The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel Sheikh Raed Salah



Azmi Bishara

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Ein Hod 2000



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'Ayn Hawd 1954



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A JEWISH-ZIONIST STATE

Israel regards itself as the nation state of the Jews, for the Jews and as a <u>Jewish National (=Zionist)</u>
<u>State</u>. Legally, it defines itself as a "Jewish and Democratic" state.

The public sphere is Jewish-Zionist: the national flag and anthem are of the Zionist movement; the state's calendar is Jewish, as well as the official religious holidays; the national ceremonies [Memorial and Independence Days, etc.] are Jewish-Zionist, Hebrew is the common language of the state, etc.

The public sphere is not fully religious but it is culturally Jewish

Israel – Population 2019

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

1. In terms of "Population Groups"

Group	In 1,000	%
Jews	6,563	74.5%
Arabs	1,837	21.0%
Others	600	4.5%
Total	9,000	100.0%

2. According to Religious affiliation (2017)

Religion	In 1,000	%
Jews	6,555	74.5%
Muslims	1,562	17.8%
Christians	172	2.0%
Druze	141	1.6%
Others	368	4.1%
Total	8,798	100.0%

** 15% of the Muslims are Bedouin-Arabs. The majority of them live in the Negev (South)

** Christian-Arabs live mostly in the northern part of the country. 10% of them live in (West) Jerusalem

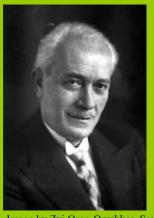
** Druze live in the northern part of the country. Are regarded as "Arabs"

Army service for Druze is mandatory. Bedouin-Arabs may volunteer to serve in the army.

Palestinian Society 1917-1948

• Mostly rural (70%); divided along clan, regional and ideological lines.

Haj Amin al-Hussaini



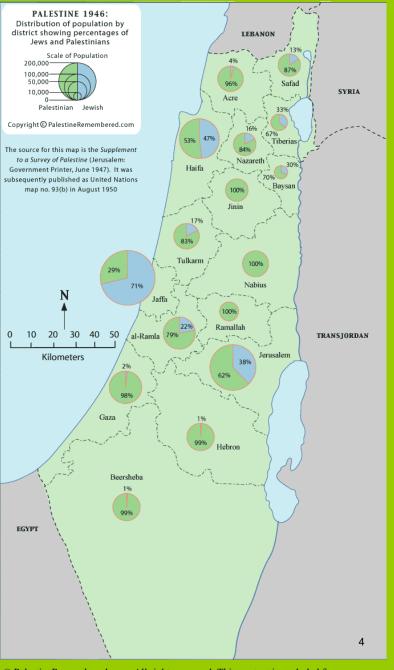


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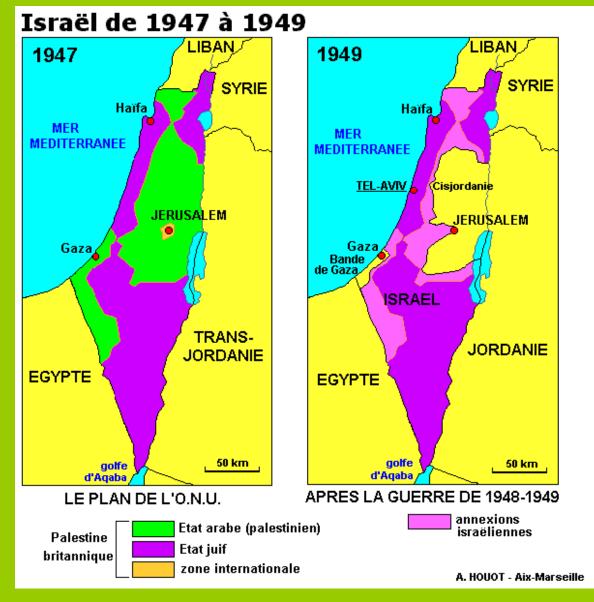
Raghib El-Nashashibi

- •Major cities "mixed": Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa; all-Arab: Nablus, Hebron--Al-Khalil
- Processes of modernization and nationalization;
- •Shows growing resistance to Zionist colonization: 1921, 1929, 1936-1939



