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(Editor)

THE FABRICATION OF ISRAEL
About the usurpation and destruction of Palestine through Zionist spatial planning

A UNIQUE PLANNING ISSUE

III

Planning in Israel – from Fostering the Jewish Character of Israel to an Ethnocratic Planning System

Viktoria Waltz

1. The Usurpation of Palestinian Land in Israel – steps until 1967

Conclusion from the last part:

It took the Zionist Movement 40 years and a war from the First Zionist Congress in Basle to reach the international 'ok' for establishing the Jewish State in big parts of Palestine. The disaster in Europe helped. Planning tools like town planning, master plans, development plans and property laws in addition to money and international policies helped the Zionists to extend the spatial vision of Herzl as far as possible until 1948. The process was planned; land purchases were done strategically and purposefully. Part of the Jewish world and the British Mandate supported it since the end of the Ottoman Empire. Sophisticated regional and local planning policy and strategic thinking made the fabrication of a Jewish state in Palestine possible. It was done first of all by grabbing Palestinian property through planning measures, but also using force. However, the fabrication of Israel was a colonial project from the beginning of the idea – and a settler state by reality, according to what Rodinson stated (Rodinson 1967).

The proclamation of the state on 15th May 1948 did not complete the original plan, it was not established on the whole Mandate area promised to them by Balfour. Only 6-7% of Jewish land ownership existed on around 70% of the Palestinian land on that day. The Jewish population settled mainly at the coast. About 150.000 Palestinians living in about 100 villages and small cities were still existent within Israel's 'borders'– a challenge for a state, which declared itself to be (solely) 'Jewish'. Consequently Israel never defined its borders, the 'provisional state' existed in 'armistice lines' after agreements with Jordan and Egypt. Jerusalem, especially the Old City, was under Jordan governance. Stabilisation of Israel's Jewish society in the achieved borders was the issue of the next period before looking to new horizons.

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With regard to territorial shifts, Israel was established on about 20,000 km^2 –i.e., more than 70% - of the Mandatory Palestine, while the remaining West Bank including East, Arab Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip had been governed by two neighbouring Arab states Jordan and Egypt.

When the 1947-1949 war ended 156,000 Palestinians, about 18% of the total population lived still as citizens in Israel. According to Israel's Declaration of Independence (which is not a constitution) ((Isr.) Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009, Moyal 1998), all social groups in Israel were guaranteed social and political equality. By contrast Palestinian Arabs democratic rights in the Jewish state have remained precarious. (Coon 1992) The judaisation of the country through planning, land regulations and laws marginalised them in many terms.

The Palestinian citizens of Israel can be viewed as a national (Palestinian), ethnic (Arab), and linguistic (Arabic) community. According to official Israeli statistics in 2009, they number about 1.7 million, comprising 20.6% of the total population of Israel that is about 7.4 million. According to a research published by Soffer (2001), the Arab population of Israel could reach 23% in 2020, and 31% in 2050. The common terms used by Israelis to describe the Palestinian minority are "Israeli Arabs," "the Arab Sector," "Arab citizens of Israel," or "Arabs or Palestinians inside the green line."

The Palestinian community in Israel identifies itself as an integral part of the state of Israel and they have full Israeli citizenship. Nonetheless, they are not accorded the same rights as Jewish citizens of the state. "Institutionalised inequality, discriminatory policies, and informal prejudice all combine to prevent Palestinian citizens in Israel from attaining [spatial], social and economic equality" (*Ittijah*, 1998). A report published by the International Crisis Group (2004) indicates that Palestinian citizens are largely cut off from the geographical, cultural, economic and political mainstream of the state.

Successive Israeli governments have regarded the Palestinian community as a hostile and alienated element in a foreign country, especially after the entry of most right wing Knesset members like Avigor Lieberman in the election of 2009. Furthermore, 'Arab' citizens are often perceived as a security and demographic threat to the state of Israel. Accordingly, they feel themselves neglected and discriminated by the state, particularly on issues of land ownership, education, housing, employment, social services, resource allocation and political representation. For instance, is fact that between 1975 and 2000, public housing units built for the Palestinian Arab population were only 0.3% of the total public housing in the state. With regard to socio-economic aspects, 'Arabs in Israel' have the lowest socio-economic status of all groups in the state. Sikkuy, the 'Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality' in Israel, in its annual report on equality between Jewish and Arab citizens in 2008 reported that the Arab population receives only 49 percent of the benefits they are entitled to. The state of Israel invests NIS 508 in every Jewish citizen on average, while only NIS 348 is invested in Arab citizens. Nearly 65.7 percent of Arab children are living below the poverty line however 31.4 percent of Jewish children (Sikkuy 2008). In 2008 around 20 percent of all Israelis

were suffering from *poverty* and about 35% of them were Arabs. Moreover, 60 percent of all 'Arab' families lived below the poverty line. (CBS 2009)

