



THE IDEOLOGICAL BARRIER

July 2015

ORGAIN



OPGAI welcomes comments, criticisms and suggestions for this photo book.

Please send all correspondence to bisan@opgai.org

OPGAI has full property rights over the photographs and any usage of them must be after consent is provided from and giving appropriate credit to OPGAI.

Cover Photo A barbed wire on top of an Israeli watchtower overlooking Aida Refugee Camp In Bethlehem taken by Patrick Kruse.

Production and editorial team Bisan Mitri, Amjad Alqasis, Nassar Ibrahim, Manar Makhoul and Baha Hilo

Main Photographer: Patrick Kruse

Photography Assistant: Dennis Eichhof

Layout & Design Lisa Salsa'

Acknowledgements

This photo book is the product of a sustained collective effort by numerous individuals and organizations. OPGAI thanks all who have provided background information and conducted research without which this photo book would not be possible.

Special thanks to Atef Safadi, DCI-team Gaza and Simon Reynolds for their photos from the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Hebron.

OPGAI Member Organizations

Al-Marsad www.golan-marsad.org

The Arab Centre for Human Rights in the Golan Heights is an independent non-profit organization established in 2003 by a group of human rights activists in Golan.

Alternative Information Center www.alternativenews.org

The Alternative Information Center (AIC) is an institutionally bi-national Palestinian-Israeli organization that prioritizes political advocacy, critical analysis and information sharing on Palestinian and Israeli societies as well as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Alternative Tourism Group www.atg.ps

The Alternative Tourism Group was established in 1995 when many Palestinians came to feel that traditional pilgrimage-oriented tourism did not engage with their contemporary culture and the political reality in which they live.

Defense for Children International (DCI) / Palestine Section www.dci-pal.org

Established in 1992, and affiliated with the Geneva-based DCI, Defense for Children International / Palestine Section is an independent NGO which develops its programs and acts according to Palestinian children's needs and Palestinian priorities.

Golan for development www.jawlan.org

The Golan for Development (GD) is a non-profit organization founded in 1991 in the occupied Golan Heights. GD activities target the Arab population that remained in the Golan after its occupation by the Israeli forces on June 1967 war.

Joint Advocacy Initiative www.jai-pal.org

The Joint Advocacy Initiative (JAI) was established in December 2001 between the East Jerusalem YMCA and YWCA of Palestine.

Land Research Center (LRC) www.lrcj.org

LRC main objectives are to protect and develop the Palestinian land and agriculture.

Union of Health work committees (UHWC) www.hwc-pal.org

UHWC, a Palestinian non-governmental organization, provides holistic health care to the population in Palestine. Over 220,000 people throughout Palestine benefit from the UHWC's services every year.

BADIL Resource Center for Residency and Refugee Rights www.badil.org

BADIL Resource Center was established in January 1998 based on recommendations issued by a series of popular refugee conferences in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

LAYLAC www.euromedalex.org

LAYLAC focuses on building the capacities of youth and invest them for community development issues.

Environmental Education Center www.eecp.org

The Environmental Education Center is an educational ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan and the Holy Land (ELCJHL), embodying the ELCJHL's commitment to promoting holistic awareness of the environment.

The Ideological Barrier

With a total planned route of 708 km, the illegal construction of the Israeli Annexation Wall began in 2002 and continues to this day. Its path is not restricted to the 1949 Armistice Line (internationally recognized as the border between Israel and the future Palestinian state as part of a two-state solution), but instead strays deep into the West Bank, effectively annexing Jewish-Israeli colonies while entrapping Palestinian towns.

In 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled by a majority of 14:1 that, as its path regularly strays into occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem and the surrounding area, the Wall "...and its associated regime, are contrary to international law." In addition, the ruling highlighted Israel's "...obligation to cease forthwith the works of construction of the wall...to dismantle forthwith the structure therein situated, and to repeal or render ineffective forthwith all legislative and regulatory acts relating thereto."¹ Ten years have passed since this judgment was made, yet Israel refuses to act upon any of these internationally-recognized obligations. To the contrary, Israel's construction of the Wall continues steadily, and its associated regime of discriminatory legislation and practices remain firmly in place. The path of the Wall has resulted in the de-facto annexation of 9.4 percent of the West Bank.

