



Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies

**Demographic Conflict and Its Impact on the Future of
Palestinian Israeli Conflict**

By

May Ahmad Hassan Al-Najami

Supervisor: Dr. Jamal Hanyashi

Co-Supervisor: Dr. Hassan Ayoub

This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Master`s degree in

Conflict Resolution and Development

July , 2018

© Arab American University –2018. All rights reserved.

Thesis Approval Form

Thesis Title

**Demographic Conflict and Its Impact on the Future of Palestinian
Israeli Conflict**

This Thesis was defended successfully on and Approved by:

Committee Members

Signature

Supervisor: Dr. Jamal Hanyashi

Co- Supervisor: Dr. Hassan Ayoub

Internal Examiner : Prof. Ayman Yousef

External Examiner: Dr. Read Nairat

DECLARATION

I declare that the content of this thesis is my own research work, unless otherwise referenced. I certify that this thesis does not contain any material published before by another person or has been submitted elsewhere for any degree or qualification.

Name: **May Ahmad Hassan Al-Najami**

Signature: _____

Arab American University, Jenin- Palestine.

Date:

DEDICATION

All thanks and great fullness are to God who gave me the ability to do this thesis successfully in spite of all problems that faced me during my studying in MA program.

Also, to my lovely mother God bless her.

My father.

My little brother, My lovely sister.

My family, my husband , my little child Omar .

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

**I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my instructor and
supervisor**

Dr.Jamal Hanayshe

**For his support, understanding and patience while preparing the
thesis .**

Abstract

Abstract Demographic Conflict and its impact on the future Palestinian Israeli conflict This study investigated the demography issue as one of the most important entrances to the Israeli _Palestinian Geopolitical conflict. In addition, this study investigated the stages of demography change in Palestine earlier of twentieth century. The result showed the British role in establishing the demographic conflict (geopolitical) culminated with Belford Promise declaration. The results of this declaration were facilitating the Jewish immigration to Palestine and helping the Jewish owning the Palestinian territories until the declaration of the establishment of Israel on the Palestinian territories. Also, this study faced the stages of demography change pre and post, the catastrophe crossing with whole occupation the Palestinian territories in 1967. Besides, the study traces the emergences of demographic changes reaching to the year 2017. Also, this study foresaw the predicted demographic changes reaching to the year 2017. Also, this study foresaw the predicated demographic changes until the year 2025. This study offered detailed explanation to the aspects of demographic changes in the occupied territories in the 1967 including the demographic dimension with its both parts: population and geographical settlement, the separation wall and the judaization of Jerusalem. Furthermore, the study investigated the aspects of demographic conflict in 1948 and discussion the discrimination policies towards the Palestinians inside the green line and its effect on demography. It showed the dimensions of Israel refusal to the right of return to the Palestinian refugees from demographic perspectives and its relation with (Jewish) of the state. The study concluded to a perspective study to the scenario of suggested solution for the conflict as two – state solution and the national state with its pillars and obstacles in the light of Palestinian demographic superiority

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CODE	CONTENTS	PAGE
I.	Thesis Approval Form	II
II.	Declaration	III
III.	Dedication	IV
IV.	Acknowledgments	V
V.	Abstract in English	VI
VI.	Table of Contents	VII
VII.	The conceptual framework of the study	X
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION		
1.1	Introduction	11
1.2	Study problem	13
1.3	Study Significance	14
1.4	Study Significance in Practice	16
1.5	Study Objectives	16
1.6	Study Methodology	17
1.7	Study Difficulties	17
1.8	Study Limitations	18
1.9	Study Hypotheses	18
1.10	Study Justifications	19
1.11	Previous Literature	20
1.12	Literature Review - Comment on previous studies	33
CHAPTER TWO: The Demographic Conflict in Palestine		
2.1	Preface	36
2.2	The Concept of Demographic Conflict	37
2.2.1	The Conflict	38
2.2.2	The Conflict Approaches	41

2.3	The Demographic Conflict in Palestine.	43
2.4	The Demographic Change in Palestine before the 1948 Nakba	47
2.5	Britain's Role in the Demographic Conflict in Palestine	49
CHAPTER THREE: The European Colonial Role in the Demographic Conflict on Palestine		
3.1	The European support for the Zionist movement to establish a national homeland	53
3.2	The relationship between the Zionist movement and Great Britain sponsoring the Zionist project	57
3.3	The British role in the establishment of the Zionist entity	57
3.4	The beginning of Zionist settlement in Palestine	61
3.5	Zionist settlement in Palestine in the Ottoman era	62
3.6	Settlement under the British Mandate	66
3.7	Political Zionism from the First Zionist Congress to the Balfour Declaration, 1897 - 1917.	71
3.8	Historical Development of Political Zionism	73
3.9	Herzl the founder of Political Zionism	75
3.10	The First Zionist Congress of 1897 and the Zionist Program	76
3.11	. British and Western efforts supporting the Jews	79
CHAPTER FOUR: The Roots and Sources of Zionist Thought		
4.1	Introduction	84
4.2	Preface	85
4.3	The Concept of Zionist Racism	86
4.4	Racism and Zionism in Colonial Thought	87
4.5	The Economic Aspect of the Emergence of the Zionist Movement	88
4.6	The Ideological Basis of Zionist Racism	89
4.7	The Divine Choice of the Jewish People	91
4.8	The Political Ideological Grounds of Zionist Racism	92
4.9	The Practical Application of the Zionist Apartheid Policy	92
4.10	Zionist Racial Discrimination against Arabs in Palestine	93

4.11	Discrimination: in the Economic Sphere	94
4.12	Discrimination in the Cultural Sphere	95
4.13	Discrimination in the Political Sphere	95
4.14	Discrimination in the Social Sphere	96
CHAPTER FIVE: The motives of the Israeli settlement		
5.1	Introduction	99
5.2	The motives of the Israeli settlement	99
5.3	Historical and Religious Motives	101
5.4	Security pretext	106
5.5	The settlement divided the West Bank into three main areas	107
5.6	Political motives	108
5.7	Legislation of a number of laws for the benefit of the Israeli side	109
5.8	The Jewishness of the State	113
5.9	Jewishness of the State in conceptual and political terms	113
5.10	Objectives of the Israeli proposal for the Jewishness of the State	118
5.11	The impact of defining the "Jewishness of the State" on the Israeli society	120
5.12	Conclusion	123
5.13	Demographic and Geographic Expansion	124
5.14	The Law of Return	124
5.15	Israeli Nationality Law	125
5.16	Land Acquisition Law	125
5.17	The Use of Immovable Property Law	126
5.18	The Statute of Limitation Regarding All State Land of 1957	126
CHAPTER SIX: The Settlement Impact on the Political Rights of the Palestinians and the Imposition of New Demographics in the West Bank,		
6.1	The Settlement Impact on the Political Rights of the Palestinians and the Imposition of New Demographics in the West Bank	129

6.2	The impact of the settlements on the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank with Jerusalem as its capital	130
6.3	The impact of settlement on the future of the Palestinian state borders	139
6.4	The impact of settlement on the Palestinians Right of Return and Self Determination	142
6.5	The impact of demography on the security right of the Palestinians	146
6.6	The Impact of the Israeli Settlement on the Reality of Demography in the West Bank, Palestinian territories	148
6.7	Demographic Resolution in the West Bank	149
6.8	Conclusion	158
6.9	Demographic Bomb	160
CHAPTER SEVEN: Resolution scenarios		
7.1	Resolution Scenarios	163
7.2	Obstacles from the Israeli side	164
7.3	Obstacles from the Palestinian side	168
7.4	One-state "Bi-national state" Solution	171
7.5	Conclusion	177
CHAPTER EIGHT: • Results and Recommendations		
	Results and Recommendations	181
	References	187
	Annex	207

Chapter I

The conceptual framework of the study, including:

- **Introduction;**
- **Study Problem;**
- **Study Significance;**
- **Study Objectives;**
- **Study Methodology;**
- **Study Difficulties;**
- **Study limitations;**
- **Study Hypotheses;**
- **Study Justifications;**
- **Previous Literature;**
- **Literature Review.**

1.1. Introduction

There are many theoretical concepts, attitudes and visions about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that define its content and implications through its historical process. These further highlight the conflict's political, social and cultural dimensions in a comprehensive manner that requires a lot of research and studies. Therefore, the thesis focuses on the most important aspects of the conflict, namely the demographic dimension in an attempt to explore beyond the historical framework of the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Hence, the researcher seeks to control and summarize the most important issues related to the mysteries of this conflict to understand the conflict-process mechanisms. This requires reading into the different trends that call for discussion of this subject from very different and varying angles. We have, therefore, addressed these different perspectives through research on the demographic conflict and its implications in an attempt to understand its parties, interpret its ramifications and foresee its future in an analytical reading of the Palestinian-Israeli reality until 2025.

The idea of establishing a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, as stated at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland in 1897 and the supporting Balfour Declaration of 1917, had a great impact on changing the demographic features of the historic Arab Palestine, where the Zionist movement embarked on the project of establishing the Israeli entity on the land of Palestine.

At the beginning of the Zionist movement initiation of the project to establish the Israeli entity on the land of Palestine, it faced many obstacles, the most important of

which is the demographic reality on the ground, contrary to what it promoted and claimed by saying "Palestine is a land without a people for a people without land." However, the demographic balance began change due to the Jewish emigrations from various parts of the world to Arab Palestine.

It is worth mentioning that the British colonialism contributed to the achievement of the Zionism dream to establish an independent entity in Palestine. There were a replacement and transfer process that have resulted in the displacement of the indigenous Palestinian population in 1948; the declaration of the Zionist state on more than half the area of Palestine; the subsequent obliteration of Arab landmarks in occupied Palestinian villages and cities and the occupation of the rest of the Palestinian territories in 1967 and the territories of the neighboring Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

The Israeli policies have implications on the demography. These implications stem from the Israeli entity realization of the magnitude of the risks facing its future. This prompted Israeli politicians and intellectuals to formulate policies and ideas to find a way out supported by the Zionist entity's mindset that is based on geographical expansion belief, which considers that the state is a geographical entity expanding in order to fulfill the state's population growth rate¹.

¹ Al Zaytouna Center: Is an independent studies and consultations center, established in Beirut in 2004. The Center conducts strategic and futuristic academic studies on the Arab and Muslim worlds. It focuses on the Palestinian issue and the conflict with Israel as well as related Palestinian, Arab, Islamic and international developments. The Centre strives to raise the local, regional and international awareness about the realities and repercussions of the events in the region, with special reference to the Palestinian issue and the conflict with Israel. The Centre seeks to establish a wide range database, and classifies it along the most modern scientific and technical methods. In

Accordingly, Israel adopted the policy of urban settlement and expansion in the 1967's occupied Palestinian territories as well as the Judaization of the city of Jerusalem policy, in an attempt to avoid the demographic threat and embody the concept of Jewish statehood. The latter, however, have serious consequences on the composition of the Israeli society destroying the pillars of democracy, which is the safety net of Israeli society's inhomogeneous ethnic and racial composition.

1.2. Study Problem

The Israeli side realized the importance of the demographic factor and its role in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Therefore, it sought to achieve demographic superiority through a number of systematic policies, such as displacement, deportation and murder, as well as facilitating the migration of Jews to Palestine.

What is the impact of the demographic reality in transforming the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

A number of sub-questions arise from the main question:

1. What is the nature of the geopolitical conflict and what are the demographic-change stages in Palestine?
2. What role does the settlement policy play in the demographic conflict?
3. What are the means used by each party to employ the population factor in the on-going conflict?

4. Is the Israeli policy of field executions and killing of Palestinians in the framework of the demographic strategy against the Palestinians?
5. If Israel suffers from a demographic deficit, what are the means that it used to compensate for this?
6. How did the demographic conflict affect Palestinian citizens in Israel aka '1948 Arabs'?
7. What are the reasons behind the Israeli entity's rejection of the right of return and what is the latter's impact on demography?
8. Why is Israel seeking to characterize itself as a Jewish state?
9. What are the proposed solutions and possible scenarios for conflict transformation?

1.3. Study Significance

The importance of this study is its endeavor to address the role of the demographic reality in the Israeli plans aiming to dodge the demographic threat in the Palestinian territories as well as to identify and highlight the manifestations of the Israeli-Palestinian demographic conflict in the 1948 and 1967 occupied territories. To clarify the dimensions of the proposed solutions, the following points are to be carried out, studied and addressed;

1. Highlighting the most important strategies adopted by Israel to confront the Palestinian demographic growth as well as Israel's brutal actions to eliminate the Palestinian people throughout the various stages of the conflict;
2. There are historical, political and geopolitical ties and connections that have evolved through decades culminating in the creation of the conflicts in the Arab region and the Middle East; the 1948's Nakba, the 1967 war, the First and Second

Intifadas of 1987 and 2002 respectively. Therefore, the researcher will monitor the changes and developments of these conflicts by collecting, studying and analyzing the scientific data on the subject;

3. There is a conflict of ambitions and interests between a number of the world's superpowers and the main players in the conflict. Furthermore, there are a number of demographic considerations for more than one Arab and international party in the region;

4. Clarify the positions of the parties to the conflict and connect these positions with into-force international resolutions and conventions. These positions, nevertheless, have resulted in political and strategic realities on the ground, such as The Balfour Declaration of 1917, which took effect and became a reality in 1948 when it embodied the idea of establishing a national homeland for the Jews on the land of Palestine;

5. Analyzing of the Israeli side mindset's pillars and components in its policies and procedures against the Palestinian side after reading and surveying a number of proofs and facts on the ground;

6. The study included high-importance analytical, inductive and forward-looking aspects of the reality of the geopolitical conflict on the ground and the possibilities for solving the Palestinian issue. The study further attempted to determine the policies and directions that could and may be adopted in the search for scenarios to transform the 100-year Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which started by the Balfour Declaration in 1917;

7. The majority of foreign and Arab literature are focused on a specific period of time and summarize the orientations, objectives and policies of the parties involved in the geopolitical conflict. This study is comprehensive depending on a specific period of time and a precise order of events and developments in the policies and attitudes of the parties to the conflict.

1.4. Study Significance in Practice

The importance of this study in practice is that it is expected to be a reference for scholars, researchers, intellectuals and those interested in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, based on the following:

1. Drawing lessons and conclusions to pass on to the Palestinian and international decision makers, for them to adopt the right policies when dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli demographic conflict.
2. The role played by Palestinian and Arab academics and intellectuals as well as the role of Palestinian and Arab universities and scientific research centers in serving the national cause can serve, if exploited properly, as a viable Palestinian and Arab option for managing the battle of war and peace with the Israeli side.

1.5. Study Objectives

The study aims at identifying the nature of the Israeli-Palestinian demographic conflict and aspires to achieve the following:

1. Clarify the demographic conflict objective;
2. Highlight the stages of demographic 'geopolitical' change and the impact of Jewish migrations in the disruption of the demographic balance in Palestine;

3. Demonstrate the manifestations of the demographic conflict and its repercussions on the Palestinian reality in the 1948 and the 1967's borders;
4. Predict and foresee the demographic changes expected until 2025;
5. Present a prospective study of political solutions and settlement projects to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

1.6. Study Methodology

This study, to achieve its objectives, is based on the historical as well as the descriptive and comparative content analysis approaches. The historical approach is based on the use of official documents, press reports, statements and records to issue generalizations. The content analysis methodology is based on keeping up with the statements, monitoring the movements and following-up events, where the content is analyzed as to achieve the goals.

The methodology also describes the geopolitical conflict in Palestine by tracking the events and analyzing their content. This is shown by tracking events through news bulletins, press reports, and international and regional conferences.

1.7. Study Difficulties

There are many difficulties that may hinder a researcher in the Palestinian territories, especially the researcher in the political sector, provided that the documents in the Palestinian libraries are outdated as the current Palestinian situation is constantly renewed. The researcher needs to keep abreast with the developments. Moreover, the period of time covered by the study requires double efforts in follow-up, analysis, induction and exploration.

- Another difficulty is the need to obtain demographic information from statistical agencies or centers that require field visits or conducting a number of permanent statements to know the figures accurately and then analyze and document the data.
- The nature of the research on the subject of the demographic conflict is a complex one. At a certain point, the research is historical, such as addressing the roots of conflict, other times it is of legal perspectives, when legal laws and policies discussed, and other times the research is statistical. Therefore, this may confuse and distract the researcher.

1.8. Study Limitations

- **Spatial Limit:** The study deals with historical Palestine in terms of location.
- **Time Limit:** The study covered the period from 2000 to 2025.
- **Thematic Limit:** The study covered the subject of demography in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

1.9. Study Hypotheses:

In my study I have relied on a number of hypotheses:

- **The First Hypothesis:** The population factor is an important factor in the power of the state. Therefore, both the Palestinian and Israeli parties sought to increase their population for political, economic and military considerations.
- **The Second Hypothesis:** Israeli suffers from a continuous demographic deficit. Therefore, it relied on the policy of Jewish immigration and

settlement in order to strengthen its population and to create numerical superiority against the Palestinian side.

- **The Third Hypothesis:** As Palestinian demographics cause concern for Israel and pose a threat to the Jewishness of the state, Israel has resorted to a policy of executions, killings, displacement, assassinations and apartheid in order to eliminate the Palestinians.

1.10. Study Justifications:

Every researcher conducts their study based on certain reasons. The reasons might be objective, i.e. fall within the scientific research framework, or might be subjective.

Objective reasons:

- ✓ The topic is within International conflicts and relations sphere and is an important subject that concerns international conflicts' students.
- ✓ The subject of the Palestinian conflict is of importance in international forums. This makes the subject a fertile ground for study and research on the causes of conflict, and to investigate the main points through analysis.
- ✓ The fact that the population is one of the elements of the power of the state and an indispensable pillar of all states without exception, the researcher considered to shed light on this subject that falls within a dispute concerns the Arab world.
- ✓ Promote and develop population studies and learn about their true dimension in international conflicts.

Subjective reasons:

I have, as a researcher living in a conflict zone 'the Palestinian territories, had the absolute desire to research and find out about this subject, in order to know the roots and manifestations of this dimension, which, despite the studies conducted, is still incoherent and vague historical conflict. My desire as researcher in this field is to develop an academic study on this subject, which I hope will be useful and reach conclusions that have not been seen before.

1.11. Previous Literature:

In this thesis, the researcher relied on a number of sources and documents whose material included conflict-resolution or transformation projects; negotiation proposals on the of the solution scenarios; the two states, the one state, and the binational state solution scenarios. It is worth mentioning that a number of political and analytical thought schools adopted the binational state solution.

Furthermore, the researcher relied on a number of authorized and unauthorized official reports, statements and references in both Arabic and English. The researcher also relied on a number of articles on the Internet in order to identify the main players in the Arab-Israeli conflict and to identify the regional positions taken by the countries around the world as a decision-maker on the subject of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict with regard to dealing with the settlement projects between the parties and the developments of the conflict.

It has been shown that this field is still fertile for academic studies, especially since the Palestinian issue is one of the global issues that have existed for about a hundred years, that is, since the disastrous promise made by Britain, aka the Balfour Declaration, to establish a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. There is also a need to keep pace with the international events on the ground in the

period from 2011 to 2020, as the Arab region, during this period, witnessed developments in terms of recognition of Palestine as an observer member in international forums, in addition to the Arab Spring in a number of Arab countries, such as Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Yemen.

Finally, the decision of Donald Trump, President of the United States of America, to declare Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the first Qibla in Islam, as the capital of the State of the Israel. The Arab and Islamic world was angered by this decision and declared its rejection of this resolution which means the humiliation Of Muslims and Arabs. This decision also means an end to the Palestinian issue in all its dimensions and an absolute unavoidable recognition of Israel. The Trump declaration puts an end to the two-state solution, which stipulates that East Jerusalem is the capital of the State of Palestine.

I have discussed and addressed, in this thesis, a number of previous studies on the subject of demography in Israel and the Palestinian territories as well as studies on the geopolitics of the region. The sources and references I relied upon to conduct this study are subsequently reviewed:

1. **Steven Rousso Schindler "Israeli Population Politics and its Impact on Policy and Palestinian human Rights", Madar Center for Studies and Research, Ramallah - Palestine, 2004.**

The previous study demonstrated the status quo in the state of Israel and the policies aimed at demographic change that do not conform to the human rights principles stipulated in the international conventions in order to preserve Jewish superiority. Israel has exerted various pressures on the Palestinians in Israel to reduce fertility rates and it does not apply the same policies to Jewish citizens.

There are two different policies on the same subject in the same state for two different peoples; Israelis and Palestinians. The official government view on the subject is that policies benefit Palestinian citizens in Israel both economically and developmentally, and that the policies aimed at 1948's Arabs aim to reduce birth rates. Israel also conducts children allocations reduction policy aimed at Arabs. At the same time, Israel is following a completely different policy in regard with Israeli parents to encourage them to increase birth rates. It also increases Jewish children allocations in order to achieve demographic superiority over the 1948 Arabs.

This is one of the possible scenarios Israel is following to narrow the screws on the Palestinian population in Israel. There are also some scenarios for implementing a one-child policy such as China as well as family planning measures to reduce population expansion, under the pretext of avoiding the deterioration of infrastructure.

2. Abd Alrahman Abu Arafa, "Settlement is the Practical Application of Zionism," First edition, Dar El Shorouk, Cairo, Egypt, 2003.

Abu Arafa addresses the settlement elements, such as land, human and water, which are the most important and prominent issues of conflict in the Palestinian territories. He further discussed the establishment of settlements through the Zionist settlement institutions. The writer also focused on the issue of settlements in the West Bank, East and West Jerusalem and areas adjacent to the city of Ramallah and their impact on the Palestinian population.

Abu Arafa also discussed the most important Israeli settlement projects, such as the Allon project and the Sharon project. These projects aim to establish Israeli

Jewish cities in the western part of the West Bank as a barrier between West Bank cities and Israeli areas. The author in specified a part of the study to study the numbers of settlements and settlers in the West Bank, where he believes that it is difficult to identify these numbers due to the lack of real data issued in this regard by the Israeli side.

3. Series of Journals Issued by the Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies 'MADAR', Madar Center for Palestinian Studies and Research, Ramallah, Palestine, 2006.

These journals are authored and edited by a group of Palestinian researchers and intellectuals, including Salman Al-Natour, Dr. Ali Jarbawi, Antwan Shalhat and others. These studies subject partially analyze the Israeli settlement project, its development and the future prospects of the Palestinian issue in light of the growing settlement.

4. Middle East Studies Center MESC, "Independent Palestinian State", edited by Dr. Ahmad Sa'id Nofal, Head of the Political Science Department at Yarmouk University, Jordan, a series of seminars attended by many researchers including: Iyad Al Barghouti, Farid Abu Dh'hair, Nabil Amr, et al. 2010. A study published on 5/7/2010 on An-Najah National University website.

The study discussed the issue of the state 'the independent Palestinian state' under the peace process in the Middle East, and the most important characterizations a state should possess as well as the components of any state. The lecturers also discussed the Palestinian-Israeli final solution 'scenarios'.

5. Chapters of a study titled 'Cost of conflict in the Middle East Issued by Strategic Foresight Group. The study showed the extent of the settlers' numbers increase after 1993; after the Oslo Accords.

6. Studies that addressed settlement from the legal point of view, most notably the study prepared by Nasser Alrayes, "Israeli settlements in light of the international humanitarian law." 2009, First Edition, Dar El Shorouk, Cairo - Egypt.

The researcher demonstrated the legal violations committed by the successive Israeli governments as a result of their settlement practices in the Palestinian territories. The latter, for example, are occupied territories. Hence, the occupier, under international law, should not allow its citizens to live in territories it controls through military occupation.

7. A collection of research papers published on the Internet as well as documents issued by research centers, the most important of which are:

1. Al-Zaytouna Center: <http://www.alzaytouna.net>

2. The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies - MADAR

3. The Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ)

These studies discuss the general issue of settlement from legal, economic and social perspectives. The study has employed these dimensions to demonstrate their impact on the possibility of a Palestinian state in the presence of settlement, which will be considered a new field for scholars and researchers.

8. Yousef Kamel Ibrahim, "The Forced Demographic Transition in Palestine."

Baheth Center for Studies, Beirut, 2004

The study revealed and illustrated the political reality of the 1948 Nakba the Palestinians suffered as well as the subsequent resulting practices in terms of extermination and displacement of Palestinians according to the Jewish ambitions in Palestine, which are mainly the attempts to create a Jewish presence. Accordingly, the demographic and social development of the Palestinian people went into unnatural courses. The expulsion of the indigenous people had a direct impact on those developments.

The study concluded that the two factors; the geographical, which is the land, and the demographical, in terms of refugees, are determinants to the struggle waged by Zionism in Palestine. The study also clarified the Israeli practices on the ground of forcibly displacing the Palestinians from their villages and cities as well as seizing and confiscating the land by all means. The Jews, Yousef Kamel explains in his study, were not able to declare their state until they achieved a sufficient number of Jewish immigrants. Hence, the conflict on the ground aroused clothed in demographic and geographic dimensions.

9. Mohammad Murad, "The Jewish State and the Identity Issues - Geopolitics and Demography." Lebanese Army Magazine, 2011.

Since its inception as a primary idea in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Jewish state has been based on Jewish nationalism as a religious and historical religious peculiarity. Based on that, the early Zionist thought advocates and intellectuals connected and tied the religion and history on the one hand with the land, the promised land, on the other.

The study concluded that the Zionist project is a translation of a Jewish ideological idea aimed at controlling Palestine, expelling its original inhabitants and establishing a Jewish state. Although the Zionist project, to be achieved, has received many considerable supporting and helping aids, it is still hindered by the dilemma of shifting from a transition phase to Judaization as a strategic stage. Many issues and problems hinder the progress into the Judaization stage, the most prominent of which are three:

1. The state identity;
2. The political geography of this state;
3. The demographic Judaization of the demographic element of that state.

10. Jamal Al Baba, "The Demographic Fear in Israel." Published study - Palestinian Planning Center, Issues No. 15+ 16, 2004.

The study examined the Israeli positions on the demographic issue. These positions vary and range, for example the left wing adopts a position that addresses the issue objectively by, for example, taking into consideration a regional solution based on the establishment of two states living side by side based on an agreed-upon solution with the integration of 1984 Arabs in the Israeli society. On the other hand, the extreme right-wing positions, range from calling for a unilateral separation based on demographic and topographic bases; the territorial or land swaps where territories with high Palestinian-population percentages are to be exchanged with settlements in the West Bank; and the idea of transfer calling for the deportation of all Palestinians from Greater Israel territory, which is from the sea to the river.

The study concluded that the exaggeration of the demographic threat that Israel aims through to achieve political gains, is also, in fact, a means to dodge fulfilling the peace requirements that may be imposed by the ongoing political process in the region, particularly with regard to the issues of borders and the right of return of Palestinian refugees. Israel is trying hard to convince the West that it is threatened. Israel attempts seem to be persuasive, especially for the United States, particularly when Israel connects the demographic concerns with the security ones, which it claims to be threatening its future as a state for the Jewish people.

11. Akram Musa Abu Amr, "Israeli Settlement between Geography and Demography - A Strategy Guided by Ideology." A study on Donia Al-Watan website, 2010.

Akram, within his study, addressed the issue of Israeli settlement in the Palestinian territories in terms of geography, demography, ideology and strategy. The control of the Palestinian land is the philosophy pursued by World Zionism since the idea of resettling Jews in Palestine was first raised. Israel, since its establishment until this day, continues the World Zionism work in this regard. The land confiscation and seizure processes pursued by Israel were accompanied by a demographic change.

The study concluded that the idea of Jewish settlement in Palestine derives from an ideology that aims to realize the Jewish dream; The Great Israel - from the Nile to the Euphrates. That ideology also aims to achieve a certain objective, which is that Israel and the supporting superpowers to pursue their plans of settlement expansion in the Palestinian territories despite all resolutions, conventions and agreements issued by international organizations or signed between Israel and the Arab states that call for

ending settlement activities. Moreover, Israel maintains full control over all the Palestinian territories with their military barriers and checkpoints as well as settlements that strangle Palestinian communities and control Palestinians' movements with the aim of establishing a purely Jewish State on the land of Palestine. The study also highlights Israel's lack of seriousness in achieving peace or withdrawing from the occupied Palestinian territories.

12. Hassan Abdul Aal, "Israeli Geopolitics - Introduction to the Israeli War Geopolitics." Al Fiker Al Syasi 'Political Thought' Journal, Issues 13 + 14, published in 2001.

This study discussed the German 'Nazi' geopolitics and it being a fertile source of inspiration for Israeli geopolitics on both theoretical and practical levels. On the theoretical level, the ideas and theories that were advocated by the German politician, Karl Haushofer, were the basic theoretical source for Israeli geopolitics, which adopted the Nazi definition of this science; the state is a viable organism, and that the state has two options, either to grow and widen or perish and die.

The study concluded that the Zionist thought worked hard to apply the idea of geographical expansion and expand the vital sphere of the state as to achieve the project of "Greater Israel", depending, mostly, on the practical side of the Nazis Geopolitics, than the theoretical one, which is represented in the ideas and theories of Haushofer.

The Zionist movement and the Zionist state deemed necessary to develop their ideology transferring it from the theory into the geopolitics of war.

13. Mikhail Palombo, "Nakba of Palestine: How the Palestinians were expelled from their homes." Al Fiker Al Syasi 'Political Thought' Journal, Issues 13 + 14, published in 2001.

This study dealt with the general aspects related to the supreme strategy, especially with regard to the displacement of Palestinians and their expulsion from their homes as well as the geopolitical conflict in the region since 1948 and other pivotal years in the Palestinian cause history, such as the 1967 war. Furthermore, the study addressed the role played by the British occupation in the Palestinian cause as well as the Balfour Declaration and its role in emphasizing the establishment of the Zionist project on the land of Palestine. Palombo also discussed the resettlement projects Israel demanded the Arab countries to implement.

14. Nur Masalha, "Ard Akthar wa-Arab Akal, The Politics of Denial: Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Problem The Politics of Denial, Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought" Translated by Khalil Nassar, Institute for Palestine Studies, First Edition, Lebanon - Beirut, 2002.

Masalha's studies addressed Israel's policy towards refugees since 1948 has been centered on the refusal and rejection of the refugees' return as sought by Israel and the international community. This study shows that Israel's policy of deportation and forced-transfer of Palestinians aims at preventing Palestinians, whether inside or outside the Palestinian territories, return to the lands they have been uprooted from. These policies, according to the data the study highlighted, aim to strengthen the influence and dominance of the ruling Jewish majority in Israel. In Nur's third research, which discusses the transfer of the Palestinians; "The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought from 1882 to 1948," he traces the evolution of this idea through the historical situation and describes a

number of detailed and unpublished plans developed in the thirties and forties of the twentieth century.

15. Yahya Ghanem, "Negotiations on Sovereignty over the Middle East." Baheth Center for Palestinian and Strategic Studies, Amman, Jordan.

The study discusses and demonstrates the Israeli side position on the refugees' question, the demographic conflict and the geopolitical issue. Israel believes that this issue or subject has been settled with the Palestinian side following the Oslo Accords and that the Jews are now in their homeland in the wake of what they have been subjected to throughout the history. Israel believes, the study demonstrates, that it is time for Jews to settle in the Promised land, the Kingdom of David and Solomon, after being forced to leave the Arabian Peninsula and being subject to abuse and persecution.

Suleiman Abu Sitta, having studied the demography, geography, land, water and agriculture, says that the right of return is a sacred right to the Palestinians who live in the refugee camps and in the diaspora in various Arab and European countries. Israel's attempts to mislead public opinion are only a means to retain Palestinian land, he adds.

16 Salah Abd Al Ati, "Zionist Settlement in Palestine until 1948." Al Hewan ' Modern Discussion' - Issue 1833, dated 21/7/2007..

The study addresses the Zionist circles' settlement mechanism-of-work since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Zionism taking advantage of some of the prevailing political conditions in that position and the most important weakness of the Ottoman Empire and the great assistance provided by Britain to these

departments, especially after the mandate of Palestine from the establishment of many colonies and control of large areas of The Palestinian territories after their expropriation from their legitimate owners and in various ways such as purchase, confiscation and expulsion after the massacres and massacres against the Palestinian people, which forced most of the Palestinian people to leave their land and homes to live refugee camps Misery and suffering. These circles have led to the establishment of more settlements even after the establishment of the State of Israel.

17. Scaini, Maurizio, 2006: "Demographics, Minorities, Migration and New Geopolitical factors in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," University of Trieste, Italy.

The study examined the demographic concerns and expectations of a Palestinian demographic majority that led Israel to withdraw unilaterally from the Gaza Strip in steps that would improve the demographic balance in favor of Jewish statehood. This is considered the most obvious development in Israeli politics.

Demographic issues are of national, patriotic and political dimensions. In the economic field, the study addressed the motives behind Jewish immigration to Israel, which are economic rather than ideological. The study also focused on the Israeli strategists' interest in the demographic aspects of illegal immigration.

The study concluded that the Israeli policy is based on Israel's concerns and fears about its future in light of the surrounding threats, especially that it is surrounded by a number of Arab countries, for example it is bordering Lebanon and Jordan. The study shows that Israel's establishment of the separation wall 'the apartheid

wall' under the pretexts of security reasons and preventing illegal immigration is one of the main reasons behind the continuing and rising tension in the Israeli economy. The study also shows that the Israeli unilateral withdrawal from Gaza was not for pure security reasons as claimed, but rather for demographic reasons, where Israel hindered the workers and goods movement to and from the Gaza Strip.

