

Index

Bold page numbers refer to illustrations.

- Abayat, Hussein, 291, 292
 Abbas, Mahmoud. *See* Abu Mazen
 Abdullah I, King of Jordan, 33, 38, 41, 44, 69, 130
 Abu Abbas, 218
 Abu Ala, 233, 234, 237, 279, 287
 Abu Amra, Hamad Muslam Moussa, 301
 Abu Iyad, xxii, 237, 239
 Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wazir), xxii, 151–2, 205, 206, 249
 Abu Mazen, xix
 Aqaba summit, 307
 Arafat and, 304–5, 323
 Arafat succession, 336–7
 Hamas and, 376
 Intifada, 299
 Islamists and, 299–300, 307, 309, 323, 324
 Israeli peace camp and, 5
 Israeli support, 341
 Labour Party and, 336
 Mubarak and, 416
 negotiations, 281, 299, 318
 Oslo Accords, 235, 237
 political positions, 238, 239, 305, 337
 settlements and, 398
 Sharon and, 290, 305, 308, 337
 Abu Musa, 201
 Abu Nidal, 172, 184, 195, 202
 Abu Sharif, Bassam, 209
 Abu Qusai, 369
 acculturation, 12
 Ahdut Ha'avodah, xiii, 31, 37, 47, 67, 69, 70, 71–2, 77, 98, 99, 119, 126, 127, 128, 135, 138–9, 170
Achille Lauro, 202, 203
 Achimeir, Abba, xix, 130, 199
 Adams, John, 11
 Addas, Shafiq, 94
 Aden, 93
 Adenauer, Konrad, 126
 al-Afghani, Jamal al-din, xix, 24
 Afghanistan, 64
 Agnon, S. Y., 139
 Agranat Commission, 144
 Agudat Yisrael, xiii, 15, 72, 73, 78–82, 84, 217
 Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, xix, 4, 348, 413
 al-Alami, 'Imad, 250
 al-Alami, Musa, 50, 99
 Albright, Madeleine, 283
 Alexander I, Tsar, 14
 Algeria, 64, 151, 159, 250
 Ali, Rashid, 93
 Alignment, xiii
 aliyah, xvii
 Aliyah Bet, xvii
 Allon, Yigal, xix
 1974 Rabin government, 145, 146
 Ben-Gurion and, 102
 Camp David (1979), 163
 career, 36–7, 138
 Dayan and, 141, 158
 Mapai member, 68
 militarism, 101
 nuclear weapons, 170
 Palestinian state and, 154
 Plan, 137–9, 140, 153, 227
 Rabin mentor, 227
 War of Independence, 46, 47, 48
 Almogi, Yosef, 128
 Aloni, Shulamit, xix, 184, 212, 231
 Alpher, Yossi, 235
Alitalia, 69, 254
 Alterman, Natan, xix, 91–2, 121, 139
 Amer, Abdul Hakim, 121
 Amichai, Yehuda, 92
 Amir, Yigal, 264–5
 Amit, Meir, 183
 Amnesty International, 376
 Angleton, James Jesus, 111

- Anti-missile systems, 364–5, 419
 Apartheid Wall, 317, 326–32
 Aqaba summit, 307, 308, 309
 al-Aqsa intifada, 3, 4, 283–8, 290–3, 311, 317, 327
 al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, xvii, 299, 305, 308,
 309, 311, 323, 324, 353, 354, 395
 Arab League, 37, 44, 46, 51–2, 204, 221, 311
 Arab Legion, 40, 41, 46, 48
 Arab Liberation Army, 35
 Arab Spring, 410–17
 Arab states
 See also specific states
 Hamas and, 311
 Madrid Conference, 223, 225
 Muslim Brotherhood and, 249
 Netanyahu and, 268
 Oslo II, 241
 Palestinians and, 150
 pan-Arabism, 151, 153, 182
 rejectionism, 134, 137
 two-state solution, 200
 UN Resolution 242, 137
 Arabs
 See also Palestinians
 British public opinion, 59
 demographics, 7
 feudalism, 135
 health differentials, 7
 Israeli Arabs, 7, 284–5, 289, 375–6
 nationalism, 23–4, 26, 27–8, 29, 30–7, 59,
 150
 poetry, 35
 pre-state Zionism and, 19–37
 War of Independence, 43–9
 Arad, Ron, 357
 Arafat, Yassir, xix
 Abu Jihad and, 206
 Abu Nidal and, 172
 al-Aqsa intifada, 284
 assassination plans, 304
 Bush and, 288, 295, 296–7
 Camp David (2000), 279–81
 change of path, 201–3, 209–11
 Clinton Parameters, 287
 death, 336
 duplicity, 3, 237
 emergence of Palestinians, 151
 Geneva Initiative and, 319
 governance, 3, 277, 281, 283, 300, 301, 304–5,
 323
 Iraq and, 222, 223, 225, 237, 281
 Islamists and, 303–4, 307, 309, 310–11, 324
 Israeli propaganda, 195
 Israeli public opinion, 277
 Jordan and, 225
 Lebanon and, 171, 175
 loss of authority, 255, 279, 309, 324
 Madrid Conference, 222–3, 225, 226
 marginalization, 326
 Nobel Peace Prize, 239
 Oslo Accords, 232–6, 395
 peace process, 205, 254, 288, 302
 PLO crisis, 236–41
 political positions, 200
 Sharon and, 272, 290, 292, 295
 terrorism and, 218, 283, 296, 308
 Arens, Moshe, xix, 162, 213, 214, 216, 218, 226,
 228, 259, 268, 331, 407
 Argentina, 12, 190
 Aridor, Yoram, 167
 Arlosoroff, Chaim, xix, 98
 arms supplies, 114–19, 121, 343
 Arnon, Ya'akov, 184
 Arrigoni, Vittorio, 352
 Arrow missile system, 365
 Artzeinu, Zo, 260
 Arutz Sheva, 262
 Ashkenazi, Gabi, 3–4, 349, 364, 365, 369, 373–4,
 410
 Ashkenazi, Motti, 183
 Ashkenazim, xvii, 95, 96, 97
 Ashrawi, Hanan, xix, 225, 226, 236, 238
 al-Assad, Bashar, xx, 277, 361
 al-Assad, Hafez, xx, 225, 241–3, 275–7
 assassination policy, 291–2, 311, 323
 assimilation, 12, 15, 84
 Association for Civil Rights, 329
 Assyrians, 35, 45
 Aswan Declaration (1978), 160
 Atlee, Clement, 43, 54, 58–9, 60
 Auschwitz, 56, 125
 Australia, 12
 Aviner, Shlomo, 308, 334, 393
 Avneri, Uri, 183, 184
 Awad, Mubarak, 205
 Awqil, Nabil, 370
 Ayash, Yehiya, 291
 Ayoub, Fawzi, 301
 Ayyad, Rami, 355
 Azar, Shmuel, 112
 al-'Aziz Auda, 'Abd, 249
 Azouri, Najib, 23
 Azzam Pasha, 46
 Baazov, Meir, 188
 Baker, James, 215, 216, 217, 218, 223, 238
 Balad, xiii
 Balawi, Hakem, 311
 Balfour Declaration, xvii, 28, 41, 99, 151
 al-Banna, Hasan, 246

