

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19378-8 - The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron

Colin Shindler

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

Note: An *i* following a page number indicated an illustration; an *n* following a page number indicates a note.

- Aaronson, Aaron, 121–22  
 Aaronson, Sara, 111, 121–22, 195–96  
 Abbas, Mahmoud, 349, 352  
 Abdullah (Jordan), 10, 236  
 ‘Activist-Revisionist Front,’ 164  
 Adenauer, Konrad, and reparations, 254  
 aestheticism, 27  
 Agnon, Shai, 281  
 Agranat, Shimon, 257–58  
 Agranat Commission, 301, 316  
 agriculture, intensive, 75  
 Agudat Yisrael  
   and definition of ‘Jew,’ 301–2  
   and formation of Shas party, 323, 333  
   and formation of UTJ, 355–56  
   and Irgun, 177  
   support of Sebastia settlers, 304  
 Ahdut Ha’avodah, 80, 208  
   and colonisation of West Bank, 280,  
     283, 289  
   on disposition of territorial gains after  
     Six Day war, 283, 284  
   and election of 1955, 259  
   and election of 1969, 291  
   kibbutz wing of, 282  
   and LIM manifesto, 281, 282  
   and Ma’arakh (Alignment), 271  
   opposition to Camp David Accord, 321  
   and Six Day war, 278  
 Ahimeir, Abba  
   appointed to board of *Doar Hayom* by  
     Jabotinsky, 97–98  
   arrest of, 91, 93, 183  
   attacks on ideology of Mapai, 206  
   background of, 59–60  
   and Begin, 164, 202  
   belief in self-sacrifice, 81, 83  
   on Bentwich, 93, 98  
   on Betar, 93, 98  
   on Bolshevism, 96  
   and Berit Ha-Biryonim, 160  
   on Berit Shalom, 92–93  
   and British, 6  
   caricature of, 92  
   commemorates October Revolution, 81  
   on dictatorship, 80, 81, 84  
   disillusionment with socialism, 81  
   endorsement of direct action to Jewish  
     state, 118  
   ‘From the Notebook of a Fascist,’ 84  
   goes to Palestine/joins Hapoel  
     Hatzair, 65  
   and Herut, 242  
   ‘If I am not for myself, who will be for  
     me?’, 83  
   on IRA, 94  
   on Italian fascism, 81–82, 108  
   and Jabotinsky, 3, 79–80, 84–85,  
     96, 155  
   joins Revisionists, 71  
   joins Tserei Tsion, 65  
   journal of, 94  
   as lecturer for Bet Sefer cadets, 87, 89  
   on Lenin, 80–81, 84, 90, 100  
   *Letter to Young Zionists*, 90–91  
   on Lord Moyne, 258

- Ahimeir, Abba (*cont.*)  
 on Magnes, 92–93  
 and Maximalism in Poland, 122  
 and Maximalists, 99, 101  
*Megilat hasikarikin* (Scroll of the Sicarii), 113–14  
 and Michels, 82–83  
 and murder of Arlosoroff, 110, 111, 114–15  
 ‘National Dictatorship in the Wider World,’ 84  
 and national revolutionary movements, 84  
 and national syndicalism, 100  
 on Nazism, 106  
 on neo-Revisionism, 102  
 and new Poland, 125  
 on parliamentarianism, 84  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 142–43  
 on Pilsudski, 125  
 and Polish culture, 125  
 resignation of, 261  
 on Revisionism, 79, 84, 116  
 revolutionary Zionism of, 162  
 sedition charge against, 113  
 on self-sacrifice, 114  
 and Spengler, 61, 63  
 on third stage of Zionism, 122  
 and underground military organisation, 96  
 view toward England, 86  
 on youth  
   importance of, 119  
   on NILI, 121–22
- Air France hijacking, 298
- Akzin, Benjamin, 183
- al-Aqsa Intifada, 2, 334, 350, 357, 363
- Alawites, 247
- Alignment (Ma’arakh), 271
- aliyah Bet, 181
- Alkahi, Mordechai, 230
- Allenby, Edmund, 55–56
- Allon, Yigal  
 and Camp David Accord, 321  
 on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 284, 285  
 and election of 1969, 291  
 and Hebron settlers, 289  
 preference of Left as Minister of Defence, 275  
 and succession after Meir, 303–4
- Allon Plan, 285–86, 335
- Aloni, Shulamit, 301
- al-Rantisi, Abdel Aziz, 351
- Alroy, David, 99
- Altalena* affair, 236–37, 253
- Alterman, Natan, 281, 289
- Altman, Arieh, 66, 70  
 and establishment of Free Centre, 273  
 joins Herut, 244  
 and leadership of Herut, 242  
 opposition to Revolt, 213  
 reaction to Treaty of London, 223  
 Stern on, 192–93
- Altman, Yehezkiel, 185
- Am Lohem, 209
- American League for a Free Palestine, 220–21
- American Zionism, and partitioning of Palestine, 144
- Amit, Meir, 310
- Amlanim, 69–70
- Amnon of Mainz, 319–20
- Amsellem, Chaim, 361
- Andrault, Louis Alexandre, 16
- Andrews, Lewis, 184
- Anglo-American Committee, 214, 217–18, 224–25
- anti-immigration ideology, of Shas, 356
- anti-intellectualism, rise in Right, 12–13
- anti-Labour coalition, 296–97
- anti-Semitism  
 in Italy, 199  
 Jabotinsky on, 28, 123–24, 141
- apartheid, 265
- Arab Higher Committee, 184
- Arab nationalism, 145, 154–55, 174
- Arab parties, 359
- Arab Revolt, 1938, 130–31, 179
- Arabs  
 alienation of Israeli intellectuals after al-Aqsa Intifada, 357  
 high birth rate of Palestinian, 283  
 meeting in Khartoum after Six Day war, 279
- Arafat, Yasser, 298, 299  
 death of, 352  
 and first Gulf War, 339–40  
 Israeli suspicion of, 338  
 leadership style of, 334  
 responsibility for violence, 2000, 350–51  
 and Sharon, 351–52  
 and two states in Palestine, 335

- Arber, Menahem, 86–87
- Archilochus, 195
- Arendt, Hannah, 241
- Arens, Moshe, 347, 364  
 becomes Minister of Defence, 347  
 and Minister of Defence position, 345  
 opposition to Israel as Jewish state  
 proposal, 12  
 opposition to withdrawal from  
 Sinai, 321  
 rejection of Sharon as Minister of  
 Defence, 326
- Aridor, Yoram, 325, 331
- Arlosoroff, Haim, murder of, 110–11
- Armenians, 144
- art nouveau, 20
- Artzeinu, Zo, 360
- Ashkenazi, 323, 355–56
- Ashkenazi, Motti, 316
- Assassination  
 of Arlosoroff, 110–11  
 of Bernadotte, 239–40  
 of Gemayel, 328  
 of Kahane, 335–36  
 of Kastner, 257  
 and Lehi, 203–4  
 of Moyne, 258  
 of Rabin, 340, 349  
 of Sheikh Yassin, 351  
 Stern on, 198  
 of Ze'evi, 351
- 'The Assassination of Paul Doumer',  
 114*n*18
- assimilation of Jews, 35
- Atlee, Clement, 214, 217–18
- Attaturk, Mustafa Kemal, 80
- Auschwitz protocol, 255
- Austria, and World War II, 191
- Austro-Hungary, minorities in, 128–29
- authoritarian socialism, 265
- Autoemancipation* (Pinsker), 35, 36, 47
- autonomy  
 Jabotinsky on, 46, 103, 119, 129  
 Lenin on non-territorial, 128  
 of national minorities, 129–30  
 of Palestinian Revisionists, 119  
 Renner on, 128–29
- Avanti*, 25–26, 27
- Avneri, Uri, 255–56, 307
- Axelrod, Pavel, 44
- Ayalon-Nusseibeh discussions, 351
- Bader, Yohanan, 164*n*60, 241, 251, 293
- Baker, James, 348
- Bakunin, Mikhail, 28
- Balfour Declaration, 5, 89
- Barak, Ehud, 343, 344, 350, 351
- Barazani, Moshe, 230
- Bar-Kokhba, 38, 99
- Bar-Yehudah, Israel, 315
- Barzilai, Salvatore, 20
- Basic Law, and recognition of Israel as  
 Jewish state, 12, 363
- Basic Trends in the History of the Jewish  
 People* (Margolin), 36–37
- Becher, Kurt, 255–56
- Begin, Benny, 343, 355, 360
- Begin, Menahem, 4–5, 278*i*5  
 advocacy of regime change in Jordan  
 and Lebanon, 10  
 and *Altalena* affair, 236–37  
 and anti-Labour coalition, 296  
 approval of approach of Ahimeir, 164  
 on Arafat, 298, 299, 312  
 arrest of, 164  
 and assassination of Bernadotte, 239  
 and Bader, 293  
 becomes Commander of Irgun, 171  
 and Ben-Gurion, 237–38, 244  
 Ben-Gurion on, 6, 245, 262  
 and Betar in Poland, 121, 160, 161  
 and borders of Israel question, 248  
 'The British regime prepares for a  
 massacre of the Jews in the Land  
 of Israel', 207  
 and Camp David Accord, 331  
 character of, 210, 212  
 and CID, 202, 265  
 and Communists, 317  
 courts former Rafi members, 296  
 criticism of, from within Herut, 246  
 cultivates Mizrahim, 264  
 cultivation of Right by, 303  
 and Dayan, 275, 276  
 and declaration of independence, 234–35  
 on definition of Palestinian, 298–99  
 differences from Shamir, 330–31  
 on disposition of territorial gains after  
 Six Day war, 286  
 efforts to appeal to wider  
 audience, 264–65  
 and election of 1969, 291  
 and election of 1973, 299, 300

- Begin, Menahem (*cont.*)  
 and election of 1977, 309, 310–11  
 and election of 1981, 325  
 fatalism of, 213  
 on Gaza withdrawal, 303  
 and General Zionists, 6, 262–64  
 and Germany  
   diplomatic relations, 260–61, 268  
   on German people, 250  
   reparations, 251–53  
 goes to Palestine, 202  
 on Gush Emunim, 321  
 and Hashomer Hatzair, 161  
 and Herut  
   asked to resign/resigns, 272  
   economic and domestic issues, 263  
   expansion of party, 280  
   funding for party, 241  
   merger with Liberals, 268  
   possible alliance with General  
     Zionists, 262–64  
   reinstatement as chairman, 273  
 and Histadrut, 267–68, 354  
 on Holocaust, 251  
 ideology of, 209–11  
   differences with Hillel Kook, 221–22  
   Iron Wall ideology, 279–80  
   Land of Israel ideology, 268–69, 306  
   in post-Begin years, 333  
 influence of Mickiewicz on, 156  
 invokes *saison*, 265  
 and Irgun  
   military action against Arabs,  
     1948, 233  
   as national liberation movement  
     model, 265  
   on targets for Irgun, 210  
 and Jabotinsky, 3, 4, 5, 164–66,  
   167–68, 212  
 and Kahane, 296  
 on Kastner affair, 258–59  
 on Kissinger, 303  
 and land for peace, 279  
 and Law of Return, 310  
 leadership style of, 242  
 and Likud, 1, 308–9  
 and LIM manifesto, 282  
 on Mapai  
   alliance with Rafi and Gahal, 275  
   Begin rejects joining coalition, 264  
   collaboration with British CID, 265  
   on lack of tolerance of, 265  
   universalism of, 265  
   and USSR, 265  
 on Maximalists  
   in Palestine, 160  
   in Poland, 160  
   signing of Polish memorandum, 126  
 on meetings during Sabbath, 290  
 and Meir resignation, 301  
 on militarism, 162, 205  
 as minister without portfolio, 276  
 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to, 322  
 on NRP joining coalition of Rabin, 301  
 and NZO, 164*n*60, 202  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 142–43,  
   222–23, 224, 225–26  
 on passing of liberalism, 6  
 as political figure, 229–30  
 on possible armed uprising, 183–84  
 as Prime Minister  
   appoints Dayan as Foreign Minister,  
     316, 317  
   on autonomy for Palestinians in West  
     Bank, 318, 322, 324  
   and Camp David Accord, 315,  
     318–21, 320*i*17  
   considers self as historical  
     figure, 313–14  
   death of wife, 328  
   economic policy, 324–25  
   grants refuge to Vietnamese boat  
     people, 313  
   as ‘Jewish Prime Minister,’ 314  
   on Lebanese Christians, 328  
   and Lebanon war (1982),  
     327–29, 346–47  
   military policy, 326–27  
   pragmatism of, 325–26  
   resignation of, 328, 348  
   on retention of Jerusalem, 319–20  
   return to populism of 1950s, 327–28  
   second administration as more Herut  
     than Likud government, 324  
   use of past history/Shoah to justify  
     policies of present, 312–13, 328  
   on West Bank settlements, 317–18  
   on withdrawal from Sinai, 321–22  
 pseudonym of, 205, 209  
 public persona of, 274, 358  
 on Rabin as choice for Prime  
   Minister, 301