18. Najwa Mustafa Hasnawi, "Refugee Rights in International Legitimacy and Palestinian-Israeli Negotiations." Hasnawi, in her study, discussed, demonstrated and analyzed the refugees' rights in international laws and covenants. Hasnawi also highlighted the rules, regulations and decision regarding the Palestinian refugees' rights, especially the UNRWA creation resolution. The study also defines the refugee and the refugees' rights in accordance with international covenants and treaties, which guarantee the refugees international protection, the right to return and the principle of non-expulsion. This research also addressed the expected political solutions. Although addressing expected political solutions is an inevitable matter and subject of research, the researchers and those interested in the Refugees and the Arab-Israeli conflict matters were always interested in the legal academic study, which is a reference for those researchers.

1.12. Literature Review - Comment on previous studies:

When reviewing previous studies on the Palestinian-Israeli demographic conflict, we find that they focus on a range of ideas, including:

- The first is the idea of creating a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine until the establishment of the Israeli entity. Some of these studies were concerned with Jewish concepts and sayings, such as "the borders of Israel are from the Nile to the Euphrates," while others discussed the idea of national ideology and the transformation of such an idea into a Zionist colonization transfer project in Palestine. These studies also discussed the exploitation of the religious dimension to serve the expansionist ideology, which assists the Jewish project achieving its objectives.
- The study also discussed the Israeli proposed solutions, through which it seeks to dodge the demographic concerns by, for example, proposing the idea of settling the Palestinians outside their homeland and rejecting all UN resolutions calling for the return of refugees to their homeland, which they were forced to leave. Some concluded that the demographic crisis is an induced crisis that Israel seeks through to achieve political gains. These political gains Israel aims to achieve include raising the idea of geographical expansion, i.e. the geopolitical tendency, which follows the Nazi tendency to increase the size of the state and expand its vital area, not necessarily by using means of warfare.
- However, these studies, unlike this research, did not discuss several matters, like the demographic role in influencing the Israeli policies; the demographic conflict in the occupied Palestinian territories of 1948 and

1967; the settlement and Judaization of Jerusalem; the construction of the apartheid separation wall; the discrimination against 1948 Palestinians; and the rejection to recognize the right of Palestinian refugees to return to the homes they were expelled from following the 1948 Nakba. Furthermore, this study will present the idea of "Jewishness of the State."

In a prospective study, possible scenarios will be presented to transform the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the light of the demographic conflict.

Chapter II

The demographic conflict in Palestine.

- **Preface;**
- **The Concept of Demographic Conflict;**
- **The Demographic Conflict in Palestine;**
- **The Demographic Change in Palestine before the 1948 Nakba;**
- **The British role in the demographic conflict in Palestine, the roots and plans of the Balfour Declaration and the promises to establish the Zionist entity in Palestine.**

The Demographic Conflict in Palestine.

2.1 Preface

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a struggle on land and population since its inception. The primary objective of the Zionist movement, later Israel, was and still to seize the largest possible area of Palestine and colonize it with as many settlers as possible in successive waves of immigrants. The success of Zionism in its colonial settlement project in Palestine is the size of the lands it has occupied since the beginning of its activity, its ability to attract Jewish immigrants and its success in absorbing them and settling them in Palestine. On this basis, the two geographical factors, which are land and demography; the new immigrant population or the Zionist movement members have the last word in the struggle waged by Zionism in Palestine, and by Israel through its practices on the ground. The Israeli practices against land and demography can be seen by the forced displacement of Palestinians from their villages and cities as well as the seizing and stealing the land from the original owners and controlling it by all possible means and methods. Israelis declared their state only after the number of immigrants to Palestine was sufficient and enough. Hence, the conflict began characterized by the geographic and demographic themes².

This chapter addresses the **demographic conflict** in Palestine in three axes. The first axe includes “the concept of conflict, and introduction to the demographic conflict in Palestine.” The second axe addresses demographic conflict during Pre-

² Marcel Merle, *The Sociology of International Relations*, translated by Hassan Nafea, Cairo, Egypt: Dar Al-Mustakbal Al Arabi, 1st Ed, 1986.

Al-Nakba period highlighting the British role that laid the groundwork for an Arab-Jewish demographic conflict in Palestine through the Balfour Declaration from United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to Lord Rothschild, who, in turn, took the responsibility himself to establish of a national homeland for the Jews. This declaration granted the Jews the right to establish a national homeland in Palestine.

The British Mandate policy facilitated the migrations and Jewish possession of land in Palestine. This policy inflicted clear demographical changes and facilitated the establishment of the Israeli entity.

The third axe addressed the demographic conflict in period from 1948 to 2000, where inspected the 1967 war consequences and the resulting demographic and geographic changes³.

2.2 The Concept of Demographic Conflict.

The scientific studies of international relations have progressed through the development of the international paradigm components. The changes that took place in the early years of the twenty-first century have brought about changes in international politics and enabled the analytical theories to focus on States and new non-State international actors. The political and economic interaction processes between the States and the Non-state international actors within the international community have shown a state of cooperation and positive relations.

³ الرابعة، الطبعة السلاسل، دار منشورات الكويت، والنظريات الأصول دراسة : السياسية العلاقات إسماعيل، صبري، 1985.

It also have produced numerous conflicts that are sometimes peaceful and sometimes violent.

2.2.1 The Conflict

The concept of conflict in the competent political literature is seen as a “dynamic phenomenon.” It is worth noting that the uniqueness of the international conflict phenomenon stems from the complexity of this dynamic phenomenon.

This is due to its multiple dimensions, the interplay of its causes and sources, the interplay of its interactions with its direct and indirect effects and the varying levels it produces in terms of their scope, intensity and force.

This means that the conflict at its core reflects the conflict of will, which is the conflict resulting from differences in the motives, perceptions, objectives, aspirations, resources and potentials of States⁴.

In the latter analysis, decisions or foreign policies made are more likely to be at odds. However, the conflict, despite all tensions and pressures, does not escalate to armed war. There is room for conflict management or adaptation, while maintaining the relative ability to choose one of the alternatives available to each of its parties.

The conflict, nowadays, differs from the war, as it can only be conducted in one form; the actual clash by the means of armed violence, as a last resort, to resolve and address radical contradictions. Hence, the armed war represents the last option to the progress of some of the international conflicts.

2004 ، الأولى الطبعة ، العربي الدراسات مركز : عمان السياسة، علم موسوعة ناظم ، جاسور⁴

Therefore, conflict as a concept and practice is of two levels: The innate and constructed differences: resulting from differences in beliefs, visions or interests among civilizations. The failure to find areas of understanding, acceptance and mutual harmony transforms the difference to a conflict between these civilizations where each will defend itself and its interests⁵.

The second level: The crisis, an advanced and complex stage of conflict between different ideological, ethnic, sectarian or political groups, where these groups seeks infighting, thus causing the collapse of its social or civil order.

Hence, the conflict is: The conflict resulting from differences in visions, beliefs, ideas, programs and interests between two groups or more. Conflict may be justified as in the struggle of peoples with their authoritarian regimes or unjustified as in ethnic and sectarian conflicts within the frameworks of citizenship and homeland.

Here, the essence of the conflict dynamics stems from the difference on the one hand and the failure to resolve or to find appropriate solutions to these differences on the other. The conflict is the root of the crises that plague the structure of the society and the state, it also might lead to the collapse of both.

The negative side of the conflict lies in its general and stable association where a civilization attempts to destroy, exploit or impose a solution at the expense of others⁶.

الدولي، والأمن السلاح ونزع التسليح كتاب بها، الخاصة والمنهجيات ومصادرها الصراع معطيات تعريف ميكائيل، أركون،⁵ 2003، ط1 الدولي، السلام لأبحاث ستوكهولم معهد.

68. ص سابق مرجع ، ميكائيل أركون،⁶

The concept and scope of the international conflict is much more comprehensive and complex than that of the war. When a war takes place, the only two choices left are either victory or defeat contrary to what happens within a conflict. During all of the pre-war phases, there is some scope for conflict management and adaptation pressures exerted one way or another, while retaining the relative ability to choose from among the many alternatives available to each of its internal parties.

The conflict is driven by a set of desires and special needs. When the interacting parties sense that there are interests that can be gained by engaging in the conflict, they enter into it. Tempted by these interests, these parties may break previous-set rules or risk violating public norms of conflict management at different levels. The forms of conflict vary according to the interests of the beliefs, perceptions and desires of the forces involved. Conflict exists in all forms and patterns of social behavior.

Every conflict is of a foundation; conflict exists due to reality balances and complexity. However, conflict always uses social, economic and political justifications as an excuse. There is an authentic reason for any conflict and there is a direct justification for its existence.

The conflict arises when the objectives of the conflicting forces clash. Each or every party has contradictory objectives and seeks to retain what the other party desires, meaning that when a party's goal is achieved, the other party's is not. Conflict is of multiple forms and its course and management are flexible despite

the limited alternatives to each party. The conflict always has its causes and justifications⁷.

2.2.1 The Conflict Approaches

There are many approaches that explain the phenomenon of conflict in international relations. We are to spot a light on some of the approaches that attempt to explain the demographic conflict phenomenon in Palestine, including:

First: The geopolitical approach- one of the most important modern developments founded by Ratzel, which is based on the assumption that the state is an organic unit of human and land and that it resembles organisms whose growth depend on their ability to grow by extending the spatial space in which they move and interact. Based on that, Ratzel sees the territorial boundaries as fluid unsteady areas that are subject to extension in favor of the more powerful state. Ratzel stressed that borders frequently lead to international wars due to a natural reason: if borders are seen as final and permanent, they are thus an impediment to state growth⁸.

Since 2005, a new concept of geopolitics has emerged. This concept concerns all competition aspects among authorities sharing one land: Small-scale, largescale, peaceful or violent competition between the political authorities of all kinds, not only states; between political movements or legitimate or illegitimate armed groups. This competition is for the control over a geopolitical territory whether large or small area.

1985، ط1، العربي الكتاب دار ، بيروت الدولية، العلاقات في النظرية يوسف، ناصف، (7) 7

121 العدد ، عربية شؤون الأوسط، الشرق في والاستقرار الإسرائيلي العربي النزاع في الديمغرافي البعد العزيز، عبد مرسى،⁸ 2005.

Second: The demographic approach expressed by the French sociologist (Paul Ribot) in his theory that states that modern warfare is essentially a biological process. He states that war violence is directly proportional to the size of the human surplus, which is the main force of pressure in the direction of war. The theory of Demographic Transition states that States undergo three stages of population development: the slow growth stage, the population explosion stage, which is a transition phase, and then the stage of stability and balance, although population growth rates remain generally high within the third⁹.

In the second and third phases, the population pressure of these countries tends to wage aggressive wars to obtain enough vital space. This is called the dynamics of the demographic process, which refers to the state as an organic organism or as a biological fact of growth, interaction and expansion. Within this interception, it is intertwined with geopolitical theories.

The previous theories have contributed to clarifying the approaches to the conflict related to the geographical and demographic factors, which are often the cause of conflict development that reaches war situations. These theories consider the demographic component one of the most important elements and objectives of the conflict. When the conflict is directed against population groups, the results are in favor of other demographic groups¹⁰.

صالح، عبد الله، اللاجئين الفلسطينيين بين الديمغرافيا والتوطين، السياسة الدولية، العدد 114، 1993.

بشير، نبيه، الجدلية الدينية والسياسية في إسرائيل، حركة شاس كحالة دراسية، مركز مدار، رام الله، فلسطين، 2006.

2.3 The Demographic Conflict in Palestine.

The term “demographic” refers to the situation of a population in a location. We can distinguish the two components of the concept, i.e. population and geographical location. We mean to refer to the content of this chapter; the explanation and illustration on each of the components and their indivisible relationship, where there is no population without a location.

The demographic characteristics of Palestine have greatly influenced the political developments that have played an important role in the growth and distribution of the population at home and diaspora, especially since Palestine has witnessed radical developments in the political arena as a result of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. These developments led to the scattering of the Palestinian identity and the dispersion of the Palestinian people. The fateful and cultural conflict holds many political, strategic, economic, cultural and religious dimensions within the framework of a Zionist settlement project.

In order to achieve the Zionist settlement objectives, the most heinous acts of terrorism, which violates all human rights that have been committed against the Palestinian people, in order to maintain Israel’s demographic superiority. The Palestinian people continue to suffer a tragedy of an Israeli occupation and an ongoing struggle to preserve their legitimate rights¹¹.

Since Zionism inception as a primary idea during the second half of the nineteenth century, to Jewish nationalism as a religious and historical religious peculiarity, the dialectical connection between the first advocates of Zionism, arguing based on religion and history on the one hand, and geography, the land of Palestine on the other

ياهو، دان، ما أروع هذه الحرب: نصوص ورموز عسكرية ظاهرة ومبطنة في الأدب الإسرائيلي، ترجمة سلمان ناطور، مركز مدار، رام الله، فلسطين، 2010.

was established. During the first half of the 20th century, nationalist ideology became a Zionist settlement in Palestine, the heart of the vital area of the Arab Mashreq. It emerged as a response to a biblical claim based on the principle of return to the Promised Land (Palestine), where that Jewish entity was established on an open geographical and political area that covers the historical area of Palestine. This entity was able to transform into a geopolitical project that ensures control and superiority over an entire Arab dynamic area that links four key regions: (Mesopotamia, Euphrates) to the east, Egypt (the Nile) to the west, the Levant (Mediterranean) to the north, and the Arabian Peninsula (Red Sea) to the south¹².

The establishment of Israel in 1948 as to form the central link of the Israeli entity structure; the continuing Israeli wars of superiority against the Arabs and the Palestinians; and the on-going settlement plans, which was in line with the displacement of the Palestinians, are consistent with the Zionist strategy aimed at finalizing the Judaization of Palestine as a one of the objectives of the Zionist project.

In order to achieve complete Judaization of Palestine, a change must be made in the geographic component in order to impose control over larger areas of the land by all means and to change the population balance where the Jewish population prevails. This cannot be achieved by the natural growth of a small population. Thus, population groups should be gathered through migrations.¹³

بودي، إيلي، الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، الديمغرافيا الإسرائيلية في المناهج المدرسية، 1948-2000، ترجمة وليد أبو بكر، مركز مدار، رام الله، فلسطين، 2006.

التلمود، كوهين، عرض شامل لتعاليم التلمود حول ديمغرافية فلسطين، ترجمة وليد أبو بكر، مركز مدار، رام الله، فلسطين، 2006.

The attempt to gather “diaspora” Jews was not new, but old and well-established. In 1951, David Ben-Gurion stated “the establishment of the status quo is not enough, where we created a dynamic state based on expansion. Now we have reached the stage of independence in a small part of our country.” He then in 1952 and 1955 stated publicly that the creation of the new state could not in any way diminish the historical domain of the Land of Israel. Ben-Gurion returns to reveal expansionist intentions by saying “I cannot imagine how Israel doubles its population five times and without calculating the natural population growth and remains within its current borders.”¹⁴

Of course, Israel’s ability to absorb more millions of Jewish immigrants cannot be envisioned without being accompanied by plans for regional expansion at the expense of the Arab population homes and lands. This is a type of evacuation colonization, which is the worst form of colonialism.

Jewish control and settlement led to a significant change in the definition of terrestrial space. In the late 1970s, Israel removed the Green Line (Armistice Lines in 1949) from all official maps, atlases and publications. Although the specific remains of the borders as the checkpoints on the roads leading to the occupied areas remained, the Green Line remains invisible in most of the general Jewish areas, leading to the annexation of the settlements to Israel, the creation of further despair and the strengthening of the fighting spirit of the Palestinians.

إبراهيم، يوسف كامل، “التحول الديمغرافي القسري في فلسطين” التحول الديمغرافي القسري في فلسطين” الإمارات، مركز زايد¹⁴ للتنسيق والمتابعة، 2003.

In this period, the Zionist goal was clear towards the tightening of control over the land of Greater Israel. The objective was clearly stated in the remarks of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir during the 1980s and early 1990s. Shamir stated in a Parliament “Knesset” speech, “The entire region is our objective and it should not be ignored or fragmented. This is an obvious principle. It is not subject to controversy and we should not be asked why. Why this land? We should not explain or illustrate. Is there a nation that argues or explains its homeland, its size, its length and width, its regions or bargains it or anything similar to that?”¹⁵

It is worth mentioning that the Israeli entity is a microstate that does not exceed 20,989 square kilometers. It is considered one of the microstates that its longitudinal shape meant the lack of any geographical or strategic depth. Furthermore, this longitudinal shape made all vital and key points within the resistance’s firing range. The resistance, for example, was able to hit the city of Tiberias, which is about 35 kilometers from Lebanon (south). Hence were the demands of some Zionist religious leaders to launch a preemptive war against Arab countries, so that Israel can overcome this problem. This indicates that the State of the Israeli entity can not be a superpower due to its small size and longitudinal shape¹⁶.

Thus, we find that the Zionist understanding of the subject of the demographic dimension has been based on the policy of gradation and continuity in order to achieve a strong and superior state with a pure Jewish majority, focuses on the qualitative side and does not neglect the quantitative side. Israel worked hard to facilitate and gather as much as possible Jewish immigrants in Palestine, where the

مصالحة، نور، أرض أكثر وعرب أقل، سياسة الترانسفير الإسرائيلية في التطبيق 1949-1996، مؤسسات الدراسات الفلسطينية، 15 بيروت، لبنان، 2002.
بابه، إيلان “التطهير العرقي في فلسطين”. مؤسسة الدراسات الفلسطينية، بيروت. 16

population explosion continued until the end of the last century. Nowadays, however, Israel depends on the natural growth of the population in light of the Jewish immigration decreasing rates.

The Israeli entity considers that its population increase is proportional to the increase in geographical area based on the theory of geographic expansion and the fluid borders. Thus, Israel has followed various methods to achieve this, manifested in the false claim of its right in Palestine, the consequent occupation of Palestine and continuous settlement and displacement to the degree of ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian population and the Judaization of geography.

Therefore, the process of demographic change in Palestine has undergone several stages, each was of a certain characteristics in which the methods of conflict varied¹⁷.

2.4 The Demographic Change in Palestine before the 1948 Nakba

The Zionist thought, which derives from the Zionist ideology that considers Palestine as a sacred Jewish land, led Theodor Herzl to lay the practical framework for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews at the Basel Conference in 1897, beginning the demographic conflict in Palestine.

The first Jewish call to immigrate to Palestine was in 1665 by a Turkish Jew, Shabbetai Zevi, who organized and grouped the Jews and urged them to immigrate to Palestine. Then, the Ottoman Sultan Selim I ordered to end this movement. Zevi, however, ordered his followers “known as Dönme” to convert publicly to Islam and

حداد، يوسف، هل لليهود حق ديني أو تاريخي في فلسطين، مركز بيسان، بيروت، لبنان، 2004.¹⁷

secretly work to achieve their goals and objectives. After a period of time, a number of them reached high positions in the Ottoman Empire and the army, which prepared for the Jews what they were praying for, especially in the era of Ottoman Empire weakness.

Zionism has put itself in a position of contradiction with the Arab presence in Palestine when it adopted the idea of immigration and settlement. It, furthermore, has prepared itself to manage the long-term conflict to achieve its objectives of controlling the region. In this sense, the Zionist movement adopted the immigration aspects associated with the absorption of Zionist Jews in Palestine through settlement, in terms of uprooting Arab citizens and displacing them by various means, as an arm to achieve its objectives.

The researcher believes that the religious faith that prompted the Zionist movement to adopt the idea of settlement in Palestine was its engine, by exploiting the biblical provisions that painted the dreams of Zionism for the establishment of the alleged Jewish homeland¹⁸.

Hence, as the Jews do not have fleets and armies in the world, they sought, through population change in Palestine, to change the demographic and geographical balance, which was the basis of a demographic conflict that continued to this day, mobilizing all its energies to implement its plans.

إزريق، إيليا ، الديمغرافيا والترانسفير، طريق إسرائيل إلى اللامكان، مجلة الدراسات الفلسطينية، العدد 55 ، 2003،¹⁸

2.5 Britain's Role in the Demographic Conflict in Palestine

The roots and plans of the Balfour Declaration and the promises to establish the Zionist entity in Palestine

The Ottoman Empire was coveted by the Western countries' ambitions for control and influence. This led these countries to share and divide the areas of influence of the Ottoman Empire through the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which was signed on 16 of May 1916. The Arab world was divided into Western areas of influence and control. Palestine was the share of Britain.

On November 2, 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour issued a declaration stating the establishment of a national homeland for Jews in Palestine known as the Balfour Declaration, which states:

“His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”¹⁹

Britain providing facilities and support for the waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine and the growth of Jewish settlements in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration was the strangest international document in the history through which a colonial state granted a land that it does not own “Palestine” to the Zionists who does not deserve it at the expense of those who own and deserve it, the Palestinian Arab people.

¹⁹ ريميل، تيري، وعد بلفور وجذور الصهيونية السياسية، مركز الدراسات الفلسطينية، العدد 41، 2000.

When the mandate was issued on Palestine in 1922, Britain militarily occupied Palestine for six years before the issuance of the Mandate, prompting the League of Nations after the end of the First World War to give some kind of false legitimacy to the British occupation of Palestine. As a result of the alliance between international Zionism and the British government, Palestine was under mandate, to establish the national homeland for the Jews.

Britain has made a commitment through the McDonald's letter to Weizmann, in which, as stated, "His Majesty's Government recognizes that the undertaking of the mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish population of Palestine," and "his Majesty's Government have to be mindful of their obligations to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land." Weizmann considered MacDonald's letter a critical factor that enabled them to make significant gains in the years to come²⁰.

The Palestinian reaction to the Balfour Declaration was not delayed, due to the dangers it posed. The rejection and protest took many forms. On December 24, 1920, the 3rd Arab-Palestinian Conference was held in Jaffa. An Executive Committee was established to follow up the implementation of the decisions of the Conference. The Committee was headed by Musa Kazem Al Husseini and it was decided

1. The rejection of Balfour Declaration;
2. Prohibiting and rejecting Jewish immigration;
3. Formation and establishment of a national government for Palestine.

أبو اللغد ، جانييت، التحول الديمغرافي في فلسطين – تهويد فلسطين، مركز أبحاث منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، بيروت، لبنان،²⁰ 1972.

On May 1, 1921, the Arabs attacked the Zionist immigrant center in Jaffa and killed a number of Jewish immigrants in protest against immigration and carried out attacks on Jewish settlements between Jaffa and Tulkarm, especially the settlement of Melbis. More than 200 Jews were killed and dozens of Arabs were shot by the British.

The reader and the critic of a number of articles and researches can clearly see that the Palestinians have been fully aware of the schemes and projects being planned to change the features of the Arab land and the population to place scattered groups of Jewish immigrants and establish a national homeland based on the Balfour Declaration. Balfour Declaration, on the other hand, did not mention the Arab borders, but only mentioned that civil and religious rights of other communities shouldn't be violated without reference to any political rights, which means dealing with the Arabs as a sectarian minority, although it was the majority of the population. This was a clear reference to demographic change for the benefit of Jews in the future, by allowing Jewish immigrations to Palestine and facilitate the process of ownership and transfer of land to them in accordance with James Grover McDonald's letter, not to mention the British support, as a mandate force over for Palestine, in favor of the Jews²¹.

²¹ البديري، هند، أراضي فلسطين بين المزايم الصهيونية والحقائق التاريخية، جامعة الدول العربية، القاهرة، مصر، 1998.

Chapter III

The European Colonial Role in the Demographic Conflict on Palestine/ Political Zionism from the First Zionist Congress to the Balfour Declaration, 1897 - 1917.

- **European support for the Zionist movement to establish a Jewish National Homeland.**
- **The relationship between the Zionist movement and Great Britain sponsoring the Zionist project.**
- **The British role in the establishment of the Zionist entity.**
- **The beginning of Zionist settlement in Palestine.**
- **Zionist settlement in Palestine in the Ottoman era.**
- **Settlement under British Mandate.**
- **The First Zionist Congress of 1897 and the Zionist program;**
- **The historical development of political Zionism;**
- **Herzl is the founder of political Zionism;**
- **British and Western efforts supporting the Jews.**

The European Colonial Role in the Geopolitical Conflict on Palestine.

3.1 The European support for the Zionist movement to establish a national homeland:

In order to understand the nature of the discussions and perceptions about the idea of the Jewish state from its inception, it is necessary to refer to the ideas and perceptions of Europe in the era of nationalities and its results and consequences on the Jewish issue. We also will shed a light on their direct impact on the Jewish community, despite the diversity of its origins in European countries and the United States of America.

Moreover, to understand the reality of these calls and positions and to shed light on the Jewish, Zionist and European (anti-Semitism) elites and leaders who contributed to the arguments on the Jewish state. The researcher will, through this introduction, also highlight the political events and unrest in Europe, some against the Jews, that contributed to promote the idea of a solution to the issue Judaism through the establishment of the State that gathers the European and other areas diaspora Jews. These political events prompted some to search for a political entity that brings together the Jews of Europe and the world²².

Three European figures contributed to crystallize the idea of a Jewish state since the end of the nineteenth century. These three are of a variety professional and ideological schools of thought. These figures are Hungarian anti-Jewish parliamentarian Jose Ehtosi, a supporter of the idea of building a nation-state for Jews outside Europe, one

تلخيص لكتاب دولة اليهود لـ تيودور هرتزل، ترجمة وإصدار مؤسسة الأبحاث العربية، الطبعة الأولى، بيروت، 1997.²²

of the symbols of anti-Semitism in Europe; Austrian Jew Benjamin Theodore Herzl, founder of the Zionism Movement and the author of the Jewish state; and the English diplomat known for his famous declaration- Balfour Declaration - Author James Balfour²³.

Here, it is necessary to say that the European position was divided over the idea of a Jewish state in terms of the why to support a Jewish state. Some supported the establishment of the Jewish state as a result of their religious and traditional sympathy with the Jews. Others supported this idea for their desire to get rid of Jewish minority living among Europe's communities for a variety of reasons. Furthermore, it seems that Europe's era of nationalities created a new perception towards the Jews in that continent, where Jews were at first perceived as members of a religious sect, like the rest of the followers of other monotheistic religions living in Europe. Later, anti-Jewish Europeans emphasized the idea that Judaism is a race, nationality and a religion in a variety of ways.

These also attacked the idea of the Jewish integration in European societies, which contributed to the rapid crystallization of the idea of the need for a Jewish state outside the European continent to gather the Jews of the world²⁴.

In the midst of this scene, new perceptions emerged among the Jews of Europe and specifically between the secular communities, which was able to integrate among the European community and had financial and media influence. The European anti-Semitism was more believing in the idea that Judaism is not a religion only. This idea was best expressed by the rising secular Jewish community that merged with European societies, especially the journalist Theodore Herzl (1860-1904) leader and

²³ الجندي، أنور (المخططات التلمودية). اليهودية الصهيونية، القاهرة: دار الاعتصام، 1977.

²⁴ درينعيم، إسحق، (الحركة الصهيونية ترجمة عن العبرية). جودت أسعد، الأردن، إربد، 1988، ص71.

founder of the Zionist movement, who said that history should be fair to Jews, and they must gather in a homeland after two thousand-year diaspora.

The Zionist movement believes that the Jews are only communities living outside the borders of their homeland and it is the responsibility of the Zionist movement to gather this diaspora with the help of European governments and then return to the land of Palestine²⁵.

With the help of Britain, Zionism was able to gather and flock millions of Jews on the land of Palestine after the displacement of the majority of the Arab population who lived on its land for thousands of years and who built a civilization. The number of Palestinians living in the diaspora in 2014, as a result of the Zionist project, amounted to about six million refugees, the majority of them live in refugee camps.

The First Zionist Congress in the city of Basel, Switzerland in 1897 was the actual beginning that paved the way for the embodiment of the idea of the Jewish state on the land of Palestine. This congress was preceded by the founding of a movement that called itself “Hovevei Zion.” Moshe Hess was one of the most prominent leaders of this movement in the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, this movement was unable to achieve its goals due to the large differences of views and goals aimed at the grouping and lining up the Jewish diaspora. Hence was the first Zionist Congress, to establish institutions and organizations that contribute to support the idea of the Jewish state and to establish a de-facto state. However, the majority of European Jews rejected the idea of Zionism

²⁵ (25) Sandler, Shamuel, et al, The Religious- Secular Divide in Israel Politics, Middle East Policy, Vol.V1.No.4, June, 1999. Iian Pappé.

for various reasons, while approved by the majority of anti-Semitic and colonial governments²⁶.

The Zionist proposal and the accompanying diplomatic activity Herzl made were concurrent with new political variables and data witnessed by the world including Palestine and the European continent that contributed to support the idea of the Jewish state on the land of Palestine, that idea, however, was not fully supported. These variables were due to the developments of the WWII and its results represented in the French and British control of Palestine and its geographical vicinity.

3.2 The relationship between the Zionist movement and Great Britain sponsoring the Zionist project

In the midst of this scene, Zionism had a good relations with Britain through the rounds and understandings agreed upon by Theodore Herzl and the Zionist leaders with the British government. The result was Britain's Declaration of 1917 constructed by its Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour, on November 2nd, 1917. The Balfour Declaration, "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" was included in the British mandate document of 1922 on the land of Palestine. This Declaration aimed at appointing the British Jew, Herbert Samuel, as a High Commissioner to implement the Balfour Declaration with the intent to turn Palestine gradually into a "national homeland" for the Jews²⁷.

²⁶ الزعبي، الأرقم (حقائق عن الهوية). ط1، دمشق: الدار المتحدة، 1990.

²⁷ شاحاك، إسرائيل (أسرار مكشوفة). ترجمة: عادل خير الله، رضا سلمان، ط2، 2001.

3.3 The British role in the establishment of the Zionist entity

Throughout the period of the British Mandate, the Zionist project grew and thrived in Palestine. The Jewish community was strengthened by the public and secret Jewish immigration and by the policy of confiscating the Palestinian territories for the Jewish Agency under the supervision and support of the British Provisional Government on the land of Palestine.

Support were mobilized for the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – Jewish National Fund as well as active labor and agricultural institutions founded on the land of Palestine. These various Zionist organizations, including the Histadrut (Labor Union), the Kibbutz (industrial kibbutz) and the moshavim (agricultural colony), carried out and provided noticeable field support throughout the British Mandate period 1917-1948. Zionist institutions were able to promote and instill the idea of a Jewish state on the land of Palestine - until it was able to turn the idea into a state when the Jewish military capabilities in Palestine matured²⁸.

Three military organizations were established in that period as well, these organizations are: Haganah, Etzel, and Lehi, as well as the Jewish Legion, which was raised in the British Army to fight in WWI. During this period, the Jewish population doubled during four waves of organized migration, driven by multiple cooked-up factors.

The Jews exercised their policies, operations and work in general on the land of Palestine during the British Mandate with the utmost comfort and flexibility, considering that the Zionist project on the land of Palestine is parallel to the British presence. This was best expressed by the second leader of the Zionist movement,

غارودي، روجيه (مقولة الحق التاريخي، دراسة في الصهيونية السياسية). ترجمة: نزيه الشوفي، المنارة، بيروت، 1997.²⁸

Chaim Weizmann, who stated that “Palestine is a Jewish land as Britain is British. Despite that the Jews population at the time was little compared to the number of Arabs and despite the British support for the Jewish idea on the land of Palestine, some Zionist circles and quarters expressed their anger and rejection of the British decision in 1922, which demarcated the borders between Palestine and Eastern Jordan and later to the establish the Emirate of Transjordan²⁹.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, there was no public statement by the leaders of the Zionist movement referring to the idea of establishing a Jewish state on the land of Palestine. These leaders only used vague concepts such as the realization of the “national homeland” or the call to “establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth” in the Zionist Conference of the United States in Baltimore in 1942. These vague concepts were used despite the fact that the work on establishing a Jewish State on the ground was at a high pace.

It seems that the Zionism use of such ambiguous concepts that concealed the desire to establish a Jewish state aimed at not provoking the Arabs against their ally, Britain as well as not to obstruct the Zionist project on the ground although some religious Zionist circles publicly announced their wishes and desires to establish a Jewish state on the ground³⁰.

Pre-WWI conclusion, the Jewish State institutions had been completed. It was called the “State on the Road”. These words were mentioned in many Zionist correspondences and speeches at the time.

كتن، هنري (فلسطين في ضوء الحق والعدل). ترجمة: وديع فلسطين، بيروت: مكتبة لبنان، 1970. ²⁹

محمود، أمين عبدالله (مشاريع الاستيطان الصهيوني منذ قيام الثورة الفرنسية حتى نهاية الحرب العالمية الأولى). الكويت، سلسلة ³⁰ عالم المعرفة، 1984.

The Jews exploited the events of the Second World War and its results that prompted the governments of Europe and the United States to hasten the establishment of the Jewish state. The Jews exploited the Nazi crimes against the Jewish communities in Europe and carried out considerable political activity within the European and American quarters³¹.

The Zionist movement also managed to exploit the issue of the 100,000 Jews in the Nazi concentration camps and the 10 million displaced from their homes, dispersed in some German-controlled territories on a humanitarian level. Thousands of these were deported to Palestine illegally contrary to the policy of the White Book issued by Britain in 1939 that states Britain's commitment to support the establishment of a Palestinian state after ten years. Nevertheless, Britain sought by issuing the paper to prevent the revolution of the population of its colonies in the Arab Mashreq, including Palestine³². The independent Palestinian state was to be established for its Arab and Jewish citizens according to the White Paper of 1939. However, the UN General Assembly adopted the Partition of Palestine Plan as Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947. The plan allocated more than half of Palestine as a Jewish State while the Jews only amounted for less than one-third of the population of Palestine.

