

Bayan بیان ביאן The Arabs in Israel הערבים בישראל

Editors: Itamar Radai and Arik Rudnitzky

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From the Editors' Desk

We are pleased to introduce the second issue of Bayan, a quarterly on Arab society in Israel published by the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University.

Since the publication of the first issue of Bayan in June 2014, a change has come over Arab-Jewish relations in Israel. This summer's events, beginning with the kidnapping and murder of the young Jewish teenagers in Gush Etzion, continuing with the kidnapping and murder of the young Arab boy in Jerusalem, swelled into another violent conflict between Israel and Hamas, which widened the rifts in Israel's already fragile majority-minority relations.

Issue No. 2 is published in a special expanded format, set against the backdrop of the crisis that has accompanied us since June 2014. The issue contains three opinion pieces and one column. The editorials each represent a different viewpoint, and are reflective of prevalent positions held by Arab scholars and public figures in Israel. The opening editorial by Dr. Nohad 'Ali was written before the military operation in Gaza commenced, and therefore focuses on the early stage of the crisis. The next editorial is a personal call to Israel's Jewish population by Muhammad Darawsha, written at the height of the military operation. The third editorial, by Nadia Hilou, is an attempt to describe the situation as it existed in August 2014. The concluding column by Brian Miculitzki, is entitled, "Glance at the Electronic Media," focuses on the reaction to the events in the Arab political sphere in Israel.

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The Editors

Nohad 'Ali* / Patterns of protest and response, and the unique nature of the recent round of violence following the murder of young Mohammad Abu-Khdeir

At a conference sponsored by Haifa University's Jewish-Arab Center on May 20, 2014, Prof. Sammy Smootha presented findings from the 2013 Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel Index Study (the author was a member of the research team). One of the headlines that the media used to describe the study's findings was "Halt to trend of increasingly negative Arab attitudes toward Israel and the Jewish majority." After a decade (2003-2013) of increasingly negative attitudes among Israeli Arabs towards Israel and the Jewish majority, the index for 2013 indicated that the trend had reversed.¹ Both the conference discussions and the articles published in the media discussed whether this change signaled a turning point, or was instead merely a temporary response to specific external and internal circumstances of the survey period.

Smootha believes that the escalation in negative attitudes can be traced to the early stages of the al-Aqsa Intifada, in October 2000, when 13 Arabs, 12 of whom were Israeli citizens, were killed by Israeli security forces.²

The current round of events began in early July with protests against the murder of young Mohammad Abu-Khdeir of Shuafat. They included the burning of tires at numerous intersections throughout the country, and the arrest of dozens of young people in Jerusalem, the Triangle cities, and the north, on suspicion of involvement in rioting.³ Many public figures and members of the security forces have argued that the current round of events bear some similarity to those of the 2000 al-Aqsa Intifada.. This summer, Arab media were overwhelmed by items that compared the atmosphere during these two waves of protest. The Follow-up Committee published several statements on the events and their unique nature.⁴

The Arab public consciously and actively participates in political and social protests, and expresses its opposition during both critical and symbolic events. Smootha⁵ notes that several types of opposition are available to minority groups: parliamentary campaigns, extra-parliamentary action, and illegal action. To this list, the author adds several means of protest: ghettoization, the establishment of alternative institutions to state institutions, and a struggle against irredentism.⁶

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¹ 2013 Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel Index, University of Haifa, <http://wordpress.haifa.ac.il/?p=4516>.

² Sammy Smootha, *Still playing by the rules: Index of Arab-Jewish relations in Israel, 2012* (Haifa and Jerusalem: University of Haifa and the Israel Democracy Institute, 2012).

³ "Overnight: 30 arrested in riots resulting from the murder of Abu-Khdeir," *Walla*, 6 June 2014, <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/1/2761643>.

⁴ "The National Committee: An important explanatory statement," *Pls48.net*, 16 July 2014, <http://www.pls48.net/?mod=articles&ID=1184371>.

⁵ Smootha, *Still playing by the rules*.

⁶ Nohad Ali, *Between Ovedia and Abdallah: On Islamic and Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2013).

Public opinion polls conducted in recent years (Smootha's Jewish-Arab Relations Index between 2003 and 2013) indicate that the majority of Arabs (65.6%) believe that they are capable of improving their situation through parliamentary and extra-parliamentary campaigns. Only rarely does a small group from the Arab minority deviate from conventional practice and take violent action. The police responds to such action with even more violence, which triggers a vicious cycle. Today, an increasing number of Arabs have complained of being abused by the authorities even when they are engaged in legitimate protest action.

"Price Tag" Attacks and the murder of the youth, Mohammad Abu-Khedir

In the most recent round of violence and riots, the behavior and the ideology of the Arab public manifested something new, which requires that we view these events through a different perspective from that used in previous waves of violence. Ostensibly, the direct cause of the riots was the cruel murder of young Mohammad Abu-Khedir, but in fact the murder was the last straw. The late Abu-Khedir was not the first murder victim in the conflict between the two peoples, but in the eyes of many members of the Arab public he was a victim of a campaign conducted by several Jewish leaders to legitimize racism against Arabs and de-legitimize the Arab public in Israel.

