

**A** NEW ERA IN ISRAEL-ARAB RELATIONS opened on March 26, 1979 with the signing of a peace treaty with Egypt, the first to be concluded between Israel and an Arab state. In the negotiations, which had taken place with many ups and downs throughout 1978 and the first quarter of 1979, the United States played an active role, with President Jimmy Carter making dramatic personal interventions at Camp David in September 1978 and in Cairo and Jerusalem in March 1979.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin met with fierce criticism from the Gush Emunim religious activist group and some of his own followers, but the Labor and left-wing opposition backed the treaty, while criticizing Begin's conduct of the negotiations and his autonomy scheme for Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank") and the Gaza Strip.

Palestinian terrorist activities continued throughout 1978, culminating in the hijacking of a bus near Tel Aviv in mid-March, which left 36 people dead and 76 wounded. Immediately afterward, Israel mounted a large-scale military operation to clear southern Lebanon of terrorists, and a United Nations force was sent in to keep order.

The Begin government ran into many difficulties on the domestic front: there was discord between ministers; inflation reached an almost record level; and there was considerable labor trouble, with the Histadrut adopting a growingly hostile attitude toward Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich's policies.

## *The Peace Negotiations*

According to unconfirmed press reports, the groundwork for Egyptian President Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 (see AJYB 1979, Vol. 79, pp. 271-2) had been laid by Prime Minister Begin during his visit to Rumania in August. At that time, Begin held talks with President Ceausescu, who met with Sadat shortly thereafter. Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan was reported to have had a secret meeting with Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Muhammed Hassan al-Tohami on September 17 in Morocco, during an ostensible stopover in Paris on his way to the United States, and was said to have offered to hand back the whole of Sinai to Egyptian rule.

The atmosphere after the meeting between President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin at Ismailia was not promising. Virulent attacks on Begin appeared in the

Egyptian press. Mustafa Amin, a well-known journalist, denounced Begin in the Cairo weekly *Akhbar al-Yom* as a "Shylock" who was determined to get his pound of flesh from the Egyptians.

After a meeting at Aswan on January 4, President Carter and President Sadat issued a joint statement of principles, which set a pattern of American-Egyptian agreement on the main lines of a peace settlement. It read:

First, true peace must be based on normal relations among the parties to the peace. Peace means more than just an end to belligerency. Second, there must be withdrawal by Israel from territories occupied in 1967 and agreement on secure and recognized borders for all parties in the context of normal and peaceful relations in accordance with United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338. And third, there must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. This must recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and enable the Palestinians to participate in the determination of their future.

Prime Minister Begin told a Herut party meeting on January 8 that the Israel Defense Forces would not evacuate Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip under his autonomy plan, and Israel would not recognize Jordanian sovereignty over the areas. The offer to give back the entire Sinai Peninsula might be rescinded if Egypt did not permit the Israeli settlements in the Rafa area to remain there, he declared. He told visiting U.S. congressmen on the 15th that he would rather resign than give up the settlements. Sadat, on the other hand, complained in an interview with the *Jerusalem Post* on January 12 that "the new spirit" engendered by his peace initiative had not affected Israeli policy-making. "It lives with me only," he declared. To a Cairo weekly he said, "Begin gave me nothing. It was I that gave him everything. I gave him security and legitimacy, and I got nothing in return."

Local Arab leaders in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip rejected the Israeli plan for limited self-rule. Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem declared: "We cannot accept the Israeli military presence"; Mayor Fahd Kawasmi of Hebron insisted on an independent Palestinian state; Mayor Karim Khalaf of Ramallah proclaimed allegiance to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only representative of the Palestinians.

The two committees agreed upon at Ismailiya met, but their deliberations were broken off a few days after they started. The Israeli delegation to the Military Committee, headed by Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and Chief of Staff Mordecai Gur, arrived in Cairo on January 11 and was reported to be making good progress after two days' talk with the Egyptians, who were led by Defense Minister Mohammed Abd al-Ghani Gamasy. The political committee assembled in Jerusalem on the 17th under the chairmanship of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, the American delegation being headed by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the Egyptian delegation by Foreign Minister Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel. At the political committee meeting on January 18, the American delegation submitted a draft statement of principles based on the Carter-Sadat statement of January 4. The committee started to discuss the draft and was reported to be making good progress, when, the

next day, the Egyptian delegation was recalled by President Sadat. Among the reasons given by commentators for the breakdown in the negotiations were the establishment in the southern Gaza Strip and the Rafa-el-Arish area of four new settlements and 20 "footholds" consisting of fiberglass houses and watertanks, and a sharp exchange between Begin and Kamel at a dinner for the Egyptian delegation given in Jerusalem on January 17.

On January 18 the Israeli cabinet declared that the suspension of the negotiations "proved once more that the Egyptian government was under the illusion that Israel would surrender to unacceptable demands," including withdrawal from Sinai, Golan, Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, the transfer of the Old City of Jerusalem to "foreign rule," and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The statement accused the Egyptian government of "astonishing intransigence," but declared that Israel was willing to renew the negotiations if the Egyptians so decided. Begin told a French UJA mission on January 19 that, despite the suspension of negotiations, "peace is inevitable." He reiterated, however, that no government could dismantle the Jewish settlements in northern Sinai. On January 22 the cabinet announced that, in view of the campaign of vilification in the Egyptian press, the return of the civilian members of the Israeli delegation to the military committee in Cairo would be deferred. The military representatives, headed by Major General Abraham Tamir, remained in Egypt. At the end of January, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman returned to Cairo for a few days to continue the talks, which were adjourned pending President Sadat's discussions with President Carter in the U.S. on February 9.

During the next nine months, there were ups and downs in the negotiations, which continued, on various levels and in various centers, between Egypt and Israel and between the two countries and the United States. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Alfred Atherton shuttled back and forth between Jerusalem and Cairo in January and February in an attempt to obtain agreement on a joint statement of principles as a basis for the renewal of the talks.

The cabinet officially protested on February 12 against Secretary of State Vance's statement two days before that Israel's Sinai settlements "should not exist." This, it was said, was "in complete contradiction" to President Carter's sympathetic reaction to the Israeli peace plan in December. On February 21 the cabinet rejected Vance's proposal that "there should be a homeland for the Palestinians" (linked to Jordan) on the grounds that it would inevitably lead to the establishment of a "Palestinian state ruled by the terrorist organizations." Serious disquiet was expressed by Israeli spokesmen about a U.S. proposal to link arms supplies to Israel with the supply of war planes and other military equipment to Egypt and Saudi Arabia. In particular, the proposed sale of F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia, it was argued, would open a new front and force Israel to reconsider its views with respect to defensible borders. Other points of friction between the U.S. and Israel were the Israeli claim that Resolution 242 (of 1967) did not necessarily imply withdrawal from the West Bank, and American calls for the suspension of further Israeli settlement in the West Bank.

