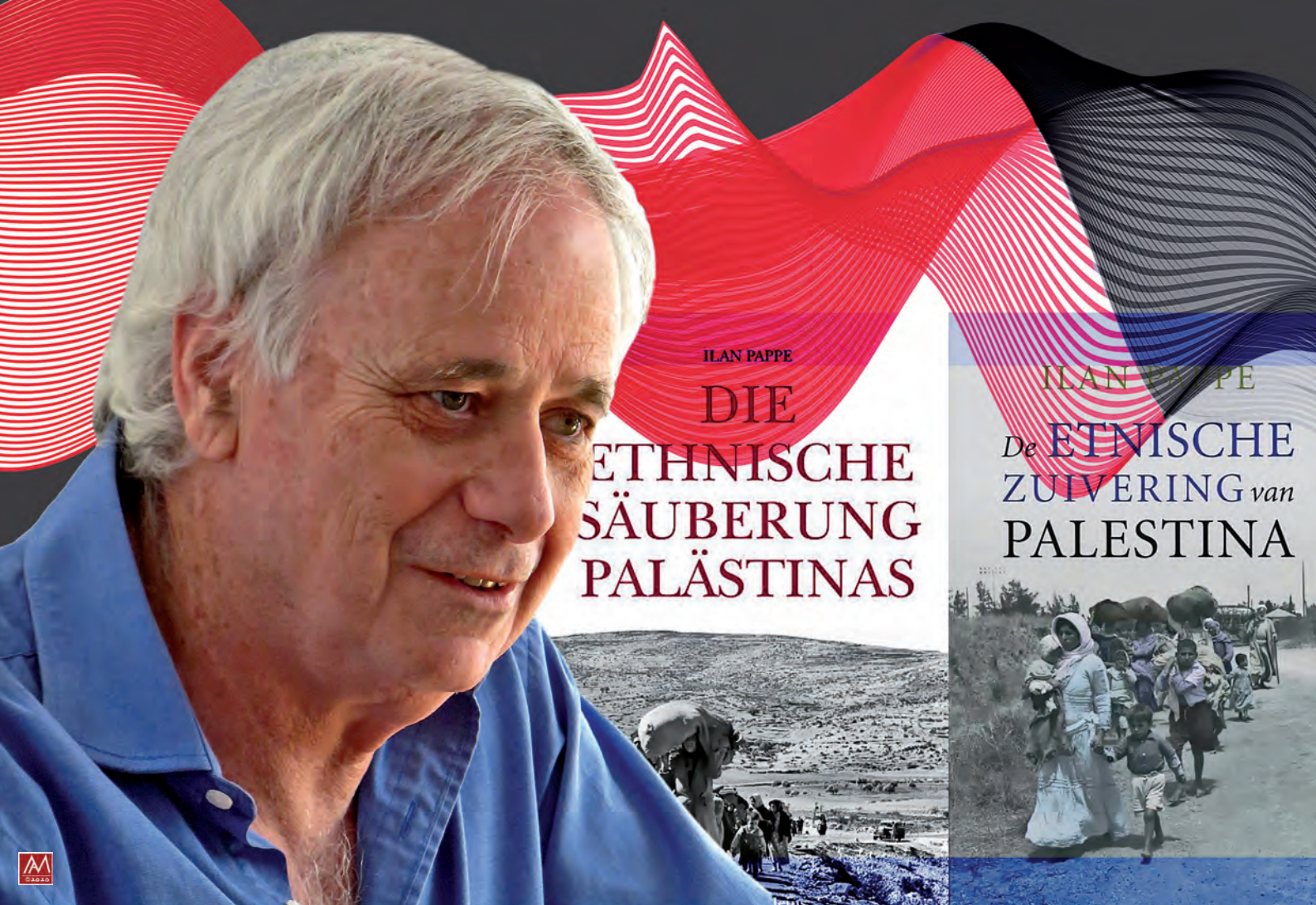
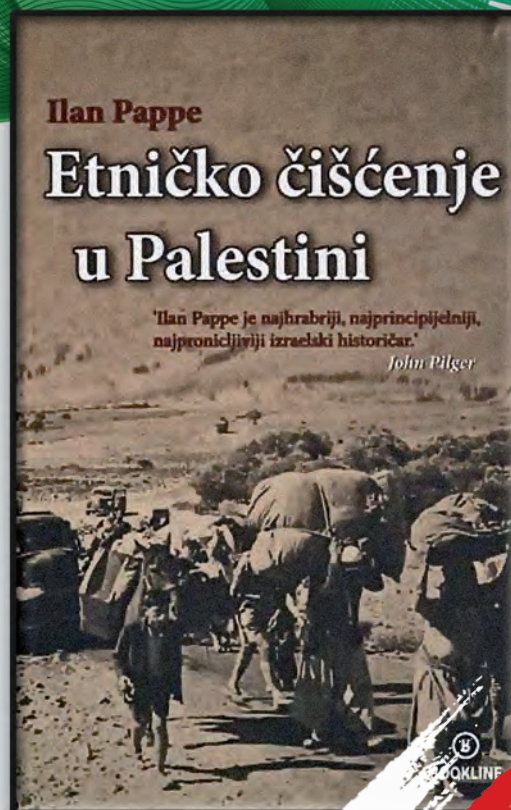
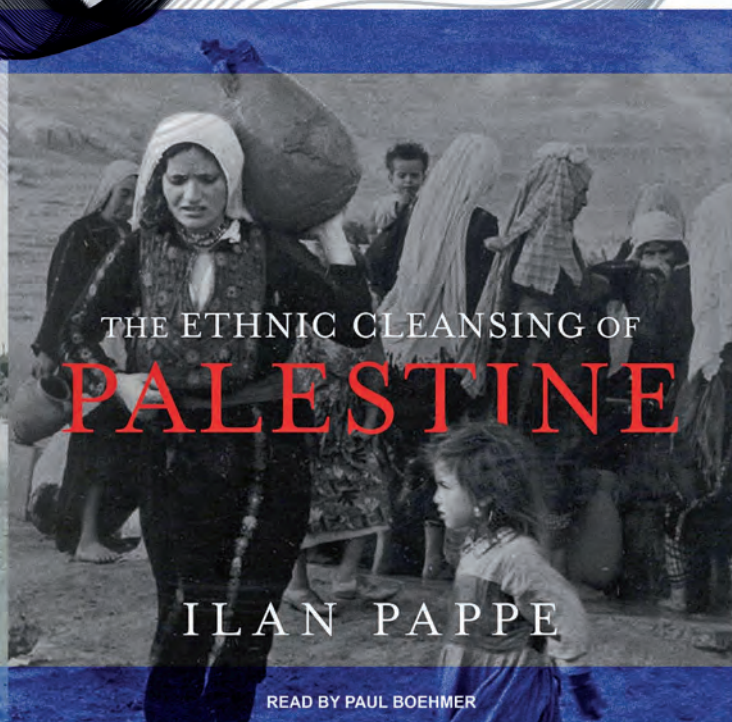




