

## **Do-it-yourself Apartheid in Palestine**

Israel, the World Bank and “Sustainable Development” of the Palestinian Ghettos

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All photos are from the Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign’s Photo Archive; the Campaign is greatly indebted to all of the individuals who have and continue to contribute to the Archive’s growth and diversity.

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This report is dedicated to all of the martyrs who have given their lives defending Palestine and resisting the Apartheid Wall.

*“They can do what they want, they can steal the land, they can kill our children, but we are not going to leave. We are staying. This is our land. They want to uproot us but the future is ours and the Occupation is the one that will be uprooted.”*

*- Abu Iyad mourning Jamal, shot in the back by the Occupation on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2005 at the age of 15*

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## *Preface:*

“Do-it-yourself Apartheid in Palestine” comes at a vital time in the Palestinian liberation struggle. The Wall and overall system of apartheid infrastructure such as Jewish-only roads, settlements and military zones, will completely strip the Palestinian people of their lands and imprison them within a series of ghettos across the West Bank. A second Apartheid Wall around Gaza will ensure its status as a hellish prison for the 1.3 million people locked inside. Ghettoization has added a new dimension in the Israeli project of continual Occupation and colonization of Palestine and the expulsion of its people.

One year after the International Court of Justice (ICJ - 9<sup>th</sup> of July) decision that requires the Occupation to tear down the Wall and mandates the international community not to recognize the situation or act in any way which might serve to sustain it, the Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign publishes this report revealing the plans of the World Bank to facilitate and coordinate support for Israel’s apartheid project.

Internally, Palestine is involved in a crucial period of re-defining the structure and ultimate aims of its struggle. The evident failure of the Oslo process and its significance in preparing the Wall has left fundamental questions over goals and aspirations of the liberation struggle. If the Wall is completed and the Israeli apartheid system is cemented into the landscape of Palestine - sealing its population into a series of miserable Bantustans - the scope for any two-state option will be gone. The Wall, as a project of cleansing people from their lands, will refocus attention on the expulsion of the Palestinian people, a project that began in 1948.

As a national grassroots campaign we are at the forefront of resisting the destruction caused by the Apartheid Wall, mobilizing and working within communities on a daily basis, giving them a voice on a national and international level. Against all those that would like to appease us with words and money, or simply find ways to accelerate a process of adapting to the new reality of Bantustans and ghettos that imprison us, the Palestinian resistance on the ground against the Apartheid Wall and its collateral projects is growing. It will ensure that the plans of the Occupation and the international community reflected in the World Bank report will not lead to the “peace of the graveyard” or pacify our yearning for genuine justice and freedom.

Our analysis of the dynamics of international aid in Palestine opens the publication. This exploration of the common interests of Zionism and global capital is framed within the needs of the people on the ground, their struggle, expectations and calls. The supporting statement from Samir Amin highlights the global context in front of which the destruction of Palestine takes place, leading us into a detailed chronology of the Apartheid Wall and resistance against it.

In this stage of the Wall’s construction and the complicity of the international community (particularly the United States and Europe), it is clearer than ever before that apartheid can never survive without global support. Israeli apartheid is a crime against humanity which is simply not sustainable without the external funding which props it up.

The World Bank’s support for a system of continued colonialism and racial capital, dressed up as some kind of “aid” or “development” is highly disturbing, and equally alarming is the apparent eagerness of international governments and “aid” organizations to adopt its proposals, further develop them and ultimately implement them. It reveals that the international community, after 56 years of Israeli violations, is still willing to support the Occupation's plans for the colonization of Palestine and the expulsion of its people. No ICJ decision appears able to hold off this determination.

As with the global anti-apartheid struggle against racist South Africa, worldwide civil society, movements and individuals have begun to pressure their governments and institutions to take steps to halt any aid and assistance to the Israeli apartheid project and to bring an end to its policies of definitive expulsion and imprisonment.

With the failure of any kind of “dialogue” initiatives with the Occupation, the only concrete means to support our struggle has emerged within the movement to isolate Apartheid Israel. Consumer boycotts, academic, cultural and sports boycotts, divestment and concerted pressure on governments to put sanctions and arms embargos on Israel is the way forward and is increasingly being recognised by people from across the world who struggle for liberation and justice.

With the ever growing global movement to isolate Israeli apartheid, international backing is increasing for the Palestinian grassroots committees in their daily resistance to the latest manifestation of Israeli apartheid: the Wall. This report presents some of the challenges to be overcome in finding genuine and effective means to create solidarity with Palestinians struggling for justice, sovereignty and liberation.

**Jamal Juma’ – Campaign Coordinator**

**The Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (June 2005)**

## **Do-It-Yourself Apartheid in Palestine**

*Israel, The World Bank and “Sustainable Development” of  
the Palestinian Ghettos*

*“Without the dismantling of the Apartheid Wall, without the liberation of our land, without the destruction of settlements, there will be no real independence, no viable state and no dignity. Neither the humanitarian aid missions of the UN, nor the funds offered by the World Bank and United States for the industrial zones and hi-tech gates of the Wall, can alter our resistance to tear down the Apartheid Wall.”*

**- The Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign, February 2005**

### **Overview**

With the relentless construction of the Apartheid Wall throughout the West Bank, and the failure of the United Nations and the international community to force Israel to abide by international law, new demographic and socio-economic realities are currently being carved out on the ground in Palestine. Israel has completed around 250 km of the Apartheid Wall. It is finished in Qalqiliya and Tulkarem districts. Intense building throughout the areas of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron is currently underway. The final Apartheid Wall will total anything between 670 km – 720 km, depending on the methods used by Israel to annex the Jordan Valley.<sup>1</sup> It should be completed within one year, and, alongside other apartheid infrastructure such as the settlements, Jewish-only roads and military zones, will annex 46% of the West Bank.

This paper seeks to flesh out how World Bank policy and analysis proposed in the most recent World Bank reports: *Stagnation or Revival: Israeli Disengagement and Palestinian Economic Prospects*, published in December 2004, and *Disengagement, the Palestinian Economy and the Settlements*, from June 2004, acts to normalize and institutionalize the Apartheid Wall into the landscape of the West Bank.<sup>2</sup> We will show how this serves to perpetuate the Occupation, and moreover forms part of the Zionist project for the gradual expansion of Israel and the expulsion of the Palestinian people from what remains of their lands.

We will consider the Bank’s understanding of the Wall as a device which will enable the total control of cheap labour from the West Bank into Israel. We will highlight the plans of the World Bank, supported by a host of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and “donors”, for new industrial zones requiring Israeli and foreign investment that will attempt to lock Palestinians into a system of cheap labour inside ghettos. Here the Apartheid Wall and the general system of annexation (roads, settlements, security and military zones) play a critical role, as they form part of an overall project to strip Palestinians of their lands. This has the dual effect of providing the human resources necessary for the profit of Israel and global capital, and the expulsion of Palestinians. We will look carefully at how this adds a new dimension to the Israeli system of apartheid, mirroring models of economic exploitation and control from South African apartheid

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<sup>1</sup> That the Jordan Valley will be annexed is not what is disputed but the means deployed by Israel to achieve this goal. If it is not the Apartheid Wall, then it will take the form of Jewish-only roads, military and security zones and settlements, all which will act as the Wall.

<sup>2</sup> <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/MENAEXT/WESTBANKGAZAEXTN/0,,menuPK:294391~pagePK:64026187~piPK:141126~theSitePK:294365,00.html>

and making another step towards the final aim of complete expulsion of the Palestinian people and Zionist control of their land.

Our focus on the World Bank comes out of recent announcements and publications which cite their involvement in the industrial zones, the gates of the Apartheid Wall, and their overall economic strategizing for a future Palestinian state of Bantustans and ghettos. Their reports on Palestine are to be considered an apartheid guide for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and must be viewed as of particular significance and influence. Compared to the other bodies which make up the major IFIs, the World Bank emerges as the body which is most aggressively advancing a specific theory of neo-liberal economic development hinged upon export-based economies involving industrial manufacturing, privatization of the global commons, and intensive agricultural production. This theory, masqueraded as some kind of economic or scientific truth, is at the forefront of developmental discourse and is increasingly being entwined into the creation of the “viable” state (prison) that Bush, supported by the international community, has outlined for Palestinians. The Bank is now actively engaged in planning, coordinating and funding this future Palestinian “state”, along with the international donor community. Its vision and proposals have already been taken up by a series of other “research” initiatives that further the projects the World Bank has outlined.<sup>3</sup> International donors’ conferences such as the recent London meeting (14<sup>th</sup> of January 2005) are building economic and financial projects in synchronization with World Bank indicators and proposals. Thus, while the World Bank may not always be the agency which implements such schemes and policies, governments, UN agencies and international NGOs become the driving force of “development” as the Bank, its funders and various “donor” agencies see fit.

While on a political and diplomatic level attempts have focused on the need to win “concessions” or “modifications” from Israel, developmental organizations have increasingly sought to confront the “problems” posed by the Apartheid Wall, without striking at the root of the problem: the existence of the Wall itself. The position and policies of a wealth of NGOs, IFIs and “development” agencies are thus increasingly identifying the Apartheid Wall as a permanent fixture in the Palestinian landscape. This acceptance underpins a great deal of “developmental” work that claims to make the Wall and the Occupation more “tolerable”. This includes plans by the United Nations to open registry offices for damages. These will presumably provide some kind of financial compensation for those who have had their lives and lands wrecked by the Apartheid Wall. Thus “development” initiatives, albeit from a wide range of motives, provide the legitimacy needed for the Wall to become accepted as a permanent feature in the West Bank.

This is contrary to a number of aspects of international law, including the decision by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague on July 9<sup>th</sup> 2004, that the Wall is illegal and should be destroyed, alerting the international community “not to recognize the illegal situation created by the construction of the Wall and not to render any aid or assistance in maintaining the situation created by it”.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the ICJ ruled that Palestinians affected by the Wall should receive compensation, but that this is to be provided only after dismantling the Wall. In accordance with this ruling, any genuine forms of developmental work would invest in the Palestinian struggle for freedom and justice, with the removal of the Wall as one of the first priorities.

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<sup>3</sup> See EastWest Institute (2005), *The Erez and Gaza Industrial Estates: Catalysts for Development*, [www.ewi.info](http://www.ewi.info) and Rand Institute (2005), *Building a Successful Palestinian State*, [www.rand.org/palestine](http://www.rand.org/palestine)

<sup>4</sup> International Court of Justice – ICJ (9<sup>th</sup> July, 2004), [www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/idocket/imwp/imwpframe.htm](http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/idocket/imwp/imwpframe.htm)

Our analysis of the World Bank developmental discourse is drawn from its activities in the “developing world”. We will deconstruct the language of the Bank’s policy and analysis to unravel and reveal the relationship between neo-liberalism and Zionism for the permanent imprisonment/expulsion of the Palestinian people. We will work through the layers of World Bank discourse to reveal three broad undercurrents. Firstly, the role of the Bank in echoing the Occupation Forces’ “disengagement” and implementing policies around such plans. Secondly, its funding for projects to sustain and maintain apartheid and land theft. Lastly, the Bank’s promotion of various projects of “co-existence”, serving to perpetuate colonialism and racial capital.

While silence in the global community has been tantamount to complicity in this project, increasingly Palestinian resistance at a grassroots level has sought to force the implementation of the ICJ decision through people placing their bodies between the Occupation bulldozers and their lands. In the last year alone, this has resulted in at least eight deaths and hundreds of critical casualties throughout the West Bank. That the only resistance to the project of the Apartheid Wall is coming from the Palestinian people is perhaps not that surprising. Israel has always benefited from so-called periods of “calm” or “ceasefire”, and the projection of such a scenario on an international level. The continued construction of the Apartheid Wall and onslaught on the Palestinian people and their land has not changed this international climate, which is dominated by optimism that some kind of historical “disengagement” and “peace deal” is just around the corner.<sup>5</sup> Manipulating international opinion through claims that there is some kind of “sensitive” or “complicated” situation has always been used to disguise the colonization of the Palestinian people and their lands.

Through a focus on the semantics of terms such as “viable state”, “contiguity” and “peace”, we hope to shape an alternative frame of reference for genuine forms of development around Palestinian self-determination, statehood and freedom. The role of language and meaning, which is so abused by the Occupation, mass media and the international community alike, needs to be fundamentally overhauled in the work of those who seek liberation, the application of international law and the destruction of the Apartheid Wall.

