

Palestinian Arabs
in Israel:
Two Case Studies

Amun, Davis, Sanallah, Elrazik & Ami

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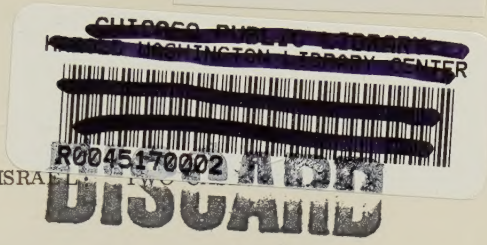
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PALESTINIAN ARABS IN ISRAEL

Hasan Amun
Uri Davis
Nasr Dakhallah San'allah

DEIR AL-ASAD : THE DESTINY OF AN ARAB VILLAGE IN GALILEE
A Case Study towards a Social and Political Analysis of the Palestinian-Arab Society in Israel

&

Adnan Abed Elrazik
Riyad Amin
Uri Davis

THE DESTINY OF ARAB STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
EDUCATION IN ISRAEL
An Outline towards a Discussion of the Prospects for an Arabic University
in Galilee

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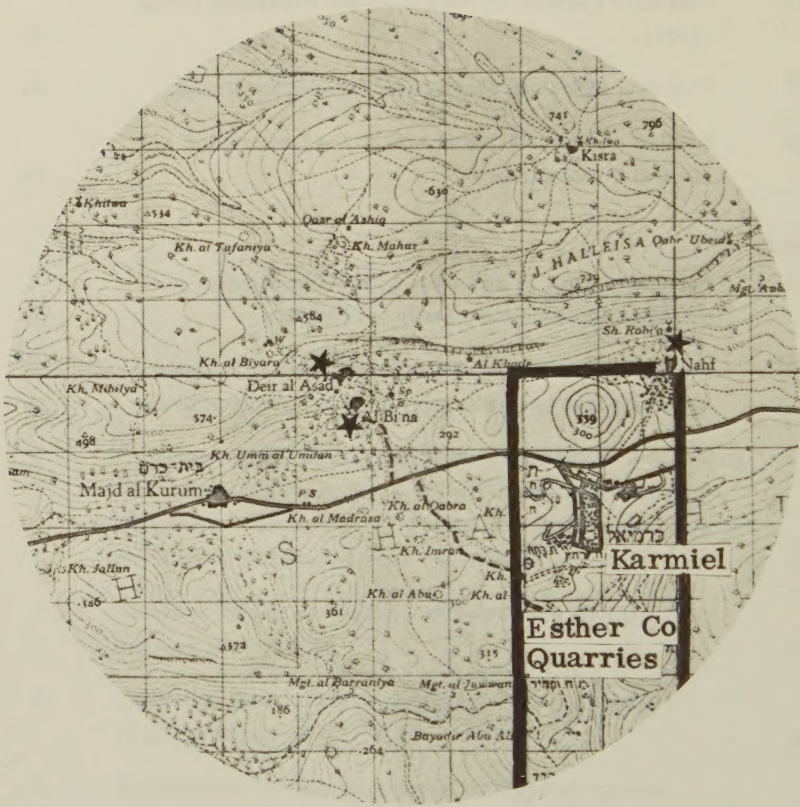
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Study No 1

Hasan Amun

Uri Davis

Nasr Dakhllallah San'allah

DEIR AL-ASAD: THE DESTINY OF AN ARAB VILLAGE IN GALILEE
A Case Study towards a Social and Political Analysis of the Palestinian-
Arab Society in Israel

Address for correspondence :

Dr Hasan Amun

Deir al-Asad

Galilee

Israel

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS:

Dr Hasan Amun (M D) is a urologist employed at the Nahariyyah Government Hospital. He is a native of Deir al-Asad, where he lives and where he runs a clinic.

Dr Uri Davis (Ph D , Anthropology) is a Lecturer in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford (England), currently on a two year research leave of absence in Israel.

Nasr Dakhllallah San'allah is a trainee lawyer practicing in Acre and a native of Deir al-Asad,

PUBLISHERS NOTE

Much of the Sections I, II, III and IV of Chapter 3 has already been published recently by Adnan Abed Elrazik, Riyad Amin & Dr Uri Davis, The Destiny of Arab Students in Institutions of Higher Education in Israel: An Outline Towards a Discussion of the Prospects for an Arabic University in Galilee, MIFTAH, Kfar Shmaryahu, June 1977.

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INTRODUCTION

The object of this study is to outline the needs of the Palestinian-Arab village in Israel in light of the far-reaching changes that have taken place in its social and political structure, as well as its economic underpinnings subsequent to the 1948 war, the Israeli occupation and the establishment of the state of Israel.

This study also aims to describe social processes and political forces which could contribute to the strengthening of the Palestinian-Arab society in Israel and its capacity to challenge Israeli policies of systematic discrimination and dispossession.

We consider our study to be a contribution towards the improvement of available knowledge in Israel and abroad concerning the social, political and economic situation of the Palestinian-Arab village in Israel today. We have focussed our efforts and attention on the village of Deir al-Asad as a representative microcosm of the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948.

Finally, we consider our study to be a service and a contribution to the improvement of the struggle of the Palestinian-Arab people in Israel for equality of social, political, national and economic rights in its homeland. Through the faithful presentation of the facts of the case before the public we hope to aid the consolidation of solidarity and support for its struggle.

We would like to thank Abu al-Wajih Talib Rashid, Abd al-Aziz Amun, Mustafa Khalid Arnus and Najib Qasim Dhabbah for their assistance in the reconstruction of the local historical traditions of Deir al-Asad.

H A
U D
N D S

Deir al-Asad
August 1977

Chapter 1: DEIR AL-ASAD

Deir al-Asad is a Palestinian-Arab village in Galilee whose population now totals some 4,200 persons. The village is situated 20km East of Acre on the Acre-Safad road, which runs from West to East across Galilee, some 2km south of the village. The village is located on the steep slopes of the Jebel (Mount) al - Shazur ridge at the foot of the al - Mughr cliffs. Above it and to the North extends the plateau of al - Tawfiniyya (Tefen) and at its foot and to the South the valley of Majd al - Kurum (Karmiel).

Deir al - Asad belongs to the Northern District, Acre Subdistrict, which is one of the regions in Israel most densely populated by Palestinian-Arabs. Despite the systematic destruction of Palestinian-Arab villages in the Northern District during and subsequent to the 1948 war, and despite the sustained attempt of all Israeli governments for the past thirty years to Judaize the area and dispossess and displace its Palestinian-Arab population, the region has maintained to date its clear Palestinian-Arab majority (60% - 62%) and is characterized by continuous and dense Arab village settlements.

During and subsequent to the 1948 war, no less than 145 Palestinian-Arab villages in the Northern District alone were destroyed and razed to the ground:

In the Subdistrict of Acre	20
In the Subdistrict of Safad	68
In the Subdistrict of Tiberias	23
In the Subdistrict of Besan	28
In the Subdistrict of Nazareth	6

(Source: The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, Arab Villages)

2 Palestinian Arabs in Israel

Destroyed in Israel: A Report, reprinted in Uri Davis & Norton Mezvinsky (Eds), Documents from Israel: 1967 - 1973; Readings for a Critique of Zionism, Ithaca Press, London, 1975. The breakdown follows the British Mandatory District and Subdistrict division of Palestine.)

The area has since now suffered repeated assaults of land confiscations by the Israeli authorities, the most recent of which took place in 1975 - 6. The resistance of the Palestinian-Arab society to the Israeli policy of land confiscation, and to this latest assault on land either owned or cultivated by Arabs in Galilee in particular, has culminated in the events of the Day of the Land (30.3.1976) and the murder of six Palestinian-Arabs, five of which were citizens of the state of Israel, in the course of that day. It is important to note that this time the local resistance has in fact succeeded in postponing the actual takeover of the land declared confiscated by the Israeli authorities. So far all lands earmarked for confiscation by the Israeli government declaration which triggered off the Palestinian-Arab resistance of the Day of the Land are still under cultivation or ownership by Arabs.

As a result of the 1948 war and the establishment of the state of Israel, there remained within the borders of the newly established state a minority of some 170,000 Palestinian-Arabs. The overwhelming majority of the Palestinian-Arab society in areas which have fallen under the sovereignty of the new state - some 800,000 persons - were expelled and exiled from their homeland. Most of the population remaining under Israeli rule was the traditional, rural Palestinian-Arab peasant population.

In 1948, and as a result of the war, this society was bereft of its basic political apparatuses and urban leadership. Being organized on the extended family/clan (hamula) basis, its traditional leadership could not confront the new political and economic conditions imposed upon it with the establishment of the state of Israel. One must also bear in mind that the 1948 war also crippled the Palestinian Communist Party (PKP) whose strength was based upon an urban cadre, organized intelligentsia and workers committees in the coastal urban industrial centres of the country. With the expulsion and exile of most of the Palestinian-Arab urban population from the cities which have, subsequently to the 1948 war, fallen under Israeli sovereignty, the Party suffered a severe blow.

The destiny of the village of Deir al-Asad is representative of the destiny of all Palestinian-Arab villages that have fallen under Israeli sove-

reignty subsequent to the 1948 war. The village was divided into two large rival clans (hamulas), Dar al-Asadiyya and Dar al-Dhabbah, and the traditional disputes and clashes between these two hamulas over-shadowed and for many years aborted any effort to organize this society on a common social or political basis. The village lacked central school buildings and cultural clubs. There was no running water, no electricity, no internal road system and only a dirt road connected the village to the Acre-Safad road and the national road system.

Until 1966 the Palestinian-Arab population of Israel was subject to the administration of the Military Regime which exercised absolute and arbitrary powers over their life through the Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945). These regulations were first introduced into Palestine by the British Mandatory administration in its efforts to suppress the Arab nationalist resistance in Palestine and curb the activities of the Zionist movement. The regulations gave the Military Commanders (Governors) complete, absolute and arbitrary powers in all domains of social, political and economic life both in matters of policy and in the determination of trivial detail. The new state of Israel incorporated these Regulations into its legal system immediately upon its Declaration of Independence. As to the nature of these Regulations as well as the nature of the power of the Military Regime we have the eloquent testimony of the leaders of the Zionist movement in 1946:

"At a conference of the Lawyers Association held in Tel Aviv in February 1946, and attended by about 400 Jewish lawyers . . . Dr Dunkelbaum, later to become a Supreme Court Judge, said: 'These laws, of course, constitute a danger to (Jewish) settlement as a whole, but we, as lawyers, are particularly concerned with them. The laws contradict the most fundamental principles of law, justice and jurisprudence. They give the administrative and military authorities the power to impose penalties which, even had they been ratified by a legislative body, could only be regarded as anarchical and irregular. The Defence Laws abolish the rights of the individual and grant power to the administration. The aim of this Conference is to express our attitude, as settlers and lawyers, to these laws, which include the deprivation of the basic rights of every settler . . . in contradiction to law, order and justice.'

Even more vigorous than this statement were the words of the representative of the Jewish Agency, Dr Bernard Joseph, (who, as Dov Joseph, was later to become the Israeli Minister of Justice until the end of 1965) 'With regard to the Defence Laws themselves, the question is: Are we all to become the victims of officially licensed terrorism, or will the freedom of the individual prevail? Is the administration to be allowed to interfere in the life of each individual without any safeguards for us? There is nothing to prevent a citizen from being imprisoned all his life without trial. There is no safeguard for the freedom of the individual. There is no possibility of appeal against the decision of the Military Commander, no possibility of resort to the Supreme Court, and the administration has unrestricted freedom to banish any citizen at any moment.'

'What is more, there is no need for a man to actually commit an offence. It is enough for a decision to be taken in an office for his fate to be sealed. The principle of collective responsibility has been carried beyond the bounds of reason. All the Hebrew settlers are liable to be hanged for an offence committed by any single person in this country. It is intolerable that the citizen should be at the mercy or the goodwill of an official. It is intolerable that we should be forced to place our lives and property in the hands of such an official. There is no choice between freedom and anarchy. In a country where the administration itself arouses anger against the law and contempt and resentment of it, it is impossible to expect any respect for the law. The citizen cannot be expected to respect a law that outlaws him completely.'

Mr Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro, who was later Attorney-General of Israel and the late Minister of Justice, was even more emphatic. He said:

'The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defence Laws is unparalleled in any civilised country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany ... There is indeed only one form of government which resembles the system in force here now - the case of an occupied country. They try to pacify us by saying that these laws are only directed against malefactors, not against honest citizens. But the Nazi Governor of Occupied Oslo also announced that no harm would come to citizens who minded their own business. It is our duty to tell the whole world that the Defence Laws passed by the British Mandatory Government of

Palestine destroy the very foundations of justice in this land. It is pure euphemism to call the Military Courts "courts". In fact, they are nothing more than, (to use Nazi nomenclature), 'Military Judicial Committees Advising the General'.

'The transformation and restriction of much civil jurisdiction to emergency jurisdiction, or to military courts, which amounts to the same thing, means the abolition of justice itself. No government has the right to pass such laws ...' (The periodical Hapraklit (The Lawyer), February 1946, pp 58-64, quoted by Jiryis, 1968)

In Deir al-Asad, as in all other Palestinian-Arab villages in Israel, the Military Regime operated through local collaborators (dhanab (pl. adhnab) lit. 'tails'). these almost without exception came from the socially despised and traditionally ignorant circles of the village society. The village traditional leadership, the Heads of the extended families and clans (hamulas) by and large refused to collaborate with the authorities of the Military Regime mainly because of the nature of the job which such collaboration entailed. The main task of the collaborator, and the source of his power, is informing. His job was to report daily to the local Military Commander on all aspects of life in the village to the minutest and most trivial detail. As a result of the 1948 war about a quarter of the village population (some 1000 people at the time) was expelled and exiled. Immediately after its declaration of independence the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) passed a series of laws which aimed to expropriate and transfer properties owned or occupied by Palestinian-Arab 'absentees' and their families to the state Custodian of Absentees' Property and then to direct state ownership or the ownership of Israel's 'national institutions': The Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund (see below Chapter 3). One of the first and most important tasks of the local collaborator was to report to the Military Regime authorities on 'absentees' properties in the village - houses and lands - in order to enable to the Military Regime administration to initiate the necessary legal processes towards their sequestration and expropriation. The power of the local collaborator was enormous and arbitrary. His tasks further included detailed reports on the social and political life in the village, attempts to initiate autonomous social, cultural or political organizations, signs of resistance to the new regime etc. On the basis of his reports people were subjected to house arrest, travel restrictions, adminis-

trative arrests, denial of work or travel permits, deportation or expulsion. In this manner, and within a very short period, the Military Regime has successfully removed the traditional village leadership from power and instituted in its place the rule of collaborators who in many ways terrorized village life openly, shamelessly and with full official support. Needless to say, these people made full use of their arbitrary powers to settle personal grudges and promote their own hamula interests.

Towards the late 1950s organized political and social resistance to the injustice perpetrated by the new regime began to form and significantly affect Palestinian-Arab life under Israeli rule. The Communist Party, which now, after the establishment of the state of Israel was re-named the Israeli Communist Party (Maki) had by the late 1950s succeeded in reconstituting its organization and strength. In the 1950s the Party was the only significant legal political organization in the state of Israel which confronted the bloc of Zionist parties against Israel's official policies of oppression, discrimination and the dispossession of the Palestinian-Arab society which came under direct Israeli rule.

As Sabri Jiryis notes:

There have naturally been many attempts to start an independent Arab party, but most of them have not been serious and were therefore doomed to failure from the start.

Many factors have prevented the establishment of an independent Arab political organization or movement in Israel. In the first few years after the establishment of the state, no one but a few individuals even thought of such a thing. The Arab population in general made little progress in this field, both because of their lack of political experience, (most of their leaders left the country in 1948) and because of the strict control and stern measures taken by the authorities against those who showed signs of having ideas of this kind. Thus the groups that wanted to engage in political activity or express their bitterness had only one outlet - to join the Communist Party or to cooperate with it.

Cooperation with the Communist Party became extremely close with the raising of the banner of Arab nationalism, especially after the 23 July 1952 Revolution in Egypt, and the intensification of the struggle against Western imperialism and its influence in the Middle East and later in North Africa, and as a result of the policy of repression and discrimination practised against the Arab population in Israel. At that time, the

communists, both in Israel and the Arab world, supported the Arab struggle almost without reserve. Especially between 1954 and 1958, the Arab leaders no longer envisaged the establishment of an Arab party in Israel, and the (Arab) Popular Front was established instead.

Cooperation with the Communist Party continued until 1958, when the open split occurred between Arab nationalism and the communist parties in the Arab world. This led to a cooling off in the relationship between the nationalists and the communists in the Front and to increased tension between the two parties. Within five or six months the Popular Front itself had split into two groups.

The first group, which consisted, in practice, of three or four members, continued to cooperate with the Communist Party within the framework of the Front. The second group, which, in principle, supported the Arab nationalist movement, finally left the Front and decided to continue its political activities independently. Immediately after this, this group founded the organization known as Al-Ard and issued its own programme. It also submitted an application for a licence to publish a weekly newspaper in Arabic called Al-Ard (The Land). Publication started immediately, pending the granting of the licence. The thirteen issues of this paper that were published had a wide circulation, because it expressed the feeling of opposition to the authorities. On 31 January 1960, Schmuël Toledano, the Prime Minister's Adviser on Arab Affairs, had a press conference in the press club, Sokolov House, in Tel Aviv. He warned his audience that this group's activities constituted a threat to the existence of the state, and threatened to take strong measures against it. The reaction was swift. Two weeks later the paper was closed down and six of its editorial staff were prosecuted. (Jiryis, 1968)

The political and ideological dispute between the Al-Ard Movement and the Israeli Communist Party (Maki) centred around two points of principle:

- 1 The Al-Ard Movement considered the Palestinian-Arab people in Israel to be an inalienable member of the Palestinian-Arab people at large and the Arab nation as a whole. (As against the Israeli Communist Party position which considered the Palestinian-Arab people in Israel to be a national minority in a Jewish state, a position consistent with the Party's insistent support since 1947 of the partition of Palestine into an Israeli-Jewish state

and a Palestinian-Arab state).

2 The Al-Ard Movement considered the struggle for the full rights of the Palestinian-Arab society in Israel to be a national struggle. The Movement argued that the implementation of the full civil and national rights of the Palestinian-Arabs in Israel requires a comprehensive and radical solution of the Palestine problem. (As against the Israeli Communist Party position, which demanded for the Palestinian-Arab society in Israel the rights of a national minority in a Jewish state.)

The Al-Ard Movement considered the question of the confiscation of Arab land in Israel to be a key question of foremost importance. It considered the continual struggle to defend every dunam of Arab land in Israel from Israel's policies of confiscation and dispossession and from Arabs to exclusively Jewish cultivation, ownership and settlement to be the main object of its political existence. The Movement organized around the struggle against Israel's policy of transforming the Palestinian-Arab society in Israel into a reservoir of cheap daily wage labour, the dispossession of the Palestinian-Arab peasantry from its land and the deliberate weakening of the ties attaching the Palestinian-Arab to the soil, intended to ease the transfer of the Palestinian-Arab population to any other place at any time in the future. Hence the choice of the Movement's name: the Al-Ard (the Land) Movement.

In Deir al-Asad the al-Ard Movement had strong support, and a number of the more prominent leaders of the Movement were natives of the village (eg Dr Hasan Amun, Ali Dakhlallah San'allah and Advocate Ali Rafi'). The leaders of the al-Ard Movement in the village successfully established themselves in a leading position in the community, which enabled them to organize the village youth despite the harsh attempts by the Military Regime authorities to suppress their activity.

The al-Ard Movement could operate nationally in Israel only for a period of a few years. As noted above its paper Al-Ard was closed down by official Decree when it became obvious that the thirteen issues already published gained wide circulation and received strong popular support. Less than four years after the establishment of the Movement it was declared illegal by Decree of the Minister of Defence (23.11.1964). This effectively put an end to the Movement's activity in Israel and cut short its activity within the Palestinian-Arab villages in the country. As result in Deir al-Asad,

as in all other Palestinian-Arab villages, collaborators (adhnab) could again rise unchallenged to positions of effective power in the community, and the social and political advance of the village suffered severe regression.

In 1962-3 the Israeli Minister of Finance issued official Decrees ordering the confiscation of the land of Deir al-Asad, Bi'na and Nahaf for the purpose of establishing the Jewish city of Karmiel. According to the plans, as submitted to the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) Finance Committee in its sessions between the 9.4.1962 through the 31.8.1962, the area designated for confiscation encompassed 5441 dunam within the following boundaries:

- In the North - the northern slopes south of the Acre-Safad road
- In the South - the middle of the slope to the Hilazon river (Wadi al-Halzun)
- In the East - the Shazur river (Wadi al-Khashab) as far down as the Hilazon river
- In the West - the road leading to the Esther Company quarries.

According to the data presented to the Finance Committee the ownership of the lands designated for confiscation was divided among the interested parties as follows:

- Deir al-Asad - 1046 dunam
- Bi'na - 930 dunam
- Nahaf - 657 dunam

The authorities claimed that 1740 dunam were under state ownership or the ownership of Israel's Development Authority, namely, 'Absentees' property as well as musha'a and mawat lands which were registered under the British Mandate on the name of the British High Commissioner in Trusteeship of the villages*. The authorities further claimed that at the time of confiscation the state was claiming ownership of 1168 dunams in court. By the time the case was debated before the Knesset Finance Committee the courts have already issued 455 verdicts in favour of the government.

* As regards the transfer of land from one authority to another for purposes of administration and practical use, between the establishment of the State and the passing of the Law for the Acquisition of Lands, 1953, the Government Yearbook explains the situation as follows:

It is significant that the area designated for confiscation from the villages of Deir al-Asad, Bi'na and Nahaf in 1962-3 by the Israel Development Authority was already declared in 1955 by Decree of the Military Governor of the area by force of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945), Article 125 as a 'closed area' for army manoeuvres. The villagers feared - and as later events demonstrated, their fear was completely justified - that declaring the area as a 'closed area' by the Military authorities was a prelude towards confiscation. They therefore, brought the matter before the Parliamentary Subcommittee for Public Appeals. The said Subcommittee considered their appeal and subsequently sent the Mukhtar (Head of the Village) of Bi'na the following letter;

Footnote continued ...

