

Sikkuy's Report
on Equality & Integration
of the Arab Citizens
in Israel 1999-2000

June 2000

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Introduction

Dear Readers,

The report before you is published each spring. Its four goals, equal to the number of its target audiences, are:

- ◆ To assist government decision-makers with their deliberations as they prepare the agenda for formulating the next year's budget
- ◆ To expand the knowledge of public leaders in politics and in the municipal government
- ◆ To enrich the character of the materials to which the educators of the next generation of citizens are exposed
- ◆ To provide additional ways for the general public to analyze the present situation

Our approach to the subject is value-based, but in this report we are also examining quantities, and the measure is 18.6%—the percentage of Arab citizens in the Israeli population. The quantitative approach is not entirely equitable, since the needs far exceed this technical equality. It appears that a response involving preferential treatment in the budget, that is, exceeding this figure, is required. Nevertheless, we used this figure because it is easier to comprehend. For the most part, the situation is so lacking, that it seems at times as if reaching the 18.6% line might suffice; however, it is not.

The budget year reviewed was 1999, but occasionally we commented on the year 2000. We did this where it would help in understanding the context.

Our review is not absolutely comprehensive, because we do not have the means to examine all areas of activity in all the government ministries. We therefore chose issues almost at random. The report before you, however, contains enough particulars that can be put together to sufficiently portray the situation. In almost every "glass" examined, we found the "empty half" to be greater than the "full half". In each individual case, we propose a way to fill the glass, to remedy the situation.

This is not a situation that needs minor tinkering; rather, an all-encompassing change of approach based on principle is required. The problem that pervades every area that we reviewed is the issue of access. Arab citizens have very poor access to the State's resources and services. It seems to us that a review of the Arab citizens' situation should be conducted by the State annually over the next ten years.

To this end, we propose to the State Comptroller that the criterion of access be the primary index for a professional and authorized study. It is hoped that the Comptroller's powers will be expanded so that the implementation of his conclusions can help to improve the situation.

We hope you find the report interesting and useful.

Shalom (Shuli) Dichter
Dr. Assad Ghanem
Co Directors

Editor's Foreword

Have Times Indeed Changed?

Immediately following the 1999 elections, signs started to appear regarding possible changes in the government's policy toward Arab citizens. Some of these were:

- A number of newly appointed ministers declared a change of priorities;
- The new Minister of Science, Culture and Sports, Matan Vilnai, appointed as coordinator for Arab citizens' affairs, began to systematically study the many aspects of the subject, and contacted the Arab political leadership;
- Mohammad Zeidan, Chair of the Monitoring Committee, was invited to join the ministers' committee for Arab citizens' affairs; and his deputy, Shauki Khatib, was invited to join the ministries' general directors' committee for Arab citizens' affairs;
- The Ministry of Industry and Commerce began projects intended for Arab citizens;
- The Ministry of Education began changing the budgets and their allocation;
- The Ministry of the Interior transferred lands for industry from the municipal jurisdiction of Rosh Ha'ayin to that of Kfar Kasim;
- The Ministry of Agriculture decided to pay drought compensation to Bedouin farmers, for the first time since the establishment of the State.

Ostensibly these are harbingers of changing times, but when the matter is more closely and carefully scrutinized, a difficult and gray reality is uncovered. The announcement of substantial improvement is therefore premature.

In general, it can be said that in the past year government authorities did not substantially change their attitude towards Arab citizens, and needless to say, the anticipated change with regard to their rightful portion of state resources did not materialize.

“There's no budget for it”

In research conducted at various government ministries prior to writing this report, we often encountered polite answers and a friendly attitude towards the matter. It appears that there is a factor that goes beyond the goodwill of those involved – and it is the budget: “What can we do?” says a senior official, anonymously. “Our budget is limited, and unless it is supplemented – I believe that we won't be able to increase services for Arab citizens”... Problems of budgetary constraints were also cited by Justice Dan Arbel, director of the court system, with respect to the court presence of interpreters.

In this regard, the President of the Supreme Court, Aharon Barak, wrote:

“Budgetary considerations are of fundamental importance. Here, too, the principle of equality must be upheld, there is no justification for discrimination on the basis that its prevention may be costly. Equality costs money... If the lawmakers have provided certain services for group A, they must not discriminate against group B, which is now entitled – based on the constitutional principle of equality – to comparable services.

The excuse that providing similar services to group B is too expensive, does stand up

under the scrutiny of constitutional law.”

Barak, Legal Commentary (1994 vol. C) pg. 528

Not only is this excuse unacceptable under constitutional scrutiny, it is contrary to common sense. It is peculiar to hear a senior official or minister, with past and present accomplishments, who commands a budget in the billions, listing the difficulties of implementing “these lovely principles”. When his excuses are shown to be without merit, he makes a hopeless gesture with his hands and complains about his difficulties with the Treasury Office. The decision to divide resources equally is, in principle, entirely his to make, and is influenced by the philosophy under which he operates. The budget is a given quantity, regardless of its size, intended for the citizens. The question of its use and allocation reflects the minister’s priorities and power.

The issue of the life of the majority and minority in a single civic framework is not unique to Israel, and much can be learned on this topic from what happens elsewhere in the world. There, too, life is not always tranquil, but the subject matter is confronted head on. In Israel, a Commission for Equal Rights for Persons with Disabilities was recently established as per the Law of Equal Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities. Perhaps we may be cautiously optimistic that this is a step in the direction of equality for all citizens.

During the 1990s, the Supreme Court challenged the political system on more than one occasion. On the subject of equality, the Supreme Court apparently represents the link between the State of Israel and the norms embraced by the western world two to three decades ago. I am not sure that the Supreme Court’s precise function should be to serve as such a link, but in this context it represents the default option for the “Adala” Organization, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), and their colleagues, who act as a voice for Arab citizens.

The various officials must initiate active study of the subject, in light of the progressive laws and procedures on the allotment of state resources that exist in other countries like Belgium, Canada, and others. The lawmakers and those who put the laws into practice must first acknowledge the current situation. This matter should not be left to the judicial authorities. The litany of pretexts used to ignore the problems must cease, as must the belief that these decisions can be postponed until the next political term. Those in power must approach the problem boldly, without waiting for “pressure from above” (i.e. the government) and “pressure from below” (i.e. the citizens), examining it as is, without fear.

Affirmative Action

“Whether caused by discriminatory laws which existed in the past and are no longer valid, or whether through faulty perceptions which have become engrained in society, a gap is evident in the equality of opportunity, which increases the chances of the stronger groups and decreases those of the weaker ones. Balance can be effected on this gap by affirmative action. It is based on the precept that certain members in society are in an inferior position and providing equal opportunity will no longer be sufficient to close the gap. Providing equal opportunity under these circumstances will only fulfill a formal theory of equality but will not afford the underprivileged groups a viable chance to receive their portion of society’s resources. Long-term implementation of formal equality only, increases the danger that human nature and character will result in the perpetuation of discrimination. Remedying the inequities of the past and attaining actual equality can, therefore, be accomplished only by giving preference to the weaker group.”

[Judge Eliahu Matza, Supreme Court Decision 453/94, Israeli Women’s Lobby Versus the Government, Judgment 48 (5)529]

The foundation of affirmative action is in the understanding of the inferior position of the disadvantaged group. We have known the facts for many years, but that is not sufficient. There is no immediate connection between being aware of the situation and acknowledging the problem and resolving it. In order to remedy the situation, it would appear that it is necessary to advance to an additional phase. This phase involves taking responsibility for the situation having arisen, not in the personal and immediate sense but rather collectively, historically. This is the majority's responsibility, in every sense of the word, both in theory and in practice.

A re-examination of the majority's relationship with the minority, carried out responsibly and seriously, both on an individual and institutional level, may threaten existing perceptions, and bring about substantial change. Perhaps for that reason, it is so difficult to embrace a policy of affirmative action. In addition, accepting responsibility may be accompanied by feelings of guilt, for those representing the ruling majority, from the minister in charge, through the ministry officials, and the political and public leadership down to the general public, and even this writer. Transforming the feelings of guilt into acceptance of responsibility for the situation and its improvement, is an essential step on the path to establishing a policy of affirmative action.

The Jewish-Arab Relationship: A Fragile or A Stable Civic Fabric?

Recently, negative comments made by Commander Alik Ron, chief of the northern region of the Israeli police, concerning the character of the struggle for equality by Arab citizens and their leader, were reported by the news media. In the section on the Ministry of Domestic Security, mention is made of the difference in police behavior towards Arab demonstrators and Jewish demonstrators. In this regard, the police represent a link in the relationship between Arab and Jewish citizens. Every time the commander speaks negatively about Arab citizens, there are those who are quick to defend the "fragile relations" which exist between the Arab citizens and the State, and between the Arabs and the Jews.

There is nothing quite as frail as a fragile relationship. The frailty of the relationship causes the status quo to be maintained, both between Arab citizens and the State, and Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel. The current situation is that of inequality, which most certainly does not promote stability in the relationship between the citizen groups.

A fragile relationship is unstable and undependable. The time has come to weave a diversified civic fabric, which is not in danger of being torn with every democratic tug. This fabric's nature should be equal and balanced, even if its threads differ in color and character one from the other. The legitimate position that each occupies will make the fabric stable and durable.

Shalom (Shuli) Dichter

The Ministry of the Environment

Total Budget: 198.6 Million NIS

Number of Employees: 400

Number of Employees who are Arab citizens: 10 → 2.5%

Issues:

1. Environmental Units

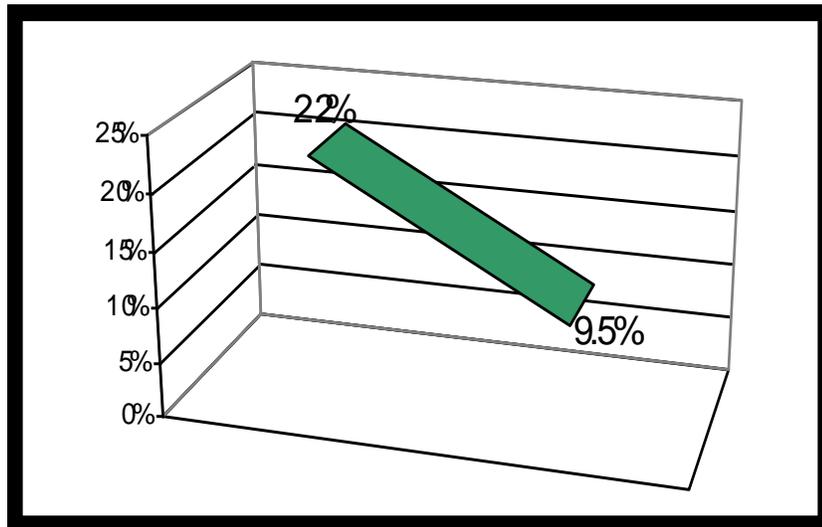
- The first active environmental unit within the Arab municipalities was established in 1994. Today there are 35 environmental units, with a total budget for 1999 of 6.15 million NIS. Seven units (20%) are active within the Arab municipalities, and their total budget for 1999 was 1.24 million NIS (20%).
- Environmental unit budgets are jointly allocated by the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of the Interior. Until 1998, the Ministry of the Interior also financed the local municipalities' portion for maintaining the environmental units within their jurisdiction.
- In 1998, the Ministry of the Interior ceased to finance the Arab municipalities' portion, and they were forced to continue to finance the units from their own budget. This situation exists in Um El Fahm and Nazareth. The southern environmental unit transferred its offices from Be'er-Sheva to Tel-Sheva, and as a result the Tel-Sheva local municipality assists in the unit's administrative expenses.