### ***Maintaining the Apartheid Wall: The Myth of “Disengagement”***

In order to understand the project which the Bank seeks to impose upon the Palestinians, we must trace the roots it has within Zionist discourse and planning. This will aid us in exploring the outlook the Bank has taken on Palestine and the mutual interests that it has developed with the Occupation.

The structure and make-up of the latest World Bank report is particularly significant. The Bank defines the process that led to the compilation of the report as the result of “GOI (Government of Israel) expectations” and “PA (Palestinian Authority) reservations”.<sup>6</sup> The study moves to the core of its analysis only after a long explanation of Israeli facts on the ground, proposals and interests. Consequently the room for manoeuvre for the World Bank analysis and proposals are consistent within the “Disengagement” plan proposed by the Occupation Forces. This is based on the continued existence of the Apartheid Wall and settlement expansion. Palestinians are merely

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<sup>5</sup> Occupation Forces have committed an estimated 3700 violations of the so-called “ceasefire” during the first three months after the Sharm el-Sheikh summit on February 8th.

<sup>6</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, Overview, p. 4-5

asked to provide administrative frameworks, such as fiscal and political reforms and to ensure an end to any form of resistance to the Apartheid Wall and Israeli Occupation and colonization. Thus the Bank notes in terms of the PA that “much remains to be done to ensure that the security services operate within a structure of administrative and legal accountability”, entirely negating that the continual project of the Occupation is based upon the expulsion of the Palestinian people and the colonization of their lands.<sup>7</sup> Any recourse to “legal” matters would thus begin with Israel and not those resisting its brutal Occupation.

The international community is obliged to engage in political and economic analyses and measures that can restore international law and promote freedom in Palestine. The World Bank should not consider itself out of these boundaries.

The Wall is not, as would be expected after the decision of the ICJ regarding its definition, referred to as a “Wall” by the Bank but as a “security fence” or “separation barrier”, replicating Israel’s misleading expressions for this project of land annexation and ghettoization. The Wall falls thus among the Occupation’s “security concerns”, and is taken as sufficient reason for land confiscation and destruction, in violation of UN resolutions and international law. As the Bank notes:

“The term [borders] is used to denote boundaries between areas of economic jurisdiction [...] the location of these economic boundaries is assumed to be the security fence that surrounds the Gaza strip, and the 1949 Armistice Line (the 'Green Line') in the West Bank.”

The Bank appears oblivious to the fact that the Green Line is not “in” the West Bank and that 80% of the Wall’s path deviates from the Armistice Line to join a network of other apartheid infrastructure to rip apart the West Bank into a series of miserable, disparate Bantustans. Similar ambiguous interpretation has also been pursued by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), as evident in a recent report where its definition of “closures” also neglected the Apartheid Wall, leaving fundamental questions around the de-facto significance of the Wall.<sup>8</sup>

The World Bank replicates the claims made by the Occupation around “disengagement” and “concessions” in its discourse, weaving a series of fallacies into its political and historical analysis of the dynamics in this region. The lies and distortions of the Occupation provide the ideological basis from which the World Bank, leading a number of “expert” institutes, seeks to implement the “revival” of the Palestinian economy.

The most fundamental myth is that there is some kind of “disengagement” of the Occupation’s presence in the West Bank and Gaza. Let us consider what this disengagement (what we will term *re-engagement*) actually is. The withdrawal of 7,354 settlers from Gaza is to be accompanied by their relocation into colonies in the West Bank, and the construction of a second Wall around Gaza to ensure its total isolation from the rest of the world.<sup>9</sup> Borders, movement and life will continue to be completely regulated by the Occupation, enclosing the Palestinians into a hellish

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<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* p. 20

<sup>8</sup> UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – OCHA (April 2005), *West Bank Closure and Access Review*

<sup>9</sup> From “Feasibility Study: Relocating settlements from Gaza Strip area”, Israel National Security Council (April 2004) quoted in World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*. III, p. 13

prison. The World Bank has noted: “A significant amount of land will become available to the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank upon Israeli withdrawal”.<sup>10</sup> In Gaza the land vacated by the settlers represents less than 1% of mandate Palestine, while they are to be transferred to expanding settlements in the West Bank located on land being annexed and stolen from Palestinians.

In the West Bank, the only “disengagement” is from two minor settlements north of Nablus (Homesh and Sa Nur) and two small settlements (Ganim and Kadim) to the east of Jenin. They total around 500 people and the Bank refers to them as “dormitory communities”.<sup>11</sup> However, the Bank makes the claim that evacuation of the four settlements will provide “Palestinian territorial contiguity in a limited area”.<sup>12</sup> This claim of territorial contiguity is vital in the myth of the forthcoming creation of a “viable” Palestinian state. Even if we consider contiguity in a “limited” sense (a contradictory term in itself), the presence of the Occupation here is overwhelming. Firstly there are the settlements and associated checkpoints along major roads in this region such as Shavei Shomron, Enav and Avne Hefetz, which obstruct any passage to Tulkarm and Nablus. Secondly, there is Elon Moreh to Nablus’ east, an Occupation Force facility that overlooks the city. Lastly, there is the Apartheid Wall located to the west of Nablus annexing the Mevo Dotan, Hinnanit, and Shaked settlements. The Bank’s discourse around contiguity attempts to shield the realities on the ground as carried out by the Occupation and its project of Zionist colonization of Palestinian land.

Such deceptive discourse mirrors the claims emanating from Israel and the USA which decipher “contiguity” as emerging from a system of 22 major road tunnels (totally controlled by the Occupation), that should eventually form the only way of “movement” between the disparate Bantustans of Palestine. Construction for six of these tunnels is underway. So-called “movement” will also be aided by the gates in the Apartheid Wall, which as we will come to discuss shortly, are central to the Bank’s plans for movement of goods and labour in the region. Moreover, the assertion by the Bank that a “significant amount of land will become available to the Palestinians”, as a result of four minor settlements being dismantled, must be seen in a context where it amounts to the removal of a few caravans, whilst there are over 200 settlements throughout the West Bank continuing to expand on land being confiscated from Palestinians on a daily basis.

Thus, in complete contrast to any understanding of the term “disengagement”, Israel is actively re-engaged in land confiscation aimed at the control of all of Palestine, exploiting parts of the dispossessed Palestinian population and expelling the rest while discharging itself of the responsibility and costs of administering the ghettos to the PNA. This *re-engagement* is in full force. Some of the existing settlements are in expansion and plans are emerging for new colonies on land stolen by the Wall in areas such as Gush Etzion and Ma’ale Adumim. All of these will be annexed by the Occupation through the Wall and the system of Jewish-only roads, military and security zones. The overall network of Occupation settlements and the annexation of the Jordan Valley will be ensured by new bypass roads, totaling 500 kilometres throughout the West Bank, stripping 50,000 dunums of land and adding to the already existing Jewish-only roads.<sup>13</sup> These roads are surrounded by barbed wired fences, walls, and enforced security zones to fortress the

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* III, p. 3

<sup>11</sup> World Bank (2004) *Disengagement, the Palestinian Economy and the Settlements*, Washington, DC, p. 12

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p. 4

<sup>13</sup> 4 dunums = 1 acre

road network and provide contiguity for the Occupation where necessary, linking through the Apartheid Wall.

That the Jordan Valley is a fundamental part of the Zionist vision of a “Greater Israel” is clear from recent statements made by the “Defence” Minister of the Occupation Forces. Commenting on any future borders of “Israel”, he stated it will be “the Settlement Blocs, including the Jordan Valley”.<sup>14</sup> It appears the Apartheid Wall, which was always projected to run down the western slopes of the Valley, will be replaced by an intricate system of security and military zones, Jewish-only bypass roads, and settlements.<sup>15</sup> Where necessary these devices act as the Apartheid Wall, slicing up the West Bank into a series of Bantustans and ghettos, whilst providing maximum contiguity for settlements into an ever expanding project of domination.

This elaborate system of apartheid infrastructure will condemn the Palestinians into 54% of the West Bank. Taken with the rump of the Gaza Strip, this amounts to 12% of historic Palestine. It is with a certain irony that this was the same amount of land designated for Blacks in the Bantustans of racist South Africa.

That the World Bank perpetuates the deception of “disengagement” and “contiguity” nurtured by the Occupation Forces is not a result of their naiveté of the Zionist expansion project, but based on active complicity and assistance for making such myths an acceptable “developmental” paradigm.

An indicator that the World Bank is actually aware of this reality is the fact that agriculture, traditionally the core of the Palestinian economy, takes up just a few lines in the entire report. It signals perhaps, an acknowledgement from the Bank that with Occupation re-engagement there will be almost no agricultural land left for Palestinian farmers. Where it is mentioned, in the settlement area of Gush Katif in Gaza, the Bank designates the area for Palestinian “export-orientated agriculture”.<sup>16</sup> Any production for internal consumption, for the 1.3 million people squeezed into Gaza, does not calculate into the Bank’s agenda.

The Bank’s complicity and support for plans of land grab and ghettoization is balanced with disingenuous rhetoric around bringing “peace” to the region. In its chapter titled “Turning the Corner” it cites Ariel Sharon to imply that the Occupation is engaged in a process of reconciliation:

“Today, I wish to address our Arab neighbors [...] in this ongoing war, many among the civilian population, among the innocent, were killed. And tears met tears. I would like you to know that we did not seek to build our lives in this homeland on your ruins.”<sup>17</sup>

While Palestinians continue to be killed and imprisoned and their land stolen and destroyed on a daily basis for the Apartheid Wall and the benefit of the settlements, the World Bank chooses to deploy a quote entirely contrary to the realities the Occupation is constructing on the ground. Once the project of Bantustanization and Ghettoization of the West Bank is sealed, the Bank steps in to offer “sustainable” forms of economic “development” to provide the means to maintain and prop up this system of expropriation, dispossession and permanent Occupation.

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<sup>14</sup> Interview: Yedioth Aharonot Newspaper (29<sup>th</sup> September, 2004), Minister of Defence Sha’ul Mofaz,

<sup>15</sup> Many of which already exist making Palestinian movement in this area severely restricted.

<sup>16</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, IV. p. 3

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* I. p. 26

### *World Bank and the Developmental Discourse of Sustainable Apartheid*

“The key to Palestinian economic growth is private investment [...] both the PA and Israel must do their utmost to restore calm and a sense of security in the West Bank and Gaza. In addition, the PA will need to move decisively to create an environment more attractive to investors.”<sup>18</sup>

- James Wolfensohn, *Head of World Bank, 2004*

Central to the vision of the World Bank for a thriving and successful Palestinian “state” is the development of an export-orientated economy which is dominated by markets and free trade. This is done within an understanding that the Occupation will be a permanent reality in Palestine and with the intention of normalizing and stabilizing such a scenario. Intrinsic within this process is the demobilization, depoliticization and pacification of Palestinian resistance. It seeks to impose the identity of producer (primary goods and industrial output) onto the Palestinians, mirroring the overall World Bank development paradigm for the “developing world”, but within the context of a permanent military Occupation. Ultimately it seeks to smash systems of commonality around ownership, local-local forms of trade, sustainable patterns of land production and social structures. The World Bank views the route to “stability” as being established through the role of an unfettered free-market system of goods, but not people. The Bank states:

“Palestinian economic recovery depends on a radical easing of internal closures throughout the West Bank, the opening of Palestinian external borders to commodity trade, and sustaining a reasonable flow of labor into Israel.”<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, we are told that:

“The safe and efficient operation of border crossings is, by definition, a cooperative effort. The difficulty of proposing improvements to two parties in conflict is obvious.”<sup>20</sup>

Barring the complete mis-perception that the Occupation is a “conflict”, as if fought between two equal sides, the thrust of the discourse suggests that the major hurdle to be overcome in the region is the freedom of trade and markets. To enable this scenario the World Bank envisages that:

“Easing internal closures throughout the West Bank must be accompanied by a credible Palestinian security effort; as long as Palestinian violence persists, the case for dismantling closures will always be contestable. Over the coming year, though, the turmoil likely to attend the completion of the Separation Barrier will complicate efforts to free up movement within the West Bank”<sup>21</sup>

The underlying notion in this analysis that “turmoil” will only occur during the construction of the Wall misses the role the Wall has in Israel’s expansionist project of continual colonization and expulsion. This will be a permanent source of “turmoil” in the region given that Palestinians

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<sup>18</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, Foreword

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* Overview. p. 8

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* Overview. p. 10

<sup>21</sup> World Bank (2004) *Disengagement*, p. ii

will never accept the colonization and theft of their lands. By implication the World Bank, adopting the language and plans of the occupiers, expects the Palestinians to be passive subjects of colonization while the Apartheid Wall rips through their communities and social systems. Moreover, the notion of resistance to this illegal project, and Israeli colonialism generally, is denounced as “violence” with such a view seeking to undermine the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people against an Occupation. The World Bank’s reading is contrary to various aspects of international law including the Geneva Convention, various UN resolutions and the UN Charter which asserts the rights of people to resist military Occupation in the struggle for self-determination and liberation.