On March 5 Defense Minister Weizman went to the U.S. for talks to prepare for a visit by Prime Minister Begin. The differences between Israel and the United States came to a head during Begin's talks in Washington on March 21-22, which Begin described as "the most difficult in my life." President Carter spelled out six points of disagreement between America and Israel, declaring that Israel must reconsider its position if there was to be any hope of reviving the peace negotiations. While Foreign Minister Dayan said that the crisis in Israel-American relations was not the worst on record, Weizman called for the establishment of a "national peace government" to include Labor and other parties. The Labor party demanded Begin's resignation because of his "failure" in Washington. Begin told the Knesset on March 29 that he believed an agreement could be reached on a joint declaration of principles, provided Egypt withdrew demands for total withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state. Labor leader Shimon Peres condemned the government for establishing new settlements during the negotiations and for misinterpreting Resolution 242. He declared that a majority in the Knesset favored the Labor Alignment's policy of territorial compromise. The House endorsed Begin's statement by a majority of 64 to 32, with nine abstentions, including seven members of the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC). Begin sent a letter to President Sadat urging him to present an Egyptian peace plan which could be discussed in renewed direct negotiations.

Large-scale demonstrations were held by the Peace Now Movement (later renamed the Peace Movement), founded by a group of young army reserve officers, whose main slogan was "Better Peace than a Greater Israel." Counter-demonstrations in favor of government policy were held by the Movement for a Secure Peace. Abie Nathan, who had run a one-man peace movement for several years, held a 45-day hunger strike for peace, which he ended only after an appeal by Begin and other ministers, backed by the Knesset in an all-party resolution. In mid-April the government adopted a more positive approach to Resolution 242, regarding it as a basis for negotiations with all neighboring Arab states, including Jordan, and promising that any Arab counter-proposals to Israel's autonomy scheme would be discussed on their merits.

A crucial question was whether the autonomy regime was to be regarded as permanent or transitional, and the United States asked Israel to agree that the final status of the West Bank and Gaza would be determined at the end of the five-year period. After prolonged discussions, the cabinet resolved on June 18 that five years after the autonomy had come into force upon the establishment of peace, "the nature of the future relations between the parties will be discussed and agreed upon, if any of the parties should so demand." The DMC ministers and Ezer Weizman, as well as the Labor opposition, regarded the reply as inadequate. Some of the DMC leaders called for the party to leave the coalition, and Weizman, reportedly, decided to wash his hands of the peace negotiations and concentrate on the work of his ministry. Foreign Minister Dayan told the Knesset on June 19 that the government regarded the proposal for administrative autonomy as the permanent framework for the

future of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. The Knesset approved the government's policy by 69 votes to 37, with 10 abstentions, including most of the DMC members; Weizman absented himself from the vote. On June 25 the cabinet categorically rejected a reported Egyptian proposal that Judea and Samaria be handed over to Jordan and Gaza to Egypt as a precondition for negotiations.

On July 9 President Carter expressed his disappointment at Israel's reply to American queries and voiced his anxiety at the stalemate in the negotiations. During a visit to Israel on June 30–July 3, U.S. Vice-President Mondale declared that peace would be achieved only by fulfilling the "implicit bargain" of Resolution 242—peace in exchange for Israeli withdrawal on all fronts to secure boundaries negotiated between the parties. At the same time, he promised continuing economic and military aid to Israel. Such aid, he added, would not be used as a form of pressure.

After a visit by Mondale to Cairo, the Egyptians issued a six-point plan providing that Israel should withdraw its forces, military government, and settlements from the West Bank, including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, at the outset of the transitional period, and that the administration of the two areas should be supervised by Jordan and Egypt, respectively, in cooperation with Palestinian representatives. At the end of the five-year transitional period, according to the plan, "the Palestinian people will be able to determine their own future." On July 9 the cabinet turned down the Egyptian proposals, but agreed to send Foreign Minister Dayan to London for talks with Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamel and Secretary of State Vance.

On the same day Labor party chairman Shimon Peres met with President Sadat in Vienna, and the two men unofficially endorsed a draft statement issued on behalf of the Socialist International by its chairman, Willy Brandt, and Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. The statement backed the Aswan formula of January 4, recognizing the right of the Palestinians "to participate in the determination of their own future," but called for negotiations to determine the exact location of the peace boundaries, and approved "Israeli security measures," thus implicitly endorsing the principle of border modifications and the idea of an Israeli military presence in the West Bank after peace. Peres stressed that he was not negotiating on behalf of Israel.

On June 13 Defense Minister Weizman, in response to a personal invitation, went to Salzburg for talks with Sadat. He told the cabinet on the 16th that Sadat had considerably softened the proposals made in his six-point plan, and sought, in return, a "territorial gesture" (understood to mean the return of El-Arish and Mt. Sinai) from Israel before the reopening of peace negotiations. The cabinet announced, however, that "the government and its authorized representatives" had "the exclusive authority to negotiate with Egypt." Sadat said, in an interview published the same day, that he could speak "the same language" with Weizman and Peres, but not with Begin. "I think I have really cleared my conscience when I made these talks with Mr. Peres . . . and Mr. Weizman," he declared.

There were angry exchanges in the Knesset on the 19th between Begin and the Labor opposition over Peres' meeting with Sadat. Begin revealed that Peres had also met with King Hassan of Morocco, and that he himself had refused to agree to a

meeting between the Labor leader and King Hussein of Jordan. The Labor party expressed "profound shock" over the prime minister's "irresponsible and reckless statement," while the cabinet, on the 23rd, condemned "personal attacks by Labor party leaders" on the prime minister. Begin declared that he viewed his Labor party critics with "cold contempt."

After the talks between the three foreign ministers, held at Leeds Castle, near London, on July 17-20, Dayan reported that Kamel had rejected any possibility of territorial compromise and reaffirmed the Egyptian hard line. Dayan stated, however, that he was convinced that Egypt sincerely wanted peace. On July 23 the cabinet rejected the proposal to hand over El-Arish and Mount Sinai. "You don't get something for nothing," Begin declared. "Not a single grain of desert sand" would be handed over without something in exchange. Nevertheless, Begin sent Sadat a message proposing that the two governments appoint representatives to negotiate gestures on a reciprocal basis. Dayan announced in the Knesset on the 24th that Israel would be prepared to discuss sovereignty over Judea, Samaria, and Gaza after the end of the five-year transitional period and would consider territorial compromise if this was proposed by the Arabs.