The Wall is yet another tool deployed by Israel to continue the process of colonizing Mandate Palestine (the geographical area which was ruled by the British Mandate, until its withdrawal in May 1948: today the state of Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory). Simply put, the Israeli endeavour aims at emptying Mandate Palestine from its indigenous inhabitants, including areas that lie today within the borders of Israel proper. The intentionally designed displacement of Palestinians serves a parallel objective of relentlessly campaigning to settle Jewish-Israelis in colonies, illegal according to international law. In other words, Israel aims to colonize Palestine with Jewish immigrants (colonists) at the expense of the indigenous Palestinians, ultimately seeking to create a predominantly Jewish entity there as best described by Yosef Weitz, former director of the Land Department of the Jewish National Fund:

*Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country... There is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to neighboring countries - all of them. Not one village, not one tribe should be left.*²

Zionism

The colonization of Palestine is the ultimate objective of the Zionist project– the nationalist ideology of Israel. Zionism is defined through the formation of a "national movement for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland and the resumption of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel."³ As such, the Zionist enterprise combined the Jewish nationalism which it had aimed to create and foster, with the colonialism of transplanting people, mostly from Europe, into Palestine with the support of European imperial powers. Jewish history was interpreted towards constructing a specific Jewish national identity in order to justify the colonization of Palestine. As Ilan Pappé rightly concludes, "Zionism was not... the only case in history in which a colonialist project was pursued in the name of national or otherwise non-colonialist ideals. Zionists relocated to Palestine at the end of a century in which Europeans controlled much of Africa, the Caribbean, and other places in the name of 'progress' or idealism..."⁴

1- International Court of Justice, 'Legal Consequences of the Construction of the Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (Advisory Opinion)', International Court of Justice, July 9, 2004; available from [http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6&ca.](http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6&ca;); accessed 12 July 2014.

2- Joseph Weitz, Davar, September 29, 1967, cited in Uri Davis and Norton Mevinsky, eds., Documents from Israel, 1967-1973, p.21.

3- Mitchell Geoffrey Bard and Moshe Schwartz, One Thousand One Facts Everyone Should Know about Israel (Rowman& Littlefield, 2005), p. 1.

4 - IlanPappé, "Zionism as Colonialism: A Comparative View of Diluted Colonialism in Asia and Africa", South Atlantic Quarterly 107:4 (Fall 2008), pp. 611-633, p. 612.

This colonization, today, is carried out by Israel, in the form of the overall policy of 'silent' transfer, and not by the mass deportations witnessed in 1948 or 1967. It is silent in the sense that Israel carries it out while trying to avoid international attention, displacing small numbers of people on a weekly basis. It is to be distinguished from the more overt transfer achieved under the veneer of warfare in 1948. Here it is important to note that Israel's transfer policy is neither limited by Israel's geographical boundaries nor those of the occupied Palestinian territory.

The Israeli policy of silent transfer is evident in the State's laws, policies and practices. Israel uses its power to discriminate, expropriate and ultimately effect the forcible displacement of the indigenous non-Jewish population from the area of Mandate Palestine. For instance, the Israeli land-planning and zoning system has forced 93,000 Palestinians in East-Jerusalem to build without proper construction permits because 87 percent of that area is off-limits to Palestinian use, and most of the remaining 13 percent is already built up.⁵ Since the Palestinian population of Jerusalem is growing steadily, it has had to expand into areas not zoned for Palestinian residence by the State of Israel. All those homes are now under the constant threat of being demolished by the Israeli army or police, which will leave their inhabitants homeless and displaced.

Another example is the government-approved Praver Plan, which calls for the forcible displacement of 30,000 – 70,000 Palestinian citizens of Israel due to an Israeli allocation policy which has not recognized over thirty-five Palestinian villages located in the Naqab (Negev).⁶ Israel deems the inhabitants of those villages as illegal trespassers and squatters, and as such, they face the imminent threat of displacement. This is despite the fact that in many cases, these communities predate the State of Israel itself.

