The Rise of the Israeli Right

The Israeli Right first came to power nearly four decades ago. Its election was described then as 'an earthquake', and its reverberations are still with us. How then did the Right rise to power? What are its origins? Colin Shindler traces this development from the birth of Zionism in cosmopolitan Odessa in the nineteenth century to today's Hebron, a centre of radical Jewish nationalism. He looks at central figures such as Vladimir Jabotinsky, an intellectual and founder of the Revisionist movement, and Menahem Begin, the single-minded politician who brought the Right to power in 1977. Both accessible and comprehensive, this book explains the political ideas and philosophies that were the Right's ideological bedrock, as well as the compromises that were made on its journey to government.

Colin Shindler is Emeritus Professor at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies and the founding chairman of the European Association of Israel Studies. He is the author of eight books on Israel, including the best-selling *History of Modern Israel* (Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2013), which has been translated into Italian, Polish and Estonian.

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> In memory of Derek Pollock (1919–2014)

The Rise of the Israeli Right

From Odessa to Hebron

COLIN SHINDLER

University of London



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Acknowledgements

This book is intended for interested readers – for those who are perplexed by the rise of the Israeli Right to a dominant position in political life and wish to make sense of it.

It would be easy, of course, to write a polemic which is coloured either by a blameless romanticism or alternatively by an all-pervading criticism. Hopefully I have not done this. The struggle of any historian is to separate the striving for objectivity from personal views, no matter how strongly held.

This book builds on my previous works about the Israeli Right. Since the researching and writing of *Israel, Likud and the Zionist Dream* (1995) and *The Triumph of Military Zionism* (2006), there has been a renewed interest in the Israeli Right, particularly in the figure of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Many younger writers have uncovered new perspectives on his ideas and actions and are effectively reclaiming him from those in the political arena who wish to use him merely to meet the political exigencies of the day.

Indeed, Jabotinsky's writings were quoted by many who were opposed to Netanyahu's controversial intention to develop the 'Israel as a Jewish State' bill as an addition to the Basic Law in late 2014. It seems that the gap between intelligent historical analysis and reductionist political expediency is becoming more visible.

The rounded figure of Jabotinsky that comes down to us as a fin-de-siècle writer and activist is in no small measure due to Leonid Katsis in Moscow, who has published several volumes of Jabotinsky's writings in Russian – and in particular from his pre-Zionist period.

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Acknowledgements

I have drawn upon this and also on Jabotinsky's early contributions to the Italian and Russian press. Moreover, I have attempted to utilise unpublished articles in order not to simply repeat what I and other writers have written in the past. There is always the illusion and the delusion that you know everything about a specific historical character. This is always superseded by the joy and anguish on reading new research and the realisation that in fact you know little about your subject of choice. So my hope is that this book should not be the last word but merely a stepping-stone.

The works of colleagues in Israel, Arye Naor and Yehiam Weitz, have certainly aided my understanding of the life and times of Menahem Begin – particularly during his sojourn in the political wilderness between 1949 and 1977. The book hopefully underlines Begin's shrewd climb to power and the fine balance that he maintained between ideology and ambition.

I am in the debt of several people who have helped me in a variety of tasks. I should like to thank Haya Lewi, Ned Temko, Shmuel Salinger, Naomi Yalin, Yossi Ahimeir, Peter Bergamin, Avi Shilon, Yoram Shamir, Yossi Kister, Becky Kook, Barry Davis and Howard Spier.

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Shmuel Salinger further helped me to maintain a consistency in transliterating Hebrew titles into English, utilising the Library of Congress system.

I would also like to thank Will Hammell and Kate Gavino of Cambridge University Press for their guidance and expertise.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my late father-in-law, Derek Pollock, who passed away in April 2014. He was a self-educated man who read widely and came of political age during service in the British army in the Middle East in the 1940s. He therefore lived through most of the events described in this book. He read everything that I wrote and was not shy in criticising some of it. It is a pity that he is not with us in order to read this book. Moreover, he understood my odyssey in life.