The geographic and demographic reverse in Israel - from a 6-7% control over Palestinian land to an usurpation of more than 90% and transfer into Jewish national property on the one hand and the establishing of a Jewish majority in most of the Israeli regions and the systematic usurpation planning behind it is the issue of this section.

The first chapter of this section (Waltz) aims to understand the continuity of this process from prior 1947 until 1967. Hence this article will light up the rapid change of the geo map from some Jewish spots in a historically and well composed Palestinian habitat to a judaised country with 'western' style environment, emptied as much from Palestinian footprint. The next chapters (Egbaria) aim to illustrate the actual and after 1967 spatial expropriation and discrimination of the Palestinians within Israel: the first will go into principles of Israeli planning; in fact there are two spatial systems in one land; the second shows in detail how ethnic discriminating system affects the housing conditions of Palestinians in Israel on the example of Tayibe city and the third tackles the situation of the Bedouins in Israel, as one example of 'unrecognised' people in 'unrecognised' localities, again Palestinian localities.

Egbaria regards the problem of discrimination and alienation against the Palestinian citizens in Israel as deep and not easily to be resolved because it goes to the heart of Israel's self-definition as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Palestinians enjoy greater political rights in Israel than in other states in the region but they suffer from an unequal allocation of three basic components of a democratic society: resources, rights and representation. It is argued that the relationship of the urban needs of the 'Arab' citizens and the state is mainly a result of constant political pressure. Therefore, in order to face the challenge of systemic inequities that are facing Palestinian or 'Arab' Israelis, there should be an inclusive and comprehensive framework to define the needs of this segment of population, otherwise prospects for internal conflicts and instability and beyond of all underdevelopment will remain high – and this is fact until today, Egbaria argues.

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1. The Usurpation of Palestinian Land in Israel – steps until 1967

At first after 15th May 1948 Zionist planners wanted to change the unbalanced settlement of Jews in some mainly urban spots into a fully covering Jewish presence, where Jewish structures and Jewish population dominate. This would foster more occupation of Palestinian land, radical expropriation and a strategic immigration policy. Despite the refugee disaster at the end of the British Mandate in some areas Palestinians still formed majorities - while the Jewish population, nearly 80% of them, lived compact in the coastal towns. These facts show clearly that the Zionist plan was not yet completed and Israel in Mandate size not achieved as proclaimed. In addition, the country was even not yet 'Jewish' (see map 1).

Spatial planning again became t h at governmental tool in order to restructure geo map and demography in order to strengthening Jewish existence in Palestine. Jews to work and to settle on all the Palestinian land became central governmental goal: converting the (urban and highly intellectual) immigrants into farmers and workers, and the land from a 'mixed living area' into a 'pure Jewish' one (Granovski, 1929:58; Ben Gurion, 1960:51 f). Likewise the Palestinian society was expanding and to provide them with land for housing, farming, industry and infrastructure might be as well demanded as well as master plans, housing programs, road network plans and social infrastructure in their living areas. Would the Israeli governments serve both and supply the still existent two societies? Or would it continue displacing and destructing the remaining Palestinian society? To shed light on these questions again plans and programmes are examined and their factual results interpreted.

Map 1 Israel in the region

Source: Egbaria 2003

First Israeli activity concerning the Palestinians was bringing the Palestinian areas under military command. This step deprived the Palestinians of fundamental democratic rights – and this until 1966. (Israel Law Resource Center 2007, Badi 1961)

For Judaising the country three actions were executed:

- moving the Jewish population from the coast to the rural regions, an internal migration,
- increasing the total population through immigration from outside,
- reducing Palestinian presence, hence properties, settled areas and population through planning and political measures

Chief designer of this 'scheme' was Ben Gurion, first leader of the state himself and his planning office created the most important tools for it, the 'First National Plan' and the 'Program of 30 New Cities'. These plans aimed to move and settle the Jewish population rapidly into the 'hinterland'. (Sharon 1951; Ben Gurion 1960; Spiegel 1966; Meyer 1967; Cohen 1970, Richter 1979)

The Jewish Agency – once it had reached the fabrication of a Jewish state – took over the responsibility for immigration from outside. Within an agreement between the Israeli State and the World Zionist Organization WZO in 1954, the Jewish Agency got the task to campaign immigration and secure 'land acquisition'. The WZO thus became the leading body to accomplish the judaising of the 'Palestinian areas' - it is working on this until today (Badi 1961, Waltz/Zschiesche, 1986: 119ff).

