

Jerusalem: Settler Colonialism and Apartheid: From Apartheid to Genocide

The main points of a presentation for the “ Global Tribunal on Palestine” Geneva 6th of June 2024.

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Introduction

The distinction between settler colonialism and Apartheid : the genocidal and demographic, and changing the blood quantum types elimination of settler colonialism (Wolfe, 2006, and Rouhana 2015) , versus “ Keep them separate, without political, social and economic rights, and exploit them”

The Combination between Settler colonialism and Apartheid by the Israeli Occupation in Palestine and East Jerusalem, is due to its failure to eliminate all because of the resistance of the Palestinian people and their steadfastness in their homeland. As an Apartheid policy Israel divided the Palestinians who stayed in their country to different categories of residency and citizenship : Second Degree citizenship within a “ Jewish State” for the 1948 Palestinians; Consideration of the Palestinians of East Jerusalem as “ Jordanian citizens residing permanently in Jerusalem”; and the Palestinians of West Bank as “ Palestinian Residents in areas under dispute” ; and the Palestinians of Gaza as “ stateless living in a Palestinian territory”. (Salem 1998, and 2018). (Adi Ofer : the Permanence of the temporariness).

Settler Colonialism in Jerusalem

1948 Nakba: According to UNRWA Statistics 84,265 Palestinians were evacuated from the Western Suburbs of Jerusalem (Tamari, 1999, P. 8) . The houses were either demolished or stolen , as well as their properties. Others were evacuated from 38 villages surrounding Jerusalem, and were resided by 73,258 Palestinians (Tamari , 1999, p85) . These villages were destroyed. Haitham Manna,a mentioned that the refugees of Jerusalem in 1948 reached between 246,000 to 293,300 (Manna,a , summer 2023, p, 266).

East Jerusalem after 1967: Stages of Appropriations, uprooting , displacement and replacement , and deterritorialization

Stage One : 1967- 1993: Integrating and unifying Jerusalem Under unilateral Israeli Sovereignty :

1967: 1) Extension of the municipality jurisdiction through the Municipalities Ordinance (Amendment no.8). 2) Applying the Israeli laws and administration to Jerusalem through

the Law of Administration and Judiciary Ordinance (Amendment no.11/ B). 3) The Protection of the Holy Places Law. (No direct language of annexation , but through law enforcement).

12 colonial settlements built starting from 1968. Expansion of East Jerusalem from 6 square kilometers to 72.

1980: Clear Annexation through the “Law of Jerusalem, Capital of Israel” ratified by the Knesset on July 30th, 1980 .

Stage Two: 1993- 2006: Isolating Jerusalem from the other Palestinian lands and building “ New Greater Jerusalem” on the lands of other Palestinian Territories outside the boundaries of Jerusalem :

30 of March, 1993: Halting the free access of West Bankers and Gazans to Jerusalem.

Intensifying the Building in the colonial settlement blocks around Jerusalem of Givat Zeev, Maali Adumim, and Gush Etzion).

Intensifying Judaization of the land; space; landscape and territory.

Israelization of the Sectors such as :education , health , the institutions by closing the Palestinian ones , and imposing the Israeli institutions.

Implementing the “ Law of applying the Agreement of Gaza/ Jericho ratified on 26th of December 1994, by closing the Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem.

Modifying (By the Knesset on 7th of December 2000), the Basic Law of Jerusalem of 1980, by preventing the transfer of any authority in Jerusalem to another party without the approval of 61 Knesset members.

Bringing out the idea of Israeli Sovereignty over Al - Haram Al- Sharif after 2000 Camp David negotiations.

Stage Three: 2006- 2009: Integrating the “Greater Jerusalem” with the “ Unified Jerusalem”(246 square kilometers), and the creation of a new Old City outside the Palestinian Old City .

By Building the Separation wall around Jerusalem in 2006, the big settlement Blocks were integrated in Jerusalem, and Palestinian densely populated areas such as Kufr Aqab and Shuafat Refugee Camp were ousted from the City.

Intensifying the process of expanding the so-called “ Holy Basin” around the Old City of Jerusalem .

Stage Four: 2009- 2024 : From The “ Greater Jerusalem” to the “ Metropolitan Jerusalem” (440 square kilometers) , and intensifying the Process of Judaization of the Old City including the appropriation of Al- Haram Al- Sharif .

In a wrap up, from 1967 till today “ Three new Jerusalem” were created by annexing West Bank territories to Jerusalem in a way that makes these Jerusalem a hurdle against the creation of a Palestinian state on 1967 borders with contiguous territories. These three Jerusalem (The so-called “ United Jerusalem” of 72 square Kilometers, the “ Greater Jerusalem” of 246 square kilometers, and the “ Metropolitan Jerusalem” of 440 square kilometers are creating gradually a Jewish Majority encircling the Palestinian Governorates of Ramallah and Bethlehem reaching in 2021 around 30 to 45 of population in comparison with the Palestinian citizens of these two Governorates (The Palestinian Bureau of Statistics, 2021). The three Jerusalem expanded Jerusalem are separating north and south West Bank from each other , and to the East they are expanding Jerusalem to become on the frontier of the borders with Jordan.