"Very soon after the establishment of the State, a special department, called the 'Arab Property Department,' was established ... In July 1948 a Custodian of Absentees' Property was appointed, to act under the orders of the Minister of Finance, whose Ministry was responsible for the policy to be followed in connection with such property. Very large amounts of property, of many different kinds, were placed under the control and at the disposal of this Custodian. It included movable and immovable property, in all parts of the country. The function of the Custodian was to control this property, keep it and employ it for such purposes as might arise during this period ... With the beginning of the immigration in 1948 a start was made on placing empty houses at the disposal of the immigrants and of various institutions that needed housing at that period ... In March 1950 the Knesset passed the Absentees' Property Law, which embodied an important principle - that the Custodian might sell immovable property in his possession only to the Development Authority, and from it to institutions (in particular the Keren Kayeneth Leisrael) and to individuals to whom these lands were granted. In 1953 the Custodian handed over dwelling houses in the towns to the Amidar Company, which acts as the Custodian's agent. At the end of 1953 an agreement was signed between the Custodian of Absentee Property and the Development Authority, in accordance with which 'all movable property under the control of the Custodian was transferred to this Authority',"

(Israel Government Yearbook, 1959, pp 74-77)

THE STATE OF ISRAEL - THE KNESSET

113-5185

Jerusalem 3756

To the Mukhtar of the Village of Bi'na

Dear Sir

Re: Order of Declaration of Closed Areas

Your Cable of the 30.12.1955 to the Chairman of the Knesset

The Knesset Subcommittee for Public Appeals has discussed the said subject in a number of its meetings as well as various appeals forwarded to it in this matter by residents and villagers whose lands are included in the area to which the said Declaration applies.

The Subcommittee noted the statement made by the Prime Minister at the Knesset on the 18.1.1956 (The Knesset Debates, Vol.16, pp 827, 835-836) as well as the statement made by the Government representative who appeared before the Subcommittee on the 13.6.1956.

In his statement the Government representative said among others: 'Closing the area was necessary to secure army manoeuvres, and the appropriate authorities are taking every measure to prevent damage to agricultural cultivation, work and the regular daily life of the inhabitants in the areas concerned'.

'There is no basis for the fears expressed in some of the appeals to the Knesset, that the Order of Declaration might serve as an occasion to dispossess owners from their lands. Both the Prime Minister and the Government representative who has appeared before the Subcommittee, have declared in detail and stated that not a single inch of land has been confiscated, nor is there any intention to use the said Order in the future for the purpose of confiscation' ...

Sincerely

Mordechai Noruk MP

Chairman

The Subcommittee for Public Appeals

Similarly, General Yehoshua Varbin, Military Governor of Galilee at the time in his testimony on 8.5.1960 before the Supreme Court of Justice:

... There is no basis for the fear of the villagers that it is intended to take their lands ...

(Bulus Bulus et al Vs Minister of Defence et al, Appeal No. 65/60)

The Knesset Finance Committee has decided to exclude from the area designated for confiscation (5541 dunam) a parcel of quarry lands of 418 dunam. It justified its decision to do as follows:

During the course of its debates on the matter the Committee regarded the problem of those villagers who gain their livelihood at the quarries within the confiscated area. Following these discussions the Government submitted a statement declaring that the quarries area of 418 dunam will be excluded from the confiscation.

(Quoted in Davis & Shereshevsky 1964)

What the Committee failed to mention was the fact that in the original outline of the confiscated area, probably because of faulty measurements in the field, the large Esther Company quarry, a subsidiary of the huge construction Histadrut concern owned by Sollel Boneh was included in the area designate for confiscation. The Finance Committee correctly observed that the quarries constituted an important source of livelihood for the neighbouring villagers. What is left unsaid, however, is that while the large Esther Company owned by Sollel Boneh quarry as well as a few Arab owned quarries were exempt from confiscation through the exclusion of these 418 dunam, most of the Arab owned quarries that operated in the area and produced the best quality marble in the country remained within the confiscated area, and were subsequently shut down.

The village of Deir al-Asad was the hardest hit by this act of land confiscation. It lost some 20% of its land - 1046 plus some 400 dunam of the area to which the government laid claim in court. Of the three villages concerned, Deir al-Asad was the poorest, and suffered most by the confiscation, both relative to the area of lands taken from the two other neighbouring villages and relative to the total area of lands owned by the village as a whole.

The confiscation robbed the village of Deir al-Asad from almost all of its fields in the Majd al-Kurum Valley. Within these 20% most of the village field crops lands - the best lands available to the villagers - were confiscated. The remaining lands consist largely of olive groves planted on the mountain slopes and on the Tawfiniyya plateau. Thus the village independent agricultural base was destroyed and its population became completely dependent for its food staples on market supplies.

The confiscation triggered popular resistance on a large scale. The inhabitants of the villages deliberately and consciously violated the confiscation orders, disregarded the Military Governor decrees restricting entry into the confiscated area and continued the cultivation of their land and olive groves illegally. People were placed under house arrest, detained, brought to trial, fined and sentenced to jail. The struggle of the villagers in defence of their land gained strong support within the Jewish public. Dozens, and then hundreds of Jewish citizens responded to the call of Uri Davis and came to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of the three villages whose lands were robbed. They participated with the villagers in violating the law and in illegal entry into the confiscated area to aid the cultivation of the land and the picking of the olive harvest. Uri Davis himself lived in the village Deir al-Asad for eight months and has pursued his struggle relentlessly despite frequent detentions and arrests. All the homes in the village have been open to him ever since.

The response of the authorities to the rise of the popular struggle and expressions of popular resistance has been harsh. Uri Davis was brought before the Nazareth Military Court and sentenced to eight months imprisonment on the charge of illegal entry into a closed area. After his release he was banished from Galilee for a period of one year. Similarly, the local Palestinian-Arab leaders of the resistance in the village of Deir al-Asad were subject to restriction of travel, house arrests, administrative detentions and severe economic sanctions. The blow was hard and painful, and it did, in fact, achieve its aim and successfully paralysed independent nationalist opposition initiative in the village until the early 1970s. This policy of official repression enabled the collaborators (adhnab) again to rise into positions of power in the village, but by this time the level of political awareness in the village, as within the Palestinian-Arab public in Israel as a whole has developed considerably. In the previous decade collaborators could effectively control the village life by the mere

force of fear, corruption and informing and the open support of the Military Regime. Now, a decade later the authorities could not even hope to reinstate their collaborators into power on this basis. Two vital projects were therefore begun to rationalize the renewed rule of collaborators in the village, namely, the running water project and the construction of the first elementary school building in the village. In 1964-5 work on the running water project in the village began, but as recounted below, the village Water Association suffers even to this day from the heavy embezzlement of the public funds levied to finance this vital service. The construction of the first elementary school building in the village had begun in 1970. Until that year all elementary school classes were dispersed throughout the village and teaching was carried out in rented rooms. The construction of the elementary school building was supposed to provide the first partial solution of this problem. Nevertheless, the village witnessed repeated attempts to obstruct the scheme. The leading collaborators, who were put in charge of the execution of the project were at one point about to return the funds collected to finance the construction of the elementary school building to their donors, which would have resulted in the obstruction and postponement of the construction of the first elementary school building in the village for many more years. When their intention became known, public opinion in the village immediately mobilized against them and a public committee headed by Dr Hasan Amun was set up to supervise the construction of the school and carry the project to completion. This public committee managed to mobilize the entire population of the village to donate extensively for the projects. People contributed as generously as they could possibly afford. Women donated their gold, and weddings as well as funerals became public platforms to mobilize support for the project.

Today it seems in retrospect that the successful completion of the construction of the first elementary school building in the village without embezzlement of public funds and violation of public trust was the first significant achievement which marked the beginning of the route which six years later brought the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front to municipal power in the village. Every single positive development in the village was associated since the late 1950s with that core of young people, former al-Ard leaders and members, who have stood in the forefront of the struggle to defend Palestinian-Arab rights in Israel and to develop the social and cultural fabric of their own community.

In 1975 the Minister of Interior published in the Israel Official Gazette (Reshumot) the ordinance authorizing the nomination of the first Municipal Council in Deir al-Asad. Most of the designate nominees were known collaborators. It is important to note that already in 1969 a similar Ordinance was authorized by the Ministry of Interior. Its implementation was subverted, however, because of strong and widespread popular opposition in the village to the nomination of a non-representative Municipal Council from among the collaborators against the wishes of the overwhelming majority. Now, as in 1969, the opposition to the prospective nomination organized and took the matter to the Supreme Court of Justice, where it obtained a favourable verdict, namely: the Ministry of Interior was directed by the Supreme Court to make provisions in the village for local elections within six months from the day of the establishment of the nominated Municipal Council. The date of the elections was set for the 25.5.1976. In 1975 the Israeli Parliament altered the legislation governing municipal elections. According to the amended law, Heads of Municipalities and Local Municipal Councils were elected by direct personal ballot. In preparation for the first local elections in the village the group of young men and women who successfully led every positive development in the community's social and political life organized the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front which put up as its candidate for the Head of the Local Municipal Council Mr Ali Dakhallah San'allah, one of the leading members of the group since the late 1950s.

The Deir al-Asad Progressive Front based its elections campaign on a programme designed to meet the social needs of the village as a whole and not on sectarian hamula interests and divisions. The Front launched its election campaign under the same slogans which its leaders had consistently advocated since the 1950s (see the programme of the Front below). In the election campaign it successfully defeated six other lists and it has won an impressive victory. Four lists contested for the position of the Head of the Municipal Council as well as for seats in the Local Municipal Council:

- 1 The Deir al-Asad Progressive Front (J T)
- 2 The National Religious Party affiliated list (B)
- 3 The Labour Party affiliated list (A M T)
- 4 The Independent list (Q M)

Besides these four lists two additional Labour Party affiliated lists contested for the position of the Head of the Local Municipal Council.

The Deir al-Asad Local Municipal Council elected in 1976 consists of nine Council members as follows:

For the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front

Ali Dakhllallah San'allah (Head of the Local Municipal Council)

Ahmad Kamal Dhabbah

Zayd Ahmad Rajab Khatib

For the National Religious Party affiliated list

Jabir Ni'ma

Ahmad Ali Tah Asadi

For the Independent list

Muhammad Ali Khatib

Ibrahim Qasim Asadi

For the Labour Party affiliated list

Salih Umar

Ahmad Abd Ibrahim

The ruling coalition in the Council consists of the three Council members for the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front, the two Council members for the Independent list and Mr Ahmad Ali Tah Asadi (elected on the ticket of the National Religious Party affiliated list)

THE PROGRAMME OF THE DEIR AL-ASAD PROGRESSIVE FRONT

"Less than a year ago the Ministry of Interior nominated a Local Municipal Council for our village, and it was ordered that the first elections to the Local Municipal Council will be held on 25.5.1976.

"The Local Municipalities have become a cardinal instrument to be able to deal effectively with the institutions of the central authority. They constitute modern instruments to carry out transactions with the central authorities, replacing the traditional village institutions, which have led the village in the past, like the Council of the Elders and the Heads of Families (hamulas)

"And although twenty eight years have passed without a Local Municipal Council being constituted in our village, we are all called today to cooperate in order to establish a local government which shall express our needs, feelings, objects and hopes.

"Our Arab nation in this country has suffered this period of the past thirty years under the yoke of injustice and discrimination. In our village itself

there was no choice other than that the advanced forces, conscious of the destiny of their people with their various political and ideological positions, would take their natural place at the forefront of the long journey of our great people and raising the banner of equality, progress and freedom, demanding the end of the policies of ignorance and national and social discrimination and calling for the end of the policies of dispossession and the robbery of the land. There was no choice other than these excellent forces in the village raise the banner proudly and prominently before the brave and persevering masses of our village.

"Our great people is facing everywhere sublime tasks, and it is aware of the meaning and implications of its call for mutual understanding and true equality. This is the case despite the continual and persistent attempts to liquidate our true identity. The attempts of coercion and oppression have always been met by strong and characteristic resistance, of which the Day of the Land (30.3.1976) was one of its outstanding examples which will be registered in letters of light in one of the purest pages of history. The entire world knows that we shall not be silent when it is one's duty to speak out, nor shall we remain still, when it is one's duty to progress, and we shall not hesitate to offer the ultimate sacrifice given to us by God - our life.

"We all know the kind of harsh suffering that our village, like all other Arab villages in this country, has known. In light of this awareness there was no choice other than to unify forces and efforts to establish a Local Municipal Council that will truly represent our will and will act to meet the needs of all the residents of the village. From this point of departure a Front of young people conscious of their task has been set up with the object of serving the village and its needs without bias, favouritism or the advancement of personal interests. After consultations, meetings and public conferences the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front has been established aiming to act and execute the objects to which it is committed and whose summary is outlined below.

"But before we proceed further we would like to stop for a while in order to discuss one of the limitations which exists in our village, as in other Arab villages, namely, family (hamula) fanaticism, which is the major problem in all or in most Arab villages. Although family loyalties have positive aspects when they are directed towards cooperation and brotherhood and public

interest, family fanaticism and family rule which do not recognize any other criterion save blood relations, in complete disregard of reason and plain common sense, serve only the cause of divide and rule. They serve to divert attention towards issues which do not serve the needs of the village as a whole, promote disregard of our problems and obstruct projects that are vital to our village and require urgent execution.

"The Front is open to any person who believes that he has the capability, the skill and the readiness to contribute to the achievement of the objects of the Front without regard to his opinions or family ties. We believe that the Front is the legitimate son of this beloved village and we hope that the forthcoming elections will indeed mark the beginning of the road of consistent and difficult action which requires good intentions, readiness and capability. We consider our participation in the Local Municipal Council merely a means towards the achievement of the objects in which we believe. We consider our activity within the Local Municipal Council as well as our activity outside the Council to be two complementary aspects, and we declare that the Local Municipal Council cannot possibly succeed in its efforts unless it gains the cooperation of the residents of the village, just as the village cannot possibly develop and flourish unless it gains an independent and trustworthy representation which will stand in the frontline of the struggle for our honour, the might of our people and its glory. Cooperation and solidarity between the village and its Local Municipal Council are two basic elements for future action and the achievement of any of the objects which we aspire to see realized. With all due modesty we shall, in the following, outline before you our opinions concerning what must be achieved. We undertake before the public to dedicate all our efforts to the achievements of these objects and these schemes, whose details are summarized in what follows.

Education and Schools

"Many years have passed over our village without there being in the village a single elementary school building, and as will be recalled, until 1953 our children had to go to classes in the neighbouring village of Bi'na. In 1953 the first elementary school classes were opened in the village, without there being in the village a school building to accommodate these classes. It was necessary to correct this unreasonable situation, and indeed a public committee for the construction of elementary school 'B' was set up [in 1970], and we would like to note with all due modesty that indeed a number of the

members of the Front were among the initiators and the activists promoting the construction of this sublime building of which we are all very proud. Nevertheless, as is well known to us all, half of our pupils still study in rented rooms dispersed all over the village. Further, we need an additional school building for the intermediate division as well as a secondary school. We expect and we call for cooperation in this matter with our neighbours in the village of Bi'na in order that these two school buildings be constructed at the earliest possible date, since secondary school education has become a basic requirement for every boy and girl.

"As to matters that relate to the standards of teaching at our elementary schools, we shall work hand in hand with the Principals of the schools and their tuition committees as well as with every person who is interested in this subject in order to improve the standards of tuition through the full equipment of the schools with basic teaching aids, the establishment of a library and a laboratory and the encouragement of study circles and summer camps for teachers and pupils alike.

Health Services

"In light of the proverb 'A healthy mind in a healthy body', the Front will endeavour to improve the levels of health services and public health inspection in the village through the improvement of the existing Histadrut Health Fund Clinic (Kupat Holim). The Front will make every effort that the Clinic be attended by doctors and nurses throughout most hours of the day. The Front will also endeavour to improve the Mother and Child Clinic which has become a modern requirement for every mother, and especially the young mother, promoting her education in all that relates to the treatment of the baby, preventive treatment against gastro-intestinal diseases and sound psychological education.

"The Front will also endeavour to act to minimize the drainage of sewage through the roads and the alleys of the village, which causes the increase of insects, mosquitoes, infectious diseases and foul smells and sometimes obstructs the passage through the village roads and alleyways. We consider it our duty to begin on the earliest possible date in the planning of a general sewage system in the village. The problem is known to the public and requires an urgent solution, perhaps more urgently than any other problem. We shall also take pains to introduce organized garbage collection in the village and liquidate rubbish dumps that are dispersed throughout the village,

in every corner and at every entrance.

Roads

"The Front will take pains to maintain the asphalt paved roads in good repairs as well as improve the alleyways and internal roads within the village and expand them where this is possible and necessary. The Front will act to improve the public transport to and from the village.

Water

"We would first like to express our deepest thanks to those who have made praiseworthy efforts throughout a number of years in order to revive the water project and save it from bankruptcy and public auction. With the assistance of the residents of the village they have succeeded in solving the problems of the debts of the Water Association, the legacy of the previous administration of the Association - and the story is known to all. We undertake to act in concert with the Water Association so long as it continues to serve the residents of the village faithfully and consistently. Further, the Front will endeavour to solve one of the fundamental water problems in the village, namely, the irregularity in the village water supplies which causes sometimes daily interruptions in the supply of running water. The Front will endeavour to obtain for the village water quota for agricultural irrigation so avoiding the use of expensive household and drinking water for this purpose. Thereby we hope to encourage garden agriculture, fruit gardens etc in our village.

Electricity

"The Front wishes to express its thanks to the Electricity Association for the efforts and the sacrifices it has made in the matter to this very day. We would like to thank first and foremost those residents of the village who have participated in the efforts to promote this project. The Front undertakes to coordinate its efforts and to consult very closely with the Association in order to carry the project to completion and bring light into every home.

Cultural Activities

"With the perceptible, admirable and encouraging increase of the intelligentsia and the number of academicians from among the sons and daughters of our village there has emerged the vital need to establish an adequate place where reading, study, meetings, lectures and study groups could take place through the promotion of cultural clubs, libraries and various other activities

Sports

"Sports are not directed exclusively to maintain the fitness of body and soul. In many countries sports activity is one of the criteria for progress and civilization, and we are a part of that civilization which cultivates in its youth a sound mind and a sound body. We shall therefore adopt and promote all branches of sports and we shall endeavour to create adequate conditions for sports activities like the construction of a new play-ground and the allocation of adequate funds for sports.

The Village Master Plan

"One of the pressing problems for all Arab villages in the country is the policy of the authorities not to allow the expansion of the villages' master plan thus imposing suffocation on the residents in various ways and by various pretexes including the refusal to grant building permits, or, worse, pulling down houses claiming that they are built outside the boundaries of the village master plan or that they were built without obtaining prior building permits. Our villages develop and the number of their residents has increased manyfold. Is it possible for a young couple, man and wife, to continue to live in their old home after they have become a family of ten? In order to meet the needs of the village in this concern the authorities must make available to the village lands for building through the extension of the boundaries of the village master plan, the allocation of new plots and the reduction of the fantastically high land prices which constitute a hugh obstacle to our youth wishing to establish a home of their own.

The Problem of The Land

"We shall not be accused of boasting if we say that we stand with our people expropriate them. It is our duty before anything else. On the land of our village as well as that of the neighbouring villages the township of Karmiel was established while we live in housing conditions that could hardly be the object of envy.

"What is termed today the plan for the Judaization of Galilee is nothing other than a plan which aims to take away from us the remainder of our land. We live in the heart of Galilee, and our struggle to defend our land soaked with the blood of our martyrs murdered on the Day of the Land has become an exemplary model for other nations and peoples who are struggling to defend

their land and their existence. We vow that we shall redeem the heritage of our land in blood and in spirit, and our vow shall not dissipate like the dust. We declare before you that we shall remain faithful to the soil of our land, which is our homeland and our existence, the beginning and the end.

Women's Activity

"We particularly regret the fact that the women are not a full partners in the social life of the Arab society in general and in our village in particular. We would have liked to see a number of women among us in the list of our candidates for the Local Municipal Council, because we believe that society is like a bird whose one wing is man and whose other wing is woman. It is impossible for the bird to rise in flight with one wing alone. The mother who is charged with the raising of the future generation is the one most needful of knowledge, culture and attention. We shall make every effort to introduce the women of our village into the domain of public social activity so that women together with men will partake in the efforts to promote the interests of the village and meet the needs of its residents. Women's activities are varied and touch upon almost all aspects of life. We hope that our sisters will find their appropriate place to cooperate with their Local Municipal Council in all matters that concern their advancement, first and foremost, the establishment of cultural circles, sewing, embroidery and household management circles as well as other matters that relate to their concerns.

Relations With The Authorities & With The Neighbouring Villages

"The Front will act to meet the needs of the village, and will conduct positive communication with all branches of the government, its offices and institutions assuming goodwill on their part, unless through their action and conduct the contrary is demonstrated. Further, we shall act in order to obtain for our village the full allocation of municipal grants to which it is entitled for the purpose of its development and progress. We shall enter into communication with the authorities to promote the interests of our village on the basis of mutual respect.

We call upon our neighbouring villages to establish mutual relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation, and in particular we direct our call to the village of Bi'na with which we share a number of joint projects that are es-

sential to our village.

"We do not hereby claim that we have exhausted all the schemes we intend to achieve, nor do we claim that this programme related conclusively to all the needs of our village and offers solutions to all its problems. But we do state that it would be impossible to solve any of these problems nor complete any of the projects essential to the village without strong cooperation between a Local Municipal Council that is faithful to the needs of the village and the residents who would give it their full support. Give us your hand to carry the burden in order that we march together. We are from among you and for you."

The Deir al-Asad Progressive Front (J T)

1	Ali San'allah	b 1937	Blacksmith
2	Ahmad Kamal Dhabbah	b 1941	Contractor
3	Zayd Ahmad Rajab Khatib	b 1950	Labourer
4	Abd al-Halim Muhammad Ali Asadi	b 1941	Lorry driver
5	Kamil Mustafa Rafi'	b 1945	Blacksmith
6	Said Muhammad Qasim Rashid	b 1946	Butcher
7	Kamil Mahmud Muhammad Dhabbah	b 1947	Labourer
8	Shakir Ibrahim San'allah	b 1946	Electrician
9	Hisam Najib Dhabbah	b 1947	Painter
10	Hasan Aziz Amun	b 1940	Physician

The Deir al-Asad Progressive Front indeed won the elections and the Chairmanship of the Local Municipal Council. The newly elected administration of the village began its way under extremely difficult conditions. It has no financial resources of any significance save very widespread popular support and its determination to commence upon action and construction. The youth of the village and the women mobilized and volunteered to clean the roads and alleyways of the village, carry building materials and work at the various construction sites throughout the village. The worker and the clerk, the lawyer and the doctor worked shoulder to shoulder and the women joined them in their work in and outside the village carrying food and drink in a demonstration of work and enterprise that was unprecedented in the history of the village, not to mention the entire area. Within a short period the Front succeeded in mastering all the village affairs and the capital of trust in the new Local Municipal Council and its popular support consolidated despite the

prevailing difficult conditions. The Local Municipal Council under the leadership of the Front has embarked upon projects that relative to the resources available to the village are truly enormous, yet vital and urgent. The plans for linking the village to the national electricity network began. The project will cost the village I£ 2.5 million, which has to be paid in full to the Electricity Company before it would be willing to commit itself to actual work in the field. The funds for this purpose were collected in a manner that is not customary in the Arab village. Volunteers at the cost of their spare time and their family duties spent hours throughout afternoons and evenings collecting the funds from the village households.