- and Rafi-Gahal alliance, 285  
 reciprocity policy of, 215, 231  
 on relationship with England, 163  
 and religious parties, 247, 268  
 resigns from government of Meir during  
   war of attrition, 9  
 on resurgent Palestinian  
   nationalism, 298  
 retaliation policy of, 280  
 on retention of West Bank after Six Day  
   War, 279–80  
 and Revisionists, 160, 161–62, 165, 241  
 and the Revolt, 212–14  
 and Rogers Initiative, 293–94  
 romantic nationalism of, 243  
 and rule of law, 11  
 and second general election, 1951, 249  
 on security question, 9  
 on Sinai, 279, 318–21  
 and Six Day war, 276–78, 318  
 and Stern, 169, 209  
 strengthening of, after Six Day war, 279  
 suspension from Knesset, 253, 254  
 takes over after Ben-Eliezer suffers heart  
   attack, 251  
 Tamir on, 261  
 and Tehiyah, 331  
 on ‘the fighting Jew,’ 305  
 and three-year truce between Jews and  
   Arabs, 305  
 on TransJordan, 225  
 and UN Resolution 242, 318  
 on USSR, 265  
 victory speech of, 234–36, 310–11  
 view on Judaism and Jewish  
   nationalism, 290  
 Weizmann on, 217  
 on West Bank settlements, 278–79,  
   304, 309  
 ‘White Nights,’ 250  
 and ‘Who is a Jew?’ debate, 290  
 and World War II, 171  
 arrest and release of, 171  
   on establishment of Jewish army,  
   205–6, 207  
 and Yom Kippur war, 294  
 and Zionism  
   labour Zionists, 6, 164  
   religious Zionists, 6
- Beilin, Yossi, 352  
 Beilinson, Moshe, 70, 78  
 Beilis, Mendel, 112  
 Beirut  
   attack on airport at, 346  
   PLO leaves, 347  
 Ben-Aminadav, Nahshon, 83  
 Ben-Ari, Michael, 336  
 Ben-Eliezer, Arieh, 250, 251  
 Ben-Gurion, David, 27815  
   admiration for Lenin, 80–81  
   airbrushes members of Betar who fought  
     in Warsaw Ghetto, 251–52  
   and *Altalena* affair, 236, 237–38  
   attacks by Lehi on, 238–40  
   on Begin, 6, 209, 213, 244, 245  
   and Bernadotte assassination, 239  
   and borders of Israel, 269  
   and Dayan, 275–76  
   and debate on reparations in  
     Knesset, 253  
     on demonstrators after speech of  
       Begin, 253  
   and declaration of independence, 234  
   dismissal of Irgun and Lehi by, 244–45  
   disparagement of Herut by, 245  
   on disposition of territorial gains after  
     Six Day war, 284  
   and establishment of Rafi, 271  
   final resignation of, 266  
   on Holocaust, 251  
   and Irgun military action against Arabs,  
     1948, 233  
   and Israel as Jewish state proposal, 12  
   and Jabotinsky, 4, 109, 140, 163  
 Kook on, 248  
 and Lavon affair, 266  
 on law to commemorate the  
   fallen, 245–46  
 and Lehi dissidents, 208–9  
 mamlahtiyut policy of, 265  
 and Nazism, 110  
 opposition to Revolt, 213  
 opposition to/return to Prime  
   Ministership, 275  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 180, 226  
 promotion of Mapai by, 244–45  
 reaction to Shoval’s alliance of  
   parties, 296  
 and Sharon, 344  
 writes articles attacking dead Jabotinsky,  
   266. *See also* Mapai  
 Ben-Hananiah, 202, 210

- Ben-Horin, Eliahu, 103
- Bennett, Naftali  
 on annexation of Area C, 362  
 and HaBayit Hayehudi party,  
 10, 359–60  
 and Operation Protective Edge, 10
- Bentwich, Norman, 52, 91–92, 93, 98, 155
- Ben-Yair, Eleazar, 195, 202, 210
- Ben-Yefuneh, Caleb, 305
- Ben-Yosef, Shlomo (Tabacznik), hanging  
 of, 165, 167, 185–88
- Benziman, Uzi, 345
- Berdichevsky, Micha, 153
- Bergson group, 219
- Berit Ha-Biryonim, 155, 160, 261  
 attacks on German consulates, 108  
 creation of, 90–91  
 criticism over Bentwich affair by, 98  
 demonstrations by, 91  
 ideology of, 90–91  
 Jabotinsky on, and civil  
 disobedience, 119  
 and murder of Arlosoroff, 110, 112  
 and Stern, 178
- Berlin Enlightenment, 15
- Berlinchiki, 15
- Bermuda conference (1943), 207
- Bernadotte, Folke, 239–40
- Bet Sefer le-madrikhim Betar, 86–87  
 formalized as Berit Ha-Biryonim, 90–91  
 march to Western Wall and  
 aftermath, 88–89  
 training programme for, 86–87, 89
- Betar  
 and Ahimeir, 93, 120  
 and attack on King David hotel, 216  
 and Ben-Yosef hanging, 185–88  
 clashes over grave of  
 Trumpeldor, 111–12  
 Council of Regional Commands, 160  
 demand for amendment to Betar  
 oath, 166  
 demonstration against limits on  
 immigration to Palestine, 119  
 and formation of Menorah, 70  
 Grossman on Jabotinsky and, 117  
 Jabotinsky and, 97, 163  
 on developing Betar in Italy, 82  
 influence of Futurism in forging  
 Betar, 152–53  
 on messianism, 157  
 and military action, 154–59  
 model for potential Jewish army in the  
 making, 151  
 Polish Betar support of, 162–63  
 on role of Betar, 97, 98–99, 120  
 on unity in struggle for a state, 153  
 and labour youth, 76–77  
 on Maximalists, 125–26  
 military training as *raison d'être* of, 95  
 in Palestine, relationship with Irgun, 180  
 in Poland, 160  
 growth of, 175–76  
 opposition to partitioning of  
 Palestine, 164  
 and training of Irgun, 184–85  
 and Revisionists, 86  
 weekly of, 162  
 youth fights in Warsaw Ghetto,  
 251–52. *See also* Bet Sefer  
 le-madrikhim Betar
- Betar Conference (Danzig; 1931), 151, 176
- Betar Conference (Warsaw; 1938), 165–69  
 Begin on approach of Jabotinsky,  
 165–66, 167–68, 207  
 Jabotinsky on approach of  
 Begin, 166–67
- Betar Conference (Warsaw; 1939), 154
- Bethmann-Holweg, Theobald, 294
- Bet-Tsouri, Eliahu, 204
- Bevin, Ernest, 214, 218, 225, 321
- Bialik, Haim Nahman, 18, 52
- Bidault, Georges, 236
- Bikerman, Iosif, 28–29, 39
- BILU, 46n50
- bi-nationalism, 129–30
- The Birth of a Nation* (film), 53
- Bitker, Robert, 181, 182
- 'Black Hundreds,' 45
- 'Black Sabbath,' 215
- 'Black Sunday,' 182
- Blok, Alexander, 196
- blood libel, 112
- Blue-White faction, 268
- Blut fuer Ware (Blood for Goods), 254–56
- Bnei Akiva, 286–88
- Bnei Akiva yeshivah, 282
- Bodenheimer, Max, 117
- Bolshevism, Jabotinsky on, 96
- book burning, 361
- Bose, Subhas Chandra, 200
- Bosiaki (barefoot ones), 26n43

- Boulangism, 21
- Brand, Joel, 254–55, 256–57, 258, 259
- Brandeis, Louis, 144
- Brandt, Willy, 260–61
- Berit Bar-Kokhba, 122
- Berit El-Al, 178
- Berit HaCana'aim, 122
- Berit Hakana'im, 262
- Berit Shalom, 92–93, 174
- Berit Spartacus, 200
- Britain. *See* Great Britain
- British Labour party, on Zionism, 214–15
- British Mandate, 102, 139, 142
- British Union of Fascists, 106
- Bulgaria, 198
- Bund  
     Jabotinsky attacks on, 46–48  
     and Jewish problem, 43  
     and pogroms, 45
- Burg, Yosef, 307, 310, 322
- Burla, Yehudah, 281
- Bush, George W., and Sharon, 351–52, 353
- Camp David Accord (1978), 8, 9, 351  
     and Begin, 315, 318–21  
     and Gush Emunim, 331–32, 353  
     and Herut, 320, 321  
     and Kahane, 331  
     and Sadat, 8, 318  
     and Shamir, 330  
     and Sharon, 321
- Carpi, Leone, 82, 103
- Carter, Jimmy, 306, 318, 319*i*16, 319,  
     320*i*17, 323
- catastrophic Zionism, 335–36
- Cavolloti, Felice, 19
- Cavour, Camillo, 19, 81, 146, 166
- Census, 1931, protest against, 91
- Centre-Left, 1, 2  
     State List move from, 291
- Centre-Right  
     coalition with far Right, 336  
     coalition with Likud, 316  
     Lieberman move to, 357  
     and Mizrahi vote, 291  
     State List move to, 291
- Cesarò, Giovanni Colonna di, 23
- Chancellor, John, 91–92, 139
- Charmatz, Richard, 128
- Cheka, 59, 98
- Chekhov, Anton, 40
- Chirikov, Evgeny, 39
- ‘Chosen People,’ 62
- Christian Maronites, 10
- Chukovsky, Kornei, 152
- Churchill, Winston, 204, 213, 214, 313–14
- CID, 201, 202, 215, 254, 265
- civil liberties NGOs, 360
- civil marriage, 247, 356
- Civil Rights Movement, 301, 303, 310
- classic liberalism, 128
- Clermont-Tonnerre (Count), 35
- Clinton Parameters, 351
- Cohen, Geula, 318
- Cohn, Haim, 254
- Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless  
     and Palestinian Jews, 218
- Communiqué 112, 194
- Communism, Jabotinsky on  
     Russian, 74–75
- Communists  
     and Begin, 317  
     Jewish, 58, 205  
     reaction to verdict in Kastner  
         affair, 257  
     takeover in Czechoslovakia, 236. *See*  
         also Union of Soviet Socialist  
         Republics (USSR)
- constitution, 248
- Corday, Charlotte, 24, 113, 114
- corruption, 308, 337, 364
- Council of Regional Commands of  
     Betar, 160
- Creech-Jones, Arthur, 232
- Crispi, Francesco, 19
- cult of personality, Jabotinsky on, 159
- cultural romanticism, 198
- Czechoslovakia, 198  
     Communist takeover in, 236  
     Sokol youth movement in, 151, 153  
     and World War II, 191
- da Verona, Guido, 150
- D’Annunzio, Gabriele, 20, 23, 27
- Danon, Danny, 361–62
- Danzig conference (1931), 157
- D’Arneiro, Marie, 27*n*54
- Davar*, 65, 70, 73, 75
- Dayan, Moshe, 271, 287Map 6  
     attack on Shapira, 290  
     and Begin, 275, 276, 316, 317  
     and Ben-Gurion, 275–76

- Dayan, Moshe (*cont.*)  
 on disposition of territorial gains after  
 Six Day war, 284–85, 286, 317  
 on economic integration between Israelis  
 and Arabs, 286  
 and election of 1969, 291  
 and establishment of Rafi, 271  
 as Foreign Minister, 316, 317  
 opposition to extending Israeli law to  
 territories, 318  
 proposed as Minister of Defence,  
 275, 276  
 resignation of, 300–1, 305, 322  
 responsibility for Yom Kippur  
 war, 316–17  
 and security for Hebron settlers, 289  
 on Sharon as Minister of Defence, 345  
 on West Bank settlements, 280, 304
- De Valera, Eamon, 143–44, 162
- decadence, 20, 27
- Decembrists, 81
- Declaration of the Rabbis of Judea,  
 Samaria and Gaza*, 339
- decolonisation, 214, 265
- Degel ha-Torah, 333, 336, 355–56
- Deir Yassin, 232–33
- democracy  
 conflict with Caesarism, 62  
 decline of belief in, 361
- Democratic Movement for Change (DMC)  
 disintegration of, 322  
 and election of 1977, 308, 309–10  
 split in, 315
- Democratic Revisionists, 118
- demographics  
 and Begin, 306  
 haredim birth rate, 355  
 Palestinian Arab birth rate, 283
- de Ribas y Boyons, José Pacual  
 Domingo, 16
- D'Estaing, Giscard, 313
- determinism, 21
- Di Velt*, 160
- Diamanstein, Semyon, 59
- Diaspora Jews, and Land of Israel,  
 247, 339
- din rodef (law of the pursuer), 339
- DMC. *See* Democratic Movement for  
 Change (DMC)
- Dmowski, Roman, 125, 156
- Doar Hayom*, 73, 79, 84, 97–98, 119
- Dome of the Rock, attempted destruction  
 of, 331–32
- Dori, Ya'akov, 281
- Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, 40, 125
- Doumer, Paul, 114
- Dreyfus affair, 21, 41, 112
- Drezner, Yehiel, 230
- Druckman, Haim, 310, 323
- Druze, 306
- du Plessis, Armand Emmanuel, 16
- Duce cult, 84–85
- Dzerzhinskii, Feliks, 59, 79n43, 98
- Easter Uprising, 53n10, 196
- Eban, Abba  
 charged with currency regulations  
 offense, 307–8  
 on disposition of territorial gains after  
 Six Day war, 282–83, 285  
 on Lebanon war (1982), 327–28
- Eckstein, Ze'ev, 257
- economics  
 Begin policy, 324–25  
 crisis in Palestine, 75  
 Dayan on Israeli-Arab economic  
 integration, 286  
 Gahal policy, 291  
 rise in cost of living index in Israel, 306  
 Sapir on Israeli-Arab economic  
 separation, 286
- education  
 Jabotinsky on, 36  
 NRP receives education portfolio under  
 Begin, 315
- Egypt  
 Begin on defence pact with USSR, 312  
 German scientists working for, 260  
 negotiations with Israel, 1977–1979, 318  
 and return of Sinai, 321–22  
 Tehiyah calls for revision of treaty with, 331  
 Ulbricht visits, 261  
 and Yom Kippur war, 297–98
- Ehrlich, Simha, 325
- Eichmann, Adolf, 254, 256
- Einstein, Albert, 241
- Eitan, Rafael, 347
- El Al, 93, 315, 354
- elections  
 coalescence of smaller parties in 21st  
 century, 358  
 election of 1955, 259



- election of 1959, 265  
 election of 1961, 265–66  
 election of 1965, 268, 269–72  
 election of 1969, 291–94  
 election of 1973, 296–97, 299–300  
 election of 1977, 308–11, 325  
 election of 1981, 325  
 election of 1988, 334  
 election of 1992, 337–38  
 election of 1996, 334, 340–42  
 election of 1999, 358  
 election of 2001, 334  
 election of 2009, 333, 336, 358, 359  
 election of 2013, 358, 359–60  
 election of 2015, 363–65  
 first general election, 1949, 238–43  
 first TV broadcast of, 291  
 second general election, 1951, 249  
 two-vote system, 342, 358
- Eliot, T. S., 152  
 Elkind, Menahem, 90–91  
 Elon, Amos, 340  
 Elon, Benny, 353  
 Elon Moreh settlement, 317  
 ‘Emergency Conference to save the Jewish people of Europe,’ 220  
 Engels, Friedrich, 41  
 England. *See* Great Britain  
 Enlightenment, 35  
 Eshkol, Levi, 266, 271  
   becomes Prime Minister, 266  
   and Ben-Gurion, 275  
   on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 285  
   and election of 1969, 291  
   on ideological trends in Mapai-led coalitions, 315–16  
   and proposal of Dayan as Minister of Defence, 275  
   and Six Day war, 274  
   and visit to Soviet Union, 69–70  
 Etzion, Yehudah, 332  
*Evreiskaya zhizn*, 36, 37  
 exclusionism  
   and ethno-nationalist parties, 11–12  
   and religious Right, 11  
*Exodus 1947*, 231  
 Externists, 108–9  
  
