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MADA is an independent, not-for-profit, Palestinian-run research institute based in Haifa, Israel. Mada fuses theoretical and applied research with public policy recommendations to advance the national rights and the social, political, and economic conditions of Palestinian citizens in Israel, and to craft new social policies toward this indigenous minority. In addition, Mada works to provide analytical research on a wide range of topics from national identity and citizenship, to the promotion of democracy in multiethnic states.

As this is our first newsletter in English, it introduces our programs and projects as well as detailing noteworthy activities. We

hope that this background information will help our readers acquire a better understanding of Mada's work and how it addresses the particular needs of the Palestinian minority in Israel. Subsequent newsletters will follow every six months and will focus primarily on activities.

Whatever your interest, we encourage you to become better acquainted and involved with Mada. At the end of each article, you will find a contact address for a Mada staff member who was involved with the activity or program. To learn more, you can contact this staff member.

We welcome your feedback and your involvement with Mada. 



A meeting about the Haifa Covenant (see p. 5)

GOALS OF MADA

To achieve its mission, Mada has set the following goals:

- To provide an institutional base and an intellectual climate to study the needs and collective future of Palestinians in Israel, and their relationship with Israel, the Palestinian nation, and the Arab World
- To enrich theoretical perspectives and applied work on national identity, citizenship, and democracy by stimulating cross-national comparative research with like-minded institutes in other multiethnic states
- To foster partnerships with Israeli, Palestinian, and international academics, NGO activists, and political actors to formulate public policy proposals designed to improve the economic, political, and social conditions of Palestinian citizens
- To train Palestinian social scientists in new critical approaches
- To promote a new and critical discourse on Palestinian-Jewish relations in the country

The Rationale for Mada

Past Israeli Scholarship on the Palestinian Minority in Israel

Historically, Israeli scholarship on the Palestinian minority and its relationship with the State of Israel and the Jewish majority was guided by ideological concerns related to state building. This research was conducted within theoretical frameworks that emphasized the supposedly inherent deficiencies in Arabs' traditional social structure, difficulties emanating from modernization processes for which the community was "unprepared," and/or the security threats posed to the state.

However, despite the recent changes in Israeli scholarship, few indigenous Palestinian scholars have been given the opportunity and facilities to articulate an alternative view. There has been little chance to offer a theoretical framework that takes issues of democratic citizenship and equality as the departure point for analyzing the status of Palestinians in Israel and their relationship with the state. No analyses have connected new theoretical issues with policy recommendations to change the nature of the relationship between majority and minority in Israel, as well as the necessary corresponding changes in state structure and identity. Until now, existing research centers that purport to deal with the central issues of the status of Palestinians and state policies are either tied to universities and state agencies or provide statistical information with little in-depth theoretical analysis.

Why was Mada established?

Mada was established based on the conviction that a progressive Palestinian-run applied social science research center could develop solutions to social ills and political predicaments, and contribute to ameliorating the plight of the Palestinian population in Israel. More importantly, it promotes thought and action about self-empowerment within a community that has too often been passive, fragmented, and ineffective in getting its own needs met and its voice heard.

How can Mada contribute to research about Palestinians in Israel?

As it has developed, Mada has increasingly provided an alternative to Israeli state-sponsored research on the Palestinians in Israel. Mada looks at the Palestinian minority through its own eyes, taking into account the factors that have shaped the community, rather than imposing arbitrary or biased evaluative models. It also develops models of applied social science that can be used to inform public policy, present programs, and propose institutions designed to facilitate Palestinian development. Mada goes beyond the norms of applied social science into the creative arena of providing alternative solutions to complex situations that not only need better data and more advanced knowledge, but also require alternative views of what applied social science techniques can and should do.

Mada makes its research available to NGOs and other community groups to complement their efforts in conducting social action initiatives on behalf of the Palestinian community in Israel.

Initial Accomplishments

Spring, 2001: Foundation Building

In the spring of 2001, an executive committee was elected and a General Assembly established (see below for more details). The General Assembly decided to locate the central office in Haifa. The office opened in early May, 2001.