To expropriate and displace the remained Palestinians at length - now in the State of Israel within legal manners - a vicious mix of the still existing Ottoman and Mandate laws and regulations as well as newly created Israeli laws was executed.

1.1 Initial Steps of Judaising the Country – Expropriation and Planning

To achieve the above mentioned goals different activities were executed from fostered demographic changes, huge confiscation of land, deep social and economic discrimination to comprehensive spatial planning. Initiatory were the following actions:

- The '*Census' of 1948*: to 'clarify' the ethnic distribution of the existing population: Jews and 'non Jews'. Palestinians, ‚non Jews' were called 'minorities' and Palestinians by force or accident absent from their land or house became 'absentees' according to that census and aforementioned laws and regulations (State of Israel, 1948);

- The subordination of the Palestinian living areas, the Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev under the British mandate *'Defence or Emergency Regulation'* of 1945, appointing military commanders in the villages and the regions, imposing restrictions of mobility and freedom (speech, writing, publishing and politics). It became also basic for closure of areas, land acquisition, house demolition and the fabrication of new spatial structures like roads, infrastructure for the new colonies (Israel Law Resource Center 2007);

- The '*Law of Return' of 1948*: it offered to all Jews of the world ‚the return to Israel', while the return of the Palestinian refugees to their land and houses was mainly refused; this in addition facilitated the expropriation of their so called *'abandoned'* land (Badi 1961);

- The building of a '*Commission for City and Regional Development' in 1948*: in 1950, when it became the planning department under Ben Gurion, it drafted the 'First National Plan' to push the judaising of the country in a planned and structured manner; the plan was accepted by the Israeli parliament in 1950;

- ,The '*National Plan for the Redistribution of the Population and for Building New Cities*`: done by the Ministry of Interior in 1950, aiming the following ,urgent' judaising acts:
  - the colonisation of the *'provisional border areas'* to Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, these were the areas of the Jordan Valley, the North Galilee and the area close to the Golan Heights;
  - the definition of the remaining Palestinian areas to areas of *'urgent colonisation'*, these were the north and Galilee, the so-called triangle and the Negev;
  - the *building of 30 New Cities*, as centres for the distribution of Jewish population according to the theory of 'central places' as centres for rural development;
  - the development of *Jewish agricultural areas*, establishing new villages, the so called kibbutzim and moshavim;
  - the *development of Jewish industrial zones* and centres, as part of the town development program.

- The *contract with the 'World Zionist Organisation' of 1954*: this gave the WZO the strategic task to campaign all over the world for migration into Israel and for planning new colonies and the financing of colonies in addition to the already immigrated population (Badi, 1961, Sharon 1951, Spiegel 1966).

Not to forget, that Ottoman land laws and regulations as well as the Mandate planning and emergency regulations were never repealed, hence could be reinforced according to the situation and transferred into Israeli regulations. Main new planning tools were the 'National Plan' of 1950, the Program of '30 New Cities' and a huge expropriation program as a main set to turn upside down what was before Palestinian into Jewish.

1.1.1 The National Judaising Plan of 1950

The central *'National Plan'* aimed to change the 'unbalanced' distribution of the Jewish population. First goal was to form a Jewish majority in the inner regions of the country, especially in the Palestinian areas. At first step 700,000 new immigrants were settled between 1948 and 1951 in this ,hinterland`. In detail main goals of this 'inner colonising' were:
- avoiding a further concentration of the Jewish inhabitants on the coast;
- de-urbanisation of the (coastal) cities;
- avoiding traffic at the coast and to use the coast for recovery and leisure time activities;
- housing supplies for the daily nearly 1,000 arriving new immigrants (Sharon, 1976:87 pp; Mayer 1969).