 Falsh, Ze’ev, 204  
 Falwell, Jerry, 327
- far Right  
   and assassination of Rabin, 340  
   coalition with Centre-Right, 336  
   and curtailment of civil rights, 11  
   and election 1992, 338  
   on handing back territory, 339–40  
   journal of, 244  
   and Likud, 316, 333, 340  
   movement toward Likud, 333  
   opposition to evacuating Gaza settlements, 353  
   parties coalesce into National Union, 355  
   on Sharon, 349  
   support of Netanyahu by, 1. *See also* Moledet; Right; Tehiyah; Tsomet; United Torah Judaism (UTJ)
- Farmers’ Federation, 310  
 fascism  
   Ahimeir on, 81–82, 108  
   Jabotinsky on, 104–5  
 Fatah, 334, 358  
 fatalism  
   of Begin, 213, 313  
   of Jabotinsky, 45, 65, 130, 139, 155, 181  
 February Revolution, 55  
 Feder, Gottfried, 107  
 Federal Republic of Germany, and reparations, 250  
 Feiglin, Moshe, 360–61  
 Feinstein, Meir, 230  
 Feldschu, Ruben (Ben Shem), 161  
 Ferri, Enrico, 20, 23  
 Fighters’ Party, 240, 280, 333  
 ‘fighting Jew,’ 305  
 Figner, Vera, 81  
 Finland, Jews in, 65  
 first Intifada, 334, 335  
 FLN (Front de Libération Nationale), 265  
 fourth aliyah, 75, 79, 125, 324  
 ‘Framework for Peace in the Middle East,’ 319  
 Frankel, Zvi, 182  
 Free Centre, 273  
   and election of 1969, 291  
   and election of 1973, 295, 300  
   and Histadrut election of 1973, 296–97  
   Shoval advocates alliance of parties with, 296  
   split in, 308

- Freedom Movement. *See* Tenu'at ha-Herut (Freedom Movement)
- French Revolution, 35, 51
- Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), 265
- 'functional compromise,' 285
- The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel*, 357
- Futurism, 131, 151–53
- Gahal (Gush Herut Liberalim), 1
- cultivates Rafi, 271–72
  - on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 285, 286, 292
  - economic policy of, 291
  - and election of 1965, 269–71
  - and election of 1969, 291, 292
  - and election of 1973, 296–97, 300
  - and 'land for peace,' 279
  - and LLM, 282
  - Mizrahi vote for, 292
  - possible alliance with Rafi, 285
  - proposal of coalition with Mapai and Rafi, 274–75
  - and proposal of Dayan as Minister of Defence, 275
  - and re-opening of Suez Canal, 294
  - Shoval advocates alliance of parties with, 296
  - on West Bank occupation, 280
- Gahelet, 10–11, 288
- Galicia, attacks on Jews by Poles in, 64–65
- Galili, Israel, 236–37, 285, 304
- Galili plan, 299
- Galsworthy, John, 173
- Gandhi, Mohandas, 162
- Gapon (Father), 45
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 19, 33, 48, 49, 51–52, 74, 81, 121, 146, 162, 166
- Gaza
- Begin on withdrawal from, 303
  - far Right opposition to evacuating settlements, 353
  - Fatah ousted from, 358
  - Netanyahu refrains from eradicating Hamas from, 10
  - Olmert on withdrawal from, 352
  - Sharon on unilateral withdrawal from, 352
  - unilateral withdrawal from, 322, 356
- Geisiovich, Meir, 59, 60
- Gemayel, Bashir, 327, 328
- General Zionists
- appeal of Begin to, 6, 265
  - and destruction of dissidents in Lehi, 208
  - efforts to project more populist image, 263
  - election campaign cartoon of, 263*i*13
  - and election of 1955, 259
  - and election of 1959, 265
  - evolution of, 262
  - and general election of 1951, 249, 262
  - and Irgun, 177
  - and Lavon affair, 266
  - and merger with Herut, 268
  - opposition to 'saison,' 214
  - perceived economic competency of, 248–49
  - reaction to verdict in Kastner affair, 257
  - on reparations from Germany, 251
  - split with Progressives, 265
- Geneva initiative, 351, 352
- Germany
- Begin on reparations from, 251–52
  - demonstration following speech, 252
  - speech during debate in Knesset, 252–53
  - opposition to reparations from, 251
  - voluntary population transfer from Italy to, 145
- Gershenson, Mikhail, 79*n*42
- Gerstein, Eliezer, 182
- Gesher
- and election of 1996, 342
  - and election of 1999, 358
- Geva, Eli, 363
- ghetto
- Jabotinsky on, 38, 43
  - Spengler on, 62–63
- Gide, André, 149–50
- Giladi, Eliahu, 203
- Giusti, Giuseppe, 18–19
- Givli, Binyamin, 266
- Goebbels, Paul, 107
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 125
- Gogol, Nikolai, 40
- Golan Heights
- disposition after Six Day War, 285
  - Labour party opposition to return of, to Syria, 338
  - NRP calls for prevention of evacuation of settlements on, 331

- Goldmann, Nahum, 219–20
- Goldstein, Baruch, 335–36
- Golomb, Eliahu, 78, 187, 209
- Gomel pogrom, 44
- Gordon, A. D., 98
- Gordon, Yehudah Leib, 157–58
- Goren, Shlomo, 302–3
- Gorguloff, Paul, 114
- Gorky, Maxim, 29–30
- Gotowitz, Haim, 204
- Great Britain
- approves/disapproves of plan for Jewish military force, 208
  - attacks on, in Palestine, 213, 215–17
  - blockade to prevent illegal immigration, 216
  - CID, 201, 202, 215, 254, 265
  - demonstration against, in Kovno, 185
  - deteriorating relationship with
    - Jabotinsky, 140
    - and *Exodus* 1947 affair, 231
    - and hanging of Ben-Yosef, 185–86
    - hangings of Irgun members by, 230–31
    - and individual liquidations by
      - Lehi, 203–4
    - intention to leave Palestine, 232
    - and Jabotinsky, 136–37
      - on character of the English, 172–73
      - criticism of British and Mandate, 139
    - and Kastner affair, 256–57, 258, 259
  - Masaryk on, 6
  - Maximalist demand for Diaspora
    - boycott of goods, 97
  - and move toward decolonisation, 214
  - post-World War II changes within, 214
  - pro-Arab line pre-World War II, 147–48
  - proposal for Jew settlements in Uganda (1902), 8
  - reaction to killing of Jews by Palestinian Arabs, 1929, 5
  - replaces civilian/military leadership in Palestine, 1938, 184
  - Stern on, 194, 200–1
  - and World War II
    - complicity in preventing escape of Jews in occupied Europe, 206–7
    - importance of Palestine, 179
    - and sinking of *Struma*, 201
- Greece, 198
- compulsory population exchange with Turkey, 145
- Greeks, relationship with Jews in Odessa, 17
- Green Line, 10, 351
- Greenberg, Uri Zvi
  - on Berit Ha-Biryonim, 113
  - on Democratic Revisionists, 118
  - as editor of *Di Velt*, 160
  - on the fighting Jew, 99
  - and Hapoel Hatzair, 65–66
  - influence of Spengler on, 61
  - influence on Stern, 196
  - joins Revisionists, 71
  - journal of, 94, 118
  - and leadership of Herut, 242, 246
  - on leaving Europe for Palestine, 6126, 60–61
  - on Lenin, 80–81
  - and LIM manifesto, 281
  - and Maximalists, 101
  - official mourning for, 206
  - and pogrom in Lemberg, 60
  - and Polish Betar, 164
  - resignation of, 261
  - and Revisionist movement in Palestine, 79
  - as visionary poet in Polish tradition, 124–25
  - and World War II, 135
  - on Zionism, 90
- Griffith, D. W., 53
- Gromyko, Andrei, 232
- Groshkin, Rafael, 195
- Grossman, Meir, 118, 192
  - condemnation of Jabotinsky and Revisionists, 117–18
  - endorsement of parliamentary road, 118
  - and formation of Jewish State Party, 150
  - forms Gush ha-ne'emane ha-Tsohar ve-ha-Betar, 244
  - on Jabotinsky and Betar, 117
  - and Maximalists, 96, 101, 103
  - on Revisionist movement, 116
  - and Zionist Organisation, 117
- Gruenwald, Malkiel, 254
- Gruner, Dov, 230
- Gulf war, first, 339–40, 348
- Guri, Haim, 282
- Gush Avodah Revisionisti, 71–73
  - demands on Histadrut, 71
  - ideological divide with Histadrut, 75
  - and national arbitration, 76–77
  - origins of, 71–73

- Gush Emunim, 10–11, 331–32  
 alignment of Peres with religious settlers  
 of, 304  
 Begin on, 321  
 reaction to Camp David Accord,  
 331–32, 353  
 return to settlement at Sebastia, 304  
 Gush Etzion, settlement of, 1968, 286  
 Gush ha-ne'emane ha-Tsohar  
 veha-Betar, 244
- Ha'am, Ahad, 18, 153, 157–58  
*Ha'aretz*, 65, 84, 88, 174  
 HaBayit Hayehudi (Jewish Home),  
 10, 359–60  
 and election of 2013, 359–60  
 and election of 2015, 361, 365  
 and West Bank settlements, 360  
 Haganah  
 and Am Lohem, 209  
 and attack on King David hotel, 216  
 and Begin, 202  
 and hanging of Ben-Yosef, 187–88  
 and Irgun, 182  
 Jabotinsky establishes, 56–57  
 split in, 175  
 stops support of attacks on  
 British, 216  
 Haining, Robert Hadden, 187  
 Hakibbutz ha'meuhad, 282  
 Hakim, Eliahu, 204  
 Halevi, Binyamin, 257  
 Halperin, Yirmiyahu, 86, 87, 246  
 Hamas  
 bus bombings, 1996, 334  
 Netanyahu refrains from eradicating  
 from Gaza, 10  
 reaction to Oslo Accord, 338–39  
 suicide bombings by, 340  
*Hamashkif*, 241, 244  
*Hamatarah*, 118  
*Hamedina*, 162  
 Hamiflagah Ha'Tsionit Ha'Amlanut, 66  
 Hammer, Zevulun, 310  
 Hammond, Laurie, 141  
 Hamoledet, Hazit, 239  
*Haolam Hazev*, 307  
 Hapoel Hamizrahi, 288  
 Hapoel Hatzair  
 Ahimeir joins, 65  
 Greenberg joins, 65–66  
 and Mehola settlement, 288  
 possible merger with Ahdut  
 Ha'avodah, 80  
 pro-Soviet approach of, 69  
 split in, 65–66  
*Hapoel Hatzair*, 61, 65  
 haredim  
 and election 1992, 338  
 and fall of Shamir government, 336  
 and Peres, 336  
 and Poalei Agudat Yisrael, 333  
 and UTJ, 355–56. *See also* Agudat  
 Yisrael; Shas; United Torah  
 Judaism (UTJ)  
 Harel, Isser, 281  
 Hareuveni, David, 99  
 Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, 223–24.  
*See also* Jordan  
 Hashomer Hatzair, 161, 205  
 and LIM manifesto, 281  
 Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment), 18,  
 35, 323  
 Ha-tenu'ah', and election of 2015, 365  
 Ha-va'adah le-ezra ve-Hatzalah  
 (Committee for Assistance and  
 Rescue), 256  
 Haviv, Avshalom, 230  
 havlagah (self-restraint), 177, 182,  
 183, 280  
 Hazan, Ya'akov, 251  
 Hazaz, Haim, 281  
*Hazit Ha'am*, 94, 105–7  
 on assassination of Doumer, 114  
 and murder of Arlosoroff, 110  
 and Nazism, 108  
 Yeivin and desire to revive, 192  
 Hebrew Committee for National  
 Liberation, 220, 222  
 on leadership style of Begin, 242  
 Hebron  
 Allon visits settlers in, 289  
 killing of worshippers in mosque  
 in, 335–36  
 settlement of, 1968, 286, 288  
 Hebron agreement (1997), 12, 322,  
 343, 356  
 Hecht, Ben, 218, 219, 220, 221, 255–56  
 Hecht, Reuven, 282  
 Helsingfors Programme, 128, 129, 130,  
 133, 136, 318  
 Hemingway, Ernest, 150

- Herut. *See* Tenu'at ha-Herut (Freedom Movement)
- Herut*, 251, 262
- Herzl, Theodor, 343, 32–33, 38, 157–58, 161, 162–63, 199, 262
- Herzog, Chaim, and establishment of Rafi, 271
- Heydrich, Reinhard, 203
- Hilltop Youth, 336
- Himmler, Heinrich, 256
- Histadrut (General Federation of Workers in the Land of Israel), 8, 69–72, 109, 125–6, 163, 248, 263, 265, 267–8, 271, 280, 296–7, 307–8, 354
- Histadrut ha-tsiyonim ha-Amlanim, 70 and Begin, 8, 267–68, 354 establishment of, 70 and Gush Avodah Revisionisti, 71, 120, 171 ideological divide with Revisionists, 75 Jews in Poland, leave to form National Workers' Federation, 125 and Menorah, 70 and Nahalat Yehudah, 71 and national arbitration, 76 and National Labor Union, 126 Sharon on, 354 historical materialism, 20
- Hitler, Adolf, 98, 106. *See also* World War II
- Hitlerism, Jabotinsky on, 107
- Hlond, August, 251
- Hobbes, Thomas, 64
- Holocaust  
Begin on, 251  
Ben-Gurion on, 251. *See also* World War II
- Home Rule (Ireland), Jabotinsky as supporter of, 53n10
- Hoover, Herbert, 220
- Hope-Simpson report, 89, 120, 173–74
- Horovitz, Yigal, 296, 325
- Horthy, Miklós, 255
- Hulda Union, 93, 178
- human rights, 306
- Hungary. *See* Kastner affair
- Hussein (Jordan)  
Rabin signs peace agreement with, 1994, 12  
and Sharon, 349  
on West Bank settlements, 335
- idealist realism, 20
- Im Tirzu, 361
- immigration to Palestine  
aliyah Bet, 181  
and Anglo-American Committee, 214  
British blockade to prevent illegal, 216  
British refusal of Holocaust survivors, 217  
from former Soviet Union, 337, 356  
fourth aliyah, 75, 79, 125, 324  
illegal, and Irgun, 189–90  
increase during World War II, 177  
limits on, 119, 170, 214  
from Morocco, 264  
of Polish Jewish middle class, 4  
second aliyah, 281  
third aliyah, 60, 71  
and White Paper, 147, 170, 189, 207, 208, 214
- Independent Liberals  
and coalition of Rabin, 301, 303  
and election of 1977, 310  
and merger with Herut, 268  
and proposal of Dayan as Minister of Defence, 275
- Indian National Congress, 200
- individualism, Jabotinsky on, 28
- intensive agriculture, 75
- intifada  
al-Aqsa, 2, 334, 350, 357, 363  
first, 334, 335
- Iraq, bombing of Osirak nuclear reactor in, 325
- Ireland, Easter Uprising in, 53n10
- Irgun B'Yisrael, 192, 194
- Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organisation), 1, 6, 165, 175–81  
after death of Jabotinsky, 6  
anthem of, 179  
arms supplied to, 236–37  
attacks on British targets, 213, 215–16  
and Begin, 165, 171, 210, 265  
conversion into Herut, 234, 235–36  
creation of, 175, 177, 179  
dismissal of by Ben-Gurion, 244–45  
funding of, 215  
growth of, 169–70  
and hanging of Ben-Yosef, 186, 187–88

- Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organisation) (*cont.*)
- hostility to Yishuv, 230
  - ideological differences with Lehi, 210–11
  - and illegal immigration, 189–90
  - and Jabotinsky, 169, 177, 181, 188–89
  - commemoration of death, 212
  - journals of, 178, 179, 184, 193, 202–3, 207
  - military action against Arabs in 1948, 232–33
  - and NZO, 211
  - and partitioning of Palestine, 224–25
  - prison breakout by members of, 230
  - reaction to MacDonald White Paper, 170
  - reciprocity policy of, 215, 231
  - relationship with Betar in Palestine, 180
  - resignations by members of, 261
  - and the Revolt, 212–14
  - roots of, 89
  - split in, 171, 180–81, 190, 194
  - and Stern
    - attacks on British and Arabs, 189
    - control of Irgun after arrest of Raziell, 192
    - training in Polish Betar, 184–85
    - and World War II
      - and British War effort, 202–3
      - disposition toward neutrality, 193
  - Irish Republican Army (IRA), 94, 200
  - iron law of elites, 83
  - Iskra*, 27–28, 42
  - Islam, Jabotinsky on, 132
  - Islamic Jihad, reaction to Oslo Accord, 338–39
  - Islamists, opposition to Oslo Accord, 338–39
  - Israel
    - claim for reparations for Nazi crimes, 250
    - effect of rise of price of oil on, 306
    - negotiations with Egypt, 1977–1979, 318
    - rise in cost of living index in, 306
    - and Yom Kippur war, 297–98. *See also* Gaza; Palestine; West Bank
    - Israeli citizenship, 318, 357
    - Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)
      - and *Altalena* affair, 237
      - Berit Hakana'im plans for violence against, 262
      - and Lebanon war (1982), 328
      - and LIM manifesto, 281
      - and suicide bombings, 351
      - and Yom Kippur war, 297, 301. *See also* Lebanon war (1982)
    - Israeli Right
      - allegiance of IDF generals to, 295
      - on Kastner, 256
    - Israeli Workers' List. *See* Rafi
    - Italian irredentists, 135
    - Italian Revisionists, 82
    - Italian School of Political Sociology, 21–22
    - Italy
      - Italian model of dictatorship, 84
      - reunification of, 19
      - voluntary population transfer from Germany to, 145
      - and World War II, 194, 199–200. *See also* Mussolini, Benito
    - Izgoev, Aleksandr, 39
    - Jabotinsky, Eri
      - arrest of, 183
      - and Begin, 228, 246–48, 273
      - and establishment of Free Centre, 273
      - and Herut, 246, 248
      - and Jewish army, 218
      - and LIM manifesto, 281
      - and partitioning of Palestine, 228
      - as Revisionist, 246
    - Jabotinsky, Vladimir
      - on adventurism, 97–99
      - 'Afn Pripitshek,' 155, 176–77
      - and Ahimeir, 79–80, 84–85, 96, 97–98, 122, 155
      - and Amlanim, 70
      - on anarcho-libertarianism, 28
      - on anti-Semitism, 28, 123–24, 141
      - anti-war play 'Krov' of, 19
      - appeal to conscience of world, 166–67
      - on approach of Begin at Betar Conference, 166–67
      - and Arab Revolt, 1938, 130–31
      - and Arlosoroff murder, 111, 112
      - arrest in Odessa, April 1902, 24
      - on assimilation, 39, 40–42
      - attacks on Bund, 46–48
      - on autonomy
        - in Diaspora, 46
        - of national minorities, 129

- of Palestinian Revisionists, 119
- barred from returning to Palestine, 139
- 'Basta,' 73
- and Begin, 3, 4, 5, 165–66, 212
- and Ben-Gurion, 4, 109, 140, 163
- and Ben-Yosef hanging, 186–87
- on Berit Ha-Biryonim
  - and civil disobedience, 119
  - criticism of attack on Bentwich and Magnes, 98
  - demonstrations by, 155
- and Bet Sefer, 87
- and Betar, 82, 97
  - on demonstration against limits on Jewish immigration, 119
  - on role of Betar, 97, 98–99, 120–21
- in Betar uniform, 156*i*7
- and Black Sunday attacks, 183
- on Bolshevism, 96
- on Berit Shalom, 92–93
- The Bund and Zionism*, 46
- 'A Call to the Jewish Youth,' 188
- code name of, 181, 186, 194
- conversion to Zionism, 30, 37
- as correspondent for *Odesskii Listok*, 18–19
- "The Critics of Zionism," 39
- on cult of personality, 159
- cultural milieu of early life of, 14
- death of, 4, 171, 190, 198
- on demonstrations at Western Wall/
  - aftermath, August 1929, 88–89
- detention in Odessa prison for solidarity with students, 25
- 'Disobedience,' 140
- dissonance in public commentary of, 97
- and Duce cult, 84–85
- on education, 36
- education of, 14
- 'The Englishman: His Virtues, His Flaws,' 172–73
- 'The Ethics of the Iron Wall', 135–36
- exile from Odessa, 4
- exile from Palestine, 4
- fatalism of, 45, 65, 130, 139, 155, 181
- at fifth Revisionist Conference
  - on autonomy, 103
  - on fascism, 104–5
  - on leadership, 104
  - opens with speech against British Mandate, 102
- The Five*, 43–44
- focus of youthful rebellion of, 18
- formation of Haganah by, 56–57
- and Futurism, 152
- on the ghetto, 38, 43
- and Gorky, 29–30
- and Great Britain, 5, 136–37
  - on attitude of military toward Jews, 173
  - on character of the English, 172–73
  - deteriorating relationship, 140
  - and Mandate, 102, 139, 142
  - reaction to pro-Arab line, 147
- 'Hesped' (Eulogy), 38
- and Hillel Kook, 218
- historical figure of, as political tool used by Right, 2
- 'Homo Homini Lupus,' 63–65, 159
- on human need for worship, 131
- on ideal *vs.* conviction, 74
- identity issues, 27
- ideology of, 2–4
- 'Independence or Decay,' 117
- on individualism, 28
- 'Individualism and Collectivism', 28
- on individuality of Jews, 154
- on inferior/superior races, 132
- influence of Herzl on, 32–33
- influence of Margolin on, 36–37
- influences on while in Rome, 19–21
- intellectual dissonance within, 35
- on IRA, 94
- and Irgun, 169, 177, 188–89
  - approval of act of retaliation, 181
- 'The Iron Wall', 131, 133–35, 279–80
- on Islam, 132
- and Jewish Legion, 94–95, 172–73
- on Jewish national spirit, 133, 157–58
- on Jewish observance, 131
- 'Jews after the war,' 193
- at Katowice conference, 117–18
- and labour movement opponents, 77
- on Left Bank, 137–38
- legacy of, 246–47
- on Magnes, 92–93
- 'Majority,' 133
- and Maximalists
  - desire to keep, within Revisionist movement, 104–5
  - initial interpretation of actions of, 98
  - on Jabotinsky, 96, 118
  - on Revisionism of Jabotinsky, 101–2

- Jabotinsky, Vladimir (*cont.*)
- ‘The Meaning of Preparedness,’ 95
  - on military
    - knowledge *vs.* action, 94
    - legalisation of Jewish self-defence units, 142, 174–75
    - notion of underground military organisation, 96
    - plan for armed revolt, 170
    - preparedness/training, 95, 176–77
    - pro prowess/self-sacrifice, 86
  - “Mr A. R. in Dresden,” 28
  - and Mussolini, 82, 85
  - on national arbitration, 76–77
  - on national minorities, 129–31
  - on national purpose of
    - literature, 124–25
  - on national revolutionary movements, 48–49
  - and nationalism, 29, 30
  - ‘On Nationalism,’ 29
  - on Nazism
    - and *Hazit Ha’am*, 108
    - and Hitlerism, 107
    - and Revisionists, 109
  - and new Poland, 125
  - on Nordau, 153–54
  - ‘On a Bi-national Land of Israel,’ 129–30
  - on Ottoman Empire, 51
  - ‘Our Tasks,’ 127
  - on Palestinian Arabs, 131
    - model for inter-communal relations with Jews, 138–39
    - national rights of, 136
    - possibility of peace with Zionist Jews, 133–36
    - potential for violence, 145–46
  - parallels with Pinsker, 35–36
  - on parliamentary systems, 86
  - and partitioning of Palestine, 141–42, 143–45
    - expansion of Jewish state after, 146
    - opposition to, 180
    - reaction to pro-Arab line taken by British, 147
  - on paths to goal of a state, 118–19
  - and Peel Commission, 141–42
    - and compulsory/non-compulsory transfer of Arabs, 144–45
  - photo of young, 15
  - on Pilsudski, 123–24, 156–57
  - polarisation between supporters
    - and, 182
  - and Polish literature, 124–25
  - re-burial on Mount Herzl, 266
  - reflections on Palestine, 1918, 55–56
  - and religious tradition, 36–38
  - on Renner, 129
  - resigns from Zionist Executive, 133
  - return to Odessa, 27
  - on Revisionism, 77–78
  - on Revisionist movement, 116
  - on revolution, 101
  - at Rome, 14, 18–19
  - and Russia
    - antipathy toward Russian writers, 39–40
      - on Communism, 74–75
      - on intelligentsia, 26, 38
      - on ‘masses,’ 26, 28, 45–46
      - reaction to Bolshevisation, 4
      - reaction to pogroms, 39, 44–45
  - as scapegoat, 206
  - Scheib on, 167
  - self-analysis, 1910, 30–31
  - self-education of, 35–36
  - Sharon uses ideology of, on
    - settlements, 353
  - and Sinn Feiners, 53n10
  - on social redemption, 77
  - on socialism, 74
  - socialism of, 49
  - and sovereignty, 43–44
  - starts ‘help the Allies’ campaign in US, 190
  - on student demonstrations, 25–26, 27
  - support of anti-German boycott, 110
  - ‘Three Arts,’ 30–31
  - and Ukrainian nationalism, 66–67, 127
  - understanding of ‘revolutionary,’ 165
  - ‘We, the Bourgeoisie,’ 73, 75
  - on working with non-Jews, 158
  - and World War I, 135
    - awarded MBE for military services, 56
    - chooses side of England, 52
    - and Jewish Union, 52–53, 54–57, 67
      - disbandment of, 56
    - Zion Mule Corps, 54–55
  - views on, 1916, 50–51
  - views on, pre-war, 50
  - and World War II, 171, 191
  - plans for Jewish army, 193



- and youth
  - criticism of influence on
    - youth, 150–51
  - on importance of, 119–20
  - on interests of European
    - youth, 149–50
  - on taking military persona, 120
- and Zionism
  - religious Zionism, 3
  - three stages of Zionism, 158, 162–63
  - Zionist Executive, 116–17
  - Zionist Organisation, 117
  - “On Zionism,” 28–29
  - on Zola, 29
- Jabotinsky-Slavinsky accord (1921), 66
- Jacobinism, 22
- Japan, 44–45
- Jaurès, Jean, 41
- Jeffries, James J., 64
- Jellinek, Georg, 128
- Jerusalem, siege of, 253
- Jewish Agency, 70, 187
  - arrests of members of, 215
  - and attack on King David hotel, 216
  - and Hungarian Betar, 258
  - and Kastner affair, 256, 258, 259
  - and Operation Broadside, 216
  - and partitioning of Palestine, 223, 224
  - veto of military operations, 215
  - and World War II, 190
- Jewish Brigade, 208
- Jewish Communists, 58, 205
- Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah), 18, 35, 323
- Jewish Legion
  - and Jabotinsky, 94–95, 172–73
  - Polish influence on, 124
- Jewish self-defence units, legalisation
  - of, 174–75
- Jewish State Party
  - formation of, 150
  - and Irgun, 177
- Jewish Underground, 331
- Jews
  - and assimilation, 35
  - assimilation of, 35
  - British reaction to killing by Palestinian Arabs, 1929, 5
  - definition of Jew, 290, 301–3, 315, 324
  - expulsion from Russia, 1880s/1890s, 15
  - Jabotinsky on individuality of, 154
  - Mussolini on, 23
  - national consciousness of, 33–34
  - and October Revolution, 58–59
  - particularist Jewishness, increase in sense of, 361
  - Rumanian, 201, 219
  - Spengler on, 62–63
  - as trilingual people, 30
- Johnson, Jack, 64
- Jordan
  - Begin’s advocacy of regime
    - change in, 10
  - peace agreement with Rabin, 1994, 12
  - and Six Day war, 276
- Joyce, James, 152
- Judea, 322
- Julian the Apostate, 81
- Kach, 331, 335
- Kadets, 28
- Kadima party, 1
  - and election of 2009, 333, 358, 359
  - formation of, 353–54
- Kadum settlement, 317
- Kahan Commission, 328, 347
- Kahan Report, 313
- Kahane, Meir, 296
  - assassination of, 335–36
  - and Camp David Accord, 331
  - election to Knesset, 1984, 331
  - and resurrection of Arab-Jew population
    - exchange, 333
  - and youth vote, 331
- Kahane Hai, 336
- Kaplan, Dora, 81, 113
- Kariv, Avraham, 281
- Kashani, Eliezer, 230
- kashrut, Jabotinsky on, 131
- Kastner, Rudolf
  - assassination of, 257
  - background of, 254
- Kastner affair, 254–60
  - basis of silence in Hungary, 255, 256
  - Begin on, 258–59
  - charges against Brand, 254–55, 256–57
  - charges against Kastner, 254
  - exoneration of Kastner, 257–58
  - and Blood for Goods, 254–56
  - Herut on, 258
  - overturning of verdict in, 257, 258
  - reaction to verdict in, 257

