

Spatial Changes in Palestine: from Colonial Project to an Apartheid System

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Abstract

This paper addresses the socio-spatial impact of the Zionists' colonial project in Palestine, including the replacement of the indigenous Palestinian people by Jewish immigrants. At present, the Palestinians, displaced or living in the remaining part of Palestinian lands number approximately ten million. The continuous Israeli occupation has failed to bring stability or prosperity to either the region or the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. Projections indicate that demographic changes will transform the current situation into an apartheid system, where the majority Palestinians will be ruled by an Israeli minority. The objective of this paper is to suggest a just solution for the Palestinian-Israeli impasse in advocating the establishment a one-state solution, a proposition which appears to be gaining increasing support.

Keywords

Palestine; Israel; Colonial Project; Apartheid System; Changes on Land

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyze the socio and spatial effects of implementing the Zionist project in Palestine. Towards the end of 19th Century, Palestine was imaged by 'the West' as being 'a land with no peoples,' when in fact there were approximately nine million Palestinians. At present, there are more than four million people living in Palestine and a further Diaspora of five million, with many living as refugees.

The waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine during the 19th and 20th Centuries, creation of the State of Israel in 1948, occupation of Arab land in 1967 and 1982, reoccupation of the West Bank in 2002, and establishment of the Annexation Wall have all significantly affected social welfare and the spatial extension of Palestinian people in Palestine and its Diaspora.

This research considers that the establishment of Israel, by western colonization mechanisms, was aimed at serving and protecting its political and

economic interests in the Middle East in general, and in Palestine in particular. The colonization of Palestine was a part of the European political-economic driving force that sought to explore, conquer, settle, and exploit large areas of the world (Merriam-Webster Dictionary on Line, 2008). Throughout the last two centuries, Western authorities and Jewish groups of various backgrounds were involved in making Jewish colonization a practical reality.

At the turn of the 21st Century, those huge efforts which were exhausted in creating the State of Israel, failed to construct or bring stability to the region. The newly created apartheid system in which Israel lives has its severe spatial implications.

Jewish settlements in Palestine are not disconnected from geo-political, historical and ideological motivations. Throughout the last quarter of 19th Century and the present day, Jewish settlements have impacted, and imprinted upon, the people of Palestine and its landscape. Geographic Information System (GIS), which is a very powerful, accurate and precise mapping technique, has been employed in designing and producing maps which chart the evolution of settlement expansion. There are other technical tools used in research such as auto CAD, but GIS is widely used in geographical and other social disciplines. In many fields of research, GIS is of considerable value and largely used to analyze spatial patterns on land. In this paper, GIS is employed to illustrate the way western ideological thinking has imprinted itself on the Palestinian landscape.

Different waves of Jewish immigration from 1882 to the present day clearly illustrate the mixture of Israeli and Palestinian citizens on the same piece of land. After tacking the ideological backgrounds of the settlement processes, the author will suggest a solution for resolving this stalemate over the land of Palestine.

Foreign Interests and Colonization in Palestine

Around the middle of 19th Century, Europe witnessed a form of political, economic and religious fever in which calls were made for the occupation of the Holy Land. The French occupation of Egypt, under the leadership of Napoleon, and the alignment of Great Britain with the Ottoman Empire against Russia during the war of 1853-1856, were catalysts for a series of serious European interventions into Ottoman territory. Prussia and Great Britain represented the major Protestant states that started to take care of Protestant and Jewish interests within the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain succeeded in appointing its Consular to Jerusalem in 1838, the British Bishopric in 1841 and the Christ Church was established in 1849. These moves were made to

counter the Russian Expansion within the Ottoman Empire. The Prussian King, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, agreed with the move to establish a Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem.

The first Bishop appointed by the British government was Michael Solomon Alexander, who was converted from Judaism to Christianity in 1825. Alexander's mission was to convert Jews to Christianity, though he was unsuccessful in his mission (Taylor, 2008). Samuel Gobat succeeded Alexander as Bishop, appointed by the Prussian Government. Gobat's mission was to take care of Orthodox Christian Arabs (Classic Encyclopedia, 2008). Prussia demanded that the European countries (their leaders) ask the Ottoman Empire to place Palestine under the control of the European States, in order to create a Christian region, which would act as a buffer zone between the ambitious Muhammad Ali of Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. During the same period, the Gentile Zionists in Great Britain, whose aims included protecting its strategic and commercial interests and the restoration of Judaism, developed the idea of encouraging Jews to return to the Ottoman Empire (Scholch, 1990).

Hummel and Hummel (1995, 37) indicated that the Protestants agenda was to convert the native population of Palestine to Christianity. This act was supposed to lead the British rule to drive out Ottomans and bring 'real civilization' to the region. They added that "this quasi-messianic role for Britain had a great deal to do with the willingness of the British to exert time and energy to bring about the liberation of Palestine during World War I, and later their fascination with their role as occupiers. The idea that with religious and political redemption the land would return to a fruitful and forested state also helps explain the West's glorification of Israel's re-forestation and making the desert bloom projects."

France was also interested in the region, mindful of protecting its own strategic and commercial interests. In Jerusalem, France established the first Latin Patriarchate (Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 2007). In addition, France began to protect the Christian Maronite minority in Lebanon, (Manna, 1999). In fact, Napoleon suggested the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine as early as 1799 (Mideastweb, 2008).

Due to the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, as well as their political and military power, geographic proximity and religious concerns, Russia had begun to initiate the logic of Russian expansionism into Palestine. The collapse of the Russian Empire to Communism in 1917 dashed its ambitious, stopped Russian pilgrimages, and created a vacuum in the region. This vacuum led to the British and French Mandates in the region (Hummel and Hummel, 1995).

The aim of encouraging strong European immigration to Palestine was to develop a Palestinian land with a Christian cultural heritage. European

literature considered that at the people of Palestine would be used as laborers. Even Henri Dunant, the founder of the International Committee for the Red Cross, called for the establishment of international society which would renew the Orient. In addition, European Jews were to be moved to Palestine to establish a Jewish state under the protection of France. The European aim was to peacefully liberate the Holy Lands from Muslim rule. Throughout the early 19th Century, many Christian writers, demagogues of the European masses, and statesmen believed that the era of messianic dawn would be possible only after the restoration of Jews in the Holy Land and their spiritual conversion to Christianity (Baron, 1938; Laurens, 2006).

In early 1860's an Austrian geographer carried out extensive research on the Holy Land and conceived of the idea of German colonization of Palestine (Scholch, 1990). However, Oliphant (1880) suggested his own project which included establishing a Jewish colony in the Jordanian region of Belqa, which is located in the eastern side of the Jordan River. He proposed placing indigenous Arab residents in reservations similar to those created for Native Americans in North America (Al-Abadi, 2004). But Conder (1879), and Conder (1881-1888) suggested that Arab residents would be 'Hewers of Wood and drawers of Water.' Other Western writers stated that Arab residents should be transferred to other territories in the Ottoman Empire, such as Asia Minor or Babylonia. These ideas of benefiting from the labor of Arabs in placing them in reservations or in expelling them from their own land were transferred during the fourth quarter of the 19th Century to Zionist thinkers during the first quarter of twentieth Century (Scholch, 1990).

European settlements were preceded with two projects. Around the middle of the 19th Century, an American settlement was established in the outskirts of Jaffa which is located in the central coast of Palestine. This settlement was established by a group of American Protestants. In August 1866, George J. Adams the founder of the "Church of the Messiah" led a group of 156 members of his church to Jaffa. In Palestine, Adams negotiated the process of buying 22 acres of land. Very soon, he built 17 houses, a church and a school for his followers. His group started farming on their piece of land but the crop failed; 16 persons died, and others became very sick. Most of the colonists were desperate to return home, and even published an open appeal "to philanthropy and common humanity" to help them return to home. The colony became a complete fiasco. After three years of poverty and disease, the colony was sold to a group of German colonialist called "the Templars." Those who were still alive from the first colonization project left to Egypt and from there to the United States (Davis, 1951).

Followers of the German Association of Templars, which was an offshoot of the 17th Century pietistic movement, believed that the Day of Judgment was

approaching and that the East was the place of true Christian refugees. After the Crimean War, 1853-1856, Hoffmann, the leader of this group, believed that the Ottoman Empire was going to disintegrate. According to his belief, the destiny of the "people of God" was to control the land of Palestine. Since the "People of God" did not exist at this time, he believed that his group was the heir of land. Hoffmann gathered members of his group and led them to Haifa, in Palestine, in 1868.

Authorities in Constantinople and Berlin became unhappy with this Templars' move. Despite this, the Templars were able to establish seven settlements: Haifa, Jaffa (both in 1869), Sarona, (1871), Jerusalem (1878), Wilhelma (1902), Galilean Bethlehem (1906), and Waldheim (1907). Karmellheim and Neuhardthof were also two smaller settlements established by several German households. Residents of these settlements worked in agriculture, commerce, trade or industry (Carmel, 1975).

Prussia had its own interests in Palestine. Out of its political motives, Prussia signed the first capitulation to the Ottoman Government in 1761. The two powers formed an alliance against Austria – Hungarian Empire and Russia in the seven-year war. In addition, Prussia proposed to establish a joint European protectorate over Palestinian Holy Cities for the protection of Christians and Jews. This plan was abandoned because it was opposed by Austria and Russia who considered that the outcome of such a plan would be to increase Protestant influence in Palestine. Helmuth von Moltke proposed to turn Palestine into a German administered buffer zone between Egypt and Turkey. In order to ensure its interests, after the middle of the 19th Century, Germany intensified its activities in Palestine, including the establishment of schools and hospitals (Eliav, 1975; Yazbak, 1999).

Vision of Jewish Leaders for Palestine

The Jewish leadership during the 19th Century was partially to influence European nationalism and colonization. They shared a common desire to establishing the State of Israel on the land of Palestine. This is became the paradigm for the foundation of the Israeli state.

