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The internal denial of the existence of an Apartheid system: The case of Israel

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October, 2022

History Department

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Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and thanks to my advisor, Giulia Daniele, for her patience and guidance. I would have not been able to reach my objective without her, therefore I am also extremely grateful for the knowledge my advisor has shared with me over the year. Secondly, I would also like to extend my thanks to my classmates for their advice, their suggestions as well as the incredible moral support. Lastly, but certainly not least, it would be unfair if I did not mention my parents or my friends. I thank them for all the emotional support they gave me when I needed it the most and for believing in me when I was at my lowest.

Resumo

Continua a existir uma memória coletiva sobre o que foi o Apartheid Sul Africano, no entanto o conhecimento geral não possui o mesmo discernimento a nível mundial. Em Israel, o Apartheid tornou-se a realidade da população palestina. Isto é justificado pelo messianismo judaico e pelo impacto do Sionismo na decisão de colonizar o território palestino. Desta forma, esta dissertação de mestrado tem como objetivo analisar o Apartheid Israelita, bem como explorar as consequências do mesmo. Além disso, o trabalho visa em relacionar o tema de Apartheid com o tema do colonialismo de assentamento de modo a clarificar o foco de análise desta dissertação, a influência colonial de Apartheid inserida no contexto sionista. Em último lugar, visa-se um maior foco na educação e na vida palestina em Israel, bem como o racismo intra-Judeu dos Mizrahim.

Palavras-chave: Apartheid, colonialismo de assentamento, Sionismo, conflito Israelo-Palestino, Mizrahim

Abstract

There continues to exist a collective memory of what the South African Apartheid was, however, general knowledge does not possess the same insight on a global level. In Israel, Apartheid has become a reality to the Palestinian population. This is justified by the Jewish Messianism and the Zionist impact on the decision of colonising the Palestinian territory. This way, this master's dissertation has the objective of analysing the Israeli Apartheid, as well as exploring its consequences. Furthermore, this work aims to connect Apartheid with the concept of Settler Colonialism in order to clarify the focus of analysis of this dissertation, Apartheid's colonial influence inserted in the Zionist context. Lastly, this work aims to provide a bigger focus on Palestinian lives and education in Israel, as well as the intra-Jewish racism against Mizrahim.

Keywords: Apartheid, Settler Colonialism, Zionism, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Mizrahim

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Question

A very significant part of individuals all over the globe have at least some certainties about what the South African apartheid meant to its people and to the international community, however, I find that the same individuals seldom associate Israel with the notion of Apartheid. Instead, they believe it to be a democracy that, unfortunately, is located in the centre of a conflict. Contrary to the belief of the general population Israel and South Africa have shared a number of similarities in the form of how their citizens were and are treated. The creation of Israel as a Zionist State created a State meant for Jews and became, simultaneously, a new apartheid State. A State whose citizens receive the best of care, but only if they are Jews. On the other hand, Palestinian citizens of Israel, the natives, are looked down upon and are never considered part of this new State.

Throughout the years, I have always had a certain interest in international conflicts and wished to be able to help in some way, be it through the United Nations or any other organization. Therefore, my Master's degree was a choice that was quite easy to make – International Studies. During my studies in this Master, I was able to learn to a great extent and had to write countless essays about conflicts and how they are being solved. With this in mind, and after being able to study more on the Israeli-Palestinian topic I was more than convinced of what I wanted to write about. I made an objective of mine to write a Master's dissertation on this conflict and compare it to the South African apartheid while focusing on the Palestinian minority living in Israel and the treatment they receive. Furthermore, I decided to include the intra-Jewish racism against Mizrahi Jews due to its connection to the Israeli Apartheid against Palestinian citizen of Israel.

The Palestinian minority living in Israel proper has become what one could describe as invisible, unlike the segregated majority of South Africa, which has affected the Israeli Apartheid notion of both Israel and the international community. This way, I propose observing this matter from an outsider's view. The Israeli notion of Apartheid has a Palestinian 'invisible' minority living in Israel proper with very minimal means of changing their situation. On the other hand, South Africa being a majorly Christian country, there was a bit more unity between the population even if not significant enough to make a difference. Therefore, my goal is to contribute to the current scholarship on the topic, by proposing the question: how can the experience of Palestinian citizens of Israel, affected by the Israeli Apartheid through Zionist ideologies, be compared to a colonial influenced population in Apartheid South Africa? The

problem presented by this question relies on the analysis of existent literature as well as an offer of an objective conclusion based on such analysis in order to be able to convey, through this research, the similarity between Israel's sovereignty and South Africa's Apartheid. The existent literature utilized in this thesis is mostly focused on the research written by Israeli New Historians and mostly based on Ilan Pappé's available material. Consequently, it has also been imperative to look at primary source materials, especially analysing Amnesty International reports and United Nations' documents by Richard Falk and Virginia Tilley.

1.2 Limitations of the study

There are a number of concepts associated with Israel and the Jewish people which cannot be thoroughly explained in such a short number of pages. Concepts like Zionism, settler colonialism, colonialism and Apartheid will be available to check in the Glossary. The concepts mentioned along with others are interrelated and, therefore, cannot be totally observed individually which makes focusing on a single aspect, the Israeli Apartheid, a difficult task to perform. Another limitation lies in the numerous subjects one could mention in regard to these concepts. There is no way of looking at Israel without analysing Zionism or settler colonialism, just like there is no way of not connecting those facts with religion and culture due to the origin of the Israeli Apartheid and the segregated Palestinian population.

1.3 Methodology and overview

Due to the nature of the chosen topic, a qualitative method is the best approach. There should be an interpretation of the existing literature within the topics of Apartheid, Zionism and colonialism. The interpretation on Apartheid mainly follows and is based on New Historians' research, mainly Ilan Pappé, and authors such as, Heribert Adam, Kogila Moodley and Amnesty International. On the other hand, I will be closely following Lorenzo Veracini's thorough explanation of Settler Colonialism.

Throughout this dissertation it is first imperative to learn about Apartheid and Settler Colonialism as well as their connection to Israel; and how it can be equated to the South African Apartheid. This knowledge will take place in the first two chapters in order for the reader to get better acquainted with the significance of the terms as well as understanding the Israeli counterpart. During these chapters there will be, simultaneously, countless references to International Law and what is considered a crime of Apartheid. Then, the third chapter will provide a description of the lives and education of Palestinian citizens of Israel and how they

suffer discrimination through these. The reader will be able to recognize how closely Israel has positioned itself to the South African Apartheid regime and to recognize how both Apartheid and Settler Colonialism have endangered Palestinian citizens' lives. Lastly, a final chapter about intra-racism among Israeli Jews will demonstrate how far Israel is willing to assert its perceived white superiority.

2. Preliminary reflections on the concept of Apartheid: A focus on South Africa and Israel

2.1 The definition and legal status of Apartheid

To understand the meaning of Apartheid, I suggest beginning with its most basic definition. During the South African Apartheid era, there was one main goal: to separate white from non-white people. This way it would make it much easier continue to segregate a community and separate it from the white people in power. The separation of communities further accentuated a level of discrimination against non-white people. This would mean that an individual belonging to certain groups or communities would suffer one of two fates: enjoy power as a white individual or be segregated and discriminated as a non-white individual (Adam & Moodley, 2005, p. 52).

In Afrikaans, a language formed from Dutch, the word apartheid means “separation”. Therefore, it means to separate people by “(...) ‘a set of policies and practices of legal discrimination, political exclusion, and social marginalization, based on racial, national or ethnic origins’” (Pappé, 2015, p. 73).

During this process of establishing an Apartheid system in South Africa, the world encountered itself in a colonialist era trying to erase natives’ identity and culture. This colonial era managed to create characteristics that define and quantify the individual’s intelligence and savagery. Some of these became stereotypes that prevail still to this day. There has been a continuous notion of Eurocentrism being considered the most civilized identification of people, objects and culture. Such ideal has been introduced by colonialism and, mainly, by European empires. Therefore, South Africa as a victim of these ideals has had its non-white population separated from the white colonial population in power. Black people worked separately from their ‘more civilized’ neighbours as well as utilized different infrastructures. Not only were the work facilities of inferior quality and safety, but so were every facility and infrastructure used by non-white individuals: “(...) from hospitals to cemeteries, from elevators to toilets, from restaurants to park benches, from buses to beaches (...). All facilities were of superior quality for whites and, if provided at all, of inferior quality for blacks, Indians, and Coloured’s” (Adam & Moodley, 2005, p. 52). Aside from infrastructures, non-white people could be subjected to live in segregated residential areas away from the eyes of white people, unless they were able to get a special permission to stay (Ibid.).

In a situation where a special permission was to be acquired, non-white people would live in segregated residences called Bantustans¹. Although they served the sovereignty of South Africa, Bantustans were allowed to have their own political independence. “Bantustans—declared themselves politically independent with their own flags and border controls, but their alleged sovereignty was recognized only by white South Africa” (Ibid.).

Consequently, Apartheid has been recognized as a crime against humanity. According to the Rome Statute of 1998, Apartheid is considered a crime of systematic attack and discrimination against other racial groups (International Criminal Court, 1998, p. 4). Although, the meaning of race can vary through time and space, one can firmly believe that during the 20th century colonial era, race determined how civilized an individual would be by the colour of their skin and origins, through a set of established principles. According to Pierre L. van den Berghe, even though the original meaning of race has been deconstructed, it still holds many of its social constructs to this day. Berghe adds to this by claiming how this change in intelligence is a “product of the social environment”, just like the term of race (Berghe, 1981, p. 2). This type of social construct has been used by a number of racist and ethnocentric communities throughout the world. “Racism and ethnocentrism are irrational. dysfunctional attitudes, if not downright aberrations, to which certain rigid, authoritarian types of personality are especially prone” (Berghe, 1981, pp. 2-3). Ran Greenstein, on the other hand, states how the term race has been used to denigrate indigenous communities and societies through its political construct and its description as a tool to inferiorise them in comparison to the white individual (Greenstein, 1998, pp. 7-8).

These authors’ description of race can be used to form further knowledge on the South African Apartheid and, consequently, the current Israeli Apartheid. As described above, both of these territories have used several ways of colonial segregation due to their perceived superiority over their displaced and discriminated communities.

Just like the Rome Statute, Amnesty International not only categorizes Apartheid as a crime against humanity, but also lists the inhuman acts defined in the Article II of the Apartheid Convention (Amnesty International, 2022, pp. 46-47).² Furthermore, it mentions how the

¹ Bantustans are pieces of land given to a segregated population where, although limited, had their own sovereign control (Adam & Moodley, 2005, p. 52).

² See Article II for the full list of what are the considered inhuman acts by the Apartheid Convention in United Nations. (1974). *International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid*.

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has “(...) called on Israel to eradicate all such policies and practices against non-Jewish communities and in particular «policies or practices that severely and disproportionately affect the Palestinian population» in Israel and the OPT” (Amnesty International, 2022, p. 46). These inhuman acts can vary extensively on how they are applied. They often include the denial of basic political, social, economic or cultural rights as well as the more violent actions against the victims of Apartheid (United Nations, 1974, p. 2). In South Africa for instance, it became very apparent the denial of liberty against non-white people. The victims would be prevented from participating in the political matters of the country, would be exploited for work, and would be persecuted due to the opposing of Apartheid, or simply for being non-white. In this case, moreover, the victims would be racially segregated, subjected to collective punishments, such as curfews or beatings if they failed to comply with these practices (Adam, 1989, p. 31).

To the Rome Statute, Apartheid is considered a crime against humanity and, although it does not necessarily link Apartheid to the South African State, it classifies Apartheid as violent acts like murder, persecution, torture, extermination, or enslavement of a racial group. These are inhumane acts that result from “(...) institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime” (International Criminal Court, 1998, p. 4). In the case of Israel and Palestine, the Rome Statute, in accordance with its Articles, could further classify the violent acts between these two racial groups as war crimes and crimes of aggression such as “wilful killing” and “wilfully causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or health” (Ibid.). Many of the previous mentioned acts of violence are considered to be acts of war crime and crimes of aggression. On the other hand, the International Convention follows the example of the South African Apartheid on how to classify the crime of Apartheid. Like the Rome Statute, it describes Apartheid as inhuman acts “(...) committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them”. It mentions murder, bodily or mentally harm, measures to prevent the participation of a racial group in political, economic or cultural life, the exploitation of labour and the persecution of organizations as well as people as acts of apartheid (United Nations, 1974, p. 2).

While Amnesty International recognizes both definitions of Apartheid, it also recognizes the main difference between them. The Rome Statute, unlike the Apartheid Convention, does not establish a direct link to the South African apartheid as its most basic example and

requirement for a state to be considered an Apartheid which, in return, makes the other Apartheid situations somewhat easier to identify. On the one hand, the Rome Statute “(..) explicitly requires the existence of «an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime»” (Amnesty International, 2022, p. 48). The Apartheid Convention was created for the specific reason of challenging the South African Apartheid, however, this definition does not hinder its ability to identify other Apartheid States. According to Bakan and Abu-Laban, the Apartheid Convention is, then, applied “regardless of a country-specific context” (Bakan & Abu-Laban, 2010, p. 337). Adding to this view, Amnesty International refers that the Apartheid Convention “(..) describes the crime of apartheid as including «similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practiced in southern Africa (...)»” (Amnesty International, 2022, p. 48).