- Kastner affair (*cont.*)  
 and supportive testimony on behalf of SS  
 officer Kurt Becher, 255–56
- Katowice conference (1933), 115,  
 117–18, 155
- Katz, Shmuel, 237
- Katzir, Ephraim, 306
- Katznelson, Berl, 108–9, 111, 144, 281
- Katznelson, Yosef, 65, 87, 101
- Kaufman, Chaim, 320
- Kautsky, Karl, 41
- Kerensky, Alexander, 55
- Khartoum, on disposition of territorial  
 gains after Six Day war, 285
- Khlebnikov, Velimir, 152
- Kielce pogrom, 251
- Kimmerling, Baruch, 333–34
- King David hotel, attack on,  
 215–16, 229–30
- Kingsley-Hitt (Major), 88
- Kiriath Arba, 288, 289
- Kiriath Shemona, killing of children at, 298
- Kishinev pogrom, 41, 44, 108–9
- Kissinger, Henry, 303
- Kitchener (Lord), 55
- Klausner, Joseph, 178  
 with Begin at speech on post-war  
 Germany, 252  
 stands for President of Israel against  
 Weizmann, 244
- Knesset  
 debate on diplomatic relations with West  
 Germany, 260, 261  
 debate on law to commemorate the  
 fallen, 245–46  
 number of speakers in, 245  
 raising of threshold for representation  
 in, 338  
 vote on Oslo Accord, 338  
 vote to remove settlers at Sebastia on  
 West Bank, 304  
 and ‘Who is a Jew?’ debate, 290
- Koestler, Arthur, 24–25
- Kollek, Teddy, 271
- Kook, Avraham Yitzhak, 8–9  
 and Begin, 314–15  
 and Gahal, 10  
 and murder of Arlosoroff, 111  
 refusal to sign LIM manifesto, 281
- Kook, Hillel, 22111  
 and *Altalena* affair, 236  
 and American League for a Free  
 Palestine, 220–21  
 awareness raising in US about Jewish  
 treatment/rescue, 218–20  
 background of, 218  
 on Ben-Gurion, 248  
 departure from Herut, 248  
 and government in exile of Jewish  
 state, 220  
 ideological differences with  
 Begin, 221–22  
 on Law of Return, 247  
 and leadership of Herut, 242, 246  
 on legacy of Jabotinsky, 246–47  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 228  
 pseudonym of, 218  
 on World Zionist Organisation, 247
- Kook, Zvi Yehudah, 8–9  
 condemnation of Begin and withdrawal  
 from Sinai, 322  
 messianic and redemptionist school of  
 thought of, 289–90  
 yeshivah of, 288
- Korczak, Janusz, 298
- Korolenko, Vladimir, 29
- Kovno, demonstration against British  
 in, 185
- Kress, Friedrich, 121
- Kropotkin (Prince), 79n41
- Kuntres*, 65, 78
- Kurds, 247
- Kvutza Ha-Amlanim (Trudoviki), 69
- La Guardia, Fiorello, 220
- La’am  
 and the Likud, 308  
 and Camp David Accord, 321  
 and financial policy, 325
- Labour movement  
 and Jabotinsky, 140  
 opposition to ‘saison,’ 214  
 and the Revolt, 213
- ‘Labour Movement for a Whole Land of  
 Israel’, 282
- Labour party  
 Allon Plan of, 285–86, 335  
 and arms sales to Africa, 307  
 breakdown of coalition with Likud, 336  
 coalition government of, 2  
 decline of, 352, 359  
 decrease in seats in 1980s elections, 330–31

- on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 284
- efforts of Peres to mitigate secular image of, 335
- and election of 1992, 337–38
- and election of 1977, 310, 317
- and election of 1981, 325
- and election of 1996, 334, 342
- and election of 1999, 358
- and election of 2009, 359
- and election of 2015, 365
- endorsement of Galili plan by, 299
- forms Ma'arakh (Labour Alignment) with Mapam, 283
- internal power struggles, 303
- on Lebanon war (1982), 327–28, 347
- and Likud, 308, 335, 336
- as non-centrist party, 358
- opposition to return of Golan Heights to Syria, 338
- and possible negotiations with PLO, 335
- and Rafi, 283
- replacement of coalition with Likud by Right, 336
- Shoval advocates alliance with former Rafi members in, 296
- on Six Day war, 278
- support for Dayan, 285
- Labour Zionism
  - and Begin, 164
  - influences on, 49
- Labour Zionists
  - appeal of Begin to, 6
  - and partitioning of Palestine, 144
- Labriola, Antonio, 20–21, 22
- Labriola, Arturo, 22
- Lamdan, Yitzhak, 60
- Lamerhav faction, 246, 248
- land, private ownership of, 75
- 'land for peace,' 9, 279, 280, 289, 293, 362
- Land of Israel Movement (LIM), 281–83
- Land of Israel party, 292–93
  - labour committee for, 296
- Lapid, Yair, 360
- Laqueur, Walter, 25
- Lassalle, Ferdinand, 48, 186
- Lavon, Pinhas, 266
- Lavon affair, 266
- Law of Return, 247, 302, 310
- law of the pursuer (*din rodef*), 339
- Lawrence of Arabia, 55. *See* Allenby, Edmund
- Le Bon, Gustav, 21
- Le Figaro*, 152
- leadership, Jabotinsky on, 104
- League of Nations, 74, 137
- Lebanon
  - Begin's advocacy of regime change in, 10
  - wars in, 326–27
- Lebanon war (1982), 312, 327–28, 345–48
  - cost of, 348
  - demonstrations against, 347
  - Labour party on, 327–28, 347
  - and Operation Big Pines, 346
  - and Operation Little Pines, 346
  - and Sabra/Shatilla massacres, 328, 347
  - and Syria, 346
  - US on, 346, 347
  - USSR on, 346
- Lebanon war (2006), 2
- Lebedentsev, Vsevolod, 24
- Left
  - Allon as preference for Minister of Defence, 275
  - blames Right for Rabin assassination, 340
  - decline of, 359
  - on idealism, 282
  - opposition to Lebanon war (1982), 347
- Left Poale Zion, 208
- Lehi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel)
  - after death of Jabotinsky, 6
  - attacks on Ben-Gurion, 238–40
  - attacks on British targets, 215
  - on Britain as central enemy, 209–10
  - declared terrorist organisation and outlawed, 240
  - dismissal by Ben-Gurion, 244–45
  - dissidents in, 208–11
  - escape of members from prison, 203, 230
  - ideological differences with Irgun, 210–11
  - and individual liquidations, 203–4, 213, 239–40
  - internationalist dimension to, 210
  - and LIM manifesto, 281
  - members commit suicide, 230
  - and partitioning of Palestine, 224
  - political marganilisation of, 280–81
  - and population exchange, Arabs in Palestine/Jews in Arab states, 333
  - pro-Soviet orientation of, 240
  - roots of, 89

- Lehi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel) (*cont.*)  
 split into factions after elections of  
 1949, 244  
 and Stern, 209
- Lemberg pogrom, 60
- Lenin, Vladimir, 4, 27–28, 58  
 Ahimeir on, 98  
 attempted assassination of, 81, 113  
 Begin on, 313–14  
 on Jews filling gaps in post-World War I  
 bureaucracy, 58  
 opposition to Bund, 46–47  
 rejection of non-territorial  
 autonomy, 128  
 Spengler on, 61
- Levinger, Moshe  
 and Allon, 289  
 on disposition of territorial gains after  
 Six Day war, 284  
 and Gahal, 288  
 and settlement in Hebron, 288
- Levy, David, 343
- Liberals  
 dependency on Herut, 324  
 differences between Herut and, 268  
 on disposition of territorial gains after  
 Six Day war, 286, 292  
 economic policy of, 324–25  
 and election of 1961, 266  
 and election of 1965, 268  
 and establishment of diplomatic  
 relations with West Germany, 268  
 give up individual structure, 334  
 merger between Herut and, 268, 274  
 and private enterprise/small  
 business, 268  
 and religious reform, 268
- Lichtheim, Richard, 96, 117
- Lieberman, Avigdor, 357*–*19  
 attack on civil liberties NGOs, 360  
 and destruction of Hamas in  
 Gaza, 358  
 dismissed from cabinet by Sharon, 353  
 as Minister of Transport, 354  
 move to Centre-Right, 357  
 and Operation Cast Lead, 10, 358  
 and territorial exchange, 363  
 and two state solution, 10. *See also*  
 Yisrael Beiteinu
- Likud, 6
- alliance with Labour, 335  
 and arms sales to Africa, 307  
 and assassination of Rabin, 340  
 becomes one party, 334–35  
 breakdown of coalition with  
 Labour, 336  
 coalition with Centre-Right, 316  
 consolidation of, 308–11  
 criticism of Netanyahu, 361  
 decrease in seats in 1980s  
 elections, 330–31  
 displacement of primary ideology by  
 security concerns, 9–10  
 effect of Free Centre split on, 308  
 and election of 1973, 300  
 and election of 1977, 309–10,  
 318, 325  
 and election of 1981, 325  
 and election of 1988, 334  
 and election of 1992, 337  
 and election of 1996, 334, 341  
 and election of 2001, 334  
 and election of 2003, 352  
 and election of 2009, 358, 359  
 and election of 2013, 358  
 and election of 2015, 365  
 evolution of, 1  
 and far Right, 316, 333, 340  
 on first Intifada as military, not political  
 problem, 335  
 fragmentation of, 2, 321, 322  
 fragmentation of alliance with  
 Herut, 316  
 and Histadrut election of  
 1973, 296–97  
 loss of seats under Netanyahu,  
 354  
 and New Right, 360–62  
 as non-centrist party, 358  
 and Oslo Accord, 338, 342–43  
 popularity in twenty-first century, 1  
 replacement of coalition with Labour by  
 Right, 336  
 and resignation of Rabin, 307  
 on security fence, 339  
 and Sharon  
 becomes leader of, 350  
 leaves to form Kadima, 353–54  
 return to power under, 2  
 split in, 338  
 support of Sebastia settlers, 304

- Likud-led governments of the Right  
 increase of West Bank settlements  
   under, 334  
 violence as impetus for voters to elect, 334
- LIM (Land of Israel Movement), 281–83
- Lithuania, demonstration against British  
 in, 185
- Livni, Tsipi, 1, 261, 333
- Lloyd-George, David, 55, 66, 173
- Lod airport killings, 298
- Lodz Declaration, 117
- Lombardo, Roberto, 24
- Lubavitcher Rebbe, 302, 303, 314–15,  
 336, 355
- Lubenchik, Naftali, 200
- Lubetkin, Zivia, 281
- Lurie, Moshe, 66, 69
- Luxemburg, Rosa, 41
- Luzzati, Luigi, 18, 74
- Lytleton, Oliver, 203
- Ma'alot, killing of schoolchildren in, 298
- Ma'arakh (Labour Alignment), 271, 283  
 on disposition of territorial gains after  
   Six Day war, 292  
 and election of 1969, 291, 292  
 and election of 1973, 299, 300  
 and election of 1977, 309–10  
 and resignation of Rabin, 307  
 and Rogers Plan, 293–94  
 and Sebastia settlement, 305
- Ma'ariv, 308
- Maccabi (youth group), 67
- MacDonagh, Thomas, 53/110, 53
- MacDonald, Malcolm, 186, 187
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 175
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 152
- Machover, Yonah, 67  
 and formation of Jewish State Party, 150
- Mack, Julian, 144
- MacMichael, Harold, 184, 204, 213
- Madrid conference (1991), 8, 337
- Magnes, Judah, 92–93, 98, 129–30, 174
- Maimonides, 38, 198
- Malkhut Yisrael, 257, 262
- mamlahiyut policy, 265
- Manchester Guardian*, 56
- Mapai, 1  
 Ahimeir attacks ideology of, 206  
 airbrushes members of Betar in Warsaw  
   Ghetto, 251–52  
 and Arlosoroff murder, 110, 111  
 and Begin  
   accuses of collaboration with British  
     CID, 265  
   on lack of tolerance of, 265  
   rejects idea to join coalition with, 264
- Ben-Gurion promotion of, 244–45  
 and declaration of independence, 234  
 and dissidents in Lehi, 208–11  
 and election of 1955, 259  
 and election of 1959, 265  
 and election of 1961, 266, 271  
 and election of 1965, 269–71  
 election poster, c. 1948, 711  
 and establishment of diplomatic  
   relations with West  
     Germany, 260  
 and general election of 1951, 249  
 and Kastner affair, 257, 258  
 and 'land for peace,' 280, 283  
 and Lavon affair, 266  
 and LIM manifesto, 281, 282–83  
 proposal of coalition with Rafi and  
   Gahal, 274–75  
 protests against secularism of, 262  
 and Six Day war, 278  
 support of partition of Palestine, 222  
 universalism of, 265  
 and West Bank settlements,  
   280, 286
- Mapam  
 and coalition of Rabin, 303  
 forms Ma'arakh (Labour Alignment)  
   with Labour party, 283  
 and proposal of Dayan as Minister of  
   Defence, 275  
 on reparations from Germany, 251
- Marat, Jean-Paul, 24, 113, 114
- Margolin, Moses, 36–37
- Margolin, Rachel, 36/113
- Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso, 131, 152
- Markov, Nikolai, 49
- Maronites, 10, 247
- marriage  
 civil, 247, 356  
 regulation of Jewish in Finland, 65
- Marshak, Benny, 282
- Martin, Clifford, 231
- Martov, Julius, 47
- Marx, Groucho, 220
- Marx, Karl, 41

- Marxism  
 fragmentation/evolution in Italy,  
 21–22, 24  
 fragmentation/evolution in  
 Russia, 28. *See also* Ahdut  
 Ha'avodah; Mapam
- Marxist Zionists, 174  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 144
- Marzel, Baruch, 336
- Masada, 195, 202, 217, 331
- Masaryk, Jan, 5, 151
- Matzad, 323, 333
- Mauritius, 194
- maximalism, 3
- Maximalist Revisionists, resignations  
 of, 261
- Maximalists, 11  
 demand for Diaspora boycott of British  
 goods, 97  
 and Grossman, 96, 101, 103  
 on Jabotinsky, 96, 118, 140  
 and Nazism, 106–8, 109  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 142–43  
 Polish, demands of, 163  
 on Revisionist movement and Zionist  
 Organisation, 116  
 views of Betar on, 125–26
- Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 152, 179, 196
- Mazzini, Giuseppe, 19, 67, 81, 146
- Mehola, settlement at, 286–88
- Meimad, 358
- Meir, Golda  
 on definition of Palestinian, 298–99  
 and election of 1969, 291  
 fight to succeed, 303–4  
 on ideological trends in Mapai-led  
 coalitions, 315–16  
 and Law of Return, 302  
 and partitioning of Palestine,  
 144, 222  
 and proposal of Dayan as Minister of  
 Defence, 275  
 resignation of, 300–1  
 and Rogers Plan, 293–94  
 and West Bank and Arab  
 inhabitants, 285  
 and Yom Kippur war, 297
- melting pot, 128
- Menelik (Ethiopia), 19
- Menorah, 70–71
- Meretz, 338, 359, 365
- Meridor, Dan  
 on attack by Lieberman on civil liberties  
 NGOs, 360  
 leaves Likud party, 343  
 on Likud as liberal centrist  
 movement, 340  
 opposition to Israel as Jewish state  
 proposal, 12
- Merkaz Harav, 288
- Merlin, Shmuel, 218, 228, 246, 248
- messianic/redemptionist school of thought  
 of Zvi Yehudah Kook, 289
- messianism, 157  
 of Jewish Bolsheviks, 58, 59  
 within religious Zionism, 8–9  
 of Stern, 198–99
- Metzudah*, 178, 179
- Michels, Robert, 21, 26, 82–83
- Mickiewicz, Adam, 51, 94, 94*n*30,  
 124–25, 156
- militarism, 78
- military service exemption, 315
- Miliukov, Pavel, 40
- minorities, Jabotinsky on, 129–31
- Mitzna, Amram, 352
- Mizrahi, opposition to 'saison,' 214
- Mizrahim  
 Begin cultivates, 264  
 Begin on immigrants, 249  
 and Centre-Right, 291  
 and destruction of dissidents in Lehi, 208  
 and election 1992, 338  
 and election of 1977, 310  
 and election of 1981, 325  
 and election of 1996, 342  
 and election of 1999, 358  
 form Shas party, 323  
 form Tami party, 323  
 and Irgun, 177  
 riots in Wadi Saib, Haifa, 1959, by, 264.  
*See also* Shas
- Mohammed, Abdul Rahim Haj, 184
- Moledet  
 formation of, 333  
 and formation of HaBayit  
 Hayehudi, 359  
 joins coalition, 336  
 joins National Union, 355  
 leaves coalition, 337  
 and resurrection of Arab-Jew population  
 exchange, 333