One of the first projects at Mada was a survey of advanced Palestinian graduate students and recent Ph.D. graduates in Israel in the social sciences and humanities. The survey results have been used to organize academic seminars and establish projects and have given a more accurate picture of the areas of expertise among Palestinian scholars in Israel. The databank has given Mada and other organizations a more accurate assessment of the areas of expertise among Palestinian scholars in Israel.

Summer, 2001: Official Opening

Mada formally commenced its activities in July 2001, with a seminar entitled, "The Palestinians in Israel: Towards New Visions of

the Future." A variety of speakers and discussants presented papers on future visions of the status of the Palestinians in Israel from an academic and legal perspective.

Fall, 2001: First Two Seminar Series

In the fall of 2001, Mada launched two academic seminar series, which continued into 2002.

- **The Land and Planning Seminar**, which consisted of a series of eight lectures held at the Haifa office. The lectures focused on the main areas of research, including urban planning, land confiscation, land privatization, and absentee property. The lecturers also addressed the most appropriate legal means for the restitution of land and *Waqf* (religious endowment) properties.
- **Collective Rights Seminar** (see the following page.)

Summer 2002: Seminar Series

During the summer of 2002, Mada

hosted a seminar entitled "**The Jewish Question and the Palestinian Question: Looking Backwards, Looking Forward.**"

The series consisted of four seminars in which Israeli speakers discussed difficult questions and their alternatives with a Palestinian audience. Issues included the status of Palestinians in Israel, Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, Israel's relationship to the Arab world and developing countries, the right to resistance, and the legitimate use of violence. During the first three meetings, Professor Ruth Gavison and Professor Zeev Sternhill (the Hebrew University) and author Sami Michael (Haifa University) presented their viewpoints. In the fourth meeting, an open discussion was held and the main points of the seminars were summarized. 

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Dr. Khaled Abu-Asbeh, Lecturer, Beit-Berl College
Dr. Azmi Bishara, MK for the National Democratic Assembly
Dr. Fathi Daka, Cardiologist
Ms. Samera Esmeir, Editor, *Adalah's Review*
Professor Kais Firro, Professor, University of Haifa
Attorney Usama Halabi, Law Researcher and Advocate
Ms. Areen Hawari, Co-Director, Community School for Women
Mr. Johnny Jahshan, Director of Development, Al- Basma
Dr. Mustafa Kabaha, Lecturer, Open University
Judge Ahmed Natour, President, High Shari'a Court of Appeals
Professor Nadim Rouhana, Director, Mada
Mr. Mohammad Shalaby, Former Mayor of Iksal
Ms. Samiyeh Sharqawi, Lecturer, Oranim College

Ms. Raghida Zoabi, Director, Primary and Higher Education, Nazareth Municipality
Dr. Jamal Zahalka, General Director, Ahali Center for Community Development

BOARD MEMBERS

Professor Kais Firro, Professor, University of Haifa
Attorney Usama Halabi, Law Researcher and Advocate
Ms. Areen Hawari, Co-Director, Community School for Women
Professor Nadim Rouhana, Director, Mada

The Collective Rights Program

One of the most significant advances in the political development of the Palestinians in Israel has been the start of a process of redefining the community's relationship with the State of Israel to encompass a definition of the Palestinians' collective rights as an indigenous national group. Although theory and policy concerning indigenous minorities and collective rights has already been developed in other contexts, such as the Aborigines of Australia, the Maori of New Zealand, and aboriginal groups in Canada, it is a relatively new concept in relation to the Palestinian minority in Israel. Consequently, Mada has established a program to explore the issue.

The Collective Rights Program at Mada has four initiatives.

Seminar Series. Mada has organized and hosted two seminar series about collective rights and the Palestinians in Israel:

- *Collective Rights and the Ethno-national State* (October 2001-April 2002). This series consisted of 10 open lectures held at the Mada office. The seminar introduced the topic

of collective rights from an academic, philosophical, and legal perspective.