Immediately upon its entry into office the new Local Municipal Council embarked upon two huge projects that are urgently needed: The First - a circular road encompassing the village and connecting all the village quarters among themselves and to the site where the second elementary school building is now under construction (see below). The Chariman of the Council, Ali San'allah, succeeded in convincing the public to give its consent to the pulling down of buildings, the uprooting of trees, and the shifting fences to allow for the passage of the road without material compensation and out of understanding to public need. The construction of the circular road was carried out entirely by volunteer labour by the youth of the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front and volunteers from all classes in the village. For the purpose of the construction of the ring road, all the village resources were mobilized: cars, lorries, youth, women and school pupils. At the time of writing the construction of the road is at its final stages.

The second project is the construction of the second elementary school building in the village. There are in the village today some 1300 elementary school pupils, half of whom study in the first elementary school building (elementary school B), whereas the other half still go to classes that are dispersed in all parts of the village and located in rented rooms in private homes that do not in any way meet the minimal requirements of adequate and modern classrooms. This situation also renders it extremely difficult for the school administration to supervise teaching and to direct school activities. Nevertheless, the teaching staff of the school has succeeded in educating some of the best generations of students in the area.

The Front has committed itself in its elections programme to making every effort to correct this situation. Immediately after its victory in the local municipal elections it embarked upon the construction of the second elementary school building in the village. This building will cost the village some I£ 4 million. The newly elected Local Municipal Council has succeeded in obtaining the major portion of this sum as a long term loan at low interest. Construction work commenced immediately and at the time of writing the building is already rising out of the ground. Within six month the construction work will be completed, and the Council hopes to make contacts with interested and sympathetic bodies which could help the village to equip its two elementary school buildings with adequate modern teaching aids, libraries, laboratories, play-grounds etc.

In addition the Local Municipal Council has already made the necessary arrangements for daily garbage collection in the village. The open sewage problem remains as yet unsolved and the council has taken as a hopefully temporary measure the regular spraying of all pools of standing water as well as the village alleyways. The Council has further engaged the services of a health inspector in the village. In this context it is significant that the District Commissioner for the Northern District, Dr Israel Koenig, who in his capacity as District Commissioner is in charge of Municipal budgets in all the Jewish and Arab Municipalities in his District, refused to authorize the expenditure of I£ 100, 000 designated by the Deir al-Asad Local Municipal Council to finance the initial planning for a sewage system in the village.

As noted above, the village of Deir al-Asad is located on the steep slopes of the al-Mughr cliff. A good portion of the village is constructed on solid rock. The rocky terrain renders it impossible to solve the village sewage draining problem through individual sewage pits for each homestead. So far the village sewage has been running through the village roads and alleyways in open canals, thereby constituting a continual and persistent health hazard to the entire population. The construction of a central sewage system for the village would cost in 1977 prices no less than I£ 20 million. This sum cannot possibly be raised from internal village resources and given the policies which seem to characterise the District Commissioner of the Northern District it is unlikely that the new Municipality would manage to obtain from the Ministry of Interior, which through its District Commis-

sioner allocates Funds to Municipal councils throughout the country, the necessary funding for this project.

Two vital projects are at the top of the Council's priorities, yet neither can be achieved through exclusive reliance on the very limited material resources available to the Council by its internal revenue. The first is building and equipping a central cultural club with a central library and the second is construction of a central sewage system for the village. We shall return to the first project below (Chapter 4: "Deir al-Asad - Vital Projects Facing the Village Local Municipality"). It is clear to the Council that unless it succeeds in mobilizing external funds in addition to its limited internal revenue these two vital projects will not be achieved.

Further, the Council is planning to cooperate with the Ministry of Health in opening a second Mother and Child clinic in the village and expand the services of these two clinics to include twice weekly two full day visits by a doctor. The Council also plans to expand and develop in cooperation with the Histadrut Health Fund (Kupat Holim) the existing Histadrut Health Fund clinic to include improved medical services and a pharmacy.

We have outlined in this chapter the political history of the village of Deir al-Asad since 1948, and the course of its development under the rule of the state of Israel. There is no doubt that in this respect the village represents most Arab villages in Israel. Its political history further reflects in some ways the general political developments in the area as a whole and within the Palestinian-Arab people at large. General politics lie, however, beyond the scope of this study, and will have to be pursued elsewhere.

The Deir al-Asad Progressive Front is fully aware that the only way through which the village can be improved and developed is through the participation of pioneering groups within the public in the planning and execution of the various projects designed to meet the community's pressing needs so as to enable every individual in the community to sense the essential importance of the projects on the one hand and tap the possibilities which lie in popular collective work on the other. No less important, the Front seems to have been successful in putting an end to the spirit of indifference, doubt and mistrust, which has been the legacy of the previous long history of personal clashes, fraud, embezzlement and violation of public trust in the period during which the village was controlled by the collaborators.

An indication relevant to this, is the fact that the levy of local taxes to the Local Municipal Council in the year 1976-77 has been 110%. This is a record figure compared to any other Local Municipal Council in the whole country. The Council has succeeded because of its strong popular support to honour the financial commitments of the two projects now under way: the second elementary school building and the construction of the circular road. It cannot hope, however, to pursue any of its other vital and pressing priorities listed above in the foreseeable future unless aided and supported by external sources of funding. Good and honorable intentions and a determined will are necessary but unfortunately not sufficient conditions in this domain.

Chapter 2: TRADITIONAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY

Local traditions date the founding of the Muslim Village of Deir al-Asad as the year of the conquest of Palestine by Al Sinan Basha the renowned Great Vizier of the Ottoman Sultan Salim I (1516) or the year of the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes (1522). The traditions seem to be historically accurate and in the possession the Elders of the village there are documents issued by the Supreme Porte (firmans) testifying to their historical accuracy.

According to local tradition the founder of the village, the Sufi Muslim saint Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad, arrived in Galilee from the Buqa' in the Lebanon, and it is said that to this day there are documents registering the Waqf properties and lands given to his administration in the Buqa'. Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad is said to be from Iraq and to be a descendant of the great founder of the Qadariyya Sufi tariqa, Abd al-Qadir al-Jaylani (or Kaylani), after whom the famous Qadariyya Sufi zawiya in Baghdad is named.

From his seat in the Buqa' the Sheikh al-Asad moved to settle in the village of Tarbikha. This village was destroyed by the Israeli army in 1948 and on its ruins was established the Israeli-Jewish moshav Shomerah. It is said that in Tarbikha, upon his arrival he planted olive trees on these lands. One of the Elders of Deir al-Asad told us that he had visited Tarbikha before 1948 and the residents of Tarbikha pointed out to him the olive groves said to be planted by the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad.

From Tarbikha Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad moved to Safad, where it is said that the Ottoman authorities gave him Mount Canaan as Waqf property for his administration and that this transaction was registered in

the Land Registry Books (tabu). In Safad, Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad's son died and was buried there. To this day his tomb stands in Safad and is known as Zawiyat al-Sheikh Ahmad Rajab (the tomb of the Muslim saint Ahmad Rajab). It is said that the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad was given as Waqf lands and mills in the al-Tawahin in the Wadi Laymun (limon) near Safad as well as a number of shopfronts in the market of Safad.

In Safad the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad married a woman from the village of Samu' in the Upper Galilee, which was also razed to the ground in 1948 by the Israeli army and on its ruins was established the Israeli-Jewish religious moshav of Kfar Shamai.

From Safad the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad moved to Deir al-Asad and the story of his settlement in Deir al-Asad is said to have been as follows:

The Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad left Safad riding his donkey. Near the well, known since as Bir al-Sheikh, he stopped to purify himself for prayer, water his beast and fill his water skin. While he was deep in prayer a lion came and preyed upon his beast. The Sheikh completed his prayer, placed his donkey's saddle on the back of the lion, loaded his waterskin and mounted the lion's back and continued on his way west. Hence his name: Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad. According to one of the local traditions when the Sheikh arrived in the vicinity of the village of Nahaf he met the troops of Al Sinan Basha on their way to Gaza and Egypt (1516). When Sinan's Basha cavalry horses saw the lion, they broke away in panic in all directions. Sinan Basha turned to the holy man and asked him for his wish. At the time there stood near Nahaf the Christian monastery of Saint Georges de Labeyne* and the Sheikh asked to be given the monastery and its lands for his settlement. Al Sinan Basha said that he would have no objections, but he told the holy man to turn to the Supreme Porte in Istanbul and receive his endorsement in official firman. And indeed it is said that the Sheikh travelled to Istanbul and received the firman in the year of the war on Cyprus

* The ruins of the monastery can still be seen at the centre of the village of Deir al-Asad. It is possible that the neighbouring village of al-Bi'na, which border on the village of Deir al-Asad took its name after the name of the monastery of St George de Labeyne. Bi'na has a mixed Muslim and Christian (Greek Orthodox) population.

(probably Rhodes) in 1522 from the Sultan Suleiman the Lawgiver (the Magnificent) (1512 - 1566) granting him the monastery and its land as Waqf under his administration.

According to another tradition, when the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad arrived riding on the back of the lion to the vicinity of the Christian monastery the monks mocked him, threw mud and stones at him and insulted him. He addressed his complaint to the Supreme Porte in Istanbul and he requested to be given the site of the monastery and its lands as Waqf under his administration as compensation. The Sultan Salim I (1512 -1520) granted the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad his request. The Sheikh was given two Waqfiyyas in the area. The boundaries of the first were as follows:

In the East:	the water course from Ra's al-Jalsa (on the mountain) until al-Karm al-Ahmar
In the West:	'Arid (the slope) of Hama'ida
In the North:	the top of the al-Mughr cliff
In the South	Zawiyat al-Qas'a (near the house of Abu Tanus)

These are the original boundaries of the residential area of the village. The second Waqfiyya - Khirbat Hawtal - consisted of arable land. Its boundaries were as follows:

In the East:	the water course of Bir al-Khashab (Wadi al-Khashab; the Shazur river)
In the West:	Shari' (the road of) al-Burunsa. (Now connecting the Acre-Safad road with the Esther Company quarries. See above, Chapter 1.)
In the North:	The Acre-Safad road
In the South:	The lands of the village of al-Bi'na (al-Midan and Wakhlat Abu Janabin).

Whereas the first Waqfiyya was granted to the Sheikh al-Asad as Waqf Ahli (Dhurri) which may be bequeathed collectively to one's kin for their common benefit, the second Waqfiyya was granted to him as Waqf Khayri (property of the Mosque). These latter properties, donated to religious or public institutions enable them to support charitable work within the community. Their revenues are designated exclusively to fund the mosque and public need. These are precisely the lands which were confiscated in 1962-3 by the Israeli govern-

ment (through its Development Authority) for the purpose of building the exclusively Jewish city of Karmiel. With the expropriation of these lands the only source of public funding to meet the requirements of the social, religious and cultural life and future development of the village were taken away.

It is said that the monks of the monastery were given a period of two to three months to evacuate the place and that they emigrated to the Lebanon to the Shawf District where they established the monastery of Deir al-Mukhallis, which exists there to this very day. The Sheikh al-Asad settled in the place and there he is buried. His Zawiya is near the mosque of the village. He had four sons from whom the various sibs of Dar al-Asadiyya have descended:

Muhammad Hafiz
 Muhammad Mahfuz
 Muhammad Siffi
 Muhammad Ni'ma

The Sheikh al-Asad is said to have been a renowned Sufi holy man and had a large following. He, his offsprings and his followers constituted an extremely orthodox Sufi community. The special character of the place was recognized by the Ottoman authorities and the village was granted special privileges. Its residents were released from military service in the service of the Supreme Porte, no taxation was levied and the community's legislative autonomy was recognized. Deir al-Asad enjoyed an ex-territorial status (*qarya mustathnaya 'an al-sulutat*) and the Sheikh al-Asad was recognized as an autonomous Wali (Governor) exempt from the legal and administrative intervention of the Ottoman sanjaq and vilayet authorities. This special status of Deir al-Asad brought to the place people seeking asylum for various reasons (family, blood feuds, criminal offences against the central regime etc). Thus the founder of the Dar Amun ('Atma) and the Dar al-Dhabbah are said to have come to Deir al-Asad from Nablus and from Ya'bid respectively seeking refuge from blood revenge.

The third house in the village Dar al-Harb is said to have been formerly servants to the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad.

As noted above the Sheikh Muhammad al-Asad is said to have been a renowned Sufi holy man (*darwish, faqir*) and a descendant of the great Abd

al-Qadir al-Jaylani, the founder of the Qadariyya Sufi order (tariqa) in Baghdad. The village of Deir al-Asad which he founded existed as a small peasant community subsisting on the cultivation of the two Waqfiyyas granted to the Sheikh al-Asad by the Supreme Porte and living in conformity with the Sufi way of life characterized by simplicity, austerity and despise of property. For the first three hundred years the village of Deir al-Asad retained its character as a tightly-knit devout Sufi religious community. Processes of secularization began to penetrate the community about 150 years ago with the increase of western economic and cultural imperial penetration into the Middle East. With the weakening of the traditional Sufi way of life within the community, the villagers began to expand their possessions. Land was purchased from neighbouring villages, other lands were reclaimed from the mountain, and olive groves planted beyond the boundaries of the original Waqfiyyas granted to the Sheikh al-Asad by the Supreme Porte.

Still, both relative to its neighbouring villages (Majd al-Kurum, Bi'na, Nahaf and Rama) and relative to the total of its lands, Deir al-Asad was the worst hit by the 1962-3 land confiscations in the area. This act of official robbery struck a crippling blow in the village and radically affected the fabric of its social and political life.

Chapter 3: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PALESTINIAN-ARAB
POPULATION UNDER ISRAELI RULE SINCE 1948 WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DEIR AL-ASAD

I Population

In 1950, shortly after the establishment of the state of Israel, the Palestinian-Arab population in Israel numbered some 160,000 people and constituted about 11% of the total population of Israel (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975 table ii/2). Over the years the absolute numbers of the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 has increased as well as has their relative share of the total population of Israel. In the 1950s and the mid-1960s, and despite the net negative immigration of Palestinian-Arabs in pre-1967 Israel (-0.4% to -1.6% of the total increase) on the one hand, and the positive immigration balance within the Jewish population of pre-1967 Israel (31.6% to 59.1% of the total increase) on the other, the Palestinian-Arab population managed to maintain a constant relative weight within the total population of pre-1967 Israel at 11.3%. In the 1970s this population has grown significantly both in absolute numbers and in its relative weight in the total population as a whole. In 1974 it numbered some 500,000 people, constituting about 15.2% of the total pre-1967 Israel population. Cautious estimates made by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics based on an assumed rate of Jewish immigration of 25,000 a year, indicate that the Palestinian-Arab population in pre-1967 Israel proper is likely to constitute approximately 18% of the total population in the mid-1980s and approximately 19% towards the year 1990. (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table ii/17).

The total non-Jewish (Arab) population in Israel in 1974 was 518,700 (100%). This population is distributed by District as follows:

Jerusalem District (including East Jerusalem)	18.5%
Northern District (the Sub-Districts of Safad, Kinneret, Jezreel and Acre)	47.2%
Haifa District	16.0%
Central District	9.5%
Tel Aviv District	1.6%
Southern District	7.2%

The Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 consists of a Muslim majority of 75.6 %, and a minority of 16.2% Christians and 8.2% Druz. The increase of this population is due primarily to its high rate of fertility and natural increase. Natural increase rates (per one thousand of the population) are over 40. In 1965 the natural increase rate was 44.6, in 1970 - 40.2 and in 1974 - 39.2. The parallel figures for the Jewish population are: 1965 - 16.2, 1970 - 16.9 and 1974 - 17.2. The natural increase of the Palestinian-Arab population is therefore 2.3 times greater than that of the Jewish population in pre-1967 Israel.

The number of live births per one thousand within the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 is 44.6 as compared to the Jewish population where it stands at 24.7. (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975; figures for 1974). It would be interesting to compare parallel figures in other countries. In the United States the figure is 22.4, in the United Kingdom - 17.9, whereas in Egypt the parallel figure is 42.8, in India - 38.4 and in Mexico - 46 (see Wrong, 1969). The differences in the levels of natural increase between the Arab and the Jewish populations in pre-1967 Israel is further underlined when one considers the data concerning gross reproduction rates. The figure for the Jewish population is 1.54, whereas the figure for the Arab population is 3.46, while in the Muslim population (excluding Christians and Druz) the figure is 4.05 (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table iii/23).*

* Since 1948-9 the population of the village of Deir al-Asad (currently some 4,200 persons) has increased four-fold. Annual natural increase in the village stands at approximately 140 live births per year (approximately 35 live births per thousand of the population)

For a political regime which identifies its *raison d'être* in terms of the continued existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish state, and whose immigration and population policies are founded on the cornerstone of guaranteeing Jewish majority in the territories under its sovereignty, these data constitute a source of serious concern. The 'problem' is particularly acute in the Northern District, where a large concentration of Palestinian-Arab population lives, and it has been clearly formulated by Dr Israel Koenig in his capacity of District Commissioner of the Northern District in his secret Memorandum to the Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and other 'authorized' agencies in 1975/6. The Memorandum was leaked and published in full in Al ha-Mishmar 7.9.1976. The relevant section of the Koenig Memorandum (the 'Koenig Report') is as follows:

A The Demographic Problem and the Expressions of Arab Chauvinism *

1 The rate of the natural growth of the Arab population in Israel is 5.9% in comparison with 1.5% rate of the natural growth of the Jewish population per annum.

That problem is especially acute in the Northern district, wherein there is a large Arab population. In the middle of 1975, the Arab population in the Northern district amounted to about 250,000 souls. An examination according to subdistricts proves that in Western Galilee, the Arab population constitutes 67% of the total population. In Yezre'el subdistrict, the Arab population constitutes 48% of the total population. In 1974, 759 Jews were added to the population of the Northern district whereas the Arab population increased by 9,035 inhabitants. According to the rate of growth, the Arabs will constitute over 51% of the population of the district in 1978.

The nationalists feel - and that is also my evaluation in regard to the Arab population - that their growth in Galilee is dangerous to our** very control over the district, opens for military forces from the North possibilities for penetrating Israel, and that depends upon the increasing

* Translation by Dr Israel Shahak. Some of his footnotes retained as under.

** 'Our' means Jewish, not Israeli.

power of the nationalist process among the Arabs of Israel, and their preparedness to help it.

2 The wave of nationalism of the Israeli Arab population began since the Six - Day War; the policy of free contact with the (West) Bank*** and of the open bridges renewed the contact between the Arabs of Judaea and Samaria and the Palestinians in the East of Jordan and the Arabs of Israel and this created the base for their proud bearing**** and for employing in the struggle, slogans of chauvinism in Israel ... (Koenig, 1976)

The 'Koenig Report' faithfully reflects and accurately formulates the official racial policies of the Israeli government. We shall have to return to this subject below.

In 1975, 49.5% of the total Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 was 0-14 years old (as compared with 29.9% of the Jewish population, Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table ii/15). Furthermore 74.5% of the Arab population was 0-29 years old. These are unusually high figures. In the United States, for instance, only 28.3% of the total population are 0-15 years old, in Japan - 23.9% and in France 24.8%. These figures underline to what extent the Palestinian-Arab population in pre-1967 Israel is unusually young. The average age of the Palestinian-Arab population in pre-1967 Israel is 20.9 and the median age is 15.2. The parallel figures for the Jewish population is 30.3 and 25.6 respectively (figures for 1975; Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, *ibid*). It is important to point out that this feature has characterized the Palestinian-Arab society in pre-1967 Israel in the 1960s as well as the 1950s, and is likely to be a permanent feature of this society for many years to come. We are dealing with a very young population both as compared with the Israeli Jewish population as well as with other societies in this world. In 1974 Palestinian-Arab families made up 8.7% of the total number of families in pre-1967 Israel proper, while the Arab population by that year has already constituted 15.2% of the total population.

Footnote continued ...

*** The word 'West' was added by me, for comprehension sake. The Israeli right-wingers, do not refer to the West-Bank, as it implies conquest, but illogically, to the 'Bank'.

**** As was (or is still?) said in Alabama and Mississippi: "Our niggers became uppity by their 'contact' with the niggers spoiled in the North!" Racism is everywhere the same.

(Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, tables ii/25 & ii/28). This points to the enormous difference in the average family size in these two respective societies, and as the following table 1 indicates, this difference has increased with time.

TABLE 1: Percentage of non-Jewish (Arab) Population and Percentage of non-Jewish (Arab) Families of Total Population and Number of Families in Pre-1967 Israel

Year	1960	1964	1970	1972	1973	1974
Population						
% of population	11.1	11.3	14.5	14.9	15.2	15.2
% of families	7.9	7.9	9.3	9.1	9.1	8.7

(Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975)

These figures show that between 1960 and 1974 the percentage of Palestinian-Arab families in pre-1967 Israel has increased by only 0.8%, whereas the said Palestinian-Arab population itself increased by 4.1%. The Table further indicates that the percentage of Palestinian-Arab families in pre-1967 Israel has since 1970 consistently decreased, despite the continued rise of the Palestinian-Arab share of the total population. In 1974 the average size of a Jewish family in pre-1967 Israel (singles included) was 3.6, whereas the average size of a non-Jewish (Arab) family (singles included) was 6.2, namely almost double. This is further illustrated when one examines the following data.

TABLE 2: Families by Size of Family and Population Group (percentage) (1974)

No. of persons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
Population							
Jewish	13.1	23.1	18.2	19.4	12.4	5.9	7.9
Non-Jewish	6.2	8.6	9.4	9.4	10.3	11.8	44.3

(Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table ii/27)

As the Table clearly indicates 56.1% of the total non-Jewish (Arab) families in 1974 consisted of six or more persons (compared with 13.8% of the total of Jewish families). These are significant differences. They indicate that for the most part, the Palestinian-Arab society in pre-1967 Israel consists of families that are significantly larger than Jewish families.

II Residence, Locality and Land

The Palestinian-Arab society which has been under Israeli rule since 1948 resides for mainly rural villages and a few proto-urban townships. In 1974 there were in Israel 105 non-Jewish (Arab) settlements of which 2 were defined as towns, 27 as regional councils, 46 as local councils and 30 villages without municipal status. Parenthetically it is worth noting that while only 0.1% of the Jewish population in pre-1967 Israel (7 settlements in all) have not been allocated municipal status by the Ministry of Interior, 20% of the non-Jewish (Arab) population in pre-1967 Israel live in such settlements. In the period of 1970-1974, 44% of the said Palestinian-Arab population lived in rural villages proper (as compared to 9.5% of the Jewish population). In 1972 and 1974, 35.5% of the said population lived in towns (as compared to 75% of the Jewish population), and the remaining 20.5% live in proto-urban townships (compared to 15.5% of the Jewish population). (See Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, tables ii/9 and ii/12; the figures are rounded for convenience)*

As a direct result of Israeli government legal and military intervention over two thirds of the total of the lands cultivated prior to 1948 by Arab villages and which came under Israeli sovereignty as a result of the 1948-9 war, were confiscated and transferred to exclusive Jewish cultivation. According to Halperin (1973), quoted by Malik (1976) out of the 364 Arab villages north of Be'er Sheva and within the 1948-9 borders of the state of Israel there remained only 88 in pre-1967 Israel. In other words 276 villages were destroyed during the 1948-9 war and the early 1950s. The

* According to the Jirayisi Memorandum (1972) 57.2% of the Arab population in pre-1967 Israel live in rural villages (as compared to 17.5% of the Jewish population).

figure is in fact much bigger: the readers who may wish to pursue the details of the case should refer to eg. Jiryis (1968) and Davis and Mezvinsky (1975). According to Halperin, however, these 364 villages owned and/or cultivated until 1948 the area of 4,311,000 dunam of which 2,752,000 were arable land. With the 1948-9 war and the subsequent expulsion of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian-Arab peasantry the state of Israel appropriated 2,800,000 dunam of this land, 1,900,000 dunam of which is arable. Furthermore, according to official statistics also quoted by Malik (1976) over 55% of the lands of the remaining 88 Arab villages which in 1948 owned 1,236,000 dunam have been confiscated between 1948 and 1963.* In total, Arab villages in Israel whose residents have been Israeli citizens since 1948, have lost over 872,000 dunam of land, approximately two thirds of the lands they owned and/or cultivated prior to 1948. Most of this confiscated land is arable land, and on the whole, the best arable land in the area.

