

# Israel 101

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Geography • Politics • Zionism • History • People • Culture



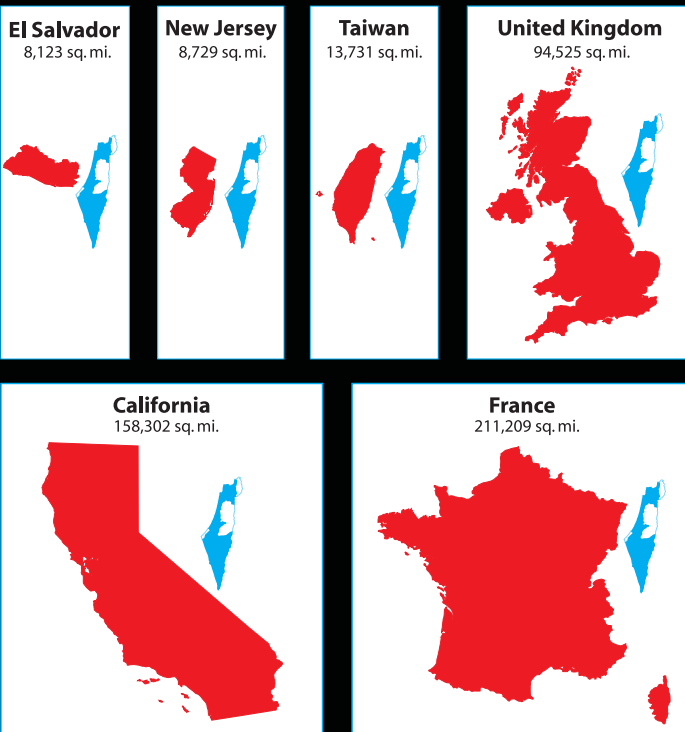
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# Regional



**Israel's territory is 8,019 square miles (sq. mi.).  
That makes it smaller than...**



## Israel's Size Compared to Arab World

- Israel's land mass is about  $\frac{1}{625}$  ( $\frac{1}{6}$  of 1 percent) the size of the Arab World
- 5.5 million Israeli Jews;  
300 million Middle Eastern Arabs and Muslims

## Christian Population in the Middle East

Israel is the only Middle Eastern country where the Christian population is thriving instead of disappearing. Between 1948 and 1998, Israel's Christians grew fourfold, from 34,000 to 130,000.

## World Religions

<b>Christianity:</b>	<b>2 billion people</b>
<b>Islam:</b>	<b>1.3 billion people</b>
<b>Hinduism:</b>	<b>900 million people</b>
<b>Buddhism:</b>	<b>360 million people</b>
<b>Judaism:</b>	<b>14 million people</b>

# Map



In the following pages, you will learn how the Jewish people restored their national independence in their ancestral homeland after 2,000 years of living under the rule of others. You will see how this young state built a vibrant society and how it lives up to the ethical and humanitarian ideals of both its ancient heritage and of modern times despite the challenges it faces.

You will also learn about global terrorism. Some terrorist organizations described in this booklet have cells around the world and have attacked countries worldwide, from the U.S. to India. Because of its location and history, Israel has been forced to stand on the frontlines of the global war against organized terrorism.



1897

# ZIONISM

## The Rebirth of a Nation



1948

### A continuous Jewish presence in Israel for over 3,000 years.

*"Who can challenge the rights of the Jews in Palestine? Good Lord, historically it is really your country."*

Yusuf Diya al-Khalidi,  
Mayor of Jerusalem, 1899.

*"It is, indeed, not the birth of a nation, for the Jewish nation through centuries of oppression and captivity have preserved their sentiment of nationality as few peoples could...it is the rebirth of a nation."*

Lord Robert Cecil, 1918

*"We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement.... We will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home... our two movements complement one another."*

Emir Faisal, a leader of  
the Arab world, 1919.

*"It is manifestly right that the scattered Jews should have a national center and a national home and be reunited, and where else but in Palestine, with which for 3,000 years they have been intimately and profoundly associated?"*

Winston Churchill, 1920



Zion is an age-old name for Jerusalem and the land of Israel. Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people who sought to restore their freedom and independence in their ancestral homeland.

Theodore Herzl founded the modern Zionist movement in 1897, but the dream of restoration and return had always been at the core of Judaism and Jewish identity. Rome tried to obliterate the millennia-old Jewish state in the first century, but unlike other nations conquered in ancient times, the Jews survived and never lost their profound attachment to their land of origin. Jews lived in the land of Israel continuously for 3,000 years. Those forced into exile expressed their yearning to return in their daily liturgy and prayers. For 2,000 years, many came back in periodic waves of immigration. By the late 1860s, Jews once again were the majority in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Zionists adapted this historic dream to modern political ideals and circumstances. They were inspired by national liberation movements and driven by ongoing anti-Jewish persecution and discrimination that occurred even in progressive Europe. The Zionists believed that if the scattered Jews reunited in their historic homeland, joining the Jews who were already there, they could restore their freedom, be free from prejudice and further develop their unique culture.

Disagreements arose among Zionists as Jews from different countries and with different ideologies—religious and secular, socialist and conservative—joined together. But they united around fundamental principles that combined idealism and practicality. They would seek official support from other national governments. They would return legally, purchase the land and restore it through their own labor. Zionists envisioned living in friendship with non-Jewish residents and believed the entire region would benefit from their restoration of the land.

Within 50 years, the Zionist dream became a reality. Britain recognized the thriving communities Jews had built and in the 1917 Balfour Declaration, endorsed the "Zionist aspirations." In 1920, the League of Nations reinforced this commitment and carved out the Palestine Mandate from the defeated Ottoman Empire for the Jewish homeland.

On May 14, 1948, Israel was reestablished as a modern state and recognized by the community of nations. It lived up to the Zionist dream. Israel began with a Jewish majority that had purchased and settled the land and accorded full civil, political and cultural rights to all its minorities, including Arabs, Muslims and Christians.

Today, Jewish and non-Jewish Zionists around the world support the State of Israel and hope to see the full Zionist vision realized—a safe and thriving Israel living at peace with its neighbors.



The remains of Gamla, evidence of an ancient Jewish city in the Golan Heights where, in 67 C.E., Jews fought to the last person against the Roman army. Thousands of inhabitants were killed. Others jumped to their deaths from Gamla's cliffs to avoid capture and certain slavery. The city was destroyed and never rebuilt.



The "Kotel ha-Ma'aravi"—the Western Wall

This outer retaining wall on the west side of the Temple Mount was all that remained after the Romans destroyed the Second Temple in 70 C.E. It became Judaism's holiest site, and for centuries, Jews worshipped at the Kotel and put their prayers, written on scraps of paper, into its crevices.



When the Romans defeated the Jews in 70 C.E., they built this "Titus Arch" in Rome to commemorate their victory. The sculpture depicts the booty the Romans took when they ransacked and destroyed the Second Temple in Jerusalem. The Roman victors named the conquered Jewish region "Palestine."<sup>2</sup>



# TIES THAT BIND

## Jews Connecting Through The Centuries



**Jews are one of the few ancient peoples who have survived into modern times. Judaism is among the world's oldest living religions.**

Jewish civilization was already over 1,000 years old when the Romans conquered Judea, but the Jews safeguarded their unique heritage for the next two millennia. No matter how far they wandered, how much they adapted to their host societies or how much they were persecuted, Jews maintained their identity.

Judaism and its sacred books bind the Jewish people together. Whether they are religious or secular, Jews are connected by the ethics and values that Judaism teaches. Parents have passed the tradition to their children, who passed it on to their own children, and so it has continued for thousands of years.

Jews everywhere observe the holy days in almost identical ways and repeat the rituals and prayers that Jewish families have used since the days of ancient Israel.

Jews share the same life-cycle rituals. When an eight-day-old infant is circumcised or adolescents celebrate their Bar Mitzvah and the whole community celebrates, they are reenacting age-old Jewish traditions. When a loved one dies, Jewish customs and prayers comfort



Fragment of a sixth-century mosaic (Byzantine Period) depicting King David playing the lyre, found in the ancient synagogue of Gaza. —Israel Museum



A boy carries a Torah Scroll at his Bar Mitzvah at the Western Wall.

***“Jews prefer being prisoners in Jerusalem to enjoying the freedom they could acquire elsewhere....The love of the Jews for the Holy Land which they lost...is unbelievable.”***

Jesuit Father Michael Naud on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 1674.<sup>3</sup>

the grieving and spell out how the community should support and console the mourners.

Jewish life centers around home and family. Jewish tradition sanctifies family relationships. Parents' devotion and sense of responsibility for passing on Jewish identity have bound generations to the past while linking them to the future.

Jews have always identified with Zion, the Jewish homeland. It is at the core of Jewish history, religious texts and identity. Many consider title to the land to be at the heart of the promise between G-d and the Jewish people in the Torah, which dates back thousands of years. The Hebrew language, the Torah, the laws in the Talmud, the Jewish calendar and Jewish holidays and festivals all originated in ancient Israel and revolve around its seasons, way of life and history. Zion and Jerusalem are mentioned 809 times in the Hebrew Bible. When Israel was reestablished in 1948, Jews everywhere came to embrace Israel and once again recognize it as the center of Jewish life and continuity.

***“The Greeks and the Romans...are gone; other people have sprung up and held their torch high for a time but it burned out...the Jews saw them all, survived them all...all things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces passed, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?”*** —Mark Twain, 1898<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dore Gold, “Jerusalem in International Diplomacy: Demography,” *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*, October 27, 2006. <sup>2</sup>Michael Grant, *The Jews in the Roman World*, 1973, p. 255; Elliott A Green, “What Did Rome Call the Land of Israel...,” *Midstream*, October 1995. <sup>3</sup>R.P. Michael Naud, *Voyage Nouveau de la Terre-Sainte*, Paris, 1702, pp. 58, 563. <sup>4</sup>Mark Twain, “Concerning the Jews,” *Harper's Magazine*, March 1898.

# Evolution of the Region

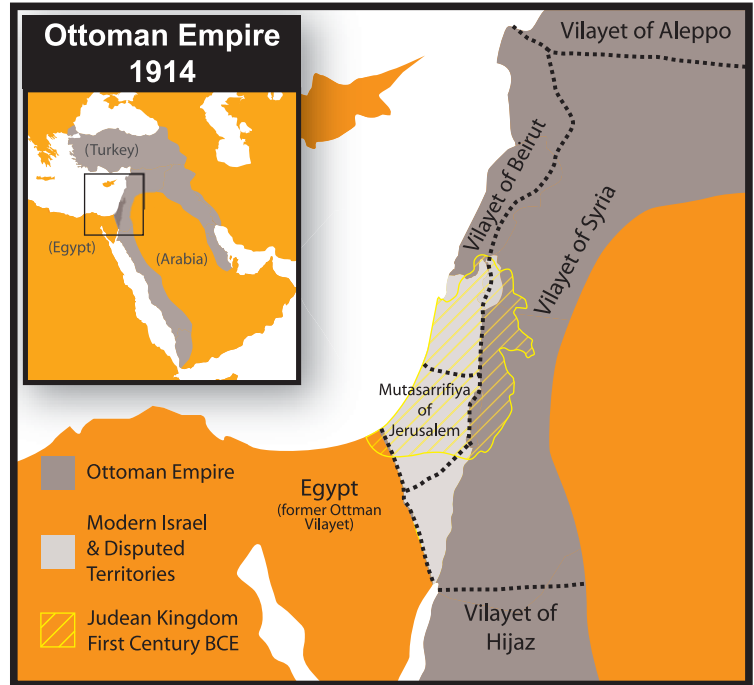
## The Rise and Fall of Empires

In the first century, the Roman Empire defeated the over-1,000-year-old nation of Judea, destroyed its Holy Temple in Jerusalem and exiled hundreds of thousands of Jews. To erase all memory of Judea, Rome renamed it "Palestine" after the Jews' biblical enemy, the Philistines, an Aegean people who had once settled along the coast.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, Westerners referred to the Jewish-Christian Holy Land as Palestine. Arab peoples did not widely adopt the name "Palestine" until the 20th century. Though the name had always been associated with Jews, in the 1960s it became associated with the Arab Palestinian nationalist movement.

For the two millennia after the Roman conquest, no other state or unique national group developed in Palestine, and no ruler chose Jerusalem as its capital. Instead, different empires and peoples came, colonized, ruled and disappeared. Jews remained throughout these changes. Their numbers grew as exiled Jews returned in periodic waves of immigration; their numbers fell when the area's rulers persecuted them.

Between 1517 and 1917, Palestine was an unimportant backwater of the sprawling Ottoman Empire, which, at its height in 1683, covered vast parts of the Middle East, North Africa and Eastern Europe. It was separated into small subdistricts within the large province of Syria (and later Beirut). The Palestine region initially prospered under the Ottomans, but during the Empire's decline, it was reduced to a sparsely populated, impoverished, barren area.<sup>2</sup>

When the Ottoman Empire was defeated in World War I (1914-1918), its lands were ceded to the victorious Allies. Just as the Allies carved new nations out of Europe's defeated empires, so too they carved nations out of the former Ottoman Empire and created most of the Middle Eastern states we know today, including Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. They also redrew Palestine's boundaries and officially recognized it as the Jewish national home.



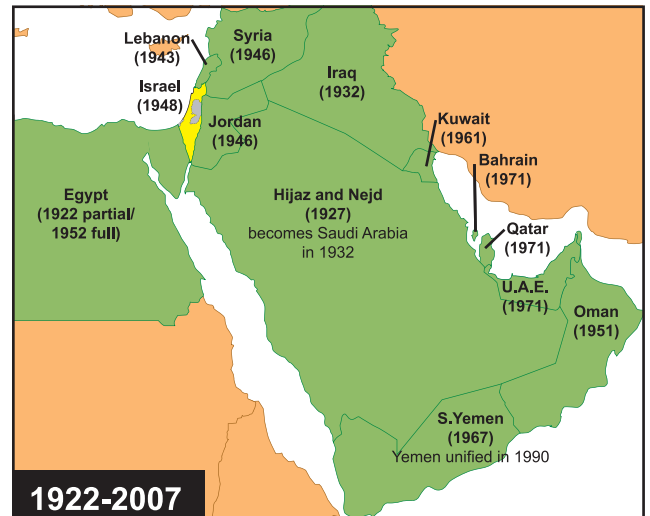
The former lands of the Judean Kingdom did not constitute a single "Palestine" entity during 400 years of Ottoman rule. Instead, it was broken up and placed under various administrators by the Ottoman Empire.

## The Middle East: A neighborhood of young countries



- British Mandate
- British Protectorate
- French Mandate
- Independent from foreign power (date of independence)

The newly established League of Nations set up "mandates" to be administered by France and England until the new states were ready for self-government. The boundaries established at the end of World War I would be changed several times before assuming their current form.



- Israel (1948 independence)
- Land Disputed with Palestinian Arabs
- Decolonization of Arab states (date of independence)

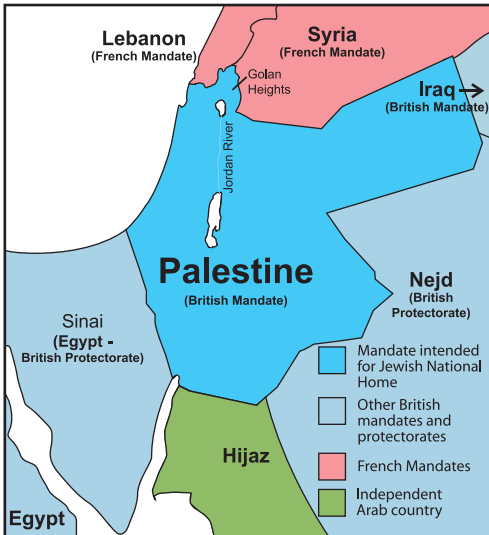
The independence of most of the Middle East's modern nation-states is relatively recent, although the region is home to many ancient cultures. Several of these states, such as Bahrain and Kuwait, are younger than Israel.

<sup>1</sup>Michael Grant, *The Jews in the Roman World*, 1973, p. 255; Elliott A Green, "What Did Rome Call the Land of Israel...", in *Midstream*, October 1995. <sup>2</sup>League of Nations, "An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine, during the period 1st July, 1920-30th June, 1921," July 1921.

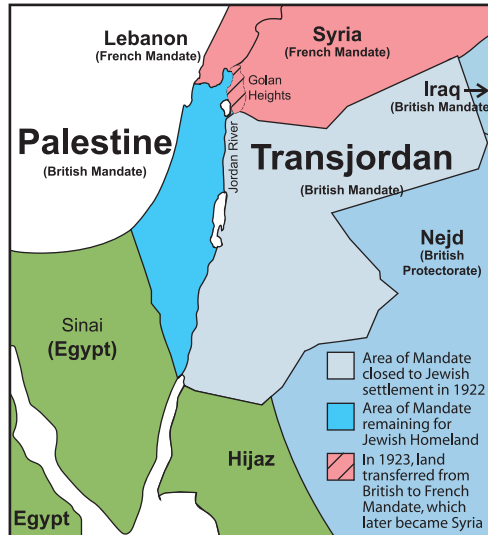
# Israel Reborn

The League of Nations recognized the Jews' deep ties to their historic homeland, admired the thriving community they had been revitalizing since the 1880s and established the Palestine Mandate for a Jewish homeland.

## This is modern Israel's story in maps.



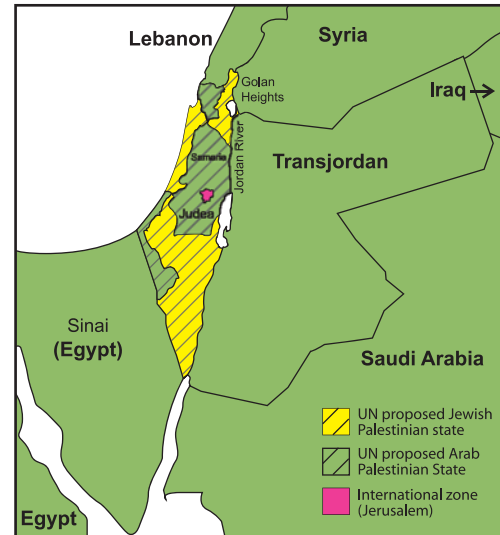
**1917-1922** In the 1917 Balfour Declaration, Britain endorsed "Zionist aspirations" to reestablish their homeland in Palestine and promised to "facilitate" the effort.<sup>1</sup> In 1920, international peace negotiators incorporated the Balfour Declaration in the Treaty of Sevres and called for a Mandate in Palestine.<sup>2</sup> In 1922, the League of Nations instructed the British Mandate authorities to "facilitate" Jewish immigration and settlement of Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Many European and Arab leaders hoped Jews would revive this small, impoverished, thinly populated region.



**1922-1923** In 1922, in response to Arab pressure, Britain violated the Mandate and cut off 77 percent of Palestine, granted it exclusively to the Hashemites and forbade Jewish settlement in what became Jordan. Today, over 70 percent of Jordanians are Palestinian Arabs.

In 1923, Britain again violated the Mandate and gave the Golan Heights to the French Mandate which later became Syria.

During the Mandate, the term Palestinian described both Jewish and Arab residents of Palestine. Jews have been the majority in Jerusalem since the late 1860s.



**1947-1948** UN Resolution 181 recommended partitioning the remaining Palestine Mandate between Arabs and Jews. The Jewish portion had a Jewish majority. Jewish leaders accepted it even though their portion comprised only 13 percent of the original Mandate and 60 percent of it was the arid Negev Desert. Arab leaders rejected the offer to create another Arab state in the Mandate and instead went to war to seize the whole area and eliminate Israel.



**1949-1967** When the 1948 War ended, Jordan annexed the area it renamed the "West Bank," while Egypt occupied Gaza. Both areas remained unallocated portions of the former British Mandate.

With these ceasefire borders, Israel was only nine miles wide at its center, leaving its population centers vulnerable to military and terrorist attacks. In the 1950s and 1960s, Arabs opposed to Israel's existence repeatedly launched attacks from Syria, the West Bank and Gaza.



**1967-1979** In 1967, when Israel's neighbors again mobilized for a full-scale invasion and blocked her waterways, Israel preempted them in a defensive war. In six days of fighting, Israel captured strategically vital buffer zones: the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza, and the West Bank.

Israel immediately offered to negotiate with Jordan, Syria and Egypt and return land for peace. Arab governments refused to talk or recognize Israel. In 1973, Syria and Egypt launched a surprise attack to destroy Israel on Yom Kippur and were again defeated.



**1979-2007** Hoping to foster peace, Israel relinquished the entire Sinai Peninsula, which it had captured in 1967, to Egypt in the 1979 Camp David Peace Accords. In 1994 Israel and Jordan signed a Peace Treaty.

Using a "land for peace" model, Israel and Palestinians tried to negotiate for a possible future Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. By the time Arafat began the violent Second Intifada in 2000, 98 percent of Palestinians lived under an autonomous Palestinian government.

Seeing it had no peace partner and hoping for progress, Israel withdrew unilaterally from Lebanon in 2000 and from Gaza and parts of the West Bank in 2005. Nonetheless, following these withdrawals, Israel was continuously attacked by Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank and by Hezbollah from Lebanon.

<sup>1</sup>Balfour Declaration, November 17, 1917. <sup>2</sup>Treaty of Sevres, Section VII, Article 94, August 10, 1920. <sup>3</sup>Council of the League of Nations, The Palestine Mandate, Article 6, July 24, 1922.