Triggered by the cruel kidnapping and murder of the three teenagers, Israeli society was engulfed by a desire for vengeance against Arabs. This was exemplified by the dozens of groups that sprang into existence and called for retribution. The most prominent of these was the Facebook group entitled "The nation of Israel demands revenge," which amassed over 36,000 followers before it was shut down. Many of its members were youngsters, soldiers, and young adults, and urged indiscriminate revenge against Arabs. Such was expressed by racist statements, such as "Just let us spray them [with automatic firearms]." The height of racism was the following sentence that appeared on social media: "To hate Arabs is not racism, it's a principle."⁷

In recent years, and especially since the current government assumed office, the Arab public in Israel has felt ostracized and stigmatized. The exclusionary policy against Arabs has crossed many red lines. Hostile parliamentary legislation has reached a new low, the socio-economic condition of the Arab public has significantly worsened, and as a collective, the Arabs of Israel feel unwanted in their own homeland, and have a sense that their lives are less valued than the lives of others.

In addition to the physical damage caused to property, the activities of the Price Tag gangs have also offended the religious and national sensitivities of the Arab minority, and yet the authorities have exacerbated matters by failing to take concrete steps in response. Many government ministers have refrained from condemning these actions, and the government has refused to classify the gangs as perpetrators of terror. As the Arab public and its leaders see it, this group has received a stamp of approval from above and from below.

⁷ Ariela Ayalon, "The Youth Tragedy: Why Feelings of Vengeance Do Us Good," *Ynet*, 3 July 2014, <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4537381,00.html>.

It is only against the backdrop of such events can one truly understand the dark wave of violent demonstrations that are currently taking place in many Arab towns.

The unique nature of the recent wave of violence

In contrast to previous rounds of violence, recent events have illuminated a very interesting phenomenon: heads of local governments, local leaders, and groups of young adults and merchants initiated action on their own, far from the national leadership that took no steps to restrain these young people. Several national leaders even disappeared from the public stage entirely during these events. Local leaders were on the ground in an attempt to restrain the passions, prevent destruction, and avoid a confrontation with the police forces that could potentially lead to tragic results.

These grassroots leaders moved up one notch from pacification to the next stage. Numerous local leaders and heads of local governments published their opinions, denounced the acts of violence, and were even willing to argue with their constituencies in an effort to restore order and prevent confrontations with the police. This was one of the identifying marks of this “little bang.”

The wave of violence that swept through many Arab towns and was instigated by a handful of youth, mainly minors, may signal a turning point in the younger generation’s relationship with its national leadership, and expresses the youngsters’ rebellion against their national leaders who mostly disappeared from sight.

I think that these events do not herald the beginning of a third Intifada as long as the security forces cause no loss of Arab lives. They instead should be regarded as the release of rage by desperate, idle youngsters who have lost hope, are unemployed and easily swayed, and are disaffected toward their society and their environment.

The Arab public obviously has a right to protest against the murder of innocents, its own demonization in the media and in public, the police’s ineffectiveness in protecting it from groups like Price Tag, and its experience of exclusion, neglect, discrimination, and malignant racism. This protest should, however, be conducted in the appropriate manner, without violence or destruction of property or hostility directed at others. In a civilized society, struggles should be conducted through conventional channels, however I believe that the recent events will have a powerful impact on the Arab public’s attitude toward the state and toward the Jewish majority. The pause in the trend toward increasingly negative attitudes is not the end of the story, and this trend may yet recur.

Clearly, it is impossible to detach the relations between Jewish and Arab citizens in Israel from the general context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I believe that this conflict must be resolved fairly, in a manner that puts an end to the bloodshed and respects the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Nonetheless, we cannot reach that safe harbor if both sides fail to demonstrate willingness to understand the other’s pain and dreams, and to treat the other with due respect.

Mohammad Darawsha* / Give coexistence a Chance

In contrast to Zuhayr Balhul, I am not yet sick of being an Arab in Israel⁸; neither do I adopt Sayed Kashua's decision to leave Israel and declare that I no longer have the fortitude to deal with Israeli reality.⁹ I have a family, a village, and a people of which I am part and toward which I feel responsibility, and it is my desire to live among them even during periods of crisis.

I am a Palestinian Arab and I will always be one. I am an Israeli citizen, and I will always be one, including during and after a war. I did not choose this complicated identity, but few people in the world choose their identity in advance. When times are tense, such as during the military campaign in Gaza, my Palestinian-Arab identity intensifies, mainly out of empathy toward the members of our people who are on the weak side of this equation of force. In times such as these, my Israeli identity becomes increasingly diffused, and I sense my marginality as an Arab who is far from the opinion of the country's Jewish majority. Marginality is also reflected in my sense of helplessness and inability to influence the government's attitude toward the Palestinians. The Israeli government is clearly not embarking on this campaign or starting a war on the advice of its Arab citizens.

I don't think about the war as the average Jewish citizen does, and I don't view it in the same way. My perceptions of regional politics are different: my views cut across Israel's borders and fuse with my cultural-ethnic identity, my Palestinian Arab identity. In fact, these views are what divide me from the general Israeli public, remove me from Israeli mainstream at the time that a demonstration of national patriotism is required of everyone.