If we examine the patterns of agricultural cultivation in Jewish and non-Jewish (Arab) farms, as given by official Israeli statistics the following data emerge:

* Malik calculates on the basis of these official figures that over 55% of the lands owned and/or cultivated by these 88 Arab villages has been confiscated by 1963. In fact, on the basis of the official figures he provides in his article, 65% (rather than 55%) of the land of these 88 villages has been confiscated during this period.

TABLE 3: Cultivated Area of Field Crops by Type of Locality (thousand dunams) (1973-4)

Total	2,738.9 (100%)
Total Jewish farms	2,119.8 (77.4%)
Total non-Jewish (Arab) farms	619.1 (22.6%)
Unirrigated total Jewish farms	1,513.1 (71.4% of Jewish total)
Unirrigated total non-Jewish (Arab) farms	610.9 (98.7% of Arab total)
Irrigated total Jewish farms	606.7 (28.6% of Jewish total)
Irrigated total non-Jewish (Arab) farms	8.2 (1.3% of Arab total)

(Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table xiii/6)

TABLE 4: Agricultural Water Consumption by Type of Locality (million M (1973-4)

Towns and urban localities	71
Moshavot	63
Moshavim	358
Kibbutzim	526
Institutions and farms	43
Others	96
Total	1157
Non-Jewish villages	23 (1.98%)

(Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table xv/3)

In other words, even after over two thirds of their lands have been confiscated, the Arab villages in pre-1967 Israel still cultivate 22.6% of the cultivated area of field crops in the country. Yet, by official statistics, they are allocated only 1.98% of the national agricultural water consumption.* Similarly, Abu Qishq and Jiraysi (1976) note that the shortage of land for agriculture in the 'Israeli Arab' sector increases every year and the area per person decreases relative to the Israeli Jewish sector in pre-1967 Israel.

From their comparative study of the land areas and water quotas available to Arab versus Jewish settlements in the Nazareth area the following data emerges as Table V overleaf:

* Deir al-Asad itself has no allocation of agricultural irrigation water. The village now (after the 1962-3 confiscation) cultivates 6805 dunam of which 3000 dunam are within its Municipal boundaries. All the land is under dry (unirrigated) cultivation - most of it olive groves. The village is allocated 120,000 m³ per annum water for domestic use. For further details concerning the village's water problems see Chapter 4.

TABLE 5: LANDS AND WATER QUOTAS AVAILABLE TO ARAB AND JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE NAZARETH AREA
(data for 1973)

S E C T O R		A R A B				J E W I S H					
Name of Settlement		Daburiyya	Iksal	Mashad	Tur'an	Rayna	Yiftal	Mizra'	Lavi	Dovrat	Centgar
Population	No. of inhabitants	3100	3500	2417	4378	4640	815	724	393	332	433
	of which farmers*	900	950	1400	2300	1950	720	630	350	280	390
Water for Agriculture (000m ³)		300	-	-	-	-	2205	1462	1090	800	1080
Land Area	Total Land Area	11700	9660	10442	23000	14084	11563	7879	11342	10774	7310
	of which cultivated**	2974	4396	4700	7500	7100	11563	7879	6732	10174	7110
and types of	of which irrigated	30	-	-	-	-	728	1910	759	533	340
	of which unirrigated	570	-	-	-	-	2567	2060	1740	2690	1370
Cultivation	of which fruit crop	80	400	316	1481	172	-	-	-	-	-
	of which field crop	2294	3996	4384	6019	6928	8268	3909	4233	6951	5400

Distribution of means of production per person in settlement	Total No. of Dunam		0.96	1.84	2.0	1.7	1.5	14.0	11.0	17.0	31.0	17.0
	of which irrigated	dunam water (m ³)	0.2	-	-	-	-	4.0	5.5	6.4	9.7	4.0
			99	-	-	-	-	2700	2000	2700	2400	2500
Distribution of means of production per person among farmers	Total No. of Dunam		3.3	4.6	3.3	3.3	3.6	16.0	12.5	19.0	36.3	18.0
	of which unirrigated	dunam water (m ³)	0.67	-	-	-	-	4.6	6.3	7.1	11.5	4.4
			333	-	-	-	-	3062	2320	3114	2850	2770

Notes to Table 5

* In the Arab sector; farmers who own over 16 dunam

In the Jewish sector; figure computed as 90% of the number of inhabitants

** Notes concerning the area of land cultivated by the settlements;

Daburiya: of the remaining lands some 4000 dunam are owned by residents of Nazareth and the rest by the state.

Iksal: of the remaining lands some 3497 dunam are owned by the residents of Nazareth, and the rest by the state.

Mashad, Tur'an, Rayna: the remaining lands are owned by the State.

Lavi: the remaining lands are not arable (grazing lands)

The story of the legal measures taken by the Israeli Government and Parliament to alienate the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 from their lands is now well documented.* Through laws such as The Law on the Acquisition of Absentees' Property (1950) (see Appendix III), the Emergency Articles for the Exploitation of Uncultivated Lands (1948), The Law for the Requisitioning of Land in Times of Emergency (1949), The Law for the Acquisition of Land (Operations and Compensations) (1953), The Law of Prescription (1958) and through the selective application of the Defense (Emergency) Regulations (1945) - especially Article 125 thereof - over one million dunam were expropriated from their Arab owners and transferred to exclusive Jewish cultivation between 1948 and 1967. The vast majority of the Palestinian-Arab village population under Israeli rule have been forced to become daily commuting wage labourers in Israeli manufacturing, construction and service industries. Very little land has remained under Arab ownership and cultivation, (22.6% - see above table 3) and it is to this and those few remaining Arab farmers who "bit their lips and wanted to stay on their lands" that Amir Shapira refers to in the series he published in December 1976 in Al ha-Mishmar, the official daily of the United Workers Party (Mapam), junior member of the former ruling Labour Party - Mapam Alignment.

* See for instance:

Sabri Jiryis, The Arabs in Israel, Inst. for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1968 & Monthly Review Press, NY, 1976 (Second Edition)

Fouzi el-Asmar, Israeli Land and Settlement Policies, Middle East Research and Action Group (MERAG), London, 1974

Uri Davis & Norton Mezvinsky (Eds), Documents from Israel: 1967 - 1973, Ithaca Press, London, 1975

Ibrahim Abu Lughod (Ed), The Transformation of Palestine, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1971

One would have assumed that since Israel's water resources and supplies are administered nationally by Mekorot and Tahal, Arab villages and what has remained of Arab agriculture would receive their water supplies through these agencies as well. This, however, does not seem to be the case, at least not in the Triangle where a large concentration of Arab population resides. The Israel Water Commissioner has, of course, exclusive control of the water supplies and the water allocations in the area, but he exercises his control not only through Mekorot and Tahal, but rather - at least in the Triangle - through granting permits to individuals and Arab village associations to sink wells locally. In other words, Arab villages in the Triangle are not connected to the Mekorot national water supply system, which is restricted it seems in this area to supply Jewish settlements only.

The following consists of excerpts from Amir Shapira's serialized study:

'In the small Triangle, fertile and submerged in green, no one has yet heard of Article No 3 [of the Water Law]. The Water Law is a dead letter which is sneered at (Amir Shapira, Al ha-Mishmar, 5.12.1976) ... The inhabitants of Kufr Qasim discovered irrigation in the mid-1950s ...

On their shrunken agricultural lands (in 1966, under the land settlement procedures thousands of dunams were taken away from them) they began cultivating under plastic and the water problem became acute. Nobody in Kufr Qasim can say why some people received permits to sink wells and others did not. In the Water Commission the officers shrug their shoulders. An indication of the nature of the connections which aided the acquisition of these permits can be got from the examination of water-well ownership in the village: one of the three owners is a Jew and the other two are heads of large extended families or clans (hamulas) . . . Haim Goldenberg . . . from Petah Tikvah has become the water supplier for 70 customers (by certification of the Water Commission) . . . This Jew from Petah Tikvah . . . is making good money . . . The farmers depend completely on Haim's grace and do not seek the intervention of the Water Commissioner (which they are entitled to do according to the law. The law has provisions which allow appeal against water prices in cases of extortion) . . . [Previously they have tried to] organize

themselves as an Association and requested permit to sink their own well . . . 67 (out of the 200 farmers in Kufr Qasim) organized in this Association. They have applied for permit, and when their application was rejected they turned, as an Association, to settle for a deal with Haim (Amir Shapira, *Ibid*, 6.12.1976).

Today Jaljuliya has 1200 dunams, which are concentrated in a narrow wedge between the lands of the neighbouring [Jewish] settlements around . . . Until 1965 the village agriculture was based on dry farming, and it received its drinking water supplies from the neighbouring [Jewish] kibbutz ha-Horshim. Now that a well was sunk in Jaljuliya the village was allocated 200,000 cubic meters of water per annum. By rough calculation this averages at about 200 c/m per dunam, which provide at most for two rounds of irrigation. The farmers of Jaljuliya . . . exceed (with the knowledge of the Water Commission) their water allocations and pay fines. Hisham Ra'abi paid I£7000 in fines last year. The farmers of the neighbouring [Jewish] moshav Neveh Yerek do not pay fines. A Jewish farmer who has a plot of 20 dunams receives a water allocation of 20,000 c/m per annum. The planned Jewish farm cannot be taken as a model for the Arab farmer - so they claim at the Water Commission . . . In the fields of the Jewish neighbours sprinklers are sprinkling water day and night, and in Jaljuliya farmers are deserting their lands and migrate to labour on foreign fields . . . Jewish moshavim have discovered the cheap labour force . . . In the neighbouring moshav Elishema the situation is sad and depressing. The people of Jaljuliya tell fantastic stories about this place. The [Jewish] settlers stay at home and live from sub-letting their lands. Three enterprising Jews (not residents of moshav Elishema) sub-let all the moshav lands (at I£150 per dunam) and organized their cultivation through . . . hired wage labourers from the West Bank. Jewish land, Jewish water and cheap Arab labour from the West Bank sustain a moshav in Israel, while in the neighbourhood the Arab farmers of Jaljuliya are spitting blood in their efforts to receive better water allocation, loans and quotas. (Amir Shapira, *ibid*, 8.12.1976)".

As Davis (1973) observes, the greater portion of the land confiscated from the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 lies between the Jewish metropolitan centres along the seaboard and the front-line network of kibbutzim established before 1948. These areas together with the areas annexed by Israel since the 1948/9 Armistic Agreements beyond the territory allocated to the Jewish state by the UN 1947 Partition Plan constitute what is officially defined in Israel as 'Development Areas'. It is in these areas that the overwhelming majority of those Palestinian-Arab villages which have not been deliberately destroyed by the 1948/9 Israeli occupation are located. It is important to note that the state of Israel allows a wide range of generous concessions in taxation, housing and investments in 'development areas'. These are graded A, B and 'Others' respectively. As noted above most of the Arab villages in Galilee and the Triangle fall within the administrative boundaries of the two categories of Development Areas A and B (see Appendix II). Yet there isn't a single Arab village in Israel which is classified as a development settlement, and thus there isn't a single Arab village which is entitled to the generous concessions which are offered by the Government to investors wishing to establish firms and plants in the area. This privilege is reserved exclusively for Jewish settlement. A typical case in point is the Deir al-Asad, Bi'na and Nahaf area. The lands of these three villages were confiscated in 1962/3 for the purpose of establishing the exclusively Jewish city of Karmiel (see Chapter 1 above). Karmiel is classified as a Development township (class A). The government has undertaken to establish in Karmiel a sophisticated and highly advanced industrial infra-structure (the Karmiel Industrial Park). Investors in Karmiel get very considerable support in establishing their firms there and corporations are encouraged through generous subsidies and tax concessions to transfer their plants from the central regions of the country's coastal plain to Karmiel. Similarly the government offers prospective settlers in the new town generous loans and grants, subsidized apartments for sale and rent etc.*

* Still, the original target of 20,000 inhabitants within the first decade has not been achieved. Today, twelve years after the first Jewish settlers took residence in the city, Karmiel has slightly less than 10,000 inhabitants, less than the total population of the three villages of Deir al-Asad, Bi'na and Nahaf combined.

These privileges are, however, reserved to Karmiel alone. The neighbouring Arab villages are of course not classified as development settlements. Furthermore, no Arab investor is allowed to establish a plant in Karmiel, nor are Arabs allowed to purchase apartments in the city. (see below: 'Sale of a Functionary's Villa to an Arab from a Neighbouring Village Angers Residents of Karmiel' (Haaretz, 20.7.1977). So far all efforts by Israeli Palestinian-Arab citizens to establish a plant in Karmiel have been systematically and effectively aborted. Thus, Yediot Aharonot (2.8.1971) reports:

CLOSED TO NON-JEWS

by Musbah Halabi

The area is closed to non-Jews - thus replied in writing the Director of Israel Land Authority to Mr. Ismail Qablan, a Druze from Ussafiyya, who wanted to start a marble quarry net to the development town of Karmiel.

Mr Qablan, who has recently retired from the Israeli Border Police in officer rank after 20 years of service, has decided to start a business. After deliberations and consultations he decided to start a marble quarry in the Galilee. He turned at first to the Israel Land Authority office in Nazareth. The Director of the Nazareth office granted the application in writing and asked him to locate and prepare the site.

From the Nazareth office of the Israel Land Authority Mr. Qablan turned to the Regional Planning Office, and the engineer prepared for him (the required) contour plan. For final authorisation he had to turn to the Ministry of Interior in Acre, and after filling at the Regional Officer office all the required forms, he was told that within 3-4 months he will get a reply.

Towards the end of this period the reply finally indeed arrived, and it said that the Israel Land Authority does not authorise the plan. The reason: the quarry area is closed to non-Jewish citizens.

Mr. Qablan was deeply hurt by this reply and turned immediately to the security authorities, the Chief of Staff, the Director of the Israel Land Authority and all other related offices asking: why did the Nazareth office of the Israel Land Authority give me the 'green light' (to go ahead) and the main office in Jerusalem refuses to recognise

that?

In response, Mr. Qablan received a simple reply from the director of the Israel Land Authority; the matter is under consideration. (Yediot Aharonot, 8.2.1971)

And similarly Yair Kutler in Haaretz 18.2.1972

KARMIEL: THE WARS OF THE JEWS (The Other Israel (5))

Everything began when Muhammad Ma'ruf (Musa), resident of the neighbouring village of Deir al-Asad (2800 inhabitants) submitted an official proposal to the (Karmiel) Municipal Council and to the Investment Centre to construct a plant for bricks construction, steel and stone cutting with a capital investment of I£ 1,5 million and a commitment to employ 50-60 workers. It is unnecessary to emphasize that such a plant is badly needed in the new town which is very much behind with the construction of apartment blocs Ironically, Muhammad Ma'ruf is not new to Karmiel. He is almost at home there. He is the sub-contractor for steel construction for the Modul Concrete Plant, which is located (in the industrial park of the town) and produced prefabricated housing units on a conveyor belt for Jews. . . .

The Secretary of the Workers' Council, Mr Moshe Primoshur (originally from Rumania) and one of the more powerful people in Karmiel, is among the leading opposing voices. . . . 'If they take a positive decision on this matter' - he warns - 'many will escape from this place. Should Ma'ruf establish a plant here, his Arab workers will later wish to live here. We shall not allow Karmiel to become a second Acre. We really want Jews to live and work here. . . .'

The Secretary of the Municipal Council Mr Shmuel Pridar (35), married and a father of four children, was in the recent past the Principal of an Elementary school. He came to Karmiel from moshav Yogev: 'I am against Arab residence here while Karmiel has only 4,500 inhabitants. When the population increases to 15,000, perhaps, but then in a controlled fashion, while priority for residence is given to Druze who have completed

their compulsory military service. I do not oppose Arab investments in branches such as electronics, tourism or hotels, provided that the dominant labour force is Jewish.'

- But surely hundreds of Arab workers already work in Karmiel?

Pridar: 'True, but in Jewish plants and in low status labour. In the new plants which the Arabs may construct, if they get authorization - first of all the Jewish residents of Karmiel must be employed. We have to absorb new immigrants.' (Haaretz, 18.2.1972)

Yair Kutler devotes also the 7th article in his series "The Other Israel", to Karmiel, (Haaretz, 23.2.1972), namely:

A CHEAP SUMMER HOUSE (The Other Israel (7))

A summer house in Karmiel is now in fashion. The investment is very worthwhile. In the villa area (stage A) 35-40 dunam have been allocated for the building of the first 67 units. Parcels for private construction are available 'to anyone who may desire to do so.' [Not exactly as we shall later see] ... The Government grants every occupant a loan of I£ 40,000. This sum constitutes 70% of the total prospective investment. The interest on the loan is 7.5 - 11% (depending of the source). The average interest, however, is 9%. Almost free money. The loan has to be repaid over 30 years, and the prospective villa owner receives in addition a I£ 4,500 standing loan which becomes a grant at the end of five years... If the owner of the parcel does not begin to build within two years, he has to return the parcel, but one could benefit from speculation, for instance: one builds the villa without having the required capital Within a short while the price of the villa rises, and the owner is permitted to sell his property to the highest bidder. There are no limitations or restrictions ... (emphasis added). (Haaretz, 23.2.1972)

In other words, the Ministry of Housing, which is the almost exclusive land owner of Karmiel has released the villa area to private purchase and ownership. Thereby the legal limitations which enable the Ministry of Housing, as well as Israel Land Authority and the Israel 'national institutions' (the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, JNF) to restrict the ownership, occupancy or investment of non-Jews in Karmiel

(see the case of Mr Qablan above) have been removed, apparently unawares, since the subject again reached the headlines recently in Haaretz of the 20.7.1977 as follows:

" SALE OF A FUNCTIONARY'S VILLA TO AN ARAB FROM A NEIGHBOURING VILLAGE ANGERS RESIDENTS OF KARMIEL

A storm broke out the night before last in the villa quarter of Karmiel and has spread over the entire town. The reason; the villa of a public figure, who has left the place, was sold to a resident of a neighbouring Arab village, who has begun to renovate the building in order to move to live in Karmiel.

Residents went out to gather the signatures of the villa quarter on a petition which essentially put forward the demand to maintain the uniqueness of Karmiel, which has been established 'for the purpose of Judaization of the Galilee, and not for any other purpose'.

The construction of the villa was begun by Mr. Arie Ziv while he served in the police force. When he encountered difficulties, he exchanged his unfinished villa for the apartment of Mr Shaul Amur, member of the Karmiel Municipal Council for the (Labour Party-Mapam) Alignment, who later switched over to the Likkud. Mr Amur has left Karmiel about a year ago and until today no one else was nominated to replace him. In theory he is still a Municipal Council member. Mr Amur has concluded recently a deal with a resident of the village of Bi'na (whose uncle is one of the leading figures of the Israeli Communist Party-Rakah in Galilee) to rent the villa so that the villa could be sold (later) to (another) resident of Bi'na, who would undertake to repay the Mr Amur's mortgage. Mr Amur, who now works for the Municipal Council of Migdal ha-Emek could not be reached yesterday for comment.

The Chairman of the Municipal Council, Mr. Baruch Wanger, yesterday answered questions put to him by Haaretz correspondent on this matter. He said: 'I do not think that common residence in the same quarter in Karmiel can contribute anything to Jews and Arabs getting closer together. From the nature of things this can only cause confrontation between the two communities, since they have different requirements. The same problem would have occurred had a Jewish

family moved over to live in one of the Arab villages. There too they would not have been welcomed'.

According to Mr. Wanger, we must find ways to establish good relations and not seek to embitter relations through such incidents as the one in the villa quarter, which could cause the embitterment of relations. Karmiel maintains good relations in co-existence with all non-Jewish villages in the area. 'We wish to maintain these relations, and every such shock could sever the good neighbourly relations. No one wants that to happen'.

The residents at the villa quarter said yesterday that there is no danger that the price of their properties would go down, but rather that the question was a matter of principle: was Karmiel established for the purpose of the Judaization of the Galilee or was it established to prepare an expanded infrastructure for the Arabs of the area, who do not lack land in their own villages [sic] .

Fear was expressed that the buyer of the villa has received encouragements from nationalist elements who wish to put Arab residents into all Jewish centres in the Galilee such as Upper Nazareth, Maalot etc.

(Haaretz 20.7.1977)"

Muhammad Ma'ruf Musa was not permitted to establish his plant in the Karmiel industrial park, which is a huge complex stretching south of the Acre-Safad road. So in 1974-5 he built his large modern marble stone cutting plant just opposite, on a parcel of land leased from the village of Nahaf north of the Acre-Safad road facing the Karmiel industrial park. The high power electrical cable which supplies the Karmiel industrial park with electricity stretches by the Acre-Safad road along its southern bank just some 200 meters away from his plant. Still, despite his repeated applications to the Israel National Electricity Company his plant has yet not been connected to the national electricity supply. Ma'ruf Musa has to operate his plant on an oil powered electricity generator, which means that he is unable to run the plant to its full capacity.

Needless to say, Ma'ruf Musa cannot draw his electricity from any other source. 29 years after the establishment of the state of Israel and 12 years after the establishment of Karmiel, the neighbouring villages of Deir al-Asad and Nahaf have no electricity yet and only part of

the village of Bi'na has been electrified (Stage A). Deir al-Asad, as noted above, expects the first stage of its electrification to begin this summer (August 1977). Karmiel, of course, has been fully electrified well before the first settler came to the place in 1964-5. Furthermore, the settlers of Karmiel expected and received the electrification of their town, its sewage and road systems etc. as public service and unlike the native villagers of Deir al-Asad, Bi'na and Nahaf, they were not required to raise the millions of Israeli Pounds necessary to finance these projects; had this been the case it is doubtful whether they would come to settle there in the first place...