Furthermore, in its list of economic scenarios regarding “closures” in the West Bank, the World Bank chooses to leave out East Jerusalem from its analysis. Alarming the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) also separated East Jerusalem from the West Bank in a February 2005 report on the Wall.<sup>22</sup> Such moves appear consistent with the plans of the occupiers for the Judeaization of Jerusalem, the expulsion of any Palestinian presence here, and the attempt to make it the capital of Israel. Again this is contrary to international law and is complicit in the Occupation’s activities including the relentless construction of the Apartheid Wall in the area.

In order to bring about this type of economic “development” - which according to the World Bank discourse overrides any concerns for freedom, dismantling of the Wall, ending the Occupation and so on - the Bank gives the following advice:

“The PA also needs to invigorate its program of governance reforms in order to create an internal environment more attractive to private investors. Doing this will require that the PA complete the cycle of popular elections it has embarked on, control lawlessness, develop a solid judicial system and address concerns about transparency and corruption.”<sup>23</sup>

Thus despite having not secured any form of state, and while losing 46% of the West Bank, the PNA is expected to normalize the status quo with judicial and governmental reforms in order to attract investment. If the PNA were genuinely to implement law and deploy resources required to dismantle the settlements and the Apartheid Wall, it would be deemed an act of terrorism. It perhaps signals the extent to which World Bank discourse has become so twisted in echoing the position given by the Occupation Forces.

### ***Industrial Zones: Cheap Labour and Trade Liberalization***

Central to the idea that investment can soothe Palestinian desires for freedom and a state, is of course something concrete for capital to invest in. Here the Bank has established two courses of action. First is the use of cheap Palestinian labour in massive industrial zones in the West Bank and Gaza. Second is the exposure and access to export markets. The Bank states:

“In an improved operating environment, Palestinian entrepreneurs and foreign investors will look for well-serviced industrial land and supporting infrastructure. They will also

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<sup>22</sup> UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – OCHA (February 2005), *Preliminary Analysis The Humanitarian Implications of the February 2005 Projected West Bank Barrier Route*

<sup>23</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, Overview, p. 2

seek a regulatory regime with a minimum of ‘red tape’ and with clear procedures for conducting business. Industrial estates (IEs), particularly those on the border between Palestinian and Israeli territory, can fulfill this need and thereby play an important role in supporting export-based growth.”<sup>24</sup>

The ‘red tape’ which the Bank refers to can be presumed to mean trade unionism, a minimum wage, working conditions, environmental protection, and other workers’ rights, which will be inferior to those of the “developed” world. We are told that:

“Relatively high wages compromise the international competitiveness of Palestinian enterprises. Although Palestinian wages are low relative to Israel, average manufacturing wages are higher than in neighboring countries.”<sup>25</sup>

This is cited as if it presents some kind of a problem. Despite the fact that wages tend to be around 1/4 of those paid in Israel, Palestinian development is seen as reliant on the availability of even cheaper labour.

However, the report goes on to state that in order for the industrial estates to be successful they require the “maintenance, at least in the near-term, of linkages with Israeli businesses and markets”.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the “main initial boost will come from the continued involvement of Israeli entrepreneurs, and access to Israeli markets”.<sup>27</sup> The EastWest policy group, note how:

“During the planning of industrial estates in Gaza and the West Bank, Israeli planners and business representatives envisioned that the estates would act as their gateway to Arab markets, as well as to the EU-zone and the U.S., where Palestinian goods are covered by preferential trade agreements.”<sup>28</sup>

Thus, Israeli run sweatshops can market goods as “Made in Palestine” and benefit from more favourable trade conditions for “Palestinian” goods. According to the institute, this would also be advantageous because Palestinian labour is cited as a “positive experience” for investors and is “well trained [with] a high level of productivity.”<sup>29</sup>

Creating this dependence under the guise of some kind of “co-existence” between Israeli colonizing investors and Palestinian labour, serves only the needs of the Occupation. It proves to be nothing more than the shallowest form of neo-colonialism dressed up as sovereignty, economic autonomy and independence. As cited in the Bank’s report:

“As part of the strategy of separation, the Government of Israel (GOI) intends to stop issuing permits to Palestinians by the end of 2008. Compared to 2004 figures, this would

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<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* II. p. 1

<sup>25</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, III. p. 5

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* II. p. 6

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.* II. p. 6

<sup>28</sup> EastWest Institute (2005), *The Erez and Gaza Industrial Estates: Catalysts for Development*, [www.ewi.info](http://www.ewi.info), p. 17. This institute works in close coordination with the World Bank with many of its staff and researchers previous employees of the Bank. A strong supporter of the Geneva Initiative, the institute states it will “continue to push for a clearer focus on the issues necessary to create a business-friendly environment.”

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

imply a net loss of about 30,000 jobs. GOI has expressed an interest in the expansion of the industrial estates program in the West Bank and Gaza in order to replace this lost employment.”<sup>30</sup>

Far away from being a strategy of “separation” this plan seeks to crystallize a system of Occupation colonization. Thus, the industrial estates programme will serve the interests, profits and needs of the Occupation and will inevitably result (given the nature of current investment) in the dirtiest, most toxic and environmentally destructive forms of industry being transferred to the West Bank where there will be an abundance of cheap labour. Ehud Olmert, Minister for Industry, Trade and Employment (ITE) has noted that the industrial parks “will solve the problems of Palestinian unemployment and the high cost of work for Israeli industrialists - who are currently transferring work to the Far East - without creating a security problem because the Palestinians will not enter the Green Line”.<sup>31</sup> In January 2005, Olmert was a guest at a conference organized by Stef Wertheimer, one of Israel’s wealthiest industrialists, who has launched an initiative to build dozens of industrial parks throughout the Middle East declaring that “it is better to occupy people with work rather than let them turn to terrorism”.<sup>32</sup>

The mixture of exploitation, control and oppression targets the Palestinian people in this attempt to make them passive and enslaved workers, and to crush any form of resistance to the Occupation and the Apartheid Wall. The conditions under which these workers will be forced to live can be anticipated by the forms of modern day slavery that have already been in operation in the industrial estates of Gaza. Palestinian workers have to wait for Occupation Forces to open the prison gates surrounding Gaza, suffer humiliating controls, and are at the mercy of the guards at the entrances to their ghettos who decide who and how many workers will be allowed to pass.

Evidence offered for the Bank’s position on the industrial estates is elaborated in the footnotes as supported by Israeli and Palestinian “private sector businessmen” who expressed their approval when “consulted in the course of preparing this Technical Paper”.<sup>33</sup> The Bank appears to have no qualms that such a combination of military Occupation and patriarchal system of local capital can yield the “experts” for bringing about revitalization to the region. However, the deployment of fiction, dressed up as some kind of “scientific” truth, is a common feature of World Bank discourse. As we will come to conclude, assertions to be “technical” and “scientific” are nothing but self-referential rhetoric that can lay no claim to be representing any kind of verifiable truth. The Bank states that:

“The future of Palestinian economic development lies in moving from an economy based on labour exports to Israel to an economy exporting goods and services to Israel and the rest of the world. Since the outbreak of the *intifada*, Palestinian export performance has deteriorated badly, reflecting a substantial erosion in competitiveness.”<sup>34</sup>

Considering the fact that the deterioration of Palestinian export performance has been caused by the Occupation’s systematic destruction of any kind of Palestinian economic infrastructure with the denial of any possibility of trade inside or out of the West Bank, it is not evident how the

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<sup>30</sup> *ibid.* II. p. 1

<sup>31</sup> Maariv Newspaper, 22-09-03

<sup>32</sup> Rapoport, M. (5<sup>th</sup> June, 2004) *Fenced In All Round: Israel Industrial Estates Along The Wall*, in *Le Monde*, <http://mondediplo.com/2004/06/05thewall>.

<sup>33</sup> World Bank (2004), *Stagnation*. II. p. 9

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* III. p. 1

World Bank imagines genuine Palestinian development under conditions of Occupation can ever succeed. However, the main contradiction in this claim of development of a Palestinian “national” export industry becomes evident when we consider the predominantly Israeli and foreign capital investment which is to fuel such an economy. The only shift envisaged by the World Bank lies in Israel exploiting more and cheaper Palestinian labour within the West Bank, maintaining the ownership and the profits from such products in the hands of Israeli and international capital. Middle East Division Manager at the Israeli Industry and Trade Ministry, Gabi Bar, is quite specific on how business arrangements will be structured:

“The fundamental condition is that there will be full Israeli security responsibility on these parks. If a factory is located in an area secured by Israel, then we could say that this factory is situated in Israel, and its goods will be liable to less security checking than a factory in Nablus.”<sup>35</sup>

This describes clearly the role of the Industrial Estates in the plans of those who would further Israeli colonization: the pioneers of its expanding frontier.

### *Industrial Zones: Past and Present*

Previous World Bank initiatives in the Gaza Strip are being used as the “catalyst” and model for the way in which Palestinians imprisoned by the Wall can be put to work in industrial zones.<sup>36</sup> The construction of the Gaza Industrial Estate (GIE) during the 1990s received massive financial support from the Bank’s private sector arm, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), together with the USAID and the European Investment Bank (EIB).<sup>37</sup> Their investments were channelled into the Palestine Industrial Estate Development and Management Company (PIEDCO), which has overseen the project from its inception in 1996. PIEDCO is a subsidiary of the Palestine Development and Investment Company (PADICO). They received “equity” and “long-term debt financing” from the private arm of the World Bank Group – the International Finance Corporation (IFC) – for the GIE.<sup>38</sup>

Such groups, under the coordination of the Bank, are now working once more to bring about a series of new or revitalized industrial zones and estates throughout the West Bank. A number of scenarios are now emerging as to how these may take shape upon the Palestinian landscape.

#### ● ‘Green Line’ Zones

A number of sites have been located in areas close to or on the Green Line. They include sites close to Jenin, Tarkumiya and Rafah. Their location is crucial for the purpose of attracting Israeli investment and to secure smooth transfer of the goods across the Green Line.

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<sup>35</sup> Rapoport, M. op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> EastWest, op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> World Bank (2000), *Aid Effectiveness in the West Bank and Gaza*, II. p. 48

<sup>38</sup> PIEDCO, Company Background, <http://www.pa-inv-fund.com/download/241104/Reports%203/Reports%203/PADICO%20Report.pdf>

In Jenin, USAID and a German business consortium are providing the funding for the zone, while the planning for a large zone in Rafah could provide employment for Palestinians imprisoned behind the Wall in Gaza.

Currently Tarkumiya is designated as Area C, close to the Hebron settlements of Telem and Adora.<sup>39</sup> The PNA have made it clear they will not participate in any “development” here unless it is re-classified, and will not consider development in the area if the land becomes isolated behind the Apartheid Wall when it is constructed in this region.<sup>40</sup>

Not considering the by now anachronistic demand of re-classification, underlying this argument is an implicit acceptance of the Wall’s path as long as the industrial estate remains on the western side of the Wall. This provides no challenge to confront the Wall’s existence and the plans of the occupants. They completely miss the significance of the industrial estates as tools of exploitation of cheap Palestinian labour and as part of the Israeli colonization strategy of attracting further Israeli investment into the West Bank.