The establishment of Israel in 1948 and the defeat of Arab states in the 1967 war contributed to the advancement of the agenda of the Jewish leadership. The idea of advancing the settlement project in the occupied land was greatly supported and was proven to be a very practical way to realize their ideas.

The Jewish public's response in Europe towards colonization was vital. The Jewish bourgeoisie financially assisted the European efforts to colonize Palestine. Additionally, Jewish leaders considered that in establishing a Jewish

colony in Palestine it would help to divert the huge numbers of poor Eastern European Jewish migrants to Palestine. The Jewish leadership felt that these migrants could not be assimilated within the European Jewish communities as they were culturally different, and many of them were members of revolutionary movements in Eastern Europe. One could argue that western Jewish leaders were ashamed of Eastern European Jews and believed that the solution to their conditions was to settle them outside of continental Europe (Mahmoud, 1984). Salmon (1997) observed that the end of the Crimean War between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, in which the treaty of Paris was signed in 1856 and the launch of the Ottoman reforms made this emigration of Jews to Palestine possible and feasible.

One of the first Jewish leaders who believed in Jews settling Palestine was Montefiori (1784-1885) who proposed to rent 200 villages around Lake Tiberias from the Ottomans in return for 10%-20% of their produce. This project was not to succeed because of the Egyptian occupation of Syria from 1830-1840. Later, he tried to purchase a large piece of land located near Jaffa and Jerusalem but the Ottomans rejected this idea (Jbara, 1998). In 1849, Montefiori was able to buy the first piece of land outside the walls of Jerusalem. This piece of land was used as the creation of the first Jewish block in Jerusalem.

In 1820, Mordecai Noah, a Jew from the United States, tried to find a Jewish homeland at Grand Island on the Niagara River in the United States. He discovered that his project was not going to work. Later, in his *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews*, Noah called for the return of Jews to Palestine in order to rebuild their ancient homeland. Noah called on America to take the lead in this project (Jewish Virtual Library, 2008a).

There were several Jewish thinkers who laid the foundation of religious Zionism, which claimed to combine Zionism and Judaism under the principles of the Jewish religion and heritage. Zionism refers to the international movement aimed at establishing a Jewish national or religious community. On the other hand Judaism refers to a "religion developed among the ancient Hebrews and characterized by belief in one transcendent God who has revealed himself to Abraham, Moses, and the Hebrew prophets and by a religious life lived in accordance with Scriptures and rabbinic traditions" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary on Line, 2008, 1).

Alkalai (1798-1878), who was of Serbian origin, felt that the Jews should not wait for the Messiah to restore them to the Land of Israel but that they should make every effort to go there and settle the land themselves. He believed that settling Jews in Palestine was the primary solution to their problem in

Europe. Alkalai called for the establishment of an investment company whose duty was to buy Palestine from the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, he called for the reactivation of the Hebrew language and he himself wrote a book on how to learn it. In 1874, Alkalai immigrated to Palestine and spent the rest of his life in Jerusalem (Mahmoud, 1984, Hertzberg, 1959).

Kalischer (1795-1874) was another Jewish thinker who believed that an active agricultural settlement in Palestine was a necessary first step before the coming of the Messiah and expressed his views as part of a national movement for the Return to Zion. Hess (1812-1875), a socialist, he believed in Kalischer ideas and called for the establishment of a "Jewish Settlement Society" in order to collect financial support for the activities of Jewish settlements in Palestine. In addition, Hess linked the idea of Zionism with national Judaism as a political entity (Mahmoud, 1984; The Jewish Agency for Israel, 2008; Hertzberg, 1959).

Pinsker (1821-1891) was originally an advocate for Jewish assimilation into the countries they lived in. In 1863, he took charge of the society for the diffusion of cultures among the Jews of Russia. After the suppression of the Jewish community in Russia towards the end of the 19th Century, he realized that the solution to finding Jewish peace and security would mean that Jews possess a land of their own. Despite the fact that he spent the rest of his days working to organize support for such a movement to establish a Jewish national homeland in Asia Minor or North America, he faced opposition from the leaders of Western and Central European Jewry. Pinsker did not feel that such a national homeland must be in Palestine, as he believed that the most holy thing Jews have was the idea of God and Torah. It was not until he became aware that Great Britain was interested in establishing a Jewish colony in the Near East that he became a strong advocate for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Pinsker's main goals were: firstly, to relieve the rich Jewish community of Western Europe of the burden of the poor Jewish immigrants who were pouring in from Eastern Europe; and secondly, he did not want the revolutionary movements attracting poor Jews and the only solution to avoiding this was the establishment of a Jewish homeland (Hertzberg, 1959; Mahmoud, 1984).

Smolenskin (1842-1885) was another Jewish thinker who criticized the 'backward' Jewish way of life and religion fundamentalism. To emancipate the Jewish community in Russia, he called for the construction of a spiritual Jewish nationality and to expand its cultural heritage. Like Pinsker, after the events of 1881-1182 in Russia, he turned against Jewish assimilation ideals and instead called upon Jews to emigrate and to amalgamate together, either in North or South America. He also had not originally considered Palestine as a

location but in 1882 he began to call for the Jewish poor to emigration to Palestine to establish a Jewish homeland. However he had never involved himself in real activities to achieve this goal (Mahmoud, 1984).

Max Nordau (1849-1923) also originally believed that Jews should be assimilated into the societies where they live in. He changed his mind as a result of Dryefus affair in France and later, he played a major role in the world Zionist organization in order to establish a homeland for Jews (Hertzberg, 1959).

Lilienblum (1843-1910), a Lithuanian Jew, who was despaired by religious reform in the institutions of Judaism, sought a solution to the Jewish problem by asking them to work in agriculture. The anti-Jewish riots, which took place in Russia during 1881-1882, aroused his consciousness to the unsafe position of the Jews in exile. He became an advocate for political and practical Zionism to address Jewish problems and pointed out that the only solution to the Jewish question was the settlement of Jews in Palestine. In the city of Odessa in Russia, both Lilienblum and Pinsker organized a committee for the colonization of Palestine, laying down the foundation of the Zionist movement (Jewish Virtual Library, 2008b; Hertzberg, 1959).

Ben-Yehuda (1858-1922), another Russian Jew, tried to imitate Russian nationalist practices. He sought for Jewish nationalism on both political and secular bases. In the second half of the 19th Century, Ben Yehuda believed that Jews were abandoning their ghetto way of life and beginning to assimilate with others. To counteract this, he believed that the Jews should settle in Palestine (Mahmoud, 1984). Ben-Yehuda worked on developing a new language that could be used by Jewish emigrants to Palestine (Hertzberg, 1959).

Abraham Kook (1865-1935) was a well-known individual in religious Zionism, particularly in London. He was involved in the activities that led to the Balfour declaration of 1917. He believed that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine had profound theological significance (Rachmani, 2008).

David Gordon (1831-1886) regarded the settlement of Jews in the land of Israel to be the solution to the anti-Semitism in Europe and believed that in Palestine Jews would be productive (Salmon, 1997).

Socialist Zionists perceived Zionism as the frontline in establishing an advanced socialist society within a territorial base, while also solving the anti-Semitism problem in Europe. Borochoy (1881-1917), who was born in the Ukraine, was a prominent advocate of this trend, argued that the development of capitalism would inevitably prompt Jews to migrate to Palestine. The Kibbutz is a good example of socialist Zionism in practice. David Ben-Gurion and Yitzhak Ben-Zevi were also considered to be prominent figures in socialist Zionism (Medication Information Library, 2007; Jewish Virtual Library; 2007).

As a result of reforms, both in terms of development and opportunities of education either in Europe or in the 'New World' Jews were found to have

gained control of several intellectual expressions which helped them to sell the idea of Jewish settlement in Palestine (Baron, 1938). The resulting product was the establishment of two organizations which aimed at the colonization of Palestine by Jews. First, the Society for the Colonization of Palestine was founded by Chaim Luria in Frankfurt and second, the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* was founded in Paris. Two other programs, which were connected with *Eretz Israel*, began to compete for traditional Jewish support in Western and Central Europe. These programs were *Batei Mahase* (shelter) Society and *Hevrat Yishuv Eretz Yisrael* (or the Society for the Colonization of Palestine). Jewish leaders endorsed these organizations because they saw them as constructive enterprises working on behalf of the Jews in Palestine. However, the Society for the Colonization of Palestine collapsed due to lack of supporters with some leadership problems (Salmon, 1991).

Mohilever (1824-1898) developed the concept of “*mercaz ruhani*” (spiritual center) and in 1893 led a group which toured Palestine. He was one of the Jewish leaders who influenced de Rothschild to support the early settlement in Palestine, particularly the two settlements of Ekron and Petach Tikva. Before his death, Mohilever recommended the Russian Jews to settle in Palestine (Palestine Information with Provenance, 2008).

Maurice de Hirsch (1831-1896) founded the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) to promote the emigration of Jews from countries where they were subjected to special taxes or experienced political disabilities to establish colonies in either North or South America. Argentina was selected as a location for the settlement of Jews because it was in the process of transformation as a result of modernization and the colonization of interior land. In 1891, the JCA was able to settle approximately 30,000 Jews in Argentina. Because of poor administration, heavy rain, locusts, droughts and failed crops, the project ended in total failure. In 1936, some German Jews arrived in Argentina where they successfully introduced new farming methods. After 1935, international Jewish colonies were becoming successful despite some setbacks (Schwarz and Te Velde, 1939; Winsberg, 1964 and 1968). In Furthermore, JCA helped in establishing Jewish colonies in Brazil, Canada, and the United States of America (Mideast and North Africa Encyclopedia, 2007).

Winsberg (1968) reported that by 1963 the Jewish community in Argentina reached approximately 450,000 people and was the fifth largest Jewish community in the World. These Jewish colonies were spread across three Argentinean Provinces: Buenos Aires, Entre Rios and Santa Fe. However, half of the Argentine Jews lived in the capital but others lived in other cities and the towns of the pampas. Towards the end of 20th Century, the Jews of Argentina became preoccupied with daily struggles in the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions within Argentina. It should be noted that the young Jews

were emigrating to Israel or the United States to seek a better life (Freeman, 1990).

Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), who coined the expressions “a land without people to people without land” described the Jewish ambition to settle in Palestine. Despite the fact he supported Herzl and the Zionists movement, he broke away from them in 1905 and founded his own movement, called the Jewish Territorialist Organization, in order to establish a Jewish state wherever possible, such as Australia, Canada, Mesopotamia, Uganda and Cyrenaica (which is now the eastern region of Libya) (Rochelson, 2008). It should be noted that when Zangwill coined his expressions, Palestine had a population of approximately one million people and there were 50,000 Jews amongst them, or around 5% of the total population (Dinelli, 2008).

The corner stone of the Jewish settlement project in Palestine was the creation of the World Zionist Organization in 1897 in order to start the systematic establishment of Jewish settlements in Palestine. The Zionist Program was the major achievement of the congress. It is stated in this program that “Zionism seeks for the Jewish people a publicly recognized legally secured homeland in Palestine” (Mendelsson, 2008; Hardie and Herrman, 1997).

The main driving force for the establishment of this organization was Theodore Herzl (1860-1904), who in 1896 wrote a book titled “*the Jewish State*” and became the main advocate of the Zionist program. After the first Zionist Congress of Basel in 1897, Herzl had the great opportunity to meet European statesmen, particularly the British who offered him a part of Sinai Peninsula in which to settle Jewish immigrants. Later, he was offered Eastern Africa (Kenya and Uganda) as an alternative location. Herzl himself thought that Cyprus, South Africa, Mozambique, Congo, Aleppo in Syria, Mesopotamia, and the United States were suitable locations to temporarily accommodate Jewish immigrants until the Ottoman Empire had dissolved (Lowenthal, 1958; Al-Rusan, 2001). When considering Palestine as the future home for Jews, Herzl believed that the future state was going to include some parts of Jordan, the Lebanon and Syria. This was on line with Jabotinsky, Ben Gurion, Dayan and Begin who proclaimed that the goal of Zionist movement was to create a Jewish state without defining the borders. Zionists believed that Jewish State borders should not be fixed because fixed borders would stand as obstacles in front of a dynamic and expanding state. Such an idea derived from Ratzel’s environmental determinism (Said-Aldeen, 2004).

Many Jewish ideologists were active in Palestine and were involved in the practical implementation of Zionists ideas. They believed that the colonization of Palestine depends on political achievements and therefore on power.

Such ideologists, for example, are Bar-Ilan (1880-1949), Jabtinsky (1880-1940), Weizman (1874-1952), Silver (1893-1963) and Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) (Hertzberg, 1959). Palestine as the 'promised land' for Jews and the persecution of Jews in Europe were the arguments used by founders of the State of Israel and their supporters to carry out their ambitions in creating the State of Israel. The notion of the 'promised land' was used to mobilize European Jews. The persecution of Jews in Europe during the Second World War was the salient factor in getting European support. Furthermore, the concepts of "promised land" and Jewish persecution in Europe were used as a pretext to facilitate the implementation of Zionist project in Palestine.

The views of many secular and socialist Jews ran contrary to the perspective of many of the religious Jewish communities regarding the establishment of Jewish homeland in Palestine, as they believed that only the Messiah could accomplish this rather than through human agency (Tessler, 1994). Syrkin (1867-1924) was a socialist who believed that Jewish state should be founded on any available land, not necessarily in Palestine (Hertzberg, 1959). In 1824, the first Reform temple was established in Charleston USA. It was opposed to Zionism and described the United States as, "this country is our Palestine, this city is our Jerusalem, and this house of God is our Temple" (Isseroff, 2007, 1). Yehuda Leib Gordon (1831-1892) believed that the solution to Jewish oppression was to emigrate to Western Europe and America (Britanica Encyclopedia on Line, 2007). Eastern European Orthodox Jews opposed the pan-Jewish initiatives and believed that, 'builders' labor is in vain unless Lord builds the house' (Salmon, 1991).

Many hopes of settling Jews in Palestine faded after 1860's and the Jewish leadership advocated for the emigration of Jews to America because of hostility faced by Jews in Europe and the impact of the 1867-1869's famine in Russia.

In the period between 1882 and 1925, three million Jews immigrated to the 'New World' (Winsberg, 1964). Among them were the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* and Montefiore that concluded that it was better to help Jews in Palestine to return back to Europe and build houses and farming colonies for those who were willing to stay in Palestine. Other leaders were involved in solidifying the gains of Jewish emancipation in Europe. During the 19th Century and the first half of 20th Century Reform Judaism rejected the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Instead, reform Jews felt that Jews had to cease declaring that they were in exile (Salmon, 1991).

In the 'New World' there were leaders who sought Jewish roots. Among those was Kallen (1822-1974) who envisaged a Jewish community living in

pluralistic democratic America. He believed that Jewish loyalty should be centered on group rather than religion. Kaplan (1881-1983) believed that by its survival, Judaism as a religion will answer to the needs of men, and also the idea of creating a homeland for Jews was necessary (Hertzberg, 1959).

Projects of Jewish Settlements in the Middle East

During the 19th Century, there were several projects aimed at solving the Jewish question in Europe by settling them in areas of the Middle East. The common features which related these projects to each other was that the weak Ottoman Empire ruled most of the Middle Eastern countries and that European countries were looking to establish or strengthen their foothold in the area. Furthermore, the thinking of the Jewish leaders ran in tandem with those of the European powers, particularly after the second half of 19th Century. Finally, Europeans in general thought that the proposed Jewish projects would be successful as the French and Italian had been successful in implementing their projects in Algeria and Libya. The proposed Jewish projects were as follows:

- 1- In 1789, the French government prepared a secret plan to establish a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine in case Napoleonic adventure into Egypt succeeded. France introduced this proposal in order to gain loans from the Jewish community to support the Napoleonic army (Qasmiyyah, 1973) and to geographically split Egypt from Syria, which threatened the British interests in the area. Furthermore, in 1860 Laharanne, the special secretary to Napoleon III, called for the settlement of the Jews in Palestine (Mahmoud, 19884, 16-30).
- 2- In order to protect its interests in the Near East, the British Government wanted an ethnic group to carry out this task, as France was protecting the Catholics, and Russia was protecting the Orthodox Christians in the region. Great Britain considered that by establishing a Jewish state in Palestine, it would secure their interests in the Near East (Tuma, 1976; Tibawi, 1961; Baron, 1938). To assist British efforts in Palestine, in 1865, Queen Victoria established the Palestine Exploration Fund to support British politicians and military officers with the required geographic, historical and political information about Palestine. Most of the publications from this fund referred to the significance of establishing a Jewish entity in Palestine under the protection of Britain (Mahmoud, 1984).
- 3- The Prussian Empire possessed ambitions in Palestine since the opening of its consulate in Jerusalem in 1842. Later, Prussia developed its own

colonization project. For example, Prussian officials started to send Christian missionaries to Palestine. Moltke, the Royal Prussian officer, published several studies calling for the establishment of "Kingdom of Jerusalem" in which Palestine would be transformed in becoming a developed European cultural center. In addition, such a kingdom was supposed to geographically split Syria from Egypt to protect Western interests in the region (Mahafzah, 1980).

- 4- The fever for the European colonization of Jews in Palestine reached the United States of America. The United States consulate and missionaries in Jerusalem protected many illegal Jewish immigrants in Palestine. For instance, the United States established the American Palestine Exploration Society to mimic the British Palestine Exploration Fund. However, the Americans were initially not as successful as Britain or France but during the twentieth Century until the present day American efforts have superseded those of the Europeans in Palestine.
- 5- The World Israeli Union (the Alliance), with the financial assistance of Lord Rothschild in 1860, rented around 85 acres in Palestine and established a training school near Jaffa in order to train immigrant Jews of how to cultivate the land since most of them did not experienced working in farming in Europe (Jiryis, 1986; Laurens, 2006).
- 6- Lawrence Oliphant (1880), a Jewish British traveler and a member of the British Parliament, predicted the establishment of a Jewish colony in the land of Gilead, which is located in north-western side of what is today Jordan. He also believed that the Western Jews could be relieved from Western civilization by settling them in Gilead. The colony was to be under the sovereignty of two governments, the Ottomans and the British. He intended to start his Jewish colony in this area in accordance to Old Testament theological beliefs. Oliphant preferred this area, as it was fertile in contrast to the arid land of Palestine.
- 7- In 1891, the Jewish Colonization Association was established by Baron de Hirsch, a French Jew, for the purpose of solving the Russian Jews problems in sending them to Argentina. In the period between 1894 and 1935, the JCA was able to settle 30,000 Jews in Argentina (Winsberg, 1964; Winsber, 1964; Schawarz and Te Velde, 1939). After 1900, the activities of this association were transferred to Palestine (Jiryis, 1986).
- 8- Another advocate for the East European Jews was Hischler (1845-1931) who proposed the restoration of the Jews to Palestine according to the prophets. Hischler proposed an area which extended from Asia Minor to Suez Canal and from the Mediterranean to the Border of Iraq to be the location of this Jewish settlement (Mahmoud, 1984, 37).

- 9- Warren (1871), in his book “*The recovery of Jerusalem: A Narrative of Exploration and discovery in the City and the Holy Land*, and Conder (1881-1889) predicted the settlement of Jews in Palestine.
- 10- In 1897, during the first Zionist conference, which took place in Basel (Switzerland), adopted the project which aimed creation a homeland for Jews in Palestine (Jbara, 1998).

Economic and Demographic Structure of Palestine before 1880

Before addressing the launch of the Jewish settlement processes in Palestine, which may be considered to have started in earnest in 1880, it is necessary to shed some light on this country’s demographic structure. In their propaganda, Zionists tried to sell Zangwill’s aforementioned slogan but other original Zionists were in possession of the truth. For example, Hallaj, (1982) states that when Herzl’s second in command Max Nordau first realized that Palestine was populated he was shocked and informed his commander that they were committing an injustice. In addition, Garaudy (2008, 12) replies to the aforementioned propaganda by quoting the writings of Ahad Haam, a Zionist who had visited Palestine in 1891 and who said:

Abroad, we are accustomed to believing that Eretz-Israel is currently almost all desert, without cultivation, and that whoever wants to acquire land can come here and get as much as his heart desires. But the truth is nothing like this. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, it is difficult to find any fields which are not cultivated. The only non-cultivated areas are fields of sand and Rocky Mountains where only fruit trees can grow, and this, only after hard work and a lot of effort in clearing and reclamation.

