

# **Dictionary of Palestinian Political Terms**

**PASSIA**

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, Jerusalem



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## Abbreviations

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ACRI	Association for Civil Rights in Israel	PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
AD	Anno Domini	PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee	PFLP-GC	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command
ALF	Arab Liberation Front	PLA	Palestine Liberation Army
ANM	Arab Nationalist Movement	PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation	PLF	Palestinian Liberation Front
BC(E)	Before the Common Era	PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
BDS	Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions	PNC	Palestinian National Council
Brig.-Gen.	Brigadier General	PNSF	Palestinian National Salvation Front
CE	Common or Christian Era	PPP	Palestinian People’s Party
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency	PPSF	Palestinian Popular Struggle Front
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress	PRC	Popular Resistance Committees
DCO	District Coordination Office	PRCP	Palestinian Revolutionary Communist Party
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	PRCS	Palestinian Red Crescent Society
DOP	Declaration of Principles	RC	Revolutionary Council
EU	European Union	SLA	South Lebanese Army
EU BAM	European Union Border Assistance Mission	St.	Saint
ICC	International Criminal Court	TIPH	Temporary International Presence in Hebron
ICJ	International Court of Justice	UAE	United Arab Emirates
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross	UAL	United Arab List
ID	Identification/Identity	UK	United Kingdom
IDF	Israel Defense Forces	UN	United Nations
ILA	Israel Land Administration	UNCCP	United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine
IMF	International Monetary Fund	UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
JDC	Joint Distribution Committee	UNEF	UN Emergency Force in the Sinai
JNF	Jewish National Fund	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
JVOP	Jewish Voice for Peace	UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
km	kilometer	UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
km <sup>2</sup>	square kilometer	UNLU	Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
LC	Legislative Council	UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
Lt.	Lieutenant	UNSC	United Nations Security Council
Ltd.	Limited	UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
m	meter	US	United States
Maj.-Gen.	Major General	WZO	World Zionist Organization
mcm	million cubic meter		
MENA	Middle East and North Africa		
MK	Member of Knesset		
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization		
NIS	New Israeli Shekel		
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs		
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territory		
PA	Palestinian Authority		
PBUH	Peace be upon him		



# Foreword

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The conflict that developed in historic Palestine between the Jewish immigrants of the Zionist movement and the Palestinians, which turned into the “Middle East Conflict” involving Israel’s neighboring Arab countries and resulted in the ongoing Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, has shaped Palestinian political life fundamentally.

The story of the conflict is, in a variety of ways, a story of competing narratives that have developed over time. An abundance of negotiations, backchannel meetings and conflict resolution initiatives attest to the fact that even the question of who has the prerogative over interpretation is a political issue. This is not only a question of interpretation and the use of specific politically-charged terms such as “freedom fighter” or “terrorist”. But it is also the question of whole events, such as massacres or promising peace initiatives that are ignored, forgotten or intentionally erased from collective and even academic memory.

In this regard, this Dictionary of Palestinian Political Terms is intended to offer a guide to Palestinian politics and Palestinian political thought. It attempts to present a collection of some of the most prominent actors, movements, agreements, plans and ideologies as well as events that have shaped the history of Palestinian politics. It aims to encourage interested individuals, students and researchers to further investigate and develop a nuanced and critical understanding of a people’s desires to live secure, in dignity and in self-determination.

December 2019

The editors





# A

**ABNAA AL-BALAD** see *Sons of the Village*

**ABSENTEE PROPERTY LAW** Legislation created by Israel in 1950 for the purpose of legalizing changes to land ownership. The law defines an “absentee” as a person who at any time in the period between 29 November 1947 and 1 September 1948, had left their residence and property either for territory outside of the 1948 borders of the State of Israel, Arab states including Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Jordan (the latter two meaning also the West Bank and Gaza Strip), or any territory occupied by Arab military forces. Absentee property was vested in the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property, with no possibility of appeal or compensation, who then sold it to the Development Authority, which was empowered by the Knesset to acquire and prepare lands for the benefit of newly arriving Jewish immigrants. Thereby, the “absentee property” that was left behind by Palestinian refugees in 1948 (and also some of the property of Palestinians who are now citizens of Israel) was transferred to the State of Israel. This process authorized the theft of the property of approximately one million Arabs, seized by Israel in 1948. Following the 1967 War, Israeli law was applied to East Jerusalem, but it was decided that the status of absentee would not apply to residents of East Jerusalem. However, West Bank residents with property in Jerusalem remained in a gray area: while considered absentees under the law and prohibited from officially registering their rights to the land, it did not affect their ownership of the property in practice. Owners could prove their existence and claim their property even though they were considered absentees under the law. In a cabinet meeting on 8 July 2004, this practice was rescinded after being in place for 37 years. In January 2005, the Israeli government decided to apply the Absentee Property Law to East Jerusalem property. In February 2005,

Israel's Attorney General Menachem Mazur ordered the government to cancel implementation of the law in East Jerusalem, stating that it violated obligations under international law. In 2015, a seven-justice panel of the Supreme Court approved the application of the Absentee Property Law to assets in East Jerusalem.

**ABU ALA'-PERES PLAN** Proposal discussed in confidential talks between Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and PLC Speaker Ahmad Qrei'a (Abu Ala'), apparently authorized by Israeli Prime Minister Sharon, in the winter of 2001. The plan suggested first a ceasefire and concentration of weapons and weapon bearers under one authority (PA), followed by an Israeli recognition of a (demilitarized) Palestinian state on areas presently under PA control (42% of the West Bank; 80% of the Gaza Strip) and Palestinian recognition of Israel as a Jewish state as a starting point for renewed final status negotiations on final borders and other outstanding issues (including Jerusalem, settlements, and refugees). The suggested timetable for the implementation of the agreement was one year. The document remained unofficial, did not gain much support, and was neither approved by the Israeli government nor by the PA.



*Ahmed Qrei'a (Abu Ala') & Shimon Peres*

**ABU ALI MUSTAFA BRIGADES** (also: *Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades*) Military wing of the PFLP (originally the *Red Eagles Brigades*), named after PFLP Secretary-General Mustafa Zabri, better known as Abu Ali Mustafa, who was assassinated by an Israeli missile strike at his office in Ramallah on 27 August 2001. On 16 July 2007, the Brigades rejected President Mahmoud Abbas'



call on all Palestinian resistance groups to surrender their weapons to the PA, saying that they would not abandon their resistance until the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has ended.

**ABU HOLI** Former Israeli military checkpoint near Rafah that controlled all traffic on the only road connecting northern and southern Gaza. The checkpoint was dismantled following implementation of Israel's unilateral disengagement plan in 2005.



**ABU KABIR MASSACRE** Assault by Jewish Haganah paramilitaries on the Jaffa neighboring village of Abu Kabir on 12-13 February 1948, in which 13 Arabs were killed and some 22 wounded. Around this time the neighborhood was abandoned by most of its inhabitants and guarded by several dozen militiamen. A second major attack on Abu Kabir occurred on 13 March 1948 in which the Haganah shelled the neighborhood with mortars and blew up a number of houses, ostensibly intended to destroy the area.

**ABU MAZEN-BEILIN PLAN** (formal: *Framework for the Conclusion of a Final Status Agreement Between Israel and the PLO*) Plan drawn up by then-PLO Secretary-General Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) and Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin (Labor) on 31 October 1995, the existence of which was denied by both parties for five years before being unofficially published in September 2000. The draft, which was never formally adopted by either Israel or the Palestinians, envisioned the establishment of a Palestinian state no later than May 1999 and included the following proposals: Israeli withdrawal (conducted in stages until completion in 2007) from territory of the future Palestinian state, Israelis remaining in settlements inside the Palestinian state to be subject to Palestinian sovereignty and rule of law, offered Palestinian citizenship or choose to remain as alien residents, City of Jerusa-

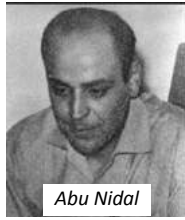
lem (expanded to include adjacent Palestinian villages including Abu Dis) to be jointly administered, with autonomous sub-municipalities for each side. West Jerusalem (Yerushalayim) recognized as the Israeli capital and East Jerusalem (Al-Quds) as the Palestinian capital (the seat of government being in Abu Dis), and the guarantee of freedom of worship and access to all Holy Sites for members of all faiths and religions. The agreement also proposed Israeli recognition of the Palestinian right of return and compensation/rehabilitation for moral and material loss, and Palestinian declaration of readiness to accept that the realities and prerequisites of peace render the right of return impracticable thus agreeing on the formation of an International Commission for the final settlement of all aspects of the refugee issue.



Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) & Yossi Beilin

**ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION (ANO, also: *Fatah Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, or Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims*)** Anti-Arafat faction established by Sabri Khalil Al-Banna (Abu Nidal) that split from Fatah in 1974 and, after an assassination attempt on Abu Mazen, was expelled from the PLO with Al-Banna sentenced to death. Abu Nidal himself is believed to have been involved in the planning of military operations in Europe such as at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, at times under the name 'Black September'. The ANO is also believed to be behind the assassinations of PLO 'moderates' in the late 1970s/early 1980s (e.g., Said Hamami). It aimed at derailing diplomatic relations between the PLO and the West, while advocating for the destruction of Israel. It had close ties to Syria, Libya and Egypt, though all closed down the ANO's offices in their countries by 1999. The group is listed as a 'terrorist' organization by the US State Department. Leaders

and associates are now thought to be in Iraq, with cells in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Since Abu Nidal's death in Iraq in 2002, it is not clear who the new leader is, or whether his followers have disbanded or just joined other radical Islamic groups in Iraq. Although no major attack has been attributed to the group since Abu Nidal's reported death, Jordanian officials reported the apprehension of an ANO member suspected of planning attacks in Jordan in 2008.



Abu Nidal

**ABU RISH BRIGADES** (also: *Ahmad Abu Ar-Rish Brigades*) Armed group that was formed in late 1993, mainly made up of "Fatah Hawks," and initially operated under Fatah but has since become more independent. More recently, its members have called themselves *Ansar Al-Islam* (Supporters of Islam) and declared their aims to be not only the liberation of Palestine but also the exaltation of God and flying the flag of Islam. In the earlier years, the Abu Ar-Rish Brigades were responsible for numerous attacks, mostly directed against Israeli military and settler targets. Since the Israeli disengagement from Gaza, they have carried out attacks and kidnappings in Gaza, often in conjunction with Hamas activists. They take their name from the former PLO militant, Ahmad Abu Ar-Rish, who was mistakenly killed by the Israeli army in 1993 just days after turning himself in to the Israeli authorities and publicly laying down his weapons. Today the group is largely confined to Gaza.



**ABU SHUSHA MASSACRE** Assault on the village of Abu Shusha (8 km southeast of Ramle) by units of the Giv'ati Brigade on 14 May 1948, during which some 60-70 residents were killed.

**ACCELERATION BENCHMARKS FOR AGREEMENT ON MOVEMENT AND ACCESS** (also: *Benchmark Document*) A document published on 4 May 2007 to facilitate progress and set a schedule for the commitments made by the

Israeli Government and the PA in the 15 November 2005 Agreement on Movement and Access which was facilitated by US and EU representatives. It included removal of road-blocks, opening of passages in the territories, and upgrading of Palestinian forces loyal to President Mahmoud Abbas. It urged Israel to approve requests for weapons, munitions, and equipment required by defense forces loyal to President Abbas. The plan was never implemented and was nullified after the Hamas takeover of Gaza and the subsequent Israeli blockade.

**ACHILLE LAURO** Name of an Italian cruise ship with over 400 passengers and crew, which was hijacked on 7 October 1985 off the Egyptian coast by four members of the Palestinian Liberation Front (PLF), headed by Mohammed Zeidan (Abu Abbas). They demanded the release of 50 Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails. After a two-day drama, during which disabled American-Jew Leon Klinghoffer was killed, the hijackers surrendered in exchange for a pledge of safe passage. However, US Navy fighters intercepted the Egyptian jet containing the hijackers and forced it to land in Sicily, where they were taken into custody by Italian authorities. Four Palestinians were jailed over the hijack, while the mastermind of the operation, Abu Abbas, was convicted *in absentia* but never spent time in prison in Italy (he died in US custody after being captured in Iraq in 2004).



**ACRE MASSACRE** Attack on Acre by Israeli troops on 17-18 May 1948, which left at least 100 Arab civilians killed, mostly residents of the new city who refused to move into the portion of the old city that was being used as an Arab ghetto.

**ACTIVE ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (AOLP)** Body established in 1967 by Dr. Issam Sartawi, a prominent and outspoken Palestinian moderate, as a non-combatant medical aid organization. The organization merged temporarily with Fatah in

1968 and rejoined it in 1971, but dissolved following Sartawi's assassination in April 1983 during a Socialist International meeting in Lisbon, Portugal.



*Issam Sartawi*

**ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES** Israeli term for the West Bank and, until the 2005 disengagement, the Gaza Strip, based on the belief that Israel has a legal claim to these territories and that the Fourth Geneva Convention does not apply.

**ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION** Imprisonment by Israel of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip without charge or trial for a period of up to six months. Detention is renewable and is authorized by administrative order rather than judicial decree. It is based on the British Mandate 1945 Defense (Emergency) Regulations which were amended and adopted by the Knesset in 1979 to form the Israeli *Law on Authority in States of Emergency (Detention)*.

**ADVISORY COUNCIL** Temporary 20-member council (10 British, seven Palestinians and three Jews) created by British High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel in October 1920 to serve as a legislative body until a formal council dealing with self-government issues was established in August 1922 (Legislative Council or LC). Palestinians rejected the LC and boycotted the elections, arguing that its acceptance would also imply acceptance of Britain's commitment to the Balfour Declaration and did not include proportional Palestinian representation. After the resignation of seven Palestinian members in May 1923 and other problems the idea was abandoned and a British-only advisory council took over.



*Sir Herbert Samuel*

**AGRANAT COMMISSION** National Commission of Inquiry formed by the Israeli government after the Yom Kippur War in November 1973 to examine the circumstances leading up to

the war, as well as the war itself. The Commission was headed by Supreme Court President Shimon Agranat and presented its final report on 30 January 1975 (which was published for public view only 20 years later). The report cleared then-Prime Minister Golda Meir and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan of all responsibility for the war's failures, although both resigned due to the public's demand. However, six high-ranking army officers were held personally responsible for intelligence failures that had made Israel vulnerable to attack and recommended their dismissal or transfer: Chief of Staff David Elazar, Chief of Intelligence Eli Zeira and his deputy, Brig.-Gen. Aryeh Shalev, Head of the Amman Desk for Egypt Lt. Colonel Bandman, Chief of Intelligence for the Southern Command Lt. Colonel Gedelia, and Commander of the southern front Shmuel Gonen. Other recommendations included strengthening Mossad and research department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the appointment of prime ministerial advisors on intelligence and defense.



**AGREEMENT ON PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES** (also known as *Early Empowerment Agreement*) Agreement signed by Israel and the PLO at the Erez Crossing on 29 August 1994, which put into effect the next phase (early empowerment) of the Declaration of Principles, providing for the transfer of powers to the PA within the following five specified spheres: (1) Education & Culture (carried out on 29 August 1994); (2) Social Welfare (13-14 November 1994); (3) Tourism (13-14 November 1994); (4) Health (1 December 1994); (5) Taxation (1 December 1994). About a year later, on 27 August 1995, another protocol was signed transferring additional spheres to the PA (see *Protocol on Further Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities*).

**AIPAC** (full: *American Israel Public Affairs Committee*) Influential Zionist, pro-Israel lobbyist organization in the US set up in the early 1950s.



It works unflinchingly to align US diplomatic, economic, military, and foreign policy with Israel's interests. AIPAC has an estimated budget of \$65 million and some 100,000 members, and is considered one of the most powerful and effective lobbies on Capitol Hill.

**ALAWIS** Marginal Muslim group and an offshoot of Shi'a Islam. Most Alawis live in Syria and the Levant, and hold many top military and intelligence offices in the Syrian government.



**ALEXANDRIA DECLARATION** Document signed by Muslim, Christian and Jewish religious leaders on 21 January 2002 in Alexandria, Egypt, condemning "killing innocents in the name of God," asserting the signatories' commitment to work together for a just and lasting peace and committing leaders to use their moral authority in seeking an end to the violence and resumption of the peace process. The declaration also calls on Israeli and Palestinian political leaders to implement the Tenet and Mitchell recommendations.



**ALEXANDRIA PROTOCOL** Document signed at the closing of a meeting of representatives of five Arab states (Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq) and Palestine, which took place in Alexandria, Egypt, from 25 September to 7 October 1944. The goal of the meeting was to form a unified stance regarding the future of the Middle East and non-intervention of foreign powers. The resulting resolutions outlined the attendees' agree-

ments of cooperation and coordination and led to the formation of the Arab League. A special resolution concerning Palestine confirmed that Palestine constitutes an important part of the Arab World and called for an end to Jewish immigration, the preservation of Arab lands, and the achievement of independence for Palestine.



**ALIYAH** (plural: *aliyot*; English: *ascent*) Term referring to Jewish immigration to Palestine/Israel.

**ALL-ISRAEL PLAN** (also: *National Water Plan*) Proposal regarding the Jordan River watershed publicized by Israel in 1951. It was based on the Lowdermilk Plan and included the draining of the Huleh Lake and swamps, the diversion of the northern Jordan River, and the construction of a carrier to the coastal plain and the Negev.

**ALL-PALESTINE GOVERNMENT** Announced on 23 September 1948 by the Arab Higher Committee, transforming the temporary civil administration into a government for all Palestine. The government convened its first National Council on 30 September 1948 in Gaza, where



Haj Amin Al-Husseini

Mufti Haj Amin Al-Husseini was elected as President, Ahmed Hilmi Abdel Baqi as Prime Minister, and an 11-member cabinet was named. The Declaration of Independence, issued on 1 October 1948, declared Jerusalem the capital of Palestine and adopted the flag of the 1916 Arab Revolt (black and white with green stripes and a red triangle) as the Palestinian flag. The National Council adopted a provisional constitution providing for an interim parliamentary regime with limited abilities on the ground. By mid-October, the Palestine Government was recognized by the Arab

states with the exception of Jordan. In 1959, Gamal Abdel Nasser officially annulled the All-Palestine Government by decree, reasoning that it had failed to advance the Palestinian cause.

**ALLENBY BRIDGE** (also: *Jiser Al-Karameh* or *King Hussein Bridge*) Road bridge between the East and West banks of the Jordan River, named after British World War I Commander Sir Edmund Allenby. It was built over an old Ottoman bridge to facilitate the crossing of the British Army into Jordan to fight the Ottomans in 1918. During the 1967 War, thousands of Palestinian refugees fled via the Allenby Bridge before its destruction in the same war. It was rebuilt as a temporary bridge (King Hussein Bridge) in 1968, and is located approximately 6 km east of Jericho. Today, the Allenby Bridge and both the old and recently built King Hussein Bridges stand side-by-side, marking the border crossing between Jordan and the West Bank, which is under Israeli control.



Allenby Bridge 1946 and today

**ALLIANCE OF PALESTINIAN FORCES** see *Damascus Ten*

**ALLON PLAN** One of the first settlement plans put forth by Yigal Allon (Labor) in July 1967 and officially adopted by the Israeli government in June 1968. Its main points included maximization of Israeli security while minimizing the inclusion of Arab inhabitants in Israeli areas, annexation of the strategically important and sparsely populated Jordan Valley, consolidation of the Jerusalem corridor, and cantonization of the rest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (conforming to the Israeli autonomy plan for Palestinian self-administration).



Yigal Allon

**ALLON PLUS PLAN** Proposal for final borders for Israel and a Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip publicized in May 1997 as

an expansion of the 1968 blueprint (see *Allon Plan* above) and presented by then Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu to the cabinet in June 1997. The plan foresaw the creation of enclaves with restricted autonomy around Palestinian population centers in some 45% of the West Bank, while Israel would retain control of the remaining 55%, including most of the agricultural and natural grazing lands, the eastern slopes the fertile and water-rich Jordan Valley, and border areas. Palestinians rejected the plan, the implementation of which would have involved the destruction of thousands of Palestinian houses.

**THE ALTERNATIVE** (Arabic: *Al-Badil*) Electoral alliance for the January 2006 PLC elections consisting of the DFLP, PPP, and FIDA. The alliance was headed by Qais Abdul Karim (Abu Leila), and called for immediate permanent status negotiations with Israel and insisted on Palestinian refugees' right of return. Additionally, the Alternative considered fighting unemployment and poverty a top priority, advocated full equality for women and abolishment of any legislation contradicting the principle of equality. They captured 2.92% of the 2006 vote and won two of the Council's 132 seats. The alliance disbanded in early 2007.

**AL-AMAL** (Arabic: *Harakat Amal*) Shi'a political/military resistance movement in Lebanon established in 1974 by Imam Sadr. Its political manifesto, published in August 1974, called for an end of the ethnic-political system in Lebanon.

**AMAN** (Abbreviation for the Hebrew *Agaf HaModiin* – English: *the Intelligence Section*) Israel's central Military Intelligence Directorate. Aman was created in 1950 as an independent service within the Israeli army (IDF), responsible for intelligence evaluation for security policy, dissemination of intelligence to army and governmental bodies, training and operation of field security, operation of military censorship, drawing maps, and development of 'special measures' for intelligence work as well as of an intelligence doctrine in the realms



of research, collection, and field security. Since 2014, Aman is headed by Herzi Halevi.

**AMANA** Settlement movement established by the Gush Emunim in 1978. It is considered the main engine behind settlement construction in the OPT and campaigns to encourage Jews and Israelis to move to settlements, claiming that its presence is protecting the conditions necessary for a Jewish State. In Spring of 2007 Amana launched a campaign for the first time in the US to convince American Jews to buy homes in the West Bank either for their own use or to rent them at cost to settlers. More recently, the organization made headlines for its intention to build its new headquarters in the heart of the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem.



**AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE (JDC)** The US Jewry's overseas relief and rehabilitation agency, which was founded in 1914, initially to assist Palestinian Jews caught in the throes of World War I and living under Ottoman rule. Since then the JDC has aided millions of Jews in more than 85 countries, providing assistance for Holocaust survivors and Jewish people in need or at risk, as well as responding to current events and crises such as earthquakes and tsunamis.



**AMIRAV-NUSSEIBEH DOCUMENT** see *Nusseibeh-Amirav Document*

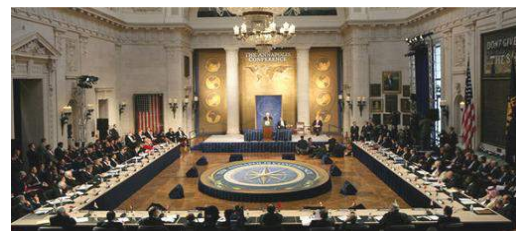
**ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY**

Joint commission proposed by British Prime Minister Attlee in response to US President Truman's pleas to admit more displaced Jews to Palestine. The resulting Anglo-American Committee was appointed in November 1945 to associate the US with responsibility for the Palestine Question and to examine continued Jewish immigration into Palestine. It comprised six Americans, chaired by Judge 'Texas Joe' Hutcheson and six British, headed by Sir John Singleton. The committee arrived

in March 1946 in Palestine, published its first report in April, recommending a UN trusteeship, and its final report on 1 May 1946, recommending increased Jewish immigration (some 150,000 Jews) into Palestine, the cessation of the 1940 Land Transfer Regulations, and adoption of a trusteeship for Palestine. The Arab League rejected the proposal as did the British government (see also *Morrison-Grady Plan*).



**ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE** Peace conference held on 27 November 2007 in Annapolis, Maryland, to set up a timetable for future negotiations on final status issues along the guidelines of the 2002 "road map" for peace. The conference, organized by then US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, was attended by President Abbas, Prime Minister Olmert, representatives from over 30 nations, the UN Security Council, and the Middle East Quartet. It resulted in a draft resolution being presented by the US to the UN Security Council, which was immediately withdrawn after Israeli objections. A follow up conference of the Quartet took place in Sharm Esh-Sheikh on 9 November 2008.



**ANNEXATION, ANNEXED TERRITORIES** Incorporation of territory into another geo-political entity such as a country, state, county, or city. International Law forbids the annexation of territory gained through war as well as the mass movement of people out of or into occupied territory. Following the War of 1967, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and some 28 surrounding villages (avoiding populated Palestinian areas such as Ar-Ram, Qalandia and Abu Dis/Al-Izzariyya) thereby extending the borders of Jerusalem by some 70 km<sup>2</sup> (added to the 38 km<sup>2</sup> of West Jerusalem at the time). The new municipal bounda-

ries, now embracing 108 km<sup>2</sup> (28% of which is the West Bank), were designed to secure geographic integrity and a demographic Jewish majority in both parts of the city. On 28 June 1967, the Knesset amended the Law of 1950, which proclaimed Jerusalem as Israel's capital, to illegally extend Israeli jurisdiction to the annexed part of the city. In 1981, Israel annexed Syria's Golan Heights. Both annexations are considered illegal under UN resolutions.

**ANTI-BOYCOTT LAW** Israeli law prohibiting the promotion of or call for academic, economic or cultural boycotts of Israeli citizens and organizations and/or against Israeli institutions or even Israeli settlements. Anyone who calls for such boycotts (namely the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement) can face a civil lawsuit. The law was initiated in 2010 by MKs from Likud, Shas, Yisrael Beiteinu, United Torah Judaism and the National Union, and approved in the Knesset on 11 July 2011. It was partially struck down when the Israeli High Court ruled in April 2015 that its Section 2c, which permitted the imposition of compensation payments even if no damages were proven, was unconstitutional. The first lawsuit filed under the law was in 2018 by the Israeli civil rights group Shurat HaDin on behalf of three Israeli teenagers who had bought tickets for a show by singer Lorde that was cancelled after a call to boycott. Claiming "emotional damages," the Jerusalem Magistrate's Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs and ordered in October 2018 two New Zealand activists to pay NIS 45,000 in damages to the plaintiffs' "artistic welfare" and court fees.

**ANTI-SEMITISM** The term "Semitic" refers to a group of languages originating in the West Asia, including the Middle East, to which Hebrew and Arabic belong, while "Semites" refers to the many racial, ethnic and cultural groups speaking one of those languages, including Canaanites, Arabs, Hebrews, and others. Anti-Semitism, though, is not opposition to a Semitic language or to Semitic peoples, but specifically to Jews as a race as used by Nazi-Germany to give a "scientific" name to their hatred of Jews. The European concept

of Anti-Semitism was brought to the Middle East with the various waves of Jewish immigration from Europe. It was injected into the culture of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict after the Palestinian Nakba of 1948. However, neither Palestinians nor Arabs in general (whether Muslims or Christians) ever had problems with Jews as an "ethnie" or Judaism as a religion, considering Jews "people of the book" (i.e., "children of Abraham", part of the family of monotheistic faiths), with whom even inter-marriage is allowed and practiced to this very day. Today, the charge of Anti-Semitism is primarily used to try to silence all unfavorable discussion of Israel in general, and all criticism of its governments' practices in violation of human rights and international law in particular. Anti-Semitism should not be confused with anti-Zionism or anti-Israeli government policy, which would confuse politics with religion/ethnicity.

**ANTI-TERROR(ISM) LAW** see *Counter-Terrorism Law*

**APARTHEID** Afrikaans word for 'apartness', originally used to describe the system of racial discrimination that existed in South Africa from 1948 to 1994, when the white minority ruled over the black majority. The term is also used in international law to describe a category of regime, defined in the UN International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973), as "inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them" (Article II). The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002) lists apartheid under *Crimes against Humanity* as "inhumane acts ... committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime" (Article 7.2.h). Today, Israel is increasingly accused of using policies consistent with an apartheid regime, because the system it has instituted against the Palestinians in the OPT meets the aforementioned definitions in that



it treats Jews and Palestinians differently in almost every aspect of life, maintains separate discriminatory legal regimes, and acts in violation of international law (e.g., by denying Palestinians their right to freedom of movement and residence, forcibly transferring Palestinians to make way for Israeli settlements, depriving Palestinians of fundamental identity-based human rights, etc).

**APARTHEID WALL** see *Separation Barrier*

**AQABA SUMMIT** Three-way summit held at the Royal Palace in Aqaba, Jordan, on 4 June 2003 between US President Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Sharon, and Palestinian Prime Minister Abbas to discuss the "road map" for peace. At the end of the summit, Prime Minister Abbas vowed an end to terrorism and the militarization of the Intifada, Prime Minister Sharon promised the immediate dismantlement of settlement outposts and reiterated his commitment to a two-state solution, and President Bush stressed his commitment to "Israel's security as a vibrant Jewish state" and to "freedom and statehood for the Palestinian people."

**AL-AQSA INTIFADA** (also: *Second Intifada*) Second Palestinian Uprising against the Israeli occupation that began on 28 September 2000 with Likud leader Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque, which triggered clashes with Palestinians. The outbreak of violence was preceded by the breakdown in peace talks at Camp David in July 2000. Popular protests and stone-throwing quickly spread to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well to Palestinian communities in Israel, and were met with large-scale repression from Israeli forces, including use of helicopters and tanks, which is seen as the reason why armed Palestinian resistance emerged soon afterwards. Unprecedented violence by Israel including targeted assassinations, military incursions into Area A, and 'Operation Defensive Shield' to re-take the West Bank, as well sniper attacks and suicide bombings by Palestinians left over 3,000 Palestinians and nearly 1,000 Israelis killed. There was no decisive event that signaled the end of Intifada, however the Al-Aqsa Intifada lost momentum af-

ter the death of Yasser Arafat in 2004 and Israel's 2005 withdrawal from Gaza.

**AL-AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADES** (Arabic: *Al-Kata'eb Shuhada Al-Aqsa*) Armed group named after Al-Aqsa Mosque, where the controversial visit of Ariel Sharon on 28 September 2000 sparked the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The Brigades are a secular network of Palestinian activists and militias, were formed in 2000 as an offshoot of Fatah, and became one of the driving forces behind the second Intifada. Although they initially focused on Israeli soldiers and settlers within the West Bank and Gaza Strip, they later resorted to suicide bombings in Israel proper and Qassam rocket attacks from the Gaza Strip. They were added to the US State Department's list of foreign terrorist organizations in March 2002. In 2007, a large number of wanted Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades members were granted amnesty by an agreement Israel negotiated with the PA, according to which they promised to refrain from terrorism, cut their links with the group, and obey certain movement restrictions. In January 2008 the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades joined with Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad to shoot rockets into Israel from Gaza. Israel retaliated by blockading the Gaza Strip.



**AL-AQSA MOSQUE** (English: *The Farthest Mosque*) Mosque built on the Al-Aqsa Mosque/Al-Haram Ash-Sharif compound in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century (709-714) by the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik Bin Marwan. The mosque derives its name from the Qur'anic verse of Prophet Mohammed's nocturnal journey (*Isra'* 17:1). It was the first holy site of Islam (before Mecca) towards which Muslims directed their prayers (*Qibla*), which is why it is also known as Al-Qibly Mosque. The Mosque with its large silver dome (not to be confused with the nearby golden Dome of the Rock Mosque) is considered



the third most important Islamic holy site after the mosques in Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia. The entire compound on which Al-Aqsa Mosque is located is also known as Al-Aqsa Mosque (see *Al-Aqsa Mosque compound*).

**AL-AQSA MOSQUE COMPOUND** (also: *Al-Haram Ash-Sharif*) Complex located in the southeast corner of the Old City of Jerusalem, covering one-sixth of its area. Al-Aqsa Mosque comprises the entire area within the compound walls (a total area of 144 dunums/144,000 m<sup>2</sup>) – including all the mosques, prayer rooms, buildings, platforms and open courtyards located above or under the grounds – and exceeds 200 historical monuments pertaining to various Islamic eras. According to Islamic creed and jurisprudence, all these buildings and courtyards enjoy the same degree of sacredness since they are built on Al-Aqsa's holy grounds. This sacredness is not exclusive to the physical structures allocated for prayer, like the Dome of the Rock or Al-Qibly Mosque, or to the buildings located on the surface of Al-Aqsa's premises. Thus, a worshiper receives the same reward for praying anywhere within the Mosque including the open courtyards.



**ARAB BOYCOTT** Economic boycott of Israel (or the Yishuv, prior to the formation of the state) formally declared by the Arab League Council on 2 December 1945 (Resolution 16). The objective has been to isolate Israel from its neighbors and the international community, as well as to deny it trade that might be used to augment its military and economic strength. The 'primary' boycott prohibits direct trade between Israel and the Arab nations, the 'secondary' boycott is directed at companies that do business with Israel, and the 'tertiary' boycott involves blacklisting firms that trade with other companies that do business with Israel. The Arab League does not enforce the boycott and boycott reg-

ulations are not binding on member states, although it recommends that member countries demand certificates of origin on all goods acquired from suppliers to ensure that such goods meet all aspects of the boycott. The boycott was dealt several major blows when Egypt (1979), the Palestinian Authority (1993), and Jordan (1994) signed peace treaties or agreements that formally ended the boycott; other states do not enforce it or only sporadically. Since 1951, the boycott is administered by the Damascus-based Central Boycott Office.

**ARAB CLUB** (Arabic: *Nadi Al-Arabi*) One of two main national movements (the other being *Muntada Al-Adabi*), which emerged during Palestine's unity with Syria (1918-20). Membership was based on ideology, in contrast to the traditional organization around family heads and notables, and consisted largely of young people. The interests of the two national movements were almost identical, which led to cooperation between them in all major political events, however, both disappeared after 1921. The Arab Club was set up in Damascus in 1918 by Palestinians from Nablus as an organization engaged in social and cultural activities and its members were drawn mainly from the Al-Husseini family and their supporters. The president of the Arab Club was Haj Amin Al-Husseini and its political goals were unity with Syria under King Faisal I and resistance to Zionism. A body with the same name emerged in Damascus, headed by Abdul Qader Al-Muthafar, and connected with the Jerusalem Arab Club. This new Arab Club became the main nationalist organization in Syria. The Arab Club ceased functioning with the demise of the Syrian Kingdom at the hands of the French in 1920.

**ARAB CONGRESSES** Seven congresses, initially organized by the Muslim-Christian Association, were held between 1919 and 1928 throughout Palestine to formulate Palestinian national demands. The First Congress (Jerusalem, 1919), rejected the Balfour Declaration and formulated a program to be presented at the Paris Conference. The Second Congress (Jerusalem, May 1920) protested

confirmation of the Palestine Mandate for Britain and was actually forbidden by the British authorities. The Third Congress (Haifa, December 1920) called for the establishment of a national government and elected the Arab Executive Committee to direct and oversee the work of the Palestinian national movement. The Fourth Congress (Jerusalem, June 1921), led by Musa Qassem Al-Husseini, elected the first Palestinian Delegation to London which presented the Palestinian case against Jewish immigration to Palestine to the British government (a mission that ended unsuccessfully). The Fifth Congress (Nablus, 1922) decided to boycott the Legislative Council elections planned by the British and to establish an information office in London. The Sixth Congress (Jaffa, 1923) reiterated the boycott of Legislative Council elections and the rejection of the Anglo-Hijazi Treaty (for a British-supported Arab confederation of Iraq, the Hijaz, and Transjordan). The Seventh Congress (Jerusalem, 1928) called for the establishment of a representative government.



*Musa Qassem Al-Husseini*

**ARAB EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (AEC)** Body set up at the Third National Congress in Haifa in December 1920 to act as representative and defender of the Palestinian cause. The platform of the Haifa congress set out the position that Palestine was an autonomous Arab entity and totally rejected any rights of the Jews to Palestine. Musa Qassem (Pasha) Al-Husseini was elected Chairman. The committee led the Palestinian political movement until the mid-1930s, held seven congresses, and sent several delegations to Europe, mainly London, to present the Palestinian case against Jewish immigration. It was never formally recognized by the British and was dissolved in 1934.

**ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE (AHC)** Body established in 1936, during the Arab Revolt, as a representative umbrella comprised of the heads of all Palestinian political parties and headed by the Grand Mufti, Haj Amin Al-

Husseini. The committee was banned by the British shortly after its establishment in 1937 and its leading members were arrested, exiled, and imprisoned for their vocal opposition to the Mandate and to Zionist immigration and land acquisition. In October 1937, Al-Husseini fled to Lebanon, where he reconstituted the committee under his domination. The Arab Higher Committee proclaimed the independence of Palestine on 1 October 1948 and established the All-Palestine Government. The Committee continued to exist and had a representative at the UN General Assembly until the formation of the PLO in 1964.

**ARAB INITIATIVE** see *Saudi Initiative*

**ARAB ISRAELIS** see *Israeli Arabs*

**ARAB LEAGUE** Voluntary umbrella organization established on 22 March 1945 (see *Alexandria Protocol*) by the then independent Arab states (Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia,



Jordan, and Yemen) as a forum for concerted action on major issues its members face. Today the Arab League is comprised of 22 members (but Syria's participation has been suspended since November 2011, as a consequence of government repression during the Syrian civil war/revolution) and represents some 300 million people. In 1964, it decided to establish the PLO "to organize the Palestinian people enabling them to play their role in the liberation of their country and to achieve self-determination", and at the 7<sup>th</sup> summit meeting in Rabat in October 1974, it recognized the PLO as the "sole representative of the Palestinian people". In 1976, the PLO was admitted as a full member, and since 1989 it has been a member as "the State of Palestine". At its March 2002 summit, the Arab League members unanimously endorsed the Saudi peace initiative and in its March 2007 summit it was re-endorsed by all except Hamas delegate Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, who abstained. Current Secretary-General of the Arab League is Ahmed Aboul Gheith (since 2016).

**ARAB LEGION** (Arabic: *Al-Jeish Al-'Arabi*) Armed forces of Transjordan (since 1921), and then subsequently the regular army of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (since 1949). The Legion was formed in 1921 by British Lt. Colonel Frederick Gerard Peake as a police force to keep order among Transjordanian tribes and to guard the Jerusalem-Amman Road. From 1939-56 the Arab Legion was commanded by British officer John Bagot Glubb (Glubb Pasha), who made it the best trained Arab army in the world. The Arab Legion played an important role against the Zionist forces in the War of 1948, when it conquered the Old City of Jerusalem and secured the West Bank for Jordan. On 1 March 1956, the Legion was renamed as the Arab Army (today Jordanian Armed Forces).



**ARAB LIBERATION ARMY** (Arabic: *Jesh Al-Inqadh*; English: *Army of Salvation*) Arab volunteer military force formed in late 1947, based on an Arab League decision, to fight against the UN Partition Plan and defeat Zionism. It was led by former Lebanese Ottoman army officer Fawzi Al-Qawuqi and Adib Shishakli, who later became President of Syria. Only a small proportion of the army ever entered Palestine, mainly the northern and central regions, and its mission was unsuccessful. The Arab Liberation Army was officially disbanded in March 1949.



**ARAB LIBERATION FRONT (ALF)** (Arabic: *Jabhat At-Tahrir Al-'Arabiyya*) Iraqi-sponsored, pan-Arab, and leftist military PLO faction, founded as a guerrilla group in 1969 by Iraqi Ba'athists to influence the Palestinian resistance movement. It was originally led by Zeid Heidar, and is now headed by Rakad Salem. The ALF's ideology is similar to As-Saiqa's, but it carried out fewer operations. The ALF played a substantial role within the Rejectionist Front in the 1970s and followed Iraqi government policy on all matters. It opposed the Oslo Accords and insists on the liberation

of all of Palestine. The organization is based in Baghdad, where it was the main faction active in Iraq's small Palestinian population, while it was a very minor group in other Palestinian communities. It is currently represented in the PLO Executive Committee by Mahmoud Ismael. It maintains an office in Ramallah and publishes the monthly journal *Sawt Al-Jamahir* (Voice of the Masses). ALF has not been involved in armed attacks on Israel since at least the early 1990s, and is no longer believed to possess any significant military capabilities.



**ARAB NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (ANM)** (Arabic: *Haraket Al-Qawmiyun Al-Arab*) Political movement, the core of which was formed in Beirut in 1948 by Arab Muslim and Christian intellectuals. The ANM was more formally created in Jordan in 1952 by George Habash and Wadi Haddad (Palestine), Ahmad Al-Khatib (Kuwait), and Hani Al-Hindi (Syria), and soon had branches throughout the Arab world. The initiators of the movement in the West Bank were two physicians, Dr. Salah Anabtawi from Nablus and Dr. Subhi Ghoshah from Jerusalem. After the mid-1950s, the ANM unquestioningly tied its fate to Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, who effectively ran it, and the movement was strongest in the late 1950s and early 1960s. After 1967, it publicly abandoned 'Nasserism' and instead espoused Marxist-Leninist principles. The ANM called for pan-Arabism and Marxism, aimed at unifying the Arab world to confront Israel, and was a forerunner of the PFLP.

**ARAB PARTY** (also: *Palestine Arab Party*; Arabic: *Al-Hizb Al-Arabi Al-Filastini*) Political party established by the Husseini clan and their supporters (*Al-Majlisyoun*) in March 1935, partly to counter the rival Nashashibi clan's National Defense Party. It was first headed by Jamal Al-Husseini and was strongly backed by the Mufti Al-Hajj Amin. The Arab Party struggled against the Balfour Declaration, Jewish immigration, the British Mandate, and land sales to Jews, and called for immediate and complete Palestinian independence. The party became nearly irrelevant following the 1936

Arab Revolt, when the British banned political organizing and exiled many of the party's leaders.

**ARAB PEACE INITIATIVE** Proposal, based on the 2002 Saudi peace initiative and adopted at the March 2007 Arab League summit in Riyadh, for an end to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians and normalization of relations between Israel and the Arab world. It called for an Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, Israel's acceptance of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital, and a "just settlement" to the issue of Palestinian refugees. While the Palestinians endorsed the initiative, Israel mainly rejected it, although some political leaders expressing reserved support for certain aspects of the plan. Other proposals have since been floated to reintroduce and update the initiative.

**ARAB REVOLT (1916-1920)** Arab uprising that began June 1916 against the Ottoman Empire, triggered by the British promise (see *Hussein-MacMahon Correspondence*) to create a greater Arab Kingdom (Hijaz, Syria and Iraq), if the people of the region revolted against Istanbul. The Arab Revolt left its marks, including the colors of its flag, black, green, white, and red (used today by Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Palestine, and the Ba'ath Party). In the event, the UK and France ended up dividing the Arab region under the Sykes-Picot Agreement.



Official proclamation of the Arab Revolt

**ARAB REVOLUTIONARY BRIGADES** see *Abu Nidal Group/Organization*

**ARAB SECRET SOCIETIES** Political-literary clubs and other patriotic organizations formed in the years 1900-1914, mainly in Constantinople, but with branches in Beirut, Damascus, and other Arab cities. Prominent secret societies were Al-Qahtaniya and Al-Fatat, seeking Arab independence. Following the Arab Revolt of 1916, they merged with the emerging Arab national movements.

**ARAB SUQRIR MASSACRE** Israeli attack on the village of Arab Suqrir on 29 August 1948 as part of Israel's 'Cleansing Campaign' ("Mitzva Nikayon") in the area currently known as Ashdod, in which at least 10 Palestinian farmers were murdered.

**ARAFAT MAUSOLEUM** Tomb built in the Muqata'a complex in Ramallah over the burial place of PLO Chairman and PA President Yasser Arafat, who died on 11 November 2004 in Paris. The burial site is considered temporary until his remains can be taken to the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. The mausoleum has become one of Palestine's more than 2,000 *mazara'at* (shrines), dedicated to deceased persons of political, historical, or religious significance. The new complex, which was inaugurated in November 2007 on the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Yasser Arafat's death, also includes a mosque and a museum.



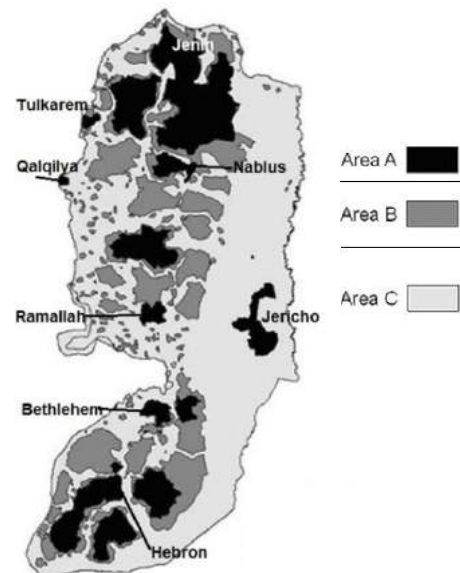
**ARAVA/ARABA VALLEY** Region/geographic name for the area that stretches between the Dead Sea in the North and the Red Sea (Aqaba and Eilat) in the South. However, the modern use of the term is restricted to this southern section alone. It is part of the Syrian-African Rift and includes both Israeli and Jordanian territories with varying levels and densities of agricultural and urban settlements on both sides of the border.



**AL-ARD** (English: *The Land*) Pan-Arab nationalist movement of Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel founded in 1958 and active until mid-1960s, devoted to the teachings of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser. It challenged the legitimacy of Israel as well as the traditional leadership of the Palestinian community in Israel, promoting more authentically nationalist politics. Its Central Committee included many young Israeli Arab intellectuals, including Habib Qahwaji, Sabri Jiryies, Saleh Bransi (At-Taybeh), Mansour Kardoush, Fakhri Jdai (Jaffa), Elias Muamer, Abdel Rahman Yahya, Mahmoud As-Sorouji (Akka), Mahmoud Darwish, Fawzi Al-Asmar, Tawfiq Suleiman Odeh, Hanna Musmar (Nazareth), Zaki Al-Bahri (Haifa), Mohammad Mia'ri, and Anis Kardoush. The movement published several newspapers (e.g., *Al-Ard*, *Shatha Al-Ard*, *Al-Ard Al-Tayibah*, *Sarkhat Al-Ard*, *Dam Al-Ard*, *Rouh Al-Ard*) and founded several cultural clubs. Many of the group's members were jailed or exiled and in 1964, Al-Ard was banned. It tried to field a list of candidates for the 1965 Knesset elections under the name 'Arab Socialist List', but was also banned.

**AREA A, B, C** Jurisdictional divisions created in the West Bank in 1995, under the Oslo II Agreement. Area A, initially being the urban centers only, came under PA administrative and internal security responsibility and eventually comprised 17.2% of the West Bank. Area B, being the built-up areas of the remaining principal villages and eventually 23.8% of the West Bank, remained under Israeli military occupation, but the PA became responsible for services and civilian administration. Area C, eventually being 59% of the West Bank, remained under exclusive Israeli civil and military administration. After late 2001, Israeli military incursions and reoccupations eroded the currency of the jurisdictional divisions of Areas A, B, and C. While one of the aims of the Oslo Accords was to eventually move Area B and Area C away from Israeli to Palestinian control (Area A), this has not been the case. Today, Areas A and B are not contiguous territory but consist of over 200 enclaves. Area C - where Israel retains full control - covers roughly 60% of the West Bank; 70% of this (about

44% of the West Bank) is classified as settlement areas, firing zones, or nature reserves - off limits to Palestinians, for whose development less than 1% of Area C is designated. Until this day, Israel retained overall security responsibility for all areas, including the right of 'hot pursuit' into area A. On 31 July 2019, PA Prime Minister Shtayyeh stated that the classification of land into Areas A, B and C was no longer valid due to Israel's violations of the Oslo Accords, and on 25 August, the PA Ministry of Local Government issued a directive instructing all local authorities to expand their master plans on the natural basins (i.e. across the A/B/C divide).



**ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS** Series of separate ceasefire agreements signed between Israel and Egypt (24 February 1949), Lebanon (23 March), Jordan (3 April), and Syria (20 July in 1949), following the 1948 War. No separate agreement was signed with Iraq. The agreement was meant to end hostilities and establish armistice lines between Israeli forces and Jordanian-Iraqi forces, also known as the Green Line. The agreements were mostly negotiated on the Greek island of Rhodes under the auspices of the UN (see also *Rhodes Talks*).

**ARMY OF ISLAM** (Arabic: *Jesh Al-Islam*) Small, armed Islamist group that operates in Gaza and is led by Mumtaz Dughmush, who originates from a powerful clan in Gaza. The group

split from the Popular Resistance Committees, and has since been shunned by both Hamas and Fatah. The Army of Islam seeks liberation of Palestine and an Islamic state and is said to be influenced by Al-Qaeda. The group was involved in the capture and holding of BBC correspondent Alan Johnston, who was later released, and Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit. In 2010, senior Army of Islam leader Mohammad Namnam was assassinated in a targeted killing when the car he was driving in Gaza City was hit by a missile fired from an Israeli military helicopter. The group is linked to numerous attacks in Israel and Egypt and was designated a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the US and the UAE in May 2011.



**ARMY OF THE HOLY STRUGGLE** or **WAR** (Arabic: *Jesh Al-Jihad Al-Muqaddas*) Local Palestinian military organization created in the 1940s to fight Zionism. The organization was headquartered in Birzeit and led by the legendary leader Abdul Qader Al-Husseini until his death in combat at Qastel in April 1948, after which the army's commandership went to Emil Ghouri. The Army of the Holy Struggle was disbanded and integrated into the Transjordanian army in 1949.

**ASHKENAZI(M)** Jews who derive from northern and eastern Europe, primarily from regions in modern day Germany, Poland, and Russia. Ashkenazi Jews constitute around 50% of Israel's Jewish population. Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel is since 2013 David Lau. (See also *Sephardim*).

**ATERET COHANIM** (English: *Crown of the Priests*) Extremist Jewish institution whose goal is to Judaize the Christian and Muslim Quarters of the Old City, as well as East Jerusalem, by taking over Palestinian property and fostering settlement construction. The group is funded by Jewish-American businessman Irving Moskowitz. Ateret Cohanim supports numerous Jewish families living in



the aforementioned neighborhoods, and is involved in the settlement building at Jabal Mukabber, Ras Al-Amud, Abu Dis, and Silwan. The organization has been involved in a number of legal disputes such as claiming ownership to houses despite court ruling.

**AT-TUR** Arabic name for the Mount of Olives neighborhood in Arab East Jerusalem.

**AUTONOMY PLAN** Scheme proposed by former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in a speech to the Knesset in December 1977, calling for an end to the military occupation of "Judea, Samaria [the West Bank], and Gaza," and the establishment of a democratically elected 11-member Palestinian "administrative council" which would have responsibility for civil matters (e.g. education, health, industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, commerce, and labor), while Israel would maintain control of security and public order. Palestinians could accept either Israeli or Jordanian citizenship. Palestinians rejected the plan as it did not go beyond offering some kind of administrative autonomy for the Palestinians in the OPT.



Menachem Begin

**AWQAF** Plural of Waqf (see *Waqf*).

**AXIS POWERS** Group of nations (Germany, Italy, and Japan) which were opposed to the Allies during World War II and formed a military alliance on the signing of the Tripartite Pact in Berlin in September 1940. Other countries (e.g., Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, and Slovakia) joined the Axis Powers later, but membership was fluid and World War II ended with their total defeat.



**AYALON-NUSSEIBEH PLAN** see *Nusseibeh-Ayalon Plan*

# B

**BA'ATH** (English: *Renaissance* or *rebirth*) Pan-Arab socialist party with branches in several Arab countries, most notably Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. The movement was created in Damascus in the 1940s by Michel Aflak and Salah Eddin Bitar and became known as Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party in 1953. The core of the Ba'ath doctrine is Arab unity and anti-imperialism. A branch of the Ba'ath Arab Party was founded in Ramallah in 1952 by Bahjat Abu Gharbiyyeh, Abdullah Rimawi, and Abdullah Nawas. The party was commonly associated with Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq (1979-2003) and Syria under Hafez Al-Assad (1971-2000), where the ruling parties retained the name, although both states moved away from Ba'athist principles.

**BAB AL-KARAMEH** Tent village established by Palestinian activists on 18 January 2013 to protest Israel's land confiscation and settlement building in the area of Beit Iksa northwest of Jerusalem. The Bab Al-Karameh (Gate of Dignity) encampment was inspired by the erection of the Bab Al-Shams protest village a week earlier and faced the same fate: after three days, Israeli troops demolished the tents and evacuated the activists.

**BAB AR-RAHMEH** (English: *Gate of Mercy*) (1.) (also known as *Golden Gate*) Name for an ancient historical gate carved into Al-Aqsa's eastern wall probably during the Umayyad era, and the building attached to it. The gate consists of two doors, one to the south (Ar-Rahma – “The Mercy”) and one to the north (At-Tawbah – “The Repentance”) and was named after the cemetery located in front of it. It is believed that the Islamic scholar Imam Al-Ghazzali wrote his famous book *The Revival of Religious Sciences* while staying in a room located in the structure above the gate, where the Islamic Heritage Committee had the headquarters of its advocacy activities from 1992 until it was dissolved by the Israeli occupation authorities in 2003. Since then,

the building has been closed on the basis of an Israeli order, which is renewed periodically.



The gate itself was shut by Saladin after conquering Jerusalem to protect the city from future raids, and remains closed to the present day. In February 2019, a number of events caused some controversy and clashes between Israeli forces and Palestinians praying in the area.

(2.) Name of one of the oldest Islamic cemeteries in Jerusalem, located in front of Bab Ar-Rahmeh, which contains the remnants of Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) companions Ash-Shadad bin Aws and Obada bin As-Samet. In recent years, the cemetery has been subjected to a series of Israeli violations, including the uprooting of trees, digging up of graves, and fencing to prevent new burials. These activities are aimed at seizing the cemetery under the pretext that it is a declared antiquities site and part of the “Jerusalem Walls” national park, and that digging and burial therefore constitute damage to antiquities.



**BAB ASH-SHAMS** (English: *Gate of the Sun*) Temporary tent camp erected on private Palestinian land in the E1 area by some 250 Palestinian and foreign activists on 11 January 2013, to establish ‘facts on the ground’ with the aim to eventually turn the site into a village called Bab Al-Shams (inspired by the renowned book by Palestinian-Lebanese novelist Elias Khoury). The camp was demolished within 48 hours by Israeli police, who evicted the activists and arrested about 100 of them. Other protest camps were founded in its wake.





**BACK-TO-BACK SYSTEM** Trade and truck loading system that is part of Israel's closure regime anywhere in the West Bank where roadblocks hinder the transportation of goods. Due to existing movement restrictions, export goods must be offloaded, then loaded onto new vehicles at the other side of a roadblock. In addition to creating delays and uncertainties, it significantly raises costs of trade and often results in substantial damage to goods due to the unloading-reloading procedure.



**BAHA'I** Monotheistic religion founded in Persia in 1862 by Mirza Hussein Ali 'Baha'ullah' (Glory of God) that grew out of Babism, a sectarian deviation of Shi'ite Islam. The Baha'i faith's central theme is that humanity is one single race and that the day has come for its unification in one global society. Its principles stress the unity of all religions, world peace, and universal education. At times, the Baha'i faith and community were banned and persecuted in Persia and other Islamic countries. Main holy places are the Tomb of the Bab in Haifa and the Tomb of the Baha'ullah (the holiest spot on earth in the Baha'i religion, to which they turn in prayer each day) in Bahj, near Acre.



**BAKER FIVE-POINT-FRAMEWORK** Five 'suggested points' for Palestinian-Israeli talks formulated by US Secretary of State James Baker and formally released by the US State Department on 6 December 1989. The Palestinians viewed them as positive but expressed reservations, stressing the need of further development of a role for the PLO and a desire to have the framework become part of a comprehensive package leading to an independent state. The five points were as follows: (1) The US understands that Egypt and Israel have been working hard and that there is now agreement that an Israeli delegation will conduct a dialogue with a Palestinian delegation in Cairo. (2) The US under-

stands that Egypt cannot be a substitute for the Palestinians in that dialogue and that Egypt will also consult with the Palestinians on all aspects of the dialogue. Egypt will also consult with Israel and the US on this matter. (3) The US understands that Israel will attend the dialogue after a satisfactory list of Palestinians has been worked out. Israel will also consult with Egypt and the US on this matter. (4) The US understands that the government of Israel will come to the dialogue on the basis of the Israeli government initiative of 14 May. The US further understands that the elections and negotiations will be in accordance with the Israeli initiative. The US understands, therefore, that the Palestinians will be free to raise issues that relate to their opinion on how to make elections and negotiations succeed. (5) In order to facilitate the process, the US proposes that the foreign ministers of Israel, Egypt and the US meet in Washington within two weeks.



James Baker

**BAKER-HAMILTON REPORT** see *Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward – A New Approach*

**BALAD** (Hebrew acronym for: *Brit Le'umit Demokratit*, English: *National Democratic Assembly*; Arabic: *Al-Tajamu' Al-Watani Al-Dimuqrati*) Arab national-liberal party, established by Azmi Bishara towards the 1996 elections and led by him until his resignation in April 2007 over charges of treason and espionage, laid against him by Israeli security services. Since then led by Jamal Zahalka, Balad seeks to transform Israel from a "state of the Jews" to a "democratic state with equality for all of its citizens." The party supports the creation of two states based on pre-1967 borders and the right of return for refugees. In January 2015, Balad, which since its inception has been aligned with the Ta'al faction of Ahmed Tibi, signed an agreement with the other three Arab-dominated parties, Hadash, the United Arab List and Ta'al, to form the 'Joint List' after the Knesset raised the electoral threshold from 2% to 3.25%. in the run-

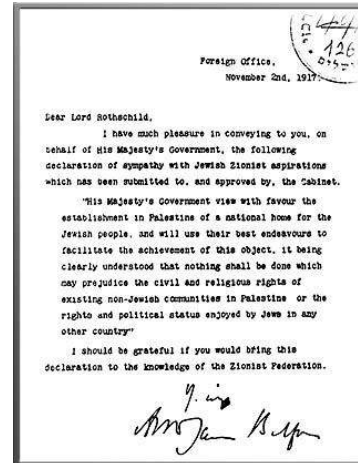
up to the April 2019 elections, the Joint List disbanded and Balad decided to join forces with Ra'am (the United Arab List), mainly in order to minimize the risk of failing to pass the electoral threshold. Ahead of the September 2019 elections, Balad reestablished the alliance with the Joint List. After the large turnout of Joint List voters in the election, the Joint List's three Balad MKs abstained from endorsing Gantz as the rest of the Joint List had, putting Gantz behind incumbent PM Netanyahu in total recommendations.



**BALAD ASH-SHEIKH MASSACRE** Attack on 31 December 1947-1 January 1948 in which the Palmach, an arm of the Haganah, attacked the Palestinian village of Balad Ash-Sheikh near Haifa at night. The attack came in retaliation for the killing of Jews during the Haifa Oil Refinery massacre the day before. According to Israeli historian Benny Morris, the Jewish forces had orders to kill "maximum adult males." Morris also reports that the Haganah General Staff recorded between 21 and 70 residents were killed and 21 injured (including at least two women and five children) when the Palmach fired into and blew up houses, pulling out adult males and shooting them. Following the raids, many families fled the two villages to Nablus, Jenin and Acre. Jewish committees after the massacre noted that many of the Arab workers had not participated in the attack at the refinery and a few had actually had protected Jews but the raids on Balad Ash-Sheikh and Hawassa were conducted indiscriminately.

**BALFOUR DECLARATION** Letter sent on 2 November 1917 by British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Baron Lionel Walter de Rothschild of the British-Jewish community, pledging British support for "the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine." It was henceforth referred to as an official British statement and was included word for word in the British Mandate document ratified by the League of Nations in 1922. The declaration was controversial as it was made by a European power about a territory not in

its possession and contradicted two previous British promises, the 1915 Hussein-McMahon correspondence and the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement (see both below).



#### **BANDUNG CONFERENCE**

Founding meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. Israel's invitation to the conference was aborted by a threat of an Arab boycott of the meeting.



**BANTUSTAN** Originally refers to separate homelands for black South Africans set up by the South African Apartheid regime. The term is increasingly used in the Palestinian narrative to describe the areas isolated by Israel's settlements, the Separation Barrier, by-pass roads, and road closures in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It encompasses the logic that the 1993 Oslo Accords granted Palestinians "autonomy" while assimilating or even subjugating them in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

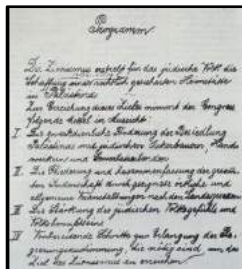
**BAR GIORA** Clandestine Jewish organization named after Simeon Bar Giora, one of the leaders of the Jewish Revolt against the Romans. It was formed in Jaffa in 1907 to defend the right to work and guard Jewish settlements as well as to develop new ones. It was responsible for the protection of Sejera (Ilaniyah) and Mesha (Kfar Tavor), before merging with a new defense body, Hashomer, in 1909.

**BAR LEV LINE** Defense system made up of a series of 30 strongholds along the east side of the Suez Canal, which was named after and devised by Chaim Bar Lev, Israeli chief of staff from 1968-72, to block attacks from Egypt after 1967. Egypt's troops overran these fortifications in the 1973 Yom Kippur War but the Israeli forces quickly regained the upper hand.



**BARCELONA DECLARATION** Political agreement adopted at the Euro-Mediterranean conference on 27-28 November 1995 in Barcelona by the Foreign Ministries of the 15 EU member states, 11 Mediterranean countries (Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey), and the Palestinian Authority, marking the first attempt in modern history to create durable and strong bonds between the shores of the Mediterranean. The declaration intended to establish a comprehensive Euro-Mediterranean partnership in order to turn the Mediterranean into a common area of stability, peace, and prosperity through the reinforcement of political dialogue and security, an economic and financial partnership, as well as a social, cultural and human partnership.

**BASEL PROGRAM** Zionist platform formulated and adopted at the First Zionist Congress (World Zionist Organization) convened in Basel, Switzerland in 1897, by Theodor Herzl. The program declared the goals of Zionism, stating that it "strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Eretz-Israel [Palestine] secured by Public Law."



**BASIC LAWS** Israeli legislation dealing with the formation and role of the principal state's institutions, relationships between the state's authorities, and civil rights. These laws have been used in lieu of a formal constitution, although the laws do not cover all constitutional issues. Basic laws have been issued on vari-

ous subjects, including: The Knesset (1958), The People's Lands (1960), The President of the State (1964), The Government (1968), The State Economy (1975), The Army (1976), Jerusalem, the Capital of Israel (1980), The Judiciary (1984), The State Comptroller (1988), Human Dignity and Liberty (1992), The Government (1992), Freedom of Occupation (1992 and 1994), The Government (2001), and controversially, Israel as the Nation State of the Jewish People (2019). Once all basic laws are enacted, they are supposed to become – with an introduction and several general rulings – the constitution of the State of Israel.

**BATN AL-HAWA** Section of the Silwan neighborhood located on the steep slope south of the Old City, where over 700 Palestinians are threatened with displacement to the advantage of Jewish settlers. In November 2018, the Israeli High Court of Justice rejected the residents' appeal and ruled in favor of the Ateret Cohanim settler association, thus paving the way for their eviction.

**BATTLE OF GAZA** Palestinian factional fighting in June 2007, which left over 100 people dead and resulted in Hamas's seizure of control in Gaza. The week-long battle was a climax in the conflict between the two movements that had escalated following the 2006 parliamentary elections, in which Hamas had gained the majority of seats in the PLC. Following the takeover, President Abbas dissolved the Hamas-led unity government and declared a state of emergency, resulting in the *de facto* division of the Palestinian territories into two entities, the PA-governed West Bank and the Hamas-governed Gaza Strip.

**BATTLE OF JENIN** Israeli invasion into Jenin refugee camp in the West Bank during 1-11 April 2002 as part of 'Operation Defensive Shield' during the Second Intifada. Claimed by Israel as a defensive measure against suspected militants, Palestinians considered the assault as collective punishment and a show of Israel's military might. There were allegations of a massacre, with over 50 Palestinians killed (according to Human Rights Watch in some cases constituting war crimes). While the army blocked humanitarian and medical as-

sistance to the residents, a large section of Jenin refugee camp was razed to the ground (according to HRW, 35% of the camp) leaving 3,000 Palestinians homeless. The invasion was met with fierce Palestinian resistance and left over 20 soldiers dead.

**BATTLE OF KARAMEH** Legendary battle that took place on 21 March 1968 at Karameh, Jordan, in which Jordanian and PLO forces repulsed an Israeli raid (codenamed Operation 'Inferno') on the town, which served as a base for PLO/Fatah guerillas, as well as on the nearby village of Safi. The raid was in reprisal for a series of attacks by the Palestinian guerillas against Israel. After the battle, the PLO's strength began to grow, which eventually led to the 1970 Black September in Jordan (see below). The partial defeat inflicted on the Israeli troops at Karameh (although most of the Karameh camp was destroyed and hundreds of prisoners were taken) was the political and military turning point in Palestinian resistance, as it restored the dignity and self-esteem of the Palestinians and of the Arab World at large, especially after the decisive loss of the 1967 June War. Palestinians still mark its anniversary.



*Battle of Karameh anniversary stamp*

**BDS MOVEMENT** see *Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions*

**BEACH (REFUGEE) CAMP AGREEMENT** (also: *Beach Camp Reconciliation Agreement*) Accord on Palestinian unity negotiated by Fatah and Hamas officials without outside mediation, which was named after a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip where it was finally achieved (at the home of the Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniya) on 23 April 2014. The deal, which included a technocratic government under President Abbas' leadership, plans to restructure the security sector, and elections within a six-month frame, referred sensitive issues (such as incorporating Ha-

mas and the Islamic Jihad to the PLO) to a specialized committee. The breakthrough was said to have been reached because both sides needed an agreement to escape from crises each one faced: Hamas was unpopular at home, short of funding and boxed in by Egypt and Israel, and Fatah suffered from failed efforts to revive the stalled US-run peace process while facing rising economic woes in the West Bank. Soon after the signing of the agreement, President Abbas swore in a new government on 2 June 2014, headed by Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah. However, due to the Israeli assault on Gaza that summer, no further steps were taken.

**BEILIN-EITAN AGREEMENT** (full: *National Agreement Regarding the Negotiations on the Permanent Settlement with the Palestinians*) Agreement regarding future negotiations with the Palestinians reached between Labor and Likud MKs, headed by Yossi Beilin of Labor and Michael Eitan of Likud (with the blessing of then Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu) in 1997 (publicized on 26 January 1997). It foresaw the establishment of a demilitarized Palestinian entity in the OPT, the area of which was yet to be negotiated but would clearly not imply a return to the 1967 borders nor the dismantlement of settlements, which would remain under Israeli sovereignty and whose territorial contiguity with Israel would be assured. The Jordan River would be Israel's security border and the army would be deployed in a special security zone in the Jordan Valley. Jerusalem would become the undivided unified capital of Israel and be recognized as such by the new Palestinian entity, whose governing center would be outside the city's existing municipal borders. Muslim and Christian holy places in Jerusalem would be granted special status. As for refugees, there would be no return to Israel, while entry to the new Palestinian entity would be subject to negotiations. Neither the Likud nor the Labor Party endorsed the plan.

**BEIT DARAS MASSACRE** Military assault by Jewish forces on the Gaza-district village of Beit Daras on 11 May 1948, in which some 50 people were killed, in some accounts many of them women, elderly and children fleeing

the fighting. In Historian Benny Morris's account, Beit Daras and some nearby villages were to be surrounded and called upon to surrender and relinquish their arms. If they declined, they were to be mortared and stormed. For Beit Daras specifically, if it resisted, it was to be "destroyed (...) and dealt with in the manner of scorched earth." Beit Daras had already been severely hit in a retaliatory strike on 20-21 April, when about 100 villagers were killed and wounded and many fled. On 10-11 May, Beit Daras was attacked for the last time. The village did resist and suffered about 50 casualties, many houses were destroyed, wells and granaries were sabotaged, and throughout the area there was 'mass evacuation.'

**BELLIGERENT OCCUPATION** Military occupation of enemy territory, i.e., the effective control by one or more ruling powers over a territory which is not under the formal sovereignty of that/those power(s). Because such control has often been the outcome of the exercise of military force, this regime has been titled 'belligerent' occupation. The accepted definition of what amounts to an occupation is laid down in Article 42 of The Hague Regulations as: "Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised." Belligerent occupation is assumed to be short-lived and provisional and implies that the sovereignty of the occupied territory is not vested in the occupying power. However, even in the case of prolonged occupation, the Laws of Belligerent Occupation, which govern the relationship between the occupying power and the occupied state and its inhabitants, including refugees and stateless persons, must be fully respected. Belligerent occupation is mainly governed by the 1907 The Hague Regulations, the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, and the customary laws of belligerent occupation.

**BEN ELIEZER PROPOSAL** Plan put forward by then Israeli Defense Minister Binyamin Ben Eliezer (Labor) in July 2002, based on the "vision of two states for two peoples," UN Se-

curity Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 1397, as well as the Clinton parameters and the Arab Peace Initiative (also: Saudi Initiative). The plan included fighting against terrorism, security separation (including the erection of a fence between Israel and the West Bank and Gaza Strip), negotiations, the establishment of a demilitarized Palestinian state in "most" of the West Bank and Gaza Strip with territorial continuity in the West Bank, and special arrangements for travel between the West Bank to Gaza. Israel would abandon settlements in Gaza and isolated ones in the West Bank, annex the large settlement blocs adjacent to Israel proper (with territorial swaps), and limit construction to the natural growth needs of existing settlements. West Jerusalem would be enlarged, including settlements in East Jerusalem, and be recognized as the capital of Israel. The Old City of Jerusalem and its holy sites would need a 'special regime', in which no one would obtain sovereignty over Haram Ash-Sharif. As for the 1948 refugees, the plan rejected their right of return and called for resettlement in the future Palestinian state or the granting of citizenship in their current host countries.



*Binyamin Ben Eliezer*

**BENCHMARK DOCUMENT** see *Acceleration Benchmarks for Agreement on Movement and Access*

**BERTINI REPORT** Report prepared by Ms. Catherine Bertini, under the auspices of UN-OCHA, as Personal Humanitarian Envoy of the UN Secretary General. The report was published on 19 August 2002, and concluded that "There is a serious humanitarian crisis in the West Bank and Gaza. The crisis is not a 'traditional' humanitarian crisis, such as those caused by famines or droughts, but is inextricably linked to the ongoing conflict and particularly to the measures imposed by Israel." The report was not binding, and was rejected by Israel.

**BETAR** (Hebrew acronym for: *Brith Yousef Trumpeldor*) Zionist movement established in 1923 as the youth movement of Vladimir

(Ze'ev) Jabotinsky's Revisionist party and named after Joseph Trumpeldor, who died defending the settlement of Tel Hai. The movement emphasized Hebrew language, culture, and self-defense, as well as the goal of a Jewish state "on both sides of the Jordan." Its members fought against the British during the Mandate. They have been traditionally linked to the Likud party (and its predecessors). Today, Betar promotes Jewish leadership on university campuses as well as in local communities in Israel and internationally.



**BETHANY** (Arabic: *Al-Izzariyya*) Biblical village recorded in the New Testament as the home of Mary, Martha, Lazarus, and Simon the Leper, as well as the place from where Jesus parted from his disciples at the Ascension. Today it is commonly identified with the Palestinian suburb of Al-Izzariyya some 2 km east of Jerusalem, which has been bisected by the Israeli Separation Barrier.



**BETHLEHEM** (Arabic: *Beit Lahim*) Palestinian governorate and city located 10 km south of Jerusalem. The governorate, which *inter alia* also includes the adjacent municipalities of Beit Jala and Beit Sahour as well as the refugee camps of Dheisheh, Beit Jibrin ('Azza) and Aida, has an estimated population of 217,400, Bethlehem city itself of almost 29,000 (PCBS, 2019). The city's main attraction is the Church of the Nativity, which is considered the birthplace of Jesus and thus makes it a prime destination for Christian pilgrimage. The city's economy is primarily tourism-driven.



**BILAD ASH-SHAM** Arabic term traditionally referring to the region of the Levant or

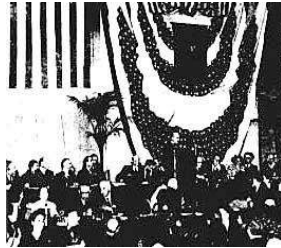
'Greater Syria', i.e., the regions of the eastern Mediterranean (modern day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine/Israel, and Jordan).

**BIL'IN** West Bank village 12 km west of Ramallah that has gained international attention for its weekly non-violent demonstrations against the Israeli Separation Barrier beginning in 2005. The protestors include Palestinians (nearly all 1,800 villagers in Bil'in have participated in the protest), Israelis, and internationals. Over 1,000 people have been injured during and arrested as a result of the protests. In September 2007, the Israeli Supreme Court ordered the Israeli government to redraw the route of the Barrier near the village. However, no implementation of the order took place. In December 2008, the High Court of Justice found the Israeli Defence Ministry in contempt for failing to implement its ruling on the Separation Barrier and stated that the government must comply with their decision "without any further delays." A film portraying the protests shot from the perspective of the people of Bil'in over many years starting in 2005 called *5 Broken Cameras*, by Emad Burnat and Guy Davidi, became popular after its release in 2012 and was nominated for Best Documentary Feature in the 85<sup>th</sup> Academy Awards. In March 2018, *+972 Magazine* reported that the protests had continued for then 13 years. It further noted that after years of struggle and "a Supreme Court ruling, the wall was repositioned in 2011, returning some 600 dunums of land back to the village, but over 1,000 remain on the other side of the wall, near the ultra-orthodox settlement of Modi'in Ilit."



**BILTMORE PROGRAM** Series of eight resolutions adopted by the May 1942 Zionist Conference, which took place at the Biltmore Hotel in New York (thus sometimes referred to as Biltmore Conference), after the real dimensions of the Holocaust became known. Among the nearly 600 delegates were Zionist leaders from the US and 17 other countries.

The program totally rejected the British 1939 White Paper and called for the establishment of a Jewish state. It urged that "Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world (after World War II)." There was opposition to the proposal by the non-Zionists and those who believed in a bi-national state. After approval of the resolutions by the Zionist General Council in Palestine, the Biltmore Program became the platform of the World Zionist Organization.



**BINATIONALISM** Concept of a single secular state providing a national home for both Israelis and Palestinians on the same territory (a one-state solution as opposed to partition/two-state solution). The idea of a bi-national state goes back to the 1920s, when it was proposed in one form or another by Jewish intellectuals, and has recently been revised in the face of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian violence, continuous Israeli unilateral measures to create facts on the ground in Palestinian territories, and the impasse in the negotiations. Nevertheless, it is estimated that a majority of both Israelis and Palestinians still reject the idea of a bi-national state. Main forms of bi-nationalism include the consociational democracy (e.g., Northern Ireland) and the federal model (e.g., Switzerland).

**BIRTHRIGHT** Term most generally referring to the right of anyone born in the territory of a state to nationality or citizenship. Birthright Israel (also known as *Taglit*, which means 'discovery' in Hebrew), is a program created in 1999 offering free "heritage" trips to Israel for young Jews, who are encouraged to discover their Jewish identity and connection to Jewish history and culture. To counterbalance Birthright Israel, Birthright Unplugged was formed in 2003 with the goal of exposing Jewish and non-Jewish visitors to Palestinian communities and the Palestinian side of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**BLACK PANTHERS** (Arabic: *Al-Fahd Al-Aswad*)

Para-military secular group formed by Fatah during the first Intifada in the northern West Bank. It became mainly known for executing Palestinian collaborators and attacking Israeli forces. Its apparent brutality and outright rejection of the peace process provoked public rebukes from the mainstream Fatah leadership. Following a harsh Israeli crackdown on their members and the signing of the Oslo Accords, which they jointly rejected with other groups such as the Fatah Hawks and Hamas, they lost strength but maintained arms and continued low-level violence. In 2005, a group under the same name (re-)emerged in Gaza, claiming responsibility for a number of kidnappings of foreign journalists and aid workers.