The negotiations had reached a critical phase. The Egyptians told the remaining members of the Israeli military delegation to leave Cairo. President Sadat rejected Begin's call for mutual concessions, describing Israel as a thief demanding payment for stolen goods, and declared that there would be no further talks unless Israel agreed to give up every inch of the "occupied land." Begin reacted calmly to Sadat's attacks and suggested the possibility of a "permanent partial settlement" if full-scale peace was impracticable at the moment.

After a further round of talks by U.S. special envoy Alfred Atherton, the deadlock was broken by Secretary of State Vance, who met Israeli leaders in Jerusalem on August 5-7 and announced on the eighth, after a meeting with President Sadat in Alexandria, that the two leaders had agreed to attend a tripartite summit conference at Camp David. Begin was accompanied to Camp David by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, and legal advisers. The discussions were held under conditions of complete secrecy between September 5 and 16. President Carter, assisted by Vance, played an active part in the negotiations. Complete agreement was announced by the three leaders in Washington, and Carter said the results exceeded all expectations. Two documents were signed: "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East" and "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Israel and Egypt." Carter signed the documents as a "witness" on behalf of the United States.

In "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East" the parties declared that they were "determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in all their parts." The framework was intended "to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel but also between Israel and each of its neighbors." Egypt, Israel, Jordan and "the representatives of

the Palestinians" were to negotiate a "resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects." The document went on: "In order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants . . . the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government." Jordan was invited to join the negotiations, as were Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza or "other Palestinians as mutually agreed." There was to be "a strong local police force," and Israeli and Jordanian forces were to organize joint patrols and control posts.

The five-year transitional period was to begin after the inauguration of the "self-governing authority (administrative council)." Not later than the third year after its inception, negotiations were to take place between Egypt, Jordan, Israel, and the elected representatives of the inhabitants "to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza." At the same time, representatives of Israel and Jordan, together with representatives of the inhabitants, were to negotiate a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan. The agreed solution had to take account of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements." The Palestinians were to "participate in the determination of their own future" through negotiations and the submission of an agreement to "a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza."

In "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Israel and Egypt" the two nations set a target date of three months for reaching a final agreement, and invited "the other parties to the conflict to conclude similar peace treaties with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace in the area." The framework called for the "full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty" in the whole of Sinai, and the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces; the right of free passage by Israeli ships through the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal; the stationing of not more than one Egyptian division within an area lying approximately 50 km. east of the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal; the presence of only UN forces and civil police within an area 20–40 km. west of the international border; the limiting of Israeli forces in an area 3 km. east of the international border (i.e., inside Israeli territory); and the stationing of UN forces which could not be removed without approval by the Security Council, including all five permanent members, in the Sharm el-Sheikh area. Within nine months of the signing of the peace treaty, Israeli forces were to withdraw east of the line from El-Arish to Ras Mohammed. After this interim withdrawal, full normal relations were to be established between Egypt and Israel.

In a letter accompanying the agreement, President Sadat wrote that "all Israeli settlers must be withdrawn from Sinai, failing which the 'framework' shall be void and invalid." Prime Minister Begin undertook to submit this demand to a free vote of the Knesset. In another letter, President Sadat declared that "Arab Jerusalem is

an integral part of the West Bank" and should be "under Arab sovereignty." Begin noted, in a letter to President Carter, that the government of Israel had decreed in July 1967 that "Jerusalem is one city indivisible, the capital of the State of Israel." Carter, in a letter to Sadat, reaffirmed the previous U.S. position, which was close to Egypt's.

There was widespread uneasiness in Israel about the proposal to remove the Sinai settlements. The cabinet approved the Camp David agreement by an 11-2 vote. (Yigal Hurvitz and Eliezer Shostak of La'am opposed the treaty, while Hayim Landau of Herut abstained; Yitzhak Modai (Liberal) and the three NRP ministers did not take part in the vote.) The agreements were presented to the Knesset on September 27 as a package, in spite of some demands for a separate vote on the removal of the settlements. Most parties allowed their members to follow their consciences in voting. Prime Minister Begin declared that peace negotiations would not even begin unless the Knesset authorized the government to withdraw the Israeli settlers from Sinai. Labor leader Peres criticized the government's conduct of the negotiations, especially the decision to yield the whole of Sinai at the beginning of the talks, the autonomy plan, and the removal of the settlements. He stated, however, that Labor as a responsible opposition group, would support the agreements. In his summing up, Begin said that, in effect, over 90 per cent of the peace treaty with Egypt had already been agreed upon. A Labor motion calling on the government to make another attempt to avert the withdrawal of the settlements was rejected, and the agreements were approved by 84 votes, with 19 against (4 Herut, 3 La'am, 3 NRP, 4 Labor, 4 Communists, and 1 Poalei Agudat Israel) and 17 abstentions (5 Herut, 4 La'am, 4 NRP, 2 Labor, and 2 others). Hurvitz resigned from the cabinet after the vote. Also prominent among the coalition supporters who openly opposed the Camp David agreements were Moshe Arens, chairman of the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, Geula Cohen of Herut, Moshe Shamir of La'am, and Rabbi Hayim Druckman of the NRP and Gush Emunim.

The talks opened in Washington on October 12, with Secretary Vance leading the American delegation, Foreign Minister Dayan and Defense Minister Weizman representing Israel, and Defense Minister Kamal Hassan Ali and acting Foreign Minister Butrus Ghali representing Egypt. The Israeli delegation was kept on a tight rein and had to report back frequently to the Cabinet Defense Committee. From time to time, knotty points were referred to the full cabinet. President Carter intervened actively in the negotiations when difficulties arose.

Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed in Israel over statements made by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Harold Saunders interpreting the Camp David agreements, in visits to several Arab states and particularly in his talks with King Hussein and West Bank leaders. Prime Minister Begin told Saunders in Jerusalem on October 20 that the U.S. was apparently taking sides, thus prejudicing future negotiations and undermining its own role as an honest broker. Begin also wrote to President Carter about the matter.