On the other hand, the British Prime Minister Peel’s Committee reported in 1937 that Palestine was on its way to grow half of the world’s winter oranges, Table (1).

Table 1
Distribution of World’s Winter Oranges Trees in 1947

Country	Orange Trees in Millions
Palestine	15
United States	7
Spain	5
Other Countries	3

Source: Garaudy, 2000.

During the Ottoman reform policies (Tanzimat) which started in 1840, Palestine witnessed economic growth and accommodated itself within world economy. For example, its agricultural, industrial and handcrafts products appeared in the international fair which took place in Vienna in 1873 (Manna, 1999). Agriculture was the main livelihood of the people of Palestine before the building of Jewish settlements. Coastal, northern and central areas were famous for their farming. Before the middle of 19th Century Palestine had reasonable commercial ties with Europe, Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor. Its main exports were olive oil, cotton, soap, wheat, wool and winter oranges. In terms of industry, Palestine had soap, glass and leather factories. The main urban centers such, as Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Nazareth and Bethlehem benefited from their cultural, historical and religious significance, receiving foreign tourists and pilgrims (Waltz and Zschiesche, 1992). The main imports to Palestine were coffee, rice, sugar, cotton products, construction woods, wine, cloth and accessories. The main exporting countries to Palestine were Egypt, France, Italy, Latin America, Germany, United Kingdom, India and Switzerland. Table (2) illustrates the economic structure of Palestinian cities between 1871-1872,

Table 2
Economic Structure of Palestinian Cities 1871-1872

	Shops	Stores	Hotels (Khans)	Grain Mills	Bakeries	Soap Factories	Olive Oil Presses
Jerusalem	910	141	2	14	22	20	9
Hebron	250		4		18	1	
Jafa	332	188	6	3	10	11	7
Ramla	96		1	1	8	7	7
Luda	106		1		6	10	16
Gaza	785	35	6	1	9	6	19
Nablus	450		4	20		30 (in the year 1880)	
Jenin	4			2	1		
Nazareth	176		2	10	4		
Haifa	160	70		6	5		
Acre	491		5	7	3		
Safad	227			15			4
Teaberries	130				8		

Source: Scholch, 1990, 144.

Table 3
Demographic Development of Palestine 1850-1919

Time period	Total Number
1850-1865	350000-360000
1882	460000-470000
1181-1893	425966
1911-1912	695383
1914	616608
1915	634275
1919	740000

Source: Scholch, 1985.

this structure includes shops, stores, hotels, bakeries, grain mills, and soap factories (Scholch, 1990).

In terms of population, Scholch (1985) reports that the total population of Palestine in 1882 was 470,000 and this number reached 740,000 by 1919 as a result of natural increase and Jewish immigration, Table (3).

In terms of the Jewish population in Palestine, Rafalovetch (1993), a Russian physician who visited Palestine in the middle of the 19th Century, described to have encountered some very poor and miserable Jewish families, who had originated from Poland and Germany living in the city of Tiberias, on his journey between Jerusalem and Beirut. Furthermore, Mahmoud reports that 89.5% of Jewish immigrants to Palestine originated from Russia, Poland, Austro-Hungary, and Western Europe.

However, many Jews were attracted to emigrating to the United States, which permitted some 165,000 Jews to enter between 1933 to 1943 (Berkson, 1945).

Waves of Jewish Immigration to Palestine and their Spatial Implication on Land

Jewish emigration to Palestine was the systematic executive aim of the World Zionist Organization. The Palestinian landscape witnessed the construction of settlements, roads and farms. The use of territory by the Zionist movement, and later by Israel, is a profoundly spatial affair with the purpose of achieving real changes on the ground.

Table (4) summarizes the distribution of Jews throughout the world between the years 1800-1948. Europe was the main source of Jewish emigrants to

Table 4
World Jewish Population 1800-1948 (thousands)

	1800	1840	1880	1900	1914	1938	1948
Europe (Incl. Russia)	1,500	3,950	6,858	8,900	9,100	9,500	3,700
Asia	–	300	370	510	500	1,000	1,300
Africa, Middle East	1,000	198	250	375	400	600	700
North & South America	–	50	250	1,200	3,500	5,500	5,800
Australia	–	2	10	15	–	–	–
Total	2,500	4,500	7,738	11,000	13,500	16,600	11,500

Source: European and Foreign Country Population Data, 2008.

Palestine up to 1948. The following six waves of Jewish immigrants to Palestine, and the further construction of settlements, were aimed at generating almost complete fragmentation, and therefore control, of the land of Palestine.

The 'push-pull' theory has been the most common explanation for migration. This theory explains that some people are pushed out of their homes, whereas others move because they have been pulled to someplace else.

First Wave: 1882-1918

In the middle of 19th Century, Palestine had 11,000 Jews out for every 400,000 Palestinian Arabs, or about 2.7% of the population. The Jewish community lived in harmony with the Arab communities in urban centers such as Jerusalem, Hebron, Safad and Tiberias. However, by the middle of the Century, the situation began to change. For example, a group of religious Jews residing in Jerusalem established an agricultural school in a suburb of Jaffa with the aim of training Jews to work in agriculture. In addition, another group of Jews from Jerusalem established the first Jewish settlement near Jaffa but failed because of intervening obstacles such as distance, physical and political barriers, poor health and unexpected results (Lee, 1966). However, this project was renewed in 1882.

Between 1880-1914, two and a half million Jews (33% of the total Jewish population in Europe) emigrated from Poland and Russia and settled in Western Europe and the United States, and this illustrates the push-pull theory of

migration in which people move because they are pushed out of their former location because of bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and even compulsion (Weeks, 2008). However, only 50,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine or about 2%. This percentage suggests that European Jews did not have Palestine in mind as a target for their emigration. In fact they were convinced to do so by the agencies of the Zionist movement. Weeks (2008, 273) indicated that it is "probably rare for people to respond to stress by voluntarily migrating, unless, they feel there is some reasonably attractive alternative, which we call a pull factor." Benefits exceeded the costs for those who migrated to Palestine.

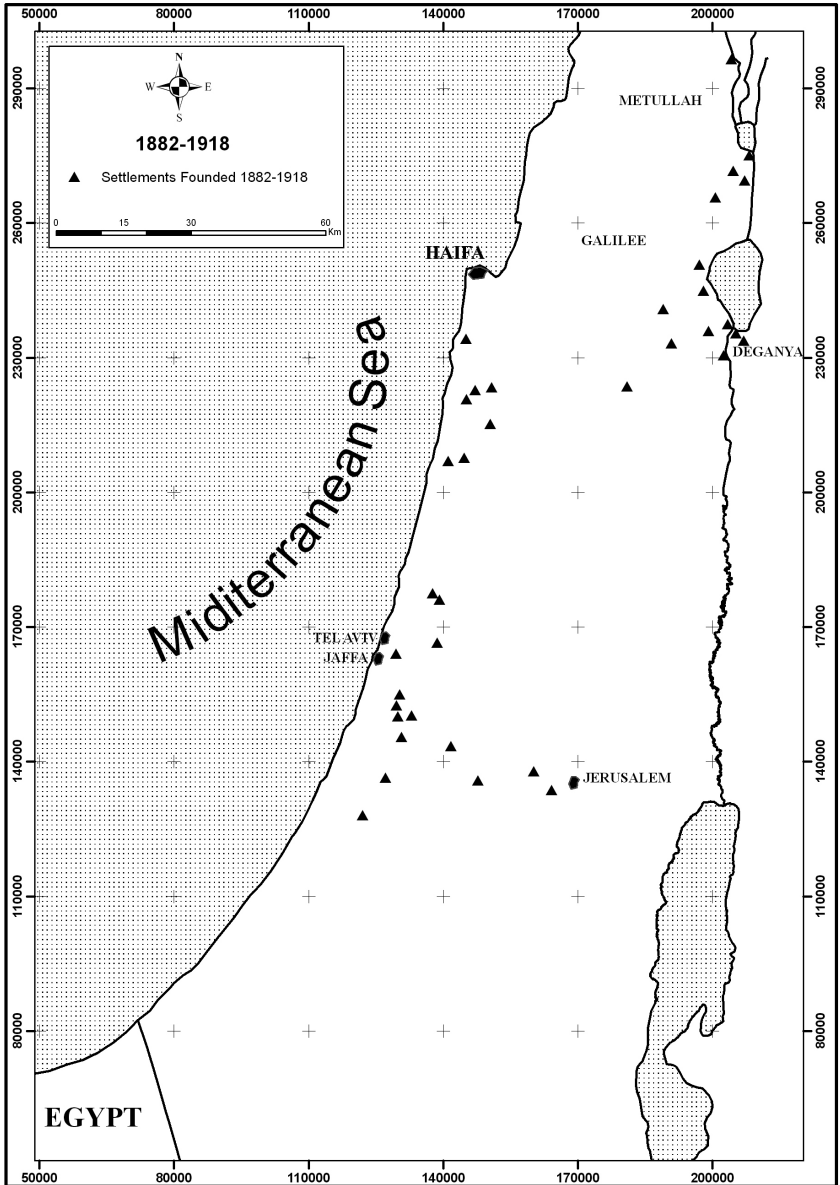
The large number of Jewish migrants was because of difficulties they were facing in Russia and Eastern Europe, in addition to the development of nationalism in European states and the expansion of the European colonization project in Asia and Africa. The spread of nationalism in Europe and also among Jewish leaders who believed that the solution to the Jewish question in Europe was the establishment of a Jewish state in any part of the world (Jiryis, 1987). As previously indicated, the idea to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine was formulated by the First Zionist Congress in Basil, Switzerland in 1897 and repeated in the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and Extraordinary Zionist Conference in New York in 1942 (Berkson, 1945).