I am unable to join in the accolades for the IDF and the war against my people. Grasp this thought, understand it. From my perspective, there is no dilemma: I object to the mass killing of my people and no other opinion you would hear from me would be authentically my own. I believe that the Palestinians are fighting to liberate themselves from your occupation and to create an independent state. They want freedom, they want an independent state, and their desire is a legitimate one, and I want this state to exist in peace alongside and together with the state of Israel. It is their right, and even their duty to oppose the occupation and to conduct a struggle to realize their dream. No nation, including the Jews, was handed a country on a silver platter. The Palestinians are doing what every other nation does: they sacrifice what is dearest to them for the sacred right of self-determination: they are sacrificing their money, their quality of life, and their souls.

Indeed, many Jews in Israel would not accept the argument that they are the occupation force that prevents the Palestinian dream from coming true. Many others would even argue that they have a historic right to the land that justifies their continued control of the territory, as if no Palestinians existed. I cannot identify with

* **Muhammad Darawsha** is Director of Equality and Coexistence Branch at Givat Haviva Jewish-Arab Center.

⁸ Zuhir Bahloul, "I'm sick of being an Arab here," *Haaretz*, 19 July 2014, <http://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/.premium-1.2379989>.

⁹ Sayed Kashua, "It's over," *Haaretz*, 3 July 2014, <http://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/sayed/.premium-1.2366140>.

this position of an occupying force and I cannot condone the campaign in Gaza, or accept the continued historic injustice. Stop the occupation and only then demand of me to demonstrate identification, solidarity, and patriotism.

I do not wish for Israeli casualties. I oppose any injury caused to innocent citizens, and especially I oppose the launching of rockets against the Israel's cities, and oppose terror attacks wherever they are committed. I want to continue to live with you and it is truly important for me that the Israeli side does not experience suffering. On the other hand, I find it difficult to shed my tears for you when your army oppresses the members of my people. Understand the complex situation I am in: I feel this way not only because it's easier for me to identify with the weak and be part of the narrative of the majority in the Arab world, but also because the excessive use of force is an illegitimate act in my eyes and contradicts the basic human values that I hold.

Understanding the situation is not only a hypothetical exercise. What is needed is a stop to the incitement against us in a manner that allows us, the state's Arab citizens, to express our pain at your actions in Gaza and our opposition to them without fear of reprisal from you. In the past we paid a heavy toll : 13 individuals lost their lives in the October 2000 Events, and we have since been paying a price in the form of growing hatred and hate crimes against us, attacks by hooligans, calls for collective punishment, boycotts, restrictions on civil rights, and restrictive and humiliating legislation.

Remember: We must think about tomorrow. Give us a taste of what coexistence might be like. Stop the inflammatory speech, the racism, the aggressiveness, and the exclusion. Think about your own interests in maintaining coexistence with us. For my part, I am aware about my own interest in maintaining coexistence with you, but I would like to stress that such coexistence must be grounded in some principles: mutual legitimacy of our respective right to live in this country; genuine equality—not only socio-economic equality but also political equality that allows Arab citizens both fair representation and equal participation in decision making; rectification of the injustice of discrimination of 66 years of citizenship; and especially the resolution of the Israel-Palestinian conflict in a manner that ensures the establishment of the desired Palestinian state. Without an appropriate resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a deep chasm will always yawn between us, and it will continue to affect our relationship, the relationship between the countries Arab and Jewish citizens.

Clearly we can take steps forward in numerous directions – society, economics, culture and even politics, as we have done from time to time in the past, and it is important that we continue to do so. But we will not be able to build a common house or common civic and political policies as long as the historical injustice to my people remains uncorrected.

After October 2000, Professor Sammy Smooha spoke of a “lost decade,” and at the beginning of the current decade Minister Avishay Braverman expressed hope that this would be the decade of prosperity.¹⁰ I propose that together we think about expediting the developments that come after the end of the crisis: It should not take us an entire decade to rebuild the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. But, to do so, you must understand the complicated nature of Arab citizens' identity in Israel during a crisis and appreciate the fact that we still get up every morning, go to work, and try to live normal and routine lives despite everything that is going on. A shared future must

¹⁰ Avishay Braverman, "From the lost decade to the decade of prosperity and flourishing,": Haaretz, May 30, 2010. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1204290>

be based on our common interests, our mutual acceptance, and acceptance of otherness.

Nadia Hilou* / Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel – Quo Vadis?

Introduction

In recent weeks, the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel underwent an upheaval such as it had not experienced since the beginning of the millennium. Manifestations of hatred, nationalism, and racism broke records in their ferocity, fanned by the new social networks that were not in existence in the past. It seems that the delicate fabric of the fragile coexistence became unraveled as never before, raising the question of where the relationship between Jews and Arabs is headed. The discussion of this question has only begun; I do not purport to offer an answer in this article, but I will review the main milestones that have led us to the current situation.

Following the young boys' murder

The current turn in the escalation of Jewish-Arab relations and in the public discourse in Israel commenced with the kidnapping and cruel murder of the three Jewish teenagers, Gil-ad Shaer, Naftali Fraenkel, and Eyal Yifrah in Gush Etzion on June 12 and the horrific kidnapping and murder of the teenage Arab boy Muhammad Abu-Khdeir in Jerusalem on July 2, a crime that ignited tempers and sparked a series of impassioned demonstrations by the Arab public throughout the country. In several cases, the escalation also was reflected in violence involving Arabs and Jews.