Acknowledgements

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I thank him for the years of informal chat and unexpected insights, his generosity of spirit, inspiration and interest.

My wife, Jean, has once again put up with the solitude of research and writing. Her love and support are always central to everything I do.

I have tried to use a transliteration of other languages which is consistent. However, where familiarity occasionally trumps convention, I have utilised the former. Of course, any errors of fact and interpretation are entirely my own.

Glossaries

POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS

Agudat Yisrael	ultra-orthodox party, founded in 1912 to oppose the Zionist movement
Ahdut Ha'avodah	socialist Zionist party, founded in 1919 by Ben-Gurion and Tabenkin
Amlanim	opposition group within Hapoel Hatzair in Palestine in the 1920s
Berit Ha-Biryonim	nationalist group in Palestine led by Abba Ahimeir in the early 1930s
Berit Shalom	Jewish-Arab reconciliation group in Palestine
Betar	in the 1920s nationalist Zionist youth group, founded by
Biluim	Jabotinsky in Riga in 1923 settlers of the first Zionist immigration to
Bnei Akiva	Palestine in 1882 mainstream religious Zionist youth movement which embraced the Pight after 10(7)
Degel ha-Torah	which embraced the Right after 1967 established through split in Agudat Yisrael by Eliezer Schach in 1988
Democratic Movement for Change	established in 1977 as centre party by Yigael Yadin
Free Centre	established in 1967 through a split in Herut
Gahal	established through an alignment between
	Herut and the Liberals in 1965
Gahelet	religious youth group which propounded redemptionist Zionism

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xvi	Glossaries
General Zionists	promoted the views of small businessmen and private enterprise
Gesher	political group formed by David Levy for the 1996 election
HaBayit Hayehudi	religious Zionist party established by a merger of the National Religion Pary (NRP) and the Far Right in 2008
Hadash	left-wing alliance of Jews and Arabs established in 1977
Haganah	the defence arm of the Yishuv and forerunner of the Israel Defence Forces
Hapoel Hatzair	non-Marxist, Tolstoyan pioneering party, established in 1906
Hashomer Hatzair	dovish pioneering Marxist Zionist group, established in 1913
Hebrew Committee for National Liberation	established in the United States by Hillel Kook in 1944
Herut	the Irgun as a political movement, established by Begin in 1948
Histadrut	General Federation of Workers in the Land of Israel, established in 1920
Im Tirzu	nationalist extra-parliamentary group established in 2006
Irgun Zvai Leumi	nationalist military group, led by Menahem Begin from 1943
Kach	Meir Kahane's Far Right party banned from participating in Knesset elections
Kadima	Centre-Right party established by Sharon in November 2005
La'am	Likud component, composed of former Labour party and Free Centre members
Labour	established in 1968 from Mapai, Ahdut Ha'avodah and Rafi
Land of Israel Movement	established after the Six-Day War to retain conquered territories
Lehi	Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, established by Avraham Stern in 1940
Liberals	formerly the General Zionists, established in 1961
Likud	the main right-wing Israeli party, established by Sharon and Begin in 1973
Ma'arakh	alignment established by Labour and Mapam in 1969