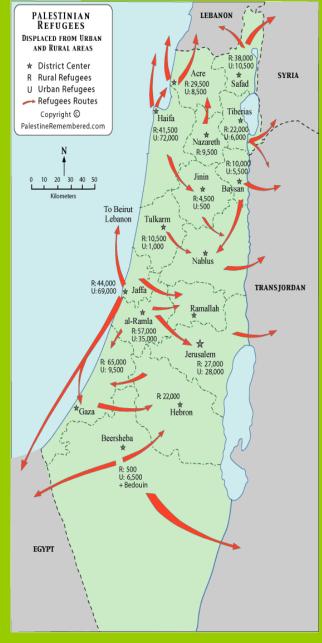
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The UN
Partition
Plan, 1947: in
green – the
area
allocated for
the Arab
state; in
purple - for
the Jewish
state



The 1949 armistice lines: In light purple – areas allocated for the Arab state, annexed by Israel

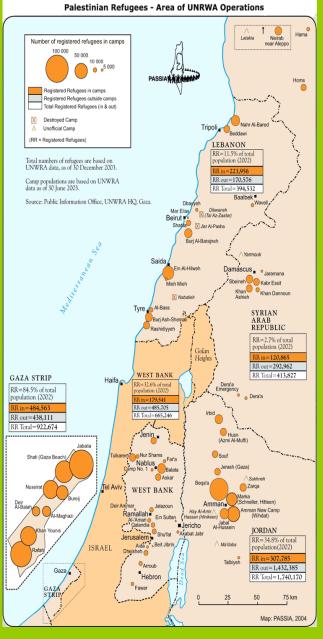
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More than 700,000 Palestinians became refugees; Israel blocked their return to their homes and property

Jordan blocked
the return of
Jewish refugees
to their homes
and property in
the Etzion Block
and in the Old City
of Jerusalem.
Both places were
destroyed



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In the wake of the 1948 war more than 400 Palestinian villages were destroyed.

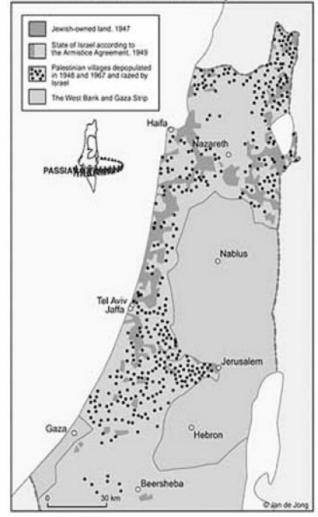
On their sites many Jewish communities were built, like **Kibbutzs and Moshavs**

PALESTINE FACTS



MAPS

Palestinian Villages Depopulated in 1948 and 1967, and Razed by Israel



Map of 186 Israeli settlements built on the sites of former Palestinian villages.

Source: Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. xv, xx-xxii.



TRANS JORDAN (JUDEA)

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In 1949 only 150,000 Palestinian-Arabs remained in the area which became Israel.

They were put under "Military Administration" for 18 years (1948-1966). The military administration was divided into three zones: Northern, Central, Southern.



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"Present Absentees" (Internal Refugees)

- 1948 -- Palestinian refugees, and Palestinians who left [fled or deported from] their previous homes but stayed inside Israel, were declared "absentees" from their lands and homes and their property was confiscated. At the same time, they were recognized as Israeli citizens. Thus, according to Israeli law they are defined as "present absentees" they are "present" in Israel but were "absent" from their land and homes and therefore lost any rights to their property.
- This property was passed on to Jewish hands almost immediately. Previous Palestinian-owned lands became "state lands", owned by Israel. These lands are only for lease and it is illegal to sell them.
- Israel's geographical area in 1949 was about 20,500 square kilometers, of which around 60% (12,300 km²) were the Negev desert lands. The Bedouin-Arabs, who lived on these lands before 1948 claim ownership of much of the Negev's land but this claim has been contested by the state.
- Around 20% of the non-Negev lands were purchased by Jews before 1948
- The number of Internally Displaced Palestinians or "present absentees" in 2008 is estimated as standing between 274,000-420,000, out of 1.2 million Palestinian-Arabs, citizens of the state of Israel [22%-35%]



Druze

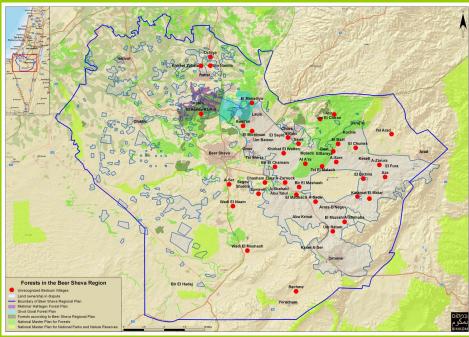
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Bedouin



