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Am I Not a Human?

Edited By

Dr. Mohsen Saleh
Mariam Itani
A. al-Kayyali

The
Israeli Racism
Palestinians in Israel
A Case Study



By

'Abbas Isma'il

Translated by

Aladdin Assaiqeli



Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations

Am I not a Human?

(1)

Book series discussing
the sufferance of the
Palestinian people
under the Israeli
occupation

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Mariam A. Itani

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For Studies & Consultations
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Table of Contents

<i>Table of Contents</i>	3
<i>Foreword</i>	5
<i>Translator's Introduction</i>	7
<i>Author's Introduction</i>	9
<i>Chapter 1: Israel and Racism</i>	15
<i>Chapter 2: Racist Proclamations and Statements against Arabs and Palestinians in Israel</i>	21
<i>Chapter 3: Levels and Manifestations of Israeli Racism</i>	29
1. On the Level of Job Representation and Budgets.....	31
2. On the Public Level.....	38
3. On the Legal Level:	43
a. Law of Return and Nationality Law.....	45
b. Laws of Land Confiscation	48
c. Other Racist Laws.....	50
4. In Sentencing and Judgements.....	53
5. In Education	56
<i>Chapter 4: Transfer of Palestinian Arabs from Palestine</i> ..	63
<i>Chapter 5: Violation of Sanctuaries</i>	83
<i>Conclusion</i>	91
<i>Endnotes</i>	93





Foreword

It pleases Al-Zaytouna Centre to bring forward to the reader the first of its Book Series: Am I not a Human?.

This series endeavours to present a comprehensive picture of the suffering of Palestinians, whose rights have been violated and property confiscated. It sheds light on the daily agony of Palestinians, who have been dispossessed of their land, subjected to murder and imprisonment, and whose homes have been destroyed and honour raped.

Such violations and atrocities occur at a time when the world has brought the curtain down on traditional repugnant colonization, but left that of the Zionist in Palestine, and turned a deaf ear on its violations and aggression on land and man. Ironically, all this takes place at a time when the whole world is drawling about human rights and his dignity and liberty to live in peace in his homeland. But it nevertheless, is completely indifferent towards what is happening to dispossessed and wronged Palestinians.

Palestinians are human beings, who take great pride in their dignity, liberty, their affiliation with their nation and world at large, and contribution to civilization. Hence, before those interested in peace negotiations go into details, they must realize that there cannot be solutions that deprive Palestinians their natural and legitimate right in their motherland, freedom, holy places and self-determination.

This series aims at highlighting the various aspects of the Palestinians' daily suffering, through focusing on issues like Palestinian women, children, prisoners, refugees, students, apartheid wall, ...etc.

Therefore, it pleases us to introduce “The Israeli Racism: Palestinians in Israel: A Case Study,” the first book of this series, prepared by ‘Abbas Isma‘il to whom our sincere thanks go. Thanks also go to our colleagues in the editorial board for their outstanding efforts.

Editor-in-Chief,

Dr. Mohsen Moh’d Saleh

Translator's Introduction

Despite my translation of this work, seldom do I actually undertake translation assignments. This is not, however, without certain understanding as translation is indeed a strenuous process. In fact, translation is not only laborious a process but also a formidable task that requires and involves meticulous and painstaking effort. However, what has prompted me to undertake this work is first the monumental significance of the assignment which stems from a close sense of identification, empathy and appalling factuality, and second my appreciation and respect for the Editor-in-Chief Dr. Mohsen Saleh who personally requested me for carrying out this tall order.

While translating, I kept, at the back of my mind, a number of theories and approaches to translation. Among such approaches are the dynamic equivalence, and the formal equivalence which I utilized in light of a desire to achieve effectiveness, and the context and what it dictates. Thus where I deemed pragmatic or contextual translation as more effective, I used the dynamic equivalence approach, where the focus is on readability; and where I deemed semantic or literal translation to be more effective, I resorted to the formal equivalence approach, where the focus is on literalness.

Moreover, my translation was informed and inspired by what is known as experiential translation. An approach in which the translator endeavors to sense, explore, and experience the source text, to let it soak in, before rendering it to the target language. All this was done in an attempt to ensure smooth readability and at the same time literal fidelity, and thus ultimately convey the equivalent effect on the English reader.

“The Israeli Racism: Palestinians in Israel: A Case Study” is an account, valuable and enriching in content, revealing and appalling in factuality, and lucid and objective in textuality. It shows how racism and discrimination have always been a driving force in the Zionists’ task of ethnic cleansing of Palestinian Arabs, a fact that renders Israel a racist state from the very start.

Mr. Isma‘il, through a volume of shocking content and documented samples brings to mind dark past racist regimes and proves beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of two distinct strata of citizens in present Apartheid Israel.

Translator,

Alaadine Assaiqeli

Author's Introduction

Arabs believe that Israel is a racist state. Some are used to fancy placing this within the political context and political considerations, regardless of those who may agree or disagree with this depiction. In fact, it is not difficult at all for any academic or objective researcher to prove the racism of the Hebrew state. The evidence available on Israeli racism and its different facets are innumerable. Actually, a researcher may even encounter some difficulty sorting out and classifying those enormous and various facets of racism and its scopes.

It is needless to say that the phenomenon of racism has, in general, various facets and levels which vary in significance and gravity. And though all facets and forms of racism are intrinsically blameworthy, horrendous and dangerous, the worst of all is that which is exercised by a certain regime against its own citizens. So if the citizens of a certain



state are subjected to discrimination and prejudice only because of their belonging to a religion or nationality other than that of the ones in the saddle, then it is no wonder if a religious group or a group of different nationality would be subjected to discrimination and racist practices from the very same state.

The purpose of this brief introduction is to observe that if the Hebrew state practises apartheid against Palestinians of 1948 (Palestinians in Israel)* who are, from the civil perspective, considered "Israeli citizens," then there is nothing to bar it from practising such inveterate racism and discrimination against Palestinians of the West Bank (WB) and the Gaza Strip (GS), in particular, and Arabs and Muslims, in general.

“...the Zionist demand for a Jewish state was in full contradiction with all principles of modern history and international law.”

- Nahum Goldmann, “The Psychology of Middle East Peace,” in *Foreign Affairs* journal, October 1975, p. 114.



Added to this is the fact that while it is so easy to see the many facets of Israeli racism and policy of apartheid through Israel’s occupation of the GS and the WB, and through its exercise of all kinds of repression and aggression against all that is Palestinian whether a human being or a tree or even a stone, it is easier to see its widespread racism against Palestinians in Israel who are supposed to be part of its “Israeli citizens.”

* The term “Palestinians of 1948” is commonly used by Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims to identify the Palestinians who continued to live in the land known as “Israel” after the Arab-Israeli war in 1948; this land consists almost 77% of historical/ mandatory Palestine. However, in this book we may refer to them as Palestinians in Israel or Arabs in Israel.



Thus, while one usually looks at the reality of foreign occupation and its practices against Palestinians of the GS and the WB, we will look here at Israel's widespread racism against its own citizens. This is to indicate, first, that he who practises racism and discrimination against his own citizens, will have no scruples about practising it against others. Second, it is to state that racism and discrimination do not necessarily have to be linked with occupation. They rather emanate from the very essence of Zionist thinking and that they are a natural component and constituent of its makeup. Hence, there exists a racist and constitutional relation between racism and Zionism, a fact which has been corroborated by what the United Nations (UN) in its 3379 resolution on 10/10/1975 stated as "considering Zionism a form of racism."

Therefore, if we come to realize that Israel was born out of the womb of Zionism and that it is the official incarnation of Zionist thinking, it becomes very clear that that state is racist par excellence for the UN resolution did not come out of vacuum or just like that or because of love for Palestinians and Arabs. It was issued based on stubborn facts and events that are proved by the UN specialized agencies that deal with human rights as was preceded by various resolutions in international conferences. The following are some of these resolutions:¹

- UN General Assembly resolution no. 315, on 14/12/1973, which is about the alliance between apartheid in South Africa and Zionism.
- The 1975 Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, adopted at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, which stated that:





International co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, Zionism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in all its forms as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination.

- The Resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Kampala, Uganda from 28/7-1/8/1975, which stated that:

The racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked to their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being.²

- This is in addition to other international resolutions and declarations, along with statements made by many international intellectuals and luminaries in politics and law who have spoken of Zionism as clearly a racist movement.

It is worth mentioning here that the UN withdrawal of its resolution that considers Zionism as a form of racism does not change anything from the reality of this racism. This is because the resolution came in light of the imbalance of international powers, that is, it came for political considerations, especially as it has not been followed by any changes, neither on the level of the regime in Israel nor on the level of the policies used towards Palestinians, in general, and those in Israel, in particular, unlike what happened in South Africa.



Declaration of the State of Israel

British Occupation withdrew from Palestine on 14/5/1948, and on the very same day, David Ben Gurion declared the establishment of a state of Israel, and “the return of Jewish people to their historical land.” Thus the declaration of Israel as a “Jewish state” took place without any geographical borders or a constitution, thus contravening the simplest of international laws and norms, and making itself a “state above every law.”



Chapter 1: Israel and Racism

“The year 2006 had witnessed an increase in the forms of racism against the Arab citizens (i.e., Palestinians in Israel) by the Jewish majority. Polls had also shown an increasing support reaching 62% for the idea of forced population transfer of Arabs from the country, and that more than 40% are in favour of racial segregation...”³

In fact, we do not exaggerate if we observe that Israel politically, socially and legally represents an archetype of the kind of racist society and state, where the definitions and applications of the theories of racism and discrimination are perfectly applicable; and that it is almost the only example that is overtly unique and unequivocal in this respect, after the abolition of the regimes and laws of apartheid and racism in the last century (e.g., discrimination against the blacks in the USA, and the apartheid system in South Africa).



“We are the cursed remnants of Europe, the Jews whom Europe did not succeed in destroying. We are the place where the Nazi nightmare lives and exists, kept in the minds of the survivors and by those who have been brought up by the survivors; and on those who have been drowned by the endless rhetoric that has glorified the Holocaust. We are the last place in Europe whose Nazi past is still yielding fruit, for the state has made of the ruins of the European Jews a national heritage, a light for the gentiles, and a compensation for the Jews. We are the model of the European orientalism which has suddenly become present in the Orient itself, without decency and self-awareness. We are an experimentation place for the solitary universal principle which Europe has failed to bring to certain limits-the spread of evil: Every human being can find himself or herself a participant in that terrible composition between the hatred of foreigners and persecution, humiliation and discrimination, closure camps and ethnic cleansing of lives and cities... this could befall everyone of us, everyone, even those who were victims.”



➤ Israeli Associate Professor and Philosopher Adi Ophir in his article: “*Mi’at Sanah ‘Ala al-Mu’tamar al-Suhyuni al-’Awwl: Hisab*” (One Hundred Years after the First Zionist Congress: an Account), (Riesling 5, 1998), *Al-Ayyam* newspaper, Palestine, from *Ma’ariv* newspaper, 10/3/2007.



Racism is considered, according to the classical definition, a biological-anthropological theory that views the world as if it is divided into different races or classes. On the one hand, there are those of the masters whose biological distinctions and qualities qualify them to be the highest and thus they must be in control of the world, and on the other hand, there are those of the untouchables, of the lowest caste who are devoid of any biological distinction or qualities, and thus they must remain obsequious and under control.

Despite the fact that racism, as a biological-anthropological theory, gained its development and currency in the 19th century, it was there since the dawn of history. However, the term “racism” has acquired different connotations today, more comprehensive ones. These new definitions or connotations of racism do not stress sentiments of superiority on the basis of ethnicity or race *per se*, but rather extend to include sentiments of superiority towards other categories, i.e., nationalistic, linguistic, religious, etc.⁴

If the term racism had expressed superiority, in the past, on a racial biological-anthropological basis only, today it rather expresses superiority of individuals who belong to a certain group over individuals who belong to another group or groups of population.

Today’s usage and application of the term does not only involve notions pertaining to biological differences among human beings, but also ideas pertaining to differences existing among individuals who belong to a different social and cultural group. According to this definition, racism then exists whenever there is a claim that there is a certain difference between the individuals of group (A) and those of group (B); and it is in light of this difference that one is to behave with the individuals of group (B) in a way different from those of group (A).⁵





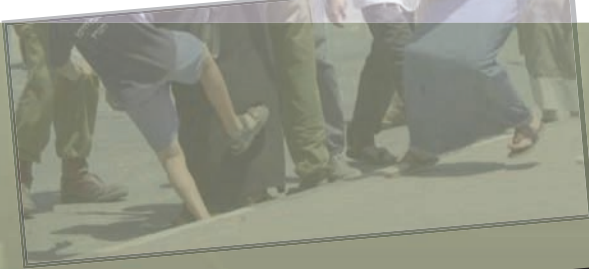
The term racism has been broadened and extended to areas irrelevant to race. This broad definition was adopted by the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965). This international convention constitutes the central and most significant convention on the combating of racism. The first clause of this convention defines racial discrimination as: “Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or ethnic or national origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.”