- Barak, Ehud
 1999 election, 327
 2001 election, 289, 290
 anti-missile system and, 364–5
 boycotts and, 406
 Declaration of Principles and, 236
 flotillas and, 389
 government, 274–81, 284–8, 343, 346
 Gulf war and, 223
 Lebanon and, 252
 Olmert and, 350–1, 358
 Operation Cast Lead and, 373–4, 379, 381
 settlements and, 395, 397
 Sharon and, 291
 unity government and, 271
- Barakeh, Mohammed, 285
- Barghouti, Marwan, 240, 279, 287, 291, 337, 356
- Bar-Ilan, Meir, xx, 90, 91
- Bar Kochba rebellion, xvii, 79
- Bar-Yehuda, Israel, 86
- Begin, Benny, 270, 407
- Begin, Menachem, xx
 coalition member, 123
 diaspora and, 189, 194, 195
 electoral reform and, 129
 Herut movement, 75, 130–4
 ideology, 22, 36, 106, 149–50, 199, 322
 Irgun, 199, 254
 leadership, 147–50
 Lebanese invasion, 172–81
 legacy, 259, 315, 337
 Madrid Conference and, 224
 negotiations, 156–65
 Olmert and, 147, 315, 335–6
 peace camp and, 185
 PLO and, 5, 150, 155–6, 174, 176, 178
 radicalism, 165–74
 rise, 130–4, 144, 146
 settlement policy, 146
 Sharon and, 149–50, 158, 168, 271, 321–2
 Six Day war, 124
- Beilin, Yossi, 178, 203, 231, 233, 273, 275, 281, 288, 295, 318–19
- Beilinson, Moshe, xx, 322
- Bellamy, Edward, 24
- Ben-Aharon, Yossi, 224, 258
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, 275, 279, 280, 283, 285, 288
- Benari, Ahaz, 378
- Ben-Gal, Avigdor, 176
- Ben-Gurion, David, xx, 82
 Arab relations, 31, 33, 35–6, 43, 99, 100, 115
 Britain and, 41–3
 diaspora and, 189, 190, 191, 192, 195
 Egypt and, 108–9, 115–22
 emergence, 22
 expansionism, 104, 105, 115–16, 122, 134–5, 149
 first elections, 66–70
 on Herut, 147
 on Histadrut, 21–2
 Holocaust and, 55
 ideology, 37, 67, 70, 99, 100
 on IDF, 4
 immigration policy, 34, 62, 64–5, 86
 Independence, 38, 39, 40, 41, 65
 international opinion, 187
 Jerusalem, 282
 Jewish identity and, 91, 92–3
 last years, 126–30
 Lebanon, 170
 Mapai schism, 98–108
 Mossad, 200
 nuclear weapons, 170
 Olmert and, 337
 party coalitions, 70–8
 peace movement and, 181, 182
 refugees and, 45
 religion and, 78–81, 83, 84, 88
 resignation (1953), 106
 return, 112–14
 on Sephardim, 96
 Sharett and, 70, 100, 105–8, 113, 114, 116, 119–20, 122, 126, 127, 321
 Sharon mentor, 168, 321
 Six Day war, 124
 socialism, 27
 Soviet Union and, 21, 110, 111
 state building, 105, 106
 State List, 144
 Suez crisis, 119–22
 Tabenkin on, 135
 vision, 8
 War of Independence, 47
 Weizmann and, 66
 on Zionism, 22–3, 76, 95
- Bennet, Max, 112
- Bentov, Mordechai, 38–9
- Benyamini, Eliahu, 12
- Ben-Zakkai, Yochanan, 79
- Benziman, Uzi, 289
- Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak, xx, 105
- Bergelson, David, 62
- Bergen-Belsen, 54, 57
- Berman, Yitzhak, 179, 259–60
- Bernadotte, Count, 49, 199
- Betar, xiii, 131, 198, 199
- Bevan, Aneurin, 10, 59
- Bevin, Ernest, 58–9, 115
- Bialik, Chaim Nachman, xx, 17, 71, 88, 151
- Biden, Joe, 400, 401–2
- Biltmore agreement, 37, 72, 84

Biluim, xiii, 17–18, 98
 Birnbaum, Nathan, xx, 14
bitchonistim, 98
 Blair, Tony, 319, 368, 370, 388
 Blaustein, Jacob, 189
 Bnei Akiva, 79, 141–2
 Boehner, John A., 404
 Bolivia, 377
 Borochoy, Ber, xx, 19, 21
 boundaries
 1947 UN partition plan, 42
 1949–67, 118
 Allon Plan, 140
 Begin policy, 149
 occupied territories, 133
 Bourguiba, Habib, 153
 Brenner, Yosef Chaim, xx, 88
 Breuer, Yitzhak, 84
 Brezhnev plan, 342
Brichah, 60–1
 Brit Shalom, xiii, 217, 230
 Bronfman, Roman, 329
 Brown, Gordon, 402
 Buber, Martin, xx, 43, 127, 181
 Buchenwald, 56–7
 Bulganin, Nikolai, 117, 122
 Bulgaria, 52, 63
 Burg, Yosef, xx, 165
 Bush, George H., 217, 218, 219, 222, 225, 230, 288
 Bush, George W., 186, 288, 291, 294–7, 306, 309, 318, 325, 331, 333, 353, 356, 361

 Cabet, Etienne, 24
 Cahan, Ya'akov, 17
 Camp David (1978–9), 155, 160, 162–5, 167, 175, 201, 342, 412, 416
 Camp David (2000), 279–81, 289
 Canaanism, xvii
 Carmel, Moshe, xx, 47
 Carmon, Yigal, 258
 Carter, Jimmy, 150, 155, 156–7, 160–2, 165, 175, 318–19
 Castro, Fidel, 197
 Chamoun, Camille, 170
 Chancellor, John, 30
 Chavez, Hugo, 377
 Cheney, Dick, 294
 China, 110, 223
 Chirac, Jacques, 319
 Chomsky, Noam, 156, 197
 Christopher, Warren, 238
 Churchill, Winston, 114–15
 Citizenship Law, 406–7
 civil liberties, 3, 405–8

Clinton, Bill, 196, 232, 238, 239, 241, 242, 258, 270, 271–2, 276–7, 280, 291, 327
 Clinton, Hillary, 367, 392, 402
 Clinton Parameters, 285–7, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 318, 325, 326, 356
 Collins, Michael, 198
 Communists, 70–1, 109, 158, 182, 185, 287
 conversion, 12
 corruption, 3, 145, 240, 271, 338
 Crossman, Richard, 60
 Crusades, 45, 46
 Cunningham, Sir Alan, 40
 cyberweapons, 366
 Czechoslovakia, 39, 45, 47, 52, 110, 117

 Dahlan, Mohammed, 295, 305, 354, 356
 Danin, Ezra, 48
 Danton, Georges-Jacques, 199
Davar, xvii, 110, 129
 Dayan, Moshe, xx, 51, 120
 1974 Rabin government, 146
 Arab contacts, 108–9
 Begin and, 147, 149, 158, 160, 165, 168
 Ben-Gurion and, 113, 196
 collective punishment, 103, 107
 constant war, 2
 diaspora and, 189
 Egypt and, 117, 126
 emergence, 36, 102
 expansionism, 104, 105
 functional compromise, 156
 iconic status, 136
 Lavon affair, 112
 Mapai split, 98, 100–2
 move to the right, 139, 141, 143, 145
 national unity government, 144
 occupied territories, 137, 162
 Palestinians and, 153, 327–8
 Rafi membership, 128, 129
 reprisals, 107–8
 resignation, 144, 183
 security policy, 103, 104
 Sharett and, 107–8, 112
 Sharon mentor, 321
 Sinai, 149, 165
 Six Day war, 124, 125
 Suez crisis, 119–22
 Dayan, Uzi, 328, 329
 Declaration of Independence, 38–9, 46, 79, 80, 135, 187
 Degel Ha'Torah, xiii, 217, 230
 Deif, Muhammad, 310
 Deir Yassin, 45
 Democratic Alliance, 287
 Democratic Fraction, 90

- Democratic movement, 146
 Democratic Movement for Change, xiii, 146, 160
 demographics, 62, 228, 279, 393, 417
 Deri, Arieh, 231, 235
 Deutscher, Isaac, 10–11
 DFLP, 178, 184, 204, 224, 233, 244
 diaspora opinions, 186–97, 215, 219, 257, 314
 Dinur, Benzion, 80
 Djibouti, 93
 Dori, Ya'akov, 3, 112, 128
 Drobles Plan, 169
 drones, 366–7
 Druckman, Chaim, 143
 Dühring, Eugen, 13
 Dulles, John Foster, III, 116, 117
 Durrah, Mohammed, 284
- Eban, Abba, xxi, 119, 125, 128, 137, 139, 158,
 159–60, 163–4, 174, 183, 193, 282
- economy
 Begin economics, 166–7
 Gaza, 388–9
 Likud, 229
 modern economy, 5–7, 417–18
 Sharon government, 336
 Soviet migrants, 228–9
- Ecuador, 377, 392
 Eden, Anthony, III, 117, 122
- Egypt
 antisemitism, 63–4
 al-Aqsa Intifada and, 299
 Arab Spring and, 410–12, 415–16
 Baghdad Pact, 115
 Begin and, 148, 150, 157–62
 Gaza and, 3, 52, 71, 113, 115, 151
 Geneva Conference (1977), 156
 Geneva Initiative and, 319
 Iran and, 362–3
 Jewish immigrants from, 93, 94
 Lavon affair, 112–13, 126
 Muslim Brotherhood, xviii, 204, 242, 245,
 246, 249, 302, 339, 410–11
 Nasser period, 116–17
 Officers' Revolution, 108–9
 Oslo II, 241
 Palestinians and, 150, 357
 Shamir and, 200, 216
 Sinai and, 98, 137
 Six Day war, 124, 125
 Soviet Union and, 115
 Suez crisis, 119–22
 Syria and, 123
 War of Independence and, 45, 46, 47–52
 World War II, 35
 Yemen war, 4
- Yom Kippur war, 144
 Zionism in, 95
- Ehrenburg, Ilya, 110
 Ehrlich, Simcha, 166
 Eichmann, Adolf, 8, 189, 190
 Eiland, Giora, 345
 Ein Zurim, 39
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., III, 122
 Eitan, Michael, 274
 Eitan, Rafal, xxi, 168, 176, 177, 212, 261
 El Alamein, 37
 el Mughrabi, Dalal, 160
 Elad, Avri, 112, 126
- elections
 1949, 65–70
 1955, 119, 132
 1965, 128, 134
 1969, 136
 1973, 143, 144, 145
 1977, 143, 148
 1981, 167
 1984, 211
 1988, 211
 1992, 230, 256, 326
 1996, 267
 1999, 274, 327
 2001, 289
 2005, 336
 2009, 393
- Eliasberg, Mordechai, 90
 Eliashar, Eliahu, 96
 Eliav, Liova, xxi, 153, 184
 Elon, Amos, 262
 El-Waly, Mamdouh, 410
 Enlightenment, 12, 86, 135, 189, 340
 Epstein, Yitzhak, 26
 Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, xxi, 376, 411–12, 413–14
 Eretz Israel, 84
 Eritrea, 93
 Eshkol, Levi, xxi, 105, 106–7, 108, 124, 126, 127,
 128, 135, 137, 168
 Ettlinger, Yoram, 258
 European Union, 5, 155, 223, 306, 378, 397–8,
 402, 407
- Exodus*, 61
- Fadlallah, Mohammed, 342
 Fanon, Franz, 151
 Fatah, xvii
 al-Aqsa Intifada, 284, 291
 armed units, 240
 Clinton Parameters, 287
 corruption, 338
 divisions, 238–9
 electoral defeat, 340, 351

