

THE WALL AND THE NONVIOLENT ANTI-WALL MOVEMENTS:  
UNDERSTANDING THE CHANGE IN  
THE POLITICS OF ISRAEL-PALESTINE

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BOĐAZIĐI UNIVERSITY

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THE POLITICS OF ISRAEL-PALESTINE

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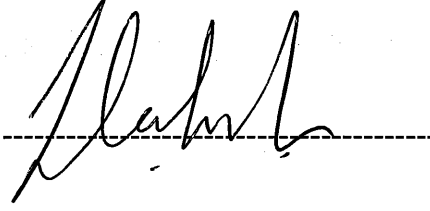
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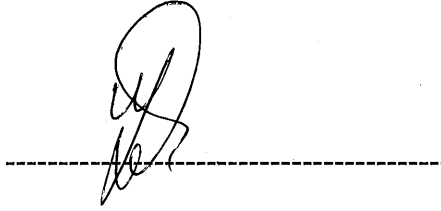
The Wall and The Nonviolent Anti-Wall Movements:  
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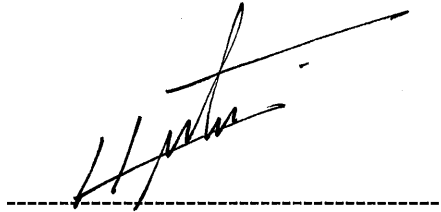
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## Thesis Abstract

Esra Bakkalbaşıođlu, “The Wall and the Nonviolent Anti-Wall Movements:  
Understanding the Change in the Politics of Israel-Palestine”

This study examines the relation between nonviolent social movements and the West Bank Wall in order to understand the changes that occurred in the politics of Israel-Palestine after the construction of the Wall. The relation between nonviolent anti-wall movements and the Wall created a chain reaction, affected other actors and changed the politics of Israel-Palestine.

The research draws on two primary sets of data. The first is the discursive data collected from anti-wall movements’ websites, newspapers and public statements of three anti-wall movements analyzed within this study. The second set of data is the in-depth interviews conducted with activists from each of three movements. The relation of these movements to the Wall and the related political changes are analyzed under the light of these data.

The results of the study show that the construction of the Wall enforced actors of the politics of Israel-Palestine to find new positions. Especially the Wall’s relation to social movements created unexpected political changes. This study gives the possibility of studying the conflict of Israel-Palestine from a different angle and opens a new field for political science studies by studying how the West Bank Wall can have an agency as a nonhuman actor and affect the politics of the region.



## Tez Özeti

Esra Bakkalbaşıođlu, “Duvar ve Şiddet İermeyen Duvar Karşıtı Hareketler:  
İsrail-Filistin Politikasındaki Deđişimi Anlamak”

Bu araştırma Batı Şeria Duvarı'nın inşaatının başlamasından sonra İsrail-Filistin politikasında yaşanan evinimin nedenini anlamak için şiddet içermeyen sosyal hareketler ile Batı Şeria Duvar projesi arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Duvar ve şiddet içermeyen duvar karşıtı hareketler arasındaki ilişki zincirleme bir etkileşim yaratarak diđer aktörleri etkilemiş ve İsrail-Filistin politikasında deđişimlere neden olmuştur.

Bu araştırma iki tür veri üzerine kurulmuştur. Bunlardan ilki araştırmada incelenen üç duvar karşıtı hareketin internet sitelerinden, gazete makalelerinden ve hareket önderlerinin beyanatlarından oluşan söylemsel verilerdir. Kullanılan ikinci veri seti ise incelenen hareketlerden her birinden eylemcilerle yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler sonucunda elde edilen verilerdir. Bu hareketlerin Duvar ile ilişkisi ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan deđişim bu veriler ışığında incelenmiştir.

Araştırmadan elde edilen sonuçlar gösteriyor ki Duvar inşası İsrail-Filistin mücadelesi içerisinde yer alanlar aktörleri konumlarını yeniden belirlemeye zorlamıştır. Özellikle Duvar'ın sosyal hareketler ile olan ilişkisinin öngörülmemiş politik dönüşümler yaratmıştır. Bu araştırma İsrail-Filistin mücadelesini farklı bir açıdan inceleme fırsatı vermekte ve Batı şeria Duvarı'nın insan olmayan (nonhuman) bir politik aktör olarak nasıl bir eyleyciliđi olabileceđini ve bölge politikasını nasıl etkileyebileceđini göstererek politika bilimi için yeni bir araştırma alanı açmaktadır.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my thesis advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Koray Çalışkan, for his encouragement and insightful comments throughout the development and writing of this thesis. His suggestions and questions were very helpful for me to frame and enrich this thesis. I can't thank him enough. I would also like to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeynep Çağlayan Gambetti and Assist. Prof. Dr. Hakkı Yırtıcı for reading my thesis and for accepting to be members of my thesis committee.