Among the points of disagreement during the Washington negotiations were the question of continued Israeli settlement in the West Bank during the talks; Egyptian demands for a target date for the implementation of the autonomy plan and a definite linkage between the plan and the treaty with Egypt; the Israeli demand that the treaty with Egypt have precedence over all other commitments, especially Egypt's mutual defense treaties with other Arab countries; the extent to which the treaty with Egypt would be a precedent for agreements with other Arab countries; the date for the exchange of ambassadors; the continued supply of oil to Israel from the Alma wells in western Sinai after their transfer to Egypt; and the American commitment to help Israel bear the heavy financial and economic burdens involved in the redeployment of its forces in the Negev and the building of new military airfields to replace those in Sinai.

On November 11 agreement was reached between the negotiating teams on the text of a treaty, but when Dayan and Weizman reported back, the Israeli cabinet objected to some of the wording, and the Egyptians came up with objections on their side. On the 21st the Israeli government withdrew its reservations and announced its readiness to sign the treaty as agreed at Blair House. The Israelis now hoped that the treaty could be signed before December 17, the end of the three-month period since Camp David. Begin proposed that the signing take place at Oslo on December 10, when he and President Sadat were due to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. The Egyptians insisted, however, on side-letters to modify the clauses referring to the priority of the treaty obligations over other commitments, the question of linkage, and a number of additional points. Sadat sent a representative to Oslo to receive the prize in his name, while Secretary of State Vance went to Cairo to discuss the Egyptian demands.

A critical situation arose in U.S.-Israel relations when Vance brought the Egyptian proposals to Jerusalem and strongly urged the government to accept them. The cabinet declared that these were "new demands . . . inconsistent with the Camp David framework or . . . not included in it," and it rejected them as "unacceptable." Anger was expressed at American statements blaming Israel for the deadlock. The *Jerusalem Post* (December 15) accused the U.S. of "partisanship." "Throughout the negotiations," the paper said, "Sadat has always upped the ante. Agreement at one stage has inevitably led to new conditions at the next. And the U.S. has also consistently then placed itself with Sadat."

During the next three months, further attempts were made to re-start the negotiations. Dayan met Egyptian Prime Minister Mustapha Khalil and Secretary Vance in Brussels on December 23, and the cabinet expressed willingness to continue the talks. Alfred Atherton shuttled back and forth between Cairo and Jerusalem in the second half of January 1978 in an unsuccessful attempt to disentangle the legal problems involved in the disputed clauses. U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown visited Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan in mid-February to discuss Israel's defense needs and the strategic situation in the area, particularly in view of the fall

of the Shah of Iran. Brown said he was deeply impressed by his visit and Israel's "great value to the U.S. as a strong and stable democratic country." Israeli officials said they were "extremely satisfied" with Brown's response to Israel's long-term arms requests.

Brown's visit was followed by a second Camp David conference, at which Israel was represented by Foreign Minister Dayan and Egypt by Premier and Foreign Minister Mustapha Khalil. On February 25, after five days of discussion, President Carter invited Prime Minister Begin to come to Washington for talks with Khalil and himself. The cabinet decided, however, with Dayan and Weizman dissenting, to decline the invitation because the Camp David talks had produced "no progress." Indeed, it was noted that Khalil had presented new proposals which "in fact nullify the idea of a peace treaty" and had rejected all Israeli counterproposals. Begin also objected to meeting with Khalil instead of Sadat, who was head of government as well as head of state, and who alone had the authority to make important decisions. At the same time, the cabinet statement added: "The prime minister is prepared at any time convenient to President Carter to leave for the U.S. to meet the president." The same evening, Carter telephoned Begin and invited him to come to Washington. The talks, from March 1-4, were difficult, but on the last evening Carter presented important new proposals, which the cabinet accepted by nine votes to three, with four abstentions.

On March 9 Carter set out on a decisive visit to Cairo and Jerusalem, which at last led to agreement on the terms of the treaty. After a day in Cairo, the president arrived in Israel accompanied by Secretary Vance, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Defense Secretary Harold Brown. He addressed the cabinet Defense Committee, the full cabinet, the Knesset, and the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee. An all-night meeting of the cabinet did not produce agreement, but on the 13th, at a meeting with Begin, the differences were narrowed down, and on the same day, after a meeting with President Sadat, Carter was able to announce that the final major points at issue had been settled. The Israeli cabinet approved the compromise on the 14th and formally confirmed the text of the whole treaty, with its annexes, on the 19th. The Knesset approved the treaty on the 22nd by 95 votes to 18, with 2 abstentions and 3 not participating in the vote, after 108 of the 120 members had spoken in the two-day debate. Dayan, Weizman, and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda went to Washington to settle the matters of American aid, a U.S.-Israel memorandum of agreement providing United States backing for the treaty and Israeli oil supplies from the Sinai wells.

The treaty was signed in Washington on March 26 by Carter, Sadat, and Begin. It consisted of nine articles, with a military annex, an annex on relations between the parties, agreed minutes interpreting key articles of the treaty, and an exchange of letters between the three signatories. Among the main provisions dealing with controversial issues were an interpretation of Article VI stipulating the binding character of the obligations under the treaty; the completion of Israeli withdrawal from Sinai within three years; the evacuation of El-Arish, together with an area

linking it with Egypt, within two months, and the evacuation of the rest of western Sinai, up to the El-Arish-Ras-Muhammad line, in specified stages, within nine months; the exchange of ambassadors one month after the conclusion of this interim withdrawal; security arrangements to be reviewed at the request of either party, but altered only by agreement; consultation by the United States with the parties in the event of an actual or threatened violation of the treaty; the beginning of negotiations on the autonomy plan within a month, with the goal of completing them within one year. In the U.S.-Israel memorandum of agreement, the United States undertook to support "proper actions taken by Israel" in response to demonstrated violations of the treaty; to oppose and, if necessary, vote against (i.e., veto) any action in the UN adversely affecting the treaty; and, subject to congressional authorization, to be responsive to Israel's military and economic requirements.

### *Lebanon*

Israel kept a close watch over developments in Lebanon during the year, helping the Christian militias in the south to strengthen their hold on the area and resist the Palestinian terrorists.

On March 14, three days after the terrorist outrage north of Tel Aviv (see below), Israeli forces advanced into southern Lebanon and landed on the country's Mediterranean coast to attack Palestinian terrorist bases. The Israeli forces had the cooperation of the Christian militias and some of the Shi'ite Muslim villagers. By the 19th, they were in control of almost the entire area between the border and the Litani River. Israel sent in supplies, opened clinics for the population, and helped to repair war damage to encourage the villagers to return. Eighteen Israeli soldiers were killed in the operation, which was known as "Operation Litani." Israeli forces were withdrawn by stages after a United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was sent into the area; the withdrawal was completed by mid-June. Concern was repeatedly expressed about the infiltration of Palestinian irregulars into the areas held by UNIFIL.

