My Israel: A Non-Traditional Approach to Israel Advocacy



Shaina Wasserman Curriculum Guide May 2006

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RATIONALE

Does "Israel" mean the Jewish state, our homeland, a news headline, or the realization of the Zionist dream? The resounding answer is: YES! Israel is all of these things and more. Every Jew who forms an attachment to Israel uses at least one of these entry points to create that connection. Israel becomes central to our Jewish lives because there are so many different ways that we can connect to Israel.

This curriculum guide combines two ideas: 1) Israel, the eternal hope and homeland of the Jews, is the portal to a profound connection with the Jewish people; and 2) Jewish college students on college campuses are often looked upon as de facto Israel experts and are expected to defend Israel. To that end, this curriculum is designed to enable 12th grade religious school students to explore Israeli history, culture, politics, and people while equipping them with the resources and information needed in order to speak intelligently about Israel and continue their personal Israel education upon high school graduation.

Beginning with the emergence of the Zionist movement in the late 19th century, this course examines Israeli history through the lenses of Israeli society, culture, politics, and people. This method of examining Israeli history enables the learner to peel back the layers of Israel, exposing different viewpoints and understandings of certain events and people.

Studying Israel connects Jews to Jewish history, the global Jewish community, and the eternal Jewish aspiration for freedom and autonomy. As the Israeli national anthem, *Hatikva*, states: "od lo avda tikvatanu…lehiot am chofshi be'artzeinu" – "our

¹ The phrase, "the defense of Israel" does not mean the military defense of Israel against its neighbors and enemies. Rather, this broad phrase refers to understanding and defending Israel's military, political, social, and economic actions. In addition, it does not imply a right or left wing political slant.

hope is not yet lost...to be a free nation in our land." Since the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jewish people have hoped for their own land, where they can govern themselves, establish their own distinctively Jewish culture, and practice their religion. While this dream has been fulfilled, there is still more progress to be made. Today, there is still hope that Israel can become not only a Jewish homeland, but a place where new Jewish dreams can be fulfilled. American Jews, as members of *klal Yisrael* should understand not only these dreams but the ongoing struggle to fulfill them.

This curriculum also teaches Israel advocacy and emphasizes the importance of being able to express different, and often conflicting, viewpoints on issues related to Israel with knowledge, respect and conviction. One particular opinion or philosophy is not promoted; rather, several different perspectives on Israel are included so that students can make their own decisions and learn to think critically about issues related to Israel. Part of critical thinking is to know that one does not need to have all of the answers. This curriculum provides extensive information about local, national and campus-based resources that will be available to the students while at college.

This curriculum rests on the following enduring understandings.

- 1. The process of building (physically and ideologically) the state of Israel created a politically and culturally diverse Israel.
- 2. Israeli history can engage Jewish community members in exploring their Jewish identities as individuals and as members of *klal Yisrael*.
- 3. Although Israel is the homeland for all Jews, some Jews feel unwelcome because the "Jewish state" can be less than accepting of some Jewish religious practices.

4. By integrating the importance of both emotions and facts, Diaspora Jews can formulate personal stances on Israel and its actions.

These understandings underscore the complexity of studying Israel and the diversity of issues that can be uncovered. This curriculum focuses on strengthening the students' Jewish identity and connection to *klal Yisrael* through the study of Israel. This sense of belonging will enhance the student's cultural (and possibly religious) Jewish sense of self.

This curriculum provides a variety of entry points from which students can connect to Israel, and through Israel to Judaism. Students will delve into different understandings of Israel's history in order to create their own personal opinions. This guide is designed so that students will complete the year with an increased knowledge of Israeli history, people, and trends, and will feel equipped to face the challenges of being a Jew on college campuses.

CURRICULUM GOALS

- > To learn about Israel from multiple perspectives and recognize our own biases about Israel
- > To struggle with the complex nature of Israel
- > To explore students' personal connections with Israel
- > To provide an open forum and safe space to discuss Israel
- > To become familiar with Israel's timeline and history
- > To enable the students to speak intelligently about Israel as "de facto" Israel experts on college campuses
- > To analyze how Israel's rapid growth and strength affected its society
- > To assess Israel's growth as a Jewish state and homeland after more than 50 years

May 2006

Dear Teachers,

- 1. Audience This curriculum is designed for 12th grade supplementary school students. Although it can be adapted for any schedule, the lessons were planned with a 2 hour weekly class in mind.
- 2. Curriculum Organization The curriculum explores Israel's emerging and developing issues from Israel's roots until today. The overarching theme of each unit is based on Erik Erikson's ideas of child development. Erik Erikson has a well-accepted theory of the 7 stages of social development. This curriculum measures Israel's growth through those same stages.
- 3. Course Structure Although this is a supplementary school course, and there is no required homework, it is a very intensive and "academic" course. There is a lot of in-class reading and primary document analysis. Students will spend a lot of time reading and analyzing documents for content and biases. They will also be doing a lot of writing, most of which could be done in groups. However, it is my hope that the activities will make the reading fun and interesting.
- 4. Memorable Moments Throughout the curriculum are "Memorable Moments." These are special activities that will leave a lasting impression on the students in terms of their emotions and thoughts. These activities are designed to engage the students in a thoughtful and emotional way and to push the students to challenge their own ideas.
- 5. Timeline Activity Each unit begins with a "Timeline Activity." Although this is not a history course, it is important to put Israel in into its proper historical context. I suggest either putting up a timeline around the room or adding sections to the timeline as you continue through the year. This activity should help orient the students to the time period and the issues. This activity also provides some continuity and cohesion to the curriculum.
- 6. Authentic Assessment Newspaper Activity Each unit includes an authentic assessment in the form of the Newspaper Activity. An authentic assessment is a way for you to gage what the students' have learned in a way that is useful to the students. The process of completing this type of assessment also furthers the students' learning.

The Newspaper Activity appears at the end of units 2-6. Students will become "investigative reporters" and will produce newspaper articles (or news reports) based on the information they received. Over the course of the year, the "reporters" will have to reconcile the different accounts and deal with the "bias" that emerges in their articles. This is an opportunity for students to process what they have learned and rewrite it in a way that acknowledges existing biases. At

the end of the year, the students will have a complete newspaper that they can take home with them.

- 7. Resources This curriculum relies heavily on resources and primary documents. Today, most of these resources are available on the web. Israel is a "hot topic" and information about Israel is always changing and being updated. I would suggest that (when relevant) you make sure that you have the most up-to-date information. The websites listed at the end of this guide can help you.
- 8. Other Ideas While not essential for the course, I suggest creating a class listserve. In this way, the students can continue class discussions outside of class and share resources that they may find on the internet. A listserve will also demonstrate that Israel is not just a topic for the classroom.

I hope you enjoy teaching this curriculum as much as I enjoyed putting it together.

Behatzlecha!!

Shaina Wasserman

UNIT 1: WHAT IS ISRAEL?

Understandings:

- 1) Israeli history can engage Jewish community members in exploring their Jewish identities – as individuals and as members of klal Yisrael.
- 2) By integrating the importance of both emotions and facts, Diaspora Jews can formulate personal stances on Israel and its actions.

Essential Questions:

- 1) What is my relationship with Israel?
- 2) How can Israel embody different meanings for different people?

Goals:

- To define Israel according to the Torah, history, and the land;
- To introduce the idea of creating a personal connection with Israel;
- To introduce the layered approach to studying Israel.

Students will be able to:

- Assess multiple definitions of Israel;
- Analyze their own Zionist ideas and feelings towards Israel;
- Explain that dispute and a plurality of opinions is a concept rooted in Jewish text.

Note to Teacher:

This introductory unit is intended to set the stage for the rest of the year. In 2-3 lessons, you should be able to cover all of the suggested learning activities as well as an overview of the course. This unit is as much about "chevrati" group building as it is about developing a foundation for understanding Israel.

Suggested Educational Learning Activities

> See Resources for Unit 1 for all worksheets and readings

1. Introduction to Israel - "The Sticker Song"

(This could be a great activity for the first class session. This song provides an overview of politics and social and economic trends in Israel.) (Suggested Time: 30 minutes)

Pass out the song lyrics and listen to the song in Hebrew.

Ask if anyone has heard of this song before? (If yes, ask the student to share what he/she knows with the class)

What strikes you as weird/interesting/unusual about this song?

- 1. Lyrics don't really make sense together
- 2. There's no common theme its all over the place

Explain that this song was written by an Israeli writer, David Grossman, who strung together bumper sticker slogans. The song was released by the rap group Hadag Nachash in 2003.

Ask: What can we learn from looking at bumper stickers?

Pass out a chart with subject headings based on the subjects discussed in the song.

Assign each chevruta (small group), a subject heading to look for in the song. Each group will read the lyrics of the song and will write down the phrases that fit into their category. Some phrases could be part of multiple categories. Each group will then present their list and will describe that issue based on what they have learned from the song (for example: in the "territory" category, they might explain that there is disagreement about whether we should give up territory, from the West Bank to the Golan Heights).

Ask: After reading this song, what questions do you have about Israel or what topics do you hope will be covered in this class this year? Write down this list and save it for the last unit.

Say: This song is a great "table of contents" of the issues that Israel faces. We will discuss most of these issues in greater depth during the year. This song also reminds us that there is a plethora of opinions on each of these issues.

2. Maps

(Suggested Time: 25-30 minutes)

- 1. Place a large map of modern Israel on the wall. On the wall next to the map, tape small pieces of paper with the names of Israel's major cities and bodies of water. Review the location of each of these cities. As you mention a city, tape the name to the map (this will make the name a larger so everyone can see it).
- 2. Discussion
 - 1. What types of information can we learn from maps?
 - 2. What are some of the different types of maps that we could use to study Israel? (topographical, military maps, border maps, peace plan maps)
 - 3. Why is it important for us to be aware of these different types?
 - 4. Say: Throughout the year, we will be looking at these different maps. We must understand that the borders have changed and are still disputed today. For today, we are focusing on familiarizing ourselves with the overall layout of the land.

3. Map Game

Ask for a volunteer to come up in front of the class, next to the map. This student will become the map of Israel. Instruct him to shape his body like the state of Israel (see example at http://www.habo.org.za/db/photos.php?pic=10018).

- Put your right leg on your left knee, or just below it
- Place your left arm up in the air, curve it so that it makes a circle, and rest it on the right side of your head
- Your right arm hangs at its side

Once his body is in the correct position, ask for student volunteers to come up and place a city on the human map. The student will take the taped piece of paper off of the wall map and place it on the "map" student's body. The other students will help direct the student. At the end, the class will have a human map.

Summary statement: Today we moved a map of Israel from the wall to become part of a student. Israel is a part of us. Throughout this course, we will discover how the many facets of Israel relate (or don't relate) to us. We will have many maps to guide us.

Cities/regions: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Beer Sheva, Eilat, Negev, Acco, Gaza Strip, West Bank, Galil, Golan Heights, Dead Sea, Lake Kinneret, Mediterranean Sea

3. Dispute is a "Jewish" Virtue

(This activity takes about 1 hour and can be used with other activities in Unit 1.)

Objectives: Students will be able to...

- Explain how Jewish texts can shed light on opinions about Israel;
- Provide modern and textual examples of healthy debates;
- Cite textual examples of the purpose of debate.

1. Opening Discussion (5 minutes)

- Why is there an ongoing debate on Israel?
- Why are some people nervous about voicing differing, and often contrasting opinions?

Today we are going to delve into the issue of debate using the Talmud as our guide. The Talmud will show us that debate is healthy and is part of the Jewish tradition

2. Define terms: (10 minutes)

- Mishna is the first rabbinic document and was compiled around 200 CE, most likely by Judah Hanasi. It focuses on Jewish law and is organized by subject.
- Talmud is a commentary on the Mishna. The Babylonian Talmud was redacted around the 6th/7th century CE. It begins with legal issues but is a combination of halacha and aggadah.

Discussion:

- 1. How can the Talmud help us understand issues today?
- 2. Why use Jewish sources when discussing modern issues? (possible answers below)
 - o It lends authority to the topic or approach;
 - o Authenticity:
 - o It helps establish a shared history among people; it brings people together and highlights similarities;
 - It grounds the concepts in a Jewish and historical context;
 - Jewish texts serve as a resource.

3. Text Study: Mishnah, Berachot 1:1-2 (25 minutes)

Goal of reading text: Debate is healthy and natural

Pre-reading Question:

• What do you think Jewish tradition says about disagreement?

Read the text together as a class, line by line

Questions:

- How many opinions does this text offer? Reread the text and number the different opinions as you read.
- Is their consensus among the rabbis? If not, how are the differences reconciled?
- What are the rabbis' attitude about consensus and multiple opinions?

Conclusion (5-10 minutes)

- Debate is healthy and expected;
- What other conclusions can you draw?
- How do you encourage others to engage in a debate on Israel?

Authentic Assessment:

In this introductory unit, the preliminary assessment is to gage whether the students are beginning to think critically about Israel and to reflect on their original assumptions. This can be assessed through the "My Israel" worksheet which is part of the lesson plan. This worksheet should be collected and reviewed by the teacher. It will be referred to again in the concluding unit.

Text Study on Jewish Disputes

Mishnah, Berakhot 1:1-2

- 1:1 From what time do they recite the Shema in the evening? From the time when the priests enter to eat their heave offering, until the end of the first watch: these are the words of Rabbi Eliezer. And the sages say: Until midnight. Rabban Gamaliel says: Until daybreak. Once his sons returned from a wedding. They said to him, "We have not yet recited the Shema." He said to them, "If it is not yet daybreak, you are obligated to recite it." And not this alone -- rather, every matter about which the sages said, "Until midnight," the obligation holds until daybreak. The offering of the fat and the entrails -- their obligation continues until daybreak, and all sacrifices that must be eaten in one day may be eaten until daybreak. If so, why did the sages say, "Until midnight?" In order to keep a man far from sin.
- 1:2 From what time do they recite the Shema in the morning? From the time that a man can distinguish between blue and white. Rabbi Eliezer says: Between blue and green. And one must complete it before sunrise. Rabbi Joshua says: Before the third hour, for it is the custom of royalty to rise at the third hour. One who recites it later does not transgress, for he is like one who reads from the Torah.

Questions for Discussion:

- 1. How many opinions does this text offer? Reread the text and number the different opinions as you read.
- 2. Is their consensus among the rabbis? If not, how are the differences reconciled?
- 3. What are the rabbis' attitude about consensus and multiple opinions?

Unit 1 Lesson Plan Definitions of Israel

(Note: This lesson is scripted to take about 90 minutes. This should be one of the first lessons in the course and could be combined with some of the other shorter activities in Unit 1. You may want to tape the quotes for part 2 to the wall before the students arrive in order to make a smooth transition between activities.)

Objectives: Students will be able to....

- Develop a personal definition of Israel;
- Compare multiple definitions of Israel;
- Interpret the different concepts of Israel

1. Set Induction (10-15 minutes)

Pass out worksheet on personal connections to Israel. Ask students to complete the worksheet individually. Ask students to share answers to question number 1, 3, & 4. After sharing, collect the worksheets. They will be used again in the concluding unit.

2. Definitions of Israel (15-20 minutes)

Have quotes up around the room about Israel. Students will walk around the room and read each quote. They will then return to the quote that resonates with them. Make sure that there are at least 2 people at each quote (if not, ask students to move). In these small groups, the students will discuss:

- why they chose that particular quote
- what it means to them/ how they relate to it
- how it describes or helps us to understand Israel

3. Text Study (30 minutes)

Say: These quotes are just a few ways to understand Israel. We are now going to look at 2 longer passages about Israel. Stay in your small groups and I will pass out 2 new texts. One is from the Bible and one is from the modern Israeli writer Yehuda Amichai. In your groups, please read the text and answer the questions. Be prepared to share your answers to the last question from each text (questions in bold).

Text #1 - Numbers 13: 27-29

[While in the desert, Moses sent spies to check out Eretz Yisrael. This is the report back]

This is what they told him: "We came to the land you sent us to; it does indeed flow with milk and honey, and this is its fruit. However, the people who inhabit the country are powerful, and the cities are fortified and very large; moreover, we saw the Anakites there. Amalekites dwell in the Negev region; Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites inhabit the hill country; and Canaanites dwell by the Sea and along the Jordan."

Questions:

- 1. What is the mixed image of the land of Israel presented in this text?
 - The land of milk and honey versus an occupied land
- 2. If you were an Israelite who had been wandering in the desert for 40 years, how would you have responded to this news? What emotions would you need to succeed in this situation?
 - I would have been upset, frustrated, driven, confused, felt taken advantage of
 - In order to succeed, I would have had to overcome any feelings of hurt or betrayal and would have had to been strong and full of conviction.

3. How does this mixed image compare with our image of Israel today?

Text #2 - Tourists (Yehudah Amichai)

Once I sat on the steps by a gate at David's Tower, I placed my two heavy baskets at my side. A group of tourists was standing around their guide and I became their target marker. "You see that man with the baskets? Just to the right of his head there's an arch from the Roman period. Just right of his head." "But he's moving, he's moving!" I said to myself: redemption will come only if their guide tells them, "You see that arch from the Roman period? It's not important: but next to it, left and down a bit, there sits a man who's brought fruit and vegetables for his family."

Questions:

- 1. What are the two images of Israel described in this story?
 - Image 1 Biblical Israel, ancient Israel, archeological ruins, tourist site
 - Image 2 modern Israel, modern Israelis who go shopping, a "real" person
- 2. Which version of Israel does Amichai prefer and why?
 - The second image because it is more realistic;
 - Israel is not just about archeology
 - Israel is about real people who live there.
 - It is a modern country

3. How do we reconcile the different versions (and visions) of Israel?

Group discussion: Ask students to share their answers to questions number 3 for both texts. Spend more time focusing on the different versions of Israel. Explain that we need to understand that there are many, often conflicting, concepts of Israel. We don't have to agree or accept them all, but we do need to know that they exist.

4. Personal Encounters (15 – 25 minutes)

(This is a time for students to get to know each other and to begin to share their opinions about Israel.)

Create an inner and outer circle of students, with the inside students facing the outside students. The teacher will ask a list of questions. Before asking a new series of questions, the outside circle will rotate one seat to the left. In this way, students will have new partners for each question. Allow 3 minutes for each question, but be prepared to give more or less time depending on how talkative the students are.

- Discuss your connection to Israel. Have you visited Israel before? Studied about Israel? Do you know people that live there?
- Do you follow Israeli current events? If so, how? If not, why not? Why is it important for you to keep up with Israel news?
- What does it mean to be a "Zionist?" Has the term "Zionism" changed over time? If so, how?
- Do you feel comfortable discussing Israel critically with other Jews? With non-Jews? If there is a difference, why?
- What are you most looking forward to learning in this class?

5. Conclusion (5-10 minutes)

Ask for volunteers to share their answers to the last question (What are you most looking forward to learning).

Reiterate that the two major goals of this course are to provide the students with information about Israel and to challenge their assumptions about Israel.

UNIT 1: WHAT IS ISRAEL?

SOURCES

Activity #1: The Bumper Sticker Song

- Song Lyrics
- Worksheet

Lesson Plan

- "My Israel" Worksheet
- Israel Quotes
- Text Study

SONG OF THE BUMPER-STICKERS

Dor shalem doresh shalom, tnu tzahal lenatze'ach, am chazak oseh shalom, tnu letzahal lekaseach,

ein shalom im aravim al titnu lahem rovim kravi zeh hachi achi gius lekulam, ptor lekulam, ein shum ye'ush ba'olam yesha zeh kan na nach nachman me'uman no fear, mashi'ach ba'ir ein aravim ein pigu'im

bagatz mesaken yehudim ha'am im hagolan ha'am im ha transfer test beyerka chaver, atah chaser hakadosh baruch hu anachnu bocharim becha b'chirah yeshirah zeh rah hakadosh baruch hu anachnu kana'im lecha yamutu hakana'im

kamah ro'a efshar livlo'a how maba terachem aba terachem father kor'im li nachman ve'ani megamgem mercy kamah ro'a efshar livlo'a my naraba terachem aba terachem stammabaruch hashem ani noshem.

medinat halachah - halchah hamedinah mi shenolad hirvi'ach yichyeh hamelech hamashi'ach yesh li bitachon bashalom shel sharon chevron me'az uletamid umi shelo nolad hifsid A full generation demands peace, let the IDF win, a strong nation makes peace, let the army mow them down,

no peace with the Arabs, don't give them guns, combat's where it's at, bro draft for all, exemption for all there's no despair in the world judea and samaria is here na nach Nachman from Uman no fear, the messiah's in town no arabs, no bombs

the supreme court endangers jews the nation with the Golan the nation with the the transfer test in Yirka my friend, you are missed the holy one, blessed be he we vote for you a direct vote is bad the holy one, blessed be he we are jealous to you may the jalous die.

how much evil can be swallow? father have mercy, father have mercy my name is Nachman and I stamstammer how much evil can be swallow? father have mercy, father have mercy blessed be He, that I breathe...

a state of religion - the state is gone whoever's born benefits long live the king messiah i'm secure in Sharon's peace chevron ir ha'avot shalom transfer kahane tzadak

CNN meshaker tzarich manhig chazak sachtin al hashalom todah al habitachon ein lanu yeladim lemilchamot meyutarot hasmol ozer la'aravim bibi tov layehudim posh'ei oslo ledin anachnu kan hem sham achim lo mafkirim akirat yeshuvim mefaleget et ha'am mavet lebogdim tnu lachayot lichyot mavet la'archim.

kamah ro'a efshar livlo'a... (x3)

Lechasel, laharog, legaresh, lehat'ot how much evil can be swallow... lehadbir, lehasgir, onesh mavet, no fear lehashmid, lehakchid, lemager, leva'er. hakol biglalcha, chaver.

Hebron always was and will be whoever was not born missed out Hebor of the forefathers hello to transfer Kahane was right

CNN lies a strong leader's needed nice going on the peace thanks for the security we have no children left for futher wars the left helps the Arabs Bibi's good to the Jews Sentence the Oslo criminals

we don't desert brothers uprooting settlements splits the nation death to the traitors let the animals live death to values!

us here, them there

(x3)

To liquidate, to kill, to banish, to deport to sanitise, to lock up, death sentence, no fear, to wipe out, to annihilate, to cut off, to burn. all for you, my friend.



SHIRAT HASTICKER – THE BUMPER STICKER SONG

Write the bumper sticker slogans in the appropriate column

SETTLERS/ TERRITORY			
RELIGION			
PEACE			
MILITARY/ WARS			
MEDIA			
ISRAELI LEADERS			
DEMOCRACY/ ELECTIONS			
ARABS		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

My Israel

	. Israel is
2	. I am/am not (circle one) connected to Israel because
3,	When I think about Biblical Israel, I think about
4.	When I think about the modern state of Israel, I think about
5.	My conception of Israelis is
6.	I love Israel because

Israel Definition Quotes

These quotes should be cut out and placed around the room.

God said to Abram, "Raise your eyes and look out from where you are, tsafonah v'negbah v'kedmah v'yamah, to the north and south, to the east and west, for I give all that you see to you and your ancestors forever.

~Genesis, 13:14-15

Our claim to the Land rests on whatever the Land or its life gains through our labor...We seek life, nothing more or less, our own life, from our own life-source, from the nature of the Land...We come to the Land to be imbedded in its natural soil from which we were uprooted, through our roots to draw sustenance from the earth, through our leaves to breathe in nourishment from the winds and from the creative power that lies in the rays of light.

If we do not till the soil with our own hands, the soil will not be ours – the Land will not be ours, and we will not be the People of the Land. ~A.D. Gordon

God turns the desert into pools of water,
The parched land into springs of water.
And there, God lets the hungry live;
They establish a town to live in.
They sow fields, plant vineyards, and get a fruitful field.
~Pslam 107:35-37

This year we were slaves; next year we shall be free.
This year we are here; next year we shall be in the Land of Israel.
~The Passover Haggadah

Tragedy is a soul without a body and a comedy, a body without a soul. King Lear in the forest, who used to have a body: throne, followers, scepter, a red robe on his shoulders and a crown on his head, and lost that body - he is tragic. And on the other hand, when the clown comes on stage and puts on a body royal, but inside, remains what he was - this is comedy. So far we have been tragedy, and abstract soul without a body. And the state - this is the form, the body we put on.

~David Ben-Gurion

. . .

And while the trees and boulders slumber A captive sleeps, in thrall The city that is torn asunder Divided by a wall....

Yerushalayim of gold And of copper agleam All your songs I remember As of you I dream

Her rocky caverns darkly shiver As cold winds wail and blow No one walks down to Jordan

river

On the old road to Jericho....

Now when I come to sing your story And to recount your praise I cannot but retell your glory Back in your greatest days

Once more we drink from the old fountain We have come back for good The shofar blows on the same mountain Where once our temple stood.

Jerusalem Of Gold, Naomi Shemer

Israelis are like a Sabra (the fruit of a cactus). On the outside they are prickly and thorny, difficult to deal with. BUT on the inside, they are soft and sweet.

The only thing Chicken about Israel is their soup! ~Bob Hope

We do not rejoice in victories. We rejoice when a new kind of cotton is grown and when strawberries bloom in Israel. ~Golda Meir

Eretz Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

~Israel Declaration of Independence

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. ~Hatikva, Israel's National Anthem

TEXT STUDY Different Images of Israel

- > Read the following texts with your group & answer the questions
- > Be prepared to share with the class your answers to questions #3

Text #1 - Numbers 13: 27-29

[While in the desert, Moses sent spies to check out Eretz Yisrael. This is the report back]

This is what they told him: "We came to the land you sent us to; it does indeed flow with milk and honey, and this is its fruit. However, the people who inhabit the country are powerful, and the cities are fortified and very large; moreover, we saw the Anakites there. Amalekites dwell in the Negev region; Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites inhabit the hill country; and Canaanites dwell by the Sea and along the Jordan."

Questions:

- 1. What is the mixed image of the land of Israel presented in this text?
- 2. If you were an Israelite who had been wandering in the desert for 40 years, how would you have responded to this news? What emotions would you need to succeed in this situation?
- 3. How does this mixed image compare with our image of Israel today?

Text #2 - Tourists (Yehudah Amichai)

Once I sat on the steps by a gate at David's Tower, I placed my two heavy baskets at my side. A group of tourists was standing around their guide and I became their target marker. "You see that man with the baskets? Just to the right of his head there's an arch from the Roman period. Just right of his head." "But he's moving, he's moving!" I said to myself: redemption will come only if their guide tells them, "You see that arch from the Roman period? It's not important: but next to it, left and down a bit, there sits a man who's brought fruit and vegetables for his family."

Questions:

- 1. What are the two images of Israel described in this story?
- 2. Which version of Israel does Amichai prefer and why?
- 3. How do we reconcile the different versions (and visions) of Israel

UNIT 2: THE BIRTH OF THE ZIONIST IDEA

Understandings:

- 1) The process of building (physically and ideologically) the state of Israel created a politically and culturally diverse Israel.
- 2) The emergence of Zionism and the building of the Zionist dream was a success due to the combined efforts of ideologists and philanthropists in the Diaspora and chalutzim in Eretz Yisrael.

Essential Questions:

- 1) How did competing visions of a Jewish state translate into how Jews embodied their Zionism?
- 2) How does the Jewish state today reflect its multi-faced origins?

Goals:

- To introduce the rationale for the emergence of the Zionist movement
- To introduce the different Zionist ideologies
- To demonstrate the different ways in which Zionists supported the Yishuv from abroad and from within Palestine
- To investigate evidence of Zionist ideologies in Israeli society today

Students will be able to:

- Summarize the arguments of the five main pre-state Zionist ideologies;
- Compare and contrast the Zionist efforts from within the Yishuv and from Zionists living in the Diaspora.
- Create the beginnings of a personal definition of Zionism

Note to Teacher:

The "meat" of the curriculum begins in this unit. This unit includes 4 activity ideas, in addition to a memorable moment activity, an authentic assessment, and a scripted lesson plan. Please note that the second activity about Zionist ideologies and the lesson plan cover similar content areas.

This unit introduces two activities that appear in units 2-6. The Timeline Activity is a great way to begin each unit with a review of major events and people. The Newspaper Activity is an authentic assessment and provides a creative way for the students to review what they have learned. It also enables students to reflect upon their personal biases. This activity can be done in all or just some of the units.

Suggested time allocation: 4-6 class sessions

Concepts & Key People:

Zionism

Zionism, the national movement for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland and the resumption of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel, advocated, from its inception, tangible as well as spiritual aims. The term "Zionism" was coined in 1890 by Nathan Birnbaum.

Political Zionism

Political Zionism stressed the importance of political action and deemed the attainment of political rights in Palestine as a prerequisite for the fulfillment of the Zionist enterprise. Political Zionism is associated with Theodor Herzl, who considered the Jewish problem a political one that should be solved by overt action in the international arena. His aim was to establish "a secure haven, under public law, for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel."

Cultural and Spiritual Zionism

Ahad Ha'am saw the crux of the problem in the question of Judaism, which, he believed, had lost its spiritual assets — its sources of creative and national might. Because Ahad Ha'am did not believe that Palestine could accommodate all of world Jewry, he believed that a Jewish state would not solve the problem of the Jews' social and economic status. Efforts should concentrate on establishing a national spiritual center, a hub of high quality life in Palestine, which would radiate to all Diaspora communities. The correct course of action, Ahad Ha'am argued, is extensive and continuing educational activity among Jews and moderate settlement activity in Palestine.

Labor/Socialist Zionism

Socialist Zionism strove to achieve Jewish national and social redemption by fusing Zionism with Socialism. Its philosophy was based on the assumption that the problem of Diaspora Jewry would remain unsolved even after the Socialist revolution, and that the solution was the emigration of Jews to, and their concentration in, a territorial base. Labor Zionists argued that Zionism is a historic-economic necessity for the Jewish people and the historic role of spearheading the Jewish national liberation process is reserved for the Jewish proletariat. Socialist Zionism is the precursor of most of Israel's settlement movements and the Israel Labor Party, one of Israel's two main political parties.

Revisionist Zionism

In 1925, Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky established the Revisionist Zionist Alliance, which advocated a revision, i.e., reexamination, of the principles of Political Zionism. The declared goals of Revisionist ideology included relentless pressure on Great Britain, including petitions and mass demonstrations, for Jewish statehood on both banks of the Jordan River; a Jewish majority in Palestine; a reestablishment of the Jewish regiments; and military training for youth. After the State of Israel was established, the Revisionist Zionist Organization merged with other movements to form the Herut party, a component of the Likud, one of Israel's main political parties.

Religious Zionism

Religious Zionism, based on a fusion of Jewish religion and nationhood, aims to restore not only Jewish political freedom but also Jewish religion in the light of the Torah and its commandments. For Religious Zionism, Judaism based on the commandments is the foundation for Jewish national life in the homeland. Several Zionist political parties

(Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrahi) were created. Today, they are united under the National Relgious Party which is active in Israeli politics today.

Theordor Herzl

Theodor Herzl, the visionary of Zionism, was born in Budapest in 1860 and was educated in the spirit of the German-Jewish Enlightenment of the period, learning to appreciate secular culture. After covering the Dreyfus Affair in 1894, Herzl concluded that anti-Semitism was a stable and immutable factor in human society, which assimilation did not solve. Herzl argued that the essence of the Jewish problem was not individual but national. The Jews are one people, he said, and their plight could be transformed into a positive force by the establishment of a Jewish state with the consent of the great powers.

Herzl appealed to the Jewish masses in Europe, and the result was the convening of the First Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, on August 29, 1897. The Congress was the first interterritorial gathering of Jews on a national and secular basis. Here the delegates declared "Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law." At the Congress the World Zionist Organization was established as the political arm of the Jewish people, and Herzl was elected its first president. Herzl coined the phrase "If you will, it is no dream," which became the motto of the Zionist movement.

Ahad Ha'am

Born near Kiev in the Ukraine, Asher Ginsberg (Ahad Ha'am) became the central figure in the movement for Cultural or Spiritual Zionism. Ahad Ha'am believed that the creation in Eretz-Israel of a Jewish cultural center would act to reinforce Jewish life in the Diaspora. His hope was that in this center a new Jewish national identity based on Jewish ethics and values might resolve the crisis of Judaism. In 1922, he arrived in Eretz-Israel to spend the last five years of his life in Tel Aviv.

Ze'ev Jabotinsky

Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky was born on October 18, 1880, in the city of Odessa, Russia. The pogrom against the Jews of Kishinev in 1903 spurred Jabotinsky to undertake Zionist activity. He organized self-defense units and fought for Jewish minority rights in Russia. Following the outbreak of World War I in 1914, he began working for the establishment of the Jewish Legion which was established in August 1917.

In 1925, Jabotinsky established the Union of Zionists Revisionists which called for the immediate establishment of a Jewish State. In 1923, Jabotinsky led the newly created youth movement Betar which aimed at educating its members with a military and nationalistic spirit. In the 1930s and 1940s, Jabotinsky led several youth and militant movements working towards the liberation and building of Eretz Yisrael

Rav Abraham Kook

Rav Abraham Kook was born in Griva, Latvia in 1865 and followed his father into the rabbinate. In 1904, he came to the Land of Israel to assume the rabbinical post in Jaffa, which also included responsibility for the new secular Zionist agricultural settlements

nearby. His influence on people in different walks of life was already noticeable, as he attempted to introduce Torah and Halakha into the life of the city and the settlements. He was later appointed the first Chief Rabbi of Israel (though the state had not yet been born). Rav Kook was a man of Halakha in the strictest sense, while at the same time possessing an unusual openness to new ideas. This drew many religious and nonreligious people to him, but also led to widespread misunderstanding of his ideas.

The Balfour Declaration

On November 2, 1917, the British government decided to endorse the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. After discussions within the cabinet and consultations with Jewish leaders, the decision was made public in a letter from British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur James Balfour to Lord Rothschild. The contents of this letter became known as the Balfour Declaration.

British Mandate

Following the end of World War I, Great Britain was entrusted with the Mandate for Palestine. Recognizing "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine," Great Britain was called upon to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine-Eretz Israel (Land of Israel). The British Mandate authorities granted the Jewish and Arab communities the right to run their internal affairs Thus the yishuv's (Jewish settlement) economy expanded, a Hebrew education network was organized and cultural life flourished. In the 1930s, the Mandatory government became embroiled in Jewish-Arab disputes and restricted Jewish immigration. After the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution to partition Palestine on November 29, 1947, Britain announced the termination of its Mandate over Palestine, to take effect on May 15, 1948.

Suggested Educational Learning Activities:

1. **Timeline Activity** (This could be done at the beginning of units 2-6) (suggested time: 40-60 minutes)

There will be a timeline up along the walls of the classroom which was introduced in the introductory unit. On the first day of this unit, produce a larger version of the first section of the timeline (1881 - 1947). The focus of the unit is not on the events, but this timeline will help students place these events and the relevant themes in a larger context.

- Each group will be assigned one (or two) of the events/trends that took place during this era. They will be provided with information to sort through and will create presentations about the event(s) for their classmates. In the presentation, each group should answer some of the following questions:
 - 1. What are the different ways to understand this event?
 - 2. Is there a particular way that this event is remembered? If so, how?
 - 3. Why is this event relevant to the development of the state of Israel?
 - 4. In what ways (if at all) could this event affect my Jewish identity and my connection to Israel?

 Events (See Unit Resources for materials): First Aliyah, Second Aliyah, Third Aliyah, the First World Zionist Congress, Pogroms in 1881 and 1903, Balfour Declaration, Tel Chai

2. Defining ourselves as Zionists (suggested time: 40 minutes)

- 1. Give each student a piece of paper with the word "Zionism" written in the middle. Have them write down everything they think about the topic on the paper. Have students share their lists with the class and record their answers on the board, putting checks next to ideas that are repeated.
 - Look at the off-mentioned ideas. How do these concepts embody Zionism? Are they positive or negative?
 - Look at seemingly contradictory ideas. How can two opposing ideas define the same concept? Is there a way to reconcile these ideas?
 - Are some of these ideas connected with a specific time period?
- 2. Put up definitions of different types of Zionism without the labels around the room. Have the students walk around and read each one. They should then stand with the one that they identify with the most. Have each group (or individual) share what their definition is, why they feel they identify with it, and if they know the definition name, have them try to come up with what it is.

3. "A Land without a people for a people without a land" – The Arab Question (suggested time: 45 minutes)

From the 1880s – 1948, the Zionist leaders responded to what was known as the "Arab Question" in different ways. The "Arab Question" refers to the Zionists' responses to the Arabs living in Palestine. This is an inquiry activity in which students will receive a packet of statements by different Zionist leaders. Each packet has a corresponding question sheet. Students will work with a partner or in small groups to read the essays and complete the worksheets. At the end, the students should have some understanding of the different approaches the Jewish leaders had towards the Arabs living in Palestine.

- 1. David Ben-Gurion
- 2. Ze'ev Jabotinsky
- 3. Ahad Ha'am

4. The role of Jewish Philanthropy in Israel (suggested time: 40 minutes)

Hold a debate about the best way to be a Zionist and support Israel – Is it by making Aliyah or through philanthropy? Can a "real" Zionist live in the Diaspora and support Israel financially or does he need to live in Palestine/Israel? There is some information in the resources to help craft the debate, but most of the arguments should come from the students' creative thinking. This issue is relevant to the time period and to today.

 Pro-Philanthropy main argument – We provide the financial support for the creation of settlements and infrastructure such as schools and universities

- Pro-Aliyah main argument We risk our own lives on the front lines in order to establish a Jewish homeland. If we weren't living here, without Jewish settlement, there could be no Israel.
- The format of the debate:
 - 1. (15 minutes)Each group should review the supporting material, craft their argument and assign roles.
 - 2. (3 minutes) Opening statements in which each side concisely states their position
 - 3. (12 minutes) Main argument
 - 4. (6 minutes) Rebuttal (optional)
 - 5. (4 minutes) Closing arguments
- Conclusion: Announce that it was a fierce debate, but in the end it was a tie. Both philanthropy and aliyah are necessary parts of Zionism. discussion about Aliyah and philanthropy today. Ask: Have you ever thought about Aliyah? Do you know anyone who made Aliyah? What was it like for that person?

Memorable Moment:

Chalutzim – Mock meeting at Kibbutz Degania

This is a role play of what it was like to be a chalutz (pioneer) in Palestine in the 1910s.

- 1. Visualization: The year is 1910. You arrived 5 months ago from Poland, Russia and Lithuania, armed only with a small bag of clothes, some books, and tons of Zionist ideals. When you arrived at the Jaffa port, you said that you wanted to work the land, to be a chalutz (pioneer). Although you had no agricultural experience you wanted to help establish the Jewish state with your own sweat and You were sent to the Galilee to help form a new socialist Zionist collective, Kibbutz Degania (established in 1909). Now that you are here at Degania you sway between being blissfully happy and woefully tired. Your clothing is torn and old, your books are dusty from disuse, and your Zionist ideals are on the verge of being shattered. Life here is tough. You wake up with the sun everyday to perform backbreaking work in the fields or with the animals. You work until dinner time at which time you are called to the chader ochel (dinning hall) for the group dinner. Food is scarce but they make sure that there is enough to go around. After dinner, just when you think you will collapse, there is the nightly group meeting. At this meeting, group issues are discussed such as work assignments, living arrangements, and economic issues. The meeting is run by a fellow worker and the sessions are often heated. When the meeting is over, there is usually dancing or singing. Momentarily, the weariness of the day is forgotten and everyone is full of spirit and joy. You eventually return to the tent you share with two others and collapse, barely sleeping before waking up to start another
- 2. Announce that there will be a kvutsa (group) meeting in the chader ochel. Pass out roles for each student. Encourage them to participate in the meeting. A student or the teacher should run the meeting. The agenda is:
 - Women's roles

- Accepting new members
- Hebrew versus Yiddish as the "official" language
- Work assignments
- New business?
- 3. Closing Discussion Reality Versus Myth
 - Debrief role play, asking students what it was like to be in their individual roles
 - In what ways did the reality measure up to the myth and in what ways did it fail?

Authentic Assessment:

Newspaper Activity

As part of the ongoing assessment, students will become "investigative reporters" and will produce newspaper articles (or news reports) based on the information they received. Over the course of the year, the "reporters" will have to reconcile the different accounts and deal with the "bias" that emerges in their articles.

- 1. Students will return to their groups from the timeline activity (or from any other text-based activity) and will have to write a newspaper article based on the readings they read. Students can work with a partner or individually so that there will be multiple articles based on the same information. They should take into account the information and the bias in their source material. The students can choose to write whatever kind of article they choose (news article, editorial, political cartoons, character profiles, etc.), or they can do a news broadcast if a video camera is available.
- 2. Appoint 1-2 students to be the newspaper editor(s). They are responsible for assembling the newspaper layout once the articles are written. This involves reading all of the articles and organizing them by either topic or biases.
- 3. Within each group, students should share their article outlines before they begin writing their articles. Students should discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - How did you decide what angle to use when reporting your information to others?
 - Do you agree or disagree with what you're planning to write? If you disagree, how did you decide to write about this topic in this way?
- 4. Ask students to complete their articles at home and email them to the student editors
- 5. Photocopy the articles into a newspaper to hand out at the next class. If this exercise is done in each unit, explain to the students that they will have the opportunity to produce future editions of the class newspaper with different students serving as the editors.

Unit 2 Lesson Plan Mock World Zionist Congress (with a twist)

Objectives: Students will be able to....

- Simulate the first World Zionist Congress
- Identify the Zionist ideologies
- Assess the relevance today of the Zionist ideologies

Note: This is a 90 minute scripted lesson plan. The times and activity elements can be altered to fit your class's needs. If you prefer, you can leave off the "twist" at the end. Also, parts of this lesson are similar to parts of Activity #2 in this unit.

1. Set Up & Instructions (5 minutes)

Say: The class is being transported back to 1897 to Basle, Switzerland for the First Zionist Congress. Zionist groups have formed at this point, and Theodor Herzl convened this session to adopt a unified strategy.

Divide students into different Zionist ideologies (political, socialist, religious, territorialist). (Note: Not all of these ideologies had turned into political parties or movements at this point.)

2. Congress Prep (25 minutes)

Explain that each group will present their platform (the best way to create a Jewish state) at the Congress. Each group will receive documents to help them prepare for their speeches. Each group should pick a primary delegate who will speak for the group, and 2 other members who will help answer questions. Students should be encouraged to be creative in their presentations.

3. The Mock Congress (30-40 minutes)

Each group will have 8 minutes to present their platform and answer questions. After the presentations, the delegates will vote for how to proceed with a collective approach to Zionism. Each delegate should vote for one of the presented plans. Begin to review the plans in preparation for voting...

4. The Twist (which is also an assessment!) (15-20 minutes)

Just as they are about to vote, someone (the teacher or an assistant) comes running in to announce (very energetically):

What is going on in here? This is silliness! It isn't 1897! It's 2006 (or whatever the current year is)!! Zionism is so last century! We shouldn't care about this anymore!! Everyone get out of your role play positions. Does anyone here actually believe in any of these ideologies? I challenge you – If you believe in something you learned about here, stand up and move to sit by that ideology.

(Allow time for people to stand up and move).

Questions:

- What is the point of learning about these ideologies before they became real political parties?
- Why is this relevant to you today?
- Are there any Zionist ideologies that are no longer relevant today? If so, which one(s) and what makes them irrelevant?
- Do you think that some of these ideologies are more central to Israel today than others? If so, which ones? Why?

UNIT 2: The Birth of the Zionist Idea

SOURCES

Activity #1: Timeline Activity Info Sheets

- First Aliyah
- Second Aliyah
- Third Aliyah
- First Zionist World Congress
- Pogroms, 1881-1903
- Balfour Declaration
- Tel Chai

Activity #2: Defining Ourselves as Zionists

Zionist Ideologies

Activity #3: The Arab Question

- Essays on Israel and the Arab Question
- Worksheets

Activity #4: Philanthropy Versus Aliyah Debate

- Philanthropy Info Sheets
- Aliyah Statistics and Info Sheets

Memorable Moment

• Role Play Characters

Lesson Plan

- Early Zionist ideology info sheets
- (See resources from Activity #2)



The Five Aliyot



Haifa, Palestine: A boat load of Jewish immigrants arriving at Haifa. UPI/CORBIS-BETTMAN

Introduction

Think back to the first time you left home. Maybe it was going to camp, or on a trip. You had to leave familiar

But when someone leaves a country permanently for a new one, those experiences are multiplied many times over. Immigrants must say goodbye—permanently—to their old modes of living, from the money they use to the very language they speak. Between 1881 and 1939, more than 350,000 European Jews left their homes in places like Russia, Poland, and Germany and moved to join the growing yishuv (settlement) in Palestine.

This process, moving to the Land of Israel, is known as aliyah, or "going up." Why do you think Jews used this term to describe this kind of migration?

The people who made עֵּלְיָה aliyah, known as עוֹלִים olim, moved for many different reasons, with many different ideas about what the yishuv should be like. But the men and women who made aliyah around the same time tended to have a lot in common, and therefore history has remembered the different groups who moved to Israel at different times by giving them names like the First Aliyah, the Second Aliyah, the Third Aliyah, the Fourth

This instant lesson will examine the history of the five aliyot described above, exploring who moved to Palestine in the seventy-five years before it became the State of Israel and why. You will then have an opportunity to use the aying cards in the center of this lesson to make match up the characteristics of five people or families who made aliyah in this period.

First Aliyah

The First Aliyah started in 1881, when the situation for the Jews in the Russian Empire dramatically worsened. The czar of Russia was murdered, and many Russians blamed his death on the Jews. Many laws were passed restricting Jewish rights, and a series of vicious attacks on Jewish communities, known as pogroms, made many Jews fear for their lives.

At the same time, a new set of ideas began circulating; ideas that rejected earlier notions that Russian Jews should work to be more accepted as Russians. Instead, these ideas, which became known as Zionism, emphasized that the true place for Jews was their ancient homeland in the Land of Israel.

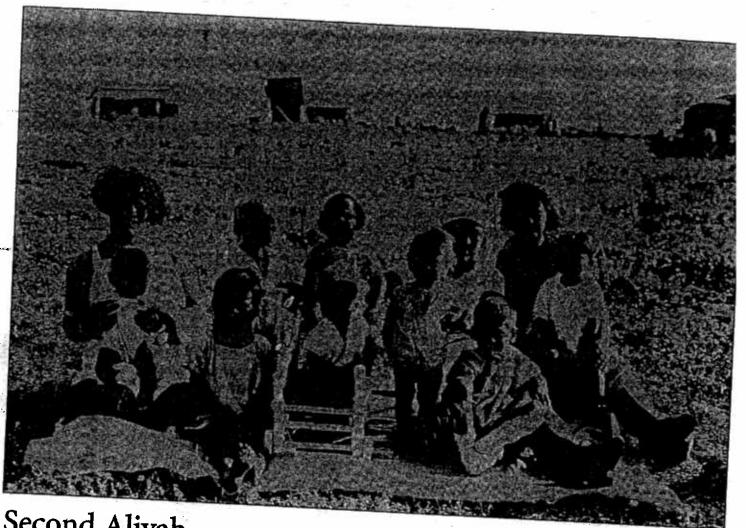
Inspired by Zionism, a small but growing number of Russian Jews decided to put their ideas into actions and took the long journey to Palestine. But their dreams of a peaceful life picking fruit from the trees in the land of their ancestors were not to be fulfilled

Instead, they found a land with malariainfected swamps and an impoverished, pious Jewish population that was suspicious of the newcomers. Many individuals from this first wave of *olim* soon sunk into poverty and despair. Some even returned to Russia.

Rescue quickly followed, though, in the form of assistance from Baron Edmond de Rothschild, one of the wealthiest Jews in the world. Rothschild was a French Jew who was not a Zionist, but nonetheless cared about Jews in poverty, wherever they lived. With the aid of Rothschild money, the Jews of the First Aliyah no longer had to fear poverty, and some of the Jews in these settlements stopped working hard and instead hired Arabs to do agricultural work for them. Nonetheless, the Jews of Palestine were able to build up the towns they founded, such as Peta<u>h</u> Tikvah and Rishon L'Tzion, as well as about twenty agricultural settlements.

Much of the First Aliyah centered in the return to agriculture. started with Mikveh Yisrael, an agricultural school opened in 187 Petah Tikvah and Rishon L'Tzion followed as agricultural settl ments. The BILU associations (named for the Hebrew of "House Jacob..." took the lead in bringing Jews back to the land. In th photo we see a young Zionist woman learning to farm. UPI/CORBIS





Second Aliyah

The next wave of immigration to Palestine also came after a wave of pogroms, this time in the years 1903-1905. These attacks on Jews in Russia spread the ideas of the Zionists and convinced a new group of Jews to decide to move to Israel.

But the attitudes and ideas of the Jews of the Second Aliyah were different than those of the first. A new kind of Zionism, called Labor Zionism, emphasized the idea that working the land was essential to creating a "new Jew" —tanned, brave, and muscular as opposed to what they considered to be the pale, weak, cowardly Jews back in Russia. Labor Zionism was influenced by the ideas of socialism—an important set of ideas that emphasized the rights of workers and the establishment of a society in which everyone was equal and free.

The Jews of the Second Aliyah were mostly young and single, with big ideas for making Palestine the permanent homeland for Jews everywhere. They founded new cities, such as Tel Aviv, and new kinds of communities, such as the kibbutz, or collective settlement. The first אָבּרְץ kibbutz, Deganiah, was established in 1909. Its members shared all property and land together, and divided up the work and the profits. Deganiah was a perfect example of the ideas of the Second Aliyah. Unlike earlier olim, these Jews refused to allow Arabs to do agricultural work for them. They believed that by working hard in a cooperative fashion, they were changing the course of Jewish history by establishing a איני yishuv, settlement in Palestine that was fair and equal.

One of the leaders of the Second Aliyah was A.D. Gordon. He created "labor Zionism," which taught that the work of building and rebuilding the land was renewing to the people who did it and to the Jewish People. Kibbutzim, where men and women shared in all the work, emerged at this moment. UPI/CORBIS-BETTMAN

Third Aliyah



Jewish workers singing on their way to construct Jerusalem Defenses against the marauding Arabs of Palestine. The Third Aliyah brought a huge influx of new workers, including David Ben-Gurion. In 1918, 80% of Palestinian Jews belonged to the Labor Party. UPI/CORBIS-BETTMAN

The Jews of the Third Aliyah had a lot in common with the Jews of the previous wave of immigrants. Like in the Second Aliyah, many of them were young, idealistic Russian Jews who were influenced by socialism. Although Russia's czar was overthrown in 1917 and replaced by a government whose leaders agreed with socialist ideals, in practice the new Soviet Union was not able to satisfy the desires of many Jewish socialists. The leaders of the Soviet Union promised a better life for Jews, but passed many laws that restricted the rights of Jews to behave as a national group within the broader society.

For Jewish socialists, these laws were unacceptable. They founded an organization, known as הַחָלוֹץ He-Halutz, to prepare Russian Jews for aliyah. He-Halutz, which means The Pioneer, trained Russian Jews in agriculture and Hebrew. When they arrived in Palestine, many immigrants of the Third Aliyah joined בוֹבִים kibbutzim or founded new ones.

At the time of the Third Aliyah, Palestine had come under the leadership of Great Britain, a period known as the British Mandate. The Third Aliyah was so rapid (as many as 1,000 olim a month in 1920), that the British became concerned that too many Jewish newcomers would upset the Arab inhabitants of Palestine and create social and economic chaos. Therefore, they instituted rules restricting the number of Jews that could enter Palestine.

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Fourth Aliyah

In the mid-1920s, Palestine experienced a wave of Jewish immigration that differed from the earlier three aliyo several ways. For the most part, the Jews of the Fourth Aliyah were not socialist pioneers who wanted to settle c kibbutzim. Instead, they were middle-class city dwellers, who settled in the growing urban areas of the Land of

Who were these Jews, and where did they come from? In the 1920s, the government of Poland passed a series of laws that put Jewish shopkeepers out of business. With their livelihoods wiped out, many of these Jews and their families moved to Palestine, and often opened up similar businesses to the ones they had run back in Poland.

Unfortunately, the late 1920s was a time of extreme hardship for the yishuv. An economic depression caused the failure of many businesses, including many of those that had been set up by Fourth Aliyah immigrants just a few years earlier. To make matters worse, Palestine's Arab population was becoming increasingly restless about the growing Jewish population in the Land of Israel. In 1929, dozens of Jews were killed or wounded while trying to

Nonetheless, the Jews of the Fourth Aliyah played a key role in the expansion of Palestine's economy. The 1920s saw the founding of dozens of new factories and industries, and the rapid growth of Palestine's urban areas.



This photograph shows students of the school and kindergarten out for a stroll with their teachers on the sacred soil of Jerusalem. After the massacre at Tel Hai and the riots in Jerusalem in 1920, the yishuv set up the Hagganah, a Jewish Defense Force. UPI/ CORBIS-BETTMANM

Fifth Aliyah

The Fifth Aliyah took place under the most dire conditions of all: the rise of the Nazi party in Germany and its anti-Semitic measures that foreshadowed the destruction of much of Europe's Jewish community. Between 1933 and 1939, the yishuv grew by more than 30 percent. About 40 percent of the approximately 165,000 Jews who made Aliyah in this period came from Germany and Austria, where the Nazis and their leader Adolf Hitler passed a series of laws that stripped Jews of their citizenship and severely restricted their participation in society. Jews were forced to wear yellow stars identifying them as Jews in public and more and more Jews were sent to concentration camps, where many died.



Typical Colonists of the American-Jewish settlement, Ein Hashofet, in the Arab-Infested hills sixteen miles southeast of Haifa. Left to right are Harry Hubberman of Montreal; Joseph Eisenberg of Montreal; Ada Stollman of Montreal; and Shamay Schiff of Brooklyn, NY.

These anti-Semitic measures convinced many

German Jews that their only hope for survival was by leaving the country altogether. Since the world was then experiencing the Great Depression, few countries were willing to accept Jewish immigrants, and Palestine seemed like one of the best options. Unfortunately, Britain continued to restrict the number of olim out of fear of angering the Arabs of Palestine.

The Jews of the Fifth Aliyah—which included many Polish Jews as well—tended to be more Westernized, more middle-class, and less hard-core believers in Zionism than the previous *olim*. Many of these Jews were doctors and scientists who would have been happy to stay in Europe had their lives not been in danger. With thousands of new doctors, researchers, and businessmen, the Fifth Aliyah rapidly expanded the *yishuv*, providing it for the first time with an abundance of Jews with professional skills and technical know-how.

While some of these *olim* came as whole families, others were Jewish children and teenagers who left Europe without their families. This movement, known as Youth Aliyah, brought 50,000 children from Europe, saving them from the Holocaust and teaching them Hebrew and skills to adjust to life in the Land of Israel.

In 1939, Great Britain announced the White Paper, which rejected the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine and severely limited further immigration, bringing the Fifth Aliyah to an end.

Questions and Activities:

- 1) Cut out the cards provided on pages 4-5 of this lesson, and divide them into five stacks, creating a brief "history" for the five individuals or families who made aliyah before the establishment of the State of Israel. Each stack should include one card from each category: WHO, WHEN, WHERE, and WHY.
- 2) Choose one of the stacks, and write a diary entry OR a skit in which you present that individual or family's ideas and attitudes about making aliyah. What are the advantages and disadvantages of moving to Palestine at that time?
- 3) What do you think the Jews who remained in Russia, Poland, or Germany thought about the Jews from each Aliyah? What do you think the Jews already in the yishuv thought about the new immigrants in each wave?

The First Aliyah (1882 - 1903)

The First Aliyah consisted of individuals and small groups, who established the early rural settlements - moshavot. Some 25,000 - mostly from East Europe - came during this period. There were two main influxes: in 1882 - 1884 and 1890 - 91.

By 1903, the end of the First Aliyah period, 28 new moshavot had been founded, and 90,000 acres of land had been purchased. There was also beginning of urban settlements, especially in Jaffa, where 3,000 newcomers had made their home. Hebrew was beginning to be a spoken language once again, and the first Hebrew elementary schools had been established -- though French culture, propagated by the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Rothschild administration was widespread. On the whole, however, the pioneering drive had been exhausted and a period of stagnation set in. A turning point occurred in 1904 when the Second Aliyah began.

The Second Aliyah (1904 - 1914)

The depression caused by the stagnation of the first settlements, the controversies in the Zionist Organization over the Uganda Scheme and the death of Herzl in 1904 were followed by a new upsurge of pioneering fervor which produced the Second Aliyah. The first impetus of the new wave came from the Kishinev Pogroms of 1903 and others two years later. The Second Aliyah consisted of young men and women, mainly from Russia, many of them imbued with socialist ideas. These young men and women were guided not only by a more conscious and consistent national ideology, but were also fired by the ideal of laying the foundation for a workers' commonwealth in the Eretz Yisrael.

The young pioneers of the Second Aliyah generally worked as hired laborers in the moshavot or the cities. They established the first Jewish labor parties - Po'alei Zion, based on the philosophy of Ber Borochov, and Ha'Poel HaZair, which was influenced by the philosophy of A.D. Gordon. It was also their initiative that led to the establishment of the first kevuzah. In 1909 they laid the foundation for the first all Jewish City - Tel Aviv. The young pioneers of the Second Aliyah were also active in the beginning of Jewish self defense and established the HaShomer watchmen's association. They introduced Hebrew into all spheres of life and laid the foundation for a new Hebrew press and literature. The influx, which totaled about 40,000, was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I.

The Third Aliyah (1919 - 1923)

The Third Aliyah, from 1919, was partially a continuation of the second, which had been interrupted by the war. A renewed impetus -- the outcome of the Bolshevik [Russian] Revolution, the post-war pogroms in the Ukraine and the influence of the European national struggles -- coincided with a renewed hope, inspired by the Balfour Declaration and the British conquest of Palestine. The westward road to the United States was still open, and most of those who chose the Land of Israel did so out of Zionist convictions.

In all, the Third Aliyah brought in 35,000 immigrants: 53% from Russia, 36% from Poland and the rest from Lithuania, Rumania, and other East European countries, apart from 800 from Western and Central Europe.

These young pioneers were a creative force, which transformed the character of the Yishuv and -- together with their predecessors of the Second Aliyah -- played a prominent part in its leadership. They founded the Histadrut, the comprehensive countrywide labor organization, played a leading role in the creation of the Haganah defense organization; provided workers for the construction of housing and roads and the beginnings of industry; strengthened the foundation of Jewish agriculture. The Third Aliyah expanded also the map of Jewish settlement by extablishing many kibbutzim and moshavim.



1897 Zionist Congress

"At Basle, I founded the Jewish state.... The state, in its essence, has already been founded in the will of the people for a state."

The first Zionist Congress began in Basle, Switzerland on Sunday, 29 August 1897. One hundred ninety seven delegates, representatives of Zionist organizations from all over the world took part. Herzl was the central figure in the events of the congress, which opened with addresses by Herzl and Max Nordau, who described the goals of the Zionist movement. Afterwards, the delegates participated in discussions and took fundamental decisions which were to lay the foundation for all future activities of the Zionist Organization:

1. They formulated the Zionist platform:

"Zionism aspires to establish a homeland for the Jewish people, guaranteed by international law, in the land of Israel."

It was decided to adopt a blue and white flag bearing the Magen David (six pointed star) as the national flag of the Jewish people.

Four means were resolved as necessary to secure a "national homeland":

- Settling the land of Israel by farmers, artisans, and merchants.
- Organizing and uniting all Jewry by means of local and general activity in accordance with the laws of each country.
- Intensifying Jewish national feeling and Jewish national consciousness.
- Preparing to receive the consent of governments to the realization of the Zionist goal.

2. The World Zionist Organization was established, with its sovereign institution - the Zionist Congress.

The elected institutions of the Zionist Organization were established: The Zionist General Council and the office of its chief executive, the Zionist Executive, and the president of the World Zionist Organization.

3. Guidelines for the choice of delegates to the Zionist Congress were established.

The foundation for these guidelines was the principle that the Zionist Congress held the status of a national assembly representing the entire Jewish people. Participants in the Congress would be elected representatives of the Jewish communities.

4. Plans were set forth and decisions taken concerning the establishment of additional bodies that would further goals of the Zionist movement.

Among these decisions:

- the establishment of a national bank and a national fund for financing the activities of the Zionist movement, and
- the establishment of the Jewish National Fund for acquisition of land in the land of Israel.

The first Zionist Congress established the executive arm of the Zionist movement in the form of the World Zionist Organization.

Since Herzl considered the Jewish problem an international political problem, he fashioned the congress as a Jewish parliament and his own position as president of the Zionist Congress as head of state.

The Significance of the Zionist Congress at Basle

- The Zionist Congress constituted a major break-through in international public opinion; the congress was covered by hundreds of national and regional newspapers.
- The congress strengthened the ideological basis of Zionism.
- It was an important meeting of Political Zionism and Practical Zionism.
- The Congress served as a national assembly, expressing the will of the people, who, like other peoples, aspired to the right of self-determination.
- Until this time, Herzl had acted as an individual. From now on, he stood at the head of a large organization that operated in the open.
- Political Zionism became the mainstream of the Zionist movement.
- The Congress contributed to strengthening the democratic process in the Zionist movement, because it provided an open forum for a full range of opinions and because it functioned on the basis of free elections.

^{*}Based on information taken from Nili Kadary at www.jafi.org.il

The First Zionist Congress

The first Zionist Congress was called by Theodor Herzl in Basel, Switzerland on August 29, 1897. There is some dispute as to the exact number of participants at the First Zionist Congress; however, the approximate figure is 200 from seventeen countries, 69 of whom were delegates from various Zionist societies and the remainder were individual invitees. In attendance were also ten non-Jews who were expected to abstain from voting.

The main items on the agenda were the presentation of Herzl's plans, the establishment of the World Zionist Organization and the declaration of Zionism's goals-the Basel program. In the version submitted to the Congress on the second day of its deliberations (August 30) by a committee under the chairmanship of Max Nordau, it was stated: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Eretz Israel secured by law."

Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Eretz Israel secured under public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

- 1. The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Eretz-Israel of Jewish farmers, artisans, and manufacturers.
- 2. The organization and uniting of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
- 3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness.
- 4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goals of Zionism.

At the Congress, Herzl was elected President of the Zionist Organization and Max Nordau one of three Vice-Presidents. Thereafter, the Zionist Congress met every year (18971901), then every second year (1903-1913, 1921-1939). Since the Second World War, meetings have been held approximately every four years.



Pogroms

A Pogrom is a form of riot, a massive violent attack on the Jewish people. It is characterized by destruction of their homes, businesses, and synagogues. Usually pogroms are accompanied with physical violence even murders.

Some of the most devasting progroms occurred in 1881 and in 1903.

There was a wave of bloody progroms in 1881-1884 in Russia after Jews were wrongly blamed for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. Thousands of Jewish homes were destroyed, many families reduced to extremes of poverty; women were sexually assaulted, and large numbers of men, women, and children injured in 166 towns of southwest provinces of the Russian Empire (modern Ukraine). The new Tsar Alexander III blamed the Jews for the riots and issued a series of harsh restrictions on Jews. The series of pogroms continued for more than three years with at least tacit inactivity and in some cases, support by the authorities.

An even bloodier wave of pogroms broke out in 1903-1906, leaving an estimated 2,000 Jews dead, and many more wounded. On Easter weekend in 1903, a pogrom in Kishinev, Russia, left 49 Jews dead and more than 500 injured, 700 houses looted and destroyed, 600 businesses looted, and 2,000 families left homeless. It was referred to as the Kishinev Pogrom.

Some historians believe that some of the pogroms had been organize or supported by the Tsarist Russian secret police. There is also evidence which supposedly suggests that the police knew in advance about some pogroms, and chose not to act.

As a result of these pogroms, thousands of Jews fled Eastern Europe for Palestine. While some were fulfilling their Zionist dreams, others were seeking a refuge and were not necessarily Zionists.



The Battle of Tel Hai

Joseph Trumpeldor (1880-1920)

Joseph Trumpeldor was born in Piatygorsk. He joined the Russian army in 1902 and served in the Russian-Japanese war two years later. During the siege of Port Arthur he lost his left arm and was taken prisoner, receiving a high Tsarist order of merit for his gallantry and zeal. In 1912 he settled in Eretz-Israel and for a while lived at Kibbutz Deganya.

In 1919, Trumpeldor joined the defense of Tel Hai, a settlement in the Galilee, against the Arabs. The border between Eretz-Israel and Syria was the subject of a dispute between the British and French authorities. The four Jewish settlements of Metullah, Hamrah, Tel Hai and Kfar Giladi were situated in this area. The British agreed that this northern section of the upper Galilee would be under French jurisdiction. However, Arab groups loyal to Feisal in Syria, who was himself sympathetic to the British, attacked the settlements. An evacuation of Metullah and Hamrah had already been completed but the Jewish forces led by Joseph Trumpeldor attempted to hold their ground at Tel Hai. He was killed together with seven other defenders and it is claimed that as he lay on his death bed, one of his final utterances was, "Never mind, it is good to die for one's country."

The Legacy of Tel Hai

The battle for Tel Hai became a central theme in the attempt to create a defense ethos into the Eretz-Israel youth. Trumpeldor and his comrades were honored by a series of ceremonies, a memorial site, a *yizkor* memorial prayer and the establishment of various youth organizations. Until today, on the eleventh of Iyar, various youth groups, in particular the Betar youth movement, commerate Trumpeldor's efforts on behalf of the Jewish National Home.

The Balfour Declaration

The British government decided to endorse the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. After discussions within the cabinet and consultations with Jewish leaders, the decision was made public in a letter from British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur James Balfour to Lord Rothschild. The contents of this letter became known as the Balfour Declaration.

Foreign Office November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors 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.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours, Arthur James Balfour

POLITICAL ZIONISM



THEODOR HERZL 1860 - 1904

The Jewish problem cannot be solved by assimilation because of the existence o anti-Semitism.

The plight of the Jews could only grow worse because of the abnormal social and economic conditions in the countries of the Diaspora where Jews lived. This pli could only be transformed into a positive force by means of a political solution the establishment of an independent Jewish state with the consent of the great powers. This state could be created in Eretz Yisra'el or Argentina, depending on the choice of the Jewish people, although Herzl himself preferred Eretz Yisra to enable mass migration to take place, the right political conditions had to be created.

The state should be formed according to a specific plan, using modern scientific and technical advances and in a spirit of social progress (such as a seven hour work day symbolized by the national flag displaying seven stars).

Herzl envisaged a "Jewish Company" which would control the finances and actual construction work, guided by sound economic principles. The necessary financing would be provided by Jewish banks and only if they refused, would an appeal be made to the Jewish masses.

Herzl was eventually convinced that the only place for the establishment of a Jewish state was in Eretz Yisia'el.

Even in his time Herzl called for tolerance in relations between Jews and Arabs and envisaged a society based on a co-operative basis.

Herzl has been criticized in that he was a stranger to Jewish tradition and culti and that he ignored the significance of the Hebrew language for the renaissance of the Jewish people. The process of the migration to Eretz Yisra'el will be a gradual one; over a number of decades. The poorest will go first and cultivate the soil. They will construct roads, bridges and railways. Their labor will create trade, trade will create markets and markets will; attract new settlers. In the light of this, Jews of Anigher economic scale will follow.

True Zionists are those who work only for the Zionist cause. People who do other work also, serve no useful purpose. Zionism needs the whole were and not half ones

CULTURAL ZIONISM

AHAD HA'AM 1856 - 1927

We must admit that the ingathering of the exiles by natural means is unattainable. Gathering our scattered ones from the four corners of the earth is impossible. Only religion, with its belief in miraculous redemption, can promise such things.

Whether or not we create a Jewish state, the material condition of the Jews will always basically depend on the economic condition of the nations among which we are dispersed. Thus the real and only basis of Zionism is to be found in the spiritual and not in the material.

The very existence of a Jewish state will raise the prestige of those Jews who remain in exile and their fellow gentiles will no longer despise them. Thanks to this he can stand once more spiritually erect and regain his personal dignity.

Not only have the Jews come out of the ghetto, but so has Judaism. It has come into contact with modern culture which has overturned the inner defences of Judaism so that it can no longer remain isolated and live a life apart. The spirit of our people desires further development. It wants to absorb the basic elements of a general culture which are reaching it from the outside world.

Judaism does not need an independent state - only the creation in Palestine of a good sized settlement of Jews working without hindrance in agriculture, handicrafts, science and literature. This Jewish settlement, which will be a gradual growth, will become in course of time the centre of the nation wherein its spirit will find pure expression and develop to the highest degree of perfection to which it is possible. Then from this centre, the spirit of Judaism will radiate to all the communities of the Diaspora.

If all our great men who are to lead the Jewish state are far removed from Judaism, they will attempt to implant by persuasion a foreign culture (that of the Gentile nations), on the Jewish state which will then become a state of Germans or Frenchmen of the Jewish race. Such a state would be estranged from the living spirit of Judaism.

The establishment in Palestine of a single great school of learning would, I think, contribute more to the attainment of our aims than a hundred agricultural settlements. Yes, this is the reverse order of things but we Jews climbed the lower rings of the ladder of progress thousands of years ago and had already reached a high level of culture when that progress was forcibly arrested.

Intellectually we emerged from childhood 3 000 years ago. We need an adult's diet but the circumstances in which we are placed compel us to go to nursery school again and learn the alphabet of national life. My answer is that we must start from both ends at once. - Building physically and materially and at the same time building spiritually / culturally. Therefore it is no use to look to other nations for guidance.

RELIGIOUS ZIONISM

RABBI ABRAHAM ISAAC HACOHEN KOOK 1865 - 1935

A valid strengthening of Judaism in the Diaspora can come only from a deepened attachment to Eretz Yisra'el.

Jewish creativity in the realm of ideas or in the realm of daily life, is impossible except in Eretz Yisra'el.

According to Rabbi Kook a Jewish person in the Diaspora may fulfill all the commandments and see himself as a pious Jew, but because he lives outside of Israel, he leads life of unholiness. Rabbi Kook aftacks the whole tradition of Jews settling into a life of exile, of "learning to live with it."

Rabbi Kook and other religious Zionists couldn't ignore the pioneers of the Second Aliya. Despite being aetheistic socialists who often led promiscuous lives and ate non-kosher food, they had given up their careers in the Diaspora, were increasing the number of Jews in Palestine and physically rebuilding the Land of Israel.

"Why is it that the old dream of rebuilding Jerusalem is being carried out by aetheists?"

Orthodox views on the atheist pioneers of the Second Aliya "They think they are motivated by socialism, but really they are being motivated by G-d's will; they must be seen as tools in G-d's hands." Rabbi Kook believed that in time, these secular Zionists would acknowledge the true religious nature of their endeavours.

Rabbi Kook sees in the rebuilding of a Jewish state, a problem concerning power and how power might taint Judaism, by diverting our energies toward power struggles and not grappling with our Jewish identity.

Revisionist Zionism

(Extract from evidence given to the Peel Commission in 1937 b

The conception of Zionism that represent is based on what Ι call the humanitarian aspect. That is not to say that I do no respect the other forms of purely spiritual Jewish nationalism such as the desire for self-expression, the rebuilding of th Hebrew culture, or "creating some model community of which th Jewish people could be proud. " But compared to actual needs an our real position in the world today, all these merely a luxury. things ar The Jews of Eastern Europe are position. The New York Times calls it " a disaster of in magnitude". The root of this calamity and suffering is the facthroughout the Diaspora as a minority. The Jews face an anti-Semitism that is endemic in everything that the Diaspora represents. The only way to solve the Jewish problem is to create a Jewish state. We do not ask for too much. every nation on earth, every normal nation, from the humblest to the smallest, they all have states of their from the most That is the normal condition for a people. Our demand for ϵ Jewish majority in Palestine is not our maximum - it is our

Regarding the Arabs, there is no question of ousting them from Palestine. On the contrary, the idea is that Palestine on both sides of the Jordan river should hold the Arabs, their progeny, and many millions of Jews. I do not deny that the Arabs in the process of Jewish settlement in Palestine will become a minority in Palestine. What I do deny is that that is a hardship. In all the mightiest nations of the world, fraction, one branch lives in someone else's state. That is only normal and there is one no "hardship" attached to that. So when we hear the Arab claim confronted with the Jewish claim: I fully understand that minority would prefer to be majority, it understandable that the Arabs of Palestine would also prefer а Palestine to be the Arab state no.4, no.5 or no.6; but when the Arab claim is confronted with our Jewish demand to be saved, it is like the claims of appetite versus the claims of starvation.

There is only one way of compromise. Tell the Arabs the truth. They will realise that since there are three or four or five wholly Arab states, then it is a thing of justice which Great Britain is doing if Palestine is transformed into a Jewish state. We utterly deny that such a move will bring Great Britain into conflict with world Islam. We utterly deny that such a move will lead to a physical conflict with the neighbouring Arab states. As promised in the Balfour Declaration, Great Britain must help to save the Jewish people.

LABOR ZIONISM

AARON DAVID GORDON 1856 - 1922

The blending of a landscape of a country with the spirit of its people.

What stops us from assimilating among the nations with whom we have lived so long not religion, for today it is possible to live without religion at all. Nothing really for if we wish as a people to assimilate, we can with ease.

Our lives in the Diaspora lack individual creativity and we are dependent on Gentiles both materially and spiritually.

What we as Jews are really looking for, is a life based on our own physical and mental labors from which we will gain vital energy and spiritual richness.

We came to our homeland in order to be planted in our natural soil from which we have been uprooted.

We must concentrate all our strength, mind, and heart in rebuilding our nation in Palestine. We must shun political activity as destructive of our highest ideals.

We must not tie ourselves to the world working-classes. Jewish workers in the Diaspora must be allies as <u>Jews</u>, not as <u>workers</u>.

We must drain our inspiration from <u>our land</u>, our <u>soil</u> and the labor <u>we</u> are engaged in. We must not let outside influences affect us. We do not want to continue Diaspora, Jewsih life in Palestine. It is our aim to make Jewish Palestine the mother country with Jewish communities in the Diaspora as its colonies.

We have become accustomed to every form of life except a life of labor .- Not labor out of compulsion, but a love of labor which binds a people to its soil.

The well known Talmudic saying "When the Jews do G-d's will, their labor is done for them by others" is characteristic of the way we look down on manual power.

Even when we talk of rebuilding our homeland, who exactly will rebuild it?
Labor is the basic energy for the creation of a national culture; we seem to look at culture as only "ideas" and "ideology" and productive activity is really the foundation of culture. Science and art are only the higher expressions of culture; culture in its most restricted sense.

Our aim in Palestine is to create an all-embracing culture, starting with labor as its roots and not simply the culture of the "academy."

We must ourselves do all the work, from the cleanest and most sophisticated to the dirtiest and most strenuous. We must feel what a worker feels and think what a worker thinks. Then and only then shall we have a culture of our own for them we shall have a life of our own.

PART VI Life under the British Mandate

1

Joseph Trumpeldor Falls in the Defense of Tel Hai (1920)

Look at the map of Israel. Jutting into the north between Lebanon and Syria is a strip of land known as "The Finger." It protects the northern borders of Israel and secures its sources of water. But for the bravery of a few courageous

defenders it might not have been part of Israel today.

World War I had ended and yet it had not finished. The victors, the French and the British, were disputing where to draw the northern boundary in upper Galilee. Taking advantage of these confused conditions, the Arab National Committee in Damascus incited and armed Arab villagers and Bedouin tribes to drive out the French, with the idea of setting up their own government. Although they promised to respect the neutrality of the Jewish settlers in the area, they actually planned to attack and wipe them out.

The Jewish leaders in the central part of the country were undecided about a course of action. There were only four settlements, few settlers and the positions seemed indefensible. The majority, including Jabotinsky, counseled a withdrawal. Trumpeldor whom we met earlier insisted almost alone upon the defense of "every foot of land" that had been acquired at great sacrifice.

He had just returned from Russia, where he had organized Jewish self-defense groups during the turbulent days of the Bolshevik revolution. He had also laid the groundwork for *Hechalutz*, a movement of pioneers, who were preparing to come to Eretz Yisrael in large numbers. Trumpeldor heard the rumors of the danger and made his way to the northern settlements. There, he assumed command of the meager forces and organized their defense.

In his diary, which he sent in the form of letters to Ayelet Hashahar*, he

From Joseph Trumpeldor: Life and Works, by Pesach Lipovetzky (Jerusalem: Youth and Hechalutz Department, World Zionist Organization, 1953).

*A settlement in Galilee.

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Source: "Momentous Century", Edited by Leri Soshuk

kept calling for reinforcements and assistance. From day to day the tone of these reports grew more ominous and foreboding. Finally, the moment of truth came in the fateful battle of Tel Hai.

The statue of a lion, roaring to the sky, stands over the graves of Trumpeldor and his comrades who fell in that battle. They have become a symbol of

Jewish heroism in Israel to this very day.

Trumpeldor's life was ironic. His dream was peace, yet he spent his life fighting. Some thought he was too militaristic. Trumpeldor denied this charge: "I am not a military man by conviction." On the contrary, he wrote: "Peace—not a sword—do we bring to this country."

"It is nothing; it is good to die for our country."

February 29, 1920 (11th Adar, 5680). It happened on a Monday. At dawn, a few men had gone out to look after the flocks of Kfar Giladi and Tel Hai. At 9 o'clock shots were heard in Halsah from the direction of Tel Hai and the flocks were immediately brought in. While this was being done a cavalry officer rode up to Tel Hai and announced that they had information that there were French forces in the hills, which they proposed to surround. The last of the flocks were brought in. The men had not yet found time to take their posts when the Arabs appeared in front of the house. The officer dismounted and attacked one of the members who was outside with shouting and curses. Why, he demanded, were they hiding and supporting the French? He drew a dagger and threatened the man, and began to pull down the stones that had been piled against the windows for purposes of defence. The Jew managed to get inside and the order was given to load the rifles and be prepared. The officer was instructed to go away from the windows and he went.

Trumpeldor was not at home at the time. He had gone out to Kfar Giladi earlier in the day. He was sitting at breakfast with the comrades in the dining hut, chatting, laughing and joking, when shots were suddenly heard from the direction of Tel Hai. The settlement was already surrounded by mounted Bedouin, riding round the place and firing in the air. Inside the settlement every one was at his post. . . . No sooner had Trumpeldor and the others got inside than Khamil Effendi rode up from Halsah, accompanied by his nephew and three other officers. Khamil and his nephew were armed with hand grenades and revolvers. They demanded entrance; they had to find out if there were any Frenchmen inside. This was not the first time they had made such a demand, and there were occasions when it was safer to take a risk. Be that as it may, Trumpeldor agreed to let them come inside and look round. Trumpeldor and one other accompanied them. . . . After Khamil Effendi and his four companions had surveyed the downstairs rooms, they went up to the loft. Here there were Devorah Drachler, Sarah Chisik, Benjamin Munter, Wolf Scharf and Isaac Kanevski. Trumpeldor noticed that one of the officers had left the group and was calling on the Arabs outside to come closer. Immediately, he went downstairs and saw the Arabs streaming from all sides towards Tel Hai. At that moment he heard the excited voice of Devorah Drachler: "Trumpeldor! They're taking away mv revolver!"

"Fire!" cried Trumpeldor.

There followed vigorous exchanges of shots. Jacob Tocker, who was on g opposite the gate, hit Khamil's nephew, and killed him. Khamil and his com ions in the loft fired their revolvers and wounded Devorah and Sarah. Tryir break out, they threw a hand grenade which killed Munter and Sharf and verely wounded Kanevsky. The defenders down below knew nothing of all Those who were on guard at the stables noticed nothing of what was happen in the yard, since they were standing facing outwards towards the Arabs surrounded the building. There was firing on all sides; tiles were falling from roof. Trumpeldor hurried to the open gate to close it in order to preven onrush of Arabs from outside. When one of the comrades told him to we moment, he answered, "I must see what is happening in the yard. The live my comrades are in danger and I can't wait!" About three meters from the d facing the yard he was wounded. "Damnation, Shneourson! I've caught a bullet. You're in command." Paying no heed to his wound, Trumpeldor tried to go further, but mediately received another wound. "Damnation, another bullet!" Wounded the stomach he knelt by the door. One of the defenders came running to lift 1 "I found him lying,"he said later, "behind the stove, with part of his body a his legs protruding. 'Ah, Trumpeldor, Trumpeldor!' I cried, but he, with warm smile, said, 'Never mind, never mind, make me a bandage.' "He was lying between my feet, and I was continuing to defend the gate. Fre time to time, I begged him, 'Let me bring you inside,' but he replied with t same smile, 'Never mind, there's no time now, give them one [bullet] at the gat once he told me, 'Give them another shot!' and once he begged, 'Make me "Suddenly he asked for Katzenelson to come. Zholti tried to go out, but w wounded and Trumpeldor was hit again at the same time. He shrank togethe pulled in his legs and asked to be brought inside. With great difficulty, under the fire of Khamil and his men, two of the defenders, succeeded in slowly bringing him indoors. He lay perfectly still leaving the command entirely to Shneourso Trumpeldor's intestines were protruding and he asked some one to push the inside. No one had the courage to do it, but he calmed them, saying, 'Neve mind. Wash your hands well and I will show you how to do it'. And with wonde ful fortitude he watched them performing the operation and binding his woun with a towel, for there were no other materials, since the medical supplies wer upstairs and it was impossible to get to them. After they had bandaged him, h said, 'These are my last moments. Tell them all to stand at their posts and kee up the defense to the last moment for the honor of the Jewish people.' He la still the whole time, asking only that the commander should come to him fror time to time to let him know what was happening, and repeated again and agair 'Stand firm till the last moment for the honor of the nation.' He neither moaner nor cried out; he did not even ask about the killed and wounded. The only thin: he kept on asking was whether the defenders at the windows were making good stand or not...." It was twilight. Trumpeldor said that three men should be sent to Kfar Gilad

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oKfar Giladi

bring the doctor from Metulla and reinforcements, and three immediately Junteered for the task. Dressed in dark clothes they crawled forward on all ours, and near Kfar Giladi met fifteen men, including the doctor, who had ome from Metulla, on their way to Tel Hai.

"When we were 10 yards from Tel Hai," tells the doctor,* "we shouted to the defenders to let them know that we had arrived, and went inside. Here we found Il those who were still alive unhurt standing at their posts, and I went to have a at the wounded. First of all, I examined Trumpeldor. He was very weak and pale, but still conscious. He asked me to renew his bandages; there were two arge wounds in the upper part of the stomach and a smaller one on his right hand. I dressed his wounds and composed him. When I asked him how he was, he answered: 'Never mind, it is good to die for our country.' When I told him that I would take him to Metulla to operate, he was very willing to be moved. Then I looked at the other casualties. Three of them were lightly injured, but wo were severely wounded; Kanevski had been hit in the stomach and Zolty in the left breast. All of them had already received first aid from one of the men of

"We began to transfer the wounded to Kfar Giladi, Trumpeldor was the first, and we carried him on one of the folding beds. When we had gone a short way he complained of a violent pain in the head and we bandaged it, moistening the bandage with some of the water we found nearby. A few minutes later, about half way from Tel Hai to Kfar Giladi, Trumpeldor was seized with a convulsion, and, turning his face to the ground, breathed his last."

Sir Herbert Samuel Is Appointed High Commissioner of Palestine (1920)

The Hurva† synagogue was filled with worshippers. It was Shabbat Nahamu, the Sabbath that comes after Tisha B'Ab, when words of comfort are read from the prophet Isaiah. Many important people had come to honor the man who had been appointed by Great Britain to administer the new mandate over

World War I had ended less than two years before. During that time the country had been governed by British military authorities who were openly

From Mandate Memories, 1918-1948, by Norman and Helen Bentwich (London: Hogarth Press,

*Dr. Gary, an American physician who had joined the Jewish Legion. †Ancient venerated house of worship.

David Ben-Gurion & the Arab Question

#1 - Overview

Throughout the long period that Ben Gurion stood in the wheelhouse of the Zionist ship, his tactics and strategy vis-à-vis the Arab question veered according to the shifting political waters. However, several key principles guided his strategy for the nation-in-the-making.

- 1. The Arabs may possess rights of residence, but they do not possess rights of collective ownership over the Land of Israel.
- 2. Jewish settlement and immigration do nothing to injure or impinge on the interests and status of the non-Jewish residents of the country.
- 3. The Arabs of the Land of Israel are a small part of the larger Arab nation, and Palestine is but a small holding within the vast Arab world. The Jewish people have no other place that can serve as a platform for national independence. Arab nationalist aspirations can be fulfilled beyond the borders of Palestine.
- 4. All Zionist policy depends on the "meticulous protection of the civil, political, and the national rights of the Arabs living in the Land of Israel."

Ben Gurion's position, like many others in the Zionist movement, was a position fraught with tensions. Ben Gurion's feelings on the eve of the outbreak of the Arab Revolt in 1936 are described below:

"The man who had refused in 1924 to deal with the Arab question in its political aspects changed in the early 1930's into a great believer in the possibility of reaching an accord with the Arabs. Now he altered his views once again. He had come to the conclusion that any agreement with the Arabs was dependent on reaching a prior understanding with the British; and such understanding on the part of Whitehall would not be forthcoming until Jews constituted a major force in Palestine" (Shapira, Land & Power, 1992, p.211).

Unlike the more militant Zev Jabotinsky, Ben Gurion's conception of Jewish force was broad based. He argued that the security of Jewish life in the Land of Israel would depend on its constructive virtues: immigration, settlement, and the development of technology and culture. Ben Gurion was not a pacifist, but like many of his labor Zionist comrades, he saw the military as a tool, and unlike Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionists, not a value in and of itself.

Above all else, Ben Gurion was driven by his realization that the survival of a Jewish state depended upon territorial borders that maximized the percentage of Jews. Ben Gurion's concern over the demographic equation was based on his reading of the regional arena, in which the Jewish state would always remain a minority in a wider Arab region.

Ben Gurion's readiness to accept partition as a less-than-perfect solution to Jewish-Arab relations was rooted in the idea that the survival of the Jewish people depends on the establishment and secure development of a majority-Jewish state in some part of the land of Israel.

*Taken from www.myjewishlearning.com

#2

"Four days after the constituent meeting, on October 8, 1906, the ten members of the platform committee met in an Arab hostel in Ramleh. For THREE DAYS they sat on stools debating, and at night they slept on mats. An Arab boy brought them coffee in small cups. They left the hostel only to grab an occasional bite in the marketplace. On the first evening, they stole three hours to tour the marketplace of Ramleh and the ruins of the nearby fortress. Ben-Gurion remarked only on the buildings, ruins, and scenery. He gave no thought to the [Palestinian] Arabs, their problems, their social conditions, or their cultural life. Nor had he yet acquainted himself with the Jewish community in Palestine [which was mostly non-Zionist Orthodox Jews prior to 1920]. In all of Palestine there were [in 1906] 700,000 inhabitants, only 55,000 of whom were Jews, and only 550 of these were [Zionists] pioneers." (Shabtai Teveth)

#3 - A Description Ben-Gurion's visit to Palestine in 1906

Michael Bar-Zohar, one of Ben-Gurion's official biographers, recalled Ben-Gurion's admission that "Palestine was an empty land" was a myth:

"Whatever became of the slogan: A people without a land returns to land without a people? The simple truth was that Palestine was not an empty land, and the Jews were only a small minority of its population. In the days of the empire building, the Western powers had dismissed natives as an inconsequential factor in determining whether or not to settle a territory with immigrants. Even after the [1st] world war, the concept of self-determination was still reserved exclusively for the developed world."

#4

"Palestine is not an empty country . . . on no account must we injure the rights of the inhabitants."

#5 - 1924

"We do not recognize the right of the [Palestinian] Arabs to rule the country, since Palestine is still undeveloped and awaits its builders."

#6 - 1928

"the [Palestinian] Arabs have no right to close the country to us [Jews]. What right do they have to the Negev desert, which is uninhabited?"

#7 - From Ben-Gurion's book, We and Our Neighbors, 1931

"The Arab community in Palestine is an organic, inseparable part of the landscape. It is embedded in the country. The [Palestinian] Arabs work the land, and will remain." The only right by which a people can claim to possess a land indefinitely is the right conferred by willingness to work."

#8

"I now say something which contradicts the theory which I once had on this question. At one time, I thought an agreement [with Palestinians] was possible."

 $Taken\ from\ \underline{www.palestineremembered.com}$

David Ben-Gurion & the Arab Question Reading Worksheet

1. 	According to Ben-Gurion, do the Arabs have a legitimate claim to the land of Israel? Why or why not?
2.	What <u>issues</u> was Ben-Gurion concerned with regarding the Arabs?
3.	What did he think about Israel being a small country surrounded by Arab countries?
4.	What rights should and should not be afforded to the Arabs?
5.	What different suggestions did Ben-Gurion offer for dealing with the Arabs?
5.	Why do you think Ben-Gurion changed his opinions about the Arabs?

Ze'ev Jabotinsky & the Arab Question

#1 - Overview

Zev Jabotinsky, the founder of Revisionist Zionism, supported the creation of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River.

Jabotinsky held that Arab opposition could not be bought off with promises of the benefits that Jewish immigration and settlement would bring to the region. He criticized Buber and the Zionist labor movement, among others, as being political amateurs who underestimated the necessity of military force in compelling a reluctant Arab acquiescence to Zionism. Arab opposition to Zionism was of a national character, he believed, and it was self-defeating to expect that the Arabs would consent to Jewish plans for mass immigration, organized Jewish settlement, and eventual statehood.

In a pivotal article published in 1924, Jabotinsky called for the establishment of an "Iron Wall"--a military force that would force the Arabs into accepting the objective strength and permanence of the Zionist enterprise. Arab acquiescence, he believed, could be achieved through military deterrence, active British cooperation with the Yishuv, and clear public articulation by the Zionist movement of its goal to establish a Jewish state.

Although Jabotinsky rejected the possibility that Jews and Arabs could both satisfy their national aspirations within the British Mandate, he advocated that within the context of a Jewish state the religious and civil rights of Arab citizens had to be honored and protected.

#2 - 1923

"They [The Arabs] look upon Palestine with the same instinctive love and true favor that Aztec looked upon Mexico or any Sioux looked upon his prairie. Palestine will remain for the Palestinians not a borderland, but their birthplace, the center and basis of their own national existence."

#3 - 1923

"The Arabs loved their country as much as the Jews did. Instinctively, they understood Zionist aspirations very well, and their decision to resist them was only natural There was not misunderstanding between Jew and Arab, but a natural conflict. No Agreement was possible with the Palestinian Arab; they would accept Zionism only when they found themselves up against an 'iron wall,' when they realize they had no alternative but to accept Jewish settlement."

#4 - 1926

"The tragedy lies in the fact that there is a collision here between two truths But our justice is greater. The Arabs are culturally backward, but his instinctive patriotism is just as pure and noble as our own; it can not be bought, it can only be curbed ... force majeure."

Taken from www.mideastweb.org

Ze'ev Jabotinksy & the Arab Question Reading Worksheet

	According, to Jabotinsky, do the Arabs have a legitimate claim to the land of Isr Why or why not?
2.	What <u>issues</u> was Jabotinsky concerned with regarding the Arabs?
2	
3.	What rights should <u>and</u> should not be afforded to the Arabs?
3.	What rights should <u>and</u> should not be afforded to the Arabs?
	What rights should and should not be afforded to the Arabs? How did Jabotinsky propose solving this conflict?

Ahad Ha'am & the Arab Question

#1 - 1891

We tend to believe abroad that Palestine is nowadays almost completely deserted, an uncultivated wilderness, and anyone can come there and buy as much land as his heart desires. But in reality this is not the case. It is difficult to find anywhere in the country Arab land which lies fallow . . .

#2 - From his pamphlet, "Truth from Eretz Yisrael," published in 1891

[The Jewish settlers] treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, trespass unjustly, beat them shamelessly for no sufficient reason, and even take pride in doing so. The Jews were slaves in the land of their Exile, and suddenly they found themselves with unlimited freedom, wild freedom that ONLY exists in a land like Turkey. This sudden change has produced in their hearts an inclination towards repressive tyranny, as always happens when slave rules. We are used to thinking of the Arabs as primitive men of the desert, as a donkey-like nation that neither sees nor understands what is going around it. But this is a GREAT ERROR. The Arab, like all sons of Sham, has sharp and crafty mind . . . Should time come when life of our people in Palestine imposes to a smaller or greater extent on the natives, they WILL NOT easily step aside.

#3 - 1914

"[the Zionists] wax angry towards those who remind them that there is still another people in Eretz Yisrael that has been living there and does not intend at all to leave its place. In a future when this ILLUSION will have been torn from their hearts and they will look with open eyes upon the reality as it is, they will certainly understand how important this question is and how great our duty to work for its solution."

Taken from www.zionismontheweb.org

Ahad Ha'am & the Arab Question Reading Worksheet

	According to Ahad Ha'am, how did the Jewish settlers treat the Arabs?
2.	What <u>issues</u> was Ahad Ha'am concerned with regarding the Arabs?
3.	What suggestions do you think Ahad Ha'am would have made for dealing with Arabs?
	Bringing the Thinkers into the 21 st Century
ln ;	Bringing the Thinkers into the 21 st Century your opinion, which Zionist thinker had the most practical approach for dealing was Arabs at that time? Why?

Activity #4 – Philanthropy vs. Aliyah Debate Supporting Resources

Pro-Aliyah

Definition - Aliyah, (pl. aliyot) "ascension" or "going up" is the arrival of Jews as individuals or groups, from exile or Diaspora to live in Eretz Yisrael - the Land of Israel. Those who "go up" for this purpose are known as *olim* - a term used in the Bible when the Children of Israel went up from Egypt (Genesis 50:14 and Numbers 32:11) and - at a later period - for the exiles who returned from captivity in Babylon (Ezra 2:1,59 and Nehemia 5-6).

Modern Zionist Aliyot (1882 - 1948)

The First Aliyah (1882 - 1903)

The First Aliyah consisted of individuals and small groups, who established the early rural settlements - moshavot. Some 25,000 - mostly from East Europe - came during this period. There were two main influxes: in 1882 - 1884 and 1890 - 91.

By 1903, the end of the First Aliyah period, 28 new moshavot had been founded, and 90,000 acres of land had been purchased. There was also beginning of urban settlements, especially in Jaffa, where 3,000 newcomers had made their home. Hebrew was beginning to be a spoken language once again, and the first Hebrew elementary schools had been established -- though French culture, propagated by the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Rothschild (see Edmond de Rothschild) administration was widespread.

The Second Aliyah (1904 - 1914)

The depression caused by the stagnation of the first settlements, the controversies in the Zionist Organization over the Uganda Scheme and the death of Herzl in 1904 were followed by a new upsurge of pioneering fervor which produced the Second Aliyah. The first impetus of the new wave came from the Kishinev Pogroms of 1903 and others two years later. The Second Aliyah consisted of young men and women, mainly from Russia, many of them imbued with socialist ideas. These young men and women were guided not only by a more conscious and consistent national ideology, but were also fired by the ideal of laying the foundation for a workers' commonwealth in the Eretz Yisrael.

The Third Aliyah (1919 - 1923)

The Third Aliyah, from 1919, was partially a continuation of the second, which had been interrupted by the war. A renewed impetus -- the outcome of the

Bolshevik [Russian] Revolution, the post-war pogroms in the Ukraine and the influence of the European national struggles -- coincided with a renewed hope, inspired by the Balfour Declaration and the British conquest of Palestine.

In all, the Third Aliyah brought in 35,000 immigrants: 53% from Russia, 36% from Poland and the rest from Lithuania, Rumania, and other East European countries, apart from 800 from Western and Central Europe.

These young pioneers were a creative force, which transformed the character of the Yishuv and -- together with their predecessors of the Second Aliyah -- played a prominent part in its leadership. They founded the Histadrut, the comprehensive countrywide labor organization, played a leading role in the creation of the Haganah defense organization; provided workers for the construction of housing and roads and the beginnings of industry; strengthened the foundation of Jewish agriculture.

The Fourth Aliyah (1924 - 1928)

In the middle of 1924, a new wave of immigration set in, different in social composition from its predecessor. There had been a drop in the inflow of pioneers, mainly because of the restrictions on departure from Soviet Russia. On the other hand, there was a rise in the immigration of middle-class people --shopkeepers and artisans -- mostly from Poland. This was the result of two developments: (1) the economic crisis in Poland and the economic restrictions imposed on the Polish Jews; (2) the severe limitations on immigration to the United States, introduced in 1924.

Most of the newcomers, having no desire to change their way of life, settled in the towns, primarily in Tel - Aviv. There was also significant rural development in the Coastal Plain. New villages, based on citrus orchards, were founded.

In all, the Forth Aliyah brought 67,000 immigrants, half of them from Poland. In 1926, however, the influx was halted by a severe economic crisis. Of the 13,000 who arrived in 1926, more than half left the country.

The Fifth Aliyah (1929 - 1939)

The Fifth Aliyah brought in over 250,000 Jews and transformed the character of the yishuv. In the period between 1933-36, more than 164,000 Jews entered the country legally, while thousands of refugees came as "illegal" immigrants (see illegal immigration - ha'apalah). In 1933 a new type of immigration, called Youth Aliyah, was started. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population in Palestine was 475,000 -- some 40% of the population.

Activity #4 – Philanthropy vs. Aliyah Debate Supporting Resources

Pro-Philanthropy

Definition - Philanthropy is the voluntary act of donating money or goods or providing some other support to a charitable cause, usually over an extended period of time. In a more fundamental sense, philanthropy may encompass any activity which is intended to enhance the common good or improve human well being. Someone who is well known for practicing philanthropy may sometimes be called a *philanthropist*. Although such individuals are often very wealthy, people may nevertheless perform philanthropic acts without possessing great wealth.

Baron Edmond James de Rothschild

Baron Edmond James de Rothschild (1845 - 1934) was one of Israel's first philanthropists.

Born in Paris, Edmond de Rothschild did not enter the family banking empire, but devoted himself instead to art and culture. His most outstanding achievements were involved in responding to the threats facing the Jewish people in Europe in the late 19th century by supporting massive land purchases and underwriting Jewish settlement in Eretz Yisrael.

His generosity and interest in Jewish settlement in Eretz Yisrael completely changed the possibilities for Jews. During his lifetime, his work on behalf of the yishuv was highly praised by Zionist leaders representing the entire spectrum of opinion. In recognition of his work, he was named honorary president of the Jewish Agency in 1929.

Edmond de Rothschild first became involved in Jewish affairs after the pogroms in Russia in the 1880s. Almost immediately, he also became interested in settlers in Eretz Yisrael. When early settlements faced financial ruin, Rothschild was approached by Rabbi Samuel Mohilever and the leaders of the settlement, Rishon LeZion. He lent his assistance to both Rishon LeZion and Zikhron Ya'akov and then helped found Ekron. An early supporter of quiet settlement initiatives, after World War I, he joined the political activity of the Zionist Organization.

Before 1900, Rothschild's visits to Eretz Yisrael were largely meant as settlement tours. He became known as the "Father of the Yishuv" because of his full and partial involvement in so many young settlements. In the 1890s, he clashed with Theodore Herzl on the interpretation of political Zionism. In the early 1900s he had a similar disagreement with Ahad Ha'am and members of the Hovevei Zion.

The result was a group of 12 settlements under the auspices of Rothschild's Jewish Colonization Association (ICA).

By 1914, Rothschild was able to visit expanded settlements as well as a number of his major and minor investments. He was also growing closer to the Zionist Organization. This cooperation increased during World War I as preparations were made for the Balfour Declaration.

By 1925, the Rothschild name had become synonymous with settlement activity which included cultural, spiritual and political features. His work was recognized and praised everywhere in the yishuv and among the members of the Zionist Organization. When he died in Paris in 1934, he left a legacy which included the reclamation of nearly 500,000 dunams of land and almost 30 settlements.

Why was Rothschild's support so necessary?

By the end of this Aliyah, some two dozen settlements had been added. Most were in the coastal plain (Petach Tikvah, Rishon LeZion, Rechovot, Hadera etc.) or in the north (Rosh Pinah, Yesud HaMaalah, Metulla etc). In theory, each farm was supposed to be (or become) self-sufficient. In reality however, right from the earliest days of the moshavot, the farmers found themselves driven deeply into debt. Unable to pull themselves out of debt by their own efforts alone, they were ultimately forced to depend on the philanthropic efforts of Baron Edmund de Rothschild.

www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org

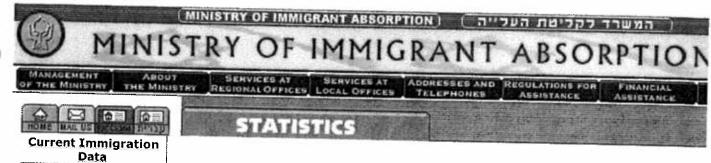
Immigration to Israel

(1948-2004)

1948	101,828
1949	239,954
1950	170,563
1951	175,279
1952	24,610
1953	11,575
1954	18,491
1955	37,528
1956	56,330
1957	72,634
1958	27,290
1959	23,988
1960	. 24,692
1961	47,735
1962	61,533
1963	64,489
1964	55,036
1965	31,115
1966	15,957
1967	14,469
1968	20,703
1969	38,111
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	24,300
1990	200,170
1991	176,650
1992	77,350
1993	77,860
1994	80,810
1995	77,660
1996	72,180
1997	67,990
1998	58,500
1999	78,400
2000	61,542
2001	44,633
2002	35,168
2003	24,652
2004	22,500
Total	2,990,320
Total	2,990,320

Source: <u>Central Bureau of Statistics</u>, <u>JAFI</u>. <u>Jerusalem Post</u> (December 29, 2002); <u>Ministry of Immigrant Absorption</u>



Total Immigration to Israel

Year	No. of Immigrants	% Distribution
1989	24,300	2.0%
1990	200,170	16.6%
1991	176,650	14.6%
1992	77,350	6.4%
1993	77,860	6.4%
1994	80,810	6.7%
1995	77,660	6.4%
1996	72,180	6.0%
1997	67,990	5.6%
1998	58,500	4.8%
1999	78,400	6.5%
2000	61,542	5.1%
2001	44,633	3.7%
2002	35,168	2.9%
2003	24,652	2.0%
2004	22,500	1.9%
2005	22,818	1.9%
2006	4,235	.4%
Total	1,207,418	100.0%

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Below are a group of characters. Those with family names were real individuals. Those without are additional names. Please note that due to the nature of the simulation, certain historical inaccuracies were inevitable. Not all the characters appeared at Chavat Kinneret, nor did each character necessarily hold the views s/he has been attributed. Yet the issues mentioned in the course of the simulation did happen.

JOSHUA ALTERMAN

You are convinced that from now on all activity must take place in Hebrew. As a Zionist who has left the diaspora behind you, you reject all reminders of the past in the ghettos of Eastern Europe. Speaking in Yiddish, German or any other foreign language merely serves to strengthen ties to the old country. You are free to relate to the other issues according to your conscience.

CHANA MAIZELS

You demand equal pay and treatment for women of the settlement. You didn't leave your comfortable, stable and secure middle-class sexist family in Europe to be treated like a helpless child in the Land of Israel. You came here to be independent and feel that women can play an equal role in all activities.