The mentioned definitions, although somewhat narrow in the case of the Apartheid Convention, manage to describe what still happens in a number of contexts. Namely, the focus of this dissertation will be the current Israeli Apartheid, in particular focusing on the Zionist Apartheid internal issues.

2.2 Israeli Apartheid

In 1948, after being granted an independent State, the Jewish community in South Africa became the biggest contributor to Israel (Polakow-Suransky, 2010, p. 62). Another back to this claim has been the battle of Yom Kippur of 1973, when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. During this time, P.W. Botha, the South African defence minister decided to take sides and support Israel (Polakow-Suransky, 2010, p. 69).

A year later, in 1974, South Africa began observing neighbouring countries, such as Angola and Mozambique, gain their independence from colonial Portugal. These newly independent countries received Soviet support and, therefore, South Africa was suddenly enveloped in a more defence-conscious strategy due to not having close relations with Muslim countries. According to Polakow-Suransky, this was a “perfect match” for the Israeli economy in arms. France was no longer a reliable seller and South Africa soon turned to Israel as a supplier. With this in mind, Shimon Peres met with South African leaders. Although Shimon Peres was always against Apartheid publicly, during this meeting, however, Peres spoke of a cooperation based on the countries' common interests (Polakow-Suransky, 2010, pp. 76-80). In his book, *The*

Many Faces of Apartheid, Ilan Pappé mentions how even if there were no intentions of following an Apartheid State, Israel eventually “(...) adopted tools and mechanisms used by the South African Apartheid regime.” (Pappé, 2015, p. 170).

Apartheid in South Africa is given, several times, as a comparable example to Israel, however there are more than a few differences between the two States making them a hard comparison. Coincidentally, both the Apartheid regime of South Africa and the creation of Israel occurred during the same year, in 1948 (Qafisheh, 2016, p. 11). Both of these States present a great economic power imbalance. In particular, black South Africans were considered far more as a necessity than their Palestinian counterpart, and both are very weak in terms of wealth (Adam & Moodley, 2005, p. 59). This, in turn, presents a crucial difference between Apartheid in South Africa and in Israel. Even though, South Africa was an Apartheid State, its segregated population was necessary, although exploited for work. According to Heribert Adam, black people suffered from segregation not because of the belief in their inferiority – although, that might have had some influence – but by their numerical superiority. “On the other hand, many Jews perceive Palestinians as the vanguard of an Arab threat. They are considered to be competing nationalists rather than an inferior race” (Adam, 1989, p. 33). South Africa would not have been as successful by dismissing its black labour. As a contrast, “ (...) Israeli economy can do without Palestinian labour” (Adam & Moodley, 2005, p. 59).

Just as labour is perceived differently by Israel and South Africa, so it is the feeling of belonging. As mentioned before, black labour, although infested with inequality, was needed and appreciated in some way. This is especially visible when observing that the majority of the security labour force was black and, therefore, there was a constant interaction between white and black people. The same cannot be said for Israel as it does not present itself as dependable on Palestinian labour and, therefore, Palestinians can be considered as expendable. “The Israeli economy can do without Palestinian labour” (Ibid.). Something that proves the expendability of Palestinians are the hostile conflicts that have been very common throughout the years of the Israeli State creation – in particular, this current year, there have 17 children killed among 48 Palestinian fatalities (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2022). This is something the collective memory of South Africa has been traumatized by – the Boer War against the British, and not against the natives. “If contemporary Afrikaner collective memory has been traumatized by past battles and defeats, it was more by the «Boer War» against the British and not the repeated dashes with «natives»” (Adam, 1989, p. 39).

This brings my attention to the Oslo Accords signed between 1993 and 1995. Although presented with the best intentions, the Oslo agreements ultimately made it easier for Israel to create an Apartheid State against the Palestinians (Pappé, 2015, p. 171). According to Pappé, the Oslo Accords failed to help the Palestinian population. It did not end Israel's occupation of Palestine, nor did it grant an opportunity for an independent State. On the other hand, it left Palestinians dependent of Israeli authority. Furthermore, there was no use of international law against the Israeli Apartheid as the Israeli law was seen as superior, in this case. Therefore, Israel continues its rule over the occupied territories (Pappé, 2015, pp. 172-173). One reason for this is that Israel is recognized as a sovereign State and possesses control over everything inside its internationally recognized borders. Therefore, whatever happens remains outside of the international control (Tilley, 2015, p. 2).

As Virginia Tilley describes, if the OPT³ were to be completely annexed, then the Palestinian population could demand “(...) full political rights as citizens, or as indigenous residents unjustly denied citizenship, rendering Israel's settlement policy unworkable from the pincer effect of a Palestinian civil rights struggle and international recognition that such ethnic “separate development” equates with apartheid” (Tilley, 2015, p. 4).

2.3 The separation and segregation of Palestinian people in Israel

As it has been mentioned before, Apartheid is described by a series of forms of segregation and discrimination. It is a word that means “to separate”. This notion is present in Israel against Palestinians living in Israel and in the OPT.

Israel is a unique country where there can exist people that are considered citizens, but stateless. “The emerging picture is as follows: the borders of the state are almost meaningless in that being a Palestinian citizen inside Israel does not mean that you are part of the collective [national] project (...)” (Zreik, 2008, p. 140) This is, especially, the case for Palestinian citizens of Israel. Even though as a Zionist State, Israel is a State made just for the Jewish People, it continues to call itself a democracy. However, this can be considered controversial when around 21%⁴ of the population of Israel, as Arab Palestinians, do not enjoy the same rights as their

³ Occupied Palestinian Territories

⁴ Percentage of Arab citizens of Israel presented by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, at the end of 2020

Jewish neighbours. The same percentage of Palestinian citizens are considered stateless. As an Apartheid State, Israel has continuously denied Palestinian political representation. On May 15th of 2002, the Basic Law suffered an amendment preventing any individual to, in any way, deny the nature of Israel as a Jewish State (Molavi, 2013, p. 71). To make matters worse, this means that there exist grounds on ambiguity to grant a prison sentence to any individual, or organization, that is supportive of “(...) an armed struggle of an enemy state or of a terrorist organization against the State of Israel” (Sultany, 2003, pp. 25-26). According to Molavi, the terms “armed struggle” and “terrorist organization” can become ambiguous and interchangeable when looking at Israel’s neighbouring Arab countries and making Palestinian citizens the main target. “Here, the ambiguity of terms such as «armed struggle» and «terrorist organization,» coupled with the characterization of neighbouring Arab and Muslim countries (...) and the Gaza Strip as «enemy states» are ambiguous and target the Palestinian citizenry” (Molavi, 2013, p. 72) A different amendment to the Basic Law, in 2008, took away the right of Palestinian members of the Knesset⁵ to move freely to what are defined, by Israel, as “enemy States” which include neighbouring Muslim States (Ibid.).

Another issue to be analysed here is the illegality of land owned by Palestinian individuals prior to the creation of the State of Israel. For some context, I will first provide some information on three laws passed on this matter and then, I will explain how they are connected to Israeli Apartheid and segregation.

This started in 1948 with the creation of the Emergency Articles for the Exploitation of Uncultivated Lands. This one “(...) empowers the minister of agriculture to take possession of uncultivated land (...)” (Lustick, 1980, p. 172). A year later, in 1949, the Emergency Land Requisition Law sought to expropriate land whenever it was required, by authority of the State, in regard to the defence and security of the State (Lustick, 1980, p. 173). Consequently, the Absentees’ Property Law, imposed in 1950, seeks to regularize abandoned Palestinian properties (Ibid.) All of these laws make it easier to expropriate land from Palestinian proprietors. The latter, according to Adalah⁶, was the main resource for Israel to be able to take control of the lands which belonged to Palestinians. “The Absentees’ Property Law was the

⁵ Parliament of the State of Israel

⁶ Adalah is an independent human rights organization whose main goal is to defend the human rights of Palestinians

main legal instrument used by Israel to take possession of the land belonging to the internal and external Palestinian refugees, and Muslim Waqf⁷ properties across the state” (Adalah, 2007).

Through the laws mentioned, it is possible to observe more clearly the Apartheid notion of Israel. These laws create a dependency of Palestinians on the Israeli State through the authority the latter imposes as a control strategy. Specifically, the Absentees’ Property Law manages to take control of what is considered abandoned property. It was mostly applied to property left by Palestinians who fled Israel in 1948. According to Ian Lustick, the other percentage of Arabs whose property was taken by the State are legal residents and called “present absentees” (Lustick, 1980, p. 173). These individuals were considered absentees if, even though they possess legal ownership of land in the territory of Israel, they are, simultaneously, (1) a national citizen of a number of Arab countries⁸, (2) have been in their territory or in “(...) any part of Palestine outside the area of Israel (...)”, (3) or were a Palestinian citizen and left their residency in Palestine (Knesset, as cited in the Israel Law Resource Center, 2007).

In this way it can be considered that any Palestinian who fled during the Nakba – the “catastrophe” (in Arabic) is “(...) the uprooting of the Palestinians and the dismemberment and de-Arabisation of historic Palestine” (Masalha, 2012, p. 1) – has lost or is very likely to lose their property to the State of Israel. An Apartheid strategy to decrease the power of the Palestinian minority in Israel in which they become increasingly dependent on the State. Summarising this idea, the Absentees’ Property Law legitimize mass land transfers from Palestinian individuals to the State of Israel. As mentioned by Ian Lustick “(...) the purpose of this law was to legitimize the massive land transfers that had taken place from 1948 to 1952 and to preclude legal attempts by Arab residents to take advantage of loopholes in the laws or the absence of due process in order to press their claims in the courts” (Lustick, 1980, p. 175).

In order to maximize the presence of Jews in the Jewish State, Israel continues to utilize this law as a means to discriminate Palestinian citizens of Israel and of the Occupied Territories. This ensures complete authority over the Israeli territory by the Jews, even if unjustified in some cases (Amnesty International, 2022, p. 113). This is a comparable situation to Apartheid in South Africa due to the segregation imposed between white and non-white people. Just like

⁷ “(...) the Islamic endowment authority recognised by both the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandatory government.” (Pappé, 2006, pp. 216-217)

⁸ Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Yemen (Knesset, as cited in the Israel Law Resource Center)

South Africa, Israel is attempting to completely separate both communities in order to further the Judaization of the territory – which will be further explained in the third chapter of this dissertation. According to Amnesty International, prior to the creation of Israel, Palestinians were the major owners of property in the territory. After this event, in “(...) just over 70 years, a deliberate Israeli state policy has reversed this situation, often using brutal means, to ensure Jewish Israeli control over resources” (Ibid.).

Prior to these “accomplishments” by the Israeli State, other serious events took place. In 1948, the city of Haifa can be given as an example of the treatment the Palestinian population suffered. “It was decided to destroy, and expel the inhabitants from, all the villages on the Tel-Aviv-Haifa road, Lenin-Haifa road and the Jerusalem-Iaffa road. At the end of the day, apart from a tiny handful of villages, no one was spared” (Pappé, 2006, p. 104). These are akin to Apartheid behaviours, although more closely related to settler colonialism – which will be discussed in the next chapter. It shows an ongoing ethnic cleansing that is viewed as a crime against humanity and has taken place in the current Israel and neighbouring Palestinian territories. During this time, Israeli intelligence was ready to make choices on who to kill, who to imprison, and who to release (Pappé, 2006, p. 202). According to Pappé, some prisoners would, sometimes, have the privilege of being moved to a safer location. Although, it rarely made anyone feel safer. In fact, Pappé mentions that even if an officer who has perpetrated these crimes against Palestinians is charged, they are most likely to remain in a position of power that continues to affect Palestinian lives in some way or another. An example this author proposes is the massacre of Kfar Qassim where the officer Yisca Shadmi took part in. Pappé goes on to explain that, although Shadmi was eventually acquitted, “(h)e escaped punishment for his part in the massacre, and went on to become a high-ranking official in the government apparatus that managed the state's relations with its Palestinian minority” (Ibid.). At the start of the second Intifada⁹, in October of 2000, another demonstration of this unpunished violence was shown. During this time, Israeli forces shot 13 Palestinian citizens resulting in their death (Mandhai, 2015). According to reports made to Al Jazeera by Palestinian activists, no one has been held responsible for those killings. Amjad Iraqi tells Al Jazeera that even after 15 years nothing has changed in the form of treatment given to Palestinians and the way they are treated by the Israeli police. Iraqi adds that there had been, on the contrary, an increase in “targeted arrests and brutality” during protests (Ibid.).

⁹ Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation (Brym & Araj, 2020)

Posteriorly to this, there was an attempt “ghettoising the Palestinians in Haifa”, as Pappé records in his book *The Ethnical Cleansing of Palestine*. For this to happen, several factors took place. Firstly, Tom Segev reports the story of a Ukrainian citizen, Shafir, who took the role as Custodian. Shafir, then, describes the actions taken. Thousands of Arabs left their homes, stores, crops due to the conflict caused by the transition to Israeli authority. “Second, the property concerned was in the midst of the front-line combat area during the transition from mandatory to Israeli rule” (Segev, 1998, p. 71) Adding to the existing problem of looting, it is described that what is usually taken from houses was, mainly, clothes or jewellery. Although, according to Shafir, “more than 50,000 Arab homes had been abandoned, but only 509 carpets reached the Custodian's warehouses” (Ibid.). This shows how much was looted and stolen from the Palestinians who had to run away from their homes.