The wave of incitement that began with the boys' murders, especially in social media, was accompanied by manifestations of racism and nationalism. For a moment, we seemed to be poised on the verge of a serious crisis in Jewish-Arab relations and an escalation that recalled the situation on the eve of the October 2000 Events, at the beginning of the Second Intifada. The question that hung in the air and engaged public figures and law enforcement officials was "Are we facing a third Intifada?"

Demonstrations and protests took place in almost all parts of the country. The main demonstration was held on July 6 in Kafr Manda in the north, in response to a call by the Supreme Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel. The messages in this demonstration included protest against manifestations of racism and hatred against the Arab public, which appeared mainly on social media; the demonstrators also protested against government policy that failed to restrain these incidents or punish the responsible parties. The incidents in question included calls to boycott Arab-owned businesses, incitement, manifestations of hatred and racism, accusations of disloyalty, and calls to harm the Arab public and inflict collective punishment.

In addition to this demonstration, other protests and demonstrations were held around the country, leading to the arrest of 108 individuals, including 37 minors. The detainees received legal aid and representation from Adalah and other civil non-profit organizations that operate in the Arab public.

Two main trends were evident in Arab leaders' responses to these demonstrations: The Arab heads of local governments typically adopted a restrained, dispassionate

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position. Several of them, including Nazareth Mayor 'Ali Salam, explicitly expressed opposition to the demonstration, but even those who supported the protest and approved the demonstrations made an effort to demonstrate a more moderate line, and publicly opposed the use of violence. Several—notably Mayor Morsi Abu-Moch of Baqa Al-Gharbiyyeh and Mayor 'Abd Al-Basset Salameh of Qalansuwa—even initiated meetings with the police. Their restrained protest was made with a view to the future, concerned by the threats to the shared interests of both sectors, especially the shared economic interests. In this period, calls to boycott Arab-owned businesses were already becoming heard.

In contrast to heads of local government, Arab MKs attempted to lead a tougher line. The vast majority of the MKs actively participated in various demonstrations, although the organizers and individuals who dictated the tone were usually groups of youngsters called Al-Hirak Al-Shababi (the youth groups) and students. Islamic movements were also linked to the general protest movements in various regions: they represented the movements' protest by attending demonstrations in areas such as Lod and Jaffa.

The Arab Protest since the Beginning of the Military Action in Gaza

When the "Protective Edge" campaign was launched on July 8, the Arab public was already engrossed in protest actions, demonstrations, and arrests. The military campaign diverted public attention from the previous events, but gave the signal for a new series of protests and demonstrations in the Arab public.

The nationwide demonstrations, which initially were protests against the murder of young Abu-Khdeir, turned into protests against "Protective Edge." Local demonstrations were led by local political activists, unorganized groups of youngsters, or the Islamic Movements. The nature of these demonstrations varied from place to place: sometimes all the activists and political and popular movements held a single demonstration, while on other occasions multiple demonstrations took place in a single location.

The High Follow-Up Committee for the Arab Citizens of Israel attempted to unite the forces and lead a single line of protest that would include all the political parties and movements, the heads of local governments, and the civil society organizations. The latter were active partners in all demonstrations and protests, sometimes even playing a major role in these events. One of the stormiest demonstrations of all was held in Haifa on July 18, and was attended by an estimated 1,000 individuals. It was the main demonstration of the group of youngsters called *al-Hirak al-Shababi*. Joining them were unorganized groups of students, and Arab MKs. Twenty-nine demonstrators were arrested.

A second wave of local demonstrations in various Arab villages and mixed cities washed through the country. As the war proceeded and the number of civilian casualties in Gaza grew, the Arab public's mounting rage and pain became palpable, and these emotions were vented through protest action and demonstrations, both spontaneous and organized.

The Supreme Follow-Up Committee declared a general strike on July 22 and announced that a national demonstration would take place in Nazareth. The

demonstration was attended by Arab MKs, including Muhammad Barakeh, Ahmad Tibi, Basel Ghattas and Haneen Zoabi. The media reported that thousands of protesters attended the event, which was extremely impassioned and violent, and resulted in the arrest of 18 demonstrators. A partial strike was conducted in several locations.

It was now possible to discern several different voices in the Arab public: complete support for a strike and active participation in demonstrations and protest activities, in contrast to muted opposition, especially by business owners who were concerned by the potential damage to their livelihood in view of the continued calls by individuals in the Jewish public and several government ministers to boycott Arab-owned businesses. Others, especially in mixed cities and in business areas that targeted a mixed clientele, advocated partial, more passive support, in an attempt to achieve a balance between protest and continued coexistence.

Civil Society Organizations

Protestors included not only political parties, MKs, public movements, and youth movements. Civil society organizations and NGOs were also intensely involved, and even played a key role in the protest discourse and the demonstrations. Adalah notably assumed legal representation and defense of detainees, and Mossawah, Injaz, and the Jewish-Arab Abraham Fund Initiatives were also active.

These organizations acted on two levels: inside and outside Israel. Inside Israel, activities included appeals to the government and Prime Minister to stop the arrests and take steps to curtail the incitement against the Arab citizens; and to provide protection and mobile shelters to the Negev Bedouin. Serious protest was expressed in response to Lieberman's call for an economic boycott, and Lieberman was accused of exploiting the opportunity to amass political support at the expense of the Arab citizens. An appeal was made to the Minister of Defense to stop the killing of civilians in Gaza and initiate an investigation into suspected war crimes.

