Ethnic cleansing and colonization in the case of Historical Palestine: comparative analysis from 1948 to today

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Abstract

The great injustice and anguish suffered by the people of Jews in Europe during the Nazi persecution cannot justify the suffering imposed on the Palestinian people. Based on this view, the story and the historical facts of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will not be analyzed in this paper, but a comparative analysis of the expulsion of the local Arab Palestinian population will be made, from the independence of the state of Israel, passing through the events of 1967 till the recent years of military occupation of Palestinian territories and at the end will be given some guidelines on how to approach the solution for the starting of a peace process.

The initiatives of all is the Zionist ideology, which aims to establish a state of Israel only for Jewish people. Israeli leaders, deeply influenced by this ideology, realized that only through the demographic prevailing of the Jews could have reached their final goal. The creation of the demographic majority did not accept coexistence, but it was such that it exercised ethnic cleansing.

Today the Palestinian refugees around the world are over five million and are being denied the right to return from the state of Israel. The remaining Palestinian lives in two areas, West Bank and the Strip of Gaza, designated as human prisons, which are under military occupations and military law. Ethnic cleansing in the occupied territories is different from the policies of the past years. Today's ethnic cleansing is slow, sophisticated and strategic, which is accomplished through settling colonies, but the final result is equally efficient and achieves the intentions of the state of Israel to install the demographic majority and uniqueness of the Jews.

Keywords: Ethnic cleaning, Palestine, Jews, regugees.

1. Introduction

Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the most analyzed and controversial arguments in international literature of the last century and the issue is still being discussed. The big issue between Palestine and Israel has brought separate opinions into supporting one or the other part. It seems that, necessarily, the support for one party precludes the existence and reason of the other party. This way of thinking is also reflected in the reality of the events of this conflict, where necessarily the existence of one party, excludes the existence of the other party. The question is whether we can still talk about an Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Is there still a Palestinian issue? Why are thousands of Palestinians forced to leave their home? This hypothesis in my paper deals with the phases and ways of occupying the land, expropriating and expelling the Palestinian population since the settlement of the first Israeli colonies to today's settlements or colonies in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, ending with some

directives on how to be more near the achievement of a durable solution. In my opinion, the great injustice and anguish suffered by the Jewish people in Europe during Nazi persecution cannot justify the suffering imposed on the Palestinian people. However, as soon as history is taught, man is preceded by not learning from the past and reproaching mistakes.

Covert agreements between major powers have changed the history of many peoples and states and Palestine has not escaped such a thing. The history of the Palestinian Historical Territories is very old and complicated, and the change of its course will take another route during the years 1916-1917, with the secret agreement known as Sykes-Picot, where Great Britain and France, as the two imperial powers of that time, divided the entire Middle East area.¹ The secret agreement brought a compromise on an international administration for Palestine, which was considered a strategic point by both states. Subsequently, with the "Balfour Declaration",² the events of the Holocaust and the persecution of the Jewish people by Hitler during World War II, and the consecutive "Aliyah"³ of the Jewish people in Palestinian territories, there is the starting of the colonization and ethnic cleansing of the local Palestinian Arab population. Nazi persecution transformed an entire population (Jews) into a sacrificial victim, who has already become the executor of another innocent population (Palestinian).⁴ All this, as in World War II, as in modern times, took place under the cooperative silence of the entire world.⁵ According to Fieldhouse, the European "Zionist occupation", backed by Great Britain during the 1920s, has dramatically transformed Palestine's character, demographics and ethnic composition without the consent of the local population.⁶

2. Ethnic cleansing and colonization in the case of Historical Palestine

When Great Britain ruled, in February 1947, the end of its mandate over Palestine,⁷ the Palestine issue was handed over to United Nations, who decided to divide territories into two states,⁸ here is when one of the most important figures of the Zionist idea went into the scene,

¹The Sykes-Picot 1916 Agreement between Great Britain, represented by M. Sykes and France, represented by F. George-Picot, with the consent of Russia's Czarist, was secretly held to establish the respective spheres of inflation and control of the Middle East, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire during World War I. The effects of this secret agreement today still influence the geopolitics, economy and religion of this area.