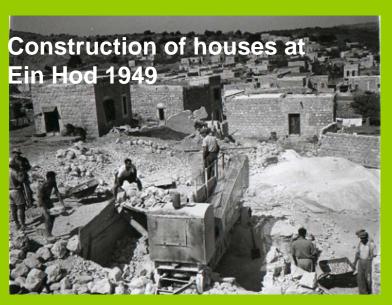


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'Ayn Hawd – 'Ein Hod (see Grossman's Sleeping on a Wire)



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Kafr Qassim Massacre - 1956



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Kafr Qassim Massacre

- On 29 November 1956, 49 Palestinian-Arabs citizens of Israel, among them 6 women and 23 children were killed by an Israeli army unit which enforced a curfew on their village, Kafr Qassim. Many villagers did not know about the curfew since they were at work outside the village.
- In shooting at the inhabitants of the village the soldiers followed orders of a high ranking officer who ordered them to shoot at anyone who violated the curfew. In neighboring villages, however, where similar curfews were imposed the soldiers refused to follow these orders.
- The soldiers and the high ranking officer were put on trial and convicted. The
 officer was fined by one agora (=one cent), while the others were sentenced to
 long term jail periods but were pardoned shortly after that.
- However, the court's decision set an important legal and moral precedent in Israel by ruling that the order to shoot on purpose at civilians is "indisputably illegal". Hence, said the court, it was the soldiers' legal obligation to refuse that order. Since then, the Kafr Qassim ruling became the legal and moral basis for generations of Israeli soldiers to refuse "illegal" orders.
- For the Palestinian-Arabs citizens of Israel the Kafr Qassim massacre is a constant reminder of their marginalized place in Israel, and that they are broadly perceived as a "fifth column" inside the Jewish state.

1967 -- THE SIX DAY WAR

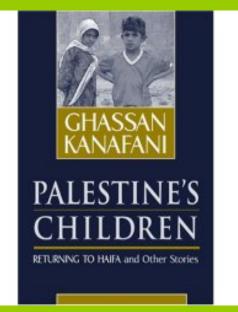
Arabs citizens of Israel are reunited with their relatives who became refugees in 1948 and have lived since then in refugee camps in the Gaza and West Bank



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The Changes since the 1970s

- Economic Growth
- Urbanization
- Modernization
- Education
- Growth of Arab "civil society"
- Growing participation in social and political life of the state



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1970s - 2014

Two conflicting processes:

- 1. Israelization (the creation of an Israeli-Arab subculture):
 - Democratization
 - Rising share of those who receive secondary and higher education
 - Participation in the political process
 - Common meeting grounds with Israelis and Israeli culture
- 2. Palestiniazation (since 1967) A Palestinian national consciousness becomes central
- An ethnic Glass Ceiling leads to a growing frustration
 - a national identity in contrast to the "other", Jewish-Israeli, is constructed
 - The number and scope of civil society and national institutions of the Palestinian-Arabs minority grows steadily

Three "Streams"

• The Islamic Movement in Israel: approx. 35%-45% of the population

• "Israeli-Arabs" --- about 1/3 of the Arab population; want to integrate in Israeli society

Secular Nationalists

The Al-Aqsa Intifada and the 2000 October Riots



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Sharon's visit to Al-Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount), where the Al-Aqsa mosque is situated, sparks violent response. The second Intifada, the Al-Aqsa Intifada, breaks out in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip



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"The 2000 October Riots"

30 September 2000 -- Thousands of Palestinian-Arabs

citizens of Israel rushed to the streets and to major roads near their cities and villages to protest against the harsh measures that Israel took to try to curb the Second Intifada in the Occupied Territories.

In the Galilee 12 Palestinians citizens of Israel were killed by the police.

In response to the "2000 October Riots" the government appointed an inquiry committee, The Or Commission.



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The Or Commission report - 2003

"The state and generations of its government **failed** in a lack of comprehensive and deep handling of the serious problems created by the existence of a large Arab minority inside the Jewish state.