# RESTORING THE

*Jews are indigenous to the Palestine region and have lived there continuously for over 3,000 years. Even after the Roman conquest in the first century, Jewish communities remained and periodically flourished, and exiled Jews returned in waves of immigration. But Jews became an oppressed*

## The Modern Revival Begins – Pre-World War I

In the mid-1800s, a new energy seized the Jewish community in Palestine. With help from philanthropists like Sir Moses Montefiore and donations from ordinary Jews around the world, Jews branched out from the cities and began purchasing land and building farms, villages and schools. More exiles returned. By 1854, Jews were the largest religious group in Jerusalem; by 1870, they were once again the majority of the city's population.<sup>1</sup>

They were young, energetic idealists imbued with Western political principles and the dreams of national liberation that were sweeping across Europe. Many were socialists. They believed their country could be restored through their hard physical labor and dedication. They hoped to start a renaissance of Jewish culture and to restore Jewish dignity, self-reliance and independence.



Jewish Family in Tiberias, 1893



Jewish immigrants disembark



Young Jewish pioneer



Jewish Pioneers in Palestine

Between 1882 and 1914, a new kind of Jewish immigrant arrived—the “Lovers of Zion” and other early Zionists—who laid the groundwork for the modern Jewish State.

These immigrants sought freedom from the oppression and persecution that had plagued Jews in Europe and the Middle East.

Between 1881 and 1906, Jews in Russia were slaughtered, their homes and towns were destroyed, and their women were raped. In Kishinev, “*The mob was led by priests and the general cry, ‘Kill the Jews’ was taken up all over the city. The Jews...were slaughtered like sheep...Babies were literally torn to pieces by the frenzied and bloodthirsty mob.*”

—*New York Times*, April 28, 1903, p. 6

“*Like the miserable dog without an owner, he [the Jew] is kicked by one because he crosses [a Muslim’s] path, and cuffed by another because he cries out—to seek redress he is afraid, lest it bring worse upon him; he thinks it better to endure than to live in the expectation of his complaint being revenged upon him.*” —British Consul in Jerusalem, William T. Young, to Colonel Patrick Campbell, May 25, 1839<sup>2</sup>

The returning Jews had no powerful nation to help them. They had no weapons. They were often penniless.

The land was only sparsely populated, and much of it had become barren. The Jews wanted to restore the land’s once-famous fertility and build villages and communities where none existed. The region was an impoverished backwater of the Ottoman Empire. In 1880, there were only an estimated 250,000 to 400,000 people, many of whom were also recent arrivals, who had no sense of unity or ethnic or national identity.<sup>3</sup> Their allegiance was to the Ottoman Empire, their religious group, their clan and their local community.

“*The country was...and is now, underdeveloped and under-populated....There are...large cultivable areas that are left untilled. The summits and slopes of the hills are admirably suited to the growth of trees, but there are no forests. Miles of sand dunes that could be redeemed, are untouched.*” —Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine to the League of Nations, June 1921<sup>4</sup>

The area included such an assortment of ethnic groups that over 50 different languages were spoken. —“Palestine,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition, 1911, p. 600



# JEWISH HOMELAND

minority in their homeland, and their numbers rose and fell depending on the kindness or cruelty of the region's different rulers. In the 1700s and early 1800s, crippling taxes, discrimination, persecution and natural disasters brought the Jewish community to a new low.



Founding of Tel Aviv, 1909

**The Jews legally bought the land they developed primarily from absentee landowners. Most of it was uncultivated swampland or sand dunes.**

*"They (Jews) paid high prices for the land, and in addition, they paid to certain occupants of those lands a considerable amount of money which they were not legally bound to pay."* —Hope Simpson Report, 1930<sup>5</sup>

*"Of the total of 418,000 dunums (quarter-acres) acquired by Jews in Palestine [between 1878 and 1914], 58 percent was sold by non-Palestinian [Arab] absentee landlords and 36 percent by Palestinian absentee landlords, for a total of 94 percent."*

—Palestinian-American historian Rashid Khalidi<sup>6</sup>

*"Arab claims that the Jews have obtained too large a proportion of good land cannot be maintained. Much of the land now carrying orange groves was sand dunes or swamps and uncultivated when it was bought."*

—Peel Commission Report, 1937<sup>7</sup>

**Through backbreaking labor, the early Jewish pioneers cleared the wastelands and malarial swamps, reforested the hillsides and built towns and villages.**

*"Nobody knows of all the hardships, sickness and wretchedness they [the early Zionists] underwent. No observer from afar can feel what it is like to be without a drop of water for days, to lie for months in cramped tents visited by all sorts of reptiles, or understand what our wives, children, and mothers go through... No one looking at a completed building realizes the sacrifice put into it."* —Early Zionist account of settling, 1885<sup>8</sup>

*"Jewish agricultural colonies... developed the culture of oranges... They drained swamps. They planted eucalyptus trees. They practiced, with modern methods, all the processes of agriculture... Every traveller in Palestine... is impressed by... the beautiful stretches of prosperous cultivation about them."*

—Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine to the League of Nations, June 1921<sup>9</sup>

## Evolution of the term "Palestine"

From the first century when Rome renamed the Jewish state "Palestine" until the mid-20th century, "Palestine" was associated with Jews and the Jewish homeland.

Jews in the area used the name Palestine for their symphonies, newspapers and other enterprises. There was the *Palestine Post* (later the *Jerusalem Post*), the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, the Palestine Electric Company, the Palestine Potash Company and others.

Arabs and Jews who lived in the Palestine Mandate all had Palestine Mandate passports, but Arab residents were generally referred to as Arabs, not Palestinians.

*"Palestine is a term the Zionists invented!... Our country for centuries was part of Syria."*

—Local Arab leader Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi, to the Peel Commission in 1937.

Before and after World War II, anti-Semites in Europe and the U.S. told Jews to get out and "go back home to Palestine."

After 1948 when the reborn Jewish State took the name Israel, the term "Palestine" went out of usage to refer to Israel.

In 1964, the term was revived when Egypt helped organize the PLO, the Palestine Liberation Organization. By the 1970s, the term came to be associated with Arabs, not Jews.



**Top:** A 1759 map of Palestine shows the geographic boundaries of Israel's ancient 12 Tribes in the region known as Palestine.

**Middle:** The earliest currency of Palestine (1927) was inscribed with both Hebrew and Arabic, the languages of Jews and Arabs.

**Bottom:** A Palestine stamp from the Mandate era. Notice the Hebrew and Arabic writing.

# Post-World War I

Britain and the League of Nations created the Palestine Mandate as the Jewish National Home in part because of the growing number of Jews and their achievements in the pre-World War I period. Between 1890 and 1915, the Jewish population rose from 42,900 to 83,000.<sup>10</sup> They had built thriving farms, created villages and towns and social institutions, introduced innovations like socialist communes, revived Hebrew and created a rich culture.

*“During the last two or three generations, the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community.... This community [has] its town and country population, its political, religious and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life.”*

—The Churchill or British White Paper, June 1922<sup>11</sup>

*“The British Government was impressed by the reality, the strength and the idealism of this [Zionist] movement. It recognised its value in ensuring the future development of Palestine.”*

—Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine to the League of Nations, 1921<sup>12</sup>



Tel Aviv, circa 1930

During the Mandate (1920-1948), Zionists continued their prewar policies of purchasing and restoring the land, often using innovative agricultural techniques. By 1935, the Jewish National Fund had planted over 1.7 million trees.<sup>13</sup>

Zionists also developed industry, power plants, urban life and social institutions, such as labor unions, political parties, hospitals, universities and a national orchestra. Three universities were founded before 1948. The Hebrew Opera first performed in 1922. The Palestine Orchestra, later the Israeli Philharmonic, was founded in 1936.

Zionists hoped to live in friendship and cooperation with the Arab population and believed that restoring the land would benefit everyone. Many Arabs welcomed this development, which also attracted Arab immigrants from the neighboring countries. An estimated 25 percent to 37 percent of immigrants to pre-state Israel were Arabs, not Jews. Between 1922 and 1946 alone, approximately 100,000 Arabs entered the country from neighboring lands. Approximately 363,000 Jews immigrated in the same period.<sup>14</sup>

*“Those good Jews brought...prosperity over Palestine without damage to anyone or taking anything by force.”* —Syrian Alawi notable’s letter to French Prime Minister, June 1936<sup>15</sup>

*“No one doubted that the Arabs had benefited from Jewish immigration. Their numbers had almost doubled between 1917 and 1940, wages had gone up, the standard of living had risen more than anywhere else in the Middle East.”* —Historian Walter Laqueur<sup>16</sup>

Some Arab leaders in Palestine became increasingly hostile to the Jewish community. Many affiliated with the rising Nazi movement, incited violence and instigated mob attacks against the Jews in 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1936-1939.

The British violated the Mandate obligations in response to Arab protests. They repeatedly restricted Jewish immigration and land purchases. As anti-Semitism mounted in Europe, these policies doomed hundreds of thousands of Jews who otherwise could have reached safety in Palestine, which had been established in part to serve as a refuge for persecuted Jews.



Palestinian Arab leader Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini meeting with Adolf Hitler in Germany, 1941. Al-Husseini recruited a Bosnian Muslim SS unit for Hitler.

By 1947, the Zionist achievements had paved the way for the UN to recommend partitioning the Mandate into a Jewish state alongside an Arab state. The area the UN allotted for the Jewish state had a significant Jewish majority. They now numbered 650,000 and formed one-third of the whole Mandate population. Over 70 percent of the land for the proposed Jewish portion was not privately owned, but was state land that belonged to the British Mandate.<sup>17</sup> The 277 rural Jewish communities stretched throughout the countryside.<sup>18</sup> Tel Aviv had grown from 550 people in 1911 to 230,000 in 1948.<sup>19</sup>



**First Aliyah Group of Biluim, 1882**



**Celebrating Israel's Fourth Independence Day, 1952**

## ***The Kibbutz—Utopian Socialist Community***

Inspired by socialism, Zionism, agrarian ideals and necessity, young Zionists created unique collective communities dedicated to equality and communal ownership of all wealth. They worked cooperatively in decision-making, production, consumption, welfare and education.

The first kibbutz was established by 12 young pioneers in 1909 at Degania. The kibbutz movement became one of the largest communal movements in history.

Today Israel has 270 kibbutzim with 130,000 people. Though they are less utopian and agricultural than they were originally, they still try to uphold the idealism of their founders.

The Hebrew term for immigration to Israel is “aliyah” or “going up.” There were five different waves of aliyah prior to World War II when Jews from around the world joined the Jews who were already living there

<b>Date</b>	<b>Numbers / Motive</b>	<b>Majority From</b>
<b>1st Aliyah 1882-1903</b>	<b>25,000</b> Pre-Zionist socialists and religious Jews wanted to escape persecution and/or to rebuild homeland.	Russia, Romania, Kurdistan, Yemen
<b>2nd Aliyah 1904-1914</b>	<b>40,000</b> Escape pogroms and persecution; restore nationhood and dignity and realize socialist ideals.	Russia and Poland
<b>3rd Aliyah 1919-1923</b>	<b>35,000</b> Escape persecution and impoverishment; restore nationhood and dignity and realize socialist ideals.	53% Russia, 36% Poland; 11% from Lithuania, Romania, Western and Central Europe
<b>4th Aliyah 1924-1928</b>	<b>67,000</b> Escape persecution and impoverishment.	Poland
<b>5th Aliyah 1929-1939</b>	<b>250,000</b> Escape persecution and anti-Semitism.	Germany, Austria and other countries

**In May 1948, the Jewish State of Israel was reborn and the Jews’ 2,000-year yearning to restore their national independence and gather the exiles had become a reality.**

**But difficult struggles lay ahead: state-building, absorbing successive waves of immigrants and refugees (the majority of whom came from Arab countries), defending the new state from wars and terrorism, finding paths to peace and keeping Judaism’s ancient ethical tradition vibrant even while facing harsh realities and an often hostile world.**

**The young state of Israel worked hard to meet these challenges.**




<sup>1</sup>Dore Gold, “Jerusalem in International Diplomacy: Demography,” *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*, October 27, 2006. <sup>2</sup>Quoted in David Landes, “Palestine Before the Zionists,” *Commentary*, May 1976, p. 22. <sup>3</sup>Arieh L. Avneri, *The Claim of Dispossession*, 4th ed., 2005, p. 12; Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*, 1989, pp. 17-18; “Demography of Palestine & Israel, the West Bank and Gaza,” *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>4</sup>League of Nations, “An Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine,” July 1921. <sup>5</sup>Sir John Hope Simpson, “Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development,” 1930, p. 5. <sup>6</sup>Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 1998, pp. 112-113. <sup>7</sup>The Peel Commission Report, Chapter IX, July 1937. <sup>8</sup>Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 2001, p. 133. <sup>9</sup>League of Nations, “Interim Report on Civil Administration...” op. cit. <sup>10</sup>“Demography of Palestine & Israel, the West Bank and Gaza,” *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>11</sup>The Churchill White Paper, in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (eds.), *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, 4th ed., 1987, p. 45. <sup>12</sup>League of Nations, “Interim Report on Civil Administration...” op. cit. <sup>13</sup>Jewish National Fund, “JNF Centennial Celebration,” JNF website at [www.jnf.org](http://www.jnf.org). <sup>14</sup>Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel*, 2000, pp. 156, 167; Yehoshua Porath, *Palestinian Arab National Movement*, Vol. 2, 1977, pp. 17-18, 39. <sup>15</sup>Quoted in Daniel Pipes, *Greater Syria*, 1990, p. 179. <sup>16</sup>Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 1989, p. 510. <sup>17</sup>Moshe Aumann, “Land Ownership in Palestine, 1880-1948,” in Michael Curtis et al, *The Palestinians*, 1975, p. 29. <sup>18</sup>Naftali Greenwood, “Redeemers of the Land,” October 18, 1999 at [www.mfa.gov.il](http://www.mfa.gov.il). <sup>19</sup>The Economist, “Tel Aviv,” *The Economist: Cities Guide*.

# ARAB-ISRAELI WARS AND TERRORISM: 1920–2006

“This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades.” —Azzam Pasha, *Secretary-General of the Arab League (BBC, May 15, 1948)*

“We have come from an anguished and grieving land...from a people...that has not known a single year—not a single month—in which mothers have not wept for their sons.” —Yitzhak Rabin, 1993

■ = Wars    ■ = Major Terrorist Event

<b>1920-1921</b>	<b>Arab Riots/Terrorism in the early Mandate Period</b>	
<p>Palestinian leader Haj Amin al-Husseini repeatedly fomented riots against Jews. In the 1920 incidents, six Jews were killed and 200 wounded; in 1921, 43 Jews were killed and 147 wounded. In response, Jews organized defensive forces that would later become the Haganah, the forerunner of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF).</p>		
<b>1929</b>	<b>Massacres instigated by Haj Amin al-Husseini</b>	
<p>Mobs attacked Jews in Jerusalem, Safed, Jaffa and Kfar Darom, a kibbutz in the Gaza Strip. The centuries-old Jewish community of Hebron was destroyed, and 67 Jews were slaughtered. British authorities reported incidents of rape, torture, beheadings of babies and mutilation. British High Commissioner John Chancellor wrote, “I do not think that history records many worse horrors in the last few hundred years.”<sup>1</sup> In total, 135 Jews were killed, and 350 were maimed or wounded.</p>		
<b>1936-1939</b>	<b>Great Arab Revolt</b>	<b>Hebron Massacre</b>
<p>With the support of Nazi Germany, Haj Amin al-Husseini led a three-year rebellion against the British, the Jews and his political opponents to force an end to Jewish immigration and land purchases. An estimated 415 Jews, 200 Britons and 5,000 Arabs were killed.<sup>2</sup></p>		
<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>Israel’s War of Independence</b>	
<p>On May 14, 1948, the British Mandate ended, and the State of Israel was established. Less than 24 hours later, Israel was invaded by the armies of five Arab nations: Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon and Iraq. The newly formed Israel Defense Forces (IDF) managed to defeat the invasion in 15 months of war that claimed over 6,000 Israeli lives, roughly 1 percent of the total population.</p>		
<b>1949-1956</b>	<b>The Fedayeen Raids</b>	
<p>Arab terrorists (fedayeen), trained and equipped by Egypt, repeatedly attacked Israeli civilians from bases in Lebanon, Gaza and Jordan. One thousand three hundred Israelis were killed or wounded in terrorist attacks. “<i>Egypt’s President Nasser put my father in charge of the fedayeen who attacked Israeli civilians from Gaza. My father, Mustafa Hafez, became a shahid (martyr) when he was killed in an Israeli counterterrorism operation in 1956.</i>” —Journalist Nonie Darwish<sup>3</sup></p>		
<b>1956</b>	<b>The Sinai/Suez War</b>	<b>Fedayeen ambushed this bus and massacred its civilian passengers</b>
<p>Egypt increased its fedayeen attacks, prevented Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal and blockaded the Israeli port of Eilat, violating international law and threatening Israel’s economic survival. With the support of France and Britain, Israel captured the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza. Israel completely withdrew six months later when Egypt assured Israel unimpeded navigation and safety.</p>		
<b>1959</b>	<b>Al Fatah Raids</b>	
<p>The Egyptian-born Yasser Arafat formed Fatah in 1959 to conduct guerrilla warfare operations against Israel. In 1965 Fatah adopted “the entanglement theory,” which presumed that its repeated attacks would force Israel to respond aggressively against the Arab states hosting Arafat’s fighters, thereby escalating the animosity between Israel and her Arab neighbors.</p>		
<b>1964</b>	<b>Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Formed</b>	<b>Home damaged by Syrian regular shelling in the Galilee before 1967</b>
<p>The PLO was formed in Egypt, supported by the Arab League as an umbrella organization for anti-Israel militant groups. In 1968, Arafat’s Fatah joined the PLO and eventually dominated it. Over the decades, the PLO carried out thousands of attacks against Israelis and others around the world, including the first airplane hijackings.</p>		

**1967****The Six-Day War**

Israel was forced to defend itself when Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Iraq intensified their terrorist attacks and Egypt illegally blocked Israel's access to international waters and expelled UN peace-keeping forces. The four Arab countries mobilized more than 250,000 troops, armed with Soviet-supplied tanks and aircraft, on Israel's borders in preparation for a full-scale invasion. The Iraqi defense minister ordered his troops to "strike the enemy's civilian settlements, turn them into dust and pave the Arab roads with the skulls of Jews."<sup>4</sup> Israel preempted them in a defensive war and managed to capture the West Bank from Jordan, Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, and the Golan Heights from Syria.

**IDF liberates the Old City of Jerusalem, 1967****1967-1970****The War of Attrition**

Shortly after the Six-Day War ceasefire, Egyptian President Gamal Nasser ordered attacks on Israelis in the Sinai. During the three-year-long conflict, 1,424 Israeli soldiers and more than 100 Israeli civilians were killed.

**1972****The Munich Massacre**

After 1967, Palestinian terrorists attacked Israelis worldwide. In their most public operation, the group Black September held hostage and murdered 11 members of the Israeli Olympic Team at the 1972 Munich Olympics. It is widely accepted that the terrorists were controlled by Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction of the PLO.

**Munich Massacre, 1972****1973****The Yom Kippur War**

Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack against Israel on the holiest day of the Jewish year. Caught unprepared, the IDF nonetheless managed to fend off this assault, cutting off Egyptian forces across the Suez Canal and pushing Syrian troops back from the Golan Heights. While Israel was victorious militarily, the human toll was devastating—2,688 Israeli soldiers were killed in the nearly three weeks of fighting. Egypt claimed to have restored its own honor because of its success in the war's first 48 hours.

**1982-1985****The Lebanon War**

After Jordan expelled the PLO in 1970, it entrenched itself in southern Lebanon. During Lebanon's ensuing civil war (1975-1990), PLO attacks on northern Israel intensified. Israel entered Lebanon in 1982 to root out the organization. The PLO was forced to relocate to Tunis. In 1985, Israel withdrew to a security zone, approximately four miles wide along the border, and stayed until it unilaterally withdrew in 2000. By 1982, 95,000 people had already died in the bitter Lebanese civil war. During this civil war, Lebanese Christian Phalangists entered the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla and massacred an estimated 460 to 700 people, including 200 PLO fighters. Although no Israelis were involved in the massacre, an Israeli court determined that Israel and General Ariel Sharon had indirect responsibility for it because the IDF did not stop the Phalangists' entry into the camps.

**1987-1992****First Intifada**

The PLO initiated the Intifada ("shaking off") after false rumors of Israeli atrocities circulated through Palestinian territories. Palestinians claim this was a nonviolent uprising, but it quickly turned violent with 27 Israelis killed and more than 1,400 Israeli civilians and 1,700 Israeli soldiers injured. Almost half (1,000) of the Palestinian casualties were caused by other Palestinians in the "Intrafada," or internal, fighting among Palestinian factions.<sup>5</sup>

**1991****Persian Gulf War**

When the U.S.-led coalition fought to get Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, Hussein attempted to draw Israel into the war and fired 39 Scud missiles into Israel. To avoid disrupting the U.S.-led coalition, Israel did not retaliate.

**1994****First Suicide Bombing in Israel**

Eight civilians were killed in a suicide bombing on a bus in central Israel, a tactic that would increasingly be used by radical Islamic terrorist factions all over the world.

**2000-2006****Second "Al Aqsa" Intifada**

A campaign of suicide bombings and terrorist attacks began September 29, 2000 and within five years had left over 1,068 Israelis dead and over 7,000 injured—69 percent of them civilians. Approximately 3,000 Palestinians were also killed in this conflict.