The plan also allocated a state of the Arabs in Palestine on less than half the Palestine territories. Palestinians and Arabs rejected this resolution on the grounds that Palestine is a unified homeland for its citizens regardless their ethnic or religious backgrounds.³³

³¹ محمود، أمين عبدالله، المرجع السابق، 1984.

³² Haim Malka – Crossroads: The Future of the US- Israel strategic Partnership, CSIS, Washington, 2011. Pp.99-101

³³ Iian Pappé (2000), Israel At Crossroads between civic Democracy and Jewish Zealotocracy, Journal of Palestine studies, Vol. XXXIX, No.3 spring .

In the process, violent clashes between the two sides “Arabs and Jews” took place over the land of Palestine during the British Mandate era. At the end of the mandatory period, the Nakba events took place on 15th of May 1948 following the Israeli Declaration of Independence. Then, the State of Israel has expanded to a larger area than that allocated by the partition resolution to reach 78% of Mandatory Palestine. The remaining of the Palestinian territories, about 22%, was under the sovereignty and administration of two Arab countries, Jordan and Egypt. However, these territories fell under Israel’s control in 1967.

Prior to the UN partition resolution of 1947 calling for the establishment of two states in Palestine, Arab and Jewish, the leaders and figures of the Zionist project did not agree upon the name of the state they seek to establish. Of the names these figures frequently used: The Hebrew state and the Jewish state. These names hold many meanings of the beliefs that existed among the Jews in that period³⁴.

³⁴ الهندي، هاني (حول الصهيونية وإسرائيل). ط1، بيروت: دار الطليعة، 1971.

3.4 The beginning of Zionist settlement in Palestine.

The Zionist settlement in Palestine up to 1948 can be divided into stages that took place in the Ottoman era, the British Mandate over Palestine, after the establishment of the Israeli entity (Israel) on 15/5/1948 and other on-going stages. These stages can be summarized in the following:

Stages I:

The Ottoman Empire era stage, specifically since the London Conference in 1840, after the defeat of Muhammad Ali Pasha, up to 1882.

However, the projects of this stage did not achieve the required success due to the reluctance of Jews themselves to emigrate to Palestine and their emigration to the United States of America or their engagement in their communities. The most prominent activists of this stage are Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Palmerston and Moses Montefiore. This stage ran up to the beginning of the British Mandate of Palestine in 1920³⁵.

Stage II:

The period of the British Mandate for Palestine until the establishment of Israel. Within this stage the actual settlement in Palestine began, where the Jewish acquisition of Palestinian lands and territories intensified and the Jewish immigration poured. This stage held the third, fourth and fifth waves of Jewish immigrations to Palestine.

³⁵ حسين، عبد الرحيم أحمد. (النشاط الصهيوني خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية (1939) وحتى (1945)). ط بيروت: المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر، 1984.

Stage III:

This stage began as of the Israeli Declaration of Independence until 1967. Within this stage Israel was able to seize the Palestinian territories, continue to confiscate land and establish settlements to receive new immigrants constantly.

Stage IV:

The period of political settlement and the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. The settlement movement in the Palestinian territories accelerated and the construction and expansion of the settlements continued until the separation wall, through which Israel controlled over one-third of the West Bank, was established³⁶.

3.5. Zionist settlement in Palestine in the Ottoman era

Most of the first studies of the Jewish settlement in Palestine refers and mentions the rich Jewish, Moses Montefiore, practices. Montefiore was able in 1855 to buy a plot of land in the city of Jerusalem, upon which he has established in 1857, the first Jewish residential neighborhood in Palestine outside the walls of the city of Jerusalem, which is "Mishkenot Sha'ananim," later known as Yemin Moshe.

In 1860, two Jews bought two plots of land in Palestine, the first near the lands of Qalounya and the second around Lake Tiberias. In the same year, the first 20 housing units were built, which were only inhabited in 1862, thus began the first practical steps of Jewish settlement in Palestine.

After that, the German Temple Society, headed by Christoph Hoffmann, established some settlements in Palestine, especially in Jaffa and Haifa. In 1878, a group of

³⁶ حسين، غازي (الصهيونية زرع واقتلاع). سوريا. منشورات اتحاد الكتب العرب، 1995.

Jerusalem Jews, after receiving support from abroad, managed to establish the settlement of Petah Tikva on part of the land near Jaffa.³⁷

Prior to the First World War, Palestine witnessed two major waves of Jewish migrations: the first occurred between 1882 and 1903, and numbered between 25-30 thousand immigrants, and it is credited with paving the way for laying the foundations for the organized Jewish settlement movement in Palestine.

Thus, in 1882, three settlements "Rishon LeZion, Zichron Ya'akov and Rosh Leetah" were established. In 1883, two other settlements were established "Yesud HaMa'ala" and "Ness Ziona."

The previous settlements were established by means of circumvention and exploiting the weakness of the laws and regulations by bribing the Ottoman employees. A new settlement was established in 1884. However, it suffered considerable losses and could not continue without the intervention of Edmond de Rothschild, who supported the establishment of three other settlements in 1890: (Rehovot, Mishmar Ha-Yarden, and Hadera). Rothschild's projects were administered and managed to the organization called ICA, an agricultural settlement organization founded by the Austrian Baron Maurice de Hirsch. This organization managed settlement work in Palestine. Between 1899 and 1908, ICA managed to establish several new settlements, in addition to the reorganization of Rothschild colonies, though it has failed in its expectations, as in its report of 1899.³⁸

³⁷ . رافائيل، يوال (الصهيونية النظرية والتطبيق). (ترجمة نور البواطة)، ط1. عمان: دار الجليل للنشر، 2000

³⁸ السنوار، زكريا. (منظمة الهاغاناة الصهيونية منذ إنشائها وحتى صدور قرار التقسيم من عام 1920-1947)، (رسالة دكتوراه

غير منشورة). معهد البحوث والدراسات العربية. القاهرة، 2006.

Jews in Palestine at that time found it hard to switch from the city to the farm life and most of them were super indolent and lazy. Therefore, some of the Jewish settlements during that period called the Rothschild settlement in comparison to the Jewish millionaire Rothschild who supervised the construction and management of these settlements. Rothschild established 39 Jewish settlements in Palestine during the Ottoman period. These settlements were inhabited by 12 thousand settlers. As of 1914, the numbers reached 47 settlements 4 of which were established with the support of the Zionist Organization under the supervision of the Office of Palestine.

Zionists established these settlements gradually, so as not to draw Arabs attention, where they were constructing one to three settlements a year during the period from 1870 to 1918³⁹.

Although the Ottoman Empire did not accept Jewish settlement in Palestine, the land acquisition system in Palestine during the Ottoman era turned a blind eye to the establishment of these settlements, where a class of Arab and non-Palestinian landowners were tempted by high prices and sold plots of land.

The Ottoman Empire had issued in 1882 a law that considered the entry of Jews to Palestine illegal. Then, in 1888, it issued another law that prohibits the entry of Jews (non-residents of the Empire) to Palestine, except for a period of three months.

شريف، ريجينا (الصهيونية غير اليهودية، جذورها في التاريخ الغربي (أحمد عبدالله عبد العزيز)). الكويت، المجلس الوطني للثقافة والفنون والآداب (العمل الأصلي نشر عام 1982)، 1985.

However, Zionism resorted to bribe the Ottoman state officials, and circumvented, by illegal means, to facilitate the entry of the Jews to Palestine and settle them in.⁴⁰

Settlement activity continued in the late Ottoman period. Between 1907 and 1914, 15 new settlements were established, raising the total number of Zionist settlements to 40, inhabited by some 12,000 Jewish immigrants.

The Zionist organizations were active after the First World War, especially after the World Zionist Organization succeeded in obtaining the famous Balfour Declaration in 1917, which granted the Jews a national homeland in Palestine. Palestine, shortly after, fell under the British Mandate. The Mandate government played a great role in enabling the Jews to control large areas of the Palestinian territories by taking many measures, including enabling the acquisition and purchase of Crown 'Public domain' lands and the enactment of the Absentees' Property Law, which enabled the Jews to acquire 2070000 dunums of land after the establishment of the State of Israel. These organizations were keen to have these plots in different spaced areas in order to expand the area of the "Jewish State."⁴¹

Despite the favorable and suitable environment for the settlement provided by the Balfour Declaration and the British mandate, the immigrants' arrival rate remained relatively low at first.

⁴⁰ . الننتشه، رفيق (الاستعمار في فلسطين (إسرائيل مشروع استثماري)). دار الجليل للنشر، 1984

⁴¹ ولسن، ماري (عبدالله وشرق الأردن بيد بريطانيا والحركة الصهيونية). ترجمة: فضل الجراح ، ط1 (بيروت، شركة قدمس للنشر والتوزيع)، 2000

3.6 Settlement under the British Mandate

The British mandate period in Palestine is considered the golden stage of the Zionist settlement in Palestine, where Britain occupied Palestine and was committed to the Balfour Declaration. Thus, Jewish settlement was under the auspices of a superpower that manages and protects it. Settlement was characterized, in its early stages, by randomness and faced many issues regarding Jews outside Palestine. At this stage, settlement was subject to political and strategic considerations, where many settlements were established in strategic areas and in the form of closed societies - like the Ghetto - that were subject to the Hebrew labor policy to establish itself as the core of the Zionist presence in Palestine⁴².

The British Mandate authorities, by various means, facilitated the transfer of Palestinian land to Zionist organizations. The Jewish Agency were granted a wide area of 195,000 dunums of land in various parts of the country, including the Palestinian coastal plain, to the municipalities of Tel Aviv and Petah Tikva, In order to expand their areas of settlements. Furthermore, the British Mandate Governments in 1921, transferred 175 thousand dunums of government property to the Zionist organizations for the establishment of settlements, which led to the revolution of 1921 that was violently suppressed by the British forces along with the settlers⁴³. During this period, purchasing of land continued, where some Lebanese feudalists and merchants sold large tracts of land in northern Palestine.

By the publication of the White Paper in 1930, the Zionist Organization decided to accelerate the settlement operations in the areas that were not inhabited by the Jews,

تلمي، أفرايم (معجم المصطلحات الصهيونية). ترجمة: أحمد العجرمي، ط1. عمان: دار الجليل، 1988. ⁴²

⁴³ Farsoun, and Aruri, N. (1996). Palestine and the Palestinian. Boulder: West view press.

to include the widest possible geographical area in the case of (partition of Palestine). Therefore, 53 settlements were established in the period from 1936 to 1939 and were called "Khoma and Migdal", meaning a fence and a tower, a description of the military nature of those settlements, which coincided with the 1936 Palestinian outbreak⁴⁴. The sites of these settlements were meant to act as towers that oversee the other settlements and, at the same time, as observation posts of the Arab villages. Most of these settlements were built on the northern extremities of the Upper Galilee and on areas that oversee the Jezreel Valley. There was also a tendency to build settlements in isolated areas to grant the Jews a sense of control over all parts of Palestine. In the wake of the Peel Commission Report that called for the partition of Palestine in 1937, the Zionism showed interest in establishing settlements in the Negev desert - southern Palestine⁴⁵.

In the period between the Second World War and the year 1948, Zionism expanded its settlements projects in that area, in expectation of a possible military clash with Egypt in the future. The number of settlements in the Negev by 1948 amounted to 27. Thus, it can be said that the Zionist movement settlement policy during the Mandate period is the strategic establishment and distribution of agricultural settlements along the borders of the adjacent Arab countries. The Zionist movement founded 12 settlements on Jordan's borders, 12 on Lebanon's, 8 on Egypt's and 7 on the Syrian borders. The agricultural settlement, during that period, included a new type of settlements, Moshav Avdim, i.e. farmers village of a cooperative nature, where

⁴⁴ Galnoor, (1992) *The Question of Palestine*, British. Jewish- Arab Relations (1914-1918). London: Transaction Publishers.

⁴⁵ Haussy, C. (1995) *English Sermons: Mirrors of Society*. Toulouse. Presses Universities Du. Mirail.

individuals any workers village, which is agricultural village with a cooperative nature, where the families had equal shares of resources and land⁴⁶.

This type of agricultural settlement spread and expanded that the total number of settlements established until 1946 reached 68 inhabited by 18411 settlers.

The Zionist movement during the British mandate of Palestine was able to own more than 30% of the total agricultural land in Palestine. The land controlled by the Zionists at the end of the mandate period in 1947 reached 1.82 million dunums, equivalent to 6% of Historic Palestine area of 27 million dunums. However, the total percentage of land owned prior to the British mandate was no more than 2%⁴⁷.

In years prior to the establishment of Israel, the Zionist Organization purchased new lands, especially those that conform to their strategy and intensified Jewish settlement on the coastal plain between Haifa and Jaffa. It has also purchased large plots of land in the northern part of Palestine and to the south of the Sea of Galilee along the Jordan River. The Zionist carried out deals and purchased plots of land at the mouth of the Jordan River in the Dead Sea and at its west bank.⁴⁸

Jewish property expanded in the Jerusalem area and in the suburbs of Beersheba. More land was purchased in the Northern Negev and in the Gaza Strip. The number of settlements established between 1939 and 1948 was 79, with a total area of 2,052,000 dunums.

⁴⁶ Huneidi, (2001) a Broken Trust. Herbert Samuel, Zionsmand the Palestinians, London 1.B Taurisard Co. LTD.

⁴⁷ Lehn, (1988). The Jewish National Fund. London: Kegan pair 1 International.

⁴⁸ Noah, M. (1905) Mordecai M. Noahs discourse on the Restoration of Jews. Baltimore: Lord Baltimore press.

The settlement in the previous stages was intended to prepare for the establishment of the state, but after its establishment in 1948, it aimed to achieve other goals, namely to consolidate the human, economic and military base of the new state and to serve its future expansionist purposes. Therefore, the Israeli government "Knesset" first work on 5/7/1950, was to enact the Law of Return, under which every Jew is granted to settle in Palestine⁴⁹.

The efforts of Zionism and of the colonial powers were crowned with the Israel's establishment in 1948 on 77% of historic Palestine. Israel managed to expel most of the Palestinian population after carrying out many massacres and destroying Palestinian villages and towns. Palestinians have been displaced as refugees in neighboring Arab countries in miserable camps, still suffering, despite numerous international resolutions calling and requiring their return to their lands. In return, Jewish immigration has accelerated and rocketed to welcome Jews from all around the world. This situation continued until the Six-day of 1967, where one of the most prominent results of which was the completion of Israel's control over the Palestinian territories after its occupation of the West Bank, including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. Therefore, this was a new opportunity for Israel to pursue the Zionist plans of Judaizing Palestine, which began in the nineteenth century. We believe that this is the beginning of a fifth stage of Jewish settlement in Palestine that still exists today. Since 1948, various Israeli governments have adopted homogeneous settlement policies with the aim of changing the demographic situation and creating new facts on the ground.

It should be noted, however, that the settlement building practices, after the signing of the Oslo Accords, were more noticeable and effective than the precedent, that they

⁴⁹ San Kowsky, S. (1947) A short history of Zionism. New York: Bloch Publishing Company.

achieved facts on the ground than the previous governments failed to, ignoring the provisions of the Oslo Accords that prohibit a change in the status quo. Settlement activity continued at a high pace, which was manifested in further settlement expansion and land confiscation, in order to strengthen the settlement presence in the vicinity of Jerusalem and the so-called settlement blocs, which were explicitly declared to be annexed to Israel⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Zweig, R. (1991). David Ben-Gurion Politics and leadership in Israel. Oxen: Frank Cass and Company limited.

3.7. Political Zionism from the First Zionist Congress to the Balfour Declaration, 1897 - 1917.

The history of the modern and contemporary Arab region was characterized by many political events associated with the European colonial existence, which had a clear impact in the countries of the region. The European colonization led and caused many issue and problems that the Arab world still suffering its consequences. The most prominent of these events in the early twentieth century are the colonial powers attempts to establish the Jewish state entity within the Arab region, which resulted in the establishment of the State of Israel within the Palestinian territories in 1948.

The existence of this usurping entity was the result of many international efforts, which sought to mobilize Jewish forces that worked in a serious and distinctive manner in previous historical periods. The Israeli entity political indications were first noticed in the second half of the nineteenth century, when "Political Zionism" stated to emerge. The first step towards the achievement of political Zionism objectives was by the convening of the First Zionist Congress. This Congress is considered the framework carrying the Zionism political action in order to achieve Zionism goal. Balfour Declaration issued in 1917 by the then British Foreign Secretary, James Balfour, was the Congress first step.

Given the importance of this period in the Zionist political work at the international level and the efforts that have been carried out both within Palestine and in Europe or the world as a whole, the period between 1897 and 1917 was so-called political Zionism period. The period between the First Zionist Congress held in Basel until the Balfour Declaration, through which Britain granted the Jews a permit to establish their state within Palestine. The aim of this study to focus on the key points the

Zionist Movement relied upon in its political work, its efforts through various Zionist organizations in all parts of the world and the steps taken by the Zionist Movement that led to the achievement of its objectives, especially the efforts that led to the Balfour Declaration⁵¹.

We will also shed a light on most important events that paved the way for the shift from the religious to the political-based Zionism in the 19th century. We will then research the practical efforts following the First Zionist Congress, its decisions and the consequent steps taken by the Zionist Movement leaders.

The study will specially focus on the steps and efforts taken during the First World War as well as the extent of the Zionist leaders use and exploitation of the international situation in the mobilization of global support and pressure on Britain, which granted them the what the Arabs and Palestinians in particular call "Balfour Promise." The study will also investigate the shift from the religious to the political Zionism that achieved the Zionist political dream through the establishment of a Jewish homeland that welcomes and gathers diaspora Jews on the what-so-called the Promised Land state, Palestine⁵².

⁵¹ رزوق، أسعد، الدولة والدين في إسرائيل، بيروت: منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، مركز الأبحاث، سبتمبر 1968

⁵² شيلي، محمد (المنهجية في التحليل السياسي: المفاهيم – المناهج، الاقتراعات والأدوات). الجزائر، دار هدم، 2002

3.8. Historical Development of Political Zionism:

We must distinguish two types or forms of Zionism, the first being religious Zionism and the second is political Zionism. Religious Zionism provided a fertile ground for the political Zionism, where its main goal was establishing a national homeland for the Jews on the land of Palestine or as the Jews call it "the Promised Land" or "the Temple Mount". The leaders of Zion settled on making Palestine that homeland based on a religious proposal of constructing the Third Temple on the ruins of the Al Aqsa Mosque, so that the Jews would rule the world from Mount Zion in Jerusalem and on this hill David and Solomon kingdoms were established. Thus, the term Zion now refers to the Religious Jewish Government. Zionism, was later used in naming the Jewish organization founded in Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century known as "Hovevei Zion."⁵³

In the stage of the Zionism transition from the religious to the political concept, most of the Jews and leaders of the Zionist movement lived among the Christian communities in Europe, which characterized Europe's Christianity with Zionism. The Jews are part of the communities they lived within, and did not live in a separate community. The same applies to Jews in the Arab countries living in areas called the Ghetto, in all areas the Jews lived there were a number of capitalists in the area active in agriculture, industry, trade and other activities.

This aroused the resentment of the governments of the areas they inhabited after the increase of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

خليل، حيدر علي، التصور السياسي لدولة الحركات الإسلامية، ط1، أبو ظبي، مركز الإمارات للدولة والبحوث الإستراتيجية، 53 1997.

At the beginning of this century, calls for the Zionist settlement project were intensified on the basis of religious ideas. These ideas were further promoted after the European colonial aspirations in the Middle East with respect to the division of the Ottoman Empire wealth, which was then known as the Eastern Question. Following that, a number of Jewish intellectuals, politicians and leaders rushed to instill the first building blocks of political Zionism. Of these intellectuals and politicians is the Earl of Shaftesbury who called for Jewish colonization of Palestine with the support of the Great Powers as a solution to the East Question. Viscount Palmerston who He held a number of posts including the British Foreign Secretary and then the Prime Minister, supported and assisted achieving this idea where he appointed the first Consul in Jerusalem in 1838 and tasked him to grant official protection to Jewish settlers in Palestine. He also asked the British ambassador to intervene to allow Jews to immigrate to Palestine⁵⁴.

Another Jewish intellectual and influential active in this area is Judah Alkalai, who lived in Greece after the Greek War of Independence and proposed the establishment of a number of Jewish settlements or colonies. He joined the first Jewish organization for the agricultural settlement of the Land of Israel, Association for the Colonisation of Palestine, established in Frankfurt in 1860. Then, he immigrated to and then died in Palestine. His followers bought a plot of land and set up an agricultural reserve. The Jewish philosopher at that time, Moses Hess, the author of the book "Rome and Jerusalem" published in 1862, proposed through his book to settle Jews in Palestine. A number of other Jewish figures also advocated for the idea of settlement in Palestine, of which is the Russian Jewish and the author of "Auto-Emancipation"

تشومسكي، نعم، ترجمة: حمزة المزييني، العولمة والإرهاب حرب أميركا على العالم السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وإسرائيل، ط1، 54، القاهرة: مكتبة مدبولي، 2003.

published in 1882, Leon Pinsker, who demanded that Jews should be liberated from the communities in which they live and allowed to immigrate to their own homeland.

The Jews suffered persecution in Poland and Germany and some other individual incidents in a number of other countries, such as in France, which accused the Jewish officer Alfred Dreyfus of providing the German Embassy information about the French forces was sentenced to life imprisonment, although he was offered and accepted a pardon by President Émile Loubet, Jews claimed that this incident comes as part of persecution and harassment operations against Jews⁵⁵.

3.9 Herzl the founder of Political Zionism:

The Zionist movement remained unorganized until it evolved into a political movement at the hands of Theodore Herzl in the period from 1860 to 1904. Herzl was born in Budapest on 2 May 1860 and was the only son of a wealthy Jew. He moved with his family to Vienna, where he completed his university education and obtained his doctorate in law in 1884. However, he only worked in his field as a lawyer for only one year and then worked in journalism as a newspaper editor. One of the well-known newspapers offered him to work as a reporter in 1896. In 1897, he founded a weekly newspaper called "Die Welt" (The World), which later was the main platform of the Zionist Movement news. Herzl's presence in Paris allowed him to address the Jewish question in France's capital, the case of the French Jew Dreyfus who was accused of providing military information to the German consul. This increased his passion about the Jewish issue raised by Jewish politicians and intellectuals in their book calling for final solution to the unjust Jews are subject to by promoting the idea

⁵⁵ ألفرد، يوسي. مستقبل الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي، مجلة الدراسات الفلسطينية العدد 64، الصادر في خريف 2005.

of establishing a Jewish homeland so that Jews would not be any more scapegoats or victims⁵⁶.

In 1895, Herzl presented the sweeping idea of the Zionist settlement in a book entitled "The Jewish State", stressing that the Jewish issue is neither social nor religious, but rather a national issue that can only be solved by turning it into a global political issue to be settled by the major states combined.

Herzl proposed that the Jewish state should be established from Jewish fund and the location of it is either Palestine or Argentina. The Argentina proposal might have been to satisfy the conflicting parties. The Jewish businessman and the author of "Auto-Emancipation," Leon Pinsker, which, at first, rejected Palestine and favored Argentina as the State's desired location. Eventually, Palestine had been chosen as the first option for most of the parties due to its religious importance as well as being of a strategic location of great importance to the great powers. Palestine was one of the to-be-divided heritage of the Ottoman Empire that is of great importance to the superpowers, such as France and Britain. This, an ally loyal force in the region was required to achieve its colonial ambitions. Jews, nevertheless, realized this fact⁵⁷.

3.10 The First Zionist Congress of 1897 and the Zionist Program:

Despite the many obstacles Herzl faced, he managed to hold the First Zionist Congress with 200 members representing many Jewish communities. Theodor Herzl, at the congress opening speech, stated, "We want to lay the cornerstone of the edifice which is one day to house the Jewish nation. From times immemorial the world has

⁵⁶ نور الدين، محمد. الأسطورة الجديدة، شؤون الأوسط، العدد (6)، الصادر في ربيع (2002).

⁵⁷ شوفاني، إلياس. مرتكزات المشروع الصهيوني وتحولاته الإستراتيجية، شؤون الأوسط، العدد (101) الصادر في ربيع 2002.

been misinformed about us. The Jewish people desire greatly to gather in a homeland and end the diaspora they have been living for a long time."

Then, the purpose of the Zionist movement was determined at the first Zionist Congress held in the period from August 29 to 31, which stipulated the following:

Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine. The congress, for the attainment of this purpose, considered the following means:

1. The promotion of the settlement of Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and tradesmen in Palestine.
2. The federation of all Jews within local or international organizations according to the laws of the various countries.
3. The strengthening of the Jewish feeling and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps for the attainment of those governmental grants which are necessary to the achievement of the Zionist purpose⁵⁸.

It should be noted that Palestine was not yet the final location for the Jewish homeland. However, a number of conspirators were driven by the religious sentiment to Palestine in terms of religious education and upraising in terms of the myth of religious rights, historical rights and the land of the Temple. The Zionist movement continued to hold this congress in order to gather the dispersed Jews from all over the world from the second to the sixth congress from 1898 to 1903 to study the nature of all the countries that were selected for the resettlement of Jews. It was found that Palestine is the Jews gateway to heaven by reference to the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, as they claim. The issue of homeland location was not settled until the seventh

مصالحة، نور، الأصولية اليهودية والفلسطينيون: أيديولوجية غوش أمونيم في مجلة السياسات الفلسطينية، العدد (11)، (نابلس: 58
(مركز البحوث والدراسات الفلسطينية، 1996).

congress of 1905 when the overwhelming majority agreed upon Palestine as the only national homeland for Jews⁵⁹.

Reading through the First Zionist Congress script, we find that the Zionist Movement through its intellectuals defined their goals through the establishment of the so-called Zionist Political Movement. The Congress also concluded the Zionist flag and the national anthem. Herzl was elected as the Zionist Movement president. Shortly after being elected. Herzl began work immediately to obtain international approval 'legitimacy' for Jewish demands. The movement leadership sought to develop a blueprint based on the three key elements "Organization, colonization and settlement), and then diplomacy and negotiations, in order to achieve a number of objectives, the most important of which is the establishment of a number institutions, the first is the Committee of Labor.

The second is the Colonial Jewish Bank, which was founded by the Second Congress of 1898 with a capital of three million pounds. It is worth mentioning that most of the donations to the Jews are from countries that support the Jewish issue, in particular from the bourgeois classes who live in Western Europe and the United States of America. The First Zionist Congress introduced the World Zionist Organization within its political framework. This organization adopted the objectives of the Jews to become in the form of a government before the state. The Zionist Organization, through its multiple committees and its presence within an international organization, takes the first step in the framework of establishing the Jewish state; this congress served as a founding congress of the State⁶⁰.

هرئيل، يهوديت، تحرير: ناطور سلمان (أشكنازية يهودية شرقية) في مجلة القضايا الإسرائيلية، العدد (16) خريف (2004)، 59
تصدر عن المركز الفلسطيني للدراسات الإسرائيلية مدار.

عياش، سعيد. "ميزان المناعة والأمن القومي لإسرائيل"، العدد (29)، رام الله: المركز الفلسطيني للدراسات الإسرائيلية (مدار) 60
2005.

The Second Zionist Congress was held in Basel in the period from 28th to 31st August 1898. The number of attendees was almost the double of the first Congress. Of its key decisions, besides the establishment of the Jewish Bank, is to pay more attention to the Hebrew language as for the Jewish nation to speak the same language as they have one flag, the flag of the Zionist movement, and one founder, Theodor Herzl, the leader and the founder of the Zionist movement.

The Zionist movement focused on gaining Germany to their side; Herzl met with the former German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, in Istanbul when the latter was passing by. Herzl proposed establishing a franchise company with German backing to rehabilitate the land in Palestine. The Kaiser refused as not to stir up discontent with France, Britain and Russia as well as Russia's unwillingness to collide with the Ottoman Empire⁶¹.

3.11. British and Western efforts supporting the Jews:

A number of British and Western efforts supported the Jews or the Zionist movement between 1901 and 1917 after the convening of the Fifth Zionist Congress, which was held in Basel in December 1901. Zionists sought Britain's, as a representative of the colonial powers at the time, assistance and support. Herzl then went to Britain and raised the Zionist cause in the press and to the Jewish leaders. The public opinion was qualified to listen to Herzl, especially after large numbers of immigrants from Eastern Europe poured into Britain.

The Zionists since the beginning of the 20th century worked hard in Britain to find a number of institutions that would back and support their demands, by the foundation of Bank Leumi "the Anglo Palestine Company as subsidiary of the Jewish Colonial Trust Limited" in 1903. In 1905, the Zionist National Fund began to purchase the

القُدومي، عيسى. "حاخامات من الزي الحاخامي إلى البزة العسكرية"، سلسلة بيت المقدس للدراسات، العدد (8) ، 2009. ⁶¹

land. Later, the Zionist movement led by Weizmann succeeded in penetrating the British government. Notably Herbert Samuel, who became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1916 and David Lloyd George, who became Prime Minister⁶². It is clear that a number of objectives were behind the Zionist policy to drive the British government towards Palestine. These objectives include: The establishment of a British Mandate in Palestine and this mandate to facilitate Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine, thus ending the Zionist control of Palestine before the common interests of both parties in the region.

Zionist efforts succeeded in coordinating with Weizmann and the Zionist leader in the USA, Louis Brandeis, to attract the major powers attention to Jews issue in Palestine. This coordination yield many results, of which is the correspondences received by the American State and Zionist agents from a number of countries. The American ambassador to Turkey, Morgenthau, made great efforts in trying to convince Istanbul to respond to the Jewish demands in Palestine⁶³.

At the British level, Herbert Samuel raised a memorandum on the subject of establishing a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, thus joining the Zionism in Britain ranks. In 1915, Samuel issued an official memorandum entitled "The future of Palestine" calling for Jewish immigration. Be that as it may, the British Prime Minister, H. H. Asquith, rejected the memorandum and insisted on the need to replace the Arabs with other populations. Before all these correspondences, the British Government aimed to replace the Palestinian Arabs with the Zionists in order to

سلامة، عبدالغني. "أوجه التشابه بين قضيتي فلسطين وجنوب أفريقيا"، دراسة مقارنة في مجلة الشؤون الفلسطينية، العدد (249)، 62 ، رام الله: مركز الأبحاث في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، 2012.

علي، نهاد. "الأصولية الدينية اليهودية وإسقاطاتها المحلية والإقليمية"، مجلة قضايا إسرائيلية، العدد (2)، رام الله: مؤسسة 63 الدراسات الفلسطينية (مدار)، 2007.

gather the latter from all over the world and establish a national homeland for them in Palestine.

In early 1916, the British government started considering adopting a more official position supporting the Zionist movement. Therefore, the world's major powers mobilized for the establishment of a Jewish homeland. In 1917 summer, some developments that led to the promotion of the Zionist idea took place, where the Russian Government placed a number of Jews in sensitive jobs in the Arab world and Britain was trying to win the Russian over. Britain stated that the Russians did not agree to achieve the Zionism aspirations. This, nevertheless, exacerbated the tension between Britain and France, and thus increased Britain's support of Zionism⁶⁴.

Britain was interested in the capitalism the Zionist Jews are known for in the United States and took advantage of German pressure on Jewish jewelry dealers, as the Jews were in that time an aristocratic class in the region with a number of investments that will strengthen the colonists, thus Britain. Some British officials placed Palestine in the front-line and used it as an excuse to approach the Suez Canal. They believed that by supporting Zionism would repeal the Sykes-Picot agreement provisions on making Palestine an international area and making it a part of the British share. The English, Protestants and Americans took these religious and emotional considerations into account⁶⁵.

Prior to the Balfour Declaration, the American Zionist Movement led by Louis Brandeis maintained direct contact with the talks conducted by Weizmann in London. In turn, Brandeis presented a paper on those talks with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a clear sign of the continued coordination between the Zionist parties in the

⁶⁴ درون إلبعير، شيرق موسى. (قاموس الصهيونية وإسرائيل)، رنفوت – القدس، 1983

⁶⁵ كلايمان، أهرون (فرق تسد سياسات بريطانيا وقضية أرض إسرائيل (1936-1939)). القدس، ط1، 2003

Western world. Brandeis was to ensure the success of the meetings that took place between Weizmann and Wilson at the then recent visit to the United States. The talks concluded the following:

1. Recognition of Palestine as a national homeland for the Jews.
2. To allow Jews from all over the world to immigrate freely to Palestine.
3. Jews should enjoy all rights in their places of residence in Palestine.
4. To recognize Hebrew as the official language of the Jews in Palestine.
5. To grant Zionist companies privileges for the development of Palestine.

In the second half of November, British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, promised the Jews a national homeland in Palestine in a historic message addressed to the most prominent Zionist leaders in Britain, this was known as the Balfour Declaration. This declaration crowned the political Zionism efforts that were, throughout the years, concerning finding a national home by obtaining the blessings and legalization from British politicians. Moreover, the politicians sought to renew their aspirations in the political Zionist movement future. The British officials for their contributions hoped to have a foothold in the Middle East, secure British interests in the region and to control the Suez Canal⁶⁶.