The Israeli Supreme Court bolstered the Zionist objective of clearing Palestine of its indigenous population in its 2012 decision prohibiting family unification between Palestinians with Israeli citizenship and their counterparts across and beyond the 1949 Armistice Line. The effect of this ruling has been that Palestinians with different residency statuses -such as Israeli citizen, Jerusalem ID, West Bank ID or Gaza ID which all are issued by Israel- cannot legally live together on either side of the 1949 Armistice Line. They are thus faced with a choice of living abroad, living apart from one another, or taking the risk of living together illegally.⁷ Such a system is used as a further means of forcibly displacing Palestinians and thereby changing the demography of Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory in favor of a predominantly Jewish population. This demographic intention is reflected in the Court's reasoning for its decision, where it stated that "...human rights are not a prescription for national suicide."⁸ This reasoning was further emphasized by Knesset-member Otniel Schneller who stated that "The decision articulates the rationale of separation between the [two] peoples and the need to maintain a Jewish majority...and character..."⁹ This illustrates once more the Israeli state's self-image as a Jewish State with a different set of rights for its Jewish and non-Jewish, mainly Palestinian, inhabitants.

5 - OCHA-OPT, Demolitions and Forced Displacement in the Occupied West Bank (2012).

6 - See Adalah, "The Praver Plan and Analysis" (October 2013), at: <http://www.adalah.org/upfiles/2011/Overview%20and%20Analysis%20of%20the%20Praver%20Committee%20Report%20Recommendations%20Final.pdf>.

7 - See HCJ 466/07, MK Zahava Galon v. The Attorney General, et al. (petition dismissed 11 January 2012).

8 - Ben White, "Human rights equated with national suicide", Aljazeera (12 January 2012) at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/01/20121121785669583.html>.

9 - Ibid.

Separation and conquest

The Zionist enterprise of colonizing Palestine is deeply rooted in the principle of separation and conquest. The idea of “constructing a Wall” started with the first Zionist colonists groups entering Palestine in the beginning of the 20th Century. Kibbutzim were the first form of creating “little fortresses” in an unknown and hostile environment as seen by the Zionist colonists. The kibbutz, a collective community, was formed by European Jews to conquer Palestinian land and to separate the conquered land from its indigenous Palestinian inhabitants in order to establish a territory for the Jewish people. In this regard, Kibbutzim even “rejected” the exploitation of cheap Arab labor and used instead Yemenite Jewish agricultural workers.¹⁰ This politics of separation and conquest is still visible today in various aspects and throughout all of Mandate Palestine. Israeli cities in the Galilee or Israeli colonies in the West Bank resemble the architecture of “fortresses”. They are created on hilltops, completely encapsulated with only one or two streets leading to them, and their surroundings resemble a moat of trees and stones and impenetrable passages. It is also visible in Jerusalem where Palestinian neighborhoods are denied proper infrastructure or development contrary to Israeli Jewish colonies in Jerusalem: although the Palestinian community in Jerusalem represents 35 percent of the city’s population, and pays higher taxes than their Jewish Israeli counterparts, they receive less than 10 percent of the municipal budget.¹¹ Another example is the Palestinian city of Jericho where the city is encircled by an invisible Israeli wall which prohibits the city of its natural growth. The city’s outskirts are part of the Area C of the West Bank where Israel virtually eliminates the possibility for further construction and development;¹² and therefore separates the city from its own environment.

About the book

This photo book tries to look into the various aspects of separation and conquest and goes beyond the physical Wall separating Palestinian communities from each other in the West Bank and dividing the area into chunks of land isolated from each other. It includes photographs from areas in all of Mandate Palestine and from the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

10 - See Uri Ram, *The Changing Agenda of Israeli Sociology: Theory, Ideology, and Identity*, SUNY Press, 2012.

11 - See the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs at: <http://www.ochaopt.org/>.

12 - Ibid.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

The Israeli Apartheid Wall engulfs Shu'fat Refugee Camp, reserving space for the expansion of the Ultra-Orthodox Israeli colony of Ramat Shlomo.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

United forever? New asphalt for a Jewish part of Jerusalem meets old asphalt in a Palestinian part of the city



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

The Israeli colony of Kisarya (Caesarea; built on the lands of the 1948 displaced Palestinian village of Qisarya) behind a man-made barrier, separating it from the Palestinian village of Jisr a-Zarqa. The 1.5 km long / 5 meter tall wall, built in 2002, is a manifestation of the Zionist-Israeli Apartheid regime.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

Naturalization of Apartheid: The separation barrier, constructed within the state of Israel to separate between Jewish and Palestinian citizens, is designed to merge with the landscape.