- Fatah (*cont.*)
 Geneva Initiative and, 318
 Hamas and, 222, 226, 254–5, 300, 338, 351,
 353–4, 355–7, 370
 ideology, 151–2, 249
 Iraq and, 250
 Islamists and, 222, 226, 254–5, 300, 311, 324
 Israeli propaganda, 195
 Madrid Conference, 224
 post-Oslo, 277
 support, 245, 353
 terrorism, 160, 202, 292, 323
 Faurisson, Robert, 197
 Fayyad, Salam, 300–1, 356, 376
 fedayeen, xvii, 115–16, 119
 Fein, Leonard, 384
 fellahin, xvii, 27, 32–3, 48, 50
 Finch, Sir Henry, 11
 Finland, 52
 France
 Algerian war, 151
 arms supplies to Arab states, 116
 arms supplies to Israel, 116, 121
 Indochina war, 199
 Jewish diaspora, 197
 Maghreb colonies, 93
 Middle East mandates, 95
 nuclear supplies, 170, 171
 Palestinian policy, 306
 party alliances, 75
 Revolution, 11, 12, 135, 199
 Suez crisis, 120–2, 196
 Franco, Francisco, 110
 Free Centre, xiii, 144, 146, 337
 French report, 32–3
 Friedman, Tom, 403

 G-8, 336
 Gaddafi, Muammar, 415, 419
 Gahal, xiii, 125, 128–9, 132–4, 144
 Gahleit, xiii, 141–2
 Galileo project, 5
 Galili, Israel, xxi, 38, 47, 69, 101, 144, 154, 170
 Gay Pride parade, 7
 Gaza
See also occupied territories
 1955 attacks from, 119
 acquisition, 52, 125, 354–9
 blockade of, 369, 370–1, 388–92
 Cairo Agreement, 239
 Camp David (2000), 280
 Christians in, 355
 civil rights in, 355–6
 colonization, 141
 communications, 272, 273–4
 demographics, 5, 246, 278, 324
 economic recovery, 388–9
 Egypt and, 52, 71, 113, 151
 expulsion of Palestinians to, 3
 flotillas, 389–90
 Hamas and, 246, 255, 301, 349
 Jewish population, 208
 Operation Black Arrow, 113, 115, 117
 Operation Cast Lead, 372–80
 Oslo Accords, 232, 233, 234, 236, 240, 277
 Palestinian population, 207, 208
 poverty, 245
 radical Islamisation, 204
 raids, 103
 refugees, 53, 152, 154
 security asset, 137
 settlements, 139, 278, 294–5
 taking of, 354–9
 Shamir and, 228
 violence, 307, 339, 349
 withdrawal from, 7, 311, 314–20, 393–4, 322,
 333–7
 Gedera, 17
 Gemayel, Bashir, 172, 179
 gender equality, 76–7
 General Zionists, xiii, 22, 72, 75, 105, 106, 119
 Geneva Conference (1977), 156
 Geneva Initiative (2003), **312**, 318–19, 320, 331
 genocide, 8
 Germany, 34, 35, 109, 126, 182, 219
 Geva, Eli, 176
 al-Ghoul, Adnan, 311
 Givli, Benjamin, 112, 113, 127
 Glubb, John, xxi, 40
 Golan Heights, 6–7, 125, 137, 144, 167, 232,
 241–2, 260, 343
 Goldbloom, Amiram, 329
 Goldman, Nachum, xxi, 183, 187, 189, 191,
 192
 Goldrat, Avraham, 76
 Goldstein, Baruch, 253, 262, 264
 Goldstone Commission, 382–6
 Goldstone, Richard, 382–7
 Golomb, Eliahu, 102
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 218, 222, 223
 Gordon, A. D., xxi, 19, 91
 Gordon, Yehuda Leib, xxi, 17
 Goren, Shlomo, xxi, 88, 143, 263, 282
 Gramsci, Antonio, 182
 Greece, 45, 187, 414
 Green Line, xvii
 Greenberg, Uri Zvi, xxi, 139, 199
 Gringauz, Samuel, 54
 Gromyko, Andrei, 188, 199
 Grossman, David, 1–2

- Grossman, Meir, 191
 Guevara, Che, 151
 Gulf war (1991), 4, 220–2, 223
 Gush Emunim, 143, 163, 274, 275
 Gush Etzion, xviii, 38, 39, 129, 269, 326, 330, 395
- Ha'am, Ahad, xxi, 13, 26, 100, 189
 Ha'amikim, Sha'ar, 181
 Haass, Richard, 257–8
 Habash, George, xxi, 209–10, 225
 Hadash, xiv
 Haganah, xiv, 3, 36, 37, 45
 Haig, Alexander, 173, 177
 Halakhah, xviii
 Halevi, Yehuda, 151
 Halutz, Dan, 3–4, 346, 349, 350
 Hamas, xviii
 Abu Mazen and, 337, 376
 Arafat and, 238, 303–4, 324
 assassinated leaders, 291, 311, 323
 blockade of Gaza and, 369, 370–1
 ceasefire, 308
 control of press, 372–3
 divisions, 352
 electoral successes, 338, 340
 Fatah and, 222, 226, 254–5, 300, 338, 351, 353–4, 355–7, 370
 greeting card, 249
 Hezbollah and, 251, 301, 342
 ideology, 245–8, 250, 302–3, 339–41, 352, 369
 image, 368
 Iran and, 348
 Iraq war and, 298
 Israeli left and, 5
 kidnap of soldiers, 310
 Madrid Conference and, 224–5
 missile capability, 301, 310, 356–7, 360, 363–4
 Oslo Accords and, 233
 PLO and, 254, 255, 353
 Al-Qaeda and, 369–70
 rejectionism, 244
 Road Map and, 309
 support, 245, 246, 306
 terrorism, 250, 253, 262, 293, 299, 305, 309–11, 314, 326, 339
 truce, 352–3, 369–71, 379, 380
 US terror list, 295, 300
 withdrawal from Gaza and, 316–17
- Hammami, Said, 184
 Hanif, Asif Mohammed, 307
 Haniyeh, Ismail, xxi, 300, 311, 314, 338, 349, 354, 355, 369, 389, 411
 Hapoel Hamizrachi, xiv, 73, 74, 76–7, 83, 85, 105
- Hapoel Hatzair, xiv, 19, 31, 98
 haredim, 8
 Hariri, Rafik, 253
 Harish, Yosef, 235
 Hartmann, David, 264–5
 Har-Zion, Meir, 113–14
 Hashomer, 100
 Hashomer Hatzair, xiv, 17, 43, 47, 48, 67–8, 70, 71, 72, 181, 182
 Haskalah, xviii, 84, 95
 Hassan (King of Morocco), 268
 al-Hassan, Hanni, 305
 havlagah, xviii, 36, 114, 289
 Hawatmeh, Naif, xxii, 209–10, 354
 Hazaz, Chaim, 92
 Hebrew
 Jewishness and language, 88
 literature, 16–17, 91–2
 resurrection of language, 16
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 191
 Hertzberg, Arthur, 14, 193
 Hertzka, Theodor, 24
 Herut movement, xiv, 75, 119, 130–4, 147, 159, 163, 211
 Herzl, Theodor, xxii, 13–16, 24–6, 39, 88, 90, 98, 100, 189
 Herzog, Chaim, xxii, 128, 178
 Herzog, Isaac, 335
 Herzog, Ya'akov, 134
 Hess, Moses, xxii, 13, 24–5
 Hezbollah, 204, 225, 244, 245, 250–3, 301–2, 310, 323, 324, 340–9, 353, 360, 362
 Hijo, Iman, 293
 Hirsch, Baron de, 12
 Hirschfield, Yair, 233
 Histadrut, xiv, 21–2, 31, 32, 67–8, 81, 132, 138, 145, 229
 historiography, 2, 156
 Hitler, Adolf, 2, 11, 48, 55, 150, 178, 188
 Hofshtein, David, 188
 Holocaust (Shoah), 2, 11, 37, 39, 41, 73, 78, 158, 179, 181, 187, 188, 252, 375
 Holocaust survivors, 54–61
 Holst, Johan Jørgen, 235
 homosexuality, 7
 honesty league, 3
 Hong Kong, 52
 Hope-Simpson Report, 31
 Hoz, Dov, 77
 human rights, 240, 243, 380–2
 Human Rights Watch, 304, 380
 Hungary, 62–3, 182
 Hurwitz, Yigal, 147, 166, 167
 Hussein, King of Jordan, xxi, 134, 137, 154, 159, 201, 203, 209, 212, 241, 295