Activities directed outside Israel included an appeal to the UN Human Rights Council and a request to hold a session on "grave human rights violations and suspected war crimes committed in the course of Protective Edge campaign," noting that many of the fatalities were civilians. In their requests, these organizations noted that "the Arab community in Israel is subject to racist attacks by nationalist groups that incite the public against Arabs, especially on social networks." The appeal was signed by 14 civil society organizations that operate among the Arab public.

In addition to these activities by the civil society organizations, during the war a group of academic scholars attempted to publish a joint opinion of individuals from various fields – scholars, intellectuals, artists, writers, and independent activists. Their effort was only partially successful: Seventy activists eventually signed the call to stop the war and the killing of civilians.

Summary

A discussion of the antecedents and outcomes of the fighting in Gaza has begun only recently, and this issue will continue to engage Israeli society at least for the foreseeable future. The effect of the fighting on Arab-Jewish relations in Israel and on

the future of coexistence has not, however, attracted sufficient attention in public discourse, and during the war itself this issue was pushed to the sidelines. Many issues involving the Arab public and life alongside the Arab public remain; these warrant the attention of Israeli society as a whole. The negative incidents are not unilateral: Israeli society shows evidence of intolerance, hatred, and even expressions of racism between Arabs and Jews . The recent manifestations of such emotions signal a dangerous escalation that threatens the fabric of Jewish-Arab coexistence in Israel. It is yet early to answer the question “Quo Vadis?” but a continuation of the current situation clearly embodies a serious danger.

Brian Miculitzki* / A Selection of the Electronic Media

Responses in the Arab political arena to the murder of young Mohammed Abu-Khadir and demonstrations that followed

- **The Islamic Movement: We condemn the anarchy; The Israeli government is responsible [for the events]**

On Saturday evening, the Islamic Movement convened an emergency meeting to discuss “the escalation in the racist [propaganda] campaign and the rising number of voices in the extreme right urging vengeance against Arabs...”

The announcement made on the Movement’s behalf stated, “Our Palestinian nation, wherever it is, finds itself in a sensitive period, which requires that we express a clear position on the events, because of their short-term and long-term effects on us, the Arab-Palestinian minority in Israel [the Arabs of the Inside – Arab al-Dahil].

The Islamic Movement stresses the rights of our Palestinian nation to oppose the Occupation and live freely, with dignity, in an independent state. The Islamic Movement imposes upon Israel the responsibility for the current deterioration in security and condemns the attacks on our Palestinian nation inside Israel and the killing of innocent citizens.

The Islamic Movement imposes on Israel and on its government the responsibility for the attacks, the racist threats and the ugly, despicable calls to take revenge on our people after the murder of the three kidnapped [boys], which found expression in the cruel murder of the young Mohammed Abu-Khadir of Shuafat by a group of [Jewish] settlers.

The Islamic Movement condemns any campaign of propaganda and hatred directed against Arabs, and also condemns the threats made to the student Morad Abu Al-Hija and the persecution of [Arab] students in various universities and colleges. The Islamic Movement imposes on the government and government authorities the responsibility for restraining this crazed propaganda campaign that calls to take revenge and shed the blood of the Palestinians wherever they are.”

The announcement also stated, “As an oppressed minority that is threatened by a herd of extremists, it is our right to defend ourselves, our honor, and our property. It is our right to demonstrate and condemn this [situation] and express our solidarity with our Palestinian nation that suffers from unjust exploitation by the Occupation...”

The Islamic Movement calls for a united struggle of all the active parties and movements and urges the Follow-Up Committee to adopt this outline for action to prevent individual action...”

(Source: Panorama website, www.panet.co.il, July 7, 2014)

- **DFPE: Netanyahu and his government are responsible for the racism-driven deterioration [in relations]**

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The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (*Hadash*) published a statement entitled, “Netanyahu and his government are responsible for the deterioration driven by racism and fascism, at home and abroad.

According to the statement, “The deterioration in the situation that we are witnessing inside and outside the country in recent days did not occur incidentally but through the direct guidance of Netanyahu and his government and under their full responsibility. An example of this is the attempt to turn the Arab public into the scapegoat for the failure of the government’s policy, following recent events. There is no doubt that this propaganda campaign will lead the country into anarchy and create a fascist climate, in which expressions of racism, hatred and incitement against Arabs will be evident.”

The announcement further stated, “We caution against a situation in which the Netanyahu government will try to exploit these unfortunate events to increase attacks against the weak, unarmed Palestinian nation in order to extend the reach of the Occupation further and intensify the military violence against Gaza in order to increase the [pace] of construction of the settlements...”

We appeal to all the sectors of our people to take precautionary measures and act responsibly and resist responding to the incessant provocations... Nonetheless, we stress the natural and absolute right of the Arab public, and all its leaders and national and political movements to express the national political beliefs that it adheres to and which are designed to express the interests of our public, protect it, and defend our national interests before everything else...”

(Source: Panorama website, www.panet.co.il, July 7, 2014).

