Israel's Security and Its Arab Citizens

HILLEL FRISCH

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Although a rich literature combining international relations and domestic political developments has recently emerged, most works specializing in state–minority relations, nationalism, citizenship, and human rights have not integrated insights from the field of international relations and security affairs into their analysis. This absence is nowhere more visible than in the study of relations between the Israeli state and its Arab/Palestinian minority. This book aims to bring (back) international relations and international security perspectives into the analysis of relations between the Israeli state and its Arab minority. Drawing on international relations theory, it argues that the relationship between the Israeli state and the predominant community, as in many other cases characterized by ethno-national cleavage, was heavily influenced by the state's broader regional geo-strategic security situation. State policies toward Israel's Arab citizens moderated in the rare times of relative geo-strategic security and hardened when Israel's regional position became more precarious.

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To my children Avigail, Neomi, Yael, David, and Itamar

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Note on Transliteration and Translation from Arabic

The book follows the standard rules of literary Arabic transliteration. However, it diverges from these rules in the case of personalities and organizations whose spelling are well-known in another form or if the person or organization in question specifically provides a transliteration that is different from the formal transliteration. Thus, the name (Yasir) Arafat is not preceded by a diacritical mark, Arab Members of Knesset are named as they wished to appear on the official Knesset Web site, and a newspaper such as *al-Sennara* is spelled the way it appears in the newspaper in English rather than as *al-Sinnara* as it would appear in formal transliteration. This divergence extends also to the way organizations officially translate their names into English even at the expense of accuracy or literary style.

Acknowledgments

Acronyms

ADP   Arab Democratic Party
CEC   Central Elections Committee
DFPE   Democratic Front for Peace and Equality
DOP   Declaration of Principles
HCJ   High Court of Justice
IDF   Israel Defense Forces
MK   Member of Knesset
NDA   National Democratic Alliance
NGO   nongovernmental organization
PA   Palestinian Authority
PLP   Progressive List for Peace
UAL   United Arab List
UAR   United Arab Republic

Israel and Its Arab Citizens

Perspectives and Argument

One of the best ways of getting acquainted with a new setting is to skim through a local newspaper. The Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area is larger than any Israeli city. Even though the Twin Cities are cosmopolitan and politically aware, their news is heavily local and devoid of politics. However, the lead headline in the *Star Tribune* (the major local newspaper) on June 21, 2009, focused on the demonstrations against the rigging of Iranian elections. A second international item told the tale of the *New York Time*s journalist who escaped the Taliban. Aside from these articles, the remaining stories dealt with local issues.

In contrast, this was hardly the type of news the Tel-Aviv tourist that same day would read in the English edition of a Hebrew-language newspaper. The Internet page of *Ha'aretz* was much more internationally focused – only three of the twenty-seven items were local news. Seven of them dealt with Iran, including a piece that asked which of the two camps in Iran was more likely to "nuke" Israel, two dealt with Syrian-Israeli relations, and one reported on a car bombing in Iraq. Only one item – that the owner of Israel's largest bank was swayed by clairvoyant messages in dictating bank policy – could be described as both local and not inherently political.

Unsurprisingly, regional politics and violence loom large in the minds of Israeli readers. Coverage of the Middle East around the world in general and Israel in particular highlight this focus. Yet, despite Israel's precarious geostrategic setting, most scholars analyze the relationship between Israel and its Arab citizens almost exclusively as a domestic internal matter that minimizes or overlooks the larger regional context (Rouhana and Ghanem 1998: 321). After all, no major political actors – Israel's Jewish majority, Israel's Arab citizens, Palestinians across the former Green Line, or many segments of the Arab and Islamic world – share the perspective that Israel's Arab citizens are exclusively a minority within a Jewish state. In fact, Israel's Arab citizens are at pains to identify themselves as being an integral part of the Palestinian people and of the larger Arab nation. The second and third largest political parties in the Arab sector, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and

the United Arab List (UAL), the former by accentuating their Arab identity and the latter their Islamic and Palestinian identity, clearly subscribe to this point of view. Arguably, the largest party, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), though clearly not avidly pan-Arab, would not deny the sentiment that Israel's Palestinian citizens are part of the larger Arab nation. All three refer to the Palestinian people as one indivisible whole (even though by their own account the bulk of its members live outside the State of Israel either under the Palestinian Authority or in Arab states and even more far-flung areas of the globe).

The Palestinian Authority (PA) reciprocated these feelings when Arafat finally ratified the Basic Law in 2002 after five years of procrastination. The Basic Law, as did the Palestinian Covenant before it, insisted that "Palestine is part of the large Arab World, and the Palestinian People are part of the Arab Nation [and] Arab Unity is an objective which the Palestinian People shall work to achieve" (Amended 2003 Basic Law 2003). Large segments of the Arab and Islamic world certainly regard Israel's Arab minority as part of the larger issue relating to Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state. Even moderate Arab states, which by and large regard Israel's Arab citizens as an internal domestic matter, nevertheless, meddle in Israeli Arab affairs.

For Israel's Jewish majority, the regional dimensions of the relationship are probably even more acute. Israel, as a state with a Jewish majority within its borders yet a minority within the region, has been one of the most embattled political entities in the post–World War II era. It has waged six conventional wars and faced a bloc of twenty-one member states of the Arab League, which, for at least the first twenty-five years, denied Israel's right to exist. The Arab League's hostility has compelled the Jewish state to allocate resources to ensuring its security at a rate nearly four times the world average measured in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. The differential alone is what most developing states spend on education. Israel has been a recipient of over $100 billion in aid in nominal terms since its creation, mainly from the United States; this amount hardly offsets these military expenditures. Even if this aid can partially offset the military costs, it can do little to alleviate the pain emanating from the death of 20,000 Israelis killed since 1948 (equivalent to nearly a million American citizens). Not surprisingly, security concerns and public mourning rites characterize Israel's basic political and cultural agenda.

The Jewish state has not known much respite from security concerns over the years. The signing of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty in March 1979 showed that interstate conflict abated, but guerrilla and terrorist warfare waged by nonstate actors increased (Ben-Yehuda and Sandler 2002: 131, 137–8). First, the PLO in Lebanon, then Iranian- and Syrian-supported Hizbullah, and lastly the Palestinians in the territories were all involved in unrelenting and often accumulative violence against Israel since the Yom Kippur War. The most lethal was the insurgency waged by the Palestinian Authority in September 2000, which killed 1,084 Israelis in the course of

five years (Suicide-bombing Terrorism 2006: 2). Ironically, the PA was created as part of the Oslo diplomatic process in which the Palestinians pledged to resolve future disputes by nonviolent means. Nevertheless, the security branches of the Palestinian Authority, the Fatah Tanzim (regarded by most Palestinians as the official party of the PA) and its military arm, the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades were responsible for nearly one-quarter of the suicide bombings, which killed 525 Israelis during this period (ibid., 13). The overwhelming remainder were carried out by Hamas and the Jihad al-Islami within the framework of the Higher Committee of National and Islamic Forces in which the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades participated (ibid.).

At the same time that Israel waged a counterinsurgency against the Palestinians in the territories, Hizbullah conducted intermittent violence on Israel's northern border even after Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in May 2000. This included cross-border incursions, occasional lobbing of Katyusha rockets (more than 400 are reportedly aimed at strategic and populated areas in the north of Israel), and attempts, sometimes successful, to set up cells of recruits drawn from Israel's Arab population. Hizbuallah terrorism culminated in a cross-border kidnapping in July 2006 that led to the outbreak of a month-long Israeli campaign against Hizbullah.

Under such conditions, it is difficult to identify the group at risk. Is it Israel's Jewish majority or the Palestinian minority, which sees itself as part of the larger Arab nation yet feels numerical equivalence to Israel's Jewish population?

This book, rather than focusing on the relationship between the Israeli Jewish state and its Arab minority, turns the tables to explore the extent to which Israel's Jewish population faces considerable risk from the Arab minority. Not only is such an approach justified on the basis of the wider geopolitical picture, but it also has the additional advantages of representing the subjective view of many of Israel's Jewish citizens and conforms to basic Arab perceptions of the Israeli state (Hutchinson and Gilber 2007: 130–1; Ben-Dor, Pedahzur, and Hasisi 2003: 238). I will try to justify the argument that Israel's relationship to its Arab minority is largely informed by a sense of threat and security fears. These emanate from the strategic environment in which the dominant community is a majority within its own state yet a threatened precarious minority in the region.[1]

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[1] The relationship between objective and subjective feelings of insecurity and domestic intolerance toward minorities is well documented, especially over territorial issues. Marc L. Hutchison and Douglas Gibler argue that on the basis of a study of the Using World Values Survey data collected from thirty-three countries the saliency territorial threat in determining individual political attitudes that privilege national unity over freedom of expression even after controlling for economic and institutional differences across the states sampled. Specifically, they demonstrate how the diffusion from territorial threats to domestic audiences results in a chilling effect on individual willingness to extend democratic freedoms (Hutchinson and Gilber 2007: 130–1).

Israel's predicament is hardly unique. Many ethno-national contexts are salient examples where understanding the regional context may be essential to understanding the ebbs and flows of the conflict and prospects for its resolution. Examples are Northern Ireland, Lebanon (historically), Cyprus, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Serbia/Kosovo, Bosnia, and the Baltic states. The Iraqi example may join the list as a "Shiite" Iraq will have to come to terms with its Sunni minority in a predominantly Sunni and highly complex geo-strategic environment. Indeed, historians will no doubt argue that the problem of a state majority and a regional minority have characterized Iraqi politics since the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1932.

The External Security Dimension in Studies on the Arab Minority

Even though Israel's external security profile is continually in the news and the subject of numerous studies in international relations, security studies and military affairs, most scholars who have written on Israel's Arab minority have analyzed its political experience almost exclusively from a comparative political perspective within the framework of state–minority or majority–minority ethnic relations. Israel's *external* security profile and its possible ramifications on the relationship between state and minority are almost completely overlooked. These oversights are more surprising since the (external) regional/international as well as domestic security dimension became increasingly central to the study of ethnicity and nationalism. The salience of the ethnic security dilemma imported from the field of international relations to describe the breakdown of multiethnic states and subsequent partition is one of the striking contemporary examples of the intertwining between International Relations and Comparative Politics to explain state–minority relations and interethnic relations (Gagnon, 1994–5: 130; Kaufmann 1996: Posen 1993).

As the subsequent summary of the literature bears out, scarcely any of the articles or books on Israel's Arab minority refer to the international relations literature that deals with ethnic conflict despite the aptness of its approaches and subject matter. Most scholars on Israel's Arab citizens relate to events not from the lofty heights of the international system but from the more parochial confines of competing groups within the individual state or at best, from the vantage of the "nation" that transcends state borders.

Arabs in the Jewish state have been analyzed (Ghanem 2001) through three basic perspectives: (1) the internal colonial/control model (to borrow from the title of one of the earliest studies written in this vein), (2) the developmental/modernizing/democratization school, and (3) the distress model. Scholars belonging to the control school focus on how the state or the predominant community through state institutions controlled and extracted resources and shaped the Arab minority to the detriment of their collective welfare. The developmental/modernizing/democratization literature focused on how Israeli Jewish society impacted on its Arab counterparts within the framework of

(limited) integration. Studies written from this perspective look at patterns of convergence and divergence between the two societies. If the first category concentrates on the state or the dominant political community as the independent variable, the second focuses on society, and the third focuses primarily on the psychological distress wrought by the collective identity of the state and its institutions. The control and distress schools, in one form or another, accuse Israel of being an ethnic state that accords preferential treatment to the majority and discriminates against the minority. Common to all three schools is the absence of almost any serious attempt to come to terms either with Israel's security predicament or the transnational aspects of the minority's relationship to the region, except for some discussion of the role of Israeli Arabs in Palestinian politics.

Elia Zureik's "The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in International Colonialism" serves as an appropriate example of how the existing literature overlooked the salience of external security concerns in dictating the relationship between states and minorities (Zureik 1979). Internal colonialism is characterized by the acquisition of land by the predominant group, the transformation in the economic fabric that "creates identifiable pockets of hinterland in the midst of areas with native concentration" and "the dehumanization of the culture and way of life of the indigenous population" (ibid., 29) According to Zureik, Israel is a *settler society* comparable to South Africa (before the fall of apartheid) even though Israel's Arab citizens have enjoyed full political rights since the state's inception.

Those debating the legitimacy of such a comparison can find support for their argument in the book itself. For Zureik "the crux of the internal colonialism model, when applied to South Africa is that it stressed availability of cheap labor-power in the form of a non-capitalist commodity reproduced in African reserves" (Zureik 1979: 16). The statement is only comprehensible in an economy where the black Africans were the overwhelming majority of the labor force. Arabs in Israel (unlike the South Africa example) played a marginal role in the local Israel economy, and remained a minority in the 1950s and 1960s even amongst blue collar workers. One may also ask whether such an analysis really captures the nationalist substance underlying the Israeli–Arab/Palestinian conflict. Zureik needs to account for how he disregarded the extraterritorial dimensions of the conflict, especially since his theory of internal colonialism is an outgrowth and refinement of conflict theory. A focus on conflict should also include reference to the impact of Israel's regional political environment.

An equally (if not more influential work), Ian Lustick's *Arabs in the Jewish State* (1980) likewise focuses almost exclusively on the internal situation within the state and thus suffers from the same omission of disregarding the broader conflict. Lustick was intrigued by the lack of violence that characterized the relationship between Arabs and Jews after the establishment of the state compared either to the recurrent and intense violence that characterized Jewish–Arab relations during the British Mandate or to ethnic conflicts elsewhere.

To explain the puzzle, he argued that Israel built an elaborate framework of control based on structural, economic, and programmatic underpinnings. Economically, the Arab minority who remained was weakened by the flight of the urban Arab elite (and the urban population in general) in the first months of the 1948 war. They were predominantly rural and uneducated, divided along confessional lines between Muslims, Druze, and Christians. Typically in industrial societies, rural inhabitants are dependent on urban areas for work as farming becomes mechanized engendering a surplus labor pool. Those who remained sought their fortune in the modern urban economy. All of the major cities in Israel, its industry, trade and services were predominantly, if not overwhelmingly, Jewish. Structurally, Israel was a Jewish state that naturally not only devoted its resources to the Jewish majority but also expended major efforts to increase their numbers through encouraging large-scale and, for the most part, unselective immigration. Programmatically, the state's organs or those affiliated with it, such as the Histadrut, or The General Federation of Labor, adopted policies of segmenting, coopting, and making the Arabs dependent on the state. "Segmentation" refers to the isolation of the Arab minority from the Jewish population and the Arab minority's internal fragmentation. "Dependence" refers to the enforced reliance of Arabs on the Jewish majority for important economic and political resources. "Cooptation" refers to the use of side payments to Arab elites or potential elites for purposes of surveillance and resource and resource extraction (Lustick 1980:77).

According to Lustick, the military administration imposed on the Arab sector until 1966 was the most salient instrument of such policies. Not only was freedom of movement curtailed for security reasons, it was also used to monitor Arab labor flows; the Israeli authorities curtailed Arab labor flow in times of economic downturns in order not to compete with Jewish labor and expanded the flow when obverse conditions prevailed. Lustick stresses that these mechanisms were effective only because structural and economical conditions made them *"susceptible* to control based on techniques of segmentation, dependence, and cooptation." (ibid.).

In a work in which control is such a key concept, one expects that the external sources of security concern for the state exercising such control would be prominent. Yet, cases in which this nexus appears prominently, such as Ceylon (later Sri Lanka), Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Kashmir (albeit its salience emerged after the writing of Lustick's book), receive no attention. In his discussion of Harold Wolpe's work on the relationship between external and internal imperialism in South Africa, he gets close to acknowledging security concerns and their external sources by suggesting its promise but then fails to follow through with a typology or analysis that takes external variables into account (Lustick 1980: 75).

It is only in the concluding chapter that Lustick acknowledges the importance of external security concerns. He writes:

> There can indeed be no question that a reduction in tension between Israel
> and the Arab world, on whatever scale, would tend to make the day-to-

> day relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel less fraught with fear and
> suspicion. Peace agreements would defuse the security issue, and the emer-
> gence of a Palestinian political entity would no doubt ease the psychological
> identity problem of Israeli Arabs (Lustick 1980: 267).

Unfortunately, the importance of that dimension does not figure in his theo-
retical framework. There are also other drawbacks to his analysis. Lustick's
framework is a typology of possible influences. It is not a causal model that
explains the variation of policy outputs over time regarding Israel's Arab
citizens and why they occurred. The control framework subordinates when
intact, and does not when it withers. We are left with no answer as to why it
declined and occasionally reasserted itself. Once the control framework broke
down, he predicted Israel's Arab citizens would unite politically. In his typol-
ogy, there was little place to analyze the effects of the 1982 Lebanese War
on Druze, Christian and Muslim relations within Israel, or even the effects
of West Bank Muslim religiosity (especially its political aspects on Israel's
Arab citizens) which arguably reduced solidarity rather than increased it. In
Chapter 2, I will show how as Israeli control declined, segmentation, depen-
dence, and (to a certain extent) even cooptation did not decline. As Shmuel
Sandler has shown, economical factors and the strength of the state, which
created deterrence compared to the weakness of the Arab community, were
much more important factors in explaining Arab political behavior than the
control framework Lustick claims existed in Israel (Sandler 1995: 934–5).

Nevertheless, Lustick is basically correct that Israel implemented a policy
of control, though not nearly as predetermined and logical as he describes it.
Alan Dowty, a seasoned scholar of Israeli politics, doubts whether Israeli pol-
icy makers were ever consistent in their policies towards the Arabs in Israel
and thus questions the veracity of the control, modernization, or internal
colonialism paradigms (Dowty 1998). What Lustick does not explain is why
this commitment to control weakened. I will try to argue that policies and
mechanisms of control intertwined comfortably with policies of state centrali-
zation in the early 1950s even though many challenged its sagacity at the time,
especially regarding Israel's Arab citizens. Israeli leaders thought that such
centralization enhanced Israel's military security against the Arab states along
its borders. The control framework over Israel's Arab citizens declined as soon
as Israel's elite felt that the benefits of centralization had been exhausted and
had become counterproductive to achieving security, ushering the need for a
more capitalist economy and a more liberal society to promote technological
innovations.

Overlooking external security concerns also characterizes research pub-
lished since Lustick's seminal book. Oren Yiftachel (an especially prolific
writer on Israel's Palestinian citizens) like Zureik claims that Israeli state insti-
tutions deliberately stymied the physical growth and expansion of the Arab
localities, isolating them by surrounding them with Jewish urban and rural
development (Yiftachel 1992; 2004: 771). Dan Rabinowitz, in a study on the
development of the Jewish development town of upper Nazareth, comes to

very similar conclusions (Rabinowitz 1997; 2001: 67). For all three, the state is essentially an instrument for promoting almost exclusively Zionist goals for the Jewish population. Yiftachel calls Israel an ethnocracy – a regime dedicated to the advancement of the predominant community only. He argues that the persistence of such a regime will inevitably lead to spiraling conflict between the minority and the predominant community in the state. He counsels Israel to adopt consociationalism as a basic model to attenuate the tensions between the two communities (disregarding its breakdown in Lebanon and Cyprus). In all fairness to Yiftachel, he notes the predicament of Israel's Jewish majority as a regional minority but is silent about how that fact affects the relationship.

Nevertheless, his concern with regional scope or external security considerations is so minor that in a more recent article with As'ad Ghanem on ethnocracies that compares – Estonia (with its sizable Russian minority), Sri Lanka (whose Tamil minority are Hindus like the majority in neighboring India), and Israel, he ignores perhaps the most striking common denominator of all three cases – that they consist of states with majorities that are minorities within the region facing a threatening external actor (Yiftachel and Ghanem 2004: 761–6).[2]

The second school, the developmental/modernizing/democratization, which includes studies by Smooha (1989; 1990) Landau (1969; 1993) Rekhess (1977; 1998) and Haidar (1995), acknowledges the importance of external variables without exploring in depth the relationship between Israel's external security needs and internal dynamics. Rekhess analyzed the political linkages between Israel's Arab citizens and the Palestinians in the territories, leading him to conclude by the 1970s and 1980s that they were radicalizing and "Palestinizing" (Rekhess 1977). In his latest book on the subject, Landau agrees with Rekhess (Landau 1993: 191–3). Smooha has argued, on the contrary, that Israel's Arab citizens became effectively more Israeli in part because the Jewish community became more liberal (Smooha 1990). Their political activism was a sign not of radicalization but rather of politicization, working within the system rather than against it. Normatively, Smooha calls Israel an "ethnic democracy." Ghanem, Rouhana, and Yiftachel (among others) feel that this term is much too generous (Ghanem, Rouhana, and Yiftachel 1998: 257). Israel's Arab citizens have been far less violent because of political rights, as Smooha has argued. All in all, it is the differences (rather than similarities) between Palestinians and Israel's Arab citizens that are striking.

While these scholars focused on institutions and policies promoting state building among the predominant community and fragmentation in the other,

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[2] To recall, the Tamils form a subgroup amongst the Hindus, the Sinhalese are Buddhists who face predominantly Hindu India, which includes the state of Tamil Nadu, in which Tamils form the vast majority; the Estonians are a majority within the state with a sizable minority of Russian settlers facing a Russia with potential ambitions to recreate an empire.

Ghanem and Rouhana focused on the distress Israel's Arab citizens suffer living in a state whose symbols they cannot possibly share:

> A minority in an ethnic state is confronted by uncomfortable political and existential situations that stem from the ethnic structure of the state. An ethnic state by definition excludes national-ethnic collectivities other than the dominant group from the national objectives and affords the dominant group a preferential treatment anchored in the legal system. (Ghanem, Rouhana, and Yiftachel 1998: 8)

In several articles, they claim that an exclusive Jewish ethnic superstructure puts the Palestinian citizens in a predicament that is manifested in three ways: they cannot achieve either symbolic or material equality within the Jewish state, their relationship with the rest of the Palestinian nation is marred, and their internal development as a national community is thwarted. This predicament can develop into a crisis in the relationship between Israel and its Palestinian citizens (Rouhana 2001: 66). Sometimes, Rouhana clearly overstates his case. In an article on citizenship and the parliamentary politics, Rouhana claims that "equal citizenship in multiethnic states entails that citizens, regardless of ethnic affiliation, have equal influence on the political system through voting and other forms of political participation." (Rouhana 1989: 39) Were this statement true, it would obviate much of the study of politics almost everywhere. After all, one of the central concerns of the study of history and the social sciences is establishing the reasons *inequality* is so pronounced in almost all political systems.

By far the most important work of the social distress school is Rouhana's *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (Rouhana 1997). It also goes further in taking external factors and the issue of security into account. Rouhana argues that Palestinian collective identity is influenced by three dimensions: the formal-legal, the political, and the social-cultural. The Jewish majority's security concerns justify limiting the rights of the Arab minority, from their perspective. Politically, the rise of pan-Arabism, its defeat in 1967, and its replacement by a Palestinian particularistic nationalism constructed and promoted by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the reconnection of the Palestinians in Israel with other Palestinians after the 1967 War, all had a major impact on collective identity. (Rouhana 1997: 71). Subsequent events, such as the Islamic upsurge and the Oslo peace process, also had considerable influence (Rouhana 1997: 75).

Rouhana's treatment of security concerns is impressive, especially his identification of Palestinization and the peace process as two important reasons for increasing radicalization and confrontation with the state and its predominant society, but his causal linkage falls short in explaining the complex pattern of variation of the relationship. In part, this may be due to the fact that he focuses on the minority rather than on the total interaction among the state, the majority, and the minority.

Defying inclusion in any one of the three categories of books outlined previously is Ronald Krebs's *Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship* (2006). This work is important because it is one of the few books focused on the Arabs and military service in Israel and probably the only work that looks at the security relationship through a theoretical lens. Krebs claims that Israeli recruitment policies in the early years of statehood signaled clearly to Israel's Arab citizens that they (with the exception of the Druze, the smallest denomination within the Arab sector) were to be excluded from the boundaries of first class citizenship by not being included in the army draft (Krebs 2006: 48, 63, 185). Although Krebs acknowledges the crucial importance of Israel's security predicament in his empirical treatment of the subject (Krebs 2006: 69, 71), there is absolutely no reference to these external security concerns in his elaborate and long theoretical exposition of the issue, in his basic thesis, or in his findings. The work suffers then from the same myopia of most of the previous works analyzed in this chapter.

Krebs's assumed rather than proved the relationship between military service and citizenship rights and preferential treatment; this assumption will be challenged in Chapter 3, which claims that Christians who served only as volunteers in the army in fact exacted the most benefits from the state. This had nothing to do with "signaling" by the state; rather this variance was the result of the differential bargaining power of the religious denominations with the state. The Druze (as the poorest and smallest subsector, bereft of fruitful links to outside states) felt compelled to serve, whereas the Christians who had the greatest bargaining power (as a subsector that commanded the concern of foreign powers vital to Israeli security such as France) could easily avoid it. Catholics, as the larger, more important sect in Lebanon in the early years of statehood, also figured prominently in Ben-Gurion's regional policy of facilitating a coalition of regional minorities against the growing hegemony of pan-Arabism.

The same disregard for Israel's geo-strategic predicament and the impact of foreign relations on state–minority relations can be found in literature bordering security studies, such as policing and criminology. In an article by Hasisi and Weitzer on police relations with Arabs and Jews in Israel (Hasisi and Weitzer 2007), there is no theoretical reference to the possible impact of external relations on internal relations between the police and Israel's Arab citizens.

How External Security Factors Affect Domestic Politics

The importance of international and regional security in influencing and even determining domestic politics, including state–minority relations, may be credited to two scholars. Otto Hintze proposed in the 1920s the seminal idea, provided the finding, and placed it in comparative perspective, and Peter Gourevitch's widely cited article (1978) placed the insight within international relations theory. Hintze, in his "Military Organization and the

Organization of the State," claimed that the difference between the autocratic regimes characteristic of continental state building compared to the more democratic and diffuse patterns of governance in Britain, reflected basic geo-strategic realities (Hintze 1975: 178). Whereas threatened states on the continent were usually centralized and autocratic, characterized by large standing conventional armies as a means of coping with their competitors, a more isolated Britain could handle security threats by making do with self-government and local militias. To appreciate Hintze's seminal insights, one has only to compare Germany's pattern of state building (sandwiched and threatened between France and Russia) to state-building patterns in what is arguably the most favorably placed and favorably endowed state of them all in terms of war-related resources – the United States. To meet a high threshold of threat, states such as Germany and Russia tended toward autocracy. In contrast, Britain, and even more so the United States, which faced lower levels of threat than continental states, could afford the luxury of more decentralized and democratic rule. Gourevitch called this geo-strategic influence on the makings of the internal regime of the state – a second image reversed effect. The first refers to the relationship and influence between states in the international system.

Timing is also crucial in determining this pattern of autocracy compared to liberal forms of rule. Late developers economically and politically had to centralize military and economic power more than early developers simply because they were up against greater threats. Perry Anderson claims that only by generating centralized, absolutist regimes, did the Prussian and Austrian standing armies hold their own against the more modern states of Spain, France and Sweden. More liberal Poland, by contrast, did not. Not surprisingly, Poland was carved up in the course of the eighteenth century by the three powers Austria, Prussia, and Russia that centralized to cope with foes in the more developed West (Gourevitch 1978).

The relationship between regime type, especially the prospects of a democratic, more liberal regime and geo-strategic threat is scarcely a nineteenth century phenomenon. Gibler and Sewell (2006) examine the role of NATO in aiding democratic transitions and survival in the former Soviet republics since the demise of the Soviet Union. Levels of external threat determine to what extent regimes centralize, militarize, and, conversely, democratize. States tend to be democratic or are likely to make the transition toward democracy when threat levels are low. By contrast, autocracies are more likely to be found in states facing higher levels of threat. NATO has been an effective guarantor of territorial sovereignty and independence in the Baltic states. NATO's security umbrella reduced the level of threat experienced by the Baltic states and facilitated more decentralized and democratic governments. Former Soviet republics targeted by high levels of threat such as Moldova, maintained or reverted to centralized, autocratic forms of government. Naturally, external threat also impacts on how minorities are treated. As autocratic states become more threatened, they are more intolerant toward minorities than a

less-threatened state (Davis and Silver 2004; Hutchinson and Gibler 2007; Shamir and Sagiv-Schifter 2006).

There is good reason why states that have no access to alliances and are highly threatened resort to centralization. Modern Middle Eastern history is rife with examples of pluralized states that had fallen prey to militarily centralizing powers, or states that promoted uniform society but fragmented their security agencies performing poorly against states with more conventional armies. For example, Muhammad Ali, widely known as the "founder of modern Egypt," embarked in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century on a radical program of centralization and modernization encompassing land registration, taxation, export-crop cultivation, the introduction of Western-style education, and industry only to enhance his military capabilities. His military achievements were remarkable. In the course of twenty-five years, he and his sons, Tusun, Ibrahim, and Isma'il, subdued the Sudan, routed the fundamentalist Wahabiyya movement in areas now part of Saudi Arabia, and almost destroyed the Ottoman Empire. British and French intervention saved the Ottoman Empire when Muhammad Ali was forced to sign a treaty in 1840 in which he agreed to retreat from all territory conquered with the exception of the Sudan (Fahmy 1997).

A century later, Gamal Abdul Nasser, a leader who resembled Muhammad Ali in many ways including ignominy at the end of his political life, sent his forces in 1962 to rout the royalists in Yemen as part of the cold war he waged against the Arab monarchic regimes (Vatikiotis 1986: 402). Syria's occupation of much of Lebanon in the early years of civil war may be seen in the same light. While Syria centralized under a regime that used the Ba'th Party in the same way Stalin used the Communist Party, Lebanon institutionalized an extreme form of consociationalism where the parts (the religious denominations) were stronger than the whole (the state) (Lustick 1979: 332). And, although Syrian leaders fragmented the security apparatus, Syria nevertheless maintained a large and growing conventional army (Seale 1988: 84).

The imbalance between a centralizing and pluralist state was played out in the early stages of the Lebanese war when Syria switched sides to support the Christian forces that formerly fought the pan-Arab ideology Syria was promoting, and then occupied large parts of Lebanon. This situation has prevailed ever since. One tends to forget that Syria, before the centralization of power under the Ba'th, was an object of penetration by other states (either by Hashemite Jordan and Iraq or Egypt before merging to create the United Arab Republic), very much like Lebanon is today (Podeh 1999). Iraq's lightning invasion of Kuwait offers another example, even though numerous other factors such as demographic size and resources were involved in influencing the outcome.

Iran is perhaps the most striking proof of the relationship between centralization and autocracy and the ability to withstand external threats. When the traditional and modernizing forces combined in the 1906 revolution to

create a plural and decentralized state, Iran became prey to foreign intervention and meddling. This is best exemplified by the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, which effectively divided Iran into three zones, only one of which was indigenous and semiautonomous (Day 2002: 371). A more centralized Iran, sixty years later, was able to impose its will on Iraq in 1975, when Iraq conceded to share sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab with Iran for the first time and wrested the Tunb islands from the United Arab Emirates four years earlier (Gause 1994: 136). It is hardly surprising, as Michael Desch and others have noted, that threatened states such as China, Cuba, and South Korea, were highly cohesive centralizing states at the beginning of modern statehood (Desch 1996: 237). Israel also appears in Desch's list of threatened states.

Why centralizing powers, at least in the initial stages of state building, are better equipped to cope with external threats has been addressed best by Samuel Huntington (1968: 12). Borrowing from organizational theory, he claims that a trade-off exists between centralizing hierarchic institutions, which achieve a degree of efficiency in a narrow range of services and products at the expense of adaptability and innovation. The USSR succeeded as a competing superpower by devoting most of its resources to a narrow range of goods, the most important of which were military in nature.

Centralizing powers, as Tilly demonstrated, are usually intolerant of all social differences, including minorities in their midst (Tilly 1975: 24). Midlarsky (2003) found that in ethnically mixed Poland between the two world wars both the tendency toward authoritarianism and intolerance toward minorities increased as the external threat deepened. Rulers either try fragmenting social groups that can compete with the state (if the groups are not prone to assimilation) or forcefully homogenize them. Israel's relationship with its Arab minority conformed to the first category. As a threatened state, it not only had to centralize to meet external threats but had to divide and rule the Arab population, which the majority community perceived as the threat from within. Israel's Arabs are hostile to the state in which they reside; as such, they suffered the brunt of state centralization and control policies. The most onerous was the military administration that controlled all movement of Arabs both between Arab and Jewish localities and between the Arab localities themselves. While the state enhanced public institutions at the expense of civil society in the Jewish sector, it exercised a policy of fragmenting the Arab minority.

It is important to realize that constitutional theory regarding full-fledged and mature democracies shares with the second image reversed argument the idea that governments often centralize power at the expense of civil rights during periods of war or other forms of national security crises, though the bounds for deviation from human rights and civil liberty standards are often heatedly contested (Hofnung 1996: 2–3; Krebs 2009: 183–4). True, most constitutional theory limits deviation temporally but it would be reasonable to see security precariousness as a more structural and durable feature.

Centralization and Liberalization

Though many grand theories or paradigms attempt to offer universal and timeless cause and effect explanations, there is every reason to believe that they are bounded in time. The geo-strategic reasons that could influence Israel to be a centralized state at one point in time, may also suggest changing course to become a diffuse, noncentralized, plural state as it matured.

Referring once again to the organizational model Huntington suggested, we noted that noncentralized and more heterogeneous organizations might be less efficient than centralized institutions, yet at the same time be more adaptable and innovative (Huntington 1968: 12–13). This is because there is more feedback and brainstorming, which centralized institutions tend to stultify.

Proof of such a trade-off may be seen in the military, which provides a narrow range of outputs yet also tends to be centralized and hierarchical, and hi-tech firms, which live in a very competitive and innovative environment characterized by products with a short life span. The latter tend to be small and noncentralized. Firms that specialize in innovative creations tend to more noncentralized and small-scale compared to the more centralized, downstream production-oriented firms. Small and diffuse is advantageous for those who have to be innovative and adaptable, while bigness and direct command may have its advantages in a less-innovative environment. Huntington claims that that liberal democracies are less efficient compared to centralizing states, even though they are more adaptable and innovative in the long term.

Michael Barnett looked at the trade-off between centralization and efficiency on the one hand, and liberalization and innovation on the other, in analyzing Egyptian and Israeli military capabilities (Barnett 1992). While Egypt continued its centralizing policies, the Israeli elite (including the military) realized in the late 1960s that it exhausted the benefits of short-term efficiency and was adamant about liberalizing. The Soviet Union's fate compared to that of the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century is a striking example of a state that centralized for too long. For two decades the Soviet Union as a centralizing power concentrated on a relatively narrow range of outputs, mainly military, and convinced the other side that it was holding its own against a far richer opponent. However, one could argue that over the long term the innovation and adaptability the United States displayed in its Star Wars policy played a crucial role in the Soviet Union's demise (Hey 2006: 227).

A rapidly globalizing world economy compelled Israel to liberalize both politically and economically, and doubly so when such globalization was accompanied by political conditions such as the peace process that reduced Israel's sense of threat (Simmons and Elkins 2004: 190). Solingen has shown how the globalization of the Israeli economy polarized Israel by creating a cleavage between elites and masses, between those with a stake in globalization and those sectors of the population that sought the continued subsidies offered by the right-wing populist nationalist government (Solingen 1996: 82).

The cleavage was reflected over state building in the territories. In the territories, the state continued to play its traditional centralizing and subsidizing role. Within Green Line Israel, state and society rapidly liberalized and became capitalist (Ben-Eliezer 2006: 32–3).

The political leadership concerned with Israeli national security and Israel's military elite welcomed economic liberalization for at least two reasons. Liberalization promoted economic growth in the long run, assuring growing resources for the military (Ben-Porat 1993: 28; Shalev 1992: 129). No less important than this quantitative gain were the qualitative ramifications of such a policy. Economic liberalization brought about a flowering of the Israeli hi-tech industry vital to maintaining Israel's qualitative edge over its state competitors in the region and allowed for the considerable tactical advantages over the Palestinians in the course of the last round of low-intensity conflict in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. Israel's policy to use U.S. military credits to purchase low-tech items, allowed local currency allocations to be used to promote hi-tech at home and reflected the commitment of national security decision-makers to the capitalist hi-tech industry in Israel.

A more liberal policy toward Israel's Arab citizens can be viewed as the "fall-out" of economic liberalization. Of all the liberalizing tendencies, Smooha identifies the following as having taken place in Israel over the past three decades: the rapid rise of political parties of previously unrepresented groups, an increase in the number of media sources, a reduction in military and security censorship, a decline in the use of emergency ordinances, the promulgation of basic laws that allow for a form of judicial review, a direct vote for mayors, the decline of mass parties, and an increasing exposure to the West. Only one of these factors, the declining use of emergency ordinances, was directly, though not exclusively, focused on Arabs (Smooha 2006: 467).

Generating Hypotheses

Wedding the insights of Hintze and Gourevitch on the importance of external constraints on modes of state building with Huntington's organizational analysis engenders several hypotheses linking regime type, the attainment of national security, and the relationship between the state and the minority:

1. Centralization and geo-strategic threat are closely linked; the more threatened the state, the greater the tendency to centralize.
2. The centralizing state will try to apply forms of control extending from cooptation to divide-and-rule tactics against internal opponents, especially ethno-national populations.
3. The cost of centralization will increase as the state integrates into the world economy. The short-term geo-strategic gains of centralization in meeting the immediate threat will be offset by long-term economic imperatives to liberalize the economy and society. Only such liberalization will allow for international economic competitiveness, which in

      turn will increase the potential material and human resources that can be used for national security, as well as assure a "soft-ware" edge over one's military foes.

4. The state's relationship to the minority will improve over time as the trade-off leans toward state liberalization.

5. Despite this improvement, nevertheless, this trend will oscillate as determined by the sense of threat the state feels in meeting external threats.

The Book's Basic Argument

It is the contention of this book that the state's relation to its Arab minority improved, especially politically, when Israel's external security profile changed and its elite felt it could liberalize. The argument is as follows: Israel in the first twenty-five years of its existence had to centralize state and society in order to meet the grave external security challenges posed by the Arab states who denied Israel's basic right to exist. The centralization of power was necessary to achieve, among other things, offensive military power. Ben-Gurion, arguably Israel's most prominent founding father and its first prime minister, called the policy to achieve such offensive power "mamlachtiut"; Israel's version of the Turkish legacy of étatism. The Arab minority, which was perceived as a threat, was one of the casualties of that centralization process.

    Numerous examples, as we saw, bear testimony to the need to centralize government to cope with external state enemies. The way a consociational Lebanon (characterized by a weak center and strong confessional communities) was divided by two centralizing powers, Israel and Syria, is one vivid confirmation of this trade-off. Lebanon pluralized to achieve domestic peace at the cost of becoming the prey of external centralizing forces.

    Yet, long-term centralization exacts a tremendous price on domestic governance and economic efficiency as the fate of the Soviet Union and the plight of the former radical Arab states demonstrates today. Étatism weakens democratic feedback mechanisms necessary to signal to government whether its domestic policies are appropriate and efficiently run. A state commanded economy deviates significantly from efficiency. According to Barnett, Israeli policy-makers realized in the late 1960s that they had maximally exploited the benefits of étatism and were henceforth to be increasingly plagued by its defects. The state had to give way to society by providing for a freer market and greater political freedom so that Israel could compete in a more globalized and liberal international environment. Most importantly, only an economy with international competitiveness (particularly in the communication and high-tech sectors) could maintain or even increase its military edge over its rivals. Israel's Arab minority were beneficiaries to this process of liberalization.

    To test this argument, the following chapter reviews the history of state–Arab minority relations from the establishment of the state to the present. In Chapter 3, the relationship between security and equality of treatment is tested across the range of public delivery services provided by the state.

Whether state control over political life in the Arab sector has decreased and how this is manifested in the demands made by Israel's Arab political elites on the state and patterns of protest against it is investigated in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 explore the effects of linkages forged between Israel's Arab citizens, Palestinians in the Palestinian Authority, and the Arab world on Israeli security and state–minority relations, respectively. Chapter 9 analyzes the geo-strategic dimensions of Israeli Arab political demands on Israeli security. The conclusion discusses the major themes raised in the book in light of the resurgence of interstate tensions in the past several years characterized by the rise of Iran, a state that does not recognize the Jewish state, and the debatable ebbing of United States and Western preeminence in world affairs.

2

Israel's Security Profile and State–Minority Relations

An Historical Overview

Few if any states in the world have faced challenges to their legitimacy and existence like the State of Israel. Many new states in the Third World emerged out of a crucible of struggle and violence waged against an imperial power (though a majority did not), but this fledgling state was forced simultaneously into both a communal war *and* a war against other territorial states. Israel fought at least three different types of foes – the Palestinian Arab community that threatened communication lines between the key Jewish population centers (particularly in the early stages of the 1948 war), Arab irregular forces (of which the Muslim Brethren on the southern front were arguably the most effective), and the Arab states of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon. The latter were by far the most formidable contestants (Ziv and Gelber 1999). Suffice it to say that the forces fielded by Israel's major military foe, Egypt, penetrated within twenty miles of Tel-Aviv (the major Jewish population center) at the furthest point of their advance. At the other point of vulnerability, the Jordanian Arab Legion overwhelmed Israel's newly established army in the Jewish Quarter in the old city of Jerusalem (ibid.).

Rarer still did such a war of independence continue for over fifty years, as is the case between Syria and Lebanon and Israel (which are, at least in a formal sense, still at war). Syria, in fact, continues through its Hizbullah proxies to wage war against it until the very act of writing. Israel's War of Independence ended with the signing of mere armistices rather than peace agreements with Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. All three states, despite the bitter disagreements among them, were members of the Arab League, which, as a sizeable and growing bloc, dedicated itself collectively to undoing the results of the 1948 war, the most important of which was the creation of the Jewish state.

Israel's strategic predicament was at its worst at the beginning of statehood when the state was least equipped to handle its strategic predicament. It found almost chilling expression in the description of Benny Morris, one of

the foremost historians of the Israeli–Arab, Israeli–Palestinian conflict, in his *Righteous Victims*:

> Israel faced a strategist's nightmare – it was surrounded by hostile states, its cities were within enemy artillery range, and it had a narrow, ten-mile-wide waist between the West Bank border and the Mediterranean. Theoretically the eight-thousand-square-mile country could be cut in half in less than an hour by a determined armored thrust. Israel's population regarded the county as highly vulnerable. The Arab minority, 150,000 out of a total population of 850,000–900,000, was justly regarded by the Jews as, at best, an unknown quantity, and at worst a potential fifth column. The Arab countries waged unremitting economic, diplomatic, and propaganda warfare against the new nation. The Egyptians barred Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal and, eventually also blockaded Eilat (Morris 1999: 259).

Since the excerpt is from a general history and our focus is Israel's Arab citizens, the reference to them requires more elaboration. It is precisely on the morrow of the armistice agreements signed with the various states, when the Israel state and Jewish majority awakened to the realization that the struggle they had thought ended had only begun. Only then did the problem posed by Israel's Arab population fully manifest itself. Within months, the 150,000 or so who did not flee or were forced out were transformed from being bitter enemies of Zionism to being citizens in a state they felt usurped their birthright.

Bitter sentiment, a different culture and religion, amounted to only part of the problem. Geography also played an important role. A major concentration of the Arab Palestinian population (no different to kin on the other side of the armistice line in what became by virtue of an official act of annexation, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan) lived along a fifty kilometer stretch where Israel was at its narrowest. No more than twelve kilometers separated Qalquilya, an Arab village bordering the armistice line on the Jordanian side and the Mediterranean where the Israeli state ends in the west; at its most northern and widest point, Kafr Qara, it barely amounted to fourteen kilometers.

More unbearable still for Israel's state elite burdened with assuring the state's survival, Israel was narrowest where the bulk of Israel's Jewish population, cities, and industry were located from Hadera near Kafr Qara through Tel-Aviv, Rishon Letzion and Rehovot an area that was to become the vast Dan Metropolitan region, where over half of Israel's Jewish population resides to this day despite many attempts at population dispersal.

Even if the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was unwilling, unable, or simply too deterred by Israel to heat up Israel's most sensitive border; there were many reasons why the population on the other side would be unlikely to maintain the peace for long. Even the most fortunate villages on either side of the green line, often populated by the same extended families, had to illegally traverse a border to cultivate or reap for food that was scarce after a series of severe winters (Amara and Kabha 1996: 11; Bartal 2004: 24).

The area was also inundated with a refugee population made up of individuals who had lost their homes and land entirely. They rapidly became the most radical segment of Jordanian society and easily the most prone to conduct cross-border terrorist incursions into Israel; two villages, Baq'a and Barta'a, were in fact divided by the armistice line.

By contrast, in the Galilee (particularly in its central and eastern parts) the problem was one of distance, command, and control. The Israeli state had to contend with a situation in which relatively large stretches of territory between Israel's key Jewish concentrations and a formidable foe, Syria, passed through areas populated primarily by Arab villages.

Zionist settlement from the first immigration wave in the 1880s onward, notwithstanding the focus on agricultural settlement as part of the Zionist ideology of creating the New Hebrew man tilling the soil, remained overwhelmingly urban. In 1948, over 80 percent of the Jewish population lived in urban areas, mainly along the coast. By the birth of the state, despite the myth of Jewish agricultural settlement, Jewish settlement in the periphery was in fact sparse.

Meanwhile, the bulk of the Arab population who stayed put was rural, since the richer urban element had been more inclined to flee. The contrast in the patterns of residence between the two communities, one overwhelmingly urban the other overwhelmingly rural was responsible for a reality often overlooked; in the 1950s, the rural Arab population *almost equaled* the Jewish rural population, the implications of which were unsettling (particularly in the northern and eastern sections of the country) from a strategic point of view. It is not surprising then that the state decided to place the Arab population under military rule, often an onerous one in which movement was restricted not only between Arab and predominantly Jewish areas but also between Arab villages themselves.

Massive cross-border infiltration averaged 10,000 to 15,000 incidents annually from 1949 to 1954 but dropped (following massive retaliation operations by Israel) to 6,000 to 7,000 in 1955–6, justifying the imposition of military rule in the eyes of most of Israel's Jewish population, especially as these incidents were concentrated in areas populated also by Israeli Arabs (Morris 1999: 269).

Initially, this infiltration was relatively peaceful; in the first two years of statehood, most infiltrators came to plant and reap crops in the fields they formerly owned and worked (Bartal 2004: 28, 59). Subsequently, a growing number, albeit a minority amongst all infiltrators, resorted to theft and smuggling. From 1953 onward, a growing percentage engaged in armed robbery and premeditated killing, some of which was provoked by violent Israeli military attempts to stem the tide of infiltration. The toll of Israeli casualties was extremely high – more than 200 Israeli civilians over the course of seven years, not counting dozens of Israeli soldiers killed in the retaliatory raids the killings provoked (Morris 1999: 271).

The sheer number of infiltrations and their increasingly violent nature caused both extreme economic hardship and fear. To settle the periphery, the state adopted a policy of aggressive population dispersal, sending new immigrants, who were most often the poorest and weakest psychologically to cope with security risks, to the border areas. They were the least equipped to weather terrorist infiltration and often abandoned the villages along the border to which they were directed after immigration. In villages that remained intact, families would often concentrate together in one house an attempt to feel more secure as the men folk left for work away from home (Morris 1999: 272). Subjectively, such concentration might have given them a sense of security; yet by being all together they also increased their vulnerability considerably.

Because of the fears these infiltrators sparked, the authorities often imposed fines on those who took refuge in Israel's towns in an attempt to stymie attempts to leave the outlying border areas. The gap between feelings of security at the center compared to the periphery decreased over time as the *fidayyun* (redeemers) succeeded in reaching major population centers and the conflict escalated to the interstate level.

On the Jordanian side, the authorities generally tried to stop infiltration. On the Egyptian front, much of it was deliberate when Nasser decided in 1955 to abandon a policy that tried to stop infiltration into one deliberately encouraging it. Egyptian-trained Palestinian units of *fedayeen* (a term the Palestinian national movement in the 1960s was later to adopt) conducted particularly murderous raids across Gaza into southern Israel (Bartal 2004: 104). Israel often retaliated with even greater force and bloodletting.

The change in Egyptian policy was partially rooted in regional and international affairs. An attempt to create a regional alliance to contain communism dubbed the Baghdad Pact was perceived by the Egyptian ruling elite at best as a British scheme to prevent Egypt from achieving a paramount position in Arab affairs in favor of the pro-British Hashemite regime in Iraq and, at worse, a deliberate attempt to bully her. Heating the border with Israel reflected Egypt's new radical posture, a minor chord in a new repertoire that manifested itself in leading the call for Third World nonalignment, turning to the Soviets to finance the Aswan Dam, and nationalizing the Suez Canal in July 1956. Induced by this new posture, a combined attack of Israeli, British, and French forces in the Sinai and on the nationalized Suez zone in the last days of October and early November led to a stunning military victory for the attackers and then blistering political defeat as the United States compelled all three states to withdraw from the area; transforming Egypt into the leader of the Arab radical camp. It was to bear this informal mantle until Nasser's death in August 1970. Thus, even after *fedayeen* infiltration practically ceased in subsequent years, the radicalization of Arab states did not encourage the Israeli public and political parties to abolish military rule even if few of Israel's Arab citizens abetted the infiltrators, let alone participated in the actual acts of theft and murder.

Finally, as much as "objective" conditions determine behavior, one can hardly deny the deeply rooted perceptions of Israel's Arab minority stemming from contemporary Jewish and Mandate history. Dowty sums it up masterfully:

> In the context of the recent Holocaust and a war for survival, Israeli Arabs were seen first as part of a Palestinian Arab community with which the yishuv [the organized Jewish community during the British Mandate] had been in violent conflict for decades, and second as part of a vast Arab world that was threatening a "second round" to destroy Israel. Israeli Arabs were also bound by both ethnic and family links to a hostile refugee population increasingly involved in infiltration and violence against Israeli targets, and they were concentrated in border areas where control was most difficult.

> These circumstances, added to underlying assumptions of a hostile external world, produced an attitude of deep suspicion toward Arabs who remained in Israel. Fears regarding Israel's survival, given Arab superiority in numbers, were easily transferred from the external realm to the population at hand. To some extent, Israeli leaders may also have been extrapolating from their own politicized and ideologized worldview, expecting Arabs to behave "as Arabs" in the same way that Zionists were expected to adhere to a fervent and self-sacrificing nationalism. Phrases such as "fifth column," "Trojan horse," and "completing Hitler's work" characterized official discourse regarding Israeli Arabs. A favored historical analogy was the German minority in Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland, which had presumably paved the way for Hitler's conquest of that land. Little account was taken of the actual weakness of Israeli Arabs in the aftermath of the 1948 war, of their continuing fear of being expelled as others already had been, or of their experience in dealing pragmatically with alien governments. The prevailing attitude was deep suspicion; in David Grossman's words, "sometimes it seems as if Israeli-Jewish DNA, after being modified by long generations of oppression and pogroms and blood libels and mass extermination, contains no gene for any other attitude toward people who might also be dangerous, even if their deeds, for almost half a century, prove the exact opposite." (Dowty 1998; Quote from Grossman 1993, 315)

Creating and Challenging Military Rule

Ironically, most of those who debated the relationship between security concerns and the status of Israel's Arab citizens challenged the validity of continuing military rule over them. In fact, military rule was contested vociferously almost from its inception. An early opponent, Bechor Shitreet, was the first and only Minister of Minority Affairs in the provisional government of Israel and later the Minister of Police. Shitreet, a Sepharadi, born in Palestine, believed that the Arab population could with time become loyal to the state provided they were treated with dignity and fairness. Military rule, he protested often to David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first Prime-Minister, would only incite rather than pacify the Arab population (Ozacky-Lazar 2002: 103).

Military rule was obviously opposed by the Arabs themselves, with Israel's Communist Party (Maki) and the left-wing Mapam, both of which counted Arabs and Jews among its leadership, leading the protests. Less obvious were their allies to the cause among the Jewish Zionist parties. Menahem Begin was probably the most striking. Begin led the ultranationalist *Herut*, a party still passionately devoted to "two banks to the Jordan, this is ours and the other as well" (a reference to its claim to a greater Israel that included Jordan). Opponents also included former military brass such as Yigal Alon, the famed commander of the prestate elite military force of the Labor Movement, the *Palmach*, and assistant chief of staff during Israel's War of Independence (Morris 1999: 118). If Begin and Maki were the outsiders in Israeli politics in the 1950s and early 1960s, Alon and Mapam (to which Alon did not belong) were the quintessence of those who paced the corridors of power.

Alon, like Maki and Mapam, argued that military rule incited terrorism rather than being an effective means of preventing the Arab population from engaging in infiltration back to Israel, setting the dynamics for national communal conflict with the state (Ozacky-Lazar 2002: 118). Begin, on a different tack, concentrated on the theme of the infringement of civil rights, which he felt the state must assure the Arab minority as citizens.

To his critics, Ben-Gurion responded mainly with arguments that linked between regional strategic concerns and the position of Israel's Arab minority. Ben-Gurion believed that military rule over Israel's Arab citizens, most visible in Israel's periphery, had a deterring effect on Israel's hostile neighbors (Ozacky-Lazar 2002: 107). It helped embed the image of Israel as a garrison state – hardly one to endear public opinion in the Western world but a perception that was worth gold in a region of states led increasingly by military officers who controlled both the military and a one-party state apparatus.

Military rule over Israel's Arab citizens served like wallpaper, hiding the messiness, even chaos, of a state dedicated to massive and nonselective immigration. In the course of three years of statehood, Israel doubled its population as immigrant refugees from the displacement camps in Europe and from the Arab countries poured in. The former, often highly skilled, were broken in spirit; the latter, who had suffered far less discrimination among the Arab populations, came with few skills useful in an economy aspiring to be modern. And even if they did possess entrepreneurial skills, the socialist bureaucratic elite, which ruled Israel, did not (unfortunately) value them. Whether military rule over Israel's Arab minority had deterrent value is hard to tell. Even if it did, some would question whether that justified placing citizens under so onerous a rule.

Subjective feelings of collective insecurity in the early years of the state influenced official attitudes toward Israel's Arab population; even though very few of its Arab citizens were involved in terrorist activities or spying. Nevertheless, as Uzi Benziman and Attalah Mansour so meticulously documented, perceptions that Israel's Arab minority could serve as a potential fifth column were especially widespread among Israel's political elite in the early years of the state

(Benziman and Mansour 1992: 18–21). Thus, as early as in July 1948, when Israel was still at war, Israel's first foreign minister, Moshe Shertok (Sharett) (whose dovish positions on foreign/military policies often clashed with those held by David Ben-Gurion) argued that "the return of the refugees meant the entrance of a fifth column into the State of Israel, an organized fifth column, the entrance of combustible material into the framework of the State of Israel" (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 22). In a report to a committee Ben-Gurion appointed to investigate the continued necessity of the military administration in March 1949, the authors stated "that as long as permanent peace between Israel and the Arab states was not attained, the Arab inhabitants in Israel do not see themselves as citizens of the State" (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 19) The Arab population is likely to become a facilitating factor in the hostile conspiracies from outside and to acts of sabotage (*habalot*) from within. They could serve "as the basis for an extensive espionage network" (ibid.).

These perceptions were soon translated into deeds. Israeli troops patrolled the borders to prevent the return of refugees, and thousands were intercepted and turned back. Hundreds more who succeeded in returning, the most well-known case involved the Arabs of Majdal (Ashkelon), were expelled again. Paradoxically, Benziman and Mansour note, Israel's fears of its Arab citizens were highest in the first twenty years of statehood when the Arab citizenry in fact were a defeated and unorganized remnant of a large political community; in the late 1960s and early 1970s by contrast, when tens of young Israeli Arabs joined Palestinian factions, and the electoral pull of Rakah (the predominantly Arab Communist Party) strengthened, the establishment felt that they were effectively integrating Israel's Arab citizens into the state.