²The Balfour Decree of November 2, 1917, is a document declaring British support for "putting into Palestine a national home for the Jewish people". https://www.britannica.com/event/Balfour-Declaration

³ With this word is described the Jewish immigration to Israel.

⁴ Here when we say "population" i.e. is the Zionist theory and not the people in general.

⁵ The UN Security Council has adopted over 200 resolutions on the Palestinian issue over the last 50 years. The General Assembly has passed twice as many resolutions. The Security Council in Resolution 242 following the occupation by Israel of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip after the 1967 war called for "the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the occupied territories during the conflict." Most resolutions are completely ignored by the Israeli government. https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7D35E1F729DF491C85256EE700686136

 ⁶ Fieldhouse, D. K., "Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958", Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006.
⁷The United Kingdom's mandate over the territories of Palestine had lasted for over thirty years.

⁸On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 181 (known as the Partition Resolution), by which the United Kingdom's mandate will be allocated to Palestine in the Jewish and Arab states in May 1948. Under Resolution 181, areas of religious importance around Jerusalem will remain under international control and administration by the United Nations. The United Nations' proposal to divide the two territorial units of the state gave the Arabs 43% of the territories, even though they accounted for 69% of the total population and owned 92%

David Ben Gurion.⁹ To become a reality, the dream of the establishment of the state of Israel, Ben Gurion, and the main worshipers of Zionist ideas, had realized that this could only happen if the Jewish people were in the majority in these territories and began seriously to seek ethnic cleansing of "Historic Palestine". At a meeting addressed to his party members Ben Gurion points out, "This fact must be seen in all its clarity and sharpness, with such a composition, it cannot be absolutely certain that the government will be led by a majority of the Jews ... there can be no stable and strong Jewish state as long as there is a Jewish majority of only 60%." According to Palestinian historian Mur Musalha, the idea of transfer (ethnic cleansing) has been an important pillar in Zionist ideology. Masalha supports the idea that the Zionist "racist demographics" and Zionist obsession with the "demographic danger" of the Palestinians have "influenced the opinion of Israeli Zionist officials since the establishment of the state of Israel."¹⁰ Solving this issue according to Ben Gurion was "better off the expulsion" of the Palestinian Arab population than to allow them to stay in, all to provide a homogeneous Jewish state.¹¹ The Zionist idea was to establish the state of Israel with the only existence of pure Jewish ethnicity.¹² Initially, in February 1947, a retaliation policy was launched against the local population, with the reason that they acted against the Jews. However, very soon Israeli leaders realized that revenge policy did not cover most of the Palestinian population, and this way of doing would not in the short term lead to the overthrow of the Jews. The realization of the Zionist idea could only take place through the massive expulsion of the local population, so from March 1948 it was transformed into an ethnic cleansing, replacing the local population with the settlers to create a constant and uninterruptedly Jewish presence in time.¹³ Zionist militaries used great violence, including women and children, to spark fears on the Palestinian people and forcing them to leave. Zionists became the perpetrators of various massacres, where over the years 1948-1967, 420 Palestinian villages would be destroyed. For many decades, the Israeli government propagated that the Palestinians had voluntary abandoned their homes, called by their leaders as a sign of revolt against the United Nations Resolution 181 on the separation of the state.¹⁴ This propaganda spread to the West, where the Israel War was seen as a right and a moral one. One of the first Israeli authors who spoke of the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians population was historian Ilan Pappe in his book "The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine." Pappe writes: "This project of ethnic cleansing toward the people of Palestine was planned in detail. Initially, a register of all Palestinian villages, managed by the National Jewish Fund (JNF), was proposed. This mechanism of registration and planning of Palestinian villages had begun since the beginning of

of the land; while on the other hand, the Jews, which accounted for 31% of the population and owned less than 8% of the lands, gave them 56% of the territory. On November 29, 1947.

