

# The Zionist Phenomenon in the Linear Trend of Settler Decolonization



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# **Table of Content**

Table of Content	1
Introduction	2
First: Monitoring Historical Trends and Their Implications	2
Second: The Impact of the National Community's Numerical Superiority	
Over the Incoming Settler Community	6
Third: International Support	9
Fourth: Conclusions	10

#### The Zionist Phenomenon in the Linear Trend of Settler Decolonization

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#### Introduction

Most literature on settler colonialism highlights two key points: the linear decomposition of settler colonialism across its historical stages and the central role of demographic proportions between the indigenous population and incoming settlers in shaping this process. This raises an important question: to what extent do these dynamics apply to the settler entity in Palestine, and does Operation al-Aqsa Flood reinforce this trend?

The inclusion of the Zionist phenomenon within the framework of settler colonialism is notably recognized by the foundational literature of the project's pioneers. Both Jabotinsky and Herzl explicitly describe it as settler colonialism, a perspective that continues to be embraced by contemporary Israeli thinkers.<sup>2</sup>

## First: Monitoring Historical Trends and Their Implications

Analyzing the mega-trend of a political phenomenon requires extended observation to determine the strength and stability of its overall trajectory over time. This is particularly true for phenomena like settler colonialism, which, despite displaying consistent overarching patterns, undergoes various changes in its specific aspects.

Most specialized studies on settler colonialism trace its origins to research on Australia, which later expanded to Western societies and other regions worldwide. These studies generally agree that the term "settler colonialism" emerged in the 1920s and define it based on two key principles: the forcible control of a place (such as a country or region) and the replacement of the indigenous population with an expatriate one, often through displacement or genocide. This distinction sets settler colonialism apart from ordinary migration, emphasizing its reliance on military force to dismantle indigenous communities, displace or exterminate indigenous populations, and transform the social and cultural landscape. This transformation includes altering place names, production patterns, language, art, fashion and more<sup>3</sup>—a concept articulated by Theodor Herzl, who remarked, "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct."

Settler colonialism differs from traditional colonialism, which relies on military occupation and control without displacing or exterminating the indigenous population. For example, while many Arab, African and Asian countries have experienced





colonization, their populations were not displaced, exterminated, or replaced by foreign societies.

Most studies on settler colonialism highlight the Zionist phenomenon as one of its most prominent examples. A detailed analysis of a scientific journal specializing in settlement as a global colonial phenomenon reveals that Jewish settlement ranks second in frequency—following studies on settler colonialism in North America and Australia—accounting for 26.3% of the total articles published between 2011 and 2021.<sup>5</sup> Omitting the settlement dimension from studies on Israel, therefore, represents a deliberate methodological flaw driven by political motives.

The historical trajectory of colonialism's decline, encompassing both settler and non-settler forms, follows a discernible linear pattern. At the height of colonialism during the WWI in 1914, approximately 560 million people lived in colonies worldwide, with 70% under British rule, 10% in French colonies, 9% in Dutch colonies, 4% in Japanese colonies, 2% each in German and American colonies,



3% in Portuguese colonies, 1% in Belgian colonies, and 0.5% in Italian colonies.<sup>6</sup> Between the early 1960s and the late 1980s, Britain colonized 17 countries, France 21, Portugal 5, and Belgium 3, while a significant wave of independence swept across these colonies. The 1960s saw the strongest push for independence, with 29 countries gaining freedom, followed by 8 in the 1970s and 4 in the 1980s. The remaining nations achieved independence either before the 1960s or after the 1990s, with 13 countries breaking away, some from existing states rather than European colonization.<sup>7</sup> Specialized studies highlight that the major wave of decolonization, particularly settler decolonization, took place between 1945 and 1975—a phenomenon first predicted in 1932 by German economist Moritz Julius Bonn, who coined the term "decolonization." While some scholars view the disintegration of the Soviet Union (1985–1991) as an extension of this phenomenon, it is not entirely consistent with the characteristics of settler decolonization.<sup>9</sup>

Quantitative indicators reveal that from the late 15th century to 1800, approximately 35% of the world's regions experienced colonization in various forms. This expanded significantly to about 84% by the onset of WWI. However, a steady decline followed, beginning at the end of the war, leading to the present day, where only around 10 million people worldwide remain subject to settler colonialism or other forms of colonialism. Among these, Israel stands out as the most prominent and largest settler colonial entity. <sup>10</sup>

3





A key observation is that all settler societies, without exception, faced armed revolutions and guerrilla wars. Authorities in these societies consistently characterized such uprisings as "rebellion, terrorism, sabotage, etc." This shared response reflects a broader pattern of Western hostility toward these revolutions, a common feature of all settler-colonial phenomena, including the Zionist case or Israel.