**Aftermath of suicide bombing, Second Intifada****2006****"Acts of War" against Israel**

After Israel completely withdrew from Gaza in 2005, Hamas and other terrorists unleashed a barrage of daily rocket attacks into Israel. The city of Sderot, for example, one mile away from Gaza, was hit by over 360 Qassam rockets within a six-month period after Israel's withdrawal. In June 2006, terrorists from Gaza tunneled into Israel, killing two soldiers and kidnapping one. Two weeks later, Hezbollah, supported by Iran and Syria, attacked Israel across the internationally recognized Israeli-Lebanese border, killing eight soldiers and kidnapping two, simultaneously launching a barrage of rockets against civilian towns in northern Israel. Israel responded with a military operation that lasted 34 days (see pages 28-31).

<sup>1</sup>Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete*, 2000, p.327. <sup>2</sup>Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 2001 p. 133; "The 1936 Riots," *The Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>3</sup>Nonie Darwish, Personal Interview, Oct 1, 2006. Similar themes developed in *Now They Call Me Infidel*, 2006. <sup>4</sup>Michael Oren, *Six Days of War*, 2002, p. 293. <sup>5</sup>Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group (PHRMG), "Collaborators: New Impetus for an Old Witch Hunt," *PHRMG Monitor*, February 2002.

# Aftermath of Wars:

**Wars create refugees. If Arab leaders had accepted the UN Partition plan instead of launching a war to seize the whole British Mandate, today an independent Palestinian-Arab state would exist alongside Israel. There would have been no Palestinian refugees and no “Nakba” (catastrophe), the Arab term for their 1948 defeat. If Arab countries had not expelled their Jewish citizens, there would have been no Jewish refugees from Arab countries, either.**

*“The Palestinian refugee problem was born of war, not by design.” —Historian Benny Morris<sup>1</sup>*

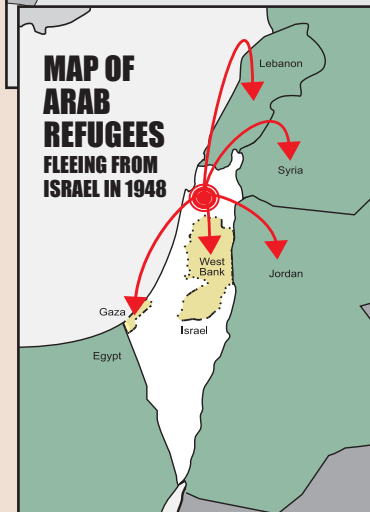
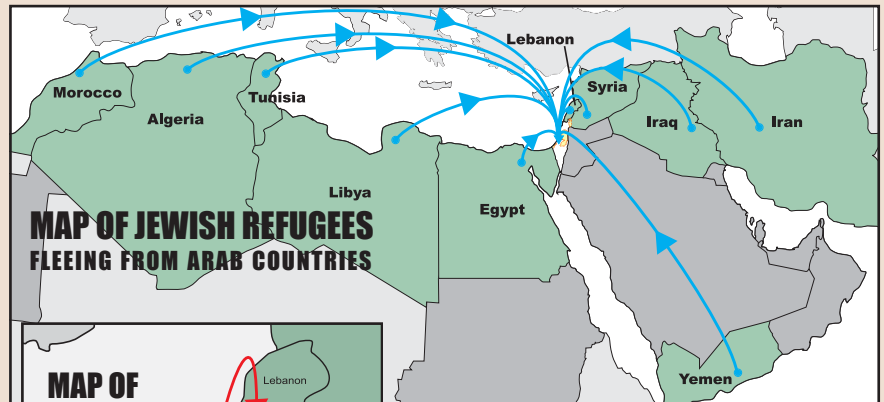
## JEWISH REFUGEES FROM ARAB COUNTRIES

**Over 10,000 Jews became refugees from areas of the Palestine Mandate where Arab armies prevailed.<sup>2</sup>** In the West Bank and Gaza, Arab armies razed Jewish communities and killed or expelled all Jews. After the 1948 war, no Jews were allowed to live in Arab-occupied zones. Jordan took control of the West Bank and refused to protect Jewish holy sites. In East Jerusalem alone, 57 synagogues, libraries and houses of learning, many of them centuries old, were desecrated and destroyed, their stones later used to build urinals, sidewalks and roads.<sup>3</sup>

**Over 850,000 Jews fled rising persecution or were expelled from Arab and Muslim lands after the War of Independence.** Between 1949 and 1954, they became homeless though some of their communities were over 2,000 years old. Between 1948 and 2000, the Jewish population in Middle Eastern and North African countries dropped from around 900,000 to less than 50,000.<sup>4</sup>

**Israel resettled close to 600,000 Jews from Arab lands.** The new state, barely recovered from the devastation of the 1948 War, struggled to absorb both the now homeless Jews from Arab lands and 300,000 European refugees of World War II. Israel’s 1948 population of 650,000 more than doubled in three years as it fulfilled its mission of being a refuge for persecuted Jews. “No influx like it had been witnessed in modern times. It was an ‘open door’ from which older and vastly wealthier nations would have recoiled in dismay,” noted historian Howard Sachar.<sup>5</sup> Yet, although the world community supported the rebirth of the Jewish State, no international aid agency assisted in the resettlement of homeless Jews.

**Jewish refugees today:** These early refugees are no longer refugees. Like the tens of millions of other refugees of the last century, the Jews resettled in other nations. Two-thirds of them chose to live in Israel. Today, these refugees from the Middle East and their descendants make up over half of Israel’s Jewish population.



**Between 472,000 and 750,000 Palestinian Arabs were displaced by the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Most fled to the Territories of Gaza and the West Bank as well as neighboring Arab countries.**

**Over 850,000 Jews fled or were expelled from Arab and Muslim lands after 1948 (see chart below).**



**New York Times, May 16 1948: “Nine Hundred Thousand (Jews) in Africa and Asia face wrath of their foes.”**



**Temporary refugee camps called “ma’abarot” were set up in Israel during the state’s early years to absorb Jewish refugees.**

### Declining Jewish Population in Middle East Countries<sup>6</sup>

	1948	2000		1948	2000
Algeria	140,000	< 100	Libya	38,000	0
Egypt	75,000	200	Morocco	265,000	5,800
Iran	100,000	12,000 - 40,000	Syria	30,000	200
Iraq	150,000	100	Tunisia	105,000	1,500
Lebanon	20,000	100	Yemen	55,000	200

# Arab and Jewish Refugees

## PALESTINIAN-ARAB REFUGEES

In 1948, 160,000 Arabs who lived within Israel's borders accepted Israel's invitation to choose peace and become Israeli citizens. They elected three Israeli-Arabs to the first Knesset.<sup>7</sup> After postwar problems were resolved, they became freer, more educated and more prosperous than average citizens living in all other Arab countries. Today Israeli-Arabs number over 1,250,000, and continue to elect representatives to the Knesset.

**Between 472,000 and 750,000 Palestinian Arabs (scholars dispute the numbers) left what became Israel for several reasons:<sup>8</sup>**

- Most fled to escape the fighting, which Israel didn't start and didn't want.
- Wealthy classes fled to avoid the coming war. Without their leadership, Palestinian civil society fell apart, causing more flight.
- Many left because Arab leaders encouraged them to get out of the way of advancing Arab armies, promising victory would be quick and they could soon return.
- Many left as Arab propaganda backfired when its manufactured tales of Israeli atrocities caused panic.<sup>9</sup>
- In some cases, Israeli troops forced Arab residents from their homes in sensitive strategic zones vital to the survival of the young State of Israel.

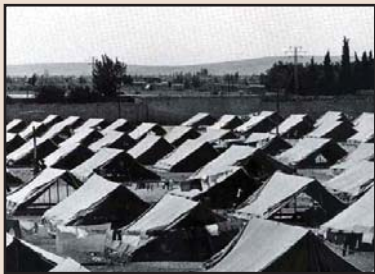
For years, Palestinian Arabs blamed Arab states for encouraging their flight:

*"The Arab armies entered Palestine to protect the Palestinians... but instead they abandoned them, forced them to emigrate and to leave."* —PA President Mahmoud Abbas, 1976<sup>10</sup>

*"We will smash the country. The Arabs should conduct their wives and children to safe areas until the fighting has died down."* —Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri Said, 1948<sup>11</sup>

*"Since 1948 we have been demanding the return of the refugees to their homes. But we ourselves are the ones who encouraged them to leave. Only a few months separated our call to them to leave and our appeal to the United Nations to resolve on their return."* —Haled al Azm, Syrian Prime Minister, 1948-1949<sup>12</sup>

*The fabricated atrocity stories about Deir Yassin "were our biggest mistake...Palestinians fled in terror."* —Hazem Nusseibeh, editor of the Palestine Broadcasting Service's Arabic news in 1948.<sup>13</sup>



**Palestinian refugee camps like this one were set up in the Territories and neighboring Arab countries following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. The camps now are small rundown cities that the Arab leadership never improved, and the inhabitants and their descendants are still considered refugees. Most Arab countries still refuse to integrate them and unfortunately use them as pawns in the propaganda war against Israel.**

**Unique situation of Palestinian refugees:** The tens of millions of refugees from other wartorn areas in the world during this period resettled in other countries, but neighboring Arab states, with the exception of Jordan, would not resettle the Palestinian Arabs despite their shared history, language and religion. Instead, Arab governments confined them in refugee neighborhoods, refused them citizenship and then used their plight as a propaganda weapon against Israel.

*"The Arab states do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it an open sore, as an affront to the UN and as a weapon against Israel."* —Ralph Galloway, former Director of UNRWA, August 1958<sup>14</sup>

*"Since 1948 Arab leaders...have used the Palestine people for selfish political purposes. This is...criminal."* —King Hussein of Jordan, 1960<sup>15</sup>

*"All the Arab countries want to keep this problem looking like an open wound."* —Ana Liria-Franch, regional representative in Cairo for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2003<sup>16</sup>

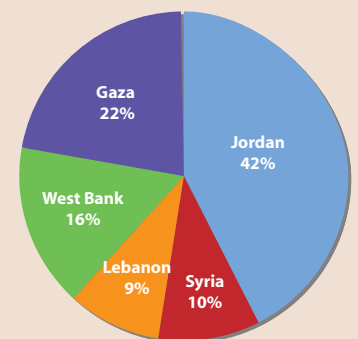
**The "Right of Return":** Arab governments promised refugees they could go back to their homes. Arab leaders openly stated that their goal was to dismantle the Jewish state demographically by flooding it with Palestinian Arabs.

*"If Arabs return to Israel—Israel will cease to exist."* —Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt, 1961<sup>17</sup>

*"The demand for the return of the Palestinian refugees...is tantamount to the destruction of Israel."* —As'ad Abd-Al Rahman, Palestinian Authority Minister of Refugee Affairs, 1999<sup>18</sup>

**The refugees today:** The UN has given special treatment to Palestinian refugees. In 1949 it set up UNRWA, an agency exclusively serving the Palestinian refugees. UNRWA's website reports that the agency "is unique in terms of its longstanding commitment to one group of refugees...and to four generations of refugees."<sup>19</sup> All the world's other refugees are served by one UN agency, UNHCR, and no other group's descendants are also considered refugees. By 2005, UNRWA was serving 4.3 million Palestinians. After the PA was established, it governed 38 percent of the Palestinian refugees but did not use its billions of foreign-aid dollars to improve their living conditions or opportunities.

**Israel has contributed money to UNRWA** but has no control over UNRWA policies. When Israel administered the Territories (1967-1994), its efforts to improve refugee housing were denounced by the PLO and the UN (UN GA Resolutions 2792 (1971) and 41/69 (1986)). The Palestinian refugees continued to be used as political pawns.



Percentage of Palestinian refugee population by Country/Location, 2005<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Benny Morris, *Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*, 1989, p. 286; David Meir-Levi, "The Origins of the Refugee Problem," *Jewish World*, 2005. <sup>2</sup>Anita Shapira, "The Past is not a Foreign Country," *The New Republic*, November 29, 1999. <sup>3</sup>Gerald M. Steinberg, "Jerusalem - 1948, 1967, 2000: Setting the Record Straight," *Canadian Jewish News*, August 24, 2000. <sup>4</sup>John F. Burns, "In the Islamic Mideast, Scant Place for Jews," *Week in Review, New York Times*, July 25, 1999. <sup>5</sup>Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel*, 2000, pp. 395-405. <sup>6</sup>Statistics derived from Mitchell Bard, *Myths and Facts: A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 2001, pp. 192-198. <sup>7</sup>Members of the First Knesset at <http://www.knesset.gov.il/>. <sup>8</sup>Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 2001 pp. 252-258; Yoav Gelber, *Palestine 1948*, 2001, pp. 74-84. <sup>9</sup>Sachar, op. cit., p.333; "Israel and the Arabs: The 50 Year Conflict," BBC documentary. Cited by CAMERA, "Pattern of Bias," July 1999. <sup>10</sup>Mahmoud Abbas, *Falastin a-Thaura*, March 1976, cited in "Palestine's Pawns," *Wall Street Journal*, June 5, 2003. <sup>11</sup>Quoted in Nimr el-Hawari, *Sir An-Nakbah*, 1952. <sup>12</sup>*The Memoirs of Haled al Azm*, 1973, Part I, pp. 386-387. <sup>13</sup>Hazem Nusseibeh interview in "Israel and the Arabs: The 50 Year Conflict," BBC documentary. Cited by CAMERA, "Pattern of Bias," July 1999. <sup>14</sup>Quoted in Terence Prittie, "Middle East Refugees," in Michael Curtis, et al., *The Palestinians*, 1975 p. 71. <sup>15</sup>Quoted in Alan Dershowitz, *The Case for Israel*, 2003, pp. 87-88. <sup>16</sup>Quoted in Paul Garwood and Maggie Michael, "Palestinian refugees: championed by Arab world yet treated like outcasts," *AP*, December 30, 2003. <sup>17</sup>Quoted in the Swiss *Zibicher Woche*, September 1, 1961. <sup>18</sup>Quoted in the Jordanian *Al-Dustur*, August 16, 1999. <sup>19</sup>Self-description of UNRWA from UNRWA website: [www.unrwa.org/unrwa](http://www.unrwa.org/unrwa). <sup>20</sup>Statistics from UN/UNRWA website: [www.un.org/unrwa](http://www.un.org/unrwa).

# The Aftermath of the 1967 War

The term “Occupation” refers to Israel’s military administration of the West Bank and Gaza, which lasted from the end of the 1967 War until the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993. Israel then turned civil administration of most of the Territories over to the newly created Palestinian Authority and intended to gradually end its military presence in the area. However, radical Palestinian groups call all of Israel “Occupied Territory.”

## Facts You Should Know About Occupation

The “Occupation” was a direct result of the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. The term “Occupation” implies an aggressive effort to take over and rule a foreign people, but the Territories came under Israeli control during its defensive war in 1967. Arab states and Palestinians refused to accept the Jewish State’s right to exist and mobilized again in 1967 to destroy it (see page 13). As Israel defended itself, it drove back Jordanian, Egyptian and Syrian troops and captured the Territories that fell on Israel’s side of the armistice lines.

**Palestinians had not made any claims to the Territories until Israel captured them from Egypt and Jordan in 1967.** During Egypt and Jordan’s 19-year occupation (1948-1967), no one called for a Palestinian state that would include Gaza and the West Bank. West Bank residents became Jordanian citizens. The original PLO Covenant (1964) explicitly excluded the Territories from its description of Palestine and called instead for the destruction of Israel and for replacing it with Arab rule.<sup>1</sup> The PLO amended its Charter to include a claim to the Territories only after Israel captured them in 1967.<sup>2</sup>

*The PLO “does not exercise any regional sovereignty over the West Bank in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on the Gaza Strip or the Himmah Area.”*

—Article 24, PLO Covenant, 1964

**Israel repeatedly tried to end the Occupation after 1967.** Israel had no wish to rule over the Palestinians. Within two weeks after hostilities ended, Israel offered to exchange land for peace, but Arab leaders categorically rejected the offer, officially issuing the “Three NOs” in Khartoum.

*“No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it.”*—Khartoum Resolution, Sept 1, 1967<sup>3</sup>

Between 1967 and 1969, again in 1979 in the letters attached to the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, and from 1991 until today, Israel’s leaders have sought to negotiate with the Palestinians to peacefully resolve the conflict, but their efforts have been repeatedly rejected.<sup>4</sup>

**Israel was forced to continue its presence in Gaza and the West Bank from 1967 until 1993 because no Palestinian leader emerged as a peace partner. International law and custom required Israel to administer the Territories until a successful peace treaty could be negotiated.** International law and UN Resolution 242 required the belligerents to negotiate a solution with agreements about new borders that would be mutually recognized. Initially, the international community assumed that Israel would negotiate with Jordan and Egypt, which had occupied the Territories between 1949 and 1967, but Egypt and Jordan refused to negotiate at the time. When they renounced their claims to the Gaza Strip and the West Bank

Territories in 1979 and 1988, respectively, Israel was left with the responsibility to continue its administration. Once Yasser Arafat and the PLO claimed they would accept Israel’s existence and negotiate for peace, Israel seized the opportunity to resolve the conflict.

**During its administration of the Territories, Israel sought to improve the lives of the Palestinians.** Military barriers came down, and for the first time since the 1948 War, Israelis and Palestinians could travel more freely between the Territories and the Jewish State. Israel also removed all the Jordanian and Israeli military barriers that had divided Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967. Israel helped modernize Palestinian infrastructure (aiding in the creation of more than 2,000 manufacturing plants), established seven universities, expanded schools, taught modern agriculture, set up medical programs and opened over 100 health clinics. Israel instituted freedom of the press, of association and of religion and “launched something entirely new, the first authentically Palestinian administration the local Arabs had ever known.”<sup>5</sup> Unemployment plummeted, life expectancy soared and the population nearly doubled in the 26 years between 1967 and 1993.<sup>6</sup>

*“During the 1970s, the West Bank and Gaza constituted the fourth-fastest-growing economy in the world—ahead of such ‘wonders’ as Singapore, Hong Kong and Korea, and substantially ahead of Israel itself.”*

—Historian Efraim Karsh<sup>7</sup>

**1993-2007: Israel gradually ends the “Occupation.”** When the Oslo peace process began in 1993, Israel began ending its military administration as it turned civil governance of the Palestinian population over to the Palestinian-elected government. Since 2005, Israel has uprooted Jewish communities from land claimed by the Palestinians. Israel’s plan was to help create a self-governing Palestinian state in all of Gaza and most of the West Bank, incorporating land where 98 percent of Palestinians live.

- Israel began turning civilian administration of the Territories over to the newly created Palestinian Authority (PA) in 1994.

### Facts about Israeli Administration of the Territories (1967-1993)

- The Territories became the world’s fourth-fastest-growing economy in the 1970s<sup>8</sup>
- West Bank per capita income rose 80 percent between 1967 and 1973<sup>9</sup>
- Unemployment in Gaza plummeted to 2 percent<sup>10</sup>
- Infant mortality plunged from 60 to 15 per 1,000 births between 1968 and 2000<sup>11</sup>
- Israel disbursed millions of dollars to improve refugee camps<sup>12</sup>
- The number of Palestinian school children rose 102 percent, and illiteracy dropped to 14 percent for adults over age 15<sup>13</sup>



- By 1997, Israeli troops had left Palestinian towns and cities and turned them over to the PA. These areas included 98 percent of all Palestinians who were now self-governing under the PA.<sup>14</sup>
- After Yasser Arafat rejected the 2000 Camp David proposals and the Intifada began, Israel intermittently redeployed its troops in emergency counterterrorism operations that became necessary because terrorist groups refused to end hostilities against the Jewish State.
- Despite ongoing terrorism and the collapse of peace negotiations, Israel continued its withdrawals. In August 2005, Israel withdrew from the remaining few areas it still held in Gaza and from sections of the Northern West Bank, which was three times the size of Gaza. In the process, Israel uprooted more than 8,500 Jews who had built thriving communities over the previous 30 years in Gaza, where Israeli residents had employed over 10,000 Palestinians from the surrounding areas. Israel left their expensive infrastructure intact for future use by the Palestinians. After Israel's disengagement, no Jewish or non-Jewish Israelis remained in Gaza. Even Jewish cemeteries were moved out of the area.

## Border Issues and Settlements

**Israelis built communities in Gaza and the West Bank after 1967. Though these communities have been politically contentious, they were built in undeveloped, uninhabited areas and are entirely legal.** Palestinians have legitimate claims to sovereignty over some of the land. Many are longtime inhabitants who feel they have been deprived of political rights and self-determination. Israel does not want to interfere with their political rights, but it disputes their territorial claims. Israel also has strong claims to the land, and therefore, the West Bank and Gaza should be called *disputed territories*.

### Israel's Claims Include:

**Legal claims:** The British Mandate (1920-1948) was the last legal sovereign authority for the Territories. Jordan and Egypt illegally held them between 1948 and 1967. They remain unallocated portions of the British Mandate since no government formally replaced the Mandate's jurisdiction. Its guidelines called for Jews to settle the area.<sup>15</sup>

**Historical claims:** Judea and Samaria (renamed the West Bank by Jordan in 1951) were the cradle of Jewish civilization and had a continuous Jewish presence until the 1948 War when Jewish inhabitants were killed and approximately 10,000 were expelled by the Jordanians.<sup>16</sup>

**Security-related claims:** Arab states had repeatedly launched attacks against Israel from the Territories' strategic locations, and UN Resolution 242 envisioned bilateral negotiations that would give Israel more secure borders and lead to greater regional stability. Until as recently as 1988, the PLO officially continued to call for a Palestinian state to replace Israel, not for a separate state that would exist alongside it.