طعيمة، صابر عبدالرحمن (د.ت). الصهيونية في التاريخ، القاهرة: مكتبة القاهرة الحديثة⁶⁶

Chapter 4

The Roots and Sources of Zionist Thought:

- **Introduction;**
- **Preface;**
- **The Concept of Zionist racism;**
- **Racism and Zionism Correlation with Colonialism;**
- **The Economic Aspect of the Emergence of the Zionist Movement;**

The Roots and Sources of the Zionist Thought.

4.1 Introduction

The Zionist movement depends on its racial basis to ensure its survival and the continuation of its factitious entity. It depends on its racial isolated closed-knit community, racial superiority and racial discrimination.

The motive behind the racial isolation 'the Jewish close-knot community' is due to an important factor; their complete belief in racial superiority. Zionist and Judaism racial belief of superiority stems from the Holy Scriptures they have forged to meet their dreams and desires. They define themselves as God's chosen people, and those who oppose them are of a less place. Jews have believed in this claim since the first centuries of the Common Era. This, however, led them to isolate themselves from the non-Jews in all parts of the world.

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion confirms the theory of Jewish racial superiority. The plan contained within the Protocols state that this world was created only for the Jews, who are to establish a kingdom that ruled the world after eliminating all the different nationalities through violence and terrorism.

As an entity, Israel continues to believe today that it is of the purest people of earth. It forbids interfaith marriages to non-Jews and tries to get rid of all non-Jewish elements, even if these elements have been living in Israel for years. In this context, Israel's policy is based on racial discrimination. Cooperating with apartheid policies in South Africa and America, Israel also pursues a policy of racial discrimination, distinguishing Ashkenazi Jews from Sephardic Jews. Ashkenazic Jews are Jews of

Europe and America, while Sephardic Jews from Asia and Africa. Sephardic Jews work in low-profile jobs compared with that of the European Jews⁶⁷.

Racial discrimination has led to the lack of social integration in Israel. Hence, we can say that Israel lacks the so-called national unity, as it lacks the so-called social integration that forces people to coexist and integrate in a society.

4.2 Preface

The Zionist movement began its call at the beginning of the nineteenth century, on a purely racial basis. This political movement resorted to manipulate the religion to ensure the success of its plans, aims and goals. Moreover, it adopts, to achieve its colonial and settlement objectives, deception and infiltration aiming to take over the world.

In this context, Israel adopted a policy of racial discrimination as a permanent and inherent feature through which it attempts, through violence and terrorism, to get rid of the non-Jewish elements in Palestine. The displacements and eviction of the land owners, the Palestinians, is in order to gather the diaspora Jews from all over the world to the Promised Land or the Temple Mount 'Palestine'.

Israel has practiced and continues to practice the policy of racial discrimination by all means. However, Israel covers its racial discrimination under the slogans of democracy and equality among the population of Israel. Nevertheless, Arab citizens of Israel are denied their basic rights in all spheres of life, not to mention the eviction

⁶⁷ الخالدي، كمال، الأرض في الفكر الاجتماعي الصهيوني، الاتحاد العام للكتاب والصحفيين الفلسطينيين، الطبعة الأولى، عام (1984) ص (52-54).

of entire villagers, the confiscation of their lands and the religious persecution of Arab Muslims and Christians.

The racial discrimination between Ashkenazi Jews and Sephardi Jews, color being a basis of differentiation and discrimination, is a major contradiction within the Israeli society.

When reviewing the intellectual and factual history of Zionism and its leaders, then the leaders of Israel and the Zionist movement from the various parties, schools of thought and sects, one concludes that the Zionist project was founded on racism. One also concludes that terrorism in all its forms and means is the main framework Zionism adopted to achieve its project. In order to clarify this fundamental aspect of the Zionist movement and its entity, Israel, the researcher will study and review the concept of the Zionist movement and its racist chronicles and consequences⁶⁸.

4.3 The Concept of Zionist Racism:

One ought to distinguish between Judaism and Zionism. Judaism is a heavenly divine religion and a religious creed of its own ideals and values. While Zionism is a racist colonialist political movement that manipulates the Jewish religion to achieve its aggressive and expansionist goals by attracting Jews to its ranks and gathering them in Palestine replacing the latter indigenous residents. Zionism uses religion as a pretext to support the a modern secular-political idea.

First topic: The Zionist Movement Racist Roots and Origins

⁶⁸ شذود، ماجد، قضايا عالمية معاصرة، الطبعة الثانية، مطبعة دار الكتاب، جامعة دمشق، (1990-1989) ص (543).

The Zionist intellectuals relied primarily on the Jewish religion in terms of their national identity and their political and social tendencies. They considered the Holy Books the basis for all their work, where they always state that the Jews are a national ethnic entity that cannot be integrated into other peoples.

The Zionist movement affiliations are twofold; their affiliation with the Jewish race and the affiliation to the Jewish religion. These two affiliations are based on the third affiliation, which is the Land of Israel.

The Zionist movement, based on these affiliation, carried and carries out it racist acts towards the peoples of the world, under the pretext that the Jews are the chosen people of God, should rule the world, and that all peoples of the world should be subject to them⁶⁹.

4.4 Racism and Zionism in Colonial Thought:

The Zionist racism and all other racism ideas, which represent the basic ideology of the Zionist movement that have not been developed in a vacuum, have been associated with specific historical forces. The development of racism has coincided with the emergence and expansion of European colonialism of the non-European world. Racism and its basic philosophy has been used as a pretext to legitimize the colonial system and as well as to provide ideological support to the colonial process; the civilization and development of underdeveloped nations.

⁶⁹ أبو حمود، حسن، علم الاجتماع السياسي، منشورات جامعة دمشق، الطبعة الثانية، عام (2001)، ص (62).

However, Zionist racism developed and prospered as colonialism expanded. Zionist racism is the product of the racist colonialist ideology to serve the interests of the Jewish capitalists and the colonial countries. Zionism exploited the Jewish religion under the pretext that Judaism is a nationality, not only a religion.

Zionism also exploited the argument of the 'historical right of the Jews in Palestine' in order to win the Jewish public opinion, convince them to migrate to Palestine, and then control Palestine and establish the Greater Israel, as Zionism believed that the Jews constitute one ethnic national people and entity that is not to integrate with other peoples⁷⁰.

The Zionism basis is not different from that of other racist philosophies, where it means the belief in the national unity of all Jews who are defined on the basis of the common race; the purely biological fact of being a biological successor of other Jews. This marks the person Jewish in the eyes of the Zionists. Hence, we find clear racism in Zionism, represented by racial isolation, racial discrimination and racial superiority.

4.5 The Economic Aspect of the Emergence of the Zionist Movement

The Zionist movement was born as a contemporary political trend of Judaism in the late 19th century back when the Jewish monopolistic bourgeoisie was growing, developing and strengthening its position in the mechanism of the world economy, as the colonial capitalism grew and developed. It was characterized by the features of racism, anti-socialism, opposing world peace and national liberation movements in

⁷⁰ بهلوان، سمر، القضية الفلسطينية، مطبعة دار الكتاب - دمشق (1990)، (ص257-259).

the world. The strengthening of the authority of the Jewish bourgeoisie was on the shoulders of the Jews, through the establishment of a racist state that leads them and gains a public opinion. A state that believes in consolidating and strengthening its position in the world monopolistic system is the most important reason for the emergence of Zionism. The history of Zionism has been closely related to the activities of large industrial and financial groups and centers such as banks, giant corporations owned by families like Lazarus and Rothschild. This explains the idea that Zionism on the theoretical level is not only a doctrine and policy of a segment of bourgeois Jews who form an integral part of the global financial class that is fueled by racism and war. However, Zionism has emerged as a clear political stream and trend since the beginning of the twentieth century when the objective needs for its emergence and development under the auspices of global capitalism were fulfilled. Global capitalism was also in the process of turning, within a number of countries, into monopoly imperialism. Capitalism contradictions reached a great extent, leading to World War I (1914 - 1919) that aimed at imposing economic and political control over the resources of peoples, areas of wealth and production as well as markets⁷¹.

4.6 The Ideological Basis of Zionist Racism

The racism theory flourished as the colonization settlement prospered. Thus, one should not be surprised by the intensive attempts to interpret, justify and legalize the settlement philosophy. Settlement was then used by the Jewish capitalists in the world to achieve their capitalist and colonial goals and to serve the interests of the imperialist countries led by the United States of America through the establishment of the Zionist entity, Israel.

⁷¹ كيلاني، هيثم، الإرهاب الصهيوني، سلسلة الدراسات، مكتب الثقافة والإعداد الحزبي، القيادة القومية، العدد (12) نيسان (2002). ص (44-45).

In this sense, the Zionist movement sought to find a variety of ideological bases to formulate an integrated theory of Zionist Jewish racism aimed at finding historical, racial and religious justifications for the Jews to establish a national homeland in Arab Palestine, as well as to justify the ongoing expansion and aggression against the Arab and Palestinian people. The following are the most important ideological bases Zionist racism adopted:

First: The Unity of the Jewish People ‘Jewish Race Theory

The argument that the Jews constitutes one universal nation and that the Jews are the purest and best race is the most important ideological basis of Zionist Jewish racism. The Zionist movement derived the Superior Race theory from the ethnic theory that prevailed in the European continent. The Pure Jewish Race argument is based on the following:

1. The Jewish race as one of the main races of the world, and that this race maintained its unity, despite the surrounding circumstances and threats.
2. Some characteristics and features of the Jewish race that makes its people indispensable. Leon Pinsker, for example, says, "Jews play a more important role than People's role."
3. What Herzl calls the civilization message of the Jewish people, when he said that the Jewish state would be an impenetrable fortress of civilization before the face of domination⁷².

⁷² الطنطاوي، حسين، الصهيونية والعنف (الفلسفة والاستراتيجية) دار المسيرة – بيروت (1977)، ص (83-85).

Second: The Historical Right of Jews in Arab Palestine

Racist Zionism has also tried to find a number of historical justifications for its settlement in Palestine. These justifications include Jews' antecedent presence in Palestine, their diaspora as a result of various factors, and that their diaspora is not but a cross passage throughout the human historical development.

Many Jews used various religious and political justifications. This trend is not a new political one, as it is found in the sixteenth century and in the later historical stages. The claim of the historical right of the Jews in Palestine constituted a cornerstone of Zionist policy to return to the Land of Israel.

4.7 The Divine Choice of the Jewish People

The Zionist ideology focused on associating the ideas and ethnic theories of the Jewish people to the idea of the divine desire. This idea states that the Jewish people were chosen by God. The Jewish philosophy attempted to associate the saying with the message of God's chosen people⁷³.

Jewish racism, by associating its political ideas with religious ideas and beliefs, sought to grant its racial actions moral and religious justification.

Religious Zionism is one of the means through which the leaders of the movement tried to prevent the integration of Jews in the civil and political life of the societies in which they lived. Therefore, the Jewish clergy considered the Zionist movement a fundamental anchor of the Zionist racism. Some theorists of the Zionism religious

⁷³ الطنطاوي، حسين، مرجع سابق، ص. 251.

philosophy consider the Torah the spirit of the nation and that the Jewish religion cannot flourish but through the radical religious doctrine⁷⁴.

4.8 The Political Ideological Grounds of Zionist Racism

The political foundations of the racist Zionist theory are a combination of the previous elements. Zionism, through integrating and restructuring these elements, evolved into what is now known as political Zionism, which embodies that the Jews constitute one nation and that the State of Israel is the legitimate representative this nation.

It also embodies that the Zionist Organization is the sole representative of the whole Jewish nation scattered throughout the world, and that the goal of Zionism is to achieve cooperation and coordination between the Jewish nation and the State of Israel. Contemporary Zionism aims to highlight Israel as a superior state in an attempt to justify its aggression, brutal and destructive acts around the world⁷⁵.

4.9 The Practical Application of the Zionist Apartheid Policy

Racism is one of the pillars of the Zionist movement, which defines the Jews as the chosen people of God. Israel practiced Zionist racial discrimination against the Arabs in Palestine by issuing a set of laws and regulations that firmly entrench and apply the concept of racism, until the point where Israel became a great prison for the Arab minority.

Israel has not only practiced a policy of racial discrimination against the Arab population, but also against the Eastern Jews, where it treated them as inferior citizens

⁷⁴ الطنطاوي، حسين، مرجع سابق، ص265.

⁷⁵ محسن، صالح: الحقائق الأربعون في القضية الفلسطينية، تقديم: محمد عمارة، المركز الفلسطيني للإعلام، ط 3، 2003. ص45.

in the Israeli society. It must be noted that the Israeli practices conducted against the Eastern Jews is not even close to that exercised against the Arabs⁷⁶.

4.10 Zionist Racial Discrimination against Arabs in Palestine:

The Zionist movement has effectively applied its racist ideas in practice in the occupied Arab Palestine since the beginning of the Zionist settlement and half a century before the establishment of Israel. This movement practiced a policy of racial discrimination covering various aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life against the Palestinian Arabs.

This discrimination is not only a manifestation of state policy, but also a fundamental principle of the Zionist movement as a Jewish movement whose goal is to establish a state exclusively for the Jews. This principle is a state-centered basis that forms an organic part of the country's law. The Israeli policy is based essentially on racial ethnic discrimination. Israel does not treat indigenous people on an equal basis with the settlers. It also does not consider these indigenous people as citizens, but residents of Israel, who turned through a policy of racial discrimination to persons deprived of all rights in various fields of life⁷⁷.

The Zionist movement has not limited its policy to the occupation and evacuation of the indigenous people, but also includes discrimination against the Arab population. The Jewish state considers the Palestinian population second-class citizens and subject them to all forms of oppression and racial discrimination.

⁷⁶ محسن، صالح، المرجع نفسه، ص76.

⁷⁷ محسن، محمد، القضية الفلسطينية خلفياتها التاريخية وتطوراتها المعاصرة، مركز الزيتونة للدراسات، بيروت، 2011، ص51.

Racial discrimination in the Jewish State has taken many forms that relate to most aspects of Palestinian economic, cultural and social life.

Forms and manifestations of Zionist racial discrimination against Arabs who remained in Israel after 1948 'Arab citizens of Israel':

4.11 Discrimination: in the Economic Sphere:

Israel seeks on a daily basis to dissolve the Palestinian society by destroying its traditional economy, where it attempts to degrade Palestinians from farmers and owners into a class of workers, thus, facilitating the evacuation of Palestinians from their homeland.

A large percentage of the Palestinians who remained in their homes and lands after the Zionist occupation of Palestine are those who the cultivation of the land is the main source of their income. Israel imposed taxes on the Palestinians, for them to sell their land as they would not be able to pay the taxes. Sometimes, the Israeli government declares some Palestinian villages as a city or a semi-city, because the people of the cities pay more taxes than the villagers. Hence, we conclude that taxes in the economic sphere aim to force the Arab citizens to sell their land. All these procedures are considered arbitrary measures aimed at forcing the Palestinian citizens to sell their land. These arbitrary measures also include a number of procedures that facilitate Jewish citizens or farmers procedures to obtain land, not to mention the provision of financial aid to Jewish farmers and promotion and marketing of farmers'

products. At the same time, Israeli settlements are working to seize Palestinian land and production⁷⁸.

4.12 Discrimination in the Cultural Sphere:

The Israeli racist policy against the Arabs in Palestine included a number of measures. This is evident through the percentages of education and enrollment. The percentage of Arabs enrolled in schools reached about 30% compared with 4% of the Jews in 1972. The Israeli government has made no efforts to improve the educational situation in Palestinian schools. The state of school buildings in the Palestinian villages and camps is very poor and lacks many facilities and educational means. This was reflected in university education as a result of the obstacles that the Israeli authorities placed in front of the Palestinians (the Arabs of 1948). It should be noted that the Israeli government, its public departments as well as the Jewish organization and its departments do not employ Arabs.

4.13 Discrimination in the Political Sphere:

The Israeli authorities consider the Arabs, in the best case scenario, temporary citizens that should be evacuated and harassed. The Israeli governments prevented Arabs from engaging in any political activity, forming parties, issuing newspapers and communicating with public opinion. Moreover, Arabs are prevented representation in the government or any other activity related to the political apparatus of the state. Even in the Knesset, the number of Arabs does not exceed one third of the number,

⁷⁸ الفتلاوي، حسين: جذور الحركة الصهيونية، دار وائل، عمان، 2002. م، ص78.

not to mention that there is no Arab minister in any organ of the State of Israel. Israel Shahak says, "The Israelis believe that all the laws and regulations in force in Israel are laws of oppression that serve to preserve Judaism and make Israel a Jewish state."⁷⁹

4.14 Discrimination in the Social Sphere:

The policy of discrimination and apartheid in Israel against the Arab citizens has extended include all spheres of life. In the areas of services, the majority of Palestinians were deprived of health services, such as drinking water, electricity and paved roads. Palestinian villages in Israel lack access to health centers, and if there is a health center in an Arab village, the center's staff would be insufficient. The Palestinian population is also prohibited from living in Jewish cities and settlements. For this reason, the structural maps of most of the Palestinian villages and cities have not been completed, which impedes the development of the Palestinian villages and cities and makes it difficult to live there.

Israeli Racist Practices: The policy of discrimination and apartheid in Israel has included a number of racist practices, including:

1. Not integrating Arab intellectuals into the Israeli society;
2. Failure to provide adequate financial assistance to the Arab local councils;
3. The state rejection of recognizing the Bedouin ownership of the Negev;
4. Non-acceptance of Arab cooperative societies in agricultural centers;
5. Confiscation of Palestinian Arab citizens' lands under the pretext of security.

⁷⁹ الخالدي، وليد: الصهيونية في مئة عام من البكاء على الأطلال إلى الهيمنة على المشرق العربي 1897م – 1997 م، دار النهار، الطبعة الأولى، بيروت، 2002، ص90.

The Zionist movement, through racist practices against the Palestinian Arabs living in Israel, aimed at:

- Reinforcing the manifestations of Zionist economic control and preventing Arabs from having a strong economic base;
- The attempt to impose backwardness in all its forms on the Palestinian Arab people as mean to replace the revolutionary aspirations of the Arabs with despair and surrender instead⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ هيكل، حسنين: المفاوضات السرية بين العرب وإسرائيل "الأسطورة والامبراطورية والدولة اليهودية"، "الجزء الأول، دار الشروق، الطبعة الأولى، القاهرة، 1996.

Chapter V

- **Introduction**
- **The motives of the Israeli settlement**
- **Historical and Religious Motives**
- **Security pretext**
- **The settlement divided the West Bank into three main areas:**
- **Political motives**
- **Legislation of a number of laws for the benefit of the Israeli side**
- **The Jewishness of the State**
- **Jewishness of the State in conceptual and political terms**
- **Objectives of the Israeli proposal for the Jewishness of the State:**
- **The impact of defining the "Jewishness of the State" on the Israeli society:**
- **Conclusion**
- **Israeli policies, procedures and laws adopted by the State of the Israeli entity, including:**
 - **Demographic and Geographic Expansion;**
 - **the Law of Return;**
 - **The Israeli Nationality Law;**
 - **Land Acquisition Law;**
 - **The Use of Immovable Property Law;**
 - **The Statute of Limitation Regarding All State Land of 1957;**

The motives of the Israeli settlement

5.1 Introduction

Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip had a number of motives and starting points. On the basis of the Zionist mindset in its settlement project in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, i.e., Palestine, the Zionist movement has promoted its settlement motives on a regular basis, both in terms of internal mobilization of settlers by convincing them that this land is the land of their ancestors; or in international forums and arenas by trying to gain an international recognition that it has a right and a state in Palestine. Although it does not have any real right of that state, neither legally nor ethically, the Zionist movement motives aims to prove the right to land. This, obviously, is at the expense of the Palestinian people right to establish their own independent state on their historical land "historic Palestine", which made international positions at variance regarding the issue of settlements.

5.2 The motives of the Israeli settlement

The study of the settlement phenomenon is one of the most important keys to identify settlement consequences and threats. Therefore, strategies should be developed in order to address it, as the lack of knowledge of the causes, motives and threats of that phenomenon as well as misdiagnosing it certainly leads to issue in the process of remedy or even finding appropriate solutions. Therefore, the readers of different schools of thought and cultures should be aware that the Zionist settlement of Palestine is completely different from occupations or colonization forms and types

that ever took place. No country has taken over Palestine or its neighboring Arab countries, but to end its occupation later. The French or the English occupation and raids on Palestine and Jerusalem are good examples. This is due to the fact that none of the colonial or occupation powers that existed in Palestine claimed to have right to the land or even had a legend similar to the Jewish myth "A land without a people for a people without a land." These colonial and occupation powers did not have any motives but to loot the good and weaken their enemies; and as soon as these motives were fulfilled, these powers presence ceased to exist⁸¹.

The reality experienced today in the Palestinian territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip) drives us to study the motives, prepare for the next stage and plan new strategies and policies for the coming years. The goal we aspire to achieve is more important and sacred than that of the Israeli governments. The latter objectives are based on the alleged historical doctrine, where the Zionist movement had planned to seize Palestine for more than a century and mobilized all material, strategic, security and media means to achieve it. Here it is possible to raise an important question to the current generation and the next generation of the Palestinian people: Is not it our right to begin working, planning and developing strategies and policies that will reclaim and restitute the Palestinian people right to their land?

It should be noted here that the order of motives is of no significance; a motive in a specific area might be more or less valuable than another in a complete different area. The motives of settlement in Jerusalem may be different in that in areas of Ramallah, the Jordan Valley and Gaza, but later complement each other. These motives are arranged as follows:

⁸¹ حداد، معين (أرض لا تهدأ، الرهانات الجيوبوليتيكية). ط1. شركة المطبوعات للتوزيع والنشر، لبنان، 2002.

Section one

5.3 Historical and Religious Motives

The successive Israeli governments on the land of Palestine have promoted a number of religious principles in their war against the Palestinian land and people. Their political thought is based on the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in the Palestinian territories based on the religious and historical myths and tales that they promote "the religious and historical rights myths," "A land without a people for a people without a land," and the legend of God's chosen people. These governments endured the harsh conditions they have undergone. However, they see themselves as an extension of the State of Greater Israel. They also believe that Israel is a liberated land and, therefore. They have the right to settle in any location they desire, even if it meant to use the colonial power⁸².

Secular Zionism may have got their hands dirty on the issue of settlement in the West Bank, but it is obvious that the recent period has witnessed a shift in favor of the Israeli political right. There are tens of thousands of ultra-nationalist settlers living in the West Bank settlements. It is also noticed that even left-wing settlers are now changing trends to the right wing or even to the far right and its extremist ideology. Thus, they are gradually gravitating towards religious settlers⁸³.

⁸² الحواري، عبدالله (اللاجئون: قضية وموقف). المركز القومي للدراسات، غزة – فلسطين، ط2001، 1.
⁸³ رياض، عادل (الحدود والكيان السياسي للدولة الفلسطينية، الدولة الفلسطينية حدودها ومعطياتها وسكانها). معهد البحوث والدراسات العربية، القاهرة، 1991.

The successive Israeli governments are determined to characterize the existing settlements with the religious dimension. Reports and statistics indicate that the 99 rural settlements on the West Bank until 2007 can be divided into three main divisions:

1. 38 settlements of a religious nature, most notably the Kiryat Arba settlement on the lands of Hebron and the southern West Bank, Ma'aleh Adumim in the Jerusalem area and Immanuel on the lands of the villages of Deir Istiya and Jinsafut west of Nablus.
2. 36 settlements of a secular nature.
3. 8 mixed settlements.

We find, based on the preliminary reading of these statistics, that the obvious majority in this sector of settlements is of a religious nature, especially if we know that the number of settlers living in religious settlements is about 33,329 thousand settlers, which is three times the number of settlers in secular settlements, which is 10,496 settlers, despite that the number of secular and religious settlements is almost equal.

These settlers enjoy clear attention from Israeli governments. Their political powers and weight in Israeli public life are far more than their numerical weight.

This is illustrated by the following data:

1. A large number of ordinary and extremist settlers occupy leading positions in the Israeli army. The settlers constitute 60% of the officers in the combat units and about 70% of the selected infantry brigades. They constitute about 75% of the special units and other units that specializes in eliminating Palestinian freedom fighters in Palestinian cities.

2. A number of them held positions in the army of the successive Israeli governments. They also play an important role in the current government coalition in the state of the Israeli entity.
3. Many of them participate in important sectors, such as the education and judiciary systems in Israel.
4. Settlers or members of the Israeli far right have the highest birth rates. The birth rates among Israeli secular settlers is 2.5, while the rate is about 6 among far-right settlers. Thus, their numbers are increasing in the settlements of the West Bank.
5. Most members of extremist religious parties as well as settlers study in religious seminaries and institutions. Therefore, they receive their orders from the rabbis who incite them not to comply with the military orders, such as to remove some of the outposts in the West Bank. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the settlers who practice the policy of attacking the Palestinian citizens do not face any punishment or deterrent.
6. The settlers in Netanyahu's past and present governments, 2009 and 2016, occupied five seats in the Knesset. This, however, confirms their role and their significant influence in participating in the shaping of public policies of the state and in Israeli public life.
7. Members of extremist religious parties as well as settlers represent a support base for extreme and radical views in any Israeli government, particularly with regard to the matters of withdrawal from the West Bank settlements, freezing or dismantlement of settlements⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ زريق، إيليا (الديمغرافيا والترايسفير. طريق إسرائيل إلى اللامكان). مجلة الدراسات الفلسطينية، العدد 55، 2003.

It should be noted in this regard what the Israeli rabbis recommended during the recent aggression on the Gaza Strip in 2009 and in the summer of 2014, where they were stressing and falsely promoting that the wars they are carrying out are not wars of aggression, but are holy religious wars aimed at "Killing non-Jews."

It was difficult to exclude the religious dimension or pretext from the conflict cycle, and this was evident in the statements of senior leaders in the successive Israeli governments since 1967 until today. Senior leaders continue to emphasize and state that their conflict with the Palestinian is of ideological and religious roots. An example is what the Israelis mentioned in their historical and religious books, which they quoted and cited in Six-day war, as they entered the Al Aqsa Mosque. The extremist Zvi Yehuda Kook conversed with settlements' religious school students and said, "All of our forces that were created to believe in the Torah should help in immediate control of vital sites, as did King David, who in his time achieved Israel's victories for our people and for our God's cities. As for us, we are required and forever to occupy every point in the country and settle in, we are ordered by guided by the Lord.⁸⁵"

This was repeated in the last scenario in the 2014 Gaza War, when the leader of the ultra-Orthodox Shas movement, Eli Yishai, confirmed their adherence to the religious pretext (the Torah will eventually win).

The religious dimension of the current Zionism, represented by the political leadership of Netanyahu's last government is present and obvious, which confirms the religious-based Jewish mindset. On June 14, 2009, he said, "The Jewish people's connection to the land of Israel has been going on for 3,500 years and the places

⁸⁵ زيتونة، محمد وطوقان، صبحي (بدون): "فلسطين ضحية المؤامرات". الوكالة العربية للنشر، الإسكندرية.

where Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Solomon walked, are not strange; it is the land of our forefathers.

The settlers tried to take control of some Palestinian cities such as Jerusalem and Hebron in order to exercise pressure on the Palestinians in order to create a new transfer, where Palestinians are to be displaced from the cities that are considered vital and key points to the Israelis - Jerusalem, Hebron and other cities - to establish the Greater Israel on land they believe they are religiously connected with⁸⁶.

The religious and ideological dimension has become one of the most prominent features of the Israeli policy. This is evident in the continuous Israeli demand to recognize the Jewishness of the state. This old new slogan in its political dimension aims to deny the Palestinians their right to live on their land and treats them as a minority. This grants the occupation the right to expel them from this land. Therefore, recognition of the Jewishness of the state is a Zionist demand of a religious dimension to achieve a political objective.

⁸⁶ سعيد، إدوارد (غزة وأريحا – سلام أمريكي). دار المستقبل العربي، القاهرة، 1994.

Section two

5.4 Security pretext

Israel has an extended settlement network in the Palestinian territories, through which it sought to achieve security objectives. This is manifested in the choice of settlement sites and military points in the highlands as well as the checkpoints throughout the West Bank. Then, the construction of the separation wall was to confirm these motives; this does not negate the other motives for settlement.

Israel has called some of the settlements in the West Bank, particularly in the Jordan Valley and in Jericho city, security settlements. It has established a series of settlements along the borders with Jordan. These were established, Israel argues, as a settlement barrier to prevent acts of resistance and confrontations on the borders, especially in the Jordan Valley and Jordan⁸⁷.

The security measures implemented by the occupation government in the West Bank and the areas of settlements such as the villages of Ni'lin, Bil'in and Nabi Saleh are aimed at undermining the morale of the Palestinian people and terrorizing them by means of settler actions. Israeli governments believe that these measures distance Palestinians from their lands and undermines their morales, which leads some of them to emigrate.

⁸⁷ السنبل، عبدالعزيز (استشراف مستقبل التعليم عن بعد في المملكة العربية السعودية). الرياض، مركز بحوث كلية التربية، كلية الملك سعود، 2003.

5.5 The settlement divided the West Bank into three main areas:

1. The Eastern Security Zone along the Jordan Valley, separating 22% of the West Bank. This area includes approximately 40 settlements as well as a number of military bases deployed in the Jordan Valley.
2. The Western Security Zone, enclosing about 23% of the West Bank.
3. The Palestinian Central area, i.e., the area of major Palestinian cities and communities, covers approximately 55% of the West Bank. This area is segmented into a number of areas due to the military checkpoints.
4. Jerusalem was permanently isolated from its Arab environs in the West Bank and the Palestinians were prevented

access to it under the pretext of Israeli security, especially in the second intifada, where the city was shut down before Palestinians from the West Bank due to fixed military checkpoints at all entrances. Moreover, the settlements and the separation wall surrounded and enclosed the city. The Holy City lost about 90% of its land to the settlement project. Furthermore, about 100,000 Jerusalemites were isolated from their city and about 24,000 Jerusalemites were isolated from the West Bank⁸⁸.

The security concerns pose a threat to the Palestinians in the West Bank. This is evident from the severe measures at the military checkpoints that hinder and thus harm the public life of the population at all levels, as the study will illustrate later.

⁸⁸ السهلي، نبيل (فلسطين أرض وشعب). اتحاد الكتاب العرب، دمشق، 2004.

Section three

5.6 Political motives

The Israeli governments, in their previous motives, aim to achieve a political goal that will guarantee the establishment of the Greater State of Israel on which the Zionist idea was based. This appears in the statement of the President of the Haganah, Moshe Sneh, who, in 1943, said, "Settlement is not only the goal itself, but also a means of political seizure of Palestine. Therefore, we must simultaneously seek to establish Hebrew settlements in the middle of the Palestinian economic and political centers or in their vicinities. Settlements should also be built on locations that can be used as topographical sites or as military locations that can be used for effective defense of the country, although their economic importance is low. Therefore, the settlement in the West Bank serves the Israeli political objectives, as without settlement we are only a military army. However, the settlement as well as the seizure and confiscation of land will create a *fait accompli* policy, through which we are no longer an occupation."⁸⁹

The political objectives and motives of the Israeli settlement in the West Bank have been clearly defined through the geographical distribution of the settlements. The various forms of settlement were found mainly to serve the political objectives; fragmenting West Bank territorial contiguity; confiscating large areas of the Palestinian territories, tightening the noose on the Palestinian population centers; and the isolation of Jerusalem from the rest of the regions. These are considered of political dimensions, where it is impossible to consider any future peace solution

⁸⁹ شاش، طاهر (مفاوضات التسوية النهائية). دار الشروق، القاهرة، 1999.

proposal between the two sides leading to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in light of this reality imposed by the settlements. The network of densely populated settlements, which Israel seeks to increase continuously, serves the strategic political objective of the Greater State of Israel. Jerusalem is planned to be the capital of the latter on the one hand and the West Bank is planned to be fragmented on the other. Thus, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state will be no longer valid⁹⁰.

5.7 Legislation of a number of laws for the benefit of the Israeli side

Israel has enacted a number of laws 'illegal' that grant it the right to control, seize and confiscate Palestinian land. These laws include the Israeli law of 1980, which stipulates that Israel is the legal owner of all public and state land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, not only was it the public land confiscated, Israel, over the past years, has taken thousands of dunums of private Palestinian land.

Israel tried to gather Jews from Eastern Europe and other countries to Palestine to further expand the settlement project, providing them many facilities, including the establishment of agricultural settlements in the highlands; the most strategic areas in Palestine, not in the burning valleys. This benefited both Israel and the settlers; settlers staying in agricultural settlements were provided their needs and sources of income. Israel, in exchange, managed to maintain and develop its economy, where it controlled all the economic resources in the West Bank, especially in terms of water and agricultural products. These two elements constitute the theory of settlement in

⁹⁰ صالح، حسن (جغرافيا فلسطين، برنامج التربية). معهد البحوث والدراسات العربية، 1996.

the West Bank, through which Israel occupies about 68% of the West Bank water reserves⁹¹.

The settlers tried to develop the economic resources they had stolen from the Palestinians. This is evident in the field of agricultural exploitation, where the settlers use approximately 90,000 dunums of Palestinian land. Moreover, the Israeli authorities allocated about 34% of the land in 16 settlements for agricultural purposes. Israeli settlements established in the Jordan Valley are specifically dependent on agriculture. The general plans adopted by a large number of settlements are exceeding the areas allocated by their respective occupation municipalities. Thus, exploiting new areas of land that were not part of their settlement plan. Not only the settlers controlled and seized agricultural lands, but also the water, where about 9600 settlers exploit about quarter the amount of water consumed by the Palestinian population in the West Bank, whose number is about 2.5 million⁹².