Inside the so- called “ the United Jerusalem” , the failure of Israel to Judaize the Old City of Jerusalem is clear : Only around 3500 Jews are living inside the Old City in Comparison with 37,000 Palestinians. Israel is trying to overcome this failure by, first :The creation of the so- called Holy Basin around the Old City. Second : By changing the names of the different Gates and neighborhoods of the Old City (Bab Al- Amoud for instance is called Hadar and Hadas. Al- Wad neighborhood, a path to Al- Aqsa Mosque is called Sha’ar Hagai as examples). And Third : by exacerbating the process of taking over Al- Aqsa Mosque and the creation of a Temple in its place by the Temple Mount Organizations , supported by the Israeli Government.

Methods of Appropriation, Displacement and Replacement:

Land confiscation

Space Confinement

Home demolitions and the restrictions on zoning plans.

Penetration and Encirclement of the Palestinian Communities.

Displacement and Replacement

Changing names, space and landscape

Apartheid in East Jerusalem : Social, economic, and demographic engineering

Social : Imposed inclusion without integration . A Homosaccor Status and the removal of citizenship (Agambin). The use of temporal dynamics for the management of the colonial Space (Samman ,2018). Occupation of the senses (Kivorkian , 2017). The claim that a Jerusalemite identity has grown at the expense of the Palestinian identity of the East Jerusalemites. The Israelization of education and the health systems among others. The strict surveillance System.

Economic : The Eco- Cide, Gentrification implemented in a settler colonial context by contracting a developer to “ Modernize” a certain community through bringing Jewish Settlers to develop projects for their benefit at the expense of the original population. Employment of the Middle Class. The ideas of using East Jerusalem Palestinians in the normalization processes with Arab countries. The academic papers about the joint middle class in the joint residence areas as an instigator to peace

The Demographic Engineering : Identity Cards confiscations . The policy of family unification. Naturalization.

Settler Colonialism and Apartheid combined

The ongoing mixture: internal displacement. The “ Silent Evacuation and external displacement” combined with social and economic engineering through the integration in the margins of the Israeli economy. The belligerent occupation and its military and police forces are the implementers and the guards for these combined process of settler colonialism and Apartheid through the cooperation between them and the Israeli settler colonial state, and non- state settler organizations such as Elad; Ateret Cohanim, Nahlat Shimon, and the Temple Organizations .

Describing the situation in Palestine and Jerusalem as exclusively Apartheid is misleading. In the level of different political solutions presented (see Jeff Halper 2021 for instance), such a description makes the Palestinian- Israeli case as fully similar to South Africa, in which a combined South African identity was created between the original South Africans and the former settler colonialists; something that did not happen between the Palestinians and the Zionist settler colonialists (Zuraik, 2018). Also this formula ignores the Palestinian right of self determination and seeks its minimization to a cultural type of autonomy as Halper presented (Halper, 2021). It makes the evacuation of the colonial settlements as irrelevant as much as a one state solution will be struggled for , and it makes the return of the Palestinian Refugees to a certain degree as irrelevant as well.

Changing the mixture : From Apartheid to Genocide

From co- existence to the imposed co- existence on the basis of loyalty to the state of Israel. (Salem, Winter, 2024).

The Decisive Plan 2017 of Smotrich giving the Palestians three options: To stay and to be loyal to the Israeli State; to leave the country , or to resist and therefore to be killed (Smotrich, 2017).

The Nation State Law 2018 making the “ Land of Israel “ as exclusive to the “ Jewish People”.

The plan of “ full victory of Israel” since 2014,suggested by Daniel Pipes and two caucuses in the Israeli Knesset and the American Congress (Pipes , 2016)

The genocide in Gaza including the physical genocide of the people , and the genocide of their place and space by demolishing the houses , destroying the institutions , mosques and churches, schools and universities , hospitals and the ancient archeological sites; followed by the calls for the transfer of the people of West Bank and East Jerusalem to Jordan, and removing Shufat refugee Camp in Jerusalem (Uzi Dayan from the Likud) and Tulkarem , Qalqilia Jenin (Smotrich) before they initiate another 7th of October against Israel.

These are trends to genocidal and demographic elimination on the expense of “ keep them in the land and exploit them”. Due to the closure of the Arab borders by the Arab States on the face of the evacuated Palestinians, the Genocidal method of elimination will take over the demographic method of elimination. Israel started in Gaza a Nakba that exceeds the 1948 one, and it is planning to repeat it in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

What should be done in order to prevent such a new Nakba from happening ? South Africa made its initiative against the Israeli Genocide in the International Court of Justice ; Nicaragua also is bringing Germany to trial due to its support to the Israel Genocide, and the trial of the United States will happen in the near future regardless of the failure of the UN institutions .

Therefore a lot can be done by this initiative “ The Global Tribunal on Palestine” to be defined during the Tribunal three days sessions and the follow up later .