In 1956 the Ratner Commission certainly responded to the fears of the Jewish public that Israel's Arab citizens could be a potential fifth column rather than Ben-Gurion's perception that military rule deterred in any way Israel's neighbors when it recommended that military rule be extended indefinitely. The commission, one of several in the ensuing years, was set up under public pressure to study the effectiveness of the military administration after eight years of being in existence. Its members, after hearing testimony of thirty-nine Jews and of fifty Arabs (including an Arab politician who was adamant that Israel's Arab citizens had not demonstrated loyalty and were accorded too much leniency), were convinced the military administration deterred "hostile acts like infiltration, terror, communication with the enemy (presumably related to intelligence gathering) and the transmittance of information" (Ozacky-Lazar 2002: 122). The commission felt that military rule also added to a sense of security to Jewish immigrants, facilitated surveillance and monitoring of suspects, and hastened their arrest before performing the hostile act itself.

It noted two more goals: the prevention of the return of refugees and the protection of state lands from encroachment by Arabs, which were only indirectly related to security, at least in the short term. Nevertheless, one should not forget that Israel's tortuously winding armistice lines reflected one of the

lowest ratios in the world between the length of the perimeter of borders that had to be patrolled and the surface space of the state, or, to put it even more critically, between the manpower required as a percentage of the population to police borders of states that remained at war with Israel frontier relative to the size of the general population.

Policing these borders, in addition to preparing for conventional war represented a burden on Israel's reserves unparalleled in any other state. Reservists served until the age of 56. We have already seen that more than forty incursions took place daily in the early years dropping to ten in the years between 1955 and 1956. No doubt the restriction of movement reduced the burden of patrols as well as preventing accidents of shooting citizens undistinguishable from illegal infiltrators.

Having said this, the Ratner Commission transcripts provide evidence that, on two counts at least, the military administration was used in a manner that ran contrary to its mandate. Ben-Gurion mentions in his diary that the military administration hindered the activities of Maki (Ozacky-Lazar 2002: 107). If this were the case, then as Ozacky-Lazar rightly notes, a security arrangement was unlawfully used to thwart the activities of a legal and legitimate party. More serious are the charges that military rule, through its control of movement permits, acted as a mechanism to prevent Arab workers from competing with their Jewish counterparts when the market was tight and allowing them such movement when labor shortages prevailed.

Obviously, the Ratner Commission failed to clear the air over the indispensability of military rule since another more senior commission, consisting of four ministers, was established less than three years later. The establishment of the new committee in March 1958 headed by then Minister of Justice Pinchas Rosen (known for his liberal and dovish views) could be credited to the relative calm that prevailed one year after Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza and Sinai. It was a period that contrasted sharply with the tumultuous and militarily unstable years of early statehood that led up to the Sinai campaign. The military administration marshaled new arguments to justify military rule. A high-ranking officer explained that the military administration facilitated both "on-going security" – all the business of preventing or deterring would-be terrorists, informants and spies amongst Israeli Arabs and achieving "cumulative security," meaning the prevention of resettlement of Arab villages and the repossession of government lands (Ozacky-Lazar 2002: 125). He also unabashedly talked of protecting labor markets particularly in the central and southern regions (even when there was full employment); he feared that free movement would enable Israeli Arabs to flock to Jewish areas in search of more remunerative work, creating a shortage in the Arab sector's labor market, which would then induce the infiltration of Arabs from across the border.

Fortunately for those interested in perpetuating military rule, regional tensions exacerbated soon after the Rosen Commission was formed. The seeds of renewed regional tension actually took place just before the committee was

set up, with the union of Israel's two most formidable foes (Egypt and Syria) into the United Arab Republic (UAR) on February 24, 1958. Jamal Abdel Nasser's soaring popularity after the union between Egypt and Syria was largely behind the much vaunted head of the General Security Service, Yissar Harel's change of mind. Harel, formerly critical of military rule, came out surprisingly in support of military rule before the Rosen Commission in 1958 out of fear that the Egyptian leader's political feat would radicalize Israel's Arab citizens further.

Subsequent events are related to the Arab cold war between the radical Arab states and the monarchies that jeopardized Israel's security – the fall of the conservative Hashemite monarchy in Iraq to a military coup in the summer of 1958, the imputed attempts by Nasser to take over Lebanon and the subsequent U.S. military intervention to prevent such an outcome, and the growing subversion against Jordan by both a hostile Iraq and UAR, which led to an airlift of British troops into Jordan to bolster the monarchy – all influenced the decision to disregard the findings for the commission, which bravely sought the end to military rule (Baumel 2002: 139).

Just as a perceived change in the regional balance of power in favor of the radical camp of Arab states influenced the decision not to accept the Rosen Commission recommendations, the improvement in the regional balance of power due to a military coup in Syria by officers disgruntled by Egyptian dominance and the subsequent demise of the UAR in September 1961 revitalized the campaign against military rule. In February 1962, the government barely overcame five no-confidence votes on the issue (Baumel 2002: 143). Apparently the attempt to assuage the opposition by presenting a plan for an improvement of infrastructure in Arab localities proved ineffective. In his defense, Ben-Gurion continued to focus on the threat Nasser's Egypt posed to Israel and on how important it was to demonstrate Israel's control over an Arab population "waiting for the day that Nasser and other Arab leaders will realize their evil intentions – to destroy Israel" (ibid.). Deterrence, Ben-Gurion claimed, could be achieved externally through the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and internally by military rule.

Once again, external events, namely the Ba'th coup in Iraq on February 8, 1963, which revived hopes for an enlarged United Arab Republic and thus a broader united front against Israel, influenced the vote over abolishing military rule. Bills of no-confidence submitted by the opposition parties were defeated by a margin of only one vote.

Regional factors influenced not only the tide of opposition to military rule but also decisions in easing restrictions. These occurred most often during periods when Israel's external security situation improved; lifting military rule from mixed cities took place in the end of 1948 after Israel's victory over the Arab armies was assured; in 1954, during the lull in the intensity of cross-border infiltration, the State of Israel permitted Arabs to till the land in twenty-nine previously closed security zones. After the cessation of *fedayeen* infiltration in 1957, Arabs were given permission to travel in areas in the Galilee hitherto prohibited. In 1959, a period of relative calm and economic prosperity after

a stormy year, all movement restrictions were lifted during the day in Israel's northern and central districts, and in 1962, arguably the most peaceful year in Israel's history, the government lifted military rule on Israel's Druze and Circassian minorities. Similarly, the Histadrut's decision to enable Arabs to become full members in the organization was made in 1959 (Landau 1969: 154). Granting freedom of movement to Arab villagers in "Area 9" along the Lebanese border and to Bedouin in the Negev in 1964 (a period of regional crisis) was a major exception to the rule, but almost all the tension took place on the relatively distant Israeli–Syrian border (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 110). It was only at the beginning of the following year that Fatah terrorist activity over the Lebanese border created tension on Israel's northern border.

A peaceful era also enabled new Prime-Minister Levi Eshkol in June 1963 to enact changes. Bent on abolishing military rule, he began by downsizing the military administration, and then in October 1963 abolished altogether the need for a travel permit, except for those inhabitants of six villages located on the 1949 armistice line (Baumel 2002: 148). Thus, the major impediment imposed by the military administration on the Arab population since 1948 was removed.

Soon after the sixth elections in November 1965, Eshkol announced that he "would look for ways to abolish military rule." The Prime-Minister, backed by a coalition that included the left-wing Jewish-Arab party, Mapam; a new Advisor on Arab Affairs; and Advisor on Security Affairs Yissar Harel (who changed his mind once again) decided to abolish military rule. He announced in October 1966 that it would terminate thirteen months later (ibid., 152). On the same day Eshkol made that decision, he also decided to increase military service by four months to cope with an increasingly grave security situation on both the Syrian and Lebanese borders. He claimed that the first move was to give Arabs equality, the other to promote deterrence. Nevertheless, in his speech calling to abolish military rule, he stressed the danger Israel's Arab citizens potentially posed the state. He felt, however, that the growing strength and vitality of the predominant Jewish community enabled the state to be more forthcoming in the pursuit of equality for Israel's Arab citizens (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 112).

Eshkol's decision to sever the linkage between the external threat and the state's relationship to its Arab citizens, showed, however, that disconnecting the two issues was an exception to the rule (as the former narrative and the discussion at this chapter's end will demonstrate).

One can also ask whether, in terms of controlling or monitoring the population, the decision to end military rule was more of an exercise of transferring power to the police rather than in bringing about any substantial change in the relationship. Moshe Dayan, an opponent of the Prime-Minister, described repeal of military rule as no more than "bureaucratic change" (ibid., 113).

Given that the whole military administration consisted of eighty-five employees, just the additional one hundred new police positions created in preparation for the change suggested greater monitoring than before the decision (Baumel 2002: 153). Nor did the situation improve with the escalation

of regional violence culminating in the outbreak of the June 1967 war. It was only in 1968, after Israeli society saw that Israel's Arab citizens in no way undermined Israel's war efforts that the government ceased to apply the emergency ordinances with the notable exception of administrative arrests.

In spite of numerous tries to demonstrate a preconceived scheme of control over Arabs, Ben-Gurion's position supporting the military administration was consistently undermined by perceptions and reports of the incoherence of the structure and the many attempts to reform it. Benziman and Mansour present, in elaborate detail, the changes made in the system and the attempts to make sense of the organizational disorientation that resulted. Not only did Shitreet battle Ben-Gurion and lose when the cabinet decided to abolish the Ministry of the Minorities in July 1949, but turf battles extended to jurisdictional feuds between the military and Advisor on Arab Affairs in the Prime-Minister's Office and between the staff of the individual ministries and the Office of the Advisor on Arab Affairs (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 36–7). When the dust settled, it seemed that the Officer of the Advisor on Arab Affairs, with the heavy involvement of the General Security Service, prevailed. Surprisingly, much of this conflict was due to perceptible lack of interest by the civilian ministers, their ministries, and the army in Arab affairs once the jurisdictional fights ceased.

Even when a Central Council on Arab Affairs, comprising representatives of all the government organs involved in Arab affairs, was finally set up in 1952, it convened only a few times. Yehoshua Palmon, the Advisor on Arab Affairs for most of the duration of military government, cited palpable lack of interest on the part of the participants as the main reason (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 43, 52). The ministerial committee composed of the four major ministries servicing Arab citizens (Defense, Interior, Agriculture, and Religious Affairs) did not meet even once. They were most probably too engrossed in the state-building schemes of absorbing influxes of Jewish immigration. This was certainly true of cabinet meetings. Benziman and Mansour count on their fingers the number of times the status of Israeli Arabs appeared on the agendas of the meetings (ibid., 43).

Though Baumel, a researcher of military rule, paints a picture of an all-powerful Central Security Committee consisting of representatives of the military administration, the Special Operations Office of the police, the General Security Service, and the Advisor on Arab Affairs (Baumel 2002: 135), one gets the impression that Israel's Arab citizens suffered more from neglect than willful elaborate schemes to fragment or co-opt them. Indeed, Baumel himself points out if such a committee was so strong, then how could Yigal Alon complain as late as 1962 that the military administration was not cooperating with the General Security Services?

Increasing Official Tolerance of Arab Political Activity

Levi Eshkol made a point of stressing the lack of connection between liberal state policies and Israel's external setting. Nevertheless, the link continued
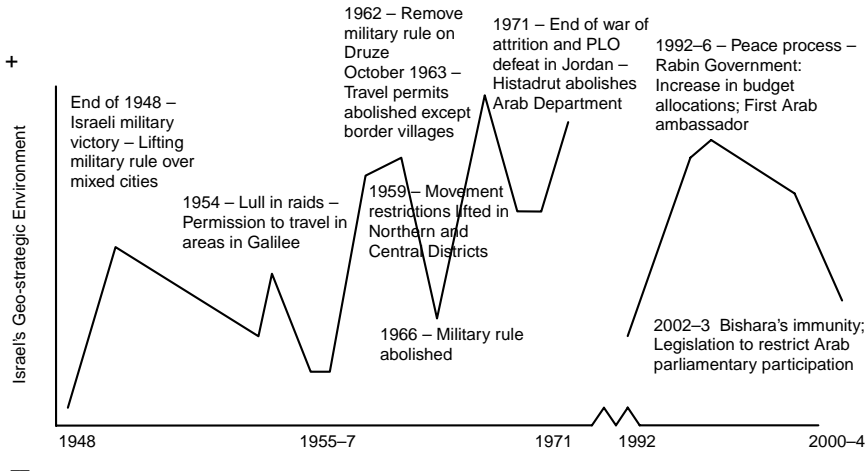
FIGURE 2.1. Israel's geo-strategic environment and government policies toward Arab citizens.

to be strong. Israeli leaders opened to conceptual change only after Israel's stunning military victory over its Arab rivals, which reduced the trade-off between external offensive capabilities and domestic welfare and efficiency. Egypt and most of the Arab states, by contrast, found it difficult to foreswear étatism until the late 1980s and beyond. Israel's Arab minority was one of the major beneficiaries of this new thinking. In 1971, the Histadrut abolished its Arab department, allowing Israeli Arabs membership on par with Jewish co-members. The Labor Party followed suit and subsequently gave up its practice of setting up satellite Arab lists in contesting the general elections.

After a series of setbacks to liberalization, linked in large measure to Israel's deteriorating security posture during and after the October 1973 war, Israel embarked once again in a further spurt of liberalization after the rollback of Iraq from Kuwait, the fall of the Soviet Union, which deprived the radical Arab states of its major patron, and the Oslo peace process (Ben-Yehuda and Sandler 2002: 131). Solingen (1996) demonstrates how the former republican state elite (since integrated into the global economy) used the argument of an improved security position both to liberalize and globalize the economy and to resolve the Palestinian problem as a prelude to yet even greater economic globalization. It was no coincidence that Rabin's second government from 1992 to 1996 is widely acknowledged as a period in which Israel's Arab citizens made its greatest strides. Even though the Rabin government refrained from bringing Arab parties into the coalition, it scored many achievements. For the first time a Committee of Director-General of Ministries, under the Director-General of the Prime-Minister's Office, was created to establish benchmarks and oversee that those commitments toward Arab citizens were

met (Hareven and Ghanem 1996: 9–10). The post of Advisor on Arab Affairs was abolished in order to place Arab citizens on an equal footing with Israel's Jewish majority, budgets in the Arab and Druze sectors tripled in four years, and the gap between budget allocations to education and child allowances almost completely disappeared (ibid.). The Rabin government even appointed the Israel's first Arab ambassador (to Finland) in 1995.

The change in policy paid off handsomely. In October 1995, Arab Knesset members cast the crucial vote in narrowly securing Knesset approval for the interim agreement that expanded the Palestinian Authority's rule to the major cities and towns in Judea and Samaria/West Bank, despite increasing Palestinian terror. Expanding the Palestinian Authority's reach in Judea and Samaria beyond Jericho was one of the main policy goals of the Rabin government.

An Activist Higher Court of Justice

As influential as the external security situation may have been on the state's treatment of its Arab minority, one can hardly discount the role of the High Court of Justice (HCJ) and the international liberal norms it championed in the liberalization process between the state and the Arab minority. Basically, Israeli Zionist political parties initiated and passed hard-line legislation during periods when collective security was threatened only to be effectively overruled by an increasingly liberal and assertive High Court of Justice.

Theoretically, the process places in relief the interrelationship between two basic paradigms regarding political behavior, realism and constructivism. Realists assume that collective groups, principally the state, seek to maximize security, augment power, and improve economic benefits (Frankel 1996: xv–xvii; Doyle 1997: 43, Walt, 1987). They posit a harsh anarchic world in which states and in their absence some other collective group must rely on themselves for achieving security against competitors and other threats and that they pursue these goals in a rational manner. States are moreover uniform in pursuing these objectives.

Constructivists by contrast claim that interests are not given, universal, and static as realists claim. Instead, they place importance on the changing conceptualization of state or societal interests related to convictions, ideas, and identity issues (Wendt 1992: 392–3; Barnett 1995: 479–81). Though constructivists debate among themselves whether the basic unit of analysis is the state or the individuals running it, they would agree over the primacy of "ideational" rather than material structures in determining political behavior. These interests are more easily modified by (individual) agents than the types of structural forces taken into account in neo-liberal, realist, and above all, neo-realist accounts. Flynn and Farrell (1999: 511–14), for example, argue that states had reshaped the normative framework of international relations in Europe as a central ordering strategy after the Cold War, demonstrating that norms are also a means of agency. European interstate action since the Cold War, they

claim, represents precisely the kind of unit construction through social interaction foreseen by constructivism. Similarly, Barnett and Finnemore (1999: 731–2) come to the conclusion that international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) are often powerful because they create the rules and construct social knowledge by which other political actors are forced to behave.

Basically, the Israeli legislature acted on realist premises (the Zionist parties with a vested interest in preserving a state for the Jews in which Jewish society is the major actor and the state is the symbolic reflection of such nationalism) by trying to rein in non-Zionist, mainly Arab parties when they challenged the Jewish foundations of the state. The HCJ, and to some degree Zionist parties on the left, combated these efforts; the latter within the legislature, and the HCJ through a tenuously sanctioned judicial review. Looking at the toleration of non-Zionist parties over time strongly suggests that the HCJ prevailed over the legislative branch. The establishment's increasing tolerance of Arab political activity may be seen in the way state institutions treated various radical political organizations over the years.

Al-Ard, an organization composed exclusively of Arabs, can serve as base line. Established in 1959 by Arab nationalists who broke away from Maki in a disagreement over land expropriation, Al-Ard published newssheets from an Arab nationalist perspective extremely critical of the Israel and the Zionist movement, advocated creating an autonomous enclave in defiance of the establishment, and sent protest letters to the United Nations, newspapers, and other organizations abroad (Jiryis 1976: 187; Landau 1969: 100). In 1964, Al-Ard was refused its request to be registered as a voluntary association even though the founders stressed a willingness to work with (Jewish) "progressive forces" to achieve "for the Arabs their rights and equality" in addition to their call for establishing a Palestinian state (Jiryis 1976: 190) The High Court of Justice upheld the ruling (ibid., 192). The group was then declared illegal according to the 1945 emergency laws.

Soon afterward, the Socialist List, composed mostly of members of the outlawed group, decided to contest the elections, but the central election committee headed by a judge refused to do so on ideological grounds despite a lacuna in the law expressly permitting it. In the celebrated Yardor case, the High Court of Justice upheld the decision. The group disintegrated following banishment and deportation (Lustick 1980: 129)

Yet an equally if not more radical movement, Abna'a al-Balad (Native Sons) that appeared in the early 1970s, was not meted the same treatment. It was allowed to contest local elections and was never outlawed even though its members were subject to harassment and occasional imprisonment (Landau 1993: 109). The state exhibited even greater tolerance toward Muhammad Mi'ari's Progressive List for Peace (PLP). Though formally an Arab–Jewish party, it was fervently Palestinian and nationalist. Its main slogan in the 1984 campaign "Vote Fa (the letter F) for Filastin" was a telling reminder. Mi'ari was also a prominent member of the Al-Ard movement and a candidate on the Socialist List whose disqualification was upheld by the High Court of Justice

two decades previously. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Defense did not order its dissolution, and the High Court of Justice overruled the decision taken by the Central Elections Committee (CEC) disqualifying the party list along with Meir Kahane's Kach Party (Margalit 1984).

In the following elections in 1988, attempts to disqualify parties increased because of the amended Basic Law: The Knesset (1958) Section 7a, which stated that: "A list of candidates shall not participate in Knesset elections if ... denial of the existence of the State of Israel as the State of the Jewish people ... is expressed or implied in its purposes or deeds." To give the appearance of evenhandedness, clause b of the amended law also mandated the disqualification of racist parties. This was used with relish to disqualify Kach, the ultra-right Jewish party (Cohen-Almagor 1997: 69–70).

Initiatives to disqualify parties came from both sides of the political spectrum. On the right, the Likud (Unity) and Tehiya (Revival) Parties attempted to disqualify the PLP: The PLP in turn succeeded in disqualifying Kach, the party headed by Meir Kahane. Likud and Tehiya attempted to disqualify the PLP from registering with the CEC on the grounds of statement by a PLP activist that real peace could only be achieved if the idea of Israel as the state of the Jewish nation would be renounced. According to these parties, Muhamad Mi'ari's frequent appearances in major PLO events including the Palestinian National Assembly held that year in Amman (ibid., 71), which was a criminal offense at that time, provided one more reason for disqualifying the party.

As eager as the legislature was to lower the threshold of disqualification for (predominantly) Arab nationalist parties to those that even intimated they were opposed to the Jewish nature of the state, the High Court of Justice responded by raising it. The court took its cue from former Justice Goldberg, the chairperson of the CEC, who interpreted the amendment to mean that a party could only be banned if it posed a palpable danger to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state. In the subsequent vote, he tipped the scales in a tie vote between the nineteen members belonging to the right and religious parties who voted for disqualification, and nineteen members from Labor and the parties of the left who opposed it. The Likud subsequently appealed to the HCJ to overrule the decision on the grounds that it contradicted the amendment. The appeal was rejected in a 3-to-2 ruling. The split was deeply ideological. Two out of the three judges argued that the PLP, by accepting the principle of two states to two people, by implication, had rejected the idea of a bi-national state and the privatization of religion and in fact recognized the Jewish nature of the state (Gavison and Abu-Raya 1999: 56.) The three confirming judges confessed that even if the PLP had not accepted the Jewish nature of the state, they would have upheld the CEC decision as long as the party attempted to transform the character of the state peacefully (ibid., 57).

Even though the CEC accepted the PLP's candidacy by one vote, it rejected Kach by an overwhelming majority. The difference meted out to the two parties was much more than a matter of arithmetic but of substance. For a court committed to equal treatment, ironically it adopted two different yardsticks

for disqualifying parties. Whereas Arab parties could only be disqualified if they actually posed a danger, regarding Kach one had only to prove intent or expression of antidemocratic sentiment rather than concrete actions against the democratic order in order to be rejected from participating in elections.

To curb what they perceived as an overtly interventionist high court, right-wing parties succeeded in 1992 to amend the Parties Law Article 5(1) stipulating that any party will be disqualified from contesting elections for the Knesset if "any of its deeds or purposes, implicitly or explicitly contains negation of the existence of Israel as a Jewish, democratic state" (Cohen-Almagor 1997: 92) Fortunately, in the case of the Arab Movement for Change (AMC) headed by Dr. Ahmad Tibi, the HCJ, prior to the 1996 general elections, continued to take the position that only specific intent of a threat to transform the state violently violated the law and thus could be grounds for disqualifying the party (Gavison and Abu Raya 1999: 58). Tibi commanded high media visibility as a well-known advisor to Arafat. The petition marshaled this point, both to contest its registration and later to appeal the party's registration. After all, the two other parties or lists, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality-Balad (a coalition of the communist-dominated party and the pan-Arab National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and the United Arab List (UAL) a conservative nationalist and Islamic alliance), both placed on their electoral platforms demand for changes in the flag and national anthem and had employed the highly controversial term "a state for all its citizens" (Frisch 1997c: 108).

Nowhere were the Supreme Court's liberal interpretations more marked than in the petition to disqualify the NDA in the 1999 election. A highly controversial interview with party leader and Member of Knesset Azmi Bishara in the *Ha'aretz* weekly supplement in 1998 served as grounds for the petition (Shavit 1998: 23). The court's ruling began with a quote of three statements he made in the course of the interview. In the first, he stated that Judaism was a religion, not a nationality, and that the Jewish public in the world, as a result, did not possess the right to self-determination. Bishara was reiterating a well-worn position in the Arab world, reflected best in the past by both the 1964 and 1968 versions of the PLO Covenant. He then went on to deny Israel historical legitimacy and rejected any comparison between the rights of the Palestinians who were exiled to the land and the rights of an imagined collectivity that was exiled two thousand years ago. The statements clearly grated the sensibilities of the Jewish majority. Interestingly, the ruling disregarded Bishara's preferences for a bi-national state perhaps because he regarded its realization to be feasible only in the distant future. Nevertheless, the court rejected the petition by arguing on the basis of precedent that nothing in his statements had demonstrated that these were in fact the central demands of the party he represented (*Avner Erlich v. Head of the Central Committee* 1999).

Despite the consistently high, almost-impossible threshold of disqualification for Arab parties set by the HCJ, Zionist right-wing parties remained undeterred in the attempt to disqualify them in the 2003 parliamentary

election campaign. The tense security situation that prevailed during the al-Aqsa intifada prodded them no doubt into action. The Likud moved to ban Azmi Bishara and his party the NDA, the DFPE–Arab Movement for Change and Ahmad Tibi, and the UAL and Abdulmalik Dehamshe, its leader, from contesting Israel's sixteenth general elections in 2003 (Alon 2003). They claimed that they did not accept the Jewish democratic character of the state – a position that was in direct contravention to Israel's electoral law. These three parties drew 70 percent of the vote in 1999.

Even worse from the point of view of the Arab electorate, the incumbent attorney general backed the right-wing position over Bishara and the NDA but disagreed over Tibi and Dehamshe and their lists (Ettinger and Alon 2002). The members in the Central Elections Committee charged with disqualifying parties, turned down a request to disqualify the UAL and its leader, Dehamshe, by a vote of twenty-one to three (members of National Union and Herut) with nine abstentions (including members from Likud, Shas, the National Religious Party, and United Torah Judaism). However, Likud MK Michael Eitan's request to disqualify Tibi was supported by twenty-one Members of Knesset (MKs from the Likud and the religious parties. Eighteen representatives from Labor, Meretz, and the Arab parties voted against the request. Israel's High Court of Justice subsequently overturned the decision in the CEC by a vote of seven to four allowing both the NDA and Azmi Bishara and Tibi to run for elections (Sultani and Khuri 2003: 63).

Deteriorating Security and Parliamentary Control 2000–2004

Unfortunately, the winding down of the interstate conflict after the fall of the Soviet Union and the international coalition's defeat of Iraq did not lead to a corresponding decrease in the increasingly salient communal conflict with the Palestinians in the territories. Whatever the reason, the peace process that began secretly in Oslo and was initiated officially in the Declaration of Principles (DOP) signed by Prime-Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993, failed to fulfill the promise of peace. Instead, the Oslo process gave birth to the Palestinian Authority, which tolerated a safe haven to Islamic-based terrorism.

Three years after the signing of the Oslo DOP, Israel could only be worried by the PA's increasing military power secured in violation of the interim agreements. This was reflected in the weeklong tunnel incidents in September 1996 when the Israeli authorities decided to open the Hasmonean subterranean roadway in Jerusalem, excavated by professional archeologists, to the general public. The tunnel running the length of the Temple Mount aroused deeply felt suspicions amongst Palestinians that this was an attempt to undermine the foundations of the Muslim holy sites located nearby. In the ensuing firefights between IDF forces and Palestinian security forces and armed irregulars, the casualty ratio between the two sides (which in the first intifada was ten to one in favor of Israeli forces) was now reduced to four to one or less (Rodan 1996).

Not only did the perception of enhanced Palestinian threats to Israel's collective security increase, but the feelings of personal insecurity also intensified as a result of increased indiscriminate terrorism. Contrary to expectations after the initiation of the Oslo peace process, terrorism increased markedly. It deteriorated again with the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in which the grievances of Israel's Arab citizens and the Palestinians in the territories erupted simultaneously. For the first time since the establishment of the state, the Jewish majority felt it was under siege by both an external and internal foe. Dowty captured the Israeli Jewish mood well in reference to explaining why perceptions of "hurting stalemate" were not sufficient in bringing the sides together:

> The "way out" had been tried and found wanting; this time the violence was less likely to evoke optimism about finding an alterative to stalemate. This process involves most of the conditions Zartman identifies with pain increasing, rather than reducing, resistance to compromise renewed belief that escalation might bring gains, a loss of belief in a "way out", and in particular a strong influence of "true believers" who justify sacrifice without regard for costs. (Dowty 2006:17)

According to the thesis presented in the opening chapter, the state and its representative institutions' treatment of the Arab minority is mostly a function of perceived and real security threats. Clearly, the participation of Israel's Arab citizens in the outbreak of what was to develop into a guerrilla and terrorist war against Israel, the growing number of lethal suicide bombings that began in earnest in the summer of 2001, an increase in the number of terror cells uncovered by the General Security Service (from eight in 2000 to twenty-five in 2001, peaking at thirty-two in 2002), facilitated moves to constrain Israeli Arab political representatives (Lahoud 2002).

Probably the most dramatic was the decision on November 7, 2001, to remove Azmi Bishara's parliamentary immunity. It was the first time in the history of the Knesset that immunity was lifted for political reasons (Alon and Nir 2001). Voting took place over three issues: his praise for terrorist organizations in Umm al-Fahm rally on June 5, 2000; his attendance and speech at the memorial service of the late Syrian leader, Hafez al-Asad in Kardaha in Syria in summer 2001 (a direct violation of the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance that forbade travel of Israeli citizens to enemy states), and finally for arranging visits by Arab citizens in Israel to Syria. At Kardaha, he declared in relation to Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon that "Hizbullah has won and for the first time since 1967 we have tasted the sweet taste of victory" (Words 2001). The members of Knesset from the Jewish parties, both Zionist and non-Zionist, were overwhelmingly in favor of lifting Bishara's parliamentary immunity in order to face charges regarding his vocal support in support of terrorist organizations; sixty-one members of Knesset voted in favor, thirty voted against, and two abstained (Alon and Nir 2001). Similarly, over arranging (nineteen) illegal visits, sixty-five voted in favor of lifting the immunity, twenty-four voted against and two abstained.

At the start of the trial, Bishara claimed he had merely organized family reunions for elderly Israeli Arabs, separated from their families since Israel's creation in 1948. He argued he should be supported for engaging in a humanitarian act rather than be condemned. His statement was an opening salvo in a publicity campaign in which Bishara's supporters tried to create parallels between Bishara's trial and the infamous Dreyfus trial held in France. A poster portraying Bishara with the caption "J'accuse" was distributed by his party and Adalah (a legal rights organization) mobilized to defend him. The campaign challenged the ethno-nationalist basis of the state. Nevertheless, a year and a half later, the Nazareth Magistrates Court dismissed the indictment against MK Azmi Bishara (Balad) for organizing trips for Israeli Arabs to Syria on procedural grounds (Beit Mishpat Hahalom Natzrat 2003: 45). And though Bishara faced a harsher time regarding the speech he made in Syria – the Jerusalem Magistrates Court found Bishara guilty for supporting a terrorist organization – it was subsequently overruled in the HCJ. The latter claimed that the speech he made fell under the protective canopy of his parliamentary immunity and subsequently dismissed all criminal charges against him (Supreme Court Petitions 2007).

Bishara was not the only MK to face moves against him during this period. The Knesset's Committee of Etiquette also banned 'Isam Makhoul, the DFPE MK from attending sessions for a week in May 2002 after he called Prime-Minister Sharon a Nazi during the battle over Jenin in March, and forbade Ahmad Tibi from entering the West Bank and Gaza after he was filmed in an altercation with soldiers (during the offensive in which Israel reoccupied most of the towns in the West Bank in March–April 2002) (Cook and Key 2002: 15).

The campaign to reign in Arab politicians and movements also took a legislative turn. In May 2002, the Knesset passed an amendment to the law governing the immunity of members of the Knesset stating that "parliamentary immunity did not include any statement of opinion or actions made that included the rejection of Israel as the state of the Jewish people, support for armed struggle by an enemy state or an act of terror against Jews or Arabs because they were Jews or Arabs" (Law of Immunity, 2002). A second law against incitement to violence or terror imposed a five-year sentence upon those calling for committing an act of violence and even expressing praise for such an act, provided, however, that "there is a real possibility that it will bring about the commitment of an act of violence" (ibid.). Though the law sounded draconian, the latter proviso gave ample discretion to the HCJ to dilute significantly its substance when cases are brought before it.

A third law, limiting participation in the elections, added yet one more pretext, that of supporting armed conflict of a terrorist organization or an enemy state, as grounds to prevent a party from contesting the elections (The Law to Prevent Participation, 2002). Once again, the decision in the hands of the CEC would have to come under court scrutiny, which will probably cancel out its effects entirely. Two months beforehand, in March 2002, a law extending the

emergency regulations stipulated that the prohibition to visit an enemy state such as Syria extended to bearers of diplomatic passports, including, of course, members of the Knesset (Law for the Prevention of Infiltration, 2002)

Attempts to reign in Arab Knesset members declined in the following three years commensurate with the declining lethality of Palestinian violence in the territories only to increase once when other regional security challenges appeared on the horizon. In April 2007, Azmi Bishara refused to return to Israel to face charges of serious security violations (assisting Hizbullah in time of war, passing information to an enemy, and establishing contacts with a foreign agent) during the course of the Hizbullah–Israeli war in the summer of 2006. Instead, he announced his resignation from parliament in the Israeli embassy in Cairo, to become in effect a fugitive of justice (Stern and Shahar 2007). Despite his fugitive status, the HCJ ruled that he was entitled to his pension (High Court 2008). After the Israeli offensive into Gaza and the 2009 general elections, bills outlawing the commemoration of the 1948 *Nakba* (catastrophe), requiring potential citizens to take an oath of loyalty to Israel as a "Jewish, Zionist and democratic state" and making a public statement that denied Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state a crime, passed at least the first hurdle (approval to submit a bill by the relevant parliamentary committee) in the process of becoming law (Khoury 2009).

There can be little doubt that Israeli elites both in government and parliament were also responding to threat perceptions of the Israeli Jewish public. A survey conducted during those trying times found that the overwhelming majority of Israeli Jews believed that Arabs might assist enemies of the state (78 percent), launch a popular revolt against it (72 percent), and would be more loyal to a Palestinian state than to Israel (66 percent) were such a state to emerge (Smooha 2004).

Plotting the ebb and flow in the relationship between the state of Israel and its Arab citizens over time, one finds a high correlation then between the state's geo-strategic predicament and the quality of the relationship (See Figure 2.1, p. 29). The relationship improved during periods of external calm and rising hopes of more fundamental conflict resolution and ebbed during times of external threat, especially if it emanated from sources whose ethnonational likeness is greatest, such as the Palestinian threat to Israeli security emanating from the West Bank and Gaza. Nevertheless, the secular trend has been toward greater tolerance even during more threatening moments, arguably due to greater economic liberalization, itself fed partially by the drive to maintain technological military superiority over Israel's enemies. To what extent such liberalization has been transformed into actual state policies and practices will be discussed in the next chapter.

3

State Policies toward Israel's Palestinians

How intensely citizens interact with the state and are affected by its policies varies considerably not only from state to state but within the state as well. Interaction between the state and its citizens in Israel has been considerable. The reasons for the intense relationship between the state and its citizens are easy to discern. As Gershon Shafir masterfully demonstrated, states involved in the absorption and settlement of massive waves of immigration (Israel doubled its population through immigration within three years of its establishment) tend to centralized power and contain a big government bureaucracy that impacts on all aspects of life in the country (Shafir 1989). The relationship is all the more intense when a state is also challenged simultaneously by major external security challenges, which has resulted in wide-scale three year-long conscription and frequent stints on reserve duty after compulsory service.

Israel, in the past two decades, followed the World Bank's lead in adopting increasingly liberal economic policies. These include a reduced and more balanced budget, a decrease of subsidies, privatization of state-owned firms, decreasing taxation, outsourcing and privatizing public delivery service systems. Liberalization is widening the gap between upper and upper-middle class and the rest as well as widening socioeconomic gaps between Jews and Arabs.

The system has also been characterized by considerable variation in state entitlements/services according to legislation and policy regarding preferential development areas. The chapter analyzes whether the State deals fairly with Israel's Arab citizens in funding or in the provision of actual services.

Military Service

The most striking difference in the impact of the state on its citizens concerns the terms of army service. Officially, Israel imposes universal conscription on all citizens and permanent residents and is commonly referred to as a citizen's army; in fact, only 52 percent of those of conscription age actually serve (Talmor 2008). Those not conscripted include most orthodox and

all ultra-orthodox women, most ultra-orthodox men, and the overwhelming percentage of Israel's Arab Muslims and Christians. The only Arabic-speaking Israeli citizens who serve on a compulsory male basis are Druze and Circassians, although some Bedouin and Christian Arabs volunteer. The percentage of Israeli citizens serving has been declining over the years as the army has become more selective, as an increasing number of those who could serve evade the draft, and as the segments of the population who do not serve, such as the ultra-orthodox and most of the Arab population have a higher demographic growth, and therefore grow at a higher rate relative to the population at large (Grinberg 2007; Spiegel 2001: 1).

One of the earliest moves on the part of the Israeli establishment to recruit Arabs into the IDF was also the most distinctive. In July 1954, the IDF ordered the registration of minority youth in the triangle and parts of the Galilee as "part of the process of freeing the Arab population from the feeling of discrimination by extending rights and obligations to all the residents of Israel" (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 118; Krebs 2006: 62 quote from Kadish 1954). Arab youth at first responded with enthusiasm, but this soon gave way to dismay when it became known from the Arabic press in neighboring states that they would not serve in the regular units but rather be placed in a minority unit that was to serve in the Negev fulfilling lacklustr tasks (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 117). The process that was to lead to actual recruitment never took place and henceforth the draft, though hardly voluntary service, was limited exclusively to the Druze and to the tiny Circassian community.

According to Krebs, conscription served as a strong signal from the state of its intention to include the Druze in the republican boundaries of citizenship, while emitting an equally a strong signal that the Christians and Muslims were to be excluded (Krebs 2006: 72). Whether the Druze conscripts really wanted to be included within those boundaries, at least in the first years, was highly doubtful. Druze resistance to the draft was substantial: in the beginning of 1956, only 51 of 197 conscripts from villages in the northern, central, and eastern areas of the Galilee region showed up voluntarily. The turnout was only slightly higher from villages in the Carmel (32 out of 117) (Cohen 2006: 188). When the police and the army went after them, they were often threatened with violence by the villagers (ibid., 189–90). These findings raise doubts regarding Lustick's control framework. If Israeli control were so formidable and Israeli Jewish Republicanism as powerful as Lustick would have us believe, how come only one-third showed up voluntarily. Still less could it explain how the village people, presumably controlled and subdued, threatened to prevent conscription with violence when the police pursued the draft-dodgers. Fear of the authorities should have led to a much higher "volunteer" rate.

In the previous chapters, an argument privileging external security factors in explaining Israel's policies to its minority groups was advanced. The importance of external relations relating to security not only loomed large in the mind of Israel's state leaders but also played an important role in explaining

the attitudes and behavior of the minorities toward the state in matters relating to security and army service. Many of the Druze, especially the Druze leader, Amin al-Tarif, opposed the institutionalization of army service for fear of its impact on Druze outside Israel and the relationship of those Druze to Israel's Druze citizens (ibid., 194–5). Israeli Druze were well aware of the vituperous condemnation of the draft by Sultan al-Atrash, the major Druze figure in Lebanon, in addition to his vociferous opposition to the Zionist state in general (ibid., 189).

Years later, many Druze readily acknowledged their opposition to the draft on fears that it would impact negatively on their relationship with the Muslim majority in their immediate vicinity and in the Arab world as a whole: This was the gist of a letter the Communist *al-Ittihad* published in 1964 in which a Druze were described as "a branch of the Muslim tree of origin, who are used as a means of divide and rule by the authorities, while being exploited like the rest of the Arabs" (ibid., 197).

The draft was seen as being a signal of inclusion of the Druze and the Circassians into full Israeli citizenship, whereas the exclusion of Christians from the draft was a reflection of the bargaining power of the Christian minority (which the state initially wanted to include in the draft). Once again, external factors played an important role in deciding who was compelled to serve and who was not. A sheikh in the Druze community put it in graphic (though not entirely accurate) terms in 2007 while commenting on the discrimination he felt that continued to prevail between Jews and Druze: "the original sin was the Druze people's consenting to be drafted into the IDF. At first the Christians were willing to be drafted, but the Christians have a pope, and he told them not to enlist so the Israelis grabbed the Druze suckers and drafted them" (Rapoport 2007a). The sheikh was not entirely correct: In the 1950s, Elias Matar from the Christian village of 'Ilbun decided to volunteer with members of his extended family to the IDF, and thirty were indeed inducted. The Greek Catholic religious leader, George Hakim privately supported it. In 1970, ten youngsters sent a letter to Dayan asking to expand the draft to include the Christians to avoid volunteering to the army and be perceived as traitors by their Muslim neighbors. A government committee indeed studied the proposal but quickly came to the conclusion that this group represented a small minority of the Christian population and that the proposal was therefore not viable. Throughout the time period, Christian volunteers were highly welcomed by the authorities (Cohen 2006: 209–10).

It was not the state that signaled exclusion of the Christians; on the contrary, it was the Christians who signaled that they were neither interested in the draft nor even in voluntary service. The Christians got their way because they knew that they represented a sensitive issue for the Jewish state that was almost wholly dependent strategically and politically on the support of powerful Western states with overwhelmingly Christian populations. Christian resistance to the draft would have embarrassed Israel. This was hardly the case of the Druze, a distinctive religious sect with no state allies to back it.

The Christian minority was thus in a much better bargaining position than the Druze, who as noted were the poorest, smallest, and most isolated of the minorities that made up the non-Jewish Arabic-speaking population in Israel.

Despite the draft conscription, Druze soldiering up to 1990 was limited almost exclusively to serving in the Minorities Unit, which was deployed for the most part in the Negev-Dead Sea area (Benziman and Mansour 1992: 115). Service in the area stemmed from a concern to avoid potential inter-Druze confrontation on the Syrian or Lebanese borders, thus placing the Druze soldier with the dilemma of fighting his ethnic kin on the basis of his citizenship in the Israeli state. Avoiding fighting "my people who are the enemy of my state," a statement attributed to a prominent Arab MK who opposed the draft for the Arab sector, was one of the official reasons for not drafting the Christian and Muslim populations. Despite the recommendations of two committees on Druze affairs – one composed of MKs, the other of both experts and officials – in 1975 to fully integrate Druze in the Israeli army, few Druze throughout this period attained senior officer rank and Druze were excluded from the air force, military intelligence, and navy (Krebs 2006: 78).

All this changed with the assumption of Moshe Arens as Minister of Defense, the first minister in this office to have been Minister of Arab Affairs before he attained the more powerful post in 1983 and then again between 1988 and 1990. Since then Druze officers have attained the rank of major-general, the second highest in the force, and have served as navigators in the Israeli air force, and Druze conscripts compete and serve in all IDF units. In this sense, the IDF has probably overcome much of the "Trojan Horse" fears regarding Druze loyalty to the state (Peled 1998: 1–2). In 1999, for the first time, special efforts were made to attract Druze conscripts and Bedouin volunteers into professional programs in universities as part of prolonged professional service in the Israel Defense Forces (Yedion 2009: 59). However, it would be wrong to assume that there is total equality of opportunity. Special preinduction training of the type offered to immigrant conscripts or their offspring from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union are not offered to the Druze despite their relative poor knowledge of Hebrew compared to fellow Jewish-Israeli conscripts who might merit pre-induction training (Lomsky-Feder and Ben-Ari 2006: 273). Many Druze continue to serve in the predominantly Druze battalion "Herev," which performed well recently in the Israel-Hizbullah War in 2006 (Rapoport, 2007b).

Rather than being discriminated against, the Druze and even more so the Bedouin, remain distinctive in Israel's security system in ways that make it difficult to assess their standing along a neat continuum between discrimination and equality. Though accurate data are hard to come by, it is well known that the percentage of Druze and those Bedouin who serve as long-term professionals in the security system is proportionally higher by far than among Jews. Bedouin, in particular, are highly specialized as trackers, all of whom serve in a single unit. The army provides them with special religious and burial services and in their immediate environment and the right to speak

Arabic freely. In more integrated settings, the use of Hebrew, for reasons of operational efficiency, is mandatory and essential. At the same time, because their skills are needed in a variety of situations, they often operate with many kinds of units, including Israel's most elite (Peled 1998: 23; Lomsky-Feder and Ben-Ari 2006: 272).

Many Druze continue or go on to serve in the wider security network; one scholar claims that 40 percent (!) of the male Druze workforce was employed in the Israeli security network at the turn of the century (Firro 2001: 40–1). They serve in the Border Police (which is a paramilitary gendarmerie based partially on drafted conscripts), as guards in Israel's Correction Services, as translators in the military legal system (Hajjar 2005: 136–7), as officers and professionals in the civil administration in the Territories and, until the outbreak of hostilities of 2000, in the joint Israeli–Palestinian patrols and the district coordinating offices (Michael 2003: 12). Common to all these professions is an extensive interaction with the Arab population in which Druze have an intrinsic language advantage and cultural familiarity over their Jewish counterparts. In all of these settings, however, they serve with fellow Israeli citizens.

Because of the presumed equivalence between the rights with burdens of citizenship (which excludes the majority of Israel's Arab citizens), there have been many attempts to create a national service or civil affairs to include them as well. Sixty young Arab women and men participated in a pilot program of community-based civic youth service launched during the Barak government in the late 1990s after two municipalities responded positively to the Barak initiative. Approximately half of them served in their home communities (Bar-Tura and Fleischer 2004: 8). Even before the outbreak of widespread hostilities between Israel and the Palestinians, the program faced heavy resistance from the intellectual/political elites on the grounds that that civic equality must precede responsibilities; Arab mayors and notable were pressured to reject participation in such a government-funded program. Opposition was not based solely on principles; opponents expressed fear that national service represented an attempt on the part of the establishment "to introduce military service through the back door" (ibid.). Pointing to the Druze experience, they also questioned whether military service granted equal opportunity to non-Jews.

Efforts to attract young Arab volunteers were renewed with the abatement of Palestinian violence in 2005 and the sharp reduction in suicide bombings. Although success exceeded expectations, the results were still modest: 213 young Arab volunteers registered for service between December and March in 2007, compared with 130 volunteers who began their national service in 2006 (Stern 2007). Even more significantly, approximately half of them were Muslims (including many Bedouin) and half Christians (mostly from the western Galilee). This modest success prompted political maneuvering on both sides of the spectrum. The Arab parties, most vociferously the NDA, and the High Follow-up Committee for the Arabs in Israel (the High Follow-up Committee), convened a series of three conferences to fight national

service; the former even threatening to intimidate those who dared to join the program. (The Follow-up Committee was a statewide institution created by local councils and the Arab MKs in 1982). Right-wing politicians, principally Minister of Strategic Affairs Avigdor Lieberman called to punish the High Follow-up Committee for opposing national service (Jam'iyyat Ahaliyya 2007; Barak 2007).

Law Enforcement and Criminality

As in many other ethnically or racially divided societies characterized by communal or racial preeminence, the subordinate community is proportionately underrepresented in the police force and overrepresented in the penitentiary. Proportionately, there were in 2004 over twice as many Arabs (14.4 per 1,000 older than age 15) convicted of serious offenses as Jews (6.6). (It is six to one between blacks and whites in the United States) (Hasisi, 2005: 22). The variance can be explained partially by the high correlation found between poverty and low levels of educational attainment and crime and the relatively higher percentage of cohorts of youth and young adults in the Arab sector compared to the Jewish sector. In almost all societies, youth and young adults commit a disproportionate percentage of crime and violence. These phenomena, however, are partially mitigated by the semirural life that continues to characterize Arab society, its relatively high levels of religious practice, and family cohesion and social control.

At the same time, the police do not recruit Arabs proportionate to their share of the population. One expert on ethnic policing suggests that a more representative the police force is more conducive to building a long-term relationship with the community minority (Enloe 1980). By 2003, Arabs serving in the police accounted for 10.5 percent of the force, whereas Arabs comprise 17 percent of the population and have, as was noted, more than double the conviction rate (Hasisi 2005: 176). The situation was graver still at higher political and administrative levels: Only one of the 150 employees in the head office of the Ministry of Internal Security (which is in charge of the police) was Arab (Dichter 2000: 15).

There were also significant differences in recruitment within the Arabic-speaking sector: Druze made up 50 percent of the Arab "blue" (civil) police force and 60 percent of Border Police, whereas they account for less than 10 percent of the Arabic-speaking population and 2 percent of the population of Israel overall (Hasisi 2005 : 173–4). Druze policemen outnumbered their Muslim counterparts by more than two to one even though the Muslim population is nearly seven times the size of the Druze population. Between the Druze (who are overrepresented) and the Muslims (who are severely underrepresented) are the Christians with a rate of participation in the civil police approximating their proportion in the population.

That Druze and Circassians have the advantage of prior military training can hardly serve as an explanation for the relative lack of recruitment. Many

effective police forces around the world recruit widely from candidates without a military background. This explanation also fails to shed light on why Christians, who rarely received prior military training, outnumbered Muslims in the force by a ratio of two to one. The gap between Muslim, Christian, and Druze recruitment rates must be related to the fear that the potential security threat from such training far outweighs the benefits of having Muslim police fighting mostly local crime (Or Commission 2003: 768). It is a fear that comes all too easily in a state whose Zionist creators sent their sons to serve in the Palestine Mandatory Police and the British army during World War II in part, to secure the skills that would be needed in the struggle for independence (Gelber 2004: 131).

Poor policing, stemming partially as a result of inadequate recruiting in the Arab sector, is no less problematic. There is always a danger that if the state withdraws from providing an essential public need, another political entrepreneur (possibly hostile to the state) will fill in the gap. Fortunately for Israel, the Islamic Movement (as part of its greater ideology of creating a countersociety) tried to fill in the gap through moral policing in Umm al-Fahm but ultimately lacked the resources to seriously challenge the state (Hasisi, interview 18 November 2007). Meanwhile, local society, particularly in Umm al-Fahm, is desperately seeking better policing in the face of growing organized crime and demands for "protection" (*khuwwa*) fees (Watad 2007a). Presumably, illicit activities had increased appreciably in the wake of the 2000 riots and the reduction of policing in Arab localities that came in the wake of these disturbances.

Israeli officialdom's "Trojan horse" security dilemma regarding its Arab citizens characterizes many deeply divided societies (Hasisi and Weitzer 2007). However, unlike the situations prevailing in Northern Ireland and South Africa, this situation was not to assure the dominance of the ethnic majority; rather, it derived from fear of an external security threat and the potential linkage with Israel's Arab citizens. This is why perhaps Israel's Arab citizens were "somewhat less critical of the police than their counterparts in the subordinate ethnic group in Northern Ireland and South Africa" (ibid.).

Land Allocation, Planning, and Zoning

Scholars, politicians, civil society, and activists focus on land expropriation, planning, and zoning more than any other aspect of Israeli Arab life (except perhaps the study of Arab politics in the Jewish state itself). According to many of these scholars, Israel is conceived as an "ethnocracy" that has deliberately implemented policies of Jewish state building within Israel's internal frontiers that are heavily populated by Israel's Arab citizens. Israeli Jewish settlement (principally immigrants) in these areas was supposed to promote economic development and ensure Israel's long-term security. Oren Yiftachel and others estimate that 50 to 60 percent of the lands privately owned by Israel's Arab citizens and all publicly owned land belonging to the villages have been

expropriated. Israeli Jewish state building, according to them, is reflected in jurisdiction patterns over land; Arab localities cover only 2.5 percent of Israel's land mass even though they comprise 16.5 percent of the population (Yiftachel 1998: 35). These researchers present a very one-sided and often inaccurate description of land use and planning regarding Israel's Arab citizens.

To claim that 60 percent of Arab land was expropriated is problematic. Israel's land mass covers 22 million dunam. Before the establishment of the State of Israel, there were five categories of land ownership: *mawat*, *matruqa*, *miri*, *waqf* (endowment), and *mulk*. The first category, "dead" land, best translated as "badlands," was (by virtue of the 1858 Ottoman land law) the sole possession of the Ottoman and later the British sovereign. *Miri* or leased land allowed the deed holder the usufruct, but not ownership, which remained in possession of the sovereign. *Miri* was land located one and a half kilometers from the farthest house that entitled the user usage rights but not ownership and that was retained by the state. Only after ten years of continuous usage (with the onus of proof placed on the user) did the land become private property. *Matruqa* was land allotted from *miri* tracts designated for public purposes. They may be likened to the "commons" and were, in the distant past, rotated amongst the villagers. *Mawqufa* or *waqf* endowment land was either partially private or in possession of a public body. Only the fifth category, *mulk*, was unfettered private property (Sas 1995: 29–32).

The British, in a 1928 land law, initiated a process of registering land according to these five categories. As in many countries in the world, the process was far from simple; by the end of the Mandate, 5 million dunam (of 22 million) were registered by law. Of those 5 million, 1.68 million were owned by Jews or by Jewish collective bodies (Khamaisi 2006: 427).

Critics of Israeli land policy in deriving their estimates of expropriated land conveniently forget that 60 percent of Israeli lands (mostly in the Negev) are nonarable and are not used to this day. Legally, they were historically *mawat* land (retained by the sovereign), which since 1948, has been Israel. Debit the 13 million dunam inherited by the state (60 percent of 22 million) in addition to the 1.68 million owned by the Jews and one is left with approximately 7 million dunam unaccounted for. One must assume that a good proportion of the remaining land belonged to the other categories of land, which were not privately owned. At this point, one can easily calculate that any land expropriated from Arabs could at most be around the 30 percent mark.

But the percentage of land that could be expropriated must be even less. From this sum of 7 million, one must further debit the land owned by the population that fled or was expelled in the heat of war. The Arabs who remained accounted for only 14 percent of the original pre-1948 population (or one-seventh of the population). Yet in the early years of statehood they owned 1,326, 826 dunam. This was proportionately a far greater share of land than they could have possibly owned originally. Even assuming that all 7 million dunam remaining was private land, their share should have been a million (Sas 1995: 26). It would be reasonable to say then that the Arabs who remained

started from a relatively advantageous position since the net decline of the Arab population was greater than the decline in land ownership. In fact, it was estimated in 1980 that the Arabs suffered no loss of land and benefited from illegal use of state land (ibid., 23). Sas shows that private land ownership since Mandate times has even increased at least in absolute terms (ibid., 35). Raseem Khamaisi, a geographer and planner, concedes that residential lands were extended into former *miri/matruqa* lands, reclassified in the early 1950s as state lands (Khamaisi, 2007: 23).

Much of the land belonging to Arabs who fled the country was subsequently transferred to the Development Authority and the Jewish National Fund for purposes of settlement of Jewish immigrants. All land was leased and from 1960 onward placed under the jurisdiction of the Israel Lands Authority, subject to policy decisions made by the Israel Lands Administration. Yiftachel reports that the Israel Lands Authority, which administers 93 percent of Israel's land mass, has allocated only one-sixth of a percent of total land allocations to the nonagricultural sector to Arab localities. This paltry amount, he claims, was divided unevenly amongst the Bedouin, Druze, and urban and rural non-Bedouin Muslim majority (with the latter receiving only 25 percent of the land even though they comprise three-quarters of the Arab population) (Yiftachel 1998: 36).

Not only can the amount of land expropriated from Arabs be quibbled, but one can also find justification for allotting much of this land to Jewish immigrants. It is important to note that the Jewish immigrants, many of whom were expelled from Arab states in which they resided, would have received most of the land allocations, according to any objective means test since as immigrants they lacked any land whatsoever. By contrast, the majority of Arabs who remained continued to reside in their original homes and tilled their lands from pre-Mandate times.

