THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

A Political, Social, and Military History

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A Political, Social, and Military History

VOLUME I: A-F

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Preface

The Arab-Israeli wars from 1947 collectively form one of the most important and long-running conflicts of modern times. They have had a major impact not only on the countries directly involved but also on the entire region and the world. For most of the second half of the 20th century, the Arab-Israeli conflict was bound up in the larger Gold War. The reafter, the failure to resolve the conflict became a prime mover in the spread of worldwide terrorism. It has also impacted international money markets and the price of oil.

To the historian, the wars are important for the role that individual decisions have had on the course of events. The military historian finds much of interest in the conflicts, including tactical decisions such as the brilliant preemptive strike by the Israeli Air Force to begin the Six-Day War of June 1967 or the battles such as the Israeli struggle to retain the Golan Heights during the 1973 Yom Kip pur War. The Arab-Is raeli wars have also seen a number of firsts in militaryhistory, including the firsts inking of a warship by ashiplaunched missile and history's first ship-to-ship missile battle. As is always the case in military history, the wars are a useful laboratory for policy decisions gone awry, such as the Jordanian decision to participate in the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1982 and 2006 Israeli invasions of Lebanon. More recently, the wars have taught the world much about the continuing sway of religious fanaticism, about the power of civil disobedience, and about terrorism in the form of suicide bombings. Certainly, solving the Israeli-Palestinian problem would go a long way toward reducing the allure of terrorism throughout the world.

To a great extent we are prisoners of the past, and nowhere is that more obvious than in conflicts in the Middle East. The Fertile Crescent gave birth to one of the world's first civilizations, and animosities there are long-standing. It is simply impossible to examine the Anab-Israeli wars with outa detailed look at this rich past, which includes political, diplomatic, social, cultural, economic, and of course religious issues. Thus, we have included among the more than 750 entries here in an umber of long essays of a broader his torical context, such as overviews of the wars, as well as entries on the British Mandate for Palestine and the history of Palestine and the Ottoman Empire. We also have essays covering religious is sues and Zionism and the Pan-Arab movement as well as a number of entries that treat cultural and social themes.

We have a large number of entries on specific military topics such as individual wars and campaigns, key buttles, weapons systems (to include types of aircraft, tanks and tank warfare, artillery, antiaircraftguns, ships, missiles, and small arms). The encydopedia also contains essays on the leading states of the region and separate entries on the most important national military establishments. We emph asize key individuals in a widerange offield sas well as diplomatic and political events, including conferences, policy pronouncements, and treaties. We believe that understanding different cultures is essential, and to that end we have included entries on art, music, and literature as well as key in dividuals in these areas. We also hope that the many maps and illustrations in the encydopedia will add to an understanding of events. Spelling of names in Einglish from Arabic and Hebrew differs widely, and we have tried to use more commonly employed forms without diacritical marks.

I have been ably assisted on this project by associate editor Dr. Paul P. Pierpuoli Jr. and as sistant editors Major General Dr. David Zabecki and Dr. Sherifa Zuhur. It is a great privilege for me to work with Dr. Pierpuoli, and I have come to rely on him greatly. A distinguished diplomatich istorian, he is especially knowledgeable about the Korean War and the Gold War but has wide-ranging interests.

General Zabecki is a much-respected military historian and author of important books in the field. A student of long standing of the Arab-Israeli wars who holds a doctorate in military history, he has also been personally involved in efforts to resolve the conflict as a member of the United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission, part of the 2003 U.S. peace initiative known as the Roadmap to Peace in the Middle East. General Zabedki is extraordinarily knowledgeable about 20th century military history and technology and is a fine editor, and I have the greatest respect for him and am pleased that we have been able to work together on a number of projects.

Sherifa Zuhur is a specialist in Muslim and Arab affairs. She is professor of Islamic and regional studies in the Regional Strategy and Planning Department of the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College at Carlisde, Pennsylvania. Dr. Zuhur has traveled widely in the Middle East. A native Arabic speaker, she is an expert on and has published widely in Middle Eastern politics, international affairs, and gender issues. Iam grateful for her unique perspective. The views of Dr. Zuhur and Dr. General Zabecki are, however, entirely their own and do not reflect the position of the U.S. government.