Racism or discrimination *per se* constitutes a grave infraction of international human rights, and deprive certain people or certain groups of basic rights, only because of their colour or race or national or ethnic origin, and thus it constitutes a vicious violation for the principle of equality and that of human dignity and worth, which are considered the two central and essential principles against which the whole of the theory of human rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights since 1948 are pinned. Furthermore, because of the grave infringement and the catastrophic consequences of the theory of racism, from which humanity has suffered a lot, it is the only political tenet which international law has singled out concerning human rights outside law.⁶



Israeli police suppressing an Arab protestor in Israel in front of the office of Israeli prime minister in occupied Jerusalem, during a demonstration of about 2,000 Arabs in Israel demanding for their rights and for an end to the discrimination against them.

► AFP, 24/11/1999.



Chapter 2: Racist Proclamations and Statements against Arabs and Palestinians in Israel

It may prove difficult for the researcher to count the number of racist statements proclaimed by Zionist leaders and high-ranking Israeli officials against Arabs, in general, and Palestinians, in particular. Their archives are replete with racist statements of this kind. Here we shall focus, however, on the ones made recently. Such proclamations and statements reflect the nature and character of the racist sentiments and view held against Arabs.

In an interview with Effie Eitam, the Minister of Housing and Construction, the newspaper *Haaretz* reported that the minister had described Palestinians in Israel as a, “time bomb, an existential threat as cancer and a fifth column.”⁷





“What We Look Like”

The season for racism, collective punishment and verbal violence is at its height. What was once the reserve of nutcases on the right, the talkbackers and the loony listeners to the call-in radio programs, is now politically correct, in the heart of the consensus, the dernier cri in the violent and overheated Israeli discourse.

“We are allowed to have another Kfar Kana, we are allowed to destroy everything,” said the justice minister at the time, Haim Ramon, the man who was in charge of maintaining the law. Trade and Industry Minister Eli Yishai, a representative of a religious party that has a “spiritual” leadership, did not lag behind him: He proposed targeting infrastructure in Lebanon and “flattening” villages.

These two calls to commit war crimes did not emerge from the mouths of representatives of the extreme right. Ramon and Yishai have remained legitimate spokesmen. Nor did the generals keep quiet: “Grind Lebanon. Turn it into a museum of the incubation of terror,” proposed a former chief of Northern Command headquarters, Brigadier General (Res.) Rafi Noy, a desired interviewee in the studios.

The Qassams on Sderot presaged the disgusting continuation, this time in poetry as well. “If not the roof beams, destroy the foundations ... Attack Lebanon and also Gaza with plows and with salt, destroy them so no inhabitant remains. Transform them into barren desert, piles of rubble ... kill them, spill their blood, frighten the living,”



wrote poet Ilan Scheinfeld, who has recently published a novel whose boycott no one has called for.

Former chief rabbi Mordechai Eliahu... Minister of Pensioner Affairs Rafi Eitan... Public Security Minister Avi Dichter... his successor at the Shin Bet security service, Yuval Diskin... Major General (Res.) Amiram Levin... former justice minister Yosef Lapid... former chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon... Sderot Mayor Eli Moyal... Not one of them has been castigated for his words, not one of them shunned.

This is what we look like. This is our moral portrait.

► Gideon Levi, *Haaretz* newspaper, 10/6/2007.

On 22/2/2004, Israeli Deputy Defence Minister Ze'ev Boim, asked rather contemptuously: "What is it about Islam as a whole and Palestinians in particular? Is it some form of cultural deprivation? (or) Is it some genetic defect?"

Boim's racist statements were supported by Likud Member of Knesset (MK) Yehiel Hazan who stated: "What Ze'ev Boim said, it hasn't been researched, but according to my experience this is true. I think he is correct. It is well-known that Arabs have been slaughtering and murdering Jews for more than a generation," "I think this it (sic) is in their blood. It is something genetic. I have not researched this, but there is no other way to explain this," Hazan added. "Don't believe an Arab, even one who has been in the grave for 40 years."⁸





On 13/2/2004, during a discussion in the Knesset, Yehiel Hazan also observed, “The Arabs are worms. You find them everywhere like worms, underground as well as above.”

Furthermore, Internal Security Minister, Gideon Ezra depicted Arabs as a big disaster: “There are Arab citizens in the state of Israel. This is our biggest disaster. You’re done with Gaza, you’re done with Judaea and Samaria [the WB] but there we remain with the biggest disaster.”⁹

During an encounter with a group of Christian missionaries from the USA in February 2004, Tourism Minister Binyamin “Benny” Elon, urging Christians to convert Muslims to Christianity, remarked, “Go from mosque to mosque and show the Muslims the light. The Muslim (sic) murderers who have forgotten it is forbidden to murder, turn them into believing Christians and into good people.”¹⁰

David Bukay, a professor in the Department of Political Science in the Social Sciences Faculty at the University of Haifa stated during some of his incendiary and heavily biased lectures: “Terrorism is a problem of the Arab and that the prophet Mohammed was the first terrorist.” Bukay also stated, “Arabs are nothing but alcohol and sex,” and that “the Arabs are stupid and have contributed nothing to humanity.”¹¹

Many racist statements have also appeared in media. They have been uttered by journalists and intellectuals. Below is a sample of a plethora of such racist statements and incendiary proclamations.

Nativ, a magazine issued by Ariel Centre for Policy Research (ACPR), published in May 2003 an article comparing Islam with Nazism, and Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with Hitler.¹²

A great number of rabbis have expressed their undisguised racism and incitement against Arabs. In this regard, Rabbi Benzion Mutzafi



expressed in March 2003 his schadenfreude, or glee over the murder of three Arab citizens where he observed, “Long live people of Israel. Good riddance! They have gone. We ought to rejoice while the others cry. So let them cry and bereave their sons while we rejoice and dance.”¹³

Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, the spiritual leader of Shas Party evinced his racism against Arabs through his statement, “We have Arabs like garbage.” It is also this rabbi who has constantly described Arabs as serpents and considered them as nothing but beasts. Yosef stated that there was no beast worse than Arabs and that God regrets creating the Arabs. He has also systematically called for annihilating all Arabs.¹⁴

On the same vein the chief rabbi in the Command of the Central region of the Israeli Army once wrote:

When our forces encounter civilians during a war or during a high intensity conflict or a foray, and it is not certain that those civilians are incapable of harming our forces, then and according to the rulings of the Halacha [i.e., Jewish laws] , it is permitted, even obligated to kill them... trusting an Arab is not permitted under any circumstances... During war, when our forces attack the enemy, they are permitted, even obligated according to Halachic rulings to kill even good civilians, meaning those who appear to be good.¹⁵

In addition to these racist proclamations, there are those made by the first rabbi of the city of Safad, former Sephardic chief rabbi of Israel, Sephardic chief rabbi of the city of Bat Yam, and the principal of a Joseph Tomb Yeshiva, or a seminary or religious school in Jerusalem.¹⁶

Statements made by Israeli MKs and high-ranking officials against Palestinians in Israel evince a multitude of racist facets. While some of these racist facets are direct and overt, there are, however, those which

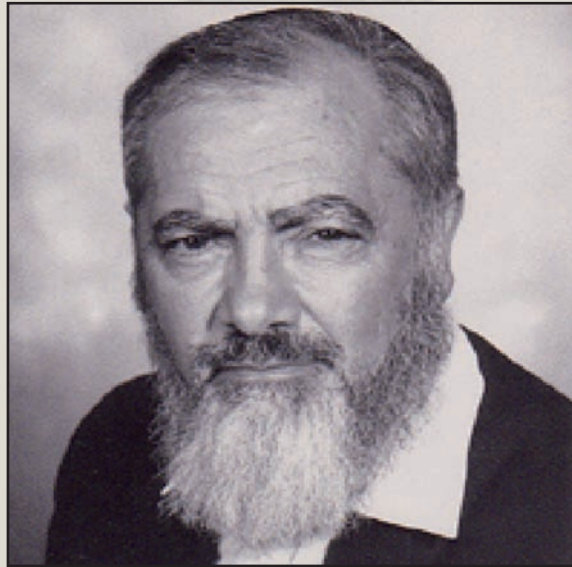




are indirect and covert. The gravest among the indirect racist statements are those which appear under the rubric “Exchange of Land,” and which come under the category of “population transfer.” This comes under the pretext of peace necessities or necessities of maintaining the Jewish identity of the state. What singles out this type of statements is the fact that they come from Israeli MKs of all political parties and orientations, on all levels.

Ministers like Ehud Barak, Benjamin Netanyahu, Ephraim Sneh, Avigdor Liberman, Benny Alon who was the president of racist Moledet Party, and Eli Yishai, along with a host of other ministers, current and former¹⁷, are all examples of Israeli politicians espousing racist statements of this rubric and of this view.¹⁸ Among academics and intellectuals holding such view are Arnon Sofer, a professor at the University of Haifa, Shlomo Gazit, a researcher at Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies (JCSS) (now known as: Israel National Security Studies Centre (INSS)), and Elyakim Rubinstein, former government Legal Advisor.¹⁹

All of the above-mentioned figures have espoused, supported and issued statements, notions and proposals calling for the necessity of eliminating “Arab citizens” from the Hebrew state.



This is a portrait of Meir Kahane, founder of Kach Movement, the hallmark of which is racism against Arabs. The establishment of Kach goes back to the Jewish Defense League (JDL), established also by Kahane in New York in 1968. JDL began its activities in Israel in 1971 after Kahane's immigration to it. Later on, the JDL was transferred into a political movement under the name Kach just before the elections of 1973. Kach became active especially during the 1980s. Kach's leader, Kahane, was assassinated in Manhattan in 1991.



Chapter 3: Levels and Manifestations of Israeli Racism

There is not a single aspect of the life or reality of the Palestinians living in Israel that is not being discriminated upon and that has not been festered with racism. Israeli racism, according to the previously mentioned definition of racism and discrimination, manifests itself clearly in all spheres of life, beginning from the religious and ideological springboards of the Zionist Movement, to the practices endorsed against Palestinians in Israel, and ending with the laws that have been enacted in the Knesset; laws that guarantee the validation of racial discrimination and segregation against Palestinians in Israel.

A prominent characteristic of the phenomenon of racism that marks the Zionist Movement throughout its history is that of comprehensiveness and permanence. In other words, racism that accompanied Zionism has always



“al-Fawakih” Military Checkpoint: A Picture of Israeli Racism

On the Israeli “*al-Fawakih*” [literally Fruits] military checkpoint, south of the city of Qalqilyah in the West Bank, there exist three paths, on the head of each there is a soldier whose mission is, in brief, racial discrimination.

Laborer Muhammad Dawoud from Qalqilyah narrates how the soldiers at the checkpoint deal with pedestrians where each Arab-looking person among the settlers is being stopped. However, after checking the identification, an apology is offered where they clearly enunciate, “We’re sorry. We thought you were an Arab.”

Palestinians residing in Arab towns inside the Green Line call this checkpoint “checkpoint of discrimination” for the flagrant discrimination exercised on it and which is not only limited to words and expletives but also to traffic fines. Such traffic fines are issued for Arabs and quite often without indicating any offence. This done for no reason other than to prevent them from heading out to the city (Qalqilyah) for shopping.

Amjad ‘Odah, from the village of Jaljulya, also narrates: “one of the soldiers told me that it’s important not to come to Qalqilyah because it’s a terrorist city and the Israeli citizen should not, even if he is an Arab, enter it as it’s a den for terrorists.” So I replied, Amjad said, by saying that settlers come from Israeli cities and reside in lands that don’t belong to them. These must not be on the West Bank. But as for us, we have relatives in Qalqilyah and it’s only these barriers and walls that separate us. At this point’ Amjad said, the soldier retorted: “Dirty Arab.”