Decolonization cannot be solely attributed to individual factors, though they play a contributory role. Amid ongoing debates about the significance of these factors, an explanatory model has emerged that integrates various theoretical approaches to account for the collapse of colonialism in all its forms. This model posits that decolonization resulted from three key developments:<sup>11</sup>

- ▶ 1. The growth and influence of metropolitan cities (Metropolitan Theory).
- ▶ 2. The rise and resilience of independence movements in peripheral regions (Periphery Theory).
- ▶ 3. Transformations in international politics, particularly changes in the structure of global polarity.

The causes of colonial rule's disintegration cannot be attributed to a single isolated development but rather to the interaction between urban forces in the colonial center, the colonial periphery, and the structure of international relations. The demographic variable also plays a significant role in the first and second developments, reflecting an interdependence that unfolded across four stages.<sup>12</sup>

Stage I (1776–1826): This stage witnessed revolutions across North and South America, targeting both the colonial metropoles (the centers) and the colonial peripheries (the colonies in the Americas).

Stage II (1839–1931): It marked a period during which settlers in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa gradually gained greater independence from their European, particularly British, origins. This stage represents the growing separation of the settler communities from their European parent communities.

Stage III (1935–1975): It marked the disintegration of European colonialism in Africa, during which 27 countries gained independence from European powers within three decades. The process of achieving independence varied significantly across regions, with some transitions occurring peacefully while others involved violent armed revolutions. Several factors influenced the choice of revolutionary paths, including the failures of colonial policies, the strength of anti-colonial movements, the global context of the Cold War, the rising influence of international organizations like the United Nations (UN), and the emergence of an international human rights framework, etc.





Stage IV (1985–1991): It marked the disintegration of the Soviet Union, culminating in the independence of its 15 republics. This collapse was preceded by various attempts at rebellion against the centralized socialist system, including uprisings in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968), as well as persistent tensions among more than 150 minority sub-identities within the union.



The historical trend suggests that:

- ▶ 1. The disintegration of settler colonialism is a linear process and a recurring historical phenomenon. As a political entity, Israel is shaped by the laws of settler colonialism due to its structural nature. This disintegration typically follows one of two paths: the first involves the separation of the settler community from its center, as seen in Canada, US, Australia and New Zealand, where settlers outnumbered the indigenous populations and established independent systems. The second path occurs in societies where the indigenous population maintains numerical superiority over settlers, leading to successful independence movements, such as in Algeria, Namibia, and South Africa. Patrick Wolfe, a key theorist of settler colonialism, places Israel in the second category, indicating that it is subject to the same trajectory of eventual dissolution.
- ▶ 2. Historical studies unanimously affirm that liberation revolutions have occurred in all settler-colonial contexts, following a linear trend of decolonization. Palestinian revolutions exemplify this pattern, characterized by fluctuations in progress but ultimately moving toward eventual success.¹⁴
- ▶ 3. The evolving international legal norms supporting decolonization. <sup>15</sup> When the UN was founded in 1945, nearly a third of the world's population, lived in Territories that were dependent on colonial Powers. However, in 2024, there are 17 Non-Self-Governing Territories remaining, including Palestine. As the process of decolonization continued to advance, the General Assembly, in 1960, adopted its landmark Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration affirmed the right of all people to self-determination and proclaimed that colonialism should be brought to a speedy and unconditional end. In 1962, a Special Committee on Decolonization was established to monitor its implementation. In 1990, the Assembly proclaimed the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism (1990–2000), which included a specific plan of action. In 2001, it was followed by a Second International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Then the General Assembly declared the period 2011–2020 the Third