#### ● ‘Seam’ Zones

Another location for industrial zones is cited by the Bank as falling on the “seam zone”, that is Palestinian land isolated behind the Apartheid Wall and the Green Line. Given that 80% of the Wall deviates from the Green Line, there is scope for various projects on isolated land confiscated by the Occupation. One location highlighted in the Bank’s report is the so-called Tulkarm Peace Park (TPP). Deemed by the Bank as the “most commercially attractive of all West Bank sites”, construction of an industrial zone on this land is well underway.<sup>41</sup>

This construction has involved using around 600 dunums of land from the villages of Irtah and Farun that has been confiscated by the Wall. Approximately 50 families from the two villages depended on this land for their livelihoods. In its evaluation of the site the Bank notes that:

“Both the PA and donors are likely to be guided by the International Court of Justice’s ruling on the Separation Barrier, which indicates that the provision of infrastructure in the Seam Zone would constitute a violation of international law.”<sup>42</sup>

One way proposed by the Bank to circumvent international law is by de-categorizing it as reflecting “political perspectives” explaining: “It is understood that projects considered “borderline” from a political perspective, but which serve important humanitarian needs, could be approved”.<sup>43</sup> This included Occupation projects such as the apartheid road, tunnel and junction systems.

Palestinian Authority Minister of National Economy Mazen Sinokrot made it clear that the “development” in Tulkarm Peace Park was not “initiated by the Authority and it’s not going to be authorized by the Authority”, but also noted the PNA was not “entirely in the picture” with what

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<sup>39</sup> As determined by the now ailing Oslo Accords (1993), the West Bank and Gaza Strip became categorized into three zones. These were Areas A, B and C. Area C was considered under total control of the Occupation.

<sup>40</sup> World Bank (2004), Stagnation, II, p. 5 and Interview Mazen Sinokrot (May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2005)

<sup>41</sup> World Bank (2004), Stagnation, II, p. 4

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.* II. p. 4

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.* Overview, p. 37

was happening.<sup>44</sup> He stressed that the PNA would not “accept the industrial parks to be between the Wall and the 1967 lines” and highlighted how this had been made “very clear” to the international donor community. Yet, the rapidly growing construction site for the industrial area in Tulkarm cannot be overlooked.

Development in the TPP appears to be under the cooperation of private Palestinian business interests linked to PIEDCO and the Occupation authorities. Director of the company, Abdel-Malek Jaber, has been quoted in one report as being engaged in purchasing lands from Palestinians for an industrial park here.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, some villagers who have accepted the loss of their land behind the Wall have entered into private sale arrangements.

PIEDCO as demonstrated by its activities in Gaza receives major sources of funding from the World Bank via the IFC. While Mazen Sinokrot noted USAID had shown an interest in the site, which it had subsequently dropped after consulting the Ministry, it is unclear where the sources for the funding are coming from. Minister Mazen Sinokrot noted: “Unfortunately some of these donor countries talk to us as an authority as people in charge and they talk to some individuals”. This implied activities had gone beyond the boundaries that the PNA had officially placed upon the funding for industrial estates.

A report published in 2004 by the Ministry of Planning suggested the issue had previously arisen within the PNA:

“Regarding the planned industrial estate for Teybeh/Far’un, the author was assured by PIEDCO’s representative that upon agreement of the proposal by the Ministry of National Economy and the Palestinian Industrial Estate and Free Zone Authority (PIEFZA), PIEDCO will be in a position to buy the land for the actual estate.”<sup>46</sup>

There appeared to have been at least some overtures by PIEDCO to sections of the Authority around land that appears to be the same as that isolated behind the Wall and now the site of industrial construction. Noting that if “development” here had gone “beyond our laws, legislations, [and] our political decision”, Minister Mazen Sinokrot stated that if necessary the PNA would carry out “correction measures before it was too late”.

With the PNA committed to the discourse of international law and the ICJ decision, it is vital that other actors in Palestine re-confirm their stance and adhere to the mandates which have been created. However, “correction measures” are more than overdue and it is with great alarm that little attention appears to have been given to the illegal construction of such sites. Given the large tracts of land isolated behind the Wall and the Green Line, the World Bank’s warped ideas of what serves “humanitarian needs” and private business interests, it is vital that the PNA and the international community make clear through their actions a total rejection of any ‘development’ which jeopardizes international law, the ICJ decision and the Palestinian struggle for liberation.

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<sup>44</sup> Interview Mazen Sinokrot (May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2005)

<sup>45</sup> Rapoport, M. op. cit

<sup>46</sup> Palestinian National Authority, (31<sup>st</sup> May - 2004), *The Annexation and Expansion Wall: Impacts and Mitigation Measures*, Ministry of Planning

### ● **Municipal Zones**

There are over a dozen small to medium sized industrial zones located in local municipal areas throughout the West Bank and Gaza. The Bank cited the realities being created by the Occupation as a reason to pursue funding instead for the so-called “border zones”. It states: “It is unclear whether municipal industrial zones have significant export potential, and each site would need to be reviewed with this in mind.”<sup>47</sup> The reason for this was given as the surrounding “Israeli settlements and military control” that impede the expansion of the industries.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, these municipal zones are focused on local markets. That they might serve interests outside of global trade and provide employment in small-scale Palestinian owned factories inside the ghettos – and thus outside of the control of the Occupation and the Bank – is enough to discourage any “development” by the World Bank. Once again, rather than confronting the Occupation the Bank chooses to follow Israeli interests and expansionism in its strategizing for Palestinian development.

### ● **Settlement Industry**

Israeli apartheid industries located in or around the settlements, dependent on cheap Palestinian labour, form another possibility for investment. While the Bank and the international donor community are unlikely to support any of the projects here, private companies and banks will have greater scope to invest in such initiatives when the Apartheid Wall is finished. The land annexed by the Wall and the apartheid infrastructure for the expansion of the settlements will present various projects of racial capital to investors.

In conclusion, the discourse and the arguments around these different forms of industrial estates may vary, yet all options serve the same purpose: villagers who used to engage in sustainable forms of agriculture can be enrolled into the estates for which the funding (and profits) will come from almost entirely foreign and Israeli sources. Indeed the positioning of such zones on the border is entirely directed towards attaining Israeli cooperation and investment. They offer full exploitation of the dispossessed Palestinians and guarantee Palestinian “development” under the hegemony of the World Bank, which has taken up the task of proposing and enacting strategies that suit the interests of the Occupation and the Western countries who are the de-facto “owners” of the Bank. Finally they help to push the Zionist frontier of colonization forward and give sustainability to the Israeli apartheid project.

### *Free Markets: Imprisoned People*

The Bank notes: “the potential for employment generation in industrial estates will depend above all on the evolution of Israeli border cargo management policy.”<sup>49</sup> This takes for granted the location of the industrial zones inside the West Bank and the nature of the Occupation and the Apartheid Wall as permanent. While the PNA maintain that the overall running of these sites will remain in Palestinian hands, the reality of Palestinian ghettoization being carved out on the ground throughout the West Bank ensures extensive Occupation control over Palestinians and their labour, bringing about the type of permanent control required by the Occupation.

Access for goods, services and labour is central to the success of the industrial zones and the functioning of an export-orientated economy generally. According to the World Bank this “access” can take the form of gates and checkpoints, in a system of high-tech apartheid, to scan

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<sup>47</sup> World Bank (2004), Stagnation, II. p. 5

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* II. p. 6

people and cargo. This takes shape in a number of ways from containerization/sealing, vehicle tracking devices and escorted convoy systems.<sup>50</sup> The report cites the “major technological upgrades” being taken by the Occupation including “modern electronic systems that would permit much faster and more secure scanning of cargoes and people [...]” as something to build from. This project, which seeks to satisfy the US thirst for “democracy” by providing corridors of passage between the prisons of Palestine, attempts to apply some civility and credibility to a system based on the ghettoization of a people. It enshrines the humiliation of the checkpoint system and “scanning” of people as a permanent feature of Palestinian life. Palestinians are familiar with such “modern electronic systems”. They include “naked spy” scanning machines currently used throughout Gaza. Not only are these demeaning and degrading, they also could pose serious health threats from radiation.

The total control exercised by the Occupation is also advocated by the Bank as a reason for Israel to maintain a quota of Palestinian work permits. The Bank pushes for “flexibility” from Israel as if granting work permits can be won from the Occupation as some kind of concession. The Apartheid Wall is cited as an incentive for Israel to continue issuing permits as it ensures “illegal work is thereby eliminated” and that “Israel’s security clearance of Palestinian workers would be much more assured than today.”<sup>51</sup> This acknowledges that the Wall acts as an imprisoning device from which the Occupation can benefit by letting a trickle of Palestinians come through the gates in order to carry out what will inevitably be the worst paid, dirtiest and most demeaning jobs.

Comments by the Bank’s Program Coordinator for the West Bank, Markus Kostner, to the Inter-Press Agency, make clear some of the plans for these hi-tech gates and checkpoints:

“We had proposed a couple of crossings and Israel has more formally come back to us and asked whether we would help secure financing for these, which is why we have started to prepare a project.”<sup>52</sup>

Given that Israel, due to its high capita earnings, is not eligible for World Bank assistance, the Bank has opted to seek indirect means by which to secure the funding for the project including attempts to co-opt the PA. Kostner concluded that:

“The project helps enhance the efficiency of the border crossings for the benefit of Palestinians, as well as at the same time [...] at least maintain if not increase the security considerations of Israelis. From that perspective, it’ll be a double gain,”<sup>53</sup>

Such a clear association between the World Bank and the project of the Occupation Forces led them to add technicalities in an attempt to ward off condemnation. Country director for the West Bank and Gaza, Nigel Roberts, stated at a recent meeting of NGOs:

“Some press articles have suggested that the World Bank intends to “upgrade” checkpoints in the West Bank, or to finance gates in the Separation Barrier in places

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* I. p. 12 and p. 14

<sup>51</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, Overview. p. 15

<sup>52</sup> Mekay, E. (Inter Press Service),

<http://www.india.indymedia.org/en/2005/02/210162.shtml>, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 2005

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

where it deviates from the 1967 border inside Palestinian territory. Let me assure you that this is untrue.”<sup>54</sup>

Thus the World Bank intends to support the system of Occupation gates and locks in the parts of the Apartheid Wall based on the Green Line. That the prison gates will be built around the Green Line does not detract from the illegality of the project. Given that 80% of the Wall deviates from the Green Line as it cuts through the West Bank, 20% of the Wall’s path remains for the World Bank to finance the various points of the gates. These gates play a central role in the Wall and overall system of apartheid for the annexation of Palestinian land. Ultimately, with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza barred from entering the Green Line, these gates are clearly designed to promote free movement for goods and exports, but not people. The PNA has not agreed to such proposals. Acting to the contrary would only serve to legitimize the presence of the Apartheid Wall throughout the West Bank.

Another form of transfer system is “alternative forms of transport” like railway connections. The first proposed project seeks to link Erez to Haifa and is clearly only for Israeli use and aimed at Palestinian produced-Israeli owned cargo transport. The ghettoized Palestinian population will not be allowed by the Occupation to pass the prison walls of Gaza to go to Haifa, from where many Palestinians were expelled in 1948. The second railway connection should run between Sh’ar Efraim – Ashdod – Gaza City, entirely outside the ghettos proposed by Israel. Again this route reinforces the Occupation railway system, guaranteeing free movement for goods and complete control over people.<sup>55</sup>

The World Bank bases its initiatives for transport links from Gaza with the outside world entirely on the prerogatives of the occupiers. They note how “PA security inspections alone are unlikely to satisfy Israeli requirements at this time.”<sup>56</sup> While this observation may be correct – and no doubt Israeli “inspections” of the weapons, technology and resources required for the Occupation do not “satisfy the interests” of Palestinians – the World Bank chooses to work within a framework of what is acceptable for the Occupation’s interests.

The funding from the international “donor” community forms a vital part of the cash injection necessary for the project of access for capital and markets, which sustains a 21<sup>st</sup> century system of apartheid. With the system of tunnels in the West Bank to secure “contiguity” and cementing the Occupation’s total control over the Palestinian ghettos, it provides the means by which to secure a special type of racial capital and colonialism making claims for any “viable” state of Palestine an illusion.

### ***The Colonialism of Co-existence: Profiting From Basic Services***

Any summary of the World Bank projects for Palestine begs the question as to whose interests are being served in the creation of an export-orientated economy under the duress of continual Occupation and colonization? Communal systems around agriculture and olives are shattered by the Apartheid Wall. Vital water resources are plundered and stolen while the Occupation Forces use Palestinian lands as a dumping ground for its toxic waste. The injection of neo-liberal free markets ensures new regimes and structures for landless people, and crystallizes

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<sup>54</sup> The Palestine Monitor, *World Bank Dispels Concerns Over Checkpoint, Gate Financing*, [http://www.palestinemonitor.org/new\\_web/world\\_bank\\_concerns.htm](http://www.palestinemonitor.org/new_web/world_bank_concerns.htm), March 14th, 2005

<sup>55</sup> Sh’ar Efraim is situated next to the Tulkarm Peace Park (TPP) on the “seam zone”.