Al-Ansari (1986) reported that Jewish leaders, including Herzl, had one of two choices: Argentina or Palestine as their future homeland. Herzl commented that they were going to pick the offered location and at First Zionist Congress in Basil, Palestine was offered. At the beginning of 20th Century, Jewish settlements in Palestine became more organized, and financial support was made available. A chain of new settlements was established in close proximity to the coast of Palestine and near the water resources in the north (figure 1). During this period, the 90 Jewish settlements in Palestine were inhabited by approximately 80,000 people. Most of the settlers, who would have their imprint on the future of the Israeli State, were from Russia, Poland and Romania. During the First World War, the pace of settlement expansion slowed down and one third of settlers left Palestine to Europe or the 'New World'.

Before 1880, Jewish migrants were religious who considered Palestine to be a holy place. But many of the migrants who were politically motivated considered Palestine to be their old homeland.

At this time, Arab laborers were used in agriculture. Jews did not originate from an agricultural background. As a result, only 6,000 to 7,000 Jewish immigrants lived in agricultural settlements and other settlers lived in urban centers particularly the newly established city of Tel Aviv (Yaseen and Hilal, 1975).

Figure 1
Jewish Colonization 1882-1918



Source: Beaumont; Blake and Wagstaff, 1976.

After 1904, Jewish immigrants initiated two new kinds of settlements. The first, the '*moshavot*' combined some of the features of both cooperative and private farming. The second model involved collective farming and these were called '*kibbutz*'. The settlements faced many difficulties such as there was a small number of holdings due to Arab reluctance to sell their lands, the central services system was not well developed and the settlers themselves were inexperienced and resisted working in agriculture. Many settlements would have collapsed without the financial assistance of Baron Edmond de Rothschild (Beaumont, Blake and Wagstaff, 1976).

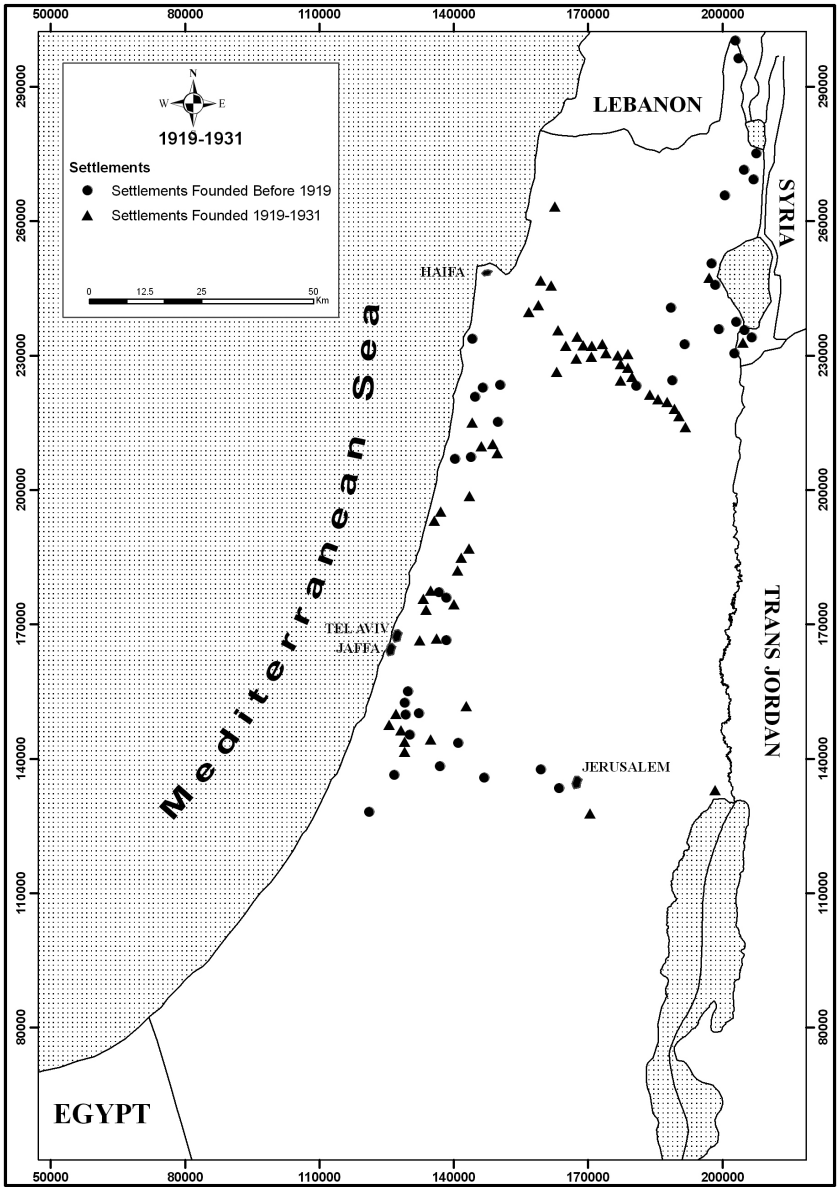
At the beginning of 20th Century, there were 22 Jewish settlements. The total number of settlements jumped to 47 by 1914. By then, the Hebrew language had begun to be taught in schools. The people of Palestine were aware of this Jewish project resist it in a number of ways, for example, the Palestinian uprisings (*intifadat*) which occurred in 1920 and 1921 directed against Jewish immigration to Palestine, The British fostered these Jewish settlements by purchasing large tracts of absentee land through Jewish National Fund and evicting of Arabs living in these areas (Yaseen and Hilal, 1975).

Second Wave: 1919-1931

This wave provided the basis for Jewish industrial and economic infrastructure such as the textile industry, roads and railways, swamp draining, power generation, mechanization and provision of insurance. Jewish immigration to Palestine was intensified and more *kibbutz* and *moshavot* settlements were established (figure 2). The salience of this period is that Jewish settlers started to become self reliant and minimized their dependence on Arab labors. At the same time, settlers acquired social security, health insurance, formed labor unions and gained more financial assistance from the Jewish National Fund (Yaseen and Hilal, 1975).

The Balfour Declaration and the commencement of the British mandate created another impetus in Jewish migration. Through this period, some 82,000 Jewish immigrants arrived to Palestine from several European countries. The total number of Jews in Palestine reached 175,000 (13%) out of a population of 1,036,000. Many immigrants were settled in *moshavim*. Farms in *moshavim* tended to be individually owned but with a fixed equal size. By 1948 there were approximately 70 *moshavim* and in 1971 this type of settlements reached 347, compared to 229 *kibbutzim* (Beaumont, Blake and Wagstaff, 1978). New immigrants had the choice to live on either *kibbutz* or *mashavot*. Immigrants achieved a good education at various levels (the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was established in 1928); they lived in nice houses and

Figure 2
Jewish Colonization 1919-1931



Source: Beaumont; Blake and Wagstaff, 1976.

enjoyed better jobs. They lived in a pleasant environment under the protection of the British mandate (Weeks, 2008).

Third Wave: 1932-1939

The rise of Nazi movement in Germany intensified Jewish immigration. Thus in the period between 1931 and 1939, around 213,000 Jews, who originated mainly from Germany and Austria, arrived in Palestine. The new geopolitical climate in Europe played an important push factor in intensifying Jewish immigration to Palestine. Many of the immigrants were middle class, with skills and capital (Beaumont, Blake and Wagstaff, 1978). This did not signal an abrupt rise in the support for Zionist beliefs but was due to Nazi crimes in Europe and the secret negotiations between the German and Zionist leaderships regarding the transfer of Jewish capital to Palestine (Waltz and Zschiesche, 1993). In response or reaction, the Palestinian resistance intensified and became more organized in various parts of Palestine. The peak of Palestinian resistance occurred during the 1936-1939 revolt against the British mandate (Jbara, 1998).

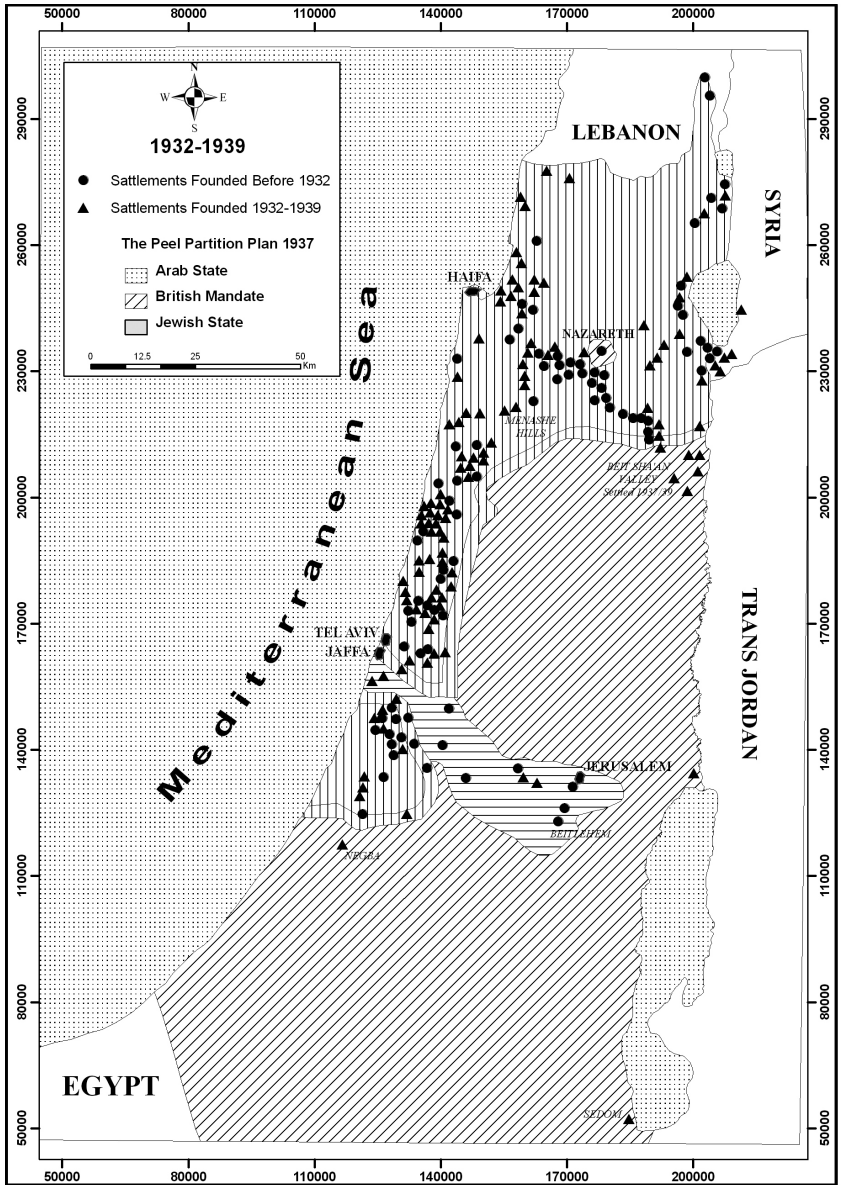
Because of the tense environment that was emerging in Palestine, the British authorities reconsidered their policies in order to maintain order. The British authorities issued the infamous 'White Paper' which aimed at restricting Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchases in Palestine. The Zionists regarded this as being a betrayal of Balfour declaration (Jbara, 1998).