The concessions which prospective villa owners in Karmiel are officially granted by way of cheap loans, grants and mortgages have been detailed above by Yair Kutler. In light of these details it is illuminating that the Palestinian-Arab citizens of the state of Israel in Deir al-Asad and who wish to build a house in the village are granted by the Ministry of Housing loans and mortgages up to I£ 15,000 only. This sum is by far more ridiculous, than would be immediately apparent, since because of the extreme shortage of land in the village the price of land is very high and is rising constantly. The price of a dunam of land in Deir al-Asad ranges between I£ 80,000 - 200,000 depending on its location (see the Programme of the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front, the Village Master Plan (above)). Whereas the prospective villa owner in Karmiel can expect Ministry of Housing aid by way of cheap loans and grants to cover 70% of his total costs (I£ 40,000 by 1972 prices, see Yair Kutler above), the aid offered by the Ministry of Housing to the residents of Deir al-Asad can cover at most 19% of the costs of the land alone. (computed on the basis of cheapest price per dunam in Deir al-Asad (I£ 80,000) and a Ministry of Housing loan of I£ 15,000).

The problem was researched by Abu Qishq and Jiraysi (1976 & 1977) under the auspices of the Public Council for Social Welfare, the Team for Arab Affairs, appointed by Israeli Government. They too immediately note that the Palestinian-Arab society the usage is ours, their standard usage is the 'Arab sector' in the state of Israel suffers a severe land problem in all relevant areas of social life, namely:

- 1 Land for residential buildings
- 2 Land for agriculture - including grazing

- 3 Land for public buildings
- 4 Land for public space
- 5 Land for industrial parks
- 6 Reserve land for future development.

They also point out that up to the date of their report (1976-77) no master plans have been drawn to regulate in a definitive way the usage of those areas which have remained, to date, within the boundaries of the Palestinian-Arab villages in Israel so as to determine the allocation of lands in reserve for future development of the villages allowing for the rate of the natural increase of the population in question. They further note that the grazing areas available to the Palestinian-Arab villages in Israel have been constantly decreasing. They point out that in light of the Israeli policy of land expropriation this is not at all surprising. Since these grazing lands are the main source of foodstuff for the herds raised in the Arab sector, we are witnessing a constant decrease in the size of these herds at a time when, because of the growth of Palestinian-Arab population, the demand for meat is constantly increasing.

Abu Qishq and Jiraysi note that the shortage in residential buildings in the Arab sector is the most acute in the state of Israel. They point out that whereas in the six months previous to the publication of their research (1976) the price of land for residential building has been on the decrease in most parts of the state, prices have continued to increase, albeit gradually, in Arab villages. The pressure on land in Arab villages in Israel is particularly heavy, as the data on housing densities (No of persons per room) in the Arab compared with the Jewish sectors reveals. They provide the following table:

TABLE 6: FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM IN THE JEWISH & NON-JEWISH SECTORS OF THE STATE *

Sector**	Percentage of Persons per Room				
	up to 1 person per room	1.01 to 1.49	1.5 to 2.0	2.01 to 2.99	3+
Jewish	43.6	13.2	27.2	7.0	9.0
Non-Jewish***	15.4	2.2	21.7	12.1	48.6

* Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1974, p 283

** Not including kibbutzim, bedouines and institutions

*** Including minorities who are not Arab and whose standards of living are higher than the average of this table.

(Abu Qishq & Jiraysi, 1976)

As the table indicates, 17.6% of the non-Jewish (Arab) population in Israel live in housing density of up to 1.5 persons per room (as against 56.8% of the Jewish population). On the other hand 48.6% of the non-Jewish (Arab) population live in housing density of over 3 persons per room (as against 9% of the Jewish population).

The high price of land for residential building is a major factor in the housing crisis in Arab villages, since the price of land constitutes today a disproportionately important factor in the costs of the construction. In the opinion of Abu Qishq and Jiraysi, the crisis stems to a large extent from the fact that master plans for Arab villages are very much delayed and that there is a reluctance on the side of the authorities to provide public (state owned) land for housing projects for families in housing distress and young couples. (Abu Qishq and Jiraysi 1977).

Abu Qishq and Jiraysi also provide in their study data on the lack of capital to finance housing projects in the Arab sector. According to official figures (for the budgetary year of 1970-71) 93% of the budget of the Ministry of Housing was spent to finance housing projects in the Jewish sector alone (74% for housing for new immigrants and 19% for colonization and settlement of Israeli Jewish veterans in development towns). The margin of 7% has probably been spent to finance housing solutions in the Jewish sector that fall outside the framework of new immigrant housing and Jewish development towns. The maximum that can be said to have reached the Arab sector cannot have been more than 1% of the total budget of the Israel Ministry of Housing (Abu Qishq and Jiraysi, *ibid*). They further note that there are no projects in existence to provide housing projects for young couples in the Arab sector, nor can the Palestinian-Arab population in Israel benefit from the various mortgage schemes provided by the Ministry of Housing. All indications point out to the fact that inequality in housing between the Jewish and the Arab population in Israel is greater than the inequality between the levels of per capita income between the two populations.

Only Government intervention can, in their opinion, lessen the gap between the two populations through the provision of public housing on a large scale in the Arab sector.

So far there is no sign that the Israeli Government policy in this matter is about to change. See for instance Atallah Mansour's report: WALL OF ALIENATION BETWEEN NAZARETH AND UPPER NAZARETH: THE MINISTRY OF HOUSING HAS NOT BUILT A SINGLE APARTMENT IN THE LOWER [ARAB] CITY FOR EIGHT YEARS ... The Ministry of Housing has not built a single apartment in Nazareth since 1966. Nazareth requires every year an addition of 400-500 residential units to keep housing conditions at its present level, and without taking into consideration the housing requirements for the absorption of youth migrating to Nazareth from the neighbouring villages. Between 1958 and 1966 the Histadrut managed to convince the Ministry of Housing to build 408 housing units (in Nazareth). But after the Six Day War, the Ministry of Housing decides to cease building in Nazareth and to confine its assistance to granting loans to owners of plots who are building their own apartments. But, since many in Nazareth lack the money to purchase plots for building, nor can they afford to build privately, there is now in the city an acute housing shortage. (Haaretz, 18.7.1975)

Under the conditions of colonization and neo-colonization imposed on the Palestinian-Arab population by the state of Israel after its successful conquest of most of Palestine in the 1948/9 war, the population in question was robbed of the primary means of production - land - and denied, by deliberate policy, access to alternative autonomous means of production in industry and the public services. The rise of the standard of living of this population as measured by consumption criteria is irrelevant for our discussion. Devoid of autonomous capital and ownership of means of production, Palestinian-Arabs in pre-1967 Israel do not have the possibility to accumulate the capital that would make possible the establishment of Charitable Funds to finance autonomous institutions of culture and education. The traditional source of funds for this purpose - the Muslim Waqf property - has been decimated by Israeli land and settlement policies, and much of it has either been confiscated or transferred to

the Custodian of Absentees' Property to be handed over to exclusive Jewish cultivation or use. (See also Jiryis, 1968 and Appendix III).

This economic reality prevalent in the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948 stands in radical distinction to the structure and the financial underpinnings of Jewish educational, cultural and social life. One cannot sufficiently emphasize the critical importance of the duality between Israeli state institutions and state financing on the one hand, and the Jewish Agency institutions and funding resources on the other. This duality is of such important consequence in determining the circumstances of living of the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule that it deserves an excursus of some length.

III The Role Of The Jewish Agency And The Jewish National Fund (J N F) In Israel's Water, Land And Settlement Policies

Israeli water resources are administered (as we have noted above) by the Israeli Water Commission, headed by the Water Commissioner who is subject to the Minister of Agriculture. The Israel Water Commission operates within the framework of Israel Water Law (1959) which states as follows:

Article No. 1 The water resources in the State are public property; they are subject to the control of the State and are destined for the requirements of its inhabitants and for the development of the country.

Article No. 3 Every person is entitled to receive and use water, subject to the provisions of this Law.

The Water Commission administration is divided into a number of Departments of which Mekorot, Israel Water Co and Tahal, Water Planning for Israel Co are responsible for the construction of irrigation and water supply projects (Mekorot) and the overall planning and design engineering of Israel water development projects (Tahal). These two agencies, in fact, control the water supplies to all Israeli consumers in agriculture, industry, urban and metropolitan area and individual homes. Where water supplies are not channelled through Mekorot and Tahal, authority over water allocation rests directly with the Water Commission Department for Water Allocation and Certification (see above Section II).

Mekorot and Tahal are owned jointly by the Government of Israel, the Histadrut Labour Federation and what is officially termed in Israel 'the National Institutions' namely, the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund (JNF). It is typical of Israel that bodies such as the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, which by their constitution are directed to the exclusive advancement of Jewish immigration, colonization and settlement in Palestine, should be termed 'National Institutions' in complete disregard of the existence of half a million Palestinian Arab nationals citizens of the state of Israel.

The legal partnership between the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency/Jewish National Fund in the control of Israel water resources and supplies through the Israel Water Commission is replicated in the Covenant signed between the Government of Israel and the Jewish National Fund and endorsed by the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) in 1961. Under the terms of the Covenant the Jewish National Fund undertook to establish the Land Development Administration which is responsible for 'the schemes for the development and afforestation of Israeli Land' and 'shall engage in operations of reclamation, development and afforestation of Israeli Land as the agent of the registered owners.' The phrase 'Israeli Land' refers to state-owned land (State Domain), which according to official figures constitute 75% of the area within the pre-June 1967 borders, with another 14% owned directly by the Jewish National Fund. As Noam Chomsky correctly notes*

For over 90% of the land of the Israeli state (pre-June 1967) the (Land) Development Authority is under the control of a Company (the JNF) that represents not the citizens of Israel, but the Jewish people in Israel and the Diaspora and that is committed to the principle that it shall act in such ways as are 'beneficial to persons of Jewish religion, race or origin.' The Jewish National Fund was established 'for the purpose of settling Jews on such lands' as were acquired, 'to make any donations ... likely to promote the interests of Jews', to use funds in such ways which shall 'in the opinion of the Association be directly or indirectly beneficial to persons of Jewish religion race or origin' (quoted by Chomsky, *ibid*, from the Report on the Legal Structure, Activities, Assets, Income and Liabilities of the Keren Kayemet Leisrael (JNF), Keren Kayemet Leisrael Head Office, Jerusalem, 1973, pp17, 19, 21, 56-8).

* Noam Chomsky, "Israel and the Palestinians" in Davis, Mack & Yuval-Davis (Eds.), Israel & The Palestinians, Ithaca Press, London, 1975, p 386.

Through the 1961 Covenant the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet Leisrael) has now legal monopoly over the administration of over 90% of pre-June 1967 lands 'exclusively for Jewish use, in perpetuity'.

The JNF is now a 'public institution recognized by the Government of Israel and the World Zionist Organization as the exclusive instrument for the development of Israel lands' (Chomsky, *ibid*).

Table 7 on the following page gives the distribution and the breakdown of the expenditures of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency. In a similar dual fashion Jewish immigration to and absorption in Israel is handled by two agencies:

- 1 the Israeli Government Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and
- 2 the Jewish Agency Immigration and Absorption Department.

The state of Israel Ministry for Immigrant Absorption had available in the years 1973-1975 the following financial resources: (see Table 8).

As we shall see from Table 9, however, the Israel Ministry for Immigrant Absorption carries only secondary and supplementary tasks in the field. It is the Jewish Agency, not the Israeli Ministry, that carries out the main bulk of the task, both administratively and financially.

The lion's share of all (Jewish Agency) expenditure went on the work of the Immigration and Absorption Department. On an average it amounts to 47.3% of all expenditure. In this period (1967/8 - 1970/1) nearly 138,000 people immigrated to Israel. The scope and size of items of expenditure were not only dictated by the needs of immigrants who arrived in this period, but also by the needs in the field of absorption of immigrants who arrived in previous years. This is reflected in the expenditure on social services, both health services and education for both new and earlier immigrants.

(Jewish Agency, Reports for the Period January 1968 - September 1971, Submitted to the Twenty Eighth Zionist Congress in Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1971)

As the examination on the Tables below indicates only 4% of the overall costs of Jewish immigration and absorption is covered by the government of the State of Israel through the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. 96% of the costs involved are covered by the Jewish Agency. The proportion is, in

TABLE 7: EXPENDITURE OF THE SETTLEMENT DEPARTMENT 1967/68 - 1970/71 (in I£ thousands)

	1967/68		1968/69		1969/70		1970/71		Total	
	I£	%	I£	%	I£	%	I£	%	I£	%
A										
Work on A/C of Ordinary Budget										
Infrastructure Work in Settlements	22,651	14.2	30,534	31.4	20,345	28.3	24,492	30.5	98,022	24.0
Housing	49,964	31.4			7,000	9.7			56,964	14.0
Establishment of New Settlements	9,363	5.9	8,491	8.7	8,089	11.3	8,577	10.6	34,520	8.2
Consolidation of Settlements	29,842	18.8	37,734	38.8	24,769	34.4	22,679	28.2	115,024	28.2
Citrus Groves	3,849	2.4	5,458	5.1	2,149	3.0	2,806	3.4	14,262	3.5
Regional Water Projects	16,205	10.1	2,488	2.5	46		4,664	5.8	23,403	5.7
Regional Projects	20,495	12.9	6,488	6.8	4,061	5.6	9,182	11.5	40,226	9.8
Subsidies & Employment	2,510	1.6	645	0.6					3,155	0.8
Research & Planning	410	0.3	308	0.4	52		229	0.3	999	0.3
Sundry Activities	1,817	1.1	2,988	3.1	3,108	4.4	2,499	3.2	10,412	2.6
Main Office	2,076	1.3	2,107	2.1	2,308	3.3	5,240	6.5	11,731	2.9
	159,182	100%	97,241	100%	71,927	100%	80,368	100%	408,718	100%
B										
Expenditure on A/C of Future Income	987		17,825		21,957		21,120		61,889	
	160,169		115,066		93,884		101,488		470,607	

TABLE 8: THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND THE BUDGET OF THE
MINISTRY OF IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION BY FIELD OF
ACTIVITY

Total Resources (in thousand I£)	Actual Expendi- ture for 1973	Budget for 1974	Proposed Budget for 1975
Total resources (in thousand I£)	<u>22,998</u>	<u>71,190</u>	<u>89,350</u>
Participation and Income	1,421	20,320	21,350
Total net budget	21,577	50,870	68,000
Management, administration and organization, planning and research, information, absorption consciousness	8,868	14,423	19,495
Absorption services and districts	7,433	10,575	17,055
Students and Yeshivah Students	626	19,685	21,656
Social Absorption	4,650	6,187	9,794

Ministry of Finance, The Main Features of the 1975 Budget

TABLE 9: EXPENDITURE OF THE IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION DEPARTMENT 1967/68 - 1970/71 (thousand £)

	1967/68		1968/69		1969/70		1970/71		Total	
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Immigration Preparations	11,145	2.5	17,210	3.4	24,281	7.4	41,121	8.2	93,757	5.2
Transportation	11,783	2.6	17,727	3.5	26,193	8.0	27,224	5.4	82,927	4.6
First Absorption & Financial Aid	8,570	2.0	11,087	2.1	15,470	4.7	15,256	3.1	50,333	2.7
Absorption Centres, Hostels & Ulpanim	7,252	1.7	10,200	1.9	13,123	4.1	19,895	4.0	50,470	2.7
Housing	208,390	46.6	173,057	32.1	83,938	25.7	214,816	42.6	675,644	37.7
Health Services	92,289	20.6	94,435	18.3	46,224	14.2	48,948	9.7	281,896	15.8
Education Services	44,903	10.0	74,854	14.5	37,198	11.4	27,280	5.4	184,235	10.2
Social Services	22,195	5.0	84,443	17.7	53,892	16.6	78,481	15.6	245,799	14.0
Employment for Immigrants	8,766	1.9	15,656	3.0	6,180	1.9	8,000	1.6	38,602	2.1
Student Administration & Care of Academic Pers.			5,976	1.2	11,125	3.3	15,191	3.0	32,292	1.8
Various Absorption Work	31,032	7.0	9,602	2.0	8,197	2.5	6,915	1.1	54,580	3.0
Administration	681	0.1	1,567	0.3	733	0.2	1,808	0.3	4,789	0.2
	447,006	100%	515,764	100%	326,554	100%	504,935	100%	1,795,324	100%

fact, more remarkable, since we are comparing the Jewish Agency expenditure on immigration and absorption computed for 1971 with the actual expenditure of the Israel Ministry of Immigrant Absorption computed for 1973 in I£ 1973 prices. If the rates of inflation and devaluation of the Israeli pound are computed into the calculations (as they should), the Israel government contribution through its Ministry of Immigrant Absorption would be significantly smaller.*

There is no doubt that without the enormous input of Jewish Agency funding into the maintenance of Israeli Jewish cultural and educational institutions - funds mobilized from Jewish communities throughout the world and administered by the diversified network of Jewish Agency operations in Palestine - the social, cultural and educational circumstances of the Jewish society in Israel would be very much inferior. In certain respects an analogous duality is maintained in the post-1967 Israeli occupied territories, especially the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The major bulk of the funding required to maintain the cultural, educational and social life of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is mobilized abroad, and thus a limit, however tenuous, is placed to the cultural and educational impoverishment of the Arab society under Israeli occupation since 1967.

IV Employment And Labour Force

The majority of the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948 earns its livelihood through employment as daily wage labourers in construction, agriculture, industry and public services. The management Israeli economy is controlled almost exclusively by Jews. It is worth recalling that one of the key slogans of the Labour Zionist movement in Palestine was the 'conquest of labour', or in the formulation of the second Aliya Ha-Poel ha-Tzair programme: "The necessary condition for the realization of Zionism is the conquest of all branches of Labour in Eretz Israel by Jews". Ha-Poel ha-Tzair was the precursor of the United Workers Party - Mapam, the Zionist

* Note that the latest official reports on Jewish Agency expenditure that are easily accessible are those submitted to the last (28th) Zionist Congress in 1971.

party which advocates Zionism, Socialism and Brotherhood among the Nations. We leave our readers to judge to what extent these three objectives could possibly be compatible.

The combined effect of the Zionist and Israeli colonial and neo-colonial policies directed against the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule can be seen through the examination of the patterns of occupation open to those Israeli citizens who happen to be Palestinian-Arabs. Given the massive land alienation imposed upon the Palestinian-Arab society in pre-1967 Israel proper the overwhelming majority of Palestinian-Arab breadwinners in pre-1967 Israel were transformed from peasants into cheap daily wage labourers, commuting daily from their native landless villages to the various centres of employment almost exclusively owned by Jews and situated by and large in the Jewish urban concentrations. Generally speaking they are forced into the worst paid jobs in industry and the services. Ironically a large percentage (see below) is being employed in agriculture on Jewish farms and settlements as cheap wage labourers, often on the very same land that was confiscated from them and transferred to exclusive Jewish ownership in Kibbutzim, Moshavim and private farms.*

* Until 1948 the economy of the village of Deir al-Asad, like of most, if not all, Palestinian-Arab villages has been based on agriculture, and the village was self-sufficient in its food consumption (grains, vegetables, fruits, milk products and meat). The agricultural surpluses were sold in neighbouring markets (Acre, Haifa and Nazareth) for cash, with which the villagers bought produce that was unobtainable locally (coffee, sugar, metal, household utensils, kerosine, cloth, trinkets etc.). This economic mode of production was dominant in the village until the early 1960s, despite the slow increase in daily wage labour in the metropolitan centres in industry and services, beginning in the mid-1950s. The confiscation of the major part of the village staple producing plain lands in 1962-3 forced most of the village labour force (over 80%) into proletarian employment. No more than 10% still gain their livelihood from farming, and less than 10% are self-employed (carpentry, iron work, mechanics, garages, transport, shop owners and small commerce).

Table 10 presents data concerning the average wage in those branches of the Israeli economy that are relevant to this outline (Jewish labour force compared with non-Jewish (Arab) labour force). While the average size of a Jewish family in pre-1967 Israel (singles included) is 3.9 persons, its average annual income is I£ 24,000 whereas the average size of a Palestinian-Arab family in pre-1967 Israel (singles included) is 6.6 persons and its average annual income is I£ 23,000. These figures refer to families whose main source of income is gained through wage labour in the cities (urban employee family). The overwhelming majority of families in pre-1967 Israel, both Jewish and Arab, gain their livelihood through such employment. (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975; see below).

In the three lowest paid occupations: service workers, agricultural workers and unskilled workers Jewish employment exceeds Arab employment only in the services (11.9% versus 8.8%), and this is mainly due to the inbuilt racism prevalent in the Jewish society which effectively bars Arabs from employment in hotel and catering services where they are likely to be serving white Jewish and western public. In the hotel services they would not be employed in room service, but rather in the basement laundry. In restaurants they would not be employed as waiters but rather in the back room kitchen etc.

TABLE 10: Employed Persons by Occupation and Population Group (1974)

Occupation	Total Employed	Jewish Employed	Non-Jewish (Arab) employed	Average Annual Income 1974 Per Urban Employee (in I£)
Total (in thousands)	100% (1,089.2)	100% (984.4)	100% (104.8)	
(0) Scientific and academic workers	6.3% (68,620)	6.9% (67,924)	0.6% (696)	23,000
(1) Other professional, technical & related workers	12.4% (135,060)	12.7% (125,020)	9.6% (10,040)	17,100
(2) Administrators & managers	3.3% (35,944)	3.6% (35,438)	0.4% (505)	28,400
(3) Clerical & related workers	16.8% (182,986)	18.2% (179,161)	4.6% (4,825)	14,800
(4) Sales workers	8.0% (87,136)	8.0% (78,752)	8.0% (8,384)	14,000
(5) Service workers	11.6% (126,347)	11.9% (117,144)	8.8% (9,203)	9,100
(6) Agricultural workers	6.4% (69,709)	5.5% (54,142)	15.0% (15,567)	10,300
(7) Skilled workers in industry, mining, building, transport & other skilled workers	28.8% (313,690)	27.9% (274,650)	37.2% (39,040)	15,500
(9) Other workers in industry, transport building, & unskilled workers	6.3% (68,620)	5.3% (52,173)	15.7% (16,447)	11,800

In agriculture Jewish employment is 5.5% (versus Arab employment of 15%) and as unskilled workers Jewish employment is 5.3% (versus Arab employment 15.7%). In other words, whereas only 22.7% of the Jewish employed are found in the three worst paid occupations in pre-1967 Israel 39.5% of the Palestinian-Arab citizens of the State of Israel are thus employed. As the figures for skilled industrial labour indicates Arab employment exceeds Jewish employment (Arabs 37.2% - Jews 27.9%) which reflecting statistically what is well known, namely, that Jewish employment tends to leave skilled menial industrial employment for slightly lesser paid clerical and related jobs (Jews 18.2% - Arab 4.6%).

Needless to say that the almost complete inaccessibility of Palestinian-Arab citizens of the state of Israel to scientific and academic and professional employment is one of the most glaring manifestations of discrimination perpetrated against the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule and directed to impose upon its intelligentsia and political leadership enormous hardship, humiliation and ultimately strong pressures either to emigrate abroad or surrender their national autonomy and compromise their dignity and integrity*.

The reader is referred to the following study in this volume where the situation of Arab education in Israel and the fate of Palestinian-Arab students in Israeli institutions of higher education is examined in detail.