I am also greatly honored that General Anthony Zinni, U.S. Marine Corps Retired, would consent to write the introduction. I first met General Zinni when he was a visiting professor at the Virginia Military Institute, and I was most impressed with his candid and blunt assessments of the world situation. His own wide experience in the Arab-Israelic onflict gives his opinions special voice.

This project began four years ago. I developed the initial entry list and then sought the input of the assistant editors and the Editorial Advisory Board. One topic always leads to another, and Dr. Pierpaoli and I have continued to add new entries throughout the project. We accomplished all preliminary editing, and the as sistant editors each read the entire copy and made editorial suggestions, which I have incorporated.

I am especially pleased to be able to again work with Dr. Priscilla Roberts on the documents volume. We have been associated with a number of encyclopedia projects, and there is simply no more professional, reliable associate. A distinguished historian of the Cold War em, Dr. Roberts has an amazing grasp of documentary collections.

I am also appreciative of the work of the members of the Editorial Advisory Board. I have been able to go to them on a number of occasions for specialized assistance on often obscure topics. Finally, I am, as always, indebted to my wife Beverly for her patience and her unstituting support in this and all other projects.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

Introduction

My first real association with the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict was in 1991 during the Persian Gulf War. As the deputy director of operations for the United States European Command (USEUCOM), I was involved in the planning and execution of operations against Iraq that were based out of Turkey. Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein initiated Scud mis sile attacks against Israel immediately after the coalition commenced operations to removeh is forces from Kuwait and attack targets inside Iraq. The USEUCO Mattacked Scudlaunch sites in Iraq and deployed Patriot missile defense batteries into Israel to protect the targeted cities, and I was dispatched to Tel Aviv to coordinate the deployment with the leadership of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). It was a touchytaskfor me, as the Israeli military leaders were chafing at the bit to join in the attacks against Iraq and did notli keth epolitical decision notto react. Their pride was deeply bruised by having someone else defend their homeland. In short order I received a rapid course on the history of the decades-old conflict and found myself getting a visceral sense of this history, particularly from the Israeli point of view, that I previously understood only from indirect academic and military studies of the conflict.

A few years later I was assigned to command I Marine Expeditionary Force, the principal Marine Corps operational organization responsible to the United States Central Command (CENTCOM) for military operations in the Middle East. This assignment added further to my education and understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although the Levant (Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, and the Sinai Peninsula) was not in CENTCOM's area of responsibility, this conflict was deathy the most significant factor in dealing with relationships, tensions, and other conflicts in the region. In 1996 I became the deputy commander of CENTCOM, and one year later I became the commander. By 2000 when I retired, I hads it years of immersion in the region, which stretched from East Africa to Southwest Asia and included much of the Islamic world. I saw the depth of the effects of the Arab-Israelic onflict throughout this region and the visceral view from the other side.

I believed that I had a good and balanced understanding of the conflict from these experiences and from the readings, discussions, conferences, seminars, courses, and other efforts that I was also engaged induring the course of my time with CENTCOM. I was to learn that there was much more to know and that no amount of peripheral experience or study can match direct involvement.

Following my retirement in 2000, I was asked by Secretary of State Colin Powell to serve as his senior adviser on the Middle East. The true purpose of this assignment was to act as the envoy to the Israelis and Palestinians in order to restart the dormant Middle East peace process. My initial briefs from the State Department experts in this process, many of whom had decades of experience in the frustrating efforts to secure peace, we reenlightening and humbling. I realized how complex this situation was and how much there was yet to know in order to effectively engage in this extremely complicated situation.

My time on the ground attempting to broker a series of incremental steps toward a comprehensive resolution of the final status is sues and the establishment of a Palestinian state was frustrating. I was lectured at and scolded by the leadership on both sides as I bounced from Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat to try to seek agreements. However, I also saw a strong desire by the Israeli and Palestinian people for a solution and an end to the violence. It see med as if history, politics, and distrust worked against the passion for peace that I experienced on the street and among the soldiers and security forces on both sides who had to deal with violence every day. I kept wondering how we got to this state.

To understand the Arab-Israeli conflict, it is important to begin with a basic understanding of the multimillennia's worth of religious evolution, wars, and conquests. The real focus, however, has to be on the period following World War I to the present when the issues and events framing the current conflict were forged. It is certainly critical to understand the political events and the attempts at peaceful resolution to this conflict during this era. But it is equally, if not more, important to understand the wars that shaped the current environment.