⁹ David Ben Gurion will be the first prime minister of the state of Israel.

¹⁰ Masalha Mur, the concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought 1882-1948, 1992.

¹¹ Morris Benny, "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949", Cambridge University Press, 1987.

¹² In July 2018, the Parliament of Israel adopted a new law, where among its 11 provisions, Israel describes Israel as a "national home of the Jewish people." This implies that the right to exercise national self-determination belongs exclusively to the Jewish people.

¹³ Prior to the declaration of independence, in May 1947, more than 250,000 Palestinians were expelled. Later, more than half of the local Palestinian population, nearly 800,000 people, was expelled, 531 villages were destroyed, and 11 urban neighborhoods were cleared.

¹⁴ See footnote 8.

the '30s. The accesses roads of each village were displayed, land quality, water resources and major sources of income, socio-political structure and religious affiliation, relationships with other villages, male age between 16 and 50 years and many other details. Especially it was shown the level of hostility towards the Zionists, which was determined on the basis of the participation or not of the villages in the revolt of 1936."¹⁵ Among these different opinions, the undeniable truth is that the Israeli government destroyed hundreds of Palestinian villages, stormed the land violently and expelled residents from their homes. Also, a fact is not allowing the return of refugees that includes not allowing also the return of their descendants, transforming the history of Palestinian refugees in the worst and longest in the history of the world. For more than seventy years, Israel continues to deny the "right to return" of the refugees to their homes, a right demanded by the General Assembly by Resolution 194.¹⁶

3. Comparative analysis from 1948 to today

Ethnic cleansing has not been recognized as an independent crime under international law. The term appeared in the context of the 1990s conflict in the former Yugoslavia and is considered to come from a literal translation of the Serbian-Croatian expression "etničko čiŝćenje - ethnic cleansing". There is no formal legal definition of the term "ethnic cleansing", but in general the meaning of the removal or expulsion of a population is defined as a crime against humanity under the International Criminal Court Statute and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. As ethnic cleansing has not been recognized as an independent crime under international law, there is no precise definition of this concept or the exact acts to be qualified as ethnic cleansing. A United Nations Commission of Experts mandated to look into violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia defined ethnic cleansing in its interim report S/25274 as "... rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area." In its final report S/1994/674, the same Commission described ethnic cleansing as "... a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terrorinspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas."¹⁷ So, we are talking about ethnic cleansing when we have the deliberate and systematic removal of a racial, political, cultural or religious group from a specific geographic area. The term ethnic cleansing is different from the term genocide. These terms are not synonymous and this fact has created different discussions. Ethnic cleansing and genocide can be distinguished from the perpetrator's intent: the purpose of genocide is the destruction or killing of an ethnic, racial or religious group; the purpose of ethnic cleansing is to create ethnically

¹⁵ Pappe Ilan, "The ethnic cleansing of Palestine", One World Oxford, 2006.

¹⁶ Resolution 194, article 11: "Refugees who want to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors should be allowed to do so at the earliest possible date and ... compensation must be paid to the property of those who choose not to return for loss of or damage to property which, according to the principles of international law or such equality, should be made good by the governments or responsible authorities."

¹⁷United Nation Office on Genocide prevention and the Responsibility to Protect.

https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/ethnic-cleansing.shtml

homogeneous lands, which can be accessed through various forms, including genocide. The history of the Jews killed during the Nazi regime is an example of genocide, while in the case of Palestine, we are dealing with ethnic cleansing, where genocide is a means of achieving the goal. The forcible relocation of some 750,000 Palestinians during the 1948 war, then during the 1967 war and the years of pursuit certainly fit the definition of the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people.