International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. In 2020, the General Assembly declared the period 2021–2030 the Fourth International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Practically speaking, since the founding of the UN, 80 former colonies have gained their independence. This includes all 11 Trust Territories, which have achieved self-determination through independence or free association with an independent State. The Special Committee continues to monitor the situation in the remaining 17 territories, working to facilitate achieving their decolonization. The international trusteeship system was established by the UN Charter. Affirming the principle of self-determination, the Charter describes the responsibility of States for territories under their administration as "a sacred trust" in which the interests of their inhabitants are paramount.

# Second: The Impact of the National Community's Numerical Superiority Over the Incoming Settler Community

Historical observations of revolutions in settler-colonial societies reveal that population ratios between settlers and the indigenous population play a critical role in shaping the settler entity's future. When settlers outnumber the indigenous population, settler colonialism is more likely to achieve stability, as seen in examples like Australia, US, Canada and New Zealand. Conversely, when the indigenous population remains numerically dominant, the likelihood of decolonization increases, as demonstrated by cases such as Algeria, South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia and Indonesia.

Settler communities actively sought to disrupt the numerical superiority of indigenous populations through murder, forced displacement and systemic health negligence, which contributed to high death rates among the indigenous population. For instance, 74% of the indigenous population in the US was wiped out at the onset of the European invasion. Settler colonialism often relied on the internalization of local communities as a precursor to assimilation, aiming to dissolve their cultural and historical identities into that



of the settler community. This process involved imposing the language, religion, customs, traditions, clothing, and arts of the colonizers, a strategy notably employed by European colonial powers in regions across Africa and Asia.<sup>16</sup>

To illustrate the proportional relationship between the indigenous population and settlers, we examine the percentage of settlers on the African continent during the peak of settler colonization, as detailed in the table below:<sup>17</sup>





Table 1: Settler-to-Population Ratios and Independence Dates of African Countries

No.	Countries	Highest Settler % Relative to Indigenous Population During Peak Colonization	Independence Date
1	South Africa	21	1990 (End of Apartheid) <sup>18</sup>
2	Algeria	16	1962
3	Namibia (formerly South West Africa)	14	1990
4	Libya	13	1951
5	Tunisia	10	1951
6	Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia)	8	1980
7	Morocco (Spanish region)	7	1958
8	Angola	7	1975
9	Morocco (French region)	3	1956
10	Swaziland	3	1968
11	Western Sahara	3	1976
12	Zambia (Northern Rhodesia)	2	1964
13	Kenya	1	1963

This means that the outnumbering of the indigenous population by settlers is central to the concept of liberation, which led to policies of displacement, genocide, starvation, and the spread of deadly diseases. These measures were followed by the encouragement of immigrant settlers, motivated by religious, economic or racial factors. Together, these tactics are designed solely to maintain a demographic imbalance in favor of the settler community.

This historical trend aligns with the phenomenon of Zionist settlement in Palestine. The genocide policies pursued by the Israeli government, which have been proven and condemned by international judicial bodies, various UN organizations, and global NGOs, expose an Israeli agenda to assert dominance of the Jewish settler population over Palestinians in historic Palestine. This effort is particularly evident as Israeli

authorities recognize that Palestinians continue to outnumber Jewish settlers across all of Palestine, despite ongoing policies of genocide, ethnic cleansing, starvation, displacement, and prevention of return. These policies have been in place since the establishment of Israel and have only intensified in severity and clarity, especially since Operation al-Aqsa Flood.

The settler colonial administration in Palestine has thus far been unable to alter the demographic balance in favor of the settler community, as evidenced by the census data presented in the following table:<sup>19</sup>

Table 2: Comparison of Demographic Indicators Between the Palestinian Population and Israeli Settler Colonial Society

Category/ indicator	Population 2024	Population 2035 (Projected)	Fertility rate	Population growth rate	Migration after Operation al-Aqsa Flood compared to the previous year
Palestinian Arabs	7,593,000	10,858,000	3.25	1.85%	110,000 From GS
Jewish settlers	7,181,000	9,727,000	3.1	1.41%	370,000 emigrated

The population data indicates that the Palestinian community continues to outnumber the settler community across all of historic Palestine, posing a central obstacle to the Israeli occupation. This imbalance drives policies of displacement, starvation, genocide, and the destruction of facilities and infrastructure, particularly following Operation al-Aqsa Flood in October 2023. Projections suggest that Palestinians will maintain a demographic majority until 2035, despite Israeli measures, especially after Operation al-Aqsa Flood. This context sheds light on the motives behind Israel's escalating violence against Palestinian society.