► *Alghad* newspaper, ‘Amman, 4/3/2007.



been a feature and an integral part of the fabric of the constitution and ideology of Zionism. It has accompanied Zionism before and after the establishment of the state until the present day. It has been manifested not only in words but also in actions and laws as well. Racism has actually been exercised in all political stages and stations witnessed by Israel and its successive governments regardless of their political orientations; a characteristic that points out to the fact that racism against Palestinians in Israel is above any political differences and discrepancies inside the different trends in Israel.

This phenomenon has been established over the years as a “declared custom” and thus has gained wider currency and expansion. For instance, the total of incidents classified under the category of discrimination during the first eight months of the year 2006 has reached up to 274 incidents, an increase of 21% of racist incidents chronicled in the same period of the year 2005, in which the number of recorded incidents went up to 225.²⁰

1. Racism on the Level of Job Representation and Budgets:

Every aspect of social and economic life witnesses racism and discrimination against Palestinians in Israel. There is a Jewish-Arab consensus in Israel that this discrimination and segregation is not haphazard or spontaneous but rather structural and tangible. It goes beyond political factors. It is not also restricted to any single period of time. It is deep-rooted and firmly established and has been practised by various Israeli political trends that have held power. It has been there for decades and it is still there until our present day. It is also expected to continue as long as Israel defines itself as a “Jewish state.”





Due to the compact nature of this conspectus, we cannot expose in detail all the various facets of Israeli discrimination against Palestinian Arabs. Therefore, we will present a synopsis of a representative sample of the reality of discrimination and segregation exercised systematically by Israeli governments in their social and economic policies against the hapless Palestinians living in Israel.

Many of the institutes and community centres inside Israel have been accustomed to making periodical reports about the conditions of Palestinians in Israel. One of those centres is Mossawa Center: The Advocacy Centre for Arab Citizens in Israel, which publishes periodical and annual reports known for their high credibility and authentic and documented data.

In one of its reports, *State Budget and Arab Citizens: Social-Economic Report 2004*, the centre mentioned that the percentage of Arabs employed in state services was 5% of the total of the state employees. This is despite the fact that Arab Palestinians constitute about 20% of the citizens in Israel. This is also despite the fact that 37% of them are university degree holders.

In a questionnaire published by the National Insurance Institute of Israel in October 2004 about income and wage rates according to towns and various economic variables, there appeared that the annual rate of the level of wages in Arab towns reached about 63% compared to that in Jewish towns.

With regard to state budget of 2005, the report mentions that the Arab citizens did not get more than 5% of the budget for public development, and got less than 4% of the budget allocated for the development of



education for “minorities” for 2005. Furthermore, the report mentions that Arab citizens got 1% of the budget of the Ministry of Housing and Construction drawn up for year 2005, and 2% of the budget allocated for the Ministry of Tourism.

As for the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the budget allocated for “ethnic minorities” reached 1% of the total budget of the Ministry. Arab citizens in the Arab local authorities also get about 8% of the budget of the Ministry of Welfare. When this is calculated per capita, we find that what the Ministry of Welfare spends on the Arab citizen is lower 30% than that spent on the Jewish citizen.²¹

As for the rates of poverty, data of the poverty report of the National Insurance Institute of Israel, published in November 2004, mention that the percentage of poor Arab families has reached 48.4% in 2003, while the percentage of Jewish poor families was 14.9%. This means that the percentage of poor Arab families is about three times double compared to that of Jewish families.

When it comes to Arab poor children, the percentage goes up to 50% of the total of poor children residing in the state. This is despite the fact that they constitute only 30% of the total of children in Israel.

Mada al-Carmel Arab Center for Applied Social Research has estimated the levels of poverty among Arabs in Israel *vis-à-vis* Jews, through the observation of poverty rates in recent years, and the general data which have been published including official Israeli reports. The centre has concluded that out of three Arab families there is one who lives below poverty line, i.e., 35% of Arab families compared to 16% of Jewish families, and 20.5% on average, in the state, after state intervention via national insurance allocations and taxes.





Percentage of Arab families living below poverty line had reached before state intervention via national insurance allocations and taxes 59%, which means that state intervention helps 23% of Arab poor families to get out of the circle of poverty. As for Jewish poor families, state intervention reduces the percentage to 50% and 39.2% on average in the state.²²

Another report of Mossawa Center has estimated that 350 thousand Arab children live actually below poverty line. Such children constitute 50% of the poor children in the state. The report also mentions that 6 out of every 10 Arab children are poor, and that more than 40% of a million and a half of the poor in the state are Arabs. It also mentioned that about 130 thousand Arab families live below poverty line, and that half of the Arab families is poor, and that one third of the poor families in the state is Arab.²³

Furthermore, a scientific research conducted by the Arab Center for Alternative Planning (ACAP) has unveiled the repercussions of the policy of Israeli racism and discrimination through the social and economic reality of Palestinians in Israel. This was based on the data of the Central Statistics Circle, which classify every year local authorities in Israel into 10 categories called clusters, according to social-economic criteria. Cluster no. 1 includes towns of low social-economic conditions. At the other end of the continuum, cluster no. 10, includes towns of modern facilities and luxurious standards of living. Classification reveals that the bulk of Arab population, about 89%, lives in towns classified among the low first three clusters *vis-à-vis* 7% of Jews only.



US Department of State Annual Human Rights Report: Israel is Not among the States that Violate Human Rights!

US Department of State maintains publishing a report that follows annually what takes place in 196 states regarding democracy and human rights. In its 2006 report about Israel, the US Department of State, in this regard, mentioned discrimination. Cited below is some of what came in the report:

- One-sixth of Israeli-Arab children were in "danger and crisis." Researchers also found that the poverty rate for Israeli-Arab children was 2.5 times higher than for Jewish children, and their infant mortality rate was double that of Jewish infants.

- A report released by the Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem reported that 54 percent of Israeli Arabs lived below the poverty line in 2005, compared to 18 percent of Israeli Jews. Among the Bedouin communities of the Negev, the poverty rate in legal villages was 66 percent, while in the unrecognized villages it was 79 percent.

- The government operated separate school systems for Hebrew-speaking children, Arabic-speaking children, and Orthodox Jews. However, per capita government spending on and services for children was significantly less in Arab areas than in Jewish areas. According to a 2005 study at Hebrew University, three times as much money was invested in Jewish children as in Arab children.

- The NGO Sikkuy stated in its 2004-05 report that the high school dropout rate in Arab schools was twice as high as in Jewish schools. A separate, credible NGO report suggested that the Israeli-Arab dropout rate was three times that of the Jewish dropout level. In September 2005 the Education Ministry informed the Knesset Education Committee there was a shortage of 1,800 classrooms in the Arab sector.

- Israeli Arabs were underrepresented in most universities, professions, and businesses. In June a researcher from Haifa University and Sikkuy reported only 2.8 percent of the country's high technology workers were Arab. The Haifa University researcher also noted 70 percent of Arabs with college degrees in high technology fields failed to find work in the country between 2001 and 2005.



- *Well-educated Israeli Arabs often were unable to find jobs commensurate with their qualifications. According to a Civil Service Commission report on Israeli-Arab representation in government, in 2004 only three of 809 Finance Ministry employees were Israeli Arabs, while the Foreign Ministry, with 933 employees, employed seven.*

- *... according to current government figures, only 5.5 percent of civil service employees were from the Arab sector. [Most of them are employed in secondary jobs in the Health Ministry where approximately 56 percent of Israeli-Arabs work there, including government hospitals].*

- *In April media reported that approximately 1 percent of employees in state-run companies were Arabs.*

Despite of all that mentioned above, Israel at the end, remains, according to the USA, fine, and is not included among the countries in which violations of human rights occur.

► US Department of State, Annual Human Rights Report, in:
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78854.htm>

Moreover, and based on the UN Human Development Index, the same research has shown that the Arab minority is classified in the 62nd rank, which means a difference of 40 degrees from the state (Israel, from among 177 states included in the UN report, occupied the 22nd rank in the human development index for 2002). The Jew's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Israel reaches \$19,150 compared to \$6,756 for an Arab, a difference of about three folds.²⁴

As for the employment of Arab citizens in ministries, the average of Arab employees in state services is 5%. Such percentage of Arabs employed in ministries is distributed in various ministries as follows:²⁵



Table (1): Average of Arab Employees in Ministries in Israel

Ministry	Percentage of Arab Employees (%)
Ministry of Finance	0.4
Ministry of Industry and Trade	0.7
Administration of Israel Land	0.7
Ministry of Communications	1.5
Ministry of Transport	1.5
Ministry of Agriculture	2.9
Ministry of Infrastructure	2.8
Ministry of Tourism	2.5
Ministry of Housing and Construction	0.8
Ministry of Welfare	3.2
Ministry of Justice	3.5
Ministry of Education	6.3
Ministry of Interior	Less than 2





2. Racism on the Public Level:

Beside institutional racism and that of the elites, manifestations of

... Israel was not established to bring a democratic regime to a benighted region. Israel was established as a national home for the Jewish people.... The fact that the Arabs of Israel are citizens of the Jewish state and not citizens of an Arab state is a mishap of history... Therefore, as I see it, the goal has to be a significant Jewish majority among the citizens of Israel, forever. Minorities have to be totally loyal to the state, to fulfill all the obligations and enjoy all the rights, like the Druze, some of the Bedouins and the Circassians. ...It is very easy to avoid the discussion and escape to the refuge of racist demagoguery, but this would be the easy way out... If we try to run away from the problem it will pursue us. It is better to deal with it at our own initiative.

► Gilad Sharon, a farmer and businessman and the son of former prime minister Ariel Sharon, *Haaretz*, 25/4/2007.



racism and discrimination against Arab citizens in Israel also appear on the public level where Israeli Jews as individuals also exercise discrimination against Arabs. Therefore, Arabs are generally being discriminated upon by all that is Israeli whether institutions, elites or individuals. This is a fact, not only of history but of reality too. Such racist sentiments can clearly be noticed via the offenses which Arab citizens sustain on a daily basis as a result of their national affiliation. This is not to mention the curses and expletives hurled against Muslims and their symbols and which manifest clearly during football matches.

The truest and most conspicuous expression of popular racism of Jews against Arabs, however, is reflected in the public opinion which evinces the stance and attitude of the Jewish majority in Israel towards Palestinian Arabs. Polls of attitude and surveys of public opinion reveal



that the majority of Jews look askance at their country's Arab citizens and consider them as a danger on the state and a fifth column. Furthermore, the majority supports elimination of Arabs from positions of decision-making and even from political participation. They also advocate and support proposals of transfer.²⁶

This fact has been mentioned clearly in the report of the Arab Institute for Human Rights (AIHR) where it has appeared that the percentage of Jews advocating the idea of forced transfer of Palestinians in Israel, as a continuation of the policy of ethnic cleansing started in 1948, has reached 62% and that more than 40% supports apartheid.²⁷

In addition to this, there has recently been a new form of apartheid in Israel calling for racial segregation through the establishment of separation walls that separate quarters in mixed cities (i.e., where there are Arab and Jewish populations). This is in accordance with a number of different considerations replete with racism as admitted by many inside Israel itself.

Thus, a high earth embankment has been constructed in November 2002, separating the poor Arab village of Jisr al-Zarqa' from the neighboring city of Qisaryah inhabited by a Jewish majority. Similarly, a separation wall has been built between the Jewish neighborhood of Ganei Dan in the city of al-Ramlah and Arab neighborhood of Jawarish. Another separation wall has also been established between the Arab neighborhood of Pardes Snir in the city of al-Ludd and the *moshav* or rather settlement of Nir Zvi.²⁸

The annual poll of attitude sponsored by the Center for the Campaign Against Racism in Israel has shown an escalation in hatred and racist sentiments among Jews during the year 2006 compared to that of 2005 as shown in the following table:





Table (2): Poll of Attitude among Israel's Jews towards the Arab Citizens in Israel: 2005-2006

	2005	2006	Comparison between 2005 and 2006
What do you feel when you hear Arabic spoken in the street?			
Hatred	17.5%	30.7%	A rise of 75%
Fear	38.45%	49.9%	A rise of 30%
Disgust	22.7%	31.3%	A rise of 38%
To what extent do you accept living in a combined condo inhabited by both Jews and Arabs?			
I don't accept	67.6%	75.2%	A rise of 11%
To what extent are you willing to have Arab friends visiting you at home?			
I am unwilling to have Arab friends home	45.2%	61.4%	A rise of 36%
Are you willing or unwilling to work at a job where your direct supervisor is an Arab?			
Unwilling	33.9%	49.9%	A rise of 47%
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:			
Agree with the statement: "The marriage of a Jew to an Arab is treason to the state and the Jewish people."	39.6%	51.2%	A rise of 29%



Agree with the statement: “There must be segregation between Arab and Jews in entertainment facilities.”	40.6%	55.6%	A rise of 37%
Agree with the statement: “Arabs must be deprived of the right to vote for the Knesset.”	25.6%	39.9%	A rise of 55%
Agree with the statement: “Arabs pose a security and demographic threat to Israel.”	62.8%	56.2%	A fall of 10%
Agree with the statement: “Arab culture is inferior to the Jewish culture.”	34.2%	37.8%	A rise of 10%
Agree with the statement: “Israel should encourage Arab citizens to emigrate from the country.”	39.5%	50.9%	A rise of 28%

The above table shows that the racist sentiments and attitudes of Jews towards their fellow Arab citizens, which are already high, are generally getting higher and higher. What piques curiosity for example, is the fact that half (49.9%) of the Israeli Jews, as the poll shows, feel fearful when hearing the Arabic language spoken around them in the street, despite its being an official language beside Hebrew. This is while 30% feel hatred. What is also striking is the unwillingness of 75% of Israeli Jews to live in a building or a condominium where there are Arab citizens or even to work at a job in which their direct supervisor would be Arab. The percentage here is 49.9%. This number represents a 47% increase since the 2005 poll on the same topic.