On July 2 the cabinet expressed deep concern over massive Syrian bombardment of Christian areas in Lebanon. Syria was repeatedly warned to end what Major General Shlomo Gazit, chief of Military Intelligence, called the systematic destruction of the Christian community in Lebanon. Israel demanded that any Lebanese forces sent into southern Lebanon include no Syrian advisers or officers, and recognize the leadership of Major Sa'ad Haddad and Major Sami Shidiak, the commanders of the Christian militias. No Lebanese troops were sent south during the year.

On October 5, after the interception of a Palestinian terrorist bomb ship in the Gulf of Eilat (see below) and the dispatch by the Syrians of two brigades of the Palestinian Liberation Army into the Beirut area, Israeli missile boats shelled PLO and Syrian targets west of Beirut.

## *Terrorism*

Palestinian terrorist attacks against the civilian population continued throughout the year. The public was called upon to notify the police immediately of any suspicious objects, and a number of explosive charges were discovered and dismantled. Several people, however, were killed and injured in markets, buses, and other public places. Katyusha rockets were fired by Palestinians in south Lebanon at towns and villages in the north of Israel.

Thirty-six people were killed and 76 injured on March 11 in one of the worst terrorist outrages on record. Eleven terrorists landed in two rubber boats on the coast south of Haifa. As they made their way inland, they killed six people whom they encountered and commandeered a car. One group drove south in the car, fired on a bus on its way north, boarded it, and forced its driver to turn around toward Tel Aviv. Meanwhile, the other group attacked and halted a second north-bound bus and forced it, too, to turn around. The passengers from the first bus were herded into the second, which now held about 70 people, most of them women and children, and the terrorists began firing at passing vehicles. Determined to prevent the bus from entering Tel Aviv, the police blocked the road near the Country Club just north of the city and succeeded in halting the vehicle. A fierce battle took place between the police and terrorists, and the bus caught fire, apparently from a terrorist grenade or bazooka shell. A curfew—the first since 1968—was imposed over the populous area between north Tel Aviv and Natanya, while thousands of troops, police, and civil guards searched for terrorists thought to be still at large. The curfew was called off the following evening, when it became clear that none had escaped. Nine terrorists involved in the raid were killed and two captured.

A disaster was averted when a bomb-laden freighter, manned by seven al-Fatah terrorists, was sunk by an Israel navy patrol boat off the coast of Sinai, about 100km. south of Eilat, on September 30. The ship, which had been fitted with a rocket launcher in a Syrian port and then loaded with ammunition and 5–6 tons of explosives in Lebanon, had been under surveillance for some time. Flying a Cypriot flag, the ship sailed through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Suez to the place where it was sunk. The terrorists had intended to fire 42 rockets simultaneously at the port of Eilat and then ram the boat onto the packed beach.

## *Population and Immigration*

The population at the beginning of 1979 stood at 3,730,000: 3,135,000 Jews and 595,000 (16 per cent) non-Jews. The Jewish population increased by 58,000 (1.9 per cent) during the year: 46,000 due to natural increase and 12,000 to the excess of immigrants (*olim*) over emigrants (*yordim*). The number of non-Jews grew by 3.3 per cent.

About 26,000 persons—16,400 *olim* and 9,800 potential *olim*—came to settle in Israel during the year (28 per cent more than in 1977). Some 11,700 of the

newcomers came from the Soviet Union and about 3,000 from the United States (2,600 of the latter, potential *olim*)—41 per cent and 51 per cent more than in the previous year, respectively. Two thousand came from Argentina, somewhat fewer than in 1977. The upward trend continued in the early months of 1979, owing mainly to increased departures from the Soviet Union and Iran.

### *Election of President*

Yitzhak Navon, who had been an unsuccessful candidate for the Labor nomination to the presidency in 1973, became Israel's fifth president on May 29, in succession to Professor Ephraim Katzir. He was the first Sephardi and the first sabra to hold the post.

When Katzir announced, toward the end of 1977, that he did not intend to stand for a second term, a Navon-for-President committee was launched. Another name mentioned was that of Dr. Eliezer Rimalt, former leader of the Liberal party, but it was reported that Prime Minister Begin wanted to ensure the election of a Sephardi. In March he announced the candidacy of Dr. Yitzhak Chavet, an Egyptian-born research scientist, but there was considerable opposition to this nomination, even among government supporters, on the grounds that Chavet was almost unknown in public life, and he withdrew from the contest toward the end of the month. After the National Religious party decided to support Navon, Rimalt also withdrew, and Navon was elected on April 19, as the only candidate, by 86 votes, with 23 abstentions.

Yitzhak Navon, born in 1921, scion of a Sephardi family which settled in Jerusalem in the 17th century, started his career as a teacher, and from 1944-48 was active in the Arab department of the Haganah. From 1949 to 1952 he served in the Foreign Ministry, and from 1952 to 1963 was head of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's office. After two years as director of the Cultural Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture, he was elected to the Knesset in 1965 as a member of the Rafi list, officiating as deputy speaker, chairman of the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, and chairman of the Zionist General Council. He wrote two popular musical shows based on Sephardi folk lore.

### *Political Affairs*

Unrest in the Herut wing of the Likud over Prime Minister Begin's peace proposals was reflected in a January 9 vote on the nomination to the post of minister-without-portfolio. Haim Landau, Begin's nominee, was elected by the central committee, with 306 votes, but Shmuel Katz, who had resigned as the prime minister's adviser on information in protest against the proposals, received 207 votes. Geula Cohen (Herut) and Moshe Shamir (Likud-La'am) bitterly attacked Begin, especially after the Camp David agreements, as did the Gush Emunim religious activist movement and Rabbi Hayim Druckman of the National Religious party. In June

it was reported that Defense Minister Ezer Weizman (Herut) had criticized Begin and Foreign Minister Dayan for their inflexibility in the peace negotiations, and pressure for his resignation was reported from Herut and La'am circles. The matter soon blew over, however.

Yigael Hurvitz (Likud-La'am), minister of industry, commerce, and tourism, resigned towards the end of July in protest against over-spending by the government, but withdrew his resignation (see Economic Affairs, below). He resigned again at the end of September in protest against the Camp David agreements, after abstaining in the Knesset vote approving them. The other La'am minister, Eliezer Shostak (Health), voted for the accord. This disagreement aggravated dissension within the movement on other matters, and on November 17 La'am split into two factions, with four Knesset members each.

