 1948, LEHI was disbanded as an independent fighting force, and its units were incorporated into the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Yellin-Mor was elected on a LEHI slate to the First **Knesset**, but attempts to develop a cohesive political program and to form a **political party** proved ineffectual.

**STRAIT OF TIRAN.** Body of water connecting the Red Sea and the **Gulf of Aqaba**. The strait is narrow and constricted by islands (Tiran and Sanafir) and reefs. From the **Egyptian Sinai Peninsula** to Tiran Island, the distance is approximately five miles. Coral formations constrict the seaway into two navigable channels: Enterprise Passage, which borders the Sinai coast, is 1,300 yards wide; the Grafton Passage, about one mile from the island of Tiran, is about 900 yards wide. Israel has argued that the Gulf of Aqaba should be treated as an international waterway and that no state has the right to deny passage through the Strait of Tiran. The Arab argument is that the Gulf of Aqaba consists of Arab territorial waters and that passage through it and the Strait of Tiran therefore cannot be undertaken without the consent of the Arab states. Until 1956, Egypt prevented shipping to Israel by maintaining military positions along the Sinai shore. These were destroyed by Israel during the **Sinai War (1956)**. The announcement by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt in May 1967 that the straits were blockaded was a proximate cause of the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Afterward, they remained open to all

shipping, including shipping to and from the Israeli port of **Eilat**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY (1979); SHARM EL-SHEIKH.

**SUEZ CRISIS (1956)**. *See* SINAI WAR (1956).

**SUFA CROSSING**. Crossing point between Israel and the **Gaza Strip**, the security arrangements for which were outlined in the Gaza-**Jericho** Agreement. It has been closed for lengthy periods because of **terrorism**, including **suicide bombings**, and other Palestinian violations of the security protocols. This was especially the case following Israel's 2005 withdrawal from Gaza. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA); PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI); UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHMIT HAHITNATKUT).

**SUICIDE BOMBINGS**. Major weapon of choice of Palestinian **terror** groups against Israelis, especially during the **Al-Aksa intifada**. Suicide bombings were introduced into the **Arab-Israeli conflict** by **Yahya Ayash** (a prominent terrorist operative known as "the Engineer") in 1994 as a primary method for Palestinian mass casualty attacks on Israeli civilians. Initially employed by only radical Islamist groups such as **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** and the **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ; Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**, it was also used by the **Fatah-Tanzim**, **Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades**, and other secular groups. The unprecedented deaths of 100 soldiers and 135 Israeli civilians in seventeen suicide bombing attacks in March 2002 alone, culminating in the **Passover Massacre** at Netanya's Park Hotel on 27 March, prompted Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** to initiate **Operation Defensive Shield**. The wave of suicide bombings also prompted implementation of Sharon's concept of the **separation** of Israelis from their Palestinian neighbors in the **West Bank**, and the construction of Israel's **security barrier**.

**SUISSA, ELIYAHU "ELI" (1956–)**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Morocco in 1956, he was brought to Israel by his family that same year. He had an Orthodox religious **education** and completed his service in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** in the Golani Brigade and as an officer in the army's chaplaincy. A founding member of the **Sephardi Torah Guardian (SHAS) Party**, he was appointed to the SHAS-controlled interior ministry, first in charge of the **Jerusalem** district and later as deputy director general of the ministry. Though not a member of the **Knesset**, he served as interior minister under Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** from July 1996

to June 1999. He also served as minister of religious affairs from August 1998 to June 1999. Elected to the Knesset in 1999 on the SHAS list, he was appointed minister of national infrastructure in the coalition **government** headed by **Ehud Barak**. From 7 March 2001 to 23 May 2002, Suissa served as minister without portfolio with responsibility for Jerusalem affairs under **Ariel Sharon**; he again served in the Jerusalem affairs portfolio from 3 June 2002 to 28 February 2003. Suissa was pushed from his secure position on SHAS's electoral list and was not reelected in the 2003 Knesset election. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**SUPREME COURT.** At the top of the judicial hierarchy in Israel is the Supreme Court. There is a president or chief justice and a number (determined by the **Knesset**) of associate justices. The court has original and appellate jurisdiction. It hears appeals from lower courts in civil and criminal matters. It has original jurisdiction in matters seeking relief against administrative decisions that are not within the jurisdiction of any court. In this instance, it may restrain or direct government agencies or other public bodies. It also plays a role in certain instances with regard to actions of religious courts. The Supreme Court serves as a guardian of fundamental rights, protecting individuals from arbitrary actions by public officials or state bodies or agencies. While it does not formally have the power of judicial review and cannot invalidate the legislation of the Knesset, the Supreme Court has in recent years adopted a more active role in defining general social mores. This increased activism has prompted a forceful backlash by conservative elements of Israeli society, especially among elements of the **Haredi** community and the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox **political parties** in the Knesset.

Former chief justices/presidents of the supreme court of Israel are Moshe Zmora (1948–1954), Yitzhak Olshan (1954–1965), **Shimon Agranat** (1965–1976), Yoel Zussman (1976–1980), **Moshe Landau** (1980–1982), Yitzhak Kahan (1982–1983), **Meir Shamgar** (1983–1995), **Aharon Barak** (1995–2006), **Dorit Beinisch (2006–2012)**, and Asher Grunis (2012–2015). On 1 January 2015 Miriam Naor was appointed the eleventh chief justice. *See also* BASIC LAW: THE JUDICIARY.

**SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT.** A World War I understanding between **Great Britain** and **France** to divide into spheres of control and influence areas of the Middle East held by the Ottoman Empire. The agreement, negotiated for Great Britain by Sir Mark Sykes and for France by Francois-Georges Picot, was completed in January 1916 and ratified in May 1916 in an exchange of letters between British foreign secretary Sir Edward Grey and France's ambassador to London Paul Cambon. The agreement defined areas of British and French control as well as spheres of influence. Britain's au-



thority was to extend in southern Mesopotamia (**Iraq**) and from the **Egyptian** border to Iraq (this area was to be identified as a “red zone”). In addition, the Mediterranean ports of **Acre** and **Haifa** were to be under British control. The French sphere of influence (the “blue zone”) was to include a coastal strip of **Syria** and **Lebanon** as well as a portion of **Palestine** west of the **Jordan River**. Most of Palestine, including **Jerusalem**, was to be part of an area that was to be administered internationally (the “brown zone”). The agreement superseded commitments made by Great Britain to Arab nationalism earlier in World War I (in the form of an exchange of letters between Britain’s high commissioner in Cairo Sir Henry McMahon and Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, in October 1915). With only minor adjustments, the Sykes-Picot Agreement was the basis of the mandates in the former Turkish areas accorded to Great Britain and to France by the League of Nations at the **San Remo Conference**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE.

**SYRIA.** Syria is Israel’s neighbor to the northeast and has been a major antagonist since the Jewish state achieved its independence. The two countries have fought in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**; the **Six-Day War (1967)**, during which Israel captured the **Golan Heights**; the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, in which there were some additional Israeli territorial gains; and the **War in Lebanon (1982)** and the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger of the **United States** brokered the **Israel-Syria Disengagement of Forces Agreement** in the spring of 1974. No further progress toward peace between the two states was made until the fall of 1991, when Syria was among the Arab states that met with Israel at the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. However, Syria (and **Lebanon**) chose to boycott meetings of the multilateral track of negotiations initiated at the Moscow Conference (January 1992).

Under U.S. prodding, Israelis and Syrians met sporadically between 1993 and 1996 in Washington, D.C., and at the nearby Wye River Plantation in Maryland. **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaLiberalit)** prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin**’s terms of reference—that is, that the depth of Israeli withdrawal on or from the Golan Heights would be determined by the depth of peace and normalized relations offered by Syria in return—was apparently accepted by Syrian president Hafez al-Assad as the basis for more substantive negotiations on the future of the Golan Heights. There is evidence suggesting that Rabin had agreed in principle to the complete, phased withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Golan Heights and had conveyed this decision to his Syrian counterpart via the Americans. After Rabin’s assassination, interim prime minister **Shimon Peres** sought to resume negotiations with Damascus on these same terms. However, in the end, Assad drew back from the proposed deal.

In 1996, the new **Likud (Union) Party**–led government headed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** declared that while it sought to resume negotiations with Syria, it would not necessarily be bound by the terms of reference agreed to in principle by the previous government. **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** leader **Ehud Barak**, who as **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff in the mid-1990s had participated in security talks in the United States with his Syrian counterpart, declared his interest in resuming substantive talks with Damascus following his election as prime minister in May 1999. Reiterating a commitment first undertaken by Rabin, Barak pledged to hold a national referendum on a final peace agreement with Syria. Negotiations with Syria, involving Barak and Syria’s foreign minister Farouk al-Sharra, were finally resumed in Washington on 15–16 December 1999 and continued at Shepherdstown, West Virginia, in mid-January 2000. U.S. president **William J. (Bill) Clinton**, seeking to bring closure to the negotiations, met with Syrian president Assad in Geneva, Switzerland, on 27 March 2000. However, the gap between Israeli and Syrian conceptions of a final peace agreement, specifically affecting the precise delineation of the international border relative to the **Sea of Galilee**, was found to be too great.

The failure of the Clinton-Assad summit scuttled Barak’s attempt to link the May 2000 IDF withdrawal from southern Lebanon to a broader regional accord with Syria concerning the Golan Heights. Despite periodic efforts at “public diplomacy” by the government of Bashir Assad—who ascended to the Syrian presidency shortly after his father’s death on 10 June 2000—the prospect for positive change in the Israeli-Syrian relationship was tempered by Damascus’s continued support for anti-Israel **Hezbollah terrorism** in Lebanon as well as its open sponsorship of Palestinian **terrorist** groups operating in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. The historic end to Syria’s occupation of Lebanon in the spring of 2005 and the decision of U.S. president **George W. Bush** to include Syria among the invitees to the **Annapolis Conference** did not seem to have the moderating effect on Syria’s attitude toward relations with Israel. On 6 September 2007 the Israel air force destroyed a nuclear reactor in the Deir ez-Zor area of eastern Syria bordering **Iraq** that Israel (and U.S. intelligence agencies as well as those of other Western governments) had long suspected of supporting a Syrian nuclear weapons program.

Israel considers the civil war in Syria to be an internal affair best left to the Syrian people to resolve. Nevertheless, Israel has taken steps to prevent any change in the deterrence situation on its northern border. According to former defense minister Moshe Ya’alon, “We haven’t intervened in the Syrian bloodshed in a long time. . . . We’ve drawn our red lines and we keep to them.” The IDF responds to periodic rocket and mortar fire from Syria’s side of the border. The IDF in a series of precision air strikes has destroyed convoys of sophisticated Iranian weapons being transported to Hezbollah

bases in Lebanon through Syria. Ya'alon emphasized that Iran “hopes to equip the Lebanese terrorist organization with advanced and precise weapons . . . while aware of the red lines that the state of Israel has placed, and has no intention of compromising on.” In addition, Israel has cautioned against attempts by Iran and Hezbollah and other Iranian-sponsored radical Shia groups, as well as those Sunni militant extremist groups affiliated with Al-Qaeda and Islamic State, to create a base for terrorism against Israel from the northern Golan Heights.

While widely presumed to be responsible, Israel traditionally has chosen to remain silent about its role in air strikes against weapons shipments near the Syria-Lebanon border, believing that a policy of ambiguity would serve as a deterrent. But Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told a conference in northern Israel on 1 December 2015 that “we operate in Syria from time to time to prevent Syria from becoming a front against us.” In particular, he acknowledged that Israel acts to stop “specifically deadly” weaponry from reaching groups (such as Hezbollah in Lebanon) targeting Israel. One day later, on 2 December 2015, Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon told the U.S. Congress that Israel is “very worried” about Iran’s presence in Syria and reiterated Israel’s red line that attempts to transfer chemical or advanced weapons to Hezbollah “will not be tolerated.”

Israeli expert opinion is split about the urgency of the national security threat to Israel—relative to an Iranian (Shia) nuclear threat—posed by the Islamic State and radical Sunni campaign to transform Syria (as well as Iraq) into the base for a modern Islamic caliphate. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; FOREIGN POLICY.

**SYRIA-ISRAEL DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT.**  
*See* ISRAEL-SYRIA DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT (1974); SYRIA.



# T

**TA'AL (ARAB MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE).** An **Israeli Arab political party** first established by **Dr. Ahmed Tibi** to contest the 1996 election for the Fourteenth **Knesset**; it was registered as a party only after seven attempts to disqualify it—due to Tibi's close association with **Yasser Arafat** and the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**—were rejected by Israel's Central Elections Committee. The party failed to pass the threshold for winning one seat in the Fourteenth Knesset. Ta'al's philosophy centers around the desire to see **Israel's Arabs** recognized as a national minority and for Israel to nullify laws that give Jews preference in national life. Ta'al joined with **Azmi Bishara's National Democratic Alliance (Balad) Party** to contest the 1999 Knesset election, winning a total of three mandates. However, Ta'al leader Ahmed Tibi subsequently broke away from Balad to form a one-man Knesset faction. Ta'al, running on a joint list with the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)**, won three seats in the 2003 Knesset election. In 2006 it contested the Knesset election on a joint list with the **United Arab List (UAL)**, winning four seats. In January 2009, the Central Elections Committee banned Ta'al and the UAL from contesting the February 2009 Knesset election, accusing them of incitement, supporting **terrorist** groups, and refusing to recognize Israel's right to exist. This decision was overturned on automatic appeal to Israel's **Supreme Court** and the UAL-Ta'al alliance won four seats in the Eighteenth Knesset (2009). The UAL-Ta'al joint list won five seats in the 2013 Knesset election. For the March 2015 election for the Twentieth Knesset, Ta'al and the UAL joined with other Arab political parties under the banner of **The Joint List**. *See also* ARABS IN ISRAEL.

**TAAS (TAASIYA TZVAIT, LITERALLY "MILITARY INDUSTRY").** An enterprise devoted to the development and manufacture of weapons and munitions initially for the **Hagana** and later for the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and the defense establishment of the state of Israel. It was initiated by the Jewish leadership in **Palestine** in the aftermath of the Arab anti-Jewish riots of 1921, when the need arose for guns and ammunition to arm the

Hagana to defend Jewish **settlements** scattered throughout the **Yishuv**. It was ultimately incorporated into the Israel military-industrial complex and the **Israel Aircraft** (later, **Aerospace**) **Industries (IAI)**. *See also* ISRAEL MILITARY INDUSTRIES (IMI; TAASIYA TZVAIT, ALSO KNOWN AS TAAS).

**TABA**. A small (1.2 square kilometer) enclave on the border between **Egypt** and Israel that remained in dispute when the international boundary was established between the two countries following the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 1979. Israel retained the area after withdrawing from the **Sinai Peninsula** in 1982, arguing that the maps showed incorrect lines. After years of fruitless negotiations, the issue was submitted to international arbitration. The arbitrators reported in September 1988 that the area belonged to Egypt. Israel and Egypt signed agreements on 26 February 1989 that returned Taba to Egypt. Egypt thus regained control of all of the Sinai Peninsula captured by Israel in the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Taba itself was an insignificant piece of land, but it became symbolic of a number of difficulties in the Egypt-Israel relationship following the signing of the peace treaty. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**TAMI (TENUAH LEMASSORET ISRAEL—MOVEMENT FOR JEWISH TRADITION)**. A **political party** founded in May 1981 by then religious affairs minister **Aharon Abuhatzzeira**. The party drew support mainly from Sephardim (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) and claimed to seek the elimination of anti-Moroccan sentiment in Israel. But it was created primarily because of Abuhatzzeira's personal political ambition and his antipathy toward the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit—MAFDAL)** leaders, especially **Yosef Burg**. Abuhatzzeira left the NRP after receiving what he regarded as insufficient support during his trial on various criminal charges. He accused the NRP leadership of ethnic (anti-Sephardi) discrimination. Tami sought to appeal to followers of the NRP and **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** by stressing the "ethnic" connection, intending to draw voters from Israel's large Moroccan community to fellow Moroccan Abuhatzzeira. Abuhatzzeira had strong support from Nissim Gaon, a Swiss Jewish millionaire of Sudanese origin who had been active in Sephardic causes. He had hoped for a sizable victory in the 1981 Knesset election that would give him significant bargaining power after the election, but his efforts suffered a number of crucial setbacks, including repudiation by his venerable uncle, Rabbi Yisrael Abuhatzzeira, a leader of Moroccan Jews in Israel. In addition, it became clear that he had created a party with a narrow sectarian base and thus lost any chance for a broader appeal to others, especially Sephardim of non-African origin. The number-two candidate on Tami's orig-

inal list, Aharon Uzan, was a former **agriculture** minister in **Alignment (Maarach)** governments who noted that the party's purpose "is to right the glaring wrongs perpetrated against us North Africans and against the Sephardim in general." The party performed poorly in the 1984 Knesset election, with much of its voter base shifting to the new ultra-Orthodox Sephardi party **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)**; it won only one seat, taken by Abuhatzeira. Tami merged into the **Likud (Union) Party** during the Eleventh Knesset session and ceased to exist.

**TAMIR, AVRAHAM "ABRASHA" (1924–2100).** One of Israel's longest-serving soldiers, his military career stretched from the **War of Independence (1948)** to the **War in Lebanon (1982)**. He was the last commander of, and was seriously wounded in the unsuccessful attempt to save, the besieged **Etzion Bloc (Gush Etzion)** of settlements that fell to the **Jordanians** in the 1948 war. Tamir was close to many of Israel's past military and political leaders, such as **Ariel Sharon**, **Yitzhak Rabin**, **Ezer Weizman**, and **Shimon Peres**. He served in a number of senior IDF and civilian national security command positions, and authored numerous training manuals, planning documents, and combat doctrines. He also played an important role in peacemaking. At the 1978 summit meeting at Camp David, Maryland, Tamir headed the Israeli team on the security committee that negotiated bilateral security arrangements between **Israel** and **Egypt** and with respect to Palestinian autonomy—see **CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1978)**. In the late 1980s Tamir was one of the first Israeli officials to meet secretly with **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman **Yasser Arafat**. Though he long favored the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel and served as national security adviser for Prime Minister **Shimon Peres**, Tamir grew disillusioned with the **Oslo Accords** and backed **Benjamin Netanyahu**, Peres's opponent in the 1996 direct election for prime minister, due to Netanyahu's more cautious approach toward diplomatic relations with the Palestinians. Tamir's biography, *A Soldier in Search of Peace: An Inside Look at Israel's Strategy*, was published in 1988. He remained a respected expert voice on strategic affairs until his death in Tel Aviv on 20 December 2010 at age 86.

**TAMIR, SHMUEL M. (FORMERLY KATZENELSON) (1923–1987).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 10 March 1923 in **Jerusalem**, Tamir studied in the Government School of Law in Jerusalem and passed his last examinations while a prisoner in a British internment camp in Kenya. In his youth, he joined the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel)** and was its second in command in the Jerusalem district. He was detained a number of times by the British authorities and the last time was exiled and imprisoned in Kenya. In 1948, he was among the founders of the **Herut**

**Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)**, but in the 1950s, he retired from it. In 1964, he returned to activities in Herut and was among the founders of **Gahal**. In 1965, he was elected to the Sixth **Knesset**. Tamir, Eliezer Shostak, and others formed the **Free Center Party (Hamerkaz Hahofshi)**. The Free Center joined the **Likud (Union) Party** when it was established in 1973. In 1976, Tamir and his colleagues of the Free Center terminated the partnership with the Likud after differences of opinion with **Menachem Begin**. When the **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua Ha-Democratit LeShinui)** was established a few months later, Tamir united with the founders of the DMC in the election for the Ninth Knesset. He served as minister of justice from 1977 to 1980. Tamir died on 29 June 1987.

**TARGETED ASSASSINATIONS.** An Israeli policy instituted in the course of the **Al-Aksa Intifada** of systematically targeting and killing Palestinian militants who were seen as security threats or who committed or were planning to carry out a **terrorist** attack. The policy was confirmed by the Israeli government in January 2001, but specific details of whom and how many were targeted were not released by Israeli authorities. Nevertheless, among the more prominent of the victims were **Abdel Aziz Rantisi**, **Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Yassin**, Ismail Abu Shanab, Ibrahim Makadmeh, Raed Karmi, **Yahya Ayash**, and Salah Abu Hassanein. Though subject to criticism in Israel and in the international community, the use of targeted assassinations was viewed by many Israelis as a necessary, last resort tool for Israeli security agencies in the struggle against **suicide bombings** and other acts of **terrorism**. *See also* AL-AKSA MARTYRS BRIGADES; HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA); PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI); SHIN BET (SHABAK).

**TEATRON OHEL.** An acting troupe affiliated with the Labor **Zionist** Movement, also known as the “**theater** of the workers of **Eretz Israel (Eretz Yisrael)**,” established in **Tel Aviv** in 1925. It ceased operation in the 1930s.

**TECHNION-ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.** Israel’s leading university in engineering and technology. Located in **Haifa**, the Technion is Israel’s oldest institution of higher learning. Construction was begun in 1912, but various factors delayed its formal opening. The first classes were held in 1924. The school grew slowly until the independence of Israel, when the significance of **science** and technology for the development and the security of the new state became apparent. It was a center for the Jewish underground and a source of defense technology integral in the struggle for a state. The Technion was envisaged as an institution to provide Israel with the



engineers, architects, and research scientists essential for the country's technical advance. It has since become an internationally recognized institution in various areas of specialty.

The Technion has been a major contributor to the development and advancement of Israel since its founding. During the 1960s, the Technion brought in hundreds of students from the developing world to Israel to study, and the Technion faculty and staff delivered technological aid to countries throughout the world, often working in coordination with Mashav, the international development agency of the Israeli foreign ministry.

Technion graduates constitute the majority of Israeli-educated scientists and engineers and are responsible for Israel having the largest concentration of high-tech startup companies outside Silicon Valley. It is a world-class science and engineering institution with an accomplished faculty and student body. In 2004, Technion professors Avram Hershko and Aaron Ciechanover won the **Nobel Prize** for chemistry for their work in understanding the process of protein breakdown in cells. In 2011, the Nobel Prize for chemistry was awarded to the Technion's Dan Shechtman for his discovery of quasiperiodic crystals. The Technion has a current student body of approximately 13,800. *See also* EDUCATION.

**TECSAR SATELLITE.** On 21 January 2008, Israel launched a reconnaissance **satellite** atop an Indian missile from a launch site in **India**. The TECSAR satellite, manufactured by **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)**, gave Israel a further intelligence advantage over its adversaries (including **Iran**) by improving capabilities of intelligence gathering and coverage. Image resolution was reportedly better, sharper, and of higher overall quality than that available through the **OFEQ** satellites already developed and deployed by Israel. *See also* INDUSTRY; SCIENCE.

**TEHIYA (RENAISSANCE).** Founded in 1979, Tehiya was a **political party** of "true believers" focused on the land of Israel—*see* ERETZ ISRAEL (ERETZ YISRAEL)—with an ideological fervor reminiscent of Israel's political parties in the early years of independence and before. It was composed of both religious and secular elements and appealed strongly to Israel's youth. It had a component from **Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful)**, but various secularists and secular-oriented groupings were also involved.

Tehiya involved old associates of **Menachem Begin** from the anti-British underground and such former **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** **Knesset** members as **Geula Cohen**, and **Land of Israel Movement** personalities also joined. Included among its prominent members were **Moshe Shamir**, Aluf Avraham Yoffe, Dr. Zeev Vilnay, and **Dr. Israel Eldad**. Tehiya's origins were based in opposition to the **Camp David Accords**

and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**, which called for total withdrawal from the **Sinai Peninsula** and commitment to autonomy for the Arab residents in the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**.

Tehiya Party members charged that Begin, in agreeing to the Sinai withdrawal and Palestinian autonomy, had sold out to international pressure, and they demanded that all of the **Occupied Territories** must remain in Israel's hands. The party's head was Professor **Yuval Ne'eman**, a physicist from **Tel Aviv University** and a leading nuclear scientist with a long-standing role in the defense establishment. In July 1982, Tehiya joined Begin's **Likud (Union) Party**–led ruling coalition, with Ne'eman serving as minister of **science** and technology. This move seemed to help ensure Tehiya's future and strengthen the opposition in the government to concessions concerning Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank. **Raphael (Rafal) Eitan**, former chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, assumed the leadership of an alliance that included the Tehiya and **Tsomet (Movement for Zionist Revival)** parties, and the right-wing alliance won five **Knesset** seats in the 1984 election. The alliance was disbanded in 1987, when Eitan established his own party, Tsomet. Tehiya campaigned in the 1988 election on a platform that called for "peace for peace," without Israel yielding any portion of the land of Israel, and for increasing **settlement** in the territories as a guarantee of peace. It supported having Israeli sovereignty applied to **Judea and Samaria** and Gaza.

In 1990, Tehiya joined the narrow coalition formed by **Yitzhak Shamir**, but it subsequently left the government to protest Israel's participation in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. It failed to pass the electoral threshold in the 1992 Knesset election, and it did not contest the 1996 or 1999 elections. The core of its voter support drifted either to one of the other secular-nationalist parties (Likud, Tsomet, or **Moledet [Homeland]**) or to the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**. However, its political philosophy continued to color important aspects of the security and **foreign policy** debate in Israel. Aspects of its political philosophy are reflected in those of such contemporary Israeli political parties as **National Union (Haichud Haluemi)**, **Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)**, and **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**, as well as the ultranationalist **Otzma LeIsrael (Strength to Israel; Strong Israel)/Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Strength)**.

**TEKUMA (RENEWAL)**. A small right-wing faction that broke away from the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)** prior to the 17 May 1999 **Knesset** election. It was founded by two former NRP Knesset members, Hanan Porat and Zvi Handel, both of whom criticized the NRP for not quitting **Benjamin Netanyahu's** government to protest the agreements to cede territory in **Hebron** and elsewhere in the **West**

**Bank.** Tekuma's policy platform expressed strong support for Jewish **set-tlers** and firm opposition to further territorial concessions to Israel's Palestinian negotiating partners. It joined with **New Herut (Herut HaHadasha)** and **Moledet (Homeland)** to form the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)–Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** alliance that won four seats in the 1999 **Knesset** election and seven seats in the 2003 election. The alliance was included in **Ariel Sharon's** coalition government. Tekuma was vehemently opposed to Sharon's Gaza **unilateral withdrawal** plan. Due to tensions within the **cabinet** over the plan, National Union ministers **Benyamin (Ben-ny) Elon** and **Avigdor Lieberman** were fired by Sharon, and the party left the coalition. Before the 2006 elections Yisrael Beiteinu left the National Union alliance to contest the election alone. However, at the last minute the National Religious Party decided to join the alliance, which won nine seats, two of which were allocated to Tekuma. On 3 November 2008 Tekuma announced a merger with Ahi (a splinter from the NRP), NRP, and Moledet to form a new right-wing party. However, around half the former Tekuma members later left the new party to reestablish Tekuma, and rejoined the National Union alongside Moledet and two smaller right-wing factions (Ha-tikva and Eretz Yisrael Shelanu). In preparation for the 2013 Knesset elections, Tekuma merged with **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**, winning 12 seats in THE Nineteenth Knesset. In the 2015 Knesset election, Tekuma again aligned with HaBayit HaYehudi. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**TEL AVIV STOCK EXCHANGE (TASE).** Known colloquially as “the Bursa,” the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange is Israel's only stock exchange and one of the largest in the Middle East. The TASE lists some 622 companies, about 60 of which are also listed on foreign stock exchanges. The history of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange is rooted in the **British Mandate** period. Its precursor was the Exchange Bureau for Securities, founded by the Anglo-British Bank in 1935. Following independence, a formal stock exchange was incorporated and began operations in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** in 1953. The exchange moved to its current location on Ahuzat Bayit Street in Tel Aviv in 1983. The TASE's growth and expansion paralleled the boom in the Israeli **economy** that began to occur in the mid-1990s, primarily driven by Israel's blossoming high-technology sector. Between 2004 and 2007, the collective value of the 25 top listed companies on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange rose 175 percent, more than four times the experience of comparable companies on New York's markets during the same time frame. The TASE has continued to experience steady growth and stability, despite the wild fluctuations that affected world markets in the early 21st century. Active involvement of foreign investors on the Bursa began in 1994 (with significant updating of **Knesset** legislation concerning foreign investment in Israel) and has since become a major driver

of market activity. The **Bank of Israel** reported that foreign investments in companies traded on the TASE more than tripled from 2012 to 2013, from \$410 million to \$1.5 billion, reflecting an overall increase of some 266 percent. The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange is closely regulated by securities legislation adopted by the Knesset in 1968, and it falls under the direct supervision of the Israel Securities Authority. It is also subject to various internal regulations to militate against incidents of insider-trading and other forms of malfeasance that affect all stock exchanges everywhere in the world. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN TRADE; INDUSTRY.

**TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY.** A world-class research and teaching institution with a strong international component. It is Israel's largest institute of higher **education**, with a student body of over 30,000. The university was established in 1956 with the consolidation of three small academies and was attached to the Tel Aviv municipality. Tel Aviv University was given autonomy and its Ramat Aviv campus was established in 1963 and has almost continually expanded its facilities since then.

**TEL AVIV–YAFO.** Tel Aviv–Yafo is Israel's second-largest city and the country's financial, commercial, and industrial center, with a population of about 420,000. It lies on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea and is one of the most modern cities in the Middle East. The southwestern section of the city was formerly a separate town called Jaffa (Yafo). Cultural attractions include the Land of Israel Museum, Tel Aviv Museum, and Beit Hatfutsot-The Museum of the Jewish People (commonly known as The **Diaspora** Museum). **Tel Aviv University** is one of the city's several institutions of higher learning. Tel Aviv–Yafo is the center of Israel's primary manufacturing district. About half the nation's business companies are in the area. Their products include building materials, chemicals, clothing, electronic equipment, machine tools, and processed foods. The city is also the nation's leading center for such activities as banking, publishing, and trade. Israel's only stock market—the **Tel Aviv Stock Exchange (TASE)**—is located in Tel Aviv and the city is the driving force for Israel's booming industrial high-technology sector. Most of Israel's **political parties** have their headquarters in Tel Aviv–Yafo.

In 1909, Jewish immigrants (*see* ALIYA) from Europe founded Tel Aviv northeast of Jaffa. Tel Aviv was administered as part of Jaffa at first, but it became a separate town in 1921. The city grew rapidly as Jewish immigrants arrived mainly from Europe. It became Israel's first capital when the nation was established in 1948. The capital was moved to Jerusalem in 1949, but the

ministry of defense and most foreign embassies remained in Tel Aviv. Most government departments maintain offices in Tel Aviv. In 1950, Tel Aviv and Jaffa merged to form Tel Aviv–Yafo.

The first mayor of Tel Aviv–Yafo was Meir Dizengoff (1920–1925, 1928–1936). Recent mayors have included **Shlomo Lahat** (1974–1993), **Ronnie Milo** (1993–1998), and Ron Huldai (1998–).

**TELEM.** A **political party** that was formed by **Moshe Dayan** in the spring of 1981 and contested the **Knesset** that summer, winning two seats. After Dayan’s death in October 1981, those two Knesset members joined the **Likud (Union) Party**, and Telem dissolved.

**TEMPLE MOUNT.** The sacred plateau in **Jerusalem** revered by Jews as the site of the ancient Jewish temples. It is also revered by Muslims as the Noble Sanctuary where the **Al Aksa Mosque** and the Dome of the Rock are located and is the third holiest place, after Mecca and Medina, in Islam.

It is located in the old City of Jerusalem in territory Israel took from **Jordan** in the **Six-Day War (1967)** and then annexed. Under arrangements instituted by Israel after the war, Jews are permitted to visit the area but not to pray there.

Hours after Israel was victorious in the Six-Day War and reunified Jerusalem, Defense Minister **Moshe Dayan** began to devise the arrangements that came to be known as “the status quo.” He ordered the lowering of Israel’s flag and the removal of the paratroopers who had liberated the Temple Mount and surrounding area. He devised a set of arrangements that he believed would prevent religious conflict. The Jordanian-administered *waqf* (Islamic religious authority) would continue to manage the site for religious and civil matters. Jews would not be permitted to pray on the Temple Mount, but could visit there. Israel’s **police** force would be responsible for security in the sacred compound as well as the wall and gates around it. Israeli sovereignty and law would apply to the Temple Mount as it applied to other parts of Jerusalem. Entrance to the Mount by non-Muslims, including Jews, would be permitted only through the Mughrabi Gate while Muslims could enter through any gate. The raising of flags was prohibited. Muslims prayed on the Temple Mount and Jews at the **Western Wall**.

The restriction on Jewish prayer proved most controversial over time. Dayan, however, was motivated by an attempt to keep the religious factor out of the Arab-Israeli political-nationalism sphere.

Israeli security forces and Palestinians have clashed often at or near the Temple Mount. *See also* AL-AKSA INTIFADA; ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**TEMPLE MOUNT FAITHFUL.** *See* AL-AKSA MOSQUE.

**TEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN HEBRON (TIPH).**

A small force of unarmed international (primarily European) observers deployed in **Hebron** in the aftermath of the February 1994 massacre of 29 Muslim worshipers by the Jewish **settler, Baruch Goldstein**. *See also* HEBRON MASSACRE; SHAMGAR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

**TENEH OMARIM.** A southern **West Bank settlement** whose residents at the end of August 2005 requested the opportunity to leave under the terms of the Evacuation-Compensation Law adopted by the Knesset to cover the recently completed disengagement from the **Gaza Strip** and the northern West Bank. Most of the 85 families living in Teneh Omarim believed that they had no future in the isolated settlement, as it was located on the Palestinian side of the **security barrier** in the West Bank. *See also* UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT).

**TERRITORIES.** *See* OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

**TERRORISM.** One of the more important factors shaping political life in Israel has been the ever-present threat of terrorism. The pre-state **Yishuv** was confronted with extended periods of violence perpetrated by elements of the local Arab community in **Palestine**. Initially, the **Zionist** response was a policy of *havlagah* (“restraint”), premised on passive defense of Jewish **settlements** and cooperation with the **British Mandate** authorities. However, the response became progressively more forceful especially during the Arab revolt of 1939 and following the Arabs’ rejection of the November 1947 **United Nations Palestine Partition Plan**.

Following statehood, the primary terrorism threat was posed by Palestinian *fedayeen* raids out of the **Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip** and from the **Jordanian-held West Bank**. In reaction, the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** undertook a policy of vigorous retaliation, the goal of which was twofold: first, to punish the perpetrators of terrorist attacks, and second, to deter neighboring Arab countries from offering the terrorists support and safe haven. In the early 1970s, much of the terrorist threat originated in southern **Lebanon**, where the base of operations of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** shifted following its eviction from Jordan following **Black September**. Escalating levels of terrorism across its northern border combined with sensational attacks on Israeli targets internationally prompted major IDF offensives on PLO bases in Lebanon in 1978 (**Operation Litani**) and 1982 (**Operation Peace for Galilee**)—*see* WAR IN LEBANON (1982).

The PLO evacuation from Lebanon in September 1982 shifted the focus on terrorism to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where, beginning with the outbreak of the **intifada** in December 1987, the IDF was confronted with widespread Palestinian violent demonstrations. Since the signing of the **Oslo Accords**, there was a significant upswing in the number and severity of terrorist attacks on Israelis, committed in the main by Islamic extremist groups such as **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**, **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)**, **Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades**, and other PLO rejectionist factions opposed to reconciliation with Israel. In addition, beginning in the mid-1980s, the IDF fought a war of attrition against Iranian- and Syrian-backed **Hezbollah** and other extremist groups in southern Lebanon; although the IDF withdrawal in May 2000 resulted in an overall drop in the number of terrorist attacks from Lebanon, the continued threat posed by Hezbollah (in pursuit of its own goals as well as those of its state sponsors, Iran and Syria) remained destabilizing.