2. Waste Management Infrastructures

- ◆ Waste management infrastructures within the Arab municipalities' jurisdiction are not sufficiently developed. Many of the garbage dumps in Israel are located within the Arab local municipalities' jurisdiction, yet much of the waste comes from outside the local municipalities. The situation is further deteriorated by the unequal apportioning of the budgetary "pie".
- ◆ Despite this data, in 1999 the allocation for this matter was only 189,000 NIS out of

1,989,000 NIS, which represents only 9.5% of the infrastructure budget.

Waste Management Infrastructure Budget for the Arab Municipalities (in percentages)



Budget 1998

Budget 1999

3. Education and Dissemination of Information

During the past 25 years, extensive knowledge has been amassed in the field of improving the quality of life and the environment. The conclusion is that there is a direct co-relation between information and public awareness regarding improving the quality of life and the environment and its attainment.

With regard to the environment, Israel is ranked among the developing countries and here, too, Arab citizens have been left behind. An additional conclusion from the knowledge amassed is that education of adolescents on matters of environmental quality is very effective and vital for general awareness of the topic.

- A primary channel for adolescent education is through the Council of Youth Movements. The Council of Youth Movements receives a budget of 150,000 NIS for environmental quality awareness education. The Arabic youth movements are not members of this council, and receive only a budget of 10,000 NIS (6.2%)
- Another vital channel for environmental education is through the environmental units. In 1998 four of the seven education supervisors in the environmental units operating in the Arab communities resigned, and to date they have not been replaced. As a result, no allocations were made to the environmental units for educational purposes.

The subject of environmental quality sharply accentuates the difficult situation of Arabs in Israel, because it emphasizes three of the major deficiencies in the lives of these citizens: infrastructures, day to day administration, and education.

The infrastructures (sewage, water, electricity, roads) do not allow for improved levels in the environment and quality of life, because they are dependent on municipal planning schemes and orderly designation of areas for industry and trade. Recycling and hazardous waste disposal is of vital local and regional significance for the health of the residents.

Solid and toxic waste dumps, adjacent to residential areas, represent a health hazard and cause serious environmental distress.

In day to day administration, the municipality is weak and the residents are alienated from it. The municipality is unable to handle the various matters related to environmental quality on its own, and requires considerable assistance.

Education, more than anything, gives expression to the weak link with the local, regional and national organizational system.

This feeling of strong alienation has a trickle down effect with regard to environmental issues. Preserving the environment requires positive and reciprocal interaction between the three previously mentioned elements. This interaction is contingent on feeling connected to external systems, especially the State. It is within the Ministry of the Environment's power to take action that will go well beyond concern for environmental quality, and will reflect the civic attitude of the governing authorities.

The Ministry of Health

Total Budget: 19.3 Billion NIS

Development Budget: 424 Million NIS

Budget for Closing Gaps: 9.3 Million – 2.2% of the Development Budget

Number of Employees: 27,330

Number of Arab Employees: 1,731 – 6.3%

Issues:

1. Infant Mortality and Infant Welfare Clinics

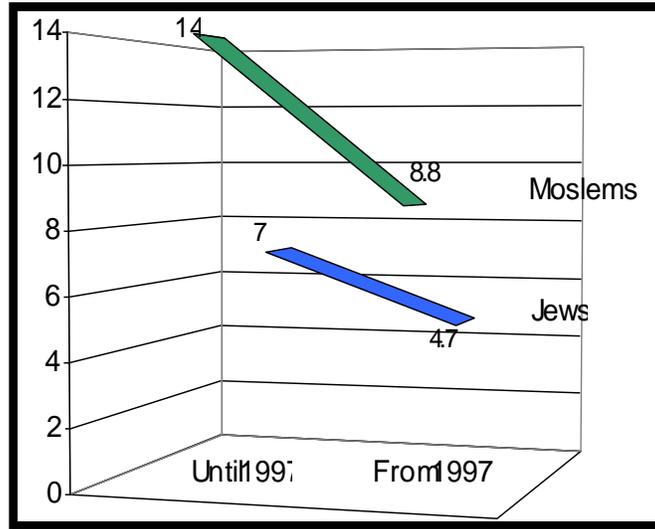
- Infant mortality rates per 1,000 residents decreased by half in recent years.
- In Israel, there are 520 Infant Welfare Clinics, and 175 of them are in Arab communities (33%).

One of the results of a relative lack of Infant Welfare Clinics in the Arab local municipalities, is a higher level of infant mortality.

Although there has been improvement in recent years, the infant mortality rate among Moslem citizens (82% of the Arab citizens) is still twice that of the Jewish population.

Quantitatively, it would appear that this situation reflects affirmative action. Yet the budget allocated to closing gaps in this area represents only 2.2% of the Ministry's development budget, and does not allow for any real affirmative action. It is therefore necessary to increase allocation (at least to reflect the percentage of Arab citizens in the total population -- 18.6%) and only then can the gap in infant mortality be closed.

Infant Mortality Rates per Thousand Residents



Jews	7 per 1000	4.7 per 1000
Moslems	14 per 1000	8.8 per 1000

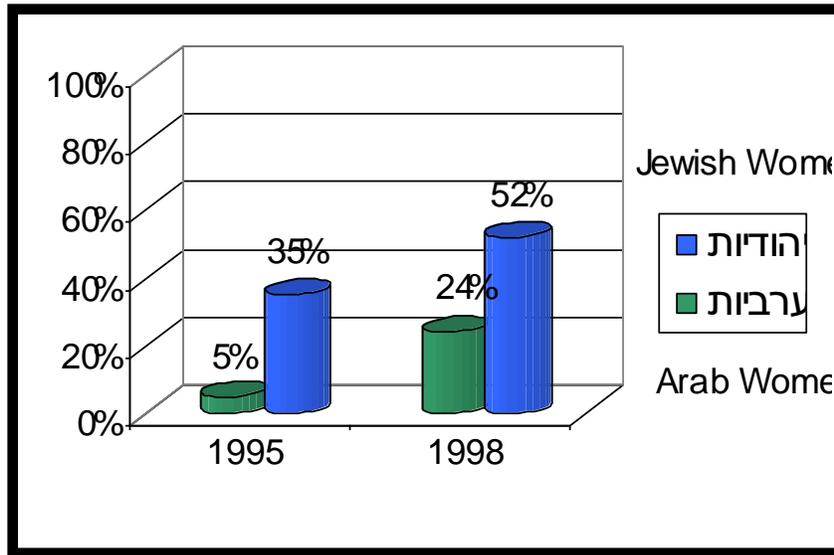
2. Breast Cancer Detection Screening (Mammography) for Women

- According to the National Health Act of 1995, every woman over the age of 50 is entitled to screening for early detection of breast cancer. Between the years 1996 – 1998 approximately 35% of Jewish women and 5% of Arab women were tested. The project for early detection of cancer among Arab women, carried out in 1998, greatly improved the situation.
- In Israel there are 65 breast-screening units. Only three of them are found in clinics within Arab municipalities (two in Nazareth and one in Um El Fahm).

The success of the project disproved the claim about Arab women's reluctance to be tested. There was a marked willingness to be tested, but problems of access to clinics remained. In 1998, research indicated that about 24% of Arab women were screened, as compared to 52% of Jewish women. The trend of significant increase can be attributed to greater vigilance, however, without addressing the problem of access, women's vigilance and awareness alone are of little consequence.

There is a need to position breast-screening units in Arab towns such as Baka al Garbia, Taiba, Shfaram and Tamra, and others, whose populations and that of their peripheries warrant it. By doing so, Arab women will no longer have to great distances to medical centers situated in Jewish communities.

Willingness to be Tested



	1995	1998
Jewish Women	35%	52%
Arab Women	5%	24%

The Ministry of Domestic Security

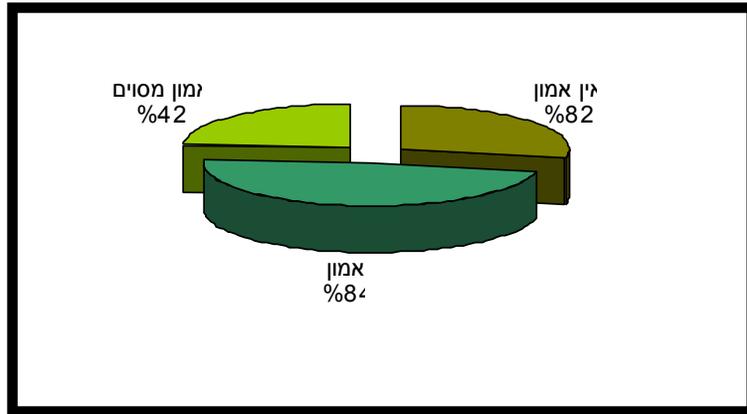
Total Budget:	5.3 billion NIS
Development Budget:	179 million NIS
Number of Employees:	150
Number of Arab employees:	1 → 0.6%

Issues:

1. Community Policing Centers

- ◆ In 1999, six new community policing centers were established in Arab communities.
There are now eighteen centers in Arab communities.
- ◆ This year the number of Arab volunteers in the Civil Guard increased sevenfold, yet these volunteers are not equipped with uniforms and equipment as are the Jewish units. From a survey conducted by the police, it appears that many more residents are willing to volunteer and help in the community but not within the framework of the Civil Guard.
- ◆ There is a concern in the Ministry of Domestic Security and the police that the plan will not be implemented if budget cuts continue.

Survey of Confidence in the Police in Arab Communities

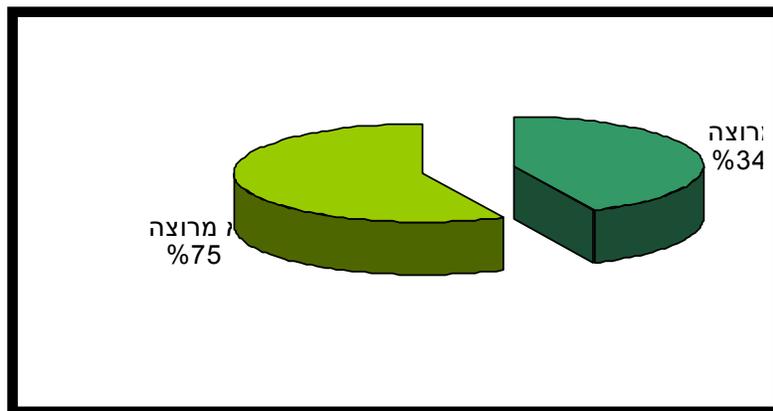


Not confident 28%

Somewhat confident 24%

Confident 48%

Survey of Satisfaction of Treatment at the Police Station



Satisfied Citizens 43%

Dissatisfied Citizens 57%

The organizational behavior and the deployment of the police in the Arab communities has resulted over many years in deep-seated suspicion of government institutions in general, and the police in particular. The police are presently perceived as the government's representative in legal matters and law enforcement only, and not as a service for the community. The data shows that despite their suspicion, citizens are willing to volunteer and assist the police and their community. The police must gain the confidence of the citizens. The establishment of community policing centers and a wider deployment of police stations may be a step in the right direction.