NECHAMA ZEITZER

As a woman who was involved in revolutionary underground activities in Russia, you see it as a grave injustice that guarding the settlement is a job reserved for men only! You believe you are as capable as any man (and more than some) to guard the settlement.

MIRIAM BARATZ

You are incensed by the fact that despite reluctantly agreeing to work in the laundry washing clothes of the men who work outside in the fields (a place you would rather be), your job has been left off the weekly work roster. You are tired of woman being treated as second-class citizens at this settlement. You are seriously thinking of starting your own Woman's Training Farm run by and for women.

RIVKAH

Although you left Europe, you still see Yiddish language and culture as valuable. It breaks your heart to see your friends around you denying themselves what could be a rich life of singing and reading in Yiddish, merely because of the pressure to only converse in Hebrew.

CHAIM KAHANE

You are very creative and feel your talents are being wasted doing back-breaking work in the fields. You have an idea to invent a machine that can run itself and help with the fieldwork. All you need is a month to sit alone, with food and sleep to invent your machine.

NOACH NAFTULSKI

You are opposed to the infiltration of the old world into the new that you and your friends are trying to create in Eretz Israel. You reject all reminders of Eastern Europe and object to the practice of several members of the community putting on tefillin. Salvation and a realization of the Jewish soul will only take place through a return to manual labour of the Land of Israel.

MEIR YAIR

Although you favour the eventual growth of the settlement, you feel that it is still too early too expand. Living in the intimate framework of the Kvutzah is too valuable an experience to jeopardize. You therefore make it extremely difficult for interested newcomers to the region to join the settlement.

NATAN HAIKAR ("The Farmer")

You have recently made Aliyah to Eretz Israel and have just become a member of the settlement. This is the first time you are participating in the nightly discussion and see it as a good opportunity to raise your objection to the very strict acceptance requirements you, like other candidates were required to undergo. You reject the insistence by some members that the settlement remain small and intimate. You have friends arriving soon who you feel would contribute to the settlement, but who may not pass the strict acceptance tests (Like not smoking - an unwritten but clear rule enforced by social pressure.

LEAH

Some members are expressing desires to move on once again. You have been working in various places for two years already and although in the beginning you agreed with others that the ideal pioneer is one who works building the land where-ever s/he is needed, now you have reached a stage where you want to settle down in one place and begin sinking roots.

HILLEL

You are a staunch believer in the idea of the Gedud Ha-Avoda -the Labour Brigade. You see yourself committed sorely to the building of the Land of Israel. You reject calls by those members to make this a more permanent settlement. That is a luxury that your generation cannot afford. The priority is to build where-ever you are needed. For you, the deal Chalutz (pioneer) is one who is prepared and able to become, in Trumpeldor's words, bars of iron, elastic but of iron.

DAVID HOROVITZ

You have been a committed member of the original group that came to the settlement four months ago, but feel the experience is too intense for you. One of the prime aims of the Zionist movement was the psychological emancipation of the individual. Yet you see too much conformity around you. You feel that the settlement is like a religious sect... a monastic order without God'. You've decided to announce your intention to leave the settlement.

SHOSHANA BLUESTEIN

You have a very controversial topic to bring to this Aseffa. You fully understand the value of equality and rejection of private property. Yet you have just been sent a beautiful, handmaid and very delicate blanket by your ailing mother in Eastern Europe. She has written that this blanket was given to her by her mother and she wants you to have it. You realize that if not kept in good condition the blanket will soon fall apart. You approach the members to give you permission to keep the blanket.

SARAH MALKIN

You, like other women, came to this country to build and be built. You are very content and don't understand why some of the women on the settlement are not satisfied with working in the kitchen or laundry. After all, isn't all forms of work of equal worth?

YITZCHAK BEN-TZVI

For several months now, you have been together with Rachel, one of the members. Ever since you were a couple, you were given a hut to sleep in but on the condition that a third person share the hut. Now you want privacy and want permission to build a separate hut for you and Rachel. You are the only serious couple on the settlement.

RACHEL

You are tired of being treated like a second-class citizen and are thinking very seriously of joining your friend Miriam in setting up a separate Women's Training Farm.

Territorialism

Territorialism preached the formation of a Jewish collective in Palestine, or anywhere else, on the basis of self-rule. The territorialist outlook coalesced in the debate over the Uganda Program. In July 1905, after the Zionist Congress rejected this plan, the Territorialist Jewish Organization was established in Basle under the leadership of the writer Israel Zangwill. It attempted to locate territory suitable for Jewish settlement in various parts of Africa, Asia, and Australia, but with little success. The Balfour Declaration and the resulting Zionist awakening negated the movement and led to its dissolution in 1925.

Religious Zionism

Religious Zionism can be traced to the "augurers of Zion" (Mevasrei Zion, precursors of Hibbat Zion), including Rabbis Yehudah Alkalai, Zvi Kalischer, Shmuel Mohilever, and Naftali Zvi Yehudah Berlin. Based on a fusion of Jewish religion and nationhood, it aims to restore not only Jewish political freedom but also Jewish religion in the light of the Torah and its commandments. For Religious Zionism, Judaism based on the commandments is a sine qua non for Jewish national life in the homeland.

In 1902, in response to the decision of the Fifth Zionist Congress to consider cultural activity as part of the Zionist program, Rabbis Reines and Ze'ev Yavetz established the Mizrachi organization (mizrachi being the Hebrew abbreviation of merkaz ruhani-"spiritual center"). Mizrachi held its first world convention in 1904 and composed the movement's platform, which concerned itself principally with observance of the commandments and return to Zion. In Palestine, Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook gave Religious Zionism his personal and spiritual endorsement, regarding settlement in the Land of Israel as the beginning of Redemption.

Religious Zionism has pledged much of its efforts and resources to constructing a national-religious education system. Hapoel Hamizrahi branched away from the main movement (1922) to focus on Orthodox rural settlement in Palestine under the slogan "Torah va'Avodah" (Torah and Labor).

Political Zionism

Political Zionism stressed the importance of political action and deemed the attainment of political rights in Palestine a prerequisite for the fulfillment of the Zionist enterprise. Political Zionism is linked to the name of Theodor Herzl, who considered the Jewish problem a political one that should be solved by overt action in the international arena. His aim was to obtain a charter, recognized by the world leadership, granting the Jews sovereignty in a Jewish-owned territory. The Basle Program, drawn up in accordance with these principles, states that Zionism aims to establish "a secure haven, under public law, for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel." Organizational and economic

mechanisms (the Zionist Organization [ZO], the Jewish National Fund [Keren Kayemet L'Israel], the Jewish Colonial Trust and so on) were established to carry out this program.

Practical Zionism

Practical Zionism emphasized practical means of attaining Zionist goals, such as aliyah (immigration), rural settlement and educational institutions, despite inadequate political conditions. This approach originated in the *Hibbat Zion* movement in the 1880s, well before Political Zionism. After Theodor Herzl's death (1904), as hopes of obtaining a charter in Palestine were dashed, and after the Uganda Program controversy (1905), Practical Zionism, calling for the intensification of rural settlement in Palestine, gained strength. The champions of this doctrine were the members of the Second Aliyah, who settled in Palestine at this time. They founded rural settlements, some along cooperative principles; built modern towns; and established the first industrial enterprises. The 1907 decision to establish the Palestine office of the Zionist movement in Jaffa, headed by Dr. Arthur Ruppin, further reinforced this approach.

UNIT 3: THE BIRTH OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Understandings:

- 1) The events of 1948, which were recorded differently by different interested parties, reflect the conflicting understandings of Israel and the Palestinians' claim to the land.
- 2) While Israel was engaged in the war of Independence, it was simultaneously occupied with building an internal infrastructure to support the state and the influx of immigrants.

Essential Questions:

- 1) What in Israeli society and in different immigrant cultures led to different patterns of absorption of Jews from different countries?
- 2) How can all Jews from diverse backgrounds feel at home in Israel?
- 3) What would account for the fact that there are different recollections of the events of 1948 from both Arab and Israeli authors?
- 4) How do cultural and ethnic backgrounds impact how immigrants are absorbed into a society and how that impacts the shaping of that society?

Goals:

- To introduce the different accounts of the birth of Israel
- To analyze why different groups were absorbed into Israeli society differently
- To apply the idea of tensions to the students' lives today

Students will be able to:

- Explain the ways in which Israelis and Diaspora Jews live with cultural, political and religious tensions
- Compare and contrast the different fact-based accounts of the 1948 war and analyze the rationale behind different accounts of the war
- Relate the political realities of today to the events of 1948
- Describe how the different absorption of immigrants from various countries impacted Israeli society.

Note to Teacher:

This unit includes 6 activity ideas, in addition to a memorable moment activity, an authentic assessment, and a scripted lesson plan.

Suggested time allocation: 8 class sessions

Concepts & Key People:

Ashkenazi

The term used for Jews who derive from northern and eastern Europe and who generally follow the customs originating in medieval German Judaism, in contrast to Sephardic Judaism. Ashkenazi Jews have their own distinctive liturgical practices or religious and social customs. Many pre-WWII immigrants were middle class and well educated. The Holocaust survivors who immigrated came with empty pockets and broken families.

Sephardi

Sephardic Jews are descended from those who lived in Spain and Portugal before the expulsion of 1492. As a cultural designation, the term refers to the Jews of this region and its related diaspora in the Balkans and Middle East (especially in Islamic countries). The term is used in contrast to Ashkenazi, but it does not refer, thereby, to all Jews of non-Ashkenazi origin.

Mizrahi

The term is commonly used today in reference to Israeli Jews from non-European countries, descended from the Jewish communities of the Middle East. In a larger context, the term refers to Jewish communities living in the Islamic World. Most Mizrahi Jews fled their countries of birth when, in reaction to the events leading up the 1948 War and subsequent establishment of the state of Israel, citizens of Arab countries acted out violently against their local Jewish populations.

The Mizrahim were at first moved into rudimentary and hastily erected tent cities, and later sent to development towns. Many Mizrahim had been craftsmen and merchants, with little farming experience. According to a survey by Adva Center, the average income of Ashkenazim was 36 precent higher than that of Mizrahim in 2004

Aliyah

A term used in Judaism for immigration to the land of Israel. New immigrants are called "Olim Chadashim."

Suggested Educational Learning Activities

1. **Timeline Activity** (This could be done at the beginning of each unit) (suggested time: 40 – 60 minutes)

There will be a timeline up along the walls of the classroom which was introduced in the introductory unit. On the first day of this unit, produce a larger version of the timeline from 1947 – 1955. The focus of the unit is not on the events, but this timeline will help students place these events and the relevant themes in a larger context.

- Each group will be assigned one (or two) of the events/trends that took place during this era. They will be provided with information to sort through and will create presentations about the event(s) for their classmates. In the presentation, each group should answer some of the following questions:
 - 1. What are the different ways to understand this event?
 - 2. Why and how is this event remembered? (for the War of Independence group *only*)
 - 3. Why is this event relevant to the development of the state of Israel?
 - 4. In what ways (if at all) could this event affect my Jewish identity and my connection to Israel?
- Events (See Unit Resources for materials): Post-Holocaust Immigration/Cyprus/Exodus, 1948 Declaration of Independence, War of

Independence, Operation Ezra and Nechemia, Operation Magic Carpet (Yemenite immigration), First Knesset

2. Ashkenazi vs. Mizrahi Immigration (suggested time: 90 minutes)

Watch the movie, "Sallah Shabbati" which depicts the different absorptions of Mizrahi and Ashkenazi immigrants in the early 1950s.

- o Discussion Questions for after watching the movie:
 - 1. Describe Sallah Shabbati's family?
 - 2. What were Sallah's expectations upon arriving in Israel? Were his expectations met? If so, how?
 - 3. How does the movie portray the kibbutz and kibbutz members?
 - 4. Compare and contrast the lives of the new immigrants in the transit camp with the kibbutz members' lives.
 - 5. From where did the kibbutz members immigrate to Israel?
 - 6. What could Sallah learn from the kibbutz members and vice versa?
 - 7. What can we learn about Israel's ability to absorb its new immigrants in the early 1950s from this movie?

3. Establishment of the State of Israel & the Declaration of Independence (Below are two separate activity ideas.)

- 1. Recreate May 14, 1948 in Independence Hall with Ben-Gurion announcing the establishment of the state of Israel. (Suggested Time: 25 minutes)
 - O Have a student read out what Ben-Gurion said. Assign parts to other students who will "react" to the proclamation. Possible characters: Newscaster who reports on the Jewish-Arab clashes in the surrounding areas, other Zionist leaders in the Hall, onlookers who hear the proclamation from the street, Arab residents of Jaffa (Tel Aviv).
- 2. What's Behind the Declaration? (Suggested Time: 45 minutes) Explain background info: there still is no constitution; it took 3 weeks to draft Declaration

Divide into chevruta and pick an issue from the list (religion, Zionism, Jewish right to exist, Jewish homeland, Holocaust, definition of citizenship, Arabs, Diaspora-Israel relations, immigration).

Read the Declaration in chevruta, looking for evidence of that issue. Underline key words or phrases that relate to the assigned issue. Discuss the following guiding questions:

- What did the authors of this document believe about this issue? Based upon the way in which this issue was included in the Declaration, what can you guess about their <u>values</u>?
- Based on how this issue is included in the Declaration, what assumptions can
 we imagine that the authors made about what would happen with this issue in
 the future?
- Is this different from what actually happened? If so, how?

How might you re-write the Declaration in light of how this issue has evolved?

Regroup: Each chevruta will share how the Declaration deals with their issue and will share the answer to the last question.

Ask:

- Now that we have read this document, what other issues are mentioned here that we did not discuss?
- Did anything in the text (or missing from the text) surprise you?
- 4. The Law of Return (suggested time: 30-40 minutes)

Read the Law of Return (1950).

Questions:

- What principles guided the Israeli legislator?
- In your opinion, what difficulties does the Law of Return give rise to?

Examine the amendments of 1954.

- What do you think the reasons were for introducing the 1954 amendments?
- What do they indicate?

Examine the 1970 Amendments.

- Why was the matter addressed a second time?
- What do the new changes indicate?

Class discussion:

- What is your opinion of the Law of Return?
- Do you think it is democratic? Why are why not?
- What additional amendments would you like to add to it?
- 5. The New Historians (suggested time: 40 minutes)

Introduce the concept of Revisionist history and the New Historians.

The New Historians - New Historians are a group of Israeli historians who have declared their goal to be reexamining the history of Israel and Zionism. Leading scholars in this school include Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé, and Avi Shlaim. They base their research on Israeli government documents that have become public since the late 1980s. According to the New Historians, Israel has its own share of responsibility for the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian plight. In particular they claim that at least a part of the Palestinian refugees were driven away from their homes, rather than fled out of their own decision.

Questions for discussion:

How do we choose to remember "history"? What is the difference between memory and history?

- Think about your own childhood memories. Are there particular "memories"
- Why are there different versions of Israeli history?
- Why is it important to learn about the "alternative" perspective of Israel's history, as penned by the New Historians?

Read the Ari Shavit interview with Benny Morris in which Morris recants some of his original opinions. Have 2 students read the interview aloud. Follow-up questions:

- Why do you think Benny Morris changed his mind?
- Do Morris's new opinions invalidate his original ideas?
- Morris claims that he has always been a Zionist, even though his critics say that he is not. Is it possible to be critical of Israel and be a Zionist?
- How does reading the New Historians help us make sense of today's differing view points on Israel?

Memorable Moment:

Absorbing the New Olim (suggested time: 45 minutes)

Divide the class into two groups - half are Ashkenazim and half are Sephardim (but do not initially make these labels clear). Tell both groups that they have the right to immigrate to Israel and that the new state of Israel is happy to receive them. This is the Promised Land where all will be good.

Create a marketplace in the classroom where the students can buy food, get jobs, find housing, etc. (basically procure all basic needs). Each student needs coupons to buy stuff. Pass out coupons, giving the "Ashkenazim" more coupons than the "Sephardim." Provide other factors that will differentiate their experiences such as not "selling" Sephardi foods, or only "selling" Western style clothing. The teacher could also give students identities indicating exactly where they came from, their former profession, and the size of their family.

- o Follow up Discussion Questions:
 - 1. How was this process for you?
 - 2. Why did some people have an easier time than others?
 - 3. Did some people have better access to the needed goods than others? Why do you think that was the case?
 - 4. How did it feel to see how others were treated and "absorbed"?
 - 5. Did the way other people were treated affect how you felt or thought about that individual? (for example: if someone was treated well, did you assume that he deserved it and was worthy?)

Authentic Assessment:

As part of the ongoing assessment, students will become investigative reporters and will produce newspaper articles (or video news reports) based on the information they received. Over the course of the year, the "reporters" will have to reconcile the different accounts and deal with the "bias" that emerges from their articles. (See the lesson plan for a more detailed description)

Newspaper Activity (Assessment)

(30-40 minutes, or less time if the students draft the outlines in class and write the articles at home)

- 1. Students will return to their groups from Activity #1 (or any activity that used primary documents) and will have to write a newspaper article based on the readings they read. Students can work with a partner or individually so that there will be multiple articles based on the same information. They should take into account the information and the bias in their source material. The students can choose to write whatever kind of article they choose (news article, editorial, political cartoons, character profiles, etc.), or they can do a news broadcast if a video camera is available.
- 2. Appoint 1-2 students to be the newspaper editor(s). They are responsible for assembling the newspaper layout once the articles are written. This involves reading all of the articles and organizing them by either topic or biases.
- 3. Within each group, students should share their article outlines before they begin writing their articles. Students should discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - 1. How did you decide what angle to use when reporting your information to others?
 - 2. Do you agree or disagree with what you're planning to write? If you disagree, how did you decide to write about this topic in this way?
- 4. Photocopy the articles into a newspaper to hand out at the next class. If this exercise will be done in each unit, explain to the students that they will have the opportunity to produce future editions of the class newspaper with different students serving as the editors.

Lesson Plan Understanding 1948 Using Multiple Lenses

Objectives: Students will be able to....

- Explain different Jewish and Arab accounts of 1948;
- Assess authors' biases using primary documents;
- Articulate why examining various historical accounts is helpful to the development of their own connection to and understanding of Israel;

Note: This is a 2 hour scripted lesson plan. The times and activity elements can be altered to fit your class's needs, or the two major activities can be completed in two separate lessons. The newspaper activity at the end of the lesson can be used as part of an authentic assessment for the entire course or for just this lesson. The major questioning sequences include possible answers to the questions.

Set Induction (15-20 minutes)

1. Ask students to share their understandings of what happened in 1948 with regard to the establishment of the State of Israel and the subsequent war. Write down their answers on the board. Encourage as many brainstorming ideas as possible, even if people share seemingly contradictory ideas.

Ask: What do you know about what happened in Israel in 1948?

- o Israel (David Ben-Gurion) declared the State of Israel on May 14, 1948
- The Arab countries invaded Israel
- The Palestinians rejected the UN's proposed Partition Plan
- The Jews started the War
- o Jews/Israelis call it the War of Independence
- o Palestinians call it Al Naqba (The Catastrophe)
- The British pulled out of Palestine and gave up all control
- o Immigrants from Post-Holocaust Europe came and joined the new Israeli army
- o Israelis founded new kibbutzim and towns
- Jerusalem was cut temporarily off from the rest of the country
- 2. Pass out True/False sheet (which can be found at the end of the lesson) with "facts" about events in Israel in 1948. Go over the sheet together asking students to identify if each statement is true or false. Encourage healthy debate over each statement but do not reveal what the "correct" answers are until you review the entire sheet.
- 3. Based on this True/False sheet and the comments written on the board, Ask:
 - Is it possible that there is more than one account of what happened?
 - O No, there is one account of events and the other concepts are factually inaccurate.
 - Yes, each involved party remembers and recorded the events slightly differently.

- What are the different groups who could have recorded these different versions?
 - o Religious Jews living in Israel/Palestine
 - o Members of the Jewish army (Haganah/Israel Defense Forces)
 - Secular Jews living in Israel
 - Arabs living in Palestine
 - o Arabs living in Arab countries surrounding Israel
- How do people decide which version to believe?
 - o Most people follow what they've been taught
 - o Based on what they read/hear on the news
 - o Research different ideas and come to their own conclusions
- Do you think it is okay to have more than one version?
 - O No, it doesn't make sense to have more than one account
- How do you decide which version you believe in?

<u>Understanding History</u> (5 – 10 minutes)

- 1. If necessary, review the traditional account of the events in 1948. (You can probably just fill in the holes of what the students shared at the beginning of the lesson.) The major points are:
 - On November 29, 1947, the United Nations approved a Partition Plan which would divide Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews agreed to this plan, while the Arabs did not.
 - Following the announcement of this plan, Arab violence against Jews in Palestine increased. From November 30, 1947 February 1, 1948, 427 Arabs and 381 Jews were killed.
 - By April 1948, the Arabs had put Jerusalem under siege so that no Jews could enter or leave the city. In the attempts to free the city, scores of Jews and Arabs were killed. The siege eventually ended when Jewish convoys reached Jerusalem through the Burma Road.
 - On May 14, 1948, the British Mandate expired and the British began to leave Palestine.
 - On May 15, 1948, Israel declares it's independence
 - On May 15, 1948, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Iraq declared war on Israel.
 - While there were several cease fires and truces, the war officially ended with the signing of the final Armistice agreement on July 20, 1948.
 - Casualties: Israel lost 6,373; the Arabs lost somewhere between 5,000 15,000;
 - After the War, Israel shared Jerusalem with Jordan, and did not have control of the West Bank or the Gaza Strip
 - The war resulted in over 750,000 Arab refugees who lost their homes.
- 2. Introduce the idea of the New Historians. Say (or summarize):
 - New Historians are a group of Israeli historians who have declared their goal to be reexamining the history of Israel and Zionism. They base their research on Israeli government documents that have become public since the late 1980s. According to the New Historians, Israel has its own share of responsibility for the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian plight. In particular they claim that at least a

part of the Palestinian refugees were driven away from their homes, rather than fled out of their own decision.

Primary Document Analysis (40 – 50 minutes)

- 1. Divide the students into groups of 4-6 students. Give each group a different account of the events of 1948 written by a Jewish or Arab witness. In groups, students will read the material and prepare a presentation in which they will argue in favor of the readings' point of view.
- 2. Each group will present their case to the other groups. Each presentation should be 5-8 minutes. The other groups should pose challenges and/or questions to the presenters.
- 3. Class discussion and debriefing. After each group presents, bring the class together to discuss the following questions.
 - 1. How is it possible that there are conflicting accounts of the same events?
 - 2. Can there be more than one "truth"?
 - 3. If you didn't agree with what you were arguing, was it difficult for you to put forth this point of view?
 - 4. Did this exercise validate any "new" understandings for you?
 - 5. Are there any issues that you are still struggling with?
 - 6. What new questions do you have? (Save these answers so that you can address these issues later in the lesson or in a future lesson)

Newspaper Activity (Assessment)

(30 minutes, or less time if the students draft the outlines in class and write the articles at home. This could be the first step of a longer process which is continued at home or in future lessons (see authentic assessment), or this could be done as a stand-alone.)

As part of the ongoing assessment, students will become "investigative reporters" and will produce newspaper articles (or news reports) based on the information they received. Over the course of the year, the "reporters" will have to reconcile the different accounts and deal with the "bias" that emerges in their articles.

- 1. Students will return to their original groups and will have to write a newspaper article based on the readings they read. Students can work with a partner or individually so that there will be multiple articles based on the same information. They should take into account the information and the bias in their source material. The students can choose to write whatever kind of article they choose (news article, editorial, political cartoons, character profiles, etc.), or they can do a news broadcast if a video camera is available.
- 2. In each group, students should create and share outlines of their article as the first prewriting step. Students should discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - 1. How did you decide what angle to use when reporting your information to others?

2. Do you agree or disagree with what you're planning to write? If you disagree, how did you decide to write about this topic in this way?

Wrap-Up (5-10 minutes)

Discussion of issues to continue thinking about:

- 1. Does learning about the different accounts of 1948 affect how you view Israeli events (or everything) today?
- 2. How can you use your new understanding of multiple accounts to better understand Israel's complex history?
- 3. If 1948 has different versions, what other aspects of Israel has more than one side?

TRUE/FALSE WORKSHEET THE 1948 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

- 1. The state of Israel was officially established after David Ben-Gurion proclaimed an independent state. (T)
- 2. The Jews were unwilling to compromise and divide Palestine between themselves and Arabs. (F)
- 3. The Arabs were unwilling to compromise and divide Palestine between themselves and the Jews. (T)
- 4. After the end of the War and the Armistice agreement, Israel did not include half of Jerusalem, including the Wall and the Jewish Quarter, the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. (T)
- 5. The Arab forces from the various Arab countries were well coordinated and had more manpower than the Jewish army. (F there was minimal coordination)
- 6. Arabs revolted and attacked Jews after the UN passed the Partition Plan. (T)
- 7. The Israeli Army (The Israel Defense Forces) was not established until after the War of Independence. (F On May 28, 1948 David Ben-Gurion merged all of the existing Jewish armed forces into the IDF)
- 8. Israel won the War in 1949. (T)
- 9. The War of Independence battles took place in towns, which resulted in the displacement of thousands of Arabs, resulting in approximately 540,000 Arabs claiming refugee status. (T)

UNIT 3: The BIRTH OF ISRAEL SOURCES

Activity #1: Timeline Activity Info Sheets

- Timeline
- Exodus
- War of Independence
- Operation Ezra and Nechemia
- Operation Magic Carpet
- First Knesset
- Declaration of Independence (look under activity #3 Declaration Text)

Activity #3: Establishment of the State of Israel & the Declaration of Independence

- Declaration of the State of Israel
- David Ben-Gurion's proclamation of the State

Activity #4: The Law of Return

The Law of Return and Amendments

Activity #5: The New Historians

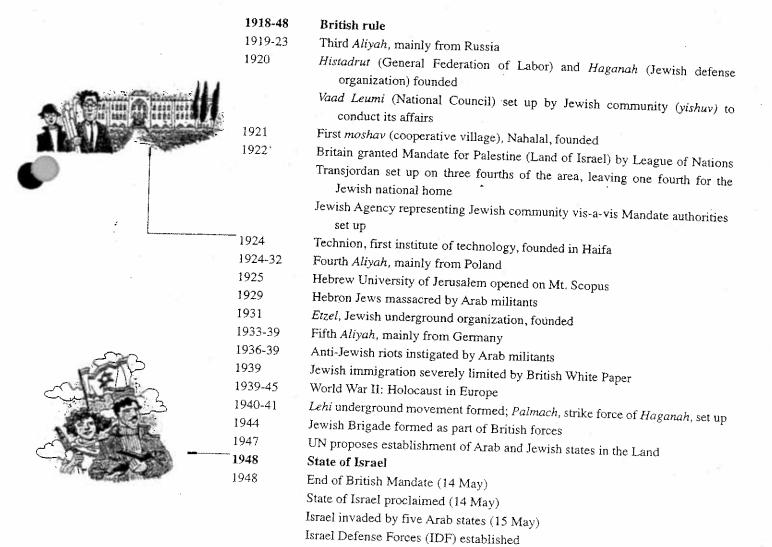
Benny Morris Interview

Memorable Moment

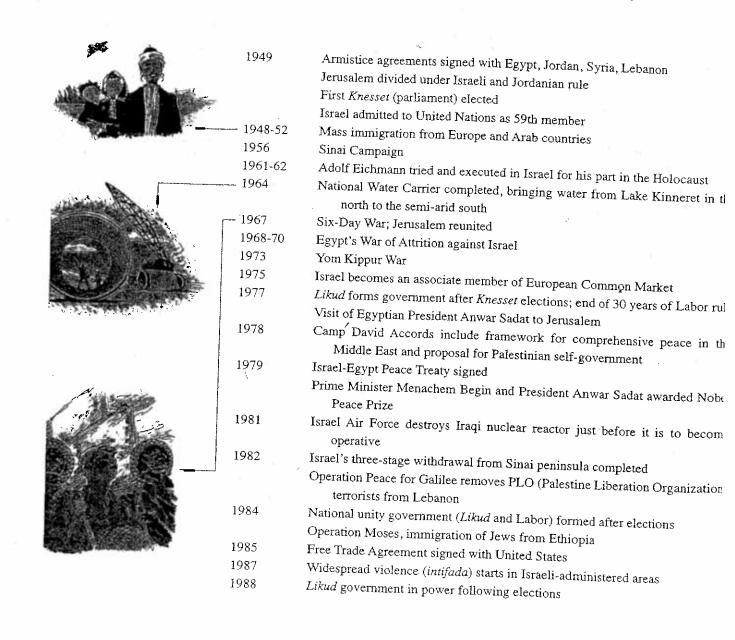
Background readings on Immigration, Ashkenazim, and Sephardim

Lesson Plan

• Excerpts



War of Independence (May 1948 - July 1949)

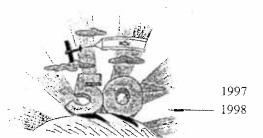








1996



Four-point peace initiative proposed by Israel

Start of mass immigration of Jews from former Soviet Union

Israel attacked by Iraqi Scud missiles during Gulf War

Middle East peace conference convened in Madrid

Operation Solomon, airlift of Jews from Ethiopia

Diplomatic relations established with China and India

New government headed by Yitzhak Rabin of Labor party

Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements for the Palestinians signed by Israel and PLO, as representative of the Palestinian people

Implementation of Palestinian self-government in Gaza Strip and Jericho area

Full diplomatic relations with the Holy See

Morocco and Tunisia interest offices set up

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty signed

Rabin, Peres, Arafat awarded Nobel Peace Prize

Broadened Palestinian self-government implemented in West Bank and Gaza Strip; Palestinian Council elected

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin assassinated at peace rally

Shimon Peres becomes prime minister

Fundamentalist Arab terrorism against Israel escalates

Operation Grapes of Wrath, retaliation for *Hizbullah* terrorists' attacks on northern Israel

Trade representation offices set up in Oman and Qatar

Benjamin Netanyahu elected prime minister; forms Likud-led coalition government

Omani trade representation office opened in Tel Aviv

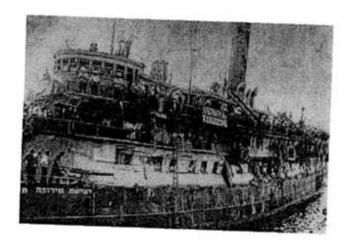
Hebron Protocol signed by Israel and the PA

Israel celebrates its 50th anniversary

Israel and the PLO sign the Wye River Memorandum to facilitate implementation of the Interim Agreement

1999	Ehud Barak (left-wing One Israel party) elected Prime Minister; for
2000	Israel and the PLO sign the Sharm-el-Sheikh Memorandum Visit of Pope John Paul II
	Israel withdraws from the Security Zone in southern Lebanon Israel admitted to UN Western European and Others Group Renewed violence (intifada)
2001	Prime Minister Barak resigns Ariel Sharon (Likud) elected Prime Minister; forms broad-based uni government
	The Sharm-el-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee report (the Mitche Report) issued
	Palestinian-Israeli Security Implementation Workplan (Tenet ceasefi plan) proposed
	Rechavam Ze'evy, Minister of Tourism, assassinated by Palestinic terrorists
2002	Israel launches Operation "Defensive Shield" in response to massir Palestinian terrorism attacks
,	Prime Minister Sharon disperses the Knesset, calling for new elections be held on 28 January 2003
2003	Right-of-center coalition government formed by Prime Minister Ari Sharon

The Exodus



The ship *Exodus 1947* became a symbol of Aliya Bet — illegal immigration. After World War II, illegal immigration increased and the British authorities decided to stop it by sending the ships back to the ports of embarkation in Europe. The first ship to which this policy was applied was the *Exodus 1947*.

The ship sailed from the port of Site, near Marseilles, on July 11, 1947, with 4,515 immigrants, including 655 children, on board. As soon as it left the territorial waters of France, British destroyers accompanied it. On July 18, near the coast of Palestine but outside territorial waters, the British rammed the ship and boarded it, while the immigrants put up a desperate defense. Two immigrants and a crewman were killed in the battle, and 30 were wounded. The ship was towed to Haifa, where the immigrants were forced onto deportation ships bound for France. At Port-de-Bouc, in southern France, the would-be immigrants remained in the ships' holds for 24 days during a heat wave, refusing to disembark despite the shortage of food, the crowding and the abominable sanitary conditions. The French government refused to force them off the boat. Eventually, the British decided to return the would-be immigrants to Germany, and on August 22 the ship left for the port of Hamburg, then in the British occupation zone. The immigrants were forcibly taken off and transported to two camps near Lubeck.

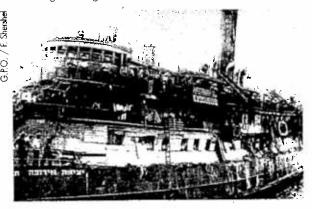
Journalists who covered the dramatic struggle described to the entire world the heartlessness and cruelty of the British. World public opinion was outraged and the British changed their policy. Illegal immigrants were not sent back to Europe; they were instead transported to detention camps in Cyprus.

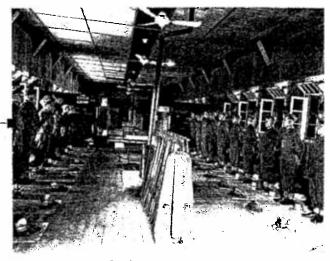
The majority of the passengers on the *Exodus 1947* settled in Israel, though some had to wait until after the establishment of the State of Israel.

^{*}Taken from www.jewishvirutallibrary.org

After the war, the British intensified their restrictions on the number of Jews permitted to enter and settle in the Land. The Jewish community responded by instituting a wide network of "illegal immigration" activities to rescue Holocaust survivors. Between 1945 and 1948, some 85,000 Jews were brought to the Land by secret, often dangerous routes, in spite of a British naval blockade and border patrols set up to intercept the refugees before they reached the country. Those who were caught were interned in detention camps on the island of Cyprus, or returned to Europe.

The Haganah ship EXODUS with "illegal" immigrants aboard





Jewish recruits in a British army camp

JEWISH VOLUNTEERS IN WORLD WAR II: Over 26,000 men and women of the Jewish community in the Land volunteered to join the British forces in the fig! against Nazi Germany and its Axis allies, serving in the army, air force and navy. In September 1944, fe lowing a prolonged effort by the Jewish Agency in the country and the Zionist movement abroad to achieve recognition of the participation of the Jews of Palestine in the war effort, the Jewish Brigade was formed as an independent military unit of the British army, with its own flag and emblem. Comprised of some 5,000 men, the Brigade saw action Egypt, northern Italy and northwest Europe. After 1 Allied victory in Europe (1945), many of its membe joined the "illegal immigration" efforts to bring Hc caust survivors to the Land of Israel.



7/21/1947-Haifa, Palestine: Innocent victims of Britain's refusal to allow Jewish immigration into Palestine, these Jewish children seem unaware of the seriousness of the tragic plight facing their elders after leaving the illegal immigrant ship, Exadus of 1947, at Haifa. The ship, jammed with 4,700 homeless Jews, seeking a new life in Palestine, was seized by British naval units after a battle off the Palestine coast. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann

The members of the Irgun and the Stern Gang have been called terrorists. Is that a fair description for them? How do you feel about **Jewish** terrorists? Jot down your thoughts here:

1945-1947

The campaign for a Jewish state took place on several fronts. The combination of illegal immigration, underground activity, and diplomacy made the State of Israel a reality.

Illegal Immigration — Exodos

DPs: The Zionists of Palestine placed a high priority on bringing the quarter million Jews known as "displaced persons" or DPs from Europe to *Eretz Yisrael*. This was important because a larger Jewish population in Palestine made a stronger case for a Jewish state, and because life for these Jews was quite hard, living in "DP camps" without permanent homes or jobs or communities.

The DP problem was distressing to the United States as well, and President Harry S Truman urged the British to allow 100,000 Jews to enter Palestine. The British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, was reluctant to do anything that would antagonize the Arab population of Palestine, but he did agree to an Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry in which a group of six Americans and six British would explore various options for solving the refugee problem. On May 1, 1946, the committee unanimously proposed that 100,000 Jews be allowed into Palestine. Since this was contrary to Bevin's preferences, the proposal was dead on arrival.

ALIYAH BET: Since the British and Americans were unable to arrange for legal immigration of the displaced persons, the leadership of the *yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) turned to illegal immigration. The official quasi-government of the *yishuv* (the Jewish Agency) and its main military arm (the Haganah) worked together to smuggle Jews out of the DP camps, onto trucks, and then onto boats to take them to Palestine.

Because of its "alternative" status this approach was known as "Aliyah Bet." In 1946 more than one thousand refugees a month were smuggled into Palestine. When the British became aware of the operation they blockaded the Palestine coast and put the would-be immigrants into camps in Cyprus, in the Mediterranean Sea. The inability of shiploads of Holocaust survivors to reach their homeland (most famously those on the ship The Exodus) was terrible PR for the British, who looked harsh and cruel in the eyes of much of the world. The ensuing sympathy for the Jewish plight was, of course, exactly what the Jewish Agency wanted.

Underground Activity

Illegal immigration was hardly the only way the Jews of the *yishuv* resisted British rule in Palestine. Several underground Jewish movements sought to make Palestine ungovernable and therefore to force the British to make way for a Jewish state.

For example, in June, 1946, the Haganah blew up almost every bridge connecting Palestine with surrounding nations, which paralyzed British transportation and communication needs. Most of the Haganah's energy, however, was focused on arranging for illegal immigration.

That wasn't true of other, smaller, more extreme groups within Palestine. The Stern Gang assassinated dozens of important British diplomats and soldiers in the late 1940s, and the Irgun, under its leader Menachem Begin, set off a bomb in the British headquarters in Jerusalem's King David Hotel, killing ninety-one people. These groups also attacked British vehicles, blew up railroad tracks, and broke their fellow activists out of British prisons.

Was of Independence

THE STATE OF ISRAEL

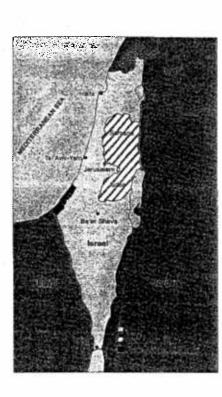
On 14 May 1948, Israel proclaimed its independence. Less than 24 hours later, the regular armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq invaded the country, forcing Israel to defend the sovereignty it had regained in its ancestral homeland.

In what became known as Israel's War of Independence, the newly formed, poorly equipped Israel Defense Forces (IDF) repulsed the invaders in fierce intermittent fighting, which lasted some 15 months and claimed over 6,000 Israeli lives (nearly one percent of the country's Jewish population at the time).

During the first months of 1949, direct negotiation were conducted under UN auspices between Israel ar each of the invading countries (except Iraq which refuse to negotiate with Israel), resulting in armistice agreemen which reflected the situation at the end of the fightin Accordingly, the coastal plain, Galilee and the enti Negev were within Israel's sovereignty, Judea and Samria (the West Bank) came under Jordanian rule, the Gar Strip came under Egyptian administration, and the city of Jerusalem was divided, with Jordan controlling the easter part, including the Old City, and Israel the western secto

Partition Plan 1947 (U.N. Resolution 181)





1949-1967 Armistice Lines

32|33

The Road to Independence

Britain's inability to reconcile the conflicting demands of the Jewish and Arab communities led the British government to request that the 'Question of Palestine' be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly (April 1947). As a result, a special committee was constituted to draft proposals concerning the country's future. On 29 November 1947, the Assembly voted to adopt the committee's recommendation to partition the Land into the states, one Jewish and one Arab. The Jewish communication the plan; the Arabs rejected it.

Following the UN vote, local Arab militants, aided by irregular volunteers from Arab countries, launched violent attacks against the Jewish community in an effort to frustrate the partition resolution and prevent the establishment of a Jewish state. After a number of setbacks, the Jewish defense organizations routed most of the attacking forces,



HISTORY

taking hold of the entire area which had been allocated for the Jewish state.

On 14 May 1948 when the British Mandate came to an end, the Jewish population in the Land numbered some 650,000, comprising an organized community with well-developed political, social and economic institutions – in fact, a nation in every sense and a state in everything but name.



Spontaneous celebration in Tel Aviv, 29 November 1947

Operations Ezra & Nechemia: The Aliyah of Iraqi Jews



Some 130,000 Jews arrived in Israel in Operation Ezra and Nechemia. Flying the Iraqi Jews to Israel lasted several months, and started after the Iraqi Government passed a special bill permitting their emigration in 1951. The Iraqi Jews were mostly wealthy and the local authorities gave them special privileges. When the Jews learned about the special permit they had been given, thousands arrived in Baghdad and gathered in registration centers where they registered for immigration to Israel.

According to Iraqi law, the Jews had to sell their property and liquidate their businesses before they could leave. Many sold large properties for ridiculous sums in order to win the right to immigrate.

Waiting in Baghdad was a tense and difficult period. Some 50,000 Jews signed up in one month, and two months later there were 90,000 on the list. This mass movement stunned the Iraqi Government, which had not expected the number of immigrants to exceed 8,000, and feared that administrative institutions run by Jews might collapse. At the same time, the Zionist movement issued a manifesto calling on the Jews to sign up for immigration. It started with the following: "O, Zion, flee, daughter of Babylon," and concluded thus: "Jews! Israel is calling you — come out of Babylon!"

The first planes flew to Israel via Cyprus in mid-May 1951. Several months later, a giant airlift operated directly from Baghdad to Lod airport. Operation Ezra and Nechemia ended at the beginning of 1952, leaving only about 6,000 Jews in Iraq. Most of the 2,500-year-old Jewish community immigrated to Israel.

^{*}Taken from www.jewishvirutallibrary.org

Operation "Magic Carpet"



In May 1949, when the Imam of Yemen agreed to let 45,000 of the 46,000 Jews in his country leave, Israeli transport planes flew them "home" in Operation Magic Carpet. The Yemenite Jews, mostly children, were brought to Israel on some 380 flights. This was one of the most wonderful and complex immigration operations the state has ever known. British and American planes airlifted the Jews from Aden, the capital of Yemen, when they reached the city from all over Yemen after extremely dangerous and risky journeys. The operation was secret and was released to the media only several months after its completion.

The year 1949 saw massive waves of immigration to Israel. Some 250,000 Jews who arrived that year alone were placed in military barracks and tent camps, and were later moved to *ma'abarot* [transit camps]. The state nearly collapsed under the burden. Calculations made that year showed that the state needed some \$3,000 for the absorption of each immigrant, which meant that the state required about \$700,000 for the whole campaign; the entire state budget was less than that. Yet, despite everything, the young state was more than willing to do all that was necessary to absorb the immigrants, believing that this was the reason for its establishment in the first place.

^{*}Taken from www.jewishvirutallibrary.org

Aliya

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Yemenites: e Magic Carpet Flies Again

Soviets had their turn in the spotlight, Ethiopians had two turns. Though the of aliya was still from the former So-Union, it was Yemenite olim who d center stage for a while in 1993.

Yemen, an Arab country, has no relaas with and is officially hostile to Israel. Yemeni government had banned the of Jews since 1961. But tens of thouands had arrived in Israel before then, and y did not forget their families. Rescue minizations and occasional protests by dividuals never let the issue die. Since the allapse of the USSR, Yemen has been tryto improve its relations with the West. and, as is well known, the United States resses human rights—including freedom memigration—when it decides about the fulity of its relations with other countries.

In August, 1992, 38 Jews from Yemen wed in Israel. There was no fanfare. They were housed in an absorption center Rehovot, a town with a large Yemenite opulation. The venue was chosen, in part, smooth their integration, but another misideration was involved, too: if surbunded by other Yemenites they would less conspicuous and therefore less likely disclose the operation prematurely. A wk might put an end to the exodus. mother 19 persons arrived in November, in January, 1993; 52 in February; 17 in March; 8 in April; 66 in June; and 24 by y 14. Another 34, who had already left emen before the story became public, anded on July 15. By the end of 1993, 349 demeni Jews had arrived in Israel.

lie "Y" Word

veryone in Israel knew. For months, the Medi press had been screaming about the orruption of haredi immigrants from an anamed country. Even a London-based udi Arabian newspaper, a-Sharq al-Awsat, and run a series of articles, complete with

pictures from the absorption center in Rehovot. On Mar. 29, a front-page story in Ha'aretz reported that, according to wall posters put up in haredi neighborhoods, "numerous olim from Yemen have recently arrived in Israel in secret."

By early July, Yated Ne'eman, the organ of the opposition Degel Hatorah party, was running almost daily articles on the subject. Yom Le-yom, the Shas daily, defended the treatment of the olim, with which the party was heavily involved. The olim had been sent to "secular" absorption centers, Yated charged, and taken to beaches and dances where men and women mingled freely. Boys were placed in classes taught by immodestly dressed women. The radical anti-Zionist Neturei Karta group continued to plaster haredi neighborhoods with posters denouncing the "forced apostasy." "The frightful news has reached us that the Zionists are secretly bringing to their country some of the remnant of Yemenite Jewry and are trying to settle them in a contaminated absorption center of the Zionist [Jewish] Agency, where they are being forced to abandon their religion."

The censor attempted to squelch the publicity, presumably because publication would imperil continuation of the rescue operation. Yated Ne'eman asked the courts to overrule the censor, charging that the ban was merely an attempt to protect Shas and had nothing to do with security. While the matter was still in court, the censor decided to permit publication of the story, as long as the name of the country was not mentioned and there were no pictures. On July 13, Yated was allowed to print a photograph of Yemenite olim, their appearance and garb a dead giveaway of their origins, and to state that they came from the country "Y." Ha'aretz reprinted the photo and initial letter the next day, on an inside page. While preparing its July 14 edition, Maariv asked the censor for permission to print the name of the country in full. Perhaps because so much ink had already been spilled, the censor relented. The story was out.

The First Knesset

The first Knesset was elected before the end of the War of Independence, and its location changed several times before it moved up from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Naturally, the first Knesset dealt with a good deal of original legislation and the amendment of laws, orders and regulations left over from the British Mandatory period.

The first Knesset adopted a resolution regarding the preparation of a constitution for the state, chapter by chapter in the form of basic laws (the Harari resolution).

On December 5, 1949, the Prime Minister made an announcement in the Knesset regarding Jerusalem and the holy places, in reaction to the UN proposal that the city be internationalized. David Ben-Gurion declared, that "Jewish Jerusalem is an integral and inseparable part of the State of Israel, just as it is an inseparable part of the history of Israel, the faith of Israel and the spirit of our people."

The first Knesset held numerous debates on issues connected with the War of Independence and its termination; The organization and functioning of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the rights of demobilized soldiers; the absorption of the mass immigration, including the problem of immigrant transition camps and the special problems of the immigrants from Yemen, whose representatives were elected to the first Knesset; the issue of ideological streams in the education system, which caused numerous coalition crises; health problems created as a result of the mass immigration; the housing shortage and the beginning of mass construction; the shortage in jobs and the beginning of government initiated public works; the economic policy - especially the issue of taxation, the shortage in "hard" currency and the American loan, rationing of basic products and the phenomenon of black-marketing.

Foreign policy issues which were dealt with concerned Israel's acceptance as a member of the UN in 1949, the Three Power Declaration regarding the armaments and security of the Arab countries and Israel and Israel's relations with various countries. The Knesset also dealt with the situation of the Jews in the various dispersions; the policy towards the Arab citizens of the state and the problem of "abandoned property" left behind by the War of Independence refugees.

www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org

State-Building

The war over, Israel focused on building the state which the people had struggled so long and so hard to regain. The first 120-seat *Knesset* (parliament) went into session following national elections (25 January 1949) in which nearly 85 percent of all eligible voters cast their ballots. Two of the people who had led Israel to statehood became the country's leaders: David Ben-Gurion, head of the Jewish Agency, was chosen as the first prime minister; and Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organization, was elected by the *Knesset* as the first president. On 11 May 1949, Israel took its seat as the 59th member of the United Nations.

In accordance with the concept of the 'ingathering of the exiles' which lies at the heart of Israel's raison d'être, the gates of the country were thrown open, affirming the right of every Jew to come to the country and, upon entry, to acquire citizenship. In the first four months of independence, some 50,000 newcomers, mainly Holocaust survivors, reached Israel's shores. By the end of 1951, a total of 687,000 men, women and children had arrived, over 300,000 of them refugees from Arab lands, thus doubling the Jewish population.

The economic strain caused by the War of Independence and the need to provide for a rapidly growing population required austerity at home and financial aid from abroad. Assistance extended by the United States government, loans from American banks, contributions of diaspora Jews and postwar German reparations were used to build housing, mechanize agriculture, establish a merchant fleet and a national airline, exploit available minerals, develop industries and expand roads, telecommunications and electricity networks.



David Ben-Gurion, man of vis

Beit Lid Ma'abara (Absorption center for new immigrants)



34 35

"History of Israel," David Bionco Toron Aura Productions

Declaration of Independence

Friday 14th May 1948 - Erev Shabbat 5th Iyar 5708

Eretz Israel [Hebrew: The Land of Israel] was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from their land, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and for the restoration in it of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove in every successive generation to reestablish themselves in their ancient homeland. In recent decades they returned in masses. Pioneers, ma'pilim [Hebrew: 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, they brought the blessing of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 5657 (1897), at the summons of the spiritual father of the Jewish State, Theodore 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 reaffirmed in the Mandate of the League of Nations which, in particular, gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel and to the right of the Jewish people to rebuild its National Home.

The Nazi holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, was another clear demonstration of the urgency of the re-establishment n Eretz-Israel of 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.

The survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews 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 made a full contribution in the struggle of the freedom- and peace- loving nations against the forces of Nazi evil 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.

David Ben Gurion reading the Declaration

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution calling for the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Eretz-Israel, and called upon the inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent 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 HEREBY 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), and until the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a Constitution, to be drawn up by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than the first day of October, 1948, the People's Council shall act as a Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel".

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open to the immigration of Jews and for the Ingathering of the Exiles from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace as invisaged by the prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself 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 the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union over 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 admit Israel into the family of nations.

WE APPEAL - in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months - to the Arab inhabitants of the State if Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their

part in the upbuilding of the State, on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions - provisional or permanent.

WE EXTEND our hand of peace and unity to all the neighbouring states and their peoples, and invite 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 a 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 task of immigration and development and to stand by them in the great struggle for the fulfillment of the age-old dream - the redemption of Israel.

PLACING OUR TRUST IN THE ROCK OF ISRAEL, 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 (14TH MAY,1948).

David Ben-Gurion

Daniel Auster
Mordekhai Bentov
Yitzchak Ben Zvi
Eliyahu Berligne
Fritz Bernstein
Rabbi Wolf Gold
Meir Grabovsky
Yitzchak Gruenbaum
Dr. Abraham Granovsky
Eliyahu Dobkin
Meir Wilner-Kovner
Zerach Wahrhaftig
Herzl Vardi

Rachel Cohen Rabbi Kalman Kahana Saadia Kobashi Rabbi Yitzchak Meir Levin Eliezer Kaplan Meir David Loewenstein Zvi Luria Golda Myerson Nachum Nir Zvi Segal Rabbi Yehuda LeibHacohen Fishman

David Zvi Pinkas Aharon Zisling Moshe Kolodny Abraham Katznelson Felix Rosenblueth David Remez Berl Repetur Mordekhai Shattner Ben Zion Sternberg Bekhor Shitreet Moshe Shapira Moshe Shertok

.... way Israel Was Born (1948)

On May falls, the battle for Jerusalem was in its third day. K'far Etzion had fallen to ransjordan Arab Legion. Five Arab countries were poised for a full. scale invasion of the country. The Jewish leaders had been warned by General Marshall, the U.S. secretary of state, not to expect any aid if they proclaimed establishment of the state. As Abba Eban said later, the question "was not the next 25 years but the next 24 hours." "Israel," he said, "experienced the joy of birth

The outlook was very grim. Some of the members of the National Administration were hesitant, but the majority, led by Ben-Gurion, decided to take the bold step

From: Momentous Century

With heavy heart I set out a few minutes before four for the [Tel Aviv] Museum to proclaim the establishment of the Jewish State, which we had decided to name "Israel," When I arrived the auditorium was full. The streets were jammed with throngs keyed up and elated.

Inside the auditorium, behind the dais, hung a huge photograph of which had been made the new State's national anthem. Then I held in my hands the Declaration, which I read with a heart filled at once with trepidation and exaltation. I tried to overcome my emotion and read the Declaration in a loud, clear tone, as Theodor Herzl. The Philharmonic Orchestra played "Hatikvah," everybody rose to hear it. Rabbi Maimon the doyen of us all, recited the blessing thanking the Almighty for "sustaining us so that we have lived to see this day." I informed the assembly that the members of the National Council in Jerusalem who, headquarters and notified us that all of them joined in the regrettably, could not be present had met at Jewish Agency Declaration. Then I read the manifesto of the Council, which by virtue of the Declaration of Independence had become the

I then signed my name at the end of the Declaration and asked my colleagues in the Council to come up to the dais and sign in alphabetical order. Spaces in the same order were reserved for our colleagues in Jerusalem. Everybody present signed. I announced that the State of Israel was now in existence, and the meeting

In the streets the throngs sang and danced. I proceeded directly and the State of Israel was established. Its destiny is now in the to General Staff headquarters. In my diary I wrote that day: "At four o'clock in the afternoon Jewish independence was declared hands of our defense forces."

At Staff headquarters disturbing reports had arrived of large enemy concentrations all along the southern, eastern, and northern borders. Long convoys of Arab armor were moving

left, and the Arab invasion began. I returned immediately to At midnight the High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, Command headquarters.

Just before dawn, I broadcast to America from the Haganah station in Tel Aviv, which now emerged from underground and became the official broadcasting station of the Israel security forces (the Israel Defense Forces did not yet exist, for the ordinance creating them was only published on May 26). In my broadcast I dwelt briefly on the course of our struggle since the U.N. resolution of November 29, 1947, the declaration of war on Israel by the Arab states, who are members of the United Nations, in defiance of the United Nations authority, the dangers awaiting us, and our readiness to resist, even if we were attacked on land, at sea, and in the air. While I was speaking, the first bombs were dropped by Egyptian planes not far from the broadcasting station at Mahane Yona. The noise was earsplitting, but I was used to it from the period of the blitz in London, and I concluded my talk calmly, telling my listeners that Tel Aviv was being bombed at that moment by Egyptian planes.

The Tel Aviv airfield and the Reading power station had been the targets of the enemy's first bombing expedition. One hangar was When I had finished, I hurried over to the scene of the damage. in flames, and a few of our planes had been put out of service.

From the airfield I went home, and on the way I saw the faces of Tel Avivians peering from all the windows. The sun was just rising. There was concern in their faces, but no sign of panic or fear, and I knew in my heart that these people would stand

From Israel: Years of Challenge, David Ben-Gurion

THE PALESTINE

PRICE: 26 MILS VOL XXIII. No. 6714 THI

THE SUBSC has rotur offices. Jeru;

in in 19 centuries date over Palestine and it was immed. Medinat Yisrael" the for Jerusalem

JETUSALEM MAY 10, 1948

same time, President Truman announced that the United States would accord recognition to the new State. A few hours later, Palestine was invaded by Moslem armies from the south, east and north, and Tel Aviv was raided from the air. On Friday the United Nations Special Assembly the Jews. At the adjourned after adopting a resolution to appoint a med-

fator but without taking any action Resolution of November 29.

Yesterday the battle for the Jerusa was still under way, and two Arab villa the north, Acre town was captured, and consolidated its positions in Western G

JEWS TAKE OVER

SECURITY ZONES Bomb Tel Aviv; One Shot Down SECURITY ZONES Bomb Tel Aviv; One Shot Down Torage the Tel Aviv; A country-wide blackout washington, Saturday, or kaution Headquarters in Tel Ten minutes after the terminates after the termina Egyptian Air Force Spitfires

U.S. RECOGNIZES

the White House releas statement by Presiman that the U.S. Gov. intended to recognize de facto authority rethe Jewish State.

S. is also considering e arms embargo but it on whether to Palestine entire Middle East, lishment of diplomwith the Jewish Proremment.

ite House press secret-Charles Ross, told cor-today that reaction recognition had been David Hen Gorles, Frime Minister Land by favourable. He had been discussed shall and Mr. Lo. ction was taken.

Proclamation Of Govern

The creation of "Medimat Yisn was proclaimed at midnight on Fr. Gurion, until then Chairman of the the and now head of the State's Government.



by (ts all le White datory Ordina to limit fer. In th pendenc led on t them fu represen mantal (Mr.

A PATRICE OF THE MINISTER באו ילרי הפרים

GOLAN

THEME: THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

from all previous clashes and was the first in a series of wars. war, known as Milhemet Haatzmaut, or "The War of Independence" was different little over two years later after the Israeli army, in a full-fledge war, had driven seven Arab armies out of the country and after 6,500 Jews had lost their lives. The began. It started with riots, strikes, and violent attacks on all fronts. It ended a be a war of extermination like the Mongolian massacres." The next day fighting "What does it matter if we lose ten million Arabs if we kill all the Jews?" "This will reacted to the historic session with ominous threats. "Wipe out the Zionist scourge." When the voting was over at the U.N. and when the news of partition became official, there were toasts in all Jewish homes and dancing in the streets. The Araba

with arms and men, against 600,000 Jews, their backs to the sea, with almost no resolution and prevent the establishment of the state." The odds were on their side: The aim of the Arabs was clear: "to frustrate the implementation of the partition 1,200,000 Arabs, with a hinterland of seven Arab states, who could supply them

confiscated. Only with the progressive withdrawal of the British were Jewish forces transferred arms and strategic forts to their hands. The Haganah, on the other hand, had to fight its battles with weapons that had been concealed, lest they be Moreover, the British, under the guise of neutrality, favored the Arabs and made only feeble attempts to restrain them. As they withdrew from the country, they

group of volunteers from foreign Arab countries and well supplied with arms. It was led by a mountebank military figure named Fawzi El-Kaukji, who had fled February, 1948, they had organized an Arab Liberation Army, composed of a motley to isolate and destroy the border settlements, and then to invade the heartland. By The plan of the Arabs was to control the roads, the means of communication, and

From Momentous Century

"Sites & Sources", Watte Houth Pragrams in Israel, 1888

K'far Etzion

a protective outpost against Arab advance toward Jerusalem from the south, it of Jordanian territory, halfway between Bethlehem and Hebron. Although it was One of the bloodiest and most tragic episodes was the epic struggle for K'far Etzion.

This was a bloc of four settlements that had dared to strike roots in the heart

Etzion and brutally killed to the last man. Their mutilated bodies were brought back thirty-five young Palmach and Haganah fighters, was ambushed on its way to Kitar but they were repulsed with heavy losses. A platoon of reinforcements, consisting of The first Arab attack took place on January 14, 1948. Over 2,000 Arabs participated,

Point called Nebi Samuel and barely limped back after losing many vehicles and to K'far Etzion, but on its return trip it was trapped by massed Arab forces at a On March 26 a convoy from Jerusalem succeeded in bringing sorely needed supplies

thousands of Arab irregulars from the region. to destroy the Etzion bloc was mounted, employing the forces of the legion and for the British army. At the beginning of May, a concentrated campaign designed officers, was brought onto the scene, supposedly to insure the line of communications introduced into the battle. The Jordanian Arab Legion, trained and led by British The Etzion bloc was now completely severed from Jerusalem. But a new factor was

transferred to Jordan and imprisoned until the end of the war. three settlements was better controlled and all the captured men and women were occurred from which only four survivors were saved. The takeover of the other After a gallant defense the superior weapons and overwhelming numbers of the enemy were decisive. Klar Etzion surrendered on May 13 (one day before the The elated Arabs rushed in to loot and plunder. In the confusion, a massacre proclamation of the State of Israel). It was one of the few settlements to fall.

Most of them are based upon testimony of Aliza Feuchtwanger, the radio operator, The following is a compilation of eyewitness reports of the last hours of K'far Etzion.

From Momentous Century

with the notables of the district, went out to negotiate with the settlement commander, relying on the close contacts he had had go up on the roof and to hoist a white flag.... Avraham F., the transmitter and burn all documents. Ya'akov A. ordered me to the settlement was received ... we got an order to destroy the When the report that the Arabs had forced their way into

Avraham raised his hands above his head and called out, "Halas" An Arab emerged from the building and pointed his rifle at him.

(it is finished). He said something else in Arabic, but the Arab fired at him and Avraham fell backwards into the shrubs....

Post Three kept up steady fire at the Arabs until the men were ordered to cease fire. The men did not know what to do, as the shooting had not stopped and large numbers of Arabs were of the position saw men in uniform on Russian Hill waving a to Post Two to inquire, and found Ya'akov A. there. He asked replied, "Yes."

"We have surrendered."

"What does Jerusalem say?"

"The Arab tanks are in the village. We have no contact with Jerusalem."

"What must we do now?"

"Destroy our weapons...."

The men began to destroy their arms and ammunition and went to the German Monastery building in the center of the village.

After we had been photographed the Arabs started shooting and we scattered. I jumped into a ditch near the school. Suddenly an Arab approached and aimed his rifle at me. I cried out. When the Arabs heard my cry they stopped firing and pulled me out of the ditch. Two Legionnaires grabbed me and took me through the farmyard to the wood. We trod on dozens of bodies. I recognized many of our men, but there were also many of theirs.... The smell of the blood made me giddy. A mob was busy looting the school. The Arabs were shooting at each other.

When we came to the wood, the Legionnaires tried to attack me. I resisted with all my strength. Suddenly I heard two volleys from a submachine gun. The Arabs fells to the ground, covered with blood. It was an officer of the Legion who had saved me. He promised me solemnly that he would do me no harm. He led me to the gate and put me into the armored car which took me to the arab base on Lone Tree Hill.

When the battle subsided, the officer took me back to the village and demanded that I show him where the arms caches were. When we passed by the doorway of the shelter under the German Monastery, he put a grenade into my hand, pulled out the pin and

ordered me to throw it into the shelter. I held the grenade in my hand, for I was prepared to kill myself rather than to obey this order. The officer took it from me and threw it himself into the shelter.

I saw many wounded — some of them in their last agony — both Jews and Arabs, in the farmyard. Anyone showing any sign of life, the officer shot and killed. Later he took me back to the armored car, in which I traveled to the Hebron Police Station.

The Battle for Deganiahs

The Syrian invasion plan was to sweep through the settlements of the Jordan Valley from the north and link up with the Egyptian army, which was expected to move up from the south to Haifa. After a heavy bombardment, the Syrian forces, vastly superior in armor, fire-power, and manpower, moved out. The early advances on Shaar Hagolan and Masada were successful; but they were stopped and repulsed when they attempted to take the twin settlements of Deganiah.

Deganiah Aleph was the first kibbutz founded in Eretz Yisrael. At its entrance, today, stands a rusting tank, preserved as a memorial and reminder of those fearful days when a modern army was stopped by a few Molotov cocktails.

Yosef Baratz, the narrator of this account, was one of the founders of Deganiah and lived there all his life. On the eve of the attack, he headed a delegation of members from the settlements to Tel Aviv requesting arms and men. Ben-Gurion told him: "The whole country is a front line. We cannot send reinforcements." Then Yigal Yadin, chief operations officer of Haganah, said to him: "Yosef ... there is no alternative but to let the Arabs approach to within twenty to thirty meters of the gates of Deganiah, and then attack them." I That is what they did.

From Momentous Century

The Syrians began their attack at a very early hour and assaulted us with all the weapons in their arsenal: tanks, cannon and aircraft. Our men were unable to stand up against such a concerted attack which was advancing against [the nearby settlement of] Zemach. They were compelled to withdraw from their positions with heavy losses. They had to leave the police fortress which had been captured by us earlier.

-

Not many returned from the platoons which had gone to the aid of Zemach... That night Shaar Hagolan and Masada were taken by the enemy. It seemed to them as if the battle was over.

While our settlements and the Kinneret-Yavniel highway were being shelled from the mountains and the air, we removed the children from the settlements. They were transferred to Haifa

But the Haifa community welcomed the children with brotherly

At dawn the artillery and mortar bombardment began, which lasted about nine hours with brief interruptions... The Syrian forces assaulted in three columns. The bombardment began with tank gunfire, which led the assault. Machine gun and rifle fire covered them....

been the fate of the Galilee and Tiberias if they had conquered but proud and encouraged by the great victory. What would have ensued. Tired and weary, the fighters emerged from the trenches, with heavy losses. The battle for Deganiah was over. A lull the vehicles moving behind it. They gave up and began to retreat its crew were burnt. The burning tank undoubtedly influenced sides until it was completely enveloped in flames. The tank and cocktails. The tank was set on fire, bottles were thrown from all came out of the trenches and attacked the tanks with Molotov and broke through the inner fence.... At this point, our defenders security fence, crossed the highway ditch of Deganiah Aleph Of the second column, one tank succeeded in penetrating the alive. The tank was undamaged and is now serving in our army. in escaping but it is not certain whether they reached their base by fire from our men. The three members of its crew succeeded action.... One tank reached the entrance to Deganiah and was hit On the way to the gate an armored car was disabled and put out of

After a while another Syrian tank was found on the shore of the Kinneret, overturned, and its slain crew nearby. Thus, two perfect tanks were taken by us as booty and restored to action.

Who were these fighters who repulsed an army much better equipped than they and who inflicted such numerous, heavy losses? The people of the Deganiahs; young and old, a young and adolescents, who, while heavy fire poured down on us and the defense trenches. These were the people who did not allow the enemy to conquer Deganiah.

On the morrow, we gathered our dead from the field. Almost all had fallen in the battle for Zemach. A common grave was

dug for them in Deganiah — a common grave for sons, parents, brothers, from all the settlements of the Jordan Valley and its environs. Among them were seven sons and one daughter from Deganiah Aleph. For this land which they had tilled and watered while they were alive, they now gave their lives. May this land be for us and for our children forever!

"Ma'yan", ediled by Shlomo Zalman Ariel



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The Law of Return and the Law on Citizenship

as expressions of the Jewish and Democratic nature of the State of Israel

Law of Return 5710-1950

Right of aliyah** Oleh's visa

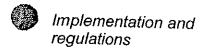
- 1. Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an oleh**.
- 2. (a) Aliyah shall be by oleh's visa.
- (b) An oleh's visa shall be granted to every Jew who has expressed his desire to settle in Israel, unless the Minister of Immigration is satisfied that the applicant
 - (1) is engaged in an activity directed against the Jewish people; or
 - (2) is likely to endanger public health or the security of the State.

Oleh's certificate

- 3. (a) A Jew who has come to Israel and subsequent to his arrival has expressed his desire to settle in Israel may, while still in Israel, receive an oleh's certificate.
- (b) The restrictions specified in section 2(b) shall apply also to the grant of an oleh's certificate, but a person shall not be regarded as endangering public health on account of an illness contracted after his arrival in Israel.

Residents and persons bom in this country

4. Every Jew who has immigrated into this country before the coming into force of this Law, and every Jew who was born in this country, whether before or after the coming into force of this Law, shall be



deemed to be a person who has come to this country as an oleh under this Law.

5. The Minister of Immigration is charged with the implementation of this Law and may make regulations as to any matter relating to such implementation and also as to the grant of oleh's visas and oleh's certificates to minors up to the age of 18 years.

DAVID BEN-GURION
Prime Minister

MOSHE SHAPIRA
Minister of Immigration

YOSEF SPRINZAK
Acting President of the State
Chairman of the Knesset

Law of Return (Amendment 5714-1954)*

Amendment of section 1. In section 2 (b) of the Law of Return, 5710-1950** - 2(b)

- (1) the full stop at the end of paragraph (2) shall be replaced by a semi-colon, and the word "or" shall be inserted thereafter;
- (2) the following paragraph shall be inserted after paragraph (2):
- "(3) is a person with a criminal past, likely to endanger public welfare.".

Amendment of sections 2 and 5

2. In sections 2 and 5 of the Law, the words "the Minister of Immigration" shall be replaced by the words "the Minister of the Interior".





^{*} Passed by the Knesset on the 20th Tammuz, 5710 (5th July, 1950) and published in Sefer Ha-Chukkim No. 51 of the 21st Tammuz, 5710 (5th July, 1950), p. 159; the Bill and an Explanatory Note were published in Hatza'ot Chok No. 48 of the 12th Tammuz, 5710 (27th June, 1950), p. 189.

^{**} Translator's Note: Aliyah means immigration of Jews, and oleh (plural: olim) means a Jew immigrating, into Israel.

YOSEF SERLIN Minister of Health Acting Minister of the Interior

YITZCHAK BEN-ZVI President of the State

Law of Return (Amendment No. 2) 5730-1970*

Addition of sections 4A 1. In the Law of Return, 5710-1950**, the following sections shall be and 4B inserted after section 4:

"Rights of members of family

- 4A. (a) The rights of a Jew under this Law and the rights of an oleh under the Nationality Law, 5712-1952***, as well as the rights of an oleh under any other enactment, are also vested in a child and a grandchild of a Jew, the spouse of a Jew, the spouse of a child of a Jew and the spouse of a grandchild of a Jew, except for a person who has been a Jew and has voluntarily changed his religion.
- (b) It shall be immaterial whether or not a Jew by whose right a right under subsection (a) is claimed is still alive and whether or not he has immigrated to Israel.
- (c) The restrictions and conditions prescribed in respect of a Jew or an oleh by or under this Law or by the enactments referred to in subsection (a) shall also apply to a person who claims a right under subsection (a),

Definition

4B. For the purposes of this Law, "Jew" means a person who was born of a Jewish mother or has become converted to Judaism and who is not a member of another religion."

Amendment of section 2. In section 5 of the Law of Return, 5710-1950, the following shall be added at the end: "Regulations for the purposes of sections 4A and 4B require the approval of the Constitution, Legislation and Juridical Committee of the Knesset.".

Amendment of the

3. In the Population Registry Law, 5725-1965****, the following section

^{*} Passed by the Knesset on the 24th Av, 5714 (23rd August, 1954) and published in Sefer Ha-Chukkim No. 163 of the 3rd Elul, 5714 (1st September, 1954) p. 174; the Bill and an Explanatory Note were published in Hatza'ot Chok No. 192 of 5714, p. 88.

^{**} Sefer Ha-Chukkim No. 51 of 5710, p. 159, LSI vol. IV, 114.

Population Registry Law, 5725-1965

shall be inserted after section 3:

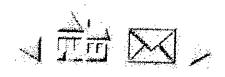
"Power of registration and definition

- 3A. (a) A person shall not be registered as a Jew by ethnic affiliation or religion if a notification under this Law or another entry in the Registry or a public document indicates that he is not a Jew, so long as the said notification, entry or document has not been controverted to the satisfaction of the Chief Registration Officer or so long as declaratory judgment of a competent court or tribunal has not otherwise determined.
- (b) For the purposes of this Law and of any registration or document thereunder, "Jew" has the same meaning as in section 4B of the Law of Return, 5710-1950.
- (c) This section shall not derogate from a registration effected before its coming into force.".

GOLDA MEIR Prime Minister Acting Minister of the Interior

SHNEUR ZALMAN SHAZAR President of the State

- * Passed by the Knesset on 2nd Adar Bet, 5730 (10th March, 1970) and published in Sefer Ha-Chukkim No. 586 of the 11th Adar Bet, 5730 (19th March, 1970), p. 34; the Bill and an Explanatory Note were published in Hatza'ot Chok No. 866 of 5730, p. 36.
- ** Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5710 p. 159 LSI vol. IV, p. 114; Sefer Ha-Chukkim No. 5714, p. 174 LSI vol. VIII, p. 144.
- *** Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5712, p. 146; LSI vol. VI, p. 50.
- **** Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5725, p. 270; LSI vol. XIX, p. 288.



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Survival of the Fittest? An Interview with Benny Morris

with Ari Shavit

B enny Morris says he was always a Zionist. People were mistaken when they labeled him a post-Zionist, when they thought that his historical study on the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem was intended to undercut the Zionist enterprise. Nonsense, Morris says, that's completely unfounded. Some readers simply misread the book. They didn't read it with the same detachment, the same moral neutrality, with which it was written. So they came to the mistaken conclusion that when Morris describes the cruelest deeds that the Zionist movement perpetrated in 1948 he is actually being condemnatory, that when he describes the large-scale expulsion operations he is being denunciatory. They did not conceive that the great documenter of the sins of Zionism in fact identifies with those sins. That he thinks some of them, at least, were unavoidable.

Two years ago, different voices began to be heard. The historian who was considered a radical leftist suddenly maintained that Israel had no one to talk to. The researcher who was accused of being an Israel hater (and was boycotted by the Israeli academic establishment) began to publish articles in favor of Israel in the British paper The Guardian.

Whereas citizen Morris turned out to be a not completely snow-white dove, historian Morris continued to work on the Hebrew translation of his massive work "Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001," which was written in the old, peace-pursuing style. And at the same time historian Morris completed the new version of his book on the refugee problem, which is going to strengthen the hands of those who abominate Israel. So that in the past two years citizen Morris and historian Morris worked as though there is no connection between them, as though one was trying to save what the other insists on eradicating.

Both books will appear in the coming month. The book on the history of the Zionist-Arab conflict will be published in Hebrew by Am Oved in Tel Aviv, while the Cambridge University Press will publish "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited" (it originally appeared, under the CUP imprint, in 1987). That book describes in chilling detail the atrocities of the Nakba. Isn't Morris ever frightened at the present-day political implications of his historical study? Isn't he fearful that he has contributed to Israel becoming almost a pariah state? After a few moments of evasion, Morris admits that he is. Sometimes he really is frightened. Sometimes he asks himself what he has wrought.

He is short, plump, and very intense. The son of immigrants from England, he was born in Kibbutz Ein Hahoresh and was a member of the left-wing Hashomer Hatza'ir youth movement. In the past, he was a reporter for the Jerusalem Post and refused to do military service in the territories. He is now a professor of history at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Be'er Sheva. But sitting in his armchair in his Jerusalem apartment, he does not don the mantle of the cautious academic. Far from it: Morris spews out his words, rapidly and energetically, sometimes spilling over into English. He doesn't think twice before firing

off the sharpest, most shocking statements, which are anything but politically correct. He describes horrific war crimes offhandedly, paints apocalyptic visions with a smile on his lips. He gives the observer the feeling that this agitated individual, who with his own hands opened the Zionist Pandora's box, is still having difficulty coping with what he found in it still finding it hard to deal with the internal contradictions that are his lot and the lot of us all.

Rape, massacre, transfer

Q: Benny Morris, in the month ahead the new version of your book on the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem is due to be published. Who will be less pleased with the book the Israelis or the Palestinians?

Morris: The revised book is a double-edged sword. It is based on many documents that were not available to me when I wrote the original book, most of them from the Israe Defense Forces Archives. What the new material shows is that there were far more Israel acts of massacre than I had previously thought. To my surprise, there were also many cases of rape. In the months of April-May 1948, units of the Haganah [the pre-state defense force that was the precursor of the IDF] were given operational orders that stated explicitly that they were to uproot the villagers, expel them and destroy the villages themselves.

At the same time, it turns out that there was a series of orders issued by the Arab Higher Committee and by the Palestinian intermediate levels to remove children, women and the elderly from the villages. So that on the one hand, the book reinforces the accusation against the Zionist side, but on the other hand it also proves that many of those who left the villages did so with the encouragement of the Palestinian leadership itself.

According to your new findings, how many cases of Israeli rape were there in 1948?

About a dozen. In Acre four soldiers raped a girl and murdered her and her father. In Jaffa soldiers of the Kiryati Brigade raped one girl and tried to rape several more. At Hunin which is in the Galilee, two girls were raped and then murdered. There were one or two cases of rape at Tantura, south of Haifa. There was one case of rape at Qula, in the center of the country. At the village of Abu Shusha, near Kibbutz Gezer [in the Ramle area] there were four female prisoners, one of whom was raped a number of times. And there were other cases. Usually more than one soldier was involved. Usually there were one or two Palestinian girls. In a large proportion of the cases the event ended with murder. Because neither the victims nor the rapists liked to report these events, we have to assume that the dozen cases of rape that were reported, which I found, are not the whole story. They are just the tip of the iceberg.

According to your findings, how many acts of Israeli massacre were perpetrated in 1948?

Twenty-four. In some cases four or five people were executed, in others the numbers were 70, 80, 100. There was also a great deal of arbitrary killing. Two old men are spotted walking in a field - they are shot. A woman is found in an abandoned village - she is shot. There are cases such as the village of Dawayima [in the Hebron region], in which a column entered the village with all guns blazing and killed anything that moved.

The worst cases were Saliha (70-80 killed), Deir Yassin (100-110), Lod (250), Dawayima (hundreds) and perhaps Abu Shusha (70). There is no unequivocal proof of a large-scale massacre at Tantura, but war crimes were perpetrated there. At Jaffa there was a massacre about which nothing had been known until now. The same at Arab al Muwassi, in the north About half of the acts of massacre were part of Operation Hiram [in the north, in October 1948]: at Safsaf, Saliha, Jish, Eilaboun, Arab al Muwasi, Deir al Asad, Majdal Krum, Sasa In Operation Hiram there was a unusually high concentration of executions of people agains a wall or next to a well in an orderly fashion.

That can't be chance. It's a pattern. Apparently, various officers who took part in the operation understood that the expulsion order they received permitted them to do these deeds in order to encourage the population to take to the roads. The fact is that no one was punished for these acts of murder. Ben-Gurion silenced the matter. He covered up for the officers who did the massacres.

What you are telling me here, as though by the way, is that in Operation Hiram there was comprehensive and explicit expulsion order. Is that right?

Yes. One of the revelations in the book is that on October 31, 1948, the commander of the Northern Front, Moshe Carmel, issued an order in writing to his units to expedite the removal of the Arab population. Carmel took this action immediately after a visit by Ben-Gurion to the Northern Command in Nazareth. There is no doubt in my mind that this order originated with Ben-Gurion. Just as the expulsion order for the city of Lod, which was signed by Yitzhak Rabin, was issued immediately after Ben-Gurion visited the headquarters of Operation Dani [July 1948].

Are you saying that Ben-Gurion was personally responsible for a deliberate and systematic policy of mass expulsion?

From April 1948, Ben-Gurion is projecting a message of transfer. There is no explicit order of his in writing, there is no orderly comprehensive policy, but there is an atmosphere of [population] transfer. The transfer idea is in the air. The entire leadership understands that this is the idea. The officer corps understands what is required of them. Under Ben-Gurion, a consensus of transfer is created.

Ben-Gurion was a "transferist"?

Of course. Ben-Gurion was a transferist. He understood that there could be no Jewish state with a large and hostile Arab minority in its midst. There would be no such state. It would not be able to exist.

I don't hear you condemning him.

Ben-Gurion was right. If he had not done what he did, a state would not have come into being. That has to be clear. It is impossible to evade it. Without the uprooting of the Palestinians, a Jewish state would not have arisen here.

When ethnic cleansing is justified

Benny Morris, for decades you have been researching the dark side of Zionism. You are ar expert on the atrocities of 1948. In the end, do you in effect justify all this? Are you ar advocate of the transfer of 1948?

There is no justification for acts of rape. There is no justification for acts of massacre. Those are war crimes. But in certain conditions, expulsion is not a war crime. I don't think that the expulsions of 1948 were war crimes. You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs. You have to dirty your hands.

We are talking about the killing of thousands of people, the destruction of an entire society.

A society that aims to kill you forces you to destroy it. When the choice is between destroying or being destroyed, it's better to destroy.

There is something chilling about the quiet way in which you say that.

If you expected me to burst into tears, I'm sorry to disappoint you. I will not do that.

So when the commanders of Operation Dani are standing there and observing the long and terrible column of the 50,000 people expelled from Lod walking eastward, you stand there with them? You justify them?

I definitely understand them. I understand their motives. I don't think they felt any pangs of conscience, and in their place I wouldn't have felt pangs of conscience. Without that act they would not have won the war and the state would not have come into being.

You do not condemn them morally?

No.

They perpetrated ethnic cleansing.

There are circumstances in history that justify ethnic cleansing. I know that this term is completely negative in the discourse of the 21st century, but when the choice is between ethnic cleansing and genocide—the annihilation of your people—I prefer ethnic cleansing.

And that was the situation in 1948?

That was the situation. That is what Zionism faced. A Jewish state would not have come into being without the uprooting of 700,000 Palestinians. Therefore it was necessary to uproothem. There was no choice but to expel that population. It was necessary to cleanse the hinterland and cleanse the border areas and cleanse the main roads. It was necessary to cleanse the villages from which our convoys and our settlements were fired on.

The term "to cleanse" is terrible.

I know it doesn't sound nice but that's the term they used at the time. I adopted it from al the 1948 documents in which I am immersed.

What you are saying is hard to listen to and hard to digest. You sound hard-hearted.

I feel sympathy for the Palestinian people, which truly underwent a hard tragedy. I fee sympathy for the refugees themselves. But if the desire to establish a Jewish state here is legitimate, there was no other choice. It was impossible to leave a large fifth column in the country. From the moment the Yishuv [pre-1948 Jewish community in Palestine] was attacked by the Palestinians and afterward by the Arab states, there was no choice but to expel the Palestinian population. To uproot it in the course of war.

Remember another thing: the Arab people gained a large slice of the planet. Not thanks to its skills or its great virtues, but because it conquered and murdered and forced those is conquered to convert during many generations. But in the end the Arabs have 22 states. The Jewish people did not have even one state. There was no reason in the world why it should not have one state. Therefore, from my point of view, the need to establish this state in this place overcame the injustice that was done to the Palestinians by uprooting them.

And morally speaking, you have no problem with that deed?

That is correct. Even the great American democracy could not have been created without the annihilation of the Indians. There are cases in which the overall, final good justifies harsh and cruel acts that are committed in the course of history.

And in our case it effectively justifies a population transfer.

That's what emerges.

And you take that in stride? War crimes? Massacres? The burning fields and the devastated villages of the Nakba?

You have to put things in proportion. These are small war crimes. All told, if we take all the massacres and all the executions of 1948, we come to about 800 who were killed. It comparison to the massacres that were perpetrated in Bosnia, that's peanuts. In comparisor to the massacres the Russians perpetrated against the Germans at Stalingrad, that's chicker feed. When you take into account that there was a bloody civil war here and that we lost ar entire 1 percent of the population, you find that we behaved very well.

The Next Transfer

You went through an interesting process. You went to research Ben-Gurion and the Zionis establishment critically, but in the end you actually identify with them. You are as tough ir your words as they were in their deeds.

You may be right. Because I investigated the conflict in depth, I was forced to cope with the in-depth questions that those people coped with. I understood the problematic character of the situation they faced and maybe I adopted part of their universe of concepts. But I do no identify with Ben-Gurion. I think he made a serious historical mistake in 1948. Even though he understood the demographic issue and the need to establish a Jewish state without a large Arab minority, he got cold feet during the war. In the end, he faltered.

I'm not sure I understand. Are you saying that Ben-Gurion erred in expelling too few Arabs?

If he was already engaged in expulsion, maybe he should have done a complete job. I know

that this stuns the Arabs and the liberals and the politically correct types. But my feeling is that this place would be quieter and know less suffering if the matter had been resolved once and for all. If Ben-Gurion had carried out a large expulsion and cleansed the whole country - the whole Land of Israel, as far as the Jordan River. It may yet turn out that this was his fatal mistake. If he had carried out a full expulsion - rather than a partial one - he would have stabilized the State of Israel for generations.

I find it hard to believe what I am hearing.

If the end of the story turns out to be a gloomy one for the Jews, it will be because Ben-Gurion did not complete the transfer in 1948. Because he left a large and volatile demographic reserve in the West Bank and Gaza and within Israel itself.

In his place, would you have expelled them all? All the Arabs in the country?

But I am not a statesman. I do not put myself in his place. But as an historian, I assert that a mistake was made here. Yes. The non-completion of the transfer was a mistake.

And today? Do you advocate a transfer today?

If you are asking me whether I support the transfer and expulsion of the Arabs from the West Bank, Gaza and perhaps even from Galilee and the Triangle, I say not at this moment. I am not willing to be a partner to that act. In the present circumstances it is neither moral nor realistic. The world would not allow it, the Arab world would not allow it, it would destroy the Jewish society from within. But I am ready to tell you that in other circumstances, apocalyptic ones, which are liable to be realized in five or ten years, I can see expulsions. If we find ourselves with atomic weapons around us, or if there is a general Arab attack on us and a situation of warfare on the front with Arabs in the rear shooting at convoys on their way to the front, acts of expulsion will be entirely reasonable. They may even be essential.

Including the expulsion of Israeli Arabs?

The Israeli Arabs are a time bomb. Their slide into complete Palestinization has made them an emissary of the enemy that is among us. They are a potential fifth column. In both demographic and security terms they are liable to undermine the state. So that if Israel again finds itself in a situation of existential threat, as in 1948, it may be forced to act as it did then. If we are attacked by Egypt (after an Islamist revolution in Cairo) and by Syria, and chemical and biological missiles slam into our cities, and at the same time Israeli Palestinians attack us from behind, I can see an expulsion situation. It could happen. If the threat to Israel is existential, expulsion will be justified.

Cultural dementia

Besides being tough, you are also very gloomy. You weren't always like that, were you?

My turning point began after 2000. I wasn't a great optimist even before that. True, I always voted Labor or Meretz or Sheli [a dovish party of the late 1970s], and in 1988 I refused to serve in the territories and was jailed for it, but I always doubted the intentions of the Palestinians. The events of Camp David and what followed in their wake turned the doubt

into certainty. When the Palestinians rejected the proposal of [prime minister Ehud] Barak ir July 2000 and the Clinton proposal in December 2000, I understood that they are unwilling to accept the two-state solution. They want it all. Lod and Acre and Jaffa.

If that's so, then the whole Oslo process was mistaken and there is a basic flaw in the entire worldview of the Israeli peace movement.

Oslo had to be tried. But today it has to be clear that from the Palestinian point of view, Oslo was a deception. [Palestinian leader Yasser] Arafat did not change for the worse, Arafa simply defrauded us. He was never sincere in his readiness for compromise and conciliation.

Do you really believe Arafat wants to throw us into the sea?

He wants to send us back to Europe, to the sea we came from. He truly sees us as a Crusader state and he thinks about the Crusader precedent and wishes us a Crusader end. I'm certair that Israeli intelligence has unequivocal information proving that in internal conversations Arafat talks seriously about the phased plan [which would eliminate Israel in stages]. But the problem is not just Arafat. The entire Palestinian national elite is prone to see us as Crusaders and is driven by the phased plan. That's why the Palestinians are not honestly ready to forgo the right of return. They are preserving it as an instrument with which they will destroy the Jewish state when the time comes. They can't tolerate the existence of a Jewish state - not in 80 percent of the country and not in 30 percent. From their point or view, the Palestinian state must cover the whole Land of Israel.

If so, the two-state solution is not viable; even if a peace treaty is signed, it will soor collapse.

Ideologically, I support the two-state solution. It's the only alternative to the expulsion of the Jews or the expulsion of the Palestinians or total destruction. But in practice, in this generation, a settlement of that kind will not hold water. At least 30 to 40 percent of the Palestinian public and at least 30 to 40 percent of the heart of every Palestinian will no accept it. After a short break, terrorism will erupt again and the war will resume.

Your prognosis doesn't leave much room for hope, does it?

It's hard for me, too. There is not going to be peace in the present generation. There will no be a solution. We are doomed to live by the sword. I'm already fairly old, but for my children that is especially bleak. I don't know if they will want to go on living in a place where there is no hope. Even if Israel is not destroyed, we won't see a good, normal life here in the decades ahead.

Aren't your harsh words an over-reaction to three hard years of terrorism?

The bombing of the buses and restaurants really shook me. They made me understand the depth of the hatred for us. They made me understand that the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim hostility toward Jewish existence here is taking us to the brink of destruction. I don't see the suicide bombings as isolated acts. They express the deep will of the Palestinian people. That is what the majority of the Palestinians want. They want what happened to the bus to happer to all of us.

Yet we, too, bear responsibility for the violence and the hatred: the occupation, the roadblocks, the closures, maybe even the Nakba itself.

You don't have to tell me that. I have researched Palestinian history. I understand the reasons for the hatred very well. The Palestinians are retaliating now not only for yesterday's closure but for the Nakba as well. But that is not a sufficient explanation. The peoples of Africa were oppressed by the European powers no less than the Palestinians were oppressed by us, but nevertheless I don't see African terrorism in London, Paris or Brussels The Germans killed far more of us than we killed the Palestinians, but we aren't blowing up buses in Munich and Nuremberg. So there is something else here, something deeper, that has to do with Islam and Arab culture.

Are you trying to argue that Palestinian terrorism derives from some sort of deep cultura problem?

There is a deep problem in Islam. It's a world whose values are different. A world in which human life doesn't have the same value as it does in the West, in which freedom democracy, openness and creativity are alien. A world that makes those who are not part of the camp of Islam fair game. Revenge is also important here. Revenge plays a central part in the Arab tribal culture. Therefore, the people we are fighting and the society that sends them have no moral inhibitions. If it obtains chemical or biological or atomic weapons, it will use them. If it is able, it will also commit genocide.

I want to insist on my point: A large part of the responsibility for the hatred of the Palestinians rests with us. After all, you yourself showed us that the Palestinians experienced a historical catastrophe.

True. But when one has to deal with a serial killer, it's not so important to discover why he became a serial killer. What's important is to imprison the murderer or to execute him.

Explain the image: Who is the serial killer in the analogy?

The barbarians who want to take our lives. The people the Palestinian society sends to carry out the terrorist attacks, and in some way the Palestinian society itself as well. At the moment, that society is in the state of being a serial killer. It is a very sick society. It should be treated the way we treat individuals who are serial killers.

What does that mean? What should we do tomorrow morning?

We have to try to heal the Palestinians. Maybe over the years the establishment of a Palestinian state will help in the healing process. But in the meantime, until the medicine is found, they have to be contained so that they will not succeed in murdering us.

To fence them in? To place them under closure?

Something like a cage has to be built for them. I know that sounds terrible. It is really cruel But there is no choice. There is a wild animal there that has to be locked up in one way of another.

War of Barbarians

Benny Morris, have you joined the right wing?

No, no. I still think of myself as left-wing. I still support in principle two states for two peoples.

But you don't believe that this solution will last. You don't believe in peace.

In my opinion, we will not have peace, no.

Then what is your solution?

In this generation there is apparently no solution. To be vigilant, to defend the country as far as is possible.

The iron wall approach?

Yes. An iron wall is a good image. An iron wall is the most reasonable policy for the coming generation. My colleague Avi Shlein described this well: What Jabotinsky proposed is what Ben-Gurion adopted. In the 1950s, there was a dispute between Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharett. Ben-Gurion argued that the Arabs understand only force and that ultimate force is the one thing that will persuade them to accept our presence here. He was right. That's not to say that we don't need diplomacy. Both toward the West and for our own conscience, it's important that we strive for a political solution. But in the end, what will decide their readiness to accept us will be force alone. Only the recognition that they are not capable or defeating us.

For a left-winger, you sound very much like a right-winger, wouldn't you say?

I'm trying to be realistic. I know it doesn't always sound politically correct, but I think that political correctness poisons history in any case. It impedes our ability to see the truth. And I also identify with Albert Camus. He was considered a left-winger and a person of high morals, but when he referred to the Algerian problem he placed his mother ahead of morality. Preserving my people is more important than universal moral concepts.

Are you a neo-conservative? Do you read the current historical reality in the terms of Samuel Huntington?

I think there is a clash between civilizations here [as Huntington argues]. I think the Westoday resembles the Roman Empire of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries: The barbarians are attacking it and they may also destroy it.

The Muslims are barbarians, then?

I think the values I mentioned earlier are values of barbarians—the attitude toward democracy, freedom, openness; the attitude toward human life. In that sense they are barbarians. The Arab world as it is today is barbarian.

And in your view these new barbarians are truly threatening the Rome of our time?

Yes. The West is stronger but it's not clear whether it knows how to repulse this wave of hatred. The phenomenon of the mass Muslim penetration into the West and their settlement there is creating a dangerous internal threat. A similar process took place in Rome. They let the barbarians in and they toppled the empire from within.

Is it really all that dramatic? Is the West truly in danger?

Yes. I think that the war between the civilizations is the main characteristic of the 21s century. I think President Bush is wrong when he denies the very existence of that war. It's not only a matter of bin Laden. This is a struggle against a whole world that espouses different values. And we are on the front line. Exactly like the Crusaders, we are the vulnerable branch of Europe in this place.

The situation as you describe it is extremely harsh. You are not entirely convinced that we can survive here, are you?

The possibility of annihilation exists.

Would you describe yourself as an apocalyptic person?

The whole Zionist project is apocalyptic. It exists within hostile surroundings and in a certain sense its existence is unreasonable. It wasn't reasonable for it to succeed in 1881 and it wasn't reasonable for it to succeed in 1948 and it's not reasonable that it will succeed now Nevertheless, it has come this far. In a certain way it is miraculous. I live the events of 1948 and 1948 projects itself on what could happen here. Yes, I think of Armageddon. It's possible. Within the next 20 years there could be an atomic war here.

If Zionism is so dangerous for the Jews and if Zionism makes the Arabs so wretched, maybe it's a mistake?

No, Zionism was not a mistake. The desire to establish a Jewish state here was a legitimate one, a positive one. But given the character of Islam and given the character of the Arat nation, it was a mistake to think that it would be possible to establish a tranquil state here that lives in harmony with its surroundings.

Which leaves us, nevertheless, with two possibilities: either a cruel, tragic Zionism, or the forgoing of Zionism.

Yes. That's so. You have pared it down, but that's correct.

Would you agree that this historical reality is intolerable, that there is something inhumar about it?

Yes. But that's so for the Jewish people, not the Palestinians. A people that suffered for 2,000 years, that went through the Holocaust, arrives at its patrimony but is thrust into a renewed round of bloodshed, that is perhaps the road to annihilation. In terms of cosmic justice, that's terrible. It's far more shocking than what happened in 1948 to a small part of the Arab nation that was then in Palestine.

So what you are telling me is that you live the Palestinian Nakba of the past less than you

live the possible Jewish Nakba of the future?

Yes. Destruction could be the end of this process. It could be the end of the Zionist experiment. And that's what really depresses and scares me.

The title of the book you are now publishing in Hebrew is "Victims." In the end, then, your argument is that of the two victims of this conflict, we are the bigger one.

Yes. Exactly. We are the greater victims in the course of history and we are also the greater potential victim. Even though we are oppressing the Palestinians, we are the weaker side here. We are a small minority in a large sea of hostile Arabs who want to eliminate us. So it's possible than when their desire is realized, everyone will understand what I am saying to you now. Everyone will understand we are the true victims. But by then it will be too late.

This interview first appeared in Haaretz.









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The West and the Rest

by Meir Gal

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Since its initial publication in the Israeli daily, Ha'aretz, last February, Meir Gal's photograph and accompanying essay have continued to engender debate and dissension—which for the editors of NASAWI NEWS suggests a healty state of Jewish affairs, regardless of your affiliation! We republish Gal's work in its most recent reincarnation.



Since the establishment of Israel we have heard mostly from and about its European (Ashkenazi) Jewry. Numerous articles have depicted the State of Israel as a country which successfully managed to bring together people of different ethnic origins. Unfortunately, most of these articles have created a perception which is far from the realities non–Ashkenazi groups have had to endure. Mizrahim (Jews of Asian and African origins commonly referred to as Sephardim) who have written extensively about the discrimination against Mizrahim in Israel and who have documented the history of Mizrahi resistance [see Ella Shohat's "Reflections of an Arab Jew"] have been censured and criticized. To this day, Mizrahi activists in Israel are marginalized and often excluded from public positions and funding. Throughout the past five decades this reality has forced numerous Mizrahim to leave Israel.

Yossi Klein Halevi, in his article "The Unorthodox Politics of an Ultra Orthodox Rebel" (The New York Times Magazine, June 1, 1997), is accurate in stating that mainstream political parties, which always controlled Israel, trace their lineage to pre–Holocaust Eastern Europe. But when he writes that Shas party leader Aryeh Deri "almost single handedly, tribalized politics in Israel, building the country's first successful ethnic party", Halevi exposes his own racism towards Mizrahim and



Throughout this era there was no contradiction between being a Jew and an Arab simultaneously. The advent of Zionism and the establishment of the Israeli State drove a wedge between Mizrahim and their origins, and replaced their Jewish-Arab identity with a new Israeli identity based on hatred of the Arab world. The inevitable outcome was an irreconcilable Mizrahi denial of its own past which gradually evolved into self hatred.

The book shown in the photograph is the official textbook of the history of the Jewish People in recent generations that was used by high school students (including myself) in the 1970's. The nine pages I'm holding are the only pages in the book that discuss non–European Jewish history. Hence the title: Nine Out of Four Hundred (The West and the Rest). My intention is to put an end to the speculative character of the argument whether or not Mizrahim have been discriminated in Israel. Until today the Ministry of Education continues to erase the history of its non–European Jews despite the fact that they comprise an estimated 50% of the Israeli population. And this is only one example of the ways through which the State minoritized its non–European majority.



Mizrahim must continue to organize and write their own history. By that I do not mean a nostalgic regression towards a lost Oriental past, nor the creation of a Mizrahi identity antagonistic to Ashkenazim. Astute interpretations of the erasure of Mizrahi history have been written but we have not yet heard about how this erasure affected the Mizrahi body, the Mizrahi family, and the relations between Mizrahim and themselves. The solidification of a Mizrahi history will reconnect Mizrahim with their roots and facilitate new interpretations concerning their oppression by the Ashkenazi elite.

Importantly, Mizrahi intellectuals must see to it that Mizrahi history is not written in an opaque jargon that will restrict it to the boundaries of the academy. A discourse easily accessible to the public will increase the Mizrahi representation in universities and other cultural institutions. The recent establishment of HAKESHET HADEMOKRATIT HAMIZRAHIT (Democratic Mizrahi Coalition), the new secular Mizrahi movement and its accompanying support offshoots throughout Israel, may precipitate such development.



Meir Gal is an artist, curator and writer based in New York. He has exhibited

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Loving Immigration and Hating Immigrants

Yosse Helman, in The New Israelis

RUDYARD KIPLING, in a famous verse, said that East and West would never meet. But they do meet, and the State of Israel offers ving proof. Approximately half of Israeli Jews are of oriental traction: they are the Sephardim, which in Hebrew means Spanards. Though most Sephardim came to Israel directly from North Irica, the Middle East, and the Balkans, their families had wanted to these parts when they were expelled from Spain in 1492. The other half are the Ashkenazim, of occidental origin: they come mainly from Western and Eastern Europe. Ashkenaz was the medieval Jewish name for Germany.

This human patchwork is the best evidence that Israel is a true immigrant society; of the four million Israeli Jews living in the ountry, over sixty percent are immigrants. There is hardly a country in the world that is not represented in Israel's population: India, the United States. China Morocco Russia Ethiopia Canada I

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hey still didn't lift a finger to put an end to the atrocities. The British, who ruled Palestine, were afraid of Arab reaction and continued enforcing a policy which severely limited Jewish immigran grange on, while the United States and most other free nations refused ntry visas to Jews on the run. During 1943 and 1944 there were an ncreasing number of pleas from Jewish leaders in Britain and the flected in united States, and even directly from the death camps, begging the word Allies to bombard the camps or at least the railroads that carried lews to their deaths. The Allied military commanders argued that The distances were too great for their bombers to reach the gas chambers. Later, when the death camps on Polish soil were within notation reachable distance, the party line refusal was based upon "limited military resources." This is one of the saddest and most maddening chapters in the history of the Second World War.

When the war was over, the West had to face its sins—its passivity in the face of such horror. The pangs of conscience suffered by Western leaders, and especially the American public, were one of the great catalysts in the establishment of Israel.

But it was not only the rest of the world who had reason to be ashamed. Ben Gurion and his colleagues, too, are to be blamed for having done too little; after all, they also had the information. As the Nazi trains punctually reached their deadly destination, and European Jewry was perishing in Nazi ovens, the mood of the discussions in Palestine was calm, business as usual. Inconceivable as this may be, minutes of the meetings of the Zionist leadership are filled with trivial passages and insignificant discussions about the crimes that were taking place in Europe. It is true that the Jewish community of Palestine lived under British rule and had no army of its own, but it also seems clear that the Zionist leaders had no sense of urgency about what was happening.

It is difficult to explain this skepticism and detachment toward the news and the failure to move heaven and earth to try to stop the liquidation of their fellow Jews. Radicals among the Jewish Orthodox—those who oppose the idea of Zionism and object to the very existence of the state of Israel—have arrived at an answer which is unrivaled in its harshness and cruelty. They accuse Zionism itself of having collaborated with Nazism. They argue that the liquidation

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tte of Israel. they could only envision Israel as a kind of extension of the old familiar world. Israel, for them, would be designed to serve the European Jews coming out of the ghettos, Jews wounded by anti-Semitism and persecution. Oriental Jewry was never factored into their thinking. But after the Second World War, the only sizable human reservoir that Ben Gurion could turn to and trust to come to the new state was the Sephardis.

To further complicate the process of immigration, getting the Sephardis out of their native countries was difficult and usually involved breaking local laws. Israel was prepared to hazard this and spared neither effort nor money to that end; the Israeli secret service, the Mossad, was often mobilized. Time and again, when Jews were prevented from leaving their countries, Israel obtained their freedom with money, bribes, and, occasionally, weapons. The Mossad and other secret agencies conducted covert campaigns to protect Jews throughout the world and to help them immigrate to Israel. In 1948-1949, fifty thousand Jews were airlifted from Yemen after flocal officials were bribed. That set a historical precedent for other, similar projects, and the technique continues to be used, as it was most recently in the exodus of the Falashas, the black Jews of Ethiopia.

In Iraq, between 1948 and 1951, bribery was dressed up as "travel agency commissions," but the money was actually pocketed by the country's two prime ministers. In exchange, 130,000 Jews were allowed to leave the country. Hassan II, king of Morocco, and his top advisers permitted 150,000 Jews to emigrate to Israel between 1954 and 1962 in return for bribes, arms, and security know-how delivered by Israel, along with money raised by Jewish charities.

As a consequence, in the early years, Israel became a virtual tower of Babel. The aim was to absorb as many people as possible from all corners of the world, and it was upright; it was ardently pursued, but the challenge was overwhelming. It took little time to expose the gap between the dream of bringing all these different people to a new small country and the reality of such an undertaking. After their initial absorption, many immigrants cursed the day of their arrival and made desperate attempts to leave and settle elsewhere.

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mmigrants often came to blows and scuffles about anything related survival: a bed, tent, blanket, or food. The law of the jungle revailed.

After staying in the center for weeks, the immigrants were given ermanent housing. Conditions there were even more dismal. Most immigrants lived in tents and shabby huts in camps which were called *ma'abara*, a word rooted in Hebrew for "transit." To this day, he word has such awful connotations that it is used to describe any terrible place.

The ma'abara were usually located outside the big towns and in very remote places. They offered neither showers nor running water; sanitary conditions were abominable. There were no roads, only miserable paths. Many people died as a result of the lack of medicine, physicians, and nurses. An inspector of the Department of Absorption, who visited one of the new camps-turned-shantytowns, reported that he himself witnessed "immigrants who are refusing to touch their soup because there are worms squirming between the vegetables." The state documents show that it was hard to find work and most new immigrants remained unemployed. They spent their time playing cards or hanging around the camps. Another official wrote: "We are destroying and harming these people. There's nothing we can do but weep quietly."