The introduction of mass-casualty **suicide bombings** against Israeli civilian targets in the **Al-Aksa intifada** created a new dynamic to the terrorism war against Israel. Israel responded by temporarily re-occupying major West Bank cities recently transferred to Palestinian control (**Operation Defensive Shield**) and by constructing the **separation barrier** in the West Bank. Israel unilaterally withdrew from the Gaza Strip in 2005 as part of its overall policy response of separation from the Palestinians. However, rather than peaceful coexistence with its neighbors in Gaza, **Sderot** and other terrorized Jewish population centers in the **Negev** and southern Israel were targeted with hundreds, in fact thousands, of rockets and missiles fired from Gaza by Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups. Israel held Hamas, as the de facto authority in the Gaza Strip, responsible for stopping the attacks, and the IDF and **Shin Bet (Shabak)** undertook a series of **targeted assassinations** against the senior leadership of Hamas (as well as senior operatives of Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Fatah's Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades). In addition, the IDF engaged in skirmishes and warfare with Hamas and other Gaza-based terror groups and undertook ground invasions of areas of Gaza in pursuit of weapons caches, missile launchers, and **tunnels** used by terrorists to infiltrate weapons and terrorists into Israel—*see* WAR IN GAZA (2008–2009); WAR IN GAZA (2012); WAR IN GAZA (2014).

Instability on Israel's borders with all of its Arab neighbors represents sources of immediate terrorist threat for Israel, as do attempts by Iranian-sponsored militant Shia Islamist groups such as Hezbollah and radical Sunni Islamist al-Qaeda, Salafis, or Islamic State (ISIS) to establish cells among **Israel's Arab** community.

On 2 November 2015 it was announced that Israel had been selected to join the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an elite intragovernmental task force for combating the financing of global terrorism and the laundering of funds used to finance terrorism.

From Israel's perspective, there is a clear correlation between the prospects for achieving permanent peace and a substantial reduction in the threat to the physical security of Israelis posed by terrorism. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.

**TERRORISM 2015.** A wave of near daily **terrorist** attacks targeting Israelis began on 13 September 2015 and continued in subsequent months. The attacks included stoning, knife stabbings, fire bombings, shootings, and violent riots, resulting in the death or wounding of dozens of Israeli civilians and soldiers on the streets of Israeli cities as well as in the **West Bank**. There were also attempts to breach the border between the **Gaza Strip** and Israel. On 16 October 2015 Palestinian rioters set fire to the compound of **Joseph's Tomb** in the West Bank city of Nablus (biblical Shechem), a tomb revered by both Jews and Muslims as the burial place of Joseph, the son of Jacob. Israel adopted a tough stance in response to the violence. Asserting its sovereign right and responsibility to take whatever measures it deems necessary to protect the lives of its citizens, Israel ordered the mobilization of additional Israel Police companies onto the streets of Israeli cities. Israel also expanded the rules of engagement so as to permit its security forces to shoot-to-kill the perpetrators of terrorist attacks or attempted attacks. Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** called on **Mahmoud Abbas** and the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) leadership to stop fueling the campaign of "systematic and mendacious incitement" against Israel. This campaign of incitement centered on the spurious accusation that "the Jews were plotting to destroy the **al-Aksa Mosque**." Netanyahu sought to reassure Arab and Muslim citizens of Israel, as well as key regional and international actors that Israel would maintain the status quo agreement concerning the al-Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock that had been instituted by **Moshe Dayan** after the **Six-Day War (1967)**. Despite interventions by the **United States** and **United Nations** secretary-general Ban Ki-Moon and others, the anti-Israel terrorism continued with no easy solution seemingly at hand.

**TEVA PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRIES.** The largest generic drug manufacturer in the world, headquartered in **Petah Tikva**. Founded in 1901 in **Jerusalem** as a small wholesale drug business that distributed imported medications, the company began manufacturing pharmaceuticals in the 1930s. It was originally named S.L.E. after its founders. A small pharmaceutical plant was opened in 1935 in Petah Tikva under the Assia brand. Subse-



quent plants were opened including Teva in Jerusalem. Once Israel was established, the local drug market expanded rapidly and Teva grew. In 1976 CEO Eli Hurvits (Hurvitz) formally merged Teva, Assia, and Zori to form Teva Pharmaceutical Industries, Israel's largest healthcare company. In July 2015 it was announced that Teva would buy Dutch-based Allergan's generic drug unit for \$40.5 billion and that the deal would close in the first quarter of 2016. This will be the largest acquisition by an Israeli company and the biggest commercial deal in Israel's history. The deal enhanced Teva's position as the largest generic drug company in the world. Teva shares are traded on the New York Stock Exchange in addition to the **Tel Aviv Stock Exchange**. *See also* ECONOMY; INDUSTRY.

**TEVET-WIESEL, RACHEL (1963– )**. Since 8 August 2011, adviser on women's affairs to the chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Born on 16 August 1963, she studied law at **Tel Aviv University** and later applied her legal expertise to positions with various military tribunals as a career IDF officer. Senior postings included chief justice of the IDF central command and Israel air force military tribunals (2008–2009) and president of the special court martial (2009–2011). With her appointment as women's affairs adviser, Tevet-Wiesel was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, one of four women officers to achieve that senior rank in the IDF. *See also* CHEN (WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS); WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

**THEATER**. Israel's theater companies present a wide variety of classical and contemporary plays with Jewish and universal themes, either written in **Hebrew** or translated from other languages. These companies perform to large audiences in their home theaters, in auditoriums throughout Israel, and on stages around the world. Israeli theater is a product of the social and cultural diversity of the artists who compose and comprise it. Israeli theater companies perform plays that are often at the vanguard of social commentary. Israel's unending internal debates over the identity of the state and what that means for its governance along with the persistent external troubles vis-à-vis the Arab and Muslim world are a significant source of original Israeli theater. Some of Israel's most prolific playwrights are Nissim Aloni, Hanoach Levin, **A. B. Yehoshua**, and Yehoshua Sobol. To be sure, Israeli theaters also perform a repertoire of traditional, contemporary, and classical works, including those of Shakespeare and Arthur Miller.

Hebrew theater began in Moscow in 1917 with the founding of **Habimah** ("The Stage") under the direction of Constantin Stanislavsky. From its inception, it was linked with Hebrew culture and **Zionism**, producing plays that depicted the life of the Jewish people throughout the ages. Habimah began performing in **Palestine** in 1928 and has come to be Israel's national theater.

In **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, the **Cameri Theater** (est. 1944) has been that city’s municipal theater since 1971 and is Israel’s largest theater company. The **Haifa Municipal Theater** (est. 1961) was the first theater in Israel to be publicly sponsored. The **Beersheba Municipal Theater** (est. 1974) was established to bring theater to the population of the **Negev**.

Numerous other theater groups—some of which are geared toward children or offer performances in Russian or Arabic—flourish and perform for enthusiastic audiences. The **Gesher Theater** in Tel Aviv is a world-renowned acting company with bilingual performances in Hebrew and Russian. Established in 1979, the annual **Acco Festival of Alternative Israeli Theater** has often featured artistic encounters between Jews and **Arabs** in unconventional, exploratory theatrical performances.

**THE THIRD WAY (DERECH HASHLISHIT)**. A political party comprised mainly of former members of the **Israel Labor Party (Miflaga Haavoda HaIsraelit)** who left out of concern about the territorial concessions the governments of **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Shimon Peres** were reportedly considering making to **Syria** in negotiations over the **Golan Heights**. It promoted a “third way”—not that of Labor or the **Likud (Union) Party**. Under the leadership of former Labor member of **Knesset Avigdor Kahalani** (a hero of the Golan campaign during the **Yom Kippur War** and a leader of the Knesset’s Golan Caucus), the party won four seats in the 1996 Knesset election and joined the governing coalition formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**.

Its centrist policy platform was encapsulated in the slogan “Peace with Secure Borders”—it supported peace negotiations with Israel’s Arab neighbors on the basis of the **land for peace** concept, but it demanded that any concessions be reciprocal and conditioned on Israel’s national security requirements. In its approach to the Palestinian track, the Third Way drew inspiration from the **Allon Plan**. In July 1995, it published a “peace map” that would see the overwhelming majority of Jewish **settlers** in the **West Bank** incorporated into three major geographic blocs that would then be annexed by Israel. Control of the balance of the West Bank (about 51 percent) and its Arab population would be transferred to the Palestinian autonomous areas. Jewish settlers remaining outside areas annexed by Israel would be given the option of relocating to one of the settlement blocs or remaining in areas administered by the **Palestinian Authority (PA)** but protected by the extra-territorial application of Israeli law. The Third Way also adopted a centrist position on the contentious **Who Is a Jew?** debate. It failed to win a seat in the 1999 Knesset election and dissolved, with its leadership either retiring from politics or returning to their roots in the Labor or Likud parties.

**THE THIRTY-FOURTH GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.** *See* THIRTY-FOURTH GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.

**THE TIMES OF ISRAEL.** *See* TIMES OF ISRAEL.

**THE ZIONIST UNION (ALSO KNOWN AS THE ZIONIST CAMP).** *See* ZIONIST UNION (ALSO KNOWN AS ZIONIST CAMP).

**THIRTY-FOURTH GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.** Coalition government headed by **Likud (Union) Party** leader **Benjamin Netanyahu** formed following the election of the Twentieth **Knesset** in March 2015. The government was submitted to Israel's **president, Reuven "Rubi" Rivlin** on 7 May 2015, and its ministers were introduced, approved by the Knesset, and sworn in on 14 May 2015. The coalition is comprised of the Likud, **Kulanu (All Of Us)**, **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)**, **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)**, and **United Torah Judaism (UTJ)** parties. Between them, the parties hold 61 of the 120 seats in the Knesset. (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). Ministerial portfolios were distributed among the parties in the manner outlined below. Four important changes to the government's composition occurred later. **Ze'ev Binyamin (Benny) Begin** resigned as minister without portfolio to allow **Gilad Erdan** to be named on 25 May 2015 as minister for public security, strategic affairs, and information. On 14 August 2015 cabinet minister **Danny Danon** was named Israel's new ambassador to the **United Nations**, with his responsibilities as minister of **science, technology, and space** transferred to then minister without portfolio Ofir Akunis. On 27 August 2015 UTJ's **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Gedolei Hatorah)** authorized deputy health minister Ya'akov Litzman to accept the position of minister of health, the first time since 1952 that an **Ashkenazic** ultra-Orthodox (**Haredi**) party had agreed to fully participate in a government of Israel. On 30 May 2016, the coalition grew to 66 seats with the addition of Israel Beiteinu and Avigdor Lieberman serving as defense minister. Ministers of the 34th government of Israel (2 June 2016) are as follows:

Benjamin Netanyahu (Likud)—Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Communications, Minister of the Economy

Ofir Akunis (Likud)—Minister of Science, Technology, and Space

Uri Ariel (HaBayit HaYehudi)—Minister of **Agriculture** and Rural Development

David Azoulay (SHAS)—Minister of Religious Services

**Naftali Bennett** (HaBayit HaYehudi)—Minister of **Education**, Minister for **Diaspora** Affairs

Aryeh Deri (SHAS)—Minister of the Interior

- Sofa Landver (Israel Beiteinu)—Minister of **Immigration** and Absorption
- Gilad Erdan (Likud)—Minister of Public Security, Strategic Affairs, and Public Diplomacy
- Avi Gabai (Kulanu)—Minister of Environmental Protection
- Yoav Galant (Kulanu)—Minister of Construction and Housing
- Gila Gamliel (Likud)—Minister for Gender Equality, Minorities, and Senior Citizens
- Moshe Kahlon** (Kulanu)—Minister of Finance
- Haim Katz (Likud)—Minister of Welfare and Social Services
- Yisrael Katz (Likud)—Minister of Transportation and Road Safety, Minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy
- Yariv Levin (Likud)—Minister of **Tourism**
- Yakov Litzman (United Torah Judaism)—Minister of Health
- Miriam “Miri” Regev** (Likud)—Minister of Culture and Sport
- Ayelet Shaked** (HaBayit HaYehudi)—Minister of Justice
- Yuval Steinitz (Likud)—Minister of Energy and Infrastructure
- Avigdor Lieberman** (Israel Beiteinu) (Likud)—Minister of Defense
- Zeev Elkin (Likud)—Minister of Jerusalem Affairs and Heritage

**TIBI, AHMAD (1958–)**. **Israeli Arab** politician and member of **Knesset** controversial for his long-standing ties to senior **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) leadership, including **Yasser Arafat**. Born on 19 December 1958 in Taibeh, he prefers to define himself as a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship. A gynecologist by profession, he served for many years as a principal adviser to Arafat and conduit for secret contacts between Israeli peace activists and the PLO prior to the start of the **Oslo Accords** peace process (when such contacts were still illegal for Israelis).

Tibi formed the **Ta’al Arab Movement for Change** faction to contest the 1996 Knesset election. It was registered as a party only after seven attempts to disqualify it were rejected by the Central Elections Committee; attempts were made to have Tibi disqualified from participating in the election due to his association with Arafat. Tibi was initially disqualified by the Central Elections Committee from participating in the 2003 Knesset election due to his association with Arafat and with **Fatah-Tanzim** leader **Marwan Barghouti**. However, this decision was overturned on appeal to Israel’s **Supreme Court**, and Tibi was elected for the first time to the Sixteenth Knesset. Reelected to the Seventeenth Knesset in March 2006, his party, the **United Arab List–Ta’al** was disqualified from the 2009 elections by the Central Elections Committee (Tibi claimed the disqualification was due his criticism of **Operation Cast Lead**). The Supreme Court overturned the Committee’s decision unanimously, and Tibi was reelected to the Eighteenth Knesset (2009). He was reelected to the Knesset in the 2013 election on the

United Arab List–Ta'al list. In the Seventeenth (2006–2009), Eighteenth (2009–2013), and Nineteenth (2013–2015) Knessets Tibi served as a deputy speaker of the Knesset. He was reelected to the Twentieth Knesset (2015) on **The Joint List** of mainly Arab political parties. *See also* ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**TICHON, DAN (1937– )**. Member of **Knesset** and Knesset speaker. Born on 5 January 1937 in the Kiryat Haim quarter of **Haifa**, he graduated from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** in economics and international relations. He served as chairman of the board (1971–1981) and director general (1977) of a private construction firm. He became a member of the Knesset on the **Likud (Union) Party** list in 1981. He served as deputy speaker of the Knesset and chairman of the Knesset State Audit Committee. Tichon was elected speaker of the Fourteenth Knesset in June 1996. He retired from party politics prior to the 1999 Knesset election.

**TIMES OF ISRAEL**. Jerusalem-based online daily newspaper published in English, Arabic, French, and Chinese, and covering developments in Israel and the broader Middle East. Launched in February 2012, the *Times* is co-owned by U.S. businessman and philanthropist Seth Klarman and former *Jerusalem Post* editor David Horowitz, who is also the paper's founder and editor of its English-language edition. Horowitz has attracted several of Israel's finest journalists to the paper, many of them formerly employed by *Ha'aretz*. The *Times* has no political affiliation. According to founder/editor David Horowitz, "We are independent; we're not attached or affiliated with any political party. [*The Times* is] an independent, fair-minded journalistic venture, and I think it's incredibly important to give people a sense of the options that Israel faces and create an informed and constructive debate." It was initially issued in English; the Arabic and French editions were rolled out in February 2014, while the Chinese edition was launched in May 2014. As of February 2014, two years after its launch, the English-language edition of the *Times of Israel* claimed a readership of 2 million. The *Times* is accessible at [www.timesofisrael.com/](http://www.timesofisrael.com/).

**TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT**. Variation of the official name applied by **Ariel Sharon's** government for its plan for **unilateral disengagement** from the **Gaza Strip** and four isolated **settlements** in the northern **West Bank**.

**TOMB OF THE PATRIARCHS**. Located in the ancient city of **Hebron**, the Cave of the Patriarchs (Machpela) is considered holy by Jews and **Arabs** alike. According to Jewish tradition, its hidden twin caves are considered to be the burial place of four "pairs" of patriarchs and matriarchs: Adam and

Eve; **Abraham** and Sarah; **Isaac** and Rebekah; and **Jacob** and Leah. According to the Bible, Abraham paid 400 shekels of silver to purchase the cave as a burial plot for his family after his wife Sarah died (Genesis 23). Observant Jews consider this to be the first material purchase of real estate by the Jews in the land of Canaan. Abraham was subsequently buried in the Machpela along with the other Jewish patriarchs and most of their wives; Rachel was buried in a tomb near **Bethlehem**. Muslims, who consider Abraham a patriarch, also worship at the Tomb of the Patriarchs, although they call it the Ibrahim Mosque.

The tomb has been the scene and cause of tension for many years. Under Ottoman rule, it was declared a mosque, and Jews were not allowed past the seventh step on a staircase outside the building. In 1929, devout Jews residing in Hebron near the Tomb were murdered by Arab rioters. In February 1994, Arabs worshipping in the Ibrahim Mosque were murdered by **Baruch Goldstein**, a deranged resident of the nearby **settlement of Kiryat Arba**. Israel and the **Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)** subsequently agreed to the installation of the **Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH)** to monitor conditions at and around the Tomb of the Patriarchs. In January 1997 Israel and the PLO concluded an agreement whereby Israel withdrew from 80 percent of the city of Hebron; responsibility for security at the Tomb of the Patriarchs was transferred to the Palestinian security forces. Israeli forces temporarily retook control over security at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in 2002 as part of **Operation Defensive Shield**. Though relative calm prevails, the Tomb of the Patriarchs remains a powder-keg in Israeli-Palestinian relations. *See also* HEBRON MASSACRE; SHAMGAR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

**TORAH FLAG (DEGEL HATORAH).** *See* DEGEL HATORAH.

**TORAH RELIGIOUS FRONT.** A joint electoral list formed by **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** and **Poalei Agudat Israel (Workers of the Association of Israel)** to contest the Knesset elections in 1951, 1955, 1959, and 1973. As a result of these elections, it won five, six, six, and five seats, respectively. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**TOUBI, TAWFIK (1922–2011).** Israeli-Arab member of **Knesset**. Born on 11 May 1922 in **Haifa**, Toubi was a Christian Arab journalist and prominent member of the **Palestine Communist Party** since 1941 and later was one of the founders of the League for National Liberation, which initially opposed the **United Nations Palestine Partition Plan** but later came to accept it after the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** indicated that it would support partition. He was elected to the First Knesset in 1949 on the list of Maki (*see*

COMMUNIST PARTY). He was reelected to the Second Knesset (1951), Third (1955), Fourth (1959), and Fifth (1961) on the Maki list. In 1965 Toubi was reelected to the Knesset on the list of **Rakah (Reshima Komunistit Hadasha—New Communist List)**, and was reelected in the 1969, 1973 and 1977 Knesset elections on the Rakah list. In 1976 he was elected deputy secretary of the newly formed **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)**. He later served as Hadash’s secretary-general from 1989 to 1993, and was reelected to the Knesset on the Hadash list in the 1977, 1981, 1984 and 1988 Knesset elections. Toubi also was editor of the Arab-language Communist newspaper *Al Ittihad*. He retired from electoral politics in July 1990. Toubi’s political legacy includes having exposed the 29 October 1956 Kfar Kassem incident, when members of the **Israel Border Police** murdered 49 Israeli Arab civilians. In addition, he is regarded as father of the “state of all its citizens” formula that many contemporary Israeli Arab political leaders demand. He died on 12 March 2011.

**TOURISM.** Between 1948 and January 2015, some 62 million tourists visited Israel, 84 percent of them since the 1980s. Tourism is of economic and symbolic importance for Israelis. The tourism **industry** today employs, directly or indirectly, some 200,000 Israelis, representing 6 percent of all employees in Israel, and in 2014 it generated about \$10.3 billion in income for Israel’s **economy**. In addition, tourism has always served as a means through which Israelis can bridge the isolation they experience due to the **Arab economic boycott**.

Despite the best efforts of the Israeli government to insulate it, the tourism industry in Israel inevitably has been adversely affected by fluctuations in the security situation. This was in evidence during the height of the **al-Aksa Intifada**, when waves of Palestinian **suicide bombings** on the streets of Israeli cities, especially between 2001 and 2003, precipitated a significant temporary decrease in foreign visits to Israel. However, relative improvements in the security situation have contributed to a steady recovery in rates of tourism. The **Second Lebanon War (2006)** caused another temporary downturn in tourism to Israel. Similar temporary downturns were experienced in late 2008–early 2009 and in the summer of 2014 due to indiscriminate Palestinian rocket fire from the **Gaza Strip** at Israeli cities. Nevertheless, some 3.3 million tourists visited Israel in 2014, representing only a slight dip over 2013.

The character of tourism to Israel has changed significantly over the decades. Initially, the average tourist was Jewish and from the **United States**. Today, a far greater proportion of tourism to Israel is among non-Jews—one in every three tourist from the United States is said to be an Evangelical Christian. While the United States remains the single largest source of tourism (19 percent of all incoming tourism in 2014), an increasingly large

proportion of tourists also are arriving from **Russia, France, Germany**, and the United Kingdom, as well as Canada, Argentina, South Africa, and Asia (including Japan, South Korea, and **China**). The next great challenge for Israel's tourism industry—attracting tourists from Arab and Muslim countries—must await the achievement of peace treaties and normalized relations with those countries. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE.

**TRADITION OF THE FATHERS (MORESHET AVOT)**. A **political party** led by former **Moledet (Homeland)** member of **Knesset** Rabbi Yosef Ba-Gad (considered the clown of the Knesset), who was disqualified from the race for **prime minister** in 1999 for allegedly faking one-third of the 61,000 signatures he presented to the Central Elections Committee. This right-wing group against homosexuality did not win any mandates in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999).

**TRAJTENBERG, MANUEL (ALSO TRACTENBERG) (1950– )**. Professor of economics, member of **Knesset**. Born in Cordoba, **Argentina**, on 21 September 1950 and immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to Israel at age 16. Educated at Harvard University and **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. Economics professor at **Tel Aviv University**. First chair of Israel's National Economic Council (2006–2009). Headed committee appointed by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** to recommend responses to Israel's **social justice protest** of 2011 (*see* TRAJTENBERG COMMITTEE). Chaired the Planning and Budgeting Committee of Israel's Council of Higher **Education** until his 31 December 2014 decision to join the **Israel Labor Party (Miflaga Haavoda HaIsraelit)**. Trajtenberg entered the Knesset in the 2015 legislative election in the eleventh slot on **The Zionist Union** joint list, but the vision of a prominent **cabinet** portfolio became moot when the 2015 election was won by the opposition **Likud (Union) Party**.

**TRAJTENBERG COMMITTEE**. Name applied to the committee formed by Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** on 8 August 2011 and headed by Professor **Manuel Trajtenberg** to examine and propose solutions to social and economic problems in Israel highlighted by the **social justice protests** that began in 2011. The committee was mandated to investigate the following: proposals to change priorities in order to lighten the load of Israeli citizens; implementation of a new taxation system; provision of access to social services; increasing competition in the Israeli economy; and formulation of the actual measures needed to be taken to reduce housing prices. The recommendations of the Trajtenberg Committee were published in September 2011. Trajtenberg himself acknowledged that they would not likely satisfy the demands of the protesters. The recommendations included plans for



addressing the country's housing shortage; increasing employment, including that among **Arab citizens of Israel**; improving labor law enforcement and assisting single mothers; implementing free compulsory **education** for children aged three and four; and reducing the defense budget.

In December 2011, the **Knesset** approved a series of amendments to Israel's tax law, including an increase in the capital gains tax rate. Also in December 2011, the **cabinet** approved measures designed to increase competition in the Israeli **economy**, including reinforcing competition in the marketing of such staple commodities as eggs, cheese, and milk. Other committee recommendations were shelved by the Netanyahu government. Later, after entering politics on the slate of the opposition **Israel Labor Party (Miflaga Haavoda HaIsraelit)** for the 2015 Knesset election, Trajtenberg accused Netanyahu of never giving serious consideration to his committee's recommendations, preferring to implement only minor tinkering rather than fundamental social and economic reforms that might antagonize Netanyahu's political allies.

**TRANSPORTATION IN ISRAEL.** The camel and the donkey have been used for transport in Israel since biblical times and continue to do so to this day.

Israel is a small country making it easy to get from one point to another in a relatively short time.

Transportation in Israel is multidimensional, involving roads, rail, LRT (light rail transit) and subway, air (domestic and international), and sea. All facets of transportation are state-supervised and under the purview of the ministry of transport and road safety.

Road transportation is more significant than rail for internal communication. Israel's road network spans some 11,185 miles, covering the entire country. Major thoroughfares include the Trans-Israel Highway that starts just east of **Haifa** and ends on the outskirts of **Beersheva**, Route 1 connecting **Tel Aviv–Yafo** and **Jerusalem**, and Route 2 between Tel Aviv and Haifa. Motor transport became common during the **British Mandate**. When Israel became independent the number of motor vehicles began to increase substantially. But high customs duties on imported cars and fuel costs make buses the most popular form of public transportation in Israel.

Public transport is convenient and reasonable in price. Bus cooperatives and bus companies became the prime means of transit for urban and interurban areas. **Egged** is Israel's largest bus company, operating routes throughout the country. The Dan bus company was founded in 1945 to provide transportation service to the Jewish community in prestate **Palestine (Yishuv)**. It now transports more than 14 million passengers per month in its

urban transportation system. Dan began as a cooperative owned by its workers and became a limited company in 2002. There also are a number of smaller bus companies.

Taxi cabs for local and intercity service are available throughout Israel. Service taxis (*Sherut*) travel on permanent local and intercity routes coinciding with bus routes.

The popularity of rail transport in Israel has waxed and waned over the years. All railways in Palestine were nationalized under the British Mandate. After statehood was proclaimed in 1948, Israel Railways (*Rakevet Yisra'el*) was established. It is a state-owned company responsible for all intercity, commuter, and freight rail transport in Israel. Rail service was very popular in the early years of statehood, reaching some 4.5 million passengers annually by the early 1960s. Thereafter, rail use slackened as the government focused state resources on improving the country's road infrastructure, and as more reliable bus service was initiated. The nadir in passenger rail service came in 1990 with only 2.5 million riders. In the early 1990s a comprehensive review of Israel's rail service was ordered. The decision was made to renew substantial state investment in railway upgrading and infrastructure. This reinvestment precipitated the increased popularity of rail as a public transit option. In 2014 Israel Railways carried a record 48.5 million passengers.

The 2000s witnessed the next phase of modernization in rail service: LRT. There is one LRT currently operating in Israel: the Jerusalem LRT began service on 19 August 2011. It is 8.6 miles long with 23 stops and includes two tunnels. When planned extensions are completed the length of the Jerusalem LRT system will extend to 14 miles. A major LRT network is planned for the greater Tel Aviv area, spanning five light rail lines for a total of 51 miles. Haifa's funicular underground rail line, the *Carmelit*, opened in 1959 and has the distinction of being the shortest subway in the world. Passengers riding on the Jerusalem LRT or those waiting at designated stops have been among the victims of indiscriminate terror attacks since September 2015 (*see* **TERRORISM 2015**). Steps were taken to heighten security on and around LRT facilities and construction continued on the Jerusalem LRT extensions and on the Tel Aviv LRT despite the threat of violence.

Air transportation connects Israel to the world and there are internal flights as well. Israel has some 50 airports, the largest being Ben-Gurion International Airport outside Tel Aviv that is used by most international flights to Israel. **EI AI** is used for most international air travel. Domestic air service is available between various smaller airports throughout the country. Arkia is the largest of Israel's domestic carriers, although it also provides international charter service. It was created in March 1949 to establish a vital air link to the city of **Eilat**, located at the tip of the Sinai Desert. When completed Ramon International Airport, located north of Eilat and named for Israel's

first astronaut **Ilan Ramon**, will serve as an overflow for Ben-Gurion Airport. All passenger air transport in Israel is supervised by the Israel Civil Aviation Authority.

Israel has three modern deep-water harbors/ports: **Haifa** and **Ashdod** on the Mediterranean Sea and Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea. Commercial shipping began in the 1920s but only became significant in 1945 with the establishment of the **ZIM** shipping company, which is today a major international transport company connecting Israel worldwide.

**TRUMPELDOR, JOSEPH (1880–1920).** **Zionist** icon. Born in Pyatigorsk, Russia, on 21 November 1880, Trumpeldor was a Zionist pioneer in Russia before he settled in **Palestine** in 1912. He worked in **Kibbutz Degania** and participated in the defense of nearby Jewish **settlements**. He helped to organize the **Jewish Legion**, and served with the British army in Palestine during World War I. He returned briefly to Russia in 1917 but then returned to Palestine in 1919. Trumpeldor died on 1 March 1920 while defending the northern settlement of Tel Hai against Arab attackers, and this action made him a legendary hero. The **Revisionist** youth movement and its **sports** organization are named after him: **Betar** (acronym for Brit Yosef Trumpeldor).

**TSCHERNICHOWSKY, SAUL (1875–1943).** **Zionist** poet. Born in the south Russia shtetl of Mikhailovka on 20 August 1875, he benefited from both traditional Jewish religious **education** and modern secular education, with a concentration on foreign languages. At the age of 15 he was sent to Odessa for studies; while there, he became active in Zionist politics, publishing his first **Hebrew** poem in 1892 and a volume of verse in 1898. His works expressed a revolutionary Zionist ideology and a disdain for Jewish life in the **Diaspora**. In 1899, after being denied admission to a Russian university because of anti-Jewish quotas, he enrolled at the University of Heidelberg as a medical student, completing his studies at Lausanne University in 1906. Upon his return to Russia, he was briefly imprisoned as a “political agitator.” He served as a doctor in the Russian army during World War I and survived the Russian Revolution as a medical practitioner.

Tschernichowsky left Russia for **Germany** in 1922, serving as the literary editor of *Hatekufa*, a prestigious Hebrew periodical, and as editor of the medical and natural **science** sections of the Hebrew encyclopedia *Eshkol*. During this period in Germany, he also penned some of his most moving Zionist verse, such as “Omerim Yesh Sham Aretz” (“They Say There Is a Land”). In 1936, the Schocken Publishing House put him on an annual retainer, enabling him to settle permanently in **Palestine** and concentrate on writing. Thematically, he dealt with the struggles of the **Yishuv** under the

**British Mandate**, taking a strong nationalist stance. With the rise of Nazism in Europe and World War II, his focus shifted to the tragedy of Jewish fate and, ultimately, the **Holocaust (the Shoah)**.

Critics consider Tschernichowsky's *Ama DiDehava* to be among the most important long poems written by any Hebrew poet in the 1930s. Its attempt to reconcile the conflict between the poet's sense of alienation and his longing for his native land with his love for his newly acquired homeland, is seen as a metaphor for the Zionist experience. As a Hebrew poet, Tschernichowsky is considered second only to his contemporary, **Haim Nahman Bialik**. He died in **Jerusalem** on 14 October 1943.

**TSOMET (TZOMET; MOVEMENT FOR ZIONIST REVIVAL)**. Founded in November 1987 as a breakaway from the **Tehiya (Renaissance) Party**, it won two seats in the 1988 **Knesset** election. Led by former **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** chief of staff **Raphael (Raful) Eitan**, the party advocated the retention of much of the **West Bank** for largely security reasons. Domestically, it called for the strict separation of **religion** from politics, an end to the practice of granting deferments from military service for students in ultra-Orthodox (**Haredi**) rabbinical institutions, and a return to integrity in governmental affairs. Tsomet joined the **Yitzhak Shamir**-led narrow coalition in 1990, and it won a surprising eight seats in the Thirteenth Knesset (1992). It ran in the 1996 Knesset election as part of a joint "national camp" list alongside the **Likud (Union)** and **Gesher (Bridge)** parties. Eitan was appointed minister of **agriculture** and environment and deputy **prime minister** in the coalition headed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Tsomet failed to cross the threshold in the 1999 election for winning seats in the Knesset. The party lost much of its drive and direction after founder and leader Raful Eitan's drowning death in 2004. It sought, but failed, to gain enough votes to win entry to the Knesset in the 2003, 2006, and 2009 parliamentary elections, and its voter support drifted to other secular nationalist parties. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**TSUR, YAACOV (1937– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born on 4 April 1937 in **Haifa**, he graduated from **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** and was a member of **Kibbutz** Netiv Halamed Heh. He served as secretary general of the **Hakibbutz Hameuhad (United Kibbutz)** movement. First elected to the Tenth Knesset in 1981 on the **Alignment (Maarach)** list, he was reelected on that same list in the 1984 and 1988 Knesset elections. He served as minister of immigrant (*see* ALIYA) absorption in the **Government of National Unity** (1984–1988), and became health minister in the **government** established in December 1988, remaining in that position until 15 March 1990, when the **Israel Labor Party (Miflaga Haavoda**

**HaIsraelit**) left **Yitzhak Shamir's Likud (Union) Party**-led coalition government. Though no longer a member of the Knesset, Tsur from July 1992 to November 1992 served as minister of **agriculture** and rural development in the Labor-led coalition formed by **Yitzhak Rabin** following the 1992 election of the Thirteenth Knesset.

**TSUR, ZVI (1923–2004)**. Sixth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. Born in Saslav, **Russia**, he immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Palestine** with his family at age two. In 1936, he joined the **Hagana** to help protect Jewish communities throughout the **Yishuv** against escalating Arab violence. With the outbreak of the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** he joined the IDF, serving in many combat roles and quickly rising through the ranks. In 1956 he was promoted to the rank of major general. In 1958 he was appointed as deputy chief of staff and went for a long period of study in **France**, returning in September 1960. In January 1961 he succeeded **Haim Laskov** as chief of the IDF general staff. One of his first actions was to appoint **Yitzhak Rabin** as deputy chief of staff. Tsur's term was relatively quiet, except for border incidents with **Syria**, which shelled Israeli villages from the **Golan Heights**. He retired from the IDF in December 1963. After his retirement, Tsur was appointed as the general manager of **Mekorot**, Israel's national water company. Under pressure from **Moshe Dayan** to enter the political fray, he was elected in the 1965 **Knesset** election on the **Rafi (Reshimat Poalei Israel–Israel Labor List)** slate. However, he resigned from the Knesset after just a month, returning to work in Mekorot.

With the appointment of Dayan as defense minister on the eve of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Tsur was asked to assist Dayan and served as assistant minister of defense for seven years. After that, Tsur served at several managing positions, including the **Israel Aircraft (later Aerospace) Industries (IAI)**, the shipping company **ZIM**, and Clal Industries. He was active in public affairs until his last days: on 29 April 2004, he signed a letter of support for **Ariel Sharon's Gaza unilateral disengagement** plan (Hitnatkut, Tokhnit HaHitnatkut). Tsur died eight months later, on 28 December 2004.

**TUNNELS**. Tunnels have become an important element in the **Arab-Israeli conflict**. There are multiple forms. There are offensive tunnels (used for military and **terrorist** operations) and smuggling tunnels (used to move goods and people illegally across frontiers and borders). Occasionally tunnels are constructed for the lawful movement of people, goods, and services across frontiers between two or more parties who have agreed to this action.

A tunnel was used in June 2006 to enable terrorists to move from the **Gaza Strip** to Israel (undetected) in order to kill two Israeli soldiers and kidnap **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** soldier **Gilad Shalit** and to hold him captive for five years to exact a substantial prisoner release by Israel in exchange for him.

Tunnels connecting the Gaza Strip and **Egyptian-Sinai** were used to smuggle weapons, long-range missiles, and antitank rockets (supplied by **Iran** and **Syria**) to Palestinian terror groups after Israel's unilateral withdrawal from the area in 2005.

During the **War in Gaza (2008–2009)**, the IDF ground incursion of Gaza completed their mission to eliminate all known tunnels that had been used by terrorists to hide weapons and rocket launchers as well as to infiltrate terrorists and weapons into Israel. The IDF reported the detection and destruction during **Operation Protective Edge** (2014) of some 36 tunnels, many of which reached across the frontier into Israel; others stopped near the border fence.