Arab citizens do not have convenient physical access to police stations. Easy access will greatly assist in creating a feeling of belonging and this important factor must be taken into account when establishing new stations.

The establishment of community policing centers should not be contingent upon special budget allocations. This is a basic and vital necessity for all citizens of the State of Israel. The recognition of the importance of this service has been several decades late in coming. This fact only intensifies the importance of the plan and the urgency for establishing policing stations, – even if it involves determining a new set of priorities within the existing budget.

2. Police Violence Towards Demonstrators

In the past two years, the police acted against Arab demonstrators, citizens of Israel, in a succession of events:

- April 1998 – At Umm A-Sahali near Shfar'am, demonstrations following the demolition of buildings which were declared illegal.
- September 1998 – Demonstrations at Umm Al-Fahm following the seizure of private agricultural lands by the I.D.F.
- June 1999 – Lod – Demonstrations following the demolition of a building constructed without a permit.
- November 1999 – A demonstration of mayors from Arab communities and their employees and Arab members of the Knesset in front of the Prime Minister's Office.
- March 2000 – A demonstration of residents in Usifiya following the unauthorized and unmonitored installation of cellular antennas.

- 30 March 2000 – Land Day in Sachnin.
- April 2000 – Demonstrations of Arab students at the University of Haifa and at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Two aspects of the nature of the police behavior were:

- a. Length of time of police restraint, initiating negotiations with strikers and demonstrators, and the reaction time.
- b. Measures taken by the police against the demonstrators.

At the demonstrations noted above, dispersal was effected by means of tear gas, clubs, horses, rubber bullets, water cannons and even live ammunition. In one case (in Umm Al-Fahm), the Border Guard Forces entered a school and injured students with rounds of rubber bullets and tear gas. Police intervention in these instances appeared similar to that of the I.D.F. and Border Guard Forces during the Intifada in the occupied territories.

In both aspects of the nature of police action noted above, the police behavior was different than that practiced towards Jewish demonstrators. For example, when Jewish settlers are dispersed, each demonstrator is carried away by four police officers.

One of the basic guidelines for police behavior during demonstrations is keeping the traffic routes open. Nonetheless, during demonstrations involving the Jewish population, such as during the students' strike in the autumn of 1998, demonstrations in communities in the northern part of the country from time to time, and workers demonstrating by lock-ins at factories, traffic access was cut off. During these demonstrations, the police usually exercise restraint, engage in lengthy negotiations and show a greater degree of tolerance than with Arab demonstrators.

3. "Private Security"

- ◆ Within the framework of the Monitoring Committee of the Arab Mayors' Association

there is a security and emergency department. Its role is to attend to those matters not covered by the Ministry of Domestic Security, both locally and countrywide. Among its many functions, caring for the following matters is included: safety and protection of the public, school security (Security Officer, watch guard system, bomb shelters, safety, drills for emergency situations); securing public institutions, public bomb shelters, security vehicles (fire engines and emergency vehicles), fences, emergency lighting, securing of facilities, Civil Guard, entrance gates to villages, emergency water supply, and alarm systems (sirens).

Despite repeated requests to the Ministry of Domestic Security and the police that these matters be taken care of, the Monitoring Committee has not received any reply. Accordingly, the responsibility for these matters has remained in the hands of the local Arab municipalities, detached from state authorities.

- ◆ In the Jewish schools there is a full-time guard or security person while in Arab schools there is not. The sixty-five local municipalities in the Arab community, on their own initiative and at their own expense, have placed security officers in the schools under their jurisdiction. The defense drill, conducted in March 2000 in educational institutions included Arab educational institutions. The conclusions of the drill indicated that the functioning of the Arab municipalities was impeccable.

In the State of Israel, security and safety are interconnected. This fact has resulted in compounded negligence in this regard. As a rule, the State of Israel has an abundance of security and safety measures, and the concern in these areas instills in the community a feeling of belonging. School security is intended, among other things, to prevent entry of car bombs or armed terrorists. In reality, the influence of security and safety measures goes beyond from its primary function. The figure of the school guard is part of the world of the future citizen being educated there, and his daily functions, such as preventing negative elements from entering the school, is part of the general order and goes beyond the narrow security function. In Arab schools this position is not paid for or filled by the State. The responsibility for this vital matter is left by the State in the hands of the local citizens.

The Ministry of Construction and Housing

Total Budget: 10 Billion NIS

Development Budget: 2 Billion NIS

Development Budget Designated for Arab citizens: 108 Million NIS – 5.4%

Number of Employees: 300

Number of Arab employees: 3 → 1%

Issues:

1. Actualization of Mortgage Loans

The criterion of military service significantly diminishes the ability of Arab citizens to actualize their entitlement to mortgage loans. A citizen who has not served in the army is only entitled to 62% of the full mortgage loan. It would appear that this is the reason that in the late 1990s only 8% of the country's mortgage loan recipients were Arab citizens.

2. Public Construction

- In the Arab communities, public construction for rental purposes, similar to Shikun Ovdim, Prazot, Amidar, etc. in Jewish communities, is non-existent.
- No new communities for Arab citizens have been established since the founding of the State.
- Since 1975, 337 thousand residential units have been built throughout the country, under public initiative, including planning, marketing and supervision by the Ministry of Housing, while only 1,000 residential units have been constructed in Arab communities since the establishment of the State.

These facts impose a special responsibility and heavy burden on the Ministry of Construction and Housing: The Ministry must propose a comprehensive plan for substantial change in the relation of the State to the housing requirements of its Arab citizens. This change must incorporate an accessible solution for both allocation of land for residential purposes and an equitable portion of the Ministry's budgets.

3. Assistance for Rental Costs

Until 1999, the rules in effect determined that no financial assistance be given to residents of small communities, rather only to those residing in larger ones. As a result, many Arab citizens

were unable to actualize their entitlement to rental assistance. Following an appeal by the Association for Citizens' Rights in Israel (ACRI), the Ministry of Construction and Housing announced its intention to institute the following new criteria:

- The Ministry will no longer provide assistance for renters in any community (Jewish or Arab) with less than a thousand residents.
- In communities with over a thousand residents, rental assistance will be provided, on the condition that at least 5% of households are rental units (and that there are not less than 30 rental households in the community).

By adopting these criteria, the situation in which Arab citizens are unable to receive rental assistance will be perpetuated, because in Arab communities there is no public construction of rental units, and the rental system of residence is not as yet part of their lifestyle. There is no doubt that the need for it exists.

Young couples in Jewish development towns, for example, have full and immediate access to rental units, and thus are also able to obtain rental assistance. On the other hand, young Arab couples must reside with their families until they have accumulated enough money to build. A couple wishing to obtain rental assistance will have to ascertain that at least 30 families reside in rental units in the community. With no other alternative, these young couples will have to convince at least 30 others to make the family relationship a legal entity with regard to housing. This is a harsh and impossible condition, whose institution denies young Arabs the possibility of obtaining this benefit. For the above reasons, Arab citizens do not appear at all in the following table.

Ministry of Housing Budget for Rental Assistance Grants for 1999 (in NIS millions):

New immigrants:	935.8	77.4 %
Long-time citizens:	242.1	20.0 %
Others – public and senior housing:	30.6	2.53 %

Ministry of Education

General Budget: 20.9 Billion NIS

Budget Designated for the Five Year Plan in Arab Education: 50 Million NIS

Number of Employees: 2700

Number of Arab employees: 118 → 4.8%

Issue:

Five Year Plan for Arab Education

- In July 1999, a decision was reached to implement the Ben-Peretz Commission Plan for closing the gaps in Arab and Druze citizens' education. According to the Plan, the Ministry of Education will invest 50 million NIS annually, over five years.
- The Minister of Education decided to implement the stated policy of affirmative action in Arab education, in order to attempt to close the existing gaps in Arab education as compared to Jewish education. Arab education should receive, therefore, resources proportionally greater than their percentage in the overall population.

Among other things, the Five Year Plan includes:

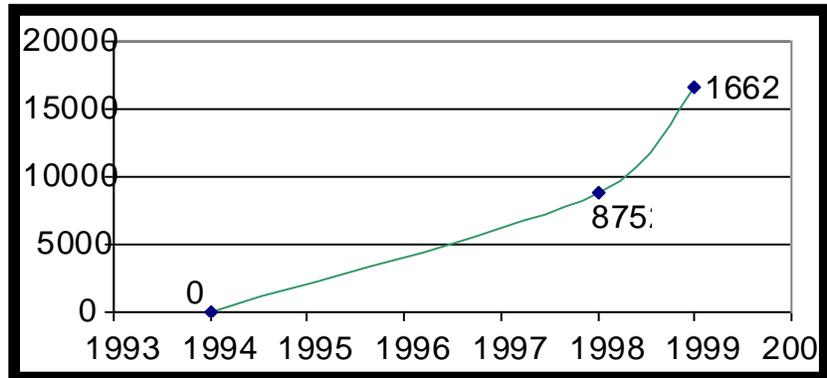
Pre-school education law: 37% of the budget for pre-school education in 1999-2000 will be designated for the Arab local municipalities.

Construction budget: 29.5% of this year's overall budget for building new classrooms will be earmarked for Arab education.

Special care teaching hours: only 18% of this budget was directed to Arab education.

Despite the advances made with regard to special care teaching hours in comparison with previous years, this matter has not yet been adequately addressed within the Ministry's affirmative action policy framework.

Special Care Teaching Hours in Arab Education



The intervention plan is divided into various areas, most of them dealing in the strengthening of skills, and improvement of academic achievement. Within the framework of the plan, a section titled “Additional Areas of Activity” is presented, which includes the topic “Culture and Identity”.

No budget was allocated for this program for the 1999-2000 school year. For the 2000-2001 school year, only 500,000 NIS was allocated. This sum constitutes 7.9% of the budget earmarked for “Additional Areas of Activity”, and only 1% of the entire Five Year Plan budget annually.

Generally, the Five-Year Plan deals at length with the problems of academic achievement and the physical conditions of learning. Without diminishing the value of these goals, it would appear that the internal distribution of the budget within the Plan should be changed, and greater resources directed to the topic of “Culture and Identity” for educators and students. This topic has the potential of becoming the foundation for historic reform, and may even contribute to renewed stability in relations between Arab citizens and their Jewish counterparts, and with the State. “Culture and Identity” focused education must be given a central position in the Plan. Placing it on the periphery may undermine the Plan’s achievements.

It can be said that in 1999 progress has been made in the Ministry of Education with regard to educational services provided to Arab citizens. After fifty-two years of neglect, Arab education needs are being recognized and responded to seriously with efforts for improvement.

It is important, however, to emphasize that the Five Year Plan is not enough in itself and serves only to bridge the huge gap created over five decades. The damage caused by this gap and neglect cannot easily be rectified. Therefore, the Ministry of Education must not be tempted by improvements that will be reflected mainly in statistics. It must turn to implementation of a deep and basic change, because in addition to the significant growth in the construction budget, rehabilitation is required for a community severely damaged in terms of its values, and its social and political life. The Ministry of Education has the power to assist in this and it can be achieved if the Ministry first acknowledges these circumstances.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development

General Budget: 1.13 billion NIS

(Of this budget, 586 million NIS are designated from the outset to the Settlement Division of the Jewish Agency and the Kibbutz Movement).