After the 1967 war and the occupation of Palestinian territories, Israel wants the lands but not the people living on these lands. Zionist leaders understand that the ethnic cleansing of previous years through military forces would not easily be accepted by the international community, and therefore had to find other ways to change the demographics of occupied territories. By settling colonies, the circumstances forced the Palestinian residents of those areas to flee. Since the occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967, Israel has continued a highly sophisticated and complex form of demographic changes in the occupied areas. This is not achieved through the direct war, but through the daily social and discriminatory policies of the Israeli legal system, pushing the life of the Palestinians to the extremity of existence.¹⁸ This is one of the reasons why Israel continues to encourage the settlement of colonies in occupied areas today, but does not make the annexation of these territories. When in 1967 invaded these areas, 90% of the land was held for religious reasons. Israel does not aim at annexing the West Bank and Gaza, not because it is forbidden by international law, but because the annexing of these territories means that Israeli must also annex all the inhabitants in these territories. The real annexation threatens Israel to keep the Israeli demographic majority against the Palestinians achieved through ethnic cleansing since 1948. The reasons why Israeli citizens agree to move and live in these areas are: their religious conviction that it is their right to live there because it is the land the Lord has left them; the state of Israel offers low taxes; colony infrastructure is directly linked to the state of Israel, although they live in the West Bank and one of the most important reasons is that they are protected by the Israeli army (IDF) which allows them to do basically whatever they want.¹⁹ De facto, Israel is an illegitimate occupier of these territories: "The Israeli invasions in the occupied territories violate some fundamental principles of international humanitarian law: the ban to transfer civilians to invaded occupied territories and to prohibit the creation of permanent changes in the territories conquered."²⁰ The first principle is also prohibited by Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, while the second principle is expressed in the Hague Conventions, according to which, as stated in Article 55: "The receiving State shall be considered only as administrator and user of buildings public, real estate, forestry and agricultural properties

¹⁸ "The Law of Return (1950)", for Israelis wherever they are or "The Absentee Property Law (1950)", under which any abandoned property becomes the property of the state of Israel.

¹⁹ Data released recently by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel show that since January 2018, they have begun to build a total of 1,073 new units and a total of 1,073 were completed by 2017, which are expected to accommodate more than 10,000 residents. Compared to 2017, we have a 66% increase in 2018. From the beginning of the Trump administration, the start of construction on the ground in the second quarter of 2018 has increased by 187% from the first quarter. https://fmep.org/resource/settlement-report-september-20-2018/#2018Starts

²⁰ B'Tselem, "Israeli settlers in the occupied territories as a violation of human rights: legal anc conceptual aspects", 1997, pg.17.

belonging to the opposing state that is located in the occupied territories."²¹ Settling colonies, building separation wall,²² destroying homes on discriminatory grounds and the severity of occupation itself have turned these areas into real human prisons. Economic, social and political life for the Palestinian people is extremely difficult or nearly impossible, with thousands of them being forced to move. The illegal occupation of the Palestinian territories allows Israel to have control of the Palestinian people, controlled by regular criminal policies, including collective punishments, extrajudicial killings, abuses, humiliations and detention without trial, both for adults and children. Today, Israel continues in the expulsion policy of the Palestinians in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza Strip territories, to allow settlements to colonize. Today's deportation is slower and no more systematic, while the results are effective and force the departure of Palestinians over time. The Gaza Strip consists of nearly 2 million people, more than half are children, who try to survive in an isolated "open jail" in the world. Gaza continues to be under military occupation since 1967 and from 2007 the Israeli government has imposed a blockade with Egypt's assistance, controlling the land border, entering the Mediterranean Sea and Gaza's airspace. No one is allowed to enter nor come out. It is a non-human situation and has nothing to do with the right of defense that Israel continues to propagate to justify the embargo that lasts more than ten years. On the other hand, in the West Bank, also under Israeli military occupation, the use of unjustified violence and force keeps Palestinians away from their homes. The model of this policy is the placement of colonies on land or even on a Palestinian home in an area where the Jews were not present before. Their new presence requires the presence of the Israeli army (IDF) to secure the lives of new residents. The combination of these two subjects, which through excitement, violence, insults, and other humiliating acts make Palestinian lives unbearable and impossible, that is why most of the Palestinian are leaving for a better future for their family. One of the most visible and strong examples is the city of Hebron where the most radical West Bank colonies live.²³

Israeli colonialism is masked by modernization in the face of the world, where Israel is presented as the only Middle East democracy, but its politics continue to subject Palestinians to military occupation, land acquisition, and the non-guarantee and non-respect of fundamental human rights. Since the declaration of independence of the state of Israel in 1948,²⁴ Nakba's²⁵

²¹ B'Tselem, Ibidem.