Differential urban density also justified allocation of land to Jewish citizens. In 2002, urban density was lower in Arab residential areas compared to Jewish areas, either measured by the average of people per square kilometer or by the number of housing units per 1,000 square meters (Sikkuy 2007: 42–3). Such land was not allocated because the Arab urban sector is actually taking place in a rural setting – what is often referred as rurbanization – while the Jewish urban schemes have been mostly initiated from scratch. Nor could a differential occupational profile, such as a significant percentage of farmers, justify the favored status of Israel's Arab citizens in this regard. Since the 1960s at least, the overwhelming percentage of the Arab workforce has been nonagricultural; in 1964, 38 percent of the workforce was employed in agriculture declining to 15.2 percent in 1976, a trend that has characterized many modernizing states in a variety of contexts (*Statistical Abstract of Israel – 1967* (no. 18), p. 267; 1977 (no. 28), p. 313). A government agency charged with long-term planning of a valuable resource such as land, whose importance can only grow given Israel's growing population density, must aim at

equalizing densities rather than increasing one sector's favored position, in this case, the Arab sector, over the disfavored.

Sociological factors rather than skewed government policies are at the root of the urban land-scarcity problem. Arab households, often in opposition to the younger generations, restrict most housing development to kin rather than sell land or collaborate with contractors to develop high-rise housing estates in which apartments are sold on the free market as is the case in the Jewish sector (Khamaisi 2007: 8–9). Basically, a noxious blend between traditional patterns of areal residence with the insistence of increasing the size of the private nuclear plot almost fivefold due to rising standards of living within the broader extended family pattern of residence, has only made the situation worse (ibid., 23–4). Khamaisi claims that 75 percent of young couples in the Arab localities do not have the ability to live on inherited land. A clear solution is commercial high-rise projects that have begun to crop up in the Arab sector but not nearly at the rate or level of penetration that should occur.

The other solution of releasing state land raises the question whether the state has to discriminate against other sectors to maintain pathological social processes within the Arab community, let alone encourage the environmentally degrading rural sprawl that characterizes so much building in Arab localities. Because of the gravity of the situation, the Israel Lands Authority stepped in and by 2006, the Authority was in the process of planning 67,000 housings units and the Housing Ministry is designing a further 12,500 on land that was presumably expropriated but that now, even Khamaisi acknowledges, is being used for the public good (ibid., 31). Oddly enough, much of the land provided by the state remained unleased as consumers balk at the relatively high development costs relative to privately owned and more expensive land offered in the marketplace (ibid., 33).

Their private gain, however, comes at the Arab public's expense since most of these housing initiatives on private land lack supporting public infrastructure. Lack of land for public uses results in severe diseconomies in the form of traffic congestion and traffic accidents due to inadequate and winding internal roads, pollution, and high costs in the delivery of public services typical of low-density environments. These traditional mores also affect negatively the level of services that can be accorded in Arab localities. Land allocation for public uses in Arab localities amounts to only half of the amount allotted to public services in the Jewish sector (Sikkuy 2007: 44–5). Basically, even large towns in the Arab sector are essentially sprawling villages. Residents in wealthy Tel-Aviv suburbs like Savion and Kfar Shmaryahu can pay the differentials involved in providing public services to private homes. Such is not the case in most Arab localities where the residents are heavily represented in the lower deciles of the localities profile according to major socioeconomic indices compiled by the Ministry of Interior.

Nevertheless, historic issues over land expropriation (the bulk of which took place in the first thirty years of statehood) marred relations between the state

and the Arab minority. Expropriations of 7,500 dunam in the late 1950s and early 1960s to create the Jewish cities of Upper Nazareth and later Carmiel, prodded the establishment of the radical Al-Ard movement (Rekhess 1977: 11; Chapter 4 in this volume). Opposition resulted in violent demonstrations on March 30, 1976, in which six Arab citizens were killed (ibid., 6). The incident proved to be the culminating event in a series of protests aimed against a state plan first introduced in November 1974 to develop the upper Galilee.

Aimed primarily to promote Jewish settlement, its authors assured "development plans for the Arab sector as well" (ibid., 1). The plan foresaw the expropriation of 20,000 dunam, of which only 6,000 were to be expropriated from Arab owners. The government in announcing its decision 15 months later to go ahead with the plan reiterated that it was designed to benefit both Jews and Arabs, and assured fair and equal compensation for any expropriated land (ibid., 2).

The Arab population was hardly assuaged, and protests led and coordinated by the Follow-up Committee for the Defense of Arab Lands, established in October 1975 to fight the expropriations, intensified. Most focused on "area nine" training grounds, into which the army forbade entry to the residents of nearby Sakhnin, Arrabe, and Dir Hana. The committee earmarked March 30, 1976, as a day of a general strike. On the night of 30 March, a convoy of soldiers returning from exercises in a nearby area encountered a makeshift roadblock and, when forced to stop, were bombarded with a hail of rocks. The soldiers responded with live fire, better-trained police and border police were rushed in, and a curfew was imposed (ibid., 5). On the following day, confrontations broke out after the residents of the three towns defied the curfew leading to the death of three.

The latest major conflagration occurred over land in the Umm al-Fahum area in 1998 known as al-Roha. It began when the Chief of Staff decided to close "area 107," composed of two former firing ranges, so that the farmers could no longer work this land, which was mostly absentee property. The Chief of Staff justified the move claiming the need for exercise areas and basing his injunction on the emergency defense regulations from 1945. The inhabitants of the nearby villages, Mu'awiyya, Kafr Qara, Mushayrifa, and Bayada and the town of Umm al-Fahm perceived the injunction as a form of land expropriation for the purposes of large-scale Judaization. Ra'id Sallah, Mayor of Umm al-Fahm, even claimed that the injunction was a precursor "to build a new Jewish city, Iron, with 300,000 residents" in the area (Susser and Rekhess 2000: 353). Needless to say, over a decade later no such city was built.

Attempts by Ministry of Defense officials and by the advisor on Arab Affairs to convince local residents that the 520 dunam closed by the injunction were in no way sufficient for almost any settlement project, let alone a city of that size, fell on deaf ears. Similarly, the restoration of five times that amount over previous years to the former landlords failed to assuage the anger or allay fears. For local residents, the Arab political parties and the High Follow-up Committee (who had meanwhile joined the fray), it was matter both of principle and

precedent. Four months later, the residents both demonstrated outside the Ministry of Defense, a precedent in itself, and set up a tent on the contested area in which a twenty-four-hour vigil was maintained (ibid.).

Three days of rioting broke out when the police moved in to dismantle the tent after prolonged negotiations with the residents. One hundred people were injured, including twenty border police and Mayor Ra'id Sallah himself. An attack on a high school and the blinding of one of the students in the attack elicited critical responses from the Jewish press as well. Despite the harsh police reaction, the crisis around the al-Roha lands ended with a victory for the Arab sector. An interim agreement allowed the farmers to continue cultivating the land, and three years later the Ministry of Defense rescinded the injunction altogether. Ironically, the issue over access to restricted land has been exacerbated by the peace process, which denied the IDF substantial training grounds previously located in the Territories (Salman and Folkman 2005: 16).

Planning and Zoning

Critics of Israeli state planning and zoning mechanisms are on firmer empirical grounds in linking their activities in the first three decades of statehood to the goals of penetrating and expanding Jewish settlement into the hinterland. As Yiftachel points out, 600 Jewish localities were created with cooperation of the state since its establishment (Yiftachel 1998: 35). By contrast, in the Arab sector only seven localities (exclusively focused on urbanizing the Bedouin in the Negev) have been created since 1948; despite a similar growth rate (though generated differently) between the Jewish and Arab communities. This criticism does not take into account that most of the Arab population was residentially taken care of at the end of the War of Independence, while the Jewish state, with its policy of the ingathering of the exiles, doubled its population within four years and had to provide the housing needs of 600,000 immigrants.

According to the critics, lack of initiative in planning Arab localities, especially in the face of rapid demographic growth, led to the establishment of more than 100 unrecognized Arab villages since the establishment of the state, with a total population of 70,000. (ibid., 36). Two major organizations, the Association of the Forty Unrecognized Villages in the Galilee and a similar association with the same objectives regarding Bedouin villages in the Negev, have tried to achieve official recognition over the past decade. Illegal building is one of the major implications of living in an unrecognized locality since the villages by their very status lack zoning laws. Israel's major planning institutions are accused of being overly zealous in planning Jewish residential penetration and expansion into the hinterland as part of a broader "ethnocratic" strategy and of neglecting or even choking Arab localities by not including them sufficiently in the planning process.

These policies, however, began to change within Israel in the 1980s at a time when Israel's geo-strategic situation changed dramatically with the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Equally important, its durability

was put to a severe test during Israel's Operation Peace for Galilee that marked in retrospect the decline of the interstate conflict until the rise of Iran in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Khamaisi notes how Israel's Lands Authority became an active player in providing land to growing numbers of landless young couples while allotting, in a beneficial way, a relatively high percentage for public uses. Much of the land for public use was expropriated from private owners in the same way the Lands Authority would operate in Jewish areas (Khamaisi 2007: 33). Thus, the state began breaking the gridlock that local land-use patterns and extended family-based (*hamula*) local politics imposed on local planning in which land allocations for public uses equaled only 40 to 70 percent of the averages found in the Jewish urban sector. Simultaneously, the pace of authorizing local council zoning plans increased. From 1991 until 1996, the completion and authorization of plans in Arab localities (29 of 81 Arab localities) outpaced the rate found in predominantly or exclusively Jewish localities (43 of 154) (Hareven 1998: 19).

Zoning plans, the absence of which had long been regarded one of the major obstacles in the development of the Arab sector, have not proved to be the panacea they were supposed to be. Once again, skewed modernizing patterns in Arab society have limited the possible benefits. For example, in light of the prevailing sense of a shortage of housing, a study found that in localities with authorized zoning plans only 25 to 35 percent of building rights have been utilized (Khamaisi 2007: 39). The root of the problem (as already noted) is a lack of a widespread commercial land and housing market that would stimulate high-rise development. Failure to utilize land usage rights leads almost automatically to lower density rates, higher public delivery costs in localities that are poor to begin with, and, above all, a shortage of land for public usage. Public land is the basis for public educational and cultural institutions and activities with far-reaching implications on human development and social welfare. In 2002, Jewish localities allocated nearly two and a half times land to educational establishments than Arab localities (Sikkuy 2007: 45).

Ironically, government attempts to end the differentiation in treatment of the Arab minority stemming from geo-strategic concerns and to replace it with equal and standardized zoning policies have met with no less criticism than the former policy. Policies that assume a high willingness of the nuclear family to change places of residence in order to maximize housing benefits and access to the labor market do not work in a society that up to this day remains constrained by extended family patterns and balks at such internal immigration (Khamaisi 2007: 39–41). Also, such policies will not work when localities refuse to accept (Arab) immigration from outside their locality or whose local municipalities refuse to merge (or even cooperate) with others to attain the demographic scale needed to justify public subsidized development of industrial parks.

Expropriation of private property for public uses by government is a classic and increasingly important solution to the increasing need for public infrastructure as personal affluence increases. However, it can hardly be resolved

when the population that suffers from a growing misfit between personal affluence and public goods wants the expropriation to take place at the expense of one's neighbor (the classic free rider problem) or worse at the expense of the rival clan, especially when residents can accuse the government of abuse of Arabs for trying to solve the problem (ibid., 43–4, 47–8). As time goes on, it becomes all too apparent that the problem of the development of the Arab sector cannot be apportioned exclusively to the government but must also rest with Israel's Arab citizens.

Local Government

These grave ecological problems may shed light as to why, despite a radical change for the better in the way the central government has interacted with Arab localities, its salutary effect on local government and society has, nevertheless, been so minimal. On the vast improvement in the way the central government has treated Arab municipalities, there can be little doubt: For example, in 1972 the average grant per capita to the Jewish local government was eight times larger than to its Arab counterpart; however, by 1995 the per capita grant from central government to the Arab sector was less than 20 percent lower than that given to the Jewish sector (Hareven 1998: 51).

Unfortunately, bad government has all too often offset these gains in allocations. Poor tax collection remains the bugbear of Arab local government. After an especially bitter service strike by Arab municipalities in 1991, the Israeli government for the first time agreed to a large-scale debt resettlement agreement. Not only did the government fully live up to its promises, but it even provided additional funding to Arab local councils in some instances ('Azayzeh 1996: 31). Yet, as revenue from the central government increased, internally generated revenue from tax collection decreased. By the end of the 1993 fiscal year, Arab local governments had chalked up once again a deficit of 200 million shkalim and another 100 million in the following year. While self-generated revenue as a percentage of total revenue increased in Jewish municipalities from 35 to 50 percent between 1972 and 1995, and declined only slightly in the more subsidized Jewish area councils, it had declined precipitously in the Arab sector from 49 to 23 percent (Hareven 1998: 51). Even taking into account the low socioeconomic profile of most Arab localities (as regards average income, unemployment, and welfare recipients, eight of the ten local councils appear in the lowest decile), they collect only 50 percent of the taxes to which they are entitled (Sabagh-Khouri 2004: 9). This failure to collect revenues amounts to a loss of one-quarter of total revenues, in that the impact on areas such as education and welfare, for which the local councils are largely responsible, is critical.

Substantial improvement in the individual standard of living and vast increases in educational attainment and other indices of modernization among many of the inhabitants of these towns during that period should have led in theory to a greater concern with "managing the commons." Inhabitants

often claim that they do not get the services they would have deserved were they to pay their taxes in full (Sabagh-Khouri 2004: 8, 10). Local council officials respond that the fault lies in the citizens who, because of tax arrears and outright evasion, deprive the councils of the wherewithal to provide them adequate services (Muhammad 2007).

However, poor generation of revenue is also a symptom of poor administration; a report written with the aim of censuring the central authorities for continued short-handed treatment of the Arab sector demonstrates this. In the introduction to the report, the director of an NGO adopts an admonishing note toward government:

> government officials typically claim that most of the investment is in national infrastructures: Arab citizens, too, travel on state roads; high-tension power lines bring electricity to the homes of Arab citizens as well; sewage from Arab communities flows, unimpeded by discrimination, into regional sewage systems; the national water system also serves Arabs; and so forth. In a paradoxical way, this contention merely serves to highlight an impossible situation. Since 1948, although [a] very sophisticated infrastructure has developed on the national level, this development has "detoured around" Arab citizens in a way not to their advantage. (Dichter, 2001)

However, in reading the report, one realizes that the reasons for the "detour" lie squarely on local government and its citizens:

> the well-paved road typically ends at the junction where they turn off to enter their own town. From that point onward, they drive over potholes, through puddles of sewage, and over dangerous slopes in the road that do not appear in the municipal plan … [El]ectricity supplied as far as the entrance to an Arab town does not serve the residents in the same way that it does in nearby Jewish towns … the Jewish town enjoys good street lighting which also serves to sketch in the general outlines of the town plan … [I]n the Arab towns, the light filtering out of residential windows outlines the haphazard and unsystematic location of homes on privately owned land … [W]hen a sewage system connects a large Arab town to the same infrastructure used by the surrounding Jewish towns … [A]bout half the Arab households in Israel are not connected to their town's internal sewage lines, but rather use household septic tanks and though the national water system reaches the entrance of the town "… [A]nyone driving by can see the large black plastic water tanks on the roofs of homes in Arab villages. This generally signifies that the piped water supply in that town is not reliable. The black tank supplies home water usage needs when there's no water in the village's pipelines. In nearly every Arab town these tanks are visible on the rooftops. In nearby Jewish towns, they don't exist." (Dichter 2001)

It is important to remember that responsibility for the internal roads, electricity, and sewage within local council boundaries resides exclusively in the local council.

Problems in governance on the local level continued into the first decade of the new century. Reduced tax collection led to increasingly severe budget

deficits and insolvency. Many local councils throughout the country ceased to pay local government employees and members of the religious councils, or delayed payment over long time periods. The problem was especially severe in the Arab sectors. In a decision of the National Labor Court submitted in 2007 relating to a petition by the General Federation of Labor and other large public bodies on behalf of the employees, the court reported that seventeen of the twenty-three local councils who resolved their worker's salaries long in arrear only after emergency government bailouts, were Arab. Among the seventeen localities where the problem has only been partially solved or not at all (a state of affairs that gave rise to the petition in the first place), sixteen of them were Arab local councils. In either category, Arab local councils, which comprise just over one-third of the country's total, were vastly overrepresented (Beit HaDin HaHaartzi 2006).

According to the court, bad management lay at the root of the problem, and, therefore, it placed the onus of resolving the issue on local councils themselves and indirectly on local residents who refused to pay their local taxes.

This was hardly the view of Israeli officialdom only. A report on the state of Umm al-Fahm written by its mayor Hashim 'Abd al-Rahman (one of the heads of the radical (northern) Islamic Movement) revealed the sorry state of municipal affairs in that town. The mayor confirmed reports that the Minister of the Interior had called in the mayor for talks as a possible prelude to nominate an official receivership committee on the grounds that the municipality failed to run its affairs properly, reduce its debts, and pay its arrears to workers. Nowhere in his report did he censure the Ministry of the Interior for exploring the possibility. Instead, he appealed to the citizens to pay their taxes, especially water fees, to forestall that possibility. Turning to the town's residents, he emphasized that "here I must point out that we often rely on the government's shortcomings as an excuse when we should be pointing to our own shortcomings" (Muhammad 2007). Umm al-Fahm, which had been under the control of the movement since the mid-1980s, was highly regarded as one of the more successful Arab local governments (Sabagh-Khouri 2004: 10).

'Abd al-Rahman's appeal was later picked up by the Follow-up Committee and Arab Knesset members, who issued a joint appeal urging Arab citizens to pay their municipal tax arrears lest the Arabs in Israel lose their opportunity for local self-government in the face of an increasing number of government-appointed administrative councils (Watad 2007b). Several economic studies (Razin 1999; Brender 2007: 6) indicate that poor management (rather than relative income) explain the gaps between tax collection in the Arab municipal sector compared to the Jewish municipal sector after controlling for the obvious correlation between higher private income and higher tax collection rates.

Even a highly ideological movement such as the Islamic Movement, dedicated to building a "counter society" in opposition to the government, was unable to inculcate civic values in the face of extended family loyalties and rivalries or to encourage philosophies in which the pursuit of private gains

are tempered by a knowledge that short-term gains often end up being long-term nightmares. This is indeed what happens when such rivalries and sheer private selfishness undermine attempts to amalgamate small local councils in order to achieve administrative economies of scale, implement local council-wide projects, and carry out land expropriations for public and commercial services (Razin 1999: 61; on efforts by the Arab MKs and other members of the political elite to dissolve existing amalgamations, see Rapoport 2007a). The latter is often critical not only in ensuring a better quality of life but in generating considerable additional revenue for local government and society as well (Razin 1999: 58). In a sense, Arab society suffers the absence of central government so critical in resolving problems such as expropriation for public uses, which each citizen hopes to be resolved on someone else's land rather than from excessive state control. That the citizens in these local councils would like more of a central government role is indicated in a poll on Arab local government conducted by an Arab NGO. The study revealed that 75 percent of those polled "strongly agreed" that the state's supervisory role should be increased and 12 percent were partially in agreement with this statement, by far the most consensual finding presented in the 38-page report (Sabagh-Khouri 2004: 15).

Participation in the Civil Service

The Rabin government (1992–6) was the first to acknowledge the need to take affirmative action to increase the number of Arabs in the civil service. Since 1993, the Civil Service Commissioner has actively recruited suitable Arabs and Druze into the civil service. Between October 1993 and 2000, 1,759 Arabs were recruited. They represented over 60 percent of the 3,100 Arab and Druze officials presently employed in the civil service (Computed from Haidar 2001:17).

The rapid increase in recruitment under the Rabin government at the rate of 250 a year (Hareven and Ghanem 1996: 17), contrary to expectations, remained similar under the Netanyahu government. In the course of three years, 750 Arabs and Druze were recruited; roughly the same pace of recruitment that characterized the Barak's administration, which lasted one and a half years. The difference between the two leaders was in the fanfare the latter created around the issue and the expectations Barak and his ministers raised. The addition of 428 Arabs who joined the civil service under Netanyahu hardly met the objective set by committee's chairman, Minister of Science, Culture and Sport Matan Vilnai. At a Sikkuy conference in Nazareth in February 2000, he hoped to increase Arab representation in the civil service from 5 percent to 10 percent within four years (three times the effective rate under Barak). The civil service commissioner's report shows that as of April 14, 2001 (nearly two years after the establishment of the special committee), there were 3,128 Arab civil servants or 5.7 percent of the total number of civil service employees. At the beginning of Barak's administration they accounted for 4.8 percent, less than a percent increase (ibid., 2001: 15). In 2002, the figure

TABLE 3.1. *Increase in Civil Service Employment Generally and Arab Civil Service Employees (in absolute numbers and percentages)*

Year	Total No. Arab Civil Servants	Total No. Civil Servants	% of Civil Servants who are Arabs
1992	1,117	53,549	2.1
1993	1,369	53,914	2.5
1994	1,679	55,278	3
1995	1,997	56,183	3.5
1996	2,231	56,809	4
1997	2,340	57,286	4.1
1998	2,537	57,580	4.4
10/1999	2,818	58,115	4.8
4/2001	3,128	54,337	5.7
2002	3,440	56,362	6.1
2004	3,154	3,154	5.5

Source: Haidar, 2005, p. 87.

reached 6.1 percent (Haidar 2003: 4), a 300 percent increase in the number of employees since 1992. Significantly, over 80 percent of the new openings were filled by Arabs. However, this percentage dipped again to 5.5 percent in 2004 (Haidar 2005: 69).

Failure to close the gap does not lie so much with continued discrimination or neglect as much as it does with the philosophy of economic liberalism and the advocacy of small government. During these years, the civil service hardly increased in number, from 53,549 to 56,362 employers – a growth rate hardly commensurate with the growth of population that included an influx of over one million immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Yet also Israel's geo-strategic situation played a role in reversing a trend of increasing Arab employment in the civil service. It can hardly be coincidence that the annual absorption of Arabs into the civil service reached its high point in 2001 (which one must lag to take into account the time between making the decision and effectuating the appointment) and declined in the three following years from 315 in 2001 to 193 in 2003, only to rise once again to 249 in 2004 as Palestinian violence in Judea and Samaria and Gaza began to taper off (Haidar 2005: 88).

Arab civil servants continue to suffer from inferior terms of employment even though their educational profile is not significantly different from their Jewish counterparts. Fewer of them proportionately enjoy tenure, and most are employed in five relatively less prestigious ministries with fewer long-term opportunities of advancement. Two prestigious and important ministries remain effectively out of bounds to potential Arab candidates other than the Druze – the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Defense – mainly for security reasons. Only one Arab is presently employed in each.

Included in these figures are employees of government ministries themselves; not included are employees of government-owned companies, teachers

in the educational system, employees of the state employment service, National Insurance Institute employees, and employees of the various other government authorities and agencies.

Lucrative and senior positions are also to be found in the government-financed public corporations. Once again, Arabs are underrepresented amongst their ranks, principally as directors in government companies. A report released in April 2001 by the Government Companies Authority dealing with government-owned companies, subsidiaries, and mixed companies showed that only 18 of a total of 111 boards of directors of government-owned companies, subsidiaries, and mixed companies included Arab directors. Of the 668 directors of these government-owned companies, only 22 (3.3 percent), were Arabs. By 2003, the number increased to 38 representing 5.9 of the total (Haidar 2005: 6). Meanwhile the number of all the directors decreased from 668 to 641, indicating some effort to augment Arab ranks in a shrinking pool.

While Minister of Justice Yosef (Tommy) Lapid in the Sharon government named an acting Arab Justice to the Supreme Court in April 2003 for the first time, Judge Salim Jubran, it could hardly disguise woeful statistics: Of 484 judges in Israel, only 27 were Arab (5 percent of the total judiciary). Among magistrates, 8 of 73 were Arabs (Haidar 2003:8) and among the administrative staff a paltry 3.7 percent were Arabs, indicating that educational attainment can hardly be a reason for the small percentage of Arabs in the state legal system.

Haidar's harsh summary represents a fair assessment:

> The picture that emerges is what the Americans call tokenism (known in Israel as "a fig leaf"). The establishment, in other words, can live quite well with this state of affairs, since one can always say truthfully that there are indeed Arab directors. Potential Arab candidates worry that their participation may be viewed as cooperation with this tokenism. They do not wish to make things easier for those people in the establishment whose aim is to perpetuate the existing situation and whose strategy is to permit a minimum of essentially cosmetic changes, with further appointments trickling in at a snail's pace. Nonparticipation, on the other hand, does not resolve the dilemma. It's a vicious circle. (Haidar, 2001)

To redress the problem, the Knesset passed in May 2000 an amendment to the Government Companies Law of 5735–1975, initiated by MK Azmi Bishara and MK Salah Tarif (ibid.). It guaranteed that boards of directors of government-owned companies would include fair representation for Arabs. The word "fair," like the civil service law both MKs were instrumental in amending, is a term open to interpretation. It is of course too early to tell if its intent will be matched by real progress as indeed has been the case with civil service positions. Once again, one of the chief problems lies with the ideology of privatizing the state. Israel is bent on reducing the number and scope of public companies. It is harder to reshuffle a declining pie than change the relative composition through affirmative action in a growing one. Additionally, the

geo-strategic situation impacts on the willingness of the establishment to advance Israel's Arab citizens.

Housing

In few areas have Arabs been so disfavored as in housing. Between 1975 and the year 2000, 337,000 public housing units were built in Israel, fewer than 1,000 of them in Arab communities (Dichter, 2001). Even regarding the mortgage subsidies and rental subsidies typically provided to young couples, Arabs receive proportionately less aid. The discrepancy regarding mortgages is due to the preferential terms accorded those serving in the army. Citizens who have not served receive a mortgage loan 62 percent of the amount accorded to citizens who served (Dichter, 2000: 18). Most Arabs have not served, and because the amount is lower, fewer Arabs bother to apply for it.

Rent subsidization also places Arabs at a disadvantage, although it does not in the formal sense amount to discrimination. Arabs simply cannot take advantage of such aid because there is little rental housing in Arab communities (a status noted earlier derived mostly from internal Arab bias). The law moreover stipulates that it applies only to villages of 1,000 or more provided that 5 percent of the household heads reside in rented apartments. These provisos were legislated to prevent householders in small rural but suburbanizing villages from enjoying these subsidies by fictitiously "renting" the second home they built on their property to their children. Inadvertently, they had a negative effect on Arab young couples (ibid., 19).

Rent subsidies might, however, encourage Israeli Arabs to move to by now mixed towns such as upper Nazareth and Carmiel. In taking fewer mortgages, Arabs lose out by not taking advantage of the additional government subsidized components connected with housing projects "for young couples." One of them, for example, is the proviso that the Ministry pay for unsold apartments. One can however say that by preferring to build privately, more often than not an apartment building shared by an extended family, that most Arabs voluntarily waiver these subsidy components. So do many Jews who qualify for these projects prefer alternative more expensive housing.

Education

Ethno-national minorities often expect an educational system to realize two contradictory goals. On the one hand, they want education to foster instrumental equality. This usually entails absorbing the language and culture of the dominant community. At the same time, they seek to instill and deepen an identity that often runs at cross-purposes with the first goal. Elsewhere, the spread of education went hand in hand with antiestablishment nationalism. The latter phenomenon struck at Israel's doorsteps in dramatic fashion before and during the first intifada in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza where institutions of higher education were a breeding ground for promoting Palestinian

national identity and political organization. Institutions of higher education like Birzeit University in Ramallah, Al-Najah National University in Nablus, and the Islamic University in Gaza city, all of which were established or transformed into universities in the 1970s, became strongholds of PLO nationalist and Islamist organization that challenged Israeli rule. Most of the PLO leadership that emerged in the West Bank and Gaza such as Marwan Barghuthi, Muhammad Dahlan, Hatim 'Abd al-Qadir, and Hamas leaders Nizar al-Rayyan and Isma'il Haniya initiated their political career as student leaders of their respective factions, in some cases, as chairpersons of the student councils, or as faculty members. For many years, violent student protest in these institutions of higher learning were a form of dress rehearsal in violent actions that later played itself out in mass resistance to Israeli rule in the intifada (Frisch 1998: 59–92).

Small wonder that the Israeli authorities, influenced by lessons so close to home, rejected in 1980 the demand by Israeli Arab leaders attending a statewide conference held in the Arab town of Shafaram to establish an Arab university in Israel (Kleiman 1981: 556). Two Arab parties, the DFPE and the NDA, have even included the demand in their respective political platforms (Matza Hadash 2009; al-Barnamij al-Siyasi 2009). Security authorities also justify the need for security checks when hiring staff in Arab schools on much the same basis (Ettinger 2004).

The latter also ties in with the attempts by the state to determine the form of political socialization at much lower levels of instruction. The contest over the content of the educational curriculum, particularly in subjects as history, literature, and civics, is of tremendous importance already at the junior and high school levels. Israel acknowledged the right of its Arab citizens to be educated in the Arab language, yet by the same token (since the 1970s at least), attempted to instill a civic commitment to the state and society as well. Arab students, according to the educational establishment, were to take part in the same civic education accorded to Jews, but spared the inculcation of republican motifs of Zionist nationalism, which took place exclusively in schools in the Hebrew language (Levy 2005: 278). A government committee formed under former general Matti Peled, and later one of the founders of Progressive List for Peace (the radical predominantly Arab party), urged a focus on Arab identity, which the school system largely disregarded (ibid.). Between the three alternatives – forced assimilation, pluralism, and the promotion of a hostile Arab/Palestinian nationalism that would compromise Arab civic commitment to the state – Israeli officialdom chose the middle way for the Arab sector – civic commitment coupled with a recognition of the right to be educated in Arabic within an Arab cultural environment.

In developing educational policy, security matters, in the narrow sense of the term, could hardly be the sole factor to take into consideration. Assuring educational attainment to ensure entry into the labor market is equally necessary to avoid the type of alienation and exclusion that can radicalize the population. This is especially true of an increasingly more global and competitive

Israeli economy where imported cheap labor either increases unemployment among the uneducated segments of the population or at least drives down their wages. A classic dilemma emerges: If you do educate the Arab sector, you risk a tide of nationalism; if you do not, you risk socioeconomic divisions (which in potentially nationalist settings will soon turn into a nationalist tide). A regime in such a situation would typically do very little. Israel in this regard is quite a radical exception. If in 1961 the gap in median educational attainment between Jews and Arabs was over seven years (8.4 years for Jews compared to a paltry 1.2 for the Arab population), by 2002 the gap had been reduced to 1.4 years (12.6 compared to 11.1 for non-Jews), with educational attainment increasing considerably over the years in both sectors (Sikkuy 2007: 47). The proportion of Arab students who pass their matriculation examinations has increased in less than a decade from 31.5 percent of the relevant age cohort in 1998, to 50 percent in 2007. Similarly, the gap between matriculation rates between the Jewish and Arab sectors has declined significantly from 14 percent to 6 percent in less than decade (Dichter, 2000: 20; Sikkuy 2007: 47). Recall that in the early years of statehood there were hardly any Arab high schoolers.

Certainly the state over the past two decades has made considerable efforts to equalize educational opportunities. One of the earliest efforts was to improve the physical infrastructure where renting functionally inadequate buildings like homes and apartments has been widespread (Abu Asbah 1997: 32). For the first time, in 1994 remedial hours were introduced in the Arab sector. Within four years, allocations for remedial education was roughly equal to the remedial hours provided in the Jewish sector as a result of equalizing allocations between seventy-nine local councils in the Arab sector compared to twenty-five predominantly Jewish development towns (Dichter, 2000: 16). In both sectors, budgets for remedial hours can be viewed as a policy of affirmative advantage. Overall, the Arab sector was being allocated resources in greater proportion than its numbers though not by relevant criteria of need. Thus, in 1998 and 1999, as part of a comprehensive five-year plan, 30 per cent of the development budget went to the Arab sector (ibid.: 20).

Nevertheless, significant gaps remain, particularly in higher education. Vast qualitative and quantitative differences in the upper echelons of educational attainment continue; in 2007, 44 percent of the Jewish population had thirteen years of schooling compared to 19 percent for the Arab population. The latter represented a decline from 22 percent in 2003, which can be attributed to the increasing weight given to the standardized psychometric exam at the expense of matriculation grades and the growth of local colleges. The matriculation exams are administered in the local schools where, according to the universities, cheating was widespread. This reduced the effectiveness of matriculation grades in predicting success at university (*Sikkuy Report 2003–4*, 2004: 25; Sikkuy 2007: 47). Neither did Arab students hold their own once at university: non-Jewish students in 2001 made up 9.8 percent of the undergraduates, 5 percent of students in master's degree programs, and 3.2 percent in doctoral degree programs (*Sikkuy Report 2003–4* 2004: 25).

One of the most disturbing findings has to do with how sociodemographic aspects, primarily ethnic but also being offspring in large families, contribute to other already existing debilitating factors such as low socioeconomic segregation and poor educational performance. A study of 17- to 18-year-old high school students just before their matriculations found that students in Arab localities were much more affected by their sociodemographic characteristics than by their relatively homogeneous subordinate position in the broader economic and labor market opportunity structure. By contrast, Jewish localities were found to be rather affected by their economic and labor market differentiation more than by their sociodemographic characteristics. The findings further reveal the existence of a significant interaction effect between the ethnic composition of the locality and other structural variables. In sum, ethnic, spatial, economic, and labor market marginalization determines the subordinate position of Arab localities in the broader opportunity structure. This exacerbates the negative economic consequences of the prevalence of larger families in the locality on access to high school credentials (Mazawi 1999: 356).

To what extent the differences between the two educational systems are a result of either government policy or poorer resources or management at the local level is hard to tell. That relatively wealthy local councils such as 'Iblin achieve results far above the national average suggests that the latter factors are not inconsiderable. Even less quantifiable is the effect of the absence of senior Arab personnel in the Ministry of Education. As of 1996 there were hardly any academically trained Arab ministry employees in the decision-making or managerial echelons from the district level and above (Abu Asbah 1997: 32). This was true even of in the Northern District where Arab students comprise a large percentage of the students.

Social Welfare, Transfers, and Employment

Since data in the Ministry of the Treasury are ethnically blind and compiled on a geographic basis, there is no way to know for sure whether Israel's Arab citizens get more than they pay into the system. However, an examination of the National Insurance Institute allocations, which represents over 90 percent of the state's social welfare outlays and over 20 percent of total government expenditures, indicates *a net transfer to Arabs.* Not only have 24.2 percent of non-Jewish families compared with 10.7 percent among Jewish families received such transfers, non-Jewish families receive more than their Jewish counterparts (1,797 compared to 1,472 shekel monthly because they have larger families (*Sikkuy Report 2003–4* 2004: 65). Nevertheless, even after transfer payments, 44.7 percent of Arabs live below the poverty line, compared with 14.5 percent among Jews (ibid., 66). At present, the average family income of Arabs in Israel is 57 percent of the average family income of Jews before transfers and taxes and 68.1 percent of available income after these are taken into account.

Lower participation rates of Arab women in the workforce (17.9 percent for Arab women compared to 55 percent for Jewish women) – including those who completed a high school education – and larger families are some of the major obstacles to closing the general income gap between the two communities because of the impact of a second income in the average household (Sikkuy 2007: 52; Sadan 2005: 129–33). The tremendous gap in female labor force participation between the two communities stems no doubt from cultural mores in the Arab community, namely the reticence to allow women (especially those married) to work away from home (Moghadam 1998; United Nations 2004; World Bank 2004).

Nevertheless, economic factors such as relative distance to the work market (the cost of time), high transportation costs, discrimination, or some combination of these factors, may be effectively blocking an increase in the rate of participation, which would enable the average Arab household to enjoy the benefits of a much-needed second income. If this is so, government policy and subsidies may be very important in changing the situation. Since participation rates for women between the two communities is equal among the most highly educated (with 16 years and more of education), one can clearly rule out discrimination as a significant factor (Sikkuy 2007: 54)

Ostensibly, the fact that highly educated (and therefore one assumes highly paid) women join the workforce at higher rates than the less educated (true for Jewish women as well), suggests that economic factors play a role; housewives will only go to work if the salaries more than compensates their economic contribution in running the household (Sadan 2005: 130). Since on average, Arab women run larger households, their economic contribution as housewives is proportionately larger (meaning that the salary they must receive to induce them into the workforce will be higher than that of Jewish women). Evidence for this came with the implementation of the Preschool Law in September 1994, which provided for the first time free preschool education for all children aged 3 and 4 in Arab towns. It was implemented at different times in the various Arab communities. This provided the opportunity to assess the effects of childcare costs compared to towns that had yet to receive this benefit. It was found that the provision of preschool services increased significantly preschool enrollment and the willingness of educated mothers, at least, to join the workforce (Schlosser 2005: 3). The researcher found no effect on fertility, though she acknowledged that the study was made less than five years after the law was implemented, an inadequate period to study what is essentially a long-term relationship.

However, the proportion of Arab women in the workforce only serves as a partial explanation for the existence of the income gap between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens. Three further factors may explain the gap, (1) the breadth of the military-industrial complex in a state and society where the security complex is, relatively-speaking, one of the biggest in the world and from which most Arab citizens are excluded for security reasons, 2)

discrimination in employment, and 3) low educational attainment at any given level compared to Jews in the workforce who compete with them over relatively scarce jobs.

Exclusion from the military-industrial complex, in the broadest meaning of the term, places the prospective Arab entrepreneur/employee, except for the Druze and a small number of Bedouin who served in the IDF, at a substantial disadvantage. Israel's professional army personnel, civilian workers in the IDF and the Ministry of Defense (MoD) probably account for 5 percent of the workforce (though a much higher percentage in the higher occupational categories). However, because the MoD commands a budget of 16 to 18 percent of the state's annual expenditures and 8 to 9 percent of the gross domestic product, its economic reach extends far beyond that to the myriad of economic firms who have intensive dealings with it. These include chemical, building, and infrastructure firms; consulting firms of all sorts; and a large percentage of electronic and other types of high-tech firms. Even if MoD contacts account for a small percentage of their business and they could theoretically divorce specific projects from the rest, the hiring of Arab personnel would pose a significant constraint (Wolkinson 1999: 60). Needless to say, the trend away from state-owned enterprises to outsourcing (common to both the security and regular business sectors) aggravates the problem even more since the number of firms connected to the military-industrial establishment increases, and with it the potential for excluding Arab citizens on security grounds. As long as Israel's security predicament continues to be what it is, there is little likelihood of changing this situation.

Yet all too often the security argument "is simply a subterfuge by which to discriminate," as a well-balanced study on Arab employment in Israel found in its survey of Arab employment in Israeli industrial plants (ibid., 61) How else could one explain how one defense contractor had a policy of excluding Israeli Arab citizens from employment yet at the same time hired workers from Judea and Samaria who arguably presented a far greater security threat? How can one defend another plant that justified such a policy on the grounds that it was located in the vicinity of a sensitive military-industrial plant? Security reasons were often cited to give preferences to army veterans. And as often is the case, the study cites numerous instances of plant and organized labor using ethnic exclusion to create a segmented and discriminating work market to limit labor supply and raise or maintain artificially high wage rates against attempts by employees to hire Arab labor (ibid, 62).

One indicator of pervasive discrimination historically may be seen in the high rate of Arab immigration from Israel to the United States and the relatively high income these immigrants attained in the host state relative to Israeli Jewish emigrants (Cohen and Tyree (1994), in a study on Israeli Arab and Jewish immigration in the United States, found that Arabs comprised 31.4 percent of the Israeli immigrant sample, double their share of the Israeli population at the time (ibid., 251). Their mean income, significantly higher than the U.S. average, was only 9 percent lower than the median income of Israeli

Jewish immigrants as compared to a differential of 30 percent in Israel itself. Since the socioeconomic profiles of Jewish and Arab Israelis who emigrated to the United States were very similar to the profiles back home, one can assume that it was the opportunity for social mobility in the United States that made the difference.

Though discrimination in employment is much more amenable to effective government intervention, the state has done little to combat it effectively. To be sure, the Knesset amended in 1995 the Equal Opportunities Law enacted seven years earlier to included prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religious conviction and racial and ethnic belonging after the law in the original applied solely to discrimination based on gender, personal status or parenthood (Wolkinson 1999: 140). The law, however, by placing the burden of compliance on the complainant has rendered the law ineffectual. Four years after the amendment was made, not one Arab worker had pressed charges of employee discrimination (ibid., 162). Severely lacking in Israel to date is an equal employment opportunity commission with the ability to initiate investigations into discrimination given the high risks and costs of initiating charges by the worker himself (ibid.). Such an institution has been vital in reducing discrimination in the United States and elsewhere.

Fortunately for Israel's Arab citizens, overall a freer more competitive economy has developed in the past decade in Israel. Wolinski in his study, for example, had found that state-run firms and the public Histadrut–General Federation companies had on average a far higher rate of plants that excluded all Arab labor than did private firms (ibid., 60). Histadrut firms have since been totally privatized, and the activity of government corporations as a percentage of total private-sector activity, sharply reduced. The down-side is reflected in the state's welfare commitments, which have been reduced to the Arab sector since 2002 as part of the "Thatcherite" policies adopted by the governments of Israel in the past decade. These contrasting trends may have canceled out the effects of both, which may be why the income gap between Jews and Arab of 40 percent has been relatively stable over the past two decades. Since employment opportunities in the long run had a much more significant effect on income than welfare entitlements and transfers, one can hope that in the long term Israel's Arab citizens will be closing the gap in coming years.

Conclusion

Israel's Arab citizens (as in the Mandate period under British rule) were always poorer than their Jewish counterparts. The war of independence only aggravated the situation, with the flight of over 90 percent of the relatively more affluent and educated urban population, compared to a much smaller percentage of Arab rural folk. Because those who remained behind lived in areas relatively distant from the major urban centers, were burdened with high public delivery costs due to the average small size of Arab villages, and incurred the transaction costs of learning Hebrew (the dominant political and economic

language of the newly created state), they were at a disadvantage compared to the Jewish population. Though there is no doubt that gaps between the two populations have narrowed since the inception of the state, the gap has remained more or less constant for the past two decades.

Persistent gaps between different ethnic (Arab-Jewish), racial (e.g., black-white in the United States), and social groups (urban–rural), especially if they overlap, are not, of course, unique to Israel. They characterize most societies. In Israel, as in many other cases, the question regarding the source of the attainment and income gap arises, and therefore the potential solution to the problem becomes more focused. Does the problem lie in the very identity of Israel as a Jewish state, can it be dealt with on the policy level, or is it essentially a cultural "problem" or choice, reflected, for example, in the desire to have larger families? This is clearly the case with Israel's ultra-orthodox, who despite considerable subsidization, remain poor.

The narrowing of the gap in the past between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens (and in many parameters such as education in the present), suggest that it is not the Jewishness of the state that is at the heart of the matter. The Jewishness of the state has been a constant that can hardly explain a fluid phenomenon. Moreover, socioeconomic differences between whites and blacks and between Hispanics and whites in the United States are roughly on par with those between Jews and Arabs in Israel, even though the United States is a "state of all its citizens" (Altonji and Doraszelski 2005: 10).[1] Policy factors might be at play, especially the unintended consequences of a more liberal economic policy.

It is certain that the alternative to the Jewish state, the bi-national polity propounded by many Arab intellectuals, would only leave Israel's Arab citizens economically and socially worse off. A declining commitment of Israel's Jewish citizens to the welfare of their Arab fellows in such a political configuration would threaten the net social welfare transfers from the Jewish sector to the Arab, which has played a key role in the past in narrowing gaps. Problems in self-government, indicated by the high number of receiverships in Arab local councils, would compound the problem of the new national enclave. Thus, a small elite that would command the new substate national bureaucracy is likely to benefit at the expense of the majority of Israel's Arab citizens, which is why most of Israel's Arab citizens, including the Arab parties, have refrained from actively treading this path despite the pull of identity politics to do so, the subject of the following chapter.

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[1] Even though current asset income is relatively higher, 73 percent of the national average for blacks to whites in the United States compared to 60 percent for Arabs in Israel, the figures for net asset worth reveals a mirror picture. Arabs in Israel have a far higher net worth due to higher home ownership rates and higher employment rates than the net worth of the median black family, which stands at only 18 percent of whites. The Hispanic income gap is similar to the Arab–Jewish gap (60 percent), due in part to the same reason – larger families and a higher number of dependents (Cobb-Clark and Hildebrand 2004: 1–2, 25).

4

The Domestic Politics of Israel's Arab Citizens

Political Parties and Electoral Politics

However much scholars from different perspectives will differ over the substance of Israeli Arab political behavior, the notion that the political behavior of Israel's Arabs has changed radically in the past thirty years enjoys widespread agreement. Whereas in the 1960s, most of the members of Knesset represented satellite Zionist political parties, by the sixteenth Knesset in 2003, eight of the nine Arab members of Knesset represented Arab or predominantly Arab non-Zionist, if not anti-Zionist, parties (www.knesset.gov.il/mk/heb/mkindex_current.asp). So this dramatic transformation raises the question why it occurred and what its ramifications were. Israeli social scientists have addressed this question.

The debate emerged in the 1977 general elections when the DFPE, the predominantly Arab and Communist-led front, won 50 percent of the Arab vote (Ben-Dor 1980: 171–4). Many critics have claimed that since then Israeli Arabs have been "radicalizing" or "Palestinianizing" and therefore drifting out of the Israeli system into the orbit of the PLO (Israel's ethno-national rival) or worse, from the Israeli point of view, into Palestinian Islamic fundamentalist denial of Israel. At the time, analysts thought the trend flowed from the facts that in the wake of the 1967 war, Israel's Arab citizens renewed ties with Palestinians in the Territories coupled with an overall sharp social and economical modernization; a rapid improvement in the standard of living; a sharp increase in educational attainment (especially for women); and urbanization (albeit limited).

The specter of widespread confrontation with the state seemed unavoidable especially as the strong vote for the DFPE followed the bloody confrontation of Land Day on March 30, 1976. However, at least one prominent scholar, Sami Smooha, strongly disagreed. He claimed that Israeli Arabs were politicizing; working within the system to ensure equal civil rights and equal allocation of the state's resources; and seeking the resolution of the *external*
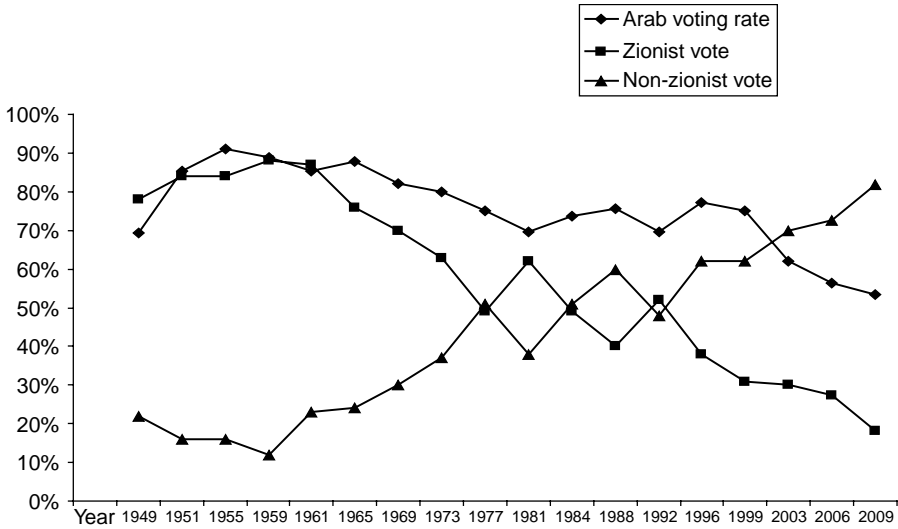
FIGURE 4.1. Arab Israeli voting patterns for Zionist and non-Zionist parties in Israel's Knesset elections, 1949–2009.

Palestinian problem on the basis of a two-state solution, rather than seeking a bi-national state (Smooha 1989; 1990). The resolution of the Palestinian problem in his view would enable Israel's Arabs or Palestinians to devote their energies to achieve the other two goals. Smooha received support from Ian Lustick who claimed (contrary to what he thought in the past) that, in the elections from 1988 on, Arabs were increasingly voting in strategic fashion for Zionist-left parties rather than registering a protest vote by either casting their ballots for Arab or predominantly Arab parties or voting for instrumental reasons for right-wing Zionist parties when they were in power (Lustick 1990: 120–1).

There is good reason, on the basis of two contradictory developments, to interpret subsequent election campaigns and voting patterns among Israeli Arabs in a way that suggests the necessity for recognizing a more subtle process. In the following section, I will argue that the process of radicalization and nationalization (if in any sense dominant) was a not a linear or homogenous process. To the contrary, it was accompanied by considerable institutional fragmentation on the party level and ideological heterogeneity, for example, by growing rifts between secular and religious or between nationalism and fundamentalism. Moreover, many phenomena that could be considered "traditional" intensified. Voting along confessional lines, for example, remained salient since political radicalization alienated the Druze who wished to remain within the Israeli system, Islamic fundamentalism alienated the Christians and Druze, while Conservative Islamic elements resisted the advance of secular trends over issues such as gender equality and the courts.

Politicization or Radicalization

Two distinctive events in the late 1970s gave the impression that "Palestinization" and the rejection of the Israeli polity was a foregone conclusion. For the first time in the history of Israel, a protest organized by a political party and nascent countrywide organizations ended in bloodshed on March 30, 1976. Six Israeli Arab citizens died in a confrontation with the police. A year later, the Communist Party organized the protest against the expropriation of land in the Sakhnin; Arrabeh and Dir Hana in the Galilee was rewarded for its efforts when half of the Arab electorate cast its vote in the ninth general elections of 1977 for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (a front for the Communist Party). Within eleven years, two more (predominantly) Arab parties, the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), and Abdulwahab Darawshe's newly formed Arab Democratic Party (ADP) had joined the electoral fray. The Progressive List for Peace was formed in 1984 by Muhammad Mi'ari, a former founding member of the *Al-Ard* pan-Arab party that was banned in the early 1960s. The party became closely identified with the PLO mainstream (Yerushalmi 1984). The ADP emerged in a moment of intifada enthusiasm as Darawshe (a former Labor MK) formed it in April 1988. In the aftermath of the 1989 municipal elections, a fourth possibility emerged as Islamic Movement candidates successfully contested mayoral elections in three major Arab towns.

By the 1988 elections (almost a year after the outbreak of the intifada), it became clear that the Zionist parties, which had dominated the Arab electoral scene in the past, would henceforth be minor players. The three non-Zionist predominantly Arab parties – the DFPE, the PLP, and the ADP – secured 59.0 percent of the Arab vote (Osetzki-Lazar 1992: 14) Only left-wing or "dovish" Zionist parties (Ratz, Mapam, and Shinui) secured a proportionately higher percentage of the total vote via Arab votes than they did among the Jewish electorate. Together they secured 10.8 percent of the Arab vote. Ratz (which won more than five times the votes it did in the previous elections) garnered a total of 4.4 percent of the Arab vote (See Figure 4.1).

It was also clear that a fourth electorally significant group emerged made up of those who abstained from voting altogether. This group subsequently contributed to the marginalization of national politics by keeping voter participation in the Arab sector lower than the Jewish sector; 73.8 percent of the Arab electorate compared to 80.3 percent among the Jewish majority voted in the 1988 elections. In the first two decades of statehood, Arab voter turnout surpassed the Jewish voting rate.

Ostensibly, voting patterns (except for temporary aberrations) seemed to confirm forecasts of increasingly salient radicalization, especially after the outbreak of the first intifada. Yet, the 1996 elections demonstrated how much more complex the picture truly was. On the one hand, formerly radical groups participated for the first time in the general elections – apparently a validation of the politicization thesis. Substantial segments of two major Arab ideological

groups situated on opposite extremes of the ideological spectrum, decided for the first time to contest Israel's national elections. Exercising the right to vote is typically perceived as a form of recognition of the state. Segments of the radical, left-wing Abna'a al-Balad (Natives of the Land – literally village) and an offshoot, Al-Ansar, both of which for over twenty years had vitriolically denounced participation in the "Zionist" elections, entered mainstream politics as a coalition between the DFPE and the National Democratic Assembly (NDA). The latter was founded by Azmi Bishara, a former professor of philosophy at Birzeit University and research fellow in the Van Leer Institute (a leading research institute in Jerusalem). He had long championed "a state for all its citizens" and recognition of Israel's Arabs as a national minority. Bishara has also expressed serious reservations regarding the Oslo agreement. Culturally, he vowed to combat the "Israelization" (Asrala) of Israel's Arabs and formed a movement in 1992 that championed these causes (Louër 2007: 110).

On the other end of the spectrum, a large segment of the Islamic Association, led by the movement's founder Shaykh 'Abdallah Nimr Darwish, a former terrorist, entered into a coalition with the ADP to form the United Arab List. Similarly, the PLO's "unofficial" representative in Israeli politics, Ahmad al-Tibi, whom the Israeli media (with his obvious consent) frequently introduced as Arafat's spokesman, joined the electoral fray. He secured fewer than three thousand votes (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1996: appendix 2). These groups had helped to incorporate all major ideological trends in the Arab sector into the wider political arena and to incorporate most of Israel's politicized Arab population into fulfilling one of the most important civic duties – the act of voting. It was little wonder that for the first time in twenty years, the rate of participation among the Arab population increased dramatically, from 68.3 percent in 1992 to 77 percent in 1996, the highest participation rate in the Arab sector in nearly thirty years (Rekhess 2006a: 2).

Whereas their participation suggested an acceptance of the Israeli political system, the changes in the party platforms of the two major winners in the 1996 elections indicated radicalization. Coalition building with more radical groups would further radicalize party platforms. A comparison between the DFPE platform in 1992 and the platform of the DFPE–NDA coalition in 1996 yielded far more differences than a similar comparison to the UAL. This may be due to the intellectual stature of 'Azmi Bishara, whose party the NDA, entered into the coalition with the DFPE. The following was taken from the introduction of the coalition's platform:

> The cooperation between "The Front" [the DFPE] and the "Alliance" [the NDA] is based on a common political and social program that is epitomized by the incessant struggle to realize the just, comprehensive, and enduring Israeli–Palestinian and Israel–Arab peace, to make the state of Israel democratic and a [state] for all its citizens, to ensure complete national and civil equality for the citizens of Israel, Jews as well as Arabs … and by the struggle for recognition of the Arabs who are citizens of Israel as a national minority. (Barnamij 1996: 93)

Section B of the platform entitled "The State of Israel and the Equality of Arab Citizens" was even more explicit about the need to transform the Jewish state into a "state for all its citizens":

> In order that Israel become a democratic state and a state for all its citizens, we shall fight for the abolition of discrimination and national suppression on all levels and to ensure complete equality for the Arab citizens in such a way that the laws of the state and its symbols, including the flag and the "national" anthem will conform to these principles. (ibid., 94)

From a philosophical perspective, these statements were fraught with tension. The aspiration to make "the state of Israel democratic and a state for all its citizens" is a liberal sentiment, which treats individuals as citizens irrespective of their ethnic belonging. Simultaneously, its authors felt that the search for equality must also take into account the collective identity of the Arab Palestinian minority. This tension between liberalism and collective minority identity is hardly novel. It permeates Israel's Declaration of Independence and the Israeli state ever since. Israel has been described as an ethnorepublic; the state is identified with the national majority yet all citizens enjoy civil rights. Recognition of Israeli Arabs as a national minority, parties such as the NDA and the DFPE claim, would go some way in "equalizing" the collective status between the two communities, but it would foster a bi-national state rather than a "state for all its citizens." In 2001, Bishara presented a bill, the "Basic Law: The Arab Minority as a National Minority" which sought recognition for "the Arab minority in Israel as a national minority entitled to collective rights and full civil equality" as a basic law of the proposed constitution (Rekhess 2007: 26).