**Israel's security needs remain urgent.** Today the Hamas-led Palestinian government continues to call for Israel's destruction, and Israel is repeatedly attacked from Palestinian and Lebanese territories. Hamas has close ties with Iran, Syria and Hezbollah and has forged ties with Al Qaeda, all of which call for Israel's destruction (see pages 28-31).

### Unresolved Border Issues:

The pre-1967 boundary (Green Line) is not an internationally recognized border. It is an armistice line, marking positions held by Israeli and Arab troops when the final truce was called at the end of the 1948 War. The Green Line remained an armistice line because Arab leaders refused to negotiate to set final border lines. The Oslo Accords called for, among other things, Israelis and Palestinians to negotiate for a final border between the State of Israel and a future Palestinian state. To date, these negotiations have not resolved outstanding issues to the satisfaction of both parties.



Israel's security concerns stem from its vulnerability to attack from nearby territories.

### Facts about Israeli Settlements in the Territories<sup>17</sup> Legal but Politically Contentious

- 1967-1977: Seventy-six Jewish communities were built in the Territories on undeveloped land. Most were built to ensure security, but some Israelis, such as the survivors of the Gush Etzion block, returned to rebuild Jewish communities that Arab forces had captured and destroyed in the 1948 War.
- After 1977, 74 additional communities were built in the Territories on unallocated government land.
- By 2005, the 150 communities included approximately 200,000 Israelis living on less than 2 percent of the West Bank's land.
- Eighty percent of the settlers live in communities close to the Green Line, currently consisting of suburbs of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

The Jews' right to settle the land is "a legal right assured by treaty and specifically protected by Article 80 of the U.N. Charter... The Jewish right of settlement in the area is equivalent in every way to the right of the existing Palestinian population to live there."

—Eugene Rostow, former U.S. Under Secretary of State, 1990<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Article 24 of original Palestinian National Charter, 1964. <sup>2</sup>The amended Palestinian National Charter passed by the 4<sup>th</sup> Palestinian National Council, 1968.

<sup>3</sup>Khartoum Resolutions, September 1967. <sup>4</sup>Letters between President Sadat, Prime Minister Begin and President Carter attached to the Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt, March 26, 1979. <sup>5</sup>Howard Sachar, *History of Israel*, 2000, pp. 678, 707. <sup>6</sup>Efraim Karsh, "What Occupation?" *Commentary*, July 2002; "Demography of Palestine & Israel, the West Bank and Gaza," *Jewish Virtual Library*; Bennett Zimmerman et al, "The Million Person Gap: The Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza," February 2006, p. 12. <sup>7</sup>Karsh, op. cit. <sup>8</sup>Ibid. <sup>9</sup>Sachar, op. cit. p. 688. <sup>10</sup>Ibid. p. 687. <sup>11</sup>Karsh, op. cit. <sup>12</sup>Sachar, op. cit. p. 687. <sup>13</sup>Karsh, op. cit. <sup>14</sup>Freedom House, "Freedom in the World: Palestinian Authority-Administered Territories [Israel] (2002)" <sup>15</sup>The Palestine Mandate, 1922.

<sup>16</sup>Anita Shapira, "The Past Is Not a Foreign Country: The Failure of Israel's 'New Historians' To Explain War and Peace," *The New Republic*, November 29, 1999.

<sup>17</sup>Jeffrey Helmreich, "Diplomatic and Legal Aspects of the Settlement Issue," *Jerusalem Issue Brief*, January 19, 2003. <sup>18</sup>Eugene W. Rostow, "Bricks and Stones: Settling for Leverage; Palestinian Autonomy," *The New Republic*, April 23, 1990.

# The Evolution Of U.S.-Israel Relations

**Americans and Israelis developed deep ties because of their similar histories and values. Although the Jewish people were reestablishing their nation, both countries were founded by people seeking to create a better society; both were built by people whose hard physical labor made the land productive; both welcome immigrants; both are committed to liberty and democracy.**



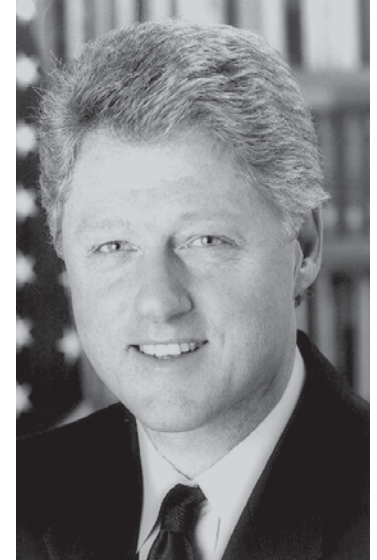
**Founding Father John Adams wished the “Jews again an independent nation in Judea.”(1819)<sup>1</sup>**

As World War I came to an end and new nations were carved out of old colonial empires, the U.S. endorsed the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate over Palestine, which was the forerunner for the modern State of Israel.

Despite their deeply shared values, the U.S. never automatically gave preference to Israel. The young state had to prove itself, and it had to fit into America’s larger geostrategic, economic and political interests. Israel gradually became a critical U.S. ally and a valued partner in trade, humanitarian programs and scientific research. The partnership has benefited both nations.

Along with its commitment to a safe and secure Israel, U.S. policymakers have also supported Arab states, assisted Palestinians and repeatedly sought to help bring peace to the region.

Israel was politically isolated in the Middle East by the Arab League’s diplomatic boycott (imposed in 1948). Israel was further isolated by the Soviet and nonaligned nations blocks, which severed diplomatic relations with it in the mid-1950s. Instead, Israel developed strong relationships with Turkey and other European and Latin American nations. When the Soviet Union fell (1989), Israel rapidly formed diplomatic, trade and cooperative agreements with India and other Asian nations and with eastern European states. Nonetheless, the U.S. remains Israel’s most steadfast partner and ally.



**“America and Israel share a special bond....Like America, Israel is a strong democracy, a symbol of freedom, and an oasis of liberty.”  
—President Bill Clinton**

## **1948: U.S. Recognizes Israel**

The United States was the first nation to recognize the reestablishment of the State of Israel.

## **1950-67: While recognizing that Israel shares U.S. values, U.S. supports Arab states and Israel**

The U.S. government believed that one of the best policies for peace in the Middle East was a balance of military power between all the countries in the region. France and Germany were Israel’s main arms partners. U.S. economic aid was equally even-handed. Between 1946 and 1971, Israel received an average of \$60 million in U.S. aid per year. During the same period, Arab states received an average of \$170 million a year.<sup>2</sup> The U.S. also financed almost two-thirds of the budget for UNRWA, the UN agency that supported Palestinian refugees.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, the U.S. recognized that Israel shared its values.

**“[Israel] carries the shield of democracy, and it honors the sword of freedom.”** —President John F. Kennedy

**“The Israelis have shown qualities that Americans identify with: guts, patriotism, idealism, a passion for freedom.”**  
—President Richard M. Nixon

## **1967-68: U.S. regards Israel as an ally in the Middle East**

Israel’s surprising victory over Soviet-backed Arab countries in the 1967 War convinced the U.S. that Israel could help the U.S. policy of containment of Soviet expansion in the Middle East. In 1968, for the first time, Congress agreed to sell U.S. Phantom jets to Israel. At the same time, the U.S. also continued to provide sophisticated military equipment to Jordan, Morocco, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States.

## **1969: Israel Proves Its Strategic Value by Capturing new Soviet Military Equipment**

The Soviets supplied arms and their newest military technology to their Arab allies. In a daring raid in December 1969, called “Operation Rooster 53,” Israeli paratroopers captured the newest Soviet radar in Egypt and gave the technological information to the U.S.<sup>4</sup>

## **1970: Israel Proves Its Strategic Value When Syria Threatens Jordan**

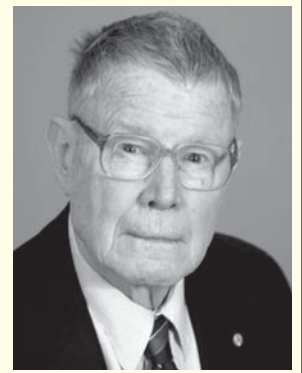
The U.S. asked Israel to support Jordan when Syrian tanks invaded. Israeli jets did not attack. They simply flew low enough for the invading Syrian tank commanders to see Israel’s Stars of David on the wings. The Syrian tanks quickly withdrew from Jordan.



Israel participates in international space mission, 2003.



**Israeli Robert Aumann (left) and American Thomas Schelling (right) shared the 2006 Nobel Prize in Economics for their joint research on game-theory analysis.**



### **1973-80: The U.S. Recognizes Israel as a Vital Strategic Partner**

After Israel's victory against the surprise Arab attack in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the U.S. saw that Israel could pit itself against Soviet military technology and weaponry. The U.S. realized Israel was its only militarily strong, stable friend in the Middle East. Israel became eligible to sell military equipment to the U.S., and the two countries began joint, limited military programs.

***"A strong, secure Israel is not just in Israel's interest, it's in the interest of the U.S. and...of the entire free world."***

—President Jimmy Carter

***"My commitment to the security and future of Israel is based upon basic morality as well as enlightened self-interest."***

—President Gerald Ford

### **1981: U.S.-Israel ties grow stronger**

President Ronald Reagan believed Israel was critical for U.S. interests in the Middle East. The U.S. and Israel signed a "Memorandum of Understanding" for military and strategic cooperation.

***"Only by full appreciation of the critical role the State of Israel plays in our strategic calculus can we build the foundation for thwarting Moscow's designs on territories and resources vital to our security and our national well-being."***

—President Ronald Reagan

### **1980s–1990s: U.S. Military Grants to Israel help not only Israel, but the U.S. and other countries as well**

At a fraction of the cost the U.S. spends to protect its allies and interests in Europe, East Asia and Iraq, the U.S. protects its Middle East interests through military grants to Israel. The amount the U.S. spends annually to protect South Korea alone is equal to the amount it grants to Israel. However, South Korean expenses are in the U.S. defense budget, while Israeli costs are in the foreign aid budget.<sup>5</sup>

Three-fourths of the military financing that the U.S. grants to Israel is spent in the U.S. This spending generates American profits and jobs. "More than 1,000 companies in 47 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have signed contracts worth billions of dollars."<sup>6</sup>

Israeli technological developments save the U.S. significant funds in research and development.

### **1985: Israel Becomes A Major U.S. Trading Partner**

The U.S. and Israel signed an agreement giving U.S. goods free access to Israeli markets. U.S. exports to Israel grew 437 percent

by 2001, bringing profits to U.S. businesses. Israel became second only to Canada in per capita imports of U.S. products.

### **1987: The U.S. Recognizes Israel as a Major Non-NATO Ally**

U.S.-Israel strategic and military cooperation develops further. By 1988, "the U.S. had pre-positioned equipment in Israel, regularly held joint training exercises, began co-development of the Arrow Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile and was engaged in a host of other cooperative military endeavors."<sup>7</sup>

### **1991: Israel cooperates with U.S. requests during the Gulf War**

Iraq fired 39 Scud missiles into Israel during the first Gulf War. At the request of the U.S., Israel did not launch any counterattacks to defend itself in order to protect the U.S.-led coalition.

### **1990-2007: Israel and U.S. Researchers Cooperate in Technological and Biomedical Breakthroughs**

Israel and America have worked hand-in-hand in research and development of high-tech and biomedical products.

Israeli companies make up 20 percent of the 338 NASDAQ stocks that are non-American companies. Companies like Microsoft, IBM and Intel established research and development centers in Israel where Israeli and American researchers work jointly. An American and two Israelis shared the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 2004.

### **1996-2007: Allies on the Frontline Against Terrorism**

The U.S. and Israel signed a Counterterrorism Cooperation Accord on April 30, 1996, pledging to jointly fight international terrorism and to form a Joint Counterterrorism Group. In 1999, they agreed to "share intelligence assessments, and prepare plans for cooperation in the development of technological means for counterterrorism."<sup>8</sup> Israel provides the U.S. with extensive intelligence on terrorists groups.

### **The U.S. Continues to Aid Middle East Governments**

The U.S. has been a principle backer of Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the Gulf States. It has given \$2 billion a year to Egypt since 1979 and regularly sold state-of-the-art military equipment to Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The U.S. has also continued to be a major supporter of Palestinian refugees and of the Palestinian Authority, directly as well as through the UN. When Hamas won the PA parliamentary elections in 2006, the U.S. redirected its aid because the U.S. government identifies Hamas as a terrorist group. Hamas remained committed to terrorism and refused to transform into a peaceful political movement.

<sup>1</sup>All President quotes in "U.S. Presidents on Israel," *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>2</sup>Mitchell Bard, "U.S. Aid to Israel," *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>3</sup>Mitchell Bard, "The United Nations and Israel," *Jewish Virtual Library*; Mohammed Daraghmeh, "Palestinian Aid Groups Refuse U.S. Money," *AP*, January 5, 2004. <sup>4</sup>"Operation 'Rooster,'" *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>5</sup>Tamar Sternthal, "WSJ Columnist Overstates U.S. Aid to Israel by Almost \$1 Trillion," *CAMERA*, December 12, 2003. <sup>6</sup>Bard, "U.S. Aid to Israel," op. cit. <sup>7</sup>Mitchell Bard, "U.S.-Israel Relations: A Special Alliance," *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>8</sup>"Counterterrorism Cooperation Accord Between the Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the United States of America," April 30, 1996; "Counterterrorism Group Formed," October 1999, *Jewish Virtual Library*.

# ISRAEL'S SEARCH FOR PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS



**Zionists and then the reborn State of Israel always sought friendship with neighboring states and envisioned them benefiting one another in joint trade, science, environmental and humanitarian projects. After World War I, many Arab leaders shared this vision:**

*"We Arabs...look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement....We will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home...our two movements complete one another....I think that neither can be a real success without the other."*—Emir Feisal, Leader of the Arab national movement, March 3, 1919<sup>1</sup>

But within a short time, many Arab leaders became hostile to Zionism, denied the Jewish State's right to exist as their neighbor and repeatedly tried to destroy it. Nonetheless, Israel has clung to the dream of peaceful coexistence. The small Jewish nation has re-emerged, and has protected itself with strong defenses while simultaneously reaching out for friendship and compromise. The State of Israel has always shown its willingness to make painful concessions when genuine peace was offered. Yet, sadly, only two of the 22 Middle Eastern states have signed peace agreements with Israel: Egypt and Jordan.

## **1937: Zionists accepted Britain's Partition**

**Recommendation with some reservations.** Based on the Peel Commission report, the proposal called for a Jewish state in only 4 percent of the original British Mandate, which included Jordan, and a Palestinian Arab state confederated with Jordan in the remaining 96 percent of the land. Arab leaders rejected it.

## **1947: Zionists accepted the UN Partition Plan,**

Resolution 181, which recommended dividing the remaining 22 percent of the land originally designated for the Jewish homeland for a two-state solution. Forty-five percent of the land was allotted for an Arab state and 55 percent for a Jewish state, though over 60 percent of the Jewish portion was the arid Negev Desert. Arab states rejected the compromise and continued hostilities to take over the whole area. The UN did not intervene to enforce its recommendation.

## **1949: Armistice Agreements:**

After the 1948 War (see page 12), Israel and neighboring Arab states agreed to armistice lines that left the Old City of Jerusalem and the West Bank occupied by Jordan and the Gaza Strip occupied by Egypt. The UN-sponsored Lausanne talks were to lead to permanent peace agreements, but the Arab states refused to make peace and their hostility to the Jewish State intensified. In 1951, Jordan's King Abdullah was assassinated for trying to negotiate peace with Israel.

*"We have a secret weapon...and this is time. As long as we do not make peace with the Zionists, the war is not over; and as long as the war is not over, there is neither victor nor vanquished."*—Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of League of Arab States (1945-1952), 1949<sup>2</sup>

## **1957: Israel unilaterally withdrew from the**

**Sinai Peninsula:** Israel captured the Sinai during the 1956 Suez War (see "Wars," page 12). Egypt refused to make peace. Nevertheless, Israel withdrew after Egypt stopped its illegal blockade of Israeli ships in the Suez Canal and Straits of Tiran and after the UN put peacekeeping troops along the Egyptian-Israeli borders.

## **1967: Israel accepted UN Resolution 242—Land**

**for Peace Formula:** The Resolution called for Arab states to make peace, recognize Israel's right to exist and to negotiate with Israel to create new, more "secure borders." In return, Israel was to withdraw from some of the territory it had captured in the 1967 War. Arab states rejected the formula in their Khartoum Resolution with its "Three NOs"—no peace, no negotiations and no recognition of the Jewish State.<sup>3</sup>

## **1979: Peace Treaty with Egypt:**

When Egyptian President Anwar Sadat came to Jerusalem and made a sincere peace offer, Israel welcomed him. Although Israel had discovered oil and gas in the Sinai, it gave the entire Sinai Peninsula to Egypt (91 percent of all the land captured in the 1967 War), dismantled all Jewish communities that had been built, ceded its oil drilling infrastructure intact and gave up the oil revenues the wells had produced. In 1981, President Sadat was assassinated by Egyptian extremists for striking a deal with Israel.

## **1993: Oslo Peace Accords with the PLO:**

Israel agreed to withdraw from most of the Territories and grant self-government to the Palestinians. In exchange, the PLO was supposed to stop incitement, renounce terrorism and accept Israel's right to exist in peace as a Jewish State within secure borders. By 1997, 98 percent of the Palestinian people were governed by the Palestinian Authority (see "Oslo Accords," pages 21-23).

## **1994: Peace Treaty with Jordan:**

King Hussein and Israel had multiple working arrangements, but Hussein kept them nonpublic because of pressure from Arab states. The regional atmosphere changed after the Oslo Accords of 1993, allowing Jordan and Israel to publicly formalize their peaceful relations.

## **2000-2006: Unilateral Withdrawal from**

**Southern Lebanon:** Despite continuing hostilities and threats from the Iranian- and Syrian-sponsored terrorist group, Hezbollah, and despite the fact that Lebanon had not made peace with Israel, Israel unilaterally withdrew its troops from the security zone it had established in southern Lebanon, hoping to promote peace. Unfortunately, between 2000 and 2006, Hezbollah amassed over 12,000 rockets in Lebanon that were aimed at Israel, continued rocket attacks against Israel's northern border, and performed multiple acts of violence in the region and elsewhere. On July 12, 2006, Hezbollah launched an unprovoked attack against Israel, kidnapping two soldiers and killing eight while simultaneously attacking Israeli cities (see "Hezbollah War," pages 28-31).

## **2005: Unilateral Disengagement from Gaza and**

**parts of the West Bank:** Though the Palestinian Authority was not living up to its commitments, Israel withdrew from parts of the Northern West Bank and from the area it still controlled in Gaza and uprooted more than 8,500 Israeli residents who reluctantly gave up their homes and the thriving communities they had built. These actions were taken with the hope of breaking the impasse in the peace process and to facilitate a two-state solution with defined borders. As of this printing, these expectations have not been realized.

## **2006: Kadima party wins Israeli elections with**

**platform of further disengagement despite the**

**victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections:** Ignoring the need and opportunity to create a better future for the Palestinian people, Hamas failed to change its charter and rhetoric, which call for the destruction of Israel, did not bring unity to the Palestinians and did not transform into a peaceful movement. Hamas did not prevent or condemn the over 800 Qassam rockets that were launched from Gaza in the less than 11 months following Israel's disengagement. In July 2006, during Hamas' governance, terrorists tunneled into Israel from Gaza, killed two soldiers and abducted Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, provoking a response from Israel (see pages 28-31).

<sup>1</sup>Emir Feisal letter to Felix Frankfurter, March 3, 1919. Reprinted in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, 1969, p. 21. <sup>2</sup>Quoted in Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel*, 2000, p. 453. <sup>3</sup>Khartoum Resolutions, September 1967.



# ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE EFFORTS

*“We, who have come from a land where parents bury their children...say to you today in a loud and clear voice: Enough of blood and tears. Enough.”*

—Yitzhak Rabin, Speech on the White House Lawn, 1993



The handshake on the White House Lawn at the signing of the Oslo Accords. (Pictured left to right: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, U.S. President Bill Clinton, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.)

High hopes for a new era of peace began with the Oslo Accords. The Accords promised to end decades of warfare and to fulfill Palestinian aspirations, while ensuring Israel’s security.

Since its founding in 1964, the PLO’s explicit goal had been to replace Israel, not to live alongside it. New opportunities arose in the early 1990s when the First Intifada ended and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat claimed he endorsed UN Resolution 242. Israel’s enemies seemed ready to lay down their arms and make peace. Israel was prepared to seize the opportunity. Most Israelis and Palestinians were full of hope and optimism.

PLO and Israeli representatives began secret talks in Oslo, Norway, in 1992. Arafat, the architect of terrorism against Israel, claimed he renounced violence, would stop incitement, recognize Israel’s right to exist and accept a two-state solution. In return, Israel and the United States looked beyond the PLO’s terrorist past, acknowledged the PLO as the official representative of the Palestinian people and agreed to give the Palestinians self-rule.

The Oslo process did not go smoothly. Though the Palestinian Authority governed 98 percent of its civilian population by 1997, escalating Palestinian incitement and terrorism led Israel to delay further withdrawals. Palestinians questioned Israel’s commitment to Oslo because of these delays while calls to violence by official Palestinian media, agencies and religious and political leaders led many Israelis to question Arafat’s sincerity. At Camp David in 2000, Arafat rejected Israel’s peace offer of a two-state solution that was endorsed by President Clinton and made no counteroffer. The campaign of terrorism known as the Second (Al Aqsa) Intifada erupted two months later. In 2003, the UN, EU, U.S. and Russia endorsed a new plan, the Road Map, to revive the peace process. When the negotiations envisioned in the Road Map also failed, Israel embarked upon a policy of unilateral withdrawals.