- Husseini, Faisal, xxii, 209, 225, 226, 232, 233,
 237, 238–9, 254, 324
 al-Husseini, Fawzi Darwish, 44
- identity, Israeli, 4, 8
 immigration
 Holocaust survivors, 54–61, 81
 Jewishness and, 85–6
 Jews in Palestine, 62–5
 promoting, 139
 Sephardim, 91–7, 189
 Soviet Union, 219, 228–9, 327
 Independent Liberals, 124, 134
 India, 43, 52
 Indyk, Martin, 271
 international community, 8, 178
 International Court of Justice, 332, 384, 413
 International Monetary Fund, 146, 300–1, 356,
 370
 Internet, 6
 Intifada, 194, 203–7, 211, 212, 226, 249, 250,
 253
- Iran
 antisemitism, 64
 Arafat and, 238
 assassinations within, 367
 Gaza and, 376–7
 Hezbollah and, 244, 251, 301, 343, 346, 353
 Iraq war, 178, 252, 342
 Islamists and, 323, 348
 Jewish immigrants from, 93
 Latin America and, 377
 Lebanon and, 346, 347
 nuclear weapons, 4, 366
 PLO and, 204, 205
 Rabin and, 250, 251–2
 Revolution, 165, 249, 250, 342
 Scud missiles, 223, 363
 Shi'ite revolution in 1979, 341
 Syria and, 275
- Iraq
 2003 war, 298–9
 Abu Nidal and, 172
 antisemitism, 94
 Arafat and, 222, 223, 225, 237, 281
 Assyrians, 35, 45
 biological and chemical weapons, 4, 252
 Gulf War (1991), 220–2
 Hezbollah and, 251
 Iran war, 178, 252, 342
 Jewish immigrants from, 93, 94, 103
 Jordan and, 105, 121, 124
 Osirak nuclear reactor, 170, 171, 252
 Palestinians and, 150
 PLO and, 159, 250
 Saudi Arabian border, 326
 Scud missiles, 223
 War of Independence and, 45, 46
 Yom Kippur war, 144
 Zionism and, 64, 95
 Iraq Petroleum Company, 32
 Ireland, 12, 199
 Irgun, xiv, 17, 36, 43, 45, 84, 130, 150, 199,
 254
 Islamic Jihad, xviii, 202, 204, 244, 245, 248–50,
 255, 293, 295, 300, 304, 305, 306, 308–9, 317,
 339, 352, 353, 354, 370
 Islamism, 3, 5, 307–14, 349–50
 Israel Defence Forces
 leadership, 348, 349
 militarism, 3–5, 346
 multinationalism, 62
 political affiliations, 68, 71, 172, 349
 Italy, 12, 75, 198
 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, 310, 314, 351, 352,
 353, 354, 361, 370, 371, 374
- Ja'bari, Ibrahim Mohammed, 301
 al-Ja'bari, Mohammed, 152
 Jabbar, Haj Ismail, 311
 Jabotinsky, Vladimir, xxii, 131
 Arab relations, 36, 58
 Begin mentor, 130–2, 147, 199
 Ben-Gurion and, 106
 cosmopolitanism, 149
 diaspora and, 189
 fatalism, 22, 35
 on ghettos, 91
 Helsingfors proposals, 157
 influences, 17, 199, 335
 Iron Wall, 29–30, 33, 155
 Jewish Legion, 199
 legacy, 259, 315, 337
 re-interment, 126
 Revisionism, 34, 130
 secularism, 87–8
 settlements, 322
- Jacobs, Louis, 265
 Jaffa, 19, 31, 49
 Jahangir, Asma, 355
 Jaradet, Hanadi, 293
 Jerusalem
 acquisition, 125
 Begin policy, 162
 Camp David (2000), 280, 281
 destruction of Temple, 2
 Dulles plan, 116
 Gay Pride parade, 7
 Geneva Initiative, 318
 Olmert and, 261, 282, 315

- Palestinian population, 207
 Palestinian position, 279
 post-1948, 104
 religiosity, 8
 security barrier, 331
 settlements, 395–6, 401–2
 Temple Mount, 281–3, 285, 287
 Jewishness, defining, 12–13, 15, 78, 83, 85–91
 Jibril, Ahmed, 225, 302
 Johnson, Lyndon, 123, 170
 Johnson-Crosbie report, 32
 Johnston, Alan, 352
 Jordan
 1958 crisis, 122
 Allon plan, 137
 Arafat and, 225
 Begin policy, 149
 Egypt and, 115
 Iraq and, 105, 121, 124
 Jordanian option, 100, 150, 152, 163, 202, 203,
 212
 Madrid Conference, 225
 Palestinians and, 154, 156, 159, 175, 201, 295
 peace with, 139
 Qibya, 107, 191
 Peres and, 295
 Rabin and, 241
 Six Day war, 125
 West Bank and, 69, 71, 151, 209
 Jubarah, Ahmed, 308
 Judaism
 Jewishness and, 15, 86–91
 religious right, 262–6
 Judea and Samaria, 141–6, 149, 155, 174

 Kach, xiv, 260
 Kadima, xiv, 335–7, 349, 350, 398
 Kahan Commission, 180, 181
 Kahane Chai, 260, 261
 Kalischer, Zvi Hirsch, xxii
 Kalvarisky, Chaim, xxii, 33
 Kaplan, Eliezer, 105
 Karelitz, Avraham (Chazon Ish), 73, 83
 kатыushas, 345, 347, 356–7, 363, 374
 Katz, Katriel, 38
 Katzav, Moshe, 145, 162, 167, 328
 Katznelson, Berl, 21, 77, 98
 Kawasmeh, Imad, 311
 Kennedy, John F., 123, 170
 Kenya, 59
 Kfar Etzion, 39–40
 Kfar Hittin, 67
 al-Khalidi, Jusuf, 25
 Khalil, Izz al-Din al-Sheikh, 311
 Khomeini, Ayatollah, 249, 250, 252, 376–7

 Kibbutz Degania, 6, 20
 Kibbutz Eshbal, 6
 kibbutz galuyot, xviii, 85
 Kibbutz Ketziot, 108
 Kibbutz Merchavia, 20
 kibbutzniks, 2, 48, 85, 92
 al-Kidwa, Nasser, 305
 al-Kiliani, Shawkat Zeid, 254
 Klein, Morton, 196
 Klinghoffer, Leon, 202
 Kokhba, Shimon Bar, xxii
 Kollek, Teddy, xxii, 128
 Kook, Avraham Yitzhak, xxii, 15–16, 85, 135, 142,
 146, 334–5
 Kook, Zvi Yehuda, xxii, 163
 Korea, 52, 111. *See also* North Korea
 Krikheli, Aron, 188
 Kristol, Irving, 193
 Kropotkin, Prince, 25
 Krushchev, Nikita, 117
 al-Kuntar, Samir, 345, 357
 Kurds, 49, 93
 Kurtzer, Dan, 257
 Kuwait, 64, 220–1, 227, 250, 337

 Labour party
 1974 government, 145–6
 1977 elections, 148
 1980s, 211–13
 2007 leadership, 3
 Camp David (1978–9), 163–4
 creation, 129, 135
 Galili plan, 153–4
 Jordanian option, 152, 212
 land for peace, 7
 Oslo Accords, 235
 peace process and, 5, 228
 Rabin leadership, 229–30, 231, 262
 settlements and, 335, 398
 territorial policy, 135, 138–9
 withdrawal from Gaza and, 316
 Yom Kippur war, 145
 al-Lafi, Abd, 255
 Lahat, Shlomo, 145, 222
 Lamdam, Yitzhak, xxii, 91
 Lamifneh, 73
 Land of Israel Movement, 183
 Landau, Shmuel Chaim, 90, 93, 162
 Landau, Uzi, 224, 335
 Landau Commission, 207
 Lapid, Yair, 405
 Lassalle, Ferdinand, xxii, 11
 Lauder, Ronald, 276
 Lavon, Pinchas, 107–8
 Lavon affair, 112–14, 126–7, 128, 129