There was also disquiet in the Liberal wing of Likud over Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich's economic policy, which was openly criticized by Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i. Moda'i also resented the transfer of the Industry, Commerce and Tourism portfolio to Gideon Patt (Liberal), who was succeeded as minister of housing by David Levi (Herut) in January 1979. (Levi retained the Immigrant Absorption portfolio.) Moda'i was placated by the addition to his responsibilities of the Communications portfolio.

From the beginning of the year, there was friction within the Democratic Movement for Change between the group headed by its leader, Professor Yigael Yadin, and Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir, and a more radical group led by Professor Amnon Rubinstein. Meir Zorea resigned from the Knesset in February in protest against the activities of the Rubinstein group, which had criticized his hawkish proclivities. The disagreements erupted again in May and June, when the DMC doves favored leaving the cabinet in protest against the government's conduct of the peace negotiations, and came to a head during the election, on June 28, of the party's council. Three lists competed, led by Yadin, Rubinstein, and Transport Minister Meir Amit, respectively (the latter consisting mainly of former Labor supporters). The party split at the end of August, with the Yadin group retaining the name Democratic and the Rubinstein and Amit factions joining forces to form Change and Initiative. Seven Knesset members supported Yadin; seven, including Amit, who resigned his cabinet post, joined Shay; one became independent. Toward the end of the year, NRP demanded the dismissal of one of the Democratic Movement's ministers, claiming that DM was now over-represented. However, when Begin indicated that DM would leave the coalition if this demand was met, thus endangering his majority, the crisis died down.

The Labor party began to recover from the 1977 debacle under the leadership of its chairman, Shimon Peres, with the assistance of Haim Bar-Lev as secretary. Its shattered finances were improved by a levy among the members and cuts in staff. While there was criticism of the re-election of many of the "old-guard" to the party's governing bodies, a number of academics, who had organized to support the party and press for internal reforms, were co-opted onto the council, and former Chief

of Staff Mordecai Gur, former UN Ambassador Hayim Herzog, and Ya'akov Levenson, chairman of Bank Hapo'alim, were elected to the leadership bureau. Despite differences between hawks and doves, the party presented a fairly united front in the debates over the government's peace policy. Relations between Peres and former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin remained chilly.

*Cabinet Changes*

(see table in AJYB 1979, Vol. 79, p. 268)

	<i>Incumbent</i>	<i>New Appointment</i> (w.e.f. January 15, 1979)
Construction & Housing	Gideon Patt (Likud-Liberal)	David Levi (Likud-Herut) <sup>1</sup>
Industry, Commerce, & Tourism	Yigael Hurvitz (Likud-La'am) <sup>2</sup>	Gideon Patt (Likud-Liberal)
Transport Communications	Meir Amit (DMC) <sup>3</sup> Meir Amit (DMC) <sup>3</sup>	Haim Landau (Likud-Herut) Yitzhak Moda'i (Likud-Liberal) <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In addition to Immigrant Absorption

<sup>2</sup>Resigned September 13

<sup>3</sup>Resigned October 1

<sup>4</sup>In addition to Energy and Infrastructure

Separate local elections were held in November, under a new system of direct voting for mayors and local council chairmen. Incumbents Teddy Kollek (Labor) in Jerusalem, Shlomo Lahat (Likud) in Tel Aviv, and Eliahu Nawi (Independent Labor) in Beersheba were re-elected by large majorities, while Arye Gurel retained the mayoralty for Labor in Haifa. The Likud won control of ten smaller localities from the Alignment, but the latter improved its total vote over the 1973 figure because of its better showing in the large cities. A noteworthy feature was the low voter turn-out—55 per cent, compared with 72 per cent in 1973. There was a higher turn-out in the Arab sector, where Labor registered gains over Rakah (Communists). Tewfik Ziad (Communist) retained the mayoralty of Nazareth, but with a reduced majority. There was a second round of voting in 30 localities, where no candidate had received the required 40 per cent of the total vote.

A television straw poll conducted in 11 cities indicated that, if the electorate had been voting for the Knesset, the Alignment would have emerged as the largest party, with 48 seats (compared with 32 in May 1977), as against 46 for the Likud. The

Alignment's gains would have come mainly at the expense of the Democratic Movement for Change. Although the poll was criticized as unrepresentative and unscientific, the results gave a fillip to the morale of the Labor party.

### *Economic Affairs*

Economic developments in 1978 were dominated by renewed growth in private and public consumption, continuing inflationary pressures which stimulated industrial unrest, and an effort to contain inflation by restraining government spending. The consumer price index rose by 50 per cent in the course of the year. There was an increase in the gross national product and in foreign investment.

Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich's budget for 1978-79, totalling IL 182 billion (about \$11.7 billion) was based on the assumption of 30 per cent inflation during the year. It was severely criticized as inflationary when it was presented on January 7, not only by the opposition, but also by Bank of Israel governor Arnon Gafny and some Likud supporters. The cabinet thereupon decided to cut the expenditure side by IL 3 billion.

At the beginning of the year, Histadrut Secretary-General Yeruham Meshel proposed that the government freeze taxes, subsidies, and the price of government services for six months, in return for a partial wage freeze. Finance Minister Ehrlich was prepared only to limit tax and price increases, and demanded a total wage freeze in the public sphere. The Histadrut rejected these proposals. In April the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association agreed on a 20-per-cent increase in the cost-of-living allowance, but as it was liable to income tax and compensated for only 70 per cent of the past rise in prices, the Histadrut demanded, in addition, a general wage increase of 15 per cent.

To compensate for the unexpectedly high rate of inflation, Ehrlich introduced a supplementary budget of IL 28 billion in mid-July, but agreed, after Industry, Commerce and Tourism Minister Hurvitz resigned in protest, that it should be cut by IL 3 billion. Increases in the cost of fuel by 18-25 per cent and of electricity by 14 per cent in October, and cuts in subsidies on essential foodstuffs in November, produced another wave of price rises, which stimulated further labor unrest. The government at first resisted the Histadrut's demand for a 15-per-cent wage increase, but ultimately accepted it, as well as additional increases for special groups. In October there was another 12.9 per cent increase in the cost-of-living allowance, and in January 1979 an 8.3 per cent advance was paid on the increase due in April.

Throughout the year there were numerous strikes for wage increases to compensate for rising prices. Among the groups involved were seamen, teachers, postmen, airline staffs, journalists, engineers, technicians, nurses and physicians in public employ, and civil servants in administrative posts. There were increases in salaries for judges, Knesset members, and cabinet ministers.