**BLACK SEPTEMBER** Military confrontation between the Jordanian army and Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan in September 1970 after PFLP commandos hijacked four airplanes "to pay special attention to the Palestinian problem," blew two of them up, and declared the Irbid region in Jordan a "liberated area".

The civil war-like confrontation began on 15 September 1970, when King Hussein, challenged by PLO attempts to create a 'state within a state', declared martial law and the US-backed Jordanian army began attacking the headquarters of Palestinian organizations, first in Amman, then in other locations as well. The fighting left some 2,000 dead and led, after weeks of bitter fighting, to the expulsion of the PLO leadership and troops from Jordan. When the PLO set up its new bases in Beirut, Israeli retaliatory air raids on Lebanon began.



**BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION** Palestinian group founded by Fatah members in the 1970s as a small cell and named after the 1970 'Black September' conflict between Jordanian military forces and Palestinian fighters (see entry above). The organization was joined by members of other factions and groups determined to take revenge on King Hussein and the Jordanian army, and oper-

ated from bases in Syria and Lebanon. The Black September Organization became known for the kidnapping and murder of eleven Israeli athletes and officials during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich.



**BLUDAN CONFERENCE(S) (1.)** The Arab conference that convened in 1937 in Bludan, Syria, in response to the 1937 Peel Commission Partition Plan. Participants rejected partition of historic Palestine and a Jewish state and confirmed Palestine as part of the Arab World.

**(2.)** Arab League conference held on 8 June 1946 in Bludan. Participants denounced the findings of the 1945-46 Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, criticized Western/US policy, and discussed ways in which Arab states could assist the Palestinians, including reconstituting the Arab Higher Committee and dispatching forces from various Arab armies into Palestine in the case of war.



**BLUE AND WHITE** (coalition) see *Kahol Lavan*

**BLUE LINE** Border demarcation between Lebanon and Israel drawn by the UN on 7 June 2000 to determine whether Israel had fully withdrawn from Lebanon. The Blue Line is based on the deployment of the Israeli army prior to 14 March 1978, when Israel launched Operation Litani and occupied the entire southern part of Lebanon. The blue line has been violated multiple times by both Israel and Lebanon.



**BLUE LINE TEAM** (officially: State Property Delimitation Team) Unit established by the Israeli Civil Administration in 1999 to examine Israel's declarations of state land in the West Bank. The team, consisting of cartographers, legal experts and inspectors, redraws existing maps (mostly from the 1980s) as "state land", which is a necessary step for the allocation of land for settlement expansion or the retroactive "legalization" of unauthorized outposts, without warning the Palestinians living in those areas and without making the results public. The aim is to confirm that territory now designated state land is indeed land over which Israel has legal jurisdiction (retroactive legalization – often of outposts). Since the team began operating in 1999, it has remapped over 320,000 dunums of land, some 200,000 east of the Separation Barrier and 121,000 west of it.

**B'NAI B'RITH** (English: *Sons of the Covenant*)

The world's oldest and largest Jewish fraternal and charitable organization, founded by a group of German-Jewish immigrants in 1843 in New York, with the goal of uniting Jews and protecting Jewish interests around the world. Today B'nai B'rith fights against Anti-Semitism and anti-Israel bias, provides senior housing and advocacy on issues of vital concern to seniors and their families, helps communities in crisis, and promotes Jewish identity through cultural activities. Its work is implemented by several centers. In recent years, B'nai B'rith reported hundreds of thousands of members and supporters, mainly in the US, and had a budget of \$14 million.



**BOLLING AIR FORCE BASE** US base near Washington, D.C., where Israeli and Palestinian delegations led by Oded Eran and Yasser Abed Rabbo held intense and secluded talks in spring 2000. Negotiations focused on some of the tough outstanding 'final status' issues with the aim of reaching a framework agreement by May 2000 and a final agreement by 13 September 2000. However, the talks ended without the hoped-for breakthrough.



**BORDER GUARDS/BORDER POLICE** (also known by its Hebrew abbreviation *Magav*) Military branch of the Israeli police, mainly professional officers on payroll and field policemen redirected from the army. All border policemen receive combat training and consequently are employed in unquiet areas, where there are greater risks for violence. They serve mainly in the countryside, in Palestinian villages and towns (along with the regular police), near the borders, and in the West Bank. The Border Guards heaviest area of operation is the city of Jerusalem.



**BORDERS** Israel has never officially fixed its territorial borders, which are still based on those established by the British Mandate. When the state of Israel was established on 14 May 1948, David Ben-Gurion refused to define its borders, saying, "We are announcing the creation of a state in the Western part of our country." Some Israeli Jews still refer to the West Bank as Judea and Samaria and consider it part of 'Greater Israel' or 'Eretz Yisrael.' Israeli peace groups, such as Gush Shalom, call for the pre-1967 borders, or Green Line, to be accepted as the 'border of peace.' In January 2001, agreements at Taba, Egypt (later repudiated by Israel), acknowledged the 1967 borders as the basis for lasting peace. Israel's borders with Egypt and with Jordan have been formalized in peace treaties. The border with Lebanon is part of the 1949 Armistice Agreement, while the borders with Syria and the Palestinian territories are still not settled and have yet to be negotiated. The pre-1967 borders are internationally recognized and enshrined in international law.

**BOROUGH-PLAN** Proposal for a new municipal mechanism for Jerusalem drafted in 1945 by Sir William Fitzgerald, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Palestine during the British Mandate, which never materialized. The plan placed the preservation of the city's unity at the center and suggested separate Arab and Jewish councils be created with a degree of autonomy over respective boroughs. The Jewish borough was to be si-

tuated to the northwest of the Old City, while the Arab borough ran north to south with the Old City at its center.

### **BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT AND SANCTIONS (BDS)**

International campaign and movement launched on 9 July 2005 by 171 Palestinian NGOs, calling for boycott (withdrawing support for Israel and Israeli and international companies that are involved in the violation of Palestinian human rights, as well as complicit Israeli sporting, cultural and academic institutions), divestment (urging banks, local councils, churches, pension funds and universities to withdraw investments from Israeli and international companies involved in violating Palestinian rights) and sanctions (pressuring governments to fulfill their legal obligation to hold Israel accountable, e.g., by ending trade agreements or expelling Israel from international forums such as the UN and FIFA) against Israel until it complies with international law and universal principles of human rights. Refers to non-violent punitive measures aimed at pressuring Israel to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to comply with its obligations under international law. The three stated goals of the campaign are (1) an end to Israel's "occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall," (2) Israel's recognition of the "fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality," and (3) Israeli respect, protection, and promotion of "the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194." In March 2017, the Knesset passed a law (Amendment No. 27 to the Law of Entry to Israel), denying entry to alleged supporters of the BDS campaign. Israel subsequently announced a list of 22 NGOs whose staff or members were banned. These included: AFPS (The Association France Palestine Solidarité), BDS France, BDS Italy, ECCP (The European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine), FOA (Friends of Al-Aqsa), IPSC (Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign), Norge (The Palestine Committee of Norway), Palestinakomitee, PGS (Palestine Solidarity Association in Sweden), Palestinagrupperna i Sverige, PSC (Palestine Solidarity Campaign), War on Want,

BDS Kampagne, AFSC (American Friends Service Committee), AMP (American Muslims for Palestine), Code Pink, JVP (Jewish Voice for Peace), NSJP (National Students for Justice in Palestine), USCPR (US Campaign for Palestinian Rights), BDS Chile, BDS South Africa, and BNC (BDS National Committee).

**BREACH OF LOYALTY BILL** Amendment to the Entry into Israel Law passed by the Knesset on 7 March 2018, which empowers the Israeli Interior Minister to revoke the permanent residency status of any Palestinian suspected of a “breach of loyalty” to Israel (i.e., terror, betrayal, or other anti-Israel activities) and have him/her deported. Based on this, Israeli Interior Minister Aryeh Deri issued an order on 29 April, stripping three Palestinian PLC members – Mohammad Abu Teir, Ahmad At-toun, and Mohammad Totah – as well as former PA Minister of Jerusalem Affairs Khaled Abu Arafah (all affiliated with Hamas) of their residency rights. Three legal centers for human rights in Israel, HaMoked, Adalah, and ACRI, issued a joint response to the law, stating: “This law is unconstitutional and is intended to result in the illegal expulsion of Palestinians from Jerusalem, the city of their birth. Even though the revocation of residency entails a severe violation of basic rights – including the right to family, the right to free movement, and the right to freedom of employment – members of the Knesset nevertheless chose to grant the interior minister the authority to do as he wishes. East Jerusalem is occupied territory, and its Palestinian residents are a protected population under international humanitarian law. It is therefore forbidden to impose upon them an obligation of loyalty to Israel, let alone revoke their permanent residency status for “breach of loyalty,” essentially resulting in their expulsion from the city.”

**BREAKING THE BONES POLICY** Israeli army tactic to “punish” Palestinians who participated in the First Intifada. Then Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin gave orders in January 1988 to break the bones of “Palestinian inciters”. According to Save the Children Sweden “23,600 to 29,900 children required medical treatment for their beating injuries in the

first two years of the intifada”, one third of whom were children under the age of 10. In July 1990, the Knesset rejected a motion to set up a special commission to investigate whether Rabin had given soldiers orders to break the bones of Palestinians and decided not to investigate the charges against Rabin.

**BREAKING THE SILENCE LAW** (formally: *State Education Law (Prevention of Activity in an Educational Institution of External Bodies Acting Against the IDF or the Goals of Education)*) Legislation approved by the Knesset with 43:24 on 16 July 2018, which stipulates that organizations delegitimizing the State of Israel, acting against soldiers and the objectives of the Israeli education system will not be permitted to enter school premises or meet with students. The law is named after its main target, Breaking the Silence, an organization made up of former Israeli soldiers who report about their negative experiences serving in the OPT. Critics have called it the “occupation silencing law”.

**BREZHNEV PLAN** Six-point plan for the Middle East presented by then Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev on 15 September 1982. The plan included:



(1) the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and thus (2) the need for a complete Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem; (3) the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent state; (4) the safeguarding of the right of all states in the region to secure an independent existence and development; (5) the termination of the state of war and the establishment of peace between the Arab States and Israel; and (6) the elaboration and adoption of international guarantees of a peaceful settlement. The six points were subsequently reaffirmed on 5 January 1983 by the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

**BRITISH MANDATE** Form of administrative control given to the British by the League of Nations, based on the decision of the 1920 San Remo Conference awarding to France the mandate for Syria and Lebanon and to Britain that of Palestine, Transjordan and Mesopotamia (Iraq). The fact that the British mandate included references to the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of a Jewish homeland was a severe blow to the Arabs. The League of Nations Council formally approved the mandate on 24 July 1922 – without the consent of the Palestinians – which then became official on 29 September 1923. Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed first High Commissioner. By the power granted under the mandate, Britain ruled Palestine in the years 1920-1948. In 1947, Britain decided to terminate the Mandate and submitted the Question of Palestine to the UN. On 15 May 1948, the Mandate officially ended.



**BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION** (also: *Occupied Enemy Territory Administration – OETA*) Military rule in Palestine that followed the British conquest of Palestine in 1917 and lasted until 1920 when the British Mandate and its civil administration replaced it.

**BUILDING PERMIT** Document Palestinians must obtain from the Israeli authorities (except in PA-controlled areas) in order to be able to build on their land. Because Israel's policy is politically motivated, it is very difficult for Palestinians to obtain building permits, which is particularly true with regard to East Jerusalem, where Israel aims to maintain a Jewish majority. Even if a permit is granted, there are still very high costs accompanied with it. Consequently, many Palestinians build

without permits and their homes are thus 'illegal' under Israeli law, making them vulnerable to Israel's house demolition policy. One of the main obstacles in obtaining building permits are Israeli declarations of land as 'unfit for building' or as 'green' or 'open space,' where construction is forbidden. Often this is the case in areas earmarked for future building by Israel (e.g., settlement expansion). Additional obstacles to obtaining permits includes inability to prove land ownership, which was not documented under Ottoman rule, the British Mandate, Jordanian, or Israeli rule, and high costs of permits.

**AL-BURAQ** (English: *lightning*) According to Islamic belief, a winged horse-like creature that first bore Mohammed on his *Isra'* (night journey) from Mecca to a place in Jerusalem near the Western Wall of the Second Temple, and then to heaven on his *Miraj* (ascension) in the company of the angel Jibril. Traditions also state that Al-Buraq was the mount of all the prophets.

**AL-BURAQ MOSQUE** Structure built on the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound next to its western wall, known as Al-Buraq Wall. The main gate of Al-Buraq Mosque, located in Al-Aqsa's western wall, is permanently sealed, but it is still open for prayers to worshipers via another entrance located in the western corridor of the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound. The Mosque derived its name from a ring that is nailed to its wall which Muslims believe Prophet Mohammad used in order to tie Al-Buraq, the magnificent creature that carried him from Mecca to Jerusalem in the night journey of *Al-Isra' wa Al-Miraj*.



**AL-BURAQ REVOLT or RIOTS** see *Western Wall Disturbances*

**AL-BURAQ WALL** Part of Al-Haram Ash-Sharif, remnant of Herod's Temple, and holy to both Jews and Muslims. To Jews it is the Western or Wailing Wall (see entry below), while Muslims remember this as the wall where Prophet Mohammed tied his winged

creature, Al-Buraq, before ascending to heaven on his journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (*Isra' wa Al-Miraj*), where he received his revelations of Islam and lead the other prophets of God in prayer.



**BURAYR MASSACRE** Attack by Palmach forces on Burayr, northeast of Gaza City, on 12-13 May 1948. According to the sources of Israeli historian Benny Morris, Jewish forces killed a large number of villagers, executing dozens of army-age males, and raping and murdering a teenage girl. Remaining inhabitants fled to Gaza.

**AL-BUREIJ REFUGEE CAMP MASSACRE (1.)** Attack on Bureij refugee camp, located in central Gaza, carried out on 28-29 August 1953 by the notorious Unit 101 led by Ariel Sharon. The UN report states that “Bombs were thrown through the windows of huts in which refugees were sleeping and, as they fled, they were attacked by small arms and automatic weapons. The casualties were 20 killed, 27 seriously and 35 less seriously wounded. An article by Arab public intellectual and political philosopher Azmi Bishara put the number killing 43 people, including 7 women, and wounding 22. Other Israeli historians place the number killed around 30. The Mixed Armistice Commission called it “a ruthless reprisal raid” and “an appalling case of deliberate mass murder.”

**(2.)** 16 April 2018 attack on the refugee camp by Israeli forces after a Hamas ambush that killed three Israeli soldiers on the previous night. According to Reuters, the Israeli attack killed eight by-standing minors and a Reuters cameraman named Fadel Shana. The soldiers who fired on Shana and those around him were not held accountable for the deaths, leading to outrage among media and press protection organizations.

**BURJ AL-LAQLAQ** (English: *Storks Tower*) Site located at the northeast corner of the Old City, which was built in 1537. The site was acquired by Burj Al-Laqlaq Community Society from private Palestinian owners to be used for social, educational and recreational activities. Due to its size and location, the center has become a target for harassment by Israeli Occupation forces. On 25 July 2005, the West Jerusalem Planning Committee approved a plan (dating back to 1990 when Ariel Sharon was housing minister) for construction of a Jewish settlement (21 housing units and a synagogue) on a 3.8-dunum site next to the center. The Israel Land Administration owns 1.9 dunums (absentee property) of the land in question while Himanuta Ltd., a subsidiary of the Jewish National Fund, owns 1,3 dunums, which were reportedly acquired privately from the White Russian Orthodox Church in 1982. In 1998, settlers from Ataret Cohanim – protected by Israeli soldiers – laid the 'cornerstone' for the new settlement and moved land caravans to the area. However, due to the ensuing confrontations with Palestinians, the process was halted in June 1998 by the Israeli government, which 'compensated' the settlers by allowing excavation works at the site. In addition, it should be noted that the construction proposed at the site represents a technical and engineering violation of the Old City regulations since Burj Al-Laqlaq is not only an archeological site but also a 'green area' where building of any kind is prohibited. According to Palestinian human rights organization Al-Haq, as of Ramadan 2019, three demolition orders were pending against the center.



**BUS 300 AFFAIR** Refers to the murder of two Palestinian hijackers of an Israeli bus by agents of the Shin Bet, and the subsequent attempt within the Shin Bet to hide the truth. In April 1984, four PFLP activists hijacked Egged Bus No. 300 en route from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon with 41 passengers and forced it to drive to the Gaza Strip in order to press for the release of some 500 prisoners

from Israeli jails. In Deir Al-Balah, the bus was stormed by Israeli forces. During the operation, one passenger and two of the hijackers were killed, while the other two reportedly were wounded and died en route to a hospital. However, a government report later revealed that the two detained hijackers were tortured and beaten to death by agents on order by then Shin Bet chief Avraham Shalom.

**AL-BUSTAN NEIGHBORHOOD** Section of Silwan village outside the Old City, which contains some 90 houses. Most of the houses were built in the 1980s and 1990s, which the West Jerusalem Municipality's city engineer Uri Shetreet ordered to be demolished in November 2004 to expand of the 'King's Valley archeological park.' In June 2005, the municipality handed the inhabitants of Al-Bustan demolition orders for 88 houses, home to over 1,500 people. After residents requested that the Attorney General prevent the destruction and international pressure to halt the demolitions mounted, then-Mayor Uri Lupoliansky retracted the plan in 2005, asking Palestinian residents to propose a plan that would meet their development needs, which they presented in 2008. However, city engineer Shlomo Eshkol informed them that the plan would not be considered in the immediate future, and that the municipality was proceeding with the plan to build a national park on the site. Several homes were demolished in the neighborhood, and on 22 February 2009, Israeli Authorities of the Jerusalem Municipality served citizens of Al-Bustan notices to evacuate their houses within 72 hours or face forced evacuation. In early 2010, the municipality filed a new plan for the area, including a tourist park called King's Valley or King's Garden, which would destroy 88 houses and displace some 1,400 people. Several plans were been submitted in the following years to license the threatened homes to no avail. The municipality postponed the demolition orders of Al-Bustan homes until March 2017, and although several hous-



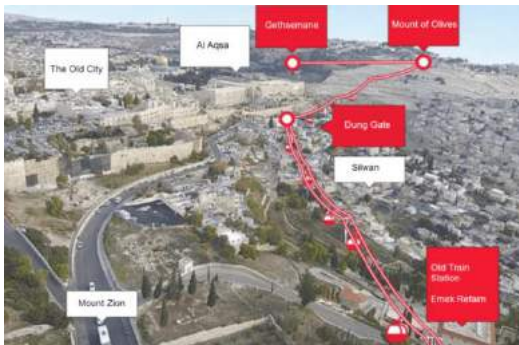
ing structures were destroyed in October and December 2017, other demolitions remain outstanding. On 15 January 2019, Israel handed demolition orders to ten families in Al-Bustan.

**BYPASS ROAD** Term that emerged from the Oslo Accords, referring to roads built for and used by Israelis to link settlements with each other and with Israel proper to circumvent Palestinian built up areas. The main rationale behind these roads is the 'security' of the settlers, but many also argue that they also serve the purpose of dividing the West Bank into isolated 'cantons' and blocking Palestinian development. It is argued that bypass roads entirely bury the possibility of establishing an independent contiguous and viable Palestinian state. Bypass roads are under Israeli control and entail a 50-75-m buffer zone on each side of the road in which no construction is allowed. Typically, they are built at the expense of Palestinian agricultural land and development plans. According to OCHA, as of September 2018, Israel had constructed some 400 km of bypass roads in the West Bank. Palestinians are denied access to most of them (often enforced with cement blocks, trenches, earth-mounds, barbwire and iron gates) under the pretext of military and/or security purposes. The largest bypass road networks are in the Ramallah and Hebron areas.



## C

**CABLE CAR PROJECT** Israeli plan to build a cable car to transport tourists and others along the Old City's southern walls and across Silwan, to be completed in 2021. The project was defined by the Israeli Ministry of Tourism as a "national priority," a category usually reserved for advancing infrastructure. Architects, preservationists, and tour guides oppose the cable car project due to its visual implications for the Old City and the Historic Basin and because it would not actually reduce traffic patterns as claimed. Palestinians were not even consulted about it. Opponents say it serves larger ideological interests and prioritizes politics over sustainability. Under the current plan, the cable cars would pass from near the First Station (west) over Abu Tor, the Hinnom Valley, and the Old City Walls, stop at Mount Zion, and then atop the Dung Gate at an archeological site and a yet-to-be-built tourist center run by the right-wing City of David Foundation in the Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan. Two additional stops – one at the Gethsemane Garden and the other at the Mount of Olives – would be implemented at a later stage.



**CAIRO AGREEMENT (Fatah-Hamas) (1.)** Egyptian-mediated agreement reached on 27 April 2011 and formally signed on 4 May 2011 by PA President Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal in Cairo, paving the way for a transitional technocratic government, preparation for elections, and Hamas' access to the PLO. However, persis-

tent differences between the two sides led to the suspension of further talks.

**(2.)** Reconciliation Accord signed by Hamas and Fatah in Cairo on 20 May 2012, to carry out the previous Doha Agreement, signed three and a half months earlier, and prepare for elections of a new unity government. However, because of continued disagreements between the two sides, the agreement was terminated.

**(3.)** Understanding reached between Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh and PLO Chairman/PA President Mahmoud Abbas and signed on 25 September 2014 in Cairo, stipulating that the Palestinian Unity Government would assume its responsibilities in the Gaza Strip and allow the PA to take control over the border crossings, work on lifting the siege and reconstructing the Gaza Strip, convene a donor conference, revive the PLC, and implement the understanding laid down in the 2006 and 2011 National Conciliation Documents. However, no further steps were taken towards a unity government.

**CAIRO AGREEMENT (Israeli-Palestinian)** see *Gaza-Jericho Agreement*

**CAIRO DECLARATION (Fatah-Hamas)** Document signed on 19 March 2005 by Fatah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, PFLP and DFLP in a bid to unite the Palestinian factions against the Israeli occupation. This first attempt at Intra-Palestinian conciliation also called for reforming the PLO so as to include all Palestinian groups.

**CAIRO-HAIFA TRAIN MASSACRE** Bomb attack on 31 March 1948, in which Zionist paramilitaries planted explosive mines on the track as a Haifa-bound train from Cairo passed the Jewish town of Benyamina. According to a *New York Times* article from the following day, 40 Arab civilians were killed and 60 others wounded. The article stated that the mines, which were said to have been laid by "terrorists," had the shape and markings of Jewish make and that a Jewish source attributed the attack to the Lehi "Stern" gang. The last two cars of the train were carrying British soldiers and did not derail so the soldiers escaped uninjured.

**CALIPH** (Arabic: *Khalifa*) Combining the notions of 'successor' and 'deputy', referring to Prophet Mohammed's successors to lead the Muslim community. The four caliphs, known as *Rashidun* (the rightly guided ones), are Abu Baker Sadiq, Omar Ibn Al-Khattab, Othman Ibn Affan, and Ali Ibn Abu Taleb.

**CAMERA BILL** (also: *Camera Law*) Legislation proposed by Prime Minister Netanyahu's Likud party ahead of the second general election held in Israel in 2019 (after the failure to form a government following the first election), which would permit representatives of political parties to film both outside and inside polling stations on Election Day. While filming people casting their actual vote would not be permitted, the law would allow party representatives to film any conversation between election committee members and voters "at the polling place or its vicinity" as well as keep the video and audio documentation. The draft law, which was motivated by Netanyahu's fear of elections fraud, especially among the Palestinian electorate and which critics said was aimed at intimidating those voters, was approved by Netanyahu's cabinet on 8 September 2019 but voted down a day later in a Knesset hearing.

**CAMP DAVID** US presidential retreat outside Washington, D.C., where numerous Middle East negotiations have been held, including Egyptian-Israeli talks in 1978, brokered by President Jimmy Carter, which led to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. More recently, Camp David was the place where President Clinton unsuccessfully attempted in July 2000 to achieve a similarly historic final settlement between Israel and the Palestinians.

**CAMP DAVID ACCORDS** Israeli-Egyptian agreements signed by Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Begin, witnessed by US President Carter at the White House on 17 September 1978 after 12 days of secret negotiations at Camp David. The first agreement dealt with all aspects of withdrawal from the Sinai and offered a framework for the conclusion of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. The second agreement established a format for the conduct of negotiations for

the establishment of an autonomous regime in the West Bank and Gaza. In November 1978 the Arab Summit in Baghdad rejected the accords and ostracized Egypt from the Arab League. The actual Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was signed on 26 March 1979.



**CAMPBELL-BANNERMANN REPORT** Report submitted in 1907 to British Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman by a committee of scholars from seven European countries that were commissioned to study ways to assure the continuity of European colonialist interests. The report emphasized that Arab countries and the Muslim-Arab people living in the Ottoman Empire presented a very real threat to European countries, especially if and when they are liberated, are united, and progress. It recommended that the British government should split and divide the Arab world in order to weaken it and gain control of it. It thus recommended disintegration, division, and separation in the region to establish artificial political entities that would be under the authority of the imperialist countries. This would fight any kind of unity – whether intellectual, religious or historical, and practical measures would be taken to divide the region's inhabitants. To achieve this, the report proposed a "buffer state" in Palestine, populated by a strong, foreign presence that would be hostile to its neighbors and friendly to European countries and their interests. As the report was strategically important it was suppressed and until today never released to the public. However, reference was made to it by lawyer Antoine Canaan in various lectures in 1949, as well as by renowned Egyptian writer Muhammad Hassanein Haikal and others.

**CENTER OF LIFE POLICY** Discriminatory regulation, introduced by Israel in 1995, authorizing the confiscation of ID cards from Palestinian Jerusalemites who are unable to offer proof to the Interior Ministry and the National Insurance Institute that Jerusalem has been their center of life for the past seven years by producing tax receipts, educational certificates, employment records and utility bills that demonstrate continuous residence in the city. This measure made applications for family reunification very difficult and was also applied with regard to granting permits to visit the Occupied Territories to residents living outside. Revocation of residency rights has to date affected over 14,000 East Jerusalemite Palestinians who are denied the right to live and work in Jerusalem and have lost access to social benefits for themselves and their families.

**CENTER PARTY** (Hebrew: *Hamercaz*) Short-lived moderate party in Israel (1999-2003) established by Yitzhak Mordechai, Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Roni Milo and Dan Meridor to carve out a centrist position between Labor and Likud. They called for a separation between Israel and the Palestinians but did not rule out the option of uprooting settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and supported territorial compromise in the Golan Heights. The Center Party began to unravel following Mordechai's resignation from the Barak led government in 2000, amid a sex scandal, and the party did not run in the 2003 elections.

**CHALUKKAH** Traditional system of rabbinic distribution of remittances from Jewish communities abroad to fund religious communities in Palestine – especially in Jerusalem. It was the primary source of income for Jewish communities in Palestine until the advent of Zionist immigration and production-based economic activities.

**CHANGE AND REFORM** Name under which Hamas ran in the January 2006 PLC elections when they obtained 42.9% of the vote, winning 74 of 132 parliament seats, partially due to public impatience with the PA's corruption and its inability to win concessions in

negotiations with Israel. In the election manifesto, Hamas omitted its call for the elimination of Israel, calling instead for the "establishment of an independent state whose capital is Jerusalem." Hamas also vowed an end to corruption and lawlessness in the Palestinian territories and advocated cutting ties with Israel, while strengthening relations with Arab countries. Further, Hamas promised to build an independent economy, effective health and education systems, and to reconstruct the Palestinian infrastructure.



**CHECKPOINT** (Arabic: *hajez*, Hebrew: *mah-soum*) Roadblocks and other barriers imposed by the Israeli army or border police permanently or temporarily throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to control/restrict the movement of Palestinians between villages and towns. In many cases, especially with regard to permanent checkpoints, Palestinians require previous permits issued by the Israeli authorities in order to be eligible to pass. Checkpoints cause immense travel delays and restrictions. As a result, deaths occasionally occur when individuals, including women in labor and/or ambulances, are prevented from reaching hospitals/medical care, and often agricultural products are spoiled due to delays lasting up to several days. By 2019, B'Tselem identified 66 permanent staffed checkpoints within the West Bank (24 of which are in Hebron), 34 temporarily staffed checkpoints, not including hundreds of physical roadblocks.



**CHRISTIAN ZIONISM** Belief system in support of the state of Israel and the development of a Jewish commonwealth. Belief that the founding of the state of Israel and the gathering of Jewish exiles is the first stage of



the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. The second stage is then the return of the Messiah to the land of Israel. Their theological position is that in the end of days all Jews will be killed with the exception of 144,000 who accept Christ. The International Christian Embassy in West Jerusalem, which is non-governmental, represents these Christians, but is not recognized by the historic churches in the Holy Land.

**CHRISTIANS** The Christians in Israel and Palestine, and throughout the Middle East, belong to the Eastern Orthodox (the Greek Orthodox Church being the largest and most prominent), Oriental Orthodox (including the Coptic Orthodox Church and Armenian Apostolic Church), Catholic Church (mainly Latin Catholic, Greek Catholic/Melkite, and Maronite), and the Evangelical/Protestant Church (mainly Anglicans and Lutherans). All of these denominations are members of the Middle East Council of Churches, which serves as an umbrella organization. The number of Christians in the region has declined significantly during previous decades, either because of persecution, or as a consequence of voluntary emigration. As a percentage of the total population, their decline is even more significant because they generally have lower birth rates than the surrounding Muslim society. Declines are most acute in Palestine where the size of the Christian community has dropped from approximately 10% of the total population in 1948 to less than 2% today.

**CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY** Site identified by Christian tradition as the birthplace of Jesus since the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century, which makes it a prime destination for Christian pilgrimage. In 339 CE, for the first time a church was completed there and the edifice that replaced it after a fire. In 2012, it became the first UNESCO World Heritage site to be listed under "Palestine." Inscribed as "Birthplace of Jesus: the Church of the Na-



tivity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem (Palestine)," it was also placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger to the poor state, from which it was, however, removed in June 2019 after extensive restoration and renovation works had taken place.

**CHURCHILL MEMORANDUM** (also: *White Paper of 1922*) British policy statement on Palestine, named after the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, which was issued by British High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel in June 1922 in the wake of escalating violence. The memorandum stated that Arab hostility against Jews stemmed from Jewish immigration and Zionist policy and reasserted British support for the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine, for which "it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration." However, it stated that the British government did not wish to see Palestine become "as Jewish as England is English", but rather see the establishment of "a center in which Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride." Further, the memorandum iterated that Jewish immigration should not exceed the economic absorptive capacity of the country.



Winston Churchill

**CHURCHILL WHITE PAPER** see *Churchill Memorandum*

**CITY OF DAVID** Narrow promontory beyond the southern edge of Haram Ash-Sharif and the Old City, where Israelis claim King David created the city of Jerusalem over 3,000 years ago. The area is part of the Palestinian village/neighborhood of Silwan, which maps issued by the Israeli government and Israeli organizations include as the City of David. Since Israel gained control over East Jerusalem in 1967, Jewish settler organizations (Elad and Ateret Cohanim) have sought to re-establish a Jewish presence in Silwan, particularly in the Al-Bustan neighborhood (see above). Jewish settlers have taken several

houses and apartments in the area and it is estimated that at least 500 of them live in Silwan (2018).



**CITIZENSHIP LAW** (also referred to as *Nationality Law*) Israeli law of 1952, which details the provisions for the acquisition and loss of the Israeli nationality. It stipulates that, "Every emigrant under the Law of Return will become a citizen of Israel as a direct result of the return" (Article 2(a)) and at the same time deprives Palestinians who were residents of Palestine prior to 1948 of the right to gain citizenship or residence status in Israel (Article 3). Amendment No. 10, enacted on 28 March 2011, allows courts to revoke the citizenship of persons convicted of treason, espionage, assisting the enemy in time of war, violating state sovereignty and acts of terrorism. The amendment was proposed following the arrest and indictment of Arab civil society leader Ameer Makhoul on charges of espionage and has since been used discriminately against Palestinians.

**CITIZENSHIP AND ENTRY LAW** (formally: *Nationality and Entry into Israel Law 'Temporary Order' – 2003*) Legislation passed by the Knesset on 31 July 2003, prohibiting citizenship, permanent residency and/or temporary residency status to West Bank/Gaza Palestinians married to Israeli citizens. Nearly all of the affected Israeli families – over 21,000 – are Arab. The law also denies citizenship to children born to an Israeli citizen and resident of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Via special permission from Israel's Interior Minister, children will be allowed to remain with their family in Israel until the age of 12, when the child will be uprooted and forced to leave the state. The Law has been extended several times since its creation.

**CIVIL ADMINISTRATION** see *Israeli Civil Administration*

**CIVIL POLICE** see *Palestinian Civil Police*

**CIVIL DEFENSE** see *Palestinian Civil Defense*

### **CIVIL WRONGS (LIABILITY OF THE STATE) LAW**

Israeli law of 1952 which established the limits of the state's liability for the payment of compensation for damage caused by security forces acting on its behalf in a "war-time action". Amendment No. 4 of 2002 re-defined "wartime action" as "any action of combating terror, hostile actions, or insurrection, and also an action as stated that is intended to prevent terror, hostile actions, or insurrection committed in circumstances of danger to life or limb" whether the affected parties are innocent or not. Amendment No. 8 of 2012 created further obstacles to justice and accountability as it widely exempts Israel from its liability for injuries and damages inflicted by its forces on Palestinians in or from the OPT.

### **CLINTON PARAMETERS** (also: *Clinton Proposal*)

Guidelines for final accelerated negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis formulated by then US President Clinton, who hoped to conclude a comprehensive agreement between the two sides before the end of his term in office. The parameters, given orally to Israeli and Palestinian negotiators at a trilateral meeting in the White House on 23 December 2000, built upon previous negotiations with Israel, but fell short of the international legal standard for ending Israel's occupation and recognizing the rights of Palestinian refugees. The parameters were officially outlined in Clinton's speech to the Israeli Policy Forum on 7 January 2001 in New York and served as the basis for the Taba Talks later that month (Prime Minister Barak and President Arafat both accepted the parameters, with reservations, as the basis for further talks, but the election of Ariel Sharon in February effectively ended the peace process). The parameters included: (1) the establishment of a non-militarized "sovereign, viable Palestinian State that would accommodate Israel's security requirements and the demographic realities" in most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip with few land swaps; (2) a solution for the refugees that would allow them to return to a Palestinian



state, resettlement in their current locations, or in third countries, as well as compensation from the international community for their losses and assistance in building their new lives; (3) an international presence to provide border security and monitor implementation of the final agreement; (4) "fair and logical propositions" regarding Jerusalem to remain an open and undivided city with assured freedom of access and worship for all with incorporation of the principle 'what is Arab should be Palestinian' and 'what is Jewish should be Israeli'; and (5) an official end to the conflict.

**CLOSED MILITARY ZONE OR AREA** Areas declared by the Israeli army to be closed in order to deny access to civilians, including journalists, for instance to prevent demonstrations or civil disobedience. Those declarations are based on the emergency rules created by the British Mandate in 1945. Usually Closed Military Zones are characterized by a massive increase in military presence and heavy surveillance of the local Palestinian population. While Palestinians are forbidden to enter these areas without authorization from the Israeli military commander, Israeli citizens, Jews from throughout the world, and tourists are permitted to enter without special permits. Considerable parts of such closed areas are used by settlers for the benefit of expanding settlements.



**CLOSURE** (also referred to as *siege* or *blockade*) Israeli-imposed movement restrictions for Palestinian goods and labor under the pretext of 'security.' There are three basic forms: internal closure (movement restriction within the West Bank and Gaza Strip through a network of military checkpoints, reinforced by curfews); external closure of the West Bank and Gaza borders with Israel; and external closing of international borders (e.g., Gaza international airport, border crossings with Jordan and Egypt). Closures are of unspecified duration, may be total or partial, and are often imposed without explanation. Whole cities or only certain areas

can be closed off or a particular population group (e.g., men under the age of 35) can be excluded from movement. Closures seriously disrupt daily life, preventing Palestinians from reaching hospitals and other medical care, schools and universities, as well as working places and places of worship.

**CLOSURE OBSTACLES** Checkpoints, roadblocks, and other barriers imposed by the Israeli army or border police permanently or temporarily throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to control/restrict the movement of Palestinians between villages and towns. In many cases, especially with regard to permanent checkpoints, Palestinians require previous permits issued by the Israeli authorities in order to be eligible to pass. Checkpoints cause immense travel delays and restrictions; as a result, deaths occasionally occur when individuals, including women in labor, and/or ambulances are prevented from reaching hospitals/medical care, and often agricultural products are spoiled due to delays that can last for several days. According to OCHA, there were 705 closure obstacles blocking internal Palestinian movement in the West Bank as of September 2018, including 140 permanently or partially staffed checkpoints.



**COASTAL AQUIFER** Underground layer of water-bearing permeable rock stretching along the Mediterranean coastline of Israel and the Gaza Strip. Its length from north to south is 120 km and its width 7-20 km. The active storage of the aquifer is estimated at 20 billion cubic meters of water and its safe yield is close to 300 million cubic meters (mcm)/year with an estimated annual recharge of 55-65 mcm.



The aquifer contributes some 20% of Israel's fresh water supply and is also the main aquifer in the Gaza Strip. Increased seawater intrusion, infiltration of contaminants, particularly chlorides and nitrates, through the surface soil layer, and dropping water levels due to over-exploitation have all decreased the fresh water storage in the aquifer (with total pumping exceeding total recharge).

**COLLABORATOR** (Arabic: *Al-Amil*) Term referring to those who betray their own people, generally out of a position of weakness or suffering (i.e., under torture) or driven by personal benefits. In the Palestinian context, collaborators are individuals who cooperate with Israeli authorities, providing intelligence information on people within their own community or performing other tasks on behalf of the occupiers. There are four primary types of collaborators: land dealer (*simsar al-'ardi*), intermediary (*al-wasit*), armed (*al-amilal-musallah*), and informer (*jasous*). The Palestinian collaborator is an expression of Israel's larger 'defense' policies, in which the collaborator serves the purpose of creating mistrust, spreading confusion and undermining collective self-confidence within Palestinian society. Masterminding this strategy is Israel's secret police Shin Bet. The PA has offered on various occasions an amnesty to collaborators in return for a full confession. Over the years, several collaborators found guilty of helping Israel to assassinate Palestinian activists have been sentenced to death and formally executed. Other (suspected) collaborators have been killed (sometimes hung in public) by activists from the various factions. Some collaborators are motivated by financial benefits while in other cases Palestinians have been blackmailed by Israeli intelligence officers.

**COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT** Israeli practice of punishing entire Palestinian families, neighborhoods, communities, or cities for the act of one or a few. Forms of punishment include the sealing or demolishing of homes, imposing curfews, erecting roadblocks, confiscating personal property, uprooting trees, destroying agricultural land and infrastructure (e.g., water systems), and closing com-

mercial, educational and cultural sites. In Gaza, collective punishment of the people has resulted in a massive humanitarian crisis, as Israel has closed all border crossings, *de facto* isolating the strip from the rest of the world, has disrupted power supplies and fuel shipments, increased monitoring of funds, ceased visits to prisoners, and allowed only essential food and medicine to be brought in. Collective punishment is expressly forbidden by Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention and is prohibited by Israel's own laws as well.

**COLONIES** see *Settlements*

**COMMERCIAL STRIKE** Non-violent form of economic protest that emerged during the first Intifada, initially as an on-the-spot protest at Israeli army actions and later organized throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip with shops being shut down for days and sometimes weeks. Due to the resulting loss of income, tax revenues to Israel were drastically reduced. In more recent years, one- or two-day commercial strikes are called for by the various political factions in response to Israeli attacks, assassinations or other actions. During strike days, Palestinians are encouraged to take to the streets in peaceful protests.



**COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS (CUP)** (also: *Young Turks*) Turkish revolutionary nationalist reform party, which had its origins in secret societies of progressive students, army officers, and government officials, who operated underground after the constitution was abrogated by the Sultan. In 1908, CUP leaders led a rebellion against Sultan Abdul Hamid II to restore constitutional rule. The rebellion was widely supported by both Arab nationalists and Zionists and resulted in Hamid being deposed and exiled. Soon after,

Muslims, Christians and Jews joined together to found a branch of the CUP in Jerusalem. The CUP effectively ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1908 until 1918, but it soon became clear that their goal was the Turkification of the Ottoman domain rather than granting local autonomy to minorities. In response, Arab intellectuals in Beirut, Cairo and Damascus formed clandestine political societies (e.g., the Ottoman Decentralization Party, *Al-Ahd* and *Al-Fatat*), though these lacked support among the masses.

**COMMON AGENDA** see *Israel-Jordan Common Agenda*

**CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR** see *Refusnik*

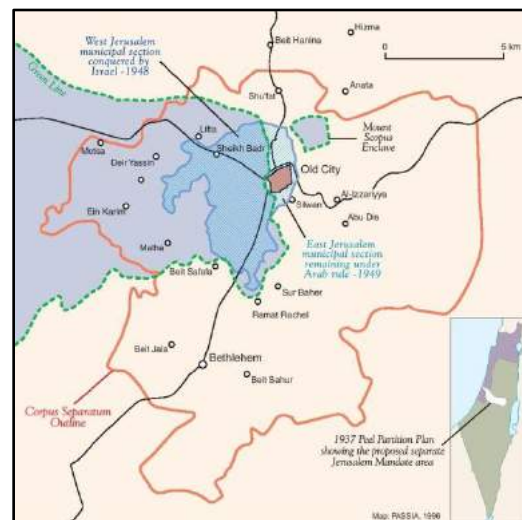
**CONVERGENCE PLAN** (also: *Realignment Plan*) Plan formulated by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert during the election campaign for the 17<sup>th</sup> Knesset in 2006 claiming that, if he was elected Prime Minister, he would unilaterally remove Israeli settlements from most of the West Bank within four years and consolidate them into large groups of settlements near the 1967 border. In fact, the plan foresaw the annexation of some 10% of the West Bank, including settlements and historic areas in East Jerusalem, along a perimeter defined more or less by the Separation Barrier (all area west of it). Israel would expand settlements west of the barrier and withdraw its settlers from the remaining areas, while maintaining exclusive security control over all territories as well as over the border crossing points to Jordan.

**COORDINATOR OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE TERRITORIES (COGAT)** Head of a unit, subordinated to the Israeli Defense Ministry, which is in charge of coordinating civilian issues between the Government of Israel, the army, international organizations, diplomats, and the PA. Headquartered in Tel Aviv, it has branches in the fields of economics, infrastructure, international relations and foreign affairs, public appeals, spokesperson office, and an advisor for matters related to Palestinian affairs.



**COPENHAGEN GROUP** see *International Alliance for Arab-Israeli Peace*

**CORPUS SEPARATUM** (English: *separate body*) Status proposed for Jerusalem and surrounding areas, including Bethlehem, by the UN General Assembly within the Partition Plan of November 1947. The city, within an area of 186 km<sup>2</sup>, was to be internationalized under a UN trusteeship, which would have guaranteed freedom of access to holy places, provided an international police force, and remained responsible for foreign affairs. After a ten-year period a plebiscite was to be held, after which further recommendations would be discussed by the trusteeship council. UN General Assembly Resolution 303 of 9 December 1949 reiterated the UN commitment to the internationalization of Jerusalem, and designated it a "*corpus separatum*."



**COUNTER-TERRORISM LAW** Israeli law, passed on 15 June 2016, which includes draconian measures for investigating political detainees, expands the use of secret evidence, and substantially expands the powers of the police and the General Security Services. It allows the Defense Ministry to designate any "body of persons" a terror organization, as long as its activities fit within the legal parameters of the term (Section 3 a). As the law's definitions of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist organizations' are rather broad and vague, it empowers the security establishment to legally implicate organizations that simply express solidarity with allegedly militant Palestinian

groups. The law is often exploited by law enforcement authorities to criminalize legitimate actions of Palestinians, including closing of institutions (as was the case with the Elia Association for Youth in East Jerusalem in April 2018).

**CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY** Atrocities and offences committed against a civilian population before or during war. These include inhumane acts such as murder, extermination, deportation, enslavement, and mass systematic rape, as well as persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds.

**CURFEW** Form of collective punishment and means of control employed by the Israeli government/army whereby inhabitants of a Palestinian community are forced to stay indoors for a specified period of time (hours, days and sometimes weeks) with occasional breaks to stock food and other supplies. Curfews were used particularly during the first Intifada, for instance, to prevent the spread of public protests.



**CUST REPORT** Report compiled by British Mandate officer Archer Cust in September 1929 regarding the *status quo* arrangements and rights governing the holy sites in and around Jerusalem, which had been in place since 1757. Cust's report described in detail which rooms, lamps, stairs, hours of worship, etc. belonged to which religious community and which rites may be practiced in each of the holy places by each religion. The report served the mandatory authorities as a guide in dealing with the politics of the holy places. Although his report did not include all sites (e.g., not the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound), the report has since been considered an authoritative source on the *status quo*.

#### **CYBERCRIMES LAW (Palestinian Authority)**

Law (Law No. 16) passed by President Mahmoud Abbas in secret in June 2017 officially aimed to reduce cybercrime. Prior to this, there had been difficulties in prosecuting illegal activities in the digital sphere, such as blackmail and identity theft. However, it was quickly used to prosecute human rights activists and reduce internal opposition leading to calls from civil society, journalists and human rights organizations for it to be reformed on the grounds that it infringed upon privacy and freedom of expression. Concerns were also raised with regard to the vague specification of the law. For example, Article 20 opposed the propagation of news that threatened "national unity" but such vague terminology could be interpreted in terms of the PAs goals. As a result of objections, the law was amended in 2018 (Law No. 10) with changes such as, *inter alia*, the removal of Article 20, reduction of harsh punishments, and the omission of criminalization related to loosely defined terms. Despite these changes, many still object to the law as having resulted in decreased press freedom and many suggest that a broader cyber security strategy is needed.

# D

**DABKE** (also spelled *Dabkeh*) Traditional folk dance of both men and women in the Levant and the national dance of Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Jordan. Dabkeh translates as stomping of the feet. Stomping, as well as jumping and kicking, are moves that are represented in the dabkeh. The leader, called *raas* (head) or *lawwih* (waver), is allowed to improvise the type of dabkeh being performed, while simultaneously twirling a handkerchief or string of beads known as a *masbha* (similar to a rosary). Meanwhile, the dancers use vocalizations to energize the performance and punctuate the rhythm. It is also a dance of solidarity and a way of expressing nationalism through art.



**DAHIYA DOCTRINE** (also spelled *Dahya* or *Dahieh*) Israeli military strategy of asymmetric warfare, first outlined by recent Israeli army Chief of General Staff Gadi Eizenkot in 2006, then the Head the Northern Command of the Israeli army. It encompasses the destruction of the civilian infrastructure of regimes deemed to be hostile – i.e. Hizbullah and Hamas – and endorses the employment of "disproportionate force" to cause great damage and destruction. The doctrine is named after the Dahiya neighborhood of Beirut, where the Israeli army heavily bombed apartment buildings during the 2006 Lebanon War, claiming they were also used as Hizbullah command centers and built over their bunkers. Israel has also implemented the "strategy" in Gaza, "designed to punish, humiliate and terrorize a civilian population", as the Goldstone Report (commissioned by the UN Human Rights Council as part of the Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict in January 2009) concluded. Critics call the use of

excessive and disproportionate force and the targeting of government and civilian infrastructure during military operations a war crime.

**DAMASCUS GATE MASSACRE (1.)** Bombing by the Irgun at Damascus Gate outside the Old City of Jerusalem on 12 December 1947, which according to controversial Israeli military historian Uri Milstein, left 20 people killed and 50 wounded.

**(2.)** Attack on 29 December 1947 reported by the *Australian Cairns Post* via a Reuter's representative in Jerusalem, in which Irgun paramilitaries threw a barrel full of explosives at a crowded Arab orange market near Damascus Gate in Jerusalem which resulted in the death of at least 5 Palestinians, including a young boy, as well as a British constable. The Scottish *Glasgow Herald* reported that the attack was aimed at a bus queue near the orange market killing 13 Arabs and still other sources maintain that 20 people were killed with 27 wounded.

**DAMASCUS TEN** (also: *Alliance of Palestinian Forces* or *Damascus Alliance*) Umbrella group of ten Palestinian factions – DFLP, PFLP, PFLP-GC, PPSF, PLF, Fatah-Uprising, PRCP, Al-Sa'iqa, Hamas & Islamic Jihad – formed in September 1992 as the 'National Democratic & Islamic Front' to oppose the peace negotiations with Israel and reaffirm the legitimacy of all forms of struggle to liberate the Palestinian homeland. The coalition is based in Damascus and has been largely ineffective, in particular because of fundamental ideological differences between the Islamic groups such as Hamas and secular factions like the PFLP. In 1998, the Damascus Ten re-established itself as the 'Palestinian Follow-up Committee' in opposition to the signing of the Wye River Memorandum, and a year later the DFLP and PFLP were expelled for their reconciliation with the PLO leadership under Arafat. In 1999, Syrian government authorities issued an instruction to the Damascus-based factions to end armed actions, a move which meant that the idea of the alliance as a coordination of armed struggle was abandoned. Thus, today, it has a largely marginalized structure.

**DAR AL-TIFL AL-ARABI** (English: *House of Arab Children*) School located in East Jerusalem that was established by Hind Al-Husseini as an orphanage for victims of the Deir Yassin massacre in 1948. The school is in Dar Husseini in Jerusalem, in the home her grandfather built, and has grown into a school, museum, and adjoining college.



**AL-DAWAYIMA MASSACRE** Attack by Israeli forces (89<sup>th</sup> Battalion) on the village of Dawayima northwest of Hebron on 29 October 1948 as part of “Operation Yoav,” in which men, women, and children were killed in their homes, in the streets, and in the hills as they fled. Many sources contain conflicting numbers of casualties but the massacre was likened by some to Deir Yassin. Israeli historian Benny Morris writes that 80-100 were killed in what was reported as the “first wave” of the attack but notes that other sources reported numbers as high as 500 to 1,000 (the American Consul-General in Jerusalem). According to a Jewish informant by the name of Sh. or Shabtai Kaplan, the second wave of attacks included blowing up houses with men and women inside them, at least one case of rape, and Kaplan quoted a soldier as stating that “cultured soldiers” had turned into “base murderers.”

**DAY OF RAGE** Days of mass protests called for by Palestinians to express their outrage against certain policies, decisions or incidents. They take the shape of demonstrations and protest marches, sometimes sparking widespread riots, and are often accompanied by general strikes.

**DAYTON FORCES** Palestinian security personnel trained by US-American private contractors and the Jordanian Public Security Directorate under the mission of US Security Coordinator for Israel and the PA, Keith Dayton,

during 2005-2010. Lt. General Dayton was in charge of the vetting, training, equipping, and strategic planning of PA special battalions (nicknamed “Dayton Forces”). The training facilities (located outside of Amman) were provided by the US and equipped by Egypt. The mission was controversial with some senior Pentagon officers arguing that a US training mission may raise serious objections among Arabs and Israelis claiming they were a threat. Many Palestinians indeed viewed the forces as an extension of the occupation and a means to suppress PA dissent in the West Bank, and there were many accounts of torture and abuse of power.



Keith Dayton

**DEAD SEA-RED SEA CANAL** see *Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal*

**DEAL OF THE CENTURY** US back-channel peace plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, announced as a general goal by President Donald Trump first during his presidential campaign in 2016. After taking office, he commissioned his son-in-law and senior advisor, Jared Kushner, his long-time chief legal officer, Jason Greenblatt, and US ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, to work out such a peace blueprint. Their approach differed from previous “mediation” efforts as they did not envision engaging in a negotiating process that would lead to an agreement. Instead, they worked backward: presenting a comprehensive solution first, and then figuring out how to get there. While the “deal” is yet to be published in its entirety and has been postponed repeatedly it is expected to clearly prioritize Israeli interests over Palestinian rights and ignore basic principles of international law as well as the idea of two sovereign states. The first part of the peace plan was unveiled during the “Peace to Prosperity” economic workshop held in Manama, Bahrain on June 25-26 2019. The workshop showed that the plan focuses on economic cooperation, investment and development in the Palestinian territories – in line with Prime Minister Netanyahu’s “economic peace” preference, assuming that in



exchange for improving Palestinian lives they will compromise on their rights and aspirations. However, Palestinian leaders as well as civil society have already expressed their rejection of the “deal” in the period leading to the workshop due to the plan failing to address the Israeli occupation, the calls for Palestinians rights and self-determination. Also, the EU and other international organizations such as the IMF have questioned the feasibility of the plan due to its lack of providing a political solution and departing from the two-state solution.

**DECENTRALIZATION PARTY** (Arabic: *Al-Lamar-kaziyya*) Party founded in Cairo in January 1913 by Arab elites from Greater Syria to promote reforms, including administrative decentralization in Arab provinces and equal rights for all Arabs within the framework of a multinational Ottoman state. The Decentralization Party was accused of being an agent of Western powers and was opposed by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and other conservative groups. The party also established branches in Nablus, Jenin, Jaffa and Tulkarem, but never became very influential.

**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (1.)** Statement issued by the Arab Higher Committee on 1 October 1948 in Gaza proclaiming “the full independence of the whole of Palestine as bounded by Syria and Lebanon from the north, by Syria and Transjordan from the east, by the Mediterranean from the west, and by Egypt from the south, as well as the establishment of a free and democratic sovereign State.”

**(2.)** Document issued by the 19<sup>th</sup> Palestine National Council convening in Algiers on 15 November 1988 (written by Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish) declaring the formation of the independent State of Palestine, “The Palestine National Council, in the name of God, and in the name of the Palestinian Arab people; hereby proclaims the establishment of the State of Palestine on our Palestinian territory with its capital Holy Jerusalem (Al-Quds Ash-Sharif)”, and explicitly endorsing the notion of two states for two people, one Jewish and one Palestinian. The document has thus far been recognized by 160 nations.

**DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES** (formally: *Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements*) Agreement reached between PLO members and Israeli officials after being secretly negotiated in Oslo, Norway, and later signed in Washington, D.C., on 13 September 1993. It provides the guidelines for future negotiations as well as for a five-year interim autonomy for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, followed by a permanent settlement based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The declaration postponed difficult issues such as Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, water, security, and borders, and was accompanied by letters from Yasser Arafat promising to change the PLO Charter, which called for the destruction of Israel, and from Yitzhak Rabin, proclaiming Israel's intent to allow normalization of life in the occupied territories. Continued negotiations led to the 1994 Oslo I and 1995 Oslo II Accords (see *Gaza-Jericho Agreement and Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip*).



**DEDEVELOPMENT** Term first articulated by Harvard University researcher Dr. Sara Roy in 1987 with regard to the deteriorating economic situation in the OPT, specifically the process of lowering its economic standard as compared to the pre-1967 period by denying permits to build factories or repair infrastructure. More recently, key features of this process are the effects of the Israeli closure regime, which has defined the Palestinian economy since the Oslo period, including the separation of Gaza and the West Bank, the isolation of Jerusalem, and the checkpoint and permit policies, all of which make any prospects for economic improvement and development impossible.

**DEFENSE (EMERGENCY) REGULATIONS** Set of provisions enacted by the British Mandate government in September 1945 against illegal immigration, establishing military tribunals to try civilians without granting the right of appeal, allowing sweeping searches and seizures, prohibiting publication of books and newspapers, demolishing houses, sealing off particular territories, detaining individuals administratively for an indefinite period, and imposing curfews, etc. Israel incorporated the Regulations into its law in 1948 (Government and Law Arrangements Ordinance) and used them as the legal basis for the military rule imposed on Israel's Palestinian citizens in the early 1950s. Since the 1967 occupation, Israel has used these regulations extensively in the OPT, mostly as pretext for (collective) punishment and deterrence (e.g., demolition and sealing of houses, deportations, administrative detention, imposing closures and curfews, and searching, confiscation and expropriation of property).

**DEIR AL-BALAH MASSACRE** Israeli air attack, bombing the refugees' food distribution centers in Deir Al-Balah and Khan Younis, Gaza, in January 1949. According to Palestinian researcher Salman Abu Sitta and journalist Terry Rempel, an ICRC delegation visiting Gaza detailed six separate incidents of intensive Israeli aerial and artillery bombing on Gaza's city center and the refugee camps of Khan Younis, Breij, Rafah, and Deir Al-Balah. They recorded some 190 civilian deaths and over 400 injured over the course of six days (2-7 January) and stated that the attacks were "acts of cruelty without military objectives."

**DEIR YASSIN** Arab village on the western outskirts of Jerusalem which was attacked by Ir-gun and Stern Gang units on 9 April 1948, although it had a non-aggression pact with the Haganah. During the assault over 200 villagers were murdered, including many children and women, and the remaining inhabitants were expelled. The massacre, which was condemned by the Jewish Agency, was one of



the main incidents that spurred the Arab exodus from other locations in Palestine. The 'Deir Yassin Massacre' is commemorated annually on the same day.

**DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE** Coalition launched before the Palestinian local government elections (that were initially scheduled for 2016 but then postponed until May 2017) as a third party option to Fatah and Hamas. It was made up of five left-wing factions (PFLP, DFLP, Palestinian People's Party, Palestinian Democratic Union - FIDA, and the Palestinian National Initiative), along with several unaffiliated independent candidates, and was coordinated by Mohammed Hamarsheh.

**DEMOCRATIC CHOICE** Israeli Russian and socialist immigrant party founded in 1999 after splitting from Natan Sharansky's Yisrael Ba'Aliya faction. At first it was called the Society and Reform Party and its constituency was made up almost entirely of Russian immigrants. It won two seats in the 1999 elections and ran in a joint list together with the Meretz and Shaha parties in 2003, gaining six seats. Two months before the 2006 Knesset elections the party withdrew its candidacy following party founder Roman Bronfman's decision not to run in the election. The party did not run in any subsequent elections.

**DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (DFLP)** (Arabic: *Al-Jabha Ad-Dimuratiyya li-Tahrir Filastin*) Left-wing Palestinian group formed by Nayef Hawatmeh (Abu Nouf) on

22 February 1969 after a split from the PFLP following an ideological dispute over the necessity of adopting a Marxist program. The DFLP began a dialogue with the Israeli extreme left in 1970 and was the first PLO faction to call for a negotiated settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the two-state solution. The party adopted pragmatic positions and attempted to find a midway position between PLO Chairman Arafat and his opponents. The DFLP was a member of the United National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) during the first Intifada, but split in 1990-91



over policy differences with Yasser Abed Rabbo, who formed the non-Marxist FIDA. The DFLP refused to attend the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991 and opposed the Oslo process. The majority of its leaders have returned to Palestine since 1996 and reconciliation with Arafat took place in Cairo in August 1999, where both sides defined red lines on permanent status negotiations. The DFLP is represented in the PLO Executive Committee by Taysir Khaled. The group launched an attack on an Israeli army base in August 2001 in Gaza, marking the first such attack in 10 years. In 2006, the DFLP held its own national conference and participated in the PLC elections, with politburo member Qais Abdul Karim (Abu Leila) gaining a seat. The party is surrounded by a suite of popular and democratic organizations which have their own programs dealing with the interests of youth, women, and workers.

**DEMOCRATIC ISRAEL** see *Israel Democratic Party*

**DEMOCRATIC UNION** Joint electoral list established in the run-up to the September 2019 Israeli elections by three parties: Meretz, Democratic Israel and the Green Movement. The list won 4.3% of the votes and 5 seats in the Knesset.



**DEPORTATION** Punitive measure prohibited without exception by Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) but used by Israel against Palestinian civilians. Since 1967, some 1,700 Palestinians have been deported. The latest and largest deportation occurred in December 1992, when 415 alleged Islamist activists were expelled to Marj Az-Zuhur in South Lebanon. The UN Security Council repeatedly condemned Israel for its deportation policy, most recently in 1992 (Resolution 799). Until 1992, none of the deportees had been charged with a criminal offence, nor tried and convicted. Since the signing of the Declaration of Principles in 1993 most deportees have been allowed to return and Israel has not deported any Palestinians from the OPT. However, during the Al-Aqsa Intifa-

da (2000-05), Israel adopted a new "deterrent" measure, forcibly transferring relatives of Palestinians who had killed and injured Israelis from the West Bank to the Gaza Strip. In addition, the cases of deportation of foreign nationals (including foreign passport-holding Palestinians) working in Palestinian civil society or studying at Palestinian universities and supporting BDS activities have considerably increased.

**DIASPORA** Term used by Jews and Palestinians to denote Jews/Palestinians living outside Israel or in exile from Palestine, respectively.

**DINAR** see *Jordanian Dinar*

**DISENGAGEMENT** Refers to Jordan's severance of all administrative and legal ties with the occupied West Bank which was announced by King Hussein on 31 July 1988, a day after he formally dissolved Parliament, ending West Bank representation in the legislature, and three days after he had canceled a \$1.3 billion development program for the West Bank, explaining that the measure was designed to allow the PLO more responsibility for the area. While King Hussein claimed the move was merely acquiescence to the wishes of the PLO, it was also seen as a clear message to all of the major players in the Middle East peace process that the notion of the "Jordan option" was not viable from Jordan's standpoint.

**DISENGAGEMENT PLAN** Plan proposed by then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the Herzliya Conference on Security on 18 December 2003 to evacuate all settlers from Gaza and four settlements in the northern West Bank with a stated goal of creating "maximum security with minimum friction" between Israelis and Palestinians. The Disengagement Plan was introduced in early February 2004, at the peak of international criticism of Sharon's project of the Separation Barrier and just ahead of the hearings at the International Court of Justice in The Hague. On 16 February 2005, the Knesset passed the Disengagement Implementation Law by a vote of 59-40 (with 5 abstentions). The plan was implemented during August and September

2005. However, Israel retains control of all land borders, air space, and sea access to Gaza.

**DISPLACED PERSONS** Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip who were either absent (abroad) or displaced during the War of 1967 or who left the West Bank and Gaza Strip after the Israeli census of September 1967 and were prevented from coming back by Israel. Negotiations on displaced persons started in 1995 but an inability to agree upon the definition of the term 'displaced persons', with Israel agreeing to only accept those displaced during the war, brought negotiations to a standstill in 1997 (see also *Internally Displaced Persons*).

**DISPUTED TERRITORIES** Term frequently used by Israel and the US to soften or intentionally confuse the status of areas occupied by Israel in 1967.

**DISTRICT COORDINATION OFFICE (DCO)** Coordinating body established as a result of the September 1995 Oslo II Agreement and jointly operated by both Israelis and Palestinians to serve as a contact point for officials from the two sides. The DCO has monitored and managed matters of a joint nature that required coordination, such as security (e.g., joint patrols), incidents involving Israelis and/or Palestinians (e.g., road accidents), and administration (e.g., permit requests). Currently it is mainly charged with issuing Palestinian residents of the district magnetic cards, work permits for Israel, permits for one-time entry reasons, various police permits, etc.

**DIVESTMENT** (sometimes also: Disinvestment) Activity where people/shareholders withdraw their monetary investments from companies or countries. Divestment (or disinvestment) is thus the opposite of an investment, i.e., the process of selling an asset for either social, financial, or political goals. With regard to the Israeli occupation, it refers to a campaign initiated in 2002, conducted by religious and political entities with the aim to pressure the Israeli government to put an end to the occupation of Palestinian territories. Divestment

campaigns – disinvestment from corporations engaged in or profiting from the occupation – targeting Israel can be traced back to the early 1990s but first received media attention in 2002, thanks largely to a petition at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This was followed later that year by calls from South African anti-Apartheid activist Desmond Tutu for the international community to treat Israel as it treated South Africa under Apartheid. In 2003, the Toronto assembly of the United Church of Canada voted to boycott goods produced by Jewish settlements; in July 2004, the Presbyterian Church (USA) voted to initiate a process of divestment; and in 2005, the Geneva-based World Council of Churches, the United Church of Christ, and the New England Conference of the United Methodist Church followed suit. In May 2006, the Ontario section of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) approved a resolution to "support the international campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel until that state recognizes the Palestinian right to self-determination." Britain's National Union of Journalists called for boycott in April 2007, and in May 2008, the largest Irish public sector and services trade union criticized Israeli suppression of the Palestinians and endorsed a boycott of Israeli goods and services. In June 2014, the pension board of the United Methodist Church voted to divest from companies contributing to the Israeli occupation, and the Presbyterian Church voted to divest from Caterpillar Inc., Hewlett-Packard and Motorola Solutions – all multinational corporations operating in Israel involved with demolition and surveillance activities against Palestinians.

**DOHA AGREEMENT (Fatah-Hamas)** Deal reached between Fatah and Hamas and signed on 7 February 2012 aimed at forming a transitional government of independent technocrats with a limited mandate (preparing for presidential and legislative elections and starting Gaza reconstruction) with diplomacy resting with the PLO. Both sides agreed that Mahmoud Abbas would serve as both PA President and Prime Minister of the interim cabinet to overcome international concerns

about Hamas' participation and Hamas' refusal to appoint then Prime Minister Fayyad as the head of the unity government. The initiative was seen as a step forward in the stalled implementation of the Hamas-Fatah reconciliation agreement signed in Cairo on 27 April 2011, but failed to truly reconcile the two Palestinian factions.

**DOME OF THE ROCK** (Arabic: *Masjid Qubbat As-Sakhra*) Mosque built in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century by the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik Bin Marwan on Al-Haram Ash-Sharif. It is the spot from which the Prophet Mohammed ascended into Heaven in *Lailat Al-Miraj* (Night of the Ascent) on the 27<sup>th</sup> of the month of Rajah. Various mementos of the Prophet's Nocturnal Journey – a handprint, a footprint, the spot from which he ascended – are found on the Rock. The Rock itself is believed to have come from Paradise and angels visited it 2,000 years before the creation of Adam. It also is believed to be closer to heaven than any other spot on earth and is guarded by angels. All sweet waters of the earth have their source under it, Noah's ark rested on the Rock after the flood subsided, and here the angel Israel will blow the last trumpet on the Day of Judgment. The golden-domed octagonal oratory was originally completed in 691 (see also *Al-Aqsa Mosque*).



**DRUZE/DRUSE** Religious community with roots in Islam (from which it split in the 11<sup>th</sup> Century) that follows the teachings of Darazi, Hamza Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad, and Baha Eddin. Druze call themselves *muwahidun* – monotheists (singular: *mowahid*) who believe in reincarnation, abstract concepts of heaven and hell, and celebrate the granting of the Qur'an to Mohammed. Their religion is se-

cretive and its principles are not known to many. Druze are a national-religious minority in Lebanon, Syria and Israel, where they represent approximately 1% of the population, living mainly in the Golan Heights, Galilee and Carmel areas. Druze are loyal to the state of Israel and typically serve in the Israeli army.



*Druze Star*

**DUAL USE GOODS** Products, materials and technologies normally used for civilian purposes, but which may have military applications, hence there is an international obligation to control their trade. With regard to exports to the OPT, the Israeli government enforces additional controls, which it has unilaterally applied for the first time in 1976 on certain chemicals and fertilizers. Israel's "dual use list" has been progressively expanded since and includes, as of 2019, 56 items deemed as "security threats" that are restricted in the West Bank and Gaza, including fertilizers, pesticides, chemicals, materials, machinery, and equipment. In addition, the list contains another 62 items forbidden in Gaza only, including reinforcing steel, cement, aggregates, insulating panels, timber for furniture manufacture, and many more. The World Bank and other international organizations estimate that easing these restrictions would bring an estimated 6% growth in the West Bank economy and 11% in Gaza by 2025.

**DUNUM** (also: *dunam*) Unit of land area used in the Ottoman Empire and still used in many countries formerly part of it. Originally the size of a dunum was 919.3 square meters, but in 1928 the metric dunum of 1,000 square meters (approximately ¼ acre) was adopted, and is still used in Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.

## E

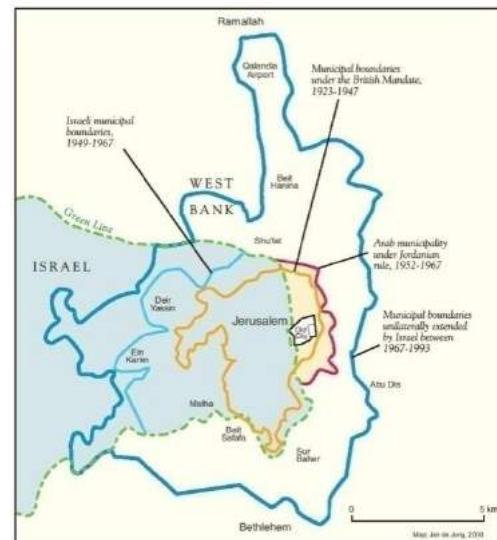
**E-1 PLAN (EAST 1 PLAN)** Longstanding Israeli plan – thus far not implemented – to build a large new Israeli neighborhood in the narrow undeveloped land corridor running east of Jerusalem. Construction of E-1 would break the West Bank into two parts, while isolating East Jerusalem from the rest of Palestinian territory, thus making a *viable* future Palestinian state impossible. The plan comprises about 12,000 dunums of land, a significant part of which is privately owned Palestinian land but was declared 'state land' by Israel in the 1980s and is today included in the municipal area of the Ma'ale Adumim settlement. In 2002, then Defense Minister Binyamin Ben Eliezer signed the Master Plan for E-1, and although due to international pressure it remained basically shelved, the "Judea and Samaria District Police" headquarters have been situated there since 2008. In December 2012, in response to the UN approving the Palestinian bid for "non-member observer state" status, Israel announced that it was resuming planning and zoning work in E-1 area, and in September 2017, it recommenced the earlier halted construction of parts of the Eastern Ring Road (see below).



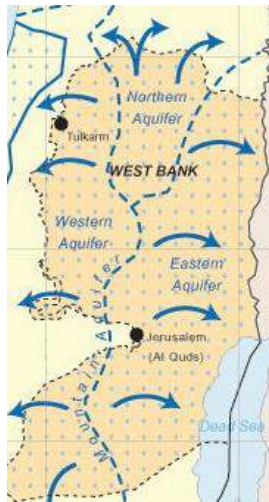
**EARLY EMPOWERMENT AGREEMENT** see *Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities*

**EAST GHOR (MAIN) CANAL** see *King Abdullah Canal*

**EAST JERUSALEM** Area comprising the 6.5 km<sup>2</sup> of the pre-1967 Arab East Jerusalem municipal boundaries, which were under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967, and 70 km<sup>2</sup> of West Bank land belonging to some 28 surrounding villages that was occupied and subsequently illegally annexed by Israel following the 1967 War. Since then, consecutive Israeli governments have pursued a policy aimed at changing Jerusalem's Palestinian-Arab character by 'Judaizing' it, and creating a new demographic and geopolitical reality that would thwart any future attempt to challenge Israeli sovereignty over the entire city. Although Israel unilaterally proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital on 28 June 1967, subsequently extended its jurisdiction to the eastern part of the city, and reaffirmed this *de facto* annexation by declaring Jerusalem its 'eternal undivided capital' through its 1980 *Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel*, East Jerusalem remains occupied territory under international law. Thus the Fourth Geneva Convention is applicable and Israel has no claim to East Jerusalem by virtue of having taken control of it militarily. Therefore, the vast majority of the international community has consistently denounced Israeli attempts to change the character and status of the city, and has never recognized the annexation of East Jerusalem (consequently, most foreign embassies and consulates are in Tel Aviv).



**EASTERN AQUIFER BASIN (EAB)** Transboundary aquifer located and recharged almost entirely in the West Bank, with a feeding and storage area spread over 2,200 km<sup>2</sup>. A small part of recharge is located west of the Green Line, including in West Jerusalem. The Oslo II Agreement, in which water became an interim issue, estimated the recharge of the EAB at 172 mcm/year, predominantly in the mountains of the West Bank, where most rainfall occurs. This aquifer feeds the lower Jordan River, and is therefore considered a Palestinian contribution to the waters of the Jordan River Basin. Additionally, some of the groundwater emerges as springs (such as Al-Auja near Jericho). Although Palestinians should have full sovereignty over all the EAB resources that lie beneath the West Bank, Israel utilizes millions of cubic meters each year through wells, with the highest amount of well pumping occurring in Israeli settlements near the main fault in the Jordan Rift valley.



**EASTERN GATE PROJECT** A settlement construction project originally approved during the Barak Administration (1999-2001) with the aim of connecting the Ma'ale Adumim settlement with the Pisgat Ze'ev settlement and Mount Scopus, thus dividing Arab East Jerusalem in half. The plan involves the confiscation of private Palestinian property and includes the construction of a light railway as well as Jewish-only housing and business projects. (See also *E-1 Plan*).

**EASTERN RING ROAD** Bypass road connecting the Jewish settlements located east of Jerusalem, stretching from Beit Safafa, via Sur Baher, Umm Tuba, Wadi Nar and Abu Dis, with each other and with West Jerusalem, including a tunnel built under the Mount of Olives. Construction on the most controversial part of the route (Route 4370) started in

September 2017 and opened in January 2019. It is divided in the middle by an eight-meter high wall, the eastern side of which serves settlers from the north, who can now reach French Hill, Mount Scopus and the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway more easily from Anatot, Geva Binyamin and Route 60, while Palestinians can only use the western side which does not allow them to enter Jerusalem (thus Palestinians refer to it as “Apartheid Road”). The Eastern Ring Road’s southern extension near Sur Baher (dubbed American Highway) was also completed in 2019.



Eastern Ring Road – Underpass at Az-Za'im

**ECONOMIC UNION** Arrangement envisaged under the UN Partition Resolution of 29 November 1947 by which the three successor entities in Mandatory Palestine – the Arab state, the Jewish state, and the international enclave (“Corpus Separatum”) – would continue with one currency and within a customs and tariff union.

**EGYPTIAN TEN POINTS** see *Mubarak's Ten Points*

**EID AL-ADHA** (English: *The feast of the sacrifice*) The second obligatory Muslim festival (after *Eid Al-Fitr*), the origins of which go back to the Prophet Abraham who demonstrated his willingness to sacrifice all that he loved most dearly for God's sake, a commitment which is commemorated in the last rite of the pilgrimage to Mecca. A four-day feast completes the rites of pilgrimage and takes place on the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> of *Dhul Al-Hijjah*.



Eid Prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque

**EID AL-FITR** (English: *The feast of breaking the fast*) Three-day feast marking the end of Ramadan and celebrating a time of thanksgiving to God who has enabled Muslims to overcome the difficulties of the month of fast. It takes place on the 1<sup>st</sup> of *Shawal*, the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the Islamic calendar.

**EILAND COMMISSION** Israeli military commission, led by Israeli former general Giora Eiland, charged with conducting an internal investigation of the Gaza aid flotilla (Mavi Marmara) incident of May 2010 – which resulted in the death of 10 Turkish activists. The Commission's report, released in July 2010, concluded that mistakes had been committed at all levels of command, that bloodshed could have been reduced or even prevented by political means, and that responsibility for the raid on the flotilla rests with the Israeli army, not the government.



Giora Eiland

**ELAD** (Hebrew acronym for: *To the City of David*; also known as *Ir David Foundation*) Israeli organization founded in 1986 that aims to increase Jewish presence in the Palestinian East-Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan, located right outside the Old City, by purchasing property for Jewish settlers (as of 2019, at least 400 settlers had moved to Silwan according to the Israeli NGO Terrestrial Jerusalem). It also runs an archeological park that promotes the biblical (Jewish) history of the area and manages the touristic settlement site 'City of David', on behalf of the state of Israel.