Terror tunnels between Gaza and Israel uncovered during the 2014 war in Gaza tended to be remarkable in nature, complex, and advanced. For example, one tunnel was 1.5 miles long and 66 feet below the surface. It was equipped with electricity and contained enough provisions to sustain its occupants for several months. The IDF estimated that the tunnel project took two years to complete and used 800 tons of concrete and cost \$10 million. Israel believed that the tunnels were to be used for infiltration into Israeli communities, abductions of Israeli civilians and soldiers, and hostage-taking. Israeli military intelligence disclosed that Palestinian terrorist groups had resumed the construction of tunnels within months of the **War in Gaza (2014)**. In June 2015 a video surfaced of what a terrorist spokesman claimed to be a new 3.5 km-long fortified tunnel that reached from Gaza into Israeli territory in readiness for the “next round” of warfare with Israel. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; HAMAS (HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA); PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ, HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI AL-FILASTINI).

**TURKEY.** From independence, Israeli officials saw the need to establish positive relations with the Muslim, non-Arab countries of the Middle East to offset Israel's isolation from and encirclement by hostile Arab neighbors. As part of this strategy, ties were developed with prerevolutionary **Iran**, **Ethiopia**, and Turkey.

Because of pressure from its Arab and Muslim neighbors, Turkey voted against the partition of **Palestine** in 1947, however it did extend recognition to **Israel** in 1949 and established diplomatic relations. A bilateral trade agreement was signed in 1950, followed by a transportation agreement in 1951. Early on, the Turks viewed Israel as a potential military ally in their

ongoing territorial disputes with **Syria** (especially over the Sanjak of Alexandretta and the distribution of the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates River system) and in combating Kurdish and Armenian **terrorism**.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, Turkey began to move closer to the Arab countries and to diminish relations with Israel. In the wake of the **Sinai War (1956)**, it reduced to charge d'affaires the level of its diplomatic representation in Israel. However, Arab pressure for a complete severing of relations was resisted. Turkey joined much of the Arab world in criticizing Israel's occupation of Muslim territory in the **Six-Day War (1967)**, and there was a perceptible softening of Ankara's attitude toward Palestinian terrorist groups operating on Turkish soil. In 1971, the Israeli consul in Istanbul, Ephraim Elrom, was kidnapped and murdered, and in September 1986, 22 Jews were massacred in an Istanbul synagogue by members of the Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal Organization.

The **Knesset's** passage of the **Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel (1980)** led to a further reduction of Turkey's diplomatic representation in Israel to the level of second secretary. However, by the mid-1980s, the decline in the importance of the Arab market and Arab and Islamic oil opened the way for an improvement in Turkey's bilateral relations with Israel. The first expression of this new attitude was in trade. Bilateral commercial exchange totaled \$54 million in 1987. By 1998, this figure had increased to approximately \$750 million, with expectations of trade reaching \$2 billion by the year 2000. In November 1993, Turkey's foreign minister Hikmet Cetin became the highest-ranking Turkish official to ever visit Israel. During Cetin's visit, the two countries set up working groups to establish a bilateral **free-trade area**. (This agreement was formally ratified in April 1997.) In addition, Cetin and Foreign Minister **Shimon Peres** signed a memorandum of understanding laying the foundation for future cooperation between the two countries, particularly in economic matters. There were also high-level discussions about cooperation in security and the combating of terrorism.

In late January 1994, President **Ezer Weizman** became the first Israeli head of state to visit Turkey, at the head of a large Israeli trade delegation. Subsequently, reciprocal visits by top Israeli and Turkish officials and by commercial delegations became routine.

In addition to commercial exchanges, significant growth occurred in security cooperation, joint military training, and counterterrorism. The first joint training exercise involving the air forces of Israel and Turkey took place in June 1994. Also in 1994, the two sides reached a draft agreement on joint efforts to combat international terrorism. In 1996, it was revealed that Turkish and Israeli officials had quietly forged a series of secret military and intelligence agreements. These improving strategic relations were sustained in the mid-1990s (often at the insistence of the Turkish military) during the brief tenure of the Islamist government headed by Necmettin Erbakan. Be-

ginning on 6 January 1998, Israel, Turkey, and the **United States** participated in large-scale naval search-and-rescue exercises in the eastern Mediterranean. The exercises, code-named Reliant Mermaid, were observed by the commander of the **Jordanian** navy. Israeli and Turkish officials were at pains to emphasize that the exercises were designed to strengthen cooperation between the two countries in the performance of humanitarian services and were not meant to threaten third parties. Nevertheless, the Turkish-Israeli strategic alliance was strongly criticized by many Arab countries, such as **Egypt, Iraq, and Syria**, as well as by postrevolutionary Iran.

In the summer of 1999, there was speculation that Turkey's ties with Israel would be scaled back following moves by Israeli Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** to resume long-stalled peace negotiations with Syria, an opponent of increasing Turkish-Israeli security cooperation. Turkish president Suleyman Demirel made an official visit to Israel for talks with Barak aimed at reaffirming the U.S.-backed strategic partnership between the two regional powers to show that the recent change in government both in Turkey and Israel would not affect their core relations. In December 1999, Turkish, Israeli, and U.S. naval forces again participated in joint search-and-rescue exercises in the eastern Mediterranean.

In the early 2000s, the Israeli-Turkish relationship endured strain resulting from two major sources: the election in October 2002 of the AKP, a conservative Turkish party with Islamic roots, and criticism from Ankara of measures adopted by Israel in responding to the Palestinian mass-casualty **suicide bombings** of the **Al-Aksa intifada**. In addition, the bombings of two synagogues in Istanbul on 15 November 2003 by groups associated with al-Qaeda threatened to adversely affect relations between Ankara and **Jerusalem**. However, the bilateral relationship proved resilient, driven in large measure by the similar regional concerns shared by Israelis and Turks, including Syrian and **Iranian** military adventurism, the instability in post-Saddam Iraq, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the challenge of Islamic radicalism, and the geopolitical destiny of central Asia.

Bilateral trade between Israel and Turkey grew to \$2 billion in 2004, up from \$200 million in 1993, and Turkey since the mid-1990s was one of the prime foreign destinations for Israeli **tourists**. In addition, the post-9/11 international war on terror brought the two states closer together. At the instigation of Turkish prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, intelligence and security cooperation was widened following the November 2003 synagogue bombings in Istanbul. The Turkish arms market remained open to Israeli firms. The AKP-led government did not cancel the Turkish military's contract to have Israeli firms upgrade M-60 tanks, despite election campaign promises to do so. In April 2005, Turkey selected an Israeli consortium for the Heron Unmanned Air Vehicles project, estimated to be worth \$200 mil-



lion. In addition, joint military exercises continued as planned; Reliant Mermaid 7 was held in January 2005. Turkish prime minister Erdogan visited Israel on 1–2 May 2005.

In recent years the Israel-Turkey bilateral relationship has endured new strains, many ensuing from the Turkish government's discernible acceptance, domestically, of a more militant form of Islam, and its shift in foreign policy away from the West and toward Iran. With respect specifically toward Israel, these changes in Turkish direction were manifested in the introduction of heretofore unacceptable anti-Zionist and **anti-Semitic** references in public discourse among Turkish intellectuals and senior political leaders, including Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Erdogan stormed out of a public discussion with Israel's president Shimon Peres at the 2009 Davos World Economic Forum to protest the recent warfare in the **Gaza Strip** (see OPERATION CAST LEAD). Bilateral relations were further strained by the 31 March 2010 *Mavi Mamara* incident. The fact that eight of the dead resulting from the clashes between Israeli military personnel and armed demonstrators on board the vessel were Turkish nationals precipitated a major crisis in Israel's relations with Ankara. On 22 March 2013, in a telephone conversation with his Turkish counterpart arranged by U.S. president **Barack Obama**, Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** voiced regret for the loss of life in the *Mavi Marmara* incident and apologized for any operational errors that led to the death of the Turkish activists. This, pundits suggested, represented the first small step toward the rebuilding of the once strong and multidimensional relationship between Israel and Turkey. On 24 June 2015, Turkey's foreign minister officially confirmed that secret talks had been taking place between Israeli and Turkish officials toward a rapprochement between the two countries. Agreement reportedly seemed close on Israel's payment of compensation to the families of victims of the *Mavi Mamara* incident; more problematic from Israel's perspective was Ankara's demand for a softening of the maritime blockade of the Gaza Strip.

According to the Turkish daily newspaper *Zaman*, bilateral trade was largely unaffected by the tension in diplomatic relations between Jerusalem and Ankara. The newspaper reported that in 2014, Israeli-Turkish bilateral trade was valued at \$5.6 billion, more than a 50 percent increase from the \$2.6 billion in 2009 (one year prior to the *Mavi Mamara* incident) After years of negotiations, Israel and Turkey agreed to resume full diplomatic relations on 28 June 2016. See also FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

**TWO-STATE SOLUTION.** The vision of the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict premised on the separation of areas of the former **Palestine mandate** into “two states for two peoples:” an independent state for the Palestinian Arabs living peacefully alongside the Jewish state of Israel. Proposals for the creation of separate Jewish and Arab states in the Palestine

mandate were made by the **Peel Commission** (1937) and in the **United Nations Partition Plan** for Palestine (1947), but were rejected in both instances by the Arab leadership in Palestine, supported by other Arab leaders. Since at least the early 1990s, the Jewish Israeli public had consistently expressed support, in principle, for the negotiated resolution of the conflict with the **Palestinians** based on the **land for peace** formula enunciated in **United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (1967)** and reaffirmed in **United Nations Security Council Resolution 338 (1973)**.

The goal of a two-state solution was endorsed by President **George W. Bush** of the **United States** in 2002 and was reiterated in the **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**. In 2003 **Ariel Sharon** became the first Israeli **prime minister** to publicly express support for the concept of a two-state solution. In 2009 Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** for the first time endorsed the concept of a demilitarized Palestinian state alongside a secure Israel recognized as a Jewish state. Netanyahu reiterated this position at a White House meeting with U.S. president **Barack Obama** on 9 November 2015, saying: “I remain committed to a vision of peace of two states for two peoples: a demilitarized Palestinian state that recognizes the Jewish state.” However, there was a discernible fluidity in Jewish Israeli popular support for the territorial concessions believed to be associated with a two-state solution—including the sharing of **Jerusalem** and the withdrawal of Israeli security forces from the **Jordan Valley**—in response to the radicalization of the Palestinian Arabs (leadership and the Palestinian “street” alike) and escalating instability on Israel’s borders. A June 2015 survey discerned 51 percent support among Israelis for the two-state solution, reflecting a full 10 percent drop from the 61 percent support in 2014. A survey conducted in September 2015 confirmed this finding: 50 percent of the Israeli public believed the idea of “two states for two peoples” had not died compared to 45 percent that believed it had.

# U

**U'BEZCHUTAN (literally, "IN THEIR MERIT")**. The first **Haredi** women's political party in Israeli history to register a list of candidates to participate in a Knesset election (*see* ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL), it was founded on 20 January 2015 to contest the 2015 **Knesset** election. Established in response to the failure of the major ultra-Orthodox political parties to provide **women in Israel** with secure slots on their electoral lists, U'bezchutan failed to reach the threshold for entering the Twentieth Knesset.

**UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HA-HITNATKUT)**. Name applied to Israel's withdrawal of about 9,500 settlers and military personnel from the **Gaza Strip** and four **settlements** in the northern **West Bank** in the summer of 2005. The withdrawal was officially the implementation of *Tokhnit HaHitnatkut, The Disengagement Plan Implementation Law*, adopted by the **Knesset** in October 2004. The disengagement from the Gaza Strip was completed on 12 September 2005, when the last Israeli soldier left the area. The military disengagement from the northern West Bank was completed 10 days later.

The plan to disengage unilaterally from the Gaza Strip was first announced by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** at the December 2004 Herzliya Conference. Sharon argued that the disengagement would improve Israel's long-term security and international status; his rationale for undertaking the process unilaterally was that with the breakdown of the **Camp David II** talks and the initiation of the **Al-Aksa intifada**, there was no Palestinian "partner" with whom Israel could negotiate.

Israel continued to control Gaza's coastline and airspace and reserved the right to undertake military operations (such as **Operation Summer Rain**) when necessary in response to **terrorist** provocations. Initially, the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** was to have remained on the **Philadelphi Line** on the Gaza-Egypt border and reserved the right to engage in further house demolitions to widen a "buffer zone" there. However, after intense negotiations brokered by the **United States**, the **Knesset** on 31 August 2005 voted to withdraw the IDF from the Gaza-Egypt border and allow Egyptian deploy-

ment of border police along the Egyptian side of the border (demilitarized under the terms of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**). In addition, the European Union contributed forces to assist the **Palestinian Authority (PA)** in monitoring the flow of illegal weapons through border checkpoints into Gaza.

The 21 settlements in the Gaza Strip affected by the unilateral disengagement were Bedolah, Bnei Atzmon (Atzmona), Dugit, Elei Sinai, Gadid, Gan Or, Ganei Tal, Katif, Kfar Darom, Kfar Yam, Kerem Atzmona, Morag, Netzarim, Netzer Hazani, Neve Dekalim, Nisanit, Pe'at Sadeh, Rafiah Yam, Shirat Hayam, Slav, and Tel Katifa. The four settlements in the northern West Bank affected by the unilateral disengagement were Ganim, Homesh, Kadim, and Sa Nur. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR/RUSSIA).** The relationship between the USSR and Israel underwent substantial change over the years. The USSR and the **Communist Party** were opposed to **Zionism**, but in 1947, the Soviet Union's representative at the **United Nations**, Andrei Gromyko, supported the **Palestine Partition Plan**, which led to the creation of Israel. In May 1948, the Soviet Union was one of the first states to recognize the new state of Israel and was instrumental in assuring the transfer of arms from the Soviet bloc to the embattled new Jewish state via Czechoslovakia during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**.

However, positive relations in the first years soon gave way to a deterioration of the relationship in the early 1950s that culminated in the Soviet arms supplies to **Egypt** announced in 1955 (*see* CZECHOSLOVAKIAN-EGYPTIAN ARMS DEAL). A factor in the relationship then, as later, was the relationship between Israel and the Soviet Jewish population. Israel's desire to ensure the well-being internally of the Soviet Jewish population and to ensure the right of emigration for those who wished to leave the USSR led to conflicts with Soviet authorities and Moscow's official position. Despite the growing relations between the Soviet Union and the Arab states in the decade following the **Sinai War (1956)**, correct if cool relations were maintained with Israel. The Soviet Union contributed to the outbreak of the **Six-Day War (1967)** through the circulation of a fallacious rumor concerning Israeli military mobilization. At this time, the Soviet Union and its east European allies (except Romania) broke diplomatic relations with Israel. Since the 1967 conflict, the Soviet Union had attempted to become a more significant factor in the Arab-Israeli peace process. At the same time, since the advent of the Gorbachev approach to foreign policy, there had been an improvement in the relationship of the two states. Consular contacts and exchanges took place, Soviet Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) increased substantially, and several east European states restored diplomatic relations with Israel. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union maintained the position that it could not restore

relations with Israel until such time as there was substantial movement toward peace and the withdrawal of Israel from the **Occupied Territories**. On 18 October 1991, the USSR and Israel reestablished diplomatic relations. This was part of the process of preparation for the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** that convened at the end of October 1991 to negotiate a solution to the **Arab-Israeli conflict**.

In January 1992, Moscow hosted the first session of the multilateral talks of the Madrid Middle East Peace Process. Upon the collapse of the USSR, Russia took over most of Moscow's functions in Middle East diplomacy, including cosponsoring (with the **United States**) the Madrid process. From the early 1990s, close to 1 million citizens of the former Soviet Union immigrated to Israel, and there was significant growth in bilateral relations with Russia and several of the former Soviet republics in the cultural and commercial domains. In April 2005, Russian president Vladimir Putin arrived in Israel on the first visit by a Russian or Soviet leader to Israel.

Nevertheless, Israel remained skeptical about Russia's ambitions in the region, as reflected in its relations with militant Arab regimes (including **Syria**, **Libya**, and **Iraq**) and its transfer of advanced military technology to **Iran**. While the past few years have witnessed greater cooperation between **Jerusalem** and Moscow in counterterrorism and intelligence (a process accelerated by the Beslan school attack by Chechen terrorists in September 2004), tension in the bilateral relationship is still caused by Russia's role in Iran's nuclear weapons program as well as the sale of Russian missiles to Syria. From Israel's perspective, Moscow's April 2015 lifting of restrictions on the sale of S-300 missile defense systems to Iran reflected an unsettling turn in Vladimir Putin's Middle East policy. The reemergence of widespread **anti-Semitism** in Russia is also of abiding concern to Israel.

**UNITED ARAB LIST/ARAB DEMOCRATIC PARTY.** A joint **Arab** list that won four seats in the Fourteenth **Knesset** (1996), five in the Fifteenth **Knesset** (1999), and two in the Sixteenth **Knesset** (2003). Running on a joint slate with **Ahmed Tibi's Ta'al Arab Movement for Change** and with the active participation of the southern wing of the **Islamic Movement in Israel**, the United Arab List took four seats in the March 2006 **Knesset** election. The UAL-Ta'al alliance participated in **The Joint List** of mainly political **Arab political parties** that unified to contest the 2015 election for the Twentieth **Knesset**.

**UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL (UIA).** Keren HaYesod was established at the World **Zionist** Conference held in London, England on July 7–24, 1920, to provide the Zionist Movement with resources needed to support Jewish immigration (*see* **ALIYA**) to and settlement of **Palestine**. Initially called the

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United Palestine Appeal, in 1950 it was renamed the United Israel Appeal. The mandate of the United Israel Appeal (as prescribed in the Keren HaYesod Law-5716, adopted by the **Knesset** in January 1956) includes strengthening Israeli society through social and educational programs; facilitating **aliya** and absorption; furthering Zionist education among Jewish communities outside Israel. The organization runs fundraising campaigns in some forty-five countries. The United Israel Appeal, Inc. is an American organization established in 1925 to coordinate the various **Zionist** fundraising efforts among U.S. Jewish community groups. It is now part of United Jewish Communities—The Federations of North America. An independent legal entity, UIA is responsible for the distribution and oversight of funds raised by **United Jewish Appeal (UJA)** fund-raising campaigns in the **United States** and Canada for programs of UIA's operating agent, the **Jewish Agency** for Israel, and for securing and monitoring U.S. grant funds for the immigration and absorption of Jewish refugees to Israel from countries of distress. According to the Internal Revenue Service, United Israel Appeal distributed \$197.3 million to Israeli causes during fiscal year 2012–2013.

**UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (UJA).** A fund-raising organization for the development of the Jewish national home in **Palestine** and later Israel, as well as for Jewish communities and concerns worldwide. It began to function as a permanent organization in 1938. Reconstituted and renamed as the United Jewish Communities—The Federations of North America, the UJA represents and serves some 150 Jewish federations and 300 independent Jewish communities across the **United States** and Canada. It raises and distributes funds to local charities as well as to Jewish causes internationally and in Israel. UJA Israel is a division of the corporation; it acts as the liaison between Israel and the North American Jewish community, interfacing with the government, the **Jewish Agency**, the Joint Distribution Committee, the business community, the voluntary sector, opinion makers, the media, and the general public. In 2014, an emergency campaign undertaken by UJA/United Jewish Communities raised \$49 million to fund the reinforcement of homes, schools and day-care centers in **Sderot** and other front line communities abutting the Gaza Strip during **Operation Protective Edge**.

**UNITED KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT (HATNUA HAKIBBUTZIT HAMEUHEDET).** In 1979, the national conventions of **Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim** and **Hakibbutz Hameuhad** decided to merge into the United Kibbutz Movement.

**UNITED NATIONS (UN).** Israel was admitted to the United Nations (UN) as its fifty-ninth member on 11 May 1949. This event, in the words of **Abba Eban** (Israel's UN ambassador at the time), had a singularly important impact on the country's early development. As Eban put it, it

created a juridical and political reality which no subsequent defection has been able to undermine. . . . It is true that international recognition did not solve Israel's problems of defense and survival, but it is also true that the UN's most important capacity is its unchallenged right to define the international community by its admissions policies. . . . No historian has ever imagined a situation in which Israel could have achieved sovereign recognition so rapidly without the existence of an international organization which became the decisive voice in Israel's emergence.

During the **Sinai War (1956)**, a series of UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions unilaterally condemned Israeli "aggression" against **Egypt**. In the spring of 1967, Secretary General U Thant hastily capitulated to Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser's demand for the withdrawal of **United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)** peacekeepers from positions in the **Sinai Peninsula**, thereby accelerating the precipitous slide toward the **Six-Day War (1967)**. In Eban's words, "What is the use of a United Nations [peacekeeping] presence if it is, in effect, an umbrella which is taken away as soon as it begins to rain?"

The period following the **Six-Day War (1967)** witnessed an incremental deterioration in the UN–Israel relationship. Disputes arose over the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to territories acquired by Israel during the hostilities, including the eastern part of **Jerusalem** and the holy old city. There were also disputes about the interpretation of **UN Security Council Resolution 242**, including the operative **land for peace** principle, as well as over the mandate of **Gunnar Jarring**, the UN special emissary for the Middle East. The nadir in UN–Israel relations was reached on 10 November 1975, with the adoption of **General Assembly Resolution 3379**, the infamous "**Zionism Is Racism**" resolution.

The onset of the **Madrid–Oslo Accords** peace process precipitated a brief warming of UN–Israel relations in the early 1990s. Of great symbolic importance from Israel's perspective was the repeal of the "Zionism Is Racism" resolution on 16 December 1991. Nevertheless, other aspects of Israel's status remained problematic. Israel remained the only UN member state denied membership in a regional group. Israel's involuntary isolation from the Asian regional group, due to the Arab and Muslim veto on membership, had practical as well as symbolic implications for Israel in that the regional groups vet the nominations of member countries for appointments to senior UN agencies, including the Security Council. In the spring of 2000, this anomalous situation was partially remedied when Israel received conditional admission

into the UN's Western European and Others Group (WEOG). However, this admittance only affected WEOG's activities at UN headquarters in New York; Israel was still denied standing with regard to the group's activities at UN European headquarters in Geneva (the venue for the influential Commission on Human Rights), and Israel still could not be nominated for membership to senior UN agencies, including the Security Council. This anomalous situation ended only on 10 December 2013 when Israel was formally admitted as a full member of the WEOG regional group. On 29 October 2015 Israel was overwhelmingly accepted into the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

Instances such as the UN-sponsored World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance (**Durban Conference**) of September 2001; the July 2004 International Court of Justice criticism of Israel's **security barrier**; and the ongoing disproportionate attention and unfair and unconstructive resolutions against Israel adopted annually in the General Assembly and by UN agencies such as the reconstituted Geneva-based UN Human Rights Council underscore enduring problematic aspects of Israel's relationship with the UN. Israel refused to participate in UN Human Rights Council inquiries into the **War in Gaza (2008–2009)** and the **War in Gaza (2014)**, believing those investigations biased against Israel from the outset. Nevertheless, Israel remains fully engaged with the UN, believing that only through active engagement with the world body will all of the structural and political obstacles to equal respect and fair treatment be brought down over time. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN; REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PANEL OF INQUIRY ON THE 31 MAY 2010 FLOTILLA INCIDENT (ALSO KNOWN AS THE PALMER REPORT); UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE (UNDOF); UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE II (UNEF II); UNITED NATIONS FACT-FINDING MISSION ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (GOLDSTONE REPORT); UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL); UNITED NATIONS PALESTINE COMMISSION; UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338; UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 425; UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1701; UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE (UNSCOP); UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION (UNTSO).

**UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE (UNDOF).** **United Nations** (UN) peacekeeping force established to monitor the **Israel-Syria Disengagement of Forces Agreement** of 31 May 1974. The force was authorized by UN Security Council Resolution 350. Its area of operations extended 80 miles from Mount Hermon in the north to the **Jordan**



**River** in the south. Its original mandate was for six months, but this was extended every six months. For more than four decades UNDOF has monitored the Golan Heights providing a factor of stability between Israel and **Syria** as it enforced the truce arranged by **United States** secretary of state Henry Kissinger in 1974. But, with the civil war in Syria those peacekeepers have become targets of warriors, particularly Syrian groups opposing the Bashar Assad regime, and UNDOF has begun to fall apart as component units have left. Several countries have withdrawn their troops from UNDOF and UNDOF's viability and utility are in serious doubt. This endangers the relative quiet on the Israel-Syrian boundary that has existed since 1973's **Yom Kippur War**.

**UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF).** **United Nations** peacekeeping force that was inserted between Israeli and **Egyptian** armies at the end of the **Sinai War (1956)**. UN General Assembly Resolution 1000 (ES-1) of 5 November 1956 empowered the secretary general to establish an international emergency force with the capabilities of keeping the Egyptian-Israeli front at peace until a political settlement could be reached. UNEF was created as an armed police force, though it was authorized to use force only in self-defense. Its mandate was premised on four major objectives: secure the cessation of hostilities and supervise the cease-fire; ensure the orderly withdrawal of Israeli, British, and **French** forces from Egyptian territory; patrol the border between Israel and Egypt; and ensure the observance of the Egypt-Israel **armistice agreement** of 1949.

The first UNEF unit was deployed to the Suez Canal on 15 November 1956. On 7 March 1957, the force became operational in the **Gaza Strip** with the permission of Egypt following the Israeli withdrawal. Israel never permitted UNEF to operate on its soil. At its strength, UNEF forces were deployed along the 145 miles of international frontiers connecting Israel and Egypt.

The force functioned successfully for 10 years, until 18 May 1967, when Secretary General U Thant acquiesced to Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser's request to terminate UNEF's presence in Egypt. When on the same day Israel declined a request to allow UNEF to redeploy to the Israeli side of the international boundary, U Thant felt there was no choice but to terminate the force's operation. He was widely criticized for moving prematurely in this matter, thereby complicating diplomatic efforts to forestall hostilities in the spring of 1967. *See also* SIX-DAY WAR (1967).

**UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE II (UNEF II).** The second **United Nations (UN)** peacekeeping force inserted between Israel and **Egypt**. It was established by UN Security Council Resolution 340 on 25 October

1973 at the end of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**. Unlike its predecessor, **UNEF**, which maintained relative peace and stability until it was unceremoniously and arbitrarily withdrawn by Secretary General U Thant on 18 May 1967 at the request of Egypt, **UNEF II** could not be withdrawn unilaterally and without action by the Security Council. Its mandate was expanded to supervise the **Israel-Egypt Disengagement of Forces Agreement** signed at **Kilometer 101** on 18 January 1974. On 24 July 1979, the Security Council declined to extend **UNEF II**'s mandate, its functions having been superseded by the security provisions of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** of 26 March 1979.

**UNITED NATIONS FACT-FINDING MISSION ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (GOLDSTONE REPORT)**. Inquiry established in April 2009 by the **United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)** to investigate alleged violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law in the **Gaza War (2008–2009)**. South African jurist **Richard Goldstone** was appointed to head the inquiry. The Israeli government refused to cooperate, citing the **UNHRC**'s long-standing anti-Israel bias and the mission's one-sided mandate that, Israel charged, drew an inappropriate moral equivalency between the actions of **terrorists** indiscriminately firing missiles into civilian population centers, on the one hand, and the legitimate actions of a sovereign state to protect its citizens, on the other hand.

The 574-page UN report was issued on 15 September 2009. While it concluded that both sides had committed “war crimes and possibly crimes against humanity” in the Gaza War, it differentiated between the violations allegedly perpetrated by the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and those committed by Palestinian terrorist groups. It accused Israel of having a policy of deliberately targeting Palestinian civilians and of using civilians as “human shields” and torturing detainees. Israel rejected these accusations, charging that the report mandate's was inherently biased and politically motivated against Israel.

In a 1 April 2011 *Washington Post* article Justice Richard Goldstone acknowledged that “If I had known then what I know now” the UN report bearing his name would have been a different document. He specifically addressed the issue of intentionality: “That the crimes allegedly committed by **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** were intentional goes without saying—its rockets were purposefully and indiscriminately aimed at [Israeli] civilian targets.” By contrast, while Israeli postconflict investigations discerned incidents of Palestinian civilian casualties resulting from operational misconduct by individual IDF officers, “civilians were not intentionally targeted as a matter of [Israeli] policy.” Goldstone's article concluded with a reference to the “lessons learned” and policy changes resulting from the UN report bearing his name. He noted the adoption by the IDF of

new procedures for protecting civilian lives in urban conflict, and he contrasted this to the absence of any apparent effort by Hamas to investigate allegations of its serious war crimes and possible crimes against humanity in the 2008–2009 Gaza conflict.

**UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 181 (II).**  
*See* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN.

**UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379.** On 10 November 1975, the **United Nations** (UN) General Assembly, by a vote of 72 in favor and 35 against with 32 abstentions, adopted Resolution 3379, which, *inter alia* “determines that **Zionism** is a form of racism and discrimination.” The passage of the “**Zionism Is Racism**” resolution marked a nadir in Israel’s relationship with the UN. On 16 December 1991, a brief statement in the General Assembly revoking the resolution was supported by 111 countries, but this statement was opposed by most Arab states, which either voted against or were absent from the General Assembly chamber when the vote was called.

**UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL).** The peacekeeping force created on 19 March 1978, by **United Nations Security Council Resolution 425** in response to Israel’s incursion (**Operation Litani**) into southern **Lebanon** in pursuit of the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO). It was mandated to be an interim force, with its field of operations originally envisioned as bounded by the Israel-Lebanon border in the south, the Litani River in the north, the Mediterranean Sea in the west, and the Lebanon–**Syria** border on the east. However, it was never allowed by Israel to operate in its southernmost zone—the mainly Christian border region, which in 1985 became Israel’s **security zone** that was patrolled by Israeli troops and forces of the Israel-supported **South Lebanese Army** (SLA).

UNIFIL was mandated to pursue the achievement of three goals: confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon; restoring international peace and security in the border region; and assisting the government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. The achievement of these goals was constrained by a number of factors, including Israel’s mistrust of the UN; the absence of a strong Lebanese sovereign authority with which UNIFIL could interact; and the difficulty experienced by UNIFIL in applying its mandate with respect to the numerous extra-governmental armed militias operating in southern Lebanon, including the PLO, **Hezbollah**, Shia Amal, and the SLA. Nevertheless, UNIFIL experienced some success in reducing the chances of war in the border region. Its original mandate was for six months, but it has been renewed every six

months since 1978. The size and mandate of UNIFIL were significantly expanded following the **Second Lebanon War (2006)**, provided in **UN Security Council Resolution 1701**. The strength of UNIFIL was to increase to 15,000 troops supported by international and local civilian staff. By 31 December 2014, there were 11,430 total uniformed personnel, from 38 countries, primarily European and Asian, serving with UNIFIL in Lebanon, with a budget of about \$510 million.

**UNITED NATIONS PALESTINE COMMISSION.** Shortly after the **Palestine Partition Plan** vote of November 1947, the **United Nations** established a **Palestine** Commission to effect the transfer from the mandatory power to the proposed Arab and Jewish states.

**UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN.** *See* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN.

**UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.** The **United Nations** (UN) Security Council on 22 November 1967 adopted a British-sponsored resolution designed to recommend the terms of reference for achieving a solution to the **Arab-Israeli conflict**. The resolution was deliberately vague but emphasized an exchange of territory for peace. The full text of the resolution reads as follows:

The Security Council, Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East. Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security. Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter. 1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles: (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force; 2. Affirms further the necessity (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones; 3. Requests the Secretary General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peace-

ful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution; 4. Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

**Gunnar Jarring**, then Sweden's ambassador to Moscow, was appointed by the UN secretary general in November 1967 to implement the resolution, but ultimately, he failed to secure meaningful movement toward peace. UN Security Council Resolution 242 continues to be the basis of all subsequent Arab-Israeli peace efforts. Its guiding principle of **land for peace** was institutionalized at the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference** and in the **Oslo Accords** and the **Quartet Roadmap For Peace**.

**UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338.** On 22 October 1973, the **United Nations** (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 338, which called for an immediate cease-fire in the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and the implementation of **UN Security Council Resolution 242** and explicitly required negotiations "between the parties." The full text reads as follows:

The Security Council 1. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy; 2. Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease fire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts; 3. Decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

The resolution provided the basis for the initial postwar military disengagement negotiations involving Israel, **Egypt**, and **Syria**.

**UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 425.** The resolution adopted by the **United Nations** (UN) on 19 March 1978 in response to Israel's 14 March 1978 incursion into southern **Lebanon (Operation Litani)** in pursuit of **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorists**. The resolution called for "strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries." It also called "upon Israel immediately to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory." Resolution 425 also approved the establishment of the **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**

for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security, and assisting the government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area.

From the outset, Israel objected to these terms of reference. In 1978, the **government of Menachem Begin** stated that withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon would be contingent upon the removal of PLO forces from the area and the withdrawal of all other foreign forces from Lebanon, especially **Syrian**. On 24 May 2000, the government of **Ehud Barak** withdrew the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** from its **security zone** in southern Lebanon in full compliance with Resolution 425, a fact acknowledged by the UN Security Council. Security Council Resolution 1559 of September 2004 called for Syria to end its occupation of Lebanon and for the disarmament of **Hezbollah** and other militias.

#### **UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1701.**

Unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council on 11 August 2006 (and instituted on 14 August), the resolution's immediate impact was to impose a cease-fire in the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** involving Israel and **Hezbollah**. From Israel's perspective, the resolution recognized Hezbollah as the aggressor in the war and demanded the immediate cessation by Hezbollah of all attacks against Israel. By contrast, Resolution 1701 demanded that Israel cease only "offensive" military operations. It demanded that Hezbollah unconditionally release two abducted **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** soldiers. It reaffirmed the need for the government of **Lebanon** to apply sovereign authority over all parts of the country, including the border region with Israel controlled by Hezbollah; that there be no foreign forces in Lebanon without the consent of its government; and that there be no sales or supply of arms and related materiel to Lebanon or Lebanese-based militias except as authorized by the Lebanese government.

By recognizing the Blue Line (i.e., the international boundary separating Israel and Lebanon), UN Security Council Resolution 1701 was implicitly legitimizing the IDF's May 2000 redeployment to the Blue Line as complete and in accordance with **UN Security Council Resolution 425 (1978)**. It established the framework for a stronger, more assertive successor to the **UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** that could support and assist Lebanon's government and army in applying sovereign authority in the south, disarming Hezbollah, and instituting the embargo on future arms transfers from **Iran** and **Syria** to Hezbollah. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE (UNSCOP).** Unable to satisfy the conflicting views of the Arab and Jewish communities of **Palestine** and to ensure public safety because of the conflicts between them, and faced with the heavy burden entailed in retaining the Palestine mandate (*see* BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE), which compounded the extensive costs of World War II, **Great Britain** conceded that the mandate was unworkable and turned the Palestine problem over to the **United Nations** (UN) in the spring of 1947. The UNSCOP examined the issues and recommended that the mandate be terminated and that the independence of Palestine be achieved without delay. However, the committee was divided on the future of the territory. The majority proposed partition into a Jewish state and an Arab state linked in an economic union, with **Jerusalem** and its environs established as an international enclave. The minority suggested that Palestine become a single federal state, with Jerusalem as its capital and with Jews and Arabs enjoying autonomy in their respective areas. The majority proposal was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1947. *See also* PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN.

**UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION (UNTSO).** The first **United Nations** peacekeeping operation established in the Middle East, it was initially constituted by UN Security Council Resolution 50 (29 May 1948) to provide advisory and observation support to the **Jerusalem** based **Palestine** Truce Commission. In August 1949, the truce commission observers were reassigned formally as UNTSO by UN Security Council Resolution 73 and assigned the mission of supervising the separate **armistice agreements** signed at the end of the **War of Independence (1948–1949)** between Israel and **Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan**. After each of the Arab-Israeli wars, the mission of UNTSO was slightly modified. Following the **Sinai War (1956)**, its personnel patrolled the **Sinai Peninsula** even though the 1949 Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement was declared null and void because of Egypt's support for *fedayeen* terror raids into Israel, and UNTSO peacekeepers supported the **UN Emergency Force (UNEF)** interposed between Israeli and Egyptian forces. After the **Six-Day War (1967)**, UNTSO remained in place to supervise the cease-fires between Israel and its Arab interlocutors. After the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, UNTSO staffers were used as an experienced manpower pool for disengagement forces established in the **Sinai Peninsula (UN Emergency Force II)** and on the **Golan Heights (UN Disengagement Observer Force)**. Groups of UNTSO military observers are today attached to the UNDOF in the Golan Heights and the UNIFIL in Lebanon. A group of observers remains in Sinai to maintain a United Nations presence in that peninsula. Currently, UNTSO maintains its headquarters in Jerusalem with its liaison offices in Beirut (Lebanon), Ismailia (Egypt) and Damascus (Syria). *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL (UPA).** *See* UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL (UIA).

