


## **"Nakba 2.0?"**



Haifa 1948: Expulsion at gunpoint - Photo: 

**Israel: ethnic cleansing  
as a political programme  
and the German reason of state**

*What Adolf Hitler and the National Socialists did to the Jewish people - the extermination of six million people, the Holocaust - must not be Israel's justification for discriminating against the Palestinian people. ...*

*I did not survive the Auschwitz extermination camp, the Ravensbrück concentration camp and the death march to be labelled an anti-Semite by so-called anti-Germans and their ilk.*

*Esther Bejarano*

*in "Zeit der Verleumder", D 2021 [www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6gkY0eUPXg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6gkY0eUPXg), 1:36:58 ff*

*" At the moment, there is only one goal: Nakba!*

*A Nakba that will eclipse the Nakba of 1948.*

*Nakba in Gaza and Nakba for anyone who dares to join!*

*Your Nakba, because just like in 1948, the alternative is clear."*

*Ariel Kallner (Likud)*

*Member of Knesset, 8.10.2023*

### ***At the time of the slanderers***

*They call me  
traitor to my people*

*They call me*

*Jewish anti-Semite*

*because I speak of the*

*what they do in Israel's name*

*against Palestinians*

*against Arabs of other countries*

*and also against Jews*

*who are hushed up*

*Later on*

*Jews who remain*

*when this madness is over will begin to search*

*for traces of Jews*

*who did not co-operate*

*but warned*

*This is how Germans showed*

*after Hitler's downfall*

*to Germans who been persecuted or killed the day before*

*They were now supposed to be witnesses*

*that Germans were different too*

*Whether then a word*

*still lives on*

*of my warning*

*But more important:*

*whether then Jews still live in Palestine*

*escaped from that annihilation*

*which they themselves helped to bring about*

*through their injustice*

*in my time*

*Erich Fried*

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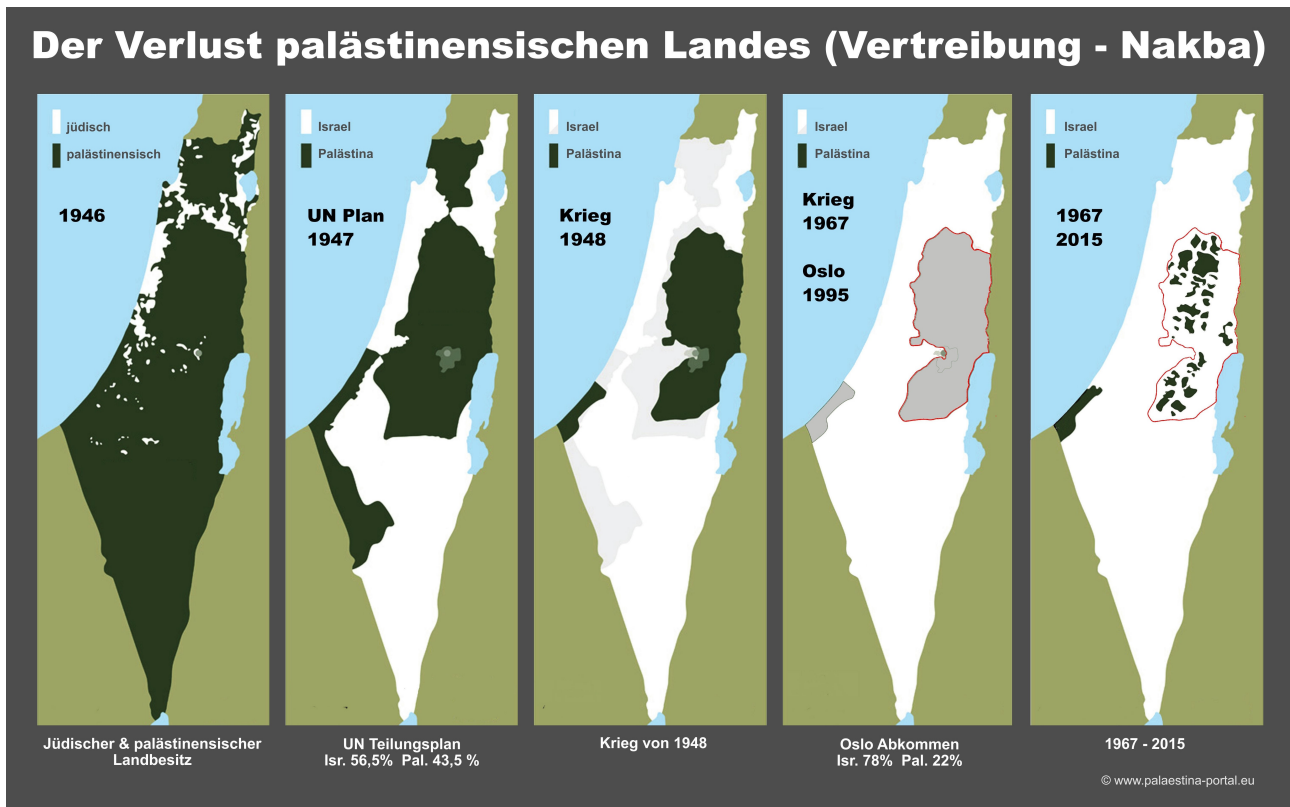
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#### Preliminary remarks

In the following, the term "refugees" is used very often. This comes from the translation of the English word "refugees". It is this term that is used by the United Nations organisations and therefore also in specialist literature for Palestinians who have not voluntarily left their homeland, but have been displaced by force of arms and terror. So, strictly speaking, they are always displaced persons.

The first major expulsion (over 750,000) on the eve and immediately after the founding of the State of Israel is called the "Nakba" by those affected, which means catastrophe in Arabic.

The hyperlinks used were last accessed on 22/12/2023.

1 More maps: [www.arendt-art.de/deutsch/palestina/texte/Karten.htm](http://www.arendt-art.de/deutsch/palestina/texte/Karten.htm)

## Palestinians - a people of refugees and displaced persons

The roots of today's Middle East conflict lie in the circumstances surrounding the founding of the state of Israel. Since then, these circumstances have led to the Palestinian people largely being a nation of refugees or displaced persons and their descendants. They live mainly in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the refugee camps there, as well as in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan (58 camps). In total, there are over ten million people out of (according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics) 13.8 million Palestinians worldwide in mid-2021. Understanding the causes of this intolerable development can help to find solutions, unless prejudgements of criticism of Israel as "anti-Semitism", insults and systems of false allegations prevail. We refuse to have to choose between being "pro-Israeli" or "pro-Palestinian", or in other words: between a right-wing radical to fascist Israeli government that continues to pursue the goal of an archaic-religious Eretz-Israel within Old Testament borders, and the archaic-religious jihad (the "holy war") of Hamas for an Islamic state in Palestine.

At the end of 2022, there were 2.06 million inhabitants in the **Gaza Strip**.<sup>2</sup> Around 1.7 million of them are refugees registered with the UN Relief and Works Agency UNRWA<sup>3</sup>, i.e. over 80 per cent of the total population.<sup>4</sup> Almost 40 per cent of the refugees registered in the Gaza Strip live in eight camps.<sup>5</sup> Most of the people living in the Gaza Strip today are descendants of grandparents or parents who fled the terror and threat of Jewish combat units, the Jewish army and Jewish settlers when the state of Israel was founded in 1948.<sup>6</sup> *"The fact that they (the refugees) were denied the right to return to their homes ... is still very present in the minds of the residents today."*<sup>7</sup>

Only persons whose main place of residence was in the British Mandate of Palestine between 1 June 1946 and 15 May 1948 are registered and therefore entitled to benefits from the UN Relief and Works Agency. The former mandate territory includes the Jewish state founded on 15 May 1948, the territory designated for Palestinians for a Palestinian state and Jerusalem as a special territory accessible to all.

The UN relief organisation UNRWA is also looking after all those who have fled to the **West Bank** and East Jerusalem under the aforementioned conditions. 900,000 registered refugees live in the West Bank, around 30 per cent of the Palestinian population of 2.8 million there. A quarter of them live in camps. Israel had conquered and occupied the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which had been annexed by Jordan since 1949, and the Gaza Strip, which had been annexed by Egypt in 1948, in a six-day "preventive war" in 1967 - since February 2022 it should be called a "war of aggression in violation of international law". East Jerusalem was annexed by Israel by law in 1980.

Palestinians who have fled to **Syria, Lebanon and Jordan** are also eligible registered refugees. At the end of 2022, there were almost 2.4 million registered refugees living in Jordan,<sup>8</sup> 580,000 in Syria and 490,000 in Lebanon. They make up over 20 per cent of Jordan's population and over ten per cent of Lebanon's population. Around 30 per cent of refugees from these three countries live in refugee camps. 50 per cent of

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2 <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1417982/umfrage/gesamtbevoelkerung-im-gazastreifen/>; other sources cite 2.2 or 2.3 million people

3 UNRWA is the UN relief organisation for Palestine refugees in the Middle East, founded at the end of 1949. They are entitled to the services of the UN Relief and Works Agency, i.e. food, schooling, healthcare, etc.

4 Muriel Asseburg, Jan Busse, *Der Nahost-Konflikt*, Munich 2023, 75; 1.5 million were officially registered refugees. Wives and descendants of registered male refugees were considered "other registered persons". In 2019, there were a further 162,000 people in the Gaza Strip.

5 Muriel Asseburg, *Palestine and the Palestinians*, Munich 2022, 35.

6 Detailed description in Ilan Pappé, *Die ethnische Säuberung Palästinas*, Frankfurt 2010

7 Christian Meier, FAZ 4.1.2023

8 Serena Bilanceri, *Die ewig Heimatlosen*, taz 31.5.2022; <https://taz.de/Palaestinenserinnen-in-Jordanien!/5854914/>

Jordan's population has Palestinian roots. In total, around 6 million Palestinians are registered as refugees with the UN Relief and Works Agency in 2022, 2.6 million in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and 3.5 million in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.

**Not registered** are all Palestinians who fled to countries other than Jordan, Syria and Lebanon in 1948 and afterwards. Also not registered are all those who left annexed or occupied territories in 1967 and the years following because life there was made unbearable for them under pressure from settlers, police, army and authorities. They are not officially registered as refugees, even though they are. These refugees are "only" considered *displaced persons*.<sup>9</sup> They are therefore not entitled to register with the UN Relief and Works Agency and thus to its social assistance with food, schools, hospitals, cultural facilities, etc. Their number is unknown. Their number is unknown.

The total number of Palestinians who have lived or still live on the territory of the former British Mandate amounts to over ten million (2.8 million in the West Bank, 2.06 million in the Gaza Strip, 3.5 million registered refugees in the neighbouring Arab countries<sup>10</sup> and two million people within the Jewish state, including around 400,000 Palestinians in annexed East Jerusalem). 75 per cent of Palestinians are refugees or live under the rule of the Israeli occupying power.

The number of Palestinians living in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon without being registered as refugees is not recorded. There must be many. In Jordan, 50 per cent of the population has Palestinian roots.<sup>11</sup> But there are also many hundreds of thousands of unregistered refugees in Yemen, Iraq, the Gulf monarchies and Tunisia.

According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, there were 13.8 million Palestinians worldwide in mid-2021.

The fate of the Palestinian refugees and displaced persons is the centrepiece of the so-called "Middle East conflict". Without finding a solution here, this "conflict" can never be resolved.

### **The Nakba - solely the result of a war?**

In total, around 750,000 Palestinians were expelled from their homes in 1948, more than half of the original Palestinian population of 1.31 million in 1946. Half of their towns and villages were destroyed and "*very few of them ever managed to return*".<sup>12</sup> This was a huge catastrophe, the "*Nakba*" in Palestinian.

Wikipedia cites the Palestine War of 1948 as the reason for flight and expulsion, which is described as the "*immediate main cause of the refugee problem*"<sup>13</sup>. "*In the course of the war, many Palestinian Arabs began to flee or be expelled*".<sup>14</sup> Muriel Asseburg, a researcher at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, also attributes the flight of Palestinians in the years 1948-49 to "*armed conflicts*".<sup>15</sup> It follows from this that the Arab states that started a war against Israel are the perpetrators of the expulsion.

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9 Asseburg 2022, 34

10 Asseburg 2023, 75

11 Serena Bilanceri, Die ewig Heimatlosen, taz 31.5.2022; <https://taz.de/Palaestinerinnen-in-Jordanien/!5854914/>

12 Ilan Pappé 2010, 29

13 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palästinesisches\\_Flüchtlingsproblem](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palästinesisches_Flüchtlingsproblem)

14 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte\\_des\\_Staates\\_Israel](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_des_Staates_Israel)

15 Asseburg 2022, 73

## Interview excerpts from "Beside the Road" (I)

(0:14:49) Interviewer: Do you remember, how they were expelled?

Amnon: What kind of question? Of course, I drove them away!

Interviewer: From where?

Amnon: From Kawfakha, from Burayt, from Najad ...

Interviewer: What did it look like when they left ...?

Amnon: They walked in columns. They took what little they had and left.

(0:25:36)... What can I tell you? ... We have here Killed 70 people? I don't want to talk about it. ...

(0:38:54) They [*today's young generation*] don't have a clue

Interviewer: But they only express what your generation has produced. That's not new.

Amnon: They don't express that. You've only heard rumours about the Jewish militias. They have no idea what it was really like.

Interviewer: But that's because your generation never told them. You are the only one who speaks publicly about the Nakba,

Amnon: I know. All my school friends who are still alive ... are narrow-minded. They didn't change their world view after 17. You don't start thinking until you're 20. What did you do? You were ordered to expel the Arabs. So you drove them out and shot them. Why did you do that?