Ostensibly, everyone underwent an equally harsh reception: European Jews, most of them Holocaust survivors, and Oriental Jews. Everyone who passed through the "Gates of Aliyah" was subjected to a short medical examination and then asked to undress completely in order to be disinfected with DDT. That was a humiliating experience, particularly for the Ashkenazis who had survived the Holocaust.

This lack of sensitivity to the traumas of the immigrants was expressed particularly hatefully by Israeli children. They called the European survivors of the Holocaust "soaps." This cruel and macabre allusion to the Nazi's use of human fat to produce soap became synonymous with "outsider"—someone who doesn't belong to the gang, someone who is weak and different.

Oddly enough, in Israel there is a universally negative attitude

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But the Sephardis, in fact, were really in a more troubleson position than the European immigrants. The Israeli establishmen having consisted mainly of European Jews, was more predisposed to the Ashkenazi immigrants; all of the major political, financial military, and cultural institutions were entirely run by Ashkenazis tant, they spake Yiddish. Many of the Ashkenazi immigrants already had relatives in Israel who helped them financially and, of critical importance, introduced and directed them through the Israeli bureaucracy.

Sephardis, for the most part, had no such connections to smooth their passage into a new life. So different was their folklore and culture from the Western European culture that Israel had adopted that the Sephardis suffered discrimination from all sides: both from Israelis and Ashkenazi immigrants. Government officials were instructed, for example, to make things easier for us, the Polish immigrants. Sephardis tended to stay in the absorption center longer. Many among the Sephardis, coming as they did from oral cultures, were illiterate, and they had more than the usual problems in social adjustment. Worst of all, they arrived without leaders, like sheep without a shepherd.

Zionism is largely a movement of people without choice. With the exception of a handful of idealistic pioneers who set out with a strong conviction about the rightness of their journey, by far most Israeli immigrants were forced by circumstances to leave their countries of origin. Holocaust survivors who had lost their relatives and homes had nowhere to go. Israel seemed the most hospitable to many of them. For centuries, Sephardic Jews—Yemenite, Iraqi, as a minority, with their Arab neighbors. But from the moment the Jewish-Arab tensions in 1948 expanded and caused political interests from other Arab countries to the conflict, their peaceful coexistence was shattered. Now surrounding Arab neighbors of Israel began to pressure their own Jewish citizens, interfering with their basic human rights. Those Jews who in their prayers had always yearned for Zion now had both the opportunity and the incentive to leave

TRUE/FALSE WORKSHEET THE 1948 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

- 1. The state of Israel was officially established after David Ben-Gurion proclaimed an independent state. (T)
- 2. The Jews were unwilling to compromise and divide Palestine between themselves and Arabs. (F)
- 3. The Arabs were unwilling to compromise and divide Palestine between themselves and the Jews. (T)
- 4. After the end of the War and the Armistice agreement, Israel did not include half of Jerusalem, including the Wall and the Jewish Quarter, the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. (T)
- 5. The Arab forces from the various Arab countries were well coordinated and had more manpower than the Jewish army. (F there was minimal coordination)
- 6. Arabs revolted and attacked Jews after the UN passed the Partition Plan. (T)
- 7. The Israeli Army (The Israel Defense Forces) was not established until after the War of Independence. (F On May 28, 1948 David Ben-Gurion merged all of the existing Jewish armed forces into the IDF)
- 8. Israel won the War in 1949. (T)
- 9. The War of Independence battles took place in towns, which resulted in the displacement of thousands of Arabs, resulting in approximately 540,000 Arabs claiming refugee status. (T)

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ns, the By the first months of 1948, the Zionist leadership had mand to mobilize a regular army of fifteen thousand full-time diers. In addition, in April Jewish units switched from reactive Arab initiatives—a strategy termed active defense—to goon the offensive. More and more Jewish forces took lyantage of divisions among Palestinian units, reflected in ents such as what occurred in April in the Haifa district: a fisal by Hussein loyalists of arms, ammunition, and fighters allies of the notable opposition.

Also in April, Abd al-Qadir al-Husseini died in battle, thus ining al-Qassam in the ranks of Palestinian national martyrs. bd al-Qadir's death was a serious blow. With total war now being fought by regular armies, it became more and more difficult to hide the Palestinian political and military shortcomings. The British command had privately predicted in December that in the long run the Jews would not be able to cope with the rabs," but in February it predicted that they would, indeed, old onto at least part of their designated state. By the end of pril, the turnaround was even more pronounced. Here is the ppraisal of the American consul in a cable to Secretary of State eorge Marshall:

Palestinian [mandate] government has generally ceased to function and central public services no longer exit. In Jewish areas Jews have taken effective control and are maintaining public services within those areas. Preparations for establishment Jewish state after termination of Mandate are well advanced. . . In Arab areas only municipal administration continues without any central authority. . . . Morale following Jewish military successes low with thousands Arabs fleeing country. Last remaining hope is in entry Arab regular armies, spearheaded by Arab Legion. 53

The Meaning of Disastr." B. Kimmerling & J. Migdal, Palestinians: The Making of a People

THE SHATTERING OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY

The entry of the Arab regular armies after the declaration of Israel's independence on May 14, 1948, did not, of course, bring the hoped for salvation. By the time all the fighting had ended in Carly 1949, the peasant communities in the north and the coastal plain had suffered severe damage, with peasant life remaining intact in areas far from Jewish settlement—particularly in the

east. On the other end of the social spectrum, the notable lead ership had seemed to vaporize into thin air. In its place emerge an entirely new stratum of Palestinian society, the refugees dispersed among five separate countries (see map 4). No one can say precisely how many of the 1.3 million Palestinians became refugees, the reckoning—like so much else in Palestine's legacy—becoming a constituent part of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Arab estimates varied between 750,000 and 1,000,000. The Israelis proposed 520,000, and the British between 600,000 and 760,000.

Map 5 gives a sense of the new refugee society's Ghurba, exile. Flight of Palestinians from their homes began in December, 1947, as a fairly marginal event. As militiamen on both sides attempted to improve their positions, the fringes of neighborhoods and isolated settlements came under heavy attack. Palestinians caught in the cross fire began to seek refuge, as did Arabs living in largely Jewish neighborhoods. The result was two waves of movement. Many wealthy merchants and others with money, including leading notables, took refuge outside the country. Fleeing from the most beleaguered cities, densely populated with Jews-Jaffa-Tel-Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem—they landed mostly in Lebanon, Egypt, and Transjordan. This group included a disproportionate number of Christians-rekindling Muslim suspicions that they were not as committed to the national struggle. The second wave consisted of more of the upper and middle classes, as well as numerous villagers from the Jerusalem area and the coastal plain, who ended up in their home villages, or in all-Arab towns such as Nazareth and Nablus.

By February–March, 1948, the number of displaced Palestinians had reached between thirty thousand and seventy-five thousand, 2 to 6 percent of the Arab population. Frightened Palestinians abandoned several entire towns and villages. Those who stayed put in cities such as Jaffa faced flying bullets, lack of food, and soaring prices; those who fled experienced the agony of displacement; and those who received them took on the burden of an exploding population.

Some villages managed to conclude "peace agreements" or nonbelligerency pacts with their Jewish neighbors, and others expelled Arab fighting forces so as to avoid Jewish retaliation, but such insurance policies often failed to hold up. Palestinian flight was the reaction to the right and incommittee.

tinian and Liberation Army forces, 60 prompted a massive exodus. Tens of thousands left even before the two cities fell, and tens of thousands of others fled once the Jews gained total control. In all, an additional 200,000–300,000 refugees fled their villages and cities between April and June. There was a sad irony to this death-knell: Palestinian military plans had rested on the presumption that Jewish urban society would collapse in the hellish street-to-street fighting.

Perhaps a quarter of the entire Arab population was now displaced, but in the coastal cities the depopulation was nearly total. In Haifa, for example, the Arabs had been caught between a Jewish municipal leadership that had urged them not to flee and Haganah officers who had begun to see the opportunities presented by Arab evacuation. By the end of the communal war only 3,000–4,000 of its 70,000 Palestinians remained.⁶¹

It is impossible to discuss this pivotal period without reference to Dayr Yasin, which would become the war's symbol for the Palestinians. The village was one of several attacked by Jewish forces in April in an attempt to clear the besieged roads leading to Jerusalem. That offensive was important in itself, since it marked the first time Jewish forces fought with the strategic goal of permanently ridding an area of Arab villages in order to insure the viability of their own settlements.

The sequence of events in Dayr Yasin is now scarcely disputed. The village's nonbelligerency pact with local Jewish forces did not spare it being swept into the Jewish offensive to break the Arab stranglehold on Jerusalem. Following an intense battle between Palestinian militiamen and Irgun forces with some Haganah mortar support, Palestinian forces departed and the Irgun entered the village on April 9. In brutal acts of revenge for their losses, the Jewish fighters killed many of the remaining men, women, and children and raped and mutilated others. Those not killed immediately were ignominiously paraded through Jerusalem and then sent to the city's Arab sector.

For their own purposes, both Israeli and Arab sources later inflated the number of those killed to approximately 250. A recent study by a team of researchers at Bir Zeit University found that the figure probably did not exceed 120.⁶² But that does not diminish the depth of the atrocity or its short- and long-run effects. In the immediate aftermath, the massacre became the subject of intense public concern. Despite their actives

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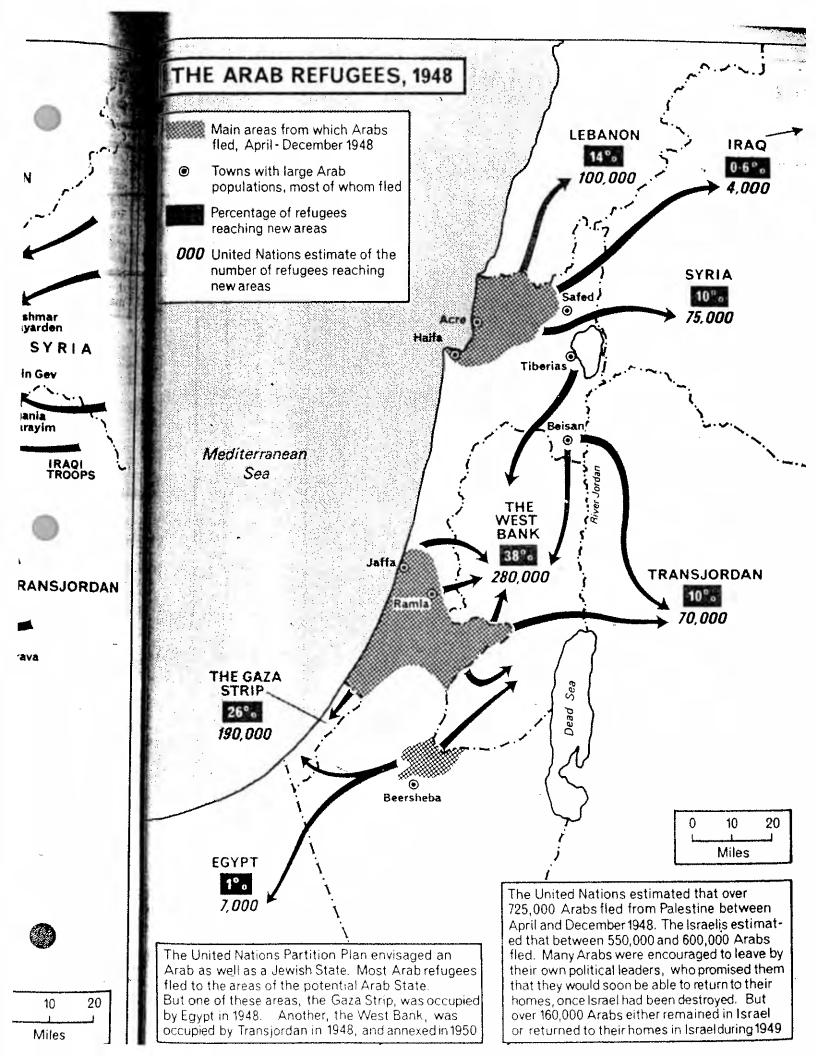
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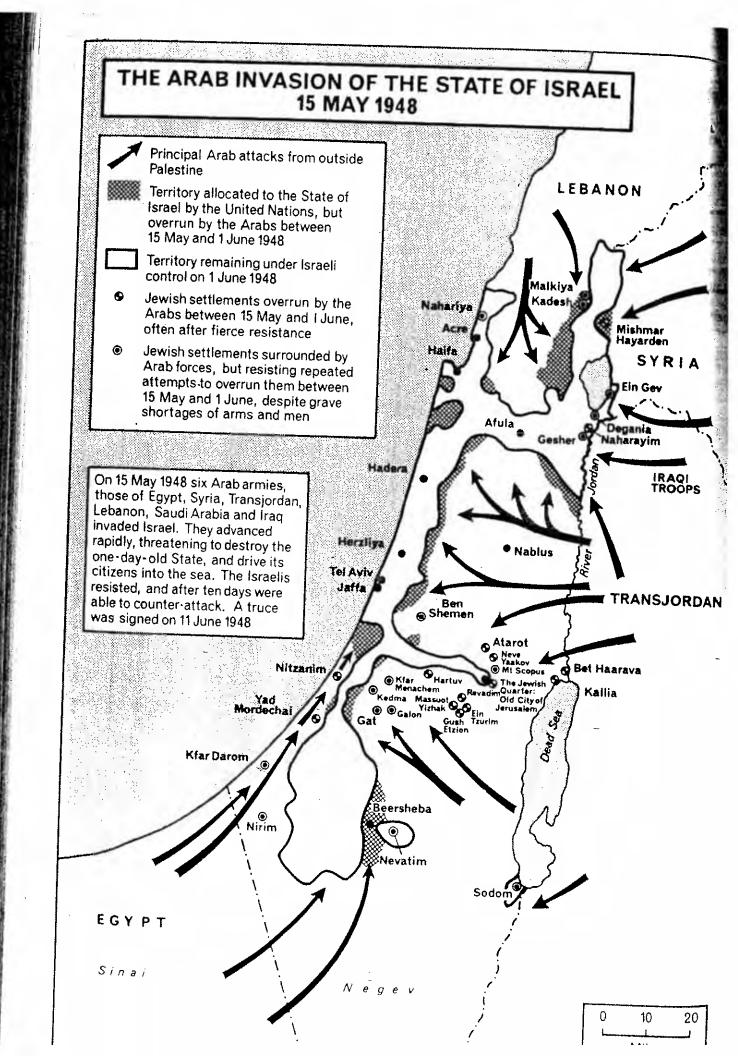
principation in the carry stages of the battle for the village, hich itself left numerous local families decimated, the aganah commanders and central Jewish leadership distanced hemselves from what had taken place and condemned it. The Tab media used Dayr Yasin as the focus of their claim that onism was innately wicked, and to rally Arabs behind the impending Arab invasion. Broadcasts and newspaper stories frompted popular mass demonstrations in Damascus, Baghdad, cairo, and Tripoli, including attacks on the local Jewish communities.

The stories had the effect of catalyzing rumors and striking nither fear into the Palestinians, speeding the pace with which hey ran for their lives, from other villages and even from large cities such as Haifa.63 Exaggeratedly or not, the Irgun, in fact, tressed the degree to which this one incident had turned the de in assuring that the new Jewish state would not have a disabling proportion of Arabs. Later in the year, when Israel went on the offensive that finally defeated the invading Arab rmies, the image of Dayr Yasin created an expectation of simlar Jewish acts. Combined with the real determination of Israeli commanders to create Arab-free regions, this precipitated another shattering wave of exodus. 64

In the longer term, the events at Dayr Yasin hardened the demonic images each side was developing of the other. For the Jews, the 1929 massacre in Hebron, and to a lesser extent the events in Tiberias and Safad, had fostered the idea of a murderous Arab culure.65 And aware of this Jewish reaction, Palestinians fully expected retribution should the Jews have the opportunity—all manners of cruelty were to be expected from them. Once the ighting ended, Dayr Yasin became a key element in the Palesinian transformation of the events of 1947-49 into a cosmic inlistice—the enemy was not simply a party with antithetical interests, but a pure representation of evil in a world in which the orces of fate, for the moment at least, had lined up against the Arabs.

The final decimation of Palestinian Arab society during the war involved a mass expulsion by Israelis from within the oundaries of what was to become their new state. In one tenay period in July, 1948, Israeli commanders sometimes nudged, acre be metimes drove, over 100,000 Arabs into parts of Palestine held y the Transjordanians, the Egyptians, and the Liberation Army,





The Lew. Declaration on a Jewish State

Early in the British government was at an impasse. Unable to stop illegal immigration, tired of combatting the growing insurrections in the Jewish community, criticism of other nations, Britain referred the entire Palestine problem back to afraid of Arab reactions to any hint of compromise, and smarting under the bitter the newly organized United Nations. The British were certain that the U.N. would

quickly appeal to them to reassume the responsibility under their own terms.

Instead, the U.N. convened a special session on Palestine, chose a special committee to investigate the problem (which became known as UNSCOP), and instructed the committee to report back by September 1, 1947, with recommendations for a solution. In the course of its deliberations the committee heard testimony in many countries, including the D.P. camps, and then drew up its conclusions.

The majority proposed the partition of Palestine into two sovereign states, Arab and Jewish, and the internationalization of Jerusalem and the holy places.

The allegation that the United States imposed its will on other countries by virtue of its power is not borne out by the facts. All sides worked hard to influence the member nations to vote in their favor. The fact, however, that both the United States and the Soviet Union favored partition was an important factor in the final

David Horowitz was a young halutz when he arrived in Israel in 1920 with the Third Aliya. Thirty-four years later he was named the first governor of the Bank of Israel. During the crucial days of UNSCOP he served on the Jewish delegation to

From: Momentous Century

The 29th of November 1947.

Jewish New York had finally reached the blow-off point. Many families ordained themselves a day of fast. The elevator boy at Dr. Goldmann's apartment house said to him: "If you come back, sir, without the decision for a Jewish state, you'll have to walk upstairs. I won't take you."

Thousands of people lined up outside the U.N. building to get admission tickets. The telephones were clogged with inquiries

by Trygve $\check{\mathbf{L}}$ ie, Behind them a huge painted representation of the overflowing. Dr. Aranha stood on the President's rostrum, flanked globe; before them a wide semicircle of delegations with table The enormous General Assembly hall was crowded signs, and the packed galleries.

Would this be the day of decision? The Arabs were making a final despairing effort to postpone the vote. Camille Chamoun, of Lebanon, proposed a "compromise" adjusting the Arab plan to a formula of "cantonization" bristling with reservations and Johnson and Andrei Gromyko, titans of the Assembly, rose and tore the Arab proposal to shreds. They showed that as it had no authority or substantial form, it was a mere trick. Johnson's voice was sharp and forceful: Gromyko's analysis was cold, precise, concealed pitfalls. The device was fairly transparent. Herschel undissembling. Chamoun's motion was set aside.

Other procedural attempts to delay the decision were defeated by Dr. Aranha's capable and energetic handling. Our patience and expectancy were being tried beyond endurance. We guessed at the likely results of the ballot that would bring us the longed-for victory, but we dreaded another postponement. The dramatic moment none of us would ever forget finally came. The voting began. The names of the states were called out clearly, one after another, and after each: "Yes," "No," or "Abstention.

the public against demonstrations. The voting continued in The ballot was interrupted only once as a storm of cheering greeted the French "Yes," following the postponement of the day before. The President rapped sharply for order and warned silence-"Yes," "No," or "Abstention.

Excitement became a physical pain.

The President rapped his gavel. "Thirty-three in favor, thirteen against, eleven abstentions," he announced. As he spoke, a feeling that grips a man but once in his lifetime came over us. High above us we seemed to hear the beating of the wings of history.

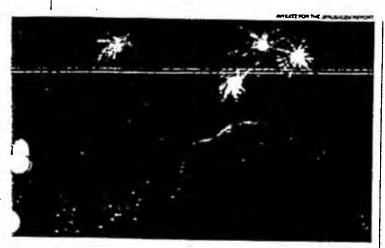
d

of gunpowder. Were these idle threats or the thunder heralding The Arab delegates came up to the speakers' rostrum to utter their menaces of blood and battle, filling the hall with the smell the storm?

But none at that moment wished to give heed to the morrow.

From A State in the Making, David Horowitz

My Independence Day



S A CHILD, I WANTED TO BE A PILOT WHEN I grew up. My father knew then what I didn't know: that my dream could never be realized. El Al, the national airline of the state of which I am a loyal citizen, does not employ a single Arab pilot, or even steward. Arab towns receive scanter resources from the state than do their Jewish counterparts. Arabic, the second official language of the state, has completely disappeared from official publications and road signs.

Israel, my state, is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its foundation; the Palestinians, my people, are mourning the 50th year of Nakba, our national disaster. At a single point in time, in 1948, we and the Israelis entered a zero-sum game — everything the Israelis gained, the Palestinians lost. A people without a land came to a

land that had a people. The survivors of the Holocaust, the greatest atrocity in human history, came to a populated country, settled in it, conquered it. Between December 1947 and September 1949, 600,000 to 900,000 Palestinians became refugees. The physical tragedy of expulsion was coupled with the spiritual and cultural tragedy of a society whose very fabric has been destroyed. The blame clearly lies with Israel, even if we Arabs are not completely innocent of having made mistakes.

Even if we accept Israel's version that the Arabs fled, and were not expelled — a version that has been refuted in the cases of at least some

of the towns and villages — that doesn't change the awful reality: One injustice, in which the Palestinians had no part, produced a new injustice. The two wrongs can never be fully made right, but the Palestinians' wound still bleeds to this day and Israel has never recognized the suffering.

Thirty years ago came the second sin, the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. In 1967, not a few Palestinians found themselves expelled from their homes for a second time by Israel. Almost 3 million of my people live under foreign rule, in one form or another, today. Despite being under the ju-

risdiction of the Palestinian Authority, most West Bank and Gaza Palestinians don't enjoy freedom of movement, while Israel feels free to confiscate land and arrest Palestinian suspects at will. In a world that has rid itself of colonialism, Israel is a lonely island.

In February, I was sitting in the front row of a packed hall in Ramallah with hundreds of Palestinians who had gathered to mark the 50th anniversary of Al-Nakba. Yasser Arafat and Yasser Abd-Rabbo, the PA's minister of information, were on the dais. As I listened to the speeches, I thought about my family. Kamel, my father, the official from Jaffa, and Hayfa, my mother, from Ramlah; both were deported from Jaffa and ended up in Taibah (further inland). I thought about my extended family now dispersed all over the region — in Kuwait, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. No less than six Tibis were killed in Gaza during the Intifada.

I was born into a different reality. My mother gave birth to me in a hospital in the Jewish town of Kfar Saba. I've been a citizen of Israel ever since. Its national anthem can never be my anthem, but I respect it. Its Independence Day can never be my holiday, but I respect that, too. I enjoy certain freedoms that the state ensures all citizens (even if Israel's 1 million Arabs are not ensured quite as much as its Jews), and I benefit from its economic growth. A good number of my friends are Jewish Israelis, and sometimes I find common language with them no less than with my Palestinian friends. Torn between loyalty to my people and citizenship in my state, between the ID card in my pocket and my role as an adviser to Arafat, I try to pave myself a way through these contradictions.

All "Israeli Arabs," as the Israelis define us, are torn. We enjoy the benefits of the state of the Jews in which we find ourselves, but not equal rights. At least 17 laws confer rights on, and give priority to, Jews only. First among them is the Law of Return, which bestows citizenship on every Jewish immigrant; the Interior Min-

istry usually denies Arabs that right. A soldier at a checkpoint, who perhaps only arrived recently, can deny basic freedoms to those who were born in this country, to parents and grandparents from this country. My good friend, Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish, is barred from entering Israel to visit his mother and his Galilee village.

And yet, I still wish the state every success at its jubilee — on condition that it finally recognizes the national minority that lives within it and grants it equality; and on condition that it allows the establishment of a Palestinian state by its side.

Perhaps the first 50 years of statehood have been good for Israel.

Not for us. As I sat before Arafat in Ramallah, I realized that a herald of the much hoped-for historic change was just a few footsteps away: the Palestinian Legislative Council has been meeting in Ramallah since 1996; and on the stage, sat the president of the embryonic Palestinian entity.

But now, even that great hope is receding after 50 stormy years of injustice. No Israeli celebration will be whole until the Palestinians are able to realize their hopes as well.

Ahmad Tibi, an Israeli Arab physician, is head of the Arab Party for Change and a senior political adviser to Yasser Arafat.

All 'Israeli

Arabs' are torn.

We enjoy the

benefits of

the state, but not

equal rights.



The Meaning of Disaster

Between the last month of 1947 and the first four and a half months of 1948, the Palestinian Arab community would cease to exist as a social and political entity: a process that neither Jew nor Arab foresaw in the tumultuous years of World War II. More than 350 villages would vanish, urban life would all but evaporate—war and exodus reducing Jaffa's population from 70,000–80,000 Palestinians to a remnant of 3,000–4,000—and 500,000 to 1,000,000 Palestinians would become refugees. Looking back at the situation in 1956, poet Mu'in Basisu described it in these words:

And after the flood none was left of this people
This land, but a rope and a pole
None but bare bodies floating on mires
Leavings of kin and a child
None but swelled bodies
Their numbers unknown
Here wreckage, here death, here drowned in deep waters
Scraps of a bread loaf still clasped in my hand
Here quivering dead eyes
Here lips crying vengeance
Scraps of my people and country
Some weeping, some crazed, some in tremor,
Scraps of my people, my father, my mother
There's nobody left in the tents

Here Children? you ask and she'll scream
And the torrent is jeering, she never gave birth
How to these people, black tents,
On pale sands
Drowned have they been forever.²

Accompanying this cataclysm was a drastic weakening of both axes molding the special character of the Palestinians over the previous century: (1) the tension between Nablus and Jaffa—between the more self-contained, agriculturally centered life of the inland towns and the European-facing coastal cities; and (2) the fragile structural balance achieved between the notable leadership and the society around them. With the disintegration of the country's urban backbone in 1948, the center of Palestinian life would return to the hill country in the east. At the same time, the catastrophe of 1948 and the ignominious role of the notables in it destroyed the remnants of the leadership.

In place of a familiarly constructed society, and the sense of self-worth that accompanies it, Palestinians would grasp the belief that they were the victims of an immense conspiracy and of a monumental injustice. They would see their plight as representing a breach of the cosmic order. They would seethe in anger, not only against the hated Zionists, but also against their putative allies—their Arab brothers from neighboring countries—and against a wider world that could allow such an injustice. As Fawaz Turki (born in the small town of Balad al-Sheikh, near Haifa) would note in *The Disinherited*,

The Western world, which had long tormented and abused the Jewish people, hastened to bless an event that saw an end to their victims' suffering. A debt was to be paid. Who was to pay it and where it was to be paid were not seen as of the essence, so long as it was not paid by Europeans in Europe.³

The experience of exile—of a tragedy perceived as both personal and national—would overshadow all else for this generation of disaster (the *jil al-Nakba*) creating both a sense of ennui and ironically, a new form of cultural ferment, largely literary in nature. (Cf. Fadwa Tuqan's explanation that "In 1948, my father died and Palestine was lost . . . These events enabled me to write the nationalist poetry my father had always wished that I would write "4"

UNIT 4: ISRAEL HITS PUBERTY

Understandings:

- 1. Near-constant war with its neighbors during Israel's period of maturation impacted the shaping of its culture.
- 2. The combination of Israel's ongoing tensions with its neighbors and the quick swelling of the population made it challenging to create proper infrastructure to support the growing country.

Essential Questions:

- 1. How could Israel focus on internal and external issues simultaneously?
- 2. How do external factors affect our identity?
- 3. How do you deal with the "other" in your midst?

Goals:

- To examine how Israel's wars affected Israeli society and culture;
- To apply the student's personal process of identity formation to Israel's maturation process;
- To analyze how Israel grew increasingly powerful externally, while still struggling to develop its own infrastructure.

Students will be able to:

- Compare and contrast how the different wars affected Israeli society and Israeli people;
- Analyze how Israel responded to external threats;
- Respond to how Israel made its priorities.

Note to Teacher:

This unit includes 8 activity ideas, in addition to an authentic assessment and a scripted lesson plan. Activity #3 includes three different options, 2 of which are movies. I would suggest two out of the three.

Suggested time allocation: 8 class sessions

Concepts & Key People:

The Suez War of 1956

The first sign of visible tensions between Egypt and Israel was when Egypt closed the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping. On September 1, 1951, the United Nations Security Counsel ordered Egypt to open the Canal to Israeli shipping. Egypt refused to comply. In 1955, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser began to import arms from the Soviet Bloc to build his arsenal for the confrontation with Israel.

The continued blockade of the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping, combined with the increased terrorist attacks and the ferocity of recent Arab statements, prompted Israel, with the backing of Britain and France, to attack Egypt on October 29,

1956. On October 30, the United States sponsored a Security Council resolution calling for an immediate Israeli withdrawal, but England and France vetoed it. The following day, the two allies launched air operations, bombing Egyptian airfields near Suez. By the end of the fighting, Israel held the Gaza Strip and had advanced as far as Sharm al-Sheikh along the Red Sea. A total of 231 Israeli soldiers died in the fighting. With urging for the UN and the United States, Israel withdrew to its original borders.

The 1967 Six Day War

There were several causes of the war. Beginning in 1963, with the creation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Arab attacks on Israel increased. The Syrian army used the Golan Heights, which tower 3,000 feet above the Galilee, to shell Israeli farms and villages. Syria's attacks grew more frequent in 1965 and 1966, forcing children living on kibbutzim in the Huleh Valley to sleep in bomb shelters. On May 15, Israel's Independence Day, Egyptian troops began moving into the Sinai and massing near the Israeli border. By May 18, Syrian troops were prepared for battle along the Golan Heights. On May 16, Egypt convinced the UN Emergency Force (UNEF), stationed in the Sinai since 1956, to withdraw. On May 22, Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran to all Israeli shipping and all ships bound for Eilat.

By this time, Israeli forces had been on alert for three weeks. Israel planned a surprise attack. On June 5, Prime Minister Eshkol gave the order to attack Egypt. By the end of the first day, nearly the entire Egyptian and Jordanian air forces, and half the Syrians', had been destroyed on the ground. It took only three days for Israeli forces to defeat the Jordanian legion. On the morning of June 7, the order was given to recapture the Old City. Israeli paratroopers stormed the city and secured it. While most IDF units were fighting the Egyptians and Jordanians, a small group of soldiers defended the northern border against the Syrians. On June 9, after two days of heavy air bombardment, Israeli forces succeeded in breaking through the Syrian lines.

After just six days of fighting, Israeli forces were in a position to march on Cairo, Damascus, and Amman. On June 10, Israel accepted a cease fire. The victory enabled Israel to unify Jerusalem. Israeli forces had also captured the Sinai, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip and West Bank.

Yom Kippur War, 1973

On October 6, 1973, Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria opened a coordinated surprise attack against Israel. On the Golan Heights, approximately 180 Israeli tanks faced an onslaught of 1,400 Syrian tanks. Along the Suez Canal, fewer than 500 Israeli defenders were attacked by 80,000 Egyptians. At least nine Arab states, including four non-Middle Eastern nations, actively aided the Egyptian-Syrian war effort.

Thrown onto the defensive during the first two days of fighting, Israel mobilized its reserves and eventually repulsed the invaders and carried the war deep into Syria and Egypt. Two weeks later, Egypt was saved from a disastrous defeat by the UN Security Council, which had failed to act while the tide was in the Arabs' favor. Despite the Israel

Defense Forces' ultimate success on the battlefield, the war was considered a diplomatic and military failure. A total of 2,688 soldiers were killed.

Suggested Educational Learning Activities

1. **Timeline Activity** (This could be done at the beginning of each unit) (suggested time: 40-60 minutes)

There will be a timeline up along the walls of the classroom which was introduced in the introductory unit. On the first day of this unit, produce a larger version of the timeline from 1956 - 1973. The focus of the unit is not on the events, but this timeline will help students place these events and the relevant themes in a larger context.

- Each group will be assigned one (or two) of the events/trends that took place during this era. They will be provided with information to sort through and will create presentations about the event(s) for their classmates. In the presentation, each group should answer some of the following questions:
 - 1. What are the different ways to understand this event?
 - 2. Why and how is this event remembered?
 - 3. Why is this event relevant to the development of the state of Israel?
 - 4. In what ways (if at all) could this event affect my Jewish identity and my connection to Israel?
- o Events: 1956 Sinai War, Six Day War, Yom Kippur War, Gush Emunim

2. What informs my personal identity?

1. Spectrum Activity (suggested time: 30 minutes)

Place a large sign that reads "Agree" on one side of the room and a sign that reads "Disagree" on the other side of the room. Read aloud the statements. After reading each statement, students should move to whichever side of the room corresponds with their opinions. The room represents a spectrum, so students should be encouraged to think about exactly where they stand along the spectrum. The teacher should ask students to explain why they chose to stand where they are.

Statements:

- I have similar ideas as my parents about "important" issues
- I have similar ideas as my friends.
- When I learn something new, I research it by asking others or looking it up online.
- My surroundings/environment affects who I am.
- I am more Jewish than American.
- I sometimes agree with others just because it is the majority opinion.
- I get my Israel information from one main news sources.

2. Journal/Free Write about self (suggested time: 20 minutes)
Ask students to write a letter to themselves. This letter will be returned to them at the end of the year. This exercise provides students with the opportunity to reflect on: 1) what they've learned about Israel thus far (this is the midway point); and 2) themselves. In this activity, the students should respond to at least one prompt/theme from each list:

List A

- 1. How Israel connects to my life
- 2. What issues/facts/trends in Israel trouble/concern me
- 3. I want to learn more about

List B

- 1. When forming opinions on an issue, I first think about....
- 2. How do I accept and process new information
- 3. When I disagree with someone, I....

3. Advancements in ... Education, Cities, Absorption, etc.

Watch the Israeli Movie, "Te'alat Blaumilch (The Big Dig) (1970)" (suggested time: 2 hours (90 minute movie plus 20 minute discussion))
 Synopsis: 1960s. A madman escapes from the asylum in Tel-Aviv, and starts digging a canal in the middle of one of the main streets. Due to the bureaucratic mess in the city administration, not only does nobody try to stop him, he actually receives the help of the police, the city engineer, etc. Although Israel developed "modern" cities, they lacked an orderly infrastructure.

Discussion Questions:

- 1. What elements of this movie depict generic city life from any city?
- 2. Which elements were uniquely Israeli? What made them Israeli? How do you define "Israeli"?
- 3. In what ways is Tel Aviv a modern city?
- 4. In what ways does Tel Aviv seem "backward"? (Read the vignette of the founding of Tel Aviv)
- 5. This movie takes place in the late 1960s, at a time when Israel was showing its military strength to the world. How does the image of Israel in this movie contradict the image of a powerful Israel?
- 2. Watch the Israeli Movie, "Kazablan (1974)" (suggested time: 2 ½ hours (2 hour movie plus 20 minute discussion))

Synopsis: This hilarious musical centers on Kazablan, an army veteran turned gang leader in the Israeli port of Jaffa, who masks his feelings of bitterness with a lot of bravado. His affections for an Ashkenazi woman create a neighborhood scandal since his is a Sephardic Jew from Morocco. In addition, the city wants to tear down their crumbling homes. The residents need to overcome their cultural differences in order to unify against the government.

Discussion Questions:

- 1. Why was it relevant that Kazablan was a war hero?
- 2. Compare and contrast the Sephardi-Ashkenazi relations in this movie to "Sallah Shabbati" (if the class viewed it in Unit 3)
- 3. Describe Israeli culture based on the movie.
- 4. What was the economic situation like? Why do you think it was so dire?
- 5. What is the relationship between Israel's citizens and the Israeli government?
- 6. What did the neighbors do to improve their economic situation?
- 3. Education Fair (suggested time: 1 hour 20 minutes)

Set up the room like a college fair with information about Israeli universities or schools laid out on tables. Explain that there were not always options for higher education in Israel. Have students walk around the room and look at the information. After about 10-20 minutes, ask the student to pick one school that they would want to attend and to go to that table. Make sure that there are at least 4 students at each table. Once divided, have the students create new marketing materials for their chosen school. They can create a commercial, brochure, or poster (or any other creative marketing tool). At the end, each group will present their school to the rest of the class. The marketing material should include:

- How it reflects Israeli society;
- The year it was founded:
- Why it was founded;
- Relative size:
- Specialty areas;
- What the school is known for;

The schools are: Bar Ilan University, Hebrew University, University of Haifa, Technion, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

4. Moving Beyond the Holocaust (suggested time: 1 hour 20 minutes)

Goal: To learn about how the Holocaust has impacted Israeli society.

- 1. Read biography of Yehuda Poliker, an Israeli singer/songwriter and son of Holocaust survivors. Listen to his song, "Dust and Ashes," which deals with the Holocaust. Read the English translation and answer the questions.
- 2. Read about the establishment of Yad VaShem in Israel and have a discussion, using the questions below. Based on the information provided, divide into groups and develop exhibits that would describe how the Holocaust has impacted Israelis. (Synthesis/Assessment activity)

 Questions:
 - What motifs are apparent in these monuments?
 - What aspects of the monuments are "religious"?
 - Why wasn't Yad Vashem created as soon as the state was established?
 - What makes Yad Vashem unique to Israel? Why couldn't it be located anywhere else?

5. Response to the Wars

Note: These activities should come after the scripted lesson plan.

World Jewry Responds - Letter Writing Activity (25 minutes)
 In 1967, Jerusalem was reunited and world Jewry was in a state of euphoria.
 Israel seemed like a magical place; Jerusalem was the city of gold; Israelis and all Jews were proud of the Israeli army and its quick victory over the Arabs. Many Jews around the world responded by making aliyah. They not only wanted to live in Israel but they wanted to help support it by joining the army.

It is 1967 and you will be graduating high school this year. You want to help Israel when you graduate. Maybe you'll go for a few years; maybe you'll make aliyah. You are filled with Zionist feelings and a deep love for Israel. Now you just need your family and friends' support. Write a letter to your parents explaining why they should let you go. You have to make a persuasive argument in this letter. Alternative: Write a letter to the rabbi asking for money for your trip. Have students share their letters.

- 2. Building up the Settlements (suggested time: 45 minutes)
 In Israel, the Jewish settlement movement started after the 6 Day War. There were several reasons that moving to the West Bank became appealing. This activity will explore those reasons. The reasons are:
 - Economic the government subsidized housing
 - Religious
 - Security/Defense

Divide the class into 3 groups. Give each group information about a different reason for building up the settlements. The groups need to review the materials and present their reasons on a poster. Each poster should be an advertisement for moving to the settlements (ex: Affordable housing! or Live on the land of our biblical ancestors.)

Authentic Assessment:

Newspaper Activity

As part of the ongoing assessment, students will become "investigative reporters" and will produce newspaper articles (or news reports) based on the information they received. Over the course of the year, the "reporters" will have to reconcile the different accounts and deal with the "bias" that emerges in their articles.

1. Students will return to their groups from the timeline activity (or from any other text-based activity) and will have to write a newspaper article based on the readings they read. Students can work with a partner or individually so that there will be multiple articles based on the same information. They should take into account the information and the bias in their source material. The students can choose to write

- whatever kind of article they choose (news article, editorial, political cartoons, character profiles, etc.), or they can do a news broadcast if a video camera is available.
- 2. Appoint 1-2 students to be the newspaper editor(s). They are responsible for assembling the newspaper layout once the articles are written. This involves reading all of the articles and organizing them by either topic or biases.
- 3. Within each group, students should share their article outlines before they begin writing their articles. Students should discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - How did you decide what angle to use when reporting your information to others?
 - Do you agree or disagree with what you're planning to write? If you disagree, how did you decide to write about this topic in this way?
- 4. Ask students to complete their articles at home and email them to the student editors
- 5. Photocopy the articles into a newspaper to hand out at the next class. If this exercise is done in each unit, explain to the students that they will have the opportunity to produce future editions of the class newspaper with different students serving as the editors.

Unit 4 Lesson Plan Understanding Israel's Wars

Objectives: Students will be able to

- Articulate the facts surrounding the 1956 War, the 6 Day War, and the Yom Kippur War
- Analyze Israel's actions and pose critical questions
- Describe what it is like to be responsible for making split second decisions

Note: This is a 2 hour scripted lesson plan. The times and activity elements can be altered to fit your class's needs, or the two major activities can be completed in two separate lessons.

1. Set Induction

Play twister - something about making decisions

2. The Wars - Jigsaw Activity (1 hour)

Step 1: Divide the class into 3 groups, one group for each war. Pass out information about the wars and the corresponding worksheet. Based on provided information, each group must complete the worksheet as a method of learning the details of the war.

Step 2: Create new groups so that there is at least one representative from the first set of groups in these new groups. In these new groups, each representative will use the completed worksheet to teach the other members about their assigned war. Students should be creative with how they share the information. As each student presents, the other students, should write down any questions they have. At the end of this activity, everyone should be familiar with the 3 wars.

3. Question & Answer Session (Assessment) (30 minutes)

Roles: 6-9 "experts"

1 recorder

1 moderator (the teacher)

Reporters (the rest of the class)

(Depending on class size), ask for 2-3 volunteers from each of the original groups (from step 1) to serve as the "experts" for their assigned war (6-9 students in total). Have them sit at a table at the front of the classroom. The rest of the class will be reporters or representatives from Israel, Russia, or America.

Explain that this special session was convened to review the decisions that Israel made in each war. This is NOT a session to condemn or attack Israel. But it is an opportunity to reflect critically on these wars. The "reporters" will ask the experts questions about the wars. The teacher should moderate the question and answer session. Students should begin with the questions they thought of during the first part of the lesson. The experts should answer their questions to the best of their abilities. The class recorder will write down all of the questions. If an "expert" cannot answer

a question, the teacher should assign a student to do further research and report back the following week.

Sample questions:

- Why did Israel annex the West Bank and Gaza and not the Golan Heights?
- If Israel won the Yom Kippur War, why was it seen as a failure?
- Do you think France and America should have stayed out of the 1956 Sinai War?

4. Conclusion

Debrief the Q & A session.

- Describe the difficulty of challenging some of Israel's decisions?
- Whip around the room and have each student share one thing they learned and one question that they have about this topic. (You can ask the students to research these questions at home and report the answers at the following class)

UNIT 4: ISRAEL HITS PUBERTY

SOURCES

Activity #1: Timeline Activity Info Sheets

- 1956 Sinai War
- Six Day War
- Yom Kippur War
- Gush Emunim

Activity #3, Part 1: Tel Aviv

• Excerpts

Activity #3, Part 3: Higher Education in Israel

• University Info Sheets

Activity #4: Holocaust

- Yehuda Poliker Song Lyrics
- Yad Vashem Information

Activity #5: Response to the Wars

- See resources from Activity #1
- Settlement Information

Lesson Plan

• War Worksheets

1956 Suez Crisis/Sinai Campaign

Hostile acts against Israel increased in the mid-1950's. Marauding gangs known as the fedayeen were specially trained to infiltrate from the Gaza Strip and the Egyptian border. They sowed destruction and death. Vehicles were attacked and their passengers murdered. The fedayeen even penetrated to the center of the country, slaughtering women and children. The IDF (Israel Defense Force) responded by establishing a special force, Paratrooper Unit 101, to initiate attacks upon enemy territory and inflict as much damage as possible. Between 1948 and 1956 a total of 1,300 Israeli citizens were killed or wounded, and more that 6,000 terrorist activities were recorded.

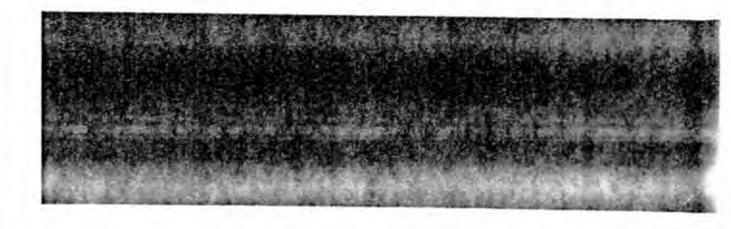
In September 1955 the Egyptians announced the closure of the Straits of Tiran to all vessels. Prior to this, the Suez Canal had been barred to Israeli vessels, despite the fact that it is an international waterway. Egyptian ruler Gamal Abdel Nasser signed a large weapons deal with Czechoslovakia at the same time that the Syrians closed a similar deal with the Soviet Union. In October 1955 Syria and Egypt signed a military treaty and established a joint Military Command headed by an Egyptian general. In Jordan, elections to the Parliament were won by Nasser's supporters, so Jordan entered the alliance. Israel was far outnumbered by these forces. Egypt called for the destruction of Israel, and every day the threat of war grew closer.

On October 29, 1956 the Sinai Campaign began. IDF soldiers parachuted deep into the Sinai Desert, not far from the Mitla Pass. On October 30 the Governments of Britain and France demanded that both Israel and Egypt cease hostilities and withdraw their forces ten miles from both sides of the Suez Canal. Israel accepted the demand but Egypt rejected in. The next day Britain and France launched an aerial attack, destroying Egypt's air force and conquering Port Said and Port Fuad. Within eight days the combined forces captured the entire Sinai Peninsula, in a brilliant operation which won praise from military experts throughout the world.

In the course of the war hundreds of Egyptians were captured and much weaponry fell into the hands of the IDF. At the end of the war the Straits of Tiran were opened, free passage on the waterways was assured and the Egyptian threat was removed. An indirect outcome of the war was the immigration of the many Egyptian Jews to Israel. The war cost the lives of 172 IDF soldiers.

America and the rest of the international community pressured Israel to retreat to the armistice border, and an international emergency force was stationed on the border between Israel and Egypt. American guarantees ensured that quiet was maintained in the region until just before the outbreak of the Six Day War in June 1967.

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Campaign 1956

1956 Sinai Campaign

The years of state-building were overshadowed by serious security problems. The 1949 armistice agreements had not only failed to pave the way to permanent peace, but were also constantly violated. In contradiction to the UN Security Council resolution of 1 September 1951, Israeli and Israel-bound shipping was prevented from passing through the Suez Canal; the blockade of the Straits of Tiran was tightened; incursions into Israel of terrorist squads from neighboring Arab countries for murder and sabotage occurred with increasing frequency; and the Sinai peninsula was gradually converted into a huge Egyptian military base.

Upon the signing of a tripartate military alliance by Egypt, Syria and Jordan (October 1956), the imminent threat to Israel's existence was intensified. In the course of an eight-day campaign, the IDF captured the Gaza Strip and the entire Sinai peninsula, halting 10 miles (16 km.) east of the Suez Canal. A United Nations decision to station a UN Emergency Force (UNEF) along the Egypt-Israel border and Egyptian assurances of free navigation in the Gulf of Eilat led Israel to agree to withdraw in stages (November 1956 – March 1957) from the areas taken a few weeks earlier. Consequently, the Straits of Tiran were opened, enabling the development of trade with Asian and East African countries as well as oil imports from the Persian Gulf.

THE SIX DAY WAR - JUNE 5-11, 1967

In May 1967 military preparations were openly under way on the Egyptian side of the border. The Egyptian leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, deployed hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles and thousands of soldiers in the Sinai Peninsula. He also fortified the Sinai airfields. Then he requested the withdrawal of the international force which had been stationed in Sinai since the Sinai Campaign of 1956.

Once again the Straits of Tiran were closed to Israeli sea traffic. Jordan and Syria concluded a military treaty with Egypt. Top level diplomatic efforts were made to avoid escalation of the conflict. In Israel, reserve soldiers were mobilized and deployed along the borders. The situation was extremely tense.

On June 5, at daybreak, Israel's Air Force destroyed the Egyptian Air Force on the ground. At the same time, Israeli Infantry and Armored Corps entered the Sinai Peninsula, signaling the outbreak of war with Egypt. The Jordanians began shelling along the border but later concentrated mainly on Jerusalem, and residents of the city took to the shelters. Israel had previously requested that King Hussein stay out of the war, since they had no intention of attacking Jordan. It was therefore assumed in Israel that the shelling was merely symbolic, to appease Jordan's allies. However, that afternoon the Jordanians captured the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) Headquarters in Jerusalem, a move which threatened the city, and fighting spread throughout Jerusalem. While hostilities continued with Egypt and Jordan, Syrian warplanes bombed several targets. Israel retaliated by severely crippling the Syrian Air Force and when Iraqi planes joined the fighting, the long arm of the Israel Air Force reached as far as Iraq.

Within six days the IDF controlled the entire Sinai peninsula and was deployed along the banks of the Suez Canal. The Golan Heights in the north were in Israeli hands, and the Jordan River formed the eastern border. Jerusalem was liberated and reunited, once again becoming one city. The 28th day of Iyar, 5727 (June 7, 1967) was designated Jerusalem Day, in honor of the brilliant victory which stunned the entire world.

The Six Day War was a milestone in the history of the State of Israel. It was followed by unprecedented development and expansion. Immigration increased, especially from prosperous countries. The demand for housing benefited the building industry, with major efforts directed towards settlements in the new territories. Eight hundred IDF soldiers lost their lives in the Six Day War.

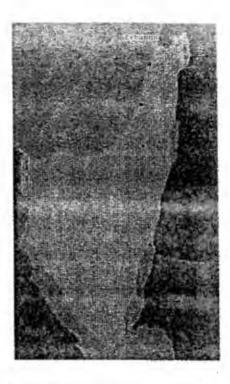
The architects of this great victory were Moshe Dayan, Minister of Defence, and Yitzhak Rabin, Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces.

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1967 Six-Day War

Hopes for another decade of relative tranquillity were dashed with the escalation of Arab terrorist raids across the Egyptian and Jordanian borders, persistent Syrian artillery bombardment of agricultural settlements in northern Galilee and massive military build-ups by the neighboring Arab states. When Egypt again moved large numbers of troops into the Sinai desert (May 1967), ordered the UN peacekeeping forces (deployed since 1957) out of the area, reimposed the blockade of the Straits of Tiran and entered into a military alliance with Jordan, Israel found itself faced by hostile Arab armies on all fronts. As Egypt had violated the arrangements agreed upon following the 1956 Sinai Campaign, Israel invoked its inherent right of selfdefense, launching a preemptive strike (5 June 1967) against Egypt in the south, followed by a counterattack against Jordan in the east and the routing of Syrian forces intrenched on the Golan Heights in the north.

At the end of six days of fighting, previous cease-fire were replaced by new ones, with Judea, Samaria, the Sinai peninsula and the Golan Heights under Israel's control. As a result, the northern villages were freed from 19 years of recurrent Syrian shelling; the fassage of Israeli and Israel-bound shipping through the Straits of Tiran was ensured; and Jerusalem, which had been divided under Israeli and Jordanian rule since 1949, was reunified under Israel's authority.



Ceasefire After the War, 196



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1967 - Six Day War

June 7

Immediate Events Before the Outbreak of War

1965-1966 Border clashes between Syria and Israel: aerial fighting; bombing of settlements in Hula and Jordan Valleys; terrorist attacks, etc. Israeli retaliations.

1967 May 15 Egypt announces military emergency - troops moved to border.

May 17 United Nations Emergency Forces evacuated from Egypt, Syria,

May 20 (srael mobilizes reserves. Full alert called.

Hay 23 Egypt closes Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping.

May 25-June 4 Diplomatic efforts attempt to avert crisis. UN debates.

Nasser declares that his goal is destruction of Israel. May 26

Joint Arab Military Command: Egypt-Syria-Jordan. flay 30

June 1 Israel establishes National Unity Government - Dayan appointed Minister of Defence.

Six Days of War

June 5 First Day:

Combined air attacks on all fronts by Israel in early norning destroy two-thirds of Arab aircraft.

Sinai-Egyptian Front - Armored divisions move along 2 lines: Khan Yumis-Ei Arish-along Suez road Mizzana-Abu Aweigila-Umm Qataf-Gebel Libni.

Jerusalem-Jordanian Front - Israel sends message via UN to Husseln not to enter the war. Husseln answers by bombing Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Israel retaliates: Battle of UN Hill to silence Jordanian guns; Battle of Ammunition Hill (night 5-6th). Jerusalem Corridor: Battles of Radar Hill, Beit Iksa, Biddu,

Nebi Samuel, Latrun, Beit Horon, Ramallah. West Bank-Jordanian Front - Israel attacks from Jezreel Valley to Jenin; Jordan Valley.

June 6 Second Day:

Sinai - Armor Corps push along El Arish-Suez road to Bir Lahafan; Battle of Abu Aweigila; Gaza Strip cleared.

Jerusalem - Paratroops move from Ammunition Hill to Mt. Scopus, Sheikh Jarrah Quarter, American Colony, Rockefeller Museum.

West Bank - Road along Jenin-Shechem-Tubas cleared. Ramallah surrendered; Kalkilya-Shechem road cleared.

June 9

June 8

June 10

November 22

June 7

Third Day:

fighting; s; terrorist Sinai - Egyptians in retreat caught in trap at Mitla where large armor battle takes place; Bir Gafgafa taken. Israeli forces take Sharm-e-Sheikh - open Straits of Tiran.

d to border.

Jerusalem - Old City liberated; Bethlehem-Hebron surrender. Ramallah-Jericho road cleared.

.gypt, Syria,

West Bank - Area controlled. Military government established.

June 8

Fourth Day:

ıq. I debates. Sinai - Israel reaches Suez Canal across from Qantara. Ismailia, Suez; control established along both coats and passes. Sinai Peninsula under Israeli control.

Golan - Israel jets begin bombing Syrian positions.

Israel.

June 9 Fifth Day:

)avan appointed

Golan - Battles of Tel Azzaziat and Tel Fahr; Banias, North. Gonen - Gadot - Hafach, Central section,

El Hamah - Tawfiq , South section.

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June 10 Sixth Day:

Golan - Israel moves up Golan Heights to Kuneitra and Mt.

Cease fire proclaimed - Israel controls Solan Heights.

long 2 lines:

November 22

U.N. Resolution 242 established cease fire.

e via UN to s by bombing Battle of UN unition Hill

∙it Iksa, Biddu,

1 Jezreel Valley

had to Bir

:leared. 1) to Mt. Scopus, afeller Museum.

ared. Ramallah

Yom Kippur War

In the years following the Six Day War, all sectors of the economy prospered and flourished. During this period Israel consolidated her position in the world, although the Arab nations refused to accept the new reality. The armies of Egypt and Jordan embarked on a war of attrition. Frequent attempts were made to infiltrate the borders and penetrate IDF positions and there were many incidents when shots were fired at Israeli soldiers. The war of attrition lasted for 17 months. During this time 721 Israelis were killed, 594 of them soldiers.

The Arab states continued to reequip their armies and train their soldiers. Gamal Abdel Nasser died in Egypt, and was succeeded by Anwar Sadat. On October 6, 1973 (Yom Kippur 5734) war broke out, when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan declared that "...the Third Temple (the third commonwealth of Jewish sovereignty) is in danger."

The Egyptian forces broke through the fortification line on the Suez Canal and overran the Sinai Peninsula. At the same time, the Syrians pushed towards the Golan Heights in an attempt to penetrate the valley and drive a wedge into Israel. Since warning signs had been ignored or misinterpreted, Israel was totally surprised by the onslaught. The country was unprepared, in the midst of observing Yom Kippur. The army swiftly regrouped and mobilized reserve forces, while the soldiers in the front lines struggled to hold back the onslaught. Militarily the outcome of the war was a victory for the Israeli forces. Under adverse conditions they succeeded in seizing the initiative and pushing the battle into enemy territory. At the war's end the IDF were poised 40 kilometers (28 miles) from Damascus in the north, and beyond the western bank of the Suez Canal on the road to Cairo in the south

The war ended on October 24, but the IDF's regular and reserve soldiers were confined to their outposts for many more months. The Yom Kippur war took a very heavy toll: 2569 soldiers fell in battle and more than 300 were taken prisoner.

After the cease fire took effect, further negotiations culminated in the signing of separation agreements. Israel withdrew from the areas captured during the war and arrangements were made for the separation of forces on both sides of the border. Territory held by Israel prior to the outbreak of the war was transferred to UN forces stationed in the separation zones.

The war created a great rift among the people. Confidence in the army's intelligence-gathering ability was severely shaken. Accusations were leveled at many leaders in the political and military fields, revealing grave defects and dividing the nation. A process of sober thought followed the sense of elation and euphoria engendered by the Six Day War. From the political point of view, the war brought about a transfer of power in Israel. In 1977, for the first time in the history of the State, the Likud party rose to power and the Labour party sat in opposition.

From War to War

After the war, Israel's diplomatic challenge was to translate its military gains into a permanent peace based on UN Security Council Resolution 242, which called for 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. However, the Arab position, as formulated at the Khartoum Summit (August 1967) called for no peace with Israel, no negotiations with Israel and no recognition of Israel. In September 1968, Egypt initiated a 'war of attrition', with sporadic, static actions along the banks of the Suez Canal, which escalated into full-scale, localized fighting, causing heavy casualties on both sides. Hostilities ended in 1970 when Egypt and Israel accepted a renewed cease-fire along the Suez Canal.

1973 Yom Kippur War

Three years of relative calm along the borders were shattered on Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), the holiest day of the Jewish year, when Egypt and Syria launched a coordinated surprise assault against Israel (6 October 1973), with the Egyptian army crossing the Suez Canal and Syrian troops penetrating the Golan Heights. During the next three weeks, the Israel Defense Forces turned the tide of battle and repulsed the attackers, crossing the Suez Canal into Egypt and advancing to within 20 miles (32 km.) of the Syrian capital, Damascus. Two years of difficult negotiations between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Syria resulted in disengagement agreements, according to which Israel withdrew from parts of the territories captured during the war.



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Egyptian and Syrian Attack

October 6-7

Sinai Front - Egypt

Egypt cross Suez Canal establishing bridgeheads across from Port Said, Qantara, Ismallia, and Great Bitter Lake to Suez. Bar Lev line falls as Egyptian forces move 10 KM into Simai.

Golan Front - Syria

Syrian armored corps move across cease fire line down Golan Heights in central and southern sections, taking Israeli position on Mt. Hermon and the city of Kuneitra. Israel evacuates all settlements in those areas.

Syrian attack on General Command Headquarters at Mafach is successful. Israel's northern line from El Rom to Magdai (

October 8-24

Israel's Counter Attack

October 8-10

Sinai: Israeli armored corps reach Great Bitter take area on eastern side of Canal between two Egyptian positions.

Golan: Israeli armoed corps attack in south at El Ai and Rafid; central area from Gadot lookout to Nafach to Hushiniya pushing Syrians back to original '67 cease fire lines by October 10th. Israel fails to take back former Mt. Herron

October 11

Golan: Israel moves across '67 cease fire line to Jubbata and towards Sassa on the road to Damascus.

October 12

Golan: Iraqi forces enter war in southern Golan along with Jordan. Israeli forces attack at Mazraat Beit Jann to Tel Shams in Syrian territory.

October 13

Golan: Tel Shams captured by Israel - major strategic position.

October 14-20

Golan: Clearing out positions in 'Bulge' inside Syrian territory. Iraqi-Jordanian attacks repulsed in southern Golan.

October 14

Sinai: Egyptian armored offensive repelled.

October 15-16

Sinai: Israeli paratroops and armored forces cross Suez Canal in the northern section of the Great Bitter Lake. Establish two bridgeheads.

October 16-17

Sinai: Israeli forces move north and south along Egyptian

October 18-19

Sinai: Egyptian anti-aircraft positions in Geneifa Hills attacked.

October 20-21

Sinal: Clearing out actions in 'Goshen Bulge! from near Ismailia to Suez City. Israeli forces move to within 101 KM along Suez-Cairo Road.

front-line officer

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October 22-23

Sinai: Cease fire broken by Egyptian Third Army's attempt to break out of trapped position along southern portion of Canal. Attack repulsed. Egyptian supply routes cut to Third Army.

Golan: Israel attacks Syrians on Mt. Hermon recapturing former positions.

October 24

Cease fire on both fronts holds.

Sinai:

Egypt maintains two 'bulges' on eastern 'Israeli' side of Canal.

Second Army: Port Said-Qantara-Ismailia.

Third Army: From southern part of Great Bitter Lake to Suez City.

Israel maintains 'Goshen Bulge' on western 'Egyptian' side of Suez Canal from outskirts of Ismailia to Suez City, causing the Third Army of Egypt to be trapped: 30,000 soldiers. All supply and evacuation routes closed off by Israeli forces.

Golan:

Israel retains all of Golan Heights and Mt. Hermon positions. 'Bulge' into Syrian territory from Mt. Hermon to Tel Shams.

World Intervention

October 22

U.N. Resolution 338 - calls for cease fire and implementation of U.N. Resolution 242. Gall for negotiations.

October 28

Egyptian-Israeli negotiations at Kilometer 101 on road to Cairo. Main problem, supplies to Third Army.

November 14-22

Prisoner exchanges.

December 7

Israel announces war dead - 2,119. Missing in action - 508.

December 21

Geneva Conference convened with Egypt, Jordan and Israel.

January 18

israel and Egypt sign Disengagement Agreement.

Februay 21

Disengagement concluded by Israel: Israel moved out of western section of Suez Canal evacuating as well the entire eastern front on Canal. Creation of UN buffer zone between the two forces.

March-April

Syria initiates War of Attrition with Israel bombing military positions and settlements.

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Israel in the Aftermath of the Six-Day War

Matters of War and Peace

In the mid-1960s, the Syrian army regularly harassed farmers and fishermen in the area of the Sea of Galilee. In addition, the Syrians trained terrorists to infiltrate Israel and attack targets. In April 1967, the Israeli Air Force responded to these attacks by shooting down 7 Syrian fighter planes. At this time the Soviets began to claim that Israel was planning to attack Syria, and the Egyptians responded by militarizing the Sinai Peninsula and closing the Straits of Tiran to Israel shipping, effectively cutting off the port of Eilat. The next week, King Hussein of Jordan signed a treaty of military cooperation with Egypt, and Iraqi units entered Jordan. All the while Nasser announced that he would "push the Jews into the sea."

In this moment of crisis the French announced an embargo on military support for states in the Middle East. In fact, this meant an embargo on Israel. France had been Israel's chief source of arms; the Arab states received their weapons from the Soviet bloc. The United States and Britain condemned Nasser's moves but offered no military support for Israel. Israel stood alone at this moment of crisis when it seemed that once again its existence was in jeopardy.

Israel launched a pre-emptive strike on 5 June 1967. In a series of swift, bold military moves, the IDF overwhelmed the Egyptian tanks in the Sinai taking the peninsula; in the north, the IDF responded to Syrian shelling of the Galilee by capturing the Golan Heights; and following Jordanian shelling of West Jerusalem, the IDF seized the Old City and the entire West Bank. After six days the war was over leaving Israel with all of Mandatory Palestine, plus Sinai and the Golan.

The armistice, however, did not bring peace. In 1969, the Egyptians, with assistance from the Soviet Union, began the War of Attrition. The goal was to get Israel to make concessions by inflicting heavy casualties. In fact, some 30,000 Egyptians soldiers were killed or wounded in the two years of fighting.

Egypt and Syria wanted to erase "the shame" of their defeat during the Six-Day War and find some way of retaking the territory they launched. Backed up by Soviet weaponry and aware of the growing dependence of Western Europe on Arab oil, Egypt and Syria launched a simultaneous attack on Israel from the north and south on Yom Kippur in 1973. This surprise attack resulted in some of Israel's highest casualties. In the Golan, the Syrians broke through the Israeli defenses and reached the Jordan river, in the Sinai, the Egyptians also managed to cross the Suez Canal and break Israeli defenses. Despite these early successes, though, Israel managed to repel the advances and counter-attack, coming to within 25 miles of Damascus and crossing to the east side of the Suez Canal.

The Political Consequences of War

The scandal of being caught unprepared for the Yom Kippur War led to the resignation of the Prime Minister, Golda Meir. In the subsequent elections, the Labor Party, led by Yitzchak Rabin barely edged out the Likud Party, led by Menachem Begin. Begin, who



was the political heir of Vladimir Jabotinsky - the founder of Revisionist Zionism - had led the Irgun Zvai Leumi during the War of Independence and his party was the most important opposition party to Labor.

Although the Yom Kippur War ended in 1973, its political and economic consequences continued for many years afterward. The increasing cost of oil, the increasing defense budget, the increasing debt, all weighed heavily on the Israeli economy. To cover its debts, the government began to cut back on food subsidies, leading to widespread inflation. This was on top of one of the highest tax rates in the world (65%).

When Rabin himself was hit with financial scandals, his government collapsed and new elections were called. In May 1977, thirty years of Labor party control of the Israeli government ended with the election of Menachem Begin. There were three key factors that underlay his success. First, Jews from Arab countries (known as Mizrachim) abandoned the Labor Party. Many of these Jews deeply resented the policies of various Labor governments, under whom their communities had remained mired in poverty and debt. Where 55% had been voting Labor in 1969, by 1977 that number was down to 32%. Most of them found a new home in the Likud party, led by Menachem Begin, and which had actively recruited Mizrachi politicians for many years. Second, many Jews from European countries (known as Ashkenazim) also left the Labor party, and instead supported a new centrist party, the Democratic Movement for Change, which had its roots in protests against the Labor government following the Yom Kippur War. Finally, many Israeli Arabs who had regularly voted for Labor, moved leftward and voted for the Israeli communist party.

Menachem Begin had been the leader of the Israeli opposition party since the founding of the state in 1948. Born in Poland, Begin became a devoted follower of Vladimir Jabotinsky, the founder of Revisionist Zionism. Begin shared Jabotinsky's idea of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan river and the need for a strong military to force the Arab states to accept the Jewish state. Following Jabotinsky's death in 1940, Begin became the head of the movement and its military wing, the Irgun Zvai Leumi. With the creation of the State of Israel, Begin transformed the movement into a political party, Herut (freedom). Herut joined in coalition with some other right-wing parties in the 1970s to form the *Likud* (union).

Begin remained a staunch hawk of settlement of the entire Land of Israel, but on the Sinai he was more dovish. Anwar Sadat of Egypt was also anxious to come to some sort of arrangement with the State of Israel. Facing an ever growing population and a stagnant economy, Sadat wanted to liberalize Egypt's economy and gain Western aid. To do that, though, he would need to make peace with Israel. Positive signals were secretly sent back and forth between Israel and Egypt. When Israel's secret service discovered that the Libyans were planning to assassinate Sadat, Israel arranged a meeting (held in Morocco) between the heads of the Israeli and Egyptian security services. The Israelis turned over the information, saving Sadat's life. Sadat was convinced that the Israelis were serious about peace and draft treaties were exchanged. Finally in November 1977, Sadat publicly proposed going to Israel to address the Israeli people. The next day, Begin sent





an official invitation; a week and a half later, Sadat stood in Knesset and said the following:

"In all sincerity I tell you that we welcome you among us with full security and safety We use to reject you We had our reasons and our fears, yes. ... [But] I declare to the whole world that we accept you living with you in permanent peace based on justice.... Today through my visit to you I ask you, why do we not stretch out our hands with faith and sincerity so that together we might remove all suspicion of fear, betrayal, and bad intentions?"

The response to Sadat's speech was warm and enthusiastic. Now came the hard part: working out the details of an agreement. Months of negotiations culminated in a summit at Camp David in Maryland where Sadat, Begin, and President Carter hammered out a treaty. Under its terms, Israel would withdraw entirely from the Sinai, including its airbases and settlements, grant "autonomy" to Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank, while Egypt would sign a peace treaty and normalize relations with Israel.

The Rise of the Settler Movement

One of the many social changes that Israel experienced after the Six-Day War was the rise of a religious Zionism that emphasized the need for creating Jewish settlements in the territories captured during the war. The leaders of this movement came from a Yeshivah established by the first Chief Rabbi of Mandatory Palestine, Rabbi Avraham Yitzchak Hacohn Kook. Kook's son, who ran the Yeshivah, taught that Israel was entering into a messianic age that would lead to a redeemed and reunited Land of Israel. Israel's victory in 1967 was not merely miraculous, it was a sign that the Jews were entering into the next stage of messianic preparations. Addressing Israeli paratroopers who had just captured the Western Wall during the Six-Day War, Rabbi Kook announced: "We hereby inform the people of Israel and the entire world that under heavenly command we have just returned home in the elevations of holiness and our holy city. We shall never move out of here."

The following year, a group of Rabbi Kook's followers moved into a hotel in Hebron, and announced that they were reestablishing the Jewish community of Hebron and would not leave. Shortly afterwards, a Jewish settlement was established just outside Hebron in Kiryat Arba. A few years later, settlers trained in Kiryat Arba established a settlement outside Nablus called Elon Moreh. Between the Six-Day War and the election of Begin in 1977, over thirty settlements were established on the West Bank, and that number doubled under Begin's government. These settlers, and their supporters in Israel proper, formed a new political movement called Gush Emunim, the "bloc of the faithful." Their positions were clear: the territories captured by Israel were to be part of Israel for ever – no territorial concessions on Israel's divine birthright were permitted; settlement of the whole land was not merely the right of every Jew but would advance the coming of the Messiah.



Gush Emunim actively supported the election of Begin in 1977, but his decision to sign the Camp David Accords was seen as a betrayal of their dreams. Not only did he give up all the Sinai and uproot the settlements there, he also agreed to work towards Palestinian

autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza. Begin's policy led to a split in Gush Emunim between those still thought they could work with Begin to preserve Jewish sovereignty over the territories, and the radicals who condemned Begin and formed new far rightwing parties to oppose him and the peace treaty. The most prominent of these far-right opponents was Rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder of the American vigilante group, the Jewish Defense League, and an advocate of the expulsion of all Arabs from the Land of Israel.

The Rise of the PLO

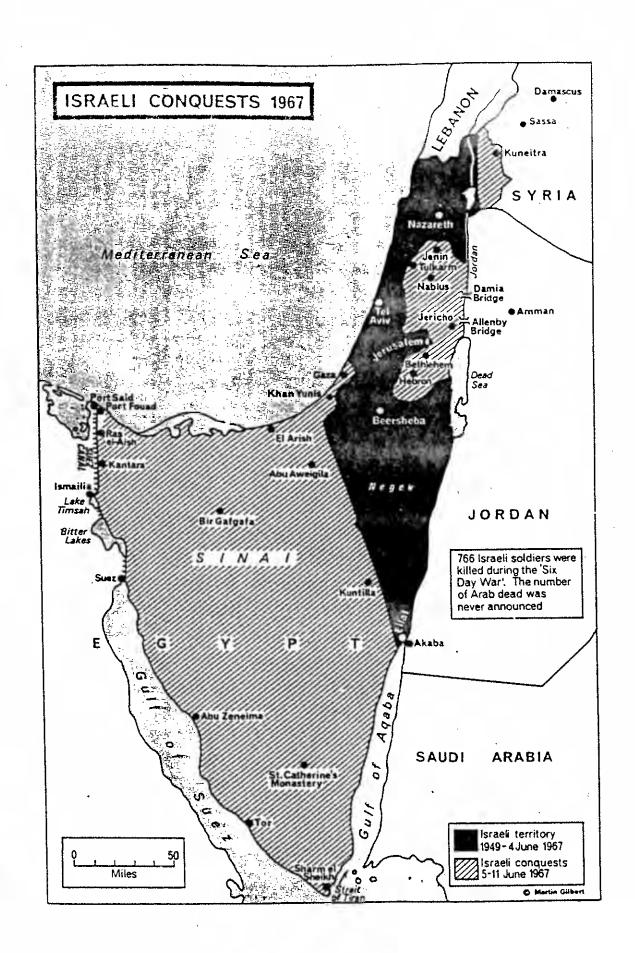
The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964 and was composed of Palestinians who had become refugees during the War of Independence. This remained the case until the Yom Kippur War. The early victories of Egypt and Syria galvanized the Palestinian population in the occupied territories. Despite the latter losses, these early victories were seen as restoring Arab honor and self-confidence; that new enthusiasm was directed towards support of the PLO.

At the same time, the PLO was also gaining international recognition. In November 1974, Yassir Arafat addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the following year, the General Assembly passed a resolution declaring Zionism to be a form of racism. Pro-PLO demonstrations were held on the West Bank and when Israel authorized municipal elections in the territories in 1976, PLO supporters were elected in most cities, towns and villages on a platform of Palestinian national identity.

This national enthusiasm spread from the West Bank and Gaza to Israel proper. Israeli Arabs read the Palestinian newspapers being published in the West Bank and began to share in the growing nationalist movement. Protests against the expropriation of Arabowned land by the Israeli government erupted in violence in the Land Day protest in March 1976, when Israel troops shot and killed several Israeli Arabs protesting Israeli government policy.

While the PLO was enjoying diplomatic successes on the world stage, it was also engaged in terrorist attacks in Israel and on Israeli targets abroad. Israeli athletes at the Olympics, Israeli schoolchildren on a field trip, hotel guests in Tel-Aviv, families in their homes in the Galilee, shoppers on Jerusalem streets, all were victims of bloody and violent terrorist attacks. In fact, between 1974 and 1979, over 1,200 people were killed and over 2,900 were wounded in terrorist attacks carried out by the PLO.

Up until 1970, the PLO had been based in Jordan, but after a bloody war with the Jordanian army, it moved its center of operations to Lebanon. There, among the 300,000 Palestinian refugees living in camps throughout southern Lebanon, the PLO found a ready supply of men and support to carry out their military campaign against the State of Israel. Despite Israel's retaliatory strikes against Lebanon for harboring the PLO, the Lebanese government was too weak to control them, and the PLO effectively operated as a state within a state.



Selections from the SEVENTH DAY - SOLDIERS' TALK ABOUT THE SIX-DAY WAR

Menachem: I felt uneasy about being a victorious army, a strong army. If I had any clear awareness of the World War years and the fate of European Jewry it was once when I was going up the Jericho road and the refugees were going down it. I identified directly with them. When I saw parents dragging children along by the hand, I actually almost saw myself being dragged along by my own father. This was perhaps one of the immediate experiences that brought an association with the war years. It wasn't so noticeable in times of action, but just at those moments when we felt the suffering of others, of the Arabs. against whom we fought. This was perhaps the tragic thing, that the identification had to be with the other side, with our enemies.

Yariv: I have a feeling of tragedy in enormous dimensions: that was my experience both intellectually and emotionally: and it includes the confrontation with war and the consciousness of the fate of the Jews - the interminable wars, the feeling that we weren't fighting for territory but for our lives.

It's true that people believed that we would be exterminated if we lost the war. They were afraid. We got this idea - or inherited it - from the concentration camps. It's a concrete idea for anyone who has grown up in Israel, even if he personally didn't experience Hitler's persecution, but only heard or read about it. Genocide - it's a feasible notion. There are the means to do it. This is the lesson of the gas chambers.

Abba: Did you really have the feeling that extermination could happen here?

Yariv: Yes. Without a doubt.

Amram: An Arab from the Old City came to visit us in Giv'at Haim. He asked each of us, 'Do you believe that we, the Arabs, would have slaughtered you if we'd won?' When he talked to my little daughter, and asked me, 'Do you believe that I would be capable of killing a child like this?; it was a very disturbing moral question for me too. I answered, 'Perhaps I can't believe that you personally would have done it.' But my daughter gave a much better answer. She said, 'I'm afraid of bad Arabs.' He asked 'What bad Arabs?' 'Bad Arabs are the ones who come to fight us.' 'And how do you know who is fighting you?' 'The ones with guns. The good Arabs are different.'

I agree with the distinction my daughter made. But I'm convinced that we all believed, or feared, that a large proportion of the Arab masses were capable of behaving as they did, for instance, in the Etzion bloc.

Yishai: I behaved in the war as though I belonged to a normal people. In my conscious mind there was no idea of extermination. The question didn't bother me at all. I was educated and reared as a normal Jew, who lives on his own soil, who was born here. I hadn't a shadow of doubt about a victory. I feel that I belong to a nation healthy in spirit and body, a nation that can't lose because it's better than its enemies. And not because it fought for certain values or for a heritage handed down through the generations. From the first moment I was convinced we'd win. I disagree with Yariv's and Amram's approach.

On the other hand, the war gave me an outstanding lesson in what's called Jewish consciousness. And this through two experiences I had.

The first experience was Jerusalem. In my unit we heard the news on a transistor radio. When we heard of the conquest of Jerusalem there wasn't a single one who didn't weep, including me. Then for the first time, I felt not the 'Israeliness' but the Jewishness of the nation.

The second experience was when we had to evacuate the inhabitants of a village. We didn't only feel it with our senses and our emotions. I remember discussing it. It wasn't a matter of identifying with them, as Menachem did with the refugees. Whatever the reasons, however justified the evacuation was on rational grounds, when you come to carry out an order like that you have a very uncomfortable feeling. The Arabs said to me, not once, but two or three times, or more: 'Leave us to die here.' And it's very hard, simply on the human level.

I don't want to say a lot about it, but for me these two experiences reflected a high level of Jewish consciousness.

On both of these occasions, I felt - I thought then, and still think today - that there were two forces at work within me, pulling in different directions perhaps; and perhaps they'll eventually come to some sort of resolution.

The birth and growth of Gush Emunim

By Rabbi Ed Snitkoff

Gush Emunim was founded in 1974 under the slogan "The Land of Israel, for the people of Israel, according to the Torah of Israel." Its founders perceived the <u>state of Israel</u> as the instrument through which God was bringing redemption, making it imperative upon the people and the state to take practical steps to ensure Jewish sovereignty over all parts of the Land as it was defined in the Bible.

The Roots of Gush Emunim

The roots of the Gush Emunim philosophy are found in the writings of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and the later interpretations of his son, Rabbi Tzvi Yehudah Kook.

The elder Rabbi Kook believed that the Jewish people and the Land of Israel were mystically bonded by the spirit of God. The Zionist movement, even at its most secular, was a divine instrument in bringing the redemption, which is close at hand. He interpreted Zionism according to the kabbalistic notion of "practical messianism," which links divine redemption to the actions of human beings. According to Rabbi Kook, the return to Zion and the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Israel will lead to redemption and the Messianic Era.

Rabbi Tzvi Yehudah Kook took over as head of the Merkaz Harav Yeshiva upon his father's death in 1935. He spent the next 50 years teaching, expanding, interpreting, and publishing his father's practical-messianic ideas. Eventually, the elder Rabbi Kook's belief that settling and building the Land of Israel would bring the Messiah would be interpreted by his son to apply especially to lands captured in the 1967 Six Day War.

While both father and son were highly respected in the national religious community, many leaders of this camp distanced themselves from their messianic teachings. Some moderate religious Zionists felt that the younger Kook was misinterpreting the teachings of his father according to his own, more radical theological and political beliefs.

Between 1948 and 1967, the national religious camp became an important part of the political landscape in Israel, bringing a moderate interpretation of Judaism that fully integrated itself into Israeli society. This political moderation was massively transformed by the Six Day War.

The Six Day War

Three weeks before the Six Day War, Rabbi Tzvi Yehudah Kook gave a speech that set the agenda for the future of the young generation of the national religious camp:

"...Nineteen years ago, on the night when news of the United Nations decision in favor of the re-establishment of the state of Israel reached us, when the people streamed into the streets to celebrate and rejoice, I could not go out and join in the jubilation. I sat alone and silent; a burden lay upon me. During those first hours I could not resign myself to what had been done. I could not accept the fact that indeed 'they have...divided My land' (Joel 4:2)! Yes [and now after 19 years] where is our Hebron--have we forgotten her?! Where is our Shehem, our Jericho--where?! Have we forgotten them?!

"And all that lies beyond the Jordan--each and every clod of earth, every region, hill, valley, every plot of land, that is part of *Eretz Israel* [the Land of Israel]--have we the right to give up even one grain of the Land of God?! On that night, nineteen years ago, during those hours, as I sat trembling in every limb of my body, wounded, cut, torn to pieces --I could not then rejoice."

These words would resound prophetically following the Six Day War in June 1967, which resulted in Israel's takeover of all of Jerusalem, Shehem (called Nablus by the Palestinians), Jericho, and Hebron. Rabbi Tzvi Yehudah Kook and his followers were confident that the victory was another sign from God that the redemptive process was fully underway.

As it became clear that the Israeli-Arab impasse would remain, the Israeli government began to plan and establish strategic settlements in areas occupied in 1967. These settlements were built to widen and defend the pre-1967 border (known as the Green Line), usually avoiding areas of concentrated Arab populations. At the same time, the messianic overtones of this period led many within the national religious world to dream of settling all of <u>Judea</u> and <u>Samaria</u>, the biblical heartland.

The Founding of Gush Emunim

The national trauma following the 1973 Yom Kippur War equaled the ecstasy that followed the Six Day War. At this time, the members of the young religious faction left their burned out tanks and bunkers with renewed determination that the secular, strategic settlement plan was not to be depended on any longer. This crisis led to a meeting in Kibbutz Kfar Etzion in 1974, the outcome of which was the founding of Gush Emunim.

Gush Emunim's platform defined the movement's mission in the following way: "To bring about a major spiritual reawakening in the Jewish people for the sake of the full realization of the Zionist vision, in the knowledge that this vision's source and goal in the Jewish heritage and in Judaism's roots are the total redemption of both the Jewish people and the whole world."

According to Harold Fisch, an ideologue of Gush Emunim and a professor at Bar IIan University, the Jewish people's divine imperative to settle every inch of the Land was a value above all others. In his 1978 book, *The Zionist Revolution*, he interpreted Zionism according to the Gush Emunim worldview, stating that the <u>covenant</u> between the Jews and God behooved the Jewish people to act in the interests of the Land of Israel and exercise their right to settle and control it.

To Fisch, the Arab opposition was "suicidal," and the Jewish people must not compromise with them in any way. The Jews' role as the vanguard of the redemption

means that they will never be a normal nation among the nations, and they must operate in a different dimension, fulfilling their God-given destiny.

But Gush Emunim was by no means monolithic, and there were many clashes within the movement. Moderates wanted to concentrate on settling the land while downplaying the messianic undertones; militants emphasized the redemptive aspects of the settlements and were interested in rebuilding the Temple, displacing the Arabs, and re-establishing the biblical kingdom. In addition, about 20 percent of Gush Emunim supporters were secular, attracted to the movement by its idealism and nationalism, rather than by its messianic aspects.

The Success of Gush Emunim

In light of its view that settling the Land of Israel will hasten the redemptive process, Gush Emunim established settlements throughout the territories captured in 1967, especially in Judea and Samaria. The belief that Jews have a God-given right to settle every part of the Land of Israel--and that no government, foreign or Israeli, has the right to prevent this--became a central pillar in the tactics and planning of the movement.

After the conservative Likud party won control of the Israeli government in 1977, Gush Emunim found a sympathetic partner in Prime Minister Menachem Begin and other hawkish leaders, who supported Gush Emunim's efforts to populate large areas of Judea and Samaria in order to thwart the possibility of an eventual "Land for Peace" agreement with the Palestinians.

Gush Emunim members also succeeded in bringing the practical-messianic message to center stage, as Gush Emunim's philosophy became widely accepted within the religious community. Many students of Merkaz Harav and similar *yeshivot* became teachers in the state religious school system, allowing them to disseminate "practical-messianic" notions on a large scale. Additionally, the personal commitment of Gush Emunim members inspired the young generation, many of whom joined the ranks of the settlers.

Gush Emunim saw itself as taking the baton of pioneering Zionism and running to complete the Zionist vision, bringing the redemptive process to a zenith. The Gush Emunim outlook became normative in most national religious circles, although many moderate Orthodox rabbis, educators, and leaders were vocal in their opposition to the movement.

Ideological or Settlement Movement?

Following the death of Tzvi Yehudah Kook in 1983, conflicts among Gush Emunim leaders intensified.

Rabbi Moshe Levinger, for example, felt the movement's leaders were too involved in politics and settlement building, leading to the loss of ideology and direction. He told the *Ha'aretz* newspaper: "Over the years, we continually talked about the value of Jewish settlements...We never mention the Jewish people's spiritual mission in the world, our duty to be a 'kingdom of priests and a holy nation,' nor do we explain that, just as that

mission could never have been carried out in Uganda, it can never be carried out in only part of the Land of Israel."

A major crisis occurred in 1984, when police uncovered a Jewish underground whose members--many of them linked to Gush Emunim--planned attacks on local Arabs and aimed to destroy major Muslim landmarks, such as the Al Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem. Their arrests opened a major debate over the nature of the movement and its relationship to the rule of law.

These debates were soon moot, as the post-Kook Gush Emunim movement became overshadowed by the products of its success. The Amana organization, created by Gush Emunim to establish settlements in all areas of the Land of Israel, and the Yesha Council, the Council of Jewish Settlements of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, took over the pragmatic settlement and political work, leading to a gradual demise of Gush Emunim through the 1980s.

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TEL AVIV

THEME: THE FOUNDING AND BUILDING OF TEL AVIV

A group of Jewish residents, eager to escape the unsanitary conditions of the old Arab city, formed a society with the purpose of building a small garden suburb. Here they would be able to live comfortably and bring up their children in a more favorable environment. In 1909, with the help of the Jewish National Fund, they acquired an empty stretch of sand dune, about two miles northeast of Jaffa.

Rivka Alper recounts the story of the Suchovolsky family, one of the original founders of Ahuzat Bayit ("Homeowners") which later became Tel Aviv ("Hill of Spring" — see Ezekiel 3:15).

On Saturday, we would go out to survey the tract of land which stretched out before us with its golden sands while silence and emptiness were all about. We ourselves stood bewildered. How would a settlement arise on these shifting sands; how would houses be built and streets be drawn? And, indeed, there were skeptics who prophesied: "When hair grows on the palm of my hand a suburb will arise on these sands. And even if you build houses here, the shifting sands carried from the seashore will soon cover them. You will always have to dig yourself out and protect yourself against the moving sands."

Once, they happened to meet Hayutman at the site. He stopped and pointed with his cane: "Here there will be a public park, here a theatre and there a town hall." They considered him a dreamer — a visionary.

The first drawing of lots took place on the 20th of Nisan 5769 [1909]. All the members gathered on the piece of land — an expanse as far as the eye could see, with its crests and dips like a stormy sea. Will a settlement truly arise here?

Fearfully, I drew the lot. Grant that we be blessed with a fitting piece of land and with good neighbors! This is a bond of fate,

almost like marriage, as it is written in Proverbs 27:10: "A good neighbor is better than a distant brother." We prayed in out hearts that fate be good to us.

Afterwards, each family went out to inspect the piece of lan which had fallen to them [by lots]. Four stakes marked out it boundaries. We surveyed it with amazement and great emotior Here we will begin a new independent life. Here we will erect dwelling according to our own liking.

When the construction finally began, the virgin appearance of the area was disrupted and confusion replaced it. Sand was bein transported in wheelbarrows, over wooden planks which has been laid in order to straighten out the hills. The work was don by Jewish laborers, pioneers who had recently arrived and who were known as "the Sand Levelers Corps" or "the Wheelbarrou Gang." ... Later, scaffolds were raised and with that came the commotion and confusion of construction work.

The laborers worked barefoot, probably in order to feel the so of the land underfoot but also, perhaps, for lack of shoes (hence these pioneers were known as "the Barefoot Gang"). They wore broad-brimmed straw hats and would sing all day: "We cam to the land to build and to be rebuilt in it." This song was like a prayer. People would come from Jaffa to watch them. I was said that among them were students who, like the Bill before them, had forsaken all comforts of home and had come to build the land with their bodies. They became the main topic conversation in every house.

How many discussions and dreams went into the building c the suburb. They did not want to build it like Neve-Shalon where the Jewish settlement was mixed with the Arab. Nor like Neve-Zedek, hemmed in on all sides and resembling a shtetl in the old country. Rather, they desired it to be a neighborhood of gardens, to which a person could come to relax after a day's toil. The house would occupy only a quarter of the plot, which has to be not less than a thousand square cubits. The rest would be landscaped with shade trees and flower bushes. Vegetable gardens would also be planted and every house would be enclosed in greenery. The water tower would be located in the area, and pipes and faucets would be in every house and every yard. Road and sidewalks would be paved, boulevards would be laid out and lights would illuminate the streets. It was decided that the

house would have a rustic appearance and that stores would be permitted only on the outskirts. The first five streets were marked out and given names — Herzl, Yehuda Halevi, Rothschild Boulevard, Lilienblum and Ahad Ha'am.

fitting and marvelous way.... been "preempted" by the Gymnasia and by other institutions in Jaffa and in Haifa. Thus the original intention was satisfied in a the name of the great dreamer [Herzl], but his name had already it had been the original intention to associate the settlement with was adopted as a good omen and it satisfied all the factions since which Nahum Sokolow had translated as Tel Aviv. This name of the Jewish State himself - Herzl, in his book Altneuland a name had already been chosen for this place by the herald supported by arguments and reason, until Sheinkin revealed that Neve Jaffa, Ivriah, Aviva, Yefefiah [beauty] and every name was were devoted to this issue. Proposed were Herzliah, New Jaffa, like a banner, like a good tiding. Many meetings and discussions area sought a more suitable name, one which would wave over it fitting and left something to be desired. The inhabitants of the and develop rapidly, the name "Ahuzat Bayit" no longer seemed time.... When the suburb became a reality and began to grow of House-Builders." After a short time the name was changed to "Ahuzat Bayit" (homeowners). The name remained for some When the suburb was first begun, it was called "The Society

Slowly, slowly the neighborhood improved. An all-night light was installed, a hax that hung in the center and later on every street corner (something that was never known in Jaffa's streets). When the hax was first lit there was no end to our joy. We tarried outside to look at the gay light. When it was lit it cast a circle of light below and the children, like moths around a lamp, were attracted to play in the circle and it was impossible to drag appointed to supervise sanitation.... And then, the diligence began service between Jaffa and Ahuzat Bayit, at first only twice a day, and later every two hours. Distance was no longer a problem in traveling to Jaffa. Slowly, sidewalks were paved. Things were done little by little since the communal treasury, collected chiefly from the taxpayers, was small. We were impatient to organize things; nevertheless, we made progress, step by step....

Our life was a life of brotherhood. If there was an occasion for rejoicing in any home everybody would come, near and far. And what freshness inspired the inhabitants of the new suburb! All of them were excited by the desire for order and building, like the bird which builds its nest with fervor. When we came to visit someone, we would first examine the new arrangements in the house and learn about the improvements. This was our constant topic of conversation; so and so did this in his house or garden and so and so did something else.

of his many patients, mounted on his donkey, always joking and spreading cheer among people. They said: "The sight of since Dizengoff ... had dealings with high officials and tourists porch, facing the front, was always humming with many guests and his amiable wife, who taught French at the Girls' School with his frank, hearty face, galloping on his horse like a knight, evening, the strains of the piano and violin were borne from and interest because of its gifted sons and daughters. Towards community at that time. ... It was a select group; not everyone was accepted into the parasol in her hand whenever she left the house. Their wide always dressed elegantly, her hair set splendidly and a white She was a beautiful woman, the prettiest in the neighborhood, for teachers, for the young people of the neighborhood. Dizengoff, their open windows. Dr. [Chaim] Chissin, spectacled, a pipe in beautiful, gentle daughters and his house was a gathering place him is enough to cure one in body and spirit." Chissin had his mouth and a parasol in his hand, would make the rounds house of Jacob Shertok. This home always aroused curiosity Every house was colored by something from abroad.... Take the Every house in the neighborhood had a character of its own

From "Korot Mishpaha Ahat", Ruth Alper

Bar Ilan University

Bar-Ilan University was established in 1955. The name was chosen in honor of Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan (Berlin), a spiritual leader who led traditional <u>Judaism</u> from the ashes of Europe to rebirth and renaissance in the Land of Israel. Its mission is to blend Jewish tradition with modern technologies and scholarship. Bar-Ilan endeavors to teach the compelling ethics of Jewish heritage to all its students while providing them with a first-rate academic education, and to bridge the gap between religious and secular Israelis. The first president was its founder, Pinkhos Churgin (1955-57). The campus is located east of Ramat Gan, outside of <u>Tel Aviv</u>.

Bar-Ilan University, Israel's largest academic community of students, scientists and staff (32,000 in total), seeks to produce students of moral and intellectual aptitude; students who adopt the highest standards of excellence in scientific and academic research; and students who bear a deep commitment to Jewish community.

The unique Bar-Ilan formula: blend tradition with modern technologies and scholarship, and teach the compelling ethics of Jewish heritage to all. The university's leading resources of Jewish knowledge create a special responsibility: to place the expertise of its researchers at the disposal of the global Jewish and academic communities. Indeed, Bar-Ilan U. stands at the vanguard of efforts to revitalize Jewish learning for the twenty-first century and to rebuild Jewish identity.

Bar-Ilan University: a peerless congregation of scientists and Jewish studies scholars toiling to synthesize the ancient and the modern, the sacred and the material, the spiritual and the scientific.

The degrees offered by Bar-Ilan University include: B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., M.A., M.Sc., LL.M., M.S.W., M.B.A. and Ph.D in <u>five faculties and 38 academic departments</u>.

The university also offers diploma studies in Journalism and Communications, Librarianship, Hotel Management and Tourism, Optometry, Local Government, Music Therapy, Teaching, Translation and Interpreting, and more.

Bar-Ilan University also operates specialized study programs for:

- students with advanced religious and 'yeshiva' backgrounds (the <u>Institute for Advanced Torah Studies for men and Midrasha for Women)</u>;
- new immigrants (the 'Mechina' program);
- Study Programs for Students from Overseas:
 - International MBA
 - o One Year, Junior Year, and other study programs
- the <u>elderly</u> (the Brookdale Program in Applied Gerontology);
- soldiers and officers of the <u>Israel Defense Forces</u>, and members of the defense community
- extensive <u>non-degree diploma study programs</u> for professionals seeking to upgrade their skills (including the <u>Center for Management Studies</u>, the <u>Center for Commercial Law</u>, and <u>the School of Education's Professional Development Unit for Teachers</u>).

At some of the university's five <u>regional colleges</u> (in Acre, Safed, Tzemah, Ariel, Ashkelon) a multi-disciplinary bachelors degree is offered, as well as a series of specialized professional degrees.

Advanced students (masters, doctorate and post-doctorate) have the opportunity to study and conduct research through the university's over 120 research centers and dedicated-subject academic chairs.

Founded 1955

Keeping pace with the Jewish state, Bar-Ilan University took root despite the adversity of the 50s, flourished after the Six Day War, became seasoned and established in the 70s and 80s, burgeoned with the mass immigration of the early 90s, and became Israel's fastest-growing and largest university at the turn of millenium.

1948. The modern State of Israel is established.

One man has a dream.... "to create an institution of higher learning in the newly-established Jewish republic in which Jewish learning and the Torah of Israel would be studied together with all the latest findings in the fields of human research".

"A university demonstrating that", wrote Bar-Ilan's architect and founder Prof. Pinkhos Churgin, "Judaism is not a cloistered way of life, removed from scientific investigation and worldly knowledge.... A college of excellence that will strive to implant within the heart of each student an unswerving faith in the unity of our people with all of its diversity, in all of its divisions and parts".

Prof. Churgin, an American rabbi and educator, nourished the dream and pursued it relentlessly. A graduate of the famed Volozhin Yeshiva, scholar of Semitics, and professor of Jewish history and literature at Yeshiva University, Churgin gathered around him an elite group of American orthodox academics and leaders who shared his vision.

Central figures in this group were Rabbi Dr. Joseph H. Lookstein (later Bar-Ilan Chancellor), Rabbi Zemach Zambrowsky, Rabbi M. Kirshblum, Prof. Saul Lieberman and <u>Rabbi Prof.</u>

<u>Emanuel Rackman</u> (later to become Bar-Ilan president), along with philanthropists Philip, Max and Frieda Stollman of Detroit.

1950. Getting Started.

Meeting in Atlantic City, the leadership of Mizrachi Religious Zionists of America enthusiastically endorsed Churgin's vision and adopted the project. An Israeli founders committee was established, involving national religious leaders Moshe Haim Shapira, Dr.



Joseph Burg, Dr. Zerach Warhaftig, David Pinkas, Herman Hollander, M. D. Magid, Y. Karib, Rabbi Zev Gold and others.

The name Bar-Ilan was chosen, in honor of <u>Rabbi Meir Bar- Ilan (Berlin)</u>, a spiritual leader who led traditional Judaism from the ashes of Europe to rebirth and renaissance in the Land of Israel.

1951. Churgin meets the Israeli Prime Minister David Ben- Gurion to inform him of the decision, and sets-out to raise funds among the Jewish communities in Canada and the US. At first, the Prime Minster was unenthusiastic about Bar-Ilan. "As long as it doesn't cost the government any money", he told Prof. Churgin. But he rapidly warmed to the institution, later charging Bar-Ilan with guldance of the National Bible Quiz, a project Ben-Gurion initiated and nurtured.

1952. The Government and the Jewish National Fund allocate land in Ramat Gan for construction of a campus; **1953.** The university cornerstone is laid.

1955. Opening ceremonies are held followed by the beginning of classes (with 56 students). On May 10, 1955 *The New York Times* headlined the establishment of the university with a front page story:

"New Israeli University to Open in Fall Stressing Judaism Study. Bar-Ilan, Sponsored by Mizrachi Group, Regarded as Cultural Link Between the Republic and America".

US President Eisenhower and leaders the world over sent messages of congratulations upon the university's founding.

Yet many Israeli editorialists and politicians, antagonistic to Bar-Ilan's traditional orientation and skeptical of its ability to excel, remained aloof. On the other side of the spectrum, ultra-orthodox elements fired missives at the young religious university, rejecting Bar-Ilan's synthesis of religion and modernity.

Prof. Churgin's response to all this was that "if we're being criticized from both the right and left, clearly we are doing something right..." Bar-Ilan, he felt, would breathe new life and a fresh Judaic perspective into the study of sciences and humanities in the 20th century; and at the same time, the university would augment and revolutionize the traditional study of Torah in the yeshiva world.

1956. In April, Bar-Ilan's first eight buildings are dedicated by President Churgin with the participation of Israeli President Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi. "Bar-Ilan serves as a bridge between Israel and the Diaspora", Churgin said at the dedication. Indeed, more than half the students in Bar-Ilan's first class came from the US and Canada.

But Bar-Ilan 'turned Israeli' fast, and from the start placed community involvement high on its agenda. First-year students and teachers spent their vacation in the swamps of the Beit Shean Valley and in guard posts along the Jordan, in Jewish refugee camps and among new groups of immigrants, and in the nearby Tel Hashomer Hospital during the 1956 Suez campaign.

1957. Tragically, Prof. Churgin died shortly after the university's third-year opening ceremony. In his last address, he sketched an outline for the future: establishment of a center for research into Jewish law, a holocaust studies center, new physics laboratories, a central library and regional colleges in the Galilee and Negev. Today, Churgin's vision in entirety—and beyond—has become reality. Rabbi Dr. Joseph H. Lookstein succeeded Churgin at the university's helm.

1958. Hebrew Author and Nobel laureate S. Y. Agnon received the university's first Honorary Award.

The 1960's

1961. Minister of Education Abba Eban and the Israel Council for Higher Education grant recognition to Bar-Ilan. Prof. Baruch Kurtzweil, a scholar of literature, determinedly lead Bar-Ilan's struggle for academic accreditation.

1966. Bar-Ilan grows to 2,000 students and 360 faculty. Bar- Ilan becomes the first Israeli university to be granted a charter of academic recognition by American authorities (New York State).

1967. Large-scale *aliyah* after the Six Day War brought waves of new immigrants to Bar-Ilan, swelling the student body to over 5,000. Prof. Moshe Jammer, an internationally acclaimed philosopher of science, became Rector and acting President. Academic advancement in the university's second and third decades established Bar-Ilan as the third largest academic institution in Israel.

The 1970's.

The <u>Wurzweiler Central Library</u> was dedicated with over 500,000 books, many of them rare and priceless editions. In 1971, the Yaakov Herzog <u>Faculty of Law</u> was opened, which quickly became one of the most desired legal programs in the country.

In 1972, the biology department took possession of an electron microscope, the most sophisticated of its kind in Israel at that time. The <u>Department of Social Work</u> became a close partner with the Ministry of Defense in developing special programs for bereaved families. <u>Bar-Ilan University Press</u>, specializing in humanities, social sciences and Judaic studies publishing, was founded in 1977.

Torah Studies: Two institutions established in the late 1970s impacted significantly on the character of the university in the past two decades -- The Institute of Advanced Torah Studies and its counterpart, the Midrasha for Women. What began as a small and exclusive university framework for an elite group of yeshiva students has become an enormously popular program attracting close to one-tenth of all Bar-Ilan students. Institute and Midrasha students have been central in creating a traditional and tolerant atmosphere that pervades all aspects of campus life.

Basic Jewish Heritage Studies, required of all students, were expanded in the early 1990s, as well. Bar-Ilan University Chancellor Rabbi Rackman argues that these studies have played an important role in bridging the gap between religious and secular in Israel. "We have never attempted to create baali teshuva. Rather, Bar-Ilan has sought to develop educated alumni who will not be foreign to their heritage. At the very least, Bar-Ilan alumni are able to appreciate the wisdom of Jewish civilization".

"I believe our physicists are better physicists because they bring to their studies a spiritual perspective and the teachings of our people throughout the ages", says Bar-Ilan University President Prof. Moshe Kaveh (president since 1996 until today). "This is true in many other fields such as law and psychology".

"And the next generation", says former President Prof. Shlomo Eckstein (1992-1995), "will see increasing integration of Jewish tradition with research in scientific fields at Bar-Ilan. We will develop interdisciplinary research projects in medicine, communications and business". It is no wonder, then, that others today seek to learn and copy the Bar-Ilan model. Recognition of Bar-Ilan's success in marrying tradition with open intellectual horizons has been expressed in the most surprising corners. Former Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan once remarked that he wished to study the Bar-Ilan model "in order to explore how religion and science are successfully combined without being fundamentalist".

The 1980's.

The <u>Faculty of Jewish Studies</u> grew to over 300 scholars, the largest academic concentration of such scholars in the world. Together with Bar-Ilan computer specialists, they developed the <u>Responsa Project</u>, which computerized on CD-ROM 2000 years of Jewish biblical and talmudic literature, including over 300 volumes of halachic Responsa.

Bar-Ilan University <u>archaeologists</u> assumed responsibility for excavations in Shilo and the Old City of Jerusalem. The <u>School of Education</u> mushroomed to become a central institution within the educational system.

All this growth was overseen by Presidents Prof. Emanuel Rackman (77-85), Prof. Michael Albeck (85-89) and Prof. Zvi Arad (acting president 89-92), along with Global Board chairmen Philip Stollman (1957-84), and Ludwig Jesselson (1985-1992).

Pillars of Bar-Ilan, leaders for over two generations, were Dr. Zerach Warhaftig MK, Israeli Minister of Religion for over two decades, who served until 1999 as chairman of Bar- Ilan's Executive Council. Rabbi Prof. Emanuel Rackman, too, was Bar-Ilan President for nine years, then Chancellor, and today is Chancellor Emeritus. Both men have had a defining impact on the character of the institution.