This was executed systematically through constructing new cities or new city quarters, new villages and new economic centres, distributing at first the immigrants to strategically chosen locations forming a colony network over the Palestinian land. This was done in newly created governorates in the before emptied areas and along the still provisional borders ('armistice lines'), especially the border to the West Bank called 'green line'. (Jewish Agency 2005)
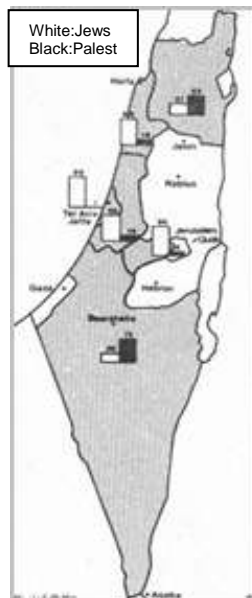
The National Plan maps of 1950 demonstrate clearly the demographic and geographic usurpation idea (see the following maps 2-8).

Map 2 Emptied areas: Hula, Marj Ibn Amer, Galilee,Triangel coastal plain, Bir Saba,

Map 3 'Wrong' Population Relation 1949

Map 4 'Planned' Population Relation 1956

Palestinian areas in 1950

White:Jews
Black:Palest

White:Jews
Black:Palest

Source: Waltz/Zschiesche 1986:104   : 146   : 149

Map 5 Planned distribut. of Jewish popul.

Map 6 Planned Jewish rural centres

Map 7 Planned industrial centres

Map 8 planned transfer of water resources

(all according to National plan of 1950)

Source: Waltz/Zschiesche 1986: 142-144, Sharon 1976

Population distribution consequently followed these plans. Main fields of action were the areas left by the Palestinians by force:

- the coastal plane,

- the Hula region,

- the surrounding of the Palestinian Galilee living areas and

- special industrial project areas in the Negev (Dimona).

The full control over the north, including military command, in addition eased usurping the water resources of the Hula region, of Taberiya as part of the Jordan Valley and of the southern slopes of the mountain region of Lebanon and diverting the water resources to the Negev region. (Orni 1972, Richter1979)

1.1.2 The Program of 30 ‚New Cities` - Jewish Centres of Rural Development

According to the national development plan the section of the so called 'non-Jewish' population was planned to shrink from 63 percent in 1948 to three percent in 1957 and in the Negev to 28 percent, while the Jewish population was planned to be raised from 37 to 72 percent (Spiegel, 1966:15).

Until the year 1965 the program of '30 New Cities' was completed and inhabited by the new immigrants. According to the European 'garden city' model they were issued to function as future centres for the 'development of the rural regions'. In a first stage until 1957 18 of them were established: seven in the north region, six in the south region and five in the region between Jerusalem, Gaza and Jaffa. After 1957 the remaining 10 'New Towns' were established. In 1957, the portion of the new immigrants in 12 of 18 cities of them amounted to 96 percent (Louvish 1970). Nearly 50 percent of the 'New Towns' were built on ruins or partly destroyed remainders of former Palestinian cities or villages. See the following list of the 30 New Towns and their Palestinian origin (in italic) (see map 9, 9a,b, images 1-4):

Table 1 List of 30 New Towns and their Palestinian origin

1.Qiryat Shoma/ *Khalsa*	16.Yavne/*Jibna*
2.Zefat /*Safad*	17.Qiryat Malaki/ *Qastina*
3.Hazor	18.Ashdot/ Isdud
4.Maalot/ Al Kabri	19.Ashqelon/ *Majdal*
5.Shlomi	20.Qiryat Gat/ Arad al Manshiya
6.Akko / *Akka*	21.Beit Shemesh/ *Artuf*
7.Karmiel/ *Nahf*	22.Sderot/ *Najd*
8.Tiberias/ *Taberiyah*	23.Netivot
9.Nazareth llyit /*Nasira*	24.Ofaqim
10.Migdal ha Emeq/	
Ma'lul/Al Mujadil	25.Beersheba / *Bir As Saba*
11.Afula / *Afuleh*	26.Arad/ *Tel Arad*
12.Beit Shean /*Bisan*	27.Dimona
13.Or Aqiva/*Qisarya*	*28.* Yeroham
14.Lod /*Lud*	29.Mitzpe Ramon
15.Ramlah/ *Ramleh*	30.Eilat/ *Um Rashrash*