Besides Haifa, Jaffa is another city Pappé mentions as an example of where human rights have been denied after the Nakba. It is specified that a curfew had been imposed in order to control Palestinian life and whoever was found outside of their homes between 17h and 6h would, immediately, be shot (Pappé, 2006, p. 204).

Through these descriptions brought to life by Ilan Pappé and Tom Segev, there is a clear view of what Palestinian citizens of Israel and Mizrahi Jews had to go through. Ilan Pappé and Tom Segev are part of the intellectual movement New Historians where they challenge the way Israeli history has been told while offering the Palestinian point of view. Not only this, but it is possible to, quite easily, form a connection between these behaviours against Palestinians, in Israel and in the OPT, and an Apartheid regime. This is especially true when taking into account the previous mentioned descriptions of Apartheid, earlier depicted.

To further show how Israel has turned into an Apartheid State, one can also look at the treatment given to the holy sites in Palestine. Prior to 1948, many of the Palestinian Muslim holy sites belonged to the Waqf. This meant they were recognized and possessed the authorization to practice their religious affairs. However, after 1948, Israel confiscated all of these sites and sold many to Jewish public bodies or private citizens (Pappé, 2006, p. 217). Not only mosques, but the Christian churches were also not able to escape this confiscation. One difference that can be used to further prove Israeli Apartheid against Muslim Palestinians is the destruction caused to most mosques, while some churches were able to remain standing. An unfortunate example of a demolished mosque is the mosque in Sarafand, on the coast near Haifa. This mosque was a hundred years old and did not escape the brutality of demolitions in 2000 (Ibid.).

While Israel has no problem demolishing holy sites, in Apartheid South Africa most holy sites were left untouched. According to Adam and Moodley, in South Africa, religion was seen as a common bond between people: “Religion in South Africa served as a common bond to assail and delegitimize apartheid, while Judaism and Islam compete for sovereignty in Jerusalem” (Adam & Moodley, 2005, p. 166).

Although we have compared current Israeli Apartheid and historic South African Apartheid as similar, labour is where a very important difference lies on. Israel has never been dependent on Palestinian labour, as mentioned before. Therefore, Palestinians have been having a difficult time managing their economic stability, both in Israel and the OPT. The Palestinian population being considered expendable means that there is no need to even consider a Palestinian individual for a highly qualified job. On the other hand, Palestinian labour needs the Israeli economy to thrive. According to Pappé, Palestinians working inside Israel do not make up more than 9% of the working population (Pappé, 2015, p. 169). This continuous reduction of Palestinian labour not only leaves the population at a loss to the point of food insecurity, it also is expected to dispose and drive out what is left of the population to the maximum possible (Pappé, 2015, p. 36).

3. Settler Colonialism and its intertwined relation with Israeli Apartheid

3.1 How Settler Colonialism has affected the land of Palestine

Israel has been founded as a Zionist¹⁰ State which has made it easier to make an effort into legitimizing its presence in the historic Palestine. In order for this to happen, a pure Jewish State must undergo a major cleanse in the native population, especially the Palestinian presence. “To legitimize and cement its claim to all of Palestine, Israel has laboured to systematically erase every trace of the Palestinian presence and replace it with an exclusive Jewish one” (Behnam, 2022, p. 21).

According to Benham, the State of Israel, in its current form, considers Palestinians both in Israel and the OPT as an “Arab Problem” that needs to be resolved. An attempt at this was made during the 1947-1949 Zionist War. “(...) acquisition of Palestinian land expanded into an historic land grab—the Zionist war of 1947-49. According to Israel’s leaders, the war presented an opportunity to solve what they called their “Arab problem” (Ibid.). This war set its intentions as a last step in the form of an ethnic cleansing of Palestine made to resolve its “Arab Problem” in a country made exclusively for Jews. According to Ilan Pappé, this war was set to deal with Palestinians in a most intimidating way. They would be victims of bombardments, fires on various properties, demolishing of their homes and hidden mines planted around the areas in order to keep the population from returning. “(...) large-scale intimidation; laying siege to and bombarding villages and population centres; setting fire to homes, properties, and goods; expelling residents; demolishing homes; and, finally, planting mines in the rubble to prevent the expelled inhabitants from returning” (Pappé, 2006, p. 6).

This mission to evict Palestinians from their land has been denominated as Plan D – or Plan Dalet in Hebrew. The plan, covering all areas of Palestine was the result of various factors. First, due to the ideologies pushed forward by Zionism to create an exclusively Jewish State and Jewish presence in Palestine. Secondly, it was a consequence of the British decision, in 1947, to be relieved of its mandate and giving it to the United Nations. “The plan, which covered both the rural and urban areas of Palestine, was the inevitable result both of Zionism’s ideological drive for an exclusively Jewish presence in Palestine and a response to developments on the ground following the British decision in February 1947 to end its Mandate

¹⁰ Zionism is a Jewish movement based on cultural heritage and pre-modern Jewish tradition. (Conforti, 2021, p. 226)

over the country and turn the problem over to the United Nations” (Pappé, 2006, p. 7). According to Khalidi, however, there have not been comprehensive or detailed accounts of Plan Dalet or its predecessors. There have not been English translations of this plan ever published as well. “On the other hand, in none of the recent Israeli or non-Israeli writings in 1948 is there a comprehensive or detailed account of Plan Dalet or its predecessors, nor have English translations from Hebrew of their actual texts ever been published” (Khalidi, 1988, p. 7).

There are various versions that assume the reasoning that allowed Britain to depart from the mandate over Palestine. Jews have assumed that Britain was aware that as soon as it left Palestine on its own accord, the Jewish population living in Palestine would be attacked by the surrounding Arab countries. On the other hand, Palestinian Arabs have assumed that, instead, it would be Zionists that would be sympathized with and witnessed the creation of Israel begin with the Balfour Declaration¹¹. “On the Jewish side the predominant view is that Britain departed with full knowledge that the surrounding Arab countries would immediately attack and in the expectation that the Jewish population of Palestine would be massacred or driven into the sea” (Shlaim, 1987, p. 51). Plan Dalet is simply one tale of the story. It is viewed as a necessary war to protect and keep the borders of Israel intact. This move is something that Israel applied to their rule as well. One example of this move is Israel’s first point of entry. The Ben-Gurion airport was named after Israel’s first prime minister, who also ordered Plan Dalet for the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. “Most notable is Israel’s main point of entry, its first checkpoint, the Ben Gurion Airport, named for the country’s first prime minister and defence minister, Polish-born David Grün, aka Ben-Gurion” (Behnam, 2022, p. 21). Behnam also describes how, although Plan Dalet was a huge move in Israeli history, visitors are unlikely to ever be told “(...) Ben-Gurion guided Plan Dalet—the master plan for the ethnic cleansing of Palestine— and ordered the destruction of Palestinian towns and villages, prevented the return of Palestinians to their homes and repopulated Arab towns with Jewish immigrants” (Ibid.).

During the war, many other strategies were used, both against Palestinian moral and physical health. To undermine and control the Palestinian population, they were plagued with contagious diseases such as smallpox. “A favourite theme was the spread of disease on the Arab side. (...) On the same day Haganah radio announced that among Arabs killed and wounded after an engagement, several were found suffering from «contagious diseases»” (Khalidi, 2005, p. 49).

¹¹ “Balfour Declaration, (November 2, 1917), statement of British support for «the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.»” (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2021).

In the case of Zionism, settler colonialism is done on the grounds of claiming an historical site. There exists movement across indigenous space. An exodus of the natives away from the metropolises of the settler. As Veracini describes, “Zionism as a settler colonial project” requires the movement across the land of the exogenous people as well as the feeling of righteousness in a “sovereign entitlement to the land” (Veracini, 2010, p. 18).

3.2 Apartheid as a Settler Colonial strategy

The strategies used in war, as well as the replacement of Palestinian symbols for others which Jews can better identify with mark one of the several instances of discrimination suffered by Palestinians as one of numerous approaches of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is often described as being part of colonialism, however, Lorenzo Veracini argues that settler colonialism should be seen as its own distinct concept instead of being seen as a form of colonialism. “(...) settler colonial phenomena are intimately related to both colonialism and migration. And yet, not all migrations are settler migrations and not all colonialisms are settler colonial: this book argues that settler colonialism should be seen as structurally distinct from both” (Veracini, 2010, p. 3). According to Veracini, “(...) colonisers cease being colonisers if and when they become the majority of the population. Conversely, and even more perplexingly, indigenous people only need to become a minority in order to cease being colonised” (Veracini, 2010, p. 5).

On the one hand, settler colonialism seeks to exercise its effort inside the territory it is found in and to expand its power among the colonized. “For example, whereas settler colonialism constitutes a circumstance where the colonising effort is exercised from within the bounds of a settler colonising political entity, colonialism is driven by an expanding metropole that remains permanently distinct from it.” (Veracini, 2010, p. 6). On the other hand, colonialism involves the expansion of one’s territory. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Israel had no use for Palestinian labour and is not, at all, influenced by it. Therefore, unlike colonialism, settler colonialism disregards any value of utilising indigenous labour. “The primary object of settler-colonization is the land itself rather than the surplus value to be derived from mixing native labour with it” (Wolfe, 1999, p. 163).

Characterised as an Apartheid State, Israel also shows the behaviour of what settler colonialism is. As the name implies, it is a form of colonialism even though it offers a quite different perspective from the ‘original’ colonialism.

Settler colonialism defines itself by trying to erase the identity of the natives already present in a land while indigenising themselves. By indigenising the colonialists, they become what is considered the native population of the land that was before inhabited by the true natives. The objective of making the natives disappear can happen in several ways. Veracini describes them as a dynamic relation between the settler and the “exogenous Other”. If the mission to indigenise Israeli Jewish people is successful there will cease to be such things as indigenous or exogenous. “(...) the settler colonial situation is generally understood as an inherently dynamic circumstance where indigenous and exogenous Others progressively disappear in a variety of ways: extermination, expulsion, incarceration containment, and assimilation for indigenous peoples (...)” (Veracini, 2010, pp. 16-17). Although natives might not completely disappear, their stories are forgotten by a majority of the population, therefore making it easier for the colonialists to be seen as natives.

There are quite a number of examples for other countries created on the basis of settler colonialism like Australia and the United States. “Settler colonialism can be used to describe what has taken place in New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, the US and Canada, and, some argue, what France attempted but ultimately failed to achieve in Algeria” (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, n.d.). In these countries, settler colonialism took place as a form of displacement of the indigenous populations. The colonialists’ goal was to replace these populations with “(...) incoming Europeans in fortified settlements” (Jacobs, 2011, p. 15). A comparison that might be made between these countries and Israel is their usage of symbols. As later discussed in this chapter, there is an erasure of Palestinian identity and culture. This can be compared with the actions towards indigenous culture in the United States and Australia. An example would be the appropriation of Indian symbols by American settlers. “With white radicals appropriating Indian symbols and native people reinterpreting those symbols (...)” (Deloria, 1998, p. 163).

Lorenzo Veracini has compiled a list¹² of strategies used by settler colonialists. Although, it is quite an extensive list, I will only be mentioning the ones that might apply to the cases of Israel and South Africa. As already mentioned, there is an ethnic transfer of the indigenous people. This is then followed by a transfer of identities between Palestinians and Israelis, which occur when the indigenous people stop being considered the natives of the land and are, therefore, seen as exogenous people who have settled in the territory after the arrival of the

¹² See pages 35-51 for this list in Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan.

settlers. Veracini, then, gives as an example the situation of South Africans possibly becoming “foreign” and “Africans”, and Palestinians becoming “Arabs”. Taking away their identity in the process by being labelled as the widest category. “(...) when indigenous peoples are not considered indigenous to the land and are therefore perceived as exogenous Others who have entered the settler space at some point in time and preferably after the arrival of the settler collective” (Veracini, 2010, p. 35). Then, there is the civilizational transfer. This transfer occurs when indigenous people are “represented as putative settlers”. When Ben Gurion fantasized about Palestinian farmers being descendants of Biblical Jews, he opened a path that allowed the settler population to be indigenized by establishing itself as equivalent to the indigenous population. “Civilisational transfer was thus one way of immediately indigenise the settler on the one hand and establishing the equivalence of settler and indigenous claims on the other” (Veracini, 2010, p. 37).