²²On July 9, 2004, the International Court of Justice decides that the wall construction is "in violation of international law," because it involved the destruction and confiscation of Palestinian property and limited the Palestinian movement. The ICJ declares that Israel should "immediately cease building the wall construction on occupied Palestinian territories" and compensate Palestinian landowners whose interests have been damaged by building the wall itself. The ICJ ruling has not been respected, and the wall is still being built today by reaching a length of 708 km, with 15 percent moving to Israel and 85 percent in occupied Palestinian territories, dividing and isolating Palestinians from most parts of the country. Great of families and lands. On July 9, 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled that the construction of the wall was "contrary to international law" because it included the destruction and confiscation of Palestinian property and limited the Palestinian movement.

²³Israeli settlers occupy Palestinian home in Hebron, 28 July2018. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/07/israeli-settlers-occupy-palestinian-home-hebron-170728080215824.html

²⁴ Provisional Government of Israel; Official Gazette: Number 1; Tel Aviv, 5 Iyar 5708, 14.5.1948; The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. https://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm

wounds are still open, as Israel does not accept "the right to return"²⁶ of over five million Palestinian refugees,²⁷ while on the other guarantees Israeli citizenship for all persons who can show a Jewish descent.²⁸ "The story of Palestine from early to late is a simple story of colonialism and expropriation, but the world treats it as a multifaceted and complex story, difficult to understand and even more difficult to solve" Pappe asserts in his book on Palestine.²⁹ Researcher and scholar Goldberg points out that "in Palestine we are witnessing the tragic dilemma of Jewish necessity against the rights of Palestinians, a just solution is impossible, only the most generous return of the deportees can begin to compensate for the injustices that have been made to them."³⁰ Unfortunately, Goldberg's idea still seems far from realization today. Rather, the Israeli territorial expansion has spread more and more, the expropriation of the Palestinian people continues openly, thus enabling the continuation of a conflict, which is one of the longest of modern times and causes great suffering on both sides. The continued expansion of Israel's borders is the result of the Israeli government's policies with the help of the Israeli army force (IDF) and the assistance of Western democracies (like USA and other European countries) and especially the Jewish lobbies around the world. Also, this expansion is helped by the fact that Israeli forces face a devastated Palestinian Arab world, not well organized politically, which does not pressure and does not adequately affirm itself to the Palestinian cause, both militarily, having limited and badly managed military means.

Colonialism through the deployment of residents is in many ways more harmful than traditional colonialism, because its ultimate goal is permanent and homogeneous creation of the colonizing ethnicity in the colonized territories. The state of Israel intends to create a democracy and propagate itself as the only democracy in the Middle East by settling colonies to create a demographic majority. According to Israel, you can create a democratic state even if you live as a resident-colonialist and resident-native, but always maintaining the status of the colonies in the state as a demographic majority. The ultimate goal is the widest range of Israeli settlements in contrast to the Palestinians, to slowly reach the voluntary Palestinian expulsion. The voluntary departure, caused by severe economic and social pressure, will enable Israel to annex the territories that will no longer be inhabited by local people. This theory allows Israel to realize the Zionist idea of establishing the state of Israel, as an exclusive Jewish state. It is a hypothesis that makes people laugh in the 21st century, such an act violates any international law, treaty or

²⁸Acquisition of Israeli Nationality

²⁵ Al-Nakba, in Arabic, means "catastrophe". In Palestine it became synonymous with the relentless exodus, which included over 700,000 Arab cities between 1948 and 1949 after the birth of the Israeli state and the first Arab-Israeli war.