	Glossaries	xvii
Maki	Eurocommunist section of the Comparty, led by Moshe Sneh after 1965	
Mapai	leading labour Zionist party, 1930–1 during the state-building years	
Mapam	Marxist Zionist party, founded in 19 second-largest party in first Knesset	948,
Matzpen	anti-Zionist split from the Israeli Co party, close to European New Left	mmunist
Maximalists	radical right wing of the Revisionist the 1930s	party in
Meimad	dovish religious Zionist group forme 1999 election	ed for the
Meretz	leftist Zionist party established in 19 Ratz, Mapam and Shinui	
Mizrahi	first religious Zionist party, establish	
Moked	Far Left group established for the 19	73 election
Moledet	transfer party of the Far Right, estab Rehavam Ze'evi in 1988	
National Union	coalition of Far Right parties formed 1999 election	l for the
Palmah	elite fighting force, allied to Ahdut H led by Yigal Allon in the 1940s	Ia'avodah,
Poalei Agudat Yisrael	pioneering ultra-orthodox party, esta 1922	ablished in
Poale Zion	main socialist Zionist party in Palest founded by Jewish workers in 1906	ine,
Progressives	founded in 1948 by German immigr liberal General Zionists	
Rafi	established in 1965 after a split from led by Ben-Gurion, Dayan and Peres	5
Rakah	pro-Soviet wing of Communist party split in 1965	
Ratz	civil rights and peace party, led by Sl Aloni in the 1980s	
Redemptionist Zionists	religious Zionist settlers who follow Yehudah Kook	ed Zvi
Revisionist Zionism	founded by Jabotinsky in 1925 to re Herzlian Zionism	turn to
Shas	Sephardi ultra-orthodox party estab Ovadiah Yosef in 1984	lished by
Sheli	dovish party, established in 1977 fro	om Moked
Shlomzion	short-lived party formed by Ariel Sh the 1977 election	

xviii	Glossaries
Siah	Israeli New Left, established following the 1967 war
State List	Rafi faction that did not join Labour party in 1968, led by Ben-Gurion
Tami	Mizrahi breakaway from the NRP, established in 1981
Tehiyah	Far Right party, established in 1979 in opposition to Camp David agreement
Tekumah	Far Right group formed in the late 1990s, component of the National Union
Telem	party formed to support Moshe Dayan in the 1981 election
Tserei Tsion	non-Marxist pioneering Zionist group in Tsarist Russia
Tsomet	Far Right party with Labour roots, established in 1983 through a split in Tehiyah
United Torah Judaism Yesh Atid	main ultra-orthodox party established in 1992 centrist party established by Yair Lapid for the
Yishuv Yisrael Beiteinu	2013 election Jewish settlement in Palestine before 1948 party of the Far Right and Russians, established by Avigdor Lieberman for the 1999 election
	GENERAL GLOSSARY
<i>Al Hamishmar</i> aliyah	Mapam's daily newspaper Jewish immigration to Israel from the Diaspora
aliyah bet	illegal immigration to Palestine (1934–1948) during the British Mandate
Altalena	Irgun arms ship, shelled and sunk on Ben-Gurion's orders in 1948
Ashkenazim	Jews generally originating from Eastern Europe
Balfour Declaration	British declaration in 1917 promising a Jewish national home in Palestine
Bar Kokhba rebellion	uprising in Judea against Roman rule, 132–135
Canaanism	endorsing the evolution of a Hebrew nation rather than a Jewish one
<i>Davar</i> Deir Yassin	the Histadrut's Hebrew daily newspaper village in which many Arab civilians were killed in an Irgun and Lehi attack

<i>Glossaries</i> xix			
Doar Hayom	Revisionist daily newspaper in the 1920s	S	
Fatah	leading Palestinian Arab nationalist		
	organization, founded by Arafat		
Futurism	intellectual and cultural movement in Ita	ıly and	
о I:	Russia	1	
Green Line	1949 armistice boundary between Israel the West Bank		
Gush Etzion	Jewish settlements in pre-state era, now : West Bank	in	
Ha'aretz	leading liberal Israeli daily newspaper		
Halakhah	Jewish religious law		
Hamas	leading Palestinian Islamist organization founded in 1988		
Hamashkif	Revisionist daily newspaper, 1938–1949		
Haolam Hazeh	investigative, irreverent journal, edited b Avneri	y Uri	
Hapoel Hamizrahi	pioneering religious Zionist party		
Haskalah	Jewish Enlightenment		
havlagah	military self-restraint in responding to A attacks	rab	
Hayarden	Revisionist periodical in Palestine in the	19308	
Haynt	leading Yiddish newspaper in Poland ber		
Hazit Ha'am	newspaper established by the Maximalis Revisionists in 1932	t	
Ma'ariv	Israeli daily newspaper		
Metzudah	journal established by members of the Ir	gun in	
	1932		
Moment	Warsaw Yiddish daily newspaper, 1910-	·1939	
Shoah	the Nazi Holocaust, 1939–1945		
Unzer Welt	Warsaw Yiddish journal of the New Zio	nist	
	Organisation, 1935–1939		
Wissenschaft des Judentums	the Science of Judaism		
Yediot Aharanot	Israeli daily newspaper		
yeshivah	men's religious seminary		
	NAME GLOSSARY		
Abba Ahimeir	intellectual mentor of the Zionist		
(1898 - 1962)	Maximalists	1	
Yigal Allon	founder and commander of the Palmah a	and	
(1918–1980)	foreign minister		