[*Trip to a destroyed Palestinian village in northern Israel*]

(0:39:54) Amnon: That was their country and their factory was founded in 1922. ...

Interviewer: Where we are standing was a village?

Amnon: Yes

Interviewer: Do you remember that?

Amnon: I certainly remember it ... [*describing the landscape and details of the village*] ... It was next to the road. It was segregation. It was deliberate segregation.

Interviewer: Do you think that the purpose of segregation was to prevent moral concerns when the time of expulsion came?...

Amnon: Yes, I'm sure of it. ...

(0:40:43) Amnon: I did what I did. And then I heard the same things from others. They didn't know why we expelled them. And we told them, "Yalla, go to Gaza!" Women and children screamed and cried. We drove them to Gaza. Those who live in Gaza now are their grandchildren.

Israel/Palestine 2013, Director: Lia Tarachansky. Conversation with Amnon Noiman, Palmach veteran.  
<https://vimeo.com/118876361>

However, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria only attacked Israel **after** the founding of the state on 14 May 1948 and the withdrawal of British troops on 15 May.

"In a first wave, around 75,000 Arabs, mainly the middle and upper classes, fled from larger cities in Palestine with mixed populations such as Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem and the surrounding area as well as the coastal plain by March 1948".<sup>16</sup> Why they fled is concealed.

On 29 November 1947, the day on which the UN adopted its partition plan for Palestine (see below), "the 75,000 Palestinians of the city (Haifa) were subjected to a campaign of terror carried out jointly by Irgun and Haganah".<sup>17</sup> Attacks with submachine guns, explosive barrels, fire, bombs, etc. caused about 15,000

<sup>16</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palästinentisches\\_Flüchtlingsproblem](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palästinentisches_Flüchtlingsproblem)

<sup>17</sup> Ilan Pappé 2010, 91 The Haganah was a Zionist paramilitary underground organisation in the British Mandate of Palestine before the founding of the Israeli state; the Irgun, also known as Etzel, split off from it in 1931 and is known for its secret, mostly terrorist missions. Its commander-in-chief from 1938 was Vladimir Zeev Jabotinsky,

members of the Palestinian upper class (wealthy merchants and tradesmen) to leave Haifa. The remaining 50-60,000 Palestinian inhabitants of Haifa were then chased out of the city under the eyes of British troops on 22 April 1948. The leader of the Jewish Carmeli Brigade, who later became Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, Mordechai Maklef, issued the order: "*Kill every Arab you meet, set fire to everything flammable and blow open the doors.*"<sup>18</sup> Thousands were driven to the harbour and into the sea under fire from grenade launchers. Many died en. <sup>19</sup> From mid-April 1948, 5,000 Jewish soldiers besieged the city of Jaffa and conquered it on 13 May after fierce resistance by 1,500 volunteers. All 50,000 remaining Palestinian inhabitants were expelled with the support of British troops, not least to Gaza. The upper class had already fled beforehand. They had not remained unaware of the extensive destruction of the rural hinterland of Jaffa by Jewish terrorist militias by the end of March.

*"With the fall of Jaffa, Jewish troops had occupied, evacuated and depopulated all the larger towns and communities. The vast majority of their inhabitants ... never saw their homeland again".*<sup>20</sup>

On 9 April 1948, Jewish units of the Irgun carried out a particularly chilling massacre in Deir Yassin, a village in western Jerusalem. The number of civilians murdered is estimated at around 100. Menachim Begin, head of the Irgun and Israeli Prime Minister from 1977 to 1983, explicitly described the bloodbath as "justified" after the founding of Israel, as there would have been no Israeli state without the "victory" of Deir Yassin.<sup>21</sup> *"As a result of the massacre and for other reasons, between 250,000 and 300,000 Arab Palestinians had already fled or been expelled by the time the Palestine War actually began on 14 May 1948 - i.e. within 35 days."*<sup>22</sup> By "further reasons", only further terror against the Palestinian population or the threat of terror can be meant. If there had been no such threat, Palestinians would not have fled from areas without fighting. - "Voluntary" my arse! In total, there were at least 32 massacres between the end of 1947 and January 1949. To this day, no research has been conducted into how many people were murdered as a result.<sup>23</sup>

The Arab army units were poorly equipped and outnumbered by the Israeli army. They were unable, and to a significant extent unwilling, to prevent the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from Palestine. The Jordanian army, which had the most fighting strength, limited itself to securing the conquest of the West Bank in consultation with Israel. Ben Gurion knew: "*We can take on all the Arab troops*". The Haganah alone consisted of 50,000 fighters, half of whom had been trained by the British army during the Second World War.

### **Cause of displacement: not war - ethnic cleansing!**

David Ben Gurion (1886-1973) was Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Israel from 1948 to 1953 and from 1955 to 1963. He was the undisputed leader of the Zionist movement from the 1920s to the mid-1960s. As early as 1937, he declared in a letter to his son that his guiding principle was: "*The Arabs will have to leave*", but that a favourable moment was needed to ensure this, "such as a war".<sup>24</sup> In his diary on 12 July 1937, he expressed the "*wish ... that the Jewish leadership may have the will and the strength to expel the Arabs from Palestine*".<sup>25</sup> In June 1938, he wrote to the executive of the Jewish Agency<sup>26</sup> : "*I am in favour of*

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teacher of Irgun activists Menachem Begin and Yitzchak Shamir. (see Wikipedia).

18 Ilan Pappé, *Die ethnische Säuberung Palästinas*, Frankfurt 2010, 136; from page 130 Pappé describes the terrorist expulsion of the Palestinians up to the start of the war

19 Cardboard 2010, 136-38

20 *ibid.*, 146f.

21 Hollstein 1977, 143; Begin 1951, 164, footnote 40, Hollstein 1977, 163

22 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Massaker\\_von\\_Deir\\_Yasin](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Massaker_von_Deir_Yasin)

23 Pappé 2010, 334, cf. the transcript excerpts from the film "Neben der Straße" (II) below

24 *ibid.*, 46

25 Pappé 2010, 346 footnote 18

26 The Jewish Agency was founded in 1929 to promote the establishment of a Jewish state. After the establishment of the Jewish state, its main purpose was to encourage Jews from all over the world to immigrate to Israel. [www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/laenderprofile/57636/einwanderungspolitik/](http://www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/laenderprofile/57636/einwanderungspolitik/)



*forced resettlement [of the Palestinians]; I see nothing immoral in it.*"<sup>27</sup> Joseph Weitz (1890-1972) was chairman of the Jewish National Fund from 1932 until his death. This was founded in 1901 to buy or lease land for the Jewish settlement of Palestine. Weitz noted in his diary in 1940: "*It must be clear among us that there is no room in the country for both peoples together. ... With the Arabs we will not achieve our goal of being an independent people in this land. The only solution is Eretz Israel, at least the western part of Eretz Israel, without Arabs ... and there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer them all. Not one place or tribe should be left and the transfer must be directed towards Iraq, Syria or even Transjordan. Money will have to be raised for this purpose, so much money; and only through this transfer can the country absorb millions of our brothers. There is no alternative to this ...*"<sup>28</sup> On 22 June 1941, he wrote in his diary: "*The land of Israel is not small at all, if only the Arabs were removed and its borders extended a little, to the north as far as the Litani (the largest river in Lebanon) and to the east including the Golan Heights. ... with the Arabs transferred to northern Syria and Iraq... Today we have no other alternative... We will not live here with Arabs.*"<sup>29</sup>

On 2 November 1947, Ben Gurion stated unequivocally to the Jewish Agency that ethnic cleansing was the means to make the new state exclusively Jewish. As the Palestinians could become a fifth column in the Jewish state, "*they can be arrested or expelled en masse; it is better to expel them*".<sup>30</sup>

On 3 December 1947, he declared: "*In the territories that have been allocated to the Jewish state (by the UN partition resolution), there are 40 per cent non-Jews. This social composition is not a solid basis for a Jewish state. ... Only a state with at least 80 per cent Jews is a viable and stable state.*"<sup>31</sup> The expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians and at the same time increased immigration created the basis for the Arab population no longer making up two thirds of the population in the year following the founding of the state, but only 15 per cent. The Zionist Jewish government under Ben Gurion had achieved its goal (see Table 1). Ben Gurion was one of the founders of the socialist labour party Mapai in 1930 and was its leader until 1963. Mapai was closely linked to the labour union (Histadrut), which dominated the settlement economy. In 1968, Mapai merged with the social democratic Israeli labour party Avoda, which is a member of the Socialist International. In 1973, the right-wing party bloc Likud (Consolidation) was founded, which governed for the first time in 1977-1984, merged into one party in 1988 and has formed the government almost continuously since the mid-1990s. Avoda and Likud are both Zionist parties based on an exclusively Jewish state.

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27 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/David\\_Ben-Gurion](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Ben-Gurion)

28 Petra Wild, *Apartheid and Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine*, Vienna 2013, 16 f.

29 [https://de.wikibrief.org/wiki/Yosef\\_Weitz](https://de.wikibrief.org/wiki/Yosef_Weitz)

30 Pappe 2010, 79 and 346, footnote 20

31 Pappe 2010, 79, footnote 19, 346

## Interview excerpts from "Beside the Road" (II)

Amnon: (0:57:58) The flight of the villagers began when we started clearing these roads for our convoys. And then we started to expel the villagers. And in the end they fled on their own. They didn't think they would flee for long. They didn't think they wouldn't return. Nor could anyone imagine that an entire people would not return. They were a people who had lived like this for thousands of years. Conquerors came. They never had an exodus. There was no exodus. The leaders were burned, the priests, the writers ... but the ordinary people were never expelled. How else were the conquerors supposed to collect taxes? The only tragedy that happened to them was the tragedy of the Nakba in 1948. Because we didn't come to collect taxes. We came to take the land from foreign hands. And we took it. And whoever takes the land expels others. That's why we didn't let them return. At the time, I saw nothing wrong with that. ... For 50 or 60 years it has been eating me up. But ... Done is done. And what was ordered was done.

*Listener: And can you remember what you were told to do?*

Amnon: I'll tell you. But I don't like talking about it. We surrounded the village, we started shooting in the air and everyone started screaming. And we drove them out. The women and children went to Gaza.

*Listener: And were there people who resisted?*

Amnon: Nobody dared to do that. I'm telling you, they realised that anyone who dared would be killed. They would have done the same thing the other way round. There are no saints.

*Listener: And did you then go in and destroy or burn down the village?*

Amnon: ... In some cases we burnt down the village and sometimes we left it standing.

...

*Listener: We once met a soldier from Beersheva, ... and he told us that they had shot people who had fled from Beersheva.*

Amnon: Yes. Yes, yes. They ran east and south and they were shot at. ... I saw it. OK. I did it too. Is that enough? Why go into details? ... I didn't think anything of it. I was 19, I was a fool. ... And there will always be 19-year-olds. ...

(1:03:00) The people who were in Gaza wanted to return to their villages. The vines were sprouting and needed to be pruned. So they went there. We couldn't just let them walk around like that. So we waited for them. And we shot and killed them. ...

<https://vimeo.com/118876361>, see above.

The expulsion clearly followed a plan. In March 1948, the Haganah (see footnote 17) developed Plan Dalet, which defined the operations that were to create the basis for the future Jewish state: "*These operations can be carried out as follows: either by destroying villages (by setting them on fire, blowing them up and mining the rubble) and especially residential areas, which are difficult to control in the long term, or by search and control operations according to the following guidelines: Surrounding and combing villages. In the event of resistance, the armed forces are to be eliminated and the inhabitants expelled across the country's borders.*" Each of the twelve Hagana brigade commanders received a list of the villages or neighbourhoods and the method of the desired measures. The Dalet plan alone destroyed 531 villages and eleven towns and neighbourhoods.<sup>32</sup> The propaganda of an alleged threat of annihilation through a "second Holocaust", which had to be prevented by such measures of "self-defence", helped. "*Israeli units did not receive a military or political order to expel as many Arabs as possible,*"<sup>33</sup> proclaims Wikipedia. This is a false claim.

Golda Meir (1898 - 1978) belonged to the closest leadership circle around Ben Gurion and was Prime Minister from 1969 to 1974. In 1969, she even denied that a Palestinian people existed and therefore could not have been expelled: "*There was no such thing as Palestinians. It was not the case that there was a pa*

32 Pappe 2010, 120-122, 349 Footnotes 82-84

33 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palästinesisches\\_Flüchtlingsproblem](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palästinesisches_Flüchtlingsproblem)

lestinian people and we came, we would have come, thrown them out and taken their land. They didn't exist."<sup>34</sup> "There are no Palestinians, declared (the fascist Israeli finance minister) Smotrich in Paris, therefore there is no Palestinian people. ... The Palestinians have no history, no language and no culture of their own."<sup>35</sup> If there is no Palestinian people, it cannot claim the right of self-determination of peoples. This was enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on 16 December 1966 and came into force in international law on 23 March 1976 . The right to self-determination in Palestine can therefore supposedly only be claimed by Jews who have been absorbed into many different nations around the world and who are nevertheless considered a Jewish people without a common territory and language. The Palestinians remaining in Israel are still called Arabs according to their linguistic affiliation in order to deny them their people's right to self-determination. Why not Semites? - Clearly because then no discrimination, no segregation would be possible.

The official figures clearly show that the number of Palestinians in 1949, the year after Israel was founded, was around one million fewer than in the period before Israel's founding .