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Resul MEHMEDOVIĆ

ETNIČKO ČIŠĆENJE U PALESTINI

AUTOR ILAN PAPPE

Sarajevo: Bookline, 2008.

THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF PALESTINE

AUTHOR ILAN PAPPE

Oneworld Publications: 2007. str. 336.

THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF PALESTINE

author Ilan Pappé, Oneworld Publications: 2007, 336 pages.

The book *The Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine* by the Israeli historian Ilan Pappé, although published almost two decades ago, due to the subject matter, the terrible crimes and the complete uninterrupted months-long destruction of Gaza, has once again become a very live and current reading material.

Originally published in English in 2006 (Bosnian edition of Bookline, 2008, op. a.), Pappé's study offers a ground-breaking perspective on the expulsion and mass killing of Palestinians in the years leading up to Israel's establishment in May 1948, and those that followed.

For decades, the 1948 war in Israel and many Western countries was portrayed as a heroic act and a necessity in building and preserving Jewish identity - while completely ignoring the fact that it caused general harm to the Palestinians and that the sins of Europe (the Holocaust, op. a.) are being paid for by the people who owed nothing to anyone. Within this narrative, the Zionist cause was seen as morally justified, especially in the years following the Holocaust. Any criticism or report of atrocities against Arabs is often dismissed as anti-Semitic propaganda and targeted, downplayed or covered up.