As Bar-Ilan matured, its role within Israeli society evolved and ripened. The university and student body initiated many social and community outreach projects, including a prisoner



rehabilitation effort, a big-brother program, <u>legal aid</u>, study programs for senior citizens, educational counseling and a network of social counselors in development towns. By the late 1980's the small, experimental college established by Prof. Churgin had grown to a full-fledged university of international repute, with 12,500 students in 35 academic departments. 300 intensive research projects were underway in the natural sciences alone, and Bar-Ilan could credit important advances in cancer research, male fertility, pharmaceutical chemistry and more.

The 1990's.

The wave of Russian immigration in the early 1990's brought about a 90 percent rise in the student population and the Bar-Ilan expanded to meet the demand. A school of economic and business administration was opened. Regional colleges were opened in Ashkelon, Ariel, Acre, Safed and Tzemah. Study courses were opened at army bases around the country. Graduate studies were expanded, and inter-disciplinary centers of excellence were established. University Presidents Prof. Shlomo Eckstein (1992-1995) and Prof. Moshe Kaveh (1996-present), and Executive Council Chairman Prof. Yaakov Neeman (1999-today) led the university through this period of astounding and rapid growth, leading to the definition of the university master plan to double in size by building some \$200 million of new facilities on a campus extension north of the main campus in Ramat Gan.

Between 1995 and 2000, university fundraising doubled. \$47 million was invested in new building construction – an expansion necessitated by the growth in the student body and the ever-increasing volume of scientific activity, especially graduate teaching and research, underway at Bar- Ilan U.

In the late 1990's the university also began to play an ever- growing role in promoting Jewish identity and Jewish education, in Israel and in the Diaspora. In 1996, <u>Prof. Kaveh</u> established the <u>International Center for Jewish Identity</u>, along with more than three dozen educational centers at Bar-Ilan University with the purpose of reaching out to the Jewish world at-large, beyond the confines of academia. Through significant fundraising efforts, an operating budget of \$3 million a year was created to support educational programming and research in this important field.

Among the major programs initiated were a Jewish university on the Internet, <u>curriculum</u> development and professional training for Jewish studies principals and teachers worldwide, religious-secular dialogue seminars, and intervention programs that teach Judaism and democracy as complementary value systems and that promote tolerance.

Also established were intellectual centers that promote a renewed Zionist agenda, research programs that seek to study and suggest anti-dotes to assimilation, and even a center to research "secular" Jewish civilization and its contribution to an enriched Jewish life.



Beyond 2000

By the turn of the millenium, ten central buildings on the "new" campus grounds were in advanced stages of planning or construction, including facilities for brain research, music, psychology, Jewish philosophy and ethics, law, language studies, humanities, engineering, and interdisciplinary graduate studies.

The university's master plan for 2001-2006 calls for \$105 million of new construction, including new laboratories, dormitories, libraries, classrooms, concert halls, cafeterias, athletic facilities, hi-technology incubators, parklands and exhibition space. This makes Bar-Ilan University's "new campus" the largest-ever educational construction venture in the history of the State of Israel.

Also in 2001, <u>Prof. Moshe Kaveh</u> was re-elected for a third term as university president, to oversee the continued rapid growth.

At the same time, Bar-Ilan University's graduate student population grew by a phenomenal 48 percent. This was made possible by a sensational 420 percent increase growth in scholarship funds designated to support graduate study and research. The university plans to double the number of our Ph.D. students yet again, from 750 doctoral candidates at present, to 1,500 by 2005.

In 2001, the university opened a <u>School of Engineering</u> concentrating in computer and electrical engineering, with sub-specialties in signals processing, micro-electronics and electro-optics.

None of this growth would have been possible without the stalwart and generous support of Bar-Ilan University Friends worldwide. Global Board Chairmen Aharon Meir (1992-1994), Morris Green (1994-1997), Selig Wengrowsky (1997-1999) and Aharon Dahan (1999-today) were full partners to this expansion effort, along with the American Friends of Bar- Ilan University and other friends organizations around the world.

By the end of the century, the small college established by Prof. Churgin had grown to a full-fledged university of international repute, with close to 30,000 students in 40 academic departments and over 100 study tracks, scientific cooperation agreements with over 50 leading universities around the world, and 54,000 alumni. Bar-Ilan U. could credit important advances in cancer research, male fertility, pharmaceutical chemistry, research into Jewish law, and more.

Fast Facts on Bar-Ilan University

Israel's Fastest-Growing University

- 5 regional colleges across Israel: Acre, Safed, Tzemah, Ariel, Ashkelon
- 6 faculties: <u>exact</u>, <u>life</u> and <u>social sciences</u>, <u>humanities</u>, <u>Jewish studies</u> and law
- 14 Friends of Bar-Ilan University offices around the world
- 22 <u>libraries</u> with over 1,000,000 books
- 38 <u>academic departments</u>
- 54 research and study accords with global universities
- 63 buildings
- 64 endowed chairs
- 66 research centers
- 90 percent growth in students over the last 9 years
- 100 degree tracks
- 130 laboratories
- 540 dunam (close to 140 acres) main campus area
- 135 million dollar (US) budget
- 170 classrooms
- 274 honorary doctoral degrees granted
- 1,650 academic faculty
- 6,100 courses
- 31,200 students
- 59,000 alumni around the world
- 1,250 doctoral candidates

Bar-Ilan: The Jewish University for the Modern Jewish Future

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

General Information

Students

More than 24,000 students are enrolled at the University, including 12,000 undergraduates, 7600 master's degree students, 2,600 doctoral candidates, and 800 at the Rothberg School for Overseas Students, and in certification and other programs.

The University community

1,200 tenured academic faculty, 1,500 full-time administrative and technical staff.

Campuses

Mount Scopus, Edmond J. Safra (Givat Ram) and Ein Kerem (in Jerusalem), and Rehovot.

Faculties

Faculty of Humanities, Faculty of Social Sciences, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Science, Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Dental Medicine, and Faculty of Agricultural, Food and the Environmental Quality Sciences.

Schools

Jerusalem School of Business Administration, Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Dental Medicine Founded by the Alpha Omega Fraternity, School of Education, School of Engineering and Computer Science, Rothberg International School, School of Library, Archive and Information Studies, Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School, Henrietta Szold-Hadassah-Hebrew University School of Nursing, School of Nutritional Sciences, Hadassah-Hebrew University School of Occupational Therapy, School of Pharmacy, Braun Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Public Health and Community Medicine, School of Public Policy, Paul S. Baerwald School of Social Work, and Koret School of Veterinary Medicine.

Degrees

The University grants bachelors, masters and doctoral degrees. To date, the University has conferred over 120,000 academic degrees.

Libraries

The Jewish National and University Library is the central library of the University as well as serving as the national library of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. Its collections of Hebraica and Judaica are the largest in the world. As the central and largest library of the Hebrew University, it is also the oldest section of the university. Founded in 1892 as a world center for the preservation of books relating to Jewish thought and culture, it assumed the additional functions of a

general university library in 1920.

In addition to the JNUL, there are eleven subject-related libraries located on the various campuses:

Avraham Harman Science Library, Givat Ram
Mathematics and Computer Science Library, Givat Ram
Earth Sciences Library, Givat Ram
Library for Humanities and Social Sciences, Mt. Scopus
Bernard G. Segal Law Library Center, Mt. Scopus
Library of Archaeology, Mt. Scopus
Moses Leavitt Library of Social Work, Mt. Scopus
Zalman Aranne Central Education Library, Mt. Scopus
Library of the Rothberg International School, Mt. Scopus
Muriel and Philip I. Berman National Medical Library, Ein Kerem
Central Library of Agricultural Science, Rehovot
Roberta and Stanley Bogen Library of The Harry S. Truman Research Institute
for the Advancement of Peace, Mt. Scopus

History

The dream of establishing a "University of the Jewish People" in the Land of Israel formed an integral part of the early Zionist vision. With the acquisition of the Gray Hill estate atop Mount Scopus, and the laying of the cornerstone for the university-to-be in 1918, the realization of the dream was on its way.

Seven years later, on April 1, 1925, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was opened at a festive ceremony attended, among others, by leaders of world Jewry including the University's founding father, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, distinguished academics and communal leaders of the Yishuv, and British dignitaries including Lord Balfour, Viscount Allenby and Sir Herbert Samuel.

The First Board of Governors of the University, chaired by Dr. Weizmann, included such luminaries as Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Martin Buber, Harry Sacher and Felix M. Warburg as well as leading men of letters, religious and academic figures of international renown.

The University's first three research institutes - in microbiology, chemistry and Jewish studies - had 33 faculty members and 141 students. In 1931, the University awarded its first degrees, the Master of Arts, to 13 graduates.

By 1947, the University had grown to a large, well-established research and teaching institution, encompassing humanities, science, medicine, education and agriculture (the last at a campus in Rehovot); the Jewish National and University Library; a University press; and an adult education center. Student enrollment exceeded 1,000 and there were some 200 faculty members.

The War of Independence in 1948 left the University campus cut off from Israeli west Jerusalem, and alternative facilities were found throughout the city. In 1953, construction began on a new main campus at Givat Ram in the heart of Jerusalem. A few years later work began on a health sciences campus in Ein Kerem in southwest Jerusalem, in partnership with the Hadassah Medical Organization. By the beginning of 1967, the number of faculties and schools had been greatly expanded, and enrollment exceeded 12,500.

With the reunification of Jerusalem in the Six-Day War of June 1967, work began on restoring and expanding the Mount Scopus campus. In 1981, the historical Mount Scopus campus again became the main home of the University. The University has since continued to grow, with the addition of new buildings, establishment of new programs, and recruitment of outstanding scholars, researchers and students, in fulfillment of its commitment to excellence.

Research Highlights

HU researchers figure at the forefront of international science - from biotechnology and computer science to astrophysics and cancer research, from microbiology to solar energy and genetic engineering, as well as the humanities, including Jewish studies, social sciences and law.

- , Nearly 40% of all civilian scientific research in Israel is conducted at the Hebrew University.
- About 3,800 research projects are in progress at the University, and 1,500 new projects are started each year.
- The University is home to 100 subject-related and interdisciplinary research centers.
- Thirty percent of all doctoral candidates in Israel are enrolled at the Hebrew University.
- Sixteen percent of all the research conducted at the University finds application in high-tech industry. The University sold \$12 million of expertise to industry in 2001.

The Authority for Research and Development administers research financing, and helps scientists obtain funding. The Authority initiates the establishment of new research centers, and promotes relationships with overseas universities and scientific institutes.

The Yissum Research Development Company - a wholly owned University subsidiary - has registered over 600 patents for University researchers' ideas and inventions.

The University of Haifa

The University of Haifa, the only liberal arts university in northern Israel, sits atop Mount Carmel and serves a student body--the most pluralistic in the country--of almost 13,000 undergraduate and graduate students.

Most students study within the framework of one of six Faculties: <u>Humanities</u>, <u>Social Sciences</u>, <u>Law, Science and Science Education</u>, <u>Social Welfare and Health Studies</u>, and <u>Education</u>. There is also the <u>Graduate School of Business</u>. Finally, good opportunities exist for interdisciplinary studies, especially on the graduate level.

The University's dual mission of first-rate higher education and service to the community at large is manifested in part by providing equal educational opportunities to all sectors of the society. Unique immigrant absorption programs also express this dual commitment. The culturally heterogenous student body adds to the stimulating intellectual atmosphere on campus.

Among community projects initiated by the University are several having as their objective the encouragement of mutual understanding and cooperation between the Jewish and Arab populations on and off campus. The latter is an area in which the University of Haifa has been a pioneer and leader in the cause of peace.

Research at the University is fostered by a variety of centers, institutes, and laboratories, which ponder vital questions of life and society and proffer solutions that are not just academic.

An <u>Overseas Studies Program</u> has a renowned ulpan and integrates students, drawn from around the world, into the University's special campus life.

Site of one of the few IBM research centers located outside the United States, the University of Haifa campus is also home to the only archeological museum-the Hecht Museum-situated on an Israeli campus.

The University's art galleries and murals indoors supplement the view over Haifa Bay, the surrounding Carmel National Park, and north to the mountains of the Galilee to offer an aesthetic learning environment.

The **University of Haifa** was founded in 1963 by the mayor of the city of Haifa Abba Hushi, under the academic auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

In its first year 472 students attended the University. Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences were offered in the following departments: Biblical Studies, Hebrew Literature and Language, Jewish History, General History, French

Literature and Language, English Literature and Language, Arabic Literature and Language, Geography, Sociology, and Political Science. The academic staff included 180 teachers, 50 out of them were Haifa residents.

In 1967, the Institute awarded a diploma to its first graduates, 75 in number, three quarters of whom intended to be teachers.

The first home of the Institute was in Erdstein House in the Hadar Hacarmel section of Haifa, it quickly became too crowded. The University moved to Merkaz Hakarmel, and was housed in the building that now serves the Fifth Municipal High School. In 1966 the University moved to the top the Carmel mountain, location of its current main campus.

The institution's first building, the "Multi-purpose Building", was erected in 1966. It contained classrooms, halls, laboratories, a library with 110,000 books, and a cafaferia. The well-known Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer planned the campus, to include all the University's facilities in one complex.



Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev was established with the aim to spearhead the development of the Negev, a desert area comprising more than sixty percent of the country. The University was inspired by the vision of Israel's first prime minister David Ben-Gurion, who believed that the future of the country lay in this region.

Today, Ben-Gurion University is a major center for teaching and research, with over 17,000 students enrolled in the faculties of Engineering Sciences, Health Sciences, Natural Sciences, Humanities and Social Sciences, the School of Management and the Kreitman School of Advanced Graduate Studies.

It also includes the National Institute for Biotechnology in the Negev, the Jacob Blaustein Institutes for Desert Research, the Albert Katz International School for Desert Studies and the Ben-Gurion Research Institute. The University has campuses in Beer-Sheva, including the Marcus Family Campus, and campuses in Sede Boger and Eilat.

Ben-Gurion University is a world leader in arid zone research, offering its expertise to many developing countries. In keeping with its mandate, it plays a key role in promoting industry, agriculture and education in the Negev. Its students are known for their community-oriented activities, and thousands of them take part in special tutoring projects.

The University anticipates exciting challenges in innovative fields of research and it hopes to bring new opportunities to Beer-Sheva and the Negev while continuing its pursuit of academic excellence and expanding its contribution to the community.

History

Before a Negev university was even a gleam in anyone's eye, when Beer-Sheva was a dusty frontier town, David Tuviyahu, the city's first mayor, had a philosophy that reached across borders of space and time: There would be peace and people will travel between Cairo, Jerusalem, Amman and Damascus. Their paths would converge in Beer-Sheva, and the city's transportation network had to be ready. He built a bus station that was far bigger than Jerusalem's because he deeply and passionately believed in the regional importance and centrality of Beer-Sheva.

Some 13 years later, in 1962, Tuviyahu joined Prof. David Bergmann and an enthusiastic group of visionaries whose itinerary lay in a different direction; they wished to expand the intellectual boundaries of the Negev by creating a

university in Beer-Sheva. They first met at a luncheon featuring a prosaic menu of pickled herring. Their dreams, hopes and ideas, made it sublime. Their conviction, dedication - and support from friends in high places - helped to make it a reality.

The pregnancy was a long one - seven years, as a matter of fact. Meeting by meeting they shaped the questions: What will we teach, where will we teach, where will the students come from and where will we get faculty members? How will they do research? How do we pay for it?

Little by little they found answers to some questions - when they couldn't, they improvised. They cajoled Israel's academic community and political leadership into supporting their enterprise. While Prof. Zeev Hadari paraphrased David Ben-Gurion's philosophy by proclaiming "If there is no university in the Negev's future, then there is no future for the Negev." David Tuviyahu set up a "Board of Governors" - a support system for the university that was not yet born. It worked. The government approved establishing the Negev Institute for Higher Education.

Academic sponsorship, teachers and administrators came from the Technion, the Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute. The faculty was reinforced by scientists from local industries and the Negev Institute for Arid Zone Research (today BGU's Applied Research Institutes). Classes were held at the Negev Institute, shops, hotel rooms, local schools - wherever lecturers found some space. A former immigrant hostel - Beit HIAS – became a campus.

The relationship with local industry was symbiotic - professionals came in the afternoons to teach students who worked in industrial labs, and helped with research and development. Lecturers from the Technion were flown down, so sometimes classes were canceled on account of weather. Biology lecturers from the Hebrew University would bring microscopes with them for their classes. Nearly everyone came from somewhere else.

Government support and growing enrollment quickened the Institute's development into "The Negev Institute for Higher Education - University of the Negev." It was not yet independent of its sponsors, but no one doubted that one day it would be a full-fledged university. As the anticipated birth-date drew near the town buzzed with excitement.

It was time to entice, entrance and inspire bright, young academics. The focus was on Israelis living abroad and potential immigrants who might want to come to the Negev to create a new University in the desert.

"In 1968 David Tuviyahu came to see me at Northrop Industries, where I was the only geologist on their lunar landing program," says Prof. Immanuel Atzmon "I wanted to return to Israel, and creating the geology department in a new University was an exciting opportunity. I got to Beer-Sheva on a Thursday

afternoon and looked for the University but couldn't find it. Beit HIAS was empty because everyone went home for the weekend. Then I discovered that no provisions had been made at all - no offices, labs, no plans. I was terribly discouraged, and went to see Tuviyahu."

Tuviyahu was a great friend of Pinchas Sapir, the Minister of Finance, who "put aside funds to help us by writing memos," says Israel Ben-Amitai, the University's first Director General. "Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and Sapir were solid supporters of the idea of a Negev University."

Atzmon continues: "Tuviyahu said: 'I need you because I am not an academic, so people don't listen to me. But Sapir put me in charge of the money. How much do you need to start the department and furnish a lab?' I figured it out and told him: 'Twenty-two thousand pounds.' He opened a drawer, signed a paper, and wrote a number on it: This is your budget number, and you have 22,000 pounds. Go to work."

"On November 9, 1969 we were at the Keren Hall, to hear the final report of the Gilis Committee," says Ben Amitai. Because some members felt that an independent Negev university was not feasible, the vote was tied. Yigal Alon, the Minister of Education and acting Prime Minister after Eshkol's death, was the only one who could break the tie. I told the audience that Mr. Alon had an important announcement to make: 'You rascal', he said to me, 'you forced my hand.' Alon went to the podium and announced that the government would establish and support a university in the Negev."

A hall full of surrogate parents congratulated each other, laughed and wept. The University of the Negev was born. They may have been visionaries, but they did not dream that one day it would extend its reach to the edges of the earth and into the realm of the stars.

Nor did they have time for such thoughts, for now it was time to build this child a real home, to clothe it, feed it and to provide for its future.



Technion – Israel Institute of Technology

"Home to Israel's Nobel Scientists"







AFAR VE'AVAK

Yom aviv rechot lilach bein chorvot ha'ir shelcha yom pafeh lidog banahar betochi halev nishbar sham haytah ve'einah yaldutcha isha k'tanah. anashim she'ish lo makir ein afilu bayit sheyazkir.

Ve'im at nosa'at le'an at nosa'at hanetzach hu rak afar ve'avak le'an at nosa'at le'an at nosa'at shanim veklum od lo nimchak.

K'chi me'il yihyeh lach kar kesef kis, g'vish sukar im yihyeh kashim hayamim hizkeri bi lif'amim ve'im zeh od mas'a no'esh el hatz'rif, el hamigrash b'msilat ha'ir hayeshanah ish lo yechakeh batachanah.

Vei'm at nosa'at...

Mi yamtik leilotaich mi yakshiv lev'chi'ech mi yishmor tze'adaich bedarkech.

K'chi me'il yihyeh lach kar.

ASHES AND DUST

A spring day the smell of lilac
Between the ruins of your city
A beautiful day to fish in the river
Inside me my heart is broken
There it was and it wasn't
Your child is a small woman
People that no-one knows
There isn't even a house that you'll remember

And if you're going, where are you going Forever is just ashes and dust Where are you going, where are you going Years and nothing is erased...

Take a coat, it'll be cold
Money in your pocket, sugar crystal
If the days are hard
Remember me sometimes
And if it's a more desperate journey
To the hut, to the plot
On the path of the old city
No one will wait in the station...

Chorus...

Who will sweeten your nights
Who will listen to your crying
Who will stay by your side [while you are] on
your way

Take a coat, it'll be cold.

Yad VaShem

Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day (Yom Hashoah in Hebrew) is a national day of commemoration in Israel, on which the six million Jews murdered in the Holocaust are memorialized. It is a solemn day, beginning at sunset on the 27th of the month of Nisan and ending the following evening, according to the traditional Jewish custom of marking a day. Places of entertainment are closed and memorial ceremonies are held throughout the country. The central ceremonies, in the evening and the following morning, are held at Yad Vashem and are broadcast on the television. Marking the start of the day-in the presence of the President of the State of Israel and the Prime Minister dignitaries, survivors, children of survivors and their families, gather together with the general public to take part in the memorial ceremony at Yad Vashem in which six torches, representing the six million murdered Jews, are lit. The following morning, the ceremony at Yad Vashem begins with the sounding of a siren for two minutes throughout the entire country. For the duration of the sounding, work is halted, people walking in the streets stop, cars pull off to the side of the road and everybody stands at silent attention in reverence to the victims of the Holocaust. Afterward, the focus of the ceremony at Yad Vashem is the laying of wreaths at the foot of the six torches, by dignitaries and the representatives of survivor groups and institutions. Other sites of remembrance in Israel, such as the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz and Kibbutz Yad Mordechai, also host memorial ceremonies, as do schools, military bases, municipalities and places of work. Throughout the day, both the television and radio broadcast programs about the Holocaust. In recent years, other countries and Jewish communities have adopted Yom Hashoah, the 27th of Nisan, to mark their own day of memorial for the victims of the Holocaust.

Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, is Israel's national Holocaust memorial. It <u>was established in 1953</u> by an act of the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) which defined its function as follows: "To gather unto the homeland all commemorative material regarding members of the Jewish people who fell, fought and rebelled against the Nazi enemy and German satellites, to establish a memorial for them and for the communities organizations, and institutions that were destroyed because they were Jewish, and to perpetuate the memory of the Righteous Among the Nations."

The name Yad Vashem (lit, "a monument and a name"), comes from Isaiah 56:5: "I will give them, in my house and in my walls, a monument and a name, better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall never be effaced."

Two generations have passed since the end of World War II. Today we live in an age of information, instant communication and progressive technology. The benefits to be garnered from the free flow of heterogeneous information - which can be overwhelming on a day-to-day basis - are counterbalanced by an

unavoidable side effect: the creation of short memories. Young people today regard the past not in the sense of where they have come from, but rather as a bygone series of events which are "past," while they themselves are living "post." This viewpoint is dangerous in that it is disjunctive rather than connective.

The generation that lived through the Holocaust is dwindling. The presence of witnesses - the remnant who survived - ensured a certain moral strength; their absence creates a moral, cultural and educational vacuum.

What will be the fate of Holocaust commemoration among members of the fourth generation, both Jewish and non-Jewish? What place will it occupy in the midst of the currents that are sweeping us along towards the onset of the third millenium? Will remembrance be meaningful in the context of contemporary events? How should we prepare ourselves at this historic juncture? In the spirit of the Jewish tradition of "Vehigadeta Lebincha" ("And you will tell your children"), Yad Vashem places a heavy emphasis on educating the younger generations about the Holocaust. More than ever before, today's youth are expressing a keen interest in their own personal history and identity. We at Yad Vashem have always believed that it is our responsibility to provide Jewish youngsters with the history of the Holocaust from a Jewish perspective. Yad Vashem is addressing this need by developing the tools needed to perpetuate the dialogue between past, present and future. Today, new technologies and display systems expand the horizons of communication. The generation of the future is immersed in a world of stimulating, high-impact media. We must relate to the visitors of the 21st century in their language.

Every visitor leaves Yad Vashem with a personal impression of an event that has universal dimensions. The new museum complex reinforces the commitment of Jewish visitors to their people and their ethical brotherhood with other nations. Non-Jewish visitors will empathize with the fate of the Jewish people, and will be inspired to join the drive to a more humane future for humanity as a whole.

Yad Vashem is the pioneer of Holocaust museums world-wide. By preserving its Jewish character within the universal context, and yet maintaining an authentic voice composed of testimonies, diaries, artifacts and other documentation, Yad Vashem paves the way for a better future.

www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org





Facts About Settlements

By Mitchell Bard

"Settlements" are actually towns and villages where Jews have gone to live since the capture of Judea and Samaria — the West Bank — and Gaza Strip in the 1967 war. In many cases, flourishing Jewish communities lived in the same area for thousands of years.

Strategic concerns led both Labor and Likud governments to establish settlements. The first were built by Labor governments from 1968-1977. The objective was to secure a Jewish majority in key strategic regions of the West Bank, such as the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem corridor, the scene of heavy fighting in several Arab-Israeli wars.

The second wave of settlements began with the occupation of the Park Hotel in Hebron in 1968, a town with a long, rich Jewish history, that had been interrupted by an Arab massacre in 1929. These were the first of the ideological settlers who believed that Israel's victory in 1967 was an act of God and indicated divine providence that the historic Land of Israel should be restored to the Jewish people. Very few such settlements were established until Menachem Begin assumed power. His government and subsequent Likud governments provided financial incentives for Jews to move to parts of Judea and Samaria that did not necessarily have any strategic value. Their purpose was to solidify Israel's hold on territory that was part of biblical and historical Palestine/Israel (minus the nearly four-fifths of Palestine Great Britain severed in 1921 to create Transjordan) and preempt the creation of a Palestinian state.

A third group of Jews who are today considered "settlers," moved to the West Bank primarily for economic reasons; that is, the government provided financial incentives to live there, and the towns were close to their jobs.

Today, roughly 150 settlements are in the territories, with a population estimated in August 2005 at 246,000. Critics suggest these figures imply territorial compromise with the Palestinians is impossible; however, the distribution of the Jewish population is such that a solution is conceivable. When Arab-Israeli peace talks began in late 1991, more than 80 percent of the West Bank contained no settlements or only sparsely populated ones. At least

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70 percent of Israelis living in the West Bank, approximately 160,000 people, live in what are in effect suburbs of major Israeli cities such as Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. They could be brought within Israel's borders if Israel were to redraw them so as to retain an Arab population (from the West Bank) of less than 50,000. These include Israelis living in the following regions of the West Bank: Ariel, the area surrounding Ariel, Gush Etzion, Maaleh Adumim, Givat Zeev and Latrun. It is inconceivable that Israel would evacuate large cities such as Ariel, with a population of more than 20,000, even after a peace agreement with the Palestinians, and even Yasser Arafat grudgingly accepted at Camp David the idea that the large settelement blocs would be part of Israel.

It is also important to understand that most settlements are relatively small towns. In a survey of 126 of the West Bank settlements, the data shows that only 5 (4%) have populations greater than 10,000, 34 have populations greater than 1,000 (27%), and 61 have populations greater than 500 (48%). The majority of settlements (52%) have fewer than 500 residents. More than 40% of the Jews live in just six settlements near the 1967 border. The Arab city of Nablus alone is larger than those six Jewish cities put together.

Legalities

Another charge is that settlements are "illegal." The United States has never adopted this position and legal scholars have noted that a country acting in self-defense may seize and occupy territory when necessary to protect itself. Moreover, the occupying power may require, as a condition for its withdrawal, security measures designed to ensure its citizens are not menaced again from that territory.

According to Eugene Rostow, a former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs in the Johnson Administration, Resolution 242 gives Israel a legal right to be in the West Bank. The resolution "allows Israel to administer the territories" it won in 1967 "until 'a just and lasting peace in the Middle East' is achieved," Rostow wrote in *The New Republic* (10/21/91). During the debate on the resolution, he added, "speaker after speaker made it clear that Israel was not to be forced back to the 'fragile' and 'vulnerable' [1949] Armistice Demarcation Lines."

Obstacles?

Israel's adversaries, and even some friends, assert that settlements are an obstacle to peace. The evidence points to the opposite conclusion. From 1949-67, when Jews were forbidden to live on the West Bank, the Arabs refused to make peace with Israel. From 1967-77, the Labor Party established only a few strategic settlements in the territories, yet the Arabs showed no interest in making peace with Israel. In 1977, months after a Likud government committed to greater settlement activity took power, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem. One year later, Israel froze settlements, hoping the gesture would entice other Arabs to join the Camp David peace process. But none would. In another Camp David summit in 2000, Ehud Barak

offered to dismantle most settlements and create a Palestinian state in exchange for peace, and Yasser Arafat rejected the plan.

Israel also proved willing to dismantle settlements in the interest of peace. During the Camp David negotiations with Egypt, all of the issues had been resolved, but one remained, Sadat's insistence that all settlements in the Sinai be removed. Begin didn't want to remove them, but he called Ariel Sharon for advice. Sharon said that in the interest of peace, the settlements should be dismantled. Israel did just that in 1982, providing compensation to residents for the loss of their homes, farms and businesses that ranged from \$100,000 to \$500,000 (Jerusalem Post, January 8, 2004). Nevertheless, a small group of settlers in the town of Yamit refused to leave and Sharon had the army literally drag them out of their homes to comply with the terms of the agreement with Egypt.

In short, the historical record shows that with the exception of Egypt, and Jordan, the Arab states and Palestinians have been intransigent regardless of the scope of settlement activity. One reason is the conviction that time is on their side. References are frequently made in Arabic writings to how long it took to expel the Crusaders and how it might take a similar length of time to do the same to the Zionists.

Settlement activity may be a stimulus to peace because it forces Arabs to question this tenet. "The Palestinians now realize," said Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, a member of the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid talks, "that time is now on the side of Israel, which can build settlements and create facts, and that the only way out of this dilemma is face-to-face negotiations." Consequently, the Arabs went to Madrid and Washington for peace talks despite continued settlement activity. Similarly, the Palestinians negotiated with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, even though he also allowed the number of settlers to grow.

Rights Versus Wisdom

The implication of many settlement critics is that it would be better for peace if the West Bank were *Judenrein*. It would certainly be called racist if Jews were barred from living in New York, Paris or London; barring them from living in the West Bank, the cradle of Jewish civilization, would be no less objectionable.

On the other hand, though Jews may have the right to live in the territories, it still might not be to Israel's advantage for them to do so. Settlements create serious security concerns for Israel, requiring the deployment of forces to protect Jews living in communities outside the boundaries of the state and diverting resources that might otherwise be used to prepare the military for possible conflicts with enemy armies. The settlements also have had a budgetary impact as hundreds of millions of dollars are spent each year on infrastructure, incentives, and other material needs for Jews living in these communities. Many Israelis believe that the military and economic cost is not justified and support the removal of some settlements. Those closest to the

Facts About Settlements Page 4 of 5

1967 border, and especially those surrounding Jerusalem, however, are generally regarded as justified on a variety of grounds and are likely to be incorporated within the ultimate boundary of Israel.

Israelis also increasingly believe the Palestinians may be correct about time being on their side. If Israel were to annex the territories, it would face a dilemma that no official has yet solved, and that is how Israel could remain both a Jewish and democratic state. Though some Jews on the right of the political spectrum hold out hope of a dramatic demographic shift as a result of immigration, most projections foresee an exponential increase in the population of Arabs in Israel and the territories. According to Arnon Soffer, Israel's most prominent demographer, 6,300,000 Jews are expected to live in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza combined while the Palestinian population would be 8,740,000. If these Palestinians all had the right to vote in a "Greater Israel," Israel could not maintain its Jewish character, and if they were denied the right to vote, Israel would no longer be a democracy (Forward, (January 9, 2004). This is why no Israeli prime minister, even those believed to support "Greater Israel," was ever prepared to annex the territories, and why most Israelis, including Prime Minister Sharon, have favored trading land for peace and security.

Peace Agreements

When he presented the Interim Agreement ("Oslo 2") before the Knesset on October 5, 1995, Prime Minister Rabin stated, "I wish to remind you, we made a commitment...to the Knesset not to uproot any settlement in the framework of the Interim Agreement, nor to freeze construction and natural growth." Neither the Declaration of Principles of September 13, 1993, nor the Interim Agreement contains any provisions prohibiting or restricting the establishment or expansion of Jewish communities in the West Bank or Gaza Strip. While a clause in the accords prohibits changing the status of the territories, it was intended to ensure only that neither side would take unilateral measures to alter the legal status of the areas (such as annexation or declaration of statehood).

According to the road map for peace, Israel is supposed to freeze settlement activity and remove illegal outposts. Israel has been removing illegal outposts, but has not been willing to implement the freeze because the Palestinians have failed to fulfill their commitments to stop the violence.

In August 2005, Israel evacuated all the settlements in the Gaza Strip and four in the West Bank under the disengagement plan initiated by Prime Minister Sharon. This was a dramatic shift in policy by a man considered one of the fathers of the settler movement. Sharon has also said that Israel will not keep all the settlements in the West Bank

Israel gave up all the territory it held in Gaza and evacuated some West Bank settlements without any agreement from the Palestinians, who will now have complete authority over their population within Gaza. After giving up territory and dismantling settlements, Israel will now expect to see the Palestinians

demonstrate that they can end terror and keep the peace.

Anthony Cordesman, "From Peace to War: Land for Peace or Settlements for War," (DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, August 15, 2003), pp. 17-21.

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Motivations for settlements

(Wikepedia)

Complicating this issue, a number of reasons are cited from both sides for the establishment of settlements.

- Palestinians argue that the policy of settlements constitute an effort to preempt or even sabotage a peace treaty that includes Palestinian sovereignty, and claim that the settlements are built on land that belongs to Palestinians.
- Prior to the eruption of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the late eighties, even until the signing of the <u>Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty</u> in 1994, Israeli governments on the left and right argued that the settlements were of strategic and tactical importance. The location of the settlements was primarily chosen based on the threat of an attack by the bordering hostile countries of <u>Jordan</u>, <u>Syria</u>, and <u>Egypt</u> and possible routes of advance into Israeli population areas.
- Supporters of the settlements argue that the settlements are of strategic and tactical importance to Israel's security. Many Israelis, assert the historical Jewish connection to at least some of the areas in dispute, arguing that their claim is at least equal to that of the Palestinians.
- Most religious Jews, assert the biblical Jewish connection to the areas in dispute, arguing that their claim to build is equal to the biblical Jewish connection to the other areas in Israel.
- As it turns out, the settlers themselves have varying reasons for choosing
 to reside where they do. While some live in the territories out of religious
 and/or political idealism and the lower price of rural real estate, others
 were attracted by tax incentives that were given, in general, to Israelis
 living in rural, periphery areas, but these were revoked entirely in 2003.

THE SETTLER MOVEMENT

(A Left Wing Perspective)

At any rate, a concerted effort is being made by the extremists of the settlers who are (I'll want to say a little more about this) a minority of the settlers. The extremists of the settlers are making it very difficult, if not impossible, for Palestinians to get out to their olive groves and conduct their harvests. They are harassing them, they are out there with guns, and they are not being controlled, not being contained by the army. I don't know if you have seen this yet, but those of you who are members of Brit Tzedek will soon be getting an Action Alert. We are going to be supporting the initiative of the Reform Movement, which is calling upon American Jews to write to the Minister of Internal Security as well as to the Minister of Defense in Israel, asking for protection for the Palestinian harvesters of their olive crops.

The extremists in Israel represent a position that was maintained prior to the establishment of the State of Israel by a small minority position within the Zionist movement; this minority adhered to the principles of Ze'ev Jabotinsky and, later, Menachem Begin. This Zionist minority maintained from the very beginning that all of historic Palestine should be Israel. The position of the maximalists, the 100% solution folks on both sides, has a history within Zionism, but it is important to remember that it was the view of a very small minority within the Zionist movement.

However, it began to take hold after 1967, when the West Bank was in Israeli hands. In the early 1970s, Gush Emunim, the "block of the faithful," were the first to go out and start to create Israeli settlements on the West Bank in order to create "facts on the ground" which, they believed, would ultimately result in Israeli sovereignty over all of the West Bank. When Begin was elected in 1977, for reasons that had absolutely nothing to do with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but had everything to do with the economyc and especially the with a revolt of the Mizrahi Jews [descended from families from Arab-speaking countries) against the Labor Party. They voted for Begin in order to vote against the Labor leaders of the time who had done nothing for them and done nothing to even try to reach out for their votes. That election was the first time in history that the Likud Party had come into power. For 30 years, there had never been anything other than a Labor government. The 1977 election was called the "Mahapach," the upheaval, and it was considered to be an enormous upheaval in Israeli society, and it indeed was an enormous upheaval.

So from 1977 through to the present, the 5,000 messianic nationalist settlers, the true descendents of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, became 210,000 settlers. But most of the 210,000 are not messianic nationalists. It's very interesting to know who most of these settlers are: Peace Now has recently done a very important poll among the settlers. The survey found that some 60% of the settlers today would obey a lawful order to evacuate their settlement and would accept economic

compensation in order to do so. Another 20% have said that they would obey a lawful order to evacuate the settlements. That leaves 20% of the settlers who are those who are ideological settlers. They are there for ideological reasons, be that either messianic nationalism or religious reasons; many of them truly believe that their presence in the West Bank will bring the Messiah, and if they are not there, the Messiah can't come. They do believe that. And they are dangerous, because they are so fanatical, and they are dangerous because they are so zealous, and they are dangerous because they are within a mind-set that is self-contained; there is nothing you can say that will show them that they may be wrong about anything, and that's the way the fanaticism works.

The Peace Now poll tells us, again, that most Israelis, including the settlers, understand very well that the ultimate solution is going to have to be a two-state solution.

The settlers would obey a lawful order to evacuate moved to the West Bank originally for economic reasons. From the early days, from '77 on, they were offered enormous economic incentives to move out beyond the Green Line into what they considered to be safe territory because the army would be able to protect them. You can, today, with \$2,500, make a down payment on a nice, middle-class villa, with beautiful vistas, and you can get a mortgage on very easy terms, something that is not true within Israel proper. You will receive a 7% reduction on your income taxes, you will get free pre-school education for your children. Hundreds of millions of shekels every year are given to settlers in economic incentives. Most of these settlers are people from low-income urban neighborhoods in the crowded center of the country, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

They are people who have moved to the West Bank to improve their quality of life and because they could do it really cheaply. They are now very stuck. They are stuck where they are because they are house rich and cash poor-nobody's buying their houses today-there are fewer settlers moving into settlements than ever before; the growth used to be something like 8% a year, and this year it was about 2% and most of that growth was natural growth, not any people moving into the settlements. So they have these houses and apartments that they can't sell, and they don't have the cash to buy something within Israel.

www.btvshalom.org

YESHA Homestead

(The Religious Rationale for the Settlements yesha.homestead.com)

In 1967, there was not one Palestinian on this planet. We created the Palestinians by forcing West Bank Jordanians and Gazan Egyptians to redefine themselves. Between 1948 and 1967 every single Palestinian was a full-fledged Jordanian or Egyptian citizen. Currently, the Palestinian Authority governs 99% of the Palestinian population. This 99% of the population lives on 42% of the approximately one and a half million acres that comprise the West Bank and Gaza. It is that one percent of the Arab population that is peppered in Area C that is critical to the successful resolution to the disputed 58% land mass. A large part was Jordanian government land and is now either officially a nature reserve or Jewish National Fund land. The small portion that is privately held by Palestinians is what prevents Israeli annexation of this 58% of the West Bank and Gaza.

We can end the conflict simply by investing. By buying out just 1% of the Arab population in Judea and Samaria, Jews can reclaim 58% of the land. In fact, it is much less than the one percent, as the overwhelming majority of Arabs that occupy Area C (58% of the West Bank) is illegal Arab squatters. Just as every Jew that lives in Yehuda and Shomron (Judea and Samaria) must prove ownership of their property, every single Arab living in Yehuda and Shomron should be made to show that they have similarly registered their land, proving their ownership through the Ottoman, British and pre-1967 Jordanian records. If they cannot prove ownership, they must be removed from those properties just as Jews are forcibly removed from properties they fail to register. By fining these squatters and forcing them to move, and buying out the rest, the entire area is de facto annexed to Israel. The Arabs in the remaining 42% of the West Bank must also be required to prove ownership. Those Arabs in illegal possession of land around the villages in Area B must be compelled to evacuate. This land, together with land purchased by Jews, is de facto also annexed to Israel.

Settlements Create a Line of Defense

(www.adl.org)

Settlements are Jewish communities primarily established after the 1967 Six Day War in the territories acquired by Israel during that war, including the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. These territories are also commonly referred to as areas "outside the Green Line" (the pre-1967 border).

Today there are approximately 144 settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with about 130,000 inhabitants. (See Appendix III.) The motivations of the inhabitants, or settlers, of these areas ranges from political, ideological or religious goals to financial considerations as they seek cheaper, more spacious living quarters commonly available outside the Green Line.

One popular misconception about settlements is that they are solely the legacy of the Likud party. Indeed, it is true that during the 15 years (1977-1992) of Likud or Likud-shared governments a majority of the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza were established. However, Labor is primarily responsible for setting up the communities in the Golan Heights, in specific areas of the West Bank (including the Jordan Valley and Gush Etzion), and in the Sinai (which were dismantled as part of the Israel-Egypt 1979 peace treaty).

During Labor's tenure, from 1967-1977, the successive governments were responsible for the creation of 76 settlements, 24 of which were in the Golan Heights alone. With regard to the West Bank, during those years Labor primarily operated under the principles of the Allon Plan, a proposal drawn up shortly after the 1967 war by Yigal Allon under which Israel would retain that section of the West Bank which would allow it to maintain defensible borders. As a result, Labor created some 21 settlements along the Jordan Valley and Eastern slopes of Samaria during that period, and avoided construction on the mountain ridge from Nablus to Jerusalem to Hebron.

By the time Labor returned to power under Yitzhak Rabin in 1992, after the 15-year period of Likud-led governments and their steady support for settlement expansion, Labor's policy on settlements had changed drastically. Almost immediately upon entering office, Prime Minister Rabin froze all public expenditures on settlements, although he still acknowledged the right to private construction. As a result, all public construction projects were indefinitely halted. While Rabin made it explicitly clear, after the signing of the Oslo Declaration of Principles in 1993, that during the five-year interim period no settlements would be dismantled, he vigorously continued Labor's policy keeping settlement construction frozen.

Understanding Israel's Wars Name of the War: Date/Year/Length of War: Who was involved in the War: (Include the countries who fought and those who provided military, political,

Causes of the War:

or financial support)

(according to Israel and the other countries)

Pre-War Events:

War Battles:

(how did the actual fighting start and what were the stages or main parts of the war)

The War's Resolution:
The Peace Settlement: (Include any exchange of land)
Key People:
Major Impact on Israeli Society:
Other Comments of Importance:

UNIT 5: BUILDING A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND RELATIONSHIP

Essential Questions:

- 1) How do we move from being responsible solely for ourselves to being responsible to and for others?
- 2) What is the difference between reaching a personal level of maturity and being mature enough to enter into a relationship with someone else?
- 3) How do we learn to promote our own opinions while accepting and embracing each other's differences and uniqueness?
- 4) How do our actions affect others?

Goals:

- To learn about the increasing tension and violence between Israel and the Palestinians in the 1980s and early 1990s;
- To assess how the 1982 Lebanon War, the 1st Intifada, Oslo, and the assassination
 of Yitzhak Rabin indicated a change in Israel's perception of itself and how it
 related to others;

Students will be able to:

- analyze how the 1982 Lebanon War, the 1st Intifada, Oslo, and the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin impacted Israeli society;
- compare and contrast different accounts of the rise in violence between Palestinians and Israelis;
- analyze how the different reasons for the failure of Oslo have helped dictate political change in Israel;

Note to Teacher:

This unit includes 5 activity ideas, in addition to an authentic assessment and a scripted lesson plan.

Suggested time allocation: 6 class sessions

Concepts & Key Terms:

Operation Peace in the Galilee (The War in Lebanon)

From 1978 – 1982 there was increasing violence from PLO-sponsored terrorists along the Lebanon-Israel border. Civil war in Lebanon along with terrorist attacks in Northern Israel prompted Israel to enter Lebanon in June 1982. After initial successes in Southern Lebanon, the Israeli military expanded its objectives to include expelling the PLO from Lebanon and helping to install a democratic government. After reaching Beirut, the war became prolonged. Even after the war ended in 1985, Israeli soldiers remained in Southern Lebanon until May 2000. This was the first war in which Israel entered another country, and it received mixed support from Israelis. Thousands of Israelis and Lebanese Christians and Arabs were killed.

Intifada

Intifada is Arabic for "shaking off." From December 1987 - September 1993, the Palestinians residing in the West Bank and Gaza Strip participated in a violent uprising against Israel in protest of Israel's occupation of that land. Palestinians rose up in the streets, using rocks and Molotov cocktails as weapons. They attacked nearby Jewish settlements and Israeli soldiers. Palestinian suicide bombers also entered major Israeli cities, killing hundreds of Israelis on buses, restaurants, and stores.

Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

The PLO was founded in 1964 by Yasser Arafat to bring the many Palestinian Arab This platform originally asserted that groups together around a single platform. "Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit... Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase...and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine... The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time... Claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history and the true conception of what constitutes statehood" (PLO Charter, Articles 1,9,15, 20).

The Oslo Accords

The Oslo Accords, officially called the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements or Declaration of Principles (DOP), were finalized in Oslo, Norway on August 20, 1993, and subsequently officially signed at a public ceremony in Washington D.C. on September 13, 1993. The Oslo Accords were a culmination of a series of secret and public agreements, dating particularly from the Madrid Conference of 1991 onwards, and negotiated between the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (acting as representatives of the Palestinian people) in 1993 as part of a peace process trying to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Accords detailed a peace plan that would unfold in stages and deal with borders, security, the Palestinians' right to an independent state, refugees, and Jerusalem as the disputed capital.

Despite the high hopes expressed in the Accords and in the subsequent agreements, which also promised the normalization of Israel's relations with the Arab world, Oslo deflated shortly after the death of Yitzhak Rabin.

Suggested Educational Learning Activities

1. **Timeline Activity** (This could be done at the beginning of each unit) (suggested time: 40 – 60 minutes)

There will be a timeline up along the walls of the classroom which was introduced in the introductory unit. On the first day of this unit, produce a larger version of the timeline from 1980 - 1999. The focus of the unit is not on the events, but this timeline will help students place these events and the relevant themes in a larger context.

- Each group will be assigned one (or two) of the events/trends that took place during this era. They will be provided with information to sort through and will create presentations about the event(s) for their classmates. In the presentation, each group should answer some of the following questions:
 - 1. What are the different ways to understand this event?
 - 2. Why and how is this event remembered?
 - 3. Why is this event relevant to the development of the state of Israel?
 - 4. In what ways (if at all) could this event affect my Jewish identity and my connection to Israel?
- Events: 1982 Lebanon War, The Intifada, The Oslo Accords, The Peace Agreement with Jordan, Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 1994 Baruch Goldstein Massacre

2. Mr./Mrs. Israel Competition - Israel's Leaders and Heroes

(Suggested time: 80 minutes total (30 minutes for introduction and prep time; 30-45 minute for the Pageant))

Explain that there will be a Mr./Mrs. Israel Competition in which Israel's leaders (from this time period) will be able to demonstrate to the world their talents. This is a spoof of a beauty pageant. Each student (or group of students) will be given information about a particular Israeli. Based on that information, they will have to prepare mini presentations for the different competitions. The presentations should be based on the information with some embellishments. Either the teacher or a student can be the emcee.

The competitions are:

- the dress-up competition (each candidate can choose to dress like a kibbutznik or like someone from modern Tel Aviv. They must dress up and be prepared to explain their choice);
- Question & Answer (candidates will respond to a question asked by the emcee). Possible questions include:
 - O What was your biggest contribution to Israel?
 - o How will you be remembered when you die?
 - o If you were a food item, what would you be and why?
 - o What is your favorite city in Israel and why?
- a 2-4 minute presentation of his/her contribution to Israel;
- best impersonation of Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir or Herzl;
- a description of where Israel will be in 2010.

To make this more "realistic" and fun, the teacher could encourage the students to make sashes for their candidate (like they have in beauty pageants). In the end, the judge should determine that there are different winners for each category and no one winner for Mr. Israel. Everyone in the pageant contributed to the perpetual building up of the state of Israel. However, the teacher can arbitrarily pick several winners for each of the categories.

Ariel Sharon
Benjamin Netanyahu
Shimon Peres
Aviv Gefen
Dana International
Natan Sharanksy
Gila Almagor
Amos Oz

3. 1982 Lebanon War (suggested time: 70 minutes)

- 1. Jigsaw activity: Divide class into three groups. Each group will learn about the 1982 War from a different point of view. They will then form new groups so that there are representatives from each of the original groups in each new group. Each person will be responsible for teaching the group members what they learned in their group.
- 2. Give students a sales pitch for moving to Northern Israel where everything is great except for the risky security. See how they respond. Discuss the value of security and what "security" means. Consider personal security versus national security.

4. Journal/Free Write about the nature of being in a relationship

(suggested time: 20 minutes)

Ask students to write a letter to themselves. This letter will be returned to them at the end of the year. Students should respond to at least two prompts:

- 1. How do I balance and assert my personal needs with the needs of others?
- 2. What does it mean to take responsibility for the consequences of one's actions?
- 3. What are the pros and cons of working with others? Think about personal and school-related settings.

5. The "Other" in Israeli Society – Ethiopian & Russian Immigrants, Druze, Beduin, & Israeli Arabs

Introduction: Israel has many minority groups – ranging from Jewish immigrants from Russia and Ethiopia to Israel's Arab population. Over the years, Israel has struggled to absorb the immigrants and integrate all members of society into the larger Israeli society. Each of these groups holds a distinct place in Israeli society. However, they are not necessarily happy about their place.

Divide class into 5 groups. Each group will receive information about one of Israel's minority or immigrant populations. Based on the materials they receive, each group will invent a character to represent this population. One student from each group will volunteer to be the group character. The characters will appear together on a talk show. As part of the group preparation, give students some sample questions that the talk show host may ask.

Sample questions:

- o Introductions: How long have you lived in Israel? How is life here different from where you came from? (for immigrant characters only)
- o What special services does the Israeli government provide for you?
- o How do you feel about living in Israel?
- o Do you identify more as Israeli or (Russian/Ethiopian/Druze) and why/
- o (Talk shows love drama) Tell us a sob story? Has anything "bad" ever happened to you?

Authentic Assessment:

Oslo Peace Process - Newspaper Assignment

(Suggested time: 2 class periods. Use the first session to have groups read through the material, brainstorm, and pre-write. In the second session, students should write their articles and share them. If appropriate, encourage students to do some pre-writing at home between the first and second session.)

- 1. Students will be reporting on the Oslo Peace Process. They will be looking at the events that led up to Oslo, the Oslo documents, public opinion, and the aftermath of Oslo. Students can work with a partner or individually so that there will be multiple articles based on the same information. They should take into account the information and the bias in their source material. The students can choose to write whatever kind of article they wish (news article, editorial, political cartoons, character profiles, etc.), or they can do a news broadcast if a video camera is available.
- 2. In each group, students should create and share outlines of their article as the first pre-writing step. Students should discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - 1. How did you decide what angle to use when reporting your information to others?
 - 2. Do you agree or disagree with what you're planning to write? If you disagree, how did you decide to write about this topic in this way?

Unit 5 Lesson Plan The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin

Objectives: Students will be able to...

- Integrate Rabin's biography into the general history of Israel;
- Analyze Rabin's legacy in Israel;
- Assess Rabin's contributions to Israel politics and the Israeli government;

1. Shir Le'Shalom (20 minutes)

Pass out the lyrics to the song, "Shir le'Shalom." Listen to the song in Hebrew and then read the lyrics in English together as a class. Ask the following questions for each paragraph.

Paragraphs #1-2: What is the subject of these opening paragraphs?

o death

What is the tone?

 Sun (hope or happiness) followed by sadness and despair

Who does the "us" refer to in the 1st paragraph? Describe these people?

- o The Jews
- o Israelis
- Soldiers

Who does the "him" refer to in the 2nd paragraph? Describe this person?

A fallen soldier

Paragraphs #3-7: How can we improve this situation of despair? List things that will help and that will not help.

- Unhelpful methods: victory cheers, songs of praise, whispering prayers, holding on to the past, war
- Instead, we must: Sing a song for peace in a loud shout, be hopeful, actively bring about peace through action not rhetoric

What parts of this song, if any, strike an emotional chord with you? What is the enduring message of this song?

Theodor Herzl said: "If you will it, it is no dream." The last stanza says "because it is not a dream." Do you think this is the same dream? What is the dream?

Share that this song was written and first performed by Lehekat HaNachal (the Army Band) in 1969. The army band is a performance unit in the army. The Israeli government believed that the song was anti-government, and it was originally banned. Let's put this in the proper historical context. Remember that this was soon after the 6-Day War.

• Why do you think they thought it was anti-government?

This song resurfaced and became popular again in on November 4, 1995 when Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the entire crowd sang it at a peace rally. After the song, Rabin folded up the song sheet, put it in his shirt pocket and left the stage. On the way to his car, he was shot and killed. Rabin is the only Prime Minister to have ever been assassinated. This song was sung before Rabin died. Our task today is to learn about Rabin so that we can gain an understanding as to why he was killed and how it affected Israel and the Israeli people.

- 2. Read the book, "Shalom, Chaver" to the class. (It has incredible pictures and tells the story of Rabin's life and the aftermath of the shooting. The temple library should have a copy of it). Unless a student brings it up, do NOT mention who assassinated Rabin. That will be discussed later. If a student does bring it up at this point, look at #3 for information about the assassin. (15 minutes)
- 3. What did Rabin believe in? (5 minutes)
 Ask volunteer to read Rabin's last speech which he delivered at the rally on Saturday night, November 4, 2004.

Ask: Based on what we learned in this book and hearing this speech, why do you think Rabin was assassinated?

- o Made peace with the Arabs
- Arabs disliked him
- Some Jews/Israelis disliked him

Say that at the beginning everyone assumed that an Arab killed Rabin. However, it was really a religious Israeli named Yigal Amir. How did people respond?

There were 2 main issues in the aftermath of his murder: 1) the mere fact that the Prime Minister was assassinated; 2) the fact that a religious Jew was the assassin.

4. Community Meeting in Israel Role Play (15 minutes for prep; 20-30 minute discussion)

Divide into groups, giving each group reactions to Rabin's assassination. Each group must read the statements in order to prepare their group reaction (based on the documents) for how to proceed with Israeli society. Convene a mock community meeting for December 2004 (1 month after the assassination) at which all the students will participate in character. Their characters will be based on what they read. The meeting will begin with the moderator (teacher) asking for representatives to read statements about how they are feeling. Next, the moderator will present questions or issues to discuss and ask for the participants to respond. Students should base their answers on what they learned.

Ouestions/issues for discussion:

- 1. How did we not see this assassination coming?
- 2. As a country, what should our priority be continuing the peace process or starting a secular-religious Jewish dialogue?

- 3. How should the assassination affect our relationships with the Palestinians, on a personal (if applicable) and political level?
- 4. How will this affect our government?
- 5. Rabin's Legacy/Conclusion (20 minutes)
 Share that the Peace Process stalled and the government switched from Labor (Shimon Peres and Rabin) to Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu). The "civil war" that many predicted would occur never happened.

Ask: More than 10 years later, what is the legacy of Yitzhak Rabin and his untimely death?

Place quotes* from peoples' recent reflections on Rabin's legacy out around the room. Give students 5-10 minutes to walk around the room and read all of the quotes. When they are done ask each student to stand by the quote that they identify with most.

Concluding discussion:

- 1. What, in your opinion, is the legacy of Rabin?
- 2. What challenges about Israel does his death reveal?
- 3. What hope does this lesson leave you with?

*The quotes come from

http://www.myjewishlearning.com/history_community/Israel/Overview_IsraeliPalestinia n_Relations/The_Oslo_Accord/Rabin_Bio/RabinGleanings.htm.

UNIT 5: BUILDING A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND RELATIONSHIP

SOURCES

Activity #1: Timeline Activity Info Sheets

- 1982 Lebanon War
- The Intifada
- The Oslo Accords
- The Peace Agreement with Jordan
- Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin
- 1994 Baruch Goldstein Massacre
- Opening of the Hasmonean Tunnel next to the Kotel

Activity #2: Mr. Israel

• Bios

Activity #3: War with Lebanon

- Info Sheets from multiple perspectives
- See sources from Activity #1

Activity #5: Minorities in Israel

• Info Sheets

Authentic Assessment

• Oslo Information

Lesson Plan

- Shir Le'Shalom song lyrics
- Reactions to Rabin's death
- Rabin's legacy quotes

(2)

Generic View

THE LEBANON WAR

In Lebanon, the fragile state of no-war, no-peace, in place since 1973, began to break down as the PLO strengthened its mini-state in Lebanon, established PLO military training centers, and escalated artiflery and cross-border attacks on civilians in northern Israel, Israelis were forced to spend long periods of time in bomb shelters

The immediate trigger for Israel's operation into Lebanon was the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London on June 3, 1982. The next day, Israeli jets attacked PLO targets in Lebanon and the PLO responded with rocket and artillery barrages into northern Israel. The Israeli cabinet met to approve sending ground troops into Lebanon. Defense minister Ariel Sharon briefed the cabinet on "Operation Peace for Galilee" a plan for a limited incursion of twenty-five miles into Lebanon to wipe out PLO positions in southern Lebanon and thus safeguard Israel's population in northern Israel. The cabinet, including the opposition Labor Party, supported the plan for a limited operation.

Mr. Sharon and Chief of Staff Rafael Eaten, however, had a wider-reaching grand plan beyond that of destroying the PLO's military power in southern Lebanon and the creation of a security zone there. They envisioned completely eradicating the PLO's military, political and economic hold over Lebanon, evicting Syrian forces from Lebanon, and facilitating the creation of a Christian-dominated Lebanon which would sign a peace treaty with Israel. The Lebanese presidential election was scheduled for August 23, 1982. Sharon discussed the Israeli plan with Christian Phalanges leader Basher Email, who apparently supported it and agreed to help rout the PLO from Beirut. Counting on Phalanges assistance, Sharon and Eitan ordered Israeli troops to advance as far as Beirut

On June 6, Israeli ground troops began their advance into Lebanon and quickly overran PLO positions in the south. On June 9, Israel destroyed Syrian SAM missiles which were installed in the spring of 1981 in the Bekaa Valley A Syrian-Israeli air confrontation ensued which resulted in severe military losses for the Syrians. The Soviet Union rejected Damascus's plea for direct Soviet intervention but Moscow sent equipment and advisers.

Israel laid siege to the PLO in West Beirut leading to a PLO surrender and agreement to evacuate Lebanon. On August 23, Bashir Gemayel was elected the President of Lebanon. Israel hoped that a Lebanese-Israeli peace treaty was on the horizon. A multinational peacekeeping force arrived in Lebanon in order to supervise the departure of the PLO. By September 1, 1982, over 14,000 armed PLO forces had left Beirut. PLO headquarters was transferred to Tunis, Tunisia.

The evacuation of the PLO failed to bring stability to conflict-ridden Lebanon and Christian-Palestinian lensions remained high. On September 14, 1982, President Bashir Gernayel was assassinated. On September 16, without obtaining prior cabinet approval, Sharon and Eitan moved Israeli troops into West Beirut and permitted Christian Phalangist forces to enter the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila with the purpose of routing out remaining PLO forces that had evaded evacuation. The Phalangist militias, nowever, massacred Palestinian civilians.

israel's limited objective of removing the PLO's threat to northern israel was accomplished with the evacuation of PLO forces from Berrut. The PLO state-within-a-state had been dismantled. The larger objectives of the war were not realized. Sina remained ensoonoud in 55 percent of Lebanon and the Christian-dominated Lebanose government was not strong enough either to conclude a peace treaty with Israel or to control rival Lebanose factions from assaulting each other and uttacking (stael.

Ethnic communist and religious poency in Equation remained unablated and Israel continued to guesser as race treaty with Amin Gemayer. The new president of Lebunon. With American mediation, on May 17, 1933, a feel and secured was represented was regard. Athough the discoment was not a townal peace fronty of enhanced the state of war between Israel and Lebanon. The document was short-lived, however, Syria had no intention of





removing its troops from Lebanon as the agreement called and the Phalangists were not strong enough to control the numerous rival factions in Lebanon from engaging in terrorist actions against Israel.

U.S. forces in Lebanon, there since July 1982, were also subject to terrorism. In October 1983, a suicide bomb attack killed 241 U.S. marines. In February 1984, U.S. marines were removed from Lebanon. In March 1984, under pressure from Syria, the Lebanese government formally canceled its agreement with Israel.

In June 1985, Israel withdrew from Lebanon, except for forces stationed in the security zone in southern Lebanon, established as a buffer between Lebanon and Israel. The security zone is a strip of land three to five miles wide along the length of the Lebanese-Israeli border. Over the years, the zone has shielded Israeli civilian settlements in northern Israel from cross-border attacks. Many terrorists on their way to northern Israel have been caught and stopped in the security zone. At the same time, since 1985, many Israeli soldiers have been killed in the security zone by terrorist groups such as Hezbollah (Party of God).

The larger objectives of the Lebanon campaign left a significant imprint upon Israeli society. Israel's campaign in Lebanon was the first war Israel waged which provoked widespread debate within Israel. While many Israelis agreed with the limited objective of destroying the PLO's power in southern Lebanon in order to protect Israel's northern population, they disagreed with the larger objectives envisaged by Sharon and Eitan. These larger, unrealistic goals, they argued, had caused an unnecessarily high number of Israeli and Palestinian civilian casualties in Lebanon. For the first time, Israelis took to the streets for anti-war demonstrations.



The Intifada Page 1 of 2



The Intifada

by Mitchell Bard

False charges of Israeli atrocities and instigation from the mosques played an important role in starting the intifada. On December 6, 1987, an Israeli was stabbed to death while shopping in Gaza. One day later, four residents of the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza were killed in a traffic accident. Rumors that the four had been killed by Israelis as a deliberate act of revenge began to spread among the Palestinians. Mass rioting broke out in Jabalya on the morning of December 9, in which a 17-year-old youth was killed by an Israeli soldier after throwing a Molotov cocktail at an army patrol. This soon sparked a wave of unrest that engulfed the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem.

Over the next week, rock-throwing, blocked roads and tire burnings were reported throughout the territories. By December 12, six Palestinians had died and 30 had been injured in the violence. The following day, rioters threw a gasoline bomb at the U.S. consulate in East Jerusalem. No one was hurt in the bombing.

In Gaza, rumors circulated that Palestinian youths wounded by Israeli soldiers were being taken to an army hospital near Tel Aviv and "finished off." Another rumor, claimed Israeli troops poisoned a water reservoir in Khan Yunis. A UN official said these stories were untrue. Only the most seriously injured Palestinians were taken out of the Gaza Strip for treatment, and, in some cases, this probably saved their lives. The water was also tested and found to be uncontaminated.

The intifada was violent from the start. During the first four years of the uprising, more than 3,600 Molotov cocktail attacks, 100 hand grenade attacks and 600 assaults with guns or explosives were reported by the Israel Defense Forces. The violence was directed at soldiers and civilians alike. During this period, 16 Israeli civilians and 11 soldiers were killed by Palestinians in the territories; more than 1,400 Israeli civilians and 1,700 Israeli soldiers were injured.

Throughout the intifada, the PLO played a lead role in orchestrating the insurrection. The PLO-dominated Unified Leadership of the Intifada (UNLI),

for example, frequently issued leaflets dictating which days violence was to be escalated, and who was to be its target. The PLO's leadership of the uprising was challenged by the fundamentalist Islamic organization Hamas, a violently anti-Semitic group that rejects any peace negotiations with Israel.

Jews were not the only victims of the violence. In fact, as the intifada waned around the time of the Gulf War in 1991, the number of Arabs killed for political and other reasons by Palestinian death squads exceeded the number killed in clashes with Israeli troops.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat defended the killing of Arabs deemed to be "collaborating with Israel." He delegated the authority to carry out executions to the intifada leadership. After the murders, the local PLO death squad sent the file on the case to the PLO. "We have studied the files of those who were executed, and found that only two of the 118 who were executed were innocent," Arafat said. The innocent victims were declared "martyrs of the Palestinian revolution" by the PLO (AlMussawar, January 19, 1990).

Palestinians were stabbed, hacked with axes, shot, clubbed and burned with acid. The justifications offered for the killings varied. In some instances, being employed by Israel's Civil Administration in the West Bank and Gaza was reason enough; in others, contact with Jews warranted a death sentence. Accusations of "collaboration" with Israel were sometimes used as a pretext for acts of personal vengeance. Women deemed to have behaved "immorally" were also among the victims.

Eventually, the reign of terror became so serious that some Palestinians expressed public concern about the disorder. The PLO began to call for an end to the violence, but murders by its members and rivals continued. From 1989-1992, this *intrafada* claimed the lives of nearly 1,000 Palestinians.

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THE PEACE PROCESS

Since the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty (1979), various initiatives were put forth by Israel and others to further the peace process in the Middle East. These efforts eventually led to the convening of the Madrid Peace Conference (October 1991), held under American and Soviet auspices, which brought together representatives of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians. The formal proceedings were followed by bilateral negotiations between the parties and by multilateral talks addressing regional concerns.



Bilateral Talks

Israel and the Palestinians: Following months of intensive behind-the-scenes contacts in Oslo between negotiators for Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), a Declaration of Principles (DOP) was formulated outlining self-government arrangements of the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Its signing, on 13 September 1993, was preceded by an exchange of letters between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in which the PLO renounced the use of terrorism, pledged to invalidate those articles in its Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist and committed itself to a peaceful resolution of the decadeslong conflict. In response, Israel recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

The DOP contained a set of mutually agreed general principles regarding a five-year interim period of Palestinian self-rule and a framework for the various stages of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. The arrangements for Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area were implemented in May 1994; transfer of powers and responsibilities in the West Bank in the spheres of education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism was implemented three months later. The DOP and other agreements signed by Israel and the Palestinians culminated in the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement of September 1995.

This agreement included a broadening of Palestinian self-government by the means of an elected self-governing authority, the Palestinian Council (elected in

"History of Ismel" David Bionco



January 1996) and continued redeployment of the IDF in the West Bank. The Agreement also set out the mechanism governing Israeli-Palestinian relations that would lead to a Final Status Agreement. Under the Interim Agreement the West Bank was divided into three types of areas:

Area A – comprising the main cities of the West Bank: full Palestinian Council responsibility for intersecurity and public order, as well as full responsity for civil affairs. (The city of Hebron was subject to special arrangements set out in the Interim Agreement; the Protocol concerning the redeployment in Liebron was signed in January 1997.)

Area B – comprising small towns and villages in the West Bank: Palestinian Council responsibility for civil affairs (as in Area A) and maintenance of public order, while Israel retained overriding security responsibility to safeguard its citizens and to combat terrorism.

Area C – comprising all Jewish settlements, areas of strategic importance to Israel and largely unpopulated areas of the West Bank: full Israeli responsibility for security and public order, as well as civil responsibilities related to territory (planning and zoning, archeology, etc.). The Palestinian Council assumes responsibility with regard to all other civil spheres of the Palestinian population.

The timetable for the implementation of further redeployment phases, as specified in the Interim Agreement was revised on a number of occasions by the two s, most notably in the Wye River Memorandum of tober 1998. Following these agreed revisions,



HISTORY

Israel completed the first and second phases of the Further Redeployment (FRD) process in March 2000. The Third and final FRD is still under negotiation. As a result of the redeployments, over 18% of the West Bank is currently designated Area A and over 21% is designated Area B, with 98% of the Palestinian population of the West Bank under Palestinian authority.

Final Status negotiations between the parties, to determine the nature of the permanent settlement between Israel and the Palestinian entity, began as scheduled in May 1996. Suicide bomb attacks, perpetrated by Hamas terrorists in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv during 1996, darkened Israel's view of the peace process. A hiatus of three years followed and Final Status talks were resumed only after the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum (September 1999). Issues to be dealt with include: refugees, settlements, security matters, borders, Jerusalem and more. At the invitation of President Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Barak and Palestinian Authority Chairman Arafat attended a summit at Camp David in July 2000 to resume negotiations. The summit ended without an agreement being reached. However, a trilateral statement was issued, defining the agreed principles to guide further negotia-

In September 2000, the Palestinians initiated a campaign of indiscriminate terror and violence, causing heavy loss of life and suffering to both sides. Numerous efforts to end the violent confrontation and renew the peace process have failed due to the ongoing and escalating Palestinian terrorism supported by the Palestinian Authority. Israel accepted the vision presented in the speech by U.S. President Bush on June 24, 2002 for ending Palestinian terrorism to be followed by the final settlement of all issues and peace.

Israel and Syria: Within the framework of the Madrid formula, talks between Israeli and Syrian delegations began in Washington and were held from time to time at ambassadorial level, with the involvement of high-ranking American officials.

Two rounds of Syrian-Israeli peace talks (December 1995, January 1996) focused on security and other key issues. Highly detailed and comprehensive in scope, the talks identified important areas of conceptual agreement and convergence for future discussion and consideration. Negotiations between Israel and Syria were renewed in January 2000 in Shepherdstown, US, after a standstill of more than three years. However, these negotiations did not bring about a breakthrough, nor did the meeting between President Clinton and President Assad in Geneva (March 2000) lead to renewed talks. There are no negotiations at present.

Israel and Lebanon: On May 23, 2000, Israel completed withdrawal of all military forces from the Security Zone in Southern Lebanon, in accordance with the Israel Government decision to implement UN Security Council resolution 425. Lebanon, unfortunately, has yet to comply fully with UNSC Resolution 425.

Multilateral Talks

The multilateral talks were constituted as an integral par of the peace process, aimed at finding solutions for key regional problems, while serving as a confidence building measure to promote development of normalized relation among the Middle East nations. Following the Moscov Multilateral Middle East Conference (January 1992), with the participation of 36 countries and international organizations, the delegations broke up into five working group dealing with specific areas of common regional concer (environment, arms control and regional security refugees, water resources and economic development which meet from time to time in various venues in th region.

The Steering Committee, comprised of representative of key delegations and chaired by the US and Russic coordinates the multilateral talks. Its most recent meetin was in Moscow, January 31 – February 1, 2000.

Since the outbreak of Palestinian violence (September 2000), most of the activites in the multilateral track have been frozen.

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty

Title:

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty Description:

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty

Body text:

ISRAEL-JORDAN PEACE TREATY October 26, 1994

On October 26, 1994, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Prime Minister Abdul-Salam Majali signed th Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the second peace treaty Israel has signed since its independence. The ceremony took place at the Arava border crossing one of two border crossings opened in recent months between Israel and Jordan.

The peace treaty with Jordan comprises 30 articles, five annexes which address boundary demarcations, water issues, police cooperation, environmental issues and mutual border crossings, ar six maps.

The main provisions of the treaty are as follows:

☐ International boundary

The Agreement delimits the agreed international boundary between Israel and Jordan, including territorial waters and airspace. This boundary is delimited with reference to the Mandate boundary ar is shown on the maps attached to the agreement. The Agreement provides for some minor mutual border modifications which will enable Israeli farmers in the Arava to continue to cultivate their land.

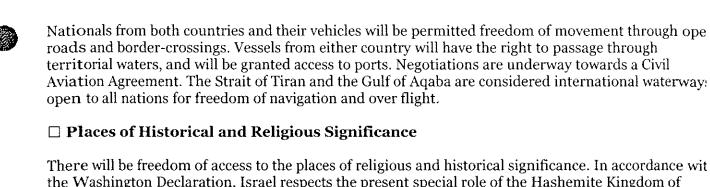
□ Security

The two parties will refrain from any acts of belligerency or hostility, will ensure that no threats of violence against the other party originate from within their territory, and undertake to take necessary and effective measures to prevent acts of terrorism. They will also refrain from joining a coalition whose objectives include military aggression against the other party. Israel and Jordan will abstain from hostile propaganda and will repeal all discriminatory references and expressions of hostility in their respective legislation.

□ Water

Israel and Jordan have agreed on allocations of water from the Jordan and Yarmouk Rivers and from Araba/Arava ground waters. Israel has agreed to transfer to Jordan 50 million cubic meters of water annually from the northern part of the country. In addition, the two countries have agreed to cooperate alleviate the water shortage by developing existing and new water resources, by preventing contamination of water resources, and by minimizing water wastage.

☐ Freedom of Passage



There will be freedom of access to the places of religious and historical significance. In accordance wit the Washington Declaration, Israel respects the present special role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Muslim holy shrines in Jerusalem. When negotiations on the permanent status, as detailed in the Declaration of Principles, will take place, Israel will give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines.

☐ Refugees and Displaced Persons

The parties recognize the human problems caused by the conflict in the Middle East, and agree to alleviate them on a bilateral level and to try to resolve them....

☐ Normalization of Relations between Israel and Jordan

The peace treaty deals not only with an end to war, but also normalization. The two countries will establish full diplomatic relations, including the appointment of ambassadors and the establishment cembassies. Various articles of the treaty deal with practical issues of normalization in such matters as culture and science, the war against crime and drugs, transportation and roads, postal services and telecommunications, tourism the environment, energy, health, agriculture, and the development of th Jordan rift Valley and the Aqaba/Eilat area.

Economic cooperation is seen as one of the pillars of peace, vital to the promotion of secure and harmonious relations between the two peoples.

(Source: Middle East Peace Process - An Overview, Information Division Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem, Extract)



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☐ Freedom of Passage



Nationals from both countries and their vehicles will be permitted freedom of movement through ope roads and border-crossings. Vessels from either country will have the right to passage through territorial waters, and will be granted access to ports. Negotiations are underway towards a Civil Aviation Agreement. The Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba are considered international waterways open to all nations for freedom of navigation and over flight.

☐ Places of Historical and Religious Significance

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The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin

To a large extent, religiosity has become a good indicator of Israelis' attitudes on peacemaking and territories issues, specifically the Oslo process. This nexus elicits its harshest rhetoric in the context of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin on Nov. 4, 1995. The second anniversary of the assassination, observed on Nov. 4-12, 1997, brought forth a discourse that suggests, to those engaged in it, that the tragedy has created a new pressure sore.

Nine Days, Two Conspiracy Theories

The anniversary period occasioned a raft of headlines suggesting that "the Left" and "the Right" were squaring off for war over the causes (note the plural) of the Rabin assassination, with the focus on conspiracies.

The conspiracy theory expressed in the name of "the Left" emerged in November 1995, immediately after the assassination. Articulated sometimes as an innuendo and sometimes as a certainty, it alleged that Rabin had been assassinated collectively by "the Right," "the settlers," "the religious," or some combination/mutation of the three. Yigal Amir's trigger finger, this account argued,



was a marionette appendage actuated by vile and benighted hordes that should be cast out of the Israeli polity if not targeted for revenge. Those who share this conviction have coined a slogan: "Never Forgive, Never Forget." In an advertisement published on Nov. 7, for example, the Peace Bloc (an alliance of small groups rooted in Canaanism and the intifada-era far Left) referred to Rabin's murder "by nationalist religious zealots." Within a few days, unidentified individuals had issued death threats against several rightist-Orthodox parliamentarians.

The theory expressed by "the Right" revolved around Avishai Raviv, whom the General Security Service (GSS) had recruited to inform on the extreme Right. The publication of hitherto-classified sections of Shamgar Commission of Inquiry into the Rabin assassination, which by chanced coincided with the anniversary, shed some light on Raviv's provocative tactics and led some to argue that Raviv had incited Amir on the instructions of the GSS, which had

scores to settle with Rabin.

Proponents of the two theories met, so to speak, on Nov. 30 at a Tel Aviv workshop entitled: "The Avishai Raviv Affair and Who is Afraid of Probing the Conspiracy to Assassinate Rabin." While the Ravivists conspired inside the hall, a squad of demonstrators from a peace movement protested outside. The message on their posters: "Everyone knows who incited."

Some mainstream figures who keep their distance from conspiracy-mongers nevertheless allude to these sentiments. On the Right, cabinet secretary Danny Naveh alleged (Nov. 15) that politicians associated with the previous Government knew that at least some of Avishai Raviv's actions were committed "within the framework" of the GSS and exploited them to besmirch the "national camp" (as the mainstream Right has termed itself since the 1980s). MK Rehavam Zeevy, head of the Moledet Party, blamed Rabin for his own murder "as the official in charge of the GSS" (Nov. 14).

On the center-left, <u>Labour Party</u> chairman <u>Ehud Barak</u> flirted with his fringe's conspiracy theory in otherwise conciliatory memorial remarks on Nov. 12. "May we never assail each other from rooftops and terraces," he said, alluding to the infamous 1995 <u>Likud</u> rally, addressed by party leader <u>Benjamin</u> Netanyahu from a balcony, beneath which Raviv circulated with a poster that had Rabin's head superimposed on a picture of SS commander Heinrich Himmler in full regalia—"and not stand at streetcorners and plazas surrounded by symbols of death, blood, and treason"—an in direct reference to the extraparliamentary movements' tactics that year. However, Barak then deliberately modified the fringe players' formula: "We won't forget Rabin, and we won't forgive his *murderer*."

The notion of setting aside the Rabin assassination as *sui generis*, as Israel usually does with the Holocaust—a matter comparable to nothing else, an event only to be rued and, in the context of recurrence, prevented—has yet to mature among those who feel strongly about the matter.

Who Wants This War?

Not the majority of Israel.

On July 8, the Knesset enacted a State memorial day for Yitzhak Rabin, to be marked annually on 12 Heshvan, the anniversary of his death according to the Jewish calendar. On Dec. 22, the Knesset Dialogue, Tolerance, and Conciliation Covenant was signed, realizing a post-assassination initiative of MK Rafi Edery (Labour), President Ezer Weizman, and Sephardi Chief Rabbi Bakshi-Doron. Its signatories, including Prime Minister Netanyahu, opposition leader Barak, ministers and parliamentarians from all factions, and various extraparliamentary movements, undertook to "act within the law, display mutual respect; avoid rhetoric of hate and incitement, maintain civilized debate in the Knesset, and take action against anyone who threatens democratic governance." The internal security system kept the "Ideological Front," successor to the two outlawed Kahanist movements, under close surveillance.

The courts chilled the violent brew that preceded the assassination. (1) In February, the State appealed successfully the September 1996 District Court reversal of the conviction in Netanya Magistrate's Court of Nathan Ophir, rabbi of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for behavior liable to breach the peace and obstructing police in an attempted assault against Prime Minister Rabin on Oct. 10, 1995. Ophir was sentenced to 160 hours of public service. (2) On Sept. 3, Jerusalem Magistrate's Court convicted anti-Oslo leaders Moshe Feiglin and Shmuel Sackett of sedition for their conduct in the summer of 1995. (3) On Nov. 27, Jerusalem Magistrate's Court sentenced Michael Ben-Horin to eight months in prison for incitement to racism and support of a terror organization for having edited Barukh hagever, a memorial anthology for Baruch Goldstein.

The mainstream "settler Right," contrary to routine assessments by the mainstream and fringe Left, reckoned with itself harshly after the assassination. Its establishment barred fringe groups from its political activities and employed such caution in expressing its political aims as to leave its messages sterile and unfocused. Its rank-and-file, perceptibly if less firmly, expunged extreme individuals from its social life.

As for the country at large, the anniversary observances followed the composite Jewish/Western model of rituals that typified the 1995 outpouring. The civic shrine at the site of the assassination, Rabin Square outside Tel Aviv City Hall, has become so accepted in this function that a memorial rally there on Saturday night, Nov. 8, drew an estimated 200,000 persons. Official ceremonies and observances (Nov. 11-12) covered enough institutions as to engage nearly everyone. Orthodox and secular leaders erected "remembrance tents" for fasting, study, and lectures. The mass memorialization and bereavement, so unlike the stridency of the conspiracy-mongers, shows that the public is pursuing a "conspiracy" of its own, with an alacrity that can hardly be insincere: excluding the Rabin assassination and its circumstances from the struggle to delineate the contours of Israeli society.

Source: Israel Yearbook & Almanac. Reprinted with permission.

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About This Sit-

1994: Jewish settler kills 30 at holy site

A Jewish settler has killed up to 30 Palestinians at a mosque in Hebron after opening fire as people gathered for Friday morning prayers.

US-born doctor Baruch Goldstein. 38, burst into the mosque in the Machpela Cave and fired up to 100 bullets at worshippers, according to state TV reports.

Eyewitnesses said Goldstein sprayed people with his automatic Galil rifle, an Israeli-made copy of the Soviet AK47. The shooting spree lasted at least 10 minutes, witnesses added.

The mosque was packed with up to 800 worshippers for prayers in the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan.

Goldstein, wearing the uniform of an army reservist, was found dead in the mosque after the shooting stopped.

Initially, police believed that Goldstein had shot himself but in a later statement they said he had been beaten to death with iron bars.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat said in a TV interview: 'What has happened today in the mosque is a real tragedy and will make a very negative backfire on the whole peace process.'

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin



Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein shot worshippers during Friday prayers

PLAY VIDEO

The BBC's Mark Urban: "Distraught relatives tried to make sense of what happened."

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26 Jul 1994	israeřs London embassy domined	
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In Context

Between 30 and 54 Palestinians are believed to have died in the gun attack by Baruch Goldstein in Hebron.

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1986: Corazon Aquinc Philippines president 1964: Cassius Clay cri

champion

1956: Khrushchev lasi Stalin

1972: Miners call off c strike

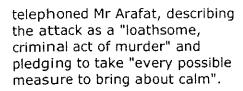
1991: Birmingham Six freedom

1982: Parents can sto beatings

Jane Gara

Israeli Ministry of Fore Palestinian National Ar Yitzhak Rabin 1922-19

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Mr Rabin said Israel would launch an investigation into the killings.

The floor of the mosque was full of bodies and blood Mohammad Suleiman

Abu Saleh

Mosque guard Mohammad Suleiman Abu Saleh said he thought that Goldstein was trying to kill as many people as possible and described how there were bodies and blood everywhere.

There were unconfirmed reports that Goldstein had an accomplice inside the mosque.

The injured were taken to the Aghli Hospital in western Hebron, where thousands gathered for news of relatives and friends who were in the mosque at the time of the attack.

The army is reported to have killed 12 Palestinians as rioting erupted outside the hospital as feelings ran high in the aftermath of the shootings.

Dr Daoud Obeidi, director of the Aghli Hospital, said from the shrapnel wounds suffered by some of the worshippers, it appeared hand grenades were used in the attack.

Three hours after the attack, which happened at around dawn, hospital officials could still not say exactly how many were killed and injured.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has demanded that An official inquiry later ruled that Goldstein had been working on his own and did not have an accomplice.

Goldstein had lived in Israel for 11 years and was a doctor in the Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba, just outside Hebron.

As the settlement's main emergency doctor he was involved in treating victims of Arab-Israeli violence.

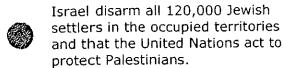
It is reported that his hatred became so intense that eventually he refused to treat Palestinians.

Goldstein had been a member of the Jewish Defence League, a violent organisation established by Rabbi Meir Kahane.

Some settlers treated Goldstein as a saint, establishing a shrine to him that was forcibly removed by the Israeli Government in 1999.

Goldstein is not the first American behind an attack against Palestinians in Israeliheld areas.

In 1982, Alan Goodman staged a shooting spree outside the holy Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, killing two people.



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Ariel Sharon

Ariel ("Arik") Sharon was born at Kfar Malal on February 27, 1928. He served in the IDF for more than 25 years, retiring with the rank of Major-General. He joined the Haganah at the age of 14 in 1942. During the 1948 War of Independence, he commanded an infantry company in the Alexandroni Brigade. In 1953, he founded and led the "101" special commando unit which carried out retaliatory operations against Palestinian *fedayeen*. Sharon was appointed commander of a Paratroop Corps in 1956 and fought in the Sinai Campaign. In 1957, he attended the Camberley Staff College in Great Britain.

During 1958-62, Sharon served as Infantry Brigade Commander and then Infantry School Commander, and attended Law School at Tel Aviv University. He was appointed Head of the Northern Command Staff in 1964 and Head of the Army Training Department in 1966. He participated in the 1967 Six Day War as commander of an armored division. In 1969 he was appointed Head of the Southern Command Staff.

Sharon resigned from the army in June 1972, but was recalled to active military service in the 1973 Yom Kippur War to command an armored division. He led the crossing of the Suez Canal which helped secure an Israeli victory in the war and eventual peace with Egypt.

Ariel Sharon was elected to the Knesset in December 1973, but resigned a year later, serving as Security Adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1975). He was elected to the Knesset in 1977. Following the elections, he joined the Herut party and was appointed Minister of Agriculture in Menachem Begin's first government (1977-81).

In 1981, Ariel Sharon was appointed Defense Minister, serving in this post during the Lebanon War. In November 1981, he brought about the first strategic cooperation agreement with the U.S. and widened defense ties between Israel and many nations. He also helped bring thousands of Jews from Ethiopia through Sudan.

In 1983, Sharon resigned as Defense Minister after a government commission found him indirectly responsible for the September 1982 massacre of Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Lebanese Phalangists (Christians).

Sharon remained in the government and served in several other minister positions. In 1996, Ariel Sharon was appointed Minister of National Infrastructure and was involved in fostering joint ventures with Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinians. He also served as Chairman of the Ministerial Committee for Bedouin advancement. In 1998, Ariel Sharon was appointed Foreign Minister and headed the permanent status negotiations with the Palestinian Authority.

Following the election of Ehud Barak as Prime Minister in May 1999, Ariel Sharon was called upon to become interim Likud party leader following the resignation of Benjamin Netanyahu. In September 1999, he was elected Chairman of the Likud. He also served as a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in the Knesset.

On September 28, 2000, Sharon made a visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, to emphasize Israel's claim to sovereignty over the Temple Mount. Palestinians maintained

that Sharon came with "thousands of Israeli soldiers" and defiled a Muslim holy place. Sharon did not attempt to enter any mosques and his 34 minute visit was conducted during normal hours when the area is open to tourists. Palestinian youths — eventually numbering around 1,500 — shouted slogans in an attempt to inflame the situation. Some 1,500 Israeli police were present at the scene to forestall violence.

In a special election held February 6, 2001, Ariel Sharon was elected Prime Minister. He presented his government to the Knesset on March 7, 2001. After calling early elections to the 16th Knesset, which were held on January 28, 2003, Ariel Sharon was charged by the president with the task of forming a government and presented his new government to the Knesset on February 27, 2003.

After several years of bloodshed, terror, and stalled peace talks with the Palestinians, Sharon devised the disengagement plan, which called for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops and settlers in the Gaza Strip, as well as the dismantlement of all settlements in the area, including four settlements in northern Samaria. This would ensure a higher degree of security for Israelis, and improve the lives of Palestinians. While Palestinian terrorism against Israelis was at its peak, and going virtually unchecked by Arafat and other Palestinian leaders, Sharon decided that Israel should act unilaterally to improve its security situation and reduce bloodshed. Between August 16 and August 30, 2005, Israeli safely evacuated more than 8,500 Israeli settlers and, on September 11, 2005, Israeli soldiers left Gaza, ending Israel's 38-year presence in the area.

Facing bitter infighting in Likud, Sharon formally resigned from the party to form a new centrist party, "Kadima," or "Forward" on November 21, 2005. Following the Likud Party spilt, Sharon outlined the goals of his new party. One, he said, is to closely follow the United States-backed road map plan for peace with the Palestinians. Sharon declared that there will be no more unilateral withdrawals from the West Bank, and insisted that Palestinian terrorist groups be disarmed and dismantled. The Kadima party platform calls for "maximum security and assuring that Israel be a Jewish national home and that another state that shall arise be demilitarized, with terrorists disarmed."

In mid-December, 2005, Sharon spent two days in a hospital after suffering a minor stroke, which doctors said caused no irreparable brain damage. However, on January 4, 2006, Sharon was rushed to the hospital following another, more serious stroke. Sharon suffered a massive brain hemorrhage, which caused extensive cerebral bleeding.

Benjamin Netanyahu

Born in TelAviv on October 21, 1949, Benjamin Netanyahu grew up in Jerusalem. He spent his high school years in the United States. Returning to Israel in 1967, Mr. Netanyahu enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces and served in an elite commando unit.

Before entering political life, Mr. Netanyahu served as a soldier and officer in an elite antiterror unit in the Israel Defense Forces.. Netanyahu participated in various missions during the War of Attrition, including the Beirut Airport operation. He took part in the rescue of the hijacked Sabena Airlines hostages at Ben Gurion Airport, in which he was wounded. He was also cited for outstanding operational leadership by O.C. Northern Command, the late Maj. Gen. Motta Gur. He was discharged from the I.D.F. in 1972 and reached the rank of captain following the Yom Kippur War.

Mr. Netanyahu received a B.Sc. in Architecture and an M.Sc. in Management Studies from MIT. He also studied political science at MIT and Harvard University. After completing his studies he was employed by the Boston Consulting Group, an international business consulting firm. He later joined the senior management of Rim Industries in Jerusalem.

In 1979 he initiated and organized an international conference against terrorism, under the auspices of the Jonathan Institute a private foundation dedicated to the study of terrorism, which was named after his brother Jonathan who fell while leading the rescue party at Entebbe.

In 1982, Netanyahu assumed the position of Deputy Chief of Mission in the Israeli Embassy in Washington. He was a member of the first delegation to the talks on strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States. Two years later he was appointed Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations and served there for four years. As U.N. ambassador, Mr. Netanyahu led the effort that opened the U.N. Nazi War Crimes Archives in 1987.

Returning to Israel in 1988, Mr. Netanyahu was elected to the 12th Knesset as a Likud member and was appointed Deputy Foreign Minister.

During the Gulf War he served as Israel's principal representative in the international arena. In October 1991, he was a senior member of the Israeli delegation to the Madrid Peace Conference, which initiated the first direct negotiations between Israel and Syria, Lebanon, and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

On March 25, 1993, he was elected Likud Party Chairman and the party's candidate for Prime Minister. As Chairman of the Likud Party since 1993, Benjamin Netanyahu was elected Prime Minister of Israel in May 1996 in the first direct election of prime minister in Israel, serving in this position until July 1999. Following his defeat in the 1999 elections, he resigned from the chairmanship of the Likud and from the 15th Knesset.

In November 2002 Benjamin Netanyahu was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. Today, he is the again the chair of the Likud party.







Shimon Peres

Shimon Peres — public servant, parliamentarian and the eighth Prime Minister of the State of Israel — was born in Vishniev, Belarus in 1923 and immigrated to Palestine with his family at the age of eleven. He grew up in Tel Aviv and attended the agricultural high school at Ben Shemen.

Peres spent several years in Kibbutz Geva and Kibbutz Alumot, of which he was one of the founders, and in 1943 was elected Secretary of the Labor-Zionist youth movement. In 1947, after having been conscripted by David Ben-Gurion and Levi Eshkol to the Haganah Defense Forces, Shimon Peres was assigned responsibility for manpower and arms, an activity which he continued during the early part of Israel's War of Independence. A year later, in 1948, Shimon Peres was appointed head of Israel's navy and at war's end, assumed the position of Director of the Defense Ministry's delegation in the United States. While in the United States, he studied at the New-York School for Social Research and at Harvard.

In 1953, at the age of 29, Peres was appointed by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to the post of Director General of the Defense Ministry, a position he held until 1959. During that period, he shaped the special relations between Israel and France, and established Israel's electronic aircraft industries, as well as its nuclear program.

In 1956, Shimon Peres masterminded the Sinai Campaign. In 1959, Peres was elected to the Knesset, and has remained a member ever since. From that year, and until 1965, he served as Deputy Defense Minister. In 1965, together with David Ben-Gurion, he left the Mapai Labor Party and became Secretary General of Rafi (Israel Workers List). In 1967, he was instrumental in forming a union between Rafi and Mapai, giving birth to the Labor Party.

In 1969, Shimon Peres became Minister of Immigrant Absorption, as well as undertaking responsibility for the development of the occupied territories. From 1970 to 1974, he served as Minister of Transport and Communications. In 1974, after acting for a period of time as Minister of Information under Golda Meir's government, Peres was appointed Minister of Defense, replacing Moshe Dayan, a position he held until 1977.

While Minister of Defense, he revitalized and strengthened the Israel Defense Forces, and participated in the negotiations of the second interim agreement with Egypt. He was behind the 1976 Entebbe rescue operation and authored the "Good Fence" concept, promoting positive relations with residents of southern Lebanon.

Peres briefly served as Acting Prime Minister following the resignation of Prime Minister Rabin in 1977. Following the defeat of the Labor Party in the 1977 general elections - after thirty years of political hegemony - Peres was elected party chairman, a post he held until 1992.

Peres proposed the establishment of a National Unity Government after the 1984 elections. Peres served two non-consecutive terms as Prime Minister. His first tenure was from 1984 to 1986, based on a rotation arrangement with Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir. From 1986 to 1988, he served as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and from

November 1988 until the dissolution of the National Unity Government in 1990 - as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. He focused his energies on the failing economy and on the complex situation resulting from the 1982 war in Lebanon. Peres was also instrumental in the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon and the establishment of a narrow security zone in southern Lebanon.

After the return to power of the Labor Party as a result of the 1992 elections, Shimon Peres was once again appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. He initiated and conducted the negotiations that led to the signing of the Declaration of Principles with the PLO in September 1993 - which won him the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize, together with Rabin and Arafat.

In October 1994, the Treaty of Peace with Jordan was signed. Peres subsequently strove to promote relations with additional Arab countries in North Africa and the Persian Gulf - part of his vision of a "New Middle East."

Peres' second term as Prime Minister came in the wake of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1995. The Labor Party chose Peres as Rabin's successor, and the Knesset confirmed the decision with a vote of confidence, supported by both coalition and opposition members.

Following the assassination of the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 5, 1995, Shimon Peres became Prime Minister and Minister of Defense (November 1995), continuing to serve in this capacity for seven months, until the May 1996 elections. During this trying period, Peres strove to maintain the momentum in the peace process, despite a wave of terrorist attacks by Palestinian suicide bombers against Israeli civilians. In 1996, he founded The Peres Center for Peace. The Center's mission is to help build an infrastructure for peace by and for the people of the Middle East that promotes socioeconomic development, while advancing cooperation and mutual understanding. These goals are pursued by developing joint, cooperative projects between Israeli and Arab partners in the fields of economy, culture, education, healthcare, agriculture and media. Peres continued to serve as chairman of the Labor Party for a year after the party's election defeat. In June 1997, former Chief-of-Staff and Labor Member of Knesset Ehud Barak was elected chairman of the Labor Party.

From 1996-1999, he served as a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Peres served as Minister of Regional Cooperation from July 1999 until March 2001, and in March 2001 was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister in the National Unity government headed by Ariel Sharon, serving until October 2002 when he resigned together with the other Labor ministers.

In November 2005, Peres was defeated by Amir Peretz in an election for the leadership of the Labor Party. Peres subsequently announced he was quitting the party after more than 60 years to help Prime Minister Ariel Sharon pursue peace with the Palestinians.



Aviv Geffen, one of the most popular singers among Israeli youth, began studying music at age six and writing songs at age seven. He taught himself how to play six instruments, and devoted himself to music rather than school, not graduating past the eighth grade. Although Geffen has certain physical infirmities, his controversial and well-publicized failure to serve in the IDF was based on conscientious objection rather than medical reasons--a particularly controversial decision for such a popular figure who is also the nephew of Moshe Dayan.

Geffen produced his first album in 1992 and since then has released five more. His songs voice a challenge to traditional values and address themes popular among youth - such as love, violence, drugs and alcohol, and parent-child relationships. His exotic appearance, ranging from his bizarre clothing to his heavy makeup, is reminiscent of David Bowie. Geffen was also one of the last artists to perform at the November 4,1995 peace rally in Tel Aviv at which Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated, and as such, one of the last to come in direct contact with Rabin. He is the son of the well-known Israeli poet, Yahonaton Geffen.



Dana International

Dana International was born Yaron Cohen in Tel Aviv, Israel on February 2, 1972. She is an Israeli transsexual pop singer of Yemenite origin, who won the 1998 Eurovision Song Contest for her song "Diva". She was the first Israeli artist to be interviewed on MTV.

Next to original songs, International is known for her cover versions of old hits. She has so far released eight albums, and a further three compilation albums. Yaron realized early that he belonged on stage. He enjoyed the Eurovision Contest and followed it closely, especially when Ofra Haza (who also had Yemenite roots) represented Israel with the song "Hi" (1983).

International's first hit was the song "My Name Is Not Sa'ida". It was a lampooning cover version of Whitney Houston's song "My Name Is Not Susan" It received a great deal of radio airplay.

In 1993, Yaron flew to London for sex reassignment surgery, returning as Sharon Cohen. That same year she released her first album, *Dana International*, in Israel, which was soon released in other Middle East countries such as Egypt and Jordan. Her stage name came from the title track of this album. *Dana International* soon went gold in Israel.

Natan Sharansky

Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky was born in the Ukraine, and graduated with a degree in mathematics from the Physical Technical Institute in Moscow.

In 1973, Sharansky applied for an exit visa to Israel, but was refused on "security" grounds. He remained prominently involved in Jewish refusenik activities until his arrest in 1977. Convicted in 1978 of treason and spying on behalf of the United States, Sharansky was sentenced to thirteen years imprisonment. He spent 16 months in Moscow's Lefortovo prison, frequently in solitary confinement and in a special "torture cell," before being transferred to a notorious prison camp in the Siberian gulag.

During the years of his imprisonment, Sharansky became a symbol for human rights in general and Soviet Jewry in particular. A campaign for his release was waged tirelessly by his wife, Avital, who emigrated to Israel immediately following their wedding with the hope that her husband would follow shortly. Intense diplomatic efforts and public outcries for his release were unsuccessful until 1986, when Sharansky was released as part of an East-West prisoner exchange. Freed on the border of a still-divided Germany, he was met by the Israeli ambassador who presented him immediately with his new Israeli passport under the Hebrew name of Natan Sharansky. He arrived in Israel on February 11, 1986, and was greeted by leading government officials, including then Prime Minister Shimon Peres, and was given a hero's welcome.

In 1988, he was elected President of the newly created Zionist Forum, the umbrella organization of former Soviet activists. He also served as an associate editor of the *Jerusalem Report*.

Increasingly disappointed with Israel's absorption of the large influx of Soviet Jews, he wrote frequently on the subject, and in 1995 created a new political party, Yisrael b'Aliyah, dedicated to helping immigrants' professional, economic and social acculturation. In the elections the following year, the party won seven Knesset seats, and Sharansky was named Minister of Industry and Trade.

Sharansky served as Minister of Industry and Trade from June 1996-1999. He served as Minister of the Interior from July 1999 until his resignation in July 2000. He served as Minister of Housing and Construction and Deputy Prime Minister from March 2001 until February 2003. In February 2003, Natan Sharansky was appointed Minister without Portfolio, responsible for Jerusalem, social and Diaspora affairs.

Sharansky resigned from the government on May 2, 2005, because of his opposition to Ariel Sharon's disengagement plan.



Gila Almagor

Once acclaimed as a symbol of Israeli culture, in which her work has been noted to have enriched the Israeli art scene, Gila Almagor (b. Petach Tikva) is known today as one of Israel's leading actresses and renowned authors; however, her early years were not glamorous. Almagor's father died before she was born and she spent most of her younger years living in various children's homes. Her love for the stage and acting began in her early teens, and she was only seventeen when she made her debut.

Following a two-year period of studying ballet, acting and music in New York in her early twenties, Gila moved to Israel where she dedicated her life to the screen, stage and television. The results of her hard work and talent were displayed through the numerous awards she received, and the choice of various directors to cast her in a number of the major female roles of the theatrical canon. Some of her well-known roles include leads in Anne Frank, Jeanne d'Arc, The Crucible, Three Sisters, The Bride and the Butterfly Hunt, They Were All My Children and Medea. Almagor has also appeared in more than 40 films, including Sallah (1965), Fortuna Girl From the Dead Sea (1967), Siege (1970), The House on Chelouche Street (1973), The Death Merchants (1975), The Thin Line (1980), Hide and Seek (1980), The Spy Who Never Was (1986), Every Time We Say Goodbye (1986), Summer of Aviya (1988) and Under the Domim Tree (1995). To add to her long list of accomplishments, Gila has also appeared in numerous Israeli television series.

In 1987, she published her book *The Summer of Aviya*, based on her personal biography. Well received, both at home and abroad, this book has been translated into numerous languages and has had widespread success. Later, Almagor appeared in a one-woman show, also by the name *The Summer of Aviya*, which was awarded the Rubina Prize. The book was also made into a movie, which allowed her to represent Israel at important film festival worldwide. Her second book, *Under the Domim Tree*, which was published in June 1992, also garnered widespread success and was made into a movie in 1995, which won the Vulgin Prize at the Jerusalem Film Festival. In 1997, she received the Israeli Oscar for her contribution to Israeli cinema. In 1999, she received an honorary award for her life's work at the international film festival in Haifa.

Almagor was also one of the founders of Ami (the Israeli Artists Association) and served as the spokesperson and deputy chairperson of the organization. Currently, she serves as the president of ASSITEJ Israeli - the Israeli branch of the Association of Theatre for Children and Young People, as a judge at international film festivals, as a member of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa City Council, and as chairperson of the Culture Committee for the city.

Almagor is active in philanthropy and established the "Gila Almagor Wishes Foundation," which is a nonprofit organization that supports sick children and works to fulfill their wishes. In addition, she serves as the head of the Tel Aviv branch of the Israeli Cancer Association. In July 1996, she received the President's Merit Award for Volunteers as recognition for her years of voluntary work. Almagor has also won the Israel Prize.





Amos Oz

Amos Oz was born in 1939 in Jerusalem. At the age of 15 he went to live on a kibbutz. He studied philosophy and literature at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and was visiting fellow at Oxford University, author-in-residence at the Hebrew University and writer-in-residence at Colorado College. He has been named Officer of Arts and Letters of France. An author of prose for both children and adults, as well as an essayist, he has been widely translated and is internationally acclaimed. He has been honored with the French Prix Femina and the 1992 Frankfurt Peace Prize. He lives in the southern town Arad and teaches literature at Ben Gurion University of the Negev.

Amos Oz has rooted his writing in the tempestuous history of his homeland. Through his writing, both fiction and nonfiction, runs a common thread: examining human nature, recognizing its frailty but glorying in its variety, Oz consistently makes the plea for an end to ambivalence, for dialogue, for a channeling of passions towards faith in the future. With an economy of words, Oz presents the people of Israel, its political tribulations and biblical landscape. Newsweek writes, "Eloquent, humane, even religious in the deepest sense, [Oz] emerges as a kind of Zionist Orwell: a complex man obsessed with simple decency and determined above all to tell the truth, regardless of whom it offends."



Arab Perspective

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The 1982 Israeli Invasion (Operation Peace for Galilee)

On June 3, 1982, terrorists of the Abu Nidal Organization, a group that had split off from the PLO, attempted to assassinate Shlomo Argov, the Israeli ambassador to Britain. Israel seized on the attack as the pretext for launching its long-planned offensive. On June 4, IDF aircraft bombed Palestinian targets in West Beirut, and the PLO resumed artillery fire on Israeli settlements in the northern Galilee.