V Health

The only systematic research into the area of health and public health of the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948 has been done by Dr Hatim Kan'ani and Dr Sami Jiraysi (1975). All the data presented here are quoted from their excellent study. Kan'ani and Jiraysi made a comparative survey of the public health services offered by the Histadrut Sick Fund (Kupat Holim)** to the Jewish population of Karmiel Vs the Arab population of the village of Tamra (data for 1974-5) (see Table 11 below)

* At the time of writing (August 1977) Deir al-Asad had 19 university graduates and 16 undergraduate and postgraduate students enrolled at various institutions of higher education in Israel.

** The Histadrut sick fund is the largest health insurance programme in

TABLE 11: HISTADRUT SICK FUND SERVICES IN KARMIEL AND TAMRA

	Karmiel	Tamra
No. of Histadrut Sick Fund members (approximation)	6000	6000
of which are children	1600	2800
No. of doctors	4	2
of which are children doctors	1½	1
of which are specialist doctors	½	-
No. of nurses	6	3
No. of pharmacists	1	-
No. of employees in administration and maintenance	3	2½
Manpower - Total	14	7½

(Kan'ani and Jiryasi, 1975)

The inequality in health and public health services becomes still more frightening when one examines the number of Jewish as against the number of Arabs residents per every certified medical professional in the country (pre-1967) :

TABLE 12: NO. OF JEWS COMPARED WITH ARABS BY CERTIFIED MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS

	National Average*	Arab society (Acre Subdistrict)*
Doctors	337	3170
Dentists	1261	43000
Pharmacists	1066	16250
Nurses	190	688

* Based on the Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1974, p 26

** Based on a survey, August 1975

In their study Kan'ani and Jiraysi present comparative data in the fields of epidemiology, public health in educational institutional, preventive medicine and curative services. In the framework of our work we shall have to confine ourselves to quoting at some length their observations concerning the current state of public health within the Palestinian-Arab society in pre-1967 Israel.

A Garbage

"Public places in the Arab settlements today are no man's land and are not properly administered. In some settlements partial collection and disposal of garbage has been introduced but with poor facilities. A considerable number of Arab settlement has not touched upon the problem at all, including settlements that do not have a Local Municipal Council (39 bedouine tribes and 30 rural villages). The existence of heaps of garbage and rubbish at street corners and in private plots provides breeding grounds for insects and various pests, especially flies who are an important element in spreading gastric diseases. A properly planned and certified garbage burial or dumping ground is very rare in the Arab sector.

Recommendations:

- 1 Regional planning for garbage disposal, which involves allocation of appropriate areas of land for this purpose including Israel Land Authority lands.
- 2 The provision both by the Ministry of Health and by the Ministry of Interior of financial and technical assistance to the Local Municipalities in

Footnote continued . . .

Israel. 70% of the pre-1967 Israeli population is insured under the Histadrut Sick Fund. Israel does not have a national health insurance scheme. (See relevant chapters in Bober 1972). In Deir al-Asad the local clinic of the Histadrut Sick Fund employs one doctor half-time and two nurses. This medical team is supposed to service approximately 1600 Histadrut Kupat Holim members in the village. There is no dentist in the village, no pharmacy and no laboratory. The village has a Mother and Child clinic (run by the Ministry of Health) which employs the team of one part-time nurse (twice a week for four hours) and one part-time doctor (twice a week for a full day, one day to treat pregnant women and the other to treat children).

obtaining the necessary machinery and devising appropriate solutions for the collection and disposal of garbage.

- 3 The establishment of health committees supported by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Health which would take care (until such time that a Local Municipal Council is nominated or elected) of all health matters in their village, including the collection and disposal of garbage.
- 4 The implementation in reality of all laws pertaining to the subject while simultaneously introducing the instruction of the population in matters such as environmental hygiene by health education teams.

B Sewage

"In many villages sewage water is still diverted to public roads and plots. lavatories in the villages are not properly disinfected nor are they solidly closed, and thus they provide a breeding place for mosquitoes and a source for gastric diseases of various kinds: bacterial, viral and parasitic.

Central sewage systems do not as yet exist in any Arab village, nor in the town of Shafa'amr. Only Nazareth has a partial sewage system. In a number of villages such as Umm al-Fahm, Deir al-Asad and Fasuta there is no possibility to construct simpler solutions such as individual septic pits due to topographical conditions and the nature of the land [mountain rock].

In a number of villages* rainfall collects and accumulates in lakes and pools which constitute a serious health hazard and where every year accidents of children drowning occur. The lake and pool lands are owned by the Israel Land Authorities and not the Local Municipal Councils.

Recommendations;

- 1 The construction of central sewage systems with purification pools, which involves (considerable) expenditure and requires financial assistance, allocation of appropriate land and conscious planning by the Ministries of Interior, Agriculture and Health.
- 2 The implementation of the existing laws in this matter together with the instruction of the general public by health education teams.

* Deir al-Asad is one of these villages.

- 3 The transfer of the rainfall lake and pool lands to the Local Municipal authorities or to (local) health committees, as well as the provision of financial and technical aid to remove this public hazard".
(Kan'ani and Jiryasi, 1975)

In conclusion it is important to note that given the patterns of official discrimination in Israel, the issues that are facing the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948 relate first and foremost to the struggle to defend and provide the basic social and political structures that are necessary to sustain life and a modicum of dignity, and protect the community from the crippling effects of official racism. The fact that in the area of public health elementary provisions are being denied this society is a painful reminder that political discrimination can never be confined; it permeates all levels of human life and posits, in many ways, an all-embracing challenge to those committed to the improvement of the social and political conditions for human dignity and equality.

Chapter 4: DEIR AL-ASAD: VITAL PROJECTS FACING THE VILLAGE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

Any discussion to the short-term and long-term plans and projects for the village of Deir al-Asad must relate to the social and political reality in the region - Galilee - and to the official policies of Israeli Government agencies, in whose power it is to determine to a large extent the quality of life and the circumstances of living of the population under their administration.

We have already noted above that the official policies of Israel Government agencies in the Northern District have been clearly and concisely formulated by Dr Israel Koenig, The District Commissioner, in his secret Memorandum to his superiors (of which we have quoted relevant sections on the question of Palestinian-Arab population). In order to understand fully the significance of the projects which the Deir al-Asad Local Municipality considers vital to the village we would do well if we regarded Dr Koenig's proposed 'solutions' to what he terms "The Demographic Problems and the Expressions of Arab Chauvinism". (Translation and footnotes by Dr Israel Shahak).

"Chapter A

Section 3: The Expected

...

3 There is a serious danger that in the next decade there will be Arab domination over the town of Acre and the region of Nazareth demographically as well as politically.

4 One should take into account the possibility that in one of the stages of hostile political activity, the demand for holding a referendum in the North of the country, wherein the Arab population constitutes a majority, will be raised*. That activity will be directed from abroad. However, it might be carried out by Leftists-Chauvinists among the population of the State.

5 It is possible that at a certain stage, there will be a provocation planned by Rakah and/or the chauvinists, the purpose of which will be to cause an outburst by non-controlled Jewish elements:** that situation can raise the subject of the Arabs of Israel in international forums, and at the same time will manoeuvre the moderate elements among the Arabs of Israel into a position which will force them to identify with extreme steps, inside and outside the State.

6 One can notice an organized activity of acquiring immovable property by the Arabs in the areas of the North. That activity is conspicuous in Upper Nazareth*** and in Acre, and it is worrying in the Jesre'el Valley.
Section 4: Proposals

(a) To broaden and deepen the Jewish settlement in regions where the continuity of the Arab population is conspicuous and their number is too much above the Jewish population, and to check the possibility of thinning**** the concentrations of existing Arab population.

* The very possibility of a demand for a referendum, or any democratic way for Palestinians to determine their fate, is a clamor for Zionists.

** Meaning anti-Zionists. All Zionists have amply shown that they are 'controlled' - they will be always prepared to cheat on demand of the Secret Police of the 'Jewish State'

*** Palestinians who have no place to live in Nazareth are, illegally, buying unoccupied 'Jewish' flats in the Apartheid town of Upper-Nazareth, where Koenig himself has an office; he also lives there.

**** The agricultural expression, used in Gaza Strip and other conquered territories in the meaning 'to expel, to remove'. An expression worthy of Eichmann, and accurately describing his first activities, for example in Austria in 1938-1939, where he was very successful in 'thinning' the Jewish population whose 'concentration' and 'continuity' in many 'areas of Vienna', were thought objectionable to the Nazis.

One should pay special attention to the area near the North-West border of the State and the area of Nazareth. The approach and the rate of execution should not be according to the routine which has been used concerning those subjects up to now. At the same time, one should enforce the laws of the State in order to prevent the 'settling'* of Arab settlements in various parts of the State.

(b) At the same time, there should be a strong and stable Jewish leadership in Upper Nazareth and in Acre, which will be capable of confronting the expected critical developments.

(c) To introduce a policy of reward and punishment (in the framework of the law) concerning leaders and settlements which express themselves in any form which is hostile towards the State and Zionism.**

(d) In order to take over the hegemony of the national struggle and of the representation of the Arabs of Israel from the hands of Rakah, and in order to give vent to the feelings of those who hesitate, a party should be founded; that party should be a sister party of the Labour Party which will lay emphasis on ideas of equality, humanism, culture and language, social struggle and raising the banner of peace in the Middle-East. The institutions*** should prepare themselves in order to maintain a covert presence and control in that party.

(e) To introduce complete co-ordination among the Government Ministries, the Histadrut and the local authorities, especially in the operational echelon in the field, and to insist firmly on its execution.

(f) To make every possible effort in order to create national consensus of all the Zionist parties concerning the subject of the Arabs of Israel in order to prevent internal**** political struggles." (Koenig, 1976)

* Arabs never settle in Israel. The word without the inverted commas is strictly reserved for Jews in Israel.

** Free expression in Israel is officially a Jewish privilege, like the right of asking questions.

*** 'Hamosdot' in Hebrew. Word used to include the Secret Police and the Intelligence, called popularly in Hebrew 'Hamosad' - 'The Institution' - as it is.

**** All Zionists, including the various 'left' groups like 'Moked', 'Breira' and others, are rightly, regarded by the Israeli government as potential allies, with whom 'a consensus' on the oppression of Arabs, can and should be established.

Thus, every Jewish settlement in Galilee is provided with the infra-structures necessary to sustain modern conditions of living, and every Jewish settlement established after the 1948-9 war has been connected to the national road, water and electricity networks well in advance. The Jewish settlers entered into their places of residence with the assurance that basic public utilities and services will not be denied from them. Further, they were provided with generous subsidies, grants and cheap long-term loans as well as far-reaching tax concessions to aid them in the improvement of the quality of their life and the circumstances of living in the area. Alongside these Jewish settlements there are Arab villages, hundreds of years old, which to this day thirty years after the establishment of the state of Israel have to confront basic and elementary problems such as electrification, sewage, the pavement of roads, elementary school buildings etc., without assistance.

We have already noted that the village of Deir al-Asad was connected to the national water system only in 1963-4. Until then there was no running water in the village. By now all 105 Arab settlements in Israel have running water, but there are still 22 Arab villages throughout the country, which are as yet not connected to the national electricity network*. The chronic and very acute shortage of elementary school buildings as well as school buildings for the intermediary division and secondary schools; the lack of adequate sports grounds, a cultural club and central library in the village - have all been underlined previously. In light of this situation, we chose to conclude our study by outlining the four projects considered by the Deir al-Asad Local Municipal Council to be most vital to the sustenance and improvement of the village, and which require outside aid on a fairly large and consistent scale in order that they be carried out and adequately sustained.

1 Water

The 4200 residents of the village of Deir al-Asad consume today some 120,000m³ annually, all of it for domestic consumption. Yet, the official water allocation for the village has not been altered since 1964, when it was

* The electrification programme for Deir al-Asad is scheduled to begin in the summer of this year (1977).

set at 72,000 m³ per annum. The Water Commissioner, despite repeated petitions, has consistently refused to update the village allocation of water for domestic use, let alone, allocation for agricultural irrigation, the rapid increase of the village population notwithstanding. For the additional consumption of some 48,000m³ annually the village pays the Water Commissioner many tens of thousands of pounds by way of fines. At the time of writing the Water Association debt to the Israel Water Commissioner for domestic water consumption above the 1964 quota for the year 1976-7 totals over I£ 70,000. The newly elected Local Municipal Council carried out a popular donation campaign directed to raise money to cover this debt which threatened the water supplies of the village. The Water Commissioner regulations make provisions for the increase of the water quota of any locality beyond its original water allocation, but such increase involves a one time payment of I£ 4.00 for every cubic metre, in our case some I£ 200,000. Deir al-Asad has no allocation of water for agriculture. While Jewish villages and farms are allocated by the Water Commissioner very generous quotas of water for agricultural irrigation at highly favourable rates, Arab villages have to purchase much of the water they wish to use for agricultural irrigation at the very much higher rates of water for domestic use plus fines. (See above Chapter 3).

2 Equipment for the village elementary schools

A school consists of many factors, the most important of which are the teaching teams, teaching aids and the school building. Since 1970 and especially since the election of the new Local Municipal Council the village has succeeded in raising the necessary funds to provide for elementary school buildings for its pupil population. The teaching teams in the village are both excellent and devoted. On the other hand, much of the required equipment by way of teaching aids is lacking. The schools in the village, as in all Palestinian-Arab villages in Israel, lack laboratories, school libraries, playgrounds and sport facilities. All initiatives to improve the situation in this respect have been frustrated simply for lack of funds.

3 A secondary school in the village

As noted above there are today in Deir al-Asad some 1300 elementary school pupils, who, no doubt constitute a sufficiently large population for a large local secondary school. However, pupils from Deir al-Asad who wish to

pursue their secondary school education must either travel daily at considerable costs to the cities of Nazareth, Acre or Haifa or finance their accommodation and board there during week days. These financial costs are well beyond the capacity of the majority of Deir al-Asad households, and there are currently only some 200 pupils [mostly boys] from Deir al-Asad who can afford to pursue their secondary school education under these conditions.

In light of this situation the new Deir al-Asad Local Municipal Council considers the establishment in the village of a local secondary school one of its most vital objectives. The school would serve the villages of Deir al-Asad, Bi'na and Majd al-Kurum which together have an elementary school population which exceeds 2500. Under the prevailing conditions in the 20th century, popular secondary school education constitutes a necessary condition for social and cultural development. The establishment of a local secondary school in the village is an urgent need which must be met, yet again the village cannot meet this pressing need without some measure of external financial support.

4 Culture Centre

Since the election of the new Local Municipal Council, the Council is under constant pressure by the public and especially the younger generation, to establish a culture and sports centre in the village. Because of the desperate shortage of funds the Council cannot expect to meet this need, which is both urgent and vital. Such a centre would serve the community in many ways, not the least important of which would be to constitute a defence against the criminal tendencies which are beginning, particularly among frustrated youths, to emerge within the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948. So far there is no significant criminality within the Palestinian-Arab community, largely because family ties and traditional networks are still strong, and the values of the Palestinian-Arab rural society have not been completely eroded under the impact of the Israeli colonial policies since 1948. Yet, there is little doubt that the traditional social and cultural framework of the Palestinian-Arab society in Israel is fast disintegrating, and there is urgent need to support it in order to avoid the dangers of significant criminality. In this context the establishment of a culture and sports centre in the village assumes added urgency. The establishment of such a centre is vital to save the youth in the village in the next

decade from the curse of criminal gangs. The centre will support a variety of social and study circles, will hold seminars and symposia, literature and drama circles and provide for a range of sports facilities.

The Local Municipal Council considers the establishment of this centre to be no less urgent and vital than the water, electrification and secondary school projects listed above. The centre will constitute a focus to promote universal brotherhood and solidarity with the struggle of humanity throughout the world for freedom and equality.

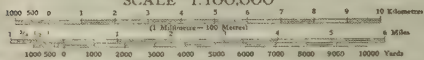
In conclusion, we wish to emphasize again that in light of the specific conditions prevailing in the state of Israel - defined as a Jewish and a Zionist state - the Palestinian-Arab society cannot meet the urgent needs of the population in the domains of public services, culture and education without significant assistance from outside. The new Local Municipal Council elected in Deir al-Asad on the 25.5.1976 will be judged by the degree of its success in meeting these basic needs. In other words it will be judged by the degree of its success in mobilizing financial aid for those communal projects that are so urgently needed to sustain and promote the welfare of the community. The purpose of this study is inter alia to aid the Deir al-Asad Local Municipal Council in its efforts to raise the necessary funds and through its success break open the way for other Local Municipal Councils in Israel which are in similar circumstances. It is important to bear in mind that the Municipality of Nazareth under the administration of the Nazareth Democratic Front and the Local Municipality of Deir al-Asad under the administration of the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front are rightly considered both by the Israeli authorities and by the Palestinian-Arabs in Israel to be the front-line representatives of the Palestinian-Arab struggle for economic, social and national equality. Both are under the jurisdiction of Dr Israel Koenig, District Commissioner for the Northern District. Both contend with similar needs. Both have to confront the persistent attempts by the Israeli authorities to suffocate their administration financially and force them into bankruptcy. Should the efforts in mobilizing significant financial support for independent Palestinian-Arab Municipalities and Local Municipal Councils fail, their achievements in this struggle so far will be seriously endangered.

APPENDICES

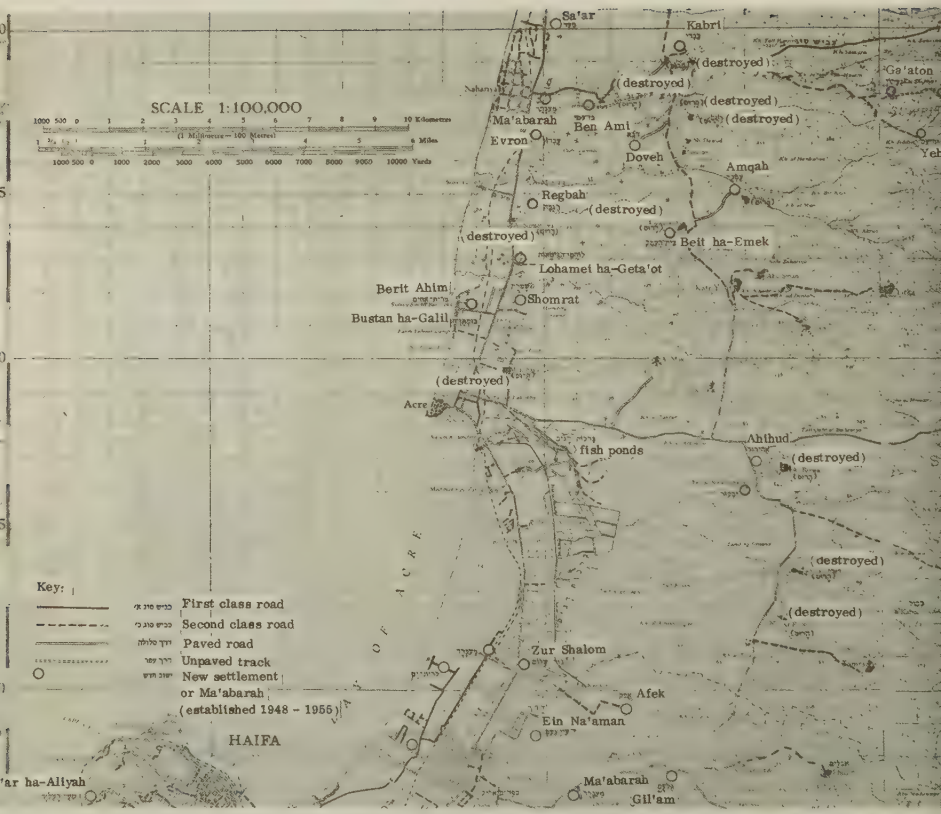
NOTES TO APPENDIX I

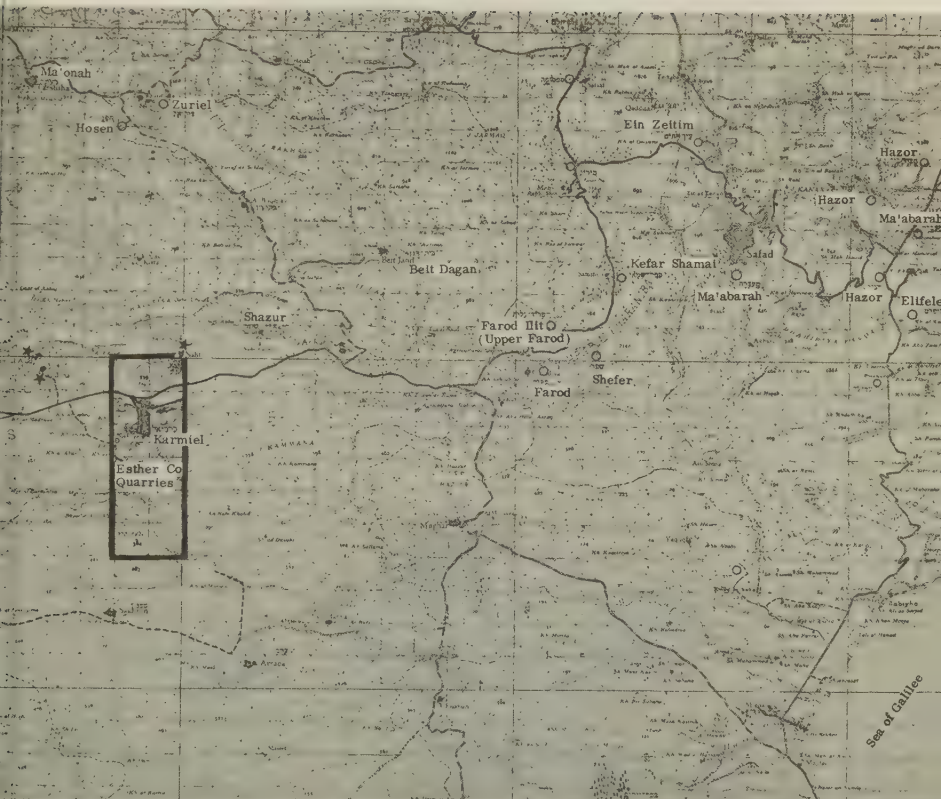
- 1 This map is compiled on the basis of the Survey of Palestine map (1:100,000), 1942 & 1944 by permission of H M Ordinance Survey, Crown Copyright reserved, with updating of roads and settlements.
- 2 The framed section is amended to show the new Jewish city of Karmiel as laid out in 1972.
- 3 The details of the 1953 & 1955 Israeli updating show the Israeli-Jewish settlements and Ma'abarot established between 1948 and 1955. Ma'abarot (sing. Ma'abarah) is the Hebrew term for the transition camps where Oriental-Jewish immigrants were housed in tents and corrugated tin huts. By the mid-1960s most Ma'abarot were liquidated or incorporated into the metropolitan slums of Israel's main cities.
- 4 The details of the 1953 & 1955 Israeli updating also show those Palestinian-Arab villages razed to the ground during the period of 1948 to 1955. (Many Palestinian-Arab villages evacuated during the 1948-9 war were physically razed to the ground only in later years). These villages are marked '(destroyed)' (הרוס)