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Glossaries

Shulamit Aloni (1928–2014)	leader of Meretz and minister of education
Natan Alterman (1910–1970)	Hebrew poet and translator
Arieh Altman	head of Revisionist movement after 1945 and
(1902–1982)	Herut member of Knesset
Moshe Arens (1925–)	Likud leader, foreign minister and defence
Haim Arlosoroff	minister
	Hapoel Hatzair activist and Mapai leader,
(1899–1933) Yohanan Bader	assassinated in 1933 Herut ideologist, editor and member of
	Knesset
(1901-1994) Ehud Baraly (70.40.)	
Ehud Barak (1942–)	military leader, minister of defence and prime minister of Israel, 1999–2001
Menahem Begin	prime minister of Israel, 1977–1983
(1913–1992)	
Yossi Beilin (1948–)	architect of the Oslo Accord, 1993 and leader
(-)+- /	of Meretz
David Ben-Gurion	founding father of Israel; first prime minister
(1886–1973)	of Israel, 1949–1954; 1955–1963
Naftali Bennett	Israeli entrepreneur and leader of HaBayit
(1972–)	Hayehudi
Norman Bentwich	English Zionist and attorney general in
(1883–1971)	Mandatory Palestine
Shlomo Ben-Yosef	Betar member hanged by the British
(1913–1938)	
Yitzhak Ben-Zvi	labour Zionist leader and second president of
(1884–1963)	Israel, 1952–1963
Folke Bernadotte	UN Middle East mediator, assassinated by
(1895–1948)	Lehi
Haim Nahman Bialik	Hebrew national poet
(1873–1934)	
Yosef Haim Brenner	Hebrew writer, killed in 1921 disturbances
(1881-1921)	
Yosef Burg	NRP leader and Israeli minister
(1909–1999)	
Richard Crossman	British minister, 1964–1970, and editor of
(1907–1974)	New Statesman
Gabriele D'Annunzio	writer, poet and Italian nationalist
(1863-1938)	
Moshe Dayan	Israeli Defence Forces chief of staff; minister
(1915–1981)	of defence and of foreign affairs

Glossaries

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Abba Eban	Labour leader, writer, diplomat and minister of
(1915-2002)	foreign affairs
Rafael Eitan	Israeli Defence Forces chief of staff and
(1929–2004)	founder of Tsomet
Levi Eshkol	Mapai politician and prime minister of Israel,
(1895–1969)	1963–1969
Israel Galili	Haganah chief of staff and Ahdut Ha'avodah
(1911–1986)	politician
Nahum Goldmann	leading Diaspora Zionist diplomat with dovish
(1895-1982)	views
Eliahu Golomb	Haganah founder and labour Zionist
(1893-1945)	C
A. D. Gordon	Zionist pioneer and Tolstoyan mentor of
(1856-1922)	labour Žionism
Yehudah Leib Gordon	Hebrew poet and writer
(1831 - 1892)	
Shlomo Goren	Ashkenazi chief rabbi and leading religious
(1917–1994)	Zionist
Maxim Gorky	progressive Russian writer
(1868–1936)	
Uri Zvi Greenberg	Zionist Maximalist and Hebrew poet
(1894–1981)	-
Meir Grossman	leading Revisionist, editor and journalist
(1888–1964)	
Ahad Ha'am	Zionist intellectual and writer
(1856-1927)	
Theodor Herzl	father of the modern Zionist movement
(1860–1904)	
Chaim Herzog	lawyer, writer, diplomat, president of Israel,
(1917–1998)	1983–1993
Moses Hess	socialist theoretician and early progenitor of
(1812 - 1875)	socialist Zionism
Vladimir Jabotinsky	liberal nationalist, Revisionist Zionist and
(1880–1940)	head of Betar
Meir Kahane	Far Right politician and founder of Jewish
(1932–1990)	Defence League
Zvi Hirsch Kalischer	early progenitor of religious Zionism
(1795–1874)	
Rudolf Kastner	subject of controversial trial, assassinated by
(1906–1957)	Far Right
Karl Kautsky	leading Marxist thinker who opposed October
(1854–1938)	Revolution