**UNITED RELIGIOUS FRONT.** In the election to the First **Knesset** in 1949, the various religious groups—**Mizrachi**, Hapoel Hamizrachi, **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**, and **Poalei Agudat Israel (Workers of the Association of Israel)**—all ran on a single electoral list known as the United Religious Front. The front won 16 seats in the Knesset, but the Front was not sustained, and the religious **political parties** ran individually or in smaller combinations in subsequent elections. *See also* RELIGION.

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.** The relationship between the United States and Israel antedates the independence of Israel. President Woodrow Wilson endorsed the **Balfour Declaration** soon after its issuance in 1917, and the U.S. Congress did so in the 1920s. Despite these and other statements of support for a Jewish state or homeland in **Palestine**, no substantial gestures of U.S. support for **Zionist** aspirations took place until after World War II, when the status of Palestine became a matter of considerable international attention. The administration of President Harry Truman sought a significant increase in Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) to Palestine immediately after World War II as a means of providing a refuge for displaced persons and other survivors of the Nazi **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. When **Great Britain** turned the **British Mandate for Palestine** over to the **United Nations** in 1947, the United States supported the concept of partition and lobbied extensively to achieve that objective. After Israel declared its independence in May 1948, the United States was the first state to grant recognition, although it was de facto and not de jure. De jure recognition was granted to Israel on 31 January 1949.

In the decades since Israel's independence, the two states developed a diplomatic-political relationship that focused on the need to resolve the **Arab-Israeli conflict** as well as to maintain the survival and security of Israel. Nevertheless, while they agreed on the general concept, they often differed on the precise means of achieving the desired result. Such was evidenced in the Eisenhower administration's opposition to Israel's participation (in alliance with **France** and England) in the **Sinai War (1956)**. The U.S.–Israel bilateral relationship became especially close after the **Six-Day War (1967)** when a congruence of policy and interests prevailed on many of their salient concerns. In the wake of the **Yom Kippur War (1973)** and the shuttle diplomacy undertaken by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that followed, U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel reached very significant levels.



In the 1980s, the relationship took on an added dimension, as President Ronald Reagan saw Israel as a strategic asset against the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** incursion in the Middle East. An element of tension existed between the administration of **George H. W. Bush** and the coalition government headed by **Yitzhak Shamir** over such issues as Jewish **settlements**, the status of **Jerusalem**, and Palestinian representation in proposed peace negotiations, but there was a high degree of common interest between the two governments during the **Persian Gulf War** (1991) and in the post-war diplomacy that culminated with the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**.

There was a very high degree of cooperation between the administration of **William J. (Bill) Clinton** and the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**–led coalitions headed by **Yitzhak Rabin** and **Shimon Peres**. Strains in the bilateral relationship reemerged with the change in **government** in Israel from Labor to the **Likud (Union) Party** under **Benjamin Netanyahu** in 1996, especially over peace talks with the Palestinians. Even then, however, the disputes between **Jerusalem** and Washington were said to be more of tactics rather than overall strategy (i.e., over the specific steps toward achieving the shared goal of secure peace for Israel and its neighbors), and efforts were made to resolve the disputes in an atmosphere characterized by deep mutual respect and understanding. Despite tension between the Clinton and Netanyahu administrations over the pace of Middle East diplomacy, the United States and Israel on 30 October 1998 signed an important memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation against long-range missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

The relationship between the Clinton administration and the government of **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**, who was elected in 1999, was markedly more positive than had been the relationship with the Netanyahu-led government. With the concurrence of the Barak administration, the United States brokered additional talks with the Palestinians, resulting in the September 1999 agreement signed by Barak and **Palestinian Liberation Organization** (PLO) chairman **Yasser Arafat** at **Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt**, toward implementing outstanding elements of the **Wye River Memorandum** (1998) and fast-tracking negotiations about an Israeli-Palestinian permanent status agreement. Again in collaboration with Jerusalem, the United States convened substantive talks involving Barak and **Syria's** foreign minister Farouk al-Sharaa, first in Washington, D.C., and then in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, in late December 1999 and early January 2000. In March 2000, Clinton traveled to Geneva for a summit meeting with Syrian president Hafez al-Assad in an ultimately fruitless effort to finalize a deal with Israel affecting the **Golan Heights**. Similarly, Clinton expended considerable effort in attempting to mediate a permanent Israeli-Palestinian agreement in meetings with Barak and Arafat at the **Camp David II** talks, at

Camp David, Maryland, in July 2000, and then in **Taba**, Egypt, between December 2000 and the special election for prime minister in Israel in early February 2001.

Although occasionally affected by specific developments relating to Israel's handling of the **Al-Aksa intifada**, the U.S.–Israel relationship remained strong and was in fact strengthened by the tragic events of 11 September 2001. The administrations of **George W. Bush** and **Ariel Sharon** were clearly of one mind with regard to the U.S.–led campaign against Islamist **terrorism**; they also came to agree on the strategy of isolating Yasser Arafat as the price the Palestinian leader must pay for rejecting the **Oslo Accords** process and resuming the use of terror as a tool of diplomacy. Despite this hardline approach toward Arafat, Bush became the first U.S. president to formally speak about the vision of an independent **West Bank–Gaza** Palestinian state as part of a **two-state solution** to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. U.S. support for an independent Palestinian state, which Bush initially spoke about in his statement of 24 June 2002 and which was made conditional on the implementation by the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) of fundamental reforms (including the election of “new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror”), was ultimately enshrined in the Middle East **Quartet Roadmap for Peace**. In return for Israel's support for the Roadmap, Bush in turn provided Sharon assurances (in the form of letters of understanding exchanged on 14 April 2004) concerning two issues of a permanent agreement of core concern to Israel: the Palestinian demand for the **right of return** of refugees to Israel, and the status of existing Jewish settlements beyond the **Green Line**.

On 27 November 2007, Bush hosted an international conference at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. The declared goals of the **Annapolis Conference** were to signal international support for efforts by PLO chairman and PA president **Mahmoud Abbas** and Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** to commence a process of direct negotiations leading to the realization of Israeli-Palestinian peace based on the two-state solution envisioned in Bush's June 2002 statement and in the Roadmap and to coordinate international support for efforts undertaken by Abbas and the **Fatah (“Conquest”)**–led PA to construct the institutions and culture for an independent and democratic Palestinian state. Bush made his first visit to Israel since becoming president of the United States in January 2008.

Significant tension existed between President **Barack Obama** and the Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu (elected again as Israel's prime minister in 2009). There were disagreements over negotiations with the Palestinians as well as significant differences concerning **Iran's** nuclear program, with Netanyahu (and many Israelis) expressing far-less enthusiasm than the Obama administration about Teheran's sincerity to fulfill its end of international agreements.

Despite these differences, there remained a deep concurrence between the two governments concerning the broad objectives of Arab-Israeli peace as well as America's commitment to Israel's security and survival against all regional adversaries. This was manifested in diplomatic support for Israel at the **United Nations** and in steps by the United States to reinforce and ensure Israel's strategic advantage over its regional adversaries. This included Obama's fulfilling the Bush administration's August 2007 memorandum of understanding with Israel that outlined a 10-year framework for U.S. military assistance to Israel. It also included the Obama administration's recommendation or approval of significant American annual military assistance and separate additional support for **Iron Dome** and other components of Israel's strategic antiballistic missile defense system (many jointly produced with U.S. defense contractors). There also were presidential reassurances. Speaking alongside Netanyahu at the White House in March 2012, Obama encapsulated the special relationship that has historically bound Israel and the United States when he declared, "My personal commitment . . . a commitment that is consistent with the history of other occupants of this Oval office . . . to the security of Israel is rock solid . . . the United States will always have Israel's back when it comes to Israel's security." And Obama on 22 May 2015 reassured a Washington, D.C., synagogue audience, "Our commitment to Israel's security—and my commitment to Israel's security—is and always will be unshakeable."

The United States and Israel are linked in a complex and multifaceted "special relationship" that has focused on the continuing U.S. support for the survival, security, and well-being of Israel. The relationship revolves around a broadly conceived ideological factor and is based on substantial positive perception and sentiment evidenced in public opinion and other statements. It is also manifested in U.S. political-diplomatic support as well as substantial military and economic assistance to Israel. U.S. commitments to Israel's security and defense are not formally enshrined, but there is a general perception that the United States would prevent Israel's destruction. The United States is an indispensable, if not fully dependable, ally. It provides economic, technical, military, political, diplomatic, and moral support, and there are broad areas of agreement with Israel on many issues. Divergence on some issues derives from a difference of perspective and from the overall policy environments in which the two states operate. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; FOREIGN POLICY.

**UNITED TORAH JUDAISM (UTJ).** A joint electoral list comprised of two mainly **Ashkenazi Haredi** (ultra-Orthodox) **political parties: Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** and **Degel HaTorah (Torah Flag)**. In its first election in 1992, the alliance won four seats in the Thirteenth **Knesset**. It replicated this success in 1996 and participated in the **Likud (Union) Par-**

ty-led coalition formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** but declined to accept any **cabinet** portfolios. UTJ won five seats in the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) and five seats in the Sixteenth Knesset (2003). It agreed to join the reconstituted governing coalition formed by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** on 1 January 2005 but again declined to hold any cabinet portfolios. UTJ won six seats in the March 2006 Knesset election, five seats in 2009, and seven seats in 2013. United Torah Judaism won six seats in the March 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). Because of the election outcome, UTJ gained influence in the formation of the new government and the construction of its program. In particular, prime minister-elect **Benjamin Netanyahu** reversed the controversial **Equal Service Law** as a concession to United Torah Judaism (as well as the **Sephardic Torah Guardians [SHAS]**) to entice the ultra-Orthodox parties into Netanyahu's new coalition **government**. Unlike SHAS, which immediately agreed to fully participate in the government, UTJ initially chose to accept only deputy minister portfolios. However, on 27 August 2015 the alliance's **Council of Torah Sages (Moetz Gedolei HaTorah)** authorized deputy health minister Ya'akov Litzman of Agudat Israel to accept the position of Minister of **Health**, becoming the first time since 1952 that an Ashkenazi **Haredi** party had agreed to fully participate in an Israeli government. *See also* RELIGION.

**UNITED WORKERS PARTY.** *See* MAPAM (MIFLEGET POALIM HA-MEUHEDET-UNITED WORKERS PARTY).

**USS LIBERTY.** On 8 June 1967, the third day of the **Six-Day War (1967)**, the American communications and intelligence-gathering ship *USS Liberty* was attacked by Israeli jet fighters and torpedo boats off the coast of the **Sinai Peninsula** near the **Gaza Strip**, resulting in the deaths of 34 American crewmen and the wounding of 75 others. Israeli military sources, following numerous attempts at identification by both visual and verbal means, misidentified the *Liberty* as an **Egyptian** supply ship. Although naturally angered by the loss of American life, the Lyndon B. Johnson administration ultimately accepted Israel's apology and explanation that the sinking of the *Liberty* was "a tragic accident," the result of mistaken identification in the middle of warfare. Israel paid over \$3 million in reparations to the families of those killed in the incident and over \$3.5 million to the wounded. In 1983, it paid an additional \$6 million to the U.S. government for physical damage to the ship. The sinking of the *USS Liberty* was one of many complexities in the "special relationship" involving the **United States** and Israel.

# V

**VAAD LEUMI (NATIONAL COUNCIL).** Under the terms of the **British Mandate** (see BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE), Jewish and Arab quasi governments were established in **Palestine** in the 1920s. As early as 1920, the **Yishuv** elected by secret ballot an **Assembly of the Elected (Asefat Hanivcharim)**, or parliament in waiting. Between sessions, its powers were exercised by the Vaad Leumi/National Council appointed by the Assembly of the Elected from among its members. The Vaad Leumi, in turn, selected an executive from among its membership to exercise administrative executive power over the Jewish community. Its role was tantamount to that of a **cabinet**, and its authority was generally accepted in the Yishuv and was recognized by the mandate authorities. At first, its jurisdiction was confined essentially to social and religious matters, but by the 1930s, it also functioned in the fields of **education**, culture, **health**, and welfare.

Through administration of the Jewish community's affairs, the members of the Vaad Leumi/National Council and the Assembly of the Elected gained valuable experience in self rule. The council's departments, staffed by members of the Jewish community, provided a trained core of civil servants for the postmandate period of independence. Political experience was also gained as **political parties** developed to contest the elections for office. When Israel became independent, many of the ministries of the provisional government were transformations of departments and bureaus that had functioned under the auspices of the Vaad Leumi. The Vaad Leumi formed the basis of Israel's provisional state council (which exercised legislative authority as the predecessor of Israel's **Knesset**, or parliament), and the executive of the Vaad Leumi formed the basis of the provisional **government**, or **cabinet**.

**VANUNU, MORDECHAI (1954– ).** Convicted Israeli scientific technician who disclosed that Israel had nuclear bombs to the *Sunday Times* of London. The *Sunday Times* of 5 October 1986 ran a lengthy story under the front-page banner headline "Revealed: The Secrets of Israel's Nuclear Arsenal." On 24 March 1988, Vanunu was convicted by a **Jerusalem** court of espionage and

treason. The lengthy trial was held in secrecy, and the only sentence made public from the court's verdict was "we decided the defendant is guilty on all three counts." Vanunu was a nuclear technician who left Israel with highly classified data and later was lured back to Israel and put on trial. He had worked at Israel's **Dimona** nuclear reactor but was laid off in 1985 and shortly thereafter left Israel. Vanunu was released from prison on 24 April 2004 with a number of restrictions on speech and travel. On 11 November 2004, he was rearrested for contravening several of those restrictions, including giving interviews to the BBC. Considered by international human rights activists to be a prisoner of conscience, he is viewed by many Israelis as a traitor. On 7 January 2008, Vanunu was resented to six months of community service for contravening the terms of his parole from prison. While in prison Vanunu converted to Christianity and changed his name to John Crossman. Given his refusal to express remorse over his treasonous actions, he had strict conditions set upon his 2004 release from prison in order to prevent him from disclosing any further nuclear secrets. Among other things, Vanunu was forbidden to speak to foreigners and was required to report all his movements to authorities. He was also banned from leaving the country. In 2010 he was jailed for an additional three months for violating those restrictions. The conditions of his release were slightly relaxed in late 2014 following an appeal. He was now allowed to hold chance, one-time, face-to-face conversations with foreigners that take place in a public space and last no more than 30 minutes. Vanunu was detained by police in April 2015 for apparently contravening those conditions, after being spotted having a long conversation with two foreigners he met in the book store at a hotel in East Jerusalem. He was released after being questioned for several hours. On 4 September 2015, Vanunu was permitted by Israel's military censors to give a lengthy primetime interview on Israel's Channel Two television in which he explained his motivation for the disclosure of the activities at the Dimona nuclear reactor that led to his arrest and conviction on charges of espionage and terrorism. *See also* ATOMIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

**VATICAN.** After intense and lengthy negotiations, Israel and the Vatican formally recognized each other and signed an agreement on 30 December 1993 to establish diplomatic relations. The agreement was signed first in the Vatican and then in **Jerusalem**. On 15 June 1994, Israel and the Vatican announced agreement on opening full diplomatic relations. They agreed to exchange ambassadors and open embassies. Until then, the Vatican had withheld formal recognition of Israel, citing such issues as the state's disputed borders, the unsettled status of Jerusalem, and concerns about the protection of Catholic institutions under Israeli law. The Vatican had also called on Israel to recognize the legitimate rights of the **Palestinians**. The agreement also opened the way for an increased Vatican role in the Arab-Israeli peace

process. For Israel, there was some expectation that the agreement would help eliminate **anti-Semitism**. In January 1996, the Vatican published documents showing that during the last years of World War II, it opposed the creation of a Jewish state in **Palestine**.

During the papacy of Pope John Paul II (1978 to 2005), there was a legacy of mending ties between Christians and the Vatican and Israel. The pope repeatedly condemned anti-Semitism as a sin against God and man. He also described Jews as the Church's "dearly beloved elder brothers." During his tenure, Israel and the Vatican exchanged ambassadors. In March 2000, John Paul II made a pilgrimage to Israel (as well as to the Palestinian territories and to **Jordan**). In January 2004, Pope Paul II held a historic first meeting at the Vatican with Israel's chief rabbis (Rabbi Shlomo Amar and Rabbi Yona Metzger), during which the pontiff was asked to join in the fight against **terrorism** and anti-Semitism.

Pope Francis brought the presidents of Israel and the **Palestinian Authority** (PA) together at the Vatican on 8 June 2014 to join in prayer and to pledge to seek peace. **Shimon Peres** and **Mahmood Abbas** concluded the prayer summit ceremony by kissing each other on the cheek and then planting an olive tree in the Vatican garden. The meeting came two weeks after Pope Francis visited the Holy Land and invited the two leaders to come to the Vatican.

In mid-May 2015 Pope Francis presented PA president Mahmoud Abbas with a peace medallion. He also canonized two 19th-century nuns who lived in Ottoman-controlled Palestine; the first saints from the Holy Land since the early days of Christianity.

In a treaty with the Palestinians on 13 May 2015 the Holy See switched from relations with the **Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) and the PA to the state of Palestine; Israel expressed disappointment with the Vatican's action, saying it was premature and harmful to the pursuit of a sustainable Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement. Israel expressed additional "regret" with the Vatican's 25 June 2015 first treaty with the state of Palestine concerning the interests of the Holy See in PA areas and recognizing the PA as having authority in east Jerusalem, citing the treaty's one-sided texts which "ignore the historic rights of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel and to the places holy to Judaism in Jerusalem." Israel said it would study the agreement in detail and its implications for future cooperation between Israel and the Holy See. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**VENICE DECLARATION.** Meeting in Venice, Italy, on 13 June 1980, the heads of government and foreign ministers of the European Community (European Economic Community) adopted a statement on the **Arab-Israeli conflict**. Citing the "traditional ties and common interests" linking Europe and the Arab world, the Venice Declaration claims a "special role" for the

European [Economic] Community in helping to facilitate a “comprehensive solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict.” The main themes of the declaration include the “right of existence and to security of all states in the region, including Israel, and justice for all people, which implies recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people,” and the Palestinian right to “exercise fully the right to self-determination.” It urges Israel to end territorial occupation and **settlements** and not to make unilateral moves in **Jerusalem**. It also asserts that the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** “will have to be associated with the negotiations.” Israel’s **government**, headed by **Menachem Begin**, reacted angrily to the Venice Declaration, accusing its initiators of appeasing **terrorists** and others opposed to the **Camp David Accords** and the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty**. The PLO also rejected the document. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**V15 (VICTORY 2015)**. Grassroots organization established in December 2014 with the explicit goal of replacing **Benjamin Netanyahu’s Likud (Union) Party**–led **government** with a center-left coalition. The organization claimed to have no affiliation with other **political parties** in Israel. Controversy arose over the financial support the organization received from foreign sources, including wealthy Americans such as Daniel Lubetzky, S. Daniel Abraham, and others affiliated with the OneVoice peace movement and other liberal causes in Israel. The hiring of the American political consulting firm that worked on **Barack Obama’s** two successful presidential campaigns led to accusations that V15 was using foreign funding to try to manipulate the outcome of Israel’s March 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). The Likud petitioned the Central Election Committee to ban V15, claiming that the group’s activities amounted to illegal campaigning for the center-left **Zionist Union** alliance involving the **Israel Labor Party (Mifletet Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and **Hatnua (The Movement)**, in contravention of Israel’s election funding laws. The group’s representatives responded that while it received donations from abroad, V15’s activities were legal because campaign funding laws only prohibit grassroots organizations from donating to a specific party, which V15 did not do. The representatives reiterated that V15 had no connection to, and did not coordinate activities with, any political party. Despite its setback in not unseating Netanyahu in 2015, V15 remained optimistic about the eventual achievement of its political goals. *See also* BASIC LAW: THE KNESSET; ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL.

**VILNAI, MATAN (1944– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in **Jerusalem** on 20 May 1944, Vilnai was a career officer in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, reaching the position of deputy chief of the general



staff (1994–1997). Upon retirement from the military he joined the **One Israel (Israel Ahat)** party and was elected in the 1999 Knesset election. He was appointed minister of **science**, culture, and **sport** (as well as chair of the Ministerial Committee for **Israeli-Arab** Affairs) in the government formed by **Ehud Barak**. He retained the science, culture, and sport portfolio in the **Likud (Union) Party–Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** broad-based coalition formed by Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** in 2001 but resigned when Labor left the government in October 2002. He was appointed minister without portfolio in the new coalition formed upon Labor’s reentry into the Sharon-led government on 10 January 2005. Initially a candidate in the November 2005 Labor Party leadership primary, Vilnai withdrew at the last moment and threw his support behind **Shimon Peres**, who went on to lose the leadership race to **Histadrut** leader **Amir Peretz**. Vilnai was re-elected in the 2006 Knesset election on the Labor list and was appointed deputy defense minister on 2 July 2007 by **Kadima (Forward)**’s **Ehud Olmert**. Reelected to the Eighteenth Knesset (2009) he served as deputy defense minister from April 2009 to January 2011 and then as minister of home front defense between January 2011 and August 2012) under Likud’s **Benjamin Netanyahu**. On 12 February 2012 the **cabinet** approved Vilnai’s appointment as Israel’s ambassador to **China**.

**VOICE OF PEACE.** The name of a ship owned by veteran Israeli peace activist Abie Nathan that, beginning shortly after the **Six-Day War (1967)**, transmitted messages of peace and Arab-Israeli reconciliation from positions just beyond Israel’s territorial waters in the Mediterranean Sea. It concluded its broadcasting in September 1993, shortly after the signing of the **Israel–Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles**.



# W

**WADI SALIB.** An **Oriental Jewish** (primarily North African) slum neighborhood in **Haifa** in which there were riots in July 1959 in the wake of a rumor that a police officer had killed a local resident. Subsequently, other riots in Wadi Salib and elsewhere drew attention to the poor economic and social conditions in which many Oriental immigrants (*see* ALIYA) were living. Wadi Salib became a symbol of Oriental discontent. *See also* BLACK PANTHERS; SECOND ISRAEL.

**WAILING WALL.** *See* WESTERN WALL.

**WALL-TO-WALL COALITION.** During the crisis preceding the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israel created a broad-based political coalition incorporating virtually all of Israel's **political parties** in a **government** of national unity. The **Communist Party** was pointedly excluded, but for the first time, **Gahal** and **Menachem Begin** joined Israel's coalition government. Begin and his political allies remained in the government until the summer of 1970, when they withdrew to protest the **Golda Meir** government's policy concerning the terms associated with the cease-fire in the **War of Attrition (1969–1970)** that had been arranged by the **United States**.

**WAR IN GAZA (2008–2009).** **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** major counter-terrorism action in the **Gaza Strip**, also known by the code name **Operation Cast Lead**, that lasted from 27 December 2008 to 18 January 2009.

On 27 December 2008 **Israel** ordered the IDF to initiate major action against Palestinian **terrorist** cells in **Gaza** in response to unrelenting indiscriminate rocket and missile fire at Israeli civilian population centers from northern Gaza. The overall goal was to restore calm and security for **Sderot** and other front-line population centers in **Negev** and southern Israel. The operational objectives were to destroy terrorist rocket launching sites and strike at the command, control, and communication infrastructure of the terrorist organizations and their military commanders. Israel's effort to achieve its military objectives while limiting Palestinian civilian casualties

was complicated by the terrorists' practice of hiding their senior leadership, weapons caches, and rocket launchers amid Gaza's civilian communities. The **United Nations** Human Rights Council in April 2009 established a fact-finding mission to investigate alleged violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law in the December 2008–January 2009 confrontation—*see* UNITED NATIONS FACT-FINDING MISSION ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (GOLDSTONE REPORT).

Stage I of Operation Cast Lead began on 27 December 2008 with Israeli airstrikes and naval bombardments on military targets in Gaza of **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**. Stage II, the IDF ground invasion, was initiated on 3 January 2009 with strong air and naval support. A specific goal of the ground operation, in addition to finding and destroying weapons factories, arms caches, and rocket-launching pads, was locating and destroying **tunnels** through which terrorists and weapons were infiltrated into Israel. Israeli reserve forces entered Gaza on 11 January 2009 for the first time since the outbreak of hostilities.

On 7 January 2009, Israel unilaterally initiated a humanitarian truce and paused its military operation in Gaza to allow truckloads of humanitarian supplies to enter the area. This and successive temporary humanitarian truces were violated by Hamas rocket fire.

On 12 January, U.S. president **George W. Bush** reiterated his support for Israel's absolute right to defend itself and stated that any sustainable cease-fire agreement between Israel and Hamas must include an end to Hamas rocket attacks on Israeli population centers. On 16 January 2009, the **United States** and Israel signed a memorandum of understanding guaranteeing that Israel would receive resources and technology to end Hamas' smuggling of weapons into the Gaza Strip from Egyptian-**Sinai**.

The Gaza War (2009–2009) ended on 18 January 2009 when Israel declared a unilateral cease-fire based on a plan initiated by Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and halted Operation Cast Lead. The last IDF soldier was withdrawn from the Gaza Strip on 21 January 2009.

Ten Israeli soldiers were killed in the war—six in combat and four others in “friendly fire” incidents; there were also three civilian deaths. Officials in the Gaza Strip placed the number of Palestinian casualties at more than 1,400, while Israel acknowledged 1,166 Palestinian civilian deaths. Controversy remains over distinguishing between civilian deaths in Gaza and ununiformed armed terrorist fighters. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**WAR IN GAZA (2012)**. Also known by Israelis as **Operation Pillar of Defense**. **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** seven-day (14–21 November 2012) counterterrorism operation in the **Gaza Strip** against **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**. The operation was launched in response to an escalation of **terrorist** rocket fire from Gaza at **Sderot** and other civilian

communities of southern Israel and unprovoked attacks on IDF personnel operating on Israel's side of the Israel-Gaza border. It was the most serious confrontation between Israel and Hamas since the **War in Gaza (2008–2009)** and the culmination of weeks of tit for tat military engagements throughout much of October 2012 and early November 2012.

Hostilities began on 14 November 2012 with the IDF's **targeted assassination** of Ahmed Jabari, second in command of Hamas' military wing and the man Israel **intelligence services** deemed most responsible for the development of Hamas' home-grown weapons capability and acquisition of longer-range rockets and missiles. In the course of the operation, 75,000 reservists were mobilized by the IDF as Israel prepared for a possible ground invasion of Gaza to seek out and destroy Hamas rockets and rocket launchers.

The Israeli home front came under significant fire during the conflict, with Hamas demonstrating unprecedented missile range capabilities that forced residents of **Tel Aviv–Yafo** and **Jerusalem** into bomb shelters. Four Israeli civilians were killed in a Hamas rocket strike on an apartment complex in the southern town of Kiryat Malachi on the first full day of the war. The **Iron Dome** missile defense system was considered a “game changer” in protecting the overwhelming majority of Israeli citizens from incoming missiles and rockets. According to Israeli officials, in the first three days of Operation Pillar of Defense, Iron Dome identified some two-thirds of the 1,000-plus missiles and rockets fired toward Israel by Hamas as *not* posing a threat to civilian population centers while intercepting and destroying 90 percent of the remaining 300 missiles that *did* constitute a threat.

The 2012 Gaza war was asymmetrical: Israel had fighter aircraft and a navy as well as thousands of ground forces supported by tanks and artillery at the ready, while Hamas had none. However, despite Iron Dome's effectiveness, the use by Hamas of missiles of unprecedented range changed the combat dynamic.

The war ended with a cease-fire on 21 November 2012. Some right-wing politicians in the **Knesset** and within Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s own governing coalition criticized the decision not to launch a ground invasion of the Gaza Strip with the intention of destroying Hamas' operational capability. Operation Pillar of Defense resulted in six deaths on Israel's side, including the four civilians killed in the Hamas rocket strike on the apartment complex in Kiryat Malachi. There were over 150 Palestinians killed in the Gaza Strip, including about 50 Palestinian civilians (according to Israeli figures). *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**WAR IN GAZA (2014)**. Also known as **Operation Protective Edge** in English; in **Hebrew** it is known as *Tzuk Eitan*, literally translated as “firm” or “resolute cliff.” On 7 July 2014, the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** launched

major counterterrorism action primarily against **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)** in the **Gaza Strip** in response to the intensification of indiscriminate rocket fire from Gaza targeting **Sderot** and other population centers in **Negev** and southern Israel. The conflict lasted 51 days, lasting from 7 July 2014 to 26 August 2014.

At the outset Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** described the objective of Operation Protective Edge as “returning quiet to the citizens of Israel for a prolonged period while inflicting a significant blow to the infrastructures of Hamas and the other terrorist organizations.” Despite damage inflicted by Israeli airstrikes and navy shelling, Hamas intensified its rocket fire into Israel. Since the end of **Operation Pillar of Defense (2012)**, Hamas and **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini)** had smuggled in sophisticated Iranian- and Syrian-supplied longer-range rockets and missile launchers that enabled the **terrorist** groups to threaten Israeli cities beyond their previous range of fire. **Iron Dome** anti-missile batteries were strategically deployed to support the efforts of Israel’s home front command.

Since the end of hostilities in 2012 Hamas also had overseen construction of a network of **tunnels** from the Gaza Strip into Israeli territory. The tunnels were designed and used to infiltrate terrorists into Israel to carry out attacks against Israeli citizens. Many also were being used to store rockets and hide rocket launchers from detection by Israeli aircraft.

This was another asymmetric war involving Israel and Hamas. The IDF on 17 July 2014 launched a large ground offensive into Gaza consisting of tanks, ground forces, artillery, and special tunnel-detection equipment with massive air and naval cover. The Israeli forces moved methodically from the Israel–Gaza Strip border to the sea (from east to west), discovering rockets and rocket launchers as well as other munitions along with tunnels and Hamas fighters. The Hamas fighters had large numbers of smuggled and homemade rockets and anti-tank launchers but failed to inflict serious damage on Israel or Israeli soldiers. Iron Dome was very effective in protecting Israeli civilians while Gaza’s civilian population had no equivalent capability.

Israel charged that the lives of the civilian population in Gaza were jeopardized by the terrorist’s strategy of hiding their weapons, arms depots, rocket launchers, and military commanders in civilian infrastructures including apartment complexes, mosques, schools, and hospitals. Israel refused to participate in the **United Nations** Human Rights Council investigation—see INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE GAZA CONFLICT (SCHABAS COMMISSION)—into alleged human rights abuses in the war; in addition, Israel rejected the investigation’s 22 June 2015 report—and its accusation that Israel deliberately targeted civilian population centers in Gaza—as “politically motivated and morally flawed from the outset.”

The 51-day war ended on 26 August 2014. According to the IDF, a total of 4,564 projectiles (rockets and missiles) were fired from the Gaza Strip at Israel during the course of hostilities. Iron Dome scored an almost 90 percent rate of efficiency, intercepting and destroying 735 projectiles identified as threatening Israeli civilian population centers. The IDF reported that it had identified and destroyed some thirty Hamas tunnels. Operation Protective Edge resulted in 73 deaths on Israel's side, including 64 soldiers. Among Israeli civilian deaths was a Thai farm worker. Health officials in the Gaza Strip reported more than 2,100 Palestinian deaths and many thousands more wounded or displaced by the fighting. As with previous conflicts in the Gaza Strip, controversy remains over distinguishing between Palestinian civilian deaths and those among un-uniformed terrorist fighters. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**WAR IN LEBANON (1982).** Also known by Israelis as **Operation Peace for Galilee**. On 6 June 1982, Israel began a major military action against the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in **Lebanon**. The announced immediate goal was to put **Galilee** out of the range of PLO shelling. It sought to remove the PLO military and **terrorist** threat to Israel and to reduce the PLO's political capability. It was described as a major response to years of PLO terrorist attacks against Israel and its people. The Israeli incursion into Lebanon came suddenly, and Israeli forces moved swiftly north of the Israel-Lebanon border, capturing and destroying numerous PLO strongholds and positions. Within a week, Israel was in control of much of the southern portion of Lebanon, and thousands of PLO fighters were killed or captured. By the middle of June, Israel had virtually laid siege to Beirut. The war enjoyed widespread initial public support among Israelis but later occasioned major debate and demonstrations (much relating to events in the **Sabra and Shatila refugee camps**) and led to Israel's increased international political and diplomatic isolation. It also brought about major political and diplomatic clashes with the **United States**. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; ARGOV, SHLOMO (1929–2003); ISRAEL-LEBANON AGREEMENT OF 17 MAY 1983; KAHAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

**WAR IN LEBANON (2006).** *See* SECOND LEBANON WAR (2006).

**WAR OF ATTRITION (1969–1970).** In the first years after the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israel retained control of the **Occupied Territories**, and despite various efforts, no significant progress was made toward the achievement of peace. The **Palestinians** became more active—initially gaining publicity and attention through **terrorist** acts against Israel, some of which were spectacular in nature. However, the most serious military threat to Israel came from

**Egypt**, which embarked on the War of Attrition in the spring of 1969 in an effort, as President Gamal Abdul Nasser put it, “to wear down the enemy.” But the war soon took on a broader scope as the Egyptians faced mounting losses and minimal successes, and Nasser sought and received assistance from the **USSR**. The Soviets soon were involved as advisers and combatants, and Israeli aircraft flying over the Suez Canal Zone were challenged by Russian-flown Egyptian planes. The War of Attrition was ended by a cease-fire sponsored by the **United States** in August 1970, and talks under Ambassador **Gunnar Jarring**’s auspices to implement the **land for peace** concept articulated in **United Nations Security Council Resolution 242** were restarted, but no significant progress toward peace followed. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1948–1949)**. As Israel declared its independence on 14–15 May 1948, armies of the Arab states invaded **Palestine** and engaged in open warfare with the defense forces of the new state, with the stated goals of preventing the establishment of a Jewish state and of assuring that all of Palestine would be in Arab hands. This first Arab-Israeli war (known in Israel as the War of Independence) involved troops from **Egypt**, **Syria**, **Jordan**, **Iraq**, and **Lebanon**, with assistance from other Arab quarters, against Israel. The war was long and costly: Israel lost some 4,000 soldiers and 2,000 civilians, about 1 percent of the Jewish population at the time, and each side had successes and failures. The war ended in 1949 when **armistice agreements** were signed with the neighboring Arab states. Peace did not follow, and additional wars between Israel and the Arabs were fought over the ensuing decades. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

“**WARS OF THE JEWS**”. *See* YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973).

**WASHINGTON DECLARATION**. On 14 September 1993, one day after the signing of the Israel–Palestine **Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles**, representatives of Israel and **Jordan** initialed a common agenda for future peace negotiations. The declaration generated by these negotiations was formally signed by Jordan’s **King Hussein** and Israel’s prime minister **Yitzhak Rabin** in Washington, D.C., on 25 July 1994. The Washington Declaration became the basis of the **Israel–Jordan Peace Treaty** that was initialed on 17 October 1994 in Amman, Jordan, and formally signed on 26 October 1994 in the Jordan Valley.

**WATER**. Israel has important rainfall inequalities; while the north of the country enjoys a relatively generous rainfall, the central region receives less and the south a meager amount. The national water carrier, **Mekorot Water**



**Company**, which transports water from north to south, has helped to remedy these regional imbalances. In addition, efficient water management and the development of drip irrigation has improved water utilization and has increased **agricultural** output drastically, and water consumption has remained constant. *See also* ECONOMY.

**WAXMAN, NAHSHON (WACHSMAN) (1975–1994)**. An **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) corporal kidnapped on 9 October 1994 by **terrorists** with **Hamas** (**Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya**). The kidnappers threatened to murder him unless Israel agreed to free Hamas' founder and spiritual leader, **Sheikh Ahmed Ismail Yassin** and other imprisoned **Palestinians**. Waxman was killed during a rescue attempt by IDF commandos in the **West Bank** village of Bir Nabala on 14 October 1994.