Development Budget: 150 million NIS

Investments: 110 million NIS

Of this, the amount invested

in agriculture for the Arab farmers: 2.2 million NIS (2%)

Number of Employees: 1410

Number of Arab Employees: 60 (4.2%)

Issues

1. Quotas

The main resources for farmers are land and water, and they are very expensive and scarce in Israel. Thus, the fate of the Israeli farmer is totally dependent on the government's policy in this regard. The Israeli agricultural economy, similar to other countries, allocates various quotas in the area of resources for production and production itself. Traditionally, the Israeli economy determines quotas based on a political factor among the different community settlement movements. This principle has left the Arab citizens out of the allocations process from the State's earliest days.

A. Lands:

The Arab farmers work 16.1% of the land, all of it privately owned.

B. Water:

The State allocates to Arab farmers only 2.3% of all of the water quotas. They utilize 98.6% of this allowance.

The Jewish farmers utilize 80.6% of their water quotas.

The above stated facts indicates the following:

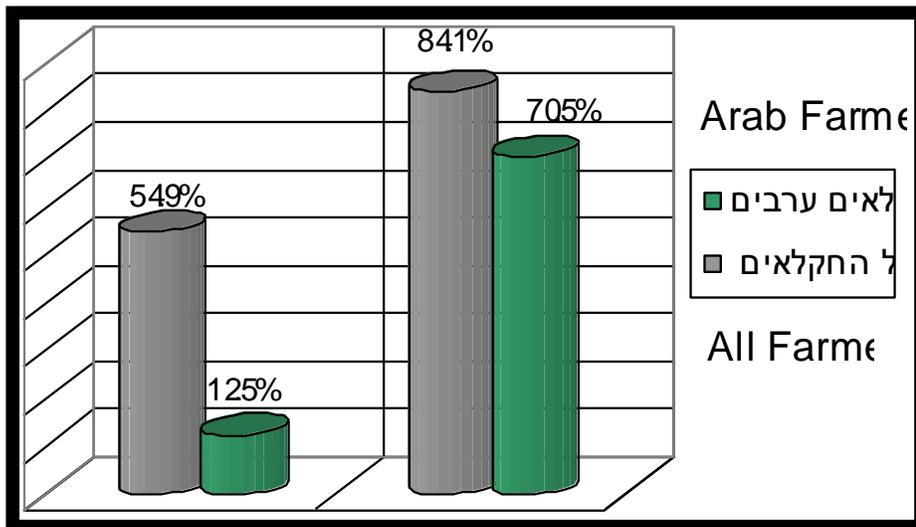
- The State does not allocate any of the lands that it owns to agriculture for Arab citizens.

- The quota of water to the Arab farmer is lower proportionately and absolutely in comparison with their Jewish counterparts.

C. Quotas for Poultry Production

- There are 3000 poultry quotas in Israel. Approximately 1000 active poultry farms use these quotas.
- Only one Arab poultry producer is a recipient of this quota, however, his farm is not in use.

Infrastructure and Resources



2. The Budget and its Designation

Over 50% of the Ministry budget for this year is designated by definition for Jews only (see above). Beginning May 15, 1948 the State has been committed to attending to all its citizens, Jews and Arabs, in every field. The State is responsible for the distribution of its resources for the benefit of all.

However, since the establishment of the State, over 600 Jewish communities have been established but not even one Arab community aside, from the consolidation of Beduins in the Negev..

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development is charged with the responsibility of developing rural communities, including Arab communities. Rural developments and communities for Arab citizens must be established immediately. Aside from the response to everyday needs, the Ministry of Agriculture will thus be able to provide tangible substance to the Arabs' citizenship in Israel.

The Ministry of Science, Culture and Sports

Total Budget: 634 Million NIS

Projects for Arab citizens: 20.7 Million NIS

Number of Employees: 185

Number of Employees who are Arab citizens: 8 → 4.3%

Issues:

1. Distribution of Ministry Assistance to Arab Citizens:

Scholarships: Assistance for scholarships for doctorates and post-doctorate work is 19.7% of total assistance.

Non-governmental Organizations (NGO): Assistance to NGOs that provide scholarships for undergraduate studies represents less than one percent of total assistance.

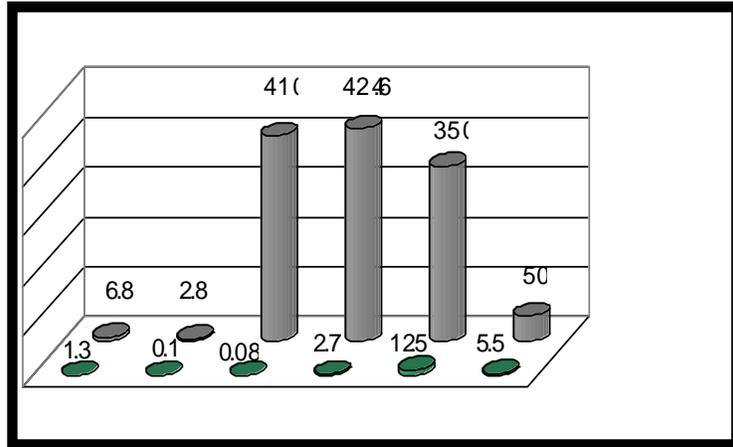
Scientific Literacy: 6.6% of total.

Scientific Administration: 0.6% of total.

Cultural Administration: 3.6% of total.

Sports Administration: 11.0% of total in the field of sports.

Division of Assistance (in NIS millions)



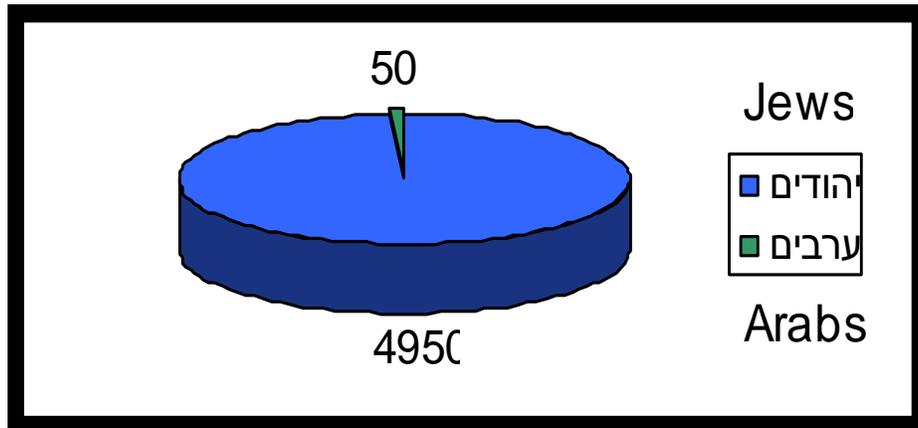
	General	Arabs
Direct Scholarships	6.8	1.3
Scientific Literacy	2.8	0.1
NGOs	410.0	0.08
Scientific Administration	424.6	2.7
Cultural Administration	350.0	12.5
Sports Administration	50.0	5.5

=====

2. Arab Citizens who are Members of Academic Faculties

Approximately 50 out of 5,000

The Academic Faculties



3. "Maof" Scholarships

- This plan of the Council for Higher Education was intended to promote Arab citizens to positions in the academic faculties, and was premised on financial assistance from the Kahanoff Foundation of Canada. Over the past three years, with the foundation's assistance, 30 Arab citizens have found employment in the academic faculties of large universities. Difficulties exist in finding applicants for the scholarships due to suspicion and alienation on the part of graduate students towards the system, and lack of confidence in the students' ability to succeed.

The acceptance of Arab citizens to university faculties contingent on foreign financing is problematic, because it may potentially acquit the universities from offering Arabs employment through the usual hiring procedures. The Council for Higher Education should take full responsibility for the existing situation, and should take measures to integrate Arab citizens into its institutions. In spite of this reservation, the scholarships should be continued, while efforts are intensified to attract applicants.

The Ministry of Justice

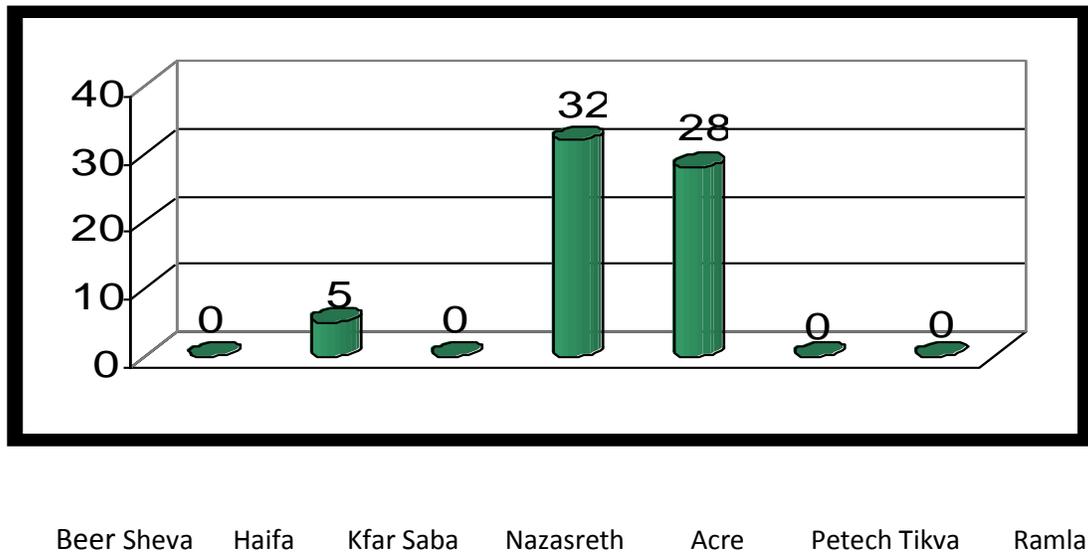
Total Budget:	452. million NIS
Number of which are Arab citizens:	32 → 1.7%
Number of justices:	426
Number of Arab justices:	19 → 4.5%

Issues:

1. The Arab Language in the Courts

- ◆ In December 1998, the Secretariat of the Regional Labor Court in Tel Aviv issued a directive requiring every non-Hebrew speaker to supply a translator at his/her own expense for hearings in the court.
- ◆ After a challenge by the organization "Adala" in January 1999, Justice Stephen Adler, Presiding Justice of the National Labor Courts instructed that Arab speakers not be required to supply their own translators, since Arabic is an official language in Israel. On the other hand, Justice Dan Arbel, Director of the Courts in Israel, responded that the problem is budgetary and not a matter of principle.
- ◆ The Courts retain the services of a translation company on a regular basis, however, there are presently only four interpreters on-call at all times to service the entire judicial system.

Number of Arab Justices (in percentages)



The outcome of the trial for a person appearing in a court, is overwhelmingly influenced by the manner in which ones intentions and arguments are expressed. A citizen whose language is Arabic finds himself in a situation where his opening position is already disadvantaged and unsuitable, and a translator cannot adequately express the speaker's emotions and intentions. At best, his words can only be translated literally.