Radicalization also characterized the DFPE. In 1996, the radicalization of the DFPE platform was attributed to the alliance it formed with the NDA. In 2003 this was no longer the case. To be sure, Rakah (the new Communist List) built on the kernel of the DFPE, employed the term "national minority" from its establishment in 1965 (Rekhess 2003: 68). Seven years later in the party's 17th Congress (it was the 17th because it saw itself the true heir of the Israel Communist Party), this concept was tied to the idea that "the Arab population in the state of Israel" was "a national minority and part of the Arab Palestinian people" (ibid.). Yet, well into the 1990s, the party hardly clarified exactly what they meant by these terms. This all became more explicit in the platform in the 2003 election campaign. The party supported recognition of the Arabs as a national minority and recognition of its official bodies and treaded new ground when it called for the emergence of a state for all its citizens (DFPE Platform in the 16th General Elections, 2003). Changing the national anthem and the flag were necessary steps in such a transformation.

At least two other indicators, the propensity to vote for Arab parties (including the DFPE) and lower participation rates since 1996 confirm a trend toward radicalization. At first, this was hardly perceptible. In the 1999 elections, Israeli Arabs voted in remarkably similar fashion to the way they voted

in the elections held three years previously. Once again, Arabs proved in their strategic vote for the prime-minister of their choice to be the sector or segment of Israel's voting public most loyal to the left-wing candidate; 94.3 percent of Arab voters voted for Ehud Barak. Still able to split their ticket by voting for the prime-ministership and representation in the Knesset separately, they proved to favor, like Israel's ultra-orthodox, parties whose sectoral identity was beyond dispute; 69.8 percent of Arab voters voted for the non-Zionist Arab or predominantly Arab parties. This was the highest percentage of the Arab vote these parties ever drew. The UAL increased its representation in the Knesset from four to five seats, the DFPE managed to hold on to its three seats, and Balad, which ran alone for the first time to the Knesset, managed to secure two seats (Frisch 2001: 154). This trend continued in the 2003, 2006, and 2009 elections in which Arab parties secured 76, 77, and 81.9 percent of the vote, respectively (Frisch 2003: 132; Frisch 2006: 269; Koren 2010: 128). One can conclude from the 2009 elections that Arab voters (especially the Muslim majority within that bloc) vote predominantly for Arab non-Zionist parties: a characteristic shared with *haredi* voters in the Israeli political system. This dichotomizing trend prevailed despite the fairly generous representation accorded to Arab representatives in the Labor Party. In the 2006 elections, two Arab MKs appeared in secure places on the Labor list.

Reduced voter participation (due to either apathy or radicalizing resistance) proved to be another durable feature of Arab political life. In 1999, participation was high as in the previous elections in 1996; 70 percent of the eligible voters (excluding mixed towns where Arab voting patterns are hard to assess) cast their votes. In the following general elections (in 2003), both Jewish and Arab sectors exhibited far lower voting participation due partially to voter fatigue stemming from five election campaigns in the course of eleven years. Nevertheless, the reduction was far more marked among the Arab electorate: 70 to 62 percent in the Arab sector compared to a drop from 80 to 73 percent among Jewish voters (Frisch 2004: 131). The Arab electorate might have still been under the influence of the election to Prime-Minister in February 2001. Six months into the wave of Palestinian violence, the Arab electorate (with full support of the Arab parties), effectively boycotted the elections for the post of Prime-Minister in which Ariel Sharon won by a landslide (62.3 percent) against incumbent Ehud Barak (Knesset Election Results, 2001). Less than 20 percent turned up at the polling booths. In some villages and towns such as Sakhnin and Arrabeh, voter participation was 1 percent or less. In the 2006 general elections, Arab voting participation dropped even further to 56.5 percent, considerably lower than the overall turnout of 62 percent. Even fewer Arabs turned out to vote in the 2009 elections (53.5 percent) compared to an increase in the Jewish turnout (yielding an overall turnout of 65.2 percent) (Rekhess 2006a; Koren 2010).

Confessional Voting, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism
If, arguably, Israel's Arab citizens have become more united in their quest to change the character of the state and to protest the discrimination they feel,

they also gave vent to increasing tensions between Muslims, Christians and Druze. To understand why, this is so calls for a brief description and analysis of the social and confessional heterogeneity within Israeli Arab society.

Perhaps the most observation regarding the internal makeup of Israeli Arab society is an intense controversial political issue in itself. Basically, Israeli officialdom and early Israeli scholarship focused on internal differences. Israeli Palestinian scholars, by contrast, tend in their analysis to emphasize the uniform collective nature of their subject matter by focusing on the Israeli Palestinian or Palestinian minority in Israel that gloss over the considerable social and confessional heterogeneity that exists. Thus, Zev Vilnay (1959), a well-known Israeli scholar, in one of the earliest works on the Arab minority in Israel, tellingly entitled *The Minorities in Israel*, refers to the word "Arab" in the table of contents only in the linguistic sense. Otherwise, there are chapters devoted to religious communities and distinctions between peasants and nomads (Bedouin) and between villagers and townsmen (rarely women). By contrast, Ghanem (2010), a scholar from Haifa University, in a work on ethnicity in Israel turns the tables round. In his chapter on Israel's Palestinians, there is almost no reference to internal differences among Israel's Arab citizens, compared to a portrayal of Israeli Jewish (and non-Jewish) society that is rife with it. Ghanem reflects later scholarship that interpreted the focus on internal distinctions within Israel's Arab minority, for example, the aggregation of official state statistical data, on Israel's non-Jewish and Arab-speaking religious minorities – the Muslims, Christians, and Druze – as part of a deliberate state attempt to divide and rule to prevent the crystallization of a national minority.

Though it would seem only natural to ask which position is correct, the answer is inconveniently both. As indicated in the previous section and underscored later in the book, Israel's Arab citizens (with the possible exception of the Druze) are developing a consciousness of being a national minority. Yet it is also true that internal differences are substantial according to many social (intermarriage, educational attainment, economic well-being), geographical (e.g., residential separation), and political characteristics (as we will see later in the analysis of voting patterns).

Reflecting on the religious differences is important to underscore not only the predominance of the Muslim community but also the demographic Islamization of Israeli Arab society as well. Whereas Muslims were always a substantial majority (70 percent in 1950), they comprise 80.4 percent of the Arab population today. The increase is mostly at the expense of the highly heterogeneous Christian community who despite having doubled in numbers in the past sixty years, comprise only 9.5 percent of the Arab population today compared to over 20 percent at the beginning of Jewish statehood. The Druze's share has remained steady at 10 percent (HaHevra HaAravit 2009: 3).

As elsewhere in the Middle East, spatial and social encapsulation reinforces differences between these communities. Druze and Christians often live in separate villages and, even in mixed settings, reside in neighborhoods in which one or the other predominates. Intermarriage within the three major

religious groups and between the numerous Christian religious communities is relatively rare (Stier and Shavit 2003: 316).

Even within the predominantly Muslim majority, substantial differences exist between Bedouin (approximately 15 percent of the Muslim population) and the Muslim majority who have been for decades sedentary; between the highly concentrated Bedouin in the south and the Bedouin in the north, who live among a sedentary Muslim majority; between urban and rural Muslims who live in Triangle bordering Judea and Samaria (estimated population 244,000), which is exclusively Muslim; and between the Muslims in northern Israel who often live side-by-side and amidst substantial Christian and Druze populations (estimated population 667,000) (HaHevra HaAravit: 9). Nazareth, comprising Muslims and Christians, and the town of Shafaram, in which Muslims, Christians, and Druze reside together, both in the Galilee, contrast sharply with the exclusively Muslim urban centers in the Triangle such as Umm al-Fahm. Despite considerable social encapsulation, relations between the communities were historically good.

Yet just as regional events impact on Israeli Jewish perceptions of collective security, so did regional changes coupled with new developments within the Israeli Arab population arouse new tensions. The success of the Islamic Movement in the 1989 municipal elections, particularly in the poorer Muslim neighborhoods of Nazareth, awakened fears that the rise of Islamic fundamentalism would transform (as happened in Lebanon) secular ideological parties into confessionally based organizations, with the DFPE and the UAL increasingly reflecting Christian interests, whereas the ADP and the UAL would increasingly reflect Islamist leanings (Mash'ur 1989).

Fears of growing internal group tensions intensified with the outbreak of contention over the attempt to build a mosque on grounds of a demolished school between the Shihab al-Din burial site and the Basilica of the Ascension in Nazareth in 1997. The controversy broke out when members of the Islamic Association and nonaffiliated Muslims sought ownership of more than six thousand square feet surrounding a small building, reputably containing the grave of Shaykh Shihab al-Din, the nephew of the legendary Salah al-Din (who destroyed the Crusader Kingdom), from the DFPE-dominated municipality (Rabinowitz 1999). The site is situated close to the Basilica of Annunciation in the center of the city. Nazareth, it should be noted, in addition to being one of the towns most identified with Christianity, also serves as the intellectual and political center of Arab life and a reflection of the Arab sector's inherent heterogeneity. The DFPE-dominated Nazareth municipality (headed by Ramiz Jeraisi, a Christian with the consent of the council, which included representatives of the UAL) authorized the use of the space surrounding the building to extend the square in front of the Church in preparation for the millennium commemoration in the year 2000 (Louër 2007: 133). The decision was challenged by Muslim citizens (some of whom were prominent activists in the Islamic Movement) on the grounds that the burial site and the building were an Islamic endowment. They argued that

the space should be utilized for a mosque and parking lot (instead of widening the Basilica) in order to serve Nazareth's rapidly growing Muslim population. The mosque would have changed the wholly Christian character of the town center. The Islamists (employing a historically prevalent means of protest against land expropriations by Arabs) subsequently set up a protest tent site on the property.

Just how rapid and how volatile the dispute was becoming can be attested to in part by the municipal election results that took place in November 1998, in which the local United Arab List won eleven versus nine seats secured by the DFPE-led list (Israeli, 2000). The incumbent mayor remained in office after winning in the direct elections held on the same date. The dispute over land quickly escalated into a dispute over control over the municipality (*Al-Sennara*, December 12, 1998). The UAL, having been refused offices in the municipality building, petitioned the High Court of Justice to coerce Mayor Ramiz Jeraisi to appear before court to explain why he did not provide offices in the municipality for the Islamic opposition as required by law (*Al-Sennara*, December 31, 1998).

From the courts, the controversy then moved into the streets. Muslim and Christian youth confronted each other during the annual Christmas procession and for several days afterward. Another round of confrontations took place on Easter Day in April 1999 (Usher 2000: 4). By then, the issue attracted international attention. Christian personalities and the Vatican began applying considerable pressure on the Israeli authorities to stop the building of the mosque, prodding the Advisor of Arab Affairs to try to settle the dispute (Israeli 2000). Yasser Arafat himself was even more insistent in trying to resolve the dispute as part his grand tourist-oriented "Project 2000" that aimed to capitalize on the pope's visit to Bethlehem and Nazareth. He met both Muslims and Christians from Nazareth, and then selected PA Minister of Communications 'Imad Faluji (a former Hamas member) to attempt to conciliate between the Islamists and the municipality to no avail.

The controversy's impact also spread to the general elections to the Knesset in 1999. The local UAL branch compared Ramiz Jeraisi to Arik Sharon in one of its fliers in the 1999 election campaign (*Al-Sennara*, April 3, 1999). The UAL's electoral success in those elections (when, for the first time, it attracted more Arab votes than any other party to secure five seats in the Knesset versus three in the 1996 elections), gave the impression that the confessional religious factor was increasing. These impressions were enforced by the religious origins of the leaders' of their respective parties. Abdulmalik Dehamshe (head of the UAL) was a "born-again" Islamist leader of the (southern) Islamic Movement, whereas Bishara (head of the NDA) was a Christian from Nazareth.

Fortunately for the Arab sector, the heavy hand of the Israeli authorities solved the tensions over this issue in July 2003. Demolition workers from the Public Works Administration, operating in the darkness of early morning, and supported by thousands of police, demolished the semipermanent structure that had replaced the tent (Lynfield 2003). Even though the move reduced the

prospects of violence over the issue considerably, the question remained to what extent the issue affected the political parties, especially the DFPE and the UAL and their voting public.

Without a doubt, the Arab parties sought to differentiate from each other ideologically as a means of securing a larger "market share" of the voters. In the general elections of 2003, the DFPE portrayed itself as a secular/progressive party, the UAL as the religious/traditional alternative, and the NDA as a Palestinian and Arab nationalist party. The DFPE touted its secular credentials by placing the struggle that took place over a Meretz-initiated Knesset law passed in 2001 that extended the jurisdiction of civil courts at the over personal law at the expense of the religious courts at center stage. The UAL representatives even sided with the Jewish religious parties in an attempt to maintain the status quo. A similarly brazen move took place in the election campaign when the party in its television promotions repeatedly showed scenes of intermingling of the sexes in schools, universities and places of work. In one commercial, young Arab men even appeared drinking beer; a clear prohibition in Islamic law. The UAL threatened to bring the case before the Central Elections Committee (CEC), on the grounds that it offended the sensibilities of a large and recognized religious group and therefore should be considered a form of racial incitement forbidden by Israel law (*Panorama*, January 17, 2003). Even more poignantly, the DFPE in its 2003 elections party platform came out in support of "the institutionalization of civil marriage and divorce" (ibid.). Such a brazen stand was obviously taken with an eye to securing the secular vote. To recall, only Turkey (of all states in the Middle East) has so far placed personal law matters such as marriage and divorce under the exclusive jurisdiction of civil law.

By contrast the UAL's major campaign slogan in 2003 was: "Al-Aqsa Is Ours: Allahu Akbar" (*Panorama*, January 17, 2003). The party emphasized the Shihab al-Din controversy in Nazareth by placing Salman Abu Ahmad, the head of the United Nazareth List, in the third slot on its list. The DFPE felt that Abu Ahmad who was backed by the (southern) Islamic Movement, was a radical and personally responsible for escalating tensions between Christians and Muslims in Nazareth (*Kull al-'Arab*, January 10, 2003; January 17, 2003).

Flaunting secularism, however, proved to be problematic. An analysis of the 2003 vote in the predominantly or wholly Christian villages demonstrated that the vote for the DFPE increased in only four villages against a decrease in the other four, suggesting that taking a visibly secular stance was hardly effective in securing votes. In the 2006 election campaign, the DFPE hardly evoked secular themes. To the contrary, it campaigned around the theme that Arabs, both Christian and Muslim, safeguarded each other's sacred spaces (Al-Jabha 2006: 3). In the 2003 elections, Bishara's NDA steered a middle course by publicizing its negotiations with Tawfiq al-Khatif (a former MK linked to the Islamic Movement) about the possibility of entering into a coalition with the NDA (*Al-Sennara*, November 22, 2002).

Assuming political positions according to a secular–religious spectrum in a heterogeneous society divided along denominational lines is often a way by which members of the smaller denominations attempt to protect themselves against the majority denomination. Often the minority, in our case Christians, is likely to champion secularism in its defense against the dominant confession as a means of forming a coalition to fend off the dominant religious group and not because they are truly secular. Examples of this kind of behavior may be seen among the Alevis in Turkey, Copts in Egypt, and Catholics in Northern Ireland, many of whom vote for left-of-center and progressive parties.

Analyzing the distribution of general elections voting in the eight exclusively Christian Arab villages in the Galilee offers one way to gauge the impact of confessionalism. This helps ascertain (at least partially) to what extent the voters reflected confessional concerns. To begin with, the Christian inhabitants of these villages, voted overwhelmingly for the two "secular" parties compared to national voting patterns. This may be seen in the vote given to the UAL, the "Muslim" list. If, on average, more than 19 percent of the whole Arab sector voted for UAL in 2003, in seven of eight Christian villages, the UAL attracted less than half the sectoral average of votes, and in five of the eight, a third or less. Almost the exact same pattern repeated itself in 2006 and 2009 when the UAL secured nearly 30 percent of the vote to become the largest party in the Arab sector. In six of the eight villages, the UAL secured half of the national average, and in five of eight, one-third or less (Computed from http://www.knesset.gov.il).

By contrast, at least one exclusively wholly Muslim concentration of population (the Bedouins) represents a mirror image of these Christian voters. In the 1999 elections, 67.5 percent voted for the UAL and only 4.8 and 2.2 voted for the "secular" parties, the DFPE and the NDA, respectively. This might be more a reflection of their distinctiveness in broader Muslim society and the fact that Talab El-Sana (a member of a prominent southern Bedouin tribe) was placed in the third slot on the UAL list. One cannot rule out, however, the religious dimension. In 1983, when the Islamic Movement first began its activities in the Negev, there were no mosques among the Bedouin; by 1998 there were forty-six in all, controlled by the Islamic Movement (*Al-Ayyam*, December 23, 1998).

Nevertheless, it would be foolhardy to jump to false conclusions of rising confessionalism and assume its salience among Muslims as well. A look at both exclusively Christian or Muslim and mixed Christian–Muslim localities in the 1999 elections allows us to gauge its impact on the sectarian issue. Because of the Shihab al-Din controversy, it would probably be best to focus on Nazareth, Israel's unofficial Arab capital. With 43.6 percent of residents voting for the DFPE (more than twice the sectoral average), Nazareth remained a stronghold for the DFPE. By contrast, the NDA received less than its sectorwide share of the vote (13.3 compared to 16.8). The UAL did just slightly better than the

national average. (33.3 compared to 31.3). Three of these parties captured 90.2 of the votes. It is generally assumed that Nazareth is presently 60 percent Muslim. Assuming that all those who voted for the UAL were Muslim, this means that nearly half of the Muslims voted for other parties (including Jewish Zionist ones) and over one-fourth of Muslim voters supported either the DFPE or the UAL (Husri 1999).

It is evident, however, that the major explanation may be due to the secular nature of these parties. One can conclude then that even though Christians may be increasingly fearful of Islamic fundamentalism (and thus exhibit signs of confessionalism), the Muslim majority's voter choices are linked to the secular–religious divide. This is all too natural. Confessionalism is often created by minority fear; the Muslims, as the overwhelming majority in the Arab sector, might not share such fear. The Christians, after all, comprise a dwindling minority characterized by higher emigration rates than either Muslims or Druze and, more importantly, a much lower demographic growth rate. Nevertheless, it is clear that encapsulated sectarian voting patterns of the type witnessed in Lebanon do not prevail among Israel's Arab citizens.

Contrary to unsophisticated accounts of an inexorable sweep of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East, there is ebb and flow within Islamic politics in Israel (Taheri 2008). Despite the UAL's strong showing in 2006 (it doubled the number of Knesset seats than in the previous elections), it was still one seat short of its performance in the 1999 elections, and never secured more than one-third of the total Arab vote. This contrasted sharply with what transpired during the more homogenous Palestinian Authority in the January 2006 elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council (held six weeks before the general elections in Israel). Hamas scored a decisive electoral victory in those elections, winning 74 of 132 seats against Fatah's 45 seats. However, it is important to note that the landslide victory was due to the sweeping victory in the "winner-take-all" districts (Fatah's performance was disastrous with only 17 seats versus Hamas's 45) due mainly to the competition of renegade Fatah independents who split the Fatah vote in favor of the Hamas candidates. By contrast, in the distribution of seats in which voting was based on pure proportionality the contest was almost even, with Hamas securing twenty-nine as against twenty-eight seats for Fatah (Asma' 2006). In comparison, most in Lebanon vote along strictly sectarian lines.

Local Politics

The fact that radicalization is not all pervasive can be seen through the analysis of local elections. In a sense, Arab society has yet to overcome the flight of its urban elite, and the flight and occasional expulsion of the masses in 1948. The virtual emptying out of Jaffa and Haifa's Arab population (dropping from over 70,000 to a few thousand inhabitants), the flight of Arabs from the western part of Jerusalem and subsequent division dealt a considerable blow to Arab urban political culture. Almost overnight, Nazareth (with its post–War

of Independence population of 11,000 inhabitants) became the highest concentration of Arabs within Israel; just a year and a half previously, three cities with Arab populations over five times that amount existed.

Israel's Arab citizens were not only bereft of their own urban Arab culture, they faced tremendous difficulty in connecting with it externally. The mixed cities were transformed into essentially Jewish urban centers. Meanwhile, Nazareth, due to its Christian population and rich Christian legacy, made it difficult for the city to emerge as a viable informal capital for the mostly Muslim Arab minority. Neither was it geographically well-placed to serve the sizable and wholly Muslim population of the Triangle. Jewish state building in both urban centers and rural peripheries (in which the *moshavim* and *kibbutzim* were symbolically and ideologically at the center of these efforts) served to disrupt and localize Arab life even further. Even today, there is no direct public bus service between Arab towns in the Triangle and Nazareth and the Galilee. Nor, in fact, does one exist connecting the major towns within the Triangle itself. This lack of communication and diffusion contrasts sharply with the basic transportation network in Jewish sector where the formerly monopolistic statewide Egged bus cooperative reaches almost every Jewish locality and links peripheral areas to the major urban centers. The state's massive subsidization of the Egged bus service during the first decades when private cars were scarce, played a major role in creating a consciousness of urban centers and familiarity with big city life.

In political terms, the durability of extended family politics, despite attempted inroads by ideological statewide parties, serves as the most striking proof of the persistence of rural culture long after the Arab population ceased to be so. Many years previously, Arab society ceased to be agriculturally based. Farmers, in fact, account for only 4.2 percent of the Israeli Arab workforce with the overwhelming majority of Arabs in Israel employed in services and industry (Computed from *Statistical Abstract* 2009: 526, 756). Commuting to work to Israel's major urban areas is reflected by the prominence of traffic reports on Israel's Arab radio stations.

Nor are Arabs considered "rural" according to conventional statistical classifications. In 1999, only 12 percent lived in villages with fewer than 5,000 residents, the bureaucratic cut-off point between truly rural villages and the rest (Brake 1998: 5). More than 60 percent live in localities of 10,000 inhabitants or more. They are, however, rural in two additional ways. First, Arab localities continue to be, in a deep sense, rural according to internal spatial division and lifestyle. Second, the extended family defines the borders of the neighborhoods and inhibits the creation of free-market housing or real estate and the development of public civic institutions. Arab localities are also rural by virtue of being diffusely spread and characterized by small unit size compared to the extraordinarily highly concentrated and urbanized Jewish sector, which is one of the most urbanized societies in the world.

Both small unit size and its spatial diffusion offer distinct contrasts to Jewish Israeli settlement patterns. Only Nazareth (with the possible exception

of Umm al-Fahm) is no longer dominated by extended family (*hamula*) social and spatial patterns. Moreover, Nazareth with a population of 55,000 and Umm al-Fahm with 32,090 inhabitants do not serve as functional centers to the dispersed Arab villages. The predominantly Jewish cities (with populations at least three times their number) fill the void. Umm al-Fahm must even compete with at least one town of similar size in the area (Tira) for local prominence and distinctiveness. Neither Nazareth nor Umm-al-Fahm can claim to be a political or cultural capital for Israel's Arab citizens. The contrasts between them are great. Nazareth is Christian in character and Galilean. Umm al-Fahm is completely Muslim and located in close proximity to villages of the West Bank, whose inhabitants they have strong kinship ties.

It was in the local elections (and their aftermath) that the importance of the extended family (as in other facets of local live) figures prominently. *Hamula*-based politics have intensified since the 1970s, defying the basic tenets of modernization theory. Three characteristics attest to this unintuitive outcome. First, voter turnout at the local level has remained inordinately high. For example, in the 1998 local elections, voter participation reached 83 and 91 percent in the six Arab municipalities officially classified as "cities" and in the smaller local councils, respectively, compared to 51 and 70 percent among their counterparts in the Jewish sector (Brake 1998: 17). The same could be said of the 1978, 1983, and 1989 elections before them (Ghanem 1995: 158). In national elections, Arab vote participation is significantly lower. In fact, these participation rates are similar to those found in the first two decades of statehood on the national level when Mapai satellite parties dominated Arab electoral politics. A high degree of voter fraud should not be ruled out to achieve such high participation rates.

The progressively higher number of parties contesting the elections over the years is yet another indicator of the importance of the extended family in local politics. While this has also occurred within the Jewish sector, it is much more pronounced among the Arabs and due to different reasons. Taking the 1998 elections again as an example, 697 lists competed over 629 seats in the municipal and local councils. In the six Arab-majority cities, 13.2 lists (on average) competed for council seats compared to 9.8 lists for the far larger predominantly Jewish cities. The gap was even wider in local councils; 10.6 lists in the Arab sector compared to half that number (5.2) among Jewish local councils (ibid.). In fact, Arab lists accounted for 46 percent of the total lists that contested the 1998 local elections, whereas they accounted for less than one-third of the localities and an even smaller percentage of all council seats. Placing it in ratio form, there were 0.92 seats for every local council list and 1.58 seats for every list that competed in the cities. In the Jewish sector, by contrast, there were 1.7 and 2.15 seats for every competing list, respectively. The ratio between seats and lists decreased in the Arab sector between the 1993 and 1998 elections from 1.02 seats per list to 0.92. Recall that this fragmentation continued at a time that the Arab sector was making sizable socioeconomic and political progress and when the vote in national elections was becoming

increasingly ideological and radical. Whereas lists have become more numerous in the Jewish sector as a reflection of the decreasing clout of national party lists in favor of sectorally based political formations; in the Arab sector, some of the fragmentation may be attributed to intra- and extra-*hamula* tensions. These result in the failure to construct unified party lists.

A feature almost unique to the Arab sector, the "fictitious list," is also characteristic of *hamula*-based local politics. It could not have emerged, however, without the help of Israel's hybrid electoral system at the local level. The system mandates direct elections for the mayor or head of local council and a vote between competing lists for seats on the local and municipal council. It is important to note that the candidate for mayor or local council head must head a list in order to be in the running. The Knesset hoped that this provision would reduce the potentially debilitating effects of having local council heads face councils dominated by the opposition.

In the Arab sector, fictitious lists emerged in order to get around this stipulation. Fictitious lists are typically headed by a candidate running for mayor or local council head who by forming the fictitious list does not have to forfeit a place that he can give to another family member in the event that he gets in (Brake 1998: 19). Both Zionist and Arab parties engage in this practice in the Arab sector. Thus, in the 1993 elections in Kafr Kanna, the DFPE-sponsored list "received" four votes while the Labor list received none (Brake 1998: 26). In the 1998 elections in Tamra, two errant voters voted for the DFPE's fictitious list. To ensure that voters do not become confused by the array of lists and cast the slip of the fictitious list by mistake, supporters will vote at set intervals to mutilate the list's voting slips. Of course, the act is illegal, but, to date, no violators have been brought to court, let alone prosecuted. After all, the candidate hopes that the real list will be his (never hers to date) partner in running the council. Of the 709 lists, which contested the 1998 elections, 118, were fictitious – hardly a negligible phenomenon (ibid., 18). Obviously, only candidates with strong chances of winning form this type of list. Others place their names on the lists so that, in the event they lose the mayoral elections, they still have the possibility of securing a seat in the local council. The fact that thirty-five of the fifty-seven local council heads and mayors in the 1998 elections were not elected to the local council indicates how prevalent the fictitious list phenomenon is. The figures also alert us to the debilitating effects of this phenomenon. It means eighty-three lists (of the 118 fictitious lists), most of which succeeded in securing seats to the local council, are deprived of their "natural" leader since he contested the mayoral seat as head of a fictitious list and did not make it. This leads to considerable frustration and tension between the leader and the members of the list who supported him and the list to which, in some sense, he heads but to which he does not belong.

It is a short path from analyzing the fictitious list to being cynical about it. Salim Brake (an expert on Arab local councils from whose work much of the information has been gleaned) points to the contrast between the hollow nature of the fictitious list and the inventive and colorful names given to them.

He notes how the "United List of Ilbun" received one vote! Values, he suggests, seem to count for very little in certain Arab villages. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain that a list under the name "Honorable Mission" received only one vote in Beit Jann or that "Progress and Prosperity" and "Friendship" did no better (Brake 1998: 26). He goes on: "In Tira they don't like Progress … in Hurfeish they went even further by casting only one vote for 'Dependability' List" (ibid.). Is it true, he asks, that only one "righteous" voter in the Druze village values dependability? "Very worrisome," he notes before he proceeds to castigate the state authorities for not fighting this corrupting phenomenon.

Low prospects for government employment are cited as being one of the major reasons for the fierce competition for council seats. If this were true, then one would expect that the ratio between the number of contestants to a local leadership position (which carries with it a handsome salary) would be much higher in the Arab than in the Jewish sectors, and that the ratio between contestants for mayorship would be greater than the ratio between candidates to local council seats (which are not salaried positions). In a sample of ten Jewish localities, there were three contestants on average for the position of mayor compared to four in the Arab sector, a ratio significantly lower than found among contestants to council membership (ibid., 17). The fierce competition for local council seats may have more to do with the fact that (in the event council members cannot become paid assistant mayors) they can at least control allocation flows according to political strength rather than by the "letter of the law." Controlling the direction of the flow may result in forms of "kickbacks" for the politician, especially if it involves contractual work. It is not unusual to see a neighborhood project half-completed because the dominant *hamula* was ruled out of office before the project's completion. In settings where space is divided according to extended family territory, the division of the spoils is often equally distinguishable.

Contrary to expectations, the inroads ideological parties have made into local politics, the emergence of civic-oriented lists, and the weakening of the *hamula* itself in favor of the nuclear family, have not dented the persistence and strength of the *hamula*-based parties (Ghanem 1995: 154). National parties and organizations were involves in three waves of attempts to weaken the hold of the extended family in local politics. The DFPE initiated the first wave of attempts in the 1970s followed by the Abna'a al-Balad in the early 1980s. However, it was the electoral successes of the Islamic Movement in the 1989 elections that took place in the midst of the first Palestinian intifada that captured the attention of the media and commentators. Many wondered out loud whether the wave of Islamic fundamentalism that was presumably sweeping the Middle East (including the Palestinians) was the trend of the future in the Arab sector as well. From the narrow (but important) perspective of local politics, it clearly was not. The bubble proved resilient but hardly grew. In 1989, the movement's candidates became mayors in six out of forty-eight cities and local councils in 1989 (Ghanem 1995: 163). The number declined to five in 1993 and in 1998 and increased once again to six in the 1998 local elections

out of fifty-four localities (Rekhess 1998: 355). It should be pointed out, however, that, in addition to growing strength in Nazareth, the movement was able to secure the position of mayor in Rahat, the Bedouin "capital" in the south.

What happened to the Islamic Movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s closely replicated the DFPE's experience in the previous decade. Instead of political forces shaping local politics, all the parties, including the Islamic Movement succumbed to the power of the extended family by forming coalitions with *hamula*-based lists in order to ensure even partial success. A comparison between the 1978 elections (when the DFPE first made major inroads into local elections) with local elections in 1993 and 1998, demonstrates this well. A report estimated that in 1978, 69.1 percent of the lists were *hamula*-based (Ghanem 1995: 160). In the 1993 elections, the percentages were roughly the same (Brake 1998: 21), despite the introduction of newer political forces in the electoral process since the late 1970s. These included the two Islamic Movements, the Sons of the Village, three new Arab parties, and, for the first time, young and civic-oriented political lists (Ghanem 1995: 154). Note that in the case of the Arab parties, all were represented in the Knesset and enjoyed substantial government funding. By 1998, however, "national" lists (including lists advanced by the Zionist parties) amounted to only 114 (17 percent) of the lists. The Arab political forces that were considered (at different points in time) the wave of the future, formed two-thirds of them. Ghanem even goes so far as to suggest that the slight decline in the saliency of the *hamula* list which, according to his tabulations, occurred in the 1980s, was an optical illusion as "national" lists sponsored *hamula*-based lists (ibid., 160).

As *hamula* politics deepened, so did acts of violence. Two factors (one active and one passive) account for this. Actively encouraging violence are the high stakes behind a *hamula* list victory. It often means a highly spatial concentration in the flow of resources or services because of the correlation between *hamula* politics and the spatial division of the Arab village. The declining control of Israel's security forces (including a lower police presence in the Arab sector) means fewer sanctions against those engaged in violence. Villages and towns such as Hurfeish, Abu Snan, and Shfaram have become notorious for *hamula*-based violence (including the use of military rifles and hand grenades). Much of the violence erupts over control over the local council (Brake 1998: 25). In Shfaram, a particularly bitter struggle occurred between Ibrahim Nimr Husayn (who headed the local council and then the municipality for twenty-nine years) and his brother-in-law 'Irsan Yasin. Husayn also headed the Committee of Local Council Heads and later the High Follow-up Committee. Even more violent conflict took place in nearby Abu Snan between two of the biggest *hamula*s, prodding initiatives toward conciliation from as far away as the Palestinian Authority and Yasir Arafat himself. Arafat was concerned not so much with *hamula* violence per se as he was by the political implications of two warring *hamula*s: one of which was Muslim and the other Christian.

Perhaps to mitigate the zero-sum effects of *hamula* lists in power by ensuring that the spoils are more evenly shared, the *hamula* factions encourage

rotation of local council heads. So widespread and so frequent was this prac-
tice that the Ministry of Interior took the prerogative to issue an ordinance
that prohibited more than one rotation between elections. Once again, politi-
cal ingenuity defied bureaucratic or legislative oversight. In Kasra-Samia, the
local council head resigned, and new elections were held. The novelty lay in
the fact that there was only one candidate to succeed him. Thus, one could
both ensure a "fairer" division of the spoils and remain within the confines of
the law (Brake 1998: 27). Rotation also characterizes the local councils. Lists
rotate members to ensure that the subdivisions within the *hamula* known as
"jib" (literally pocket) receive their share of local government and its spoils.

Hamula politics do not have the same impact in all localities. *Hamula*s
are stronger in the Triangle than in the Galilee and (perhaps counterintui-
tively) stronger in big villages than they are in smaller ones. Ghanem suggests
an explanation that covers at least the first difference. In the Triangle, emi-
gration, flight, or exile in 1948 was slight and substantially less than in the
Galilee. Villages and towns in the Triangle are, therefore, characterized by
greater continuity (including the persistence of the strength of *hamula*s and
hamula political lists).

The most striking difference in local electoral politics between localities is
not geographic but between the two largest towns (Nazareth and Umm al-
Fahm) and the rest. In both, far fewer lists contested the elections. In Nazareth
and Umm al-Fahm, four and six lists contested the 1998 elections, respec-
tively, compared to an average of 13.6 lists in the other, albeit far smaller,
localities (ibid., 46–7. And it was not only a matter of quantity but quality. In
both towns, ideological parties dominated the 1998 elections. In Nazareth,
three of the four lists were affiliated with statewide parties or movements
(the DFPE, NDA, and Islamic Movement). Two of the four, the Democratic
Nazareth List (DNL-affiliated to the DFPE) and the United Nazareth List
(affiliated to the moderate Islamic Movement), won all nineteen council seats
(Brake 1998: 225) and secured 94.4 percent of the vote for the council between
them in highly contested elections. The DNL won 47.0 percent of the vote
compared to 47.7 percent for the fundamentalists of the United Nazareth List.
Ramiz Jeraisi from the NDL, however, won the elections for mayor, creating
a situation in which the mayor faced a council in which the opposition had a
slight but decisive majority. This electoral outcome contributed to increasing
tensions over the Shihab al-Din burial site. In Umm al-Fahm, all six lists were
ideologically or civic-oriented. Unlike ideologically and religiously polarized
Nazareth, ideological hegemony prevailed in Umm al-Fahm. Not only did
Raid Sallah, leader of the radical wing of the Islamic Movement, win once
again in a landslide securing 70.4 percent of the vote, but also his real list "the
schools of Islam" (rather than the fictitious list he headed), secured eleven of
the sixteen council seats (Brake 1998: 79).

It would be tempting to take up former MK Bishara's argument that politi-
cization can only emerge as a result of more all-encompassing urbanization
to explain the politicization of these two towns as opposed to the rest. He

argued that the Arab sector's political backwardness (his terminology, not mine) relative to the Jewish sector, is due to the absence of urbanization. As is often the case with parsimonious social science explanations, the situation is more complicated than that. After all, Umm al-Fahm is little different in size and composition from nearby Taibeh, yet it is a world apart in terms of local politics just as Tamra and Sakhnin are worlds apart from Nazareth. In Taibeh, nineteen lists contested seventeen council seats, of which thirteen succeeded in placing a member in the council. Only two of the successful lists (sponsored by the DFPE and the Islamic Movement, respectively) were affiliated with statewide parties or movements. Nor was their electoral performance significant, having secured only three of the seventeen council seats (Brake 1998: 158–9). In short, Taibeh was a typical example of an Arab locality characterized by *hamula* politics and political fragmentation as a result. Bishara's explanation also skirts one of the most important common denominators between Nazareth and Umm al-Fahm – the salience of religion even in local politics. In the case of Umm al-Fahm, this should not be overstated; only two years previously, its electorate voted in the Knesset elections for the DFPE out of local patriotism. The DFPE number two candidate, Hashem Mehamid, hailed from the town. Bishara's oversight might come naturally to a nationalist by conviction and a Marxist-trained social scientist. Conviction might lead him to minimize religion's salience. His Marxist training might explain why he prefers a structural/materialistic explanation to a political cultural one.

Though Nazareth and Umm al-Fahm are perhaps the only two important Arab localities whose high degree of politicization is reflected in both local and national politics, the correlation is true only in regards to the state and Zionism rather than on the religious plane. In both towns, more than 90 percent of the voters in the national elections vote for Arab non-Zionist parties as one would predict from local elections results. Equally predictable, given the high degree of support for a mayor and local list belonging to the radical wing of the Islamic Movement in Umm al-Fahm who refuse to contest national elections, is the lower participation rate in Knesset elections in that town than in Nazareth. A far lower correlation exists between the salience of religion in local elections and the pattern of voting on the national level. In other words, how the votes divide on the local level among the DFPE, the Islamists (composed of adherents of both the radical wing and the wing affiliated with the UAL) and the list affiliated to the NDA is different from voting patterns for these parties on the national level. This was true of Nazareth and even more the case in Umm al-Fahm.

Similarly, these are the only two major localities where voting patterns on the local level could predict extra parliamentary mobilization and violence. One would assume that Nazareth and Umm al-Fahm would be centers of mobilization and that the latter, certainly proportionate to its size, would be more than the former. This has been indeed the case. For other towns that exhibited a high level of mobilization, such as Tamra, Sakhnin, Kafr Manda,

and Kafr Kanna, only the national vote would suggest their prominence in extraparliamentary activity.

That little correlation exists between local and national politics in the Arab sector is hardly surprising in itself. In the Jewish sector, the gap between the two has only grown – and the number of lists per locality has increased correspondingly. What has to be explained is why in the Jewish sector the growing gap is interpreted as a sign of an increasingly assertive "local civic culture" while the Arab sector has been characterized by *hamula* politics. Bishara offers a partial explanation; Arab society has never made the transition from village to city that has characterized so many other societies in transition but has instead "rurbanized" – growing to townlike dimensions but maintaining its essentially rural character. Two reasons have contributed to this outcome. First, urbanization was blunted by predominantly (if not exclusively) Jewish cities. Second, and perhaps more important, the high rate of modernization coupled with small distances meant that Arabs could commute from the village rather than move into the city. Israeli Arabs have basically skipped over the urbanization stage, but instead of moving to suburbs as in many countries, they have remained in villages and small towns, which reflect high levels of consumerism yet in many ways remain traditional. Staying put in their native villages, they have not become the (overly simplified) salaried atomistic persons in the workplace with nuclear families at home that usually characterize patterns of urbanization and integration into an advanced salaried economy.

This explanation is only partial because it explains the wider phenomenon but not its exceptions – Umm al-Fahm and Nazareth. Nor have *hamula* politics been bereft of modernizing characteristics. In many localities, the list is no longer necessarily headed by the family elder. Instead, selection is secured through inner *hamula* primaries (Rekhess 1998: 355). Three additional variables might explain why these two towns are different from the rest: size, relative distance from Jewish urban space, and smaller Arab localities as "satellite communities." All three variables allow both towns to serve as urban centers. In comparison to Umm al-Fahm, for example, Taibeh or Tira might be of the same size, but they are too close to (and overwhelmed by) the Jewish urban mass to emerge as a regional centers.

Despite the differences between national and local elections in the Arab sector, local government (as in the Jewish sector) has been a stepping stone to sector or "national" politics. For example, Hashem Mehamid, was mayor of Umm al-Fahm (not necessarily a very effective one) before he became an MK for the DFPE and later still for the UAL (Ghanem 1995: 152). Others, such as Salih Murshid of Iblin, exploited their position as local council head to become prominent in the Committee of Local Council Heads (ibid.). Even the High Follow-up Committee, which brings together all Arab members of Knesset from the non-Zionist parties and the municipal and local council heads of the biggest towns and villages, is usually headed by a mayor rather than by a MK. These locally based and bred politicians, by and large, moderate the tone and actions of these nationwide institutions. Local politics have

also been a breeding ground for political parties. Thus, the roots of the now defunct PLP can be found in the split between nationalist politicians on the local council of Nazareth from the PLP. Local council heads also formed the nucleus of the newly established ADP in 1988 (Ghanem 1995: 6.)

Conclusion

Paradoxically, political dynamics since the massive outbreak of violence in September 2000 shows that the majority of Israel's Arab citizens are still working within the system even though Israeli Palestinian elites suggest changes in the structure and identity of the state to allow Arab cultural autonomy. They seem to be cognizant both of the economic and democratic benefits derived from citizenship in the Jewish state despite the recent legislative thrust to constrain the Arab political elite and despite the drafting of documents, most notably "The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel" drafted under the aegis of the High Follow-up Committee for the Arabs in Israel that expressed a desire in working toward a bi-national state.

Israel's Arab citizens are well aware of their economic dependence on the Jewish majority, both in the marketplace itself and by virtue of government economic subsidies that exceed tax receipts generated by the Arab sector itself. A move towards bi-nationalism would *increase* gaps in economic welfare between Jews and Arabs. This is perhaps why most Arabs continued to vote in the general elections, and why Israel's former champion football team whose home base is Sakhnin (a large town known for its participation in the Land Day protests in 1976 and in the riots at the beginning of the hostilities in October 2000) plays in European football championships under the blue and white Israeli flag with the Star of David at its center. The mundane, in this case at least, is the true drama of politics that casts doubts on the visionary documents Arab intellectuals will occasionally bring out but which are divorced from reality.

Nevertheless, the Jewish majority cannot discount the possibility that over a longer timeframe an ominous process of deconstructing the Jewish state is taking place. Israeli Jews can hardly claim that these Arab parties or their leaders, who express sentiments for radically changing the nature of the state, do not represent their constituency. After all, Israel's Arab citizens have almost unbounded freedom in choosing between boycott and abstention, voting for Arab parties with different ideological profiles, and voting for an array of Jewish parties. The choices they make accurately reflect their affinities, tastes, and interests.

5

Extraparliamentary Organizations, Patterns
of Protest, and Terrorism

In trying to gauge the threat Israel's Arab citizens pose to the Israeli Jewish majority, it is important to look beyond the official boundaries of politics in parliament and local politics to include extraparliamentary activity. Extraparliamentary activity can take many forms and can be categorized along at least three major axes: from peaceful to completely violent activity, from lawful to illegal, and from officially sanctioned or unofficial. Though, one would expect a high degree of fit among peacefulness, legality, and official recognition and asymmetry between illegal actions and violence, the potential for deviation, especially in the former case, as we shall see, can be considerable.

Legal and peaceful activity characterizes Palestinian NGOs and several political umbrella organizations. Further down the line are the political movements, principally the Islamic Movement but also some radical nationalist groups that are not officially registered and that engage in peaceful but often illegal or quasi-legal activity. Terrorist activity is obviously the most extreme form of resistance. The crucial aspect from the state's perspective is whether this activity is abetted by political movements whose official or public activities are essentially peaceful. Another potential form of collective action – the wedding between politics and crime that can take the form of protection rackets, drug trafficking, smuggling and other forms of economic extortion – has so far not taken root in the Arab sector in Israel.

To date, no sustained extraparliamentary collective action on a mass scale has taken place in Israel. Even the highly publicized manifestations of mass violence of Israeli Arabs in the beginning of the al-Aqsa intifada lasted only ten days. The level of casualties (thirteen deaths) was high by Israeli standards but paltry compared to the protracted violence only miles away in the Territories where more than nearly 4,852 Palestinians lost their lives in violence as of the end of 2008 (Computed from *Fatalities* 2009). The three essential elements necessary for sustained political struggle include ideology, institution building, and collective action itself.

The spotty, inconsistent, and transient nature of extraparliamentary protest and the different expressions it took over time has to be explained. In keeping with the general hypothesis presented at the book's outset, initial attempts at collective action were stymied by the state or the quasi-state's political arms, such as Mapai (the party that dominated Israeli politics between 1948 and 1977) and its powerful Histadrut (the general workers federation). This gradually gave way to other, more indigenous forms of working within the system, which, despite leveling excessive criticism at the state, have opposed attempts to work outside it. Increasing state tolerance toward movements who engaged in similar activities over time might have been responsible for the relative moderation of the movements themselves. To test this hypothesis, this chapter takes a look at the various forms of extraparliamentary activity that took place since the inception of the state and the position the state and its agencies have taken towards them.

The Formation of the Popular Arab Front

The first serious attempts at creating extraparliamentary organizations challenge the widespread assumptions about the extent of Israeli control over Israel's Arab citizens. Given the supposed all-encompassing control of Arabs in Israeli, one may ask, how did the formation of the Popular Arab Front (PAF) ever take place on July 6, 1958 (in a period when the Mapai-dominated government was at the height of its power)? Even more intriguing is that the founder, Yanni Qustandi Yanni, was a mayor of Kafr Yasif, a large village and therefore presumably cooptable or at least under constant surveillance (Sadi 2001: 5). Though the Military Governor imposed restrictions on thirty-seven of its members, he failed to prevent the Front's simultaneous meetings in Acre and Nazareth. The first was amply attended by 120 founding members (Baumel 2007: 278).

There is no doubt that the authorities should have been motivated ideologically to destroy the new organization had all the maliciousness attributed to them indeed were true. The PAF was an extremely radical organization by Israeli criteria at the time. Two demands in particular made them so. The organization, in addition to demanding equality, the end to land expropriation and the abolishing of military rule (all demands echoed frequently by the Israel Communist Party) demanded in addition the return of Israeli Arab citizens to their villages and the return of all Arab refugees "that were expelled from Israel in 1948" (Ghanem 1990).

The PAF was active in four areas. It was one of the first organizations to document when and where land expropriation took place, publicize data according to ownership, extent of land expropriated, and campaign against expropriation. In a similar manner, it was one of the first to publicize the various laws they felt to be deleterious to Arab interests. These included among others the Law Governing Absentee Property of 1950, the Emergency

Measures Law of 1949, and the law organizing the taking over of property
in times of emergency (1949). The organization focused in its fourth confer-
ence, held on February 5, 1961, on land issues principally to stymie the draft
of a law for centralizing land registration. Though this conference was the
movement's swan song, it was instrumental in abolishing the law. Second, it
mobilized around the themes of refugees, particularly in its third conference,
which convened in Haifa on April 19, 1959. The movement also distributed
printed material and leaflets concerning cases of discrimination and expro-
priations and publicized remedies against them. Perhaps its greatest success
lay in organizing a general strike on February 28, 1961, to protest expropria-
tion of land. At least 15 years elapsed before the Arab community succeeded
in replicating this achievement (though at considerable cost). On March 30,
1976, commemorated henceforth as Land Day, six Israeli Arabs were killed
in riots against Israeli security forces. Yet even then it is debatable whether a
full general strike succeeded. Israeli police sources deny that the organizers
achieved anywhere near 100 percent success in bringing the Arab sector to a
standstill (Rekhess 1977: 5).

As much as the authorities were perhaps instrumental in delaying the PAF's
formation, they were hardly effective in the long run in preventing three years
of intensive activities involving leading Arab nationalist and communist activ-
ists. Nor was it (according to even the most sympathetic sources) a cause of the
Front's breakup. In keeping with the second-image reversed thesis, regional
and international politics were primarily responsible for its disintegration.
The organization was torn apart by a split between the communist activ-
ists in the Front (who, following the Soviet line, increasingly sided with Iraqi
Premier Abd al-Karim Qasim), and the (pan-Arab) "nationalists" (*qawmi-
yyun*) who sided with Gamal Abdel Nasser. Competing visions over the form
Arab unity should take were responsible for the split (Baumel 2007: 280).
The nationalists supported a vision of an integral Arab unity, perhaps even a
unified Arab state, while the communists preferred a federated Arab world.
Similar splits took place elsewhere in the Arab world at the time within the
so-called radical or progressive camp. The nationalists (Ghanem calls them
the nationalist-patriotic current) eventually formed the Al-Ard (The Land)
Movement (Ghanem 1990).

The Al-Ard Group and the Socialist Arab List

The Al-Ard (The Land) Movement, according to Sabri Jiryis, was formed by
members who broke away from the communist-dominated PAF in 1959 when
tensions between the Iraqi Premier and his Soviet supporters on the one hand
and Nasser on the other reached their height. This means that ideologically
at least they identified with Nasser's pan-Arabism. Shmuel Divon, the Prime-
Minister's Advisor on Arab Affairs warned in a press conference in Tel-Aviv
at the end of January 1960 against "this Nasserite group, which is inciting the
Arabs, whose publication had been described by Cairo Radio as gladdening the

hearts of all Arabs" (Jiryis 1976: 189). Jiryis (writing long after the establishment of the PLO) emphasizes the movement's Palestinian orientation reflected in their name "al-Ard," which means both land and earth. Chronologically, the movement attempted to promote this idea by naming each of the thirteen newspapers, the group published over the years. He provides two examples, "This Land" and "The Call of the Land," which he translated "earth" but better rendered "soil" to accentuate that they were the original natives of the land. The large number of publications did not indicate a large readership; each indeed came out at a different time but was brought out as a one-time publication to avoid official registration and licensing, which the group felt the authorities would refuse. Nevertheless, the group's newspaper was closed, its last issues were confiscated, six of the editors were tried, and the authorities refused to grant travel permits to many of the group's supporters. The founders then expended considerable efforts to form a commercial company and were turned down by the authorities, only to see its decision be overturned by the High Court of Justice in May 1961, which allowed the formation of the company (Landau 1969: 96–8; Baumel 2007: 283).

By the time members of the group sought to become a legal association in July 1964, they accentuated in one of their articles of association, the group's Palestinian identity and concerns rather than its pan-Arab orientation:

> To find a just solution for the Palestinian question, considering it a whole and indivisible unit, in accordance with the wishes of the Palestinian Arab People a solution which meets its interests and desires, restores it to its political existence, ensures its full legal rights, and regards it as the first possessor of the right to decide its own fate for itself, within the framework of the supreme wishes of the Arab nation. (Jiryis 1976: 190)

This orientation may be surprising news to observers of the Palestinian movement, who have rightly regarded the renewed articulation of a Palestinian identity in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as a Diaspora phenomenon centered around the emergence of Fatah and later the PLO. The timing of events raises the question whether there were clear ideological or organizational links between the two. After all, the Al-Ard Movement was officially founded less than two months after the PLO was founded in a conference held in east Jerusalem under Jordanian rule in late May–early June 1964. In other words, by that time, their vision conformed more to what was Qasim's vision (who was meanwhile murdered in a Ba'thist-led coup in Iraq), rather than to Nasser's whom they had formerly championed.

Perhaps it was the similarities between these articles of association and the PLO Covenant that influenced the High Court of Justice to uphold the authorities' decision to deny Al-Ard the right to register as an association (Landau 1969: 99). The movement's quest "to find a just solution for the Palestine question, considering it a whole and indivisible unit, in accordance with the wishes of the Palestine Arab people" indicated that the least it sought was the partition of the pre-1967 State of Israel. Referring specifically to the

article regarding the Palestinian people, the court concluded that its contents reflected "an absolute and utter condemnation of the existence of the State of Israel in general, and of its existence within its present borders in particular" (Jiryis 1976: 192).

Nor did the unofficial evidence produced outside the court sound more assuaging: An Al-Ard activist in Tira in August 1964 was quoted in the communist daily, *al-Ittihad*, as saying: "The Arabs of this country were and still are part of the Palestinian Arab people, which is indivisibly part of the Arab world … their right to establish a Palestinian Arab state has been forcibly taken from them" (Jiryis 1976: 194). Even descriptions of the idyllic state in the future could only provoke angst amongst Jewish Israeli readers: "If it should come about that a Palestinian Arab state is established, and if with the passing of time Israel demonstrates that it has abandoned its expansionist greed it could then live peacefully as an organic part of the Middle East and as a member of a federation which could include Israel and the united Arab nations" (ibid.).

The movement had also decided to "retaliate" (in the words of Jiryis) against the authorities' refusal to allow the organization official status as an autonomous body by publicizing a memorandum in July 1965 addressed to the United Nations and to the diplomatic community regarding conditions of the Arab minority in Israel. It was the first and only time that the movement called for the implementation of UN Resolution 181 based on the partition of former Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state (Baumel 2007: 288). Needless to say, this move hardly improved Al-Ard's prospects in winning the court case to establish and register an Arab party that would contest the elections (Jiryis 1976: 192).

Within three days of the ruling denying registration of the association, three of Al-Ard's leaders were arrested on security grounds, and within weeks, the Minister of Defense invoked the 1945 Emergency Regulations from the British Mandate (Landau 1969: 99; Jiryis 1976: 192) to disband the movement's public shareholding company, its only achievement to date in its battle for official approval from the authorities. A previous Supreme Court ruling had overstayed the objection of the registrar of public companies on a technicality that it was outside his purview to deny its establishment on political or security grounds. Of course, the Minister of Defense acted under no such caveat.

Al-Ard's final move was to attempt to register as the Socialist Arab List with the Central Elections Committee (CEC) in preparation for the general elections held in November 1965. The request was turned down in a decision by Judge Moshe Landau, chairman of the CEC, that echoed almost word for word the High Court of Justice's decision when the movement appealed against the decision denying al-Ard to be registered as an association. This was not surprising; the judge who presided over that case now passed sentence in his capacity as chairman of the CES. Once again, the High Court of Justice upheld the decision (Jiryis 1976: 194).

Seemingly a transient phenomenon, the Al-Ard episode was important in at least three ways: first, in the ties forged between Israel's Arab citizens and

the Palestinian national movement represented increasingly by the PLO and its factions in Diaspora. In Tira, for example, the authorities in 1968 closed down a sports club affiliated with the movement after it was discovered that one of its members belonged to Fatah (Jiryis 1976: 195). A report by the security forces summarized in the Hebrew-daily *Maariv* in 1971 revealed that many Israeli Arabs who later crossed the border and joined the PLO were involved in Al-Ard activities (Jiryis 1976: 196). Jiryis was the first Arab graduate of the Hebrew University Law School and one of the founders of the Arab Student Committee. He decided during a Rakah mission to the Soviet Union not to return to Israel. Instead, Jiryis headed to Beirut, joined the PLO and eventually became director of its research arm, the Palestine Research Center. He was also the editor of its prestigious semiacademic bi-monthly *Shu'un Filastiniyya* and a frequent contributor of articles on affairs related to Israel as well as on matters of policy and strategy. He was allowed back into Israel only after the Oslo accords in 1994. Second, the movement enhanced an awareness among Israel's Arabs of wider Palestinian affairs. Third, the movement may be credited for having an institutional impact. Many of the founders of the movement later became the founding members of the Nazareth-based Nationalist Faction out of which emerged the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), the first recognized Arab party within Israel advocating PLO positions and ideology. The most prominent among them was Muhammad Mi'ari, the PLP's chairman (Landau 1993: 118). Mi'ari appeared on the list of candidates of the Socialist Arab List that was disqualified in 1965. In between the demise of Al-Ard and the latter developments in the early 1980s, Al-Ard activists like Sallah Baransi and Mansur Qardosh established centers of Palestinian culture that promoted Palestinian nationalism. Last, as Jiryis rightly points out, the challenge Al-Ard presented the authorities induced their adoption of more lenient flexible policies toward Israeli Arabs. Jiryis, though a foe of Zionism for much, if not all, of his political career, acknowledges official Israel's ability not only to wield the stick but bestow carrots to soften the blow. He appropriately entitled the chapter of his book on military rule "the velvet glove" to reflect this duality.