During this period, Jewish settlement took place in northern Palestine and in close proximity to the Jordan Valley (Beaumont, Blake and Wagstaff, 1978). The settlements were created in such a way as to create a belt which would connect the main ports of Haifa and Jaffa and would include more land, particularly near the borders of Palestine, in order to expand space and to secure the borders for the future Jewish state (figure 3). The purchase of more land in Palestine and Trans-Jordan was discussed and agreed upon during the 19th Zionist Conference (Waltz and Zschiesche, 1993) Sharqawi (2006) reports that the Jewish occupational breakdown was as follows: agriculture 9.4%, construction 16.1%, professionals 2%, laborers 20%, merchants 2.6%, students 1.7%, other occupations 2.1% and those without occupation 46.1%.

Fourth Wave: 1940-1948

Despite the fact that the British authorities' restricted land purchase and Jewish immigration to Palestine, the Jewish National Fund acquired more land

Figure 3
Jewish Colonization 1932-1939



Source: Beaumont; Blake and Wagstaff, 1976.

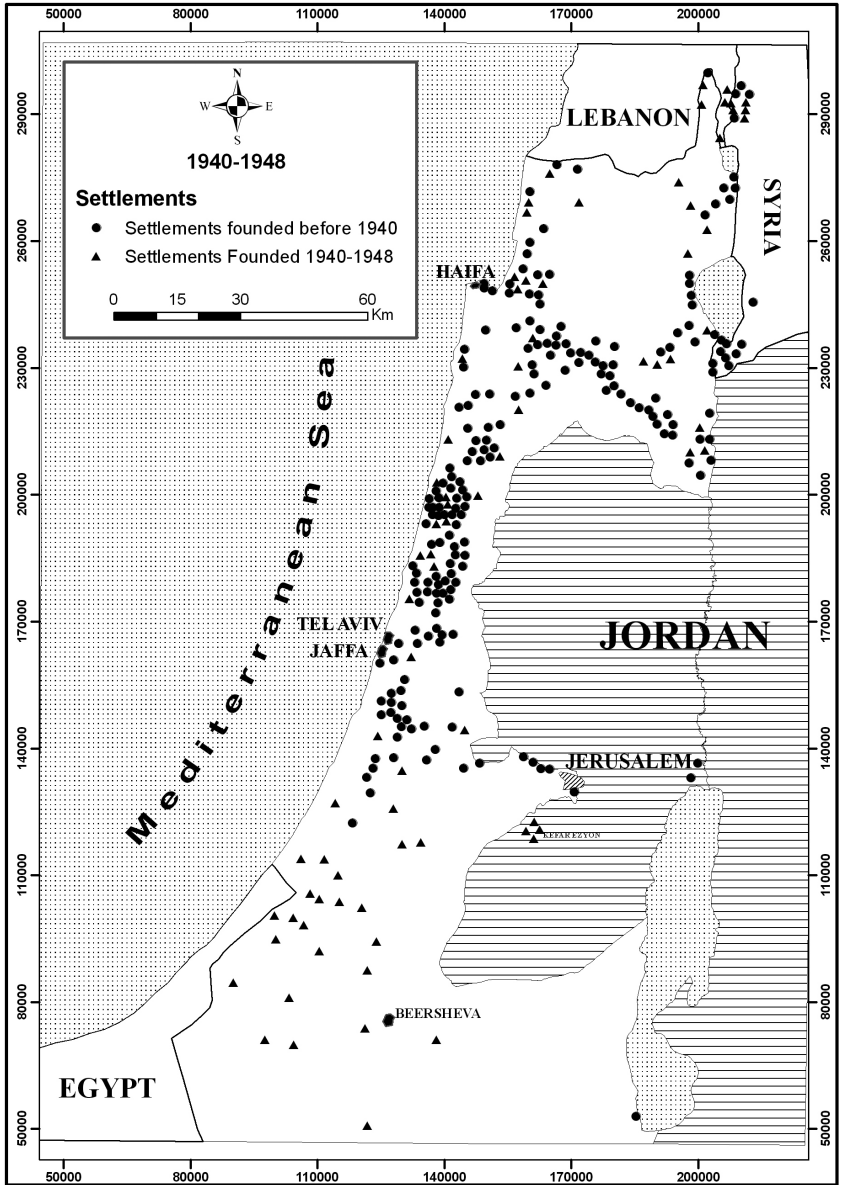
and the total number of immigrants reached around 110,000, most of these were from Germany. The established *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* reached 60 and 20 respectively. Settlements were established within the proximity of the Lake Hula basin and in central and southern parts of Palestine. The Zionist aim was to enlarge the area for a Jewish state and to secure control of ground water supplies.

Most of the settlements established over the different periods were included within the State of Israel after 1948 (figure 4). The 609,000 Jewish settlers lived an area of 20,700 square kilometers, or 56.47% of total area of Palestine, according to the 1947 United Nations partition plan. In 1948, 15% of Jews living in Palestine were engaged in agriculture and lived within 260 settlements. The area provided for an Arab state was approximately 44.88% (Jbara, 1998). After the British, as the mandated power, withdrew from Palestine, a full-scale war took place between the Palestinians and Arab States on one hand and Zionists in the other. At the end of the war, the Zionists had expanded their area to include 78% of the total area of Palestine (Figure 5). The total number of Jewish settlements reached 387 (Waltz and Zschesche, 1993). Furthermore, around one million Palestinians were forced to leave their homeland and became refugees in the West Bank, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and the Lebanon. The Zionists destroyed around 530 Palestinian villages. A few urban centers, including 80 villages and 40 unrecognized villages still existed inside Israel, with a population of approximately 150,000 (Al-Rimmawi and Bukhari, 2003). In addition, the 1948 war proved that the United Nations partition plan of Palestine had evaporated (Veracini, 2006). Palestine became a place of salient pull factor for Jewish immigrants who believed that Israel as a state of 'their own' equated to a safe and pleasant environment (Weeks, 2008). The stage was set to move into new era of immigration after 1948.

Fifth Wave: 1948-1967

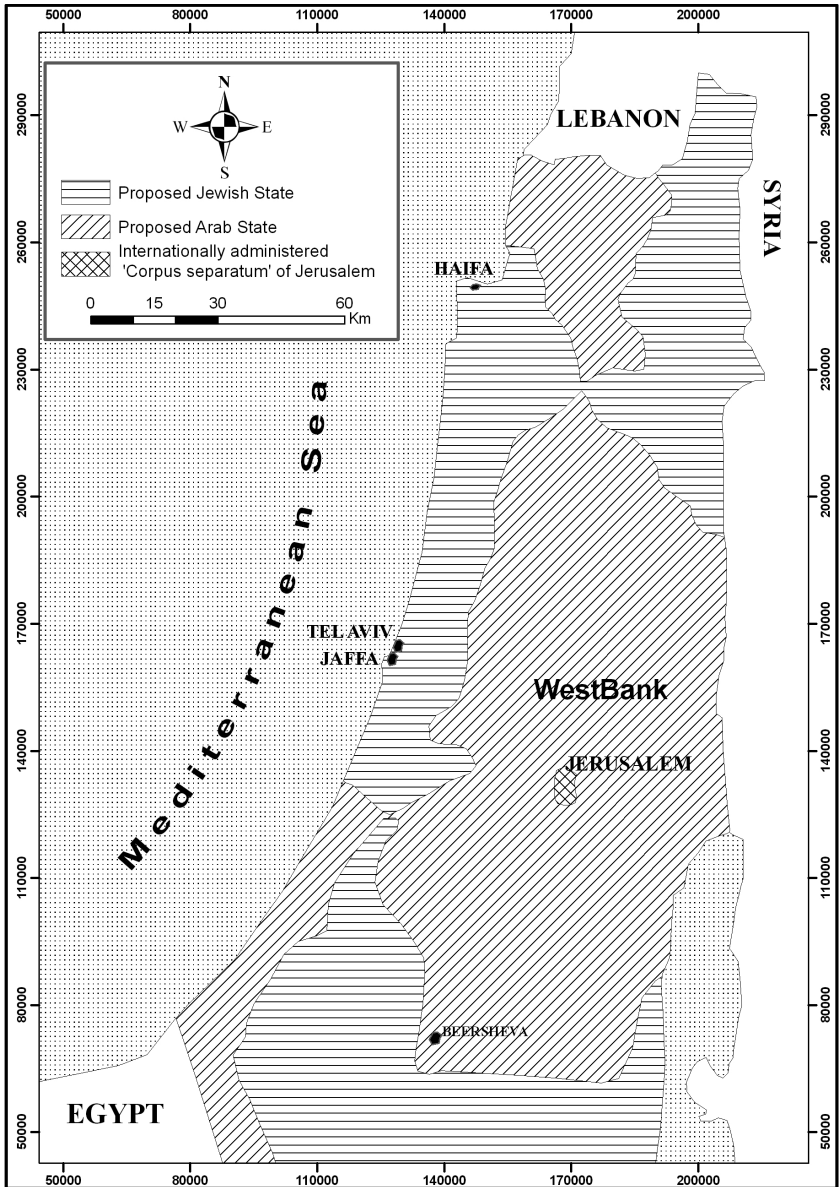
In 1948, the expulsion of around one million Palestinians by Zionists took place. This expulsion was coordinated and pre-planned (Masalha, 1992). After the declaration of the establishment of Israel in 1948 to 1951, 700,000 new Jewish immigrants arrived. Such a huge number provided the impulse for settlement expansion and the de-Arabization of most parts of Palestine. The 'right of return' to Israel was issued in 1950 and states that every Jew has the right to migrate to Israel.