**Table 1**<sup>36</sup>

	Population British Mandate/ Israel in million	Jews in millions	Pal. in € million	Pal. in %	Westj + OJ + Gaza	Palestin. in million total
<b>1946</b>	1,94	0,60	1,31	67,6		
<b>1948</b>	1,75	0,65	1,10	62,8		
<b>1949</b>	1,06	0,90	0,16	15,1		
<b>1955</b>	1,77	1,59	0,18	10,2		
<b>1967</b>	2,70	2,38	0,324	11,98	0,61+68.600+0,35	1,35
<b>1993</b>	5,15	4,34	0,81	15,7	1,00+181.800+0,89	2,88
<b>2000</b>	5,94	4,96	0,978	16,5	1,89+208.700+1,13	5,33
<b>2020</b>	8,47	6,87	1,6	18,9	2,83+367.000+1,97	6,77

The goal of the Zionist movement under the leadership of Ben Gurion to cleanse Israel of Palestinians with the help of terror and massacres was achieved in 1948. In June 1950, the UN Relief and Works Agency also counted 960,021 registered refugees in the camps outside Israel.<sup>37</sup>

In December 2003, Netanyahu stated: "If the Arabs in Israel make up 40 per cent of the population, that will be the end of the Jewish state. But 20 per cent is also a problem. If the relationship with this 20 per cent becomes problematic, the state has the right to take extreme measures".<sup>38</sup> Israel is striving with might and main to annex the West Bank (see below). It has already annexed East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. If the West Bank is also to be part of Israel (and it should be) and the Gaza Strip, the number of Palestinians in Israel would rise to around 6.8 million people . This would make 50 per cent of the population Palestinian. According to Netanyahu, this means the end of the Jewish state. For him, the two million "Arabs" in the Gaza Strip represent an additional threat to Israel's Jewish character. Israel must not "Arabise" itself. It must be "de-Arabised". But how?

The number of Palestinians in Israel and the occupied or annexed territories has been roughly equal to the number of Jews since 2000, mainly due to population growth in the Gaza Strip. Hence Netanyahu and

34 Sunday Times 15 June 1969, after Asseburg, 2022, 334f.

35 [www.juedische-allgemeine.de/allgemein/gibt-es-ein-palastinensisches-volk/](http://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/allgemein/gibt-es-ein-palastinensisches-volk/) from 23 March 2023

36 Asseburg 2023, 125; 1948 before the declaration of independence on 15 May; 1948, 1949 and 1955: Walter Hollstein, Kein Frieden um Israel, Bonn 1977, 137, 145; from 1967 without East Jerusalem and occupied territories; Gaza Strip: 1965 and 1995 instead of 1967 and 1993 - <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1417982/umfrage/gesamtbevoelkerung-im-gazastreifen/>

37 Hollstein 1977, 145

38 Cardboard 2010, 324

Smotrich's wish that the "Arabs" should disappear from the Gaza Strip and move to Egypt, for example. "*I say to the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip: get out of there now,*" said Netan jahu 2023. But where to? Prime Minister Ariel Sharon had already declared in August 2005: "*We cannot hold on to Gaza forever. More than a million Palestinians live there and their numbers are doubling with every generation.*"<sup>39</sup> Correct. In 2023 there will be 2.3 million.

The terror of the surprising (?)<sup>40</sup> attack by Hamas gives the Zionist Israeli government the unique opportunity to turn the entire Gaza Strip into an uninhabitable desert of rubble in the name of "self-defence" and thus perhaps force the expulsion of the inhabitants from Israeli territory.

### **No return allowed!**

The Israeli-Arab war ended with ceasefires between February and July 1949, but there was no peace agreement. If this war had been the decisive cause of the mass exodus, those who fled could have returned after it ended in 1949. However, the Israeli state refused to allow them to return, thus sealing the "flight" as a deliberate expulsion and deportation.

The Israeli parliament, the Knesset, categorically rejected the return of Palestinian refugees as early as June 1948. In 1952, the Knesset adopted a citizenship law that prohibited Palestinians who had fled from returning and excluded them from Israeli citizenship. The aim was to de-Arabise and thus Judaise the new Jewish state. In conjunction with the expropriations, the forcible expulsion and ethnic cleansing enabled the expansion of the Jewish state population.

In August 1948, the Israeli government decided to destroy all evacuated villages. They were to be turned into new Jewish settlements or nature parks. This robbed the displaced people of their homes. Where were the refugees supposed to return to when their livelihoods had been destroyed? <sup>41</sup>Yitzchak Rabin (later Chief of the General Staff, Prime Minister and 1994 Nobel Peace Prize winner) - as one of the architects of the Oslo "peace process" - described the strategy taught to the troops at the time: "*By leaving no stone unturned and driving out all the inhabitants, there will no longer be a village to which the Arabs can return.*"<sup>42</sup> Many of those cleansed became stateless. Under no circumstances were they to become citizens of a Jewish state. In 1954, a law was passed to prevent "infiltration", which made it possible to shoot Palestinians who wanted to take anything from their property or house.<sup>43</sup>

"*50 per cent of the refugees live within a radius of 40 km and many of them can see their homes on the hills opposite. ... The refugees in Gaza come from the southern district of Israel, which stretches from Ashdod/ Isdud to Eilat/Um Rashrash. The district as a whole has fewer inhabitants than a single refugee camp in Gaza and a population density of 6 people per square kilometre, compared to 6,000 per square kilometre in the Gaza Strip (in 2007).*"<sup>44</sup> Today there are 6,400 people per square kilometre. If the north of Gaza is indeed depopulated by the Israeli government (see below), it could be well over 10,000 per square kilometre. Although most of the refugees' homes have been destroyed, they would be able to return to the same land and often even to the same place, as 90 per cent of the abandoned villages are still vacant (i.e. undeveloped).<sup>45</sup> This makes it all the more bitter for the displaced persons to be imprisoned in an almost de facto open-air prison called Gaza.

39 according to Wild 2013, 185

40 "*The security authorities in Israel apparently knew about the plans more than a year before the Hamas massacre.*" [www.rnd.de/politik/israel-warum-wurde-das-blutbad-der-hamas-terroristen-nicht-verhindert-7L2EVIIIVVHWP44JF6EXGNIKU.html](http://www.rnd.de/politik/israel-warum-wurde-das-blutbad-der-hamas-terroristen-nicht-verhindert-7L2EVIIIVVHWP44JF6EXGNIKU.html) (1 Dec. 2023); also [www.tagesschau.de/ausland/new-york-times-israel-100.html](http://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/new-york-times-israel-100.html); despite this, the Israeli government moved 32 of 34 army battalions stationed on the border with Gaza to the West Bank. According to Knesset member Dr Ofer Cassif, protecting the settlers there had priority. [www.actvism.org/latest/israels-kriegsverbrechen-apartheid-cassif/](http://www.actvism.org/latest/israels-kriegsverbrechen-apartheid-cassif/) min. 15:40

41 Cardboard 2010, 249

42 vgl. [www.spiegel.de/politik/geschlagen-vertrieben-verraten-a-adde38b8-0002-0001-0000-000014350350](http://www.spiegel.de/politik/geschlagen-vertrieben-verraten-a-adde38b8-0002-0001-0000-000014350350)

43 Asseburg 2022, 33

44 Game 2013, 221

45 cf. Wild 2013, 220

## "Return" only for Jews and relatives

All Jews worldwide, on the other hand, were granted the right to immigrate to Israel and Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return of 5 July 1950. "Return" from where and to where? Probably a return to Eretz Israel, from which the Jews are said to have been expelled by the Romans 70 years ago. The expressions Eretz Israel and Eretz Israel HaShemah refer to the land promised by God to the Jewish people in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>46</sup>

The Zionist settlers supposedly simply returned home after a long stay abroad of around 2000 years.

Palestine was supposed to belong to the foreign settlers from Western and Eastern Europe, not to the indigenous Arab/Palestinian population that had been living in Palestine for many centuries.

In 1970, the Law of Return was also extended to children and grandchildren of a Jew, the spouse of a child of a Jew and the spouse of a grandchild of a Jew. Non-Jews are therefore also allowed to return to the territory of the old Israel, unless they are Arabs/Palestinians.

On 31 July 2003, the Knesset passed a law stating that Palestinians who have married or are marrying partners with Israeli citizenship can neither become Israeli citizens nor reside in Israel. As a result, Palestinians were deported to the West Bank, regardless of the duration of their marriage.<sup>47</sup> Ethnic cleansing is still the goal of all Jewish governments today. Couldn't that be called "ethnic" or "racist"?

## Expel to expropriate

The actual aim of the expulsion and the ban on return was to expropriate the displaced persons without compensation. In March 1950, the Israeli parliament passed the "Absentees Property Law" (5710-1950).

This law replaced the Emergency Decree 5709-1948 on Absentees' Property of December 1948.

It is one of the most important foundations of the Israeli constitutional state and its parliamentary democracy.

Persons who left their place of residence in the Mandate territory between 29 November 1947 and 19 May 1948 because they had fled or been expelled were neither fled nor expelled in the eyes of Israel, but simply "absent". All the property that the "absentees" had left behind was confiscated and became the property of the State of Israel in the form of the "Administrator of Absentees' Property". The expropriated property included private businesses, banks, pharmacies, hotels, restaurants, land, properties, buildings, cash assets, valuables, etc. Farmers and the Palestinian middle classes in particular were robbed of their property. Their property was de-Arabised.

People who had left their old place of residence within the new Jewish state during the Nakba were also considered absentees. They were considered "present absentees", even if they were Israeli citizens. This affected a third of the Palestinians who remained in Israel, i.e. tens of thousands of people. They were also dispossessed and lost 4,000 square kilometres of land, among other things.<sup>48</sup>

*"Absentee ownership played an enormous role in making Israel a viable state. In 1954, more than a third of Israel's Jewish population lived on absentee property and almost a third of new immigrants (250,000 people) settled in urban areas abandoned by Arabs. Of 370 new Jewish settlements established between 1948 and 1953, 350 were on the property of 'absentees' (Peretz, Israel and the Palestinian Arabs, 1958)."*<sup>49</sup>

These included numerous kibbutzim that considered themselves socialist.

*"How much of Israel's territory consists of land confiscated under the Absentee Property Law is uncertain and much disputed. Robert Fisk interviewed the Israeli administrator of absentee property, who estimates that this could account for up to 70 per cent of the territory of the State of Israel."*<sup>50</sup> In any case, before the state was founded in 1948, 80 per cent of the territory that became Israeli state territory belonged to

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46 <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grossisrael> → see section "Biblical promise" below

47 Cardboard 2010, 322

48 Cardboard 2010, 334

49 [https://de.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli\\_land\\_and\\_property\\_laws#The\\_Absentees\\_Property\\_Law,\\_5710-\\_1950](https://de.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli_land_and_property_laws#The_Absentees_Property_Law,_5710-_1950)

50 The Times 24 December 1980, cf. footnote 7

Palestinians (see Map 1); only around 7 per cent was owned by Jews. Today, Palestinian citizens own less than 4 per cent of the land within Israel's internationally recognised borders, while the Israeli state owns approximately 93 per cent of the land<sup>51</sup>, which is administered by the Israeli Land Authority. The rest of the land belongs to the Jewish National Fund, which is only allowed to lease or sell land to Jews.

As the majority of Palestinian farmers had been expelled, large areas of land were left uncultivated. They were largely taken over by newly immigrated Jews. Between 1948 and 1951, 704,000 Jews immigrated to Israel, far more than the 600,000 Jews who immigrated between 1952 and 1969. Jewish immigration and the expulsion and dispossession of Palestinian farmers "*were the decisive prerequisites for the consolidation of Israel*".<sup>52</sup> As Joseph Weitz, the long-standing chairman of the Jewish National Fund, stated: "*The transfer of the Arab population from the territory of the Jewish state serves not only one purpose - the reduction of the Arab population. It also serves a second, no less important goal, namely to evacuate the land that is currently owned and cultivated by Arabs and thus free it up for Jewish inhabitants*".<sup>53</sup> How nice the word "transfer" sounds! Is it not cosmetic for the actual expulsion by brute force? Even "liberate" sounds much better than "dispossess". The following is also cosmetic: "*In addition, the property left behind by Arab refugees came under the control of the new Israeli government*".<sup>54</sup> It was not looted, it somehow ended up in the hands of the new Israeli government. Refugees had therefore "left behind" their property. Just like property left behind by dead people who have no heirs, it then falls to the state. Such a paraphrase is of course nowhere near as outrageous as a factual account of the expulsion and dispossession of hundreds of thousands of people.

The *Abandoned Areas Ordinance, 5708-1948*<sup>55</sup> defined an "*abandoned area as any area which has been conquered by or surrendered to armed forces or abandoned in whole or in part by its inhabitants and which has been declared by order to be an abandoned area*". The ordinance also provided for "*the expropriation and confiscation of movable and immovable property within an abandoned territory*". The government was authorised to determine what would happen to this property.<sup>56</sup> And it determined that it should belong to the immigrant Jewish settlers.

In 1953, the "Law on the Acquisition of Land" was passed. It retroactively authorised the Ministry of Finance to expropriate land from Palestinians that had been illegally taken - i.e. stolen - by Jews and was not in the possession of its owners on 1 April 1952 for "development, settlement or security purposes". The expropriation purposes were so broadly defined that it was almost impossible to challenge expropriations in court. According to the law, the owners did not even have to be informed about the confiscation of their land.