- **Nazareth branch of the NDA: We congratulate the young people for the demonstration**

The Nazareth branch of the National Democratic Alliance (*Balad*) announced that they applauded “the large demonstrations that took place in the streets of Arab cities and villages, which expressed the nation’s self-respect, superiority, and refusal to surrender to Israel’s policy of intimidation and terror.” The announcement also mentioned “the demonstration in Nazareth, our right to fight, and how the Israeli police and authorities have become embroiled in the events, and are now acting out of vengeance, arresting and interrogating minors without the presence of legal counsel...”

The announcement stressed, “These attempted arrests will not break our will, will not intimidate us, and will not cancel our right – on the contrary: The attempted arrests trigger our fierce desire to carry on our struggle with even greater force than ever, both among the detainees and their families and among all the groups of our people... We are facing a struggle that Israel wishes to be difficult. We are not only talking about the establishment in Israel but also of the Israeli public that acts wildly, demonstrating racism, which takes to the streets and threaten to boycott stores owned by Arabs. We also witnessed racist Jewish groups who demonstrated in the streets and waved signs that said “Death to Arabs”... In addition to our duty to protect our sons on the street, in commercial centers, in the workplace, and in universities, we also have a right to express our opposition ...”

The announcement concluded, “We must understand that it is our duty and not merely our right to express our opposition...the law in this country recognizes our right to express opposition in a more extensive manner than we are currently doing. Israel does not understand that it is conducting a vile policy and that it is not the victim. Furthermore, Israel does not understand that we are not cowards or inferior, and we are not nationless immigrants... The world is on our side, the world supports us. We must stand on our own two feet. We do not ask others to respect us, our position, or our rights: We must first respect ourselves.”

(Source: Kull Al-Arab newspaper, www.alarab.net, July 6, 2014)

- **Ali Salam asked the Follow-Up Committee not to hold the national demonstration in Nazareth**

After a decision was made to hold a national demonstration, Nazareth Mayor Ali Salam met with and requested the Head of the Supreme Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel, Mohammad Zidan, to hold the national demonstration in any other Arab city but Nazareth.

Salam explained his request, “I am a new mayor and I am taking steps to promote Nazareth’s development. For the last two days, together with the young people, we have been occupied night and day with the issue of Nazareth. At this point, Nazareth cannot hold an event such as a national demonstration.”

Salam clarified, “Zidan acceded to the request and he will consult and publish another decision on the demonstration.”

In response to recent events, Salam stated, “I support the fact that the young people are expressing their anger. Since the actions of “Price Tag,” the public in Nazareth, and the Palestinians in the Inside in general, are very apprehensive about what is going on.” He added, “It is good that the young people are expressing their anger and are carrying slogans these emotions, at Mary’s Well and at the entrance to Nazareth, so that the world hears them, but I am against the young people burning objects or igniting fires in the streets.”

(Source: a website identified with the Islamic Movement’s extra-parliamentary faction, www.pls48.net, July 7, 2014).

- **NDA, Nazareth branch, has decided to leave the City Council coalition**

Abed Al-Fattah: Salam is following the path of his predecessors in office

Yesterday, Secretary General of NDA, Awad Abed Al-Fattah, posted the following on his Facebook page: “It has now become clear that Ali Salam, the new mayor of Nazareth, is following the path of his predecessors. He publicly announced that he does not wish to host the national demonstration that the Supreme Follow-Up Committee decided to hold in its last meeting. It is a known fact that Ramez Jeraisy, the former mayor, avoided holding a memorial rally for the October 2000 Events for 14 years, and never even once acceded to the Supreme Follow-Up’s request to hold the traditional march in Nazareth, even though the city lost three of its sons [in the October 2000 Events]...It is inconceivable that considerations of tourism should prevent Nazareth, the largest Inside Arab city, from becoming an active fortress of nationalism...”

Ali Salam's declarations

Salam placed the responsibility for the events, which he believed were detrimental, on "the leaders of the NDA and DFPE, who organized yesterday's demonstration at Mary's Well ... since all the leaders returned to their homes after the demonstration and left the young people on their own, which led to the events that occurred [there]."

Salam noted that he was "criticizing the leadership," and stated, "Had the leadership been interested in holding some event, it should have remained with the young people and not left [the site] after waving slogans and not left them alone. I am calling all Arab leaders in the Arab sector urging them, that if they want to hold any activity, they should remain with the young people in order to control the events."

The mayor of Nazareth told Al-Arab, "The truth is that I am concerned by what happened, not only in Nazareth but in the entire Arab sector. I am concerned by the growing sense of distress among young Arabs who work outside their villages and cities, and we should study this situation to ensure that we do not lose control." Salam stressed that "it is the public's right to demonstrate and express its opinion, but the young people do not have the right to ignite trash cans or cause widespread havoc ... throughout the city."

Salam insinuated that "commerce, the economy, and tourism in Nazareth would be adversely affected by such events because tourists will think a hundred times before visiting the city..."

(Source: a website identified with the NDA, www.arabs48.net, July 7, 2014).

- **The Supreme Follow-Up Committee applauds young Palestinians' uprising and emphasizes the right and the duty to demonstrate**

An announcement on behalf of the Follow-Up Committee stated, "In the past three days we have witnessed thousands of young people who went out to the streets and intersections of their towns and cities to demonstrate and to stress our nation's right, and to present our problems. Young people also went out to the streets in response to the unrestrained racism and security situation facing the internal Palestinian nation in the West Bank and Gaza..."