Jerusalemites Live in Storehouses and on Roofs to Keep Their Residence Permits

In May 2005, Salwa and her seven children received a notification from the Israeli authorities stripping them of their rights of residency and health insurance in their city, Jerusalem, because they live in one of the suburbs that Israel considers as part of the West Bank. Therefore, Salwa and her children had no choice but to move from their spacious house in the al-Barid Suburb to a garret that was initially used as a small shop in one of the alleys of the Old City to maintain their residency.

Salwa and her children are “residents” in their city and not as “citizens” as their Jewish counterparts according to the Israeli classification of the Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem, following its occupation in 1967. Jerusalemites put up simple houses made of corrugated iron for their married offspring to prove their right of abode.

An Israeli Jewish lawyer has described Israel’s stripping of Jerusalemites of their right of abode as “ethnic cleansing.” The lawyer also said: “Israel wants to vacate the city from Arabs. Therefore, it restricts the Law of Citizenship. It has made them temporary residents whose state changes as soon as their place of domicile changes. And if they travel for work, then Israel denies their right of residence and return to Jerusalem.” The lawyer also added, “Israelis do not offer educational services to Arabs and they do not provide them with sanitation. Moreover, neither do they provide them with good job opportunities nor do they give them building permits. All this is done to force them to emigrate outside the country.”

► *Al-Ayyam*, Palestine, 23/6/2007.



Moreover, while 55.6% support segregation between Arabs and Jews in places of entertainment, 39.9% are in favor of disenfranchisement of Arabs from elections. 51.2% of Israeli Jews are against intermarriage. Such percentage believes that the marriage of a Jew to an Arab in Israel is treason to the state and Jewish people. This is while 56.2% believe that the Arabs in Israel constitute a threat, a security and demographic threat to the Hebrew state.²⁹

In this context, the barometer for Arab-Jewish relations for 2006, conducted by the Social Sciences Faculty at the University of Haifa has shown the findings of a poll about a sample made up of 1,423 adult Jewish and Arab citizens. It was found that 63% of Jews actually avoid going to Arab towns while 68% of them are apprehensive about the high birth rates among Arabs, which is perceived as a danger to national security by 64%.

In addition, 73% of Jews raise doubts about the loyalty of Arabs to the state. In contrast, the majority of the Arabs in Israel is fearful of being subjected to acts of violence. While we find 73% of them are afraid of assaults committed by the Israeli authorities, 71.5% are actually afraid of assaults committed by Jewish individuals. This is while there are 60% who are fearful of mass expulsion from Israel, an intimidation or a fact that the radical Jewish right wing keeps calling for. There are also 80% who are afraid of being dispossessed by the state.³⁰

3. Racism on the Legal Level:

What should be emphasized is that discrimination in Israel is not a matter of personal bigotry or individual deviation but rather a matter that based on the laws and the Zionist character of the state. Therefore, laws of discrimination and racism constitute





an organic part of the legal framework of the Zionist state. This character, in particular, is what separates racial discrimination practised by settlement blocks from that in the rest of the world. Discrimination in the first case depends on the laws of the state itself. Discrimination practised in all other countries, however, is against the law. Such laws have been reflected on the living conditions and situation of Arabs living in the areas occupied before and after 1967 in many aspects of their lives.³¹

The Knesset has enacted a set of laws that exclusively serves the domination of the Jewish majority and its hegemony in Israel at the expense of its Arab citizens. This is done through the legalization of systemic institutional discrimination against the Arabs in a way that gives racial discrimination a legitimate constitutional exterior. Therefore, shedding light on the legal status of the Arabs in Israel is indeed of paramount and special importance. It constitutes a main entrance into their world, and a true criterion for judging their position in the Israeli structure or constitutional makeup. It also serves understanding their legal and civil position compared to others. What also adds to the significance of understanding the legal status is the fact that it goes beyond the performance factor represented by the policies used towards Arabs, and reflects the truth behind the racist look that controls the way the Jewish majority operates or deals with the Palestinian Arabs.

Study of the nature of the laws that involve racial discrimination against Arabs in Israel reveals that despite the fact that they touch upon all spheres of life, they aim basically at serving the human and material elements; the two elements that the Zionist movement has constantly tried to make available through the encouragement of Jewish immigration and the confiscation and Judaization of Palestinian lands.



Discussing legal discrimination against Arabs in Israel requires a detailed and thorough research which goes beyond the scope of this work. Therefore, we will suffice in this context by adumbrating the most profoundly discriminatory laws in general, without going into details.³²

a. Law of Return and Nationality Law:

In the other hemisphere, the number of Jews residing in the USA was always higher than their number in Israel/ historical Palestine (under the Israeli occupation). Despite this fact, all of them have the right, according to Israeli laws, to become naturalized Israelis and thus come to Israel and settle in it, and buy real estate even though many of them have no idea about the country. Any Jew has a free access to Israel/ Palestine. He or she can come any time and be granted the Israeli citizenship immediately. In contrast, the expelled Palestinians, who are constantly waiting at the borders, cannot penetrate such borders to get back to their roots and villages which some of them can actually see clearly across the border. Ironically, they are deprived of their basic right to live or even visit their native homes where they once lived.

Zionist political literature pretends that Israel is a democratic liberal state, but the nature of the Zionist political system shows actually the opposite. It reveals a “state of domineering ideology, i.e. Zionism, which demarcates the state boundaries in a way irrelevant to the geography occupied by this state, and considers it a state for the Jews wherever they are, rather than a state for the citizens dwelling in it.”³³ This is what has urged the Israeli academic, Sami Smootha to state that Israel is not a liberal democracy and he rather prefers to use the term “ethnic democracy” to describe Israel.³⁴





The Law of Return and the Law of Nationality (Citizenship) are of special importance as they constitute the legal background for the “import” of the Jewish human element, and the legalization of its presence. This is in addition to guaranteeing a Jewish majority. The Law of Return and the Law of Citizenship are also important because they complete each others, and because of their inclusion of flagrant systemic discrimination. These two laws include acts that permit the planned increase of Jews *vis-à-vis* the systematic decrease and elimination of Arabs.³⁵

The Israeli Law of Return includes blatant discrimination against Arab citizens. Thus it constitutes direct violation against international laws and conventions that manifestly state the Palestinian Right of Return. Among those conventions are the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the 1966 International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, and the Fourth Geneva Convention concerning the protection and treatment of civilians captured during wartime. This is in addition to the 1948 UN General Assembly Resolution 194, which demands the return of Palestinian refugees.³⁶

In fact, views, inside and outside Israel are almost unanimous about the fact that the Law of Return does include discrimination against Arabs. Discrepancy, however, lies in the nature of justifications presented for its implementation and their kinds. Nonetheless, when we look at the guarantees and measures taken to maintain the “Jewishness” of the state, we find how deep-rooted racial discrimination actually is.

While the Israeli Law of Return allows every Jew, even converts to Judaism, regardless of his\her whereabouts, to immigrate to Israel



without any conditions and exercise his/ her right in getting a citizenship in Israel based on this right, we find that Palestinians, indigenous people of the land have tragically and ironically been deprived of this right. In pursuance of this racist policy, Israel has placed many conditions before Palestinians residing inside their homeland.

Despite the many amendments made on the Law of Nationality, the most profoundly discriminatory, however, is the amendment ratified on 31/7/2003, leading to racist marriage laws; laws reminiscent of the anti-miscegenation laws that were once imposed on African-American marriages in the USA. According to this discrimination-ridden amendment, Palestinians are not to be granted citizenship or even residency through family reunion or unification or rather reunification of families of the Palestinians in Israel with those in the occupied territories. This means that a Palestinian from the WB or GS marrying a Palestinian holding the Israeli citizenship cannot be granted the Israeli citizenship. Similarly is the case of a Palestinian spouse from the WB or GS marrying a Palestinian with an Israeli citizenship. This is despite the fact that both are Palestinians. This fact is, of course, not applicable in the case of a Jew choosing a spouse from any place or nationality or citizenship in the world. This law with this blatant racial discrimination inherent in it necessitates the collapse and ruination rather than reunification of entire Palestinian families.³⁷

In his comment on this wrongful and discriminatory legislation, the lawyer Gilad Kariv observed, “The Israeli law books have not faced any tangible danger of being sullied with the stigma of racism as it has been with this law.”³⁸ Furthermore, in their condemnation of this racist statute, Amnesty, and Human Rights Watch, two international organizations for human rights, had sent on 27/7/2003 a joint letter to





the Knesset, asking its members to reject this racist marriage law that violates international human rights law. But their request was declined flatly.

b. Laws of Land Confiscation:

In the 50th anniversary of the 1948 *Nakbah* (or rather, as Dr Ilan Pappé, the Israeli Jewish historian calls it, Ethnic Cleansing of Palestinians), Palestinians in Israel had organized public demonstrations. Demonstrators carried the names of their home or native villages. Part of the activities on the agenda of that anniversary was visiting the relics and ruins of some of the destroyed villages. Therefore, they visited their demolished homes which became dilapidated and thus uninhabitable. Media have quoted one of those visitors saying, they have become “neighbours of their homes.”

Those of Palestinians, who have not been expelled outside the borders, have been internally displaced. When they later tried to get back to their demolished and depopulated villages, the military ruler announced them in 1951 to be military areas, “and thus military rule has been authorized to immediately bring to trial everyone caught in those villages.”³⁹

Prior to the declaration of the state of Israel, the Zionists did not have more than 5.5% of the total area of Palestine⁴⁰, and at best the area did not exceed 8%.⁴¹ However, through systematic land confiscation and expropriation, more than 93% of the land has been transferred to Jewish ownership. Furthermore, Israel has controlled the land of Palestinians through the issuance of a set of laws that it used as a major tool to implement its racist policies in this sphere. Such laws are estimated to be more than thirty laws, the most crucial of which are the following:



1. Israeli Emergency Regulations, 1945.
2. Emergency Regulations (Cultivation of Waste [Uncultivated] Lands) Law, 1948.
3. Emergency Regulations (Absentees' Property) Law, 1948.
4. Absentees' Property Law (1950).
5. Development Authority (Transfer of Property) Law, 1950.
6. Land and Property Law, 1951.
7. Land Acquisition (Validation of Acts and Compensation) Law, 1953.
8. Keren Kayemet Le-Israel Law (Jewish National Fund).
9. Prescription Law, 1960.
10. Israel Lands Law, 1960.
11. Basic Law: Israel Lands, 1960.
12. Agricultural Settlement Law, 1967.
13. Israel Lands Law, 1969.
14. Forests Law, 1962.
15. Planning and Construction Law.

All of the above-mentioned laws have played a role in the expropriation of the land of the Palestinians. However, the most damaging of these laws has been the Absentees' Property Law, which according to it, about 20-30% of the Palestinians in Israel have been considered "present-absentees." This law has allowed the Israeli authorities to expropriate their lands and estates despite their being "citizens." It has also allowed the confiscation of the properties of *Waqf* (Islamic Endowment).⁴²





c. Other Racist Laws:

In addition to the laws of land confiscation, there are many other laws that law experts agree to have systemic and institutional racist discrimination against Palestinians in Israel. The most racist and thus detrimental of those laws are: laws of national institutions, laws of the flag and the emblem, Basic Law: the Knesset, National Security Law, Compensation Law, and the 2001 law pertaining to the elimination of the right of return. This is in addition to many other laws and proposals of laws all of which are directed against Palestinians in Israel.⁴³

In this regard, “Justice Movement” presented in March 1998 a report to the international Committee for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, in the UN Office at Geneva. This was done as a reaction to an official report of the Israeli government. The report also mentioned that Israeli law included a plethora of laws fraught with racist discrimination and racism leveled against Arabs, whether overtly or covertly. Furthermore, the report mentioned 17 other laws that are riddled with unequivocal discrimination and that grant rights and preference to the Jews only or clearly curtail the rights of the Arabs in Israel.