The Israeli cabinet convened and voted to authorize an invasion, named Operation Peace for Galilee, but it set strict limits on the extent of the incursion. The IDF was to advance no farther than forty kilometers, the operation was to last only twenty-four hours, Syrian forces were not to be attacked, and Beirut was not to be approached.

Because of the limits imposed by the Israeli cabinet, the IDF implemented its attack in increments, neither openly recognizing nor acknowledging its destination and objectives. Had it been ordered from the outset to secure Beirut, it could have done so in an effective and efficient manner. Instead, the IDF advance unfolded in an ad hoc and disorganized fashion, greatly increasing the difficulty of the operation.

When IDF ground forces crossed into Lebanon on June 6, they pursued a battle strategy that entailed a three-pronged attack conducted by five divisions and two reinforced brigade-size units. On the western axis, two divisions converged on Tyre and proceeded north along the coastal road toward Sidon, where they were to link up with an amphibious commando unit that had secured a beachhead north of the city. In the central sector, a third division veered diagonally across southern Lebanon, conquered the Palestinian-held Beaufort Castle, located a few kilometers southwest of Mari Uyun, and headed west toward Sidon, where it linked up with the coastal force in a classic pincer movement. The IDF advanced rapidly in the first day of the war, bypassing and enveloping pockets of PLO resistance. Most PLO military officers fled, abandoning their men, who split into small roving guerrilla bands. Moreover, it became clear that the PLO was fighting alone against the Israeli onslaught. The Shia Amal guerrillas had been ordered by their leaders not to fight and to surrender their weapons if necessary. South Lebanon's Shias had long suffered under Palestinian domination, and Shia villagers welcomed the advancing Israelis by showering them with rice and flowers. This traditional form of homage, later repeated by the Druze and Christian populations, lent credence to the Israeli claim that it was "liberating" Lebanon.

But Palestinian resistance proved tenacious, particularly in the sprawling refugee camps in the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon. Staging hit-and-run operations and fighting in house-to-house and hand-to-hand combat, the Palestinians inflicted a high number of casualties of the IDF and impeded the progress of the Israeli advance. The IDF was further hampered because the refugee camps were inhabited by large numbers of civilian noncombatants who harbored the Palestinian fighters. Although the IDF made significant initial efforts to

evacuate the civilians, it ultimately resorted to saturation bombing to subdue the camps. Palestinian resistance was especially fierce in the Ayn al Hulwah camp near Sidon, where several hundred Palestinian fighters fought to the last man, delaying the IDF advance for seven days. After the camp was leveled, the IDF stood poised to move against Beirut.

Two days later in the central combat zone, two divisions thrust directly north on parallel courses into Syrian-held territory with the mission of severing the strategic Beirut-Damascus highway. On June 8, the IDF evicted the Syrian Army from Jezzine and proceeded north.

The IDF could not proceed further against the entrenched Syrian positions without close air support, but Syria's air defense systems threatened Israeli control of the skies. On June 9, the Israeli cabinet gave permission for an air raid against the Syrian antiaircraft missile batteries in the Biqa Valley. The Syrians, caught by surprise, sustained severe losses; of the nineteen missile batteries, only two were left intact by the Israeli attack. The Syrian Air Force made a desperate bid to protect the air defense system by sending up scores of interceptors and fighters, resulting in what both sides described as the biggest air battle in history, with over 200 aircraft engaged in supersonic dogfights over a 2,500 square kilometer area. The Israeli Air Force shot down twenty-nine Syrian aircraft in the first encounter of that day, and later about fifty more. In fact, during the entire operation, the Syrians would lose a total of 90 aircraft in air to air combat without a single Israeli loss. The devastation of the Syrian air defense system and the decimation of the Syrian Air Force provided the IDF with total air superiority in Lebanon and left the Syrian infantry exposed to air attack.

All did not go so smoothly however for the Israelis. On the 10th of June an Israeli battle group of M60 tanks was leading the push to the highway when they ran into serious trouble between Ain Zhalta and Ain Dara. The Syrians had been shelling the road so the Israelis advanced at night. The going was slow and just outside of Ain Dara they were ambushed by a brigade of Syrian commandos, artillery, and amour approximately five kilometers short of the highway. The Syrian commandos came in so close that at one point they were actually climbing onto the Israeli tanks to ensure their kills. The commander of the supporting artillery battery had to fire anti personnel rounds on top of his own takes so as to dislodge the attacking Syrians. Gradually a corridor was opened to enable the Israelis to pull back around dawn. With day break on the 11th June the Israeli Air Force was able to go into action and destroyed the Syrian tank and gun positions with the aid of another tank column. Syrian reinforcements were caught en route by Israeli ground attack aircraft. At the same time, the IDF continued to maul 1st Armored Division of the Syrian army in a battle that started on 9th June north of Lake Qaraoun and raged on for three days. By the afternoon of the 11th about half of the Syrian 1st Armored Division had been destroyed and the rest were on the retreat.

The IDF had broken the last line of Syria's defense but owing to political pressures, however, on June 11 Israel and Syria agreed to a truce under United States auspices and the Israeli advance stopped just a couple of kilometers short of the Beirut-Damascus highway.

The Siege of Beirut

The cease-fire signaled the start of a new stage in the war, as Israel focused on PLO forces trapped in Beirut. Although Israel had long adhered to the axiom that conquering and occupying an Arab capital would be a political and military disaster, key Israeli leaders were determined to drive the PLO out of Beirut. According to the original plan, the LF were to move into West Beirut under the covering fire of Israeli artillery and reunite the divided capital. Bashir Gemayel concluded, however, that such overt collusion with the IDF would prejudice his chances to become president, and he reneged on the promises he had made.

Israel maintained the siege of Beirut for seventy days, unleashing a relentless barrage of air, naval, and artillery bombardment. At times, the Israeli bombardment appeared to be random and indiscriminate; at other times, it was targeted with pinpoint precision. Israeli strategists believed that if they could "decapitate" the Palestinian movement by killing its leaders, Palestinian resistance would disappear. Therefore, the Israeli Air Force conducted what has been called a "manhunt by air" for Arafat and his top lieutenants and on several occasions bombed premises only minutes after the PLO leadership had vacated them.

If the PLO was hurt physically by the bombardment, the political fallout was just as damaging to Israel. The appalling civilian casualties earned Israel world opprobrium. Morale plummeted among IDF officers and enlisted men, many of whom personally opposed the war. Meanwhile, the highly publicized plight of the Palestinian civilians garnered world attention for the Palestinian cause. Furthermore, Arafat was negotiating, albeit through intermediaries, with Ambassador Habib and other United States officials. Negotiating with Arafat was thought by some to be tantamount to United States recognition of the PLO.

The Expulsion of the Palestinians

Arafat had threatened to turn Beirut into a "second Stalingrad," to fight the IDF to the last man. His negotiating stance grew tenuous, however, after Lebanese leaders, who had previously expressed solidarity with the PLO, petitioned him to abandon Beirut to spare the civilian population further suffering. Arafat informed Habib of his agreement in principle to withdraw the PLO from Beirut on condition that a multinational peacekeeping force be deployed to protect the Palestinian families left behind. With the diplomatic deadlock broken, Habib made a second breakthrough when Syria and Tunisia agreed to host departing PLO fighters. An advance unit of the Multinational Force (MNF), 350 French troops, arrived in Beirut on August 21. The Palestinian evacuation by sea to Cyprus and by land to Damascus commenced on the same day. On August 26, the remaining MNF troops arrived in Beirut, including a contingent of 800 United States Marines. The Palestinian exodus ended on September 1. Over 11,000 Palestinian fighters including some 8,000 Fatch guerrillas, 2,600 PLA regulars, as well as 3,600 Syrian troops had been evacuated from west Beirut. However there were still some 10,000 Palestinian fighters in Lebanon the mainly in the northern section Bekaa valley north and around Tripoli.

Taking stock of the war's toll, Israel announced that 344 of its soldiers had been killed and over 2,000 wounded. Israel calculated that hundreds of Syrian soldiers had been killed and over 1,000 wounded and that 1,000 Palestinian guerrillas had been killed and 7,000 captured. Lebanese estimates, compiled from International Red Cross sources and police and hospital surveys, calculated that 17,825 Lebanese had died and over 30,000 had been wounded.

On August 23, the legislature elected Bashir Gemayel president of Lebanon. On September 10, the United States Marines withdrew from Beirut, followed by the other members of the MNF. The Lebanese Army began to move into West Beirut, and the Israelis withdrew their troops from the front lines. But the war was far from over. By ushering in Gemayel as president and evicting the PLO from Beirut, Israel had attained two of its key war goals. Israel's remaining ambition was to sign a comprehensive peace treaty with Lebanon that would entail the withdrawal of Syrian forces and prevent the PLO from re-infiltrating Lebanon after the IDF withdrew.

Sabra and Shatila

On Wednesday 15 September 1982 shortly after 6:00 a.m. the I.D.F. began to enter west Beirut. During the first hours of the I.D.F. entry, there was no armed resistance to the advance because the guerrillas that were in West Beirut had been taken by surprise. Within a few hours, the I.D.F. encountered fire from guerrillas in a number of places in west Beirut, and combat operations began. The resistance caused delays in the I.D.F.'s taking over a number of points in the city and caused a change in the route of advance. In the course of this fighting three I.D.F. soldiers were killed and more than 100 were wounded. Heavy fire coming out of Shatilla was directed at one I.D.F. battalion advancing east of the camp. One of the battalion's soldiers was killed, 20 were injured, and the advance of the battalion in this direction was halted. Throughout Wednesday and to a lesser degree on Thursday and Friday (16-17.9.82), R.P.G. and light-weapons fire from the Sabra and Shatilla camps was directed at the Israeli forward command post and the battalion's forces nearby. Fire was returned by the I.D.F. forces.

It was not possible to obtain exact details on the size of the population in the refugee camps in Beirut. An estimate of the numbers in the four camps in west Beirut (Burj el-Barajneh, Fakahni, Sabra and Shatilla) was about 85,000 people. The war led to the flight of the population, but when the fighting subsided, a movement back to the camps began. According to estimates, in mid-September 1982 there were about 56,000 people in the Sabra and Shatila camps in total.

Over the previous few months, as the number of I.D.F. casualties mounted, public pressure for the Lebanese Forces to participate more in fighting increased. It was agreed at that a company of 150 fighters from the Lebanese Forces would enter the camps and that they would do so from south to north and from west to east to rout the remnant of the Palestinian forces and search for arms dumps. The IDF ordered its soldiers to refrain from entering the camps, but IDF officers supervised the operation from the roof of a six story forward command post building overlooking parts of the area.

On Thursday, 16.9.82, at approximately 6:00 pm, the Lebanese Forces entered the Shatilla camp in two groups from the west and south. The militiamen were mostly LF under the command of Elie Hobeika, a former close aide of Bashir Gemayel. With the entry of the Lebanese Forces into the camps, the firing which had been coming from the camps changed direction; the shooting which had previously been directed against the I.D.F. now shifted in the direction of the Lebanese Forces' liaison officer on the roof of the forward command post.

According to the report of the Kahan Commission established by the government of Israel to investigate the events, the IDF monitored the Lebanese Forces radio network and fired illumination flares from mortars and aircraft to light the area as the LF were operating in the dark.

At approximately 8:00 p.m., the Lebanese Forces' liaison officer, said that the Lebanese Forces who had entered the camps had sustained casualties, and the casualties were evacuated from the camps. Around this time the liaison officer also told various people that about 300 persons had been killed by the Lebanese Forces among them civilians, but shortly after, he amended his report by reducing the number of casualties from 300 to 120.

On Saturday, 18.9.82 at dawn the LF forces started to leave the camps and the last of their forces left the camps at approximately 8:00 a.m. By now reports had been circulated about a massacre in the camps and many journalists and media personnel arrived in the area. At about 17:00 hours, the Israelis met with a representative of the Lebanese army and appealed to him to have the Lebanese army enter the camps. Between 21:30 and 22:00 hours a reply was received that the Lebanese army would enter the camps. Lebanese army entry into the camps was effected on Sunday, 19.9.82. Red Cross personnel, many journalists and other persons also entered, and it then became apparent that in the camps, and particularly in Shatilla, civilians had been massacred. It was clear from the spectacle that presented itself that a considerable number of the killed had not been cut down in combat.

Over a period of two days, the militiamen massacred some 700 to 800 Palestinian men, women, and children. Accurate figures are not available but according to Robert Fisk, the total number of deaths in the camps given by the Director of Israeli Military Intelligence is 700, the International Committee for the Red Cross put the figure at 313 writes Jonathan Randal, with another 43 being counted by civil defense organizations and at least another 146 being buried by friends and relatives. Thomas Friedman, who won a Pulitzer price for his coverage of the massacre, quotes an official Red Cross figure of 210 and an unofficial estimated death toll of between 800 and 1,000.

The Lebanese inquest into the massacre produced some very interesting results. After an exhaustive questioning of eyewitnesses to the atrocity, More than one scenario was pieced together. There is general agreement on the above events however another version of events that is not often reported also emerged. Apparently, two groups of armed men, acting independently of each other, entered the two camps and began a series of revenge

killings. One group, Phalangist renegades from the region of Damour, Naamah, and Saadiyat and belonging to what was called the "Damouri Brigade", went into the camps to extract revenge for the massacres of their families by the leftists in Damour. The other group, of predominantly Shi'ite Moslems from South Lebanon, consisted of followers of Imam Ali Badr al-Din. The Imam had opposed the PLO presence in South Lebanon, as well as leftist ideological pressure on his community. He disappeared one evening on his way to the local mosque, and later his body was found in nearby Dayr Zahrani. The PLO claimed that the Israelis had killed Imam Ali, but his supporters believed the PLO had ambushed him. The Imam's supporters swore to avenge him and they may have kept their word.

In support of this view it has to be noted that some of those that entered the camps had a southern Lebanese accent which several of the survivors report in the course of the investigation into the massacre. Survivors also stated that a few of the participants in the massacre had Moslem names.

Hints were also made about the participation of Major Haddad's men in the massacre also on the basis of some southern Lebanese accents which was heard although no evidence linking Haddad's men was found.

One cannot rule out the possibility that in the interim 24 hour period between the departure of the Hobeika's forces and the entry of the Lebanese army, other forces such as the so supposed "Damouri Brigade", or followers of Imam Ali Badr al-Din or even members of Haddad's forces entered the camps and committed illegal acts there. Any combination of these scenarios is possible.

Shortly after the massacre a startling discovery was made. The Lebanese Army units that had entered the camp discovered a large network tunnels and bunkers. During the 12 years of Arafat's control of the heavily populated camps of Sabra and Shatilla he used them for storage of massive amounts of explosives and weapons. With Swiss made tunnel borers he carved out miles of tunnels and loaded them with rockets, ammunition, explosives, missiles, bombs and more. They also found extensive documentation detailing plans for a full scale invasion of Israel. The PLO along with the surrounding Arab states would commit their full armed forces to a future invasion. Having this munitions dump prepared in advance would offer quick re-supply and a very short supply line. It took weeks and hundreds of trucks to empty the tunnels. The Israeli advance into Lebanon had put an end to any such plan.

At the end of the war an official Lebanese government report was released which breaks down the casualty figures from 1975 to 1990, this put the total number of dead in Sabra and Shatila massacre at 857 and the number of wounded at 1,124.

The Multinational Force

At the behest of the Lebanese government, the Multinational Force (MNF) was deployed again in Beirut, but with over twice the manpower of the first peacekeeping force. It was designated MNF II and given the mandate to serve as an "interpositional force,"

separating the IDF from the Lebanese population. Additionally, MNF II was assigned the task of assisting the Lebanese Army in restoring the authority of the central government over Beirut. The United States dispatched a contingent of 1,400 men, France 1,500, and Italy 1,400. A relatively small British contingent of about 100 men was added in January 1983, at which time the Italian contingent was increased to 2,200 men. Each contingent retained its own command structure, and no central command structure was created. The French contingent was assigned responsibility for the port area and West Beirut. The Italian contingent occupied the area between West Beirut and Beirut International Airport, which encompassed the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The 32d United States Marines Amphibious Unit returned to Beirut on September 29, where it took up positions in the vicinity of Beirut International Airport. The Marines' positions were adjacent to the IDF front lines.

The Marines' stated mission was to establish an environment that permit would the Lebanese Army to carry out its responsibilities in the Beirut area. Tactically, the Marines were charged with occupying and securing positions along a line from the airport east to the Presidential Palace at Babda. The intent was to separate the IDF from the population of Beirut.

The key to the initial success of MNF II was its neutrality. The Lebanese government had assured Ambassador Habib in writing that it had obtained commitments from various factions to refrain from hostilities against the Marines. The United States reputation among the Lebanese was enhanced when a Marine officer was obliged to draw his pistol to halt an Israeli advance, an event sensationalized in the news media. And, in the same month, Marines conducted emergency relief operations in the mountains after a midwinter blizzard.

At this juncture, the prevalent mood in Lebanon was one of cautious optimism and hope. The Lebanese Army was pressed into service to clear away the rubble of years of warfare. The government approved a US\$600 million reconstruction plan. On October 1, President Gemayel declared Beirut reunited, as the army demolished barricades along the Green Line that had been standing since 1975. Hundreds of criminals and gang leaders were rounded up and arrested. In the first months of 1983, approximately 5,000 government troops were deployed throughout Greater Beirut. Most important, the government began to build a strong national army.

Lebanese optimism was bolstered by changing Israeli politics and policies. Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon, the architect of Israel's war in Lebanon, had resigned in the wake of the Sabra and Shatila investigation, although he remained in the cabinet as a minister without portfolio. He was replaced by the former ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arens. Although Arens was considered a hawk in the Israeli political spectrum, he was not committed to Sharon's ambitious goals and wanted the IDF to withdraw promptly from Lebanon, if only to avoid antagonizing the United States, with which he had cultivated a close relation. Accordingly, Israel withdrew its forces to the outskirts of the capital.

But the IDF had no clear tactical mission in Lebanon. Its continued presence was intended as a bargaining chip in negotiations for a Syrian withdrawal. While awaiting the political agreement, the IDF was forced to fight a different kind of war, which Israeli newspapers compared with the Vietnam War. The IDF had been turned into a static and defensive garrison force like the Syrians before them, caught in the cross fire between warring factions. When Phalangist forces tried to exploit the fluid situation by attacking the Druze militia in the Chouf Mountains in late 1983, the IDF had to intervene and separate the forces. In southern Lebanon, the IDF had to protect the many Palestinian refugees who had streamed back to the camps against attacks by Israel's proxy force, the SLA. In one of the bigger ironies of the war, the IDF recruited and armed Palestinian home guards to prevent a repetition of the massacres in Beirut.

American Anti-Occupation Perspective

What was the 1982 Lebanon war all about? What was Ariel Sharon's role?

In 1970, after a bitter battle with the Jordanian military, the PLO moved its headquarters from Jordan to Lebanon. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian civilians followed, and the existing camps in Lebanon were soon crowded with refugees. Lebanon played a regional role, and was soon a key focal point in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

With hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees living in Beirut and southern Lebanon, much of the governing, from schools and hospitals to licensing and legal systems, was taken over by the PLO. From 1975 Lebanon was stuck in a bloody civil war, pitting sectarian and religious factions against each other. Palestinian guerrillas and Israeli troops also continued to trade rocket fire across the Israeli-Lebanese border. In 1978, Israel took over a strip of southern Lebanon, and continued to occupy it in defiance of UN Resolution 425 which called for Israel to immediately and unconditionally withdraw. Instead of withdrawing, Israel sponsored an anti-Palestinian Christian-led militia, called the South Lebanon Army, by arming, paying, training and supporting them in the occupied zone.

Israel's real goal was to destroy the PLO infrastructure—social as well as military—in Lebanon, and to put in place a compliant, pro-Israeli regime in Beirut. In 1982, when it appeared that Lebanon's civil war could drag on forever without those goals being achieved, Israel decided to move on its own. But first Tel Aviv needed to be sure its allies in Washington would approve.

It was a little bit tricky. After all, the U.S.-brokered ceasefire between Israel and the PLO in south Lebanon and across Israel's northern border had held for almost a year. There wasn't an obvious provocation on which to claim that a direct Israeli invasion was "necessary for self-defense." In May 1982, Israel's Defense Minister Ariel Sharon went to Washington, to meet with President Reagan's Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Former President Jimmy Carter said after a national security briefing that "the word I got from very knowledgeable people in Israel is that 'we have a green light from Washington'."

Then a new provocation was created. On June 3, a renegade, anti-PLO Palestinian faction attempted to assassinate Israel's ambassador in London. The British police immediately identified Abu Nidal's forces as responsible, and revealed that PLO leaders themselves were among the names on the would-be assassins' hit list. The PLO had nothing to do with the London attack. But Israel claimed the attack (the ambassador remained unhurt) was a justification for war. Three days later, on June 6, 1982 the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in operation "Peace for Galllee," crossing the Litani River and moving as far north as Beirut, destroying the feeble resistance from local villagers and from United Nations peacekeeping troops swept aside in the assault. Israel remained in virtually uncontested control of the air, and had overwhelming military superiority on land and sea. Beirut was besieged and subjected to merciless bombing for two months. Casualties were enormous, totaling more than 17,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, mostly civilians. Hospitals were hit; the Palestinian refugee camps were leveled in massive bombardment.

Israel relied overwhelmingly on U.S.-supplied planes, bombs and other military equipment. But despite existing laws mandating that U.S. military supplies be used only for defensive purposes, no one in Washington complained. The New York Times said "American weapons were justly used to break the PLO." The Reagan administration and Congress both tried to outdo the other in calls to raise U.S. aid to Israel. Throughout June and July the siege of Beirut continued, with everyone in the city deprived of most food, water, electricity and safety. The bombing increased in early August, leading to a day of eleven solid hours of bombing on August 12. Condemnation poured in from around the world, and even the U.S. issued a mild criticism of the bombing. A ceasefire was soon achieved.

The U.S. brokered its terms, which centered on the PLO leaving Beirut—its guerrillas, its doctors, its

civilian infrastructure, its officials—everyone and everything would board ship heading for Tunis, almost as far from Palestine as you could get and still be in the Arab world. The U.S. agreed to serve as guarantor of Israel's promises, as protector of the Palestinian civilians, primarily women, children and old man, left behind. U.S. Marines were deployed as the centerpiece of an international force with a 30-day mandate to guard Beirut during the withdrawal of the PLO fighters.

-U.S. Campaign to End the Occupation

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The Lebanon War

by Mitchell Bard

Israel has long sought a peaceful northern border. But Lebanon's position as a haven for terrorist groups has made this impossible. In March 1978, PLO terrorists infiltrated Israel. After murdering an American tourist walking near an Israeli beach, they hijacked a civilian bus. The terrorists shot through the windows as the bus traveled down the highway. When Israeli troops intercepted the bus, the terrorists opened fire. A total of 34 hostages died in the attack. In response, Israeli forces crossed into Lebanon and overran terrorist bases in the southern part of that country, pushing the terrorists away from the border. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) withdrew after two months, allowing United Nations forces to enter. But UN troops were unable to prevent terrorists from reinfiltrating the region and introducing new, more dangerous arms.

Violence escalated with a series of PLO attacks and Israeli reprisals. Finally, the United States helped broker a ceasefire agreement in July 1981. The PLO repeatedly violated the cease-fire over the ensuing 11 months. Israel charged that the PLO staged 270 terrorist actions in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, and along the Lebanese and Jordanian borders. Twentynine Israelis died and more than 300 were injured in the attacks.

Meanwhile, a force of some 15-18,000 PLO members was encamped in scores of locations in Lebanon. About 5,000-6,000 were foreign mercenaries, coming from such countries as Libya, Iraq, India, Sri Lanka, Chad and Mozambique. Israel later discovered enough light arms and other weapons in Lebanon to equip five brigades. The PLO arsenal included mortars, Katyusha rockets and an extensive antiaircraft network. The PLO also brought hundreds of T34 tanks into the area. Syria, which permitted Lebanon to become a haven for the PLO and other terrorist groups, brought surface-to-air missiles into that country, creating yet another danger for Israel.

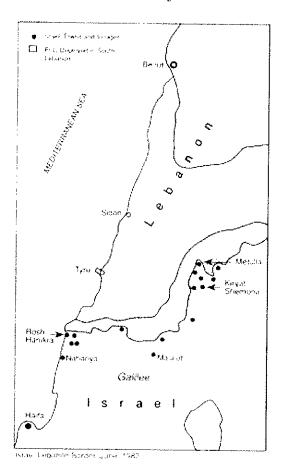
Israeli strikes and commando raids were unable to stem the growth of this PLO army. The situation in the Galilee became intolerable as the frequency of attacks forced thousands of residents to flee their homes or to spend large amounts of time in bomb shelters. Israel was not prepared to wait for more

deadly attacks to be launched against its civilian population before acting against the terrorists.

The final provocation occurred in June 1982 when a Palestinian terrorist group led by Abu Nidal attempted to assassinate Israel's Ambassador to Great Britain, Shlomo Argov. The IDF subsequently attacked Lebanon again on June 4-5, 1982. The PLO responded with a massive artillery and mortar attack on the Israeli population of the Galilee. On June 6, the IDF moved into Lebanon to drive out the terrorists in "Operation Peace for Galilee."

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger defended the Israeli operation: "No sovereign state can tolerate indefinitely the buildup along its borders of a military force dedicated to its destruction and implementing its objectives by periodic shellings and raids" (*Washington Post*, June 16, 1982).

"On Lebanon, it is clear that we and Israel both seek an end to the violence there, and a sovereign, independent Lebanon," President Reagan said June 21, 1982. "We agree that Israel must not be subjected to violence from the north."



The initial success of the Israeli operation led officials to broaden the objective to expel the PLO from Lebanon and induce the country's leaders to sign a peace treaty. In 1983, Lebanon's President, Amin Gemayel, signed a peace treaty with Israel. A year later, Syria forced Gemayel to renege on the agreement. The war then became drawn out as the IDF captured Beirut and

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surrounded Yasser Arafat and his guerrillas.

PLO Tyranny in Lebanon

For Arab residents of south Lebanon, PLO rule was a nightmare. After the PLO was expelled from Jordan by King Hussein in 1970, many of its cadres went to Lebanon. The PLO seized whole areas of the country, where it brutalized the population and usurped Lebanese government authority.

On October 14, 1976, Lebanese Ambassador Edward Ghorra told the UN General Assembly the PLO was bringing ruin upon his country: "Palestinian elements belonging to various splinter organizations resorted to kidnaping Lebanese, and sometimes foreigners, holding them prisoners, questioning them, and even sometimes killing them."

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, not known for being sympathetic toward Israel, declared after touring south Lebanon and Beirut that the facts "tend to support Israel's claim that the PLO has become permeated by thugs and adventurers" (*Washington Post*, June 25, 1982). Countless Lebanese told harrowing tales of rape, mutilation and murders committed by PLO forces.

New York Times correspondent David Shipler visited Damour, a Christian village near Beirut, which had been occupied by the PLO since 1976, when Palestinians and Lebanese leftists sacked the city and massacred hundreds of its inhabitants. The PLO, Shipler wrote, had turned the town into a military base, "using its churches as strongholds and armories" (New York Times, June 21, 1982).

When the IDF drove the PLO out of Damour in June 1982, Prime Minister Menachem Begin announced that the town's Christian residents could come home and rebuild. Returning villagers found their former homes littered with spray-painted Palestinian nationalist slogans, Fatah literature and posters of Yasir Arafat. They told Shipler how happy they were that Israel had liberated them.

The PLO's Reluctant Retreat

When the IDF captured Beirut, the civilian population was forced to suffer because of the PLO's refusal to surrender. By mid-June, Israeli troops had surrounded 6,000-9,000 terrorists who had taken up positions amid the civilian population of West Beirut. To prevent civilian casualties, Israel agreed to a cease-fire to enable an American diplomat, Ambassador Philip Habib, to mediate a peaceful PLO withdrawal from Lebanon. As a gesture of flexibility, Israel agreed to permit PLO forces to leave Beirut with their personal weapons. But the PLO continued to make new demands.

The PLO also adopted a strategy of controlled violations of the ceasefire, with the purpose of inflicting casualties on Israel and provoking Israeli retaliation sufficient to get the IDF blamed for disrupting the negotiations and harming The Lebanon War Page 4 of 6

civilians. For more than a month, the PLO tried to extract a political victory from its military defeat. Arafat declared his willingness "in principle" to leave Beirut, then refused to go to any other country. Arafat also tried to push the U.S. to recognize the PLO. Throughout the siege, the PLO hid behind innocent civilians, accurately calculating that if Israel were to attack, it would be internationally condemned.

"The Israelis bombed buildings, innocent looking on the outside, where their intelligence told them that PLO offices were hidden," wrote Middle East analyst Joshua Muravchik ("Misreporting Lebanon," *Policy Review*, Winter 1983). "Their intelligence also told them of the huge network of underground PLO storage facilities for arms and munitions that was later uncovered by the Lebanese Army. No doubt the Israelis dropped some bombs hoping to penetrate those facilities and detonate the dumps. The PLO had both artillery and antiaircraft [equipment] truck mounted. These would fire at the Israelis and then move." The Israelis would fire back and sometimes miss, inadvertently hitting civilian targets.

In numerous instances, the media mistakenly reported that Israel was hitting civilian targets in areas where no military ones were nearby. On one night in July, Israeli shells hit seven embassies in Beirut. NBC aired a report that appeared to lend credence to PLO claims it had no military positions in the area. Israel, Muravchik noted, "soon released reconnaissance photos showing the embassy area honeycombed with tanks, mortars, heavy machine guns and antiaircraft positions."

The Lebanon war provoked intense debate within Israel. For the first time in Israel's history, a consensus for war did not exist (though it did at the outset). Prime Minister Menachem Begin resigned as demands for an end to the fighting grew louder. The national coalition government that took office in 1984 decided to withdraw from Lebanon, leaving behind a token force to help the South Lebanese Army (which Israel had long supported) patrol a security zone near Israel's border.

Though the IDF succeeded in driving the PLO out of Lebanon, it did not end the terrorist threats from that country. The war was also costly, 1,216 soldiers died between June 5, 1982, and May 31, 1985.

Ongoing Violence

Jerusalem repeatedly stressed that Israel did not covet a single inch of Lebanese territory. Israel's 1985 withdrawal from Lebanon confirmed that. The small 1,000-man Israeli force, deployed in a strip of territory extending eight miles into south Lebanon, protects towns and villages in northern Israel from attack. Israel also repeatedly said it would completely withdraw from Lebanon in return for a stable security situation on its northern border.

Most of the terrorist groups that threaten Israel have not been disarmed. For example, several thousand terrorists currently in Lebanon are members of Hezbollah. The group receives financial support and arms from Iran, usually

via Damascus. Hezbollah - which had initially confined itself to launching Katyusha rocket attacks on northern Israel and ambushing Israeli troops in the security zone-has in recent years stepped up its attacks on Israeli civilians.

In April 1995, the IDF mounted "Operation Grapes of Wrath" to halt Hezbollah's bombardment of Israel's northern frontier. During the operation. Israeli artillery mistakenly hit a UN base in Kafr Kana, killing nearly 100 civilians. Afterward, a Joint Monitoring Machinery, including American, French, Syrian and Lebanese representatives, was created to prohibit unprovoked attacks on civilian populations and the use of civilians as shields for terrorist activities.

The Syrian-backed Lebanese Army has yet to take action against Hezbollah, or other terrorist organizations, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) or Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), which have bases in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon. Syria, in fact, declared its unqualified support for stepped-up violence in the area. Consequently, attacks against Israeli troops in the Security Zone and civilians in northern Israel continued.



Israel Withdraws

Israel pulled all its troops out of southern Lebanon on May 24, 2000, ending a

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22-year military presence there. All Israel Defense Force and South Lebanon Army outposts were evacuated. The Israeli withdrawal was conducted in coordination with the UN, and constituted an Israeli fulfillment of its obligations under Security Council Resolution 425 (1978).

See also Sabra & Shatila

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Q: What events lead up to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon?

General Reference (not clearly pro or con)

Howard M. Sachar, Professor of History, George Washington University, in his 1987 book entitled A History of Israel: Volume II p. 175-176, wrote:

"The catalyst for invasion was provided in an unexpected site. On June 3, 1982, the De La Rue Group, a British printing and publishing conglomerate, held a banquet at London's Dorchester Hotel. The 400 guests included industrialists and several ambassadors. One of the latter was Shlomo Argov of Israel. When the banquet ended, Argov left the hotel shortly before 11:00 p.m. A young Palestinian, Hassan Said, carrying a shoulder bag, had been loitering on the street outside for nearly an hour. As the [Israeli] ambassador entered his limousine, Said removed a submachine gun from the bag and fired one shot from a distance of 15 feet. Argov was struck in the head and collapsed...

The following day, the Israeli air force began a massive bombardment of PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] targets in Lebanon, battering arms depots and military camps beyond the Red Line [Awali River below which Syrian troops were not to go] the entire distance up to Beirut...In the absence of Arafat, who had departed for Baghdad several days earlier to offer his mediation services in the Iraq-Iran War, the reaction of individual PLO factions was to launch a sporadic shelling of Israeli settlements in the Galilee. There were several casualties and heavy property damage...

At an emergency [Israeli] cabinet meeting of June 5 [1982], he [Arial Sharon, Israeli Defense Minister] and [Israeli Prime Minister] Begin insisted that the army would have to strike immediately to activate a long-prepared strategy of clearing a 25-mile strip along the Lebanese border. If this were accomplished, the PLO's artillery would be pushed decisively beyond range of Israel's northern settlements...The cabinet then gave its approval." 1987 Howard M. Sachar 会会会

The Country Studies/Area Handbook on Israel, published by the United States Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, contains the following:

"After an attack on Israel's ambassador in London carried out by the Abu Nidal group but blamed on the PLO, Israeli troops marched into southern Lebanon. On the afternoon of June 4 the Israeli air force bombed a sports stadium in Beirut, said to be used for ammunition storage by the PLO. The PLO responded by shelling Israeli towns in Galilee. On June 5, the government of Israel formally accused the PLO of breaking the cease-fire. At 11 A.M. on June 6, Israeli ground forces crossed the border into Lebanon. The stated goals of the operation were to free northern Israel from PLO rocket attacks by creating a forty-kilometer-wide security zone in southern Lebanon and by signing a peace treaty with Lebanon." 1988 Country Studies 👆

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Q: What was the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon?

General Reference (not clearly pro or con)

Howard M. Sachar, Professor of History, George Washington University, in his 1987 book entitled *A History of Israel: Volume II* p. 176, 184-185, wrote:

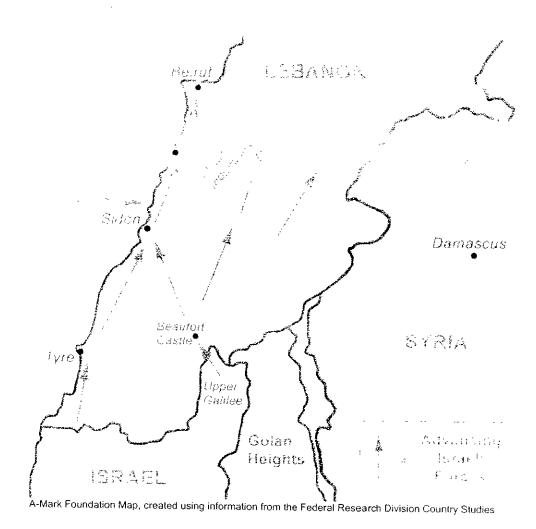
"At the outset, on June 6, 1982, three Israeli divisions closed in on the Palestinians [in Lebanon] from all sides: by direct advance along the coastal road; by amphibious forces landed between Sidon and Damour; then by a division sent into the central sector, through the Shouf mountains. The unfolding offensive was envisaged as a classic pincer movement that would encircle south Lebanon, and strike across to the coast...

After a week of war, Israel's army was in effective occupation of southern Lebanon. Its tanks and self-propelled guns surrounded Beirut, trapping some 15,000 Palestinian guerrillas intermingled in the western part of the city among a half-million local Moslems...

During the ensuing two months [June & July], some 400 Israeli tanks and 1,000 guns poured salvo after salvo into West Beirut...As [Israeli Defense Minister] Sharon had hoped, the pulverizing seige rapidly became unendurable for the Palestinian guerrillas. In late June, through [U.S. Ambassador] Philip Habib and other intermediaries, Arafat let it be known that he was prepared to withdraw his men from the city."

1987 Howard M. Sachar 公文公

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The Country Studies/Area Handbook on Israel, published by the United States Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, contains the following:

"When IDF ground forces crossed into Lebanon on June 6 [1982], five divisions and two reinforced brigade-size units conducted the three-pronged attack. On the western axis, two divisions converged on Tyre and proceeded north along the coastal highway toward Sidon, where they were to link up with an amphibious command unit that had secured a beachhead north of the city. In the central sector, a third division veered diagonally across southern Lebanon, conquered the Palestinian-held Beaufort Castle, and headed west toward Sidon, where it linked up with the coastal force in a pincer movement...

In the eastern sector, two Israeli divisions thrust directly north into Syrian-held territory to sever the strategic Beirut-Damascus highway...Stalled short of the Beirut-Damascus highway, the IDF was on the verge of a breakthrough when, on June 11, Israel bowed to political pressure and agreed to a truce under United States auspices

The cease-fire signaled the start of a new stage in the war, as Israel focused on PLO forces trapped in Beirut...Israel maintained the siege of Beirut for seventy days, unleashing a relentless barrage of air, naval, and artillery bombardment..

Arafat had threatened to turn Beirut into a 'second Stalingrad,' to fight the IDF to the last man. His negotiating stance grew tenuous, however, after Lebanese leaders, who had previously expressed solidarity with the PLO, petitioned him to abandon Beirut to spare the civilian population further suffering. Arafat informed

Habib of his agreement in principle to withdraw the PLO from Beirut." 1988 Country Studies $\pm \frac{1}{2}$

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Q: What effect did the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon have on Arafat and the PLO?

General Reference (not clearly pro or con)

Benny Morris, Professor of History at Ben-Gurion University, in Righteous Victims p. 558, wrote:

"The PLO military infrastructure in southern Lebanon was destroyed, and the organization was driven out of Beirut. Many PLO fighters were killed, and it lost most of its heavy equipment and ammunition stockpiles. Its headquarters was reestablished in faraway Tunisia, and its military units were dispersed in camps around the Middle East and North Africa, no longer posing a threat along or near Israel's borders. The PLO and Arafat emerged from the fray considerably weakened.

But the PLO was not destroyed or mortally wounded, as [Israeli Defense Minister] Sharon and [Israeli Prime Minister] Begin had hoped and planned. Indeed, it could well be argued that the drubbing the organization received drove it, in the end, to moderate its positions, a process that culminated in Arafat's 1988 declaration recognizing Israel and repudiating terrorism. Thus, instead of demolishing the PLO...it can be argued that the invasion of Lebanon had, albeit very violently, groomed the PLO for Participation in the diplomacy and peace process that was to characterize the 1990s and was to pave the way for its assumption of authority in parts of the West Bank and Gaza; In sum, Begin and Sharon, by invading Lebanon, can be said to have made a major contribution to the establishment of a Palestinian state." 2001 Benny Morris ディディディ

The Congressional Quarterly, a "Washington-based publishing company that specializes in news and information on Congress, politics and public policy," in the ninth edition of The Middle East, wrote:

"The departure of the PLO from Beirut, which was completed by September 2 [1982], deprived the organization of its last base in the Arab world from which to make direct attacks on Israeli territory. The organization was now scattered throughout a variety of Arab countries, none of which bordered Israel, except Syria, whose policy was to disallow it autonomy of decision.

The PLO leadership regrouped in Tunis, and it appeared that the organization's significance had greatly diminished. This was an illusion, however, because the strength of the PLO, although forged on the concept of armed struggle against Israel, had never rested with its military capability. The broad range of international diplomatic support the PLO had garnered over the years as the institutional symbol of Palestinian nationalism had now become the principal basis of its legitimacy. In the years after the PLO's departure from Lebanon, it was this aspect of the organization that Arafat sought to husband and enhance." 2000 Congressional Quarterly 🏠



Back To Questions

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The Lebanon War

By 1982, Israel had had its fill of terrorist attacks from the PLO in Lebanon. Begin's Minister of Defense, Ariel Sharon, proposed a military campaign to clear out the terrorist bases in the southern part of the country. Begin gave his ok, and operation "Peace for Galilee" began. Within a week, Israeli forces had captured the entire region and stood at the gates of Beirut. Sharon had hoped that Israel's Lebanese Christian allies would then push the PLO out of Beirut itself, but they declined. As a result, Israel laid siege to the city to force the PLO to surrender.

Although the siege was ultimately successful in forcing the PLO to leave Lebanon, it did so at a heavy cost: in Israeli lives, in Lebanese lives, and in Israel's international standing. Israeli public opinion was deeply divided over the war, particularly the decision to lay siege to Beirut. For the first time, peace demonstrations were held during a war. Following the PLO's withdrawal, Sharon allowed Lebanese Christian militias to enter the Palestinian refugee camps to "clean out" any remaining PLO fighters. Instead, these Lebanese Christians carried out a massacre further tarnishing Israel's reputation and increasing the intensity of the domestic opposition to the war. Meanwhile, Shi'ite militants in southern Lebanon began to carry out a series of attacks on Israeli soldiers. As casualties mounted so did the opposition to the war. By December 1982, more than 40% of Israelis thought the war had been a mistake. Finally in 1985, Israel withdrew its forces from most of southern Lebanon, maintaining a narrow "security zone" along the northern border to protect against renewed attacks by terrorists on the Galilee.

The First Intifada

In the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians grew increasingly angry as they saw more and more land taken for Jewish settlements while there was no progress towards a peaceful solution. This anger erupted in December 1987 into spontaneous protests and violent attacks against Israeli rule. Known as the "Intifada" or "shaking off," these protests developed into a well-organized rebellion, as masses of Palestinians attacked Israeli troops with stones, Molotov cocktails, and weapons supplied by the PLO.

Israeli troops were trained for combat with organized armies, not poorly armed street fighters. At first the government hoped that cracking down on the militants would break the uprising, but it didn't work. While many Israelis were angered by the Palestinian violence the *Intifada* also increased the desire by ordinary Israelis for a normal life and an end to the conflict. In the end, it created a consensus in the Israeli public for the peace negotiations that would be carried out in the 1990s.

Summary

Israel went into the Six-Day War fighting for its survival; it emerged as a regional military giant with a small empire and has been struggling to cope with the consequences of this change ever since. Israel's victories transformed Israeli society awakening messianic impulses and the dream of ruling over the Biblical heartland of the country. At the same time, though, this involved ruling over a large and increasingly restive Palestinian population that desired Israeli independence. This conflict opened deep

divisions within Israeli society exposing hidden conflicts between various groups: secular and religious, Ashkenazi and Mizrachi, dove and hawk.

An ancient Greek general, Pyrrhus, was once congratulated by his aides after a difficult and bloody victory. "Another victory like that," Pyrrhus answered, "and we'll be lost." Israel's victory in the Six-Day War seems to have been such a Pyrrhic victory: it won the war but has not yet been able to solve the problems created by it.

Oslo Accords

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

The Oslo Accords, officially called the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements or Declaration of Principles (DOP), were finalized in Oslo, Norway on August 20, 1993, and subsequently officially signed at a public ceremony in Washington D.C. on September 13, 1993, with Mahmoud Abbas signing for the Palestine Liberation Organization and Shimon Peres signing for the State of Israel. It was witnessed by Warren Christopher for the United States and Andrei Kozyrev for Russia, in the presence of US President Bill Clinton and Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin with the PLO's Chairman Yasser Arafat.

The Oslo Accords were a culmination of a series of secret and public agreements, dating particularly from the <u>Madrid Conference of 1991</u> onwards, and negotiated between the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (acting as representatives of the <u>Palestinian</u> people) in 1993 as part of a <u>peace process</u> trying to resolve the <u>Israeli-Palestinian</u> conflict.

Despite the high hopes expressed in the Accords and in the subsequent agreements, which also promised the normalization of Israel's relations with the Arab world, the conflict has not been resolved.

Background

The talks leading to the agreement were initially held in <u>London</u>, and then later moved to <u>Oslo</u>. Main architects behind the plan were <u>Johan Jørgen Holst</u> (the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs), <u>Terje Rød-Larsen</u> and <u>Mona Juul</u>. The negotiations were reportedly conducted in total secrecy.

Principles of the Accords

In essence, the accords call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from parts of the <u>Gaza Strip</u> and <u>West Bank</u> and affirm the Palestinian right to self-government within those areas through the creation of the <u>Palestinian Authority</u>. Palestinian rule would last for a five year interim period during which a permanent agreement would be negotiated (beginning not later than May 1996). Permanent issues such as <u>Jerusalem</u>, refugees, Israeli settlements in the area, security and borders were deliberately excluded from the Accords and left to be decided. The interim self-government was to be granted in phases.

Until a final status accord was established, West Bank and Gaza would be divided into three zones:

- Area A full control of the Palestinian Authority.
- Area B Palestinian civil control, Israeli military control.
- Area C full Israeli control.

Together with the principles the two groups signed <u>Letters of Mutual Recognition</u> - The Israeli government recognized the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people while the PLO recognized the right of the state of Israel to exist and renounced terrorism, violence and its desire for the destruction of Israel.

The aim of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations is to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, an elected Council, for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Resolution 242 and Resolution 338, an integral part of the whole peace process.

In order that the Palestinians should govern themselves according to democratic principles, free and general political elections would be held for the Council.

Jurisdiction of the Palestinian Council would cover the West Bank and Gaza Strip, except for issues that would be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides viewed the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit.

The five-year transitional period would begin with the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. Permanent status negotiations would commence as soon as possible between Israel and the Palestinians. The negotiations should cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest.

There will be a transfer of authority from the IDF to the authorized Palestinians, concerning education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, and tourism.

The Council would establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats.

An Israeli-Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee will be established in order to develop and implement in a cooperative manner the programs identified in the protocols.

A redeployment of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would take place.

Israel would withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.

The Declaration of Principles would enter into force one month after its signing. All protocols annexed to the Declaration of Principles and the Agreed Minutes pertaining to it, should be regarded as part of it.

Annex 2: Withdrawal of Israeli forces

An agreement on the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. This agreement will include comprehensive arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal.

The above agreement will include, among other things:

- Arrangements for a smooth and peaceful transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its civil administration to the Palestinian representatives.
- Structure, powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority in these areas, except: external security, settlements, Israelis, foreign relations, and other mutually agreed matters.
- Arrangements for the assumption of internal security and public order by the
 Palestinian police force consisting of police officers recruited locally and from
 abroad holding Jordanian passports and Palestinian documents issued by Egypt).
 Those who will participate in the Palestinian police force coming from abroad
 should be trained as police and police officers.
- A temporary international or foreign presence, as agreed upon.
- Establishment of a joint Palestinian-Israeli Coordination and Cooperation Committee for mutual security purposes.
- Arrangements for a safe passage for persons and transportation between the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
- Arrangements for coordination between both parties regarding passages: Gaza Egypt; and Jericho Jordan.

Annex 3: Economic cooperation

The two sides agree to establish an Israeli-Palestinian continuing Committee for economic cooperation, focusing, among other things, on the following:

- Cooperation in the field of water.
- Cooperation in the field of electricity.
- Cooperation in the field of energy.
- Cooperation in the field of finance.
- Cooperation in the field of transport and communications.
- Cooperation in the field of trade and commerce.
- Cooperation in the field of industry.
- · Cooperation in, and regulation of, labor relations and
- Cooperation in social welfare issues.
- An environmental protection plan.
- Cooperation in the field of communication and media.

Annex 4: Regional development

The two sides will cooperate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in promoting a Development Program for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the <u>G-7</u>.

Minute A: General understandings

Any powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinians through the Declaration of Principles prior to the inauguration of the Council will be subject to the same principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in the agreed minutes below.

Article IV: Council's jurisdiction

It was to be understood that: Jurisdiction of the Council would cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that would be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.

Article VI (2): Transferring authority

It was agreed that the transfer of authority would be as follows: The Palestinians would inform the Israelis s of the names of the authorized Palestinians who would assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that would be transferred to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, tourism, and any other authorities agreed upon.

Article VII (2): Cooperation

The Interim Agreement would also include arrangements for coordination and cooperation.

Article VII (5): Israel's powers

The withdrawal of the military government would not prevent Israel from exercising the powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.

Article VIII: Police

It was understood that the Interim Agreement would include arrangements for cooperation and coordination. It was also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police would be accomplished in a phased manner.

Article X: Designating officials

It was agreed that the Israeli and Palestinian delegations would exchange the names of the individuals designated by them as members of the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee which would reach decisions by agreement.

Annex II: Israel's continuing responsibilities

It was understood that, subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel would continue to be responsible for external security, and for internal security and public order of settlements and Israelis. Israeli military forces and civilians would be allowed to continue using roads freely within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.

The acceptance of the accords by the two peoples

The accords aroused in the two peoples, the Israeli and the Palestinian, a wave of hope to end the violence, but not everyone participated in this hope.

In Israel, a hard argument developed around the accords. Opposing the support of the left wing, there was strong resistance from the right wing. After a two day discussion in the Knesset on the government proclamation in the issue of the accord and the exchange of the letters, on September 23, 1993 a vote of confidence was held in which 61 Knesset members voted for the decision, 50 voted against and 8 abstained.

The Palestinian reactions to the accords were not homogeneous, either. The <u>Fatah</u> accepted the accords, but the <u>Hamas</u>, the <u>Palestinian Islamic Jihad</u> and the <u>Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine</u>, which were known as the "refusal organizations", objected to the accords since they completely denounced Israel's right to exist, refusing to recognize what they dubbed the "Zionist entity". Their resistance was expressed in their acts of terror.

On both sides there were fears of the other side's intentions. Israelis suspected that the Palestinians were not sincere in their desire to reach peace and coexistence with Israel, but relate to that as part of the Ten Point Program (which is called in Israel Tokhnit HaSHlavim or Torat HaSHlavim). For evidence they brought expressions of Yasser Arafat in Palestinian forums in which he compared the accord to the Khodeyba agreement that the prophet Muhammad signed with the sons of the tribe of Quraish. Those expressions could be understood also as an attempt to justify the signing of the accords in accordance with historical-religious precedent, but also as hinting to dishonesty of the intentions, since this agreement which was signed to 10 years was violated by Muhammad after a year and a half, after much provocation and violations of the terms of the truce by the Quraish. The Israelis trust in the accord was undermined also by the fact that after the signing of the accord the terrorist attacks against Israel did not cease and even intensified, which could be explained as an attempt of the terror organizations to thwart the peace process.

On the other hand, the murder of the 29 Muslims while praying in the <u>Cave of the Patriarchs</u> by <u>Barukh Goldshteyn</u> destabilized the Palestinians' trust in the process. Also, the expansion of the <u>settlements</u> and blockades which caused the deterioration of economic conditions caused frustration and a corresponding descent in support for the accord and those who stood behind its ratification.

Subsequent negotiations

In addition to the first accord, namely the *Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government*, other more specific accords are often informally also known as "Oslo":

Oslo 2

The <u>Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip</u> (also called Oslo 2), signed in <u>September 28</u>, 1995 which gave the Palestinians self-rule in <u>Bethlehem</u>, <u>Hebron</u>, <u>Jenin</u>, <u>Nablus</u>, <u>Qalqilya</u>, <u>Ramallah</u>, <u>Tulkarm</u>, and some 450 villages.

Loss of credibility

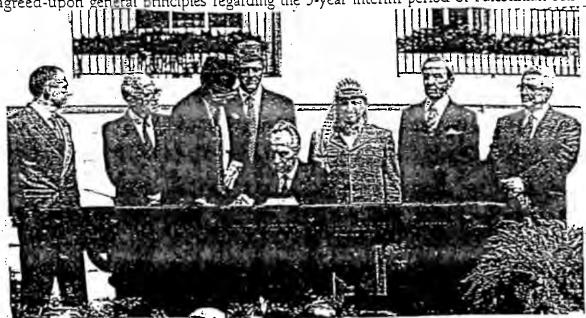
Since the start of the <u>al-Aqsa Intifada</u>, the Oslo Accords are viewed with increasing disfavor by the Israeli public. In <u>May 2000</u>, seven years after the Oslo Accords and five months before the start of the <u>al-Aqsa Intifada</u>, a survey by the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research at the <u>University of Tel Aviv</u> found that: 39% of all Israelis support the Accords and that 32% believe that the Accords will result in peace in the next few years. By contrast, the <u>May 2004</u> survey found that 26% of all Israelis support the Accords and 18% believe that the Accords will result in peace in the next few years.

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

September 13, 1993

On September 13, 1993, a joint Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles (DOP) was signed by the two parties in Washington, outlining the proposed interim self-government arrangements, as envisioned and agreed upon by both sides. The arrangements contained in the DOP include immediate Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho, early empowerment for the Palestinians in the West Bank, and an agreement on self-government and the election of a Palestinian Council. Additionally, extensive economic cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians plays an important role in the DOP.

The Declaration of Principles, signed by the PLO and Israel, contains a set of mutually agreed-upon general principles regarding the 5-year interim period of Palestinian self-



rule. As such, the DOP defers permanent status issues to the permanent status negotiations, which will begin no later than the 3rd year of the interim period. The permanent status agreement reached in these negotiations will take effect after the 5-year interim period.

Transfer of Powers to the Palestinians:

The DOP features an agreement in principle regarding a transfer of power and responsibilities to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, so they may have control over their own affairs.

The DOP Does Not Prejudge the Permanent Status:

The DOP specifically states that permanent status issues; such as Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements and borders, are to be excluded from the interim arrangements and that the outcome of the permanent status talks should not be prejudged or preempted by the interim arrangements. During this period, the Israeli govemment retains sole responsibility for foreign affairs, defense and borders. Israel's position on Jerusalem remains unchanged. When the DOP was signed, Prime Minister Rabin stated that "Jerusalem is the ancient and eternal capital of the Jewish people." An undivided Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty, with religious freedom for all, is and remains a fundamental Israeli position.

Security Remains an Israeli Responsibility:

In the DOP, Israel and the PLO agree that during the interim period, Israel will remain responsible for security along the international borders and the crossing points to Egypt and Jordan. Israel will also retain responsibility for, and the overall security of Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli settlements in those areas, and freedom of movement on roads.

Implementation of the DOP:

The Declaration of Principles establishes the following phases:

Gaza-Jericho: Self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, including a withdrawal of Israeli forces from those areas, is to serve as a first step in the implementation of the DOP. The details of the Gaza-Jericho aspect of the DOP were negotiated and concluded in an agreement signed in Cairo between Israel and the PLO on May 4, 1994.

Early Empowerment: In the rest of the West Bank, five specific spheres – education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism – are to be transferred to Palestinian representatives through early empowerment. Additional spheres may be transferred as agreed by the sides. The DOP proposed that this early empowerment take place immediately following the implementation of the Gaza-Jericho agreement.

The Interim Agreement and Elections: A modalities agreement regarding the election of a Palestinian Council and a comprehensive Interim Agreement specifying the structure and powers of the Council will be negotiated. The Interim Agreement will detail the self-government arrangements in the West Bank and Gaza. Concurrent with the elections, Israeli forces are to be redeployed outside populated areas to specified locations. The Palestinian Council will have a strong police force in order to guarantee public order and internal security. Central to the DOP are two economic annexes which outline economic cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians, both bilaterally and in the multilateral context.

The Permanent Status: Negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians on the permanent status will commence as soon as possible but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period (May 1996). These talks will determine the nature of the final settlement between the two sides. It is understood that these negotiations will cover

remaining issues including Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest. Under the DOP, the permanent status will take effect 5 years after the implementation of the Gaza-Jericho agreement, namely May 1999.

Shortly after the signing of the Declaration of Principles, negotiations commenced between Israeli and Palestinian delegations on the interim agreement, which was accomplished in three stages:



Remarks by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin On the Occasion of the Signing of the Israeli - Palestinian Declaration of Principles

Washington, September 13, 1993

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, here today, is not so easy—neither for myself, as a soldier in Israel's wars, nor for the people of Israel, not to the Jewish people in the Diaspora who are watching us now with great hope, mixed with apprehension. It is certainly not easy for the families of the victims of the wars, violence, terror, whose pain will never heal. For the many thousands who have defended our lives in their own, and even sacrificed their lives for our own—for them, this ceremony has come too late. Today, on the eve of an opportunity—opportunity for peace—and perhaps an end of vioence and wars—we remember each and every one of them with everlasting love.

We have come from Jerusalem, the ancient and eternal capital of the Jewish people. We have come from an anguished and grieving land. We have come from a people, a home, a family, that has not known a single year — not a single month — in which mothers have not wept for their sons. We have come to try and put an end to the hostilities, so that our children, our children's children, will no longer experience the painful cost of war, violence and terror. We have come to secure their lives and to ease the sorrow and the painful memories of the past — to hope and pray for peace.

Let me say to you, the Palestinians:

We are destined to live together on the same soil, in the same land. We, the soldiers who have returned from battle stained with blood, we who have seen our relatives and friends killed before our eyes, we who have attended their funerals and cannot look into the eyes of their parents, we who have come from a land where parents bury their children, we who have fought against you, the Palestinians —

We say to you today in a loud and a clear voice: Enough of blood and tears. Enough. We have no desire for revenge. We harbor no hatred towards you. We, like you, are people — people who want to build a home, to plant a tree, to love, to live side by side with you — in dignity, in empathy, as human beings, as free men. We are today giving peace a chance, and saying again to you: Enough.

Less us pray that a day will come when we all will say: Farewell to the arms. We wish to open a w chapter in the sad book of our lives together — a chapter of mutual recognition, of good neighborliness, of mutual respect, of understanding. We hope to embark on a new era in the history of the Middle East. Today, here in Washington, at the White House, we will begin a new reckoning in relations between peoples, between parents tired of war, between children who will not know war.

President of the United States, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our inner strength, our high moral values, have been derived for thousands of years from the Book of Books, in one of which, Koheleth, we read:

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven: A time to be born, and a time to die: A time to kill, and a time to heal: A time to weep and a time to laugh; A time to love, and a time to hate; A time of war, and a time of peace."

Ladies and Gentlemen, the time for peace has come.

In two days, the Jewish people will celebrate the beginning of a new year. I believe, I hope, I pray, that the new year will bring a message of redemption for all peoples: a good year for you, for all of you. A good year for Israelis and Palestinians. A good year for all the peoples of the Middle East. A good year for our American friends, who so want peace and are helping to achieve it, for Presidents and members of previous administrations, especially for you, President Clinton, and your staff, for all citizens of the world: may peace come to all your homes.

In the Jewish tradition, it is customary to conclude our prayers with the word 'Amen'. With your permission, men of peace, I shall conclude with words taken from the prayer recited by Jews daily, and whoever of you volunteer, I would ask the entire audience to join me in saying 'Amen':

עושה שלום במרומיו הוא יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל ישראל ואימרו אמן.



PLO Recognition of Israel

Title:

PLO Recognition of Israel

Description:

PLO Recognition of Israel

Body text:

Israel-PLO Recognition

LETTER FROM YASSER ARAFAT TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN:

September 9, 1993

Yitzhak Rabin

Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Prime Minister.

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. In firm conviction thereof, I would like to confirm the following PLO commitments:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endange peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence an will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators.

In view of the promise of a new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles and based on Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms that those Error Bookmark not defined, which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and no longer valid.

Consequently, the PLO undertakes to submit to the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat

Chairman

The Palestine Liberation Organization

LETTER FROM YASSER ARAFAT TO NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER:

September 9, 1993

His Excellency

Johan Jorgen Holst

Foreign Minister of Norway

Dear Minister Holst,

I would like top confirm to you that, upon the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and participating actively in shaping reconstruction, economic development and cooperation Sincerely,





Yasser Arafat Chairman The Palestine Liberation Organization

LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO YASSER ARAFAT:

September 9, 1993 Yasser Arafat Chairman The Palestinian Liberation Organization

In response to your letter of September 9, 1993, I wish to confirm to you that, in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Yitzhak Rabin Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Chairman,

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Palestinian Perspective

What were the details of the Oslo Accords?

On September 13, 1993 representatives of the State of Israel and the <u>Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)</u> signed the "Declaration of Principles On Interim Self-Government Arrangements", a document also known as the "Oslo Accords". They were signed at a Washington ceremony hosted by US President Bill Clinton on September 13, 1993, during which Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin ended decades as sworn enemies with an uneasy handshake. This agreement was the fruit of <u>secret negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians</u>, represented by the PLO, following the <u>Madrid Conference in 1991</u>.

The Oslo Accords contain a set of mutually agreed-upon general principles regarding a five year interim period of Palestinian self-rule. So-called "permanent status issues" are deferred to later negotiations, to begin no later than the third year of the interim period. The permanent status negotiations were intended to lead to an agreement that would be implemented to take effect at the end of the interim period.

The main points of the Oslo Accords (or Declaration of Principles = DOP):

- 1. Transfer of Powers to the Palestinians:
 - The DOP features an agreement in principle regarding a transfer of power and responsibilities to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, so they may have control over their own affairs.
- 2. The DOP does not prejudge the Permanent Status:
 - The DOP specifically states that permanent status issues, such as Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements and borders are to be excluded from the interim arrangements and that the outcome of the permanent status talks should not be prejudged or preempted by the interim arrangements. During this period, the Israeli government retains sole responsibility for foreign affairs, defense and borders. Israel's position on Jerusalem remains unchanged. When the DOP was signed, Prime Minister Rabin stated that "Jerusalem is the ancient and eternal capital of the Jewish people." An undivided Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty, with religious freedom for all, is and remains a fundamental Israeli position.
- 3. Security remains an Israeli responsibility:
 - o In the DOP, Israel and the PLO agree that during the interim period, Israel will remain responsible for security along the international borders and the crossing points to Egypt and Jordan. Israel will also retain responsibility for and the overall

security of Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli settlements in those areas, and freedom of movement on roads.

Implementation of the DOP was specified to involve the following phases:

- Gaza-Jericho: Self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, including a withdrawal of
 Israeli forces from those areas (the "first redeployment"), is to serve as a first step in the
 implementation of the DOP. The details of the Gaza-Jericho aspect of the DOP were
 negotiated and concluded in an agreement signed in Cairo between Israel and the PLO on
 May 4, 1994.
- Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities: In the rest of the West Bank, five
 specific spheres -- education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism -are to be transferred to Palestinian representatives through early empowerment. Additional
 spheres may be transferred as agreed by the sides. The DOP proposed that this transfer of
 powers take place immediately following the implementation of the Gaza-Jericho agreement.
- The Interim Agreement and Elections: A modalities agreement regarding the election of a Palestinian Council and a comprehensive Interim Agreement specifying the structure and powers of the Council will be negotiated. The Interim Agreement will detail the self-government arrangements in the West Bank and Gaza. Concurrent with the elections, Israeli forces are to be redeployed outside populated areas to specified locations. The Palestinian Council will have a strong police force in order to guarantee public order and internal security. Central to the DOP are two economic annexes which outline economic cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians, both bilaterally and in the multilateral context.
- The Permanent Status: Negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians on the permanent status will commence as soon as possible but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period (May 1996). These talks will determine the nature of the final settlement between the two sides. It is understood that these negotiations will cover remaining issues including Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest. Under the DOP, the permanent status will take effect 5 years after the implementation of the Gaza-Jericho agreement, namely May 1999

A letter on key issues of the PLO and Israel, addressed to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, was signed by Yasser Arafat on September 9, 1993. The letter says specifically that:

- The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.
- The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338
- The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process... all outstanding issues ... will be resolved through negotiations
- ... the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators
- ... those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and no longer valid

• ... the PLO undertakes to submit to the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant.

Rabin gave a letter in exchange to Arafat, also dated September 9, saying:

• ... Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process"

http://www.palestinefacts.org/pf_1991to_now_oslo_accords.php



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HISTORY & COMMUNITY

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Israel

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN RELATIONS | THE OSLO ACCORD

The Oslo Accords

Israel and the Palestinians pursue peace

By Howard M. Sachar

In August 1993, the world learned that secret negotiations had occurred in Oslo between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Even more surprising was the news t parties had reached an agreement regarding the possibility of peace. The agree deemed "The Declaration of Principles" was signed in Washington in September following article examines the Declaration. It is reprinted from A History of Isra Rise of Zionism to Our Times published by Alfred A. Knopf.

The signing ceremony in Washington was designated for September 13, 1993. long, feckless negotiations in the State Department, the event nominally took p the joint American-Russian aegis of the original Madrid conference [The Madrid Conference took place in 1991. This conference, hosted by the government of § co-sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, brought together Isra-Arab neighbors, including Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinians, of preliminary peace talks]. Gathered in the White House Rose Garden, therefor participants included not only PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, PLO negotiator Abu (Ahmed Qurei), Israeli Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin, Israeli Foreign Minister SI U.S. President Bill Clinton, and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, but Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev. Indeed, once Peres and Abu Ala'a per act of signature, both Christopher and Kozyrev added their own signatures as "

The twenty-three-page "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government" consisted of a basic text, four annexes and agreed minutes, and the September 9- 10 exchange of letters between Arafat and Rabin. Less than a comprehensive treaty, the document in effect was an agreement to reach agreement, leaving the details to be negotiated between the parties. Nevertheless, under the declaration's collective guidelines, Israel would begin its military withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho as early as December 1993, and by April 1994 leave to a Palestinian authority virtually full self-government in these

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Rabin, Clinton, and Arafat at the signing of the Oslo Accords in Washington. Photo

Credit: Israel Sun

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Subsequently, a five-year transitional period would commence for the West Bar entirety, and early on during that time span the Israeli civil administration would "empowerment" to the Palestinian authority in five carefully delimited spheres: health, social welfare, taxation, and tourism. It was understood, too, that the significant self-government would rapidly expand into other areas, including the judiciary control. The Israeli army similarly would deploy outside the main West Bank potenters, although retaining authority for internal security in the region. From being, of course, Israel would retain full legal jurisdiction over Jewish settlements territories. Two years into interim empowerment for the West Bank, negotiation commence between Israel, the Palestinians, and Jordan on the final status and the territories, as well as of Jerusalem. The process would be completed in three Indeed, the entire five-year timetable was based on the original Camp David ac fifteen years before.

Yet the Declaration of Principles diverged from that earlier, 1978 document in s important respects. For one thing, it resolved the question of whether, as the P claimed, their interim empowerment would be territorial, covering the entire W and Gaza areas; or whether, as Begin and Shamir had insisted, it should be expersonal, covering only the inhabitants of Palestine, but not the territories in wl lived. Here Rabin and Peres had affirmed that Palestinian empowerment would territorial. Except for the network of Jewish settlements and Israeli military inst empowerment (Initially in the five spheres cited above) would cover the totality on which Arabs traditionally had lived, built their homes, worked, and raised than families.

Of equal significance, the five-year interim period would begin immediately upo for a Palestinian Council and the council's formal inauguration. Camp David also provided: "When the self-government authority [administrative council] in the 'and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years w

Yet the Camp David format specified that the permanent status negotiations miconducted between "Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza." In practice, then, no agreement ever non the realm of the self-governing authority; hence the authority was never "estand inaugurated"--and thus, fifteen years after Camp David, the five-year transperiod had not yet begun. This time, the uncertainties of Arab intramural politic become a pretext for delay ("I do not believe that democracy can be imposed a another society," Peres commented dryly later). The Declaration of Principles are intention to move ahead to Palestinian empowerment forthrightly, vigorously, a extensively--and, in the case at least of Gaza and Jericho, immediately.

So it was, on September 13, 1993, in the bright sunshine of a Washington mor an audience that included former United States presidents Jimmy Carter and Grormer secretaries of state Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, and James Baker, the solemnly declaimed:

Let me say to you, the Palestinians, we are destined to live together on the san same land. We, the soldiers who have returned from battles stained with blood have seen our relatives and friends killed before our eyes; we who have attend funerals and cannot look into the eyes of their parents; we who have come fror where parents bury their children; we who have fought against you, the Palesti say to you today in a loud and clear voice, enough of blood and tears. Enough!

Arafat responded in the same spirit, promising "to implement all aspects of UN 242 and 338," and assuring Israel that "the right to [Palestinian] self-determinated not "violate the rights of their neighbors or infringe on their security." In the flushandshakes afterward, the PLO chairman walked over to Rabin, who until that a avoided speaking to him or even standing next to him, and offered the Israeli perminister his hand. After a moment's hesitation, and with a tight smile that onlocating have confused with a grimace, Rabin accepted the hand and gave it two shakes. Although no words were exchanged, the media treated the event as on history's decisive watersheds.

Howard M. Sachar is a Professor of History and International Affairs at George University in Washington DC.

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Oslo II Agreement

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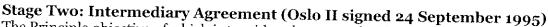
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Background

The Oslo II agreement between Israel and the Palestinians is an important additional step in the reconciliation between the two peoples and between Israel and the Arab world. This agreement is part of a peace process, whose purpose is to bring an overall peace to the Middle East, that began in Camp David in 1978 and continued in Madrid, in October 1991. A breakthrough in relations between Israel and the Palestinians was achieved with the Declaration of Principles (The Oslo Agreement) that was signed an 13 September 1993. The Declaration outlined three stages of implementation.

Stage One: Gaza-Jericho First Agreement (signed May 1994)



The Principle objective of which is to widen the areas of self rule for the Palestinians in the West Bank after election for the Palestinian Authority.

The election process will allow the Palestinians to rule themselves, to reduce the points of friction between Palestinians and Israelis and to begin a new era of cooperation and peaceful mutual existence on the basis of joint interest and mutual respect.

Moreover, Israel's security interests will be guarded, including not only security along its borders but also the personal security of all Israeli citizens that live in the West Bank.

Stage Three: The Final Status

These Final Status will be implemented no later than 1999. Negotiations regarding the Final Status Talks will begin during the intermediary Agreement and no later than May 1996. The negotiations regarding the Final Status will including the following subjects: Jerusalem, Refugees, Settlements, Security Arrangements, Borders, Relations and cooperation with neighboring countries.

Elections

The elections for the Palestinian Authorities will be free and democratic. The right to vote will be given to all Palestinians 18 years and over, and appear on the population list. The elections will take place 2: days after the re deployment of the IDF from the densely populated areas of the West Bank.

The election for the Palestinian Authority will be direct and according to area. The election of the Chairperson of the Palestinian Authority will be by direct election. Parties or individuals that express racist stands or support activities that are illegal or undemocratic cannot stand for election.



The Palestinians that live in Jerusalem will be able to participate in the elections according to special arrangements outlined in the agreement. An East Jerusalem resident can only stand for election if he

has an additional address in the West Bank or Gaza.



The elected council that will be formed after the elections will receive authority and responsibility on matters of security in the West Bank and Gaza. With the creation of the council, the civil and military administration will be canceled.

The Council will receive responsibility, with all the rights, obligations and guarantees in all matters handed over to it.

The Council will consist of 82 members and will have the right to legislate and to carry out that legislation.

Security

In the first stage, intended to allow elections to take place, the IDF will withdraw from populated area in the West Bank. From the six cities: Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarum, Kalkilya, Ramallah and Bethlehem, (i Hebron there will be special security arrangements), and from 450 towns and villages. Israel keeps in its hands responsibility for external security, Israeli citizens and the settlements.

The agreement defines three types of security arrangements in the three areas.

Area A: (Cities, excluding Hebron) The Palestinian Authority will have full responsibility for internal security and public order.

Area B: Including villages, Arab towns where the population is 68% Palestinian, the Palestinian Council will receive full responsibility for the management of civilian matters and for matters of publi order. Israel will, however, maintain responsibility for general security, and will be allowed to maintai the security of her citizens and fight against terror, this interest will take priority over the councils rights regarding public order.

25 police stations of the Palestinian Police will be created in this area.

Area C: Areas including settlements (security areas). Areas where there is not a Palestinian majority. Israel will gain responsibility of general security matters, matters of public order and matters of internal security.

Re deployment

After the creation of the Palestinian Council, an additional, stage of re deployment will take place with 6 months from Area C.

The PLO Charter

The agreement obligates the PLO to change those sections of its Charter calling for the destruction of Israel within two months of the creation of the Palestinian Council.

Palestinian Police

Police will be appointed. This will be the only Palestinian Security Force.
☐ Israel and the Palestinian Council are obligated to fight against terror and prevent terrorist
activities. The Palestinian council will provide gun licenses for its citizens. The Palestinian Council wil
confiscate illegal weapons, will arrest those suspected in the involvement of violence and terror and w
take legal action against them.
☐ Both sides will act to ensure effective immediate and decisive action when any incident involving
violence occurs.
☐ A joint security committee will be created to coordinate between the Army and the Palestinian
Dollar Dath at 1

Police. Both sides will cooperate and exchange intelligence information.

☐ Joint patrols will guarantee free movement and security on the roads in Area A.

☐ Joint and appointed units will respond to emergency situations.

Hebron

In the light of the presence of Israelis in the heart of Hebron and in consideration of the special sensitivity, the religious history of the city - there will be special security arrangements for Hebron. The arrangements will allow the Palestinian Police to carry out its responsibilities in regard to the Palestinians in specific areas of the city. Israel will defend its citizens living in Hebron and supervise holy sites in the city. At the Tomb of the Patriarch status quo will be retained. There will be a Temporary international force in Hebron.

Movement by Israelis

IDF and Israelis will continue to have free movement in the West Bank and Gaza. In Area A the movement of Israeli vehicles will be escorted by joint patrols. In all situations the Palestinian Police cannot arrest Israelis. The Palestinian Police can only request the presentation of an identity card and driver's license. In Area A, only Israelis can request identity cards from Israelis.

Holy Sites

Responsibility for Holy Sites will be passed to the Palestinians. Special arrangements will be made for Rachel's Tomb. In Area C the responsibility will be handed over in stages during the next stage of re deployment. Both sides will: respect the religious sites of Jews, Christians and Muslims; will protect the Holy Sites; and will allow free entrance to Holy Sites and freedom to religious worship.

Water

The Agreement obligates Israel to increase Palestinian water supply.

Release of Prisoners
Israel will release prisoners in 3 stages:
☐ with the signing of the Agreement
🗆 on the day of elections for the Palestinian Council
□ with the fulfilling of each part of the Agreement.

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Israel

Oslo Negotiations

In 1992 and 1993, representatives from Israel and the PLO met secretly in Oslo to discuss the possibilities of Palestinian self-rule and Israeli security.

By Howard M. Sachar

The following article examines the secret negotiations that occurred in Oslo between the PLO and the Israelis in 1992 and 1993. These negotiations led to the formulation of an agreement regarding the possibility of peace. The agreement, deemed "The Declaration of Principles," was signed in Washington in September 1993. The article is reprinted with permission from A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Times published by Alfred A. Knopf.

Although unofficial discourse between Israelis and PLO members had been taking place since the 1970s, those contacts intensified only after 1992, when the Rabin government decided to eliminate all further legal constraints against them. No meetings occurred on Israeli soil. Both sides preferred other, neutral venues. One of those was Stockholm. Another was Oslo. There the Institute for Applied Social Science, a respected think tank devoted to the resolution of international disputes, functioned under the unofficial imprimatur of the Norwegian foreign ministry.

In the spring of 1992, the institute's director, Terje Rod Larson, who had developed extensive PLO contacts in the course of field studies in the Gaza Strip, sought out Dr. Yossi Beilin, a protégé and close advisor of Shimon Peres. Larsen informed Beilin that key PLO members had confided to him their fatigue with the Intifada, and their willingness to explore the accommodation Arafat had mooted [Israel's right to exist in peace and security] as far back as the winter of 1988. Beilin was interested.

After Labor's electoral victory of June 1992, Peres appointed Beilin his deputy in the foreign ministry. Larsen's wife, Mona Juul, by then was administrative assistant to Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst and accordingly in a position to offer Beilin the services of the Norwegian government. In turn, sensing that the bilateral discussions in Washington had reached a dead end, Beilin brought the proposal to Peres.

The foreign minister did not veto it. Yet he cautioned Beilin to avoid "official" Israeli involvement. Operating under this guideline, Beilin selected two "unofficial" representatives, Professor Yair Hirschfeld and Dr. Ron Pundak of Haifa University. Hereupon Arafat selected as his principal negotiator "Abu Ala'a" (Ahmed Suleiman Khoury), the PLO "minister of finance" who had long functioned virtually as the chairman's alter ego.



In January 1993, under cover of Larsen's institute, Hirschfeld, Pundak, Abu Ala'a and two Palestinian aides were secretly accommodated in a luxurious private mansion outside Oslo. Discussions began. From the



outset, both sets of negotiators agreed that the most realistic objective was an interim accord, essentially a declaration of principles, on Palestinian "empowerment." Both Israelis and Palestinians would require time to develop trust and mutual interests.

To that limited end, negotiations then continued over the ensuing weeks, with Larsen always in the background to provide for every physical need, and on occasion to function as a mediator between the two sides. Periodically there were serious disagreements, and both sets of negotiators returned to Jerusalem and Tunis for further consultations. Then, in late February 1993, Yitzchak Rabin finally was brought into the picture. Cautiously, the prime minister allowed the initiative to continue, although without shifting his focus on the "official" bilateral negotiations in Washington.

By then, too, both sides were concentrating on the Gaza Strip as the likeliest site for an early Israeli withdrawal and Palestinian "empowerment." A suppurating pesthole, Gaza in any case evoked little historic resonance even among Israeli hard-liners. Indeed, under Peres's instructions from Jerusalem, Hirschfeld and Pundak intimated a willingness to add Jericho to Gaza as a locale for early Israeli withdrawal.

As the foreign minister saw it, Jericho's proximity to the River Jordan improved the chances of an eventual confederation between the Palestinians and Hashemite Jordan, the political scenario that Peres had always favored. To Arafat and his advisors, by the same token, the dusty little town of fourteen thousand represented a kind of preliminary lien on the West Bank. They were interested.



Thus, by late spring 1993, anticipating a breakthrough, both the Israelis and the PLO upgraded their representatives in Oslo to "official" status. Although maintaining a cover of secrecy, Beilin himself made periodic visits to share in the discussions. At the same time, Peres discreetly alerted Egypt's President Mubarak to the backdoor negotiations and won his cooperation in encouraging Arafat to move forthrightly toward an accommodation. Others who quietly fostered the negotiation process were the Americans: for Secretary of State Warren Christopher similarly had been apprised of the Oslo channel. Christopher's Middle East negotiator, Daniel Kurtzer, shuttled between Tunis and Jerusalem, seeking to narrow the gap between the PLO and the Israelis.

The combined efforts eventually bore fruit. At long last, Abu Ala'a and his colleagues were authorized to diverge for the Palestinian stance in the Washington negotiations: the explosive issue of Jerusalem would be postponed. Manifestly the distance was narrowing between security, of decisive concern to the Israelis, and self-rule, which mattered most to the Palestinians.

By August 1993, the basic outline of a "Declaration of Principles" was emerging. Yet, even then, Arafat in Tunis was fearful of taking the final step. Accordingly, Rabin and Peres sent word through Beilin that Israel would be prepared to recognize the PLO as official spokesman for the Palestinian people.

The concession was exceptionally painful for the two Israeli leaders. Neither had to be reminded of the many hundreds of Israelis and other Jews who had died by guerilla violence over the years. Yet they sensed now that public acknowledgement of Arafat's legitimacy as the one and official Palestinians spokesman was an inducement the PLO chairman could not easily reject. The gesture was a shrewd one, and it worked.





So did Peres's final gamble, on August 17, of alerting the PLO leadership that the time for procrastination was over, that his own and Rabin's patience had expired, that the Declaration of Principles must be completed that very night. The Israeli Foreign Minister was in Stockholm, ostensibly to attend an international Socialist congress. Through the Norwegian foreign minister—also present—a series of back and forth telephone calls to Arafat in Tunis clarified the few remaining points at issue.

When the PLO chairman still hesitated, Peres threatened to break off all further contacts and negotiate exclusively with Syria. Hereupon Arafat wilted. Without further demurrer, he accepted the final draft of the outline of the Declaration of Principles. The next day, Peres flew secretly to Oslo and was present at the Norwegian government guest house as his appointed delegate Uri Sair, director general of Israel's foreign ministry, signed the document for his government while Abu Ala'a and his young aide Hassan Asfour signed for the PLO.

Even then, Rabin would not submit the document to his cabinet. If he had paid the bitter price of recognizing the PLO's official status, he expected repayment in kind. On September 9, he got it. It was a formal letter from Arafat. In black and white it affirmed that the PLO acknowledged Israel's right to exist in peace and security; that the PLO renounced the use of terrorism and other acts of violence; and that "those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist... are now inoperative and no longer valid." In response, the prime minister's letter of September 10 (a single, icily formal paragraph) confirmed that the "Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and to commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process."



Howard M. Sachar is a Professor of History and International Affairs at George Washington University in Washington DC. . © 1976, 1996 by Howard M. Sachar

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Israel

Why the Oslo Accords Failed

What went wrong?

By Ziv Hellman

The Oslo Accords, which were signed in 1993, were designed as confidence-building measures to create trust between Israelis and Palestinians and bring peace to the region. Yet a decade after those accords were signed, the region is mired in war. A former member of Peace Watch, a watch-dog group that monitored the implementations of the Oslo Accords analyzes what went wrong.

The failure of the Oslo agreements can be ascribed to the same reasons that are usually the cause of most agreement failures: both parties felt that Oslo had not delivered what they had expected from it.

Oslo was from the start meant to be an interim agreement as a prelude to the expected difficult negotiations toward a final agreement. An important component of it was that peace could be spread by goodwill on the part of the leaderships of both peoples.



The Expectations

Palestinian expectations were in the main twofold. The first expectation was that the Oslo process would bring to a halt the construction and expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Israeli withdrawals were to proceed according to a fixed schedule leading to Palestinian Authority control over more than 90 percent of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, setting the stage for final Israeli withdrawal all the way to the 1967 borders.

The second expectation centered around increased economic development in Palestinian society, lifting Palestinians out of crushing poverty and narrowing the gap in living standards between them and the Israelis that many Palestinians thought humiliating and enraging.



The signing of the Oslo Accords (above) brought with them optimism that disappeared within a decade afterward. Photo: Israel Sun

Israeli expectations mostly centered on security. Decades of Palestinian terrorism had led many Israelis to fear that relinquishing control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip would leave Israel exposed to hostile Palestinian movements who would use the territories as springboards from which to launch terrorist acts well within Israel.

The Oslo agreements were to assuage these fears by establishing a Palestinian Authority that would consider organizations as Hamas and Islamic Jihad as a threat to its own existence, thus aligning Israeli interests in fighting terrorism with the interests of the Palestinian leadership.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's prime minister when the agreements were signed, put it rather inelegantly when he stated that the Palestinian Authority would fight terrorism more effectively than Israelis ever could because it would operate without constraints imposed by "human rights groups and the Israeli Supreme Court." In that statement, he was expressing the hope many Israelis pinned behind the agreement for an anti-terrorism alliance between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The Oslo agreements even established "joint patrols" involving Israeli and Palestinian soldiers patrolling side by side to prevent terrorist attacks.

In summary, the Oslo agreement set up an expected quid pro quo that could be stated as "land and economics in exchange for security." The unraveling of the Oslo process began with the sense that the quid pro quo was not being implemented as planned.

Expectations Unfulfilled

The implementation of the Oslo agreements started well. The first Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian territories in the Gaza Strip and in Jericho on the West Bank was conducted smoothly. The establishment of the Palestinian Authority and Yasser Arafat's installation as its President followed. Then, after a good deal of hard negotiating, a second Israeli redeployment occurred outside of the larger Palestinian cities and towns in the West Bank.



Unfortunately, the upbeat mood of confidence-building, in both the Israeli and Palestinian publics, was short-lived, as each side began to perceive the other as violating its agreements.

The Palestinian View

Palestinian spokesmen have repeatedly explained that the collapse of the Oslo peace process was due first and foremost to the expansion of Israeli settlements and the disappointing extent of the territorial control of the Palestinian Authority. Polls of Palestinian public opinion indicate that the broad populace shares this view.

Palestinians believed that the Oslo agreements included a firm Israeli commitment to halt the expansion of settlements and even begin dismantling them. While there was no such explicit commitment in the signed agreements, Palestinians maintain that this must have been understood by the Israelis as entirely self-evident, and that such conditions would be a minimally necessary precondition for Palestinian assent to any agreement.

An Israeli "third redeployment" that was expected by 1996 has to date not been carried out. The West Bank was divided in a complicated arrangement into three zones, labeled Areas A, B, and C, with complete Palestinian Authority control in Area A, complete Israeli control over area C, and "joint responsibilities" in area B, which was intended to provide civilian Palestinian rule alongside Israeli security control. The Palestinian Authority was thus confined to about 50 per cent of the West Bank, far less than the 95 per cent or more that the Palestinians had originally expected.



A "free passage" route connecting the West Bank and Gaza Strip running through Israeli territory was never realized, but Israeli military roadblocks were established on the roads between Palestinian cities. While Israelis cited "security concerns" these moves were interpreted by much of the Palestinian public as an Israeli attempt to create separate Palestinian cantons without territorial contiguity, in order to strangle any possibility of a viable future Palestinian state.

For the Palestinians this was seen as an ultimate Israeli betrayal indicating that Israel never intended to come to a peace agreement.

The Israeli View

From the perspective of many Israelis, the dynamics of Israeli-Palestinian relations since the signing of the Oslo agreement confirmed their worst fears: that the Oslo process would give a militant enemy the tools and launching areas for bloodthirsty terrorist attacks against Israelis.

Very early on during the establishment of the security services of the Palestinian Authority, it was noted by Israeli observers that the number of Palestinians in arms and the types of armaments being brought into Palestinian Authority territory were significantly exceeding the limits established by the agreements. This led to the suspicion that Arafat was constructing an offensive army rather than a police force.



But the greatest Israeli anger was elicited by the fact that the Palestinian Authority was doing very little to prevent terrorist attacks emanating from its territory. It refused to take steps towards disarming terrorist



militias, permitted terrorist organizations to operate open offices in its territory, and either refused to arrest terrorists or would adopt a policy of "revolving door" arrests--placing terrorists in prison for a handful of days and then releasing them.

As terrorist attacks against Israelis exacted a heavy toll in civilians killed and wounded, the entire conception that had been presented to Israelis--of the Oslo process creating efficient Palestinian security teams that would be better than Israeli soldiers in combating terrorism--collapsed. Palestinian explanations that they "couldn't be expected to be collaborators and fight against their own people" rang hollow to Israeli ears in the face of civilian deaths.

Many incidents caused the Israeli public to wonder whether Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had ever truly intended to lay down arms and seek negotiated peace agreements rather than armed struggle: immense arms supplies to the Palestinian Authority were made public; captured documents indicated Palestinian Authority support for terrorist infrastructures; and Palestinian policemen took up arms against Israeli soldiers. For Israelis, this was the ultimate breach of agreement, rendering it moot.

The Economic View

The economic reconstruction of the Palestinian territories was to be handled by internationally respected Palestinian economists and businesspeople working along with the World Bank and enjoying the financial support of Western donations. Toward this end, as early as November and December 1993, potential donor nations were gathered to commit large sums of money and an organization that was supposed to oversee the new Palestinian Authority economy—the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR)—was formed.

These plans were halted by Yasser Arafat. Arafat regarded an independent and authoritative organization such as PECDAR as a potential threat to his power. The entire World Bank vision for a modern, Westernstyle Palestinian economy, built around competitive markets, transparent and accountable public bodies, and solid financial and legal institutions, went against the grain of the methods Arafat had used to run the PLO for decades. Those methods, instead of the World Bank and PECDAR paradigm, were imposed in the Palestinian Authority.

The economy in the Palestinian Authority has since its inception been run as if it were a syndicate, with monopolistic control over sectors granted to individuals or institutions in return for "percentage kickbacks" paid to authority figures in a pyramid going all the way to Arafat's office. These public figures operated under no requirement to make use of the funds at their disposal, whether public money or "kick back payments" in an accountable or transparent manner --a state of affairs generally called "corruption".

Donor money, instead of being invested in infrastructures that could support future job growth, were used to cover salaries for teachers and police officers, which translated into a potentially never-ending dependency on donations--because cuts in donations could threaten the collapse of the entire system. As the Palestinian Authority lacked any clear legal protections for economic activities, private investors refused to come near it. The more terrorism mounted, the firmer Israel became in sealing its borders to Palestinian job seekers.





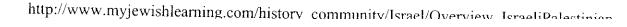
The Palestinian economy went into a downward spiral. By the time the second Intifada led to permanent Israeli closures, choking off all trade, it went into a coma. Observers in Washington have concluded that the Palestinian Authority is by now a "failed state" that can only be helped back to the road to normality by "regime change."

Summary

The success of the Oslo process was predicated on a beneficial spiral of confidence-building measures that would bring Israelis and Palestinians ever closer to trusting in the possibility of peaceful co-existence. In actual fact, Oslo led to series of claims and counter-claims of breaches of the accords that formed a negative spiral of mistrust and feelings of enmity.

In light of these facts, it might be said in hindsight that Oslo ultimately failed because while its fashioners set in motion a process that could potentially lead to trust and confidence, they did not establish mechanisms for monitoring violations or ensuring that claims of violations could be arbitrated and corrections could be guaranteed. Without such safeguards, the dynamic of the Oslo process fell prey to longstanding sentiments of mistrust and anger between Palestinians and Israelis.

Ziv Hellman is a Jerusalem-based writer and mathematician. A former editor at the Jerusalem Post, Ziv was founding member of Peace Watch--the watchdog group reporting on the implementation of the Oslo Agreements. He also led the Israeli elections observer team evaluating the Palestinian Authority elections.







Immigration from the Former Soviet Union

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3		Total Immigrant	S Immigrants 6
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	1992	176,100	147 830
	1993	77,057	65,003
Ī	1994	76,805	66 145
l⊢	1995	79,844	68 070
-1;=	1996	76,361	64,847
/⊨	997	70,605	59,049
! <u>;=</u>	998	65,962	54,591
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==	000	61,700	66,848
_	001	44,630	50,817
_	002	34,508	33,850
To	otal	1,158,692	18,772
		, -0,002	944,484

Sources: American Sephardi Federation, Jewish Agency for Israel and Central Bureau of Statistics, JAFI, Jerusalem Post (December 29, 2002)



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The Druze in Israel by Dr. Naim Aridi

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Dr. Naim Aridi is an author and educator with a doctorate in Hebrew Literature. He lectures at Gordon College and the College for Arab Teachers, in Haifa. He resides in Maghar.



The Druze community in Israel is officially recognized as a separate religious entity with its own courts (with jurisdiction in matters of personal status - marriage, divorce, maintenance and adoption) and spiritual leadership. Their culture is Arab and their language Arabic but they opted against mainstream Arab nationalism in 1948 and have since served (first as volunteers, later within the draft system) in the Israel Defense Forces and the Border Police.

Worldwide there are probably about one million Druze living mainly in Syria and Lebanon, with 104,000 in Israel, including about 18,000 in the Golan (which came under Israeli rule in 1967) and several thousands who emigrated to Europe and North and South America.

The Druze community in Israel has a special standing among the country's minority groups, and members of the community have attained high-level positions in the political, public and military spheres.

Historical Background

The Druze religion has its roots in Ismailism, a religio-philosophical masses



Druze
soldiers
participate
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Day
Parade,
1949

Photo: GPO

the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt in the tenth century. During the reign of al-Hakim (996 - 1021) the Druze creed came into being, blending Islamic monotheism with Greek philosophy and Hindu influences. Active proselytizing of the new creed was brief; since about 1050 the community has been closed to outsiders.

The first Druze settled in what is now southern Lebanon and northern Israel. By the time of the Ottoman conquest of Syria (1516), Druze also lived in the hill country near Aleppo, and Sultan Selim I recognized Fakhr al-Din as Emir of the Druze, with local authority. Civil strife between the Lebanese Druze and the Maronite Christians ended in 1860 with the autonomous administration of Mt. Lebanon, which was imposed by the great powers. The Druze never regained ascendancy in the region and the center of the community passed to Mt. Hauran in Syria, which became known as Jebel-el-Druze (Mountain of the Druze) - the name formerly synonymous with Mt. Lebanon.

Until the end of Ottoman rule (1918), the Druze were governed by emirs, as a semi-autonomous community. In 1921 the French tried to set up a Druze state under the French Mandate, but the attempt failed.

The Druze in Galilee and on Mount Carmel have always kept in contact with the other branches of the community, especially with those of Mt. Hermon and Lebanon. During the British Mandate over Palestine they refrained from taking part in the Arab-Jewish conflict, and during Israel's War of Independence (1948) became active participants on Israel's side.

Bellefs and Traditions

The Druze consider their faith to be a new interpretation of the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. For them, the traditional story of the Creation is a parable, which describes Adam not as the first human being, but as the first person to believe in one god. Since then, the idea of monotheism has been disseminated by "emissaries" or prophets, guided by "mentors" who embody the spirit of monotheism. The mentors and prophets come from all three religions, and include Jethro and Moses, John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth, and Salman the Persian and Mohammed - all reincarnations of the same monotheistic idea. In addition, the Druze hold other influential people - regardless of their religion - in great esteem, as the advocates of justice and belief in one god. These include the Egyptian Akhenaton, the Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and Alexander the Great.

Although the Druze recognize all three monotheistic religions, they believe that rituals and ceremonies have caused.



Sheikh Amin Tarif, Iongtime spiritual leader of the Israeli Druze

community.

In the background, the Druze flag.

and Muslims to turn aside from "pure faith". They argue that individuals who believe that God will forgive them if they fast and pray, will commit transgressions in the expectation of being forgiven - and then repeat their sins. The Druze thus eliminated all elements of ritual and ceremony; there is no fixed daily liturgy, no defined holy days, and no pilgrimage obligations. The Druze perform their spiritual reckoning with God at all times, and consequently need no special days of fasting or

The Druze religion is secret and closed to converts. From the theological perspective, the secrecy derives from the tenet that the gates of the religion were open to new believers for the space of a generation when it was first revealed and everyone was invited to join. Since in their belief everyone alive today is the reincarnation of someone who lived at that time, there is no reason to allow them to join today. Therefore, the Druze refrain from missionizing, and no member of another religion can become Druze.

Druze religious books are accessible only to the initiates, the uqqal ("knowers"). The Juhal ("Ignorant ones") accept the faith on the basis of the tradition handed down from generation to

Tenets and Precepts

The Druze religion has no ceremonies or rituals, and no obligation to perform precepts in public. The main tenets that obligate all Druze, both uppal and juhal, are:

- Speaking the truth (instead of prayer)
- Supporting your brethren (instead of charity)
- Abandoning the old creeds (instead of fasting)
- Purification from heresy (instead of pilgrimage)
- Accepting the unity of God
- Submitting to the will of God (instead of holy war)

The uqqal are bound by more precepts than the juhal. Their external appearance is also different: the men have a shaven head covered by a white turban, a mustache and a beard; the women wear a white head scarf, called a naqab. The most plous among the women hide all their hair under a separate covering, the iraqlyah, which is fastened around the head underneath the white scarf.

Druze are forbidden to eat pork, smoke, or drink

Druze Women

Druze women can attain positions of religious significance, and some have indeed achieved high rank. Regarding personal status, their rights are almost identical to those of men; actually, Druze women are preferred over men in joining the usual





Druze elders Photo: N.Shefer



Photo: N.Shefer

prepared". Consequently, there are more women than men among the uqqal. Female uqqal take part in the religious assemblies in the hilwah (prayer house), but sit separately from the men.

Uqqal men and women usually intermarry. If a juhal wishes to marry a member of the uqqal, the former is expected to declare in advance his/her intention to join in the near future. Druze men, both uqqal and juhal, may not have more than one wife, nor may they remarry their divorced wife, or even be under the same roof with her. Also, a male uqqal may not be alone with a woman who is not a close relative (spouse, daughter, sister, mother) nor even respond to her greeting unless a third person is present. Both men and women are encouraged to guard themselves against immodest or impulsive

The Druze Educational System



Photo: N.Shefer

Since the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, the Druze educational system has flourished. In 1948/49, only 981 Druze were enrolled in school - 881 boys and 100 girls. Some 30 years later, there were 18,729 Druze students, an increase by a factor of 19. Today there are over 30,000 Druze students in the school system - some 2.3% of all pupils in Israel, although the representation of Druze in the general population is only 1.6%.

Druze Revered Sites in Israel

Ince there is no ritual or ceremony in the Druze religion, there is also no sanctification of physical places. However, the Druze gradually instituted gatherings at significant sites for the purpose of discussing community affairs, and over time such gatherings have taken on the meaning of a sort of religious holiday.

Most of the regional assembly places are located in or near Druze villages in upper and western Galilee, in the Golan and on Mount Carmel.

Jethro's Tomb



Tomb of Nebi Shu'eib (Jethro's

One of the most important Druze gathering sites is the tomb of Nebi Shu'eib - the prophet Jethro - at the Horns of Hittin, overlooking Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee). According to Druze tradition, Saladin had a dream on the eve of his battle against the Crusaders at this site, in which an angel promised him victory on condition that after the battle he gallop westward on his horse. Where the stallion would pull up, the angel promised, he would find the burlal site of Nebi Sheuib. When the dream came true, the Druze built a tomb at the site, next to which is a rock bearing a footprint, believed to be that of Nebi Sheuibhimself. On April 25 each year, the Druze gather at the site to discuss community

Tomb)

The older section of the existing structure was built by the Druze in the 1880s, after the spiritual leader of the community, Sheikh Mahna Tarif of Julis, summoned an assembly to discuss its construction. A delegation of uqual traveled to Syria and Lebanon and collected funds for this purpose, and the local Druze also contributed extensively. Renovation work and additions to the building continued throughout the years of the British Mandate, and more intensively after 1948. In recent years access to the site has been improved and connected to electricity and water, with funding from the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare and various other government ministries, as well as from the Minorities Unit of the IDF.

Sabalan's Tomb

Sabalan was a Druze prophet, believed to be either Zebulun, the sixth son of the Patriarch Jacob, or one of the emissaries who propagated the Druze religion in the eleventh century. Sabalan's tomb is located above the Druze village of Hurfelsh (see Druze towns and villages). It is the site of an annual festive pilgrimage and is visited throughout the year by those who have taken a vow to do so.

Nabi al-Khadr



Al-Khadr means "green" in Arabic. It is also the name given to the Prophet Elljah in Muslim tradition. His tomb is to be found in Kafr Yasif, near Akko. Members of the Druze community gather at his tomb on January 25th.

Tomb of Al-Ya'afuri

The prophet Al-Ya'afuri is not mentioned in any other religion, and the name is neither Arabic nor Persian. His tomb, located near the village of Majdal Shams in the Golan, is considered to be an important place for the Druze.

Nabi Zakarya

This is, in all likelihood, the Jewish prophet Zechariah. His tomb is located in the village of Abu Sinan near Akko. It is a very modest site; there is no set date for gatherings there.

Tomb of Abu Ibrahim

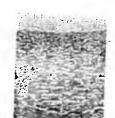


Another minor shrine, the tomb of Abu Ibrahim attracts Druze from all over Israel, in fulfillment of vows and to receive a blessing. It is located in the town of Dailyat el-Carmel on Mount Carmel.

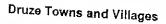
Tomb of Abu Abdallah

This tomb is visited almost exclusively by residents of the village of Isfiya in which it is located.



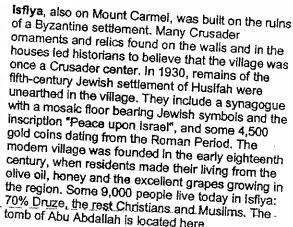


Daliyat el-Carmel



Most of the Druze towns and villages in Israel are populated exclusively by Druze, although over the last century a minority of Christians and Muslims have become residents in some of them. They are located in the north of the country, mainly on hilltops; historically as a defense against attack and

The largest Druze town in Israel (and the most southern) is Dallyat el-Carmel, located on Mount Carmel in the heart of the Carmel National Park, southeast of Haifa: Established some 400 years ago, Daliyat el-Carmel has a population of 13,000 Druze residents, who trace their ancestry to the hill country near Aleppo (Halab) in northern Syria, attested to by their strong Aleppo accent and the name of the largest family in the village - Halabi. The large market in the center of the town boasting traditional Druze and Arab products draws tourists from Israel and from abroad, and there is a memorial center for fallen Druze IDF soldiers. The shrine of Abu Ibrahim is located in Daliyat el-Carmel, and the ruins of several Druze villages are located in the vicinity.



tomb of Abu Abdallah is located here.

Northeast of Haifa is the village of Shfar am, a settlement with ancient roots. Shfar'am is mentioned in the Talmud, and in the second century was the seat of the Sanhedrin (the supreme Jewish religious and judicial body). The Jewish community in Shfar'am, dating from the end of the Middle Ages, slowly dwindled away during the 19th and early 20th century. Some 27,000 Druze, Christians and Muslims live in Shfar'am today, and the village has a number of holy sites and prayer houses for all three communities, as well as housing for discharged Druze soldiers.



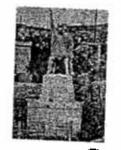
Beit Jan

Further north, overlooking Lake Kinneret, is Maghar, believed to be the site of the city of Ma'ariya, where a priestly family lived in Talmudic times. Historical sources mention the many olive trees surrounding the village, which still thrive there today. Some 17,000 people live in Maghar today -60% Druze, 20% Muslim and 20% Christian.

The village of Rama (population 7 000) and

Tomb of Sheikh Amin Tarif in his house in Julis Maghar, was built on the site of the ancient biblical town of Ramot Naftali. Rama is noted for its level of culture, dating back to the Mandate Period; in 1948, the proportion of physicians, attorneys, and engineers in Rama was the highest in the Arab sector. Nearby is the smaller village of Sajur.

Located north of Rama, on the peak of Mt. Meron, is the all-Druze village of Beit Jan. The village is situated at the highest point in Israel (940 meters above sea level), and has a population of some 9,000. Not far away is Pekl'in, one of the most ancient villages in the country. It was frequently mentioned in historical sources from the thirteenth century onward, noting its many springs, flourishing gardens and orchards, and its small Jewish community, which has been present there almost continuously since the Second Temple period. In and near the village are significant sites for Druze and Jews, including a restored Jewish synagogue dating back to the Roman Period. The oldest Druze school in the region was established in Peki'in by the Russian church at the end of the nineteenth century.



Statue of the Sultan el-Atrash in Hurfeish Ein ei-Asad, the only all-Druze village founded in the twentieth century, is located nearby. The village's original residents came from Beit Jan and from Syria and Lebanon. Kafr Sumei', west of Pekl'in, is thought to be the site of Kefar Sama, mentioned in ancient Hebrew literature.

South of Kafr Sumei', **Kisra** was the smallest Druze village in the country in the nineteenth century. The village now has about 3,500 residents. The nearby village of **Yanuah** is mentioned in the Bible (as Janoah), the Talmud, and Crusader documents. Next to the village is the shrine of the Muslim prophet Shams.