House seized by settlers in the heart of Silwan

**ELON PEACE INITIATIVE** Seven-part peace plan for the Middle East proposed by Binyamin (Benny) Elon, former leader of the extreme

right-wing Israeli party Moledet, in 2002. The plan consists of (1) a government decision declaring the PA an enemy; (2) military action to destroy the Palestinian terror infrastructure; (3) nullification of the Oslo Accords and dismantlement of the PA; (4) after the cessation of hostilities, commencement of negotiations under international auspices (with the refugee problem to be solved through relocation in Arab countries and the dismantlement of refugee camps); (5) acceptance of two countries for two peoples on two sides of the Jordan River: the Jordanian-Palestinian state with Amman as its capital, and the Jewish state with Jerusalem as its capital; (6) Arabs remaining in Judea, Samaria & Gaza would become citizens of the Jordanian-Palestinian state, while Palestinians holding Israeli citizenship would be offered alternate citizenship in the Jordanian-Palestinian state; and (7) expulsion of those Arabs remaining in Judea, Samaria and Gaza who breach the terms of this plan to the Jordanian-Palestinian state.



Benny Elon

**EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT** Palestinian government formed by President Mahmoud Abbas following Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip and subsequent dismissal from the PA government on 14 June 2007. The emergency government was sworn in on 17 June 2007 with Salam Fayyad as Prime Minister and Finance Minister. Hamas disputed the legitimacy of this new Fatah government, asserting that Ismail Haniyeh "remains the head of the government even if it was dissolved by the president" and is exercising *de facto* authority in the Gaza Strip.



Salam Fayyad

**ENEMY ENTITY** see *Hostile Entity*

**ERETZ YISRAEL** (English: *Land of Israel*) Refers to the territories, which were part of the Jewish Kingdom(s), i.e., Palestine and part of today's Jordan, in the Hebrew Bible. Though



there is no explicit biblical call for the establishment of the State of Israel in all of Eretz Israel, right-wing and other parties reject Israeli withdrawal from any territory considered Eretz Israel currently under Israeli control, including the OPT.



*Eretz Yisrael (Old Poster)*

**ETHNIC CLEANSING** Systematic elimination of an ethnic group or groups from a region or society, through deportation, forced emigration, or genocide. As such it is considered a war crime/crime against humanity under international law. Scholars and activists have used the term in the Palestine-Israel conflict with regard to Israel's efforts to Judaize Palestine through its discriminatory and restrictive policies vis-à-vis the Palestinians, including denial of permits, movement limitations, property destruction, land confiscation, and population transfer (of settlers) to the Palestinian territories.

**ETZEL** see *Irgun*

**ETZION BLOC** see *Gush Etzion*

**EU BAM** see *European Union Border Assistance Mission*

**EUPOL COPPS** see *European Union Police Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support*

**EUROPEAN MIDDLE EAST PEACE INITIATIVE**

Diplomatic initiative developed in November 2006 by France, Spain and Italy, which aimed at finding a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The plan included five elements: an immediate ceasefire, the formation of a Palestinian unity government that would receive international recognition, prisoner exchange between Israel and the PA, talks be-

tween the Israeli and Palestinian prime ministers, and deployment of an international force in Gaza to reinforce the ceasefire. While Palestinians welcomed the plan in principle, Israel did not take it seriously on the grounds that it was not coordinated with the whole EU.

**EUROPEAN UNION BORDER ASSISTANCE MISSION (EU BAM)**

EU Civilian Crisis Management Mission in the Gaza Strip, which was mandated to provide a third-party presence at the Rafah crossing point in order to build up the Palestinian capacity on all aspects of border management and contribute to building confidence between the PA and Israel. Following the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007, the EU BAM no longer manned the facility; its current mandate was extended on 28 June 2019.



**EUROPEAN UNION POLICE CO-ORDINATING OFFICE FOR PALESTINIAN POLICE SUPPORT (EUPOL COPPS)**

EU Police mission established on 14 November 2005 under the EU's European Security and Defense Policy in order to, according to a 30 November 2005 BBC news article, "reform and rebuild the police force in the West Bank and Gaza." Operations began on 1 January 2006 and are designed to support the PA in taking responsibility for law and order, and in particular, in improving its civil police and law enforcement capacity. EUPOL COPPS is headquartered in Ramallah with currently 70 international and 45 national staff. As of 2019 the Head of Mission is Kauko Aaltomaa.



**EUROPEAN UNION SPECIAL ENVOY**

The EU's representative to the Middle East Peace Process, who also acts as the EU envoy to the Middle East Quartet. The position is currently held by Dutch diplomat Susanna Terstal (September 2018-February 2020). Generally, the Special Envoy works in close contacts with all major players towards the resumption of meaningful negotiations with the aim of achieving a comprehensive peace agreement based on a two-state solution.

**EXECUTIVE FORCE** (Arabic: *Tanfithyeh*) 'Police' or 'special operational' force formed by the late Interior Minister Said Siam ( Hamas) in May 2006 as a counter to the Fatah-dominated PA Security Forces to defend the Hamas government (officials and establishments) in the Gaza Strip. In January 2007, President Abbas declared the Executive Force illegal until such time as it would integrate into the national security apparatus. The militia, under the leadership of Abu Obaidah Al-Jarrah, engaged in bloody clashes with Fatah forces, which ended with Hamas seizing control of the Gaza Strip in June 2007. In October 2007, the Executive Force was merged with the official police force controlled by the Hamas' Ministry of Interior.



**EXPULSION LAW** Controversial amendment to the 'Basic Law: The Knesset', which passed in the Knesset in July 2016. With the support of 90 out of the 120 MKs, it allows for the dismissal of an incumbent MK who incites to racism or supports an armed struggle against Israel. Opponents criticize that the law thus allows for the Israeli Jewish majority in the Knesset to further delegitimize and marginalize the elected political representatives of the Palestinian minority in Israel on the basis of purely political and ideological considerations. In May 2018, the High Court of Justice dismissed one of two petitions against the Law.

**EXTRA-JUDICIAL ASSASSINATION OR KILLING**

Legal term referring to the killing of one or more persons by governmental authorities without the sanction of any judicial proceeding or legal process. Israel preferably uses "extrajudicial killing" over "targeted killings" with regard to its assassinations of alleged Palestinian militants. Extrajudicial killings are always illegal under international law.

**EZZEDIN AL-QASSAM** see *Izz Eddin Al-Qassam*

## F

**FACEBOOK BILL** (formally: *Bill for the Removal from the Internet of Content Whose Publication Constitutes an Offense*) Proposed Israeli legislation submitted by the Israeli Ministry of Justice in 2016, which passed in the Knesset in its first reading on 17 July 2018, which demands deleting "inciting" content from social media. If passed into law, it will authorize the court to issue orders to delete internet content which was classified as harmful to "human safety, public, economic, state or vital infrastructure safety," including blocking content of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and private blogs. The bill was halted before passing into law by Prime Minister Netanyahu, because there was concern that in its current format, police could ask a court to remove anything from the Internet without the person who put it online being able to respond in court.

**FACILITY 1391** (also: *Camp 1391*) Controversial secret Israeli prison, under the control of the military intelligence. Located inside an army base near the main road between Hadera and Afula in northern Israel, the facility had been erased from maps and aerial photographs and its existence was unknown to the public until 2003, when lawyers issued *habeas corpus* writs for Palestinian clients who had disappeared while being detained there during the mass round-ups of 2002. It has housed many Lebanese nationals abducted by the Israeli army as hostages, Iraqi defectors, and a Syrian intelligence officer, most of whom were released as part of a prisoner swap with Hizbullah in January 2004. At a later date, scores of Palestinians were incarcerated there for interrogation. Facility 1391 has never been independently inspected and precise information about conditions in the prison is difficult to obtain due to a government-imposed information blackout and the fact that even the ICRC is denied access, but allegations of torture and mistreatment are

common. Israeli officials claim that Camp 1391 "is no longer used since 2006 to detain or interrogate suspects," but several petitions filed to the Israeli Supreme Court by the Committee Against Torture to examine the facility have been rejected.



**FAHD PLAN** Eight-point peace plan to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict proposed by then Prince (later King) Fahd of Saudi Arabia in August 1981, calling for: (1) Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem; (2) removal of all Israeli settlements established on Arab land since 1967; (3) guaranteed freedom of worship in the holy places for all religions; (4) affirmation of the Palestinian people's right of return to their homes and compensation for those who decide not to do so; (5) UN control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip for a transitional period (not exceeding a few months); (6) establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital; (7) affirmation of the right of all states in the region to live in peace; (8) the UN or some of its members guarantee and implement the principles listed above. The plan was adopted with minor changes at the Arab League summit in Fez, Morocco, in September 1982 (see also *Fez-Plan*).



King Fahd

**FAISAL-WEIZMANN AGREEMENT** see *Weizmann-Faisal Agreement*

**FAMILY (RE)UNIFICATION** Israeli legislation regarding the right to live with a (foreign) spouse in Israel. An Israeli census conducted immediately after the occupation of Jerusalem in 1967 counted 66,000 Palestinians living in East Jerusalem within the new municipal bor-

ders. While these Palestinians were classified as permanent residents of Jerusalem (according to the Law of Entry into Israel 1952, Entry to Israel Regulations 1974), those who were not recorded due to absence – whether studying abroad, visiting relatives elsewhere, etc. – later had to apply for family reunification through the Ministry of the Interior. Until this day, any Palestinian who is not classified by the Israeli government as a permanent resident of East Jerusalem – including spouses, children and other relatives of East Jerusalem permanent residents – must apply for family reunification to reside legally there. The decision to grant or deny these applications is, according to Israeli law, ultimately at the discretion of the Interior Minister, who is not required to justify refusal. In May 2002, Israel suspended the processing of family reunification claims between Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. The subsequent 2003 Citizenship and Entry Law (extended annually, most recently in November 2019), prohibits citizenship, permanent residency and/or temporary residency status to West Bank/Gaza Palestinians married to Israeli citizens and denies citizenship to children born to an Israeli citizen and resident of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Everyone of 14 years and older is considered an adult and cannot receive legal status under the family reunification provision (see also *Citizenship and Entry Law* and *Law of Entry into Israel*).

**FATAH** (also spelled *Fateh*, Arabic: *Harakat At-Tahrir Al-Filistiniya* = Palestinian Liberation Movement, with the first letters of the Arabic in reverse order giving *Fatah* = conquest) Political movement formally founded in Kuwait in 1959 by Yasser Arafat and associates (including Salah Khalaf, Khalil Al-Wazir, Mohammed Yousef Najjar, Kamal Adwan) and grown out of a clandestine organization established by Palestinian students in 1957 advocating armed struggle to liberate all of Palestine by Palestinians, while remaining independent of all Arab governments. Fatah is the largest and strongest PLO faction, and was headed by Arafat from its founding until his death on 11 November 2004. Fatah began as a network of underground cells, but

reorganized with a Central Committee in 1963 and took control of the PLO as the largest single bloc at the 5<sup>th</sup> PNC meeting in Cairo in 1969. It adopted the principle of political pluralism within the PLO and followed a guerrilla strategy (with its military wing Al-Assifa and squads operating underground in the OPT known as Fatah Hawks and Black Panthers) until 1972, when it formulated a new policy putting guerrilla warfare as only one of various means of struggle. Fatah advocates a democratic, secular, multi-religious state, played a central role in the first Intifada, and was a member of the United National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU). It also had a leading role in the second or Al-Aqsa Intifada, during which its military wing (Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades) were formed. Fatah is currently headed by Mahmoud Abbas and represented in the PLO Executive Committee by three members. Fatah was badly defeated by Hamas in the January 2006 PLC elections, where it gained only 45 seats out of the 132 (as opposed to Hamas' 72 seats) and following inter-Palestinian fighting and Hamas' military takeover of the Gaza Strip in June 2007, President Abbas dismissed the Hamas government and appointed a new Fatah-led Emergency Government. However, its authority has effectively been limited to the West Bank. On 12 October 2017, Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement with Hamas in Cairo. The implementation of the agreement reached a deadlock in early 2018, after a failed assassination attempt on then Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah during a visit to the Gaza Strip. As of 2019 the schism between both movements persists.



**FATAH CENTRAL COMMITTEE** Fatah's highest decision-making and executive body, which was established in 1963. The current Central Committee was elected during Fatah's 7<sup>th</sup> General Convention in December 2016, and has 23 members. In February 2017, the Committee elected Mahmoud Al-Aloul as Fatah's first ever Vice-Chairman, putting him first in

line for the succession of the party's Chairman Mahmoud Abbas.

**FATAH CONVENTION** Gathering of the Fatah leadership, which did not take place for 20 years until it was resumed and held from 4-9 August 2009 in Bethlehem to discuss the state of negotiations and issues such as resistance towards the Israeli occupation, Jerusalem, refugees, and Gaza and to agree on a political program. This 6<sup>th</sup> Convention was attended by over 2,500 participants, elected new members for its Central Committee and Revolutionary Council, and resolved that Fatah supports a two-state solution based on the borders of 1967 with Jerusalem as its capital, a fair negotiated solution to the refugee problem, armed struggle, and, in the case that negotiations will fail, struggle towards a binational state in all of historical Palestine and a unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state under occupation. At its 7<sup>th</sup> Convention in December 2016 in Ramallah, Mahmoud Abbas was re-elected as Chairman. In addition, the party's leadership in the form of a new Central Committee and a new Revolutionary Council were elected. Internal opposition (such as Mohammed Dahlan's Reform Bloc) was sidelined and excluded from participation.

**FATAH HAWKS** Popular youth movement that emerged as a branch of Fatah during the first Intifada, where they mainly attacked Israeli army targets and dealt with killing Palestinian collaborators. They disappeared or were disbanded after the Oslo Accords, but re-emerged during the second Intifada as an offshoot of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, where they were identified with Musa Arafat, then head of the PA's military intelligence. The Hawks held a convention in Rafah, Gaza, on 21 September 2004, attended by 3,000 members of Fatah, and announced its re-establishment as a separate entity within Fatah. The group's activity has nearly vanished since 2004.



**FATAH ISLAM** (Arabic: *Fatah Al-Islam*) Alleged Sunni Islamist break-away of the Damascus-based Fatah Uprising that was formed in late 2006. It is said to be inspired by Al-Qaeda and wants to bring religion back to the Palestinian cause. It acts mainly in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon with headquarters in the Nahr Al-Bared camp. The group, which is led by Shaker Al-Abassi, a Palestinian refugee from Jericho, took part in violent clashes with the Lebanese Army in May-June 2007. The original ranks of the group contained several members who had been trained by the US in Saudi Arabia in order to fight against the Soviets in the Soviet-Afghan War. The group also initially received US funding through the Lebanese government of Prime Minister Fouad Siniora in order to weaken Syria. The US State Department classified the group as a terrorist organization on 9 August 2007, but it was not classified as such anymore starting from 24 November 2010. While factions of Fatah Islam remain, the existence and status of the group is unclear, especially after a large portion of their leadership was destroyed.



**FATAH REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (1.)** Second-ranking decision-making body of Fatah (after the Central Committee) with up to 148 members. It is the highest authority in Fatah when convened between two sessions of the General Convention. Its jurisdictions include following up and executing decisions of the General Convention, monitoring Fatah operations, including the work of the Central Committee, and military affairs.

**(2.)** Anti-Arafat faction (short: Fatah RC; also referred to as the Abu Nidal Group or Organization) established by Sabri Khalil Al-Banna (Abu Nidal) after it split from Fatah in 1974.

**FATAH UPRISING** (Arabic: *Fatah Al-Intifada*; also referred to as *Abu Musa Faction*) Syrian-backed Palestinian splinter group founded by former Fatah Colonel Sa'ed Musa Muragha (Abu Musa) that broke away from mainstream Fatah in 1983, after blaming Arafat's corruption for the ineffective response to

Israel's invasion of Lebanon. In 1985-88, the group took part in the 'War of the Camps,' in Lebanon. Fatah Uprising is based in Damascus, with guerrillas in Syria and Lebanon. It does not play a role in today's Palestinian politics and is not part of the PLO, opposing any political settlement with Israel.



Sa'ed Musa Muragha

**FATAHLAND (1.)** Name applied to a section of southern Lebanon which was controlled by the Fatah-dominated PLO during its years in Lebanese exile (1970-1982) and which some claimed had virtually become a "state within a state."

**(2.)** More recently, the term is occasionally used in journalism in reference to the West Bank-Gaza split since 2007 with the West Bank considered as Fatahland as opposed to "Hamastan" (Gaza).

**FATWA** (plural *fatawa*) Islamic religious ruling or legal statement. It is issued by a recognized religious authority in Islam (e.g., a mufti, imam, sheikh or qadi) who pronounces a scholarly opinion on a matter of Islamic law, which the respective authority bases on evidence from Islamic sources. A fatwa is not necessarily "binding" on the faithful.

**FAYYAD PLAN** Proactive plan by former PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad outlined in a booklet entitled "Palestine: Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State" (August 2009), which promoted building a Palestinian state by 2011. It included an assessment of institutional state-building needs (e.g., sewage, airport, schools, improved education and legal systems, new cities, affordable housing, better trained troops, better infrastructure and use of natural energy sources and water, ending the Palestinian economy's dependence on Israel) and set a two-year timetable for its implementation to build positive facts on the ground. The plan won praise from the UN and the West but drew criticism from Israel for its call to unilateral action in disputed territory (e.g., building in "Area C") and from Hamas and Islamic Jihad

claiming the plan was serving Israeli interests. Under the Fayyad reform plan the Palestinian territory began to show positive economic growth rates and both the IMF and the World Bank praised the PA's economic policies. However, Fayyad's government was constrained by fiscal crisis triggered by growing domestic debt and diminishing international aid, the numerous restrictions imposed by Israel, and internal feuds that eventually led to his resignation in April 2013, at which time his reform plans also came to an end.



Salam Fayyad

**FAYYADISM** Term sometimes used with reference to the Palestinian reform plans and institution-/state-building agenda, introduced and promoted by former Prime Minister Salam Fayyad between 2009 and 2013 (see *Fayyad Plan*).

**FEDAYEEN** (Arabic: *Fida'iyyun*; singular: *Fida'i*) Palestinian fighters, often ready to sacrifice themselves in their struggle against Zionism and suppression and for a liberated Palestine. Inspired by guerrilla movements in Vietnam, Algeria and Latin America, Palestinian *fedayeen* grew from within the refugee population in the early 1950s, determined to intensify cross-border operations against Israelis and their allies. After the 1967 War, Palestinian *fedayeen* groups were united under the umbrella of the PLO.



**FEDERAL STATE PLAN** Proposal outlined in the so-called Minority Plan that served as an alternative to the UN Partition Plan drawn up by the newly established UNSCOP mission that examined the situation in Palestine in early 1947. The mission's resulting report included two proposals: A Proposal for a Fed-

eral State, which was submitted by India and backed by Iran and Yugoslavia, and the Partition Plan, supported by the majority of the UNSCOP-members. The Federal State Plan proposed a union of Arab and Jewish regions, with Jerusalem as the capital of the union, albeit located within the Arab part.

**FEDERATION PLAN** (also: *Federal Plan*) see *United Arab Kingdom Plan*

**FELLAHEEN** (singular: *Fellah*) Arabic term for farmers/peasants.



**FEZ PLAN** Peace proposal based on a version of the Fahd Plan (see above) adopted at the 12<sup>th</sup> Arab League summit in Fez, Morocco on 9 September 1982. The plan, which implicitly recognized Israel's right to exist, consisted of the following eight points: (1) Israeli withdrawal from all captured Arab territories, including East Jerusalem; (2) dismantlement of Israeli settlements in Arab territories; (3) assurance of freedom of worship for all religions; (4) recognition of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, to be implemented through their exclusive representative, the PLO; (5) a several-month transition period for Gaza and the West Bank under the auspices of the UN; (6) establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital; (7) a guarantee from the UN Security Council for peace and security of all states in the region; and (8) a guarantee from the UN Security Council for the implementation of the above-mentioned principles. The plan was endorsed by the PNC at its 16<sup>th</sup> session in Algiers on February 1983, while Israel and some PLO factions rejected it.

**FIDA** (Arabic: *Al-Ittihad Ad-Dimuqrati Al-Filastini*, with the first letters in reverse order giving *FIDA*; English: *Palestinian Democratic Union*) Reformist movement established in March 1990 as a splinter faction of the DFLP and headed by Yasser Abed Rabbo until 2002,

who also represented FIDA in the PLO Executive Committee until his departure from the movement. He was replaced by Zahira Kamal who became the first female leader of a Palestinian political party. FIDA consists mainly of West Bank residents. It advocates democratization in the Palestinian arena, focuses on a party system that reflects political pluralism and democracy, and heavily supported the Oslo process. In the 1996 PLC election, FIDA secured one seat, while it ran in the 2006 PLC elections as part of the coalition "The Alternative", which won two seats. It also ran in the 2017 local elections, where it won 7 seats (0.45% of the vote). Current General Secretary is Saleh Rafa'at.



**FINAL STATUS ISSUES** Unresolved issues between the PA and Israel that are to be resolved in (and not before) the *Final Status Negotiations*, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest (Oslo II Accord, Chapter 5, Article XXXI, 5).

**FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS** Provided for in the 1993 (Oslo) Declaration of Principles, to be the second part of a two-phase timetable. The first part involved a five-year "interim" or "transitional" period during which Israel was to gradually withdraw from Palestinian centers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and transfer powers to the Palestinians. The negotiations were supposed to begin "as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period", i.e., in May 1996, and to cover "remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest." On 4 May 1999, the interim phase ended with no permanent status agreement in sight. In the Sharm Esh-Sheikh Agreement of 4 September 1999, the beginning of final status talks was rescheduled for 13 September 1999, with an overall agreement to be reached by 13 September 2000. As of the end of 2019, final status negotiations have yet to take place.

**FIVE-POINTS** see *Baker Five-Point-Framework*

**FORCE 17** Body formed in the early 1970s in Beirut by senior Fatah officers, initially as a personal security force for the PLO leadership headed by Yasser Arafat. The group soon became one of the PLO's elite units serving as intelligence and counter-terrorist service, mainly against internal rivals and other Palestinian commanders and factions. Having played an important role in internal politics, they remained rather marginal with regard to the armed struggle against Israel. With the establishment of the PA in 1994, Force 17 was officially merged with the Presidential Security Force (*Al-Amn Ar-Ri'asah*), but in reality, the unit still existed apart from the official security forces as Arafat's personal security as well as undertaking intelligence and counter-terrorism operations. The force was estimated at some 3,000 members, headed by Brig.-Gen. Faisal Abu Sharkh and based in Gaza. It was added to Israel's list of "terrorist" entities in December 2001. There are a several narratives regarding how the unit got its name; one being that 1 and 7 were the last digits of the phone number of the unit's first commander, Hassan Salameh, another states that reference is made to 17 Palestinians killed at the battle of Karameh in 1968, while a third claims the name derives from the location of the unit's office in Beirut: 17 Faqahani Street. In December 2007, the Force was merged into the Presidential Guard and the National Security Forces.



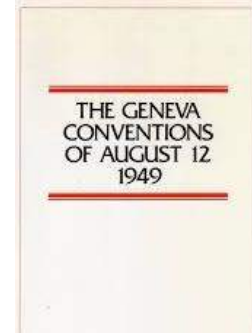
**FOREIGN GOVERNMENT FUNDING LAW** (formally: *Law on Disclosure Requirements for Recipients of Support from a Foreign State Entity*) Israeli law passed in 2011, which imposes invasive reporting requirements on NGOs, such as submitting and publishing quarterly reports on any funding received from foreign governments or publicly-funded

foreign donors. Because Palestinian NGOs in Israel and all NGOs which promote Palestinian rights do not seek funding from Israeli governmental sources and have limited access to private funding, the law particularly targets them.

**FORMALIZATION BILL** Israeli legislation that would see thousands of dunums of private Palestinian land seized and dozens of illegal Israeli outposts retroactively legalized (as regular settlements), and is seen as paving the way to an eventual annexation of the West Bank. The bill runs counter to four decades of Israeli High Court rulings against the use of private Palestinian property for settler homes. It allows the Israeli government to seize the private Palestinian land and hold it until there is a final resolution of the conflict. It passed a preliminary reading in the Knesset with 60:49 in December 2016 and a secondary reading with 60:52 in February 2017. Israel's Attorney General Avihai Mandelblit has argued that the law is unconstitutional and refused to defend the state against the petition to the High Court of Justice by a consortium of 13 NGOs and groups that tried to strike down the legislation. On 20 August 2017, the state, in a response prepared by private lawyer Harel Arnon, asked the High Court to reject those legal challenges, saying the law was constitutional under Israeli law and calling it "a humane, proportional and reasonable response to the genuine distress of Israeli resident" (see also *Regulation Law*).

**FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION** International agreement, which was adopted at the close of a diplomatic conference for the establishment of international conventions for the protection of victims of war in Geneva on 12 August 1949 and entered into force on 21 October 1950. It contains standards for the treatment of civilians during times of war "in the hands" of an enemy and under any military occupation by a foreign power. To date, 194 countries have ratified the convention, including Israel. However, Israel refuses to recognize the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the OPT. Particularly relevant clauses in the Convention forbid degrading or dehumanizing treatment of occupied peoples

and protection from coercion, corporal punishment, torture, the confiscation of personal property, and collective punishment. Further, the Fourth Geneva Convention forbids the transfer of part of the occupier's population to the occupied territories and ensures freedom of movement, especially for medical personnel.



**FRANCO-ITALIAN-SPANISH MIDDLE EAST PEACE PLAN (2006)** see *European Middle East Peace Initiative*

**FRANGHIA PLAN** One of the first plans regarding the Jordan River waters. The plan, which was drafted in 1913 by the Ottoman Director of Works for Palestine, Georges Franghia, proposed using the Jordan River system for irrigation in the Jordan Valley and generation of electricity. The plan was sponsored by the Ottoman Empire, and floundered with its fall after World War I.

**FREEDOM AND DIGNITY STRIKE** Hunger strike by over 1,500 Palestinian political prisoners that began on 17 April 2017 in protest of the conditions inside Israeli jails and lasted 40 days. Demands of the hunger strikers included access to education, proper medical care, an end to the practice of solitary confinement, regular visitation rights, and, most importantly, an end to administrative detention (imprisonment without charge and trial for renewable periods of six months). The strike mobilized the Palestinian streets and revived esteem for the prisoners' movement with many solidarity hunger strikes, sit-ins, days of rage, and general strikes seen across the OPT. The hunger strike ended on 27 May after reaching a compromise with Israel for additional family visits.

**FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE** Palestinian party list that represented the small PLO faction Palestinian Arab Front (PAF) which was formed prior to the January 2006 PLC



elections. It was led by Salim Al-Bardeni and received 4,398 votes (0.44%), which was far below the 2%-barrier to gain parliamentary representation.

**FREEDOM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE** Palestinian party list formed for the January 2006 PLC elections, representing the Popular Struggle Front, the Kafa' (*Enough*) movement, and the Green Party, and headed by Ahmad Majdalany. The list received only 7,127 votes (0.72%) and failed to win a seat.

**FRENCH PEACE INITIATIVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST** French call on the international community to help restart the peace process and focus talks on formulating parameters for a solution to the core issues of a final peace deal in line with a two-state solution. On 3 June 2016, France hosted a first international ministerial meeting in Paris, attended by 26 nations, excluding Israel and Palestinians, which ended with a vague call to work on a package of economic and security incentives and hold a Mideast Peace Summit later the year. In November 2016, Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu announced that his government would not participate in the French initiative. Nevertheless, over 40 foreign ministers and senior diplomats from 75 countries gathered for an international peace conference on 15 January 2017 in Paris, which ended with a statement condemning settlements. Neither Israelis nor Palestinians participated. While Fatah had endorsed the summit, other Palestinian factions were opposed saying no breakthrough is expected from such an event.



**FRENCH PROPOSAL** (formally: *Non-paper on the Revival of a Dynamic of Peace in the Middle East*) Mideast peace plan for a European Initiative, introduced by France in February 2002, which involved two the “inseparable issues” elections and statehood. The plan proposed holding new elections in Palestine as a means for the Palestinian people to express themselves through voting rather than violence and to legitimize the PA, followed by the declaration of an independent Palestinian state – without exact borders for the time being – and international recognition of the state as a starting point for resuming final status negotiations between two equal partners on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

**FUTUWWA** (English: *courage, chivalry or manliness*) Term originally referring to specific virtues – courage, manliness, chivalry, generosity, truth, honor, self-reliance, altruism. Derived from *fata'* (young man), Futuwwa became a symbol of rebelling against all evil and striving for sincere servanthood to God. The name was used by informal associations of young men who claimed to promote these values and by (paramilitary) Arab youth organizations. In the Palestinian context, Futuwwa was a paramilitary youth movement founded in 1935 and associated with the Arab Party led by Jamal Husseini.



*Jamal Husseini*

# G

**GALILI DOCUMENT** Pro-annexationist plan, drafted by Israeli Minister Yisrael Galili, outlining the government's proposed policy in the OPT from 1973-77. It was adopted by the Labor Party in September 1973 and included plans for the development of the economy (i.e., infrastructure and service sector in the Palestinian territories as well as their economic ties with Israel and local government), the continuation of the "open bridges policy" with Jordan, a permanent resettlement scheme for refugees in the Gaza Strip, and the encouragement of settlement construction in the West Bank (especially the Jerusalem and Jordan Valley areas) and Golan Heights.



Yisrael Galili

**GAZA AGREEMENT (Fatah-Hamas)** Reconciliation deal signed in Gaza City on 23 April 2014 by Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh and a PLO delegation dispatched by President Mahmoud Abbas with the prime goal of forming a national unity government within five weeks, to be followed by general elections in December. Israel reacted with the announcement that it would halt peace talks with the Palestinians and employ other sanctions. The US expressed concern that the agreement "could seriously complicate" negotiations, while the EU welcomed it but stressed that the priority remained peace talks with Israel. The agreement resulted in a national unity government from 2 June 2014 to 17 June 2015 under President Mahmoud Abbas.

**'GAZA AND BETHLEHEM FIRST' PLAN** Proposal put forth in August 2002 by then-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon calling for the phased withdrawal of Israeli forces from those West Bank and Gaza Strip areas that were granted self-rule under the 1994-95 Oslo Accords (starting with Gaza and Bethlehem) in return for PA action to curb violence. The basis of

the plan, which was also an attempt to end the "re-occupation" of the Palestinian territories during Operation "Defensive Shield", was a step-by-step implementation, which was predicated on reductions of "terror" and violence in the Gaza Strip and Bethlehem. The plan was approved by Israel and the Palestinians but the Sharon Government retreated from it soon after, saying it sought to solve the issue of Gaza first.

**GAZA BLOCKADE** Land, air and sea blockade imposed on the Gaza Strip by Israel since mid-2007 following the Hamas takeover of Gaza. On the grounds of "security reasons", massive movement restrictions have been implemented – enforced with the help of Egypt and the support of the US – to keep nearly 2 million Gaza residents "locked in". This has led to a severe socioeconomic and humanitarian crisis in the over-populated Strip.

**GAZA BORDER PROTESTS** (2018) see *Great March of Return*

**GAZA GAS** see *Gaza Marine Gas Field*

## GAZA FREEDOM FLOTILLA / FLOTILLA RAID

International initiative that tried to break the naval blockade of the Gaza Strip in May 2010 and had a fatal ending.



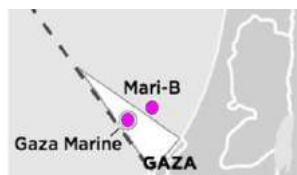
In an attempt to reach the Gaza Strip by sea, the Free Gaza Movement and the Turkish Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (IHH) organized a flotilla consisting of eight ships carrying both activists and goods (medicine, construction materials etc.). On 31 May 2010, Israeli forces intercepted the flotilla and boarded six of the ships in international waters; in the ensuing clashes nine activists were killed. The Israeli raid led to international condemnation and seriously strained Israeli-Turkish relations.

**GAZA-JERICHO AUTONOMY AGREEMENT** (also: *Cairo or Oslo Agreement or Accord or Gaza-Jericho First Agreement*) Agreement signed

by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat on 4 May 1994 in Cairo, which was the second stage in the process begun with the DOP in September 1993. It outlined the first stage of Palestinian autonomy – in some 60% of Gaza and a 65 km<sup>2</sup> area in and around Jericho – including Israeli redeployment and the establishment of a Palestinian authority as the governing body in the evacuated territories. As part of the agreement, Israeli military forces were to withdraw from the areas of Gaza and Jericho, in coordination with a newly established Joint Israeli-Palestinian Security Coordination and Cooperation Committee. Israeli forces were to be redeployed to specified areas only, such as the Military Installation Area along the Egyptian border and Israeli settlements. In addition, a Palestinian police force was set up in those areas and powers within five civilian spheres were transferred to the Palestinians (see *Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities*). Israel remained in control of the settlements, military locations, and security matters. The stipulated five-year interim period ended on 4 May 1999 and triggered a heated debate among the Palestinians as to whether to declare a Palestinian state unilaterally.



**GAZA MARINE GAS FIELD** Offshore gas field located under Palestinian territorial waters some 30-36 km off the Gaza Strip coast which was (together with the smaller Border Gas Field) discovered in 1998. Total gas reserves are estimated to be 1.4 trillion cubic feet, enough to cover needs in Gaza and the West Bank for 15 years. Although the gas fields are considered a partial solution to the ongoing power shortages, extraction by the PA has not yet started, due to ongoing political disputes. The World Bank estimates that the development of the Marine reservoir is likely to yield US\$2.7 billion in royalties for the PA.



**GAZA RETURN MARCH** see *Great March of Return*

**GAZA STRIP** Coastal region on the Mediterranean Sea, adjoining Egypt and Israel, 45 km long and 5-12 km in width, and covering an area of approximately 365 km<sup>2</sup>. It is inhabited by some 2 million Palestinians, mostly refugees. The area was part of the British Mandate for Palestine from 1917 to 1948, was passed over to Egyptian control in 1949, and has been occupied by Israel since the War of 1967. Following the evacuation of all Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip under Sharon's 2005 unilateral disengagement plan and Hamas' complete takeover of the territory in June 2007, Israel declared the entire Gaza Strip a "hostile entity". Israel currently retains control of all land, air and sea access, and reserves the right to prevent the PA from re-opening its airport or building a sea-port. After the six-month truce between Hamas and Israel ended in December 2008, Israel initiated the Gaza War ("Operation Cast Lead") on 27 December 2008, which lasted 22 days and left over 1,300 Palestinians dead and over 5,000 wounded, a large percentage of whom were civilians. Gaza was also under attack during the 2012 "Operation Pillar of Defense" (167 Palestinians dead) and the 2014 "Operation Protective Edge" (1,462 Palestinians dead).



**GENERAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE** (Palestinian Authority) Palestinian security force created after the Oslo Accords, partially from the Palestinian Liberation Army, which reports directly to the President, who also appoints its head. It is in charge of security operations beyond the borders of the PA, including external intelligence, counterespionage, and liaison with foreign intelligence. It is also responsible for thwarting terror attacks in the West Bank and works covertly in the Israeli-controlled Areas B and C, mainly arresting people who are then interrogated in Area A. The GIS has an estimated 3,500 troops and is headed by Maj.-Gen. Majid Faraj since 2009.



**GENERAL SECURITY SERVICES** (Israel) see *Shin Bet*

**GENERAL STRIKE** Form of non-violent protest in which Palestinians close shops and businesses, workers do not go to their jobs in Israel, and/or public and private transport stays off the roads. Palestinians have regularly employed general strikes – during the Mandate period in protest of the British authorities (peaking in the 1936 Great Revolt) and later against Israeli occupation, most notably during the first Intifada (1987-1993).

**GENERAL UNIONS** Well-established PLO-affiliated popular organizations, often predating the PLO, that represent important sectors of Palestinian society worldwide. There are General Unions of Palestinian Students, Women, Jurists, Workers, Teachers, Doctors, Writers and Journalists, Engineers, Economists, Artists, and Farmers.



**GENEVA ACCORD** (also: *Switzerland/Swiss Proposal or Document or Beilin-Abed Rabbo Plan*; officially: *Draft Permanent Status Agreement*) Alternative, unofficial peace initiative drafted by Israeli and Palestinian politicians and activists, led by Yossi Beilin and Yasser Abed Rabbo, sponsored by Switzerland, and signed in Aqaba on 12 October 2003. The Geneva Accord was created in an effort to formulate

a complete final status agreement, in contrast to then Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's approach of long-term interim agreements, and was officially launched at a ceremony in Geneva on 1 December 2003. The Israeli government condemned the plan as undermining its own policies while the PA supported it. Members of the initiative on the Israeli side included Haim Oron, Amram Mitzna, Avraham Burg, Nehama Ronen, Yuli Tamir, Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, as well as Brig.-Gen. Giora Inbar, Brig.-Gen. Shlomo Brom, authors Amos Oz and David Grossman, David Kimche, Prof. Arie Arnon, and Dr. Menachem Klein. Members on the Palestinian side included Yasser Abed Rabbo, Mohammed Al-Hourani, Nabil Qassis, Hisham Abdel Razzeq, Kadoura Fares, Jamal Zaqout, Saman Khouri, Zuheir Al-Manasrah, Radi Jamil Jarai, Ibrahim Mohammed Khrishi, Samih Karakra, Basel Jaber, and Nazmi Al-Ju'beh. The main points of the detailed plan included:

- Palestinians will concede the right of return.
- Palestinians will recognize Israel as the state of the Jewish people.
- Israel will withdraw to the 1967 borders, except for certain territorial exchanges.
- Jerusalem will be divided with Arab parts of East Jerusalem becoming part of the Palestinian state, and Jewish settlements, as well as the West Bank suburbs of Ma'ale Adumim, Givat Ze'ev, and the Gush Etzion settlements becoming part of Israel.
- Haram Ash-Sharif will be Palestinian, but an international force will ensure freedom of access for visitors of all faiths. Archaeological digs will be forbidden. The Western Wall will remain under Jewish sovereignty.
- The Ariel, Efrat, and Har Homa settlements will be part of the Palestinian state, and Israel will also transfer parts of the Negev adjacent to Gaza in exchange for the parts of the West Bank it will receive.
- Palestinians will pledge to prevent terror and incitement and disarm all militias. Their state will be demilitarized. An international force will supervise the border crossings.
- The agreement will replace all, and in some cases will be regarded as fulfillment of, UN resolutions and previous agreements that pertain to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The Geneva Accord resulted in the establishment of two cooperating NGOs: Heskem on the Israeli side and the Palestine Peace Coalition on the Palestinian. Both are active in promoting negotiations and searching for compromises.



Yossi Beilin (l) & Yasser Abed Rabbo (r)

**GENEVA CONFERENCES (1.)** Conference for Peace in the Middle East held in December 1973 in Geneva, attended by Egypt, Israel, the US, the USSR, Jordan, and the UN Secretary-General. It created working groups but achieved no further results.

**(2.)** A UN General Assembly-initiated international conference resulting from the acknowledgment that separate solutions like Camp David (1978) did not solve much and that the exclusion of Palestinian representatives would not lead to a fair and lasting peaceful solution. It convened from 23 August to 7 September 1983 in Geneva and was attended by 137 states, but was boycotted by Israel and the US. Ultimately, the Geneva Declaration was adopted, calling for a peace conference under the auspices of the UN with full participation, on equal footing, of all parties connected to the conflict, including the PLO, US, USSR, and others. This declaration was endorsed by the UN General Assembly in Resolution 38/58C on 13 December 1983.

**GENEVA CONVENTIONS** Standards of international law for humanitarian concerns which were formulated in four treaties in Geneva. The First Convention followed the foundation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1863 and adopted the "Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field" in 1864. All four conventions were last revised and ratified in 1949 as follows: (1) First Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field (first adopted in 1864); (2) Second Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea (first adopted in

1906); (3) Third Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (first adopted in 1929), and (4) Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (first adopted in 1949) (see also *Fourth Geneva Convention*).



Signing of the Geneva Conventions, 1949

**GERMAN PROPOSAL** European peace initiative, introduced by Germany in April 2002, suggesting a referendum asking the Palestinian population about their willingness to recognize Israel and normalize relations in return for a withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian territory. Further, the plan included a ceasefire followed by an early declaration of a Palestinian state, an end to Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, phased talks on tricky issues such as Israel's borders and the status of Jerusalem, and provided for international peacekeepers to patrol a buffer zone between Israel and Palestinian areas.

**GESHER** (English: *Bridge*) **(1.)** Center-right Israeli party formed in 1996 as a breakaway from the Likud by former Likud MK and Foreign Minister David Levy. It ran in coalition with Likud in the 1996 elections and joined One Israel in the 1999 elections. Gesher focused on the socio-economic problems of immigrants from North Africa. In 2003, it merged back into the Likud and dissolved.

**(2.)** New party launched in December 2018 by independent MK Orly Levy-Abekasis (who had broken away from Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu in May 2016 and is the daughter of David Levy who had formed the other Gesher party in 1996). While running on a social platform, the party is hard to classify politically. The party competed in the April 2019 elections, but did not succeed in winning any seats. In the September 2019 elections, it ran on a joint list together with Labor, winning six seats.

**GHOR** see *Jordan Rift Valley*

**GHOR CANAL** see *King Abdullah Canal*

**GIHON** (also: *HaGihon*) Israeli company also known as the Jerusalem Area's Water and Wastewater Utility, which was founded in 1996 by the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality and currently provides water, sewage and drainage services for some one million people in the Greater Jerusalem area. Since 2003, Gihon operates as an independent corporation in accordance with Jerusalem development and expansion plans, constructing, *inter alia*, industrial sewage treatment systems and pumping facilities. According to ACRI, only 59% of the Palestinians in East Jerusalem are officially connected to the Gihon Corporation's water infrastructure.



**GIHON SPRING** (also: *Maryam's Spring* or the *Spring of the Virgin*) Karstic spring that is located on the Old City's eastern slope before and whose waters flow into the adjacent Wadi Nar (Kidron Valley). It constituted a main freshwater source of the city from its first beginnings. According to Muslim tradition, the waters of the Gihon Spring are holy like the Zamzam Spring in Mecca. Pilgrims returning from the *hajj* used to go to the spring and then pray at Al-Aqsa Mosque. There was also a tradition among the residents of Silwan of using and bathing in the springs' water before weddings, on holy days, and other occasions. The Gihon Spring is also sacred to Christians as it is identified with the spring used by Mary, the mother of Jesus. In the 1990s, the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority together with the Elad settler group took over the spring and began to charge entry fees to it, only allowing the settlers of "City of David" and their associates to enter it freely and without charge.



**GIVATI PARKING LOT** Area at the southern side of the Old City walls, on the northern entrance of Silwan, adjacent to the Israeli 'City of David' Visitors Center, which was one of the only remaining open areas for the residents of Silwan, but has since 2003 been subject to archeological digging under the auspices of the Israel Antiquities Authority and funded by the Elad settler organization "for the benefit of the City of David archeological park". In 2012, Elad announced plans to build a multiple story building on part of the site, known as the Kedem Compound, to include *inter alia* a museum, a visitors' center, and coffee shop. Palestinians have harshly criticized these plans as they will create a single tourist zone under settler and Israeli governmental control at the expense of their direct connection to the Old City and adjacent neighborhoods.



**GOLAN HEIGHTS** Rocky plateau in south-western Syria, stretching over some 1,800 km<sup>2</sup> and overlooking northern Israel, thus of military and strategic importance. The area is also a key source of water as rainwater from the Golan's catchment feeds into the Jordan River. Israel captured 1,200 km<sup>2</sup> of the region from Syria in the 1967 Six-Day War. It is estimated that some 120,000 Syrian residents fled or were expelled from the area during the war and never returned. An estimated 340 farms and villages were destroyed and replaced by Jewish settlements. A Syrian attempt to regain the Golan Heights during the Yom Kippur War (1973) failed. In December 1981, Israel unilaterally and illegally annexed the Golan Heights and since claims its "right" to retain the Golan based on UN Resolution 242 calling for "safe and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." How-

ever, the international community rejects those claims and regards the area as occupied Syrian territory. Syria wants to secure the return of the Golan Heights as part of any future peace deal. Currently, there are an estimated 23,000 settlers living in 34 Israeli settlements on the occupied Golan Heights. About 25,000 Syrians still live in the northernmost area, mainly members of the Druze community. On 25 March 2019, US President Donald Trump proclaimed the US' recognition of the Golan Heights as part of the State of Israel. No other country recognizes Israeli sovereignty over territory.



**GOLDSTONE REPORT** Report of the UN Fact Finding Mission, appointed in April 2009 by the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and headed by South-African jurist Richard Goldstone, to investigate the events of Israel's offensive in the Gaza Strip in December 2008/January 2009. The report was presented to the UNHRC in Geneva on 29 September 2009, urging the Council and the international community as a whole to put an end to impunity for violations of international law in Israel and the OPT, and accusing both Israel and Hamas of war crimes, though clearly stating that Israel had intentionally targeted civilian sites during the fighting. The report's findings echoed those of other international human rights and humanitarian organizations.

The government of President Abbas caused an outrage when it initially decided in October 2009 – due to Israeli and US pressure – to withdraw its support for a resolution at the UNHRC. Nevertheless, the UNHRC voted on 16 October with 25 to 6 (with 11 abstentions and 5 absent) in favor of a resolution endorsing war crimes charges as spelled out in the Goldstone Report. On 5 November 2009, the UN General Assembly adopted, following a vote of 114 of 18 (44 abstaining), a resolution based on the Goldstone Report, calling on the UN Secretary-General to transmit the report to the UN Security Council which has powers to refer the situation in Gaza to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. On 1 April 2011, after being heavily pressured, Goldstone retracted his claim that it was Israeli government policy to deliberately target citizens. The other authors of the report have rejected Goldstone's reassessment.

**GOVERNORATE** (Arabic: *muhafazat*) Administrative unit/district in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In 1995, following the arrival of the PA, the OPT were divided into 16 governorates (11 in the West Bank: Jenin, Tubas, Tulkarem, Qalqilya, Salfit, Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Jericho, Bethlehem, and Hebron, and five in the Gaza Strip: Jabalia, Gaza City, Deir Al-Balah, Khan Younis, and Rafah). Each of these is headed by a governor, appointed by the President. The governorates are subordinate to the Ministry of Local Government and cooperate with the mayors and heads of village councils in their respective districts.



*Palestinian governorates*

**GRAD ROCKETS** (also: *Katyusha*) Standard military artillery weapon originally produced in the former Soviet bloc. Palestinian militant groups in Gaza use 122-mm rockets, but unlike Hizbullah, not from truck-based launchers. The rockets launched from Gaza have a range of about 40 km, and can apparently reach the cities of Beer Sheva, Ashdod, Gedera, Ofakim, and Gan Yavne in Israel.



**GRASSROOTS INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE (GIPP)** International movement launched in 2001 with the main objective of granting a form of protection to the Palestinian people. GIPP organized solidarity actions and coordinated the activities of international activists who came to Palestine to express solidarity with the Palestinians, protected them from Israeli aggression, and sent messages and reports on the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the international community. Missions and delegations were organized in cooperation with Palestinian, European, American, and church partners. In recent years, the GIPP has shown no sign of activity and is believed to have been absorbed by other solidarity movements and groups.

**GREAT MARCH OF RETURN** Campaign launched by civil society activists in Gaza as a non-violent form of protest which called for the Palestinian refugees' right of return to their villages and homes from which they had been expelled or fled from in order to make way for present-day Israel. The campaign also called for an end to the over a decade-long blockade imposed on the Gaza Strip. The campaign began on 30 March 2018 – the anniversary of Land Day – initially planned for six weeks to culminate in a Nakba Day anniversary march, and included protest camps set up near the border fence with Israel and walks towards the fence, attended by thousands of people. Israel claimed that Hamas was behind the protests and responded with indiscriminate force, killing 17 Palestinians and injuring over 1,400 on the first day of

protest alone. The bloodiest day of protest was the Great March of Return on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Nakba Day on 15 May 2018, which coincided with the opening of the US Embassy in Jerusalem and left at least 60 Palestinians killed and over 1,000 injured. Protests continued every Friday, and according to UN OCHA, by the end of 2018, 180 Gazans were killed and over 23,000 injured in the context of the Great Return March, including medical and press personnel; 57 of the dead and some 7,000 of the injured were children. Israel's use of deadly force was condemned by UN General Assembly Resolution ES10/L.23 on 13 June 2018 as well as by numerous human rights organizations. Protest marches continued during 2019 but were held less frequent towards the end of the year.



**GREAT REVOLT** (also: *Great Rebellion*) Widespread uprising that emerged from Arab-Jewish clashes throughout Palestine from April to October 1936. The Great Revolt involved the establishment of National Committees and an Arab General Strike (April-October 1936) in support of three basic demands: (1) an end to Jewish immigration, (2) an end to Jewish land sales, and (3) establishment of an Arab national government. As part of the strike, the National Committees adopted the slogan “no taxation without representation”, refusing to pay taxes until the British fulfilled their demands. In response to the riots, the British declared the Arab Higher Committee illegal. A second phase of the Great Revolt began in autumn 1937, triggered by the partition plan issued in the Royal (Peel) Commission report. On 1 October 1937, the British government dissolved the Arab Higher Committee and all National Committees, arrested numerous members, deporting five of them to the Seychelles, and officially stripped Haj Amin Al-Husseini of his positions as Chairman of the Waqf and Presi-



dent of the Supreme Muslim Council. The second Great Rebellion lasted until 1939 and ended with the 1939 British White Paper.



**GREATER ISRAEL** Term most commonly used to define the land encompassed by the state of Israel and the OPT. Other definitions include the territory of the former British Mandate of Palestine, either in the 1923 or 1948 borders, or the Biblical definitions of the 'Land of Israel' (Eretz Yisrael). The term 'Land of Israel' is found in the charters of both the Likud and Kadima parties, describing the right of the state of Israel and Jews to all of present day Israel and the OPT.

**GREATER JERUSALEM** Reference to an area that extends beyond the Green Line into the West Bank and encompasses roughly a 20-km radius around the Old City. This area is home to around 600,000 Israelis and 600,000 Palestinians, and comprises two overlapping metropolitan areas – West Jerusalem and the Israeli built-up areas located inside and on the periphery of East Jerusalem; and the traditionally Palestinian East Jerusalem, including its adjacent neighborhoods on the edges of Israel's Jerusalem municipal borders. Greater Jerusalem also includes an outer ring of 20 Israeli settlements extending Jerusalem far beyond the city's municipal boundaries into the West Bank.



**GREATER JERUSALEM BILL** (also: *Greater Jerusalem Law* or *'Jerusalem and Its Daughters' Bill*) Proposed legislation, authored by MK Yoav Kisch (Likud) in 2017, that would include 19 illegal West Bank settlements (“daughter municipalities” – all located in the settlement blocs of Ma’ale Adumim, Givat Zeev, Beitar Illit and Gush Etzion) under the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem Municipality as “sub-municipalities”, thus adding some 150,000 Jewish settlers to the city’s municipality and consolidating its Jewish dominance. Separately, the bill would downgrade three Palestinian neighborhoods located beyond the Separation Barrier, which have not received proper municipal services since the Separation Barrier’s construction and which are home to an equal number of people (Kufr Aqab, Shu’fat and Anata), and make them “sub-municipalities” of the city. However, due to US pressure Prime Minister Netanyahu postponed an initial vote on the bill, scheduled for late October 2017, indefinitely. If passed into law, it would not only change the demographic balance in Jerusalem in favor of a Jewish majority, but also *de facto* annex of some of the largest West Bank settlements to the city.

**GREEN AREA** Areas zoned by Israeli municipal authorities for open space in which no construction is allowed, allegedly in order to maintain a minimum of greenery in the city or under related pretexts, such as preservation of views, environmental protection, etc. However, land plots designated as “Green Areas” often serve as Jewish land reserves and block Palestinian development. Examples of the rezoning of formerly designated “Green Areas” to allow for Jewish building are Har Homa built on Jabal Abu Ghneim and Ramat Shlomo built on Shu’fat land.



Jabal Abu Ghneim - now Har Homa settlement

**GREEN LINE** Term used following Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 to refer to the post-1948 War cease-fire line (proper name is 1949 Armistice Line. It is the border separating pre-1967 Israel from the OPT (thus it is also often referred to as the "pre-1967 borders" or the "1967 borders"). The demarcation line (laid down in the Armistice Agreements of 1949) is an internationally recognized border, but it is important to note that Israel has never specified the boundaries of its state. The sections of the Green Line that delineate the boundaries between Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip run through heavily populated regions.



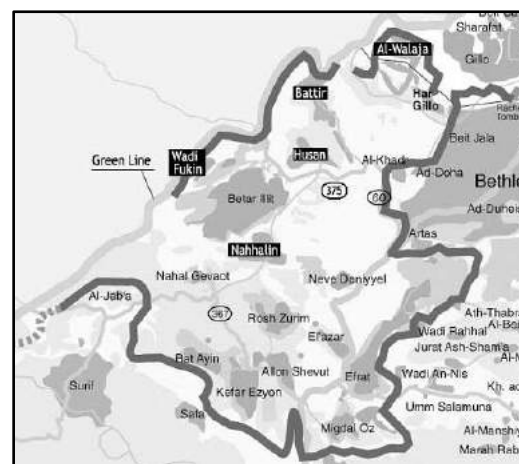
**GROUP OF 77** Body originally established by 77 developing countries represented at the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva on 15 June 1964. The purpose of the group was to allow for the formulation of common positions in advance of plenary UNCTAD meetings. Now with 134 members, the group, of which Palestine is a full member, is the largest intergovernmental organization of developing states in the UN. The Group of 77 concentrates on developing common negotiation positions on trade and development and on promoting collective economic interests as well as South-South cooperation for development. In July 2018, the Asian Group at the UN unanimously endorsed Palestine to be the next chair for the Group of 77, starting in January 2019. On 15 October 2018, the UN General Assembly formally voted in favor of Palestine as head of the G77 and China, thereby allowing it to act more like a full UN member state during meetings in 2019.



**GUSH EMUNIM** (English: *Bloc of the Faithful*) Israeli extra-parliamentary right-wing religious lobby group which was founded in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War in the spring of 1974, based on beliefs ideologically rooted in the teachings of Rabbi Abra-

ham Kook and his son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. Supporters believe the "Land of Israel" is the fulfillment of the Zionist dream and that the coming of the messiah can be hastened through Jewish settlement on land they believe God has allotted for Jews. Therefore, they oppose the return of territory conquered by Israel in 1967 and their major activity has been to initiate new settlements. Since 1967, Gush Emunim is the single most active settlement movement in the OPT, with over half of all settlements in the West Bank affiliated with its various administrative, ideological and pedagogic divisions. Since the Oslo process, Gush Emunim exists mainly in the form of ethnic-nationalist rhetoric, which has gained prominence in the political discourse as people query the 'Jewish' character of the state.

**GUSH ETZION** (also: *Etzion Bloc*) Group of 22 illegal Jewish settlements located in the West Bank on a 60 km<sup>2</sup> area between Jerusalem and Hebron and housing over 75,000 settlers. Currently, the following settlements form the bloc: Alon Shvut, Bat Ayin, Beitar Illit, Efrat, Elazar, Gevaot, Har Gilo, Ibei HaNahal, Karmeit Zzur, Kedar, Kfar Eldad, Kfar Etzion, Maale Amos, Maale Rehav'am, Metzad, Migdal Oz, Neve Daniel, Nokdim, Pnei Kedem, Rosh Tzurim, Sde Boaz, Tekoa.



**GUSH KATIF** (English: *Harvest Bloc*) Bloc of 16 Jewish settlements (Bedolah, Bnei Atzmon, Gadid, Gan Or, Ganei Tal, Kfar Darom, Kfar

Yam, Kerem Atzmona, Morag, Neve Dekalim, Netzer Hazani, Pe'at Sade, Katif, Rafiah Yam, Shirat HaYam, Selav, and Tel Katifa) with a total population of some 8,000 settlers that existed along the southern Gaza coastline until August 2005, when they were removed and most of their infrastructure was destroyed as part of then Prime Minister Sharon's unilateral disengagement plan.



**GUSH SHALOM** (English: *Peace Bloc*) Extra-parliamentary, independent Israeli organization founded by the late Uri Avnery and others in 1993, when it became apparent that all the older peace groups in Israel were either unable or unwilling to oppose the repressive measures introduced by the new Labor government headed by Yitzhak Rabin. Gush Shalom plays a leading role in determining the agenda of the peace forces in Israel and influencing Israeli public opinion with regard to peace and reconciliation with the Palestinian people. Its goals are based on principles such as ending the occupation, the Palestinian right to establish an independent and sovereign state, reinstating the pre-1967 "Green Line" as border, recognizing in principle the right of return of the Palestinian refugees, and establishing Jerusalem as the capital of the two states, with East Jerusalem serving as the capital of Palestine and West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.



*Gush Shalom Activists (Uri Avnery on the right)*

# H

**H1** and **H2** see *Hebron Agreement*

**HABAYIT HAYEHUDI** (English: *Jewish Home*) Israeli religious-Zionist, right-wing party that was formed following a merger between the National Religious Party and the National Union in 2008. It was led by Naftali Bennett and Ayelet Shaked until they left to found a new party ('The New Right') prior to the 2019 elections. After appointing Rafi Peretz as its new chairman, the party decided to extend its cooperation with the National Union, and to run also with far right Otzma Yehudit under the Union of Right-Wing Parties, which won 5 seats in the April 2019 and 4 seats in September 2019 elections.



**HADASH** (Hebrew acronym for *HaHazit HaDemokratit LeShalom uLeShivion*; English: *The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality*) Alliance of the Israeli Communist Party and other Arab and Jewish political groups, which has undergone numerous transformations in its history. The Jewish-Arab Leftist movement, founded in 1977 when the Rakah Party joined with several non-parliamentary groups, including members of the Black Panthers and other left-wing non-communist groups, stresses social justice and equality, as well as recognition and cultural integration of the Palestinian minority. It supports a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and maintains that all Israeli settlements outside the pre-1967 borders are illegal and should be evacuated, including East Jerusalem. Current leader is Ayman Odeh. At present, Hadash has five members, as part of the Joint List, in the 120-seat Knesset. In the April 2019 elections, Hadash got 4 seats (in alliance with the Balad party) and in the September 2019 elections 5 seats (in alliance with Ta'al).



**HADITH** (English: *news, statement, narrative or story*) Spoken traditions attributed to the Prophet Mohammed, i.e., his deeds, sayings, and tacit approvals, which are revered and received in Islam as a major source for implementing and explaining religious law and moral guidance.

**HAGANAH** (English: *Defense*) Clandestine Jewish paramilitary organization set up in June 1920 by the Labor Zionist Achdut Ha-Avoda party to combat the attacks of Palestinians on Jewish settlements. The Haganah was outlawed by the British authorities but remained active during the British Mandate years (1920-1948), after which it became the nucleus of the Israeli army. The Haganah was under the authority of the Jewish trade union movement Histadrut from late 1920 until its split in April 1931 over whether the Histadrut or the Jewish Agency should rule the body. The split off became known as Irgun Zvei Le'umi (also named Irgun B or Haganah Le'umit). Haganah's activities were moderate by contrast with more extreme Zionist militias (e.g., Irgun ZviLeumi or Stern Gang), but it turned to terrorism after World War II when the British refused to permit unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine. Among the well-known Haganah commanders that later entered Israeli politics are Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan, and Yisrael Galili.



*Haganah Parade*

**THE HAGUE HEARINGS** Advisory hearings by the International Court of Justice, initiated by UN General Assembly Resolution ES 10/14 of 8 December 2003 and based in The Hague, into the legality of the Separation Barrier being constructed by Israel on the West Bank. Numerous countries, including Jordan, Belize and Cuba, gave evidence in support of the Palestinian claims that the barrier is a serious infringement of their rights and is causing severe hardship. Israel refused to attend the hearings, and the US and EU both argued that the court had no jurisdiction in this case. The public hearings were held on 23-25 Feb-

ruary 2004, and in July 2004, the court ruled that the Separation Barrier is "contrary to international law", and stated that Israel must cease construction of the barrier, dismantle the parts of the barrier that were built inside the West Bank, revoke the orders issued relating to its construction, and compensate the Palestinians who suffered losses as a result of the barrier.

**HAIFA MASSACRE (1.)** Attack by Palmach forces on 28 February 1948, blowing up two houses and a garage and firing into the Arab neighborhoods of Haifa, killing at least 30 people, including women and children. Israeli historian Benny Morris's sources state that "dozens" were killed, in addition to a militia leader and the deputy head of the National Bank and that the attack came following an attack on a Jewish bus in which four were wounded.

**(2.)** Attack on Haifa (also known as "Battle of Haifa") by Zionist paramilitaries (known by Jewish forces as Operation 'Bi'ur Hametz') which took place on 21-22 April 1948, and, according to Morris, was designed to break Arab morale and discourage resistance. Though not the direct aim of the attack or even an expectation, approximately 15,000 Arab residents evacuated Haifa. According to some sources, Jewish forces occupied homes, public buildings, and streets, killing 100-300 Arabs, many of whom while fleeing towards the harbor to escape to Akko by boat.

**(3.)** Sometimes also an attack by Zionist paramilitaries from the Al-Hadar neighborhood, located at the top of Al-Abbas Street in Haifa, rolling down a barrel filled with explosives on 28 January 1949, which destroyed homes, killed 20 Palestinians and wounded dozens others, is referred to as "Haifa Massacre".

**HAIFA OIL REFINERY MASSACRE** Attack on 30 December 1947 when members of the Irgun threw a number of grenades at a crowd of about 100 Arab day-laborers who had gathered outside the main gate of the then British-owned Haifa Oil Refinery to look for work, killing six and wounding between 42 and 505, according to accounts recorded by Israeli historians Ilan Pappé and Benny Morris, respectively. During the ensuing clashes, over 30 Jews were killed. According to Morris, Jew-

ish forces retaliated in the following days by raiding the villages where many of the Arab refinery workers lived with orders to kill "maximum adult males" (see also *Balad Ash-Sheikh Massacre*).

**HAJJ** (also *Haj* or *Hadj*) Annual pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, which forms one of the five pillars of Islam (i.e., an obligation that must be carried out at least once in a Muslim's lifetime if health and financial situation permit). The pilgrimage occurs from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the Islamic calendar (*Dhu al-Hijjah*) and reenacts the actions of the Prophet Mohammed in his "farewell pilgrimage" in 632 AD. Each year, around 2 million Muslims from all over the world gather in Mecca for the Hajj pilgrimage. Those who have performed the Hajj receive the title *Hajj* (female: *Hajjeh*).



Pilgrims at the Ka'ba during the Hajj

**HALAKHA** (also *Halacha*; adjective: *halachic*; plural: *halakhot*; English: *the way to go*) Normative Jewish religious law, as well as customs and traditions, practice, or rite established or ratified by authoritative rabbinic jurists and teachers. Halakha guides not only religious but numerous other aspects of day-to-day life. Conservative Jews adhere to halakha to varying degrees while Reform Jews largely disregard it. Settler rabbis and other extremist Jewish religious leaders often issue rulings, each on his own judgment, which state laws sometimes commanding soldiers to disobey orders, and even commanding the killing of innocent Palestinian civilians if this is considered to further Jewish interest.

**HALUTZA/HALUZA SANDS** or **DUNES** Uninhabited arid 150-km<sup>2</sup> area in the northwestern Negev, southeast of the Gaza Strip, which was

suggested by then-Prime Minister Ehud Barak to be ceded in a land-swap in return for keeping some settlements in the West Bank. Palestinian negotiators rejected the Halutza area as the centerpiece of the land swap, noting that its potential for agricultural development and human settlement appeared highly constrained and therefore of less value than the land that Israel wants to annex in the West Bank. In 2001, then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon initiated plans for three new settlements in the area in an effort to foil any future attempt to transfer the area to Palestinian control as part of a final peace settlement. Following the 2005 disengagement from Gaza, evacuees from Gush Katif, Atzmona and Netzarim settlements began building permanent residences in communities located in the Halutza Sands area. Due to its historic importance – the city was once part of the Nabataean Incense Route – UNESCO declared Halutza (along with the other Nabataean cities of Avdat, Mamshit, Shivta) a World Heritage Site.



**HAMAS** (English: *Zeal*; Abbreviation of the Arabic *Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiyya*; English: *Islamic Resistance Movement*) Political movement grown out of religious association.

Hamas served as the Muslim Brotherhood's link to the first Intifada and emerged shortly after the outbreak of the Intifada in January 1988. Its formation and development was tolerated, if not encouraged, by Israel as an alternative or counterforce to the PLO. The spiritual leader and founding father of Hamas is Sheikh Ahmad Yassin (assassinated by Israel on 22 March 2004). Other founding leaders include Fattah Dukhan, Mo-



Sheikh Ahmad Yassin

ammed Shama'a, Dr. Ibrahim Al-Yazuri, Issa An-Najjar, Salah Shehadeh (assassinated in July 2002), and Abdul Aziz Rantisi (assassinated in April 2004). The Hamas Covenant, issued in August 1988, declared that all of Palestine is Islamic trust land and can never be surrendered to non-Muslims, and proclaimed jihad against Israel. Hamas advocates an Islamic state in all of historic Palestine and the application of Shar'ia Law. Hamas is not a member of the PLO and worked independently from the UNLU during the first Intifada, but does not seriously question the PLO's role as representative of the Palestinian people at an international level. In 1989, Hamas agreed to abide by decisions of the PNC, but called for new elections to it in 1991. Hamas gained popularity through charitable efforts and the provision of educational and health services. The group has also been responsible for many attacks on Israeli targets (mostly carried out by its military wing, the Izz Eddin Al-Qassem Brigades) and is listed as a terrorist organization by the US and the EU. Hamas strongly opposes the Oslo Accords and belongs to the Alliance of Palestinian Forces, which is opposed to the peace process. It boycotted the Palestinian elections of January 1996, but ran in the second PLC elections in 2006 (as "Change and Reform" party), where it won a landslide victory (74 out of the 132 seats in the PLC), defeating Fatah. Subsequently, Hamas formed a new PA government with Ismail Haniyeh as Prime Minister. However, the newly formed unity government was widely boycotted by the international community. In June 2007, clashes with Fatah forces and supporters led to a near civil war in the Gaza Strip, in the course of which Hamas took control of Gaza, rejected by the Fatah-led PA. Despite an October 2017 Egyptian-mediated reconciliation agreement with Fatah, which should have led to the PA's gradual take-over of government institutions in Gaza, the situation on the ground did not change. As of 2019, the leader in exile was Khaled Masha'al, while locally, the leaders were Ismail Haniyeh (Head of the Hamas politburo) and Yahya Sinwar (head of Hamas in the Gaza Strip).



Khaled Masha'al

Ismail Haniyeh

Yahya Sinwar

**HAMAS CHARTER** or **COVENANT** Document first published in 1988 (English title: *Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement*), which outlines the identity, goals and opinions of the Hamas movement, and was widely seen as a radical anti-Israel manifesto in which Hamas declares *jihad* until all of Palestine is liberated. In May 2017, Hamas presented and published its new, revised covenant, which was more moderate, *inter alia*, by stating that it "considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital along the lines of 4 June 1967 (...)". Thus, while not mentioning the name Israel, the document acknowledges another entity ruling the remaining territory (though stating that the Palestinian people have a right to the entire land of historic Palestine). In relation to accusations of Anti-Semitism, the new charter states: "Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion." The revised covenant also abandoned the earlier stated ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.

**HAMULA** (plural: *hama'il*; English: *Clan*) Kinship unit exercising important roles for social cohesion in the Arab World, particularly in rural areas. A hamula is a form of extended family, consisting of several family branches which claim a shared ancestry, linked through the father's male line. Clans provide security, an important source of spouses, shared financial wellbeing, and more generally, a trusted network for all social occasions. Clan members are tied together by a code of honor (*Mithaq Al-Sharaf*), which is binding on all male members.

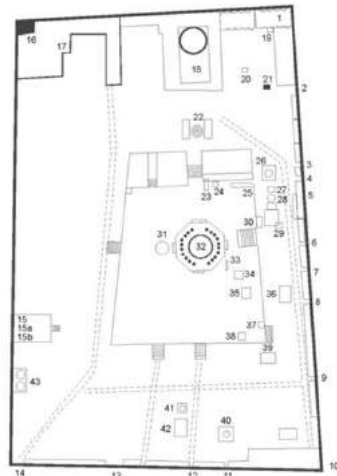
**HANNIBAL PROCEDURE** (also: *Hannibal Tactic*, *Directive*, or *Protocol*) Name of a controversial Israeli army order that is designed to pre-

vent Israelis from being taken captive alive by enemy forces. It was drawn up by military officers in 1986 after the Israeli government had come under domestic pressure to release hundreds of enemy prisoners for the return of three captured soldiers. The directive allows troops to use heavy force when one of their own is abducted - even at the risk of killing the soldier. While it was supposed to have stopped after Israel withdrew from South Lebanon in May 2000, there is strong evidence that the procedure is still being used, including during Israel's assaults on Gaza. Critics claim that the policy actually promotes the killing of captured soldiers to prevent the need for prisoner exchanges. In March 2018, Israel's state comptroller criticized the procedure, saying it was unclear about "the value of an abducted soldier's life" and failed to respect key principles of international law.

**HAR HABAYIT** Hebrew name for 'Temple Mount'

**HARAM ASH-SHARIF** (English: *The Noble Sanctuary*) Muslim holy place, also referred to as Al-Aqsa Mosque compound, containing the Dome of the Rock, Al-Aqsa Mosque, and other structures. It is one of the three most important sites in Islam. The entire area is regarded as a mosque and comprises nearly one sixth of the walled city of Jerusalem (approximately 144 dunums). Muslims revere the site as the area to which Prophet Mohammed was transported on his miraculous night journey from Mecca to heaven (*Isra w-Miraj*). Jews revere the area as the location of their First and Second Temples, and refer to the area above and to the east of the Western Wall as 'Har HaMoriyya' or 'Har HaBayt' in Hebrew and as the 'Temple Mount' in English. Jewish extremists and some Christian evangelicals, namely dispensationalists, advocate the construction of a third Temple there. The visit of Ariel Sharon and fellow Likud members to the site on 28 September 2000 sparked the beginning of the Second Intifada. In July 2017, it was the scene of Palestinian popular protests in response to Israel's placing metal detectors and cameras at the entrances to Al-Aqsa as "security" measures. Further disruptions occur at the site periodically,

including a number of incidents regarding Bab Ar-Rahmeh, also known as the Golden Gate, in February and March 2019.



**HARARI DECISION** (also *Harari Proposal*) Compromise resolution adopted by the Knesset on 13 June 1950 based on a proposal by then MK Yizhar Harari, according to which the "constitution" of Israel would not be a single document, but composed of a series of Basic Laws to be created over time by a special committee. It states that "the First Knesset assigns to the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee the preparation of a proposed constitution for the state. The constitution will be made up of chapters, each of which will constitute a separate basic law. The chapters will be brought to the Knesset, as the Committee completes its work, and all the chapters together will constitute the constitution of the state." Since then, 13 Basic Laws have been enacted, but Israel still has no formal constitution.

**HAREDI** (plural: *Haredim*) Follower of Haredi Judaism, the most theologically conservative form of Judaism (often called "Ultra-Orthodox", though Haredim object to the term). Haredim consider the non-Orthodox streams of Judaism to be unjustifiable deviations from authentic Judaism. The vast majority of Haredi Jews are Ashkenazi. The largest Haredi

population is found in Israel, where they currently make up 12% of the population and have the largest birth and growth rate of all population groups. The majority of the Haredi live in Jerusalem, where they even have their separate school system. Haredim generally wear clothing associated with 17<sup>th</sup> Century Central and Eastern Europe, tend to separate from the rest of Israeli society and follow strict behavior codes that ensure that they cannot be influenced by secular society. They are encouraged by their communities to study the Torah full time in Yeshivot rather than work, which is the main reason for them to belong to the poorer segments of society. Upon the establishment of Israel, Haredi males were exempted from the universal conscription into the Israeli army, which has attracted significant resentment from Israel's secular majority. Any attempt to change the situation regularly leads to large-scale Haredim protests. Today, Israeli Haredis are politically overwhelmingly right-wing affiliated, which is to a large extent based on their perception that the left wants to secularize them and society and replace religious with progressive universal values.



**HASBARA** Hebrew word for “the act of explaining”, but commonly translated as “propaganda,” as Hasbara refers to the Israeli public diplomacy effort to disseminate positive information abroad about the State of Israel and its actions, while discrediting the Palestinian narrative and silencing any international criticism of its illegal practices in the OPT and on Palestinians. In Europe, for instance, the Israeli government has invested considerable resources in delegitimizing the BDS movement, influencing European policy-making and creating a narrative that equates any attempt to boycott Israel a form of Anti-Semitism.

**HASHEMITES** Arab clan of Hashim from within the larger Quraish tribe, which directly descended from the Prophet Mohammed through Fatima, his daughter, and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin. Since the 20<sup>th</sup> Century the head of this family has been Governor of Mecca, with the title of Sharif. The Hashemites remained guardians of the Holy Places of Islam until 1923, when Sharif Hussein lost control of Mecca, which was taken over by the fundamentalist Wahabites under As-Saud (later founder of Saudi Arabia). Today, the Hashemites are the ruling royal family of Jordan.



**HASHOMER** (English: *Watchman*) Jewish defense organization created in Palestine in April 1909, becoming the legal version of the secret Bar Giora, to guard Jewish settlements. The organization ceased to operate after the founding of the Haganah in 1920.

**HATIKVA** (English: *The Hope*) (1.) National anthem of the State of Israel since its foundation in 1948.

(2.) Minor secular right-wing party in Israel, formed in late 2007 and headed by MK Aryeh Eldad. The party ran a joint list with Moledet for the 2009 Knesset elections. Hatikva is a “non-segregated party,” drawing its constituency from both secular and religious elements of Israeli society. In 2012, Hatikva left the alliance of the National Union to form a new right-wing, nationalist party named Otzma LeYisrael (‘Power to Israel’).



**HATNUAH** (English: *the Movement*) Liberal Israeli political party formed by former Israeli Foreign Minister and Kadima leader Tzipi Livni in late 2012 to present an alternative to voters frustrated by the stalemate in the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. Prior to the 2015 elections, Hatnuah joined the Labor Party and ran in a joint list under the name Zionist Union, which came second





in the elections, but the cooperation came to an end before the 2019 elections.

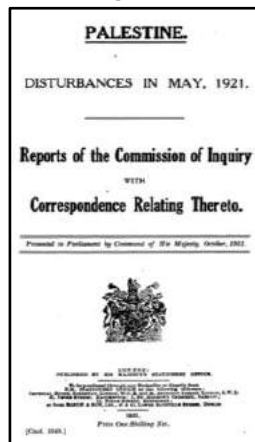
**HAYAMIN HEHADASH** (English: *The New Right*)

Israeli right-wing political party, established in December 2018 by then Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked and then Education Minister Naftali Bennett to run in the April 2019 elections. The party aims to be open to both religious and secular people and work for their full and equal partnership as well as for a one-state solution in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the April 2019 election, the party failed to win a Knesset seat. In the run-up to the September 2019 election, it formed the joint electoral list Yamina together with the Union of the Right-Wing Parties, which won 3 seats.