**WEIZMAN, EZER (1924–2005)**. A nephew of **Chaim Weizmann**, who spelled his name with one *n* to avoid benefiting from the family connection. Born in **Tel Aviv** on 15 June 1924, he was educated at the Reali School in **Haifa** and joined the **Hagana** in 1939. In 1942, he enlisted in the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and saw service in **India** during World War II. In 1948, he served as a squadron commander in the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) and rose through the ranks. He studied with the RAF from 1951 to 1953, and in 1958 he became commander in chief of the Israeli Air Force. From 1966 to 1969, he served as chief of the general staff branch of the IDF and in that capacity was involved in planning Israel's victory in the **Six-Day War (1967)**, including its swift and decisive defeat of the **Egyptian** air force (much of it still on the ground). He resigned from the IDF in December 1969, apparently convinced that he would not be made chief of staff.

Weizman immediately entered political life. He was first elected to the Seventh **Knesset** (1969) on the **Gahal** list. In 1969–1970, he served as minister of transport in the **government** of national unity led by **Golda Meir** in one of the six seats allocated to the Gahal Party. He was elected chairman of the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** in 1971. He managed the **Likud (Union) Party's** first successful campaign in the 1977 Knesset election. In the subsequent government formed by **Menachem Begin**, he served as minister of defense but resigned in 1980. In 1984, he founded his own centrist **political party, Yahad**, which won three seats in the 1984 Knesset election, and joined the **Government of National Unity** (1984–1988), with Weizman serving as minister in the **Prime Minister's** Office with special responsibility for Arab affairs. In 1986, he was appointed minister without portfolio in the ministry of foreign affairs. Re-elected in the

1988 Knesset election but this time as a member of the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**, Weizman became minister of **science** and development.

After retiring from party politics in February 1992, he was elected **president** of Israel in 1993 and was reelected for a second five-year term in March 1998. Renowned as being a populist politician, he was credited with opening up the office of the presidency, making it an institution more accessible to the average Israeli. He also sought to transform the presidency into a “bully pulpit” for expressing popular sentiment about controversial aspects of domestic politics and security and **foreign policy** (an exercise that found Weizman clashing on occasion with Labor and Likud prime ministers alike). He was forced to resign from the presidency in July 2000 amid revelations of financial impropriety (although no charges were filed against him). On 24 April 2005, Weizman died at his home in Caesarea at the age of 80.

**WEIZMANN, CHAIM (1874–1952).** **Zionist** leader and first **president** of the state of Israel. He was born on 27 November 1874 in Motol, near Pinsk, Russia, into a family of ardent Zionists that belonged to the **Hoveve Zion (Lovers of Zion)** Movement. He was educated in **Germany**, where he received a doctor of **science** degree from the University of Freiburg in 1900. In 1904, Weizmann moved to England, where he began his career as a faculty member in biochemistry at the University of Manchester. As director of the Admiralty Laboratories during 1919, he discovered a process for producing acetone (a vital ingredient of gunpowder). Weizmann became the leader of the English Zionist Movement and was instrumental in securing the **Balfour Declaration**. In 1918, he became chairman of the Zionist Commission to **Palestine**.

Following World War I, Weizmann emerged as the leader of the **World Zionist Organization (WZO)** and built a home in Palestine near Rehovot. He served as president of the WZO from 1920 to 1946, except for 1931–1935. He helped found the **Jewish Agency** for Palestine, the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, and the Sieff Research Institute at Rehovot (later renamed the **Weizmann Institute of Science**). In 1919, Weizmann headed the Zionist delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, and in the fall of 1947, he addressed the **United Nations** General Assembly to plead for the establishment of a Jewish state. Weizmann also appealed (successfully) to President Harry Truman of the **United States** for assistance in the effort to secure a Jewish state and to override support in the U.S. Department of State for a plan that would have omitted the **Negev** Desert from the proposed state.

With the declaration of Israel's independence and the establishment of a provisional government in May 1948, Weizmann became president of Israel's provisional government, and in February 1949, the first elected **Knesset** selected Weizmann as the first president of Israel. He was reelected in November 1951 but died the next year on 9 November 1952.

**WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.** A major scientific institution located in Rehovot, focusing on fundamental research and higher **education** in the sciences. It developed out of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, which was founded in 1934. It was conceived in the 1940s, and the first building of the Weizmann Institute was dedicated in 1949, named after **Chaim Weizmann**. The Weizmann Institute offers postgraduate instruction in biology, biochemistry, chemistry, physics, mathematics, and computer science in addition to science teaching and youth activities programs. The Weizmann Institute is a world-class academy for scientific and technical research as well as Israel's leading science center. It currently has a student body of more than 2,600.

**WEST BANK.** The area of historical **Palestine** lying west of the **Jordan River** and the **Dead Sea** (and known by many Israelis and Jews by the biblical terms **Judea and Samaria**). Designated by the **United Nations Palestine Partition Plan** to become part of an Arab state, it—along with the eastern half of **Jerusalem**—was occupied by **Jordan** during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. On 24 April 1950, the parliament of Jordan passed legislation designed to unite the West Bank and East Jerusalem with Jordanian territory east of the Jordan; however, this annexation was largely ignored by the international community. The area came under Israeli control during the **Six-Day War (1967)**, although (with Israel's indulgence and cooperation) Jordan maintained an administrative presence in the West Bank. In the summer of 1988, **King Hussein** announced that Jordan was disengaging politically and administratively from the area.

Pursuant to the 1993 **Oslo Accords**, areas of the West Bank were transferred by Israel to the control of the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and the **Palestinian Authority (PA)**. At the **Camp David II** and **Taba** talks with the Palestinians, Israel's Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** proposed to transfer 95–97 percent of the West Bank to Palestinian control. However, some of these areas were temporarily reentered by the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** in **Operation Defensive Shield** during the **Al-Aksa Intifada** in pursuit of Palestinian **terrorists** who were maintaining bases in the West Bank and attacking Israel with impunity from there. Beginning in 2003, Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** adopted the concept of **separation** and chose to address the terrorism challenge by constructing a **security barrier**

separating Israelis from West Bank Palestinians. Four isolated **settlements** in the northern West Bank were included in Sharon's **unilateral disengagement plan**—see UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT (HITNATKUT, TOKHNIT HAHITNATKUT)—that was implemented in the **Gaza Strip** in August-September 2005. Pursuant to their commitment at the **Annapolis Conference** (2007) to expedite efforts toward a **two-state solution**, Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** and PA president **Mahmoud Abbas** held direct bilateral talks. In August 2008, Abbas and the PA reportedly rejected Olmert's offer to withdraw from 93 percent of the West Bank. Under subsequent **Likud (Union) Party governments** led by **Benjamin Netanyahu** Israel resumed a more cautious approach toward the issue of West Bank territorial concessions. See also ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; SUICIDE BOMBINGS.

**WESTERN WALL.** Also known by its **Hebrew** name, *HaKotel HaMa'aravi*, or simply, the *Kotel* (literally, "The Wall"). It is located on Mount Moriah in **Jerusalem's** old city. It is all that remains of the Temple of biblical times. Its alternate name, "Wailing Wall," is derived from the sorrowful prayers said there in mourning for the destruction of the Temple. According to legend, the Wall itself weeps over the destruction of the Temple. Observant Jews mark the destruction of first and second Temples on the ninth day of the Hebrew month of Av (and the period leading up to it). The first Temple was built by King Solomon in the 10th century BCE but it was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE. The second Temple was built in 539 BCE but was destroyed by the Romans in 70 AD. Each Temple stood for a period of about four centuries. Herod the Great built vast retaining walls around Mount Moriah, expanding the small, quasi-natural plateau on which the first and second Temples stood into the wide open spaces of the **Temple Mount** seen today. The Wall, which is some 160 feet long, was the western wall of the Temple courtyard. According to Jewish tradition, it was the only part of the outer courtyard that remained standing after the Roman legions' destruction of the second Temple. Jewish scholars explain that Titus left it standing as a bitter reminder to the Jews that Rome had vanquished **Judea**. The Jews, however, attributed it to the divine promise that some part of the holy Temple would be left standing as a sign of God's unbroken bond with the Jewish people in spite of the challenges that might confront them.

The Western Wall has always been venerated by the Jews, with small pockets of the devout residing nearby despite two millennia of dispersion and exile of the Jewish people from historic **Palestine**. It is holy to the Jewish people because it encompassed Mount Moriah, upon which **Abraham** was prepared to sacrifice his son **Isaac** to demonstrate his devotion to God, as well as of the first and second Temples, in which was held the Ten Com-

mandments, symbolizing the holy covenant that the Jewish people entered into with God at Mount Sinai following their liberation from slavery in **Egypt**.

The site also has religious significance to the Muslims, who believe that the Prophet Mohammad made a spiritual journey to Jerusalem in 620 AD on a winged horse named al-Burak. While there, it is believed he tethered the horse to a wall, which some Muslims believe to be the Western Wall. Hence, the Arabic name for the wall is the al-Burak Wall. Consistent with this belief (as well as their view of Abraham as a prophet), in 687 AD, Muslims built the Dome of the Rock and the nearby **Al-Aksa Mosque** on the Temple Mount, encompassed by the Western Wall.

By the middle of the 19th century, Jews constituted the majority of the population in Jerusalem. Jewish interests vis-à-vis Jerusalem were initially served by **Great Britain**'s victory over the Ottoman Empire in World War I and the subsequent imposition of the **British Mandate for Palestine**. Nevertheless, as elsewhere in Palestine, British efforts to appease the **Arabs** in Jerusalem often came at the expense of the Jews. The **United Nations (UN) Palestine Partition Plan** (November 1947) proposed that Jerusalem be treated as a corpus separatum, that it be internationalized and maintained under UN administration. During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, the Jewish Quarter, including the Western Wall, was placed under siege by **Jordan**'s Arab Legion. Despite valiant efforts to maintain supply lines, the difficult decision was taken by the **Jewish Agency** for Palestine and the **Haganah** command to evacuate the quarter.

Between 1948 and 1967, Israeli Jews were denied access to the Western Wall, in explicit violation of the 1949 Jordan–Israel **armistice agreement**. The Wall and other Jewish religious sites in Jordanian-occupied areas of Jerusalem were desecrated. During the **Six-Day War (1967)**, Israeli forces defeated the Jordanian army in Jerusalem after intense fighting. On 7 June 1967, an **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** paratroop brigade led by **Mordechai (Motta) Gur** captured the Western Wall. Gur's brief report, "The Temple Mount is in our hands," and the image of **Rabbi Shlomo Goren**, then chief rabbi of the IDF, blowing the Shofar at the Western Wall became major elements of the Israeli national psyche.

At the **Camp David II–Taba** talks (2000–2001) Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** and President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States** presented various creative ideas for "sharing" the Temple Mount and the Western Wall. Included among these was the idea of dividing sovereignty on a horizontal basis, with the **Palestinians** controlling institutions "on" the Temple Mount and Israeli sovereignty applied to areas "beneath" the Temple Mount, where the ancient archaeological remnants of the original Temples are believed to be buried. Such compromised positions were viewed as insufficient by the Palestinian leadership. Indeed, **Palestine Liberation Organization**

(PLO) chairman and **Palestinian Authority** (PA) president **Yasser Arafat** responded by questioning any Jewish religious or historical claim to any part of Jerusalem.

Since the outbreak of the **Al-Aksa intifada**, public opinion surveys have consistently indicated a readiness among many Jewish Israelis to **separate** from Arab-dominated neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. However, even the most secular of Jewish Israelis have difficulty envisioning a political agreement with the Palestinians that would not leave the Western Wall and the Temple Mount in Israel's hands. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**WHITE PAPER (MACDONALD PAPER) OF 1939.** Important statement of policy affecting Jewish immigration to and settlement in the **British Mandate for Palestine** that was issued by the government of **Great Britain** on 17 May 1939. It called for one independent state in all of **Palestine** to be established incrementally over a 10-year period, which under the prevailing demographic conditions, would be Arab-controlled. It imposed severe restrictions on Jewish immigration (*see* ALIYA) to Palestine. For five years, a maximum of 15,000 Jews per year, for a total of 75,000, would be permitted to immigrate to Palestine. After that, no further Jewish immigration would be permitted without the consent of the Arab community. Moreover, the number of Jews entering Palestine illegally (*see* ALIYA BET) would be deducted from the 75,000 quota. Restrictions were also imposed on the purchase of land in Palestine by Jewish immigrants. The **Zionist** leadership rejected the White Paper; accusing Great Britain of reneging on its commitments to Zionism (articulated in the **Balfour Declaration** and the League of Nations mandate for Palestine) and of betraying the Jewish people in their “darkest hour,” when they were in desperate need of a safe haven from Nazi oppression. From the Zionist perspective, the White Paper constituted the death knell of the British Mandate. *See also* BILTMORE PROGRAM.

**WHO IS A JEW?.** In 1950, the **Knesset** passed the **Law of Return**, granting any Jew immigrating (*see* ALIYA) to Israel the right to immediate citizenship. The law did not define a Jew and left it to the minister of interior to interpret the clause as he saw fit. In 1958, the then interior minister Yisrael Bar Yehuda issued a directive to ministry officials instructing them to register as Jewish any person who sincerely declared himself to be a Jew. The **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit—MAFDAL)** subsequently resigned from the government in protest over such a liberal ruling. In 1970, Israel's **Supreme Court** ordered the interior ministry's registrar in **Haifa** to record as “Jewish nationals” the children of Binyamin Shalit (*see* SHALIT CASE) whose wife was not Jewish. The case aroused controversy and led to the amendment of the Law of Return defining a Jew as a “person

born of a Jewish mother or who has been converted to Judaism and who does not profess another **religion.**” **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)** demanded that the amendment stipulate that the conversion be “according to *Halacha*”—the formulation the religious parties have been fighting for ever since. Such a stipulation would exclude conversions by other than recognized Orthodox rabbis.

Since then, the issue has come up after virtually every Knesset election in coalition negotiations with the religious parties. In 1974, a compromise formula drafted by **Rabbi Shlomo Goren**, which called for conversion “according to the manner practiced and accepted among the Jewish people from generation to generation,” failed to win support among religious and secular **political parties** alike. Over the years, the Orthodox and **Haredi** parties have made numerous attempts to have their proposed amendment approved by the Knesset. All have failed, but the margin of defeat has narrowed. In June 1988, the effort was rejected by 60 votes to 53. During coalition negotiations over the establishment of the December 1988 government, it appeared that the religious parties might finally succeed, provoking an outcry of crisis proportions from world Jewry.

When **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** took over the interior ministry after the 1984 elections, there were several attempts to circumvent the Law of Return. Under **Rabbi Yitzhak Haim Peretz**, interior ministry officials refused to register Shoshana Miller, an American-born Reform convert to Judaism, as Jewish. Miller appealed the case to the Supreme Court and won, prompting Peretz to resign from the **cabinet**. In the summer of 1989, the Supreme Court ordered the interior ministry to accept non-Orthodox converts to Judaism as immigrants according to the Law of Return and register them as Jews. The ruling on the registration of non-Orthodox converts came at a time when the interior ministry had begun to reverse its former practice of allowing such converts to come as immigrants, even though it did not register them as Jews. The ministry had excluded them by demanding that all conversion certificates must be validated by the local rabbinical courts, which accepted only Orthodox conversions. Other prominent cases have included the **Brother Daniel case** (1962), the status of the **Falashas (Falasha Mura)** of **Ethiopia**, and the status of the **Bnai Israel of India**.

The Who Is A Jew? issue took on a new political imperative against the background of the arrival to Israel in the late 1980s and 1990s of some 750,000 new immigrants from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** and Ethiopia.

In early November 2014, the coalition **government** headed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** approved a compromise to accord authority over conversions to as many as 30 conversion courts made up of municipal rabbis (some of whom from non-Orthodox stream of Judaism). This development initially was viewed by the non-Orthodox streams of Judaism in Israel (Conservative/

Masorti and Reform/Progressive) as an important breakthrough toward one day loosening Orthodox and Haredi control over the Who Is A Jew? issue. Such confidence was short-lived, as the rolling-back of any actions construed as diminishing Orthodox exclusive control over the country's religious agenda was among the major concessions accorded to the Haredi parties to ensure their support for the new coalition being formed by Netanyahu after the March 2015 Knesset election (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET).

**WILNER, MEIR (VILNER) (1918–2003).** Longtime member of the **Knesset** (1949–1990). Born in Vilnius, Lithuania, on 23 October 1918, Wilner was educated at a Hebrew high school in Vilnius; he immigrated (*see* ALIYA) to **Mandate Palestine** in 1938 and studied at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. A journalist by profession, he entered the First Knesset in February 1949 as secretary general of the **Israel Communist Party** and a member of the **Rakah**—*see* NEW COMMUNIST LIST (RAKAH)—faction. He was reelected in all subsequent Knesset elections on the Rakah list and later the **Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash)** list, until his resignation on 10 January 1990, partway through the Twelfth Knesset (as part of a rotation agreement). Wilner participated in the symbolic Fiftieth Anniversary signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1998. He died on 5 June 2003.

**WINGATE, ORDE CHARLES (1903–1944).** Christian **Zionist** founder of **Hagana's** “Special Night Squads.” Wingate was a British major general who, during his brief term of service in **Mandate Palestine**, had a major impact on the development of the **Yishuv's** defensive capabilities and the **Hagana's** military strategy and methods.

Born on 26 February 1903, Wingate was strongly influenced from a young age by his mother's missionary zeal and Christian Zionism. In 1936, Wingate was assigned as an intelligence officer with the **British Mandate** force in **Palestine**. He viewed his assignment as an opportunity to facilitate the fulfillment of the Christian prophecy of a Jewish state in Palestine. He worked with leaders of the **Jewish Agency** and the Hagana to defend Jewish **settlements** in the Yishuv against the ongoing Arab Revolt. He formulated the idea of armed groups of British-led Jewish paramilitary mobile defensive units, and he sold this idea to senior commanders of British forces in Palestine. In June 1938, the new British commander in Palestine, General Haining, gave his permission for Wingate to create the Special Night Squads (SNS), armed groups formed of British and Hagana volunteers. This is the first



instance of the British recognizing the Hagana's legitimacy as a Jewish defense force. The Jewish Agency helped pay the salaries and other costs of the Hagana personnel.

Wingate handpicked and trained his men, among them **Yigal Allon**, **Moshe Dayan**, and other future founders of the **Palmah** and the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. The SNS were known for their efficiency and boldness; as the name implies, many of their activities, including surprise raids on border Arab villages suspected of protecting **terror** gangs, occurred under the cover of darkness.

The SNS soon became viewed by the British as a political liability, in that British policy favored the Arab side over the Zionists. The squads were officially disbanded by the mandatory authorities in 1938. Wingate, who remained unrelenting in his pro-Zionist orientation and openly critical of British policy, was rotated out of Palestine in May 1939. His passport was stamped "NOT ALLOWED TO ENTER PALESTINE." Wingate was killed on 24 March 1944 during a military mission in south Asia when his plane crashed near Burma.

Wingate became one of the heroes of the Zionist Movement and was highly respected by Israeli military leaders, such as Moshe Dayan, who acknowledged that Wingate had "taught us everything we know."

**WINOGRAD COMMITTEE.** The Winograd Committee of Inquiry was established to examine how Israel's **government** and the defense establishment conducted the **Second Lebanon War (2006)** against **Hezbollah** and dealt with the Hezbollah threat in the years before the war. The **cabinet** on 17 September 2006 decided to appoint a Governmental Investigative Committee chaired by retired judge Dr. Eliyahu Winograd, to "investigate, and determine findings and conclusions, and . . . present recommendations as it sees fit regarding the political echelons and the security system as pertains to the range of aspects of the campaign in the north which began on July 1, 2006." Although the committee had all the powers of a state **commission of inquiry**, it was controversial because it was appointed by the **prime minister** and not the president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel. On 30 April 2007, the committee submitted to the prime minister and minister of defense an interim report of some conclusions and recommendations. The interim report was strongly critical of the prosecution of the war by the government and the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** senior command; it was particularly critical of the decision making of Defense Minister **Amir Peretz** and Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert** but did not explicitly recommend their resignation from office. It also was highly critical of the management of the war by IDF chief of staff **Dan Halutz**, who had preempted the report by resigning in January 2007. Finally, the interim report offered a number of recommendations of ways for the IDF to deal with many of the operational and logistical prob-

lems highlighted in its prosecution of the Second Lebanon War. Several of those recommendations were immediately implemented by the new IDF command structure instituted by **Gabriel “Gabi” Ashkenazi**, the new IDF chief of staff who replaced Halutz.

The final report of the Winograd Committee was submitted to Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Defense Minister **Ehud Barak** on 30 January 2008. Calling the Second Lebanon War a “serious missed opportunity” for Israel that had “far-reaching implications for us, as well as for our enemies, our neighbors, and our friends in the region and around the world,” it laid responsibility mainly with the IDF, both the leadership at the time of the war and those who had preceded them and allowed a deterioration in overall preparedness, decision making, and strategic thinking. While finding failings in their management of the war, the report determined that, concerning the crucial **cabinet** decision of 9 August 2006 to approve the IDF plan to initiate a controversial ground operation against Hezbollah, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and then Defense Minister Amir Peretz had acted on the merits and “on the basis of the facts before them.”

**WOLFENSOHN, JAMES D. (1933–)**. Australian-born citizen of the United States, from 1995 to 2005, he served as president of the World Bank. From May 2005 to May 2006, he was special envoy for the Middle East **Quartet**, with responsibility to help coordinate Israel’s August 2005 unilateral withdrawal from the **Gaza Strip** and to spearhead reconstruction efforts as the **Palestinians** assumed sovereignty over the area. Citing frustration with the stymied efforts toward implementing the **Roadmap for Peace** and hostile negotiations with the **Palestinian Authority** (PA), controlled since January 2006 by **Hamas (Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya)**, Wolfensohn announced that he would not continue past his original one-year commitment and left the post on 30 April 2006. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

**WOMEN IN ISRAEL.** Israel has had its share of prominent women, such as **Golda Meir**, who was an important figure from the beginning of the **British Mandate for Palestine** through the independence of the Jewish state and who later served as foreign minister and **prime minister**. At the same time, feminist movements have argued that because of the extensive role and political power of the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox **political parties** and the religious institutions in Israel, as well as because of the traditional nature of the cultures from which many of the country’s immigrants (*see* ALIYA) come, women are treated unequally in Israel.

Women enjoyed few rights and little legal protection in **Palestine** under Turkish/Ottoman rule. By contrast, Jewish women played a prominent role in the work of the **Zionist** pioneers, **settlement** of the land, the Jewish underground defense forces, and the political effort leading to Israel's statehood. Women began to take part in public and communal life early in the 20th century, and women's organizations (representing most points on the ideological spectrum) were established in the **Yishuv**. They participated in public debates from the outset, enjoyed full legal equality in most of the organizations, and voted for the **Assembly of the Elected** in 1920.

Israel's **Declaration of Independence** provides for complete equality of social and political rights to all citizens without regard to, among other things, gender. The Women's Equal Rights Law of 1951 gives women equal legal status with men. The Equal Pay for Equal Work Law of 1964 ensures that women will be treated equally in both private and government employment. The Domestic Violence Law of 1991 and the Sexual Harassment Prevention Law of 1998 provide additional legal protection to Israeli women. A small but active women's caucus of female legislators that crossed ideological and political party boundaries drove a series of **Knesset** bills supportive of the interests of Israeli women throughout the 1990s and 2000s.

Today, women constitute more than half (50.6 percent) of Israel's population and enjoy the full rights and privileges afforded by Israeli citizenship and Israel's democratic traditions, norms, and values. However, as in most other modern democratic societies, feminists contend that the goal of Israeli women to achieve equality with their male counterparts remains unfulfilled.

Women over the age of 18 today constitute approximately 70 percent of Israel's labor force—among secular Jewish women the rate of participation in the workforce is 79.5 percent, well above the 66.2 percent rate among the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The rate of participation in the workforce among women from the ultra-Orthodox community has increased significantly in recent years: 66.2 percent of **Haredi** women now participate in Israel's workforce.

Despite their significant presence in the Israeli workforce, women still are underpaid and underrepresented in middle- and upper-management positions. According to data published by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics in October 2015, women in the Israeli workforce earn an average of one-third less than their male counterparts. A gender gap still exists in major specific sectors of the Israeli economy. In the lucrative communications and information technology sector, the average salary for women is 23.4 percent less than for men. The average salary for women similarly is less than for men in the financial and insurance sector (30 percent) and in **health**, welfare, and care services (42.7 percent). Women remain underrepresented in senior positions in the Israeli **economy**. Only 31 percent of women hold managerial positions in the top 100 companies on the **Tel Aviv Stock Exchange**; the percentage

of women holding managerial positions is significantly greater than the mere 3.2 percent in 2005 but is still disappointing for many Israeli feminists. In Israel's lucrative high-technology sector, 35.5 percent of workers are women, but only 10 percent are founders and only a handful of women have the backing of venture capitalists. In 2015, women made up 19 percent of CEOs in Israel's 500 leading companies, including three of Israel's largest banks and Israel's largest communications company, Bezeq. Nevertheless, the inability of Israeli women to breach the glass ceiling frustrates Israeli feminists.

While a secular democratic state with an independent judiciary, Israel assigns to religious authorities of its various faith communities juridical control over issues of personal status. The Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox streams of Judaism, acting according to what feminists describe as a patriarchal interpretation of *Halacha*, retain control over the sanctioning of divorce, which requires a Jewish woman to be "released" from marriage by her husband. Women's rights advocates in Israel have charged that the rabbinical courts have been reluctant to use all means at their disposal to compel reticent husbands to conclude divorce proceedings expeditiously. In a similar fashion, feminists have criticized Muslim, **Druze**, and **Bedouin** religious authorities in Israel for their failure to vigorously condemn and impose appropriate sanctions against the perpetrators of acts of domestic violence against and honor killings of women in their respective communities.

An area of significant concern for feminists has been Israel's emergence as a major international center for the human trafficking of females, a phenomenon that most sociologists and criminologists link to the social dislocation experienced by the disproportionately large number of single mothers and non-Jewish women who arrived in Israel (along with criminal elements) in the mass wave of immigration from the former **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** in the 1990s. The Knesset in 2006 adopted the Anti-Trafficking Law, and on 23 July 2008 Israel ratified the international Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Israel continues to work closely with foreign police agencies and international organizations to combat human trafficking.

While women played a prominent role in the **Hagana** and in the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, serving as nurses as well as couriers and sometimes weapons smugglers, it was not the policy of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** to have women serve in frontline combat units. While most Israeli women perform a period of two years (currently 21 months) of compulsory military service, they have traditionally been relegated to clerical or other support functions. One of the most noteworthy achievements of the women's rights movement in Israel has been the gradual lifting of restrictions on the participation of qualified women in almost all units of the IDF. In 1985 the IDF began putting women into combat positions, and by 2009 women were

serving in artillery units, rescue forces, antiaircraft forces, and combat intelligence units. Women were able to serve in 83 percent of all positions in the IDF, including shipboard navy service (except submarines) and artillery. A signpost in this process was the 1995 amendment to the Defense Service Law which allowed a servicewoman, Alice Miller, to apply for Combat Flight School and female recruits to serve in some IDF combat units. Today, approximately half of all soldiers in officer courses are women. By 2014, there had been an estimated 64 percent rise in women volunteering for combat roles in the IDF, and a mixed-gender combat battalion was formed with others now modeled on its success. In 2015 it was reported that women can serve in 92 percent of all IDF positions; the only area considered beyond the pale was tank units which, in May 2015, the military command determined to be a strictly male domain. In June 2011, **Orna Barbivai** became the first woman in the history of the IDF to be promoted to the rank of major general and to serve on the chief of staff's general staff. Since August 2011, brigadier general **Rachel Tevet-Wiesel** has served as women's affairs adviser to the chief of staff. Both Barbivai and Tevet-Wiesel have reiterated their commitment to achieving gender equality among members of the Israeli military forces.

In 1949, Israel was considered one of the most advanced countries in terms of female representation in parliament. Eleven women had been elected to the First Knesset, representing 9.1 percent of the total number of lawmakers (120). In 2009, 21 women were elected to the Eighteenth Knesset, representing 17.5 percent of the body; this number increased to 27 (22.5 percent) in the 2013 Knesset election. A total of 28 women were elected in the 2015 election, constituting 23.3 percent of the Twentieth Knesset. Feminists are of mixed opinion on the progress made by women in Israeli politics. There are those who express disappointment at the relatively low proportion of female lawmakers and note that the increase in female candidates in recent elections has been artificially inflated by the practice of some of the major mainstream **political parties** of establishing reserved seats for women on their electoral slates. They moreover note that this form of affirmative action is skewed against women because the religious parties rule out women lawmakers. The first **Haredi** women's political party in Israel's history, **U'bezchutan (In Their Merit)**, was registered to contest the 2015 Knesset election in response to the failure of the major ultra-Orthodox parties to provide women with secure slots on their electoral lists. A record number of women, 28, were elected to the Twentieth Knesset (2015). Two political parties—**Hatnua (The Movement)** and **Meretz**—were led by female leaders in that election. Meretz, the **Likud (Union) Party**, **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)**, and **HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home)** each set quotas and saved slots for representation of women in their primaries, while **Yesh Atid (There Is a Future)**'s constitution requires its list be comprised of 40

percent females. Some feminists noted that while a record number of women might have been elected to the Twentieth Knesset, the number of female ministers in the coalition **government** formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu** in May 2015, three, was one less than the number of women in Netanyahu's previous government; there also was concern that the presence of ultra-Orthodox parties in the new government would impede progress of legislation important to Israeli women.

There is no shortage of women who have made great contributions to Israeli government and politics, and the Israeli economy, culture, and society in recent years, building on the tradition of meritocracy established by Golda Meir. Such women include **Tzipi Livni**, leader of Hatnua and former government minister; **Limor Livnat**, longtime member of the Knesset; **Shulamit Aloni**, founder of the **Citizens' Rights and Peace Movement (CRM)**, government minister, and veteran human rights activist; **Ora Namir**, feminist, Knesset member, and diplomat; **Esther Herlitz**, a founder of Israel's foreign ministry and diplomat; **Dorit Beinisch**, the first female president of the **Supreme Court** of Israel; and **Dalia Itzik**, Israel's first female speaker of the Knesset, and who, in serving as acting **president** from January 2007 to July 2007 (replacing the disgraced **Moshe Katzav**), became the first Israeli woman to serve as Israel's head of state. A short list of women who have made contributions in the fields of academics and scientific innovation includes Rivka Carmi, who became the first woman to head an Israeli university when she became president of **Ben-Gurion University of the Negev** in January 2006; **Nechama Leibowitz**, biblical scholar and educator; Shulamit Levenberg, a research scientist at the **Technion-Israel Institute of Technology** who was listed as one of *Scientific American's* 50 "science leaders" for 2006; and Ada E. Yonath of the **Weizmann Institute of Science** and recipient of the 2009 **Nobel Prize** for Chemistry. Israeli women who have achieved success in business and finance include industrialist Shari Arison, who was ranked 369th on *Forbes Magazine's* 2015 list of "World's Billionaires"; Galia Maor, who served as CEO and president of Bank Leumi from 1995 to 2012; Smadar Barber-Tzadik, who in becoming CEO of First International Bank of Israel in 2006, became the second woman (along with Maor) to head one of Israel's five largest banks; Rakefet Russak-Aminoach, since 2012 (succeeding Galia Maor) president and CEO of Bank Leumi; and Smadar Barber-Tsadik, since 2014 CEO of Israel Discount Bank. On 23 December 2013, *Forbes Magazine* published a list of 10 female start-up founders and entrepreneurs, software developers, engineers, and marketing professionals "to watch out of Israel."

**WOMEN OF THE WALL.** A group advocating equal prayer rights for Jewish women at the **Western Wall**. It has fought to be allowed to pray in the women's section of the plaza facing the wall wearing prayer shawls,

singing aloud, and reading from the Torah. These practices are restricted to men only by Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Jews. Women have been holding prayers near the Wall at the beginning of each month of the Jewish calendar since the founding of the group in 1988. In 2013 a Jerusalem magistrates' court ruled that the women were not disturbing public order. In effect that ruling overturned an Israeli **Supreme Court** 2003 ruling barring practices at the Wall that might offend more traditional worshippers. But the rabbinical authorities at the Wall have continued to bar women from bringing a Torah scroll in or to use any of those to be found on the men's section of the Wall. In late October 2014, Women of the Wall succeeded in secretly bringing in an old miniature Torah scroll, read with the aid of a magnifying glass, for a girl's Bat Mitzvah service. The rabbi of the Western Wall said that this type of activity would not be repeated. On 9 June 2015, a splinter group calling itself "Original Women of the Wall" for the second time brought a Torah scroll into the women's section of the Western Wall. *See also* RELIGION; WOMEN IN ISRAEL.

#### **WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (WIZO).**

WIZO was founded in July 1920 in London; in 1949, the seat of its executive moved to Israel. The organization seeks to unite Jewish **women** to participate actively in the upbuilding and consolidation of Israel through various activities, including **education** and training of youth and women in **agriculture**, home economics, and more generally in other areas relating to social welfare. It also seeks to strengthen the cultural and spiritual links between the **Diaspora** and Israel. WIZO runs more than 800 projects for children, youth, and women in Israel and is the largest provider of education and welfare services to the **government**. With a reported annual budget of \$254 million (some NIS one billion), WIZO claims a membership of some 250,000 members among 50 federations in Israel and throughout the world.

**WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (WZO).** The official organization of the **Zionist** Movement founded at the initiative of **Theodor Herzl** at the first Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in August 1897. The WZO conducted the political, economic, and **settlement** activities leading to the establishment of Israel. The right of membership in the WZO was accorded to every Jew who subscribed to the organization's program—the **Basle Program**—and who paid the symbolic one shekel membership dues. Each shekel holder who was at least 18 years of age was entitled to elect delegates to the Zionist Congress or to be elected to the congress once having had attained the age of 24. Over the years, the center of the Zionist Movement was shifted from place to place until it was transferred permanently to **Jerusalem**. Since 1952, the WZO has functioned in the framework of the Status

Law. In 1960, various changes were introduced in its constitution (which had been in force since 1899). In 1951, the **Jerusalem Program** was adopted in addition to the Basle Program. This Jerusalem Program was subsequently superseded by the new Jerusalem Program of 1968.

The Zionist Congress is the supreme body of the WZO. It is the congress that is empowered to elect the president, the chairman, the general council, the members of the Zionist executive, the congress attorney, and the comptroller. The congress deals with and determines all basic matters relating to the activities of the WZO. It is composed of delegates elected in all countries, except Israel, where the Zionist parties in the country receive their representation in the congress on the basis of elections to the **Knesset**. In its current configuration (since 1997), the World Zionist Congress is composed of 525, among them 500 voting delegates, 190 are from Israel, 145 from the United States and 165 from the remaining countries of the Diaspora. Also represented are organizations such as **Hadassah**, the **Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO)**, **United Israel Appeal (UIA)**, and **United Jewish Appeal (UJA)**/United Jewish Communities—The Federations of North America. Israel provides 38 percent of the delegates, the **United States** 29 percent, and the remaining countries of the **Diaspora** 33 percent. The congress receives and discusses reports from the Zionist General Council and the executive. Originally, the congress met annually until 1901, when it was resolved to meet every two years. Subsequently, until 1939, it met every other year (except during World War I). According to the constitution adopted in 1960, the Zionist Congress convenes every four years. The WZO Congress met in Jerusalem on 20–22 October 2015.

The Zionist General Council, which is elected by the Zionist Congress, functions in the period between congresses and is empowered to deliberate and decide on all matters affecting the WZO and its institutions, including the budget, with the exception of matters relegated solely to the authority of the congress. Its composition reflects the relative strength of forces in the congress. The Zionist General Council supervises the activities of the Zionist executive by means of its various committees.

The Zionist executive is the executive arm of the WZO and is elected by the congress for a period of four years. Some of its members are placed in charge of the various departments of the executive, while others serve as members without portfolio.