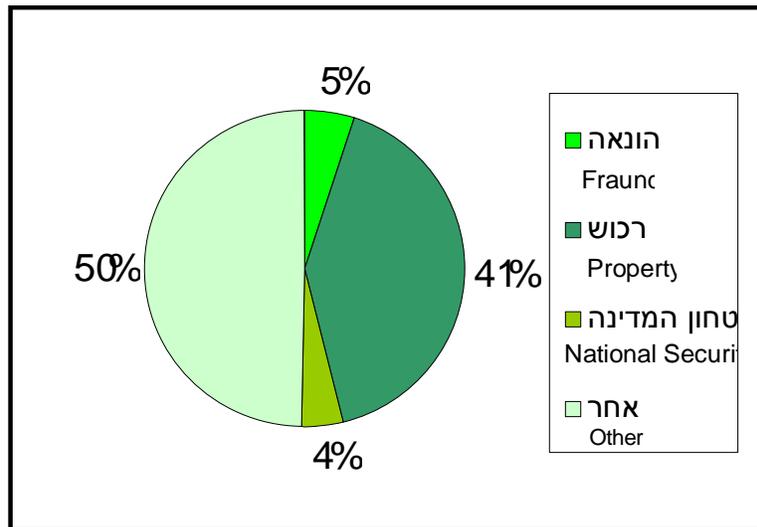
The legal system has to be prepared for the daily bi-lingual situation in the courtroom. This need requires many more translators with legal and social training that will allow them to present the remarks of the defendant literally, while also capturing the spirit. This need can not rise or fall upon a "budgetary problem," as Justice Dan Arbel put it. This is a matter of principle by which every case should be governed.

2. Inequality Under the Law Between Jews and Arabs in the Court System

As a rule, the proportion of Arab citizens involved in crime is not higher than their proportion in the general population: (The following data relates to the 1990s.)

- ◆ Chance of closing a file: for a Jewish citizen -- 42%; for an Arab citizen -- 39%.
- ◆ The likelihood of being convicted: 53% of the files against Jews; 61% of the files against Arabs.
- ◆ Imprisonment: In all cases of crimes of violence and property, the likelihood of imposing imprisonment on convicted Arabs, as opposed to Jews, is up to twice as much.

Breakdown According to Type of Offense of Files Opened against Arabs



Youth

Closing of files without a trial:

Jews 69%;

Arabs 47%

Imprisonment:

Jews: 2%;

Arabs: 31%

Suspended Prison Sentence: frequency among Arabs is 1.5 to 3 times higher, with no distinction among the types of offenses.

3. Training justices

- ◆ The Institute for Continuing Education for Justices holds approximately fifty courses every year on various subjects. In 1999, for example, emphasis was placed on domestic violence and sexual offenses. In these courses, attention is given to subjects other than legal matters. The subject of Arab citizens as a distinct group has never been on the agenda as a topic of these courses.

There is no doubt that the unique problems of Arab citizens, derived from their historical and current status as citizens of Israel, are raised daily in the Israeli court system. In light of the description presented in this report, as well as the language difficulties, it is of the utmost importance that this subject become an integral part of judges' training and continuing education programs. Familiarization with and understanding of the special circumstances of the Arab citizens will no doubt aid in attaining fair judgment.

Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare

General Budget: 3.5 billion NIS

Development Budget: 35 million NIS

Development Budget Designated for Arab Citizens: 12 million NIS (3.4%)

Number of Employees: 3,525

Number of Arab Employees: 170 → 4.8%

Projects:

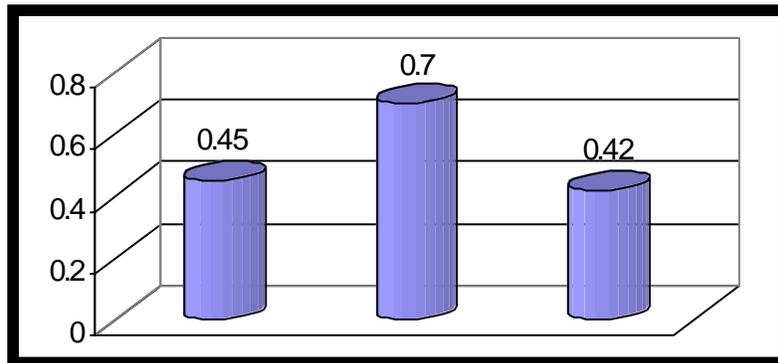
The Ministry participates in a special project for enhancing quality municipal government initiated and administrated by SIKKUY in conjunction with the Ministry of the Interior, the Society of Culture, Youth and Sports and JDC-Israel.

Issues:

1. Allocation of social workers to communities in distress:

- In the three clusters at the bottom of the socio-economic scale there are thirteen Jewish communities and forty-eight Arab communities.
- The ten communities at the bottom of the employment scale are Arab.

Average Number of Social Workers per 1000 Residents



Countrywide 0.45

Jewish Development Towns 0.7

Arab Communities 0.42

Arab citizens have many pressing problems, among them: lack of convenient access roads; the policy of land allocation for building, industry and public buildings; unemployment; low personal and group self-image as a result of neglect, long-standing discrimination and inappropriate education.

Nowhere are the negative results of neglect and discrimination reflected as strongly as in the matter of social well-being.

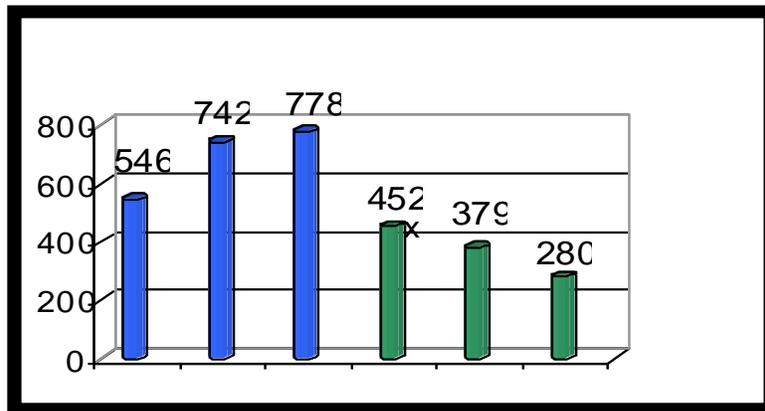
Welfare authorities may try to contend that the overall responsibility is out of their hands, and that the assistance they are able to provide is at best a band-aid solution for serious ills, curable only through comprehensive treatment by the various infrastructure ministries.

Nonetheless, it does have the power to take action, and with an appropriate investment of funds and professional resources, the welfare authorities can bring about change and improvement in the condition of the communities. Arab communities and citizens, by any standard, require assistance of experienced welfare and community workers.

Community workers are agents of change who have the power to bring about organizational change and relief for both the community and the individual. By the very presence of community workers on site, the establishment sends a message to its citizens that the State is concerned about and paying attention to their well-being.

Here again, State resources are not distributed equally. A comparison of the State's investment in Jewish development towns as opposed to Arab communities indicates that there is no direct coordinate between need for assistance and its delivery by the State. The State shows a blatant preference for helping citizens who are residents of Jewish development towns over citizens in the Arab communities, as far as the distribution of welfare services is concerned, as reflected in the following tables:

Average Employment Income Per Person in NIS



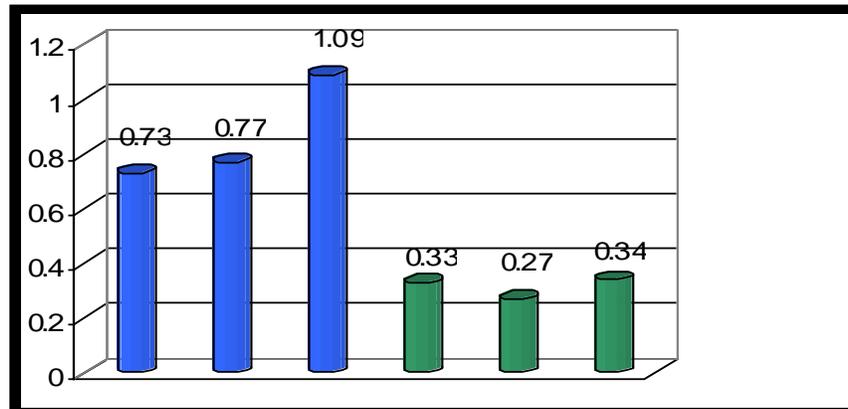
Jewish Development Towns

Ofakim 546 Shderot 742 Or Akiva 778

Arab Communities

Kafar Manda 280 Kabul 379 Boeyna Nagidat 452

Number of Social Workers per 1000 residents



Jewish Development Towns

Ofakim 0.73 Shderot 0.77 Or Akiva 1.09

Arab Communities

Kafar Manda 0.34 Kabul 0.27 Boeyna Nagidat 0.33

2. Discrimination at Work on the Basis of Nationality:

- Research conducted in the 1990s shows that that the average hourly wage for Jewish women is 28% higher than for Arab women, and the average hourly wage for Jewish men is 33% higher than for Arab men.
- As a rule, Arabs are highly represented in “declining industries” such as textiles, metal, rubber, and food; while Jews are highly represented in “growth industries” such as hi-tech and finance.
- The state owned electric company prevents Arab citizens from working in the company and doesn’t permit its contractors to hire Arab employees. According to the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, in 1999 the company rejected an application for work with a contractor employing Bedouin citizens, residents of the Negev, on grounds that the

security permit would be granted only after several months; yet foreign workers received their permits within an hour.

Military service effectively serves as a “filter” for selecting workers according to nationality, even for jobs such as typing, driving a bus, printing assistants, warehouse workers, comptrollers, etc.

- As yet, there is no known case in which the Department of Enforcement of Labor Laws in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare submitted a claim against an employer who used this criterion to reject an applicant.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs

Total Budget: 1.6 Billion NIS

Development Budget: 500 Million NIS

Support for organizations

and various programs: 1 Billion NIS

Number of Employees: approximately 600

Number of Arab Employees: 42 → 7%

Issue:

- The budgets intended for Jewish citizens are found in 76 budgetary items (religious councils, religious education, monthly stipends for yeshiva students, support for religious institutions, warehouse for ritual objects, activities for spiritual absorption, support for seminaries, Orthodox Torah culture, Torah study, Halachic research, etc.) Just the financial support items that are not actually religious services, and are available only to Jews, represent more than one billion NIS. Even items that are not unique to any particular religion, in effect relate only to followers of the Jewish religion.
- The 38 million NIS (2.4% of the budget) allocated to services for Arab citizens are found in two budgetary items only (religious services, which relate to those of Jews as well; and Muslim and Druze religious courts).
- Following an application by the Legal Advisor to the government, in 1995 the Ministry for Religious Affairs prepared a "Program for New Arrangements for Muslim, Druze and Christian Religious Services". According to this program, the budget was to have been increased by 7% (!) at 1995 values. This program has not as yet been implemented.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs' budget sharply and harshly stresses the discrimination against Arab citizens. The Ministry's budgetary items have designated recipients and no measures have been taken to camouflage them. It would appear that there is overlapping between one's religion and his status in the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

In a precedent-setting decision of the Supreme Court on April 18th this year, Judge Yitzchak Zamir determined: "The resources of the State, whether land or money, as well as other resources, belong to all citizens, and all citizens are entitled to benefit based on the principle of equality, without discrimination based on religion, race or any other flawed reasoning".