The announcement continued that the Follow-Up Committee "applauds the uprising of the young Palestinians in all the cities and villages, and their heroic stance against police violence..."

The announcement emphasized the national and moral right and obligation to demonstrate and campaign against the racist and fascist policy and against any harm "to our existence, our property, our customs, and our right to support our cause."

The Follow-Up Committee imposed full responsibility for everything that happened and will happen in the future on the Israeli government and on PM Netanyahu, personally. The Follow-Up Committee considers them responsible for any harm or violent act committed against the Palestinian nation.

The Follow-Up Committee stressed that senior Israeli officials and ministers have contacted its members and asked to meet with them to discuss the situation and the events, and to placate the Palestinian public. The Follow-Up Committee's leadership responded that the means of oppression used by the police and the continued, thoughtless racist incitement against all Palestinians and Arabs is what fans the

flames. As long as the racist and fascist policy continues, the young people will respond.

(Source: a website identified with NDA, www.arabs48.net, July 7, 2014).

Responses to the Protective Edge Campaign: The Political Arena

- **NDA urges action for national Palestinian unity**

The political bureau of NDA published an announcement related to recent events, stating, that “the NDA condemns the vile violence against the Gaza Strip using air power, ground forces and naval forces, which cruelly attack our Palestinian nation in the Gaza Strip...The NDA demands that Israel stop the violence immediately...”

The NDA commends the strong, courageous stand of our nation in Gaza in face of the violence. The NDA also stresses that however many the crimes of the Occupation and the level of violence that it directs [toward the Palestinian nation], Israel will never succeed in suppressing our heroic nation’s desire to express its opposition. The NDA urges the entire Palestinian nation wherever they are to rally for a victory of the people of Gaza who are witnesses to the most atrocious forms of killing and destruction perpetrated by the IDF. Furthermore, the NDA urges all Palestinian organizations and forces to take action and use their offices to stand beside our people in the Gaza Strip. Above all, the NDA calls to stop the attempts to prevent the Palestinian public in the West Bank from expressing its rage or acting in support of firm resistance in Gaza...”

The need for a practical commitment to national Palestinian unity

The announcement also stated, “The NDA stresses the need for a practical commitment to national Palestinian unity in order to oppose Israeli violence, focus the efforts of the Arab nation and the international community to put pressure to bear on the vicious Israeli government, and immediately stop the vile military actions, and demand that international sanctions be imposed for the war crimes committed against our people in the Gaza Strip. Therefore, we must appeal to the international community to allow Palestine to file official complaints against Israel and against the Israeli war criminals.

The NDA urges the Inside public – youth, women, and men – to participate in acts of opposition to achieve a victory in Gaza. The NDA congratulates our people and its daughters who participated in the demonstrations and in all actions against the Occupation and its various crimes.”

(Source: Panorama newspaper, www.panet.co.il, July 13, 2014).

- **DFPE: Stop Netanyahu’s vile war**

An announcement on behalf of the DFPE and the Israel Communist Party stated, “The Israeli government’s decision to once again attack the Gaza Strip is a vile, bloody decision, which constitutes yet one more chapter in the Occupation state’s organized terror against the Arab-Palestinian nation...This war is the ultimate result of Israel’s policy of denial, the continued settlement of the occupied lands, and its frustration of

a political solution based on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within the 1967 borders and whose capital is East Jerusalem.

We emphasize our principled position that calls for the removal of all citizens from the circle of gunfire. We impose on the Israeli government the responsibility for the war crimes perpetrated in the Gaza Strip, and the responsibility for all the outcomes of opposition to this atrocious war. The gang of Netanyahu, Lieberman and Bennett carry responsibility for every drop of blood that is shed, both of the Palestinian people and the residents in Israel.

It is now imperative to unite all the forces that oppose the war, Jews and Arabs, in order to impose a siege on the fascist Israeli government from within Israeli society itself. We caution against incitement against the Arab public and progressive Jewish forces. Clearly, the source of such incitement is the Israeli government, which considers civil protest as an obstacle to the execution of its violent plans.”

(Source: Panorama newspaper website www.panet.co.il, July 10, 2014).

- **The Islamic Movement: Hands off Gaza!**

An announcement published by the Islamic Movement stated, “Take your hands off Gaza. We are saying this to the Israeli Occupation that has attacked Gaza time after time and leaves in its wake a trail of destruction in all areas of life, and knows that it will achieve no military or otherwise significant achievement...”

Take your hands off the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque. We say this to the Israeli Occupation that has attacked our sisters praying on Friday, offending their honor when the soldiers removed the veils from the faces of our pure, modest sisters and prevented their entry into the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque. Furthermore, the Occupation used military blockades to close off extensive areas to our people in Jerusalem and in the West Bank and Inside [the 1948 borders]. These blockades are consistent with the Israeli violence directed against anything Arab and Palestinian, and this is done to intimidate our people and frighten them off...”

(Source: Panorama newspaper website www.panet.co.il, July 9, 2014).

- **MK Ibrahim Sarsur: The War against Gaza Will End Like Previous Wars**

A statement published by office of MK Ibrahim Sarsur of the United Arab List, stated, “MK Ibrahim Sarsur, head of the United Arab List-Islamic Movement, doubts Israel’s ability to attain a genuine achievement in the campaign in Gaza, which will cause what might amount to several thousand deaths and injured individuals, and cause destruction that will considerably increase the anger and frustration of the Palestinian people, which could cause an explosion inside and outside Israeli territory ...