The WZO is now a full partner in the **Jewish Agency**, which is an umbrella institution for a number of agencies and functional departments responsible for activities, such as the facilitation of **aliya**, **immigrant** absorption and resettlement, and other social services in Israel; the promotion of **Zionist education**; and advocating on behalf of Diaspora Jewish communities in distress. In recent years, steps have been taken to restructure the WZO to reflect the current balance of financial and political interests between Israel



and Diaspora Jewish communities. For 2015, the **Jewish Agency** for Israel and WZO had an announced approved budget of \$475 million. Recent chairs of the executive of the WZO and the Jewish Agency have included **Simha Dinitz** (1987–1994), **Avraham Burg** (1995–1997), **Sallai Meridor** (1997–2005), and **Zeev Bielsky**. Former **Prisoner of Zion Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky** was elected chair in June 2009 and was unanimously reelected to a second term in February 2013.

**WYE RIVER MEMORANDUM (1998).** The agreement signed by Israel’s Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** chairman and **Palestinian Authority (PA)** president **Yasser Arafat**, and President **William J. (Bill) Clinton** of the **United States** on 23 October 1998. It concluded nine days of intensive negotiations between Israeli, **Palestinian**, and American delegations at Wye River Plantation in Maryland. The memorandum effectively provided for the implementation of the terms of the **Oslo II Accords** of September 1995 and the **Hebron Protocol** of January 1997. Major aspects of the memorandum included the phased redeployment of **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** personnel from an additional 13 percent of the **West Bank** and the transfer to full Palestinian control (“Area A”) of another 14 percent of the West Bank that had heretofore been under joint Israeli-Palestinian jurisdiction (“Area B”); pledges of enhanced efforts on the part of the PA in the fighting of **terrorism** and the establishment of tripartite (Israeli, Palestinian, and American) committees for verifying Palestinian compliance with these commitments; commitments by the PA to finally and unconditionally amend the Palestine National Covenant; and the immediate start of negotiations between Israel and the PA on permanent-status issues such as **Jerusalem**, **settlements**, **water**, refugees, and the nature and precise configuration of political boundaries between Israel and areas of the West Bank and the **Gaza Strip** under the jurisdiction of the PA. *See also* ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.



# Y

**YAACOBI, GAD (1935–2007).** Member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Born in Kfar Vitkin on 18 January 1935, Yaacobi graduated from the Faculties of Law and Commerce of **Tel Aviv University**. He was an **Alignment (Maarach)** member of the **Knesset** since 1969, when he served as minister of transport. Then, in the **Government of National Unity** established in 1984, Yaacobi served as minister of economics and planning and later became minister of communications in the government established in December 1988. He served as Israel’s ambassador to the **United Nations** from 1992 to 1996. Yaacobi died on 28 August 2007.

**YA’ALON, MOSHE “BUGI” (1950– ).** Seventeenth chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. Born on 24 June 1950 in the Kiryat Haim neighborhood of **Haifa**, he earned a B.A. in political science from **Haifa University**. A career officer, he served as deputy chief of staff under **Shaul Mofaz** (2000–2002) before being named as Mofaz’s successor on 9 July 2002. He served as IDF chief of staff until 1 June 2005. **Operation Defensive Shield** was implemented during Ya’alon’s tenure in an attempt to stop **suicide bomber terrorist** infiltrations from the **West Bank**. Ya’alon joined the **Likud (Union) Party** in time to be elected in the 2009 **Knesset election** and was appointed vice prime minister and minister of strategic affairs in the government formed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Reelected in 2013 on the **Likud–Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home)** joint list, Ya’alon was appointed minister of defense by Netanyahu. He retained that portfolio after being reelected in the 2015 Knesset election. He left the cabinet in May 2016.

**YA’ARI, MEIR (1897–1987).** A founder of **Histadrut (General Federation of Labor)** and veteran socialist **Zionist** activist. Born in Rzeszow, Galicia, on 21 February 1897, he studied **agriculture**, served in the Austrian army during World War I, and was the leader of **Hashomer Hatzair** in Vienna before immigrating (*see* ALIYA) to **Palestine** in 1919. Ya’ari was the first secretary of Hashomer Hatzair in Palestine. He was a founder of

Kibbutz Merhavva and became the first secretary of Kibbutz Artzi (the kibbutz movement of Hashomer Hatzair) in 1927. Combining Marxism and some of **Ber Borochov's** central ideas, he crystallized the doctrine of Hashomer Hatzair—a synthesis between **Zionism** and socialism. While representing Hashomer Hatzair, Ya'ari was one of the founders of the Histadrut in 1920. Hashomer Hatzair also created its own party, headed by Ya'ari, whose efforts to expand met with success in January 1948, when Hashomer Hatzair and **Ahdut Haavoda Poale Zion (Workers of Zion)** merged to form **Mapam (United Workers Party)**.

In the early 1950s, Ya'ari became disenchanted with the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** and (with **Ya'acov Hazan**) fought a vigorous rear-guard action within Hashomer Hatzair and Mapam against those elements who remained loyal to Moscow and who ultimately found a political home in the Israel **Communist Party**. After the 1954 split in Mapam, Ya'ari consolidated control and led the majority in the party, returning to the framework of a small left-wing Zionist party. This party participated in Israel's governments from 1955, even though it was opposed to some political decisions, such as the 1956 Sinai Campaign. Together with Ahdut Haavoda and Mapai, it founded the **Alignment (Maarach)** in 1968, with Ya'ari serving as a **Knesset** member until 1973, when he resigned from the Knesset and from his office of party secretary. He died on 21 February 1987 at Kibbutz Merhavva.

**YACHAD-HA'AM ITANU (THE PEOPLE ARE WITH US)**. Primarily Sephardi (see **ORIENTAL JEWS**) ultra-Orthodox political party formed by **Eliyahu (Eli) Yishai** in December 2014 to contest the 2015 **Knesset** election (see **ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET**). A splinter party from the **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)**, a party that Yishai had formerly headed, it was established due to Yishai's unresolved rivalry with SHAS's current leader, **Arye Deri**. Yachad contested the 2015 election on a joint list with the ultranationalist **Otzma Yehudit** but the alliance failed to pass the threshold to win seats in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* **POLITICAL PARTIES**.

**YACHIMOVICH, SHELLY (1960– )**. Media personality, member of **Knesset**, and **political party** leader. Born 28 March 1960 in Kfar Saba, her first career was as a radio and television journalist and investigative reporter, earning a reputation as opinionated, abrasive, and highly critical of Israeli **government** policy and Israel's social and corporate elites.

On 29 November 2005, Yachimovich announced she was leaving journalism in order to enter politics. She ran in the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** primaries, entered the Knesset on the party's list in the 2006 Knesset election, and retained her seat in the Eighteenth Knesset

(2009). She led a revolt in Labor against party leader **Ehud Barak**'s March 2009 decision to bring Labor into **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s **Likud (Union) Party**—led government, warning that Labor would become a mere fig leaf for Netanyahu's hawkish right-wing agenda. Continuing to voice her opposition, Yachimovich remained in Labor's parliamentary caucus.

In January 2011, Barak and four other Labor members of the Knesset left the party to form the **Atzmaut (Independence)** faction. On 3 March 2011 Yachimovich declared her candidacy for party leader, subsequently signing up an estimated 17,300 new members. In the 21 September 2011 leadership primary she defeated former party leader **Amir Peretz** by a margin of 54 percent to 45 percent, making her only the second woman, after **Golda Meir**, to serve as leader of the Israel Labor Party.

Under Yachimovich, Labor ran an aggressive campaign in the run-up to the January 2013 Knesset election, building on the widespread socioeconomic discontent reflected in Israel's summer 2011 **social justice protests**. Labor's domestic platform largely played on its leader's reputation, claiming, "Bibi [Netanyahu] is good for the rich, Shelly is good for you." In a major policy departure, Labor's **foreign policy** platform pledged continued funding for **West Bank settlements**. Yachimovich explained the policy shift by emphasizing that Labor "is not a leftist party and never was. It was a centrist party" that had among its ranks security hawks (like **Yigal Allon** and **Yitzhak Rabin**) as well as doves. Under Yachimovich, Labor lost the 2013 election, dropping to 15 seats in the Nineteenth Knesset. On 22 November 2013 she was defeated in the Labor Party leadership primary by **Yitzhak (Isaac) "Buji" Herzog** by a margin of 58.5 percent to 41.5 percent. Yachimovich remained a member of the Knesset and was reelected to the Twentieth Knesset in third slot on **The Zionist Union** joint list in 2015.

**YAD VASHEM (HOLOCAUST MARTYRS' AND HEROES' REMEMBRANCE AUTHORITY)**. The official Israeli authority to commemorate the heroes and martyrs who died in the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. The name, meaning "monument" and "memorial," is derived from the Bible. The authority was created by an act of the **Knesset** in 1953. It has archives and a library on the Nazi era and publishes on the Holocaust. Among its buildings is a memorial hall, dedicated in 1961, in which there is a memorial flame, and on the floor are inscribed the names of the most notorious of the extermination camps. A section of the memorial is dedicated to "righteous gentiles," non-Jews who helped save the lives of Jews during the Nazi reign of terror. New sections of the museum were opened in 2005. *See also* YOM HA'SHOAH.

**YADIN, YIGAEEL (FORMERLY SUKENIK) (1917–1984).** Second chief of staff of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, scholar, member of **Knesset**, and **government** minister. The son of the noted archaeologist Eliezer Lipa Suke-nik, Yadin was born in **Jerusalem** on 20 March 1917 and joined the **Hagana** at age 15. He left the Hagana in 1945 to pursue his **education** at the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem** but returned to active duty at the time of preparations for Israel's independence. He became chief of the general staff branch of Hagana headquarters in 1947 and chief of operations of the IDF general staff in 1948, a post he held during the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**. In 1949, he became chief of staff of the IDF at age 32 and began to develop the foundations for the reorganization of the IDF into a regular army. He served as head of one of Israel's negotiating teams in the armistice negotiations at Rhodes.

Yadin resigned his military post in December 1952 to protest cuts in the military budget and to resume his research as an archaeologist. He received his Ph.D. in archaeology from the Hebrew University and later became professor of archaeology at that institution. From 1955 to 1958, he directed the excavations at Hazor, and in 1960–1961 he led explorations of the **Judean** Desert caves where the Bar Kochba documents were discovered. From 1963 to 1965 he directed the **Masada** expedition. He was awarded the **Israel Prize** in Jewish studies in 1956 and the Rothschild **Science** Prize in 1964. He was the author of numerous publications in the field of archaeology.

After the **Yom Kippur War (1973)**, he served as one of the members of the **Agranat Commission** appointed to look into Israel's state of readiness at the time of the outbreak of the war. In 1976, he decided to reenter public life and seek the position of **prime minister** as head of a new political party that he helped to form: **Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, Hatnua HaDemocratit Leshinui)**. He argued that Israel urgently needed political and economic reforms and he seemed to appeal to the Israeli public as a trusted and untainted but fresh political face. DMC won an impressive 15 seats in the 1977 election for the Ninth Knesset and agreed to join the coalition **government** led by the **Likud (Union) Party's Menachem Begin**, with Yadin serving as deputy prime minister. Frustrated with what he considered to be the hypocrisy of political life, Yadin resigned from the **cabinet** and retired from politics in May 1981. He died in **Jerusalem** on 28 June 1984.

**YAHAD.** A centrist **political party** founded in 1984 and led by **Ezer Weizman**. It won three seats in the Eleventh Knesset on a platform that advocated a peace settlement with the **Arabs** and the **Palestinians**. It joined the **Government of National Unity**, in which Weizman served as minister in the **Prime Minister's Office**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**YAHAD–SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ISRAEL.** A left-wing Zionist political party formed on 31 March 2004 out of the shell of a **Meretz/Democratic Israel** faction that took six seats in the 2003 Knesset election (down from 10). It was headed by former **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** member of **Knesset** and government minister **Joseph (Yossi) Beilin**. The party secured only five seats in the 2006 Knesset election. In December 2007, Beilin announced that he would not contest reelection as party leader and Yahad members returned to their Meretz roots. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**YAHAD SHIVTEI YISRAEL.** *See* YISHAI.

**YAHALOM, SHAUL (1947– ).** Member of **Knesset** and government minister. Born on 27 September 1947 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**, he served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** and studied education and economics at **Bar Ilan University**. He became chairman of the board of directors of the **Hebrew-language** daily newspaper *Hatzofeh*, the voice of the **Mizrachi** Movement and the **National Religious Party (NRP; Miflaga Datit Leumit–MAFDAL)**. Political secretary of the NRP from 1987 to 1995, he was first elected to the Knesset in 1992 on the NRP list. In February 1998, he was appointed minister of transportation, replacing fellow NRP member of Knesset **Yitzhak Levy**, who became minister of education and culture following the death of **Zevulun Hammer**. Reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset (1999), he served as deputy minister of education, culture, and sports from August 1999 to July 2000. He was reelected to the Sixteenth Knesset in 2003 on the NRP slate of candidates. Yahalom took on the important function of NRP Knesset faction chairman following the secession of **Efraim (Effie) Eitam** and Levy in 2005 in a dispute over the party's policy response to the evacuation of settlements as part of Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon's** Gaza **unilateral disengagement** plan (*Hitnatkut, Tokhnit Hahitnatkut*). He failed to receive a secure spot on the **National Union (Haichud Haleumi)**—NRP joint list and was not reelected to the Seventeenth Knesset (2006). *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**YAMIT.** The largest of a series of settlements on the northern coast of the **Sinai Peninsula** that were established by Israel after the **Six-Day War** (1967). The readiness of the government of **Menachem Begin** to evacuate the city and all other Sinai settlements as part of the **Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty** evoked significant political opposition in Israel, especially among **Gush Emunim** and its offshoot, the Movement to Halt the Retreat at Sinai. These groups feared that the full evacuation of settlements would weaken Israel's ability to defend against future attack from **Egypt**; there was also a

concern that it would set a dangerous precedent for future negotiations over the **West Bank** and the **Gaza Strip**. The plan was to prevent the evacuation of Yamit by concentrating 100,000 settlers there on 22 April 1982, the day the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) was scheduled to complete the evacuation of the city. In the end, however, only a few thousand protesters took up positions at Yamit and the evacuation was completed by unarmed soldiers and without serious opposition or injury. Once the evacuation was completed, all buildings at Yamit were leveled by IDF bulldozers.

**YASSIN, SHEIKH AHMED ISMAIL (1934–2004)**. An Islamic scholar, he was a founder of the **Gaza Strip** wing of the **Egyptian**-based Muslim Brotherhood. Born in **Ashkelon**, he became a quadriplegic and was nearly blind due to serious illness at a young age. In 1984, he was sentenced to 13 years in Israeli prison for possession of arms but was released a year later as part of an exchange in which six Israeli soldiers captured in **Lebanon** were traded for 1,000 **Palestinian** security prisoners.

Yassin was the principal founder of the Islamic Resistance Movement—*see* **HAMAS** (**HARAKAT AL-MUQAWAMA AL-ISLAMIYA**)—on 14 December 1987, only days after the start of the Palestinian **intifada**. In 1989, he was sentenced to a life term in prison for issuing orders to kidnap and kill four Israeli soldiers. He was released to **Jordan** on 1 October 1997 in the aftermath of the **Mashaal affair** and was subsequently permitted to return to his home in the **Gaza Strip**. There, he continued to inspire Hamas' political and military resistance against Israel; he also was openly critical of the **Oslo Accords** and **Yasser Arafat's** administration of areas of the **West Bank** and Gaza transferred to Palestinian control. Yassin was killed in a **targeted assassination** by Israeli forces on 22 March 2004. *See also* **SHIN BET** (**SHABAK**); **SUICIDE BOMBINGS**; **TERRORISM**.

**YATOM, DANNY (1945–)**. Eighth **Mossad** director, serving between 1996 and 1998, government adviser, and member of **Knesset**. Yatom was born on 15 March 1945 in Netanya and studied mathematics, physics, and computer science at **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**. He joined the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) in 1963 and held a number of key combat and planning positions in the IDF, including serving in the elite **Sayeret Matkal**, together with **Benjamin Netanyahu** and **Ehud Barak**. Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** appointed him as his chief military aide in 1992, but he returned to active military duty the next year, as head of the IDF central command. Yatom returned to work for Rabin in April 1994 and continued working with **Shimon Peres** when he succeeded the assassinated Rabin as **prime minister**. Peres appointed Yatom to head the Mossad in 1996, replacing **Shabtai Shavit**. Yatom resigned in February 1998 following publication of the report of



the **Ciechanover Commission**'s investigation of the Mossad's botched **Ma-shaal Affair**. The commission had noted that Yatom "had erred in his handling of the operation." In his letter of resignation to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Yatom wrote: "I do not accept the findings of the Ciechanover Commission report regarding faults in my performance." On 30 May 1999, Yatom was appointed by prime minister-elect Ehud Barak to a new position: head of the political security branch of the Prime Minister's Office. His responsibilities included advising the prime minister on security matters and acting as liaison between the Prime Minister's Office and the various branches of the country's intelligence and security community. (Ironically, the creation of such a position was one of the principal recommendations of the Ciechanover Commission.)

Yatom was first elected to the Knesset on the **One Israel (Israel Ahat) Party** list in 2003. He was reelected in the 2006 Knesset election on the **Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit)** list but resigned his Knesset seat on 30 June 2008, citing what he perceived to be the institution's declining moral and ethical standards. He became successfully involved in the private sector. An advocate for Israeli flexibility in negotiations with the **Palestinians**, Yatom was nevertheless a strong supporter of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's firm stance with regard to **Iran**'s nuclear weapons ambitions.

**YEDIOT AHRONOT**. **Hebrew-language** daily newspaper published in **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. Founded in 1939 by Nachum Kumarov it was the first evening newspaper in **Mandate Palestine**. The paper was subsequently sold to Yehuda Moses (Mozes); his sons, Reuben and Noah ran the paper with Noah serving as the first managing editor. The publisher today is Arnon Moses, Noah's son; the editor is Ron Yaron. Published in tabloid format, Yediot was recently overtaken by *Israel HaYom* as Israel's largest circulation newspaper but it still retains a significant market share. It has an independent editorial line that is open to a wide range of political views. The paper has tended to be generally critical of the successive **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition **governments** since 2009 and particularly of Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**. The newspaper publishes an English-language Internet edition, *Ynet*, accessible at [www.ynetnews.com](http://www.ynetnews.com).

**YEHOSHUA, AVRAHAM B. (A. B.) (1936–)**. Part of the "young guard" of Israeli authors whose works were published beginning in the late 1950s. He was born in **Jerusalem** to parents native to the city for six generations, was educated there, and eventually graduated from the **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**, where he majored in philosophy and Hebrew literature. He lived in Paris for several years as the general secretary of the World Organ-

ization of Jewish Students (WOJS) but returned to Israel in 1967 to live in **Haifa**. Since 1972, he has been on the faculty of **Haifa University** as a professor of literature, and he has served as the university's dean of students. His first works were published in 1957, and since then, he has published numerous stories in *Keshet Quarterly* and various literary supplement sections of newspapers. In 1962, he published his first full-length book, *The Death of an Old Man*. His other books include *In Front of the Forests* (1968), *Nine Stories* (1971), *In Early Summer 1970* (1972), *Until Winter* (1974), *A Late Divorce* (1985), *The Lover* (1986), *Five Seasons* (1991), *Mr. Mani* (1992), *The Return from India* (1994), *Voyage to the End of the Millennium* (1997), *The Terrible Power of a Minor Guilt* (1998), *The Liberated Bride* (2001), *The Mission of the Human Resource Man* (2004), *A Woman in Jerusalem* (2005), and *Friendly Fire: A Duet* (2009). Among his plays are *A Night in May* and *Last Treatment and Babies of the Night*. See also **THEATER**.

**YELLIN-MOR, NATHAN (FORMERLY FRIEDMAN) (1913–1980).**

Prestate underground fighter, member of the First **Knesset**. Born in Grodno, Poland, and educated as an engineer in Warsaw, where he joined **Betar**. In the late 1930s he became involved with the **Irgun** (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, Etzel) and edited its local Yiddish-language newspaper. After the outbreak of World War II he clandestinely entered **Palestine**, and he joined **Avraham Stern** when he broke away from Irgun to form **LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael—Fighters for the Freedom of Israel; Stern Group)**. In 1941 Stern assigned Yellin-Mor to travel to **Turkey** to seek an agreement with Nazi Germany of cooperation against the British in exchange for the evacuation of European Jews to Palestine. However, he was arrested by the British in **Syria** and imprisoned in Palestine. In 1943 he and other prisoners were able to tunnel their way to freedom. After his escape Yellin-Mor became one of a triumvirate of LEHI leaders replacing the deceased Avraham Stern. He operated by the underground codename “Gera.” He was arrested along with other LEHI members by Israeli authorities after the 17 September 1948 assassination of **United Nations** mediator **Count Folke Bernadotte**. An Israeli court found him guilty of membership in a terrorist organization but acquitted him of complicity in Bernadotte's assassination. He was included in the general amnesty granted by Israel's Provisional Government and he ran for the 25 January 1949 election for the First Knesset (**Constituent Assembly**) on the **Fighters List**, winning the party's only Knesset seat. He did not seek reelection to the Second Knesset. He later experienced an ideological conversion that led him to shift to the political left and advocate Jewish-Arab peace in the former **Palestine mandate** based on the principle of binationalism. Yellin-Mor died on 19 February 1980.

**YEMENITE ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL.** A Yemenite ethnic **political party** led by Salah Mansoura that contested the 1988 **Knesset election** but failed to secure a mandate. *See also* ORIENTAL JEWS.

**YEMENITE PARTY.** A Yemenite ethnic **political party** that won one seat in each of the first two **Knesset** elections but was unsuccessful in sustaining or expanding its political base. *See also* ORIENTAL JEWS.

**YERIDA.** Hebrew for *going down*. Used to refer to **emigration** from Israel. Became a salient issue of public concern in the late 1970s and continued as such into the 21st century despite uncertainty as to its exact dimensions and the fact that during each of the major waves of **aliya**, there was also emigration. Nevertheless, yerida was seen as something of a measure of well-being in Israel.

**YESH ATID (THERE IS A FUTURE).** Liberal-centrist political party founded by former journalist **Yair Lapid** in 2012 to contest the January 2013 **Knesset** election. Its platform emphasizes domestic social and **economic** issues and seeks to improve the conditions affecting **Israel's** largely secular middle class. It focuses on changing the priorities in Israel, with an emphasis on **education**, housing, **health**, transport, and policing. The platform emphasizes the “equal sharing of the burden” for all Israeli taxpayers, and it calls for an end to the **status quo agreement** that, since statehood, has accorded special privileges to one sector of Israeli society—the **Haredim**—at the expense of all the other sectors, including and increasingly the middle class. Yesh Atid pledges to see to it that all eligible Israelis, including thousands of men studying in ultra-Orthodox seminaries (*yeshivas*), be included in military or national service (such as **Sherut Leumi**). It demands that any amendments to military service legislation include criminal sanctions for draft-dodging. The Yesh Atid platform also calls for instituting electoral and governmental reform; promulgating a written **constitution** for Israel; fighting political corruption; promoting growth and economic efficiency as a way of fighting poverty; reducing the cost of living and housing costs; and improving social mobility. It also favors creating conditions for greater religious pluralism, diversity, and equality between Jewish Israelis; allowing non-Orthodox rabbis to perform religious conversions and weddings; allowing egalitarian prayer between men and women at the **Western Wall**; instituting civil marriage in Israel, including marriage between same-sex couples; permitting partial operation of public transit on the Sabbath; and reducing the transfer of public funds to **West Bank settlement** activity.

On foreign and security matters, the party’s platform adopts a centrist perspective, placing “most of the blame” on the **Palestinians** for the stalemate in Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy. It speaks generally about striving for peace according to an outline of the vision of a **two-state solution** while maintaining the large Jewish settlement blocs beyond the **Green Line**, and demanding security guarantees for Israel. It also envisions **Jerusalem** remaining unified and under Israel’s control. The party platform is generally silent with regard to the broader strategic challenges confronting Israel, including **Iran**’s pursuit of nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles.

Yesh Atid won 19 mandates in the January 2013 **Knesset** election. It eventually joined Israel’s 33rd government, headed by **Likud**’s **Benjamin Netanyahu**, with five ministerial portfolios. The party left the government on 2 December 2014 when leader and finance minister Yair Lapid was fired by Netanyahu. It won 11 seats in the March 2015 Knesset election and joined the opposition forces in the Twentieth Knesset.

**YESH DIN (LITERALLY “THERE IS LAW”).** Established in 2005, Yesh Din is an advocacy group that focuses on Israel’s application of the rule of law and of its duty to protect the Palestinian civilians in the **Occupied Territories**. Its founders and current members include prominent former Israeli government officials and retired senior officers of the **Israel Defense Forces**.

**YESHA.** The name adopted by the Council of Jewish Communities in **Judea, Samaria**, and (formerly in) **Gaza**, the umbrella group representing the majority of **settlers** in the **Occupied Territories**. It is an acronym of Yehuda, Shomron, and Aza (the Hebrew names for the areas) and also translates as “salvation.” The council was formed in the 1970s. It is composed of communities in the West Bank whose populations in 2015 exceeded 380,000 Israelis. From 2007 to 2013, the chairman of the YESHA council was former entrepreneur and right-wing political activist Dani Dayan. Dayan currently serves as the organization’s foreign spokesperson.

**YISHAI.** Acronym for Yahad Shivtei Yisrael (“The Tribes of Israel Together”). A Sephardic (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) ethnic **political party** oriented toward the Yemenite community, it was formed by a breakaway group from **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** to contest the 1988 **Knesset** election. Founder Rabbi Shimon Ben Shlomo had served in the previous Knesset, and he formed the new party after he was removed from the SHAS electoral list. It failed to secure a seat in parliament.

**YISHAI, ELIYAHU “ELI” (1962– )**. Member of **Knesset** and **government minister**. Born in **Jerusalem** on 26 December 1962. Following service in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, he served as head of the office of the interior minister. He was a member of the Jerusalem city council in 1987–1988. Later he became the acting secretary general of **Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS)** (1990–1996) and also director general of SHAS’s El Hama’ayan network of educational and social services (1994–1996). First elected to the Fourteenth Knesset on the SHAS list in 1996, he served as minister of labor and social affairs in the **Likud (Union) Party**–led coalition headed by **Benjamin Netanyahu**. Reelected in the 1999 Knesset election, he was reappointed minister of labor and social affairs in the government headed by **Ehud Barak** and served in this position until SHAS’s departure from the government in July 2000. From February 2001 to February 2003, Yishai served as interior minister and deputy **prime minister** under **Ariel Sharon**. In the 2006 Knesset election, he was reelected as head of the SHAS list. In May 2006, Yishai was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of **industry, trade, and labor** under **Ehud Olmert**. Reelected in the 2009 Knesset election, he was reappointed by Benjamin Netanyahu to the position of deputy prime minister and also took on the interior affairs portfolio. **Arye Deri**’s return to politics in 2012 and his expectation of immediately resuming political control of SHAS reopened a long-standing rivalry with then party leader Eli Yishai. In May 2013 Deri was reappointed as SHAS’s sole political leader, to Yishai’s considerable chagrin. The Yishai-Deri rivalry was temporarily held in check during the months immediately following the death of SHAS’s revered spiritual leader **Rabbi Ovadia Yosef**. But the rivalry between the two men (and their respective camps within SHAS) reemerged in the late fall of 2014, ultimately resulting in Yishai’s 15 December 2014 creation of the splinter **Yachad-Ha’am Itanu (Together–The People Are With Us)**. Running on a joint slate with the ultranationalist **Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Strength) Party**, Yishai’s Yahad Party failed in the 2015 Knesset election to pass the qualifying threshold for taking seats in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* ORIENTAL JEWS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**YISHUV (SETTLEMENT)**. Name applied to the Jewish community in **Palestine** in the period of the **British Mandate for Palestine**. It was an autonomous political body that gained valuable experience in political procedures and self rule. A political elite developed, civil servants gained experience, and **political parties** were established and developed procedures for working together. An educational system was also established. The **Hista-drut** was founded and became a major political, **economic**, and social force. A clandestine self-defense capability (**Hagana**) was created and became the basis of the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**. The Yishuv provided the founda-

tion for the **governmental** institutions and political processes of Israel after independence. *See also* JEWISH AGENCY (JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE, JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL).

**YISRAEL BA'ALIYA.** *See* ISRAEL B'ALIYA (ISRAEL FOR IMMIGRATION/ISRAEL MOVING UPWARD).

**YOM HA'ATZMAUT.** *See* INDEPENDENCE DAY (YOM HA'ATZMAUT).

**YOM HA'SHOAH.** *See* HOLOCAUST (THE SHOAH); HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY; YAD VASHEM (HOLOCAUST MARTYRS' AND HEROES' REMEMBRANCE AUTHORITY).

**YOM HA'ZIKARON.** *See* MEMORIAL DAY.

**YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973).** On 6 October 1973 (Yom Kippur), **Egypt** and **Syria** launched a coordinated attack on Israeli positions on the Suez Canal and **Golan Heights** fronts. Taking Israel by surprise, the Arab armies crossed the Suez Canal, secured a beachhead in the **Sinai Peninsula**, and advanced into the Golan Heights. During the first three days of combat, a skeletal Israeli force sought to withstand the invasion until additional (reserve) troops could be mobilized. Ultimately, Israel (with vital resupplies from the **United States**) stopped the Arab forces and reversed their initial battlefield successes; the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) retook the Golan Heights and some additional territory, while Egypt and Israel traded some territory along the Suez Canal following Israel's crossing of the canal and its advance toward Cairo.

The **United Nations** (UN) Security Council adopted **UN Security Council Resolution 338**, which called for an immediate cease-fire and the implementation of **UN Security Council Resolution 242** and explicitly required negotiations "between the parties." Subsequently, U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger negotiated the **Israel-Egypt Disengagement of Forces Agreement** of 1974 and the **Sinai II Accords** of 1975 between Egypt and Israel, as well as the **Israel-Syria Disengagement of Forces Agreement** of 1974. These involved Israeli withdrawals from territory in the Suez Canal zone in the two agreements with Egypt and in the Golan Heights in the arrangement with Syria.

The Yom Kippur War resulted in an Israeli military victory, but that victory was accompanied by significant political and diplomatic disappointments and by domestic **economic**, psychological, and political stress. In purely tangible terms, the 1973 war had perhaps the most far-reaching effects on

Israel of any conflict to that time. Personnel losses and overall casualty rates were substantial. The mobilization of the largest part of the civilian reserve army of several hundred thousand caused dislocations in **agriculture** and **industry**. **Tourism** and **diamond** sales fell, and the sea passage to **Eilat** was blockaded by Egypt at Bab el Mandeb. Numerous other aspects of the war added to the economic costs of the conflict, and austerity was the logical result. At the same time, Israel's international position deteriorated. Although it was not the initiator of the war, Israel was condemned, and numerous states (particularly in Africa) broke diplomatic relations. The ruptures with Africa were a disappointment, but a shift in the attitudes and policies of the European states and Japan was perhaps more significant. The war also increased Israel's dependence on the United States. No other country could provide Israel, or was prepared to do so, with the vast quantities of modern and sophisticated arms required for war or the political and moral support necessary to negotiate peace.

The cease-fire of 22 October 1973 was followed by what Israelis often refer to as the “**Wars of the Jews**”—internal political conflicts and disagreements. The initial domestic political effect of the war was to bring about the postponement to 31 December of the **Knesset** election originally scheduled for 30 October and the suspension of political campaigning and electioneering for the duration of the conflict. The war not only interrupted the campaign for the election, it also provided new issues for the opposition to raise, including the conduct of the war and the “mistakes” that preceded it. In November 1973, the government appointed a **commission of inquiry** headed by Chief Justice **Shimon Agranat** of the **Supreme Court** of Israel to investigate the events leading up to the hostilities, including information concerning the enemy's moves and intentions, the assessments and decisions of military and civilian bodies in regard to this information, and the **Israel Defense Forces'** deployments, preparedness for battle, and actions in the first phase of the fighting. *See also* AGRANAT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY; ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT; FOREIGN POLICY; UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR/RUSSIA).

**YOM YERUSHALIM.** *See* JERUSALEM DAY (YOM YERUSHALIM).

**YOSEF, RABBI OVADIA (1920–2013).** Iconic rabbi and communal leader; renowned Torah scholar; spiritual leader of **Sephardic Torah Guardians (SHAS)**. Born on 24 September 1920 in Baghdad, **Iraq**, his family immigrated (see ALIYA) to **Palestine** when he was four years old and settled in **Jerusalem**. Considered a rabbinic genius, he was ordained as a rabbi at the age of 20. In 1945, he was appointed a judge in the Sephardi (*see* ORIENTAL JEWS) religious court in Jerusalem. In 1947, he was elected head of the

Cairo religious court and deputy chief rabbi of **Egypt**. In 1950, he returned to Israel and was appointed a member of the rabbinical court of **Petah Tikva** and of Jerusalem. In 1965, he was appointed a member of the Supreme Rabbinical Court of Appeals in Jerusalem and in 1968 became Sephardi chief rabbi of **Tel Aviv–Yafo**. From 1972 to 1983, he served as the Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel—see RABBINATE (CHIEF) OF ISRAEL. In 1970, he was awarded the **Israel Prize** for Torah literature. He was instrumental in the founding of SHAS and remained the party’s chief spiritual and political adviser.

Yosef generally preferred compromise; his religious rulings, for example, often invoked the language of conciliation. He lived in a self-contained world of religious affairs and SHAS politics. He was one of the generation’s leading Torah scholars. SHAS was formed in late 1983 by disaffected Sephardi members of **Agudat Israel (Association of Israel)**. Though initially hesitant about its success, Yosef soon gave his blessing to the new party, which he saw as a means of redressing perceived **Ashkenazi** discrimination against Orthodox and **Haredi** Sephardim. At a conference on *Halacha* (Jewish religious law) on 13 August 1989, Yosef invoked the concept of *pikuah nefesh* (the obligation to save a life in jeopardy), declaring it permissible to return parts of the Land of Israel if that will prevent war and save lives. He applied this principle to support territorial compromise in negotiations with the **Palestinians** in the heady days of the **Oslo Accords** but he later retracted this support as the peace process failed and Palestinian violence and **terrorism** targeting Israelis intensified.

A survey conducted in November 2006 discerned that Rabbi Ovadia Yosef was considered the “most influential Israeli” by 25 percent of Israeli youth.

Rabbi Yosef retained firm control over SHAS and the party’s ruling **Council of Torah Sages (Moetzet Hachmei Hatorah)** until his last days. He died in his Jerusalem home on 7 October 2013 at the age of 95. On 24 July 2013, his son, Rabbi Yitzhak Yosef, was elected Israel’s Sephardic chief rabbi. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.



# Z

**ZAHAL.** *See* ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF; ZVAH HAGANA LEY-ISRAEL [ZAHAL]).

**ZAKA.** Established in 1989, the ZAKA Organization identifies victims of natural disaster and terrorism in Israel. It treats the human remains with utmost respect in accordance with Jewish law. Its volunteers are often among the first on the scene of **suicide bombings** and other terrorist attacks.

Apart from rescue work in times of terror, ZAKA is also committed to public welfare. Its activities include making travel arrangements to transport the bodies of the deceased, a service to loan mourning accessories and mobile carts for the handicapped, and organizing lost-and-found spots for children. ZAKA also maintains educational and public relations services throughout the year, aimed at preventing car accidents and home and child hazards and teaching a safe way to explore nature.

**ZAKEN, SHULA.** Former longtime personal secretary for disgraced former Prime Minister **Ehud Olmert**. After Olmert blamed his multiple crimes in the **Holyland Real Estate Scandal** on her, Zaken reached a plea bargain that involved consideration by the court in sentencing in return for evidence and testimony against Olmert. This evidence included recordings of conversations Zaken had with Olmert in which he allegedly offered her bribes to not testify against him. Zaken's testimony was not required to convict Olmert in the Holyland trial. But the recordings she provided the prosecution contributed to Olmert's conviction on charges of bribery and fraud in two reopened cases for which he initially received acquittals. Zaken received an 11-month term in prison which she began serving on 15 July 2014. She was granted early parole on 5 January 2015.