The only all-Druze town in western Galilee, Yirka, is the site of one of the largest factories in the Middle East: the steel mill belonging to the Kadmani Brothers. The factory has enabled the village to develop a large commercial and industrial zone. Home to about 11,000 Druze, Yirka has a number of important sites, the most significant of which is the tomb of Sheikh Abu Saraya Ghanem, an important Druze religious scholar of the early eleventh century.

Abu Sinan, another large Druze town in the area, is mentioned in Crusader documents from the year 1250, as the fortress of "Busnen". Abu Sinan became important during the reign of the Druze Emir Fahr ed-Din al-Mani, who built a palace there for his son Ali in 1617. Today Abu Sinan is home to about 10,000 persons - 35% Druze and the rest Christians and Muslims. The tombs of the prophet Zechariah and Sheikh al-Hanball are located in the town.

South of Abu Sinan is the tranquil village of **Julis**, homeof Sheikh Amin Tarif, the longtime spiritual leader of the Israell Druze community, who died in October 1993. His grandson Saleh Tarif, who lives in Julis, was the first Druze to be appointed a

minister in the Israeli government.

Druze have lived in Jat, a small village northeast of Abu Sinan, since the eleventh century. Druze sacred texts mention Sheikh Abu Arus, who was responsible for the propagation of the Druze faith in the region, and was builed in the village. The population of Jal today numbers some 8,000,

The village of Hurfeish is situated on the road that runs east from the coastal town of Nahariya, and the site of the tomb of the important prophet Sablan. On September 10th each year, Druze come to celebrate his festival in the village. In 1972, a monument was erected in Hurfeish in memory of Druze soldiers who fell serving with the Israel Defense Forces.

Druze Villages in the Golan

With some 8,000 residents, Majdai Shams is considered to be the center of the Druze community in the Golan. The most important residents - both spiritually and politically - are the Abu-Salah and Safdle families. Majdal Shams is situated in the southern foothills of Mt. Hermon, and is surrounded by thousands of dunams of orchards, the main crops of which include first class apples and cherries.

Most of the 3,000 inhabitants of Mas'ada, originate from the Abu-Salah and Safdie families of Majdal Shams. Originally founded as a farm south of Majdal Shams, over time Mas'ada developed into a large village involved in agricultural production.

South of Mas'ada is the village of Buka'ata. It was founded over 100 years ago when a family feud in Majdal Shams resulted in many inhabitants fleeing acts of retribution and revenge. Today, the 5,000 residents earn their livelihood from growing apples and grapes.

Ein Kenya lies in the southwestern foothills of Mt Hermon, above the Banyas Nature Reserve. Until the Six Day War (1967), the inhabitants of Ein Kenya included Christians, but today its 1,600 inhabitants are exclusively Druze.



Druze children playing in their schoolyard in Majdal Shams, on the Golan Heights





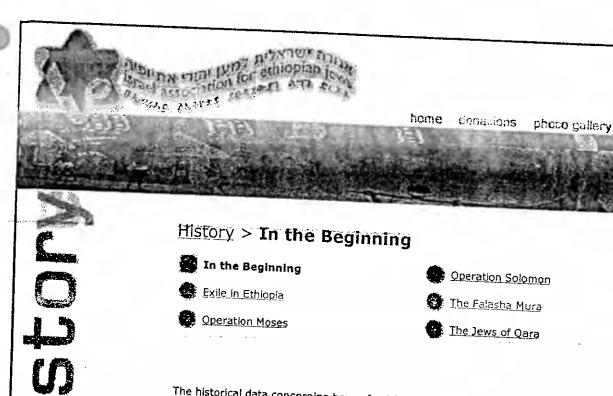
Aliyah From Ethiopia

Up to Operation Moses			
Operation Moses	6,000		
Up to Operation Solomon	7,000		
Operation Solomon	11,000		
Operation Solomon - End of 1997	14,300		
"Falashmura" immigrants - 1998	11,511		
Immigrants from Quara - 1999	3,505		
	2,173		
2000	2044		
2001	2,241		
2002	3,271		
Total	2,693		
TOTAL	63,604		
	03,094		

Source: American Sephardi Federation and <u>Israeli Ministry of Immigrant Absorption</u>; <u>Jerusalem Post</u>, (January 13, 2003)

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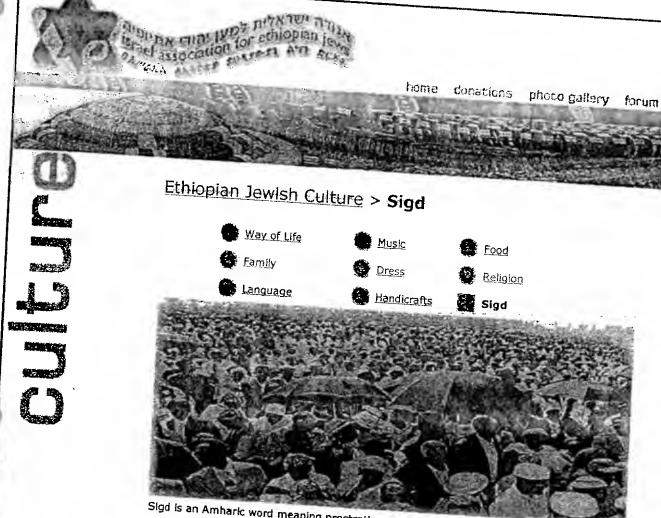
forum



The historical data concerning how a Jewish population first came to settle in Ethiopia is scant due to the lack of written records and the regional prevalence of oral traditions. There are however many theories, of which three are the most widely accepted:

- 1. The Ethiopian Jews are the descendants of the lost ancient Israelite tribe of Dan.
- They may be the descendants of Menelik I, the fabled son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, as set down in the folkloric, biblical and aggadic Ethiopian Kebra Negast.
- They might be descendants of Jews who left Israel for Egypt following the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE.

These and other ideas have their supporters, and also their detractors. Regardless, for thousands of years, Jews in Ethiopia maintained a strict preTalmudic biblical Judaism. They kept Kashrut (Jewish dietary laws), the laws of ritual cleanliness, and observed the Jewish Sabbath and festivals. The Kesim (religious leaders) were respected as the rabbis of each community and presided over festival services in the ancient liturgical language of Ge'ez. They passed down Jewish tradition orally and maintained the Jewish books and torah scrolls that some communities had preserved in Ge'ez.



Sigd is an Amharic word meaning prostrating oneself.

On the 29th of the Hebrew month of Cheshvan, members of the Ethiopian Jewish community fasted.

They met in the morning and walked to the highest point on a mountain, the 'Kessim' came carrying the 'Orit'. The 'Kessim' recited parts of the 'Orit', including the Book of Nehemiah. On that day, members of the community recited Psalms and remembered the Torah, its traditions, and their desire to return to Jerusalem.

In the afternoon they descended to the village and broke their fast, danced, and rejoiced. This holiday symbolized the covenant in receiving the Torah on Mount Sinal.

Sigd is still celebrated in Israel today. The Ethiopian community comes from all over Israel to Jerusalem. The 'Kessim' recite the prayers while the community prays overlooking the old city of Jerusalem. The desire to return has been realized.



Way of Life

Music

Food

Eamily Eam

<u>Dress</u>

Religion

Language

Handicrafts

Sigd



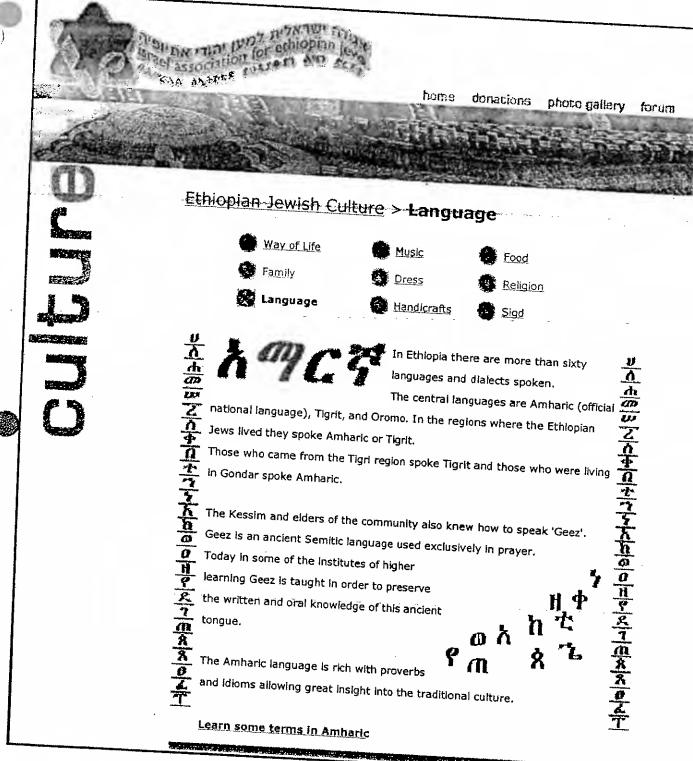
The central holy text of the Jews in Ethlopia was called the 'Orit'-Torah. The 'Orit' was the center of their lives and religion.

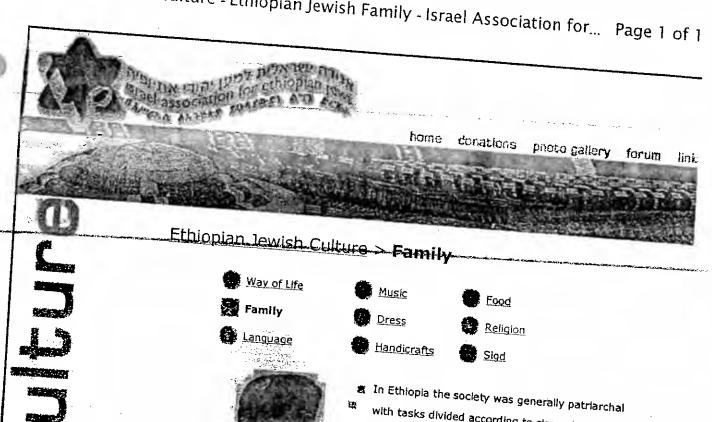
The 'Orit' is made up of the Five Books of Moses, the Prophetic writings, and other writings such as Song of Songs and psalms.

It is written in the ancient language Geez. The 'Orit', wrapped in leather and colorful decorations, was always kept in a special place: In the Bet Knesset or in the home of one of the Kessim.

Ethlopian Jews lived according to the laws of

the Torah, and kept many traditions directly connected to the written word of the Torah. On Passover, for example, Ethiopian Jews slaughter a goat, offer presents to the Kessim, etc.In their prayers they have always included visions of a peaceful Jerusalem and a hope





with tasks divided according to clear, defined gender roles.

A hierarchical structure existed within the family with the father/husband holding the senior position.

This role made him responsible for handling the family's finances and making important decisions.

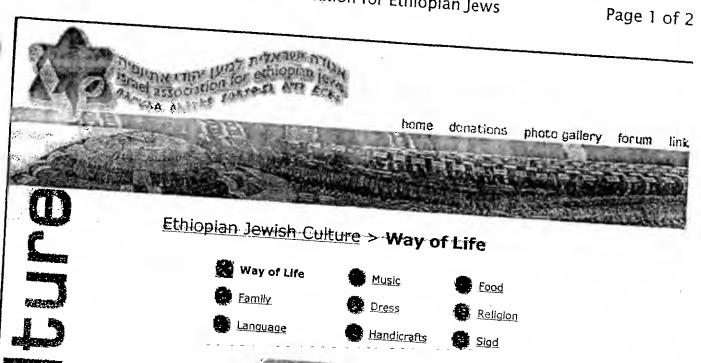
The wife/mother was responsible for housework, i.e. cooking, cleaning, collecting water from the well, raising the children, etc.

The children also had clear tasks divided according to gender roles. The parents held a central role in the family and were treated with much respect by the children. The family unit included the extended family and the connection between all relatives was very strong. When troubles would arise between the parents in a family the 'Hashmaglitz' would

On the journey to Israel and during the absorption process, the family structure has undergone very dramatic changes. The role of the extended family has lost almost all of its meaning. This has led to a redefinition of relationships within the family that at times creates conflicts and tension.

fulfilled the role of social leaders. They assisted in resolving disagreements between neighbors and other personal issues.

The foundations of the Ethiopian Jewish community are built on the following values: mutual respect, politeness, modesty, fulfillment of promises, patience, visitation of mourners, and reception of guests.





Jews in Ethlopia were separated from the Christian and Moslem communities by their distinct way of life and religious customs.

The majority of Ethiopian Jews were farmers, but a smaller portion were traditional craftsmen, working as tinsmiths and tailors.

Overall the community had very little contact with other ethnic communities and developed a very

rich culture in isolation.

Jews in Ethiopia lived in huts and their villages were built near rivers and streams in the mountainous regions of Ethiopia. Besides the economic benefits of living near the water, there was the importance of flowing waters in the rituals of purification and cleanliness practiced by the community. The Ethiopian Jews maintained a strict biblical code of purity surrounding menstruation, birth, death and preparation for the Sabbath. Fresh running water was therefore essential to the community's way of life and spiritual health.

The Kessim ("Kohanim") were the top religious and spiritual leaders of the Jewish community. Members of the community came to the Kessim for information related to religion, holidays, wedding ceremonies, divorce proceedings, burlals, etc.

The 'Hashmaglitz' (Ethiopian elders) came second in rank to the Kessim. They were granted authority on the basis of wisdom and age. The Hashmaglitz had much power and

Malachi) to begin their first year of membership and leadership training. The plan is that in each locality, the program will run for the six years it takes for the first 11- and 12-year-olds recruited and led by older Ethiopians to reach leadership age." Sheba is expected to be an effective program, achieving results rapidly and at a low cost, says Penso.

"We're very optimistic," she says, "that, through the Scout Federation, Israel's young Ethiopian Jews will find their place in the mainstream."

Source: Israel Magazine-On-Web, June 1999,: Israeli Foreign Ministry

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Rahel is an Ethiopian-born youngster who participated in the summer camp. "We had a lot of fun even though we spent the first day in shock!" she says. "We hadn't realized that camping meant sleeping bags on the ground! More important, though, was that we were there as people, as fellow scouts, and not as Ethiopians. That's not to say our Ethiopian-ness was brushed over. Ethiopian families hosted us all, and spoke to us about life in Ethiopia and how they made it to Israel. After these talks, Israeli-born kids at the camp started asking me about my family and our own journey to Israel. I think it's the first time anyone outside our community has ever been interested."

Sheli, who was born in Israel and comes from a prosperous community near Kfar Saba, was one of those Israelis. "That summer camp was the first time I'd had anything to do with Ethiopians, other than read about them in the newspaper," she says. "We talked and visited one another's homes. To my shame, I didn't know that people in Israel lived like that. But I got to know the Ethiopians as individuals, and to understand that their community has huge differences within it, as does ours."

Recruiting youngsters from an Ethiopian background for the summer camp was relatively easy, says coordinator Mangasha. Getting them to join year-round Scout troops was far harder, but 10 suitable candidates from each of the first five pilot areas (Ramle, Beersheba, Netanya, Afula and Kiryat Yam) were eventually convinced.

"Project Sheba is a tiered program," explains Gelkob. "During its first year, these 50 youngsters will become active members of their local Scout troops, and at the same time do leadership training, each group of 10 guided by two veteran Scout leaders. Next year, these first 50 graduates 'will recruit 11- and 12-year-olds from their communities to join local Scout troops, which they'll now be leading. And meanwhile, another 50 Ethiopian 15- to 16-year-olds will be recruited in another five localities (Hadera, Hatzerot Yosef, Rehovot, Kiryat Gat and Kiryat



social codes and cultural values. They share experiences, involve themselves in issues that concern them and their peers, and develop a sense of belonging to their nation and their people."

As Penso quickly discovered, no more than a handful of young Israelis from an Ethiopian background had joined Israel's youth movements. The reason was not hard to find. "Ethiopian-Israelis are very anxious to succeed, and they know that education is the way up," explains Ethiopian-born Tsabi Mangasha. "Our concept of education, however, is the formal kind. That concept has been reinforced by the help the government offers Ethiopian schoolchildren extra lessons taught at school in the afternoons. The community sees informal education, like youth movements, as frivolous and a waste of valuable time."

Convinced that the best way to prove her point was to get a program going, Penso recruited partners: the Coalition for the Advancement of Ethiopian Education, the Israel Association for Ethiopian Jewry and the Israel Scout Federation (*Tzofim*). According to her, *Tzofim* was chosen because it is "creative, experienced and non-political, it caters to both religiously observant and secular youngsters and, with over 35,000 members, is one of Israel's largest youth movements."

Together, they created Project Sheba, a program designed both to bring Ethiopian- born Jewish teenagers into Israel's Scout Federation, and to assure a meaningful experience for them. The program was launched last summer, with the appointment of two national coordinators Ethiopian -born Tsabi Mangasha, 26, and Israeli-born Tami Gelkob, 23, a former scout.

"We recruited 27 Ethiopian 9th-graders," says Gelkob, "and ran a camp for them, together with Israelis. We were clear about one thing from the start: the camp was not solely to instruct 'Ethiopians about Israel, but also for young Israelis to gain knowledge of the Ethiopian community."





Integrating Ethiopian-Born Youth into Israel

By Wendy Elliman

In the fall of 1998, 50 Ethiopian-born Israelis became Boy and Girl Scouts □ the spearhead of an imaginative new program known as

Eight years after the spectacular rescue of Ethiopia's Jews known as Operation Solomon, and 14 years since its no-less-dramatic predecessor, Operation Moses, Israel's 60,000 Jews from Ethiopia are not yet fully integrated into Israeli society.

"Ethiopians in Israel see themselves and are seen by many others as a community unequipped to climb Israel's social pyramid," says Anat Penso, regional head of the Education Division For Immigrant Youth of the Joint Distribution Committee-Israel and a member of the Coalition for the Advancement of Ethiopian Education.

With 60 percent of Israel's Ethiopian-born community aged 18 and under, Penso knew that the most effective help would focus on these youngsters.

"As a teenager, I was an ardent Scout," she says. "My youth movement experience has molded my life. It came to me that this is an ideal way to help Israel's youngsters born in Ethiopia. Growing up together in a movement, youngsters acquire similar

Shmuel Schnitzer of Maariv was rescinded because of an August 1994 article in which he had referred to Falas Mura as "infested with disease," particularly HIV. An originally acceptable Hebrew term for members of the community, kushim—"Cushites," from a Biblical name for Ethiopia—is today considered to be a slur. Russian-born Maj. Michael Valitsky spent much of the year contesting the army's decision to discharge him for addressing Co-serviceman Avi Asmara as a kushi—in jest, he said. The term used by Schnitzer, shehorim—"blacks"—has descended to the same pejorative status.

The community has several abiding grievances. (1) There is a perceived national disinterest in preserving Ethiopian–Jewish culture and history and familiarizing Israelis at large with it; a memorial to the estimated 4,000 who perished en route from Ethiopia to Israel, at the southern entrance to Jerusalem, remains a community rather than a national venture. The year saw two breakthroughs on this front, however: At the end of 1997 nine "Ethiopian" synagogues were under construction around the country. On Nov. 27, 1997, the entire education system noted the occurrence of an important Ethiopian–Jewish festival, the Siged. (2) There is bitter resentment of the collective aspersions cast on Ethiopian immigrants because of their high incidence of HIV infection relative to the population at large. (3) The community is impatient with the prolonged bureaucratic stalling about bringing over the Falas Mura, nearly all of whom have relatives long landed in Israel.

The last of these complaints points to the end that Ethiopian Jewry seeks for itself and its aliya: full resettlement and integration in Israel.

Source: Israel Yearbook and Almanac 1998, pp. 72-74.

Afula		rag
	4,000	, ,
Qiryat Gat	3,000	
Ashqelon		7
Qiryat Malakhi	2,000	2
	3,500	17
Netivot	1,350	
Ofaqim		9
Arad	560	3
	530	3
An Education Minio	•	

An Education Ministry survey of 1992 high-school graduates, most of whom reached Israel in Operation Moses (mid-1980s), revealed that 84% completed 12th-grade requirements, as against 72% of the population at large; in other words, "Ethiopians" are less inclined to drop out than Israelis in general. However, only 15% of these graduates earned matriculation certificates, as against 30% countrywide that year. Some 52% were satisfied with their education; 27% were dissatisfied. Some 56% had served in the army. Nearly all who had married had done so within their community, but half had no principled objections to "marrying out" and 90% would accept their children's doing so. One-third were unemployed. More than half were unskilled or skilled industrial workers. Some 18.5% owned their own housing (population at large: about 75%); 41%, including some married couples, lived with parents. Some 19.5% had experienced incidents of discrimination, but 81% did not believe their neighbors disliked them because of skin color. The respondents exhibited some movement toward secularization, coupled with scattered continued observance of Ethiopian-Jewish religious customs. A weekly program in Amharic on Voice of Israel radio commanded a 90% listenership rate among those polled.

Whatever the level of outright racism, sensitivity to it is rising. On Apr. 24, the decision to award an Israel Prize to veteran journalist



They came such a short distance, except that in the 1980s many did it on foot and 4,000 died en route. They trace their Jewishness to the Biblical era, but only the Prophet Elijah knows for sure. They also invoke the Sartre formula, claiming Jewishness by virtue of having been abused in Exile. Now they challenge Israel to honor its absorption ethos.

The euphoria of the great 1991 airlift has given way to a modified 1950s malaise. Are the "Ethiopians" getting by? Mostly, yes. Has it been easy? Mostly, no. No policymaker of consequence has said, "They're not Jews," or "Of course they're Jews," in a manner that would stick for good. Lacking an appropriate hyphenated or hyphen-free tag for them, society has placed itself on linguistic autopilot, leaving them as "Ethiopian immigrants"—all 50,000 of them, including their Israeli-born children.

Deemed too culturally distant for "Russian"-style direct absorption, "Ethiopians" were initially dispatched to mobile-home encampments and then, with purchase subsidies verging on 100%, referred to permanent housing in selected towns. This policy gave rise to concentrations in several outlying localities, some of them disadvantaged (see table).

Concentrations of Ethiopian Israelis, Selected Localities

(End of 1996)

Town	"Ethiopian" population	Pct. of population
	···	r

That struggle continued in different forms even after the arrival of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel. Their homecoming, Joyous as it was, was marked by a lack of acceptance, as state-religious-institutions did not officially recognize their status and Jews. These institutions made life hard for Ethiopian immigrants, and in some ways still do.

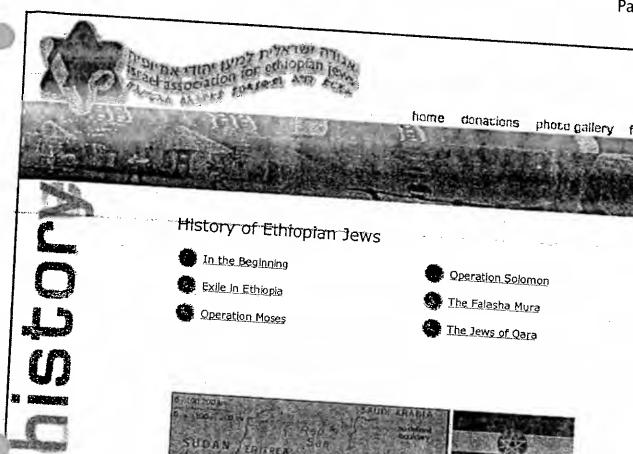
The first trickle of Ethlopian Jewish immigrants to Israel began in the 1950s when 50 children were brought to study in Israel and return to Ethlopia as teachers. In the 1970s, individual Ethlopian activists and their families began crossing into Israel via Sudan. These journeys represent a crucial and important moment in Ethlopian Jewish History. The dream of returning to Jerusalem, rejoining the Jewish Nation and building a state together seemed on the verge of coming true. In 1977, due to pressure from various quarters, then Prime Minister Menachem Begin proclaimed, "bring me the Ethlopian Jews," and the floodgates were opened. This set the stage for the mass exodus that took place in the mid-1980s.

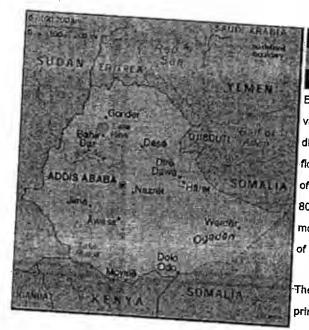
In 1977 30 families came. Between 1977- 1984, 3000-4000 Ethiopian Jews came to Israel, primarily from the Tigrae region. "Operation Moses" brought another 8,000, mostly from Gonder. During that Aliyah, approximately 4,000 lost their lives in the desert wastes and refugee camps of Sudan. "Operation Solomon" saw another 15,000 Ethiopian Jews reach Israel, and small groups have continued to congregate in Addis Ababa, and immigrate ever since. Today there are approximately 85,000 Ethiopian Jews in Israel, 20,000 of who were born here.

The story of the Ethlopian Jews by no means ends with Aliyah. Their absorption and integration into Israell society has been a long road of challenges, successes and difficulties. Some of the obstacles they faced were objective ones—such as the dislocation of moving from a developing nation to a modern industrialized one. Others were the products of institutions and authorities—such as the problems the community still faces with regards to religion, education, employment and housing.

The Ethiopian Jews are now counting their second decade in Israel, and their successes surely outwelch the difficulties they have faced. The community is grateful to all those individuals and institutions who were part of their immigration process, and who support them as they integrate into Israeli society. They hope that the process will only grow easier as they go.

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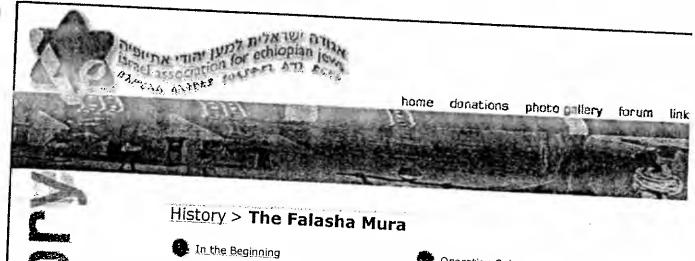


Ethlopia is a geographically varied African state with highly diverse and dramatic climate, flora and fauna. It has population of approximately 60,000,000, 80% of whom live in rural mountainous areas at an altitude of at least 1,500 above sea level.

The Ethiopian Jews lived primarily in villages in the north and Northwest of the country, far

from their Christian neighbors, with separate social and economic institutions and conditions. Their story is a fascinating example of Jewish perseverance and survival despite time, trial and tribulation.

It is a story of people long isolated from the rest of the Jewish world. That separation was so complete, that at one point, the Ethiopian Jews thought themselves the only remaining Jewish community in the world- the last guardians of Jewish knowledge, tradition and the "Torah of Moses." The Ethiopian Jews struggled mightily to retain that tradition and guard it from outside forces that would see it assimilated, conquered and destroyed. As a result, throughout Ethiopian history, they often fell sacrifice to Christian



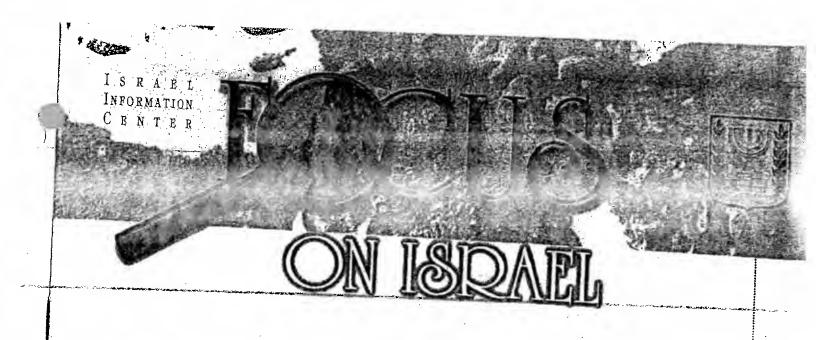
- Exile In Ethiopia
- Operation Moses

- Operation Solomon
- The Falasha Mura
- The Jews of Qara

Following Operation Solomon, small waves of Ethiopian immigrants called "Falasha Mura" continued to Immigrate to Israel. According to the Ethiopian Jewish tradition, roughly 100 years ago, Christian missionaries began attempting to convert Ethiopian Jews. The majority spurned Christian advances and maintained their Jewish faith. Others did convert, whether from belief or from social and economic pressure. These last are the Falasha Mura.

Over the years, large groups of Falasha Mura came from the villages to compounds in Addis Ababa. Many of them had family already living in Israel who have been applying steady pressure upon the Israeli government to allow them to immigrate. In the mid 1990's, the Ministry of Absorption agreed to bring over those Falasha Mura with immediate family members in Israel. This was not under the "Law of Return" however, but under the "Law of Family Reunification." In 1997, the Netanyahu administration decided to stop immigration of Falasha Mura after a final group of 4,000 immigrants.

Between 18,000 and 26,000 Falasha Mura remain in Ethiopia today.



THE BEDOUIN IN ISRAEL

By Dr. Yosef Ben-David

srael's Bedouin citizens – a minority within the Arab minority – have in recent years received increased attention, both from the media and from government institutions.

The process of integrating the Bedouin into Israeli society takes place on two levels – the formal, i.e., by government policy; and the informal, i.e., by changing relationships with Israeli society in general and Jewish society in particular.

The process, as may be expected, is fraught with "natural" difficulties experienced by this cultural group:

- the transition from a traditional, conservative society which only a generation ago was nomadic, entails relinquishing values, customs and a traditional economy;
- ★ the Bedouin have to cope with the process of urbanization the very antithesis of
 their nomadic tradition and the attending poverty and crime rate;
- ◆ the Bedouin to some extent fail to distinguish between objective difficulties and those connected with their changing sub-culture and thus feel an exaggerated sense of deprivation.

Yet a comparison of the situation of the Bedouin in Israel to that in Arab countries will show that Israeli Bedouin enjoy conditions that their brethren lack, mainly in two areas: welfare and land ownership.

Israel's attitude towards its Bedouin citizens has always been positive. Well aware of the difficulties of the Bedouin and based on a thorough knowledge of the subject, the last two governments have begun taking steps to solve the problems with unprecedented determination and allocation of the necessary funds.



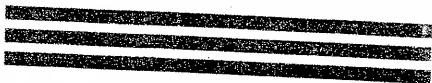


A Ministerial Committee for the Advancement of Bedouin Affairs, comprising ten government ministers has been set up and, over the next four to five years, billions of NIS will be allotted for the implementation of the new programs. The Minister of National Infrastructure, who is responsible for construction and housing as well as for the Israel Lands Administration, has been empowered t negotiate with the Bedouin regarding land rights and has adopted a policy of "once-and-for-all" solution to those problems.

DEMOGRAPHY



he Bedouin population in Israel currently numbers 170,000 persons, living in the following regions:



The Bedouin population has increased tenfold since the establishment of the State (1948), due to a high natural increase – about 5% – which is unparalleled in Israel, or elsewhere in the Middle East. A high fertility rate related to traditional social values regarding size of family and/or tribe as a political advantage, as well as modern health and medical services with easy access, which reduced infant mortality and increased life expectancy, are responsible for this figure.

EDUCATION

ore than anything else, education can contribute to the integration of the Bedouin into Israeli society. Under the Compulsory Education Law, every Bedouin child is entitled to twelve years of free education and the law is very strictly enforced, at least at the elementary school level. Three factors enhanced implementation: an awareness of the necessity and the benefits of an education as an economic and social-mobility tool; the idleness of children and youngsters in the wake of moving to permanent settlements (they had been the main labor force tending the fields and the livestock); and the establishment of a relatively large number of schools in the scattered locations of the Bedouin.



Within a single generation, the Bedouin of Israel have succeeded in reducing illiteracy from 95% to 25%; those still illiterate are aged 55 and above.

Thirty to fifty percent of the students in elementary schools (depending on location) go on to high school, a ratio similar to that elsewhere in the country's Arab sector. They attend Bedouin high schools in the Negev and Arab high schools in the central and northern regions of the country.

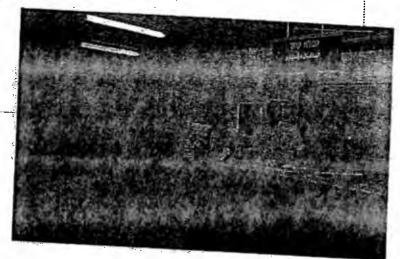
Some 650 Bedouin – 30% of the Bedouin high school graduates of 1998 – are enrolled at present in post-secondary education. About 60 percent of them attend teacher training colleges and 40 percent study at the universities (including the Technological College of Be'er Sheva). In addition, 35 students are enrolled in universities abroad, since they did not qualify for admission to Israeli institutions; the universities now tend to ease admission standards for Bedouin students.

he National Health Insurance Law (NHIL) which took effect on January 1, 1996 considerably improved health services for about 30%.

HEALTH SERVICES

of the Bedouin population who had not belonged to a sick fund. According to the NHIL, every resident is entitled to a basket of health services provided by clinics, specialists and hospitals.

Mother-and-child care centers provide health education, check-ups monitoring development and immunization. Today, hardly any Bedouin women give birth at home; going to hospital makes the mother eligible for a grant from the National Insurance Institute and provides unaccustomed pampering.



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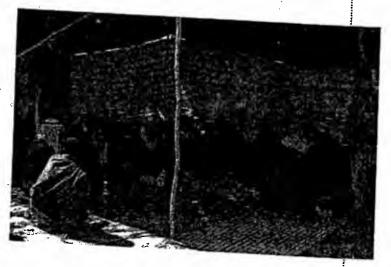
ost of the Bedouin tribes in the Negev hail from the Hejaz, a region in the north of the Arabian peninsula.

THE BEDOUIN IN THE NEGEV

EDUCATION: At present there are 33 elementary schools, three high schools and three vocational schools for the Bedouin community in the Negev. At the elementary level, with an enrollment of 95%, the school population is made up

of equal proportions of boys and girls. But because Bedouin society regards females as inferior and does not encourage them to study, girls make up no more than 10% of the pupils in high schools. At first many teachers had to be brought in from outside the community, today 60 percent of the teaching staff is Bedouin.

All the Bedouin high schools and 60% of the elementary schools in the Negev, are located in the seven Bedouin towns there. Over the past five years, extensive resources have been invested in schools, especially in buildings, services, water pipes, heating and more. Computers and laboratories have also been introduced.





HEALTH: There are clinics in all seven Bedouin towns in the Negev (in Rahat, proclaimed a city in 1994, there are four clinics and a day-hospital). The medical staff includes Jews and Arabs; fifteen of them are Bedouin doctors. Most of the Bedouin living outside the towns can reach the clinics easily; in the more outlying areas, several mobile clinics provide services in the mornings.

A total of 12 clinics provide services in the Negev at present (one clinic per 6000 persons); another 10 clinics are in various stages of establishment. Hospital facilities are available in Be'er Sheva. If a gap still exists between health services in the rest of the country and in the Bedouin towns, it relates more to the physical domain than to the level of medicine.

LAND RIGHTS: In most countries in the Middle East the Bedouin have no land rights, only users' privileges. Israeli Law is derived largely from Mandatory (British) law which in turn incorporated much Ottoman law. Under Israeli law, a person who has not registered his/her land in the Land Registry cannot claim ownership; but in the mid 1970s Israel let the Negev Bedouin register their land claims and issued certificates as to the size of the tracts claimed. These certificates served as the basis for the "right of possession" later granted by the government. Following the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Egypt, it became necessary to move an airport to a locality inhabited by 5000 Bedouin. The government, recognizing these land claim certificates, negotiated with the certificate holders and paid compensation to them. Most moved to Bedouin townships, built houses and established businesses.

In recent years the Ministerial Committee for the Advancement of Bedouin Affairs has undertaken to solve the problem of land ownership and has been assured of the necessary funds. The government is willing to leave some 20% of the land claimed in Bedouin possession and to compensate them for the remainder. In the past, tensions relating to land ownership have led to violence. A solution is now possible, but it requires the willingness and goodwill of both partners.

Two kinds of land offenses make media headlines: illegal building and grazing in protected areas:

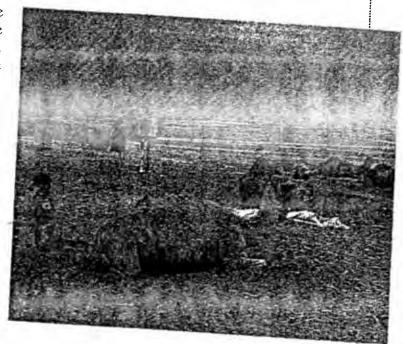


Illegal building. Tents and light structures (shacks and huts) built illegally are treated forgivingly. But construction of houses of stone or concrete without a building permit is considered an offense, since adequate infrastructure and services cannot be provided. Some 2,000 such locations with buildings already exist, scattered over an area of about 1,000 square kilometers.

Grazing in protected areas. Most of the livestock of the Bedouin in the Negev who keep flocks of sheep and goats are registered and approved by the Ministry of Agri-

culture, which provides pasture land outside the Negev for six to seven months of the year, since the carrying capacity of the Negev is limited. Owners who, for reasons of tax evasion, have not registered their livestock and do not receive Ministry of Agriculture services, frequently trespass on nature reserves or populated areas. They are liable to be punished under the law.

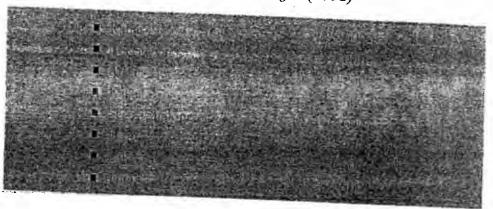
PERMANENT LOCATIONS: The establishment of permanent towns did not begin until the Bedouin themselves constructed buildings to replace tents. But the urbanization process is by no means simple, as the planners have to deal with issues involving tradition and social structure and the Bedouin themselves have difficulty in articulating their wishes in planning terms.



The first Bedouin town, Tel Sheva, was founded in 1967. Here all possible mistakes were made, both by the planners and by government officials. Since then another six towns have been established in the Negev and an effort was made to learn from each previous experience. But the planning concept focused on urban settlement, while many Bedouin wanted to live in rural localities. Today there are plans to found such rural localities and it is hoped that they will satisfy the traditional aspirations of the Bedouin.



The Bedouin urban population in the Negev (1998)



The total Bedouin population of the Negev is about 110,000, which means that about 57,000 are still scattered in outlying areas. It will be Israel's task in the near future, to solve, together with the Bedouin, the problems of their settlement in towns and rural communities.

LIVELIHOOD: The desire of about 30% of the Bedouin in the Negev to retain traditional occupations – the raising of livestock and dry farming – as a source of primary or additional income, causes them to seek pasture land, the supply of which is decreasing due to development and increased quantities of livestock. Given the arid conditions of the Negev, the government, though increasing quotas from time to time, providing veterinary services and refraining from the importation of mutton, must limit pasture land. This is at times depicted in the media as cruel, and the Bedouin as victims of high-handedness.

Other sources of livelihood are:

- 1. Thirty percent of the Bedouin in the Negev have permanent jobs (in factories, government services etc.).
- 2. A similar percentage of unskilled workers cannot obtain permanent jobs and they are the immediate victims when recession and unemployment strike. The National Insurance Law guarantees minimal income to the unemployed, the elderly, the disabled or ill and to orphans and widows.
- 3. In private enterprise: they have succeeded to capture three niches in which neither Jews nor Arabs compete (providing income to an estimated 25% of the population): as agricultural contractors with modern mechanical equipment; as owners of trucks, utility vehicles, buses and cabs, or as salaried employees of transportation companies; and as contractors for development work, involving the use of heavy mechanical equipment.

THE BEDOUIN IN CENTRAL ISRAEL



o Bedouin lived in central Israel in 1948. The fact that 10,000 currently live in this region is the result of migration from the Negev, due to two main factors:

Pasture migration: In 1957 the Negev was struck by drought which lasted for six years. The military administration, responsible for the Negev Bedouin localities at the time, came to the aid of the owners of large herds who requested permission to move to State-owned pasture land in central Israel. This migration led to the establishment of dozens of Bedouin settlements from Kiryat Gat to

Mount Carmel, which developed pleasant social and political relations with their Jewish neighbors. In 1977 the government decided that the Bedouin should return to the Negev. Those who had land in the Negev returned there, but the majority remained in Central Israel, because they had abundant pasture land and some of the family members had found jobs, especially in and around the major Jewish cities. In 1992 a new policy, under which they were offered additional rural localities, was adopted; but the process of settlement will undoubtedly last many years.

Labor migration: The second factor that led to the migration of Bedouin to central Israel was the search for work, especially by families that lacked land and livestock. This migration process, which lasted from 1954 to 1970, created Bedouin centers in the cities of Ramle and Lod and the villages of Taibe and Kafr Kassem; lesser numbers settled in other Arab villages. The migrants belonged to two socio-economic groups: those who had left behind land in the Negev and those (the majority) who had not. The latter obtained permanent jobs and income and had no intention of leaving. Most of those who had left land in the Negev returned there in 1980, when the government recognized land claim certificates (see above - Land Rights).

IN THE CITIES: The Bedouin who moved to Central Israel adapted quickly to urban life, free as they were of the social and political pressure of the Negev Bedouin who opposed moving to the townships set up for them by the government. They moved into houses abandoned by Arabs who had fled the country during the War of Independence, or built shacks (such as the train-station section of Lod). government is now planning housing projects, taking their traditional needs into consideration. Having become permanent residents and enjoying better national and municipal services, the Bedouin show much interest in both general and municipal politics. In these cities they have also developed special relations with the two dominant communities, the Arabs and new Jewish immigrants.



In THE VILLAGES: Paradoxically, the Bedouin who migrated from the Negev to Arab villages were not able to create positive relations with the villagers, despite a common religion and language; they are, instead, considered foreign implants. In 1997 the Kafr Kassem Local Council published a leaflet criticizing their Bedouin neighbors, even demanding their eviction. The incompatibility between the Bedouin, who bought small plots of land for agriculture, and the villagers seems to be linked to the cultural-historical difference between farmers and desert dwellers. But like all Israeli citizens they enjoy education, health and welfare services, despite their claims of being discriminated against by the local authorities, especially in the separate neighborhoods that they have built for themselves in each village.

THE BEDOUIN IN NORTHERN ISRAEL

he Bedouin in Galilee and the Jezreel valley, numbering about 50,000, unlike those in the Negev and in the Central region, hail from the Syrian desert. At the beginning of the century their nomadic way of life and militancy put them in a position to harass villages and demand tribute, giving them a sense of superiority over the fellahin (farmers). During the British Mandate the Galilee Bedouin were encouraged to purchase small plots of land and such purchases were recorded in the Land Registry as legal possession.

Towards the end of the British Mandate and during the struggle for the establishment of the State of Israel, many Bedouin joined the Jewish forces,



believing that the Jewish state would be generous to them. This also explains the continued good relations after the establishment of the State, as manifested, first and foremost, in volunteering for the security forces and serving on the front lines; volunteering is considered by the Bedouin to be part of their blood-pact with the State of Israel.

One example of the good relations between the State and the Bedouin in the North is the tolerance displayed by the government regarding violations of building laws, non-expropriation of land and the establishment of the townships of Beit Zarzir and Ka'abiya.

CONCLUSION

hereas the Negev Bedouin are ambivalent in their attitude toward the State and their identification with it, the northern Bedouin identify with it almost fully. This is manifested, first and foremost, in the extent of volunteering for the security services. As a result, the Bedouin in the North are rewarded with a friendly attitude, both from the establishment and from Jewish society at large.



The "Blood Covenant" between the Bedouin and the State of Israel has its roots in pre-State times. Since then, Bedouin volunteers in the Israel Defense Forces have served valiantly in operations behind enemy lines, on intellegence missions, side by side with kibbutz members in special reconnaissance units and as trackers with the Border Police.

The Wall of Tears of the Yad Ed monument, sponsored by the Jezreel Regional Council, is inscribed with the names of 110 Bedouin fighters who fell in the service of their country.

ISRAELI ARABS

Israeli Arabs are full citizens of the <u>State of Israel</u>, with equal protection under the law, and full rights of due process. <u>Israeli</u> Arabs comprise around 15% of the country's total number of citizens (19.5% when <u>East Jerusalem</u> residents are included). They call themselves or have been called "Israeli Arabs", "Arab citizens of Israel," "Arab Israelis" and "Palestinian Arabs in Israel"

Most <u>Israeli Arabs</u>, including 170,000 <u>Bedouin</u>, are descendants of the 150,000 Arabs who remained within Israel's borders during the <u>1948 Arab-Israeli War</u> and of the Wadi-Ara Palestinians who came under Israel jurisdiction as part of a territory exchage under the <u>1949 Armistice Agreement with Jordan</u>. As many as 200,000 others have <u>emigrated</u> into Israel from the <u>Gaza Strip</u> and <u>West Bank</u>, receiving citizenship under family-unification provisions. Israeli Arabs include 120,000 <u>Druze</u> and <u>Christian</u> Arabs. In addition, around 170,000 <u>Palestinians</u> were estimated to be living illegally in Israel as of 2004.

Pluralism and cultural identity

In the chapter "The Question of the Identity of the Citizens of Israel" there is a section entitled: "How do the Arab Citizens of Israel Define Themselves?" (H. Adan, V. Ashkenazi, B. Alperson, To Be Citizens in Israel - A Jewish and Democratic State - Civics Textbook for Upper Grades in General and Religious Schools, 2000):

"National Identity; There are two versions of the national component: Arab - those who stress the Arab national component and give expression to the link to Pan-Arab nationalism in the Middle East. Palestinian - those who stress the Palestinian national component and give expression to the tie to Palestine, that is the Land of Israel in the eyes of the Palestinians. Identity as Citizen. Those, who stress the component of citizenship, define their identity as Israelis and thus emphasize their link to the State of Israel.

Religious Identity; Those who stress the religious component - their belonging to the Muslim or the Christian religion.

Among Arab citizens there are those who will, in defining their identity, stress a number of components and there are those who will stress one only. For example: Arab-Israeli, Arab-Palestinian, Palestinian, Palestinian-Israeli, Arab-Palestinian-Israeli"

Demographics and subdivisions

Muslim Arabs

Muslim Arabs, excluding Bedouins, comprise about 70% of the Israeli Arab population. They live predominantly in the north, although a sizable number reside in East Jerusalem



and some towns in the south. They are not required to serve in the Israeli military, and few volunteer. In addition, of all Israeli Arab subgroups, they have probably the largest portion of people who identify themselves as Palestinian, often as well as Israeli.

The number of Muslim legal residents, including East Jerusalem permanent residents, in Israel at the start of 2004 stands at around 1,350,000, about 19.5% of Israel's population. Muslims, including Bedouins, make up 82% of the entire Israeli Arab population, with around 9% Druze, and 9% Christians, according to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, May 2003.

Muslim Israelis have the highest birthrate of any group: 4.6 children per woman, as opposed to 2.6 for Jewish Israelis (Rosenthal 2003:420), a natural reproduction rate of 3.3% compared to 1.4%. This means that around 25% of the children born in Israel today are Muslim, and as a result, the Muslim population is mostly young: 42% of Muslims are children under the age of 15, compared with 26% of the Jewish population, with the median age of Muslim Israelis 18, while the median age of Jewish Israelis is 30 (Rosenthal 2003:420). The percentage of people over 65 is less than 3% for Muslims, compared with 12% for the Jewish population.

According to forecasts, the Muslim population will rise to over 2,000,000 people, or 24-26% of the population within the next 15 years. They will also comprise 85% of the Israeli Arab population in 2020 (3% up from 2005).

The increasing population of Muslim Arabs within Israel has become a point of political contention in recent years. Dr. Wahid Abd Al-Magid, the editor of Al-Ahram's "Arab Strategic Report" predicts that "...The Arabs of 1948 (i.e. Israeli Arabs) may become a majority in Israel in 2035, and they will certainly be the majority in 2048." This has led some Israeli politicians to advocate land-swap proposals with the West Bank in order to assure a continued Jewish majority within Israel. A specific proposal is that Israel would give the Arab-populated Wadi Ara area (west of the Green Line to a future Palestinian state, in return for the major Jewish settlement "blocks" that lie inside the west bank adjust to the Green Line. [6]) Critics of the Wadi Ara land swap plan have argued that this measure will not be enough since "The number of Arab Israelis would drop by 116,000-148,000, or a total of 8.2-10.5 percent of the Arab population of Israel, and just 2.1 percent of the population in general."

Bedouins

Bedouin Trackers in the Israeli Army

The term "Bedouin" or "Badawi" in Arabic defines a range of nomadic desert-dwelling ethnic groups spanning from the western Sahara desert to the Middle East. They are traditionally a nomadic people, although many of them have settled permanently and become fellaheen (land workers). The largest Bedouin locality in Israel is Rahat. The Israeli government encourages Bedouins to settle as permanent residents of particular

towns, but many live in "unrecognized villages" against the government's wishes and with few social services.

A large portion of Bedouins volunteers for the <u>Israeli army</u>, although they are generally not required to.

According to an article published in "Child Abuse and Neglect: The International Journal" nearly 90 percent of teenage girls who took part in the first research project to analyze the abuse of girls in Bedouin society reported that they had either been physically abused or had undergone corporal punishment at least once in the year preceding the study. Most of the girls said the abuse was carried out by family members or teachers

Christian Arabs

Christian Israeli Arabs comprise about 9% of the Israeli Arab population, and reside mostly in the north, <u>Nazareth</u> having the largest Christian Arab population. They are active in Israeli politics and civil life, and have a judge on the Israeli Supreme Court.

Druze

The <u>Druze</u> are an ethnicity residing in many countries, although predominantly in Israel, Lebanon and Syria. Israeli Druze mainly live in northern Israel, notably in <u>Daliyat Al-Karmel</u> near <u>Haifa</u>. There are also Druze localities in the <u>Golan Heights</u>, which are claimed by Syria.

Most Druze identify themselves as Israelis and are required to serve in the <u>IDF</u> per a request from their leaders. The Israeli Druze, like all Druze, follow a unique Druze religion which stemmed from Islam, although unlike Syrian Druze for instance, Israeli Druze generally resent being referred to as Muslim. Many of them do not even identify as Arabs and claim to have nothing in common with Arabs other than language. However, some, notably <u>Salman Natur</u> and sheikh <u>Jamal Mu'addi</u>, identify as Palestinian Arabs.

Spatial distribution

In total, 71% of the Arab population lives in 116 different localities throughout Israel. In these localities, Arabs are a heavy majority. Only nine of the 116 Arab localities are cities. The other localities are ruled by an Arab local authority or else they are strictly rural areas.

Almost 40% of the country's Muslims (400,000 people) live in various predominantly-Arab communities in the north, the biggest of which is the city of Nazareth, which has 40,000 Muslim residents. Nazareth has the largest Arab population of the cities which are mainly Arab.

24% of Arabs live in cities that have a Jewish majority. These cities are Jerusalem, <u>Haifa</u>, <u>Tel Aviv-Yaffo</u>, <u>Akko</u> (Acre), <u>Lod</u>, <u>Ramla</u>, <u>Ma'alot-Tarshiha</u>, and <u>Nazerat Illit</u>. Of the

remaining 5%, approximately 4% live in Bedouin communities in the <u>Negev</u>, and 1% live in areas that are almost completely Jewish.

Economy

The participation in the <u>labor market</u> of Arab Israelis in 2003 is 39%. This is considerably lower than for Jewish Israelis (including "others") at 57%. For the men the participation is equal at 60%, with a higher participation in the labor market at 15 through 34 years but lower at 45 through 64. Arab women participate much less in the labor market (17% as compared to 55% for Jews). Personal preferences, social pressures, a lack of opportunites and differences in education (especially for the older generation) contribute to the variances among the genders and ethnicities. Moreover the Arab sector has been hit harder by the current recession in Israel; in 1989 68% of the Arab men participated in the labor market compared to 62% for the Jewish men (now both are equal at 60%). The main branch of occupation for Arab men is building (25%) and for women education (38%).

The gross hourly income for Arab Israelis in 2003 was 29.5 shekel. The mean income for women was higher than that of men, 30.3 and 29.3 shekel per hour respectively. This situation is remarkable for large populations. The mean hourly rate of the Arab Israelis is 69% of what the Jewish Israelis earned, 63% for the women and 82% for the women (Jewish women earn on average less than Jewish men). The reasons for the atypical gender distribution within the Arab Israeli population can be found in the lower female participation in the labor market (it is mostly the women who can earn a decent salary that work) and the higher proportion of Arab women versus Arab men in government jobs, such as in education. 76% of the household income is from wages (77% for the Jews) and 20% from allowances (versus 11% for the Jewish Israelis). The major household expense is food (housing for Jews). This difference is related to the lower income and higher ownership of housing for the Arab Israeli households (87% as compared to 68% for the Jews).

Health

Improvements in healthcare, environmental conditions, and improved education have led to a lower infant mortality rate for Arabs, from 32 deaths per thousand births in 1970 to 8.6 per thousand in 2000. Muslims have the highest rate of infant mortality with 9.1 per every thousand from 46.4 in 1961. Among Christian Arabs, the decrease was from 42.1 in 1961 to to 6.7 in 1996; among the Druze it dropped from 50.4 to 8.9 deaths. Life expectancy has increased 27 years since 1948. The most common health-related causes of death are heart disease and cancer. Around half of all Arab men smoke, and roughly 14% were diagnosed with diabetes in 2000.

In the 2002 budget, Israel's health ministry allocated 1.6m shekels (£200,000) to Arab communities out of its 277m-shekel (£35m) budget to develop healthcare facilities.

Education

The median years of schooling of Arab Israelis rose over a 35-year period (1961-1996) from 1.2 to 10.4 years.

Education levels in the Arab sector are relatively lower than those in the Jewish sector, often leading to lower incomes.

<u>Human Rights Watch</u> issued a report in 2001, which stated: "Government-run Arab schools are a world apart from government-run Jewish schools. In virtually every respect, Palestinian Arab children get an education inferior to that of Jewish children, and their relatively poor performance in school reflects this." The report found striking differences in virtually every aspect of the education system. It found that the Education Ministry did not allocate as much money per Palestinian Arab child as it did for Jewish children. The classes were 20 percent larger on average.

Legal and political status

Israeli Arabs are full citizens of the State of Israel, with equal protection under the law, and full rights of due process. Unlike Jewish citizens, they cannot be drafted into the Israeli army, but they may serve voluntarily. There are currently nine Israeli Arabs sitting as members of the 17th Knesset out of a total of 120 seats, and there is one Arab judge, Justice Salim Jubran, sitting in the Supreme Court of Israel. Ariel Sharon's 2001 cabinet included one Israeli Arab minister, Salah Tarif, and in March 2005, Oscar Abu Razaq was appointed Director General of the Ministry of Interior. Arabic is one of Israel's official languages.

Inequality in funding between Jewish and Arab towns, and widespread discrimination present significant hurdles for Israeli-Arabs.

On March 3, 1999 <u>Abdel Rahman Zuabi</u> took his seat as the first Arab on the Supreme Court. Zuabi was Deputy President of the Nazareth District Court. He was elevated to the post by Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, who on March 2 said that "[Zuabi's] appointment highlights the successful integration of the Arab community into the life of the state."

In May 2004, <u>Salim Jubran</u> was selected as the first Arab to hold a permanent appointment as a Supreme Court Justice. Jubran, 57, is a native of Haifa, born to a Christian family with roots among the Maronites in Lebanon. Jubran's expertise lies in the field of <u>criminal law</u>, and he is known for his tough stand on sex and drug-related crimes.

On Dec 2005, member of Israeli Knesset <u>Azmi Bishara</u> told an audience in Lebanon that "(Israeli Arabs) are like all Arabs, only with Israeli citizenship forced upon them...Return Palestine to us and take your democracy with you. We Arabs are not interested in it." ". Bishara has been a critic of what he feels is the lack of democracy in Israel, as he



champions a state for "all of its citizens" and believes the Israeli state provides only democracy for certain favored groups.

On Feb 2006 member of Knesset Ahmed Tibbi called for establishing an <u>Islamic</u> <u>Caliphate</u> over what he called "Arab and Muslim land" and rejected "Israelization" of Arab in Israel.

Political development

The <u>Israeli Communist Party</u> played a major role in mobilising the Israeli Arab community throughout these years and in demanding full equality for Arab citizens. Its newspapers and journals were important outlets for Arab Israeli expression and cultural production. In 1965 the first attempt was made to stand an independent Arab list for <u>Knesset</u> elections, with the radical group *al-Ard* forming the United Arab List. The list was, however, banned. In 1966 martial law was lifted completely, and the government set about dismantling most of the discriminatory laws, while Arab citizens were, theoretically if not always in practice, granted the same rights as Jewish citizens. The defeat of the Arab forces in the <u>Six Day War</u> the following year was a turning point in the political development of the Israeli Arab community, as it appeared to prove the durability of the state of Israel.

The 1970s saw a number of major developments in the political history of the Israeli Arab community. In 1974, a committee of Arab mayors and municipal council chairmen was established which was able to play an important role in representing the community and bringing its pressure to bear on the Israeli government. This was followed in 1975 by the formation of the Committee for the Defence of the Land, which sought to prevent continuing land expropriations.

That same year, a political breakthrough took place with the election of Israeli Arab poet <u>Tawfiq Zayad</u>, a Communist Party member, as mayor of Nazareth, and the election of a strong communist presence to the town council.

The next year was marked for the Israeli Arab community by the killing of six demonstrators at a protest against land expropriations and house demolitions. The date of the protest, <u>March 30</u>, has since been commemorated annually as <u>Land Day</u>.

The United Arab List was established in 1996.

Recent developments

The political face of the Israeli Arab community has continued to change, with a more active participation of Israeli Arabs in the <u>Labour Party</u> in the 1992 elections but a large-scale alienation of them from that party after the <u>Qana</u> massacre of <u>1996</u> and the harsh response of the Israeli government to the <u>second Intifada</u> in <u>2000</u>.

Meanwhile, nationalist parties such as <u>Balad</u> have continued to gain support, as has the Islamic Movement, divided between a conciliatory and a radical faction. <u>Hadash</u>, the leftwing coalition based around the Communist Party, still gains strong support in the Israeli Arab community, while <u>Likud</u> has made considerable inroads in the Druze vote.

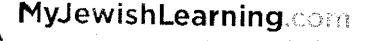
To combat what they call "violent elements in Arab society" Israeli Arab leaders urge police action against weapons in Arab sector, this was after "over 20 Arab municipality heads have been attacked in recent months as part of an attempt to change their positions or in response to decisions they made."

Some Israeli politicians (notably <u>Avigdor Lieberman</u> of <u>Yisrael Beiteinu</u>, the 4th largest faction in the 17th Knesset) advocate the transfer of the large Israeli Arab towns near the <u>West Bank</u> (e.g. <u>Tayibe</u>, <u>Umm al-Fahm</u>, <u>Baqa al-Gharbiyye</u>), to the <u>Palestinian Authority</u> in exchange for <u>Israeli settlements</u>. As the London Times notes: "Liberman plans to strengthen Israel's status as a Jewish state by transferring 500,000 of its minority Arab population to the West Bank, by the simple expedient of redrawing the West Bank to include several Arab Israeli towns in northern Israel. Another 500,000 would be stripped of their right to vote if they failed to pledge loyalty to Zionism."

Economic development of the Israeli Arab community

The predominant feature of the Israeli Arab community's economic development after 1949 was its transformation from a predominantly peasant farming population to, in large degree, a proletarian industrial workforce. It has been suggested that the economic development of the community was marked by distinct stages. The first period, until 1967, was characterised by this process of proletarianisation. From 1967 on, economic development of the population was encouraged and a Palestinian bourgeoisie began to develop on the margin of the Israeli bourgeoisie. From the 1980s on, the community developed its economic and, in particular, industrial potential.

Taken from Wikepedia, the free encyclopedia



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Israel

The Israeli Arabs

At 20 percent of the population, they make up Israel's largest minority.

Although Israel is considered a Jewish State, among its citizenry resides a significant Arab minority. While Israeli-Arabs do have equal rights under the law, significant gaps remain between the Jewish and Arab sectors of Israeli society. Reprinted from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs' website with permission.

Israel is home to a highly diverse population from many different ethnic, religious, cultural and social backgrounds. Of its 6.3 million citizens, over one million, constituting nearly 20 percent of Israel's population, are not Jewish. Almost all are Arab Israelis, mainly residents from before the establishment of the State of Israel or their descendants.

The Arab-Israeli Sector

Although defined collectively as Arab citizens of Israel, the Arab Israeli sector includes a number of different groups--primarily Arabic-speaking--each with its distinct identity.

Muslim Arabs, the largest group, constitute three-quarters of the Arab Israeli sector and most are Sunni Muslims. Nearly one-tenth of Israel's Muslim Arabs are Bedouins, formerly nomadic shepherds. Christian Arabs form the second largest group in the Arab Israeli sector. Although many denominations are nominally represented, the majority of the Christian Arabs are affiliated with the Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic churches. The Druze, some 100,000 Arabic-speakers living in 22 villages in northern Israel, are a separate cultural, social, and religious community. The Circassians, comprising some 3,000 people, are Sunni Muslims, although they share neither the Arab origin nor the cultural background of the larger Islamic community. While maintaining a distinct ethnic identity, they participate in Israel's economic and national affairs without assimilating either into Jewish society or into the general Muslim community.

Legal and Political Status

Arab Israelis are citizens of the Israel with equal rights. In 1948, Israel's Declaration of Independence called upon the Arab inhabitants of Israel to "participate in the building of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions".

The political involvement of the Arab sector is manifested through both national and municipal elections. Arab citizens run the political and administrative affairs of their own municipalities and advance Arab interests through their elected representatives in the Knesset, Israel's parliament. Arab Israelis have also held various government positions, including that of deputy minister. At present a member of the Druze community is serving as a government minister.





The Declaration also promises that Israel will "ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex" and guarantees "freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture."

Israel has extensive anti-discrimination laws. Moreover, since the founding of the State, the status of Arab Israeli women has been significantly improved by legislation stipulating equal rights for women and prohibition of polygamy and child marriage. Israel remains one of the few countries in the Middle East where women enjoy equality in rights and personal freedoms, including the right to vote and be elected to local and national office.

The only legal distinction between Arab and Jewish citizens is not one of rights, but rather of civic duty. Since Israel's establishment, Arab citizens have been exempted from compulsory service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). This exemption was made out of consideration for their family, religious and cultural affiliations with the Palestinians and the rest of the Arab world, given the on-going conflict. Still, volunteer military service is encouraged and IDF service was made mandatory for Druze and Circassian men at the request of their community leaders.

Pluralism and Sectoral Identity

Israel is not a melting pot society, but rather more of a mosaic made up of different population groups coexisting in the framework of a single democratic state.



As a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual society, Israel has a high level of informal segregation patterns. While groups are not separated by official policy, a number of different sectors within the society have chosen to lead a segregated life-style, maintaining their strong cultural, religious, ideological and/or ethnic identity.

The vast majority of Arab Israelis have chosen to maintain their distinct identity and not assimilate. The community's separate existence is facilitated through the use of Arabic, Israel's second official language; a separate Arab/Druze school system; Arabic literature, theater and mass media; and maintenance of independent Muslim, Druze and Christian denominational courts which adjudicate matters of personal status.

While the development of inter-group relations between Israel's Arabs and Jews has been hindered by deeply rooted differences in religion, values and political beliefs, the future of the Arab Israeli sector is closely tied to that of the State of Israel. Though they coexist as two self-segregated communities, over the years Jewish and Arab Israelis have come to accept each other, acknowledging the uniqueness and aspirations of each community and participating in a growing number of joint endeavors.

An excellent example of such a venture is the Citizen Accord Forum, established by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Rabbi Michael Melchior (former Minister of Israell Society and the World Jewish Community). The goal of the Forum is to reduce the schism existing between Jews and Arabs in Israel and to develop the country's civil society. The Citizen Accord Forum, which has over 500 active volunteers, has encouraged coexistence between Jewish and Arab citizens and the development of a relationship based on values of respect and mutual understanding.





Development

In the years since the founding of the State of Israel, the Arab Israeli community sector has made great strides in almost every area of development. For example, the median years of schooling of Arab Israelis rose incredibly over a 35-year period (1961-1996) from 1.2 to 10.4 years. Infant death rates per thousand live births decreased significantly during that same 35-year period. In the Muslim population, the rate dropped from 46.4 per thousand births to 10.0; among Christians the decrease was from 42.1 to 6.7; among the Druze it dropped from 50.4 to 8.9 deaths.

These advances are particularly striking when comparing Arab citizens of Israel to their brethren living in neighboring countries. However, it is also clear that much work must be done to close the gap between Arab and Jewish Israelis.

Minority communities often face developmental challenges, especially when a language different from that spoken by the majority group is used at home and at school. There are several other factors that explain the reason why the gap between economic development in the Arab sector and that of the Jewish sector has yet to be closed, among them:

The average family size in the Arab sector is far higher than that of Jewish families, greatly reducing the relative number of financial providers per dependent.



Participation of women in the work force is still very low in the Arab sector, further reducing the average family income.

Education levels in the Arab sector are relatively lower than those in the Jewish sector, often leading to lower incomes.

The majority of Arab Israelis live in small communities with limited economic infrastructure. This plays a contributing factor in employment in unskilled or semiskilled fields, as well as the higher overall rates of unemployment.

The lack of easy access to places of employment can also prevent employment commensurate with the skill or education level of the job seeker.

Service in the Israeli Defense Forces gives veterans certain economic and other benefits. Although Arab Israeli youth who do not volunteer for army service gain a two-to-three year head start in their higher education or in joining the workforce, this does not always compensate for missing out on the benefits and training enjoyed by veterans.

Meeting the Challenge

One of the most prominent examples of governmental activity designed to meet the challenge of closing the gap between the Arab and Jewish sectors is the October 2000 decision of the Government of Israel to designate resources for all areas of socio-economic development in the Arab sector communities of Israel.



The decision states that the Government "regards itself as obligated to act to grant equal and fair



conditions to Israeli Arabs in the socio-economic sphere, in particular in the areas of education, housing and employment" and "to reduce the gaps between the Arab and Jewish sectors". The total cost of the multi-year plan is NIS 4 billion (approximately 1 billion US dollars) during the years 2001-2004.

The plan is coordinated by an inter-ministerial team, headed by the Prime Minister's Office, and is based on working jointly with Arab Israeli authorities.

Highlights of the plan

Highlights of the plan are:

Education projects, including construction of classrooms in pre-compulsory kindergartens, elementary and high schools; pedagogical plans to advance the educational system in the Arab sector; the opening of new courses of study in technological fields; setting up engineering-technician and vocational training courses.

Construction of family health and dental clinics.

http://www.minnichlonenina and/history

Funds for the restoration, establishment and development of religious institutions in Arab sector communities.

Development of public institutions for cultural, social and sports activities. First priority has been given to community centers of various sizes and sports halls in large communities. Funds will also be allocated to assist cultural, artistic and sports activities.

The advancement of master schemes, outlines and detailed plans in Arab sector communities. These planning tools are vital for without them the physical development of these communities cannot implemented.

Development of older neighborhoods, including new infrastructure and improvement of existing infrastructure. Special attention will be devoted to restoring dwellings owned by elderly persons living alone.

Development of new neighborhoods using high-density public building, mainly on State lands, for a total of 5,000 dwelling units, as well as on private lands located with the bounds of Arab sector neighborhoods.

Transport projects, including the development of a network of roads in the areas of Arab sector communities, internal road systems and safety projects.

Six industrial zones in densely populated Arab areas, with the accompanying benefits to be granted to enterprises under the Encouragement of Capital Investments Law.

Funding for various economic projects, such as development of trade and services areas, tourism infrastructure and holiday units.



Although implementation of the Government's multi-year plan has only just begun, the plan and its generous budget have the potential for greatly advancing development throughout the Arab sector of

Israeli society.



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Arab Israelis

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- Participation of women in the work force is still very low in the Arab sector, further reducing the average family income.
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Next: Human Rights in Arab and Muslim Countries

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SHIR LASHALOM

學性的學習的理解

Music: Ya'ir Rozenblum

Text	Jacob Rotblitt
Thu lashemesh la alot laboker l'ha'ir	מנו לששע לצלות לכקר להאיר
Hazaka sheba-t'filah otanu lo tachzir	1117.計画為 里面は
An Dm C Mi asher kava nero u-ve'afar nitman Am Dm E fim Bechi mar lo ya'iro lo yachziro l'chan	אותנה לא תחויד. מי אער בבה גדו הבעשר נסמו
Ish stand to yashi mathor tach tit afeyl	בכי פר לא יעירו
Kan lo yo'ilu lo shirai hanitzachon V'To shirei halfel.	אִישׁ אוֹחָנוּ. לֹא יְשִינ
C RUS Lachen rak shiru shir lashalom D C Al tilchashu t'fila F En	מבור חחתית אפל באן לא יועילו לא שירי הנצחון ולא שירי הלל.
Lachen rak shiru shir lashalom Dm E Bitz'aka g'dolah (TO ENDING)	לָבַן רַץ שִירג טיר לַעְלוֹם
	אַל חַלְחָטו. תַבּילְה
Thu lashemesh lachador	לכן דק שירו ביר לעדום

Tnu lashemesh lachador Miba'ad laprachim Al tabitu l'achor, hanichu laholchim.

S'u einaiyim b'tikva Lo derech kavanot Shiru shir la'ahava V'lo lamilchamot

Al tagidu yom yavo h ziyu et hayom U-v'chol hakikarot Hari-u lashalom (CHORUS)

ENDING Shir Lashalom (2X)

שָבַעד לַצְּרְחִים אַל סִבְּיסוֹ לְצָחִוּר. הַנִּיחוּ לַהּוֹלְכִיח. שְׁאָה עִינַיִּם בַּחְקוְה, לֹא דְרָך כָּוְוֹנִוּת עִירָה שִׁיר גְצֵּחְבָה וְלֹא לְמִלְחַמִּוֹת. אַל הַבִּיוֹף יוֹם יְכוֹא הַבִּיאוּ אָח הָיִוֹם,

Let the sun rise the morning shine, the finest of prayers can bring us back no more. And he whose flame has been put out, who's buried in the ground no bitter wails will wake him, will him restore. No one will bring us back from the dark grave. Here neither joy of victory can be of use nor paeans for the brave. Just sing therefore a song of peace. Don't whisper prayers. Better sing a songof peace. Shout it loud. Let the sun in through the flowers. Don't look back. Let the fallen rest. Raise your eyes in hope, not through the sights of a gun. Sing a songof love and not of victories. Don't say a day will come. Go bring forth that day, for it is not a dream. In all the streets and squares just clamour peace.

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Gleanings

The Legacy of Yitzhak Rabin

Learning conflicting lessons from Rabin's life

Yitzhak Rabin embodied the contradictions of his nation. He was first and foremost a military man, leading the Israel Defense Force to victory in the Six Day War. But he was an agitator for peace, as well. As Prime Minister, Rabin initiated negotiations with the Palestinians--famously shaking hands with his enemy, Yasser Arafat. In the story of the State of Israel, Rabin's centrality is indisputable. His legacy, on the other hand, is fiercely disputed. Rabin's assassination transformed him into a mythical figure, a symbol of a panoply of different--sometimes divergent--ideologies. What is Yitzhak Rabin's legacy? There's no one answer. Here are a few.

Above all, Yitzhak Rabin was a hero of the great Israeli adventure. From the War of Independence to the Six Day War, he earned the respect of all, friends and enemies alike. He epitomized a generation that made the desert bloom, created a vibrant democracy, and accomplishing the dream of a millennium: The creation of a homeland to the Jewish people that would give refuge to Jewish victims of persecution throughout the world.

Jacques Chirac, President of France, Ynetnews

Rabin bequeathed to us a model of politics at its best. Politics whose essence is serving the public, serving the state, service that will influence coming generations. Rabin's legacy to the state in those years was courage, respect, and equality.... Rabin the man will not return, but his legacy will stay with us as long as there are citizens in the State of Israel who fight for it. The murder took us back but it cannot stop the wheels of history.

Shimon Peres, Labor leader, Yediot Aharonot

From the distance of time and perspective, Yitzhak Rabin's Oslo Agreement brought on a process of disillusionment by the Israeli public and the formation of a more realistic, sober and balanced perception of the moves Israel has to make...The Oslo agreement had its weaknesses but it was also justified. There is no doubt that it forced Israeli society to self examination that led to the conclusion that Israel must return to its correct borders and that it should be a Jewish and democratic state.

Ehud Olmert, Likud leader, Haaretz

In death, there are those who want to repaint Rabin as the white dove of Israeli history and I say this



does not do him justice...I loved Rabin. He was no vegetarian. He could be brutal, but he was extremely honest and we must never forget he led the (Israeli army) to its greatest victory in 1967. The truth is he was not Mr. Democracy or Mr. Peace, he was Mr. Security. And this is what he will always be, no matter how the left tries to hijack his legacy.

Ephraim Inbar, Head of Bar-Ilan University's BESA Centre, Toronto Star

The legacy Rabin left is not simple. His life as soldier and peacemaker underlined the Sisyphean struggle to keep Israel strong and, when possible, to cut peace deals with its neighbors. His death highlighted the need for greater tolerance in Israel's politically divided society...A decade after the assassination, it's not clear how much of Rabin's legacy has been implemented. Though left-wing politicians such as Yossi Beilin, who sponsored the "Geneva Accord" peace initiative, try to present themselves as the successors to Rabin's legacy, a recent poll in the *Yediot Aharonot* newspaper shows that 24 percent of Israelis see Sharon--the Likud Party leader who vehemently opposed Oslo during Rabin's lifetime--as Rabin's true heir.

Leslie Susser, Jewish Telegraphic Agency



The depth of the confusion over "the Rabin legacy" could be seen and heard...at the commemorations marking the anniversary of his death. Rabin's legacy is the idea of compromise (according to Knesset Speaker Avraham Burg), the Rabin legacy is the eternal unity of Jerusalem (according to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon) and the Rabin legacy is the Oslo process (according to opposition leader Yossi Sarid). The Rabin legacy for advanced students is that it is not nice to assassinate a prime minister and for younger students, the schools simplify his legacy to "it's not nice to hit people."...

It seems that Israel will flounder around for many more years in the twilight zone between "legacy," which is the real thing a person leaves behind, and "legend" which emerges from symbols and symbolism. In the meantime, rather than "Rabin's legacy" being formulated, the Rabin myth is being built up while using the word, legacy. A myth indeed requires tragic heroes, but a society that claims to be rational does not like to use the word "myth." Legacy sounds much more dignified.

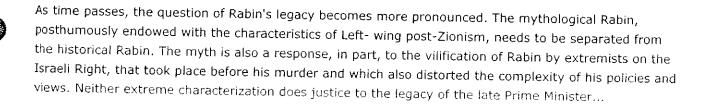
Lily Galili, Haaretz

But did Oslo "fail"? Obviously in the straightforward sense it did. We're 10 years on from Rabin's assassination--twice the trust-building period proposed--and the peace process appears not much further forward.

But is that true? No one much now denies the obvious truth that the Palestinians must have a place of their own. That was almost unsayable in Jewish circles little more than a decade ago. Interchange with Palestinian leadership is now commonplace. We apparently rely on Egypt to provide us with *lulavim* [palm branches for the holiday of Sukkot] without embarrassment and we expect Jordan to help out. When the Iranian president urged wiping Israel off the map, the Palestinian leadership dissociated themselves, claiming all they wanted was to add Palestine, not remove Israel.



Clive Lawton, Executive Director Limmud (UK), TotallyJewish.com



The truth is that Rabin's legacy is very complex, and simplistic slogans do not reflect the work and contributions of over 50 years of public life. No one can speak for him, or claim to know what he would have said or done under any specific circumstances. The members of his family, and the people with whom he worked most clearly have a special role in preserving his memory, but in terms of policies and perceptions, particularly in the security realm, the Rabin legacy is open to many interpretations.

- Professor Gerald Steinberg, Bar Ilan University, Jerusalem Post

Rabin's Legacy

Rabin bequeathed to us a model of politics at its best. Politics whose essence is serving the public, serving the state, service that will influence coming generations. Rabin's legacy to the state in those years was courage, respect, and equality.... Rabin the man will not return, but his legacy will stay with us as long as there are citizens in the State of Israel who fight for it. The murder took us back but it cannot stop the wheels of history.

- Shimon Peres, Labor leader, Yediot Aharonot

From the distance of time and perspective, Yitzhak Rabin's Oslo Agreement brought on a process of disillusionment by the Israeli public and the formation of a more realistic, sober and balanced perception of the moves Israel has to make...The Oslo agreement had its weaknesses but it was also justified. There is no doubt that it forced Israeli society to self examination that led to the conclusion that Israel must return to its correct borders and that it should be a Jewish and democratic state.

Ehud Olmert, Likud leader, Haaretz

In death, there are those who want to repaint Rabin as the white dove of Israeli history and I say this does not do him justice...I loved Rabin. He was no vegetarian. He could be brutal, but he was extremely honest and we must never forget he led the (Israeli army) to its greatest victory in 1967. The truth is he was not Mr. Democracy or Mr. Peace, he was Mr. Security. And this is what he will always be, no matter how the left tries to hijack his legacy.

- Ephraim Inbar, Head of Bar-Ilan University's BESA Centre, Toronto Star

The legacy Rabin left is not simple. His life as soldier and peacemaker underlined the Sisyphean struggle to keep Israel strong and, when possible, to cut peace deals with its neighbors. His death highlighted the need for greater tolerance in Israel's politically divided society...A decade after the assassination, it's not clear how much of Rabin's legacy has been implemented. Though left-wing politicians such as Yossi Beilin, who

sponsored the "Geneva Accord" peace initiative, try to present themselves as the successors to Rabin's legacy, a recent poll in the *Yediot Aharonot* newspaper shows that 24 percent of Israelis see Sharon--the Likud Party leader who vehemently opposed Oslo during Rabin's lifetime--as Rabin's true heir.

- Leslie Susser, Jewish Telegraphic Agency

The depth of the confusion over "the Rabin legacy" could be seen and heard...at the commemorations marking the anniversary of his death. Rabin's legacy is the idea of compromise (according to Knesset Speaker Avraham Burg), the Rabin legacy is the eternal unity of Jerusalem (according to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon) and the Rabin legacy is the Oslo process (according to opposition leader Yossi Sarid). The Rabin legacy for advanced students is that it is not nice to assassinate a prime minister and for younger students, the schools simplify his legacy to "it's not nice to hit people."...

It seems that Israel will flounder around for many more years in the twilight zone between "legacy," which is the real thing a person leaves behind, and "legend" which emerges from symbols and symbolism. In the meantime, rather than "Rabin's legacy" being formulated, the Rabin myth is being built up while using the word, legacy. A myth indeed requires tragic heroes, but a society that claims to be rational does not like to use the word "myth." Legacy sounds much more dignified.

- Lily Galili, Haaretz

A Collection of Reactions to Rabin's Assassination

#1

This has been a very long, painful week for Israel. One week ago, I attended what was supposed to be a rally for peace and against violence. That night, less than two hours after I had heard Rabin sing Shir Hashalom, he was dead. How could it be? How could it happen here? I used to tell my friends in America that it wasn't unusual to be out for a walk in Jerusalem and pass the Prime Minister also strolling by. Or, be sitting behind Rabin and next to his body guard at an army ceremony. All that is over now. We are going to be a country like any other country. The leaders will be heavily guarded and I doubt if I'll ever shake the Prime Minister's hand again. How sad. As a lecturer at Bar Ilan, I will have to work very hard to change the image that one crazy student created. I only hope that this tragedy won't tear us apart. It's been a sad week.

Although the peace process will indeed bring a certain measure of peace and security to Israel, an everlasting peace and a cease to all bloodshed will only come through G-d and through the coming of Messiah. My deepest condolences to Mrs. Rabin and family and with prayers and hopes for the final and complete redemption from all suffering and pain."

#2

(As a religious Jew) I personally take it very seriously for two reasons. I feel that something should be done by religious Jews to recover (if possible) the damage done by the horrible Chilul Hashem made by these terrorists. It is needed also because knowing the talented leftist politicians, I know that the situation will be used to fight everything connected to Torah. This will only turn the extreme rightists to become more dangerous. The second thing that I am moved by, is the overwhelming reaction of the youngsters in Israel. I think this is one of the most great spiritual changes that happened to the Jewish people. I am sure it will give unexpected fruits that will influence the events to come. So, there is a lot to think of, and lot to do. Politicians should continue their work, but citizens like me and you have another role, which demand a lot of thinking to define.

#3
Stop crying, start hitting!

#4

There are those who claim that "Arabs understand only force" -- which means that they themselves only understand the language of violence. This is my proposal for a new bumper sticker for Israeli cars. In Hebrew it rhymes...

#5

Most people's eyes are hidden behind thick sunglasses. November's sun could be painfully bright in Tel Aviv. I found my self trying to avoid eye contact. Too much rage, too much pain and too much shame blend into the forceful rays.

Shame of being one of us, shame of not having wings to fly and catch the soared of hatred, shame for eating the fruits of his labor without him.

His fatherly ever-so-slow voice can not guide us and assure us any more. Which way should we go? What is the right direction? Cellular phones are ringing from side streets. Should we head east or west? Up or down? Should we stop and think? Should we run? Our nation sacrificed its shepherd for the vision of a better, peaceful life. Is it the myths fault? This will not happened here, we are different, chosen people. . . .

#6

Clouds start rolling in, the ray of light start loosing its strength, turning red and painting clouds with blood. I am filling up with rage. Slowly, my thoughts are getting clearer. I am beginning to be focus and channel my anger.

So, listen up you dream smashers. watch out enemies of peace because revenge is on the way. We will make peace with our neighbors. We will strive for a nonviolent life, for regional prosperity and cooperation. We will fight for Rabin's peace with the same dedication we fought our wars.

Thousands of years ago Abraham try to sacrifice his son Yitzhak on the hills of the Shomron. Today the hills sacrificed Yitzhak. Tomorrow we will sacrifice the hills for Yitzhak.

#7

As if according to the script of an evil Hollywood producer aiming to create the most horrific vision imaginable in Israeli politics, we have our 'Kennedy.'

Finally, after two whole years of right wing cries accusing Rabin of being a "murderer", "a traitor", and threatening him with a kind of civil opposition new to Israeli politics, we see the introduction of yet another novelty into our country, courtesy of the right wing: political assassination.

This writer spent last evening with Yitzhak Rabin. I waved good-bye to him and to the hundreds of thousands of friends who sang peace songs together, and went home.

It was only this morning that I learned that I had the honor of spending time with Rabin on his last evening alive. I can only hope, and pray, that the euphoria of that evening, was the last thing on his mind as everything turned to gray, and then to black.

The alternative, is that Rabin died with a pain far worse than any gunshot could be. The pain that we are left with after Yitzhak is gone. The pain that reminds us with a burning in our intestines that Israel has just taken a dramatic turn for the worse.

After fifty years of fantasizing that we can be a different kind of country, that Jews are a different kind of people, we now have to live with a scar that tells us: a Jewish assassin has shot and killed a Jewish Prime Minister, in the Jewish State. You are no better than anyone else. Some of you in fact, are a whole lot worse.

#8

The assassin who killed Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin in Israel reportedly told police he acted on orders from God against a man, he said, who was a traitor to Israel.

But Yitzhak Rabin was far closer to God than his assassin will ever be, we believe. His courage was not only proven in pursuit of Israel's freedom, as President Clinton noted, but was also demonstrated in the rough and tumble life of Israeli politics, where he doggedly stuck to agreements made in the halls of diplomacy as he defended them on the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. He was a man God loved, a warrior for Israeli independence and a hero of its peace.

At the American Reporter, the very first response to our bulletin on the assassination was from a man who declared that the event was proof that only the Likud Party could lead Israel.

How sad, and how tragic, that so many misguided Jews still fail to see the ends of the violence they argue for against Palestinians who seek a homeland that was once mostly theirs.

It bothers us deeply that the Bar Ilan law student who killed Prime Minister Rabin could imagine that God works through murder. It is God's opposite number, we believe, who invades the raging mind and steers it to homicide.

The world will be an uneasy place in years to come. Jerusalem is a place of great significance to all religions, and now Acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres must bend himself again to the task of bringing forth from a terrible legacy the spirit of brotherhood each of the great religions has at its heart.

It is a so much deeper irony that the pursuit of peace has claimed the lives of so many good men, starting with Anwar Sadat and ending we know not where. What a great price we pay for it!

Yitzhak Rabin: A Biography

1922-1995

Born Jerusalem, March 1922. After completing his studies, he served in the **Palmach** and the **Israel Defence Forces** for 27 years, including as **Chief of Staff from 1964-68**, which was his position during the Six Day War [June 1967].

After serving as **Israel's Ambassador to the US** from 1968-73, Yitzhak Rabin entered the Labor Party and the 8th Knesset. He headed the new government of 2 June 1974, after the fall of Golda Meir's government.

As **Prime Minister**, with American mediation, he conducted the negotiations which resulted in the 1975 interim agreement between Israel and Egypt.

In June 1976, Prime Minister Rabin's government ordered the **Entebbe Operation** to rescue Jewish Air France skyjack hostages from Uganda.

From 1977 to 1984, Yitzhak Rabin was an active opposition MK and then joined the **National Unity Government of the 10th Knesset**, serving as Defense Minister uunitl March 1990.

Following his election as Chairman of the Israel Labor Party in March 1992, Yitzhak Rabin led the Labor Party to election victory in June 1992. As **Prime Minister**, he signed the **Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles on 13 September 1993**, the Cairo Agreements with the Palestinians in May 1994, the **Peace Agreement with Jordan on 24 July 1994** and the Interim Agreement with the Palestinians on 28 September 1995. He was also one of the three laureates awarded the highest accolade recognized by the entire world: **the Nobel Peace Prize**, on 10 December 1994

Eulogies at the Funeral of Prime Minister Rabin

(November 6, 1995)

Prime Minister Rabin was buried with full military honors on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem. Leaders from eighty nations gathered in Jerusalem to pay homage to the fallen leader. He was eulogized by King Hussein, Presidents Weizman, Mubarak, Clinton, Prime Ministers Chernomyrdin, Gonzales and Peres, his aides and his granddaughter Noa. Following are excerpts from the eulogies.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt:

It is with deep regret that we are assembled here today to pay our last regrets to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a courageous leader and recognized statesman.

His earnest efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East are a testament to his vision, which we share, to end the suffering of all the peoples of Arab regions. He defied the prejudices of the past to tackle the most complicated of problems, namely the Palestinian problem, in a forthright manner.

The success he achieved in this regard has finally led to the foundations of peaceful coexistence between the Palestinians and the Israelis in a climate of trust and mutual respect.

The untimely loss of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at this important juncture in the history of the Middle East has dealt a severe blow to our noble cause. We must therefore redouble our efforts and reaffirm our obligation to continue the sacred mission to achieve a just and lasting peace. We must deprive those traitorous hands hostile toward our goal from reaping the rewards of their vile actions.

Only through our unwavering commitment to this objective can we truly honor the memory of this fallen hero of peace. And I could say that is the best memorial to Yitzhak Rabin.

On this sad occasion, ladies and gentlemen, I extend the condolences of government of Egypt and my personal condolences to the government of Israel and the family of Yitzhak Rabin.

King Hussein of Jordan:

I never thought that the moment would come like this, when I would grieve the loss of a brother, a colleague and a friend, a man, a soldier who met us on the opposite side of a divide, whom we respected as he respected us, a man I came to know because I realized as he did that we had to cross over the divide, establish the dialogue and strive to leave also for us a legacy that is worthy of him.

And so he did. And so we became brethren and friends.

Never in all my thoughts would it occur to me that my first visit to Jerusalem ... would be on such an occasion.

You lived as a soldier. You died as a soldier for peace and I believe it is time for all of us to come out openly and to speak of peace. Not here today, but for all the times to come. We belong to the camp of peace. We believe in peace. We believe that our one God wishes us to live in peace and wishes peace upon us.

Let's not keep silent. Let our voices rise high to speak of our commitment to peace for all times to come and let us tell those who live in darkness, who are the enemies of light ... This is where we stand. This is our camp. We are determined to conclude the legacy for which my friend fell as did my grandfather in this very city when I was with him as but a young boy. He was a man of courage, a man of vision and he was endowed with one of the greatest virtues that any man can have. He was endowed with humility. And, standing here, I commit before you, before my people in Jordan and before the world myself to continue to do the utmost to ensure that we shall leave a similar legacy.

The peaceful people in the majority of my country, of the armed forces and people who once were your enemies are somber today and their hearts are heavy. Let us hope and pray that God will give us all guidance each in his respective position to do what he can for the better future that Yitzhak Rabin sought.

President Bill Clinton of the United States:

To Leah, to the Rabin children and grandchildren and other family members, President Weizman, Acting Prime Minister Peres, members of the Israeli government and the Knesset, distinguished leaders from the Middle East and around the world, especially His Majesty, King Hussein for those remarkable and wonderful comments and President Mubarak for taking this historic trip here and to all the people of Israel, the American people mourn with you in the loss of your leader. And I mourn with you for he was my partner and friend.

Every moment we shared was a joy because he was a good man and an inspiration, because he was also a great man.

Leah, I know that too many times in the life of this country, you were called upon to comfort and console the mothers and the fathers, the husbands and the wives, the sons and the daughters who lost their loved ones to violence and vengeance. You gave them

strength. Now, we here and millions of people all around the world, in all humility and honor, offer you our strength. May God comfort you among all the mourners of Zion and to Israel. Yitzhak Rabin lived the history of Israel through every trial and triumph, the struggle for independence, the wars for survival, the pursuit of peace and in all he served on the front lines. This son of David and of Solomon took up arms to defend Israel's freedom and laid down his life to secure Israel's future. He was a man completely without pretense as all of his friends knew.

I read that in 1949, after the War of Independence, David Ben-Gurion sent him to represent Israel at the armistice talks at Rhodes and he had never before worn a necktie and did not know how to tie the knot. So, the problem was solved by a friend who tied it for him before he left and showed him how to preserve the knot simply by loosening the tie and pulling it over his head.

Well, the last time we were together, not two weeks ago, he showed up for a black tie event on time, but without the black tie. And so, he borrowed a tie. And I was privileged to straighten it for him. It is a moment I will cherish as long as I live.

To him, ceremonies and words were less important than actions and deeds. Six weeks ago, the king and President Mubarak will remember, we were at the White House for signing the Israel/Palestinian agreement and a lot of people spoke. I spoke. The king spoke. Chairman Arafat spoke. President Mubarak spoke. Our foreign ministers all spoke. And finally, Prime Minister Rabin got up to speak and he said, "First, the good news. I am the last speaker." But he also understood the power of words and symbolism. Take a look at the stage he set in Washington - the King of Jordan, the President of Egypt, Chairman Arafat and us, the prime minister and foreign minister of Israel on one platform.

"Please take a good hard look. The sight you see before you was impossible, was unthinkable just three years ago. Only poets dreamt of it and to our great pain, soldiers and civilians went to their deaths to make this moment possible" - those were his words.

Today, my fellow citizens of the world, I ask all of you to take a good hard look at this picture. Look at the leaders from all over the Middle East and around the world who have journeyed here today for Yitzhak Rabin and for peace. Though we no longer hear his deep and booming voice, it is he who has brought us together again here, in word and deed, for peace.

Now it falls to all of us who love peace and all of us who loved him to carry on the struggle to which he gave life and for which he gave his life. He cleared the path. And his spirit continues to light the way. His spirit lives on in the growing peace between Israel and her neighbors. It lives in the eyes of the children, the Jewish and the Arab children, who are leaving behind a past of fear for a future of hope. It lives on in the promise of true security.

So, let me say to the people of Israel - Even in your hour of darkness, his spirit lives on and so you must not lose your spirit. Look at what you have accomplished making a once-barren desert bloom, building a thriving democracy in a hostile terrain, winning battles and wars and now winning the peace which is the only enduring victory.

Your prime minister was a martyr for peace, but he was a victim of hate. Surely, we must learn from his martyrdom that if people cannot let go of the hatred of their enemies, they risk sowing the seeds of hatred among themselves.

I ask you, the people of Israel on behalf of my nation that knows its own long litany of loss from Abraham Lincoln to President Kennedy to Martin Luther King, do not let that happen to you - in the Knesset, in your homes, in your places of worship, stay the righteous course.

As Moses said to the children of Israel when he knew he would not cross over into the Promised Land: "Be strong and of good courage. Fear not, for God will go with you. He will not fail you. He will not forsake you."

President Weizman, Acting Prime Minister Peres, to all the people of Israel, as you stay the course of peace, I make this pledge - Neither will America forsake you.

Legend has it that in every generation of Jews from time immemorial, a just leader emerged to protect his people and show them the way to safety. Prime Minister Rabin was such a leader. He knew, as he declared to the world on the White House lawn two years ago that the time had come, in his words "to begin a new reckoning in the relations between people, between parents tired of war, between children who will not know war...

Acting Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres:

We have not come to cover your grave, we have come to salute you, Yitzhak, for what you were: a valiant soldier, who bequeathed victories to his people: a great dreamer, who forged a new reality in our region.

Last Saturday night, we joined hands and stood side by side. Together we sang "Shir Hashalom - the Song of Peace," and I sensed your exhilaration. You told me that you had been warned of assassination attempts at the huge rally. We didn't know who the assailant would be, nor did we estimate the enormity of the assault. But we knew that we must not fear death and that we cannot be hesitant in seeking peace.

One day earlier, we met privately, as we often did. For the first time, you remarked that the work is arduous, but peace obliges us.

I knew your temperance and consequently your refusal to be swept away, not even by peace. I knew your wisdom and hence your caution against premature disclosures. These were the qualities of a captain and a captain you were since your early adulthood. A

daring captain on Israel's battlefields and a great captain in the campaign for peace in the Middle East.

To be a captain is not a light task. And you were not a lighthearted person. Earnestness became second nature to you and responsibility your first. These two traits made you a rare leader, capable of uprooting mountains and blazing trails; of designating a goal and achieving it.

I did no know that these were to be the last hours of our partnership, which knew no bounds. I sensed that a special benevolence had descended upon you, that you could suddenly breathe freely at the sight of the sea of friends who came to support your chosen course and to cheer you.

The peak to which you led us opened wide and from it you could behold the landscape of the new tomorrow, the landscape promised to the new Israel and its youth.

Yitzhak, the youngest of Israel's generals and Yitzhak, the greatest of peacemakers: the suddenness of your passing illuminated the abundance of your accomplishments.

You resembled no one; nor did you seek to emulate anyone. You were not one of the "joyous and merry."

You were one who made great demands - first of yourself and therefore also of others.

You refused to accept failures and you were not intimidated by pinnacles. You knew every detail and you grasped the overall picture. You shaped the details one by one to from great steps, great decisions.

All your life, you worked hard, day and night, but the last three years were unparalleled in their intensity. You promised to change priorities. Indeed, a new order has arrived, a priority of openness.

New crossroads have been opened, new roads paved; unemployment has declined; immigrants have been absorbed; exports have increased and investments expanded; the economy is flourishing; education has doubled; and science has advanced.

And above all, perhaps at the root of it all, the mighty winds of peace have begun to blow.

Two agreements with our neighbors the Palestinians will enable them to hold democratic elections and will free us from the necessity of ruling another people - as you promised.

A warm peace with Jordan invited the great desert between us to become a green promise for both peoples.



The Middle East has reawakened and a coalition of peace is taking shape: a regional coalition supported by a world coalition, to which the leaders of America and Europe, of Asia and Africa, of Australia and of our region standing alongside your fresh grave bear witness.

They came, as we did, to salute you and declare that the course that you began will continue.

This time, Leah is here without you, but the whole nation is with her and with the family.

I see our people in profound shock, with tears in their eyes, but also a people who know that the bullets that murdered you could not murder the idea which you embraced. You did not leave us a last will, but you left us a path on which we will march with conviction and faith. The nation is shedding tears, but these are also tears of unity and spiritual uplifting.

I see our Arab neighbors and to them I say: The course of peace is irreversible. Neither for us, nor for you. Neither we nor you can stop, delay or hesitate when it comes to peace - a peace that must be full and comprehensive, for young and old, for all the peoples.

From here, from Jerusalem, where you were born, the birthplace of the three great religions, let us say in the words of the lamentation of Rachel, who passed away on the very day that you were slain:

"Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall be rewarded and there is hope for thy future, saith the Lord." (Jeremiah 31: 16-17)

Good-bye, my older brother, hero of peace. We shall continue to bear this great peace, near and far, as you-sought during your lifetime, as you charge us with your death.

Noa Ben-Artzi Filosof for Her Grandfather

You will forgive me, for I do not want to talk about peace. I want to talk about my grandfather. One always wakes up from a nightmare. But since yesterday, I have only awakened to a nightmare -- the nightmare of life without you, and this I cannot bear. The television does not stop showing your picture; you are so alive and tangible that I can almost touch you, but it is only "almost" because already I cannot.

Grandfather, you were the pillar of fire before the camp and now we are left as only the camp, alone, in the dark, and it is so cold and sad for us. I know we are talking in terms of a national tragedy, but how can you try to comfort an entire people or include it in your personal pain, when grandmother does not stop crying, and we are mute, feeling the enormous void that is left only by your absence.

Few truly knew you. They can still talk alot about you, but I feel that they know nothing about the depth of the pain, the disaster and, yes, this holocaust, for -- at least for us, the family and the friends, who are left only as the camp, without you -- our pillar of fire.

Grandfather, you were, and still are our, hero. I want you to know that in all I have ever done, I have always seen you before my eyes. Your esteem and love accompanied us in every step and on every path, and we lived in the light of your values. You never abandoned us, and now they have abandoned you -- you, my eternal hero -- cold and lonely, and I can do nothing to save you, you who are so wonderful.

People greater than I have already eulogized you, but none of them was fortunate like myself [to feel] the caress of your warm, soft hands and the warm embrace that was just for us, or your half-smiles which will always say so much, the same smile that is no more, and froze with you. I have no feelings of revenge because my pain and loss are so big, too big. The ground has slipped away from under our feet, and we are trying, somehow, to sit in this empty space that has been left behind, in the meantime, without any particular success. I am incapable of finishing, but it appears that a strange hand, a miserable person, has already finished for me. Having no choice, I part from you, a hero, and ask that you rest in peace, that you think about us and miss us, because we here --down below -- love you so much. To the angels of heaven that are accompanying you now, I ask that they watch over you, that they guard you well, because you deserve such a guard. We will love you grandfather, always.

UNIT 6: INTIMACY VERSUS ISOLATION: HOW DOES ISRAEL RELATE TO ITS CITIZENS AND NEIGHBORS?

Essential Questions:

- 1) What are the pros and cons of creating and maintaining a separate space?
- 2) How does Israel decide what the path to peace is?
- 3) How does Israel define "security?"

Goals:

- To debate and discuss the multiple causes of the second Intifada.
- To analyze the decisions Israel made about what type of relationship to have with the Palestinians;
- To assess Israel's growth as a Jewish state and homeland after 50 years;
- To explain how the Israeli election system works.

Students will be able to:

- Detail the transition from tentative peace, to the 2nd Intifada, to the current state of affairs:
- Identify the choices and challenges that Israel made when deciding to build the Separation Fence;
- Articulate the advantages and disadvantages of Israel's political strategies;
- Compare Israel's recent absorption of its immigrants to absorption efforts in the 1950s.

Note to Teacher:

This unit includes 6 activity ideas, in addition to an authentic assessment and a scripted lesson plan.

Suggested time allocation: 4 class sessions

Concepts & Key Terms:

The Second Intifada

In September 2000, violence between the Palestinians and Israelis increased. There are several theories about the cause. On September 28, 2000, Likud leader Ariel Sharon, accompanied by Israeli soldiers, visited the Temple Mount –Since that time, Palestinians have engaged in a violent insurrection that some have dubbed the "al-Aksa intifada." Others cite the beginning of violence to September 27, when an Israeli soldier was killed at the Netzarim Junction from a roadside bomb. The next day in the West Bank city of Kalkilya, a Palestinian police officer working with Israeli police on a joint patrol opened fire and killed his Israeli counterpart. By the beginning of October, Palestinian rioting spread to towns and villages throughout Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Although there is no official end date, most people agree that the ongoing violence ended in September 2005.

Separation Fence

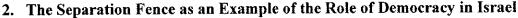
The Security Fence is an operational concept conceived by the Israeli government in order to reduce the number of terrorist attacks. In July 2001, Israel's government decided to construct a security fence near the northern part of the pre-1967 "Green Line" between Israel and the West Bank to prevent Palestinian terrorists from infiltrating into Israeli population centers. The project has had the overwhelming support of the Israeli public which sees the barrier as vital to their security. Some Israelis oppose the fence either because they fear it will constitute a recognition of the 1949 armistice line as a final border. Jews living in the West Bank, beyond the planned route of the fence, in particular, argue that they are now being left relatively unprotected and worry that they might be forced to relocate behind the fence if it does become a political border in the future. It is argued that the number of attempted terrorist attacks has dramatically decreased since the building of the fence. The route of the fence has been greatly contested and the Supreme Court has been involved in the rerouting.

Disengagement

In April 2004, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon presented a plan for unilateral disengagement from the Gaza Strip. Although the plan was rejected by Sharon's own Likud party, the Israeli Knesset and a national referendum approved the plan. The plan called for all Israeli settlers and armed forces to withdraw from the Gaza Strip. These settlers were resettled in West Bank settlements with compensation from the government. In turn, total control of the Gaza Strip was given to the Palestinian Authority. The small but vibrant Gaza settler movement strongly opposed this plan and actively protested against it until the complete withdrawal in August 2005. The disengagement was "unilateral" because of the lack of a Palestinian peace partner.

Suggested Educational Learning Activities

- 1. **Timeline Activity** (This could be done at the beginning of each unit) (suggested time: 40 60 minutes)
 - There will be a timeline up along the walls of the classroom which was introduced in the introductory unit. On the first day of this unit, produce a larger version of the timeline from 1999-2006. The focus of the unit is not on the events, but this timeline will help students place these events and the relevant themes in a larger context.
 - Each group will be assigned one (or two) of the events/trends that took place during this era. They will be provided with information to sort through and will create presentations about the event(s) for their classmates. In the presentation, each group should answer some of the following questions:
 - 1. What are the different ways to understand this event?
 - 2. Why and how is this event remembered?
 - 3. Why is this event relevant to the development of the state of Israel?
 - 4. In what ways (if at all) could this event affect my Jewish identity and my connection to Israel?
 - Events: The 2nd Intifada, The 2006 Elections, Construction of the Separation Fence, Women of the Wall Court Case (1991), Creation of Birthright Israel, UN Conference on Racism in Durban



1. Build Fence and allocate stuff on either side (suggested time: 45 minutes)

For this activity, you need to prepare the room before the students arrive.

Preparation: Create a wall/fence that will divide the room, using boxes or crates. The wall should not cut the room directly in half or be exactly straight. It should "meander" through the room. Scattered throughout the room should be pieces of construction paper. Each paper represents a different resource (elementary school, high school, hospital, water, electricity, city council office, post office, public transportation, stores)

Activity: As students enter the classroom, pass out identity cards and arbitrarily assign them to a side of the wall. Instruct students to walk around their side of the room and look at what resources they have available to them. They can try to look at the other side, but the "other" students can choose to stop them. Instruct students to hold a meeting on each side of the wall. At this meeting, they will summarize what resources they have available, what resources they are lacking, will discuss how the fence is affecting their lives, and will have the opportunity to raise issues (they will get this information from their identity cards)

Bring the class together, and ask each side to share the main issues they discussed. Ask: How did it feel to be separated?