Israeli settlements produce large amounts of staple food, which is exported to the Israeli and Palestinian markets, like potato and onions, as well as agricultural products exported to international markets, such as flowers, dates and grapes.

There have been a number of political, economic and security motives that have made settlement an inevitable reality in the Palestinian territories, i.e. in the West Bank. However, the Palestinians consider settlement as the first and basic aspect of the occupation and the means through which the occupation seizes Palestinian land and creates a foreign body in the area in order to hinder the movement of the Palestinian population, control their land and steal their property. The settlers in the West Bank believe that the main objective of their existence is vandalism, killing and

⁹¹ عامر، محمد (تاريخ الاستعمار الاستيطاني الصهيوني في فلسطين). ط1، المكتبة الأكاديمية، القاهرة، 2002.

⁹² العساف، صالح (المدخل إلى البحث في العلوم السلوكية). العبيكان، الرياض، 1996.

control, as the Israeli governments and military placed them above the law in the Palestinian territories. These settlers control the richest areas in terms of water, agriculture, geographical and strategic locations. Thus, their existence in the West Bank will mean a permanent point of conflict between the two parties and the impossibility of a coexistence in light of any political settlement, as their presence in the West Bank means the existence of the occupation itself⁹³.

The policies on the ground prevent the possibility of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state in the West Bank with Jerusalem as its capital. Israel does not abide or even care about the UN laws and resolutions. Rather, its political thought mainly focuses on the realization of a state that includes all Jews in the world. To achieve this goal, all aright and left Israeli political parties agree on the need to absorb the largest possible number of Jews in the world in the West Bank, and thus control the largest possible areas of land.

Moreover, it sought to legitimize the settlement project by convincing world public opinion that there are security needs for a carrying out a number of settlement projects, particularly with regard to the apartheid separation wall, some border settlements, as well as the check points deployed across the West Bank⁹⁴.

Israeli governments have intended to use the terms "official" or "legitimate" settlements for settlements that have the approval of the Israeli political institution, while the yet-unapproved settlements are called informal 'unplanned and makeshift' settlements. Some international politicians or even the Palestinians themselves use the

⁹³ غابيزون، روت (تأملات في مغزى وأبعاد مصطلح "يهودية" في تعبير "دولة يهودية وديمقراطية). 2008.
⁹⁴ غرينبيرغ، لويس (الاتحاد الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني 1.2.7 دول: رؤية المستقبل). "قضايا إسرائيلية، المركز الفلسطيني للدراسات الإسرائيلية - مدار. العدد 34، 2009.

term 'illegal settlements'. However, it should be noted that, in Palestine, all settlements are illegal and rejected by all, for a number of reasons, including:

1. The settlement cannot be legalized, and no one, whether of legal or political character, can legitimize the settlements, because the occupation is a temporary situation, not a permanent case no matter how long it lasts. The occupation must not settle its nationals in the period, region or the state it occupies for whatever reason, within the framework of the Geneva Convention, the Hague Convention and the UN charters.
2. All the settlements on the Palestinian land are illegal as they seize the land of others by force, deports and transfers Palestinians or the indigenous people by force and places settlers. This violates the principles of international law and international humanitarian law, which requires politicians not to use the term in the political dictionary regarding Israeli settlement in the West Bank, specifically what is known as historic Palestine⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ القاسم، أنيس (جدار الكارثة، الجدار العازل الإسرائيلي فتوى محكمة العدل الدولية). مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، ط1، بيروت- لبنان، 2007.

5.8 The Jewishness of the State

When hearing the phrase 'the Jewishness of the state' one might think that it is an entity based on Jewish teachings and that the sources of legislation and intellectual contents are derived from religious teachings, but Zionist thought is based on the exploitation of religion to tie history and geography in order to consolidate the claim of the Jewish right in Palestine. Thus, it aims to encourage Jewish immigrations to Palestine as well as to provide these immigrants a religious justification, 'the Lord's Promise.'

5.9 Jewishness of the State in conceptual and political terms

The great historical turning point in the Jewish religion was the Zionist movement at the end of the nineteenth century, which polarized religion turning it into a political cover and handled the fate of the Jews wherever. The Zionist movement succeeded in establishing an Israeli entity as the center of Jewish attention. It also gave the Jewish religion a geopolitical dimension of the land, with Palestine as its base.

The Zionist political movement realized the importance of the religious dimension embodied in the Jewish ideology, which has grown throughout the years in the Ghettos. It used a mixture of ideology and political dimensions to drive the successive waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine, despite the absence of a legitimate right for Jewish immigration to Israel, where it only constituted about 20% of the total area (999). The populated areas in Israel are of a low population density when compared to the size of population density in the Palestinian refugee camps⁹⁶.

⁹⁶ فرسون، سميح (فلسطين والفلسطينيون). مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، ط1، بيروت – لبنان، 2004.

To establish a purely Jewish entity that covers Historic Palestine geographical territories with Jews as its only inhabitants in line with the aspirations of the early Zionist leaders. This entity is similar to the apartheid state in South Africa, is based on the recognition of two peoples who are not equal in rights and duties. The Jewish people will have the right to exercise their political and economic rights, unlike the Arabs, a second-class citizens, who do not enjoy Israeli identity, denied their rights, and their sole duty is to serve the Jewish people. In order to achieve this, apartheid laws were enacted and the coexistence between the two peoples was prevented to maintain the purity and the survival of the Jewish element. It is worth mentioning that these actions contradict the principles of democracy and equality of rights claimed by Israel⁹⁷.

On May 14, 1948, Ben-Gurion announced the establishment of the State of Israel in accordance with the United Nations resolution 29/11/1974, which divided Palestine into two states: An Arab and a Jewish states. On May 12, 1948, during the National Administration's meeting in Tel Aviv to discuss the state's declaration, there was a lengthy debate over the name of the state. This was the last panel discussion of the discussions that took place from time to time prior to the partition decision. The panel did not agree upon any option, which prompted the head of the Jewish Agency, David Ben-Gurion to resolve the matter before the members of the administration by proposing to formally announce the establishment of the State of Israel. The decision was adopted by a majority of votes⁹⁸.

⁹⁷ الهيئي، صبري فارس (الجغرافيا السياسية مع تطبيقات جينوليكية). دار صفاء للنشر والتوزيع، ط1، 2000.
⁹⁸ حمدي، صلاح الدين (دراسات في القانون الدولي العام). دار الهدى للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، ط1، 2002.

The name adopted by the Zionist leadership is the name chosen by Theodore Herzl in his book "The Jewish State." Israel is not only the second name of Jacob, Abraham's grandson, according to the biblical narrative, but also refers to the Jews in general.

The declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel emphasized the interrelationship between the Jewishness of the State on the one hand and its democratic nature and its commitment to the human rights of all its inhabitants without any ethnic or religious discrimination on the other. On the other hand, this duality was explicitly enshrined in a series of laws culminating in the Basic Law of 1992 and the Law on Political Parties in the same year. Israel was defined within these laws as a Jewish and democratic state, as expressed by a large majority of the population. Moreover, the vast majority of the population expressed their desire to continue on this basis and believe that it does not constitute a contradiction between Israel as a Jewish-nation state and its obligations to democracy and the protection of human rights of all its citizens⁹⁹.

Zionism and the Jewishness of the state contradict the idea of equality, citizenship and democracy and certainly contradict the idea of peace. The Israeli proposal for the Jewishness of the state is directed to the Palestinians in the occupied territories of 1967 and to the Arab states. It is not an Israeli internal matter, as Israel has defined itself as a Jewish state since 1948 and has formed a Zionist, national Jewish-characterized society. It should be noted that the term Jewish state signifies a state of collective cultural identity of a religious character. Due to the Israeli fear of the demographic factor changes, the Israeli government has attempted in recent years to raise the idea of the Jewishness of the state as well as to market and impose this idea

⁹⁹ عبدالحافظ، عادل فتحي (النظرية السياسية المعاصرة: دراسة للنماذج والنظريات التي قدمت لفهم وتحليل علم السياسة). دار الجامعة الجديدة، ط1، الإسكندرية، 1997.

on the Palestinian side. A state for the Jewish people means the national ethnic dimension which is linked to the demographic element in Israel. This element was and is subject to many changes in the presence of various nationalities in the country¹⁰⁰.

Amos Gilboa, a researcher in the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), believes that addressing the idea of Jewish state in binding international decisions and statements is rare. He also states that since Resolution 242 issued by the Security Council in October 1967, which formed the main international rule for any Israeli settlement, all the formulas regard the existence or recognition of Israel's right to exist without any mentioning of a Jewish state or a state for the Jewish people. This applies to the subject of peace between Israel and both Egypt and Jordan as well as the Oslo Accords. George W. Bush was the first American official to mention the Jewishness of Israel at the Aqaba summit in 2003¹⁰¹.

Then President George W. Bush's letter of guarantees to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in April 2004 was to lay down and clarify the American position showing that the United States is strongly committed to Israel's security as a Jewish state. This was evident within the framework of a consensual, just and equitable solution to the Palestinian refugee issue as part of the final status agreement. Several Palestinian and Arab parties considered the content of Bush's letter indicate very negative and expansive developments, as it repeals all references to the extent that it is described as the Balfour Declaration II. These Palestinian and Arab parties declared its adherence to the right of return and confirmed that the settlement of the final issues is the right of the parties concerned by reaching an agreement in accordance with the resolutions of international legitimacy, the Arab peace initiative and the Road Map. Yehuda Ben

¹⁰⁰ مصباح، عامر (الاتجاهات النظرية في تحليل العلاقات الدولية). ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، ط2، الجزائر، 2006 .
¹⁰¹ الكيالي، عبدالوهاب وآخرون (موسوعة السياسة). ج5، المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر، ط3، 1996.

Meir, an academic at the Institute for National Security Studies 'INSS' at Tel Aviv University and a former deputy to the Israeli Foreign Minister, says that the Palestinians have a major problem with the issue of two states for two peoples in any future settlement with Israel and they insist on the formula of "two states only."

There are some issues that Israel should not concede or even debate as these issue relate to Israel's real existence. There is a great desire among the Israeli people to end the conflict and to ensure Israel's existence as a Jewish and democratic state as proven by INSS survey. The survey indicates that about 63% of the adult population in Israel is in favor of the two states for two peoples' solution. He adds, as long as the Palestinian leadership refuses to recognize Israel explicitly as a 'state of the Jewish people', there will never be a solution to the conflict¹⁰².

Europe is more secular and more realistic, while America is more religious than Europe and protects and sponsors the Israeli government's practices in the Middle East. It is not surprising that Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, is close to the conservative right in America. There are links between the settlers and the American Anglicans; there are also very deep ties between the Haredim 'ultra-orthodox' in America and the Haredim here; and between all of those and the ultra-religious in America. This confirms that the discourse in America is a religious discourse in general.

Avraham Burg believes that the culture in Israel is clearly an American culture; a capitalist, political and religious policy, and that there is no influence by the

¹⁰² جلبى، عبدالرزاق (علم اجتماع السكان). دار المعرفة الجامعية، د.ط، الإسكندرية، 1985.

Scandinavian countries and their social models on Israel, while America has a greater influence¹⁰³.

5.10 Objectives of the Israeli proposal for the Jewishness of the State:

The objectives of the Israeli proposal for the Jewishness of the State

Israel aspires to achieve a full recognition of itself, Zionism and its colonial practices from the Middle East countries, a recognition of its historical legitimacy. This does not mean that it was historically right. This recognition, if ever happened, except for its denial of the right of return, it will be considered a political, moral, cultural prejudice equivalent to the establishment of Israel, not only in concrete reality, but also in culture, thought and political discourse. Netanyahu wondered before the Knesset on October 11, 2010 whether the Palestinian leadership was willing to tell its people that it was willing to recognize Israel as a national state for the Jewish people, just as we are prepared to recognize the Palestinian state as a national state for the Palestinian people. He, Netanyahu, repeated that on various occasions. It is clear that this question involves a basic fallacy and false portrayal of the Palestinian demand. This fallacy lies in Netanyahu's willingness to recognize the Palestinian state as a national state while knowing that there is no such Palestinian demand; a clear and unambiguous demand. With regard to the right of return guaranteed by international legitimacy and the elimination of the Israeli occupation in its military and settlement forms from the occupied Palestinian territories in 1967, including East Jerusalem, so

¹⁰³ أبو عيانة، فتحي (دراسات في الجغرافيا الاقتصادية والسياسية). دار النهضة العربية للطباعة والنشر، ط1، بيروت، 2001.

that a Palestinian state can be established on an area of only 22% of historic Palestine, then to be recognized without any national or other character¹⁰⁴.

Netanyahu wants to promote the Jewishness of the state and to nationalize it, so that Israel would be a national state for the Jewish people. The Jewish people are trying to gain recognition of their legitimacy by obtaining this right on the ground. However, the Palestinians refuse to recognize this right and legitimize the occupation, as such a recognition would mean to compromise the right of the Palestinians themselves to establish their state on their own land.

There are four goals stemming from the recognition of the Jewishness of the state, two of which have been uncovered and exposed by many:

1. Attacking and nullifying the Refugees' Right of Return, which was guaranteed by the United Nations by the Resolution 194.
2. Attacking and damaging the status of Arab citizens in Israel through population exchanges, having in mind that they are citizens of Israel. Israel seeks to get rid of them, as not to threaten its Jewish character. Furthermore, Israel seeks to legitimize the discriminatory reality Arabs are exposed to since the establishment of the State of Israel¹⁰⁵.

The other two hidden objectives are the recognition of the Zionist idea, as well as the recognition of the Zionist narrative of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

When Israel seeks to Arabs to recognize its legitimacy as the right to self-determination of the Jewish nation, it accepts an Arab recognition resulting from the Arabs' inability to recognize Israel as a recognition that also includes Zionism. That is

¹⁰⁴ الصقار، فؤاد: "دراسات في الجغرافيا البشرية". دائرة المعارف، د.ط، د.س، الإسكندرية.

¹⁰⁵ حماد، كمال (النزاعات الدولية: دراسة قانونية دولية في علم النزاعات). الدار الوطنية للدراسات والنشر والتوزيع، ط1، 1998.

because Arabs have built the theory of conflict with Israel on the basis of Palestinians' historical right. However, Israel claims legitimacy based on the saying "A land without people for a people without land." Israel or the Zionist entity today faces a major issue regarding demographic changes happening on the ground despite the resulting Jewish population increase by transferring Jewish immigrants to Palestine and the simultaneous expulsion and displacement of the Palestinian people. Israel rallied around the future demographic changes that would have been in favor of an Arab majority by displacing and uprooting Palestinians, whose high population growth can inflict demographic changes.

Israel also clearly denied refugees' Right of Return. Thus, the magical word that was Israel's lifeline was the Jewishness of the state, sponsored by the United States, which made it a precondition for any Palestinian-Israeli political settlement¹⁰⁶.

5.11 The impact of defining the "Jewishness of the State" on the Israeli society:

One of the most important theories on political instability embodied in ethnic and racial systems shows that the latter practices often negate the very foundations of the political system. This phenomenon is reflected in the fact that it creates a structurally unequal citizenship by the political and geographical disruption and fragmentation of the people themselves. Due to the ongoing project sponsored by the state to expand the non-continuous ethnic control and given the Israeli societal structure, we find clear contrast and differences between the Israeli society components. The ethnic,

¹⁰⁶ كوهين، لبنية: "معالم واتجاهات، فحص ماهية واتصالها بالواقع والرسائل الحديثة لتأريخ الصهيونية."

cultural and religious differences prevent the integration of these components in any but the democratic system¹⁰⁷.

Israel's definition of the Jewish state involves a privileged position that would bring it to an end, where coexistence can see no light. Now, Israel has been transformed into a state for all its Jews and citizens, with the majority deciding on its contents and character. Defining Israel as a Jewish state will be the beginning of its end.

The current criteria have become a controversial issue. Religious leaders say that Israel will not be a Jewish state if immigrants from the former Soviet Union and the Beta Israel 'Falasha' continue to arrive. Moreover, most of these new immigrants consider themselves part of the Israeli Jewish community, even though the religious institution does not recognize them Jews¹⁰⁸.

The Palestinian people (1948) represent a challenge to the Jewishness of the state, which is the most prominent distinguishing feature of the struggle against Israelization. This indicates the failure of the efforts of the Israeli institution in this context. This is confirmed by the wave of statements and positions issued by the politicians, sociologists and intellectuals, which calls for the Jewishness of the state and the consolidation of its Jewish character. The legislations of the Israeli Knesset in the last decade, which aims to preserve the Jewishness of the state by setting some challenges to all democratic and peaceful attempts by the 1948 Palestinians. The Arab component of Israel rejects the Jewishness of the state and calls for a definition that guarantees their civil, national, individual and collective rights in line with that of the Western democracies. They also call for Israel to be either a state for all its citizens or

¹⁰⁷ حماد، مجدي (النظام السياسي الاستيطاني دراسة مقارنة إسرائيل وجنوب أفريقيا). دار الوحدة للطباعة والنشر، ط1، بيروت، 1981.

¹⁰⁸ صالح، محمد (فلسطين دراسة منهجية في القضية الفلسطينية). مركز الإعلام العربي، ط1، مصر، 2003.

a bi-national state, not an exclusively Jewish state, so that Arabs can enjoy their civil and national rights guaranteed by the international law¹⁰⁹. In the future, Israel's democracy will be vulnerable because of the opposing religious forces, which will be an obstacle before the Israeli Knesset hindering it to carry its tasks. Thus, widespread chaos will be the prominent feature. This chaos and the Knesset inability are expected to continue and accelerate in the coming years because the Ultra-orthodox relatively poor Jews as well as the extremely poor Arab Bedouin population from the Negev and other Bedouin communities constitute the majority of that society's population. Thus, the religious communities will be prominent and of influence in Israel, and there will be secularist tendencies towards emigration outside the Israeli entity. However, stayers will be those who do not meet the Western society requirements. Living standards, therefore, will decline and deteriorate¹¹⁰.

Through my research of previous studies as a researcher in the conflict and through the writers and researchers in this field, we find that the right-wing approach has the greatest impact in the Jewish state, which makes this society vulnerable to contradiction and conflict, thus threatening the democracy that Israel have always claimed. The religious reality, which is based primarily on the religious ideology that distinguishes between members of society according to religious criteria, will not be only affecting Arab Muslims or Christian, but will also affect the origins of the Jews themselves and redefine the Jewish person. These concepts have multiple threats to the survival of the presence of the Israeli entity. The Jewish immigration to Israel will decline, the reverse migration of secular Jews will raise and the Israeli society will be

¹⁰⁹ مهنا، محمد ومعروف، خلدون: "تسوية المنازعات الدولية، مع دراسة لبعض مشكلات الشرق الأوسط". مكتبة غريب، د.ط، د.س.

¹¹⁰ علوم السياسة، دراسة في الأصول والنظريات. المكتب الجامعي الحديث، 2005.

a religious community with a decline in the population balance in favor of the Arabs¹¹¹.

5.12 Conclusion

The Zionist thought is the ideology behind the establishment of Israel or the Israeli entity government that controls the current Israeli mentality. The alleged historical and religious legitimacy is what the Israelis are trying to employ to Judaize Israel. Therefore, the Israeli government has built its plans to Judaize the 1948 occupied Palestinian territories in the full sense of the word. The arbitrary and repressive Israeli measures against the Arab population inside the Green Line, the confiscation of land under the Absentee Property Law and the prevention of development in the Arab municipalities explain the Judaization process. Israel aims, through these measures, to penetrate and soak into the Arab sector from the north to the south and to prevent the naturalization of Palestinians who marry Palestinian women from the 1948 occupied Palestinian territories, which reflects the Israeli geographical and demographic concerns of the Arab population increase. The Israelis see that the Arab population growth as a major threat to Israel. To evade these threats, Israel seeks to declare a Jewish state despite the dangers it entails for the Israeli society or its denial of the Palestinian refugees displaced in refugee camps right of return to their homes in the 1948 territories. The Israeli justification for the denial of the right of return stems from pure demographic concerns, despite that the right of return is guaranteed by international resolutions and imprescriptible.

¹¹¹ العلوم السياسية بين الحداثة والمعاصرة. منشأة المعارف، د. ط، الإسكندرية، 2002.

Policies, procedures and laws adopted by Israel

5.13 Demographic and Geographic Expansion:

The Zionist movement aimed to formalize and legalize the process of asserting control over the Arab territories in Palestine. Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Israeli Zionist Congress has approved some 150 laws and decrees to facilitate the Israeli control over Palestinian lands. The most important laws and decrees are:

5.14 The Law of Return: This law was enacted in 1950 and stipulated that every Jew has the right to return to this country as an emigrant. This right is not limited to any given time. This right is inherent to every Jew and can be used at any time of their choosing.

This reflects the main role of the Zionist state in the gathering of the world's Jews in Israel and granting the right of residence to any Jew who comes to Palestine as this right is inherited. However, the increase in the number of Jewish immigrants led to a number of issues within the Jewish community, which led the racist Zionist authorities to develop a number of strategic and economic plans. Israel, subsequently, adopted a policy of filtering and screening of immigrants to create a kind of harmony between its ambitions and the quality of the immigrants needed to implement its policy. The characteristics of the immigrants according to these plans include:

- 80 percent of the arrivals should be young immigrants who can be farmers in the Israeli colonies.
- Those who have been chosen must bind to work for at least two years. The percentages of those over 35 years should not exceed 35%, provided they have

families and are able to work, and that they have relatives in Israel who pledge to pay for them.

- As for the rich, they are allowed to spend without limits. These are the Jews who are able to afford the burden and costs of immigration and residence in the country¹¹².

5.15 Israeli Nationality Law:

This law was enacted in 1952 and is fully linked to the Law of Return. This law defines the legal basis for the acquisition of Israeli nationality by Jews, as well as the strict conditions and requirements for the acquisition of Israeli nationality by non-Jewish residents. The requirements for the Israeli nationality include:

1. Every immigrant under this law is entitled to be an Israeli citizen.
2. That he is entitled to acquire residency in Israel.
3. That he is entitled to start a family and his wife is entitled residency in Israel.

5.16 Land Acquisition Law:

This law was issued in 1952 and authorizes the occupation authorities to seize Arab lands under the pretext that they are used for reconstruction, development or for country security-related reasons.

¹¹² سلامة، علي جمال: ذاكرة أمة... قراءة في ملفات الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، دار النهضة العربية، الطبعة الأولى، القاهرة، 2009.

5.17 The Use of Immovable Property Law:

This law, passed in 1953, requires the owners of an immovable property to manage their properties themselves. The law grants the Minister of Finance of Israel the authority to issue a final decision to seize the property in question and register it as state property for the use of the Reconstruction and Development authority.

5.18 The Statute of Limitation Regarding All State Land of 1957:

This law was issued in 1957. According to this law, the owner of a land is entitled to retain it only when he provides proof of 25-year use of the land. Thereby, this law aims at depriving the Arab owners of their rights under the guise of passage of time.

Thus, this set of laws were an important means for the Israeli authorities to achieve economic, military and political goals, enabling them to expel the Arab population from their lands, settle the new immigrants and then make the land acquisition a permanent status, thus ending any non-Jew relation or legal claim of these immovable properties. These laws work toward promoting the establishment of the Jewish Israeli-Zionist state¹¹³.

The Zionist authorities have also, once it reinforced and strengthened their presence in Palestine, issued laws on the redistribution of the Arab population in Palestine, including the law issued in May 1975, which stipulated the need to distribute the Arab population in different parts of Palestine. There are also a number of laws that include

¹¹³ Smith Charles D. : Palestine and the Arab Israeli conflict, second edition, Martin press, New York, 1992, p144.

restricting the freedom of movement of the Arab population to be subject to special permits given by Zionist racist authorities.

The purpose of these legislations, laws and relevant acts of racism adopted by the leaders of the military areas to strengthen the process of Zionist colonization as well as to terrorize the Palestinian people, as for the latter to abandon his land or be subject to the will of the Israeli Zionist occupation.

To avoid international legal accountability, Israel applied all methods of racial discrimination and apartheid in the areas of work. It evacuated Arab citizens from their land and properties and allocated them the most difficult and dangerous professions and businesses in exchange of unfair wages. It also prevented them from practicing professions that were limited to the Jewish population¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁴ Haward Sechar: A History of Israel from Zionism to the present, second edition, Alfred press, New York, 1996, p55.

Chapter VI

The Settlement Impact on the Political Rights of the Palestinians and the Imposition of New Demographics in the West Bank, including:

- **The impact of the settlements on the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank with Jerusalem as its capital;**
- **The impact of settlement on the future of the Palestinian state borders;**
- **The impact of settlement on the Palestinians Right of Return and Self Determination;**
- **The impact of demography on the security right of the Palestinians;**
- **The impact of the Israeli settlement on the reality of demography in the West Bank Palestinian territories;**
- **The Demographic Resolution in the West Bank;**
- **The Demographic Bomb;**
- **Conclusion.**

6.1.The Settlement Impact on the Political Rights of the Palestinians and the Imposition of New Demographics in the West Bank:

Since the first group of the Zionist movement landed Palestine, the project of theft and control of the land and the displacement of its legitimate owners began. The Zionist movement used all ways and methods based on terror and intimidation, supported by the colonial power under the pretext of providing security and security for the settlers, to achieve its goal. Successive Israeli governments have undertaken to expand their control over land using military orders. Under these orders, thousands of dunums of agricultural land were under the control of the Israelis and their owners were displaced and denied access.

According to these orders and policies, the heads of the mountains in the West Bank, the plains, valleys and all the lands that the Israeli governments deem vital and has large amounts of groundwater were converted into settlement centers. The latter's size was subject to the need of Israeli settlement and presence to tighten the grip on the ground, confiscate these lands from their legitimate owners and deny them access to that land. Bypass roads were also constructed from the Palestinian agricultural land as to further deprive Palestinians from their lands. Fraud and force were used to achieve the aforementioned objectives. Furthermore, these orders and policies also aimed to seal off Jerusalem as to impose new facts on the ground in the capital of the future Palestinian state as well as to create new demographic facts as a result of the forced displacement of the Palestinian citizens. It also sought to make the city Palestinians-free and to cut the Palestinian religious and historical ties with the city as well as to

create new realities that would help prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital¹¹⁵.

6.2 The impact of the settlements on the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank with Jerusalem as its capital

The settlement issue in the West Bank is a central issue in final status negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. Israel has therefore intended to postpone the discussion on this important issue and not raise it in the Oslo Accords.

Israel's intentions are evident through settlement practices on the ground after Oslo Accords. Israeli governments deal with the Palestinians through its occupying power on the ground and impose the fait accompli through their settlement policies. Israel does not abide by the signed agreements, where it negotiates using force and influence. Israel grants settlement in the West Bank historical or peaceful ideological dimensions that cannot be even raised.

It is also trying to acquire additional pressure on the Palestinians in any future negotiations. At the same time, the dismantling of settlements is the main concern to Palestinians who suffer its devastating effects in all life aspects. Israeli governments resorted to planting settlements, in all their forms, in every part of the West Bank. This planting was within pre-planned structural plans, which would expand some existing settlements. This is carried out in certain political circumstances, when international criticism was directed at Israeli governments due to the latter's establishment of new settlements. If these criticisms ceased or subsided, Israel resorts

¹¹⁵ Salem, Waleed, "Jerusalem Demographics and Judaization Plans." Dar Fadaat for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 1 Ed, 2008, p.108.

to establish new settlements in the form of small outposts that do not attract attention and criticism. However, these small outposts would later develop into high-populated areas and become a reality¹¹⁶.

The settlement map shows the spread of settlements throughout the West Bank. There is almost no Palestinian village or city but surrounded by a settlement, a military outpost or a settlement outpost with limited numbers of settlers occupying a large area of land, not to mention the bypass roads that scatter the land or the wall that encircles most of the West Bank turning it into a big prison.

The settlement in all its forms has scattered the West Bank into small cantons, which impedes and prevents geographical continuation. Thus, it would be impossible to develop or establish an independent and connected Palestinian state. Moreover, the settlement halved Palestinian centers as in Bethlehem and Nazlat 'Isa in Tulkarem governorate¹¹⁷.

1. The settlements located in the Eastern Sector (the Jordan Valley) reached approximately 28 settlements by the end of 2007. These settlements are many in numbers and few in residents, where their population does not exceed 6000 settlers. These settlements were established for security objectives. Furthermore, this sector plays an important role ravaging the chances of economic development of the Palestinian population in that region.

¹¹⁶ Safarini, Ali, "Settlement is a Challenge to Peace." Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre, Jerusalem, 3 Ed, 2005, p. 68.

¹¹⁷ Shaaban, Muslim and others, "The impact of the Intifada on the Zionist entity." Baheth Centre, Beirut, I Ed, 2013.

2. Mountain Sector: These settlements, which extend from the north to the south of Palestine, longitudinally, separate Palestinian cities from one another. In addition, they prevent any population expansion of Palestinian towns and villages. These settlements are characterized by a continuous spiral network connected by the bypass intercity road, Highway 60. The number of these settlements amounted to 31.
3. The 48 settlements on the axis separating the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 from those occupied 1948. These settlement divisions were not coincidental, but rather based on the successive Israeli governments plans. These governments aim at emptying the land of its inhabitants, preventing any development of the Palestinian communities and keeping the Palestinian economy tied to the economy of these settlements, as the latter receive support from the Israeli governments¹¹⁸.

Therefore, the idea of dividing the West Bank into Area A, which is equal to 18% of the West Bank; Area B, 21%; and Area C, 61% was the result of this Israeli thought of dividing the West Bank into small, easily controlled cantons.

Settlement affects more than 40% of the West Bank territories, separating many Arab areas from each another. This scattered the Palestinian territories and made the Palestinian towns small isolated communities that are disconnected due to the spread of settlements¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁸ Shkeirat, Khader, "intervention in the book: Conference - The Settlement is a Challenge to Peace." Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, 2005.

¹¹⁹ Abdullah, Dawood (intervention published in the book: Israeli Law of Return and its Impact on the Conflict in Palestine." Baheth Centre, Beirut, 2007.

Israel intended to intensify the settlement activity in Jerusalem area, confiscating thousands of dunums of the city's land and surrounding villages, taking control of the residential areas and isolating the city. This is evident by the fact that Palestinians from the West Bank cannot enter Jerusalem, but through Israeli-issued permits. The Israeli governments have raised many plans to increase the number of settlers in Jerusalem. This increase will certainly be at the expense of the Palestinian presence. The number of Jews is expected to reach one million by 2020. The majority of the population will become Jewish and thus impose a demographic reality in the event of any future solution¹²⁰.

Therefore, it sought to tighten the control and implement its settlement policies in the city by all means. It has resorted to encircling the city with settlements and dividing it into axes, through which Palestinians can be monitored and controlled and settlers' security can be achieved.

These settlement measures can be divided into the following axes:

First Axis: This axis includes settlements in the northern part of the city; the Hebrew University, Ramat Eshkol, Ma'alot Dafna, the Jewish Quarter, Ramot and the French Hill. These settlements were established in the period 1924-1970.

The second axis: This axis includes the settlements of Gilo, East Talpiot, Efrat, Kalya and Ma'aleh Adumim, which were established in the period 1971-1985 in the southern region, separating the city from the southern West Bank.

¹²⁰ Abda, Louay article entitled: "Peace and the State in the Face of Settlement." Published on Noor El Adab website on 11/3/2017.

Settlement procedures in Jerusalem, in all its forms, represent the new old objective of the Zionist movement and the Israeli governments, which is the establishment of the Greater Jerusalem.

This is demonstrated by the actions of successive Governments aimed at:

1. Resolving the demographic factor in favor of the settlers, in order to prevent any future solutions regarding Jerusalem and characterizing the city with a Jewish majority.
2. Foreclosing any resolution project leading to the division of the city.
3. Securing communication and contiguity between the settlements to reach the Jewish neighborhoods in West Jerusalem with the settlements in the East.
4. Achieving the dream of establishing Greater Jerusalem, which extends from Ramallah in the north to Hebron in the south and from Jericho to the Latrun area in the western borders area, which is equivalent to 30% of the West Bank.
5. Moreover, the settlement procedures in Jerusalem tore the city neighborhoods apart preventing any geographical contiguity¹²¹.

It is clear from the above that successive Israeli governments ripped the West Bank apart through the establishment of settlements. The policy of fragmenting the West Bank into non-continuous cantons is a planned policy. In light of this reality, there is no possibility of talking about establishing a Palestinian state on the 1967 occupied territories. It is clear that there is a vast difference between the Israelis and the Palestinians understanding the final status negotiations.

¹²¹ Ghanim, Abdullatif, "Critical Study in Political Development." Nahdet Al Sharq 'The East Re-awakening' Library, Cairo, 1981.