The appeal made by the "Adala" organization focused on the state of neglect in Arab cemeteries, because of the Supreme Court's persistent hesitation in previous cases to render judgment in applications for general relief. This item is only one of many in which blatant inequality is reflected. Judge Zamir's strongly worded statement, backed by Judge Aharon Barak and Judge Dorit Beinisch, in effect referred to the entire budget of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and without doubt to all other ministry budgets.

The Ministry of the Interior

Total Budget: 4.5 Billion NIS

Development Budget: 500 Million NIS

Number of Employees: approx. 1,500

Number of Arab Employees: 41 → 2.8%

Project:

The Ministry participates in a special project for enhancing quality municipal government initiated and administrated by SIKKUY in conjunction with the Ministry of Labor and Welfer, the Society of Culture, Youth and Sports and JDC-Israel.

Issues:

1. National Planning Scheme 35 (NPS 35), Planning Schemes, and Municipal Boundaries

- Over thirty planners and design and research teams worked on the preparation of NPS 35. There was only one Arab planner among them.
- The main problem in implementing NPS 35 is the lack of available land within the Arab municipalities' jurisdiction.
- The area of jurisdiction in the Arab municipalities covers approximately 2.5% of the State's territory.
- Approximately 3.5% of State lands are privately owned by Arab citizens.
- The average area of jurisdiction for Arab communities has decreased by 64% in comparison to what was defined as "the village lands" during the British Mandate.
- Since the establishment of the State, the area of jurisdiction of the Arab municipalities has barely increased, yet the built-up areas have increased sixteen-fold.
- Between 1948 – 1995, the population density within the jurisdiction area has increased eleven-fold.

The Areas of Jurisdiction of the Arab Municipalities, a brief description of the problem:

Various public bodies, such as the Ministry of Defense, The Ministry of Construction and Housing, The Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Jewish Agency, and the Jewish National Fund, have a mandate to build and develop throughout the country. According to the Law of Planning and Construction (1965), the Ministry of the Interior is a regulatory body only. The system consists of three levels: the national council for planning and construction; six regional committees; and about 130 local planning committees that generally reflect the requirements of the residents. The two higher levels, which are appointed by the government, do not have democratic control or reporting mechanisms.

Contrary to the situation existing in the Jewish settlements, the local Arab committees are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior and are almost always manned by Jews. Inherent tension exists in this framework between the Arab councils and the local planning committees.

Many Arab communities find themselves in an implausible position: rural plans are for the most part rendered by government agents who are often not in touch with Arab needs. The Arab communities are forced to accept these plans because the supply of basic services, such as electricity and water, are contingent on their acceptance. In addition, houses built without authorized building plans are as a rule in danger of being demolished, and many residents find their lives tension-filled during lengthy periods of uncertainty. In many communities, the crisis of "illegal" building continues even after plans have been approved, because by then, the plans are often already outdated and no longer reflect current needs.

Among Arab citizens, the process of preparing plans and their approval uncovers recurring problems of land scarcity, insufficient public construction, illegal construction and land disputes. There are border disputes between almost all the Arab communities and the neighboring municipalities (in particular the regional councils). The borders designated for the Arab communities created a divided and fragmented area, which sabotages the potential for regional organization that would perhaps enable the improvement of services and opportunities in the Arab communities.

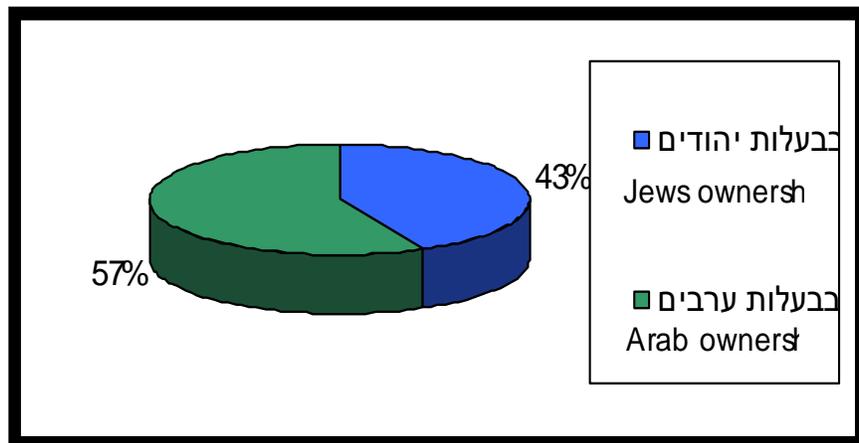
The planned areas ("the blue line" which defines the allowable construction and development areas) covers only about 32% of the Arab councils' areas of jurisdiction, and the area for actual residential construction represents 82% of the Arab communities' territory. This factor creates confusion among many Arab citizens, and uncertainty about where construction is possible and permitted. This situation limits the Arab council's power to influence development within its area of jurisdiction.

Land is a limited resource, but the distress caused by lack of land is neither static nor stable, and increases annually with the population's growth. Each additional dunam allocated to the Arab municipalities' area of jurisdiction must come from another source, usually from the neighboring Jewish municipality or from state owned lands within the community. To that purpose, it is necessary to effect a fundamental and historical change in the government's priorities, towards recognizing Arab citizens as entitled to equality in benefiting from state resources, and foremost from land. This process will enable the proper implementation of NPS 35 for Arab citizens, equally to that of Jewish citizens.

2. Expropriation of Land Adjacent to the “Trans-Israel” Highway

- Along the stretch of Highway “Trans-Israel” between Gedera and the Barkai junction, there are plans to expropriate 1,833 dunams of private land from Arab citizens and 1,364 dunams of private land from Jewish citizens.
- The “Trans-Israel” Highway is intended to pass along the “ridge of hills”, an area heavily populated by Arab citizens who were by historical events driven into the “Shomron Foothills” since 1948.

Expropriation of Land Adjacent to the “Trans-Israel” Highway



The "Trans-Israel" Highway may contribute to and improve the situation: The expropriation of private land affects not only the Arab citizens who reside along the stretch of the highway but also the Jewish communities. They began some time ago, with government support, preparing the necessary infrastructures for developing commercial and industrial areas, which will enable them to benefit from the opportunities the highway presents. The Arab communities, on the other hand, lag behind. It is not enough to issue a general invitation to the Arab citizens to participate in this commercial initiative. The Ministry of the Interior must initiate a focussed appeal to the land owners who may be adversely affected by the highway and to the municipal jurisdictions through which the highway will pass. The Arab municipalities along the ridge of hills must be recognized as "peripheral settlements" in spite of their geographic proximity to the country's center because they are indeed peripheral in social and employment terms. Once they have been recognized as peripheral settlements, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce will be able to give them the attention and care they deserve.

Ministry of Transportation

Total Budget:	860 million NIS
Number of Employees:	640
Number of Arab Employees:	6 → 0.9%

Issues:

1. Regional Development and Urban Roads

- ◆ The allocation in 2000 to regional development in the areas where there are Arab communities is 110 million NIS (as in 1999) which is 10% of the budget for major arteries.
- ◆ 68% of the budget was allocated to access roads to Nazareth, as part of the development towards Year 2000 events.
- ◆ The amount in the budget for the year 2000 for urban roads within Arab municipalities is less than 10% of last year's allocation. 35% of it has been allocated to the Nazareth area within the framework of the "Nazareth 2000" tourism project.

The main purpose of regional transportation development is to create access for communities to major traffic arteries. Convenient access, is among other things, access to employment, health services, shopping and many other routine activities.

The smallest of Jewish communities enjoys an access road and connection to traffic arteries from the moment it is established by the official settlement institutions. To this day, much older Arab communities remain without adequate connections to traffic arteries.

It should be noted that although the allocation for the "Nazareth 2000" Project is considered an allocation for the Arab citizens, it is actually offensive to them. The paving of an access road and urban roads in Nazareth was not at all designed to improve accessibility for Nazareth's 58,000 Arab citizens; but rather, primarily to improve the mobility of tourism in Israel. The rest of the 1,000,000 Arab citizens who do not live in Nazareth pay the price for this tourism development as if it was for their benefit.

2. Integration of Arab Employees in Areas for which the Ministry of Transportation is Responsible

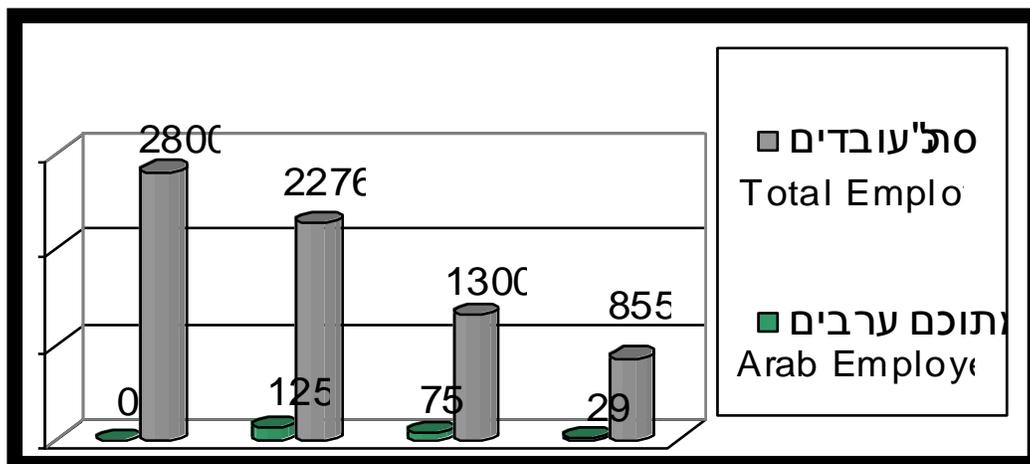
Ben Gurion International Airport: There are no Arab employees.

The Ports Authority: 5.5% of the employees are Arabs.

The Israel Train System: 5.7% of the employees are Arabs.

Public Works Department: 3.4% of the employees are Arabs.

Integration of Employees



Ben Gurion International Airport

The Ports Authority

The Israel Train System

Public Works Department

3. Road Signs

- ◆ Following an appeal filed by the “Adala,” Organization on February 25, 1998, the Supreme Court ruled that the Public Works Department must replace all road signs written in Arabic. All signs posted on the four main traffic arteries must be replaced within two years and all other signs throughout the country must be replaced within five years.
- ◆ The current situation according to the Public Works Department report is that 3,795 signs in Arabic have been installed throughout the country, constituting approximately 30% of all the signs in the country.

In many cases, the signs are not uniform, have errors, and the translations are inaccurate according to acceptable rules of transcription. This warrants continuous correction and the public’s comments should be taken into account.

Ministry of Tourism

Total Budget: 624 million NIS

Development Budget: 164 million NIS

Number of Employees: 160

Number of Arab employees: 5 → 3.1%

Issues:

1. State Encouragement for Converting Rooms into Rural Guest Rooms

- ◆ In 1999, there were fourteen requests approved (for thirty-eight rooms) for assistance in converting rooms into rural guest rooms. The assistance provided by the Ministry reached 1,087,000 NIS. Not one of the requests was from an Arab citizen.