Among such discriminatory laws are: Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty, Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation (as Israel is purported to them as a Jewish democratic state), Law of Return, World Zionist Congress Status and Jewish Agency Law, Law of the Flag and the Emblem, and Jewish Religious Services Law.

This is in addition to other laws such as the Absentees’ Property Law, Emergency Regulations Law no. 125, item 157 of the Planning and Construction Law. These laws have indirectly discriminated against



Israeli Arab citizens. They have also established the legal structure for Arab villages that are unrecognized.⁴⁴

Moreover, after the International Anti-Racism Committee had listened to the report of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and that of Justice Center about the issue, the committee adopted the points and recommendations of the center, and issued on 24/3/1998 a communiqué of the findings of its research about the conditions of Arab citizens in Israel. In the communiqué, the centre expressed serious concerns about the phenomenon of Israel's racism against its Arab citizens, and the prevalence of systemic and institutional discriminatory laws against Arabs.⁴⁵ The centre also stated that Israel is a state that does not implement international rules and principles of the international charter germane to this subject. Furthermore, the International Committee stated, after it had expressed its regret, that talks between Israeli delegates and the committee were not always fruitful, and that Israel ought to amend its laws and bridge the gaps that separate between Arabs and Jews in all spheres of life.⁴⁶

On 12/7/1998, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) condemned Israel because of its definition of itself as a "Jewish state." The committee states that this definition encourages and instigates discrimination, and makes non-Jewish citizens inferior or second class citizens. Moreover, the committee has also condemned the Law of Return, and expressed grave concern about the miserable living conditions that the Bedouin sustain.⁴⁷

In a report prepared, and presented by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel to the Knesset, there came that Israel does not adhere to International Human Rights Standards. In this regard, the report has mentioned that there exists blatant racial discrimination directed





A Palestinian woman with her young daughter sitting on the ruins of what was (a few minutes ago) their home in East Jerusalem after the Israeli authorities had turned it into shambles under the pretext of not having a permit.

A report issued by al-Quds International Institution mentioned that the occupation authorities had demolished 700 houses in 2007 and that there were 12 thousand other houses on the list to be brought down in any minute.

► AFP, 23/11/2001.



especially against Arabs in Israel.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in early September 1999, the US Department of State published its first report on freedom of religious professions in the world. The report included a whole chapter on the policies of the state of Israel, condemning the policy of discrimination adopted by the Israeli government against Arab citizens. The report has also mentioned that Arabs sustain various forms of discrimination in different spheres such as accommodation, education, and social services. This is in addition to ministry budgets, and some laws such as the Law of Return.⁴⁹

4. Racism in Sentencing and Judgements:

Israel's racial discrimination against Arabs, manifested in its racist laws and legislations, is also prevalent in criminal law sentencing and Israeli jurisdiction. Here racial discrimination prevails in the issuance and execution of judicial sentences and judgments on Arabs.

As *al-Aqsa Intifadah* broke out and in light of the security measures that have been taken to curb “self-immolation”^{*} operations, laws have been passed against taxi drivers who transport disguised bombers and fighters (with or without their knowledge) under the charge of “transporting terrorists from the WB into Israel in order to carry out bombing attacks.” Five files of taxi drivers of this kind have been investigated; four of them are Arabs and one Jew. During the defense of these five taxi drivers, there appeared that no one of them knew actually

^{*} The overwhelming majority of Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims are considering these operations as “martyrdom operations” while most Israelis and western writers and media are considering them as “suicide operations.” We used the word “self-immolation” in this report to be as neutral as possible. However, such terms may need more discussions.





the identity of the passengers they transported. Prosecutors, however, rejected all claims... and sentences against Arabs have been carried out this way: Khalid ‘Ashur and Sa‘id Sulaymani were each sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, and Ahmad Jabir to 10 years while Mahmud Naji was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment.

As for the Jewish taxi driver, Opher Shfatzoim, prosecution changed his charge from “contributing to murder” to “manslaughter” whose punishment, according to Israeli penal law, is six years of imprisonment. His sentence, however, did not last more than six months. This shows that discrimination in sentencing has become 20-30 times more.⁵⁰

Of this example, there has been a plethora of other incidents sent to the prosecution. Here we mention two of such incidents: while the first happened to two Palestinian in Israel, the second happened to a Jewish settler.

The story or incident of the two Palestinians took place early 2007 where they were prosecuted in the Central Court of Beersheba (*Bi’r al-Sabi’*). The convicts were charged with pelting a car with stones smashing its windscreen. However, there were no injuries. Now, given the very young age of the two youths who have not yet reached their majority, the prosecution should have been a little bit humane but the court sentenced the two adolescents to five years in jail.

The second incident is about a Jewish settler who pelted the car of a Palestinian, injuring him seriously. Furthermore, the Jewish settler assaulted and whacked the Palestinian badly in front of police officers. The settler was prosecuted in Tel Aviv. His only sentence was to work for the public weal.⁵¹



These two incidents do not represent two separate cases in the Israeli jurisdiction against Palestinian Arabs. They are rather a sample of deep-rooted discrimination practiced by this very jurisdiction.

In fact, there are many studies and questionnaires that confirm this. Among such studies is an academic study conducted by Dr. Hagit Turgeman, Faculty of Social Sciences in the University of Tel Aviv. The study consisted of 1,200 criminal cases in the two central courts of Nazareth and Haifa. The researcher investigated cases of the same charge and conviction among Arabs and Jews, with or without a criminal record.

The study mentions that when there is a case of a Jew convicted of attacking an Arab, and the prosecutor in this case is Arab, chances of sending the convict to prison are 14% only. If the convict is a Jew and the victim is also a Jew, chances of sending him to prison go up to 40%. If both the convict and the victim are Arab, chances of imprisonment rise to 46%. However, if the convict is an Arab and the victim is a Jew, chances of imprisonment by the central court rise to 77%.⁵²

Table (3): Jail Sentencing in Israel According to Convict and Victim

Convict	Victim	Percentage of those sentenced to jail (%)
Jew	Arab	14
Jew	Jew	40
Arab	Arab	46
Arab	Jew	77



It might have been sufficient to mention, instead of all these figures and tables, prison or Facility no. 1391, which has been discovered by the Israeli historian Gad Kroizer (The prison has been there since the British Mandate of Palestine!). The facility has been used as a secret prison to hide some Palestinian prisoners for years to the extent that they are told that they are on the moon or in a very remote place.⁵³

5. Racism in Education:

Discrimination in the field of education against Palestinians in Israel is glaringly reflected over practices and curricula of education. It may be difficult to pinpoint the laws that establish discrimination unequivocally as discrimination in such laws is being passed in indirect and crooked ways. An example of this is the case with the “academic” rule issued by the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Tel Aviv.

Here it has been stipulated, under educational pretexts, that the age of students enrolling in the Faculty of Medicine must be above 20 years. Their rationale or rather pretext for this bylaw is that this is important for students to “become more mature and developed socially and psychologically, which is important for those opting for the medical profession.” However, it is crystal clear, despite desperate attempts at manipulation and camouflage, that the ones targeted by this bylaw are Arab students who do not serve in the Israeli Army after high school. Therefore, they join universities when they are 18 as has been the case since the 1950s. This bylaw naturally reduces the quota of Arab students enrolling in the Faculty of Medicine who constitute 4.4% of the total number of students; a number that is very exiguous when compared with the number of Arab citizens in Israel which is 19.7% of the population. This will leave no choice for Arab students but to travel abroad to study at the universities of Jordan and Europe.⁵⁴



Practices of this kind and others, which appear as though they are ordinary, cause decline to the educational level among Arabs. We notice, for example, cause decline to the general percentage of Arab university students is 8% only, i.e., less than half of their population percentage. This is while the percentage of Arab lecturers in universities is 1.2%. It is worth mentioning at this point that the average salary of Arab university academics is six thousand Shekel (about \$1,360). This is *vis-à-vis* an average salary of nine thousand Shekel (about \$2,050) for Jewish academics⁵⁵. (1 Dollar = 4.4 Shekel)

As for schools, a statistical report published on 12/2/2006, mentioned that Israel follows a policy of blatant discrimination between Palestinian Arab students and Jewish students in Israel. Such racist policy is meant to deepen the gap between Arab and Jewish students. The report also mentioned that there is a shortage in the Arab educational system estimated at five thousand classrooms, and that the number of primary schools is 454, while preparatory schools is 138, and secondary schools is 185.⁵⁶

As for the curricula of education:

We find that school textbooks used by Jewish students have become a directory for the imbrication of all subjects, and a solution for all the matters presented by the doyens of the Zionist movement. On top of these matters are occupation, settlement, emigration, transfer and expulsion of the goyim [i.e., gentile or non-Jew], or the Palestinians and their Arab brothers. In fact, anyone looking at samples of school textbooks can recognize this direction or orientation and how it shapes the young Jews and creates in them a kind of intrinsic motivation towards antagonism, military occupation of land and its spoliation.⁵⁷





In this context, it might be sufficient to just scrutinize the findings that Dr. Eli Podeh has arrived at in a study about Israeli educational textbooks. In this study, the researcher finds out how Israeli

educational textbooks have led to the formation of preconceived ideas about the Palestinian Arabs depicted in such books. The researcher also lists 12 stories as main milestones in the educational indoctrination and shaping process endorsed and accredited by Israel in history books. The researcher supports his study with texts, photographs and caricatures that disclose how history has been manipulated and subjected to serve Israeli politics, in a way that makes such samples reveal how deep-rooted this racist look on Arabs is.

Among those stories is the one entitled "Green Autumn." It narrates the story of an old Arab arrested by Jewish soldiers. The story depicts the personality of the Arab captive as weak and pusillanimous; someone who divulges, without being asked, his own country's secrets out of fear and cowardice, and insists

Children Letters to Soldiers in Israel: "Dear Soldier, Please kill many Arabs"

On 7/5/2002, *Yedioth Ahronoth* published some excerpts from letters of Israeli pupils sent with some gifts to the reservists who were then in service in Ramallah. The soldiers were "surprised" by their content which was as follows:

- "I pray for you to come back home safe and to kill at least ten for me."
- "Disobey orders and annihilate them. And remember that the good Arab is the dead Arab."
- "Let Palestinians, may God blacken their name, rot in fire. Make holes in them with your M16 and shell them with bombs."

► *Yedioth Ahronoth* newspaper, 7/5/2002.



obsequiously on kneeling before Jewish soldiers while the Jews refuse to accept such behavior. At the end of the story, Jewish soldiers drag this captive along with firearms and explosives detection dogs where finally a mine detonates and the Arab captive dies as a result, before the soldiers cremate his corpse.

In another story entitled “Dust of the Edge” a Jew advises another Jew saying: Arabs are like dogs. If they see you confused, don’t react to their provocation so as to avoid being attacked by them. But if you decide to beat them, they will run away like dogs!.⁵⁸

Furthermore, the Jewish researcher, Yeshia Horim says that the stereotype of an Arab to take shape in the minds of Jewish children at a very young age, thus leading to extremism. Therefore, in a poll conducted on 600 Israeli Jews young people between the age of 15 and 18, about Arabs and their existence in Palestine and their relationship with them, we find the following:

- 92% of the participants see that the Jews have a full right in Palestine.
- 50% of them perceive the necessity of keeping the financial rights of Arabs in Palestine to the very minimum.
- 56% reject completely equality with Arabs, and 37% want Arabs to be equal to them only in military service.
- 40% of them expressed their support of any underground movement taking revenge on Arabs.
- 60% agree on the expulsion of every Arab from Palestine.

Israeli researcher, Adir Cohen has also stated in his book: *An Ugly Face in the Mirror*, that racist upbringing, this early influence on children to form a stereotype of this kind, is an issue of unanimity among researchers in Israeli curricula of education.





