

Against "Sustainable" Apartheid & Occupation

Palestinian Grassroots
Anti-Apartheid
Wall Campaign

For effective support for Palestine

www.stophthewall.org

The future of Palestine and the Palestinian people is at a crucial **crossroads**. The Occupation project to ghettoize the Palestinian people behind Apartheid Walls and colonize their lands is imposing a devastating reality. With "development" agencies seeking ways to sustain this Apartheid system, the Palestinian struggle for liberation and freedom faces new challenges.

The ICJ decision on the 9th of July 2004, endorsed in subsequent UN resolution (A/ES-10/L.18/Rev.1), recognized the illegality of the Apartheid Wall and added fresh impetus to the mandate from the Palestinian people that the Wall must be torn down and the affected population subsequently compensated. The ruling concluded that international governments and donors are bound to this decision and stated they are "not to recognize the illegal situation created by the construction of the wall and not to render any aid or assistance in maintaining the situation created by it".

However, the World Bank report issued in December 2004 - Stagnation or Revival? Israeli Disengagement and Palestinian Economic Prospects - a guiding document for the donor organizations, governments and the UN - reveals planning and "development" in ways **entirely contradictory to the ICJ requirements**, international law and against the rights of the Palestinian people struggling for liberation, justice and political and economic sovereignty.

"In Israel's strategic interest"

The ideological and political basis from which the World Bank seeks to implement the "revival" of the Palestinian economy is based on the myth of "disengagement" and Israeli projects and plans for Apartheid, continued control and colonization of Palestine:

- The terms of maneuver for the World Bank analysis and proposals are consistent within the "Disengagement" and "Disengagement Plus" plans proposed by the Occupation Forces and the overall Zionist project to expel Palestinians from their lands.
- The Bank repeats the myth of "disengagement" - a warped term that in reality means increased **Israeli engagement** in its control over Palestine through the finalization of the Apartheid Wall and connected measures of land grab and ghettoization - stating "a significant amount of land will become available to the Palestinians" through the dismantling of the Gaza settlements and 4 "dormitory communities" in the West Bank. This completely disregards the fact that the Occupation is continuing its settlement expansion and will, if not stopped, annex 46% of the West Bank.
- The World Bank considers the Apartheid Wall a "security measure" which is woven with other Occupation "security concerns" into creating the "reality" from which Palestinian "development" will emerge. It presents an illusion that the Wall and the land confiscation and bypass road networks, the army camps, military zones and checkpoints, and the whole of the Apartheid system that is being imposed by the Occupation in the West Bank, have not been put there to benefit and serve the settlers and Zionists.
- Palestinians are considered mere servants of the World Bank proposals asked only to provide administrative frameworks, such as fiscal and political reforms and to develop a "security" apparatus to crush any Palestinian resistance to the Occupation and its crimes. International law, let alone the Palestinian **right to resist colonization**, are not guiding principles but cited repeatedly as impediments for "economic development".

"Economic boundaries [are] assumed to be the security fence"

The completed Apartheid Wall and project of Israeli enhanced engagement (not dis-engagement) in colonization and expulsion policies, is considered to mark the maximum territorial extension of the Palestinian economy and forge the reality upon which to build any further development programs:

- The "term [borders] is used to denote boundaries between areas of economic jurisdiction [...] Location of these economic boundaries is assumed to be the security fence". The Wall is thus not considered an "internal closure" even though **80% of it rips apart the West Bank**. It is perceived as an effective "external" border.
- The World Bank considers the Apartheid Wall as an inalterable fact to which Palestinian society and economy needs to be adjusted.
- In line with the plans of the occupiers for the Judeaization of Jerusalem, the World Bank chooses to leave out East Jerusalem from its analysis of economic scenarios regarding "closures" in the West Bank.



Economic "recovery": farmers turned into cheap labour

The World Bank report bases economic development within the context of continuous occupation and colonization, and seeks to entrap Palestinian labour into a regulated system of racial capital.

- The World Bank provides no remedy to the destruction of Palestinian commonality systems of ownership, local-local forms of trade, sustainable patterns of land production and social structures that are being destroyed by the Apartheid Wall and other forms of land grab. None of the technical papers deal with agricultural development, which has been at the root of Palestine's wealth and culture for thousands of years, presumably because the Bank recognizes that, in the Zionist project, the **Palestinians will be left with no land**.
- Cheap labour created out of dispossessed farmers is considered a fundamental resource within the Bank's development plans in the creation of an export orientated economy that necessitates cheap and unprotected labour working in industrial estates. The Bank insists that Palestinians must not only be willing to accept brutal military occupation, dispossession and expulsion, but must also sustain their oppressor's economy through primary goods and industrial output.
- The Bank seeks to act as a broker in encouraging Israeli and foreign capital to invest in industries on lands confiscated by the Apartheid Wall and to take advantage of the cheap work force of Palestinians expelled from their land. All three industrial estates mentioned in the World Bank report (in Jenin, Tarkumiya and Tulkarem Peace Park) are located in the West Bank on lands confiscated or to be confiscated for the Apartheid Wall and the settlements.
- Workers in these industrial estates are expected to work under a **"minimum of red tape"** (e.g. trade unions, environmental protection, and other workers' rights) in order to serve the interests of foreign investors. Their current wage level is still considered to be too high and needs to be brought down to meet the requirements of the World Bank "development" plan.