- Lebanon
 1982 war, 172–81, 192, 193, 204, 289
 2006 war, 343–9
 al-Aqsa Intifada and, 292
 Begin and, 156, 172–81
 Beirut bombing (1980), 194
 civil war, 341–2
 Geneva Conference (1977), 156
 Hezbollah, 204, 251–2, 324, 341–9
 Iran and, 346, 347
 Israeli incursions, 157
 Maronites, 104, 119, 173, 178, 179
 National Salvation Front, 342
 Palestinians and, 170, 171, 323–4, 342
 Shabaa farms, 344–5
 Syria and, 170, 173, 253, 344, 346, 347
 War of Independence and, 46
 withdrawal from, 324, 341
- Left Poale Zion, xiv, 67
- Lehi, xv, 199–200
- Leibovitz, Yeshayahu, 170
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 21, 67, 99
- Levin, Hanoach, 154
- Levin, Yitzhak Meir, xxii, 84–5
- Levinger, Moshe, 141
- Lévy, Benny, 197
- Levy, David, xxii, 198, 215, 222, 224, 256, 258, 268, 271
- Levy, Michael, 275
- Levy, Shabtai, 40
- liberalism, 11
- Liberals, 132, 145
- Libya, 64, 95, 169, 223, 415
- Lichtenstein, Aharon, 334
- Lieberman, Avigdor, 7, 269, 320, 325, 376, 393, 398, 405, 408, 413, 418
- Likud
 1980s, 211, 213
 1992 elections, 231
 diaspora funding, 195
 economics, 229
 emergence, 82, 125, 146
 formation, 145, 158–9
 Hamas and, 253
 Lebanese wars and, 178, 349
 Netanyahu and, 256–62, 267–75
 Oslo Accords, 235, 236
 Palestinians and, 210, 227
 popularity, 372
 settlements and, 398
 Shamir and, 200, 216
 Sharon era, 296, 297, 304
 splits, 308, 315, 337
 withdrawal from Gaza and, 314, 331, 333–6
- Lilienblum, Moses Leib, xxiii
- Lincoln, Abraham, 203
- Lior, Dov, 334
- Lipkin-Shahak, Amnon, 214, 288
- Lithuania, 73
- Livni, Tzipi, 314, 315, 350–1, 379, 398, 418
- Lloyd, Selwyn, 121
- Lloyd-George, David, 41
- Lockerbie disaster, 217
- Lubavitcher Rebbe, 15
- Lueger, Karl, xxiii, 13
- Lughod, Ibrahim Abu, 208
- Lunarcharski, Anatoly, 71
- Ma'ale Akrabim, 108
- Machson Watch, 323
- MacMillan, General, 40
- Madrid Conference (1991), 222–6, 250
- mafdalim, 8
- Magen, David, 167
- Magnes, Judah, xxiii, 43, 181
- Mahler, Gustav, 11
- Maimon, Rabbi, 84
- Maimonides, 77, 88
- Majadele, Raleb, 7
- Maki, xv, 182, 183
- Maklef, Mordechai, 3
- Malan, Daniel, 63
- Mandela, Nelson, 319
- Mao Zedung, 110, 182, 199
- Mapai, xv
 1955 elections, 119
 1974 Rabin government, 145
 Begin and, 147, 178
 destruction from within, 125–30
 first elections, 67–77
 formation, 31
 IDF and, 102
 Jewish diaspora and, 191
 pre-state, 21, 22, 34, 36, 66
 religion and, 78–82, 96
 settlement policy, 168
 split, 102–8
- Mapam, xv, 45, 47, 67–72, 75, 77, 78, 96, 102, 136, 139, 170, 181–2, 212
- Mapu, Abraham, xxiii, 16
- Markish, Peretz, 62
- Maronites, xviii, 104, 119, 173, 178, 179
- Martin, Sergeant, 43
- Martino, Renate, 379
- Marx, Karl, 23, 25
- Marxism, 27, 47
- Marzuk, Moshe, 112
- Mas'ood, Mervat, 351

- Massuot Yitzhak, 39
 Matzpen, xv, 182, 184
 Maximalists, xv, 130, 148, 159
 Maxwell, Robert, 169
 Mazuz, Menachem, 358, 380
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 34
 McDonald, James, 56
 Mecca Agreement, 353
 Meir, Golda, xxiii
 Allon Plan, 153
 Ben-Gurion and, 76, 108, 120, 127
 diaspora and, 189
 Independence, 38, 110
 nuclear weapons, 170
 Palestinian identity, 150, 153
 peace movement and, 183, 185
 premiership, 135–6, 143, 144, 194
 resignation, 144, 145, 183
 Yom Kippur war, 144
 Mengele, Josef, 190
 Meretz, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 316, 329, 358, 372, 379
 Meridor, Dan, 213, 216, 256, 292, 398, 407
 Meshal, Khalid, xxiii, 314, 339, 340, 368, 376, 379
 Mickiewicz, Adam, 198
 militarism, 3–5, 22
 Miller, Aaron, 257
 Milo, Roni, 185, 259
 Mitzna, Amram, 179, 299, 316
 Mizrahi, xxiii, 15, 72, 73, 76, 80, 83, 85, 90, 91, 334
 Mizrahi, Avi, 397
 Mobutu Sese Seko, 169
 Moda'i, Yitzhak, 215
 Mofaz, Shaul, 3, 284, 286, 349, 418
 Mohssein, Zuheir, 291
 Moked, xv, 182
 Moledet, xv, 211, 256
 Mollet, Guy, 121
 Moroccans, 97, 103
 Morocco, 64, 93, 94–5, 268, 319
 Morris, Benny, 48–9, 156
 Morsi, Mohammed, 412
 Mossad, 62, 200
 Motzkin, Leo, xxiii, 25, 90
 Moyne, Lord, 199
 Mubarak, Hosni, 216, 416
 Mughniyah, Imad, xxiii, 361, 362
 multiculturalism, 8
 Mundi, Yosef, 155
 Munich Agreement (1938), 163, 259, 294
 Muslim Brotherhood, xviii, 204, 242, 245, 246, 249, 302, 339, 410–11
 Mussawi, Abbas, 251, 291
 Mussolini, Benito, 34, 35, 130, 131, 200
 Nachmanides, 90
 Najjar, Fatima, 351
 al-Nakba, 49, 283
 Napoleon I, 11, 14–15
 Narodnaya Volia, 199
 Nasrallah, Hassan, 44, 342, 344, 350
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel
 antisemitism, 35
 Arab nationalism, 115
 arms supplies, 117
 chemical weapons, 4
 emergence, 59, 108–9, 111
 Lavon affair, 112–13
 Muslim Brotherhood and, 245
 Palestinians and, 150
 peace movement and, 183
 Six Day war, 123, 124, 134
 Suez crisis, 119–22
 National Religious Party, xv, 7, 86, 124, 125, 142–4, 146, 162, 174, 211, 256, 274, 316
 National Union, xv, 316
 Naveh, Danny, 272
 Navon, Aryeh, 2
 Neguib, Muhammad, 59, 108
 Netanyahu, Benjamin, xxiii
 ascendancy, 256–62
 blockade of Gaza and, 392
 civil rights and, 407–8
 economic policy, 417–18
 election, 3, 256, 393
 government, 267–74, 405
 ineffectiveness, 3, 410
 Jerusalem, 282
 Lebanese war and, 349
 Madrid Conference, 224
 Obama and, 400–1, 402–3
 propaganda, 195, 218
 public opinion, 350
 security fence, 327
 settlement policy, 333–4, 397–400, 402–3, 408–9
 Shamir and, 214, 268
 Syria and, 276
 Turkey and, 413
 withdrawal from Gaza and, 314, 332–3
 new historians, 2, 156
 Nicaragua, 392
 Nordau, Max, 26
 Nordhausen, 56
 North Korea, 345–6, 359–61, 415
 Norway, 170