The High Follow-Up Committee for the Arabs in Israel

A much more broad-based extraparliamentary organization, The High Follow-up Committee for the Arabs in Israel, was set up in 1982 soon after the massacres in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps (Bligh 1999: 136). Though it became a policy-making forum dealing with national (as opposed to municipal issues), it owed its emergence to parochial concerns. Acute municipal deficits had accumulated by the fall of 1982 beyond what was perennial and customary. Local mayors decided to suggest to the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel (NCHALA) (Muharib 1998: 4) that a committee consisting of Arab MKs from both Zionist parties and Rakah be included in the efforts to salvage the situation. Its original, albeit

awkward name was the best indication of its ad hoc nature: "the Follow-Up Committee Regarding the Local Council Crisis." Only in the process of coping with deficits did the idea take hold of forming a permanent organization to address the problems facing the Arab sector as a whole. The name of the committee changed to the "Higher Follow-Up Committee for the Arabs in Israel" (literally) "for the Affairs of the Arab Masses" (ibid., 24) with the adjective "higher-up" (or in other scholarly translations "supreme") added to denote its preeminence over the NCHALA. The High Follow-up Committee then went on to expand its membership to include representatives from the Statewide Committee for the Defense of Arab Lands that took the lead in the Land Day protests of March 30, 1976, Arab members in the Histadrut's Central Committee and, later still, representatives from the new Arab parties formed in the 1980s and 1990s. Over the years, the organization established specialized subcommittees in health, society, and education, with the aim of functioning as small-scale ministries (Bligh 1999: 142–3).

Expanding its role hardly went unopposed. Rakah (by far the largest predominantly Arab political force) opposed the committee on the grounds of being another intermediary with officialdom. As Tawfik Ziyad (poet, MK, and mayor of Nazareth) put it: "If there is a pressing public problem, we all have to cope with it. There are Jewish MKs that are far better in dealing with it than Arab MKs" (Muharib 1998: 26). Nor did most of the NCHALA feel better inclined to see another institution steal their limelight, remain unrecognized, and threaten their channels to Israeli officialdom as a recognized group affiliated to the (Statewide) Center of Local Authorities.

Censured for being an amorphous and inefficient body, in evaluating the High Follow-up Committee, one ought to distinguish between its politically mobilizing role and its ability to achieve a degree of functional autonomy in key areas of life such as education, social welfare, health, and economic development. Basically, it has been successful in political mobilization and much less effective in instrumental concerns.

Articulating a sectorwide position toward Israel's conflict with the Palestinians across the Green Line and protesting what it viewed as Israeli excesses of violence when the negotiating process soured were probably its greatest achievements. The Follow-up Committee almost inevitably sides with the Palestinians. A statement it made in the beginning of the al-Aqsa intifada, was typical of many:

> We have underscored time after time that the continuation of occupation and the policy of aggression and Israeli evasion from its obligations to peace is the source of violence and lack of stability and on this basis the High Follow-up Committee for the Arabs in Israel asks the government to stop this dangerous course and return to the negotiation table to continue the peace talks and adhere to the decisions of international legitimacy towards the realization of a real and just peace that will assure the stability, independence, rights and security of all the people in the area and in its essence the establishment of an independent Palestinians state with its capitol Arab Jerusalem. (High Follow-up Leaflet, February 2, 2001)

Israeli rule is obviously occupation, the state acts aggressively toward the Palestinians, and Israel alone evades its responsibilities toward peace. "A real and just peace" underscores the need to arrive at resolution of all Palestinian grievances rather than only a settlement with the PLO; the term "international legitimacy" refers in Palestinian nomenclature to all United Nations decisions including Resolution 181, which called for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states within borders far smaller than Israel within the present Green Line, and Resolution 194, which offers the possibility for the return of refugees to their places of residence. The Jewish majority oppose both resolutions. Even the use of the term "people" rather than the right of all states to exist in peace is problematic since there is no clear statement of Israel's right to exist as a state, let alone a Jewish one.

Strong identification with the Palestinian side is reflected on day-to-day dynamics of the conflict. Once again, mostly they blame the Israeli side in a fashion indistinguishable from Palestinian perceptions. One example of many is the statement the committee released following the rocket attack that killed Abu Ali Mustafa, the Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in his office in Ramallah on August 28, 2001. It viewed the attack "as a dangerous development in the aggressive Israeli policies against the Palestinian people and its leadership and a dangerous planned escalating step in the series of Israeli assassinations and settling of accounts" (*Fasl al-Maqal*, August 31, 2001). No reference was made that the PFLP was involved in a series of car bombings in Jerusalem several weeks prior to the killing.

The committee was the first and only extraparliamentary organization that succeeded in organizing successive general strikes. In June 1987, it called for a general strike of the Arab sector to protest the failure to cover the deficits of Arab local councils. It was used with increasing frequency with the outbreak of the first intifada. In December 1987, the Arab sector declared a "Peace Day" general strike to express their identification with the intifada. As the naming of the event would suggest, the committee was at pains to show that it would be peaceful in contrast to the violence across the Green Line. The follow-up committee was less successful in maintaining public order during the general strike of November 15, 1988, the same day Arafat read out the Palestinian declaration of independence at the Palestinian National Council, convened in Algiers. In order to minimize friction with the Jewish population of Israel the strike was presented as a protest against the destruction of eleven illegal buildings in the Triangle settlement of Taybeh (Bligh 1999: 136). General strikes increased from three in the 1980s to ten in the following decade, effectively transforming the High Follow-up Committee into the authoritative and representative body of the Arab sector.

Paradoxically, the use of the general strike and its effectiveness declined considerably after the widespread disturbances in the first days of the al-Aqsa intifada (in part because that violence ensued after the committee called for a general strike). Further calls by the committee for a general strike took place soon after the outbreak of the intifada, on March 10, 2002, after a raid in

Jenin; on the fourth anniversary commemoration of the twelve Israeli Arab citizens killed, and after a soldier killed five in Shfaram on August 4, 2005, before being lynched by an angry crowd. The latter was only partially heeded (Stern 2005).

Its influence over its constituents also varies from issue to issue. Just before the 2001 elections for Prime-Minister, the Committee of the Martyrs' Families, which emerged after the death of twelve Israeli Arab citizens, issued a call to boycott the polls. The High Follow-up Committee refrained from taking a clear position on the matter. The Arab electorate, however, clearly did, and 80 percent of them boycotted the elections (Arab Vote Lowest Ever 2001).

Lacking clear decision-making procedures, an official timetable of mandatory meetings, and a budget and salaried staff (which are usually spelled out in a standing order of any organization) only augments the ephemeral and uneven impact of this institution (Muharib 1998: 26). No one doubts the impact of the Follow-up Committee at the moments of extreme crisis; for example, when it declared a general strike in the wake of MK Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount and subsequent events. On the other hand, few can deny its lack of impact on the everyday, mundane issues facing the public it represents.

The Islamic Movement

Few political developments in the course of over 50 years of interaction between the Jewish state and its Arab citizens reflect the tensions between politicization and radicalization as the annals of the Islamic Movement in Israel. Judging by its origins, however, both the moderate and radical Islamic movements attest to the moderating influences of Israeli citizenship and democratic practice. To fully fathom this point, both an in-depth investigation of these origins and some comparative analysis of Islamic movements in neighboring states and political environments are necessary.

Ideological movements seeking to change the political order are often suppressed by the political order they seek to replace and respond to that suppression with ever greater violence. This pattern is even more characteristic if the movement in question is different in other essential ways from the polity that supports the dominant political order in terms of language, ethnicity, and religion. The most important single factor in determining subsequent radicalization and behavior seems to be the degree the political order under potential attack is able to respond with policies of incorporation rather than by suppression and exclusion. Cultural distance between the state and the movement is only of secondary importance. This is perhaps why the Muslim movement as a whole in Israel moderated, while in Egypt it became increasingly radical and violent.

The validity of this assertion is borne out in a comparison between the interaction between the state and the Islamic movements in Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Israel. Intuitively, one would have expected relations between

Israel's Islamic movements and the state to be the most confrontational and radicalizing over time among the three. After all, Israel is a Jewish Zionist state committed to furthering the national goals of its Jewish majority. In Israel, the movement's origins can be traced to a terrorist cell led by Abdullah Nimr Darwish (the spiritual leader of the moderate Islamic Movement). This movement has, since 1992, joined a wider list in order to contest the Knesset elections. Darwish, after having completed his religious studies in a seminary in Tulkarem, joined in the late 1970s the Usrat al-Jihad (The Jihad Family) under Farid Ibrahim Abu Mukh (a substantially older returnee to the faith), which, like many other groups in the Middle East, promoted the violent struggle for the establishment of an Islamic theocratic state (Landau 1993: 39; Peled 2001: 182). The group was caught after it stockpiled weapons, burned fields, and murdered in Umm el-Fahm an Arab whom they suspected of collaborating with Israel (Tal 2000). Sixty individuals were brought to trial, the highest number ever concerning a single terrorist case in Israel. Al-Mukh received fifteen years in prison and Darwish, three.

The difference between his group and countless of other movements outside Israel did not lie in a different vision but in the uniqueness of the political opponent. Israel's ability to respond flexibly with more liberal, inclusionary policies and improve standards of living changed (in the case of the moderate Islamic wing) not only the movement's behavior but also its ideology. Darwish advocated working within the state and to some extent began to preach the acceptance of its Jewish nature. Upon his release in 1983, Darwish and others set up a loose network of organizations known as the Muslim Youth that focused on communal or charitable projects and the building of mosques, whose numbers increased from 80 in 1988 to 240 in 1993. The movement benefited greatly from the Saudi-financed and -run World Islamic League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (Louër 2007: 71–2). These activists reaped the political dividends of these efforts in the 1989 local elections in which they secured six mayoral or local council head positions and forty-five seats on eleven councils, accounting for approximately 10 percent of all seats (Peled 2001: 383).

In Egypt, by contrast, the Muslim Brotherhood, which served as an inspirational base for the more moderate Islamic Movement and continues to set the tone for the radical "northern" Islamic Movement, has had a much more adversarial relationship with the state. In this case as well, much has depended on the state's perspective toward the movement. During most of the monarchic period, the movement was much less adversarial than it was under Nasser's rule (Munson 2001: 6). Similarly, the Jordanian monarchy has been able to avoid similar waves of Islamist terrorism like those that beset Egypt, in large part, because it legalized Muslim Brotherhood activity in its midst and integrated them into the existing political institutions (Tal 1995: 140). Policies and democratic institutions (rather than political culture) determine the quality of the relationship between the state and its Islamic opposition.

Even the emergence of the more radical (and possibly more powerful) northern faction of the Islamic Movement in Israel has not entirely effaced the uniqueness of Islamic fundamentalist moderation. For sure, the ideological differences between Ra'id Sallah (mayor of Umm al-Fahm) and Sheikh Kemal Khatib (of Kafr Kanna) on one side of the divide and Darwish on the other were palpable. The first signs of the split came in the wake of the Oslo accords. The two mayors (who had served their respective towns since 1989) joined up with the Hamas to condemn the accords, and Darwish warmly supported them (Rekhess 1998: 73–5). Sallah later refused to join a delegation of Arab politicians from Israel to greet Arafat after his entrance into Gaza in July 1994. Darwish, by contrast, was one of its most prominent members (Rekhess 1998: 76).

The formal split in the movement occurred over the decision to contest the Knesset elections in 1996. Since then, the new movement led by Sallah and Khatib has developed the organization's identity by focusing on the powerful and evocative theme of "al-Aqsa is in danger" after the Israeli government sanctioned a second entrance to a tunnel that ran across the Temple Mount walls in September 1996. Palestinian Israelis, including the Islamic Movement, viewed the tunnel as a sinister attempt to undermine the foundations of the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif (the Islamic complex atop the Temple Mount). For the first time since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, massive riots broke out in the Territories, followed by armed clashes between Israeli and Palestinian security forces over the course of four days. The number of casualties was unprecedented in the history of Israeli rule in the Territories; more than sixty Palestinians (almost all of them from the Territories) and thirteen Israelis (members of the security forces) died. This was also the first time local Palestinians exacted a heavy toll on the Israeli security forces. During the first intifada, the ratio between Israeli and Palestinian casualties was less than one to ten (Rekhess and Litvak 1996: 157).

On the one hand, the commemoration of the event, much like "Land Day" before it, became nonviolent compared to the violence that frequently took place across the Green Line. This was a clear sign of politicization. The annual "al-Aqsa in danger" commemorations held in Umm al-Fahm's soccer stadium since 1996 are by far the biggest and best-attended events on the Arab sector's political calendar. Especially prominent was a gathering in 1998, which interposed the commemoration of Muhammad's ascent to heaven from the al-Aqsa mosque-the "night of the nocturnal ascent" (*al-isra wal-miraj*) – the only holy day in the Islamic calendar linked to the Temple Mount, as well as the fiftieth anniversary of the Nakba (catastrophe referring to Israel's victory and creation in the War of 1948). Attended by over 30,000 people, it far outshone the commemoration ceremonies organized by the "national" (non-Islamic) groups. The latter attracted only a few hundred attendees, even according to sources sympathetic to them.

On the other hand, the themes and the discourse in these "al-Aqsa in danger" rallies belie the tenor of politicization. On September 14, 2001, for

example, the Israel Police braced itself for the first "al-Aqsa is in danger" commemoration since the outbreak of widespread violence the previous year. As usual, it was held in the Umm al-Fahm stadium. Though the event passed without incident and newspapers noted a milder tone in most of the speakers (*Al-Bayadir al-Siyasi*, no. 789, September 23, 2001), it could only be described as mild by a certain stretch of the imagination. Sheikh Yusuf Qardawi, an extremist Egyptian-born fundamentalist who lives in Saudi Arabia and Qatar gave the keynote address. Speaking over the phone from Riyadh, his remarks were frequently punctuated by cries of "Oh Aqsa we will redeem you in blood." Visual themes in rallies are also significant. A huge mural covering the whole width of the stage depicted Sallah al-Din's triumphant entrance into Jerusalem after defeating the Crusades. When a reporter for Israeli television asked one of the leaders of the movement, Sheikh Hashim 'Abd al-Rahman about the meaning of the mural, he bluntly responded: "We wait with gaping breath for an Arab hero that will liberate occupied Jerusalem and al-Aqsa imprisoned by the despicable occupation" (ibid.). In choosing the Sallah al-Din motif, the movement was hardly demonstrating originality. As Emmanuel Sivan (1990) has amply demonstrated, the theme is basic to both radical Arab nationalist and religious thought. In both ideological settings, it emits the same chilling message. Israel, as the new "Crusader" state is destined to meet the same fate that befell the Crusader states.

The movement was closely linked in the past to Kamal Rayan's *al-Aqsa Association*, established in 1990 that focuses on the restoration of what it believes to be 1,200 neglected mosques, cemeteries and holy sites, especially in predominantly Jewish areas (Peled 2001: 396). Rayan was the former mayor of Kafr Bara in the Triangle.) Accusing Rayan of ineptitude, Sallah decided to establish a rival *al-Aqsa Insitute* in September 2000, pledging to document and repair more than 3,000 such sites. The Jewish population viewed these efforts with concern. Arousing particular attention were the vigils surrounding the mosques of Sayyidna Ali in Herzliyya, a Jewish suburban town in the Tel-Aviv area), Hasan Bek mosque in Jaffa (which has since been completely renovated), and the destroyed mosque in Tzrifin situated in close proximity to one of the largest military bases in the country (ibid., 2001: 388). The aim from the Islamic Movement's perspective is to restore Palestine's Islamic visage after years of what they perceive deliberate neglect of Islamic property and holy sites on the part of the Israeli authorities (Abu Raya and Ben-Ze'ev 2009: 112–15).

All these events pale, however, compared to the Islamic Movement's activities on the Temple Mount itself; for over a year, hundreds of members and supporters converted underground cellars known as Solomon's Stables into one of the largest prayer sites in the world called the *musala al-marwani*. Jewish leaders and members of Knesset from across the political spectrum, aided by scholarly experts and archeologists, bemoaned the loss of irreplaceable archeological treasures as huge earth-moving machines pulverized the remains into dust. The former decried the loss of precious archeological evidence from the

Second Temple period, the latter because of the harm committed to archeological material from the Jewish, Byzantine and Islamic eras (Shanks 2007).

Nevertheless, despite these provocative and spectacular acts of defiance to state authority, leaders in the Islamic Movement, on a daily basis, cooperate more than they disobey. Even the aforementioned rally on September 2001 was preceded by coordination meetings between Sallah and Israeli police officers, who tried to dissuade him from holding the commemoration only three days after the attack on the Twin Towers in New York. The link between this anti-establishment movement and the establishment ran through local government. The dependence of the movement's leaders in their capacity as mayors on the establishment and the dependence of the police on the Islamic Movement to guarantee the peace facilitates the establishment of understood "rules of the game" which, in turn, promotes longer-term stability. Sallah's arrest in May 2003 (along with 15 others) his imprisonment for two years and subsequent release, in concert with a government crackdown on funding from foreign sources for the Islamic Movement, has only served to reinforce a more pliable relationship between the state and the radical leaders of the Movement (Louër 2007: 75–6). In spite of their purportedly abating vitriol, the Movement continues to excavate under the Temple Mount and to render irrevocable damage to archeological artifacts according to a public committee headed by Meir Shamgar, former deputy chief justice of Israel's High Court of Justice (Shragai 2008).

As difficult as it is to judge whether the Islamic Movement is a radical movement, it is even more difficult to judge its true political clout. No doubt it has a solid core of dedicated adherents. Both its successful rallies and mobilization behind specific causes attest to this simple fact. Other indicators suggest that, although the movement has clearly created a political niche for itself, its reach remains limited. Trends in religiosity may be one constraint. Smooha's survey research indicates that, contrary to intuition, nonobservance in the Arab sector from 1976 to 1995 (the generation assumed responsible for the resurgence of fundamentalist Islam) increased from 53.4 to 67.1 percent (Smooha 1999: 15). Religious elements might have become more organized and politicized, but they have become relatively fewer in number. This means that Arab society has, in a certain way, become more plural and divided. Obviously, those who consider themselves secular can take advantage of numerous other political choices, ranging from liberal choices (such as Meretz), the conservative national-religious alternative (offered by the UAL) and the more secular, radical perspectives offered by the NDA and the DFPE.

Pngos and the Politics of Threats

Sometimes danger, at least as the majority of the Jewish population in Israel perceives it, lurks in unexpected places. Palestinian nongovernmental organizations (often amply funded by international NGOs and other sources) seek to realize objectives that undermine Israel's global standing and polarize Israeli

society from within. According to works on civil society, these NGOs (along with an array of other institutions), occupy the space that is neither blatantly political (the home of organized political parties) or loci of overall power such as state institutions. Thus, in a major work on civil society, Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato define "civil society" as "... a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations [i.e., NGOs]), social movements and forms of public communication." (Cohen and Arato 1992: ix–xi). Ostensibly, NGOs promote awareness of the importance of the public well-being, but only insofar as it is important in fostering social welfare activities for targeted groups. They only become politicized if "these mediations fail or when the institutions of economic and political society serve to insulate decision making and decision makers from the influence of social organizations, initiatives and forms of public discussion" (Gubser 2002: 140).

This naive, idealistic view of NGOs is patently untrue. Substantively, NGOs and other institutions of civil society not only try to influence politics but often have very broad-sweeping, well-defined political agendas (Tarrow 2005: 24). There is no greater proof that they influence the political processes where they are active better than the inordinately high amounts of foreign aid funds allotted to international NGOs to foster the goals of democratization in the developing world or to induce indigenous NGOs to become involved in that pursuit. This is especially true of European aid (Jean Grugel 2000: 87).

One could plausibly argue that NGOs fostering democratization or development are, at least, operating to instill values and practices over which there is much consensus (in Western countries at least).Yet, even this assumption proves false. A growing literature plots the contentious political agendas NGOs or transnational advocacy networks often pursue (either in the service of a state or independently). For example, an article on the NGOs' influence on foreign policy claims that the Bush administration, because of its initially realist orientation, "does not appear to have understood the importance of international NGOs as international actors carrying forward these issues with one political agenda or another – not merely as followers or supporters, but as the driving force with respect to many important questions ... in matters from human rights to the environment to population policy to adventures in humanitarian intervention" (Anderson 2001: 373). Other research focuses on the contestation between domestic political parties and international NGOs over issues of trading blocs and globalization (Macdonald and Schwartz 2002:135). Promoting feminism as a liberal ideal (particularly in the Arab world) has spawned a growing literature focused on this particularly contentious issue. Opposition to the agenda of liberal international NGOs not only emanates from conservative segments of the Muslim Arab population, it is frequently expressed by Western conservatives as well (ibid., 137; Ward 2002: 285).

In fact, NGOs are so political that there is a debate in the professional literature whether they should be more or less politicized than they already are.

There are those (particularly in the field of development) who call for greater rather than less politicization of the NGOs if they are to play their role effectively (Kothari 1993: Patkar 1995). Laura Macdonald, in her studies in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, argues that attempts to improve agricultural productivity are often pointless unless higher-order political impediments are addressed. NGOs, in her view, should promote grassroots organizational and participatory skills and help local groups form national political movements capable of demanding policies addressing their members' concerns (Macdonald 1997: 179).

More relevant for the Israeli case, NGOs are often used by outside political powers or advocacy networks to promote ethnic minorities within the wider state-bounded society. Ostensibly, the goal is to promote civil society within these ethnic groups as a means of achieving greater civic equality on the national level. In reality, these funds are used by the recipients to promote a separatist agenda either under the guise of integration or as a means of achieving self-determination. In short, many NGOs are closely linked to political organizations advancing the same political goals (Evans-Kent 2002: 297–8; Cilliers 1995: 35–49; Osman 2000: 977–88). This linkage often results in NGOs acting as front organizations for less savory characters. In a particularly well-known book on humanitarian aid and conflict in Africa, John Predergast notes that international aid agencies in their eagerness to work with indigenous NGOs in Somalia actually worked with organizations that were fronts for local militias and politicians (Prendergast 1996: 30).

These issues have been thrashed out in the Israeli case by Shany Paynes (2003) and Oded Haklai (2004) in their brief studies of NGO activity among Israel's Arab citizens. Paynes feels that the thrust of most of the Palestinian NGOs is to achieve civic equality. Haklai strongly disagrees:

> civil society is conventionally seen as building strong, inclusive societal bonds ... Rather than view Palestinian Arab Israeli NGOs as embarking on a civic campaign for civil equality, I contend that PAI [Palestinian Arab Israeli] civil society associations are a mode of ethnic mobilization, targeting the empowerment of an ethnic community. As such, they are distinct from conventional civil society organizations that promote civic rights. PAI NGOs borrow a variety of strategies that are applied by "classical" civil society associations, but their ends are more particularistic, aiming at institutional reform favorable to the PAI community and raising political and communal consciousness amongst the minority population ... Such mobilization, however, does not target universal empowerment of citizens vis-à-vis the state, as "classical" civil society does. Rather, the focus is on "Communal empowerment." (Haklai 2004: 157–8)

Yet even Haklai, in opposing communal empowerment to the civic variety, does not fully describe the full spectrum of possible avenues of Palestinian NGOs (PNGO) involvement, especially since he (along with other researchers) does not mention the linkage between domestic and external issues. Instead of promoting cohesion, these PNGOs are perceived by most of the

Jewish majority as promoting separatism and instead of alleviating interethnic regional conflict, they might be exacerbating it. According to many Jewish Israelis, the gist of many of their activities may not be civic empowerment or even transformation of the state but a quest to destroy it by linking up with its implacable enemies.

Reading some of the material found on the home page of the Internet site of Ittijah – the Union of Arab Community Based Organizations (an umbrella organization of fifty-three Israeli Palestinian NGOs [PNGOs]) established in 1985 – may go a long way in explaining why the ultimate objectives of many PNGOs are much more than communal empowerment or autonomy:

> Ittijah's inter-Palestinian profile has been asserted and strengthened by the 2000 Cyprus Conference, which brought together, for the first time, Palestinian civil society groups from all parts of historical Palestine and Lebanon, under the direction of the three Palestinian networks in the region: Ittijah: Union of Arab Community-Based Associations, PNGO: The Palestinian NGO Network in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and The Collective Forum for Palestinian NGOs in Lebanon. This conference, sponsored by Ittijah, outlined the indivisible nature of the Palestinian people, warned against divisions imposed upon them, and clearly set out the role of three networks in fostering, advocating, and strengthening Palestinian civil society in communication and cooperation with each other. The conference's declaration clearly noted for the first time, the historical role Palestinian civil society institutions play in each area: historical 1948 Palestine, the 1967 Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the large Palestinian refugee populations in Lebanon. (www.ittijah.org/about/about01.html)

Not only does this organization in this brief passage seek to advance the "indivisible nature of the Palestinian people" it refers to Israel as "historical 1948 Palestine" and by mentioning "the 1967 Occupied Territories" one understands, by implication, that the lands of 1948 are occupied as well. Ittijah then goes on to point out that in 2002, Ittijah and the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies sponsored a conference "An End to Borders: Arab Civil Society Takes up the Challenge" thus establishing "for the first time, working links between Palestinian civil society organizations inside the Green Line, and their partners in the Arab world … after 54 years of isolation, misconceptions and estrangement." (ibid.) Yet, despite its ostensible interest in human rights in the Arab world (and given the appalling record of protecting these rights within Arab society), Ittijah's surveys, press releases and reports have nothing to say on human rights infringements anywhere else in the world except in Israel.

In contrast, the organization does devote significant effort to maligning the State of Israel. In June–July 2005 alone, Ittijah joined forces with other organizations and political forces, including the Council of National and Islamic Forces (composed of Fatah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and other Palestinian factions engaged in suicide and other forms of terrorism against Israelis) in calling for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against the Israeli state, its institutions, and Israeli-owned companies. It urged participants at the June 2005 meeting

of the EuroMed Civil Forum in Barcelona to boycott Israel for being a colonial and discriminatory state, urged organizations to support the right to return to all Palestinians as part of the antiglobalization movement, issued a joint press release condemning the Israeli governmental bill currently being discussed by the Knesset denying compensation to "Palestinian victims of Israeli war crimes perpetrated in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip," and signed a petition launched by another organization, Collectif Urgence Palestine, calling to end Switzerland's military cooperation with Israel. Needless to say, most of the signatories in the call for divestment are opposed to the peace process; they do not recognize the State of Israel, referring to it instead as the "Zionist entity" (www.ittijah.org/about/about01.html).

Ittijah openly states in its Internet site, that it is linked with one of the most extreme Palestinian organizations, the PNGO (a Palestinian diaspora-based umbrella organization established in September 1993 consisting of 92 Palestinian NGO member organizations (www.ngo-monitor.org/archives/infofile.htm#pngo). A leading player in the assault on Israel's legitimacy, this organization was responsible for organizing the December 2004 conference at the School of Oriental & African Studies, London on "Resisting Israeli Apartheid Strategies & Principles." Despite its justification of Palestinian terror, this umbrella organization and its constituent members succeeded in receiving funding from the British Department for International Development, parallel groups in Europe and Canada, and from private sources such as the Ford Foundation (Steinberg 2005b).

Ittijah has also joined a number of Palestinian NGOs in rejecting antiterror clauses in funding agreements involving the States United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Ford Foundation. USAID's anti-terrorism clause stated that funds will not be used to "provide material support or resources to any individual or entity that advocates, plans, sponsors, engages in, or has engaged in terrorist activity"; the Ford Foundation was even more innocuous calling on any Ford-funded organization to "agree that your organization will not promote or engage in violence, bigotry or the destruction of any state, nor will it make sub-grants to any entity that engages in these activities." Nevertheless, "Ittijah's members agreed that they should insist on the maintenance of their independence, and on the fact that they are the owners of their own agenda. They would not be able to agree on political conditionality of financial support" (www.ngo-monitor.org/archives/infofile.htm#ittijah).

Even before being required to abide by the antiterrorist clause, international pressures were brought to bear on the organization and in its 2002 Annual Report Ittijah openly acknowledged a reduction in funding: "Accusations such as this have had a noticeable chilling effect on our donors" (Steinberg 2005a). It blamed the Israeli government for being the source of pressure (www.ngo-monitor.org/editions/v2n11/v2n11–2.htm)

To understand why the Israeli state and the predominant community perceived themselves to be threatened by these foreign-funded NGOs, one has only to reflect on the discrepancy between the names of these organizations

and their political agenda. The Arab Center for Applied Social Research-al-Karmal (MADA), a Palestinian-run Haifa-based research institute founded in 2000, is one of the newest. The name of the organization would suggest an agenda that is microsocial, scientific, instrumental, and implicitly nonpolitical. Yet, the introductory lines to its homepage, demonstrate the gap between appearances and substance:

> Mada fuses in-depth theoretical and applied research with public policy recommendations to advance the national rights and the social, political and economic conditions of Palestinian citizens in Israel, and to craft new social policies toward this indigenous minority. In addition, Mada works to provide analytical research on a wide range of topics from national identity, citizenship, to democracy promotion in multiethnic states … to achieve its mission, Mada has set the following goals: To provide an institutional base and an intellectual climate to study the needs and collective future of Palestinians in Israel, their relationship with Israel, the Palestinian nation, and the Arab World … to foster partnerships with Israeli, Palestinian, and international academics, NGO activists, and political actors … to formulate public policy proposals designed to improve the economic, political, and social conditions of Palestinian citizens … to train Palestinian social scientists in new critical approaches … and to promote a new and critical discourse on Palestinian-Jewish relations in the country. (www.mada-research.org/program.html)

One should pause to reflect on the political (if not separatist) nature of some of these objectives. By claiming to be a scientific research organization that will study the needs and collective future of "Palestinians in Israel" and their relationship with Israel, MADA is intimating that Arabs in Israel are not necessarily citizens within the established state, but a national group that is, to some degree, still negotiating the final terms of their social contract and defining their relationship to the Palestinian nation and the greater Arab world. The organization, without a doubt, promotes a separatist narrative and identity; in the MADA News Survey, the organization established a project "Constructing the Historical Narrative of the Palestinians in Israel." As part of a project, MADA convened a successful seminar on the Catastrophe and Expulsion in 1948. Though MADA purports to be devoted "to formulate public policy proposals designed to improve the economic, political, and social conditions of Palestinian citizens," its overwhelming focus is on macropolitical issues related to issues which most of the Jewish majority perceives as undermining the Jewish character of the state. Thus, for example, in the May 2009 65-page issue of *Jadal* (Controversy), only one page is devoted to an economic issue. All the rest deal with contentious and polarizing political issues between Jews and Arabs (http://www.mada-research.org/publications/PDF/Jadal_May09_Eng.pdf, 2009). The same can be said of the conferences, seminars and workshops the group has sponsored. Of the twenty-six activities listed on MADA's Web site since its inception, twenty-four dealt with contentious macropolitical issues and only two focused on primarily economic or social concerns (land planning and gender).

Also, MADA's close links to political parties (particularly the NDA) may be seen in the composition of its general assembly. Four of eighteen members of the governing council whose their political affiliation is given belong to the NDA. This includes Azmi Bishara (founder and first chairperson of the NDA), Jamal Zahalka (founding NDA party member, MK, and current member of the party's Executive Committee), Dr. Fathi Daka (a cardiologist at a private hospital in Herzliyya, member of the NDA Executive Committee and an active member of the Popular Committee to Combat Collaborators) and Ms. Raghida Zoabi (one of three women in MADA's assembly and another member of the NDA Executive Committee). The latter three are involved in broad-based service to the local community. Using an NGO as a form of a front organization that is intimately linked to a political party reflects Bishara's solution to a problem he analyzed within post-Oslo Palestinian politics in the Territories. During the 1990s, he glumly noted that former members of Palestinian left-wing factions such as the Popular and Democratic Fronts for the Liberation of Palestine abandoned their political vocation and convictions to become NGO professionals. His article on the subject formed a play on the Arabic words: *inhiraf al-ihtiraf* (the deviation of professionalism) accusing those involved politically in resisting the occupation in left-wing PLO factions of being coopted by international NGOs into promoting a peace process he personally opposed (Bishara 1995a: 151–2). Linking an NGO with a political party and promoting a research agenda whose motivations and goals echo those of a radical party transforms a potentially diversionary and deviational phenomenon into a mobilizing weapon.

Similarly, Adalah (a legal rights organization established in 1996 staffed primarily by Israeli Arab citizens) is fostering attempts to change the system entirely rather than ensuring equality within it. The thrust on "group rights," albeit a less committed term than the term "national rights" MADA openly advocates, can be detected even in the historical overview it provides on its Internet site:

> Israel never sought to assimilate or integrate the Palestinian population, treating them as second-class citizens and excluding them from public life and the public sphere. The state practiced systematic and institutionalized discrimination in all areas, such as land dispossession and allocation, education, language, economics, culture, and political participation. Successive Israeli governments maintained tight control over the community, attempting to suppress Palestinian or Arab identity and to divide the community within itself. To that end, Palestinians are not defined by the state as a national minority despite UN Resolution 181 calling for such; rather they are referred to as "Israeli Arabs," "non-Jews," or by religious affiliation. Further attempts have been made to split the Palestinian community into "minorities within a minority" through separate educational curricula, disparate employment and academic opportunities, and the selective conscription of Druze and some Bedouin men to military service. Israeli discourse has legitimated the second-class status of Palestinian citizens on the basis that

the minority population does not serve in the military; however, the selective conscription of Druze and some Bedouin has not prevented discrimination against them. (www.adalah.org/eng/backgroundhistory.php)

Emphasizing the discrimination against Israel's Arab citizens is a legitimate pursuit for a legal rights organization. Many Zionist Israelis on the left would agree at least partially to most of the assertions Adalah makes. However, even they would query the reference to UN Resolution 181 and the motives behind it. This resolution (passed in the General Assembly on November 29, 1947), calling for the partition of Palestine into two states one Jewish, one Arab, predates the establishment of the state (www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/un/res181.htm). It has little to do with the either the existing constituent order or the legitimation of group rights within it. Does this mean then that Adalah either erred in the reference to the resolution or does it reflect a desire to repartition the State of Israel into two parts? If the latter is the case, it would only be natural for the majority of Israel's Jewish citizens to regard Adalah as an organization that primarily supports secession and separatism rather than being a human rights organization and thus view it with suspicion.

These feelings can only be further reinforced when Adalah's online historical background survey proceeds to describe the post-Oslo situation. It notes that "Indeed the Oslo Accords have redefined and limited the 'Palestinian question' to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, excluding Palestinian citizens of Israel as well as the entire refugee population in the Diaspora from any substantive dialogue." Again, this echoes positions found on the MADA Internet site, namely, that Israel's Palestinian citizens should not view themselves as citizens of an existing entity working within the system but as a group that has yet to negotiate its future with the state (in a manner similar to the noncitizen Palestinian diaspora population).

In much the same vein, one questions why Baladna (Our Country), the Arab Youth Movement, can be found listed in a major youth movement Internet site as "Youth Activism Promoting Coexistence in Palestine and Israel" (www.freechild.org/PromotingCoexistence.htm). To the contrary, the whole thrust of the movement is separatist or exclusionary, as the following description taken from their Internet site demonstrates:

A group of ten educators, artists, lawyers, community workers, feminist activists and journalists came together a year ago and decided to create an independent Palestinian Arab youth movement. This group represents a new generation of Palestinian citizens of Israel, who came to reject the dependence and the a-symmetrical power structure forced on the Palestinian minority by Israeli society. For more than fifty years, the State of Israel attempted to disconnect Palestinians from their identity and collective memory and to weaken their individual and collective self-image. Our group sees itself as part of a growing trend among the Palestinian minority of building independent institutions and striving to equalize the community's relationship with the State. (www.baladnayouth.org/whorwe.shtml)

Not one reference in this preamble even intimates coexistence or interaction with Jewish Israeli youth. Instead, there is an emphasis on building independent institutions and strengthening Palestinian identity. On the macro level, the organization aims at building an "internal Palestinian political culture" that will "equalize the community's relationship with the State" (notably "with" rather than "within" the state). The perception that the movement aims are separatist rather than integrative is reinforced upon reading its list of activities that included "meetings with Palestinian Youth from the Palestinian Authority" and the creation of exclusively Arab university groups. This is true not only in word but also in deed: Of the twenty activities posted on its site (on July 2009), none involved coexistence with Jewish Israeli youth or institutions (http://www.momken.org/baladna/news.php).

Especially worrisome to Israel's embattled Jewish majority is the fact that what they perceive as rabidly anti-Israeli NGOs receive funding from international sources such as the Ford Foundation, the European Union and individual governments. These sources justify their support on the basis of human rights, institution building, humanitarian aid, and peacemaking concerns, which the Jewish majority perceives as facades (Steinberg 2005b). Local Israel Arab NGOs are viewed as another weapon in the political warfare and lawfare against Israel globally; criticism and enmity which are totally out of proportion with either Israel's ratings on objective rankings of state human and political rights' performance (Freedom House and Polity surveys) or Israel's share of human right infringements (Steinberg 2006: 248, 251).

Two events, the convening of the first Word Conference Against Racism in the first week of September 2001, and its sequel held in Geneva eight years later, brought into sharp relief not only the conflicting perceptions between many of these NGOs and the Israeli public over the goals of these organizations, but the relationship between these goals and Israeli national security as well. While the former mobilized behind the event, supported the anti-Israeli platforms with ardor, and saw no connection between the positions they took and the coalitions they built with the Arab League and other anti-Israeli forums and the issue of Israeli national security, the Jewish public perceived the two conferences as a head-on assault on Israel's very right to exist. Suffice it to mention that the lead article on the first Durban conference in Israel's most widely read Hebrew-language daily was entitled "the Durban Intifada" (Eichner 2001). Starker still was the gap in perceptions in the second, in which Iranian Prime-Minister Mahmoud Ahmadinijad, a personality who can only be characterized as infamous in the eyes of the Israeli Jewish public, was the only head of state to attend (Sofer 2009; Weisel 2009). Israel, the United States, and seven other states decided to boycott the conference after the Iranian Prime-Minister was invited. Forty delegates who did attend subsequently walked out in protest during his speech. Israeli Arab NGOs, in lobbying for strong condemnation of Israeli policies, were completely oblivious to Israeli Jewish perceptions of a growing geo-strategic threat to Israel

emanating from Iran and its allies since the first Durban conference eight years previously (Ophir 2009). This change was reflected by the Israeli media coverage on states, particularly Iran, in the second conference at Geneva, compared to the focus in the previous Durban conference on nongovernmental organizations, despite the marked absence of heads of state at the conference except for Ahmadinijad.

Subversive Activity and Terrorism

Israel's Arab citizens have not played a major role in the massive terrorism directed against the state or its Jewish citizens since its establishment. Israel's Arab citizens rarely abetted *fedayeen* incursions in the 1950s before the emergence of the PLO in 1964, PLO-led efforts at cross-border infiltration from Jordan or Lebanon in the 1960s, or in acts of international terrorism, which catapulted the organization into international prominence. However, they did play a role, albeit minor role compared to inhabitants of Gaza, Judea, and Samaria, in acts of terror within Israel. Israeli Arab involvement in terrorism in the late 1960s during a period in which Israel witnessed its first wave of widespread terror since the *fedayeen* incursions in the early 1950s. Patterns of homemade terrorism, like other political manifestations once again showed the powerful influence of developments over Israel's borders both on Israeli policy and on Israel's Arabs directly.

Israeli Arab involvement in terror made the headlines in November 1969, when six residents of Accre, belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, admitted setting off explosive charges in five apartment buildings in Haifa on two consecutive days in October 1969. Two were killed, twenty-two were wounded, and all five apartment houses were severely damaged (*Middle East Record 1969–70* 1977: 228). Subsequent investigations revealed that the group was also involved in the demolition of an oil pipeline in the Golan in June 1969. The group was linked to five cells, one of which was located in the Israeli Arab village of Taibeh. The six were convicted to life imprisonment and two others, also from Accre, were convicted as accomplices, to nineteen years and three months, respectively (ibid., 229). Both the size of the group and the way it was embedded in a far-flung terror network linking Nablus, Accre, Gaza, Hebron and Taibeh became major issues of concern for the security establishment. A year later two explosive charges went off within twenty minutes of each other in the Tel-Aviv central bus station. One person was killed, and thirty-four were wounded. A resident of Baqa al-Gharbiyya, a member of Fatah, was subsequently convicted for committing the terrorist action (*Ha'aretz*, January 15, 1971). Mention has already been made to Abdullah Nimr Darwish's involvement in terrorism at the time in reference to the origins of the Islamic Movement in Israel. So, too, Abdulmalik Dehamshe, a former MK representing Darwish's Islamic Association in the UAL, was a former Fatah recruit in the late 1960s. Others joined the PLO in Lebanon, especially its political (rather than military, operative) wing. Examples include

Muhammad Darwish, the Palestinian national liberation movement's poet laureate, and Sabri Jiryis, who became head of its research center.

An indication that Israeli Arab involvement in terrorism was hardly sporadic emerged over reports in December 2009 of the imminent release of the Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, captured by Hamas in June 2006. Releasing terrorists "from inside 1948" (as Hamas and indeed the other Palestinian factions, including Fatah, refer to Israel's Arab citizens) became a prominent issue in effectuating the prisoner exchange deal. An official in the Ministry of Prisoner Affairs in the Abbas-dominated PA released a list of twenty Israeli Arab terrorists who were sentenced to life imprisonment and who had been in Israeli jails before the Oslo accords, with the most veteran of them serving time since 1983 (Farwaneh 2009a). Israeli Arabs comprise just a little less than 7 percent of the 320 "veteran" Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails who have been incarcerated prior to September 1993 (Farwaneh 2009b). Significantly, eleven of the twenty were convicted for terrorist acts committed in the early 1980s before the outbreak of the first intifada in December 1987. It should be noted that fourteen of them (70 percent) were from localities in the Triangle bordering the West Bank, though the population of the Triangle comprise 20 percent of the total Israeli Arab population. Conversely, only two of the twenty were from the Galilee in which half of Israel's Arab citizens reside. In a previous prisoner exchange in 1985 between Israel and Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – Central Command, 39 of 1,200 released terrorists were Israeli Arabs (Mutab'adan 2009).

Just as developments over the Green Line increased the propensity to terrorism in the late 1960s, so once again was the outbreak of the first intifada in December 1987 led to a dramatic increase in the number of cells uncovered, from two in 1987 to fifteen in 1988, increasing to twenty a year later (Rabi and Teitelbaum 1989: 110; Teitelbaum 1993: 212). Regional influence also exhibited itself in yet another way. Unlike terrorists in the past, some of the cells that emerged were Islamist in nature. In February 1992, four Israeli Arab citizens from Umm al-Fahm attacked IDF recruits undergoing basic training in a forested area in the Galilee, brutally murdering three soldiers with pickaxes and pitchforks (Peled 2001: 392; Rekhess 1998: 76). The perpetrators were members of the local Islamic Movement, who were recruited and trained by Islamic Jihad members in Judea and Samaria. In September 1999, six Israeli Arabs (affiliated with the northern radical wing of the Islamic Movement) planted two car-bombs in Haifa and Tiberias, injuring more than ten passers-by (Israeli 1999: 1). They were implicated in the killing of a Jewish couple in the same area soon afterwards (*Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1999). Strategic considerations involving attempts to derail the peace process were probably responsible for the latter two events. They occurred a few days after Israel and the PLO signed the Sharm al-Sheikh accord that extended by one year the five-year interim period in order to enable the PA and Israel to reach a final agreement.

As in the first intifada, low-intensity warfare from 2000 onward meant a resurgence of terrorism. According to Israel's General Security Service, nine cells in which Israeli Arabs participated were uncovered in 2000, twenty-five cells in 2001, peaking at thirty-two cells the following year, which was also the peak year of violence in that decade (Lahoud 2002; Ettinger 2003a). Unlike the previous intifada, the decline since the second intifada's peak has not been sharp – from thirty-two cells in 2002 to twenty-seven in 2003, twenty-four in 2004, seventeen in 2005, increasing once again to twenty-one cells in 2006, a level similar to the peak of terror involvement in the first intifada (*Arba Shnot* 2004: 12–14; *Anti-Israeli Terrorism* 2007: 70–1).

Though Israeli Arab participation in terrorism was certainly higher and far more deadly compared with the first intifada and its aftermath – Israeli Arabs were involved directly or indirectly (by far the larger category) in the death of two hundred Israelis between 2000 and 2008 – the number involved was small compared to the thousands of Palestinians across the Green Line who participated in acts of violence against Israel. Several indicators bear this out: only one of 147 suicide bombers (see following discussion) was an Israeli Arab citizen (*Palestinian Terrorism* 2005: 22); Israeli Arabs (excluding east Jerusalemites) accounted in 2007 for only 3.2 percent of convicted security prisoners in Israel's prisons (although they comprise nearly one-fourth of the total Arab population in Israel and the Territories (Data-Israel Prisons Service 2009). Among these "Israeli" Arabs were many born or raised in the Territories. Forty percent of these terrorists received Israeli citizenship as part of the family reunification program (ibid.).

In most of the attacks, Israel's Arab citizens abetted the terrorists, mainly by providing information and intelligence, rather than engaging in the terrorist act itself. Israeli Arabs provided intelligence or logistical support in the actual or planned violence in thirty-one of forty-four cells between January 2003 and August 2004, the only period for which data are available (*Arba Shnot* 2004: 14–15). Abetting a suicide bomber in a bus bombing in Tel-Aviv in January 2003 in which 23 were killed and 106 wounded was by far the worst incident in which an Israeli Arab was involved (Dudkevitch 2003). Mustafa 'Airuk, 58, from Kafr Yafia near Nazareth, was indicted for driving two suicide bombers from Nablus, Barak Halifa, and Sameri Nuri to Tel-Aviv, where they perpetrated the suicide bombing. He had driven them previously as part of a lucrative (and illegal) business of driving Palestinians lacking valid entry or work permits from the West Bank into Israel. During one of these trips, Nuri allegedly told Airuk that he was planning to perpetrate a terrorist attack. Airuk responded that he was not interested in hearing the details. On the day of the attack, Nuri contacted Airuk to pick him up in Umm al-Fahm in order to drive him to the Tel-Aviv area. When Airuk arrived, he saw that Nuri was accompanied by Halifa, whom Nuri claimed was a relative. The two had stylish haircuts and carried backpacks and shopping bags. Airuk then drove them to work in Tel-Aviv in exchange for NIS

500, a fee much higher than the customary rate. The Israeli prosecution claimed that Airuk overheard their conversation, realized they were planning an attack, and even after he heard the explosion in Tel-Aviv's old central bus station, failed to notify the police. He later told his son that he believed that he had taken the two terrorists to their destination. Neither father nor son (both Israeli citizens) informed the police about their suspicions. Most of the victims of the attack were foreign workers.

Israeli Arab citizens have, as well, perpetrated actual violence. The most serious terrorist incident involving an Israeli Arab citizen occurred on September 9, 2001. A 53-year-old resident of the mixed Muslim-Christian-Druze town of Abu Snan, Shaker Habaishi, killed himself and three victims in a suicide attack at the Nahariyya train station after having successfully avoided week-long extensive police efforts to apprehend him (*Kol Ha'ir*, September 12, 2001: 70). The Israeli authorities had detained him for a short period a year before on the suspicion that he had been recruited by Hizbullah. Consequently, it became clear that Hamas had recruited him through his involvement with the Islamic Movement. Eerily, a Jerusalem weekly had written an extensive write-up on efforts to track him down three days before he exploded himself. Though he conformed to the pattern of recruitment of previous Israeli citizens involved in terror, the same cannot be said about his social profile. He was middle-aged whereas most suicide-bombers are young, a successful merchant who owned two large homes (for each of his wives) and had ran for mayor less than a year before his suicide attack.

In yet another case, three Kafr Kanna men, members of the "Liberators of the Galilee" (a group that claimed execution of previous terrorist attacks) were indicted for the abduction and murder of an Israeli soldier as he stood at a junction on his way home to Upper Nazareth in July 2002 (Dudkevitch 2003) Two of them, Muhammad 'Anabtawi and Muhammad Khatib, lured the soldier into their vehicle, pulled him into the van, and in an orange grove near the town of Kafr Kanna, shot him in the head with the soldier's rifle. It took trackers two weeks to locate his body. Most of the soldier's effects were burned but the trackers found remnants of his glasses, boots, and rifle, providing the police with valuable clues leading to the conviction of 'Anabtawi in 2007. Khatib was killed in a firefight with border police in the Kafr Kanna junction in April 2004 in which the third accomplice, 'Ala' Musa, was injured and arrested (Ashkenazi 2007). A monument commemorating 'Anbatawi, erected by his family in 2005, was subsequently demolished by the authorities (Ashkenasi 2005).

Most of the terrorist activities that involve Israel Arabs were managed by terror organizations from within the Territories (mainly from Judea and Samaria/the West Bank). Thus, eleven of the seventeen cells established in the first eight months of 2004 were directed by terrorists from Judea and Samaria, Hizbullah set up two others and the remaining four (like the Kafr Kanna cell) were organized locally (*Arba Shnot* 2004: 14–15). This pattern evidently continued. A report published three years later noted that most Israeli Arabs

involved in terror did so through cells organized in the West Bank (*Anti-Israeli Terrorism* 2007: 70).

To stymie local terrorism, an effort was made to take measures to cut the flow of funds for terrorist organizations. In May 2003, the authorities decided to arrest thirteen political leaders of the northern Islamic Movement for allegedly channeling funds to the Hamas and the Jihad al-Islami ('Abd al-Jabbar 2004: 161). A previous wave of arrests took place in 1995, in which the authorities after several suicide bombings, decided to close down the "Islamic Charitable Committee" established in 1987 for the purpose of distributing aid to poor families. The General Security Services (GSS) argued that families of suicide bombers were included amongst the 7,000 or so families who received aid. A new organization under the name of the "Humanitarian Relief Committee" met the same fate two years later on the grounds that it received foreign aid. Its activities were renewed after the committee agreed not to receive monies from abroad and make known the families to whom aid was distributed (Ettinger 2003b). In June 2002, it was closed once gain and its head, Dr. Suleiman Aghbariyya (later the mayor of Umm al-Fahm), was arrested. The authorities charged the committee with acting under a slightly different name and channeling, together with other organs affiliated with the movement, more than ten million dollars (principally from foreign sources) between May 2001 and May 2003 to social organizations affiliated with Hamas. Suleiman Aghbariyya rejected the Israeli position on the grounds that no religious institution ought to be compelled to make the distinction between orphans, just as the offspring of Baruch Goldstein, who murdered more than thirty worshippers in a Hebron mosque in 1994, continued to benefit from Israel's National Insurance Institute (similar to Social Security in the United States). The movement claimed that the crackdown was blamed on the global United States-led coalition against Islamic movements. In June 2003, the court found five of the thirteen guilty of a wide range of security-related offenses, many of which were then subsequently dismissed in a successful plea bargain in January 2005 (Dalal 2005: 1).

Though the involvement of Israel's Arab citizens in terrorism has been paltry compared to the levels of terrorism and violence generated by the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, a comparison to levels of participation in terrorism in Western democracies since 9/11 leads to an entirely different picture. Thus, a prominent student of European terrorism counted thirty-one attempted or actual cases of Jihadi-based terrorism across six European states between 2001 and 2006, which represented most of the acts or attempted acts of all forms of terror these states faced during the period. Assuming the existence of a separate cell behind each incident, one can assume that, in Western Europe, a Jihadi cell emerges at the rate of one cell per year; a rate far lower than in the Israel, where nine cells were uncovered in 2000 alone (Bakker 2006: 42). During this period, 242 terrorists were tried and convicted for acts relating to Islamist terrorism in Western Europe, compared to 232 Israeli Arabs involved in terrorism in a considerably shorter period (between September 2000 and

the end of 2004). Proportionally, Israeli Arab involvement in terrorism was at least twenty times higher than in Western Europe over a much smaller land mass (Bakker 2006: 44; *Meuravut Aravim Israeliim baTerror* 2005) The same can be said regarding fatalities. The two incidents of terrorism perpetuated physically by Israeli Arab citizens resulting in four fatalities between 2000 and 2006 (described earlier) was proportionately much higher than that generated by all forms of terrorism in France (fifteen fatalities but five times the population) Germany (one fatality), Italy (three fatalities), and the Netherlands (two fatalities). In fact, in only two European states (Spain and Great Britain) did fatalities bred by local terrorism exceed those generated *directly* by Israeli Arab terrorism. Both were the result of two specific events, the Madrid bombings in 2004 and the London bombings a year later, which in retrospect, at least in terms of the cost of human lives, proved to be isolated nonrecurrent events (http://www.nationmaster.com/country/).

Conclusion

Israel's Arab citizens have increasingly resorted to extraparliamentary political activity and, on a much smaller scale, to terrorism. The trend, however, has not been linear. Though contestation and the implicit violence generated by general strikes, memorial days, and rallies increased quantitatively and qualitatively in the 1990s, it decreased in the following decade. By contrast, the cycle of involvement in terrorism (though hardly its intensity), closely mirrored patterns of violence in the Territories. A third form of violence, which occurred during the first days of the al-Aqsa intifada, including lynching attempts against Jewish citizens for the first time since the establishment of the state, mirrored events in the Territories at the beginning, but significantly deviated at the wave's end from patterns in the Territories where massive violence continued for months and years afterward.

Different forms of protest therefore might be influenced by different factors. Instrumental concerns might be responsible for the upsurge and subsequent decline in contestation. Patterns of more extreme forms of violence, however, seem to have been affected heavily by external events, principally in the Territories. Israeli citizen violence at the beginning of the al-Aqsa intifada suggest that affective feelings of religious solidarity with al-Aqsa were responsible for the outbreak of violence – the secular newspaper, *Kull al-Arab* reported that the major chant in the streets was *Khaibar, Khaibar, ya Yahud, jaish Muhammad say'ud* (Khaibar, oh Jews, the army of Muhammad will return), referring to Muhammad's defeat of a Jewish tribe before his triumphant return to Mecca – while its early cessation might have to do with the realization of the costs of an informal Jewish boycott on Arab goods and services (*Kull al-'Arab*, October 3, 2000).

Just as rational and instrumental considerations explain much of the ebb and flow of protest, they similarly explain the substantial differences in patterns of violence between Israel's Arab citizens compared to Palestinians. The

slight variation in affectation levels between the Palestinian Israeli citizen and his noncitizen counterparts in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza regarding their joint Palestinian identity cannot possibly explain the vast differences in the forms of protest in which these two populations are involved. Israel's Palestinian citizens rioted for ten days while the low-intensity war beyond the Green Line continued for at least four and a half years; a Palestinian population three times larger than the Israeli Palestinian population produced over a hundred and fifty suicide bombers (successful and unsuccessful) compared to one suicide bomber among Israel's Arab citizens. The factors that affect behavior then must be found in a differential calculus of costs and benefits in the two groups. Palestinians in the Territories had diminishing access to Israel's labor market and received none of the instrumental and "spiritual" benefits (such as freedom) Israeli citizenship brings with it.