Contrasting with the prosperity of the Israeli colony of Kisarya (Caesarea), Jisr a-Zarqa lay crowded, underdeveloped and poor.





(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

The two pictures are of the Palestinian village Azzun Atma near Qalqilya and the adjacent colony of Sha'arei Tikva. The 6-8 meter high Apartheid Wall stretches along a distance of 8 km within the territory of the village and an extra 2 km of barbed wires surrounds the colony. Azzun Atma is located on the borders of the Palestinian territories occupied since 1948. The two images show Azzun Atma's elementary school, whose only yard was demolished by the Israeli military, and a sum of 107 olive trees in it was uprooted to make room for the expansion of the colony and the wall.



Part of the Shuhada Street in Hebron, once the main market street of the city. Shops closed mainly by Israeli military orders and physical denial of access to Palestinians. In contrast, freedom of movement is granted to 400 Jewish colonists who live in the old city, and to every Israeli who visits the city.



A banner hung by some of the 400 Israeli colonists living amongst 200,000 Palestinians in the city of Hebron.

A street leading to the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, blocked by a revolving gate and a fence. Israel has fixed 101 obstacles in the old city of Hebron, restricting the access of Palestinian visitors, worshippers and residents of Hebron to the Mosque.

متوضاً
نساء

State of Palestine
دولة فلسطين
Ministry of Health
الوزارة الوطنية للصحة
Hospice Abrahamic



(© Simon Reynolds/OPGAI)

Israeli colonists celebrating the festival of Purim in the old City of Hebron. It was during the 1994 Purim when an Israeli-American colonist in Hebron opened fire inside the Ibrahimi Mosque, murdering 29 Palestinian worshipers and injuring more than 100.



(© Simon Reynolds/OPGAI)

Palestinians behind an Israeli-installed fence in the Shuhada Street inside Hebron watching Israelis celebrating the festival of Purim.



Untreated waste water coming from Israeli colonies is purposely emptied in agricultural valleys in order to contaminate crops, fields and trees belonging to Palestinian farmers and residents in areas around the colonies. Such steps are premise to prompt Palestinians to abandon their lands following the death of trees and destruction of soil, in order to confiscate them for colonies' projects and expansion.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

A section of the 4.35 km Wall built by Israel in the land of Al-Khader. In this area, where the Wall is commonly seen by Israeli colonizers using the bypass road, it has been designed to be more aesthetically-pleasing through the use of an angled upper section and stone cladding. Here, the Wall also ensures that colonizers need not see the town of Al-Khader or its residents, who own the land upon which the bypass road is constructed.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

A section of the 4.35 km long Wall being built by Israel on the lands of Al-Khader. Once completed, it will separate the town of Al-Khader from 68% of its lands and properties. Also appears an Israeli military checkpoint constructed on the lands of Al-Khader. No Palestinian resident of Al Khader or the 1967 occupied West Bank is allowed to pass through this check point, even if they obtained a military permit.



אין מעבר להולכי רגל
⊘
ممنوع دخول

A section of the Wall built by Israel on the land of the village of Al-Khader in Bethlehem District. The road is part of the Israeli Bypass road No. 60, which also runs through the lands of the village.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

A section of the Israeli bypass road – Route No. 60 – paved by Israel on the land and property of the residents of Beit Jala. Palestinian residents of Beit Jala are not allowed access to this section of the road. The Israeli Jewish-only colony of Gilo, seen on the top of the hill, was established by Israel on the land of Beit Jala in 1971 and is still expanding.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

The invisible Green Line: The Israeli Jewish-only colony of Giv'at Masu'a built on one of the hills of the village of Al-Walaja. The residents of Al-Walaja were forcibly displaced by Israel in October 1948. Only 4,400 dunums of its 17,700 are inside the 1967 occupied West Bank. Today, Israel is building a 2.4 km Wall around the residential area of Al-Walaja, annexing three quarters of the arable and agricultural land of the village. At the bottom of the picture: Israeli construction of a park funded and built by the Israeli Municipality of Jerusalem on the land of Al-Walaja.