## Important Events in the Oslo Peace Process

**September 13, 1993:** Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin shake hands on the White House lawn and sign the **Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (DoP)**. The DoP lays out gradual steps for Israeli withdrawals. In exchange, the PLO is to refrain from all incitement and all violence, dismantle terrorist groups and eliminate the clauses in its Charter that call for the destruction of Israel. The most difficult issues—Jerusalem, refugees, final borders, settlements and security—are to be negotiated five years later once Israel is assured that its former enemy has sincerely renounced violence and the goal of destroying the Jewish State.<sup>1</sup>

**May 4, 1994:** The Palestinian Authority (PA) is established to govern the Palestinians in the **Gaza-Jericho Agreement**. Israel turns civil service administration over to the PA and withdraws from Jericho and the Gaza Strip.

**July 1, 1994:** Arafat’s exile in Tunis ends, and he returns to the Gaza Strip with his PLO associates who had been with him in Tunis.



Peace Rally in Tel Aviv, 1995

# The Oslo Accords, The Road Map, The Gaza Disengagement: 1993-2006

**October 14, 1994:** The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

**September 28, 1995:** In *Oslo II* or the *Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement*, Israel is scheduled to withdraw from Palestinian population centers, which will now be governed by the PA. The West Bank and Gaza are divided into Areas A, B and C. Areas A and B include Palestinian population centers. Israel completes the withdrawal from population centers in December 1995. Oslo II also calls for the creation of a Palestinian police force of 30,000 men to keep order and control militant factions. Israel agrees to provide arms for the new police force. The PLO again agrees to stop incitement, amend the PLO Charter that still calls for Israel's destruction and to guarantee respect for Jewish holy sites in its territory.

**November 4, 1995:** Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by an Israeli extremist who rejects any concessions to Palestinians, and Shimon Peres becomes Prime Minister.

**March 1997:** Violent demonstrations break out in Hebron and Bethlehem when Israel begins building Har Homa, a new Jewish neighborhood in southern Jerusalem that Palestinian critics claim should be part of their future state.

**October 23, 1998:** The *Wye River Memorandum* is drafted to clarify each side's ongoing obligations and to address Palestinian violations of previous agreements to end incitement, amend the PLO Charter and dismantle terrorist groups. Further Israeli withdrawals are tied to Palestinians fulfilling these obligations.

**July 11-25, 2000: Camp David Negotiations** to resolve Final Status issues. President Bill Clinton acts as mediator. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak offers 95 percent of a contiguous West Bank, 100 percent of Gaza, a capital in eastern Jerusalem, the removal of Jewish communities from those areas and \$30 billion to help resettle Palestinian refugees. Palestinians do not respond to the offer. PLO officials later claim that Barak's offer would have given them only disconnected enclaves. Israeli and U.S. officials dispute this claim.

***The final proposals made to the Palestinians "couldn't be a floor for negotiations. It couldn't be a ceiling. It was the roof.... Those who say there were cantons, completely untrue. It was contiguous."*** —Dennis Ross, U.S. envoy and negotiator<sup>3</sup>

**September 28-30, 2000:** Violence erupts, marking the start of the *Al-Aqsa* or *Second Intifada*, a campaign of Palestinian terrorism, which effectively ends the Oslo Process. Though at the time Palestinians claim Ariel Sharon's walk on the Temple Mount triggered the violence, Palestinian leaders (including the Palestinian Minister of Communication, Imhad Falouji) later admit publicly that the Intifada had been planned since the end of the Camp David negotiations.<sup>4</sup>

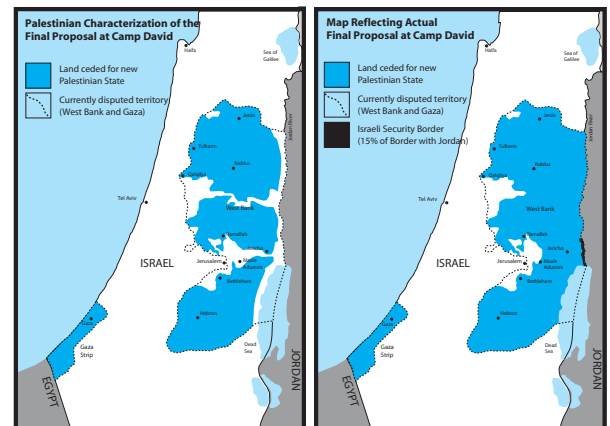
**January 22-28, 2001: Taba Conference**, where Prime Minister Ehud Barak makes another offer, including 97 percent of the West Bank. Again, no deal is reached. Barak's offer is rescinded as Israeli elections approach and terrorist attacks against Israel escalate.



Prime Minister Barak, President Clinton and Chairman Arafat at Camp David, 2000.

***"You understand that we plan to eliminate the State of Israel and establish a purely Palestinian State. We will make life unbearable for Jews by psychological warfare and population explosion.... I have no use for Jews; they are and remain Jews."***

Yasser Arafat to an Arab audience in Stockholm, Sweden, January 30, 1996<sup>2</sup>



Palestinian leaders claim the offer they rejected at Camp David for a Palestinian state was a nonviable series of cantons (left). U.S. Middle East envoy and negotiator Dennis Ross asserts that Israel's Camp David proposal was contiguous (right) and far-reaching. (Maps from Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace*, 2004.)



President George Bush with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon

**June 4, 2003: The Road Map** is formally endorsed at the Aqaba Summit by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, Jordan's King Abdullah II and U.S. President George Bush. The performance-based plan calls for Palestinians to end terrorism and anti-Israel incitement. Israel is to help the Palestinians build their institutions and to freeze settlement building. It envisions the establishment of a Palestinian state by 2005. "The Quartet," the UN, European Union, the U.S. and Russia, is to oversee the process.

**April 2004: Unilateral Disengagement Plan.** Concerned that there is no partner for peace, Prime Minister Sharon announces that Israel will withdraw unilaterally from the remaining 20 percent of Gaza and from a large part of the northern West Bank, uprooting all Jewish communities that were living there.

**November 11, 2004: Yasser Arafat dies** in Paris. Former PA Prime Minister and Arafat colleague **Mahmoud Abbas** (Abu Mazen) is elected Chairman of the PLO and later president of the PA.

**August 2005:** Israel unilaterally withdraws from the remaining 20 percent of the Gaza Strip that was still under Israeli administration and from the Northern West Bank, uprooting Israeli communities (including the deceased from cemeteries) as announced in April 2004.

**January 2006: Ehud Olmert** becomes interim Prime Minister after Ariel Sharon suffers a stroke. Hamas, a terrorist group dedicated to destroying Israel in accordance with its founding charter, wins in the PA Parliamentary elections.

**March 2006: The Kadima Party** wins the Israeli elections.

**July-August 2006: Hezbollah War**

## Major Players During the Oslo Peace Process

Dates	U.S.	Israel	Palestinians
1993	President Bill Clinton, MidEast Envoy Dennis Ross	Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister, Labor Party Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister	Yasser Arafat, PLO Chairman
1995	President Bill Clinton, MidEast Envoy Dennis Ross	Shimon Peres, Prime Minister, Labor Party	Yasser Arafat, PA President
1996	President Bill Clinton, MidEast Envoy Dennis Ross	Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister, Likud Party	Yasser Arafat, PA President
1999	President Bill Clinton, MidEast Envoy Dennis Ross	Ehud Barak, Prime Minister, Labor Party	Yasser Arafat, PA President
2001	President George W. Bush, MidEast Envoy Dennis Ross	Ariel Sharon, Prime Minister, Likud Party	Yasser Arafat, PA President
2004	President George W. Bush	Ariel Sharon, Prime Minister, Likud Party	Mahmoud Abbas, PLO Chairman
2006	President George W. Bush	Ehud Olmert, Prime Minister, Kadima Party	Mahmoud Abbas, PA President

## Terrorism Since the Start of the Oslo Peace Process<sup>5</sup>

In the five years after the Oslo Accords were signed, Palestinian terrorist groups opposed to the two-state solution killed 282 Israelis, far more than the number killed (216) in the entire 15 years that preceded the Accords. Despite escalating terrorism and incitement, Israel continued to withdraw until 98 percent of Palestinians were governed by the PA. Israel intermittently reoccupied these areas as needed for security purposes with its defensive operations during the Second Intifada. The violence undermined the central premise of the Oslo Accords, that differences would be resolved peacefully, and effectively shattered the Oslo peace process.

Date	Israelis Murdered in Terrorist Attacks
September 1993-1994	26
1994	73
1995	52
1996	87
1997	31
1998	13
1999	4
2000 2nd Intifada begins	47
2001	206
2002	452
2003	214
2004	117
2005	45
2006	32

<sup>1</sup>"Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangement," September 13, 1993. <sup>2</sup>Quoted in "Arafat in Stockholm," *Arutz-7*, February 27, 1996.

<sup>3</sup>Interview with Dennis Ross on *Fox News Sunday*, April 21, 2002. <sup>4</sup>Lamia Lahoud, "PA minister: Intifada planned since July," *Jerusalem Post*, March 4, 2001.

<sup>5</sup>Statistics compiled from "Fatalities in Palestinian Terror Attacks (1967-2005)," *Jewish Virtual Library*.



# INTI

**SEPTEMBER 28, 2000-PRESENT:** The Oslo process came to an end in September 2000 when multiple extremist Palestinian groups, with the backing of Yasser Arafat and the PA, launched a terrorist war against Israel. These groups hijacked the peace agenda from ordinary Palestinians and forced Israel to focus on self-defense.

Though there had been terrorism throughout the Oslo years, it now escalated into an organized, systematic campaign of roadside explosives, ambushes and shootings. The Intifada's signature tactic, suicide bombing, has been the most lethal, causing 47 percent of all Israeli casualties. Terrorists targeted Israeli civilians. Suicide bombers exploded in restaurants, dance clubs, synagogues, Bar Mitzvah parties and public buses. Snipers shot at commuters on the highways. Attackers infiltrated private homes and launched rockets into schoolyards.

During the Oslo negotiations, Yasser Arafat, the PLO and the PA (the Palestinian Authority) had committed to disarming and dismantling terrorist groups. Instead, they continued to arm terrorists, promote incitement and give terrorists financial and ideological support, hoping to force more concessions from Israel.

The PA has officially celebrated suicide bombers as heroic martyrs and authorized public incitement in the media, schools and mosques to attack Israel and Israelis. Many PA security officials doubled as terrorist operatives. In January 2006, PA Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas announced he would continue the PA policy of paying suicide bombers' families with annual stipends.<sup>3</sup> In the same month, the radical Islamic group, Hamas, won the majority vote in the PA elections.

*"Whoever thinks that the intifada broke out because of the despised Sharon's visit to the al-Aqsa Mosque is wrong. This intifada was planned in advance, ever since President Arafat's return from the Camp David negotiations, where he turned the table upside down on President Clinton."*  
—PA Communications Minister  
Imad Falouji, March 3, 2001<sup>1</sup>

**Terrorism Against Israel**  
**Sept. 28, 2000 - Dec. 31, 2005<sup>2</sup>**



- 25,770 terrorist attacks
- 147 suicide bombings (causing 47% of all deaths)
- 1,084 killed
- 7,454 injured
- 82% of dead and wounded were civilians (2000-2004)

## Palestinian Terrorism: A Who's Who in the Terror War against Israel

Terrorists come from a large network of armed Palestinian groups. Some are directly connected to the PLO, which remains a force in the PA. Most PA officials belong to the PLO or Hamas. Some groups, like Hamas, are radical Islamist, while others, like the PFLP, are secular. Immediately following Israel's withdrawal from Gaza in the fall of 2005, Al Qaeda and Hezbollah operatives established cells in Gaza. Though these groups often compete with one another, they also frequently collaborate. All receive encouragement, financial support, weapons and, in some cases, direction from Arab and other states, which also offer them safe havens. For example, Iran has given Hamas and Hezbollah millions of dollars annually; the Hamas leader Khaled Maashal lives in Damascus, Syria; and Hamas and Hezbollah signed an agreement in 2004 to increase attacks on Israel.<sup>4</sup>

**HAMAS (ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT)<sup>5</sup>**

<b>FOUNDED:</b>	1987 - Won PA Parliamentary elections in January 2006
<b>FOUNDER/LEADERS:</b>	Sheikh Ahmed Yassin (1987-2004); Khaled Mashaal (2004-present)
<b>LOCATION:</b>	West Bank and Gaza; Leaders also in Syria, Lebanon, Iran
<b>IDEOLOGY:</b>	Muslim Brotherhood Islamist. Opposes PLO. "Israel will exist until Islam will obliterate it. There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad (Holy War)." --Hamas Charter
<b>OPERATIONS:</b>	Shootings, bombings, rocket attacks, suicide missions. 773 terrorist attacks in just 2003 and 2004 41 suicide bombings (1993-2000) 58 suicide bombings (2000-2005) 377 Israelis killed, 2,076 wounded (9/00-4/04) 29 suicide bombers foiled and arrested (2005) 40% of all suicide bombers (2000-2005)
<b>NOTES:</b>	Major player in the terrorist war against Israel. Perpetrated 40% of suicide bombings. Dominates Gaza. Has shifted its strategic emphasis to rocket and mortar attacks. Closely tied to Syria, Iran and Lebanon. Funded by groups in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Western Europe, Hezbollah, and others. Listed as terrorist organization by US State Department.





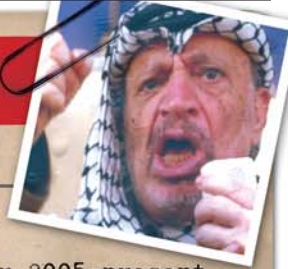
# F A D A

My message to the Israeli Jews is that there is no God but Allah, we will chase you everywhere! We are a nation that drinks blood, and we know that there is no blood better than the blood of Jews. We will not leave you alone until we have quenched our thirst with your blood, and our children's thirst with your blood."  
 — Hamas broadcast, February 2006<sup>6</sup>

**“We may lose or win [factically], but our eyes will continue to aspire to the strategic goal, namely, to Palestine from the river to the sea [euphemism for all of Israel]. Whatever we get now cannot make us forget this supreme truth.”**

—Faisal Husseini, PLO representative in Jerusalem and a PA minister, April 2001<sup>7</sup>

## PLO (PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION)<sup>8</sup>



<b>FOUNDED:</b>	1964
<b>FOUNDER/LEADERS:</b>	Egyptian-born Ahmed Shukairy. Sponsored by Egyptian president Gamal Nasser. Yasser Arafat, PLO Chairman: 1969–2004. Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen), PLO Co-founder. Served as PLO Chair 2005–present.
<b>IDEOLOGY:</b>	Secular Arab nationalist. “Armed struggle is the only way to liberate 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.” -- PLO Charter 1968
<b>OPERATIONS:</b>	Plane hijackings, hostage taking, bombings, assassinations. 1968–1982: targeted Israeli civilians and Jews globally, and conducted operations against Lebanese, Jordanians and Americans. Tried to overthrow King Hussein of Jordan and was crushed by Hussein’s army in September of 1970.
<b>NOTES:</b>	Founded as umbrella organization for militant Palestinian nationalist groups. 1974: UN recognizes PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people. 1993: PLO is signatory of Oslo Peace Accords and says it formally recognizes Israel. Becomes dominant political party in the PA. 1996: PLO votes for amending its Charter to eliminate clauses calling for destruction of Israel. Charter unchanged in public documents, as of 2007. Accused by the international community of extensive corruption and theft of international aid during its governance of the PA.

## FATAH (MOVEMENT FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF PALESTINE)<sup>9</sup> OFFSHOOT MILITIAS OF FATAH: TANZIM AND AL AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADE



<b>FOUNDED:</b>	1959
<b>FOUNDER:</b>	Egyptian-born Yasser Arafat, with Mahmood Abbas (Abu Mazen) and others.
<b>IDEOLOGY:</b>	Revolutionary nationalist liberation group. Took over PLO in 1968 and remains PLO’s largest faction.
<b>OFFSHOOT MILITIAS:</b>	Tanzim: founded in 1983. Fatah’s military and operational wing. Marwan Barghouti, Tanzim leader in West Bank, currently in Israeli jail serving five life terms. Al Qsa Martyrs Brigade: founded in 2000 after outbreak of Second Intifada. Most Fatah operatives work in Al Qsa Martyrs Brigade.
<b>OPERATIONS:</b>	Guerilla warfare, shootings, bombings, and rocket and suicide attacks. 214 terrorist attacks in just 2003 and 2004. 33 suicide bombings (2000–2005). 1st female suicide bomber (1/27/02). 5 female suicide bombers dispatched (2002–2005). 47 suicide bombers foiled and arrested (2005).
<b>NOTES:</b>	Fatah has several militias, including Force-17. Midway into the Second Intifada, Fatah militias started coordinating with radical Islamist terrorist groups for joint terrorist attacks.





# INTI

## PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ)<sup>10</sup>



<b>FOUNDED:</b>	1979
<b>FOUNDER/LEADERS:</b>	Fathi 'Abd al-Aziz al-Shqaqi (1979-1995), Sheikh 'Abd al-Aziz 'Odah, Dr. Ramadan Shalah
<b>LOCATION:</b>	West Bank and Gaza. Sponsored by Iran and Syria.
<b>IDEOLOGY:</b>	Radical Islamist and nationalist. Committed to "creation of an Islamic Palestinian state and the destruction of Israel through holy war." Opposes pro-Western and Arab governments.-BBC Report
<b>OPERATIONS:</b>	Operations: Shootings, bombings, rocket attacks and suicide bombings. 1,000 terrorist attacks (2000-2004) 950 Israelis wounded, 150 killed 39 suicide bombings (2000-2005) Jenin battle, 2002. PIJ's hub was in Jenin, the Palestinian terrorist "suicide capital." 59 suicide bombers foiled and arrested (2005).
<b>NOTES:</b>	Small group but increasingly a major player. It recruits followers in mosques and universities. Opposed to hudnas (ceasefires) and lulls in the terrorist operations, such as the one negotiated for February 2005 to January 1, 2006.



Suicide bomb attack

## HEZBOLLAH (PARTY OF GOD)<sup>11</sup>



<b>FOUNDED:</b>	1982. Official manifesto released February 16, 1985.
<b>FOUNDER/LEADER:</b>	Iranian Revolutionary Guards; spiritual father Sheik Muhammed Hussein Fadlallah; General Secretary Sheik Abbas al-Musawi, 1991-1992; Sheik Hassan Nasrallah 1992-to present
<b>LOCATION:</b>	Southern Lebanon. Established by Iran.
<b>IDEOLOGY:</b>	Shia Islamic fundamentalist terrorist group/Lebanese political party. Goals are to establish Islamic state across the Arab world, eliminate Israel and fight "Western imperialism."
<b>OPERATIONS:</b>	Shootings, rocket attacks, bombings, kidnappings, suicide bombings. 241 US marines killed by suicide bombers driving a truck. Bombing of US marine barracks and embassy, Beirut, 1983. Beheaded US CIA Chief William Buckley, Beirut, 1985. 29 killed in bombing of Israeli Embassy, Buenos Aires, 1992. 96 killed in bombing of Israeli Cultural Center in Buenos Aires, 1994. 813 terrorist attacks, 1990-1995. 3 Israeli border guards kidnapped and murdered in 2000. 183 terrorist attacks (May 2000-May 2004). Initiated a war across internationally recognized border of Israel by kidnapping two Israeli soldiers and killing eight and shelling northern Israeli towns, 2006 (see more information about Hezbollah war on pages 28-31).
<b>NOTES:</b>	Not Palestinian-based but extensively supports Palestinian terrorist groups. Set up cells in the West Bank and Gaza. Continuously attacked across the Israel/Lebanon border. Operatives now in Caribbean and Central, North and South America. Listed as a terrorist organization by US State Department.



Katyusha launched from S. Lebanon

# F A D A

"No one can ask why Hitler punished the Jews... Did Hitler attack the Jews or did their crime deserve even more?" —Egyptian government newspaper, May 27, 2001<sup>12</sup>

## Smaller Terrorist Groups

### PFLP (POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE)<sup>13</sup>

#### SPLINTER GROUPS:

PPLF-GC (POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE - GENERAL COMMAND)

DFLP (DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE)

<b>FOUNDED:</b>	1967
<b>FOUNDER/LEADERS:</b>	George Habash (1971-2000); Ahmad Sadat (2001-present)
<b>LOCATION:</b>	West Bank, Gaza, Syria, Lebanon
<b>IDEOLOGY:</b>	Marxist/Leninist, revolutionary nationalism through armed insurrection. Refuses to recognize Israel. Broke with PLO in 1974 for its "Stages Strategy" ("liberating" Palestine in stages rather than in a single war) but later rejoined the PLO.
<b>OPERATIONS:</b>	Initiated showcase, media-oriented attacks in the 1970s, such as plane hijackings. Shootings, bombings and suicide attacks. Assassinated Israeli Tourism Minister Rechavam Ze'evi, October 2001. 8 suicide bombings (2000-2005). 14 suicide bombers were stopped and arrested (2005).
<b>NOTES:</b>	Major players in the 1970s and 1980s, but PFLP and related groups are small and considered minor players today.



The bed of a child murdered by a terrorist

### Additional terror groups not listed here also pose serious threats to Israeli civilians.



Suicide bomber attacks  
Tel Aviv bus station, 2006.