- *Collective Rights for Indigenous Minorities: Looking for New Frames of Reference* (November 2003-May 2004). This series of 10 lectures addresses different aspects of collective rights: the historical legality of rights over land, the moral and legal basis for collective rights, the perspective of international law on the right of self-determination, and a criticism of liberal multiculturalism.

Edited volume. The papers that were presented in the first seminar will be published (in Arabic) in the spring of 2004, providing an introductory reader on the issues of collective rights for the Palestinians in Israel.

International Conference. Mada has also encouraged the discussion of Palestinians' collective rights outside Israel. To this end, Mada held an international conference entitled, "**Collective Rights of Minorities in Multiethnic States,**" on December 14-15, 2002. The conference was held in Nazareth. Arab, Jewish, European,

and American researchers participated. Although the conference focused on theoretical questions surrounding collective rights, the implications of these questions for the Palestinians in Israel were examined by each of the panels. (For information about the talks given at this conference, see box, below.)

Attendees who work on the issue of collective rights for the Palestinians in Israel remarked how important the conference was as the first of its kind to examine this issue. The conference significantly enriched the discussion about the implications of these rights on the Palestinian community's relationship with the state of Israel, and the means of achieving collective rights for the Palestinians in Israel.

Haifa Covenant. This is an attempt to formulate a collective statement on the relations of Palestinians in Israel with the State of Israel and with the Arab World (for more, see p. 5). 

Contact: Dr. Amal Jamal, Director, Collective Rights Program. ajamal@mada-research.org

TALKS GIVEN AT THE "COLLECTIVE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES" CONFERENCE

Gad Barzilai, Tel Aviv University. "*Collective Rights and Conflict Resolution: A Critical Communitarian Argument.*"

Azmi Bishara, Member of Knesset and Muwatin. "*Collective Rights and Politics of Identity.*"

Jamil Dakwar, New York University. "*The Right to Self-Determination of the Indians in the US: Aspirations and Realities.*"

Catriona Drew, University of Glasgow. "*The Right of Self-Determination Under International Law.*"

Rima Hammami, Bir Zeit University. "*Gender and Citizenship: The Case of Transitional Palestine.*"

Hassan Jabareen, Adala: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. "*The Relevance of Self-Determination for the Arabs in Israel.*"

Oren Yiftachel, Ben-Gurion University. "*The Illusion of Citizenship: Minority Mobilization in Ethnocratic Societies.*"

Amal Jamal, Mada and the University of Pennsylvania. "*Redefining Majority Rule in the Jewish State: Law Making and the Predicament of Equal Citizenship.*"

Adi Ophir, Tel Aviv University. "*Occupation and Citizenship.*"

Yoav Peled, Tel Aviv University. "*From Brunn to Nazareth: National-Cultural Autonomy in Historical Perspective.*"

Nadim Rouhana, Mada and Tel Aviv University. "*National Identity and Collective Rights: The Question of Collective Rights for the Palestinian Citizens in Israel.*"

Henry Steiner, Harvard Law School. "*Autonomy Regimes and Human Rights.*"

Iris Marion Young, Chicago University. "*Relational Autonomy and Models of Federalism.*"

Raif Zreik, Harvard Law School. "*Group Rights: Notes on the Question of Representation.*"

The Haifa Covenant Project

Palestinians in Israel have struggled with identity issues and with defining their collective status since the creation of the state. Now more than ever, the Palestinian community in Israel needs a coherent vision of how they define their status in relation to the state so they can assert their power in state affairs and allocation of resources, and combat the institutionalized discrimination against them by the state. Presently, there is increasing interest within the Palestinian community to discuss their collective status.

Mada has responded to this interest by establishing and facilitating **The Haifa Covenant Project**. The aim of this project is to generate collective thinking about national issues of Arabs in the state and to develop a draft document outlining the position of the Palestinians in Israel relating to their collective status within the state. The document will be put forward for use in public constitutional debates, think-tanks, and governmental policy circles as they consider issues related to the Palestinian national minority.