Government handling of the Arab sector has been primarily neglectful and discriminatory. The establishment did not show sufficient sensitivity to the needs of the Arab population, and did not take enough action in order to allocate state resources in an equal manner. The state did not do enough or try hard enough to create equality for its Arab citizens or to uproot discriminatory or unjust phenomenon. "

Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People

July 19th, 2018

- The right to exercise national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish people
- Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel
- The state's language is Hebrew
- The Arabic language has a special status in the state;

 Regulating the use of Arabic in state institutions or by them will be set in law



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Figure 2: Percentage of Arab 17-Year-Olds Receiving General Matriculation Certificate, 2001-2014 (6)

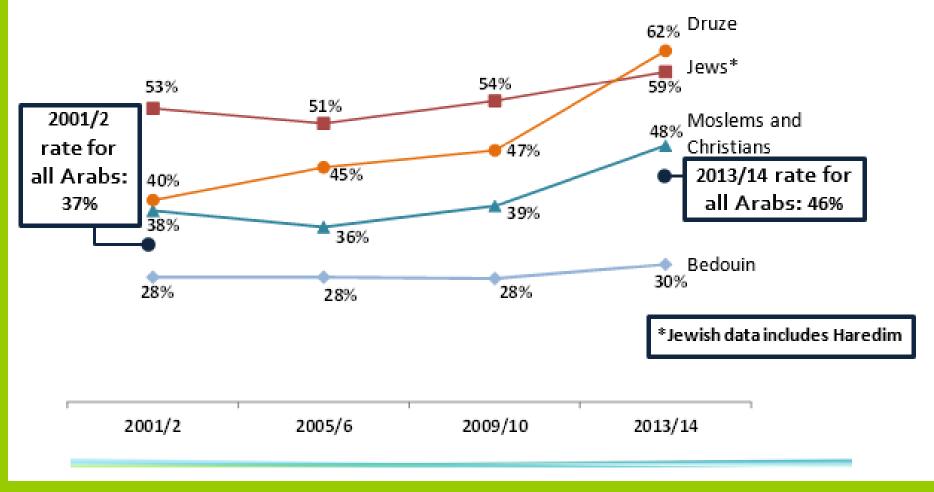
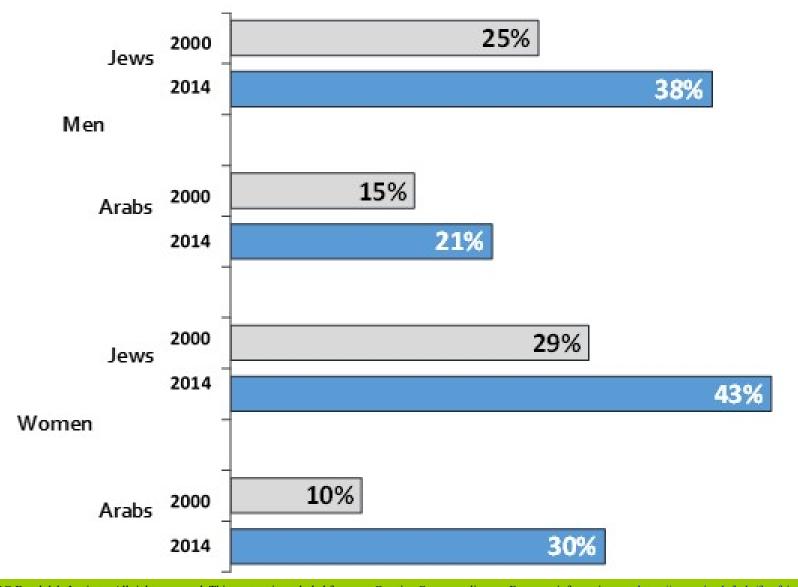
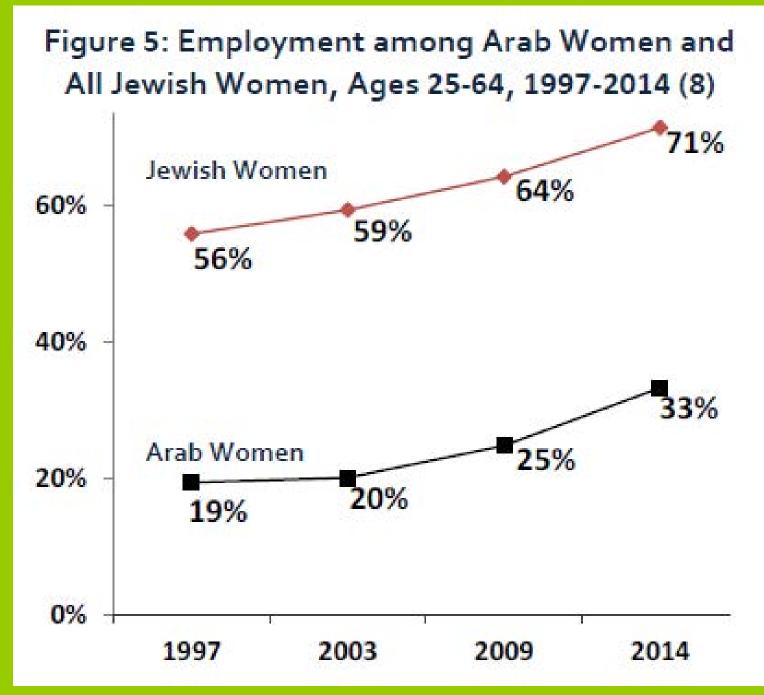
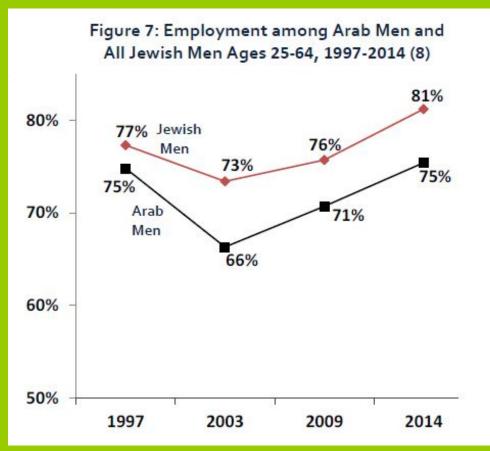