**ZE'EVI, REHAVAM "GANDHI" (1926–2001).** Member of **Knesset** and assassinated **government** minister. Born in **Jerusalem** on 20 June 1926 and educated at Givat Hashlosha Local School, he entered the **Israel Defense Forces** (IDF) and rose to the rank of major general. He later entered politics

and became leader of **Moledet (Homeland)**, an ultranationalist **political party** that advocates the transfer of the Arab population of the **Occupied Territories** to Arab countries. Under Ze'evi's leadership, Moledet won two seats in the Twelfth Knesset (1988) and joined the narrow right-wing coalition formed by Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** in the spring of 1990 following the collapse of the second **Likud (Union) Party–Israel Labor Party (Mifleget Haavoda HaIsraelit) Government of National Unity**, with Ze'evi serving as minister without portfolio. However, Ze'evi and Moledet later quit the **government** to protest Israel's participation in the **Madrid Middle East Peace Conference**. Ze'evi was reelected to the Thirteenth (1992) and Fourteenth (1996) Knessets on the Moledet list. In 1999, he was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset on the list of the **National Union (Haichud haleumi)** coalition headed by **Ze'ev Binyamin (Benny) Begin**. In March 2001, he was appointed minister of **tourism** but resigned on 15 October 2001 to protest Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**'s handling of the **Al-Aksa intifada**. On the morning of 17 October 2001, on the day that the resignation was to take effect, Ze'evi was assassinated in a Jerusalem hotel by **terrorists** affiliated with the Popular Front for the Liberation of **Palestine**.

**ZIM SHIPPING LINE.** Major international Israeli shipping company established in 1945 jointly by the **Jewish Agency**, the **Histadrut**, and the Israel Maritime League as a merchant marine, prompted mainly by the need for shipping in the repatriation of refugees and other Jews made homeless by World War II and the **Holocaust (The Shoah)**. The company's activities began with one small steamship, the *Kedmah*, a former British naval ship that had participated in the evacuation of Singapore and the invasion of Malaya. During the **War of Independence (1948–1949)**, ZIM ships transported vital arms and ammunition, as well as new immigrants (*see* ALIYA), to the nascent Jewish state. In 1949 alone, ZIM's ships brought 100,000 immigrants to Israel. ZIM was a major beneficiary of the **German-Israel** reparations agreements of the early 1950s; the agreements enabled the company to become a major element in cargo, bulk-carrier, and tanker ships, as well as (for a short time) passenger cruises. In the 1970s, ZIM became a world leader in pioneering a new technology in the loading of ships: container shipping.

Over the years, a series of crises and recovery programs affected change in ZIM's ownership circumstance, and in February 2004, the privatization of the company was completed with the purchase of the government's shares by private interests. The company is currently owned by Kenon Holdings (32 percent) and Financial Institutions and Ship-Owners (68 percent). Its president and CEO since 2009 has been Rafi Danieli.

By the 21st century ZIM had grown into one of the largest carriers in the global container-shipping industry, with its reach extending to over 210 countries and 180 ports of call globally. Headquartered in Haifa, ZIM also has major offices in Norfolk, Virginia; Hamburg, Germany; and Hong Kong (in addition to more than 10 offices throughout mainland China).

ZIM containers on railway trains and the Star of David flying on ZIM cargo and tanker ships remain among the most easily identifiable international symbols of Israel. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE.

**ZION.** The term was used by the **Hebrew** prophets to refer to **Jerusalem** as a spiritual symbol. As a symbol of the Holy Land, it became central in the religious life of Jews outside Israel (**Diaspora**) and eventually became the basis of **Zionism**.

**ZIONISM.** A term coined by Nathan Birnbaum in 1890 for the movement seeking the return of the Jewish people to **Palestine**. After 1896, Zionism referred to the political movement founded by **Theodor Herzl** seeking a Jewish national home in Palestine. The term is derived from a reference to Mount **Zion**, one of the hills of **Jerusalem**. Zion came to symbolize for the Jews their desire to return from exile to their homeland, as noted in at least as early as the Babylonian exile in the sixth century BC. Psalm 137 says, “By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion.” Jewish prayer and tradition includes numerous references concerning “next year in Jerusalem” and the ultimate return of the Jews to the Holy Land, symbolized by Zion and Jerusalem. Jewish history is replete with instances of this concept of return to Zion. In the latter part of the 19th century, the Eastern European movement that promoted **settlement** in the Land of Israel called itself *Hibbat Zion* (Love of Zion). The term “Zionism” was used for the first time in 1890 in a **Hebrew-language** periodical. Theodor Herzl adopted it to refer to his political movement that sought the return of the Jews to the holy land. Herzl established a political movement, the **World Zionist Organization** (WZO), which met in Basle, Switzerland, for the first time in 1897 with the stated objective of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine where the biblical Jewish state had been.

While Zionism is the legitimate articulation of the Jewish people’s right to national self-determination akin to the right to self-determination being expressed by a plethora of other national and subnational groups in the modern international system, Zionism has become the object of widespread scorn and ostracism. Anti-Zionistic sentiment, whether reflected in finely worded condemnatory statements and resolutions on the floor of the **United Nations** (UN) or shouted in hateful demonstrations on the streets of Western Europe

or on North American university campuses, has become a vehicle for delegitimizing the State of Israel and is seen by some as vilifying the Jewish people in a new and more *politically correct* variation of **anti-Semitism**.

On 10 November 1975, the United Nations General Assembly adopted **UN General Assembly Resolution 3379**, which inter alia “determines that Zionism is a form of racism and discrimination.” The resolution was revoked on 16 December 1991 in the form of a cursory statement in the UN General Assembly. But, calls for the reinstatement of the “**Zionism Is Racism**” **resolution** are often centerpieces of broadly orchestrated international campaigns involving nongovernmental organizations, labor unions, students and academics, that condemn Israel and call for the international community to boycott, divest and sanction (BDS) the Jewish state.

Notwithstanding such campaigns, Zionism’s legitimacy is explicit and secure. Its cardinal principle—the existence of a sovereign Jewish state in the Land of Israel—is recognized, respected, and legitimized by the **United States**, Russia, the European Union, Canada, Australia, the UN, the Group of Eight (G-8) industrial powers, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other countries and international agencies. In addition, there are numerous Israeli and international Zionist organizations that support the legitimacy of Zionism and its cardinal principle. The Thirty-seventh Zionist Congress of the World Zionist Organization, representing Zionist organizations and other Jewish groups from Israel and Jewish communities throughout the world, met 20–22 October 2015 in Jerusalem. *See also* DURBAN CONFERENCE; FOREIGN POLICY.

**“ZIONISM IS RACISM” RESOLUTION.** *See* UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379.

**ZIONIST UNION (ALSO KNOWN AS ZIONIST CAMP).** A center-left political alliance involving the **Israel Labor Party (Miflaga Haavoda HaIsraelit)** and **Hatnua (The Movement)**. On 10 December 2014, the leaders of the two parties agreed to form a joint slate of candidates to contest the March 2015 Knesset election with the explicit goal being to deny **Benjamin Netanyahu** and the **Likud (Union) Party** a fourth consecutive term in government (*see* ELECTION OF THE TWENTIETH KNESSET). It was agreed that if the Zionist Union formed the next government, the two parties’ leaders would rotate power, with Labor’s **Yitzhak (Isaac) “Buji” Herzog** initially serving as **prime minister** and then transferring authority to Hatnua’s **Tzipi Livni**. On the eve of the 2015 Knesset election Livni announced she had told Herzog she would forgo the rotation agreement, explaining, “I made it clear that we had to do everything to replace Benjamin Netanyahu,

and to replace him the rotation cannot be a stumbling block.” The Zionist Union took 24 mandates in the 2015 Knesset election compared to the 30 seats won by Netanyahu’s Likud. Herzog and Livni serve as coleaders of the opposition in the Twentieth Knesset. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**ZIPORI, MORDECHAI (TZIPORI) (1924– ).** Soldier; member of **Knesset** and **government** minister. Zipori was born on 15 September 1924 in **Tel Aviv–Yafo** and educated in religious schools. In 1939 he joined the **Irgun (Irgun Tzvai Israel, Etzel)** and in 1945 was deported by the **British Mandate** authority to Eritrea, where he remained until 1948. From 1948 to 1977, Zipori served in the **Israel Defense Forces (IDF)**, reaching the rank of brigadier general. In 1977, he joined the **Herut Party (Tenuat HaHerut–Freedom Movement)** and was elected on behalf of that faction of the **Likud (Union) Party** list to the Ninth **Knesset** in May 1977. He served as deputy minister of defense from 28 June 1977 to 1981. On 5 August 1981, after having been reelected to the Tenth Knesset, he was sworn in as minister of communications; on 11 August 1981, he also was named deputy defense minister. Zipori served in both positions until October 1983 when he retained the communications portfolio in the new government formed on 10 October 1983. He served in that capacity until 13 September 1984. Zipori lost his secure slot on the Likud list for the 1984 Knesset election and ended his political career. In March 2015, the 91-year-old Zipori broke his decades long relationship with the Likud by telling the newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* that Israelis should “unequivocally” not vote for the current party leader **Benjamin Netanyahu** in the 2015 Knesset election.

**ZOUBI, HANIN (OR HANEEN ZOABI) (1969– ).** Controversial **Israeli-Arab** politician; the first Arab Israeli woman to be elected to the **Knesset** on the list of an **Arab political party**. Zoubi was born in **Nazareth** on 23 May 1969. She ran in the 2006 Knesset election but was ranked too low on the **National Democratic Alliance (Balad)** list. She was ranked third on the Balad list for the 2009 Knesset election and entered the Knesset after the party won three seats. Zoubi caused controversy before even taking her seat in the Knesset: At the Eighteenth Knesset swearing-in ceremony on 24 February 2009, she left the Knesset plenum before the singing of Israel’s national anthem, **Hatikva**. “Hatikva doesn’t represent me,” she explained. “I preferred to leave the room because I don’t appreciate hypocrisy.” Zoubi created further controversy in May 2010 as a passenger on the *Mavi Mamara*. In a speech in the Knesset, Zoubi called Israel’s boarding of the ship as it tried to break Israel’s naval blockade of the **Gaza Strip** a “pirate military operation.” In December 2012, the Central Elections Committee disqualified Zoubi from running in the forthcoming election for the Nineteenth Knesset; the disqual-

ification was overturned on appeal to Israel's **Supreme Court**, and Zoubi was reelected in the January 2013 legislative election on the Balad list. On 29 July 2014 she was suspended from addressing the Knesset plenum and committees for six months due to what Israel's **attorney general** termed "acts of incitement," including her media suggestion that the June 2014 kidnappers (and eventual murderers) of three Israeli teens were not "terrorists." In November 2014 Zoubi was quoted as describing Israel as a "terror state." On 12 February 2015, the Central Elections Committee by a vote of 26-6 decided to ban Zoubi from running in the forthcoming election of the Twentieth Knesset. Supporters of the disqualification cited the provision of the **Basic Law: The Knesset** stipulating that candidates or lists may not contest for election if they reject Israel as a Jewish and democratic state or incite to racism or armed conflict against the country. On 18 February 2015 the disqualification was overturned on automatic appeal to the Supreme Court and Zoubi was reelected to the Twentieth Knesset as part of **The Joint List** alliance. In October 2015 Zoubi provoked additional controversy when she claimed that Jews have no proven historical connection to the **Temple Mount** in **Jerusalem's** old city. On 11 October 2015 Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu** announced that he had asked the attorney general to immediately open a criminal investigation against Zoubi concerning what Netanyahu called "the words of incitement and violence uttered by MK Hanin Zoubi" in the official journal of the terrorist group **Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya)** that fueled the renewed wave of terrorist attacks on Israelis beginning in mid-September 2015 (*see* TERRORISM 2015).

**ZUABI, ABDEL RAHMAN (1933 OR 1934–2014).** On 3 March 1999, Zuabi became the first **Israeli Arab** justice of the **Supreme Court** of Israel; it was a nine-month temporary appointment. **Salim Jubran** was the first Arab citizen of Israel to be appointed to a permanent seat on the country's highest court, in May 2004. Born in the Arab village of Sulam in northern Israel, Zuabi was the first Israeli Arab to graduate from the law faculty at **Tel Aviv University**. He worked in private practice until he was appointed to the **Nazareth** district court in the 1970s. He was subsequently appointed a **Haifa** Magistrate's Court judge, and in 1993 he was promoted to the city's district court. Zuabi first rose to prominence as a member of the **commission of inquiry** headed by Supreme Court president **Meir Shamgar** that investigated the 1994 **Hebron Massacre**. Zuabi died on 12 September 2014.

## Appendix A

### *Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel*

Eretz-Israel [The Land of Israel] was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books.

After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their Dispersion and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom.

Impelled by this historic and traditional attachment, Jews strove in every successive generation to re-establish themselves in their ancient homeland. In recent decades they returned in their masses. Pioneers, ma'pilim [immigrants coming to Eretz-Israel in defiance of restrictive legislation] and defenders, they made deserts bloom, revived the Hebrew language, built villages and towns, and created a thriving community, controlling its own economy and culture, loving peace but knowing how to defend itself, bringing the blessings of progress to all the country's inhabitants, and aspiring towards independent nationhood.

In the year 5657 (1897), at the summons of the spiritual father of the Jewish State, Theodor Herzl, the First Zionist Congress convened and proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national rebirth in its own country.

This right was recognized in the Balfour Declaration of the 2nd November, 1917, and re-affirmed in the Mandate of the League of Nations which, in particular, gave international sanction to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel and to the right of the Jewish people to re-build its National Home.

The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people—the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe—was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open the gates of the homeland wide to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully-privileged member of the comity of nations.

Survivors of the Nazi holocaust in Europe, as well as Jews from other parts of the world, continued to migrate to Eretz-Israel, undaunted by difficulties, restrictions and dangers, and never ceased to assert their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their national homeland.

In the Second World War, the Jewish community of this country contributed its full share to the struggle of the freedom- and peace-loving nations against the forces of Nazi wickedness and, by the blood of its soldiers and its war effort, gained the right to be reckoned among the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On the 29th November, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel; the General Assembly required the inhabitants of Eretz-Israel to take such steps as were necessary on their part for the implementation of that resolution. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their State is irrevocable.

This right is the natural right of the Jewish people to be masters of their own fate, like all other nations, in their own sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY WE, MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ERETZ-ISRAEL AND OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT, ARE HERE ASSEMBLED ON THE DAY OF THE TERMINATION OF THE BRITISH MANDATE OVER ERETZ-ISRAEL AND, BY VIRTUE OF OUR NATURAL AND HISTORIC RIGHT AND ON THE STRENGTH OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HEREBY DECLARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH STATE IN ERETZ-ISRAEL, TO BE KNOWN AS THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

WE DECLARE that, with effect from the moment of the termination of the Mandate, being tonight, the eve of Sabbath, the 6th Iyar, 5708 (15th May, 1948), until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the State in accordance with the Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October, 1948, the People's Council shall act as a Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall be the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel".

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



THE STATE OF ISRAEL is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the 29th November, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of the whole of Eretz-Israel.

WE APPEAL to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building-up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the comity of nations.

WE APPEAL—in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months—to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

WE EXTEND our hand to all neighbouring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighbourliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

WE APPEAL to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream—the redemption of Israel.

PLACING OUR TRUST IN THE ALMIGHTY, WE AFFIX OUR SIGNATURES TO THIS PROCLAMATION AT THIS SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE, ON THE SOIL OF THE HOMELAND, IN THE CITY OF TEL-AVIV, ON THIS SABBATH EVE, THE 5TH DAY OF IYAR, 5708 (14 MAY, 1948).



## Appendix B

### *Leaders, Governments, and Population*

#### **PRESIDENTS**

Chaim Weizmann	1949–1952
Yitzhak Ben Zvi	1952–1963
Shneor Zalman Shazar	1963–1973
Ephraim Katzir	1973–1978
Yitzhak Navon	1978–1983
Chaim Herzog	1983–1993
Ezer Weizman	1993–2000
Moshe Katzav	2000–2007
Shimon Peres	2007–2014
Reuven Rivlin	2014 –

#### **PRIME MINISTERS**

David Ben-Gurion	1948–1954
Moshe Sharett	1954–1955
David Ben-Gurion	1955–1963
Levi Eshkol	1963–1969
Golda Meir	1969–1974
Yitzhak Rabin	1974–1977
Menachem Begin	1977–1983
Yitzhak Shamir	1983–1984
Shimon Peres	1984–1986
Yitzhak Shamir	1986–1992
Yitzhak Rabin	1992–1995

Shimon Peres	1995–1996
Benjamin Netanyahu	1996–1999
Ehud Barak	1999–2001
Ariel Sharon	2001–2006
Ehud Olmert	2006–2009
Benjamin Netanyahu	2009–

### MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Moshe Sharett	1948–1956
Golda Meir	1956–1966
Abba Eban	1966–1974
Yigal Allon	1974–1977
Moshe Dayan	1977–1979
Menachem Begin	1979–1980
Yitzhak Shamir	1980–1986
Shimon Peres	1986–1988
Moshe Arens	1988–1990
David Levy	1990–1992
Shimon Peres	1992–1995
Ehud Barak	1995–1996
David Levy	1996–1998
Benjamin Netanyahu	Jan. 1998–Oct. 1998
Ariel Sharon	1998–1999
David Levy	1999–2000
Shlomo Ben-Ami	2000–2001
Shimon Peres	2001–2002
Benjamin Netanyahu	2002–2003
Silvan Shalom	2003–2006
Tzipi Livni	2006–2009
Avigdor Lieberman	2009–2012
Benjamin Netanyahu	2012–2013

Avigdor Lieberman	2013–2015
Benjamin Netanyahu	May 2015
Dore Gold	May 2015–

### MINISTERS OF DEFENSE

David Ben-Gurion	1948–1954
Pinhas Lavon	1954–1955
David Ben-Gurion	1955–1963
Levi Eshkol	1963–1967
Moshe Dayan	1967–1974
Shimon Peres	1974–1977
Ezer Weizman	1977–1980
Menachem Begin	1980–1981
Ariel Sharon	1981–1983
Moshe Arens	1983–1984
Yitzhak Rabin	1984–1990
Moshe Arens	1990–1992
Yitzhak Rabin	1992–1995
Shimon Peres	1995–1996
Yitzhak Mordechai	1996–1998
Moshe Arens	1999–1999
Ehud Barak	1999–2001
Benjamin Ben-Eliezer	2001–2002
Shaul Mofaz	2002–2006
Amir Peretz	2006–2007
Ehud Barak	2007–2013
Moshe Ya'alon	2013–2016
Benjamin Netanyahu	May 2016
Avigdor Lieberman	May 2016–

**ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES: CHIEFS OF STAFF**

Yaacov Dori	1948–1949
Yigael Yadin	1949–1952
Mordechai Maklef	1952–1953
Moshe Dayan	1953–1958
Chaim Laskov	1958–1961
Zvi Tsur	1961–1964
Yitzhak Rabin	1964–1968
Chaim Bar-Lev	1968–1972
David Elazar	1972–1974
Mordechai Gur	1974–1978
Raphael Eitan	1978–1983
Moshe Levy	1983–1987
Dan Shomron	1987–1991
Ehud Barak	1991–1994
Amnon Lipkin-Shahak	1995–1998
Shaul Mofaz	1998–2002
Moshe Ya'alon	2002–2005
Dan Halutz	2005–2007
Gabriel (Gabi) Ashkenazi	2007–2011
Benjamin (Benny) Gantz	2011–2015
Gadi Eizenkot	2015–

**MINISTERS OF FINANCE**

Eliezer Kaplan	1948–1952
Levi Eshkol	1952–1963
Pinhas Sapir	1963–1968
Ze'ev Sharef	1968–1969
Pinhas Sapir	1969–1974
Yehoshua Rabinowitz	1974–1977

Simha Ehrlich	1977–1980
Yigael Hurvitz	1980–1981
Yoram Aridor	1981–1983
Yigal Cohen-Orgad	1983–1984
Yitzhak Moda'i	1984–1986
Moshe Nissim	1986–1988
Shimon Peres	1988–1990
Yitzhak Moda'i	1990–1992
Avraham Shochat	1992–1996
Dan Meridor	1996–1997
Yaacov Ne'eman	1997–1998
Meir Shitreet	1999–1999
Avraham Shochat	1999–2001
Silvan Shalom	2001–February 2003
Benjamin Netanyahu	2003–August 2005
Ehud Olmert	2005–May 2006
Avraham Hirschson	2006–July 2007
Ronnie Bar-On	2007–2009
Yuval Steinitz	2009–2013
Yair Lapid	2013–2015
Moshe Kahlon	2015–

### ATTORNEY GENERALS

Ya'acov Shimshon Shapira	1948–1950
Haim Cohen	1950–1960
Gideon Hausner	1960–1963
Moshe Ben Ze'ev	1963–1968
Me'ir Shamgar	1968–1975
Aharon Barak	1975–1978
Yitzhak Zamir	1978–1986
Yosef Harish	1986–1992

Michael Ben Ya'ir	1992–1996
Ronnie Bar-On	January 1997 (3 days)
Elyakim Rubinstein	1997–2003
Menachem Mazuz	2004–2010
Yehuda Weinstein	2010–

### **SPEAKERS OF THE KNESSET**

Joseph Shprinzak	1949–1959
Nahum Nir	1959
Kadish Luz	1959–1969
Reuven Barkat	1969–1972
Yisrael Yeshayahu-Sharabi	1972–1977
Yitzhak Shamir	1977–1980
Yitzhak Berman	1980–1981
Menachem Savidor	1981–1984
Shlomo Hillel	1984–1988
Dov Shilansky	1988–1992
Shevach Weiss	1992–1996
Dan Tichon	1996–1999
Avraham Burg	1999–2003
Reuven Rivlin	2003–2006
Dalia Itzik	2006–2009
Reuven Rivlin	2009–2013
Yuli-Yoel Edelstein	2013–

### **KNESSET: BEGINNING OF TERM**

1st Knesset	1949
2nd Knesset	1951
3rd Knesset	1955



4th Knesset	1959
5th Knesset	1961
6th Knesset	1965
7th Knesset	1969
8th Knesset	1973
9th Knesset	1977
10th Knesset	1981
11th Knesset	1984
12th Knesset	1988
13th Knesset	1992
14th Knesset	1996
15th Knesset	1999
16th Knesset	2003
17th Knesset	2006
18th Knesset	2009
19th Knesset	2013
20th Knesset	2015

### IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE AND ISRAEL, 1882–2015

1882–1903	20,000–30,000
1904–1914	35,000–40,000
1919–1923	35,183
1924–1931	81,613
1932–1938	197,235
1939–1945	81,808
1945–15 May 1948	56,467
1948 (15 May–13 Dec.)	101,819
1949	239,576
1950	170,215
1951	175,129
1952	24,369

1953	11,326
1954	18,370
1955	37,478
1956	56,234
1957	71,224
1958	27,082
1959	23,895
1960	24,510
1961	47,638
1962	61,328
1963	64,364
1964	54,716
1965	30,736
1966	15,730
1967	14,327
1968	20,544
1969	37,804
1970	36,750
1971	41,930
1972	55,888
1973	54,886
1974	31,981
1975	20,028
1976	19,754
1977	21,429
1978	26,394
1979	37,222
1980	20,428
1981	12,599
1982	13,723
1983	16,906
1984	19,981

1985	10,642
1986	9,505
1987	12,965
1988	13,034
1989	24,050
1990	199,500
1991	176,000
1992	77,100
1993	77,080
1994	82,000
1995	76,400
1996	70,605
1997	66,500
1998	56,700
1999	77,000
2000	60,192
2001	43,580
2002	33,567
2003	23,268
2004	20,898
2005	21,180
2006	19,269
2007	18,131
2008	13,701
2009	14,574
2010	16,633
2011	16,893
2012	16,559
2013	16,884
2014	27,993
2015	32,000

## POPULATION AT END OF YEAR

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	<b>Jews</b>	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Druze et al.</b>	<b>Total</b>
1948	785.7	—	156.0	—	914.7
1949	1013.9	111.5	34.0	14.5	1173.9
1950	1203.0	116.1	36.0	15.0	1370.1
1951	1404.4	118.9	39.0	15.5	1577.8
1952	1450.2	122.8	40.4	16.1	1629.5
1953	1483.6	127.6	41.4	16.8	1669.4
1954	1526.0	131.8	42.0	18.0	1717.8
1955	1590.5	136.3	43.3	19.0	1789.1
1956	1667.5	141.4	43.7	19.8	1872.4
1957	1762.8	146.8	45.8	20.5	1976.0
1958	1810.2	152.8	47.3	21.4	2031.7
1959	1858.8	159.2	48.3	22.3	2088.7
1960	1911.3	166.3	49.6	23.3	2150.4
1961	1981.7	179.4	51.3	26.3	2234.2
1962	2068.9	183.0	52.6	27.3	2331.8
1963	2155.6	192.2	53.9	28.5	2430.1
1964	2239.2	202.3	55.5	28.6	2525.6
1965	2299.1	212.4	57.1	29.8	2598.4
1966	2344.9	223.0	58.5	31.0	2657.4
1967	2383.6	289.6	71.0	32.1	2776.3
1968	2434.8	300.8	72.2	33.3	2841.1
1969	2506.8	314.5	73.5	34.6	2929.5
1970	2582.0	328.6	75.5	35.9	3022.1
1971	2662.0	344.0	77.3	37.3	3120.7
1972	2752.7	360.7	73.8	37.8	3225.0
1973	2845.0	377.2	76.7	39.3	3338.2
1974	2906.9	395.2	78.7	40.8	3421.6
1975	2959.4	411.4	80.2	42.2	3493.2
1976	3020.4	429.1	82.0	43.9	3575.4
1977	3077.3	446.5	83.8	45.6	3653.2
1978	3141.2	463.6	85.5	47.3	3737.6
1979	3218.4	481.2	87.6	49.0	3836.2
1980	3282.7	498.3	89.9	50.7	3921.7

1981	3320.3	513.7	91.5	52.3	3977.9
1982	3373.2	530.8	94.0	65.6	4063.6
1983	3412.5	542.2	95.9	68.0	4118.6
1984	3471.7	559.7	98.2	70.0	4199.7
1985	3517.2	577.6	99.4	72.0	4266.2
1986	3561.4	595.0	100.9	74.0	4331.3
1987	3612.9	614.5	103.0	76.1	4406.5
1988	3659.0	634.6	105.0	78.1	4476.8
1989	3717.1	655.2	107.0	80.3	4559.6
1990	3946.7	679.8	115.7	81.9	4821.7
1991	3947.0	680.0	116.0	79.0	4822.0
1992	4177.0	715.0	135.0	86.0	5113.0
1993	4335.2	751.2	149.2	90.6	5327.6
1994	4441.1	782.4	158.7	93.0	5471.5
1995	4549.5	814.7	162.9	95.5	5619.0
1996	4637.4	840.8	184.3	97.9	5759.4
1997	4731.8	879.1	188.8	100.0	5900.0
1998	4783.0	901.3	129.6	102.6	6037.0
1999	4900.0	936.0	131.0	253.0	6220.6
2000	4914.1	952.0	133.5	287.9	6289.2
2001	4990.2	987.3	136.8	321.2	6439.0
2002	5059.6	1021.4	138.5	346.3	6570.0
2003	5129.8	1055.4	141.4	360.3	6689.7
2004	5201.5	1090.0	143.4	371.5	6809.0
2005	5313.8	1140.6	146.4	115.2	6990.7
2006	5393.4	1173.1	149.1	117.5	7116.7
2007	5478.2	1206.1	151.5	119.7	7243.6
2008	5608.9	1254.1	150.2	123.2	7419.1
2009	5701.9	1286.5	151.9	125.3	7552.0
2010	5802.4	1320.5	153.4	127.5	7695.1
2011	5898.4	1353.6	155.8	129.5	7836.6
2012	5999.6	1387.5	158.4	131.5	7984.5
2013	6104.5	1420.3	160.9	133.4	8134.5
2014	6219.2	1453.8	163.5	135.4	8296.9
2015	6335.0	1757.0	162.0	135.5	8462.0
May 2016	6377.0	1771.0	163.0	136.5	8522.0



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## INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is a very selective collection of the major writings and other resources on Israel in the English language. It is a part of a vast literature on a country that has been the subject of extensive writings by scholars, journalists, and observers. A fully comprehensive bibliography on Israel would be massive and require several volumes by itself. Scholarly and general research has generated a vast amount of material on a wide range of subjects. Despite the large quantity of material available in numerous languages, some subjects traditionally have been barely covered, such as intelligence agencies and activities, while others, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, are the subject of substantial and often contradictory material of varying quality.

The modern state of Israel has a prehistory that also includes Jewish history. Having been founded only after World War II, the State of Israel can trace its roots to the ancient Jewish state; the land of Israel was the ancient birthplace of the Jewish people. It is where their religious and national identity was formed and where it evolved and developed. It also became the focal point of the Jewish religion and as such is connected directly to the modern Jewish state. Israel is also the world's only Jewish state and is linked to Jews wherever they are located. Unique is the fact that Israel is a Zionist state; it is a project of and has adopted its ideology from Jewish nationalism. Because of Zionism's origins in the historical and traditional pledges recorded in the Jewish Bible, an understanding of Jewish history and Zionism is critical to comprehending the creation of the State of Israel, and these topics remain major dimensions of research on the contemporary state. We have chosen to



highlight here the more salient works that will direct the reader along the path to knowing and understanding the history and evolution of the state of Israel.

There is a significant body of general works about Israel. Most noteworthy in this regard are Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Jewish History*, 8th ed. (Routledge, 2010); Bernard Reich, *A Brief History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Facts on File, 2012); Bernard Reich and Gershon R. Kieval, eds., *Israel Faces the Future* (Praeger, 1986); and Bernard Reich and Gershon R. Kieval, *Israel: Land of Tradition and Conflict*, 2nd ed. (Westview Press, 1993).

There are a number of detailed directories, yearbooks, encyclopedias, and dictionaries produced on Israel. Scholarly encyclopedias and dictionaries to be recommended include Eran Kaplan and Derek J. Penslar, eds., *The Origins of Israel, 1882–1948: A Documentary History* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); Ephraim Kahana, *Historical Dictionary of Israeli Intelligence* (Scarecrow Press, 2006); P. R. Kumaraswamy, *Historical Dictionary of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Scarecrow Press, 2006); Rafael Medoff and Chaim I. Waxman, *Historical Dictionary of Zionism* (Scarecrow Press, 2000); Raphael Patai, ed., *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (McGraw-Hill, 1971); Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg, *Political Dictionary of Israel* (Scarecrow Press, 2000); Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg, *Historical Dictionary of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Scarecrow Press, 2008); and Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg, *The A to Z of Israel* (Scarecrow Press, 2010). The government of Israel is a prolific publisher of high-quality materials that can be well used by the reader and the student of Israel. These include such items published annually as the *Israel Government Yearbook* and the *Statistical Abstract of Israel*. Israeli government statements, press conferences, speeches, and other materials may be found in a number of locations, including on the World Wide Web, such as at [www.mfa.gov.il](http://www.mfa.gov.il) and [www.pmo.gov.il](http://www.pmo.gov.il), and in the eighteen volumes of *Israel's Foreign Relations, Selected Documents, 1947–2001* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1976–2002), which are also available online at [www.mfa.gov.il](http://www.mfa.gov.il). Items can be located by date and often by subject matter as well. The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, available at [www1.cbs.gov.il/reader](http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader), issues a wide range of timely data relevant to scholarly research.

Many of Israel's senior political and other public figures have published their memoirs or have written about various aspects of Israeli history and society. A short list of these works includes Ehud Barak, *My Country, My Life: Fighting for Israel, Searching for Peace* (St. Martin's, 2016); Menachem Begin, *The Revolt* (Nash, 1981); David Ben-Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel* (Philosophical Library, 1954); David Ben-Gurion, *Israel: A Personal History* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1971); Moshe Dayan, *Story of My Life: An Autobiography* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976); Abba Eban, *Personal Witness: Israel through My Eyes* (Putnam, 1982); Golda Meir, *My Life* (Wei-

denfeld and Nicolson, 1975); Shimon Peres, *Battling for Peace: A Memoir from Israel's Birth to Today's Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (Random House, 1995); Yitzhak Shamir, *Summing Up: An Autobiography* (Little Brown, 1994); and Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann, First President of Israel* (Harper & Row, 1949).

Given the fact that Israel has been beset by national security concerns since its inception, there is an abundance of general works on the state's defense and security. Recommended works include Yehuda Ben Meir, *National Security Decision-Making: The Israeli Case* (Westview Press, 1986); Louis Rene Beres, *Surviving Amid Chaos: Israel's Nuclear Strategy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); Ehud Eilam, *Israel's Way of War: A Strategic and Operational Analysis, 1948–2014* (McFarland, 2016); Charles D. Freilich, *Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy* (Cornell University Press, 2015); Amos Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel: Nation-Building and Role Expansion* (Frank Cass, 1969); and Bernard Reich and Gershon R. Kieval, eds., *Israeli National Security Policy: Political Actors and Perspectives* (Greenwood Press, 1988).

While Israel's intelligence agencies and activities traditionally have not been the subject of extensive study, a body of scholarship has emerged in recent years. Recommended works include Michael Bar-Zohar and Nissim Mishal, *Mossad: The Greatest Missions of the Israeli Secret Service* (HarperCollins, 2012); Neal Bascomb, *Hunting Eichmann: How a Team of Survivors and a Young Spy Agency Chased Down the World's Most Notorious Nazi* (Houghton Mifflin, 2009); Ian Black and Benny Morris, *Israel's Secret Wars: A History of Israel's Intelligence Services* (Grove Press, 1991); Efraim Halevy, *Man in the Shadow: Inside the Middle East Crisis with a Man Who Led the Mossad* (St. Martin's Press, 2008); Isser Harel, *The House on Garibaldi Street: The First Full Account of the Capture of Adolf Eichmann, Told by the Former Head of Israel's Secret Service* (Viking, 1975); and Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, *Every Spy a Prince: The Complete History of Israel's Intelligence Community* (Houghton Mifflin, 1990).

The Israel Defense Forces has always attracted a great deal of scholarly attention for its activities, its professionalism and esprit de corps under constant stress, its operational creativity, and its status as a democratic "people's army." Works to be recommended include Yigal Allon, *The Making of Israel's Army* (Valentine, Mitchell, 1970); Stuart A. Cohen, ed., *The New Citizen Armies: Israel's Armed Forces in Comparative Perspective* (Routledge, 2010); Avi Kober, *Practical Soldiers: Israel's Military Thought and Its Formative Factors* (Brill, 2015); Edward Luttwak and Dan Horowitz, *The Israeli Army* (Harper & Row, 1975); Ze'ev Schiff, *A History of the Israeli Army: 1874 to the Present* (Macmillan, 1985); and Martin Van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Force* (Perseus Books, 1998).

The Arab-Israeli conflict has generated a vast amount of literature of varying quality by scholars, journalists, and observers. Seminal works include Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 9th ed. (Routledge, 2008); Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (Keter, 1972); Yehoshafat Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and Its Meaning* (Vallentine, Mitchell, 1979); Tamar S. Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); Chaim Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars: War and Peace in the Middle East* (Arms and Armour Press, 1982); P. R. Kumaraswamy, *Historical Dictionary of the Arab-Israel Conflict* (Scarecrow Press, 2006); Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, 7th ed. (Penguin, 2008); David Pollack, *Mixed Messages: Abbas and Palestinians on Israel 2014–16* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, April 2016); Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs, 1948–2003* (Princeton University Press, 2004); Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Lingering Conflict: Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East, 1948–2011* (Brookings, 2011); Bernard Reich, ed., *An Historical Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Greenwood Press, 1996); Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004); Dennis Ross and David Makovsky, *Myths, Illusions, and Peace: Finding a New Direction for America in the Middle East* (Viking, 2009); and Nadav Safran, *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948–1967* (Pegasus Books, 1969).