²⁶ Resolution 194 of the General Assembly of UN. https://www.unrwa.org/content/resolution-194

²⁷ As a result of the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, it was founded by the UN General Assembly under UNSCR 302 (IV) of 8 September 1949, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). The agency deals with giving the nurse, development, education, health care, emergency services and social assistance to over five million Palestinian refugees living in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In 1967, 3 million Palestinians would be registered as refugees.

http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/aboutisrael/state/pages/acquisition%20of%20israeli%20nationality.aspx

²⁹ Pappe Ilan, "The ethnic cleansing of Palestine", One World Oxford, 2006.

³⁰ Goldberg David J., "To the promised land – A history of Zionist thought", Penguin Books, 1996, pg. 247.

international value, and in any other context it would be rejected by the international community as a racist act or even more severe punishment, but in the case of Israel is accepted, under total international silence. What can be done to reach a solution and look at a future for these countries? Israeli historian Ilan Pappe gives two thoughts: the first is that it must be accepted that the solution of the creation of two states is dead; and the second is that decolonization is not a process that can be forced from abroad, but what we can force from the outside is the end of occupation, oppression and atrocities. The international community, whether civil or political, should send real messages and undertaking concrete actions to complete apartheid as a prerequisite for establishing a reconciliation process between the parties. If we fail to reach a fair directive of the international community, we will continue to have these discrepancies between the way we talk and show the reality and the way the reality is on the ground. One of the directives on how to deal with the solution is to tell the truth "of history", through historical facts and documents, stories of survivors, and not through political propaganda or through the story of a disputing party. If the world does not face the true story of events, Israel will continue to live under the umbrella of immunity that has protect itself till now. In parallel to the true story of events, Israel's responsibility must be clear. Israel must be held responsible for ethnic cleansing since 1948 and the less it can do if it wants to achieve the realization of peace processes is to allow Palestinian refugees to return to their lands. However, the situation on the ground shows other false truths that are further enlarged by world media and political propaganda. In 2005, Palestinian civil society organizations called for boycotts, dismissals and sanctions (BDS) as a non-violent form of pressure on Israel. BDS calls global people and the international community to end Israeli occupation, violence, oppression, and Palestinian expulsion. Their demands are the fulfillment of the three essential points for establishing a just peace agreement: the first is the end of the invasion and colonization of all Arab lands and the breaking of the separation wall; the second requirement relates to the recognition of the fundamental rights of Arab-Palestinian citizens in equality with the Israelis, and the third requirement relates to the respect of rights and the promotion of Palestinian refugee rights to return to homes and their property as envisaged in UN Resolution 194.³¹

4. Conclusions

To return to the main hypothesis of my paper, whether we can still talk about a Palestinian question, the answer is no. The final account of my research is that we cannot talk about a Palestinian issue because it is useless, restrictive and also not correct to speak about an Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To describe the current situation in the right way, the most accurate and straightforward definition is the colonization of "Historical Palestine." Palestinians all over the world refer to the situation with the term "Nakba al mustamirra" which means continuous catastrophe. To achieve a peace process, although in our time it seems absurd, the only thing is

³¹ The BDS movement was launched by 170 Palestinian unions, political parties, refugee networks, women's organizations, professional associations, popular resistance committees, and other Palestinian civil society organizations. Inspired by the anti-apartheid movement of South Africa, the Palestinian call of the BDS sparks no violent pressure on Israel until it complies with international law.

the decolonization of occupied territories and the decolonization of the thinking of the inhabitants themselves of these colonies.³² The manner and the times in which decolonization will happen is a very controversial issue, seeing the events of the last few years in Israel, in particular the use of unjustified Israeli army (IDF) force against protesters in the summer of 2018 in Gaza. Achieving peace is not a short-term process and requires constant pressure on the Israeli society and government, which is the only actor in the whole international scene that has in his own hands the Palestinian people's future.

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³² According to historian Ilan Pappe, Israeli society is indoctrinated and racist, which has to be decolonized in its way of thinking before decolonization on the ground.