Addressing apartheid as a strategy for settler colonialism in Israel can be understood when speaking of a notion of separation. Like previously mentioned, by origin the word apartheid means “separation” and is what Palestinians have been going through since the time of the establishment of the state of Israel. A good example of this separation are the laws applied to Palestinians. A major difference exists in how Israeli Jews and Palestinians are treated according to the Israeli law and to demonstrate such treatment one can start by looking at the laws implemented for Jewish Israelis and for Palestinians in Israel. Among others, there is the Law of Return which allows Jews from all over the world to enter Israel and acquire citizenship freely while also granting them the right of bringing with them any family members. “The Law of Return gives all Jews everywhere the automatic right to come to Israel and become citizens” (Pappé, 2015, p. 126). Another is the Citizenship Law that allowed the Palestinians who remained in Israel in 1948 the right to citizenship when applied in 1952 – the Palestinians of ’48. “By contrast, the Citizenship Law, while conferring citizenship on those Palestinians who remained inside Israel in 1948, (...)” (Ibid.) However, the Citizenship Law, while somewhat beneficial in extending citizenship to some Palestinians, it also implies a denial of the same right Jewish citizens have. This means, Palestinians citizens of Israel are not allowed to bring any family to Israel, while Jewish citizens can practice this right with the Law of Return.

A more recent law one can explore in this regard is the Nation-State law. Until the date of promulgation, in 2018, Israel acted quite neutral when it came to its law language (Jabareen, Sishara, Ben-Youssef, & Tamari, 2019, p. 7). Although enacted in 2018, this law has been

largely influenced by Kahanism¹³, a movement that saw its rise in the 1980s. Named after Meir Kahane, an Israeli politician, Kahanism influenced the idea of Israel being exclusively a Jewish State. This way, the Nation-State law is able to deny Palestinians right to self-determination within Israel by being excluded from their historical land heritage rights. “Stating that «the right to national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish people,» the law excludes the 20 percent of Israel’s population that is made up of PCIs” (Jabareen, Sishara, Ben-Youssef, & Tamari, 2019, p. 13).

Enacted by the Knesset, this law gives the opportunity for greater discrimination policies against the Palestinians to take place. The Adalah document on this further mentions how this law would make it significantly harder for the discrimination against Palestinians to be challenged. “The law lends discriminatory policies against Palestinians greater legitimacy and requires the executive, judiciary and other authorities to implement them under the rule of law. The law also reduces the very grounds on which such discrimination can be challenged under Israeli law” (Adalah, 2020). Adalah lists the problems found in each of the seven articles enacted with the Nation-State law¹⁴. Among these problems, Adalah begins by pointing out how Israel is the “historical” home to the Jewish people. By adding a historical factor to their statement, Israel takes away the power from the native Palestinian people that have lived in the “historical Israel”. “(...) Land of Israel («Eretz Israel») is the historic national home of the Jewish people, in which the State of Israel was established, and in which the Jewish people exercises its natural, cultural, and historic right to self-determination” (Ibid.). Adalah also adds how the national right to self-determination is exclusively for Jewish people. “It adds that the right to exercise national self-determination in the State of Israel is solely for the Jewish people” (Ibid.). In an unofficial translation obtained through Adalah, article 1 refers to Jewish people as the only people that are given the right to self-determination in Israel. “Exercising the right to national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish people” (Rolef, 2018, p. 1). Article 2 proposes exclusively Jewish symbols as “symbols of the State” (Adalah, 2020). In the unofficial translation, these symbols are composed by the State name, Israel, the

¹³ A movement that sought to expel Palestinian citizens of Israel. “In 1985, Meir Kahane was elected to the Knesset on a racist platform in which he advocated for the expulsion of Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCIs)” (Jabareen, Sishara, Ben-Youssef, & Tamari, 2019, p. 8).

¹⁴ See page 1 of the Adalah’s (2020) document available at: https://www.adalah.org/uploads/uploads/Final_2_pager_on_the_JNSL_27.11.2018%20.pdf

composition of the Israeli flag with a light-blue Star of David, the menorah as an emblem of the Israeli State (Rolef, 2018, p. 1).

The following articles continue the forgetfulness of the Palestinian identity and leave their culture erased. Article 3 changes the capital of Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, “which includes occupied East Jerusalem”, and Article 4 takes away the right of Arabic as an official language of Israel. “Article 4 states that the official language of the state is Hebrew, demoting Arabic, which was previously a second official language, to a language with an undefined «special status»” (Adalah, 2020). These two articles show how Israel is a settler colonial state for trying to erase what belongs to the natives of the land by setting themselves as the indigenous people of the land. By changing the capital to Jerusalem, which includes occupied territory, Israel is taking total sovereign of unowned land and taking away the Palestinian power and right to that territory.

Article 7 strengthens the settler colonialism value of Israel by promoting the development of Jewish settlements, as well as the segregation and annexation of the West Bank. “Article 7 provides that the state views development of Jewish settlement as a national value, and will act to encourage, promote and consolidate its establishment, thereby instituting segregation as a new legal norm, and allowing for the annexation of the West Bank” (Ibid.). Adding to the information provided by Adalah, the unofficial translation establishes that “(t)he State views the development of Jewish settlement as a national value, and shall act to encourage and promote its establishment and consolidation” (Rolef, 2018, p. 2).

Continuing to explore the lack of rights made possible by settler colonialism, one can observe the different treatment given to the Palestinian citizens of Israel beyond the laws created. In this regard, one example of such behaviour common both for Apartheid States and settler colonialism is the separate education systems for Palestinians and Jews within Israel. While, according to Pappé, Israel justifies that a separate education system helps protect the Palestinian language and culture, it looks like it has been anything but helpful (Pappé, 2015, p. 142). In fact, this type of behaviour towards education sought to hide what is the Palestinian education while allowing Jewish Israelis the best in education. In fact, according to Ilan Pappé, Arab schools are underfunded and, as of 2001, there has been a “systematic discrimination against Arab schools” (Ibid.). This meant that the best and most resources were applied to Jewish schools while Arab schools were left with “bigger class sizes; fewer and inferior textbooks; reliance on inadequate, temporary and sometimes dangerous buildings; a wide-

spread lack of kindergartens, vocational programmes and remedial classes; and a virtually non-existent special education programme for disabled children” (Ibid.).

3.2.1 Erasure of the Palestinian identity

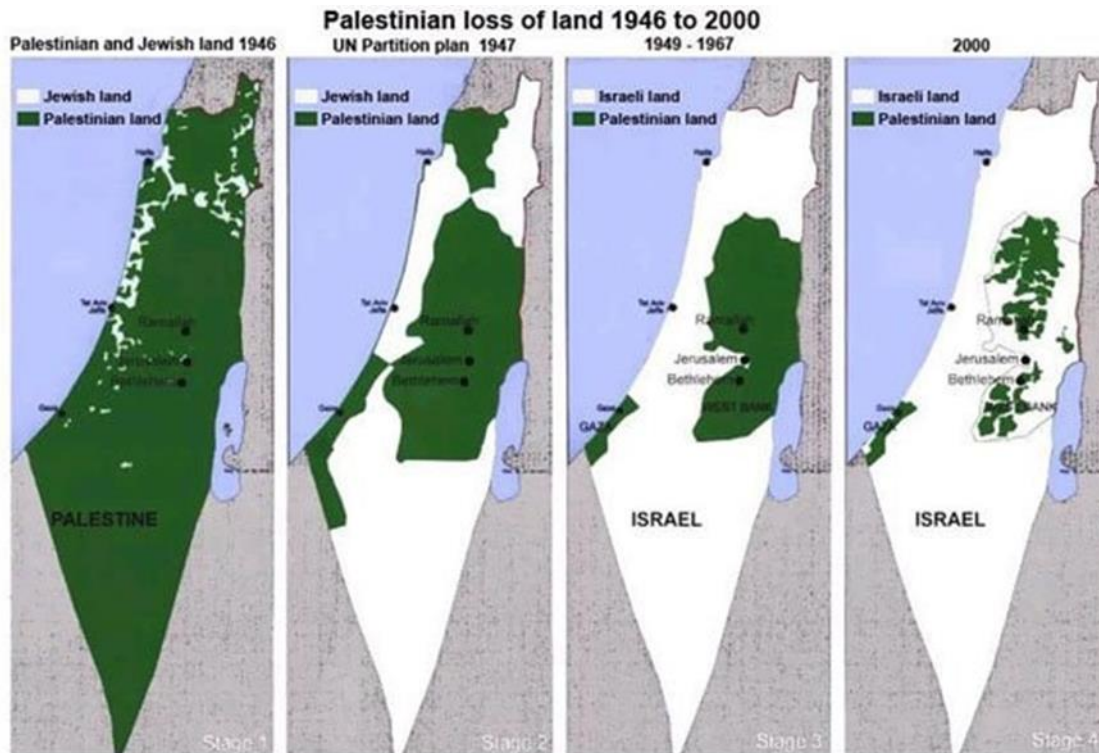
Unlike Plan D or Dalet, the Nakba tells a story without the premise of defence and protection, but full of “cultural memoricide”, as proposed by Pappé and Masalha (Pappé, 2006; Masalha, 2012). This “cultural memoricide” appears in various forms. It can be the forgetfulness of Palestinian physical and oral culture. The eventual forgetfulness of Palestinian culture is due to the erasure of a number of cultural pieces; for example, the de-Arabisation of everything that once belonged to the Palestinian population. Street names, religious places, cemeteries, even the environment has suffered some form of de-Arabisation. The de-Arabisation reached even some of the most important Palestinian cultural identity symbols, the olive and orange trees. “There are also many fig and almond trees. Most Israelis think these are «wild» figs or «wild» almonds, as they see them in full bloom, towards the end of the winter, heralding the beauty of spring. But these fruit trees were planted and nurtured by human hands” (Pappé, 2006, p. 228).

The Nakba holds a de-Arabization of the Palestinian land and people in memory. Once again, a result of Zionism, ethnic cleansing through the erasure of the Palestinian history, their culture and narrative. This cleanse was not simply a result from Zionist objectives but derived from European colonialism. Before Israel was present, Britain controlled over the Palestinian territory and sought a change in toponymy in order to further exploit its control. “In Palestine of the nineteenth century geographical renaming of Palestinian Arab place names became a powerful tool in the hands of the competing European powers. The British were the first to recognise and exploit the power of toponymy and to link geographical renaming with biblical archaeology and colonial penetration of Palestine” (Masalha, 2012, p. 91).

This de-Arabisation of street names renamed as “symbols of hate and dominance” over Palestinians. “Palestinians have little choice but to live on streets named for symbols of hate and dominance—Herzl, Jabotinsky, Balfour, Weizmann, Shamir and many others. They have to travel on streets that celebrate the Irgun and Lehi terrorist organizations that committed numerous atrocities” (Behnam, 2022, pg. 22).

The loss of Palestinian identity can be further shown through the disappearance of maps of the Palestinian territory over the years. Maps are some of the most important pieces of history to a population. They can report the situation of the territory over time and space. This is no different to Palestine and Israel. “The significance of these maps will be obvious to anyone

familiar with the history of Palestine/Israel” (Barclay, 2020, p. 178). To demonstrate an example of the Palestinian-Israeli situation, I have inserted the map below:



Sullivan, A. (Journalist). (2010). *Palestinian loss of land 1946 to 2000* [map]. Source: <https://www.economist.com/democracy-in-america/2010/03/14/this-map-is-not-the-territories>

Before the Nakba, Palestine had “over 500 villages and villages across the part of Mandate Palestine that in 1948 would come under the rule of the new State of Israel” (Ibid.). When the British Mandate expired on May 14th, 1948, hundreds of Palestinians were expelled from the “newly created State of Israel” (Kadman, 2015, p. 1). It is a well-known fact that whoever wins a conflict has the right to change history and retell it in a way that makes them look good while the loser has to bear the consequences of this. Geography is no exception when it comes to history. “In the history of colonial invasion maps are always first drawn by the victors, since maps are instruments of conquest” (Said, 1996, p. 27).

4. The lives of Palestinian citizens of Israel through the lens of Apartheid and settler colonialism

4.1 Mixed Jewish-Palestinian cities

According to Oren Yiftachel, mixed cities is a term that is quite common in Israel and describes an urban situation where both Jewish and Palestinian communities live. “The term 'mixed cities' is widely used in Israel, describing an urban situation in which Jewish and Arab communities occupy the same urban jurisdiction” (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003, p. 673). Furthermore, Yiftachel mentions three types of mixed cities which can be identified in Israel. The pre-1948 where both Jews and Palestinians were living in the same place; the ones that became judaized and where Jews became the majority of the population; and the ones that have been recently mixed due to Palestinian migration.

A well-known mixed city is the city of Lod, or Lydda in Arabic. Yacobi argues that this division, in Lod, would have its origins as early as during the British Mandate (Yacobi, 2002, p. 172). In 1948, the Israeli armed forces occupied several cities, including the city of Lod where 20,000 people were forced to leave. Due to the need for labour, however, 1030 Palestinians were allowed to remain in Lod (Yacobi, 2002, p. 173). Still in Lod, “all properties and land were listed under the name of the Trustee of Absentee’s Property and the Development Authorities, who financed renovation, subdivision and adjustment of the Arab houses, and rented them out very cheaply to the Jewish migrants” (Yacobi, 2002, p. 175). On the other hand, post-1948 mixed cities were a result of former Soviet Union immigrants. According to Lustick, in 1990’s, 30% of Russian immigrants and around 60% of Argentinian and Romanian immigrants were not Jews. Citing Yair Tzaban, Lustick claims that “most Russian and Ethiopian immigrants are unable to prove that they are Jewish” (Tzaban, as cited in Lustick, 1999, p. 419).