<sup>56</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, Overview, p. 14

de-facto Occupation. That such a scheme is for the gain of Israeli and token Palestinian elites, together with foreign business interests (including the income of the World Bank), requires little elaboration. The Bank, like any banking corporation, is driven by profit and not any innate altruism.

The World Bank's collusion in serving the interests of the Occupation was further revealed in the recent announcement of a new Bank "contact bureau" in Israel. The director-general of the Israel Export Institute predicted that the office's activity would lead to a 30-percent jump in the number of winning bids by Israeli companies in international tenders, to a value of \$100 million in business annually, starting this year, with the current World Bank tenders open to Israeli firms estimated to be roughly \$18.5 billion.<sup>57</sup>

In Gaza, the Bank makes the suggestion that Palestinians, who have been robbed of their resources for decades, should be willing to enter into trade arrangements with the occupiers in the provision of basic services:

"Government of Israel (GOI) is ready to increase the supply of electricity and water to Gaza, at Israeli commercial rates. Arrangements would need to be worked out between the respective entities on both sides; once again, Israel would need assurance that its utility companies would be paid."<sup>58</sup>

Thus Palestinians are expected to buy back their own water, to the further profit of the Occupation which continues to have the control of basic life resources. Strengthening control of foreign interests in all aspects of life, the Bank also maps the re-direction of tertiary education, not to provide a service whereby young people might gain the tools, ideas and interactions by which they might seek to strengthen their struggle, but rather by which they will be spoon-fed neo-liberalism:

"Interaction with the private sector, through industry associations and partnerships with western universities can be used to help formulate a 'demand driven' agenda. This might include course structures that reflect the forward needs of key export sectors, applied industrial research and, in time, the provision of expert services to industry."<sup>59</sup>

For the remaining scattered areas of agricultural production the Bank suggests the implementation of "Competitiveness Enhancement Measures" to "improve harvesting, olive collection and storage and press maintenance practices to ensure needed quality in target markets."<sup>60</sup> Rather than concern for the needs and requirements of the community, Palestinians are expected to take on the role of producer for the Northern consumer. Furthermore, amongst the most far-fetched ideas in the World Bank's call for, "Measures to Enhance the Competitiveness of Palestinian Exports", is the need to: "Foster Palestinian-Israeli cooperation in tourism and prepare sector revitalization plans and promotional materials".<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Jerusalem Post (22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2005), *World Bank to Open New Office in Israel*, <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1116728303091>

<sup>58</sup> World Bank (2004) *Stagnation*, III. p. 5

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* III. p. 5

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* III. p. 7

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* III. p. 9

One cannot help but wonder what kind of dream-world the World Bank is working in when Bethlehem and Jerusalem, arguably Palestine's most popular and attractive tourist destinations, are currently being cut-up, annexed and stolen by Israel. Palestinians are prompted to work together with Israel to, "promote investments, establish a tourism development fund and promote networking with foreign tour operators."<sup>62</sup> Presumably if Palestinians accepted the role the World Bank and Zionists are trying to carve out for them, this would include a museum of the Palestinian farmer, a recreation of the Palestinian village, and a waxwork display of the Palestinian freedom fighter.

It is not accidental that the World Bank completely ignores the fact that Palestinians are not looking for economic models of subservience, but the tools and resources necessary for genuine liberation. It is a reflection of the support the Bank has chosen to make for the needs and requirements of the Occupation Forces in their project to expel Palestinians from their lands, enrol them into a racial system of capital, and regulate their movement to permanently crush resistance.

The so-called "revival" of Palestine is in the same mould as the general paradigm of neo-liberal economic realism which the World Bank imposes on the "Third World". Such policies, for the benefit of capital, are dressed up in the language of sustainable development in an attempt to salvage some credibility and legitimacy. The World Bank's neo-liberal policies and discourse maintain the structures and dependency implicit within neo/post-colonialism systems. The Bank coerces "developing" countries into full exposure to the vagaries of the market and an injection of neo-liberal capital, to increase volumes of exports as forms of "sustainable" development.<sup>63</sup>

When neo-liberal economics are applied in Palestine, they retain the features of Israeli colonialism (apartheid) for the continued exclusion, Occupation and expulsion of the Palestinian people, and the benefit of the Zionist project. Thus the World Bank goes to great lengths to establish free trade and markets, but not the creation of freedom for people in their own country. Such a scenario shares some of the features of South African apartheid in that it forges stronger links between Palestinian labour and the functioning of the Israeli economy and furthers the sustainability of mass dispossession from their land. The industrial estates are not a new idea but are reminiscent of the type of economic activity the regime in Pretoria promoted in Bantustans like the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. During the 1970s and 1980s pariah states such as Taiwan, Chile and Israel were the main trading partners with these systems of racial capital which the World Bank is now attempting to resuscitate into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Conflicting with the ongoing Palestinian struggle for national liberation and sovereignty, such a system even with the backing of international capital, the "donor" community, and business elites, can never be sustainable in the long-term.

The "knowledge" of reality necessarily entails the application of values through indicators and instruments of analysis. IFIs and developmental agencies seek to impose perceptions and economic policies on the basis of their "technical" and "apolitical" arguments. Any discourse analysis of economic theory is not a question of establishing a scientific core of concepts and methods, but rather how language produces the meanings that determine the experiences and representations of realities. The Bank's discourse frequently deploys technical and scientific language to support its notion that "growth" and "development" can only be established from the

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<sup>62</sup> *ibid.* III. p. 9

<sup>63</sup> World Bank (2002), *Building a Sustainable Future: The Africa Region Environment Strategy*, Washington, DC,

particular epistemology that the Bank advances. The outcome – export-based development involving industrial manufacturing, privatization of the global commons and (but not for Palestine) intensive agricultural production – is well known for the destruction it has reaped upon the environment, people and social systems the world over. There is nothing which we can consider within such deeply politicized World Bank projects that appears conducive to “growth” or “sustainability” within people-centred understandings of these terms. Within the particularities of the Palestinian case, the logic of neo-liberal economics within trade liberalization and erosion of the commons finds a meeting ground with the ideals of the Zionist Occupation project to dispossess people from their lands.

Underlying the whole World Bank project for the region is the notion that Palestinians should somehow conceal their anger and resistance against the racist and illegal Wall, and turn into the passive subjects of “development” as the World Bank sees fit. This is premised on the existence of the Apartheid Wall and Occupation as everyday and ongoing features of life. It presents an illusion that the Wall and the land confiscation and bypass road networks, the army camps, monitoring spots and checkpoints, and the whole of the apartheid system that is being imposed by Israel upon the Palestinians, have not been put there to benefit and serve the settlers and Zionists.

The danger this poses is in the extent the World Bank is able to co-opt other “donor” agencies, the international community, NGOs and the PNA. The French government has recently promised \$120 million for an Israeli “Social Fund”, for “affected Palestinian families in Gaza”. This is money which is likely to be pumped into modernizing the prison gates of Gaza and implementing other infrastructural projects aimed at exploiting the poverty and cheap labour created by the Occupation. The US has just awarded \$50 million to the Occupation – money labelled as “Palestinian aid” - for the construction of new checkpoints and terminals. Other agencies, some of which might have good intentions, begin to advocate solutions for Palestine that are increasingly bound up in dealing with the crises on the ground created by the de-facto Occupation, Zionist colonialism and expansion. For example the recent “joint” initiative proposed by the Palestinian Red Crescent, Medecins du Monde and Israeli Physicians for Human Rights, sought to tackle the detrimental impact of the Wall around health issues but not the destruction of the Wall itself.<sup>64</sup> While such work is important it must be based alongside efforts to destroy the Wall. Without these aims, developmental work runs the risk of undermining the ICJ decision, a wealth of UN resolutions and the most fundamental human rights to self-determination and freedom.

With endemic poverty levels, ghettoization and one of the most brutal systems of military Occupation, Palestine needs to stay at the centre of the international community’s attention. However, political solutions need to be sought. The fate of the population affected by the Wall and the overall apartheid system must not follow the pattern of neglect, disenfranchisement and humiliation that Palestinian refugees throughout the *Diaspora* have suffered. The offering of aid or jobs inside a system of exploitation to provide survival cannot provide “solutions” for this region. These can only be reached by a genuine commitment towards the Palestinian struggle for justice and freedom for all Palestinian people. Distinguishing between survival strategies and genuine forms of “development” remains crucial to avoid fuelling and supporting the Occupation. That there should be forms of autonomous productive economic development in Palestine is not questioned by this report. Recognizing that people need employment, access to goods, services and resources is fundamental. That these should be de-linked from the Occupation and built upon Palestinian control of natural resources and interests is fundamental. Consequently, a paradigm of

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<sup>64</sup> See special supplement published (amongst others) in Al-Quds Newspaper, March 2005.

economics complicit in maintaining the infrastructure of the Occupation Forces can in no way bring about the economic growth or development necessary for Palestine.

Certain conditions, including the dismantling of the Apartheid Wall, must form the initial basis for any investment within the Palestinian struggle for sovereignty, liberation and justice. To the contrary, the World Bank has framed solutions for this region as being determined by the maintenance of the Occupation and the application of a particular strain of economic theory, and not through the attainment of a free Palestine. The fact that the World Bank plans to call a donor conference later in the year, in order to muster the financial support necessary for its projects (although they have reiterated this will only come as a reward to Palestinians who remain calm, obedient and passive subjects of colonization in the meantime) cannot but arouse the gravest of suspicions and opposition amongst Palestinians. Based on the analysis of their plans, these kinds of meetings are more apt to provide Israeli Apartheid the necessary financial backing than to support the Palestinian people in their struggle for justice and liberation.

Outside of the slipstream of World Bank “developmental” discourse, an awareness that the state of Israel is grounded upon a permanent colonialist drive is evident in the growing global movement to isolate and pressure Apartheid Israel in an act of international solidarity with Palestinians. Moreover, it forms the only concrete strategy by which the application of international law, including the ICJ decision, can be attained. Intrinsic to this project has been the injection of real meaning into the semantics of development and the search for genuine partners striving for social justice in the creation of a sovereign and independent Palestinian state. Popular grassroots resistance clearly shows that the Palestinian people are not asking for humanitarian assistance to ease the conditions of the Occupation, but the solidarity and tools by which to break it down.

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**Note:** Key references such as maps, analyses, news and images of the Apartheid Wall and occupation in Palestine, some of which were used in preparation of this paper, can be found at [www.stopthewall.org](http://www.stopthewall.org) or requested from [mobilize@stopthewall.org](mailto:mobilize@stopthewall.org)

## **Israeli Apartheid in the Global Context – Samir Amin**

‘Do It Yourself Apartheid,’ as the Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign has succinctly captured in its analysis, is what is currently being imposed upon the Palestinian people by Israel and global capitalism, with the ultimate aim of destroying Palestine. To understand this project and the links between Israel and the beneficiaries of imperialism, it is important to take a step backwards and analyse the aims and mechanisms of capitalism on a global scale, and the role of Zionism within this system.

First of all, it is crucial to make a clear distinction between the rhetoric of the system and the targets and mechanisms of capitalism in reality. The rhetoric is formulated by governing bodies in general, but particularly the World Bank – which I consider to be a kind of Ministry for Propaganda of the G7 and specifically of the US. This rhetoric is based on the idea that there should be a market economy – an open market economy – in which the market operates in a transparent way as equal as possible for everybody. This is pure rhetoric and propaganda. It has nothing to do with the current system. It is a metaphysical debate of an illusory system of so-called globalized markets.

Existing capitalism is based not on competition amongst equals but on oligopoly, and in the present stage the target of this system is to establish what are called the five monopolies of the centre:

First, the control of the natural resources of the globe, with a view to their use by a minority – 15% - of the global population. This is the real reason for the current Middle East policy, particularly of course the military occupation of Iraq and the attempt to control other oil countries such as Iran, together with the penetration of the US in all countries throughout Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Second, the control of technologies. The so-called industrial and intellectual property rights defined by the WTO carefully reinforce the power of the oligopolies, making ‘catching up’ almost impossible for those countries which would like to move from lower to higher grades of industries.

Third, the monopoly of global finance, which is established to allow US control over the "oil-dollar" standard. This dollar standard, connected with the control of oil, ensures US leadership over the flows of capital from the rest of the world.