**HAYCRAFT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

Commission established by the British authorities and headed by the Chief Justice of Palestine, Sir Thomas Haycraft. Its mandate was to investigate Palestinian violence against Jews, especially in the Jaffa area, during spring 1921, and to calm the tense atmosphere in historic Palestine. The Haycraft Commission of Inquiry issued its report in October 1921, attributing the disturbances to Arab fears about increasing Jewish immigration into Palestine.



**HEBRON** (Arabic: *Al-Khalil*) Palestinian governorate and largest West Bank city with some 711,223 and 200,000 Palestinian residents respectively. From 1949 to 1967, Hebron was under Jordanian administration and is since then under Israeli occupation, including the Arroub and Fawwar refugee camps. Despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the PA under the 1995 Oslo II Accord, Israel remains in control. The city is holy to Muslims and Jews who both pray at the traditional burial site of the matriarchs and patriarchs common to both faiths (Ab-

raham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah), located in Hebron's Old City and known as Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi Mosque for Muslims and as Machpela Cave to Jews. Israel divided the worship area following the Hebron Massacre of 25 February 1994 (see below). The 1997 Hebron Agreement (see below) divided the city into two parts: H1 (80%), which is administered by the Palestinians and H2 (20%), which is controlled by Israel and where some 400 settlers live. In July 2017, UNESCO declared Hebron's Old City a Palestinian world heritage site and also inscribed it as world heritage site in danger, sparking outrage from Israel. Hebron remains a point of frequent frictions, which were monitored by the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) until Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu decided not to extend its mandate on 28 January 2019 on the grounds that it was acting against Israel.



**HEBRON AGREEMENT** (also: *Hebron Protocol*)

Accord reached between Israel and the PLO/PA on 15 January 1997, in which Israel agreed to withdraw from 80% of the city (H1), while retaining control over an enclave of 500-800 settlers living among tens of thousands of Palestinians in the city's center (20%, H2). H2 includes the Old City, Ibrahimi Mosque, and seven settlements (Abraham Avinu, Bet Hadassah, Bet Romano, Ramat Yashai-Tel Ruma, Nahum House/Yehuda Barqoush, Bet Hashasha, Rachel Salonique). Following the signing of the Hebron Agreement, the two sides also signed, on 21 January 1997, an 'Agreement on the Temporary International Presence in the city of Hebron' setting out the arrangements for the 'TIPH,' to be made up of 180 persons from Norway, Italy, Denmark,

Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey, tasked to monitor and report the situation in Hebron, with Norway being responsible for the overall coordination.

**HEBRON MASSACRE** (also: *Cave of the Patriarchs* or *Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre*) Mass murder of 29 Palestinian worshippers inside Hebron's Al-Ibrahimi Mosque at the hands of US-born settler and Kach supporter Baruch Goldstein, who entered the mosque on 25 February 1994 during the early morning prayers in the holy month of Ramadan, and opened fire. Before being overpowered and beaten to death, he killed 29 people and injured 125. During the ensuing protest, Israeli forces killed another 20-40 Palestinians and injured over 100 others.



**HEBRON RIOTS** (referred to by Jews as *Hebron Massacre*) Unrest that occurred on 23-24 August 1929 in Hebron, during the British Mandate era, in the wake of the Al-Buraq (Western Wall) disturbances between Arabs and Jews that spread from Jerusalem throughout the country. The riots were triggered by rumors that Jews had killed Arabs in Jerusalem and burned down Al-Aqsa Mosque. Arabs then began attacking Jews in the city, killing 67 Jews and wounding many others. About 435 Jews survived by hiding with their Arab neighbors, who risked their lives to save them. The surviving Jews were evacuated by the British, but some returned and lived in Hebron until the Arab Revolt of 1936.

**HERUT** (English: *Freedom*) Political movement established in 1948 by Menachem Begin and other members of the Irgun-Zvei Leumi to continue as a parliamentary party with the ideals of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Herut merged

with other parties and evolved into the Gahal party and later into the Likud.

**HERUT - THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT** Small right-wing Israeli faction that broke away from Likud in 1998 over the Likud Party's ratification and implementation of the Hebron Agreement and the Wye Accords, which derives its inspiration from the ideology of the historic Herut Party. The movement was headed by Benny Begin, son of Menachem Begin, until his retirement and subsequently by Michael Kleiner. Herut did not run in the 2009 elections and is considered defunct.

**HESKEM** Israeli NGO that was established in the wake of and in order to promote the Geneva Accord along with its Palestinian counterpart, the Palestine Peace Coalition.

**HEZBOLLAH** see *Hizbullah*

**HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PALESTINE** Head of the Civil Administration in Palestine that replaced British military rule in June 1920 and lasted until May 1948. The High Commissioner enjoyed wide ranging authority and powers over almost all spheres, although ultimate control resided with the British government, including using means such as collective punishment, censorship, deportation, and detention without trial. Altogether, there were seven British High Commissioners in Palestine, serving as follows: Sir Herbert Samuel (1920-25), Lord Herbert Onslow Plumer (1925-28), Sir John Herbert Chancellor (1928-31), Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope (1931-38), Sir Harold MacMichael (1938-44), John Standish Surtees Prendergast Vereker, Viscount Gort (1944-45), and Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham (1945-48).



*Sir Herbert Samuel*

**HILLTOP YOUTH** Phrase referring to loosely-organized religious-nationalist settlers, often radical right-wing ideologists, who establish illegal outposts in the West Bank, call for the expulsion of Palestinians, and regularly and violently assault Palestinian farmers, villagers,

and Bedouins. Their origin goes back to then-Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who, in the wake of the Wye River Agreement, called in November 1998 on settler youth to "grab the hilltops", saying, "Everyone that's there should move, should run, should grab more hills, expand the territory. Everything that's grabbed will be in our hands. Everything we don't grab will be in their hands." Hilltop Youth are considered by some as "terror" group.

**HISTADRUT** Jewish Labor Federation/Trade Union Movement, inaugurated in December 1920 in Haifa. It promoted Jewish employment, workers' rights, and land settlement, and set up a national defense organization (Haganah) "to safeguard the national and social content of popular defense in this country" which it controlled it until its split in 1931. The Histadrut now operates a number of enterprises including Bank HaPoalim and the *Kupat Holim* health care system.



**HISTORIC PALESTINE** The term refers to the area which was pre-state of Israel commonly known as Palestine and today comprises the OPT (=22% of historic Palestine) and Israel (78% of historic Palestine).



**HIZBULLAH** (English: *Party of God*; also spelled *Hizb Allah*, *Hizballah* or *Hezbollah*) Iranian-backed militant Islamic organization, created in 1982 in response to Israel's invasion of Lebanon. It formally announced its existence in 1985 with the release of an "Open Letter" – a manifesto that outlined the party's ideological beliefs, including ousting of Israeli forces from Lebanese soil, destruction of Israel, liberation of Jerusalem, and creation of an Islamic state in Lebanon. The organization is drawn from several Shi'a religious and political groups and derives its inspiration from Iran's supreme leader. Hizbullah is based in predominantly Shi'ite areas of South Lebanon, the suburbs of Beirut, and the Bekaa Valley and is has been led by Secretary-General Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah since 1992. Hizbullah is strongly backed by Syria and Iran and has evolved into a significant political party that is represented in the Lebanese parliament since July 2005. In June 2006, Hizbullah's abduction of two Israeli soldiers and the killing of four others triggered a fierce month-long military onslaught from Israel that impacted the whole of Lebanon. In November 2006, Hizbullah and its Shi'a allies quit the cabinet and spearheaded an opposition campaign to topple the government. Hizbullah was popular amongst the population for its defiance against Israel, however its popularity suffered from its siding with the Ba'ath regime in the Syrian civil war. Hizbullah's military wing is listed as a terrorist organization by the US State Department and the EU.



**HOLY BASIN** (also: *Historical Basin*) Concept introduced by Israel during the Camp David negotiations in July 2000 and picked up in the Taba Talks in early 2001 with regard to the area embracing the Old City of Jerusalem and adjacent localities, including the Mount of Olives, Mount Zion, the 'City of David', the Kidron Valley, and the settlement area of Shi-

mon Hatzadik in Sheikh Jarrah, which contain sites holy to Jews, Muslims and Christians. The idea was to create a special regime (international) for the area, which would be responsible for keeping order and ensuring freedom of belief as well as open access to all the holy sites. The Palestinians rejected the proposal, seeing it as a means of justifying Israeli claims to sovereignty in an area which is not only predominantly Palestinian but also occupied territory under international law, and insisted on Palestinian sovereignty instead.

**HOLY CITY** Term referring to Jerusalem, especially the Old City, which Muslims, Jews, and Christians view as uniquely significant because it contains some of their most important Holy Places.

**HOLY LAND** Term referring to historical Palestine (i.e., today's Israel and the OPT), as well as portions of Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, where biblical events and those related to Prophet Mohammed are believed to have occurred.

**HOLY PLACES** Religious sites generally identified with the lives and activities of Prophet Mohammed, Jesus, Mary, and the disciples, as well as King David and the Hebrew prophets, who are sometimes revered by members of all three faiths (e.g., the burial place of Abraham in Hebron, the tomb of Joseph in Nablus, and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem).

**HOMAT SHALEM** Jewish settler organization that operates on behalf of Jewish right-wing families living in the Shimon Hatzadik area in Sheikh Jarrah, Jerusalem. It aims at evicting Palestinian residents from their houses to establish a new Jewish settlement enclave in the neighborhood.

**HOME DEMOLITIONS** Form of collective punishment in accordance with an Israeli military order, in which families are forcibly removed from their homes, which are then partially or completely destroyed. Israel uses demolitions (sometimes sealing) of houses as a punitive measure (e.g., against the families of suspected 'terrorists') or an administrative

measure (using the pretext of lack of a building permit, which in turn are very hard to obtain for Palestinians). Home demolition as a punitive measure, is a breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It is estimated that since 1967 and as of 2017, Israel has destroyed close to 50,000 Palestinian homes and structures. In recent years, there has been an increasing number of "self-demolitions" in which Palestinian owners are forced to demolish their properties themselves to avoid heavy fines, following the issuance of demolition orders by the Israeli authorities.



#### **HOPE-SIMPSON COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

Second commission, following the Shaw Commission (see below), formed by British Prime Minister MacDonald in October 1930 to investigate the Palestinian uprisings in 1929 and the questions of Zionist immigration, settlement, and development. The inquiry was conducted by Sir John Hope-Simpson, who focused on the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine and recommended that Jewish immigration and land purchase be restricted because it was causing a growing population of landless Arabs and threatened Palestinian agricultural development. The recommendations were adopted by the Passfield White Paper (see below).



*Sir John Hope-Simpson, Delegation*

#### **HOSEN L'YISRAEL** (English: *Israeli Resilience*)

Israeli centrist party established in December 2018 ahead of the April 2019 elections by former Israeli army Chief of Staff Benny Gantz.

It pledged to preserve Israel as "a Jewish and democratic country" and to change priorities in national security and the economy. Shortly after its formation, the party decided to run in the 2019 elections in a joint electoral list with Telem and Yesh Atid under the new party name Blue and White, which won 35 and 33 seats respectively in the April and September 2019 elections.



**HOSTILE ENTITY** (also: *Enemy Entity*) Term introduced by Israel in September 2007 to denote the new status of the Gaza Strip, citing the threats posed by Hamas rule following the takeover of the strip in June that year, and continued Palestinian rocket attacks. Israel's goal in using this terminology was to reduce their responsibility for the safety and well-being of Gaza's civilian population and to discharge Israel of its obligations under international law to guarantee access to humanitarian supplies to the people in Gaza, though this assertion was promptly rejected by the UN and others in the international community.

**HUDNA** (English: often translated as *truce* or *ceasefire*) Term that goes back to 628 AD when Prophet Mohammed, representing the state of Medina, concluded the legendary, ten-year 'Hudaybiyya accord' (after the place where it was signed) with the Quraysh tribe, which controlled Mecca at the time, to decrease tension between the two cities. In April 2008, Hamas political leader Khaled Masha'al offered Israel a 10-year hudna as a proof of recognition in exchange for a Palestinian state with genuine sovereignty, without settlements on pre-1967 borders, and with Jerusalem as its capital. The offer was rejected by Israel.

**HULA MASSACRE** Assault by Jewish forces, led by first Lieutenant Shmuel Lahis, on the Lebanese border village of Hula on 31 October 1948, in which they sealed off the entrances to the village, rounded up inhabitants, dividing them among three houses where they then gunned them down before blowing up the houses with the bodies inside. In Israeli historian Benny Morris' research, reports by

then-Attorney General Ya'akov Shimshon Shapira claimed that 52 men, women, and children were killed in the Hula Massacre however an account by Israeli Commander Dov Yermiya suggested that 15-60 men were killed and women and children were sent away. According to Morris, in 1949 Lahis was tried and convicted in a military court within a larger effort by the Israeli cabinet to investigate other massacres and atrocities committed by members of the Jewish forces during the war. Though he was given a seven-year sentence, on appeal, the Supreme Military Court reduced the sentence to one year, which he served as an open prisoner in an Israeli army base. Within five years, he was pardoned at the behest of then Defense Minister Ben Gurion, and continued a long professional career.

**HUMAN RIGHTS LAW** Fundamental international laws governing how people are treated and designed to promote and protect human rights. It applies at all times including during situations of emergency and conflict and sets out the basic protections that all individuals are entitled to, although during wars or temporary occupation all but the non-derogable provisions may be suspended in situations threatening the life of the nation. States are required to respect, ensure and fulfill these rights. In 1993, the UN General Assembly In 2006, the UN established the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which was replaced in 2006 with the United Nations Human Rights Council for the enforcement of international human rights law.



**HUMANITARIAN LAW** Set of international laws regulating the conduct of war, i.e., how combatants and civilians are to be treated during war, armed conflict and occupation. It refers to a set of rules which seek, for *humanitarian* reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflict, to protect persons who are not or are no longer participating in hostilities, and restrict the means and methods of warfare.

**HUSAYNIYYA MASSACRE** Raids by Haganah paramilitaries on the Safad-area village of Al-

Husayniyya on 12-13 March 1948, destroying homes with explosives killing several dozen Arabs including women and children with another 20 wounded. The village's mukhtar was also executed after having been assured of his safety. These events, cited by Israeli historian Benny Morris, even struck officials in the British Army and Jewish National Fund as particularly brutal.

**HUSSEIN-MACMAHON CORRESPONDENCE** The July 1915-January 1916 exchange of letters between Sharif Hussein Bin Ali of Mecca and Sir Henry MacMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, in which MacMahon proposed Arab post-war independence from the Ottoman Empire, including Palestine, in return for an Arab rebellion against Ottoman forces. Based on this correspondence, Sharif Hussein launched the Arab Revolt and declared Arab independence from Ottoman rule in June 1916. However, neither side agreed on precise borders for a future Arab state, nor was Palestine mentioned by name. Following the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the leaking of the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, Sharif Hussein and other Arab leaders considered the agreements violated.



Sharif Hussein Bin Ali Sir Henry MacMahon

**IBRAHIMI MOSQUE MASSACRE** see *Hebron Massacre*

**IDENTITY CARD** Israeli law requires every permanent resident above the age of 16, whether a citizen or not, to carry an identification card called in Hebrew *te'udatzehut* (while Palestinians the Arab term *hawiyya*). Following the 1967 occupation, those documents were also imposed on Palestinians in two forms – in blue plastic casings with the Israeli Coat of Arms embossed on them for permanent residents of Jerusalem (as for Israeli citizens) and cards in orange plastic casings with the Israeli army's insignia embossed for residents of the remaining occupied territories. After its establishment in 1994, the PA began issuing its own Palestinian ID cards with green casings for West Bankers and Gazans. However, Israel remains in control of the Palestinian population registry as per the Oslo Accords and still decides who receives a Palestinian ID card and assigns the ID numbers. Palestinians who resided in East Jerusalem and were there at the time of Israel's 1967 census obtained a Jerusalem ID card, making them "permanent residents" (not citizens) of Israel (see *Jerusalem ID Card*).



**IDF** English acronym for "Israel Defense Forces," which is Israel's military, including air force, navy, and ground forces. The IDF was officially formed on 26 May 1948 at the order of then Defense Minister David Ben-Gurion, as a conscript army (male and females from age 18). It incorporated the three former Jewish underground militias Haganah, Irgun and Lehi. In Israel, it is commonly known as *Tzahal*, which is the Hebrew acronym for *Tsva ha-Haganah le-Yisra'el* (English: *The Army of Defense for Israel*). Palestinians prefer to use the term

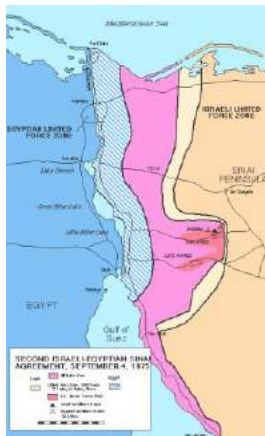
“Israeli (occupation) army” or “forces.” The International Institute for Strategic Studies estimates the IDF’s active personnel at 169,500 and the reserve personnel at 465,000. Since January 2019, Chief of Staff is Lieutenant General Aviv Kochavi.



**INCURSION** Hostile, forced entrance into a territory, usually used to denote an Israeli military invasion of Palestinian Area A, which is officially under full Palestinian civil and military control.

**INDEPENDENT PALESTINE** Umbrella list of candidates composed of individuals from the Palestinian National Initiative (see *Al-Mubadara*) and other like-minded independents, headed by Dr. Mustafa Barghouti, which ran in the January 2006 PLC elections, winning two out of 132 parliament seats. The list promised to fight corruption, nepotism, and the Israeli Separation Barrier, and to provide "a truly democratic and independent 'third way' for the large majority of silent and unrepresented Palestinian voters, who favor neither the autocracy and corruption of the governing Fatah party nor the fundamentalism of Hamas." Independent Palestine accepted the 1993 Oslo Accords and favored resumption of negotiations with Israel.

**INTERIM AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT** (also: *Sinai Interim Agreement*) Understanding signed by Israel and Egypt, with US presence, in Geneva on 4 September 1975, providing for a limited forces zone, a UN supervised buffer zone, Egyptian and Israeli electronic surveillance stations, and an additional station to be manned by American technicians as part of an early warning system in the Sinai desert. Egypt also regained access to the Abu



Rudeis oil fields. The duration of the agreement was to be at least three years with an annual extension of the mandate of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF).

**INTERIM AGREEMENT ON THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP** (Also: *Taba* or *Oslo II Agreement*) Agreement concluded in Taba on 26 September 1995 and signed by Israel and the Palestinians in Washington on 28 September. It outlined the second stage of Palestinian autonomy, extending it to the remaining parts of the West Bank (after “Jericho first”), divided the West Bank into Areas A (Palestinian civil jurisdiction and internal security), B (Palestinian civil jurisdiction, joint Israeli-Palestinian internal security), and C (Israeli civil and overall security control), and determined the election and powers of a Palestinian Legislative Council. October 1997 was the target date for the completion of further redeployment and October 1999 for reaching a final status agreement – which has not materialized as of the publication this book.



**INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES (Palestinian)**

Several bodies of the Palestinian security apparatus, including the Civil Police Force, Civil Defense, and the Preventive Security Service (PSS).

**INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (1.)** Palestinian refugees who fled, were displaced, or were expelled from their villages and homes during the 1948 War but remained in the area that became the state of Israel. UNRWA and ICRC estimates put their numbers at 30,000-40,000. Today, their number, including their descendants, is believed to exceed 300,000. Internally displaced Palestinians of 1948 have never been allowed to return to their homes and villages, and Israel has always refused to deal with them as a refugee problem.

**(2.)** An estimated 334,600 Palestinians internally displaced in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967 (see also *Displaced Persons*).

**INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR ARAB-ISRAELI**

**PEACE** (also: *Copenhagen Group* and *Louisiana Group*) Regional peace initiative, sponsored by the Danish government, founded in Louisiana, Denmark (north of Copenhagen) on January 1997 by a group of Egyptian, Jordanian, Palestinian and Israeli intellectuals. Participants issued the 'Copenhagen Declaration', which states their commitment to unify those who have a shared vision of peace, to sustain Israeli-Arab dialogue, and to promote peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The group held several conferences but has come under fierce attack throughout the Arab World on the grounds that there should be no efforts toward normalization until the policies of the Israeli government dramatically change.

**INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN EMBASSY** see *Christian Zionism*

**INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW** see *Human Rights Law*

**INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW** see *Humanitarian Law*

**INTERNATIONAL LAW** (also: *Law of Nations*) Set of legal rules, norms, and standards es-

tablished by custom or treaty that apply between sovereign states and other legally recognized entities and are recognized as binding in their relations with one another. It thus serves as a framework for the practice of stable and organized international relations and is central to advancing international peace and security. Whereas international law constitutes consent-based governance by sovereign states, violations of customary international law and peremptory norms (*jus cogens*) can induce military action or other forms of coercion, such as diplomatic pressure or economic sanctions.

**INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT (ISM)**

Palestinian-led movement of Palestinian and international activists, which works to raise awareness about the Palestinian struggle for freedom and an end to Israeli occupation, while promoting non-violent, direct-action methods of resistance and protesting Israeli policies in the OPT.

**INTERNATIONALIZATION (Jerusalem)**

Term referring to Part III of the UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of November 1947, which proposed the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, while determining that the City of Jerusalem should not go to either of the sides but have a separate and permanent international status. It thus stipulated that Jerusalem shall be established as a *corpus separatum* (also including Bethlehem) under a special international regime, administered by the United Nations.

**INTERNATIONALIZATION STRATEGY**

Campaigning efforts by the PA, PLO and President Mahmoud Abbas that began in 2011 and aimed to achieve recognition for Palestinian statehood and rights from international bodies. By deliberately moving the Palestinian cause to the international level, the Palestinian leadership hoped to succeed more than by continuing to try bridging the gaps with Israel through negotiation. In September 2011, President Abbas submitted a request to the UN Security Council asking for the admission of an independent Palestinian state to the UN. The bid stalled when it became clear that the US would veto it and that several other



members would abstain from voting. However, UN General Assembly Resolution 67/19 of 29 November 2012 accorded Palestine "non-member observer state."

**INTIFADA** (English: *Civil Uprising*; literally: *Shaking off*) **(1.)** What is today referred to as the 'first Intifada' erupted in Gaza on 9 December 1987 after four Palestinians were killed when an Israeli military truck collided with two vans carrying Palestinian workers. Ensuing clashes spread rapidly to the rest of the OPT. The Intifada was carried by youth and directed by the 'Unified National Leadership of the Uprising', a coalition of the main political factions, with the goal of ending the Israeli occupation and establishing Palestinian independence. Israel's heavy-handed response included closing universities, deporting activists, and destroying homes, but was also a motivating factor in the international community attempting to find a permanent solution. The Intifada came to an end with the signing of the Oslo Accords, by which time over 1,500 Palestinians had been killed and tens of thousands injured. According to the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories B'Tselem, also 100 Israeli civilians and 60 military personnel were killed.



Stone-throwing youth during the first Intifada

**(2.)** The 'Al-Aqsa Intifada' or 'second Intifada' began on 28 September 2000 when Likud opposition leader Ariel Sharon made a provocative visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque with thousands of security forces deployed in and around the Old City of Jerusalem. Ensuing clashes with Palestinian protestors left five Palestinians dead and over 200 injured during the first two days, and the incident soon sparked a widespread, this time armed, uprising in the OPT, Israel, and the Arab world. The Al-Aqsa Intifada brought what was left of the peace

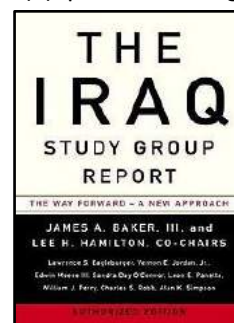
process to a halt, sidelined President Arafat, caused unprecedented damage to the Palestinian economy and infrastructure, saw PA areas re-occupied, and led to an accelerated construction of the Separation Barrier. According to documentation by B'Tselem, the death toll among Palestinians had reached at least 5,000 by late 2008, with over 50,000 injured.



**IR DAVID** see *City of David*

**IRAQ STUDY GROUP REPORT: THE WAY FORWARD – A NEW APPROACH**

Report issued on 6 December 2006 by the Iraq Study Group (also known as the *Baker-Hamilton Commission*), headed by former US Secretary of State James Baker and former Democratic congressman Lee Hamilton, which assessed the state of the US war in Iraq, recommending the training of Iraqi troops and an end to combat operations but stopping short of calling for a phased withdrawal of US troops. The report also stated that "there must be a renewed and sustained commitment by the US to comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace on all fronts" and a "commitment to a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine." Regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, five key elements were listed: (1) adhere to UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace, (2) provide strong support for President Abbas and the PA in negotiations with Israel, (3) move from the current hostilities by consolidating the ceasefire reached between the Israelis and Palestinians in November 2006, (4) support a Pal-



estinian unity government, and (5) facilitate sustainable negotiations leading to a final peace settlement along the lines of President Bush's two-state solution, which would address final status issues.

**IRAQI-JORDANIAN FEDERATION** (also: *Arab Federation of Iraq and Jordan*) Alliance formed on 14 February 1958 when King Faisal II of Iraq and his cousin, King Hussein of Jordan, sought to unite their kingdoms in order to counter the recent alignment between Syria and Egypt (see *United Arab Republic*). The confederation lasted only six months in the face of Egyptian opposition and was officially dissolved on 2 August 1958, after King Faisal was deposed by a military coup two weeks earlier.

**IRGUN** (full name: *Irgun Zvei Le'umi*; English: *National Military Organization*; also: *Etzel* or *Haganah Le'umit*; English: *National Defense*) Militant Jewish underground group established by dissident Haganah commanders in April 1931 and led by Zeev Jabotinsky. It was responsible for some 60 terror attacks against British and Palestinian targets. In June 1940, the Irgun split into Avraham Stern's Irgun Zvei Leumi Be'yisrael (National Military Organization in Israel, later known as Lohamei Herut Yisrael, Lehi, or Stern Gang), which saw the British as the main enemy, and David Raziel's Irgun Zvai Leumi Be'erezt Yisrael (National Military Organization in Eretz Israel), which was closely linked to Jabotinsky's Revisionist Party and whose main targets were Arabs. The last Commander-in-Chief (1943-48) was Menchem Begin, who later became the first Likud Prime Minister of Israel. The Irgun disbanded following the establishment of the state of Israel and integrated into the army of the new state.



**ISG REPORT** see *Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward – A New Approach*

**ISLAMIC JIHAD** see *Palestinian Islamic Jihad*

**ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL** Version of the international Muslim Brotherhood founded in 1971 by Abdullah Nimr Darwish and a group of Israeli Arabs, advocating a return to Islam and armed struggle against the state. The Islamic Movement runs kindergartens, social welfare services, clinics, a religious college, sports clubs, volunteer work camps, and a TV station. In 1996, the organization split between the southern, more moderate branch, led by Sheikh Abdullah Nimr Darwish, and the northern, more hard-line branch, which boycotts Israeli elections and strongly supports the Palestinians in the occupied Territories. The northern branch, led by Raed Salah who was convicted of incitement to terror in November 2019, was outlawed by the Israeli government in November 2015 due to alleged close ties with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.



Abdullah Nimr Darwish



Raed Salah

**ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES** see *IDF*

**ISRAEL DEMOCRATIC PARTY** (Hebrew: *Yisrael Democratit*, literally: *Democratic Israel*) Political party founded by former Prime Minister Ehud Barak in June 2019, vowing to save Israeli democracy and defeat Prime Minister Netanyahu in the September 2019 elections. In July 2019, its election campaign was launched under the slogan "the State of Netanyahu or the State of Israel." Among its other commitments are enacting a constitution based on the Israeli Declaration of Independence, establishing permanent borders for Israel within two years, increasing spending on social services (such as free education and healthcare), allowing civil marriage and divorce, and increasing the salary of the Israeli forces. Barak's name choice for his party has drawn criticism from both Democrats and Republicans in the US, who deem it misleading

for different reasons. From the beginning, the party has positioned itself against the Netanyahu government and has aimed to form a left-wing bloc by reaching out to leaders such as Meretz's Nitzan Horowitz.



**ISRAEL-JORDAN COMMON AGENDA** Understanding signed in Washington on 14 September 1994, constituting the blueprint for the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty (see below). The Agenda is comprised of the following components: security, water, refugees and displaced persons, borders, and territorial matters.

**ISRAEL LAND ADMINISTRATION (ILA)** Government agency responsible for managing national lands (i.e. lands of the Development Authority and the Jewish National Fund), which amount to some 93% of the land in the State of Israel. According to the Israel Land Administration Law of 1960, the Agriculture and Finance Ministries are charged with its implementation. Among the functions of the ILA are safeguarding state lands, development planning, and making state land available for 'public use.' As part of reforms started in 2009, the ILA was dismantled and replaced by the Israel Land Authority.



מינהל מקרקעי ישראל

**ISRAEL LAND AUTHORITY** Government agency created as a part of a reform of the Israeli Land Administration, which began in 2009, eventually replacing it. Its main functions are to guarantee that the national land is used in accordance with Israeli laws, to protect and supervise the land, make state land available for public use, Plan, develop and manage state land reserves, and manage registration of state lands. According to Adalah, the Israel Land Authority (as well as the Ministry of Construction and Housing) persist in their discriminatory policies against Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel in "state land" allocation and housing policies, as well as against Palestini-

ans in the OPT by placing Palestinian land on the market for settlement construction.



**ISRAEL RESILIENCE PARTY** see *Hosen L'Yisrael*

**ISRAELI ARABS** Jewish Israeli term for members of the indigenous population of Israel, i.e., those Palestinians who were left in what became the State of Israel in 1948 and subsequently became citizens of that state. Palestinians refer to them as "1948-Palestinians" (or "48-ers"), "Palestinians inside," or "Palestinian citizens of Israel."

**ISRAELI CIVIL ADMINISTRATION** Israeli military body tasked with administrative matters in over the West Bank and Gaza Strip introduced by Military Order No. 947 of 8 November 1981 (Order for the Establishment of the Civilian Administration, Judea and Samaria), replacing the previous Military Government. Henceforth, powers of government, legislation, appointment and administration in relation to the West Bank and Gaza Strip (the latter until the 2005 Disengagement) and/or their inhabitants were exercised by the head of the Civil Administration. The Civil Administration is part of the COGAT (see *Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories*), which in turn is a unit in the Israeli Defense Ministry.

**ISRAELI-JORDANIAN PEACE TREATY** (formally: *Treaty of Peace Between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*; also: *Wadi 'Araba Treaty*) Treaty signed by Israel and Jordan at the southern border crossing of Wadi 'Araba on 26 October 1994, following the earlier signing of the Washington Declaration (see below) in July that year, which ended the 46-year war between the two countries. It normalized relations between the two states, resolved territorial disputes between them (restoring some 380 km<sup>2</sup> of occupied lands to Jordan, guaranteeing it an equal share of water from the Yarmouk and Jordan Rivers, and defining its western borders conclusively), and provided a solid framework

for bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural fields. As a result of this treaty, Jordan became the second Arab country (after Egypt) to sign a peace agreement with Israel.



**ISRAELI PROPOSAL FOR A SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY IN THE TERRITORIES** Proposal, similar in nature to Menahem Begin's 1977 Autonomy Plan, made with reference to the provisions of the Camp David Accords (September 1978) and put forward on 31 January 1982. It promoted a "Self-Governing Authority" (Administrative Council) to be elected in the OPT with control over civil and municipal affairs (administration of the justice system, agriculture, finance, health, education, housing and public works, transportation and communications, labor and social welfare, police, religious affairs, industry, commerce and tourism, etc.), while Israel would retain control of security with army redeployment to "specified security locations."

**ISTIQLAL PARTY** (English: *Independence Party*) First regularly constituted Palestinian political party established in August 1932 by Awni Abdul Hadi and other activists. It reflected the frustration of educated nationalists over the national movement's failure to effectively confront Zionism and British support of it. The party called for an end of the British Mandate and advocated the independence and unity of all Arab countries, as well as Palestine's Arab identity and its belonging to Greater



Awni Abdul Hadi

Syria. Istiqlal criticized the Husseini-Nashashibi rivalry for dividing Palestinians but was unable to challenge either camp and became increasingly insignificant.

**IZZ EDDIN AL-QASSAM BRIGADES** (also: *Izz Al-Din, Izzeddin or Ezzedin Al-Qassam* or short: *Qassam Brigades*) Military wing of Hamas and nominally controlled by the political organization, but is largely a nebula of small groups. It grew out of several resistance networks established by Hamas during the first Intifada and became known as its armed branch in mid-1991. The group is named after Muslim Brotherhood member Sheikh Izz Eddin Al-Qassam, who preached Jihad against the British and the Zionists, and was killed in action by British forces near Jenin in 1935. They are responsible for numerous attacks on Israeli targets, including suicide bombings. Since the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September 2000, the Brigades became a central target of Israel, which has killed hundreds of its members. They are listed as a terrorist organization by the US, the EU, and Australia. As part of the October 2017 Reconciliation Agreement between Fatah and Hamas, the former demanded the dissolution of the Al-Qassam Brigades.



Izz Eddin Al-Qassam



## J

**JARRING MISSION** Assignment named after its head, Sweden's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, who aimed at bringing the Arabs and Israelis together for talks. The assignment was based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967, which called for the appointment of a special Middle East representative to help promote an agreement to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement. Jarring arrived in the Middle East in early 1968 and met with the leaders of Israel and of the Arab states. The mission reached an impasse in late 1969, because the Arab states would not negotiate with Israel directly or indirectly. It resumed briefly after August 1970, but was again suspended because of Egyptian violations of the cease-fire agreement (that had ended the war of attrition along the Suez Canal). In February 1971, Jarring presented Israel and Egypt identical notes proposing a peace settlement. However, due to Egypt's insistence of a total Israeli withdrawal and a resolution of the Palestinian problem and Israel's refusal to return to the 4 June 1967 lines, the mission effectively lapsed. The failure of the Jarring Mission, which was not formally terminated until 1990, led the US to create its own approach to Middle East peace, the Rogers Plan (see below). Jarring remained a UN special envoy on the Middle East until 1991.



**JDC** see *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*

**JENIN** Northernmost Palestinian governorate and city in the West Bank which has an estimated population of 314,866 and almost 50,000 respectively (PCBS, 2019). It holds one of the two campuses of the Arab American University and is home to the Fatima Khatun

Mosque, which was built by the Ottomans in 1566. The city was under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967 and since then has been under Israeli occupation, despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the Palestinian Authority under the 1995 Oslo II Accord. Within the city boundaries the Jenin refugee camp can also be found, which was established by the UNRWA in 1953 and which became a symbol of Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation during the Second Intifada in 2002 (see *Battle of Jenin*).



**JENIN INVASION** see *Battle of Jenin*

**JERICHO** (Arabic: *Ariha*) Smallest Palestinian governorate (with an approximate population of 50,000) and a city in the West Bank, home to some 20,000 Palestinians (PCBS, 2019). It is believed to be the oldest city in the world, with evidence of settlements from 10,000 BC. Jericho is also known as "City of the Moon" as its Arabic name Ariha is derived from Yarikh, the name of the Canaanite god of the moon and provider of nightly dew. Only 10 km east of Jerusalem, in the Jordan Valley near the Jordan River, Jericho serves as a gateway city to Jordan via the Allenby Bridge. It is an oasis located close to the northern shore of the Dead Sea and is considered the lowest city on earth, lying some 258 meters below sea level. It is also known for its natural beauty and archeological remains dating back to the Neolithic period and, as such, is a major tourist destination in Palestine. It is also home to the refugee camps of Aqabat, Jabr and Ein Sultan. The city was under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967 and since then has been under Israeli occupation, despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the Palestinians under the 1994 Oslo I Accord (also known as "Gaza-Jericho First"),

when Jericho temporarily became the Palestinian seat of government.



**JERICHO JAIL DEAL** Deal brokered by the UK and US which ended an Israeli siege of Yasser Arafat's Ramallah compound (*Al-Muqata'a*) in the spring of 2002. Israeli troops had surrounded the compound during a major incursion into the West Bank (see *Operation 'Defensive Shield'*) demanding the surrender of wanted men hiding inside. Under the deal, accepted by both Israel and the PA, six Palestinian prisoners were to be placed in the Jericho jail under the guard of American and British monitors. Four of the prisoners had been convicted by a makeshift Palestinian military court of assassinating extreme right-wing Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze'evi in 2001. The fifth was PFLP leader, Ahmed Sa'adat, whose group claimed responsibility for Ze'evi's murder. The sixth was one of Arafat's top financial advisers, Fuad Shobaki, who was linked to a failed attempt to smuggle weapons from Iran to Gaza via the Karine A ship. They remained in the Jericho jail until Israel's raid of it, following the withdrawal of American and British monitors (see *Jericho Jail Raid* below).



*Jericho jail*

**JERICHO JAIL RAID** Israeli army's raid on the PA prison in Jericho on 14 March 2006, minutes after the American and British monitors withdrew – a move they had threatened after complaining to the PA about the security con-

ditions and non-compliance with the Jericho jail deal (see entry above) over monitoring arrangements regarding visitors, cell searches, telephone access, and correspondence. After a nearly 10-hour siege of the prison, during which two Palestinian policemen were killed and several others wounded, at least 200 Palestinian prisoners and security guards surrendered to the Israeli forces, including the six Palestinian prisoners connected with the Jericho jail deal.



**JERICHO PLAN** Proposal discussed in 1974 between Jordan and Israel, promoted by then Foreign Minister Yigal Allon with the assistance of US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. According to the plan, segments of the Jericho district would have been returned to Jordan within the framework of a separation of forces agreement, similar to the agreements Israel signed with Egypt and Syria. The plan was abandoned after the Arab summit in Rabat in October 1974, which denied King Hussein the right to negotiate on the future of the OPT and declared the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

**JERUSALEM** City holy to the three main Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Islam and Christianity, which still remains at the core of the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict. The city's west side (also known as "New City") is mostly inhabited by Israelis, while occupied East Jerusalem, including the Old City (with its four – Muslim, Christian, Armenian and Jewish – quarters) is home to currently, an estimated 300,000 Palestinians (comprising about 40% of the city's total population) and 200,000 Jewish settlers. Jerusalem was one of the issues (along with borders, settlements, refugees, security arrangements, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest) that the 1993 Dec-

laration of Principles and the Oslo process deferred to subsequent permanent status negotiations, which were to be finalized in 1999 but have not yet been held. The city is also home to the Shu'fat refugee camp. (See also *East Jerusalem*).



#### **JERUSALEM DAY** (Hebrew: *Yom Yerushalayim*)

Commemoration of the “reunification” of East and West Jerusalem on 7 June 1967 as well as Israel’s “regaining” control over the Old City, celebrated by Jewish Israelis with memorial services, parades and prayers on the 28<sup>th</sup> of Iyar. It is often accompanied by provocative actions against Palestinians living in the city.



*Jerusalem Day march by rightwing Israelis*

**JERUSALEM EMBASSY RELOCATION ACT** Legislation adopted on 23 October 1995 by both the US Senate (93-5) and House (374-37) stating that every country designates its own capital, and that Israel has so designated Jerusalem, the spiritual center of Judaism. Additionally, the act states US official policy towards Jerusalem is that it should remain a united city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected, it should be recognized as the capital of the State of Israel, and that the US Embassy should be established there no later than 31 May 1999. A built-in waiver, which allows the President to postpone the move for six months on grounds of “national security,” has repeatedly been invoked by successive US presidents, from Bill Clinton to George W. Bush and Barack Obama, meaning the law has never tak-

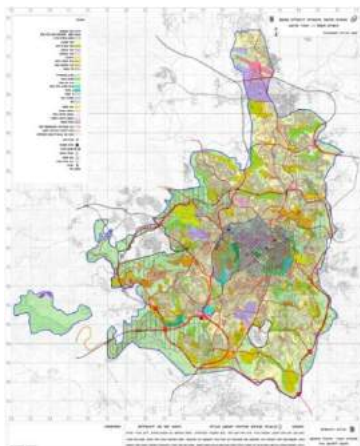
en effect. During his 2016 election campaign, US President Donald Trump promised to finally move the US embassy, but also signed the waiver in June and December 2017, just after giving a highly controversial speech recognizing Jerusalem as Israel’s capital and saying he had instructed the State Department to begin preparation to relocate the US embassy. The US Embassy officially relocated to the Arnona section of the US Consulate in Jerusalem on 14 May 2018, coinciding with the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Israeli Declaration of Independence.

**JERUSALEM ENVELOPE PLAN** (also *Jerusalem Security Plan*) Term used by Israel for the Separation Barrier it builds via fences or concrete walls around Jerusalem to restrict access for Palestinians from the West Bank (see also *Separation Barrier*).

**JERUSALEM ID CARD** Israeli issued document held by Palestinians classified as “permanent residents of Jerusalem” (based on the 1952 *Law of Entry to Israel* and the 1974 *Entry to Israel Regulations*). The first such cards were given to those Palestinians living in East Jerusalem within the new municipal borders at the time of Israel’s 1967 census (those who were absent later had to apply for family reunification to the Interior Ministry). Jerusalem ID card holders are entitled to certain benefits denied to Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip (e.g., national and health insurance), they can travel freely and have access to employment in Jerusalem and in Israel. They must also pay all the taxes that Israel’s citizens pay, cannot leave the country without travel documents (also called ‘laissez-passer’) issued by Israel’s Ministry of the Interior, and are subject to discriminatory laws and policies. The confiscation and revocation of Jerusalem ID cards under bureaucratic pretexts is one of Israel’s methods to control the number of Palestinians in the city. As of 2018, at least 14,643 ID cards had been revoked from Palestinian residents of Jerusalem since 1967.

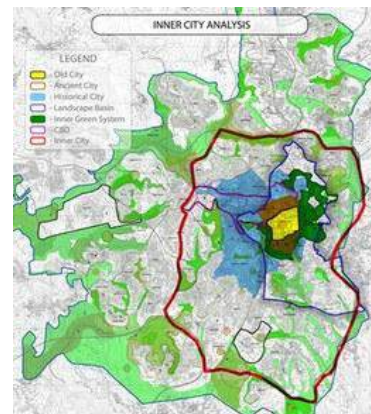


**JERUSALEM 2000/2020 MASTER PLAN** Town Planning Scheme for a “united Jerusalem” first proposed by Ehud Olmert during his second term as mayor of Jerusalem in 2000 (then also known as “known as Report No. 4”), later disclosed and officially presented by then-mayor of Jerusalem Uri Lupoliansky on 13 September 2004. The plan was to serve as a mandatory map for land use and a blueprint for other municipal planning purposes until the year 2020 and marked the first time that East and West Jerusalem were addressed as one entity under Israeli sovereignty. The plan’s central goal was to encourage young Israeli-Jews to settle in Jerusalem by providing affordable housing and tax benefits in order to “maintain a solid Jewish majority in the city” according to the original target (of 1967) of 70% Jews and 30% Palestinians. However, after planners later admitted that this was impossible given the demographic trends it was adjusted to a ratio of 60:40 by 2020. (The 2017 Unified Jerusalem Bill aimed to decrease the number of Palestinians to 30% once again). The plan’s geographic and demographic manipulations to counter the trend include the construction of the Separation Barrier (leaving some 150,000 Palestinians behind the municipal borders), closure and house demolition policies, and expropriation of Palestinian land, including private property, through the application of the 1950 Absentee Property Law. The plan provided for the establishment of additional Jewish settlements and public institutions, while hampering Palestinian development and neglecting Palestinian suburbs. It was never deposited for public view but updated and publicized in 2010 as Jerusalem 2030 Master Plan.



**JERUSALEM 2030 MASTER PLAN** Revised and updated version of an earlier master plan (see *Jerusalem 2000/2020 Master Plan*), which was drafted by a 31-member planning committee and publicized in 2010. It defined a range of development issues within the entire Jerusalem municipal boundaries until the year 2030, most remarkably also acknowledging the housing crisis in Palestinian neighborhoods (which was probably due to the fact that one of the committee members was a Palestinian). However, while the plan conceded that a population ratio of 60% Jews: 40% Palestinians was more realistic, it maintained the 70:30 goal, ignored the need to allocate land to Palestinians, and focused on Israeli-Jewish settlement expansion.

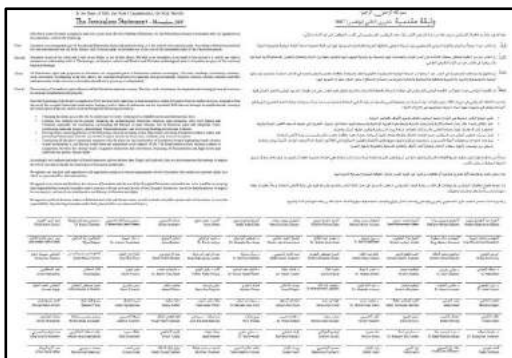
**JERUSALEM 5800 MASTER PLAN** Plan based on a private initiative of the Israeli business community, launched by Australian technology innovator and real estate investor Kevin Bermeister in 2012 and pursued with the endorsement of the Israeli government. It outlines a vision of Jerusalem by the year 2040 (= 5800 on the Hebrew calendar, hence the name) which portrays the city as a metropolis – reaching to the Dead Sea (east), Ramallah (north) and Bethlehem/Etzion settlement bloc (south) – and as Israeli-Jewish high-tech hub with underground traffic systems, rooftop gardens, and vehicle-free pedestrian areas. Promotion of tourism is at the core of the plan, which estimates 12 million tourists annually by 2050 and also proposes the construction of an airport east to the city. While the plan’s focus is on economic growth, it is colonial at its heart, consolidating Israeli control in the city and neglecting Palestinian claims as well as erasing their narrative.





**JERUSALEM SHIELD PLAN** Israeli plan “secretly” worked out by a team which was put together by Chaim Silberstein, founder and president of the Keep Jerusalem organization and including Maj. Gen. (ret.) Gershon Hacohen, former Foreign Ministry legal adviser Alan Baker, Muni Ben-Ari from Kfar Adumim, architect Yoram Ginsburg, former ambassador Yoram Ettinger, and reporter Nadav Shragai, and gained the support of Minister of Jerusalem and Heritage Zeev Elkin. The plan is driven by the desire to “improve” the demographic balance of Jerusalem by reducing the Palestinian population. It essentially intends to decouple the Palestinian neighborhoods Kufr Aqab and Shu’fat refugee camp from Jerusalem, i.e., remove them from the municipal jurisdiction and create a separate local authority for them, while still keeping them under Israeli sovereignty. (See also *Unified Jerusalem Bill*).

**JERUSALEM STATEMENT OF 2007** Declaration in November 2007 by over 100 Palestinian Jerusalemite public figures, as well as Muslim and Christian leaders, in reaction to the lack of a definitive stance by the PA and negotiating teams regarding Jerusalem prior to the Istanbul International Conference on Jerusalem and the Annapolis Conference. The statement asserts Palestinian political, religious, and economic rights to the city and declares these non-negotiable in any final status talks.



**JEWISH AGENCY** Organization formed in 1920-21 by virtue of Article IV of the British Mandate for Palestine terms of reference as the formal representative of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the British mandatory government. After the establishment of the state

of Israel, the Jewish Agency shifted its focus to issues common to the state and to Jewish communities abroad, encouraging and organizing the immigration of Jews and assisting in their integration. The Jewish Agency sponsors programs that connect Jews worldwide to Israel, including visits (e.g., “Birthright”-trips), and educational and social action projects.



**JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION** Organization founded in 1891 by the German financier Baron Maurice de Hirsch to assist Jewish emigration from countries of persecution or depressed economies (e.g., Russia and other Eastern European countries) to mainly North and South America, where the association purchased land to establish agricultural colonies for that purpose. Financial aid for independent colonies in Ottoman Palestine was provided from 1896, marking the initial process of Zionist land acquisition and settlement.

**JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (JNF)** (Hebrew: *Keren Kayemeth L'Yisrael* or *KKL*, English: *Perpetual Fund Capital for Israel*) Body of the World Zionist Organization, founded in 1901 at the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel, to raise funds in Jewish communities for the purpose of purchasing, colonizing and developing land in Palestine for Jews exclusively. Today, the JNF is a multi-national corporation with offices in numerous countries worldwide. By 2007, it was estimated that the JNF owned 13% of the total land in Israel. In 2017 the JNF agreed to transfer one billion NIS (US\$287 million) in 2018, and the same amount in 2019, to the Israeli state to 'cover infrastructure and development needs'.



**JEWISH VOICE FOR PEACE (JVP)** Non-governmental organization based in the US with over 200,000 online supporters and 70 chapters, which works for a US foreign policy that is based on its ideals, inspired by Jewish tradition: peace, social justice, equality, human

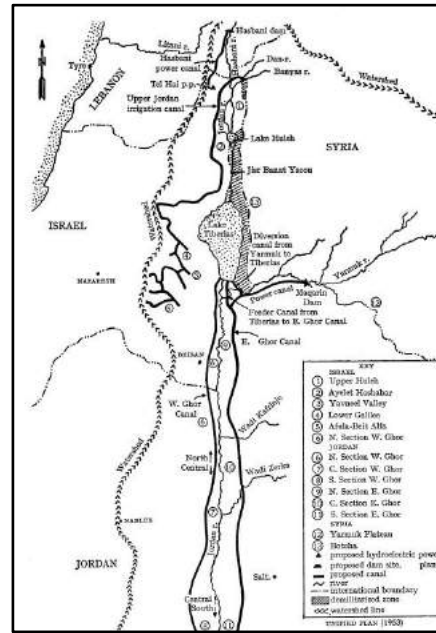
rights, and respect for international law. According to its mission statement, the JVP “opposes anti-Jewish, anti-Muslim, and anti-Arab bigotry and oppression” and “seeks an end to the Israeli occupation” with “security and self-determination” for both peoples, a just solution for Palestinian refugees, and an end to violence. Given its support for the BDS movement, Israel’s Strategic Affairs Ministry placed the JVP in January 2018 (along five other groups based in the US on its black list of organizations whose activists are not allowed to enter the state of Israel.



**JIFTLIK** Form of land ownership in the Ottoman Empire referring to land that had been bequeathed to the Sultan by its owners and was then rented out directly to tenants.

**JIHAD** (English: *Holy struggle* – not: *Holy war*) Reference to the striving of a Muslim to keep the faith, to achieve self-control or personal development, and/or to improve the quality of life in society (*greater jihad*). The Qur’an also speaks of a *jihad* of arms (*smaller jihad*), which permits fighting as a means of self-protection against tyranny or oppression. The fighter who fights a *jihad* – a *Mujahid* – is believed to go to Paradise if he dies, while the enemy will go to Hell.

**JOHNSTON PLAN** (also: *Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan*) Water allocation scheme proposed in 1953 by US Special Envoy to the Middle East Ambassador Eric Johnston. The plan was the product of negotiations with representatives of Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, and resulted in a unified plan for water resource development of the Jordan Valley (1955). However, the plan was never adopted or ratified, partly because the Arab states, particularly Jordan, did not need a comprehensive water development program that directly involved Israel to achieve their immediate development goals. In addition, the Arab states did not agree to the criteria that were used for dividing the shares among the parties.



**JOINT LIST** Political alliance uniting the four Arab-dominated parties in Israel: Hadash, United Arab List, Balad and Ta’al. The list was formed in 2015 and headed by Ayman Odeh (Hadash). It became the third largest faction in the Knesset (13/120 seats) after the parliamentary elections of that year (10.55% of the total vote). In February 2019, internal conflicts towards the April 2019 elections disbanded the Joint List which broke into two separate slates – Hadash-Ta’al, led by Ayman Odeh, and Ra’am Balad, led by Mansour Abbas – winning 6 and 4 seats respectively. In the run-up to the September 2019 elections, the former allies decided to unite once more, hoping, *inter alia*, that jointly they may help overthrow the right-wing government and its racist anti-democratic path. On 27 July 2019, the Joint List announced its re-establishment (including Hadash, Balad, Ta’al, and UAL), headed by Ayman Odeh. The slate won 10.5% of the votes and 13 seats, maintaining its status as the third largest party in the Knesset.



**‘JORDAN IS PALESTINE’** Slogan first coined in 1981 by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon describing a policy which sought to have Jordan recognized as the Palestinian state (i.e., suggesting that the Palestine Question should

be resolved in Jordan rather than in the West Bank). The notion is based on arguments such as: Jordan occupies most of what was the original Palestine Mandate, Jordanians and Palestinians are one people, and a majority of the Jordanians are actually Palestinians. (See *Jordan Option*).

**JORDAN OPTION** Term referring to the Israeli plan (first articulated by the Labor Party) to reach a political agreement over the future of the West Bank and Gaza with Jordan rather than the Palestinians. Until today, every now and then the Jordan option, with variations ranging from 'increase the role of Jordan in the West Bank' to 'relocate all Palestinians to Jordan,' is discussed in Israeli (right-wing) academic and political circles.

**JORDAN RIVER BASIN** Major international watercourse in the Middle East region shared among Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. The 320 km long Jordan River, which flows through the Sea of Galilee to the northern end of the Dead Sea is the main regional surface water system in the West Bank and the only permanent surface water source for Palestine. To date, however, Israel diverts at least 75% of the river's water before it reaches the West Bank. The Jordan River derives its waters from the Hasbani River, which originates in Syria (while parts of it flow into Lebanon), and the Dan and Banias Rivers, which originate in the occupied Golan Heights and flow into the Jordan above the Sea of Galilee. The lower Jordan River is fed from rainfall, groundwater flow, the western wadis of the West Bank, Syria, and Jordan, and by the Yarmouk River, which originates in Syria and borders Jordan, Syria, and the Golan Heights. The bulk of water from the Jordan River is used by Israel, while Palestinians are denied access to their full share of available water. Prior to 1967, Palestinians made use of these waters through 140 pumping units, which



were either destroyed or confiscated by Israeli authorities immediately after the Six-Day War in June 1967. Palestinians are not allowed to utilize the Jordan River.

**JORDAN VALLEY** (Also: *Jordan Rift Valley*; Arabic: *Al-Ghor* or *Al-Ghawr*) Segment of the 6,500-km-long Syrian-East African Rift (extending from Syria to the Red Sea and continuing through a large portion of Eastern Africa). The rift valley, which covers 400 km<sup>2</sup> and lies at an elevation of roughly 200-300 meters below sea level, is located in Israel, Jordan, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights and covers the areas of the Jordan River, Lake Tiberias, Jericho, and the Dead Sea. The Jordan Valley represents more than a quarter of the West Bank and is home to almost 80,000 Palestinians (living in Jericho, in 28 villages or refugee camps, and in small herding and Bedouin communities) and about 10,000 Israeli settlers (in 37 settlements). Most of the Jordan Valley falls under the control of Israeli settlement councils at the expense of the indigenous Palestinian population. It further acts as a border between Israel and Jordan, which Israel wants to retain the area as a buffer zone, claiming that the Valley is vital to its defense interests. Because of the Jordan Valley's water resources, arable lands, and border access to Jordan it is also necessary for a viable Palestinian state. Israel restricts access for Palestinians (via declaration of state lands, closed firing zones and nature reserves) and frequently demolishes their homes and structures in the Valley. Ahead of the September 2019 Israeli elections, Prime Minister Netanyahu pledged to annex the area, i.e., to apply Israeli sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the northern Dead Sea if the election return him to office.



**JORDANIAN DINAR** (short: *JD*) Unit of currency in Jordan (one dinar being equal to 1,000 fils), which also circulates in the West Bank.



**JORDANIAN-EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL** (also: *Jordanian-Egyptian Non-Paper* or *Initiative*) Joint Jordanian-Egyptian plan submitted in April 2001 that aimed to end violence between Israelis and Palestinians (Al-Aqsa Intifada) and resume negotiations. The plan foresaw a ceasefire, an end to Israel's sanctions against the Palestinians and withdrawal of its troops, implementation of existing interim agreements, confidence-building measures (including implementation of the September 1999 Sharm Esh-Sheikh Memorandum, as well as all security commitments, cessation of settlement activities, and protection of all holy places), and the renewal of negotiations on all outstanding issues. Final status negotiations would be based on the progress achieved in previous talks, including Camp David and Taba, and a target date would be set for their conclusion. The EU, Egypt, Jordan, and the UN Secretary-General were proposed as monitors for the implementation of the suggested process. While most Arab and world leaders welcomed the initiative, Prime Minister Sharon rejected it as a "nonstarter."

**JORDANIAN-ISRAELI PEACE TREATY** see *Israeli-Jordanian Peace Treaty*

**JUDAIZATION** Underlying concept for Israeli measures aimed at replacing traditional Arab-Palestinian political, cultural and geographic property, names, and features with Jewish/Hebrew ones. These include all forms of land dispossession, including expulsion of the native Palestinian population from their homeland and demolition of their villages, the

building and subsidization of settlements, destruction of historical sites, civil institutions and residential areas, and the replacement of the Palestinian presence with the dominant Israeli-Jewish one. In recent years the focus was mostly on the Judaization of Jerusalem, with Israeli efforts to establish a growing Jewish presence through settlement expansion, creation of settler enclaves in the Old City, Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah, initiatives like the Light Rail (connecting West Jerusalem with the settlements), and tourism or archeological projects such as the City of David, while, at the same time, restricting Palestinian presence and ignoring or distorting their narrative.

**JUDEA AND SAMARIA** Biblical names for areas approximating the current northern (Samaria) and southern (Judea) portions of the West Bank, applied by Israel to form the main administrative division under which the Israeli military, settlements, and occupation authorities classify the West Bank's smaller subdivisions.

**'JUDEA FIRST' PLAN** Proposal made by former Israeli Defense Minister Ben Eliezer in 2002 to withdraw Israeli troops from Hebron and surrounding areas in the southern West Bank (Judea). The plan's core concept is based on the "Gaza and Bethlehem" security plans, which involved a phased withdrawal from Palestinian areas reoccupied during the Second Intifada and resumption of Palestinian security control.

# K

**KACH/KAHANE CHAI** (acronym for *Kahane LaKnesset* – English: *Kahane to the Knesset*) Two ultra-right-wing organizations that advocate the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel. Kach was formed by Rabbi Meir Kahane in the early 1970s and represented in the Knesset in 1984, but was then barred from elections for inciting racism. After Kahane's assassination in 1990, Kahane Chai (Kahane Lives) split from Kach. The Israeli government banned group members from serving in the Knesset because of their racist orientation. In March 1994, after settler Baruch Goldstein murdered 29 Muslims in Hebron's Ibrahimi Mosque, both groups were outlawed. Kach and Kahane Chai are considered terrorist organizations by Israel, Canada, the European Union, and the US. A number of Kach followers later became co-founders or members of the far right-wing Lehava movement and/or Otzma Yehudit Party.



**KADIMA** (English: *Forward*) Centrist Israeli political party founded by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, after he formally left the Likud party in November 2005, that would allow him to carry out his controversial policy of unilateral disengagement. Kadima became the strongest party as a result of the March 2006 elections (29 of 120 Knesset seats). Kadima defined itself as a broad popular movement working to ensure the future of Israel as a Jewish democratic state and was led by Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni from September 2008 until the party's split in 2012, when the progressive wing broke away to form a new center-left party, Hatnuah. In the February 2009 elections, Kadima won 28 out of the 120 Knesset seats and retained its position as the largest party, albeit as opposition. In the 2013 election, one year after its split, Kadima became the smallest party in



the Knesset (2 seats); it was later disbanded and did not compete in any further elections.

**KAFAH** (English: *Struggle*) Home-made rockets developed by Fatah that are much less common than the Qassam rockets of Hamas (see *Qassam*). They were reportedly used for the first time on 3 October 2004, when fired against the Netzarim settlement in the Gaza Strip.

**KAHAN COMMISSION** Three-member Commission of Enquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut formed by the Israeli government under pressure from its own peace movement to look into Israel's role in the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacres in Lebanon. In its report, issued on 3 February 1983, the commission, headed by Israeli Supreme Court president Yitzhak Kahan, determined that the massacre was carried out by Phalangists acting on their own, but with Israel's knowledge. Therefore, while no Israeli was directly responsible for the events, Israel had indirect responsibility for the massacre since its army held the area. Then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was found responsible for ignoring the danger of carnage and revenge (for the murder of two days earlier) when he approved the entry of the Phalangists into the camps as well as for not taking appropriate measures to prevent bloodshed. Army Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan failed to give the appropriate orders to prevent the massacre, Prime Minister Menachem Begin was responsible for not exercising greater involvement and awareness in the matter of introducing the Phalangists into the camps, and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir erred by not taking action after being alerted by Communications Minister Zippori. The Commission recommended that the Defense Minister resign, that the Director of Military Intelligence not continue in his post, and other senior officers be removed.

**KAHOL LAVAN** (English: *Blue and White*) Israeli centrist electoral list established to run in the April 2019 Knesset elections by the Israel Resilience Party, Yesh Atid and Telem. The political alliance, which is led by Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid, is considered Zionist-liberal in

its ideology. In the April 2019 elections it won 26.1% of the votes, becoming – together with the Likud – the strongest party (with each gaining 35 seats). In the subsequent September 2019 elections, Kahol Lavan won 25.9% of the votes and 33 seats – one more than Likud.



**KAMINITZ LAW** Israeli law, named after Deputy Attorney-General Erez Kaminitz, passed in the Israeli Knesset on 5 April 2017 as an amendment to the 1965 Planning and Construction Law, that increases enforcement against unauthorized building in Israel proper. Opponents say this law is directed against Palestinians in Israel and intends to increase the number of home demolitions in their villages and towns, although they already suffer from housing shortages and discriminatory state policies.

**KARAITE** (also spelled *Qaraite*) Ancient Jewish community or sect which challenges the authority of rabbinic Judaism by accepting the authority of the Hebrew Bible but not of the Oral Law that is codified in the Talmud. Accordingly, it maintains its own synagogues, butchers, and cemeteries. The vast majority of the Karaites live in Israel, where their community is estimated at 40,000. In early 2019, members of the Karaite community have joined Palestinians and others in opposing the planned construction of a cable car in the city, which would pass over a cemetery belonging to them, as according to their faith, putting a “roof” over a cemetery is equivalent to desecrating it.

**KARAMEH** PLO base in Jordan in the 1960s, where Palestinian resistance forces confronted Israeli troops in their first major battle in March 1968 (see *Battle of Karameh*).



*Karameh Memorial*

**KARINE A** (also: *Karine A Affair*) Freighter seized by Israeli commandos in the Red Sea on 3 January 2002. On board were 50 tons of weapons, including Katyusha rockets and anti-tank missiles. Altogether, the weapons

were worth an estimated \$3 million. The *Karine A* was purchased in Lebanon in October 2001 by Adel Mughrabi, a senior PA figure, and Fuad Shubaki, the PA’s chief procurement and finance officer. The captain of the vessel was Fatah activist Omar Akawi, a PA Coastal Police officer and senior Fatah member, who an Israeli military court sentenced to 25 years in prison in October 2004. Two officers, Riad Abdullah and Ahmed Khiris, were each sentenced to 17 years in prison. A fourth suspect, Salem As-Sankri, was set free in a Hizbullah prisoner swap after all charges against him were dropped. Fuad Shubaki was jailed in the Jericho PA-jail. After the Israeli raid in the prison in 2006, Shubaki had to appear before an Israeli judge and was sentenced to 20 years in jail.



*Weapons seized from Karine A*

**KARM AL-MUFTI** (Hebrew: *Kerem Hamufti*, also known as ‘Mufti’s grove’) An originally 110-dunum plot of land in Jerusalem, cultivated with olive trees, which stretches downhill from Sheikh Jarrah (Shepherds Hotel area) towards the edges of the Wadi Al-Joz Industrial Zone. At the request of the ILA, the state formally expropriated the land in March 2007 under the rubric of “acquisition for public needs”, thus reclassifying its “green area” status to make way for a planned Jewish neighborhood at the site. The same year, the ILA conveyed a long-term lease for 30 dunums of land to the Ateret Cohanim settler organization “for agricultural purposes.” In recent years, Israel has been leveling large areas of the Karm Al-Mufti lands to make way for a police parking lot adjacent to the Ministry of the Interior as well as for the relocation of the street right above it in preparation for the new settlement enclave arising at the site of the destroyed Shepherds Hotel.



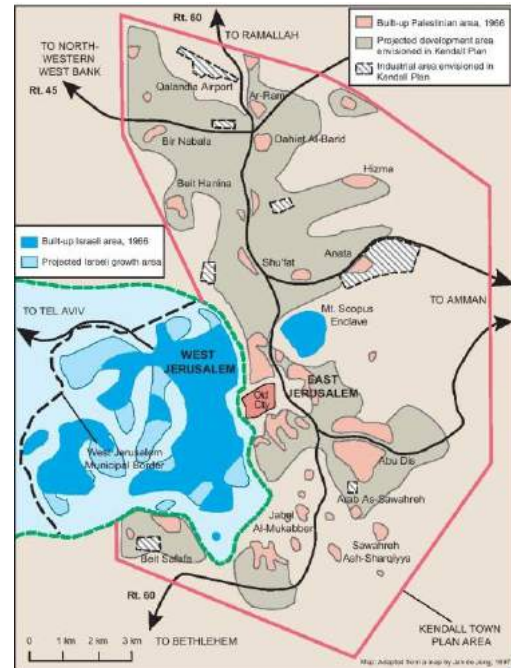
**KATYUSHA ROCKETS** see *Grad Rockets*

**KEDEM COMPOUND** (also: *Kedem Visitor Center*) Controversial seven-story compound to be built on the Givati parking lot site at the entrance to Silwan by the Elad settler group, which operates the adjacent City of David, in coordination with the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority. The plan includes a visitor's center, a Bible center, a museum, a parking lot, shops, and a stop for the planned Israeli cable car over the Holy Basin on its rooftop. The compound will also serve as the future headquarters of Elad. For Palestinians and other critics, the plan is an example of Israel's privatization of tourist sites and national parks to settler organizations in Jerusalem. It is also seen as Judaizing Silwan and preventing a political solution for Jerusalem. On 14 July 2017, a notice appeared in the media announcing the approval of plans for the construction, which are yet to be implemented.



**KENDALL TOWN PLAN/SCHEME** Plan named after former British Mandate city planner Henry Kendall, commissioned by Jordan in 1966, which envisioned that Jerusalem would become a major administrative and commercial center. The plan was based on an earlier version (published in 1944 for the British Mandatory authorities), adapting it to the changed geo-political realities. It covered an area of 34,750 acres/139,000 dunums and aimed at linking all scattered Palestinian residential areas within one integrated planning area and at creating space for industrial and commercial use along with thousands of new residential buildings. In particular, the plan foresaw residential areas to the north, agriculture in the valleys, heavy industry in the Anata area, and arterial roads to Ramallah, Bethlehem and Amman. However, instead of implementing the Kendall Scheme, Israel's

extension and annexation of East Jerusalem excluded half of the suburbs and its land expropriation deprived Jerusalem's Palestinians of much of their territory, while building tens of thousands of dwellings as envisioned by Kendall Scheme but for Israelis only.



**KEREN HAYESOD** (English: *The Foundation Fund*; also known as *United Israel Appeal*) Financial arm and central fundraising organization of the state of Israel, which was founded in 1920 at the World Zionist Conference in London to finance the activities of the Zionist movement in the Yishuv. After the foundation of the state of Israel, it became a national institution. Today it is registered as a public benefit company and enjoys status as a non-profit organization in Israel.



**KERRY KEY PRINCIPLES** Set of proposals presented by then US Secretary of State John Kerry in February (and December) 2016 (the last year of the Obama Administration) to renew talks between Israelis and Palestinians in a regionally supported framework. Jordanian King Abdullah and Egyptian President Al-Sissi supported the plan, while Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu did not. Kerry's plan was based on the following six principles: (1) Secure and recognized borders between Israel and a via-

ble Palestinian state, land swaps to be based on 1967 borders; (2) Two states for two peoples, based on the UN Partition Plan (Resolution 181), with mutual recognition and equal rights for all respective citizens; (3) A just, fair and realistic solution for the Palestinian refugees that is consistent with 'two states for two peoples'; (4) Agreed-on solution for Jerusalem as the internationally recognized capital of both countries with assured freedom of access to holy sites; (5) Ensuring Israel's security needs and effective self-defense and ensuring Palestinian ability to provide security in a non-militarized state; (6) End the conflict and all outstanding claims, enabling normalization of ties and regional security (as envisaged in the Arab Peace Initiative).

**KERRY MISSION** Direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians launched on 29 July 2013 by then US Secretary of State John Kerry in a bid to revive the peace process with the aim of reaching a final status agreement within nine months. Following months of talks, both sides worked out a common "framework" based on the Clinton Parameters. However, the mission failed when Israel refused to release the last agreed group of Palestinian prisoners and approved over 700 new settlement units in East Jerusalem. Negotiations were officially suspended by Israel on 24 April 2014, one day after Fatah and Hamas signed an agreement to form a unity government.



John Kerry

**KHAN YOUNIS MASSACRE** Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip town of Khan Younis on 2-3 November 1956 during an army operation to reopen the Egyptian-blockaded Straits of Tiran (Suez Crisis), in which Israeli forces shot and killed 200-300 Palestinians (Israeli historian Benny Morris reported approximately 200, an UNRWA report recorded 275).

**KHARTOUM SUMMIT** Arab League Summit that convened in the wake of the June 1967 War in Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September 1967. The summit adopted a consensus resolution regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, call-

ing, *inter alia*, for a continued state of belligerency with Israel, ending the Arab oil boycott declared during the War, and the three 'No's' in the continued struggle against Israel: no peace, no negotiations with Israel, and no recognition of Israel. Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Kuwait further agreed to set up a fund for countries that suffered as a result of the 1967 War.



**KHIAM PRISON** Notorious detention and interrogation facility in South Lebanon used by Israel and partially staffed by its proxy militia, the South Lebanese Army (SLA), during Israel's 22-year occupation of south Lebanon. Detainees, including members of the resistance and their relatives as well as civilians who would not collaborate with the Israelis or the SLA, were held without charge for up to 17 years and were routinely tortured. In 1998, as part of a prisoner exchange with the Lebanese resistance, Israel released 55 Kham prisoners and handed over 44 bodies in return for the bodies of three Israeli soldiers. The prison was abandoned following Israel's retreat from South Lebanon in 2000 after local Lebanese residents broke into the prison and freed the remaining inmates.



**KHISIS MASSACRE** Attack by Haganah forces on the Palestinian village of Khisas on the Lebanese-Syrian border on 18 December 1947, machine gun shots and grenade throwing led to at least 10 (as reported by the *New York Times* at the time) Palestinians being killed.

**KIBBUTZ** (plural: *kibbutzim*) Communities in Israel proper, often on expropriated Palestinian land, or settlements in the OPT that were originally socialist-agricultural but have become increasingly industrial, in which most property used to be collectively owned.

**KING ABDULLAH CANAL** (formerly: *East Ghor Canal* or *East Ghor Main Canal*) Waterway built between 1955 and 1966 that runs pa-



parallel to the Jordan River for 72 km from the Yarmouk River to the Zarqa River. The canal makes year-round cultivation possible, with wheat, vegetables, and citrus fruit being the main products. The southern extension of the canal was halted by the War of 1967. In the southern part of the Ghor, oasis farming is practiced, and in the non-irrigated parts, goat and sheep herding predominates. In 1987, the canal was renamed after Abdullah I of Jordan.



**KING-CRANE COMMISSION** International Commission of Inquiry, led by the Americans Henry King and Charles Crane, which examined the situation in Palestine in June and July 1919. Their report, which warned against the effects of unrestricted Jewish immigration and Zionist plans regarding Palestinian Arabs, was kept secret for three years, and remained unpublished until 1922.



King



Crane

**KING'S GARDEN** English name for the Hebrew 'Gan Hamelech' project championed by Israeli Jerusalem mayor Nir Barkat, which intends to raze 22 Palestinian homes (while legalizing 66 others) in the Al-Bustan neighborhood of Silwan in order to build an archaeological park there. The plan was announced in 2010 but put on hold due to diplomatic pressure. Nevertheless, house demolitions and expropriations are already taking place.

**KLUGMAN COMMITTEE** Governmental Board of Inquiry headed by then Director General of the Justice Ministry, Haim Klugman, which was commissioned in 1992 by then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to investigate covert and illegal government policies abetting sett-

ler activities in Jerusalem. The Committee submitted its report, which remains classified, to the Government on 13 September 1992. The report revealed that Minister Sharon implemented illegal policies in East Jerusalem, including funneling millions of dollars with no oversight into the hands of settler groups, and using forged documents to seize Palestinian property as "absentee property" and subsequently handing it over to settlers. Furthermore, it accused the Israel Land Authority and the Jewish National Fund of having allotted much of Silwan to settlers without offering it for tender, and accused the government of having used public funds to finance the settlers' legal expenses. The Klugman Report caused a scandal in Israel, and the government responded by abruptly ceasing support for settler activities in East Jerusalem. However, activities resumed, albeit at a lower level, when Netanyahu took over as Prime Minister.

**KNESSET** (English: *Assembly*) Israel's parliamentary body which is located in West Jerusalem. Its name and the number of its members are based on the 'Knesset Hagdola' (English: *Great Assembly*) of the early Second Temple period. It is composed of 120 representatives of different political parties, who are elected to four-year terms. The Knesset is built on the private property of the Palestinian Khalaf family from Lifta.



**KNIFE INTIFADA** Cycle of violence between October 2015 and June 2016 which, as it is widely seen, was mainly a (leaderless) outburst of frustration and hopelessness by (young) Palestinians as tensions over Al-Aqsa Mosque grew and prospects for peace further vanished. It consisted mainly of "lone wolf" stabbing attacks, detached from the armed factions, and focused on Jerusalem. The violence, and the Israeli repercussions, resulted in the death of 38 Israelis and 235 Palestinians. Most ob-

servers agree that the term 'intifada' should not be used to describe these events.

**KOENIG MEMORANDUM** (also: *Koenig Report* or *Proposal*) Confidential Israeli government document authored in 1976 titled "Top Secret: Memorandum-Proposal handling the Arabs of Israel," which made recommendations as to how to deal with Palestinians living inside the state of Israel. The memorandum was named after its author, Yisrael Koenig, a member of the Alignment (then the ruling party), who served as the Northern District (Galilee) Commissioner of the Ministry of the Interior from 1967-1993. It suggested strategic goals and tactical steps on how to reduce the number and influence of Arab citizens in the Galilee region to ensure "the long-term Jewish national interests". After being leaked in September 1976 in the Israeli *Al-Hamishmar* newspaper, it drew criticism for its dangerous evaluations and statements that could incite a conflict between the Jews and the Arab minority, which throughout the report are regarded as backwards and as enemies, lacking understanding of modernity or democracy. On this basis, the document suggests they should be dealt with. While no Israeli government has adopted this document officially, it is widely regarded as having become an Israeli strategy.

**KOTEL** Hebrew word for wall, commonly used among Jews to refer to the Wailing or Western Wall.

**KUFR QASSEM MASSACRE** Israeli massacre carried out by the Israel Border Police (*Magav*) in the town of Kufr Qassem, located in the triangle region of northern Israel, on 29 October 1956, a few hours after the tripartite attack of Israel, France, and Britain on Egypt began (see *Sinai Campaign*). As a result of this attack the entire area was put under curfew and when villagers, unaware of the curfew, returned from work, they found a road block near the entrance to the village which had been set up by the Israeli army. When they exited their vehicles at the roadblock, the soldiers opened fire at them without warning. In total, 49 inhabitants were killed, including 6 women, 23 minors, and an

unborn baby. Every year the massacre's anniversary is commemorated.