### **Land grabbing on a grand scale**

In 1945, of the 26.4 million dunams (26,400 km<sup>2</sup>; 1000 dunams = 1 km<sup>2</sup>) of land in Mandate Palestine, 12.8 million were either owned or leased in perpetuity by Arabs, 1.5 million by Jews, 1.5 million were public land and 10.6 million formed the abandoned district of Beersheba (Negev). Of the 9.2 million dunams of arable land, 7.8 million dunams belonged to Arabs, 1.2 million to Jews and 0.2 million were public land. By 1949, around 700,000 Palestinian Arabs had fled or been expelled from their land and villages. Israel now controlled around 20.5 million dunams (approx. 20,500 km<sup>2</sup>) or 78% of the land in the former Mandate of Palestine: 8% (approx. 1,650 km<sup>2</sup>) was privately controlled by Jews and 6% (approx. 1,300 km<sup>2</sup>) by Arabs. The remaining 8% was public land. Land laws were passed to legalise changes in land ownership. In 2007, the Israel Land Administration (ILA), founded in 1960, administers 93% of Israel's 19,508 km<sup>2</sup> of land. The

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51 Gadi Algazi 19.12.2018, Who owns the land? [www.rosalux.org.il/artikel/ungleichheit-israel/](http://www.rosalux.org.il/artikel/ungleichheit-israel/)

52 Hollstein 1977, 138

53 Wild 2013, 21

54 [https://de.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli\\_land\\_and\\_property\\_laws](https://de.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli_land_and_property_laws)

55 Archived 28 October 2009, published on 30 June 1948

56 [https://en.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli\\_land\\_and\\_property\\_laws](https://en.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli_land_and_property_laws); own translation

remaining 7 per cent of the land is either privately owned or under the protection of religious authorities.<sup>57</sup> The ILA also administers 13 per cent of Israeli land belonging to the Jewish National Fund. Land use in Israel usually means leasing it from the ILA for a period of 49 or 98 years. Under Israeli law, the ILA is not allowed to lease land to foreigners unless they are Jewish.

Palestinian property that was forcibly converted into Jewish property could not be sold or leased to Palestinians again, only to Jews. The law is still applied today.<sup>58</sup>

### **Expropriation without compensation**

It was not until 1973 that a property compensation law for absentees was passed (*The Absentees' Property (Compensation) Law, 5733-197*). According to this law, only people who were living in Israel on 1 July 1973 or later were entitled to receive compensation for their property expropriated due to "absence", be it in the form of land or money. The law thus excluded all Palestinians who fled and were displaced outside Israel's borders. They were expropriated without compensation. "*The assumption is that property in villages and towns that was destroyed or abandoned in 1948 amounts to 238,950 dunams (238.95 square kilometres) that belonged to Arab Israeli citizens. In the end, compensation was paid in 2005 for 206,653 dunams (206 km<sup>2</sup>) and 16,150 claimants received compensation in cash or in lieu of cash in land totalling 71,703 dunams (71 km<sup>2</sup>).*"<sup>59</sup>

After the 1967 war, the law on absentee property was also extended to the newly occupied territories. For example, Israel was able to declare Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem who had fled during the war and were not in the city on the day of the annexation of East Jerusalem to be "absentees" within the meaning of the law and thus confiscate their property.<sup>60</sup> With Resolution 194, the UN General Assembly demanded at the end of 1948 that Israel not only allow the return of the displaced persons, but also pay them compensation for the loss of their property.<sup>61</sup> Israel ignored this.

Israelis often claim that the expulsion of Palestinians from Israel should be compared with the expulsion of Jews from Arab countries between 1951 and 1972. 600,000 of the 850,000 Jews who left their Arab homelands during this period emigrated to Israel. It is claimed that there is therefore a "Jewish Nakba", comparable to the Palestinian one. Academics close to official Israeli positions also claim that Israel is "even" with the Palestinians as far as the Nakba is concerned because of this "Jewish Nakba". The long-standing Middle East expert Dr Michael Lüders, political scientist and scholar of Islam, counters this in his podcast from 6 December 2023 with evidence from Israeli historian Avi Shlaim "*that there were several terrorist attacks in Baghdad in the early 1950s that were carried out by Zionist agents with the aim of causing the Jewish population in Iraq to flee to Israel.*"<sup>62</sup> Lüders continues: "*So there was a very lively Jewish life in Baghdad, but it was ended by these terrorist attacks and the Jews of Baghdad then left Iraq. And in other Arab countries, too, there were very strong propaganda efforts to persuade the Jewish inhabitants of North Africa to emigrate to Israel, for example.*" Lüders' explanations are confirmed in an interview with The Big Picture Podcast Middle East Eye<sup>63</sup>. Avi Shlaim explicitly points out that the Iraqi government has allowed the frightened Jews to leave the country.

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57 [https://de.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli\\_land\\_and\\_property\\_laws](https://de.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Israeli_land_and_property_laws)

58 [www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-palestinian-absentees-property-law-eviction-homes-explained](http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-palestinian-absentees-property-law-eviction-homes-explained)

59 Footnote 6 in [www.cambridge.org/core/journals/israel-law-review/article/abs/expropriations-of-private-land-of-arab-citizens-in-israel-an-empirical-analysis-of-the-regular-course-of-business/EF0BF37C8FCBE96D8ABF3ECA69939741](http://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/israel-law-review/article/abs/expropriations-of-private-land-of-arab-citizens-in-israel-an-empirical-analysis-of-the-regular-course-of-business/EF0BF37C8FCBE96D8ABF3ECA69939741)

60 Cf. footnote 9

61 vgl. <https://mailchi.mp/9607666896ff/bip-aktuell-284-ethnische-suberung-keine-umsiedlung?e=903507099a>

62 [www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0Y56EeP\\_Bw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0Y56EeP_Bw), min. transcript 0:05:10 ff.; cf. also [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950%E2%80%931951\\_Baghdad\\_bombings](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950%E2%80%931951_Baghdad_bombings)

63 cf. "The forgotten history of Arab Jews" - Interview with Avi Shlaim, 54:03 min, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=lfDhaWlqXf8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lfDhaWlqXf8) 10:31 - 20:33;

There were probably also expropriations, acts of violence, threats and the spread of fear and terror in the course of these events in some Arab countries. But there was no Arab *plan by Dalet* to use terror and violence to expel Jews from their homeland and turn them into refugees, no planned expulsion with the aim of completely dispossessing them of their property, and certainly no bans on their return. However, as Avi Shlaim emphasises, Israel had an essential interest in the allegedly displaced persons immigrating in order to settle on or in dispossessed Palestinian property.

## Israel - the promised land that belongs only to Jews

In December 2022, Netanyahu's "radical right-wing" Israeli government, which includes fascist ministers, declared "*an exclusive and inalienable right of the Jewish people to all the land*" as the government's first guiding principle.<sup>64</sup> Ben Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, had already proclaimed this. But what is the whole country? Where are the borders?

*"At the UN General Assembly on 22 September 2023, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu approached the lectern with a map ... on which ... Israel (included) the entire territory of Palestine, without showing the Palestinian West Bank, Gaza or East Jerusalem, the intended capital of a state of Palestine. The Palestinian territories that were to form a Palestinian state were erased."*<sup>65</sup> The aim of the Israeli government, whatever it says, is therefore not only the complete annexation of the West Bank, but also of the Gaza Strip. Smotrich, the fascist finance minister, "*the man on whom Netanyahu depends*",<sup>66</sup> is even in favour of a "*Greater Israel with borders from biblical tradition*",<sup>67</sup> an Israel that includes parts of Jordan and Lebanon. Smotrich openly endeavours to annex the West Bank, where he lives illegally. But where to put the Palestinians, from whom the land must be cleansed in order to preserve Israel's Jewish character? They are little more than a shifting mass that can perhaps be settled in the Sinai, but in any case must be pushed out of Israel or the occupied territories. Smotrich further stated: "*Voluntary emigration and absorption of Arab Gazans by the countries of the world is a humanitarian solution that will end the suffering of Jews and Arabs simultaneously.*"<sup>68</sup> Ariel Kallner, member of the Israeli parliament (Likud) and chairman of the parliamentary committee for relations between Israel and the EU, is more explicit: "*Nakba against the enemy now! This day is our Pearl Harbour. One goal at the moment: Nakba! Nakba bigger than the 48 Nakba. Nakba in Gaza and Nakba against anyone who joins in! Your Nakba like back in 48, the alternative is clear.*"<sup>69</sup>

If Gaza were ethnically cleansed, around two million people would have to be displaced. Would that be the cleansing that is "greater than the 48 Nakba"? The current Israeli discourse is moving in this direction. "*The idea that the army will destroy the Gaza Strip so comprehensively and empty it of its perceived hostile inhabitants that the area can then be used as a 'car park' has become a fixed phrase in Israeli discourse.*"<sup>70</sup>

## De-Arabisation - the programme of Zionism

Theodor Herzl, the mastermind and one of the founding figures of modern Zionism, wrote in his diary in 1895 about the solution to the "population problem" in the envisaged Jewish state: "*We endeavour to get the poor population across the border unnoticed by providing them with work in the countries they pass through, but denying them any work in our own country.*"<sup>71</sup> Herzl had not yet designated Palestine as a Jewish state. At that time, Uganda, Argentina or South Africa played a role as the location of a Jewish state.

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64 Asseburg 2023, 123

65 Karin Leukefeld, Israel and the United Nations, 4 November 2023, [www.nachdenkseiten.de/?p=106177](http://www.nachdenkseiten.de/?p=106177) → see section "Biblical promise"

66 [www.sueddeutsche.de/meinung/israel-netanjahu-palaestiner-gaza-kommentar-1.6304168?reduced=true](http://www.sueddeutsche.de/meinung/israel-netanjahu-palaestiner-gaza-kommentar-1.6304168?reduced=true)

67 Moritz Rinke, The battle for compassion, FAZ 18.11.2023

68 [www.n-tv.de/ticker/Finanzminister-Israels-fuer-freiwillige-Abwanderung-von-Gaza-Bewohnern-article24530603.html](http://www.n-tv.de/ticker/Finanzminister-Israels-fuer-freiwillige-Abwanderung-von-Gaza-Bewohnern-article24530603.html)

69 [www.merkur.de/politik/netanjahu-krieg-in-israel-gaza-gazastreifen-hamas-minister-avid-richter-benjamin-zr-92671310.html](http://www.merkur.de/politik/netanjahu-krieg-in-israel-gaza-gazastreifen-hamas-minister-avid-richter-benjamin-zr-92671310.html)

70 Christian Meier, FAZ 4 Dec. 2023

71 Cardboard 2010, 323



For Herzl it was clear: *"For Europe, we would form a part of the wall against Asia there, we would provide the outpost service of culture against barbarism"*.<sup>72</sup> In a letter to Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the African settler colony of Rhodesia, he called the Jewish state he favoured a *"colon ial project"*.<sup>73</sup> Today, this outpost of European culture against barbarism is Israel.

Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952) was Chairman of the World Zionist Organisation from 1921 to 1946 (with an interruption from 1931-1935). In 1949, he became the first President of Israel. He saw a *"fundamental difference between Jews and natives"*. Natives, i.e. Arabs or Palestinians, were considered inferior. Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English. Palestine had to be de-Arabised and Judaised: *"The aim of the Zionist movement was to take over the entire Mandate of Palestine and replace the indigenous population with a European settler movement"*.<sup>74</sup>

The current Minister of Defence Yoav Gallant says that he is fighting against animals in the Gaza Strip, who obviously have a collective guilt, be they children, women, men or the elderly: *"No electricity, no food, no gas, everything is closed. We are fighting against human animals and we are acting accordingly. Gaza will never be the same again. We will liquidate everything."*<sup>75</sup> Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu declared: *"I say to the residents of Gaza: get out of there now, because we will act everywhere and with all our might [...] Gaza is the city of evil, we will turn all the places where Hamas is staying and hiding into rubble."*<sup>76</sup>

Blind hatred was already expressed during the 2014 Gaza war. The deputy speaker of the Knesset, Likud MP Moshe Feiglin, suggested at the beginning of the ground offensive that the *"enemy population"* should be given a single warning to flee, namely to the Sinai. *"More humanitarian efforts on the part of Israel are not needed."* He then went on to recommend area bombardments regardless of *"human shields"* and the complete blockade of the Gaza Strip. Feiglin anticipated the Israeli measures in the current Gaza war. Ayelet Shaked, former head of Netanyahu's office and Minister of Justice from May 2015 to June 2019, recommended on Facebook in 2014 that Palestinian mothers who gave birth to *"little snakes"* should be killed in Gaza. The Palestinian people are made up of *"enemy combatants, and their blood should come upon them. This includes the mothers of the martyrs, whom they send to hell with flowers and kisses. They should follow their sons, nothing would be more just. They should disappear, as should the houses in which they raised the snakes. Otherwise more little snakes will grow up there."*<sup>77</sup> Middle East expert Michael Lüders does not see this as an *"isolated opinion"*: *"Racism in Israel has been completely uninhibited since the Gaza war in 2014 at the latest."*<sup>78</sup>

## **UN: Two states - the solution?**

*"US President Joe Biden emphasises it at every opportunity: there must be a vision of what comes after the war in the Gaza Strip. This must be "a two-state solution". This means an independent Palestinian state that exists peacefully side by side with Israel."*<sup>79</sup> As strange as it sounds: Had it not been for the terrorist attack by Hamas, which claimed more than 1,200 lives on the Israeli side, the *"two-state solution"* would not have been back on the agenda. It has not played a role for many years now. It is indeed a vision, an *"apparition in the mind's eye"* according to the dictionary, as the Israeli government under Netanyahu openly proclaims the annexation of the occupied territories.<sup>80</sup>

The *"two-state solution"* accompanied the founding of Israel from the very beginning as a UN partition plan. Article 1 of the UN Charter, which came into force on 24 October 1945, states: *"The United Nations shall set*

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72 Wild 2013, 14

73 *ibid.*, 13

74 Game 2013, 15

75 <https://bip-jetzt.de/2023/10/21/bip-aktuell-277-eine-sprache-die-man-noch-nie-gehoert-hat/>

76 *cf. ibid.*

77 Michael Lüders, *Wer den Wind sät, Was westliche Politik im Orient anrichtet*, Munich 2021, 161

78 *Cf. footnote 41 = Pappe 2010, page 162*

79 [www.tagesschau.de/ausland/asien/zwei-staaten-loesung-biden-100.html](http://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/asien/zwei-staaten-loesung-biden-100.html). 24.11.2023

80 [www.tagesschau.de/ausland/netanyahu-jordantal-103.html](http://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/netanyahu-jordantal-103.html). 11.09.2019

itself the following objectives: ... 2. to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures for the maintenance of international peace."<sup>81</sup> In its partition plan, however, the UN completely disregarded the predominantly Palestinian ethnic composition of the population and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. According to the ethnic composition of the country and the proclaimed right of self-determination of the peoples, it should have been an Arab/Palestinian state, a democratic state for Arabs and Jews together, which should have been decided by a referendum of the population. The UN disregarded the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, which it recognised on paper. The Palestinian people, the majority of the Palestinian population, were not consulted.