Nevertheless, involvement of Israeli Arabs in terrorism remains high when compared to Western standards, which may explain why Israel's Jewish community feels threatened by Israel's Arab citizens living in its midst. A survey conducted in 2004, long after Israeli Arab involvement in violence ebbed, found that the overwhelming majority of Israeli Jews believed that Arabs might assist enemies of the state (78 percent), launch a popular revolt (72 percent), and fear Israel's Arab citizens for their support of the Palestinian people (84 percent) and that Israeli Arabs would be more loyal to a Palestinian state than to Israel were such a state to emerge (66 percent) (Smooha 2004). These threat perceptions induced moves against extraparliamentary groups that paralleled legislative moves to reign in the Arab parties. Periods of confrontation with Palestinians in Judea and Samaria, and Gaza not only elicit more extreme tendencies within the Arab sector, which in turn aggravates Israel's geo-strategic predicament and the state's relationship to its Arab minority, but external factors also polarize the relationship between the two communities within Israel itself.

6

Israeli Arab Identity – Commemorating the Nakba

Ted Gurr included the Arab citizens of Israel in his seminal book, *Minorities at Risk* (Gurr 1993). In the minds of many Jewish Israelis, however, they are a majority that feels its own existence is at risk. This predicament where the majority within a state is a minority regionally exists elsewhere (in northern Ireland, for example). As was discussed previously, the relationship between Israel's bi-national reality and security/insecurity (often overlooked in today's fashionable postmodern discourse on identity), which treats ethnic problems as a normative issue confined to the domestic arena, has generated one of the most intense and protracted debates in Israeli Jewish academic circles regarding the one-million-strong Arab minority in its midst.[1] It posed the question whether Israeli Arabs were politicizing – improving their lot through participation in Israeli politics to ensure greater equality in the allocation of resources but otherwise accepting what Amos Oz described as the "iron-wall" of the Jewish state, or radicalizing – developing opposition towards the state by linking up with outside forces of Palestinian nationalism and thus posing a potentially secessionist threat

The question this chapter poses is whether this greater participation in Israeli society and politics at the expense of direct involvement in the liberation and state-building Palestinian national enterprises, has moved upstream from political behavior to identity issues. Israel's celebration of its fiftieth year in 1998 and the commemoration of the Nakba it engendered, presented an opportunity to compare the way Arabs in Israel commemorated and narrated the Nakba, with the way they it is commemorated in the PA across the Green Line.

One would assume in light of the opposition among Israel's Arab citizens to border changes that would place at least some of them under Palestinian rule without leaving where they lived that the Israeli Arab narrative would portray the Nakba as an event related to the past; that its tone and style would be

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[1] Two leading articles on the Palestinization radicalization thesis are Ben-Dor (1980) and Yiftachel (1992). On politicization, see Smooha (1989: Chapter 1; 1990).

softer in the portrayal of the other than found in the Palestinian press over the Green Line; that the "official" distinction between the Palestinians over the Green Line and Arab citizens would be maintained by using different terms for each of them; that the demand for return would be limited to the *muhajjarun* (internal refugees) rather than to refugees from outside; and that Israeli Arabs would develop (more than their counterparts in the PA) the theme of "tragedy to state rebirth" rather than link the Nakba commemoration to individual return (*'awda*) and to the demand for a state for all its citizens. Were this not the case, it would suggest that the emerging partition between Israel and Palestine might not be the last in the historical transition from the multiethnic Ottoman Empire to a system of sovereign territorial states, or at the very least not the end of the struggle to change borders or the identity of such states after formal partition between Israel and the PLO/PA.

Organizational Aspects of the Nakba Commemoration of 1998

The way the Nakba (the calamity) was commemorated over the Green Line on its fiftieth anniversary seemed to reflect that the Green Line (and later the security fence on or close to it) demarcated Palestinians as much as it demarcated the boundaries of Israeli citizenship. The Higher Committee of the Nakba and Steadfastness (*al-Lajna al-'Ulya lil Nakba wal-Sumud*) was composed entirely of the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel and was an offshoot of the High Follow-up Committee. To recall, the latter was set up after the intifada by the Arab members of Israel's parliament and the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel and is considered at least unofficially the highest body amongst Israel's Palestinian Arab citizens. In the territories, by contrast, the Higher Popular Committee for the Commemoration of the Nakba (*al-Hai'a al-Sha'biyya al-'Ulya li-Ihya' Dhakirat al-Nakba*) headed the mobilization process. Each of the sides even announced a different day of commemoration; in the Territories the major commemoration events were to take place on May 14; in Israel, they were to take place on May 15. This was without doubt deliberately intended (*Al-Ayyam*, May 13, 1998).

   The territorial demarcation was also reflected in the communiques and advertisements that appeared urging people to attend. The official communique of the Israeli committee was addressed "to the Arab masses" (*lil-Jamahir al-'Arabiyya*), an expression that, if found in political discourse in the West Bank and Gaza, is used only by the left-wing or pan-Arab factions such as the Popular Front for the Liberation or the Arab Liberation Front but never by either the Fath movement or by the Palestinian Authority (*Al-Sennara*, April 4, 1998). The announcements by the Popular Committee in the Territories, which appeared consistently for over a week in all of the dailies calling on inhabitants to participate in "the march of the million" (*masirat al-malyun*) was addressed "to all the provinces," a specifically territorial-administrative demarcation that refers to administrative units that apply to the PA only. The areas designated as "provinces" were perceived

as making up the future state of Palestine (*Al-Ayyam*, August 13, 1998). It never refers to Arabs living in Israel.

How the two publics within Israel and the PA were mobilized around the Nakba commemoration also reflected the durability of the Green Line long before the security fence began being built in 2002. In Israel, they were poorly attended and peaceful in nature. In the territories, participation did not live up to expectations but were very violent; the Palestinian press reported eight killed and more than 400 wounded during "the march of the million" (*Al-Ayyam*, May 15, 1998).

The same can be said regarding the content matter that forms the basis for this comparison. None of the newspapers (*Al-Ayyam* and *Al-Quds*, representing the press in the territories, and *Al-Sennara*, *Al-Ittihad*, and *Kull al-Arab* which are published within Israel), used each other's material. This might be self-evident between the latter three since they are in competition, but it is not self-evident in the case of *al-Ayyam*. Even more significantly, even though the Israeli Palestinian newspapers published recollections or material on refugees related to the territories as well, there was no Nakba-related material in *Al-Ayyam* and *Al-Quds*, which mentioned how the Nakba affected Palestinians living within the Green Line. This was particularly salient regarding the *muhajjarun* – the internal refugees residing in Arab villages and mixed Jewish-Arab towns that were prevented since 1948 from returning to their original villages and lands – who were not mentioned in the two newspapers that catered to a readership in the West Bank and Gaza. The council, which defends their interests, estimates their numbers at around 200,000 persons or one-fifth of Israel's Arab citizens (Liqa' Ma'a Wakim Wakim 1998).

Analyzing the Nakba Narratives

What then is reflected by the content behind the commemoration regarding politicization or radicalization? I am concerned in this chapter with analyzing the distinctiveness of the Israeli Palestinian narrative with respect to their Palestinian counterparts and how this relates to future relations with the Jewish majority within Israel (rather than the way commemoration facilitates their development of Palestinian identity per se). The articles, speeches, and personal recollections on the Nakba were analyzed along five dimensions: (1) The temporal orientation of the narrative: Is the Nakba portrayed as being in the past or the present continuous; (2) The references to identity that appear in the narrative: The possibilities are varied: (refugees, which include *lajiyun*, referring to refugees living outside borders of former Mandate Palestine, and *muhajjarun*; individuals, such as *ahl* (folk), *sha'b* (people), *umma* (nation), and the appropriate adjectives such as Palestinian people, the Arab or Islamic nation), and it quickly became evident that all the newspapers are secular in their discourse on identity; (3) How they view the "other" or the enemy: Tone and style in the portrayal of facts are obviously worthy of consideration in this regard; (4) The objective of the narrative of commemoration: The

objective may be collective return (*'awda*), individual return, collective compensation, individual compensation, any other kind of compensation, creation of the state, self-determination, a state for all its citizens, or any combinations of these objectives; And finally (5) The overall themes in the recounting or portrayal of the narrative, especially in the discourse of the officials. Such themes could be righting an injustice – from national tragedy of a people to resurrection as a nation-state, triumph over the enemy, or any combination of these themes.

The politicization thesis regarding the collective identity of Israel's Arab citizens would be corroborated were the Nakba portrayed as an event related to the past; that the tone and style would be softer in the portrayal of the other than found in the Palestinian press over the Green Line; that the "official" distinction between the Palestinians over the Green Line and Arab Israeli citizens would be maintained along lines such as the Arab masses; that return would be limited to the *muhajjarun* rather than refugees from outside; and, most importantly, that the Israeli Arabs would develop more than their counterparts in the PA theme of "tragedy to state rebirth" rather than the commemoration of individual return (*'awda*). The theme of personal return and the demand for a state for all its citizens that would be more radical to Israeli Jewish ears than the expropriation of the al-Nakba commemoration for the purposes of Palestinian state building in the West Bank and Gaza.

A Benchmark for a Comparison

To compare the two narratives, I have chosen as a benchmark an article on the Nakba by Ahmad Qurai (Abu 'Ala') entitled "Lessons of the Fiftieth [Commemoration] … The Possibilities and the Future," which appeared in *Al-Ayyam*, the Palestinian daily published in Ramallah (Qurai 1998). The piece was chosen mainly because Qurai was by far the most senior personality in the PLO/PA to have written in commemoration of the event in the local Palestinian press covered for the purposes of this analysis. He was at the time a member of the PLO Executive Committee, speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and formerly Oslo track negotiator.

His article began on a caustic note:

> Fifty years to the existence of the state of Israel on Palestinian land, fifty years since the formation of one of the gravest political issues in the twentieth century, the problem of the Palestinian people against whom was committed one of the most massive acts of terrifying mass expulsion in modern times. And fifty years have gone by since the announcement of international declaration of human rights which contains an article that emphasizes the right of the individual (*al-insan*) to leave and return to his land whenever he wants!

> What makes for so terrible a contrast is that the publication of this humane declaration came at the same time as the horrifying massacres were perpetrated by the Zionist terrorist gangs across the length and breadth of Palestinian land, that huge transfer operations were enacted against the

> Palestinian people, and the complete devastation of its towns and villages
> and its economic and social infrastructure took place. (ibid.)

Through juxtaposition of a lofty act and a terrible political process, Qurai
weaves two themes together; the destruction of the Palestinian people as a
nation and the right of individual return even after the PLO/PA has achieved
some form of entity on the basis of partition.

Between the Loss of Andalus Spain and Palestine

The Palestinian Nakba is not, according to Qurai confined to the Palestinians
alone but an historical event of major importance to the Arab nation. It reflects
the decline and subsequent contraction of Arab conquest and political glory
since the Arabs golden age –its partial conquest of Western Europe and the
establishment of Arab kingdoms in Spain. He writes:

> fifty years and the bitter memory calls for comfort … or for weeping even
> though our history reminds us of the tears of small Abu Abdullah whose
> tears neither profited him or Arab history one iota when he delivered the key
> of Andalus [Muslim Spain] to Ferdinand and Isabella, at the time his raped
> mother shouted out a stanza from a poem whose echo is repeatedly heard
> throughout the nights of Arab defeat since that historical event.

This anachronism, portraying Muslim rule as Arab and then connecting it to
the loss of Palestine, echoes a major theme of early pan-Arab scholarly and
political literature on the Nakba written in the first decade after the event.
By stressing this point, Qurai might be expressing the ideas of his generation
which grew up when Arabism was at its zenith. The broader historical impli-
cations of the Palestinian disaster were hardly expressed by others recollecting
the Nakba. What he did hold in common with other commentators, particu-
larly Israeli Palestinians writing in *al-Ittihad*, was the Marxist-inspired notion
(albeit reflected in Toynbee's writings as well) that Zionism was an "historical
deviation" a perception he notes twice in the course of the article including in
the final paragraph.

   The article then moves on to explain the major elements of the Nakba nar-
rative. One of them is the expulsion. He is convinced that the principle reason
is due "most of all to the atrocities committed by the [Zionist] gangs … in cold
blood, indeed it extended to inventing forms [of torture] unknown in the his-
tory of the most bestial of invaders since the beginning of history … including
the raping of some school girls whom the terrorists slaughtered afterwards."
Charging the Israelis with rape is uncommon in the literature on the Nakba.

Israel Created on the Ruins of the Palestinian People

A major related theme in the recollection of the Nakba is the idea that Israel
was created on the ruins of Arab Palestinian society as the opening of Qurai's
article pithily describes. The author makes the point forcefully with a play of

words when he describes the transformation from Mandate Palestine to the creation of Israel as a "*mashru' ihtilali-ikhlali*" [a project of occupation and eviction], which he claims the British abetted. The process proceeded along three axes: (1) "the continuation of Jewish immigration ... out of a desire to overcome the vast discrepancy in the demographic balance which continued to lean overwhelmingly in favor of the rightful owners of the land, the Arab Palestinian people, right up to May 1948"; (2) the continuation of the building of settlements to absorb them; and (3) "The strengthening of the military capabilities of the terrorist Zionist organizations like the Haganah, Etzel, and Lehi, the development of their offensive effectiveness with the initiation of terrorist campaigns against civilian Palestinian locations. [These] led to the creation of confusion amongst a semi-isolated Palestinian people who had lost faith in the Mandate authorities which controlled their villages and towns" (ibid.). Meanwhile outside Palestine, Jewish capitalism was being put to effective use in spreading the Zionist cause.

Falsification of History

Having banished the Palestinian people from their land, the Zionists proceeded "to lead world consciousness astray by arguing that they were colonizing a land without a people ready to receive a people without land" [*suwirat Filastin ka-ard bila sha'b muhaya'atan li-istiqbal sha'b bila ard*].

The Zionists not only fabricated history but also the religion upon which their claim to the land was based by "the revival of mythological sources and their reinterpretation in a manner consistent with Zionist aspirations and desires for Palestine land as was exemplified in the circulation of the false claim concerning the return of the Jew to the land promised to them after 2000 years, linking the contrived heavenly promise with the claim of an historical right of the Jews to Palestine, when in fact it is the land of banishment for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Israel) as it is so often repeated clearly in the Torah." For Qurai obviously Ur Kasdim in present-day Iraq is home to the Jewish people while Kna`an (Palestine) the land promised by the Almighty according to most if not all canonical Jewish sources, is exile.

Qurai is convinced that "the falsification of facts and the omission of embarrassing historical events is a temporary process in the best of times" and credits the new historians among Israel's academics for exposing the premeditated expulsion of the Palestinian people even within Zionist circles.

From Tragedy to Resurrection

For Qurai, recollecting and studying the Nakba is not only an academic exercise related to the past (as important as that exercise may be) but also a means for building a more secure future for the Palestinian people as the concluding paragraph of the article makes clear: "If the dreams of the other side, which defy the course of history had been realized after 50 years after its feverish

take off, the dreams of our Palestinian people continues to draw its strength and legitimacy from its basic right to its land and country, its legitimate right of return, self-determination, the establishment of its independent state on its national soil … and its human right to life."

Past and Present in the Nakba Commemoration

Having established Qurai's article as a bench mark one is now ready to analyze the Israeli Palestinian response to the Nakba. If for Qurai, the Nakba is an event rooted in the past, the stress in the Israel Palestinian newspapers is the present implications of the Nakba. The *Al-Sennara* weekly supplement of May 15, 1998, devoted to the recollection of the Nakba made this clear with its opening article entitled "Another episode in 'the Nakba series – Threatened with Uprootment'." The author of the article interviews members of nine families who lost land in Lifta, Romema (villages in close vicinity to Jerusalem), and Sarafand in 1948 and who eventually after many tribulations arrived at French Hill, Jerusalem near the Mount Scopus campus of Hebrew University. Their land, according to the reporter, has been expropriated to build dorms for the Hebrew University, and the nine families were then faced with eviction.

The article began with the following statement in bold and enlarged letters. "This is a quick abridged reflection of the unnatural predicament in the life of our Palestinian people which nine Palestinian families faced and all they had to bear in terms of deceit, subjugation, injustice and oppression. The slogan remains steadfastness and defiance. Who are the members of these families? Where do they live? What do they think? Where will they emigrate? What is the 'sin' which they committed? We will try clarifying their humanitarian and legal predicament in the following report – another episode in the Nakba series" (ibid.).

It is clear to the reader that the Nakba is not an event that occurred fifty years ago but an ongoing process in which the Israelis who evicted Palestinians in the past are continuing to do so in the present.

There is however hope and salvation for the ramifications of the Nakba are also related to "the return" in the future. This theme is evoked in the second item in the same supplement, a translation of a speech in English by Hisham Sharabi, entitled "The Palestinians Fifty Years Later" delivered on March 25, 1998, (*Mulhaq al-'Awda* 1998) in Georgetown University (where Sharabi taught and headed a research institute on studies of the Arab world). After taking note that his grandfather and others like him kept their keys in their pocket wishing to go home but never seeing Palestine for the second time, he stated:

> Their grandchildren today are pining for the day they will be returning to their homeland. You hear them say, if the Jews could wait two thousand years to demand a country they had never seen, then all the more so the Palestinians are willing to wait five or twenty years more but inevitably they will return. But they will not return like thieves in the night because they are

the rightful owners of the land, a land they know and love and from which they will never emigrate. (ibid.)

For Sharabi, the Nakba is an event in the past, a state of existence in the present – the fathers he implies will die holding the keys – but the children will bring salvation in the future by returning to Palestine.

The Nature of the Other

In the narratives in the press on both sides of the Green Line, the reference to Jewish Israelis and Zionism are on the whole extremely negative. Clearly for Palestinians, Jewish Israelis as Zionists are portrayed as their enemy. Ironically, perhaps the most virulent is an article written by a Palestinian Israeli relating the Nakba to the Holocaust which appeared in *Al-Ittihad*, the organ of the Israel Communist Party. The latter is formally a Jewish-Arab party represented by a Jewish member of Knesset despite the paucity of Jewish voters and the former, its official house-organ. The article's author went unnamed, the only article of over sixty items covered in the research without an author – no doubt because of the sensitivity of the subject, its vitriolic nature, and the fear of retribution (Awraq 1998). Entitled "Personal Papers on the Nakba and the Holocaust," he writes:

> The only statement embedded in Israeli consciousness is that the Holocaust should not be repeated … but is there no other lesson to be drawn in light of the situation in which we live in this country? This brings to mind the end of the film "Shindler's List": the Jew now is able to give clemency to the good German (written in Hebrew – hagermani hatov) so that he can show up in the promised land to settle his accounts with roaches and scorpions … to come four years after the Second World War to engage in murder and disembowelment (baqr al-batn al-habali) in Dir Yassin and to destroy the roach heaps in (417) villages [brackets in the original referring to Arab localities Palestinians claim were effaced in the wake of the 1948 war]; to wait for the workers coming back to their wives' embrace, who bore food for their children in order to butcher them [the writer is referring to the massacre at Kafr Kasm in 1956], to witness from afar on beautiful Lebanese hill tops the massacre of Sabra and Shatila [The massacre of Palestinians in refugee camps outside Beirut presumably in collusion with the Israeli forces that were occupying Beirut at the time]. (ibid.)

He goes on to write:

> The main lesson as I see it is the following: We are not at the point of comparing the Nakba with the Holocaust and we are not in competition with the Jewish people – a competition which consists in comparing tragedies or counting the numbers of the victims. Our conscience compels up to refuse this competition and it is incumbent upon the Jew to recognize the tragedy of the Palestinian people in order to preserve his humanity. (ibid.)

The author writes that in his many years in East Germany, he visited concentration camps several times. He demonstrates his "Israeliness" not only

by employing the Hebrew word "shoa," which he transliterated into Arab, but used the term "Karitha" for the Holocaust as used by the official Israeli media. The term "mahraqa" is much more common in the Palestinian and Arab press across the Green Line and in Arab states.

A more intensely narrated account of a procession of return held in April in the Galilee evokes the same emotions regarding the other (*Al-Sennara*, April 3, 1998). The caption in *Al-Sennara* reads as follows: "480 destroyed villages and only 400 protesters in the al-Awda March From Shaykh al-Danun to Ghabisiyya. They were expelled in 1952, several hundred of 200,000 forced emigrants in their own land. The goal was to have one flag bearer for every one of the 480 villages which disappeared but there were not enough participants. The procession was led by a car-full of children waving Palestinian flags."

The procession's walk ends in the midst of grove of eucalyptuses which, according to the reporter of the event, were planted densely in order to wipe out the traces of the 1948 landslide:

> Fig, olive and Indian-fig trees soar towards the sky as if to say: we are here. If only the olive trees were mortal they would hear the tale of their produce turned into olive oil at the end of season borne by farmers who picked them joyfully year after year … These national trees quickly drew the attention of the people of Ghabisiyya whose expressions bespoke the whole story, the story of the person uprooted from his home whose land was stolen, who lost some of his relatives only to come back to his destroyed village as a visitor. All he can do is pick the za'tar and fennel (shamar) and eat them, and satiate his longing for the playing grounds of his childhood and youth. And if he is religious then he is forbidden from praying in the mosque because the Israel Land Authority surrounded it with the barbed wire of hatred and hysteria…
>
> Then a youth from Ghabisiyya jumped over the fence of the mosque and raised a black flag along side a Palestinian one on the top of dome which aroused the anger of the police who were amassed in the place in great numbers. They tried to arrest him for entering a place closed to visitors … This aroused the memos of pain and misfortune in the minds of the participants but it especially affected al-Hajj Salih Daoud Zeine who broke out in a state of emotional excitation. The scene led him to recall his youth fifty years before hand when his late father Daud Zeine raised the white flag only to be shot dead by members of the some of the Jewish gangs. Hajj Salih Zeine cast his eyes on the two raised flags of the forlorn mosque … saying no more than "that the objective was to gain control of the land without its residents." (ibid.)

The article ends by reprimanding the heads of local councils for not coming. The reporter asked rhetorically whether the reason for their absence "could be attributed to their fear of Swisa [Eli Swisa, the Israeli Minister of Interior at the time] and his boys for punishing them by denying them the fistful of shekel?" (ibid.). The event ended when Abdulmalik Dehamshe, the member of Knesset representing the Islamic Association in the United Arab List, led the midday prayers alongside the mosque.

Common Terms of Collective Identity

The fiftieth Nakba commemorated primarily the collective Palestinian people on both sides of the Green Line. If the term "refugees" frequently appears in both the Israel Palestinian press and the press in the West Bank and the term "*muhajjarun*" appears specifically in the Israeli Palestinian press, they were used almost exclusively in reference to the Palestinian or Arab Palestinian people. The article most sensitive to Jewish perceptions is a good indication of the salience of this national identity. In his article "Catastrophe and Independence" (Al-Nakba wal-Istiqlal), Faraj Salman wrote:

> Israel has become a fact despite all the obstacles it came up against and despite being surrounded by dangers … Israel, whether we like it or not, has become a state like all other states … but no power in the world … **can deny the Arab Palestinian people** within the green line or beyond the line from expressing its feeling of despondency of reviving the memory of the loss of this land in favor of the Jews, for Israel arose out of the ashes of a people exiled from their land …
>
> **Both peoples**, provided that reason and rationalism prevail, can live side by side … this one to celebrate the independence of his people and the other [to commemorate] the disaster and just as the Jews can not demand morally that Arabs dance in Israel's independence day so can not the Arab demand morally that a Jew place ashes on his head in bereavement and tear his hair out [literally pluck hairs off his beard] in memory of the Nakba … this one will laugh while the other one will cry. (Salman 1998)

The same terms were found in the official communique released by (the Israeli Arab) Committee of the Nakba Catastrophe and Steadfastness, even though they distinguished their audience from their counterpart public in the Palestinian Authority by addressing them as "the Arab masses":

> The fiftieth day of commemoration of the Catastrophe will fall on the fifteenth of May – this catastrophe which tore apart **the Palestinian people**, forced it to flee, and which brought about a turning point in the history of the region as a whole. It imposed a tragic situation in which **the Palestinian people** were deprived of all rights to its land, and which prevented it from self determination and a free and honorable life like the rest of the people of the world. At this moment of commemoration we do not only want to commemorate the pain and dispersion of our people, the fall of thousands of its people in defense of the homeland, and the destruction of 420 villages, but also to emphasize that this Nakba in all its ramifications continues to cast its yoke on **the life of the Palestinian people** wherever they reside.

The Objectives of Nakba Commemoration

The Israeli Arab political elite defined the major objective in commemorating the Nakba differently from the Palestinian political elite in the PA. Whereas the former emphasized personal return, leaders and commentators in the PA saw commemoration as an impetus to creating the Palestinian state.

Arafat's address to the "march of the million" on May 14, 1998, connected return and the creation of the state even more explicitly (*Al-Ayyam*, May 15, 1998). In his thousand-word speech Arafat mentions the Nakba only twice, the first time to acknowledge the suffering and the second time to demonstrate the need and the remedy of forgetting it:

> We do not ask for the moon, we ask only to turn over the page on the Nakba forever, that the emigrant return to his homeland, and that we build our Palestinian state on our land.

For Arafat, the return is to the homeland rather than to the particular birthplace of the refugee and the final objective is to build the state. He transforms personal tragedy into the basis for state building.

This theme is reiterated when he said:

> Here in the homeland, despite the varying conditions and changes in the situation, we announce to all that the homeland is more than rocks, more than trees, more than the open sky and more than the sea … it is sovereignty and freedom, and admission into the international community.

Arafat by echoing many of the themes found in the traditional personal Nakba narratives often referred as the literature of "longing" (*adab al-hanin or al-ishtiyak*) for "the lost paradise" (*firdaus al-mafqud*) belittles it in favor of the political facts of statehood (Rubinstein, 1990). Arafat by contrast emphasized the quest of collective resurrection in the form of state building rather than the personal tragedy of being a refugee.

Qurai, Arafat's close confidante, wrote much in the same vein:

> If the dreams of the other side, which defy the course of history had been realized after 50 years after its feverish take off, the dreams of our Palestinian people continues to draw its strength and legitimacy from its basic right to its land and country and its legitimate right of return, self-determination, the establishment of its independent state on its national soil … and its human right to life. (Qurai 1998)

Note that "its human life" is in the singular, obviously denoting the people and the state. Such an emphasis on state building at the expense of personal return is markedly absent in the way the Israeli Palestinian press portrayed it. In the proclamation publicized by the Israeli Arab Higher Committee of the Nakba, Steadfastness was equated with the right of personal return compared to Palestinian peoplehood:

> Only the realization of a full and comprehensive peace on the basis of self-determination for the Palestinian people, the establishment of the independent state with its capital of Arab Jerusalem, the execution of a policy of complete equality towards the Arab Palestinian people in Israel, and the guarantee of the right of return to local exile to muhajjarun and refugees (lajiyyun), will be able to put an end to the continuation of the Nakba and the pain and dispersion of the Palestinian people. (*Al-Ittihad*, May 3, 1998)

However, the commentary by other Israeli Palestinians was more radical. 'Umar Ghazzawi from Iblin wrote in *al-Ittihad*:

> We are, as mentioned before, part of this state striving at the same time to abolish the law regarding the exclusivity of its Jewishness. Let it be a state for all its citizens through the proclamation of the constitution. If Israel were sincere in dealing with us on this basis, had it recognized the rights of our Palestinian people and ratified such a constitution and abolished the Jewishness of this state, we would have participated in its 50th year of independence…the absence of equality of our Arab masses and the lack of peace with our people, all of this forces us to recall the Nakba and to emphasize that Israel is a Jewish state only which will never make us dance happily in the independence [celebrations] of the Jews. (Ghazzawi 1998)

For Ghazzawi, only a state for all its citizens, the liberal constitutional state that is oblivious to the ethno-national origins of its citizenry can efface the bitterness of the Nakba.

Survey data conducted in 1994 among a random sample of Israel's Arab citizens confirm the representativeness of these personal reflections and desires that appeared in print. Though these were optimistic times – the Oslo process had began yielding political dividends for the Palestinians in the territories with the establishment of the PLO – nevertheless, only 17.2 percent agreed with the response that Israel "was a state of the Jewish people and its Palestinian citizens" – a category that comes closest to expressing both the letter and spirit of the basic law as the predominant Jewish community understands it (Ghanem and Ozacky-Lazar 2003: 283). Two-thirds chose "the Israel as 'the state of its Palestinian citizens and the Jews'" as their preferred option. The latter finding clearly indicated that most Arab citizens want to reverse the existing situation as the dominant Jewish community perceives the state, or even worse, to deny Jews citizenship altogether. In answer to this question, 13.5 percent opted for "the state of its Palestinian citizens in Israel and of the Jews and the Palestinian people wherever they are."

Conclusion

Despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the international system remains based on territorial states. On the normative level, sovereignty prevails over self-determination. Inductively, one can therefore assume that neither irredentism or secession, which succeeded rarely since 1945, will succeed in the Palestinian case. Jordan and (definitely) Israel will be powerful enough to fend off such aspirations. But if ethno-nationalism is not strong enough to unravel states, it is certainly powerful enough to problematize the state as the breakdown of consociationalism demonstrates. Nor have we many examples in history of liberal democratic states based on ethnic groups (a powerful exception is modern Germany).

The relationship between the state and its Arab minority should therefore be problematic. That the Arabs in Israel have politicized rather than radicalized is therefore to a degree surprising. By exploring deeper levels of identity, such as the narrative of the Nakba as it was presented in the newspapers on both sides of the Green Line, I have attempted to address the stability of this trend. The basic story as an event or series of events from the past is very much the same both stylistically and substantively. So are the basic terms of reference. The most important collective term is "the Palestinian people." The narrative on both sides of the Green Line portrays a suffering Palestinian people in addition of course to telling the story of suffering individuals. There is however a small but crucial difference regarding the objectives of telling the story. In the Israeli Palestinian case, the Nakba-'awda narrative has been "civilized" – the objective of telling the story is to realize personal return, to transform Israel into a state for all its citizens, in addition to demanding the establishment of the Palestinian state across the Green Line. Judging both from survey data and from the Arab press, a clear majority of Israel's Arab citizens would seem to prefer that the state accord primacy to the Palestinians over fellow Israeli citizens. In the case of the Palestinian press across the Green Line, the narrative is more closely linked to the creation of the state. Although Israeli Palestinians began to emphasize changing the nature of the state in their discourse on the Nakba, Palestinian officials are beginning to use the Nakba for state-building purposes. The emphasis is not on personal return but on collective resurrection through state-building. The theme echoes the theme of holocaust to resurrection through state building in Israeli and Zionist ideology developed in the first decades in Israel.

Ironically, it is the more "civil" version that might be problematic in the future relations between the Palestinians in Israel and the Jewish majority. For Palestinians in Israel commemorating the Nakba, the emerging partition might not after all be the final partition from multinational empire to an area consisting of territorial states. To what extent the wider forms of identity of belonging to the Arab and Muslim nations within which the Palestinian identity is embedded and their impact on Israeli security issues are explored in the next chapter.

7

The PLO, the PA, and Israel's Arab Citizens

Ever since Nazi Germany's infamous claim to the Sudetenland and the subsequent occupation of Czechoslovakia, the fear that a state with an ethnic majority will adopt an aggressive foreign policy against any bordering state containing a minority of the same ethnic group haunts the world despite its relatively rare occurrence in post–World War II politics (Horowitz 1985: 229). The fear that the minority will reciprocate either by demands for secession as a first step toward integrating with the "motherland" or with establishing a state of its own is even more pervasive. We define political entities who try expanding their control to include an ethnic minority across borders as "irredentist" states. Alternatively, when a minority seeks either to join a motherland or more frequently to establish a political entity of its own, the minority in question is referred as separatist or secessionist. Of course, these phenomena need not be mutually exclusive – the goals of the irredentist state and the separatist movement might indeed coincide. A whole array of conflicts exhibited both characteristics: the breakup of the multiethnic Soviet and Yugoslavian states in the 1990s, Serbia and the Serbians in Bosnia and Croatia, Croatia and the Croatians in Bosnia, Albanian involvement in Kosovo, Russia in its relationship to the Russians in the region of Dniester in Moldova (Gagnon 1994–1995; Lynch 1998–1999).

In few ethnic conflicts in the world today is the fear on both sides as intense as in Israel and Palestine. The PLO was unique in the annals of national movements that not only sought liberation of its "homeland" but the destruction of an existing state. It was founded on the premise that the territories Israel occupied in 1967 were only part of the struggle. The PLO's founding document, the Covenant of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (especially its second version revised in 1968) called for the liberation of the whole of Palestine. The emblem of Fatah (the major political and terrorist faction in the PLO since 1968) denotes the whole of Palestine with a circle surrounding it. The circle has been interpreted to denote a focus on the Palestinian issue in exclusion of other issues of Arab national liberation. More recently, textbooks revised and issued by the Palestinian Authority have included maps of the whole of

Palestine, reference to Arab localities within pre-1967 Israel, and of course, there is the issue of the right of return, which blurs the partition envisaged by the Oslo peace process. It was not surprising that analysts debated whether the PA in its relationship to its Arab citizens would exhibit irredentist behavior and in the event that the PA adopted such a policy, that it would be reciprocated by Israel's Arab elites and regular citizens. Fears of irredenta have hardly abated with the emergence and ascendance of Hamas, its electoral victory in legislative council elections in January 2006, and its subsequent takeover of Gaza after defeating the forces supporting Mahmud Abbas, the elected President and successor to Arafat.

The following chapter analyzes the relationship of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli Arabs from 1967, through the Madrid peace process, to the Declaration of Principles on September 13, 1993, in Washington, and later that of the PA toward Israel's Arab citizens. If the PLO had been truly irredentist in terms of actions rather than in mere rhetoric, it would have penetrated into their affairs. This is based on the assumption that the PLO has been the "charismatic center" of the Palestinian people and therefore the magnet toward which centrifugal forces in the Arab sector would be drawn. Moreover, this penetration would aim at mobilizing Israeli Arabs against the state and thus would take on a radical character. By contrast, a lack of PLO influence, or, alternatively, the mobilization of Israeli Palestinians for non-radical goals, such as the institutionalization of a lobbying role for Israeli Palestinians, would assuage fears.

Four dimensions are explored in this chapter: (1) the role of Israeli Arabs in Palestinian nationalism as the PLO perceived it and the local response, (2) the relationship between the PLO and the building of local political institutions within Israel's Arab sector, and (3) the effectiveness of PLO activity among Israeli Arabs. A fourth dimension, the PLO perceptions of the identity of Israeli Palestinians regarding the Israeli state rounds off the discussion of the relationship between the PLO and Israeli Arabs. The need to go slightly beyond the test of the conflicting perspectives is necessary if one is to attempt to address the issue whether Palestinians in Israel will opt for secession from Israel, in which case they will be absorbed into Palestinian nationalism, or seek integration or cultural autonomy as an ethnic group. Each dimension is treated in a separate part of the chapter. The article concludes with an analysis of the PLO/PA's relationship to Israel's Arab citizens since its establishment in 1994.

Almost Forgotten: Israeli Arabs in PLO Thinking 1964–1974

Ironically, when the PLO was first established and flaunted most its desire to destroy the Jewish state, it accorded almost no role to Israeli Arabs. Instead, as an organization imbued with the ethos of a diaspora refugee polity taking its fate into its own hands, it focused on liberating Palestine through armed struggle from outside the state (Shilo 1980: 72–3). Palestinian institution

building, most notably, the establishment of the PLO and other organizations that promoted Palestinian identity, was a diaspora event, the handiwork of leaders residing in the furthermost reaches of the Palestinian diaspora. Of the twelve core leaders of Fatah (the Palestinian National Liberation Movement) that came to dominate the PLO as we know it today, at least nine resided outside areas of former Palestine in the late 1950s and early 1960s when Fatah was formed (Abu 'Amer 1987: 193–8). Essentially the history of the renewed Palestinian national movement chronicles the spread of Palestinian political identity from core groups in the diaspora back to geographic Palestine rather than the reverse. For the PLO, the Palestinians within Israel were important only insofar as they reflected Israeli iniquity and immoral behavior. In this capacity they were not only passive sufferers but also marginal ones as compared to their fellow Palestinians in the occupied territories (Yaari 1970: 73–4).

PLO publications until 1974, for example, generally refrained from classifying Israel's Arab citizens as Palestinians, underscoring their peripheral status in the Palestinian community. This was reflected in two major series of publications, *Yawmiyyat Filastin* (The Palestinian Diary) published by the Center of Research (Markaz al-Abhath), the official research arm of the PLO, and the *al-Kitab al-Sanawi lil-Qadia al-Filastiniyya* (The Yearbook of the Palestinian Problem) published consecutively between 1964 and 1975 by the Institute of Palestinian Studies, an independent institution with close links to the PLO (Shilo 1980: 64–5). Thus, in the first three issues of *Palestinian Diary* published before 1967, material relating to Israeli Palestinians was classified as "Arabs in Israel" as opposed to the categories "PLO" and "Palestinian Refugees" that encompassed those designated as Palestinians. The first category also appeared in third place in the index after the latter two which appeared in first and second place respectively. The *Diary* arranged its compendium of brief press reports and texts of speeches in order of importance.

After 1967, Israeli Arabs suffered further depreciation, for they now had to compete with another relatively marginal group at the time, Palestinian Arabs living in the West Bank and Gaza. In volumes 4 and 5, which covered the year July 1966–July 1967 (but were published after 1967), they were relegated to the seventeenth position under the same heading, only to disappear altogether as a category between 1967 and 1973. It was only in the fifteenth volume published in 1974 that Israeli Palestinians were recognized as Palestinians in the classification of knowledge in this important series. *Palestinian Diary* created a subcategory "Palestinians in Occupied Palestine 1948" followed by "Palestinians in Occupied Palestine 1967" under the first heading of the Diary – "Palestine and Palestinians." This typology basically continues to this day to define the overall Palestinian community.

A remarkably similar transformation took place in the yearbooks published by the independent Institute for Palestine Studies. In the two volumes that came out before 1967, Israeli Palestinians were defined as "the Arab minority in Israel" or "Arabs in Israel" and appeared in the third section "the political

and social situation in Israel" (ibid., 63–7). Only in the 1970 volume published in 1974 did the section on "the Arabs in the Occupied Territories" appear in the first and major part. Awkwardly, it was entitled "the Palestinian problem on the level of the people and its organizations." It was only in the yearbook for 1971, published in 1975, that Israeli Arabs were identified as Palestinians and their importance upgraded to those on par with other Palestinians. Arabs in Israel were called for the first time "Palestinians" but continued to share that designation with the more characteristic appellation "Arabs in the occupied territories" (ibid., 67). A year passed by before the transformation was completed. In the 1973 yearbook published in 1976, "Palestinian" came to be applied to Arabs in Israel in a consistent and exclusive manner.

The transformation was substantive and not only stylistic. In the early years, Israel's Arab citizens were depicted as victims, a characterization that reflected their marginalization in Palestinian political circles. Most of the news items in the first years of the reemergence of the Palestinian Arab national movement related to Israeli Arabs as victims of Israeli oppression. In volume 16 (concerning 1972) brought out in December 1974, the new items focused on the Palestinians themselves – the good ones being resisters as opposed to collaborators and quislings.

Much the same can be said for *Filastin al-Thawra*'s treatment of Israeli Arabs in its first two years of publication between 1972 and 1974. *Filastin al-Thawra* was the official PLO weekly. Israeli Arabs, when mentioned at all, appear as victims rather than participants in the Palestinian struggle. The Palestinians across the Green Line, by contrast, were accorded the same prominence given to the refugee guerrillas across the border, or to those operating from within Gaza and the West Bank. It is a graphic reflection of an organization that distrusted political mobilization, the only role Israeli Arabs could play at the time (ibid., 66, 72). Factions within the PLO, especially Fatah, believed that Arab parties in Mandate Palestine were responsible for the disintegration of the Palestinian Arab community in 1948 and that political activity divorced from armed struggle would compromise the Palestinian issue once again (*Kitvei Fatah* 1970: 164).

Although the PLO accorded no political role to Israeli Arabs between 1967 and 1974, Palestinian research institutions showed a high degree of interest in Israeli Arabs. Thus, the PLO's Markaz al-Abhath published Sabri Jiryis's *The Arabs in Israel* in 1967, the first book by an Israeli Arab scholar published on the subject (Shilo 1980: 69–70). By 1979, Jiryis became its director, significantly increasing the Research Center's focus on Israeli Palestinian affairs.

From Victims to Mobilized Masses (1974–1981)

Rarely can historic transformations be demarcated exactly. Similarly, the transformation of both the identity and role of the Arabs in Israel in PLO thinking from passive Arabs in Israel to struggling Palestinians did not occur overnight. The preceding evidence does suggest, however, that the transformation

occurred between two major events – the recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians at the Rabat conference in October 1974 and the events surrounding Land Day on March 30, 1976. The events of Land Day marked a watershed in the history of Israel's Palestinian Arabs. Israeli police killed in the Galilee six Israeli Arabs who protested against large-scale expropriation of Arab land. The violence generated during that day considerably exceeded the intensity of violence of even the most violent demonstrations until that time in the West Bank. Rakah, the Israel Communist List, and the institutions it effectively created, such as the Committee for the Defense of Arab Lands, played a dominant role in the organization of the events where the violence took place (Lustick 1990: 246).

The PLO's perception of Israeli Arabs changed radically after the Land Day demonstrations. From passive victims, they were transformed in the minds of the PLO leaders into full-fledged Palestinians who possessed considerable potential to mobilize against the state. A statement by the PLO Central Council in August 1977 made it clear that Palestinians everywhere, including Israeli Arabs, were all one people led by the PLO, with the same role to play: "While warning certain lax and suspect elements against being led astray by the schemes of the Zionist enemy, the council has the highest appreciation of the heroic role played in the struggle of the masses of our people and the national leaderships in Galilee, the Triangle, the West Bank and Gaza Strip and their loyalty to the PLO" (Statement by Executive Committee of PLO 1977: 174). In 1981, the Palestinian National Council of the PLO took the same stand: "In its discussions and resolutions the Council expressed its great pride in the level of struggle ... in the occupied homeland, in the extent of unity and cohesion they have achieved, and in their full allegiance to the PLO. The Council commended the heroic struggle of the masses of our people in Galilee, the Triangle, the Negev, Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip" (Final Political Statement 1981: 183). The role the PLO accorded to Israel's Arab citizens within Israel seemed to be no different from the role Palestinians across the Green Line.

Israel's Palestinians, perceived in a new light, became far less marginal to PLO concerns. This is strikingly indicated by the number of articles dedicated to Israeli Arabs in *Shu'un Filastiniyya*, the PLO's prestigious academic and policy monthly. Between 1976 and 1981, twenty-two articles in the journal analyzed Israeli Palestinian affairs compared to eight articles or reviews in the previous five years (almost a threefold increase).

Marked differences, nevertheless, remained between PLO efforts to organize and mobilize Palestinians in the Territories compared to Israel's Arab citizens. Increasingly in the late 1970s, the PLO in the occupied territories operated on two levels. First, it sanctioned to various degrees a local national leadership such as the Committee of National Guidance, which was composed of personalities with weak and varied political affiliations. At the same time, it promoted in the West Bank and Gaza the diffusion of mass movements dedicated to mobilizing women, students, and workers, which were directly

affiliated with the factions of the PLO. The second phenomenon gradually superseded the first, in part because Israel suppressed the nonaffiliated leadership. Yet it was also because the numbers of young high school and university students increased dramatically as four universities were created in the Territories during the course of the 1970s. These were led and motivated by a young and powerful midlevel command composed of former prisoners who belonged to the PLO factions, of which Fatah was by far the most prominent (Frisch 1991: 42). The extension of diaspora political organizations into the organizational fabric of society, particularly in the West Bank took place. The PLO was careful, however, to promote PLO and Fatah institutions without facilitating the emergence of a territorywide local leadership that could challenge the outside leadership. To the contrary, the more society was organized by the PLO and its constituent factions, the greater the decline in the stature and visibility of a local leadership (ibid.).

Within Israel, no concerted effort at territorializing Palestinian political organization ever took place, even when the PLO hardly distinguished politically between Israeli Arabs and those in the Territories. Several factors could account for the failure. Perhaps, the PLO, before it accorded different roles to Israeli Arabs, was already entertaining a two-state solution, which such territorialization could jeopardize. More likely, the failure to territorialize was due to objective conditions that differed considerably from the political and social situation in the Territories. The electoral and organizational strength of Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, in comparison to the counterpart communist organization in the West Bank, was certainly one factor that could obstruct any attempt at direct PLO mobilization. Long before the PLO mainstream even embarked on large-scale institution building, Rakah had been successful in impeding the growth of Abna'a al-Balad, a political organization of Israeli Palestinians ideologically linked to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Ideologically, Rakah wisely cultivated a Palestinian identity in the 1970s with the help of exceptional literary personalities such as Samih al-Qasim and Muhammad Nasif and thus preempted the appeal of potential PLO organizations (Muharib 1989: 133). At the same time, it embedded that identity in a clearly stated two-state solution that most Israeli Arabs regarded as a realistic solution to the conflict. Nor could the PLO take advantage of a large pool of former security prisoners from which emerged a midlevel command in the West Bank and Gaza, or the type of civil organizations such as Palestinian colleges and universities, which this command mobilized or subordinated in the Territories. Both of these mainstays of Palestinian mobilization did not exist in the Israeli Arab sector.

Israeli policy also had an adverse impact in this regard. Aware that its liberal policy in opening universities in the West Bank and Gaza facilitated political mobilization, it decided in 1980 to prevent the sole serious attempt to create an Arab university in Nazareth (*Ha'aretz*, November 21, 1980). Finally, in the Territories, Israel basically removed notables with local power bases in mediating institutions such as municipalities and local councils. In the Israeli

Arab sector, local familial and parochial politics flourish to this day with no small measure of help from governmental organs that have hampered any serious efforts to replicate the PLO's West Bank political experience within the Israeli Arab sector. The PLO could only influence indirectly by endorsing parties that emerged on their own initiative.

Israeli Arabs as a Political Lobby

Instead of trying to transform Israel's Arab citizens into guerrillas, the PLO increasingly perceived Israel's Arab citizens as being more useful working within the Israeli polity rather than against it. Israel's Palestinians, by casting 51 percent of their votes for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, the only non-Zionist party that ran in the 1977 Knesset elections, seemed to meet the PLO's expectations regarding both their importance and potential radicalization. Ironically, while Israeli analysts thought the results confirmed that Israeli Palestinians were treading a path of inexorable radicalization, the PLO was becoming slowly aware of the importance of Israeli Arabs as participants within the system rather than as fighters against it (Ben-Dor 1980: 178). The PLO became involved politically in an Israeli electoral campaign for the first time when it urged Arab voters to vote for the DFPE (*Al-Ittihad*, May 10, 1977). Nevertheless, the PLO continued to support extraparliamentary groups within Israel, such as Abna'a al-Balad (Sons of the Village), suggesting that it had not completely abandoned its more radical stance taken in the aftermath of Land Day.

Ultimately, it was the Arabs' electoral role that became central to PLO strategy. Likud's ascension to power in 1977 for the first time since statehood provided another lesson of the electoral potential of Israeli Arabs. The mobilization of state resources behind a massive settlement drive in the West Bank threatened the PLO in the long term by potentially depriving it of the homeland to which it could potentially return. The PLO must have noticed that allocations for settlement dropped by 80 percent during the unity government years of 1984–1990 compared to levels of expenditure by Likud administrations that preceded and succeeded the unity government years (Rubinstein 1992). An Arab electoral bloc, due to coalition arithmetic, could force at least the Likud into a partnership with Labor. Labor, the PLO reasoned, would then act to slow down the settlement drive. It still refrained from endorsing mainstream (Zionist) parties that did not meet the PLO's minimalist platform – a Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria and Gaza (*Ha'aretz*, July 13, 1984).

To overcome the setback in the 1981 general elections, in which the majority of Israeli Arabs failed to respond to the PLO call to support the DFLP, and instead voted overwhelmingly for Zionist parties the PLO endorsed the newly formed Progressive List for Peace to contest the 1984 elections (Al-Haj and Avner 1983: 154). In those elections, the DFLP's share of the Arab Israeli vote dropped by one-third: from 50 percent to 33 percent, while the vote for Labor

among Israeli Arabs barely increased, the 1981 election results had clearly demonstrated the limits of the DFPE's electoral hold over the Israeli Palestinian electorate, perhaps because of the growing salience of a Palestinian identity. Instead, the PLP, headed by Muhammad Mi'ari (a former member of al-Ard), featured Palestinian nationalist symbols in its campaign far more prominently than the DFPE did. As the major PLP election slogan emphasized: "Our letter on the ballot is 'Fa' for Filastin; Theirs [the DFPE] is 'waw'. There is no [letter] 'waw' in Filastin" (*Kol Hair*, July 13, 1984). The PLO hoped that the PLP, with a more radical Palestinian image and message, would encourage both Israeli Palestinians who formerly boycotted the elections and young potential first-time voters, to cast their vote on its behalf and thus expand the Arab voting bloc beyond what the DFPE could attract.

It was only in the 1988 elections held after the outbreak of the first intifada that the PLO, motivated by the prospects of creating a Palestinian state in the Territories, began focusing on Jewish voters as well. The PLO for the first time called upon Jewish Israelis "to vote for peace" rather than specifically urging them to vote for parties that were committed to the creation of a Palestinian state (*Filastin al-Thawra*, October 30, 1988: 12). It is hard to tell whether the endorsement included Labor along with Mapam, the veteran socialist Zionist party in the Israeli political arena and the Citizens Rights Movement (CRM-Ratz) both of which supported a peaceful solution on the basis of Palestinian self-determination. To further confuse matters, Arafat two weeks prior to his endorsement presumably told Bruno Kreisky, the former Austrian Prime-Minister, that he preferred a Likud victory because at least it was an enemy that showed its true face (*Ha'aretz*, October 11, 1988). Once again, the PLO urged Arab Palestinians to refrain from boycotting the elections (Wasfy 1988: 18).

Any ambiguity on the part of the PLO regarding Labor disappeared during the 1992 election campaign, during which the PLO clearly hoped for a decisive Labor victory. This subtle but critical change reflected dramatic changes between these two dates. The Gulf War had weakened the PLO considerably, leaving the organization in a vulnerable position at the inception of the Madrid and Washington "peace processes." In Israel, the Islamists had made substantial gains in the 1989 local council elections among Israeli Palestinians, while in the West Bank and Gaza, Hamas was increasingly taking the lead in its opposition to Israeli rule. To make matters worse, the Likud after the dissolution of the national unity government promoted once again an aggressive settlement drive in 1990–1. This made any delay in the peace process costly to the PLO. All three developments increased the importance of the 1992 Israeli general elections in the eyes of the PLO leadership.

Mahmud Abbas, the architect of the Oslo Declaration of Principles on the Palestinian side, revealed later in his book *The Road to Oslo* two goals as part of the strategy to promote the negotiation process: (1) to lay the conditions that would induce Jewish voters to vote for Labor and (2) amongst Israeli Palestinians, to unite the Arab bloc to enhance the chances of becoming the

tipping point in an Israeli electorate divided between left and right, secular and religious, and (albeit less politically salient) Jews of European origin (Ashkenazim) and Jews of Asian and North African origin (Abbas 1994: 44–5). PLO strategy and involvement correspondingly became more sophisticated and comprehensive to achieve this all-consuming aim.

Abbas's revelations concerning PLO–Labor Party ties caused a minor political crisis three years later when Binyamin Netanyahu, the leader of the Likud, revealed the strategy to the Israeli public on January 8, 1995 (*Ha'aretz*, January 9, 1995). Netanyahu obviously publicized the most controversial aspect of PLO strategy – the presumed agreement between the Israeli Labor Party and the PLO to coordinate moves in order to ensure a Labor victory. Both a Labor Party member and then Minister of Health Ephrahim Sneh, in charge of talks with local Palestinian personalities, and Sa'id Kan'an, his Palestinian interlocutor, denied that their meetings were to arrive at such an agreement (Interview with Efraim Sneh 1996: 10). Netanyahu received support from an unlikely source, Muhammad Mi'ari, the head of the nationalist PLP, who claimed that "Abbas acted like a subcontractor of votes on behalf of the Labor party" (ibid.).

By contrast, PLO attempts to forge a united list between the ADP and the PLP went uncontested. Egyptian involvement was also considerable. On April 17, 1992, Abbas met Muhammad Mi'ari, Darawshe, and Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, the Chairman of the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities and the veteran mayor of the town of Shfaram in the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cairo. The Egyptian ambassador in Israel had in fact initiated and planned Mi'ari's trip to Egypt, while the participation of one of the most important figures in Egypt's ruling elite, Usama al-Baz, the veteran director of the (Egyptian) President's Office, reflected the importance the Egyptian side accorded these efforts as well as the close coordination that existed between the PLO and the Egyptians (Interview with Muhammad Mi'ari 1995). During the two meetings, Abbas attempted to create a united list between the two parties, to reach an agreement over surplus votes with the DFPE, and to persuade the Islamic Movement to refrain from boycotting the elections (Abbas 1994: 44–5). Further revelations showed that the PLO talks with Labor and the attempt to form a united Arab bloc were enmeshed. According to Mi'ari, both the Labor Party and Meretz attempted to pressure him to join the ADP list (Interview with Mi'ari 1995).

Assuring conditions conducive to achieving a Labor victory was specifically spelled out in an article by Ziyad Abu Zayyad in the PLO's policy journal *Shu'un Filastiniyya*, which was published two months before the 1992 June elections (Abu Zayyad 1992: 3–12). Abu Zayyad, a veteran PLO activist and journalist, called upon the PLO to avoid taking sides openly to prevent the Likud from exploiting it, to refrain from violent acts for fear that it will bring the Jewish electoral to support the Likud, and of course, to do its utmost to convince the Arab leadership within the Green Line to form a unified Arab party (ibid., 11–12). The PLO acted accordingly: It refrained from guerrilla

attacks within Israel and avoided making any kind of endorsement for the Labor Party out of fear that such endorsement might be exploited by the Likud against Labor among the Jewish electorate. In the previous elections, the PLO had distinguished between Jews and Arabs.

Abu Zayyad also raised the idea that the PLO should do everything possible to impress the Israeli public with the idea that progress in the peace talks between the PLO and Israel could only be made with a government led by Labor. He wrote:

> Some see that the continuation of the peace process during this period will enable the Likud to claim that it is able to continue building settlements and occupy [the territories] while at the same time negotiating peace, something which will reflect positively on Likud chances of scoring an electoral victory in the coming Israeli elections ... For this reason the peace process must be stopped to expose the face of the Likud in the Israeli street. (ibid., 3)

Similarly, Nabil Sha'th, the chief "shadow" negotiator in the Washington peace talks hoped that boycotting the talks would create an atmosphere in which Israelis would recognize that a vote for the Likud would jeopardize the peace process and, ultimately, the U.S. loan guarantees of ten billion dollars to Israel (Nabil Sha'th 1996: 5). The Palestinian delegation boycotted the sixth round of talks between the two parties in Washington three weeks before the elections and called upon the Arab states to postpone meetings with Israeli officials as well (*Ha'aretz*, June 6, 1992).