The stage was set when the Zionist movement of the late 1800s started a modest flow of Jews returning to biblical Israel. Initially this did not seem overly threatening to the rulers of the region, the Ottoman Empire, or to the Palestinian inhabitants of the region. The end of World War I, however, saw the defeat, collapse, and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent granting of a mandate to govern Palestine by the League of Nations to Great Britain. This mandate was to last from 1920 to 1948. During that period, the persecution of the Jews in Europe by the Nazis created a growing flow of Jewish refugees into Palestine.

Through the 1930s and 1940s, this increasing influx of Jews sparked the Great Arab Revolt against the British and the growing, Jewish population. This violence was followed by a Zionist guerrilla war against the British and attacks against the Arabs. With the British departure in 1948, the Israelis declared independence and set immotion the conditions for a series of conventional wars and a virtually continuous state of occupation, civil strife, guerrilla warfare, and terrorist violence during the past 60 years.

Arabs and Israelish are managed to engage each other in a conventional ware every decade beginning in the 1940s. They have had the 1948–1949W ar, the 1956 War, the 1967 Six-Day War, the 1973–1974 Yom Kippur War, the 1982 Lebanon War, the 1991 Gulf War, and the 2005 Lebanon War (known in Lebanon as the July War and in Israel as the Second Lebanon War). There has also been conflict on a lesser scale throughout these six docades, including the 1969–1970 War of Attrition, the two intifadas, terrorist campaigns, occupations, incursions, and retaliations. These conflicts drew in the superpowers during the Cold War, as both the United States and its allies came dange rously dose to direct involvement with the Soviet Union as their clients wage dwar.

The clear early conventional dominance by the Israelis has led to a shift toward an asymmetrical approach by the Arabs. The use of terror and guerrilla-style tactics have proved much more problematic for the conventionally oriented Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In addition, the growing possibility of development of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) byregional states creates another frightening dimension to this orgoing conflict.

In the up-and-down swings from hope to disup pointment, there have been en couraging even to during these decades of conflict. Some have lasted, and some were short-lived. The Camp David Accords that brought a peace agreement between Egypt and Jordan on one side and Is ziel on the other has lasted. This has required a continuous presence of multinational peacekeepers in the Sinai to maintain the peace. United Nations (UN) peacekeepers have tried for decades, with less success, to do the same on the Lebanon-Israel border. Following numerous promising peace negotiations, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) transitioned, not without problems, from a terrorist organization to a political one. Agreements reached, or nearly reached, at Camp David, Oslo, Taba, and elsewhere offered promise. Although these have not resulted in a conclusive resolution of the conflict, they have framed the basis for a solution and have defined the issues. The Palestinian political leadership has regressed and fragmented after elections brought Hamas to power, but recent agreements may lead to establishing a credible political return to the peace table if further conditions can be met.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has been a painful experience for all those involved. Hatreds have deepened over the years, and sides have been taken by outsiders who have become involved. The conflict has drawn in virtually the whole world, not only in the conflict itself but also in the attempts at peaceful resolution. Currently, the Quartet (the United States, Russia, the UN, and the European Union) that works toward a plan for peace demonstrates the global involvement and concern over this situation. Today the conflict incites worldwide violence and engagement, as most current threats to global security and stability seem directly or indirectly connected to this conflict. As I have become more and more involved in this tragic dilemma, I have come to appreciate the deep complexity of the issues and even ts that form this conflict. These reflect views of history, religion, birthright, and justice that are tough to mediate and resolve. It is important to fully understandall of these in order to effectively engage in the process or hope to have credibility on any path to resolution.

A crucial part of this understanding is thorough knowledge of the wars that have been fought by these two occieties as well as of their underlying causes and the history of the region. The Eucyclopedia of the Arab-Braeli Conflict offers a comprehen sire and important work to aid in that understanding. It is important for soldiers and those interested in military history to study these wars through excellent publications such as this encyclopedia for the valuable strategic, operational, and tactical lessons. It is equally important, in my view, for those seeking peace to study these wars to gain the understanding nocessary to resolve the issues that underlie the conflict and have drawn blood.

> ANTHORY C. ZINNI GENERAL, UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS (RETIRED)