Furthermore, Cohen has focused in one of the chapters of his book on the findings of a survey conducted on a group of 4th to 6th grade Jewish students at a primary school in Haifa. The pupils were asked five questions about their attitude toward Arabs, how they recognize them and how they relate to them. The results were as shocking as they were disturbing:

- 75% of the children described the “Arab” as a murderer, one who kidnaps children, a criminal and a terrorist.
- 80% said they saw the “Arab” as someone dirty with a terrifying face.
- 90% of the students stated they believe that Palestinians have no rights whatsoever in the land in Israel or Palestine.

Cohen also researched 1,700 Israeli children’s books published after 1967. He found that 520 of the books contained humiliating, negative descriptions of Palestinians. He also took pains to break down the descriptions: 66% of the 520 books refer to Arabs as violent; 52% as evil; 37% as liars; 31% as greedy; 28% as two-faced; 27% as traitors, etc.

Cohen points out that the authors of these children’s books effectively instill hatred toward Arabs by means of stripping them of their human nature and classifying them in another category.⁵⁹

In addition, a research conducted by the University of Haifa has shown that the outlook or way Jewish students view their Arab counterparts is racist and built on stereotypes. For instance, the study has found that 75% of them perceive Arabs as being uneducated, uncivilized, dirty and violent, etc.⁶⁰



Children of Israel

Israeli children write on the shells that are to be used for bombarding Lebanon during the Israeli war on Lebanon in the summer of 2006. This war, which lasted only 33 days, had claimed the lives of more than one thousand Lebanese civilians of which are about 400 children below the age of 12.

► AFP, 17/7/2007.

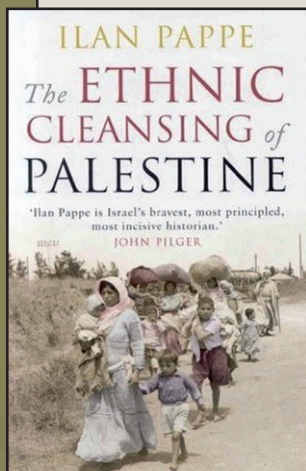


Chapter 4: Transfer of Palestinian Arabs from Palestine

“I favor compulsory transfer (of Arabs). I see nothing unethical in it.”

David Ben Gurion, while addressing the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Israel in June 1938.⁶¹

With more than 30 documented massacres, and the depopulation and destruction of 530 Palestinian villages and localities, and under direct commands from commanders and soldiers to civilians, about 800 thousand Palestinians have been expelled and removed from their homes in 1948, atrocities that have resulted in the tragic Palestinian diaspora, or the problem of Palestinian refugees who still keep the keys of their old homes, and still hold tenaciously on their Right of Return.



... And yet, one such crime has been erased almost totally from the global public memory: the dispossession of the Palestinians in 1948 by Israel. This, the most formative event in the modern history of the land of Palestine, has ever since been systematically denied, and is still today not recognised as an historical fact, let alone acknowledged as a crime that needs to be confronted politically as well as morally.

The tale Israeli historiography had concocted spoke of a massive 'voluntary transfer' of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who had decided temporarily to leave their homes and villages so as to make way for the invading Arab armies bent on destroying the fledgling Jewish state.

I have no doubt that the absence so far of the paradigm of ethnic cleansing is part of the reason why the denial of the catastrophe has been able to go on for so long. When it created its nation-state, the Zionist movement did not wage a war that 'tragically but inevitably'

led to the expulsion of 'parts of' the indigenous population, but the other way round: the main goal was the ethnic cleansing of all of Palestine, which the movement coveted for its new state.

..... it is indeed my own *J'Accuse* against the politicians who devised, and the generals who perpetrated the ethnic cleansing. Still, when I mention their names, I do so not because I want to see them posthumously brought to trial, but in order to humanise the victimisers as well as the victims: I want to prevent the crimes Israel committed from being attributed to such elusive factors as 'the circumstances', 'the army' or, as Morris has it, 'à la guerrew comme à la guerre', and similar vague references that let sovereign states off the hook and enable individuals to escape justice.

..... 'Foreigners', they say in my country, 'do not and cannot understand this perplexing story' and there is therefore no need even to try and explain it to them.

All one can do, as Israeli governments have been good at telling the world for years, is to allow 'us', the Israelis, as representatives of the 'civilised' and 'rational' side in the conflict, to find an equitable solution for 'ourselves' and for the other side, the Palestinians, who after all epitomise the 'uncivilised' and 'emotional' Arab world to which Palestine belongs.

But the story of 1948, of course, is not complicated at all..... It is the simple but horrific story of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine, a crime against humanity that Israel wanted to deny and cause the world to forget.

► Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006).



The idea of transfer, an euphemistic term for the expulsion and eviction of Palestinian Arabs, is quite common an idea in Israel and is still gaining wide currency and strong advocacy among Israelis until today. This concept is deeply established in Zionism. Such Zionist inveteracy views the land of Israel as an inherited right of the Jews and that it belongs to them exclusively.

Such view has led the Zionists to the extrapolation that Arabs are adventitious strangers who have to be transferred or removed. Thus, the idea of the population transfer of Arabs has always been part and parcel of the Zionist project in all its stages, before and after the establishment of the state. Many Israeli Zionists use or misuse the Jewish religious scriptures as a proof or a pretext for the expulsion of the Palestinians, as shown in the following extracts:

“However, in the cities of the nations the LORD your God is giving you as an inheritance, do not leave alive anything that breathes.”

“Completely destroy [a] them—the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites—as the LORD your God has commanded you.”⁶²

“And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them...”⁶³”

Calls for the transfer or rather expulsion of Arabs from Palestine can be found in the early writings of Zionists. Such calls were also upheld and propagated by prominent leaders and founders of Zionism such as Israel Zangwill who worked on the propagation of the crude motto: “a land without people for a people without a land,”⁶⁴ phrased by the British Lord Shaftesbury.





While meditating about the transformation of the “Jewish society” to a state, Herzl on 12/6/1895 wrote in his diaries:

We must expropriate gently, the private property on the estates assigned to us... We shall try to spirit the penniless [indigenous] population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries whilst denying it any employment in our own country.... Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.⁶⁵

“In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country.... The four great powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.”

➤ An excerpt from a memorandum of the British Foreign Secretary Balfour to Lord Curzon on 11/8/1919, which is kept in the British National Archives, Public Records Office, F.O. 371/4183.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the idea of transferring or removing Palestinians as a Zionist solution to the problem of a country that is populated, is actually more than a mere idea brainstormed by the founders of Zionism. Hence, we understand the diligent works and systematic campaigns and plans made by such founders for future work. We can also understand the practical programs of settlement discussed in the secret council meetings of the Zionist movement. Such meetings did not only include Herzl and Zangwill but also a host of other prominent figures such as Leon Motzkin, Nachman Syrkin, Nahum Sokolow, Arthur Ruppin, Berl Katzenelson, Menachem Ussishkin, Victor Jacobson, Chaim Weizmann, Aharon Ahronson, Ze'ev Jabotinsky,



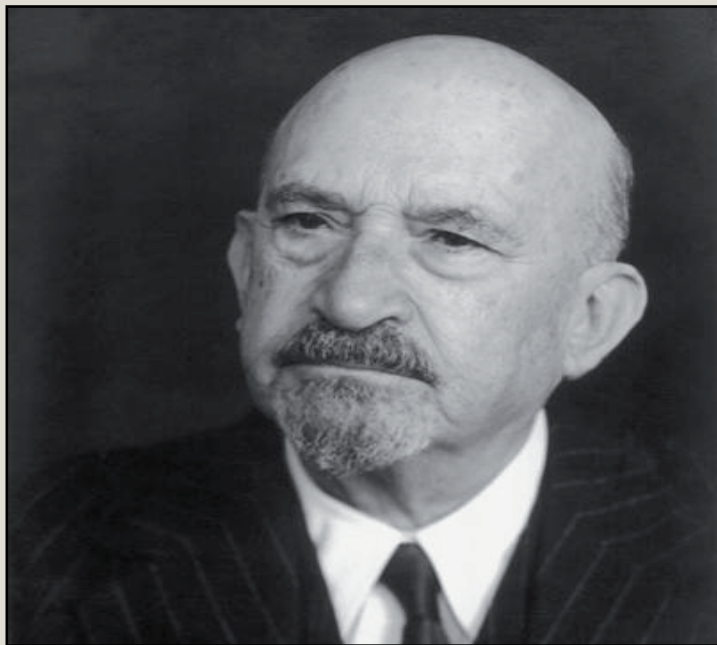
Abraham Granovsky, David Ben Gurion, and Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, etc. As a matter of fact, these founders were planning to uproot Palestinians and transfer them systematically, and settle them in the neighboring countries in preparation for the implementation of the Zionist project. These founders belonged to a wide range of political Zionist groups.⁶⁶

In addition, Benny Morris believes that the Zionist leadership in the late 1930s and early 1940s almost consensually and persistently supported the idea of “transfer”, whether voluntary or compulsory, as a solution to the Arab problem. He further adds that there are mountains of evidence available to buttress this belief.⁶⁷

Furthermore, during the British Mandate of Palestine, leaders of Zionism depended on a policy that capitalized on the existing relation with the British. Thus they held talks with British officers in order to reach a solution apropos of the “problem of Arab population” in Palestine by way of transferring them to Arab countries. Evidence on such private communications with British high-ranking officers and statesmen can be sought from Winston Churchill’s review of Palestinian affairs in October 1919 where he mentioned that there are Jews to whom the British have made a promise of getting them into Palestine and that the Jews are considering evacuating the local inhabitants to suit their demands is taken for granted.⁶⁸

In pursuance of the same policy of transfer, in 1930, Chaim Weizmann, president of World Zionist Organization, wanted to make a step further in the realization of the Zionist project by formulating a radical solution for the two problems of the “land” and “Arab population.” Therefore, he put forward a scheme advocating the transfer of Arab population. His scheme was presented to the British Colonial Office. It suggested that there should be a loan of





In a closed-door meeting with the Soviet ambassador in London, Ivan Maisky, in February 1941, Chaim Weizmann proposed the transfer of one million Palestinians from their land in order to replace them with 4-5 million Jews from East Europe. Of this, the ambassador had sent a report that had been kept in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia until it was unveiled by the Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth* in May 1993. It was published by *Alquds* newspaper and the Jordanian *Alrai* newspaper on 29/5/1993 as well.

- Weizmann is a Zionist leader, President of the World Zionist Organization (1921-1933, 1935-1946), and the first President of Israel.



one million Palestinian pound, to be collected from Jewish tycoons and businessmen, in order to resettle the transferees or groups of transferred Arab peasants in Transjordan.⁶⁹

In this context, in October 1937, David Ben-Gurion wrote to his son stating: “We must expel Arabs and take their place... then we will have force at our disposal.”⁷⁰ Moreover, the issue of the transfer of Arabs was the most important point on the agenda of the International Congress of “Ichud Poalei Tziyon,” the highest commission in the Zionist Worker movement. This issue was also the most important among the issues presented in the agenda of the twentieth Zionist Congress. Both of those congresses were held in August 1937 in Zurich. The majority of the prominent delegates and attendees expressed their support and approval of the idea of transfer.⁷¹

Between 1937 and 1948, a number of Zionist transfer plans were orchestrated and presented and of which are the following: Soskin’s forced transfer plan (1937), Weitz’s transfer plan (December 1937), Bonnet’s plan (July 1938), Ruppin’s plan (1938), al-Jazirah plan (1938-1942) Edward Norman’s Plan to transfer Arabs from Palestine to Iraq (1934-1948), Ben-Horin’s Plan (1933-1938), and last but not least Joseph Schechtman’s plan for forcible transfer (1948). During the same period, three “Transfer Committees” were set up in order to discuss and design practical ways to promote the plans of transfer.⁷²

Those schemes and projects indicate that the problem of Palestinian refugees is not incidental or spontaneous. Rather, it is the result of preconceived planning and orchestration. The demographic, ethnic and religious transformation of Arab Palestine, characterized by the “transfer” of the largest number possible of its indigenous native population outside the promised Jewish state, has evolved from being





Unheeded Ethnic Cleansing

Demolition of over 40 Unrecognized Arab Villages by Israel in the Negev

“I am talking about more than 140 thousand Arabs living in the Negev which is located in the southern part of Palestine. Such dwellers are called in literatures as the Arabs of Beersheba or the Bedouins of the Negev. These are descendents of the Bedouins who have settled in the Negev for thousands of years. Thus they have become the landowners of such land which was estimated in 1948 to be five million dunums (a dunum is equivalent to one thousand square meters or 0.25 acres). Out of the five million dunums, the inhabitants were accustomed to cultivating two million dunums according to the season of rain. However, following the large-scale Israeli invasion in 1948, the Negev was evacuated from the bulk of its population (between 80 and 85%). Only about 11 thousand had clung to their land and refused to leave it. Over the years, the number of this small remaining population has grown until it has reached now 140 thousand (half of which live in the unrecognized villages). Israel has, since 1948, been pursuing them. It has enclosed them with a fence in an area of 900 thousand dunums. Therefore, their agriculture has been curtailed and retrenched from two million dunums to 240 thousand at best.”