Toward this end, Mada has organized a working group of 30 to 40 scholars, lawyers, and NGO personnel. Thus far, five meetings have been convened.

Meeting 1: May 3, 2002. Twenty-four Palestinian academics, lawyers, and activists worked in plenary format. Recommendations were given to the Steering Committee and were incorporated into the work plan for the project. At the end of this first meeting, participants recommended that a two-day workshop be held with



A meeting of the Haifa Covenant Project

more participants in order to develop an agenda and decide which issues the working groups should focus on.

Meeting 2: September 6-7, 2002. Mada organized a two-day workshop during which the project directors presented a working plan to an expanded group of 36 participants. Participants discussed the working plan, identified areas for inclusion in the document, and decided who should take responsibility for the different sections. Four working groups were formed.

Meeting 3: April 11-12, 2002. The participants met and decided that the covenant document should be divided into four sections:

- Identity
- Arab citizens' relationship with the Israeli state
- Internal Arab affairs
- Issues of democracy and choices concerning integration and secession

Participants divided into sub-groups. Each subgroup took responsibility for a section of the document. The four subgroups

then appointed a coordinator who is responsible for convening the sub-group.

Meeting 4: July 18-19, 2003. The project directors and the four sub-group coordinators met to inform each other of their progress. They discussed the problems they were encountering and how to proceed. Coordinators decided that each one would convene his/her group to write their part of the document and present the draft at the next meeting.

Meeting 5: November 14, 2003. Each sub-group presented a prepared draft for discussion. After each draft was presented, it was discussed thoroughly by the other participants and edits were suggested. The agreed-upon edits were made by the four subgroups and will be reviewed when the project's General Assembly meets in January 2004 to discuss the drafts and future development of the project.



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The Political Monitoring Project

Citizens of Israel have witnessed a major shift in the government's political thought and practice in the years since the outbreak of the Palestinian Intifada in September of 2000. This shift is seen in legislative and constitutional changes, new governmental policies, rapid radicalization of Jewish public opinion, and the public discourse.

The **Political Monitoring Project (PMP)**, which was established in September 2002, aims to monitor and document changes in Israeli legislation, public opinion, public statements, and government policy toward the Palestinians in Israel.

Methodology. The PMP monitors the Hebrew and Arabic printed and electronic press daily, the Knesset and governmental offices' websites, public opinion polls, and academic research. The PMP files evidence of any institutional, formal, or informal discrimination or racism against Palestinians in Israel and investigates its accuracy before including it in its monitoring report.

Publications. The PMP published its first monitoring report, entitled *Citizens without Citizenship*, in July 2003 (see page 10). The positive response to the first report has shown the need for such a monitoring report. Legislators, community leaders, and social and

political activists have remarked on how useful and timely the report is.

Future reports will reflect both positive and negative changes in how Israeli society and the Israeli establishment relate to the Palestinians in Israel. It is hoped that the annual report will continue to be used by Arab and Jewish academics, research centers, and activists to influence the Israeli government and the Knesset to make positive changes in the way that they relate to the Palestinian minority in Israel. 

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The Survey Research Unit

The Exclusion of the Arab Minority in Israeli Public Opinion Polls


Before the establishment of Mada's Survey Research Unit (SRU), no existing survey research unit in Israel specialized in conducting polls of the Palestinian community (despite the fact that the Palestinian community makes up nearly 18% of the citizens of Israel). The occasional polls that are carried out amongst the Palestinians in Israel are normally either commercially motivated or designed to measure support for political parties in the run-up to elections. The Palestinians in Israel have traditionally been excluded from 'random representative' samples of the 'Israeli public', which means the Arab minority's opinions are often not represented in surveys used by policy-makers.