According to Yiftachel and Yacobi, an involuntary mix of Jews and Arabs in the same city is the result of the Judaization of Arab cities where Palestinians chose to stay in Israel after 1948. However, the process of Judaization has developed a segregated Palestinian community. “A clear spatial and mental segregation exists between Arabs and Jews in Israel, and hence the occurrence of 'mixed' urban spaces – where Jews and Arabs reside within the same city – generally both exceptional and involuntary” (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003, p. 673). This occurrence results from a Judaization process in the Israeli territory.

Israel can be characterized as an ethnocratic State which means Israeli citizens do not receive the rights for being citizens, but instead receive them according to their ethnicity.

Yiftachel describes these mixed cities as ethnocratic due to their subjection of Judaization and Arab resistance, which, therefore, provokes constant ethnic conflicts and instability. “We argue that mixed cities in Israel are better described as 'ethnocratic cities', which are subject to a persistent Israeli policy of deliberate Judaization, to Arab resistance, and are hence sites of constant ethnic conflict and instability” (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003, p. 674). On the other hand, Israel continues to define itself as democratic. “Israel defines itself as the only «democratic» state in the region despite its separate policies towards each community” (Bsoul, 2006, p. 27).

As Yiftachel and Yacobi have explained, these cities can often become subject to social exclusion derived from a “colonial legacy”. Usually, a group powerful enough will plan and create urban divisions which often result in excluded or segregated minorities. In other words, classifying a place as ethnic and illegal “reproduces patterns of segregation and inequality”. “In other words, the process of marking an urban place as 'ethnic' and simultaneously classifying it as 'illegal' reproduces patterns of segregation and inequality” (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003, p. 677). This goes hand in hand with the concept of a settler society. A settler society can be described as either external or internal. The first one means that a large number of people move across borders in an organized way. The latter means that a planned ethnicization is practiced inside the internal borders and manipulates the ethnic geography to further the interests of a dominant ethnic group (Ibid.).

As observed earlier and according to Yiftachel and Yacobi, the dominant group in Israel is the founder of Zionism: the Ashkenazi Jews. Just like Zionism was founded in Europe, Ashkenazi Jews originate from Europe and North America. The second group is composed by the Mizrahim – who come from Arab and Muslim countries – Russian and Ethiopian Jews who, although, perceived as economically and culturally inferior, have joined as settlers. I explain their origins further, in chapter 5. The last group are the Palestinians. According to Lewin-Epstein & Cohen’s 2018 article, Israel is comprised of a Jewish majority of around 80%, of which the Ashkenazi dominant group is made up of 31,8%, the Mizrahim of 44,9%, while Soviet Union and Ethiopian Jews constitute 15,4% (Lewin-Epstein & Cohen, 2018, pp. 3-8). Palestinians are the indigenous group and are “‘trapped’ in their inferior ethnoclass status” (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003, p. 678).

Rouhana and Ghanem, consequently, tell us that it is impossible for Israel to provide Palestinian citizens with equality, identity and security. Even though, the normalization of the State’s relation with Palestinians should happen through the fulfilment of basic human needs. “We maintain that Israel's present ethnic structure cannot provide its Palestinian citizens with

equality, identity, and security-basic human needs that have to be fulfilled in order to normalize the Palestinians' relationship with the state” (Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998, p. 321).

4.1.1 Discrimination through symbols

Another proof to this ethnocentric – and how it has been discussed as an Apartheid – State is the fact that both Jewish and Palestinian citizens have some sort of awareness of the systematic discrimination in Israel, although to different degrees. This systematic oppression is largely supported by the Jewish citizens. Thus, we can further confirm how Israel is an Apartheid State. Rouhana and Ghanem describe this discrimination as systematic on various levels and how it favours the Jewish people as well as its Jewish support (Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998, p. 328). This discrimination shows how Jews are proud of their own symbols and values and choose to exclude Palestinians from these. “Compared with the Jews, who treat symbols, values, and institutions of the state as their own and who see them as part of their heritage and a source of identification, Arabs are conversely alienated from these same exclusively Jewish or Zionist symbols” ((Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998, p. 329). Which, in turn, makes the identification of symbols almost impossible due to being “(...) exclusively rooted in the majority's religious and ideological heritage” (Ibid.).

4.1.2 Language and culture discrimination

Not only does Arab and Palestinian culture not receive enough funds, it also is not considered equal to the Jewish one. This is applied in education, as well. Until recently, before the Nation-State Law (2018) was enacted, the Arabic language had an official status just like Hebrew. Since then, Nation-State Law's article 4 has downgraded the Arabic language of its previous status as a second official language (Adalah, 2020, p. 1). In the Israeli education system, there is a conscious effort to emphasize the Hebrew language and culture, while constantly downplaying the Arabic language and the Arab culture.

Furthermore, even the word “Palestine” was eliminated from being used in the educational system in Israel, in Hebrew and in Arabic. Until 1968, the word became a taboo, and the Palestinian identity became a security threat. This Zionist narrative has continued to silence what happened before 1948 from the Jewish and Arab curricula, successfully. “During a period of military rule that lasted until 1968, the word “Palestine” itself became a taboo and Palestinian identity a security threat” (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2017, p. 402). Consequently, not only was the name “Palestine” erased from maps, media and schools, it was also erased from the public speech (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2017, p. 403). Palestinians were made invisible

to the Jewish public and were seen, instead, as Arab refugees or Arabs of the Land of Israel. This was a step at eliminating the Palestinian history, identity and connection to Palestine. “Palestinian citizens themselves were called the «Arabs» or «Arabs of Israel,» so as to eliminate their historical roots and connection to their homeland, to deny their national identity, and to avoid the word «Palestine»” (Ibid.).

Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury also tells us, in the 1950s, Palestinians in Israel forcefully repressed their national and political aspirations, and that to this day Israel still refuses to recognize the more than a million Palestinian citizens as national group. This is because, as seen before, the recognition of Palestinians as a national group and its presence in Israel contradict Israel’s settler colonial project of denying indigenous people's rights (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2017, p. 405). According to Rouhana and Sabbah-Khoury, the Israeli State memory has eliminated Palestine from geography. Kadman, on the other hand, tells us Israel also proposed the replacement of villages whose name was of Arabic origin. The only instances where the Arab names had a chance at being kept would be in the case of it preserving a biblical name (Kadman, 2015, p. 91). Other instances, the Arabic name is not recognized and is modified into Hebrew regardless of the cultural meaning the word might have possessed in the Arab cultural world; there were also times where “the new names were even devoid of any meaning in Hebrew” (Ibid.).

An article, present in Zochrot’s¹⁵ website, from Umar al-Ghubari shares some ways in which this name modification has been applied. In some names, it is a minor change like from Acre to Akko, or Jaffa to Yafo. Other times, Arabic names are replaced with Hebrew names that share similar sounds: Agur (Hebrew) and Ajur (Arabic). Umar al-Ghubari claims that “(t)his is not about giving Hebrew names to new Jewish locales, but rather about erasing existing Arabic names and replacing them with Hebrew ones” (al-Ghubari, 2015). In the case of Jaffa, the city became ghettoized after the Nakba and lost its Palestinian majority. During the 1950’s, Jaffa suffered a Judaization process where its street names were renamed after Zionist leaders; and the “new curriculum introduced in Palestinian schools denied that the place had any Arab-Palestinian history at all, a facet of the Israeli education system that continues until today” (Shehadeh & Shbaytah, 2009).

¹⁵ An NGO who has the objective of sharing historical information about the Nakba and promoting for its accountability, as well as the promotion of the implementation of the Right of Return of Palestinian refugees (Zochrot, n.d.).

4.2 Palestinian education in Israel and its curricula problems

Another consequence to this was the Israeli educational system that made an effort to replace or eliminate Palestine through a Zionist vision. “The media, educational system, academia, and cultural institutions played a fundamental role – particularly in the early stages of nation-building – in absencing Palestine, or even in an attempt to eliminate it and replace it with reinvented Zionist vision” (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2017, p. 402).

Abu-Saad mentions how the Israeli educational system has been divided into a Jewish and an Arab system. Even in the already mentioned mixed cities, the school system remains separate. The separation is accentuated by the language of instruction – Hebrew or Arabic – and the presented curriculum (Abu-Saad, 2006, p. 1088). Abu-Saad then presents a personal communication he had with a Palestinian student. This student, whose name remained anonymous, describes their life as a Palestinian living and studying in Israel. They mention how there is a refusal by the Israeli state to not recognize Palestinians, and that they feel discriminated when Jewish immigrants from Ethiopia and Russia are able to rule over the land’s natives. “I see immigrants from Ethiopia and Russia coming here, and they are provided with everything, while I, who was born here, am denied basic services. I don’t understand how an immigrant can come to my native land and end up ruling over me” (Abu-Saad, 2006, p. 1089).

Bar-Tal analysed 124 Israeli textbooks used from elementary to high school. Bar-Tal first mentions the general notion students have of textbooks. They are seen as factual, and any information given through their lessons is perceived as the most correct one. “School textbooks are perceived by students as authoritative and factual, and teachers rely on them to organize their lectures and to test students’ learning” (Bar-Tal, 1998, p. 725). As expected, the textbooks utilised in Israel are developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, who declared that “one of the main objectives of the educational system was to shape national views of the schools’ students” ((Bar-Tal, 1998, pp. 725-726).

Meehan agrees with Bar-Tal and includes children’s storybooks as places where Palestinians are negatively portrayed in a stereotypical manner. “Israeli school textbooks as well as children’s storybooks, according to recent academic studies and surveys, portray Palestinians and Arabs as “murderers,” “rioters,” “suspicious,” and generally backward and unproductive” (Meehan, 1999). Bar-Tal confirms this stereotyping and mentions that this is especially true in textbooks regarding the following subjects: history, literature, geography and Hebrew (Bar-Tal, 1998, p. 726).

Abu-Saad, on the other hand, makes an interesting approach on this matter. First, the author mentions an Orientalist approach when it comes to the references used for Palestinians in the Israeli curricula. An Orientalist approach implies a negative way in which non-Western cultures are observed and has its roots in an “inherently superior colonizing West was juxtaposed with a colonized, non-Western ‘Other’ according to terms and definitions determined by the West itself” (Abu-Saad, 2019, p. 101). Then, he mentions how Edward Said has analysed the way non-Western cultures are represented and described by Western academics and politics.

Starting from Said’s book, *Orientalism*, one can draw a connection between Western colonial powers self-perceived as superior and the way Israeli education maintains a view of Palestinian culture and history. Israel’s Zionist ideals have been formed on Western views, as we have observed in earlier chapters, therefore, the education provided to its citizens continues an influenced path where East is inferior to the West. By describing itself as Western, Israel manages the continuation of the notion of the inferior Orient. “The boundary notion of East and West, the varying degrees of projected inferiority and strength, the range of work done, the kinds of characteristic features ascribed to the Orient: all these testify to a willed imaginative and geographic division made between East and West, and lived through during many centuries” (Said, 2003, p. 201). In another masterpiece, *The Question of Palestine*, Said also delivers some similarities that can be found between Zionism and the Western colonialist ideals regarding Arabs – in this case, regarding Palestinians. The comparison can be observed when Said describes how “Israelis (as Western colonialists living in a backward area) think about Arabs, their “nomadic” habits, and so forth” (Said, 1979, p. 37).

Furthermore, the way the Israeli textbooks present Palestinians and their negative stereotypes is justified through a historical right to the land of Israel when Jews were forced to leave. “The basic justification referred to the historical origin of the Jews in the land of Israel (Eretz Israel) where they formed their nation and lived for many centuries until they were forcibly exiled” (Bar-Tal, 1998, p. 726). On the other hand, the same textbooks are blind to the rights of Palestinians to the land where they have always lived in and refuse to recognise a Palestinian identity. “The same textbooks denied Arab rights to land through the delegitimization of Arabs, the denial of a national Arab movement and the refusal to recognize a Palestinian entity” (Ibid.).

Bar-Tal continues to tell us how negative stereotyping is utilised to characterise Palestinians featured in these textbooks, while positive traits such as “hospitality, combativeness, and hard work”, or the tragedy experienced during the war of the Nakba are completely omitted from them. “Positive traits such as hospitality, combativeness, and hard

work mainly depend on collaboration with the Zionist enterprise. The book absolutely ignored the tragedy of the Arabs experienced during the war of 1948-49” (Ibid.). Furthermore, when it comes to history, textbooks highlight Jews as the persecuted people, as survivors and therefore as “the chosen people”, and how they successfully were able to win against Arab violence (Bar-Tal, 1998, p. 727). According to Peled-Elhanan, Israeli school books challenge the limits between disciplinary and political discourse. This mix, although possessing some historical truth, it also possesses a reinforcement of information “designed to immortalize Jewish dominance through its presentation as legitimate from the dawn of civilization” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 19).

