# ISRAEL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations 1948–present

Edited by

ITAMAR RABINOVICH JEHUDA REINHARZ

Tel Aviv University Brandeis University

New York Oxford OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1984

## Contents

List of Maps, xiii Introduction, 3

## I 1948-56

### DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1. The Proclamation of the State of Israel,
- 2. The First Arab-Israeli War, 15
  DAVID BEN-GURION
- 3. The First Ordinance of the State of Israel, 29 PROVISIONAL STATE COUNCIL
- 4. The Formation of the Israel Defense Forces, 31
  DAVID BEN-GURION
- 5. Negotiations with King Abdullah and the Formation of a Governmental Structure, 32 ZEEV SHAREF
- 6. The Law of Return, 40 FIRST KNESSET
- 7. The Debate on a Constitution, 41 FIRST KNESSET
- 8. The Absorption of Immigrants, 47 GIORA JOSEPHTAL

- Jewish Religion and Israeli Democracy,
   ISAAC OLSHAN
- 10. The German Reparations, 54 NAHUM GOLDMANN
- 11. The Mishap in Egypt, 58
  BENYAMIN GIVLI
- 12. The Transformation of the Israeli Army, 60 MOSHE DAYAN

#### FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

- The Syrian-Israeli Armistice Agreement,
   66
- 14. Conclusions, 1951, 69
  PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION
- 15. The Jordanian-Israeli Negotiations, 71
  ABDULLAH AL-TAL
- The Period of Soviet-Israeli Cooperation,
   NEW TIMES

X CONTENTS

- 17. The Deterioration of Soviet-Israeli Relations, 76 NEW TIMES
- 18. The Challenge of the Fedayeen, 77
  EHUD YAARI
- The Ben-Gurion-Sharett Clash over Defense Policies, 81 MOSHE SHARETT
- 20. The Quest for Arms, 84 SHIMON PERES
- 21. The Soviet Union and the Czech Arms Deal, 92 MOSHE SHARETT

- 22. Israel's Foreign and Middle Eastern Policy, 95
  MOSHE SHARETT
- 23. The Background to the Sinai Campaign, 98
  YAACOV HERZOG
- 24. The Anderson Mission, 105 YAACOV HERZOG
- 25. Israel and the Jewish Diaspora, 110
  WALTER EYTAN
- 26. Israel and Soviet Jewry, 114
  ARIE L. ELIAV

## II 1956-67

## DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 27. The Transition from Ben-Gurion to Eshkol, 122
  TEDDY KOLLEK
- 28. The Formation of a Center-Right-Wing Bloc, 126
  YOHANAN BADER
- 29. The Lavon Affair, 131 J. L. TALMON
- 30. Dayan and the Conflict between Veterans and Youngsters, 135 SHABTAI TEVETH
- 31. Social and Ethnic Tensions in the Late 1950s, 141 DAVID BEN-GURION
- 32. The Development Town, 143
  EMMANUEL MARX
- 33. The Basic Law on the Knesset, 150 THIRD KNESSET
- 34. Jewish Religion and Israeli Nationality: The Brother Daniel Case, 151 SUPREME COURT
- 35. The Capture of Adolf Eichmann, 154
  DAVID BEN-GURION
  Announcement in the Knesset, 154
  Reply to Goldmann, 155
- 36. The Israeli Arab Minority: A Sample of Outlooks, 155
  NEW OUTLOOK

"Co-existence and Not Emigration," 156 IBRAHIM SHBAT
"There Are Democratic Solutions," 158 BOULOS FARAH
"For a Palestinian Arab State," 159 MANSOUR KARDOSH

## FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

- 37. The Eisenhower Doctrine, 162
  DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER
- 38. Ben-Gurion and the Policy of the Periphery, 164 MICHAEL BAR-ZOHAR
- 39. Ben-Gurion and Israel's Regional and International Position in 1958, 171 MICHAEL BAR-ZOHAR
- 40. American Arms for Israel, 173
  SHIMON PERES
- 41. Israel's Beginnings in Africa, 177
  EHUD AVRIEL
- 42. The Arab Summit Conferences, 181
  GAMAL ABDUL NASSER
- 43. The Conflict with Israel, 184 SYRIAN BA'ATH PARTY
- 44. The Last Stage of the Crisis, 185
- 45. The Nasser-Hussein Reconciliation, 188 ZAYD AL-RIFA'I