Only in the 1980s, with the appearance of "new historians", such as Benny Morris, did a paradigm shift occur. These scholars have uncovered and presented evidence of systematic expulsions and war crimes committed by Zionist brigades, challenging the traditional Israeli narrative. Pappé's objection to researchers such as Benny Morris was their exclusive use of official Israeli archival sources and military records without using contemporary Arabic sources and the rich oral history of the conflict, which is so widely available among both

nations. Therefore, Pappé tried to address this gap in his book by bringing to light the missing "other side".

Although the book *The Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine* consists of twelve chapters, it could be summarized in three parts.

First part

The first part consists of the events and preparations that preceded the Palestinian exodus - the Nakba and the establishment of the state of Israel.



Decades of spreading the idea of a Jewish state, lobbying, and later detailed planning were the main features of the Zionist movement in the first half of the 20th century. Although by the end of the Mandate Administration in 1948, Jews owned only 5.8 percent of the land, after the ethnic cleansing that followed, by the end of the war in 1948, they managed to appropriate 78 percent of what was then Palestine.



Pappé argues that the Palestinian exodus was not an unintended consequence, but a deliberate act of ethnic cleansing planned many years in advance. Already in the first chapter of the book, he explains the preparations themselves and how accurate documentation of Arab villages and their inhabitants thwarted any resistance and irretrievably exiled hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. The persecution had to be violent and merciless, so that the return of the refugees was impossible. Persecutions and murders were not enough, hundreds of villages and towns had to be completely destroyed and even burned, so that "no stone was left unturned". They actively worked on the acquisition of the deadliest weapons possible, and David Ben-Gurion, later the first prime minister of Israel, personally supervised the acquisition of flamethrowers, which were intended to burn Palestinian villages and fields. Each brigade was given clear tasks with lists of persons to be liquidated. They were usually intellectuals, landowners or people who had expressed opposition to the establishment of Israel in previous decades, but there were also many ordinary peasants.

Second part

The second part is only the implementation of the "ethnic cleansing". Pappé describes in detail the different

versions of Plan "Dalet" and how they developed. In the guidelines that were issued, the goal was clear: to eliminate or expel the Palestinian population.

It vividly describes the brutal methods used by the Israeli brigades, including attacks, murders, expulsions and destruction of Palestinian towns and villages. His report also deals with the sensitive issue of sexual violence committed by Jewish soldiers, debunking the myth of their moral superiority.

Each military unit received a list of villages to be "cleansed". In many cases, unarmed men between the ages of ten and fifty were taken from the village in groups and executed. Sometimes they were forced to dig their own graves before execution. After that, the remaining population would be expelled. In other cases, soldiers raided villages in the middle of the night, destroying houses while entire families were inside, sometimes burning them together.

Pappé bases his descriptions on interviews with Palestinian survivors, but also uses internal Israeli army documents and reports from soldiers.



One of the many testimonies is the testimony of a boy at the time, Fahim Zaydan, whose family was killed before his eyes:

"They took us out one after the other; they shot an old man, and when one of his daughters cried, they killed her too. Then they called my brother Muhammad and shot him in front of us, and when my mother screamed, leaning over him - carrying my little sister Hudra, who she was still nursing - they shot her too."

The second part is full of shocking testimonies, detailed data on destroyed settlements and urbicide, explanations of the strategies used by the Zionists and detailed records of the crimes committed. For Bosnian readers, the parallel that Ilan Pappé makes at the very beginning of the Plan "Dalet" chapter is unavoidable, quoting *Global Security 2000–2005*.

"The Serbs wanted to create an ethnically pure Serbian republic for the Serbs, but the large Muslim minorities, especially in the cities, made it difficult for the Serbs to create homogeneous ethnic units. As a result, the Army of the Republika Srpska, under the leadership of General Ratko Mladić, began a policy of 'ethnic cleansing' against Muslims in what they considered Serbian land."

With this, as well as some other quotes in the rest of the book, the author alludes to the similarity and closeness of the Zionist and Greater Serbia ideologies, because behind both political projects is a "divine promise to the chosen people". The embodiment of that policy was the political elite and intellectuals supported by the structures of the academic community and the military machinery, which put the plan into action. Also, another link between Palestinian and Bosniak suffering is certainly the indifference of the International Community at the time, i.e. of the British administration, which had more troops on Palestinian soil than in the whole of India, however, did nothing to prevent the terror that followed. On the other hand, a complete arms embargo was imposed on the Palestinians (from France and Great Britain), while the Zionists were supplied with weapons from the Czech Republic through the Jewish communists. The Palestinians were the first "betrayal of the UN" (as Pappé called one subtitle), given that according to the 1947 resolution on the partition of Palestine into two states, they were obliged to "prevent any attempt by any party to confiscate the land which belongs to the citizens of another country or another national group - be it arable or non-arable land, i.e. land that was left uncultivated for a year".