Palestinian suicide bomb explodes on Israeli bus, March 5, 2003.  
Seventeen people murdered; 53 injured.

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Lamia Lahoud, "PA Minister: Intifada planned since July," *Jerusalem Post*, March 4, 2001. <sup>2</sup>Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Palestinian Terrorism in 2005," December 31, 2005. <sup>3</sup>Jonathan D. Halevi, "Abbas Approves PA Assistance to Families of Suicide Bombers," *News First Class*, December 5, 2005. <sup>4</sup>Terrorist Group Profile for Hizbollah, *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2004*. United States Department of State, April 2005; Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Special Information Bulletin," April 4, 2005. <sup>5</sup>"Hamas" at Jewish Virtual Library; Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Suicide Bombing terrorism during the current Israeli-Palestinian confrontation," January 1, 2006; Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), "2005 Terrorism Review," January 2, 2006. <sup>6</sup>Itamar Marcus and Barbara Crook, "Hamas Video: We will drink the blood of the Jews," *Palestinian Media Watch Bulletin*, February 14, 2006. <sup>7</sup>Quoted in the Lebanese *Al-Safir*, March 21 2001. <sup>8</sup>"PLO" at Jewish Virtual Library; CAMERA, "Yasir Arafat's Timeline of Terror," November 13 2004 at CAMERA; Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*, 2003. <sup>9</sup>"Fatah's Political Program" at Jewish Virtual Library; Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), "Fatah Tanzim," ICT website ([www.ict.org.il](http://www.ict.org.il)); Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Suicide Bombing," op. cit.; MFA, "2005 Terrorism Review," op. cit. <sup>10</sup>"Palestinian Islamic Jihad" at Jewish Virtual Library; Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Special Information Bulletin," February 28, 2005; Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Suicide Bombing," op. cit.; MFA, "2005 Terrorism Review," op. cit.; [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1005081.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1005081.stm) <sup>11</sup>ICT, "Hezbollah," ICT website; Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Background Information about Hezbollah..." July 13, 2006; U.S. Department of State, "Background Information on Foreign Terrorist Organizations," MFA, "Terrorism from Lebanon-Hezbollah," January 29, 2004. <sup>12</sup>Mahmoud Muhammad Khadr, "In Defense of Hitler," *Al-Akhbar*, May 27, 2001. <sup>13</sup>"PFLP" at Jewish Virtual Library; Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," ICT website; Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Suicide Bombing," op. cit.; MFA, "2005 Terrorism Review," op. cit.

# The Hezbollah War

**In the summer of 2006, Israel once again faced a surprise attack,** this time from Hezbollah, the Iranian- and Syrian-sponsored Islamist terrorist group based in Lebanon. The group had evolved into an Iranian proxy army on Israel's northern border and was rapidly acquiring longer-range missiles that could deliver nonconventional weapons. Hezbollah's Iranian sponsor shares its stated objective, which is to destroy Israel. Israel views Iran, Hezbollah and their growing arsenal as an existential threat.



Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah

On July 12, as Israeli soldiers were on routine patrol along the Israeli side of the internationally recognized Israel-Lebanon border (the Blue Line), Hezbollah commandos crossed the border, kidnapped two soldiers and killed a total of eight soldiers that day. Simultaneously, Hezbollah launched rockets on Israel's northern towns.

The ensuing war lasted 34 days. It ended with UN resolution 1701, which went into effect on August 14. The UN hoped that a contingent of international troops would implement both Resolution 1701 and an earlier UN Resolution, 1559, which had also called for Hezbollah's disarmament. At the time of this publication, the ceasefire is still in place with no major incidents, but Hezbollah refuses to disarm or free the abducted Israeli soldiers. Real uncertainty remains about how and whether Hezbollah will ever be disarmed and whether there will be an end to the flow of weapons to Hezbollah from Iran and Syria, which destabilizes Lebanon and the region.

#### **Hezbollah's attack was an unprovoked act of war.**

This aggression was not over territory, nor was it resistance to "occupation." Israel did not occupy any Lebanese land. Six years earlier, in June 2000, Israel had withdrawn completely from its security zone in southern Lebanon. Israel had created this zone in response to the PLO's border attacks from Lebanon in the 1970s (see pages 12 and 13). The UN verified Israel's full withdrawal on June 18, 2000.<sup>1</sup>

*"You can't anymore claim it's an act of resistance. It's an act of war."*—Timur Goksel, former UN spokesman<sup>2</sup>

Hezbollah's attack was a "rash adventure carried out by elements inside the state and those behind them without consultation with the legitimate authority in their state and without consultation or coordination with Arab countries."—Saudi official, July 14, 2006<sup>3</sup>

*"The Shi'ite community authorized no one to declare war in its name or to drag it into a war that was far from its wishes and from the wishes of the other ethnic communities in Lebanon."*—Sayyed Ali-Amin, Mufti of Tyre, Lebanon, August 22, 2006<sup>4</sup>

**Hezbollah is a Shi'ite terrorist group funded and armed by Iran with Syrian assistance.** Founded by Iran's revolutionary government in 1982, Hezbollah killed more Americans than any other terrorist organization until

Al Qaeda killed 3,000 Americans in its attacks on the U.S. in 2001. Hezbollah also engaged in terrorist acts worldwide. When Israel left southern Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah took over the area and continued its terrorism along Israel's northern border.<sup>5</sup>

**Hezbollah shares the radical Islamist goal of defeating the West, destroying Israel and committing genocide against Jews.**

*"The destruction of Israel and the liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem...is the principal objective of Hezbollah."*  
—Hezbollah's Secretary General Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, June 2, 2000<sup>6</sup>

*"If they (Jews) all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide."*  
—Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, 2002<sup>7</sup>

*"Israel must be wiped off the map.... And God willing, with the force of God behind it, we shall soon experience a world without the United States and Zionism."*  
—Iranian President Ahmadinejad, October 26, 2005<sup>8</sup>

**Some experts view the Hezbollah War as Iran's first strike against a U.S. ally. Given Iran's efforts to develop nonconventional weapons and its stated intention to destroy the Jewish State, Israel sees Hezbollah as an Iranian foothold on its northern border and as a serious threat.**

*"Some now call the latest war 'The First Iran-Israel War,' a label foretelling a future that makes the age of suicide bombers seem placid by comparison."*  
—Journalist Frida Ghitis<sup>9</sup>

**Many Middle East experts claim that Hezbollah is holding Lebanon "hostage." Though Hezbollah has been part of the Lebanese government since 1992, it is also regarded as an illegitimate "state within a state" that is controlled by Iran and Syria.** UN Resolution 1559 called for Lebanon to dismantle all the armed militias that remained after the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990). Yet the Lebanese government has been unable or afraid to dismantle the group.

The Lebanese government was not consulted about Hezbollah's act of war against Israel, but Lebanon's decision to recognize Hezbollah as a legal political party and its failure to disarm the group made it complicit in the attack against Israel.

*"One man representing a faction of the Shia, [Hezbollah leader] Hassan Nasrallah, is holding the whole Lebanese population hostage."*—Elie Fawaz, Lebanese political analyst<sup>10</sup>

**Hezbollah openly acknowledges that it assists Palestinian terrorist organizations.**

*"They [Palestinian terrorist groups] need financial, political and media [propaganda] support. We do not deny that we give it to them."*—Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, April 27, 2006<sup>11</sup>

*"Without the fraternal help we receive from Hezbollah, we could not continue our struggle."*—Zakaria Zubeidi, Fatah/Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade commander, March 6, 2006<sup>12</sup>

## THE WAR EFFORT

### Disproportionate Force?

Some people wondered if Israel used disproportionate force against Hezbollah. Yet Israel faced a formidable enemy. Hezbollah spent the six years after Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon digging fortifications and amassing state-of-the-art weapons. "Hezbollah is a militia trained like an army and equipped like a state," according to the *New York Times*.<sup>13</sup>

Hezbollah had night-vision goggles, satellite communications and some of the world's best infantry weapons, including modern, Russian-made antitank weapons and Semtex plastic explosives, wire-guided and laser-guided antitank missiles with double-phased explosive warheads and a range of about two miles.<sup>14</sup> It had 11,500 short- to medium-range missiles and rockets; advanced missiles such as the Fajr (range of 100 kilometers); Iran 130 (range of 90-110 kilometers); Shahin (range up to 150 kilometers) and 355-millimeter rockets (range of 150 kilometers); and Chinese-made, Iranian-delivered, radar-guided ground-to-ship missiles and drones (remote-piloted aircraft laden with explosives).<sup>15</sup> Hezbollah was not acting alone. It was supported and armed by Iran and Syria.

**Israel's military goals were to free its abducted soldiers, see the implementation of Resolution 1559, which called for Hezbollah's disarmament, and to remove the terrorist threat from its northern border.** The seriousness of this threat was confirmed by Hezbollah's ability to bombard Israel's northern towns and by Hezbollah's threats on Tel Aviv. Israel intercepted Hezbollah drones that were targeting Tel Aviv.

### Israel placed a high priority on protecting Israeli and Lebanese civilians.

- Nearly 1 million Israeli citizens hid in prepared bomb shelters in northern Israel, and hundreds of thousands fled to safer areas in the country.
- Israel dropped leaflets and used the media to warn Lebanese civilians of Israel's planned operations so they could move to safer areas, even though this warning eliminated the strategic advantage of surprise.
- Despite the greater risk to soldiers' lives, Israel used ground troops in many situations in order to avoid endangering Lebanese civilians. When intelligence reports revealed that an Israeli air strike on the fiercely contested Hezbollah stronghold of Bint Jbail might cause

dozens of civilian deaths, Israel instead sent in ground troops in order to prevent Lebanese civilian casualties. Dozens of soldiers died in the face-to-face fighting.

*"This generation has given us some of Israel's most powerful images of heroism, like the soldier from a West Bank settlement and father of two young children who leaped onto a grenade to save his friends, shouting the Shema—the prayer of God's oneness—just before the grenade exploded."*—Yossi Klein Halevi<sup>16</sup>



Damage to an apartment building in Haifa from a Katyusha rocket fired into civilian population centers.

**Israel used surgical strikes at specific Hezbollah targets to avoid harming Lebanese civilians.**

*"All those who speak of the 'destruction of Beirut' are either liars, Iranians, anti-Semites or absent. Even the houses situated one alley's distance from the targets... have not been hit... On contemplating these results... you understand the meaning of the concept 'surgical strikes' and you can admire the dexterity of the Jewish pilots. Beirut, all the rest of Beirut, 95 percent of Beirut, lives and breathes better than a fortnight ago... One example: Last night the restaurant where I went to eat was jammed full and I had to wait until 9:30 p.m. to get a table. Everyone was smiling, relaxed, but no one filmed them: a strange destruction of Beirut, is it not?"* (Lebanese writer Michael Behe, August 8, 2006)<sup>17</sup>

# The Hezbollah War

## In contrast, Hezbollah targeted Israeli citizens and intentionally endangered Lebanese civilians and UN forces.

- Hezbollah fired over 3,970 rockets in the 34 days of war. Over 220 rockets were launched on one day alone. Nine hundred one hit population centers. Toward the end of the war, Hezbollah urged Israeli-Arabs to leave Haifa because they were also potential victims of the indiscriminate attacks.<sup>18</sup>
- Hezbollah launched 113 Chinese-made Type-81 cluster bombs, which contained over 4,400 individual submunitions, according to Human Rights Watch.<sup>19</sup>
- Hezbollah mounted its operations from civilian centers, using the population as human shields, because it knows Israel consistently tries to avoid harming non-combatants. Yet Hezbollah also knows that Israel's military is, of necessity, equipped to retaliate immediately on the sites where rockets and missiles are launched in order to prevent further attacks on its population. By using this tactic, Hezbollah intentionally endangered Lebanese civilians.



Red indicates the limited areas of Beirut and suburbs that were targeted by precision Israeli air strikes against Hezbollah strongholds.<sup>20</sup>

*“Hezbollah must stop this cowardly blending in among women and children.”* —Jan Egeland, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs<sup>21</sup>

- There is evidence that Hezbollah chose this strategy so Israel would be forced to strike civilian centers and then be condemned by the international community for doing so. Hezbollah made no effort to provide bomb shelters or civil defense for Lebanese civilians who lived near its launch sites.

There are Lebanese reports that Hezbollah came to their towns, dug underground bunkers to store weapons and then built schools and homes over them.<sup>22</sup>

*“A local sheikh explained to me laughing that the Jews would lose...because the rockets would either be fired at them, or if they attacked the rockets depots, they would be condemned by world opinion on account of the dead civilians.”*  
—Dr. Mounir Herzallah, July 30, 2006<sup>23</sup>

*“Dr. Fouad Fatah admitted his hospital [in Tyre] could have been used as a site from which to fire rockets into Israel.”*  
—Canada's *National Post*, August 5, 2006<sup>24</sup>

*“A younger man...said that Hezbollah had kept bombs in the basement of the mosque, but that two days earlier a truck had taken the cache away. It was common knowledge in Sidon, he said, and everyone was expecting the mosque to be hit.”* —*The New Yorker*, August 7, 2006<sup>25</sup>

- There is also strong evidence that Hezbollah was digging fortifications and operating close to UN outposts in Lebanon, intentionally endangering UN forces.

*“A Canadian UN observer, one of four killed at a UNIFIL position near the southern Lebanese town of Khiyam on Tuesday, sent an e-mail to his former commander, a Canadian retired major-general, Lewis MacKenzie, in which he wrote that Hezbollah fighters were ‘all over’ the UN position.”* —*New York Sun*, July 27, 2006<sup>26</sup>

## Hezbollah's War took a tragic toll on Lebanon.

Hezbollah's tactics, such as launching attacks from homes and community centers, using ordinary people as protective shields and having its fighters dress like and mingle with civilians, caused the major civilian toll in Lebanon.

*“Hezbollah made this war and ruined the whole country. We paid in blood, in young men. As long as Hezbollah exists and has weapons, there will be war.”*  
—Maggie Haddad, Lebanese civilian, August 28, 2006<sup>27</sup>

*“The Lebanese people have watched as Hezbollah has built up a heavily armed state-within-a-state that has now carried the country into a devastating conflict it cannot win, and many are fed up. Sunni Muslims, Christians and the Druze have no desire to pay for the martial vanity of the Hezbollah leader, Hassan Nasrallah.”* —Michael Young, Lebanon's *Daily Star* journalist, July 22, 2006<sup>28</sup>



Hezbollah fighters dressed as Lebanese civilians gathered around artillery.

## War Crime: Using Human Shields

Hezbollah's strategy of hiding among civilians, launching attacks from civilian centers such as schools and mosques, and deliberately endangering noncombatants violates the Fourth Geneva Convention and is a war crime according to international law.

*“The presence of a protected person may not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations.”* —Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, August 12, 1949, art. 28<sup>29</sup>

*“The Parties to the conflict shall not direct the movement of the civilian population or individual civilians in order to attempt to shield military objectives from attacks or to shield military operations.”* —Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention, Article 51 (7)<sup>30</sup>

## Hezbollah's war took a tragic toll on Israel.<sup>31</sup>

### The Human Toll

- **162 Israelis were killed, including 43 Christian, Jewish and Muslim civilians and 119 IDF soldiers.**
- **4,262 civilians** were wounded.
- **Over 2 million people**—almost a third of Israel's population—were within Hezbollah rocket range.
- **300,000 - 500,000 Israelis** were displaced.
- **More than 1 million residents** were forced to live in bomb shelters for the 34 days.

### The Economic Toll to Israel:

- **6,000 homes** were hit by rockets.
- **\$1.6 billion**—estimated cost of damage to the economy.
- **\$5.3 billion**—cost of the war.
- **\$335.4 million**—estimated compensation to be given to the population of northern Israel.
- **\$460 million** in aid will be given to local governments and emergency services in northern Israel.
- **630 factories** in northern Israel were closed.
- **\$1.4 billion** was lost by businesses in northern Israel.
- **1.5 percent:** Estimated loss in GDP.

### Environmental Losses to Israel:

- **50-60 years** before Israel's forests recover.
- **6,178 acres** of grazing land burned.
- **618 acres** of natural or planted forest burned.



Impact of the ball bearings packed in Hezbollah rockets.



Carrying on life despite the war: Israeli couple weds in a shelter.



Two soldiers mourn the loss of their comrades.

## DISPUTE ABOUT SHEBAA FARMS

Hezbollah claims Shebaa Farms is Israeli-occupied Lebanese territory to justify continuing its terrorism against Israel. But Lebanon has never governed the Shebaa Farms. Israel captured them—a 10-square-mile area with 14 farms located at the intersection of the Israeli, Syrian and Lebanese borders—from Syria in its defensive 1967 War. During Israel's withdrawal in 2000, Lebanon, backed by Syria, argued that the Farms were also part of Israeli-occupied Lebanese territory, but the UN categorically rejected the claim, confirming they were part of Syria.<sup>32</sup>

*"Ten... maps issued after 1966 by various Lebanese government institutions...and... six maps issued by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic...place the farmlands inside the Syrian Arab Republic."* —UN Secretary-General Report, May 22, 2000<sup>33</sup>

## THE MEDIA AND THE HEZBOLLAH WAR

Unfortunately, the Hezbollah War was also a propaganda battle. Intentionally or not, several news outlets misrepresented the facts. *Time* magazine, for example, reported that a wounded Israeli child was an "unintended target" of Hezbollah rockets, though its rockets were clearly directed at Israeli civilian centers.<sup>34</sup> Reputable news sources released photographs that turned out to be staged or doctored, that demonized Israel by exaggerating the impact of Israel's military operations. Reuters, for example, had to fire freelance photojournalist Adnin Hajj for doctored pictures of Israel's bombing of the Hezbollah stronghold in Beirut. When emotionally moving photographs appeared depicting Lebanese family albums, children's dolls and teddy bears in the rubble showing no sign of having been affected by a bombing, responsible journalists and media watchdogs correctly suspected the photos had been staged.<sup>35</sup>

**The lesson:** Check more than one source for news and information. Review media monitors and translations of Arabic publications and speeches at MEMRI.org, PMW.org.il, HonestReporting.com, and CAMERA.org.

<sup>1</sup>UN press release SC 68/78, "Security Council endorses Secretary General's conclusion on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon as of 16 June," June 18, 2000. <sup>2</sup>Quoted in Megan K. Stack and Rania Abouzeid, "The Nation of Hezbollah," *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 2006. <sup>3</sup>Official Source Makes Statement," Saudi Press Agency, July 14, 2006. <sup>4</sup>Interview in Lebanon's *Al-Nahar*, August 22, 2006. Translated by MEMRI. <sup>5</sup>Hizbollah Terrorist Incidents since May 2000," *Jewish Virtual Library*. <sup>6</sup>Interview on Egyptian television, June 2, 2000, quoted in Eyal Zisser, "The Return of Hizbullah," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall, 2002. <sup>7</sup>Quoted in Badih Chayban "Nasrallah alleges 'Christian Zionist' plot," *Daily Star*, October 23, 2002. <sup>8</sup>Quoted in "Ahmadinejad: Wipe Israel off map," *Aljazeera*, October 26, 2005. <sup>9</sup>Frida Ghitis, "Iran's threat of doomsday feels more palpable," *Miami Herald*, September, 29 2006. <sup>10</sup>Quoted in Michael Slackman, "Voices of Peace Muffled by Rising Mideast Strife," *New York Times*, July 14 2006. <sup>11</sup>Quoted in Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, "Hassan Nasrallah..." May 9, 2006. <sup>12</sup>Ibid. <sup>13</sup>Steven Erlanger and Richard A Opiel Jr, "A Disciplined Hezbollah Surprises Israel..." *New York Times*, August 7, 2006. <sup>14</sup>Ibid. <sup>15</sup>Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), "Behind the Headlines: Israel's counter terrorist campaign," August 15, 2006. <sup>16</sup>Yossi Klein Halevi, "Israel's Broken Heart," *The New Republic*, August, 15 2006. <sup>17</sup>Michael Béhé, "The Abdication of Lebanese Leaders," *The New Republic*, August 7, 2006. <sup>18</sup>Data from MFA, "Hizbullah Attacks Northern Israel and Israel's Response;" Sever Plotzker, "Who Will Pay the Price of War?" *Yediot Ahronot*, July 21, 2006; "Israel's War with Hezbollah: Facts and Figures," *Embassy of Israel Backgrounder*, August 15, 2006. <sup>19</sup>Human Rights Watch, "Lebanon/Israel: Hezbollah Hit Israel with Cluster Munitions during Conflict," *Human Rights News*, October 19, 2006. <sup>20</sup>Map in Rich Lowry, "The Corner: Beirut Largely Unscathed as Israel Targets Hizbollah Strongholds," *National Review*, July 28, 2006. <sup>21</sup>Quoted in Chris Link, "Photos that damn Hezbollah," *Herald Sun*, July 30, 2006. <sup>22</sup>Dr. Mounir Herzallah, letter to the editor, Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel*, July 30, 2006. <sup>23</sup>Dr. Mounir Herzallah, op. cit. <sup>24</sup>Sonia Verma, "Hezbollah's deadly hold on heartland," Canadian *National Post*, August 05, 2006. <sup>25</sup>Jon Lee Anderson, "Letter from Beirut: The Battle for Lebanon," *The New Yorker*, August 7, 2006. <sup>26</sup>Benny Avni, "Annan's Claims on Casualties May Unravel," *New York Sun*, July 27, 2006. <sup>27</sup>Quoted in Thanassis Cambanis, "Hezbollah's rise fuels rifts inside Lebanon," *Boston Globe*, August 28, 2006. <sup>28</sup>Michael Young, "The Lebanese really blame Hezbollah," *The Spectator*, July 22, 2006. <sup>29</sup>Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, August 12, 1949, on website of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. <sup>30</sup>Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention on website of UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. <sup>31</sup>See footnote 18 above. <sup>32</sup>Shlomo Avineri, "Lebanon's Problem is not just Shaba Farms," *Jerusalem Post*, July 30, 2006. <sup>33</sup>UN Security Council, "Report of the Secretary General on the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), S/2000/460, May 22, 2000. <sup>34</sup>Tamar Sternthal, "Question to *Time Magazine*: Who Are Hezbollah's Intended Targets?" *CAMERA*, August 14, 2006. <sup>35</sup>Ricki Hollander, "Updated: A Reprise: Media Photo Manipulation," *CAMERA*, August 9, 2006.