- and voluntary transfer of Arabs from Palestine, 335  
wins seats in Knesset, 335. *See also* far Right
- Molotov, Vyacheslav, 225
- monism, 93, 96, 158, 230
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de, 152
- Morashah, and election of 1984, 333
- Morrison-Grady Plan, 223, 224
- Morton, Jeffrey, 204
- Mościcki, Ignacy, 171
- moshavniks, and election of 1977, 310
- Mosley, Oswald, 105–6
- Moyne (Lord), 204, 209, 213, 258
- multi-national state, Renan on, 128–29
- Munich crisis, 165
- Munich Olympics killings, 298
- 'Murder in Nahalal', 112/113
- Muslims, and demonstrations at Western Wall/aftermath, 1929, 88–89
- Mussolini, Benito, 22, 23  
Ahimeir on, 80, 98  
ideology of, 24  
and Jabotinsky, 82, 85  
and Jews, 23, 82  
Spengler on, 61  
support by professors, 23. *See also* Italy
- Nahmanides, 38, 359–60
- Nahalat Yehudah, 71
- 'Nahshon,' 83
- Nakar, Meir, 230
- Napoleon, 51, 98, 114
- Naquet, Alfred, 42–43
- Narodnaya Volya, 198
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 260, 261, 265, 274, 294
- national arbitration, 76–77
- National Health Service, 214
- National Labor Union, and Histadrut, 126
- National Military Organisation. *See* Irgun Zvai Leumi
- National Religious Party (NRP), 11  
and Begin, 301, 315  
and definition of 'Jew,' 302  
on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 284, 292  
and election of 1992, 338  
and election of 1969, 291  
and election of 1977, 310
- and formation of HaBayit Hayehudi, 359
- fragmentation of, 323
- joins coalition of Rabin, 301, 302–3
- opposition to Camp David Accord, 321
- and prevention of evacuations on West Bank/Golan Heights, 331
- and proposal of Dayan as Minister of Defence, 275
- receives education portfolio under Begin, 315
- and resignation of Rabin, 307
- and Six Day war, 278
- support of Sebastia settlers, 304
- and West Bank settlements, 280
- withdraws from Barak government, 351
- Young Guard of, 288, 289–90  
agrees with Dayan's attack on Shapira, 290  
decision to join coalition of Rabin, 303  
definition of 'Jew,' 301, 302–3  
election of 1977, 310
- national revolutionary movements, Ahimeir on, 84
- national syndicalism, Ahimeir on, 100
- National Union, 336, 353, 358–59
- National Workers' Federation (NWF), formation of, 125
- nationalism, Jabotinsky on, 29, 30
- Navon, Yitzhak, 347
- Nazis, and 1932 election, 106. *See also* World War II
- Nazism  
Ahimeir on, 106  
Maximalists on, 106–7  
Yeivin on, 106
- Negri, Ada, 32
- Nekrassov, Nikolai, 40
- Neriah, Zvi, 282
- Nes Ziona, 71
- Netanyahu, Binyamin, 4–5, 364i20  
becomes Prime Minister, 334  
on borders of Israel, 339  
bribery allegation against, 350  
demonisation of Rabin by, 339  
and election of 1996, 340–42  
and election of 2013, 358  
and election of 2015, 363–64  
on eradication of Hamas from Gaza, 10  
ethno-nationalist parties support of, 1

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19378-8 - The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron

Colin Shindler

Index

[More information](#)

400

## Index

- Netanyahu, Binyamin (*cont.*)  
 far Right parties support of, 1  
 forms joint list for electoral purposes, 342  
 and Likud  
   criticism of Netanyahu, 361  
   prevention unravelling of, 338  
   transformation of, 9–10  
 as Minister of Finance, 354  
 public persona of, 358  
 reciprocity policy of, 341  
 on recognition of Israel as Jewish state, 12  
 and religious education, 355  
 religious parties support of, 1  
 resignation from Sharon government, 10  
 restoration to premiership, 2  
 security focus of, 341  
 and settlement freeze, 362  
 on territories, 343, 353  
 in US in 1980s, 341  
 New Israel Fund, 361  
 New Party, 105–6  
 New Right, 359–65  
   and HaBayit Hayehudi, 10, 359–60  
   and Likud, 360–62  
   and reinvigoration of Zionist values, 361. *See also* far Right  
 New Zionist Organisation (NZO)  
   and Begin, 164n60, 202  
   establishment of, 140–41  
   and Irgun, 180, 211  
   and partitioning of Palestine, 142  
   on Peel plan, 145  
   and sinking of *Struma*, 201  
   and Treaty of London, 223  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 61, 93, 153  
 nihilism, 20, 203, 316, 337  
 NILI, 121–22, 199  
 Nivharim, Asefat, 119  
 Nixon, Richard, arming of Israel during Yom Kippur war, 297  
 Norbut-Luczynski, Aleksander, 253  
 Nordau, Max, 52, 153–54, 157–58
- October Manifesto, 45  
 October Revolution, 23, 49, 58–59, 81  
 Odessa  
   anti-Jewish actions in, 17  
   arrest of Jabotinsky in, 1902, 24  
   as center of political activity, 17  
   economic opportunities for Jews in, 17  
   founding/early years of, 16  
   Greek/Jewish relationship in, 17  
   languages spoken in, 14  
   as multicultural, 17  
   number of Jews in, 1892, 14  
   revolt against Judaism by Jews in, 15–16  
   tolerance toward Jews in, 16  
   Zionist thinkers in, 18  
*Odesskii Listok*, 18–19  
*Odesskii Novosti*, 27  
 Ofer, Avraham, 307  
 oil, effect of rise of price on Israel, 306  
 Olmert, Ehud  
   and establishment of Free Centre, 273  
   joins Kadima, 354  
   opposition to withdrawal from Sinai, 321  
   and resignation of Begin, 272  
   on withdrawal from Gaza/West Bank, 352  
 ‘open bridges’ policy, 285  
 Operation Big Pines, 346  
 Operation Broadside, 216  
 Operation Cast Lead, 10, 358  
 Operation Defensive Shield, 2  
 Operation Determined Path, 2  
 Operation for Peace in Galilee, 346  
 Operation Iron Mind, 328  
 Operation Little Pines, 346  
 Operation Protective Edge, 361–62  
 Orland, Ya’akov, 281  
 Orzeszkowa, Eliza, 125  
 Osirak nuclear reactor bombing, 325  
 Oslo Accord (1993), 8, 322, 338–40, 351, 356  
 Ottolenghi, Giuseppe, 18  
 Ottoman Empire  
   Jabotinsky on, 51  
   and World War I, 54, 58, 132  
 Oz, Amos, 313
- Paglin, Amihai ‘Gidi,’ 235  
   and establishment of Free Centre, 273  
   and leadership of Herut, 242  
   resignation of, 261. *See also* Irgun  
 Paice, Mervyn, 231  
 Palestine  
   Arab assaults, 1938, 184  
   British reaction to killing of Jews by Arabs, 1929, 5  
   and hanging of Ben-Yosef, 185–88



- partitioning of, 140–48, 222–28  
 broad opposition to, 147  
 Churchill on, 213  
 opposition by Arab Higher Committee, 184  
 opposition by Betar in Poland, 164  
 opposition by Jabotinsky to, 180, 183  
 Shamir on, 8  
 and Zionist Left, 147  
 Polish immigrants in, 4, 75  
 political vacuum, 1937, 184  
 reflections of Jabotinsky on, 1918, 55–56  
 Sharon on establishing separate state, 351, 352  
 US and evacuation of Palestinian refugees, 353. *See also* Gaza; West Bank
- Palestinian Authority, arming of by Rabin, 339
- Palestinian, definition of, 298–99
- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)  
 leaves Beirut, 347  
 and Lebanon war (1982), 345–46  
 possible negotiations with Labour party, 335
- Palestinian nationalism, 298
- Palgi, Yoel, 255
- Pasha, Jamal, 121
- Pantaleoni, Maffeo, 23
- parliamentarianism, Ahimeir on, 84
- particularism, 43
- Passfield (Lord), 91–92
- Passfield White Paper, 89, 91, 97, 120, 173–74
- passivity, Yeivin on, 99–100
- patriotism, 83
- Peace Now movement, 328
- Pearse, Paidrig, 196
- Peel Commission, 141–42, 180  
 recommendations of, 144, 183
- Peres, Shimon, 287  
 Map 6  
 and Arafat, 339–40, 351  
 and arms sales to Africa, 306–7  
 differences with Rabin over settlements, 305  
 on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 284, 285, 286  
 efforts to mitigate secular image of Labour, 335  
 and election of 1977, 308  
 and election of 1981, 327  
 and election of 1996, 340, 342  
 and establishment of Rafi, 271  
 and haredi support, 336  
 joins Kadima, 354  
 opposition to nuclear reactor bombing, 325  
 proposal of Mapai, Rafi, Gahal coalition, 274–75  
 and settlers at Sebastia, 304–5  
 Sharon on, 349  
 and South Africa, 306–7  
 and succession after Meir, 303–4  
 on withdrawal from Sinai, 322
- Petliura, Symon, 66, 67–68
- Phalangists, 313, 327, 328, 347
- Pilsudski, Józef, 80  
 Ahimeir on, 125  
 Begin on, 162  
 Jabotinsky on, 123–24, 156–57  
 and Russo-Japanese war, 52
- Pinsk massacre (1919), 253
- Pinsker, Leon, 18, 35–36, 47, 157–58, 162–63
- Plekhanov, Georgi, 47
- Poale Zion, 49, 281
- Poalei Agudat Yisrael, 333
- pogroms  
 in Poland, 250–51  
 reaction of Jabotinsky to, in Russia, 39, 44–45  
 in Russia, 39, 44–45  
 in Russian Empire, 41, 44, 108–9  
 in Ukraine, 60
- Poland  
 anti-Semitism in, 123–24  
 aspiration to expand borders, 317  
 economic situation of Jews in, 123  
 emigration of Polish Jewish middle class to Palestine, 4  
 escalation of violence against returning Jews in, 250–51  
 independence of, 58  
 influence of poetry of, on Jabotinsky, 124  
 Jabotinsky visits, 1927, 75  
 Jews leave Histadrut to form National Workers' Federation, 125  
 and Pinsk massacre (1919), 253  
 pogroms in, 250–51

- Poland (*cont.*)
- Polish delegates to Vienna Conference, 125
  - population of Jews in, 122–23
  - reports of mass extermination of Jews in, 205
  - Revisionists in, 122–23
  - ‘Poles First’ policy, 123
  - Polish Legion, 52
  - Polish Maximalists, 125–26
  - Polish nationalism, 156–57
  - Polish-Russian war, 59–60
  - Polish-Soviet war, 253
  - politics of identity, and voting intention, 333–34
  - population exchange
    - Arabs in Palestine and Jews in Arab states, 333
    - compulsory, between Greece and Turkey, 145
  - Porat, Hanan, 284, 289, 355
  - Porush, Meir, 355–56
  - Prezzolini, Giuseppe, 22
  - Pritsker, Yitzhak, 204
  - Pro Israele, 23
  - Progressives, 262
    - and election of 1959, 265
    - split with General Zionists, 265
  - Propes, Aharon, 169
  - Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 23
  - Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 22
  - Provisional State Council, 245
  - Prussians, 51
  - Purishkevich, Vladimir, 49
  - Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevech, 40
- Qibya, 345
- Quartet’s Road Map, 352
- Quisling, Vidkun, 261
- rabbis
  - elevation of authority of, 11
  - right to authorise conversions, 315
  - in territories, opposition to Oslo Accord, 339
- Rabin, Yitzhak
  - and Arafat, 339–40
  - and arming of Palestinian Authority, 339
  - and arms sales to Africa, 306–7
  - assassination of, 340, 349
  - becomes prime minister (1974), 301
  - cataclysmic sequence of events and downfall of, 307–8
  - Civil Rights Movement joins coalition of, 301
  - decline of Labour party under, 352
  - demonisation of, after Oslo Accord, 339
  - differences with Peres over settlements, 305
  - and election of 1977, 308
  - and election of 1992, 337–38
  - forms coalition, 301
  - and military policy, 327
  - ordered to fire on *Altalena*, 237
  - peace agreement with Hussein, 1994, 12
  - reclaims leadership of Labour party, 337
  - and religious settlers, 304
  - resignation of, 307
  - and Sebastia settlement, 304, 305
  - on security fence, 339
  - and Sharon, 344
  - and succession after Meir, 303–4
  - and West Bank settlements, 304, 337–38
  - wife of, 307, 339, 340
  - world situation upon election of, 306
- race, Jabotinsky on inferior/superior, 132
- racism, Ahimeir on, 106
- Rafi (Israeli Workers’ List), 271
  - on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 284
  - and election of 1969, 291
- Gahal cultivates, 272
- and Labour party, 283
- and LIM manifesto, 281
- possible alliance with Gahal, 285
- proposal of coalition with Mapai and Gahal, 274–75
- and West Bank settlements, 280
- Rassviet*, 78, 79
- Ratosh, Yonatan, 165, 203
- Raziel, David, 178*i*9
  - alignment with Jabotinsky, 189
  - arrest of, 192
  - background of, 178–79
  - code name of, 194
  - death of, 198
  - and hanging of Ben-Yosef, 186
  - ideological differences with Stern, 194, 195, 202
  - and Irgun, 169, 177, 182