Fourth, the control of communications, and from it the hegemony of the market culture as a manifestation of imperialism. Put simply, you can have in the right hand the bible or a national flag, or whatever you want, as long as in the other hand you have a bottle of *Coca-Cola* and you have faith in the system.

Finally, the control and monopoly of the production of multi-destructive armaments. As we know, Iraq was attacked not because it had multi-destructive armaments but because it did not. The US wants, along with some others, to maintain their exclusive monopoly, and eventually their use.

These five points taken together constitute the “globalized law of value”, through which capitalism today produces and reproduces inequalities on a global scale. This is the strategy of the collective imperialism of the client. That is the US plus its allies: Canada, the European Union (not including Poland and the new eastern countries), Japan of course, and others like Australia and New Zealand. This collective imperialism of the client has the US at its leadership, albeit with some potential contradictions emerging with the European countries.

The role of Zionism and the state of Israel within this system becomes evident when we consider that Zionism and Israel have been from the very start - when the Zionist quest for the creation of Israel was born - the ally of imperialism. It is a strategic choice made from the beginning by the Zionist leaders that Israel cannot be established unless supported and strongly backed by imperialists. This demands much more than ideological sympathy – it requires that Israel and imperialist expansion clearly benefit from each other. This has been the case and it is essential today that the target of collective imperialism, and in particular the US, is to dominate the whole Middle East including Iran and Central Asia in order to control the most important, if not all the oil resources of the planet. This includes military control of these societies and we see this most obviously in the case of Iraq, where the US has chosen to militarily occupy the country. Zionism and the state of Israel play a crucial role in this as it provides a military base in the region. It has further proved its efficacy in being able to defeat nationalistic or populist movements, such as Nasserism, Ba'athism and others that have flourished in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Thus Israel receives the strong financial support without which it could not survive.

In this perspective it becomes clear why the imperialist collective, particularly the US, supports the Zionist plan to destroy Palestine. Its actions are not about peace or recognition of the Zion in Palestine – it is about destroying Palestine and simultaneously controlling the neighbouring Arab countries: Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq of course, Lebanon and the Gulf countries.

Additionally, we must also point out the role of somebody like Wolfowitz, a war criminal and a super pro-Zionist, as head of the World Bank. He embodies the common interests of global capitalism and Zionism and reaffirms US leadership over the imperialist collective as Europe's colliding interests could not prevent his accession.

In the short run, the shared plan of the World Bank and Zionism is to establish not a Palestinian state – not even a Palestinian service state – but a number of disparate, miserable Bantustans, separated from one another de-facto. They will have no economic life as Israel, supported by global capital, has set out to systematically destroy and steal Palestinian lands and water (including groundwater reserves), making any type of economic life impossible within those Bantustans. Exactly as the apartheid regime in South Africa has done, the only economic purpose of the Bantustans is to provide cheap labour and manpower.

In this framework, all the plans for the so-called “development” of Palestine – like the World Bank's plans, the European Community's plans, and even possibly the strategy of the Palestinian Authority – cannot but lead towards the same result: miserable Bantustans and cheap manpower.

But I do believe that the ultimate goal of Zionism and Israel is beyond that of Apartheid South Africa: it aims to create an atmosphere which will lead to a gradual emigration and to push out the Palestinians from even those miserable Bantustans. Of course this is part of the plan for a Greater Middle East.

Unfortunately, many of the so-called NGOs – what are being termed “civil society” – particularly in the West and specifically in North America and Europe, are failing to understand that this is the plan. Therefore in some way they concur with it. This includes these “wishful thinking” organizations working on humanitarian issues or in defence of human rights. What I am seeing from outside of Palestine leaves me with little optimism about the role of such NGOs generally.

So what economic alternatives exist? We need to consider this on a global level but also for Palestine and for the region.

In the longer run I think it is necessary to rebuild globalization to reflect a really polycentric world – that is, a world which has the real possibility to negotiate the conditions for globalization. It is not "anti-globalization" but "alternative globalization," based on respect for popular interests and popular class interests everywhere in the “developed” and the “not developed” world, giving the capacity for negotiation – which means the capacity to protect people in each region.

This scenario is not impossible, but it demands a lot of conditions which are not yet politically mature. However, they may emerge quicker than we think, especially if we look at how the Europeans themselves are questioning the pattern of Euro-American construction. The Middle East and Arab world can then open up spaces in which to renegotiate its participation in globalization, in particular its relations with Europe but also with other regions of the “Third World” or the South.

In the shorter run, any developmental discourse and projects need to support clearly the creation of economic, autonomous productive activities in Palestine. By productive activities I mean agricultural production and small industries which have the control of the natural resources such as land and water. This autonomous economic activity should be at the forefront of development until deeper integration into the process of global negotiation has been achieved. Palestine needs to have its own banking system, its own currency, its own custom system and duties and so on.

**All this has nothing in common with what is presently the plan for the so-called “development” of Palestine, whether through the projects of the World Bank, its partners or the international community.**

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## The Footprints of the Apartheid Wall

**1994-1996:** A Wall is constructed around Gaza, under the Labor government of Yitzhak Rabin.

**1996:** Ariel Sharon proposes building a Wall through the centre of Hebron to annex the Jewish settlements in the Old City and the Tomb of Abraham, and to ethnically cleanse the Old City of its Palestinian population.

**May 1997:** The Israeli government formally endorses the plan for a "Greater Jerusalem," annexing settlements and "Judeaizing" the demographic makeup of the city.

**1993-2000:** Under the cover of the Oslo agreements and "peace negotiations" the Occupation steps up its colonization policies, especially in the so-called Area C (sections of the West Bank under full Israeli control) doubling the number of settlers and settlements (both new and expanded) and dissecting the West Bank with settler-only bypass roads. Jerusalem has been sealed off and the Palestinian residents subjected to many different methods of expulsion from their city. This has paved the way for the definitive annexation and ethnic cleansing of Jerusalem and almost half of the West Bank through the Apartheid wall.

**September 28<sup>th</sup> 2000:** As Israel hides behind a façade of negotiations that are intended solely to grant the Occupation time and political cover for its continuing colonization policies, and after the massacre committed by Israel to defend Sharon's march to the al-Aqsa Mosque, the second Intifada starts.

**November 2000:** In the first two months of the Intifada, Israel kills well over 200 Palestinians and injures hundreds more. The Occupation's Labor government, led by Ehud Barak, announces the approval of plans to build a "barrier".

**September 2001:** At the World Summit against Racism in Durban, South Africa, 3,000 NGOs adopt a declaration condemning Israel's "systematic perpetration of racist crimes including war crimes, acts of genocide and ethnic cleansing," and describing Israel as "a racist apartheid state in which Israel's brand of apartheid as a crime against humanity has been characterised by separation and segregation ... and inhumane acts." The call for comprehensive isolation of Israel is launched.

**April 2002:** Occupation Forces and gunships step up their offensive in the West Bank, putting all Palestinian cities and villages under siege and heavy attack. Israel carries out a massacre of the population in the refugee camp of Jenin and completely razes the centre of the camp to the ground, also destroying vast parts of the Old City in Nablus. The economic and administrative infrastructure of the West Bank, and any resemblance of normal life for Palestinians, is completely destroyed.

**June 2002:** Construction of the Apartheid Wall begins with the confiscation of land and the uprooting of trees in northern Jenin district, as the population of Jenin, and throughout the West Bank - which is still under curfew - tries to recover from the massacres and attacks of the previous months.

## The Birth of the Resistance against the Apartheid Wall

### July 2002

Construction begins to surround the city of Qalqiliya with an eight meter high concrete Wall, complete with watchtowers at regular intervals. The city's population of 41,600 is totally cut off from the outside world, with a military checkpoint marking the sole entrance and exit from the city. The unemployment rate within Qalqiliya soon rises to 67% and the Occupation's use of the Wall as a tool not only to imprison but also to expel becomes apparent as nearly 10% of Qalqiliya's population have already been forced to leave their homes to seek employment and sustenance elsewhere. Villages in the district are increasingly being cut off from their lands and neighbours.

Communities resisting the Apartheid Wall throughout Qalqiliya district issue a joint statement denouncing it as "the Occupation in its ugliest face. [...] It is a stealing of land and water, and a changing of the

historical and demographic status of these areas. It is the uprooting of trees and the destruction of nature. It is in opposition to all that is human and civilized."

### **September 2002**

The first map of the Wall is made available to the public, consisting of only a portion of the northern part. Throughout the Wall's construction, the Occupation has followed a policy of creating a lack of information, often changing the Wall's route, confiscating land and demolishing homes at minimal notice in order to counter a collective popular resistance. Villagers in Jayyus recall how handwritten confiscation papers were left pinned to their trees, with no explanation.

The first public meeting about the Wall in Qalqiliya district is held in the village of Azzun on September 16th. Over 150 farmers, village council members and young activists from 20 villages in the district meet with representatives from the PENGON network to discuss the massive destruction of people's lands and the failure so far of the Palestinian Authority, NGOs and national organizations to play a role in solving this disaster. The public meeting calls for everyone to accept his or her responsibility in the struggle and to show solidarity with the people affected by this catastrophe. The seeds of the Anti Apartheid Wall Campaign begin to take root.

### **October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2002**

The Palestinian Grassroots Anti Apartheid Wall Campaign (AAWC) is born in response to a call for a coordinated, popular, and grassroots effort to tear down the Wall emanating from the office of the Palestinian Environmental NGOs Network (PENGON). The Campaign initiates its work on three levels: acting as the voice of communities locally; mobilization and coordination nationally; and additionally catalyzing worldwide solidarity as part of the global struggle against colonization, war and racism. It works towards the following goals:

1. The immediate cessation of the building of the Wall.
2. The dismantling of all parts of the Wall and its related zones already built.
3. The return of lands confiscated for the path of the Wall.
4. The compensation of damages and lost income due to the destruction of land and property in addition to the restitution of land.

These calls are firmly grounded in the context of the struggle against Israeli Colonization, Apartheid and Occupation, and for Palestinian rights and self-determination. None of the above demands can be compromised in the Campaign's work.

Emergency Centers are set up in Jenin, Tulkarem and Qalqiliya districts to organize the growing resistance movement and to provide the communities most affected by the early stages of the Wall with facilities for information collection and dissemination. In the coming months, the Emergency Centers set up Popular Committees located in individual villages along the Wall's path, furthering community and grassroots control over the Campaign's efforts.

Just weeks after the Campaign is founded, the first mass demonstrations against the Apartheid Wall are organized in the village of Jayyus. The following months see similar demonstrations, rallies and protests held in dozens of villages and towns throughout the West Bank in the affected districts of Qalqilya, Tulkarem and Jenin.

### **November 2002**

The first report on the Apartheid Wall is published by the AAWC. 40 pages long, it is the first Palestinian comprehensive data collection made public that highlights the impact and the political aims of the Wall. It declares the Campaign's objectives and strategies to both national and international audiences.

### **January 2003**

Occupation bulldozers enter the village of Nazlat Issa and demolish 82 buildings in the market – the commercial center for the entire northern Tulkarem district – for the construction of the Wall through the heart of Baqa village. Hundreds of Palestinians lose their livelihoods and are forced to leave their village.

### **February 2003**

Villagers from Daba'a find 250 explosives buried in their land. The Occupation is increasingly using such explosive devices to destroy land that falls within the Wall's "buffer zone," 30-100 meters wide. Such explosions are responsible for destroying numerous houses, school buildings and causing injury to villagers.

### **March 2003**

While the world's attention is focused on the crimes of the war against Iraq, the Israeli government admits the aims of the Apartheid Wall – further colonization of the West Bank and the ghettoization or expulsion of the Palestinian population – by approving further plans for the Wall and announcing that the Wall will annex the Ariel and Immanuel settlement blocs. The following week, Ariel Sharon declares that the Wall will also be expanded within and along the entire Jordan Valley, de facto annexing the settlements in this area. These announcements allow the AAWC to produce the first complete maps of the Wall's route of destruction, to which there have since been only insignificant changes.

### **June 2003**

The AAWC publishes the first book devoted solely to analyzing the impact of the Wall and outlining the resistance to it. *The Wall in Palestine: Facts, Testimonies, Analysis and a Call to Action* is disseminated locally and internationally, translated into four languages. The book can be downloaded at: [www.stopthewall.org/activistresources/12.shtml](http://www.stopthewall.org/activistresources/12.shtml).