I would like to thank two special friends; Aykut Salim Öztürk for conducting the interviews in Israel with the three nonviolent movements analyzed in this thesis and for his useful comments and support and also Hacı Osman Gündüz, who collected all the necessary books from the United States and sent them to me, together with his best wishes and love. I can't imagine how hard it would be to write this thesis without their help.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

When the construction of a wall between the Palestinian West Bank and Israel started it became impossible to comment on the Israel-Palestine conflict without giving some references to the Wall and its impacts on the ground. Post-wall Israel-Palestine literature highlights that the relationship between Israel and Palestine evolved in a different direction after the construction. They take the issue from different angles. Some writers argue that the construction made it harder to talk about a possible peace achievement in the region<sup>1</sup>. Others say that there is a change in the weapons used by the Israeli state authorities, that the Wall is a modern political weapon used to control Palestinians.<sup>2</sup> Even though they have different ideas on what is changed after the construction of the Wall, they all conclude that the construction of the Wall affected the way politics is conducted in the region. Howsoever this point on the evolvement of the politics of Israel-Palestine to a different path is very significant for further studies on Israel and Palestine, the picture drawn by the literature is so far incomplete. Even though, the literature underlines the significance of the Wall within the change it does not discuss how the Wall affected the change and how it should be analyzed. This thesis will fill these missing parts of the post-wall Israel-Palestine literature. My main thesis is that it is impossible to precisely understand the change in the politics of Israel-Palestine, occurred after the construction of the Wall, without making a detailed analysis of the relation between the West Bank Wall and the

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<sup>1</sup> Dolphin, *The West Bank Wall: Unmaking Palestine*, (London: Ann Arbor, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*, (London: Verso, 2007).

nonviolent anti-wall movements. Such a study will answer the how question of the changes referred by the literature. This does not mean that to study the Wall is the one and only way to understand the post-wall political change in the region. Of course there are other factors and events that affected the political field of the region during the same period. However, without taking into consideration the intrinsic agency of the Wall, it is impossible to precisely understand how and why the consolidations of the conflict changed after the construction. Once the Wall is taken as a political actor instead of a physical object external to the politics, it becomes possible to understand some of the new dynamics of the conflict. The Wall creates unforeseeable impacts and changed the political field. Although it is built to separate Palestinians from Israelis, it brings them closer to each other in some levels and goes against its own *raison d'être*.

The concept of agency and its borders are seen as subjects of sociology. As it is hard to separate fields of different social science disciplines from one another, the agency of nonhumans can be a subject of investigation within the field of political science and international relations as well as sociology, depending on the case studied. Such a study will open new horizons in front of political scientists as it will make it possible to answer many unanswered questions. The choice of ignorance for nonhuman agency and for the way this agency affects the politics can be a political decision or a simple act of negligence. In both manners, political approaches which do not study nonhuman agency as a part of their political analysis determine how we will perceive the world and politics. To study the Wall and its relationship to anti-wall movements will bring a new perspective, in specific to the studies on Israel-Palestine and in general to the whole political science.

The agency of nonhumans is more difficult to grasp than the human agency. The former can only be studied by conducting a careful and detailed analysis of its relations to human agents. With this incentive, I made in-depth interviews and discourse analysis to understand how the Wall is affecting the human actors of the political field of Israel-Palestine. Textual analysis is done to understand the physical features of the Wall as well as its impacts on other actors of the political field.<sup>3</sup> Data collected from this analysis have been used to complete the outcomes of the interviews conducted with the three nonviolent anti-wall movements: Anarchists Against the Wall (AATW), International Solidarity Movement (ISM) and Stop The Wall Campaign. The reason why I chose these movements but not some others is that these movements represent all three sides of Israel-Palestine conflict. AATW is an Israeli movement established by Jewish Israelis, ISM is the most respected international movement within the conflict and Stop the Wall Campaign is the only Palestinian initiative against the Wall. One leading figure from each movement is interviewed to understand their stands against the Wall and the way they perceive the Wall. The agency of the Wall, as any other nonhuman agency, can only be analyzed through its relation to human beings, by a detailed analysis of its impacts on other actors of the same political field.