- authorises counter-attack against Arabs, 182–83
- resigns/reinstated as commander, 190
- and Jabotinsky, 3
- support for armed revolt plan, 170 and World War II, 192, 193
- Razzik, Aref Abdul, 184
- Reagan, Ronald, 314, 327, 346
- Redemptionist Zionism, 8, 288
- redemptive process, 288
- religious figures, and LIM manifesto, 282
- religious parties
  - and Begin, 247, 268
  - opposition to Oslo Accord, 338. *See also* Shas
- religious reform, and Liberals, 268
- religious Right
  - and exclusionism, 11
  - and Kahane, 331
  - protests against secularism of Mapai-led government, 262
  - use of violence by, 331–32
- religious settlers, motivation for West Bank settlements, 286–88
- religious Zionism
  - change to Zionist religion, 288
  - and Jabotinsky, 3
  - and Mehola settlement, 288
  - move from Left to Right by, 8–9
  - original mission of, 8
- religious Zionists
  - appeal of Begin to, 6
  - and redemptive process, 288
- Remba, Itzik, 87/85, 244
- Renan, Ernest, 22, 115, 128–29
- Renner, Karl (Rudolf Springer), 128–29
- reparations from Germany
  - Begin during debate on, 252–53
  - pre-debate speech by Begin, 251–52
  - reaction of Malkhut Yisrael to, 262
  - results of vote, 253
- Revisionism
  - Ahimeir on, 84
  - Begin on, 161–62
- Revisionist Conference in Vienna (1932), 100–5
  - call for resignation of Executive members, 103
  - Maximalist delegates to, 100–1
  - Polish delegates to, 125
- Revisionist Executive, 103, 116, 118, 126, 160, 162, 218
- Revisionist intelligentsia, 59
- Revisionist World Conference (Poland; 1934), 163
- Revisionists, 11, 12
  - after death of Jabotinsky, 6
  - autonomy of action in Palestine, 115
  - and Begin, 236
  - on British perception of pogroms, 5
  - daily of, 241, 244
  - demands of Polish Maximalists on, 125–26
  - demonstrations against, 112
  - in Diaspora, 103
  - and election of 1949, 244
  - establishment of, 78
  - founding of union in Palestine, 78
  - and Irgun, 177, 182
  - and Jabotinsky, 116
  - and Jewish fighting force, 86
  - joint list of candidates proposed by, 242–43
  - and Katowice conference (1933), 115
  - on leadership style of Begin, 242
  - and LIM manifesto, 281
  - members in executive of Herut, 244
  - and Nazism, 109
  - need for remodelling along revolutionary lines, 165
  - negotiations break down with Herut, 240–41
  - opposition to Revolt, 212–13
  - and partitioning of Palestine, 224
  - Polish national spirit as example for, 124
  - reaction to Treaty of London, 223
  - schism within, 140
  - split among, 115–18
  - support of anti-German boycott, 110
  - Yiddish publication of, 160
  - and Zionist Organisation, 115, 116, 117. *See also* Gush Avodah Revisionisti
- revolution, Jabotinsky on, 101
- Revolution of 1905, 45, 46
- revolutionary syndicalism, 22, 24, 82
- Ricardo, David, 41
- Rice, Condoleezza, 353
- Right
  - armed struggles in expansion of, 334
  - cultivation by Begin, 303
  - on expansion of Herut, 280

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19378-8 - The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron

Colin Shindler

Index

[More information](#)

404

*Index*

- Right (*cont.*)  
 and Irgun, 182  
 rise of anti-intellectualism in, 12–13  
 use of figure of Jabotinsky as political tool, 2. *See also* Centre-Right; far Right; religious Right
- Rimalt, Elimeleh, 251
- Risorgimento, 51–52, 166
- ritual slaughter, banned in Finland, 65
- Rivlin, Reuven, 12, 360, 363–64
- Rivlin, Yosef, 281
- Rogers Plan, 293–94
- romantic nationalism, 243
- romanticism, cultural, 198
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 220
- Rosenberg, Moshe, 86, 181, 182
- Rosenblatt, Ze'ev, 110, 111
- Ross, Dennis, 349
- Rosselli, Amelia, 19
- Rothschild (Lord), 139
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 152
- RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labour Party), 27–28, 42, 43, 46–47
- Rubinstein, Amnon (Shinui), 310
- rule of law, and Begin, 11
- Rumanian Jews, 201, 219
- Russia  
 and aftermath of World War I, 58–60  
 assassinations in, 198  
 expulsion of Jews in 1880s/1890s, 15  
 Externists in, 108–9  
 February Revolution, 55  
 Futurism in, 152  
 Jabotinsky's reaction to  
 Bolshevization of, 4  
 October Revolution, 23, 49  
 effect on Jewish life in Russia, 58–59  
 pogroms in, 39, 44–45  
 Revolution of 1905, 45, 46  
 war with Poland, 59–60. *See also* Ukraine
- Russian Empire, pogroms in, 41, 44, 108–9
- Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), 27–28, 42, 43, 46–47
- Russian Social Revolutionaries, 81, 114
- Russian Zionists, 128
- Russians, in Yisrael Beiteinu, 356, 359
- Russification, 35, 127
- Russkie Vedomosti*, 4
- Russo-Japanese war, 44–45
- Sabra and Shatilla massacre, 328, 347
- Sacco-Vanzetti trial, 112
- Sacher, Harry, 52
- Sadat, Anwar  
 assassination of, 323  
 and Camp David Accord, 8, 318, 319/16.  
 negotiations with Begin, 12
- Sadeh, Yitzhak, 201
- 'saison,' 214
- Samaria, 322
- Samuel, Herbert, 52, 56–57, 144
- sansculottism, 101
- Sapir, Pinhas  
 declines premiership, 301  
 on disposition of territorial gains after Six Day war, 282–83, 285  
 on Israeli-Arab economic separation, 286  
 and territorial compromise, 299–300
- Saudi peace plan, 351
- Saunders, Alan, 89, 203–4
- Schach, Eliezer, 336
- Scheib, Israel (Eldad)  
 and assassination of Kastner, 257  
 and Camp David Accord, 321  
 establishes journal of far Right, 244  
 on Jabotinsky, 167  
 and 'Land of Israel' party, 292–93  
 and Lehi, 209, 235  
 map of territory of malkhut Yisrael, 280–81  
 and Stern, 168–69, 203, 211. *See also* Lehi
- Schiff, Jacob, 44–45
- Schmidt, Helmut, 313
- Schröder, Gerhard, 261
- Scialoja, Vittorio, 23
- Sebastia  
 settlers return to, 304–5  
 vote to remove settlers at, 304
- second aliyah, 281
- security fence, 352
- self-restraint (havlagah), 177, 182, 183
- self-sacrifice, 81, 86, 114, 115, 165, 179, 195, 214
- Senesh, Hannah, 255
- Serbia, 198
- settlement freeze, 362
- Shamir, Moshe, 289, 345

- Shamir, Yitzhak, 4–5  
 arrest of, 216  
 attends Madrid peace conference, 337  
 becomes Prime Minister, 350–51  
 and Camp David Accord, 330  
 as centrist, 336–37  
 on character of Begin, 210  
 differences from Begin, 330–31  
 and election of 1992, 337  
 escape from prison, 203  
 fall of government of, 336  
 influence of Mickiewicz on, 156  
 involvement in Betar, 121  
 joins Herut, 280  
 joins new Herut, 355  
 and Lehi, 203, 204  
 and Minister of Defence position, 345  
 opposition to withdrawal from  
   Sinai, 321  
 public image of, 330  
 rejection of Sharon as Minister of  
   Defence, 326  
 replaces Dayan as Foreign Minister, 322  
 and Shas, 336  
 views on Palestine, 8. *See also* Lehi  
   (Fighters for the Freedom of  
   Israel)
- Shapira, Moshe Chaim, 289
- Sharet, Moshe, 79–80, 209, 223  
 on Ben-Gurion, 271  
 fall of government of, 257  
 and ‘Blood for Goods’ proposal, 256,  
 257, 259  
 signs agreement with Adenauer on  
   reparations, 252–53
- Sharon, Ariel, 309, 317, 357–19  
 becomes Likud leader, 350  
 and Camp David Accord, 321  
 departure from army, 295–96  
 and evacuation of Sinai settlements, 348  
 and first Gulf war, 348  
 as Foreign Minister, 349  
 on Histadrut, 354  
 and ideology of Right, 348–50  
 incapacitation of, 2  
 leaves Likud to form Kadima, 353–54  
 and Lebanon war (1982), 345–48  
 as Minister for National  
   Infrastructure, 349  
 as Minister of Commerce and  
   Industry, 348
- as Minister of Defence, 326, 345  
 as minister without portfolio, 347  
 postpones entry into politics, 293  
 as Prime Minister, 334, 344  
   and Arafat, 351–52  
   economic policy, 354  
   first break with West Bank  
     settlers, 352  
   on Palestinians establishing separate  
     state, 351, 352  
   and Quartet’s Road Map, 352  
   and security fence, 352  
   and settlement freeze, 353  
   and two-vote system, 358  
   on unilateral withdrawal from Gaza/  
     part of West Bank, 352  
   use of ideology to support policy, 353  
 on Rabin, 349  
 reputation of, 295–97  
 resignation of Netanyahu from  
   government of, 10  
 return of Likud to power under, 2  
 on security argument, 9  
 transformation during government of  
   Netanyahu, 349  
 and West Bank settlements,  
   342–43, 349–50  
 and Yom Kippur war, 297, 344–45, 350
- Sharon, Omri, 351
- Shas, 323  
 criticism by Amsellem, 361  
 and election of 1992, 338  
 and election of 1996, 342  
 and election of 1999, 356  
 and exclusionism, 12  
 opposition to Oslo Accord, 338  
 on possibility of woman for Prime  
   Minister, 333  
 and settlements, 356  
 withdraws from Barak government, 351
- Shaw, Walter, 89
- Shaw Commission, 5, 89, 120, 173–74
- Shein, Abraham, 185
- Shevshenko, Taras, 73
- Shiels, Drummond, 91
- Shiloah, Zvi, 296
- Shin Bet, and assassination of Kastner, 257
- Shkolnik, Levi, 69–70. *See* Eshkol, Levi
- Shlomzion, 309, 345
- Shlonsky, Avraham, 60
- Shmulevitch, Matityahu, 240

## Shoah

Begin on, 312–13, 328

Ben-Gurion on, 251

## Shostak, Eliezer

and establishment of Free Centre, 273

and Histadrut, 268

joins Herut, 244

## Shoval, Zalman

advocates alliance of parties, 296

and election of 2015, 361

## Shuckburgh, John, 139

## Sicarii, 113–14, 202

## Sienkiewicz, Henryk, 124

## Silberg, Moshe, 258, 259

## Silver, Abba Hillel, 144, 224

## Simon, Leon, 52

## Sinai, 285

Begin on, 279, 318–21

and ceasefire, 293

disposition of after Six Day

War, 285

return to Egypt, 321–22

Sharon and evacuation of

settlements, 348

## Six Day war, 274, 276–79

## Slavinsky, Maksym, 66–68, 127

## Slavinsky Accord, 67–68, 127

## Slowacki, Yuliusz, 124–25

## Smolenskin, Peretz, 157–58

## Sneh, Moshe, 209, 216

## Sobol, Yehoshua, 313

## socialism

Jabotinsky on, 74

Spengler on, 61–62

## Sokol youth movement, 151, 153

## Sokolov, Nahum, 52, 117, 134

## Soloveitchik, Joseph B., 302

## Sombart, Werner, 77

## Sonnino, Sidney, 18

## Sorel, Georges, 21–22, 26, 152

## Soskin, Selig Eugen, 75, 118

## South Africa, 265, 306–7

## Spaventa, Bertrando, 20

## Spengler, Oswald, 61–63

## Spinoza, Baruch, 20–21, 41

## 'spiritual mechanism,' 132

## Springer theory, 130

## Stalin, Josef, 84, 112

and partitioning of Palestine, 231–32

rejection of non-territorial

autonomy, 128

## State List

and election of 1969, 291

and election of 1973, 295, 300

and Histadrut election of 1973, 296–97

and Likud, 308, 335

move to Centre Right, 291

Shoval advocates alliance of parties

with, 296

support for Dayan, 285

## State of Ishmael, 276

Stavsky, Avraham, 110, 111, 112*i*6

## Stern, Avraham

on Altman, 192–93

arrest of, 192

and attacks on British and Arabs, 189

background of, 178–79

on Begin, 169

on British, 194, 200–1

and cultural romanticism, 198

ideological differences with Raziell, 194,

195, 202

and Irgun, 181

and Irgun B'Yisrael, 192, 194

and Jabotinsky, 3, 164–65

killings of, 201

legacy of, 201, 203

literary works of, 195–98

meets Scheib, 168–69

messianism of, 198–99

opposition to plan for armed revolt, 170

and Polish Betar, 164

establishment of Irgun cells in, 184–85

religiosity of, 196–98

and World War II, 199–201

difference in ideology from

Raziell, 192

## Stern Gang, 194

## Stolypin, Alexandr, 132

## Strachey, John, 105–6

## Strasser, Gregor, 107

## Stricker, Robert, 103, 118

*Struma*, sinking of, 201

## Struve, Pyotr, 40

student demonstrations, Jabotinsky on,

25–26, 27

Suez campaign, 1956, 269, 294

suicide bombings, 334, 339, 351

Suhba discussion group, 178

*Sulam*, 261–62

Supreme Muslim Council, 184

Sweden, 52

- symbolism, 20, 27  
 syndicalism, 22  
 Syria  
   and Lebanon war (1982), 346  
   opposition to return of Golan Heights  
     to, 338  
 Szold, Robert, 144  
  