Just as it has been mentioned throughout this work, Jews and Arabs are, respectively, symbols of modernity and backwardness. There is a clear distinction present in any situation demonstrated by Israeli school books (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 50). Furthermore, “Palestinian” is used as a synonym for terrorist in many of the Israeli textbooks. “In most of the books studied here the label ‘Palestinian’ is mainly reserved for terrorists” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 53). This can be further proved through the refusal of portraying Palestinians as victims. In both schoolbooks and in the media it almost impossible to observe any image of Palestinian victims and there is no “expression of empathy on the part of journalists, politicians or educators regarding their dire circumstances” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 64). The discrimination of Palestinian citizens of Israel is continually present throughout their lives and this includes schoolbooks where ‘Palestinian’ is not even mentioned and there is, instead, an elimination of identity. They are more often than not labelled as Arabs, which takes away a critical part of what it means to be Palestinian and the individual’s identity.

The already mentioned Israeli dominance when it comes to the school curriculum has come so far as to have textbooks taken away due to the consistent use of the ‘Palestinian’ name and to call the war of 1948 a civil war instead of the war of independence. “The only book that uses the label Palestinians consistently is *World of Changes* which was interdicted. (...) it is the only book that calls pre-Israel territory ‘Palestina’ as it was actually called instead of Mandatory Israel (...)” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 56). This discrimination present in the Israeli school books can, then, be translated into a perpetuation of its existence. On this, Peled-Elhanan presents a survey from 2010 in which 50% of students from Jewish high schools believe that Palestinian citizen should not be given the same rights as an Israeli Jew, while 56% “believe they should not be allowed to be elected to the Knesset” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 58). This is an example of what the author describes as ‘elite racism’. This is the phenomenon of racism implemented in schoolbooks, academic discourse, political speeches, etc.

Another way this discrimination is continuously applied is observed through the lack of contact and exposure to the Palestinian culture and language given to Jewish students. “The Jewish school system contributes to the marginalization of the Palestinian minority by giving Jewish students little, if any, exposure to Arab language and culture” (Abu-Saad, 2006, p. 1090).

A curious characteristic possessed by students in Israel is described by Peled-Elhanan as a symbiosis between the students’ personal individuality and their national identity. “(...) I am Jewish, Israeli, Zionist, in this or in any different order. Arab students usually state they are Arab or Palestinian (...)” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 14). Peled gives her experience with her own students as an example; most students would give information on their nationality, their ethnicity, and their religion – these are all characteristics of belonging to a community –, while a very small number of students would present individual details about themselves. “Very few students (...) would identify themselves by individual criteria such as ‘I am a mother and a wife. I love poetry, I am an optimist/generous’, etc.” (Ibid.).

When it comes to teachers, the same applies. On the one hand, Jewish people are able to get a job based on their qualifications. On the other hand, Palestinian citizens of Israel must not only possess the qualifications needed as well as be subjected to a security check. “Qualifications and training alone are not enough for Palestinian Arab citizens in Israel to get a teaching job; rather, they must also undergo a security check—without their knowledge—to get the secret stamp of Shin Bet (General Security Services) approval before they can be hired” (Abu-Saad, 2006, p. 1093). The security check, according to Abu-Saad, serves to eliminate the expression of a Palestinian national identity inside of classrooms and further “suppress identity formation, and make the school an alienating place for Palestinian Arab teachers and students alike” (Ibid.). The same type of discriminative control takes place in the way schools are made. In the Negev region, after parents decided to group together to improve schools in the unrecognised villages, they were met with an aggressive stereotyping from the BEA¹⁶ (Abu-Saad, 2006, p. 1094). The Negev region has become home to the Bedouin community, one of the poorest in Israel, due a dispute over land sovereignty which has led to the residents not being provided with the most basic services (Gottlieb & Feder-Bubis, 2014, p. 147). Unrecognised villages suffer a lack in sovereignty and the land is deemed illegal (Milner & Yacobi, 2017, pp. 1-2).

¹⁶ Bedouin Education Authority

4.2.1 Discrimination of Palestinian citizens when it comes to law and politics

Amendment No. 38, from 1985, belonging to the Basic Law declares that a number of individuals are denied the right to qualify as political candidates. In 1985, it disowned Palestinian citizens from becoming members of Knesset if they mentioned that Israel should be a State for all its citizens when they wish to run for Parliament. “The amendment proposed not allowing a list (i.e., political party) to run for the Knesset if that list explicitly or implicitly denied the existence of the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people” (Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998, p. 331). This amendment was later updated in 2008 and it prohibited the participation of candidates who visited Arab or Muslim countries declared as enemies of the State (Adalah, n.d.). Another way the Israeli government controls their Palestinian citizens in Israel is by making the minority hugely dependent on the Jewish economy. For this to be possible, Palestinians suffered a massive confiscation of land and many of the communities were displaced which made Palestinians hugely dependent on “the Jewish sector for employment” (Abu-Saad, 2019, p. 99). Moreover, besides being extremely dependent on Jewish economy, Palestinians continue to occupy the lower strata of the economic infrastructure. “Though their survival required some level of integration into the Jewish economic infrastructure, they tended to be separated and subordinate, occupying primarily the lower strata of the infrastructure” (Ibid.).

4.2.2 Difficulties in job seeking

Just like education, job seeking also presents a challenge when it comes to Palestinians in Israel. The Palestinians that once worked to provide agricultural production are now forced to search for jobs in the Jewish cities. This is due to the lack of market available for Palestinian produce. “The agricultural produce from the villages had no real market in the Jewish urban centre, first because of preferential policy from above pushing Jewish agricultural products at the expense of Palestinian ones, and second because the general demand for agriculture decreased” (Pappé, 2011, p. 70). During years where food shortage hugely impacted society, Palestinians “were forced to sell their produce to Jewish marketing concerns at much lower prices than were paid to Jewish farmers” (Lustick, 1980, p. 60). Khattab mentions that due to the lack of appropriate economic opportunities in Palestinian villages in Israel, Palestinian workers continue to be incredibly dependent on the Jewish controlled labour market (Khattab, 2003, p. 264).

According to Khattab, support given by the State can either increase or decrease inequality between Palestinians and Jews. This way, while the dominant group has better access to social and economic resources it can also reflect on the group individuals’ expectations for themselves

– this is more visible in the case of students. “The selective and unequal support given by the state is considered to be one of the vehicles of political control over the three Arab groups in Israel, and one of the features which increases ethnic inequality” (Khattab, 2003, p. 262). Khattab speaks of these expectations as a direct result of the influence created through the segregation of ethnic minorities and the dominant group, in this case Palestinians and Jews, respectively. “Moreover, when the disparities between the ethnic minorities are significant, we expect that the segregation from the dominant group (external segregation) will have different influences on students’ expectations of each group” (Ibid.). Gamoran takes this information further by relating how high school curricula directly affect both higher education aspirations and occupational careers due to expectations. Therefore, being negatively affected during school years and by being expected to occupy less important labour roles, Palestinian students are subject to experiencing an outcome directly connected to those expectations. “One example of such a connection is the relationship between high school curricular tracks and subsequent educational and occupational careers. Students in academic programs may achieve more because they expect to attain high-status roles in the future” (Gamoran, 1986, p. 186).

This expectation, in my perspective, can be directly linked to Apartheid, as well as settler colonialism. In a society where one ethnic group is clearly dominant and privileged, the settler group, the Jewish community, is the ethnic group expected to succeed in their lives. By living in a State dedicated to them where they are able to meet the best of their people, where education incentivises them to achieve their goals, Jews have more opportunities to meet higher expectations. Unlike them, Palestinians are met with the exact opposite of experiences. First of all, they are segregated from their Jewish peers. This leaves an empty space for comprehension between the two communities; and, as said before, Palestinians are made to see the worst in their history, their culture, among others, which leads to the shutdown of any high expectation they might have had. This leads to a systematic cycle of discrimination and segregation as well as possible self-hatred.

4.3 Democracy or ethnocracy?

In order to further analyse the problems arising from segregation and discrimination within the state of Israel itself, we shall analyse the contemporary Israeli regime and its political situation.

While Israel defined itself as a democracy after it was established, a democracy requires formal citizenship across every citizen (Yiftachel, 2006, p. 60). However, due to the plan of Judaization of the territory, Israel evolved into an Ethnocratic State. According to Oren

Yiftachel, an ethnocratic regime is composed by a number of factors: (1) namely the fact that ethnicity plays a huge role in people's rights and in politics; (2) in the case of Israel, there are no clear state borders and the ethnic minorities do not receive equal citizenship; (3) there exists a dominant ethnic group - the Ashkenazim; (4) there exists ethnic segregation and some receive a larger significant amount of civil and political rights (Yiftachel, 2006, p. 16).

Unlike the idea of democracy, an ethnocratic State is built on the separation of ethnicities and communities by making some feel included and protected while others are denied as far as basic rights. The suffering of Palestinian citizens of Israel are an example of this unequal treatment, as seen in previous chapters. "A state defined as Jewish could not treat its non-Jewish citizens as equals. A democratic state (by any acceptable sense of the term) could not give preference to any particular group" (Peled, 1992, p. 437).

Ghanim has also expressed an explanation on how the Israeli regime works. She describes it as a need to expand the Jewishness of Israel throughout the country and the settlements. It is often justified that the ethnicization of Israel is vital to protect national and security interests. This leaves Israel being denominated as a hybrid system according to Ghanim. By hybrid system, it means that the State is somewhere between a colonial and an Apartheid reality (Ghanim, 2019, p. 27). This idea serves to explain that Israel can also be distinguished from apartheid South Africa due to its reality. It is not a pure settler colonialist State, like Australia, but it is also not a pure Apartheid State like South Africa (Ibid.). Instead, it possesses characteristics from all of these regimes.

However, unlike Apartheid, Israel is considered a temporary settler and according to Regulation 42 of the 1907 Hague Regulations, occupation, whether justified or not, can extend to where authority is established. "Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised" (International Committee of the Red Cross, 1907).

Rouhana and Ghanem define a liberal-democratic state as a state that protects and serves all of its citizens with no exceptions for whatever reasons. There should exist an equal opportunity granted to all citizens. Therefore, Israel cannot be classified completely as a democracy. In the case of Israel, citizenship does not dictate the extent of rights and privileges given to a citizen. Instead, it is the ethnic group a citizen belongs to that determines such privileges. "The state serves the national goals of one ethnic group only to the exclusion of the other ethno-national groups within the state, regardless of their citizenship status" (Rouhana &

Ghanem, 1998, p. 321). Furthermore, Israel's political culture is rooted in the Yishuv¹⁷ which means that social groups were distinguished through "civic recognition". To prove the behaviour difference given to citizens, according to whether they are Ashkenazim, Mizrahim or Palestinians, the Yishuv not only distinguished Jews from Arabs, but also European Jews from Arab Jews. "Thus, a distinction was made not only between Jews and Arabs but also between the (mostly European) Jews who came to Palestine to "build and be built" there and the (mostly non-European) Jews who were regarded simply as immigrants" (Peled, 1992, p. 434). Another way to confirm this distinction is through the already mentioned Law of Return. As it gives every Jew around the world the right to go to Israel and automatically acquire Israeli citizenship, one can, consequently, observe the ethnic democracy present in Israel due to the preference given to a certain ethnicity – whether Israeli or not – instead of all of its citizens.

Peled describes that Ben Gurion argued that the Law of Return is a right every Jew possesses regardless of where they come from. The Prime Minister further stated how it would not affect negatively the equal citizenship between Jews and non-Jews and he justifies this claim by saying the Law of Return is not a right given by the State and instead it is a Jewish right to return to the Land of Israel (Peled, 1992, p. 435). Consequently, I would argue that this is yet another way of discrimination. Even though Jews possess every right to return to their homeland, so do the Palestinians or their ancestors that once lived there and wish to return. Furthermore, Peled argues that Israel's founding was legitimated by the United Nations through the international law, which required Israel to become a State in which every citizen would be equal, not discriminated, and able to enjoy every right offered by the State, as well as universal suffrage (Peled, 1992, p. 436).

As I have stressed throughout this dissertation, all factors from Zionism to settler colonialism to Apartheid are somewhat connected. Israel being classified as an ethnocratic State is no different due the similarities shared as an Apartheid State. Just like its predecessor, South Africa, it continuously favours the Jewish ethnicity over non-Jewish citizens even though a democracy's population should share the same rights regardless of ethnicity.

¹⁷ "(...) Yishuv, the Jewish community in Palestine under the British Mandate (1922-48)" (Peled, 1992, p. 434).

5. De-Arabization of Mizrahi Jews as a consequence of Zionist Settler Colonialism and Israeli Apartheid

5.1 Origin of Mizrahi Jews and their immigration to Israel

Mizrahi, or “Eastern” in Hebrew, describes Jews who possess Arab heritage and originate mostly from Arab and Muslim countries. The category “Mizrahi”, as a more recent phenomenon, “collapses into one catch-all term numerous Jewish sub-cultures from across the Middle East, North Africa, and central Asia, some of which date back millennia” (Danon, 2018). According to Yehouda Shenhav and Hannan Hever, Jews from North Africa and the Middle East, Mizrahi Jews, have had many labels attributed to them over the years. “These Jews were given in Israel different labels, mainly «Sephardi Jews», «Oriental Jews», «Middle Eastern Jews», «Mizrahi Jews» and «Arab Jews»” (Shenhav & Hever, 2012, p. 102). Although interchangeable, these terms do not all have the same meaning. The first one refers to the Jews that lived in the Iberian Peninsula during the Christian conquest of Arab land. During this time, Sephardi Jews were forced to be baptized. After this, they “migrated as «New Christians» in later years to cities such as Amsterdam, London, Bordeaux, and Hamburg. Still others chose North Africa, most notably Morocco (...)” (Danon, 2018). On the other hand, according to Danon, Mizrahi is a somewhat recent category that incorporates various Jewish sub-cultures from the Middle East, North Africa and Asia. Danon explains that this term came to be associated with the view of “«backwardness» of the «Orient»” by Europe. Yaron Tsur confirms this idea that Arab origins and culture are synonymous of “backwardness and primitiveness” (Tsur, 2007, p. 70).