Figure 4
Jewish Colonization 1940-1948



Source: Beaumont; Blake and Wagstaff, 1976.

Figure 5
United Nations Partition Plan 1947

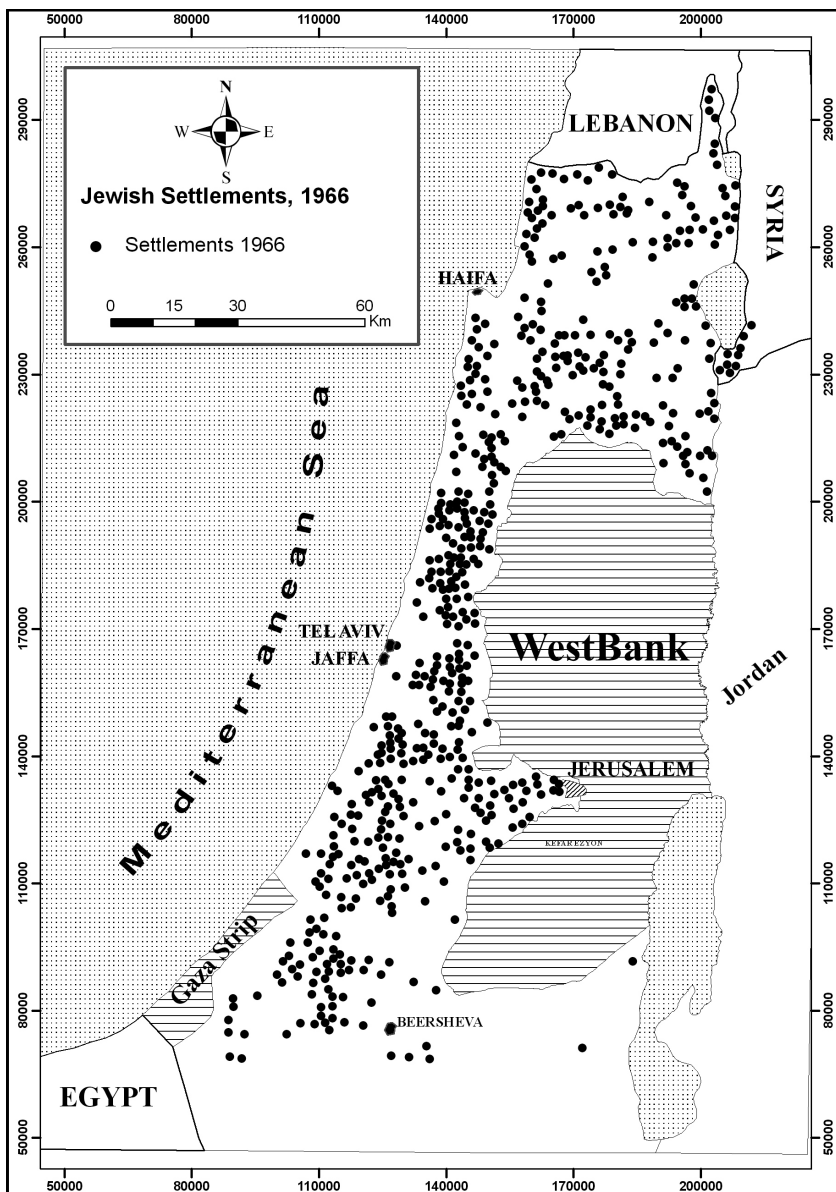


By 1956, there were 700 settlements in Israel and by the year of 1967, the number jumped to 800 (figure 6). To consolidate its position, Israel declared most of the land to be 'military zones'. In accordance with institutional theory and as an institutional state, Israel became the organizer and the facilitator of Jewish immigration in which humanitarian protection, arranged lodging or credits were provided (Weeks, 2008). Arabs living in Israel came under permanent military screening systems. In addition, Israeli forces committed several massacres inside Israel and on the borders which aimed at pressuring Arabs to leave their homes (Nijim, 1984). In the period between 1951 and 1956, Israel committed massacres in the villages of Iqrit near Acre, Terah near Ramla, Abu Gosh near Jerusalem, and Kufr Qasem. The various laws which were issued by Israel from 1948 to 1967 provided the basis in which the Israel authorities' confiscated lands from their Palestinian owners. By 1962, Israel controlled 92.3% of the Palestinian land inside Israel, compared to 6-7% in 1947. Israel controlled 90% of water resources (Waltz and Zschiesche, 1993). Israeli policies were able to make Palestinians the community minority. 1993). Furthermore, the number of Jewish immigrants to Israel between 1948 and 1967 reached about 1.1 million (Palestine National Authority, 2008). According to Robinson (1973) the historical development of Israel showed that it was colonial settler state.

Sixth Wave: 1967 – Present

Ben-Gurion believed that a state of war was necessary for Israel and that peace would endanger its existence (Vasillopuls, 2007). By launching the war of 1967, against Egypt, Jordan and Syria Israel put the philosophy of Ben-Gurion into practice, placing the Sinai desert, West Bank and Golan Heights under armed forces. This war, and consequently the occupation, opened new horizons for Israel in terms of security and settlements. Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular faced painful new circumstances (Waltz and Zschiesche, 1993). Egypt deployed its army close to 1949 armistice line in order to relieve Syria from Israeli pressure, which was taking place in the north. In fact the Arab states did not possess an agenda to liberate Palestine despite the fact that Arab discourse was advocating such liberation. The 1967 war resulted in new wave of Palestinian refugees, which were estimated to be around 366,000. They were dispersed towards Egypt, Jordan, Gulf States and the Lebanon. At present, the total number of Palestinian refugees is estimated to be 5.25 million. They are distributed as follows: Jordan 1.8 million, West Bank and Gaza Strip 1.51 million, Israel 47,000, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States 440,000, Syria 472,000, Lebanon 433,000, Egypt 43,000, Rest of Arab countries 84,000, North America 184,000, other non-Arab States 234,000 (Salamah, 2006).

Figure 6
Jewish Settlements in Palestine, 1966



Source: Waltzand, Zschiesche, 1993.

Israel received two phases of Russian Jews. The first phase took place throughout the 1970s and the second, and the largest, occurred during the 1990s. The economic difficulties which faced Russia were the driving force behind the emigration of Russian Jews to Israel. At present, Russian Jews are estimated to be around 20% of the Israeli population. But it appears that they are not assimilated within the mainstream of Israeli society (Rayan, 2007). Jabir (2009) reports that 100,000 or 10% of Russian Jews have returned back to Russia because they did not find what they were expecting in Israel.

After the 1967 war, settlement projects were launched in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights by Israel. Israel knew that it was not under threat by Arabs, but it was clear that there was a need to expand its territory. It appears that the borders proposed by the Zionists in 1919 were at the forefront of the Israeli leaderships mind (Ayyash, 2009). In fact, just after the 1967 war, Israel destroyed some parts of *Qalqilyah*, a Palestinian city located very close to the 1948 armistice line between Israel and the West Bank. Residents of this city were forced to leave their homes. The United Nations pressured Israel to abandon demolishing the city and the residents were allowed to return to their homes. Near Jerusalem, another three Palestinian villages (Amwas, Yalo and Beit Noba), with 12,000 residents, were destroyed and their residents were also forced to leave their homes. Israel justified these demolitions as being for security reasons and for any future border exchange. Inside the walls of Jerusalem, Israel forced 6,000 Palestinians from the Maghribi (Moroccan) neighborhood to leave their homes in order to create a room for the construction of an area around the Wailing Wall. In the district of Jericho, other 100,000 refugees of 1948 were forced to leave the camp for Jordan, again for 'security reasons'. The motivation was to control the West Bank and Gaza Strip with a reduced population, retaining those Palestinians as a source of cheap labor. Israel did not want to annex the occupied lands and did not want to leave them either. The best solution was to offer the occupied lands a kind of restricted self rule status similar to the status of Native Americans in the United States or the indigenous people of South Africa during the apartheid system (Waltz and Zschiesche, 1993).

After the 1967 war, Israel began to strip Palestinian land from its Palestinian owners. From 1967, land confiscation took place beyond the 1948 armistice line into the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Elon, 2008). Later on, settlements penetrated deeply inside the occupied land like spears, with the purpose of dividing the Palestinian land in the West Bank into three main Bantustans, north, and central and south.

At present, Israel continues to construct its Apartheid Wall which would guarantee that the confiscated land be on the Israeli side of the border despite

the fact that Israel justifies the construction of the Wall for security reasons. The Israeli actions in the West Bank have forced Palestinians who live in close proximity to the Wall to leave their homes or to live in prisons surrounded by Israeli military. The Wall is planned and implemented in a way which results in residential and territorial discrimination. Palestinian workers may be allowed to work in Israel but will not be allowed to reside in the same place (Veracini, 2006). Furthermore, Israel will control most of under ground water resources. For example, the water discharge in the West Bank is approximately 600 to 660 million cubic meters annually. Palestinians exploit about 123 million cubic meters and the rest is consumed by Israel.