 Taba negotiations, 351  
 Tabenkin, Yitzhak, 4  
   on disposition of territorial gains after  
     Six Day war, 283, 286  
   and Golan Heights settlements, 289  
   on kibbutzim on West Bank, 278  
   and LIM manifesto, 282  
   and partitioning of Palestine, 144  
   sons of, establish labour committee  
     for Land of Israel, 296. *See also*  
     Ahdut Ha'avodah  
 Talmud, 135, 326  
 Tami party, 323, 335  
 Tamir, Shmuel  
   on Begin, 261  
   on Brand, 256–57  
   defects to DMC, 310  
   defends Gruenwald, 254, 256  
   defends Shilansky, 262  
   and election of 1973, 295  
   and establishment of Free Centre, 273  
   on influence of Begin on cooperation  
     between Rafi and Dayan, 276  
   and Lamerhav faction, 246, 248  
 Tayibe, 10  
 Tehiyah  
   and Begin, 331  
   and election of 1984, 333  
   formation of, 321, 323, 333  
   leaves coalition, 337  
   seats in Knesset, 335, 336. *See also*  
     far Right  
 Tehomi, Avraham, 175, 180–81, 182  
 Teitelbaum, Joel, 255  
 Tekumah  
   formation of, 355  
   and formation of HaBayit Hayehudi, 359  
   joins National Union, 355  
 Telem, formation of, 321  
 Tenu'at ha-Herut (Freedom Movement), 1,  
   11, 234  
   acting head after resignation of  
     Begin, 250  
  
 and Begin  
   as chairman, 243  
   criticism of Begin as leader, 246  
   and general election of 1949, 238  
   and Lavon affair, 266  
   opposition to Sharon as Minister of  
     Defence, 326  
   resigns as leader, 249  
   vision for, 248  
 Ben-Gurion on, 6, 245  
 Blue-White faction established by, 268  
 and Camp David Accord, 320, 321  
 daily of, 241, 244  
 dependency of Liberals on, 324  
 differences between Liberals and, 268  
 and economic policy, 325  
 and election of 1955, 259–60, 264  
 and election of 1959, 264, 265  
 and election of 1961, 266  
 and election of 1965, 268  
 and election of 1969, 292  
 and election of 1973, 295  
 and election of 1977, 261, 309  
 founding of, 241  
 fragmentation of alliance with Likud, 316  
 and general election of 1949,  
   238–43, 261  
   Begin speaks on behalf of, 238  
   electoral platform of, 238  
   funding of, 241  
   results of, 243–44  
   Revisionists' list of candidates, 242–43  
 and general election of 1951, 249, 261  
 gives up individual structure, 334  
 and Histadrut, 267–68  
 and Israel borders question, 248  
 and Kastner affair, 257, 258  
 Klausner stands for President of Israel  
   against Weizmann, 244  
 and Lamerhav, 248  
 Liberals merger with, 268, 274  
 and Mapai, Rafi, Gahal coalition  
   proposal, 275  
 members of executive, 244  
 military strategy of, 326  
 Mizrahim in, 291–92  
 number of seats in first election, 243  
 and re-burial of Jabotinsky on Mount  
   Herzl, 266  
 Revisionists negotiations  
   breakdown, 240–41

- Tenu'at ha-Herut (Freedom Movement) (*cont.*)  
 Shamir joins, 280  
 social policies of, 235  
 territorial gains after Six Day war, disposition of  
 Ahdut Ha'avodah on, 283, 284  
 Allon on, 284, 285  
 Allon Plan, 285–86  
 Begin on, 286  
 Ben-Gurion on, 284  
 Dayan on, 284–85, 286  
 Eban on, 282–83, 285  
 Eshkol on, 285  
 Gahal on, 285  
 Golan Heights, 285  
 Khartoum meeting on, 285  
 Labour party on, 284  
 Levinger on, 284  
 NRP on, 284  
 Peres on, 284, 285, 286  
 Porat on, 284  
 Rafi on, 284  
 Sapir on, 282–83, 285  
 Sinai, 285  
 Tabenkin on, 283, 286  
 third aliyah, 60, 71  
 three-state solution, 362  
 Tolkowsky, Dan, 281  
 Tolstoy, Leo, 40, 125  
 Torah, 3, 288, 289  
 TransJordan, 130, 138, 144, 146, 184, 218, 223–24, 225, 228, 328  
 transportation, privatisation of, 354  
 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 199  
 Treaty of London (1946), 223–24  
 Trotsky, Leon, 47–48, 58, 81, 98  
 Trudoviki (Kvutzot Ha-Amlanim), 69  
 Truman, Harry, 217  
 Trumpeldor, Yosef, 54, 55, 111–12, 121  
 trusteeship, 214, 233  
 Tsederbaum, Aleksandr, 47  
 Tserei Tsion Socialism, 66  
 Tserei Tsion Trudoviki ('Labour' Tserei Tsion), 66  
 Tsohar movement, 162–63  
 Tsomet  
 and election of 1996, 342  
 formation of, 333  
 seats in Knesset, 336. *See also* far Right
- Turgenev, Ivan, 40  
 Turkey  
 compulsory population exchange with Greece, 145  
 and World War I, 54  
 two-state solution, 10, 335, 362  
 two-vote system, 342, 358
- Uganda, British proposal for settlements in, 8, 135
- Ukraine  
 and aftermath of World War I, 58  
 arrests and trials of Zionists in, 68  
 assimilated Jewish intelligentsia in, 127  
 Helsingfors Programme in, 128, 129  
 and Jabotinsky, 127, 199  
 minorities in, 127–28  
 nationalism in, 67  
 pogroms in, 60  
 treatment of Jews in, 66–67
- Ulbricht, Walter, 261  
 Umm al-Fahm, 10  
 UN Resolution 181 (1947), 226, 232, 282, 335  
 UN Resolution 242 (1967), 280, 300, 318  
 UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), 224, 225, 232  
 UN Trusteeship, 214  
 UN 'Zionism is Racism' resolution, 304  
 Union of Liberation, 28  
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)  
 Begin on, 265, 312  
 defence pact with Egypt, 312  
 first show trial of Zionists in, 68  
 and Lebanon war (1982), 346  
 and Lehi, 240  
 and partitioning of Palestine, 231–32  
 silence on fate of Jews in, 206  
 substitution policy of, 68. *See also* Russia; USSR, former
- Union of the Russian People, 45  
 United States (US)  
 and evacuation of Palestinian refugees, 353  
 and extermination of Jews, 218–20  
 'help the Allies' campaign in, 190  
 Jabotinsky on racism in, 63–64  
 and Lebanon War (1982), 346, 347  
 and settlement freeze, 343  
 and Yom Kippur war, 297  
 United Torah Judaism (UTJ), 355–56  
 and election of 2009, 359



- and high birth rate of haredim, 355. *See also far Right; haredim*
- universalism, 43, 58–59, 265
- Unterman (Chief Rabbi), 302
- Ussishkin, Menahem, 144
- USSR, former, immigrants from, 12, 337
- Vico, Giambattista, 61
- Vienna, influx of Jews into, 128
- Vietnamese boat people, 313
- Vilenchik, Avraham, 204
- Vinaver, Maxim, 40
- von Falkenhayn, Erich, 121
- von Hentig, Otto, 200
- von Papen, Franz, 107
- von Plehve, Vyacheslav, 199
- von Weisl, Wolfgang, 101, 117
- Vorontosov, Mikhail Semyonovich, 16
- Vrba, Rudolf, 255
- Waldman, Eliezer, 288
- War of Attrition, 302, 326–27
- Warhaftig, Zerach, 303
- Warsaw Ghetto uprising, 207, 251–52, 281
- Warsawsky, Mark, 176
- Warski, Adolf, 41
- 'We Will Never Die' (pageant), 219
- Wedgwood, Josiah, 5, 137
- Weinshal, Ya'akov, 79
- Weinshall, Avraham, 261  
and LIM manifesto, 281
- Weinstein, Baruch, 66, 70
- Weiss, Yaakov, 230
- Weissglas, Dov, 353
- Weizmann, Chaim, 5, 52, 78  
on attacks on British in  
Palestine, 216–17  
on Begin, 217  
belief in England, 78  
and Churchill, 204, 213  
on conditions for Zionist success, 137  
and hanging of Ben-Yosef, 187  
on Left Bank settlements, 138  
as Minister of Transport nominee, 293  
and Mussolini, 82  
and partitioning of Palestine, 180, 223  
and rapprochement with Arabs in  
Palestine, 139–40  
and re-opening of Suez Canal, 294  
resignation of, 322  
as scapegoat, 206
- and 17th Zionist Congress, 116–17  
stands for president of Israel against  
Klausner, 244
- Weizmann, Ezer, 294  
and election of 1977, 309  
leaves Minister of Defence position, 345  
leaves politics for business career, 295
- welfare state, 214
- Wells, H. G., 149
- West Bank  
advocacy of annexation of Area C, 362  
Ahdut Ha'avodah on colonisation of,  
280, 283, 289  
autonomy for Palestinians in, 318, 324  
Begin on, 278–80, 304, 309,  
317–18, 324  
Dayan on, 304  
Gahal on, 280  
and Galili plan, 299  
growth of, 324, 334  
HaBayit Hayehudi on, 360  
Hussein on, 335  
Labour party on, 304  
Lieberman on, 363  
Mapai on, 280, 286  
Meir on Arab inhabitants of, 285  
NRP on, 280, 331  
Olmert on withdrawal from part of, 352  
political inspiration for  
colonisation of, 9  
Rabin on, 304, 337–38  
Rafi on, 280  
religious motivation for  
settlements, 286–88  
Sharon on, 342–43, 349–50, 352  
vote to remove settlers at  
Sebastia, 304
- West Germany, diplomatic relations with,  
260–61, 268
- Western Wall, demonstrations at/aftermath,  
August 1929, 88–89
- Wetzler, Alfred, 255
- White Paper of Malcolm MacDonald  
(1939), 147, 170, 189, 207,  
208, 214
- Wise, Stephen, 144, 219–20
- Wolff, Heinrich, 108
- women, exemption from military  
service, 315
- World War I  
aftermath, 58–61

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19378-8 - The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron

Colin Shindler

Index

[More information](#)

410

## Index

- World War I (*cont.*)  
 and Jabotinsky  
   chooses side of England, 52  
   views on, 1916, 50–51  
   views on, pre-war, 50  
 and Jewish Union, 52–53, 54–57  
   disbandment of, 56  
   Zion Mule Corps, 54–55  
 and Ottoman Empire, 54, 58, 132
- World War II  
 and Austria, 191  
 and Begin, 171  
   on establishment of Jewish army,  
     205–6, 207  
 and Czechoslovakia, 191  
 and Great Britain  
   complicity in preventing escape of  
     Jews, 206–7  
   importance of Palestine, 179  
   and sinking of *Struma*, 201  
 and Greenberg, 135  
 increase in extermination of European  
   Jewry, 207–8  
 increase in immigration of Jews to  
   Palestine, 177  
 indifference to fate of Jews, 206  
 and IRA, 200  
 and Irgun Zvai Leumi, 193, 202–3  
 and Italy, 194, 199–200  
 and Jewish Agency, 190  
 and Raziell, 192, 193  
 and Stern, 192, 193, 199–201
- World Zionist Organisation, 104, 247
- Wye Plantation agreement (1998), 9, 12,  
 322, 341, 343, 356
- Wyszynski, Stefan, 251
- Ya'alon, Moshe, 363
- Yachil, Haim, 281
- Yad Vashem, 251, 258
- Yadin, Yigal, 308, 310, 325. *See also*  
 Democratic Movement for  
 Change (DMC)
- Yadlin, Asher, 307
- Yamit, Sinai, 9, 331
- Yanait, Ben-Zvi, Rachel, 281
- Yassin, Ahmed, 351
- Yeivin, Yehoshua Hirsh  
 and *Hazit Ha'am*, 94, 192  
 joins Revisionists, 71  
 on Magnes, 98  
 and Maximalists, 101
- on Nazism, 106  
 on passivity, 99–100  
 and Revisionist movement in  
   Palestine, 79
- Yellin-Mor, Natan, 168–69  
 and assassination of Bernadotte,  
   239, 240  
 on character of Begin, 210  
 escapes from prison, 203  
 and Golomb, 209  
 on law to commemorate the  
   fallen, 246  
 and Lehi, 203  
 move to Left, 280  
 nom de guerre of, 203  
 as sole representative of Fighters' Party,  
   240, 244
- Yesenin, Sergei, 179
- Yesh Atid, 360
- Yevseksia, 59, 66, 67, 69
- Yiddish language, 14, 15
- Yishuv, 69, 137  
 hostility to Irgun, 230  
 official mourning for exterminated  
   Jews, 206  
 opposition to 'saison,' 214
- Yisrael B'Aliyah, 2, 351
- Yisrael Beiteinu, 10, 353, 356–58  
 and destruction of Hamas in  
   Gaza, 358  
 and election of 2009, 358  
 and election of 2013, 358  
 establishment of, 356  
 and exclusionism, 12  
 and formation of joint lists, 358–59  
 on Israeli citizenship, 357  
 opposition to unilateral withdrawal  
   from Gaza, 356  
 Russian constituency, 356, 359. *See also*  
 Lieberman, Avigdor
- Yoffe, Avraham, 281
- Yom Kippur war (1973), 297–98  
 and Begin, 294  
   cost of, 299  
   and Dayan, 316–17  
   and IDF, 297, 301  
   and Meir, 297  
   and Sharon, 297, 344–45, 350  
   and US, 297
- Yosef, Ovadiah, 12, 323, 336, 338, 355,  
 356. *See also* Shas
- Yunitichman, Shimshon, 244

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19378-8 - The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron

Colin Shindler

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

411

- Zaire, arms sales to, 306–7
- Zanardelli, Giuseppe, 19–20
- Ze'evi, Rehavam  
 assassination of, 351  
 and resurrection of Arab-Jew population  
 exchange, 333  
 on State of Ismael, 276
- Zeidel, Hillel, 308
- Zevi, Shabtai, 99
- Zhizn'*, 27
- Zion Mule Corps, 54–55
- Zionism  
 American, and partitioning of  
 Palestine, 144  
 British Labour party on, 214–15  
 catastrophic, 335–36  
 and Irgun, 182–83  
 and Jabotinsky, 28–29, 30, 37  
 military, 174–75  
 Mussolini on, 23  
 promotion by Gahelet, 288  
 Redemptionist, 8, 288  
 revolutionary Zionism of Ahimeir, 162  
 three stages of, 122, 158  
 Weizmann on, 217  
 Zionist Left, 147, 230. *See also* General  
 Zionists; Zionists
- 'Zionism is Racism' resolution at UN, 304
- Zionist Congress, 116–17, 137, 140
- Zionist Executive  
 and demonstrations at Western Wall/  
 aftermath, August 1929, 88  
 Jabotinsky on joining, 116–17  
 Revisionists as not accepting authority  
 of, 119
- Zionist movement  
 on future Palestine, 213  
 and rise of nationalism post-World  
 War I, 58
- Zionist Organisation, 43  
 formal split in, 140–41  
 and Revisionists, 116, 117
- Zionists  
 arrests and trials in Ukraine, 68  
 first show trial in USSR, 68  
 labour Zionists, 6, 164  
 Matzad party, 323, 333  
 religious Zionists, 6, 335. *See also*  
 General Zionists; Zionism;  
 Labour Zionism; New Zionist  
 Organisation (NZO); religious  
 Zionism
- Zola, Emile, 29
- Zuckerman, Yitzhak (Antek), 281
- Zurabin, Shalom, 185
- Żydowski Ziązek Wojskowy (ŻZW;  
 Jewish Military Organisation),  
 251–52