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Glossaries

Teddy Kollek	Mapai politician and mayor of Jerusalem,
(1911–2007) Avraham Yitzhak Kook (1865–1935)	1965 –1993 first Ashkenazi chief rabbi in Mandatory Palestine
Hillel Kook	Revisionist thinker and leader of the Bergson
(1915–2001) Zvi Yehudah Kook	group in the United States spiritual mentor of Gush Emunim and
(1891–1982) Vladimir Korolenko	religious settlers leading Russian writer and journalist
(1853–1921) Antonio Labriola (1843–1904)	leading Italian Marxist thinker
(1843–1904) Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864)	founding father of German Socialism
David Levy (1937–)	Likud Mizrahi politician and Israeli minister
Avigdor Lieberman (1957–)	founder of Yisrael Beiteinu and foreign affairs minister
Rosa Luxemburg	Polish-German revolutionary and Marxist
(1871–1919)	thinker
Judah Magnes	chancellor of Hebrew University and
(1877-1948)	binational state advocate
Julius Martov	leading Menshevik who opposed the October
(1873-1923)	Revolution
Golda Meir	Mapai politician and prime minister of Israel,
(1898–1980)	1969–1974
Robert Michels	German political thinker
(1876–1936)	. F
Adam Mickiewicz	Polish national poet and fighter for Polish
(1798-1855)	independence
Binyamin Netanyahu	prime minister of Israel, 1996–1999, 2009–
(1949–)	F
Max Nordau	founder of the modern Zionist movement,
(1849–1923)	writer and philosopher
Ehud Olmert $(1945-)$	founder of the Free Centre, prime minister of
	Israel, 2006–2009
Amihai 'Gidi' Paglin (1922–1978)	chief operations officer of the Irgun after 1946
Józef Pilsudski	founder of the modern Polish state in 1918
(1867–1935)	
Leon Pinsker	Zionist leader, writer and publicist
(1821-1891)	publicity
Aharon Propes	founder and first member of Betar
(1904–1978)	

Glossaries xxiii Yitzhak Rabin prime minister of Israel, 1974–1977, (1922 - 1995)1992-1995 Yonatan Ratosh Revisionist, Canaanite, poet and writer (1801 - 800)David Raziel head of the Irgun, 1937–1940 (1910-1941) Duc de Richelieu first governor of Odessa and prime minister of (1766 - 1822)France Herbert Samuel first British high commissioner of Palestine (1870 - 1963)Pinhas Sapir Labour politician and leading economist (1906 - 1975)Eliezer Menahem spiritual mentor of Degel ha-Torah Schach (1898/9? - 2001)Menahem Mendel rebbe of Lubavitcher Hassidim Schneersohn (1902 - 1994)Mendele Mocher Yiddish and Hebrew writer and editor Sefarim (1836 - 1917)Yitzhak Shamir Lehi leader and prime minister of Israel, (1915 - 2012)1983-1984, 1986-1992 Moshe Sharett minister of foreign affairs and prime minister (1894 - 1965)of Israel, 1954–1955 military leader and prime minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon (1925-2014) 2001-2006 Nahum Sokolov writer, journalist, editor and Zionist leader (1859 - 1936)Georges Sorel political thinker and writer on revolutionary (1847 - 1922)syndicalism **Oswald Spengler** political philosopher on the structure of (1880-1936) history Dutch philosopher and exponent of biblical Baruch Spinoza (1632 - 1677)criticism poet and theoretician of Lehi Avraham Stern (1907 - 1942)maximalist labour Zionist and kibbutz Yitzhak Tabenkin (1887 - 1971)movement ideologue lawyer, politician and Israeli minister Shmuel Tamir (1923 - 1987)Yosef Trumpeldor military figure and founder of the Zion Mule (1880 - 1920)Corps