Memorial of the Kufr Qassem Massacre

**KULANU** (English: "All of Us") Israeli centrist political party founded by former Likud Minister Moshe Kahlon in 2014 and led by him since. The party focuses primarily on socio-economic and cost-of-living issues. With regard to security issues it holds hawkish positions. In the 2015 Knesset elections it received 10 seats, while it barely passed the electoral threshold in the April 2019 elections, winning just 4 seats. In May 2019, in the lead-up to the September 2019 elections, Kulanu dissolved itself and its remaining members officially joined the Likud on 31 July.



## L

**LABOR PARTY** (Hebrew: *Mifleget HaAvoda Ha-Yisraelit*; also: *Avoda*) Israeli social-democratic, center-left, and Zionist party founded in 1968 through the union of the Mapai, Rafi, and Akhdut Ha'avoda parties. It also was aligned with the Mapam party. The Labor Party was a member of the Socialist International until 2018 and is a member of the Progressive Alliance. Labor and its most important predecessor Mapai dominated Israeli politics between 1949 and 1977. A small group, led by Yossi Beilin, split from the Labor Party in 2003 to form the left-wing Meretz Party. In 2006, several other members left Labor to join the newly formed Kadima Party, including veterans Shimon Peres, Dalia Itzhik and Haim Ramon. The party was represented in the Knesset as the opposition. In 2015, it ran as part of the Zionist Union list, but in the April 2019 elections, the party did not form a coalition and went from holding 19 to 6 seats in the Knesset, the lowest in its history. The Labor Party was led by Avi Gabbay from July 2017 until June 2019, when the party primary elected MK Amir Peretz, who was already Labor's leader during 2005-2007. In the September 2019 elections, Labor ran jointly with Gesher, winning six Knesset seats.



**LABOR PARTY PEACE PLATFORM** (also: *Labor Party Peace Plan*) The Labor Party's principles for a peace agreement with the Palestinians, which was publicized in November 2003, includes returning to the 4 June 1967 borders "with slight revisions due to security reasons and around blocs of Jewish settlements", dividing Jerusalem into Israeli and Palestinian capitals and into Jewish and Arab sections based on the current population structure, relinquishing the Palestinian right of return, dismantling all "illegal" outposts, and constructing a Separation Barrier on the Green Line.

**LABOR-GESHER** Joint electoral list, established before the Israeli September 2019 elections, by the Labor Party, led by Amir Peretz, and Gesher, led by Orly Levy-Abekasis. The list won 4.8% of the vote and six Knesset seats.



**AL-LAJJUN MASSACRE** Haganah attack on the Jenin district village of Al-Lajjun around 14 April 1948, which left 12 Palestinians killed, 15 others wounded, and many houses blown up.

**LAKE TABARIYYA** (also: *Lake of Tiberias* or *Sea of Galilee*; Arabic: *Buhayrat Tabariyya*) Lake located 209 m below sea level on the southwestern Syrian-Israeli border (until 1967, Syria had access to its northeastern shoreline). Lake Tabariyya has a surface area of 166 km<sup>2</sup>, a maximum depth (in the northeast) of 48 m, and measures 21 km from north to south and 11 km from east to west. The lake is fed primarily by the Jordan River, but other streams and wadis (seasonal watercourses) flow into it from the hills of the Galilee. Because of extensive mineral deposits and strong evaporation in the watersheds feeding the lake and within the lake itself, the lake's waters are relatively salty. Lake Tabariyya was the main dispute in the peace talks between Israel and Syria, and Israel's refusal to return a few kilometers on the northeastern shore brought the talks to a dead end in April 2000. Due to the diversion of Jordan River waters and rain shortages in recent years, the lake has in 2017 fallen to its lowest level in a century, way below its so-called red line. Ecologists warn of damage to the ecosystem and water quality and further shrinking of the lake as well as of the Dead Sea with which it is linked via the Jordan River.



**LAND DAY** (Arabic: *Yom Al-Ard*) Commemoration of the killing of six and wounding of 96 Palestinians, and the arrest of over 300 in the Galilee on 30 March 1976 by Israeli troops during peaceful protests over the confiscation of Palestinian lands. Thousands of Palestinians inside Israel had followed a call for a national strike and marched in their towns and villages to protest Israel's expropriation of vast tracts of land around the Arab villages of Sakhnin and Arrabeh, which was part of its openly declared policy to "Judaize" the Galilee. The participants were confronted by Israeli forces trying to quell the protests and violence ensued. In commemoration of those events, Palestinians in Israel, the West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza, and refugee camps observe Land Day every year on 30 March with protests against Israeli land confiscation, injustices and oppression. The annual marches often lead to clashes with Israeli forces, which have repeatedly resulted in injuries and even fatalities among the protesters.



Poster - 7<sup>th</sup> Land Day Anniversary

**'LAND FOR PEACE'** Formula or interpretation that gained importance with the Oslo Accords, but its origins go back to UN Security Council Resolution 242 (of November 1967), which called for the establishment of a just and lasting peace based on Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967 in return for the end of belligerency from all states, respect for the sovereignty of all states in the area, and the right to live in peace within secure, recognized boundaries. Since the Oslo negotiations, the 'land for peace' principle is based on the notion that Israel will relinquish control of occupied territory to Palestinians in return for peace, which is still considered the key to the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**LAND GRAB BILL** see *Outpost Regulation Bill*

**LAND ORDINANCE** (formally: *Land (Acquisition for Public Purpose) Ordinance*) One of the two most often used laws (the other being the Planning and Building Law of 1965) to practice land expropriation in Israel. The Land Ordinance Law was introduced in 1943 during the British Mandate and later became part of Israeli law under the Ministry of Finance (suggesting that the authorization should be used for projects of the central government). It allows the confiscation of land for public use irrespective of whether the designation has been approved by planning authorities and thus gives Israeli authorities a tool to confiscate land for "public purposes," which includes the establishment of new towns under Israeli law and gives the Minister the authority to declare new purposes. The law has been used extensively to confiscate land owned by Palestinian citizens of Israel and prevent Palestinians from submitting lawsuits to reclaim land.

**LAND SWAP** Concept that evolved in Palestinian-Israeli negotiations and refers to an exchange of land between the two sides, whereby areas within Israel's current borders would be transferred to a Palestinian state as compensation for land Israel would annex as part of a final status agreement (i.e., mainly the large settlement blocs in the West Bank and around Jerusalem). The most recent version of a land swap proposal came from Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, who in July 2017 suggested transferring the Israeli Arab towns of Wadi Ara (the so-called Little Triangle around Umm Al-Fahm) to the PA in exchange for the annexation of the Etzion settlement bloc.

**LAND TRANSFER REGULATIONS** Set of laws/directives from the British Mandate period, which limited or prohibited the transfer of land to Jews in most of Mandatory Palestine.

**LAUSANNE CONFERENCE** (also: *Lausanne Conciliation Conference*) Unsuccessful Israel-Arab peace conference convened in Lausanne, Switzerland, between 27 April and 12 September 1949 under the auspices of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP) with the goal of resolving all problems related to Palestine (mainly borders, refugees and Jeru-

salem) and achieving overall peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The Arab representatives, from Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan, appeared as one body with Ahmed Shuqeiri as Palestinian advisor to the Syrian delegation (Iraq was also invited, but declined). The talks were a series of parallel UNCCP-Arab and UNCCP-Israeli meetings with no official direct Arab-Israeli communication. Prior to negotiations, the so-called Lausanne Protocol was signed, stating that the UNCCP would function in line with the UNGA Resolutions 181 (adoption of the Partition Plan) and 194 (which calls on Israel to allow the return of Palestinian refugees). No agreements were reached, mainly due to Israel's uncompromising attitude toward refugees. After Lausanne, Israel unilaterally enlarged its boundaries, proclaimed Jerusalem as its exclusive capital, and denied Palestinian refugees both the right of return and compensation.

**LAW FOR PREVENTION OF DAMAGE TO STATE OF ISRAEL THROUGH BOYCOTT** see *Anti-Boycott Law*

**LAW OF ENTRY TO ISRAEL** Law issued in 1952, which governs (together with the 1974 Entry to Israel Regulations) the entry of foreigners into Israel and their stay in the country. Because Palestinians from Jerusalem are considered foreigners they are subject to the law and must apply for family reunification when they marry partners who are not East Jerusalem residents or Israel citizens. Israel has intensively used the law to control the number of Palestinians who legally reside in Jerusalem and Israel and to confiscate ID cards. Restrictive provisions – which do not apply to Jewish permanent residents or Israeli citizens – include; a) those who wish to travel abroad must obtain an Israeli re-entry visa or they lose their right of return; b) those who hold or apply for residency/citizenship elsewhere lose their residency right in Jerusalem (center of life policy); c) those who live abroad, which since 1996 includes the West Bank and Gaza, for over seven years lose their residency rights; d) those who want to register their children as Jerusalem residents can do so only if the father holds a valid Jerusalem ID card; e) those who marry non-

resident spouses from the OPT or abroad must apply for family reunification to live legally with their spouses in Jerusalem. On 31 July 2003, the Knesset approved a bill to prevent Palestinians who marry Israeli citizens from receiving Israeli citizenship or permanent residency status, which is to become an amendment to a clause in the family unification law (Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law – Temporary Order 2003) and will apply retroactively. Since then, the family unification law has been extended regularly, most recently for an additional year on 4 November 2019. According to this policy, children born to permanent residents of Israel will only be recognized as Israeli residents following an approved family unification application, which were frozen in May 2002. On 6 March 2017, the Knesset passed Amendment No. 27 to the law by a 46-28 vote, which denies a visa and/or residency permit to advocates of boycotting Israel and, according to Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel “prevents foreign nationals or non-residents who have publicly expressed support for the BDS campaign from entering Israel.” Israeli authorities subsequently announced a list of 22 NGOs from Europe, the US, Africa and South America, whose staff or members were banned from entering Israel on the grounds that they allegedly support of the BDS campaign.

**LAW OF RETURN** Law adopted in 1950 by the Knesset granting any Jew the right to settle in Israel as an *oleh* (new immigrant) and become Israeli citizen. The Law of Return was amended in 1970 to allow all persons with a Jewish grandparent to immigrate to Israel.

**LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES** see *Arab League*

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS** International association of nations preceding the UN that promoted world peace from 1920-1946. The League of Nations handed Britain and France the Mandates over territories gained during World War I, including Lebanon, Syria and Palestine.



*League of Nations opening session 1920*

**LEBANON WAR (1.)** War that began on 6 June 1982 (called by Israel "Operation Peace of the Galilee" or "first Lebanon War" and by Arabs "the invasion"), with the invasion of Israeli forces into South Lebanon, triggered by an assassination attempt of the Abu Nidal group against Israel's ambassador to the UK, and directed by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. The operation involved attacks against PLO, Syrian, and Muslim-Lebanese forces, leaving over 19,000 people dead. The war resulted in Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon (later establishment of a SLA-controlled security zone) and the negotiated passage of the PLO from Lebanon to its new exile in Tunis.



**(2.)** Massive Israeli military assault on Lebanon (also known as "July War" or "Second Lebanon War") that began on 12 July 2006 in response to a Hizbullah attack on an Israeli border patrol. The 34 days of Israeli airstrikes, air and naval blockade, and ground invasions left Lebanese civilian infrastructure, including Beirut airport, badly damaged. According to journalist Robert Fisk, approximately 1,300 Lebanese were killed, mostly civilians, and an estimated one million displaced. The conflict ended with a UN-brokered ceasefire (UNSC Resolution 1701, effective as of 14 August 2006).



#### **LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS LAW**

(1970) Israeli law according to which Jewish Israelis are permitted to claim ownership over property believed to have been owned by Jews before 1948 during Ottoman or British rule. The law is used by settler organizations to push for the eviction of Palestinians and the settlement of Jews, mainly, but not only, in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah. The law is not being applied on the behalf the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who were displaced from their lands and homes during and after the establishment of the state of Israel.

**LEHI** (Abbreviation for *Lohamei Herut Israel*; English: *Fighters for the Freedom of Israel*) Jewish anti-British armed underground organization in Palestine, founded in 1940 as a splinter group of the Irgun. Lehi also is known as Stern Gang after its founder Avraham Stern. The group was responsible for many terror acts on British and Arab targets, as well as for the assassination of UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in 1948. Lehi was declared a terrorist organization after this incident and the new Israeli government arrested about 200 of its members but within a year they were granted amnesty. Among its leading members was future Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Although Zionist historians later distanced the normative Israeli military agencies from Lehi, referring to the organization as a 'rogue' terror outfit, from the outset of 1947 hostilities Lehi joined forces and command-structure with the Jewish Agency's Haganah, cooperating in combined offensives and numerous well-documented atrocities throughout the war, including the massacre at Deir Yassin. As such, Lehi contributed both regular and irregular soldiers to the nascent Israeli army and maintained political representation at the highest levels in the new state.



**LEVY REPORT** (formally: *Report on the Legal Status of Building in Judea and Samaria*) Report on Israeli settlements commissioned by Prime Minister Netanyahu in January 2012 and authored by former Israeli Supreme Court Justice Edmond Levy, examining the legal status of the so-called 'outposts' and whether the Israeli presence in the West Bank is to be considered an occupation or not. The report, published on 9 July 2012, concluded that Israel is not an occupier and settlements are legal under international law because the West Bank was seized from a state (Jordan) that was not its rightful sovereign. The report recommended legalizing most outposts and facilitating the expansion of existing settlements. While the Levy Report was never officially adopted by the Israeli government, the Israeli NGO Yesh Din released a document in



2016 showing that its recommendations were silently being put into practice.

**LIBERAL PARTY** Established in 1927 in Jaffa and Gaza by 'Issa Al-'Issa and others as an alternative for those not aligned with either of the rival Husseini and Nashashibi factions. The Liberal Party advocated Palestinian unity and social reforms.



Issa Al-Issa

**LIGHT RAIL** Transport system in Jerusalem that was first introduced in 2011 with the so-called Red Line which as of 2019, runs over almost 14 km from Mount Herzl to the Pisgat Ze'ev settlement, with an extension to the Hadassah Hospital in Ein Kerem underway. Also under construction are two more lines expected to be completed in 2024, the 19.6 km long Green Line from Mount Scopus to Gilo settlement passing through the settlements of French Hill and Ramat Eshkol, and the 23 km long Blue Line, spanning from Ramot settlement to downtown Jerusalem and further to Malha and Gilo settlement. Palestinians consider the light rail system as part of the infrastructure projects planned by successive Israeli governments to further their East Jerusalem annexation policy as it aims at connecting West Jerusalem to Israeli settlements located on occupied Palestinian territory in East Jerusalem and, in doing so, do away with the 1967 armistice line. For that reason, many international organizations and businesses have refused to enter into contracts regarding the light rail or have ended their existing financial commitments, declaring that they are not willing to contribute to Israeli settlement of Palestinian Territory.



**LIKUD** (English: *Union*) Right-wing political party founded in 1973 as an alliance of several right-wing and liberal parties, including the nationalist-populist Herut Party, the centrist Liberal Party, and several smaller parties, to challenge the then ruling Labor Party. Likud came to power for the first time in 1977 and experienced a major split in 2005 when Likud leader Ariel Sharon left to form the new Kadima Party. Since Sharon's departure, Likud has been led by Binyamin Netanyahu. In the March 2015 elections, it won 30 out of 120 Knesset seats, resulting in the 4<sup>th</sup> term of party Chairman Binyamin Netanyahu as Prime Minister. In the April 2019 elections, it won another 6 seats and Netanyahu stayed on as Prime Minister but failed to form a government, which led to new elections in September that year, in which Likud gained 32 seats.



**LITERARY SOCIETY** (Arabic: *Muntada Al-Adabi*)

One of two main national movements (the other being *Nadi Al-Arabi*), which emerged during Palestine's unity with Syria (1918-20). Membership was based on ideology, in contrast to the traditional organization around family heads and notables, and consisted largely of young people. The two movements had internal differences but both strongly opposed Zionism, which led to cooperation between them in all major political events. *Muntada Al-Adabi* was organized in January 1918 by Hassan Sidqi Ad-Dajani under the name of *Muqtatafl Al-Durus* (Selection of Lessons) and was renamed in November 1918. The leadership was mainly composed of members of the Nashashibi family and the goal was the unification of Palestine with Syria, as well as resistance against British and Zionist policies. Both movements lost support with the fall of Faisal I Ibn Hussein's government in Syria and were overtaken by the Arab Executive by 1920.

**LITTLE TRIANGLE** (also: *Triangle*) Area within Israel abutting the northwestern border of the West Bank that was ceded to Israeli forces by Jordan without Palestinian consent during the 1949 armistice agreements. The Little Triangle was sparsely settled by Zionists prior

to the 1948 War and remains the area with the highest population density of Palestinians inside Israel proper, which has resulted in serious infrastructure and development deficiencies. Its principal towns are Kufr Qara', Umm Al-Fahm, and Baqa Al-Gharbiyye in the northern part and Qalansawe and Tayibeh in the southern part, between which lie numerous small Palestinian villages.

**LONDON CONFERENCE (1.)** Conference (known as St. James Roundtable Conference) held following publication of the recommendations of the Peel and the Woodhead Commissions at St. James Palace between February-March 1939 with Jewish, Palestinian, and other Arab delegates. After the discussions on the future of Palestine failed to reach a settlement, the MacDonal White Paper was issued, restricting Jewish immigration and land acquisition in Palestine.

**(2.)** Conference on the future of Palestine held in September 1946 to follow-up on the Morrison-Grady Plan for creation of a unitary, federal trusteeship in Palestine and to consider British proposals for Palestine's division into Arab and Jewish provinces (federal solution) under a British High Commissioner. The conference reconvened in February 1947 to again consider the British proposals, however, both the Arab Higher Committee and the Zionist movement rejected them. Soon after the British government announced it would turn over the Palestine question to the UN.

**LOUISIANA GROUP** see *International Alliance for Arab-Israeli Peace*

**LOWDERMILK PLAN** Outline for local water development named after American soil conservation and hydrology expert Walter Clay Lowdermilk, who already in the 1930s had developed the visionary plan of digging a seawater canal from Haifa to the Dead Sea to generate hydroelectric power.



In his 1944 book on the future of the Land of Israel, *Palestine: Land of Promise*, Lowdermilk suggested irrigating the Negev Desert and Jordan Valley with waters diverted from of

the Jordan, Yarmouk and Litani rivers and introducing Mediterranean sea-water to the Jordan Valley to compensate the Dead Sea for the loss of intake, as well as utilizing the deep incline of the Jordan River to generate power. The Lowdermilk Plan was abandoned following the change of circumstances in the Jordan River Basin after World War II (i.e., the creation of Israel and the influx of large numbers of refugees).



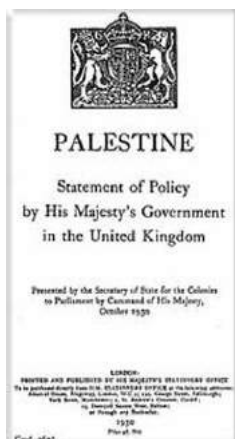
**LYDDA DEATH MARCH** Term referring to the expulsion of 50,000-70,000 Palestinians from Lydda and Ramle (both designated for the Arab state by the UN Partition Plan of 1947) during the 1948 War. Subsequently both towns were transformed into predominantly Jewish areas in the new State of Israel, known as Lod and Ramla.

**LYDDA MASSACRE** Attack by Israeli troops on the city of Lydda on 12 July 1948, shooting and throwing grenades into houses, killing between 250-426 people (according to Israeli army intelligence officer Yeruham Cohen and Palestinian historian Aref Al-Aref, respectively), a large number of whom inside the city's main mosque, the Dahmash Mosque. Israeli historian Benny Morris concluded that the massacre resulted in the death of up to 450 Palestinians.



# M

**MACDONALD WHITE PAPER** (also: *White Paper of 1939*) British policy paper, named after Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, issued on 17 May 1939 after the Woodhead Commission found that the partition of Palestine was impracticable and after the St. James Roundtable Conference failed. The paper disclaimed any intention to create a Jewish state, placed restrictions on Jewish immigration (15,000 people annually for five years, after which all immigration would be subject to Arab consent) and land purchase, and envisaged an independent state in Palestine with a two-thirds Arab majority within 10 years. In providing for the establishment of a Palestinian (Arab) state, the White Paper marked the end of British commitment to the Jews under the Balfour Declaration. The Zionists rejected it and launched a violent anti-British and anti-Palestinian campaign with the aim of driving both out of Palestine and paving the way for the establishment of the Zionist state. The paper was also rejected by the Arab Higher Committee for not meeting its demands.



**MACHPELA (CAVE OF)** Jewish reference to the Tomb (or Cave) of the Patriarchs located inside or under the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron (i.e., the burial place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob).

**MACHSOM WATCH** Organization formed in 2001 by female Israeli peace activists, which calls for Palestinian freedom of movement within their own territory and for an end to the occupation and Israel's systematic repression of the Palestinian people. Machsom Watch members monitor the behavior of the mili-

tary at checkpoints (*Machsom* in Hebrew) with regard to Palestinian human and civil rights and document their observations through written reports.



**MADRID CONFERENCE** Three-day Middle East peace conference, which was held in Madrid from 30 October to 1 November 1991 under the co-chairmanship of the US and the Soviet Union in lieu of the long desired UN-sponsored international conference to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. The conference was an early attempt by the international community to start a peace process through negotiations in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War. It was attended by representatives from Palestine, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan and initiated two tracks: bilateral talks that began in Washington on 9 December 1991 and multilateral talks that began in Moscow on 28 January 1992. The Madrid Conference led to the (initially secret) Oslo process, mutual recognition by the PLO and Israel, and a peace agreement between Israel and Jordan.



**MADRID + 15 CONFERENCE** Meeting attended by representatives from Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Palestine, which was held in Madrid on 11 January 2007 to commemorate the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1991 Madrid Peace conference. The Madrid +15 Conference called, unsuccessfully, for an official international Middle East peace conference as a first step towards a comprehensive agreement.



**MAFDAL** (Hebrew acronym for *Mafleget Dati Leumi*; English: *The National Religious Party*) Modern Orthodox and Zionist party that was officially established in 1956 through the merging of Mizrahi, Ha-poel Mizrahi, and other religious Zionist groups. It ran independently from the 1959 elections through the 2003 elections, then formed a joint list with the National Union (Ha-Ichud Haleumi) for the 2006 elections, winning nine seats. The party is typically identified with the right-wing spectrum of Israeli politics because of its support of settlements and its opposition to any land-for-peace deal. In November 2008, Mafdal voted to disband and join the new Jewish Home Party, which was created by Mafdal's merger with most National Union factions.



**MAHLUL** Form of land ownership in Ottoman Empire law. *Mahlul* was *miri* agricultural land (see *Miri*) that reverted to the state when an owner died without an heir or the land was not cultivated for three or more years. The last owner could reclaim the land by payment of the unimproved value, or if the owner failed to do so, others could purchase the lease to the land.

**MAJD AL-KRUM MASSACRE** Assault on the Akko-area village of Majd Al-Krum between 29 October and 5 November 1948, in which Israeli forces picked between five and 12 men and killed them in front of the other villagers. According to historian Benny Morris, the Israeli forces went on to search the village for arms, killed another four villagers (including two women), confiscated 275 sheep and goats, and blew up the home of the head of the village.

**AL-MAJLISYOUN** (English: *The Councilists*) Term that refers to the followers of the Haj Amin Al-Husseini-led forces during the period of the British Mandate (opponents were the Nashashibi-led *Mu'aridun*). *Al-Majlisyouun* became identified with the Supreme Muslim Council, which its members considered the focal point of Palestinian leadership.

**MANDATE** Legal status for certain territories created by the League of Nations after World War I whereby, "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves," would be administered by "advanced nations" (principally the Allied Powers, according to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations) for a time, before transferring authority to the local population. The Mandate of Palestine was given to Britain and lasted from 1920 to 1948.

**MANDELBAUM GATE** UN-monitored official crossing point on the post-1948 border between Israel and Jordan in Jerusalem (West and East Jerusalem). The Mandelbaum Gate was named after the owner of what was then a strategically located house and was the only way for diplomats and tourists to move between the two sides of the divided city during the period of Jordanian rule of the West Bank (1948-1967). The gate was located on today's Road #1, next to the building that currently houses the Museum on the Seam, but was pulled down by Israeli troops in 1967.



**MANSURAT AL-KHAYT MASSACRE** Haganah attack on Mansurat Al-Khayt in the Safad area on 18 January 1948 with the order to eliminate anyone who resisted. According to Israeli historian Benny Morris, Jewish forces burned homes, shacks, and tents in the village and killed farm animals.

**MARCH 15 MOVEMENT** Term referring to a short-lived movement of various Palestinian youth and activist groups from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which employed social media outlets to organize massive peaceful marches and non-violent protests against the Palestinian internal divide and the Hamas-Fatah conflict on 15 March 2011. While widely considered a brave initiative to set off action on the ground and bring the cause back to the

rest of the Palestinians, the movement did not succeed in bringing about broad protests similar to the Arab Spring in Tunisia or Egypt.

**MARJ AZ-ZUHUR** Camp named after a nearby village in South Lebanon to which Israel expelled 416 alleged Islamists from the OPT on 17 December 1992, following a week of Hamas attacks that left six Israeli soldiers dead. The Palestinians suspended negotiations with Israel in response to the move, which was condemned worldwide, including in UN Security Council Resolution 799. The episode contributed to Hamas' emergence as a player in the international arena.



*Marj Az-Zuhur deportees praying*

**MARKET REGULATION** Interpretation of a legal mechanism or principle based on the pretense that settler homes built on private Palestinian land were done so in good faith (i.e., “mistakenly”). The interpretation is based on Section 5 of the 1967 Order Concerning Government Property in Judea and Samaria, which reads that “A transaction made in good faith between the Custodian of Government Property in the Territories and any other person regarding property that the Custodian thought at the time of the transaction was government property shall be valid, even if the land in question [is later found to] not belong to the State.” A corresponding policy was recommended by the Zandberg Committee in 2018 as a means on how to legalize unlawfully built settlement homes, and the Israeli government immediately used the principle as least twice. First, in response to Palestinian petitions against structures on their land near the Ofra settlement in November 2017, claiming the 45 dunums in question were initially seized by mistake. Second, with regard to the Mitzpe Kramim outpost, which Jerusalem District Court Judge Arnon Darel retroactively legalized in August 2018, holding that privately owned Palestinian land can be expropriated for the settlements when built “in good faith” and with government support. Adoption of “market regulation” as recommended by the Zandberg Report would

see thousands of settlement homes *de facto* legalized.

**MAROM PLAN** Master plan commissioned by the Israeli government for the development of Jerusalem to be implemented by the Jerusalem Development Authority with the goal to promote Jerusalem “as an international city, a leader in commerce and the quality of life in the public domain.” Critics see the plan as part of the Israeli efforts to transform Jerusalem into a “largely Jewish high-tech tourist destination” with Palestinians as a minority. Together with the ‘Jerusalem 2020’ and ‘Jerusalem 5800’ master plans (see above), the Marom Plan involves multiple and multifaceted investments in the tourism, transport, environment, and infrastructure sectors in favor of Jewish Jerusalem with negative effects on the presence and development prospects of Palestinians in the city.

**MARONITES** Members of one of the Syriac Eastern Catholic Churches and one of the largest United churches in the Arab world. Maronites are the leading Christian community in Lebanon and represent the majority of Lebanese in the Diaspora. The Maronite Church is named after their founder, St. Maron.



*St. Maron*

**MARTYR** Person who voluntarily suffers death as the penalty of witnessing to and refusing to renounce a religion or political belief. Palestinians refer to Palestinians killed by the causes related to Israeli occupation as martyrs.

**MARTYR ABU AL-ABBAS** Small electoral list that represented the PLF in the January 2006 PLC elections. Named after the founder and late PLF leader Mohammed Zeidan (Abu Abbas) and led by Omar Shalabi, the list did not succeed in winning a seat in the PLC.

**MARTYR ABU ALI MUSTAFA** List formed by the PFLP, which ran in the January 2006 PLC elections and won three out of 132 parliament seats (4.2%). The list was named after

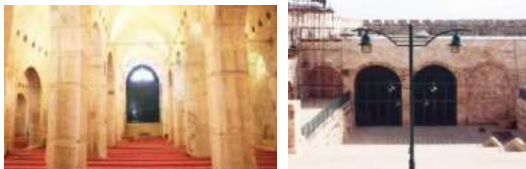
the late Secretary-General of the PFLP Abu Ali Mustafa, who was assassinated by Israeli forces in 2001, and was led by imprisoned Ahmad Sa'adat.

*PFLP Election Poster*



**MARTYR ABU ALI MUSTAFA BRIGADES** see *Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades*

**MARWANI MOSQUE** (Arabic: *Al-Masjid Al-Marwani*) Massive subterranean hall located in the southeastern corner of the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound, which was renovated and rehabilitated in 1996. The accurate year of its construction remains unknown, but Al-Masjid Al-Marwani was built before the Al-Qibly Mosque. It can be accessed via a stone staircase and is made of 16 naves that extend over four and a half acres of land, which makes it the largest physical structure inside Al-Aqsa's premises with the capacity to accommodate over 6,000 worshipers at once. It was named "Al-Musalla Al-Marwani" (Al-Marwani prayer hall) in honor of the Umayyads who descended from Marwan bin Al-Hakam, including Abd Al-Malik, Suleiman, Hisham, and Al-Walid who built most of the essential structures of Al-Aqsa Mosque.



*Entrance (right) and interior of the Marwani Mosque*



**MASADA COMPLEX** Expression that was quoted probably for the first time by columnist Stewart Alsop in the July 12, 1971 edition of the *Newsweek* in reference to a high US official who had accused then Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir of having a "Masada complex".

The term refers to the experience of some 960 Jewish zealots who held the fortified castle of Masada (above the Dead Sea) from 66-73 CE and refused to surrender to the Roman forces, eventually choosing suicide over defeat and capitulation. Since then it is said to play a role in Israeli political thinking, according to which it is preferable to fight to the end (death) rather than to surrender and acquiesce to loss of independent statehood.

**AL-MASCUBIYYA PRISON** see *Russian Compound*

**MASTERPLAN FOR JERUSALEM** see *Jerusalem Master Plan*

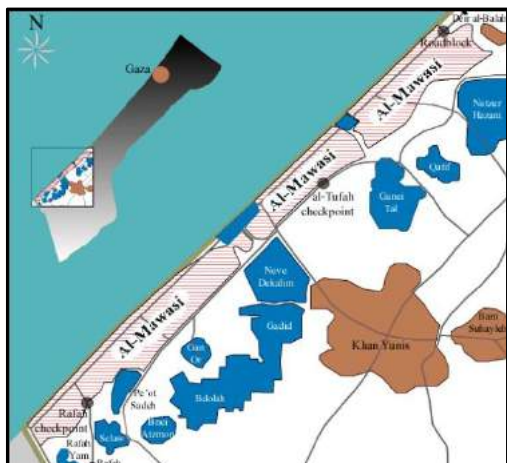
**MATRUKA** (also spelled *Metruka*) One of the legal modes of land ownership in Ottoman Turkish law that referred to 'common' land set aside for public use such as roads and pastures. *Matruka* land cannot be sold by an individual nor is disposition possible.

**MAVI MARMARA** Turkish passenger ship participating in the 2010 Gaza Freedom Flotilla to break the siege against the Gaza Strip, which was raided by Israeli naval forces on 31 May 2010, during which nine foreign activists were killed (with a tenth dying later of his wounds).



**AL-MAWASI** Narrow strip of coastal land 1 km wide and 14 km long between the Mediterranean Sea and the former Gush Katif settlement block in the Gaza Strip. Al-Mawasi borders Deir Al-Balah to the north, and Rafah and Egypt to the south. The area, home to some 5,000 Palestinians, is rich in water and contains Gaza's best farmland. Due to its location next to Gush Katif, the Oslo Accords treated Al-Mawasi differently than the rest of Gaza, giving the PA responsibility for civil affairs and Israel responsibility for security affairs. Following the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa

Intifada, the Israeli army severely restricted the movement of Al-Mawasi's residents, at times prohibiting all movement in or out of the area.



**MAWAT** (also spelled *Mewat*) One of the legal modes of land ownership in Ottoman Turkish law that referred to waste or “dead” land that was declared unsuitable for any purpose (e.g., desert, swamp, mountains) and had not been left or assigned to its inhabitants. Article 103 of the 1858 Ottoman Land Code specifies *Mawat* land as (1) vacant, (2) grazing land not possessed by anybody, (3) not assigned *ab antiquo* to the use of inhabitants, and (4) land where no human voice can be heard from the edge of habitation (a distance estimated to be 2.85 km). *Mawat* land was mainly used for grazing under common property regimes (‘open access’) and provided an opportunity for the poor to acquire land through their efforts, i.e., reviving dead land by cultivating and developing it.

**MECCA AGREEMENT (Fatah-Hamas)** (also: *Palestinian Unity Agreement*) Agreement between Fatah and Hamas signed in Mecca, Saudi Arabia in February 2007, calling for an immediate ceasefire between the Palestinian factions. The agreement stressed the principle of political partnership and power-sharing between Hamas and Fatah, and charged Prime Minister-elect Haniyeh with the task of forming a national unity government. The Mecca Agreement was criticized for its vague wording and was dismissed by the US and Israel who insisted that any new government must reject terror, recognize Israel, and honor

past accords. A national unity government took office on 17 March 2007 but was dissolved by President Abbas on 14 June of the same year.



Abbas (l) & Haniyeh (r)

**MEGED OIL FIELD** Oil reserves in the West Bank, which were first discovered in the 1980s although production only began in 2010. While Palestinians say the 200 km<sup>2</sup> Meged oil field is located inside the West Bank within the borders of the Ramallah and Al-Bireh Governorate near the Palestinian village of Rantis, north-west of Ramallah, Israel claims that it is west of the Green Line (1948 Armistice Line). In 2004, the Israeli oil exploration company Givot Olam declared to have made the field commercially viable to drill and in 2010 began production of oil and some natural gas. According to Palestinians, 80% of the Meged oil field is on land owned by Palestinians and Givot Olam began drilling only after Israel built the Separation Barrier west of the field, allowing it free access to the site.



**MEIMAD** (Hebrew acronym for *Medina Yehudit, Medina Demokratit*; English: *Jewish State, Democratic State*) Left-wing, religious-Zionist movement founded in 1988 by Rabbi Yehuda Amital as a breakaway group from the National Religious Party. Meimad was established in 1999 as a party to represent religious and non-religious people who believe Israel should be both a democratic and Jewish state. It maintained that territorial compromise regarding the Land of Israel is acceptable because saving a life is more important than and supersedes any other biblical injunctions. Meimad won one seat in the 1999 Israeli elections and was represented in the Knesset by former Chief Rabbi of Norway, Michael Melchior. Allied with the Labor Party until the 2009 elections, Meimad ran a joint list with the Green Movement and did not receive enough votes to be present in the

Knesset. Since then, the party was basically defunct but considered a comeback in 2018 ahead of the April 2019 elections, which was, however, never realized.



**MEKOROT** National Water Company of Israel, founded in 1937 as a joint venture of the Histadrut, the Jewish National Fund, and the Jewish Agency. Since 1982, Mekorot has controlled all water issues in Palestine. Due to Israel's discriminatory water policies, Palestinians are forced to purchase water, which belongs to them according to international law, from Mekorot. While water supplies to settlements are regular, the supply to Palestinian communities is often reduced or interrupted. Mekorot has been the subject of international boycott (BDS) campaigns, which in December 2013 led Dutch water company Vitens to sever its ties with its Israeli counterparts.



**MENA SUMMITS/CONFERENCES** Middle East and North Africa Economic Conferences (MENA) held under the sponsorship of the US Foreign Relations Committee and the World Economic Forum, which aimed to strengthen cooperation between governments and business communities to reinforce achievements made in peace talks. The first summit was held in the wake of the Oslo Accords in Casablanca from 30 October-1 November 1994 and was attended by representatives of 64 countries. The second summit took place in Amman from 29-31 October 1995, and the third summit in Cairo from 12-15 November 1996. Due to the slowing down of the peace process following the election of then-Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, it was downgraded to simply a 'conference.' The fourth and final MENA Conference took place in Doha, Qatar, from 16-18 November 1997, but was boycotted by most Arab countries and the PA.

**MERETZ** (Acronym for *Mapam* and *Ratz*, English: *vigor*) Israeli left-wing Zionist party formed in 1992 by the merger of the socialist

Mapam, the centrist-socialist Ratz, and the centrist Shinui Party. Meretz was initially led by Ratz chairwoman Shulamit Aloni and was a major coalition partner of the Labor Party. However, Meretz lost a quarter of their seats in the 1996 elections, after which Yossi Sarid became the new party leader and part of Shinui broke away to form a separate movement. Meretz ran on a joint list with Roman Bronfman's Democratic Choice Party for the 2003 Knesset elections; however, the party disbanded in December 2003, following a significant blow in the elections, and re-established itself as Meretz-Yachad after merging with Yossi Beilin's *Shahar* movement. In 2006, the party dropped Yachad. At the 2015 elections Meretz won five seats in the Knesset under the leadership of Zehava Gal-On. In the April 2019 elections, it received 3.63% of the vote and won four seats, led by Tamar Zandberg. Since June 2019, Nitzan Horowitz is the new leader of the party, which is a member of the Progressive Alliance and the Socialist International as well as an observer member of the Party of European Socialists. In the September 2019 elections, Meretz ran as part of the Democratic Union list, headed by Nitzan Horowitz, which also included the Israel Democratic Party and the Green Movement and won 5 seats.



**MERETZ-YACHAD** (Literally: *Together*; Hebrew acronym for *Yisrael Hevratit Demokratit*; English: *Social-Democratic Israel*; also: *Yachad*) Israeli dovish, left-wing, social democratic party that evolved from a merger of Meretz and Yossi Beilin's *Shahar* movement in December 2003 during the 16<sup>th</sup> Knesset to unite and resuscitate the Israeli Zionist peace camp. The party was initially named *Ya'ad (Goal)*, but then renamed Yachad. It supported the Geneva Accord, the two-state solution, and previous peace agreements between Israel and the Palestinians. Yossi Beilin was elected chairman in March 2004 and served in this role until 2007. In July 2005, the party changed its name to Meretz-Yachad, and then in 2006 dropped Yachad and ran simply as Meretz in the elections for the 17<sup>th</sup> Knesset (see also *Meretz*).

**MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE** International gathering on 15 January 2017 in Paris aimed at kick-starting peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians with more than 70 countries and international organizations, but neither Israel (rejecting the event) nor the Palestinians (welcoming it), were represented. The meeting concluded with the pledge to support a two-state solution as the only way to achieve lasting peace in the region as well as with a call on Israel to withdraw to its 1967 borders, and for both parties to “abstain from unilateral actions” that could jeopardize future negotiations.



**MIDDLE EAST QUARTET** (also simply ‘*Quartet*’) Panel comprised of the Foreign Ministers of the US and Russia and senior representatives from the UN and EU. The Quartet was formed in Madrid during former US Secretary of State Powell’s visit to Europe and the Middle East shortly after President Bush called for Israel to “withdraw immediately” from recently reoccupied Palestinian territories on 4 April 2002. The Quartet’s mandate was to organize a Middle East conference later that year, which never materialized, and to design a road map to achieve an Israeli-Palestinian permanent status agreement based on the phased formula enunciated in the Mitchell Report, including the establishment of a Palestinian state. In 2007, the Office of the Quartet was established in Jerusalem, which is administered by the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) and currently headed by John Clarke (since 2017). While its mandate was primarily to help mediate Middle East peace negotiations, the Quartet today mainly supports Palestinian economic development and institution building in the areas of energy, water, rule of law, movement and trade, economic mapping and telecommunication. However, the Quartet has been criticized for many

years for its ineffectiveness in promoting the peace process.



**MILITARY COURT** Courts based on the British Mandate 1945 Defense (Emergency) Regulations, which were instituted by the ‘Israeli Defense Forces’ following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Prior to 1967, military courts were mainly used to try Palestinian citizens of Israel, however immediately after the outbreak of the 1967 June War, courts were established by the Israeli army for security-related cases in the Palestinian territories. They are mainly regulated by Military Order Concerning Security Provisions (Judea and Samaria) (No. 378) 5727-1967 of 20 April 1970, which constitutes the basis for the laws governing the arrest and detention of Palestinians in Israeli custody, the definition of offenses and the determination of penalties for offenders, and the establishment of legal procedures in the military courts. Military courts are normally presided over by a senior Israeli army officer (Captain or higher) and two other officers who act as magistrates. An Israeli officer presents the prosecution’s case while the defendant may appoint a civilian attorney.



**MILITARY INTELLIGENCE** Relatively small unit of the Palestinian security forces, which is part of the National Security Forces and responsible for information gathering on external enemies and members of the security forces regarding their involvement in criminal or terror activities (including collaboration with Israel) and preventing the infiltration of militant or hostile groups. The unit is currently led by Maj.-Gen. Zakaria Misleh and estimated to be comprised of 950 troops.

**MILITARY LIAISON** Small Palestinian security forces unit responsible for communication and liaison with its counterparts in Israel, usually via the District Coordination and Liaison offices. They maintain a permanent line of communication with Israel. The unit, which also returns Israelis who have accidentally

entered PA territory and reports “price tag” attacks, is currently led by Maj.-Gen. Jihad Al-Jayousi.

**MILITARY ORDER** Israeli system of rule and main form of legislation for regulating life in the OPT since 1967. Military orders apply to Palestinians in Areas B and C, but not to settlers because they are governed by Israeli civil law. They also do not apply to East Jerusalem since it was illegally annexed by Israel in 1967 and thus became subject to Israeli law. Enforcement under this system is subject to military courts as opposed to civil courts. Military orders are dictated by Israel’s own interests and include acquisition and confiscation of land, access restrictions, manipulation of natural resources, deportations, implementation of economic restrictions, and use of ‘security’ pretexts. To date, over 2,500 military orders have been issued.

*Military Order 16-91*



**MILLET** (Arabic: *Millah*) 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Turkish law and term for a confessional community, which describes a form of autonomy and legal protection regarding the handling of community affairs granted by the Ottoman authorities to non-Islamic entities (i.e., religious minority groups, primarily Jews and Christians).

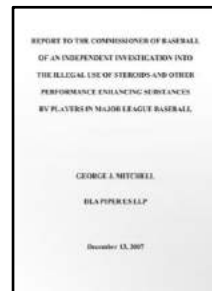
**MIRI** Most common form of land ownership in the Ottoman Empire. *Miri* is land suitable for agricultural use, for which the state technically owns the title, but sells the heritable, usufructuary rights to cultivators (governmental land lease). While *Miri* rights could be transferred to heirs and the land could be sublet to tenants, ownership could only be transferred with the approval of the state. If the owner died without an heir or the land was not cultivated for three years the land reverted to the government (see *Mahlul*). Most cultivated land in Palestine was *Miri* (see also the opposite: *Mulk*).

**MITCHELL REPORT** Document published by a fact-finding committee that investigated the events leading to the Al-Aqsa Intifada and how to prevent their recurrence, how to rebuild confidence, and how to resume negotiations. The Committee, headed by former US senator and US Special Envoy to the Middle East, George J. Mitchell, was formed following the summit at Sharm Ash-Sheikh (17 October 2000), which was attended by Israel, the PA, Egypt, Jordan, the US, the UN, and the EU.



*George Mitchell*

Members of the Committee were: former senator Warren Rudman, EU representative Javier Solana, former Turkish President Suleiman Demirel, and Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorbjorn Jagland. Recommendations of the report, completed on 30 April 2001 and published on 20 May 2001, included a “freeze of all settlement activity, including the ‘natural growth’ of existing settlements”, a call on both sides to reaffirm their commitment to existing agreements, and an immediate, unconditional ending of violence and resumption of security cooperation.



**MIXED ARMISTICE COMMISSION** Commission formed by the UN in 1949 as a component of the Jordanian-Israeli Armistice Agreement to supervise and monitor the implementation of the terms of the armistice. The Mixed Armistice Commission included a sub-committee on Jerusalem, which was charged with ensuring access to holy sites, securing transit between no man’s land zones, and liaising with the UN’s other bodies, as well as the Jordanian and Israeli governments.





**MOLEDET** (English: *Homeland*) Small ideological right-wing party in Israel, which was founded in 1988 by Rehavam Ze'evi, who headed it until his murder in 2001, after which Rabbi Binyamin Elon was elected as its chairman. Moledet advocated voluntary transfer of the Palestinian population as an integral part of a comprehensive plan to achieve peace between Jews and Arabs. It united with other small parties to form the National Union in 1999 and announced a merger with other right-wing parties to form the Jewish Home Party in November 2008, but broke away soon after and joined a revived National Union for the 2009 elections. Afterwards, internal tensions led to the departure of Moledet, which has since been defunct.



**MORRISON-GRADY PLAN** Federal solution for Palestine proposed by British Deputy Prime Minister Herbert Morrison and US Ambassador Henry Grady in July 1946, following the rejection of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's recommendations to increase Jewish immigration. The plan intended to convert the British Mandate into a trusteeship and to divide the country into Jewish and Arab provinces, as well as two districts (Jerusalem and Negev). In September 1946, the Palestine Roundtable Conference in London rejected the plan with Arab delegates proposing a unitary state of Palestine, in which Jews would have full civil rights.



Herbert Morrison



Henry Grady

**MOSCOW TALKS (Fatah-Hamas)** National reconciliation talks held in Moscow between representatives of all the Palestinian factions in January 2017, attended at times by Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, to explore ways to end the factions' disputes and the rift between the West Bank and Gaza.

The talks ended with a deal to establish a Palestinian unity government and have Hamas and Islamic Jihad join the PLO, which has yet to be implemented.

**MOSHAV** (plural: *moshavim*, English: *village, settlement*) Israeli cooperative community of small farmers who own property individually (with farms of fixed and equal size), but organize their work cooperatively and market their produce jointly. The first moshav was established in September 1921 in the Jezreel Valley and named Nahalal. Many moshavim were built on former Arab villages or lands.

**MOSSAD** (full: *Hamossad LeModi'in UleTafkidim Meyuhadim*; English: *Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations*) Israeli intelligence agency responsible for overseas intelligence work, including intelligence collection, counter terrorism, covert operations such as paramilitary activities and political assassinations, and the facilitation of *aliyah* where it is banned. The Mossad focuses largely on anti-Israel organizations and the Arab nations.



**MOUNT SCOPUS AGREEMENT** Arrangement reached between Israel and Jordan under UN supervision, signed on 7 July 1948, regulating the status of Mount Scopus. The hill in East Jerusalem, since 1925 home to the Hebrew University, was to be demilitarized and divided into a Jewish (including Hebrew University and Hadassah Medical Center) and a Jordanian (including the village of Issawiya) sector. Disputes were to be settled by the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). The Jewish section was a *de facto* Israeli exclave until Israel captured and occupied East Jerusalem in 1967.

**MU'ARADA** (plural: *Mu'aradun*; English: *Opposition*) Term that refers to the followers of the Nashashibi-led Palestinian opposition during the British Mandate, which stood for secularism and modern development (see also *Al-Majlisoun*).

**MUBADARA** (English name: *Palestinian National Initiative*) Political party formed in 2002 by Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi, Ibrahim Dakkak, and Dr. Haidar Abdel Shafi, with the goal to offer a third political way, an alternative to Fatah and Hamas, to realize Palestinian national rights and a durable, just peace. The party's main goals are the establishment of a national emergency leadership, implementation of democratic elections at all levels of the political system, and reform of administrative, political, and other institutional structures in Palestine. Mubadara, which is led by General Secretary Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi, ran in the January 2006 PLC elections on a joint list (as "Independent Palestine") with some independents, gaining 2.7% of the votes and two PLC seats.



**MUBARAK'S TEN POINTS** Proposal formulated by President Husni Mubarak of Egypt in September 1989, which was comprised of ten points and based on the 'land-for-peace' formula and the notion of trying to reach a final settlement in the OPT. It also proposed that a Palestinian-Israeli meeting be held in Cairo. In particular, the proposal suggested the following: (1) An Israeli commitment to accept any and all results of the Palestinian elections. (2) The presence of international observers for the elections. (3) The granting of total immunity to elected representatives. (4) A withdrawal of the Israeli army from the balloting areas on Election Day. (5) An Israeli commitment to start talks on the final status of the OPT on a specific date within three or five years. (6) An end to all settlement activities during the elections. (7) Complete freedom to organize and hold election campaigns. (8) A ban on entry on Election Day for all Israelis who do not live or work in the OPT. (9) The participation of East Jerusalemites in the elections. (10) An Israeli commitment to the principle of exchanging land for peace. Palestinians were receptive to the proposal, but insisted that the Palestinian delegation be appointed by the PLO and could include Palestinians from outside the OPT. Further, they called for the agenda to be open to dis-

cussion of more than just municipal elections, and sought a meeting with international participation. Israel first ignored the proposals, then rejected them in a cabinet vote on 6 October 1989.



President Husni Mubarak

**MUEZZIN BILL** (formally: *Prevention of Hazards Bill – Amendment: Prevention of Noise from a PA System in a House of Prayer*) Israeli proposed legislation which seeks to impose limits on the Muslim call to prayer in Israel and occupied East Jerusalem via a blanket categorization of them as "unreasonable noise" caused by loudspeaker systems. Two preliminary versions of the bill were passed in the Knesset on 7 March 2017, much to the anger of Arab Knesset members who claim the bill is racist in nature. The bill has not yet been enforced.

**MUGHRABI GATE** (also: *Moroccan Gate*) One of eleven gates providing access to the Al-Haram Al-Sharif and the only entrance for non-Muslims. The access ramp to the Mughrabi Gate collapsed in early 2004, and in February 2007 Israel started controversial excavations to prepare for the construction of a new ramp. The excavations were stopped after an outcry from Arabs and Muslims worldwide, who feared they would not only endanger the foundations of the holy site, but would also change the political *status quo* of the complex by increasing Jewish access to the compound. Their appeals received widespread international support, including from within Israel. Today, a wooden bridge leads up to the Mughrabi Gate.



**MUKHTAR** (Literally: *Chosen*) Head or (elected) representative of a kinship unit or a village, town, or neighborhood. Generally the highest ranking official at the local level and as such in charge of dealing with other authorities.

**MUKHTAR PROTOCOL** Procedure developed by the Israeli government for land in East Jerusalem as an alternative to the formal land-registration process which it had frozen in 1967. It is employed by the Jerusalem municipality to bypass one of the most difficult obstacles to Palestinian construction in Jerusalem, which is the fact that ownership of about 90% of East Jerusalem land is not listed in the Israel Land Registry, thus making it impossible to prove property ownership, a requirement for submitting applications for construction permits. To overcome this, the protocol was developed together with the Justice Ministry stating that anyone who wants to build on their land must collect signatures of consent from mukhtars, local leaders, or clan heads recognized by the city hall, who acknowledge that the land in question is, indeed, owned by the claimant. After settler groups campaigned to this end, the Jerusalem Planning and Building Committee annulled the “mukhtar protocol” in March 2019, in what Palestinians saw as an attempt to preventing development and improvement in East Jerusalem communities. However, one month later in April 2019, the protocol was reportedly reinstated as the only means for Palestinians to prove their land ownership claims.

**MULK** Ottoman land ownership term in which both the title and the usufructuary rights were privately owned and could be transferred to others without state interference. *Mulk* land also could be mortgaged or bequeathed (see also the opposite: *Miri*).

**MULTILATERAL TALKS** Consultations launched at the 1991 Madrid Conference where participants were split into five working groups – water, security and arms control, refugees, environment, and economic development – which were coordinated by the World Bank. Numerous rounds of talks were held, and a few steering committee meetings took place in 1996 before talks were halted in 2000 due to a general stalemate in the peace process.

**MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUPS** Five working groups were established as part of the multilateral talks (see above) track of the Middle East peace process to address issues of

mutual and regional interest: (1) water, (2) security and arms control, (3) refugees, (4) environment, and (5) economic development.

**MUNICH OPERATION** Assault during the Summer Olympics in Munich (5-6 September 1972), in which 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team were taken hostage and eventually killed or injured by a group of Palestinians associated with the Black September Organization. The group demanded the release of hundreds of Palestinian prisoners from Israeli prisons. Five of the eight attackers (from refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan), nine of the hostages, and a German police officer were killed during the rescue attempt. Israel responded with a series of airstrikes and assassinations of those suspected of planning the killings (see *Operation 'Spring of Youth'* and *Operation 'Wrath of God'*).

**MUNTADA AL-ADABI** see *Literary Society*

**MUNTADA FALASTIN** (English: *Palestinian Forum*) Political party founded in October 2007 by Palestinian businessmen and led by Munib Masri in an attempt to challenge the Islamist Hamas and secular Fatah and to provide an alternative to the two polarized parties.

**MUQATA'A** (Literally: *something separated*) Walled government compound in Ramallah which was originally used by the British military in the 1920s. After the Israeli occupation in 1967, the Israeli army turned it into its military headquarters and a prison in Ramallah. After Israeli redeployment from West Bank population centers (Area A) in the wake of the Oslo Accords (1995), Palestinians assumed control of the compound and the Muqata'a became President Arafat's official West Bank headquarters. It included offices, a helipad, a meeting hall, a VIP guesthouse, a prison, and a residential block housing Arafat himself and his aides. From December 2001 to October 2004, Arafat was forcibly confined (by Israel) to the compound, much of which was destroyed or damaged in March-April 2002, when Israel invaded and reoccupied Ramallah, including the Muqata'a. In November 2004, President Arafat was buried on the compound and a mausoleum was built

on top of his grave. The Muqata'a still serves as the PA's headquarters. Since November 2016, the rebuilt complex also houses the Yasser Arafat Museum, which, *inter alia*, displays the late President's bedroom and rooms that were used during the Israeli siege.



**AL-MURABITUN/AL-MURABITAT** Groups of Palestinian men and women, respectively, who volunteer to be present on Al-Aqsa Mosque compound to pray, guard and protect the holy site. The term derives from the singular 'murabat,' meaning someone who ties himself to the place. Israel outlawed the Murabitun/Murabitat in September 2015.

**MURISON COMMISSION** Special commission of inquiry under Sir William Murison, former Chief Justice of Singapore and Zanzibar, and Sir Harry Trusted, Attorney General of the Mandate government, to report on the causes of the 1933 disturbances (general Arab strike followed by weeks of disturbances aimed against the British government). The commission presented its report to the British High Commissioner on 4 January 1934, stating that the riots were "to protest against the policy of the Government" and should be seen as an expression of no-confidence, resulting from "a general feeling of apprehension amongst the Arabs engendered by the purchase of land by the Jews and by Jewish immigration". It blamed the Arab Executive Committee for the outbreak, while absolving the Arab police of any responsibility. In response to the report, Britain's High-Commissioner proposed to amend the Legislative Council so as to reflect the fact that Arabs were the majority. The proposal was rejected by Westminster.

**MUSHA** (also spelled *Mesha'* or *Mesha'a*) A form of land ownership in the Ottoman Em-

pire referring to commonly owned and cultivated land (e.g., village land).

**MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD** (Arabic: *Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimun*) Organization that was established by Hassan Al-Banna in Egypt in 1929 as an Islamic political-religious movement to fight against Egypt's secular 1923 constitution and promote the return to Islam's fundamental values. The Muslim Brotherhood soon spread to other Arab countries and is considered the ideological basis and/or forefather of many Islamic groups and organizations (including Hamas).



**MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS (MCA)** Associations which first appeared in Jaffa (in November 1918) and Jerusalem (early 1919) to both express a Palestinian national identity and oppose Zionism. The MCA was composed of representatives of leading families and religious scholars and soon became a countrywide network with its headquarters in Jerusalem.

**MUTASSARIF** Ottoman title for the administrative governor of a *Sanjak* (sub-province). Sanjaks were in turn sub-divided into different *Kazas* (districts), each governed by a *Kaimakam*. The Mutassarif was responsible to a *vali*, the ruler of a wider *vilayet* (province) and thereafter to the Sultan in Istanbul.

# N

**NABI MUSA UPRISING** Anti-Zionist uprising in and around Jerusalem that erupted in early April 1920 during the Muslim festival of Nabi Musa, an annual pilgrimage from Jerusalem to Jericho and the site of the Mosque of Prophet Musa. The riots followed rising tensions in Arab-Jewish relations over the implications of Zionist immigration.



*Nabi Musa Festival, 1920*

**NABLUS** Palestinian governorate and second largest West Bank city, located in the northern West Bank between Mount Ebal and Mount Jerizim. It has an estimated population of 388,321 (governorate) and 156,156 (city) respectively (PCBS, 2019) and is considered a commercial and cultural center. It is also home to An-Najah National University, one of the largest Palestinian institutions of higher learning, as well as to the refugee camps of Balata, Askar, Camp No. 1 and Far'a. The famous Palestinian dessert *knafeh* is believed to have originated here. The city was under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967 and is since then under Israeli occupation, despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the Palestinian Authority under the 1995 Oslo II Accord.



**NADI AL-ARABI** see *Arab Club*

**NAJADA** Palestinian Arab paramilitary youth movement formed by Mohammed Nimr Al-Hawari in October 1945 in Jaffa. Najada was dissolved around 1948.



*Mohammed Al-Hawari*

**NAKBA** The term “Nakba” (Arabic for “*disaster*” or “*catastrophe*”) refers to the deliberate and systematic mass expulsion of Palestinians by Zionist forces, which resulted in the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem, as well as the destruction and confiscation of their property during the period leading to and following the creation of the state of Israel (1947-49).



It is closely linked to the emergence of both Western efforts to secure materialistic hegemony over the resources of the Middle East and of political Zionism in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe, its growing determination to establish a nation state for Jews to escape centuries of anti-Semitic persecution, and the subsequent immigration of Jews to the “Promised Land”. The Zionist colonization of Palestine as a process thus began long before 1948. In 1998 then-President Yasser Arafat decided that ‘Nakba Day’ will be commemorated annually on 15 May, the day after Israel proclaimed its independence in 1948. However, though the Nakba dates back to 1948, it was not a one-time occurrence, but part of a larger plan for the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians from Palestine which is still going on today. Since that first wave of dispossession and displacement, entire generations of Palestinians have been born scattered around the world and lived without justice and freedom. The conflict still endures and the events of the past are still shaping present-day Palestinian life, upholding the refugee problem, disintegrating an entire society, thwarting

economic development, and keeping a nation broadly dependent upon international aid for survival (see also *War of 1948*).

**NAKBA LAW** (formally: *Budget Foundations Law – Amendment No. 40*) Amendment to the Israeli Budget Foundations Law, which was passed in the Knesset on 22 March 2011. According to independent human rights and legal center Adalah, the law authorizes the Israeli Finance Minister to reduce state funding or support to an institution if it holds an activity that rejects the existence of Israel as a “Jewish and democratic state” or commemorates “Israel’s Independence Day or the day on which the state was established as a day of mourning.” It therefore effectively deprives Palestinian citizens of commemorating the Nakba, which is an integral part of their history, thus violating their rights and restricting their freedom to express their opinion.

**NAKSA** see *War of 1967*

**NASSER** Homemade rockets manufactured by the Palestinian Resistance Committees with several models ranging from 6-10 km.

**NASSER AD-DIN MASSACRE** Attack on Nasser Ad-Din village near Tiberias in April 1948. According to Israeli historian Benny Morris, on 12 April “the Haganah met unexpected resistance, most of the population fled to Tiberias, and the village was occupied. The Haganah recorded 22 Arabs killed, six wounded and three captured.” He adds that “some non-combatants, including women and children, were killed.” Other Palestinian and British sources record up to 15 villagers killed including women and children. According to Palestinian researcher Salman Abu Sitta, Lehi and Irgun forces dressed as Arab fighters entered the village on 13-14 April 1948, killed all but 40 people, and raised all houses to the ground.

**AL-NASSER SALAH AL-DIN BRIGADES** Military wing of the PRC in Gaz, initially formed by members of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.

**NATION-STATE LAW** (formally: *Basic Law: Israel – The Nation-State of the Jewish People*) Legislation that places Israel’s Jewish character

before its democratic character, disregarding the Arab minority and its rights. Its provisions include, *inter alia*, defining Israel as “the historical homeland of the Jewish people” (Article 1a), stating that the exercise of the right to national self-determination in the state of Israel is unique to the Jewish people” (Article 1c), and that “the state views the development of Jewish settlement as a national value and will act to encourage and promote its establishment and consolidation” (Article 7), as well as downgrading the Arabic language from being one of the country’s official languages to one holding “special status” (Article 4a and b). The bill was approved in the Knesset on 7 July 2018 and is now in effect part of the constitutional framework of the state of Israel. Since then, many petitions against the law have been submitted to the Supreme Court, claiming that it reinforces the prevailing racial discrimination in all spheres of life and erodes the democratic framework of the country as a whole. Palestinians see the law as the mere culmination of decades-long Judaization efforts aimed at marginalizing Palestinians, their history, and heritage.

**NATIONAL AND ISLAMIC FORCES** Umbrella group of Palestinian forces established shortly after the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada to serve as a coordinating body, provide political leadership, conduct national dialogue, and work towards national unity. Members were Fatah, PFLP, Hamas, DFLP, PPP, FIDA, PPSF, PLF, Islamic Jihad, ALF, Palestinian Arab Front, PFLP-GC, Islamic National Salvation Party, and Popular Liberation War Pioneers (*Sa’iqa*). The forces have been less active since 2005.



**NATIONAL BLOC PARTY** (Arabic: *Al-Kutlah Al-Wataniyah*) Party founded in 1935 by Abdul Latif Salah that remained weak even in its ‘strongholds’ of Tulkarem and Nablus. During different periods, the National Bloc Party both promoted cooperation with the British and struggled against them.



The party nearly disappeared in the early 1940s before being reconstituted in 1944, however it remained uninfluential.

**NATIONAL COALITION FOR JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY** see *Wa'ad*

**NATIONAL DEFENSE PARTY** Party headed by Ragheb Al-Nashashibi, which was established in December 1934 by the Nashashibi family and their followers, known as Al-Mu'aradun. The National Defense Party was a rival to the Husseini family and their Arab Party. They opposed land sales to Jews and Jewish immigration, but were altogether more compromising with the British and the Zionists. The National Defense Party maintained a close relationship with Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, and was the only political group to formally accept partition with the Arab state linked to Transjordan and the 1939 MacDonal White Paper. The party ceased functioning in the mid-1940s.



*Ragheb Al-Nashashibi*

**NATIONAL GUIDANCE COMMITTEE** Palestinian leadership initiative that emerged during the 1970s inside the Occupied Territories and was formally established in November 1978, in part by the Arab Thought Forum, to oppose both the Egyptian-Israeli Camp David Accords and Israel's new Likud government. Members included Palestinians mayors, journalists, professionals, representatives of unions, and religious figures, and reflected new strategic thinking and a new generation of local leaders. The Committee soon served as a link between Palestinian anti-Israeli activities inside the territories and the exiled PLO. It was banned by Israel in 1982 and dissolved soon after.

**NATIONAL PARKS** According to Israeli law, a national park is broadly defined as "an area designated for public use for leisure in nature or to commemorate values of historic, archaeological, architectural, natural or landscaping importance or the likes..." An area declared as a national park is transferred from

the responsibility of the municipality to that of the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority, which is in charge of the protection of nature, landscape, and heritage, but has – unlike a municipality – no obligation towards the residents and is thus also not required to provide compensation for private land located in its parks. Seizure of areas for national parks and other alleged public projects such as roads, archaeological excavations and tourism development has been a common tool to establish Israeli presence and prevent Palestinian development, especially in and around the Old City of Jerusalem. Examples are the Walls of Jerusalem National Park (a strip surrounding the walls of the Old City), the "City of David" (Silwan), the Tzurim Valley National Park (Suwaneh) and the planned Mount Scopus Slopes Park on land belonging to the Palestinian neighborhoods of At-Tur and Issawiya.

**NATIONAL RECONCILIATION DOCUMENT** see *Prisoners' Document*

**NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY** see *Mafdal*

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL** A 14-member body formed and headed by President Arafat on 11 September 2003 to unify and supervise all eight Palestinian security, military, and police forces to guarantee their unity and effectiveness. The Council was initially comprised of the President of the PA, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Interior Minister, a PLO Executive Committee member, a PLC member, the Chief of the Civil Police, the two Commanders of the West Bank and Gaza National Security Forces, the General Intelligence Service Chief, the Military Intelligence Service Chief, and security advisors. President Mahmoud Abbas reconstructed (28 October 2005) and re-formed (8 April 2007) the Council via presidential decrees before dissolving it in June 2007 in the wake of Hamas' takeover of Gaza.

**NATIONAL SECURITY FORCES** Palestinian security force responsible for internal and border security, seen essentially as the Palestinian army. It is currently organized into 9 battalions in the West Bank with directorates (e.g., training and finance) and sub-branches (e.g.,

military intelligence). The forces are trained by the British and Italians in Jericho and by the US in Jordan and are currently commanded by Maj.-Gen. Nidal Abu Dukhan.



Nidal Abu Dukhan

**NATIONAL UNION** (Hebrew: *Halhud HaLeumi*) Coalition formed in 1999, which was initially comprised of the Israeli secular parties Herut (National Movement), Moledet (Homeland), and Tekuma (Rebirth), but was joined by Yisrael Beiteinu in 2001. The National Union opposes a Palestinian state and advocates "transfer." In 2005, Yisrael Beiteinu left the Union to run on its own in the 2006 Knesset elections. In the 2009 elections, the National Union ran as an alliance of Moledet, Eretz Yisrael Yehudi, HaTikva, and some of Tekuma which had split. With Tekuma, the only remaining faction, joining the Jewish Home list for the 2015 elections, the National Union *de facto* ceased to exist.



**NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT** Coalition government consisting of all or the major parties in a legislature, usually formed following the deterioration in the security situation, during a time of war, or due to other national emergency. In the Palestinian context, it refers to unity governments built by the PA/Fatah and Hamas. The first such government was formed in March 2007, headed by then Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh (Hamas) and consisting of 25 members. It only lasted three months due to failing international support and was dissolved by President Mahmoud Abbas on 14 June 2007, triggering the Palestinian infighting that led to Hamas' takeover of Gaza. A second national unity government was formed on 2 June 2014 after the signing of the Gaza Agreement on Fatah-Hamas reconciliation (23 April 2014). It had 20 nominally independent but mainly Fatah-loyal ministers and was headed by Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah. It was not approved by the PLC, but while the international community agreed on it, Israel rejected it because of the

inclusion of Hamas. After various hostilities between Hamas and Fatah, President Abbas dissolved the government on 17 June 2015, on the grounds that it was unable to operate in the Gaza Strip. After a new rounds of talks held in Moscow, both parties agreed to establish a unity government in January 2017. After more talks in Cairo, Hamas announced on 17 September 2017 its readiness to dissolve its administration in Gaza, hold general elections and direct reconciliation talks with Fatah, and on 12 October 2017 an Egyptian-brokered agreement was reached to this end. During 2018, discussions were renewed in successive rounds of talks, but implementation of the agreement remains stalled and the PA has not taken steps to resume its responsibilities in Gaza. The key unresolved issues are: the PA's insistence on having a monopoly on force in Gaza (i.e., disarming Hamas), return of the public land in Gaza that Hamas confiscated from the PA; restoring Fatah members to the public-sector jobs they held before Hamas seized power in 2007, and to reinstate the PA legal system in Gaza instead of the religious legislation Hamas introduced.

**NATIONAL WATER CARRIER** (Hebrew: *Ha Movil Ha' Artzi*) Water works project unilaterally undertaken by Israel to manage its water resources. The carrier has been fully operational since 1964 and was designed to bring water from the less arid north to arid areas in the south. It diverts water from the Jordan River above the northwest corner of Lake Tabarriya. The project has a big ecological impact on the lake, and even more on the quantity of water flowing through the Jordan River and into the Dead Sea. Today, some 80% of the water is utilized for domestic consumption in Israel.



Route of the Carrier



**NATIONALITY LAW** see *Citizenship Law*

**NATIVITY CHURCH** see *Church of the Nativity*

**NATIVITY CHURCH STANDOFF** Siege of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem by the Israeli army from 2 April to 10 May 2002. The siege was part of the Israel's large-scale military operation "Defensive Shield" in the West Bank, during which Israeli troops reoccupied large parts of the West Bank, including Bethlehem, where they attempted to capture alleged Palestinian militants, many of whom sought refuge in the Church of the Nativity on 2 April. Israeli troops surrounded the holy site with tanks and troops until 10 May 2002, when a negotiated agreement was reached according to which 26 Palestinians were expelled to Gaza, 13 others were flown by a British military plane to Cyprus pending the making of a decision as to which European country they will be deported, and 84 were freed. The ten foreigners inside the church were arrested after Israeli soldiers stormed the compound. The exchange of gunfire during the siege left eight Palestinians dead and parts of the church damaged.

**NETUREI KARTA** (Aramaic name for *Guardians of the City*) Group founded in Jerusalem in 1938 by religious Orthodox Jews who have maintained traditional Jewish opposition to Zionism and thus refuse to recognize Zionist authority, including the "State of Israel" in any aspect of their lives. They argue that the entire concept of a sovereign Jewish state is contrary to Jewish Law. Its followers do not participate in Israeli elections nor do they accept any



social services or aid from the government.

*Demonstrating Neturei Karta members*

**NEW ISRAELI SHEKEL (NIS)** Israeli currency, which is also used in the OPT. The NIS replaced the Shekel on 1 January 1986, and one NIS is divided into 100 Agorot.

**NEW MOVEMENT-MERETZ** List formed for the 2009 Knesset elections following the merger of Hatnua HaHadasha (The New Movement) and Meretz. The list garnered 2.95% of the vote and won three seats in those elections (see also *Meretz*).

**THE NEW RIGHT** see *Hayamin Hehadash*

**NGO FUNDING TRANSPARENCY LAW** (also: *NGO Law* or *Transparency Law*; formally: *Transparency Requirements for Parties Supported by Foreign State Entities Bill 5766-2016*) Controversial Israeli government bill, proposed by Israeli Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked and approved on 11 July 2016, stipulating that NGOs which receive more than half of their funding from "foreign government entities" (i.e., foreign countries or foundations, the EU, the UN, etc.) have to inform Israeli authorities about this. Critics see the law unfairly targeting NGOs critical of Israel's policies, especially those dealing with human rights in the OPT or the rights of refugees and migrants, with the intention to restrict their work. The approved bill was a slightly less severe version of the original, which, *inter alia*, asked for NGO representatives to wear a tag and to disclose funding sources at the start of every meeting. In June of 2017, Prime Minister Netanyahu called the law too weak and pledged for a law that would completely prohibit donations by foreign countries to Israeli NGOs. So far, no new bill has been presented.

**NGO MONITOR** Israeli far-right pressure group that was established in 2002, with the initial support of the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs. Although it claims to be working independently since 2007, NGO Monitor is believed to be closely linked to the government as its President Gerald M. Steinberg has previously worked as a consultant for the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Israeli National Security Council. Among its alleged goals are to promote transparency and accountability by "producing and distributing critical analysis and reports on the activities of the international and local NGO networks, for the benefit of government policy makers, journalists, philanthropic organizations and the general public". However, the group is

still widely seen as tool to defend and sustain Israeli policies that uphold the occupation of the Palestinian territories. It scrutinizes organizations supporting Palestinian rights and very often comes up with unfounded allegations of Anti-Semitism, which the concerned organizations see as attempts to prevent foreign donors from funding them. NGO Monitor has also been criticized for failing to research right-wing NGOs, selectively targeting human rights organizations, presenting information out of context, and providing manipulative interpretations. In addition, it partners with far-right Islamophobic politicians in Europe. For instance, in June 2017, NGO Monitor presented its research in an event hosted by Danish far-right politician Anders Vistisen, who has previously called for a reduction in the number of Muslims in Denmark.



**NIGHT CONFUSION UNITS** (also: *Nighttime or Night Disturbance Units or Night Squads*) Tactic employed since September/October 2018 by Palestinian activists along the Gaza fence in protest of the decade-long and ongoing blockade: during dusk-till-dawn demonstrations, tires are burned, incendiary devices are launched or thrown, and loud sounds are made (e.g., by banging drums, playing loud music and chanting songs) to fray the nerves of Israeli military lookouts and disturb nearby Israeli communities.

**NILI** (Acronym for the Hebrew phrase *Netzakh Yisrael Lo Yishaker* – English: *The Eternity [G-D] of Israel will not lie*) Small Jewish underground group formed in Palestine during World War I to assist the British Army against the Turks. The group ceased to exist following the death of its co-founder and leader Aaron Aaronsohn.

**NOAM** Far-right ultra-Orthodox party that was newly formed for the Israeli September 2019 elections, led by Rabbi Zvi Thau. It ran under the slogan “A normal nation in our own land” and campaigned for a return to Jewish family values and vehemently against LGBTQ rights, with no other political or economic agenda.

Two days ahead of the elections Noam withdrew from the race.



**NO-MAN'S LAND** UN demilitarized buffer zones between Israeli occupied territory and Jordanian-controlled territory in Jerusalem and the Latrun Area and between Israeli and Jordanian demilitarized zones on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem. The buffer zones were created by the 1948/1949 cease-fire agreements.

**NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)** Coalition of developing countries formed in 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia to pave a neutral path between the US and the Soviet Bloc. The Non-Aligned Movement held its first conference in Belgrade in 1961 and confers every few years to coordinate positions on international political and economic issues. It currently consists of 120 member states of which Palestine is a full member. The 7<sup>th</sup> NAM Summit in New Delhi in 1983 resulted in the establishment of the Committee on Palestine, whose task it is to support the rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with international law and to work towards a just, durable, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East which will enable the Palestinian people to exercise their rights in a free and sovereign manner in their independent homeland.



**NON-PAPER ON THE REVIVAL OF A DYNAMIC OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST** see *French Proposal*

**NORMALIZATION (1.)** Term referring to the international normalization of diplomatic and economic relations with Israel. Normalization was an integral component of the peace plan of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz (see *Saudi Peace Initiative*), who suggested in mid-February 2002 that Arab countries normalize relations with Israel in exchange for full withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied since the 1967 war.

**(2.)** Normalization in the context of civil life/society within Israel and Palestine. According to the BDS Campaign, normalization is “the

participation in any project, initiative or activity, in Palestine or internationally, that aims (implicitly or explicitly) to bring together Palestinians (and/or Arabs) and Israelis (people or institutions) without placing as its goal resistance to and exposure of the Israeli occupation and all forms of discrimination and oppression against the Palestinian people.”

#### **NORTHEASTERN AQUIFER BASIN (NEAB)**

Trans-boundary aquifer in the north central part of the West Bank, covering the areas of Nablus and Jenin. The aquifer starts near Nablus and flows northwards towards the Gilboa Mountains, Jezreel, and the Bet Shean valley. The feeding and storage area lies completely in the West Bank with most recharge occurring in the mountains of the West Bank. In the Oslo II Agreement, the annual recharge of the NEAB was estimated to yield 145 million cubic meters. Israel utilizes most of the aquifer through wells and springs located outside the West Bank.

**NOTABLES** Prominent men, often from large clans, who wielded socioeconomic and political influence in Palestine, particularly prior to the outbreak of the First Intifada in 1987.

**NUSSEIBEH-AMIRAV DOCUMENT** Unsuccessful proposal for rapprochement between the PLO and the Israeli Likud party which was an attempt to start peace talks in 1987. A result of secret meetings and discussions, Palestinian academic Sari Nusseibeh and Likud-member Moshe Amirav presented a document with three key principles: (1) an immediate cessation of hostilities, (2) mutual Israeli and PLO recognition, and (3) a halt to new Israeli settlement construction. Opponents on both sides quickly nullified the efforts.