On 29 November 1947, the UN General Assembly approved Resolution 181 by 33 votes to 13 with ten abstentions, which advocated the establishment of two states on the soil of Palestine, one Jewish and one Palestinian.<sup>82</sup>

### **Palestinians: Partition plan rejected - Why?**

- a) In 1947, Jews owned 5.8 per cent of the area of the mandate territory. However, the UN awarded them 56 per cent of the area. If the UN had awarded the Jews a territory the size of the land they had settled, they would only have been entitled to around ten per cent of the land. The Zionist plans had even claimed 78 per cent of the area of the Mandate territory for the Jewish state.
- b) The Palestinians made up two thirds of the population and owned 93 per cent of the arable land. However, the UN only granted them 42 per cent of the land. What's more: "*The partition resolution allocated most of the fertile land to the proposed Jewish state territory, as well as almost all the towns and rural areas where Jews lived. But it also included 400 (out of over 1,000) Palestinian villages in the designated Jewish state. ... On 42 per cent of the area, 818,000 Palestinians were to have a state in which 10,000 Jews lived, while the Jewish state was to receive almost 56 per cent of the area, which 499,000 Jews would share with 438,000 Palestinians*".<sup>83</sup> The Negev, a desert area (but with fertile loess soil!) and a considerable rural population, made up the majority (> 60 %!) of the new Jewish state, although Jews made up only one per cent of its population.
- c) Almost all the cities were assigned to the Jewish state, although their inhabitants were half Jewish and half Arab. **Jerusalem**, whose 200,000 inhabitants consisted of roughly half Jews and half Palestinians, was to be placed under international administration outside the two new states.

More than half of the land was therefore awarded to a Zionist movement that had already clearly declared in the 1930s that it wanted to de-Arabise Palestine. The Palestinian side was not consulted in the UN negotiations. They rejected this partition plan, which so openly disregarded their interests. Menachem Begin was pleased about this: "*My greatest concern at the time was that the Arabs might accept the UN plan. Then we would have experienced the worst tragedy, a Jewish state that was too small to accommodate the Jews of the world.*"<sup>84</sup> However, the Jewish side under Ben Gurion only agreed to the partition plan insofar as it legalised the establishment of a Jewish state. However, they had no intention of limiting the size of their state to that of the partition plan. The Jewish state had to be enlarged by force. "*In the face of Palestinian and Arab rejection, its borders would be decided 'by force, not by the partition resolution'*," explained Ben Gurion, according to Pappé.<sup>85</sup> He went on to say that in view of the Arab refusal to co-operate with the United Nations, "*there are no territorial boundaries for the future Jewish state.*" (Ben Gurion, diary 7 October 1947, quoted from Pappé)

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81 <https://unric.org/de/charta/#kapitel1>

82 Walter Hollstein, *Kein Friede um Israel*, Bonn 1977, 121-134

83 Cardboard 2010, 61

84 [www.spiegel.de/politik/geschlagen-vertrieben-verraten-a-adde38b8-0002-0001-0000-000014350350](http://www.spiegel.de/politik/geschlagen-vertrieben-verraten-a-adde38b8-0002-0001-0000-000014350350) vom 10.10.1982

85 Pappé 2010, p. 63

## Biblical promise as a goal?

Political Zionism - despite its secular character - invokes the biblical promise, for example in the Second Book of Moses, chapter 23: "27 I will send my terror before you and make all the people afraid where you are going, and I will put all your enemies to flight. 28 I will send hornets before you to drive out the Hivites, Canaanites and Hittites from before you. 29 I will not drive them out from before you for a year, lest the land become desolate and wild beasts multiply against you; 30 I will drive them out from before you one by one, until you grow and possess the land. 31 And I will set your border from the Red Sea to the Philistine Sea [Mediterranean] and from the wilderness [Negev] to the river [Euphrates]. For I will deliver into your hand the inhabitants of the land, and you shall drive them out from before you. 32 You shall not make a covenant with them or with their gods; 33 but you shall not let them dwell in your land, lest they deceive you against me. For where you serve their gods, you will fall."<sup>86</sup> Does this not read like the largely implemented programme of the Zionist settlement programme? In an essay on the conflict over water, Vandana Shiva quotes Israel's former Prime Minister David Ben Gurion: "*It is essential that the water resources on which the future of the country depends do not lie outside the borders of the future Jewish homeland. For this reason, we have always demanded that the Land of Israel include the south bank of the Litani River [Lebanon], the upper reaches of the Jordan River and the Hauran region from the El-Aura spring south of Damascus [Syria/Jordan].*"<sup>87</sup> The biblical depiction of the Davidic Kingdom in the Wikipedia entry on Eretz Israel is consistent with these quotes.

According to Ben Gurion, the **Israeli state's right to exist**, which was established at the time, therefore included future conquests and annexations as a fundamental right. This was already the case in the Israeli-Arab war of 1948-49, which began after the founding of Israel. "*The Israeli army was able to conquer some of the territories that would have fallen to the Arabs or Jerusalem according to the partition plan. The war lasted 15 months and resulted in a 50 per cent expansion of Israeli territory (including West Jerusalem)*".<sup>88</sup> Instead of 56 per cent of Palestine in 1949, the Jewish state now controlled 78 per cent. The Palestinian side was forcibly reduced to 22 per cent of the area as possible territory for its own state. Although Jerusalem was to be placed under the administration of the United Nations according to a UN resolution, Jewish troops conquered West Jerusalem. According to the provisions of international law, no state may unilaterally determine its own borders, i.e. expand its territory through war at the expense of other states without their consent. Annexations are violations of international law.

The ink was barely dry on the partition plan before the forcible expulsion of the Palestinians from their villages in the Jewish state and the expulsion of the Palestinians from the cities they inhabited, including West Jerusalem, began (see above). The UN had left it to the Jewish side to decide how to deal with the Palestinians in the areas under its control.

## Expansion through war

Even the neighbouring Arab states and their monarchs did not respect the Palestinian people's right to self-determination after the end of the Palestine War in 1949. Jordan annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem intended for the Palestinian state; Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip. Israel could not accept this. Within six days from 5 June 1967, it occupied the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which belonged to Jordan, the Egyptian Gaza Strip (and the Egyptian Sinai) and the Syrian Golan Heights.<sup>89</sup> Israel called this war of aggression against Jordan, Egypt and Syria, which violated international law, a preventive war, a war of self-defence, because it felt threatened by these states. In the course of this "self-defence" and in the aftermath of the "Six-Day War", East Jerusalem was annexed with the Jerusalem Law of 1980. Jerusalem was incorporated into Israel as the "*complete and united capital of Israel*". The fertile and water-rich Golan

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86 [www.bibel-online.net/buch/luther\\_1912/2\\_mose/23/](http://www.bibel-online.net/buch/luther_1912/2_mose/23/)

87 Vandana Shiva, *Der Kampf um das blaue Gold*, Rotpunktverlag, Zurich 2003, pp. 114 - 116

88 [www.wikiwand.com/de/Geschichte\\_des\\_Staates\\_Israel](http://www.wikiwand.com/de/Geschichte_des_Staates_Israel)

89 Asseburg 2023, 24f.

Heights were annexed in 1981. The Egyptian Gaza Strip was occupied. With the war of aggression in 1967, Israel brought the entire territory, which had been divided between two states under the UN partition plan, under its control. We conclude: Israel considers annexations contrary to international law to be "self-defence".

### **Illegal settlements: Creeping annexation and ethnic cleansing**

With its conquest in 1968, the construction of Jewish settlements began in the occupied West Bank. When the national-conservative Likud party came to power in 1977, all occupied territories were authorised for settlement construction. The settlements were generously subsidised: Low rents, subsidising the price of water and electricity, security provided by the army, etc. According to Article 49 of the Geneva Convention, the settlement of areas under the control of an occupying power is a violation of international law. The "international community of states" repeatedly admonished Israel to refrain from colonisation, but made no effort to prevent Israel from doing so. In this way, the ongoing colonisation was approved contrary to international law.

After 1967, around a third of Palestinian land in **East Jerusalem** was also expropriated for the construction of Jewish settlements. Palestinians were granted so few building permits that around a third of their homes in East Jerusalem were built illegally. This made it possible to demolish them. There are now 230,000 Jewish settlers in East Jerusalem, living in twelve settlements. Jewish settlements and the connecting roads form a ring around East Jerusalem, cutting it off from the West Bank and also separating the south from the north of the West Bank. Since 1993, Israel has banned Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from entering East Jerusalem, and barrier walls have prevented entry since 2002. Some of them run directly through Palestinian residential areas. For the 370,000 Palestinians in East Jerusalem, there has long been no contiguous Palestinian settlement area. A Palestinian state would no longer have a capital.

Since 1967, the number of settlers in the **West Bank has increased** from 115,000 to 450,000. They live in 132 settlements and 127 outposts, many of which are illegal even under Israeli law. In 2002, the construction of a barrier wall over 700 km long and 8 metres high began. It is partially reinforced with an electric fence and barbed wire and has a watchtower every 300 metres. The wall runs up to 22 kilometres on Palestinian territory. It therefore serves to annex Palestinian land. The approximately 280,000 Palestinians who live between the wall and the West Bank border are confined to their villages and can only leave them at certain times. They need a special permit to get through a gate in the wall to their fields, e.g. to harvest their olives. However, permission is often not granted. Many villages are surrounded by walls on three sides. Villagers are not allowed to bring spouses from outside into the village. In a report dated 9 July 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) called for the wall to be torn down. Since 2000, family reunification has been largely suspended for the West Bank, meaning that spouses and family members can no longer move there. Hundreds of thousands are therefore living illegally in the West Bank without the permits required by Israel and could be deported since 2010.<sup>90</sup> The fewer Palestinians, the more security, is the motto. However, the wall does not primarily serve the security of Israel el, but the dispossession and expulsion of Palestinians. This is not done openly, but covertly. Their main method is not forcible expulsion, but the destruction of their livelihood. Security here probably means not worrying about the existence of the non-Jewish population. Between 1967 and 1994 alone, this led to the de facto expulsion of 400,000 Palestinians from the West Bank.<sup>91</sup>

Large settlement blocks, 85 per cent of the settlers and around half of the Jewish settlements are located on the Israeli side of the wall. The wall means that 13-16 per cent of the West Bank has been annexed by Israel. Hundreds of hectares of Palestinian land have been expropriated, houses and farmland have been destroyed and the Palestinian population has been almost completely cut off from the water supply. The

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90 Game 2013, 124

91 *ibid.*, 123

population around the towns of Qualqilia, Tulkarem and Jenin has lost 60 per cent of its best agricultural land. By building walls around towns, settlements, military bases, etc., Israel has expropriated most of the land in all Palestinian towns and villages in the West Bank to a greater or lesser extent.<sup>92</sup> The city of Hebron, for example, "*resembles a fortress with barriers and barbed wire - we live in a prison,*" says one resident.<sup>93</sup> The wall contributes to fragmenting the population into many small ghettos, whose connection to each other is massively hindered. The mini-ghettos are also separated from each other by 1,600 kilometres of "Jews-only" roads, which Arabs are not allowed to use. In addition, there are 630 checkpoints, earth walls, barriers and constantly expanding Jewish settlements, which increasingly restrict the living space of the Palestinians and separate them from each other. Palestinians have to make huge detours, e.g. on dirt roads, to get from one place to another, to their fields, to work places, schools or to relatives, etc. This has already led to 46 per cent of the West Bank being de facto annexed by Israel in 2010 with the support of the "Western community of values".

All of this increases the "*pressure on the local population to leave the country by robbing them of their livelihoods and making it impossible to maintain a normal life.*"<sup>94</sup>

Zionist settlers are subject to Israeli law, while locals in the Palestinian "autonomy" area are subject to Israeli military administration. Leaving the enclaves, i.e. the ghettos or reservations, is only possible with a pass. Residents of the West Bank and Gaza are not allowed to visit each other, Jerusalem only with a special permit. Cities such as Nablus can only be entered via checkpoints and are enclosed by Israeli settlements that are connected by Jews-only roads. Contrary to Article 2 (d) of the Apartheid Convention, basic rights in the West Bank depend on ethnicity.