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Glossaries

Wolfgang von Weisl (1896–1974)	journalist, writer and early Revisionist
Chaim Weizmann	founding father and first president of Israel,
(1874–1952)	1949–1952
Ezer Weizmann	minister of defence and president of Israel,
(1924–2005)	1993–2000
Yigael Yadin	archaeologist, military leader, politician and
(1917–1984)	minister
Yehoshua Hirsh	writer, journalist and Maximalist Revisionist
Yeivin (1891–1970)	
Natan Yellin-Mor	editor, Maximalist Revisionist, founder of Lehi
(1913–1980)	
Ovadiah Yosef	Talmudic scholar, founder and spiritual
(1920–2013)	mentor of Shas
Rehavam Ze'evi	military figure, minister and founder of
(1926–2001)	Moledet

Chronology

- 1791 The Pale of Settlement established by Catherine the Great
- 1794 Odessa founded
- 1799 Napoleon invades Palestine from Egypt
- 1860 Theodor Herzl is born in Budapest
- 1881 Pogroms in Russia following the assassination of the Tsar
- 1882 Autoemancipation by Leon Pinsker is published
- 1882 The emigration of the 'Biluim' from Russia to Palestine
- 1896 The Jewish State by Theodor Herzl is published
- 1897 First Zionist Congress takes place in Basel
- 1903 Jabotinsky becomes a Zionist after the Sixth Zionist Congress
- 1905 First Russian Revolution
- 1905 Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi establish Poale Zion in Palestine
- 1909 The first collective settlement established in Palestine
- 1915 Jabotinsky and Trumpeldor establish the Zion Mule Corps
- 1917 Formation of the Jewish Legion
- 1917 The Balfour Declaration promises a national home for the Jews in Palestine
- 1921 TransJordan, the eastern part of Mandatory Palestine, promised to Abdullah
- 1923 Betar formed in Riga
- 1923 Jabotinsky's article 'The Iron Wall' is published
- 1925 Jabotinsky establishes the Union of Revisionist Zionists
- 1928 Ahimeir, Greenberg and Yeivin join the Revisionists
- 1929 The killing of Jews in Hebron
- 1930 Mapai, the labour Zionist party, formed
- 1930 The Shaw Commission and the Passfield White Paper on the disturbances
- 1931 First activities of Berit Ha-Biryonim