In the city of Tulkarem, the Popular Committees for the northern districts of Qalqiliya, Salfit, Tulkarem and Jenin declare that November 9<sup>th</sup> will mark the National and International Day Against the Wall, and lay down the national plan of action and resistance against the Apartheid Wall for the rest of the year.

### **July 2003**

The Occupation announces the completion of the "First Phase" of the Wall, a total of 145 km from Salem in Jenin district to Mas'ha, west of Salfit. This First Phase – a fifth of the Wall's route –annexes the "fruit basket" of the West Bank and one of Palestine's most important aquifers. It has confiscated 14,680 dunums of agricultural land and 36 groundwater wells; confiscated or destroyed land belonging to 73,000 Palestinians in 51 villages; isolated 11,680 people from 16 villages between the Wall and the so-called "Green Line," and uprooted 103,320 olive trees – many of which are hundreds of years old and protected under international cultural heritage laws. Despite the announcement claiming "completion," land confiscations and house demolitions continue throughout the "First Phase" area on a regular basis over the following two years, as the Occupation steps up its creation of an apartheid infrastructure.

Several hundred farmers representing the Popular Committees throughout the northern and central districts assemble in Ramallah ahead of Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas's forthcoming trip to the United States. They demand that the Palestinian Authority do more to highlight their plight and work towards the dismantlement of the Apartheid Wall. As a result, Abbas denounces the crimes of the Apartheid Wall during his tour of the US the following month – the first time that the PA has raised the issue on the international stage.

### **August 2003**

Launch of the StoptheWall website ([www.stopthewall.org](http://www.stopthewall.org)) as the Campaign's main tool of communication with the world. It contains regular updates about the Apartheid Wall and the resistance to it on the ground, analysis, personal testimonies and an overview of worldwide solidarity actions. The website is already available in English, Arabic, Spanish and Italian and will soon be launched in German.

Ariel Sharon declares the possibility of transferring control of the cities of Jericho and Qalqiliya to the Palestinian Authority. At the same time, bulldozers return to Qalqiliya to destroy more lands and greenhouses for the buffer zone of the Apartheid Wall that totally surrounds the city.

Days later, the Occupation returns to Nazlat Issa, north of Tulkarem, and carries out the single largest demolition of buildings in years, razing the entire commercial area to the ground, destroying 135 shops and five homes, in addition to those demolished in the village the previous January. Over 700 families in Nazlat Issa and hundreds of others from the surrounding villages depended directly upon this market for their livelihood. Further demolitions continue throughout the following month to prepare for the construction of an Isolation Wall east of the village – an offshoot of the Wall intended to completely enclose a community from all sides.

### **September 2003**

The village of Jubara, isolated between the Wall and the so-called “Green Line” in a de facto military zone, is completely sealed off for 16 consecutive days, with nobody allowed to pass in or out of the village. Jubara has no school or health services of its own and is dependent on neighboring villages for such facilities.

The AAWC is invited by the United Nations to speak about the crimes of the Wall at the UN’s NGO Conference. The Conference formally adopts November 9<sup>th</sup> as the International Day Against the Wall. The Palestinian ambassador to the United Nations attends the conference and henceforth starts to promote the issue of the Wall, and the need for its dismantlement, within the UN General Assembly and the Security Council.

## **Growing Popular Resistance confronts Israeli Apartheid**

### **October 2003**

The Occupation issues military orders declaring all lands west of the Wall to be a “seam zone” accessible only through a system of permits and humiliating military gates that prohibit the majority of villagers from entering their own land. Permits are issued and denied to the people forced into this system of subjugation on the whim of the Occupation and over the following months thousands of farmers are refused permission, confirming the Wall’s role as a de facto border annexing West Bank land to Israel.

Farmers from Jayyus – which is separated from 72% of its land – confront the barbarity of the gates and permits system and take to sleeping in their olive groves rather than risk return to their houses and not be allowed back to their farms. This resistance is eventually brought to an end when the Occupation Forces forcibly remove them. With the gates closed for days at a time, Jayyus issues a statement condemning the gates and permits as “humiliating tools with which the Occupation continues its oppression and control” over villagers’ lives. Neighboring villages, and other AAWC Popular Committees in Jenin and Tulkarem districts, soon join the campaign of defiance against the permit system. As a mark of protest against this racist and oppressive system, many villagers in the West Bank refuse to apply for permits from the Occupation, stating their inherent right to access their own land. In Al Jubara, villagers refuse to take permits for over two months and stage daily confrontations with the Occupation Forces.

On October 20<sup>th</sup> a UN General Assembly resolution calls on Israel to stop the construction of the Wall. Days later, the Occupation releases the latest map of the Wall’s so-called final path and affirms plans to build the Wall in the Jordan Valley. Until then, only the “First Phase” had been mapped out by the Occupation..

### **November 2003**

The gates in Jayyus remain closed and protests continue as Occupation Forces enter the village daily to fire tear gas and sound bombs. Villagers organize a protest tent and eventually force the Occupation to re-open the gate.

The Wall encircling the village of Azzun Atma is completed, leaving just one military checkpoint as the sole entrance and exit to the village. The same gate also controls access to lands for the surrounding villages of Beit Amin, Mas'ha, Sanniriya, Azzawiya and Habla.

### **November 9th 2003**

The AAWC Popular Committees launch the first National and International Day Against the Apartheid Wall to strengthen Palestinian resistance. The day denounces the complicity and silence of the global powers that once were celebrating the fall of the Berlin Wall. In Palestine, November 9th is marked by a week of activities with thousands of people collectively resisting Israel's Apartheid policies and Occupation through demonstrations, speaking events, grassroots meetings, and cultural activities. The day begins with a general strike from 12 pm to 2 pm, marked throughout the West Bank, including the districts of Qalqiliya, Tulkarem, Jenin, Salfit, Jerusalem, Ramallah and Bethlehem. Protests are organized under slogans of "We Will Not Become Prisoners in Our Land," and "We Will Not Relive the 1948 Nakba! We Will Not Relive Our Dispossession by the Hands of Israel." Cities such as Tulkarem host some of the largest demonstrations against the Wall seen yet. Globally, some 70 protests and events are held in over 25 countries throughout the world.

### **December 2003**

Occupation bulldozers continue demolishing houses, razing lands and uprooting trees around Al Mutilla and Al Aqaba villages in the Jordan Valley and in Budrus near Ramallah, where days of demonstrations follow and dozens of villagers are injured. Curfews and arbitrary arrests are imposed as villagers from Shuqba, Qibya, Ni'lin and Midya join the resistance in Budrus.

Confiscation orders are issued in Habla near Qalqiliya for a tunnel to connect the different ghettos, passing underneath settler bypass roads that are built on the village land. This has become the prototype of the road and tunnel system planned by the Occupation to allow movement of goods and controlled transfer of Palestinians between the ghettos in the West Bank.

### **February 2004**

Over 10,000 Palestinians demonstrate across the West Bank and Gaza – in Beit Surik, Tulkarem, Salfit, Gaza, Qalqiliya and Jerusalem, braving checkpoints and closures and being met with tear gas and rubber bullets as the ICJ begins to hear arguments and testimonies regarding the Wall. In The Hague, AAWC and Dutch solidarity groups organize a weekend of activity to mark the event – the first in a series of events organized parallel to the ICJ hearing.

As the Occupation seeks to garner international silence by claiming to have made "adjustments" to the Wall, Mohamed Hasham, a two year old boy from Ras Atieh village, dies after his family find the gate in the Wall closed and are unable to reach the hospital in Qalqiliya, on the other side of the Wall. The total closure of villages and the system of military gates results in several deaths - a month before, in Deir Ballut, 20 year-old Lamis Tayser Ibrahim began to give birth to twins while waiting at a checkpoint to leave the village. Kept waiting for several hours and refused access to a hospital, both newborn babies died on the roadside. The following month, 60 year-old heart attack victim Mohamed Omda dies while held up at a checkpoint as his family attempt to get him to an ambulance forced to wait on the other side.

By the end of February, the first martyrs are killed protesting the Apartheid Wall. The Occupation Forces murder three men from Biddu village – one aged 70 – as they attempt to protect their land from destruction and annexation. Over 100 villagers are arrested and around 70 more are injured – many critically. A fourth man, in a coma after being shot, dies the following week. In Betuniya, 17 year old Hussein Mahmud Awad dies after being shot in the head by the Occupation Forces. The killings fail to weaken the villagers' resolve and the demonstrators continue their struggle. Six weeks later, 24 year old Diya' Abd el Kareem Eid joins Biddu's – and the national campaign against the Apartheid Wall's – growing list of martyrs. The resistance movement in Biddu succeeds in temporarily halting the Wall's construction through the village. However, in April it resumes once again.

The AAWC Popular Committees release a statement calling upon the people of the world “to break the wall of silence and to bring the daily killings and the names of the martyrs to the conscience of the people in their countries.”

#### **March 2004**

In the northern West Bank, the land confiscations and demolition of buildings continue in villages such as Kufur Laqif, Jayyus and Irtah. This further confiscation of land is designed to entrench the apartheid apparatus of Settlers-only bypass roads, settlement expansion and industrial zones – all of which are built on annexed Palestinian land isolated by the Apartheid Wall.

The construction of the Wall in the Ramallah district accelerates. So too does the resistance movement. Growing numbers of protestors demonstrate against the Wall in Deir Qaddis, Qattana, Ni’lin, Mediya, Zawiya, Rafat, Qattana and Deir Ballut, gathering on fields confiscated by the Wall. Hundreds are injured at these demonstrations – in one demonstration in Khirbatha Bani Hareth alone, 42 villagers are injured.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of March, thousands of Palestinians mark the annual Land Day – a protest at Israel’s continuing theft of Palestinian land – with rallies across the West Bank and Gaza, and in the Galilee region. The AAWC releases a statement condemning the Apartheid Wall as the “Second Nakba” – the expelling and ethnic cleansing of Palestinian villages in 1948 – and stating its determination to continue resistance.

#### **April 2004**

Like in most of the affected communities, unemployment in Qaffin village north of Tulkarem rises to 95% as farmers are unable to reach their lands, and laborers – even those given permits – are prevented from reaching their work.

The AAWC and Palestinians from the villages northwest of Jerusalem protest in Ramallah against the Palestinian Authority and what the people perceive as its continued inaction in stopping the Apartheid Wall.

#### **May 2004**

Occupation bulldozers move into Rafah refugee camp to continue their house demolitions and land clearance for the construction of a seven kilometer iron Wall next to the border between Gaza and Egypt. Hundreds of houses are razed to the ground and many thousands of the camp’s inhabitants forced to leave. Palestinians who were forced from their cities and villages in 1948 are forced out yet again from their temporary refugee camp of Rafah.

#### **June 2004**

Following the destruction of Rafah, on June 6<sup>th</sup>, Israel approves the so-called “Disengagement Plan.” The plan receives widespread international government approval and slowly-growing condemnation from civil society, as in reality the plan actually sees Israel tighten its control over Palestine. Under the plan, Gaza will be imprisoned by an iron Wall, with all borders, airspace and coastline controlled by the Occupation. In the West Bank the “disengagement” sees the withdrawal of just four tiny settlements in the north, while simultaneously expanding settlements around Jerusalem, Bethlehem and elsewhere and cementing the annexation of some 46% of the West Bank.

For ten days, people of all ages in the village of Zawiya resist the Apartheid Wall, challenging Occupation Forces in an effort to reach their lands and stop Occupation bulldozers from destroying them. Since the first days of the Wall’s construction, Occupation Forces have blocked all exits from the village.

In order to reflect the increased role within the AAWC of the Popular Committees – which are based within the communities most affected by the Wall – the PENGON Coordinating Committee decides to step down and allow other civil society organizations and the Popular Committees greater input. The Popular Committees are based in 54 villages in eight districts throughout the West Bank and work to mobilize effective community resistance to the Apartheid Wall. Coordinated through the Campaign head office, national plans to resist the Wall are forged and approved by the Popular Committees and civil society organizations.

### **July 2004**

The first hunger strike against the Apartheid Wall begins on July 2nd. In Ar Ram a tent is set up on the main road into Jerusalem and delegations and supporters from all over Palestine and the Golan Heights come to declare their solidarity with the hunger strikers. The strike is called off only upon the announcement of the decision of the International Court of Justice.