Much scholarly research has been undertaken about Israel's War of Independence (1948–1949). A short list of recommended works includes Yoav Gelber, *Israeli-Jordanian Dialogue, 1948–1953: Cooperation, Conspiracy or Collusion* (Sussex Academic Press, 2004); David Kimche and Jon Kimche, *A Clash of Destinies: The Arab-Jewish War and the Founding of the State of Israel* (Praeger, 1960); Dan Kurzman, *Genesis 1948: The First Arab-Israel War* (Vallentine, Mitchell, 1970); Netanel Lorch, *The Edge of the Sword: Israel's War of Independence, 1947–1949* (Putnam, 1961); and Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (Yale University Press, 2008). For works offering an unconventional view of the causes, prosecution, and results of the War of Independence, see the section “Debating Israel's History” below.

The Sinai War (1956) has generated a significant body of literature by scholars, journalists, observers, and participants. Recommended works include Moshe Dayan, *Diary of the Sinai Campaign, 1956* (Sphere Books, 1967); Anthony Eden, *The Suez Crisis of 1956* (Beacon Press, 1968); Yigal Henkin, *The 1956 War and the New World Order in the Middle East* (Lexington Books, 2015); Selwyn Lloyd, *Suez 1956: A Personal Account* (Mayflower Press, 1978); Donald Neff, *Warriors at Suez: Eisenhower Takes*

*America into the Middle East* (Linden Press, 1981); Edgar O'Balance, *The Sinai Campaign* (Faber and Faber, 1959); and Ernest Stock, *Israel on the Road to Sinai, 1949–1956* (Cornell University Press, 1967).

The diplomatic crisis in the spring of 1967, Israel's decisive military victory, and the political and strategic implications of the conflict have led to the creation of a substantial body of scholarship on the Six-Day War (1967). Among the recommended works are Michael Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis: Israel, 1967 and 1973* (University of California Press, 1980); Theodore Draper, *Israel and World Politics: Roots of the Third Arab-Israeli War* (Viking, 1968); Ami Gluska, *The Israeli Military and the Origins of the 1967 War: Government, Armed Forces and Defence Policy 1963–67* (Routledge, 2006); Michael Howard and Robert Hunter, *Israel and the Arab World: The Crisis of 1967* (Adelphi Papers, International Institute of Strategic Studies, 1967); Yossi Klein Halevi, *Like Dreamers: The Story of the Israeli Paratroopers Who Reunited Jerusalem and Divided a Nation* (HarperCollins, 2013); Walter Laqueur, *The Road to War: The Origins and Aftermath of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1967–1968* (Penguin, 1969); Glubb Pasha, *The Middle East Crisis: A Personal Interpretation* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1967); Indar J. Rihkye, *The Sinai Blunder: Withdrawal of the Force Leading to the Six-Day War* (Frank Cass, 1980); and Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, The War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East* (Metropolitan, 2007).

The War of Attrition (1969–1970) has produced a relatively small but important body of literature, especially with regard to limited warfare and great- and super-power intervention in regional conflicts. Recommended works include Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, *The Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition, 1967–1970: A Case Study of Limited Local Wars* (Columbia University Press, 1980); and David A. Korn, *Stalemate: The War of Attrition and Great Power Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1967–1970* (Westview Press, 1992).

The Yom Kippur War (1973) has generated a large body of scholarly research and commentary among journalists and participant-observers. Among the more salient works are Uri Bar-Joseph, *The Watchman Fell Asleep: The Surprise of Yom Kippur and Its Sources* (State University of New York Press, 2005); Mohammed Heikal, *The Road to Ramadan* (Ballantine, 1975); Chaim Herzog, *The War of Atonement: October 1973* (Little, Brown, 1975); P. R. Kumaraswamy, ed., *Revisiting the Yom Kippur War* (Frank Cass, 2000); and Abraham Rabinovich, *The Yom Kippur War: The War That Transformed the Middle East* (Schocken Books, 2004).

There is a body of research about Israel's first war in Lebanon (1982), with interest focusing on the causes of the conflict, the intervention of third-party regional and extra-regional actors, the implications of the war for Israeli society and politics, and the war's implications for the regional strategic landscape. Recommended works include Yair Evron, *War and Intervention in Lebanon: The Israeli-Syrian Deterrence Dialogue* (Johns Hopkins Univer-

sity Press, 1987); Raphael Israeli, ed., *PLO in Lebanon: Selected Documents* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983); Yitzhak Kahan, Aharon Barak, and Yona Efrat, *Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut: Final Report*, authorized translation (Israel Government Printer, 1983); Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon, 1970–1985*, rev. ed (Cornell University Press, 1985); Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (Simon & Schuster, 1989); and Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon* (Clarendon Press, 1987).

The Second Lebanon War (2006) has also generated significant research from scholars, journalists, and observers. A short list of recommended works includes Yaakov Amidror and Dan Diker, *A Strategic Assessment of the Hizballah War: Defeating the Iranian-Syrian Axis in Lebanon* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2006); Uzi Dayan, *Israel's Deterrence after the Second Lebanon War* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2007); Andrew Exum, *Hizballah at War: A Military Assessment* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2006); David Makovsky and Jeffrey White, *Lessons and Implications of the Israel-Hizballah War: A Preliminary Assessment* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2006); and Gerald M. Steinberg, *Is a Sustainable Cease-Fire in Lebanon Realistic? If Not, What Is the Alternative?* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2006).

Much scholarly and journalistic literature, of varying quality, has been generated about Israel's 2008–2009 war in the Gaza Strip against Hamas, known by Israelis as Operation Cast Lead. Recommended works include Richard Goldstone, Christine Chinkin, Hina Jilani, and Desmond Travers, *Report of the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict* (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2009); Richard Goldstone, "Reconsidering the Goldstone Report on Israel and War Crimes," *Washington Post*, 1 April 2011; and Uzi Rubin, *The Lessons of Operation Cast Lead and 2006 Lebanon War* (Begin and Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2009).

Israel's 2012 war in the Gaza Strip, known by Israelis as Operation Pillar of Defense, has generated a body of literature focusing on the conduct of the war and new measures adopted by Israel to protect its civilian population centers against incoming missile fire. Recommended works include Daniel L. Byman, *Israel's Gamble in Gaza: The Perils of Operation Pillar of Defense* (Brookings Institute, 2012); Uriel Heilman, "Operation Pillar of Defense: Lessons Learned," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 21 November 2012; Michael Oren, "The Iron Dome Military Revolution," *Wall Street Journal*, 6 December 2012; and Uzi Rubin, *Iron Dome: A Dress Rehearsal for War?* (Begin and Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2012).

Israel's war in the summer of 2014 against Hamas and other terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip, known by Israelis as Operation Protective Edge, though recent, has already generated significant research by scholars, journalists, and observers. A short list of recommended works includes Hirsh

Goodman and Dore Gold, eds., *The Gaza War 2014: The War Israel Did Not Want and the Disaster It Averted* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2015); Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom, eds., *The Lessons of Operation Protective Edge* (Institute for National Security Studies, 2014); Yohanan Plesner, Mordechai Kremnitzer, Amichai Cohen, and Eli Bahar, *Operation Protective Edge and International Law: Legal Opinion* (Israel Democracy Institute, 2014); Shmuel Sandler, *Strategic Implications of Operation Protective Edge* (Begin and Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2014); *Report of the Independent Commission of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict* (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2015); *The Gaza Conflict 7 July–26 August 2014: Factual and Legal Aspects* (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015); and *Israeli Response to the United Nations Human Rights Council Commission of Inquiry* (Israel Government Press Office, 2015).

Significant scholarly and journalistic interest, of varying quality, has focused on the motivations of the terrorists who have targeted Israel for decades and Israel's counterterrorism measures. A short list of recommended works includes Anat Berko, *The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and Their Dispatchers* (Potomac Books, 2009); Anat Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women and Children as Suicide Bombers* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012); Alan Dershowitz, *Preemption: A Knife That Cuts Both Ways* (Norton, 2006); Alan Dershowitz, *Terror Tunnels: The Case for Israel's Just War against Hamas* (Rosetta Books, 2014); Elad Gil, Yogel Tuvel, and Inbar Levy, *Exceptional Measures in the Struggle against Terrorism* (Israel Democracy Institute, 2010); Moshe Landau, Ya'akov Maltz, and Yitzhak Hofi, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Methods of Investigation of the General Security Service Regarding Hostile Terrorist Activity* (Israel Government Press Office, 1987); and Ami Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism* (Columbia University Press, 2009).

There has been much written about Israel's economic issues and institutions, with particular interest in Israel's success in building a modern, high-technology economy in a country essentially devoid of significant natural resources. Recommended works include Haim Barkai, *The Evolution of Israel's Social Security System: Structure, Time Pattern and Macroeconomic Impact* (Ashgate, 1998); Avi Ben-Bassat, ed., *The Israeli Economy, 1985–1998: From Government Intervention to Market Economics* (MIT Press, 2002); W. H. Nelson and Terrence Prittie, *The Economic War against the Jews* (Random House, 1977); Paul Rivlin, *The Israeli Economy* (Westview Press, 1992); Natan Sachs and Tim Boersma, *The Energy Island: Israel Deals with Its Natural Gas Discoveries* (Brookings, 2015); and Dan Senor and Saul Singer, *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle* (Twelve/Hatchette, 2009).

The kibbutz has been extensively studied. Works on the subject include Avraham C. Ben-Yosef, *The Purest Democracy in the World* (Herzl and Yoseloff, 1963); Joseph Blasi, *The Communal Experience of the Kibbutz* (Transaction Publishers, 1986); Henry Near, *The Kibbutz Movement: A History*, vols. 1 and 2 (Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1992, 1997); Melford E. Spiro, *Children of the Kibbutz* (Harvard University Press, 1958); and Raymond Russell, Robert Hanneman, and Shlomo Getz, *The Renewal of the Kibbutz: From Reform to Transformation* (Rutgers University Press, 2013).

Students of Israel's economics, society, and social organization have examined the evolution of the cooperative farming village, the *moshav*. Recommended readings include Jay S. Abarbanel, *The Cooperative Farmer and the Welfare State: Economic Change in an Israeli Moshav* (Manchester University Press, 1974); Elaine Baldwin, *Differentiation and Cooperation in an Israeli Veteran Moshav* (Manchester University Press, 1972); and Maxwell I. Klayman, *The Moshav in Israel: A Case Study of Institution-Building for Agricultural Development* (Praeger, 1970).

The government and politics of Israel—the historical evolution of the modern political and electoral systems, the elections, the dominant political personalities, the institutions, the political parties, and the dominant political culture—have generated a substantial amount of research. Major works include Asher Arian, *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel* (Chatham House, 1998); Joseph Badi, *The Government of the State of Israel: A Critical Account of Its Parliament, Executive and Judiciary* (Twayne Publishers, 1963); Moshe Berent, *A Nation Like All Nations: Towards The Establishment of an Israeli Republic* (Israel Academic Press, 2015); Marver H. Bernstein, *The Politics of Israel: The First Decade of Statehood* (Princeton University Press, 1957); Eva Etzioni-Halevy with Rina Shapira, *Political Culture in Israel: Cleavage and Integration among Israel's Jews* (Praeger, 1977); Yehoshua Freudenheim, *Government in Israel* (Oceana Publications, 1967); Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *The Origins of the Israeli Polity* (University of Chicago Press, 1978); Gregory S. Mahler, *Israel: Government and Politics in a Maturing State* (Harcourt College, 1989); Gregory S. Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Emmanuel Rackman, *Israel's Emerging Constitution, 1948–1951* (Columbia University Press, 1955); Brent E. Sasley and Harold M. Waller, *Politics in Israel: Governing a Complex Society* (Oxford, 2016); Gad Yaacobi, *The Government of Israel* (Praeger, 1982); and Asher Zidon, *Knesset: The Parliament of Israel* (Herzl Press, 1967).

The study of the history of the modern state of Israel, since the arrival of the first pre-Zionist settlers and including the years of the Yishuv and the British mandate for Palestine, has generated a sizable body of literature. A short list of recommended readings includes David Ben-Gurion, *The Jews in*

*Their Land* (Doubleday, 1966); Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History* (Doubleday, 1998); Bruce Hoffman, *Anonymous Soldiers: The Struggle for Israel, 1917–1947* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2015); Eran Kaplan and Derek J. Penslar, eds., *The Origins of Israel, 1882–1948: A Documentary History* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); Noah Lucas, *The Modern History of Israel* (Praeger, 1975); Bernard Reich, *A Brief History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Facts on File, 2012); Bernard Reich, *Historical Dictionary of Israel* (Scarecrow Press, 1992); Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg, *Historical Dictionary of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Scarecrow Press, 2008); Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, 3rd ed. (Alfred A. Knopf, 2007); Maurice Samuel, *Harvest in the Desert* (Jewish Publication Society, 1944); Ronald Sanders, *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A History of the Balfour Declaration, The Birth of the British Mandate for Palestine* (Rinehart and Winston, 1984); Anita Shapira, *Israel: A History* (Brandeis University Press, 2012); Colin Shindler, *The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron* (Cambridge, 2015); Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (Simon & Schuster, 1961); and Christopher Sykes, *Crossroads to Israel* (World, 1965).

Of all of the activities of Israel's intelligence institutions, it is the capture in Argentina and subsequent trial in Israel of the Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann that has generated the most interest among scholars, journalists, and observers. Recommended works on the subject include Neal Bascomb, *Hunting Eichmann: How a Band of Survivors and a Young Spy Agency Chased Down the World's Most Notorious Nazi* (Houghton Mifflin, 2009); Isser Harel, *The House on Garibaldi Street: The First Full Account of the Capture of Adolph Eichmann* (Viking, 1975); Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (Harper & Row, 1966); and Dewey W. Linze, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann* (Holloway House, 1961).

The history of the Holocaust, Nazi Germany's systematic effort to exterminate the Jews of Europe, is inseparable from Israel's history and national psyche. Recommended works include Yehuda Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine, 1939–1945* (Jewish Publication Society, 1970); Jack R. Fischel, *Historical Dictionary of the Holocaust* (Scarecrow Press, 1999); Joseph P. Schultz and Carla L. Klausner, *From Destruction to Rebirth: The Holocaust and the State of Israel* (University Press of America, 1978); Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (Henry Holt, 2000); and Shabtai Tevet, *Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust* (Harcourt Brace, 1996).

The illegal immigration to mandatory Palestine of Jews fleeing Nazi tyranny (*aliya bet*) as well as Holocaust survivors (*brichah*) has fascinated novelists as well as students of Israeli history. Recommended readings include Ehud Avriel, *Open the Gates! A Personal Story of "Illegal" Immigration to Israel* (Atheneum, 1975); Yehuda Bauer, *Flight and Rescue: Brichah* (Random House, 1970); Jon Kimche and David Kimche, *The Secret Roads* (Far-



rar, Straus, Cudahy, 1955); and Fritz Liebrich, *Britain's Naval and Political Reaction to the Illegal Immigration of Jews to Palestine, 1945–1948* (Routledge, 2005).

In recent years, and fueled in part by the opening of public archives, there has been a vibrant debate among scholars, journalists, and observers about seminal events in Israel's history, with a group of Israeli historians challenging the traditional interpretation of the UN Palestine Partition Plan, the War of Independence (1948–1949), the Palestinian refugee problem, and the Six-Day War (1967). Recommended works reflecting this debate include Yoav Gelber, *Nation and History: Israeli Historiography between Zionism and Post-Zionism* (Vallentine Mitchell, 2011); Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History: The "New Historians"* (Frank Cass, 1997); Benny Morris, ed., *Making Israel* (University of Michigan Press, 2007); Ilan Pappé, *The Idea of Israel: A History of Power and Knowledge* (Verso, 2016); Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East* (Metropolitan Books, 2006); Anita Shapira and Derek J. Penslar, *Israeli Historical Revisionism: From Left to Right* (Frank Cass, 2003); Avi Shlaim, *Collusion across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (Columbia University Press, 1988); Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World since 1948* (W.W. Norton, 2001); Shabtai Tevet, "Charging Israel with Original Sin" *Commentary*, September 1989; and Constantine N. Zurayk, *Palestine: The Meaning of the Disaster* (Khayat, 1956).

Although Israel is a small country, its international relations—its foreign policy, foreign trade, humanitarian assistance, and engagement with international organizations—has generated a substantial amount of research. A short list of works includes Jacob Abadi, *Israel's Quest for Recognition and Acceptance in Asia: Garrison State Diplomacy* (Frank Cass, 2004); Yossi Alpher, *Periphery: Israel's Search for Middle East Allies* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Shimeon Amir, *Israel's Development Cooperation with Africa, Asia and Latin America* (Praeger, 1974); Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process* (Yale University Press, 1972); Michael R. Curtis and Susan Aurelia Gitelson, eds., *Israel in the Third World* (Transaction Books, 1976); Eytan Gilboa and Efraim Inbar, eds., *U.S.–Israeli Relations in a New Era: Issues and Challenges After 9/11* (Routledge, 2009); Shlomo Hasson, *Israel's Geopolitical Dilemma and the Upheaval in the Middle East* (University of Maryland Press, 2013); Michael M. Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo* (University Press of Florida, 2004); Yohanan Manor, *To Right a Wrong: The Revocation of UN General Assembly Resolution 3379 Defaming Zionism*, 2nd ed. (Schreiber, Shengold Publishing, 1996); Michael Oren, *Ally: My Journey across the American-Israeli Divide* (Random House, 2015); Bernard Reich, *Securing the Covenant: United States–Israel Relations after the Cold War* (Greenwood Press, 1995); Dennis Ross, *Doomed to Succeed: The U.S.–Israel Relationship from*

*Truman to Obama* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015); and Harold Wilson, *The Chariot of Israel: Britain, America and the State of Israel* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981).

There has been much written about Jerusalem as a temporal city and as a religious and spiritual symbol; as an impoverished backwater of the Ottoman Empire; as a modern, 21st-century metropolis; as a divided city between 1948 and 1967 from which Israelis were denied access to their holiest religious sites (including the Western [Wailing] Wall); as the reunified capital of Israel after the Six-Day War; as the political capital of the biblical Jewish state; and as the subject of contemporary intense struggle between two nationalist movements: one Jewish, the other Palestinian Arab. Recommended readings include Dan Bahat, *The Historical Atlas of Jerusalem: A Brief Illustrated Survey* (Scribner, 1975); Yehuda Blum, *The Juridical Status of Jerusalem* (Leonard Davis Institute of International Relations, 1974); Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem: Illustrated History Atlas* (Steimatsky, 1994); Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century* (Chatto and Windus, 1997); Teddy Kollek, *Jerusalem, Sacred City of Mankind: A History of Forty Centuries* (Random House, 1968); Elihu Lauterpacht, *Jerusalem and the Holy Places* (Geerings of Ashford, 1968); Lior Lehrs, *Peace Talks on Jerusalem: A Review of the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations Concerning Jerusalem 1993–2013* (Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2013); Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2011); Abraham Rabinovich, *Jerusalem on Earth: People, Passions, and Politics in the Holy City* (Free Press, 1988); and Zvi Weblowsky, *The Meaning of Jerusalem to Jews, Christians, and Muslims* (Intratypset, 1977).

The issues and institutions of Israeli society have been extensively studied by scholars, journalists, and observers. General readings on Israeli society include Calvin Goldscheider, *Israeli Society in the Twenty-First Century: Immigration, Inequality and Religious Conflict* (Brandeis University Press, 2015); Alan Dowty, ed., *Critical Issues in Israeli Society* (Praeger, 2004); Samuel N. Eisenstadt, *The Transformation of Israeli Society* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985); Amos Elon, *The Israelis: Founders and Sons* (Penguin, 1971); Dan Ephron, *Killing a King: The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the Remaking of Israel* (W.W. Norton, 2015); Anat Helman, *Becoming Israeli: National Ideals and Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Brandeis University Press, 2014); Bryan Roby, *The Mizrahi Era of Rebellion: Israel's Forgotten Civil Rights Struggle 1948–1966* (Syracuse, 2015); and Ari Shavit, *My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (Spiegel and Grau, 2015).

While the world's only Jewish state, Israel is also a democratic state. Its Declaration of Independence and laws guarantee equality for all its citizens, including the Arab minority community that today numbers some 2.1 million. Among the many works that study the Arabs in Israel, the following are

recommended: Majid Al-Haj, *Education, Empowerment, and Control: The Case of the Arabs in Israel* (State University of New York Press, 1995); David Grossman, *Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993); David Kretzmer, *The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel* (Westview Press, 1990); Jacob M. Landau, *The Arabs in Israel: A Political Study*, rev. ed. (Routledge, 2015); Walter Schwartz, *The Arabs in Israel* (Faber and Faber, 1959); and Sammy Smooha, *Social Research on Arabs in Israel, 1948–1977: Trends and an Annotated Bibliography* (Turtledove Publishing, 1978).

Among Israel's minority communities, the Druze (Druse) have been extensively studied. Recommended readings include Gabriel Ben-Dor, *The Druzes in Israel: A Political Study* (Magnes, 1979); Dana Nissim, *The Druze: A Religious Community in Transition* (Turtledove Publishing, 1980); and Sany S. Swayd, *Historical Dictionary of the Druzes* (Scarecrow Press, 2006).

Much interest has been shown by scholars, journalists, and observers in Israel's Negev Bedouin community, its unique nomadic traditions, and its efforts to reconcile those traditions with the modernity that surrounds it. Recommended readings include Aref Abu-Rabia, *A Bedouin Century: Education and Development among the Negev Tribes in the 20th Century* (Berghahn, 2001); Ahmad Amara, Ismael Abu-Saad, and Oren Yiftachel, *Indigenous (In)Justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev* (Harvard University Press, 2013); Emanuel Marx, *Bedouin of the Negev* (Manchester University Press, 1967); and Avinoam Meir, *As Nomadism Ends: The Israeli Bedouin of the Negev* (Westview Press, 1997).

A large and varied body of scholarship exists concerning the important role played by women in the history of the Zionist Movement, Israel's founding and formation, and contemporary social, cultural, and political affairs. Recommended readings include Esther Fuchs, ed., *Israeli Women's Studies: A Reader* (Rutgers University Press, 2005); Ruth Halperin-Kaddari, *Women in Israel: A State of Their Own* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Rachel Shazar Katznelson, *The Plough Woman: Memoirs of the Pioneer Women of Palestine* (Herzl Press, 1975); and Hannah Naveh, ed., *Gender and Israeli Society: Women's Time* (Vallentine Mitchell, 2003).

There is a great deal of scholarship about Israel's immigration experience, the unique role of immigration in Israel's origins and development, and Israel's ongoing resettlement and absorption of immigrants from scores of countries, cultures, and linguistic backgrounds. Recommended works on Israeli immigration (aliya) include Samuel N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants* (Free Press, 1955); Zvi Gitelman, *Becoming Israelis: Political Resocialization of Soviet and American Immigrants* (Praeger, 1982); Ruth Gruber, *Rescue: The Exodus of the Ethiopian Jews* (Atheneum, 1988); Joseph Hodes, *From India to Israel: Identity, Immigration, and the Struggle for*

*Religious Equality* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Elazar Leshem and Judith T. Shouval, eds., *Immigration to Israel: Sociological Perspectives* (Transaction Publishers, 1998); Larissa I. Remennick, *Russian Israelis: Social Mobility, Politics and Culture* (Routledge, 2014); Orit Rozin, *A Home for All Jews: Citizenship, Rights, and National Identity in the New Israeli State* (Brandeis, 2016); Howard M. Sachar, *Aliyah: The Peoples of Israel* (World, 1961); and Stephen Spector, *Operation Solomon: The Daring Rescue of the Ethiopian Jews* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Much has been written about social issues in Israel such as “Who is a Jew?” the relationship among the communities of Israelis reflecting the various streams of Judaism, the influence of Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Jewish political parties in Israel's complex electoral process, and the role of the religious authorities and religious courts of Israel's various minority faith communities in adjudicating issues affecting the daily lives of their respective communities (i.e., birth, death, marriage, divorce, conversion). A short list of recommended works includes Joseph Badi, *Religion in Israel Today: The Relationship between State and Religion* (Bookman Associates, 1959); S. Zalman Abramov, *Perpetual Dilemma: Jewish Religion in the Jewish State* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1979); Meryl Hyman, *Who Is A Jew? Conversations, Not Conclusions* (Jewish Lights, 1999); Charles S. Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel: Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State* (University of California Press, 1983); Aviezer Ravitzky, *Religious and Secular Jews in Israel: A Kulturkampf?* (Israel Democracy Institute, 1997); Gary S. Schiff, *Tradition and Politics: The Religious Parties of Israel* (Wayne State University Press, 1977); and Ira Sharansky, *The Politics of Religion and the Religion of Politics: Looking at Israel* (Lexington Books, 2000).

There is scholarly interest in Israel's vibrant and diverse media and communications industry. Seminal works include Dan Caspi and Yehiel Limor, *The In/Outsiders: Mass Media in Israel* (Hampton Press, 1999); Yoram Peri, *Telepopulism: Media and Politics in Israel* (Stanford University Press, 2004); and Oren Soffer, *Mass Communication in Israel: Nationalism, Globalization, and Segmentation* (Berghahn Books, 2014).

There is a significant body of scholarship on culture, language, and identity in Israel, including the use of a revitalized ancient language, Hebrew, and the merging of diverse dialects, practices, and national experiences into one new national identity where citizens express their unique cultural customs and traditions and still identify as “unhyphenated” Israelis. Recommended readings include Norman Berdichevsky, *Modern Hebrew: The Past and Future of a Revitalized Language* (McFarland, 2014); Olga Gershenson, *Russian Theater in Israel: A Study of Cultural Colonization* (Peter Lang, 2005); Adia Mendelson-Maoz, *Multiculturalism in Israel—Literary Perspectives* (Purdue University Press, 2014); Robert St. John, *Tongue of the Prophets:*

*The Life Story of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda* (Doubleday, 1952); and Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).

The study of Israel's modern history must begin with an understanding of the fact that Israel is, by definition, a Zionist state; it is a project of and has adopted as its ideology modern political Zionism. There is a substantial body of scholarship of varying quality on the history, politics, ideology, personalities, and current debates affecting Zionism, including anti-Zionism and resurgent forms of anti-Semitism. Recommended readings include Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (Basic Books, 1981); Shlomo Avineri, *Herzl's Vision: Theodor Herzl and the Foundation of the Jewish State* (BlueBridge, 2014); Shlomo Avineri, *Self-Determination and Israel's Declaration of Independence* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2001); Peter Beinart, *The Crisis of Zionism* (Times Books, 2012); Ruth Gavison, *The Right of Jews to Statehood* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2008); Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State*, 2nd ed. (Harvard University Press, 1970); Ben Halpern and Jehuda Reinharz, *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society* (Oxford University Press, 1998); Joseph Heller, *The Zionist Idea* (Schocken Books, 1949); Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea: An Historical Analysis and Reader* (Doubleday, 1959); Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question* (Federation of American Zionists, 1917); Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972); Rafael Medoff and Chaim I. Waxman, *Historical Dictionary of Zionism* (Scarecrow Press, 2000); Barak EHUD. *My Country, My Life: Fighting for Israel, Searching for Peace*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016; and Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (Random House, 2010).

Information helpful to the reader and the student of Israel is accessible through a plethora of Internet resources. Recommended Israel government websites include the Israel government portal at [www.israel.gov.il/FirstGov/english](http://www.israel.gov.il/FirstGov/english); the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs at [www.mfa.gov.il](http://www.mfa.gov.il); the prime minister's office at [www.pmo.gov.il](http://www.pmo.gov.il); the government press office at [www.gpo.gov.il](http://www.gpo.gov.il); and the Israel Defense Forces at [www.idf.il/english](http://www.idf.il/english). Each of these websites provides links to government ministries and offices, as well as government statements, speeches, press conferences, and other resource materials. Other government sites include the Statistical Abstract of Israel at [www1.cbs.gov.il/reader](http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader) and the Central Bureau of Statistics at [www.cbs.gov.il/engindex.htm](http://www.cbs.gov.il/engindex.htm). Other websites useful to students of the history of Zionism and Israel include that of the World Zionist Organization at [www.wzo.org.il/world-zionist-organization](http://www.wzo.org.il/world-zionist-organization) and the Jewish Agency for Israel at [www.jewishagency.org](http://www.jewishagency.org).

## GENERAL WORKS ABOUT ISRAEL

- Aharoni, Yohanan, and Michael Avi-Yonah, eds. *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
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## INTERNET RESOURCES

### Government

Central Bureau of Statistics, [www1.cbs.gov.il/reader](http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader)  
 Government Press Office, [www.gpo.gov.il](http://www.gpo.gov.il)  
 Israel Government Portal, [www.israel.gov.il/FirstGov/english](http://www.israel.gov.il/FirstGov/english)  
 Israel Defense Forces, [www.idf.il/english/](http://www.idf.il/english/)  
 Jewish Agency for Israel, [www.jewishagency.org](http://www.jewishagency.org)  
 Knesset, [www.knesset.gov.il](http://www.knesset.gov.il)  
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [www.mfa.gov.il](http://www.mfa.gov.il)  
 Prime Minister's Office, <http://www.pmo.gov.il/English/>  
 World Zionist Organization, [www.wzo.org.il/](http://www.wzo.org.il/)

### Political Parties

Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash), [Hadash.org.org.il/english](http://Hadash.org.org.il/english)  
 Green Leaf, [www.aleyarok.org.il](http://www.aleyarok.org.il)  
 HaBayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home), <http://www.baityehudi.org.il>  
 Hatnua (The Movement), [www.hatnua.org.il](http://www.hatnua.org.il)  
 HaYerukim (The Greens), [www.green-party.co.il](http://www.green-party.co.il)  
 Herut, [www.herut.org.il](http://www.herut.org.il)  
 Israel Labor Party, [www.havoda.org.il](http://www.havoda.org.il)  
 Kulanu (All of Us), [www.kulanu-party.co.il](http://www.kulanu-party.co.il)  
 Likud, [www.likud.org.il/en/](http://www.likud.org.il/en/)  
 Meretz, [meretz.org.il/en/english](http://meretz.org.il/en/english)  
 National Democratic Alliance (Balad), [www.tajamoa.org](http://www.tajamoa.org)  
 Sephardi Torah Guardians (SHAS), [shas.org.il](http://shas.org.il)  
 Ta'al Arab Movement for Change, [www.a-m-c.org](http://www.a-m-c.org)  
 The Pirates, [www.piratime.org](http://www.piratime.org) (Hebrew)  
 Yachad-Ha'am Itanu (The People Are with Us), <http://www.elieyshay.com/>  
 Yesh Atid (There Is a Future), [www.yeshatid.org.il](http://www.yeshatid.org.il)  
 Yisrael Beiteinu (Israel Our Home), [www.beytenu.org](http://www.beytenu.org)  
 Zionist Union, [www.hamahanehazioni.co.il](http://www.hamahanehazioni.co.il)

### Think Tanks in Israel

Ariel Center for Policy Research, [www.acpr.org.il](http://www.acpr.org.il)  
 BESA Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, [besacenter.org/](http://besacenter.org/)  
 Center for National Security Studies, Haifa University, [securitystudies.haifa.ac.il/](http://securitystudies.haifa.ac.il/)

- The Evens Program in Mediation and Conflict Resolution, Tel Aviv University, <http://www.dispute.tau.ac.il/>
- Floersheimer Studies, Institute of Urban and Regional Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, <http://en.fips.huji.ac.il/>
- Heksherim-Research Institute for Jewish and Israeli Literature & Culture, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, <http://in.bgu.ac.il/en/heksherim/>
- Homeland Security Institute, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, <http://in.bgu.ac.il/en/hsi/>
- The Institute for National Security Studies, <http://www.inss.org.il/>
- International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, [www.ict.org.il/](http://www.ict.org.il/)
- Israel Council on Foreign Affairs, <http://icfr.com>
- Israel Democracy Institute, [en.idi.org.il/](http://en.idi.org.il/)
- Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, [jcpa.org/](http://jcpa.org/)
- Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, [www.jiis.org/](http://www.jiis.org/)
- The Jewish People Policy Institute, <http://jppi.org.il/>
- Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, [davis.huji.ac.il/en/](http://davis.huji.ac.il/en/)
- Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, [www.dayan.org/](http://www.dayan.org/)
- The Negev Center for Regional Development, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, <http://www.bgu.ac.il/NCRD/eng/>
- The Peach Index, [en.idi.org.91/tools-and-data/the-guttman-center-for-public-opinion-and-policy-research/the-peace-index/](http://en.idi.org.91/tools-and-data/the-guttman-center-for-public-opinion-and-policy-research/the-peace-index/)
- Reut Institute, <http://reut-institute.org/en/>
- Rubin Center Research in International Affairs—formerly Global Research in International Affairs (GLORIA), <http://www.rubincenter.org/>
- Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University, <http://peace.tau.ac.il/>
- Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, [truman.huji.ac.il/](http://truman.huji.ac.il/)
- Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, <http://www.vanleer.org.il/en/contact>

### **Think Tanks in the United States**

- Israel Institute, <http://www.israelinstitute.org/>
- Israel Policy Forum, [www.israelpolicyforum.org/](http://www.israelpolicyforum.org/)
- Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, [www.jinsa.org/](http://www.jinsa.org/)
- Middle East Forum, [www.meforum.org/](http://www.meforum.org/)
- Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), [www.memri.org](http://www.memri.org)
- Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution, [www.brookings.edu/about/centers/middle-east-policy](http://www.brookings.edu/about/centers/middle-east-policy)

Washington Institute for Near East Policy, [www.washingtoninstitute.org/](http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/)

## Media

*Arutz Sheva/IsraelNationalNews.com*, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/>

*Globes*, <http://www.globes.co.il.serveen>

*Ha'aretz*, <http://www.haaretz.com/>

Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA), <http://www.iba.org.il/>

*Israel HaYom*, <http://www.israelhayom.co.il>

*Jerusalem Post*, [www.jpost.com](http://www.jpost.com)

*Jerusalem Report*, [www.jrep.com](http://www.jrep.com)

Kol Israel—Voice of Israel, [www.kol-israel.com/](http://www.kol-israel.com/)

*Maariv*, [www.maariv.co.il](http://www.maariv.co.il)

*The Times of Israel*, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/>

*Yediot Aharonot*, [www.ynetnews.com](http://www.ynetnews.com)



## About the Authors

**Bernard Reich** is professor emeritus of political science and international affairs at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. He served as a member of the board of advisory editors of the *Middle East Journal* and the international editorial board of *Israel Affairs*. He is the author of *Quest for Peace: United States–Israel Relations and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*; *The United States and Israel: Influence in the Special Relationship*; *Israel: Land of Tradition and Conflict*; *Securing the Covenant: United States–Israel Relations after the Cold War*; *Arab-Israeli Conflict and Conciliation: A Documentary History*; and *A Brief History of Israel*; editor and coauthor of *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*; *Israel Faces the Future*; *Israeli National Security Policy: Political Actors and Perspectives*; *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa: A Biographical Dictionary*; *Israeli Politics in the 1990s: Key Domestic and Foreign Policy Factors*; *An Historical Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*; *Political Dictionary of Israel*; *Historical Dictionary of Israel*; and *The A to Z of Israel*; and author or coauthor of numerous articles, book chapters, and monographs on Israel, Middle East politics, international politics, and U.S. foreign policy.

**David Howard Goldberg** was for many years director of research and education for the Canada-Israel Committee in Toronto. He is a freelance Middle East policy analyst, researcher, and writer. He taught political science and international relations at York University, held professional appointments with the Foundation for Middle East Studies and Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East, and was publisher of the journal *Middle East Focus*. He is the author of *Foreign Policy and Ethnic Interest Groups: American and Canadian Jews Lobby for Israel*; and *Democracy in Action: A Guide to the Participants and Issues in Israeli Politics*; coauthor of *Political Dictionary of Israel*; *Historical Dictionary of Israel*, 2nd ed.; and *The A to Z of Israel*; contributing coeditor of *The Domestic Battleground: Canada and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*; and *The Decline of the Soviet Union and the Transformation of the Middle East*; and author or coauthor of numerous articles, chapters, reviews, and review essays on Israel, Middle East politics, Israel-Diaspora relations, and Canada's Middle East policy.