After stagnation in 1976 and 1977, the gross national product rose by five per cent in 1978. Private consumption grew by eight per cent, compared with an increase of

only two per cent in each of the two preceding years. Public consumption grew by four per cent, owing mainly to higher defense expenditure, after drops of 19 per cent in 1976 and 13 per cent in 1977. Industrial output went up by 5.7 per cent, somewhat less than in 1977.

The currency was devaluated during the year by 23 per cent—from IL 15 per U.S. dollar to IL 19—but as this was less than half the rise in prices, the profitability of exports was affected. Imports (goods and services) grew by 10 per cent, mainly owing to higher defense procurements and increased foreign investments, after a drop in the previous year, while exports, in real terms, were up by only 3 per cent, after increases of 16 and 12 per cent, respectively, in 1976 and 1977. Consequently, the deficit in the balance of payments (\$3.4 billion) was \$800,000 higher, and the total foreign-currency debt of the economy rose by \$2.6 billion, to \$16.5 billion. Of the total resources at the disposal of the economy (domestic production plus imports), 39 per cent went to private consumption, 24–25 per cent to exports, 15 per cent to defense, 14–15 per cent to investment, and 6–7 per cent to civilian public consumption.

### *Other Domestic Matters*

Early in January the Knesset passed a law providing that Israeli citizens should not be extradited for crimes committed abroad, but it did not apply to persons acquiring Israeli citizenship after the commission of an offence. Pressure for the passing of the law was connected with the French demand for the extradition of Samuel Flatto-Sharon (see AJYB 1978, Vol. 78, p. 472).

There was bitter parliamentary and public controversy over a bill, presented in accordance with the coalition agreement with the religious parties, changing the conditions under which young religious women could be exempted from army service. The bill abolished the committees before which applicants for exemption had to prove good faith, and provided that any young woman testifying before a civil or rabbinic judge that she was religiously observant should be automatically exempt, while laying down penalties for false statements. The law was passed in July against the opposition of the Labor-Mapam Alignment, the left-wing parties and DMC, who charged that it would facilitate wholesale evasion and would be unfair to young women who had to, or chose to, serve. An Alignment bill to obligate young women exempted on religious grounds to do national civilian service passed its first reading, but was blocked in committee. A number of young women called up for service in the reserves refused to comply, as a demonstration of protest against the law, on the grounds that, as a result of the larger number of exemptions expected, they would have to serve more frequently or for longer periods.

The government rejected a proposal for a general amnesty to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Israel's independence and decided instead to appoint several committees, each headed by a retired Supreme Court justice, to examine the files individually and make recommendations for clemency, through the minister of justice, to

the president. The great majority of their recommendations were adopted, but the proposal to reduce the 15-year sentence of Michael Tsour, former manager of the Israel Corporation (see AJYB 1976 Vol. 76, p. 413) and the five-year sentence of Asher Yadlin, former chairman of Kupat Holim (see AJYB 1978, Vol. 78, p. 476), were rejected. Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir explained that he refused to recommend clemency in these cases, owing to the need to stamp out corruption.

In April the Knesset passed a law, proposed by Education and Culture Minister Zevulun Hammer, providing free, but not compulsory, secondary education. The cost was to be met by a small increase (0.3 per cent of wages from employees and 0.1 per cent from employers) in national insurance contributions. The law was unopposed, but it was criticized as benefiting mainly the middle class, since the children of lower-paid workers, if they continued beyond the compulsory education age, were already exempt from payment under the existing graded fee system.

A committee headed by Erwin Shimron, appointed toward the end of 1977 to recommend measures to combat crime (see AJYB 1979, Vol. 79, p. 280), reported on February 19 that "organized crime Israeli style" (but not "American style") existed in the country. Although "crime in Israel has not reached the dimensions known in many western countries," the report stated, "crime and disrespect for the law have seriously affected the quality of our life, our national economy and, most seriously of all, the inner fiber of our society." The government announced the appointment of a special cabinet committee of three to follow up on the Shimron committee's recommendations and a "general staff," headed by the attorney general, the inspector general of the police, and the director general of the treasury, to coordinate measures to fight crime.

For the first time, a member of the Knesset was sent to prison. Shmuel Rechtman (Likud-Liberal), mayor of Rehovot, was charged with taking a bribe from a building contractor, and his parliamentary immunity was withdrawn, with his consent, by a vote of the House. Early in January, he was sentenced to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment, but appealed to the Supreme Court and continued to take part in the Knesset's proceedings until his appeal was dismissed, when he resigned.

Resentment and indignation were expressed by settlers in the Rafa Approaches (Pit'hat Rafiah) in northern Sinai, in eastern Sinai, and in Ophira (Sharm al-Sheikh) at their impending evacuation under the terms of the peace treaty with Egypt, which would be the first voluntary abandonment of Jewish settlements in Zionist history. The Jewish Agency announced plans for the relocation of the settlements in a new area in the western Negev, to be called Pit'hat Shalom ("Opening to Peace" or "Peace District"), but the settlers' representatives declared that they would refuse to move.

The elections to the Chief Rabbinate were scheduled for July, having already been postponed for nine months. In May Rabbi Shaul Yisraeli announced his candidacy for the post of Ashkenazi chief rabbi in opposition to the incumbent, Rabbi Shlomo Goren. He was supported by Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, whose relations with Rabbi Goren had been tense for some time, but was opposed by NRP and other

circles. The results of the election by local religious councils and the rabbinate of their representatives to the electoral college indicated that Rabbi Yisraeli might be successful, but at the end of June a private members' bill postponing the elections for another year was rushed through by members of the Likud, the Alignment, and NRP. David Glass (NRP), chairman of the Knesset's Law Committee, promised that, in the interim, comprehensive reforms would be made in the constitution of the Chief Rabbinate. The main reform envisaged was the election of one chief rabbi and one president of the rabbinic supreme court (instead of two chief rabbis), with one of the two offices being held by an Ashkenazi and the other by a Sephardi.

### *Israel and World Jewry*

The Likud's rise to power (see AJYB 1979, Vol. 79, pp. 260–8) was reflected in the composition of the 29th Zionist Congress, which was held in Jerusalem from February 20 to March 1. The Likud, which registered gains in the election of delegates from Diaspora countries, as well as those representing Israeli parties in proportion to their Knesset strengths, was now the largest party, with 174 delegates (111 at the 28th Congress, in 1972). The Confederation of United Zionists (including Hadassah) also increased its strength, with 113 delegates (78 in 1972), while Labor (including Poale Zion) dropped from 157 to 93. In addition, there were 77 Mizrahi delegates (84 in 1972), 27 from Mapam (31 in 1972), 26 from DMC, which was represented for the first time, 75 from international Jewish organizations, 10 from the Israel Zionist Council, and 40 others. All parties were represented in the executive. Arye Dulzin (Likud) was elected chairman, and the Likud took over from Labor the Aliyah, Youth and Pioneering, and Education and Culture departments, as well as sharing control of Agricultural Settlement; a Labor representative was elected treasurer.