The West Bank is divided into A, B "autonomous" areas under Israeli control and military C areas. Israel rules in C-regions.<sup>95</sup> The Jordan Valley, the most agriculturally fertile part of the West Bank, is 87 per cent C-area. Due to excellent climatic conditions, yields there are 4 to 10 times higher than elsewhere.

The de facto annexed Jordan Valley is the centre of Israeli agricultural export production. Four checkpoints control access. Residents of the rest of the West Bank need a special permit to enter the Jordan Valley, even if they own land there.

They have not been able to move there since 2000. 60 per cent of the Jordan Valley is a restricted military area that Arabs are not allowed to enter. Netanyahu declared in 2011 that Israel would never give up the Jordan Valley.<sup>96</sup> Nowhere are the dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinian population more advanced than in the Jordan Valley, which makes up 30 per cent of the West Bank. The inhabitants of three refugee camps were expelled to Jordan after the occupation by the Israeli army. In 1967, there were still 200,000 to 320,000 Palestinians in the Jordan Valley; by 2010, there were only 60,000.<sup>97</sup>

Settlement by Jews is encouraged through the allocation of houses, seven hectares of land, free healthcare, cheap electricity and unlimited water. The annexation of Palestinian land in the West Bank has meant that a Palestinian state could only dispose of 10 per cent of the area of historical Palestine, and that too in fragmented form (see Map 2).

*"The Palestinians in the Jordan Valley, however, are fighting for mere survival."*<sup>98</sup> The Israeli government ensures this. *"The most important means of achieving this are house demolitions, water deprivation, the declaration of large areas of Palestinian land as military training grounds or nature reserves and the terrorisation of the Palestinian population by settlers and soldiers"*.<sup>99</sup> All of this violates Article 49 of the

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92 *ibid.*, 119

93 Sandra Kegel, *Is my wish too big?* FAZ 14.12.2023

94 All details in Petra Wild 2013, 111 to 123

95 see map 2 below

96 Game 2013, 126

97 *ibid.*

98 Game 2013, 129

99 Wild 2013, 130; in detail about the ethnic cleansing by Israel pages 128-139

Geneva Convention, which prohibits all forms of forced "transfer". Creating catastrophic living conditions is also a violation. In view of the obvious ethnic cleansing, Chancellor Scholz nevertheless called Israel a "*democratic state that is humanitarian through and through*".<sup>100</sup>

The ethnic cleansing of the West Bank of Arabs in small steps is progressing faster than before following the Hamas terror attack on 7 October. Settlers are increasingly attacking Palestinian villages in the West Bank, preventing farmers from harvesting their olives and driving shepherds and their flocks from their pastures. Under the protection of the occupying forces, deadly violence against Palestinians is the order of the day. If the ethnic cleansing of the occupied territories is ultimately not and cannot be successful despite all efforts, there is one thing it definitely aims to do: intimidate the Palestinian population to such an extent that they do not manage to consistently rebel against their dispossession, humiliation and oppression.

The aim of the settlers and their Netanyahu government is, according to their announcement (May '20), the complete annexation of the West Bank. Israel has deliberately destroyed the territorial unity of a possible Palestinian state with the connivance of the USA, Germany and the EU. It has annexed East Jerusalem and cut it off from the West Bank. It has dismembered the West Bank into countless individual parts and forcibly severed the connection between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank at the time of its foundation. Israel under Netanyahu has also promoted the division of the Palestinians by massively supporting Hamas, so that there is no point of contact for negotiations on a two-state solution.

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100 M. Lüders "Staatsräson" and Kreisliga, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0Y56EeP\\_Bw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0Y56EeP_Bw), December 2023, Min 37:00



Map 2

Zones of the "West Bank" after the Oslo Agreement 1995 (Oslo II)

Source: Reader Attac Hamburg, Working Group "Palestine", 2011

## Ethnic cleansing in the Gaza Strip too

The UN's partition plan envisaged connecting the Gaza Strip with the West Bank via a corridor to form a contiguous area for a Palestinian state. Israel prevented the corridor and considerably reduced the size of the Gaza Strip. Today it is the size of Bremen. The Gaza Strip was occupied in 1967 and, after the withdrawal of Israeli troops and 9,000 Jewish settlers in 2005, was completely surrounded by Israel with high walls and barbed wire. Travelling from Gaza to Jerusalem, the West Bank and Israel is generally not permitted. They depend on special permits. The inhabitants of Gaza live in a confined space in a huge 360 square kilometre de facto prison, dependent on humanitarian aid. Most of them are descendants of Palestinians who were expelled from their homeland in 1948 and dispossessed without compensation.

The Islamist Hamas won the elections in 2006 and has ruled Gaza since 2017 after years of dispute with the PLO. It is mainly supported by Qatar, but also by Iran. It has transformed Gaza's territory into a system of underground tunnels, rooms and launching pads for rockets. It is said to have 30-40,000 fighters under arms and a rich stockpile of weapons. On 7 October 2023, Hamas gunmen forced their way through the security fence onto Israeli soil and indiscriminately murdered people who had taken part in a music festival or were living in kibbutzim close to the border. The murders of hundreds of civilians and the abduction of 240 hostages were terrorist and criminal acts. They must be condemned and cannot be justified by accusations that Israeli authorities also murder or arbitrarily arrest people without judgement or even charges. Crimes should normally be prosecuted. There is undoubtedly a right to defend oneself.

But how does Israel defend itself? On 4 November, a plan was announced that was approved by the Ministry of Intelligence and (at the time of going to press) is still on the agenda of Netanyahu's government. This plan proposes to expel the entire population of the Gaza Strip to Egypt.<sup>101</sup> Egypt refuses to take in 2 million Palestinians. Former Israeli Generalmajor Giora Eiland suggested concentrating the entire population on the coast and destroying all buildings in southern Gaza in order to force people to leave the Gaza Strip because it is uninhabitable. Of the 35 hospitals in the Gaza Strip, only a few are still functioning after Israeli shelling, and that with over 40,000 people who have so far been slightly or seriously injured by bombs and missiles fired by Israeli air and ground forces.

The Israeli military has forced the majority of the inhabitants of the northern Gaza Strip to move to the equally densely populated southern Gaza Strip through massive bombardments, supposedly to be safe from bombardments there. They cannot return home because the north is in ruins. There are now up to 1.9 million refugees in the south of the Gaza Strip. However, the Israeli army has also advanced into the south. It is also bombing Khan Yunis, which it wants to conquer and in whose neighbourhood a large proportion of the refugees are located. *"The suffering of the civilian population is already hard to measure"*.<sup>102</sup> The refugees are being asked to leave the dangerous combat zone in the direction of Rafah. People who have lost everything and are expected to survive there in tents in winter without sufficient food and heating. But Rafah is also being bombed by the Israeli air force, whether the concentration of people in emergency shelters is highest there. Israel would prefer to push the displaced people across the border to Egypt. *"The Gaza Strip will never be the same again. We will liquidate everything,"* said Defence Minister Yoav Gallant.<sup>103</sup> Contrary to all statements to the contrary, Israel is clearly not only waging a war against Hamas in the Gaza Strip, but also against the Palestinian civilian population. The Israeli Minister of Agriculture and former intelligence chief Avi Dichter describes the expulsion of the Palestinians from the Gaza Strip as a "second Nakba", i.e. a repetition of the ethnic cleansing of 1948 (incidentally, an admission and proof against the false claim by the German-Israeli Society and others that the Nakba is just a myth<sup>104</sup>). To expel the displaced

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101 <https://bip-jetzt.de/2023/11/04/bip-aktuell-279-welchen-plan-gibt-es-fuer-gaza/>

102 Haneka, The battle for Khan Yunis, FAZ 9.12.2023

103 <https://bip-jetzt.de/2023/10/21/bip-aktuell-277-eine-sprache-die-man-noch-nie-gehoert-hat/>

104 [www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6gkY0eUPXg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6gkY0eUPXg)



people once again now is nothing other than a continuation of the Nakba of 1948.<sup>105</sup> The complete closure of the Gaza strip, the immediate complete destruction of homes and the entire infrastructure and the war in Gaza as a whole have so far resulted in over 18,000 Palestinians being killed, 70 per cent of them women and children according to Lüders (cf. footnote 100).

At the meeting of the States Parties to the UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) on 17 November this year, there was an exchange of blows between the Israeli delegation and the Palestinian representative Nada Tarbush. She summarised the Israeli delegation's speech, as she herself said, "in simplified terms": "*The core statement is that Israel can kill every single person in Gaza. The 2.3 million people in Gaza are either terrorists, sympathisers of terrorists or human shields and therefore legitimate targets.*"<sup>106</sup> She called on the members of the UN body to reflect on the fact that every single one of Gaza's 12,000 human casualties to date would therefore be justified - including, mind you, the otherwise so deplored human shields. In other words: "collateral damage" - those killed accidentally and therefore unlawfully - does not exist according to this interpretation. They only occur when the Israeli army shoots at its own people, such as hostages who were released, who recognised themselves as Israelis with a bare upper body, a white flag and in Hebrew, but were nevertheless shot by several(!) soldiers.<sup>107</sup> As Palestinian civilians, they would also have been "legitimate targets" according to the above "core statement". The Israeli government is also demanding a demilitarised zone in southern Lebanon as far as the Litani River in order to prevent military attacks by Hezbollah in support of Hamas. If this does not happen, the current security cabinet is "*in line with the severity of the threats ...: Lebanon and its capital city of Beirut, it says again and again, would suffer the fate of the Gaza Strip fens*".<sup>108</sup>

### **Israel: Two-state settlement rejected**

Israel has fought against the two-state solution from the outset and has been working resolutely and increasingly on the incorporation of Palestinian territories since their occupation in 1967. It has been largely successful in this endeavour. Nevertheless, the UN Security Council in March 2002 with Resolution 1397 and the US administration under George W. Bush in June 2002 explicitly focussed for the first time on the two-state solution as "*a realistic option for a viable and lasting settlement of the conflict*"<sup>109</sup>. In its Berlin Declaration of 1999, the European Community had already recognised the two-state settlement as the basis for a solution to the conflict. It supposedly represents the realisation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. Really?

How and where a Palestinian state is to be founded as a result of Israel's annexation attempts remains to be seen. Will the 700 kilometre-long separation wall that divides Palestinians from Palestinians be torn down? What will happen to the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem? Will they be dismantled? How will the hundreds of enclaves be reorganised into a single settlement area? Should the annexation of East Jerusalem be reversed? With Jewish settlements, barrier walls, etc., a Palestinian state is impossible. The two-state solution has been dead for a long time, probably even before the end of the 1990s.

### **Continue:**

a) Israel has resolutely prevented the return of Palestinian refugees to their homeland. As a result, 3.5 million alone are living as registered refugees in Israel's neighbouring countries. The UN, on the other hand, has endorsed the right of return of refugees who wish to return to their homeland and live there in peace with their neighbours. This is stated in Article 11 of UN General Assembly Resolution 194 of

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105 <https://mailchi.mp/9607666896ff/bip-aktuell-284-ethnische-suberung-keine-umsiedlung?e=903507099a>

106 UnwebTV, 5th Meeting of the High Contracting Parties (CCW) <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k1b/k1bf0dm04k>  
Min. 0:21:34

107 <https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/ausland/israel-drei-geiseln-tot-versehen-100.html>

108 Peter Carstens et al, Controversy in the crisis unit, FAZ 19.12.2023

109 Asseburg 2023, 60, 103

1948.<sup>110</sup> However, the two-state rule accepts that the predominantly stateless refugees in the neighbouring Arab countries have no right to return to their homeland. The refugee camps run by the UN Relief and Works Agency remain in place. Is expulsion from their homeland compatible with the Palestinian people's right to self-determination?

- b) Those displaced and fleeing from Israel have been expropriated without compensation. The two-state settlement excludes and accepts this.
- c) The lawlessness and chronic discrimination of Palestinian Israelis persists. The 2018 Nation-State Law, for example, abolished Arabic as an official language. The promotion of Judaism by the Jewish state takes precedence over the promotion of Arabs.
- d) There is no longer a land connection between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

In 1988, the PLO proclaimed a Palestinian state in exile, which was located on the territory occupied by Israel, on 22 per cent of the original Mandate territory. The PLO thus moved away from its original goal, enshrined in the 1968 Charter, of a secular democratic state of Israel on the soil of historical Palestine, which was to serve all inhabitants of Palestine without discrimination. The PLO thus recognised Israel as a Jewish state and was content with the fragmented territory left by the Jewish occupying power. However, Israel only recognised the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, but not the legitimacy of a Palestinian state. The Palestinian "autonomy" authority of the PLO was mainly only responsible for administrative tasks under the supervision of the occupying power. The progress of this "autonomy" towards a Palestinian state, which had been promised until 1999, failed to materialise. Instead, Israel accelerated its steps towards open annexation, especially since the first term of government of the Greater Israel ideologue Netanyahu (1996-1999). This resulted in the second intifada. This led to the second intifada (uprising) from 2000 to 2004.