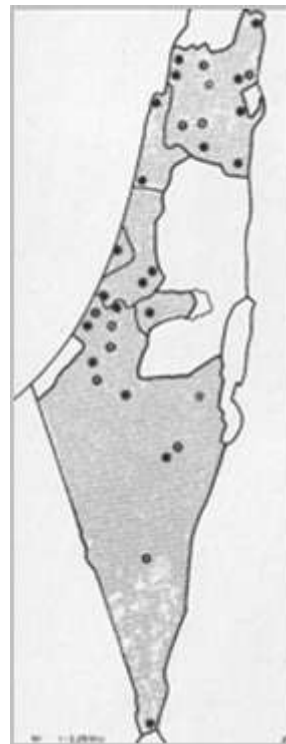Source: Richter 1969, Spiegel 1966, Waltz/Zschiesche 1986, palestineremembered

Map 9 Location of 30 New Towns 1967

Map 10 New Towns built until 1951, b:

Map 11 New Towns built until 1966

Source: Waltz/Zschiesche, 1986: 161,162; Spiegel 1966

Image 1 Iraq al Manshiya 1945

Image 2 Iraq al Manshiya after destruction

Image 3 Kiryat Gat 1991

Image 4 Ruins of Iraq al Manshiya center 1991

Sources: Kedar 1999, Khalidi 1992

Planning of cities and villages could only be executed on the land of the Palestinians. The previously explained land laws and the census were basic to enforce a tremendous expropriation process of Palestinian land. (see the following chapter).

1.2 The Usurpation of the Palestinian Land 'by Law'

Expropriation of the Palestinians because of their nationality would have caused troubles with the international community, which was already irritated from the refugee problem caused by the military aggression of Zionist militia (Abu-Sitte 2004, Pappe 2006, see section II). The inherited Ottoman laws as well as the British emergency regulations were used instead and supplemented with new Israeli regulations:

- '*Abandoned Area's Ordinance*' of 1948: to register land as abandoned;
- '*Emergency Land Requisition Law*' of 1948: to seize land for so called emergency reasons;
- '*Emergency Regulation of Waste Uncultivated Land*' of 1949: to demand the cultivation of fallow land; this targeted especially the land of the so called 'absentees', including those who were not absent, but in neighboured locations when the registration took place, the so called 'present absentees';
- '*Absentees Property Law*' of 1950: to define and register the property of the so called 'absentees';
- '*Land Acquisition Law*' of 1953: to acquire especially this land for governmental projects;
- '*National Land Law*' of 1958: it declared once confiscated land as Israeli, Jewish property as irreversibly – the way to court or any claim of property rights was excluded for ever;
- '*Basic Law – Israel Lands*' of 1960: defined the land owned by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and the Jewish Agency (the main holder of land) as 'Israel Land', non saleable, under the 'Israel Land Authority'. (see in detail chapter III.2) (Yiryis, 1973)

The Jewish National Fund (JNF or KKL) was already the principal planning instrument of the Zionist Movement. Its main objective, as analysed before, was to purchase land in Palestine from public and state institutions, individuals and organisations. By 1947, the JNF had purchased a total of about 935,000 dunam (one dunam equals 1,000m2) or 93,500 hectares, about 4.6 percent of the total land of Israel. Another 800,000 dunam (80,000 hectares) were purchased by other Jewish organisations, such as the Jewish Agency, and individuals (Granott, 1956:28; Orni, 1981:40).

The total land owned by all those institutions of the Zionist Movement amounted to about 1,735,000 dunam (or 1,735 km^2), making up about 8.6 percent of the total area of what would later become Israel. According to Aumann (1976), more than 70percent of this land was so-called public land vested in the British Mandatory Authority, while the rest was acquired from private owners. Yirjis (1966) asserts that with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the public land previously accessible to the Palestinian population and forested land (largely utilised as grazing fields) was regarded as Israeli state land. Thus, when the 1948 war ended, the State of Israel controlled about 20,770 square kilometres—77percent of the land previously under the control of the British Mandate in Palestine.

In 1960, when the Israeli authorities had adopted and implemented the above mentioned laws they defined the land owned by the JNF, the Jewish Agency and the government as 'Israel Land'. Moreover, the Israeli government set officially this fatal precedent, namely, that land belonging to the state could not be sold but only leased. The JNF and the Jewish Agency, quasi-governmental institutions, retained ownership of their lands. In 1960 with the 'Israel Land Law' a newly created quasi-governmental agency called the 'Israel Land Administration (ILA)' was assigned administrative responsibility for all land owned by these three bodies – they were also member of ILA (Kretzmer, 1990).