# ISRAEL'S SELF-DEFENSE

The long history of terrorism against Israel has forced it to develop innovative counterterrorism strategies. Israel is now respected as a global expert in the field, and its policies have become a model for other democracies that are also committed to upholding humanitarian standards even while they face terrorists who operate among civilians. In responding to the wars and terrorism since 2000, Israel has sought ways to defend its citizens and, at the same time, protect the lives of innocent Palestinians and Lebanese who were also victimized by those who want to destroy Israel.



## Self-Defense and



Remains of a crowded Israeli restaurant destroyed by a suicide bomber.



Fifty tons of illegal weapons seized by Israel from the Palestinian ship, Karine A.



Terrorists have smuggled bombs and terrorists into Israel using ambulances.



Rockets are frequently fired from Palestinian areas and from Lebanon into Israel.



Israel has constructed a barrier along the Gaza Strip and West Bank to help keep terrorists out.



Israeli checkpoints are set up to stop terrorists from reaching Israeli civilians.

## Humanitarian Values



Newly-dug graves for murdered victims of suicide bombers.



Palestinian militants frequently use women and children as human shields during attacks.



Israeli soldiers have uncovered many tunnels used to smuggle weapons and terrorists.

### The guiding principles of Israel's policies are:

#### Humanitarian

- Save the lives of Israeli citizens
- Protect the lives and well-being of innocent Palestinians
- Uphold civil and human rights with Supreme Court review of contested policies

#### Defensive

- Stop terrorists and dismantle their infrastructures
- Prevent the success of terrorist missions
- Root out terrorist leaders and their supporters



# Israel has been under incessant attack since its inception in 1948 and has learned how to preserve its humanitarian values while protecting its citizens.

## Intelligence Gathering

Israel's most effective and important weapon is its intelligence operations, which allow it to monitor and preempt attacks against its citizens.

## Deterrence And Prevention Measures

Israel chose not to use its full military power to eliminate the terrorists in order to limit the loss of innocent Palestinian lives. One strategy was to try to block the terrorists' ability to access Israeli population centers. There are no natural barriers between Israel and the West Bank. There were man-made barriers when Jordan occupied the West Bank, but Israel removed them when it gained control of the area in the 1967 War. For the next 33 years, people traveled more freely between the two regions. However, this free movement ended when the terrorist campaign erupted in 2000. Israel had to prevent terrorists from simply walking or driving into Israeli communities to maim and murder men, women and children.



Only approximately 3 percent of Israel's security barrier is a wall to protect against snipers.



An armed terrorist dressed as a woman is captured by Israeli military.

## Israel Employed Several Forms Of Prevention:

Checkpoints	Bypass Roads	Security Fence
<p><i>All checkpoints are temporary, legal and part of the jointly agreed-upon Oslo Accords. They inconvenience Palestinians and Israelis though Israel has progressively introduced improvements to ease the transit for Palestinians.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li> <b>Security checks within pre-'67 Israel.</b>                      All Israelis and visitors must go through metal detectors and bag and/or potential body checks when they enter public places such as malls, bus stations, museums, clubs, cafes, hotels and religious sites.                 </li> <li> <b>Checkpoints at border-crossings.</b>                      There were 26 checkpoints between Israel and the Territories in September 2005.<sup>1</sup> They regulate entry from the West Bank into Israel and resemble the checkpoints other nations put along their borders with neighboring states.                 </li> <li> <b>Security Checkpoints within the West Bank.</b>                      These checkpoints attempt to control the movement of terrorists and were built around selected cities known to be terrorist centers, such as Nablus. As construction of the fence progressed, Israel reduced the number of West Bank checkpoints from 25 to 12 and the number of roadblocks from 87 to 66.<sup>2</sup> </li> <li> <b>Emergency checkpoints and seam zone checkpoints.</b> By September 2005, as construction of the fence progressed, Israel was able to reduce the number of West Bank checkpoints and roadblocks. These are erected during high alerts and then quickly dismantled.<sup>3</sup> </li> </ul>	<p><i>Bypass roads were agreed on in the Oslo Accords.</i></p> <p><b>Israel had built highways in the Territories that bypassed crowded population centers</b> and the Oslo Accords permitted their construction. The roads were used freely by both Palestinians and Israelis until the Intifada started in 2000. Then, to reduce the number of casualties from roadside attacks and drive-by shootings, Israel reserved certain roads for only Israeli citizens of all religions, including Muslims, Christians, Jews, Druze and others. In September 2005, there were 41 such roads.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Israelis were prohibited from driving on roads reserved only for Palestinians such as the old Bethlehem-Hebron road to improve their ability to commute and reduce the risk of attacks against Israelis.</p>	<p><i>Israel did not begin building the fence until 2002, when terrorism reached unprecedented levels. Though many have protested against the fence, it is similar to barriers that dozens of other democracies have built on their borders for a variety of reasons, such as those between the U.S. and Mexico, India and Pakistan (Kashmir), Spain and Morocco, and South and North Korea. Israel's security fence is saving lives.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>                     Since construction of the fence began in 2002, the number of terrorist attacks has dropped by more than 90 percent.                 </li> <li>                     Ninety-seven percent of the barrier is a chain-link fence; approximately 3 percent (10 miles) is a concrete wall, built to prevent the sniper shooting that was frequent in selected areas.                 </li> <li>                     Only 5 percent to 8 percent of West Bank land and only three-tenths of 1 percent of Palestinians will be on the Israeli side of the fence.<sup>5</sup> </li> <li>                     Palestinians can bring their grievances about the barrier to Israel's Supreme Court, which in several cases has ruled in the favor of the Palestinians, resulting in rerouting of the fence.<sup>6</sup> </li> </ul>

# SELF-DEFENSE

## Special Operations: Precision Attacks

When the PA proved unable or unwilling to dismantle terrorist groups, Israel was forced to take active defensive measures to root out terrorists, their infrastructure and their arms smuggling tunnels. Its guiding principle was to target only terrorists and to spare the civilian population, although this has not always been possible.

Air Force Strikes	Land-based Raids	Targeted Strikes	House Demolitions
<p>Israel tries to limit the use of airstrikes because terrorists often surround themselves with civilians. In addition, Israel uses controlled, limited precision air attacks to destroy military targets such as terrorist planning centers, terrorist training bases and ammunition depots.</p>	<p>In many cases, instead of using its aerial bombing capacity, Israel deploys soldiers to dismantle terrorist bases in order to avoid harm to innocent civilians. In 2002, Israel used ground troops in Jenin, the “terrorist capital,” though aerial bombardment would have prevented Israeli deaths. Instead, 23 Israeli soldiers were killed and 75 were wounded in Jenin’s booby-trapped roads and houses. Despite the many days of fighting, the UN reported that no more than 52 Palestinians had died. Seventy-three percent of them were armed combatants, dispelling the huge numbers of casualties initially reported (even initially referred to as a massacre) by a variety of media outlets.<sup>7</sup></p>	<p>In accordance with the rules of war, Israel attempted to prevent future attacks through pinpoint operations against the masterminds and engineers of terrorist groups. Eliminating these leaders destabilizes the terrorist organizations and lowers their morale. After Hamas leaders were cut down by such precision operations, lower-echelon Hamas leaders went into hiding, which dramatically impeded their ability to gather support and mount attacks.<sup>8</sup> On occasion, these pinpoint attacks cause civilian deaths, even of children, partly because terrorists use civilians as human shields, a practice that Amnesty International denounced in its 2002 reports.</p>	<p>In August 2002, after multiple suicide bombings, the Israeli government approved demolishing terrorists’ houses in extreme cases to deter future attacks and destroy weapon stashes. Nevertheless, in February 2005, the IDF announced it would halt the practice unless there was an “extreme change” in circumstances. When the IDF did demolish terrorists’ homes, it gave advance warning so nobody would be physically hurt. Israel also demolished Gaza houses that concealed arms smuggling tunnels, called “arteries of terror.” Almost 100 such tunnels were uncovered between 2000 and September 2005. Yet even with this emergency measure in place, most demolition orders can be appealed to Israel’s High Court, which halts or compensates for the destruction when it rules for the appellants.<sup>9</sup></p>

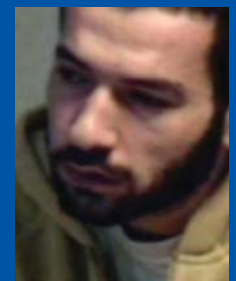
## The Battle of Jenin

### Endangering Israeli soldiers to protect Palestinian civilians

*“Had the Israelis chosen, they could have easily pummeled the camp [Jenin] from afar and starved the terrorists out. Instead, they chose to do things the hard way, house to house—in part to avoid civilian casualties, not to inflict them. Were there civilian casualties? Almost certainly. But there is a world of difference between deliberately targeting civilians and the unintentional and inevitable casualties that were bound to occur in Jenin, where terrorists deliberately hid themselves among civilians.”* —Senator Joseph R. Biden (D-Delaware), May 6, 2002 <sup>10</sup>

*“In battle, the Israeli army regularly accepted risks to its own men in order to reduce the risks that it posed on the civilian population. The contrast with the way the Russians fought in Grozny, to take the most recent example of large-scale urban warfare, is striking, and the crucial mark of that contrast is the very small number of civilian casualties in the Palestinian cities despite the fierceness of the fighting.”* —Professor Michael Walzer, Princeton University, 2002 <sup>11</sup>

*“[Seeing Israeli infantry] was like hunting, like being given a prize. I couldn’t believe it when I saw the soldiers. The Israelis knew that any soldier who went into the camp like that was going to get killed. I’ve been waiting for a moment like that for years...It was a very hard fight. We fought at close quarters, sometimes just a matter of a few meters between us, sometimes even in the same house.”* —Thabet Mardawi, a senior Islamic Jihad terrorist, captured by Israeli soldiers in Jenin fighting <sup>12</sup>



Thabet Mardawi

# MEASURES



Aboveground bomb shelter on a school playground in Sderot to protect children from the constant rocket attacks from Gaza.



Israeli policeman in the Old City.

THE SUNDAY TIMES  
MAY 07, 2006

Israel foils (Palestinian) plot  
to kill Palestinian president<sup>16</sup>

Israeli intelligence uncovered a Hamas plot to assassinate Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, reported in the *Sunday Times* of London.

## Legal and Punitive Measures: Prison and Exile

**Prison and Exile:** Israel has no death penalty except in very extreme cases, as with convicted Nazi war criminal, Adolf Eichmann. The strictest penalties are prison and exile, which apply to those directly involved in carrying out, planning, assisting or supporting terrorists or terrorist activities.

## Civil Defense in Israel

In addition to security checks at all public venues, Israel has established civil defense regulations to protect citizens from terrorist attacks.

- **Parental Guards:** Parents have a duty to guard the gates of their children's schools from possible terrorist attacks.<sup>13</sup> Parents take shifts doing guard duty.
- **Protecting Schools:** When Palestinian terrorists seized a school in Maalot in 1974, murdering 25 teachers and students and wounding 66, Israel passed a special civil defense law to increase the protection of all school children. It calls for teachers, parents and/or a security service to train for armed guard duty and to inspect school grounds each morning for explosives. All schools, from kindergartens to high schools, must have perimeter security fences with alarm systems.<sup>14</sup>

## Measuring the Success of Israel's Combined Defensive Operations<sup>15</sup>

- **Suicide bombings dropped from a high of 60 in 2002 to four in 2006.**
- **Thwarted suicide bombing attempts rose from 36 percent in 2001 to 95 percent in 2006.**
- **Total Israeli fatalities dropped 93 percent, from a high of 451 in 2002 to 32 in 2006.**
- **Total Israelis wounded dropped from a high of 2,309 in 2002 to 332 in 2006.**
- **Total attacks dropped from a high of 5,301 in 2002 to 2,135 in 2006.**
- **The number of terrorist warnings dropped from 40 a day in 2002 to less than five a day in 2005.**
- **The number of Palestinians killed by Israeli military operations dropped 77 percent, and the number of injuries dropped 75 percent between 2004 and 2005.**

## The Future

Wars cause hardship and suffering. Every Israeli and Palestinian has been personally affected by the terrorist campaign. Israel's security concerns have forced Israel to employ counterterrorism initiatives that have impacted innocent Palestinians and Israelis. Both people dream of a time when incitement, terrorism and military operations are a thing of the past.

<sup>1</sup>B'Tselem, "Statistics on checkpoints and roadblocks," September 25, 2006. B'Tselem website. <sup>2</sup>Efraim Karsh, "European Misreading of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Jerusalem Issue Brief*, July 12, 2005. <sup>3</sup>Don Morris, "Understanding Israeli Checkpoints," January 23, 2005. <sup>4</sup>B'Tselem, op. cit. <sup>5</sup>David Makovsky and Anna Hartman, "Israel's Newly Approved Security Fence Route: Geography and Demography," The Washington Institute, March 3, 2005. <sup>6</sup>Summary of High Court of Justice Ruling on the Fence Surrounding Alfei Menashe, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), September 15, 2005. <sup>7</sup>Martin Sieff, "Documenting the Myth—Jenin—Part I," *UPI*, May 20, 2002; "Why Europeans Bought the Myth—Jenin—Part II," *UPI*, May 21, 2002; "How Europe's Media Lost Out—Jenin—Part III," *UPI* May 22, 2002. <sup>8</sup>Henry Chu, "Hamas Leaders Keep Low Profile," *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 2003; Brett Stephens, "The Fear Factor," *Wall Street Journal*, March 23, 2004. <sup>9</sup>MFA, "Weapon Smuggling Tunnels in Rafah—Operation Rainbow," May 14 2004; Israel Defense Forces (IDF), "Decision of Defense Minister and Chief of Staff to Change Policy of demolition of terrorists' houses," IDF Website News, February 17, 2005. <sup>10</sup>Senator Joseph R Biden, "Floor Statement: The Jenin Investigation," May 1, 2002. <sup>11</sup>Michael Walzer, "The Four Wars of Israel/Palestine," *Dissent*, Fall 2002. <sup>12</sup>Quoted in "Palestinian fighter describes 'hard fight' in Jenin," *CNN*, April 23, 2002. <sup>13</sup>Boaz Ganor, "Israel Counter-Terrorist Activity," Institute for Counter-Terrorism. <sup>14</sup>Israeli Ministry of Police, "Effective National and International Action against Terrorism: The Israeli Experience," 1995 Report; Eli E. Hertz, "Who is Humiliating Whom?" Middle East Facts, July 13, 2004. <sup>15</sup>Terrorism data from 2002 to 2005 compiled from MFA, "2003 Terrorism Review," "Four Years of Conflict: Israel's War against Terrorism," October 3, 2004; "Summary of Terrorist Activity 2004," IDF website statistics. <sup>16</sup>Uzi Mahnaimi, "Israel foils plot to kill Palestinian president," *The Sunday Times*, May 07, 2006.



# Big Ideas

enjoyed by the world

*The young State of Israel has faced daunting challenges. It was surrounded by enemies, poor in natural resources, often boycotted and constantly absorbing penniless refugees from around the world. Yet Israel defied the odds and turned its liabilities into strengths, from revolutionizing techniques for desert agriculture to becoming a world leader in economic development.<sup>1</sup>*

*By investing in its people and in education and by encouraging creativity, Israel built a dynamic society in just 58 years. Israel is a trailblazer in biomedical and technological innovation and has made major contributions to the world in science, medicine, technology, the arts and humanities. Since its earliest days, Israel has also been at the forefront of humanitarian programs to share its expertise and discoveries with the world.*



University Lecture Hall in Israel

## Israel invests in education and “brain power”

- Israel has the world’s highest per capita rate of university degrees.
- Israel has the world’s highest ratio of scientists and technicians in the workforce, with 135 per 1,000 citizens, as compared to 85 in the U.S.
- Israel has the world’s second-highest per capita output of new books annually.
- Israel produces more scientific papers per capita than any other nation in the world.



Infrared Virtual Keyboard invented by Israeli company VKB

## Israel invests more of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in research and development than any other country in the world.

- While the world spends an average of 1.5 percent of its GDP on research and development (R&D), Israel commits 5 percent of its GDP to R&D.
- Israel has the third-highest rate of entrepreneurship in the world, including the highest rate among women and people over 55.
- Israel ranks third in the world in per capita patents, behind only the U.S. and Japan.



Israeli researchers developed the cell phone at Motorola-Israel

## Israel is at the forefront of hi-tech innovation.

- “The world’s Silicon Valley” and a “global source of innovation,” Israel has the highest concentration of hi-tech companies in the world, apart from Silicon Valley itself. Israel became the world’s fourth-largest high-tech economy in the 1990s.
- Israel has the third-largest number of NASDAQ-listed companies in the world, with the U.S. and Canada having the first and second.
- Microsoft and Intel built their only non-U.S. R&D facilities in Israel. Over 50 other international giants also established R&D facilities in Israel.
- Israeli researchers developed the cell phone (Motorola-Israel), most of the Windows NT operating system (Microsoft-Israel), the technology for AOL Instant Messenger, the first PC anti-virus software (in 1979), voice mail technology, electro-optic chips and nanotechnology.
- Israelis developed the Pentium 4 microprocessor for desktop computers and the Centrino processor for laptop computers.
- Israel is developing the next generation of Mars Rovers and the first models of the “flying car.”
- Israel is devising protection from disasters, such as an alarm that senses a coming earthquake 30 seconds before it hits, and systems to help people safely exit tall buildings in emergencies, such as collapsible external elevators.



X-Hawk Rotorless Flying Evacuation Car created by Israeli company Urban Aerodynamics

Though Israel faced ongoing terrorism and wars for survival, it concentrated on life and hope, on building a good society and on making contributions to humanity.

*"Do not forget what part they [Jews] have played in the intellectual, the artistic, the philosophic and scientific development of the world.... They rowed all their weight in the boat of scientific, intellectual and artistic progress, and they are doing so to this day. You will find them... in every centre of learning; and at the very moment when they were being persecuted... their philosophers were developing thoughts which the great doctors of the Church embodied in their religious system. As it was in the Middle Ages, as it was in earlier times, so it is now."* —Lord Alfred Balfour, 1922<sup>2</sup>



Research laboratory in Israel



Pill-Cam™, the camera in a pill for diagnosing intestinal disease, invented by Israel's Given Imaging



Desert agriculture in the arid Negev



Experimental solar collectors at the Weizman Institute of Science

## Israel is at the forefront of biomedical innovation and has developed:

- Advanced techniques for helping the paralyzed, from motorized robotic arms and legs that respond to brain commands, to procedures for regenerating the spinal cord.
- A vaccine to treat anthrax.
- Preliminary research for generating molecules that will kill cancer cells but not affect normal cells.
- Groundbreaking research for treatments or cures for type I diabetes, Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease and emphysema.
- Safer methods for diagnosing diseases, from a mini-video camera that fits into an ingestible pill and can be used for diagnosing intestinal diseases, to safer imaging techniques for diagnosing breast cancer.
- A device that causes acne bacteria to self-destruct without damaging surrounding skin.
- The world's largest generic drug company, Teva Pharmaceuticals.

## Israel is at the forefront of environmentally friendly innovations

- Israel is the world's only country that entered the 21st century with a net gain in the number of trees.
- An Israeli scientist pioneered the use of bacteria to clean up oil pollution in oil tankers, pipelines and on beaches.
- Israelis developed a new technology that eliminates the need for chemicals, pesticides and fungicides in hydroponic agriculture.
- The Israeli company Evogene introduced technology that genetically modifies foods naturally through "evolution accelerator technology," which develops genes from the same plant.
- Israelis developed drip irrigation systems that revolutionized agriculture.
- An Israeli developed the sun-heated water tank, which converts solar energy into thermal energy.
- Israeli, American and Canadian researchers formed the Nanotechnology Clean Water Initiative to work on a nanotech-based solution to the water shortages in the Middle East and the rest of the world.

## Since its founding, Israel has been at the forefront of humanitarian programs around the world



Turkey, 1999: Following a major earthquake, an Israeli rescue team saved this nine-year-old girl who was trapped under rubble for 98 hours.



India: Israeli medical team helps communities devastated by the 2004 South Asian tsunami.

- Israel conducts nearly 300 courses annually for emerging nations and has trained almost 200,000 participants in 130 countries, from Albania to Zimbabwe, in desert agriculture, water management, desertification prevention, emergency and disaster medicine, refugee absorption and employment programs.<sup>3</sup>
- Israel's missions included the Ethiopian airlifts when Israel rescued 28,000 African Jews, assistance to Turkey and Greece after their devastating earthquakes and setting up first-class, complete field hospitals in wartorn Rwanda and flood-devastated Djibouti.<sup>4</sup>
- Israel's Save a Child's Heart (SACH) is the largest program in the world for children from poor nations who need heart surgery. At no charge to its patients, SACH has treated over 700 children from the Congo, China, the Palestinian Authority, Nigeria, and other countries.
- In the year 2000 alone, Israel helped build hospitals in areas as diverse as Mauritania, Gaza, Ukraine and Turkey.