**NUSSEIBEH-AYALON PLAN** Peace initiative developed and launched by Al-Quds University President Sari Nusseibeh and former Shin Bet chief Ami Ayalon in 2002 under the slogan “The People’s Voice” to win support from the Israeli and Palestinian public rather than the leadership. The plan is based on a six-point Statement of Principles that foresees Israeli withdrawal to the 4 June 1967 line, the establishment of a demilitarized Palestin-

ian state on 100% of the occupied territory with “border modifications” based on an equitable and agreed-upon territorial exchange (1:1), relinquishment of the demand to realize the right of return in exchange for financial compensation for refugees and their having the opportunity to reside in the Palestinian state, and an open Jerusalem as capital of two states with Palestinian sovereignty over Arab neighborhoods and Israeli sovereignty over Jewish neighborhoods and each side having guardianship – not sovereignty – over the respective holy sites.



*Sari Nusseibeh*



*Ami Ayalon*

# O

**OCCUPATION** The control or administrative takeover by a certain (hostile) power over a territory, which is not under its formal sovereignty, as a result of an armed conflict between states or entities. Occupation is thereby of a temporary or provisional character which distinguishes it from annexation. According to Article 42 of The Hague Regulations an occupation to exist for the purposes of international law, if there is some degree of effective control by hostile troops over a foreign territory and the following three elements apply: 1) the unconsented-to presence of foreign forces; 2) the foreign forces' imposition of its own authority; 3) the related inability of the local sovereign power to exert its authority over the territory due to the occupation. Acquisition of territory by war is inadmissible according to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 (signed by Israel). The convention defines "Occupied Territory", "Occupying Power", and "Protected People" as a situation resulting from cross-border military action.

**OCCUPIED ENEMY TERRITORY ADMINISTRATION (OETA)** see *British Military Administration*

**OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES (OPT)** Those areas of Mandatory Palestine occupied by the State of Israel following the June War of 1967 (i.e., West Bank and Gaza Strip). They comprise approximately 22% of the land of historic Palestine, which was controlled by the British Mandate authorities prior to 1948.

**OCHA** see *Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*

**OCTOBER WAR** see *Yom Kippur War*

**OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS (OCHA)** A department of the UN Secretariat, which was established in De-

cember 1991 by UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182 to strengthen the UN's response to complex emergencies, natural disasters, and humanitarian suffering. OCHA operates through a network of field offices and maintains regional support offices, including one in the OPT.



**OLIVER TAMBO RESOLUTION** Decision named after the prominent anti-apartheid figure, who served as African National Congress (ANC) president between 1967 and 1991. It was passed by South Africa's ruling party, the ANC, on 4 July 2017, downgrading South Africa's diplomatic representation in Israel in protest of "Israel's continued illegal occupation of Palestine and the continued human rights abuses against the peoples of Palestine."

**ONE ISRAEL** (Hebrew: *Yisrael Ahad*) A political alliance comprised of the Labor, Gesher and Meimad parties in Israel which was formed to run jointly in the 1999 elections and so make the candidacy of Ehud Barak for Prime Minister more acceptable to Israelis who would not vote for Labor. As a result of Barak's participation in the Camp David Summit in July 2000, Gesher pulled out of the alliance on 4 August 2000, thus bringing an end to One Israel.

**ONE NATION** (Hebrew: *Am Ehad*) An Israeli social democratic party established in March 1999 as a splinter party from Labor with the goal to represent workers' interests. One Nation was led by Histadrut chairman Amir Peretz, but merged back into the Labor Party in May 2005.

**ONE-STATE-SOLUTION** A bi-national approach to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip would merge into a single state where Jews and Palestinians would coexist in a unitary, federal or confederate state. The one-state-solution comes currently in two main versions. One advocates for the creation of a single democratic country with equal rights and citizenship for all inhabitants, in which Palestinians would outnumber Jews, thus end-

ing "Israel as a Jewish state" (which is why most Israelis reject this version). The second version, favored by the right wing, would see Israel's annexation of the West Bank, either forcing out Palestinians or denying them the right to vote so as to remain a Jewish state with a larger Arab minority. In recent years, the one-state-solution has been increasingly debated, as the two-state approach, favored by the international community, is considered less likely to be implemented.

**ONE VOICE CAMPAIGN** Grassroots peace initiative which emerged in 2002 as an offshoot of the US-based Peace Works Foundation and was officially launched on 24 February 2004 by Middle East Director Mohammad Darawshe, an Israeli Arab, and Peace Works President Daniel Lubetzky,



a US Jew. The initiative adopts a similar approach to the Nusseibeh-Ayalon People's Voice campaign and aims to mobilize the silent moderate majority on the Israeli and Palestinian sides as well as in the wider Middle East. The One Voice Campaign calls for a three stage process: first, signatures will be collected for a set of principles, second, a panel of experts will formulate an agreement in line with those principles, and third, the agreement will be presented to the leaders of the two sides. The campaign was endorsed by a broad range of organizations and people, including Seinfeld star Jason Alexander, Hollywood celebrities Brad Pitt and Jennifer Aniston, World Jewish Congress chairman Edgar Bronfman, and American Arab Institute President James Zogby. IT company IBM is one of the campaign's major sponsors. The campaign has been subject to criticism from Palestinian solidarity groups worldwide which claim it is promoting normalization, has a hidden agenda, and avoids Palestinian history and rights.

**OPEN BRIDGES POLICY** Policy introduced by Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan after the 1967 War to provide Palestinians with access to the Arab World via the two bridges across the Jordan River to Jordan. Access would facilitate the export of Palestinian prod-

ucts (competition for Israel) and the passage of workers to the Gulf States and elsewhere. The remittances of these workers to the OPT were essential for the market of Israeli goods. The policy also aimed at encouraging emigration, as Palestinians aged 20-40 were not permitted to return for nine months and would lose their "right of residence" if they did not return within three years.

**OPERATION 'AN FAR'** (short for *Anti-Farouk*, in reference to Egypt's King Farouk I) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 8-11 July 1948, against the villages south of Ar-Ramleh, from Hebron to the coast. Its objectives were to "liquidate Arab villages within the area" and to stop the Egyptian army from advancing. Only a month later, Israel received a plan from the Jewish National Fund to start building settlements in the region.

**OPERATION 'ASSAF'** Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 5-6 December 1948, against Gaza, with the successful aim of taking control of the western Negev Desert.

**OPERATION 'AUTUMN CLOUDS'** Israeli military operation that began on 1 November 2006 with Israeli forces entering the Gaza Strip near Beit Hanoun and lasted until 8 November 2006, when Israel began withdrawing. During the operation, which was officially launched with the objective of stopping Palestinian rocket attacks into Israel, over 50 Palestinians were killed and 200 wounded. Operation 'Autumn Clouds' was preceded by Operation 'Summer Rains' (see below).



**OPERATION 'BARAK'** (English: *Lightning*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 9 May-1 June 1948, against the area south of Ar-Ramleh, Bureir and the Negev road. Its objective was to capture villages north of Gaza in anticipation of the arrival of the Egyptian army.

**OPERATION 'BEN AMI'** Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 13-21 May 1948, against Acre and Western Galilee. The aim of this operation was to attack and occupy the city of Acre and four nearby villages, all part of the territory allocated to Palestine in the Partition Plan.

**OPERATION 'BEN NUN'** (English: *Nun's son*, in reference to Joshua, conqueror of Canaan) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 16-30 May 1948, against the Arab legion in Latrun, with the goal of seizing control of the road to Jerusalem. This operation consisted of two failed attempts at capturing the police station in Latrun.

**OPERATION 'BI'UR CHAMETZ'** (English: *Passover Cleaning*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out from 24-30 April 1948, with the goal of expelling the Palestinians living in villages, south and south east of Haifa.

**OPERATION 'BLACK BELT'** Israeli military operation that began on 12 November 2019 with a surprise airstrike that killed Baha Abu Al-Ata, senior leader of the Islamic Jihad in Gaza, as well as his wife and injured four of their children. In retaliation to the assassination, members of the Islamic Jihad fired rockets and mortar shells at Israel, while the Israeli army struck Islamic Jihad targets. The 48-hour confrontation that followed ended on 14 November with a ceasefire brokered by Egypt. According to international, Israeli, as well as Arab news outlets, the operation left 34 Palestinian dead, including eight children and three women, and 111 injured. No Israeli was reportedly killed during the operation.



Abu Al-Ata house hit by Israeli airstrike

**OPERATION 'BROTHER'S KEEPER'** Code name for an Israeli military campaign in the West Bank launched on 12 June 2014 following the kidnapping of three Israeli settlers (Eyal Yif-

rach, Gilad Shaar and Naftali Frenkel) from a hitchhiking stop near Gush Etzion. The Israeli government blamed Hamas, which denied the allegations. The campaign included the raiding of over 1,000 Palestinian homes with the arrest of over 400 Palestinians, mostly associated with Hamas, and triggered numerous clashes with Palestinians, leaving at least six dead. The campaign was also seen by many observers as an Israeli attempt to spoil any opportunity for progress which may have come from the recent unity agreement between Fatah and Hamas and drew a lot of criticism against the PA for its cooperation with Israeli security forces. After the Israeli army eventually recovered the settler's bodies on 30 June 2014, Israeli extremists kidnapped Mohammed Abu Khdeir, 15, from Shu'fat, and burnt him alive in a suspected revenge killing. This triggered more clashes as well as rocket fire from Gaza, which in turn led to a major Israeli military offensive on the Gaza Strip (see *Operation 'Protective Edge'*).

**OPERATION 'CAST LEAD'** Israeli military operation that began on 27 December 2008, allegedly in response to the latest series of Hamas rocket attacks against southern Israel. However, the operation was planned six months earlier by Defense Minister Ehud Barak. The Israeli attack involved aerial bombings, including the use of phosphorus bombs, and ground invasions. Operation 'Cast Lead' left at least 1,300 Palestinians dead and over 4,000 wounded. (For the aftermath: see *Goldstone Report*).



Houses in Gaza damaged during Operation Cast Lead

**OPERATION 'CHAMETZ'** (English: *the Passover Cleaning*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out from 27 April-5 May 1948, with the goal of expelling Palestinians from their villages in the Jaffa area.

**OPERATION DALET** see *Plan Dalet*

**OPERATION 'DANI'** Israeli operation under Plan Dalet which was carried out from 7-18 July 1948, which was named after fallen Palmach officer Daniel "Dani" Mass, with the goal of capturing Lydda, Ar-Ramleh and their surrounding villages. It was the largest operation at the time and led to one of the biggest expulsions of Arabs during the 1948 War.

**OPERATION 'DAYS OF PENITENCE'** Israeli military operation in the northern Gaza Strip which lasted from 30 September to 16 October 2004. Operation 'Days of Penitence' focused on Beit Hanoun, Beit Lahia, and Jabalia Refugee Camp, from which Qassam rockets were launched on Sderot in the Negev and Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip. The operation resulted in the deaths of over 130 Palestinians, at least 42 of whom were civilians, and five Israelis.

**OPERATION 'DEFENSIVE SHIELD'** Israeli re-invasion of West Bank cities during the Al-Aqsa Intifada (29 March-3 May 2002), which left at least 500 Palestinians dead and over 1,500 injured, most of the population under prolonged curfews, the PA infrastructure in ruins, and caused unprecedented damage to private and public property. It was Israel's largest military operation in the West Bank since the 1967 War.



*Israeli re-invasion of the West Bank*

**OPERATION 'DEKEL'** (English: *Palm Tree*) Largest Israeli offensive under Plan Dalet during the first and second truce of the 1948 War in the north of Palestine, carried out from 8-14 July 1948 against Acre and Nazareth. The operation led to the occupation of Nazareth and the Lower Galilee.

**OPERATION 'DETERMINED PATH'** Israeli military operation, which began on 22 June 2002, to reach some of the unachieved objectives set forth for Operation 'Defensive Shield', particularly in the northern West Bank.

**OPERATION 'ENTEBBE'** (initially: *Operation 'Thunderbolt'*; later: *Operation 'Yonatan'* after the raid commander, Colonel Yonatan Netanyahu, who died during the operation) Israeli rescue of 103 hostages from an Air France plane hijacked en route to France from Israel on 27 June 1976 and flown via Benghazi, Libya, to Entebbe, Uganda, where the 258 non-Israeli passengers were released. The hijackers, two from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – External Operations (PFLP-EO) and two from the German "Revolutionäre Zellen" (Revolutionary Cell), demanded the release of 40 Palestinians held in Israel and 13 other detainees in prisons in Kenya, Germany, Switzerland, and France. In response, Israel airlifted several army units to Uganda, which, on the night of 3-4 July 1976, executed a raid, in which seven hijackers, one soldier and three hostages were killed. Various Arab countries and groups, the Communist Bloc, and many African countries condemned the Entebbe Operation as an act of piracy, while Western countries praised it.

**OPERATION 'GIDEON'** Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 10-15 May 1948, which systematically destroyed villages in the Baysan area. The goal was to capture the region and to block one of the potential entries for Jordanian forces.

**OPERATION 'GRAPES OF WRATH'** Major Israeli attack on Lebanon launched in April 1996 in retaliation to previous Hizbullah attacks. Operation 'Grapes of Wrath' left over 150 civilians dead.

**OPERATION 'HA HAR'** (English: *The Mountain*) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 18-30 October 1948, against villages southwest of Jerusalem, including attacks on Hebron villages, with the aim of widening the Jerusalem corridor. This operation served to shape the border with Jordan in the later 1949 Armistice Agreement.

**OPERATION 'HAR'EL'** Second Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, named for the Har'el Brigade, lasting from 13-20 April 1948, against villages along the Jerusalem Road. It allowed the Jewish army to transport food, supplies and troops into Jerusalem and eventually led to the opening of the Burma Road (a makeshift bypass road between Kibbutz Hulda and besieged Jerusalem).

**OPERATION 'HIRAM'** Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, named in reference to Hiram I, the Biblical king of Tyre, which was carried out from 29 October-2 November 1948, targeting Upper Galilee. As a result, the region (allocated to Arabs on the Partition Plan) was seized by Israel and thousands of Palestinians left to Lebanon.

**OPERATION 'HOREV'** Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 22 December 1948-6 January 1949, to occupy the remainder of Palestine south of Beer Sheva. The objective of this operation was to trap the Egyptian army in the Gaza Strip. After the British threatened to intervene, the operation came to an end and the Armistice Agreement was signed. Horev is the name given in the Scriptures for Mount Sinai.

**OPERATION 'HOT WINTER'** Israeli military campaign in the Gaza Strip which took place from 29 February-3 March 2008 in response to Qassam rocket attacks. At least 112 Palestinians and three Israelis were killed, and more than 150 Palestinians and seven Israelis were injured. There was widespread condemnation of Israel's "disproportionate use of force" with the US calling on Israel to exercise caution to avoid the loss of innocent life, and the EU urging Israel to halt activities that endanger civilians.

**OPERATION 'JUSTIFIED VENGEANCE'** (also: *Dagan Plan* after (retired) General Meir Dagan, Director of Mossad) Contingency plan presented by Israeli army chief of staff Shaul Mofaz to the Sharon government in July 2001 under the title "The Destruction of the Palestinian Authority and Disarmament of All Armed Forces", to be implemented after the next big suicide attack inside Israel with the

aim to reoccupy the West Bank and possibly the Gaza Strip, destroy the PA, and force out President Arafat.

**OPERATION 'LITANI'** Operation launched by Israel in March 1978 in retaliation to a PLO commando attack on a bus near Haifa four days earlier. Operation 'Litani' was a full-scale invasion of Lebanon designed to push PLO positions away from the border, bolster the power of the SLA, and seize a security belt south of the Litani River. The operation resulted in thousands of casualties.



**OPERATION 'MACCABI'** Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 8-16 May 1948, against villages in the Ramleh-Latron area. It aimed to take control of the road to Jerusalem from Sha'ar Hagai eastwards.

**OPERATION 'MISPARAYIM'** (English: *Scissors*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out on 21 April 1948 against the inhabitants of Haifa, aimed at capturing the city's Arabic neighborhoods.

**OPERATION 'NACHSHON'** First Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, which was named after the Biblical figure Nachshon Ben Aminadav, who was the first to wade into the Red Sea when the Hebrews escaped from slavery in Egypt. It was carried out from 6-15 April 1948, targeting the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem Road. One of the most significant battles took place at the Qastel, a former crusader fortress along the road, where the Arab leader of the battle Abdul Qader Al-Husseini was shot and killed.

**OPERATION 'NIKAYON'** (English: *Cleansing*) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out from 24-28 August 1948, targeting the Yibna and Isdud (Ashdod) areas. The Palestinians had returned to what is now



Ashdod during a UN sanctioned truce but were killed by Israeli troops.

**OPERATION 'NOAH'S ARK'** Israeli military action on 3 January 2002 in which navy and air forces intercepted the *Karine A* freighter in the Red Sea (see *Karine A*). The ship was transporting some 50 tons of Iranian and Russian-made weapons, including Katyusha rockets and anti-tank missiles. The crew, the captain (PA Coastal Police officer and Fatah member Omar Akawi) and 12 others, surrendered without a fight. The *Karine A* was allegedly bound for Gaza.

**OPERATION 'PEACE FOR GALILEE'** Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, including a two-month siege and bombardment of Beirut that lasted until PLO forces agreed to leave Lebanon. Some 18,000 people were reported killed and 30,000 injured, the vast majority of who were civilians. Israeli forces occupied Beirut until July 1983 when they withdrew to the 'security zone'.



**OPERATION 'PILLAR OF CLOUD'** (also: *Operation 'Pillar of Defense'*) Israeli military offensive on the Gaza Strip that began on 14 November 2012 with the assassination of the chief of Hamas' military wing, Ahmed Jabari. Presented by Israeli officials as an act of self defense (to end to the rocket attacks coming from Gaza), the operation was widely seen as a show of force by Prime Minister Netanyahu, seeking reelection in January 2013, and a way to gather support against the vote for an upgrading of Palestine's status at the UN General Assembly to non-member observer state. A cease-fire brokered by Egypt put an end to eight days of intense Israeli bombardments, which left more than 150 Palestinians dead.



**OPERATION 'PROTECTIVE EDGE'** Israeli military offensive on the Gaza Strip that began on 8 July 2014 in response to rocket fire from Gaza, which itself was triggered by another Israeli operation in the West Bank (see *Operation 'Brother's Keeper'*). On 17 July, Israeli forces began a ground invasion of Gaza to destroy the tunnel system leading from Gaza to Israel and Egypt respectively. On 26 August 2014, Israel and Hamas agreed to an open-ended ceasefire putting an end to seven weeks of unprecedented Israeli bombardments, which left more than 2,100 Palestinians dead, more than 11,100 wounded, and 520,000 Gazans displaced.

**OPERATION 'QEDEM'** (also: *Kedem*; English: *East*) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out on 17 July 1948 against the Old City of Jerusalem.

**OPERATION 'QILSHON'** (English: *Pitchfork*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out on 14 May 1948, targeting Arab western Jerusalem, outside the Old City. It aimed in particular to connect isolated Jewish communities in southern Jerusalem.

**OPERATION 'RAINBOW'** Israeli military operation in Rafah in the southern Gaza Strip from 18-23 May 2004 to clear 'terrorist' infrastructure, destroy smuggling tunnels, and kill alleged militants. Operation 'Rainbow' followed the deaths of 13 Israeli soldiers in Palestinian militant attacks and left over 60 Palestinian dead, including many civilians.

**OPERATION 'SHIFFON'** Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out on 14 May 1948, targeting Jerusalem and the Old City. It aimed to take control of British outposts in the Old City which had been abandoned.



**OPERATION 'SHOTER'** (English: *Policeman*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 24-26 July 1948, against the "Little Triangle" area and the region south of Haifa. It aimed to clear the road from Tel Aviv to Haifa. According to United Nations estimates 8,000

people were displaced from the “Little Triangle” area during the operation.

**OPERATION ‘SKY WINDS’** Code name for the Israeli military operation against the Gaza Freedom Flotilla on 31 May 2010 with the aim to take over the boats and arrest the activists aboard (see *Gaza Freedom Flotilla* for details).

**OPERATION ‘SOLOMON’**

Israeli airlift in 1991 which brought some 14,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel in a single day.



**OPERATION ‘SPRING OF YOUTH’** Sub-operation of the larger ‘Wrath of God’ operation (see below). The raid on Lebanon by Israeli Sayeret Matkal elite commandos and the Mossad, led by then unit-commander Ehud Barak, took place from 9-10 April 1973 and targeted PLO bases in Beirut and Sidon in retaliation for the 1972 Munich attack against the Israeli Olympic team. The unit arrived at Lebanese beaches in patrol boats and were then driven to their targets by Mossad agents. During the operation, the main target of which was two seven-story buildings in West Beirut (headquarters and residence of the PLO leaders), three PLO leaders (Mohammed An-Najjar, Kamal Nasser, and Kamal Adwan) were killed as well as other PLO staff, Lebanese security forces, and several civilians.



Mohammed Najjar

Kamal Nasser

Kamal Adwan

**OPERATION ‘SUMMER RAINS’** Military operation launched on 28 June 2006 in response to a Hamas raid three days earlier near the Kerem Shalom border crossing of the Gaza Strip. During the operation, two Israeli soldiers were killed and Corporal Gilad Shalit was kidnapped. For the release of Shalit, Hamas demanded that all Palestinian women

and prisoners under-18 be freed from Israeli jails. The stated goals of Operation 'Summer Rains' were the release of Corporal Shalit and the prevention of future Qassam rocket attacks into Israel. The operation consisted of several sub-operations and lasted until October 2006. Israeli attacks consisted of air-strikes, including the bombing of the Gazan power plant, and ground offensives. Operation 'Summer Rains' was widely condemned for its “disproportionate use of force” and was followed by Operation 'Autumn Clouds' in November 2006.

**OPERATION ‘UVDAAH’** (English: *Fact*) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 6-10 March 1949; it was the last campaign undertaken by the Israeli military during the war and its objective was to capture the southern Negev desert, including the village of Umm Rashrash (Eilat).

**OPERATION ‘WRATH OF GOD’** (also: *Operation ‘Bayonet’*) Israeli undercover operation launched by then Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir in autumn of 1972 against the Black September perpetrators of the 1972 Munich massacre. The military action consisted of several operations, all of which were intended to assassinate some 20-35 Black September and PLO members and to strike fear into Palestinian militants. Operations included the killing of a PLO Representative in Italy, Wael Zuaiter (October 1972), a PLO Representative in France, Mahmoud Hamshari (December 1972), a Fatah representative in Cyprus, Hussein Al-Bashir (January 1973), his replacement Ziad Muchasi (April 1973), Law professor Basil Al-Kubaisi (April 1973), Black September Director of Operations in France, Mohammad Boudia (June 1973), and Ali Hassan Salameh (January 1979), who was considered by Israel the mastermind of Munich. Several other assassinations and assassination attempts have been attributed to the Wrath of God campaign, although doubt exists as to whether Mossad was behind them. Operation 'Spring of Youth' in April 1973 (see *Operation ‘Spring of Youth’*) was a sub-operation of Operation 'Wrath of God'.

**OPERATION 'YEVUSI'** (English: *Jebusite*) Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 26-30 April 1948, against villages around Jerusalem. The Arabs were driven out of Sheikh Jarrah, traffic to Mount Scopus was resumed and other strategic positions were gained. However, the Arabs took this opportunity to strengthen outposts around Sha'ar Hagai.

**OPERATION 'YIFTACH'** Jewish operation under Plan Dalet, masterminded by Palmach commander Yigal Allon and lasting from 28 April-25 May 1948, against Safed, Tiberias and the Eastern Galilee. It succeeded in securing the upper and Eastern Galilee areas for the Jews. Safed, a strategically important town, was taken following the second Jewish attack.

**OPERATION 'YOAV'** (English: *Ten Plagues*) Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, which was carried out during 15 October-9 November 1948, targeting the south. It aimed to open a corridor to Negev and to isolate the Egyptian forces along the coast.

**OPERATION 'YORAM'** Israeli operation under Plan Dalet, lasting from 9-10 June 1948, against the Arab Legion in Latrun. This operation aimed at opening up the road to Jerusalem, but failed as the British police station, monastery and Arab village were controlled by the Arabs.

**OR COMMISSION** Israeli investigation commission established by the Israeli government to examine the events and clashes that took place in the Arab sectors of Israel during the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in October 2000 and left 13 Israeli-Arabs dead. The commission is named after its chairman, Israeli High Court Judge Theodore Or. The findings, which were released in September 2003, criticized police for being unprepared for the riots and for using excessive force to disperse protestors. Eight policemen were reprimanded, and the commission recommended that then-Internal Security Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami be removed from his post. The Commission also found that Arab citizens suffer discrimination in Israel and that the state must act against this. A year after the release of the report, Theodore Or publicly attacked the government for failing to implement its recommendations.

**ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION (OIC)** (formerly *Organization of the Islamic Conference*) Created in 1969 following the arson attack on Al-Aqsa Mosque, which was considered an attack on the whole of the Muslim world, to coordinate protection of the holy places of Islam and to support the struggle of the Palestinian people in recovering their rights and freeing their land. The OIC also has political, cultural, economic, and social objectives and is comprised of 57 member states, including Palestine, which has been a full member since 1969. The OIC, which is headquartered in Jeddah, has observer status at the UN.



**ORIENT HOUSE** Main political address of Palestinians in East Jerusalem and the PLO's unofficial representation in the city until its closure in 2001. Orient House is property of the Husseini family and was built in 1897. In 1992, the Palestinian Delegation to the peace talks set up headquarters in the building, headed by Faisal Husseini, who remained in charge of the house as the PLO's address in Jerusalem. Orient House is subject to an Israeli law of December 1994 which bans any political PLO activity in the city not approved by the Israeli government. Israel had regularly threatened it with full or partial closure, and on 10 August 2001, less than three months after the death of Faisal Husseini on 31 May 2001, Israeli troops stormed and raided the building, confiscating computers, data, files and other materials, and ordered it closed. The closure has remained intact ever since. Today, part of the building houses the headquarters of the WHO in Jerusalem.



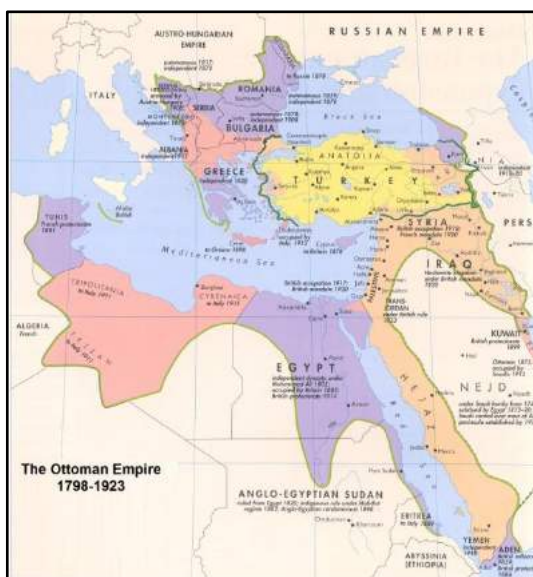
*Orient House*

**OSLO I AGREEMENT** see *Gaza-Jericho Agreement*

**OSLO II AGREEMENT** see *Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip*

**OSLO (PEACE) PROCESS** Series of peace talks between PLO members and Israeli officials that began with secret negotiations in Oslo, Norway and led to the Declaration of Principles in September 1993. The talks outlined the path for further bilateral negotiations to bring about a permanent solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Parts of the process include the Gaza-Jericho Autonomy Agreement (1994) and the Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (1995).

**OTTOMAN EMPIRE** State empire founded by Sultan Othman I around the year 1300 and governed by Turkish sultans until 1917. The Ottoman Empire peaked in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> Century, when it controlled large portions of Asia, the Middle East, including Palestine, and most of southeast Europe. In December 1917, Ottoman forces capitulated in Jerusalem to the allied forces led by General Allenby, and on 30 December 1918 the Turkish government signed an armistice, effectively ending the Ottoman Empire. It was replaced by the modern state of Turkey and various other states in the Middle East, which were initially under the control of European colonial powers.



**OTZMA YEHUDIT** Right-wing Kahanist party that ran as part of the



Union of Right-Wing Parties in the April 2019 elections and won 5 seats. In the September 2019 elections the party ran alone and failed to gain any seats, receiving only 1.9% of the vote.

**OUTPOST** (also: *settlement outpost*) Structure, often consisting of uninhabited containers or a few mobile homes, erected by the settler movement without official recognition on the part of the Israeli government. Outposts often serve as precursors to new settlements or settlement expansion and are discreetly funded by the Israeli government. As of December 2018, Peace Now listed 101 unauthorized outposts in the Occupied West Bank (in addition to some 130 "official" settlements) (see also *Sasson Report*, *Levy Report* and *Regulation Law*).



*Illegal outpost near the settlement of Eli*

**OUTPOST REGULATION LAW** see *Regulation Law 1* and *2*

# P

**PALESTINE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP)** (Arabic: *Hizb Al-Shuyu'i Al-Filastini*) Party originally founded by Palestinians and Jews in 1922. As tension and violence between the two communities grew, it split in 1943. Most of the Arab members then joined a new group, the National Liberation League, and after the 1948 War the Jordan Communist Party (JCP) or in the case of the Palestinians in Israel the Israeli Communist Party. In the Gaza Strip, the Communist Party of Gaza developed separately. In mid-1975, the JCP transformed its West Bank branch into the Palestine Communist Organization which, following internal struggles with the Jordanian party, re-established the PCP in February 1982. The newly established party included communists from Gaza and affirmed its support for the PLO. In April 1987, Suleiman Najjab was the first PCP leader to be elected to the PLO Executive Committee. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the PCP was renamed the Palestinian People's Party (see below).

**PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION** see *UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP)*

**PALESTINE FORUM** see *Muntada Falastin*

**PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY (PLA)** Army that was formed in 1964 as the PLO's military branch and originally comprised of three brigades: Ein Jalut (Gaza and Egypt), Qadisiyya (Iraq), and Hittin (Syria). The PLA established the Popular Liberation Troops (Arabic: *Kuwat At-Tahrir Ash-Sha'biya*) in Gaza in 1968 as commando units to fight against the Israeli occupation. Under PLO Chairman Arafat's leadership the army followed a guerrilla warfare strategy, and most forces were deployed in Syria and Lebanon. Following the Oslo Accords, most PLA units were deployed in the OPT and were absorbed into the PA security apparatus. The Syrian PLA remains in operation, closely coordinated with the

Syrian-controlled Sa'iqia faction of the PLO, but the importance of both has diminished.



**PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT (PLF)** (Arabic: *Jabhat At-Tahrir Al-Filastiniyya*) Militant PLO faction formed by Mohammed Zeidan (Abu-l-Abbas) and Tala'at Yaqoub in April 1977 after splitting from the PFLP and later the PFLP-GC (1977) to follow a pro-Iraqi stance. The PLF split into three different factions in the 1980s: a pro-Damascus faction under Tala'at Yaqoub, a pro-Iraqi faction under Abul Abbas and 'Ali Ishaq, and a militant, pro-Syrian faction under Abdel-Fattah Ghanim. The PLF is a member of the Rejectionist Front and is responsible for the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro in October 1985. Its position towards the PLO leadership is uncertain, but the PLF strongly opposes the Madrid and Oslo processes. Although considered inactive, it is represented in the PLO Executive Committee, currently by Wasel Abu Yousef, and is listed as a 'terrorist' organization by the US State Department.



**PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO)** (Arabic: *Munazzimat At-Tahrir Al-Filastiniyya*) Body founded by a meeting of 422 Palestinian personalities on 28 May 1964 in Jerusalem following an Arab League decision to that end. The first elected head was Ahmed Shuqairi. The conference also set up a legislative body, the Palestine National Council (PNC), the PLO Executive Committee, a National Fund, and the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) and drafted a National Covenant and Basic Law towards liberating Palestine, implementing the right of return and exercising self-determination. After Shuqairi's resignation on 23 December 1967, Yahya Hamoudeh became head of the PLO, and at the fifth session of the PNC in Cairo in February 1969, Fatah leader Yasser Arafat was elected as the PLO's third leader. The PLO became an umbrella organization for various Palestinian factions and acquired a more central role in

mobilizing Palestinians at home as well as in the Diaspora and international support. The PLO established a number of departments to provide education, health, and relief services and formed a quasi-government with security bodies, a military, a financial system, information offices, and foreign relations. On 14 October 1974, the PLO was recognized by the UN General Assembly as the representative of the Palestinian people (Resolution 3210, which also granted observer status), and on 28 October 1974, it was recognized by the Arab League Rabat Summit as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In 1975, the PLO was granted access to the UN Security Council. On 15 November 1988, the PLO declared Palestinian independence at the 19<sup>th</sup> PNC in Algiers, and in December 1988, it announced the recognition of Israel and renounced terrorism. The PLO's first headquarters were in Jerusalem, then (after 1967) in Amman until the 'Black September' confrontation with the Jordanian army (1970), and then in Beirut until the PLO's evacuation in the course of the 1982 Israeli invasion. Afterwards, Tunis accepted to host the PLO leadership and Arafat set up their new headquarters there. The PLO remained the "Palestinian government in exile" and carried out state functions for Palestinians, especially after Jordan's administrative disengagement from the West Bank in July 1988. The PLO is in charge of negotiations with Israel and, since the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993 and the subsequent Oslo Accords, serves as the political umbrella for the PA in the Palestinian self-rule areas (Gaza and West Bank). In an exchange of letters between Chairman Arafat and then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1993, the PLO recognized the State of Israel and Israel recognized the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Since the death of Yasser Arafat on 11 November 2004, the PLO has been headed by Mahmoud Abbas. Present PLO members include: Fatah, PFLP, DFLP, PPP, PLF, ALF, As-



Sa'iqa, FIDA, PPSF, PAF. An issue under debate is the inclusion of Islamic groups. For the time being, they remain outside the PLO, which traditionally separates religion and politics. In 2015, the PLO became a member of the International Criminal Court.

**PALESTINE NATIONAL CHARTER** (also: *PLO Charter* or *Palestinian Covenant*; Arabic: *Al-Mithaq Al-Qawmi Al-Filastini*) Document adopted by the PNC during its first meeting in 1964 that outlines in 29 articles five principle Palestinian national demands after the 1948 war: (1) total liberation of Palestine; (2) self-determination; (3) definition of Palestinians as "Arab nationals" who "resided normally in Palestine until 1947," and "Jews who are of Palestinian origin (...) if they are willing to live loyally and peacefully in Palestine;" (4) keep the *status quo* by stipulating that the PLO (seen as too subordinate to Arab governments) would not exercise any sovereignty over Palestinian areas; and (5) the use of Arab unity as the principal instrument of Palestinian liberation. The 1964 version was amended by the PNC in July 1968, adding a stronger emphasis on Palestinian identity as opposed to a pan-Arab one, which served as a type of 'basic law' for the PLO. However, this version was later superseded by subsequent PNC decisions. During a meeting in Gaza on 14 December 1998, and in the presence of then-US President Clinton, PNC members revoked parts of the Charter that called for the destruction of Israel and contradicted the letters exchanged between the PLO and the Government of Israel in the wake of the 1993 Declaration of Principles.

**PALESTINE PAPERS** Set of nearly 1,700 confidential documents detailing the inner workings of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process (memos, e-mails, maps, minutes from private meetings, accounts of high level exchanges, strategy papers and power point presentations dating from 1999 to 2010), which were leaked to and disclosed by Al-Jazeera TV in January 2011. The files exposed the scale of concessions made by Palestinian negotiators in a decade of talks on settlements, Jerusalem, refugees, and the demilitarization of a Palestinian state, as well as the extent of

Israeli intransigence and US complicity. The PLO initially labeled the documents as "forgeries", but then acknowledged their authenticity. For many the "Palestine Papers" exposed what they have suspected for a long time: that Israel is not interested in peace and the PA is very weak. In May 2014, the Guardian and Al-Jazeera revealed that Ziyad Clot, a French citizen of Palestinian origin and former legal advisor to Palestinian negotiators, was the key source for the documents, which – according to his own statement – his conscience compelled him to leak, because the "‘peace negotiations’ were a deceptive farce, whereby biased terms were unilaterally imposed by Israel and systematically endorsed by the US and EU capitals" (...) while "creating and aggravating divisions amongst Palestinians."

**PALESTINE PARTITION COMMISSION** see *Woodhead Commission*

**PALESTINE PEACE COALITION** Palestinian NGO that was established in the wake of and in order to promote the Geneva Accord along with its Israeli counterpart, Heskem.



**PALESTINE PEOPLE'S PARTY (PPP)** (Arabic: *Hizb Ash-Sha'ab Al-Filastini*) Leftist PLO faction, grown out of the Palestinian Communist Party, which was formed in 1982 in the OPT and became a full member of the PLO in 1987. The PPP was a member of the UNLU during the First Intifada. The party broke with its Leninist past in late 1991 and re-launched itself under the new name – Palestine People's Party – as a democratic, pragmatic party, calling for more popular participation in the decision-making process. The PPP was led by Bashir Barghouthi from 1982-98, and in October 1998, the party held its 3<sup>rd</sup> Convention in Ramallah, electing a three-member committee as General Secretariat (Mustafa Barghouthi, who left four years later to found Al-Mubadara, Hanna Amira, and Abdel Majid Hamdan). The PPP supported, with reservations, the DOP, but was skeptical about the further course of the ne-

gotiations and the performance of the PA. The party has repeatedly called for the reconstruction of the PLO and dialogue with opposing groups. The PPP distanced itself from the PA on 15 August 1998, following reports of corruption and the collective resignation of the PA government. The PPP plays a more important role locally than in the PLO. Bassam As-Salhi, the PPP's leader since 2003, ran unsuccessfully in the January 2005 presidential election (receiving 2.67% of the vote). In the 2006 PLC elections, the PPP ran with FIDA and the DFLP on a joint list (Alternative or Al-Badeel), gaining 2.92% of the popular vote and thus two of the Council's 132 seats.



**PALESTINIAN ARAB CONFERENCE** (also: *Palestinian Arab Congress*) Umbrella organization formed in 1919 by leaders of the Palestinian Christian community. It was later expanded to include regional representatives from political parties, Palestinian notable families, and religious figures. The organization held conferences and made public statements of Palestinian unity in opposition to the British mandatory policies.

**PALESTINIAN ARAB FRONT**

**(PAF)** (Arabic: *Al-Jubhat Al-Aarabiya Al-Filastiniya*) Minor Palestinian faction which was founded in 1993 after a split in the Arab Liberation Front



(ALF) in protest of the Oslo Accords. The PAF is a member of the PLO as well as of the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces and carries the slogan "Independence – Freedom – Democracy". It participated in the 2006 PLC elections under the list of "Freedom and Independence," headed by Salim Al-Bardeni, but remained far below the 2%-barrier. PAF supports the right of return for Palestinian refugees, the establishment of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders and with Jerusalem as capital, release of prisoners from Israeli prisons, evacuation of all settlements, demolition of the Separation Barrier,

as well as strengthening the Arab League and Arab unity and cooperation. Current Secretary-General is Samil Bardoni.

#### **PALESTINIAN ARMED STRUGGLE COMMAND**

Subsidiary of the PLO with military-police functions that was created in April 1969 to unite the *fedayeen* and coordinate the activities of PLA units in the various Arab countries. Today, it serves as a police force to maintain law and order in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria and deals with conflicts between opposing Palestinian factions.

**PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY (PA)** Administrative organization established in 1994 on the basis of the Declaration of Principles signed by the PLO and Israel on 13 September 1993 as a temporary administrative body to serve during the 5-year interim period and govern Palestinian (security-related and civilian) affairs in the self-rule areas. It consists of the elected president, the appointed cabinet, and the elected Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). The PA is subject to agreements signed with Israel and as such has no foreign relation powers. It is responsible for negotiating the permanent status issues towards a final settlement with Israel. Since the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in June 2007, after which PA Chairman Abbas dismissed the unity government, the PA's rule is in effect limited to the PA-controlled areas of the West Bank, while Hamas has effective control of the Gaza Strip.



**PALESTINIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL (PCC)** Second leading body of the PLO which was first formed in June 1970 as an *ad hoc* body and then established by the PNC in 1973 under the chairmanship of Khaled Al-Fahum. The PCC functions as an intermediary body between the PNC and the Executive Committee that is quicker and easier to convene than the full PNC. The PCC met in Tunis in October 1993 to ratify the Declaration of Principles (by a vote of 63-8 with nine abstentions) and

on 27 April 1999 in Gaza to discuss the expiry of it. In January 2018, in the aftermath of the US's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, the PCC convened in Ramallah and called for the suspension of the PLO's recognition of Israel (until it recognizes Palestine as a state in return) and of the PA's security coordination with Israel. After another meeting in Ramallah, the PCC issued an official statement on 29 October 2018, saying that it decided to end the PLO's commitments toward all agreements signed with Israel, including the suspension of its recognition of Israel until the latter recognizes the state of Palestine in return and the cessation of its security and economic coordination in all its forms with Israel. At present, the PCC has 124 members elected during a PNC meeting between 30 April and 3 May 2018.

**PALESTINIAN CITIZENS OF ISRAEL** Palestinian population that remained in what became the state of Israel following the War of 1948. In 1950, their number was estimated at 160,000; today, there are nearly one and half million – about 20% of Israel's total population, the vast majority of whom are Muslims. While citizens of Israel, Palestinians in Israel are not equal under the law, as evidenced by the Discriminatory Laws Database of Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, which lists over 65 Israeli laws that discriminate directly or indirectly against Palestinian citizens in Israel on the basis of their national belonging.

#### **PALESTINIAN CIVIL POLICE**

Police unit that was initially established under the 1994 Oslo I Agreement and officially formed by a presidential decree with the task to maintain safety, security and order in the areas administered by the Palestinian Authority. It is subordinated to the Ministry of Interior. Today, the Civil Police is divided between the West Bank and the Hamas-governed Gaza Strip. In the former, it is the PA's main law enforcement apparatus in Area A, handling ordinary police functions such as combating crime and upholding pub-





lic order, with subunits such as criminal investigation, drug enforcement, public order, traffic, emergency response, and women's police. It also is in charge of prisons. In Gaza, the Civil Police was initially known as the "Executive Force" (see above) and is made up of members of Hamas and other factions.

**PALESTINIAN FOURTEEN (14) POINTS** List of demands presented by Palestinian leaders and representatives of nationalist institutions at a press conference in Jerusalem on 14 January 1988 in preparation for an international peace conference to settle the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Their demands included an end to Israel's iron-fist policy, abidance of international law, the release of Intifada prisoners, an end to sieges, deportations, detentions, the withdrawal of the Israeli army from all population centers, the cessation of all settlement activity and land confiscation, cancellation of taxes imposed by Israel, the elimination of all restrictions on political freedoms and development, including licenses and building permits, an end to economic discrimination and restrictions on political contact between Palestinians in the OPT and the PLO.

**PALESTINIAN INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY** see *PISGA*

**PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD** (Arabic: *Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami Al-Filastini*) Political faction that split from the Muslim Brotherhood and was formed as a separate militant Islamic movement by Fathi Shiqaqi, Abdul Aziz Odeh and other Palestinian students in Egypt in 1979. The establishment of Islamic Jihad was influenced by the Islamic revolution in Iran earlier that year and encouraged by the fact that the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood in the Gaza Strip was considered too moderate. The organization was led by Odeh until his deportation 1988, then by Shiqaqi until his assassination on 26 October 1995 in Malta, and is currently headed by Ziad Al-Nakhleh. Islamic Jihad advocates armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine, which it considers a prerequisite for Islamic ascendancy, and believes the struggle must be preceded by spreading religious values in the society. It

does not see itself as a rival to the mainstream PLO, of which it is not a member, but strongly opposes the Oslo Accords. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad has been involved in several attacks and suicide bombings, particularly since the mid-1990s, and has launched its own rockets from Gaza (Al-Quds rockets). However, it is significantly smaller than Hamas and lacks its wide social network. Islamic Jihad is currently based in Damascus and is listed as a terrorist organization by the US State Department, the EU, Canada, Japan, and Australia. Despite being a Sunni group, Palestinian Islamic Jihad remains ideologically supportive of, and maintains close ties with, Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps. Most of its budget is funded by Iran.



**PALESTINIAN JUSTICE** Small list formed to compete in the January 2006 PLC elections under the banner of "liberty, justice and peace." The top position on the ballot was held by Samir Qadri, however the party ran unsuccessfully.

**PALESTINIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL (PLC)** The PA's (not the PLO's) legislative body (parliament) which was first elected on 20 January 1996 in accordance with the Oslo I and II Accords. The PLC was initially made up of 88 members elected in 16 electoral districts of varying sizes (voter turnout: 79%) and was dominated by Fatah. It was responsible for drafting a Palestinian constitution as well as legal and regulatory frameworks, and its members automatically become members of the PNC. All legislation and acts must be transmitted to the Israeli authorities for approval, and the PLC has no powers in regards to foreign relations and agreements. The second elections took place on 25 January 2006 and brought Hamas to power. The PLC had 132 members, 74 of which from Hamas, and was chaired by Hamas legislator Abdel Aziz Dweik as speaker, who, according to the statutes, replaces the president if the latter is unable to perform his role. On 14 June 2007 parliament sessions were disrupted following clashes between Fatah and Hamas

and the latter's taking over control over the Gaza Strip. In late December 2018, the already defunct PLC was dissolved by Constitutional Court decree, which also called for new elections within six months.



#### **PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AND ISLAMIC FORCES** see *National and Islamic Forces*

**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC)** Legislative and decision-making body of the PLO, which represents Palestinians worldwide. The PNC formulates policies and guidelines for the Executive Committee and elects the Executive Committee; a speaker, two deputies and a secretary who make up the Bureau of the Council. It adopted the Palestinian National Charter in 1964. At its 19<sup>th</sup> session on 15 November 1988 in Algiers, the PNC unilaterally declared the independence of the State of Palestine. According to its statutes, the PNC must meet annually and can hold special meetings as needed. In practice, though, it convenes less frequently. At its 21<sup>st</sup> session from 22-25 April 1996 in Gaza, the PNC voted for altering its 1964 National Charter in line with the 1993 Declaration of Principles, i.e., canceling all provisions which were inconsistent with the PLO commitment to recognize and live in peace side by side with Israel (thereby nullifying Articles 6-10, 15, 19-23, and 30, as well as certain passages in Articles 1-5, 11-14, 16-18, 25-27 and 29). This amendment was confirmed at a meeting on 14 December 1998 in Gaza, described by the Palestinians as "The Palestinian Popular Congress", at the end of which the participants – members of the PNC, PLC, PLO Central Council, cabinet, and other Palestinian institutions – and in the presence of then US President Bill Clinton, raised their hands in support of it. Most recently, the PNC convened from 30 April-3 May 2018 in Ramallah (23<sup>rd</sup> session), where 103 new members were approved. Hamas and Islamic Jihad did not

attend, as they are not members of the PLO. PFLP boycotted the meeting and declared holding a meeting in Ramallah would give Israel the power to decide who could and could not attend. PNC resolutions are passed by a simple majority, however two-thirds of the members must attend for quorum. The PNC is currently comprised of 747 members, most of whom are appointed by the PLO Executive Committee. Many Palestinians see the PNC as the most important instrument to revive their national movement and progress with Palestinian national reconciliation. Currently, Salim Za'noun serves as President of the PNC and Taysir Quba'a as Vice-President.

**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL FRONT (PNF)** Faction formed in January 1973 by the PNC to act as an organizational framework and autonomous PLO affiliate to coordinate activities of nationalist resistance forces in the OPT. It formed the nationalist bloc for candidates in the 1976 elections and won 18 out of 24 city council seats. It was declared illegal by Israel in October 1978 and was then absorbed by its successor, the National Guidance Committee, which coordinated opposition to Camp David and the Begin administration. The National Guidance Committee was outlawed by Israel in May 1982.

**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL FUND** The Palestinian national treasury was set up alongside the PLO in 1964 (Article 24 of the PLO fundamental law) to finance its institutions and activities. The Palestinian National Fund is managed by a board of directors appointed by the PLO Executive Committee, and a chairman elected by the PNC. Revenues come from a fixed tax on the wages earned by all Palestinians living in Arab countries which is collected by those respective governments. Additionally there are financial contributions by Arab states and non-Palestinian individuals within those states, although these types of contributions are in decline. Currently the PNF has headquarters in Amman and is led by Dr. Ramzi Khouri. In March 2017, Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman labeled it a 'terrorist entity' because of the monthly payment it makes to Palestinians who are or were jailed in Israel or their families.

**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL INITIATIVE** see *Mubadara*

**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT (PNSF)** (Arabic: *Jabhat Al-Inqadh Al-Watani Al-Filastiniyya*) Umbrella organization that opposed Arafat's policies and attempted to undermine his leadership. It was formed by the PFLP and pro-Syrian groups in March 1985 in Damascus and was chaired by Khaled Al-Fahum. In 1993, Palestinian opposition forces (mainly those against the Oslo Accords and process) formed a new front, the Alliance of Palestinian Forces (APF), which replaced the PNSF.



**PALESTINIAN POPULAR STRUGGLE FRONT (PPSF)** (Arabic: *Jabhat An-Nidal Ash-Sha'biyya Al-Filastiniyya*) Small, anti-Arafat PLO faction that is leftist-Ba'ath in character. The PPSF was created before the 1967 War but was formally established in July 1967 and broke from its affiliation with Fatah in 1973. The faction was first led by Subhi Ghosheh and Bahjat Abu Gharbiyya and then by Dr. Samir Ghosheh (until his death in 2009) who also represented it in the PLO Executive Committee. It is currently led by Ahmad Majdalani. PPSF members primarily live in Lebanon and Syria. In 1991, the PPSF accepted the PLO's endorsement of UN Security Council Resolution 242.



**PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY (PRCS)** Organization established by the PLO on 26 December 1968 and mandated by the PNC in 1969 to provide social services and meet the health and welfare needs of the Palestinian people both in the OPT and in the Diaspora. Today, the PRCS is active in Palestine, complementing the work of the Ministry of Health and of health NGOs, and in Arab and European countries. The PRCS is a full member of the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent.



**PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (PRCP)** (Arabic: *Al-Hizb Ash-Shuyu'i Ath-Thawri Al-Filastini*) Party established by Palestinian communists in Lebanon in 1982 as a dissident wing of the Palestine Communist Party. The PRCP was pro-Syrian and anti-Oslo. It advocated armed struggle and was part of the Palestinian National Salvation Front. In 1993, it joined the Alliance of Palestinian Forces (also: *Damascus Ten*), which oppose peace negotiations with Israel.

**PALESTINIAN UNITY GOVERNMENT (1.)** National unity government, which was formed on 2 June 2014 based on the Fatah-Hamas Gaza Agreement concluded in April that year. The government of then Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah, which was rejected by Israel but by and large welcomed by the international community, lasted until its resignation on 17 June 2015 for not being able to operate in Gaza – a move protested by Hamas. In July and December 2015 Abbas reshuffled the cabinet, but excluded Hamas, which denounced the unilateral step.

**(2.)** Announcement by Fatah's Azzam Al-Ahmad and Hamas' Musa Abu Marzouq at the end of a three-day meeting of all Palestinian factions in Moscow in January 2017 to form a national unity government to end ten years of internal division. In October of that year, Hamas and Fatah reached a Reconciliation Agreement in Cairo. However, this has not been implemented to date.

**PALESTINIAN UNITY TALKS** Series of talks between Palestinian factions that have taken place since Hamas seized control of Gaza from Fatah in June 2007, mostly with Egyptian mediation, in a bid to eventually form a unity government. These include talks brokered by King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia in Mecca in February 2007, the Yemeni Initiative in March 2008, a meeting brokered by Senegalese President Aboulaye Wade in Senegal in June 2008, and reconciliation talks in Cairo during March 2009. On 4 May 2011, Fatah and Hamas signed, along with other main factions, a reconciliation agreement in Cairo. The deal provided, *inter alia*, for the creation of a joint caretaker government and elections within a year, but other key issues,

such as reforming the security forces, remained unsolved. In Doha in February 2012, President Abbas and Hamas politburo chief Khaled Mashaal agreed to form an interim government of independent technocrats and oversee elections and Gaza's restoration. However, some Hamas leaders rejected the agreement. Further talks reached "a deadlock" after Hamas prevented the Central Elections Commission from updating the Gaza voter registry in July 2012 and boycotted the local elections in October that year. Talks nevertheless continued and on 23 April 2014 the PLO and Hamas signed a unification accord in Gaza, providing for an interim government of national consensus and the holding of elections. On 2 June 2014, President Abbas swore in a new government headed by Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah. However, due to the Israeli assault on Gaza that summer, no further steps were taken. Talks continued in Qatar in February and May 2016, but made no progress. On 15-17 January 2017 in Moscow, both sides agreed finally to establish a unity government, to include Hamas and the Islamic Jihad in the PLO, and to form a new PNC. After additional talks in Cairo, Hamas announced on 17 September 2017 its readiness to dissolve its administrative committee in Gaza, hold general elections and engage in direct reconciliation talks with Fatah, leading to a Reconciliation Agreement signed on 12 October 2017 in Cairo. Although discussions were renewed in successive rounds of talks during 2018, implementation of the agreement remains stalled and the PA has not taken steps to resume its responsibilities in Gaza. Key points of contention are modes of election, security responsibilities and composition of the envisioned unity government.



**PALESTINIAN WATER AUTHORITY (PWA)** Regulatory governmental institution established in 1995 as part of the PA to assume administrative responsibility for water resources while Israel maintains overall control.



**PALIN REPORT** (also: *Palin Commission of Inquiry*) Commission headed by Major-General P. C. Palin to examine the rioting in Jerusalem during 4-7 April 1920 (see *Nabi Musa Uprising*). Its report, submitted in August 1920 but never published, refers to various "causes of the alienation and exasperation of the feelings of the population of Palestine" and was very critical of the Zionists. Further, the report called the situation in Palestine "exceedingly dangerous." The Palin findings were similar to those of the Haycraft Report a year later (see *Haycraft Report*).

**PALMACH** (Abbreviation for *Pelugot Mahatz*; English: *Assault or Shock Forces*) Special unit established in May 1941 as the Haganah's fighting force for commando operations during the British Mandate. The Palmach was integrated into the Israel Defense Forces following the War of 1948.



**PALMER REPORT** Inquiry commission into Israel's attack on 31 May 2010 on a Gaza Aid Flotilla, appointed by then UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and chaired by Sir Geoffrey Palmer, a law professor and former Prime Minister of New Zealand. Members were Alvaro Uribe, President of Colombia from 2002 to 2010, and a representative each of Turkey and Israel. The report was criticized for depending solely on material supplied by Israel and Turkey, not hearing any witnesses, and failing to examine the events in an independent fashion. Both Israel and Turkey issued statements disagreeing with aspects of the report which, *inter alia*, stated that Israel's naval blockade to prevent receipt of arms of Gaza was legal and a form of self-defense since a state of conflict existed between Israel and militants in the Gaza Strip. While

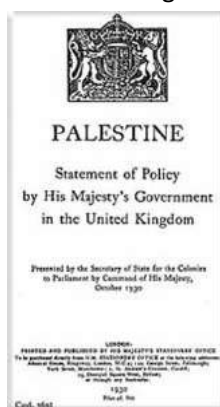
the report stated that the Israeli military used excessive force and that a range of alternative options should have been tried, it also said that once on board the Mavi Marmara, the Israeli forces acted in self-defense against a “hardcore group of (...) activists”. Palmer recommended that Israel issues an appropriate expression of regret for its actions and that it pay into a compensation fund for the victims. Turkey refused to accept anything less than a full apology as well as that the blockade is legal. The Palmer Report’s findings were quite different from the findings of an inquiry conducted in 2010 by the UN Human Rights Council.

**PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE** (2017) see *Middle East Peace Conference*

**PARIS PROTOCOL** see *Protocol on Economic Relations*

**PARIS TALKS** Mini-summit convened on 4 October 2000 in Paris to discuss ways to end the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli clashes in the wake of the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The talks were attended by French President Chirac, US Secretary of State Albright, CIA Director Tenet, President Arafat, and Israeli Prime Minister Barak, who refused to accept an international inquiry into recent events which was one of the main suggestions made at the summit.

**PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER** Formal British policy statement issued by Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield on 20 October 1930 following the Arab riots in Palestine and the recommendations of the Shaw and Hope-Simpson Commissions. Based on these, the Passfield White Paper put significant restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases, and determined that due to the limited “economic absorptive capacity” future land sale be based on levels of Arab as well as Jewish unemployment. However, following strong worldwide Zionist



protests, British Prime Minister MacDonald sent his own statement to the head of the World Zionist Organization Chaim Weizman a few months later, nullifying the clauses of the Passfield White Paper in order to appease the mounting criticism. That letter would be known to Arabs as ‘Black Letter.’

**PEACE NOW** (Hebrew: *Shalom Achshav*) Israeli non-partisan volunteer Peace Movement founded in 1978 during the Israeli-Egyptian peace talks by 348 Israeli reserve officers and soldiers to press the Israeli government to seek peace through negotiations and mutual compromise with the Palestinians and other Arab neighbors. Peace Now recognizes the right of Palestinian self-determination in their own demilitarized state alongside Israel. They were the driving force behind the mass protests against the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Peace Now advocates a peace agreement with Syria on the basis of Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights and fights against the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, particularly its settlement policy.



**PEACE TO PROSPERITY WORKSHOP** US-organized workshop that was held in Manama, Bahrain, on 25 and 26 June 2019. The workshop represented the economic part of President Trump’s claimed Israel-Palestine peace plan and aimed at encouraging capital investment through infrastructure and industrial development in the occupied West Bank, Gaza, and the region. The plan included investing upwards of \$50 billion in the Palestinian territories and neighboring Arab states over the course of 10 years, the creation of more than 1 million Palestinian jobs, and reducing the unemployment rates in the OPT, therefore laying the foundation for peace. Specifically, Arab Gulf countries were supposed to play a key role in committing billions in investment for the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, while initiating projects of regional economic cooperation. The absence of a clear political solution and

the lack of Palestinian trust in the Trump administration led to a strong joint opposition to the workshop. The PLO-PA, Palestinian factions, and most Palestinian business owners voiced their opposition and boycotted the workshop due to the attempt by the workshop to decouple economics from politics. Palestinian political parties and Palestinian civil society in the OPT and surrounding refugee camps organized large-scale protests against the workshop calling for their demands for sovereignty and self-determination to be addressed. Despite the PA having urged Arab states to not take part, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, and Qatar had attended. Despite the critical feedback by the international community claiming the need for a political solution, not just an economic one, son-in-law and senior advisor to President Trump, Jared Kushner afterwards claimed the workshop was a “tremendous success,” and stated that his “very detailed and reasonable plan was well received by attendees.” Nonetheless, not much had been achieved in terms of solid commitment by international and Arab leaders to investing in Kushner’s plan.



**PEEL COMMISSION** (also: *Palestine Royal Commission*) Commission appointed in August 1936 by the British government following the outbreak of the Arab Revolt to examine the status of the British Mandate and make proposals for the future. The Peel Commission, led by Lord Earl Peel, concluded its report in July 1937, which stated that the Mandate in Palestine was unworkable, there was no hope of any cooperative national entity comprised of Arabs and Jews, and that both sides could not live in peace together in one state. In conclusion, it suggested the partition of Mandatory Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, while maintaining a British-controlled corridor from Jerusalem to the coast at Jaffa. The commission recommended population transfer to deal with the issue of population balance between Jews and Arabs in the proposed Jewish state. The

plan was rejected by the Arabs, with the exception of Abdullah of Transjordan, and split the Zionist movement.



*Members of the Peel Commission*

**PEGASE** (French acronym for *Palestino – Européen de Gestion et d'Aide Socio-Economique*) PEGASE was launched in February 2008 as the mechanism of both EU Member states and the European Commission to channel support for the three-year Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (PRDP), which was presented by PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad at the Paris Donor Conference in 17 December 2007. PEGASE builds upon and replaces the Temporary International Mechanism (TIM), shifting emphasis from emergency assistance to a sustainable Palestinian development process. The mechanism is implemented in full partnership with the PA and has a larger scope, covering not only recurrent expenditure, but also economic development and investment projects. PEGASE, which covers EU assistance to the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem, is coordinated locally with EU member states and other international partners.



**PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE** Program whose establishment was included in Article VII of the 1995 Oslo II Agreement with the aim to change the way Palestinians and Israelis interact by fostering wider public exposure to and involvement in the peace process and developing mutual understanding and cooperation based on equality and reciprocity. To achieve this, the program supported joint initiatives by Israeli and Palestinian public and private organizations, particularly on a ‘grassroots’ level. Priority was given to initiatives that had

the potential to bridge large audiences in the two societies. The program was facilitated by Norway through the Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies, the main sponsor of the People-to-People scheme.

**THE PEOPLE'S VOICE** see *Nusseibeh-Ayalon Plan*

**PERES-ABU ALA PLAN** see *Abu Ala-Peres Plan*

**PERMANENT STATUS ISSUES** Several issues deemed to be complicated and tricky that were deferred by the 1993 Declaration of Principles (DoP), which served as the basis for the subsequent Oslo Accords, to subsequent permanent status negotiations, which were to be finalized in 1999 but have not yet been held. According to Article 5 of the DOP (titled *Transitional Period and Permanent Status Negotiations*) "these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest."

**PERMITS** Documents or licenses issued by the Israeli authorities, which are required by Palestinians for many daily acts, including transit and work permits for OPT residents to enter Jerusalem or Israel proper and in some cases even to move between cities and villages. Other permits include building permits, import/export permits, and permits to travel abroad.

**PETITION OF THE 20** Public statement signed in November 1999 by respected local Palestinian leaders from different backgrounds to express frustration and distrust regarding the performance of the PA. The PA responded heavy-handedly and, amongst other things, arrested eight of the signatories.

**PHALANGIST** (French: *Phalanges Libanaises*; Arabic: *Al-Kataib Al-Lubnaniyya*) Largest and most important Christian-Maronite party in Lebanon, which was founded in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel to preserve a Christian Lebanon. The Phalangists espouse an extreme right-wing nationalist ideology and oppose

the presence of Palestinians on Lebanese soil. The party is pro-Western and anti-pan-Arab. In the beginning of the Lebanese Civil War they cooperated with Syria, but after 1982 Israel became their most important ally. Units from the Lebanese Forces (Phalangist military wing), which was actively supported by Israel during the Lebanese Civil War and was under the command of Elie Hobeika, were responsible for the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacres which left thousands of Palestinian women and children dead.

**PHILADELPHI ROUTE** (also: *Philadelphi corridor* or *Philadelphi buffer zone*) 100-200-meter wide strip of Israeli-controlled territory along the border between Egypt and the Gaza Strip which, according to the Oslo Accords, remained under direct Israeli military control. During the Second Intifada the Israeli army demolished thousands of homes, including 1,600 during the army's 'Operation Rainbow' in September 2004, to prevent the alleged smuggling of weapons through tunnels dug under the route and erected a fortification system with walls and armored outposts. In September 2005, the Israeli army handed over control of the Philadelph Route to the Egyptian army, which is now responsible for security and for fighting smuggling in the area. In January 2009 Israel bombed some 300 smuggling tunnels during Operation 'Cast Lead'.



*Part of the Philadelphi Route*

**PISGA** (Acronym for *Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority*) Outline of a model for Palestinian self-government during a transitional phase that was developed by Palestinians from within the OPT under the leadership of Faisal Hussein. PISGA was first presented by the Palestinian delegation dur-

ing the Washington talks on 14 January 1992 and was formally handed to the Israeli delegation on 3 March 1992. The purpose of the suggested interim arrangements was to ensure the peaceful and orderly transfer of authority from Israel to PISGA, and to create the proper conditions for final status negotiations. PISGA was to consist of an elected 180-member Legislative Assembly, a 20-member Executive Council, an independent Judiciary, and a Chairperson to be elected by the assembly. The plan was approved by the PLO leadership in Tunis but was rejected by the Israeli government under Prime Minister Shamir which insisted on its own "Interim Self-Government Arrangement" (ISGA) proposal (see *Israeli Proposal for a Self-Governing Authority in the Territories*). This proposal offered the establishment of a Palestinian Administrative Council to assume powers and responsibilities related to dealing with daily life issues.

**PLAN DALET** (also: *Plan D*) Master Plan of the Zionist High Command to coordinate various military sub-operations, executed between April 1948 and March 1949, which resulted in the expulsion of over 700,000 Palestinians and the destruction of some 418 Arab villages. The plan itself was developed by the Haganah in 1947 to prepare for a potential Arab attack on the Jewish state and to ensure control over its territory. The final revision of the plan was made on 10 March 1948 and it was launched on 4 April. Plan Dalet consisted of several operations relating to the various areas of Palestine, including Operation Nachshon (Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road), Operation Chametz (Tel Aviv-Jaffa area), Operation Shiffon (Old City of Jerusalem), Operation Dekel (Nazareth and Lower Galilee), Operation Dani and Kedem (East Jerusalem), and Operation Yoav (Negev and Gaza). All aimed at what was later described by scholars as "ethnic cleansing" – expelling the people and occupying their land.

**PLO** see *Palestine Liberation Organization*

**PLO CENTRAL COUNCIL** see *Palestinian Central Council*

**PLO CHARTER** see *Palestine National Charter*

**PLO DEPARTMENTS** Subdivisions of the PLO, with the Political Department being the largest of the PLO departments; it directs and supervises the work of PLO representatives abroad, including representing the PLO at international conferences. Other departments are Returnees, Culture and Information, Social Affairs, Education, and Popular Organizations. In addition, there is the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (established in 1965), Samed, the Martyrs' Works Society (established in 1970), and the news agency Wafa (established in 1972).

**PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** Highest executive body of the PLO which represents the PLO internationally. The Executive Committee consists of 21 members (18 elected by the PNC, 3 appointed) and has full operational authority over all sub-organizations and budgets. It acts as a cabinet, implementing policy and directing the activities of the PLO in accordance with the Covenant and the Basic Law. Current chairman is Mahmoud Abbas.

**POPULAR COMMITTEES** (also: *Neighborhood Committees*) Grassroots organizations established during the First Intifada (1987-93) to coordinate self-help activities (e.g., production of food, education, health-care), organize resistance activities against the occupying forces and the Civil Administration, and provide the foundations for self-rule. They were comprised of individuals from across Palestinian society and varied greatly in size and scope. It is estimated that by the spring of 1988 there were several hundred such committees across the OPT. The Israeli army made concerted efforts to disrupt their activities by arresting members and declaring them illegal on 17 August 1988. Popular Committees continue to function today in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and, particularly in the West Bank, have united under several coalitions in order to organize grassroots resistance against Israel's occupation.

**POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (PFLP)** (Arabic: *Al-Jabha Al-Sha'biyya li-Tahrir Filastin*) Faction established in 1967 by the Arab Nationalist Movement and led by George Habash until 2000. The PFLP



began a transformation towards a Marxist-Leninist ideology in early 1969, seeing the struggle for Palestine as part of a larger revolution to transform Arab society. The faction split twice, once in 1968 when the Palestine Liberation Front broke away (now PFLP-GC), and again in 1969 when the DFLP split from the movement. In the 1970s, the PFLP became known for hijacking actions, led by Wadi Haddad (the armed wing is known as the Red Eagles), but the organization became more moderate after 1973. The PFLP pulled out of the PLO Executive Committee in 1974 but rejoined it in 1981. The faction led an anti-Arafat coalition in the early 1980s, opposing both the Fez Plan and negotiations with Jordan. It was a member of the UNLU during the First Intifada and opposes the Oslo Accords. Until 2018, the PFLP was represented in the PLO Executive Committee by Abdel Rahim Malouh, but in reality it has been marginalized since the Oslo process began. Reconciliation with Fatah/Arafat took place in Cairo in August 1999. The PFLP advocates for the establishment of a democratic state on the land of historic Palestine where all peoples can live as equal citizens. In September 1999, the PFLP's Deputy Secretary Abu Ali Mustafa returned to Palestine, and following the resignation of Habash became the new head in July 2000. In August 2001 he was assassinated by Israeli forces and Ahmed Sa'adat was elected to replace him in October 2001. The PFLP supported the candidate of the Palestinian National Initiative, Mustafa Barghouthi, during the 2005 presidential elections and won the mayorship of Birzeit during the 2005 municipal elections. They also participated in the PLC elections of January 2006 as the Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa List, winning 4.2% of the popular vote and taking three of the 132 seats. The PFLP's military wing is called Abu Ali Mustapha Brigades. The PFLP is currently listed as a 'terrorist' organization by the US State Department and the EU.



#### POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE – EXTERNAL OPERATIONS

Splinter group of the PFLP formed in 1971 by Wadie Haddad, who disagreed with the decision of the PFLP to halt airplane hijackings and other violent acts which had drawn attention, but at high public relations costs, and vowed to continue such operations. A plane hijacking in June 1976 that ended in Entebbe, Uganda was attributed to the group. After Haddad's death in 1978, the group splintered and dissolved.

#### POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE – GENERAL COMMAND (PFLP-GC)

Splinter group of the PFLP formed in late 1968 and led by Ahmed Jibril, a former officer in the Syrian Army. The PFLP-GC is a militant pro-Syrian, anti-Arafat faction within the PLO, committed to armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, and is thought to be connected to Syrian military intelligence. The PFLP-GC was part of the Rejectionist Front, rejects any compromise with Israel, and has been involved in numerous attacks on Israeli soldiers and civilians. It is based in Damascus and lacks broad popular presence. During the 1990s, and more recently, the PFLP-GC limited its activities to training and equipping other groups, such as Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. The PFLP-GC has no significant branch in the OPT and is not currently represented in the PLO Executive Committee. It is listed as a 'terrorist' organization by the US State Department and the European Union.



#### POPULAR RESISTANCE COMMITTEES (PRC)

(Arabic: *Lijan Al-Muqawamah Al-Sha'biyya*) Coalition of local militants that emerged in Gaza during the early days of the Al-Aqsa Intifada to resist Israel's assaults on the Palestinians. The committees mainly consist of dissident or breakaway members of Fatah and former PA security officials, but also have Hamas- and Islamic Jihad-affiliated members. The PRC was behind several attacks against Israeli targets in the Gaza Strip, often setting roadside bombs to target Israeli tanks. The

PRC rejected the US/Israel demanded reforms in the PA in 2002 as well as the *hudna* in 2003. They claimed responsibility for an attack on a US convoy in northern Gaza in October 2003, which left three US security men dead. The PRC are currently led by Abu Yasser Shashnyeh.



**PRAWER PLAN** (later *Praver-Begin Bill*, after recommendations by Minister Benny Begin were included; formally: *Law for the Regulation of Bedouin Settlement in the Negev – 2013*) Israeli bill first formulated in September 2011, named after its initiator Ehud Praver (a former Deputy Chair of the National Security Council), and approved by the Knesset on 24 June 2013. If implemented it would destroy 35 "unrecognized villages", thereby displacing/forcibly relocating some 70,000 Bedouin citizens of Israel from the Negev/Naqab area. The plan, which the Israeli government claims is part of a campaign to develop the Negev/Naqab, was rejected by the Bedouin community as well as by human rights/advocacy organizations inside Israel for entrenching the state's historic injustice against the Bedouins. It also faced strong international opposition, including from the UN and the European Parliament, which led to its halt in December 2013. However, on the ground, demolitions and displacement have continued apace.

**PRESIDENT** (Palestine) Primarily symbolic but *de facto* powerful position of the head of the State of Palestine and of the PA. First held by Yasser Arafat (from 1994 until his death in November 2004), then by his successor Mahmoud Abbas, who is still the acting president despite the fact that his term formally ended on 9 January 2009 (because no new presidential elections were held since 2005). The president is supposedly elected every four years by the Palestinian people in the Palestinian Territories. He heads the armed forces and appoints the prime minister.

#### **PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S FIVE PRINCIPLES FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Five key issues to be addressed in order to achieve peace in the Middle East as outlined by US President Lyndon Johnson in a speech on 19 June 1967. They include (1) the right for every nation in the Middle East to exist, (2) justice for the refugees, (3) respect for maritime rights, (4) an end to the Middle East arms race, and (5) respect for political independence and territorial integrity of all states in the area.



President Johnson

**PRESIDENTIAL GUARD** Palestinian security force responsible for the protection of the president, other VIPs, important locations such as the presidential compound and residence in Ramallah, and foreign delegations visiting the PA. Established in 1994 as "Presidential Security" (absorbing the remnants of Force 17) and renamed "Presidential Guard" in 2006, it operates under the direct control of the President of the State of Palestine. In 2006, the force was estimated to be 3,500-member strong. It is currently led by Major General Munir Az-Zuabi.



**PREVENTIVE SECURITY SERVICES** (Arabic: *Al-'amn al-wiqa'i*) Palestinian security force responsible for internal intelligence, investigating internal security cases (e.g., weapons violations, corruption, money laundering), and counterespionage. The Preventive Security Service was established in 1994 by President Yasser Arafat in accordance with the Oslo Accords. It has two branches, one responsible for Gaza and another for the West Bank.

**PRICE TAG** Policy launched in April 2008 by extreme right-wing settlers across the West Bank, in which settlers seek revenge ("a price") for each evacuation of outposts by harming Palestinians (e.g., beatings, attacking homes, throwing stones, burning fields, uprooting trees, killing livestock, and poisoning wells).

**PRIME MINISTER** (Palestine) Position of the official head of government of the State of Palestine (formerly of the Palestinian Authority), which was created in 2003 (via an amendment to the Basic Law) to head the Council of Ministers and to reduce the executive authorities of then President Yasser Arafat. The prime minister has the authority to form the Council of Ministers (cabinet) within three weeks (Article 66 of the Basic Law) and manage and supervise their operations. First prime minister was Mahmoud Abbas (2003) followed by Ahmed Qrei'a (2003-05), Nabil Shaath (acting, December 2005), Ahmed Qrei'a (2005-06), Ismail Haniyeh (2006-07, since then disputed), Salam Fayyad (2007-13), Rami Hamdallah (2013-19), and Mohammed Shtayyeh (since 2019).

**PRISONERS' DOCUMENT** (officially: *National Reconciliation Document*; also: *18-Point-Plan* or *Document of National Accord*) 18-point document drawn up in spring 2006 by Palestinian prisoners held by Israel. Contributors were affiliated with Fatah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the PFLP, and the DFLP. Most prominent among them were Fatah leader Marwan Barghouti and Hamas MP Abdul Khalek An-Natsheh. The document was to serve as a basis for reconciliation between the rival factions. Key provisions of the document included a call for Israeli withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and the creation of a Palestinian state. It was seen as granting implicit recognition to Israel, but Hamas leaders emphasized that their charter remained in effect. Before Hamas and Fatah negotiated an agreement, the Hamas and Islamic Jihad prisoners who co-drafted the Prisoners' Document retracted their names and withdrew their support of it in protest of President Abbas' decision to hold a referendum based on the plan.