When it was founded in 1987, Hamas also proclaimed the liberation of the whole of Palestine (Free Palestine). However, it was in favour of making Israel an Islamic state based on Islamic law, the Sharia. However, since Hamas' participation in the municipal and parliamentary elections in the occupied territories (except in Jerusalem!), there has been a change of course. Hamas agreed to a Palestinian state on the land of the occupied territories and declared its willingness to reach a peace agreement with Israel based on the 1967 borders. In turn, its 2017 declaration of principles states: "*Hamas rejects any alternative to the complete and unrestricted liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea. However, without compromising in its rejection of the Zionist entity and without renouncing Palestinian rights, Hamas considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital along the borders of 4 June 1967 and the return of the fugitives and displaced to their homes from which they were expelled as a formula of national consensus.*"<sup>111</sup>

## Peace how?

It is fatal to expect a solution to the "Middle East conflict" to depend on which religious state prevails. The Jewish state is based on the oppression of the predominantly Muslim Palestinian people. A Muslim state would be based on the oppression of the Jewish population. Judaism and Islam, like all religions, have a claim to absoluteness. Both theocratic states regard members of other religions as infidels. Unbelievers are potential enemies. There can only be peace within the framework of a secular, a secular democratic state that recognises the private freedom to practise religion. As Netanyahu himself explained, a Jewish state is not possible with a Palestinian population of 40 per cent. However, this is precisely what Zionists like him

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110 [www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/ausland/palaestinenser-schutz-rueckkehrrecht-100.html](http://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/ausland/palaestinenser-schutz-rueckkehrrecht-100.html) from 22 October 2023

111 <https://magma-magazin.su/2023/11/uebersetzungsdienst/hamas-prinzipien-und-grundsaeetze/>

and their fascist entourage à la Smotrich are striving for if they want to annex the occupied territories completely. Jerusalem was only the beginning. Peace with Palestinians is never possible on this basis. Conversely, peace is also not possible when Palestinians murder civilians in Israel with suicide attacks and/or massacres. Neither side can wipe out the other. Any attempt to do so generates mutual hatred. A final military victory under the banner of Islam is just as impossible as a final Israeli military victory over the Palestinians in the name of Judaism. This is shown by the 75-year history of Israel and Palestine: millions of Jews and millions of Muslims are forced to live together. It is not possible to drive millions of Palestinians out of Israel, nor hundreds of thousands of Jewish settlers. All inhabitants of Palestine should try not to exacerbate the already achieved state of economic, social and military exhaustion and cultural brutalisation and bestialisation. This is neither possible under the rule of the Netanyahu Zionists nor under the rule of the Islamist Hamas. Corresponding forces would have to develop above all in the Israeli population, but also in the Palestinian population that has been driven out of its homeland. Commonality across national borders is called for, not ethnic cleansing in the manner of a nation. It is terrible that the development is going in the other direction, dramatically encouraged by the massacres and terror of Hamas against civilians in Israel as well as the growing aggression of ultra-religious settlers with a tendency towards fascism against Palestinian civilians under the protection of the occupying army.

### **Criticism of Israel = anti-Semitism?**

Germany co-initiated a definition of anti-Semitism signed by 31 countries through the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2000, which states: "*Anti-Semitism is a particular perception of Jews that can be expressed as hatred towards Jews. Anti-Semitism is directed in word and deed against Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, as well as against Jewish communal institutions or religious organisations.*" Criticism of the massive oppression of the Palestinian people is increasingly being denigrated as anti Jewish. And why? "*It is precisely out of its historical responsibility that Germany unequivocally opposes all forms of anti-Semitism,*" said the Federal Foreign Office in 2017.<sup>112</sup> The resolution equates nationalist Zionism with Judaism as a whole and also accuses Jews who reject Zionism of anti-Semitism.

With a Jerusalem Declaration (JDA), 210 academics presented a new definition of antisemitism in 2020. In the preamble and even more clearly in the attached "Questions and Answers", it states: "*The JDA responds to the working definition of antisemitism presented by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2016. The "IHRA definition" (including its "examples") is neither clear nor coherent. Whatever the intentions of its proponents, it blurs the distinction between antisemitic speech and legitimate criticism of the state of Israel and Zionism. This causes irritation and at the same time delegitimises the voices of Palestinians and others, including Jews, who have very critical views of Israel and Zionism. None of this contributes to the fight against anti-Semitism.*"<sup>113</sup>

The German government has added a far-reaching and controversial sentence to the IHRA: "*Furthermore, the state of Israel, which is thereby understood as a Jewish collective, can also be the target of such attacks.*"<sup>114</sup> This makes it possible to portray criticism of the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from Israel and the occupied territories, the ban on return and the massive expropriation of Palestinian property without compensation as a form of Jew-hatred, i.e. anti-Semitism. Palestinians who hate Israel because Israel has deprived them of their livelihood are therefore supposed to be anti-Semites. Anyone who does not agree with this anti-Palestinian foundation of the Jewish state can now be accused of so-called "Israel-related *anti-Semitism*". The Israeli-German sociologist and professor emeritus of history and philosophy at Tel Aviv University Moshe Zuckermann says of this term: "*"Israel-related anti-Semitism" is*

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112 [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/kultur-und-gesellschaft/-/216610](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/kultur-und-gesellschaft/-/216610) from 22/09/2017

113 [https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/JDA-deutsch-final.ok\\_.pdf](https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/JDA-deutsch-final.ok_.pdf)

114 cf. footnote 112

*primarily a slogan to prevent legitimate and necessary criticism of Israel, not to combat anti-Semitism.*<sup>115</sup>  
And in a Telepolis article from 27 May 2023(!) entitled "Palestine and German guilt", Gerhard Hanloser is not the only one to go so far as to see the "anti-Semitism label" as a "*current means of fighting to consolidate bourgeois rule*".<sup>116</sup>

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115 [www.berliner-zeitung.de/open-source/historiker-moshe-zuckermann-baerbock-ist-schlicht-und-ergreifend-keine-israelin-li.2149572](http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/open-source/historiker-moshe-zuckermann-baerbock-ist-schlicht-und-ergreifend-keine-israelin-li.2149572)

116 [www.telepolis.de/features/Palaestina-und-die-deutsche-Schuld-9067918.html?seite=all](http://www.telepolis.de/features/Palaestina-und-die-deutsche-Schuld-9067918.html?seite=all)

## German responsibility for the Holocaust and its consequences

Chancellor Scholz also stated ten days after the Hamas massacre on 17 October 2023: "*German history and our responsibility arising from the Holocaust make it our duty to stand up for the existence and security of the State of Israel.*"<sup>117</sup> According to a resolution of the Bundestag, this is even considered a reason of state. "*This is unique in the world, says legal theorist Marietta Auer, Director of Legal Theory at the Max Planck Institute in Frankfurt am Main: reason of state actually means that the survival of one's own state is above all else or is placed above all else. 'And the interesting thing here is that the survival of another state is made into one's own raison d'état by proxy. Auer emphasises that this is a political, not a legal concept.'*"<sup>118</sup> Shouldn't the ultimate responsibility have been to prosecute and relentlessly condemn those responsible for the unprecedented mass murder (and other victims of German fascism)? But that is exactly what did not happen.

On the contrary, the governments, judiciary, economy and society of post-war Germany ensured that the overwhelming majority of the perpetrators and those responsible for the murder of six million Jews were **not held** accountable on the soil of the West German constitutional state.

- a) The most significant trials took place in the mid-1960s, 20 years after the end of the war. During these twenty years, the vast majority of murderers were able to pursue their bourgeois professions or their work as craftsmen or labourers in peace. The Jewish gassers were fully integrated as merchants, doctors, savings bank employees, carpenters, etc.
- b) It is assumed *that there were "around 200 to 250,000 ... perpetrators of the Holocaust"*.<sup>119</sup> "*Most of them were not even investigated ... . But most of the investigations, around 90,000, were also discontinued. A few hundred were initiated and carried out. There is a numerical ratio of 1:99 between guilty verdicts and investigations*".<sup>120</sup> 962 guilty verdicts in relation to 200-250,000 perpetrators means that from the end of the war until August 1994, only one of at least 208 Holocaust perpetrators was sentenced to prison. Jörg Friedrich calls this the "cold amnesty".
- c) "*From the system of the Eastern extermination camps, which together with the Einsatzgruppen wiped out a third of the world's Jews, around two dozen murderers were seized and convicted by the Federal Republic of Germany's judiciary*".<sup>121</sup> A total of 174 people were convicted of murder in the Nazi trials and 778 of accessory to murder.<sup>122</sup> Two million people were murdered in Auschwitz, most of them Jews. In five trials, the judges convicted only eleven defendants as murderers. 900,000 Jewish people were murdered in the Treblinka extermination camp. Eight people were convicted as murderers. 200,000 people were killed in the Majdanek extermination camp. The judiciary discovered a single murderer. How can it be that a mass murder unprecedented in history was committed by so few murderers? According to Section 211 of the German Criminal Code (StGB), to be convicted as a murderer, murderousness, pleasure in killing, malice, cruelty or other base motives had to be proven individually. If these characteristics were absent, i.e. murders were carried out indifferently, in the performance of professional duties, as a responsibility to superiors without individual intervention (e.g. feeding Zyklon B to a room in which 2,000 people were waiting to die of asphyxiation or selection for gassing), a premeditated killing was not murder, but only manslaughter. If someone was individually convicted of murder in this limited sense, a life sentence had to be imposed.

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117 [www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/pressestatement-von-bundeskanzler-scholz-anlaesslich-seines-besuchs-im-staat-israel-am-17-oktober-2023-in-tel-aviv-2230822](https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/pressestatement-von-bundeskanzler-scholz-anlaesslich-seines-besuchs-im-staat-israel-am-17-oktober-2023-in-tel-aviv-2230822)

118 [www.br.de/nachrichten/deutschland-welt/deutsche-staatsraeson-was-bedeutet-das-eigentlich,TtnrdpA](https://www.br.de/nachrichten/deutschland-welt/deutsche-staatsraeson-was-bedeutet-das-eigentlich,TtnrdpA)

119 Hans-Jürgen Döscher, *Murdering administration*, FAZ 16.8.2016

120 Ralph Giordano, *Die zweite Schuld oder Von der Last Deutscher zu sein*, Hamburg 1987, 136; Jörg Friedrich, *Die kalte Amnestie*, Munich 1994, 367

121 Jörg Friedrich, *Die kalte Amnestie, NS-Täter in der Bundesrepublik*, Munich 1994, 359

122 Friedrich 1994, 367; Michael Ratz, *Die Justiz und die Nazis, Zur Strafverfolgung von Nazismus und Neonazismus nach 1945*, Frankfurt 1979

Anyone who acted impassively as an accomplice to the Jewish murder gas chamber machine was only guilty of manslaughter with a minimum sentence of five years. For 80 per cent of the murderers, the judges only found that they had fulfilled their duty to kill. Gustav Münzberger, for example, was sentenced to 12 years in prison in a Treblinka trial for aiding and abetting the murder of at least 300,000 people and was released after six years for good behaviour.<sup>123</sup> He was sentenced to one day in prison for the murder of 137 Jews. Section 211 StGB was Nazi law. It applied in the version of 4 September 1941 (!!). It was only amended in the mid-2010s. With the version of § 211 StGB of 4 September 1941", there is no question that the national socialist criminal law ideology, in particular the doctrine of types of perpetrators, was reflected in the wording of the law ("murderer is anyone who..." or "without being a murderer")".<sup>124</sup>

- d) The final solution to the Jewish question consisted of industrialised mass murder. According to the Hessian Attorney General Dr Fritz Bauer, the organiser of the Auschwitz trials, all those involved in the murder machine were guilty of murder<sup>125</sup>, as the purpose of the work relationships they had entered into was the daily murder of people on a large scale. There was no criminal offence for the prosecution of industrial mass murder other than § 211 StGB. The prosecution of mass murder had no suitable legal basis other than Section 211 StGB, which was created by the Hitler fascists. Section 103(2) of the Basic Law even expressly ruled out retroactive criminal offences. "*An offence can only be punished if the criminal liability was determined by law before the offence was committed.*" - "*Article 103 (2) of the Basic Law became a legal carte blanche for countless Nazi perpetrators*".<sup>126</sup> Was Fritz Bauer an enemy of the constitution with his opposition to this section of the Basic Law?

The Holocaust could therefore only be prosecuted after the war with the help of the Basic Law on the basis of Section 211 of the German Criminal Code, which was in force under Hitler fascism and had been passed before the Holocaust. However, searching for individual offences in the Jewish extermination camps was completely pointless and totally irresponsible towards the murdered and the survivors.

But the West German constitutional state, which Bauer perceived as a hostile environment, only discovered murderers among beasts such as the commercial clerk Friedrich Wilhelm Boger, the inventor of the Boger swing, which facilitated lustful orgies of beatings to death. The further away people who organised the mass extermination of people were from the killing process, the more they were not considered murderers by the constitutional state. No charges were brought against any of the participants of the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942 who were still alive after the war. Their pension entitlements were not reduced. task of the conference was "*to organise the deportation of the entire Jewish population of Europe to the East for extermination and to ensure the necessary coordination*"<sup>127</sup> "*No Jew has ever died from discussing extermination intentions. That was the prevailing legal opinion. ... Anyone who plans it (the extermination) is exempt from punishment right up to the Wannsee Conference. Only the denial of an almost unpunished final solution is punishable.*"<sup>128</sup> The recorder of the Wannsee Conference was SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann, Reinhard Heydrich's advisor for "Jewish affairs". He too was not considered a murderer by the Federal German constitutional state, as he had not committed any personal excesses, but only as an accomplice without base motives. By his own admission, Eichmann was an automaton, a machine, not a murderer. If he had been tried in Germany and not in Jerusalem in April 1961, he could only have been convicted of aiding and abetting.