The demographic variable plays a crucial role in the success of revolutions, particularly when comparing anti-colonial revolutions to social revolutions. National liberation movements against traditional and settler colonialism demonstrate a significantly higher success rate than social revolutions, with a ratio of 4.56 to 1, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 3: Revolution Success Rates 1945–1970<sup>20</sup>

Revolution	Success	Failure	Total	Success %
Anti-colonial	8	3	11	72.7
Social	2	11	13	15.5





Scientific analysis highlights the challenge of achieving independence in historic Palestine, given the relative balance between citizens and settlers. Palestinians make up 51.39% of the total population, while settlers account for 48.6%, emphasizing the critical role of the population dimension in countering the settler project. By comparison, in 13 African countries studied (see table 1), settlers constituted an average of 8.3% of the population, peaking at just 21% in South Africa—significantly lower than in Palestine. This stark difference underscores the need for strategic planning by Palestinians, as will be detailed later.

## **Third: International Support**

We have previously observed the evolution of international norms regarding colonialism in its various forms, particularly through the efforts of the UN and various governmental and non-governmental organizations. However, the transformation of human value systems often progresses more slowly than the oppressed might hope. The South African model, in this context, is a significant phenomenon. A US State Department document<sup>21</sup> highlights that the international community had begun to take notice of the brutality of the Apartheid regime after white South African police opened fire on unarmed black protesters in the town of Sharpeville in 1960, killing 69 people and wounding 186 others. The UN led the call for sanctions against the South African Government. Fearful of losing friends in Africa as de-colonization transformed the continent, powerful members of the Security Council, including Great Britain, France, and the US, succeeded in watering down the proposals (as in the case of Palestine, today). However, by the late 1970s, grassroots movements in Europe and the United States succeeded in pressuring their governments into imposing economic and cultural sanctions on Pretoria (It seems that signs of popular pressure are beginning to emerge internationally within the Palestinian scene). After the US Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986, many large multinational companies withdrew from South Africa. By the late 1980s, the South African economy was struggling with the effects of the internal and external boycotts as well as the burden of its military commitment in occupying Namibia.

International public opinion polls consistently reveal a growing negative image of Israel following Operation al-Aqsa Flood. This trend is confirmed by a review of headlines from prominent international newspapers and summarized reports in leading Western magazines. Notably, a survey spanning 43 countries indicated that net favorability—the percentage of people viewing Israel positively after subtracting the percentage viewing it negatively—dropped globally by an average of 18.5%, decreasing in 42 out of the 43 countries polled. In some countries, the decline was particularly sharp, where the net favorability in:<sup>22</sup>





- Japan went from -39.9 to -62.0.
- South Korea from -5.5 to -47.8.
- UK from -17.1 to -29.8.

The International Criminal Court's (ICC) November 2024 decision to arrest Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his former defense minister marks a significant shift in the global perception of Israel, particularly in societies that once strongly supported settler colonialism in Palestine. This change is reflected in Western media headlines, which have described the decision as a "turning point"



in the international stance toward Israel.<sup>23</sup> This trend is underscored by the International Court of Justice's (ICJ) January 2024 adoption of "provisional measures" that "include requiring Israel to prevent genocide against Palestinians in Gaza," and its July 2024 decision declaring Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jerusalem "illegal," a stance endorsed by the European Union.<sup>24</sup> Together, these developments signal the beginning of a shift in global perceptions of Israel following Operation al-Aqsa Flood.