In response to this under-representation of Palestinian opinion in Israel, Mada established a **Survey Research Unit** in October 2002. The unit works on two types of surveys:

Single-issue surveys. To date, the SRU has completed five single-issue surveys, surveying 500 to 800 Palestinian citizens for each survey. These surveys have looked at:

- Opinions about the Iraq war
- Opinions about Israeli-Palestinian relations
- The Palestinian boycott of the Israeli Knesset elections
- Opinions before and after the Or Commission
- Municipality elections

The SRU has published an analytical report on the Iraq War survey (see page 11) and is working on reports about the other surveys.

Annual survey. The SRU is also developing an Annual Survey, which will survey the Palestinian community on central social and political issues. The first Annual Survey will produce a baseline. Results from following surveys will show any changes in public opinion among Palestinians in Israel. The resulting data and the accompanying analysis will provide a basis for the study of trends in political and social change within the Palestinian community in Israel. 

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The History Project

Project Goals

The History Project at Mada is entitled, "Reframing the Historical Narrative of the Palestinians in Israel." It aims to analyze the history of the Arab minority in Israel before, during, and after the 'Nakbah' (the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland). The goal of the project is to determine to what extent and in which areas of life the *Nakbah* has affected the Palestinian Arabs in Israel.

Project Activities

Thus far, Mada has organized and hosted two seminar series and a conference as part of the History Project.

"Catastrophe and Expulsion" (February-May 2003). This seminar series consisted of six lectures focusing on the events of the *Nakbah*. The speakers tried to develop a clearer picture of the events of the *Nakbah* with the aim of developing a historical narrative for this part of the history of Palestinians in Israel.

SEMINAR SPEAKERS

Mustafa Kabaha, Open University. *"Complexities of Writing a New Palestinian History: The Importance of Constructing an Alternative Narrative."*

Ilan Pappé, Haifa University. *"Critical Reading of the Formal Historical Israeli Narrative on the Catastrophe and Expulsion."*

Adel Mann'a, Center for the Study of Arab Society. *"The Events of the Nakba Between Memory And History: The Example of Majd- Alkuroom."*

Mordechai Bar On, Yad Ben Tzvi Institute. *"The Zionist Historical Narrative."*

Issam Nassar, Institute of Jerusalem Studies. *"Photography During The 1948 War: The Case of Jerusalem."*

Nimer Sarhan, Palestinian Ministry of Education. *"From the Partition Resolution Until the Nakba: Palestinian Society in Rural Areas and Its Role During the War."*

Conference: "Towards Constructing a Palestinian Historical Narrative" (May 2003). To conclude the seminar series, Mada organized and hosted this conference. During the day, two panels dealt with the dynamics of expulsion and the complexities of constructing a historical narrative. The attendees then listened to two oral testimonies of local men who lived through the *Nakbah*.

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS

Mustafa Kabaha, The Open University. *"Dilemmas in Constructing and Designing a Comprehensive Palestinian History."*

Kais Firro, University of Haifa. *"Dilemmas in Using the Oral Narrative History: Tantura as an Example."*

Ahmad Sa'adi, Ben-Gurion University. *"The Historical Narration—Identity and Collective Memory."*


Mahmoud Issa, The University of Copenhagen. *"The Expulsion of Lobia: Culture, Identity and Memory."*

Adel Mann'a, Center for the Study of Arab Society. *"The Events of the Nakba Between Memory And History: Majd- Alkuroom as an Example."*

Nimer Sarhan, Palestinian Ministry of Education. *"The Palestinian Folklore as a Part of the Oral Narrative of the Nakba."*



Dr. Ilan Pappé of Haifa University, seminar speaker

"The History of the Arab Palestinians in Israel under Military Rule 1948-1966" (October-December 2003). This seminar series was designed to follow the first one about the *Nakbah*. It explored events that followed the *Nakbah*. The five lectures addressed the effects of the military rule on the culture, economy, and politics of the Palestinians in Israel between 1948 and 1966. 