- nuclear arms race, 4
 nuclear weapons, 129, 170, 361, 415
 Nusseibeh, Sari, 185, 225, 231, 239, 324
- Obama, Barack, 366, 392, 400–1, 402–4, 411–12, 415–16
- occupied territories
See also specific territories
 attacks on settlements, 228
 Begin policy, 148, 158
 Drobles Plan, 169
 economy, 244–5
 ideology, 134–40
 Judea and Samaria, 141–6
 map, 133
 Oslo Accords, 240–1, 277–8
 Palestinian conditions, 306
 public opinion, 2
 settlements, 2–3, 134, 141, 160, 167, 184, 218, 219, 234, 269, 278–9, 308–9, 324, 327, 333–4
 Sharon, 168, 169
 US positions, 217
- Ofer, Avraham, 145–6
- O’Hegarty, P.S., 199
- Olmert, Ehud, **315**
 Begin and, 147, 315, 335–6
 Camp David (1979), 162
 ceasefire and, 378
 flotilla and, 389
 Free Centre, 144
 government, 337–50
 ineffectiveness, 3, 350–1, 358–9
 Jerusalem, 261, 282, 315
 Lebanon and, 345, 346
 Netanyahu and, 256, 259
 Operation Cast Lead and, 378, 379
 Shamir government, 216, 222
 Sharon and, 330–1
 withdrawal from Gaza, 314–16, 332
- Olshan, Yitzhak, 112
- OPEC, 155
- Operation Accountability, 347
- Operation Cast Lead, 372–80, 418–19
 aftermath, 380–7
 combatants killed, 380–2
- Operation Defensive Shield, 304, 349
- Operation Grapes of Wrath, 347
- Operation Litani, 341
- Operation Olive Leaves, 119
- Orr, Ya’akov, 4
- Oslo Accords (1993), 3, 232–6, 240, 253, 256, 257, 258–61, 262, 267, 270, 278–9, 289, 297, 299, 318, 324, 325, 333
- Oslo II, 241, 253, 261, 278, 295, 296, 329, 395
- Ottomans, 25, 26, 95
- Oved hadati, 81
- Owen, Robert, 25
- Oz, Amos, 139, 151, 263
- Paice, Sergeant, 43
- Pakistan, 52
- Palestine
 British exit, 38–43
 British occupation, 28, 30–7
 Jewish immigration, 62–5
 Palestine Communist party (PCP), 224
 Palestine Land Development Company, 20
 Palestine Liberation Army, 238
 Palestine Liberation Front, 202
 Palestinian Authority, 300, 323, 341
 Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO)
 Abu Nidal and, 172
 assets, 237–8
 Begin and, 5, 150, 156, 174, 176, 178
 change of path, 201–3
 Charter, 154, 209, 324
 creation, 246
 divisions, 200
 governance, 300–1
 Gulf war, 220–1
 Hamas and, 353, 354–5
 ideology, 246
 IDF attacks on, 160
 Intifada, 203–7, 249, 250
 Islamists and, 254, 255, 300
 Lebanon and, 170, 171, 175–6, 341
 Madrid Conference, 223, 225–6
 marginalization, 326
 Netanyahu and, 257
 Oslo Accords, 232–6
 peace movement and, 184
 post-Oslo, 236–40, 244
 Rabin era, 228–9
 recognition, 153, 156, 207–11
 Resolution 242 and, 137
 Sadat and, 159, 160
 Shamir government, 214–5, 217–19
 terrorism, 152, 202, 227
 two-state solution and, 155, 185–6
- Palestinians
 1948 refugees, 49–53
 Camp David and, 289
 Clinton Parameters and, 289
 identity, 49, 53, 150–6
 internal struggle, 298–307
 Israeli awakening to, 207–11
 Madrid Conference, 224–6
 Netanyahu government, 269, 270
 peace movement and, 184
 poverty, 277

- prisoners, 274, 308
 public opinion, 245, 287, 348
 Rabin and, 232
 rejectionism, 244–55, 266
 separation from, 326–32
 unilateralism and, 322
 Wye Agreement, 271–4
 Palmach, xv, 36, 37, 69, 101–2, 114, 182
 Pass, Shalhavet, 293
 Passfield White Paper, 31
 peace movement, 151, 176–7, 180, 181–6, 222, 260
 peace process
 See also two-state solution
 Begin negotiations, 156–65
 land for peace, 7, 202
 military men and, 5
 Palestinian rejectionism, 244–51
 public opinion, 143, 223, 228, 254, 309, 318, 333
 Rabin, 227–42
 right backlash, 255–62
 Shamir government, 213–26
 Peel Commission, 34–5, 48, 72
 Peled, Matti, 184
 Penslar, Derek, 25
 Peres, Shimon, xxiii
 1959 elections, 122
 1974 government, 145, 146
 1984–6 premiership, 200
 1996 elections, 267
 on Abu Mazen, 417
 agreement with Hussein, 203
 ambiguities, 278–9
 Barak and, 275
 Begin and, 148, 167
 Ben-Gurion and, 105, 106, 124
 Camp David (1979), 163
 ineffectiveness, 3
 Jewish diaspora and, 190
 Jordanian option, 202, 203
 Kadima, 337
 Labour leadership, 148, 158
 Lebanese war and, 178
 ‘New Middle East’, 290, 327–8
 Nobel Peace Prize, 239, 288
 nuclear weapons, 170, 171
 old politics, 229
 Oslo Accords, 233, 235
 peace movement and, 203
 peace process, 318
 PLO and, 201, 202, 203, 238
 Rabin government, 231, 232, 233
 Rafi membership, 128, 129
 right backlash, 260, 261
 Shamir government, 213, 217
 Sharon government, 294–5
 Six Day war, 124
 Syrian policy, 276
 territorial policy, 139
 Peretz, Amir, 335, 336, 338, 346, 349
 Petacci, Clara, 261
 Petain, Philippe, 261
 Pfeffer, Itzik, 2
 Phalangists, xviii, 173, 179–80
 Pinsker, Leon, xxiii, 11–12, 13
 Pistolese, Pietro, 351
 Plotkin, Zvi, 188
 Poale Agudat Yisrael, xvi, 73, 76, 79
 Poale Zion, xvi, 19, 20–1, 27, 67, 70, 99
 Podhoretz, Norman, 193–4, 196
 poetry, 35, 91–2
 Pol Pot, 197
 Poland, 12, 13, 34, 60, 180
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 203, 204, 218, 224, 233, 244, 255, 295, 299, 302
 Popular Resistance Committees (PRC), xviii, 354, 371, 411
 Porush, Meir, 269
 poverty
 Israeli, 6
 Palestinian, 277
 Powell, Colin, 294, 295, 306, 318, 319
 Praegeron, Zvi, 188
 prime ministers, of Israel, xxvi. *See also individual prime minister*
 prisoners, 274, 308
 privatizations, 6
 Progressives, xvi, 105
 Project Alpha, 114–15
 Protestantism, 11
 Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 26
 Pundak, Ron, 233

 Qaddumi, Farouk, 238, 239
 al-Qaeda, 369–70
 al-Qassam, Izz al-din, xviii, 31, 246, 310, 314, 351, 352, 353, 354, 361, 370, 371, 374
 Qassam rockets, 301, 307, 337, 339, 352, 363, 377, 379
 Qatar, 268
 al-Qawaqij, Fawzi, 35
 Qibya, 19, 107
 Quartet, 318, 336, 339
 al-Quds Brigades, xviii, 351, 371
 Qutb, Sayyid, 246

 Ra’am, xvi
 Rabbo, Yasser Abed, 283, 287, 318, 319
 Rabin, Leah, 261, 262

- Rabin, Yitzhak, xxiii
 Arafat and, 277
 assassination, 3, 256, 264–6, 267
 Begin and, 148
 Ben-Gurion and, 102
 Camp David (1979), 163
 Chamoun meeting, 170
 diaspora and, 196
 first premiership, 143, 145–6, 194
 funeral, 262
 Independence, 40
 infrastructure and, 269
 Intifada, 205
 Islamism and, 250
 Nobel Peace Prize, 239
 nuclear weapons, 170
 Oslo Accords, 395
 Palestinians and, 208, 218
 peace process, 5, 227–36, 253–4
 rejectionism and, 250–2
 right backlash, 256–7, 259–66
 security fence, 326–7
 settlement policy, 269, 278, 327, 333
 Shamir government and, 213, 214, 217
 Six Day war, 124
 War of Independence, 47
- Rafael, Gideon, 147
 Rafi, xvi, 125, 128–9, 135, 139, 227
 Rajoub, Jibril, 283
 Rakach, xvi, 182
 Ramle, 46, 47
 Ramon, Chaim, 234–5, 275
 al-Rantisi, Abdel Aziz, 287, 308, 309, 311, 314, 323
 Raphael, Yitzhak, 119, 143
 Rapoport, Solomon, xxiii
 Rathenau, Walter, xxiii
 Ratosh, Yonatan, xxiv, 92, 199
 Ratz, 182, 212
 Razieli, David, xxiv
 Reagan, Ronald, 166, 173, 175–6, 178, 201, 208, 342
 redemptionist Zionists, xvi, 135, 142, 334, 335
 Red Front, 182
 refugees
 Allon and, 138
 Camp David (2000), 280
 camps, 5, 9, 207
 Clinton Parameters, 287
 historiography, 156
 issue, 150–1
 return, 103, 279, 280
 Sudan, 8
 United States and, 230
 War of Independence, 47–53
- refuseniks, 226, 318
 Reid, Richard, 370
 Reines, Yitzhak Yaakov, xxiv, 90, 163
 rejectionism, 244–62, 288
 religion
 Begin, 149
 definition of Jewishness, 85–91
 Islamism, 5, 307–14, 349–50
 Judea and Samaria, 141–6, 149, 155, 174
 politics of piety, 78–97
 religious Right and Rabin, 262–6
 Remez, David, 105
 Revadim, 39
 Revisionist party, xvi, 34, 58, 87, 106, 130, 178, 256
 al-Reyashi, Reem Salih, 309–10
 Rice, Condoleezza, 329
 Rida, Mohammad Rashid, xxiv
 Rishon L'Zion, 20
 Risorgimento, 12, 198
 Road Map, 306–7, 309, 316, 317, 322, 324–5, 332, 336, 338, 403
 al-Rob, Omar Ahmed Abu, 352
 Robespierre, Maximilien, 199
 Romania, 63
 Romans, 2, 79
 Rommel, Erwin, 36–7
 Romney, Mitt, 404
 Rosenheim, Jacob, 84
 Ross, Dennis, 271
 Rothschild, Baron de, xxiv, 17, 27
 Rubinstein, Amnon, 146
 Rubinstein, Eliyakim, 224
 Ruffeisen, Daniel, 87
 Rumsfeld, Donald, 294
 Ruppin, Arthur, xxiv, 18, 20
 Russell, Bertrand, 10, 60
 Russia, 7, 11, 12, 13, 16–17, 27, 99, 306, 339.
See also Soviet Union
- Sabra, 179, 180, 304
 Sadat, Anwar, 35, 148, 155, 157–62, 165, 184, 194, 256, 415
 Saddam Hussein, 4, 170, 171, 172, 200, 220–2, 223, 237, 251, 252, 275, 281, 298, 342
 Sadeh, Yitzhak, xxiv, 36, 37, 68, 101
 Safed, 31, 99
 Safieh, Afif, 237
 Said, Edward, 208, 237
 Saint-Just, Louis, 199
 Salafists, xviii, 411
 Salama, Hassan, 409
 Salameh, Ali Hassan, 409
 Samaria and Judea, 141–6, 149, 155, 174
 Samuel, Sir Herbert, xxiv, 39