### **Declared Illegal in International Law, Construction of the Wall Continues**

### **July 9<sup>th</sup> 2004**

While demonstrations against the Apartheid Wall are organized in Ar Ram and other West Bank villages, and in The Hague itself, the ICJ delivers its advisory ruling that backs the Palestinian call and states that Israel must:

- 1 “Cease forthwith the works of construction of the wall being built in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including in and around East Jerusalem”
- 2 “Dismantle forthwith the structure therein situated, and to repeal or render ineffective forthwith all legislative and regulatory acts relating”
- 3 “Make reparation for all damage caused by the construction of the wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including in and around East Jerusalem”

Furthermore, the ICJ concluded:

- “All States are under an obligation not to recognize the illegal situation resulting from the construction of the wall and not to render aid or assistance in maintaining the situation created by such construction; all States parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War have in addition the obligation... to ensure compliance by Israel with international humanitarian law as embodied in that Convention”
- “The United Nations... should consider what further action is required to bring to an end the illegal situation resulting from the construction of the wall and the associated regime”

The AAWC urges the international community to heed the ruling and enforce Israel's compliance. However, the Campaign's analysis also expresses scepticism as to whether international governments have the will to pressure Israel to fulfil the ICJ ruling, or whether international law will simply be used as a tool to divert public attention from the realities on the ground: “A tragic dichotomy exists, in that if no mobilization and international pressure ensues from this decision, then the Advisory Opinion can be marked in the books as one of the major victories of the United Nations as an institution in the past decade, at the expense of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.[...] Popular slogans must be loud and clear, and as the Court stated: tear down the Wall!”. The AAWC calls for comprehensive boycott, divestment and sanctions campaigns against Apartheid Israel.

The scepticism is borne out by the following months and the continued construction of the Wall.

Ten days after the ICJ decision, Occupation Forces and bulldozers enter the market of Barta'a Sharqiyya north of Tulkarem, demolishing houses, factories, shops and an olive mill, and destroying the livelihoods of hundreds of villagers. Fourteen of the protestors who rallied against the destruction of their village are injured – shot at with tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition.

### **August 2004**

In the weeks following the ICJ decision, construction of the Apartheid Wall intensifies in Jerusalem, implementing the "Greater Jerusalem" project and the Judeaization of the city by isolating Palestinian communities "outside" the Wall and annexing Jewish settlements. AAWC research shows that 120,000 Palestinians will be isolated from their city and that Jerusalem – the historic, economic and cultural Palestinian capital – will be totally divided from the rest of the West Bank.

In Sawahreh, Eizarya and Ar Ram massive protests and demonstrations against the Occupation and the Apartheid Wall are organized to denounce and resist the confiscation and destruction of land that has accelerated in these Jerusalem suburbs.

The Wall's construction also presses ahead in Bethlehem district, where confiscation orders are issued to farmers in Beit Jala.

#### **September 2004**

After several months of land confiscation and destruction, the Wall begins to be erected in the Jerusalem suburb of Ar Ram, cutting across the Jerusalem-Ramallah road. The road between Jerusalem and Jericho is also split by the Wall, not only cutting links between Palestinian cities but also isolating up to 50,000 Palestinians in Abu Dis, Eizarya and Sawahreh in walled ghettos. Demonstrations and clashes continue in Abu Dis and Ar Ram, between villagers and the Occupation.

In Beirut, an international strategy meeting of anti-war and anti-globalisation movements is held on 17-19 September, with the participation of over 260 delegates from 43 different countries, representing social movements, organizations, political parties and networks. It marks the launch of an International Movement against Israeli Apartheid and calls "for the economic, academic, cultural, political and diplomatic isolation of Apartheid Israel by the effective imposition of boycotts, divestment and sanctions. These calls have since been held up in all major international meetings as a reflection of the ever-growing movement to Isolate Apartheid Israel.

#### **October 2004**

As the annual harvest begins, the Wall and its system of permits and gates has devastating consequences for villagers, who are unable to reach their fields and harvest their crops. In Qalqiliya city, all entrances and checkpoints close for 20 consecutive days and the majority of guava crops and greenhouse produce is destroyed and several thousand chickens die. Demonstrations take place in villages such as Jayyus, Qaffin, Falamyia and Beit Awa, which are denied access to their fields. On the isolated land of Falamyia alone, more than 20,000 citrus trees die because farmers cannot access them.

### **Popular resistance escalates to confront "normalization" of the Wall and "sustainable" Apartheid**

#### **November 9<sup>th</sup> 2004**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> National and International Week against the Apartheid Wall sees schools, mosques and media mobilizing nationwide in support of the daily resistance of the affected communities and to unify the Palestinian people in the struggle. Globally, some 70 events, protests and demonstrations in over 20 countries have joined the AAWC call against the Apartheid Wall and for the Isolation of Apartheid Israel by strengthening the growing movement for boycott, divestment and sanctions.

#### **December 2004**

Even where the Wall is supposedly "finished," the land confiscations and house demolitions continue. In Far'un, near Tulkarem, Israel announces the demolition of a dozen houses to create a "buffer zone" around the Wall. In Jayyus, the Occupation begins clearing more of the isolated land and trees – which the Wall prevents villagers from accessing – for the expansion of Nofei Zufim settlement. In nearby Irtah a new military road is built, isolating 13 homes between the road and the Wall. Both Irtah and Far'un are also facing the confiscation of more land for the building of an Industrial Zone, one of several estates planned for throughout the West Bank on Palestinian land isolated by the Apartheid Wall. The idea for Israeli-run industrial estates that exploit cheap Palestinian labour in the West Bank and Gaza emerged after the Oslo process in the mid-1990s, but met with massive Palestinian resistance during the first Intifada.

Such Industrial Zones become an increasingly significant part of the Occupation's apartheid infrastructure, as the World Bank releases a report entitled *Stagnation or Revival: Israeli Disengagement and Palestinian Economic Prospects*, outlining the Bank's plans for Palestine's economic future based around the myth of Israeli disengagement. The report ignores the ICJ ruling and proposes measures that sustain the apartheid system of checkpoints, gates, industrial estates, and the Wall itself.

### **January 2005**

At the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, held from the 26<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup> of January, a series of declarations are issued calling for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel. The Anti-War Assembly states: "We call upon the social movements to mobilize... for divestment and boycotts. These efforts aim to force Israel to implement international resolutions, and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, to stop and take down the illegal wall and end all occupation and apartheid policies."

### **February 2005**

In Beit Hanina, confiscation orders are issued for a section of the Wall that will deny the village access to tens of thousands of olive trees and will isolate 15 water wells, depriving the village of its main water resources. Just days later, at the Sharm al Sheikh summit, the illegality of the Wall is completely sidelined as it is briefly referred to as nothing more than a "controversial issue." The meeting urges that Palestinian resistance should enter a "calm" period, yet construction of the Wall and the expansion of settlements is to continue unabated. The AAWC statement on the conference points out that, "The implementation of the ICJ decision - for the dismantlement of the Wall - is not a negotiable or controversial issue but forms the basis of international law."

The Popular Committees all along the Apartheid Wall underline the fact that their resistance will only stop with the end of Israeli Apartheid and Occupation, staging a fortnight of mobilization and protests throughout the West Bank. Demonstrations and rallies are organized nationwide, most notably in the villages of Bil'in, Beit Surik, Yatta, Kafr Qaddam and Saffa, and in the regional centers of Salfit, Bethlehem, Ramallah and Jerusalem. The rallies in the villages develop into direct confrontation and clashes with the Occupation Forces. In Beit Surik, villagers halt the Occupation's attempts to place markers for the path of the Wall, which aims to rip through the center of the village. A large demonstration is also organized in Kafr Qaddum, a village that has been completely surrounded by walls. In Yatta, in south Hebron, several hundred villagers clash with Occupation Forces' vehicles and bulldozers and physically prevent them from sealing off road access to the land in a defiant blockade.

At the same time, the Occupation presents once again "modifications" of the Wall to the world that are meant to divert the discussion from the Apartheid Wall itself to its route. Although some changes in the Wall's route are made in individual villages due to their resistance, the Wall and its apartheid infrastructure of settlements, roads and military zones continues as before, annexing some 47% of the West Bank. The AAWC continues to underline that, irrespective of its route, the Wall remains illegal in any form.

The AAWC releases a map detailing Israel's expansion of a spider network of settler-only roads, bridges and tunnels that continue to surround Palestinian villages and towns. Throughout the West Bank there will be 24 Israeli controlled tunnels for Palestinians to use as the sole connection between the ghettos and Bantustans. The settler-only roads, and the military zones that accompany them, are built on land confiscated from Palestinian villages and fulfill the same role as the Wall: creating de facto borders that Palestinians cannot cross and which therefore pen communities into suffocating ghettos.

In London, representatives from the British government, the World Bank and the UN meet with officials from the Palestinian Authority to discuss "internal reforms", "Israeli security matters" and, above all, money. Some \$1.2 billion has been agreed upon – most of it not for the Palestinian needs and liberation struggle but the development of the Israeli apartheid regime that spreads throughout the West Bank and Gaza.

Highlighting its unwillingness to oppose the Wall, the UN submits a report on the Wall dealing with it as a solely "humanitarian" issue rather than a political and legal case. Such compliance with the Occupation's interests and neglect of the ICJ's ruling is becoming commonplace as the Wall is increasingly treated by development agencies as a problem that must be adapted to, rather than a crime that must be prevented and stopped.

### **March 2005**

5,000 Palestinians demonstrate outside the Palestinian Authority's Muqata compound to protest UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's visit to Ramallah. They express rage that Annan chooses not to visit any areas affected by the Apartheid Wall, and at his failure to call on Israel to abide by international law and dismantle the Wall.

Construction of the Wall in Hebron district, begun in October 2004, now intensifies with over 10 thousand dunums of land confiscated in the villages of Sammu, Dhahriya, Halhul and Beit Ummar. Sammu, like many other villages in the West Bank, lost some 80% of its land in the 1948 Nakba. Now a further 5% is to be stolen from the people.

This year's Land Day sees ten days of demonstrations held throughout Palestine to mark Israel's ongoing theft of Palestinian land. Bethlehem district, where the Wall is now being built at ever-quickening pace, plays a central part in these demonstrations with protests held in the villages of Wadi Fukin, Al Walaja and Bethlehem city itself. Further north, simultaneous demonstrations take place in the village of Baqa, which is split in two by the Wall. One half of the village protests to the east of the Wall, while the half living on the other side of the Wall protests on the west.

#### **April 2005**

Large protests are held in the Ramallah villages of Saffa and Bil'in on an almost daily basis. Bulldozers arrived in the villages in February but protests forced their withdrawal. Days later they returned and began to raze land that will be used for the construction of the Wall and the expansion of nearby settlements. Over two months of intense protest has brought over a hundred injuries, including a 15 year old boy who lost an eye.

#### **May 2005**

The struggle against the Apartheid Wall suffers its latest and youngest martyrs as Uday Mofeed and Jamal Jaber, aged 14 and 15, are shot dead while protesting against the Wall in Beit Liqya. The family of one of the martyrs declares: "They can do what they want, they can steal the land, they can kill our children, but we are not going to leave. We are staying. This is our land. They want to uproot us but the future is ours and the Occupation is the one that will be uprooted."

Israel announces that it will continue with the expansion of settlements – particularly Maale Adumim, already the largest settlement in the West Bank and where 4,500 new housing units are being built – and that the Wall will soon be constructed to annex these settlements to the "Greater Jerusalem" project. This section of Wall will finalize the separation of Jerusalem from the West Bank and the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from their city.

Several weeks later, George Bush meets with Mahmoud Abbas and formally announces an "aid" package that will help to finance checkpoints and gates in the Wall, making Israel's project of apartheid sustainable. Prior to the meeting, villagers from Bil'in march through Ramallah to remind Mahmoud Abbas about the devastating crimes of the Apartheid Wall, stating, "We send this letter from Bil'in, a small Palestinian village that is being killed by the Wall that the entire world condemns. [...] Our 1600 residents depend on our ability to farm and harvest our olive trees to sustain our livelihoods."

#### **July 9<sup>th</sup> 2005**

Popular mobilization in Palestine will mark the one year anniversary of the ICJ decision, and a year of inaction by the international community as construction of the Wall has continued unabated. In the absence of pressure being applied on Israel from international governments and institutions, it is the responsibility of civil society to bring about change. The AAWC is therefore not only spearheading daily resistance on the ground but is at the forefront of the call for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Apartheid Israel and its effective isolation from the international community.