Sarsur also noted, “History is the best proof that Israel’s diplomatic and political leadership failed, as it did in the past, to understand the power of Palestinian resistance and its military capabilities, which put millions of Israeli underground, targeted by long-range rockets that reached distances that Israel’s brightest security experts had not anticipated.”

(Source: Panorama newspaper website www.panet.co.il, July 9, 2014).

- **MK Mohammad Barakeh: Israel is Defending its Occupation**

An announcement published by Mohammad Barakeh's office, MK on behalf of DFPE, stated, "MK Mohammad Barakeh, Chair of the DFPE noted in his lecture in Ramallah that Israel is not defending itself, but rather its Occupation...He stressed that the underlying aim of the separation fence [in the original: Occupation Fence] constructed on occupied Palestinian West Bank lands is to destroy any attempt to establish a Palestinian state.

MK Barakeh commented on "the Israeli violence in the Gaza Strip," and stated that "We are here and our hearts are with Gaza and its people. We understand that there is an [international] demand—and this is also our demand—to remove both Palestinian and Israeli citizens from the circle of violence...The main violence is reflected in the continued siege against our people in the Gaza Strip, a siege that is the source of all evil."

Barakeh added, "It is impossible to logically argue that Israel has a right to defend itself, because Israel is not defending itself, it is defending its Occupation, and therefore when we speak with the international community, we must be precise in our statements and clarify, for example, the significance of the pressure brought to bear against citizens, and [explain] that the siege is an act of violence."

(Source: Panorama newspaper website www.panet.co.il, July 10, 2014).

- **Sheikh Ra'ed Salah in an interview to Al-Arab television station: The Occupation is not anything out of the ordinary**

Sheikh Ra'ed Salah, head of the extra-parliamentary faction of the Islamic movement in Israel, in an interview: "The Occupation is nothing extraordinary. It can be defeated and its attempts to prevent us from freely expressing our opinion can be thwarted." Salah also stated that Egypt will remain "the Mother of the World" [*Umm al-Dunya*], and continue to be the guardian of the Muslim nation and issues concerning the Arab world, especially the Palestinian issue, but Al-Sisi and his agents are the agents of the United States and Israel."

Salah stressed, "The Islamic nation's concerns are one and the same, because when we call for the victory of Syria's liberators, in the same breathe we also refer to the Palestinian issue. The free opinion of the public in the West Bank is the most important thing, and this is also true in the case of Gaza."

On the events in Gaza and the West Bank, Sheikh Salah stated, "The Israeli Occupation is trying to uproot Palestinian resistance, and strikes at the appeasement plan. The Occupation silences every voice that says no to the Occupation and its actions and no to its aspirations to Judaicize the West Bank, Judaicize Jerusalem, and divide the Al-Aqsa Mosque, as the first step toward constructing the false temple [al-hikal al-mazem, the term commonly used in Islamic Movement rhetoric]."

The Islamic Movement responds to Egypt's position on the violence in Gaza

On Egypt's position on the violence in Gaza and the closure of the Rafah border crossing, Salah stated, "We distinguish between the nation, culture, and history of Egypt, and between al-Sisi and his men, who led a bloody American revolution without Egyptian legitimacy. Sadly, al-Sisi and his men are mercenaries of the White House and the servants of Washington and Tel Aviv. Gaza contends with the tyranny

of Israeli Occupation and the tyranny of that man [Abbas] who guards his chair and will not remain long in office, and this is something that every free man and woman in Egypt will soon express.”

(Source: Kull Al-Arab newspaper, www.alarab.net, July 12, 2014).

- **Arabs and Jews demonstrated in Wadi ‘Ara against the campaign in Gaza**

Dozens of Arab and Jewish residents including men and women participated in today’s demonstration on Highway 65 (the Wadi ‘Ara Road), at Kufr Qara intersection, “in protest of the current war and the racism that is spreading around the country.” The demonstrators carried signs expressing opposition to all types of racism, and calling for resolute action to eradicate racism and create solidarity and love between Arabs and Jews. Protesters also condemned all forms of violence, and the war between Israelis and Palestinians, stressing that the right way is peace between the Israeli and Palestinian nations.

Author Louie Maslaha, who attended the demonstration, told the Al-Arab website, “Today we carry a clear, unequivocal message of peace, love, good neighborliness, and coexistence...today's demonstration was held to stress that we can live together, without discrimination or racism, and without the wars that cause casualties on all sides. We are here today, Arabs and Jews... to say that there is room for peace—not through anger or violence, but through peace, good neighborliness, coexistence, and mutual respect.”

Yaniv Sagi, director of the Givat Haviva Jewish-Arab Center for Peace, expressed his deep concerns over the experiences of both sides, Israelis and Palestinians, and stressed that no one benefits from war; war causes loss for everyone. “Both sides, Israelis and Palestinians, should return to the negotiating table in order to reach peace...We came here to say that it is possible to live together in coexistence and mutual respect. We believe in this and we will take action to achieve what we believe in. We will never allow extremists or racists to harm the fabric of relations between Arabs and Jews in the region.”

(Source: Kull Al-Arab newspaper, www.alarab.net, July 11, 2014)