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SEMINAR SPEAKERS

Yaer Boimel, Oranim College. *"The Historical Context of the Military Rule Policy: Motives, Aims and Reflections."*

Mustafa Kabaha, The Open University. *"Culture in the Period of Military Rule: The Role of the Press."*

Ilan Pappé, Haifa University. *"The Continuity of the Expulsion Policy During the Period of Military Rule."*

Ahmed Sa'adi, Ben-Gurion University. *"The Politics of Patronage between the Government and Its Agents."*

Mahmoud Ghanayem, Tel-Aviv University. *"Literature as a Reflection of the Reality under Military Rule."*

The Information Project


Reliable and accurate information about the Palestinian minority in Israel is difficult to obtain. Even when one can obtain it, the information can be misleading. As a result, the reality of the status of the Palestinian minority is often misrepresented.

Mada established **The Information Project** in 2002. It is an attempt to provide accurate information about Palestinians in Israel and to contextualize the information from the perspective of the indigenous Palestinian minority. The Project Coordinator, Areej Sabbagh Khoury, has been

working with a number of specialist researchers to produce information papers about the following subjects:

- The Arab media
- Arab political parties and Arab-Jewish parties
- Arab political participation
- Education
- Higher education
- The status of the Arabic language in Israel
- Arab arts
- Socio-economic status of the Palestinians in Israel
- Gender issues

- The legal status of Palestinians in Israel

Thus far, information about the demography of the Palestinians in Israel has been published on Mada's website (www.mada-research.org) in both English and Arabic in the spring. A bibliography about the Palestinians in Israel has also been produced and published on the website in both English and Arabic .

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Bibliography of Palestinian Publications 1848-1948


Project Goals

Mada has been preparing an annotated bibliography of publications (books, pamphlets, booklets) published in Palestine from the mid-nineteenth century until 1948. The project aims to provide reference information and a brief description of each publication.

Progress to Date

Mada has collected over 200 items and is currently working on restoring them. In addition, Mada has a list of almost 800 items and is working with Palestinian librarians to write an annotated entry with all bibliographical details for each item. Mada also hopes to obtain copies of the books it does not have and to house these copies with the original books in a library at Mada. It is hoped that many of the books will contribute to



providing a fuller picture of what life was like for the Palestinians before 1948. .

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The Project on Women in Research

Scarcity of Arab Female Academics in Israeli Universities

Arab women are marginalized on three fronts in Israeli society: as women in Arab society, as women in Israeli society, and as Arabs in Israeli society. This marginalization is particularly clear in academic institutions in Israel: the percentage of Arab women professors in Israeli academia is less than 0.1%, or *one out of every 1,000*, despite a significant percentage of Arab women pursuing graduate studies at Israeli and foreign universities.

Nonetheless, Arab women are ideally positioned to bring new voices to the academic discourse.

Mada established the Project on **Women in Research** in the summer of 2003 to recognize, support, and develop outstanding female Palestinian graduate and doctoral students from Israel and the West Bank. The project will provide young Palestinian women with support (financial, academic, and collegial) and opportunities to




Participants during a seminar of the Project on Women in Research

advance successful academic careers and to introduce new, gender-sensitive perspectives on central social and political issues focusing on the Palestinian community inside Israel.

Project Activities to Date

In the Spring of 2003, Mada was fortunate to have recruited Dr. Nadera Shaloub-Kevorkian (currently at the Hebrew Univer-

sity, Jerusalem) to direct the project. After further planning, Mada posted a call for applicants in August and received many responses and 10 women were selected to participate. An initial meeting was held in November. 

Contact: Dr. Nadera Shaloub-Kevorkian, Project Director. msnadera@mscc.huji.ac.il

Book Discussions


Mada has hosted four book discussions on books or topics concerning Palestinians in Israel. Each one featured the author and was open to the public.

Theses on a Deferred Awakening, by Azmi Bishara (May 2003). This book presents a penetrating account of the obstacles to Arab awakening. Through the critical micro examination of social and cultural processes within the Arab society in Israel, the author answers one of the urgent questions facing Arab societies: Why and how have the awakening processes in Arab societies been hindered, and how can they be advanced?