- Sapir, Pinchas, xxiv, 129, 137, 170
 Sarid, Yossi, xxiv, 178, 212, 266, 288, 320
 Sarkozy, Nicolas, 379
 Sartawi, Issam, 184
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 10, 197
 Sasson Report, 332–3
 satellites, 360, 365–6
 Saudi Arabia, 46, 93, 115, 155, 220, 223, 237, 238,
 250, 296, 299, 326, 339
 Saudi peace initiative, 408
 Saunders, Alan, 282
 Savir, Uri, 234
 Sayeret Matkal, 298
 Sayigh, Yezid, 284
 Sayyan, Said, 352
 Schach, Eliezer Menachem, xxiv, 217, 230
 Schiff, Ze'ev, 179
 Schindler, Alexander, 194
 Schneersohn, Menachem Mendel, xxiv, 217
 Scud missiles, 4, 220, 223, 359–60
 Seale, Patrick, 275
 security fence, 317, 326–32
 security imperative, 23–37
 Sefarim, Mendele Mocher, xxiv, 17
 Sephardim, xviii, 7, 72, 75, 79, 91–7, 145, 166,
 167, 174, 189, 213, 230
 September 11 attacks, 294, 299, 320
 settlements, 393–400
 Abu Mazen and, 398
 Barak and, 395, 397
 freeze on, 157, 162, 175, 219, 228, 229, 236, 274,
 306, 232, 331, 394, 401, 402, 409
 in Jerusalem, 395–6, 401–2
 Netanyahu policy, 397–400, 402–3, 408–9
 Sharon policy, 146, 157, 162, 218, 219, 222, 229,
 269–70, 333–4, 335, 396
 United States and, 395–6, 399, 401–2
 Sha'ath, Nabil, 225, 237, 280, 305, 325
 al-Shaer, Nasser, 339
 al-Shafi, Haider 'Abd, xix, 232, 236, 238, 239
 Shahak, Amnon. *See* Lipkin-Shahak, Amnon
 Shahal, Moshe, 326
 Shalev, Gabriella, 398
 Shalit, Amos de, 170
 Shalit, Benjamin, 87
 Shalit, Gilad, 370–1, 409
 Shalom, Silvan, 268, 314, 317, 333
 Shamgar Commission, 265–6
 Shamir, Yitzhak, 163
 Begin and, 162
 career, 198–201
 coalitions, 213
 foreign minister, 167–8
 ideology, 228, 272–3
 Jordanian option, 150
 Netanyahu and, 214, 268
 Palestinian issue, 213–20, 222–4, 226
 PLO and, 201–3, 209, 210–11
 settlement policy, 229
 Sharon and, 319
 Shamir, Moshe, 92
 Shapira, Avraham, xxiv, 336
 Shapira, Chaim Moshe, 86, 87, 142, 143
 al-Shara, Faruq, 225, 276
 Sharansky, Natan, 274, 297
 Sharett, Moshe, xxv, 101
 Arabs and, 43–4, 45
 Ben-Gurion and, 70, 100, 105–8, 113, 114,
 115–16, 119–20, 122, 126, 127, 321
 Declaration of Independence, 46
 diaspora and, 189
 Egypt and, 117, 119
 Gaza and, 52
 Lavon affair, 112–13
 liberalism, 104
 Mapai split, 98, 104–5
 origins, 99
 premiership, 107–8, 113
 refugee policy, 49–50
 religion and, 76
 resignation, 116
 Soviet Union and, 109, 111
 supporters, 119
 sharia law, 355–6
 Sharif, Omar Khan, 307
 Sharon, Ariel, xxv
 Abu Mazen and, 290, 305, 337
 Aqaba summit, 308
 Arafat and, 272
 Begin government, 149–50, 158, 168, 271,
 321–2
 change of direction, 320, 321–6
 choice of generals, 4, 349
 controversies, 168–9
 diaspora and, 197
 election, 288, 289
 farm, 2–3
 government, 289–97
 ideology, 162, 321
 Islamists and, 302, 308, 309, 324
 Jordanian option, 150
 Lebanon, 172–4, 175–7, 179–80, 271, 345
 Likud leadership, 281–4
 Netanyahu and, 256, 258, 259, 267–73
 party formation, 144–5, 337
 public image, 336
 Qibya killings, 107, 191
 re-election, 298–9
 Road Map and, 306–7
 security fence, 326–32

- Sharon, Ariel (*cont.*)
 settlement policy, 146, 157, 162, 218, 219, 222, 229, 269–70, 333–4, 335, 396
 Shamir and, 198, 215, 217, 218, 319
 Sinai, 149, 161
 strokes, 336
 Syria and, 172, 276
 Temple Mount walk, 281–3, 285
 two-state solution and, 222, 291, 331
 withdrawal from Gaza, 314–20, 332–7, 393–4
 Sharon, Omri, 292
 Shas, xvi, 7, 213, 217, 230, 231, 235–6, 274
 Shatilla, 179, 180, 304
 Shavit, Ari, 297
 Shaw Commission, 31, 282
 shechinah, xviii, 96
 Shehadeh, Aziz, 152
 Sheinkin, Menachem, xxv, 18
 Sheli, xvi, 182
 Shemtov, Victor, 184
 Sher, Gilad, 280
 Shikaki, Fathi, 249, 266, 291
 Shin Bet, 265–6
 Shinui group, 146
 Shitreet, Meir, 167, 259
 Shlomzion party, 146, 169
 Shlonsky, Avraham, xxv, 91
 Shoah, xviii. *See also* Holocaust
 Shomron, Dan, 223
 Shoval, Zalman, 260
 Shulchan Aruch, xviii
 Shultz, George, 208–9
 Shuman, Jihad, 301
 Siach, xvi, 183
 Silver, Abba Hillel, 191
 Sinai
 1956 campaign, 98, 122, 138
 Begin and, 149, 150, 161
 return to Egypt, 137, 149, 165
 settlements, 165
 Singer, Joel, 234
 Six Day war, 4, 123–5, 134, 136, 142
 Slowacki, Juliusz, xxiv, 198
 Smolenskin, Peretz, xxv, 17
 Sneh, Ephraim, 235
 Sneh, Moshe, xxv, 68, 102, 153, 182
 Sobol, Yehoshua, 179
 socialism, 6, 19, 21, 26, 27, 30–7, 97
 Sofer, Hatam (Moses Schreiber), xxv
 Sokolov, Nachum, 27
 Soloveitchik, Aharon, 265
 Soloveitchik, Yitzhak Ze'ev, 83
 South Africa, 63, 190, 315, 339, 392
 Soviet Union
 See also Russia
 Birobidzhan, 12
 Egypt and, 115, 117
 Eshkol and, 126
 immigration from, 62, 219, 228–9
 Jewish diaspora, 187–9, 190
 Madrid Conference, 223
 Six Day war, 123, 124
 Stalin's Middle East policy, 104, 109–12
 Suez crisis and, 122
 Zionism and, 58, 62, 63, 68, 69, 71, 121
 Spain, 110, 380–1
 Spinoza, Baruch, xxv, 25
 Sprinzak, Ehud, 264
 Sprinzak, Yosef, 105
 Stalin, Josef, 62, 63, 64, 78, 109–12, 117, 182, 188, 196
 State List, xvi, 144, 162
 Stern, Avraham, xvi, 198, 199
 Straw, Jack, 311
 Sudan, 8, 251, 301
 Suez Canal, 109, 112, 113, 117
 Suez crisis, 119–22, 196
 suicide bombings, 3–4, 5, 204, 250, 253, 262, 267, 278, 290, 292, 293–4, 295, 296, 305, 307, 309–11, 320, 323, 326–7, 331, 341–2, 351
 Suleiman, Mohammed, 361
 al-Sulh, Riad, 99
 Supreme Muslim Council, 32
 Surinam, 12
 Syria
 Arafat and, 225
 arms from North Korea and, 359–60
 Barak and, 275–7
 Egypt and, 121, 123
 Geneva Conference (1977), 156
 Golan Heights, 7, 137
 Hezbollah and, 342–3
 Islamists and, 323
 Jordan and, 121
 Lebanon and, 170, 173, 253, 344, 347
 Madrid Conference, 225
 nuclear power and, 415
 Operation Olive Leaves, 119
 PLO and, 159
 pogroms, 63
 Rabin and, 232, 241–2, 276
 Sam-6 missiles, 171
 Shabaa farms, 344–5
 Sharon and, 172, 176
 Six Day war, 125