Free Markets: Imprisoned People

Possibilities to offer "limited" freedom of movement for people and goods is considered exclusively for the interest of the (Israeli and foreign) investors and industrialists, and enshrines the humiliation of the checkpoint system and "**scanning**" of people as a permanent feature of Palestinian life.

- The World Bank highlights "alternative transportation systems" such as trains, elevated roads and walled-in roads, as ways to enable goods and the Palestinian population to move between the **isolated Bantustans** without having access to the lands between them.
- The restructuring and development of checkpoints forms one of the Banks main proposals. Palestinians are familiar with such "modern electronic systems". They include "naked spy" scanning machines currently used throughout Gaza, which as well as being completely demeaning and degrading, could pose serious health threats from **radiation**. In the attempt to circumvent international law the Bank suggests it will not finance checkpoints that deviate from the Green Line. The construction of prison gates on areas of the 20% of the Wall built on the Green Line is designed to facilitate the movement of cheap labour and industrial goods. This provides sustainability to the Occupation's land grab and ghettoization of the Palestinian population.
- The report makes the admission that the limitations around freedom of movement are not due to any lack of technology but the decisions made by the Occupation Forces. However, the Bank steps in to support this arrangement rather than seek its removal.
- The Bank uses the Apartheid Wall as an incentive for the Occupation to continue the exploitative system of work permits for Palestinians, stating that "Israel's security clearance of Palestinian workers would be much more assured than today". This acknowledges that the Wall acts as an imprisoning device from which the Occupation can benefit by allowing a trickle of Palestinians to come through the prison gates in order to carry out what will inevitably be the worst paid, dirtiest and most demeaning jobs.

Co-existence as continued exploitation

Proposals for joint ventures between Israeli industry and Palestinians are based on the perpetuation of the relationship between the **occupant and the occupier**. It serves to fulfill the over-riding interests of the World Bank and the Occupation:

- The "sharing" of resources envisaged by the World Bank comes down to Palestinians in Gaza purchasing from the Occupation government the water that the settlers have stolen from them for years (as well as electricity).
- The Bank maps the re-direction of tertiary education, not to provide a service whereby young people might gain the tools, ideas and interactions through which they might seek to work towards liberation, but by which they will serve the needs of an intensive export orientated economy.
- The World Bank asks for "joint" ventures in the tourism sector at a moment when cultural heritage sites throughout Palestine (particularly holy sites around Bethlehem, Hebron and Jerusalem) are under **grave threat**. These major tourist attractions are being developed to serve the tourism and financial interests of the Occupation, at the expense of Palestinians.



For effective support to Palestine

That the World Bank completely ignores the fact that Palestinians are not looking for economic models of subservience, but the tools and resources necessary for genuine liberation, is not accidental. Underlying the whole World Bank project for the region is the notion that investment can soothe Palestinian desires for liberation and justice and that Palestinians should somehow conceal their anger and resistance against the racist Wall, and turn into the passive subjects of "development" as the World Bank and the Occupation see fit.

Many of the projects of "humanitarian aid" and "development support" proposed by the Occupation and the international community are either based on the same assumptions and/or are furthering the implementation of the plan of action proposed by the World Bank. Their complicity within the Occupation and the Apartheid Wall is entirely **contradictory to international law**. It is crucial that international funding does not follow this path but adheres to the requirements of the ICJ decision and the UN resolutions, together with the principle of justice for all Palestinian people..

We call upon the international and donor community and global solidarity to reject the World Bank report as inherently illegal in its approach and not conducive to any genuine development of a future Palestinian economy and society. We demand that none of the World Bank proposals receive funding or co-operation and extend this to any other project rooted in the same logic of making the Wall and its associated system of Apartheid economically sustainable.

It is crucial that the Occupation remains accountable for the **devastation it has created in Palestine** and to its people, and is obliged to compensate the Palestinian population for the damages and losses incurred by the construction of the Apartheid Wall, the destruction of infrastructure, closures, sieges, arrests, assassinations and expulsions.

The international and donor community must not be complicit in the crimes of the Occupation and is under no obligation to pay for the economic, social and humanitarian disaster created by the Zionist project. To the contrary, it has a clear mandate to invest in the Palestinian struggle for liberation, self-determination and freedom.

**Grassroots Palestinian
Anti-Apartheid
Wall Campaign**