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<sup>3</sup> Their websites; articles on these movements that appeared in leading newspaper such as Haaretz, Jerusalem Post, the Guardian, New York Times and Associated Press; internet based news agencies such as Ynet, Znet, Electronic Intifada, websites of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Defense Forces, International Court of Justice, United Nations and websites of other non-governmental organization such as Gush Shalom, Peace Now and B'tselem have been studied. Analyze was also conducted on videos of direct actions against the Wall conducted by these movements from a video sharing website, YouTube. These newspapers, websites and videos were also used to collect data on the movements' actions, tactics, history and aims. In addition to the studied movements, searches were made on websites of international and national institutional political actors such as Palestinian Liberation Organization, Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Defense Forces, International Court of Justice, and United Nations. Documents, statements, and Court decisions were analyzed to gather information on the way the Wall was perceived by these institutions.

This thesis is built at the intersection point of three different theoretical literatures. One is on architecture, space and its significance to understand Middle Eastern politics, the other on the nonhuman agency of Actor-Network Theory and the third one is on the nonviolent social movements. These literatures are significant to grasp how a wall, an architectural object can have an agency and its relations to nonviolent movements can change a whole political field. First two literatures are important to locate the Wall within the context. The Wall is the architectural reality which has an agency and has an unforeseeable impact on the way politics is conducted in the region. The third literature is vital to understand how the relation of the Wall to previously stated three movements can change the politics of Israel-Palestine. The specific features of nonviolent movements are very significant to make this political change possible. The first chapter of the thesis will be built upon these theoretical approaches. I will try to show how Israeli-Palestinian political geography should be analyzed as a field of colonial political struggle and how the Wall should be read as a part of this geography by intersecting the Wall's agency and space's determining position within Middle Eastern colonial struggle. In a second part of the same chapter, I will list some features of nonviolent social movements and show how these features help us to understand the significance of these movements' relation to the Wall.

In the third chapter, I will try to describe what the Wall is. The Wall is a combination of its physical features and the perceptions of different agents about the Wall. In the first part of the chapter, there will be a literature analysis on walls and their usage by modern nation states as a tool of political demarcation. Similarities and differences of the West Bank Wall from other walls built around the world will be combined with physical features of the Wall in the second part of the same

chapter. This study will be helpful to set the Wall within a larger picture and also to put it at the center of Israel-Palestine conflict studies, as a significant actor. The West Bank Wall is lot more than its physical features. For this reason, its features should be studied together with the way the Wall is perceived by other agents of the political field. In a third part of the chapter, I will focus on how the Wall is perceived by both significant local and international actors of the conflict. Palestinian Liberation Organization, Israeli Ministry of Defense, Israel's High Court of Justice, United Nations and International Court of Justice are these main actors. The analysis of the way they changed their agendas and stands on the issue are helpful to state how the Wall and its relation to nonviolent social movements changed the political roles and interactions. The combination of these three parts will show how the Wall, one of the main subject of the politics of Israel-Palestine changed the other actors' positions.

The forth chapter will focus on nonviolent anti-wall movements and their relation to the Wall. These movements' relation to the Wall is vital to state the agency of the Wall. Their relation to the Wall creates a chain reaction, affect their and other actors' positions as well as the way politics is conducted in Israel-Palestine conflict. In the first part of the chapter, there will be a literature review on nonviolent movements which are fighting architectural realities, such as dams and nuclear power plants. The literature review will provide the opportunity to understand features of nonviolent social movements and their becoming a common technique to use to fight built realities. Anti-wall movements in Israel and Palestine are slightly different from the rest of this type of movements and this difference is what makes them special. In a second part of the same chapter, I will focus on three anti-wall movements, Anarchists Against the Wall, International Solidarity Movement and Stop the Wall Campaign. I will try to analyze the significance of these movements'



relation to the Wall in order to understand how the changes occurred in the politics of Israel-Palestine. By using data collected from different sources on these three movements' aims, techniques, historical background and the outcomes of in-depth interviews, I will discuss the relations of these movements to each other and to other political actors. The relation between the Wall and the nonviolent anti-wall movements has a domino effect to change the whole manner of conducting politics in the Israel-Palestine region.

In a final chapter, I will show once again in a nutshell that the relation of anti-wall movements to the Wall creates concentric circles and changes the way politics is conducted in Israel-Palestine. I will also comment on the importance of this thesis for the international relations and social movements' studies. Such a study on the way the Wall affects the politics is important to bring Actor-Network Theory's definition of nonhuman agency within the political field. Such a perspective can be very fruitful to understand past and future political relations. This study also contributes a lot to the studies on Israel-Palestine. Rather than a conventional war point of view, this study brings the significance of nonviolent movements in the region. To understand how the political change after the construction of the Wall will fill an important gap within the big picture of the politics of Israel-Palestine as well as the whole field of political studies.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HOW TO MAP A WALL AS AN ACTOR