Say: In this simulation, we experienced what it may be like to live in a city divided by the Separation Fence. However, we did not discuss the issue of security or the background on the fence. (segue to part 2)

2. Mock Court case (suggested time: 1 hour)

Divide the class into 3 groups – Arabs, Israeli defenders, and court judges. Hand each group the same information about the Fence and the court case. The Arab and Israeli groups should prepare their opening arguments, and create witnesses that they would want to depose. Students should be assigned to be witnesses for each side. The groups should prepare the questions that they would want to ask the witnesses.

Hold a court hearing with opening arguments and testimony from several people on either side. Afterwards, the judges will decide on a ruling. They should explain how they came to their decision.

3. Causes of the 2nd Intifada (suggested time: 45 minutes)

Goal: To explore the possible causes of the Intifada

- 1. Brainstorm/Ask: What were the causes of the 2nd Intifada? Brainstorm a list on the board. Explain that the class will return to this list later.
- 2. Cut a timeline of the events and major incidents leading up to the start of the 2nd Intifada so that each event is on a separate slip of paper. Divide the

students into 3 groups, giving each group the cut up timeline. Each group must put the events in chronological order. When they are done, have the groups read out their orders, stopping to discuss any differences in the order. Ask:

- If you didn't know all of the details of these events, how did you decide what order to put them in? Explain the logic that you used.
- What previous understandings did you have which helped you to make decisions in this activity?
- 3. Review the factual order of events (if none of the groups got it right). Explain that at the beginning of this time period, events happened so quickly that it was hard to keep track of the order and what triggered what. This led to controversy over what incident(s) started this wave of violence. Questions:
 - Now that we have reviewed the timeline, has your opinion about the causes changed? If so, how?
 - Can these events be interpreted differently?
 - How do we factor in, if at all, the role of cause and effect?
 - The media mentioned the "cycle of violence." How do we determine when the "cycle" begins?
 - Concluding question: After this activity, if someone asked you what caused the 2nd Intifada, how would you respond?
- 4. Explore how the violence has affected Israeli society (suggested time: 40 minutes)
 Read letters from Daniel Gordis, which were published in his book, *Home to Stay*.
 Students will write letters back to Gordis. Students can respond to whatever issues Gordis raises or think about any of the following issues or questions:
 - Think about what it must be like for a Jewish American family to make aliyah during a time of violence. What does that say about the Gordis's commitment to Israel?
 - How do Israelis cope with the ongoing violence?
- 5. Disengagement From Gaza (suggested time: 45 minutes)

This activity is based on the great rift that occurred in Israel over disengagement from Gaza.

Divide the class in half. One group will be pro-disengagement and the second group with be against disengagement. Each group is in charge of coming up with a marketing campaign in support of their opinion. The campaign must include:

- a tv commercial;
- at least one bumper sticker slogan;
- a cheer that protesters could shout on the streets
- 6. Israel turns 50 Game Show (suggested time: 45 minutes)

Israel's Jubilee year was marked by a myriad of celebrations. The students can help Israel celebrate its birthday by reviewing the country's accomplishments – game show style.

Divide the class into two teams. Explain that this quiz game will review what they have learned and highlight Israel's achievements. The first team to get 50 points (for 50 years) wins. The teacher can make a game board on a poster or can write the categories on the blackboard.

(Points)	Famous Israelis	Israel's Neighbors	Symbols	Quotes:	Balagan (Surprise category)
5	Who was the first prime minister of Israel? (David Ben-Gurion)	Name all of the countries that surround Israel. (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt)	The I.D.F. is a symbol of Israel's strength. What is the name of the Jewish defense organization that turned into the Israeli army? (Haganah, or Lehi, or Etzl)	Who said: "Im tirtzu, ayn zo agadah. If you will it, it is no dream." (Theodor Herzl)	The largest number of immigrants came from what continent? (Europe)
10	Who was the only woman to serve as Prime Minister? (Golda Meir)	Which countries were involved in the 1956 war? (Egypt)	What is a sabra and what does it represent? (It is a fruit but also a nickname for an Israeli – hard on the outside and soft on the inside)	"Od lo avda tikvateinu" (Hatikva National Anthem)	Name at least 4 Israeli universities. Extra points for what decade each was founded in. (The Hebrew University, Tel Aviv University, Bar Ilan, Ben-Gurion University, Haifa, Technion)
15	Name 3 Israeli musicians (Ex: David	What nation controlled Palestine from 1917-	What is the design of the Israeli flag based on?	"Shalom Chaver" (President Bill Clinton)	What day precedes Yom Ha'atzmaut

	Broza, Aviv Geffen, Yehudah Poliker)	1948? (Great Britain)	(A tallit)		and why? (Yom Hazikaron)
20	Who was the first Likud/Right wing Prime Minister? (Menachem Begin)	Which was the first Arab country to make a formal peace treaty with Israel? (Egypt, 1979)	(Bonus Free Square)	"You will forgive me, for I do not want to talk about peace. I want to talk about my grandfather." (Noa Ben-Artzi, eulogizing her grandfather Yitzhak Rabin)	Who was a refusenik in a soviet prison and a minister in the Israeli government? (Natan Sharanksy)
25	What countries are Mizrahi Jews from? (Arab countries – Iran, Iraq, Morocco, etc.)	What were the causes of the war with Lebanon? (Continued violence in Israel from across the Lebanese border)	According to Israeli law, what languages should all street signs be written in? (Hebrew, English, & Arabic)	"Make the desert bloom." (David Ben-Gurion)	On what 2 national holidays do sirens sound? (Yom Hashoah, Yom Hazikaron)

Authentic Assessment:

Newspaper Activity

As part of the ongoing assessment, students will become "investigative reporters" and will produce newspaper articles (or news reports) based on the information they received. Over the course of the year, the "reporters" will have to reconcile the different accounts and deal with the "bias" that emerges in their articles.

1. Students will return to their groups from the timeline activity (or from any other textbased activity) and will have to write a newspaper article based on the readings they read. Students can work with a partner or individually so that there will be multiple They should take into account the articles based on the same information. information and the bias in their source material. The students can choose to write whatever kind of article they choose (news article, editorial, political cartoons, character profiles, etc.), or they can do a news broadcast if a video camera is available.

- 2. Appoint 1-2 students to be the newspaper editor(s). They are responsible for assembling the newspaper layout once the articles are written. This involves reading all of the articles and organizing them by either topic or biases.
- 3. Within each group, students should share their article outlines before they begin writing their articles. Students should discuss the following questions in their groups:
 - How did you decide what angle to use when reporting your information to others?
 - Do you agree or disagree with what you're planning to write? If you disagree, how did you decide to write about this topic in this way?
- 4. Ask students to complete their articles at home and email them to the student editors
- 5. Photocopy the articles into a newspaper to hand out at the next class. If this exercise is done in each unit, explain to the students that they will have the opportunity to produce future editions of the class newspaper with different students serving as the editors.

Unit 6 Lesson Plan Israeli Elections

Objectives: Students will be able to....

- Explain how Israeli elections work;
- Assess the difficulty of putting together a viable political coalition;
- Analyze the degree to which Israelis' political, social, and economic concerns are reflected in the outcome of an election

In order to truly understand Israeli politics, one must understand the political system. In 2006, Israel elected its 17th Knesset. Using the statistics from that election, this is an activity to learn about Israel's multi-party system.

1. Set Induction (10 minutes)

In the next few years, you will be old enough to vote in the U.S. elections. Let's pretend that you all turned 18 today and you are now eligible to vote. The candidates change, but the big issues and ideas usually stay the same. Ask: What issues do you/would you think about when deciding on which party or candidate to vote for? Brainstorm list of issues on the board. (The list should include items such as: foreign issues, domestic agenda, health care, economy, taxes, education, terrorism, etc.) Say: Not only do Israelis care about similar issues, but Israeli political parties are created just to focus on these issues!

2. Introduction to the Israeli political system (10 minutes)

Explain and write these on the board:

- 1. Israel uses a parliamentary system where there are multiple parties vying for seats in the parliament (Knesset).
- 2. There are 120 seats in the Knesset
- 3. Israeli voters (age 18 and over) vote for a political party not for particular candidates.
- 4. The number of votes each party receives dictates how many seats the party will get in the Knesset.
- 5. The party with the most votes appoints the prime minister.
- 6. A party needs 61 seats (a majority) to form a government in the Knesset. BUT no party has ever won 61 seats. THEREFORE, the majority party must create a coalition with other parties. This is called a Coalition Government. The majority party has 45 days to present this government to the entire Knesset.

3. Coalition Building Game (70 minutes)

On the board, write the election results.

Divide up the class into the major political parties (see resources for results). There will not be enough students to use every party, so a few parties will be excluded from

this game. Students should be allocated to the parties based on the how many seats they earned (for example: Kadima will have more students than Shas).

Each group will receive information about their own party. In addition, they will receive smaller amounts of information about some of the other parties that they might be interested in dealing with. Each group must complete the following tasks:

- 1. Appoint a party leader
- 2. Familiarize yourself with your party platform
- 3. Within your group, appoint someone to be in charge of learning about the other parties. They can do this by reading the information or by talking to other parties.
- 4. Appoint someone to be the spokesperson for your party and to answer questions about your party that other parties may ask.
- 5. Come up with a strategy for how to build a coalition. Think about how many seats you have and who your potential allies might be.
- 6. Prioritize which issues are most important to you and on which issues you would concede in order to be part of a coalition.

Coalition Building Procedure:

- 1. Groups will meet for an initial 15 minutes.
- 2. After the 15 minutes, parties will have 30 minutes to assemble their coalitions. At this point, groups can send representatives to other parties. This is a time of pressure if there is no coalition at the end of the 45 minutes, there will be no government.
- 3. The parties will reassemble and the head party will present the proposed coalition to the class.

4. Conclusion (20 minutes)

Announce the actual results of the coalition from March 2006.

Discussion Ouestions:

- 1. Describe the coalition building process. (Ask for descriptions from the large smaller parties).
- 2. How was the experience similar and different for the different-size parties?
- 3. Which parties had the most leverage and power?
- 4. What surprised you the most about this process?
- 5. How did the time limit affect the negotiations?
- 6. Based on this exercise, what do you think are Israeli politicians' biggest concerns? The Israeli people's concerns? If the answers are different, why?

UNIT 6: INTIMACY VERSUS ISOLATION: HOW DOES ISRAEL RELATE TO ITS CITIZENS AND NEIGHBORS?

SOURCES

Activity #1: Timeline Activity Info Sheets

- The Second Intifada
- The 2006 Elections
- Construction of the Separation Fence
- Women of the Wall Court Case (1991)
- Creation of Birthright Israel
- UN Conference on Racism in Durban, South Africa

Activity #2: The Separation Fence

- Separation Fence Info Sheets (See Activity #1)
- Court Case Information

Activity #3: Causes of the Second Intifada

• Info Sheets (See Activity #1)

Activity #4: Living in the Matzav

• Excerpts from Home to Stay, by Daniel Gordis

Activity #5: Living in the Matzav

• Disengagement information

Lesson Plan

- Party Platforms
- 2006 Election results



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Israel

The Beginnings of the Second Intifada

In September 2000, a new wave of violence erupted.

By Ziv Hellman

On the morning of September 28, 2000, a six-member Likud Knesset delegation led by the then-leader of the Israeli opposition, Ariel Sharon, paid a visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. From the moment the plans for the visit had been made public four days earlier, there was concern among Israeli security officials that the heavily media-covered visit might inflame some Palestinian nationalist sentiments because it would be viewed as a deliberately provocative symbol of Israeli control of all of Jerusalem, east and west.

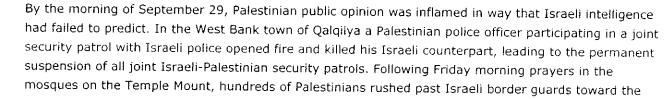
These concerns prompted consultations on the matter between Israeli and Palestinian officials, culminating in a telephone conversation between Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami and the head of the Palestinian Preventive Security Organization, Jibril Rajoub, in which Rajoub indicated, "If Mr. Sharon refrains from entering the Mosques on Temple Mount, there will not be any problem." Only then did the Israeli police agree to permit the visit--along with a 1,500 member police escort, just in case.



Sharon's visit was relatively brief, avoiding the mosques. It was completed by 8:30 a.m. and was followed by a vocal demonstration of about 1,000 Palestinians led by Israeli Arab Knesset members who hurled stones at Israeli policemen. But this too was relatively brief and not unprecedented in the context of previous Palestinian-Israeli clashes in that religiously and emotionally charged area of Jerusalem. By the afternoon, despite sporadic flare-ups of further clashes between police and demonstrators, Israeli security officials concluded that the matter was behind them.

They turned out to be seriously wrong.

Within hours, the Voice of Palestine was broadcasting denunciations. Sharon was said to have conducted "a serious step against Muslim holy places." Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian Authority chairman, called upon the entire Arab and Islamic world to "move immediately to stop these aggressions and Israeli practices against holy Jerusalem." Repeated broadcasts throughout the evening and night described the visit as a deliberate defilement of the mosques.







platform overlooking the Western Wall plaza where Jewish worshippers were praying prior to the Rosh Hashanah holiday.

When heavy rocks began raining down from the compound on the Mount onto Jewish worshippers in the plaza below, the Israeli border guard contingent opened fire on the Palestinian rioters with rubber bullets, killing four and wounding more than 100 persons. The second Intifada had been sparked with its first casualties. To date, more than 600 Israelis and more than 3,000 Palestinians have been killed in the conflagration, which is still taking place.

The appellation Intifada--which means resurgence in Arabic--was almost universally applied to the violence that erupted in the year 2000 as if it was continuation of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip from 1988 until 1992. But the differences between the two rapidly became clear. Where the first Intifada was characterized most memorably by Palestinian youths throwing stones at Israeli soldiers, the second Intifada has been far bloodier, taking on the aspects of armed conflict, guerilla warfare, and terrorist attacks. The stone-armed Palestinian child of 1990 was replaced by the armed adult fighter of 2000.

Exploding Buses and Rocket Attacks in Israel's Center

The Israeli civilian population knew of the first Intifada mainly from televised pictures and stories brought home by soldiers. But the second Intifada brought fear home to the streets of Israeli towns in the form of exploding buses and rocket attacks. It dealt a grievous blow to the entire Israeli political left, which had been associated with and supportive of the peace process.

As in many other aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation, there are conflicting claims, analyses, and narratives surrounding the question of what sparked the second Intifada, who has been fuelling the confrontation, what strategic aims it is supposed to serve, where it is headed, and even what it should be called. Any understanding of the issues, however, must begin with historical context, including the major events affecting the Middle East conflict over the past decade: the Oslo agreements, the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, the attempt to negotiate an end to the conflict at Camp David in July 2000, and the post-September 11 atmosphere in the United States.

From Oslo to Camp David

The official and almost unanimous Palestinian position on what Palestinians call the Al-Aksa Intifada-named after a mosque on the Temple Mount--is that it is a spontaneous and authentic outpouring of pentup Palestinian wrath at the continuing Israeli occupation of their lands, which finally erupted when sparked
by Sharon's provocative tour of the Temple Mount. According to this narrative, the signing of the Oslo
agreement between Israel and the PLO on September 13, 1993, gave the Palestinian people hope that
they would shortly see Israeli settlements dismantled, their economic condition dramatically improved,
and their flag raised in a sovereign State of Palestine in all of the Gaza Strip and West Bank.



Seven years later, Israeli settlements had only expanded, the average Palestinian was mired deeper in poverty than before, and the Palestinian Authority--not state--controlled a disappointing less than half of the West Bank. When the Camp David summit meeting of Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, U.S. President Bill Clinton, and Arafat in July 2000 failed to conclude an agreement leading to the creation of a



Palestinian state, the Palestinian public mood dropped to new lows of despair and heights of anger.

There is no doubt that opinion polls among the Palestinian population registered over a long period of time growing dismay at the dissonance between the perceptions of what the Oslo process was supposed to lead to and the harsher realities of life in the Palestinian Authority. By the summer of 2000, even Israeli intelligence reports were warning of the possibility of broad and violent Palestinian riots if the Camp David summit failed to live up to expectations.

At the time, not a few media commentators noted with some surprise the relative calm that prevailed for a full two months between the failure of the Camp David summit and Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. The high number of casualties that marked the initial days of the second Intifada--much higher than the comparable numbers in the first Intifada--was shocking to the Palestinian public. Palestinians then suffered tremendously as the second Intifada progressed, paying a high price in lives. Their freedom of movement in the West Bank and Gaza was extremely curtailed by Israeli troops, and a severe economic crisis and widespread unemployment made the Palestinian economic situation on the eve of the Intifada appear rosy in comparison. However, every indicator shows continued Palestinian support for continuing the armed conflict with Israel.

The Israeli View



The Israeli perspective is more skeptical of the claim that Sharon's visit sparked a spontaneous reaction that got out of hand. Starting at least three years prior to the eruption of the second Intifada, Israeli military intelligence followed with growing concern certain indicators of trouble to come: increasingly militant Palestinian broadcasts, the establishment of military training camps, excessive growth in the number of Palestinian armed forces beyond that permitted by the Oslo agreements, a lack of attempts by Palestinian authorities to confiscate illegal weapons, and frequent releases of terrorist detainees from Palestinian prisons.

Based on these facts, the Israel Defense Forces prepared comprehensive contingency plans for the possibility of an armed confrontation with Palestinians, including heavily fortifying its positions. In the first days of October 2000 these plans proved their worth in reducing Israeli casualties to a minimum. This contrasted sharply with large numbers of Palestinian casualties--many of them sadly civilian and caused by the fact that the Palestinian population initially understood the renewed call for an Intifada as a summoning to the stone-throwing mass demonstrations of the first Intifada.

What Went Wrong?

But the second Intifada rapidly took on the characteristics of armed combat between Israeli and Palestinian forces--with the Palestinian civilian demonstrators caught in the middle of the deadly cross-fire. The discrepancies between Israeli and Palestinian casualties, however, only served to fuel further Palestinian anger and desire to continue the fight.



While the Palestinians saw the Camp David summit as a failure on the part of Israel to make a serious diplomatic move toward them, Israelis regarded the offer made by their negotiators as extremely generous. Barak had proposed creating a Palestinian state in 96 percent of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, dismantling most Israeli settlements, and dividing sovereignty in Jerusalem. The fact that Palestinain



leaders dismissed the offer out of hand and that the Palestinian side did not even make a counter-offeras documented in memoirs by Israeli and American negotiators--and that for many Israelis the Palestinian 'response' appeared to be an armed conflict, has done more to harm the Israeli peace movement than any other event in decades, as many left-leaning Israelis became disillusioned with the peace process.

The second article in the series explores the continuation of the Intifada.

Ziv Hellman is a Jerusalem-based writer and mathematician. A former editor at the Jerusalem Post, Ziv was founding member of Peace Watch--the watchdog group reporting on the implementation of the Oslo Agreements. He also led the Israeli elections observer team evaluating the Palestinian Authority elections. Part II of this article examines the "Lebanon Precedent" and the continued unfolding of the Second Intifada.





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Israel

The Second Intifada Continues

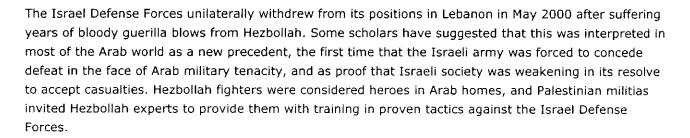
What happened and why?

By Ziv Hellman

This article, the second in a two-part series, examines the roots of the second Intifada and the implications for Palestinians and Israelis. Click here for the first part of the series.

As the second Intifada progressed, it resembled the first Intifada less and less, taking on the characteristics of armed guerilla fighting, similar in some ways to the tactics adopted by Hezbollah in Lebanon during its fighting against Israeli forces. Some analysts believe that this was not a coincidence.

The Lebanon Precedent



In numerous interviews with journalists, Palestinian leaders have indicated that the Lebanon precedent sparked a hope among them that similar armed pressure on Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would lead to a demoralized Israeli withdrawal and dismantling of settlements, enabling the Palestinians to achieve more than they might in negotiations. For example, Marwan Barghouti--a high-ranking Fatah (Palestine Liberation Organization) official in the West Bank prior to his arrest by Israeli armed forces in April 2002--frequently told reporters that the Palestinians ought to continue the Intifada even if Palestinian-Israeli negotiations were to resume, stating that the only way to end the Intifada is for Israel to withdraw from the West Bank, just as it had from Lebanon.

Islamic Fundamentalism and September 11th

The names by which the conflict that has raged since September 2000 has been called are instructive. In Israel there were attempts early on by some commentators to label it "the Oslo war" or "the war against peace," but the general public mostly avoided those names because of they smacked of political connotations, blaming the supporters of the Oslo agreements for the terror attacks within Israel.

Most Israelis simply called it 'the Intifada' or increasingly--as time went on and a grim atmosphere settled on the-- 'the *matzav*,' which literally means 'the situation,' as if it was all just a temporary condition they





had the bad luck to be experiencing and which might soon be over.

For the Palestinian side it has consistently been the 'Al-Aksa Intifada,' after the name of the famous mosque, since the first day of clashes on the Temple Mount. This has had the effect of giving the struggle a religious dimension; had it been called the Independence Intifada or even the Jerusalem Intifada the implication would be more political than religious. The religious aspect has special significance in the context of Palestinian political history, because the PLO in its early years was dominated by secular and leftist-oriented organizations, with religious militias such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad appearing later on the scene. Initially the Islamic militias served as an opposition to the PLO, with their stress upon Islam over and above the need for a Palestinian state.

The second Intifada brought about a unity of Palestinian factions, with Fatah, a secular branch of Arafat loyalists, and even the Marxist People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine joining forces with the most rigid of Islamic fundamentalists in attacking Israeli targets.

Religious Aspects of the Second Intifada

In fact, the religious aspects came to dominate the second Intifada, from its Arabic name to the emphasis on suicide bombing attacks, which were initially conducted solely by fervent Islamic believers willing to be religious 'shuhada' (martyrs) but were adopted by all the Palestinian factions when becoming a shahid (martyr) for Palestine became an ideal to strive for throughout Palestinian society.



However, some of these violent tactics may have resulted in increased sympathy for Israel and Israelis. The images of Israeli civilians--including many children--blown apart by Palestinian suicide bombers brought Israel some sympathy in the American press. When a muscular form of Islamic fundamentalism brought about the suicide airplane attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on September 11, 2001, the Palestinian militias found themselves frequently identified by an enraged U.S. administration as being part of the Islamic terrorist international movement.

There has been no evidence of direct connections between Al Qaeda and Palestinian movements, despite some limited Al Qaeda attempts to set up cells in the Gaza Strip. Israel's Likud-led government, however, pointed to Iraqi, Iranian, and Saudi support for various Palestinian factions and the general atmosphere of Islamic terrorism cultivated in Palestinian society to draw parallels between Israel's struggle against Palestinian terrorism and the international fight against Al Qaeda. After an extremely bloody series of suicide bomb attacks in the spring of 2002 culminated in a massacre of Passover celebrators in the coastal city Netanya--among them many elderly Holocaust survivors--the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) proceeded to enter all the Palestinian territories in an attempt to crush the Intifada.

A year earlier, a 24-hour incursion of the IDF into the Gaza Strip led to such international condemnation that Israel quickly withdrew out of fear that an aggressive move on its part could lead to international intervention. In contrast, the IDF's Operation 'Defensive Shield' in 2002 was subject to minor criticism given the new international atmosphere regarding the war on terrorism.



The Violence Continues

Even the Palestinian attempt to tar Israel with accusations it massacred civilians in the West Bank town of



Jenin at the height of that operation failed. International researchers eventually concluded that the Israeli version, according to which only about 50 armed Palestinians had been killed in fierce fighting that also cost the lives of 23 Israelis, was true--as opposed to the Palestinian claim that up to 500 civilians had been slaughtered by Israeli forces. While there are varying accounts on the exact number of Palestinians killed in the fighting there, they are all in the range of about 50 to 56. All observers agree most of them were armed combatants.

In the early spring of 2003, the second Intifada, while far from ending, appeared to have entered a period of relative remission, with Israelis enjoying two months without a single suicide bombing. Many Israelis credited the relentless IDF actions for this period of quiet in Israel. Yet a bus bombing in Haifa in the afternoon of March 5, 2003, took the lives of 15 Israeli civilians, wounding 30 more. This came on the heals of intensive IDF operations in the Gaza Strip in which a chief Hamas operative was nabbed, but also more than 20 Palestinian civilians—among them a pregnant woman 10 days away from her due date—were killed. The region seems to be as mired in violence as ever.

This second Intifada appears to have achieved little of substance for the Palestinians. Israel has certainly been hurt on numerous levels, with its economy suffering, it tourism industry brought to a halt, its image in Europe tarnished, and hundreds of civilian casualties suffered. But at the same time the Palestinian economy has been shattered close to the point of non-existence and Palestinian casualties number in the thousands. Not one Israeli settlement has been removed or relocated after two and a half years of armed conflict, but what had been an autonomous Palestinian entity in the West Bank has all but disappeared in the face of a renewed Israeli occupation, with Israeli troops patrolling Palestinian towns at will. Palestinian leaders are no longer welcome in Washington, D.C., and are instead mentioned by American officials as potentially subject to 'regime change.'

As the violence has continued with the dream of an independent Palestinian state becoming all the more distant, there has been some questioning by some Palestinian leaders--most notably Abu Mazan--of the wisdom of armed conflict. And Palestinian leaders Sari Nussibeh and Hanan Ashwari published a petition with 500 signatories denouncing the suicide bombing on practical rather than moral grounds. However, an honest and widespread public reckoning of where the second Intifada is headed and what goals are in Palestinian society does not yet appeared to have occurred.

Ziv Hellman is a Jerusalem-based writer and mathematician. A former editor at the Jerusalem Post, Ziv was founding member of Peace Watch--the watchdog group reporting on the implementation of the Oslo Agreements. He also led the Israeli elections observer team evaluating the Palestinian Authority elections.

New Knesset: More ultra-Orthodox, Arabs; fewer women, settlers

By Haaretz Staff

The Labor Party lost one Knesset seat to Ra'am-Ta'al, leaving it with 19 seats, Central Elections Committee chairman Justice Dorit Beinish ruled Sunday.

Beinish thus accepted an appeal filed by Ra'am-Ta'al, which stated that mistakes were found in the documentation of vote tallies in Arab ballots. According to party officials, these mistakes cost the party its fourth seat in last week's Knesset elections.

Kadima, Likud and Meretz picked up one more seat each last week according to final results of vote counting in the wake of Tuesday's Knesset election.

This places in question Acting Prime Minister Ehud Olmert ability for forge a majority among non-Arab parties in the Knesset for his plan to withdraw from the West Bank.

The committee ruling means that Abas Zakhur, No. 4 on Ra'am-Ta'al's list, will enter the Knesset instead of No. 20 on Labor's list, Shakib Shnan.

According to the results, Kadima now has 29 seats, Labor has 19, Shas and Likud have 12 each, Yisrael Beiteinu has 11, National Union-National Religious Party has nine, Pensioners' Party has seven, United Torah Judaism has six, Meretz five, Ra'am-Ta'al four, Hadash three and Balad three.

Almost a third of the new Knesset's members - 39 MKs - will be new to the legislature. The greatest number of freshman MKs will be from Kadima (10), followed by Yisrael Beiteinu (eight), and the Pensioners Party (all seven MKs). Likud and National Union-National Religious Party will have no new MKs. In Meretz, Yossi Beilin is returning to the Knesset after an absence of one term.

There will be only 16 women in the Knesset, down from 18 elected in 2003. Kadima will have the most women (six), followed by Labor (five). The National Union-NRP, Arab parties and ultra-Orthodox parties have no women representatives.

A majority of MKs in the new Knesset are of Ashkenazi origin: 73 compared to 34 MKs of Middle Eastern or North African origin. The remaining 14 representatives are Arabs, up from 10 in the last Knesset.

The 17th Knesset will have 34 religious and ultra-Orthodox MKs - nearly 30 percent of the legislature - compared to 30 in the 16th Knesset.

Fifteen percent of the MKs (18) hold Ph.D degrees or the title Professor. Kadima boasts six, Labor three, and Balad and Hadash have two each.

Fourteen MKs were senior officers in the security forces. Among them are an ex-chief of staff (Shaul Mofaz of Kadima), a former deputy chief of staff (Matan Vilnai of Labor), two former Shin Bet chiefs (Kadima's Avi Dichter and Labor's Ami Ayalon), and a former Mossad chief (Labor's Danny Yatom).

Fifteen MKs are new or relatively new immigrants who immigrated 15 years ago or more, like Avigdor Lieberman, but who are still considered olim by the public. There will be only eight MKs who live in settlements - four from the National Union-NRP, three from Yisrael Beiteinu and one from Kadima. Only two MKs live on kibbutzim (Haim Oron of Meretz and Orit Noked of Labor), and one on a moshav (Labor's Shalom Simhon).

Elections 2006: With a Whimper, Not a Bang Kadima wins, but not before peaking too soon.

By Yehudah Mirsky

The breathtaking events of late 2005 and early 2006 promised an extraordinary shakeup in Israeli politics.

In November 2005, Amir Peretz's surprise win over Shimon Peres in the Labor party primary, and his decision to pull Labor out of the government, precipitated a series of dramatic changes. Until then, two bottlenecks were stopping up the system: Ariel Sharon was stuck in a party, Likud, that he had founded but had long since outgrown, while across the aisle, Peres' stubborn refusal to yield his personal ambition paralyzed Labor. So determined was Peres to make his way back into the Cabinet Room--maybe even the Prime Minister's Office-- that he had crippled one generation of successors and threatened to do the same to another.

A New Party is Born

The eclipse of Peres set in motion a stunning realignment. Sharon defected from Likud and, with centrist defectors from Labor, created a new party: Kadima. With Kadima, Sharon could pursue the policy trajectory he had already introduced and, in what long-time Labor MK Haim Ramon termed "the Big Bang," resurrect a broad ruling center resembling the historic MAPAI of Ben-Gurion, through whose ranks he and Peres had risen.

Sharon's stroke in January 2006 seemed to put Kadima in danger (though it also helped it by removing Sharon's corruption scandals from the public agenda). But Kadima, now led by Sharon's designated successor, Ehud Olmert, survived, pointing to the underlying suasion of that broad consensus. It finally seemed as though the Knesset would assume the rough shape of the body politic it purported to represent. It would leave most of the territories while retaining the major blocs, not out of love for the Palestinians, but to distance Israel from them; and it would accept free markets sans Bibinomics—the aggressive capitalism of Benjamin Netanyahu. At long last, the endless horse-trading and thin coalitions that had bedeviled Israeli politics for so long would be behind us.

The truth turned out to be more complicated.

Landslide Predicted

From the moment of its birth the media and the chattering classes threw their weight behind Kadima. Poll after poll, article after article claimed its invincibility, and the vast majority of journalists and pundits (this writer included) assumed that it would indeed win big. After all, wasn't a realist pullout from the territories and an embrace of free markets what everybody wanted?

In the run-up to the Gaza disengagement, a leading journalist freely confessed that the media was giving Sharon a pass on his many corruption scandals for the sake of disengagement, comparing Sharon to the communal *etrog* which must be preserved at all costs. Kadima assumed that role, and this time the etrog blew up in the media's face when it turned out that Kadima's support was broad, but thinner than expected.

The chattering classes--overwhelmingly secular, urban, native-born, and Ashkenazi-consistently underreported and underestimated the strength of the Sephardic religious party
Shas and Avigdor Lieberman's Yisrael Belteinu. In the end, Kadima garnered 29 Knesset seats,
far fewer than originally predicted, but enough to gain Olmert the premiership. Indeed, having
been told over and over that the election was a done deal, many voters simply stayed home.

Social and Economic Issues

As for Labor, its top dozen or so candidates did indeed promise change, and as a group seemed more impressive than Amir Peretz himself; yet none of them could provide the elbows that Peretz did to eject Peres and finally make Labor at least seem like a Social-Democratic alternative to Bibinomics. Though the 20 Knesset seats garnered by Labor were only one more than those gained in the previous election, it was the first time in years that Labor didn't actually lose seats, and, aided by the stunning collapse of Likud, Labor re-emerged as a force to be reckoned with. Peretz proved to be nobody's fool and a formidable political force. Whether his self-proclaimed role as tribune of the masses has any grounding in economic reality will eventually be put to the test.

Early commentary on the election suggested that economic justice, or as it's known in Israel, "social issues," were a deciding factor, accounting for the strong showings of Labor, Shas (12 Knesset seats), and the Pensioners (7 seats), each of whom made it a feature of their campaigns. That, however, seems something of a misreading. Peretz, during his time as head of the Histadrut, the national labor federation, never seriously engaged the genuine and well-



documented shortcomings of socialism and the challenges of globalization. His strikes and work actions failed to yield even cost-of-living allowances.

Shas forcefully called attention to the economic travails afflicting much of Israeli society, yet it offered no concrete program for macroeconomic growth. To the contrary, it's hard not to see its call for economic justice as ancillary to, if not a fig leaf for, its religious agenda. Still, Shas could justly revel in the utter evaporation of its former nemesis, Shinui, which went from fifteen seats to zero, perhaps a proper reward for its rabid (possibly even racist) anticlericalism.

And then there was the biggest surprise--the seven seats won by the Pensioners Party. This was in essence the protest vote of generally better-off middle class voters and of young people put off by what they saw as the hopeless torpor of the established parties. That the head of the Pensioners' Party, Rafi Eitan, was a hard-as-nails Mossad operative responsible for the Pollard debacle who became a wealthy man, in part through lucrative deals with Fidel Castro, and that nobody had the slightest idea what he or the other new MKs on his list thought about any public issue other than pension, seemed not to have crossed voters' minds.

Most everybody voted against Bibinomics (Likud garnered only 12 Knesset seats). Yet there's still been little intelligent debate about appropriate economic policies for a country like Israel, a world leader in hi-tech whose breathtaking disparities in wealth run directly counter to the strong social solidarity of traditional Zionist ideology.

The Territories

One major policy debate, however, has been settled. A solid consensus emerged among Israel's Jewish polity for leaving the territories, in whole or in part, sooner rather than later. This view spread along a spectrum from, on the left, Meretz, which advocates a full return to the pre-1967 borders and is willing to negotiate on the Right of Return, all the way rightward to Yisrael Beitenu, which advocates not only leaving much of the territories but many of Israel's Arab citizens, as well. In between are Labor and Kadima, who differ on whether to leave the territories unilaterally or as part of a negotiation (an option made less likely by the ascendancy of Hamas).

The Arab parties (9 seats), for better or worse, will not be part of this national conversation. The Likud and the merged National Religious Party-National Union have failed to present a

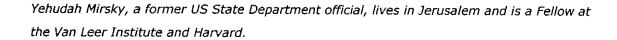


scenario whereby Israel could hold on to the territories and still maintain its Jewish and democratic character.

The ultra-Orthodox parties, as always, will accommodate everyone else's chief priority (defense and security) in exchange for consideration of their's: funding for their growing networks of institutions and a rolling-back of Netanyahu's welfare cuts.

Kadima will not be the magic bullet that will, at a stroke, redraw Israel's borders and ensure the country's future for the foreseeable future, but real change is on the horizon. For years there has been a silent consensus in favor of leaving most, if not all, of Judea and Samaria, but it never found expression as an electoral mandate. Now it has. Not in dewy-eyed hopes for a New Middle East, but as a necessary excision that will enable Israel to meet the multiple and unending challenges--military, diplomatic, economic, and cultural--still lying ahead.

UPDATE: The number of seats won by Labor is currently being disputed. The final tally seems to be 19 seats, but Gaeli Tzahal--the military radio station--is challenging that.







Israel's Security Fence

After scores of suicide bombings and daily terrorist attacks against its civilians that have kille than 850 people and wounded thousands more since September 2000, Israel's unity gove decided to construct a security fence near the northern part of the pre-1967 "Green Line" t Israel and the West Bank to prevent Palestinian terrorists from infiltrating into Israeli pot centers. The project has had the overwhelming support of the Israeli public which sees the bavital to their security.

There is actually nothing new about the construction of a security fence. Many other nation fences to protect their borders (the United States is building one now to keep out illegal N immigrants). Israel has similar barriers along its borders with Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. It fence already surrounds the Gaza Strip and not a single suicide bomber has managed to gethe Gaza barrier into Israel. Ironically, after condemning Israel's barrier, the UN announced build its own fence to improve security around its New York headquarters.

Israel is Forced to Act

The Palestinians committed themselves in the Oslo accords and in the road map to dismantle terrorist networks and confiscate illegal weapons. After more than 10 years of negotiations, and a mounting toll of Israeli civilian casualties, however, it became clear to the Israeli people that the Palestinian Authority (PA) made a strategic choice to use terror to achieve its aims and that something had to be done to protect the civilian population.

"It obliges us to establish a barrier wall which is the only thing that can minimize the infiltration of these male and female suicide bombers," said Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, who has emphasized that "the fence is not political, [and] is not a border."

Some Israelis oppose the fence either because they fear it will constitute a recognition of the 1949 armistice line as a final border. Jews living in the West Bank, beyond the planned route of the fence, in particular, argue that they are now being left relatively unprotected and worry that they might be forced to relocate behind the fence if it does become a political border in the future.



Israel's Security Fence Page 2 of 10



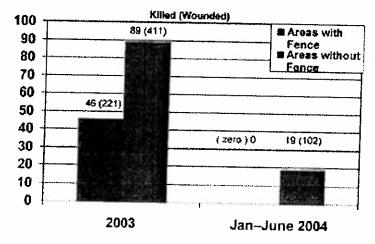
Before the construction of the fence, and in many places where it has not yet been comp terrorist need only walk across an invisible line to cross from the West Bank into Israel. No of any kind exist, so it is easy to see how a barrier, no matter how imperfect, won't at least m terrorists' job more difficult. Approximately 75 percent of the suicide bombers who attacked inside Israel came from across the border where the first phase of the fence was built.

During the 34 months from the beginning of the violence in September 2000 until the construthe first continuous segment of the security fence at the end of July 2003, Samaria-based to carried out 73 attacks in which 293 Israelis were killed and 1950 wounded. In the 11 between the erection of the first segment at the beginning of August 2003 and the end of Jun only three attacks were successful, and all three occurred in the first half of 2003.

Since construction of the fence began, the number of attacks has declined by more than 90%. number of Israelis murdered and wounded has decreased by more than 70% and 85%, respect after erection of the fence.

The success of the anti-terrorist fence in Samaria means that the launching point for terrorists been moved to Judea, where there is not yet a continuous fence.

Victims of suicide attacks before & after Security Fence * Attacks in Israel originating in Judea & Samaria *



Other Benefits

The Green Line is crossed by numerous dirt roads and it is impossible to patrol it. Many Pale take advantage of these roads to come to work illegally in Israel or to get between parts Palestinian administered territories to avoid checkpoints. Some also cross to carry ou operations and theft. Since 1994, Palestinians, sometimes in cooperation with Israeli mide have stolen thousands of automobiles as well as farm machinery and animals.

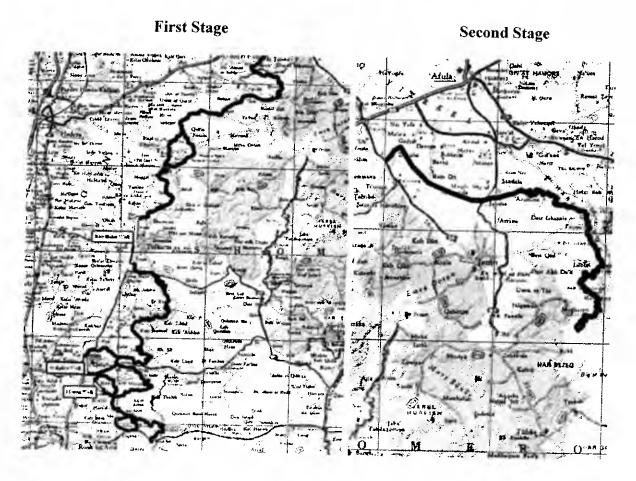
Israelis living along the Green Line, both Jews and Arabs, favor the fence to prevent infiltra suicide bombers and by thieves and vandals. In fact, the fence has caused a revolution in the

life of some Israeli Arab towns because it has brought quiet, which has allowed a significant τ in economic activity.

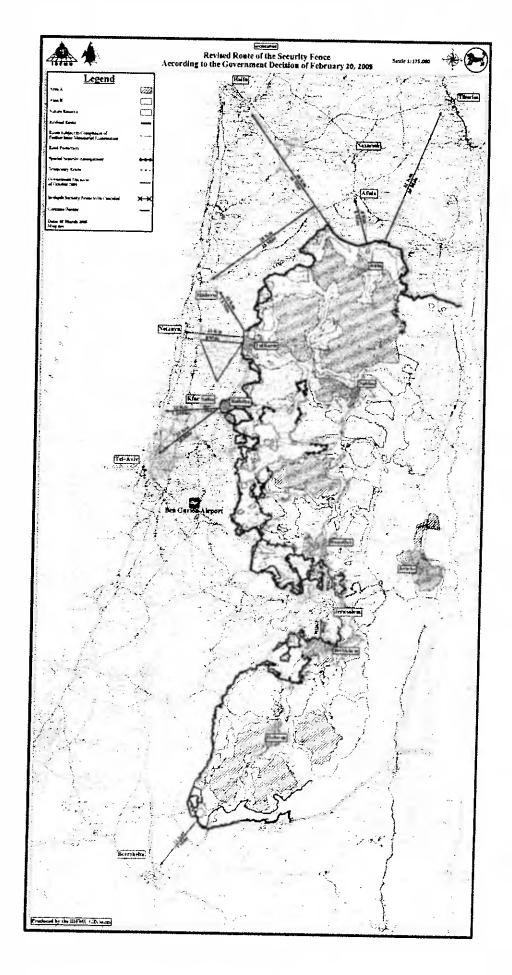
The Palestinians in the territories will also benefit from the fence because it will reduce the r Israeli military operations in the territories, and the deployment of troops in Palestinian Onerous security measures, such as curfews and checkpoints, will either be unneces dramatically scaled back.

Planning the Route

The route of the fence must take into account topography, population density, and threat assort of each area. The fence is scheduled to be built in stages. Phase A of construction, approximation miles from Salem to Elkana was completed at the end of July 2003. Phase B, which is almiles, runs from Salem toward Bet-Shean, through the Jezreel Valley and the Gilboa moun was completed in 2004.

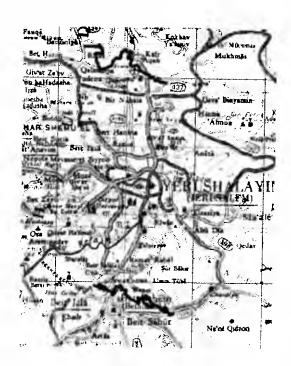


The Complete Route (as of February 20, 2005) Click to enlarge



Phase C of construction incorporates Jerusalem. During the "al-Aqsa intifada," more than 30 bombings have targeted Jerusalem. A total of 90 terrorist attacks have killed 170 people and 1,500 in the capital. The original "Jerusalem Defense Plan" approved in March 2003 called fence to be constructed around three parts of the capital, which has been the most frequent t suicide bombers. This section of the fence was expected to run about 40 miles around the mi boundaries of the city. Israeli and Palestinian residents in areas along the fence route file challenges that required changes in the construction plan. In March 2005, Israel announced i build a temporary fence separating Jerusalem from the West Bank by July, leaving the struplace while legal challenges to the permanent barrier are decided by the courts.

The updated route is to run about 32 miles around Jerusalem, but was only 25 percent com July 2005. The fence along the southern rim, encircling neighborhoods such as <u>Har Homa</u> a is mostly complete. The northern section that will incorporate Pisgat Zeev and Neveh Ya'acomore recently. The government has set September 1, 2005, as the deadline for complet Jerusalem barrier, but shortly after this decision, the Interior Minister said it could not be 1 before December or January.



Phase D will span approximately 93 miles from Elkana to Ofer. In addition, several special soft the fence will protect specific areas and populations. An inside fence of 15 miles will protect from the airport to Jerusalem. A fence around the town of Ariel will stretch about 35 m a 31 mile section will traverse the road between Ariel and Kedumim. A 32-mile span will surround Gush Etzion, another 19 miles will surround Gush Etzion, and the fence will c an additional 58 miles to Carmel.

The planned route was approximately 458 miles; however, the plan has been repeatedly n and, in February 2004, the government announced its intention to shorten the route and m barrier closer to the 1949 armistice line to make it less burdensome to the Palestinians and

U.S. concerns. The announced changes included the dismantling of a small stretch of fence Kalkilya to make movement easier for residents going into the West Bank. The gove cancelled plans to build deep trenches to protect Ben-Gurion Airport and Route 443 from Mc Jerusalem because of concern about the impact on the Palestinians in the area.

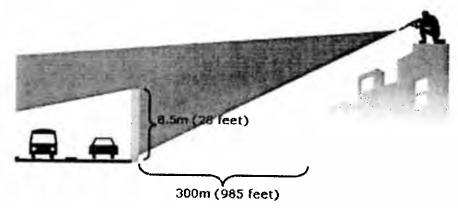
In February 2005, the route was again modified to take into account the decision by the Supreme Court to take greater account of the impact of the fence on the Palestinians. The proute runs closer to the Green Line than the original plan approved in October 2003. For 1 time, however, the fence will include Ma'aleh Adumim and the surrounding settlements. To of the town, a "ring road" will connect the northern and southern parts of the West Bank, a Palestinians to travel between Jenin and Hebron. The route of the fence in the Gush Etzior was altered to exclude four Palestinian villages whose residents will have free access to Betl A special protective wall will be built along Route 60 that links Gush Etzion with Jerusale route of the fence in the Hebron Hills, which originally included several settlements and expanse of land beyond the Green Line, has been brought close to the Green Line. This ne will include 7 percent of the West Bank on its "Israeli" side — as opposed to 16 percen original plan — and approximately 10,000 Palestinian residents.

One of the most controversial questions has been whether to build the fence around Ariel, a approximately 20,000 people, the second largest Jewish settlement in the territories. To incomoral, the fence would have to extend approximately 12 miles into the West Bank. The United has opposed the inclusion of Ariel inside the fence. In the short-run, Israel decided to build around Ariel, but said in February 2005 it would be incoporated within the main fence at stage.

As a result of the modifications, the length of the barrier is expected to be approximately 416 Still, it is the largest infrastructure project in Israel's history. The cost of the project has ba from an expected \$1 billion to more than \$2.1 billion. Each kilometer of fence costs approx \$2 million. As of January 2006, approximately 150 miles of the fence has been comple percent of the fence is under construction, 20 percent has been approved, but construction begun, and 19 percent awaits final approval.

A High-Tech Fence

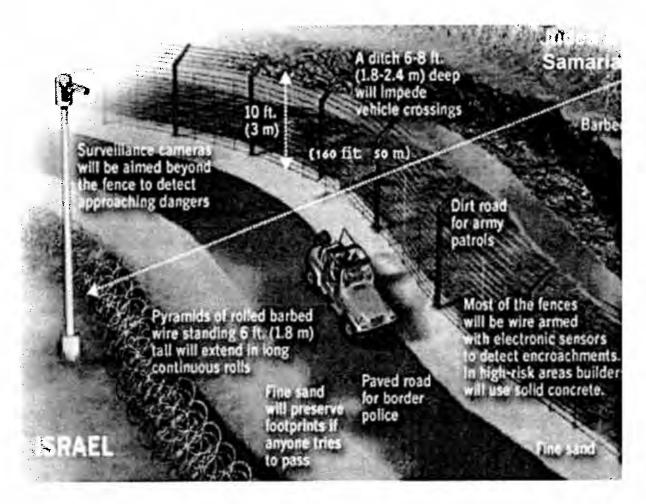
Although critics have sought to portray the security fence as a kind of "Berlin Wall," it is nothing of the sort. First, unlike the Berlin Wall, the fence does not separate one people, Germans from Germans, and deny freedom to those on one side. Israel's security fence separates two peoples, Israelis and Palestinians, and offers freedom and security for both. Second, while Israelis are fully prepared to live with Palestinians, and 20 percent of the Israeli population is already Arab, it is the Palestinians who say they do not want to live with any Jews and call for the West Bank to be *judenrein*. Third, the fence is not being constructed to prevent the citizens of one state from escaping; it is designed solely to keep terrorists out of Israel. Finally, only a tiny fraction of the total length of the barrier (less than 3% or about 10 miles) is actually a 30 foot high concrete wall, and that is being built in three areas where it will prevent Palestinian snipers from around the terrorist hotbeds of Kalki Tul Karm from shooting at cars as they have done for the last three years along the Tran Highway, one of the country's main roads. The wall also takes up less space than the other tonly about seven feet, so it did not have a great impact on the area where it was built.



This diagram shows why a wall is being built in a few specific places where Palestinian snipers have terrorized motorists.

Most of the barrier will be a chain-link type fence similar to those used all over the United combined with underground and long-range sensors, unmanned aerial vehicles, trenches, lar and guard paths. Manned checkpoints will constitute the only way to travel back and forth the fence. The barrier is altogether about 160 feet wide in most places.

The land used in building the security fence is seized for military purposes, not confiscated remains the property of the owner. Legal procedures are already in place to allow every owne an objection to the seizure of their land. Moreover, property owners are offered compensation use of their land and for any damage to their trees.



Politics

The construction of the fence has been slowed by political divisions over the precise route. T controversial aspects of the project are decisions regarding the inclusion of Jewish settlement wants to include as many Jews within the fence, and as few Palestinians as possible. To income of the larger settlements, however, it would be necessary to build the fence with bulge the West Bank. The Bush Administration understands Israel's security arguments regarding t for the fence, but does not want it to prejudge negotiations or to threaten the possibility of creontiguous Palestinian state and therefore has pressured Israel to restrict construction to t along the pre-1967 border, or as close as possible to it. The so-called "Green Line," however not an internationally recognized border, it ws an armistice line between Israel and Jordan the negotiation of a final border. Building the fence along that line would have been a statement and would not accomplish the principal goal of the barrier, namely, the prevent terror.



Most of the fence runs roughly along the Green Lir fence is about a mile to the east in three places that all incorporation of the settlements of Henanit, Shaked, Salit, and Zofim. The most significant deviation from the line is a bulge of less than four miles around the to Alfei Menashe and Elkanah where about 8,000 Jews some places, the fence is actually *inside* the "Green Lin

The fence especially complicates potential negotiations related to <u>Jerusalem</u> as it will make difficult to devise a compromise that would lead to a division of the city, an idea that is un with Israelis. Since the fence is not permanent, it is possible that it could be relocated, or unnecessary if a peace agreement were reached, in which case a political settlement or reached.

In the meantime, an estimated 55,000 Jerusalem Arabs from four neighborhoods are expected on the Palestinian side of the fence while 180,000 Arab residents of the city remain on the side of the barrier. Over the past year, thousands of Arab have moved to more central East Jenneighborhoods to stay on the Israeli side of the fence. Representatives of some Arab neighborhoods of aras to petition the Israeli Supreme Court to order the Defense Ministry to rerefence so it runs to the east of the neighborhoods of Anata, Ras Hamis and Shuafat and allows be on the Israeli side. To alleviate the inconvenience caused by the fence, the Cabinet app plan to construct 11 passages through the barrier to facilitate movement in and out of the addition, the government is allocating NIS 8 million for the municipality to provide special to Arab residents of Jerusalem who will be adversely affected by the fence.

Palestinians complain that the fence creates "facts on the ground," but most of the area incor within the fence is expected to be part of Israel in any peace agreement with the Palestinians negotiators have always envisioned the future border to be the 1967 frontier with modifica minimize the security risk to Israel and maximize the number of Jews living within the State the Palestinians stop the violence and negotiate in good faith, it may be possible to remove the move it, or open it in a way that offers freedom of movement. Israel, for example, moved a fence when it withdrew from southern Lebanon. The fence may stimulate the Palestinians action against the terrorists because the barrier has shown them there is a price to pay for spo terrorism.

Inconvenience Versus Saving Lives

Every effort is being made to exclude Palestinian villages from the area within the fence territories are being annexed. The land used in building the security fence is seized for purposes, not confiscated, and it remains the property of the owner. Legal procedures are alr place to allow every owner to file an objection to the seizure of their land. In addition, Isi budgeted \$540 million to ease the lives of Palestinians affected by the fence by building extra passageways, and tunnels.

Israel is doing its best to minimize the negative impact on Palestinians in the area of construct is providing agricultural passageways to allow farmers to continue to cultivate their lan crossing points to allow the movement of people and the transfer of goods. Moreover, prowners are offered compensation for the use of their land and for any damage to their Contractors are responsible for carefully uprooting and replanting the trees. So far, more than olive trees have been relocated in accordance with this procedure.

Despite Israel's best efforts, the fence has caused some injury to residents near the fence. Supreme Court took up the grievances of Palestinians and ruled that the construction of the fence is consistent with international law and was based on Israel's security requirements rational political considerations. It also required the government to move the fence in the area near Jesto make things easier for the Palestinians.

Though the Court's decision made the government's job of securing the population from the

threats more difficult, costly, and time-consuming, the Prime Minister immediately accept decision and began to reroute the fence and to factor the Court's ruling into the planning of of the barrier.

The security fence does create some inconvenience to Palestinians, but it also saves lives. The of Israelis caused by terror are permanent and irreversible whereas the hardships faced Palestinians are temporary and reversible.

¹MidEast Web ²JTA, (June 18, 2003).

Sources: Near East Report, (July 15, 2002; July 28, 2003); Jerusalem Report, (September 8, 2 December 7, 2005); AP, (March 13, 2005). Color maps courtesy of MidEast Web; Ha'aretz, (February 25, 2004); Israeli Foreign Ministry; Ministry of Defense; B'tselem, (January 15, 201

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Women Of The Wall

by Sarah Szymkowicz

Women Of The Wall, shortened to WOW, is a group that believes women should be allowed to pray out loud at the Kotel, read Torah and wear tallit, teffilin and kippa. Currently, Israeli law does not permit women this religious freedom, and those who do it anyway are subject to fines and up to six months in jail. WOW is fighting a legal battle in the Knesset, to keep Shas and other religious parties from passing a bill that would make the punishment for these offenses seven years imprisonment. They are also fighting a spiritual battle at the Kotel. Once a month on Rosh Hodesh, WOW makes a minyan and prays at the Kotel. They do the first part of the shacharit service in front of the Wall and then move to an area in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City to do Hallel and read Torah.

WOW has thousands of members all over the world dedicated to freedom of prayer at the Kotel. WOW encompasses members from all branches of Judaism, including <u>Orthodoxy</u>. There is also an International Committee for Women of the Wall (ICWOW) that works very closely with WOW and helps gain non-Israeli support for WOW's cause.

WOW was founded in 1989. This was the same year that the first International Jewish Feminist Conference in Jerusalem took place. A group of about one hundred women attended the conference and went to pray at the Kotel. They were disrupted by verbal and physical assaults by the ultra-Orthodox men and women at the Kotel, which is how WOW was born. A group of Jerusalem women continued to pray at the Kotel daily after the confrence was over, and were continually abused. After a particularly bad incident at the Kotel WOW filed a petition to the government of Israel. The response was negative. It had a list of extreme halachic opinions that ban women from praying in groups, touching a Torah, and wearing religious garments. Most Jews, even many Orthodox Jews, do not agree with these opinions.

In 1991, WOW appealed to the Supreme Court, arguing that they should be allowed to express Judaism in safety and security. For serval years the issue was debated in court. Finally, in 1994, WOW lost its case, but the Supreme Court decided that a commission should be set up to resolve the issue. In 1996 the

Women Of The Wall Page 2 of 2

commission proposed that WOW move to the southeastern corner of Jerusalem outside the Old City. WOW found this unacceptable and appealed for a new commission. A small victory was won by WOW when the Supreme Court, awarded 5,000 shekels to WOW for attorneys fees as consolation for the enormas amount of time the case took due to the government's slow response time.

In 1997, a new commission was appointed and the Supreme Court helped the legal process move faster. In the Knesset, Shas tried to pass a bill that would change the status of the Kotel from a national site, to an Orthodox synagogue, but the bill did not pass. Later WOW went to court again. On May 22, 2002, the court ruled in WOW's favor, and women were granted the right to wear whatever religious garments they want at the Kotel, pray out loud, and read Torah. Jewish feminists all over the world were thrilled. The happiness of WOW was soon shattered. Four days latter, Shas submited several bills to override the Supreme Court decision. This included one that would make the actions of communal prayer by women punishable by a fine and seven years in prison.

The ruling of the Supreme Court was subsequently suspended pending the outcome of the debates in the <u>Knesset</u>. For now the law restricting the behavior of women at the Kotel stands.

Source: Women of the Wall

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Birthright Israel – the quick fix Don't believe the hype

By Isi Leibler

http://www.jewishworldreview.com -- BIRTHRIGHT ISRAEL IS THE CREATION of a handful of American Jewish philanthropists who visualize the project as the vehicle to overcome the Jewish continuity crisis in the United States. We are told it will revitalize Judaism and reduce the mushrooming levels of intermarriage. Its leaders said so this week in numerous general circulation American newspaspers. Their predictions were alongside of pictures smiling Gen-X Jews with linked arms.

But the intention of the sponsors to make Birthright Israel a worldwide undertaking supported and funded by local Jewish communities, has had a mixed response. The Australians appear to have rejected it. In England, a pilot program involving 120 participants is scheduled for launching during the summer.

What is Birthright Israel? A campaign to promote Jewish religious and cultural studies? An expansion of Jewish day schools? A program to create a new generation of well-educated and motivated Jewish teachers? Not really.

Birthright Israel is basically a ten-day "freebie" package to Israel. It is offered to young people displaying sufficient Jewish commitment by being willing to "sacrifice" their traditional self funded holiday elsewhere for a free trip to Israel.

An American Jewish weekly recently referred to Birthright Israel as a scheme to cater for "college students who could otherwise lounge on the beaches of Jamaica and would thus need to be given ample time for snorkeling, hiking and dancing at Tel Aviv nightclubs". They will learn how to "sway to the tunes of an Israeli musician". One professional co-ordinator of Birthright Israel visualizes an ideal tour as "rafting down the Jordan River with an Israeli; or walking through the streets of Jerusalem and getting lost and asking for directions; or reading a poem by Martin Luther King overlooking Mount Nebo where Moses said 'I had a dream'".

American sponsors predict dramatic results because the recipients of the ten-day Israeli freebies, to quote Richard Joel, the North American President of Hillel, will be "turned on by Israel and their Jewishness". "American Jewry will not be the same in February after the first 3000 participants return", says Joel, and now "there is hope for the next generation of Jews." The reality is that the Birthright Israel concept is bizarre.

Providing vast sums of money for ten-day freebies to youngsters, including many from affluent homes, without requiring any form of commitment, is demeaning to Israel. In fact, it is counterproductive because it sends the wrong messages in relation to Jewish identity. It is also a sad and telling reflection on the pathetic state of Israel-Diaspora relations that nobody even bothers to challenge such an absurd project.

That Jews are in deep trouble in the Diaspora – and especially in America – goes without saying. With the decline of antisemitism, assimilation is escalating. Intermarriage has reached such disastrous levels that one is obliged to even question the long-term viability of Jewish life in the Diaspora outside the Orthodox arena. True, there is a religious revival, but the reality is that 10% of Diaspora Jews are becoming more Jewish, whilst 90% are disappearing.

It is in this atmosphere that devoted, well-meaning American Jewish philanthropists, desperate for solutions, have mistakenly adopted the quick fix – a free trip to Israel for every youngster to overcome all the problems of Jewish identity and miraculously generate a Jewish renaissance. What is even more astonishing, is that in addition to the hundreds of millions of dollars to be set aside by Diaspora fundraisers, \$70 million is also being contributed by the Israeli government which until recently was unable to financially meet the modest and reasonable demands of disabled Israelis.

If Israel is in a position to provide funds to support Diaspora Jewish education, it should do so. But such support should be extremely selective. Rather than providing cash for ten day trips to everyone including those from affluent families, it should concentrate on training future Jewish leaders, promoting aliya, and ensuring that Diaspora schools maintain the centrality of Israel in their curricula.

There is ample evidence that most of the current twelve month duration educational visits such as the Zionist youth programs, attendance at Israeli universities, or studying at *yeshivas* (rabbinical schools) have been highly successful. In fact, many of the participants in these projects became Jewish leaders and some even returned on aliya.

Nobody would therefore dispute the enormous benefits of subsidising or providing such programs free of charge to induce more young people to participate. But that is a far cry from begging youngsters without imposing any commitments, to accept a free ten day junket to Israel! The reality is that there is a finite amount of funding which can be raised for projects to enhance Jewish identity. So there should be a rational and objective prioritization as to where such funds should be placed to achieve maximum results. And one must be particularly careful to ensure that any new experimental initiative does not undermine the existing longer duration programs that are proven successes.

This applies more so to England than America. In England, almost 40% of Jewish youngsters have already visited Israel without relying on community funds. To introduce a regime in which free trips are indiscriminately provided to any young person willing to visit Israel would undoubtedly encourage many who are currently paying for their passage to transfer to the publicly funded free trips.

At present, England provides approximately £150,000 per annum towards subsidising longer duration Israel programs which have a proven track record and even generate aliya. In order to provide funds for an English version of Birthright Tradition, £450,000 per annum would have been siphoned away from contributions to Israel, and this would probably also bring about a collapse of the effective existing programs.

The promoters of the Birthright Israel project are dedicated philanthropists motivated by the best of intentions and in particular a desire to stem the tide of intermarriage. Yet whilst hoping to be proven wrong, it is inconceivable that a ten-day trip can become an entry point towards creating newly committed Jews.

Fortunately, a visit to Israel is not comparable to a traumatic "March of the Living" experience where young people are shocked and permanently affected by their first encounter with the horror of the Shoah. Nor is a brief visit based on lectures and tours likely to have sufficient impact to influence young people's Jewish identity. Unlike the longer duration educational programs to Israel, Birthright Israel will in all probability simply provide youngsters with a good time and at best a memory of a pleasant Israel encounter.

One would therefore hope that when the first group of participants from England and America return from their short stint, the promoters will review the results objectively and avoid hyping themselves and their sponsors into believing that they have found a magic solution to solve the problem of Jewish identity.

They should then consult professional Jewish educationalists, including Israelis, and be open-minded about selecting a better conveyance for bringing about a Jewish renaissance. They should realize that there are no quick or easy solutions to repairing the current disastrous Diaspora Jewish condition.

But some programs can have a real impact. The challenge will be to identify the best means of achieving maximum results. This will necessitate being much more selective in coverage than the indiscriminate Birthright Israel. But with prudent utilisation of additional funds, meaningful Israel experiences ranging from six to twelve months at approved educational institutions could enhance the Jewish identity of a broader circle of young people.

UN Conference Against Racism in Durban

It was meant to mark the victory over Apartheid in South Africa and affirm an international consensus in the battle against racism. But the United Nations Conference Against Racism in South Africa, attended by representatives from 150 nations, has been enveloped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with the Arab countries and the Palestinians turning it into a forum for an all-out assault on Israel.

By Yair Sheleg and Dalia Shehori

Israel and the United States pulled out of the UN's World Conference Against Racism yesterday, after efforts to soften the anti-Israel language of the conference's draft summary statement failed.

"The Durban conference is a farce," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told reporters in Jerusalem last night, terming the conference's activities an "unbelievable attempt to smear Israel."

"We regret very much the very bizarre show in Durban. An important convention that's supposed to defend human rights became a source of hatred," he said.

Peres blamed the Arab League in particular, saying it had led a concerted effort to single out Israel and blame it in unacceptable terms for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"The Arab League, all of it, has come out against peace," he said.

In contrast, he lauded the U.S. "I want to thank the United States of America, which took an extremely courageous position in order to make the world look more responsible, more balanced, more truthful. I think the United States has saved the honor of our world, of our time," he said.

He thanked U.S. President George W. Bush and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell for their "unhesitating leadership," as well as the 43 countries that also "saved the world's honor" by taking "a clear position against this unbelievable attack to smear Israel with false colors." These nations included Russia, the European Union, most of eastern Europe, most of Latin America, India, Japan, Singapore and some African states, he said.

Powell, in a statement released in Durban, also denounced the draft declaration in uncompromising terms. He assailed the attempt to single out "only one country in the world, Israel, for censure and abuse," and said that conferences could not combat racism by drafting declarations with "hateful language" that was a throwback to the days when the United Nations equated Zionism with racism.

Landslide Predicted

From the moment of its birth the media and the chattering classes threw their weight behind Kadima. Poll after poll, article after article claimed its invincibility, and the vast majority of journalists and pundits (this writer included) assumed that it would indeed win big. After all, wasn't a realist pullout from the territories and an embrace of free markets what everybody wanted?

In the run-up to the Gaza disengagement, a leading journalist freely confessed that the media was giving Sharon a pass on his many corruption scandals for the sake of disengagement, comparing Sharon to the communal *etrog* which must be preserved at all costs. Kadima assumed that role, and this time the etrog blew up in the media's face when it turned out that Kadima's support was broad, but thinner than expected.

The chattering classes--overwhelmingly secular, urban, native-born, and Ashkenazi-consistently underreported and underestimated the strength of the Sephardic religious party
Shas and Avigdor Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu. In the end, Kadima garnered 29 Knesset seats,
far fewer than originally predicted, but enough to gain Olmert the premiership. Indeed, having
been told over and over that the election was a done deal, many voters simply stayed home.

Social and Economic Issues

As for Labor, its top dozen or so candidates did indeed promise change, and as a group seemed more impressive than Amir Peretż himself; yet none of them could provide the elbows that Peretz did to eject Peres and finally make Labor at least seem like a Social-Democratic alternative to Bibinomics. Though the 20 Knesset seats garnered by Labor were only one more than those gained in the previous election, it was the first time in years that Labor didn't actually lose seats, and, aided by the stunning collapse of Likud, Labor re-emerged as a force to be reckoned with. Peretz proved to be nobody's fool and a formidable political force. Whether his self-proclaimed role as tribune of the masses has any grounding in economic reality will eventually be put to the test.

Early commentary on the election suggested that economic justice, or as it's known in Israel, "social issues," were a deciding factor, accounting for the strong showings of Labor, Shas (12 Knesset seats), and the Pensioners (7 seats), each of whom made it a feature of their campaigns. That, however, seems something of a misreading. Peretz, during his time as head of the Histadrut, the national labor federation, never seriously engaged the genuine and well-

documented shortcomings of socialism and the challenges of globalization. His strikes and work actions failed to yield even cost-of-living allowances.

Shas forcefully called attention to the economic travails afflicting much of Israeli society, yet it offered no concrete program for macroeconomic growth. To the contrary, it's hard not to see its call for economic justice as ancillary to, if not a fig leaf for, its religious agenda. Still, Shas could justly revel in the utter evaporation of its former nemesis, Shinui, which went from fifteen seats to zero, perhaps a proper reward for its rabid (possibly even racist) anticlericalism.

And then there was the biggest surprise--the seven seats won by the Pensioners Party. This was in essence the protest vote of generally better-off middle class voters and of young people put off by what they saw as the hopeless torpor of the established parties. That the head of the Pensioners' Party, Rafi Eitan, was a hard-as-nails Mossad operative responsible for the Pollard debacle who became a wealthy man, in part through lucrative deals with Fidel Castro, and that nobody had the slightest idea what he or the other new MKs on his list thought about any public issue other than pension, seemed not to have crossed voters' minds.

Most everybody voted against Bibinomics (Likud garnered only 12 Knesset seats). Yet there's still been little intelligent debate about appropriate economic policies for a country like Israel, a world leader in hi-tech whose breathtaking disparities in wealth run directly counter to the strong social solidarity of traditional Zionist ideology.

The Territories

One major policy debate, however, has been settled. A solid consensus emerged among Israel's Jewish polity for leaving the territories, in whole or in part, sooner rather than later. This view spread along a spectrum from, on the left, Meretz, which advocates a full return to the pre-1967 borders and is willing to negotiate on the Right of Return, all the way rightward to Yisrael Beitenu, which advocates not only leaving much of the territories but many of Israel's Arab citizens, as well. In between are Labor and Kadima, who differ on whether to leave the territories unilaterally or as part of a negotiation (an option made less likely by the ascendancy of Hamas).

The Arab parties (9 seats), for better or worse, will not be part of this national conversation. The Likud and the merged National Religious Party-National Union have failed to present a



scenario whereby Israel could hold on to the territories and still maintain its Jewish and democratic character.

The ultra-Orthodox parties, as always, will accommodate everyone else's chief priority (defense and security) in exchange for consideration of their's: funding for their growing networks of institutions and a rolling-back of Netanyahu's welfare cuts.

Kadima will not be the magic bullet that will, at a stroke, redraw Israel's borders and ensure the country's future for the foreseeable future, but real change is on the horizon. For years there has been a silent consensus in favor of leaving most, if not all, of Judea and Samaria, but it never found expression as an electoral mandate. Now it has. Not in dewy-eyed hopes for a New Middle East, but as a necessary excision that will enable Israel to meet the multiple and unending challenges--military, diplomatic, economic, and cultural--still lying ahead.

UPDATE: The number of seats won by Labor is currently being disputed. The final tally seems to be 19 seats, but Gaeli Tzahal--the military radio station--is challenging that.



Yehudah Mirsky, a former US State Department official, lives in Jerusalem and is a Fellow at the Van Leer Institute and Harvard.





Israel's Security Fence

After scores of suicide bombings and daily terrorist attacks against its civilians that have kille than 850 people and wounded thousands more since September 2000, Israel's unity gove decided to construct a security fence near the northern part of the pre-1967 "Green Line" t Israel and the West Bank to prevent Palestinian terrorists from infiltrating into Israeli por centers. The project has had the overwhelming support of the Israeli public which sees the bavital to their security.

There is actually nothing new about the construction of a security fence. Many other nation fences to protect their borders (the United States is building one now to keep out illegal N immigrants). Israel has similar barriers along its borders with Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. It fence already surrounds the Gaza Strip and not a single suicide bomber has managed to gethe Gaza barrier into Israel. Ironically, after condemning Israel's barrier, the UN announced build its own fence to improve security around its New York headquarters.

Israel is Forced to Act

The Palestinians committed themselves in the Oslo accords and in the road map to dismantle terrorist networks and confiscate illegal weapons. After more than 10 years of negotiations, and a mounting toll of Israeli civilian casualties, however, it became clear to the Israeli people that the Palestinian Authority (PA) made a strategic choice to use terror to achieve its aims and that something had to be done to protect the civilian population.

"It obliges us to establish a barrier wall which is the only thing that can minimize the infiltration of these male and female suicide bombers," said Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, who has emphasized that "the fence is not political, [and] is not a border."

Some Israelis oppose the fence either because they fear it will constitute a recognition of the 1949 armistice line as a final border. Jews living in the West Bank, beyond the planned route of the fence, in particular, argue that they are now being left relatively unprotected and worry that they might be forced to relocate behind the fence if it does become a political border in the future.



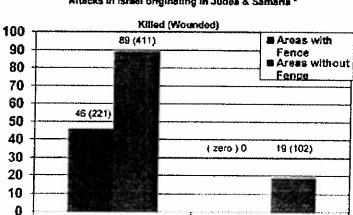
Making Terrorism More Difficult

Before the construction of the fence, and in many places where it has not yet been comp terrorist need only walk across an invisible line to cross from the West Bank into Israel. No of any kind exist, so it is easy to see how a barrier, no matter how imperfect, won't at least m terrorists' job more difficult. Approximately 75 percent of the suicide bombers who attacked inside Israel came from across the border where the first phase of the fence was built.

During the 34 months from the beginning of the violence in September 2000 until the construthe first continuous segment of the security fence at the end of July 2003, Samaria-based to carried out 73 attacks in which 293 Israelis were killed and 1950 wounded. In the 11 between the erection of the first segment at the beginning of August 2003 and the end of Jun only three attacks were successful, and all three occurred in the first half of 2003.

Since construction of the fence began, the number of attacks has declined by more than 90%. number of Israelis murdered and wounded has decreased by more than 70% and 85%, respect after erection of the fence.

The success of the anti-terrorist fence in Samaria means that the launching point for terrorists been moved to Judea, where there is not yet a continuous fence.



Jan-June 2004

Victims of suicide attacks before & after Security Fence * Attacks in Israel originating in Judea & Samaria *

Other Benefits

The Green Line is crossed by numerous dirt roads and it is impossible to patrol it. Many Pale take advantage of these roads to come to work illegally in Israel or to get between parts Palestinian administered territories to avoid checkpoints. Some also cross to carry ou operations and theft. Since 1994, Palestinians, sometimes in cooperation with Israeli mide have stolen thousands of automobiles as well as farm machinery and animals.

2003

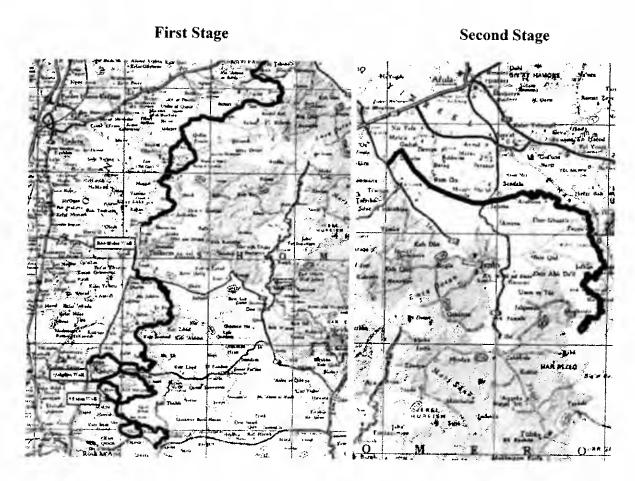
Israelis living along the Green Line, both Jews and Arabs, favor the fence to prevent infiltra suicide bombers and by thieves and vandals. In fact, the fence has caused a revolution in the

life of some Israeli Arab towns because it has brought quiet, which has allowed a significant in economic activity.

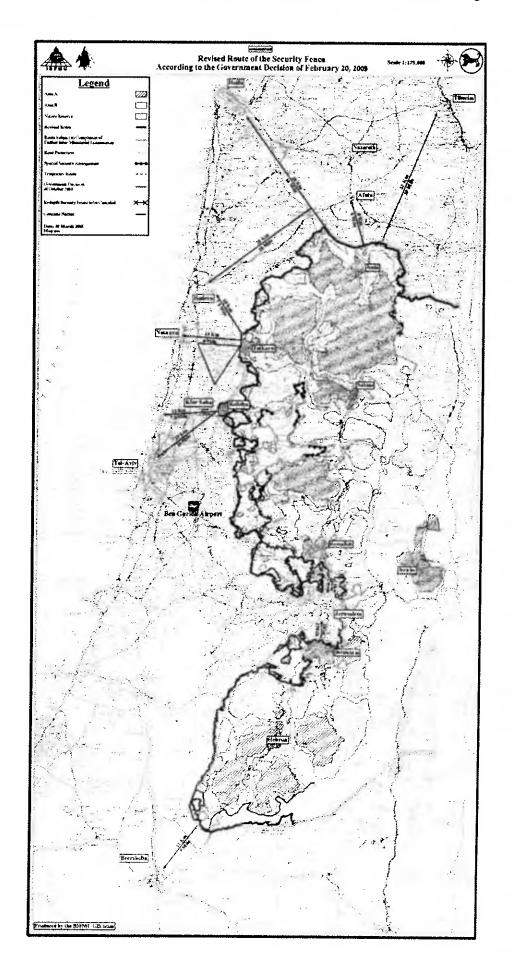
The Palestinians in the territories will also benefit from the fence because it will reduce the r Israeli military operations in the territories, and the deployment of troops in Palestinian Onerous security measures, such as curfews and checkpoints, will either be unneces dramatically scaled back.

Planning the Route

The route of the fence must take into account topography, population density, and threat asset of each area. The fence is scheduled to be built in stages. Phase A of construction, approximation miles from Salem to Elkana was completed at the end of July 2003. Phase B, which is al miles, runs from Salem toward Bet-Shean, through the Jezreel Valley and the Gilboa moun was completed in 2004.



The Complete Route (as of February 20, 2005) Click to enlarge



Phase C of construction incorporates Jerusalem. During the "al-Aqsa intifada," more than 30 bombings have targeted <u>Jerusalem</u>. A total of 90 terrorist attacks have killed 170 people and 1,500 in the capital. The original "Jerusalem Defense Plan" approved in March 2003 called fence to be constructed around three parts of the capital, which has been the most frequent to suicide bombers. This section of the fence was expected to run about 40 miles around the mules boundaries of the city. Israeli and Palestinian residents in areas along the fence route file challenges that required changes in the construction plan. In March 2005, Israel announced is build a temporary fence separating Jerusalem from the West Bank by July, leaving the struplace while legal challenges to the permanent barrier are decided by the courts.

The updated route is to run about 32 miles around Jerusalem, but was only 25 percent com July 2005. The fence along the southern rim, encircling neighborhoods such as <u>Har Homa</u> a is mostly complete. The northern section that will incorporate Pisgat Zeev and Neveh Ya'aco more recently. The government has set September 1, 2005, as the deadline for complet Jerusalem barrier, but shortly after this decision, the Interior Minister said it could not be 1 before December or January.



Phase D will span approximately 93 miles from Elkana to Ofer. In addition, several special s of the fence will protect specific areas and populations. An inside fence of 15 miles will pro road from the airport to Jerusalem. A fence around the town of Ariel will stretch about 35 m a 31 mile section will traverse the road between Ariel and Kedumim. A 32-mile span will serusalem to Gush Etzion, another 19 miles will surround Gush Etzion, and the fence will c an additional 58 miles to Carmel.

The planned route was approximately 458 miles; however, the plan has been repeatedly m and, in February 2004, the government announced its intention to shorten the route and m barrier closer to the 1949 armistice line to make it less burdensome to the Palestinians and

U.S. concerns. The announced changes included the dismantling of a small stretch of fence Kalkilya to make movement easier for residents going into the West Bank. The gove cancelled plans to build deep trenches to protect Ben-Gurion Airport and Route 443 from Mc Jerusalem because of concern about the impact on the Palestinians in the area.

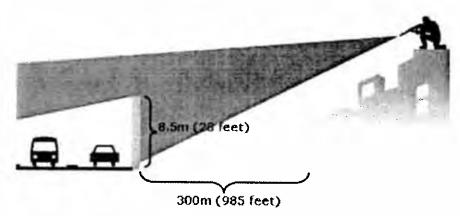
In February 2005, the route was again modified to take into account the decision by the Supreme Court to take greater account of the impact of the fence on the Palestinians. The proute runs closer to the Green Line than the original plan approved in October 2003. For time, however, the fence will include Ma'aleh Adumim and the surrounding settlements. To of the town, a "ring road" will connect the northern and southern parts of the West Bank, a Palestinians to travel between Jenin and Hebron. The route of the fence in the Gush Etzior was altered to exclude four Palestinian villages whose residents will have free access to Betl A special protective wall will be built along Route 60 that links Gush Etzion with Jerusale route of the fence in the Hebron Hills, which originally included several settlements and expanse of land beyond the Green Line, has been brought close to the Green Line. This ne will include 7 percent of the West Bank on its "Israeli" side — as opposed to 16 percen original plan — and approximately 10,000 Palestinian residents.

One of the most controversial questions has been whether to build the fence around Ariel, a approximately 20,000 people, the second largest Jewish settlement in the territories. To incompletely, the fence would have to extend approximately 12 miles into the West Bank. The Uniter has opposed the inclusion of Ariel inside the fence. In the short-run, Israel decided to build around Ariel, but said in February 2005 it would be incoporated within the main fence at stage.

As a result of the modifications, the length of the barrier is expected to be approximately 41¢ Still, it is the largest infrastructure project in Israel's history. The cost of the project has ba from an expected \$1 billion to more than \$2.1 billion. Each kilometer of fence costs approx \$2 million. As of January 2006, approximately 150 miles of the fence has been comple percent of the fence is under construction, 20 percent has been approved, but construction begun, and 19 percent awaits final approval.

A High-Tech Fence

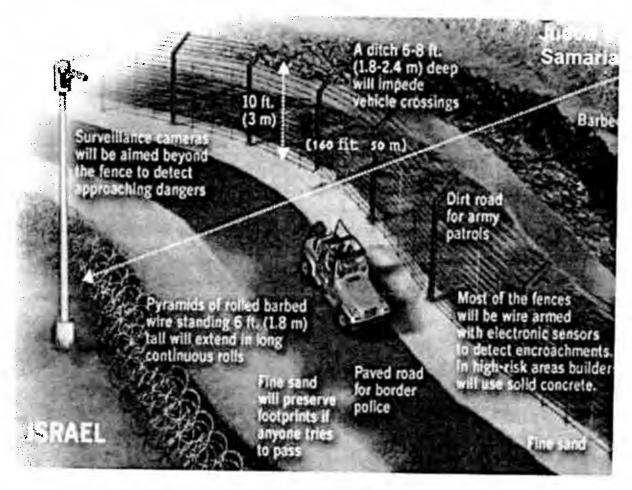
Although critics have sought to portray the security fence as a kind of "Berlin Wall," it is nothing of the sort. First, unlike the Berlin Wall, the fence does not separate one people, Germans from Germans, and deny freedom to those on one side. Israel's security fence separates two peoples, Israelis and Palestinians, and offers freedom and security for both. Second, while Israelis are fully prepared to live with Palestinians, and 20 percent of the Israeli population is already Arab, it is the Palestinians who say they do not want to live with any Jews and call for the West Bank to be *judenrein*. Third, the fence is not being constructed to prevent the citizens of one state from escaping; it is designed solely to keep terrorists out of Israel. Finally, only a tiny fraction of the total length of the barrier (less than 3% or about 10 miles) is actually a 30 foot high concrete wall, and that is being built in three areas where it will prevent Palestinian snipers from around the terrorist hotbeds of Kalki Tul Karm from shooting at cars as they have done for the last three years along the Tran Highway, one of the country's main roads. The wall also takes up less space than the other tonly about seven feet, so it did not have a great impact on the area where it was built.



This diagram shows why a wall is being built in a few specific places where Palestinian snipers have terrorized motorists.

Most of the barrier will be a chain-link type fence similar to those used all over the United combined with underground and long-range sensors, unmanned aerial vehicles, trenches, lar and guard paths. Manned checkpoints will constitute the only way to travel back and forth the fence. The barrier is altogether about 160 feet wide in most places.

The land used in building the security fence is seized for military purposes, not confiscated remains the property of the owner. Legal procedures are already in place to allow every owne an objection to the seizure of their land. Moreover, property owners are offered compensation use of their land and for any damage to their trees.



Politics

The construction of the fence has been slowed by political divisions over the precise route. T controversial aspects of the project are decisions regarding the inclusion of Jewish settlement wants to include as many Jews within the fence, and as few Palestinians as possible. To income of the larger settlements, however, it would be necessary to build the fence with bulge the West Bank. The Bush Administration understands Israel's security arguments regarding t for the fence, but does not want it to prejudge negotiations or to threaten the possibility of crecontiguous Palestinian state and therefore has pressured Israel to restrict construction to t along the pre-1967 border, or as close as possible to it. The so-called "Green Line," however not an internationally recognized border, it ws an armistice line between Israel and Jordan the negotiation of a final border. Building the fence along that line would have been a statement and would not accomplish the principal goal of the barrier, namely, the preventerror.



Most of the fence runs roughly along the Green Literace is about a mile to the east in three places that all incorporation of the settlements of Henanit, Shaked, Salit, and Zofim. The most significant deviation from the line is a bulge of less than four miles around the total Alfei Menashe and Elkanah where about 8,000 Jews some places, the fence is actually *inside* the "Green Line".

The fence especially complicates potential negotiations related to <u>Jerusalem</u> as it will make difficult to devise a compromise that would lead to a division of the city, an idea that is un with Israelis. Since the fence is not permanent, it is possible that it could be relocated, or unnecessary if a peace agreement were reached, in which case a political settlement or reached.

In the meantime, an estimated 55,000 Jerusalem Arabs from four neighborhoods are expected on the Palestinian side of the fence while 180,000 Arab residents of the city remain on the side of the barrier. Over the past year, thousands of Arab have moved to more central East Jenneighborhoods to stay on the Israeli side of the fence. Representatives of some Arab neighborhoods of some Arab neighborhoods of arab to petition the Israeli Supreme Court to order the Defense Ministry to rerefence so it runs to the east of the neighborhoods of Anata, Ras Hamis and Shuafat and allows be on the Israeli side. To alleviate the inconvenience caused by the fence, the Cabinet app plan to construct 11 passages through the barrier to facilitate movement in and out of the addition, the government is allocating NIS 8 million for the municipality to provide special at the Arab residents of Jerusalem who will be adversely affected by the fence.

Palestinians complain that the fence creates "facts on the ground," but most of the area incor within the fence is expected to be part of Israel in any peace agreement with the Palestinians negotiators have always envisioned the future border to be the 1967 frontier with modifica minimize the security risk to Israel and maximize the number of Jews living within the State the Palestinians stop the violence and negotiate in good faith, it may be possible to remove the move it, or open it in a way that offers freedom of movement. Israel, for example, moved a fence when it withdrew from southern Lebanon. The fence may stimulate the Palestinians action against the terrorists because the barrier has shown them there is a price to pay for spo terrorism.

Inconvenience Versus Saving Lives

Every effort is being made to exclude Palestinian villages from the area within the fence territories are being annexed. The land used in building the security fence is seized for purposes, not confiscated, and it remains the property of the owner. Legal procedures are alr place to allow every owner to file an objection to the seizure of their land. In addition, Isi budgeted \$540 million to ease the lives of Palestinians affected by the fence by building extra passageways, and tunnels.

Israel is doing its best to minimize the negative impact on Palestinians in the area of construct is providing agricultural passageways to allow farmers to continue to cultivate their lan crossing points to allow the movement of people and the transfer of goods. Moreover, powners are offered compensation for the use of their land and for any damage to their Contractors are responsible for carefully uprooting and replanting the trees. So far, more than olive trees have been relocated in accordance with this procedure.

Despite Israel's best efforts, the fence has caused some injury to residents near the fence. Supreme Court took up the grievances of Palestinians and ruled that the construction of the fence is consistent with international law and was based on Israel's security requirements rational political considerations. It also required the government to move the fence in the area near Jesto make things easier for the Palestinians.

Though the Court's decision made the government's job of securing the population from 1

threats more difficult, costly, and time-consuming, the Prime Minister immediately accept decision and began to reroute the fence and to factor the Court's ruling into the planning of of the barrier.

The security fence does create some inconvenience to Palestinians, but it also saves lives. The of Israelis caused by terror are permanent and irreversible whereas the hardships faced Palestinians are temporary and reversible.

¹MidEast Web ²JTA, (June 18, 2003).

Sources: Near East Report, (July 15, 2002; July 28, 2003); Jerusalem Report, (September 8, 2 December 7, 2005); AP, (March 13, 2005). Color maps courtesy of MidEast Web; Ha'aretz, (February 25, 2004); Israeli Foreign Ministry; Ministry of Defense; B'tselem, (January 15, 2004).

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Women Of The Wall Page 1 of 2





Women Of The Wall

by Sarah Szymkowicz

Women Of The Wall, shortened to WOW, is a group that believes women should be allowed to pray out loud at the <u>Kotel</u>, read <u>Torah</u> and wear <u>tallit</u>, teffilin and kippa. Currently, Israeli law does not permit women this religious freedom, and those who do it anyway are subject to fines and up to six months in jail. WOW is fighting a legal battle in the <u>Knesset</u>, to keep <u>Shas</u> and other religious parties from passing a bill that would make the punishment for these offenses seven years imprisonment. They are also fighting a spiritual battle at the Kotel. Once a month on Rosh Hodesh, WOW makes a minyan and prays at the Kotel. They do the first part of the shacharit service in front of the Wall and then move to an area in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City to do Hallel and read Torah.

WOW has thousands of members all over the world dedicated to freedom of prayer at the Kotel. WOW encompasses members from all branches of Judaism, including Orthodoxy. There is also an International Committee for Women of the Wall (ICWOW) that works very closely with WOW and helps gain non-Israeli support for WOW's cause.

WOW was founded in 1989. This was the same year that the first International Jewish Feminist Conference in Jerusalem took place. A group of about one hundred women attended the conference and went to pray at the Kotel. They were disrupted by verbal and physical assaults by the ultra-Orthodox men and women at the Kotel, which is how WOW was born. A group of Jerusalem women continued to pray at the Kotel daily after the confrence was over, and were continually abused. After a particularly bad incident at the Kotel WOW filed a petition to the government of Israel. The response was negative. It had a list of extreme halachic opinions that ban women from praying in groups, touching a Torah, and wearing religious garments. Most Jews, even many Orthodox Jews, do not agree with these opinions.

In 1991, WOW appealed to the Supreme Court, arguing that they should be allowed to express Judaism in safety and security. For serval years the issue was debated in court. Finally, in 1994, WOW lost its case, but the Supreme Court decided that a commission should be set up to resolve the issue. In 1996 the

Women Of The Wall Page 2 of 2

commission proposed that WOW move to the southeastern corner of Jerusalem outside the Old City. WOW found this unacceptable and appealed for a new commission. A small victory was won by WOW when the Supreme Court, awarded 5,000 shekels to WOW for attorneys fees as consolation for the enormas amount of time the case took due to the government's slow response time.

In 1997, a new commission was appointed and the Supreme Court helped the legal process move faster. In the Knesset, Shas tried to pass a bill that would change the status of the Kotel from a national site, to an Orthodox synagogue, but the bill did not pass. Later WOW went to court again. On May 22, 2002, the court ruled in WOW's favor, and women were granted the right to wear whatever religious garments they want at the Kotel, pray out loud, and read Torah. Jewish feminists all over the world were thrilled. The happiness of WOW was soon shattered. Four days latter, Shas submited several bills to override the Supreme Court decision. This included one that would make the actions of communal prayer by women punishable by a fine and seven years in prison.

The ruling of the Supreme Court was subsequently suspended pending the outcome of the debates in the <u>Knesset</u>. For now the law restricting the behavior of women at the Kotel stands.

Source: Women of the Wall

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Birthright Israel – the quick fix Don't believe the hype

By Isi Leibler

http://www.jewishworldreview.com -- BIRTHRIGHT ISRAEL IS THE CREATION of a handful of American Jewish philanthropists who visualize the project as the vehicle to overcome the Jewish continuity crisis in the United States. We are told it will revitalize Judaism and reduce the mushrooming levels of intermarriage. Its leaders said so this week in numerous general circulation American newspaspers. Their predictions were alongside of pictures smiling Gen-X Jews with linked arms.

But the intention of the sponsors to make Birthright Israel a worldwide undertaking supported and funded by local Jewish communities, has had a mixed response. The Australians appear to have rejected it. In England, a pilot program involving 120 participants is scheduled for launching during the summer.

What is Birthright Israel? A campaign to promote Jewish religious and cultural studies? An expansion of Jewish day schools? A program to create a new generation of well-educated and motivated Jewish teachers? Not really.

Birthright Israel is basically a ten-day "freebie" package to Israel. It is offered to young people displaying sufficient Jewish commitment by being willing to "sacrifice" their traditional self funded holiday elsewhere for a free trip to Israel.

An American Jewish weekly recently referred to Birthright Israel as a scheme to cater for "college students who could otherwise lounge on the beaches of Jamaica and would thus need to be given ample time for snorkeling, hiking and dancing at Tel Aviv nightclubs". They will learn how to "sway to the tunes of an Israeli musician". One professional co-ordinator of Birthright Israel visualizes an ideal tour as "rafting down the Jordan River with an Israeli; or walking through the streets of Jerusalem and getting lost and asking for directions; or reading a poem by Martin Luther King overlooking Mount Nebo where Moses said 'I had a dream'".

American sponsors predict dramatic results because the recipients of the ten-day Israeli freebies, to quote Richard Joel, the North American President of Hillel, will be "turned on by Israel and their Jewishness". "American Jewry will not be the same in February after the first 3000 participants return", says Joel, and now "there is hope for the next generation of Jews." The reality is that the Birthright Israel concept is bizarre.

Providing vast sums of money for ten-day freebies to youngsters, including many from affluent homes, without requiring any form of commitment, is demeaning to Israel. In fact, it is counterproductive because it sends the wrong messages in relation to Jewish identity. It is also a sad and telling reflection on the pathetic state of Israel-Diaspora relations that nobody even bothers to challenge such an absurd project.



That Jews are in deep trouble in the Diaspora – and especially in America – goes without saying. With the decline of antisemitism, assimilation is escalating. Intermarriage has reached such disastrous levels that one is obliged to even question the long-term viability of Jewish life in the Diaspora outside the Orthodox arena. True, there is a religious revival, but the reality is that 10% of Diaspora Jews are becoming more Jewish, whilst 90% are disappearing.

It is in this atmosphere that devoted, well-meaning American Jewish philanthropists, desperate for solutions, have mistakenly adopted the quick fix – a free trip to Israel for every youngster to overcome all the problems of Jewish identity and miraculously generate a Jewish renaissance. What is even more astonishing, is that in addition to the hundreds of millions of dollars to be set aside by Diaspora fundraisers, \$70 million is also being contributed by the Israeli government which until recently was unable to financially meet the modest and reasonable demands of disabled Israelis.

If Israel is in a position to provide funds to support Diaspora Jewish education, it should do so. But such support should be extremely selective. Rather than providing cash for ten day trips to everyone including those from affluent families, it should concentrate on training future Jewish leaders, promoting aliya, and ensuring that Diaspora schools maintain the centrality of Israel in their curricula.

There is ample evidence that most of the current twelve month duration educational visits such as the Zionist youth programs, attendance at Israeli universities, or studying at *yeshivas* (rabbinical schools) have been highly successful. In fact, many of the participants in these projects became Jewish leaders and some even returned on aliya.

Nobody would therefore dispute the enormous benefits of subsidising or providing such programs free of charge to induce more young people to participate. But that is a far cry from begging youngsters without imposing any commitments, to accept a free ten day junket to Israel! The reality is that there is a finite amount of funding which can be raised for projects to enhance Jewish identity. So there should be a rational and objective prioritization as to where such funds should be placed to achieve maximum results. And one must be particularly careful to ensure that any new experimental initiative does not undermine the existing longer duration programs that are proven successes.

This applies more so to England than America. In England, almost 40% of Jewish youngsters have already visited Israel without relying on community funds. To introduce a regime in which free trips are indiscriminately provided to any young person willing to visit Israel would undoubtedly encourage many who are currently paying for their passage to transfer to the publicly funded free trips.

At present, England provides approximately £150,000 per annum towards subsidising longer duration Israel programs which have a proven track record and even generate aliya. In order to provide funds for an English version of Birthright Tradition, £450,000 per annum would have been siphoned away from contributions to Israel, and this would probably also bring about a collapse of the effective existing programs.





The promoters of the Birthright Israel project are dedicated philanthropists motivated by the best of intentions and in particular a desire to stem the tide of intermarriage. Yet whilst hoping to be proven wrong, it is inconceivable that a ten-day trip can become an entry point towards creating newly committed Jews.

Fortunately, a visit to Israel is not comparable to a traumatic "March of the Living" experience where young people are shocked and permanently affected by their first encounter with the horror of the Shoah. Nor is a brief visit based on lectures and tours likely to have sufficient impact to influence young people's Jewish identity. Unlike the longer duration educational programs to Israel, Birthright Israel will in all probability simply provide youngsters with a good time and at best a memory of a pleasant Israel encounter.

One would therefore hope that when the first group of participants from England and America return from their short stint, the promoters will review the results objectively and avoid hyping themselves and their sponsors into believing that they have found a magic solution to solve the problem of Jewish identity.

They should then consult professional Jewish educationalists, including Israelis, and be open-minded about selecting a better conveyance for bringing about a Jewish renaissance. They should realize that there are no quick or easy solutions to repairing the current disastrous Diaspora Jewish condition.



But some programs can have a real impact. The challenge will be to identify the best means of achieving maximum results. This will necessitate being much more selective in coverage than the indiscriminate Birthright Israel. But with prudent utilisation of additional funds, meaningful Israel experiences ranging from six to twelve months at approved educational institutions could enhance the Jewish identity of a broader circle of young people.

UN Conference Against Racism in Durban

It was meant to mark the victory over Apartheid in South Africa and affirm an international consensus in the battle against racism. But the United Nations Conference Against Racism in South Africa, attended by representatives from 150 nations, has been enveloped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with the Arab countries and the Palestinians turning it into a forum for an all-out assault on Israel.

By Yair Sheleg and Dalia Shehori

Israel and the United States pulled out of the UN's World Conference Against Racism yesterday, after efforts to soften the anti-Israel language of the conference's draft summary statement failed.

"The Durban conference is a farce," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told reporters in Jerusalem last night, terming the conference's activities an "unbelievable attempt to smear Israel."

"We regret very much the very bizarre show in Durban. An important convention that's supposed to defend human rights became a source of hatred," he said.

Peres blamed the Arab League in particular, saying it had led a concerted effort to single out Israel and blame it in unacceptable terms for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"The Arab League, all of it, has come out against peace," he said.

In contrast, he lauded the U.S. "I want to thank the United States of America, which took an extremely courageous position in order to make the world look more responsible, more balanced, more truthful. I think the United States has saved the honor of our world, of our time." he said.

He thanked U.S. President George W. Bush and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell for their "unhesitating leadership," as well as the 43 countries that also "saved the world's honor" by taking "a clear position against this unbelievable attack to smear Israel with false colors." These nations included Russia, the European Union, most of eastern Europe, most of Latin America, India, Japan, Singapore and some African states, he said.

Powell, in a statement released in Durban, also denounced the draft declaration in uncompromising terms. He assailed the attempt to single out "only one country in the world, Israel, for censure and abuse," and said that conferences could not combat racism by drafting declarations with "hateful language" that was a throwback to the days when the United Nations equated Zionism with racism.

"Today I have instructed our representatives at the World Conference Against Racism to return home. I have taken this decision with regret because of the importance of the international fight against racism and the contribution that this conference could have made to it," Powell's statement said. "But following discussions today by our team in Durban and others who are working for a successful conference... I am convinced that it will not be possible."

The draft text termed Israel's treatment of Palestinians "a new apartheid" and a "crime against humanity," stated that the conference "recognized with deep concern the increase of racist practices of Zionism" and said that Zionism is based on racial superiority. Israel was the only country mentioned specifically in the document.

The Israeli-American withdrawal followed days of intensive efforts, led primarily by Norway, to convince Arab and Muslim delegates to remove the anti-Israel statements from the draft resolution and replace them with a general statement calling on all parties in the Middle East to end the violence and return to negotiations and stressing the right of all peoples in the region to self-determination. Though Israel had initially objected to any reference to its conflict with the Palestinians in the document, it had agreed to this compromise.

Yesterday, however, it became clear that the Norwegian effort had no chance of being accepted by the Muslim bloc. "Today we reached the conclusion that the efforts [to remove the offending articles] had been exhausted, so we decided to leave," said Deputy Foreign Minister Michael Melchior, who was in charge of Israel's preparations for the conference.

"From the beginning, we debated over whether to attend the conference at all," he added. "Our decision to participate stemmed from intensive pressure by friendly states, who wanted to try to remove the Arab proposals during the conference itself."

Foreign Ministry sources said the Muslim bloc's rejectionism was spearheaded by Arab League Secretary-General and former Egyptian foreign minister Amr Moussa and current Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Maher. Though the U.S. did not publicly blame anyone, off the record, American government sources also said that Amr Moussa had been the main troublemaker.

Shimon Samuels, of the Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles, who has been coordinating the lobbying effort by Jewish nongovernmental organizations at the conference, said he heard similar assessments from the black American leader Jesse Jackson, who had also attempted to mediate on the issue. "The Egyptians returned to ground zero regarding the equation of Zionism with racism, the Syrians denied the existence of the Holocaust, and the Iranians objected to any mention of anti-Semitism in the conference resolutions, on the grounds that the conference is dealing with the problems of the present, and anti-Semitism is not a problem nowadays," Samuels said.

But Palestinian UN representative Salman Herfi said the Arab delegations had been very reasonable; it was the U.S. delegation that refused to compromise. "It's sad. It's sad they didn't leave room for dialogue, they didn't leave room for flexibility," he said.

Though Israel has not asked any other states to join the walk-out, Melchior said that Canada, Australia and New Zealand were considering doing so, and if they did, other Western countries might follow. Foreign Ministry sources said that some eastern European countries - Hungary, Romania, Latvia and the Czech Republic - were also considering leaving.

But a British Foreign Office spokesman said the European Union had no plans to withdraw. "This conference is an opportunity to address racism and xenophobia in the world. The problem of the Middle East should not have been imported into the conference," he said.

Other than in Israel, Jerusalem's withdrawal passed largely without comment. But the American withdrawal sparked criticism from several directions. South Africa, the conference host, termed the decision "unfortunate and unnecessary," and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson, secretary-general of the conference, said she regretted the U.S. decision. Human rights organizations at the conference also condemned the withdrawal, as did Jesse Jackson.

But Tom Lantos, a Democratic U.S. congressman who was a member of the delegation, supported the decision. "A conference that should have been about horrible discrimination around the world has been hijacked by extremist elements for its own purposes," Lantos said. "The conference will stand self-condemned."

Within Israel, there was some disagreement over Jerusalem's decision to withdraw. Opposition leader Yossi Sarid supported the decision, saying the conference had proven to be a premeditated political lynching of Israel, Zionism and Judaism. But former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu criticized the government for "abandoning the arena" and urged it to at least keep a public relations team in Durban. "Imagine what would have happened if then Israeli ambassador to the UN Chaim Herzog had come home instead of tearing the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism to shreds?" Netanyahu said.





Supreme Court Judgment Regarding the Separation Fence

Abstract

(June 30, 2004)

This petition was submitted by several Palestinian villages and their inhabitants. It attacks the legality of orders issued by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Commander in the West Bank. The orders were to take possession of plots of land for the purpose of erecting a separation fence. The path of the portion of the Fence discussed in the petition is approximately forty kilometers long and located west and northwest of Jerusalem (starting in the west at Maccabim and Beit Sira villages, going through Har Adar, Beit Sourik, and Bidu villages, and ending at Giv'at Ze'ev township and Beit Daku village). The petition attacked the legality of eight separate orders, each referring to several kilometers of the Fence and together comprising the entire forty kilometers at issue.

The Supreme Court delivered today (June 30, 2004) a judgment concerning the challenged portion of the Fence. The judgment was written by President (Chief Justice) A. Barak; Vice-President E. Mazza and Justice M. Cheshin concurred. The Court divided its discussion into two parts, each addressing a separate question. The first question concerns the legal authority of the IDF Commander to build a fence in the West Bank. The second question concerns the proportionality of the Fence's path (i.e., assuming that the IDF Commander has the authority to build the Fence, does the Fence's path reflect a proper balance of security considerations and humanitarian considerations).