According to the Israel Land Law of 1960, acquiring land from the ILA to develop for communal purposes, such as housing developments, roads, schools, cultural centres, etc., could and can still occur in two ways. The first is through tenders awarded by the ILA. The second is through contractors who have already leased the land and subdivided it to plots. Often these plots include what is known as *tashtit* or infrastructure. This includes electricity, water and sewage up to the edge of the subdivided plots.

1.2.1 Land Grab from 'Absentees' and 'State Land'

The land of the 'absentees' constituted the largest part of the land expropriated until 1950, about 4.18 million dunam (10 dunam = 1 ha). From 1948 until 1953, 320 new colonies were established on such confiscated land, in addition to the ca. 370 colonies built on land of the 500 destroyed villages, which existed before 1947. More than one third of all Jewish inhabitants and around one third of the immigrants settled on this property called ,absentees' land. It was purposefully devastated and therefore became 'abandoned' land in the areas of:

- the Hula valley in the north of the country (devastated up to 90%),
- the environment of Bisan (today Beit She'an, up to 88% devastated),
- the area between Jaffa, Gaza and Jerusalem (up to 100% devastated). (see map 10)

Map 12 Devastated regions during 1947 and 1949
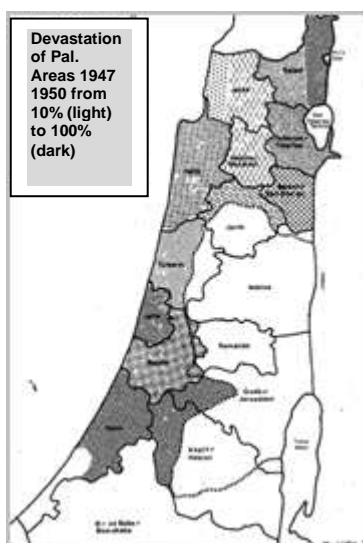
Source: Waltz/Zschiesche 1986: 105

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Beside land grab as 'governmental or public land', another big portion of land grab was executed mainly expropriated for 'security reason' and backed by the emergency regulation of Mandate time. This was the fact mainly in the area of the north, in the Galilee and in the Triangle. Similar happened in the south, where 80 percent of the pastureland of the Bedouins had been confiscated as 'state land'. Thus the Bedouins were deprived from their living conditions and cultural tradition. (Granott, 1956:110 f; Lustick, 1980:167)

In big towns like West Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Bisan or Safad, after having chased out the Palestinian inhabitants by force or threaten, huge groups of new immigrants were directed to settle in these depopulated houses as 'urgent cases'. Thus also these locations became 'purely Jewish' populated areas in a short time. (Waltz, 2000) The following maps (11/12/13) show the colonising 'progresses' in the new locations, the so called 'hinterland' from 1956 until 1974.

Map 13
Remained Palestinian
Villages and towns

Map 14
rural and urban new
colonies 1956

Map 15
rural and urban new
colonies 1974

Source Waltz/Zschiesche 1986: 104   : 154   : 156

For the Palestinian population living conditions and existence in the remained areas became unsecured until today. Confiscating land for different purposes and discrimination in terms of planning and developing beside culture and political suppression still goes on (see next chapters).

1.2.2 Land Grab for Water Control

The usurpation of Palestinian land also affected the sovereignty over the water resources. The Hula Basin in the north was the important water area, catching the winter rain falls from the Golan Heights, Lebanon Hormon mountains and headwaters of the Jordan River. It is the northern opposite water resource area of the Litani water area - also desired from the Zionist movement from the very beginning of their plan (Dolatyar 2000, see chapter IV). This important area before 1948 was full of lakes and swamps, a rich fishing and farming area – giving around 40 Palestinian villages a living. Only some non Zionist Jewish villages near the lake of Taberiya were located there before Israel controlled the area.

This area of strategic value, comprising around 200 sqkm and lots of water was devastated in the 1947/48 war as part of 'Plan Dalet' (Pappe 2006, Waltz/Zschiesche

1986, Orni 1973, Richter 1969). It was completely transformed under the Israeli national development plans. The so called 'Hula Project' had three national goals:

- collecting the water from the swamps through a huge drainage system, thus
- gaining more than 12.000 ha land for agricultural use and finally
- providing the south with water and 'greening' the desert through the 'Jordan-Negev' pipeline.