►Fahmi Huwaidi, “*Tathir ‘Irqi Maskut ‘Alayh*,” (Unheeded Ethnic Cleansing), *al-Khaleej* newspaper, United Arab Emirates (UAE), 11/9/2007.



a Zionist aspiration through schemes and proposals to practical plans, beginning from 1937 onwards, plans such as Plan Dalet or D, and finally to a reality through realpolitik in 1948.

Following the stage of establishment and planning for the expulsion of Arabs was implementation which began to take place during the 1948 War which was characterized by military operations executed by Zionists. Prominent among those schemes was Plan Dalet which included 13 operations, each of which had its specific time and place. According to Israeli sources, Plan Dalet was the first strategic plan masterminded by the *Haganah* so as to militarily occupy a large-scale area and control it. This is in addition to cleansing Arab villages and expelling Arabs from different areas and even from specific neighbourhoods. The plan included the occupation and dispossession of cities such as Safad, Tiberius, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, and Jerusalem...⁷³

Furthermore, it has been proven by a document prepared by the intelligence in the Israeli Ministry of Defense that military operations of the Zionist gangs were the direct cause behind the expulsion of 75% of the Arab population from Palestine. The document discussed the Arab emigration from Palestine during the period between 1/12/1945 and 1/6/1948 and was taken by Benny Morris.⁷⁴

After the declaration of the independence or rather establishment of Israel in 1948, the Zionist conception of transfer was not fully implemented, and the policy of expulsion practiced by the Israeli Army had failed. However, the policy of the nascent Jewish state to rid its Arab minority has remained there and has not changed over time and is still existent and pursued until today. In spite of all this and in addition to the expulsion of 750 thousand Palestinian Arabs from the newly-born state that has sprawled extensively, and with the reduction of Arab population





from being a majority to a minority, pragmatic leadership of the Labor Party thought that it had solved to a large extent the problems of land settlement and demographic or geopolitical problems. It was willing,

“Amongst ourselves, it must be clear that there is not room for both peoples in this country. After the Arabs are transferred, the country will be wide open for us; With the Arabs staying in the country, the country will remain narrow and restricted... The only solution is the land of Israel, or at least the western land of Israel [i.e., Palestine], without Arabs. There is no room for compromise on this point.”

“The Zionist idea is the answer to the Jewish question in the land of Israel; (...) The complete evacuation of the country from its other inhabitants and handing it over to the Jewish people is the answer.”

► Excerpts from the handwritten diary entries (dated 20/12/1940 and 20/3/1941 respectively) of Yosef Weitz (1890-1972), the director of the Land Department of the Jewish National Fund (JNF), see:

Weitz Diary, A246/7, pp. 1090-1091 & 1127, Central Zionist Archives (CA), as quoted in Nur Masalha, *The Expulsion of the Palestinians* (U.S.A.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993), pp. 131-132.

however, to acquiesce the existence of an enclave of an Arab minority reaching 160 thousand Palestinians out of a total of 900 thousand Palestinians who have inhabited the areas which have become “the state of Israel” following the 1948 War.

In its attempts to extract international recognition for the newly-born state, the temporary council of the Israeli State which preceded the Knesset, “Document of Independence,” guaranteed that the Jewish state would “exercise full equality socially and politically among all its citizens without discrimination in religion, race or gender.” However, on the ground, what has occurred is completely the opposite. In fact, Israel, after its establishment, has treated those of Palestinians remaining inside its boundaries almost as foreigners.



Furthermore, the authorities have constantly tried using various means to expel the remnant of Arabs from their homeland; sometimes through the preparation of voluntary and forcible transfer projects, and sometimes through the expulsion of Arabs by force. The imposition of military rule on the Arab population has aided Israel in achieving its nefarious ends. In addition, a set of military, strategic, and demographic considerations along with settlement and Zionist ideology have controlled the activities of transfer after 1948, and some operations of eviction during the 1950s, facts that push us to search for an interpretation for the continued process of mass expulsion despite the establishment of the state and the eviction of the majority. The answer for this question lies partially in the widespread sentiment among the leaders of Zionism that there are still “many Arabs” left in Israel, a sentiment drawn from the basic principles and premises of Zionism, especially the principle of having a Jewish state that is demographically homogeneous “and that has land more under the control of Jews and less Arabs in it.”

This sort of sentiment can be sensed from the many statements made by various Israelis as Igal Yadin, IDF Chief of Staff (1949-1952) once whispered in the ear of Head of Government Ben Gurion, “the Arab minority poses a danger on the state during the days of peace as it is during the days of war.”⁷⁵ Below is a sample of similar statements said by high-ranking Israeli government officials:

- “There are too many Arabs in the country.” MK Shlomo Lavi
- “I am worried about this large number of Arabs. It may happen that we might become in a position where we are the minority in the state of Israel. The number of Arabs in the country today is 170 thousand, of which are 22 thousand from boys at the age





of compulsory education.” Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, President of Israel (1952-1963)

- “If there is a way to solve the problem through the transfer of the 170 thousand remaining Arabs, then we will do this.”⁷⁶ MK Yehiel Duvdevani
- Israel cannot allow the Arab fifth column in the state to become strong. Shmuel Dayan, father of Moshe Dayan, and an MK and a Labor leader, in a meeting held by his party in 1951.
- In the same meeting, Golda Meir, Labor Minister in the then government of Ben Gurion, stated that she would feel “nauseous” upon hearing an Arab swearing allegiance to the state of Israel three times a day.⁷⁷
- Moshe Sharett (Shertok) Minister of Foreign Affairs, and later Head of Government, stated that it would be better not to have Arabs in the state.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Ben-Gurion stated:

These Arabs must not reside here in the same way American Jews must not reside in America... I think we have to do everything in order for any Arab to reside in an Arab country because Arabs have countries... and if a war erupts, then all Arabs (residing in Israel) will flee either out of fear that we slaughter them or because they will think that they will help their Arab countries slaughter us.⁷⁹

- In 1950, Commander of the Southern Command, Moshe Dayan, while expressing his extremist opinions towards Palestinians in Israel whom he considered as a fifth column stated: “I hope that we will get another opportunity in the future for the transfer of these Arabs from the land of Israel; and if such an opportunity comes, we must not then do anything to close this option.”⁸⁰



Anyone who reads these statements made by the founders and military and political leaders of Zionism will not find it difficult at all to see the ethos or spirit that controlled their attitudes towards the Arab population. It is important to mention here that these statements did not remain as mere rhetoric but were actually brought down to earth through the planned and systematic expulsion of the Arab population for decades. Expulsions of Arabs have taken place every time there has been an opportunity whether through the exploitation of realities created by the imposition of military rule or through the result of certain security circumstances that were prevalent in the region. For instance, during the early years of the nascent state, more than 10 thousand Palestinian Arabs were expelled from their homes by the Israeli Army. This is in addition to several thousands of Palestinian refugees who could surreptitiously manage to return to their villages and cities.

2,700 of the people remaining in the Arab city of Majdal in the south received, in the summer of 1950, orders of expulsion, and were thus transferred to the borders coterminous with GS in a very short time.⁸¹ Furthermore, in November 1949, about 500 families of Arab Bedouins (1,000 people) were forced to move from the area of Beersheba and cross the borders to the WB. Jordan protested against this expulsion. Another operation of expulsion of about 700 to 1,000 to Jordan was that of the tribe of Azazmeh or the tribe of al-Jahalin in May 1950. Moreover, on 2/9/1950, the Israeli Army arrested hundreds of the men of the tribe of Azazmeh from the Negev and transferred them by force to Egypt.

Morris also mentioned from a report of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs that during the periods between 1949 and 1953, Israel evicted and dispossessed about 17 thousand Bedouins from the Negev.





The number of Arabs in the Negev has been reduced through expulsion, dispossession and stampede from 65 thousand to 13 thousand in 1951.⁸² In 1953, reports of the UN had also mentioned that seven thousand Arab Bedouins, almost half of whom are from the tribe of Azazmeh, were expelled by force from the Negev.⁸³

Operations of mass expulsions also occurred in Triangle area (*al-Muthallath*) after its inclusion into Israel in May 1949, following the signing of the Rhodes Agreement with Jordan on 3/4/1949. For instance, in late May 1949, the military ruler expelled four thousand “internal refugees”⁸⁴ from the Little Triangle area across the borders to the WB.⁸⁵

During the same year (1949), Israel had expelled about one thousand persons from the village of Baqah al-Gharbiyah in the Triangle area across the border to the WB. Similarly, in February 1951, Israel expelled and dispossessed the indigenous population of 13 small Arab villages from Wadi ‘Arah (within Haifa District) into the outside of the border. Furthermore, on 17/11/1951, Israeli forces expelled the population of the village of Khirbat Buwaishan also in the Little Triangle and detonated their homes. In April 1949, the US consol in Jerusalem mentioned in his report that “several hundreds” of the Arab of Galilee (all of whom are Israeli citizens), were expelled by the Israeli Army across the border.⁸⁶

On 30/10/1956, a day after the massacre or rather massacres of Kafr Qasim, General Yitzhak Rabin, who was the then Commander of the Northern Command and who later on served two terms as prime minister, took advantage of the attack on Egypt in the south (the Tripartite Aggression) and executed an operation of mass expulsion of Arabs in Israel across the northern border to Syria where he expelled



between two thousand and five thousand persons from the population of the two villages of Krad al-Ghannamah and Krad al-Baqqarah, south of Lake Hula. Previously, these populations were actually expelled from their native villages in 1951 during projects of water transfer. About this criminal incident, Rabin boasted in his diaries: “I solved a problem in the north by taking an advantage of the war against the Egyptians, and in collaboration with the UN. We transferred two thousand Arabs who posed a security burden to Syria.” In reference to the same incident, Rabin observed that in 1956, Israeli Army had expelled about three thousand to five thousand Arab villagers from the residents of Galilee to Syria. And when his interlocutor had asked him about the possible reactions of the villagers towards their expulsion, he replied: “I haven’t taken a democratic decision about this matter.”⁸⁷

If the idea of transferring Palestinians in Israel has been part and parcel of the stages of the Zionist project, and if there have been some in the past who had tried to make this concept less harsh and a bit palatable, developments witnessed by this idea have first turned it into a political party and then into “Zionist Legacy” that is to be indoctrinated as part of the curricula of education, not only for the Jews but also for the Arab students. This is in light of the decision of the Minister of Education Limor Livnat, that calls for the indoctrination of the “legacy” of Rehavam Ze’evi in Israeli schools. It is worth mentioning here that Ze’evi, founder of the Moledet Party in 1988, and a fierce advocate of the ideology of transfer, is the one who stated that if transfer was unethical, then Zionism was unethical too. It is also Ze’evi who stated that Palestinian laborers were like lice that must be zapped, and that Palestinian laborers had spread like cancer.⁸⁸





The gravity of Ze'evi's statements resides in the fact that he expressed loudly what the leaders of Likud have always thought of that "the land of Israel is a land for one single homogeneous people and these are the Jews."⁸⁹

It is worth mentioning at this point that Ze'evi was assassinated by Palestinian resistance on 17/10/2001 in Jerusalem. His notions and ideas, however, have remained a source of inspiration in the Israeli milieu. They have also gone as far as to be adopted by some Israeli politicians and academicians from various political trends and ideological affiliations.⁹⁰

It seems that Israeli governments have not found the implementation of the policy of mass expulsion of the remnant of the Arab population in Israel sufficient. Therefore, they have drafted along with the operations of expulsion a great number of schemes and projects for the transfer of Arabs to other regions in the world. Israel does this with the justification that this is based on precedents, citing examples of population transfer that took place in the 20th century such as the transfer of Turks, Indians, Pakistanis, Germans, and other Europeans. Thus Israel believes that uprooting Palestinians and transferring them into Arab countries in particular does not constitute more than a kind of resettlement.