The Wall built by Israel on the lands of Beit Jala. Once completed, it will separate Beit Jala from 67% of the land and property of its residents.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

A permanently-closed gate installed by the Israeli military on one of the streets that lead into the village of Al-Walaja. The residents of Al-Walaja are allowed to use only one road, controlled by the Israeli military, to go in and out of their village.

A Section of the Wall built by Israel on the property of the residents of Beit Jala. The Gate installed in this wall is to deny the Palestinians access to their lands. Behind this section of the Wall is the Israeli Jewish-only colony of Har Gilo, established by Israel in Beit Jala in 1972 and has been expanding ever since. Today the colony occupies 414 dunums of the land of Beit Jala.



(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

A section of the 12m high Apartheid Wall built by Israel on the edge of Aida Refugee Camp. Even after the building of this Wall, Aida Refugee Camp continues to be targeted by the Israeli military through invasions, night raids, tear gas, and through Israeli snipers stationed inside the Wall's watchtowers. 4,700 refugees, forcibly displaced from 17 Palestinian towns and villages, live in the 0.7 km² of Aida Refugee Camp.





(© Patrick Kruse/OPGAI)

The Palestinian city of Jericho was divided in two parts in the Oslo Accords. Area A, which constitutes 55% of the total region and falls theoretically under Palestinian Authority control and Area C, which constitutes 45% of the remaining total region and falls under complete Israeli control. The city residential capacity is in area A, which is not allowed to grow further than the lines of the Oslo Accords as seen in the picture.



(© DCI-team Gaza/OPGAI)

A Palestinian fisherman in his boat gazing at the Israeli Naval Ship which is part of the Israeli maritime blockade of the Gazan coastline. The Israeli naval ships are there to fortify the blockade as well as fire at fishing boats and vessels that cross the coastal line drawn by the Israeli military for fishing purposes.



(© DCI-team Gaza/OPGAI)

Gaza northern border is totally sealed and is controlled by Israel. Freedom of movement is not allowed and the borders are closed and militarily fortified. Although Gaza was unilaterally evacuated of the Israeli colonists in 2005, its 1.7 million Palestinian population remain locked up in what became to be known the largest open air prison in the world.



(© DCI-team Gaza/OPGAI)

The Erez Crossing is a pedestrian and cargo terminal located in the northern section of the Gaza Strip, connecting Israel's highway 4 with Salah el Din Road in Gaza. The crossing stretches for almost one kilometer of concrete blocks and electrified barbed wire. Movement in and out of the Gaza Strip through this point is controlled by the Israeli military.

The images from the Gaza Strip were taken in - or in immediate proximity to - the Israeli-implemented naval and land 'buffer' zones. The use - or, indeed, mere possession - of professional camera equipment in these areas carries with it extreme risk of personal harm, and for this reason, the picture quality of these images - shot on camera phones - is notably lower than that of the other images within this publication.

The danger posed to those who seek to shed light on the unlawful practices of the Israeli occupation is terribly real. Shortly after these images were taken, Hashem Abu Maria - working with Defense for Children International Palestine, and responsible for coordinating the photographic evidence of Israeli rights violations inside Gaza for this project - was killed by Israeli forces during a peaceful protest in the occupied West Bank.

We take this opportunity to pay tribute to Hashem, and to all who have made the ultimate sacrifice in the pursuit of truth and transparency. We vow to continue this essential work, and will not stop until all Palestinians are free to enjoy the fundamental rights to which they are entitled.

Hashem Abu Maria - 1969-2014





The Wall separates Palestinians from Palestinians. Merely to go to work, to school or to a hospital, Palestinians must pass through military checkpoints, where Israeli soldiers routinely harass and intimidate them or simply delay their passage, including people seeking emergency medical treatment.



(© Atef Safadi/OPGAI)



(© Atef Safadi/OPGAI)



(© Atef Safadi/OPGAI)



(© Atef Safadi/OPGAI)



The pictures show the ceasefire line between Syria and the Israeli army in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Behind the wire is a local area with several hundred meters of planted mines. The wire prevents the residents of the Golan Heights from having access to their land for usage and farming. In addition, since the occupation, this wire prevents communication between families between the occupied and non-occupied sections of the Golan Heights.





Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative OPGAI

MainStreet, Building 111 - P.O.Box201 - Beit Sahour - Palestine

Tel:5444 277 2 +972 - bisan@opgai.org - www.opgai.org