Figure 4: Percentage with 16+ Years of Education, Arab and Jewish Women and Men, Ages 25-34, 2000 and 2014 (7)



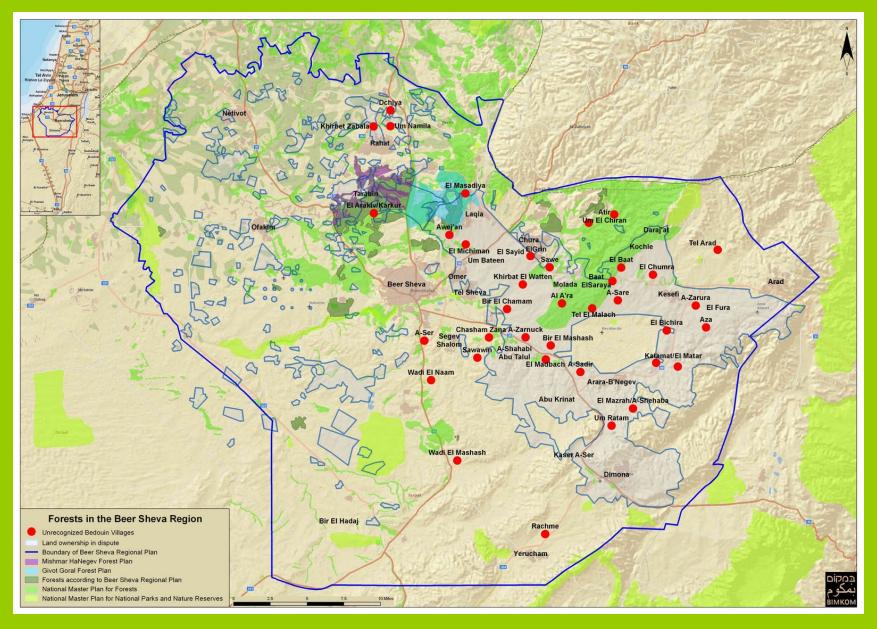




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Table 1: Poverty among Families and Children, 2013 (10, 11)

Arab Families	Jewish Families	Arab Children	Jewish Children
47%	14%	66%	20%
164,900	269,600	382,600	374,400



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The Absentees' Property Law, - 1950

absentee" means -

- (1) a person who, at any time during the period between the 16th Kisley, 5708 (29th November, 1947) and the day on which a declaration is published...
- (2) was a legal owner of any property situated in the area of Israel or enjoyed or held it, whether by himself or through another, and who, at any time during the said period
 - i) was a national or citizen of the Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, SaudiArabia, Trans-Jordan, Iraq or the Yemen, or
 - ii) was in one of these countries or in any part of Palestine outside the area of Israel, or
 - iii) was a Palestinian citizen and left his ordinary place of residence in Palestine
 - a) for a place outside Palestine before the 27th Av, 5708 (1st September, 1948); or
 - b) for a place in Palestine held at the time by forces which sought to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel or which fought against it after its establishment

[then]

every right an absentee had in any property shall pass automatically to the Custodian (of Absentees' Property) at the time of the vesting of the property; and the status of the Custodian shall be the same as was that of the owner of the property. MIT OpenCourseWare https://ocw.mit.edu

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