With this background and in pursuance of policies that aim at the transfer of Arabs, Israel through its various institutions has worked on securing circumstances germane to the attainment of its agenda. Thus it has orchestrated a number of schemes and projects for the transfer of Arabs. Some of these schemes attempted to encourage Arabs to leave their land and homeland by means of offering them certain lures and economic or financial incentives. This is in addition to the customary



procedures of restriction. Some of these schemes are the Yohanan operation and the Libyan operation, which both were a failure. Besides, Israel has carried out, in its desire to achieve its nefarious agenda, a multitude of other schemes that were based on the excessive use of force and planned massacres such as the Operation Hafarferet.

One of the most recent and prominent plans or blueprints that is currently in the works and that is to be orchestrated for the transfer of Arabs from Israel is the Negev 2015 (Development) Plan which has been introduced as the “national strategic Negev development plan” (launched in 2005). The central goal of the plan is increasing the Jewish population of the Negev to 900 thousand in a period of 10 years. \$3.9 billion has been allocated for the implementation of this plan.

The plan considers the existence of unrecognized Arab towns in the Negev an obstacle in face of implementation,⁹¹ which practically means the eviction and removal of those unrecognized Arab towns which has already started in the Negev.

On 28/4/2007, *Yedioth Ahronoth* newspaper has unveiled a new plan currently under consideration. The plan which has been proposed by the Kadima MK Otniel Schneller, includes remarking or marking anew the Green Line in order to “cause a sharp demographic change.” According to the newspaper, there is a considerable similarity between Schneller’s plan and that of Avigdor Liberman who has called for the separation of the Triangle area from Israel and transferring it to the Palestinian Authority. Actually, Schneller himself has emphasized this, for he has stressed that the difference between the two plans lies in the duration of implementation. So where his plan is to be implemented over a period of 30 years, Liberman’s plan is to be executed immediately.





According to Schneller, the Arabs to be included in the plan will not be able to move their places of domicile into other areas in the country. They will not also be able to carry out business and economic interests in Israel. However, they can work in Israeli cities but with the condition that they manage to secure special permits. Schneller further explains that during the course or duration of the plan, 20-30 years, in case we conclude an agreement with Palestinians that includes the establishment of a Palestinian state and the inclusion of the settlement blocks into Israel, the population of the Triangle (region) will be transformed into citizens of “special” condition, in which they will be according to it citizens of Israel and at the same time part of the state of Palestine.⁹²



The 1948 Nakḥa (Catastrophe)

1948 was one of the bloodiest and most violent years in which Zionist gangs that worked on the expulsion of Palestinians from their lands by various means of terrorism, killing and massacres. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were evicted from their homes without the least of preparation as they fled for their lives.



Chapter 5: Violation of Sanctuaries

“Detonation was carried out by Coast Guards and according to my commands.” This was the reply of the Commander of the Southern Command in the Israeli Army, Moshe Dayan upon being asked about the operation of detonating the Shrine of *Imam* Husain in Majdal in July 1950.

According to Professor Eyal Benvenisti, less than 40 out of 160 mosques that exist in Palestinian villages that come under the Armistice Agreements and that remain under the control of Israel, have remained intact until today.⁹³

Religious freedom is considered as one of the most important vehicles of civil rights. It is one of the pillars of cultural rights and thus an essential part or component for their implementation. This is because of the strong connection or interconnection of these liberties and rights



with tradition, culture and the individual and collective identity of the citizens of any state.

Despite of all this, reports of a number of human rights' organizations and Islamic institutes in Israel show that successive Israeli governments have all done nothing towards their commitment to protect the religious and cultural rights of the Arab minority in Israel. On the contrary, reports actually ascertain that there is an organized pattern for the violation of these rights through the prohibition of Muslim and Christian Arab citizens from gaining access to a number of holy sites, such as mosques and churches. This is because of their closure which takes place under different pretexts. This is in addition to the direct defilement and desecration of sanctuaries and holy places such as the utilization of some mosques and churches in depopulated villages as pens for cattle and sheep and as stores or even as pups. Furthermore, Israeli governments have not tried to take any step as to prevent certain Jewish groups from seizing some mosques and transferring them into places of worship for Jews only.⁹⁴

Upon the establishment of the state of Israel, all the properties of *Waqf*, or Islamic endowment have been confiscated and transferred to the state. As for Christian religious properties, they have been left under relevant authorities. Monasteries have continued their work as it was the case prior to 1948. This is clearly because of the religious sensitivity and the authority of the Christian western world and the Vatican. Despite this, parts of lands under the jurisdiction of the Christian church, including those in the demolished villages, have also been exposed to operations of confiscation from the state.⁹⁵

It is worth mentioning here that in order to control the sources of the system of Islamic endowment and endowment land that reached 6.2%



of the area of Israel⁹⁶, Israeli authorities have issued a number of laws, severest among which was the Absentees' Property Law. Estimates of lands set for endowment that have been expropriated through various laws have reached 80%, i.e., 244,430 dunams.⁹⁷

The prejudice that Muslim Palestinians have sustained in Israel has not been limited to the spoliation of endowment land only but has rather and also gone too far beyond that as to desecrate and violate the sanctity of worship places and holy sites. This was committed to so egregious and so excessive an extent as to have propelled al-Sheikh Ra'id Salah to accuse the state of religious persecution against Muslims.

It is established that Israel has destroyed more than a thousand mosques during and after 1948, confiscated Islamic endowment, continued in its violation of more than 70 mosques and the use of such mosques as restaurants, eateries, pups and museums. This is in addition to the continuation of the practice of digging up Muslim graves and exhuming their bodies and bones, and then constructing on them roads, hotels and residential quarters. It is also established that Israel continues preventing Muslims to perform their prayers in many mosques such as Mosque of al-Ghabisiyah, Mosque of Hittin, and Mosque of Qisaryah, etc.

It is also established that Israel has prevented the call for prayer in tens of mosques. It has also prevented Muslims from burying their dead into a great number of Muslim cemeteries. This is in addition to the continuation of some of the official Israeli machinery to brand *Zakat*, or alms and its givers from Muslims as "support and supporters of terrorism."⁹⁸





Eventually, *Qadi* Ahmad Natur, President of the *Shar'iyah* Appeals Court, had sent a letter to the president of government⁹⁹ in which he objected on the miserable state of Islamic sanctities in the country, especially in mixed cities and in areas presently empty of Muslims. Moreover, he excoriated the Absentees' Property Law for its inclusion of clauses that have severely harmed endowed properties and for its contradiction with Islamic *Shari'ah*. The *Qadi* also criticized this law because of its permission of exploiting *Waqf* for purposes other than those prescribed for it, drawing attention to the fact that *Waqf*, from the legal and *Shari'ah* perspective, is not a commodity, and thus warning against the gravity of the consequences of such sacrilegious practices of the Trustees' Committees, which are appointed by the authorities. In fact, many of the ones in charge of such committees are either expedient personalities or collaborators. Some of them have even sold mosques.

Furthermore, Natur stated in his letter the exploitation of some governmental and municipal commissions of some holy places such as mosques in a way that nefariously violates and defiles their sanctity. The *Qadi* also mentioned the superintendent or warder's abstention from carrying out any maintenance of the Islamic sanctuaries upon which he is a trustee, and despite of his being ordered to do so by law. This is in addition to the authorities' refusal to allow Muslims to renovate their sanctuaries.

Moreover, *Qadi* Ahmad Natur discoursed on the acts of violation, damage and destruction that mosques and cemeteries have been exposed to, and the seizure of some of them and their transfer to places of worship for the Jews or shelters for the depraved and the perverted. Therefore, he appealed to the authorities to implement laws that maintain the sanctity of sanctuaries and penalize anyone violating such sanctity of the holy



places. He also called for the revocation of the Trustees' Committees, the amendment of the Absentees' Property Law, and the discontinuation of construction on cemeteries.

Israel's destruction of Muslim and Christian holy places during the 1948 War has doubled to exacerbation in later years through the continuous violations of International Law as illustrated below:

- Destruction of mosques when worshippers attempt renovation. Examples are the villages of Sarafand, 'Umm al-Faraj, and Wadi al-Hawarith.
- Demolition of mosques that have been erected by Arab citizens who do not have any place of worship nearby. An example is the village of Tal al-Milh.
- Constant intimidation of police officers, officials in the state and local Jewish population for prayers who try to get to their sanctuaries. Examples are Villages of al-Ghabisiyah, Hittin, and Sihmata.
- Closure of holy places or rendering them as "closed zones" so as to prevent Arab citizens from gaining access to them. Examples are villages of al-Bassah, al-Manshiyah, and the Grand Mosque in Beersheba.
- Issuance of rulings that deprive sanctuaries of their sanctity in order to enable new Jewish landlords to obscure or wipe out their sanctitude by transferring them into pubs and cafes or apartment buildings. Examples are Mosques of 'Ain Hawd, Ashkelon and Qisaryah.
- Official endorsement and agreement on what is done by Jewish prayers who claim that Islamic sanctuaries and holy places are



Jewish places of worship such as Prophet Robin, Lifta, Wadi Hanin, and al-Yazur. They efface Muslim and Christian cemeteries so that the authorities of planning can pave roads and construct on them residential quarters and industrial complexes. Examples of this are villages of al-Bassah, Dir Yasin, and Sarafand al-‘Amar.

This violation of Muslim and Christian places of worship worsens even further as it takes other flagrant forms of discrimination such as the absence of legal recognition for Muslim and Christian places of worship, the lack of budget allocation for Muslim and Christian places of worship, the lack of tourism development in Arab areas, and also the lack of any sense of security on sanctuaries.

This in addition to the ongoing excavations under sanctuaries in Arab areas, and the continuous search for the leading religious personalities who express their opposition against Israeli polices.

It is obvious from these strategies that what Israel desires is the effacement and obliteration of Muslim and Christian heritage of Palestinians.¹⁰⁰



Two violations are committed, one against individual freedom and the other against scarf, one of the religious symbols of Muslims. In this photo, a young Israeli woman and a boy are attacking a Palestinian woman in front of Israeli soldiers.



Conclusion

Despite all the aforementioned in this study about Israeli racism and discrimination against Arab citizens, what remains, as a matter of fact, is more than what have been presented in this compendium. The file of racism in Israel is so enormous and so complex as to be exhaustively covered in one volume. However, what have been documented in this lucubration is sufficient to expose Israel as an indeed racist state. The samples presented throughout the book ascertain the prejudice and discrimination of the Palestinians in Israel, and prove beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of two distinct strata of citizens in Israel that are being discriminated upon in light of a religious-nationalistic background.

This is probably because of the essential and inherent contradiction that exists between the character of Israel as a “Jewish state” in its



institutional construction and in giving preferences to the Jewish people, and which dictates that its name, flag, national anthem, public holidays and symbols must be Jewish on the one hand, and between its adoption of democracy in the presence of a another category of citizens who do not fit in this religious-nationalistic prescription of the state, on the other hand.

At the end, is it really difficult to see this discrimination rampant there in every place: In the statements of their symbols and leadership, books and curricula of education enforced or reinforced by laws? Even that which is not reinforced by law is practiced daily in their conversations, newspapers, jobs, transactions, and judicial sentences.

It is nothing but discrimination, if we are to call the spade a spade; it is racism that is rife to a degree that makes it indeed hard to believe that all these instances and incidences are mere coincidences, or exceptional practices. It is simply racism!.



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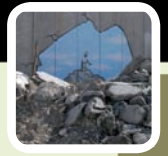


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- ⁹⁴ See: Arab Institute for Human Rights, *Tadnis al-Amakin al-Muqaddasah* (Desecration of Sanctuaries), Nazareth, 2005, p. 9; and *Mudhakkarat Jam'iyat al-Aqsa hawla Awqaf wa Muqaddasat al-Muslimin fi Israel* (Memo of al-Aqsa Society about Muslim Endowment and Sanctuaries in Israel), Umm al-Fahim, April 1994.
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- ⁹⁶ Ra'id Salah, *Sawt al-Haq wa al-Hurriyah*, 17/8/1991.
- ⁹⁷ Michael Dumper, *op. cit.*, p. 72.



⁹⁸ *Sawt al-Haq wa al-Hurriyah*, 17/8/1998.

⁹⁹ *Mudhakkarat Jam 'iyat al-Aqsa* (Memo of al-Aqsa), pp. 8-15.

¹⁰⁰ Arab Institute for Human Rights, *Tadnis al-Amakin al-Muqaddasah* (Desecration of Sanctuaries), p. 36.





The Israeli Racism

Palestinians in Israel

A Case Study

عنصرية إسرائيل

فلسطينيو 48 نموذجاً

1

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