Petitioners and respondents did not deal with the question of authority exhaustively. The Court found that this complex question was not adequately developed by the parties and, in its own discussion, referred only to the arguments that the parties did bring. The Court ruled that, were the reasons for building the Fence political, then the Fence would violate public international law. But the Court rejected petitioners' claim that the reasons for building the Fence were political. The Court accepted respondents' claim that the Fence was built for reasons of national security. Those reasons could justify taking possession of plots of land in the West Bank.

Even with the authority to build the Fence, the IDF Commander still has a legal duty to balance properly between security considerations and humanitarian ones. This duty relates to the second question, the question of proportionality, to which the Court devoted the bulk of its discussion. The Court held that the legal duty of proportionality is found in both Israeli administrative law and public international law.

The Court accepted the IDF Commander's position regarding the security aims of the Fence, rejecting the contrary position of the Council for Peace and Security (a private organization composed of retired military commanders that submitted a brief on the appropriate security aims, and hence the proper path, of the Fence). The Court did so because the IDF Commander is accountable to the general public, while the Council is not. The Court ruled, however, that the IDF Commander did not exercise his discretion proportionately. Although he took account of the grave security considerations at stake, he did not take adequate account of the Fence's infringement on the lives of 35,000 local inhabitants. Building the Fence requires seizing thousands of dunams of land. The Fence's current path would separate landowners from tens of thousands of dunams of land, and the planned regime of authorizations to access that land would not substantially reduce the harm. The Fence's current path would generally burden the entire way of life in petitioners' villages. Both petitioners and the Council offered alternative paths. Respondents claimed that those paths would exact substantial costs in terms of national security. The Court held that this reduction in security must be endured for the sake of humanitarian considerations. The additional margin of security achieved by the current path of the Fence is not equal to the current path's additional infringement on the local inhabitants' rights and interests. The current balance between security considerations and humanitarian considerations is disproportionate. The Court ruled that the IDF Commander should reduce the infringement upon the local inhabitants, even if it cannot be totally avoided, by altering the path of the Fence in most areas complained of in the petition.

Given this reasoning, the Court accepted the petition with regard to six of the orders (Order No. 104/03, 103/03, 84/03 (the Western part), 108/03, 109/03, 110/03 (the part concerning Beit Daku village)). Those orders are void due to disproportionality. The petition was denied with regard to one order (Order No. 105/03) concerning the Western part of the path. The last order (107/03), concerning Har Adar village, was returned to respondents for further consideration in light of the principles developed in the judgment.

Full text of ruling

Source: IMRA



BBCNEWS

Al-Aqsa Intifada timeline

The second Palestinian intifada or uprising broke out at the end of September 2000 and is named after the Jerusalem mosque complex where the violence began.

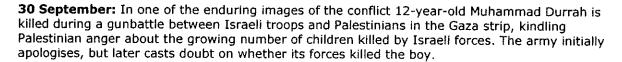
Frustrations that years of the negotiation had failed to deliver a Palestinian state were intensified by the collapse of the Camp David summit in July 2000.

Ariel Sharon, then the leader of Israel's opposition, pald a visit to the site in East Jerusalem known to Muslims as Haram al-Sharif, and to Jews as Temple Mount, which houses the al-Aqsa mosque - and frustration boiled over into violence.

The timeline below highlights the key events.

2000

28 September: Ariel Sharon's visit to the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount - against the background of the failure of the peace process - provides one of the sparks that ignites a cycle of violence.



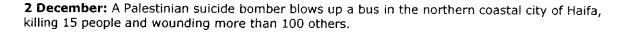
17 October: The Sharm al-Sheikh agreement, brokered by President Clinton, aims to end the upsurge in violence. It breaks down almost immediately.

2001

6 February: Ariel Sharon elected prime minister of Israel.

18 May: Israel launches F-16 warplanes against Palestinian targets in Gaza for the first time.

- **1 June:** Suicide bomb attack on a disco in Tel Aviv leaves 21 people dead and more than 60 others injured. Islamic Jihad says it carried out the attack.
- **9 August:** Fifteen people are killed and about 90 others are injured in a suicide attack on a busy restaurant in the heart of Jerusalem. Hamas says it carried out the attack.
- **27 August:** Israel assassinates People's Liberation Front for Palestine leader Abu Ali Mustafa in a missile strike.
- 17 October: The PFLP assassinates Israel's tourism minister Rehavam Zeevi.





2002

- 8 March: The bloodiest day of the intifada so far sees 45 people killed, mostly Palestinians.
- **27 March:** In the Israeli resort of Netanya, a bomber blows himself up at a hotel, killing 28 Israelis celebrating Passover. The attack claimed by the armed wing of Hamas was the deadliest since the beginning of the uprising.
- **29 March:** Israel begins a massive military assault on the West Bank. Yasser Arafat's Ramallah headquarters are targeted and Palestinian militants take refuge in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Heavy fighting goes on for days in the northern West Bank town of Jenin.
- **7 May:** Suicide bomber attacks a social club in the town of Rishon Letzion, killing 16 people and injuring more than 50. The attack is claimed by the armed wing of Hamas.
- **16 June:** Israel begins construction of its West Bank security barrier, a 640-kilometre (440-mile) structure designed to keep Palestinian suicide bombers out of Israel.
- **18 June:** A suicide bomber kills himself and 19 civilians in an attack on a bus in southern Jerusalem.
- **22 July:** : Israel kills Hamas military commander Salah Shehada with aircraft bomb dropped on his Gaza housing block; 18 other residents are also killed by the blast.

2003

- **5 January:** At least 23 people are killed and 100 wounded when two suicide attackers set off charges in crowded streets during rush hour in Tel Aviv.
- 19 March: Mahmoud Abbas agrees to become the first Palestinian prime minister.
- **30 April:** The Quartet group the EU, UN, Russia and the US launch the roadmap peace plan. It is a phased programme for ending conflict culminating in the creation of an independent Palestinian state, but the neither side keeps to its timetable.
- **11 June:** Sixteen people are killed in a bus bomb in Jerusalem, in the first suicide attack since US President Bush's peace summit a week before. It follows an Israeli air strike on 10 June aimed at killing Hamas leader Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi in Gaza.
- **27 June:** Palestinian militants announce an agreement with the Palestinian Authority to temporarily halt attacks on Israelis. The "hudna" lasts seven weeks.
- **20 August:** A suicide bomber wrecks a bus in Jerusalem, killing at least 20 people. Palestinian militants claim the attack is carried out in response to Israeli killing of their leaders.
- **9 September:** Palestinian prime minister Mahmoud Abbas resigns after clashing with Yasser Arafat over reform of security services.
- **4 October:** A suicide bomber blows herself up in a packed Haifa restaurant, killing at least 19 people including three children.
- **13 October:** The Geneva Accords, an alternative peace-plan negotiated by prominent Israelis and Palestinians, is unveiled. The plan is quickly rejected by Israel and Palestinian militants.



2004

- 29 January: A Palestinian suicide bomber kills 10 in an attack on a west Jerusalem bus.
- **2 February:** Ariel Sharon orders a plan be drawn up to remove Israeli settlements from the Gaza Strip.
- 22 March: Israel assassinates Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader of Hamas, in an air strike.
- 17 May: Israel assassinates Hamas leader Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi a missile strike.
- **13 May:** Following the killing of 13 soldiers by militants in Gaza, Israel launches a nine-day incursion into the Rafah refugee camp, leaving at least 40 Palestinians dead.
- **9 July:** The International Court of Justice rules that the West Bank barrier is illegal and that construction must be halted.
- **31 August:** Sixteen people are killed in suicide bombings on two buses in the Israeli town of Beersheba.
- **27 October:** Israeli legislators vote in favour of a controversial plan to withdraw Jewish settlers from Gaza.
- **29 October:** Yasser Arafat is airlifted from his West Bank compound in Ramallah to a military hospital in Paris.
- **11 November:** Arafat dies in France aged 75. Israel says his death may be a turning point for peace in the Middle East. Mahmoud Abbas is elected head of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

2005

- **9 January:** Palestinians elect Mahmoud Abbas to succeed Yasser Arafat as chairman of the Palestinian Authority.
- **10 January:** Israel's parliament backs a new coalition government, giving Ariel Sharon a firm basis to implement his Gaza pullout plan.
- **14 January:** Israel seals off the Gaza Strip after six Israelis are killed in an attack by Palestinian militants at a major crossing point.
- **15 January:** Mahmoud Abbas is sworn in as the new president of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank town of Ramallah.

He uses his inauguration speech to call for a ceasefire between Israel and Palestinian militants.

- **21 January:** Hundreds of Palestinian Authority police take up positions in the northern Gaza Strip to stop militants firing rockets at Israeli targets.
- **24 January:** Following a week of talks between Mr Abbas and militant leaders, the groups say they have agreed to suspend attacks on Israel.





- **3 February:** Israel approves a plan to free hundreds of jailed Palestinians and withdraw forces from West Bank cities.
- **8 February:** After a summit at the Egyptian resort of Sharm al-Sheikh, Mahmoud Abbas and Ariel Sharon declare a truce. Both express hopes that the informal ceasefire will lead to a new era of hope for the region.
- **10 February:** Hamas militants fire dozens of mortars and rockets at the Gush Katif settlement after the organisation said it was not bound by the ceasefire. The attacks prompt Mr Abbas to order a security crackdown and sack senior security officials.

Story from BBC NEWS:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/3677206.stm

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IFA PLACE

DISPATCHES FROM AN ANXIOUS STATE

DANIEL GORDIS

(continued from front flap)

The summer of 1998, Daniel Gordis and his family moved to Israel from Los Angeles. They planned to be there for a year, during which time Daniel would be a Fellow at the Mandel Institute in Jerusalem. This was a euphoric time in Israel. The economy was booming, and peace seemed virtually guaranteed. A few months into their stay, Gordis and his wife decided to remain in Israel permanently, confident that their children would be among the first generation of Israelis to grow up in peace.

Immediately after arriving in Israel, Daniel had started sending out e-mails about his and his family's life to friends and family abroad. These missives—passionate, thoughtful, beautifully written, and informative—began reaching a much broader readership than he'd ever envisioned, eventually being excerpted in The New York Times Magazine to much acclaim. An edited and finely crafted collection of his original e-mails, If a Place Can Make You Cry is a first-person, immediate account of Israel's post-Oslo meltdown that cuts through the rhetoric and stridency of most dispatches from that country or from the international media.

Above all, Gordis tells the story of a family that must cope with the sudden realization that they took their children from a serene and secure neighborhood in Los Angeles to an Israel not at peace but mired in war. This is the chronicle of a loss of innocence—the innocence of Daniel and his wife, and of their children. Ultimately, through Gordis's eyes, Israel, with all its beauty, madness, violence, and history, comes to life in a way we've never quite seen before.

(continued on back flap)

Daniel Gordis captures as no one has the years leading up to what every Israeli dreaded: on April 1, 2002, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon declared that Israel was at war. After an almost endless cycle of suicide bombings and harsh retaliation, any remaining chance for peace had seemingly died.

If a Place Can Make You Cry is the story of a time in which peace gave way to war, when child-hood innocence evaporated in the heat of hatred, when it became difficult even to hope. Like countless other Israeli parents, Gordis and his wife struggled to make their children's lives manageable and meaningful, despite it all. This is a book about what their children gained, what they lost, and how, in the midst of everything, a whole family learned time and again what really matters.



DANIEL GORDIS is the director of the Mandel Foundation's Jerusalem Fellows Program. He was previously a vice president at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles and dean of its Ziegler School of Rabbinic

Studies. He is the author of three previous books: Becoming a Jewish Parent (Harmony, 1999), Does the World Need the Jews? (Scribner, 1997), and God Was Not in the Fire (Scribner, 1995).

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ould turn to almost course, that hasn't able to just pick up

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If a Place Can Make You Cry

With all the discussion of the W. Plantation negotiations, and for peace, and the like to alis are in elge but obviously excited true. Netanythis getting presed had be re going to have ce. Sooner or later but no too much the arrivation as in the air. At cafes and restaurants the thickness in the entire crowd alls alent waters the later update. Smething, it is about to happen could the fightin really be over? It's part ing, even how different things were just also dead.

All this constantly reminds me of a vivid memory from November 1977. Sadat was coming to Jerusalem. I had no TV in my Columbia University dorm, so my grandparents invited me over to watch with them. We sat on the long sofa, facing the television, and the drama unfolded. A plane from Egypt crossed the border, landed, the stairs rolled up. Handshakes all around. A band began to play. And suddenly, with Begin and Sadat standing at attention, the sounds of Hatikva, Israel's national anthem.

It was an awesome moment, watching the president of Israel's enemy standing at attention for her anthem. I listened intently, taking it all in, when suddenly another sound registered. I turned to my grandfather, a tall and large man, and the first thing I noticed was his wet shirt. Only then did I see the tears flowing.

In all the thousands of hours we had spent together, reading, such meaning laughing a was the first time I'd ever seen him cry. Suddenly I realized what his all means A lifetime of believing that this could have happened as suddenly proven wrong. Could this have meant the end of the dying in a century bloodier than any our people have ever known? I don't know how much of that I understood then, but now I think I have a sense of why he was crying.

Even after a quarter of a century has passed, whenever someone

mentions Sadat's coming to Jerusalem, my first thought is "It made my Sabba cry,"

Eighteen years after Sadat landed, eighteen years to the month, I was in my parents' house. I was in Baltimore to give a talk but knew that it wasn't going to happen. No one would show, and I didn't care. Rabin had been shot two days earlier, and no one—including me—had any interest in my talk. Sitting on a couch once more, this time watching the Rabin funeral for the umpteenth time on tape. Speeches, of course, and military pomp and circumstance. But in the end, it boiled down to the simple truth. A body, wrapped in a tallit, is placed in the ground, and all the hopes of the last eighteen years seem to be buried as earth is shoveled into the grave. The army cantor begins to chant the el maleh rachamim, the traditional memorial prayer, and only when I accidentally brush my hand against my face do I realize that I've been crying.

Now, six years later, in this tempest tossed city, I'm struck by everything I never let those memories teach me. By all the questions I never let those moments ask me. In retrospect, I'm amazed that never once during those moments did it occur to me to actually go live there, any more than it occurred to my grandfather, for that matter.

For after all, if there's a place in this world that can make you cry, isn't that where you ought to be?

"war" had basically started, that might have been saved.

thing I did before driving off to bry of Sarah's jealousy over Ishbetween the children of Isaac. Sarah, childless for so many tucts Abraham to take Ishmael, and to send him out into the sts, but in the end does exactly, the Children of Isaac and the ds because of the sense that ound—land, water, love. And years later, nothing much has

long time, and one some of us that was premature. Will our ? It's not an optimistic day in e lose hope. We'll see.

HaMazon [The Grace After n to words that I don't often

halom.

rength, with peace.

er. Shannah tovah and g'mar

December 2000: Life in the "Matzav"

Barak Declares Early Elections, in Surprise Move

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, in surprise move that pre-empts opponents, gives up effort to save his government after failed day of intense politicking and calls for early election; experts say vote is unlikely before mid-spring, opposition Likud Party leaders laud him for not resigning in way that would have baried ex-Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu from running, Barak will remain in post during transition and is expected to press for reconciliation with Palestinians and resumption of peace talks.

New Hork Gimes: Wednesday, November 29, 2000, page Al

It's been a long time since we've written, so it's time to fill you in on what's going on, and to send wishes for a joyous Hanukkah or Merry Christmas. The past couple of months have been tumultuous, to say the least, which is part of the reason that we haven't written in a while. Life here has been not only complex, but relatively indescribable.

Before turning to the "matzav" (the Hebrew word for "situation," which is the euphemism by which the entire country refers to the catastrophe in which we find ourselves), a few words about us and the kids. Basically, I think that we've finally turned the corner in terms of

nat we're settled. First

Pelekh, a rigorous high school , and thriving. They work the wake doing homework long it. They're studying French, a very heavy load of Judaica, , philosophy, and Israeli hisit, I noticed that (since all her Hebrew of course) she's now n the family.

ık she's genuinely happy. Of er really pined for the States, of place she once had seems I in her youth group, Bnai the morning on Friday nights eek, and she loves it. What is group's reaction to the latest ith shotocopied sheets from at y've discussed during lors' response to the events nto Zionist ideology, to give is about. In an era in which or most people (the United ling (Israel), I actually find ing a personal ideology an id to the current situation. is the other side of her permagination. But suffice it to rful difficult stage.

Aicha also goes to the same : that life has changed rather s. This year he begged to be y permitted. But as soon as

the situation broke out, we obviously had to stop that, as his school is about 250 yards from the Temple Mount and there have been serious confrontations between police and Palestinians there. They've even canceled school on Fridays this month since they felt that they could not guarantee the kids' safety with the enormous crowds there during Ramadan, so Avi's turned into a major fan of this Muslim holiday!

He's actually not aware how much he's enjoying school, but he is (we think). Avi and I often get up at six in the morning to study for an hour or so before school, and he regularly has exams three or four times a week. When you add to a busy load the fact that his Hebrew, while quite good, is not as well developed vocabulary-wise as other kids in his grade, he's got even more work. He's working like a mule, and doing nicely.

Thankfully, school's not all he's doing. He's back to studying cello very seriously, and is making great progress. Between school, his cello, his scooter (of course), and being a relatively voracious reader in both languages (which we owe directly to Harry Potter, before which he never read anything), he's busy, and happy.

Micha, always last and usually with the shortest paragraph, has made the most dramatic leaps forward in the last few months. He loves math and is a grade ahead, racing through and rapidly reaching the edge of our ability to help him! He's incredibly artistic, and he and Tali both take serious classes at the Israel Museum once a week. Most important, as with Avi, he's got that one special friend who makes life as a kid fun and secure, and in general he's doing wonderfully.

Interestingly, he was our major America-phile, and he's also stopped asking about going for a visit. He still speaks periodically of his friends in the States, and we still have pictures of them up in the kitchen, but he's also feeling more situated and settled here, and seems happy. All this might sound a bit mundane, but believe me, after the last two years, it feels like something midway between a major accomplishment and a minor miracle!

Elisheva (my second wife, as she sometimes jokes) is doing well, but I would say that this latest insanity has been hardest on her. The

country quite a bit (four trips to New York in the last seven weeks, for example), but she's basically been stuck in Jerusalem since it began. Our vacation to Tzippori in the Galilee for Sukkot, which we've done every year and which she loves, got canceled (it was too dangerous to we could leave the kids for a night or two to get away. So this has been later than she'd originally planned. For her, like everyone else here, life or less glued to the television and newspapers. But we're all coming out because we're resigned to its continuing.

Despite the "matzav," she's extremely happy to be living here. She's the one who always wanted to live in Israel, and in some ways is the most passionate about staying. At the height of the crisis a little more than a month ago, when things were seriously out of control, I while, I'd be supportive of that. She looked at me like I was completely course, with my work schedule being as heavy as it is, she's the one and as we don't let them take buses anywhere now, is also schlepping shoes, and the like. She's become an avid runner, and runs (inside on our treadmill, watching the CNN daily reporting for the umpteenth imme virtually every morning.

As for me, I'm enjoying work immensely. The pace is fierce, but I ike working that way, and the Fellows are great. Occasionally, being round them provides a literally riveting moment.

Each of the Fellows does an independent project on which s/he vorks for the two years, and periodically the Fellows present their work to the rest of the group for feedback. Today an Israeli woman alked about desire to reform the curriculum of the government's

around on a day-to-day basis. of thing that one rarely sees and that I'm genuinely fortunate to be lim community, and she was genuinely receptive. Fascinating, the kind here, he was trying to get her to learn from his experience in the Musdox Israeli woman, is his problem-some would say his enemy. But many dimensions of his existence as an Israeli Arab, she, as an Orthodisregarding of halakhic authorities, and that it wouldn't work. In cinating discussion, he arguing that she was being too radical, too mental influence has in stymieing that effort. She and he got into a fas-Israeli Arab community, and combating the role that Israeli governproject has to do with opening up the religious establishment in the how, a Muslim Fellow from another one of our programs piped in. His idea. Anyway, during the discussion of whether this could work, and society in general. It was more subtle than that, but that's the basic ular and religious) to allow for greater equality for women in religious religious school system (there are two public school systems here: sec-

Obviously, though, the most pressing part of life here over the last two months has been the "matçav." I'll skip all the "we did this and they did that" stuff, as it's being covered—sometimes well, usually not—in the media, and is frankly quite irrelevant. We get a lot of e-mail from various groups in the U.S. who forward daily updates of what shooting took place where; while sometimes interesting, it strikes us, as it does most Israelis, as utterly irrelevant. It's not, of course, that the shooting is not important. What bothers most of us is what the whole uprising has done to Israeli society and, most particularly, to our dreams of the life to which we'd thought we brought our kids.

I remember just this summer, as we'd talk with our kids about Israel, we'd wonder aloud whether they'd have to go to the army. With Tali, it's just a question of two years out of her life, but not a time of real danger. But as the past twelve weeks have reminded everyone, sending your boys to the army here is no joke. We had simply imagined that either they wouldn't go or it would be some proma kind of service, since peace seemed around the corner.

This notion of life having been turned upside down is the part that has all Israelis (particularly the intellectuals, and especially the left-leaning ones with whom I work) most distraught. For what's happened here is that the ideologies of both the right and the left have crumbled. The right, which had advocated a "complete Land of Israel" ideology, knew as soon as Camp David was over that they were finished. True, nothing (good) came of Camp David, but the mere fact that Barak had put all that on the table (and as I write this, is apparently OK'ing putting even more on the table in Washington today) signaled to them that their dream was over. We were clearly going back to something like the pre-June 1967 borders, and they're devastated.

But interestingly, so is the left devastated. The left was convinced that if we just gave back what we captured in 1967, perhaps holding on to small pieces here and there, we could and would get peace. We want peace, they want peace, went the saying. But now, virtually no one here believes that. Peres and Beilin still talk the talk, but most intellectual leftists that I know simply say that on this count "the right was right"—the Palestinians simply hate us, and want us out. Not just from the territories captured in '67, but from the whole place. And to suspect that it's true. I tried to convince myself for twenty years that that was wrong, but now I'm not sure.

About two weeks ago, the Jerusalem Fellows went to Ein Harod in the Galilee to meet some *Israeli* Arabs to hear about their perspective. We went to the Galilee because it is more neutral territory than erusalem, which, after all, is the capital of the Jewish state, though we net on a kibbutz and not in their Arab village for security reasons.

We first met with the principal of an Arab school, funded by the sraeli government and governed by the ministry of education, as are all sraeli schools whether they're Jewish or Arab (only two or three chools in the entire country are mixed). This principal, who proved to be a politically moderate Israeli Arab, told us the following. His high chool students, all Muslim, have to take at least two units of Hebrew lible and pass the bagrut (Regents-like exam) on the material, but are

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They are required to study the Koran as part of the regular school day. They are required to study Bialik, Tchernechovsky, and the rest of the classic Zionist poets, but Darwish, the Palestinian national poet, is not allowed. When the principal himself was in high school, he told us, Darwish's love poetry was permitted, but not his political poetry. Now, he said, the ministry of education doesn't allow any of it. He told us that when he took his students to a Jewish high school in Haifa for a day of interaction, the Jewish students wanted to talk about the Palestinian Charter, which they'd studied in social studies (called "citizenship" here). His students, the Arabs, were dumbfounded because their school was not allowed to teach the Charter, and they didn't know anything about it other than the fact that it existed.

I could go on, as he did, but the point is clear. On one level, it's true that the occupation was initially forced on us because we were attacked in 1967, and we won. But on the other hand, the occupation, and the ridiculously small-minded way in which both the occupation and our treatment of Israeli Arabs are carried out (don't forget—this principal is an Israeli citizen, and so are his students; they don't live in the occupied territories, but inside the green line) just sows generations of seeds of hatred, and for good reason, even Israeli Arabs detest what the Jewish state has done to them. As we sat and listened to this man, who clearly said that he wants peace and coexistence, the right-wingers among the Fellows were noticeably silent. The absurdity of much of what we've done was simply undeniable.

Yeshayahu Leibowitz, the Orthodox Israeli philosopher (1903–1994) who argued in July 1967 that we should retreat right away and give back everything we'd captured the previous month because an extended occupation would rot the soul of the country, was clearly right. In a faculty meeting a week or two ago (no meeting, no matter where or when, takes place without politics entering the discussion), a well-known contemporary Israeli philosopher—Orthodox, too, and by no means a left-winger—who teaches for us said, "The first thing this country should do is to go en masse to Leibowitz's grave and beg his forgiveness that we didn't listen to him." Silence there too.

But the leftists were in for more of a shock later in the afternoon of our trip to the Galilee. We met with three representatives of Arab Israeli political parties, the three largest and most mainstream such parties. Despite minor differences among them, they all shared the following: (a) They do not acknowledge any difference between themselves and the Palestinians, and now want to be called Israeli Palestinians, not Israeli Arabs; (b) they insist that their "brothers" be given a state with East Jerusalem as its capital; (c) they insist on the right of return for the refugees (this is a huge political issue here, which gets little play in the West, probably because everyone knows that it will never happen); and (d) they insist that if the state genuinely wants to respect them as citizens, then the national anthem and its references to two thousand years of Jewish yearning for Zion has to go. So far, no real surprises.

At a certain point in the conversation, one of the Fellows raised his hand and asked, "What you're demanding actually makes perfect sense from your point of view. But from our perspective, from the perspective of people whose parents or grandparents came here from across the world to build the one place on earth where Jews would be able to live in a Jewish state with Jewish content and Jewish values at its core, what can you say to reassure us that the Jewishness of the state won't disappear if you're given what you want?"

The most articulate of the three speakers responded more or less as follows: "I don't understand the question. Your question shows that you don't really understand the Middle East. The Middle East is a Muslim part of the world, and this country will ultimately be Muslim, too. It may happen next year, or in fifty years, or in a hundred years. But it's going to happen. And there's no reason for you to be worried about that. Maimonides thrived under Islam, and so did Sa'adya Ga'on. Relax. The sooner you accept the inevitable, the sooner the region will know peace, and then we can all get on with life."

That was the gist. And remember, he's an Israeli citizen, the leader of a major party represented in the Knesset. The silence in the room was nishing. Here were several dozen rabidly left-wing Israeli

these Israeli citizens want something radically different not only from what is, but from what these left-wing Jews are willing to contemplate. Coupled with that, they were stumped by the fact that even though they've grown up here, they've given very little thought to what they want the "Jewish state" to be. Their whole intellectual arsenal has been crafted to fight the rabbinate, to battle against the stranglehold that they believe Orthodoxy has on private life; however, while they know what they want to change, they have no idea what they want to preserve. What should be Jewish about Israel? Its language only? A majority of Jews in the population? Or something more core to the country's culture and ethos? And if so, what should that be?

Thus, confronted with this speaker, they had nothing to say. It was a sad, pathetic, devastating moment. It's the sort of thing that's being replayed in hundreds of venues each day, and that's what's making the country not so much nervous as profoundly depressed and sad. It's the sort of issue, of course, that the "who shot whom today" e-mails completely miss, but it's also the issue that will ultimately determine the future of the country.

So where we're left, I think, is with an emerging consensus that we have to at least begin to redress the Israeli Arabs' mistreatment and end the occupation soon (probably except for certain areas with serious Jewish populations), because it has become intolcrable not only for them but for us as well. But the question is how, when, and how much to give back. About that there are deep divisions, with no solutions in sight.

The other consensus, shared by more people than I imagined possible, is the belief that "they" just want us out of here. Remember that Arafat, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, is the one who used to speak of "driving the Jews into the sea." He got the Palestinian Charter calling for Israel's destruction changed only under intense pressure from Clinton and, according to some Israelis, never took the steps to make those changes fully validated by the Palestinian rliament."

Now, it seems, it may be that not only does Arafat still hope to "drive

going to continue forever. No need to comment on how depressing we're not going to go voluntarily, some form of conflict is probably the Jews into the sea," Israeli Arabs may want the same thing. Since

that line is, I have no idea. I don't think anyone does. people say, "This is worth defending, even if my kid dies for it." Where even start? I think we'll keep retreating until we get to a line where and Jerusalem and Tel Aviv will still be on the Palestinians' list, so why then it will be the outskirts of Jerusalem, then it will be East Jerusalem, ing those places; she says that first we'll retreat from Kfar Darom, and families. Here Elisheva and I completely disagree. She's opposed to leavfending Kfar Darom in Gaza or Hebron for a few dozen entrenched vast majority of Israelis are no longer willing for their sons to die de-My sense is that somehow we're going to retreat. We have to. The

happen. future holds, I suspect. Not that I like it; it's just what I think will more-inside Israeli society. And outside as well. That's what the huge fights-hopefully only rhetorical, but one fears it could be this is going to happen tomorrow, and none of it will happen without life, not land, and that simple human justice is on our side. But none of the bare minimum of space to restore that sense that we're fighting for for a just cause. And I suspect that we'll keep retreating until we've got since we're going to have to battle, we need to feel that we're battling deeply ingrained in the Jewish consciousness to be able to avoid it. But sense of justice, for better or worse but probably for better, is too tice is on our side, too many people here have no desire to do battle. A have the stomach to fight for what's not just. Without a sense that jushandled in almost every way possible. Most people here simply don't process. True, much of it is for reasons of security. But it has been misence, land expropriation, home demolition, and arrest without due tion badly. Schooling is the least of it. There's a constant military presright-wing they are in other ways, that we've screwed up this occupawill be a sense of justice. People here know, deep down, no matter how The other factor that will determine where we stop retreating

> tinians, all justified. Now fit all that together into a coherent policy! that we didn't start and to which, no matter what the media may say, there's profound disappointment, fury at Arafat, mistrust of the Pales close at Camp David, it seemed. So in addition to everything else, intelligent people, as a response to incredible frustration. We were so "just wipe them out"—a phrase that one occasionally hears, even from we've responded relatively lightly, despite massive public pressure to And all of this discussion, of course, takes place under fire, fire

we're barely holding on in any way except militarily. to stay, you can't manage without a governing ideology. And that's why what they used to. But when you live in a place where you have to fight that very difficult to believe. So no one is able anymore to believe in to end the conflict and live in peace. The last few months have made Arabs were just like us—that given a fair settlement, they too wanted these people feel completely betrayed. The left always said that the which these people live, were clearly on the table in Camp David, and would never be returned. But the territories, and the settlements in territories and building settlements, it could guarantee that that land arisen to replace them. The right wing thought that by moving to the fact that its founding ideologies have all died, and that none have ety being rocked and shocked to its very core, coming to terms with the that's precisely the point. None of this is coherent. We're part of a soci-I realize that much of what I've just said may not be coherent, but

long time. yet in reality, in the real Israel, nothing is. And nothing ill be for a microphone standing by the driver, and everything seems normal. And screen in the front and the charming, handsome tour guide with the around in one of those air-conditioned tour buses with the video document don't seem that pressing. You can come here and tour the last two months, e-mails or budgets or the next iterations of some And you don't say anything, because you know what's going on. at their desks and staring at their computers, doing absolutely nothing. They're mourning. Devastated by a dream that's gone up in flames in That is what paralyzes us. You see people at work literally sitting they think about all this and what they're dreaming. but at night sometimes, as I watch them sleeping, I wonder just what who would like them dead? They don't say anything about it at all neighborhood with tree-lined streets, where nothing dangerous ever happened, to a place where they know that there are people out there make sense of the fact that you took them from a quiet Los Angeles on Bethlehem, causing our whole building to shake. How do your kids were hovering over our house before they finally dove and fired missiles that she and the children were up all night because helicopter gunships we hear. Or when I'm in the States on business and Elisheva tells me and says that he can't fall asleep because of the shooting in Gilo, which here? I don't know what to say when Avi comes downstairs at night dential neighborhoods? Do they think that we were crazy to come sure that the masses in the Old City don't make it into Jewish resifully armed soldiers in complete battle gear who stand guard to make the bagel store just two blocks from our house is patrolled by a dozen how they internalize. What do they do with the fact that on Fridays news junkies, just like us, and watch and hear things that I don't know templating what we've done to our children. Our kids have become For us, in our family, I think that the most painful thing is con-

Avi told us a couple of weeks ago about a drill that they did at school, kind of like our nuclear attack drills in the '60s, or the earth-quake drills that they did in California. But this was a terrorist drill. As the oldest kids in the school, Avi's class, the sixth grade, got different roles. Avi's is to crawl on his stomach (staying below window level to avoid bullets) to the principal's office, and bring some equipment and first aid back to the classroom. They actually practiced this nonsense, and when I asked him why they just don't keep the equipment in the classroom all the time, he laughed and said, "Abba, don't you understand? The whole thing's ridiculous. Eleven-year-old kids are going to fend off terrorists? If they come, we're going to die. The school's just doing this to make the parents feel better."

That's life in Israel. Wonderful, pathetic. Exciting, devastating. Not too ago, Elisheva and I were hanging out one evening. We

were reading the paper, and suddenly, it was very calm. I looked up. Tali was lying on the sofa reading a book. Micha was building a Lego model on the floor, and Avi was playing the cello. Incredibly nice, wonderfully civilized. And in the distance, barely audible but audible nonetheless, the firing continued, and I realized that we'd kind of grown used to it. It's not a way to bring up your kids, and yet we still don't want to be anywhere but here.

So, here's wishing you a Hanukkah filled with light and joy. I guess this year more than ever, we need to add some light to the dark, and to recall that we've gotten through tough times before, right here, in this very city, for centuries. So we can probably get through this one, too. At the same time, we could use some more miracles. It would be nice, though, to be able to believe that they still happen.

Happy Hanukkah.

Gas Masks in the Toy Department

Well, our decision to put Avi at ease by not getting gas masks may have made sense from a parenting point of view, but the government now says that it no longer makes sense from a safety standpoint. We're all supposed to get masks—Israelis who have old ones are to upgrade theirs, and now even tourists, who are not normally eligible for them, are supposed to pick them up. Things with Iraq and the U.S. are heating up, and Saddam is rattling his sabers. When he fought the U.S. during the Gulf War, he did fire missiles at Tel Aviv, and a couple hit. There's no telling whether he'll do it again, and there's no reason to be confident that he won't use chemical or biological warheads. So, during what in the States is the week before Christmas, we're shopping around to find out where we can pick up five gas masks.

The tourist pickup site is in the Mashbir, Jerusalem's biggest department store, smack in the middle of downtown. We're supposed to go upstairs a floor or two, bringing our American passports and cash for the masks. We're told we have to bring the kids with us, for reasons that are not clear.

Anticipating the standard Israeli bedlam and chaos, we try to get there relatively early, but are not nearly the first ones in line. The place is packed, and things are moving slowly. Most of the room seems filled with what our children call "yeshiva kids," the eighteen-year old high school graduates here for a year of religious study before beginning college. The "yeshiva kids" are bantering about; some seem a bit unsettled by the prospect of getting a gas mask, while most seem content to have the time to chat.

As our children get fidgety, we let them wander farther and farther away from us. It turns out that this floor of the store is also the toy department, so they're more than happy to be checking out all the shelves lined with stuff they want. There's something surreal

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Ham and chaos, we try to the first ones in line. The life Most of the room life lids," the eighteenof religious study bantering about;

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about the scene, our kids frolicking around the shelves of toys while we wait in line to make sure that they'll stay alive (maybe) if we're bombarded with poison gas in, by the way, a place we've chosen to relax in for the year.

We finally get to the front of the line and hand the woman behind the table our five American passports. She turns to the back page of each and stamps it with an M in a circle; indicating that we've been given a mask. No getting two, apparently, as if you'd want to. We fork over the cash as she's stamping the passports, and she places five boxes, each just a little bit smaller than a shoebox, on the table, along with a receipt for the cash. Two are adult sizes, three are for kids. The warning on the boxes clearly says not to open them up until instructed to do so by the radio, and that premature breaking of the seal will limit their effectiveness.

I look at my kids, and it strikes me that there's no way that these three different faces will all fit into the same size mask. "Doesn't he need the smaller size?" I ask, pointing to Micha, who's now come up to the table.

"No, what I gave you will be fine."

"But look, the three kids are different sizes. She's twelve years old, and he's just five. How can one size fit all for something like this?"

"Believe me, this will be fine."

"Well, do you at least have a sample one open so we can put it against their faces and see?"

"No, we don't have any samples," she says with growing irritation. "Just take these," and she throws them into two big shopping bags (as if we'd bought something at the store itself) and hands the bags to us. "Next in line?"

"What's that?" Micha suddenly wants to know.

I realize we haven't told him the reason for our visit to this store. But I don't know what to say. "Well, there's this bad guy out there who hates Jewish people and Israel, and now we think that he might try to kill us so the newspaper said that we have to get these

little gas masks so if he fires missiles at us we can put these masks on you and we'll be OK, assuming that the lady's right that these are all the right sizes, and assuming that these things actually work, which they didn't during the Gulf War'! doesn't seem like a reasonable response. Iruth is, I have absolutely no idea what to say, I don't think I'll be able to bear the response, or the next question. And besides, I'm beginning to civ.

"Did you see anything fun in the store?" Lask instead.

"Yeah, I want to show you something I want." We walk over, and all three kids actually have their eyes set on "stuff." But they know that we never cave in like this in toy stores, and I can see they're getting ready to be told that they can't have the toys.

"OK, why doesn't everyone pick one thing that they want and we'll go to the cashier and pay for it?"

Stunned, the kids can't believe their good fortune and, with a relative minimum of fuss, pick out their toys. Walking out of the store, onto the sunny sidewalk on King George Street as we head for the car, I can tell they still can't believe we bought them the things they wanted. And I can tell that Beth is also amazed that I didn't resist. But she also knows exactly what happened.

Life's short, kids, and it's really not that fair, either: "Nasty, brutish and short" is what Thomas Höbbes called human life in the state of nature, a state it seems we're veering closer to every day. Tali's friends in the States don't say things like "nasty, brutish and short." They say, "Life sucks, then you die." Kind of the same thing, it seems to me. But bottom line, little kids shouldn't have to go to buy gas masks. It's just not what you should have to know about when you're that little.

You want some toys? Really, why the hell not, ...

way to live. As I was eating my dinner quietly at the table and we were both reading the paper, she suddenly said to me, "You know, I'm getting totally sick of this place. I'll never leave, because I couldn't live with myself, but I just can't stand it." This time, I was the one who had no response.

And that's where we are. Not unlike that tub that we captured-basically shipwrecked. I don't think there's a sane person in this country who believes that there's anyone to talk to, that they're going to stop killing us, that we're going to stop making them hate us more, that there's any consensus even among Israeli Arabs (as we used to call them) that the Jewish state has a right to exist. And yet we don't want to be anywhere else, and besides, most of the people here have nowhere else to go.

So people basically live from day to day, hoping that it will stay mostly quiet, that the latest shootings won't be the beginning of the next round of incessant violence, and that, if we're lucky, maybe the headlines will continue to be about George W's eating mishaps. That's a good kind of danger to have to live with.

March 26, 2002: Great Town, Ghost Town: The Night Before Passover

ast Thursday was cold and windy, exactly the weather you don't want here these days. Not because of the cold, but because the cold means that everyone is wearing heavy coats, and that, in turn, makes everyone nervous. You can never tell what's under someone's coat, so when everyone is wearing parkas, everyone could be a bomb. It's enough to make an already jittery city simply intolerable.

I got in the elevator early in the morning at work, and as soon as I'd stepped in, an Arab guy (sometimes you can just tell; it's hard to explain how you know, but you do) got in right after me. He, too, was wearing a bulky overcoat and was carrying a backpack. He didn't look at me, and as the door closed, I wondered for a second if "this was it." But, I figured, as I was the only other person in the elevator, it probably wouldn't be worth his time and effort. And as it's only a five-story building, I figured that one way or the other, I wouldn't be in suspense for long. He got off before I did. But despite the early hour, by the time I got to the fifth floor, let's just say that I was completely awake.

Later in the day, we had afternoon meetings at our other building on Graetz Street. We took about a half-hour break, and I decided to use the time to run to the hardware store to pick up some things that had long been on my to-do list. A five-minute brisk walk a was on

Emek Refa'im. It was the middle of the afternoon, and except for the occasional soldier or security guard, I was virtually the only one on the street. All the restaurants, which a year ago would have had lots of customers even in the middle of the afternoon, were empty. Not almost empty—literally empty. Yoja, the Thai-food place—empty except for a guard with an M-16 sitting in front. Normans, the upscale burger place—so quiet that I couldn't tell if it was actually open. Same with Caffit, with Masryk, with the sushi bar, the new wine store—there was simply no one out. Jerusalem has become a ghost town. Businesses are closing, people are going broke day in and day out. Even when things aren't exploding, the city is caving in. Time isn't on our side.

I walked along the street and no one seemed to notice me. But not so on my way back. Now, with a bag from the hardware store, I was apparently much more interesting to each security guard I walked by. As I approached, with my own heavy coat and an unidentified bag in my hand, each one seemed to grow a bit more alert as I got closer, eyed me carefully as I walked by, and, I imagine, settled down a bit when it became clear that I wasn't about to blow myself up in front of their restaurant. But the whole thing struck me as a bit histrionic. True, it's been a bad few weeks in town, but still, to be that nervous, all the time?

Worried that I might be late for the start of our meeting, I kept walking, getting my thoughts together for the next few hours of work. I took a left off Emek Refa'im up the hill on Graetz towards our office, making sure to keep a good pace. And then, the deafening roar. It sounded like it was only a few yards away, but as I couldn't see any smoke, I knew it had to be farther. And as I was still able to wonder where it was, I knew I was okay. But I also knew what it was. They use a lot of explosives here for building purposes, as the ground is solid rock. But when they do that, the ground shakes. This time, nothing. No shaking, just a deafening explosion. And then quiet. I listened for what seemed like an eternity, and it was silent. Maybe, I thought, it really was nothing. And then the sirens. Siren after siren, unrelenting, just like the a**acks themselves.

It wasn't a "major" attack. "Just" three people killed, sixty wounded, right on King George Street, across the street from our insurance agent where I'd been the day before. This is a town where a lot depends on luck and timing. Of the three people who weren't lucky this time, two were a married couple, on their way out of a prenatal doctor's visit. Rescue workers found the sonogram picture in the woman's purse. The couple's two other kids, now orphans, were at home in a town just outside Jerusalem. This was the stuff of the morning paper the next day, but the day following, it had all been forgotten. After all, if you focused on every victim these days, you'd never be able to get out of bed in the morning. You survive only because you can forget.

The problem is that being scared all the time and feeling sorry for yourself can also lead you to forget how much we've done wrong. *Kol Ha-Ir*, a weekly newsmagazine in Jerusalem, ran an all-black cover the week before last, with white lettering in a biblical typeface. It was a quote from the book of Micah, Chapter Three, that in part said:

Hear, this, you rulers of the House of Jacob You chiefs of the House of Israel Who detest justice
And make crooked all that is straight ...
Assuredly, because of you
Zion shall be plowed as a field
And Jerusalem shall become heaps of ruins
And the Temple Mount
A shrine in the woods.

Admittedly, *Kol Ha-Ir* is always slightly left of center, is usually critical of the army, and always hates the mayor. So some of this was expected. But no matter what one's political position is, the starkness of the warning—and the fact that it had obviously been said here before, to no avail—hit home for many. What the IDF did in the West Bank last week was incredibly problematic, even if necessary (whether it was actually necessary, and whether it worked, are matt—of heated

debate). The stories in that issue (and in much of the Israeli press, in fact) about soldiers moving from house to house in refugee camps by smashing through walls instead of going out into the streets (in order to reduce casualties), leading them to suddenly appear, in a pile of debris and dust, in the bedrooms of young, screaming children, are blood chilling. Whether or not we had to do that may not be the question. Those kids will never forget waking up as the wall came crashing in, as soldiers (they call them "The Jews") appeared in helmets and with M-16's, and it won't take a seething father much more provocation before he decides that he, too, will kill Jews to make a better future for his kids. It won't make him "right," but when it happens, it also shouldn't surprise us.

The suffering here seems to know no bounds these days. For anyone. There's plenty of it in the refugee camps, and there's plenty right here in town. The table of contents of that same issue of *Kol Ha-Ir* included a story about how local high schools are dealing with the deaths of so many of their recent graduates, another story about how waiters and waitresses in Jerusalem feel knowing that they're sitting ducks with cafes and restaurants now the target of choice. It contained an article about non-Jewish tourists to the city (the Jews, it seems, don't like the idea of blowing up), and one about a recent memorial at the Moment Cafe and an interview with its owner, who organized it. And on and on.

The other problem with forgetting as a coping mechanism is that you can also forget how wonderful life here used to be. And, because of that, the occasional respite from the tension and worry is more welcome than can be described. Like when our alarm company showed up on Purim day for our annual security system check. The same two technicians, in their Evron Security t-shirts, but also with Viking helmets replete with horns. It was the first time in weeks that I'd seen the kids giggle in pure joy. Or later that day, when I took Tali to the mall to get her a cell phone (after months of her patiently explaining the matter, I finally did understand that meaningful existence for people between the

out a more stylish phone), and all the salespeople were dressed in drag, or as monks or whatever. There was incredibly tight security everywhere, but people seemed to know how to have a bit of fun, anyway. On the way back from the mall, Tali even said, "Wow—it's nice to see people having fun for once."

selves, why we're here. Pesach helps. Yesterday was a gorgeous day. wine cups, pots, etc., kashered for Pesach, the sidewalk was filled with five minutes away) to one of the central locations where the rabbinate for the holiday. Later in the morning, when I drove to Talpiyot (about got there. But it didn't matter. Everyone seemed to revel in the fact luck. The line stretched out into the middle of the street by the time I wash early, figuring I'd get there before the line started, but no such the whole city was getting ready for Pesach. I took the car to the car break from their normal policy), and people of all sorts--"black hats," people waiting on line, talking amiably. It was, I thought, Jerusalem at had set up huge pots of boiling water so you can get your silverware. that even in the midst of all this, the whole city was still getting ready Warm, almost hot in the morning. And a day in which it seemed that which they worked-all getting along just fine. Enjoying the unexeven some Philippine women who were doing this for the houses in knitted kippot, women in pants, men without their heads covered, and its best. The rabbinate actually doing something to be helpful (a major pected spring, people were content to hang out on the sidewalk, their in Jerusalem pots and pans in tow, living a bit of what used to be taken for granted People seem to be struggling to remind each other, and them-

This is, even after all these months, a great town. It's filled with people who've moved here from everywhere, and all for more or less the same reason—to live in a Jewish city, in a Jewish country. Walking with Avi today to yet another hardware store (pre-Pesach, what can you do?), we passed two Ethiopian women carrying boxes of matzah. I think that Avi barely noticed, but I couldn't help but muse on how different were the two countries from which we came, and, despite our abiding differences, the fundamental similarities in the sons for

which we're here. We passed another couple speaking French. And an elderly couple speaking Yiddish. A brief reminder of the miracle that Jerusalem is, wounded and suffering though she may be.

It reminded me of the party our shul had on Purim. Everyone crowded into the home of one of the members who lives nearby. Music, food, some skits. It had been a bad week, though to be honest, I forget exactly which catastrophe had taken place in the days preceding Purim. But then I saw, among the crowd, a dozen or so of the older men and women—all of them survivors of the Nazi death camps, sitting together as a group. I watched them watching the little kids who were way too wild, way too noisy, and saw them smiling the whole time. These elderly couples seemed to relish each screaming, wild child. For, they knew, the alternative to wild kids need not be tame ones. It can be no kids. And I felt terribly humbled. After all they'd been through, who was I to let this war get me to feel sorry for myself? A bit of perspective helps.

And that perspective seems to crop up all the time in this town, this place made of memory. We were at a wedding a couple of weeks ago: an elegant, joyous, perfect evening. True, I did have to get frisked to get into the hotel, and true, as we were dancing in circles, you couldn't help but notice the extra security men on the perimeter of the room watching attentively for anything that seemed out of the ordinary. And true, when a balloon or two popped, people stopped for a millisecond, realized that all was okay, and went on.

The ceremony took place in the courtyard of the Inbal Hotel. In keeping with a common Jerusalem custom, before the breaking of the glass, everyone present sang, in a quasi-mournful tone, the verse from Psalms, "If I forget you, O Jerusalem." The singing took a couple of minutes, so for a moment or two, we didn't have to focus on what was happening under the chuppah. As I looked around, I saw the security guards watching over us, and higher up, the rows of Israeli flags on the roof of the hotel, fluttering in the wind. And all around us, even in these moments, hundreds of people huddled together in the crisp

Jerusalem night, gazing at the bride and groom, singing "If I forget you, O Jerusalem."

As slow and quiet as the song was, it felt like an act of defiance. Like a statement to "them, out there," that we're here to stay. That everyone here is frightened, and for good reason, but few are leaving. This is the era, we seemed to be singing, that separates those who're willing to risk for a Jewish future, and those who, quite frankly, are not. It's the era in which we're seeing who is willing to tough it out, and hopefully will live to see the end of this. Perhaps I felt that way because of all the people who refuse to come here now, who have been convinced by American Jewish life to believe that meaningful Jewish existence and personal safety go together. They don't—at least they haven't for most of Jewish history, and they certainly don't go together here, now. None of us here want to die in this war, but some of us will. We know that. And most of us, I think, understand that you don't get meaning without risk.

to serve in the territories. (A complicated issue, with what seems to me on no one. Another region is apparently going to Ground Zero after send their kids to Auschwitz and Berlin, but not to Israel, was lost witness Jewish rebirth. The irony that American Jewish parents would doned, apparently) of one region to go to Berlin (instead of Israel) to in) made much mention of the decision of March of the Living, the for what they described as armchair liberals in the comfort of the Bay military in time of war.) But here, few people seemed to have patience their honorable moral stance at odds with the need for a functioning suggests. And then there was apparently a full-page ad in the New York Eastern Europe, instead of coming to Israel. Think about what that really Israel, not to come to Israel this year. And of the suggestion (later abanannual pilgrimage of American Jewish teenagers to Eastern Europe and Times last week, supporting the IDF Reserve officers who are refusing most Israelis believe is too complex and subtle to be easily summed up. Area or the Upper West Side taking a public stand on an issue that Jerusalem conversations this week (at least in the circles I travel

and certainly not on one page of the *Times*. One person in shul, who had seen the ad, said, "They just left out what should have been the final sentence on the page: 'Now, I'm really not going to make aliyah.'" A widespread giggle. Not because people disagree with the point of the ad, but because most people here can't figure out what people who're not assuming any of the risk are doing weighing in.

That risk changes everything. Occasionally, it even creates moments of humor. The morning after the foiled Caffit bombing, Ha-Aretz carried a front-page story noting that anyone who captured a terrorist in the act of trying to kill people would receive a prize of \$5,000. Reading the paper, Elisheva laughed and said, "Hey, look at this. If we each capture a terrorist today, we can redo the living room." I didn't know whether to be more worried about the terrorists or her budget for what I'd thought was going to be one sofa and a bookcase. Or Avi's morning parting words to me as he heads off to school on his bike: "Bye, Abba, keep low and keep moving. Love ya." It's all sick humor, but I suppose that it's part of the way we get through the day.

But not all of it's funny, of course. Elisheva told me the other day that she wanted the car by 10:00 A.M. (as my office is a five-minute walk from home, there's absolutely no reason for us to have two cars), because she was going to get her hair cut. Simple? Not really. Because she knows that I know where she gets her hair cut—downtown, right by Ben Yehudah, now virtually deserted because of all the attacks there. And, for a moment, I debated whether I should say anything. But I didn't. If she'd wanted my advice, I realized, she would have asked for it. But she didn't. She simply said she needed the car. Meaning, "I'm going down there—it's my town, and they can't take it away from me." She did go, and as she got there a bit early, made a point of wandering around the completely deserted stores. She talked to the guy who cuts her hair, and asked him if he's frightened being in that storefront all day on that street. "Terrified," he said, "but I'm not leaving." Neither are we.

Yest—lay, driving up the same Graetz Street I'd been walking up when I hand the bomb go off, I saw a parked car, and watched a young

mother in her thirties and her two kids get out of the car. The kids were carrying a small cage with what looked like a little puppy, and the mom had her arms full of pet supplies. I'd been listening to the news, a depressing activity here at any hour of the day, and for a moment, the idea of buying kids a new pet in this setting seemed utterly absurd. But then, of course, I realized that it was the perfect thing to do. She was giving them exactly what they needed. Some restored innocence. Pure love. Fun. A diversion. And a reason to look forward to tomorrow.

Tomorrow is why we're here today. For tomorrow night, when we sing "Next Year in Jerusalem," those of us who live in Jerusalem will really mean it. If we're alive next year, we'll be here. Jews have been singing that line for too long with no hope of realizing it for us to simply walk away because it's unpleasant, or frightening, or even a bit dangerous. Life, this city has taught us, isn't about pleasant, or comfort, or safety. For those of us who've chosen to stick it out here, it's about purpose, even defiance. It's about saying that, yes, we want this to end. Yes, we're willing to give up a lot to make that happen. Yes, we've made terrible mistakes in how we've handled Israeli Arabs and Pales-

But no, we won't leave. We won't confuse our having made mistakes with our having no right to be here. And we won't allow our takes with our having no right to be here. And we won't allow our wish for normalcy to delude us into thinking that normalcy's the goal. It's not. The goal is long lines at the car wash before Pesach, alarm guys dressed up for Purim, hundreds of men and women packed into synagogues in every neighborhood on the Shabbat before Pesach to hear gogues in every neighborhood on the Shabbat before Pesach to hear the annual Pre-Passover Sermon, long lines with pots and pans, and even magazine covers that quote the prophets to critique the army and the mayor. The goal, quite simply, is Jewish life like it can't exist anywhere else. And from that dream, very few of us will walk away. No

matter what. As all of us say and, as some of us mean, "Next Year in Jerusalem."



THIS STORY HAS BEEN FORMATTED FOR EASY PRINTING

Israel

The Disengagement Plan

Getting Out of Gaza

From the Office of the Prime Minister of Israel

In April 2004 Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon presented a plan for unilateral disengagement from the Gaza Strip. This plan was rejected in a Likud party referendum the next month. Changes were made, and in June 2004, the Israeli Cabinet approved the plan below, which in February 2005 received approval from the Israeli parliament. Reprinted from the Prime Minister's Office.

Background: Political and Security Implications

The State of Israel is committed to the peace process and aspires to reach an agreed resolution of the conflict based upon the vision of US President George Bush.



- 1. The stalemate dictated by the current situation is harmful. In order to break out of this stalemate, the State of Israel is required to initiate moves not dependent on Palestinian cooperation.
- 2. The purpose of the plan is to lead to a better security, political, economic and demographic situation.
- 3. In any future permanent status arrangement, there will be no Israeli towns and villages in the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, it is clear that in the West Bank, there are areas which will be part of the State of Israel, including major Israeli population centers, cities, towns and villages, security areas and other places of special interest to Israel.
- 4. The State of Israel supports the efforts of the United States, operating alongside the international community, to promote the reform process, the construction of institutions and the improvement of the economy and welfare of the Palestinian residents, in order that a new Palestinian leadership will emerge and prove itself capable of fulfilling its commitments under the Roadmap.
- 5. Relocation from the Gaza Strip and from an area in Northern Samaria should reduce friction with the Palestinian population.
- 6. The completion of the plan will serve to dispel the claims regarding Israel's responsibility for the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.

- 7. The process set forth in the plan is without prejudice to the relevant agreements between the State of Israel and the Palestinians. Relevant arrangements shall continue to apply.
- 8. International support for this plan is widespread and important. This support is essential in order to bring the Palestinians to implement in practice their obligations to combat terrorism and effect reforms as required by the Roadmap, thus enabling the parties to return to the path of negotiation.

Main Elements

A. The Process

The required preparatory work for the implementation of the plan will be carried out (including staff work to determine criteria, definitions, evaluations, and preparations for required legislation).

Immediately upon completion of the preparatory work, a discussion will be held by the Government in order to make a decision concerning the relocation of settlements, taking into consideration the circumstances prevailing at that time – whether or not to relocate, and which settlements.

The towns and villages will be classified into four groups, as follows:

- Group A Morag, Netzarim, Kfar Darom
- 2. Group B the villages of Northern Samaria (Ganim, Kadim, Sa-Nur and Homesh).
- 3. Group C the towns and villages of Gush Katif
- 4. Group D the villages of the Northern Gaza Strip (Elei Sinai, Dugit and Nissanit)

It is clarified that, following the completion of the aforementioned preparations, the Government will convene periodically in order to decide separately on the question of whether or not to relocate, with respect to each of the aforementioned groups.

The continuation of the aforementioned process is subject to the resolutions that the Government will pass, as mentioned above in Article 2, and will be implemented in accordance with the content of those resolutions.

The Gaza Strip

- 1. The State of Israel will evacuate the Gaza Strip, including all existing Israeli towns and villages, and will redeploy outside the Strip. This will not include military deployment in the area of the border between the Gaza Strip and Egypt ("the Philadelphi Route") as detailed below.
- 2. Upon completion of this process, there shall no longer be any permanent presence of Israeli security forces in the areas of Gaza Strip territory which have been evacuated.

The West Bank

- 1. The State of Israel will evacuate an area in Northern Samaria (Ganim, Kadim, Sa-Nur and Homesh), and all military installations in this area, and will redeploy outside the vacated area.
- 2. Upon completion of this process, there shall no longer be any permanent presence of Israeli security forces in this area.
- 3. The move will enable territorial contiguity for Palestinians in the Northern Samaria area.
- 4. The State of Israel will assist, together with the international community, in improving the transportation infrastructure in the West Bank in order to facilitate the contiguity of Palestinian transportation.
- 5. The process will facilitate normal life and Palestinian economic and commercial activity in the West Bank.

The intention is to complete the planned relocation process by the end of 2005.

B. The Security Fence

The State of Israel will continue building the Security Fence, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Government. The route will take into account humanitarian considerations.

Security Situation Following the Relocation

The Gaza Strip

- 1. The State of Israel will guard and monitor the external land perimeter of the Gaza Strip, will continue to maintain exclusive authority in Gaza air space, and will continue to exercise security activity in the sea off the coast of the Gaza Strip.
- 2. The Gaza Strip shall be demilitarized and shall be devoid of weaponry, the presence of which does not accord with the Israeli-Palestinian agreements.
- 3. The State of Israel reserves its fundamental right of self-defense, both preventive and reactive, including where necessary the use of force, in respect of threats emanating from the Gaza Strip.

The West Bank

Upon completion of the evacuation of the Northern Samaria area, no permanent Israeli military presence will remain in this area.

The State of Israel reserves its fundamental right of self-defense, both preventive and reactive, including where necessary the use of force, in respect of threats emanating from the Northern Samaria area.

In other areas of the West Bank, current security activity will continue. However, as circumstances



require, the State of Israel will consider reducing such activity in Palestinian cities.

The State of Israel will work to reduce the number of internal checkpoints throughout the West Bank.

Military Installations and Infrastructure in the Gaza Strip and Northern Samaria

In general, these will be dismantled and evacuated, with the exception of those which the State of Israel decides to transfer to another party.

Security Assistance to the Palestinians

The State of Israel agrees that by coordination with it, advice, assistance and training will be provided to the Palestinian security forces for the implementation of their obligations to combat terrorism and maintain public order, by American, British, Egyptian, Jordanian or other experts, as agreed therewith.

No foreign security presence may enter the Gaza Strip and/or the West Bank without being coordinated with and approved by the State of Israel.

The Border Area Between the Gaza Strip and Egypt (Philadelphi Route)



The State of Israel will continue to maintain a military presence along the border between the Gaza Strip and Egypt (Philadelphi Route). This presence is an essential security requirement. At certain locations, security considerations may require some widening of the area in which the military activity is conducted.

Subsequently, the evacuation of this area will be considered. Evacuation of the area will be dependent, inter alia, on the security situation and the extent of cooperation with Egypt in establishing a reliable alternative arrangement.

If and when conditions permit the evacuation of this area, the State of Israel will be willing to consider the possibility of the establishment of a seaport and airport in the Gaza Strip, in accordance with arrangements to be agreed with Israel.

Real Estate Assets

In general, residential dwellings and sensitive structures, including synagogues, will not remain. The State of Israel will aspire to transfer other facilities, including industrial, commercial and agricultural ones, to a third, international party which will put them to use for the benefit of the Palestinian population that is not involved in terror.

The area of the Erez industrial zone will be transferred to the responsibility of an agreed upon Palestinian or international party.



The State of Israel will explore, together with Egypt, the possibility of establishing a joint industrial zone on the border of the Gaza Strip, Egypt and Israel.



Civil Infrastructure and Arrangements

Infrastructure relating to water, electricity, sewage and telecommunications will remain in place.

In general, Israel will continue, for full price, to supply electricity, water, gas and petrol to the Palestinians, in accordance with current arrangements.

Other existing arrangements, such as those relating to water and the electro-magnetic sphere shall remain in force.

Activity of Civilian International Organizations

The State of Israel recognizes the great importance of the continued activity of international humanitarian organizations and others engaged in civil development, assisting the Palestinian population.

The State of Israel will coordinate with these organizations arrangements to facilitate their activities.

The State of Israel proposes that an international apparatus be established (along the lines of the AHLC), with the agreement of Israel and international elements which will work to develop the Palestinian economy.



Economic Arrangements

In general, the economic arrangements currently in operation between the State of Israel and the Palestinians shall remain in force. These arrangements include, inter alia:

- 1. The entry and exit of goods between the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the State of Israel and abroad.
- 2. The monetary regime.
- 3. Tax and customs envelope arrangements.
- 4. Postal and telecommunications arrangements.
- 5. The entry of workers into Israel, in accordance with the existing criteria.

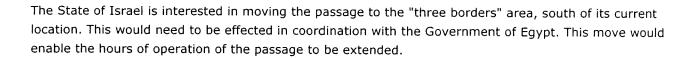
In the longer term, and in line with Israel's interest in encouraging greater Palestinian economic independence, the State of Israel expects to reduce the number of Palestinian workers entering Israel, to the point that it ceases completely. The State of Israel supports the development of sources of employment in the Gaza Strip and in Palestinian areas of the West Bank, by international elements.

International Passages



The International Passage Between the Gaza Strip and Egypt

The existing arrangements shall continue.



The International Passages Between the West Bank and Jordan

The existing arrangements shall continue.

Erez Crossing Point

The Erez crossing point will be moved to a location within Israel in a time frame to be determined separately by the Government.

Conclusion

The goal is that implementation of the plan will lead to improving the situation and breaking the current deadlock. If and when there is evidence from the Palestinian side of its willingness, capability and implementation in practice of the fight against terrorism, full cessation of terrorism and violence and the institution of reform as required by the Road Map, it will be possible to return to the track of negotiation and dialogue.

'Sharon is pushing us into a corner'

By Nadav Shragai, Ha'aretz

"Every day anew," says Noga Cohen from Kfar Darom in Gush Katif, "every day I reexamine my faith and ask myself whether I am doing what God is asking of me. Often I ask myself until when? My children Orit, Tehila and Yisrael gave their legs. My neighbors gave their father, their mother. We took thousands of bombs here, and now the murderers are about to come and dance on the roofs of our homes, or on the ruins of our homes. There is no decision yet. Someone on our side saw to it that they would be able to complete the work. That is the terrible thing that does not leave me, one of the most painful things in this expulsion."

Noga Cohen is probably the most famous mother in Kfar Darom. She is the mother of eight children. Each of three of her children Orit, Tehila and Yisrael have had limbs amputated since the terrorist attack on a school bus in Kfar Darom almost five years ago. The marvelous story of the rehabilitation of the children and the family became one of the symbols of the settlement project in Gush Katif. Hundreds of thousands of people throughout Israel recited Psalms for their healing. Their father, Rabbi Ophir Cohen, was powerfully strengthened in his faith. The materials for the lessons he prepared and the pamphlets he wrote were much in demand, especially among young people who found themselves in situations of distress.

However, despite Noga Cohen's abiding faith, the preparations for the arrival of the evacuating soldiers were her down mentally. She has had to calm the tempestuous temperament of her teenagers and explains: "They are certain like adolescents everywhere that they know better than me what to do and how to behave. I find myself explaining to them that the soldiers are not the 'address,' that they only received this disgusting order. But my adolescents at home want to fight. From their point of view, this is their house. They paid for it with their legs.

"Go explain to them that it is impossible to stand up to the soldiers, to our brothers. But I will watch over them, I will set limits, I will not allow them to be militant toward anyone," she promises. "There will be talking to the soldiers but nothing beyond that. No hitting and no pushing. They are flesh of our flesh."

Cohen reflected this week about Ariel Sharon, once "one of ours." She viewed him as a father: "He was the father of the settlement, the father of Kfar Darom. And I, from my perhaps naive viewpoint, was one of his children. When a father decides that there is no choice but to make a change, he has to come to his children and explain to them what has changed, to try and sweeten the pill. He could have behaved different and said, all right, it is impossible to build a new Gush Katif but at least for the family to remain a family, for the community to remain a community. Sharon's cruelty is incomprehensible. Today he is disavowing us and ignoring us almost completely. The man is effectively pouring out the baby with the bath water.

"He is also pushing us into a corner. If the public in the country had made his decision democratically, I would protest and then pack up and leave here without a struggle. But Sharon prevented us from trying to persuade the nation of the justness of our path. I believe we would have succeeded in that. Now we no longer have a choice. We have to struggle."

Cohen also agonized this week over the question of whether to pack up her belongings. Like the others in Kfar Darom, she decided against it.

"I am dying to pack," she admitted. "After all, 17 years of her life lie here in this house. This demand of ourselves is almost inhuman. It is very difficult for me to leave it to the soldiers. I know I will not find anything afterward, but I still will not allow myself to pack. It is stultifying, but I want them to understand that I sacrificed this, too, that I withstood this test, too. Only because of the message. We do not fill a bottle with suffering and then, when the bottle is full, say enough, we have paid our dues. We here are committing ourselves to be the standard-bearers of this struggle. Maybe we will lose a material benefit of one kind or another, but historically it will be recorded in the Jewish heart of the public in Israel that such a thing, such an expulsion, is unconscionable. It is a sin and a crime and flagrantly immoral. And against this abomination people rose up with uncompromising determination."

At the beginning of the week, Cohen wandered through her house, which she and Ophir spent months redesigning after the children were wounded, and thought about the practical aspect, too. She asked herself how she, her husband and her eight children, three of them disabled, would function in their new home.

Cohen: "There is no available place that is suitable for us. Here we made new doors and built special bathtubs. The living room alone is 70 square meters. I think that the way we are being thrown out of here is a loathsome act even the move of the biblical zoo in Jerusalem was delayed for three years because there was no normal place for the animals. Even fish in an aquarium get better treatment. Beyond the immorality with which this horrific act is tainted at the level of principle, it is being carried out inhumanely."

The humane aspect is also a source of distress for Ophir Cohen. Last Sunday he and other rabbis met with Prime Minister Sharon in his office, and he cut off Sharon's remarks with a shout: "What do you mean 'we did not cooperate'? Did you actually imagine that we would cooperate with this expulsion plot? Are we, as believing Jews, permitted to cooperate with this expulsion? And does this lack of 'cooperation,' as you call it, exempt you from seeing to an alternative place for us? Does that justify not only the expulsion, but also the character of the expulsion you are planning for us, an expulsion to nowhere?"

Noga Cohen thought long and hard about whether to make the children full partners in the struggle. She was afraid to expose them to more traumas: "My personal opinion was that it is impossible to burden the children with too much. I agonized over what would be

more traumatic to let them be part of it or to spare them from seeing everything and give them the feeling that they weren't here when it happened? We sat with the children to see what they wanted. We examined possibilities with them. We talked to them. Different opinions were voiced. In accordance with the rabbi's instructions, we also let each of them pack a few games that they especially like. As of now, we are all here, together. They want to be with Mommy and Daddy."

She cannot understand "why the nation was not persuaded in time, how it happened that we did not succeed in getting this decree changed ... I am wracking my brains and doing a lot of spiritual soul-searching. This is a year of such soul-searching. What happened to this nation? Where does this weakness come from? And let's say we are a minority. Is a minority necessarily on the unjust side? You know, the left was a minority for many long years, and in its perception it was certainly not wrong. We may be leaving here though I still hope and pray we will not but our spirit, of Kfar Darom, of the Cohen family, we will one day be instilled in the whole people of Israel.

Source:





Kadima Party



(November 22, 2005)

by David Krusch

Prime Minister <u>Ariel Sharon</u> formally resigned from the <u>Likud Party</u> to form a new centrist party, "Kadima," or "Forward." The new party was temporarily named "National Responsibility" when it was formed. The title "Kadima" has symbolic meaning for many Israelis because it is associated with the battle-charge of army officers, suggesting that Sharon may be attempting to highlight his military accomplishments before the coming elections in March 2006. According to Sharon supporters, Kadima already has nearly 150 members, including several defectors from the Likud Party.

Sharon started the process by asking President Moshe Katsav if he could issue an order dissolving the Knesset. He then sent a letter to Likud Party chairman Tzachi Hanegbi saying that he was resigning and forming a new party. Sharon could have easily returned to power running under the Likud platform, and was well ahead of his rivals in the polls, but felt that he could no longer lead a party that had a conflicting ideology with his own. Sharon said of his risky political move:

If I had stayed in the Likud, I would have probably won in the primaries, and would have led the Likud to victory in the elections.

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This would have been the safest move for me personally, however it is not the way to serve the State of Israel. Staying in the Likud means wasting time on political struggles, rather than acting on behalf of the state.

At least half of the members of Likud rejected Sharon's disengagement plan from the Gaza Strip and the northern West Bank that ended Israel's 38-year presence in the area. Now the party is in a leadership struggle between several of Likud's top members, including Benjamin Netanyahu, Shaul Mofaz, and Silvan Shalom. A recent poll suggest that Likud will lose much of its influence in the government when early elections are held in March 2006, nearly 8 months ahead of schedule. A poll published in Yediot Achronot and Ma'ariv said Sharon will most likely win a third term as prime minister, and that his new party could win between 30 and 33 of the Knesset's 120 seats in the elections. The poll numbers may change between now and the election and, historically, new Israeli parties led by major political figures are popular when they are first formed and lose support over time.

Several Knesset members from Labor, Likud, and other parties immediately joined with Sharon's new party. These include cabinet ministers Ehud Olmert, Tzipi Livni, Meir Sheetrit, Gideon Ezra and Avraham Hirchson. Deputy ministers Ruhama Avraham, Majallie Whbee, Eli Aflalo, Marina Solodkin, Ze'ev Boim and Ya'acov Edri also joined the party, along with Likud MKs Ronnie Bar-On and Omri Sharon. Former Histadrut chairman Haim Ramon of Labor has also decided to join the party. Shimon Peres quit Labor after more than 60 years, and announced he would help Prime Minister Ariel Sharon pursue peace with the Palestinians. Peres reportedly will not join Kadima, but will receive a senior post in the government if Sharon wins reelection and will be responsible for negotiations with the Palestinians.

Sharon held a news conference in which he outlined the goals of the new party. One, he said, is to closely follow the United States-backed road map plan for peace with the Palestinians. Sharon declared that there will be no more unilateral withdrawals from the West Bank, and insisted that Palestinian terrorist groups be disarmed and dismantled. The Kadima party platform calls for "maximum security and assuring that Israel be a Jewish national home and that another state that shall arise be demilitarized, with terrorists disarmed."

An advisor close to Sharon said of the new party, "His clear intention is to proceed with a political process with the Palestinians. The current composition of the Likud meant paralysis. He needs space and freedom and support to achieve what he wants to do."

Sources: Leslie Susser, "In Israel, sifting the aftermath of Sharon's political earthquake," JTA, (November 21 & 29, 2005); Scott Wilson, "Israeli Premier Quits Party and Forms His Own," *The Washington Post*, (November 22, 2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Gil Hoffman and JPost staff, "Sharon gets boost to new party," *The Jerusalem Post*, (November 22, 2005).



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Kadima Party Platform

(2006)

As of November 28, 2005:

The Israeli nation has a national and historic right to the whole of Israel. However, in order to maintain a Jewish majority, part of the Land of Israel must be given up to maintain a Jewish and democratic state.

Israel shall remain a Jewish state and homeland. Jewish majority in Israel will be preserved by territorial concessions to <u>Palestinians</u>.

Jerusalem and large settlement blocks in the West Bank will be kept under Israeli control.

The Israeli national agenda to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and achieve two states for two nations will be the road map. It will be carried out in stages: dismantling terror organizations, collecting firearms, implementing security reforms in the Palestinian Authority, and preventing incitement. At the end of the process, a demilitarized Palestinian state devoid of terror will be established.

Israel's political system will be modified to ensure stability: Legislative proposals will be made to increase the MKs' commitment to enable the public's bypassing central committees and vote contractors, and bring an end to the tyranny of the <u>Likud</u> Central Committee. One possibility would be holding primary, regional and personal elections to the Knesset and the Prime Minister's office. Kadima would not rule out a future coalition partnership with any Israeli political party or person.

Kadima wants to see a "presidential" system, in which voters choose the prime minister and legislators on an individual basis and not as part of a party list, with Knesset members elected according to specific regions of the country.

Source: Wikipedia; Ha'aretz

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A Guide to the Perplexed - Israeli Elections 2006

- Right-Wing Parties
- Centrist Parties
- **Left-Wing Parties**
- Haredi (Ultra-Orthodox) Parties
- Arab / Non-Zionist Parties

Texas-Austin. Prepared by David Albert, Brit Tzedek Board member, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Government, University of

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Right-Wing Parties

Kadima, these parties – especially the Likud- took a severe beating at the polls and dropped to 33 seats. In the 2003 elections, these parties won a total of 53 Knesset seats. With the defection of many Likud members to

supported right-wing parties followed Kadima to the center of the political spectrum. dropped out of the government in opposition to the Gaza withdrawal in August, 2005. Many voters who previously Palestinians. All of the smaller parties that had initially been part of Prime Minister Sharon's 2003 coalition government The right-wing parties are primarily distinguished by their opposition to any significant concessions of land to the

Party Likud	Leader Former PM & Finance	Seats 2003 – 40 seats	More Party Leaders Former Foreign Minister Silvan	Peace Process Opposes any	Ď
	Minister	seats 2006 – 12	Minister Silvan Shalom; Former	negotiations unless PA fights terrorism;	less PA ;
	Netanyahu	seats	Education Minister Limor	opposes further unilateral withdrawals;	er ndrawals;
			Livnat; MK Natan Sharansky	in practice, opposes a Palestinian state.	pposes a late.
National Union –	Benny Elon	2003 – 7 seats (and NRP 6	Zevulun Orlev Ephraim Eitam	Rejects any Palestinian state; supports	Palestinian rts
National		seats)	Yitzhak Levy	voluntary transfer of	transfer of
Religious Party		2006 – 9 seats	12V1 Hendel	Palestinians	
Yisrael Beitenu	Avigdor Lieberman	2003 – part of National	Yuri Shtern, Yisrael Hasson	Proposed trading Par of Galilee containing	Proposed trading Parts of Galilee containing
		Union 2006 – 11 seats	Yosef Shegal Esterina Tratman	Israeli Arabs for Israeli settlement blocs in West Bank	s for Israeli

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Centrist Parties

In 2003, Shinui – the only centrist party at the time - polled 15 seats. In the new Knesset, Kadima ("Forward") will have 29 seats. While Kadima will be the largest party in the Knesset and will be asked to form the next Israeli government, its they would garner 40 seats or more and pre-election polls suggested that they would poll in the mid-30s. showing was a disappointment for them. The polls a few months ago, before and after Sharon's stroke, suggested that

as a lot of internal political discord. which garnered 15 seats in the last Knesset election in 2003, dissolved completely due to the emergence of Kadima as well landscape over the past year, with the center gaining greatly, mostly at the expense of the Likud and Shinui. Shinui, The shift of Ariel Sharon (and how his successor, Ehud Olmert) to the political center has transformed the Israeli political

Leaders Former Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Justice & Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, Defense Minister Shull Mofar
1 1

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Left-Wing Parties

pre-election polls. the surprising emergence of the previously unknown Gil (Retirees or Pensioners Party) which was not predicted by any In 2003, left-wing parties won a total of 27 seats. They now hold 21 seats. Most of this gain appears to have come thru

well as parties that advocate left-wing economic policies to the benefit of the Israeli poor. The Israeli left represents those parties that advocate some form of negotiated solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as

Party	Party Leader	Seats	More Party Leaders	Peace Process	Economic and Social Policies	Demographic Base
Labor-	Amir Peretz	2003 - 19 seats	Former PM Ehud	Supports a	Raising	Secular
Meimad		2006 – 20 seats	Barak; Former Shin	negotiated two-	minimum wage;	Ashkenazi Jews;
			Bet Chief Ami	state solution	helping the poor	Kibbutzniks;
•			Ayalon; Ben-Gurion	based on Land	,	Israeli Arabs;
			University President	for Peace;		includes
			Avishai Braverman;	opposes		Memaid
			MK Yuli Tamir; MK	settlement		(religious
			Matan Vilna'I; Rabbi	expansion;		Zionist faction
	******		Michael Melchoir;	supported Gaza		led by Rabbi
			MK Ophir Paz-Pines;	withdrawal and		Melchoir);
			MK Isaac Herzog;	may be open to		trying to reach
			MK Benjamin Ben-	future unilateral		out to Mizrahi
			Eliezer	actions		voters

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Gil (Pensioner's Party)	Meretz	Party
Eitan Raphael	Yossi Beilin	Party Leader
2003 – no seats 2006 – 7 seats	2003– 6 seats 2006-4 seats	Seats
Yaakov Ben-Yizri Moshe Sharoni Moshe Sharoni Yitzhak Ziv Avshalom Vilan	Haim Oron Ran Cohen Zahava Gal-On	More Party Leaders
No official policies	A negotiated two-state solution along the lines of the Geneva Accord	Peace Process
Protecting rights of Pensioners; Better housing for Pensioners; Better health insurance for the elderly	Supports social justice, social democracy; gay rights; separation of religion and state	Economic and Social Policies
Elderly Retirees	Secular Ashkenazi	Demographic Base

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Haredi (Ultra-Orthodox) Parties

In 2003, these parties had 17 seats; they gained slightly up to 18 seats.

These parties are fairly stable in that they represent the *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox Jewish) community, and their voters are generally consistent in their support and turnout.

,	Leader	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	leaders	Process	Social Policies	pemographic pase
Shas	Eliyahu	2003 – 12 seats	Spiritual leader	Ideologically	Money for its	Mizrahi Jews
	Yishai	2006 – 12 seats	Rabbi Ovadia Yosef	flexible	religious and educational	(particularly Moroccan lews) - mostly Ultra-
					institutions;	Orthodox, but also
-					opposes	some traditional
					separation of	religious Mizrahi Jews
					religion and	
					state; generous	
					social payments	
					for poor Mizrahi	
					Jews	
Torah and	Ya'acov	2003 – 5 seats	Avraham	Ideologically	Opposes	Ashkenazi Haredi
Shabbat	Litzman	2006 – 6 seats	Ravitz	flexible	separation of	(ultra-Orthodox) Jews.
Judaism					religion and	Two factions: Agudat
	-				state; seeks	Ha Torah (Union of
					money to support	Israel) for Hasidic Jews;
					its religious and	Degel Ha Torah (Flag
					educational	of Torah) for
					institutions	Mitnagdim or
•						Lithuanian anti-Hasidic
						Jews

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Arab / Non-Zionist Parties

In 2003, these parties had a total of 8 seats; they gained slightly to a total of 9 seats

before the election that these parties wouldn't be able to pass the 2% threshold, all of them managed to do so. This is a fairly stable political constituency that is polling at about the same level as in the past. While there was concern

Sources: Jewish Virtual Library, Jerusalem Post, Ha'aretz, Wikipedia, Israeli Foreign Ministry, Israeli Knesset.

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Outline of Labor Party Platform for 17th Knesset

www.avoda2006.org.il

A Jewish Democratic State

Israel is a Jewish state, the national homeland of all Jews wherever they are. As those who are fulfilling Zionism we view ourselves as the heirs and bearers of the glorious Jewish and Hebrew culture. There is a straight path from the roots of our religious and cultural heritage to the future of Israel.

The appropriate solution to the relationship between religion and state ought to be shaped in the course of a dialogue between all sections of the public, leading to agreement. Preserving and cultivating Jewish identity will help maintain the bond with Diaspora Jewry. At the same time, we will strengthen the foundations of the democratic system and the rule of law.

Economy and Society

The challenge facing Israeli society is to accelerate economic development processes while dividing the fruits of that development among all members of society fairly. This should be done out of an awareness of the connection between the equitable distribution of income and economic growth. Therefore an Israeli government headed by the Labor party will lead a social-economic policy that combines enlarging the national pie, and distributing it fairly between all the citizens. A government headed by Labor will set a goal of reducing unemployment, raising the minimum wage and effective enforcement of labor laws; reducing gaps in per capital income, in education and in quality of housing. A compulsory pension law will be passed and old-age allowances will be increased. Meanwhile a Labor government will invest in developing national infrastructures and creating jobs, cultivating small businesses and small business owners.

Foreign Affairs and Security

A political agreement is a national interest of the State of Israel. There is a close link between achieving peace and economic growth and social justice. The Labor party will strive to renew negotiations with the Palestinians while resolutely fighting terror and violence, completing the security fence within a year and maintaining Israel's military advantage. In case of political deadlock, Israel will take independent steps to ensure its military and political interests.

Negotiations will be based on the following principles: two states for two nations, whose border will be determined in negotiations between the sides; the large settlement blocs in Judea and Samaria will be added to the State of Israel; the isolated settlements that are not in the settlement blocs added to Israel will be dismantled; Jerusalem, with all its Jewish neighborhoods, will be Israel's eternal capital, and the sites holy to Judaism will remain under Israeli control; investment in the territories will stop and the conclusions of the Sasson report will be implemented immediately, including dismantling illegal outposts.

Education

The Labor party will lead a process of going from a policy of reducing gaps to a policy of preventing gaps. The future of Israel will be determined by the quality of education it gives its citizens. Israeli society's crisis of achievements and values attests to the failure of the current education system. The way to improve achievements depends on shaping an open and excellent education system. A government headed by Labor will guarantee free excellent education from the pre-school level; education for tomorrow's needs with an emphasis on science, education for democracy and humanism, a long school day and integrating students with disabilities into the system. For this purpose, the national lunch project will be renewed, first in the social and geographic periphery, and then for all Israeli children. The state will act to reposition the profession of teaching and place it at the forefront of society. Israeli culture will be strengthened as a key value and a tool to bridge and cultivate the various populations. Culture will belong to all.

Higher Education and Science

Every young man and woman in Israel will be free to study and acquire an academic degree regardless of their economic ability; higher education and academic research will be bolstered. The academic system's autonomy will be maintained. The government will increase its investments in technological education in all education systems. The chief scientist's budget will be increased.

The Legal System

The legal system is democracy's showcase. Precisely for that reason the system must guarantee maximum equality. A government headed by Labor will promote a reform to increase the accessibility of the Israeli civil and religious courts to all, regardless of their economic condition.

Religion and State

A government headed by Labor will act to enact a fair relationship between religious and secular Jews, based on strengthening Jewish identity through education: separating religion and politics; guaranteeing all citizens freedom of religion and conscious; maintaining freedom of access to holy sites for members of all religions, and providing for the religious needs of the entire public, with all its shades, streams and factions.

The Health System

Health is a public resource. Therefore Labor will guarantee all members of society enjoy equal access to the system and an adequate medicine basket. Labor will act towards that goal.

Violence and Crime

The rising violence and crime on the streets, in schools and in homes, is no less a threat to the integrity of Israeli society than the threat of terror. A government headed by Labor will establish a national task force that recognizes the magnitude of the threat to handle the phenomenon, while devoting adequate budgets to restoring public faith in the policeman's ability to help.

Money and Power

The connection between money and power has led elected officials to take care of themselves and their friends rather than the Israeli public, and leads to the moral corruption of the Israeli public service. A government headed by Labor will act to increase government transparency and enforce a severe punishment policy to shatter the connection that undermines equality of opportunity.

Center and Periphery

Strengthening the periphery is a national goal whose purpose is to settle the land and distribute the population. The Labor party will act to promote national planning, to give the periphery priority over the center.

Settlement and Agriculture

Agricultural and farming in Israel are a special element for balancing Israel's economic, social and ecological character. We will legislate a policy guaranteeing agricultural stability and protecting the income and wellbeing of those who make their living from agriculture.

Immigration and Absorption

Immigration is a key to Israel's future growth and strength. In our plan, encouraging immigration is a high priority as well as seeing to the appropriate employment of immigrants, the wellbeing of weak populations including pensioners and integrating immigrants in key positions of power and influence in Israeli society.

The Status of Women

The equality of the sexes is a basic value in the Labor party's worldview. Implementing that equality, fulfilling it and the struggles to reach it in every area of society, economy and the family, especially as regards single-parent families and fighting violence against women, are our basis for action as a social-democratic party.

Arab Citizens of Israel

Labor will act for a fundamental change in government policy towards its Arab citizens, with an emphasis on full equality to close the gap between Israel's Arab and Jewish citizens in the areas of education, employment and building advanced industrial parks, infrastructures, health, welfare and social services.

The Environment

As the party that led the development of the land since Israel was established, the Labor party undertakes to continue developing the State of Israel, while strictly maintaining social responsibility, striving for environmental justice and carefully preserving the land's image, uniqueness and natural resources.

Meretz on the left...The individual – at the center

Meretz is the pioneer marching before the camp, providing it with guidance and direction.

Meretz has shown how right were the struggles it conducted: for Palestinian-Israeli peace, for negotiations with the PLO and a two-state solution, for a social policy within which the weak and under-privileged sections of the population can also live in dignity, for separation of religion and state, and for human rights. In many areas of Israel's political life, we are the only ones offering incisive and clear solutions to the issues on the agenda.

The platform which we present expresses the basic belief that the Declaration of Independence will only be realized if Israel becomes a normal state, if the emergency regulations dating back to 1948 are abolished, if we invest more in education than in security, if we understand that the price of peace is much lower than the price of ruling over another people, if we close the frightening social gaps, if we guarantee our citizens freedom of religion and freedom from religion, if we enable each every single citizen to realize her or his aspirations, if we ensure equality between Jews and Arabs. If we meet these and other challenges successfully, we will achieve our goals. We hope we can count on your support.

www.meretz.org.il

A SUMMARY OF LIKUD POLICIES

Defense & Foreign Affairs

- NO unilateral withdrawals
- NO strengthening of the terror organizations
- NO Negotiating with the Palestinians until:
 - They fully acknowledge Israel's right to exist
 - There is a full cessation of terror and incitement
 - Any future negotiations will be on a reciprocal basis only
 - NO withdrawal from the Golan Heights
- YES Completion of the security fence around the settlement blocks at a safe distance from the airport and the central highways.
- YES A united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel
- YES A more active and centralized international Hasbara campaign

Economic/Social Policies

- Reduce taxes:
 - Reduce the rate of VAT from 16.5% to 14%
 - Reduce corporate tax to 20%
 - Reduce the marginal rate of tax per individual to 40%

Continuation of reforms:

- Electric Corporation opening the supply of electricity to competition and thereby reducing the cost to consumers.
- Israel Land Authority Elimination of the bureaucracy, so that land can be bought without government ownership or interference.
- Open Skies reducing the price of overseas travel by canceling the monopoly of the Airport Authority
- Privatization of the Mekorot Water company
- Reducing the size of government a continuation of government reorganization, cutting down of government bureaucracy and expanding the computerization of government services

- Encouraging work:

- Encourage the employment of women
- Subsidizing of day-care centers for the children of working women.
- Encouraging potential low salary employees to work by implementing negative income tax

Assistance to the elderly and needy:

- Raising the pensions for the elderly – up to NIS 2400 per month

- 50% discount on medicines for the elderly
- NIS 7,200 annual subsidies for long term apartment rental in public housing.
- Lower tuition fees for students
- Lower the cost of public transportation by 30%.
- **Development of the Galili and the Negev:** Bringing the peripheral towns closer to the country center by strengthening the infrastructure through improvements to major roads and trains.

www.likud.org.il

UNIT 7: ISRAEL & ME

Understandings:

- 1) Israeli history can engage Jewish community members in exploring their Jewish identities as individuals and as members of *klal Yisrael*.
- 2) By integrating the importance of both emotions and facts, Diaspora Jews can formulate personal stances on Israel and its actions.

Essential Questions:

- 1) What is my relationship with Israel?
- 2) How can Israel embody different meanings for different people?
- 3) What aspects of Israel do I identify with?

Goals:

- To explore students' personal connections with Israel
- To struggle with the complex nature of Israel
- To introduce Israel resources on college campuses.

Students will be able to:

- Articulate their feelings about Israel;
- Produce a completed newspaper full of articles from the year;
- Pinpoint their areas of interest in Israel.

Note to Teacher:

This concluding unit is intended to wrap up the year. In 2 lessons you should be able to cover all of the suggested learning activities and the lesson plan.

Suggested Educational Learning Activities

1. Advocacy Resources (suggested time: 30 minutes)

Bring in information about different Israel advocacy organizations, specifically ones that are active on college campuses. Ask the students to evaluate each organization, noting their strengths, weaknesses, and possible biases.

Have a panel of staff from advocacy organizations answer students questions.

Advocacy organizations include:

- o AIPAC
- American Friends of Peace Now
- o Brit Tzedek V'Shalom
- o CAMERA
- Stand With Us
- World Zionist Organization University Student Department (WZO-USD)
- o Hillel

- 2. **Bumper Sticker Song** (suggested time: 30 minutes)
 Listen to the Bumper Sticker song that was played in Unit 1. Review the bumper stickers again, but this time the students will understand most of them in context. Discuss how the song has added meaning now versus at the beginning of the year.
- 3. Amos Oz "Behind the Sound and Fury" (suggested time: 30 minutes)
 Read a short article that Amos Oz wrote in Tikkun Magazine in 1998. The article is about his love and struggle with Israel.

Discussion:

- o How does Oz describe Israel?
- o Describe Oz's conflicting feelings about Israel.
- o How does he reconcile his feelings?
- o How did this article affect your emotions?
- o In what way is this article a call to action?

Unit 7 Lesson Plan My Israel

(Note: This lesson is scripted to take about 90 minutes.)

Objectives: Students will be able to....

- Articulate their feelings about Israel;
- Pinpoint their areas of interest in Israel.
- Analyze what it is like to become aware of personal and others' biases

1. Affinity Grouping (Post It Note Activity) (60 - 70 minutes)

Part 1 (15-20 minutes): Pass out 3 different color post it notes. Each student should take at least 3 (or more) post it notes from <u>each</u> color. Each color will correspond to a different prompt. Write the following 3 prompts on 3 different parts of the blackboard.

- o I am connected to Israel through....
- o I am a Zionist because...
- I disagree with Israel about....

The students should respond to these prompts by writing their answers on the post it notes – one answer per note. They can get more post-its if needed. This is a silent activity, and they should not write their names on their notes. When they are done, they should post their notes under the appropriate heading on the board (you could also move it to a wall so that there is more room to work in part 2).

Part 2 (20 - 25 minutes): Divide the class into 3 groups and assign each group a set of post it notes. Without talking, each group should read all of the post it notes (in their section) and start to group them by theme. Students can disagree with each other and move the notes back and forth until there is some sort of consensus about order. After 10 minutes they can talk and discuss how to best group them. Once the groupings are formed, the students should write the theme or main idea above the grouping so that everyone can see.

Part 3 (25 minutes): Bring the class back together and have each group present their groupings to the class. Have a brief discussion.

- o Did any of the answers to these prompts surprise you? Which ones and why?
- o How do you reconcile the first and third prompts?
- What are some of the new points of connection to Israel that you have developed this year?
- O How do you think your answers now compare to the beginning of the year? Pass out the worksheet they completed in Unit 1 and the letter they wrote themselves from Unit 4. Give them a few minutes to read what they wrote.
 - What caused the changes in your thinking about Israel?

2. Newspaper Assembly and Review (25 minutes)

Pass out the compiled newspaper which contains all of the newspaper articles that the students have written during the year. Give the students a few minutes to flip through the newspaper and look at some of the articles.

Concluding Discussion

- O Considering either your own biases or the biases of the material you received, what were the difficulties of writing some of these articles?
- o Which topics posed the greatest challenges and why?
- O You know have a large newspaper filled with information. How can you use this newspaper as a resource in the future?

UNIT 7: ISRAEL & ME

SOURCES

Activity #3: Amos Oz

• Amos Oz Article, "Behind the Sound and Fury"

Amos Oz - Behind the Sound and Fury

Monologue - In Tikkun Magazine, March 1998

I love Israel even at times when I don't like it, even when I can't stand it.

I love it because I feel somewhat at home in Israel, even though it is a flawed home. It needs some mending. If Israel at times is disappointing, that is the nature of dreams--to be somewhat disappointing once they are fulfilled.

Israel is a dream come true. The only way to keep a dream rosy and intact is to never live it out. This is true of planting a garden, raising a family, living out a sexual fantasy, or building a nation.

Some people expected Israel to be a moral light unto the nations. Others expected it to be a nonstop macho show--Entebbe every week. Others wanted it to be an incarnation of the Jewish shtetl from Eastern Europe. They visit us and say "no bagels, no lox, no Jewish State."

Dreams can only remain wonderful as long as they don't come true. But the real Israel is not one dream come true, but a conglomeration of dreams, fantasies, blueprints and master plans. There were people who came here to humbly wait for the messiah. There were others, more ambitious, who intended to make the messiah come immediately. Others wanted to be the messiah, or to reconstruct the ancient kingdoms of David and Solomon with all their glory, or to build a Marxist paradise (so one day Stalin could visit and get the grand tour of a kibbutz, and the kibbutzniks could have a lengthy discussion with him and teach him once and for all what Marxism/Leninism is all about, and then, they fantasized, he would rise to his feet, say "You Jews did socialism better here than we did in Russia," and die of happiness). There were Europeans who hoped to rebuild Vienna or Prague in the heart of the Middle East, with good manners and tea and European decorum, music, peace and quiet between two and four in the afternoon, and a lot of Gamitlichkeit. Next door there were people who wanted this place to become a fifty-second state of the U.S. or a Scandinavian social democracy. The founders of my own kibbutz, Hulda, semi-religious social anarchists, maintained that it was time for the Jewish people to come back to Israel to create a loose federation of rural communities where the Jews would undergo a deep religious renewal, not in synagogue, but by being in constant touch with the elements of nature, by hard physical work and sharing

everything with each other. There was, in short, a rainbow of fantasies.

Zionism was an uneasy coalition of diverse dreams, and by definition it would have been impossible for all those dreams to have been fulfilled. Today, some are partially fulfilled, some forgotten, and some have turned into nightmares.

Israel is a fiery collection of arguments, and I like it this way, although it is no garden of roses. There is something very creative about this situation. Israel is a living open street seminar about Jewish heritage, about the meaning of Judaism, about morality, about the significance or marginality of holy places, about a hierarchy of different Jewish values. A whole nation has been immersed for the past thirty years in a debate which is superficially political or military but which is essentially ethical, historical, even theological about the kind of identity they want.

Outsiders say, "Can't you Israelis lower your voices a little bit when you disagree with each other? The noises that you are making are embarrassing us in front of our non-Jewish neighbors."

No way, no deal.

One of the consequences of being a citizen of an independent state of the Jewish people is that I feel free to conduct my argument at the top of my voice if I so choose and to hell with my neighbors. Israel belongs in a Felini movie, not an Ingmar Bergman film. Hence the sound and the fury, the anger and sometimes the bad blood. When abroad, some of us peace-oriented Israelis are requested to shut up for the sake of unity. At least abroad, some American Jews say, we need to present a unified Jewish facade. I say to them, "Brilliant idea, let's present a unified facade. Why don't you people pretend to be Peace Now and keep your ideas to yourself, so that we all speak in a Peace Now voice and appear perfectly united?" But the only kind of unity they have in mind is for me to shut up for the sake of unity. For some bizarre reason, the only unity they have in mind is right-wing and Orthodox.

In Israel, every line at a bus stop is likely to catch a spark and turn into a fascinating, fiery street seminar, with total strangers arguing about politics, strategies, the Bible, morality, ethics, and the real purpose of God. While noisily disagreeing about metaphysics, they are elbowing their way to the top of the line. This is a vivacious culture--after all, culture is not just about spending money on opera.

Some impatient outsiders ask, "When are you going to give us a juicy little Jewish civil war?" They want the fight, the settlers shooting at the peaceniks, the Ashkenazi at the

Sephardi, the religious at the secular. I tell those people, "The Israeli civil war has been going on for seventy years, but it is mostly a verbal civil war. We fight by calling each other terrible names, thus inflicting cancer and heart attacks on each other." Issues like the separation of Church and State have been settled in other countries through very bloody civil wars. Ours is relatively civilized by comparison. It is going to take a very long time to be resolved. But I think it won't be as bloody as other such struggles (think of how many tens of thousands of people died in the American civil war over establishing America's rules of the game). Another politician or writer might get assassinated. We are not immune, of course, to further nasty episodes of violence. But I don't think we are going to have a civil war in the honored tradition of the most civilized nations.

The assassination of Yitzchak Rabin was dark and immensely significant; yet what followed afterwards was equally significant. The next morning the whole nation was out in the streets, half mourning Rabin as a saint, the other half maintaining that Rabin was the worst traitor in all of Jewish history who deserved to face a court martial for treason. Although everyone was arguing with everyone, there was not a single recorded episode of violence--not a punch in the eye or a slap in the face. If the President of France had been shot, you'd see tanks in the streets of Paris tomorrow. The assassination was extremely un-Jewish; what followed was very Jewish.

We don't actually have a debate about "Who is a Jew?" It's really just over "Who is a rabbi?" To me, the answer is very simple: everyone is a rabbi. This is a nation of 5.9 million rabbis, teachers, prophets, Prime ministers, and messiahs. Everyone talks and no one listens (except for me--I listen sometimes, that is how I make a living). Who is a Jew? Everyone who is mad enough to call himself or herself a Jew is a Jew. It's not for nothing that we never had a pope. If anyone would call herself or himself the Pope of the Jews, everybody would slap this Jewish pope on the back, saying "Hi, Pope, we don't know each other, but your uncle and my grandfather used to do business together in Minsk or Casablanca, so let me tell you once and for all what God really wants from us." Judaism is a game of interpretations and interpretations of interpretations. Every time the Jews live in submission, obedience, in blind religious discipline, rather than in open interpretation, there are bad times for Jews. Israel is facing huge problems, the most urgent being the feud with the Palestinians. But Orthodoxy is a digression, because it tries to restrict and excommunicate the freedom of

interpretation, the built-in argumentativeness which has been the soul of this culture. The worst part of the Israeli-Arab conflict might be over. Deep in their hearts, even the Right knows that there will be a partition, and, though they may fight over the boundaries, they know that there will be a Palestinian state. Gone are the days of total cognitive blocks between Israel and the Arabs, when the Arabs treated Israel as a passing infection, while many of us treated the Palestinian tragedy as a non-issue. When we can no longer use the Palestinian issue as a diversion, we will be faced with each other, a society full of screaming prophets. And that will present us with dangers and great changes. We will have a lot of work to do.

Then we will have to face our real issues: How do we deal with the disappointments of so many? How do we conduct the dialogue, between ourselves and also between ourselves and those Jews who wish to live elsewhere? How does one reconcile even a decent nation-state with ethical requirements? The nation-state is a crude instrument. It is not a handmade suit for Jewish culture or for the highest ethical standards. I'm not an optimist but an activist. Israel at the moment is in deep crisis. But I refuse to

I'm not an optimist but an activist. Israel at the moment is in deep crisis. But I refuse to share the somewhat whining despair of some of my fellow intellectuals in Tel Aviv as they face the fiftieth anniversary of the State. Their despair comes in part from the fact that intellectuals had a very formative role in the early years in Israel. Intellectuals had reason to feel that they were the composers and conductors of the orchestra. In recent years, we (including me, sometimes) are bewildered and angry at the shrinking role of the thinkers, the intellectuals, the poets, the moralizers. There was a certain attempt at harmonizing early Zionism, its requirements and aspirations, with the vision of the sensitive lot. Not so today. The intellectuals still have lots more influence here than they have in America or in most countries in the world, but nothing like what they felt they had forty or fifty years ago.

I belong by temperament to those who ask, "What do we need to do next?" I think I have the answer: what we ought to do, rather than search our souls about the shattering of the dream, is to win over the thirty to forty thousand middle-of-the-road Israelis who could be on our side, not only on issues of peace with the Palestinians, but also on issues of the separation of state and synagogue and the support for more democracy and for human and civil rights.

Many of our potential supporters would have been on our side but for the errors made by progressive forces who were often condescending and made fun of the legitimate fears and apprehensions of many ordinary Israelis. Some of us peace activists have made fun of these fears and apprehensions, have treated insecurity as a sign of lack of intelligence, and thus have alienated many middle-of-the-road Israelis; that has been a grave error both morally and politically. We could win over another 50,000 Israelis-not Archie Bunker, but we could win Edith (we already have Michael and Gloria), if we try to reason with her, not to insult or shame her. We need to talk to her eye-to-eye. That is what I do, rather than go to the intellectual places in Tel Aviv to talk to other peacemakers about how terrible things are and how impotent we all are. I go to developing towns and to other places where I can talk to middle-of-the-road Israelis. The Arab citizens of the State of Israel have not been treated correctly. There can be no such thing as a Jewish state; it must be the State of the Jewish people and all its citizens, which means that Israeli Arabs will have the option to be full-scale citizens with all the rights and duties (including joining the Israeli army). Israel needs to look the Palestinian tragedy right in the eye and say, "We will do everything we can, short of committing suicide, to cure this tragedy."

I regard the class between Israel and Palestine in 1948 as a tragedy because it was a clash between right and right. Both Palestinians and Israelis bear responsibility. It was a clash between two deeply injured, hysterical, terror-ridden nations. Neither side can be terribly proud of what they did in 1948. We have to see how we can heal these wounds by dealing with the Palestinian refugees--those refugees ought to be taken out of the refugee camps now, even before we know the exact boundaries of a future Palestine. Israel and Palestine may live forever with different narratives of what really happened in 1948. But when I see a car accident, I don't ask who caused the accident, but who is bleeding most heavily; it is they who deserve the most urgent attention. Today it is those refugees living in the camps, they and the victims of terrorism in the streets of Israel and the victims of oppression in the West Bank, who need our attention. This, not the blame, is urgent. There is enough blame for everyone.

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WEBSITES

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This website is operated by the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE). The AICE works to strengthen American-Israeli ties through continuing education and cooperation. The Jewish Virtual Library provides primary and secondary documents about Israeli history and

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www.jafi.org.il/education

The Jewish Agency for Israel has a website dedicated to Zionist and Israel education. The website has information about Israel, activity ideas, articles, and written curriculum.

www.mfa.gov.il

The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website provides updated information about Israel and current events, particularly about issues such as the Security Fence and the Settlements.

www.myisraelsource.com

This website offers links to primary documents such as the Oslo Accords and Yitzhak Rabin's speeches. Resources are organized by themes.