**PROFESSORS COMMITTEE** (formally: *Committee for the Development of the Administered Territories*) Committee established in July 1967 by then Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, which consisted of professors and their research teams, headed by the economist Michael Bruno, who were commissioned to

study the newly-occupied population. Their "official" goal was the creation of a body responsible for "long-term planning" in the occupied territories, but another objective was to find ways to both ensure they would not resist the occupation regime and resettle the refugees, i.e., to encourage them to leave the country. The Committee thereby based its work on the assumption that the modernization of Palestinian society was detrimental to Israeli interests and that keeping, for example, unemployment high and development low would serve their goals as Palestinians would leave to other places where they could make a living. However, that bill did not add up as most Palestinians were determined to stay and eventually return to what had become Israel. The Committee submitted its first draft report on alternative development scenarios for the West Bank, Gaza, and Northern Sinai on 10 September 1967 and their complete research in February 1968.

**PROTOCOL ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS** (formally: *Protocol on Economic Relations between the Government of the State of Israel and the PLO, representing the Palestinian people*; also: *Paris Protocol*) Document signed on 29 April 1994 that formed part of the 1994 Oslo I/Gaza-Jericho Agreement, which was signed a few days later and to which it was attached as Annex IV. It was also incorporated with minor amendments in the 1995 Oslo II Accord, as Article XXIV to provide the framework to regulate all economic interaction between Israel and the PA during the five-year the interim-period. However, the Palestinian economy was *de facto* integrated into Israel's through a quasi-customs union, with Israel controlling all borders, imports and exports as well as tariffs, VAT rates and gasoline prices, while Palestinians were prevented from engaging in any independent trade relations. The protocol allows Israel to collect tariffs and VAT on Palestinian imports on behalf of the PA, levying unjustifiably high collection and processing fees, as well as all income tax from Palestinians who work in Israel and in settlements. While the Paris Protocol no longer applies to the Gaza Strip since the 2007 Hamas takeover, Israel re-

tains control over its borders and the movement of goods and people. Palestinians and other critics argue that the protocol, which should have expired 20 years ago, not only prevents any Palestinian economic growth but ensures Palestinian economic dependence on Israel.

**PROTOCOL ON FURTHER TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES** (also: *Further Transfer Protocol*) Agreement signed during the Oslo process by Israel and the Palestinians in Cairo on 27 August 1995, transferring additional civilian spheres to the PA's responsibility including labor, trade and industry, agriculture, gas and gasoline, insurance, statistics, postal services, and local government.

**PROVISIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE** Provisional representative and legislative body of Israel from 14 May 1948 to 25 January 1949 before being replaced by the First Knesset, the election of which it initiated and supervised.

**PROXIMITY TALKS** Round of peace talks launched in March 2010 without face to face meetings between the parties. US Middle East envoy George Mitchell shuttled between Jerusalem and Ramallah in a bid to bridge the gap between the two sides. As was widely expected the talks failed to eventually re-launch negotiations.

**PURPLE LINE** Ceasefire line (drawn in purple on UN maps) between Syria and Israel after the 1967 War during which Israel captured the entire Golan Heights. The Purple Line was supervised by a series of positions and observation posts manned by UN personnel, and has effectively become the new border between Israel and Syria.

## Q

**QADI** Muslim judge who renders decisions according to Shari'a Law on cases involving inheritance, pious bequests (*waqf*), marriage, and divorce.

**QALQILYA** Palestinian governorate and city in the West Bank which has an estimated population of 112,400 and almost 48,200 respectively (PCBS, 2019). It is located in the northwest of the West Bank on the "border" with Israel, about 12 km from the Mediterranean coast, and is surrounded by Israel's West Bank barrier, which isolates it from all sides except a small Israeli-controlled corridor in the east connecting it with smaller Palestinian villages. Qalqilya was under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967, and since then has been under Israeli occupation, despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the Palestinian Authority under the 1995 Oslo II Accord. The city's main attraction is the largest zoo in the West Bank.



**QALUNYA MASSACRE** Attack by Haganah forces on the Jerusalem district village of Qalunya as part of Operation Nachshon on 11 April 1948. According to Israeli historian Illan Pappé, the attackers blew up 50 homes, systematically destroying the village. Israeli historian Benny Morris's accounts put the number of homes blown up at approximately 55, with Haganah orders to "kill everyone found in the village." Morris's sources conclude that "some Arabs may have died in the attack," while others were captured and executed. Some other accounts state that at least 14 villagers were killed.

**QASSAM ROCKETS** (Qassam-1, -2, -3, and -4; also: *Kassam*) Short-range version of Katyusha rockets developed primarily by Hamas in Gaza and manufactured from common civilian products such as piping and homemade explosives as warheads. They are launched from the Gaza Strip and fired at Israeli towns, mostly those close to the Gazan border such as Sderot. The rockets are named after Hamas' military wing, the Izz Eddin Al-Qassam Brigades, which in turn is named after Muslim Brotherhood member Sheikh Izz Eddin Al-Qassam, who fought against the British and the Zionists and was killed in action by British forces in 1935. The Qassam-1, first launched in October 2001, had a range of up to 4.5 km and could carry a warhead of 0.5 kilograms, the Qassam-2 had a range of 8 km and could reach the southern outskirts of Ashkelon, the Qassam-3 carries a payload of 10-20 kilograms of explosives and reaches as far as 10-15 km, and the Qassam-4 has a range of up to 17 km. Although many of these unsophisticated rockets missed their targets, they have caused considerable damage and numerous injuries and deaths (28 people were killed as of 9 January 2009). In response to Qassam rocket attacks, the Israeli government launched several raids against the Gaza Strip. The Israeli government also installed early warning radar systems to notify communities of Qassam launches. (See also *Grad Rockets*).



**AL-QAWMIYUN AL-ARAB** see *Arab Nationalist Movement*

**QAZAZA MASSACRE** Attack on the village of Qazaza south of Ramle on 19 December 1947 by Jewish paramilitary forces, who blew up houses, including that of the Mukhtar. Some accounts note that five Arab children were killed while others, such as historian Benny Morris, note that only two villagers were killed and several injured. Morris also states that Qazaza was one of the specific villages which orders to harass, cleanse, and destroy, were directed toward. He further states that the attack came in response to the murder

of a Jew or a Haganah officer and that on 16 December, the villagers, fearing retaliation, had sent many of their women and children to safety in nearby Na'na. His sources also state that following 19 December, more women and children were evacuated.

**QISARYA MASSACRE** Attack by Palmach forces on Qisarya (today known as Caesarea) on 15 February 1948. Some accounts state that the forces killed all those who did not escape the village and that Qisarya was the first village to be expelled in its entirety. Historian Benny Morris's accounts state that Qisarya was the one case of authorized expulsion, meaning that the inhabitants of the village were cultivating Jewish and Greek Orthodox Church land and were evacuated in early January by a leading family. At the end of the month, Jewish forces ambushed a bus killing two and injuring eight Arabs. After Jewish forces occupied the village on 10-20 February, they destroyed houses and looted abandoned homes, relocating the approximately 20 remaining villagers. Sources continue that even a month after the evacuation, the villagers, who had "done all in their power to keep the peace," still had not gotten their stolen money and valuables back from the Jewish leaders who expelled them.

**QIBLA** (English: *Direction*; also: *Qiblah* or *Kibla*) Direction of the sacred shrine of the Ka'aba in Mecca, toward which Muslims turn five times each day when performing their daily prayers. However, the first *qibla* Muslims prayed towards was Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.



*The Ka'aba in Mecca*

**AL-QIBLY MOSQUE** The first physical structure ever built by Muslims on the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound by the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik Bin Marwan between 706-714 AD. The Mosque was the first holy site of Islam (before Mecca) towards which Muslims directed their prayers (*Qibla*), hence the name. Al-Qibly Mosque is a square building with nine entrances and made of seven naves, the biggest

of which is topped with a large silver dome. Today, it is commonly referred to as Al-Aqsa Mosque (see also *Al-Aqsa Mosque compound*).



*Al-Qibly/Al-Aqsa Mosque*

**QIBYA MASSACRE** Israeli military action on 14 October 1953 at the climax of a number of border clashes against the northern West Bank village of Qibya. The massacre was carried out by an Israeli paratroop company and Unit 101 under the command of Ariel Sharon (see *Unit 101*). In 1993, Israeli historian Benny Morris quoted original documents of the time showing that Sharon ordered his soldiers to conquer the village with “maximal killing and damage to property.” The attack was a retaliatory strike in response to Jordanian forces killing a Jewish woman and her two children in the Israeli town of Yahud two days earlier. According to Morris and other at least one other Israeli historian, at least 69 Palestinians civilians were killed and at least 45 houses in the village, then under Jordanian control, were demolished, as were its school, mosque, and water reservoir. The attack was widely criticized both internationally and among many Israelis and was condemned in UN Security Council Resolution 101 of 24 November 1953. Israel decided to refrain from directly targeting civilians and to cancel the independence of Unit 101.

**QUARTET** see *Middle East Quartet*

**AL-QUDS 1 AND 2** Grad or Katyusha rockets developed by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad in Gaza with a range of up to 16 km.



**AL-QUDS BRIGADES** (Arabic: Saraya Al-Quds) Military wing of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement which is responsible for launch-

ing Al-Quds rockets from Gaza at Israel. It is the second-largest armed group in Gaza after Hamas' Izz Eddin Al-Qassam Brigades.



# R

**RA'AM-TA'AL** see *United Arab List*

**RABAT SUMMIT** The 7<sup>th</sup> Arab Summit meeting held in Rabat from 25-28 October 1974, which recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians and affirmed "the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent national authority in any Palestinian territory that is liberated" as well as Arab solidarity with the Palestinian cause.



**RACHEL CORRIE** Name of the 23-year-old American college student and peace activist from Olympia, Washington, who was crushed to death by an Israeli bulldozer on 16 March 2003 in Gaza, during a nonviolent protest as part of the International Solidarity Movement to protect the home of a Palestinian family from demolition. In February 2015, the Israeli Supreme Court rejected an appeal for damages by the family of Rachel Corrie, determining that the state bore no responsibility for her death on the grounds that it had occurred as a result of wartime activity. The ruling prompted criticism from the family, internationally and from human rights groups.



**RACHEL'S TOMB** (Arabic: *Qubbat Rachel*) Contested burial place of the Biblical matriarch Rachel (Jacob's wife) at the northern entrance of Bethlehem. The tomb was originally built by the Crusaders and the present structure was built in 1620, but has been altered many times. Rachel's Tomb is revered by

Jews, Christians and Muslims. For the latter, it is holy as it is the site of the Bilal Bin Rabah Mosque (named after one of the companions of the Prophet Mohammed). The Muslim cemetery on the grounds of the tomb belongs to the Ta'amreh Bedouin tribe. In 1949, the UN ruled that the *status quo* arrangement concerning rights, privileges and practices in certain holy places applies to the site. Until the 1967 War, it was Waqf property and open to worshippers of all faiths. In 1996, Israel built a fortress wall around it to ensure absolute power over the site. Today, the tomb is under full Israeli control and is completely separated from the rest of Bethlehem by an extension of the West Bank barrier built in 2005. Consequently, this also highly restricts Palestinian access to the site. Notwithstanding Israeli policies, UNESCO officially declared Rachel's Tomb to be a mosque in 2010. More recently, in October 2018, the Executive Board of UNESCO adopted resolutions reaffirming that the tomb (along with the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron) are "integral parts of the Occupied Palestinian territory."



**RAFAH MASSACRE** Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip town on 12 November 1956 during its occupation of the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Protectorate following the Suez Crisis, which left 111 residents of Rafah and the nearby refugee camp dead.

**RAKAH** (Hebrew acronym for *Reshima Komunistit Hadasha*; English: *New Communist List*) Party established by Israeli Arabs in 1965 after splitting from the Israeli Communist Party (ICP) over differences vis-à-vis Arab nationalist leaders like Egyptian President Nasser. The new party also had Jewish-Israeli members but remained mainly Palestinian and was regularly represented in the Knesset. In 1977, Rakah joined other marginal left wing and Arab parties in forming the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (*Hadash*)

to gain votes from non-Communists. In 1989, Rakah changed its name to Maki (Hebrew acronym for *HaMiflega HaKomunistit HaYisra'elit* – Israeli Communist Party), which is currently the main component of the Hadash list, which ran in the April 2019 elections together with Ta'al, gaining 6 seats, and in the September 2019 elections as part of the Joint List, gaining 13 seats.



**RAMADAN** Ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar and the holy month in which Prophet Mohammed received the first revelations of the Qur'an in 610. Muslims mark it with fasting and discipline of character between dawn and sunset. Ramadan is a time for spiritual reflection, prayer, and doing good deeds. Fasting during Ramadan is one of the five pillars of Islam. The period ends with the three-day Eid Al-Fitr.

**RAMLEH MASSACRE** Attack on Ramleh on 18 February 1948, reported in multiple local newspapers and cited by historian Benny Morris, in which a Zionist terrorist, disguised as an Arab, planted a bomb in one of the city's markets, killing seven civilians and injuring 45 others, many of them women and children. Another massacre was reported in the groves near "Arab As-Satariyya" near Ramleh, in which 10 Arab workers, including a woman, were killed in late February.

**RAMON PLAN FOR JERUSALEM** Unilateral plan advanced by former Labor and Kadima politician Haim Ramon and the Peace and Security Association in 2016, which aimed at relinquishing Jerusalem's eastern Palestinian neighborhoods in order to maintain Israeli control over the city in light of the "demographic threat". It proposes to divide Jerusalem by keeping Palestinian Jerusalemites in 28 neighborhoods out of the city, revoke their Israeli resident status and social benefit entitlements, and transfer them to the Palestinian Authority (with the status of "Area B").



Haim Ramon

**REAGAN PLAN** Diplomatic initiative proposed by US President Ronald Reagan on 1 September 1982 to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was based on a 5-year transition period, beginning with free elections for a self-governing Palestinian Authority and a freeze in settlement activity, and ending with a Palestinian entity in confederation with Jordan. With regard to Jerusalem, negotiations would decide the final status.



Ronald Reagan

**RECONCILIATION TALKS** see *Palestinian Unity Talks*

**RED EAGLES** (also: *Red Eagle Gang* or *Group*; Arabic: *Nasr Al-Ahmar*) Military wing of the PFLP formed in the northern West Bank during the First Intifada to confront the Israeli army and kill suspected Palestinian collaborators. Following the signing of the Oslo Accords, they essentially disbanded. However, they re-emerged with the outbreak of the Second Intifada, at times under the name 'Forces of the Popular Palestinian Resistance,' and then as 'Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades' after the 2001 assassination of PFLP Secretary-General Mustafa Al-Zabri (Abu Ali Mustafa).

**RED SEA-DEAD SEA CANAL** Proposal supported by the World Bank to transport Red Sea water to the Dead Sea along a 110-mile pipeline to stabilize the water level of the latter and reverse the negative impacts desiccation is having on the ecosystem. Supporters argue that the canal would help preserve tourism, agricultural production, mineral extraction, and generate hydropower by using the 400-meter differential between the bodies of water. Opponents argue that pumping seawater will further damage the already overdeveloped Gulf. Furthermore, earthquakes could break the canal and resulting seawater flooding could destroy agricultural land and pollute the groundwater. One 'natural alternative' proposed by environmentalists and local geologists is to bring water back to the Jordan River, thus increasing the amount of fresh-



water carried into the Dead Sea. Experts have estimated the canal will cost € 10 billion. In October 2009 the Jordanian government announced that it would unilaterally tender a Jordan Red Sea Project (JRSP). Instead of constructing a canal, a pipeline would be built in Jordanian territory. On 9 December 2013, an agreement to build the pipeline was signed by Israel, Jordan and Palestine. After a deadly shooting in the Israeli embassy in Amman (24 July 2017), and following tensions between Jordan and Israel, plans for the construction of the pipeline were stalled. Jordanian authorities are determined to continue the project with or without cooperation with Israel, in order to cope with the water shortage in the country.



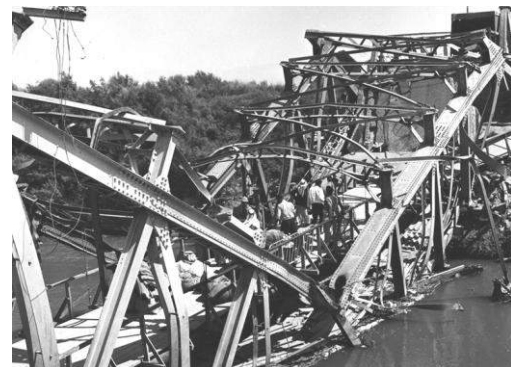
**REDEPLOYMENT (FURTHER)** Relocation of Israeli troops from areas in the OPT. According to Article XIII, 2 of the DOP, "In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas." In contrast, the term 'withdrawal' implied the actual removal of troops, including the transfer of powers in the DOP with withdrawal only referring to the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

**REFORM PARTY** (Arabic: *Hizb Al-Islah*) Party established in June 1935 by Hussein Fakhri Al-Khalidi, which accepted the British-proposed Legislative Council as a step towards gaining influence and eventual independence. It was dissolved in 1937.



Hussein Fakhri Al-Khalidi

**REFUGEE(S)** Person(s) who is/are forced to cross an international border to seek safety as a result of war or another manmade or natural disaster. In the Palestinian discourse, the term refers to anyone who fled or was forced to leave their home and cross into a neighboring state during the 1948 Nakba or following the 1967 June war (including their descendants) who were then forbidden to return. The rights of refugees are enshrined in various articles of international law, and many now live in refugee camps administered by UNRWA in neighboring Arab states (see also *Internally Displaced Persons* and *UN General Assembly Resolution 194*). The issue of refugees is one of the issues (along with Jerusalem, settlements, borders, security arrangements, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest) that the 1993 Declaration of Principles and the Oslo process deferred to subsequent permanent status negotiations, which were to be finalized in 1999 but have not yet been held.



Palestinian refugees at Allenby Bridge, 1967

**REFUSENIK** (also: *Refusers*) Term applied to conscientious objectors in Israel, i.e., Israeli soldiers or reservists who refuse to serve in the OPT or in the Israeli army altogether. The first refuser movement Yesh Gvul (English: *'There's a Limit'*) was launched in 1982 with the outbreak of the First Lebanon War. Its basic assumption was that every citizen in a democratic state, when serving in the military, must decide what their red lines are and which actions cross those lines. For an Israeli to legally avoid military service based on the grounds of conscience or refusal, one must be granted 'Conscientious Objector' status, which is extremely difficult to obtain.

The Refusenik movement gained strength during the Second Intifada when a group of Israeli reserve combat officers and soldiers drafted the Combatants' Letter in January 2002, outlining their decision to refuse to serve in any capacity that would uphold Israel's "illegal and thus immoral" occupation. As a result, the group 'Courage to Refuse' was founded. In 2002, the Israeli High Court of Justice ruled that refusal to serve was legal on the grounds of unqualified pacifism. However, "selective refusal" which accepted some duties and not others – such as refusal to serve in the territories – was illegal and would "weaken the ties that bind us as a nation." Refuseniks face jail sentences of several weeks.

**REGULATION LAW 1** (formally: *Settlements Regularization Law for Judea and Samaria [the West Bank]*) Legislation that was passed by the Knesset on 6 February 2017, but has since been frozen by the High Court of Justice while it considers the law's constitutionality. It allows the state to retroactively legalize some 3,500 illegal Israeli structures in the West Bank by expropriating private Palestinian land on which they have been built, provided that they were established "in good faith" or had government support, and that the Palestinian owners receive 125% financial compensation for the land in question. In December 2018, Israeli Attorney General Avichai Mandelblit asked the High Court to strike the law, writing in a letter that "there is no escape from the judicial declaration that the Regulation Law is an unconstitutional law, which is null and void." Critics denounced the law as violating Palestinian rights as well as Israel's 1992 Basic Law on Human Dignity and Liberty, because it does not provide landowners with legal options to oppose expropriation if they refuse compensation. Some also argued that the Knesset was not authorized to pass laws regarding property in the West Bank as it is under the jurisdiction of the military.

**REGULATION LAW 2** (also: *Young Settlement Bill or Fabric of Life Law*) Bill proposed by MKs Bezalel Smotrich (Habayit Hayehudi) and Yoav Kisch (Likud), and passed a preliminary Knesset committee reading on 16

December 2018. The bill was introduced after the decision on Regulation Law 1 was delayed and practically frozen for over a year. It pursues the same goal as Regulation Law 1, but refers only to those illegal settlements that were built on what is claimed to be government land – 66 outposts, some of which stretch deep into the West Bank. The Law freezes all legal proceedings against the outposts, directs the government to treat these outposts as legal settlements (i.e., connect them to state infrastructure such as water and electricity, provide garbage removal, and approve budgets for them), and gives the state two years to find a way to retroactively legalize them.

**REJECTIONIST FRONT** An Iraqi-backed coalition of Palestinian groups opposing the PLO strategy of seeking a negotiated settlement based on a two-state-solution and instead advocating armed struggle to liberate Palestine. The Rejectionist Front was created in Baghdad in 1974 and at the time rejected any settlement with Israel. It was composed of the PFLP, PFLP-GC, PPSF, ALF, and PLF. The group became inactive by 1980.

**REVISIONISTS** Large faction within the Zionist movement formed in the mid-1920s and led by Poland's Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky, its founding ideologue, until his death in 1940. The Revisionists rejected the pragmatism of the WZO and Jewish Agency leadership and demanded the terms of the British Mandate be 'revised' to encourage Jewish colonization throughout the area of Transjordan and Palestine. The Revisionists split from the WZO in 1935 and commenced a violent campaign against the British and Palestinians in 1937. Today, the Revisionist's constituent factions have reformed to make up the Likud bloc in Israeli politics.



*Ze'ev Jabotinsky*

**RHODES TALKS** Armistice Talks that began on 13 January 1949 in Rhodes to formalize the end of the fighting between Israel and its Arab neighbors without prejudice to the settlement of the Palestine Question. Armistice

agreements with Israel were signed on 24 February by Egypt, on 23 March by Lebanon, on 3 April by Transjordan, and on 20 July by Syria. Iraq refused to enter into talks.



**RIBAT** Originally small fortifications or buildings located on the borders of Muslim lands in which the military volunteers defending those lands (*al-murabitun*) lived. After the departure of the Crusaders, the ribats in Jerusalem were used to accommodate visitors and Muslim pilgrims.

**RIBAT AL-KURD** Originally a Mamluk-period hospice, Ribat Al-Kurd is located in front of the Arghouniyeh School near the Iron Gate (Bab Al-Hadid in Arabic – one of the gates leading to the Al-Aqsa Mosque) at the western wall of the Mosque's compound. It was founded by Prince Al-Muqir As-Sayfi Al-Kurd in 1293 to house the *murabitun* – military volunteers who safeguarded Muslim lands and places. It consists of a small plaza, an alleyway and a number of houses inhabited by several Palestinians from the Shihabi family (hence the area is also referred to as *Hoash Shihabi*). In 1967, the Israeli occupying forces confiscated the area of Ribat Al-Kurd, which is Islamic Waqf property, and in 1971 Israeli excavations led to the structure's partial collapse. In the 1980s, Israeli sources spoke of the discovery of part of the Western Wall and groups of settlers began to visit the site and pray there, calling it the "Little Kotel" (to emphasize its connection with the Wailing Wall), although there was no evidence for previous Jewish worship at the site. In 2006, Israeli authorities converted it into a Jewish prayer hall and in 2011, declared the wall of Ribat Al-Kurd to be a Jewish holy site. They banned the Waqf from undertaking renovation works there, erected a checkpoint at its entrance, and installed surveillance cameras.



**RIGHT OF ENTRY/RE-ENTRY TO THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY** Grassroots campaign in response to an undeclared Israeli policy employed since mid-2006 that denies entry and/or re-entry via the international Israeli borders at Ben Gurion Airport, Allenby Bridge, Sheikh Hussein Bridge, and Eilat, to foreign passport holders who want to visit, live, or work in the OPT. Palestinian natives, spouses, children, and other close relatives of Palestinian ID card holders are primarily affected. Israel's arbitrary turning away of foreign nationals at its ports of entry has resulted in, *inter alia*, the separation of families, the departure of investors, the disruption of education and other services, and the prevention of access to properties. The campaign supports individuals and organizations denied entry and advocates for the rights of access, movement and residency in the OPT.

**RIGHT OF RETURN** One of the key Palestinian demands relating to the peace process. Right of Return refers to the right of Palestinian refugees and their descendants to return to their pre-1948 homes in Israel and the OPT. Legal reference to the right of return can be found in UN General Assembly Resolution 194 of 11 December 1948, which states, "Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so." Israel, which has its own right of return (i.e. the automatic right of every Jew in the world to settle in Israel and obtain citizenship), has constantly rejected the idea of allowing the refugees to return.

**RIYADH DECLARATION** (regarding *Arab Peace Initiative of 2002*) Jointly signed declaration by Arab leaders at the March 2007 Arab League summit in Riyadh, stressing their resolve to renew the Arab peace initiative of 2002. It follows the land-for-peace-formula which calls for full Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, for Israel's acceptance of an independent Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital, and for a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. The declaration received international support, but Israel requested major amendments, particularly to the clauses concerned with the refugee problem and the rec-

ognition and normalization of relations with Israel, and has not recognized the document.



*Riyadh Summit, March 2007*

**ROAD BARRIERS/BLOCKS** see *Closure Obstacles*

**ROAD MAP** (formally: *Performance-Based Road Map* and *Goal-Driven Road Map*) Plan put together by the Middle East Quartet in December 2002, and issued on 30 April 2003 after Mahmoud Abbas was sworn in as first Palestinian Prime Minister. The road map aimed to find a “final and comprehensive settlement of the Israel-Palestinian conflict by 2005” based on a full two-state solution, beginning with an end to Palestinian terrorism, a freeze on Israeli settlements, and other steps to normalize conditions. The plan included “clear phases, timelines, target dates, and benchmarks aiming at progress through reciprocal steps by the two parties in the political, security, economic, humanitarian and institution-building fields” and had monitoring groups under the auspices of the Quartet. It envisaged a Palestinian state by 2005. After the end of President Bush's term of office in January 2009, the roadmap fell into the background.



*Road Map handed over to Prime Minister Abbas*

**ROGERS PLAN** Peace plan announced by US Secretary of State William Rogers on 9 December 1969. The Rogers Plan is comprised of two parts: a call for an Israeli-Egyptian ceasefire agreement along the Suez Canal and an attempt to move the Israeli-Jordanian and Israeli-Egyptian negotiations forward within the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 242. Israel rejected the US initiative, while Jordan and Egypt accepted it.



*William Rogers*

**RUBBER BULLETS** A type of bullet employed by the Israeli army and security forces to disperse demonstrations, which are in fact metal bullets encased in a thin rubber coating. The use of these ‘rubber’ bullets on unarmed Palestinian demonstrators has been widely condemned because they are highly inaccurate and can be lethal when fired at close-range, which is often the case in riot situations.



**RUSSIAN COMPOUND** Israeli detention and interrogation facility located in a complex in West Jerusalem which was constructed by the Russian Orthodox Church in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The compound is used to house and interrogate Palestinian security prisoners as well as criminals. According to Physicians for Human Rights, who have visited the compound, but were denied access to the Shin-Bet controlled “security section”, torture and ill treatment are commonplace. The prison complex, which also contains a court, is known to Palestinians as Al-Mascubiyya.



*Russian Compound Prison*

# S

**SABIREEN MOVEMENT** (Arabic: *Harakat As-Sabireen*, English: *Movement of Those Who Endure with Patience*) Islamic armed group in Gaza that split from the Islamic Jihad movement in 2014. While its positions are consistent with Iran's sectarian stances and the group's flag and symbols closely resemble those of Hizbullah and the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, in 2016, founder and leader Hisham Salim told the Palestinian news agency *Ma'an* that although the group was directly funded by the Iranian government, it was non-sectarian, non-religious and not a "Shiite movement." Sabireen has repeatedly clashed with Hamas as it refuses to abide by Hamas' orders to maintain the alleged truce with Israel by firing rockets in response to Israeli missile strikes. It was banned by Hamas in Gaza in 2015 and its members are subject to ongoing arrests and confiscation of their weapons. Salim was reportedly arrested by Hamas in February 2019.



**SABRA AND SHATILA MASSACRE** Atrocity that occurred within the framework of Israel's June 1982 invasion of Lebanon and siege on West Beirut, which aimed to destroy the PLO's infrastructure. The massacre occurred when then-Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and Israeli army chief of staff Rafael Eitan allowed the Israeli-supported Christian Phalange militia, under the leadership of Elie Hobeika, to enter the Palestinian Refugee Camps of Sabra and Shatila on 16-18 September, where they killed between 800 (Israeli figures) to 2,700 (ICRC numbers) Palestinian civilians, mainly women, children, and old men. An Israeli government investigation (see *Kahan Commission*) later found Sharon, Eitan, and others "indirectly responsible", because they had allowed the Phalange into the refugee camps and ignored information about the

killings. Further, an international inquiry commission led by former UN Assistant Secretary-General Sean MacBride held Israel, as occupying power, directly responsible for planning and allowing the Phalange's entry into the camps and ignoring the murders. Nevertheless, no one in Lebanon or Israel was prosecuted for the massacres. In 2001, following Sharon's election as Prime Minister, a Belgian court agreed to look into a war crimes case filed against Sharon by 28 survivors of the massacre, and on 12 February 2003, the Belgian Supreme Court ruled that Sharon and others could be prosecuted in this case – which, however, never happened. The massacre's anniversary is commemorated in Palestine and other Arab states.



**SACRIFICE ZONES** Term used to describe the phenomena of the waste industry seeking out communities or countries where the regulation of hazardous waste is less stringently regulated and enforced and thus reducing the operating costs of waste treatment. Often, sacrifice zones are located near poor and disempowered populations, who wind up suffering a disproportionate exposure to environmental harm. In the West Bank this refers to the areas where Israel transfers much of the hazardous waste it produces, thus threatening the health of the Palestinian people and the integrity of their environment and natural resources. According to B'Tselem, at least 15 waste treatment facilities have been built in the West Bank to process mostly Israeli-produced (hazardous) waste.



**SAFDIE PLAN** Development plan for Jerusalem drafted by renowned Israeli architect Moshe Safdie. The plan was initiated during Ehud Olmert's tenure as mayor of Jerusalem, and called for the construction of some 20,000 housing units on hills to the west of Jerusalem as well as the construction of new roads to serve those neighborhoods on natural and planted forests near Ramot. After harsh opposition by environmentalists and years of debate, Mayor Uri Lupoliansky suspended the plan in late November 2006, and in February 2007, the National Board for Planning and Building rejected it. It was finally buried in September 2008. The plan was "one of the largest construction projects ever proposed in Israel" according to the *Jerusalem Post*, which also quoted Safdie as saying that "the people who are against the westward plan are rightists who want to build to the east, and green-loving bleeding heart leftists."



Part of the Safdie Plan area

**SAFSAF MASSACRE** Israeli forces' 29 October 1948 assault on the Galilee village of Safsaf as a part of the Israeli forces operation to take control of the Galilee. Both Israeli sources (namely the diaries of senior Haganah officer Yosef Nachmani) and Arab oral records agree on accounts of soldiers entering the village, tying the hands of 52-70 men and shooting them, as well as raping several women including a 14-year-old. Israeli historian Benny Morris outlines or references the massacre in at least three of his books.

**AS-SAIQA** (English: *Storm or Thunderbolt*) Syrian-backed and controlled pan-Arabist PLO commando group of Ba'athist ideology. As-Saiqa, which saw the liberation of Palestine within the context of a pan-Arab movement led by Syria, was established in February 1968 and originally led by Yousef Zu'ayyin. It was considered the second largest PLO guerrilla

organization, but had no serious presence outside Syria and Lebanon. Since 2007, the group has been led by Farhan Abu Al-Hayja (formerly Issam Al-Qadi). As-Saiqa opposes the Oslo process, and thus the PA. Today, it is considered insignificant outside Syria, although it retains a presence in Lebanon. Its importance to Syria also has lessened, mainly due to Damascus' shifting of support to the Palestinian Islamist factions of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

**SALADIN AL-AYOUBI BRIGADES** Armed group initially from Gaza that was closely linked to President Yasser Arafat and vowed to conduct attacks until Jerusalem was liberated.

**SALAH EDDIN** (full name: *Salah Eddin Yousef Ibn Ayyoubi*; known in the Western world as *Saladin*) Kurdish Muslim general (1137 or 1138-1193), who led the Islamic opposition to the European Crusaders in the Levant, recaptured Palestine and Jerusalem from the Christians in 1187, and ruled at the height of his power over Iraq, Syria, Hijaz and Yemen.



**SALFIT** Small Palestinian governorate and city, located in the northwestern West Bank, south of Qalqilya and hemmed in by illegal Israeli settlements. The populations are 75,400 and 10,900 (PCBS, 2019) respectively. Salfit was under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967, and since then has been under Israeli occupation, despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the PA under the 1995 Oslo II Accord.



**SALIHA MASSACRE** Assault on Saliha village (Safad district) on 30 October 1948. Specific details of the massacre vary between the diaries of Haganah officer Yosef Nachmani and

journalist Robert Fisk's interviews with Saliha families in Lebanon, however most accounts agree that Israeli troops either blew up a structure, possibly a mosque, killing the 60-94 people who had taken refuge inside, or first murdered the villagers, then piled their corpses up in the building and blew it up.

**SAMARITANS** Ethno-religious group of the Levant, which descended from the ancient northern kingdom of Israel, and is today estimated to number around 700. The Samaritans live mainly in the Kiryat Luza village on Mount Jerizim near Nablus, but a smaller group has settled in Holon near Tel Aviv. While they worship in Hebrew and most hold dual Israeli-Palestinian citizenship, they consider themselves Palestinians, are integrated into Palestinian society, and are represented in the PLC. The Samaritans are led by a high priest and their religion is based on some of the same books used as the basis of Judaism but in their own version of the Torah, known as *Memar Markah*, and their own liturgy, law codes and biblical commentaries. They believe in the following main principles of faith: 1) One God – The God of Israel; 2) One Prophet – Moses Ben Amram; 3) Belief in the Torah (the first five books of the bible); and 4) One Holy Place – Mount Jerizim (as opposed to the "Temple Mount of Moriah" in Jerusalem).



**SAMED** (originally: *Palestine Martyrs Works Society*) Economic organization/fund established by the PLO in Jordan in 1970 and led by Ahmad Qrei'a, to provide the children and families of Palestinians who were killed during the conflict with Israel with jobs and vocational training. Samed was reorganized in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1971 and extended its services to all Palestinians in the mid-1970s. It played an important role, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, providing the economic infrastructure for Palestinian communities. It not only operated a number of businesses, including factories and agricultural cooperatives, and associations, such as the Manufac-

turer's Association and the Trade and Marketing Association, but also became the economic and investment arm of the PLO with commercial contacts and assets in various countries, mainly Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe. It also published *Samed Al-Iqtisadi*, an economic magazine. Since the establishment of the PA, Samed has been dormant.

**SAN REMO CONFERENCE** Post-World War I conference held in San Remo, Italy, from 19-26 April 1920, following the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. It was attended by the representatives of the four Principal Allied Powers of World War I: Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The conference awarded the administration of the former Ottoman-controlled territories of Syria and Lebanon as "mandates" to France, and those of Palestine, Transjordan, and Mesopotamia (Iraq) to Britain.



**SANA'A DECLARATION (Fatah-Hamas)** Yemeni plan to resume direct reconciliation talks between Fatah and Hamas. The Sana'a Declaration was signed on 23 March 2008 by Musa Abu Marzouk, Deputy Chief of Hamas, and Fatah official Azzam Al-Ahmad in the presence of Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Under the deal, the two factions agreed to return the political situation in the Palestinian territories to its status before the June 2007 power struggle, in which Hamas seized the Gaza Strip. They also agreed to stress the "unity of the Palestinian homeland, people, territory and authority." According to Reuters, only hours after the signing of the declaration, the two parties disagreed on the interpretation. Fatah said it would agree to direct reconciliation talks only if Hamas first agreed to relinquish its hold on Gaza, and Hamas demanded that the same conditions apply



to the West Bank, where the Fatah-led PA had dismissed a Hamas-led unity government and arrested some Hamas supporters.

**SANCTIONS** Instruments of influence applied or threatened by one or more countries against another country or individual in order to exert pressure for change or compliance with international law. Sanctions can be economic in nature involving commercial and or financial penalties, such as restrictions on trade or financial transactions, or can take the form of political decisions that impose restrictions or exclude targeted entities from something, such as military embargoes and cutting off diplomatic relations.

**SANJAK** Ottoman administrative sub-province and sub-division within a larger province (*vilayet*).

**SARIYA-2** Home-made rockets developed by the Tanzim that are much less common than the Qassam rockets of Hamas (see *Qassam*). The range of the Sariya-2 is some 3 km.

**SA'SA' MASSACRE (1.)** Attack by the Palmach Third Battalion on Sa'sa' village (Safad district) on 15 February 1948. The *New York Times* reported on 16 February 1948 that "a large party of armed Jews entered Sasa without opposition planted charges against the houses. Three houses were completely demolished and 11 badly damaged. The explosions killed 11 Arabs, including five small children, and wounded three others while the Jews suffered no known casualties in the raid." In his book *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948* (2000) Meron Benvenisti writes that 60 people were killed in the raid in Sa'sa' and 16 houses demolished.

**(2.)** Israeli assault on the village as part of "Operation Hiram" on 30 October 1948, in which the village was captured, several of its inhabitants were killed, and the remaining ones expelled. According to historian Benny Morris, Moshe Carmel, the commander of the operation, recalled in a 1984 interview that he had seen evidence that there were killings in the village after it was captured. Morris notes that another report also states

that some civilians, including cripples, may have been killed after the village was conquered.

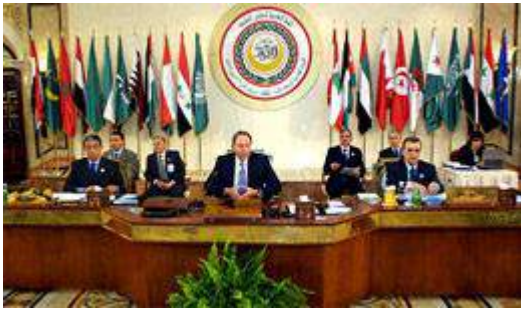
**SASSON REPORT** Report that then Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was compelled to commission due to increasing local and international criticism of the settlement outposts and the role of the government. The report, prepared by Attorney Talia Sasson, was presented in March 2005 and stated that many of the outposts were established on lands that are not state-owned, including 15 on private Palestinian land and 46 on lands of unknown ownership. The report detailed numerous governmental bodies of committing blatant illegal offenses to establish outposts, particularly the Construction and Housing Ministry, which planned and funded illegal outposts funded (with millions of shekels from state budgets) without any cabinet decisions. The report recommended that Sharon consider criminal investigations against those suspected of involvement.



Talia Sasson

**SAUDI PEACE INITIATIVE** (also: *Arab Peace Initiative*) Peace plan developed initially by Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah in February 2002, the final version of which was discussed, slightly modified, and then adopted at the March 2002 Arab League summit in Beirut. The Saudi Peace Initiative calls for Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967 and the return of Palestinian refugees to Israel in return for recognition of Israel and normalization with the Arab World. The proposal was received with skepticism by Israel and had little practical effect. In 2006, the initiative assumed new importance as Arab states tried in vain to get the Hamas government to agree to it. The plan was re-endorsed several times, most recently in April 2013 with the updated terms that a peace agreement should be based on the two-state solution on the basis of the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1967 line and could include mutual agreed minor land swaps, but *de facto* the initiative has remained dormant.





Beirut Summit endorsing the Saudi Peace Plan, March 2002

**SEA OF GALILEE** see *Lake Tabariyya*

**SEAM ZONE** Term referring to the Palestinian land or land enclaves that are located between the Green Line and the Separation Barrier in the so-called Area C of the West Bank. It is largely populated by Israeli settlers, while the residents of its approximately 150 Palestinian communities are required to apply for Israeli-issued permits in order to access their land. Thousands of Palestinians with Jerusalem ID cards live also in the Seam Zone.

**SECOND INTIFADA** see *Al-Aqsa Intifada*

**SEMIRAMIS HOTEL BOMBING** Terrorist attack carried out by the Haganah on the Christian owned Semiramis Hotel located in Jerusalem's Katamon neighborhood on 5 January 1948, killing between 19 and 26 civilians, including at least one child, and wounding over 20. The incident is accounted in detail in Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins history book *O Jerusalem!* According to Israeli historian Benny Morris, the attack was one of the main precipitants of Palestinian residents abandoning their homes and fleeing the neighborhood. Morris also states that at the time, "The Haganah believed that several irregulars' commanders lived there and, possibly mistakenly, that the hotel served as the neighborhood militia HQ." However, the attack was widely condemned.

**SEPARATION BARRIER** (also: *Wall or Fence*) Barrier (fences, trenches, razor wire, and, especially around Jerusalem, concrete walls) within the West Bank constructed by Israel on the pretext of security, beginning in June 2002 to prevent Palestinians from entering Israel 'illegally.' However, Palestinians and

many observers see it as part of an Israeli strategy to annex large parts of West Bank land while encircling Palestinian population centers. The construction of the barrier drew international opposition, as it cuts deep into Palestinian territory and involves the confiscation of large amounts of fertile Palestinian land, the 'ghettoization' of Palestinian towns and villages, and the cutting off of thousands of Palestinians from social services, schools, and farmlands. In some places, the fence runs along the Green Line, but it primarily penetrates the West Bank by up to several kilometers leaving a large section of Area C outside the region accessible to most West Bank ID holders (see *Seam Zone*). On 9 July 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled that construction of the Separation Barrier was illegal and "contrary to international law" because it involves destruction and confiscation of Palestinian property and imposes severe restrictions on Palestinian movement. Further, the court stated that Israel must "cease forthwith the works of construction of the wall being built in the OPT, including in and around East Jerusalem," return seized property, and compensate Palestinian landown-



ers whose interests have been damaged by its construction. The ICJ's Advisory Opinion was confirmed by UN General Assembly Resolution ES-10/15 of 20 July 2004. In December 2006, UNGA established the UN Register of Damage Caused by the Construction of the Wall (UNROD), which, by 16 June 2019, had collected 69,554 claims (mostly agriculture losses) and over 1 million supporting documents. The barrier's total length (both constructed and projected) with 710 km is more than twice the length of the 1949 Armistice Line (Green Line = 323 km) between the West Bank and Israel; upon completion, only 15%

of the barrier will run on the Green Line or in Israel, while 85% will be inside the West Bank. Some 9.4% of West Bank land, including East Jerusalem, is located between the barrier and the Green Line. Some 65 of the 150 West Bank settlements and over 85% of the total settler population are located on the 'Israeli' side of the barrier's route. As of 2018, 64.3% of the planned trajectory has been constructed (some 456.7 km). A further 7.7% is under construction, and 28% is planned.

**SEPHARDI(M)** Jews who were expelled from Spain and Portugal during the Inquisition and settled in the Balkans, Mediterranean, Middle East, and North Africa. The term is commonly used to refer to all 'Oriental Jews,' although indigenous Middle East Jews are more accurately called Mizrahim. Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel is Yitzhak Yosef since 2013. (See also *Ashkenazim*).

**SETTLEMENT(S)** Jewish-only communities established illegally, usually on prime Palestinian agricultural land or above major aquifers, by the State of Israel on land occupied during the 1967 June War. They vary enormously in size from small collections of tents or trailers to large cities. Settlements are one of the issues (along with Jerusalem, borders, refugees, security arrangements, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest) that the 1993 Declaration of Principles and the Oslo process deferred to subsequent permanent status negotiations, which were to be finalized in 1999 but have not yet been held. In 2018, there were an estimated 130 "official" settlements in the West Bank (excluding 101 unauthorized outposts), and about 26 in Jerusalem, housing over 630,000 settlers, about 225,000 of them in East Jerusalem alone. Gaza settlements were evacuated in 2005 under Sharon's unilateral disengagement plan (see *Disengagement Plan*). Numerous UN Resolutions have condemned the construction of settlements, which is prohibited under the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Settlements represent a major obstacle to the realization of an independent Palestinian state, because they prevent territorial contiguity between Palestinian towns and cities.

Such contiguity is further eroded by the fact that the settlements are connected by a dense network of roads (bypass roads) each with a 'buffer zone' adjacent to it, which Palestinians are forbidden to use. In combination with the extensive security zones around each settlement and land held in 'reserves', total land usage of settlements represents with an estimated almost 42% a significant proportion of the West Bank (figures: B'Tselem, Peace Now, ARIJ, and the Israeli Ministry of Interior). Palestinians prefer to use the term colonies over settlements, because the latter gives the impression of empty lands being "settled," ignoring the fact that colonies were usually established on fertile, agricultural land confiscated from Palestinians and feature typical elements of colonialism, such as conquest of territory and maintaining rule by military force, triggered by material profits on the part of the "conqueror," and exporting/expelling undesired indigenous populations.



**SETTLEMENT BLOCS** Areas in the West Bank and, formerly, the Gaza Strip where groups of settlements have been established in relatively close proximity to each other. The blocs are not recognized by the Palestinians or the international community as having any special status. About 80% of settlers live in settlement blocs. Main blocs are the Ariel bloc (14 settlements in the northern West Bank, including Ariel, Kedumim, Karnei Shomron, Ma'ale Shomron, Bet Arye, and Ofarim), the Jerusalem bloc (eight settlements, including Givat Ze'ev and Ma'ale Adumim), the Etzion bloc (10 settlements in the southern West Bank, including Efrata and Betar Illit), and the Modi'in bloc (five settlements northwest of Jerusalem, including Modi'in Illit).

**SETTLEMENTS REGULATION LAW** see *Regulation Law* and *Formalization Bill*

**SÈVRES TREATY** Peace Treaty concluded after World War I on 10 August 1920 in Sèvres, France, between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies. The treaty included dismantling and partitioning the Ottoman Empire, giving Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Palestine, including Transjordan, to Britain and Syria and Lebanon, to France. Further, the Sèvres Treaty renounced Turkish sovereignty over the kingdom of Hijaz. Rejected by the new Turkish nationalist regime, the Treaty of Sèvres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.



*Signing of the Sèvres Treaty*

**SHABAH** (also: *Shabah position*) Special interrogation method and torture technique employed by the Shin Bet, whereby the detainee is shackled in stress positions for extended periods while hooded or blindfolded and listening to loud music. The painful binding of the prisoner's hands and feet to a chair or a pole, accompanied by sleep deprivation, restriction of toilet facilities, physical assault, inadequate food, and others abusive measures are also common. A 1999 High Court of Justice ruling on the legality of Israeli interrogation methods defined all the components of the Shabah method as unlawful since they deviated from the rules for "reasonable and fair interrogation" and unnecessarily injure the dignity and bodily wellbeing of the interrogees.



**SHABAK** see *Shin Bet*

**SHAHID** (plural: *shuhada*) Qur'anic Arabic word or name that means "witness" and refers to Allah's awareness of everything. In its true Islamic-religious meaning, *shahid* is figuratively a witness to one's faith, i.e., a deceased

person who has lived a life in accordance with the will of Allah, and is thus only applied to those who sacrifice their lives for Allah's cause. They do so realizing that their lives belong to Allah, who created them. Islam assures believers that those who die fighting the infidel in battle (martyr), in defense of their faith, will go to Paradise. The term's non-religious (often political) connotation is often inaccurately translated to "martyr" and refers to Muslims who die for a cause they believe in. In this latter sense, Palestinians refer to Palestinians killed by the causes related to Israeli occupation as *shahids*.

**SHAMIR FOUR-POINT PLAN** (also: *Shamir's Elections Plan* or *Shamir's Peace Proposal*) Plan presented in early April 1989 by then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. It is comprised of the following four points: (1) making the Camp David Accords the foundation of the peace process in the region; (2) an end of Arab hostility and belligerency towards Israel; (3) a multinational effort to solve the Arab refugee problem; and (4) the holding of free and democratic elections to produce a delegation "to negotiate an interim period of self-governing administration." Palestinians rejected the plan as it ruled out PLO representation and a sovereign Palestinian state.



*Yitzhak Shamir*

**SHARI'A** The fundamental religious concept of Islam, namely its law, which was systematized during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries of the Muslim era (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD). Shari'a is the totality of religious, political, social, domestic, and private life, and is thus a law system of Muslims. It consists of divine revelation in the form of the Qur'an and the prophetic practice, *sunna* (as recorded in the Hadith). The law system constitutes a system of duties, which all Muslim societies, in keeping with Allah's command, are expected to follow. As such it concerns all aspects of daily life, including business, economics, banking, politics, family, sexuality, hygiene, and social issues.

**SHARM ESH-SHEIKH** Egyptian resort often used for meetings between regional leaders, including Palestinians and Israelis, at the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula. From 1971 to 1982, Sharm Esh-Sheikh was the site of the Jewish settlement of Ofira.



**SHARM ESH-SHEIKH AGREEMENT** Agreement for the implementation of the Wye River Memorandum, which was signed by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat in Sharm Esh-Sheikh on 4 September 1999 and witnessed by US Secretary of State Albright, Egyptian President Mubarak, and King Abdullah II of Jordan. The Sharm Esh-Sheikh Agreement stipulated that Israel would withdraw in three stages from another 11% of the West Bank, release some 350 Palestinian political prisoners, open the safe passages between the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and begin permanent status talks on 13 September 1999 to reach a framework for a settlement of the conflict by February 2000 and a final peace agreement by September 2000. Israeli redeployments are split as follows:

- Transfer of 7% from Area C to B by 15 September 1999;
- Transfer of 3% from C to B and of 2% from B to A by 15 November 1999;
- Transfer of 1% from C to A and 5.1 % from B to A by 20 January 2000.

However, like the Wye River Accord, no official map detailing the areas to be transferred by Israel was produced.



*Signing the Sharm Esh-Sheikh Agreement*

**SHARM ESH-SHEIKH MEETING** One-day meeting of the Middle East Quartet on 9 November 2008 where the Annapolis process of November 2007 was reiterated, and where it was

decided to hold a meeting on the Middle East peace process in Moscow during spring 2009. Participants agreed on "the need for continuous, and uninterrupted, bilateral negotiations; the principle that nothing would be considered agreed until everything is agreed; the need to reach a comprehensive agreement addressing all issues, as agreed at Annapolis, rather than just announce agreement on selected issues in isolation." (See also *Annapolis Conference*).



**SHARM ESH-SHEIKH SUMMIT/TALKS** Summit held on 16-17 October 2000 in Sharm Esh-Sheikh to find ways to halt the recent violence (Al-Aqsa Intifada), set up an inquiry into its causes, and explore the possibilities concerning the restoration of security cooperation between Palestinians and Israel as well as a return to peace negotiations. The talks were attended by Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, US President Bill Clinton, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the EU Council Javier Solana, Jordanian King Abdullah, and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. The Mitchell Commission was established as part of the agreement reached at the end of the talks (see also *Mitchell Commission*).



**SHARON PLAN** Plan proposed by MK Ariel Sharon in 1992 whereby Israel would annex some 50% of the OPT, while in the remaining areas, mostly Palestinian population centers, 11 'cantons' would be created, within which Pales-

tinians would have autonomy. According to a 20 January 1992 article in the *New York Times*, Sharon argued for a position that the Israeli government then did not emphasize, that there was “already a Palestinian state, Jordan.”



Ariel Sharon

**SHARON'S DISENGAGEMENT PLAN** see *Unilateral Disengagement Plan*

**SHAS** (Hebrew acronym for *Sephardi Torah Guardians*) Ultra-Orthodox party formed under the leadership of former Sephardi chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef in the early 1970s. Shas primarily represents Sephardim and made its first appearance in the Knesset in 1984. Since then, it has almost always formed a part of the governing coalition, whether the ruling party was Labor or Likud. In the April 2019 elections, Shas, led by Aryeh Deri, won 8 Knesset seats, and in the September 2019 elections 9.



**SHAW COMMISSION** British appointed Commission of Inquiry, led by Sir Walter Shaw, to investigate the Al-Buraq disturbances, i.e., the riots between the Arab and Jewish population in 1929, which followed the release of the British government's White Paper that confirmed the status of the Western Wall as Muslim property. The Shaw Commission's report was published in March 1930; it concluded that Palestinian violence was a result of their fear of Zionist immigration and land purchases and recommended limitations on both. The subsequent Hope-Simpson Commission came to the same conclusion, and both led to the issuing of the 1930 'Passfield' White Paper, which recommended restriction of Jewish immigration.



Sir Walter Shaw

**SHEBA'A FARMS** (Hebrew: *Har Dov*; English: *Mount Dov*) Disputed 14-km-long and 2-km-wide strip of land at the northern edge of the Golan Heights along the Lebanese-Israeli bor-

der which is home to 14 farms located south of the Lebanese village of Sheba'a. The farms were originally captured by Israel from Syria in the War of 1967 and have since been held by Israel. Lebanon has claimed that the area belongs to it and should be returned however the region continues to be a disputed territory and locus of controversy between Israel, Lebanon, and Hizbullah, with the UN as mediator. Analysts see it as unlikely that Israel will give up the land easily due to its militarily strategic location, its being a destination of Hasidic pilgrimage (with reference to the events between God and Abraham referred to in Genesis 15:9-17), and the fact that it is governed by the Golan Law, which requires a 61-Knesset majority before it can be transferred to a foreign power.



**SHEPHERD HOTEL** Historic building complex located on a 30-dunum compound in Sheikh Jarrah in an area known to Palestinians as Karm Al-Mufti due to its having belonged to Grand Mufti Haj Amin Al-Husseini before it was seized by the Israelis in 1967 (despite the fact that the heirs of the rightful owner were still alive and long-standing legal residents of Jerusalem and the building had functioned as a hotel from 1945). The land was apparently acquired by Jewish millionaire Irving Moskowitz from the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property in 1985 (*Haaretz*, 3 November 2005). It was subsequently rented to the Israeli Border Police and is now administered by Moskowitz, Ateret Cohanim and C&M Properties. In 2004, Israeli authorities expanded Town Planning Scheme 2591 of 1984 (allowing construction of 20 housing units) with the goal of establishing a new Jewish settlement at its site, including 90 apartments, a synagogue and kindergarten (Town Plan Scheme 11536). A construction request to this end was submitted to the West Jerusalem municipality in late October 2005. In November 2006, the Israeli Committee for the Preservation of Historic Sites recommended the demolition of the hotel on the grounds that it had no special architectural

value. In March 2007, the state formally expropriated the land, at the request of the ILA, under the rubric of “acquisition for public needs” (*Haaretz*, 20 August 2007), thus reclassifying its “green area” status to make way for the planned Jewish settlement. A few months later the government leased the land to Ateret Cohanim, despite a petition by the Arab Hotels Company contesting ownership of the land. On 18 March 2010 permits for the construction of 20 units at the site were issued and work began soon after. In February 2012, the High Court of Justice ruled that the Hussein family could not claim ownership of the property, as too much time had passed since Israeli authorities had transferred it to private developers for a legal challenge to be brought. As of 2019, the settlement remains uninhabited, but work continues on and around the complex with another floor being apparently added to the existing construction.



*Shepherd Hotel before destruction*

**SHEPHERDSTOWN TALKS** Second round of US-sponsored negotiations between Israeli and Syrian delegations led by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Shara' which took place 3-11 January 2000 in Shepherdstown, West Virginia (the first round of talks were held 15-16 December 1999 in Washington). The Shepherdstown Talks failed to result in an agreement with the main issue of dispute being the return of the Golan Heights to Syria, including parts of the Sea of Galilee.



*Ehud Barak, Bill Clinton and Farouk Al-Shara'*

**SHI'A or SHIITE** (Literally: *Faction*) Adherents of Islam's heterodoxy, the Shi'a originated among the supporters of Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and his descendants. Shi'ites are the smaller of the two great divisions of Islam and are divided into Zeidis, Twelvers, and Isma'ilis. The Alawis and the Druzes are offshoots of the Isma'iliyya. Shi'as, unlike Sunnis, support the claims of Ali and his line to presumptive right to the caliphate and leadership of the Muslim community. Shi'as revere Twelve Imams, the last of whom is believed to be hidden from view. Shi'a constitute almost 20% of all Muslims, and represent the majority of the population in Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon.



*Shia shrine of Iman Ali, Iraq*

**SHIN BET** (Hebrew: *Shabak*, acronym for *Sherut ha-Bitachon ha-Klali*; English: *Israel Security Agency or General Security Services*) Israeli counterintelligence and internal security service founded as one of three secret services in Israel in 1948, along with the Military Intelligence (Aman) and Foreign Intelligence (later Mossad). Shin Bet is believed to be at the forefront of undercover operations against Palestinians and the recruitment of Palestinian informers. It also maintains a key role in Israel's assassination policy against alleged militants. Since 2016, it has been headed by Nadav Argaman. Israeli, Palestinian, and international human rights organizations have repeatedly charged Shin Bet with continuing its torture techniques despite a 1999 court ruling forbidding them. They have also criticized the agency for controversial detentions and a lack of accountability.



**SHINUI** (English: *Change*) Secular, liberal-capitalist Zionist party originally formed in 1974 as a protest movement. Shinui joined Ratz and Mapam to form the Meretz party in 1992 but left in 1996 to become an independent party. They vehemently oppose the influence

of the ultra-Orthodox parties and the government-supported religious establishment, calling for the separation of religion and state within the confines of Zionist ideology (e.g., demanding civil marriage, operation of transportation, businesses, theaters, etc. on Shabbat, the possibility of importing non-kosher food, drafting of ultra-orthodox Jews into the army, and ending payments to yeshiva students). Following its departure from the government over budgetary disagreements in 2005, the party was renamed Shinui – Party for the Secular and the Middle Class. In January 2006, the party split into small factions, none of which managed to overcome the 2% threshold needed to enter the Knesset. The party did not run in any subsequent national elections. Yesh Atid, a party formed by Yair Lapid in 2012, is considered to be in the same tradition as Shinui (see *Yesh Atid*).



**SHUHADA JUNCTION** (English: *Martyr's junction*; also: *Netzarim Junction*) Central intersection on Salah Eddin Street, the main north-south road running the length of Gaza. It was repeatedly closed for lengthy periods by the Israeli army during the Al-Aqsa Intifada, severely restricting movement within the Gaza Strip.

**SHUHADA STREET** (English: *Martyr's Street*) Main road in Hebron, leading to Al-Ibrahimi Mosque, which once was the old city's central fruit and vegetable market but was closed for Palestinians by Israel in the aftermath of the February 1994 Hebron Massacre by Israeli-American settler Baruch Goldstein. The street – including the shops and front doors of its Palestinian residents – has remained almost entirely closed for Palestinians since then, allegedly for “security reasons,” while some 900 Jewish settlers living in the city can walk and drive along the street as they wish. Palestinians who live there are not allowed to enter their homes through the main entrance but are forced to use alleyways, rooftops, and back doors. In early December 2019, Israeli Defense Minister Naftali Bennett announced plans to raze the historic wholesale

market complex to make way for the building of a new Jewish settlement at its site.



**SHULTZ INITIATIVE** (also: *US Peace Proposal*)

Plan revealed by US Secretary of State George Shultz during a visit to Israel in February 1988, proposing a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to represent the Palestinians in negotiations, based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and a division of administrative responsibility for the OPT between Israel and Jordan. The Palestinians rejected the plan as it did not foresee a Palestinian state and offered hardly any change from the *status quo*. In July 1988, the basis of the Shultz Plan became unworkable when King Hussein announced Jordan's disengagement from the West Bank.



*George Shultz*

**SHURA COUNCIL** (Arabic: *Majlis Al-Shura*) Consultative council and overarching political and decision-making body established by Hamas. ‘Shura’ is the Arabic word for ‘consultation’ as well as the Qur’anic concept of general assembly, as stated in *Suret Ash-Shura* 42:38: “And those who have responded to their lord and established prayer and whose affair is [determined by] consultation among themselves, and from what We have provided them, they spend” and *Suret Al-Imran* 3:159: “So by mercy from Allah, [O Muhammad], you were lenient with them. And if you had been rude [in speech] and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded from about you. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him].” Though it notes that the Shura Council's membership is mostly kept secret, the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) outlines the compo-

sition of the council forming four sub-committee Shuras elected by Hamas members in Gaza, the West Bank, the Diaspora, and by prisoners in Israeli jails. Members of the Shura Council elect the Hamas' Political Bureau, Hamas' main decision-making body. Under the Shura Council are committees responsible for supervising Hamas activities, from media relations to military operations.

**SIEGE** (also: *Blockade of Gaza*) The ongoing air, land, and sea blockade of the Gaza Strip imposed by Israel and Egypt since 2007, locking in over 1.8 million Palestinians and undermining any economic or other development.

**SIEGE OF THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY** see *Nativity Church Standoff*

**SILWAN** Palestinian neighborhood in Jerusalem, just south of the Old City, which is subject to fierce Israeli settlement activities, often under the pretext of archeology. Settlement activities are mainly coordinated by the right-wing Israeli NGO Elad, which is also in charge of the City of David, and wants to expand Jewish presence in East Jerusalem. Large areas of Silwan are designated as "green zone" (where building is forbidden), and earmarked to be part of an Israeli national park. At the same time many Palestinian houses are slated for demolition or have already been demolished. (See also *Bustan Neighborhood* and *City of David*).



*Partial view of Silwan*

**SINAI CAMPAIGN** Egyptian-Israeli War in October 1956 triggered by an Israeli military operation in Egypt in response to Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal and blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. Israel, joined by Great Britain and France, assumed control of the Gaza Strip and much of the Sinai, but withdrew after the US promised to maintain freedom of

navigation in the Straits of Tiran. Israel's withdrawal was accompanied by a US-sponsored UN resolution creating the United Nations Emergency Force to supervise the vacated territories.



**SINAI INTERIM AGREEMENT** see *Interim Agreement between Israel and Egypt*

**SONS OF THE VILLAGE** (Arabic: *Ibna* or *Abnaa Al-Balad*) Movement founded in 1969 by Palestinian citizens of Israel from independent groups in the city of Um Al-Fahm to counteract Israeli attempts to divide and rule the Arab community in Israel. The group emphasized that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 belong to the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, not to 'Israel,' and that regional, personal or family interest should be subordinated to the national cause. The Sons of the Village ran in the 1973 municipal elections and won a seat in Um Al-Fahm, but they then campaigned for many years against participating in parliamentary elections, claiming it gives legitimacy to a decision-making process the Arab minority is entirely excluded from. More recently, the small, secular Sons of the Village movement has called for a single democratic, secular state and the right of return of the Palestinian refugees, arguing that efforts for a two-state solution have failed. Their Secretary-General Mohammed Kanana spent four and a half years in prison after an Israeli court convicted him of aiding Hizbullah.

**SOUTH LEBANESE ARMY (SLA)** Armed militia founded and led mainly by South Lebanese Christians. The SLA was founded (1976) and headed by Major Sa'ad Haddad until his death in 1984, then led by former Lt. General Antoine Lahad. Financed and trained by Israel, its main task was to control the Israeli 'security zone' in South Lebanon. After Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000, Hizbullah guerillas and civilians from the occupied villages took control of the area and the SLA was disbanded.





**ST. JAMES CONFERENCE** (also: *St. James Roundtable*) Roundtable Conference with British, Jewish, Palestinian, and other Arab participants (Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Transjordan) which took place from 7 February to 17 March 1939 at St. James's Palace in London to discuss Jewish immigration into Palestine and illegal land sales. After the conference failed to produce an agreement the British government announced it would implement its own policy.



*Arab delegation at St. James Conference*

**STATE SECURITY COURTS** Special military courts, outside the civilian judicial system, established on 7 February 1995 by decree by President Arafat. The State Security Courts, comprised of a Misdemeanor State Security Court, a General State Security Court, and a High Court of State Security, were designed to try security-related cases. The courts draw from the PLO Revolutionary Code of 1979 and Jordanian and Gazan law, and allow for the death penalty. Court decisions were subject to the President's confirmation or rejection. Most cases that were tried involved supporters of opposition groups such as Hamas or Islamic Jihad, who were accused of planning suicide bombings and possessing illegal weapons. While Israeli government officials welcomed the creation of the State Security Courts, they were internationally and locally criticized for circumventing the rule of law, weakening judicial authority, and failing to adhere to the most basic human rights standards. In April 2003, widely seen as part of the PA's reform efforts, then-PA Interior Minister Hani Al-Hassan announced that the "State Security Court no longer exists," adding that "from the outset, the establishment of this court was not legal."

**STATEHOOD BID** (also: *Palestinian Bid for Statehood at the UN*) Alternative strategy for statehood announced in May 2011 by PA President Abbas consisting in requesting international recognition of a Palestinian state on the worldwide endorsed terms of reference (i.e., 1967 borders) and East Jerusalem as a capital, as well as its admission as a full member of the UN. The bid was motivated by the stalemate of the peace process, by US President Obama's 2010 UNGA speech evoking a state of Palestine as the newest member of the UN the following year, as well as growing diplomatic recognition and the completion of the PA's internationally praised two-year state-building program. The request for full UN membership failed to obtain a unanimous recommendation by the UNSC Committee on the Admission of New Members in 2011 (due to the anticipated US veto), but a watered-down process requesting the UNGA to upgrade Palestine's UN status from observer 'entity' to non-member observer 'state' was overwhelmingly supported by a vote of 138:9 (41 abstaining) on 29 November 2012. While mainly symbolic, the new status allows Palestinians to pursue legal claims mainly, but not only, against Israel for violations of international law in venues such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC). The Palestinian Statehood Bid failed to pass UN Security Council vote on 22 December 2014, with eight member states voting in favor of it, two against and five abstained.

**STATUS QUO** Legal system that applies to the principal Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in the Jerusalem area and describes the arrangements between different religions and religious groups over shared or contested sites. It supersedes any and all aspects of domestic law. Any governing authority exercises control over Jerusalem has to uphold its set of legal rights and obligations, which were created over centuries of practice and are now considered binding international law. The core of the *Status Quo* was set out in an Ottoman firman (a decree, edict or administrative order issued by an Ottoman Sultan) in 1757, which applied a *modus vivendi* to certain holy places with conflicting claims over ownership and

the right to hold religious services. It was confirmed in another Ottoman firman in 1852, which froze claims of possession by religious communities in the Christian holy places and forbade any alterations to them in an attempt to alleviate the Greek and Latin churches' fight over space and control of some areas in the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem and the Nativity Church in Bethlehem. It was internationally codified by the 1856 Treaty of Paris as well as the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which proclaimed the 1852 decree to be inviolable and extended it to other, non-Christian holy sites. The *Status Quo* arrangements were applied throughout the duration of the British Mandate. They were enshrined in the 1947 UN Partition Plan's Statute on Jerusalem and endorsed by the 1949 UN Conciliation Commission on Palestine, which named the following nine sites as protected by it: (1) The Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher and its dependencies, Jerusalem (2) Deir Al-Sultan, Jerusalem, (3) the Sanctuary of the Ascension, near Jerusalem, (4) the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, near Jerusalem, (5) the Basilica of the Nativity, Bethlehem, (6) the Grotto of the Milk, Bethlehem, (7) the Field of the Shepherds, Bethlehem, (8) the Wailing Wall, Jerusalem, and (9) Rachel's Tomb, near Bethlehem. Since its 1967 occupation, Israel has vowed to respect the *Status Quo*, accepting *inter alia* the Waqf's administration of the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound, where non-Muslims are allowed to visit but not to pray. The State of Palestine has affirmed its commitment to the *Status Quo* on several occasions, including in the historic Palestine-Holy See Agreement of 2014.

**STERN GANG** see *Lehi*

**STOCKHOLM TALKS** (also: '*Secret*' *Stockholm Channel*) A round of back-channel talks held in Stockholm, Sweden, in May 2000 between Palestinian and Israeli delegations led by PLC Speaker Ahmed Qre'i'a and Israeli Public Security Minister Shlomo Ben Ami. The talks were arranged by President Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Barak at



Ahmed Qre'i'a



Shlomo Ben Ami

a meeting earlier that month and were disclosed by PA Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo, who resigned on 15 May as chief negotiator in protest against the back-door negotiations. The talks were facilitated by the Clinton administration, which was hoping to achieve some tangible results before the American elections in November that year, and were to concentrate on a framework for the 'final status' arrangement. According to press reports, the Palestinians were offered some 87% of the West Bank and solutions for the refugees were debated; however, regarding Jerusalem, there was no more than an exchange of ideas. On 21 May 2000 Barak ordered the suspension of the Stockholm talks because of continued violence in the OPT. Many of the proposals and ideas raised in the Stockholm Talks were picked up at the Camp David Summit two months later (see *Camp David*).

**STOP-AND-FRISK LAW** Controversial Israeli law on expanding police power to carry out body searches, which was passed in the Knesset in February 2016. The original legislation was proposed in 2011 and was at the time aimed at fighting violence in places such as nightclubs, pubs, discotheques, etc. But discussion on it was discontinued after the first reading. In 2015, in the wake of increased attacks by "lone wolves," Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan reactivated the draft bill in order to apply it in the fight against "terror." Among other things, the law authorizes Israeli police to frisk persons if there is a "reasonable suspicion that he is about to commit a violent offense, in order to check whether he is carrying an illegal weapon." Critics call the law racist, arguing that it serves to increase discrimination against minorities in Israel, who more often arouse a "reasonable suspicion" among policemen. In 2018, *Haaretz* reported that a Knesset committee refused to extend the controversial law for another three years, against the wishes of the police.

**STRIKE** see *Commercial Strike*

**SUEZ WAR** see *Sinai Campaign*

**SULHA** Traditional form of conflict resolution rooted in tribal law and conducted by a mediator according to ancient and unwritten rules. Sulha represents a popular alternative to dispute settlement of criminal or civil matters in civilian courts, and under Palestinian administration it relies on Jordanian practice. Sulha is aimed at reconciling the conflicting parties and demonstrating proper respect for the crisis and honor for the injured side. The Sulha procedure begins with a truce period (*hudna*), in which the situation is examined and both parties agree not to attack each other. This is followed by the actual Sulha ritual, in which the parties reach an understanding for a peaceful resolution.

**SUMUD** (English: *Steadfastness*) Concept emphasizing non-cooperation with Israeli occupation authorities and resistance through maintenance of land and existence (i.e., continuing normal daily life while doggedly waiting for a solution to come from outside). The term is particularly used to describe the period from the early years of occupation, around 1970, until the First Intifada.

**SUNNIS** (from: *sunnah*; English: *orthodox*) Adherents of Islamic orthodoxy, the largest group in Islam. Sunnis accept the Islamic tradition (*sunnah*), and the legitimate authority of the caliphs as the Prophet's successors. They support the traditional method of election to the caliphate and accepted the Umayyad line. On this issue they deviate from the Shi'as in the first great schism within Islam. (See also *Shia*).

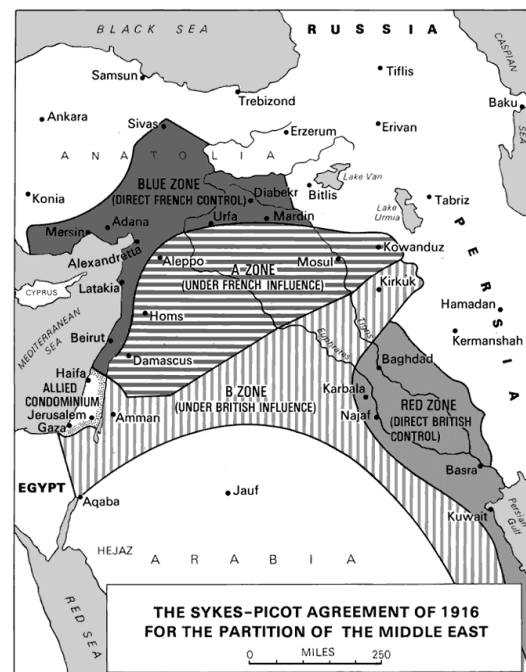
**SUPREME MUSLIM COUNCIL (SMC)** Council established by British High Commissioner Herbert Samuel in December 1921 as part of his wider effort to form autonomous Palestinian institutions and control and manage Muslim Waqf and Shari'a affairs in Palestine, including building and supporting orphanages, schools, and clinics and restoring religious buildings. In January 1922, Hajj Amin Al-Husseini was elected President of the SMC, which became a power base for the Husseini family. In 1937, following the 1936 Arab Revolt, British authorities dismissed Hajj Amin and dissolved the council. From Amin's dismissal until the end of the Mandate in 1948, SMC members

were appointed by the British. The Council was dissolved in 1951 and its duties were taken over by the Jordanian Ministry of Awqaf.

Hajj Amin Al-Husseini



**SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT** (also: *Asia Minor Agreement*) Secret agreement named after its negotiators, the British orientalist Sir Mark Sykes and the former French Consul General in Beirut Charles Georges Picot. The Sykes-Picot Agreement was signed by Britain and France with the assent of Russia in May 1916 during World War I to dismember the Ottoman Empire. The understanding led to the division of the Arab provinces into various French and British-administered areas, and assigning Constantinople, the Bosphorus Strait, and most of the provinces close to the Caucasus to Russia. More specifically, France was given Armenia, Syria, Lebanon, northern Iraq, and parts of central-southern Turkey, while Britain was assigned Mesopotamia (southern Iraq), modern Jordan, modern Kuwait, the north coast of modern Saudi Arabia, and an area around Haifa. Palestine was to be internationalized.



# T

**TA'AL** (Hebrew acronym for *Tnu'a Aravit LeHitadshut*; English: *Arab Movement for Renewal*) Arab party that began as a single-member parliamentary group formed by MK Ahmad Tibi after he left the National Democratic Assembly (Balad) during the 15<sup>th</sup> Knesset in 1999. The party has been headed by Tibi since. Ta'al promotes a unified Arab political front in Israel, and demands a full Israeli withdrawal from the OPT. In the 2006 elections, the party ran on a joint list with the United Arab List (Ra'am-Ta'al) and gained 4 seats. On 12 January 2009, Israel's Central Elections Committee disqualified UAL-Ta'al from the upcoming elections for the 18<sup>th</sup> Knesset for allegedly "supporting terrorism". However, on 21 January, the Israeli High Court of Justice overturned the committee's decision. The UAL-Ta'al list garnered 3.38% of the vote and won four seats in the 2009 Knesset elections. In 2015, Ta'al was part of the Joint List, which was formed by three Arab parties and Hadash and won 10.55% of the total vote (13 of 120 seats). In the April 2019 Israeli elections internal conflicts disbanded the Joint List, but Ta'al ran on a joint list with the Hadash party, which won 6 seats. In the September 2019 elections, Ta'al ran as part of the reunited Joint List, which won 13 seats.



Ahmad Tibi

**TABA AGREEMENT** see *Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip*

**TABA TALKS** Talks held between Israeli and Palestinian delegations at the end of Prime Minister Barak's government in Taba from 21-27 January 2001 to follow up on Camp David and to reach an understanding prior to the Israeli elections in February 2001. Despite the outbreak of the Second Intifada, Palestinian-Israeli negotiations proceeded until Taba, where they ultimately failed when a final bridging document presented by Presi-

dent Clinton was not accepted (see *Clinton Parameters*). Negotiations were halted following the election of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in February 2001. Given the hard lessons of Camp David II and the impending end of the Clinton Administration, most of the outstanding issues were discussed during a week of negotiations, but sizable gaps remained, particularly regarding the refugee and Jerusalem issues.

**TAGLIT** see *Birthright*

**TAIF AGREEMENT** Treaty adopted by the Lebanese National Assembly on 22 October 1989 with the goal of ending the Lebanese Civil War. The Taif Agreement was based on a national reconciliation meeting in September 1989 in Taif, Saudi Arabia, which was conducted at the initiative of the Arab League. The agreement provided for the disbanding of militias and constitutional reform to adapt the political system to the demographic weight of the different communities, and was incorporated in the Lebanese Constitution in August 1990. It also included a Syrian-Lebanese security agreement to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory and called for the disarmament and disbandment of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militia. The key government positions were distributed according to faith in the same way as before the civil war, the President of Lebanon would be a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim, and the National Assembly Chairman a Shi'a Muslim. However, the powers of the President were significantly reduced, and the ratio of Christian to Muslim members of parliament changed from 6:5 to 1:1 despite the fact that the Christian community made up roughly a third of the Lebanese population.