The Palestinians are aiming to establish an independent Palestinian state free of settlements, and enjoy real sovereignty over all of the elements of the state, particularly with regard to borders, refugees and Jerusalem. The Israelis have not taken these demands into consideration, not now and not on an earlier stage. Netanyahu, in a speech in 2009, said, "The Israeli mentality considers settlement as one of the most serious issues that can be negotiated." Any expected solutions with the Palestinians, as some Israelis think, must be subject to harsh conditions in terms of settlement. The negotiations should determine several factors about these settlements, most importantly, their geographical size, their locations and the number of settlers. These Israelis see that the solution would be to bring some of these settlements into the West Bank and others would be another would be dismantled. This would, of course, cut off large parts of the West Bank in favor of settlements and subject the settlements in the West Bank to Israeli sovereignty. Therefore, this would make it impossible to establish a Palestinian state, and constitutes an obstacle before the national authority now or future state in terms of managing the West Bank¹²².

Any real development, in any of its forms in the West Bank, can only succeed if there is a Palestinian state that nurtures and promotes this development. A Palestinian state means a truly sovereign country that has the real elements of the state. This cannot be achieved under the policy of de facto imposed by the Israeli entity through settlement that tears the geographical unity of the West Bank and Jerusalem apart segmenting them into non-continuous cantons.

¹²² Fayyad, Ahmad, "The Right of Return in Palestinian Political Thought", UAE Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, Ed1, 2001, p.185.

Political analysts are trying to say that the PNA is an achievement, and that the demand to cancel it is absurd. However, it is certain that Israel will not allow the PNA to be the nucleus of a state project that the Palestinian leadership aspires to achieve.

Therefore, the PNA only controls a number of aspects of life in the PA's areas that Israel is seeking to control.

What is needed then is to start the administrative reforms, or do what a large municipality can do, on the PNA's national program for which it was established. Otherwise, the Authority will remain an administrative body over the Palestinian population. It will not have sovereignty over its land, will not be able to protect its citizens and will not succeed in becoming a sovereign state. This was evident under the new government led by Netanyahu who, in his speech in 2009, said, "The connection of the Jewish people to the land of Israel has been going on for 3500 years, and Judea and Samaria in the West Bank are the places where Abraham, Jacob and Suleiman walked." In every speech Netanyahu repeats the myths of the religious right, the historical right, and the land of the fathers and forefathers; the kingdom of David and Solomon¹²³.

Palestinian decision makers should keep the issue of Israeli settlements in the West Bank as their main preoccupation, and any future proposed solutions or negotiations with the Israelis should be rejected in light of the apparent attack on Palestinian land in the West Bank.

It is clear that any possibility of establishing a Palestinian state or a sovereign Palestinian national authority on the ground has become meaningless in light of this

¹²³ Qurei, Ahmad, "Negotiations and Resistance - A Search for a New Approach." 2nd Annual Conference of Alternatives Center, Al-Bireh, p.14

settlement attack. The actions Israel is carrying eliminate the possibility of establishing any state as coexistence with the settlers is impossible.

Therefore, it is necessary to work on the liberation of the Palestinian land and the imposition of sovereignty over it. The PA's continuous attempts to re-create the development aspects, both at the economic level through supporting development projects in the West Bank, or at the political level through some developmental aspects in the political side, such as elections or even attempts to unilateral declare a Palestinian state will always clash with the reality of the occupation controlling the land.

Any real development of any form in the West Bank will not make any sense in the absence of a real Palestinian state on the ground, because the state is the incubator of development projects¹²⁴.

The Israeli offensive on the West Bank demolishes any possibility of a Palestinian state. Israel has created settlement facts on the ground to tear up the Palestinian land, segmented the West Bank and destroyed the foundations of a Palestinian state. The apartheid wall makes the idea of a Palestinian state a mere dream that if it was established it would prematurely die¹²⁵.

Therefore, there is no solution to the issue of settlement in the West Bank, but the departure of settlers. The idea of the settlers remaining in the future Palestinian state involves the following risks and threats:

1. Settlements in a future Palestinian state means that there will be permanent points of friction with the Palestinians i.e. timed bombs.

¹²⁴ Katamish, Ahmed, "Current Settlement Crisis Management or Solving the Crisis of Two States - A Secular Democratic State - a Bi-National State). Barghouti Cultural Office, Ramallah, 2001.

¹²⁵ Mansour, Johnny, "Israeli settlement." Dar al-Aswar, Acre, 1 Ed, 2002.

2. The Palestinians accepting those who kill them and plunder their land or even the idea of taking these as partners' means re-educating the Palestinian generations to co-exist with those who raped their land and killed their parents, which leads to distortion in the Palestinian culture.
3. The settlers themselves refuse to integrate with the Palestinians because they have been raised on the culture of replacement, occupation and expulsion of the indigenous people.
4. The situation between the two sides over the next many years cannot be reconciled with the acceptance of settlers on Palestinian land, which is in violation of UN resolutions that consider settlement in the West Bank illegal and contrary to international legitimacy resolutions.
5. The acceptance of the settlers means legitimizing settlements, which encourages settlers to migrate or stay in the West Bank if the PA provides them protection¹²⁶.
6. The acceptance of settlers living in the West Bank under the Palestinian state means that the occupation remains, as settlement is the true face of the occupation.
7. Acceptance of the settlers within the Palestinian state will give Israel the right to intervene permanently in the internal affairs of this state, as one of the conditions of that state is being demilitarized. Therefore, Israel will defend the settlers first, despite that these settlers will remain armed, which will pose a danger to Palestinians deprived of this right.

The Palestinians are required to insist on the departure of the settlers, the dismantling of the settlements and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with full

¹²⁶ Op. Cit.P.28.

sovereignty. Otherwise, the struggle of the Palestinians over the years of occupation will be in vain¹²⁷.

6.3 The impact of settlement on the future of the Palestinian state borders

The question of borders is one of the most complex and challenging issues between Palestinians and Israelis. This subject has been deferred, due to its sensitivity, to final status negotiations, like settlements and Jerusalem status, although the issue of borders is one of the foundations of the Palestinian state being discussed. Here we are going to demonstrate the issue of postponing the discussion on the subject of borders from two perspectives:

1. It is the determination of the borders between the two sides that determines the sustainability of the Palestinian state. The Palestinian side relies on the international legitimacy and its resolutions, which considers the 1967 borders as the borders of that state, while Israel rejects it, as stated in the letter sent by Ariel Sharon to the American president asking for the Israeli government to retain settlements in the West Bank. Clinton, in turn, approved the Israeli requirement in his initiative in 2000, as that initiative did not include that Israel should withdraw to the 1967 borders.

2. In the Israeli political dictionary, there are no specific borders for Israel. On the contrary, the borders of the state are at the last foothold of the Israeli soldiers. Therefore, this issue should have been discussed and agreed upon at

¹²⁷ Op. Cit. (88).

the beginning of the negotiations, not to be deferred to final status negotiations.

3. Settlement, in all its forms, has affected the future borders of the Palestinian state. This can be confined to the impact of the Jordan Valley settlements and the segregation wall being of the most serious effects on the borders of the Palestinian state¹²⁸.

The Successive Israeli Governments affirm that the Jordan Valley Settlements are Security Settlements:

These settlements cannot be abandoned, according to Olmert's remarks, where he said, "We will enter the central settlements blocs and we will maintain unified Jerusalem. Ma'ale Adummim, Gush Etzion and Ariel will be an integral part of the State of Israel. The Jordan Valley, which accounts for 30% of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, cannot be relinquished." The Jordan Valley area, since the 1967 occupation, has been considered a closed military zone by Israel. Palestinian experts, led by Khalil Tafkaji, director of the Department of Maps in the Arab Studies Society, pointed out that the Israeli governments achieve four Israeli-priority goals:

1. Considering the Jordan Valley as a security barrier in front of the so-called "Eastern Front."
2. Control of all water sources in the aquifers.
3. Turning the Jordan Valley settlements into industrial settlements and agricultural areas associated with the industry, with the establishment of the so-called therapeutic industries at the Red Sea.

¹²⁸ Nasr, Muhammad, "Enhancing the capacity of the Palestinian economy." Pivotal Papers 2, Jerusalem and Ramallah, Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS).

4. Transforming the Jordan Valley area to an (Israeli) geographical barrier in order to prevent communication between the Palestinian state and Jordan¹²⁹.

This makes Palestine a state closed to the outside world. The eastern border is the only outlet for this state. Therefore, the Israeli government's preservation of the settlements means retaining the crossings and bridges. This is a violation of the sovereignty of the Palestinian state.

The Palestinian leadership demand to control the crossings, settlements established in the Jordan Valley and the wall on the West Bank is a right for the Palestinian people. Once completed, the wall will form the political border between Israel and the West Bank. As the wall encompassed 85% of the total number of settlers living in 107 settlements of those built in the West Bank annexing them to Israel, the West Bank was divided into small cantons that led to the segmentation of 40 Palestinian communities inhabited by approximately 75,000 person.

In this context, it is clear that the various forms of settlements, especially the settlements along the eastern border, the military checkpoints in the West Bank and the separation wall that separates the West Bank from its outer perimeter and cuts it apart, hinders Palestinian-Palestinian communication and isolates the Palestinians from the outside world. Israel controls the crossings and borders obstructing internal and external communication, which means damaging an important element of political development¹³⁰.

¹²⁹ Henry, Alyan, "Separation and Isolation policy - a reading in Israeli plans." Civil Society Organization Commission, 2002, p. 118.

¹³⁰ Op. cit. P. 209.

6.4 The impact of settlement on the Palestinians Right of Return and Self Determination

Throughout the years of its occupation of Palestine, Israel has displaced millions of Palestinians, whether in 1948 or 1967. These Palestinians continue to live in the Diaspora camps as refugees. Those evicted in 1967 as called displaced persons. Israel, however, replaced the indigenous Palestinian with hundreds of thousands of settlers.

Israel also established hundreds of settlements in the West Bank and established a wall separating the West Bank and the 1948 occupied territories in order to prevent the return of Palestinians to their land and deny their geographical and demographic presence¹³¹.

The Palestinian people's right to return to their land is one of the rights entrenched in the political thought. For this reason, Palestinians have offered thousands of martyrs and used all means possible of military resistance and peacefulness. The Palestinians also toured all international forums, which theoretically endorsed the right of the Palestinian people to their land.

Israel, through settlements, has been imposed a reality on the ground where the West Bank can no longer absorb the returnees who were displaced during the 1967 war. Israel also deferred the negotiations on the issue of refugees to the permanent status negotiations, hoping to write off and end this right. The Israeli governments still deny the Palestinians right of return to the 1948 territories. It also believes that the right of return is for the Jews to return to Israel, and this, it believes, can be achieved through

¹³¹ Yaakoub, Hafez, "Statement against Apartheid - Palestinian Refugees and Peace." Dar Canaan for Research, Publishing and Distribution, Damascus, 2000, p. 210.

the uprooting of Palestinians and increasing settlement activity in the West Bank to maintain the Israeli control¹³².

The return of the Palestinians, from the Israeli leaders' point of view, involves risks identified by Moshe Dayan, who said,

"Israel will not remain as it is, we want a Jewish state just as it wants to. In 1950, the Israeli Knesset passed the so-called French Right to Establish a French State", which stipulates the return of the Jews of the world and placing them in the occupied territories. This is considered a violation of the Palestinians' human rights. It also violates the social norms where immigrants from all over the world are given the right to return to lands they occupied by force while the indigenous peoples had been denied return. Israel refuses, until this moment, to recognize the right of return for Palestinians. Nevertheless, it bargains this right in hopes of canceling it and compensating the refugees instead.

There is a weakness in the Palestinian position in presenting the refugee issue as the current negotiations are not based on Resolution 194, but on the basis of Israeli goodwill and on political grounds. This was evident in the **Beilin–Abu Mazen agreement in 1995**. The document is ambiguous as it does not recognize the right of return for the Palestinians and also does not prevent them from demanding it, nor does it prevent Israel from rejecting it. The return of the Palestinian refugees to the West Bank under Israel's conditions and requirements of that future Palestinian state as well as the return in light of the de facto settlement policy in the West Bank entails substantive difficulties.

¹³² Mbyad, Amer, "Encyclopedia of Political, Social, Economic and Intellectual Culture - Terms and Concepts." Dar Al Maaref Publishing, Damascus, 1 Ed, 2000.

The impact settlement policy in the West Bank entails substantive difficulties that can be summarized as follows:

The area of land remaining behind the wall is not sufficient for the natural expansion of the population within the next hundred years, and the Palestinian state is not economically capable to achieve self-sufficiency. How, then, will the country be able to receive these refugees? Furthermore, the remaining areas of the West Bank are not suitable for large economic projects topographically and demographically, especially after the segregation wall chewed the bulk of the West Bank settlements. The remaining areas are topographically unsuitable, which hinders investments¹³³.

Moreover, international laws and treaties allowed peoples to exercise and use all methods, including armed military force, against those who prevented peoples from exercising their legitimate right to self-determination. International laws and treaties also allowed third parties to intervene to help those people achieve that right.

International Resolutions for the Palestinian people's self-determination

General Assembly Resolution 2672 (XXV) on 8 December 1970 recognizes the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and that this right is inalienable. It also states that if this right is not respected, peace is threatened. However, successive Israeli governments, through the settlement policies in the West Bank, have seized the legitimate land of the Palestinian people, which Israel confiscated in favor of its settlement policies depriving the Palestinians of their right to self-determination.

¹³³ Rubinstein, Danny, a writer and editor in Haaretz, "an article entitled: Israeli settlement in the territories occupied in 1967." Qadaya Israilia Journal, No. 5, 1 Ed, 2013, p. 42.

Israel has also housed large numbers of settlers in the West Bank, which will change the demographic reality. Settlers, therefore, share land with the Palestinians, exploit the Palestinian lands and resources without any right and interfere in Palestinian public life. This is shown by preventing the Palestinians from exploiting their land, or by the settlers imposing themselves as legitimate residents on this land. Thus, they intervene in determining the borders of the Palestinian territories by the Israeli governments' constant requirements to annex these settlements to it in any future solutions, as is the case imposed by the apartheid wall in the West Bank.

In conclusion, all settlement actions and policies by Israeli governments are a violation of Palestinian political rights, which are recognized by the international law, in all its aspects. Recognition of these rights is a legal value and any attack or violation of these rights is a crime punishable by international law and human rights, which aims to develop individuals' capabilities, consecrate their welfare, providing them protection and preserving their dignity. The Israeli government is required to shoulder its responsibilities towards the Palestinian people under occupation as recognized by the rules of international law, to protect the Palestinians from repeated settler attacks and to stop all manifestations of human rights violations in the West Bank.

States that participate in the Charter on Human Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should pressure towards making the establishment of settlements an international crime as it contradicts human rights and norms. Therefore, member countries should exert pressure on Israel to abide by these laws as a member. These countries are also required to impose real sanctions as in the Universal Declaration of

human rights on the Israeli government if it refused to obey these laws, like the States the UN imposes sanctions upon under the pretext of human rights violations¹³⁴.

6.5 The impact of demography on the security right of the Palestinians

Security is a necessary condition and an urgent need for the citizens. It is a natural right for every citizen of the universe; to live in a state of stability and tranquility. The Palestinians are deprived this condition as the settlers living in settlements near Palestinian communities have spread terror in the hearts of Palestinian citizens, through the aggressive practices on the ground and the following manifestations :

1. Repeated seizure and control of Palestinian lands.
2. The continuous attacks on Palestinian farmers and the resultant failure of citizens to work in their lands.
3. Attacks on Palestinian crops by stealing the crops or setting it on fire.
4. The spread of armed settlers in the streets of cities, such as Jerusalem and Hebron, has become a security concern for Palestinian citizens who are prevented from owning self-defense mechanisms. As a result of the settlers overpower, many Palestinian areas near the settlement centers turned to ghost areas¹³⁵.
5. The settlers committed many massacres against the Palestinian people, of which is the bloodbaths in Hebron. In 1983, settlers stormed into the old city

¹³⁴ Bassiouni, Mohammad, "report entitled: Israeli settlements and international legitimacy - on-going controversy." Published on Al-Zaytouna website on 12-5-2015, at <http://www.alzaytouna.net>

¹³⁵ Al-Rayes, Nasser, "Israeli Settlements in Light of International Humanitarian Law." Al-Haq, Ramallah, Palestine, p.56

of Hebron and opened fire on the university students, which resulted in three martyrs and dozens of wounded. This incident was repeated every day in the Palestinian territories, aiming to end the Palestinian presence in Hebron, Jerusalem and other cities that suffer settlement blocs¹³⁶.

The biggest crime is the massacre of the Ibrahimi Mosque, during the holy month of Ramadan in 1994, a retired Israeli settler from the Kiryat Arba settlement near Hebron stormed the Ibrahimi Mosque and opened fire on worshipers, leaving dozens of dead and wounded.

This violates the religious right, violates the sanctity of holy sites and violates international humanitarian law.

Moreover, settlers set fire to mosques in the West Bank, the first being Al Aqsa Mosque in 1969 and the latest is the Yasuf village's mosque in 2009.

This confirms the culture of hatred among these extremist groups of settlers, which aim to instill fear in the hearts of the Palestinian people in their lands and homes. However, the reality shows the opposite, the Palestinians are more patriotic and clinging to their lands than before, because they consider stability on the ground to a confirmation of their right to exist and live on the Palestinian territory. Israel used all means to recruit collaborators and agents focusing on middle-age categories from 16-25 year olds, especially those who did not complete their school and university education. Israel managed to recruit a number of these agents through the Israeli settlements near Palestinian communities, such as the settlements of Barkan, Elon Moreh and Tell Qarnain. Israel allowed the Palestinian youth working in Israel to

¹³⁶ Center for Arab Unity Studies, "Israel 2020, detailed plans for the future of the state and society." Op. Cit., P. 204.

work within these settlements in order to use them to serve the Israeli security doctrine by collecting information, thus achieving their ambitions in the region.

The role of Israeli military checkpoints throughout the West Bank has not only exhausted the Palestinian people physically, economically and socially, but these checkpoints have become a security threat to the Palestinians. Israeli intelligence used the moving of youth through military checkpoints to detain some of them, confiscate their permits and identity cards and arrest them for the Israeli side. This impacted people's life cycle and impeded their routines activities that require them to move around the Palestinian cities¹³⁷.

6.6 The Impact of the Israeli Settlement on the Reality of Demography in the West Bank, Palestinian territories;

The demographic conflict is a distinct and continuing political feature of the Palestinian cause, whether from the perspective of Palestinians who hold the right of return to lands they have been displaced from by Israeli occupation or from the perspective of the immigration law approved by Israeli governments to ensure a Jewish majority in the West Bank. "If the Arabs make up 40 percent of the population, this will be the end of the Jewish state," Netanyahu said. The 20% is also considered a problem. As to avoid this problem, Israel resorts to extreme measures. This explains the decisions taken by the Israeli government to deport many Palestinians in the West Bank and explains the policy of displacement of Palestinians from Jerusalem, as well as the Palestinian Legislative Council members issue in 2010.

¹³⁷ Mahameed, Khalid, "The Intifada's Impact on the Zionist Entity." Baheth Center, Lebanon, 2006, p.107.

Thus, the demographic conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the West Bank is an integral part of the conflict between the two sides over the years of occupation. The successive Israeli governments have not concealed their fear of the population problem in the West Bank. They admit that any migration of settlers from the West Bank is a loss to the settlement project. Thus, Israel, through its settlement project, sought to resolve the demographic conflict for its benefit through two themes.¹³⁸

6.7 Demographic Resolution in the West Bank:

Is to exercise all forms of violence as well as psychological and material pressure on the Palestinians to displace them from their land, in order to achieve its saying "land without people, for people without land."

However, this project has achieved its objectives in recent years, where Palestinians after the Oslo Accords returned to the West Bank and people became more aware of what the situation was in 1967 and 1948.

Despite the occupation and settlement policies, Palestinians did not migrate as happened in the past as they have learnt their lesson. Some studies have estimated that by 2020 the number of Palestinians will reach 6,000,000, depending on the natural population growth, as well as the desire of many Palestinians to return to their lands¹³⁹.

¹³⁸ op. cit., P. 118.

¹³⁹ Palestinian Geographical Center, Survey of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Op. cit, P. 60.

Israeli Policies and Procedures to attract Jews to the Palestinian territories to win the demographic balance.

It is represented by the Israeli practices to encourage and promote Jewish immigration by providing incentives for the settlers to live in the West Bank. Israel relies on Jewish immigration to it, in the first place, to achieve demographic growth. The natural population growth, on the other hand, is a secondary factor due to the low rate compared to the Palestinians. However, the population growth of Israelis in the West Bank settlements is higher than that of those living inside Israeli cities. This increase will require an increase in the size of housing, and therefore the need for new settlements to accommodate them.

Israeli governments have provided all facilities to settlers as for them to settle in the West Bank. It also took advantage of the Oslo Accords and the end of the first Intifada to increase the number of settlers, as the study has illustrated in the previous chapter.

The most dangerous threat the settlements in the West Bank poses is the imposition of a new reality on the ground, through the presence of two elements; a Palestinian that is subjected to repression, eradication and denial from all international forums, and an Israeli settlement that is provided all the facilities and support. Therefore, Israel has been keen to change the Palestinian identity features and characteristics by both changing the land through the establishment of a settlement bloc for every Palestinian community or through that alternation of Arabic names of historical or religious sites,

such as Beit El near the village of Beitin, as well as other Israeli practices, which aimed to deny the presence of the Palestinian identity giving it a Jewish character¹⁴⁰.

The danger of settlement on Palestinian demography and identity in the West Bank can also be seen through following two figures:

These are examples of the Palestinian areas in the West Bank, which are witnessing a major demographic attack on the Palestinian identity. The first figure shows the large building areas controlled by the settlements in comparison with that allocated to Palestinian communities and cities. The second figure shows the few numbers of settlers living in these settlements compared to Palestinians living in Palestinian cities and villages. This is illustrated through the fact that the Israeli settlements are witnessing a major urban sprawl for the establishment of settlements or what they call them Kibbutzim. These settlements aim to exploit and seize large areas of lands by a small number of settlers, where their main objective is to establish an Israeli entity in the Palestinian territories.

In an analytical study conducted by The Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ), it is clear that the urban construction area of the Israeli settlements in 2015 in 5 of the 11 settlements exceeded that allocated to the Palestinian citizens. Moreover, the structural plans for the Israeli settlements prepared by the occupation Civil Administration of the occupation army show that the areas allocated for the expansion of 8 Israeli settlements far exceeds that allocated for growth and urban development of the Palestinian population areas.

¹⁴⁰ Daglas, Ghassan, "Special Interview." Al Jazeera Channel on 15/3/2015, <http://www.aljazeera.net>, Tuesday 11:15 p.m.

Table (3): The area of urban construction of Israeli settlements versus the area of urban construction of the Palestinian population in the West Bank governorates.

Governorate	Governorate area - square KMs	Area of Palestinian urban construction - square KMs	The area of urban construction in the Israeli settlements - square KMs	Area of structural plans of Israeli settlements
Jenin	573	27.872	3.959	22.766
Tubas	366	5.17	7.518	12.532
Nablus	614	25.483	16.248	25.709
Tulkarem	245	19.101	3.619	5.15
Qalqilia	174	8.466	11.77	25.39
Salfit	202	8.719	18.147	37.959
Jericho and the Jordan Valley	609	7.99	23.425	77.305
Ramallah	849	47.85	31.268	61.233
Jerusalem	354	35.646	40.011	118.72
Bethlehem	608	25.37	18.158	40.697
Hebron	1068	83.224	14.142	58.802

Total	5661	294.846	188.266	486.262
-------	------	---------	---------	---------

The success or failure of resolving the demographic conflict in the West Bank depends on the Palestinians in the West Bank methods of resistance and the extent to which they affect the ability of settlers to stay in places exposed to Palestinian attacks. It also depends on the Palestinian resistance's ability to withstand in the face of the settlement and the settlers actions as well as settler's ability to withstand the Palestinian resistance fire. There are a number of necessities settlers rely upon to stay in the Palestinian territories provided the arguments of the possibilities offered by Israel¹⁴¹.

First: Israel's ability to provide the welfare for settlers:

In order to encourage them to live in the West Bank and bear many economic consequences and hardships in light of the global economic crisis experienced by Israel as well as the rest of the world. According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, the global economic crisis led to a decline of growth to 2.3% compared to 4.1% in the previous quarter and 5.2% in the first quarter of this year 2008, which is the lowest growth rate in Israel since 2002. Total exports fell by 13.4% due to the recession in the US and Europe, compared with a 2.1% decline in the previous quarter. Industrial exports fell by 57.5%, and investment in the branches of the economy fell by 17.8%. This is confirmed by the former Director General of the

¹⁴¹ An article entitled: The idea and philosophy of settlement, issued by the Palestinian Ministry of Justice, op. Cit., P. 55.

Ministry of Finance of Israel, who said, "2009 is expected to be a difficult year for Israel¹⁴²."

Many Israelis view settlements as an economic problem for Israel, because Israel provides the settlers about twice the services it provides to the Israelis living within 1967 borders. The reason behind this is that the Jews living in settlements need a higher percentage of security than that of the Jews living in the 1948 territories, as the settlers live next to Palestinian cities, particularly Hebron, Salfit, Ramallah, Hebron and Jerusalem.

1. Yossi Sarid considers the settlements in the West Bank a bad policy committed by the Israeli authorities, saying "it's not good to die for settlements."
2. There are voices in Israeli society that call loud their unwillingness to pay the price for the settlers' survival. Knesset Member, Naomi Hazan, from the Meretz party asked how many soldiers would still have to die or get injured in order to defend a handful of settlers in Netzarim, Pisgat or the heart of Hebron.
3. There is a high cost to protect the settlers (except for the cost of construction). In the wake of the al-Aqsa Intifada and the escalation of Palestinian resistance against the settlers, the cost to protect the settlers can be summarized as follows:

The settlers and the settlement process in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have become a financial burden and crisis to Israel in terms of the financial cost paid by the Israeli side in the fields of security and construction to provide protection for the settlers.

¹⁴² Op Cit., P. 72.

1. There are 9,000 families living in the settlements who depend on public allocations from the government.
2. The cost of soldiers guarding the settlements is about NIS 75 million.
3. The government has paid about NIS 1 billion to build bypass roads to ensure a safe roads to the settlers away from Palestinian communities and Palestinian resistance.
4. It also paid about NIS 13 million to armor the buses carrying the settlers at the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada.
5. Each settlement needs an armored battalion to protect it when it is exposed to acts of Palestinian resistance, which means that the settlements need a large army force to protect them.

These statements by the leaders of the settlers and the Israeli army does not negate in any way the destructive effects caused by the settlement on Palestinians on all political, social and economic levels¹⁴³.

Second: The prevailing political conditions in the West Bank: the unstable political situation in the West Bank affects the numbers of settlers. There is a volatility in migration to and reverse migration from the West Bank, which depends on the security situation in the West Bank.

The more Palestinian resistance acts against the settlements, there would be a decline or freeze in the settlement project. This is proved by the Al-Aqsa Intifada in terms of its negative impact on the overall settlement, economic and social situation.

The battle for survival on the ground between the two sides through population growth is no less important than the other forms of conflict that Israel is trying to

¹⁴³ Abu Zaid, Ahmed, "article entitled: Malignant cancer in the Palestinian body." Published on Alukan website: [http // www.alukan.net](http://www.alukan.net) accessed on 13-2-2016.

resolve in its favor. However, the future of the demographic conflict will be in favor of the Palestinians if the right of return is achieved, resistance against settlements increases and the international pressure on Israel to freeze or end its settlement project succeeds. If the settlement continues in the same way, Israel will win the demographic battle because Israel in this case depends on immigration to increase the population in the region while Palestinians are dependent on the natural population growth¹⁴⁴.

Conclusion

The study showed the magnitude of the effects of settlements and their severity in the West Bank, either by striking the pillars of economic development, which is one of the most important pillars of political development or by damaging the political development as illustrated in the first chapter. This was evident through the following:

1. The settlements dominated the economic development elements, such as land, water and the rest of the Palestinian basic resources. These resources constitute the real entrance to political development in the West Bank, as they are the essential elements for a viable state of Palestine.
2. Settlement, in all its forms and objectives, cut off the geographical, physical and humanitarian connection in the West Bank. Thus, the Palestinian society has become fragmented and disconnected and its components are only interconnected through areas that are often controlled by settlements or military checkpoints. This eliminates any opportunity to discuss the

¹⁴⁴ Saleh, Suleiman "article entitled: What is the real strength of the Zionist lobby of America." Al-Sharq Newspaper, <http://www.alsharq.com>

establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, especially under the separation and isolation of Jerusalem from the West Bank, which prevents the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state on the holy sites, and makes it impossible to have Jerusalem as the capital of the future Palestinian state.

3. Israeli governments have sought to connect the infrastructure in the West Bank with Israel, such as the regional electricity network, water networks and others. The aim is to use them to pressure the Palestinians at any time, especially in times of resistance, for example, the intifada.
4. Israel has deepened Palestinian society in the West Bank's dependency on it. This is manifested in the provision of employment opportunities in the settlements, which has caused great damage to the Palestinian economy. It was made impossible for the Palestinian economy to gain its independence under current circumstances, as the marketing is made possible through Israel and Israel only, which controls the borders and the daily traffic of Palestinians.
5. The unified law for the citizens of a state is one of the most salient features of its sovereignty. Therefore, Israeli governments have worked to create dual administrative systems and frameworks in the West Bank. The law that applies to the Palestinians does not apply to the settlers. Therefore, the existence of the settlers in any future Palestinian state will confuse the Palestinian law regarding how to address settler if the latter committed any legal offenses.
6. The non-recognition of the right of return for the Palestinians makes the demographic threat on the Palestinian population a reality. Israel, in addition to the non-recognition of the right of return, gathers Jews from all countries of

the world, grants its citizenship to every arriving Jew, displaces the Palestinians and Judaizes the land by making the majority of inhabitants settlers¹⁴⁵.

6.8 Conclusion

The study tackled the problem posed by answering the questions. The study proved wrong the hypothesis that "the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank can be implemented in light of the existence of settlements, as the settlements are only 1.6% of the West Bank and according to Israeli plans it will reach 6%. Therefore, it will not be a real obstacle before the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state, especially that the segregation wall has annexed approximately 45% of the settlements to the 1948's territories."

The hypothesis is incorrect in two ways:

1. It is true that the area of land on which settlements are built in the West Bank is 1.6%. However, the vital space of settlement, in all its forms, affects 45-58% of the West Bank.
2. Settlement has affected Palestinian life in all its walks. Therefore, it can be said that the impact of settlement overruns its actual size. The settlements in the West Bank are very similar to the malignant cancer cells in the body, since their effect is not the size of the tumor itself, but the destructive effects on all parts of the body that lead to death. The gravity and magnitude of settlement

¹⁴⁵ Alvier, Yossi, Participation in a published conference, "Settlement is a Challenge to Peace." Jerusalem, p. 104.

in the West Bank lies in the damage it causes to the overall Palestinian rights and therefore collapsing the pillars of the expected national state¹⁴⁶.

The study also outlines the Israeli settlement policies in the West Bank. The Netanyahu government has insisted on moving forward with its settlement policies, especially in the city of Jerusalem, which reveals Israeli intentions not to achieve peace with the Palestinians and to pursue a policy of *fait accompli* on the ground. Israel further continues to implement its settlement plans and even tries to change the geographical features of the Palestinian territories in East Jerusalem.

The study also illustrated the Israeli attempts to give international legitimacy to its settlement policies. This is evident in the Israeli building of the segregation wall, which was condemned by international arenas. Israel, nevertheless, built the wall challenging international law and international courts under the pretext of security for its settlements and settlers.

It also shows that Israel is trying to reshape and reformulate the Palestinian dream of an independent and sovereign state in accordance with its own vision of the solution. Through its settlement policies, Israel is imposing a reality that may lead to self-rule of populated Palestinian areas that are geographically divided and socially and politically fragmented; a state that lacks real control of its border crossing. Therefore, Israel controls the Palestinian economy and natural resources, which is one of the most important components of the state¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Mashharawi, Alaa, "Political and Security Implications of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip - An analytical study of the political and security aspects of the reality of the Israeli withdrawal in 2006." Islamic University, Gaza.

¹⁴⁷ Shalhat, Antoine, "The Results of the Right Control of Israel." Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Research, 2014, 1, pp. 104-106 <http://iugaza.edu.ps>

The Israeli claims that settlement is a necessary need as a result of the natural increase of the settlers is only a pretext to buy time to implement its plans and to evade international pressure to resolve the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis through negotiations. Israel is known to be a primarily aggressive state that does not believe in the peace achieved.

The study also highlights that Israel is trying to resolve the demographic conflict in the West Bank in favor of the settlement project and the settlers. This is evident through the high percentage of settlers who move from the 1948's territories to the West Bank settlements provided government aids and facilities¹⁴⁸.

6.9 Demographic Bomb

The human element, the population component, is one of the most vital elements of any country, both in quantity and quality, because it is the engine for all areas of life. Therefore, countries are very interested in this element. This is clearly manifested in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (i.e., the struggle for land and survival), where Israel is developing and implementing all of its plans, population destruction plans, in an attempt to create a pure Jewish state, as it claims, which has not been achieved and there is no alternative to this solution. This was expressed by one of the Israeli right-wing extremists, political adviser, Arnon Sofer, who said that the destruction of the Jewish state is inevitable unless Israel takes decisive action against the threat of Palestinian population growth.

¹⁴⁸ Arabid, Massad, "Critical Discussion on the Solution of a Secular Democratic State." 3 Ed, 2004, pp. 23-26.