#### **Fourth: Conclusions**

The study of settler colonialism highlights the pivotal role of demographic factors in managing conflicts, necessitating a closer examination of related phenomena:

- 1. Efforts must focus on establishing conditions that minimize opportunities for permanent migration among Palestinians in Palestine, regardless of the underlying causes. The demographic struggle is a critical factor in the prospects for liberation, especially as long-term Israeli strategies appear to center on displacement by all possible means. This underscores the urgency of forming Palestinian research teams to anticipate and analyze potential methods of displacement and to develop proactive measures to counter these plans effectively.
- ▶ 2. Prioritizing the development of the Palestinian countryside to prevent rural-to-urban migration and maintain a balanced population distribution across available geographical areas. This approach contrasts with the current urban-centric development policies promoted by the Security Coordination PA, which risk turning cities into overpopulated hubs resembling South Africa's Bantustans. Thus, under the current circumstances, it is crucial to prioritize Palestinian rural development over fostering consumerism in urban society. Quantitative indicators underscore this





trend, showing a significant increase in the urban population as a percentage of the total population in WB: from 51% in 1967, at the start of the occupation, to 69% in 1993, following the Oslo Accords, and reaching 78% in 2023.<sup>25</sup> This shift aligns with Frantz Fanon's theory of development under settler colonialism, which posits that development in such contexts must both reflect and contribute to broader resistance efforts.<sup>26</sup>

3. The continued resistance in all its forms and the focus on sustaining the effectiveness of the axis of resistance are crucial. Notably, the rise in Jewish emigration following Operation al-Aqsa Flood underscores its significance in shifting the demographic balance in favor of Palestinian society at the expense of the settler community. According to Israeli statistics, the rate of emigration increased by 285% after Operation al-Aqsa Flood,<sup>27</sup> marking a key factor in the gradual disintegration of settler colonialism.



#### **Endnotes**

- <sup>1</sup> An expert in futures studies, a former professor in the Department of Political Science at Yarmouk University in Jordan and a holder of Ph.D. in Political Science from Cairo University. He is also a former member of the Board of Trustees of Al-Zaytoonah University of Jordan, Irbid National University, the National Center for Human Rights, the Board of Grievances and the Supreme Council of Media. He has authored 37 books, most of which are focused on future studies in both theoretical and practical terms, and published 120 research papers in peer-reviewed academic journals.
- <sup>2</sup> In an article translated into English from Russian, Jabotinsky identifies the Zionist project in Palestine as an example of settler colonialism. See Ze'ev Jabotinsky, The Iron Wall, site of Jabotinsky Institute in Israel, https://en.jabotinsky.org/media/9747/the-iron-wall.pdf
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- <sup>3</sup> Jane Carey and Ben Silverstein, "Thinking with and beyond settler colonial studies: new histories after the postcolonial," *Postcolonial Studies* journal, vol. 23, no. 1, 2020, pp. 6–13; Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 2–5; and Patrick Wolfe, Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native, *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 8, no. 4, December 2006, p. 388.
- It is noted that Patrick Wolfe stands out as the foremost expert among scholars specializing in settler colonialism.
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- <sup>5</sup> Cyrus Schayegh, Settler colonial studies: a historical analysis, site of Taylor & Francis Online, 2024, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/2201473X.2024.2371490?needAccess=true
- <sup>6</sup> United States Tariff Commission, *Colonial tariff policies* (Washington: Govt. print. Off, 1922), https://archive.org/details/colonialtariffpo00unit/page/16/mode/2up
- <sup>7</sup> List of African Countries' Independence Dates, site of Britannica, 18/11/2024, https://www.britannica.com/topic/list-of-African-Countries-Independence-Dates
- <sup>8</sup> Fabian Klose, Decolonization and Revolution, site of EGO-European History Online, 25/7/2014, https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/european-overseas-rule/fabian-klose-decolonization-and-revolution
- <sup>9</sup> Zachary Harris, "Internal Colonialism: Questioning The Soviet Union As A Settler Colonial State Through The Deportation Of The Crimean Tatars/ Uranium Fever: Willful Ignorance In Service Of Utopia," Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects, Paper 1616444393, site of W&M ScholarWorks, 2020, https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7105&context=etd
- <sup>10</sup> Philip Hoffman, *Why did Europe Conquer the World* (Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 2–3. It is noted that the 35% figure applies specifically to European colonization, while Philip Hoffman estimates the global figure to be between 36% and 51%. This discrepancy arises from differing definitions of colonialism, with some excluding the Soviet Union's control over its constituent republics as a colonial phenomenon. For further details, refer to footnote 5 on page 3 of Hoffman's book and the accompanying table
- <sup>11</sup> Christoph Marx, Settler Colonies, EGO-European History Online, 6/6/2017, https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/european-overseas-rule/christoph-marx-settler-colonies#InsertNoteID\_81
- <sup>12</sup> Fabian Klose, Decolonization and Revolution, EGO-European History Online, 25/7/2014. See also the case studies, in: The fight against colonialism and imperialism in Africa, site of South African History Online, https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/fight-against-colonialism-and-imperialism-africa
- <sup>13</sup> Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of the Genocide Research*, vol. 8, no. 4, December 2006, pp. 388–389; and Saree Makdisi, "Elimination as a Structure: tracing and Racing Zionism with Patrick Wolfe," *American Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 2, June 2017, pp. 277–278.
- For a detailed chronology of the historical stages of decolonization across various continents, see Fabian Klose, Decolonization and Revolution, site of EGO-European History Online, 25/7/2014, https://iegego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/european-overseas-rule/fabian-klose-decolonization-and-revolution#section\_4