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- 1931 Irgun Zvai Leumi formed
- 1933 Murder of Haim Arlosoroff
- 1933 Revisionist movement splits at Katowice conference
- 1935 Establishment of the New Zionist Organisation
- 1936 The Arab Revolt breaks out in Palestine
- 1937 Peel Commission advocates a two-state solution
- 1938 Shlomo Ben-Yosef hanged by the British
- 1938 Third World Conference of Betar in Warsaw
- 1938 David Raziel orders Irgun attacks on Arab targets on Black Sunday
- 1940 Jabotinsky dies in New York
- 1940 The Irgun splits over allying itself with Britain to fight Nazi Germany
- 1940 Avraham Stern establishes the Irgun B'Yisrael, later Lehi
- 1942 The systematic mass extermination of Jews commences in occupied Europe
- 1942 Avraham Stern killed
- 1942 Menahem Begin arrives in Palestine
- 1943 Yellin-Mor, Shamir and Eldad take over the leadership of Lehi
- 1944 Menahem Begin, commander of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, proclaims the Revolt
- 1945 Liberation of the concentration camps 6 million Jews exterminated
- 1947 Partition of Western Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state
- 1948The State of Israel proclaimed by the Jews during the War of
Independence
- 1948 Menahem Begin transforms the Irgun into a political movement, Herut
- 1949 Mapai wins the first Israeli elections
- 1956 Suez campaign in collusion with Britain and France ends in a military victory over Nasser
- 1965 Ben-Gurion breaks away from Mapai to form Rafi
- 1965 Herut and the Liberals form Gahal under Menahem Begin
- 1967 A national unity government established which includes Menahem Begin
- 1967 Israel's victory over Egypt, Jordan and Syria in the Six-Day War
- 1968 The beginning of Jewish settlements on the West Bank
- 1968 The formation of the Israeli Labour party
- 1973 Gahal and remnants of the Labour party form Likud under Begin
- 1973 Yom Kippur War ends in a muted victory for Israel at the cost of thousands of lives

	The establishment of Gush Emunim, the religious settlers group
	Yitzhak Rabin becomes prime minister for the first time
	Menahem Begin elected prime minister
	Anwar Sadat visits Jerusalem and speaks to the Knesset
	Begin and Sadat sign the Camp David Accord
,	Basic Law proclaims Jerusalem the capital of Israel
	Golan Heights annexed by Israel
	Israel bombs the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq
	The Sinai settlement of Yamit evacuated and destroyed
	Sharon's invasion of Lebanon brings out 400,000
	demonstrators for Peace Now
	Labour's Peres and Likud's Shamir form a rotational
	government
	The First Intifada breaks out
	Hamas emerges from the Muslim Brotherhood
	Hussein separates the West Bank from Jordan
	Yitzhak Shamir wins the election for the Likud
,	Several Far Right parties enter government
	Iraqi missiles hit Tel Aviv during the first Gulf War
	Yitzhak Rabin elected prime minister
	Rabin and Arafat sign the Oslo Accord in Washington
	Hamas's first spate of suicide bombings
	Yitzhak Rabin assassinated by an opponent of the peace
	process after a peace rally
	Peres loses the election to Likud's Netanyahu
	Netanyahu and Arafat sign an agreement on Hebron
	Clinton oversees the Wye Plantation agreement between Israel
	and the Palestinians
,	The breakdown of the Camp David negotiations and the
	outbreak of al-Aqsa Intifada
	Ariel Sharon defeats Ehud Barak and becomes prime minister
	at seventy-two
	Bush's Rose Garden speech
	Sharon advocates disengagement from part of the territories
	President Bush's letter recognizes Israel's right to annex some
	settlements

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- 2005 Mahmoud Abbas elected president of the Palestinian Authority after Arafat's death
- 2005 The Gaza settlements evacuated without violence
- 2005 Likud and Labour split and realign to form the Kadima party under Sharon
- 2006 Hamas defeats Fatah in elections for the Legislative Council

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2006	Ehud Olmert, head of Kadima, following Sharon's stroke, wins the election
2006	Hezbollah fights Israel in Lebanon in a thirty-four-day war
2007	Conflict between Hamas and Fatah ends in the takeover of Gaza by Hamas
2009	Israel initiates Operation Cast Lead against Gaza
2009	Netanyahu becomes prime minister for the second time
2011	Hamas and Fatah sign reconciliation agreement in the light of the Arab Spring
2011	The Muslim Brotherhood emerges victorious in Egyptian elections
2012	Magnetic car bomb kills senior official at Iranian nuclear plant
2012	Israel's population increases to 7,836,000 citizens
2013	Muslim Brotherhood government in Egypt overthrown by army
2013	Netanyahu becomes prime minister for the third time
2014	Israel initiates Operation Protective Edge against Hamas
2015	Jewish victims of Islamist attack in Paris buried in Jerusalem
2015	Likud wins the election with an increased representation
2015	Netanyahu becomes prime minister for the fourth time