In this chapter, we will explain the demographic reality of the Palestinians and the strategies and policies adopted by Israel to face of the Palestinian demographic increase. Israeli leadership have given the subject the utmost importance since 1948 under the name of the demographic threat or the so-called demographic bomb. Israeli leadership have also sought to implement projects based on the idea of preserving the Jewishness of the state and the idea of "more land and less Arabs. This was promoted by the developers of the Zionist entity starting with Theodor Herzl, the architect of the Zionist state, up to this year, 2017, headed by Benjamin Netanyahu¹⁴⁹.

The Jews, from the very beginning, claimed that this land cannot accommodate both the Palestinians and the millions of Jews from all over the world. This means a demographic conflict between the two parties, which means either survival or purity. The conflict at this stage has become a conflict of existence not a borders conflict, as any concession or surrender by any of the parties in the coming years will reshape the conflict, as minority will be subject to the majority that would control and determine the system of governance in Palestine¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁹ Sauvier, Arnon, Bystrov, Ivkina, Translation: Saleem Salama, "Israel Demographically, 2010-2030 - on the road to a religious state." Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Israeli Papers, 55, Ramallah, 2015.

¹⁵⁰ Ibrahim, Yousef, "Population in Palestine before and after the Nakba, a Hundred Year of the Demographic Conflict, 1907-2017." Adab Al -Kufa, Humanities Quarterly Journal, Vol 2, University of Kufa: Iraq, 2015, p. 52.

Chapter VII

Resolution scenarios, including:

- **Obstacles from the Israeli side;**
- **Obstacles from the Palestinian side;**
- **One-state "Bi-national state" Solution;**
- **Conclusion;**

7.1 Resolution Scenarios

The Quartet's data on the settlement of the Palestinian issue can be seen as the clearest indicator of the international position on the subject of the Palestinian state. Since its inception in 2002, the Quartet has issued 39 statements. Although it is the body entrusted with settling the dispute, all of its statements contain a common phrase that is "Leaving the permanent status negotiations issues to be negotiated upon by the parties to the conflict." Since negotiation is determined by the balance of political, economic, military and demographic forces, this means giving Israel full capacity to employ all the variables of power it possesses in the face of the Palestinian negotiator, who almost possesses no pressure cards¹⁵¹.

In light of the absence of an impartial sponsor of any settlement process and the absence of international references under international law, the balance of power is the master of the situation. There is no doubt that the balance of power is in favor of Israel, which is quantitatively and qualitative superior state over the Palestinians who are undergoing a new phase of a 45-year occupation. Palestinians' various walks of life are dependent on the occupation, which still controls all Palestinian capabilities, despite the Oslo Accords that granted the PA certain powers¹⁵².

7.2 Obstacles from the Israeli side

The Zionist position on the Palestinian state is based on religious, historical, strategic, economic, security and political considerations. The various political currents believe

¹⁵¹ Al-Kayali, Abdul Hamid, "Strategic Israeli Readings." Translated by: Adnan Abu Amer, Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut, 2009, pp. 78-82.

¹⁵² Brieger, "El Conflict palestino-israeli: 100 preguntas y respuestas," Translated by: Ibrahim Saleh, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2012, pp. 147-148.

that Palestine is part of the land of Israel. On this basis, a consensus is emerging in Israel calling for a no-return to the 1967 borders, Jerusalem as the united capital of the State of Israel, continued Israeli control of the West Bank settlement blocs and the non-establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state.

The Israeli public overall orientation indicates that the opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state continues, even though this opposition ratio is declining from 79% in 1987 to 52% in 1996. The opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state reached 29% in 2010. In 2012, 68% of the Israelis refused to stop settlement activity in the West Bank, and the majority of the Israelis reject the definition of a Palestinian state as to return to the 1967 borders¹⁵³.

The escalation of the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people, the establishment of settlements and the separation wall as well as the Judaization of Jerusalem means that "the two-state solution has been cast away or made unrealistic." However, this also means that the Israeli leadership has realized the magnitude of this slogan and the Arab and international commitment to it. Therefore, they tried to dodge this solution and undermine it by planting de facto situations and Judaizing Jerusalem, in a race against time. Those who support the bi-national state idea believe that the two separate States solution is difficult to achieve because of the following main reasons:

First: From a demographic point of view, it is now difficult to protect a state of a Palestinian or Jewish national character due to the existence of a large Palestinian minority living within Israel's 1948 borders and the increasing

¹⁵³ Anani, Khalil, "Bush is burying the Palestinian state project." Al Bayan Magazine, Issue 201, London, 2004, p. 74.

number of Israeli settlements and settlers in the occupied territories, especially in the West Bank.

Second: That the Jewish and Palestinian populations are dispersed within some size-limited territories and share a single ecosystem that requires unified efforts to manage and control it.

Third: The Palestinian society is very dependent on the Israeli economy. Palestinians, for example, take an important part in the Israeli labor market. Therefore, the failure of a binational state will lead a two-state solution where the Palestinian state will politically and economically depend on the Jewish state¹⁵⁴.

Israelis, however, are proposing to solve the Jerusalem issue either annexing the Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem and its environs to the proposed Palestinian state, in exchange for the annexation of Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem to Israel, while others call for Greater Jerusalem to be annexed to Israel .

Sofer believes that there are fundamental obstacles to reaching solutions based on the positions of the Israeli and Palestinian parties who will not give up Jerusalem. He says, when we talk to a third of the people of Israel, they will not give up the wall or Jerusalem, and the issue of the refugees in Israel will not be accepted. They will not return to their villages, and of course, 400 thousand dunums will not be returned, so it is difficult to reach a solution.

Arnon Sofer also believes that it is impossible to return to the Green Line borders and evacuate 200,000 settlers from the West Bank and 180,000 from Jerusalem. He also

¹⁵⁴ Madhoun, "The Disappearance of the Two - State Solution - Strategic Readings." Palestinian Planning Center, Vol. 5, 2010, Pp. 93-94.

believes that what has been done is a twisted way so that 80 percent of the settlers remain inside Israel¹⁵⁵.

In the interpretation of the Palestinian entity borders with the Arab countries, it will be open but with restricted movement of people and goods and will be closed to Arab migration to the land of Israel. Although the border between Israel and the Palestinian entity is not already defined, but it could be argued that the agreed-upon amendments to the borders will be implemented, so under which the majority of the Jewish population living beyond the Green Line will be annexed to Israel¹⁵⁶.

Regarding the issue of water in the proposed Palestinian state, the Israelis insist on controlling and monitoring the water resources in the West Bank and Gaza. It was to the extent that Israel, when the Oslo accords were signed with the PLO, Israel had already identified the quantities of water to supply to Palestinian cities from Israeli-controlled water basins. Israel, moreover, has built settlements over the West Bank's water basins to control these basins and prevent the digging of wells in Areas A, B and C.

This option does he believe in the possibility of 1948's War refugees return of the 1948 refugees to Israel, nor even to the new Palestinian state, especially those living in Arab countries.

¹⁵⁵ Al Amid, Jawad, "Prospects for Political Settlement of the Palestinian Question (2007-2008)." *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Issue 39, Amman, 2007, pp. 161-163.

¹⁵⁶ Eran, Oded, "Any other solution other than a two-state solution will be no good for both parties". Bilal Zahir, *Qadaya Israilia Journal*, Issue 34, Ramallah, 2009, p. 89.

Positions on the subject of refugees varied, where Olmert's vision, for example, was that the refugees will be absorbed only in the Palestinian state, and will not be allowed to return to their homes in Israel¹⁵⁷.

Without doing into the dirt of the Israeli policy and despite Ehud Barak's declaration in 2000 of his acceptance of the Palestinian state and Ehud Olmert's acceptance of it in 2008, as reiterated by current Prime Minister Netanyahu, there are seven unequivocal political positions. These seven positions were stated by the Israeli officials, like Shimon Peres, Ehud Barak, Eli Shaked and Benjamin Netanyahu, in many occasions:

1. No permanent freeze of settlement.
2. No return to the 1967 borders .
3. The Israeli army will remain on the Jordan River.
4. No ceding of Jerusalem.
5. No return of refugees to the 1948 occupied territories.
6. The envisioned Palestinian entity will be demilitarized, has no control over its airspace, and its borders are under control.
7. The Palestinian entity is prohibited to ally with any external political entity.

The Palestinians will not enjoy the status of a "state under formation" or a "transitional state". This is the agenda of the ruling Israeli Likud Party, which issued a resolution at the 2002 conference, which states, "there will be no second state in the historic land of Palestine. The country will be open to Jewish migration and settlement, but closed in the face of Arabs who will remain, according to this

¹⁵⁷ Omar Ashour, "Strategic Readings- Solving the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, Concepts Contradiction, Alternative Solutions." Ibid. Pp. 124-126.

scenario, locked in their housing pockets and exercise only municipal and cultural autonomy.

This scenario will mean the abandonment of the Oslo framework and the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority. As most of the right-wing Zionist parties suggest, the Palestinians will carry Jordanian citizenship and participate in the Jordanian elections and policies. This may lead to the achievement of the right-wing Jewish parties' population transfer goal, including encouraging or forcing Arabs to leave historic Palestine and settle in other countries.

Whatever is the formula, the agenda for Greater Israel, which has dominated Israeli policies since the 1970s, will continue to transform the country into an apartheid society, emphasizing the escalation of the national hereditary conflict and economic deterioration¹⁵⁸.

7.3 Obstacles from the Palestinian side.

The two-state solution emerged from the inability to unify the issues of the Palestinian people and their fate within a single national human rights solution. The two-state solution is often unable to provide an adequate answer to the fate of two important sectors of the Palestinian people; Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian refugees living outside Palestine. The recognition of the Jewish character of Israel will inevitably be at the expense of these both sectors .

Few Israelis believe that the Palestinian Authority is capable of imposing a law that bans the resistance. The PA suffers from political and military weakness. Unlike

¹⁵⁸ Anbar, Ephraim, "The Rise and Fall of the Two States for Two Peoples Formula." Qadaya Israilia Journal, Issue 33, Ramallah, 2009, pp. 108-109.

Arafat, who enjoyed the trust of most Palestinians, especially the security services and Fatah institutions, the current leadership is supported by a small percentage of the public, due to the security services recent activities in terms of arrests of cadres of Islamic organizations, such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas and other movements.

With regard to peace opportunities, the emergence of Hamas has two consequences: First, Hamas would reject any permanent agreement, and it certainly will not accept any expected solution i.e. a solution that will end the conflict and answer the Palestinian demands.

Second, an increasing number of Israelis believe that Israel has left the West Bank as a result of an agreement with the Palestinian Authority or unilaterally. Hamas will take control of the region, as it did in Gaza. The degree of willingness to accept risk in this regard is much smaller than it was in 2000¹⁵⁹.

The Palestinian failure to achieve internal reconciliation and the insistence of a Palestinian party to negotiate despite the certainty of the failure of negotiations, while another Palestinian party is lost between the Arab Spring currents and its traditional ties with the Axis of Resistance "Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon and Iran".

The Palestinian side does not seem to have a clear perception of the process of linking the Gaza Strip and the West Bank through Israeli territories, which complicates the country's continuity and interconnectedness and almost recreates Bangladesh-Pakistan pre-split model.

¹⁵⁹ Khader, Hussam, "the Death of the Two-state Option." Al-Bayader, Political Magazine, Issue No. 902, Jerusalem, 2006, p.37.

The proposed two-state solution may leave many unresolved issues, including the emptying of most of the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, the possibility of a weak Palestinian state that is likely to be largely dependent on Israel and the status, rights and capabilities of Palestinian citizens of the self-proclaimed Jewish state¹⁶⁰.

These are not just technical details, but rather major obstacles that may cause instability and prevent the emergence of two legitimate political communities. Other problems may arise due to the potential ethnic nature of the two countries, such as continuing anti-Jewish communications and policies that may lead to a pattern of risky peaceful Israeli-Palestinian coexistence.

The Palestinians have no confidence in Israel's intentions to fulfill its obligations under a permanent agreement. The main reason behind Palestinians' skepticism lies in the way Israel dealt with the settlement issue. As the Palestinians see and as a result of the increase in settlement activity since the Oslo Accords, this expansion has made settlement in the West Bank irreversible. Accordingly, the Israeli government's handling of illegal settlement outposts has made the Palestinian leadership and certainly the Palestinian public believe that Israel is not interested or incapable of dealing with the Palestinian issue.

The Palestinian quest for a two-state solution is closer than ever, and the acceptance of Palestine's membership in the United Nations as an observer state was a Palestinian state birth certificate on the June 4, 1967 borders. Moreover, this provided the Palestinians political and diplomatic movement pressure cards. The two-state solution remains connected to the ability of the Israeli and Palestinian parties to answer the

¹⁶⁰ Menwer, Hisham, "The Israeli right and the revival of the one-state solution." Palestine newspaper, no. 2170, Gaza, 2013, p.14.

resolution requirements, despite the clear Israeli role in obstructing a final agreement by setting impossible-to-accept conditions by the Palestinian side¹⁶¹.

7.4 One-state "Bi-national state" Solution.

The bi-national state solution to settle the conflict is based on the creation of a single political system for the Palestinian and Jewish Israeli peoples over the entire historic land of Palestine.

Although there are certain agreed-upon definitions of a one-state solution, especially the bi-national state, in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular, many of the determinants have been drawn from other experiences around the world, such as Switzerland, Belgium and South Africa. The closest definition to a binational state may be a political concept of a government system in which two peoples share the same view on the political pillars of the state. At the same time, each national community would have its own separate identity, where it enjoys its own language, national culture and religious heritage. The most important characteristic of a bi-national state system is to achieve a consensual system between the two national communities that disapproves majority's control over the minority. Therefore, there are essential elements of such as state, which are:

1. Division of power;
2. Multiparty system;
3. Minority right to object;
4. Participation in executive power;

¹⁶¹ Haidar, Aziz, "Palestinians in Israel under the Oslo Accords." Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1997, p. 173.

5. A democratic state is usually seen as a system of equality of citizens before the law and the agreed-upon state system.

The concept of the people is based on organizational principles that contradicts ethnic concepts of which ethnic systems derive their principal political and moral powers. The formation of the people is a necessary step to transform an ethnic-rule system and society to democracy. The political geography of a democratic state also depends on setting clear boundaries for the political territory in which the land law is applied equally to all members. As studies and theories have shown, the existence of a relatively stable population of equal citizens is a necessary condition for the establishment of a civil society that functions within the framework of the state, capital and home, and to establish a network of organizations, institutions, parties and associations as a basis for democratic governance. This scenario was first suggested by Jewish intellectuals during the 1920s and later by Jewish and Palestinian groups. Recently, there has been a noticeable interest among Palestinians in this option, especially Palestinians in Israel and the diaspora. This scenario has the potential to create a legitimate "people" in Israel/Palestine¹⁶².

A minority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) members favored a federal state plan on Palestine/Israel that would include all ethnic groups. Fortunately for the Jews, the Arabs rejected the plan; paving the way for the adoption of the Partition Plan in 1947. We say "fortunately" because the majority of the UN Commission has recognized that this solution actually responds to the interests of the Jews who lived in that period in the Land of Israel, but clearly leads to the restriction of Jewish immigration in the future. Under these circumstances, the

¹⁶² Zaatar, Ayed, "Palestine is the arena of international conflicts and the axis of international outstanding economic, political, social and military issues." Nablus, Palestine, 2011, p. 81.

establishment of a single state would not have provided a satisfactory solution to the problem of Jews who were not then inhabitants of the Land of Israel (Palestine)¹⁶³.

The idea of the "unified state" was raised by the Palestinian and international intellectual, Edward Said. The former Libyan President 'Brotherly Leader and Guide of the Revolution of Libya,' Muammar Gaddafi, suggested 'Isratin' as the name of the suggested state. The former Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei threatened Israel that if it did not answer the Palestinian people's requirements and benefits, he will call for a one-state solution. Moreover, some Palestinian intellectuals also supported this idea¹⁶⁴.

Hence, it may be necessary to raise the following question: Who should be the members of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples? Who are the main groups claiming political power in Israel/Palestine? At the basic level, six major ethno-political groups characterized by their different histories and geographies that claim their right to political power in Israel / Palestine are

- 1- Jewish citizens living in Israel.
- 2- Arab Palestinian citizens living in Israel.
- 3- Jewish settlers in the 1967 occupied territories.
- 4- Palestinians living in the 1967 occupied territories.
- 5- The Jewish Diaspora.

¹⁶³ Tannous, Izzat, "Palestinians - Glorious past and brilliant future." Research Center - Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1982, p.20.

¹⁶⁴ Al Mughrabi, Fouad, "US foreign policy and the Palestinian cause." Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies (IALIIS), Ramallah, Palestine, 2002, p. 113.

6- The Palestinian Diaspora¹⁶⁵.

The idea of a bi-national state means the establishment of a state on the borders of historic Palestine, within the limits of the British Mandate on Palestine, where both Jews and Arabs live on the bases of the principles of democracy and equality, which requires the consent of the two peoples to live voluntarily without claiming ownership of the homeland. The government system, being republican or parliamentary, would not matter because Arab and Jewish citizens will be of equal rights and duties, such as the right to be eligible for election and to vote. They, furthermore, will be within one army and security and polices services. They will also manage all the resources of the state and its institutions together.

1- The Israeli position on the one-state "Bi-national state" solution.

This solution is unlikely to be approved by any major Jewish group in the near term, since it amounts to a great loss of power; meaning the end of Jewish sovereignty and the sharp collapse of Jewish control over land and resources. Despite the calls made by a large number of Israeli figures to adopt the idea of a binational state, the sweeping Jewish opposition will make this decision unlikely to happen to a large extent, at this particular time¹⁶⁶.

When the former Israeli Defense Minister, Moshe Arens, has been accused of pushing the idea of a bi-national state, he stated that Israel is already a bi-national state with 20 percent minorities. In this context, Knesset Speaker Reuven Rivlin stated that he prefers to grant citizenship to Palestinian residents of the West Bank than to

¹⁶⁵ Sakhniyeh, Essam, "Palestine the State, the roots of the question in the Palestinian history." Research Center - Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1985, p. 118.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 121.

divide the country. The Knesset Likud member, Tzipi Hotovely, has organized a campaign in May 2009 in the Knesset under the slogan 'the alternative to the two-state solution', and publicly called for gradually granting citizenship to the Palestinians¹⁶⁷.

Ibrahim Ibrash said that the idea of a one-state solution still raises the Palestinians' concerns in light of the Palestinian vulnerability, the separation between Gaza and the West Bank and the continued decline of the PA's authority in the West Bank, as well as the idea of a one bi-national on the West Bank only.

The latter is something we were vigilant about for many years and we think that Israeli strategic think-tanks believe in this formula nowadays. What we most fear is the presence of Palestinian parties that are ready to deal with this solution and we hope that Abu Alaa's statements are not in this direction¹⁶⁸.

It should be noted that the past two years Israeli actions were seen as undermining the PA's ability and authority in the West Bank. Israel carried out successive procedures, such as issuing work permits to the West Bank residents where the number of Palestinian workers within the Green Line reached about 100,000. Furthermore, Israel provided facilities for Palestinians, including visits and tourism permits as well as the Reactivation of the Israeli civil administration offices in the West Bank.

However, there is a declared consensus in Israel, by the left and the secular, the moderate and the ultra-Orthodox right, to reject the one-state idea that some Palestinians call for from time to time. The vast majority, if not the absolute majority of the Israelis, considers that this proposal is in practice the end of Israel, not only as a state with a Jewish majority, but an end to the Zionist project in Palestine. Therefore,

¹⁶⁷ Saleh, Majeed, "The Transfer 'Expulsion of Palestinians' in Israeli Thought and Practices." Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut, 2009, p. 18.

¹⁶⁸ Hazaymeh, Muhammad, "Jerusalem in the Arab-Israeli conflict." Dar Al-Hamed for Publishing & Distribution, Amman - Jordan, 2011, p. 41.

there is no debate in Israel on the absolute rejection of this proposition. Hence, it is better for Israelis to accept a Palestinian state on all the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem and to dismantle all settlements than to accept the one-state option. The main reasons for rejection are:

First: The demographic factor is the main reason behind the Israelis rejection of taking this option into consideration. The Palestinian population of historic Palestine is equal to the number of Jews in 2014 according to the PCBS. Moreover, the number of Palestinians will exceed the number of Jews in 2020 where the Jewish population will be approximately 46.2%, meaning 6.2 million Jews and 7.2 million Palestinians. This means that the Palestinians will be the majority in less than 2 years.

Second: The one-state project is in total contradiction with the Jewish state project. Israel seeks to extract Palestinian and international recognition that Israel is a Jewish state. This state, however, will not be of a Jewish character without an absolute Jewish majority. If anyone is convinced to relinquish part of historic Palestine 'the 1967's borders', it is for the sake of preserving the Jewish majority not for the recognition of Palestinian national rights.

Third: The Israelis experience throughout the conflict, especially in the last two decades, and the bloody events, especially in the second Intifada, means the separation from the Palestinian population, but not from the latter's land, which Israel daily confiscates.

Fourth: Israel finds it difficult to accept the Arab Palestinian citizens of the state, whose percentage does not exceed 25 percent. How can they accept a Palestinian majority within the borders of one state?

Fifth: In terms of security, Israel refuses to allow Palestinians to work in the Israeli market, but only a limited numbers and under strict security conditions is allowed. Will it accept seven million Palestinians with equal rights and duties?¹⁶⁹

7.5 Conclusion

The study has dealt with the problem presented by answering the questions. The study proved wrong with the hypothesis that "the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank is possible in light of continued existence of settlements as the latter are only 1.6% of the West Bank. According to Israeli plans, settlements will have an area of 6%. Therefore, settlements will not be a real obstacle to the establishment of a truly sovereign Palestinian state on the land and over the population, especially if we know the separation wall has encircled and annexed approximately 45% of the settlements to Israel."

The hypothesis is incorrect in two ways:

1. It is true that the area of land on which settlements are built in the West Bank is 1.6%. However, the vital area of settlement in all its forms affects 45-58% of the West Bank. Further, most of the separation wall is built on West Bank's lands.
2. Settlement has affected the overall life of the Palestinian population. Therefore, the effects of settlement far outweigh its size on the ground. The settlements in the West Bank are very similar to a malignant cancer cells in the

¹⁶⁹ Nassar, George, "The concept of crimes against humanity in international law." Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2008, p. 81.

body; their effect isn't derived from their magnitude, rather from the destructive impact that harms all parts of the body leading it to death. The settlement gravity lies in the effects it poses on the overall rights of Palestinians and, thus, eliminates the expected national state elements.

The study also outlines the Israeli settlement policies in the West Bank. The Netanyahu government insisted on moving forward with its settlement policies, especially in the city of Jerusalem, which reveals the Israeli unwillingness to take steps towards peace with the Palestinians. Netanyahu's government pursues a policy of *fait accompli* on the ground through the implementation of its settlement plans of building and expansion, and even worse, by attempting to change Palestinian land geographical features, especially in East Jerusalem.

The study also showed the Israeli attempts to grant international legitimacy to its settlement policies. This is evident in the issue of the separation wall, which was condemned by international forums, but Israel rather rebelled against international law and international courts under the pretext of security for its settlements and settlers.

The study also shows that Israel is trying to sketch the Palestinians dream of a Palestinian state in accordance with its vision of a solution. Through its settlement policies, Israel is imposing a reality that could lead to autonomous Palestinian populated areas, which are geographically, socially and politically scattered and divided with no real control over the crossings and borders. Thus, this would lead to Israel fully controlling the Palestinian economy and natural resources, which is one of the most important elements of the state.

The Israeli claims that settlement is a necessity as a result of the natural increase of the settlers is only a pretext to buy time to implement its plans and to dodge international pressure to resolve the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis through negotiations. Israel is known to be a primarily aggressive state.

The study also shows that Israel is trying to resolve the demographic conflict in the West Bank in favor of the settlement project and the settlers. This is reflected in the increase in the proportion of settlers who move from Israel to West Bank settlements encouraged by Israeli government facilities and support.

Chapter VIII

- **Results and Recommendations;**
- **List of Sources and References;**
- **List of Annexes.**

Findings and Recommendations

The main findings the researcher concluded, based on the study data on the settlement and its effects on political development in the West Bank, can be summarized as follows:

First: Findings

1. The danger of the settlement project in the West Bank lies not in its control of an area of land, but in the uprooting of the Palestinian population and depriving them of all rights. Settlement not only controls and confiscates the land, but also disrupts its geographic, social and political unity through the barriers, checkpoints, separation wall and bypass roads, which are a form of settlement in the West Bank.

2. The settlement project in the West Bank is based on the ostensible security needs of Israeli governments. However, the political dimensions of dividing the land to weaken the Palestinians' ability to establish a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital is the real objective of this project. Settlement, in all its forms, has a significant impact on the possibility of any political development in the West Bank. It has made impossible the establishment of a Palestinian state with political, geographic or social connection or contiguity, even under the rule of the PA, which the Palestinians deemed as a nucleus of their future state. The West Bank has been transformed into a large prison in which Palestinians are deprived

of their political, social and economic rights. Therefore, settlement affects the foundations of political development .

3. The settlement achieved the Zionist objectives aimed at preventing reaching conflict resolution with the Palestinians leading to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state of continuous geographical dimensions. The existence of the settlements threatens any future Palestinian state, as Israel controls all the crossings, borders and roads connecting the Palestinian areas, where settlers can close it whenever they want .
4. Settlement policies are in a state of fluctuation. However, the entire project did not stop at all, but was subject to the surrounding political conditions; the Israeli governments' internal party, the Palestinian resistance, or external pressures level.
5. Israel's successive governments have long sought to realize the dream of the Zionist movement, which calls for full control over the Palestinian territories and the establishment of the so-called Jewish state. Thus, it is noticed that the Israeli governments seek to win the demographic conflict for the benefit of the settlers.

6. It was clear through the study that the settlement activity in all its forms affected all the elements of development in the West Bank. Settlements control the land, water and other basic Palestinian resources, which would strengthen the steadfastness of the Palestinian people on their land and empower them to resist the settlement policy. The settlement activity has divided and fragmented the West Bank and the Palestinian society, while Israeli policies, on its turn, connected settlements to each other through bypass roads .
7. The settlement project in the West Bank has recently been led by religious Jews and Zionists. This is evidenced by the increasing number of religious Jews among the settlers, especially that the number of settlers living in religious settlements is 33,329, which is three times the number of settlers in secular settlements who amount to about 10,000 .
8. The separation wall is one of the most dangerous settlement projects in the recent period, as it delineates the borders between the Palestinians and Israel. It is also a preemptive step to delineate the borders of the future Palestinian state, which is supposed to be on the 1967 lines. However, the Israeli separation wall built on the West Bank eliminates that opportunity.

The settlement diminishes the Palestinian dream of establishing a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. This is due to Israeli policies that have violated all agreements signed between the two sides. This is evident by the doubling of the number of settlements and settlers in the West Bank. Prior to the agreements, the number of settlers in the West Bank in 1992 was 252,545, 111,673 of whom live in West Bank's settlements and 140,872 settlers living in Jerusalem. The number of settlers in the West Bank reached the end of 2008 about 500,000, with the vast majority living in Jerusalem. The number of settlers in Jerusalem alone is approximately 282,000. This is equivalent to 54% of the settlers. The settlers double numbered after the Oslo Accords, which indicates that Israeli governments are exploiting peace in favor of settlements.

9. There is a battle, a hidden battle, between Israelis and Palestinians on Palestinian water in the West Bank, which foreshadows a bad future for the Palestinians. Most of the settlements are built on West Bank water aquifers, where settlement controls 80% of the Palestinian groundwater. This damaged the groundwater reserves first and then deprived the Palestinian villages and cities of water, which negatively affects Palestinian public life, especially in the agricultural field .
10. The facts on the ground proved that all Israeli governments with all their parties and trends have the same perceptions regarding the

settlement issue, despite the different application methods. This indicates the nature of future negotiations that the Palestinian leadership agreed to engage in. It seems that Netanyahu's Likud government is not in a hurry to negotiate. On the contrary, it aims to prolong the negotiation process in order to impose new facts on the ground, especially on the issue of settlements in Jerusalem. What could not be achieved in eighteen years of negotiations could not be achieved in three months or a year. The Netanyahu government is unprepared, as shown by the statements made by its coalition leaders, to make any concessions on key issues, including settlement in the West Bank .

Second: Recommendations

In light of the researcher's findings, a number of recommendations are raised:

1. The development of a Palestinian strategy aimed at convincing international institutions to impose the international law on Israel with regard to the settlements, accompanied by real resistance to the settlement project in the West Bank.
2. This requires a Palestinian internal unity to resist the settlement project and to build a Palestinian society that is capable to resist and confront. Moreover, a new strategy for the Palestinian national action based on the unity of the people in all their places of residence should be developed. Palestinians should also unified position on permanent solution issues, so that the resistance to the settlement project will not be carried out by a small group of the Palestinian

people, as in the Ni'lin and Bil'in marches. Palestinians need to agree upon a comprehensive national program that ensures all Palestinian included in the resistance of the settlement project.

3. Given the risks of settlement on the overall Palestinian public life, the Palestinian leadership should not return to indirect or direct negotiations proposed by the US administration under the auspices of Mitchell, as these negotiations lack seriousness and aim to prolong the occupation and expand the settlements, as experienced in the past 18 years. The lack of earnest in Israel's attitude towards achieving peace through the implementation of the controlling and Judaization of the land must be matched by Palestinian insistence on resisting settlement by all means approved by divine principles and international laws. Palestinians should not waste time walking behind the mirage of negotiations, which Israel is procrastinating as to win time for the settlement project.
4. To initiate a Palestinian strategy to build the economy in the West Bank, especially in the field of agriculture and water. These two fields were obstructed by settlement; two of the most important development elements in the West Bank.
5. The Palestinians must carry out comprehensive development plans aimed at stabilizing them in their land in order to confront the demographic settlement project. These plans should be based on a planned and well-constructed institutional work that includes providing the Palestinian diaspora capital with facilities to return to the homeland. Palestinians should also establish development projects to employ Palestinian workers, give up on settlement work and boycott Israeli products.

References:

Books in Arabic

1. Merle, Marcel, Sociology of International Relations, Translated by Hassan Nafea, Cairo, Egypt: Dar Al Mustaqbal Al Arabi, First Edition, 1986.
2. Ismail Sabri, Political Relations: The Study of Origins and Theories, Kuwait, That Al Salasil Publications, Fourth Edition, 1985.
3. Nazem Jasour, Encyclopedia of Political Science, Amman: Dar Majdalawi for Publishing & Distribution, First Edition, 2004 .
4. Michaëlle Arkoun, Definition of Conflict Data, Sources and Methodologies, The Book of Arms, Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, SOPRI, STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, First Edition, 2003.
5. Yusuf, Nasif, The Theory of International Relations, Beirut, Dar AlKitab Al Arabi, First Edition, 1985.
6. Nur Masalha, Ard Akthar wa-Arab Akal 'More Land and Less Arabs', The Transfer Policy in Practice 1949-1996, Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, Lebanon, 2002.
7. Ilan Pappé, "Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine." Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut.
8. A Summary of Theodor Herzl's The Jewish State, translated and published by Arab Studies Institute, First Edition, Beirut, 1997.
9. Anwar al-Jundi, "Talmudic Scripts." Jewish Zionism, Cairo: Dar Al Eatesam, 1977.

10. Isaac Drenaim, "The Zionist Movement - Translation from Hebrew." Jawdat Asaad, Irbid, Jordan, 1988.
11. Al Arqam Al-Zoubi, "Facts on Identity." First Edition, Damascus: Al Motahida leal Nashr, 1990.
12. Israel Shahak, "Open Secrets." Translated by: Adel Khairallah, Reda Salman, Second Edition, 2001.
13. Roger Garaudy, "The Case of Israel: A Study of Political Zionism." Translated by: Nazih Al Shoufi, Manara, Beirut, 1997.
14. Henry Cattat, "Palestine in Light of Truth and Justice." Translated by: Wadie Falesteen, Beirut: Librairie Du Liban Publishers, 1970.
15. Hani Al Hindi, "About Zionism and Israel." First Edition, Beirut: Dar Al Tale'ah, 1971.
16. Abd Al-Raheem, Ahmed Hussein, "Zionist activity during World War II, 1939 until 1945." Beirut: Arab Institute for Research & Publishing, 1984.
17. Yowal Raphael, "Zionism - Theory and Practice." Translated by: Noor Al Bawatlah, First Edition. Amman: Dar Al Jaleel for Publishing, Palestinian Research & Studies, 2000.
18. Regina S. Sharif, "Non-Jewish Zionism: Its Roots in Western History," Ahmad Abdullah Abdel Aziz. Kuwait, National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters, (original work published in 1982), 1985.
19. Rafiq Al-Natsheh, "Colonialism in Palestine - Israel as an Investment Project." Dar Al Jaleel for Publishing, Palestinian Research & Studies, 1984.