1951 began a transfer of the Jordan riverbed and the drainage of the former Hula Lake. The 'Hula Development Corporation' started to construct 37 new Jewish rural villages and the new city of Qiryat Shmona (former Khalsa) on ruins of Palestinian villages. (Spiegel 1966) Nearly half of Israel's fish production of today comes from this Hula area. (see the following maps 14-17)

Map 16 Hula Region Location of project area

Map 17 Hula-Negev Water Project
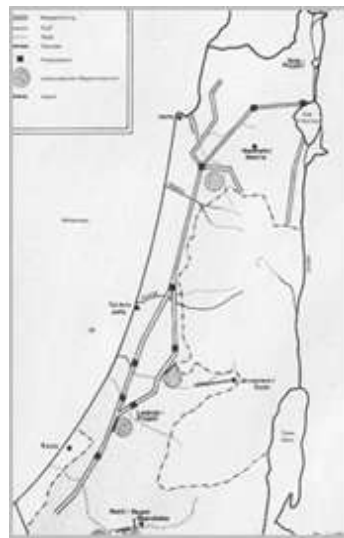
Source: Waltz /Zschiesche 1986:178   Waltz/Zschiesche 1986: 176

Map 16 Hula 'transformation' 1944: 7 Jew. Colonies, 34 Pal. Villages, 1 town

Map 17 Hula area in 1966 1966: 35 Jewish colonies 0 Palest. Villages or town

Source: Waltz/Zschiesche 1986:180; Spiegel 1966: 98 pp

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From around 40 Palestinian villages and two Jewish villages the Hula region changed from no Palestinian presence to completely Jewish. The supply of the Negev with Jordan water from the Hula area used the steep gradient of more than 900 metres between the two regions. It consisted of a complex system of mainly open surface channels, pump stations and tubes of nearly 200 kilometres (see map 12; Spiegel 1966, Richter 1969)

Conclusion

At the end of the sixties, approximately 800 rural colonies and 30 New Cities had built a network of Jewish majority all over Israel as planned. The infrastructure from electricity, communication or water was established through all modes of international help, big part of it through the German compensation program (Wiedergutmachung) (Lewan 1984). Within less than 20 years Palestine in the 48 borders was turned into 'Israeli (Jewish) Territory'. A new map was fabricated, what was former Palestinian was turned upside down into new Jewish reality.

However, the colonisation planning and policy fabricating a new, mostly Jewish space could not hinder a growing Palestinian presence. The Palestinian communities - though under military command - increased too, still forming majorities in three main areas: the Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev. Consequently, from Israeli point of view the fight for an exclusive 'Jewish homeland' on the land of Palestine was not yet finished. Israel had not yet achieved to be pure Jewish and had not yet achieved the 'promised land' of Lord Balfour 'from the coast to the river'. Consequently Israel started a war to reach new borders. And also in Israel expropriation and destruction policy did not come to a halt in the Palestinian areas and continues to be so today.

However, for the Palestinians the usurpation policy had already a crucial effect in Israel: until 1967 the Palestinian space was sharply reduced to less than 10 percent of the land, the living areas were neglected in all plans. The Galilee was divided into 30 sub- zones. These were executed 'residence' borders. No Palestinian could leave or move to other zones without permission of the military governor. The Bedouins of the Negev were allowed to move only within the boundaries of Beersheba (Bir Saba). They had to live in reservation camps, which prevented them more and more from their main bases of life, the pasture land and livestock. Moreover, in later programs they were forced to settle in special Bedouin villages - their freedom of movement had been anyway limited to nearly zero (see next chapters).

To conclude, under Israeli Zionist rule the Palestinian land was turned into Jewish/Israeli to an utmost level. The Palestinian communities suffered from restriction of mobility, spatial, social, cultural and economic development. Military governance was not lifted before 1966, just before a new war. Discrimination and racist plans in the Israeli leadership still followed the same aims of restricting living conditions, expulsion and expropriation (Koenig's Report 1976). These policies prevented the Palestinians in Israel until today from equity in a 'democratic system' and equal development chances as Egbaria will show as a special ethnocratic system in the following chapters.

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