Although occasional riots began at the end of November 1947, it was not until the beginning of April that the official order for Plan "Dalet" and the Palestinian

pogrom was issued. In the period that followed, 11 urban Palestinian settlements were destroyed, and over five hundred villages were razed to the ground. The result is over 750,000 expelled and at least 15,000 killed and massacred Palestinians. By the end of the war in 1948 and the collapse of the Arab armies, the Zionists had fifty percent more land than the UN plan to divide the land had planned to give them. "Eighty-five percent of the Palestinians who lived in the areas that became part of the State of Israel in 1948 became refugees."

Third part



In the third part, the author introduces the term "memoricide", illustrating how the Jewish National Fund (JNF) tried to erase Palestinian history, and makes a brief overview of the robbery and oppression, which did not end in 1948 and the establishment of the state of Israel, but lasted for almost half a century (with consideration to the time distance from which the author writes). Pappé calls for the recognition of the Palestinian tragedy and emphasizes the central role of the refugee issue in all peace negotiations. It emphasizes the senselessness of ignoring this issue and underscores the importance of confronting the past for sustainable peace in the Middle East. What he insists on is the recognition of the right of refugees to return to the hearths of 1948, which was persistently ignored in earlier peace processes and was considered until 1967 at the latest. However, "Israel's position is that it strongly

rejects even the thought of the possibility of negotiations on the right of Palestinians to return to their homes - even if it would lead to the end of the conflict." In fact, all peace processes, and the author confirms this in his later book *Ten Myths about Israel* from 2017, were just a show for the public without any serious and sincere intentions about the Palestinian state and the permanent achievement of peace.



Epilogue

Ilan Pappé concludes this exhaustive study with the demographic problem, considering that "Israeli governments have failed in their attempts to encourage new Jewish immigration and to increase the birth rate within the state. And they have not even found a solution to the conflict in Palestine that will include reducing the number of Arabs in Israel."

Consequently, Israel has twice in its history increased its population through immigration, each time by about a million people, the first time in 1949 and again in the 1980s. This kept the Palestinian percentage at a "tolerable" twenty percent.

"Tolerable" is in line with David Ben-Gurion's 1947 demographic guidelines: "There cannot be a stable and strong Jewish state as long as it has a Jewish majority of only sixty percent." Following that narrative, Netanyahu declared back in 2003: "If Arabs in Israel make up forty percent of the population, that will be the end of the

Jewish state, but twenty percent is also a problem. If relations with these twenty percent become problematic, the state has the right to use extreme measures." Since then, until today, we witness the persecution and plundering of Palestinian homes and land every day. Not a single UN resolution, and there were dozens of them, has ended the agony, which has been going on for almost eight decades now.



Ilan Pappé argues that Israel's problem is not its Jewishness, but its ethnic Zionist character, stressing the need to face this reality if it wants lasting peace. Peace in Palestine is not in sight, moreover, we are witnessing the suffering and crimes against the Palestinians that are in many aspects more tragic than the Nakba, and we still must wait for their summation.

"The ethnic cleansing in Palestine" continues.

According to information available on the Google search engine, after Pappé's book from 2006, at least twenty more books were published in English with the central theme of "Nakba". With the book *The Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine*, Ilan Pappé undoubtedly laid the foundation stone and encouraged other historians to research and write about one of the longest sufferings in the history of humanity. Pappé paid the price for his scientific and research work by going into exile in Great Britain, where he still lives and works today.

Freedom has no price.



ILUSTRACIJA - Jevrejske trupe Hagane 1948. (hebrejski: “odbrana”), cionistička vojna organizacija koja je predstavljala većinu Jevreja u Palestini od 1920. do 1948. Bila je organizirana za borbu protiv pobuna palestinskih Arapa protiv židovskog naseljavanja Palestine.

ILLUSTRATION - Jewish Haganah troops 1948 (Hebrew: “Defense”) Zionist military organization representing the majority of the Jews in Palestine from 1920 to 1948. Organized to combat the revolts of Palestinian Arabs against the Jewish settlement of Palestine