CONTENTS Xi

## III 1967-73

#### DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 46. The Domestic Impact of the June 1967 War, 192
- 47. Administering the West Bank, 195
  SHABTAI TEVETH
- 48. The Nationalist, Clericalist and Business Elites, 201 YUVAL ELIZUR AND ELIAHU SALPETER
- 49. The Israeli Left, 206
  AMNON RUBINSTEIN
- 50. The Black Panthers, 215 LEA BEN-DOR

#### FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

- 51. The Soviet Union and the June 1967 War, 220 ALEXEI KOSYGIN
- 52. The Khartoum Resolutions, 222
  FOURTH ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE

- 53. Resolution 242, 222 U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL
- 54. The War of Attrition, 224 EZER WEIZMAN
- 55. The Palestinian National Charter, 1968, 228 PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
- 56. The Jordanian Crisis of September 1970, 232 YITZHAK RABIN
- 57. Political Program, 1973, 234
  PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
- 58. The Eve of the October 1973 War, 240 HANOCH BARTOV
- 59. The Turning Point in the October 1973 War, 247 HANOCH BARTOY

## IV 1973-83

#### DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 60. Interim Report, 254
  AGRANAT COMMISSION
- 61. The Protest Movements in the Aftermath of the October 1973 War, 260 MOTTI ASHKENAZI
- 62. Prospects for the New Government, 262
  MENAHEM BEGIN
- 63. Opinion Paper, 267
  GUSH EMUNIM
- 64. The Ideology of the NRP, 270 YEHUDA BEN-MEIR
- 65. Platform, 274
  PEACE NOW
- 66. The West Bank and Gaza within the Framework of a Middle East Peace Settlement, 277 YIGAL ALLON
- 67. Manifesto, 281

  NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE
  OF ARAB LANDS

- 68. A Soviet Jewish Intellectual Abroad, 282
  SIMON MARKISH
- 69. Elections 1981, 285 ASHER ARIAN

#### FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

- 70. Ending the October 1973 War, 303
  Israeli Cabinet Decision, October 22, 1973, 303
  The Six-Point Agreement, November 11, 1973, 304
  Sixth Arab Summit Conference, Algiers, November 28, 1973, 304
  Secret Resolutions of the Algiers Summit Conference, 306
- 71. Resolutions at Rabat, 307
  SEVENTH ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE
- 72. The Anti-Zionist Resolution at the United Nations, 309
  U.N. General Assembly Resolution 3379, 310

xii CONTENTS

Speech to the General Assembly, 310 CHAIM HERZOG

- 73. Political Program, 1974, 312
  PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
- 74. The Egyptian-Israeli Disengagement Agreement, September 1975, 314
- 75. The United States and the Palestinian Issue, 316
  HAROLD H. SAUNDERS
- 76. The Egyptian-Israeli Negotiations, 1977–78, 320 Sadat's Speech to the Knesset, November 20, 1977, 321 Begin's Speech to the Knesset, November 20, 1977, 324 Israel's Autonomy Plan, December 28, 1977, 327

The American Position: Reaffirmation of the Carter-Sadat Summit at Aswan, February 1978, 328 The Egyptian Position: The Peace Plan Published by the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, July 5, 1978, 329 Camp David Agreements, September 17, 1978, 330 Exchange of Letters accompanying the Camp David Agreements, 334

- 77. A Survey of Israel's Contacts with Jordan, 337
  MOSHE ZAK
- 78. The Iranian-Israeli Relationship, 342
  URI LUBRANI
- 79. Final Report, 348
  KAHAN COMMISSION

## Appendix Demography and Government in Israel

Presidents of the State of Israel, 359 Chiefs of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces, 359

Changes in Political Alliances of Major Israeli Parties, 360

Results of Knesset Elections, 1949–81, 361 Governments of Israel, 1948–55, 365 Governments of Israel, 1955–69, 367 Governments of Israel, 1969–83, 370 Immigration to Israel, 1948–82, 375 Jewish Refugees from Arab Countries, 376 American Immigration to Israel, 1948–82, 377

Jewish Emigration from the USSR to Israel, 1968-82, 378

The Extent of Real Immigration and Emigration, 378

Population by District and Population Group, 381

Introduction to Tables on Settlement, 382

Jewish Settlements Established in Palestine, Israel, and the Administered Territories, 383

Cooperative Settlements by Type and Affiliation, 384

Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, 385

Real Wages in Israel since 1948, 387 Development of the Educational System since 1948, 389

Israeli Casualties from Terrorist Activities, 1967–81, 390

Index, 391