The PA and Israel's Arab Citizens

Pompous as Arafat's rhetoric may have been in his first publicized meeting in Gaza with Israeli Arab leaders in October 1994 – "I tell you that your steadfastness strengthens our resolve on being steadfast in our common march ... and we will return the buraq (wailing wall) which we have been seeking these 47 years" – surprisingly, once the Palestinian Authority (PA) was established, Israeli Arabs became a minor item on the PA/PLO's agenda. In part, this may be attributed to the PA's desire to advance the staged interim peace process by allaying fears of being irredentist (Rekhess 2003: p. 276). As Elie Rekhess, a prominent scholar of Israeli Palestinian affairs noted, the PLO refrained from any attempt to bring their leadership into the peace process much to the chagrin of many Israeli Arabs. For As'ad Ghanem, PLO behavior toward Israel's Arab citizens was reminiscent of its condescending attitudes toward the Arab population in the past (Rekhess 2003: 276).

This is not to say that the relationship between Israel's Arabs and the PA was severed. To the contrary, intensive mutual interaction characterized the two sides. On the official level, the PA set up a liaison committee with Israel's Arab citizens under Fawzi Nimr, a former Accre-born Israeli who joined a Fatah terrorist cell in the sixties (ibid., 277). Israeli Arab leaders led numerous delegations to meet Arafat both in Gaza and Ramallah. Thus, in August 2000 alone, a delegation of each of the Israeli Arab parties visited the Territories

(ibid., 277, fn3). Some of the interaction focussed on Israeli Arab attempts to reconcile differences between the PA and the Hamas. These often paralleled attempts by the PA leadership to reconcile disputes within the Arab sector such as the dispute over the Shihab al-Din area in Nazareth or, in more protracted fashion, in mediating interconfessional feuds between extended families in the mixed Muslim and Christian villages of Tur'an and Kafr Kanna, a stronghold of the northern Islamic movement (Amara 2000). Very few of these interventions were ever successful.

Reciprocity also characterized election campaigns. Parties continued to compete for Arafat's endorsement just as Arafat in the 1996 and 1999 campaigns unsuccessfully tried to establish a unified Arab party (Rubin 1999). Nor did the Arab electorate punish the recalcitrant parties for not heeding the Palestinian leader. Yet the interaction was marginal – compared to not just the volume of political business the PA was involved in but also the broader political concerns of Israeli Arabs.

The same can said in the economic domain. Despite expectations of Israeli Arab investment in the Palestinian economy after Oslo, calls by Arafat and others for them to invest in projects in the Palestinian-ruled areas, few took the initiative (Amara 2000). Evidence that these were economic activities was marginal but can be found indirectly in the advertisements that appear in both the Arab press in Israel and the counterpart newspapers published either in east Jerusalem, Ramallah, or Gaza. Were the two economies in any way an integrated market, advertisements from firms from Israel, Judea and Samaria, and Gaza would appear with regularity in newspapers on both sides of the Green Line. Instead, even during the more buoyant Oslo period, most of those who advertised in the Palestinian press, including in the Jerusalem-based *al-Quds*, were overwhelmingly industrial and commercial firms and services in the Territories. For example, in the first two days of May 1998, during a period of relative peace and economic prosperity, Israeli Arab firms placed only three advertisements in *al-Quds* compared to 167 advertisements placed by West Bank and Gaza firms, organizations, or individuals, even though the purchasing power of Israel's Arabs equaled if not exceeded that of the total Palestinian population in Judea and Samaria and Gaza. In fact, firms from a far poorer Gaza placed more advertisements in the Jerusalem newspaper than Israeli Arabs (ten compared to three). These findings indicate that the Palestinian media in the Territories failed to achieve a substantial readership on the other side of the Green Line – a finding in line with those like Sami Smooha who stress the importance of citizenship and the entitlements it brings in its wake in overriding ethnic affinities rendering Israel's Arab citizens a distinctive community separate from noncitizen Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Effectiveness of PLO Electoral Involvement

Relations between the PLO (and later the PA) with Israel's Arab citizens raise the question as to what extent the PLO influenced the electoral behavior of

TABLE 7.1. *Participation Rates, New Eligible Voters as Percentage of Total Eligible Voters, and the PLO Position Regarding Elections, 1973–2006*

Year	Participation Rate of Arab Voters	PLO Position
1973	80.0	Boycott
1977	75.0	Endorses DFPE
1981	69.7	Endorses DFPE and PLP
1984	73.7	Endorses DFPE and PLP
1988	73.9	Endorses DFPE, PLP, and ADP
1992	69.7	Endorses all parties dedicated to peace
1996	77.0	Endorses all parties dedicated to peace
1999	75.0	Endorses all parties dedicated to peace
2003	62.0	Endorses parties on the left and Arab parties
2006	56.6	Noninterference (post–Arafat era)

Source: 1977–2003 data from Rekhess 2006a: 2. Data for 2006 elections from Rekhess 2006b.

Israel's Arab citizens. Since 1977, predominantly Arab parties had all sought PLO endorsement. Did the effect of such endorsement justify their efforts? The issue is complicated both because even a small effect has major repercussions on so fragmented and small an electorate and because it is hard to isolate this variable from so many others. The PLO could have influenced voting patterns in three ways: they could have (1) increased or reduced voting abstention depending on the position it took, (2) encouraged voting for non-Zionist parties as opposed to Jewish parties, and (3) affected patterns of voting within specifically Arab parties.

An analysis of the data shows a dubious relationship between PLO positions and voter participation rates. For example, one notes a continuous decline in the participation rates in the 1970s and in the 1981 election despite the PLO endorsement of the DFLP in 1977 (see Table 7.1). If the PLO is at all to be credited with the increase in participation rates in the subsequent two elections in the 1980s, it must have been indirect influence. A more variegated Arab party structure might have drawn more votes – a party scene the PLO at the time supported in its efforts to fragment the Arabs in Israel. Recall the PLO's extensive efforts to bring about a Labor victory alongside strenuous attempts at achieving party unity in 1992. Its platform obviously included the encouragement of voting. Yet there was a decline rather than an increase in the participation rate. The PLO was even less influential during the years it supported "all parties of peace." Participation rates declined in the 1999 and 2003 elections from the 1996 level despite the PLO's consistent position in all three elections. Both the ability to affect the peace process independent of the PLO position and local factors, principally the belief in 1996 that participation in the voting process was important to maintain the gains under the Rabin government, weighed much more heavily in the decision to vote than PLO endorsement of parties or cajoling voters to cast their ballot.

This is not to say that the reasoning behind PLO involvement in Arab affairs in Israel was fallacious. The process of forming the eventual coalition government under Rabin reflected the sagacity of cultivating the Arab party lobby. With merely fifty-six members of Knesset firmly on Rabin's side, the "silent partner" support the five members of the predominantly Arab parties in the Knesset gave to the coalition of peace had a strong impact on Shas, the Sepharadi ultra-orthodox party, to lower its price and join the government (Inbar 1995b: 27). This safety net beyond the sixty-one seats the Labor-led coalition commanded gave the Rabin government the necessary clout to sign the Declaration of Principles agreement in which Israel recognized the PLO and ratified the Cairo Accords in May 1994 and out of which three months later the Palestinian Authority had emerged.

The PLO's negligible influence on the Israeli Arab population raises the question why this was so both during the PLO's revolutionary era when it denied the existence of the State of Israel and then during the Oslo era. The answer may have to do with the strength of the Israeli state and the benefits real and potential of Israeli citizenship. The state wielded a stick that made the cost of living up to the PLO's revolutionary expectations in the first period prohibitive, and when that changed to directing the lobby role, Israel's Arab citizens were too busy with the real or potential carrots of Israeli citizenship to give primacy to their "lobbying" role accorded by the diaspora organization that then territorialized.

Other answers have been suggested. Disappointment with the way the PLO ran Palestinian affairs during the long drawn-out civil war in Lebanon was certainly widespread. Israel's Arab citizens easily discerned the many blemishes that characterized Palestinian institution building under the PA, which like the replication of security agencies characterized early Israeli statehood. For the late *Al-Sennara* editor, Lutfi Mash'ur, "even Israeli occupation was preferable to the factionalism, tribalism, and lack of respect for democracy and freedom of the PA" (Rekhess 2006b), although most would make do with an Arab state version such as in Lebanon that allowed for more democracy in the PA.

Visceral Arab Israeli rejection to the proposal sounded by Avigdor Liberman, the head of the Israel Beiteinu Party, that Israel's border move westward to place most of the Arab population in the triangle (over one-third of Israel's Arab population) within the future borders of the Palestinian state, confirmed Mash'ur's perceptions that most of Israel's Arab population preferred living within the borders of the Israeli state (Khatib 2009).

Identifying with the Enemy

Israel's Arab Citizens and the Arab World

How regional tensions affect the Israeli state's interaction with the Arab minority living in its midst has been a major theme of this book. Yet, external geo-strategic factors are by no means the only factors that influence the state and the predominant community's outlook and behavior toward Israel's Arab citizens. The positions these citizens take regarding the external challenges and crises Israel faces also plays a role influencing the Israeli state and the predominantly Jewish population. This chapter analyzes the positions Israel's Arab political elite took in six cases involving relations between Israel, the Palestinians across the Green Line, and other regional actors over the past two decades. The cases covered include:

1. Iraq's occupation of Kuwait on August 1, 1990, up to 2001
2. Israel's policies in Lebanon during the 1990s until the final withdrawal in 2000
3. Reactions among the Israeli Arab public and elite over the Israeli–Jordanian peace treaty signed in October 1994 in Wadi Araba near the Gulf of Akaba
4. The position Israeli Arabs took toward the intensive struggle waged mainly by professional unions in states such as Egypt and Jordan that signed formal peace treaties against the "normalization" of relations (*muqawamat al-tatbi'*) between Israel and Arab states and their respective societies (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 3)
5. The relationship between the Palestinian NGOs and the state as it was reflected in the international conference that took place in Durban in August 2001
6. Israeli Arabs and The Israeli–Hizbullah War

Israeli Arabs and the Gulf War – 1990–1991

For Jewish Israelis, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, the Allied Coalition buildup in anticipation of the air and land war over a period of

more than six months, and Saddam Hussein's threats to strike at Israel and his subsequent launching of missiles over a period of three weeks terrified Israel's Jewish citizens to an extent paralleled only by the buildup before the 1967 war. Fearing missiles with biological or chemical war heads, tens of thousands of Israelis fled the Tel-Aviv area to temporarily reside in safer areas in Israel's periphery. Facing a common threat, Jewish Israelis were unanimous in their condemnation of Iraq, and the support for the Iraqi leader that was evinced in countless demonstrations of support in the Arab world. Indicative of this short-lived political unanimity was Yossi Sarid's by now legendary remark to the Palestinians, "let them look for me when they need me" at the sight of seeing on television screens Palestinians on Gaza roof tops dancing for joy after the barrage (Lavie 2002; London 1996). Sarid was Israel's most prominent left-wing politician, the chairman of the Meretz Party, and long-time champion of the Palestinian right to statehood.

This was hardly the case amongst Israel's Arab citizens. Initial reactions to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 1, 1990, reflected a high degree of pluralism in the Arab sector ranging from mild criticism to strong support. The DFPE, the then largest Israeli Arab party, leveled criticism at Saddam Hussein for invading Kuwait, through its mouthpiece *al-Ittihad*. Even if Kuwait was historically part of Iraq, the use of force was no way to resolve the issue.

> The occupation of Kuwait is a major mistake, which deserves total condemnation. Iraq must withdraw and return to Kuwait its sovereignty. Even if Kuwait is a part of Iraqi land historically, one should not solve the problem through the use of force. (*al-Ittihad*, August 2, 1990)

The emphasis was clearly on the means rather than the substance. Ironically, the Islamic Movement, on the other side of the political spectrum, voiced similar ideas.

> There was a crisis called the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait; it lasted no more than a few days and then it ended. Now we are living [with] the crisis called the American invasion against Arab honor and Arab land, as well as Arab holy places and resources. (*Al-Sirat*, August 17, 1990)

Even this critical position was substantively a world apart from either the official stance of the state or the tone of the Hebrew language mass media that roundly condemned the invasion. Both the communists and the Islamists adopted positions that took into account basic ideological stances as well as instrumental interests. The Communist Party had often challenged the intrinsic legitimacy of the oil-rich Gulf states but also took a hostile view of the Iraqi regime for its brutal suppression of Iraqi communists. The Islamic Movement had to balance between its ideological position that supported Arabic and Islamic unity with the fact that the populations of the Gulf states who obviously felt threatened by the invasion were major benefactors of Islamic causes. The Islamic Movement within Israel might have been one of its beneficiaries.

By contrast, the Arab Democratic Party established in 1988 by former Labor Party Member of Knesset Abdulwahab Darawshe, the older Progressive List for Peace under the leadership of Muhammad Mi'ari and the radical Abna'a al-Balad movement supported Saddam Hussein's "unification". Thus, MK Darawshe, faithful to the party's pan-Arab ideology and identity, welcomed "the unification of Iraq and Kuwait" in an interview in the popular Hebrew-language daily *Yediot Ahronot* (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 4). Muhammad Mi'ari, whose party closely reflected PLO-mainstream positions, welcomed the Iraqi invasion as a step toward Arab unity even though he would have preferred achieving this noble objective through peaceful means. He argued, however, that dictatorial leaders in the Arab world effectively foreclose such an option. Least surprising was the reaction of Abna'a al-Balad, which since its inception adopted a radical pan-Arab ideology. It perceived most Arab regimes, particularly those in the Gulf states as agents of American imperialism.

There were lone voices, which condemned the invasion completely. Salim Jubran, the editor of *al-Ittihad*, claimed at a symposium in the Arab village of Tamra that one could not demand the end of Israeli occupation and the establishment of the state in the West Bank and Gaza and simultaneously condone the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (ibid., 6). He emphasized that if one considers Kuwait a "*duwayla*," a derogatory diminutive used in pan-Arab discourse to refer to an illegitimate political entity in favor of the dream of a unified pan-Arab state, neither can one support the establishment of a state in Gaza and the West Bank that amounts to little more in territory and population. Jubran was reacting, albeit negatively, to the wave of pan-Arabism that prevailed in Arab discourse during that period, including among Israel's Arab citizens.

Support for Iraq intensified as the United States-dominated coalition began preparing for the air and ground war. Pluralism gave way to increasing consensus that the United States had to be roundly condemned and Iraq warmly supported. The DFPE and its adherents changed their tone considerably from mild criticism of Iraq to strong condemnation of the United States-led coalition. The change was almost effortless, given the long traditional communist canon of condemning U.S. interference in Third World states in which *al-Ittihad* had long participated. The same Salim Jubran who warned Israeli Arabs that support for the Iraqi invasion threatened the two-state solution to the Palestinian problem, now scoffed at the U.S. position when he sarcastically asked whether the United States "was defending freedom and democracy in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait?" (*al-Ittihad*, January 27, 1991). This was certainly not the case, he argued. The real motives of the United States were imperialistic. The United States wanted to secure direct control over Arab oil sources, to protect militarily "the collaborating" (*muta'awinin*) Gulf regimes and to prevent the emergence of an assertive Arab state that could say no to the United States. The latter was important to ensure that Israel be the only strong political force in the region. According to Jubran, the United States wanted to use the offensive on Iraq as a means to teach a lesson to the Third World about the

costs of defying its wishes. Implicit in Jubran's reference to Israel lay the hope that Iraq would be a counterweight and deterrent to the Jewish state. Leading Israeli Arab communists, Nazareth Mayor Tawfik Ziyad and Ahmad Sa'ad expressed similar ideas (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 4). They were convinced that even if Iraq was in principle wrong, it was the United States that prevented a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

MK Muhammad Mi'ari, who represented the second largest predominantly Arab political party in the Knesset at the time, went a step further by calling the United States "the big Satan" (*Al-Sennara*, February 1, 1991). Though Mi'ari used a phrase from the Iranian Islamic lexicon, he was clearly influenced by the pan-Arab sentiments around him. In an interview in the independent *Al-Sennara* he said: "the United States does not want any political solution and played with all the initiatives to gain time to prepare for war and drown the region in blood in order to rule over the resources of the Arab nation" (ibid.). The ADP expressed similar views.

A new threshold of condemnation and claims was reached in the third stage of the crisis when the Allies began their massive bombardment of Iraq on January 14, 1991. According to an editorial in *Al-Sirat* (January 11, 1991), the organ of the Islamic Movement within Israel, the United States would have invaded Iraq even had it not invaded Kuwait since its primary goals was the destruction of Iraq and the takeover of its oil. For the Islamic Movement, the Allied coalition after it began bombarding Iraq, increasingly looked like a rendition at the end of the millennium of the confrontation between Muslims and Crusaders at its beginning (*Al-Sirat*, February 22, 1991). For the first time, the leaders of the Arab states who participated in the coalition were called traitors even though they were never mentioned specifically.

The rabidly anti-American sentiments many Israeli Arabs expressed during the bombardment and the admiration for Saddam Hussein's defiance must be construed as hostile to Israel, too. Ahmad Tibi, at that time an unofficial advisor to Yasir Arafat on Israeli and Israeli Arab affairs and from 1996, a MK, commenting on the destruction of Iraq, had this to say: "Even Arabs like myself who oppose the occupation of Kuwait and raised it to the top of the public-national agenda, nevertheless, the subject of the destruction of Iraq comes before everything else. My voice is a ringing voice, to which not many Israeli voices joined" (*Davar*, February 7, 1991). Lutfi Mash'ur, the editor of *Al-Sennara*, by contrast, stressed that his condemnation of the United States and "the admiration for Saddam Hussein felt by Israeli Arabs" should not be construed as enmity for Israel (Kol Israel Radio, January 24, 1991). The National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities, unofficially the second-ranking body in the Arab sector, refrained in its public statement on the outbreak of war from expressing support for Iraq, let alone for Saddam Hussein personally. And while it condemned the United States and its allies for embarking on a war to resolve political disputes, it expressed its regret for its civilian victims in both Iraq and Israel (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 7). On February 7, 1991, Hisham Mahamid, an MK from the Democratic Front

for Peace and Equality, along with other prominent leftists, Arab and Jewish, presented a petition at a Jerusalem press conference regarding the Gulf War. Although the petition criticized the Coalition's offensive against Iraq, it also resolutely condemned the Iraqi missile attacks on Israel (*Jerusalem Post*, February 7, 1991).

Yet these sentiments reflected a minority opinion. Admiration for Saddam Hussein or Iraq swept the Arab sector – political figures and the general public alike. 'Azmi Bishara, later to head the National Democratic Assembly (NDA) commented: "Though on the one hand my Arab and human honor was desecrated today because of what the Americans are doing, on the other hand the Arabs feel that their honor has been raised. Iraq is fighting and persevering, a new legend has been born" (*Ha'aretz*, March 1, 1991). Bishara, it should be noted, distinguished between Iraq and Saddam Hussein, but this might very well be due the fact that he was being interviewed by a Hebrew-language daily. Once again, the pan-Arab identity he and others expressed throughout the crisis should be noted. Samir Darwish, the head of the Baqa al-Gharibiyya local council made no such distinctions between the person and the country he ruled:

> What we appreciate in Saddam is his passionate onslaught against the curse of the West and Imperialism and the rot of the life of rich dissolute sheikhs. All of this makes a vivid impression. He is the only one who does not spend money on belly dancers and in the casino. (*Yediod Ahronot*, Seven Days Weekly Supplement, February 1, 1991)

The thoughts expressed by the general public were little different. An unidentified youth in Umm al-Fahm stated that "this was the first Arab ruler who said no to someone stronger than he was. He is willing to die for his principles and therefore he is a hero in the eyes of the Arabs" (*Ma'ariv*, January 18, 1991). A write-up on the mood in Kafr Qasim once again revealed the strength of Israeli Arabs' Arab identity. "The occupation of Kuwait, even if it were a provocative act, serves as the destruction of the psychological barrier in the area, a sign that the borders are a Western product completely that will not stand up to the Arab desire for unity" (*Ha'aretz*, January 29, 1991). The allusion to the Sykes-Picot understanding, the identification of present Arab states borders as a construction of the West and the quest for Arab political unity not only echoed the thoughts of the leading pan-Arab ideologues but the heyday of political Arabism in the 1950s and 1960s as well. School principals and teachers who were interviewed both in the Arab and Hebrew press noted the tremendous popularity Saddam Hussein enjoyed among their pupils (*Kull al-'Arab*, March 15, 1991; *Kol haEmek veHagalil*, February 1, 1991). Meanwhile polls conducted by various newspapers indicated his popularity among the adults as well (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 9).

Equally prevalent among the political elite, especially immediately after the war, was the linkage it made between the condemnation of Kuwait occupation and resolution of the Palestinian problem. Echoing completely the official

position of the PLO at the time, party officials and personalities alike argued that the double standard they felt the West set for Kuwait on the one hand and in its response so far to the Palestinian problem, on the other, must come to an end (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 8–9).

Naturally, these sentiments and positions elicited an angry response on the part of the Jewish majority, including Jews identified with the Israeli left. Thus, Haim Hanegby, the general secretary of the predominantly Arab PLP, resigned from his post during the war in protest of the position his and other predominantly Arab parties and the Arab public took. He justified his resignation by saying: "You are either here or there. The unfortunate fact that each one of us chose to be on one side in the Gulf War obligates me to come to full conclusions. For if not I will be betraying my principles" (*Davar*, January 29, 1991). Three days later, he regretted that neither MK Mi'ari nor Darawshe lacked the courage to differ with the PLO, which they regarded as sanctified (*Davar*, February 1, 1991). These differences could be detected within the Israeli Communist Party itself. The substance of the Hebrew-language party organ *Zo Haderech* was markedly different from its Arab-language daily, *al-Ittihad* (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 10).

Feelings of recrimination and regret were mutual. Arab party leaders from their perspective regretted that not one member of the Zionist left, to whom they were supposedly in partnership, condemned the bombardment of civilians and civilian infrastructure in Iraq (ibid.). 'Abdullah Nimr Darwish, the leading figure who supported the Islamic Movement's participation in Knesset elections, was sure that this failing would spur Israeli Arabs into forming a wholly Arab and united party (*Al-Hamishmar-Hotam*, January 11, 1991; *Jerusalem Post*, January 11, 1991).

Iraq's quick collapse did however lead to some soul searching. Muhammad Ali Taha, author of the Israeli Communist Party's literary journal, wrote an article in *al-Ittihad* that condemned the overwhelming support Hussein received from politicians, intellectuals, and the public alike (Ozacky-Lazar and Ghanem 1991: 11). He argued that all dictators including the Iraqi leader should be taken to task for repressing their citizens, thwarting democracy, and obstructing development. Readers responded both supporting and rejecting his position.

Yet no controversy was able in the long run, to change the basic pattern of identifying with Israel's foe en masse. Both before, during, and after U.S. and British forces conquered Iraq in March 2003, Arab parties and media organs vociferously condemned the American move tying it with local efforts to improve the lot of Israel's Arab citizens (Rudge 2003). After Israel attacked bases of Palestinian factions on Syrian territory in November 2003, MK Azmi Bishara linked the move to the United States' conquest and presence in Iraq, which deterred Syria from responding. He warned: "The Arab world does not tolerate Israel acting as if it were America, and it has to make that point clear to both the Americans and the Israelis. Not even Washington's Arab friends – who let the US get away with a lot – can humour Israel in a similar fashion"

(Bishara 2003). Neither Israel's stature nor that of the Arab world could allow this to happen," making it amply clear where his convictions lay (ibid.). For Israel's Arab citizens, the United Sates' invasion confirmed their empathy with Israel's former foe.

Reactions to the Israeli–Jordanian Peace Treaty

To understand Israeli Arab reactions to the Israeli–Jordanian peace treaty, a brief analysis of PLO–Jordanian relations is in order. Though it might be going too far to describe the Jordanian–Israeli relationship regarding the Palestinians as collusion as one prominent study is indeed entitled, one can hardly deny that both the Hashemites and the Israelis perceived the Palestinian Arabs as their prime adversaries more than they did each other (Shlaim 1988). Jordan and Israel's shared interest in obstructing Palestinian nationalism in the attainment of its objectives stemmed from a basic fact created in 1948. Both states partitioned Mandate Palestine at the expense and destruction of the Arab Palestinian community. Their triumph was the Palestinians' disaster. The bitter legacy of the PLO presence in Jordan culminating in Black September, the final ouster of the PLO from Jordan in July 1971, and the subsequent assassination of Prime-Minister Wasfi al-Tal in November 1971 in Cairo by the PLO's Black September group colors Jordanian–PLO relations to this day (Abu-Odeh 1999).

Even after the loss of the West Bank after 1967, Jordan aspired if not to restore it to the Kingdom, at least to make sure that it had the upper hand in any integrative scheme with the Palestinians. As late as the October 1991 Madrid talks, Jordan was more than happy to attend the conference in a joint delegation with Palestinian representatives from the Territories instead of insisting, as the PLO wished, upon a joint Jordanian–PLO delegation (Teitelbaum 1993: 238). To recall, Yitzhak Shamir's government refused to sit either with the Palestinians separately, or with the PLO. The Palestinians, with the full support of the PLO, which they tacitly represented in the subsequent Washington rounds of talks, undermined the Jordanians by conducting talks with Israel as a separate delegation. By doing so they were proving loyal to a cardinal tenet of Fatah, the faction that dominated the PLO, that the Palestinians must act independently of any Arab state guardianship (*wisaya*). A popular Fatah slogan expressed it well: "The Palestinian card is neither in the pocket of the big [state] or the small [state]." The small state was obviously Jordan; the big state could refer to Egypt, Syria, or Iraq depending on the specific time-period in which it was voiced.

It was not surprising, given the basic suspiciousness governing PLO–Jordanian relations, that the PLO took the bilateral secret track at Oslo that surprised and undercut the Jordanians. The Jordanians, by contrast, had come to an agreement over most issues with Israel as early as October 1992 but had refused to proceed to a formal treaty as long as progress on the Palestinian and Syrian tracks was not made (Susser 1995: 468–9). The latter could take

some comfort that the slap in the face also struck the official Palestinian delegation in the Washington talks who were completely unaware of the secret Oslo track between Israel and PLO officials (*Ha'aretz*, September 2, 1993). For the first time in the long and tortuous history between the triangle of forces, the Palestinians struck a diplomatic deal with Israel and did so without any Jordanian involvement. Even more disconcerting to the Jordanians, the Declaration of Principles, in which Israel recognized the PLO and committed itself to the creation of a Palestinian territorial autonomy, was signed on the White House lawn under the aegis of a young and vigorous U.S. president early in his first administration. Jordanian officials were concerned that the empowerment of the Palestinians would come at the expense of Jordan's traditionally strong involvement in the peace process. Such marginalization was likely to have a deleterious impact on foreign aid to Jordan upon which the state in the past had much relied in favor of aid flows to the Palestinians (Susser 1999: 79). In short, the DOP agreement reinforced Jordanian feelings – evident since 1974 when the Arab states pronounced the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people – that the Palestinians were increasingly enjoying the upper hand after years in which Jordan enjoyed the upper hand at the Palestinians' expense.

One potential indicator of the turning of the historical tide was the establishment in June–July 1994 of the Palestinian Authority. Jordan was eager to formalize an Israeli–Jordanian peace treaty as quickly as possible in order to cope with the new Palestinian entity that, in the words of a Palestinian political scientist from Bir Zeit University, might "swallow up Jordan" (Susser 1995: 475). Predictably, Jordan acted in kind during its negotiations with Israel by keeping the PLO and Palestinian interests out of the picture, especially when in the subsequent interim agreement in May 1994 and in the PLO-Israeli economic agreement two weeks previously, the PLO continued to disregard Jordan (Susser 1996: 421). The only significant consideration of Palestinian interests took place when Jordan refused to formalize borders and border crossings along the Jordan River in the West Bank. Instead, the two border crossings were situated in the Beit Shean area in the north and in the Wadi 'Araba area in the south of the country. This consideration hardly stemmed from friendly sentiments toward the PLO but out of consideration for basic Arab positions that Jordan as a weak state in the system felt it could not transgress. The PLO was particularly miffed by the ceremony at Wadi 'Araba to which at least twenty-five dignitaries were invited excluding Yasir 'Arafat (ibid., 422). They were also annoyed that the King and Jordanian senior officials doubted the PLO's ability to govern itself based on the PLO's Lebanese experiences (ibid., 423).

Much more disconcerting to the PLO, however, was the recognition Israel accorded to Jordan's special relationship to Jerusalem and the Holy Mount in the Washington Memorandum of July 25, 1994, which preceded the official peace treaty (Rekhess and Litvak 1996: 165). It acknowledged "the present special role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Muslim holy shrines in

Jerusalem" and pledged to "give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these three shrines" (Susser 1996: 412). Not only did Israeli assurances to Jordan undermine one of the PLO's basic negotiating goals – complete sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem – but it emphasized, at least from the PLO's perspective, that the historic collusion between the two states to contain Palestinian nationalism remained unchanged.

To fend off Jordanian encroachment on Jerusalem, the PLO reacted by banning the distribution of the pro-Jordanian daily *al-Nahar* and the weeklies *Akhbar al-Balad* and *al-Bayan* in Gaza three days later. A far more lasting impact was achieved when the PLO established the Ministry of the Endowments and Religious Affairs in August to take control over all religious institutions in the Territories. Throughout Israeli rule, these institutions, primarily the shari'a courts, acted as informal Jerusalem consulates by issuing Jordanian birth certificates and passports. Another blow to Jordanian influence occurred in October when the PA, after the death of the mufti of Jerusalem, Sheikh Sulayman al-Ja'abari, appointed Sheikh 'Ikrima Sabri, a well-known PLO supporter to the position as a countermeasure to Jordan's appointee (Rekhess and Litvak 1996: 166). The placement of PA security men around the Jordanian appointee was sufficient to discourage local Palestinians from acknowledging his authority. Three years later, however, King Hussein was still reminding his people and the world of Jordan's special relationship to Jerusalem in a public letter addressing the issue, and the Jordanian authorities were still mediating disputes between the local *waqf* (endowment) and local churches (Susser 2000: 484).

To recall, the peace ceremony between Israel and Jordan was concluded with great fanfare particularly on the Israeli side. Unlike agreements with other Arab actors to date, it involved neither substantial territorial concessions, the dismantling of settlements, nor the relocation of their inhabitants. However, Israel's Arab citizens particularly its political elite, did not share the enthusiasm of either the state or its Jewish majority. Israeli Arab reactions also contrasted sharply with the enthusiasm most Israeli Arabs greeted the Declaration of Principles accords signed thirteen months previously between Israel and the PLO (Rekhess 1995: 219).

Least enthusiastic, even critical, was the local Arab press. The headline concerning the upcoming signing of the peace agreement in *al-Ittihad* on October 19, 1994, five days before the signing of the treaty in Wadi Araba, set the tone. It read: "The Palestinian Authority: The Agreement [Is] an Attempt to Maintain the State of Occupation of Jerusalem" (*al-ittifaq tafradu waqi' al-ihtilal al-Isra'ili 'ala al-Quds*) (*al-Ittihad*, October 19, 1994). A claim to the effect that the treaty maintained the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem was probably the worst accusation that could be leveled at the document. *Al-Ittihad* had long been on record for championing the "two state–two people" solution with Jerusalem as a shared capital. In subsequent pages of the same edition, the newspaper reported that the PLO representative lodged an official complaint to the Arab League concerning the clause regarding Jerusalem, asked for its

intervention in annulling it, and warned of the dire consequences (*in'ikasat khatira*) for not doing so. It also reported that the PLO considered the clause a violation of the DOP signed with the PLO and that President Mubarak of Egypt, widely regarded as the Palestinians' major ally, was opposed to the leasing of land and will not attend the signing of the peace treaty. The DFPE itself had expressed its satisfaction with the agreement a day previously, evidently as yet not fully aware of the flush of anger from PLO quarters regarding the agreement (*ql-Ittihad*, October 18, 1994). Evidently, the headline and substance in the following day's issue was intended to correct impressions.

The daily's more moderate initial stance might have been influenced by an article it published on October 18, by Bashir al-Barghuthi, the veteran leader of the Palestinian Communist Party in the West Bank, renamed the Popular People's Party after the demise of the Soviet Union. He was a frequent contributor to the newspaper. Barghuthi pointed out that now that peace was to be signed with Jordan, the danger of an "eastern front" endangering Israel would become a thing of the past and that Israel could not possibly oppose a Palestinian state with the Jordan River as its border. He acknowledged, however, that had different regional or international conditions prevailed, namely had the Soviet Union continued to exist and had Arab unity not become total disunity in the aftermath of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, that any bilateral agreement was a poor substitute for a total comprehensive peace settlement. The change in editorial policy might have been due to PLO pressure.

For *Al-Sennara*, the independent popular bi-weekly published in Nazareth, the Jordanian–Israeli peace treaty was another bit of bad news for Israel's Palestinians just as the Oslo accords were. Every peace treaty with Israel, according to Lutfi Mash'ur, the newspaper's editor, reduced pressure on Israel in dealing with the real issues such as the right of return – including the internal refugees. Mash'ur was upset at the PLO for making an issue of Arafat's invitation. Why, he asked, would he want to go to a ceremony that harmed the Palestinian cause? (*Al-Sennara*, October 21, 1994). The same issue reported that the five major political forces in the Territories – Fatah, the Democratic and Popular Fronts, the Hamas and the Jihad al-Islami – had announced a general strike on the day of the signing principally to the Jerusalem clause. It also publicized the statement of the Movement's Higher Council of Fatah in the Palestinian Territories (*al-Lajna al-'Ulya lil Fatah Fil Aradi al-Filastiniyya*) warning King Hussein to refrain from visiting Jerusalem until a final peace agreement was concluded between the PLO and Israel (ibid.).

Kull al-Arab, the other major newspaper weekly, was equally critical of Jordan at the time. Samih al-Qasim, the editor, devoted his feature article to the duplication in the appointments to the position of Mufti of Jerusalem, clearly leveling his criticism on Jordan:

> No one can deny the importance of Jerusalem to all Arabs and to all Muslims. We do not want anyone, especially our Arab brothers to deny the blatant geographic, political, demographic truth that Jerusalem (al-Quds) is a city that holds a special place amongst the Arab Palestinian people which

considers it its political, spiritual and religious capital. The Palestinian
National Authority is completely justified to make the appointment. We
demand Jordanian withdrawal from this matter and Palestinian–Jordanian
coordination so that we do not lose Jerusalem like what was lost elsewhere.
(*Kull al-Arab*, October 28, 1994)

Nor was the newspaper or those who expressed their opinion in it especially
enthusiastic over the peace treaty. The author of an unsigned article warned
Jordan of the consequences of disregarding PLO interests, minimizing its pres-
ence in the ceremony and failing to invite Arafat. The critical even ominous
tone could be detected in the title – "He who disregards the Palestinians sows
the seeds of discord" (*Man yatajahalu al-Filastiniyiin yazra'u budhur al-fitna*).
The article ends with an even sterner warning:

> This people that taught the Arab peoples the basics of resistance to oppres-
> sion – the oppression of the occupiers and the oppression of kin ... will not
> hesitate once again to express its refusal toward attempts to reduce it stature,
> isolate it, make it a laughing stock and usurp its land ... The biggest loser is
> the side who thinks "that by alliance" with the other side and with its sup-
> port will be strong enough to defuse the quest for freedom of the Palestinian
> people. (ibid.)

Even when Arab Knesset members, such as Talab el-Sana, the ADP represen-
tative expressed happiness with the agreement, they did so with reservations
(*As-Sennara*, October 24, 1994). Nevertheless, more varied views amongst
common citizens, some of whom thought that peace was beneficial at almost
any price and others because the peace treaty would enable the reestablish-
ment of ties with relatives living in Jordan and facilitate travel to the Arab
world. But even those most positive regarding the treaty viewed it as formaliz-
ing a relationship between Israel and Jordan that had existed long beforehand
and therefore had reservations regarding the fanfare surrounding its signing.

Israeli Intervention in Lebanon

Over few issues were Israel's Arab citizens at odds with the Jewish majority
than Israel's involvement in Lebanon. Israeli Arabs opposed Israel's presence
in Lebanon consistently long after most of the Israeli forces left it in 1986. In
August 1993, Nawaf Masalha, a Labor MK, considered the most moderate
Arab representative in the Knesset, threatened to resign from the party in
protest of Operation Accountability, a punitive wide-scale raid into south-
ern Lebanon in reaction to Hizbullah missile strikes against population cen-
ters in Israel's northern Galilee (*Kull al-Arab*, August 6, 1993). The extent
of this opposition and the depth of their animosity toward Israel's presence
in Lebanon reached new heights during the Grapes of Wrath operation in
April 1996, particularly after the Kafr Kanna incident. The Grapes of Wrath
began on April 10, 1996, in response to escalating Hizbullah rocket attacks
on northern Israel. The operation involved increasing Israeli troop levels in its

occupied security zone in southern Lebanon and heavy retaliatory bombardment against Hizbullah. The Israeli army had the capability to rapidly return accurate fire against an area from where Hizbullah had launched rockets. Using this to its advantage, Hizbullah launched rockets from the vicinity of the United Nations refugee camp in Kafr Kanna. The Israeli army returned fire, and its artillery shells killed over 100 Lebanese civilians, mostly women and children (Matar 1997).

At first, the intervention into Lebanon did not precipitate either massive or violent protest. To the contrary, in a meeting with Prime-Minister Peres on April 15, the Follow-up Committee had agreed to end the protest campaign it had called for two days previously (*Ha'aretz*, April 17, 1996).

This was not the tone set by the Arab Israeli press. The most critical was *al-Ittihad*, the Israeli communist weekly. Two days before the Kafr Kanna incident, the front page headline read "Protest Demonstration in Condemnation of the Aggression on Lebanon and the Blockade on Palestine Will Take Place in Nazareth, Today" followed by a subheading, "The delegation of the Follow-up Committee is Stopping Its Protest Activities!" (*al-Ittihad*, April 17, 1996). The newspaper, by juxtaposing the two headlines, was obviously castigating the placating stance taken by the Israeli Arab sector's highest body. The delegation had met with Prime-Minister Shimon Peres to protest Israeli policy regarding Palestinians and Lebanese. By the day of the tragedy, the Kafr Kanna incident was being described as "the Peres Massacres in Lebanon" (*al-Ittihad*, April 20, 1996).

Though the headlines in the more commercial and popular *Al-Sennara* were more subdued, the tone of the columnists was no less vitriolic than the communist newspaper. Dr. 'Adnan Bakariya in an article "Grapes of Wrath, Goals and Lessons" wrote:

> The devastating war which the Labor government is waging against the Lebanese people has removed the last disguise on the faces of the aggressor Israeli rulers and exposed the intentions of the Labor government which has attempted through the shedding of blood and the lobbing off of parts of Lebanon to increase its chances in the parliamentary elections by demonstrating its boldness and military capability before the Israeli right.

> What concerns us as members of mankind and from our position as citizens in the state of Israel is the perceived need to bring an end to bloodshed either of Lebanese or Israelis. We cry out to the Israeli government and to its leaders Shimon Peres to stop the massacre … we have to translate the destructive "grapes of wrath" on the heads of the innocent Lebanese and Palestinians into blank ballots in Shimon Peres' voting booth. The nations of the world which stood up to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait must relate to international justice by the same criteria, stand up to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and force the Israeli war machine to withdraw from southern Lebanon. (Bakariya 1996a)

It is clear that the writer identified with mainstream Arab positions. His reference to Israeli citizenship was not neutral. Rather it has to be perceived as

a weapon to achieve goals that are common in the Arab world. Although he writes equally of stopping Israeli bloodshed, he makes no attempt to accept even a dovish Israeli position that would equate the Syrian presence in Lebanon with the Israeli presence there.

Another article by Walid al-'Amary entitled "Let Shimon Schwarzkopf Fall" is no less radical (H. Norman Schwarzkopf was the co-commander of the allied forces in the offensive against Iraq in 1991).

> Shimon Schwarzkopf is the very Shimon Peres the Israeli Prime-Minister and Minister of Defense who appeared in the first day of the Grapes of Wrath war shining amidst his generals as they are explaining to him how their smart bombs are wiping out Lebanese citizens – the situation of these Lebanese citizens being the same as all the rest of the Arab citizens wherever they might be – Guinea pigs on which the smart bomb arsenal is tested in the world. This was the very same predicament of the Iraqis before them. (Bakariya 1996b)

If one who launches a (*katyusha*) rocket that is part of an arsenal of technological leftovers from World War II on a country that occupies his own is described as a terrorist, how then should one describe someone who fires missiles and cluster bombs on the people it occupies, drives them away, and destroys their homes and infrastructure in their own land?

He ends with a call not to vote for Peres.

> If Peres for two per cent of the undecided in Israel was willing to strike at eighteen per cent of the potential votes – the percentage share of Arab citizens in the state – then we must respond by saying that if to placate two per cent of the Jewish swing vote, he placed a siege on the Palestinian people in its land and waged a mad war against Lebanon, why should we remain complacent in the face of this hatred towards us. (ibid.)

Indeed, Peres lost to Netanyahu in the subsequent elections in part because of the Arab vote.

The third columnist to appear in the newspaper that day, Sahara Abu Aqsa, identified most with Syria, Israel's major antagonist. In an article "Black Night in Beirut," she left no doubt as to who is responsible for the suffering in that city:

> The blackout will last for a long time in Beirut after the Israeli rocket attack on the central electric grid. The first long light until the grid is replaced which is expected to last a long time. The second long night in which Lebanon will be involved in a political plot is aimed to lead Syria and Lebanon into the hopeless Oslo accords …
>
> But he [Shimon Peres] and others like him should know that was imposed by force and by military stealth will not prevail. The situation in which states in the area must live under America's and Israel's wing will not last, because the world order in which America acts alone and does as one likes, without opposition will not continue. Revolutionary movements and other forces will

come back, will be born and multiply ... These forces will change the scales, at which time Israel will not be able to impose its night on Beirut or on anyone else. (Abu Aqsa 1996)

Abu Aqsa reflects the radical millennial outlook that characterized the Palestinian left in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These thoughts could have been written in Beirut, Damascus, or Baghdad. None of the three from the Israeli perspective at least, took into account the *katyusha* attacks that precipitated the campaign in the first place.

After the Kafr Kanna incident, the differences between the tone of the press and the passive political behavior of Israeli Arabs in the first ten days of the campaign, vanished. On the day following the incident, eight Arabs were detained for throwing rocks at policemen in Nazareth, demonstrations and rallies took place in tens of Arab villages, and the Follow-up Committee succeeded in imposing a general strike after it had declared two days of public morning (*Ha'aretz*, April 21, 1996). MK Darawshe, the head of the ADP, had issued an ultimatum to Peres that he would call on the Arab electorate to cast a blank ballot in the coming elections if Peres would not stop the campaign within 24 hours (*Ha'aretz*, April 19, 1996).

The differences between commentaries on the Kafr Kanna incident in the Arab press and by Arab politicians and what appeared in the Hebrew-language press is striking. In contrast to the ethnic and emotionally charged tone of the Arab press's criticism, Zeev Schiff, the prominent military commentator, analyzed the operation from a cost/benefit perspective:

> The Grapes of Wrath operation proves that the government does not have unlimited time to continue the operation. Once again it is proven that the time allotted to war is severely limited, especially regarding small countries. The surprise came in the form of two massive attacks on civilians. The operational explanation is that Hizbullah men fired mortar shells and katyusha rockets ... This is what happened in Nabatiyya.

> The possible answer can be ostensibly that this was a quick reaction to the sources of fire – but from a humanitarian and political standpoint there will be sure damage to Israel. This is happening to a certain degree because Hizbullah fires intentionally from populated areas and from positions close to UN positions, but the damage to Israel's image – especially in the Arab world – is unavoidable ... The area of Kfar Kanna has long been "contaminated." (Schiff 1996)

Even when opprobrium was expressed, it was still embedded in raison d'état as Aluf Ben's commentary makes clear:

> The incident in Kanna will be registered as an historical sign-post in the Israeli–Arab conflict along with Dir Yassin, Kafr Qassim and Sabra and Shatila. The incident lead to the breaking of the blockade around Iran and now the ministers of France and Italy went to meet with Iranian representatives. (Ben 1996)

Israeli Jewish commentators took for granted the preeminence of Israel's national security interests and weighed the pros and cons of Israeli intervention in that light even in the most compromising moral situations. Palestinian commentators were similar to the Jewish commentators in placing politics before moral anguish (though the former no doubt felt and expressed it to a greater degree), but the Palestinians did so in defending the Arab vision of the regional order. The Arabs in that order were basically victims of American–Israeli hegemony.

It is clear then that regarding the Grapes of Wrath campaign at least Israeli Arabs had not attempted to make Arabs over the borders more understanding or sensitive to Israeli perceptions justifying the campaign. It seems that they identified not only with the victims but also with the political goals of Syria and Syrian-dominated Lebanon.

Arab Israeli reaction to Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon on May 24, 2000, only confirmed their identification with Israel's opponents. Azmi Bishara in "the victory celebration and the celebration of the resistance (*maharajan al-nasr wa-mahrajan al-muqawama*)" his party held on June 5, linked the withdrawal with Israel's victory on the same day in 1967: "This is the first fifth of June that has transcended the low morale that 1967 left in its wake. For the first time we can feel a ray of hope concerning the Arab situation. We now have a small sample. After all Lebanon is the weakest Arab and we can draw a lesson from it, but the most important lesson is the desire for victory" (*Kull al-'Arab*, June 8, 2000). Abdulwahab Darawshe threatened that the party he headed, the ADP, would dissolve the coalition with the Islamic Movement if the latter's representatives, Abdulmalik Dehamshe and Tawfiq Khatib, agreed to attend the special session of the Knesset in Kiryat Shmona in solidarity of the Jewish town that bore the brunt of Hizbullah's missile attacks (ibid.). Darawshe's threat worked. Several days later the UAL, comprising both sides, announced that its representatives would not attend the special session (*Kull al-Arab*, June 16, 2000). Meanwhile, Talab El-Sana, the MK representing the UAL, proposed that Hasan Nasrallah, the Secretary-General of Hizbullah, be nominated for the Nobel peace prize (*Al-Sennara*, June 8, 2001).

Attitudes Toward the Antinormalization Campaign with Israel in the Arab World

Campaigns against the normalization of peace relations with Israel have characterized formal peacemaking between Israel and its Arab neighbors since the peace treaty with Egypt. Two ideological currents vie to dominate the antinormalization campaign leveled against Israel. By far the more powerful current, headed by the Islamic fundamentalist and radical parties, aims at persuading Egypt and Jordan to scuttle the formal peace treaties they signed with Israel. The more moderate current, headed by the PLO, has aimed to progress in normalizing relations between Israel and Egypt and Jordan with Israeli territorial

concessions, in the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians and Syria. Needless, to say, even the more moderate current is interested in preventing the spread of the relationship to include other states. The question is what has been the attitude of the Israeli Arabs to this campaign?

A seemingly minor episode that took place in June 2001 reveals the basic position of Israeli Arabs toward the issue of the normalization of relations between Israel and the Arab states. Even more important is what the episode reveals about the linkage between that issue with their attempts at normalization with the Arab world.

The episode began when MK Muhammad Kan'an, Muhammad Zaidan, the head of the High Follow-up Committee, and poet Mahmud Dasuqi made a trip to Algeria (*As-Sennara*, June 8, 2001). Kan'an headed the Arab Nationalist Party, a one-man list that had seceded from the ADP just before the trip (Darawshe Interview 2002). This was the first known trip by public figures from the Arab sector to a state in which its secular elite has long been identified with pan-Arab nationalism and implacable hostility to Israel. Kan'an explained in an interview with BBC in Arabic that the trip was "to break out of the isolation the Arab world has imposed on Arabs in Israel" (BBC in Arabic News Broadcast, June 5, 2001).

The isolation to which Kan'an referred, was a frequent issue on the Israeli Arab agenda. Especially unnerving were its cultural implications as Nazih Khair, a journalist for *Kull al-Arab* pointed out (Khair 1994). The article begins by lamenting the rebuke leveled at the famous musician Wadi' al-Safi in an article in the Egyptian *Ruz alYusuf* for consenting to appear ten times before Palestinian Arabs in Israel for a million dollars. He subsequently denied having such a commitment in more than one Egyptian newspaper. Khair describes his own efforts to ensure the participation of an ensemble from the Israeli Arab village of Tarshiha in an Arab music festival held in the Cairo Opera House. Despite initial approval from the local Union of Arab Writers, it was only through the strenuous intervention of the Palestinian Authority and its "embassy" in Cairo that the ensemble in fact appeared. He continued in exasperation:

> The Arab Palestinian since [the establishment of] Israel have been silent for forty years regarding the linkage [with the Arab world] lest they arouse the anger of their brethren in the Arab world and lest they be accuse of behind the back normalization (bil-tatbi' al- khalafi) … The time has come in my mind after the series of love affairs (musalsalat al-gharam) with Israel to extricate us out of this game for we are very eager to interact with the great Arab homeland. (ibid.)

If Kan'an had any hopes to address this painful issue, they were quickly dashed by the Algerians. No sooner had the three arrived in Algeria and made known their presence there to the Israeli Arab public that they were castigated for traveling to Algeria to promote normalization between Algeria and Israel. *Al-Sennara* reported that an Algerian newspaper characterized Muhammad

Kan'an and those accompanying him as the representatives of the slaughterer (*saffah*) Sharon, then Prime-Minister of Israel (*As-Sennara*, June 8, 2001). It then went on to contrast Kan'an's claims to have met the foreign minister, a prominent academic in the Arab University and to be staying at an official presidential residence, with Algerian media reports that they were being boycotted by Algerian officials and the public alike. Responding to charges in the Algerian press that he was facilitating ties between Sharon and the Algerian relations, Kan'an stated that "I have not and will not participate in normalization [with Israel]" (*lam wa lan usahim fi al-tatbi'*) (ibid.). He then went on to accuse Abdulwahab Darawshe, the chairman of the ADP, from whose ranks he resigned, of fabricating these accusations adding that he never facilitated meetings between Arab officials and Sharon in the way Darawshe did between Mahmud 'Abbas and Sharon's son, Omri.

Kull al-Arab, the second major Arabic-language weekly newspaper in the Arab sector, was no less disparaging to those who made the trip. Especially insulting was a statement Khalid Bin Isma'in, a member of the [Algerian] National Coordinating Committee To Combat Normalization (*al-Lajna al-Tansiqiyya al-Wataniyya li-Munahadat al-Tatbi'*) made regarding Kan'an:

> This [trip] is something not acceptable even if it concerns an Arab member [of Knesset] because we do not make a difference between one member of Knesset and the next. Even if he is called Muhammad we still consider him a Zionist and we will not accept that he set foot in Algeria. We consider it an attempt on the other side to feel the pulse regarding readiness to normalize relations. (*Kull al-Arab*, June 8, 2001)

It was clear from accusations, counterarguments, and more accusations that normalization between themselves and the Arab world had to come at the expense of promoting such normalization between Israel and Arab states.

But even this situation was far from being assured. Samih al-Qasim, the poet and editor of *Kull al-Arab*, in an article six years after Khair's pleaded that, at the very least, Israel's Arab citizens be excluded from the antinormalization boycott:

> Many years ago in Egypt, I announced in a press conference in Cairo that "I came from my country to my country not from a state to a state." No one has the right to prevent us from meeting our people in our land after closure and isolation ('uzla). We have to explain to the Arab world that we can not normalize our relations with Israel so long as the occupation continues and as long as there is no solution to the refugee problem. The time has arrived to get out of the empty shell and play of words. (ibid.)

Samih went on to claim that Israeli Arabs themselves could not normalize their relationship with the State as long as the occupation continues and the right of return not given to the refugees, let alone act as a bridge of normalization with others. They are therefore in the same camp with their Arab counterparts across the borders but rather than making the Arabs in Israel suffer, Arab states should deal with more pressing matters such as democracy.

In an obviously disparaging statement, the regimes that isolate Israel's Arabs in the name of Arabism are those very regimes, which owe their existence to imperialist designs.

Yet no matter how much the relationship with the Arab world was filled with angst, Israel's Arab citizens continued to identify with antinormalization efforts in Arab states. After the ouster of Saddam Hussein, a write-up in *Kull al-Arab* condemned the opening of the Israeli research office, MEMRI, as the first Israeli "penetration into Iraq and the beginning of in the attempt at normalization in Iraq" (*Kull al-'Arab*, August 8, 2003). In their relationship to the Arab world, most Israeli Arabs identify with positions voiced across the border, or in the case of the Palestinians, with the PLO. The basis for the correspondence emanates from feelings of a shared Palestinian and Arab identity. Paradoxically, these feelings are intensified by the pain of being the targets of the antinormalization campaign against Israel and the doubts cast on their loyalty to the Arab cause. Most agree then that they cannot be the bridge to normalization between Israel and the Arab world.

The Durban Conference

Perhaps the most concerted, organized, and comprehensive efforts to publicly discredit the State of Israel by Israeli Arab organizations and personalities took place in the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held at Durban between August 31 and early September 2001. Though soon overshadowed by the drama of the September 11 events in New York and Washington barely three days after the closing of the conference, it was nevertheless sufficiently under media focus to leave an indelible impression on the Israeli Jewish public. Nor can one overlook the local context of events that contributed to their sensitivity; in Israel itself, suicide bombings and other forms of terrorism in the low-intensity war Palestinians waged against Israel were taking an increasing toll of lives overwhelmingly among the Jewish majority.

Palestinian activity took place mainly in the Forum of Non-Governmental Organizations, which occurred alongside the governmental component of the Conference. Ittijah (the Union of Arab Community Based Associations in Israel), the umbrella organization of Israeli Arab PNGOs, established a preparations committee active since the end of 2000 (Dichter 2001: 1–2), comprising representatives of the major Israeli Arab NGOs, Adalah (The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights), the Association of Forty, Al Ahali Center, The Galilee Society, and others.

Crucial in setting the tone for their participation in the conference was the committee's unofficial decision to refrain from including, in the words of Shuli Dichter the head of Sikkuy, a joint Jewish–Arab organization committed to equality between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens: "Jews whose activities represent interests of a Jewish-Zionist nature" (ibid.). The decision reflected a desire to represent a national collective rather than civic concerns.

Instead, Jewish activists were left with a choice of signing the platform of the Palestinian organizations with no input of their own.

Local Palestinian moves were abetted by international events. A regional conference in Tehran, one of four regional conferences intended to produce a composite Declaration against Racism and a Plan of Action, preceded the conference. Israel, along with Jewish NGOs, were excluded, and, in their absence, Israel was accused of committing "holocausts" and of being anti-Semitic (Steinberg 2005b).

Thus, conducting a political struggle to delegitimize the State of Israel rather than coping with discrimination was the thrust of the participating Palestinian Israeli organizations long before they reached Durban. The Palestinian activists tried portraying Israel as an apartheid state that had to be compelled, like South Africa, to alter its regime fundamentally. It was hardly surprising that Jews from the major civil rights organizations – Sikkuy, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, B'Tselem, and Kav L'Oved – felt they could not join in these efforts. They were ready to criticize policy but not to question the state's basic right to exist (Dichter 2001: 7).

The Palestinians including the Israeli contingents, were more than successful in their efforts. "The NGO Declaration" in the wake of the unofficial conference issued no public condemnation of the exclusion of Israel or the Jewish groups during the preliminary conference. Instead, the document condemned Israel calling for "a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state … the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation and training) between all states and Israel" (Article 425, Durban 2001). The document made constant comparisons with South Africa and apartheid. Though not an official conference document, it was signed by groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

Katyushas Fall, Barbarous Israeli Strikes: Israeli Arabs and The Israeli–Hizbullah War

A riveting test of Israeli Arab positions toward regional concerns that affected themselves, the state of Israel, and its Jewish minority occurred during the Israeli–Hizbullah War in June 2006. The war began after Israel launched a campaign against Hizbullah in response to a surprise attack the organization carried out within Israel on Israeli troops. Eight soldiers were killed and three kidnapped. Hizbullah then responded over the following month with a continuous barrage of unguided missiles on northern Israel against mostly civilian areas of population. For the first time since 1948 and certainly over the long spate of violence over the Israeli–Lebanese border, Israeli Arab localities suffered in a major way from acts of violence committed by an external political force operating against Israel. Of the thirty-nine civilians killed over the course of the war, all of them by Hizbullah-launched missiles, eighteen were Israeli Arabs. Fifteen of them were killed in eight villages throughout the

Galilee, two in the mixed city of Haifa, and one in a Jewish village (Rekhess and Rudnizki 2006: 15).