The Stand-Tall Generation, by Khawla Abu Bakr and Danny Rabinowitz (September 2003). The authors focus on the new generation of Palestinian citizens of Israel, which is more politically active than their parents' generation. The authors look at the impact this group has had since the beginning of the second intifada.

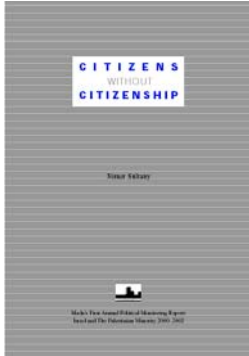
Recalling the Place, by Kamal Boulatta (October 2003). Mr. Boulatta presents the work of Palestinian artists of the twentieth century in this book with the aim of comparing the significance of 'place' in Palestinian art and to analyze how Palestinian artists in

exile and local artists have represented recollections of place.

The Arab Jews: Nationality, Religion and Ethnicity, by Yehuda Shenhav (November 2003). This book examines the immigration of Arab Jews to Israel in the early 1950s and how actions taken by the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries have furthered Israel's national interests. The book also examines how the state has manipulated this minority for political gain. 

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Publications



Publication Series: Books
(214 pages + Bibliography)
ISBN: 965-90573-1-8
Languages: Arabic, English,
Hebrew

Citizens without Citizenship

By Nimer Sultany

This political monitoring report, the first of its kind, examines the attitudes of the State of Israel and of the Israeli Jewish public toward Palestinian citizens in Israel and how those attitudes have changed since the beginning of the al-Aqsa uprising and the October 2000 protests. The report examines and traces the manifestations of the official policy and political discourse in four areas: legislation and resolutions in the Knesset, government policies, public opinion, and the “popular culture of hate.”

This report covers the period from September 2000 to the end of December 2002, and attempts to present a precise image of Israeli society and of the slippery course along which it is moving in dealing with the Palestinian citizens. The facts presented in this report come from diverse research and news sources, both electronic and print, such as the Knesset website, government websites, major Hebrew-language daily newspapers (*Ha'aretz*, *Yediot Abaronot*, and *Ma'ariv*), Arabic-language newspapers, and websites specializing in Israeli news.



Publication Series: Research
Papers (52 pages)
ISBN: 965-90573-3-4
Languages: Arabic, Hebrew

Resisting Hegemony: The Azmi Bishara Trial

By Nimer Sultany and Areej Sabbagh-Khoury

The authors portray the trial of Azmi Bishara as a political and social crossroads in relations between the state of Israel and the indigenous minority that lives in Israel. In the study, the authors analyze the main aspects of the trial including: the series of events that led to the trial, the attitudes of the state authorities and institutions during the trial, the Israeli Jewish public opinion toward Bishara and his party, the significance of the trial location, the effect of the identity of the judges on the trial and The Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance and its effect on Israeli political discourse.

The authors argue that the Azmi Bishara trial is a classical political trial in many ways, but that it also differs in a number of ways from previous political trials held in Israel. The authors expound these differences before concluding the report with an analysis of how the trial fits with other measures taken by the Israeli establishment to silence opposition voices and to preserve the marginal status of the Arab citizens in Israel.

(Publications continued on next page)

Publications, continued

The War on Iraq Survey

By the Mada Survey Research Unit

This report presents the results and an analysis of the Survey Research Unit's survey of Palestinians in Israel on the American-led war against Iraq in the Spring of 2003. The survey polled the Arab minority in Israel about their level of interest in the war; their media consumption preceding and particularly during the conflict; their general opinions about the war; their opinions concerning the American justifications for the war, and their opinions about the Arab states' responses to the war.

The survey results and the accompanying analysis give unique insight into how the Palestinians in Israel see themselves in relation to Israel, in relation to other Arab states, and in relation to the U.S. and its allies who mounted the invasion of Iraq.

To order any Mada publications, please visit our website:
www.mada-research.org



MADA

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