20. Mary Wilson, "King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan." Translated by: Fadel Al Jarrah, First Edition, Beirut, Cadmus for Publishing and Distribution, 2000 .
21. Ephraim Talmi, "Lexicon of Zionism Terminology." Translated by: Ahmad Ajrami, First Edition. Amman: Dar Al Jaleel for Publishing, Palestinian Research & Studies, 1988.
22. Mohammed Shibli, "Methodology in Political Analysis: Concepts - Methods - Approaches" Algeria, Dar Homa for printing, publishing and distribution, 2002.
23. Noam Chomsky, Translated by: Hamza Al-Muzaini, Globalization and Terrorism - America's War on the World - American Foreign Policy and Israel, First Edition, Cairo: Madbouli Library, 2003.
24. Eleazar Dron, Shireq Moses. "Dictionary of Zionism and Israel," Ra'avot - Jerusalem, 1983.
25. Aharon Klieman, "Divide or Rule: Britain's Attempt at Partitioning Palestine, 1936-1939." Jerusalem, First Edition, 2003.
26. Saber Abd Al Rahman Taima, "Zionism through history," Cairo: Modern Cairo Library.
27. Moin Haddad, "Restless Land, Geopolitical Bets." First Edition, All Prints Distributors & Publishers, Lebanon, 2002.
28. Adel Riyad, "The Borders and the Political Entity of the Palestinian State - The Palestinian State, its borders, its data and its residents." Institute of Arab Research and Studies, Cairo, 1991.
29. Nur Masalha, "Ard Akthar wa-Arab Akal, The Politics of Denial: Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Problem The Politics of Denial, Expulsion of

the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought"
Translated by Khalil Nassar, Institute for Palestine Studies, First Edition,
Lebanon - Beirut, 2002.

1. Mohamed Zeitouna and Subhi Touqan: "Palestine - a Victim of Conspiracies." Arab Publishing Agency, Alexandria.
2. Edward Said, "Peace and Its Discontents: Gaza - Jericho." Dar Al Mustaqbal Al Arabi, Cairo, 1994.
3. Nabeel Al Sahli, "Palestine - Land and People." Arab Writers Union, Damascus, 2004.
4. Tahir Shash, "Final Settlement Negotiations" Dar El Shorouk, Cairo, 1999.
5. Hasan Saleh, "Geography of Palestine, Education program." Institute of Arab Research and Studies, 1996.
6. Mohammad Amer, "The History of Colonial Zionist Settlement in Palestine." First Edition, Academic Bookshop, Cairo, 2002.
7. Saleh Al Assaf, "Introduction to Research in Behavioral Sciences." Obeikan Bookstore, Riyadh, 1996.
8. Sabri Faris Al Haythi, "Joughrafya Sysiya Maa' Tatbekat Genolekya." Dar Safa for Printing, Publishing & Distribution, First Edition, 2000.
30. Salah Eddin Hamdi, "Studies in Public International Law." Dar Al Huda for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, First edition, 2002.
31. Adel Fathi Abdelhafiz, "Contemporary Political Theory: A study of the models and theories presented for the understanding and analysis of political science." Dar Elgamaa Elgadida, First edition, Alexandria, 1997.

32. Amer Mesbah, "Theoretical Trends in the Analysis of International Relations." Office des publications universitaires, Second edition, Algeria, 2006.
33. Abdulwahab Al Kayali et al. "Encyclopedia of Politics." A5, Arab Institute for Studies and Publication, Vol. 5, 1996.
34. .35 Abdul Razzaq Galabi, Ali, "Social Anthropology." Dar Al-Maarefah Al-Jami'a, Alexandria, 1985.
35. Fathi Abu Ayana, "Studies in Economic and Political Geography." Dar Annahda Al Arabia for printing, publishing & distribution, First edition, Beirut, 2001.
36. Fouad Al Saqqar, "Studies in Human Geography." Department of Knowledge, (n.d), Alexandria.
37. Kamal Hammad, "International Disputes: International Legal Study in Conflict Science." Al Dar Al Wataniya for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, First edition, 1998.
38. Mohammed Muhanna, Khaldoun Ma'arouf, "Settlement of International Disputes, with a Study of Some Middle East Problems." Maktabat Ghareeb, (n.d).
39. Political Sciences, a Study in Origins and Theories. Modern University Office, 2005.
40. "Political science between modernity and contemporaneity." Monchaat Al Maaref, Alexandria, 2002.
41. Kamal Al Khalidi, "The Land in Zionist Social Thought," General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists (GUPWJ), First Edition, 1984.

42. Majid Shadud, "Contemporary International Issues", Second Edition, University of Damascus, 1989-1990.
43. Hassan Abu Hammoud, "Political Sociology", Damascus University Publications, Second Edition, 2001.
44. Samar Bahlawan, "The Palestinian Question", Dar Alkitab Alarabe, Damascus, 1990.
45. Hussein Tantawi, "Zionism and violence - Philosophy and Strategy," Dar Al Massira for Publishing, Printing & Distribution, Beirut, 1977.
46. Hussein Al Fatlawi, "The Roots of the Zionist Movement", Dar Wael for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2002.
47. Walid Al Khalidi, "Zionism in a Hundred Years - From Crying over the Ruins to Dominating the Arab Orient, 1897 - 1997", Dar An-Nahar, First Edition, Beirut, 2002.
48. Ali Jamal Salama, "Memory of a Nation - Reading in the Files of the Arab-Israeli Conflict", Dar Al Nahda Al Arabeya For Publishing, First Edition, Cairo, 2009.
49. Waleed Salim, "Demographics of Jerusalem and Judaization plans." Fadaat for Publishing & Distribution, Amman, First Edition, 2008.
50. Abdullatif Ghanem, "Critical Study in Political Development", Maktabat Nahdat Al-Sharq, Cairo, 1981.
51. Johnny Mansour, "Israeli settlement." Al-Aswar Association, Acre, First Edition, 2002.
52. Hafez Yacoub, "Statement against Apartheid - Palestinian Refugees and Peace." Dar Canaan for Research, Publishing and Distribution, Damascus, 2000.

53. Amer Mbyad, "Encyclopedia of Political, Social, Economic and Intellectual Culture - Terms and Concepts." Dar Al Maaref Publishing, Damascus, 1 Ed, 2000
54. Mohammed Al Hazaymeh, "Jerusalem in the Arab-Israeli conflict." Dar Al-Hamed Publishing & Distribution, Amman, Jordan, 2011.
55. Abd Alrahman Abu Arafa, "Settlement is the Practical Application of Zionism," First edition, Dar El Shorouk, Cairo, Egypt, 2003.
56. Nasser Alrayes, "Israeli settlements in light of the international humanitarian law." 2009, First Edition, Dar El Shorouk, Cairo - Egypt.
57. Fathi Abu Ayana, "Studies in Demography." Dar Al Nahda Al Arabeya for Publishing, 2015.
58. Ahmad Ismail, "Demography Principles and its Geographical Applications," Dar Al Thaqafa for Publishing & Distributing, 5th Edition, Amman, Jordan, 2013.
59. Mesbah Mahjoub, "Conflict on Identity and the inevitability of Civil War in the Temple." Dar Al Hilal Publish House, First Edition, 2009.
60. Maa'moun Kiwan, "Jews in the Middle East - The Last Exodus from the New Ghetto." Al Dar Al Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, First Edition, 2016.
61. Abdelfattah Madi, "Religion and Politics in Israel." Madbouly Bookshop, Cairo, First Edition, 2005.

Journals & Magazines

1. Mikhail Palombo, "Nakba of Palestine: How the Palestinians were expelled from their homes." Al Fiker Al Syasi 'Political Thought' Journal, Issues 13 + 14, published in 2001.
2. Abd Al Aziz Morsi, The Demographic Dimension of the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Stability in the Middle East, Arab Affairs, Issue No. 121, 2005 .
3. Abdullah Saleh, "Palestinian Refugees between Demography and Resettlement," Al Siyassa Al Dawliya, Issue No. 114, 1993.
4. Hassan Abdul Aal, "Israeli Geopolitics - Introduction to the Israeli War Geopolitics." Al Fiker Al Syasi 'Political Thought' Journal, Issues 13 + 14, published in 2001
5. Elia Ezraiq, Demography and Transfer, Israel's Way to the Incredible, Journal of Palestine Studies, No. 55, 2003.
6. Yossi Alfred, "The Future of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 64, fall 2005.
7. Mohammed Nur eddin, "The New Myth," Shu'un al-Awsat, Issue no. 6, spring 2002.
8. Elias Shoufani, "The Zionist Project Foundations and its Strategic Changes," Shu'un al-Awsat, Issue no. 101, spring 2002.
9. Abdulghani Salameh, "The Similarities between Palestine and South Africa," A Comparative Study in the Palestinian Affairs Magazine, Issue no. 249, Ramallah: Research Center - the Palestine Liberation Organization, 2012.

10. Nihad Ali, "Jewish Religious Fundamentalism and its Local and Regional Projections," Qadaya Israilia, Issue no. 2, Ramallah: The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies Madar, 2007.
11. Haitham Kilani, "The Zionist Terrorism", Studies and Research Series, Bureau of Party's Information and Planning, National Leadership, Issue No. 12, April 2002 .
12. Yousef Kamel Ibrahim, "The Forced Demographic Transition in Palestine." Baheth Center for Studies, Beirut, 2004 .
13. Mohammad Murad, "The Jewish State and the Identity Issues - Geopolitics and Demography." Lebanese Army Magazine, 2011 .
14. Jamal Al Baba, "The Demographic Fear in Israel." Published study - Palestinian Planning Center, Issues No. 15+ 16, 2004.
15. Danny Rubinstein, author and editor in Haaretz, "article entitled: Israeli settlement in the 1967 occupied territories." Qadaya Israilia 'Israeli Affairs' Journal, Issue No. 5, First edition, 2013.
16. Alaa Al-Mashharawi , "Political and Security Implications of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip - An analytical study of the political and security aspects of the reality of the Israeli withdrawal in 2006." Islamic University, Gaza.
17. Ephraim Anbar, "The Rise and Fall of the Two States for Two Peoples Formula." Qadaya Israilia Journal, Issue No. 33, Ramallah, 2009.
18. Hussam Khader, "the Death of the Two-state Option." Al-Bayader, Political Magazine, Issue No. 902, Jerusalem, 2006.
19. Arnon Sofer, Bystrov Yevchina, Translated by: Saleem Salama, "Israel Demographically, 2010-2030, on the road to a religious state." The

Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, Madar, Israeli Papers 55, Ramallah, 2015.

20. Yousef Ibrahim, "Population in Palestine before and after the Nakba - One hundred years of demographic conflict, 1907-2017." *Adab Al -Kufa, Humanities Quarterly Journal*, Vol 2, University of Kufa: Iraq, 2015.
21. Ibrahim Abd Al-Kareem, "The 1948 Arabs Threat in the Strategic Estimates." *Middle East Affairs*, Issue No. 110, 2013.
22. Jawad Al Amd, "The Prospects for a Political Settlement of the Palestinian Issue, 2007-2008." *Middle Eastern Studies Journal*, Issue No. 39, Amman, 2007.
23. Khalil Al-Anani, "Bush is burying the Palestinian state project." *Al Bayan Magazine*, Issue No. 201, London, 2004.
24. Oded Eran, "Any other solution other than a two-state solution will be no good for both parties". Bilal Zahir, *Qadaya Israilia Journal*, Issue 34, Ramallah, 2009.

Newspapers

1. Hisham Menwer, "The Israeli Right and the Revival of the One-State Solution." *Palestine Newspaper*, Issue 2170, Gaza, 2013.
2. Lawrence Davidson, "The Zionist Project is Dying." *Al-Ayyam Newspaper*, Ramallah, Issue no. 54, 29/6/2016.
3. Maariv newspaper, [http: //www.Tlaxcala.es/pp,asp,23-4-2017](http://www.Tlaxcala.es/pp.asp,23-4-2017).

Scientific Research

1. Zakaria Al Sinwar, "the Zionist Haganah organization from its inception to the partition resolution - From 1920 to 1947", Unpublished PhD dissertation. Institute of Arab Research and Studies. Cairo, 2006.

Studies and seminars

1. Al Zaytouna Center: An independent research and consultations center established in Beirut in 2004. Al-Zaytouna Centre conducts strategic and futuristic academic studies on the Arab and Muslim worlds. It focuses on the Palestinian issue and the conflict with Israel as well as related Palestinian, Arab, Islamic and international developments, with special reference to the Palestinian issue and the conflict with Israel. The Centre seeks to establish a wide range database, and classifies it along the most modern scientific and technical methods. In active cooperation with scholars, experts and specialists, the Centre drives to publish scholarly studies. [http:// www.alzaytouna .net/ Arabic](http://www.alzaytouna.net/Arabic)
2. Najwa Mustafa Hasnawi, "Refugee Rights in International Legitimacy and Palestinian-Israeli Negotiations".
3. Nabeh Basheer, "Religious and Political Debate in Israel, Shas Movement as a Case Study, Madar Center, Ramallah, Palestine, 2006.
4. Dan Yahav, "what a wonderful war - Military Texts and Symbols Visible and Embedded in Israeli literature," Translated by: Salman Natour, Madar Center, Ramallah, Palestine, 2010 .

5. Eli Boudi, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Israeli Demography in School Curricula - 1948-2000", translated by Walid Abu Bakr, Madar Center, Ramallah, Palestine, 2006 .
6. Cohen Al Talmud, "A Comprehensive Presentation of the Talmud's Teachings on the demography of Palestine", translated by Walid Abu Bakr, Madar Center, Ramallah, Palestine, 2006.
7. Youssef Kamel Ibrahim, "The Forced Demographic Transition in Palestine", UAE, Zayed Center for Coordination and Follow-up, 2003.
8. Maurizio Ascanio, "Demography, Minorities, Migration and New Geopolitical Factors in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." University of Trieste, Italy, 2006.
9. Yahya Ghanem, "Negotiations on Sovereignty over the Middle East." Baheth Center for Palestinian and Strategic Studies, Amman, Jordan, 2003.
10. Yousef Haddad, "Do Jews Have a Religious or Historic Right in Palestine," Bisan Center for Research and Development, Beirut, Lebanon, 2004.
11. Terry Rumble, "The Balfour Declaration and the Origins of Political Zionism," Palestine Studies Center, Issue no. 41, 2000.
12. Janet Abu-Lughod, 'the Demographic Transformation of Palestine - Judaization of Palestine, Research Center: Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, Lebanon, 1972 .
13. Hind Al Budairi, "The Palestinian territories between Zionist claims and historical facts." Arab League, Cairo, Egypt, 1998.

14. Ameen Abdullah Mahmoud, "Zionist settlement projects since the French Revolution until the end of the First World War." Kuwait, the World of Knowledge Series 'Alam Al-Maarifa', 1984.
15. Ghazi Hussein, "Zionism - Planting and Uprooting." Syria. Arab Writers Union Publications, 1995.
16. Asaad Razzouk, "State and Religion in Israel", Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization, Research Center, September 1968.
17. Haidar Ali Khalil, "Political Perspective of the Islamic Movements State, First Edition, Abu Dhabi, The Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, 1997.
18. Nur Masalha, Jewish fundamentalism and the Palestinians - Gush Emunim's Ideology, in the Palestinian Politics 'Syasat Filastaneyah' Journal, No. 11, Nablus, Center for Palestine Research and Studies (CPRS), 1996 .
19. Yehudit Harel, Edited by: Natur Salman, "Eastern Jewish Ashkenazi," Israeli Affairs 'Qadaya Israeliya' Journal, Issue 16, fall 2004, published by the Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies (MADAR.(
20. Saeed Ayyash, "The Balance of Immunity and National Security of Israel," Issue 29, Ramallah: Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies (MADAR.(
21. Issa Kaddoumi, "Rabbis from the Rabbinical to the Military Uniform," Bait Al-Maqdis 'Jerusalem' Studies Series, Issue no. 8, 2009.
22. Abdullah Al Hawarni, "Refugees - A Cause and a Position." National Research Center, Gaza, Palestine, First edition, 2001.

23. Akram Musa Abu Amr, "Israeli Settlement between Geography and Demography - A Strategy Guided by Ideology." A study on Donia Al-Watan website, 2010.
24. Abdulaziz Al Sunbul, "The Future of Distance Learning in Saudi Arabia." Riyadh, College of Education Research Center, King Saud University, 2003.
25. Louis Greenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian Union 1.2.7 States: Future vision." Israeli Affairs 'Qadaya Israeliya' Journal, the Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies - Madar. Issue no. 34, 2009.
26. Anees Al-Qasem, "The Disaster Wall, the Israeli Separation Wall - the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion." Center for Arab Unity Studies, First Edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 2007.
27. Samih Farsoun, "Palestine and the Palestinians." Center for Arab Unity Studies, First Edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 2004.
28. Ruth Gavison, "On the significance and dimensions of the term 'Jewish' in the expression 'Jewish and democratic state'." 2008.
29. Lea'h Cohen, "Milestones and Trends, Study of Zionism Historiography, Its Connection to Reality and Its Modern Messages".
30. Mohammad Saleh, "Palestine - a Methodological Study of the Palestinian Issue." Arab Media Center, First Edition, Egypt, 2003.
31. Majdi Hammad, "The Political Settlement System - Comparative Study of Israel and South Africa." Dar Al Wehda 'Unity' for Printing and Distribution, First Edition, Beirut, 1981.
32. Middle East Studies Center MESC, "Independent Palestinian State", edited by Dr. Ahmad Sa'id Nofal, Head of the Political Science Department at

Yarmouk University, Jordan, a series of seminars attended by many researchers including: Iyad Al Barghouti, Farid Abu Dhuhair, Nabil Amr, et al., 2010, a study published on 5/7/2010 on An-Najah National University website.

33. Series of Journals Issued by the Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies 'MADAR', Madar Center for Palestinian Studies and Research, Ramallah, Palestine, 2006.
34. Saleh Muhsen, "The Forty Facts in the Palestinian Question", presented by: Mohammed Amara, Palestinian Information Center, 3rd Edition, 2003 .
35. Mohammad Muhsen, "The Palestinian Cause: Historical Backgrounds and Contemporary Developments", Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies, Beirut, 2011.
36. Hassanein Heikal, "The Secret Negotiations between the Arabs and Israel - The Jewish Myth, Empire and the State," Part I, Dar El Shorouk, First Edition, Cairo, 1996.
37. George Nassar, "The Concept of Crimes against Humanity in the International Law." Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2008.
38. Steven Rousso Schindler "Israeli Population Politics and its Impact on Policy and Palestinian human Rights", Madar Center for Studies and Research, Ramallah - Palestine, 2004.
39. Shaban et al, "The Impact of the Intifada on the Zionist Entity." Baheth Center for Palestinian and Strategic Studies, Beirut, First Edition, 2013.
40. Khader Shkairat, "An entry 'intervention' in the book: Conference on the Settlement - Peace Challenge." Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, 2005.

41. Daoud Abdullah, "a published entry 'intervention' in the book: Israeli Law of Return and its Impact on the Conflict in Palestine." Baheth Center for Palestinian and Strategic Studies, Beirut, 2007.
42. Ahmad Fayyad, "The Right of Return in Palestinian Political Thought", The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 1st Edition, 2001.
43. Ahmed Qurei, "Negotiations and Resistance - A Search for a New Approach." Badael Center for Media and Research 2nd Annual Conference, Al Bireh.
44. Ahmed Qatamish, "The Current Settlement Crisis Management or Solving the Crisis of Two States - a Secular Democratic State - a Bi-National State." Al Barghouti Cultural Office, Ramallah, 2001.
45. Ali Al Safarini, "Settlement - Peace Challenge." Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, Jerusalem, 3rd Edition, 2005.
46. Mohammad Nasr, "Strengthening the Palestinian Economy's Self Capacity." Pivotal Papers 2, Jerusalem and Ramallah, Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS.)
47. Alian Henry, "Separation and Isolation policy - a reading in Israeli plans." Civil Society Organization Commission, 2002.
48. Nasser Al Rayes, "Israeli Settlements in Light of the International Humanitarian Law/" Al-Haq Organization, Ramallah, Palestine.
49. Center for Arab Unity Studies, "Israel 2020 - Detailed Plans for the Future of the State and Society".

50. Khaled Mahameed, "The impact of the Intifada on the Zionist entity." Baheth Centre, Beirut, First Edition, 2013.
51. Palestinian Geographical Center, "Survey of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip".
52. Article entitled: The idea and philosophy of settlement, issued by the Palestinian Ministry of Justice.
53. Alvier, Yossi, a Published entry 'intervention' in the conference "Settlement - Peace Challenge." Jerusalem.
54. Aziz Haidar, "Palestinians in Israel under the Oslo Accords." Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1997.
55. Ayed Zaatar, "Palestine is the arena of international conflicts and the axis of international outstanding economic, political, social and military issues." Nablus - Palestine, 2011.
56. Izzat Tannous, "Palestinians - Glorious past and brilliant future." Research Center - Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1982.
57. Fouad Al-Mughrabi, "US foreign policy and the Palestinian cause." Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies (IALIIS), Ramallah, Palestine, 2002.
58. Essam Sakhniyeh, "Palestine the State - the roots of the issue in the Palestinian history." Research Center - Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1985.
59. Majeed Saleh, "The Transfer 'Expulsion of Palestinians' in Israeli Thought and Practices." Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut, 2009.

60. Omar Ashour, "Strategic Readings- Solving the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, Concepts Contradiction, Alternative Solutions ".
61. Massa'd Arbid, "Critical Discussion on the Secular Democratic State Solution." 3rd Edition, 2004.
62. Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Palestinian Strategic Report for 2009, 1st Edition, Beirut, 2013.
63. Khaled Abu Asaba, "Demography and its impact on social features in Israel until 2015: Israel's Present and future until 2015." Middle East Studies Center MESC, Amman, Jordan, Website visited on 28/7/2017.
64. Nizam Barakat, "The Establishment of the State of Israel - Introduction to the Palestinian Cause." Middle East Studies Center MESC, Amman, Jordan, 3rd Edition, 2015.
65. Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Palestinian Strategic Report of 2014, Beirut, 4th Edition, 2015
66. Adnan Abu Amer, "Evolution of the Israeli Position on the Issue of Palestinian Refugees, Palestinian Refugees in the Arab World, Reality and Prospects." Al Jazeera Center for Studies in cooperation with the Palestinian Center, Doha, Qatar, 14-15 April-2014.
25. Abd Al Hameed Al Kayali, (Israeli Strategic Readings." Translated by: Adnan Abu Amer, Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut, 2009.
67. Brieger, "El Conflict palestino-israeli: 100 preguntas y respuestas."
2. Translated by: Ibrahim Saleh, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2012.
68. Madhoun, "The Disappearance of the Two-state Solution - Strategic Readings." Palestinian Planning Center, Vol. 5, 2010.

Websites

1. Salah Abd Al Ati, "Zionist Settlement in Palestine until 1948." Al Hewan ' Modern Discussion' - Issue 1833, dated 21/7/2007 .
2. Loay Abdo, an article entitled "Peace and the State in the Face of Settlements." Published on the Noor El Adab website on 11/3/2017.
3. Mohamed Bassiouni, "report entitled: Israeli settlements and international legitimacy - on-going controversy." Published on Al-Zaytouna website on 12-5-2015, at <http://www.alzaytouna.net>
4. Daglas, Ghassan, "Special Interview." Al Jazeera Channel on 15/3/2015, <http://www.aljazeera.net>, Tuesday 11:15 p.m.
5. Ahmad Abu Zaid, "article entitled: Malignant cancer in the Palestinian body." Published on Alukan website: <http://www.alukan.net> access on 13-2-2016.
6. Suleiman Saleh, "article entitled: What is the real strength of the Zionist lobby from America." Al-Sharq Newspaper, <http://www.alsharq.com>
7. Antwan Shalhat, "The Results of the Right Control of Israel." Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Research, 2014, 1st Edition. <http://iugaza.edu.ps>

English References

26. Sandler, Shamuel, etal, The Religious- Secular Divide in Israel Politics, Middle East Policy, Vol.V1.No.4, June, 1999. Iian Pappé.
27. Jimmy Carter, Palestinian Peace not Apartheid, New York, Simon and Schuster, Rockefeller Center, 2016.

28. Haim Malka – Crossroads: The Future of the US- Israel strategic Partnership, CSIS, Washington, 2011 .
29. Iian Pappé (2000), Israel at Crossroads between civic Democracy and Jewish Zealotocracy, Journal of Palestine studies, Vol. XXXIX, No.3 spring .
30. Farsoun, and Aruri, N. (1996). Palestine and the Palestinian. Boulder: West view press.
31. Galnoor, (1992) the Question of Palestine, British. Jewish- Arab Relations (1914-1918). London: Transaction Publishers.
32. Haussy, C. (1995) English Sermons: Mirrors of Society. Toulouse. Presses Universities du. Mirail.
33. Huneidi, (2001) a Broken Trust. Herbert Samuel, Zionsmand the Palestinians, London 1.B Taurisard Co.LTD.
34. Zweig, R. (1991). David Ben – Gurion Politics and leadership in Israel. Oxen: Frank Cass and Company limited.
35. Iehn, (1988). The Jewish National Fund. London: kegan pair 1 International.
36. Noah, M. (1905) Mordecai M. Noahs discourse on the Restoration of Jews. Baltimore: Lord Baltimore press.
37. San kowsky, S. (1947) Ashorthistory of Ziomsm. New York: Bloch Publishing Company.
38. Smith Charles D.: Palestine and the Arab Israeli conflict, second edition, Martin press, New York, 1992.
39. Haward Sechar: A History of Israel from Zionism to the present, second edition, Alfred press, New York, 1996.

40. Cost of conflict in the Middle East, published by Strategic Foresight Group.
41. Asad Ghanem, The Palestinian- Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000 apolitical study (New York, state university of New York 2013).

Annex (1): The Balfour Declaration Document - Arabic Text



Annex (2): The Balfour Declaration Document - English Text

Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object. It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Y. in
Arthur Balfour

Palestine.ps

Annex (3): The Balfour Declaration document, the original version to the Zionist movement .

وزارة الخارجية البريطانية 2 نوفمبر 1917م

عزيزي اللورد روتشيلد

يسرني جدا أن أبلغكم بالنيابة عن حكومة صاحب الجلالة التصريح التالي، الذي ينطوي على العطف على آماني اليهود والصهيونية، وقد عرض على الوزارة وأقرته:

'إن حكومة صاحب الجلالة تنتظر بعين العطف إلى تأسيس وطن قومي للشعب اليهودي في فلسطين، وستبذل غاية جهدها لتسهيل تحقيق هذه الغاية، على أن يكون مفهوما بشكل واضح أنه لن يؤتى بعمل من شأنه أن ينتقص الحقوق المدنية والدينية التي تتمتع بها الطوائف غير اليهودية المقيمة الآن في فلسطين، ولا الحقوق أو الوضع السياسي الذي يتمتع به اليهود في البلدان الأخرى'.

وسأكون ممتنا إذا ما أحطتم اتحاد الهيئات الصهيونية علما بهذا التصريح.

المخلص

آرثر بلفور

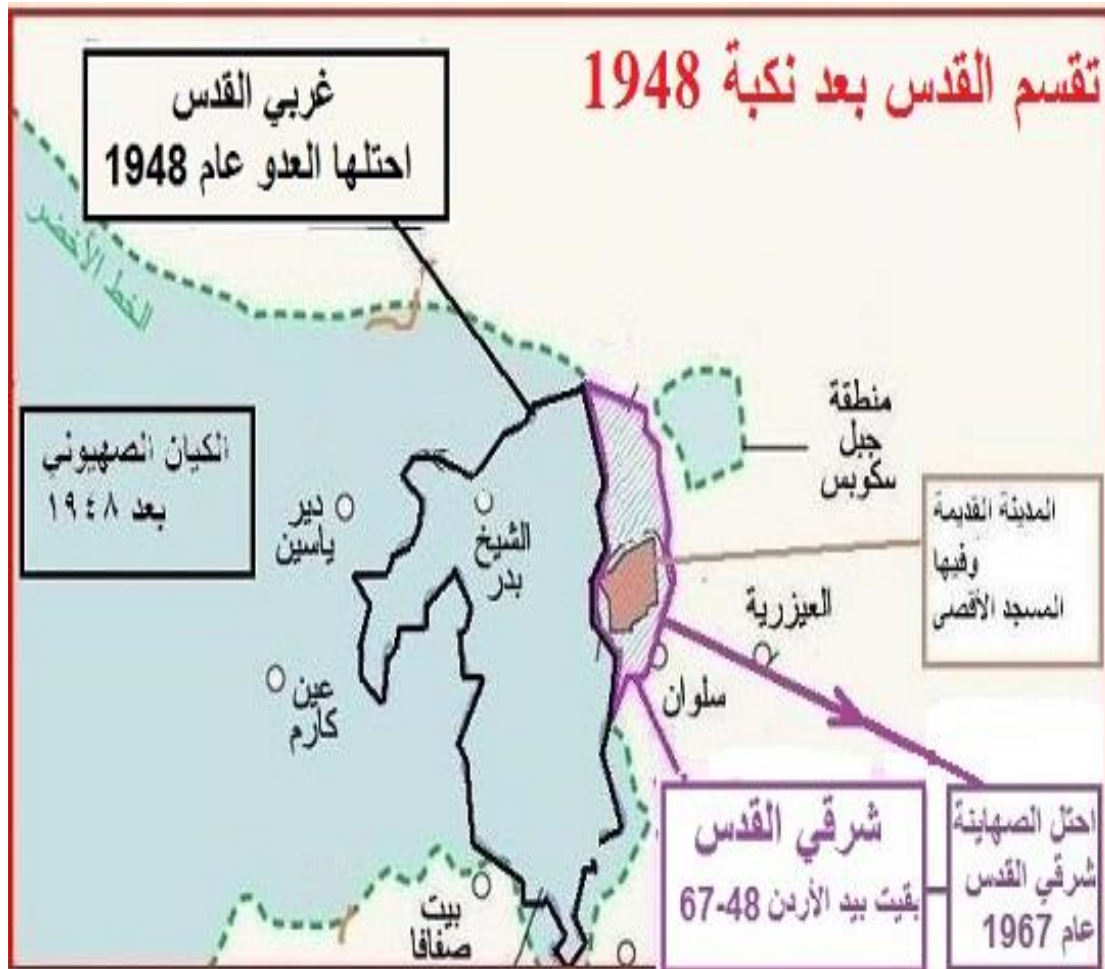
Annex (4): Map

The areas that Israel controlled after the 1967 war.



Annex (5): Map

The proposed borders of the two States in the partition resolution.



Annex (6): Map

Israeli controlled areas following the 1948 war.



Israeli _ Palestinian Demographic Conflict 2000-2025

This study investigated the demography issue as one of the most important entrances to the Israeli _Palestinian Geopolitical conflict. In addition, this study investigated the stages of demography change in Palestine earlier of twentieth century.

The result showed the British role in establishing the demographic conflict

)geopolitical) culminated with Belford Promise declaration. The results of this declaration were facilitating the Jewish immigration to Palestine and helping the Jewish owning the Palestinian territories until the declaration of the establishment of Israel on the Palestinian territories.

Also, this study faced the stages of demography change pre and post, the catastrophe crossing with whole occupation the Palestinian territories in 1967. Besides, the study traces the emergences of demographic changes reaching to the year 2017 .

Also, this study foresaw the predicted demographic changes reaching to the year 2017. Also, this study foresaw the predicated demographic changes until the year 2025 .

This study offered detailed explanation to the aspects of demographic changes in the occupied territories in the 1967 including the demographic dimension with its both parts: population and geographical settlement, the separation wall and the Judaization of Jerusalem .

Furthermore, the study investigated the aspects of demographic conflict in 1948 and discussion the discrimination policies towards the Palestinians inside the green line and its effect on demography.

It showed the dimensions of Israel refusal to the right of return to the Palestinian refugees from demographic perspectives and its relation with (Jewish) of the state.

The study concluded to a perspective study to the scenario of suggested solution for the conflict as two – state solution and the national state with its pillars and obstacles in the light of Palestinian demographic superiority by 2025.

ملخص الدراسة باللغة العربية

الصراع الديمغرافي واثره في تحويل مستقبل الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي

تناولت الدراسة موضوع الديموغرافيا كأحد أهم مداخل الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي ، ودراسة مراحل التغير الديموغرافي في فلسطين منذ بداية القرن العشرين الميلادي حيث أظهرت الدراسة الدور البريطاني في التأسيس للصراع الديموغرافي و إصداره تصريح بلفور وما نتج عنه من تسهيل الهجرات اليهودية لفلسطين ومساعدتهم في امتلاك الأراضي في فلسطين إلى إعلان قيام إسرائيل على أرض فلسطين.

كما وتتبع الدراسة مراحل التغير الديموغرافي ما قبل النكبة وما بعد ها مرورا باحتلال كامل الأراضي الفلسطينية في العام 1967م وما تمخض عنها من تغيرات ديموغرافية وصولاً للعام 2017م، و استشرفت الدراسة التغيرات الديموغرافية المتوقعة لغاية العام لسنوات قادمة (2025).

قدمت الدراسة شرحاً تفصيلياً لمظاهر الصراع الديموغرافي في الأراضي المحتلة عام 1967م متضمنة البعد الديموغرافي بشقيه السكاني و الجغرافي للاستيطان و جدار الفصل و تهويد مدينة القدس.

كما تناولت ايضاً مظاهر الصراع الديموغرافي في الأراضي المحتلة عام 1948م وناقشت السياسات التمييزية الإسرائيلية تجاه الفلسطينيين داخل الخط الأخضر وأثرها على الديموغرافيا، و عرضت الدراسة أبعاد رفض إسرائيل لحق عودة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين من منطلقات ديموغرافية وعلاقة ذلك ب" يهودية الدولة . وخلص البحث إلى دراسة تحليلية لسيناريو الحل المقترح للصراع ومنها حل الدولتين، كما ناقشت و حل الدولة الواحدة" ثنائية القومية" مقوماته ما و معوقاته.