There were two other reasons, in addition to the often mortal effects of its missile barrages on Israel's Arabs themselves, to expect that the war would solidify Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens in the face of a mutual threat. First, Hizbullah had battled Palestinian factions affiliated to the PLO in the mid-1980s over control over Palestinian refugee camps in the south of Lebanon in what became known as "the camp wars." Bad blood between the two sides prevailed ever since. Second, in contrast to the 1982 confrontation, not one Palestinian was a casualty.

However, this expectation of mutual solidarity was not what transpired. Though some Israeli Arab citizens roundly condemned Hizbullah only or took a neutral position between the movement and the state, most (at least on the basis of publicized comments) placed the blame squarely on Israel. As in previous cases, the tendency to blame Israel wholly for the war was most pronounced among Israeli Arab politicians, the Arab parties to which they belonged and Israeli Palestinian NGOs – in short – the organized segments of the Arab community (ibid., 7–8). Thus, for El-Sana, the veteran MK from the UAL, his anti-Israeli stance was expressed in extolling the virtues of Iran and its president who by that time had made numerous statements denying the Holocaust, had assured the world of Israel's demise, and had made known his state's determination to continue its nuclear program at all costs:

> The war brought into prominence the role of Iran in filling the void left in the Arab arena. Iran became the state that adopted the Arab resistance in the Arab world. Ahmadinijad began filling the role of Jamal Abdul Nasser … a fact that led to the diminution of Israel's deterrence, to the debility of the new Israeli leadership [he was referring to the Prime-Minister and his Minister of Defense who assumed offices they never held before only weeks before they decided to launch the offensive against Hizbullah]. (Rekhess and Rudnizki 2006: 7)

El-Sana's comparison of Ahmadinijad as Jamal Abdul Nasser could only arouse the hostility of the Israeli Jewish public who remembered Nasser, a leader of mythic proportions among Arab nationalists, as the Arab leader who waged two wars against Israel. Describing Iran as leading "the Arab resistance" had no less ominous implications for the Jewish Israeli public. The meaning of resistance (*muqawama*) in Arab political discourse meant the use of violence directed most of the time if not exclusively against the Jewish state.

Nor was El-Sana the only MK to place the blame exclusively on Israel. Mohammad Barakeh, the MK for the DFPE, formally an Arab-Jewish party, claimed in an interview with the Arab weekly *Al-Sennara* that Israel in attacking Lebanon (rather than the Hizbullah as the official Israeli version emphasized), proved to be "the leading terrorist organization in the world" (Muhammad Barakeh 2006). Another MK, 'Azmi Bishara, who was later charged with providing intelligence to Hizbullah during the war and fled the

country to avoid court proceedings, lauded what he termed "the honorable Lebanese resistance" and sharply condemned the Arab states that placed the blame on Hizbullah for the war (Mahshi and Sa'id 2006).

Most of the Palestinian Israeli press concurred with Bishara. *Kull al-'Arab*'s coverage of the war was characterized by the consistent use of neutral terminology to describe Hizbullah missile attacks that killed Arab citizens, while employing ideologically loaded terminology to describe Israeli military operations. As "Katyushas fell," the Israeli air and ground operations were consistently described or framed as "barbarous Israeli attacks [or strikes] on Lebanon." Even the most popular media outlet, *Al-Sennara*, which described the war in more neutral terms ("Israeli air strikes," "Hizbullah launchings"), reported demonstrations against Israel's role in the war and the expressions of condemnation of that role by organizations and politicians much more frequently than positions expressed by Israeli officialdom or Israeli Jewish politicians. During the course of the war, a solitary write-up in which an Israeli official emphasized that the war Israel waged was directed against Hizbullah rather than against Lebanon and its people could hardly dispel the bias generated by headlines culled from one issue alone of *Al-Sennara* (October 21, 2009) alone. In the first ten pages including the front page, the reader encountered headlines such as "Our Children are Martyrs and We Lay the Responsibility on the Israeli Government Rather than on Hizbullah" (regarding the death in Nazareth of two young siblings from a *katyusha* launching); "I Saw With My Eyes How Two Israeli Planes Killed my Family of 25," and a write-up on "Demonstrations against the Aggression in Gaza and Lebanon."

Specially taken to task in the Arab media were the moderate Arab states and intellectuals who for the first time in the course of the Israeli–Arab conflict condemned an Arab actor (albeit along with Israel) in a showdown with Israel. Zuhayr Andrawus (2006), the editor of *Kull al-'Arab*, described these state leaders as the seven midgets and their regimes as "scheming Americanized and Israelized Arab regimes" (*al-anzimat al-mutamarika wal-muta'asrila wal-muta'amira*). Fellow journalist Sa'id Husnein (2006) published an interview with the Secretary-General of Union of Arab Writers based in Syria in which he criticized Arab intellectuals who questioned the sagacity of the Hizbullah attack along with "scheming Arab leaders." "True intellectuals," claimed the Secretary-General of the organization, should support wholeheartedly "the Lebanese resistance." He and the Arab MKs who expressed support for Hizbullah under that rubric conveniently forgot that the organization had fought Israel alone and was not supported by other organizations that would merit the term "the Lebanese resistance."

Invidious portrayals of Israeli actions and laudatory expressions of support for Hizbullah often elicited a livid response from Israeli journalists and commentators. How, they asked, could the Israeli Arab political elite support Hizbullah's attack that took place within Israel after it withdrew to the 1967 border sanctioned by the United Nations? In the case of Ben Kaspit (2006), a

leading columnist, the vexed response began with a derogatory title: "Ahmad are you listening?":

> Tell me Ahmad, hand on your heart. Do you really believe that Amir Peretz [then Israeli Minister of Defense] is a terrorist? ... and according to your line of thought Hassan Nasrallah [the Hizbullah leader] is what? Who exactly is he? ... You have to strive for hours, to perspire for days to elicit even the faintest condemnation of the terror campaign he and others are leveling against us ...
>
> Now the katyushas are falling on you, you still do not realize what is truly going on. Nor is it making the slightest dent in your ideology ... Look, the large Israeli Arab public listens to you ... You preach sheer hatred and venom whenever you think a Jew is involved in wrong-doing. Yet when it is the obverse, and most of the times it is, you stand mute ...
>
> Israeli democracy, Ahmad, will not be able to swallow the venom much longer ... The time has come for you to decide ... Declare your allegiance courageously. You do not want to do so? Immigrate [then] to Palestine, uproot yourselves to Syria, or move to Amman.
>
> You'll miss us Ahmad. I'm not sure we'll miss you. (ibid.)

Kaspit distinguished between the Israeli Arab political leadership and the general public. Many more ambivalent feelings were expressed by ordinary citizens, especially in the Hebrew or world press, where they felt freer to vent their opinion (Rekhess and Rudnizki 2006: 11–12). A survey of Israeli Arab and Jewish public opinion toward the 2006 war conducted under the auspices of a joint Palestinian–Israeli project may explain the discrepancy. Over half (52 percent) of the Arabs polled believed that "many of the Arab citizens of Israel identify with Israel in private but refrain from expressing it in public due to social pressures" (Joint Palestinian–Israeli Public Opinion Poll 2006). Such pressure may explain why, in the same study, 68 percent of those polled sympathized with Hizbullah by being concerned over its fate (ibid.).

Rhetorically at least, Israel's Arab citizens portray themselves as being at cross-purposes with the state in which they are citizens not only on issues that directly affect them but on regional political issues that have a direct bearing on the State of Israel's security. Many organizations and most of the local Arab media consistently identify with Israel's foes and disparage the United States, its major ally. Though one can scarcely deny citizens in a democratic state the right to take these stands, the broad consensus on these matters does little to allay perceptions among the Jewish majority that a potentially dangerous minority exists in its midst.

9

Israeli Arab Political Demands and Israeli Security

Though Israel's Arab citizens often identify with Israel's foes, most Israeli Arabs continue to work within the system by supporting officially sanctioned political parties and by participating in general elections and local governing institutions. Outside these official frameworks, they take ample opportunity of their right to engage in civic and collective empowerment peacefully through the establishment of NGOs and other lobbying groups. Yet, however much confirmation exists that Israel's Arab citizens operate within the system, there is an even broader political consensus within these political elites that the Israeli state must change radically. Within political circles at least, virtual unanimity prevails regarding the need for partition between an Israeli and Palestinian state and discursively at least that Israel must become a bi-national state, which as we have seen is termed erroneously "a state of all its citizens."

The second point, which appeared in the political platforms of the Arab parties in the 1990s, received further confirmation in four documents that appeared in the following decade and tried to explore the contours of the nature of the state and the relationship of the Arab community to the Jewish majority. These included "The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel," "An Equal Constitution for All: On a Constitution and the Collective Rights of Arab Citizens in Israel," "The Democratic Constitution," and "The Haifa Declaration," all of which emphasize the foremost need to create an elected representative assembly that runs the internal affairs of Israel's Arab citizens and the right to veto issues in overriding structures relating to security, foreign affairs, and economic policy.

All four documents were published by major organizations in the Israeli Arab community in the course of six months between December 2006 and May 2007, involved the collaboration of leading scholars and public figures and took two years on average of intensive deliberation and drafting to produce. "The Future Vision," by far the most important document, carried the imprint of the National Committee for the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel and was sanctioned by the Follow-up Committee. Mossawah, one of the largest Arab-Jewish NGOs, brought out

"The Equal Constitution for All," while Adalah, perhaps the leading Arab NGO, publicized "The Democratic Constitution." The fourth document, "The Haifa Declaration," was published by MADA, the Haifa research center closely affiliated to the NDA (Ozacky-Lazar and Kabha, 2008: 5).

Common to all but Mossawah's document was a portrayal of the State of Israel as a colonial, usurper state that forced itself upon the indigenous people of the land, expelled its inhabitants, and subjected those that remained to discrimination, which was a built-in aspect of Israel being a Jewish state. Since a Jewish state by definition discriminated, the Jewish identity of the state had to be discarded in favor of an essentially bi-national state. A quote from the English "The Future Vision" document suffices to reflect the tenor and major objectives of the other two documents as well:

> The war of 1948 resulted in the establishment of the Israeli state on a 78% of historical Palestine. We found ourselves, those who have remained in their homeland (approximately 160,000) within the borders of the Jewish state. Such [a] reality has isolated us from the rest of the Palestinian People and the Arab world and we were forced to become citizens of Israel. This has transformed us into a minority living in our historic homeland.
>
> Since the Al-Nakba of 1948 (the Palestinian tragedy), we have been suffering from extreme structural discrimination policies, national oppression, military rule that lasted till 1966, land confiscation policy, unequal budget and resources allocation, rights discrimination and threats of transfer. The State has also abused and killed its own Arab citizens, as in the Kafr Qassem massacre, the land day in 1976 and Al-Aqsa Intifada back in 2000.
>
> Since Al-Nakba and despite all, we maintained our identity, culture, and national affiliation; we struggled and are still struggling to obtain [a] just, comprehensive and permanent peace in the Middle East region, through achieving fair and lasting resolution concerning the Palestinian refugees' status according to UN resolutions and for reaching peace through the declaration of an independent Palestinian State.
>
> Defining the Israeli State as a Jewish State and exploiting democracy in the service of its Jewish nature excludes us, and creates tension between us and the nature and essence of the State. Therefore, we call for a Consensual Democratic system that enables us to be fully active in the decision-making process and guarantee our individual and collective civil, historic, and national rights. (*The Future Vision* 2006)

Jewish reaction to these documents even amongst liberal academic circles was almost unanimously negative. According to Elie Rekhess, the national ideological and political vision presented in these documents challenged the very existence of Israel as a Jewish state (Rekhess 2007: 17). Another leading scholar, Sami Smooha claimed that the documents call for a bi-national state, excluded recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and were collectively a provocative attempt to delegitimize the Jewish people's right of self-determination (Smooha 2007: 5–6). Shimon Shamir, a member of the Or Commission, which investigated the outbreak of violence in October 2000

in the Arab sector and the reasons behind it, claimed that while the text of these documents emphasizes Arab nationality, they failed to recognize the Jewish people as a nation (but as an ethnic or religious group) and that thereby they negated even the possibility of a bi-national state, which in any event the majority of Jewish Israelis adamantly oppose (Schiff 2007).

The two-state solution (especially one predicated on the massive return of refugees) and the bi-national plan these documents offer, have major ramifications on the security of the Jewish majority, which these documents do not address. This is surprising especially in light of the emphasis they place on the intimate relationship with the rest of the Palestinian people and "the Arab nation," many of whom evince tremendous hostility to any form of Jewish sovereignty beyond a status of a protected religious minority. And even such protection is often lacking in Arab-speaking states as the Shi'ite Hizballah assault on the democratic government of Lebanon in 2008, the frequent assaults in Egypt on the Coptic minority, the attacks on the Christian minority by Sunni fundamentalists in Iraq, and the relationship between the Sudanese state and the Christian and Animist south. The present chapter, though comparative analysis with other cases, tries to assess the impact of both the ramifications of partition into two states, and the transformation of Israel into a bi-national state.

Evaluating The Security Effects of Partition on State–Minority Relations

Partitioning the inhabited world into sovereign states has been one of the major objectives of the international community. The process of decolonization was for the past one hundred years one of the most sustained and comprehensive processes in the history of mankind – so much so that the heterogeneous crazy-quilted globe of 1900 has been replaced by the globe of Cartesian geometric lines demarcated by states of different uniform colors. The world of formally sovereign states now covers more than 99 percent of the inhabited globe. Behind this relentless project were two critical assumptions: (1) that state anarchy is infinitely better than stateless anarchy in the sense that most states however troublesome are less troublesome than stateless areas, and (2) that much of the stability of state building and expansion is based on reducing the tensions between the state-to-nation ratio (Miller 2007: 277). Both of these assumptions brought a reluctant George W. Bush, Jr., to accept the two-state solution to the Palestinian problem.

However, a partition solution like the two-state formula engenders several potential problems. Perhaps the most important, the implications of the new state created by partition on the balance of power between the existing and new state, is outside the scope of this study. More germane to a study of state–minority relations are the dangers of succession and irredentism; succession is the quest by the minority group to secede from the existing state to the new state in which the minority identity is in a majority. Irredentism refers to the

attempts by a state, in our case, the Palestinian state, to annex parts of Israel in which an ethno-national minority belongs to the same identity group that makes up the majority of irredentist state. Extrapolating from both the chapter on the influence of the PA on Israel's Arab citizens, and their reactions to the Lieberman proposal to move Israel's Green Line eastward to exclude the triangle and include their Arab residents in the PA, one can assume that secessionist pressures will not be strong. The opposite can be said regarding irredentist drives. A future Palestinian state, on the assumption that the settlements will be removed, will have the advantage of being a very homogenous state that can capitalize on the bi-national situation existing within Israel. The question remains, should Israel be worried about it?

If the test is the future formal sustainability of the State of Israel in the face of Palestinian irredentism after a partition solution, a look at global patterns is encouraging. The succession of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1970 was the first and only example of successful violent secession from a noncolonial sovereign state member in the United Nations between 1945 and 1990. Its geo-strategic position, the fact that eastern Pakistan as it was known was separated from its western half by a hostile and powerful state as India, may explain its relative uniqueness (Johnson 1975: 5). Even peacefully negotiated secessions were rare. The author of a book on the subject counts three such cases during those years. In two, secession followed soon after independence; Mali succeeded from Senegal within a year of the latter's independence while Singapore was expelled from Malaysia two years after the latter gained independence in 1963. Syria's secession from the United Arab Republic took place less than three years after unification between Egypt and Syria in 1958 (Kacowicz 1994: 250). Not only were attempted secessions rare during the cold war, there were far more instances of active international support in suppressing rather than encouraging them (Biafra and Katanga are two striking examples). Rarer yet was violent irredentism. The only example of forceful unification of a semisovereign state during these years was the violent unification of Vietnam, which, given the uniform ethnic composition of the absorbed state, might hardly come under such a definition. By contrast, there were eighty-six cases of decolonization during this period. As James Mayall points out, the international community accorded precedence to the claim regarding the inviolability of state sovereignty over the claim to self-determination in its quest to "embed a system of coordinate territorial states, so that jointly, these territorial jurisdictions exhaust the inhabitable surface of the earth" (Mayall 1993: 19). The prejudice against secession was reflected in the nomenclature itself; an ethnic group that challenged a colonial empire before formal partition took place was often considered a national liberation movement with a romantic ring to it; in the post–independence age, the same organization became "secessionist," which has a pejorative connotation. The chances of success were similarly oriented. Even though the former had a high probability of succeeding, the latter had little prospect of attaining the goal of independence. Saideman (2001: 13–14) sees the preference for territorial integrity over

the right to self-determination not in normative but in realist terms. In a world of "nation-states" most of which were homogenous only in theory, many states feared the Pandora box of never-ending secessions almost as much as the states threatened by secessionist movements themselves. He calls this fear the vulnerability thesis and shows how some states will often abandon their kin for fear of state-promoted irredentism directed against them.

The situation hardly changed with the end of the cold war and the breakup of the multiethnic and regionally federated Soviet states and Yugoslavia. That the early 1990s ushered a quantitative explosion in the number of successful secessions is an incontrovertible fact; fifteen Soviet republics became independent states of which three were independent in the past, and five states (including Serbia) were created as a result of the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia all in the course of three years. Since then, state creation through secession has become once again a rare event as it was between 1945 and 1990. Only two new states of this sort, Montenegro and Eritrea, have secured both independence and membership in the United Nations since 1992 [*Growth in United Nations* 2006]. Another state born of succession, Kosovo, which declared its independence in 2008, has yet to be recognized by most member states of the United Nations. Regarding postwar Iraq, both the United States and Britain have stated their opposition to the breakup of Iraq into three broadly confessional states.

Needless to say, even though this reluctance to accept secessionist claims may be good news for states whose partition has been internationally sanctioned, the inviolability of the state has often meant bad government. Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg argue that even though chronic internal instability usually invited outside interference in the past and frequently resulted in the demise of the ruler and the absorption of his territory by his more successful opponent, norms prevailing in the present international system today ensure these states' safety from outside intervention (Jackson and Rosberg 1982: 24). States enjoy what they call "juridical statehood" (ibid., 22). Protected by the norms of international society, these often inept and corrupt regimes or dictators are able to sustain themselves by devoting most of their energies to protecting their home front.

Of course, the fact that those waging either a secessionist or irredentist campaign may be prevented by the international community from annulling the state has not prevented states and movements from attempting either to engage in irredentist behavior or to support secession in neighboring states (Fazal and Griffiths 2008: 202–3). Taking advantage of ethnic heterogeneity in neighboring states is a common fact of life in relations between hostile states. The Middle East is rich in historical and contemporary examples. Describing how Iraq and Iran have intermittently used the Kurds as a weapon in their interstate squabbles is clearly beyond the scope of the book (Bengio 1999: 153). Sudan's relations with its neighbors and Ethiopia's wars with Eritrea exhibit some of the same characteristics (Mankinda 1992: 10, 43–5). Libya's interference in Chad is another example of supporting secession, albeit

engaged in by only one of the parties to the conflict (Neuberger 1992: 22). Syria's past support of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in its struggle against Turkey's water policies and the support it gives to Palestinian Hamas and the Jihad al-Islami against Israel both serve as examples of a weaker state engaging in a war by proxy to balance against two powerful and essentially hostile neighbors (Özdağ and Aydinli 2003: 116).

Paradoxically, it may well be failure of the secessionist movements to achieve statehood, which increases rather than decreases their attractiveness as tools of war between hostile states. It is questionable whether even the radicals in Iran want a strong Shiite state in Iraq that would compete with it. It is almost certain that what they want from the Shiite movement is to keep Iraq weak and unstable.

Jaroslav Tir notes in a study based on domestic conflicts between 1900 and 1962 where territory was partitioned that "there is a widespread continuation of serious domestic conflict in partitions resulting from ethnic secessionist conflicts" (Tir 2002: 267). Almost two-thirds of the parties to the partition became involved in at least one military engagement after partition. Violence broke out in eleven of thirteen or 85 percent of the cases where there was ethnic conflict before partition compared to 54.5 percent of the thirty-four ethnic partitions studied in which there was no outbreak of violence prior to partition. On a more positive note, Tir found that partition reduces the severity of the conflict in the postpartition period (measured as ten years after partition) and that it reduces it most in just those cases where there was prior ethnic conflict (ibid., 280). Partition also reduces the severity of conflict between the rump and new state; while only 15 percent of those cases characterized by prior ethnic conflict avoided conflict altogether, in 62.5 percent of the cases they did not entail all-out war. Unfortunately, there are only eight such cases. For ethnic partitions where there was no prior conflict, the level of international violence in the postpartition stage was dramatically reduced (ibid., 282). These findings therefore suggest that partitions are good for conflict management but less effective as a conflict resolution measure. Contrary to some expectations, the type of regime established after partition has little effect on the likelihood of these states to wage war against each other. Nor does regime-type such as democracy have a strong pacifying effect on subsequent domestic conflict (ibid., 281). The Israel–Palestinian case dovetails well with Tir's findings that partition in conflict situations does not breed peace. In 1922, Palestine was effectively portioned into Mandate Palestine and the Emirate of Trans-Jordan. In 1948, Mandate Palestine was partitioned between Israel and Jordan and to a lesser extent Egypt. Nevertheless, conflict continued.

Neither does partition necessarily solve the nation/state ratio internally. Israel, even after the assumed partition will continue to be de facto a binational state in which Israel's Arab citizenry comprise 20 percent of the population. From the Northern Ireland example to which we turn, one learns that even when partition in fact reduces the irredentist problem, and therefore can be considered a relatively successful case at conflict resolution between the

rump and newly constituted state, it was nevertheless insufficient to alleviate the ethno-national problem within Northern Ireland itself.

That partition in the Irish case did not yield strong irredentism on the part of the newly created Irish state is beyond dispute. Despite a violent beginning after the partition of the island of Ireland into an Irish Free State and the government of Northern Ireland in 1922, the Irish Free State plunged into a civil war between the Sinn Fein leadership that negotiated the treaty and those who opposed the treaty under the leadership of Eamon de Valera after hostilities between the Irish state and Britain effectively ended (Townshend 1999: 152–3).

The same de Valera who as a rebel was responsible for the assassinations of leaders of the protreaty government and other forms of violence against the incumbent government into the 1930s, proceeded, once he became Prime-Minister in 1932, to quell the opposition he formerly led (Hennessey 1997: 35, 108). In dexterous fashion, he undid unilaterally the provisions of the 1922 treaty that still tied the Irish Free State to the Empire and the Commonwealth while suppressing former allies from waging terrorist campaigns across the border into Northern Ireland (Bell 1989: 99).

For all the formal irredentism Ireland exhibited in the defiant 1937 constitution, it was surprising to what extent bi-lateral, geo-strategic concerns and differences between Britain and the Republic of Ireland prevailed over kindred feelings and interests with the Catholic nationalists and Irish Republican Army (IRA) republicans in Northern Ireland. In 1938, Eire signed a new treaty with Britain in which it preferred the evacuation of British bases from ports within Eire and securing favorable trade concessions to pushing for unification as many northern Nationalists demanded of the Eire government (Townshend 1999: 150). A prominent nationalist from Northern Ireland, upon hearing of the treaty, regretfully commented that de Valera "has no policy about the north. He is only using us for his own purposes" (Hennessey 1997: 82). Once again, in June 1940, during Britain's darkest hour, Chamberlain sent an envoy to Dublin to announce that the British government was ready to state its future support for the unity of Ireland were Eire to join the war (Townshend 1999: 52). De Valera refused on the grounds that a statement over partition was not worth the punishment the Germans may mete out against Eire for changing its posture of neutrality. Once again raison d'état prevailed over ethno-national sentiment. Even the terror campaign the Provisional IRA waged in 1939 in response to economic sanctions Britain imposed on Ireland for unilaterally scuttling provisions in Anglo-Irish Treaty essentially achieved the solidification of the state of Ireland rather than the island's unity. Henceforth, the cold war between Ireland and Britain, not necessarily over Northern Ireland, was much more manageable even though surveys showed that as late as the 1970s the overwhelming majority of the population in the Republic (over 70 percent) believed that achieving the political unity of Ireland, albeit nonviolently and subject to the consent of northerners, was the most important issue facing Ireland (Ruane and Todd 1996: 234, 250).

Nevertheless, it is important to put even this relative success in solving the external problem in context. Probably the most salient difference between the Irish and Israeli–Palestinian case has to do with the division of the land mass after partition. In Ireland, partition left 83 percent of the land in the hands of just over 75 percent of the population (including Catholics in the north). In pure arithmetic terms, the first partition accorded the Catholics more "equity" than they arithmetically deserved. Even so, a vociferous majority (in the Republic of Ireland) and a violent minority (in Northern Ireland) demanded a change in the status quo based on perceived historical rights. All the more, can we expect that the Palestinians will undermine in the long run a partition which concedes 78 percent of the land mass of Eretz Israel/Palestine to the state that represents the Jewish community, especially since that community comprises only 60 percent of the total Arab and Jewish population, not including of course the Palestinians living outside Eretz Israel/Palestine.

The Bi-National Option from a Security Perspective

As much as partition alleviated the overall conflict between Irish nationalism and British designs in the island, it hardly influenced the unhappy course of events in Northern Ireland, which became a de facto bi-national state. To the six counties in Ulster with a Protestant majority (not nearly as significant as the Catholic majority in the south since Protestants comprised only 60 percent of the total population), the Treaty of 1922 offered the choice of either incorporation into the Free State or home rule (ibid., 21). The Protestant majority naturally chose the latter to the chagrin of the Catholics who formed 36 percent of the population. The six counties subsequently became the government of Northern Ireland or the "Stormont" government based on the name of the place in which the government and the local parliament presided.

Protestant Stormont is taken to task for its siege mentality that prevented equal treatment to its significant Catholic minority. The Stormont government is accused of gerrymandering in order to maximize Protestant dominance in Parliament, the case of predominantly Catholic (London) Derry being a famous example (ibid., 119–20). It was not surprising that subsequent parliaments based on such gerrymandering favored Protestants in the flow of government allocations. Thus, housing benefits, paltry in the first three decades but significant with the maturation of the British welfare state changed matters in the 1950s and 1960s, went primarily to Protestants despite their superior socioeconomic profile compared to Catholics. The Protestant-British character of the government also meant that Protestants took the lion's share of public employment; a critical factor in a largely stagnant economy suffering the decline of such traditional industries as shipbuilding and textiles.

Much more than issues of material economics or even workplace discrimination were involved in public employment related to security. The Royal Ulster Constabulary was one of the largest public employers in Northern Ireland. As the name of the organization itself indicates, the paramilitary force was

both a symbol of Protestant rule, and being armed (by contrast to the police in Britain), it reflected a resolve to quell dissent. Even if Catholics wished to join, they refrained from doing so both because of the corporate character of the force and because of vociferous opposition within the Catholic community who regarded the force as an instrument of oppression. It was hardly surprising that at no point in fifty-two years of Stormont rule did Catholics ever account for anywhere near one-tenth of the force. In education, discrimination in subventions was at least partially the Catholics' own doing when the Catholic Church labored hard to maintain an independent school system and thus preferred control and autonomy to state largess (ibid., 242). It indicated that the Catholics did not want to integrate into northern home-rule even if more favorable terms were offered. Catholics and nationalists could argue, however, that they had little choice but to establish their own educational system given unionist control over the school boards who controlled some of the funding and the successful drive by Protestant Churches to make (Protestant) Bible-teaching mandatory in a school system originally intended to be secular (ibid., 123).

Even Stormont's relative stability compared to its southern counterpart was perceived as a liability. The relatively long incumbencies of three of its Prime-Ministers for over four decades, all dyed-in-the wool Ulster unionists, prevented rectification of wrongs against Catholics that could be partially exonerated by the crisis atmosphere prevailing in the first years of partition.

Ironically, violence erupted in a period when for the first time, the Stormont government under Terence O'Neil, tried redressing some of the grievances of the growing Catholic community. Whether the descent to violence was a question of offering too little too late or an unwillingness to give in to nationalist as opposed to civil rights demands (equality in allocations and opportunities) is a subject of considerable debate. More conclusive is the finding that it began on a note of achieving civil rights and quickly transformed into the old-new nationalist-unionist conflict. As the nature of the conflict changed so it became more violent. Over 3,000 were killed between 1968 and the signing of the Good Friday Agreement thirty years later. Data on violence up till 1990 shows that the provisional IRA committed 70 percent of the violence which may explain why security forces represented over half of those killed and Protestant civilians another quarter. Catholic civilians were only 11 percent of those killed in the violence, with the remainder being the provisional IRA paramilitaries (Hennessey 1997: 190). Many of the Catholics were killed by the IRA paramilitaries. As in many other majority–minority relations, the majority that was accused of discrimination suffered a disproportionate share of the violence.

In retrospect, most Protestants would argue that Catholic violence in the long run won out not only in the turf battles but in the political market place as well. On November 15, 1985, the British and Irish governments signed the Anglo-Irish agreement in which Britain not only agreed to the formation of an Inter-Governmental Conference dealing with political, security, and

legal questions and the promotion of cross-border cooperation that accorded Ireland an important role in Northern Ireland, but also "committed itself to fostering the cultural heritage of both traditions, changes in electoral arrangements, the use of flags and symbols, and the avoidance of social and economic discrimination" as well (ibid., 272). For unionists this was a devastating sign that the motherland neither cherished nor wished to continue to foster the union between Northern Ireland and the British mainland. And though Ireland accepted that any change in the status of Northern Ireland was subject to consent of the majority, which was lacking at the time of the signing of the agreement, the only change countenanced was not closer ties to Britain but rather the establishment of a united Ireland.

This is in fact the essence of the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement, which transformed a decade and a half later an agreement between the two states into an agreement between the two communities in Northern Ireland (Kempin 2003: 27). On the face of it, the Irish government and the nationalists also made considerable concessions. Any change in the official status of Northern Ireland would be subject to the consent of the majority. This was stated clearly and precisely:

> It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland in its entirety remains part of the United Kingdom and shall not cease to be so without the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland voting in a poll held for the purposes of this section in accordance with Schedule 1. (Quoted in Wright 1992: 249)

The Republic of Ireland also amended in 1999 two articles to conform to the spirit and letter of the Belfast Agreement. Whereas Article 2 of the 1937 Constitution declared that "the national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas," which Unionists viewed as being a hostile claim on Northern Ireland, the revised article in the 1999 constitution dropped the territorial reference to all of Ireland. Similarly, Article 3, which in the 1937 constitution stated that the Irish parliament had the right to apply its laws to all of Ireland, meaning that all its inhabitants should be citizens of the state, the revised article made it clear that a "united Ireland shall be brought about only by peaceful means with the consent of majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island" (Townshend 1999: 175).

Where it gets messier for the Protestant majority is in the detailed arrangements that spelled out the internal workings of the new government of Northern Ireland, the relationship between the Republic and Northern Ireland and the relationship between Great Britain and the Republic. By far the most important were the sections regarding the first strand that addressed the nature and character of the government of Northern Ireland. This was transformed from an ethnic democracy to a power-sharing arrangement between unionists and nationalists. Two basic principles governing the Assembly were to bring about the essential change. For a decision to be binding in the Assembly either there had to be both "parallel consent" – a strict concurrent majority of

nationalist and the unionists (22 nationalists and 30 unionists), as well as an overall majority in the Assembly (55 of 108 members) when all members are present (Kempin 2003: 43–4).

In the far more common event that not all would be present, a decision would only be binding if 60 percent of those present overall supported the move provided that it achieved at least 40 percent of the support in both the nationalist and unionist camps. Unionist predominance was also scuttled in the Executive when the agreement stipulated a First Minister and Deputy First Minister from the other community with identical powers. Ironically, though power sharing was indeed achieved in the design, it came at the expense of formalizing the divide. Parties had to decide to which of three categories they belonged – unionists, nationalists, or "other." In the subsequent referendum, 70 percent of all voters in Northern Ireland supported the agreement yet only fifty-two of those supporting unionist parties did so. Support for the agreement in the Republic was overwhelming; the Agreement received 94 percent of the vote there (MacGinty and Darby 2002: 44).

Deep division over the agreement did not prevent the largest unionist party, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), to continue making concessions. By far the most important was its decision to agree to the establishment of the Executive and the holding of elections to the Assembly before effective decommissioning – the euphemism used that required paramilitaries, principally the provisional IRA, to give up its arms. However tortuous it was to reach the decision within the UUP, it proved to be a good gamble. In the first elections to the new Northern Ireland Assembly held in June 1998, the party won twenty-six seats with the rival more extreme Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) under Ian Paisley, securing only twenty-two (ibid.). The Assembly, after much arm-twisting by both the British and Irish governments, came into being with the elections of the Executive in November 1999 for the first time in twenty-seven years.

The wave of optimism ushered in by the Agreement, however, was short-lived. Talks over decommissioning, a unionist preoccupation, had bogged down (Stevenson 2003: 166). Meanwhile, the disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the creating of a truly representative civil police, an issue of concerns for nationalists, only made slight progress. The unionist parties withdrew from the Assembly leading to the collapse of the government, and by February 2000, Peter Mandelson, the Minister for Northern Ireland suspended it after UUP leader, David Trimble, resigned as First Minister. In May 2000, the Assembly was back on course after an IRA announcement proclaimed it would "completely and veritably" put arms beyond use (Timeline 2008). The Assembly succeeded in passing a budget for 2000 but was suspended once again in 2002. Only in 2007 did the Assembly begin operating sufficiently to justify a pronouncement that the peace process, formally culminated a decade earlier, had finally succeeded.

Yet even this success is qualified by the time and place in which it was achieved. The peace process in Ireland took place under the canopy of two

mature democracies, Britain and Eire, both eager to defuse a conflict they perceived to be a leftover from the nineteenth century that encumbered them from capitalizing on the globalization two centuries later. And the canopy both of these state formed rested under an even wider security umbrella, the European Community, which reflects the most successful case to date of the emergence of a zone of lasting peace. The contrast to the Middle East and indeed to other peace processes embarked upon elsewhere is glaring.

Proponents of the bi-national state would argue that "the troubles" in Northern Ireland resulted from the failure of Northern Ireland to become a bi-national state that gave equal expression to the two national peoples in its midst. Normatively, this point is debatable on the grounds that such an arrangement compromises the majority population's wish to a state identity reflecting its predominance, especially in an arrangement that the members of the minority community are able to exercise their civil rights and find expression in identifying with a people that form the majority of a neighboring state.

It is certainly debatable from the point of view of human security of both the majority and minority due to the very problematic nature of the bi-national unity. Findings from numerous studies that tested the relationship between ethnic and ethno-national heterogeneity and ethno-national strife point out that polarization – the division of the polity into two or three large groups – breeds much greater instability and violence than more heterogeneous settings characterized by high ethnic fractionalization (Fearon and Laitin 2003; De Soysa and Neumayer 2008; Wimmer and Min 2006). Likewise, there is a strong reason to believe that dominant "nationalizing" states like Israel will be more stable than bi-national ones (Fearon and Laitin 2003) and that therefore there is a trade-off between what might be normatively more palatable and what is effectively more realistic. Plotting the relationship between instability and proneness to violence with heterogeneity would produce a curve in which a homogenous or "strong" state would be characterized by low instability, peaking when two or three major groups preside and declining thereafter.

The reason nationalizing states might promise more stability and well-being than a polarizing bi-national polity has to do with security dilemma issues. Where a strong state exists, the allocation of resources might be more inequitable, but it is at least predictable. If, as in the Israeli case, there are civil rights and rights of political participation, the minority can contest and ameliorate the status quo. All the more so is this true of a polity like Israel which for reasons totally unconnected to state–minority relations per se is committed to liberal and liberal economic changes in order to ensure a military technological edge and global economic competitiveness. By contrast, a transition to bi- or tri-nationalism and the decline of a political center risks the emergence of severe security dilemma issues because ethnic and religious groups are unable to coordinate mutual security fears and begin to arm themselves to preempt attack by the other group (Kaufmann 1996; Posen 1993). The

ability to manage underlying social frictions and to stem extreme nationalist demands is undermined by either the fear of being attacked, its augmentation by an ethnic political entrepreneur who promotes the security dilemma for his own purposes, or typically by both the fear itself and what the politician does with it (Wolff 2006). The disintegration of Yugoslavia, a state in which Serbs clearly dominated but whose domination was tempered by a more universal soft communism, and the subsequent violence that ensured on the road to partition in Bosnia and Kosovo, reflect these processes. Few would argue that Bosnians and Kosovars are better off today than they were as Yugoslavian citizens and fewer still would argue that a tri-national arrangement that prevails in Bosnia is successful. As *New York Times* journalist Tina Rosenberg wrote six years after hostilities ended in Bosnia (Rosenberg 2001), "a Bosnian identity … has very little national anything. The new national flag, its design painstakingly negotiated, flies outside the United Nations in New York but it is hard to find in Bosnia. There are Serbian textbooks, Muslim textbook and Croatian textbooks, each with a different history of the war." Bosnia, divided into the Serbian Srpska and a joint Muslim-Croat Republic Federation might be more an exercise in balance of power between three warring groups rather than a federal-consociational arrangement.

Even the tense and unsatisfying stability that prevails in Bosnia is owed to the international and European community. This means that if in Europe, the overall geo-strategic setting and the regional and international structures operated to ensure Bosnian stability, the opposite is the case for the Middle East. Germane to the second-image reverse perspective argued right through the book, it would seem that regional pressures exacerbate rather than attenuate domestic security dilemma tensions that would prevail in any event were a Republican Israel replaced by a bi-national State of Israel. Perhaps, the best example of the role of regional pressures in undermining a bi- or tri-national setting is Lebanon, Israel's tortured neighbor to the north. Lebanon is a good example because it also reflects the breakdown of consociationalism, which is as was noted in the first chapter, a solution many have suggested as a panacea to Israel's relationship with its Arab minority!

In the theory of consociationalism, Lebanon has a pride of place for having possessed a grand coalition of all important ethnic groups, mutual veto, ethnically proportioned allocation of resources and offices, and ethnic autonomy (Lijphart 1977: 25–44). Much of the breakdown since then has been if not due to external factors, at least exacerbated by them. In 1958, following the July Revolution in Iraq, the breakdown of consociationalism was narrowly averted only after 5,000 U.S. Marines were briefly dispatched to the capital to protect President Camille Chamoun who challenged Nasser's pan-Arabism and his attempts to amalgamate Lebanon into the recently created United Arab Republic.

No myth, however, was potent enough to enable Lebanese society to withstand the pressures emanating from the emergence of the PLO as a central player in Lebanese politics in the late 1960s and the regional interference

which this generated. In July 1968, a faction of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an Israeli El Al civilian plane en route to Algiers. In December, Habash himself oversaw an attack on an El Al plane in Athens, resulting in two deaths. Later that month, Israeli agents flew into Beirut's international airport and demolished thirteen civilian airliners belonging to various Arab carriers. Israel defended its actions by informing the Lebanese government that it was responsible for encouraging the PFLP (Smith 2000: 310).

To control Palestinian–Lebanese tensions emanating from Palestinian guerrilla activity, President Nasser helped to negotiate the 1969 "Cairo Agreement" between Arafat and the Lebanese government. The PLO was granted autonomy over Palestinian refugee camps and access routes to northern Israel in return for PLO recognition of Lebanese sovereignty. The agreement incited Maronite frustration over what were perceived as excessive concessions to the Palestinians. The rise of the Phalange, a Maronite militia, reflected the frustration over the state of affairs among a considerable number of Christians (ibid., 353.)

Differences over the Palestinian presence were part and parcel of a larger Christian–Muslim struggle over the distribution of domestic political power. Regional developments once again exacerbated these tensions. The turn for the worse took place after the PLO was ousted from Jordan in 1970–1. Christian control of the government, however constitutionally guaranteed, had come under increasing fire from Muslims and leftists, who decided to join forces as the National Movement in 1969. The National Movement called for a new census and a subsequent division of power that would reflect census results. Political tension turned into full-scale civil war during April 1975. The Maronite leadership called for Syrian intervention in 1976, leading to the presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon, and an Arab summit in 1976 was called to control the crisis.

Lebanon's civil war can be divided broadly into several periods; the initial outbreak in the mid-1970s, the Syrian and then Israeli intervention of the late 1970s, escalation of the PLO–Israeli conflict in the early 1980s, the 1982 Israeli invasion, a brief period of multinational involvement, and finally the resolution that took the form of Syrian occupation.

The fortunes of the Lebanese state reached its lowest ebb after the government of President Amine Gemayel (1982–8) imprudently demolished "unlawful" homes of Shi'is in the "Southern Suburb" of Beirut – a belt of poverty-stricken neighborhoods surrounding the capital most of whom were supporters of the Amal Movement, the most powerful Shi'i faction militia in the country. The move sparked a full-fledged revolt against Gemayel's "oppressive" government and its instruments of coercion leading to massive defection of Muslim officers and enlisted men from the army and its virtual disintegration along ethnic and regional lines. Meanwhile, the Palestinian organizations and the Syrian and Israeli armies took control of the eastern and southern parts of the country (Barak 2001: 73).

If the major meddlers in Lebanese affairs leading to the breakdown of consociational arrangements were fellow Arab states, the PLO and Israel, in the 1980s revolutionary Iran joined the fray. In 1982, the Iranians operating mainly through their ambassador to Damascus, Ali Akbar Mohtashamipour, a radical mullah, decided to create a branch in Lebanon of the Iranian Hizbullah (the party of God) in order to offset and overcome the power of the secular Shiite force Amal. Within two years Hizbullah, which united several radical Shi'ite groups in Lebanon, had become the main force resisting the Israeli occupation of Lebanon after the expulsion of the PLO in 1983 (Taheri 2008). Syria, determined to offset Israel's growing political standing and conventional military might yet equally intent to avoid risking a direct confrontation with Israel after the latter's air force shot down eighty-six Syrian aircraft without incurring any losses of its own, soon followed suit in supporting the radical Shiite movement. For the next two decades, Hizbullah, essentially waged a proxy war on Syria's behalf. The proxy war enabled Syria to maintain thousands of troops in Lebanon and wield considerable security clout that wreaked havoc in Lebanese politics.

How much Hizbullah was focused on the domestic Lebanese scene depended in great measure on the movement's mentor Iran and its strategic objectives. In the early years, Hizbullah organized the hijacking of civilian aircraft and pioneered in the Middle East the idea of suicide bombings against American and French targets, killing almost 1,000 people, including 241 U.S. Marines in Beirut and 58 French paratroopers and more than 200 foreign nationals in Lebanon, most of them Americans or western Europeans. Its imprint of violence was also felt in the Gulf States with Shiite populations where the organization tried to arouse support for the "Islamic" revolution against the states of Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia who were traditionally allied with the United States. In the 1990s, it was involved in two bombings of the Jewish center in Buenos Aires resulting in hundreds of deaths (ibid.).

Regional politics once again played a major role in undermining what was left of the consociational system in Lebanon after Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 2000. Lebanon has been on the verge of civil war since the assassination of Prime-Minister Rafik al-Hariri in February 2005, presumably by Syrian intelligence, which produced a fierce division between a coalition of the Maronite majority, Sunnis, and Druze under Sa'ad al-Hariri, Rafik's son, and the opposing forces led by Hizbullah and Amal. Moderate Arab states, principally Saudi Arabia, support the former, whereas Iran and Syria support the latter. Thus, deadly local enmity is fed by the larger Muslim state cold war that includes the Palestinian and Iraqi arenas as well.

Lebanon is hardly the only example in Israel's neighborhood of a consociational arrangement that failed. In Cyprus, consociationalism gave way to a partition forged by both intercommunal and external violence. The tiny country, half the size of Israel is divided between Greek Cypriot, and Turkish political entities, the latter protected by the permanent stationing of 30,000 Turkish troops. Over three decades after Turkish invasion and partition,

during which numerous power-sharing schemes were offered to the two sides by well-intentioned mediators, produced no ray of hope for the restoration of consociationalism in Cyprus (Fisher 2001: 315). Even in zones of peace, consociationalism, as in the case of Belgium, has increasingly veered toward separation under an overarching federal structure.

Conclusion

Partition has rarely led to further dismemberment and secession, let alone to the demise of an existing state at least since the creation of the United Nations after World War II. A partition solution, once recognized by the international community, becomes a formidable barrier to further disintegration. By the same token, where partition does not result in the division into two exclusive national groups, there may be considerable pressure to accommodate the national minority residing in the partitioned state or, in the case of the irredentist state, to encourage subversion within the community as a means to weaken the new state protagonist.

The Israel–Palestinian case, however, is different from most cases of partition; Most were concerned with dividing territory and setting borders; few suffered from narratives of total displacement, which, according to the injured party, called for restoration of the situation based on the eradication of the state of affairs after displacement. This is where the Northern Ireland case is so instructive. The nationalist and Catholic majority believed they had a political claim to all of Ireland, which may partially explain why partition, acknowledged by the Catholic majority in 1922, did not result in stability; the arrangement was challenged actively by a minority of Irish citizens (with the tacit support of most of the rest) and arguably by the majority of Catholics in Northern Ireland itself. The challenge, coupled with higher population growth among Catholics, resulted in substantial political concessions on the part of the Protestant majority. In the Belfast Agreement, the Northern Ireland state lost its Protestant unionist character.

Even if one is to assume that the peace process in Northern Ireland has come to a successful end and that normatively the political arrangement justifies the majority's loss of a collective state identity, it is doubtful due to geostrategic differences whether that achievement could be replicated in the far more volatile area in which Israel is situated. Cyprus and especially Lebanon are a reflection of how states that did not possess strong centers and that gravitated to power-sharing solutions were enveloped by domestic security dilemmas and subsequent patterns of violence, which were then exacerbated

by external players. Consociationalism and other forms of power sharing, at least in regional violent settings, were as much a problem as it was a panacea. This would suggest on the basis of the second image reversed thesis that power-sharing arrangements are only viable when external interference is weak; where it is strong, it acts to consolidate these arrangements rather than to weaken them.

The Northern Ireland case, at the very least, would suggest that a repartition along the 1967 armistice line may not be the final redrawing of the map in terms of either geography or Israel's character as a Jewish democratic state. Nor is there any assurance, given the substantially different geo-strategic and economic contexts between the Israeli and Northern Ireland case, that the transition will take place at a similar relatively low rate of violence compared to many violent prepartition situations.

The thrust of this book has been to introduce, or more correctly reintroduce, the perspectives of international relations and international security into the analysis of relations between the State of Israel and its Arab minority. Using the literature on international relations and security and on the basis of the second image reversed concept, it has been argued that the quality of the relationship between the State of Israel and Israel's Arab citizens has been heavily influenced by the broader regional geo-strategic security situation facing the state, as in many other cases of ethno-national cleavage. Israeli policies toward its Arab citizens moderated during the rare periods of relative geo-strategic security and hardened when Israel's regional position became more precarious.

Over time, however, Israel's relationship with its Arab citizens has become more liberal, due in large part to the unintended consequences of economic liberalization, which has been implemented by the Israeli elite since 1967 in order to maintain Israel's long-term strategic military edge over its enemies, whether states or nonstates, as well as being compelled by the economic imperative of maintaining competitiveness in the global economy.

Ideological considerations also came into play as an increasingly activist High Court of Justice annulled attempts to constrain Arab political activity, which was considered by the security establishment and the mainstream political parties of the Jewish majority to be inimical to Israeli national security. The book has tried to show how short-term ebbs and flows in the tenor of the relationship between the state and its Arab citizens were influenced by Israel's geo-strategic environment, while the imperative to liberalize the economy, as well as liberal ideological tendencies among Israel's Jewish elites since the late 1960s, moderated Israeli policies in the long term.

Regional geo-strategic tensions also directly affected the ethno-national minority. For example, the response of Israel's Arab citizens to the initial violence in East Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Palestinian Authority in early October 2000 clearly demonstrated that geo-strategic factors can explain their behavior as well. The threat perceived by the state and the predominant Jewish community has been reinforced from two directions: external

aggression and the domestic ethno-national challenge, which the local Arab political elite has done little, whether rhetorically or ideologically, to mitigate, as demonstrated in previous chapters.

Rhetorically, Israel's Arab citizens have often portrayed themselves as being opposed to the state, not only on issues that directly affect them but also on regional political issues that have direct bearing on the state's security. Many Arab organizations and most of the local Arab media consistently identify with Israel's foes and disparage the United States, its major ally. Though one can scarcely deny citizens the right to express such opinions, the broad consensus on these matters does little to allay concerns amongst the Jewish majority that a potentially dangerous minority exists in its midst. That Israel is always in the wrong and that the state's opponents are always considered by the majority of Israel's Palestinian citizens to possess the higher moral ground is a proposition that neither the state elite nor the Jewish public can accept with equanimity, especially in the face of the appallingly low levels of civil and democratic rights among Israel's neighbors and their indiscriminate and widespread use of violence to oppress minorities. Even if Israel is hardly a paragon of virtue, the majority of Jewish Israelis feel that most if not all of the states in the region are far less so.

It is largely within this context that the Jewish majority evaluates plans adumbrated by Israeli Arab elites regarding the identity of the state and the relationship between its majority and minority. Whereas the Palestinian Authority linked in the past the issue of Palestinian refugees to state building within the borders of the proposed Palestinian state, political and intellectual movements among Israel's Arab citizens have focused on the "return" of the individual to an essentially bi-national state. This is reflected in the four "visionary" documents formulated by leading Arab intellectuals and politicians. Israeli reaction to these documents, even among liberal academic circles, has been almost unanimously negative, not to speak of the grave security implications such a shift in the balance of power would have on the collective security of the Jewish state.

The problem with the bi-national/consociational state is twofold: First, such regimes, which are characterized by ethno-national cleavage, almost always break down. Lebanese consociationalism lasted fourteen years until it disintegrated under the weight of external factors when the devastating civil war broke out in 1975. The attempt to resurrect it under the terms of the Ta'if agreement in 1989 has been only partially successful, if at all. Thus, the sizable Christian minority had boycotted the two elections held under that agreement, and the Hizbullah, a Shiite militia, has refused to lay down its arms and rules over a considerable amount of Lebanese territory far from the Israeli border, while the militias of other minorities are in abeyance rather than having been disbanded. When a democratic government finally came into being, it was brutally assaulted by Hizbullah forces in 2008.

Second, giving in to the demands made in these documents would have grave geo-strategic ramifications on the security of the Jewish majority in Israel. The position of Israel's Jewish majority would become precarious in

a number of ways. The current balance of power between the Jewish state and the Palestinians, presently in Israel's favor, would be completely reversed. Instead of a Jewish state with broad security control up to fifty miles up to the Jordan River – probably the minimum necessary to ensure its viability – the Jewish state would be divided in half and would essentially be facing two Palestinian states, one of which could very well become a theocratic state under Hamas. These "visionary" documents also spell out very clearly with whom Israel's Palestinians would ally – fellow Palestinians in the neighboring Palestinian state and in the Arab nations, many of whom harbor considerable hostility toward the Zionist project. On the broader regional level, at least one powerful state actor, Iran, and many terrorist movements of Islamist hue are pledged to eliminate Jewish political power in the area and will obviously do everything in their power to weaken the Jewish state, just as Hizbullah, Iran's proxy, has weakened the Maronites in Lebanon.

As things stand, Israel, according to the second image reversed argument, will find it difficult to better the conditions of its Arab citizens in the foreseeable future in the face of a potentially worsened geo-strategic situation. The intifada, 9/11, U.S. intervention in Afghanistan, the occupation of Iraq, the rise of a nuclear-oriented and radical Iran, and the persistence and growth of Islamic fundamentalist violence ended a decade-long age of innocence that began with the tearing down of the Iron Curtain and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The optimism generated in the previous decade by the diminished intensity of the Arab–Israeli conflict and by peacemaking efforts with the Palestinians within the Oslo venue likewise dissipated. Instead, for the first time since the 1960s and 1970s, Israel has endured three major conflicts in less than ten years (the 2000 intifada, the Hizbullah war in 2006, and the Gaza offensive in December 2008).

Evaluating Israeli Democracy from a Geo-Strategic Perspective

Much of the academic study of the relationship between Israel and its Arab minority is also at the same time a normative and moral evaluation, often a critical one. If regimes are indeed shaped by their geo-strategic setting, then the expectations of states unfavorably situated for attaining democratic and liberal thresholds should be altered accordingly. One can hardly expect, all other things being equal, that highly threatened states in undemocratic neighborhoods will attain thresholds of liberal and democratic performance comparable to those of more secure states.

Present-day attempts to hold states accountable to democratic standards and liberties by ranking them on these issues should take into account the magnitude of the security challenges they face. Since assigning ranks is a form of judgment and since constitutional theory accords precarious states some leeway in abiding by democratic standards, it is a moral imperative for those making such judgments to take the security factor into account. This means that groups such as Freedom House (which ranks states according to the political rights of participation and the civil rights that accord protection from the

state and the majority) should develop measures of a state's precariousness and should factor them into the ranking.

Criteria for developing such an index should include: the number of states that do not have diplomatic ties with the state being ranked, especially if that state has not taken any hostile action against them; the level of terror to which the state is subject; the relative concentration of democratic states in the immediate vicinity (based on the assumption that democratic states go to war less frequently); and the level of invective rhetoric against the state in the official and unofficial media of other states.

Israel ranks high with respect to the political rights and civil liberties granted to its citizens even without taking into consideration the security challenges it faces. According to Freedom House, Israel receives the highest rank (one out of seven) for democracy by according political rights of participation to all its citizens (thanks to its single-district list-based proportional representation system) and for having one of the lowest voting thresholds for party access into its parliament. Israel receives a score of two (again out of seven) for human rights, principally because it resorts to the 1945 Defence (Emergency) Regulations that permits (among other practices) administrative detention and extensive powers of search and seizure. (This measure is used primarily against Israel's Arab citizens, although it is increasingly being used against right-wing Jewish dissidents as well.) Both rankings place Israel firmly in the category of a "free" state – the only Middle Eastern state in that category.

The democratic deficit is almost universally characteristic of Arab states (less than one-third are "partially free" and more than two-thirds not free at all). Were the insights of the second image reversed argument, and indeed much of the normative discourse in constitutional theory, taken into consideration, Israel's record toward its ethno-national minority would probably be judged as outstanding – even though in absolute terms it has some way to go in order to reach the level of civil liberties in the established democracies, which are typically located in regional zones of peace.

Comparing Israel's relationship to its Arab citizens with other ethno-national conflict settings, including the bi-national setting of Mandate Palestine, places Israel in an even more positive light. Thus, Muslim–Hindu violence in Kashmir, the violence between Greek and Turkish communities in independent Cyprus prior to the Turkish invasion, and the violent histories of conflict in Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, and Lebanon constitute the prism through which Israel's treatment of its Arab citizens should be viewed. The innovation reflected in Israel's considerable economic growth and to which Israel's Arab citizens increasingly contribute and the informal channels of discourse and understanding between the state and the Arab minority and between the Jewish and Arab communities and the increasing level of tolerance over the years have contributed to this successful though problematic and overlooked relationship. However, Israel's quest for security, which has mandated the liberalization of its economy and its technological prowess, has paradoxically had positive ramifications on Israel's Arab citizens.

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