- <sup>15</sup> United Nations and decolonization, site of the United Nations, https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/ decolonization The UN Charter established the Trusteeship Council as a main organ of the UN. It was to monitor the situation in 11 specific "Trust Territories" which were subject to separate agreements with administering States. These territories had been formally administered under mandates from the League of Nations, or separated from countries defeated in the Second World War, or voluntarily placed under the system by their administering Power.
- <sup>16</sup> Indigenous People & Settler Colonialism, site of Dartmouth Libraries, https://www.library.dartmouth.edu/slavery-project/indigenous-people-settler-colonialism
- <sup>17</sup> Robert Ian Moore, *Hamlyn Historical Atlas* (Hamlyn, 1981), pp. 123–139; and List of African Countries' Independence Dates, Britannica, 18/11/2024.
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  - See also One Year After the Gaza War.. The "Reverse Migration" [is] the Most Dangerous Shift in the History of the Conflict with Israel, site of Youm7, 7/10/2024, https://www.youm7.com/
- <sup>20</sup> Joseph S. Kraemer, "Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare & the Decolonization Movement," *Polity*, vol. 4, no. 2, Winter 1971, p. 142; and see p. 39 in: William Easterly and Ross Levine, The European Origins of Economic Development, NBER Working Paper No. 18162, National Bureau of Economic Research, June 2012.
- <sup>21</sup> The End of Apartheid, site of U.S. Department of State, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/pcw/98678.htm
- <sup>22</sup> Anna Gordon, New Polling Shows How Much Global Support Israel Has Lost, site of Time, 17/1/2024, https://time.com/6559293/morning-consult-israel-global-opinion; and American Sympathy For Israel Has Plunged Since October 7 Attack, site of Newsweek, 7/10/2024, https://www.newsweek.com/american-opinions-israel-change-year-after-october-seven-1964801
- <sup>23</sup> See for example: What the ICC arrest warrants mean for Netanyahu and Gallant, site of *The Washington Post* newspaper, 21/11/2024, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/11/21/icc-warrant-netanyahu-gallant-israel-gaza; ICC arrest warrant for Netanyahu is a turning point for international justice, site of Le Monde, 22/11/2024, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/11/22/icc-arrest-warrant-for-netanyahu-is-a-turning-point-for-international-justice\_6733700\_4.html; and Julian Borger, War crimes charges will be hard stigma for Netanyahu to shrug off, 21/11/2024, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/nov/21/accused-war-criminal-status-hard-stigma-netanyahu-shrug-off
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- <sup>26</sup> Blake T. Hilton, "Frantz Fanon and colonialism: A psychology of oppression," *Journal of Scientific Psychology*, 16/12/2011,https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259694009\_Frantz\_Fanon\_and\_colonialism\_A\_psychology\_of\_oppression
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