Zionism originated in Europe; therefore, it is natural that it would be identifiable with European standards of what was socially acceptable at the time. During this period, 20th century Europe was still sovereign in the colonial aspect and ruled over a number of African and Arab countries like Morocco, Algeria, Yemen, among others. As discussed in the last chapters, this was no exception to Palestine as it was under British sovereignty until 1948, after that the British Mandate expired, and Israel was created. Tsur continues by explaining how modernity happened differently in European and Muslim countries. The first transforms continually without religious political power. The latter, on the other hand, has both government and religious power ruling simultaneously. “(...) in Western Europe, where Jewish emancipation coincided with sociocultural transformations—in particular, modernization and secularization—Muslim countries experienced modernization while continuing to adhere to religious tradition” (Tsur, 2007, p. 48).

After its creation, Israel “experienced two waves of mass immigration, one in the 1950s and another in the 1990s” (Smootha, 2008, p. 1). Smootha tells us that during the first wave arrived Ashkenazi¹⁸ Jews from Europe and North America, as well as Mizrahi¹⁹ and Sephardic Jews from Asia and Africa. The Ashkenazi group viewed itself as the modern Jew through their Zionist ideology. As discussed before, this meant that any and all Arabs are considered primitive and need to be de-arabized. This was no exception to other Jews. Jews from North Africa and the Middle East, the Mizrahim, have suffered from de-Arabization in order to be accepted by their Ashkenazi peers.

Prior to these mass immigration, Mizrahi Jews accounted for the ability of a more rapid growth within Israel’s newly relocated population. “During this same period, the immigration of more than one million Jews from Asia and Africa was a major determinant of rapid Jewish population growth in Israel” (Della Pergola, 2007, p. 11). The Jewish population was about 649,600 when it established itself in Israel, in 1948, and it continued to rise quite quickly due mass immigration coming from African countries – Libya, Egypt and other North African countries²⁰ (Bachi, 1974, p. 89).

Smootha describes how Ashkenazi Jews became the centre of Israel. Collectively, they became the dominant Jewish group of Israel. This dominant group originating from Western Europe, the birth place of Zionism, was found to be more secularized and modern according to the overall expectations of Jews; and, therefore “this new Jew was the carrier of the new Jewish culture” (Smootha, 2008, p. 4). Mizrahi Jews, on the other hand, are generally segregated into their own “ethnic communities” while being treated as inferior when compared to other Jewish groups (ibid.). In the decade of 1950, Israel built settlements specifically for immigrants and those were, usually, inhabited mostly by Mizrahi Jews due to their cultural and socioeconomic background being deemed as “backwards”. According to Oren Yiftachel, Mizrahi Jews were the main population in these settlements, and this was also due to the fact that, even though the settlements tried to accommodate ethnically mixed populations, the Ashkenazi Jews left the settlements which demonstrates a further process of stratification and inequality of Mizrahi Jews. “This process demonstrates some of the subtleties and ambiguities typically involved in control policies: nowhere in policy documents or planning discourse would one find goals of

¹⁸ European and American Jews (Western Jews)

¹⁹ North African and Middle Eastern Jews (Oriental Jews)

²⁰ North African countries under French sovereignty: Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria (Bachi, 1974, p. 89).

Mizrahi marginalization or social stratification” (Yiftachel, 2000, p. 423). The Mizrahim had their origin in Muslim countries and, therefore, were considered of low status (Yiftachel, 2000, p. 418). However, even though the Mizrahim was regarded as culturally backward due to their Arab background, the Ashkenazim still believed in their ability to conform to more “advanced European cultures”. “They believed in the potential of Mizrahim to secularize, to rid themselves of their Arab backwardness, and to absorb the mainstream culture” (Smootha, 2008, p. 6).

This idea of backwardness was intensified even more by the Israeli-Palestinian question. Subsequently, it “destabilized the position of Jews in Arab countries.” (Smootha, 2008, p. 4). This is confirmed by Moshe Behar’s article where he explains how Arab Jews are two sides of the same coin, which means that they understand and are part of both the Jewish and the Arab side. “As such, indigenous Arabized-Jews were simultaneously situated at the edges of European Jewish nationalism, on the one hand, and Arab nationalism, on the other” (Behar, 2007, p. 582).

Smootha also tells us that the Mizrahim were a key factor in order to build a good demographic base for Jewish Israel after seizing 78% of Palestinian territory. “A growing number of Jews would project an image of strength, enlarge the military, and decrease the national security burden per capita” (Smootha, 2008, p. 5). Once more, by confirming Behar’s idea, Smootha repeats the idea of European supremacy. The Ashkenazim saw themselves as “belonging to advanced Western cultures” (Smootha, 2008, p. 6). These cultures were still a major part belonging to colonial forces and, therefore, the Mizrahi immigrants served a purpose and were accepted, but only if they renounced to their Arab culture – which is considered inferior in comparison to their colonizers’. “They expected them to immediately discard their diaspora heritage and to assimilate culturally and socially. The full admission of the immigrant to the new Jewish society was conditional on radical personal transformation and adoption of the model of the new Jew” (Ibid.).

Not only have Smootha and Behar shown this idea on perceived superiority of Europe by Ashkenazi Jews, Tsur has also shared his own view on this idea. Tsur describes this perceived superiority, first, through colonialism and what it means. It means military and political superiority over another population; and “the domination of a native population by a foreign minority, on the grounds of a supposed racial and cultural superiority” (Tsur, 2007, p. 49). He continues by saying that this superiority is linked to its hierarchal society. In this type of societal hierarchy, the colonialists were at its top and controlled the major administrative and economic functions. However, this was not true for the whole colonial population. There exists hierarchy status within Israeli Jews and those who occupy the top of it are the European Jews, the

Ashkenazim. On the other hand, the Mizrahim constitute the majority of the Jewish population and also occupy the bottom of the Jewish hierarchical society due to their Arabness.

Ella Shohat is another author who has written on Mizrahi Jews and intra-Jewish racism. “Zionist historiography pays little attention to the history of the Jews in the Muslim world. Indeed, the Israeli establishment has tried systematically to suppress Sephardi-Mizrahi cultural memory by marginalizing this history in school curricula” (Shohat, 1999, p. 6). Shohat tells us about the suppression of Mizrahi history and memory. By hiding Arab history from the schools’ curricula Mizrahi Jews, who possess deep connections to the Arab world and culture, end up being discriminated upon due to the incessant manifestation against Palestinians who are also part of the Arab culture. “Little mention is made, for example, of the fact that major Sephardi texts in philosophy, linguistics, poetry, and medicine were largely written in Arabic and reflect specific Muslim influences as well as a Jewish-Arab cultural identity” (ibid.). The discrimination against Palestinians leads to an eventual discrimination against Mizrahi Jews with whom they share cultural heritage, even though as Jews the Mizrahim possess the same rights as the Ashkenazim.

After observing these explanations of what it means to be an Ashkenazi or a Mizrahi Jew, one can begin to better understand the colonialist side of the Ashkenazim in Israel. As a country that favours a “modern” European culture and is mainly inhabited by individuals that originate from the old continent, one can start to form connections between this settler colonial ideal and its perceived inferiority of the Arab culture due to Europe’s colonial past. A culture which mainly derived from colonized territories and whose population sat at the bottom of the hierarchy. This way, it is possible to observe the same in Israel by looking at the unequal rights and the treatment provided to Ashkenazi Jews, Mizrahi Jews, and Palestinian citizens of Israel.

5.2 Internal asymmetries within the Israeli settler colonial state

As previously analysed, we can consider Israel as an ethnocracy due to its preference and privilege given to one ethnicity. This is represented by the Ashkenazim, the Western Jews that, influenced by European ideals and coming from colonial States, are considered the most modern and civilized, when compared to the Mizrahim. By separating both Mizrahi Jews and Palestinians due to their Arabness, one can formulate two conclusions. The first being that not only is Israel an ethnocracy, it also can be viewed as an Apartheid State because, as concluded in the previous chapters, Apartheid bases itself on the segregation of people and its literal meaning is “to separate”.

Ghanim also offers some insight on this matter. First, she remarks how Zionist Israel was established. According to the author, the State of Israel was established through various colonial practices with the objective of controlling the territory, and then evicting Palestinians, to set its own institutions and laws. “Accordingly, Zionism established the State of Israel through a series of colonial practices that aimed at controlling the land first, then evicting its indigenous population and establishing institutions, regulations, and laws that serve its national goal” (Ghanim, 2019, p. 18).

Settler colonialism, on the other hand, has contributed to the asymmetries found in Israel. Mizrahi can find themselves as both a settler and a discriminated population. Although, Mizrahi Jews are part of the settler colonial society built in Israel, they are also discriminated upon by their own peers and suffer what is called intra-Jewish racism. “This ‘in-between’ position, as a conceptual basis for depicting Israel’s Mizrahi majority in terms of their position as occupying settlers who also suffer internal racism and discrimination, (...)” (Daniele, 2020, p. 464). As mentioned before, colonies of European powers would be classified as backward and while Europe modernized itself without providing religion the same sovereignty as it used to have, countries in the region did the opposite. Therefore, Israel saw Palestinians as an enemy and as primitive. Ghanim explains that Israel had its own structural transformation through an idea of a “Messianic right-wing ideology and fascist nationalism” (Ghanim, 2019, p. 26). This Messianic perspective provides Israel, once more, the justification for a State made by and for Jewish people. By combining the Messianic factor with nationalism, Israel continues to prove itself as an ethnocracy due to the de-Arabization of Mizrahi Jews and Palestinians, as well as the lack of rights to the latter.

De-Arabization had always been the main objective for Israel (Pappé, 2006, p. 49). De-Arabization occurs for all citizens who have some sort of connection to the Arab culture – both Arab Jews and Palestinians. This leads to deeper Judaization of Israel which, consequently, leads to a purer Jewish State. Ghanim relates this to a further racialization of citizenship which leaves Jewishness above everything else; which, in turn, further adds religion, as well as racialization, as fuel to the existing conflict (Ghanim, 2019, pp. 26-27).

Another asymmetry, proposed through Ella Shohat’s work, is the relation between First and Third World. Israel is not classified as a Third World, however, as Shohat claims, it does possess traits comparable to a Third World country. The first is a demographic trait, the majority of Israel proper’s population has come from Third World countries (Shohat, 1988, p. 2). “European hegemony in Israel, in this sense, is the product of a distinct numerical minority, a

minority in whose interest it is to downplay Israel's «Easternness» as well as its «Third Worldness»” (Ibid.).

Israel is not a homogeneous country; however, it does strive to make it a reality which has cost not only the cultural memory of the Palestinian native inhabitants, but also of their own Arab counterpart, the Mizrahim. On this, Shohat claims how Oriental Jews are historically closer to what Israel perceives as an enemy, the Arabs, than to the European Jews, the Ashkenazim (Shohat, 1999, p. 7).

5.3 Intra-racism among Israeli Jews

Just as analysed in the first chapter, one can further understand the closeness the Israeli regime and Apartheid South Africa share in common. “As the aim of defining race in South Africa was to enforce citizenship hierarchy that advances and lifts white citizens over blacks, the hierarchy of citizenry in Israel is built on defining who a Jew is” (Pappé, 2006, p. 31). Ghanim explains that Israel has a hierarchy structure that continuously, whether intentional or not, puts Israeli Ashkenazi Jews on top (Ghanim, pp. 27-28; Chetrit, p. 57).

In her book *Wrapped in the flag of Israel*, Smadar Lavie writes about racism between Jews. Israel promises immigrants a chance to be part of the “chosen land”. “Yet, any immigrant—whether Mizrahi or Ashkenazi— can become an instant citizen of the «chosen land» by tracing a three-to-five generation lineage of Jewish mothers, proving he or she belongs to the «chosen people»” (Lavie, 2014, p. 115). Zionism has its origins in Europe and therefore, it chose European Jews, Ashkenazim, as the chosen people which means that only Ashkenazi women have the ability of reproducing pure citizens (Ibid.). This is where racism within Jews and the paradigm of discrimination deal with skin colour. Lavie describes the problems a Mizrahi woman will face during her life in Israel; while she is Jewish, she must also hide what defines her as Mizrahi because it is not desirable. There are several words that are used to describe Jewish women in terms of appearance. The most prominent words in Lavie’s book are: blondinit and sh’hordinit. The first is a woman who either has natural blonde hair or dyes it to look like it. The latter is a woman who, although dyed her hair blonde as well, has her dark roots exposed. Lavie, then, adds another problem to this. As sh’hordinit have naturally darker skin, they are further discriminated besides being Mizrahi due to their Arab appearance; and due to this they might rely on skin-bleaching products, for example (Lavie, 2014, p. 117). In the case of her body “the sh’hordinit may have an additional problem of her wide Semitic hips. She can resort to liposuction to tackle this issue” (ibid.). Even with all these procedures, a Mizrahi woman will always be exposed as Arab due to her Arabic surname. “Even if she does

not exhibit guttural Arabic accent slippage in her Hebrew, the Arabic name will remain in her heritage” (Ibid.).