Palestinian cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, is being destroyed by Israeli bulldozers. The Apartheid Wall is destroying archeological sites, shrines, monuments and historical buildings. The establishment of this wall is represented by 'spatial and socio-side' (Elon, 2008). The Wall also has a significant impact on Palestinian wild life and biodiversity. For example, heavy equipment destroys plant coverage and degrades the soil (Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem, 2004). Flora and fauna are endangered and some species will disappear (Duaibis, 2005).

It is true that Israel had unilaterally withdrawn from the Gaza Strip in 2005 but this strip has been turned into be a large prison with the people of Palestine surrounded by Israel, from land, sea and air. One and a half million Palestinians do not enjoy freedom of travel to either the West Bank or the rest of the World.

By not building the Wall on the armistice line of 1949, is a violation of International law which clearly states that land can not be acquired through military force or threat. The violated laws are: UN Security Council Resolution 242; Article 2(4) of the UN Charter; 1907 Hague Regulations; Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention (Canada Democracy and International Law, 2004). Segal and Weizman (2002) report that "building matter, just like the tank, the gun and the bulldozer, is a weapon with which human rights are violated and crimes are being committed". In addition, since 1948 Arabs in Israel face socio-economic and spatial discrimination, this separation makes an apartheid state (Ryan, 2007).

At present during negotiations with the Palestinian party, Israeli authorities are attempting to present the idea of a transfer of people and exchange of land instead of trying to implement the United Nations resolutions. The Israeli authorities are trying to transfer Palestinians who live inside Israel to the West Bank in exchange for transferring Jewish settlers living in the West Bank to Israel. Also Israelis are trying to exchange land occupied by major settlements in the West Bank for some Israeli land in the Negev desert. As long as this mentality remains prominent the peace process will be in danger.

Arab Reaction Towards Increase of Foreign Interests and Jewish Settlements

The Arab reaction to the increase of foreign interests in the Ottoman Empire and specifically in Palestine began to emerge as early as the middle of 19th Century. For example, residents of Jerusalem tore up the flag of a European state. In the city of Nablus, residents demonstrated against the killing of a Palestinian resident by a European preacher. The demonstrators attacked foreign consulates, Protestant schools and the Roman Church. In Gaza City there was resistance to the presence of foreign consulates. The foreign consulates labeled these two cities as 'zealot spots'. In addition, residents of Haifa rejected the new German settlement. European governments were concerned by the Palestinian reaction against the increasing foreign presence. As a result, military ships began to appear on Palestinian shores to protect European citizens should there be a need.

In 1899, Yousef Al-Khaldi a Jerusalemite, who was an Ottoman employee, drafted a letter to Jewish leaders warning that increasing Jewish immigrations towards Palestine was threatening peaceful co-existence between Muslim, Christian and Jewish residents of Palestine. Furthermore, the Palestinian leaders of Jerusalem wrote to the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul asking him to stop Jewish immigration to Palestine (Mahafzah, 1981). The Palestinian anger spread to Egypt, where they rejected the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (Scholch, 1990).

During the 20th Century, Palestinians became aware of the Zionist project and Palestine witnessed several revolts in response in 1920-1921, 1929, and 1936-1939. In addition, several full-scale wars took place, such as the wars of 1948, 1967, and 1973. Between 1967 and 1993, the PLO paratroops were engaged in a gorilla war with Israel. After 20 years of Israeli occupation to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Palestine witnessed the first *Intifada* (uprising), which took place between 1987-1993. In addition, the second *Intifada* has been ongoing since 2000. For the past few years the activities of this *Intifada* are decreasing as a result of the Israeli reoccupation of the West Bank in 2002, the death of Yaseer Arafat in 2004, the negotiated periods of calm and the imprisonment of thousands of Palestinians by Israel. Palestinians have become politically disorganized. The main Palestinian slogan since 2000 has been "the end of occupation was a precondition for peace and can not be peace itself" (Pappe, 2008).

Kellerman, (1995) argues that Jewish settlements were a result of Arab revolts but the fact of the matter is that the Arab revolts occurred because of the increasing Jewish immigration and settlement expansion. It is debatable how much impact the Palestinian resistance has had on the movement of Jewish migrants and settlers. It is certain that Palestinian resistance has generated

substantial and serious debates among Israelis regarding the nature of their state and its geographical extension. These debates have impacted upon Israeli voting patterns, as evident in the last Israeli election in February 2009. The election result gave conservative parties such as Likud, with its slogan of "Israel is our home," a political momentum because its leaders were advocating policies such as an invasion of the Gaza Strip and abandoning the two state solution.

In fact the invasion and destruction of the Gaza Strip have had a severe impact in the West Bank. For example, the Israeli government has decided to construct 35,000 new houses for settlers in the West Bank, with the aim of increasing the number of settlers up to 600,000. The Israeli government is increasing its destruction of Palestinian houses in Jerusalem and will forcibly evacuate hundreds of Palestinian families from their homes in Jerusalem for the purpose of building a new park. In March of 2009, Israeli authorities issued more than 300 demolition orders to homeowners living in a refugee camp near Jerusalem (Ayyash, 2009). The last Israeli election will bring the conservative parties to government, impacting on the redefinition of a two-state solution and possibly the elimination of such an option.

Israel will reiterate its position on the solution to this conflict by insisting on the following three points: first, no complete withdrawal to boundaries of 1967; second, Jerusalem will not be divided, instead offering limited Palestinian rule over some of its neighborhoods; and third, no right of return for Palestinian refugees.

Palestinians were able to present their just cause to the world community and were successful in securing the return of the Palestinian leadership and Palestinian Liberation organization apparatus to Palestinian land during the Oslo accords of 1993, but because of the absence of political settlement, the Palestinian political parties are facing a grave split and its resulting consequences. The future appears to suggest the enhanced role of Islamic organizations within the Palestinian leadership.

Conclusion

This study has showed that Western ambition and ideology led to the creation of a Zionist movement resulting in waves of Jewish immigrants to Palestine, land confiscation, the war of 1948 and the creation of the State of Israel. The entire colonization project has had spatial implication on the Palestinian lands. The partial coast of Palestine which extends from Haifa to Jaffa was the initial foothold for Jewish colonization of Palestine. This area would be used as a spearhead for the rush of Jewish colonization towards northern and eastern

parts of Palestine. The colonization processes developed through various waves of the Jewish immigration and the settlement expansion was facilitated by the British Mandate.

The similarity between the conquests of North America, South Africa and Palestine are apparent. First, initial footholds were created along coastal areas. This was followed by planned successions of frontier conquests and moving borders. The frontiers were the areas in which violence and massacres occurred. The major problem that the three types of colonization faced was that the natives of America, the natives South Africa, and those of Palestine failed to disappear despite the fact that many of them were killed or forced to leave their homes. Native Americans are living in reserves and the native Africans, with the help of the international community, a massive pan-African support, and a strong internal popular movement were able to tear down the Apartheid system in early 1990s. The Palestinians continue to fight for their independence in the face of Israel's continuation to squeeze Palestinian land. The colonization, the war, and the forced displacement of people in Palestine must stop. Over the last few years, Israel has turned itself into a ghetto within an Apartheid State (Golani, 2008). Despite this, many Israel leaders feel that Zionists ideology was an illusion (Shalhat, 2008a) and others believe that this state's future is not promising (Shalhat, 2008).

The whole Zionist plan evolved through different phases which reflected itself on the space through the settlements, the creation of the State of Israel, the evolution of Israel to become an occupying power in Arab lands and the present apartheid system. Through the acquisition of territory and the building of the Annexation Wall, Israel aims at eliminating the possibility of Palestine as a viable political entity. Palestinians cannot fully exercise their human rights, including their freedom of expression, travel from one place to another, and different laws are applied to them than those used for Israeli settlers. At present, they are prisoners inside their own cities, villages, and refugee camps. In fact Ben-Gurion believed that this state of war was necessary for Israel and that peace would endanger its existence (Vasilopoulos, 2007). It seems that Israelis are not capable of transferring the soul of settlement movement into a real and consolidated state. It has to be stressed that the Palestinians have recognized that the demographic question will put Israel under pressure. Israeli population increase is at 1.9% and the Palestinian demographic increase stands at 3.5%.

Since 1993, both Palestinian and Israelis are discussing the issue of the two-state approach. The Oslo accords, signed by the Palestinians and Israelis in 1993, led to mutual recognition. Soon after the Palestine National Authority was established, it was agreed that such an authority was going to lead to the

establishment of a Palestinian State before the year 2000. However, the 2000's negotiations that took place in Washington D. C. resulted in a stalemate. The consequences of this failure resulted in the second Palestinian *inifada* which began in late September of 2000, the shifting of Israeli leadership towards the political right, the reoccupation of the West Bank by the Israeli army in 2002, the unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005 and the intensification of the settlement processes in the West Bank until now. At present, it appears that this process will not stop. The Palestinian authorities believe that the two-state solution is to be based upon the United Nations resolutions 181, 194, 242 and 338, reflected in the declarations of Palestinian National Congress which aims to establish a Palestinian State in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The area of Palestinian State on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip equates to 6,000 square km (22%), and 21,000 square km (78%) for Israel composing the total area of Palestine. The problem here is that Israel rejects withdrawing from the areas occupied in 1967 and over time this will create complications.

Finally, the author believes that the solution within the existing absence of justice and the impasse between Palestine and Israel is to establish a one democratic state. It appears that this suggestion is gaining momentum. This belief has emerged, despite the existence of present geopolitical system (Israel and Palestine National Authority), the peace process, the Annexation Wall (which may be removed at any time) and the attitude of both parties and international bodies. In case of a one state option, the cultural and socio-economic disparities between both peoples may be bridged through serious of development initiatives. The two parties will have to find ways to compromise and to live together. This solution will fulfill these aspirations (Aruri, 2008, Maccoby, 2008). This is the only way that Palestine would be decolonized and its residents would enjoy their full political rights. In addition Palestinian refugees will also enjoy their right of return.

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