- United States and, 242–3
 War of Independence and, 45, 46
 Yom Kippur war, 144
 Syrkin, Nachman, xxv, 19
- Ta'al, xvi
 Taba talks, 288, 289, 290
 Tabenkin, Yitzhak, xxv, 21, 22, 33, 37, 47, 71–2, 102, 135, 136, 138, 212, 227
 Taha, Fahmi, 44
 al-Tal, Abdullah, 51
 Talmud, xviii
 Tami, xvi, 166, 230
 Tamir, Shmuel, 146, 147
 Tandhim al-Jihad, 249
 Tanzim, 244, 283, 287
 targeted killings, 291–2, 311, 323
 Tchernikovskiy, Shaul, xxv, 88
 Tchiya, xvii, 159, 166, 211–12
 technology sector, 5–6
 Tegart, Charles, 326
 Tel Aviv, 97
 Telem, 165
 Tephilin, xviii
 Thabet, Thabet, 292
 Thatcher, Margaret, 166, 229
 Tiran, Straits of, 115, 119, 122, 123
 Toubi, Tewfik, 158
 tourism, 359
 trade agreements, 407
 Trajtenberg, Manuel, 418
 Transjordan, 45, 46, 48, 52, 53
 Transparency International, 3
 Tripartite Declaration (1950), 116
 Trobe, Jacob, 54–5
 Trotsky, Leon, 10–11, 182, 199
 Truman, Harry, 54, 58
 Trumpeldor, Yosef, xxv
 Tsaban, Dror, 333
 Tsomet, xvii, 212, 256
 Tunisia, 93, 268
 tunnel systems, 46, 269, 310, 345–6, 356, 362, 370, 371, 372, 374, 392, 395
 Turkey, 28, 45, 64, 93, 115, 251, 339, 361, 362, 376, 391–2, 411–14
 two-state solution
 Arab states, 200
 Arafat, 205
 Carter and, 157
 Hamas and, 339–40
 peace camp, 151
 PLO and, 185–6, 209, 210, 228
 popular opinion, 306
 Resolution 181, 37, 44, 52, 153
 road to, 153
 Sharon and, 291, 306–7, 331
 US policy, 294
 Tzislung, Adam, 70
- Uganda Plan, 163
 United Arab Emirates, 362
 United Kingdom
 arms supplies, 47, 116
 exit from Palestine, 38–43
 Gaza exports and, 388
 Geneva Initiative and, 319
 Holocaust and, 56–7
 Islamists and, 300
 Jewish diaspora, 195
 Jewish immigration and, 54–61
 Middle East mandates, 95
 Mossad and, 409–10
 oil crisis 1974, 155
 Operation Cordage, 116
 Palestinian occupation, 28, 30–7
 Project Alpha, 114–15
 Suez crisis, 120–2, 196
 Suez evacuation, 109, 112, 117
- United Nations
 1947 partition plan, 42, 44, 52
 Human Rights Council, 382, 386–7
 Palestinian refugees, 50–3
 Resolution 181, 9, 37, 44, 52, 106, 153, 202, 209, 210, 416
 Resolution 194, 51–2, 210, 230, 279, 286
 Resolution 242, 137, 154, 156, 202, 208, 210
 Resolution 338, 154, 156, 202, 208
 Resolution 1397, 296
 Resolution 1701, 347
 Resolution 1718, 415
 Resolution 1874, 415
 security fence resolution, 332
 West Bank and, 323
- United Religious Front, 72, 80
 United States
 aid to Israel, 67, 155, 218, 219
 aid to Palestinians, 239
 arms supplies, 116, 170–1, 354
 Bush Middle East policy, 294–7, 301, 309, 316, 322, 325–6, 331
 Carter policy, 156–7, 160
 Dulles diplomacy, 111
 Egypt and, 109, 111, 116
 Gaza blockade and, 392–3
 Geneva Initiative and, 318, 319
 Gulf war, 220
 Hamas and, 295, 300, 353
 Iran and, 362
 Iraq war, 298
 Israeli independence and, 39, 43, 47

- United States (*cont.*)
 Jewish diaspora, 186, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196,
 215, 219, 257
 Lebanese invasion and, 173, 346, 347
 Madrid Conference, 222–3
 Mitchell Report, 294, 296, 297
 Netanyahu and, 257
 Operation Cast Lead and, 378–9, 383
 Oslo Accords, 233, 236–7
 Palestinian refugees and, 52, 53
 PLO and, 195, 201–2, 208, 210, 218, 258
 Project Alpha, 114–15
 Qibya killings and, 107
 Rabin government and, 230
 Reagan plan, 175
 Road Map, 306–7, 309, 316, 317, 322, 325, 333,
 338
 security fence and, 329–30
 September 11 attacks, 294, 299, 320
 settlements and, 219, 395–6, 399, 401–2
 Shamir and, 215, 216
 Sharon and, 270–1, 291
 Sinai campaign and, 122
 Six Day war, 124
 special relationship with Israel, 122
 Straits of Tiran, 123
 Suez crisis and, 122
 Syrian policy, 242–3
 Turkey and, 414
 United Torah Judaism, xvii
 unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), 365
 UNSCOP Commission, 84
 Uruguay, 377
 Ussishkin, Menachem, xxv, 27
- Vance, Cyrus, 157
 Venezuela, 377
 Venice Declaration (1980), 155
 Verwoerd, Hendrik, 190
 Vidal, Gore, 194
 Vietnam, 52
 Vietnam war, 151, 193, 199
 Vilkovsky, A., 18
 Vilner, Meir, 158
- Wagner, Richard, 13
 War of Independence, 2, 4, 43–9, 65, 289
 war on terror, 311, 314, 323
 Warhaftig, Zerach, xxv, 76, 88
 Washington, George, 203
 weapons of mass destruction, 4, 252
 Webb, Sidney, 58
 Weisglass, Dov, 316
 Weizmann, Chaim, xxvi, 9, 14, 15, 28, 33, 36, 41,
 66, 90, 99, 102, 105
- Weizmann, Ezer, xxvi, 147, 158, 160, 165, 165–6,
 216
 West Bank
See also occupied territories
 acquisition, 125
 Allon Plan, 137
 Begin and, 157, 165
 Ben-Gurion on, 105
 Camp David (2000), 280
 colonization, 141
 demographics, 278, 324
 Jordan and, 69, 71, 151, 209
 maps, **312, 313**
 Oslo Accords, 240
 Palestinian population, 207
 part withdrawal, 338
 Reagan plan, 175
 security barrier, 317, 326
 settlements, 143, 150, 162, 167, 169, 274, 278,
 335, 336, 403–4
 United Nations on, 323
 Wilson, Woodrow, 203
 wine production, 6–7
 Wingate, Orde, 36, 101
 Winograd Report, 350–1, 352
 Wissenschaft des Judentums, xviii
 WIZO, 76
 Wolfowitz, Paul, 294, 298
 Women in Green, 260
 World Bank, 239, 320, 356, 370, 388
 World Health Organization, 7
 World Union of Jewish Students, 183
 World Zionist Organization, 190
 Wye Agreement, 271–4
- Ya'alon, Moshe, 3, 316, 346, 349, 363
 Ya'ari, Ehud, 254
 Ya'ari, Meir, xxvi, 75, 138
 Yadin, Yigal, xxvi, 38, 146, 149, 168
 Yariv, Aharon, 184
 Yassin, Ahmed, 225, 245, 246, 295, 302–3,
 309–11, 314, 323, 324, 340
 Yassin, Najla, 238
 Yatom, Danny, 415
 Yehoshua, A. B., 139
 Yeivin, Yehoshua Heschel, 130
 Yemen, 46, 93, 94, 115, 159, 240, 326
 Yemen war (1962), 4
 Yemenites, 75, 81, 93, 96, 97, 230
 Yesh Gvul, 222
 Yesha Council, 308
 yeshiva, xviii
 Yevseksia, 70, 71
 Yisrael B'Aliyah, xvii, 274
 Yisrael Beitanu, xvii, 7

Index

445

- Yom Kippur war, 142, 144–5, 154, 155, 157, 168, 183
Yosef, Ovadia, xxvi, 7, 213, 217, 231
Young Turks, 24
Yusuf, Nasser, 255

Zahar, Mahmoud, xxvi, 248, 311, 352, 353
Zalman, Shneur, xxvi, 14

Zangwill, Israel, 25
Ze'evi, Rechavam, xxvi, 212, 260, 295
Zichron Ya'akov, 20
Zinni, Anthony, 295
Zippori, Mordechai, 172, 173
Zohar, 16
Zuckerman, Yitzhak, 139