**TALMUD** (English: *learning*) Compendium of discussions on the earliest codification of Jewish religious law (*Mishnah*), traditions, ethics and history, by generations of scholars and jurists in many academies over a period of several centuries.



**TANTURA MASSACRE** Attack by the Israeli army's Alexandroni Brigade on the village of Tantura, south of Haifa on 22-23 May 1948, expelling and ethnically cleansing the village of its 1,728 inhabitants. The issue of the Tantura massacre has come into prominence due to the work of an Israeli researcher, Teddy Katz, who dealt with it at length in his 1998 master's thesis at Haifa University. A summary of his research, particularly his finding that more than 200 Tantura villagers, mostly unarmed young men, had been shot after the village surrendered, was published in an article in the Hebrew press in January 2000, which unleashed a storm in Israel, culminating in a NIS 1 million libel suit brought by veterans of the Alexandroni Brigade against Katz, although his research was based on taped testimonies not only of survivors but also of members of the brigade.

**TANZIM** (English: *Organization*) Branch of Fatah set up in 1995 by Arafat and Fatah leaders to counter the activities of the Islamic groups in the OPT. It is a loose collection of militias that operates as a grassroots organization with local decision-making and mainly consists of 'insiders' (Palestinians who grew up in the OPT as opposed to the Diaspora) originating from Fatah cadres operating in the OPT both before and during the First Intifada. Tanzim was seen as the leading force in directing the Second Intifada. Its most senior figure was West Bank Fatah chief Marwan Barghouti, who was arrested by Israel in April 2001, after which the Tanzim was sidelined by the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.

**TARGETED KILLINGS** Term used by Israel to describe its policy of extra-judicial execution of Palestinians by Israeli undercover units or air/missile strikes, which are often conducted as pre-emptive strikes against known activists. Palestinians refer to this policy as 'assassinations.' Despite the Israeli claim that they are 'targeted,' such attacks frequently kill and injure bystanders.

**TAWHID AND JIHAD** (also: *Jahafil Al-Tawhid wal-Jihad*; English: *Monotheism and Jihad Legions*) Organization that emerged in early November 2008 in Gaza and considers itself

an integral part of Al-Qaeda. Al-Tawhid wal-Jihad was founded by Hisham Ali Saidani who fought with Al-Qaeda in Iraq following the US-led invasion.

The group took responsibility for shooting mortars at the Kisuifim checkpoint in Gaza and for an attack on 27 January 2009 in the same area, which left an Israeli soldier dead and three wounded.



*Tawhid and Jihad Proclamation*

**TAYLOR FORCE ACT** (full: *Taylor Force Act to condition assistance to the West Bank and Gaza on steps by the Palestinian Authority to end violence and terrorism against Israeli citizens*) Bill signed into law by US President Donald Trump on 23 March 2018, which prohibits provision of any Economic Support Fund assistance to the West Bank and Gaza that would directly benefit the PA unless the Department of State certifies that the PA, PLO and "any successor or affiliated organizations" meet a series of conditions. These include ceasing payments to (alleged) perpetrators of attacks against Israeli or American citizens, or to the family members of those individuals, and revoking any Palestinian legislation that ties compensation to Palestinian prisoners or detainees to the duration of their sentence or period of incarceration. The act is named after a young American former army officer who was stabbed to death by a Palestinian in Jaffa in March of 2016 while on a visit as part of a Vanderbilt University study group.

**TELEM** (Hebrew acronym for *HaTnuah Lehitadshut Mamlachtit*; English: the Movement for National Renewal) (1.) Israeli centrist party founded in 1981 by Moshe Dayan, who had served in Menachem Begin's first government as an independent MK. The party supported the unilateral application of an autonomy plan for the Palestinians, opposed territorial concessions, and rejected annexation of "Judea and Samaria". Telem received only



two seats in the elections to the 10<sup>th</sup> Knesset and dissolved in 1982 after internal turmoil following Dayan's death.

**(2.)** (Hebrew acronym for *Tnu'a Leumit Mam-lachtit*; English: *National Statesmanlike Movement*) New Israeli party under the same name, which was founded in January 2019 by former chief of staff, Moshe Ya'alon, who quit the Netanyahu government in 2016 after being dismissed as Defense Minister and officially relinquished his Likud membership in 2017. According to Ya'alon, the new party would serve as an "independent political force" and help put the "country back on the right track." On 21 February 2019, Telem agreed to run on a united list, also including Benny Gantz's Resilience Party and Yair Lapid's Yesh Atid, named Blue and White, which won 26.1% of the vote and 35 seats in the 9 April 2019 elections. Telem also ran as part of the Blue and White List in the September 2019 election, in which the list gained 33 seats.



**TEMPLE MOUNT** Jewish-Israeli term referring to the Al-Haram Ash-Sharif/Al-Aqsa Mosque compound, claiming that this was the site of the biblical Mount Moriah, where Abraham set the altar to sacrifice his son Isaac, as well as the site of the first and second Jewish temples (destroyed in 587 BCE and 70 CE respectively). Although the existence of archaeological evidence for the Jewish narrative is disputed, the 'Temple Mount' is venerated by Jews as their holiest site. According to Jewish tradition, redemption will take place on the mount and a third and final temple will be rebuilt with the coming of the Jewish messiah.

**TEMPLE MOUNT FAITHFUL** Extremist Jewish group which aims to "liberate the Temple Mount" from Arab occupation and "rebuild the Third Temple." The Temple Mount Faithful supports settlements and works to purchase Palestinian property, particularly in and around the Old City of Jerusalem. The group has tried on various occasions to enter and



pray in the Al-Haram Ash-Sharif/Al-Aqsa Mosque compound and to lay the cornerstone for the 'Third Temple' at the site.

#### TEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL MECHANISM

**(TIM)** Mechanism developed by the EU at the request of the Quartet and put in place by the European Commission in collaboration with the World Bank in June 2006. The TIM was developed to help alleviate the socioeconomic conditions in the Palestinian territories by facilitating the direct delivery of assistance while avoiding any financial links with the PA government. It was limited in scope and duration and was replaced by PEGASE in February 2008 (see *PEGASE*).

#### TEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN

**HEBRON (TIPH)** International civilian observer unit set up by an Israeli-PLO agree-



ment reached in Cairo on 31 March 1994 in the aftermath of the massacre of some 30 Palestinian worshippers at the Ibrahimi Mosque by an Israeli settler on 25 February 1994. The TIPH was created to provide a normal life and a sense of security for the Palestinians in Hebron. However, this mission lasted only a few months and a further agreement was concluded on 9 May 1996, setting the framework for a TIPH mission after the partial Israeli redeployment in Hebron. The two parties signed a new agreement on 21 January 1997, which called for Norway, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey to provide personnel for TIPH with Norway serving as coordinator. The six participating countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding pursuant to the Agreement on TIPH in Oslo on 30 January 1997. On 1 February 1997, the multinational TIPH mission became operational. It monitored and reported on the human rights situation primarily in Hebron's old city and helped improve the living conditions of the Palestinian community through women's economic empowerment, education, and psychosocial support and rehabilitation projects. While Palestinians welcomed the TIPH's presence, Jewish settlers in Hebron disliked it, seeing it as disturbing their expansion plans in the old city. On numerous

occasions, settlers attacked mission members. TIPH was mainly staffed by personnel from Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey, and financed exclusively and directly by the contributing countries. On 28 January 2019, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu decided not to extend TIPH's mandate, stating that the monitoring force was acting against Israel, effectively terminating its mission and removing it from the region after over 20 years of presence.

**TENDERS** Housing units for construction marketed by the government to contractors. The contractor with the winning bid builds the housing units and markets them to consumers.

**TENET PLAN** Israeli-Palestinian ceasefire and security plan proposed by then CIA director George Tenet to end the violence in the region. The Tenet Plan was dated 10 June 2001 and took effect on 13 June 2001. It envisaged the resumption of Israel-PA security cooperation, measures to enforce a ceasefire in the Second Intifada, the sharing of information on terrorist threats, and efforts to prevent acts of violence by both sides, followed by Israeli army redeployment to positions held before 28 September 2000 and the lifting of internal closures and border crossings. According to Israeli think tank ECF, the Tenet Plan's implementation was derailed by the Israeli government's demand for a total cessation of Palestinian attacks for the duration of a week, which was not accomplished.



*George Tenet*

**THIRD WAY** (Hebrew: *HaDerekh HaShlishit*) Movement that broke away from the Israeli Labor Party in 1994 over Labor's willingness to consider withdrawal from the Golan Heights in return for peace with Syria. The party was formed in March 1996 towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Knesset and was led by former Labor MK Avigdor Kahalani. The Third Way won four seats in the 1996 elections (14<sup>th</sup> Knesset), but did not pass the qualifying threshold in the 1999 elections and subsequently disbanded.

**THE THIRD WAY** List formed ahead of the second PLC elections in January 2006 as an alternative to Hamas and Fatah and headed by then-Finance Minister Salam Fayyad and Hanan Ashrawi. The Third Way won two out of 132 parliament seats in the elections (or 2.41% of the popular vote). It adopted the PLO's political program, demanding full Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 and resolving the refugee problem in accordance with UN Resolution 194. The Third Way favored resumption of negotiations with Israel and focused on security and governmental reforms, democratic improvements, and socioeconomic progress. While it became widely inactive after the elections, party leaders discussed in July 2015 the possibility to reactivate the party's platform. As of 2019, the party remained defunct.



*Salam Fayyad*



*Hanan Ashrawi*

**TIM** see *Temporary International Mechanism*

**TIPH** see *Temporary International Presence in Hebron*

**AT-TIRA MASSACRE** According to Israeli historian Benny Morris writes that in May 1948, "the British arranged a further, orderly evacuation from Tira, of 600 inhabitants, to Jenin and Nablus. Hundreds of men stayed on, however, successfully defending the village until July, when it fell to the IDF and was completely evacuated." An index on the website [palestineremembered.com](http://palestineremembered.com) suggests that members of the Irgun attacked At-Tira village south of Haifa on 12 December 1947, during which time they killed 13 Palestinians and wounded 10 others. It also notes that on 16 July 1948 when Israeli soldiers occupied the village, they killed at least 25 of the Palestinian inhabitants.

**TOMB OF THE PATRIARCHS** Complex in the Old City of Hebron known in Arabic and to Palestinians as Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi (Sanctuary of Abraham), or simply Ibrahimi Mosque, and to Jews as the Cave of Machpela. It is sacred to all three monotheistic religions which recognize this as the burial place of the patriarch Abraham as well as his son Isaac and grandson Jacob and their wives. It is considered the fourth holiest site in Islam, and after the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem the second holiest site in Palestine. The enclosure was originally constructed by Herod the Great during the early Roman period (37–4 BC). It became a mosque in the Early Islamic period and the cenotaphs of the prophets were constructed and decorated with green tapestries embroidered with Qur’anic verses and other pious inscriptions. The real tombs are believed to be in the cave upon which the building was built. The Crusaders built a church inside the Herodian enclosure calling it the Citadel of Saint Abraham. After Salah Eddin Al-Ayyoubi drove out the Crusaders in 1187, it was reconverted into a mosque. Since Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, Jewish worshippers prayed at a site outside the Mosque, but following the 1994 massacre by a Jewish extremist of 29 Muslim worshippers praying there, Israeli military authorities divided the mosque, turning part of it into a synagogue for Jews.



**TORAH** The first five books of the Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The Torah is often called the Pentateuch or the Law of Moses. In a broader sense, it is the entire body of the traditional Jewish religious teaching and study.



**TORTURE** The deliberate and systematic infliction of physical or psychological suffering. Methods applied by Israeli interrogators to Palestinian detainees include violent shaking, isolation, beating, kicking, sleep deprivation, agonizing positioning, and infliction of pain for prolonged periods. Until a landmark decision on 6 September 1999 by the Israeli High Court outlawing the use of arbitrary torture as an interrogation method, Israel was the only “democratic” state in the world that sanctioned torture by law. According to the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI), torture of Palestinian suspects has significantly increased and has become routine again since September 2001.

**TOWN PLANNING SCHEME** Requirement in the Jerusalem Planning and Building Law that serves as a means for supervising municipal planning and as a method used by Israel to restrict Palestinian construction and development in Jerusalem. Without an approved town planning scheme that complies with the infrastructural, zoning, and housing requirements of the Jerusalem municipality’s planning goals, no building permits will be issued. Town Planning Schemes are comprehensive, costly and require extensive coordination with the municipal authorities, which most of the time reject Palestinian plans and impose stipulations which make it nearly impossible for Palestinians to obtain permits for development and housing projects.

**TRANSFER** Policy of population transfer advocated by many right-wing Israelis, including MKs and Prime Ministers, to move Palestinians, forcibly if necessary, from Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip to one of the Arab countries. A February 2002 poll by the *Ma’ariv* newspaper revealed that over a third of Israelis supported the idea of ‘transfer’ and former Prime Minister Sharon repeatedly stated, “The Palestinians already have a state – it’s called Jordan.” Today, measures applied by the Israeli Ministry of Interior or Civil Administration (e.g., closures, the extensive permit system, denial of certificates, and home demolition) are designed to make daily life difficult if not unbearable for Palestinians and to induce emigration. These measures are some-



times referred to as ‘silent’ or ‘slow’ transfer. For Palestinians, ‘transfer’ is a euphemism for “ethnic cleansing”.

**TRANSJORDAN** Emirate of Transjordan, corresponding geographically to today's Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which was created as a separate administrative entity (part of the British post-World War I Mandate in the Middle East) on 11 April 1921 under the leadership of Emir Abdullah. The move also excluded the land east of the Jordan River due to Britain's support of the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Britain gradually relinquished control of the area, following its recognition of Transjordan as an independent government on 15 May 1923. Under the March 1946 Treaty of London, Transjordan became a kingdom, and on 25 May 1946, the Transjordanian parliament proclaimed the Emir King and changed its name to the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan.



**TRANSPARENCY LAW** see *NGO Funding Transparency Law*

**TRIANGLE** Area in central Israel which runs west of the Green Line from Umm Al-Fahm in the north to Kufr Qassem in the south, embracing the Wadi Ara area as well as the towns of Taibeh, At-Tireh, and Baqa Al-Gharbiyye. The area is home to some 30% of the Arab population in Israel.

**TRUMP PEACE PLAN** see *Deal of the Century*

**TUBAS** Small Palestinian governorate and city in the richly agricultural northeastern corner of the West Bank, some 3 km west of the Jordan River, which has a population of 60,927 and 21,253 (PCBS, 2019) respectively. Tubas was under Jordanian administration from 1949 to 1967, and since then has been under Israeli occupation, despite the fact that administrative control was handed over to the PA under the 1995 Oslo II Accord.



**TURKEL COMMITTEE/COMMISSION** (formally: *The Public Commission to Examine the Maritime Incident of 31 May 2010*) Panel set up on 14 June 2010 by the Israeli Government to investigate the Israeli raid on the Gaza-bound flotilla, especially the *Mavi Marmara*, on 31 May 2010 as well as the Gaza blockade. The probe was led by retired former Israeli Supreme Court Judge Jacob Turkel and included two international observers (former Northern Irish First Minister William David Trimble and former Canadian military judge Ken Watkin). The first part of the commission's findings were released on 23 January 2011, clearing “the government and military of wrongdoing” and saying that the “passengers were to blame for the violence” and accusing the Turkish Islamist charity that owned the *Mavi Marmara*, of a “planned and extremely violent” resistance. The second part of the report was published on 6 February 2013, claiming that “Israel’s mechanisms for examining and investigating complaints and claims of violations of the laws of armed conflict” comply with its obligations under international law. Turkey and Palestinians dismissed the report, Amnesty International called it a “whitewash,” the *Haaretz* newspaper a “farce,” and the *New York Times* reported that UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon repeated the demand for an independent investigation.

**TWO-STATE SOLUTION** Mainstream approach and for decades, the primary focus in negotiations to resolving the Palestine-Israel conflict, which advocates “two states for two people” and would establish an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel to allow both sides to run their countries independently. While widely considered the only way to achieve a just and lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, there are increasing voices and warnings that the two-state solution is on the verge of collapse, if not dead altogether. This is partially because the current Israeli leadership, though nominally supporting a two-state solution, appears to oppose it in practice and finds the *status quo* not only bearable but also preferable over an uncertain two-state solution.



**TZOMET** (English: *Crossroads*; also: *Movement for Renewed Zionism*) Secular, right-wing nationalist party established in 1983 by former army chief-of-staff Rafael Eitan as an off-

shoot of the right-wing Tehiya Party. Tzomet vehemently opposes the Oslo process and favors full retention of the West Bank. The party joined Likud in 1996 and won five seats in the elections. In all subsequent elections, including the April and September 2019 elections, Tzomet did not succeed to win any seats.



# U

**UGANDA SCHEME** (also: *Uganda Proposal*) Plan proposed by the British government for an autonomous Jewish colony in East Africa. Theodore Herzl proposed the British Uganda plan as a temporary refuge for Jews in Russia in immediate danger at the World Zionist Congress in 1903, which decided to send an expedition to examine the proposed territory. The plan was eventually rejected by the Zionist movement at the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905, though certain Jewish figures called an alternative conference to continue the plan of the Uganda scheme, which was finally shelved with the publication of the Balfour Declaration.

**UMMA** (English: *community*) The Muslim community throughout the world.

**UN BID** see **STATEHOOD BID**

**UN CONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE (UNCCP)** Commission created by the UN on 11 December 1948 as part of UN General Assembly Resolution 194 (III), and based on Count Folke Bernadotte's recommendation to deal with the whole complex of problems that had arisen between Israel and the Arab states and "achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding." The commission was to prepare "detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area" and facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and rehabilitation of the refugees. The UNCCP consisted of three members, France, Turkey, and the US, had its headquarters in Jerusalem, and was to serve as the mediator on Palestine. However, they held meetings with Arab and Israeli representatives separately due to the Arab states' opposition to direct dealings with the Jewish state. The UNCCP organized the Lausanne Conference in 1949 (see *Lausanne Conference*) and held several rounds of talks in Geneva in 1950 and a major conference in Paris in 1951, but failed to achieve progress on any major

issue due to the irreconcilable differences of the parties and Israel's stiff refusal to abide by UN Resolution 181 (II) or to comply with paragraph 11 of UN Resolution 194 (III). The commission established the Refugee Office in May 1951 to estimate the value of abandoned Arab refugee land and property in Israel. Further, UNCCP reconciliation efforts were mainly of an explorative nature but neither initiative brought it closer to fulfilling its mandate, and the UNCCP derived its significance primarily from its technical work. The commission still exists as merely a functional, if not symbolic, body based in New York.



**UN DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCES (UNDOF)** UN force established in June 1974 following the agreed disengagement of the Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights. UNDOF continues to maintain the ceasefire and to supervise the implementation of the agreement as well as the areas of separation and limitation between the Israeli occupied Golan Heights and the Syrian border. Since its creation, the mandate of UNDOF has been renewed every six months. In the prevailing circumstances, the UN Secretary-General considers the continued presence of UNDOF in the area to be essential.



**UN EMERGENCY FORCE IN THE SINAI (UNEF)** UN force established to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities, including the withdrawal of the armed forces of France, Israel, and the UK from Egyptian territory. Following the withdrawal, UNEF I (November 1956–June 1967) served as a buffer between Egyptian and Israeli forces. UNEF II was established in October 1973 to supervise the ceasefire between Egyptian and Israeli forces. Following the conclusion of the agreements of 18 January 1974 and 4 September 1975, UNEF II supervised the redeployment of Egyptian and Israeli forces and controlled the buffer zones established under those agreements.

**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY** UN organ, in which all 193 member states have equal representation, which discusses international peace and security issues. Headquarters are in New York.

**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 181** see *UN Partition Plan*

**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 194** Resolution adopted on 11 December 1948, stating the right of return: "The refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."

**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 303** Resolution adopted on 19 December 1949, restating the UN's intention to place Jerusalem under a permanent international regime which should envisage appropriate guarantees for the protection of the Holy Places, both within and outside Jerusalem, and confirm the provisions of the Partition Resolution 181 of 1947.

**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ES-10/L.22** Resolution passed by a vote of 128:9 during a rare emergency meeting on 21 December 2017, asking nations not to establish diplomatic missions in the historic city of Jerusalem, as delegates warned that the recent decision by the United States to do so risked igniting a religious war across the Middle East.

**UN INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL)** UN force deployed since March 1978, headquartered in Naqura, to oversee the withdrawal of Israeli forces from South Lebanon, to restore international peace and security in the area, and to provide humanitarian aid (since 1982).



**UN PARTITION PLAN** Part of UN General Assembly Resolution 181, which was passed on 29 November 1947, formally adopting the UNSCOP majority scheme, which proposed the division of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab

state with Jerusalem and Bethlehem as a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime (Partition Plan). The idea of partition was first suggested by the Peel Commission in 1937. The plan granted the Jews 56.47% of Mandatory Palestine, at a time when they owned less than 7% of the land, with a population of 498,000 Jews and 325,000 Arabs, and the Palestinians 43.53% of Palestine with 807,000 Arab inhabitants and 10,000 Jewish inhabitants. For Jerusalem, where the population was 100,000 Jews and 105,000 Arabs, an international trusteeship and free access to the Holy Places was envisaged. The plan was not accepted by the Palestinians, who saw it as an extension of an ongoing Jewish attempt to push them out of the land and saw the agreement as too favorable to the Jews at their own expense, nor by the Arab states, which also insisted that the UN had no right to give away the homeland of the Palestinians.



**UNITED NATIONS REGISTER OF DAMAGE (UNRoD)** (full: *United Nations Register of Damage Caused by the Construction of the Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*) Subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly which was established in accordance with General Assembly resolution A/RES/ES-10/17 of January 2007 in the aftermath of the International Court of Justice's issuance of its advisory opinion on the *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory* on 9 July 2004. UNRoD undertakes outreach activities in the OPT to record and document the damage caused to all natural and legal persons concerned as a result of the construction of Israel's Separation Barrier and receive, process and review their claims. As of 16 June 2019, UNRoD had collected 69,554 claims (mostly agriculture losses) and more than 1 million supporting documents.

**UN RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST (UNRWA)**

UN agency established by UN General Assembly Resolution 302 of December 1949 to give emergency assistance to Palestinians displaced by the War of 1948. UNRWA began to operate in May 1950. Its mandate to provide essential education, health, and relief services to Palestine refugees living in the OPT, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria has been renewed repeatedly since 1949. UNRWA's headquarters are in Gaza. In August 2018, the US government – the biggest contributor to UNRWA – announced that it will stop its funding of the agency, which it effectively did as of February 2019.



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL** UN organ established by the UN Charter and tasked with maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, solving international problems, and promoting respect for human rights. It has 15 members – five permanent (China, the US, France, the UK, and the Russian Federation) and ten non-permanent (elected for two-year terms)

– with one vote each. It is the only UN body with the authority to issue binding resolutions to member states. With regard to the Palestine question, the Security Council has issued 187 resolutions to date, most recently Resolution 2334 in December 2016 (see below).



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242** Resolution adopted on 22 November 1967, calling on Israel to withdraw its army from territories occupied in the course of the War of 1967. The resolution has resulted in considerable debate since it was passed due to the ambiguity in meaning caused by the presence of a definite article in the French translation, stating that Israel should withdraw from “the territories,” and the absence of a definite article in the English version.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338** Resolution adopted unanimously on 22 October 1973, calling for the immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 242 with a vision to establish a just and durable peace.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1397** Resolution adopted on 12 March 2002, by a vote of 14-0 with Syria abstaining, articulating the broad “vision of two states – Israel and Palestine – living side by side within secure and recognized borders.”

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1515** Resolution adopted unanimously on 19 November 2003, endorsing the Middle East Quartet's Road Map towards a permanent, two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and calling on the parties to fulfill their obligations under the plan in cooperation with the Quartet.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1544** Resolution adopted on 19 May 2004 by a vote of 14-0 with US abstaining, expressing grave concern regarding the humanitarian situa-

tion of Palestinians made homeless in the Rafah area, calling for the provision of emergency assistance to them, and urging Israel to respect its obligations under international humanitarian law, particularly on its obligations not to undertake demolition of homes.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1559** Resolution adopted on 2 September 2004 by a vote of 9-0 with six countries abstaining, calling upon Lebanon to establish sovereignty over all of its land and "foreign forces" to withdraw from Lebanon and cease intervening in Lebanon's internal politics. Further, it calls for all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias to disband, and declares support for free and fair presidential elections in Lebanon without foreign interference.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1701** Resolution adopted unanimously on 11 August 2006 to resolve the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict. UN Security Council Resolution 1701 was accepted by both the Israeli Knesset and the Lebanese Parliament.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1860** Resolution adopted on 8 January 2009 by a vote of 14:0 with one abstention (US), condemning all violence and hostilities directed against civilians and all acts of terrorism and calling, *inter alia*, for an immediate, durable and fully respected ceasefire, leading to the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza; the unimpeded provision and distribution throughout Gaza of humanitarian assistance; and international efforts to alleviate the humanitarian and economic situation in Gaza.

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 2334** Resolution adopted on 23 December 2016 by a vote of 14:0 with the US abstaining, condemning Israel's settlements policy as a "flagrant violation" of international law that has "no legal validity" and demanding that Israel stop such activity and fulfill its obligations as an occupying power under the Fourth Geneva Convention. It was the first UNSC resolution to pass regarding Israel and the Palestinian territories since 2009 and the first to address the issue of Israeli settlements so explicitly since Resolution 465 in 1980.

**UN SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS (UNSCO)** UN body established in June 1994 to facilitate coordination among the various UN programs in the OPT, represent the UN at donor meetings, and assist in coordinating international donor assistance. The current Special Coordinator, appointed by the UN Secretary-General, is Nickolay Mladenov. Headquarters are in Jerusalem with offices in Gaza and Ramallah.



**UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE (UNSCOP)** Committee appointed in April 1947 at the end of a UN session on Palestine, following the British referral of the Palestine Question to the UN. Its task was to investigate the situation on the ground and propose solutions to the problem. However, the 11 members could not reach an agreement and thus published so-called majority and minority reports. The majority plan recommended partition and an international status for Jerusalem (see *UN Partition Plan*), while the minority plan advocated a single federal solution with Jerusalem as its capital. The Jewish Agency accepted the partition plan, but the Arab Higher Committee rejected it. The majority report was placed before the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1947 and adopted as Resolution 181.



*UNSCOP delegation*

**UN TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION (UNTSO)** UN body established in June 1948 to assist the UN Mediator and Truce Commission in supervising the observance of the truce in Palestine. It later supervised the 1949 Armistice Agreements and the cease-fire in the Suez Canal area and the Golan Heights after the War of 1967. At present, observer groups are stationed in Beirut, the Sinai, and the Golan. Headquarters are in Jerusalem in the former "Government House" that was built

during the British Mandate to house the British High Commissioner.



UNTSO Headquarters in Jerusalem

**UNDOF** see *UN Disengagement Observer Forces*

**UNEF** see *UN Emergency Force in the Sinai*

**UNIFIED JERUSALEM LAW** (also: *United Jerusalem Law*) Legislation proposed by Naftali Bennett, leader of the right-wing Habayit Ha-Yehudi, which the Knesset passed in a first reading in July 2017 and approved by a vote of 64:51 as an amendment to the *Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel* on 2 January 2018. It requires a special majority of 80 MKS (out of 120) to vote in favor of ceding any part of Jerusalem to a foreign power. It also includes a clause that would make it possible to detach Arab neighborhoods from the city as long as they remain under Israeli sovereignty. While kept rather vague, the amendment mainly targets the possibility of excluding Kufr Aqab and the Shu'fat refugee camp from Jerusalem's municipal jurisdiction and placing them under the governance of a to-be-established local authority. Residents would keep their Israeli residency while living in an area no longer part of Jerusalem.

**UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU)** Coalition of the main Palestinian political factions, which served as the underground leadership during the First Intifada. UNLU distributed leaflets to inform people about the uprising and drew up a broad strategy to direct the struggle.



UNLU Leaflet No. 3

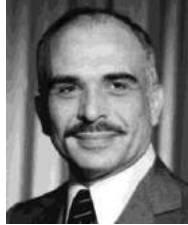
**UNIFIL** see *UN Interim Force in Lebanon*

**UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT PLAN** Plan proposed by then Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the Herzliya Conference on Security on 18 December 2003, to create "maximum security with minimum friction" between Israelis and Palestinians. The Unilateral Disengagement Plan formulated the case that if the Palestinians did not quickly make moves toward peace, his plan would leave them with "much less" than what they could get via negotiations. The plan included redeployment along a "security line" in the OPT, the construction of the Separation Barrier as part of a makeshift border, evacuation of isolated settlements, and reducing Palestinian economic dependence on Israel by strengthening ties between the OPT and Jordan and Egypt.

**UNIT 101** Special operations unit established in semi-secrecy on orders from Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in August 1953 and led by Ariel Sharon. Unit 101, whose initial task was retribution operations, aimed to instill fear and instability in Palestinian society. It gained notoriety for a succession of massacres committed on civilian targets, in particular a widely condemned military action in October 1953 against the West Bank village of Qibya in which, according to many scholars including Israeli journalist and author Uzi Benziman, almost 70 civilians were killed. It also was the leading force in brutalizing and expelling the Palestinian Bedouins from the Negev. After 1954, its activities were primarily confined to military targets, including the Qalqilya Police raid of October 1956 during which 18 Israeli soldiers and some 100 Arab Legion soldiers were killed. In January 1954, the unit merged into the Israeli army's 202<sup>nd</sup> Paratroop Brigade and was eventually disbanded after the 1956 Suez War.

**UNITED ARAB KINGDOM PLAN** (also: *Federation Plan*) Plan proposed by King Hussein of Jordan on 15 March 1972 to establish a United Arab Kingdom incorporating Jordan, the West Bank, and "any other Palestinian territories (...) who wish to join it." Amman would be the capital of the kingdom and Jerusalem would be the capital of the region of

Palestine. Both the West Bank and Jordan would be under the sovereignty of the king (the head of state) and be represented in a National Assembly comprised of representatives in equal numbers from both regions. Executive, legislative, and judicial powers would be devolved to the regions with central control limited to affairs connected with “the kingdom as an international entity to guarantee the kingdom's security, stability and prosperity.” Almost all involved parties rejected the plan.



King Hussein

**UNITED ARAB LIST (UAL-TA'AL)** (also: *Ra'am-Ta'al*) Arab party formed as a joint list for the 1996 Knesset elections by the Arab Democratic Party, the National Unity Front, and individuals from the Islamic movement in Israel. The party promotes strengthening the Arab sector, dismantling all settlements, and establishing a Palestinian state. UAL ran independently in the 1999 and 2003 elections and together with the Arab Movement for Renewal (Ta'al) in the 2006 elections. On 12 January 2009, the Israel Central Elections Committee disqualified UAL-Ta'al from the elections for the 18<sup>th</sup> Knesset for allegedly “supporting terrorism”; however, nine days later, the Israeli High Court of Justice overturned the committee's decision. The UAL-Ta'al list garnered 3.38% of the vote and won four seats in the February 2009 elections. The UAL ran a joint list with the Balad Party in the April 2019 Knesset elections and won four seats with Mansour Abbas as the party leader. In the September 2019 elections, the UAL ran again as part of the Joint List, which won 13 seats.

قوتنا في  
تحالفنا

**UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (UAR)** (Arabic: *Al-Jumhuriya Al-'Arabia Al-Muttahida*) Union formed between Syria and Egypt in February 1958. UAR was the first of a series of realignments throughout the Middle East, and was inspired by the pan-Arab vision of Gamal Abdul Nasser, who was elected as the new republic's President. Cairo was chosen to be the capital of the

new republic, which adopted a federal constitution. As an initial step toward creating a pan-Arab union, the UAR abolished Syrian and Egyptian citizenship, termed its inhabitants Arabs, and called the country Arab territory. It considered the Arab homeland to be the entire area between the Persian Gulf and the Atlantic coast. Later Yemen sought security by affiliating itself with the UAR in a confederation called the United Arab States (1958-61). The UAR existed until 1961 when a *coup d'état* in Syria brought a secessionist group to power. However, Egypt continued to use the name UAR until 1971.



Gamal Abdul Nasser



**UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL** see *Keren Hayesod*

**UNITED JERUSALEM LAW** see *Unified Jerusalem Law*

**UNITED RIGHT** see *Yamina*

**UNITED TORAH JUDAISM** Ultra-Orthodox, centrist-right party founded in 1992 with the merger of Agudat Israel (representing Ashkenazi Jews from the Lithuanian) and Degel HaTorah (representing Ashkenazi Jews from the Hasidic community). United Torah Judaism opposes any peace negotiations with the PLO, rejects the formation of a Palestinian state, and supports increasing settlement activity in the OPT. In January 2004, the party split back into its two factions following a disagreement over how to join Ariel Sharon's coalition, but then reunited again in 2005. United Torah Judaism garnered 4.39% of the vote and won five seats in the 2009 Knesset elections. Ahead of the April 2019 elections, Degel Hatorah, headed by Moshe Gafni, and Agudat Yisrael, headed by Rabbi Yaakoc Litzman, formally parted ways again but only “procedural”, meaning they would still run together in the elections, in which the party won 8 seats (5.78% of the votes). In the September 2019 elections, it won 7 seats.

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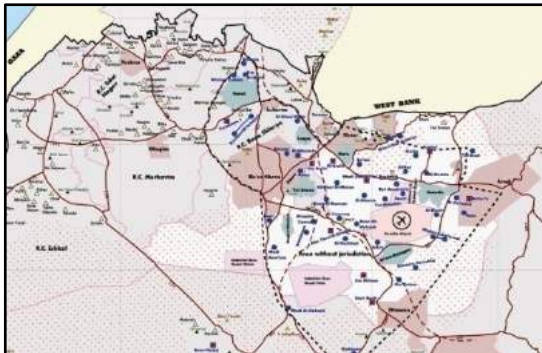


**UNITY GOVERNMENT** see *Palestinian Unity Government*

**UNITY TALKS** see *Palestinian Unity Talks*

**UNLU** see *Unified National Leadership of the Uprising*

**UNRECOGNIZED VILLAGES** Some 176 Palestinian villages within Israel, specifically in the Galilee and the Negev, that do not officially exist according to the state. The villages are mainly inhabited by Bedouins and many of them predate the state of Israel, while others are populated with 1948 internally displaced peoples from other parts of the Negev. According to ACRI, over half of the approximately 160,000 Negev Bedouins reside in unrecognized villages without municipal services, health care, or postal/phone connections, as their existing infrastructure was built without Israeli permission.



*Unrecognized villages in the Negev*

**UNROD** see *UN Register of Damage Caused by the Construction of the Wall*

**UNRWA** see *UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*

**UNSCO** see *United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process*

**UNSCOP** see *UN Special Committee on Palestine*

**UNTSO** see *UN Truce Supervision Organization*

**US ASSURANCES** Letter sent from President Bill Clinton to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat dated 26 April 1999 specifying various US positions on issues related to the peace process. The letter acknowledged that Israel was largely to blame for the stagnation of the peace process, promised that the US would increase pressure on the Israeli government to implement its part of the Oslo Accords, and urged Arafat to continue to rely on the peace process as a means to Palestinian freedom. According to Palestinian officials, the letter helped persuade Arafat not to unilaterally declare Palestinian independence on 4 May 1999.

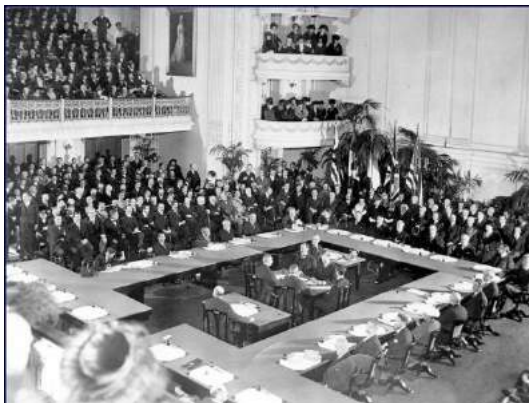
**US MIDDLE EAST PEACE INITIATIVE** Proposal announced by US President Bush in July 2007 shortly after Hamas's military takeover of Gaza, which was designed to bolster President Abbas's Fatah government in the West Bank. The US Middle East Peace Initiative contained a proposal for the Annapolis conference and an economic aid package to the Fatah-led PA government (see *Annapolis Conference*). Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and PA President Mahmoud Abbas took part in talks along with officials from the Quartet and more than a dozen Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia and Syria. Hamas was not represented. The talks came to an abrupt halt with Israel's military offensive in Gaza in December 2008 (see also *Operation Cast Lead*).

# V

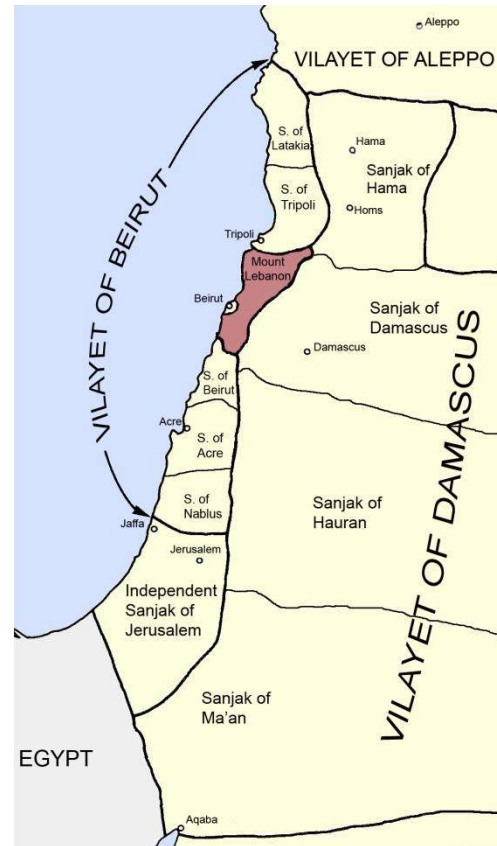
**VA'AD LEUMI** National Council of the Jewish community in Palestine during the British Mandate (1920-48). Va'ad Leumi served as an elected governing body and focused on social and welfare issues.

**VENICE DECLARATION** Statement by the European Council on the Middle East at the European Community summit in Venice in June 1980, detailing their position on the Middle East. The Venice Declaration reiterated the right of existence and security for all states in the region, including Israel, and justice for all the peoples, including recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

**VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE/TREATY** (also: *Paris Peace Conference*) Post-World War I peace conference that took place in Paris in 1919. The "Big Four" (also known as the Council of Four) – Prime Minister David Lloyd George of England, Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France, Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando of Italy, and President Woodrow Wilson of the US – decided that the conquered Arab provinces would not be restored to Ottoman rule. The treaty established, among other things, the mandate system which entrusted Britain and France with the task of governing the Arab territories until it was determined they were ready for independence.



**VILAYET** Ottoman provincial administrative division ruled by a Vali, who was responsible to the Sultan in Istanbul. Vilayets were in turn sub-divided into Sanjaks and then Kazas.



**VILLAGE LEAGUES** Network created and backed by Israel that was equipped with municipal functions and operated in the West Bank from the late 1970s to mid-1980s to establish a counterforce to the PLO. The village leagues were widely seen as collaborationist and never really challenged the PLO.

**VOICE OF PALESTINE (VOP)** (Arabic: *Sawt Al-Falastin*) Palestinian radio station first leased by Egypt to the PLO after its establishment in 1964. VOP operated from Egypt until being closed down in 1970 when fighting stopped along the Suez Canal. However, the PLO continued attacks against Israel and criticized the Rogers Peace Plan, which Egypt had accepted. VOP began broadcasting in the OPT on 2 July 1994 with President Arafat's first address from his homeland. Today, it is the official Palestinian radio station, and was first broadcasted from Jericho and then from Ramallah since April 1996.

# W

**WA'AD** (also: *National Coalition for Justice and Democracy*) List that was formed and headed by Gazan doctor Iyad Al-Sarraj during the 2006 PLC elections. Wa'ad's main platform was security reforms, rule of law enforcement, and respect for human rights. The list did not win a seat in the 2006 PLC elections.

**WADI** (sometimes *wad*) Arabic term referring to a dry riverbed or watercourse, usually located in desert environments. The term is used in regions of southwestern Asia and northern Africa. Wadis often have flowing water during the rainy season, which can lead to sudden dangerous flash floods.



Wadi Qelt near Jericho

**WADI HILWEH** Part of the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan, just outside the western walls of the Old City, which Jews refer to as the "City of David," an archaeological site that Israel believes to be the original site of Jerusalem. As is the case for Silwan as a whole, the Palestinian population of Wadi Hilweh is constantly threatened by house demolitions for the sake of the expansion of settler projects.

**WADI NAR** (also: *Kidron Valley*; English: *The Valley of Fire*) (1.) Valley which stretches from Jerusalem eastward through the Judean Desert to the Dead Sea.

(2.) Long and winding road that bypasses Jerusalem along its side and is the only way for Palestinians who have no permit to enter Jerusalem to travel between the northern and southern West Bank. Following the second Intifada (2000), the Israel army established a checkpoint – known as "container

checkpoint" (after the shipping container that first served as checkpoint) – further hindering the movement of goods and people.



**WAFSA** (Arabic: *Wikalat Al-Anba Al-Filistiniyya*; English: *Palestinian News Agency*) Official Palestinian news agency established on 5 June 1972 by an order of the PLO Executive Committee. Until September 1982 Wafa was headquartered in Lebanon, then in Tunis until 1994 when it moved to Gaza with the establishment of the PA. Today, it is controlled by the Palestinian Ministry of Information and based in Ramallah.



**WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION** Resolution introduced by Robert F. Wagner and Robert A. Taft in the US Senate on 1 February 1944, calling on the US to support free Jewish immigration to Palestine and the reconstitution of that country as a Jewish commonwealth. The move came in the wake of an intensified Zionist campaign for a Jewish state as the deadline set by the British White Paper for the end of Jewish immigration to Palestine, 31 March 1944, came closer. The resolution, which was identical to the Wright-Compton Resolution that was introduced in the House of Representatives five days earlier (see below), basically paraphrased congressional resolutions of 1922 that had favored establishing a national home for the Jewish problem in Palestine, but added the persecution of the Jews during World War II as further rationale.

**WAILING WALL** see *Western Wall*

**AL-WALAJA** (also spelled *Al-Walajah*) Palestinian village located in southern Jerusalem close to Bethlehem (both inside and beyond the West Jerusalem municipality border), which has traditionally been associated with

the cultivation of vineyards, olive trees, barley, wheat, and fruits. After the 1948 War and the *Naqba*, the village was handed to Israel in accordance with the terms of the Armistice Agreement signed with Jordan on 3 April 1949, which stipulated that the southern Jerusalem boundary line would run along the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway line, north of which Walaja was situated (now the site of Jerusalem's Biblical Zoo). The villagers left their homes and moved south of the tracks into Jordanian territory, where much of their land was located. After the War of 1967, the boundaries of the expanded East Jerusalem, which Israel had annexed illegally, brought nearly the entire area of the new village within Jerusalem's city limits (the remainder becoming part of Israel proper, located on the other side of the Green Line). However, although the land was annexed, its residents were not absorbed and they were consequently not included in the subsequent Israeli 1967 census. As a result of this, they received West Bank identity cards instead of Jerusalem residency cards to which they were legally entitled. Today, the approximately 2,000 residents of Walaja, although living in Jerusalem, depend on the PA for all their services as the Israeli Ministry of Interior still refuses to issue them with Jerusalem ID cards (permanent residency). Their village, meanwhile, is surrounded on all sides by Jewish settlements (Har Gilo and Betar Illit), the Separation Barrier and a checkpoint, all of which involved confiscation of much land from the villagers. Most recently, Israel turned Walaja's Ein Hanya spring into an official national park, patrolled by Israeli police and off limits for the villagers.



**WALL** see *Separation Barrier*

**WAQF** (plural: *awqaf*; English: *hold, confinement, or prohibition*; literally: *holding certain property and preserving it for the confined benefit of certain philanthropy*) Muslim religious endowment or Islamic charitable foundation that administers holy sites as well as state lands and other property passed to the Muslim community for public welfare (religious or charitable purposes). Waqf can be classified into three categories: property, corporate, and cash. The system of waqf is regulated by Shari'a, and revenues from it may finance mosques or religious institutions, hence, the waqf is considered part of the mosque or the religious institution. Once a waqf is established it is not possible to alter the contract, except when involved parties violate the contract or the founder or manager secedes from Islam. Waqf regulations differ in the various Muslim societies.

**WAQF LAND** Public land reserved for some public purpose (e.g., charitable) that is usually leased (see also *Miri* and *Mulk*).

**WAR CRIMES** Major breaches of the laws or customs of war that are among the gravest crimes in international law. War crimes occur when superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering is inflicted upon an enemy. They are defined by the Geneva Conventions and listed their Article 147 as including, *inter alia*, atrocities or offences against persons or property, torture, deportation, willful killing of civilians, ill-treatment of prisoners, plunder of public or private property, willful destruction of cities, towns or villages, and use of disproportionate force. Individuals can be held criminally responsible for the actions of a country or its soldiers. Israel has been repeatedly accused of committing war crimes in its dealings with the Palestinian population. Most recently, on 17 October 2018, the prosecutor for the International Criminal Court, Fatou Bensouda, issued a stark warning that "extensive destruction of property without military necessity and population transfers in an occupied territory constitute war crimes under the Rome Statute."

**WAR OF 1948** (also: *First Israeli-Arab War*; by Israeli Jews: *War of Independence*; by Palestinians: *An-Nakba*) Fighting that broke out after the declaration of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948 between Israeli forces and Arab armies. Prior to this, inter-communal violence triggered by UN Partition Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947 had already come to a peak. By the end of the War of 1948, Jewish forces had captured 54% of the territory assigned to the Arab state in UN Resolution 181, and Israel controlled 77.4% of the land. Egypt and Jordan retained control over the Gaza Strip and the West Bank respectively. These armistice lines held until 1967. As a result, Palestine was fragmented, its society dismantled, and its people rendered a nation of displaced refugees (UN estimates: 726,000 Palestinian refugees located outside the armistice lines and some 32,000 inside). Some 418 Palestinian villages were depopulated and erased from the map as a result of Jewish military activities, massacres, and expulsion orders.



**WAR OF 1967** (also: *June War* or *Six-Day War*; Arabic: *An-Naksa*) War launched by an Israeli attack on Egyptian posts on 5 June 1967 which resulted in the Israeli occupation of the rest of Palestine (i.e., the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem). Israel illegally declared its jurisdiction over what is now the OPT on 27 June and formally annexed East Jerusalem on 28 June 1967. The 1967 War also marked the start of a new phase in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, since the conflict created hundreds of thousands of refugees and brought

more than one million Palestinians under Israeli occupation.



**WAR OF ATTRITION** Ongoing military activity between Egypt and Israel waged along the Suez Canal between February 1969 and August 1970. The War of Attrition was conducted through battles and infiltrations by both sides, resulting in high casualties, and ended with the renewal of a ceasefire.



**WAR OF THE CAMPS** Inter-confessional conflict that emerged in 1985 during the Lebanese Civil War when Syria, backed by the Shi'ite Amal militia and some Palestinian rejectionist factions, attempted to root out the PLO from its refugee camp strongholds. The conflict lasted until September 1986, and the Lebanese government reported that 3,871 people died and 6,787 were injured during the fighting.

**WA'RA AS-SAWDA MASSACRE** Attack by Jewish forces on the encampment of Arab Al-Mawasi Bedouins at Khirbat Al-Wa'ra As-Sawda' in the eastern Galilee on 2 November 1948. The village is recorded as having been depopulated. Although Palestinian historian Walid Khalidi has stated that no published accounts of the incident exist, there is oral testimony from members of the village who state that

Israeli forces had entered, destroyed their dwellings and shot at least 14 people dead.

**WARREN'S SHAFT** Underground tunnel system believed to have been a water conduit through which residents of ancient Jerusalem could get water from *inside* the city during periods of siege or war. The descending tunnel ends in a vertical shaft, the bottom of which is at the level of the Gihon Spring, outside the Old City walls. It was discovered in the 1860s by British scholar and excavator Charles Warren.

**WASHINGTON DECLARATION** Document signed by Jordan's King Hussein, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and President Clinton on 25 July 1994 at the White House, which formally ended the 46-year state of war between Israel and Jordan and paved the way to a formal peace treaty between the two countries. The treaty itself was subsequently signed in October 1994. The declaration committed Jordan and Israel to the "achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace between Arab states and the Palestinians, with Israel," affirmed Jordan's historic role over the Muslim Holy Sites of Jerusalem, and initiated the opening of two new border crossings between the two countries. Further, the treaty called for the linking of power grids, a direct telephone line, and police cooperation in combating crime.



**WEIZMANN-FAISAL AGREEMENT** Separate agreement reached between Amir Faisal (representing the Arabs) and Chaim Weizmann (representing the Zionists) on 3 January 1919 (some sources say 4 January) at the sidelines of the post-World War I Versailles Peace Conference (where the Allied Powers met between January 1919 and January 1920 to negotiate peace treaties with the Central Powers). Weizmann and Faisal agreed to cordial cooperation; however, Faisal wrote a *proviso* on the document in Arabic that his signature depended upon Allied war pledges

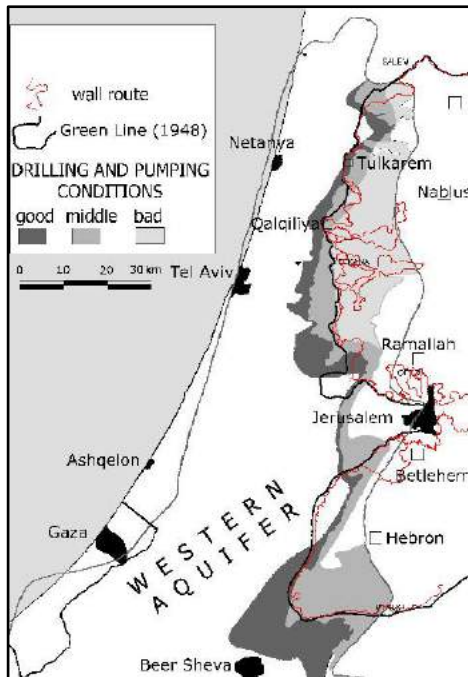
regarding Arab independence. Since these pledges were not fulfilled to Arab satisfaction after the war, most Arab leaders and spokesmen did not consider the Weizmann-Faisal agreement as binding.

**WEST BANK** Territory located west of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea on some 5,650 km<sup>2</sup> (130 km long and 40-65 km in width). The West Bank was part of the British Mandate of Palestine from 1917 to 1948, was captured during the War of 1948 by Jordan and annexed to the kingdom in 1950. The territory has been illegally occupied by Israel since the 1967 War. According to the latest Census of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, there were over 2.8 million Palestinians living in the West Bank in 2017 and according to data provided by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, there were 427,800 Israeli settlers living in the West Bank by the end of 2018, excluding East Jerusalem. Israel retains direct control of over 60% of the West Bank territory (see also *Areas A, B, C*).



**WESTERN AQUIFER BASIN** Transboundary aquifer located in the western part of the West Bank and extending to the coastal areas of historical Palestine. The aquifer is shared between the West Bank, Israel, and Egypt. The recharge area is 1,800 km<sup>2</sup> of which 1,400 km<sup>2</sup> lie in the West Bank. It is the largest of all West Bank groundwater basins and consists of the upper and the lower aquifers. The 2,500 km<sup>2</sup> storage area lies in Israel. Two major natural outlets are Ras Al-Ein (Rosh Ha'ayn) and the Timsah Springs. The Western Aquifer Basin is estimated to have an annual natural recharge of around

400 mcm with an average abstraction of 365 mcm/year. This aquifer is the only source of water for Palestinians in the West Bank and the main provider of freshwater to Israelis. Palestinians are only in control of some 5% of the aquifer's utilization, while the remainder is controlled by Israel, primarily from outside the West Bank boundaries.



**WESTERN WALL** (Hebrew: *Kotel*; Arabic: *Al-Buraq*) Most holy site in Judaism, which Jews believe is the western wall of the support platform of the Second Temple from which the Divine Presence never departed. Because the Western Wall is the only visible remains of the Temple, it is a pilgrimage site for Jews to mourn the Temple's destruction by the Romans in 70 AD, hence the term 'Wailing Wall.' For Muslims, the area is considered a holy place because it was here that Prophet Mohammed tethered his winged steed (Al-Buraq) on his journey to Jerusalem. The wall and much of the area around it constitutes Waqf property, a fact that was confirmed in 1930 by the British Inquiry Commission to Determine the Rights and Claims for Muslims and Jews in Connection with the Wailing Wall. The plaza in front of the wall was created after Israel's 1967 conquest of the city and involved the demolition of the entire Arab Mughrabi Quarter,

which rendered hundreds of Palestinians homeless.



**WESTERN WALL DISTURBANCES** Inter-communal Arab-Jewish tensions that began in September 1928 when British authorities removed a screen placed by Jews at the Western Wall to separate male and female worshippers, a move Muslims denounced as a change in the site's *status quo*. The incident was politicized over the months following the incident and led to violence on 23 August 1929 when Palestinians and Jews attacked each other in a number of cities, leaving over 116 Palestinians and 133 Jews dead. In 1930, Britain dispatched the Shaw Commission to investigate the violence (see *above*).

**WHITE PAPER(S)** Statements of British government policy during the Mandate period, which were often based on official British reports on Palestine. The final paper, published in 1939, recommended partition and marked the end of the British commitment to Jews under the Balfour Declaration.

**WHITE PAPER OF 1922** see *Churchill Memorandum*

**WHITE PAPER OF 1930** see *Passfield White Paper*

**WHITE PAPER OF 1939** see *MacDonald White Paper*

**WOLFENSOHN DEAL** Agreement reached in 2005 between private donors and farmers of the former Gush Katif settlement for the purchase and transfer of about 1,000 greenhouses from settler ownership to Palestinians, in order for the latter to continue to op-

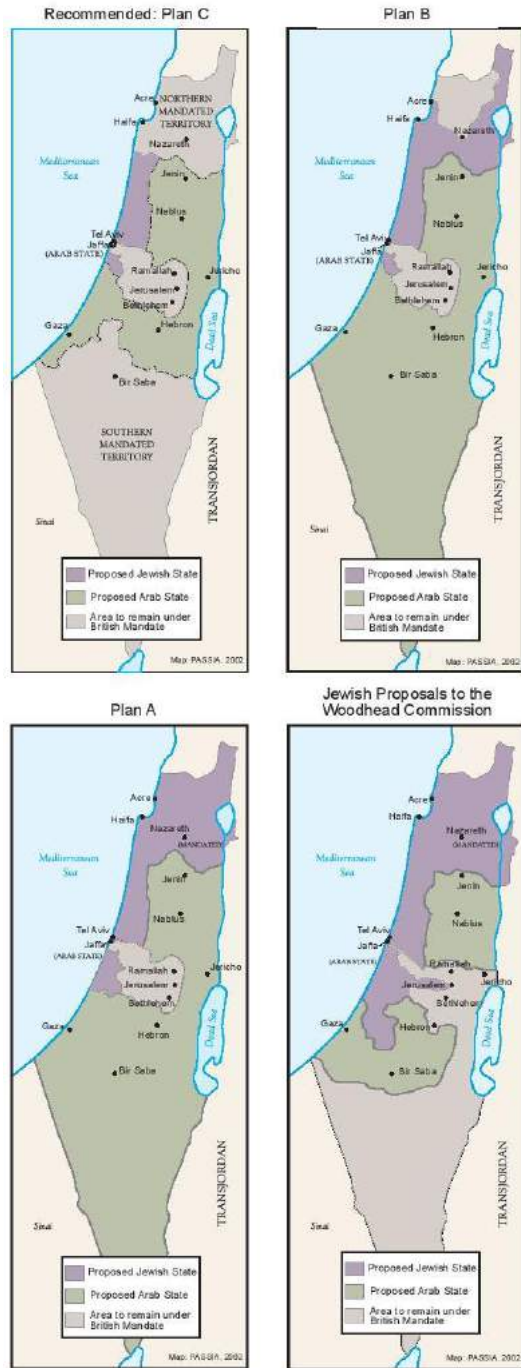
erate them. The agreement was named after James Wolfensohn, at the time the Quartet's Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement and a former president of the World Bank, who had offered \$500,000 of his own money, while a consortium of wealthy Americans covered the remaining \$13.5 million for the deal, which was facilitated by the Economic Cooperation Foundation. Following the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, the PA took responsibility for the facilities, but failed to protect them from looters. A number of the greenhouses had been dismantled by the settlers prior to their evacuation and those that were spared after the looting could also not be used successfully due to border closures impacting export of produce and the lack of financial subsidies that the Israeli settlers had received from the Israeli government.

**WOMEN IN BLACK** International movement that began in January 1988, a month after the first Palestinian Intifada broke out, as a small group of Israeli women who carried out a simple form of protest. Once a week at the same hour and in the same location, a major traffic intersection in West Jerusalem, they donned black clothing and raised a black sign in the shape of a hand with white lettering that read "Stop the Occupation." Soon after, many such vigils were launched in other Israeli locations. The movement then spread from country to country, wherever women sought to speak out against violence and injustice.



**WOODHEAD COMMISSION** (officially: *Palestine Partition Commission*) Technical Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Sir John Woodhead, sent by Britain in April 1938 to re-examine the question and practicability of partition and make a detailed plan for it based on the 1937 Peel Commission's report. Its hearings were boycotted by Palestinian leaders. The Woodhead Commission published its findings in November 1938, reversing the

Peel Commission report, which stated that partition was impracticable. Since the members of the commission could not agree on a single proposal, they issued three proposals, Plans A, B, and C. The Zionist movement rejected the plans because of the limited scope of the proposed Jewish state.



Woodhead Partition proposals



**WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (WZO)** Organization founded in August 1897 at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, which was called by Theodore Herzl. The WZO is named after Mount Zion in Jerusalem, and was designed to establish a national home for Jews in Palestine. The WZO established the Jewish Agency in 1929. After 1948, it mainly worked towards uniting the Jewish people and raising funds. The WZO's formal name was Zionist Organization until 1960.



**WORSHIPPERS' WAY** Road in Hebron linking the Kiryat Arba settlement and the Cave of the Patriarchs (Arabic: *Haram Al-Ibrahimi*). In November 2003, after 12 Israeli soldiers and security guards were killed in an Islamic Jihad ambush on Worshippers' Way, the Israeli government decided to destroy homes along the route belonging to Arab residents.



**WRIGHT-COMPTON RESOLUTION** Resolution introduced by Representatives James Wright and Ranulf Compton in the US House of Representatives as a result of intensive Zionist campaigns for the establishment of a Jewish state prior to the British-set deadline of 31 March 1944 for the end of Jewish immigration to Palestine. The resolution called for US support for free Jewish immigration to Palestine and the reconstitution of that country as a Jewish commonwealth. Five days later, the identical Wagner-Taft Resolution was introduced in the US Senate.

**WYE RIVER MEMORANDUM** Agreement signed on 23 October 1998 for the implementation of the Oslo II Agreement and the resumption of final status talks. The memorandum divided the 2<sup>nd</sup> redeployment provided by Oslo II, which was to be completed in April 1997,

into three phases totaling 13% of the West Bank. Other main points were changes in the PLO Charter, opening the Gaza airport and the safe passage corridor, reducing the number of Palestinian police, and releasing Palestinian prisoners. Subsequently, Israel withdrew from only 2% of the West Bank near Jenin and some detainees were released, although most of them were criminals rather than political prisoners. The Wye River Agreement did not include an official map detailing the areas to be transferred by Israel to PA control, and there were only informal assurances that the transfer of land out of Area C would take place primarily in the northern West Bank (first redeployment), Ramallah area (second), and around Hebron (third). The December 1998 Knesset vote for early elections in May 1999 suspended further implementation of the agreement.



*Signing of the Wye River Memorandum*

# Y

**YACHAD** see *Meretz-Yachad*

**YAMINA** (English: *right or rightwards*; formerly: *United Right*) Israeli right-wing alliance formed by the Union of Right-Wing Parties (a merger of the far right Orthodox Tkuma party and The Jewish Home), led by Rafi Peretz, and the New Right party (Hayamin Hehadash), led by Ayelet Shaked, in late July 2019 to run in the September 2019 Israeli elections. Initially called the United Right, the joint electoral list was later renamed Yamina, with Ayelet Shaked as its leader. The alliance gained 7 seats in the September 2019 elections but on 10 October 2019 Hayamin Hehadash – headed by Naftali Bennett and Ayelet Shaked – announced its split off.

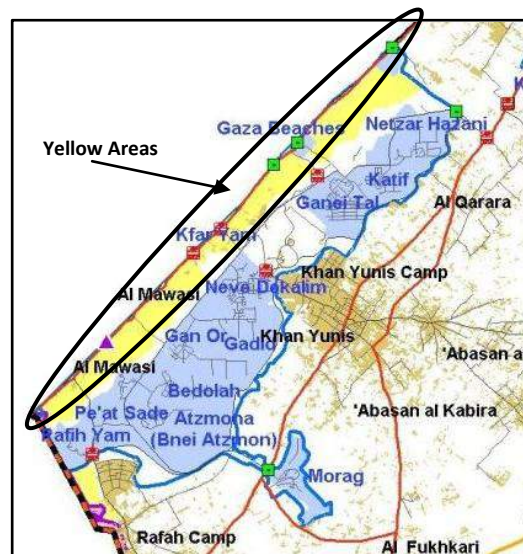


**YAZUR ATTACK** Major assault on the Palestinian village of Yazur, located 6 km east of Jaffa. According to Palestinian historian Aref Al-Aref, on 18 December 1947, Zionist troops disguised as British soldiers threw bombs at the main coffeehouse, killing six villagers. *Filastin* newspaper reported more attacks in early 1948, the largest on 12 February, during which several houses in Yazur were destroyed.

**YEHIDAY MASSACRE** Attack on the Arab village of Yehiday (near Petah Tikva) on 13 December 1947, in which Jewish forces disguised as a British army patrol shot into the coffee house, placed bombs next to homes, and tossed grenades at villagers, killing at least seven and wounding many more, before being stopped by real British troops arriving.

**YELLOW AREAS** Areas near former Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip that are populated by Palestinians but were put under full Israeli security control and PA civil jurisdiction according to the 1995 Oslo II Accord. The name was derived from the fact that the areas in question were shaded in yellow on the maps.

There were seven Yellow Areas, covering 4.5% of the total Gaza Strip territory: Al-Mawasi (ran 12 km southwest along the Mediterranean from Deir Al-Balah to the Egyptian border), Al-Sayafa (near Beit Lahia, surrounded the former Dugit and Elei Sinai settlements), Abu Meddein (central Gaza, west of the former Netzarim settlement), Deir Al-Balah (east of the former Kfar Darom settlement), Tel Zurub and Hai As-Salam (both south of Rafah along the Egyptian border), and Rafa border crossing (southeast edge of Gaza near the border with Egypt).



**YESH ATID** (English: *There is a Future*) Israeli center-right party founded in 2012 by Israeli media personality Yair Lapid and led by him since. It was the surprise of the 2013 elections winning 19 seats and becoming the second largest faction in the 19<sup>th</sup> Knesset. In the 2015 elections Yesh Atid was the largest centrist party with 11 seats and chose to serve in the opposition. The party seeks to represent the secular middle-class and focuses more on socioeconomic and civic-governance issues rather than on political-security issues. In the April 2019 elections, Yesh Atid merged with the Israel Resilience Party and Telem to form the centrist 'Blue and White' alliance, which won 35 of the 120 Knesset seats.



**YESH DIN** (English: *There is Law*) Organization of volunteers established in March 2005 that is concerned with the continuing violations of Palestinian human rights in the Palestinian territories and with the damage the occupation is inflicting on both Palestinian and Israeli societies. Yesh Din collects and disseminates information regarding violations of Palestinians' human rights in the West Bank, applies public and legal pressure on Israeli authorities, and raises public awareness regarding these issues. Currently, Yesh Din focuses on promoting law enforcement of settler violence in the West Bank.



**YESH GVUL** (English: *There is a Limit*) Israeli peace group founded in response to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which supports soldiers who refuse assignments of a repressive or aggressive nature and thus refuse to serve in the OPT where they would be required to enforce policies they deem illegal and immoral.



**YESHA** (Hebrew acronym for *Yehuda, Shomron, and Azah* – English: *Judea, Samaria, and Gaza*, respectively) Term used in Israel to describe the areas controlled by Jordan and Egypt between the War of 1948 and the War of 1967.

**YESHA COUNCIL** Umbrella organization of Israeli settlement municipal councils. The Yesha Council serves as a representative body of the Jewish settlers in the Palestinian territories with regard to security and infrastructure issues and strengthening Jewish presence in the territories. The council also serves as the settlers' political arm (e.g., lobbying, public relations campaigns, and protests). The Yesha Council was founded in the late 1970s as successor to Gush Emunim. The council's plenum is comprised of 25 mayors and 10 other community leaders, and its current chairman is Hanel Dorani (since 2017), former head of the Local Council of Kedumim settlement.



**YESHA COUNCIL PLAN** Political plan proposed by the Yesha Council in November 2003 in response to the Geneva Accord and as an alternative to the Unilateral Disengagement Plan of Prime Minister Sharon. The Yesha Council Plan foresees the extension of Israeli sovereignty to all of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and tries to ensure that no independent Palestinian state would be created west of the Jordan River. Instead, it suggests dividing the entire Israel/OPT area into cantons, two of which would be for the Palestinians (one in Gaza and one in the West Bank), to continue settlement building in Jewish-majority areas and create independent administrations for the Arab population. Palestinian Arabs would be offered Israeli citizenship and granted the right to vote for the Knesset, but the cantons would be granted representation based on factors other than population, guaranteeing a Jewish majority at all times.

**YISHUV** (English: *settlement*) The Jewish community in Palestine prior to the establishment of the state of Israel in May 1948, whereby 'Old Yishuv' refers to the Jews of the pre-Zionist era, and the 'New Yishuv' refers to those of the late Ottoman and British Mandate eras. The Yishuv established its own parliament: Asefat Ha-Nivharim (the "National Assembly"), an executive organ: Ha-Va'ad Ha-Le'umi (the National Council or Committee), and a judicial system: Beit Mishpat Ha-Shalom Ha-Ivri (English: *the Hebrew Court of Peace*), as well as a labor movement (Histadrut), schools, courts, taxation system, medical services, industrial enterprises, and a military organization (Haganah).

**YISRA'EL B'ALIYAH** (English: *Israel on the Rise and Israel for Immigration*) Israeli party founded and led by former Soviet refusenik Natan Sharansky in 1996. It was supported primarily by immigrants, and promoted increased immigration and new immigrants' rights. It ran in the Israeli elections through 2003, where it only gained two seats, leading to Sharansky's resignation from the Knesset. Shortly after, the party merged with the Likud in March 2003 and ceased to exist.



**YISRA'EL BEITEINU** (English: *Israel is Our Home*; also spelled *Yisrael Beytenu*) Far-right, ultra-nationalist, Zionist party formed in 1999 initially appealing primarily to immigrants from the former Soviet Union. It was founded by Avigdor Lieberman and has been headed by him since. In 2000, Yisra'el Beiteinu joined the Nation Union (Hebrew: *Ihud Ha'leumi*) to form a united right-wing front against then-Prime Minister Ehud Barak's policies, particularly regarding his negotiations with the Palestinians. The party joined the Likud-led coalition government in 2001 but resigned from it after Prime Minister Sharon publicly endorsed the eventual creation of a sovereign Palestinian state. Yisra'el Beiteinu takes a hard line towards Palestinians citizens of Israel, calling for reducing their number by redrawing the borders with a future Palestinian state, in conjunction with efforts to increase Jewish immigration by encouraging a positive socioeconomic environment for new immigrants. The party's proposed solution for the conflict with the Palestinians is based upon population exchanges and the creation of two ethnically homogeneous states. The party won 11 seats in the 2006 elections and joined the Kadima-led coalition government in October 2006, but pulled out in January 2008. Yisrael Beiteinu reached the peak of its power in the 2009 elections for the 18<sup>th</sup> Knesset, when it won 15 seats and became the third largest party in the Knesset. In the elections for the 19<sup>th</sup> Knesset in 2013, Yisrael Beiteinu ran with the Likud on a joint list called Likud-Beiteinu. It won six seats in the 2015 election and five in the April 2019. Lieberman's subsequent refusal to join the Netanyahu-led coalition forced new elections that took place in September that year and won his party 8 seats.



**YISRAEL DEMOKRATIT** see *Israel Democratic Party*

**YOM AL-ARD** see *Land Day*

**YOM KIPPUR WAR** (also: *October War*) Arab-Israeli war fought in October 1973, following a Syrian and Egyptian-led surprise attack on Israel, after the Israeli government headed by Golda Meir rebuffed Egyptian President

Anwar Sadat's offers to negotiate a settlement. The Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal on 6 October, Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the year for Jews, while the Syrian offensive began by heavily bombarding Israeli army outposts and settlements in the Golan Heights. After the first two days, Israel, which was caught by surprise despite intelligence warnings about a possible attack, was able to counter-attack and repulse the Arab invaders. On 22 October, largely due to the efforts of US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, UN Security Council Resolution 338 was passed, calling for a ceasefire and urging "all parties to the present fighting to terminate all military activity immediately." Sporadic fighting still erupted, but came to a halt two days later, as UN Security Council Resolution 339 called on all parties to adhere to the ceasefire guidelines established in Resolution 338. By the end of the fighting on 24 October, the Egyptian and Syrian armies had suffered huge losses with regard to their troops (at least 14,000), tanks, and planes, while Israel lost over 2,500 soldiers. A ceasefire agreement between Israel and Egypt was reached on 24 October 1973 and a Separation-of-Forces Agreement was signed on 13 January 1974, in which both sides agreed to observe the ceasefire, to reduce forces, and to establish the UNEF II. Israeli forces withdrew to a distance of 20 kilometers east of the Suez Canal, and the Egyptian army withdrew most of its forces to the west of the Canal. The final disengagement agreement between Israel and Syria was signed in Geneva on 31 May 1974, establishing a UN buffer zone in the demilitarized zone, arranging an exchange of prisoners of war, and calling for Israel's evacuation of the territory it took in the War as well as the city of Quneitra, which it had captured in the Six-Day War of 1967.



**YOUNG SETTLEMENT BILL** see *Regulation Law 2*

**YOUNG TURKS** see *Committee of Union and Progress*

**YOUTH BILL** New law approved by the Knesset in August 2016, which permits Israel to imprison minors convicted of “serious crimes” such as manslaughter, murder, or attempted murder, even if they are under the age of 14. The actual serving of the sentences would be deferred until the children reach the age of 14. The new law impacts children living under Israeli civilian law, obviously targeting young Palestinians from Jerusalem, while for Palestinian children living in the occupied West Bank, Israeli military law already allows for any person 12 years and older to be imprisoned.

## Z

**ZAKAT** Annual payment made by Muslims to support those most in need in form of an obligatory tax levied on five categories of property (food and grains; fruit; livestock, including camels, cattle, sheep, and goats; gold and silver; and movable goods). It usually amounts to about 2.5% of one's personal wealth over the course of a year or 5-10% on farmer's assets or 20% on precious resources found on one's property (e.g., oil). A Muslim is obliged to start paying Zakat once he owns the minimum amount (= *nisab*) of property or wealth (which is when his assets are higher than his liabilities). Zakat is one of the five pillars of Islam, meant to remember Allah and help those who are in need as well as to free one from excessive desire and greed and learn self-discipline and honesty. The tax levy required by religious law varies depending on the category. Recipients are the poor and needy.

**ZANDBERG COMMITTEE** Government-appointed committee to look into ways to legalize illegal Israeli settlement building in the West Bank. It included experts from the Defense, Justice and Agriculture Ministries and the Prime Minister's Office and was named after its chair, the newly appointed Jerusalem District Court judge Haya Zandberg. In its report, published in early May 2018, the committee outlined the legal obstacles related to unlawful building over the Green Line, acknowledged the state's implicit legitimization of such building in the past, and recommended working on regulating such construction, providing several solutions and the legal tools that would circumvent the demolition of illegally built settler homes.

**ZEHUT** (English: *Identity*) Israeli libertarian Zionist political party founded by former Likud member and Deputy Knesset Speaker Moshe Feiglin in March 2015 and led by him since. It is based on two main principles of individual liberty and Jewish identity, and promotes economic freedom, separation of state and reli-

gion, support for Greater Israel, and full Israeli sovereignty to "Judea and Samaria" (i.e., the West Bank). In the April 2019 Israeli elections, the party failed to cross the electoral threshold.



**ZIONISM** Term derived from the word 'Zion', a hill near the city of Jerusalem, which since biblical times has symbolized the 'national homeland.' Zionism emerged in European-Jewish thinking in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century as an ideology to unite the World Jewry in both religious and national terms, and whose goal was the return to 'Zion' and the fostering of political and spiritual renewal of the Jewish people in its ancestral homeland (Eretz Israel). Zionism was in part a response to European Anti-Semitism (such as the Dreyfus affair) and to pogroms, mainly in Czarist Russia. Theodor Herzl is considered the founder of the modern Zionist movement, which is based on the pursuit of an independent Jewish state. Today, it is still considered Israel's national ideology



Theodor Herzl

**ZIONIST** In the true sense of the word someone who strives for an independent Jewish state in Israel. Palestinians and their supporters sometimes tend to generalize and equate Zionist with 'Jew' or 'Israeli'.

**ZIONIST COMMISSION** Commission created by the World Zionist Organization in 1918 as a representative body for Zionist interests before the British Mandate of Palestine and to assist the British in implementing the Balfour Declaration. The Zionist Commission was headed by Chaim Weizmann, and was replaced by the Palestine Zionist Executive in 1921.



Chaim Weizmann

**ZIONIST CONGRESS** Kind of a parliament of the Jewish-Zionist movement created by Theodor Herzl, which first convened in 1897 and later met every two years. The first Congress, which

took place in 1897 in Basel, saw the foundation of the Zionist Organization, the adoption of Hatikvah as its anthem, and the absorption of most of the previous Hovevei Zion societies. Its goals were set forth in the Basel Program: "Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine, secured under public law." Every Congress elected a Zionist Executive Committee, whose members had to live in Eretz Yisrael since 1921. The Congress also elected an Actions Committee serving as legislating body between Congresses. In 1929, the Zionist Congress established the Jewish Agency to encourage settlement and enlist international Jewish support for development projects. In 1960, it was renamed the World Zionist Organization, although the Zionist Congress remains its supreme ideological and policy-making body.



First Zionist Congress

**ZOCHROT** (English: *Remembering*) Israeli non-profit organization formed in 2002 to raise awareness and public recognition of the Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe of 1948, which is marginalized in Zionist collective memory. Zochrot also promotes equal rights for all peoples in Israel and Palestine, including a reconceptualization of the right of Palestinians to return to their homes. In 2014, it launched the trilingual smartphone App iNakba (in English, Arabic, and Hebrew) that allows users to locate and learn about Palestinian localities destroyed during, and as a result of, the Nakba since 1948.



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