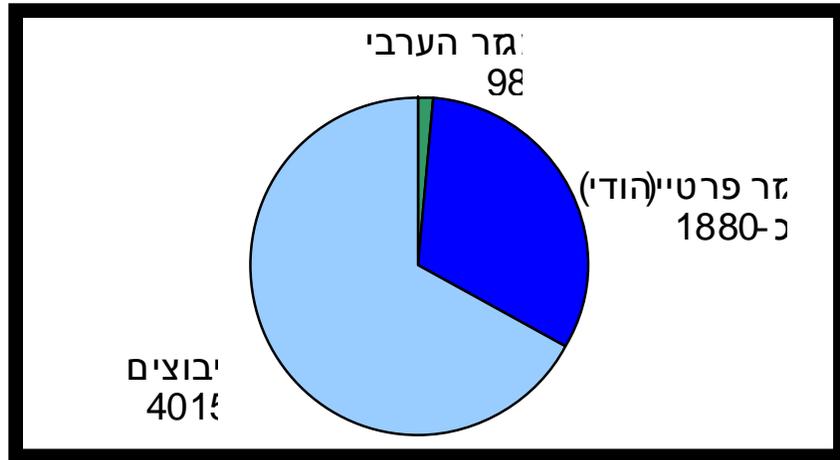
◆ Quantity of Rural Guest Rooms

Number of rooms in operation in Israel: approximately 6,000

Number of rooms operated by Arab citizens: 98

Number of rooms at kibbutzim (not including hotels): 4,015

- ◆ The total revenue in the tourism sector in 1999 was 5.5 billion NIS.



Rooms operated by Arab citizens – 98

Rooms operated by Jewish citizens in private sector approx. – 1880

Rooms operated by the kibbutzim – 4015

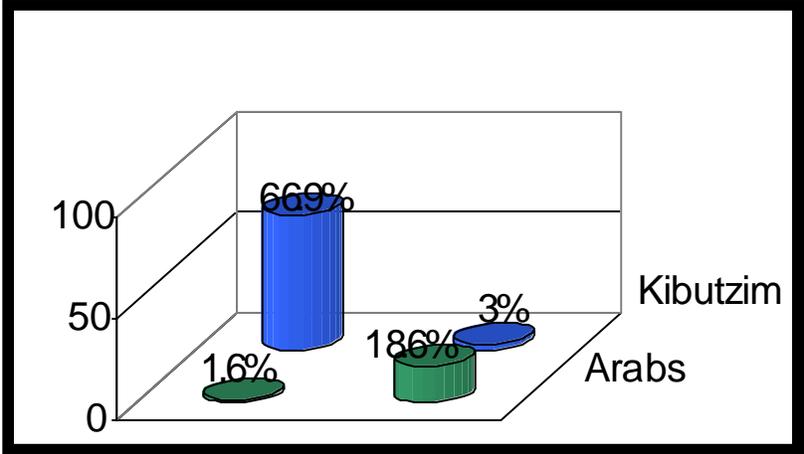
Tourism is a State resource and it is in the government's power to develop and direct this resource for the benefit of its citizens. Ostensibly, the Ministry of Tourism focuses on the commercial side of its operations, but it is a fact that its accessibility, consideration and connections are almost exclusively limited to the Jewish citizens.

The Ministry of Tourism does not appeal to the public to convert rooms for tourists, but rather responds to requests of non-profit tourist organizations supported by regional councils, or requests from the centers for fostering business initiatives, which do not generally include Arab rural guest rooms.

In the final test, it appears that the Jewish citizens, and especially kibbutzim, have ready accessibility to the tourist industry and its funding, while the neighboring Arab citizens living in areas no less attractive, are overlooked and do not enjoy the services of this Ministry. The Ministry of Tourism should see to the equal distribution of this important resource by a direct appeal to the Arab citizens and municipalities, training them, and encouraging them to take part in and benefit from the tourist industry.

The Kibbutzim and the Arabs: Their Percentage in the Population

And Their Share in Rural Guest Room Operation:



Guest Rooms Their Percentage of the Population

2. 1999-2000 Will Be a Good Year for Tourism

- ◆ In 1999, approximately 40 million NIS (about 24% of the Ministry’s development budget) was invested in tourism regions in the Arab municipalities, including Nazareth (22 million NIS) and Acre (12 million NIS).

The Ministry of Tourism explicitly invests only in those regions having tourism potential and only for the purpose of promoting tourism. This focus resulted in the neglect of other areas adjacent to those that were developed, and did not make provisions for the welfare of the citizens in those locations. Thus, the tourist areas in Nazareth and Acre, for example, were renovated and strikingly developed, and the neighborhood adjacent to the tourist center became part of the Ministry of Housing's Project Renewal, while the surrounding Arab neighborhoods were left in neglect.

This investment was likely to be more damaging than helpful, because it had the appearance of promoting the infrastructure in the Arab communities. In effect, these investments in tourism channel funds that could otherwise have been used to bring about change in neglected areas, and not only those which tourists see.

The Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Trade

General Budget:	3.3 billion NIS
Development Budget:	176.7 million NIS
Development Budget Intended for Arab citizens:	30 million NIS (16.9%)
Number of Employees:	520
Number of Arab Employees:	4 → 0.76%

Issues

1. Allocation of State Land for Industry

- ◆ In 1998-1999, 1524 dunams (four dunams = 1 acre) were allocated for industry in Israel. Of this land, 400 dunams (26.2%) was allocated to 130 Arab entrepreneurs.
- ◆ The land received by the Arab entrepreneurs represents 80% of all the state land designated for industry in the Arab local municipalities in the northern part of the country. In fact, almost all the potential state land for industrial development was used within these communities.

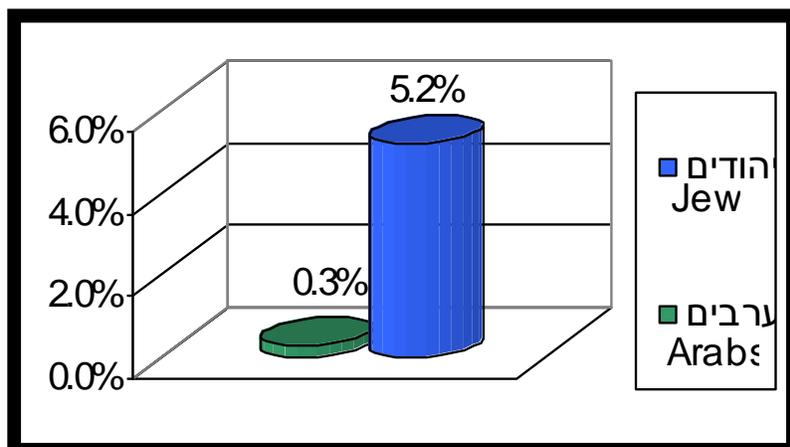
A comparison in the Nazareth area indicates differences 9-11 times better for Jews in an area where more than half of the citizens are Arabs (62%). For example, the consolidated urban network in the area of Nazareth includes the communities: Migdal Ha-Emek, Nazareth, Nazareth Elite, Yafia, Reina, Kfar Kana, Ein Mahel, Iksal, and Ilut. In this region, the inequality towards Arab citizens is evident in how the municipal areas of jurisdiction for the various communities are determined, and in how plans intended for industry on State land are approved.

The following table represents the size of the communities and the size of their areas of municipal and industrial jurisdiction:

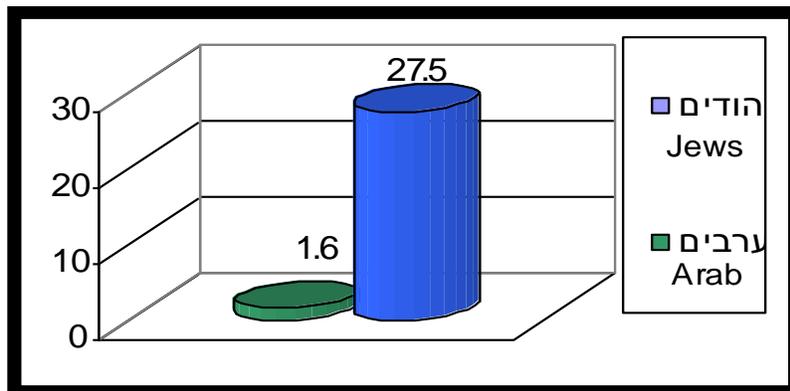
	Jews	Arab
Population (individuals)	72,000	126,200
Area of Municipal Jurisdiction (in dunams)	38,000	64,000
Industry (in dunams)	1980	203

The following diagrams illustrate the existing gap between Jews and Arabs in the same region. The first illustrates the size of industrial area per individual, while the second shows the size of the industrial area in proportion to the size of the municipal jurisdiction:

Land for Industry



Industrial Area in Square Meters per Person



Industrial out of the Total Area of Jurisdiction

Two of the major aspects for territorial distribution which directly influence the lives of the citizens are:

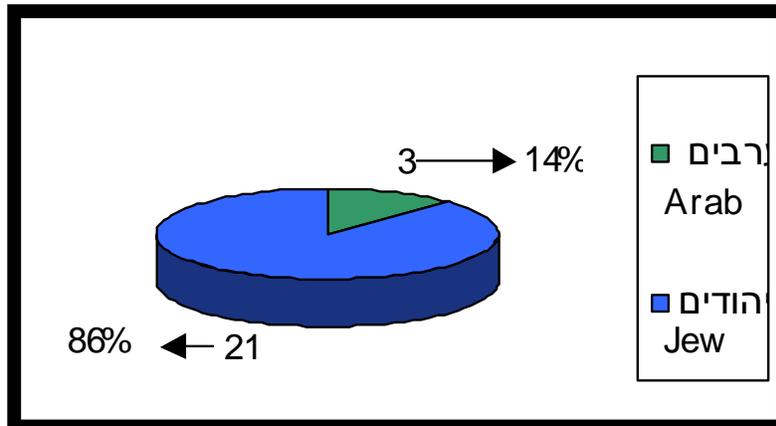
- A. The municipal area of jurisdiction within which the community life occurs
- B. The business-industrial area which represents part of the municipal area of jurisdiction, within which the commercial, industrial and business enterprises take place. In this area, the entrepreneurs, employees and the community benefit from the taxes and permits paid for by the various businesses.

2. Project Encouragement 99

In 1999, 21 communities participated in Project Encouragement, among them four Arab communities, while in 2000, only three communities took part. Coincidentally, the Project's budget was halved.

This project allows focused investment for the promotion of communities in need. It is one of the only ways in which affirmative action can be implemented in Arab communities. In practice, in the 1999 budget and in the 2000 budget, the project was not used for affirmative action for Arab citizens.

Project Encouragement 99



3. Industrial Zones Along the “Trans-Israel” Highway

- ◆ In the event that Road #6 is paved as planned, 12 large industrial zones will be established along the road, with an overall area of thousands of dunams. None of these areas are in the jurisdiction of an Arab municipality nor are they intended for the Arab population.

This matter falls under the responsibility of national planning, and should not be left to private entrepreneurs whose interests and judgment are narrow.