The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the Gestapo headquarters, was the anti-Semitic control centre

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123 Friedrich 1994, 355

124 [www.bundesrat.de/SharedDocs/drucksachen/2014/0001-0100/54-14.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=2](http://www.bundesrat.de/SharedDocs/drucksachen/2014/0001-0100/54-14.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2) vom 12.2.2014

125 Giordano 134

126 Giordano 1987, 123

127 <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wannseekonferenz>

128 Friedrich 1994, 501

for implementing the will of the "main perpetrators" Hitler, Himmler and Heydrich to kill all European Jews. Its task was to deliver those to be murdered to the extermination camps. It was not only the camp personnel who were involved in the mass murder, but also the authorities far from the camps. "*The condemnation of the camp personnel is a false alibi without the condemnation of the authorities' personnel*".<sup>129</sup> Amnesty was granted through the back door to the authorities' personnel with the Gestapo at their core. Since no murderers with base motives were to be found among the personnel of the authorities, the 70,000 Gestapo members still alive at the beginning of the trial in 1968 were only order-loving auxiliary staff without base motives. They could therefore only be punished with a maximum of 3 to 15 years in prison.

But in October 1968, the Bundestag decided that all offences under the title of "accessory to murder" were considered time-barred after 15 years. Nobody claims to have known what this meant. But it was quite simple. On 8 May 1960, all offences punishable by 15 years' imprisonment were time-barred - including manslaughter and accessory to murder for concentration camp bureaucrats. The RSHA trial, which had been in preparation for many years, was due to begin in 1968. Too late. It was cancelled. The trial against Werner Best, Heydrich's deputy, for 8,000 counts of murder was cancelled in 1982. Streckenbach, responsible for the Einsatzgruppen in Russia and accused of causing the deaths of one million people, died peacefully in Hamburg in 1977. The remaining 70,000 Gestapo members were amnestied. The German government spoke of a "mishap".<sup>130</sup>

- e) Murderers of Jews were therefore generally acquitted without trial or, in rare cases, only convicted of aiding and abetting the murder of tens or hundreds of thousands of Jews. Who did they actually aid and abet by ensuring the orderly execution of the killings? They were four people who had been dead for many years. These monsters were Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, Reinhard Heydrich and Hermann Göring. Although they could not be proven to have committed murder individually, they were nevertheless the main perpetrators. Without being murderers, they were the centre of a murder machine of "helpers" who aided and abetted them and thus did not become murderers themselves.

Reinhard Müller (FAZ) completely ignores all of this and proudly declares: "*The democratic constitutional state ... was the direct answer to murderous totalitarianism*",<sup>131</sup> because he starts from the "*principle of the dignity of all people*". "Of all people"? Ruthlessness is a fine art.

### **German responsibility "for Israel's existence and security"?<sup>132</sup>**

On 10 September 1952, Germany and Israel concluded a reparations agreement. "*Considering that unspeakable crimes were committed against the Jewish people during the National Socialist tyranny and that the government of the Federal Republic of Germany has expressed its will to make reparation for the material consequences of these acts within the limits of Germany's capabilities, and that the State of Israel has taken upon itself the heavy burden of settling so many uprooted and destitute Jewish refugees from Germany and the territories formerly under German rule in Israel, uprooted and destitute Jewish refugees from Germany and the territories formerly under German rule to settle in Israel and has therefore asserted a claim against the Federal Republic of Germany for global reimbursement of the integration costs incurred, the Federal Republic of Germany shall pay the State of Israel an amount of DM 3.000 million DM.*" In addition, DM 450 million, "*which will serve to expand settlement and reintegration opportunities for Jewish refugees in Israel.*"<sup>133</sup>

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129 Friedrich 1994, 436

130 Friedrich 1994, 434-438;

131 Reinhard Müller, [www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/antisemitismus-und-angriffe-auf-juedische-einrichtungen-fortwaehrende-schande-19365504.html](http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/antisemitismus-und-angriffe-auf-juedische-einrichtungen-fortwaehrende-schande-19365504.html)

132 cf. Wild 2013, 130

133 Friedrich 1994, 439

The basis for calculating compensation to the Jewish state of Israel is not the 6 million murdered Jews. Nor is it all the survivors, but only the survivors who settled in Israel. No attempt was ever made to offset the income that Germany received from the killing and emigration of German Jews against the compensation. This is because the assets of all German Jews who moved their habitual residence abroad were expropriated in favour of the German Reich in accordance with the 11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Act of 25 November 1941. This also included the assets of the Jews who died of asphyxiation in the gas chambers abroad.

Adenauer's financial advisor on reparations was the anti-Semite Dr Friedrich Karl Vialon, who had confiscated Jewish property during the Third Reich. The anti-Semite Dr Globke was also a pioneer of reparations for the settlement of Israel. He was Secretary of State under Adenauer and his chief of staff. Dr Globke was a commentator on the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935, who stated in his comments: "*Only Jews and Gypsies are regularly of alien blood in Europe*".<sup>134</sup> The German amnesty for the murderers of millions of Jews is completely overshadowed by the reparations to Israel in the 1950s and the almost unconditional commitment to the existence and security of the Jewish state in Israel today. Philo-Semitism, which has replaced the uniquely brutal, murderous anti-Semitism of the past as the *raison d'être* of the state, acts as a remedy for washing oneself clean of the fascist past. The past falls victim to a "culture of remembrance" that relegates the amnesty for hundreds of thousands of murderers to the darkness of oblivion.

On the other hand, Israel is also involved. Israel demanded from Germany the "*global reimbursement of the integration costs incurred*" for immigrating settlers, nothing else. "*Ben Gurion issued a certificate of national greatness for this (for compensation from 1952) against considerable Jewish resistance: The new Germany was a completely different one from the old one. In fact, it no longer murdered. But where it could, it laid a 'protective hand' over the murderers.*"<sup>135</sup> It is hard to believe that the new Germany was completely different from the old fascist Germany when it came to prosecuting the perpetrators of the Holocaust. After all, the legal basis for the amnesty was the Hitler fascist laws of 1941, according to which mass murder predominantly only resulted in convictions for complicity and hundreds of thousands of *de facto* acquittals. Article 103 (2) of the Basic Law of 1949 did not allow a new democratic law to be passed that retroactively penalised previously unknown mass murder as murder.

Adenauer picked up the ball that Israel had passed to him: "*Just one month after the agreement with Israel, Adenauer said that the 'Nazi cynicism' must now be put to an end. ... If indeed atrocious crimes had been committed against the Jews, said (former) NSDAP member Kurt-Georg Kiesinger a few years later, then 'by misusing the name of our people'.*" ... *Not the recognition of guilt, but the exoneration from it forms the historical core of the talk of solidarity with Israel as a German reason of state.*"<sup>136</sup>

It was not Germany that paid for its crimes, but the Arab inhabitants of Palestine. Two thirds of them, i.e. 750,000 Palestinians, were expelled from their homeland in 1948 by Jewish organisations using terror. Their property and land was expropriated without compensation in favour of the Jewish immigrants, many of whom were Holocaust survivors. They and their descendants were denied the right to return to their homeland. The integration measures for Jewish immigrants and settlers financed by Germany were based on the Zionist premise that Jews had a claim to Palestine, while the inhabitants who had lived there for centuries did not. Their expulsion from Israel remains a major goal of the Zionist government to this day. On the other hand, Judaism is not identical with Zionism. Quite a few Jewish Israelis criticise the brutal oppression of the Palestinians and advocate a democratic secular state for Jews and Palestinians. It is a tragedy that Germany is using solidarity with Israel to distract attention from the unpunished anti-Semitic mass murder under its control, while accepting that Jews who escaped the Holocaust and their descendants

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134 Friedrich 1994, 440; Giordano 1987, 106f.

135 Heiner Roetz, The long dream of the "other Israel", FR 30 November 2023; for more details see [www.dw.com/de/deutsche-wiedergutmachung-für-israel/a-15387373](http://www.dw.com/de/deutsche-wiedergutmachung-für-israel/a-15387373)

136 cf. *ibid.*, footnote 97



want to create a "safe homeland" in the Middle East by turning the Palestinian people into a nation of refugees.

It should be noted that Hitler fascism and the Holocaust were a driving force behind the emigration of Jews to Israel. Germany therefore has a responsibility for the immigrants. The fact that Germany supported the immigration of Jews financially was in line with this responsibility. However, it was and is by no means correct that the aid was linked to a mutual clean note of health for Nazi murderers and contributed to driving Palestinians out of their ancestral territories in order to secure the Jewish character and the de-Arabisation of Israel. The resulting connotation that Palestinians should pay for the German crime of the Holocaust, for which Germany, with the toleration of Israel, took no responsibility, is unsustainable. It will never be a viable basis for peace in the Middle East.

Israeli President Isaac Herzog linked the terrorist attack on 7 October to the Holocaust. "*Not since the Holocaust have so many Jews been killed in one day*".<sup>137</sup> Herzog thus drew a comparison between the Hamas massacre and a Holocaust, with which Hamas, like the Nazis at the time, allegedly wanted to exterminate the Jewish population of Israel. Similar comparisons have so far been categorised by many experts as Holocaust relativisation. Hamas is now to be wiped out as the alleged heir to Hitler's fascism. Netanyahu, of all people, who has included Israeli fascists in his government called Hamas the "new Nazis" to Chancellor Scholz.

Herzog makes the Palestinian population of Gaza collectively responsible for a "one-day holocaust" and justifies the daily killing of hundreds of civilians in Gaza. According to this media-effective framing of the massacre with the term "holocaust", well over 18,000 civilians, including many thousands of children, have so far paid with their lives for the holocaust caused by Germany.

### **Conclusion: Options**

Gideon Levy, co-editor of the liberal Israeli daily Haaretz, gave an interview to Tagesschau on 7 November 2023. When asked what would be necessary if the two-state solution was dead, he replied: "*If the two-state solution is dead, there are only two options. ... One option is to continue this apartheid forever and the Palestinians will never get self-determination, a civil right. They don't even have citizenship, no human rights, no civil rights. And we will continue this endlessly.*

*The other option is democracy. There is no third option now. And democracy is the end of the Jewish state, the end of Zionism, which would be a state between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. 7 ½ million Jews, 7 ½ million Palestinians, with Gaza. That sounds like a utopia. But many things in history have sounded like a utopia at first ... . A one-state solution with "one person, one vote" is currently the only possibility or foreseeable solution. I know that sounds completely crazy, but what alternative is there? The alternative is apartheid forever."*

When asked whether he believed that the Israeli population would go along with this, he explained:

*"At the moment I am alone, and I have always been alone in this. There are very few people who share my thoughts. Most people in public opinion say I'm fantasising. That's why it has to come from the international community. The Israelis will not wake up one morning and say ... "I don't like this apartheid anymore, we want to end the occupation." That's not how it works. It will only work if the international community turns to Israel and the Palestinians, but first to the Israelis, and says: enough is enough. Now it's time for a solution. Imagine a solution, but really a feasible solution and a just solution, not just on moral grounds. Any solution that is not just will not survive. ....Man needs something that is fundamentally just for the Palestinians too, otherwise we will never be safe."*<sup>138</sup>

It cannot be about expelling Jews from Palestine and it cannot be about expelling Palestinians from Palestine. History shows that both are impossible and would mean a continuation of brutal violence against

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137 [www.tagesschau.de/newsticker/liveblog-israel-gaza-montag-100.html#Holocaust](http://www.tagesschau.de/newsticker/liveblog-israel-gaza-montag-100.html#Holocaust)

138 [www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/tagesthemen/video-1269928.html](http://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/tagesthemen/video-1269928.html) from 7 Nov 2023 04:22 to 07:18

Palestinian and Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. The oppression of one people (here the Palestinian) by another people (here the Jewish-Israeli) keeps both peoples in bondage, including the oppressing one. The right to exist in Palestine must be the right of all inhabitants. Despite 75 years of massive efforts, the Jewish state has not succeeded in Judaizing and de-Arabising Palestine, although the Zionists, with international help - especially from the USA and the EU - have had astonishing "successes" in this respect. As Ben Gurion and now Netanyahu clearly stated a long time ago, a Jewish state requires an Israel with a maximum of 20 per cent Palestinians. However, the more the territory of the state expands, the further it moves away from this goal. Despite all attempts at ethnic cleansing, an Israel including the West Bank and Gaza will probably include more than 50 per cent Palestinians. Zionism has failed. Its goal of Judaizing Palestine cannot be achieved with even more violence, only with the expulsion of millions of Arabs from Palestine. Because: where to? The view must prevail among the Israeli population that peace, security and a normal life for Israelis cannot be justified on the basis of a life of discord, insecurity and a state of emergency on the brink of survival for Palestinians.

The countries that have so far supported Israel should stop supporting ethnic cleansing, dispossession and permanent lawlessness. Above all Germany, which has massively supported Jewish immigration to Palestine out of "responsibility for the Holocaust" or in an attempt to buy its way out of the guilt of the Holocaust. The realisation that no nation can live in peace, freedom and security if it oppresses another nation and increasingly gags it in its living conditions should prevail here. Or as Friedrich Engels put it in "Der Volksstaat" No. 69 of 17 June 1874: "*A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself. The power it needs to oppress others ultimately turns against itself.*" <sup>139</sup>

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139 Friedrich Engels, MEW 18, page 527

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ehemalige Chefs des israelischen Inlandsgeheimdienstes Shin Bet berichten offen über ihre Arbeit.

„**Zeit der Verleumder**“, D 2021, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6gkY0eUPXg73](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6gkY0eUPXg73)

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