The Congress passed, against bitter opposition from Mizrahi and Herut delegates, a resolution affirming that all World Zionist departments and programs in Israel should be administered in accordance with the principle of equal treatment for all religious trends in Judaism. It approved a budget totaling \$50.7 million, the largest items being \$20.7 million for immigration from the free countries, \$7.7 million for youth and pioneering efforts, and \$5.9 million for education and culture.

Toward the end of June, the Jewish Agency Assembly approved a budget of \$350 million for the 1978–79 fiscal year, the largest items being \$66.5 million for immigration and absorption and \$37.9 million for youth *aliyah*. In addition, \$48 million was allocated for the first stage of "Project Renewal" for slum clearance and rehabilitation, which had been proposed by Prime Minister Begin. It was designed to facilitate a planned and comprehensive effort to provide housing, education, and social services for 160 development towns and disadvantaged neighborhoods over a five-year period.

### *Israeli Arabs*

There were signs of growing extremism among some sections of the Israeli Arab population, particularly university students, under the influence of PLO supporters in the administered areas. The Ibn al-Balad ("Sons of the Village") association, which boycotted the Knesset elections, and other even more extreme groups, denied the legitimacy of "the Zionist entity," i.e., the State of Israel, and denounced the "compromising attitude" of Rakah, the Israeli Communist party, which called for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state side by side with Israel.

Apprehension was expressed in Jewish circles at the growing proportion of Arabs in Galilee and the lack of progress in Jewish settlement in the area. Out of a total population of 560,000 in the Northern District at the beginning of 1978, there were 291,000 Jews (52 per cent). However, in the two largest sub-districts, those of Jezreel and Acre, there were only 190,000 Jews (43 per cent) out of a total population of 442,000. A plan was initiated to establish a score of "lookout posts," each manned by a few families, to prevent illegal building on state or agricultural land in Galilee.

Special problems were presented by the Bedouin, especially in the Negev. With growing prosperity, their flocks had been expanding beyond the grazing capacity of the area. To prevent their encroachment on land in the south and center of the country and to keep the number of sheep and goats down to authorized limits, the Ministry of Agriculture established the "Green Patrol," whose activities came under some criticism after complaints from Bedouin about rough handling by members of the Patrol. Other difficulties arose over Bedouin claims to ownership of large areas on which they had grazed for many years. This question became acute in view of the impending need to relocate airfields and other military installations in the Negev after the evacuation of Sinai under the terms of the peace treaty with Egypt.

In December a subcommittee of the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee recommended the replacement of the prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs by a cabinet minister who would take responsibility for matters concerning the Arab sector. In response to a Knesset motion on December 6, Minister-Without-Portfolio Moshe Nissim pointed to recent progress among the Arab population and noted that, for the first time, Israeli Arabs had been permitted to go on the *haj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca. He promised more intensive efforts in the areas of town and country planning, housing, education, and economic development. He declared that "the majority of Israel's Arab citizens are unreservedly and unconditionally loyal to the State," and promised that the government would show goodwill in dealing with "a sector which has its own way of life, its own conditions and its own problems." He added, however, that the government would not tolerate anti-Israel manifestations.

### *Personalia*

Lieut.-Gen. David Ivri was appointed O.C. Israel Air Force on October 28, 1977; Shmuel Katz resigned as the prime minister's advisor on external information on

January 4 and was succeeded by Harry Hurvitz on May 21. Shmuel Lahis and Harry Rosen were appointed director-general and secretary-general, respectively, of the Jewish Agency, on February 1. Hayim Zohar was appointed secretary-general of the World Zionist Organization on April 14. Maj.-Gen. Dan Shomron (who was in charge of the Entebbe operation in 1976) was appointed O.C. Southern Command on February 3. Maj.-Gen. Yekutiel Adam was appointed deputy chief of staff and O.C. operations on March 15. Lieut.-Gen. Rafael Eitan was appointed chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces on April 1, in succession to Lieut.-Gen. Mordecai Gur. Brig.-Gen. Binyamin Ben-Eliezer was appointed O.C. Judea and Samaria on May 3. Prof. Yitzhak Zamir, dean of the Hebrew University Law School, was appointed attorney-general on August 1. Yosef Ciechanover was appointed director-general of the Foreign Ministry on September 1. Professor Yehuda Blum was appointed Israel ambassador to the UN in succession to Hayim Herzog on September 5. Ephraim Evron was appointed Israel ambassador in Washington, in succession to Simha Dinitz, on December 15.

Aharon Propes, organizer of the Israel Festival, died in Tel Aviv, January 5, at the age of 73. Professor Yosef Heineman, associate professor of Hebrew literature at the Hebrew University, died in Jerusalem, January 9, at the age of 62. Mindru Katz, Israeli musician, died in Istanbul, January 29, at the age of 52. Mordecai Makleff, former IDF chief of staff, manager of the Dead Sea works, died in Germany, February 22, at the age of 58. Amihai Paglin, the prime minister's advisor on anti-terrorist activities, died in Tel Aviv, February 25, at the age of 55. Pinhas Rosen, former minister of justice and leader of the Independent Liberal party, died in Kfar Saba, May 3, at the age of 91. Ludwig Mayer, veteran Jerusalem bookseller, died in Jerusalem, July 2, at the age of 99. Max Nurock, veteran diplomat, died in Jerusalem, July 22, at the age of 85. Zivia Lubetkin-Cukierman, Warsaw Ghetto revolt leader, died in Nahariya, August 11, at the age of 64. Arye Dissentshik, editor of *Maariv* (evening paper), died in Ramat Gan, August 14, at the age of 70. Dr. Helena Kagan, medical pioneer, died in Jerusalem, August 22, at the age of 89. Shaul Avigur, Haganah pioneer, died in Tel Aviv, August 29, at the age of 79. Irma Lindheim, former national president of Hadassah, died in Mishmar Ha'emek, October 4, at the age of 91. Arthur Lourie, veteran Zionist and Israeli diplomat, died in Jerusalem, October 5, at the age of 75. Edwin, second Viscount Samuel, died in Jerusalem, November, at the age of 80. Golda Meir, former prime minister, died in Jerusalem, December 8, at the age of 80.

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