This intra-Jewish racism can be connected to the Apartheid regime and the settler colonial ideals by looking at the discrimination suffered not only due to the cultural and appearance differences, but also due to the inheriting colonial European values. “(...) a conceptual basis for depicting Israel’s Mizrahi majority in terms of their position as occupying settlers who also suffer internal racism and discrimination, can be defined by looking at the conflicting arguments in the Zionist settler colonial discourse” (Daniele, 2020, p. 464). The history of the Jewish State has been thoroughly influenced by white supremacy and that influence has been the main characteristic of the Zionist Ashkenazi population which sits at the top of the Jewish ethnic hierarchy. Although it was expected for the immigrants’ ethnic and cultural differences to Zionist Jews to dissipate over and allow the Jewish population to become homogeneous, this did not happen; and power remains concentrated in the Ashkenazi minority that follows the ideals of European white supremacy. “In reality, what has been generally described as a homogenous society has always been a very heterogeneous and fragmented one, led by a minority that has maintained privileges and consolidated its power” (Daniele, 2020, p. 465-466). The Mizrahim, on the other hand, constitute the majority of the Jewish population and are several regarded as inferior due to their Arab origin.

Until the creation of Zionism and its implementation in Israel, Jewishness and Arabness were not seen as opposed to each other. Prior to that, throughout history, Sephardi Jews lived together with Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula and shared cultural characteristics as well as a common appearance that is now regarded as unappealing and is commonly hidden with hair dyes and skin bleaching (Shohat, 1988, p. 11; Lavie, 2014, pp. 116-117). “This has implied that they have had to decide between their Jewish religion and their Arab culture, specifically by following the religious path to enter the new Israeli society and denying historical connections with their cultural roots” (Daniele, 2020, p. 466). Here it is further shown the racism suffered within Jews and, even though it is not the same situation as the Palestinians, it can be observed as another way of viewing Israel as an Apartheid State. While Ashkenazi Jews are seen as the hegemonic ethnicity, Mizrahi Jews are represented as black and, much like Palestinians, as primitive and backwards. Not only does Israel continuously discriminate Palestinians, it also continuously favours one Jewish ethnicity over others due to the established white supremacy that imbedded itself on Zionist ideals. “Indeed, one of the most powerful political instruments used by the settler colonial paradigm has been to represent Mizrahi Jews as black and primitive

people in contrast to the white European Ashkenazi Zionists and the modern life they have set up in the new settlements” (Ibid.).

This truth cannot be disregarded from what Mizrahi Jews go through; however, one must not forget that they still belong to the settler colonial population that inhabits Israel and has ethnically cleansed the historic Palestine. Although they face Ashkenazi hegemony and the, generally accepted, white supremacy, they are still an important part of the Jewish State and its Zionist regime. “Such conditions have created the peculiar situation in which Israel’s Mizrahi majority has had to face Ashkenazi domination, while, at the same time, they have shared with the Ashkenazim the founding pillar of Zionism, namely the domination and ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians” (Ibid.).

5.3.1 Protests against Ashkenazi power

The intra-racism among Jews against Mizrahim has not gone without any consequences; there have been several demonstrations that have started by North African Mizrahi immigrants during the 1950’s. “In fact, going back to history, Mizrahim started organising demonstrations in the 1920s, and later on, in the 1950s, resistance actions especially led by North African immigrants arose with the aim of demanding work, and, in general, better living conditions and socio-economic support from the state” (Daniele, 2020, p. 468). After several demonstrations of the Mizrahi discontent, it became common for the Mizrahi youth to refuse serving in the Israeli military which has been justified by socioeconomic discriminations (Chetrit, 2010, p. 59). Among other acts of refusal, “hunger strikes, disobedience to orders, and verbal and physical attacks on Ashkenazi commanders” have been recorded (Ibid.). According to Chetrit, this was a common phenomenon among black people in the United States when they refused to participate in a war for “white America”.

At the beginning of the 1970’s, unemployment and poverty had become the main problems of the Mizrahi; and continue to affect the population today (Daniele, 2020, p. 468). The Israeli Black Panthers worked primarily in the poorest neighbourhoods like Musrara, in Jerusalem, and Wadi A-Salib, in Haifa. Wadi A-Salib is an Arab neighbourhood, located in Haifa, where North African – mostly Moroccan – Jews established themselves after the Palestinians living in Haifa were expelled, following the 1948 war. In this neighbourhood, prior to the Black Panthers’ creation, in 1959, started the beginning of an “organized struggle” justified by the increasing tensions and the living conditions. “(...) the neighbourhood’s character and living conditions, the origin of its population, as well as the degree of socioeconomic oppression, the presence of Ashkenazim, and, of course, the local political situation” (Chetrit, 2010, p. 63). In

parallel, during the early years following the creation of the Jewish State, thousands of babies disappeared from immigrant families. These families were Mizrahi and came mainly from North African and Middle Eastern Muslim countries. This represents a case that has remained unresolved and targeted mostly Yemenite children to be stolen and sold into adoption (Daniele, 2020, p. 471).

The Amram website, an NGO dedicated to make testimonies open to the public about this affair, informs us at length about it. It is estimated two-thirds of the stolen children were from Yemenite families; and that every eighth child would be taken away from them. “About two-thirds of the children were from families of Yemenite immigrants. According to low estimates, in those years every eighth child of a Yemenite family disappeared” (Amram, n.d.). These Mizrahi families have informed the NGO of a common method of abduction, as follows. They were advised to let the nurses take their babies into nurseries or hospitals so that they could receive the appropriate care. Not only this, but the parents were not allowed to stay with their child and, several times, was told that the baby was dead. However, there was no evidence shown to the parents that this indeed happened. By Amram’s research, years later, many of these stolen children had been found in the care of other families.

This is a strongly comparable situation with Australia’s Aboriginal stolen generations as a settler colonialist strategy masked as a way to grant better lives and living conditions to these children. Anne Maree Payne is an author that has documented the reasons for the removal of Aboriginal children from their families. Similar to one another, the Mizrahi Yemenite stolen children and the stolen aboriginal generations in Australia share a number of comparable situations. Namely, both are under the sovereignty of a settler colonial country, and both were taken away with the promise of better living environments. Payne claims that “(...) the Aboriginal interviewees who were removed as children make a strong counter argument, describing being removed to environments where they experienced a poor standard of living and/or emotional and physical abuse” (Payne, 2021, p. 118).

6. Conclusion

This dissertation has taken into consideration the Apartheid and settler colonial aspects of Israel, in particular within the state itself. These terms have become widely mentioned and characterised throughout this work in order to become fit for comparison between them.

First, a literature review was done to be able to dissect a more detailed comprehension on each topic. During the analysis of each piece of literature there was an attempt at establishing connections with other pieces of work and, eventually, leading a thought process to make those ideas flow together. This would happen, specifically, after finding similarities between Apartheid, Settler Colonialism and the experiences lived by Palestinian citizens of Israel as well as Mizrahi Jews. Prior to attempting a connection from Mizrahi Jews' experiences and Settler Colonialism, however, the task had been analysing the similarities, as well as the differences, between South Africa's Apartheid and the self-claimed Israeli democracy. This, consequently, led to viewing Israel as an ethnocracy, instead of a democracy, which allowed a better understanding of Israel's government, and the way discrimination was endorsed through it.

Unfortunately, this research did not come without its issues. There have been limitations on what could be achieved due to the Covid-19 pandemic which have left this dissertation without the possibility of doing fieldwork. On the other hand, time was limited and, therefore, no interviews were possible.

Various authors like Heribert Adam, Kogila Moodley, Ilan Pappé, and entities like Amnesty International were useful when it came to further understanding the situation of Apartheid both in South Africa and Israel. During this, they were extremely beneficial to prove a connection and a comparison between both Apartheids. On the other hand, Amnesty International has provided key points on the criminality of Apartheid by issuing a correlation between the Rome Statute and the Apartheid Convention. Then, the works of authors like Lorenzo Veracini, Reza Benham, Walid Khalidi, Avi Shlaim and Ilan Pappé proved useful to establish a relation between Apartheid and settler colonialism as two symbiotic concepts that are able to thrive from each other's actions when it comes to Israel and its Palestinian citizens. During this process and to justify the relation's symbiosis I argue on viewing Apartheid in Israel as more than an oppressive State, but as a strategy for the settler colonialism implemented. It has been observed how both ideologies possess similarities and are able to complement each other.

Although not directly mentioned, viewing Apartheid as a settler colonial strategy proved useful when analysing the lives of Palestinian citizens of Israel. It has been argued throughout

this dissertation how Palestinians are oppressed through different degrees. Due to this, I have argued on Israel being presented as an ethnocratic State instead of a democracy because of the unfair and unequal treatment given to its citizens. Continuing the topic of discrimination, Mizrahi Jews, although part of Israel's settlers, also suffer from discrimination. In this case, racism from their own peers has been translated in a de-Arabization attempt from the State. These attempts have come in various forms, namely the effort of having Mizrahim choose a single side of their identity – preferably the rejection of their Arab culture – and submit to the standards of white superiority and trying to fit in within those standards, especially in the case of darker skinned Jews. A larger controversial issue has been the removal of Mizrahi children from their parents soon after birth which this work compared to the stolen generations of Australia (another settler colonial State).

I argue that although Israel has declared to be a democracy, its behaviour towards its citizens has been influenced in terms of ethnicity and, therefore, Israel has become an ethnocracy over the years. It has also been concluded that Jewish privileges have risen while Palestinian citizens have become more discriminated over the years. This has been achieved not only through the population's negative behaviour towards them, but also by the constant update of Israeli Law that continues to unable Palestinian citizens of living a normal life. On the other hand, Mizrahi Jews have not seen the same type of improvement in their lives as they continue to be victims of intra-Jewish racism due to their Arab culture, dark skin, and perceived backwardness. To which I stress white superiority is very much present in Israel, not just against Palestinians, but against Jews as well.

This work tries to present an innovative way of observing the numerous factors that have influenced and continue to influence Palestinian citizens of Israel's lives. This is, then, complemented by the consequences suffered by the Mizrahi Jewish population under the notion of white superiority and Arab backwardness. It has been shown by this dissertation that European colonial ideologies and influences remain an important feature of Zionism and the Apartheid set in Israel. This research has been developed through two different perspectives. The first one was an objective study of the terms Apartheid and Settler Colonialism as well as their influence on the South African and Israeli populations; and how they are classified internationally as a crime. The latter was an attempt of demonstrating the reality lived by the victims of Israel as an Apartheid State and as a Settler Colonial State.

Furthermore, this has been proven by how Zionist ideologies have been affected and influenced by the colonial European white hegemony. Having been created during a colonial era, Zionism has allowed white superiority to cloud the synonymity that Arabness and

Jewishness have had throughout history. This way, it has enabled Israel to become an Apartheid State by imposing the same beliefs of colonial Europe of ethnic superiority. This is frequently observed by the negative treatment provided against Palestinians and Arab Jews whose culture is deemed primitive and backwards. It seems that there has been a repeat in history's European antisemitism through its reflection of Israel's ethnic cleansing of Palestine and Palestinian citizens of Israel who have become the "victim's victim". The victims, as seen continuously throughout the dissertation, have not been exclusively Palestinians as Mizrahi Jews have faced antisemitism from their own peers and have faced the consequences Zionism brought to the Arab question. This is an invitation for the recognition of Israel's crimes of Apartheid, the violation of international law, as well as the continuous colonization of Palestine in order to address the perceived superiority of Israeli Ashkenazim who have remained a powerful minority among Jews and Palestinians.

To answer my research question – "how can the experience of Palestinian citizens of Israel, affected by the Israeli Apartheid through Zionist ideologies, be compared to a colonial influenced population in Apartheid South Africa?" – more directly, I have concluded that while South Africa had been under white sovereignty for much of its time, Zionism was created under similar circumstances of idolising white superiority. In other words, Zionism was created during a colonial era, in Europe, where whiteness and white supremacy were hegemonic. Arab colonised territories were seen as dirty and backward and in need of the modernism offered by white superiority. This led to the rejection of Arab culture by Israeli Jews when the Israeli State was founded and, in return, intensified the conflict between Palestinians and Jews. While I have found several instances where Palestinian lives can be compared to black South African lives during Apartheid, I have also found that Israel presented itself as more than an Apartheid and saw the Palestinian population as expendable – which I found to be the opposite experience in South Africa when it came to its black population – and would rather have them completely disappear from Israeli territory. The wish for the disappearance of the Palestinian population has given a justification for Israel to be classified as a Settler Colonial State as observed throughout the thesis and saw no problem in executing an ethnical cleansing of the Palestinian population.

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