It is the State's duty to design and implement a suitable plan which will bring about the equal distribution of advantages and benefits derived as a result of the paving of “Trans-Israel”. The municipalities along “Trans-Israel” must benefit equally from any future advantages presented by the highway.

The Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Trade deals primarily in those peripheral areas having national priorities. The Arab communities along “Trans-Israel” should be considered for all intents and purposes as peripheral areas. Even if located geographically closer to the country's center, they still are peripheral socially, politically and in terms of unemployment. They are desperately in need of development and special encouragement. The paving of “Trans-Israel” presents an exceptional opportunity, perhaps the last, to take action and remedy the inequities and injustices inflicted upon the Arabs of this area in the past.

The Ministry of Media and Communications

General Budget: 56 million NIS

Number of Employees: 180

Number of Arab Employees: 0 → 0%

Issues:

1. Framework for Public Discourse

The media is the arena in which complex discourse in Israel takes place. Ostensibly this arena is open to anyone with expressive abilities, but after half a century of decline due to their civic “culture of silence”, the Arab citizens of Israel have been virtually excluded from Israeli public discourse. The Ministry of Communications does not dictate the context of Israeli public discourse, but has the power to create a framework within which it can occur. The absence of Arab citizens from the ranks of ministry employees eventually excludes their presence from the discourse framework. It would appear that some of the reasons for this are related to the fact that programs are planned and operated exclusively by Jewish employees.

2. The Third Channel

The question of the quality of Arab citizens’ integration in Israel surfaces more predominantly with the establishment of the Third Channel. In drafting the law, the Ministry of Communications avoided defining the elements of original, Israel-based productions. Thus the legislators avoided committing themselves to proper representation of Arabs, as well as to strengthening the socio-political fabric of Israel. As a result, the option of Arab participation in the socio-political fabric within the Third Channel is impaired. Establishing the Channel in the Arabic language will apparently create the platform necessary as a focal point for the Arab populace, but it will exist divorced from the ongoing socio-political happenings in Israel. It would be advisable to amend the law and to secure the place of the Arab voice in public Israeli discourse, in addition to providing a unique platform in the Channel in the Arabic language.

The Bedouins and The State of Israel

Dr. Ismael Abu Saad

The Bedouins of the Negev represent part of the Arab-Palestinian minority in the State of Israel and number approximately 120,000 persons. About half of them reside in seven urban communities (permanent communities), which were established by the State, and the rest are in traditional communities which are not recognized by state authorities.

Towards the end of the sixties, the government began implementation of a program to settle the Bedouins of the Negev in urban communities. This program was carried out without taking their traditional lifestyle into consideration, and without consulting them as to the character of the communities. The plans for urbanization – were, ostensibly, intended to create conditions under which basic services to the Bedouin population could be consistently supplied. The true purpose, however, was to centralize the Bedouins in urban communities, and prevent them from working, settling, and/or demanding rights to lands which were expropriated by the State. As a result of the Israeli government policy towards the Bedouin population, the Bedouins of the Negev were systematically transferred en masse to permanent communities, and the Bedouin lands registered as state lands.

In reality, as stated, in the seven urban communities that were planned and established by the government without Bedouin input, there is serious unemployment, the level of services in them is low and the government budgets allocated to them is minimal. It can be definitively stated that the program for urbanizing the Bedouins, in the manner that it was planned and executed, has been a failure.

Another characteristic of the lack of consideration and disregard for Bedouin desires and rights, is the manner in which the heads of the Bedouin local municipalities were appointed for the permanent communities. Four of the seven permanent communities' leaders are not from the local Bedouin population, and were appointed by the government, not by the residents, as is customary in every other community in the State of Israel.

The "Green Patrol" was established in 1978 by the government in a quasi-military format. Outwardly, its function was to preserve nature, but in reality, it is active primarily in evicting, warning and bothering the Bedouins of the Negev. In addition, its function is to oversee state lands and to protect them against squatters. Green Patrol members freely traverse the Negev and are charged with destroying Bedouin dwelling, confiscation their animals, and intimidating the Bedouins in order to force them into permanent communities.

The policy of destroying dwellings is, in particular, the means by which the government forces the Bedouins, residing in unrecognized communities, to leave their lands and move to permanent communities. The State annually prosecutes hundreds of Bedouin residing in these unrecognized communities for illegal building infractions. After their conviction, they are ordered to destroy their homes, and if they do not comply with the destruction orders, they are liable to heavy fines and imprisonment. In these cases, the government sends in bulldozers, levels the building and

then holds the owners responsible for the costs involved in the destruction. Court judges repeatedly confirm the destruction orders, based on the argument that the Bedouins invaded “unoccupied lands” and state lands.

The Negev Bedouins attempted to fight expropriation of land by the government of Israel, without success. The debate on expropriation of lands is based, among other things, on the questions of legality and public ownership. From the aspect of legality, there is a legal dispute between the government and the Bedouins: the government requires that the Bedouins prove their ownership of the land, while the Bedouins maintain that their lands rights are implied, based on their proximity to the land, and their land working traditions and practices.

The Bedouins claim that during the Ottoman Empire they did not bother registering their land ownership in the land registry records, because registration and use of documents is foreign to the Bedouin culture.

The disregard of the judicial system for Bedouin culture and their historical rights, and emphasis on the registration and presentation of documents to prove land ownership, creates a situation in which the Israeli judicial system participates in perpetuating the myth that the Negev is a wasteland in necessity of being revived. Indeed, a review of the various judgments with regard to land issues reveals that the courts tend to ignore the existence of the Bedouins’ historical and cultural connection to Negev lands, and enable systematic destruction of houses, permit registration of lands as state lands, and endorse the semi-forced transfer of Bedouins to permanent centers.

During the past five decades, the Bedouin population of the Negev has undergone extreme changes of modernization and urbanization. These changes exacted a heavy societal toll on the Bedouins, socially, economically, and structurally. The Bedouins of the Negev are losing their unique identity, their past and their legacy. Their future is also in danger of extinction. The status of the economic and traditional social frameworks of the Bedouins has been seriously undermined by the rapid transition from their traditional lifestyle to the urban society of the 20th century. These changes were effected without any prior preparation in either the socio-cultural or the economic-employment terms.

This transition is accompanied by characteristic signs hardship:

1. Dramatic increase in the rate of unemployment: the Bedouin communities are at the bottom of Israel’s socio-economic scale, approximately 65% - 75% of the entire Negev Bedouin population lives under the poverty line;
2. Crime and drug abuse are continually on the rise;
3. School drop-outs rates are among the highest in the State;
4. Matriculation success rates are among the lowest in the State;
5. The rate of Bedouins’ integration into Israeli society is marginal. The education gap, which begins in elementary school, reaches it apex in higher education: among the Bedouin residents of the Negev, the number of university graduates is 2 per 1,000, compared to the national average of 100 per 1000. The main factors contributing to this low rate of higher education among the Bedouins are:

- a. A low level of state provided educational services;
- b. The poor economic situation of the Bedouin community;
- c. The viability of investing in higher education for minorities;
- d. Inaccessibility to the institutions of higher education for the Bedouin community, that is, academic requirements (the psychometric examination), the application process, educational scholarships, financial assistance, etc.

This situation represents a danger both to the Bedouin community and the fragile and delicate fabric of Israeli society in its entirety.

Demographically, the problems are becoming more acute:

The median age (the age where half of the population is above it and the other half below it) in the Bedouin communities of the Negev is between 12.7 and 16.9 years, while in the Jewish communities of the Negev the median age is between 21.1 and 37.6 years. Children represent more than 65% of the total population, with a 5.5% annual rate of increase, one of the highest growth rates in the world. The Bedouin population of the Negev feels neglected, and that the State has no intention of accommodating them. This situation creates increased feelings of frustration and distress. The results of a survey carried out among the adolescent Bedouin youth, indicate strong feelings of alienation and hostility towards the State of Israel. This type of tension may potentially lead to a crisis in confidence and unrest.

Conclusion:

Since the establishment of the state, the government policies towards the Bedouin population of the Negev has been hostile and to a great extent characterized by discrimination towards its residents in every aspect of their lives (education, housing, municipal development, budgets, civic rights),. These policies led to radical changes in the ' lives, which harmed them and rendered their traditional lifestyle unworkable. Within a short period of time, the Bedouins became a group without the means to cope with western orientation, a state defined as for all the Jews and not a state for all its citizens.

The Bedouin population of the Negev is in serious crisis and suffers from cumulative problems which are:

1. The struggle for land ownership;
2. The Green Patrol and its rigid policy towards the Bedouins;
3. A foreign and unsuitable settlement policy forced upon the Bedouin by the state;
4. The absence of economic and employment infrastructures in the permanent communities;
5. A low level of municipal development;
6. The system for appointing heads to the municipalities;
7. Life in unrecognized communities;
8. The policy of destroying houses;
9. Inadequate provision of services (education, health, welfare, roads, sewage, public transportation's, etc.);
10. Inequality

In order to rectify these problems, the State of Israel must offer equality to its Arab citizens, including the Bedouins. As well, it is necessary to formulate a government policy, which will take into account the tradition and unique requirements of the Negev's Bedouin society, and present suitable solutions for all the basic problems of the Bedouin population. The state must recognize Bedouin land rights and desist from its policies which discriminate against them.

These actions will assist the Bedouin population in meeting the new challenges and opportunities presented by the new reality of Israeli society in the 21st century.

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Conclusion

Two processes have converged in the past few years. Whether in despair over the possibility of integration into the State or as the maturation of a socio-political process that involves chiefly the crystallization of a collective identity, a political disillusionment has taken place among the Arab citizens. The idea that Arab citizens can depend only on themselves and should not expect things to improve as a result of partnerships with the Zionist political parties or by lobbying government officials has become legitimate.

Developments in the civic culture of the Jewish population in the 1990s were also indicative of change. The boundaries of public discourse expanded somewhat, and although they are still dictated by the Jewish majority, they allow in clearer, independent statements by Arab citizens. Barak's victory in the 1999 elections gave many people, both Arabs and Jews, a sense that the window of opportunity which had been reopened to peace accords, would allow for a change in civic attitudes within Israel.

After three years of budgetary drought and stagnation or retreat in most areas, the Barak government's victory in the elections evoked high expectations also among the leaders of the Arab population. Although the gap between expectations and the reality on the day after the elections was soon discovered, the Arab citizenry is no longer the same as in the past due to the process previously mentioned: the style and nature of activity of the Arab Knesset members is fundamentally different from that of the past; Arab students speak to the Channel 1 television cameras in Arabic, as an expression of independence and separation from the Jewish citizens; and Arab associations are challenging the political system via the judiciary.

It would seem that the balance of power between majority and minority is now taking on a new character and challenging both sides to reposition themselves in light of the developments. We hope this report contributes to decision-makers, who can use it to broaden the scope of their judgment; to public leaders, who can use it to rethink issues; and to the people, who can reexamine their values and wishes in light of the actual situation.

It appears that a window of opportunity for changing civic attitudes in Israel has indeed opened. Great strength is required to fully open this window in order to that adopting a policy of civic equality is in the best interests of all citizens of Israeli. The power to change the reality is in the hands of both the government, however the power to change the government's approach is in the hands of the citizens.

The various non-governmental agencies fulfill a vital role in this endeavour, and we are proud to take part in it.