SCALE 1:100,000



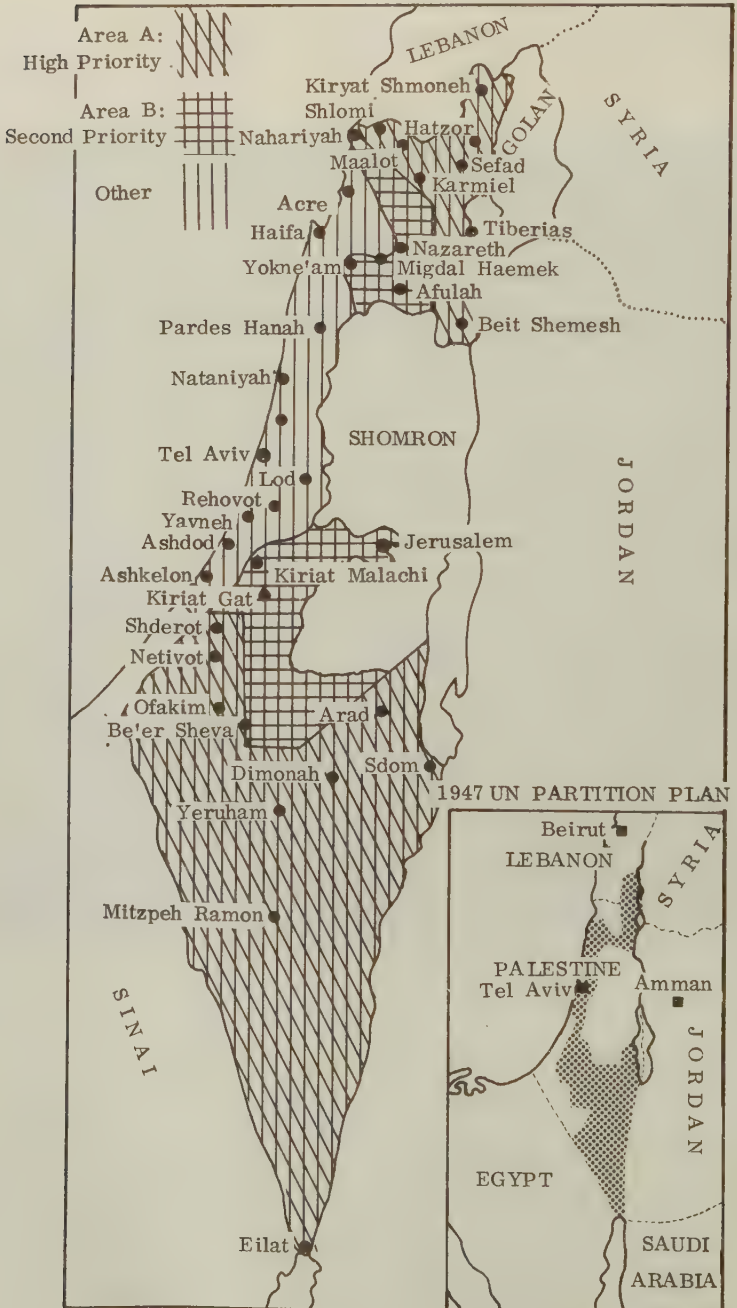
- Key:
- First class road
 - Second class road
 - Paved road
 - Unpaved track
 - New settlement or Ma'abarah (established 1948 - 1955)





Based on the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright reserved

(according to Encouragement of Capital Development Law)



APPENDIX III

Absentees' Property Law (1950), Articles 1 - 8, 30 and Amendment No 3
(Release and Use of Endowment Property) (1965)

1 In this Law -

(a) "property" includes immovable and movable property, moneys, a vested or contingent right in property, goodwill and any right in a body of persons or in its management;

(b) "absentee" means -

(1) a person who, at any time during the period between the 16th Kislev, 5708 (29 November 1947) and the day on which a declaration is published, under section 9 (d) of the Law and Administration Ordinance, 5708 - 1948*, that the state of emergency declared by the Provisional Council of State on the 10th Iyar, 5708 (19 May 1948)** has ceased to exist,*** was a legal owner of any property situated in the area of Israel or enjoyed or held it, whether by himself or through another, and who, at any time during the said period -

(i) was a national or citizen of the Lebanon, Egypt, Syria,

Saudi-Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Iraq or the Yemen, or

(ii) was in one of these countries or in any part of Palestine outside the area of Israel, or

(iii) was a Palestinian citizen and left his ordinary place of residence in Palestine

(a) for a place outside Palestine before the 27th Av, 5708 (1 September 1948); or

(b) for a place in Palestine held at the time by forces which sought to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel or which fought against it after its establishment;

* I R No 2 of the 12th Iyar, 5708 (21 May 1948), Suppl. 1, p 1; LSI Vol. 1, p 7

** I R No 2 of the 12th Iyar, 5708 (21 May 1948), p 6

*** [Since no such declaration has been made to date, the State of Israel is legally declared to be in a state of emergency since the 29 November 1947].

(2) a body of persons which, at any time during the period specified in paragraph (1), was a legal owner of any property situated in the area of Israel or enjoyed or held such property, whether by itself or through another, and all the members, partners, shareholders, directors or managers of which are absentees within the meaning of paragraph (1), or the management of the business of which is otherwise decisively controlled by such absentees, or all the capital of which is in the hands of such absentees;

(c) "Palestinian citizen" means a person who, on the 16th Kislev, 4708 (29 November 1947) or thereafter, was a Palestinian citizen according to the provisions of the Palestinian Citizen Orders, 1925 - 1941, Consolidated*, and includes a Palestinian resident who, on the said day or thereafter, had no nationality or citizenship or whose nationality or citizenship was undefined or unclear;

(d) "body of persons" means a body constituted in or outside Palestine, incorporated or unincorporated, registered or unregistered, and includes a company, partnership, cooperative society, society under the Law of Societies of the 29th Rajab, 1327 (3 August 1909) and any other juridical person and any institution owning property;

(e) "absentees' property" means property the legal owner of which, at any time during the period between the 16th Kislev, 5708 (29 November 1947) and the day on which a declaration is published, under section 9 (d) of the Law and Administration Ordinance, 5708 - 1948, that the state of emergency declared by the Provisional Council of State on the 10th Iyar, 5708 (19 May 1948, has ceased to exist, was an absentee, or which, at any time as aforesaid, an absentee held or enjoyed, whether by himself or through another; but it does not include movable property held by an absentee and exempt from attachment or seizure under section 3 of the Civil Procedure Ordinance, 1938**);

(f) "vested property" means property vested in the Custodian under this Law;

* P G No 1351 of the 10 October 1944, Suppl. II, p 755 (English Edition)

- (g) "held property" means vested property actually held by the Custodian, and includes property acquired in exchange for vested property;
- (h) "released property" means property released under section 28;
- (i) "area of Israel" means the area in which the law of the State of Israel applies;*
- (j) "bill" means a bill of exchange, a cheque, a promissory note or any other negotiable instrument.

Articles 2 - 8 of the Law define the office of the Custodian of Absentees' Property and the terms of the vesting of absentees' property in the Custodian:

- 2 (a) The Minister of Finance shall appoint, by order published in Reshumot, a Custodianship Council for Absentees' Property, and shall designate one of its members to be the Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Council shall be called the Custodian.
- (b) The Custodian may bring an action and institute any other legal proceeding against any person and be a plaintiff, defendant or otherwise a party in any legal proceeding.
- (c) The Custodian is entitled to be represented in any legal proceeding by the Attorney-General or his representative.
- (d) When the Custodian ceases to hold office, his functions, powers, rights and duties shall automatically pass to the Minister of Finance; when another person is appointed Custodian, the said functions, powers, rights and duties shall automatically pass to him, and so on from Custodian to Custodian,

* [Which means that although East Jerusalem has been officially annexed to Israel and its population made subject to the law of the State of Israel, the status of its Palestinian-Arab residents is that of "absentees". They are "absentees" in so far as their rights in property in Palestine are concerned. They are very much present for all other matters such as taxation, conformity to Israeli civil and criminal codes etc.]

- 3 (a) The Custodian may, with the written approval of the Minister of Finance, appoint inspectors of absentees' property and delegate to any of them any of his powers, except the power to appoint inspectors. A notice of the appointment and scope of powers of every inspector shall be published by the Custodian in Reshumot.
- (b) The Custodian may appoint agents for the management of held property on his behalf and may fix and pay his remuneration.
- (c) The Custodian may appoint officials and other employees, whose status shall be the same as that of other State employees.
- 4 (a) Subject to the provisions of this Law -
- (1) all absentees' property is hereby vested in the Custodian as from the day of publication of his appointment or the day on which it became absentees' property, whichever is the later date;
- (2) every right an absentee had in any property shall pass automatically to the Custodian at the time of the vesting of the property and the status of the Custodian shall be the same as was that of the owner of the property.
- (b) The proceeds of vested property shall be dealt with like the vested property yielding the proceeds.
- (c) Vested property -
- (1) shall remain vested property so long as it has not become released property under section 28 or ceased to be absentees' property under section 27;
- (2) may be taken over by the Custodian wherever he may find it.
- (d) Where the Custodian has acquired any property which was not absentees' property at the time of the acquisition, in exchange for vested property, the acquired property shall become held property and shall be dealt with as was the property in exchange for which it was acquired.
- 5 The fact that the identity of an absentee is unknown shall not prevent his property from being absentees' property, vested property, held property or released property.

- 6 (a) A person who has in his possession any absentees' property is bound to hand it over to the Custodian.
- (b) A person who has a debt to, or any other obligation towards an absentee shall pay such debt or discharge such obligation to the Custodian.
- 7 (a) The Custodian shall take care of held property, either himself or through others having his consent.
- (b) The Custodian may, himself or through others having his written consent, incur any expense and make any investments necessary for the care, maintenance, repair or development of held property or for other similar purposes.
- 8 (a) The Custodian may carry on the management of a business on behalf of an absentee, whether or not he indicates that the business is managed by the Custodian, but he shall always have the right to sell or lease the whole or a part of the business, and -
- (1) if it is the business of an individual - to liquidate it;
 - (2) if it is the business of a partnership all the partners of which are absentees, or of a company all the directors or shareholders of which are absentees, or of a cooperative society all the members of which are absentees - to wind up the partnership, company or cooperative society by order published in Reshumot.
- (b) Where the Custodian has published a winding up order under subsection (a) (2), the winding up shall be conducted -
- (1) in the case of a partnership or company - as if the winding up order had been made by a competent court in accordance with part V of the Partnership Ordinance¹⁾ or in accordance with part VI of the Companies Ordinance²⁾, as the case may be;
 - (2) in the case of a cooperative society - as if the winding-up order had been made by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies in accordance with section 47 of the Cooperative Societies Ordinance³⁾,
- and in every case as if the Custodian had been appointed as a liquidator not replaceable by another liquidator.

And article 30 of the Law sets out the rules of evidence applicable to the Custodian's transactions in absentees' property:

- 30 (a) Where the Custodian has certified in writing that a person or body of persons is an absentee, that person or body of persons shall, so long as the contrary has not been proved, be regarded as an absentee.
- (b) Where the Custodian has certified in writing that some property is absentees' property, that property shall, so long as the contrary has not been proved, be regarded as absentees' property.
- (c) A certificate of the Minister of Defence that a place in Palestine was at a particular time held by forces which sought to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel or which fought against it after its establishment shall be conclusive evidence of its contents.
- (d) A copy certified by the Custodian of an entry in his books or official files or of another document in his possession shall, in any action or other legal proceeding, be accepted as prima facie evidence of the correctness of its contents.
- (e) A written confirmation by the Custodian as to matters within the scope of his functions shall, unless the Court has otherwise directed, be accepted in any action or other legal proceeding as prima facie evidence of the facts stated in the confirmation.
- (f) The Custodian and his inspectors, agents and officials are not bound to produce in any action or other legal proceeding any book, file or other document the contents of which can be proved in accordance with this section, and are not bound to testify on matters which can be proved through a confirmation of the Custodian as specified in this section, unless the Court has otherwise directed.
- (h) A certificate, a confirmation, a permit or any other document which purports to have been signed, issued, given or delivered by the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Finance or the Custodian shall, so long as the contrary has not been proved, be considered to have been so signed, issued, given or delivered.

(i) The plea that a particular person is not an absentee, within the meaning of section 1 (b) (1) (iii), by reason only that he had no control over the causes for which he left his place of residence as specified in that section shall not be heard.

It seems that the 1950 formulation of the Absentees' Property Law was inadequate insofar as seizing Muslim Warf property was concerned. The Israeli Parliament (Knesset), therefore introduced in 1965 the following Amendment to the Law:

Absentees' Property (Amendment No 3) (Release and Use of Endowment Property) Law, 5725 - 1965 *

1 (a) In section 4 of the Absentees' Property law, 5710 - 1950¹) (hereinafter referred to as "the principal Law"), the following subsection shall be inserted after subsection (a) :

1A) (1) Where any property is an endowment under any law, the ownership thereof shall vest in the Custodian free from any restriction, qualification or other similar limitation prescribed, whether before or after the vesting, by or under any law or document relating to the endowment if the owner of the property, or the person having possession or the right of management of the property, or the beneficiary of the endowment, is an absentee. The vesting shall be as far from the 10th Kislev, 5709 (12 December 1948) or from the day on which one of the aforementioned becomes an absentee, whichever is the later date.

* Passed by the Knesset on the 30th Shevat, 5725 (2 February 1965) and published in Sefer Ha-Chukkim No 445 of the 3rd Adar Alef, 5725 (5 February 1965), p 58; the Bill and an Explanatory Note were published in Hatza'ot Chok No 629 of 5725, p 58.

1 Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5710, p 86 - LSI Vol. IV, p 68; Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5711, p 70 - LSI Vol. V, p 63; Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5716, p 34 - LSI Vol. X, p 31.

(2) The provisions of this subsection shall not void any restriction, qualification or other similar limitation prescribed by or under this Law or imposed by the Custodian and shall not void any transactions effected by him,

(b) This section shall have effect retroactively as from the date of the coming into force of the principle law . . .

Note :

For bibliographical material on Study No 1 refer to page 118.

Study No 2

Adnan Abed Elrazik

Riyad Amin

Uri Davis

THE DESTINY OF ARAB STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

An Outline Towards a Discussion of the Prospects for an Arabic
University in Galilee

Address for correspondence:

Riyad Amin

P O Box 29

Nazareth

Galilee

Israel

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS:

Adnan Abed Elrazik (MSW) is a Lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Bethlehem University in Social Work and Social Welfare.

Riyad Amin (MA) is a Ph D student in bio-chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a Lecturer in Chemistry and Bio-chemistry at the Bir Zeit University.

Dr Uri Davis (Ph D , Anthropology) is a Lecturer in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford (England), and currently on a two year research leave of absence in Israel.

PUBLISHERS NOTE to Study No 2

The original publication of this study by Key (Miftah) Publishers presented the subject matter under the following chapters :

- I General characteristics of the Palestinian-Arab population under Israeli rule since 1948
- II The role of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund (J N F) in Israel's water policies, land policies and the maintenance of social services
- III The situation of Arab education in Israel
- IV Possibilities of employment of Palestinian-Arab graduates in Israeli universities
- V Conclusions

Appendix I: The Arab Student Loans and Scholarship Fund - Jerusalem

Appendix II: Council for Higher Education Law (1958)

Bibliography

Chapters I and II, expanded and re-edited, have been incorporated into the preceding study published in this volume, "Deir al-Asad: The Destiny of an Arab Village in Galilee". We are therefore reprinting this study here in abridged form, which consists of Chapters III, IV and V of the original publication with Appendices and Bibliography.

Chapter 1: THE STATE OF ARAB EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

In the framework of this outline we cannot attempt a comprehensive discussion of the state of Arab education in Israel. A good analysis of the subject matter can be found at Eisenstadt (1968) or in Nahleh (1976). The latter is a good summary of Eisenstadt's relevant findings on this matter. In the following pages we shall list some data that are relevant to the subject of this outline while being fully aware that these data can serve only as preliminaries and must be supplemented by systematic and comprehensive research to determine more precisely the broad features of the picture as well as its important details.

Although in 1975 the Palestinian-Arab primary school population in pre-1967 Israel constitutes 21.4% of the total primary school population (a proportion that adequately corresponds to its 15% share of the total population), its share in secondary schools drops to 10% and its share in Israel's universities and institutions of higher education only is 2.23% of the student population. (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975)

While we cannot deal here in any detail with the problems facing Arab elementary and secondary education in Israel, the reader is referred to the Jirayisi Report (1972) for a detailed study of the subject. An illustration, however, is in order. Jirayisi and his colleagues make the following observations:

Education and culture in the Arab sector in general and in the Arab village in particular must be considered in reality to be both an aim in itself and a means towards the development of the Arab sector. The improvement of the educational and cultural services in all fields and

on all levels of education is a basic and urgent need for this community. The best indication that this is the case is the fact that no less than 33 - 35% of the total Arab population in Israel are pupils of elementary schools. If one adds to this the 3 and 4 year old children population in kindergartens and the pupils of the 9th and 10th grades (15 and 16 year old) the ratio within the Arab rural village population increases to 40% . . .

It would be appropriate that the construction of school buildings (in the Arab sector) be planned in such a manner that would guarantee the adequate availability of sufficient number and appropriately equipped schoolrooms for all (elementary school) pupils (subject to the Compulsory Education Law of 1952). Then it would be necessary to continue the regular construction of additional schools to meet the constant and salutary need which is created by the natural increase of the population in question. In reality, however, this is not the case, and despite the fact that it is twenty years since the Compulsory Education Law has come into force, and despite what has been done in the field of classroom construction to this day, the Arab sector suffers from a dangerous shortage of classrooms to a total of at least 3000 rooms according to the estimates of the Ministry of Education. This figure is even greater if one incorporates into the calculation the lack of kindergartens for 3 and 4 year olds. In Umm al-Fahm we have encountered the situation where 60 classrooms have been constructed by the local Municipality since it came into office, yet, there still is an acute immediate need for 40 more.

As we know, the school building is only an external frame, unless it is equipped adequately with teaching aids, furniture, laboratories, nature rooms etc. These are resources which Arab schools in one way or another very much lack.* (Jiraysi, 1972)

* Against this background we would like to point out the remarkable initiative, effort and perseverance which Palestinian-Society under Israeli rule since 1948 has displayed in its struggle to confront these problems. Until the late 1950s the number of secondary schools in the 'Arab sector' did not exceed ten. Today there are some fifty Arab secondary schools in pre-1967 Israel. All of them, almost without exception, were built by local initiative

TABLE 1: POPULATION ACED 14 AND OVER, BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING AND POPULATION GROUP (PERCENTAGE)

Jews		Non-Jews (Arabs)	
Years of Schooling	%	Years of Schooling	%
0	8.1	0	24.4
1 - 4	4.7	1 - 4	13
5 - 8	25.9	5 - 8	37.2
9 - 12	44.7	9 - 12	20.5
13 - 15	10.2	13 - 15	3.9
16+	6.4	16+	1

Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table xxii/1

As previously noted, Arab students constitute only 2.23% of the total number of students in Israel's universities and institutions of higher education. These 2.23% divide as follows:

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH & NON-JEWISH (ARAB) STUDENTS IN ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS BY DEGREE & BY POPULATION GROUP

	% of total Jewish Students	% of total Non-Jewish (Arab) students
B.A	73	87.5
M.A	19	10.9
Ph.D	5.7	0.4

Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, tables xxii/29 & xxii/32

The picture that emerges from these data is not arbitrary nor coincidental. It is a direct result of Israel's policies of systematic discrimination, oppression and cultural impoverishment directed by Israeli civilian and military authorities against the Arab society in Israel. This policy has been formulated by Mr Uri Lubrani, former Advisor to the Prime Minister of Arab Affairs in unambiguous terms:

If there were no pupils the situation would be better and more stable. If the Arabs remained hewers of wood it might be easier for us to control them. But there are certain things that are beyond our control. This is unavoidable. All we can do is to place our advice on record and suggest how the problems are to be dealt with.
(Haaretz, 4.4.1961; quoted in Jiryis, 1968)

The same theme has been elaborated more recently by Dr Israel Koenig the Northern District Commissioner of the Israel Ministry of Interior in his secret Memorandum entitled "Handling the Arabs of Israel", or as it is popularly known, "The Koenig Report". Here is what Dr Koenig has to say on the question of Arab leadership and Arab education in Israel*:

(Chapter) B The Arab Leadership and Its Consequences

1 The democratic and open Jewish society, into which the Arab population, which remained in the country after the establishment of the State, had been thrown, (and) was not absorbed, neither in respect of its way of thinking nor in respect of customs and openness. The Jews who have been in charge of handling that population and whose task was

Footnote continued ...

and financed without any significant Government assistance, and often against strong government obstruction. Dozens of application to the Ministry of Education for permits to open more Arab secondary schools are currently being obstructed by the authorities, through administrative delay.

* The "Koenig Report" was leaked and published by Al ha-Mishmar, the Hebrew daily of the United Workers' Party - Mapam (7.9.1976). Translation and emphases by Dr Israel Shahak. Some of the translator's notes are retained.

to make them loyal to the society of the Jews, failed. There are clear signs that all steps were taken in order to keep its uniqueness and isolation on the one hand, and to try to acquire selective attention and favoured attitude on the other hand.

However, at the same time, they spoke time and again about equality, integration etc . . . whereas the deeds contradicted this. That policy did not take into account the Arab character, which is Levantine and superficial, which contains no profundity and in which the activity of the imagination is greater than that of the rationality.

The most extreme expression of that ambivalent and contradictory policy was the 'crowning' of representatives and leaders for that population. Up to now, there has been no one 'positive' Arab public figure which was elected above the local level.

The Arab society in Israel undergoes the painful process of transition from an agricultural and [traditionally] institutionalized society for many generations into an industrial society, and the disintegration of its family, religious and social systems; in addition there is the dimension of national difficulty.

That conflict is grave and each individual faces decisions which are crucial sometimes. A society in transition which is at those stages, needs leaders who will serve as personal examples and will have the qualities which will enable them to give answers to those in conflict and to lead them in the proper way toward a reasonable solution, public as well as personal.

However, as was noted in the introduction, that was not the test for getting the title of a 'leader'. The violent one, the prattler and not always the honest one have become the representatives and those who carry banner of the Arabs of Israel.

2 The second generation which grew up in the Israeli society and which tries to adopt even superficially the Israeli customs, cannot accept those leaders. One could detect signs of that about ten years ago; and those who were in charge of those subjects should have built personalities which should be both accepted by the second generation, and loyal to

the State. In our opinion, whether that blunder was the consequence of lack of ability or by intention, the results might be very dangerous. One of the main catalysts for the deterioration today is the aversion from that leadership (see the elections to the municipality of Nazareth).

3 The Expected

(a) The struggle between those who hold various titles and the rebelling generation will grow when the first (group) will be mainly based on the Governmental establishment, the Histadrut and the party* establishment.

(b) The results will be a struggle for control and the title will become a subject of struggle against the Establishment and the State, as the majority is constantly passing to the rebelling camp.