<sup>1</sup>Information compiled from Steve Bunstein, "Fascinating Facts about Israel," Auerbach Central Agency for Jewish Education, 2006; Invest in Israel website at [www.investinIsrael.gov.il](http://www.investinIsrael.gov.il); Israel21c website, at [www.israel21c.org](http://www.israel21c.org). <sup>2</sup>Lord Alfred Balfour, "Defense of the Palestine Mandate," 1922. <sup>3</sup>Israel Foreign Relations: Israel among the Nations," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <sup>4</sup>"Rescue Operation in Turkey" and "IDF Involvement in Major Humanitarian Operations," on IDF website; "Magen David Adom During the Years," IsraAID website.

# ISRAEL'S GOVERNMENT:

Though forced to be in a constant state of self-defense, Israel has created a flourishing, pluralistic democracy with equal human and civil rights for all, including women and minorities.

*"ISRAEL...will be based on freedom, justice and peace...ensure complete equality of social and political rights...irrespective of religion, race or sex...guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture...[and] safeguard the Holy Places of all religions..."*

Israel's Declaration of Statehood, May 14, 1948

Just as Japan, France, Sweden and other democracies publicly acknowledge their national identities and cultures, so Israel's democracy publicly identifies with the Jewish people and their culture. Democracies like Israel uphold the principles of justice, tolerance and human rights.



Ben Gurion declares Israel's Statehood in Tel Aviv, May 14, 1948.

## PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN ACTION HOW THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WORKS

Israel's government has features similar to those of the governments of Britain and the U.S. Like Britain, it does not yet have a Constitution. Instead, its Basic Laws serve as its constitution. The government is a parliamentary democracy with separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches.<sup>1</sup>

Israeli Parliament (Knesset) in Jerusalem



### The President

The President is elected by the Knesset, serves for seven years and cannot serve a second term. He appoints diplomats, justices and judges based on Knesset recommendations.

### Legislative Branch: The Knesset

Israel has a one-house Parliament, the Knesset, made up of 120 members from a variety of political parties who serve four-year terms, unless there is a call for earlier elections.

### Executive Branch: Prime Minister

The leader of the party with the most Knesset members is given the opportunity to become Prime Minister and recommends his cabinet of ministers who must be approved by the Knesset. The cabinet is usually composed of a coalition of political parties. The Knesset can bring down the government with a no-confidence vote that requires new, early elections.

### Judicial Branch: The Courts

The judiciary is independent and serves as a watchdog for civil and human rights. Unlike most democracies, Israel's Supreme Court also has jurisdiction to review military actions.

Marriage and divorce are not regulated by civil law. Instead, each religious group has its own "religious court," which adjudicates these issues.

# Democracy in Action

## VOTING RIGHTS FOR ALL



- Every Israeli citizen has the right to vote.
- Israel's non-Jewish minority was specifically granted the right to vote in the Declaration of Independence.
- Election Day is a national holiday.
- Voter turnout is regularly higher than in the U.S., often reaching above 80%.

## The Party System Every Voice is Heard...

Some have quipped that Israel has “too much democracy” because it is a multiparty, not a two-party, system. Though Likud and Labor have traditionally been the largest parties, there are many that promote a broad range of opinions, including Communist, religious, Arab and secular views. Israel's new centrist Kadima party won the 2006 elections with 29 of 120 seats.

Israelis vote for a party rather than for an individual. Each party elects its own list of Knesset candidates. Knesset seats are then allotted according to the percentage of the popular vote that the party received. For example, if a party wins five seats, the first five candidates on its list will become Members of the Knesset (MK).

A party needs only 2 percent of the vote to win a seat, the lowest percentage of any other multi-party democracy, which makes for Israel's boisterous and sometimes confusing political system. As many as 19 different parties have been in the Knesset at one time.

Even the smallest parties have a voice because one party never gets a Knesset majority, and the governing group has to form coalitions to function.



## CIVIL LIBERTIES

**Freedom of religion.** Though Israel was established as a Jewish state, it formally recognizes 15 religions, including Islam, the Bá'hai and Druze faiths, as well as Chaldaic and many other Christian denominations, and others. Each religious community freely exercises its faith, observes its own holy days and weekly day of rest, and administers its own internal affairs. Israel protects the holy sites of all religions.

- The Báha'ís, a religious group persecuted in Muslim countries, built its world center in Haifa, Israel.
- Israel is the only Middle Eastern country where the Christian population is thriving instead of disappearing. Between 1948 and 1998, Israel's Christian community grew fourfold, from 34,000 to 130,000.<sup>2</sup>

**Freedom of assembly, speech, press and dissent.** Israel is known for its freewheeling, self-critical, often blistering debates where differing opinions are aired widely and loudly. For example, Israeli-Arab Knesset members on occasion have vehemently criticized the Jewish State, even from the floor of the Knesset. Only hate speech and incitement to violence are illegal. Israel has nine Hebrew daily newspapers; several dailies in Russian, Arabic, French and English; over 1,000 periodicals; multiple radio and TV stations and easy access to the foreign press.

**Civil Rights.** Israel's progressive laws protect the rights of women, gays and other minorities.

## MULTICULTURALISM

- Israel is a pluralistic society. Eighty percent of Israelis are Jews of different ethnicities and races. Many emigrated from the Middle East, Ethiopia, India, Russia, the U.S. and Europe. Refugees from Arab and Muslim Middle Eastern and North African countries and their descendants make up over half the Jewish population.<sup>3</sup>
- Israel's non-Jewish minority forms 20 percent of the population and is made up of Arab Muslims, Arab Christians, non-Arab Christians, Druze, Bedouins, Circassians, Asians and others.<sup>4</sup>

## EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

Though Palestinians in the Territories are not Israeli citizens, they have ready access to petition Israel's highest courts. The Court judges by the merits of a case and it frequently decides in favor of the Palestinians, as it did, for example, when Palestinians petitioned that the security fence be rerouted around Beit Sourik (June 30, 2004) and around Alfei Menashe (September 15, 2005).<sup>5</sup>

***“One of the most unusual aspects of Israeli law is the rapid access that petitioners, including Palestinians, can gain to Israel's highest court. In April 2002, during the fiercest fighting of the current conflict...the high court was receiving and ruling on petitions almost daily.”*** —New York Times, May 5, 2003<sup>6</sup>

# ISRAEL'S GOVERNMENT: Democracy in Action

## FACTS ABOUT ISRAELI ARABS

- There are 1.3 million Israeli-Arabs living in Israel, making up 20 percent of the total population. Many are the descendents of Palestinian Arabs who chose to remain in Israel in 1948.
- Hebrew and Arabic are Israel's two official languages.
- Just as the U.S. strives to better integrate its minorities, Israel works to do the same for its Arab population through programs similar to affirmative action.
- There are five official Arab political parties.
- Israeli-Arabs were elected to the first Knesset in 1949 and have continued to play an active role in political life. They have won as many as 12 of the 120 Knesset seats in a single election.<sup>7</sup>
- Twenty percent of Haifa University's student body and 10 percent of its faculty are Israeli-Arabs.<sup>8</sup>
- All Arab municipalities receive government funding for education and infrastructure.
- Many Israeli Arabs hold high-level positions including:
  - Salim Jurban, selected a permanent member of Israel's Supreme Court (2004)
  - Nawaf Massalha, deputy Foreign Minister
  - Ali Yahya, Walid Mansour and Mohammed Masarwa, who held ambassadorships
  - Major General Hussain Fares, commander of Israel's border police
  - Major General Yosef Mishlav, head of homeland security as Israel's Home Front commander
  - Bedouin Ismail Khaldi appointed Israeli Consul to San Francisco in 2006

*"We...call upon the [Palestinian] Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in its bodies and institutions."* —Israel Declaration of Statehood, 1948



*"Israel has proved that for fifty years its real power is in its democracy, guarding the rights of its citizens, applying laws [equally] to the rich and poor, the big and small...and in the participation of the nation in the development of institutions according to ability and efficiency and not according to closeness to [the ruler]."*  
—Columnist Dr. Talal Al-Shareef, Palestinian newspaper *Al-Quds*, May 27, 1999<sup>9</sup>

**Since polls were first taken in 1996, Palestinians have consistently rated Israel's democracy as the one they most admire in the world.**

***"Every year Israel has been the top performer, at times receiving 80 percent approval. The American system has been the next best [67 percent in 1999], followed by the French."*** —Center for Palestine Research and Studies<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), "The State: The Political Structure," MFA website. <sup>2</sup>Mitchell Bard, "Myth: Israel is persecuting Christians," Jewish Virtual Library; "130,000 Christians in Israel," MFA, March 20, 2000. <sup>3</sup>Loolwa Khazoom, "Jews of the Middle East," MyJewishLearning.com; Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel*, 2000, pp. 515-517. <sup>4</sup>MFA, "Minority Communities," MFA website. <sup>5</sup>Heideman Lezell Nudelman & Kalik, P.C., "Background Briefing and Analysis of the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion...", July 23, 2004. <sup>6</sup>Greg Myre, "Trial of Palestinian Leader Focuses Attention on Israeli Courts," *New York Times*, May 5, 2003. <sup>7</sup>Information from Knesset website, at [www.knesset.gov.il](http://www.knesset.gov.il) <sup>8</sup>"Israel and Apartheid: The Big Lie," Anti-Defamation League, August 29, 2005. <sup>9</sup>MEMRI, "Palestinians Comment on Israeli Democracy," Special Dispatch Series No. 34, June 4 1999. <sup>10</sup>"The Peace Process..." Public Opinion Poll #38, CPRS Polls, January 7-9, 1999; Quote taken from James Bennet, "Letter from the Middle East," *New York Times*, April 2, 2003.



# The Many Faces Of Israel

Despite the hardships the young state faced, Israelis have created a rich, diverse and vibrant multicultural society.



# HOT TOPICS: Things You Should Know

## Continuous Jewish Presence in the Land of Israel

Jews are indigenous to the land and maintained a continuous presence for over 3,000 years according to archeological and historical evidence.

Jewish civilization in Israel was already over 1,000 years old when Rome destroyed the Holy Temple and conquered the Jewish nation in the first century.

Rome exiled only a portion of the population. The remaining Jews, banned from Jerusalem, flourished for centuries in other Jewish towns, such as Yavne, Rafah, Gaza, Ashkelon, Jaffa and Caesarea.

The Jewish population was decimated by the Crusaders in the 12th century AD, but it rebounded in the next centuries and grew as Jews returned in waves of immigration and settled in Safed, Jerusalem, Tiberius and Hebron.

After 1850, the Jewish population grew further. By the 1870s, Jews once again were the majority religious group in Jerusalem. Early modern Zionists began purchasing land and establishing thriving communities like Tel Aviv (1909), even while the land was still ruled by the Ottoman Empire.

## Israeli-Arabs

- In 1948, almost all of the 160,000 Palestinian-Arabs who remained within Israel's borders became citizens. Today, Israeli-Arab citizens have equal civil and human rights as all other Israeli citizens.
- There are 1.3 million Israeli-Arabs now living in Israel, making up almost 20 percent of the population.
- Hebrew and Arabic are Israel's two official languages.
- There are five official Israeli-Arab political parties.
- Three Israeli-Arabs were elected to the first Knesset. Israeli-Arabs have held as many as 12 of the 120 seats in the Israeli Parliament at one time.
- All Arab municipalities receive government funding for education and infrastructure.
- Many Israeli-Arabs hold high-level positions, such as
  - Salim Jurban, selected a permanent member of Israel's Supreme Court (2004)
  - Nawaf Massalha, deputy Foreign Minister
  - Ali Yahya, Walid Mansour and Mohammed Masarwa, who held ambassadorships
  - Major General Hussain Fares, commander of Israel's border police
  - Major General Yosef Mishlav, head of homeland security as Israel's Home Front commander
- Israel has enacted affirmative action policies to help its minority citizens achieve full social and economic equality.

## Civil Liberties And Human Rights In Israel

Israelis enjoy the same civil liberties and human rights as citizens of America and other advanced, western-style democracies. The right to vote is universal. Israel has more political parties—there were 19 in 2004—than most other parliamentary democracies. They range from extreme left to extreme right and from religious to secular. Israel also has one of the freest media in the world and is famous for its self-criticism and blistering debates.

Israeli women and minorities are protected by laws that in some cases are more progressive than those of other democracies. There is legal protection against religious persecution. Gays are protected against discrimination and hate crimes. Professor Uzi Even, an openly gay man, became a Knesset member in 2002. Education is encouraged equally for both men and women. Forty-five percent of women are in the workforce, the same percentage as in the U.S. Women have reproductive rights. Israel is the only Middle Eastern country that allows women to travel freely without a male guardian's permission. Israel treats honor killings as harshly as other murder crimes.

## War Crime: Using Human Shields

Hezbollah's strategy of hiding among civilians, launching attacks from civilian centers such as schools and mosques, and deliberately endangering noncombatants violates the Fourth Geneva Convention and is a war crime according to international law.

*"The presence of a protected person may not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations."*<sup>1</sup> (Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, Aug 12, 1949, art. 28)

*"The Parties to the conflict shall not direct the movement of the civilian population or individual civilians in order to attempt to shield military objectives from attacks or to shield military operations."*<sup>2</sup> (Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention, Article 51 (7))

<sup>1</sup>Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, August 12, 1949. <sup>2</sup>Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions, Article 51 (7), June 8, 1977.

## A Pluralistic Society

- Israel formally recognizes 15 religions, including Islam, the Báha'í and Druze faiths, as well as Chaldaic and many other Christian denominations, and others. Each religious community freely exercises its faith, observes its own holy days and weekly day of rest, and administers its own internal affairs. Israel protects the holy sites of all religions.
- Israel is the only Middle Eastern country where the Christian population is thriving instead of disappearing. Between 1948 and 1998, Israel's Christians grew fourfold, from 34,000 to 130,000.
- The Báha'ís, a religious group persecuted in Muslim countries, built its world center in Haifa, Israel.
- Israel's non-Jewish minority forms about 20 percent of the population and is made up of Arab Muslims, Arab Christians, non-Arab Christians, Druze, Bedouins, Circassians, Asians and others.

Eighty percent of Israelis are Jews of different ethnicities and races from Arab countries, Ethiopia, India, Russia, the former Soviet Union republics, Latin America, the U.S. and Europe. Refugees from Arab and Muslim Middle Eastern and North African countries and their descendants make up over half the Jewish population.

## Apartheid

Apartheid was a system in South Africa under which a small minority of whites ruled over the larger black majority population. Apartheid subjected blacks to severe political, economic and social discrimination and segregation. They could not be citizens, vote, participate in the government or fraternize with whites.

Israel, a democracy like the U.S., gives equal rights, liberties and protections to all its citizens. Israeli-Arabs participate as full and equal members in Israeli society. While Israel, like all multiethnic democracies, struggles with the disadvantages that its minorities experience, its laws try to eradicate—not endorse—discrimination.

Israel never formally annexed the West Bank or Gaza, and the Palestinians are not Israeli citizens and wish to have their own state. Today, Palestinians have their own government, the Palestinian Authority.

## International Financial Support For Palestinians

The international community has provided welfare for Palestinian refugees and their descendents since 1949 through the UN's Reliefs and Works Agency (UNRWA).

- The U.S., the largest single donor, contributed \$2.87 billion between 1950 and 2002.
- In UNRWA's first 20 years, Israel contributed more than most Arab states to the program.
- Two percent of the UN's total budget goes to UNRWA, while 3 percent of the total goes to all other refugees in the world.

The Palestinians have received "the highest per capita aid transfer in the history of foreign aid anywhere," reported World Bank official Nigel Roberts in February 2004.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1993 (in the Oslo Accords) and 2004, the international community donated approximately \$7 billion to the PA treasury. At least half of that money is unaccounted for.

The PLO was "the richest of all terrorist organizations" with \$8 billion to \$10 billion in assets and an annual income of \$1.5 billion to \$2 billion, according to a 1993 British National Criminal Intelligence Service report. In 1999, England's *Daily Telegraph* reported the PLO had \$50 billion in secret investments around the world.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ross Dunn, "End sleaze or lose aid, Arafat told," *Scotsman*, February 29, 2004. <sup>2</sup>Rachel Ehrenfeld, "Intifada Gives Cover to Arafat Graft and Fraud," *Insight Magazine*, June 22, 2001.

## U.S. Aid To Israel And Arab States

U.S. policy has been to assist both Israel and Arab states. Between 1947 and 1971, U.S. annual aid to Israel was \$60 million, while the Arab States received \$170 million. After 1970, the U.S. regarded Israel as a valuable strategic ally and increased its aid. It also continued to aid and/or sell arms to Jordan, Morocco, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Yemen and the Gulf States.

The U.S. committed \$2 billion/year to Egypt and \$3 billion/year to Israel after the Israel-Egypt peace treaty of 1979.

The U.S. spends vastly more to protect the security of its other allies than it spends on Israel. This aid is in the U.S. defense budget, not in the foreign aid budget, because U.S. troops are deployed in or near their countries. The U.S. spends billions of dollars a year to keep troops in Europe and East Asia. It grants roughly the same amount of money to Israel each year as it spends for troops to protect South Korea.

Israel uses much of its grant money to purchase military equipment and other items from the U.S., creating jobs in America.

The U.S. has never had to commit its own troops or risk American lives to protect Israel.

As its economy developed, Israel reduced its requests for U.S. economic aid by \$120 million a year. They dropped from \$1.2 billion (1998) to \$360 million (2005).

U.S. aid and grants to Israel comprise only 2 percent of Israel's \$140 billion-a-year economy.

U.S.-Israel partnerships have produced breakthroughs in technology and in biomedical, environmental and agricultural research, saving the U.S. substantial funds in research and development.

## Israel's Checkpoints and the Security Fence

No natural barriers separate Israel and the West Bank. After 1967, Palestinians and Israelis traveled freely between the two areas. But when the terrorist campaign erupted in 2000, Israel had to prevent terrorists from easily entering Israeli communities. Just as the U.S. and other countries worldwide increased airport security procedures after 9/11, Israel instituted strict counterterrorism measures after the Intifada began.

Though they inconvenience Israelis and Palestinians, the purpose of the checkpoints and the security fence is to save lives.

**Security Fence:** Israel did not begin building the fence until 2003, when terrorism reached unprecedented levels.

- The fence is similar to barriers that dozens of other democracies have built to keep out terrorists or illegal immigrants, such as the barriers between the U.S. and Mexico, India and Kashmir, Spain and Morocco, North and South Korea and even the walls within Belfast that separate Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods.
- Since construction of the fence began in 2003, the number of completed terrorist attacks has dropped by more than 90 percent.
- Ninety-seven percent of the barrier is only a chain-link fence; about 3 percent (10 miles) is a concrete wall, built to prevent sniper shooting prevalent in certain areas.
- Only 5 percent to 8 percent of the disputed West Bank land and less than 1 percent of Palestinians will end up on the Israeli side of the fence.<sup>1</sup>

Palestinians can bring their specific grievances about the barrier to Israel's Supreme Court, which in several cases has ruled in favor of the Palestinian claimants, and the fence was rerouted.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>David Makovsky and Anna Hartman, "Israel's Newly Approved Security Fence Route: Geography and Demography," The Washington Institute, March 3, 2005. <sup>2</sup>Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Summary of High Court of Justice Ruling on the Fence Surrounding Alfei Menashe," September 15, 2005.

## Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism

It is perfectly legitimate to criticize Israel's policies. Israelis do it all the time in blistering debates. But criticism crosses the line into classic anti-Semitism when it exhibits what Natan Sharansky called the "Three Ds."

**Delegitimization:** The Jewish State has no right to exist. Israelis do not belong in the Middle East.

**Double Standards:** Israel is condemned harshly for self-defense measures and social problems that are seen as acceptable or inevitable in other nations.

**Demonization:** Through distortions and lies, Israel is depicted as the world's most evil and dangerous country, and the claim is made that if the Jewish State ceased to exist, the Middle East's—and the world's—main problems would be solved.

The Link: Anti-Semitism is hatred for Jews, their communities and their way of life. It includes demonizing and dehumanizing Jews as a group. Anti-Zionism is hatred for Israel, the modern center of Jewish life and continuity. This is why many people claim that Anti-Zionism, or hatred for Israel, is a modern variation of classical anti-Semitism. "*Anti-Semitic bigotry is no less morally deplorable when camouflaged as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism,*" according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.<sup>1</sup> People of goodwill must try to see through anti-Israel propaganda in order to foster reasonable dialogue.

<sup>1</sup>Findings and Recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Campus Anti-Semitism," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 3, 2006.

## Divestment and Boycotts

In response to anti-Israel propaganda, some campus and Church groups have recently called for divestment— withdrawing investments from companies that do business with Israel and boycotting their products—to cripple Israel's economy. These campaigns are one sided and serve to demonize Israel by omitting context.

Boycotts and divestment resolutions:

- Blame only Israel for the conflict. They rarely acknowledge incitement, terrorism or the need for Israel to use counterterrorism measures.
- Distort historical facts and spread misinformation about Israel's counterterrorism actions and policies.
- Deny or ignore the steps that Israel has repeatedly taken to promote compromise and peace.
- Rarely condemn the Palestinian role in the continuing conflict.

# Imagine Peace



Imagine peace in the Middle East where Israel and her neighbors join forces to become a major player on the global stage. With shared technology and resources, the possibilities are endless. But more important is a future filled with peace and prosperity for our children and for generations to come.

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