(c) The factors who are hostile to the State will take advantage more and more of that social crisis, will use it for their struggle, and the repercussions will be used in various forums in Israel and abroad as a social and national struggle.

(d) In our opinion, if that deterioration continues in the present rate, then Rakah will win ten mandates in the coming elections to the Knesset.**

4 Proposals

(a) One should act courageously and change most of those who deal with the Arab sector in all the Governmental apparatuses, police and parties, including the echelons of those who determine the policy.

* 'The party', or parties, the Hebrew text is uncertain, means either the Israeli Labour party of all the Zionist parties. Rakah although a legal party in Israel, is not 'party' in the 1984 mentality of the Israeli government officials.

** The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (The Israel Communist Party (Rakah), The Black Panthers and Jewish and Arab Public Circles) won, in fact, only 5 seats out of the 120 seats in the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) in the recent May elections.

(b) One should get rid of the present Arab 'leadership', which does not represent the Arab population and one should lay stress on the non-identification of the Establishment with it.

(c) Those who will be appointed to carry out that task should start immediately the construction of new figures whose intellectual level will be high, and who will be honest and charismatic and should help them to establish an Arab party as aforementioned.*

(d) To appoint a special team of (general Security Service) which will investigate personal habits of the leaders of Rakah and other negative people and will inform their electors of those findings.

(e) To take personal steps against any negative personality on all levels and by all institutions.

(Chapter) D Education

1 The most conspicuous and decisive change in the system of concepts and behaviour of the Arab population is a result of the extension of the education system among that population.

The improvement of the economic situation and the social security of the individual and the family brought a large population of students to high-schools and to universities.** This was accelerated by the introduction

* Chapter A, Section 4 (Proposals), Paragraph (d):

(d) In order to take over the hegemony of the national struggle and of the representation of the Arabs of Israel from the hands of Rakah, and in order to give vent to the feelings of those who hesitate, a party should be founded; that party should be a sister party of the Labour Party which will lay emphasis on ideas of equality, humanism, culture and language, social struggle and raising the banner of peace in the Middle-East. The institutions should prepare themselves in order to maintain a covert presence and control in that party.

** See Table 2 below for figures of Arab versus Jewish students in Israeli universities. Obviously, for a racist mind 867 Arab B.A students versus 31,675 Jewish B.A students (figures for 1975) is just too many Arabs ...

of scaled tuition fee (66%) in high schools. The financial aid and the policy of scholarships for university students, have created the fact that population with an education, even if it is superficial and provincial one, constitutes the active part of every chauvinistic movement and especially in the present condition of the Arabs of Israel. That is the situation (see the events which happened in the universities). Those, who take care of that sector, should have expected those possibilities; and it is a necessity to plan ahead the co-ordination of the various systems and the steps which should be taken in regard to the population of graduates, of all kinds.

2 The favoured criteria (low marks) for admission of Arabs students to the various higher education institutions* and the subjects to which they have been directed** (humanities, political and social sciences), the lack of concern and the impossibility of finding work for all the graduates - have created a large population of frustrated 'educated people' who have deep psychological need for finding vent for their feelings: this is expressed in being against the Israeli Establishment and the State.

The problem is a very serious one, if one takes into account the fact that the university graduates number over 5,700 and today there are about 2,500 students in higher education institutions.

3 The expected

(a) As a result of the objective difficulty to be aware of the professional inferiority, (sic) the feeling of frustration will deepen and at the same time their number will increase at a growing rate.

(b) Taking into account the Levantine character and the social dynamic, one can foresee the transition of that society from introversion to external expressions; and one should not ignore the possibilities of organizing and the transition to violence. The first buds are existing already.

* This is a pure lie, as I can testify from my experience as a teacher in the Hebrew University. Shahak

** By forbidding to teach mathematics and science at an advanced level in most Arabic high-schools.

(c) Raising the banner of social [progress] and the chauvinistic banner of open identification with the P L O and even with more extreme organizations.

(d) There are reasonable chances for the success of some leaders who belong to the advanced local society, grew in it, and will probably possess leadership abilities.

(e) One should not ignore the difficulties which the Government will meet while dealing with them in critical times because of their personal level.

4 Proposals

(a) One should keep the same criteria for Arabs and Jews for admission of students to universities and for granting scholarships. Keeping those rules will create a natural selection (sic) and will decrease significantly the number of students. This will also result in the decrease in the number of low-level graduates; and that fact will make easier their being absorbed in work after the end of their studies.

(b) To encourage the direction of students to technical professions and to exact and natural sciences. Those studies leave less time for engagement in chauvinism and the fallout of students is high.*

(c) To make it easy for them to go abroad for studying and to make it difficult for them to return and to find a job - that policy might help their emigration.

(d) To take rigid steps on all levels against agitators of all kinds among university students.

(e) To prepare in advance the possibilities of absorption of most of the graduates, according to their skills.** That policy can be carried out because of the time (a number of years) which those who

* As a teacher of chemistry in classes which contain many Arabs, I can testify that the racist Koenig, together with other racists, is mistaken.
(I Shahak)

** That means according to the permanent Arab character as Koenig sees it.

execute it, have for planning their steps. (Koenig, 1976)

For our purpose, however, it is necessary to know not only the relevant relative data pertaining to the Jewish as opposed to Arab student population in Israel institutions of higher education, but absolute figures as well, especially absolute figures of Palestinian-Arab graduates. In 1973, for instance, the student population in Israel was divided as follows:

TABLE 3: STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY DEGREE AND POPULATION GROUP

	Jews	Non-Jews (Arabs)
B,A Students	31,675	867
M,A Students	8,258	108
Ph,D Students	2,474	4

Based on Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, table xxii/32

It is also important to note that despite the horrific discrimination perpetrated against the Palestinian-Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948 in the field of higher education, the absolute number of Palestinian-Arab graduates from Israeli universities consist of a pool of skilled and qualified manpower sufficiently large in order to provide an adequate teaching staff for an Arabic university or institute of higher education where the first language of teaching will be Arabic.*

* This phrasing is deliberate. The institution in question will quite clearly not restrict its admission to Arab students alone. Any qualified student or teacher who has sufficient mastery of Arabic - or who is willing to take preparatory classes in Arabic - will qualify to apply for admission as a student or for employment as a member of staff.

See also A Angel, "An Arabic University in Nazareth" (Heb.), Matzpen (the organ of Israeli Socialist Organization (I S O), No 81, May 1977. In this short article Angel makes the same point:

An Arabic university in Nazareth will be a university where the language of teaching will be Arabic. It will be open to anyone who might wish to

It is worth noting that Palestinian-Arab graduates of Israeli institutions of higher education already teach in the Bir Zeit and Bethlehem universities in the West Bank as well as in teachers training colleges and in secondary schools in the West Bank and pre-1967 Israel proper. It is further important to note that the Israeli military government administering the post-1967 occupied territories has forbidden by Decree Palestinian-Arab citizens of the state of Israel to teach in the post-1967 occupied territories except by yearly permit from the military authorities.

The Israeli institutions of higher education maintain an informal but very effective system of numerus clausus against Palestinian-Arab students citizens of the state of Israel. In addition certain subjects are out of bounds for those Israeli citizens who happen to be Palestinian-Arab, such as Geography and Meteorology (at the Faculty of Natural Sciences at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem) and aeronautical engineering and advanced electronics (at the Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa). Furthermore, subsequent to the 1973 war, the School of Medicine at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem introduced a new stipulation whereby any candidate who has not served in the Israeli army must prior to his application to the School of Medicine complete two years of approved "national service". The stipulation is quite clearly directed to discourage Palestinian-Arab citizens of the state of Israel from applying to the School of Medicine at the Hebrew University. Why should the School of Medicine position itself as a guardian of state interests is not very clear. It does not, to our understanding, necessarily follow from the Hippocratic oath.

Contrary to common belief, adequate grades in the Secondary School Matriculation Examinations are not the only pre-requisite demanded for ad-

Footnote continued . . .

study there, Arabs as well as Jews. It must serve first and foremost the residents of Galilee. Jews who have not studied Arabic in secondary school will find it difficult to study in an Arabic university. Therefore, if a Jewish resident of Afulah will want his children to study at the university in Nazareth, he will have to pressurize the Ministry of Education to introduce the study of Arabic in Hebrew secondary schools as soon as possible. (Angel, 1977)

mission to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The University also requires that candidates take a psychometric examination. Candidates who fail this exam, even if their achievements in their Matriculation Examinations are particularly outstanding, will not be admitted as students. For Palestinian-Arab graduates of Israeli secondary schools this stipulation is particularly crippling, since the University psychometric examination is heavily biased towards western cultural values and is notoriously ethnocentric. In 1970 the Hebrew University opened preparatory classes (Mekhinot) originally intended primarily for new immigrants and soldiers after their release from compulsory military service. These classes were directed to prepare the student towards passing the various university admission examinations, improve the results of their Matriculation Examinations and promote their knowledge and general acquaintance with the fields of study and research which they intended to pursue as university students. The Palestinian graduates of Arab secondary schools in Israel learned of the existence of these classes and discovered that through them they could significantly improve their prospects of admission to the university, since these classes were geared to compensate for deficiencies in secondary school education of which they suffered most acutely. In 1974-5 some 120 Arab students were taking these preparatory classes and almost all of them were admitted on the following year to the various Departments at the Hebrew University to which they had originally applied. This seems to have been a cause of grave concern to the Hebrew University authorities since in the following year they made the psychometric examination a compulsory requirement for admission to these preparatory classes as well, and the number of Arab admissions to these classes immediately dropped to a mere dozen or so.

Chapter 2: POSSIBILITIES OF EMPLOYMENT OF PALESTINIAN-ARAB GRADUATES OF ISRAELI UNIVERSITIES

The overwhelming majority of manufacturing plants based on advanced technology in Israel are classified as security establishments and are thus directly and explicitly inaccessible to qualified Arab candidates. Plants and industries based on simpler technologies and the applied sciences such as various chemical plants, petrochemical industry, and electronics stipulate as necessary qualification for employment the completion of compulsory military service and are thus indirectly, but nonetheless very effectively, similarly inaccessible to qualified Arab candidates. To illustrate the case: some two years ago a special committee was set up at the Technion - Israel Institute of Technology under the Chairmanship of the former Dean of Students, Professor Dori, to facilitate the placement of Arab Technion graduates in engineering in Israeli industrial plants and corporations. The committee laboured hard for six months without managing to place a single Arab Technion graduate in engineering in any relevant job in an Israeli plant, and has consequently been dissolved.

Similar problems are facing Arab graduates of Israeli universities in the humanities and the social sciences. The normal channels of employment in the diplomatic service, journalism, government offices and agencies, commercial companies etc. are all, almost without exception, denied to Arab graduate.

Until the mid-1960s the overwhelming majority of Arab students in Israeli universities and institutions of higher education studied in the humanities and the social sciences. Beginning in the early '70s this has changed

for a number of reasons the elaboration of which is beyond the scope of this outline. One factor relevant to this change is the improvement of natural science teaching in Arab secondary schools and the modest introduction of simple teaching aids in the natural sciences (laboratories, proper textbooks etc.). Today approximately 50% of the Palestinian-Arab students in Israeli universities and institutes of higher education are students in the natural sciences (approximately 250 out of the total 500 Arab students at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem alone). Needless to say that the future of these students upon graduation is bleak. Most of them will be forced to emigrate.

Chapter 3: CONCLUSIONS

This preliminary study is intended to help the current informal discussions on the possibility of establishing an Arabic university in Galilee. As the previous chapters clearly bring out, there is no doubt that such a project would go a long way to meet acute and pressing needs stemming out of the reality of the situation of the Arab society under Israeli rule since 1948.

As the outline above clearly indicates, an Arabic university in Galilee would meet urgent and specific needs of prospective generations of Palestinian-Arab students as well as offer meaningful employment to qualified Palestinian-Arab teachers, graduates of Israeli universities and institutions of higher education, who are forced either to long term unemployment or to clerical and menial jobs in Israel. An Arabic university in Galilee would further make possible the return of a number of excellent Palestinian-Arab scholars who are forced under the circumstances to pursue their career abroad.

It remains to discuss how realistic such project might be. The establishment of an officially recognized institution of higher education in Israel is governed by The Council of Higher Education Law (1958) and Rules (1964). Given the stipulations of the Law (see Appendix II) and the political reality in Israel, especially after the recent May elections, it is highly unlikely that the establishment of an Arabic university or an officially recognized institution of higher education would be permitted by the authorities. In our opinion there is only one way to overcome the difficulty, namely, that the institution in question be established as an official branch of a recognized American or a European university, or initially as an extension of a Mission or Church educational establishment in Palestine, on the

same basis as the Jacob Hiatt Institute of Brandeis University or the Rabbinical Hebrew Union College (both in Jerusalem).

A de facto committee involved in this project already exists. It consists of members from among the founders of the Arab Student Loan & Scholarship Fund - Jerusalem (see Appendix I attached). Should any step be taken, further to this outline, on this matter it is essential that a European committee be formed and act in consultation with at least three of the people who have committed themselves to this project in Israel.

We must, however, explicitly note, that commitment to this project involves ramifications that must be accounted for and adequately met. It would be pointless to produce generations of skilled graduates who, upon graduation, would find it impossible to employ their skills in Palestine. The European or Western committee, should it be set up, must simultaneously, and in consultation with this prospective university or institute of higher education, establish charitable funds that will aid the establishment of educational outfits, industrial firms and public services in Palestine where graduates could be meaningfully and usefully employed, using their skills gained through their course of studies. In our opinion nothing short of a new European charity exclusively concerned with this matter could adequately meet the challenge.

APPENDIX I

THE STATE OF ISRAEL
 MINISTRY OF INTERIOR
 JERUSALEM DISTRICT COMMISSIONER

File No 11/2427

Jerusalem 11.9.1975

The Arab Student Fund for Loans and Scholarships
 St Joseph's Monastery, 66 Ha-Nevi'im Street
 Jerusalem

Dear Sirs

I am honoured to confirm herewith the receipt of your letter of the 11.12.1974 with the attached notification as stipulated by Article 6 of the Ottoman Law concerning the establishment of an Ottoman Association, which details as follows :

- 1 The name of the Association: The Arab Student Fund for Loans and Scholarships - Jerusalem.
- 2 The address of the Association: St Joseph's Monastery
66 Ha-Nevi'im Street, Jerusalem
- 3 The Association main office: Same
- 4 The purpose of the Association: To establish and administer a Fund for Scholarships &/or Loans without interest for Arab students in need at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem according to the discretion of the Board of Directors of the Association and against appropriate guarantees and assurances.
- 5 The responsible Directors are as follows:

Abd al-Salam Abd al-Ghani	67 Nesseiba Street Beit Hanina,	President
Adil Mana'	Majd al-Kurum	Secretary
Ibrahim Nassar	Arraba	Treasurer
Salih Abu Hussein	Umm al-Fahm	Founding member
Riyad Amin	POB 29, Nazareth	Founding member
Muhammad Na'amna	Arraba	Founding member
Nabil Nahhas	Tarshiha	Founding member

contd...

In accordance with Article No 6 of the Ottoman Law concerning the establishment of Ottoman Associations, you are herewith requested to publish this notification of acceptance in a local newspaper. Please send a copy of the publication to me for my reference.

I would further request you to notify me regularly on any change that may be introduced in the Regulations of the Association or in the constitution of its Board of Directors.

Yours sincerely

Y Kahanah
Deputy Commissioner
District of Jerusalem

APPENDIX II

COUNCIL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION LAW, 5718-1958*

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | In this Law, "higher education" includes teaching, science and research. | Defination |
| 2 | There is hereby established a Council for Higher Education, the members of which shall be appointed by the President of the State (such Council being hereinafter refered to as 'The Council'. | Council for Higher Education |
| 3 | The Council is the State institution for matters of higher education in the State, and it shall carry out the functions assigned to it under this Law . | Functions of Council |
| 4 | Every Council shall consist of seventeen members, viz the Minister of Education and Culture, four members proposed by the Government and twelve persons of high standing in the field of higher education, who shall likewise be proposed by the Government; for the second and every succeeding Council, the | Composition of Council |

* Passed by the Knesset on the 19th Av 5718 (5 August 1958) and published in Sefer Ha-Chukkim No 261 of the 28th Av 5718 (14 August 1858) p 191; the Bill and an Explanatory note were published in Hatza'ot Chok No 340 of 5718, p 176

Government shall not propose the aforesaid twelve members until the Minister of Education has consulted in the matter with the institutions of higher education which shall have been recognized under this Law.

5 Where, during the term of office of any Council, the place of a member of the Council, whether from among the four or from among the twelve as aforesaid, falls vacant from any cause whatsoever, another member shall be appointed in his stead, for the duration of the tenure of that Council, in the manner which had been prescribed for the appointment of the member whose place has fallen vacant, Changes in the Membership of the Council.

6 The Minister of Education and Culture shall be the Chairman of the Council, and the Council may elect from among its members a Vice Chairman of the Council, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Council

7 The term of office of every Council shall be five years from the date of appointment of the members of that Council: Provided that the first Council shall hold office for two years only, Term of office of Council.

8 The Council shall itself prescribe its procedure in so far as it is not prescribed by this Law or by regulations, Procedure

9 The Council may recognize a particular institution as an institution of higher education on the basis of rules prescribed by it for the recognition of institutions of higher education, in addition to the requirements of an appropriate scientific standard (such an institution being hereinafter referred as a 'recognized institution'); but those rules shall not limit the freedom of opinion and conscience, Recognition of Institution.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>10 A decision of the Council to recognize an institution under section 9 shall require the approval of the Government.</p> | <p>Approval
by
Government</p> |
| <p>11 Where an institution has applied for recognition as an institution of higher education and the Council has refused the application, the Minister of Education and Culture, or the institution through him, may bring the application, and the decision of the Council, before the Government, which may refuse the application or return it to the Council for reconsideration. Where the Government has returned the application to the Council, the decision of the Council given upon reconsideration shall require the approval of the Government.</p> | <p>Refusal
of
recognition.</p> |
| <p>12 Where an application for recognition has been refused by the Government, or where such an application has been refused by the Council upon reconsideration and the Government has approved the refusal, the institution may re-apply for recognition to the Council after two years or such shorter period as the Government may have fixed in its decision.</p> | <p>Re-application
after
refusal</p> |
| <p>13 An institution which has been recognized as an institution of higher education shall receive a certificate to such effect from the President of the State; notice of the issue of the certificate shall be published in Reshumot.</p> | <p>Certificate
of
Recognition</p> |
| <p>14 A recognized institution shall be a corporation and shall be competent to sue and be sued, to acquire, possess and relinquish property, to enter into contracts and to be a party to any legal or other proceeding.</p> | <p>Recognized
institution
to be a
corporation</p> |

15 A recognized institution shall be at liberty to conduct its academic and administrative affairs, within the framework of its budget, as it may think fit.

Freedom of action

In this section, 'academic and administrative affairs' includes the determination of a programme of research and teaching, the appointment of the authorities of the institution, the appointment and promotion of teachers, the determination of a method of study and teaching, and any other scientific, pedagogic or economic activity.

16 The Council may, after consultation with the recognized institutions concerned, make proposals for their consolidation, enlargement, improvement and mutual cooperation; the Council may also make proposals for the advancement of scientific research and the establishment of further institutions of higher education.

Enlargement and cooperation of institutions.

17 The Council may make proposals as to the participation of the Government in the budgets of recognized institutions.

Budgets of institutions

18 The Council may withdraw its recognition of a recognized institution on the basis of rules prescribed by it for the withdrawal of the recognition of a recognized institution; but those rules shall not limit the freedom of opinion and conscience.

Withdrawal of recognition

19 A decision of the Council under section 18 shall require the approval of the Government; but the Government shall not approve such a decision until the institution the recognition of which has been withdrawn has been given a reasonable opportunity to plead its case and

Withdrawal of recognition to be approved by Government

produce its evidence before the Minister of Education and Culture or a person appointed by him in that behalf; the Government may also return the matter to the Council for reconsideration, and upon its deciding to do so the provisions of section 11 shall apply *mutatis mutandis*.

20 Where the Government has approved the withdrawal of the recognition of a recognized institution, it shall notify the President of the State to such effect, and thereafter shall publish a notice to such effect in Reshumot.

Notice of withdrawal of recognition.

21 An institution the recognition of which has been withdrawn may, after two years or such shorter period as the Government may have fixed in the approval of the withdrawal re-apply to the Council for recognition, on the basis of evidence to be produced by the institution that the reasons which prompted the withdrawal of its recognition no longer exist.

Re-application after withdrawal of recognition

22 The Government may recognize a particular academic degree as a recognized degree on the basis of rules prescribed by it for the recognition of academic degrees (a degree recognized as aforesaid being hereinafter referred to as a 'recognized degree')

Recognized degrees

23 The Government may empower a recognised institution, on the basis of rules prescribed by it for the empowerment of recognized institutions for the purposes of this section, to confer a recognized degree upon a particular person, or to confer recognized degrees generally, and it may prescribe rules

Conferment of adademic degrees

concerning State examinations to be held as a condition for the conferment of a particular recognized degree by a particular recognized institution.

<p>24 The Council may, itself or through a person appointed by it in that behalf, supervise the conferment of recognized degrees, and it may prescribe rules for supervision under this section.</p>	<p>Supervision of conferment of degrees.</p>
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<p>25 A degree recognized under this Law shall be recognized for the purposes of any other Law.</p>	<p>Protection of recognized degree</p>
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<p>26 A person who does any of the following acts shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of one year:</p>	<p>Offence</p>
---	----------------

- (1) supplies to or for the Council, in a matter within its competence, any information which he knows to be false;
- (2) confers, or assists in the conferment of, a degree without being competent so to do under this Law;
- (3) makes himself out to be the holder of a recognized title conferred upon him under this Law, a degree as aforesaid not having been conferred upon him.

<p>27 Where an institution has applied for recognition as an institution of higher education, the provision of section 26 (2) shall not apply to it so long as the consideration of its application by the Council and the Government is not completed.</p>	<p>Transitional provision</p>
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<p>28 The Education Ordinance¹⁾ shall not apply to an institution recognized under this Law.</p>	<p>Inapplicability</p>
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1) Laws of Palestine, Vol 1, Chp 50, p 623 (English Edition)

29 The Minister of Education and Culture is charged with the implementation of this Law and shall bring before the Government decisions of the Council requiring approval, and proposals of the Council, and shall bring before the President of the State every matter required to be brought before him under this Law.

Implemen-
tation

30 The Minister of Education and Culture may, after consultation with the Council, make regulations for the implementation of this Law and, inter alia, regulations as to reasonable times within which the dealing with applications of institutions for recognition - from the submission of the application until the decision thereon - shall be completed by the Council and the Government.

Regulations

YITZCHAK BEN-ZVI
President of the State

DAVID BEN-GURION
Prime Minister

ZALMAN ARANNE
Minister of Education
and
Culture

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Editors in Chief

Fouzi el-Asmar

Dr Uri Davis

Address

34 Hasadot Street


Kefar Shmaryahu


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