The political geography of Israel-Palestine is a space of struggle. On the one hand each and every kind of political struggle is conducted on this political territory and on the other hand the territory itself is one of the main points of the Israel-Palestine conflict. To decide how to map the political geography is an important power for both sides. Fighting to map the geography and determine the border of a space is not specific to Israel and Palestine. With the rise of colonialism the whole Middle East became the scene of struggles conducted by colonial powers to shape and reshape the geography in order to control the locals and to differentiate themselves from the locals. Studies conducted on Middle Eastern political geography focus on the ways colonial powers try to reshape the colonized places. While shaping the geographical space, they also shape the way local people have to act in the future. They are different political weapons used to separate, but the outcome is always the same, to control. The colonial state by controlling the space introduces a social and political structure “in such a way that it may gain a foothold and indeed establish its ‘base’ in a particular locality”.<sup>4</sup> To set the relation between the space and politics is very difficult to achieve. Timothy Mitchell’s book, *Colonizing Egypt*<sup>5</sup> is one of the best examples of how to set relations between colonial power’s political aims and the manner it changes the space to achieve them. He puts the links between the planning

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<sup>4</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (USA: Blackwell, 1991), p.151.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

and rebuilding of villages and houses in Egypt during the ninetieth century and the aim of the colonial power to increase both its control over villagers and their productivity. Another study conducted on the way political geographies are redefined by colonial powers in the Middle East is the one conducted by Zeynep Çelik<sup>6</sup> on the way French colonizers reshaped the space in Algeria. The French used urban planning as a tool to establish their power and to facilitate the control of the locals. The Israel-Palestine political geography can be read from the same perspective. Geographical interventions of Israeli state in cities where Israelis and Palestinians lives together serve to the final goal of controlling and segregating the later. In these contexts planning is used by Israeli authorities to create a completely new structure of social relation(s).<sup>7</sup> The resources are shifted between different social groups and in this way domination and control are facilitated. This is done by regional policies to impose restrictions, control and surveillance.<sup>8</sup> As Lefebvre says that “the ‘plan’ does not remain innocently on paper. On the ground, the bulldozers realize ‘plans’.”<sup>9</sup> In Israel-Palestine struggle both of the conflicting parties build their argument over the rhetoric of their right to land and the land becomes an end in itself. The discourse and politics on the ground are all conducted in order to achieve spatial superiority. The West Bank Wall is a part of the Israel’s plan of mapping the Palestinian political

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<sup>6</sup> In her book Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*, (California: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography Difference*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), p.265.

<sup>8</sup> Oren Yiftachel, “The Dark Side of Modernism: Planning as Control of an Ethnic Minority”, in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (eds), (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), pp.220, 221, 238.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Levine, June 2007, “Globalization, Architecture, and Town Planning in a Colonial City: The Case of Jaffa and Tel Aviv”, *Journal of World History*, 18.1 (2007), p.197, Available [online]: [http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal\\_of\\_world\\_history/v018/18.2levine.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal_of_world_history/v018/18.2levine.pdf), 24 October 2008.

geography. The building of the Wall gives Israel the power to decide on how Palestinians will conduct their lives.

This chapter is composed of three parts. The first part will depict the space's importance in political struggles and the place of the Wall within this picture. It will be argued that the Wall as being a part of the space is the main object and also the tool of the struggle in Israel-Palestine. The second part of the chapter will focus on the intersection point of the space theory and nonhuman agency driven from Agent-Network Theory (ANT). This point opens up the necessary space to argue that the Wall has an agency and makes an intense change on the politics of the region. Consecutive study of the first and second parts on the Wall is important to see that even though the Wall is part of a bigger plan of mapping the political geography the unforeseeable and uncontrollable nature of the space gives it a kind of agency. A third section will be on the features of nonviolent anti-wall movements and will be very helpful to understand why these movements' relation to the Wall is so important to grasp the Wall's agency.

### Space and Political Geography

In twentieth Century with the rise of capitalism space lost its neutral and passive sense and became the very scene and also the object of power relations. To dominate the physical space in which others live become the very reason of many power struggles. To control the space in which people live, work, think and act is the first step of dominating these people's lives and the way they think. Built environment is part of this control mechanism and this situation provides more ideological power to

the built environment.<sup>10</sup> “The number of institutions involved and the complexity of their relations indicate that, despite claims to the contrary, planning is highly politicized and ideological.”<sup>11</sup> This political construction of the physical space requires at least a minimum degree of architectural<sup>12</sup> intervention. The control of architecture and the architectural control of people in a specific space are important for both modern and pre-modern states. There are multiple architectural entities that are used to achieve these aims and walls are one of them.

As the Wall between Israel and Palestine will be a kind of frontier<sup>13</sup> between two communities, some analogies between the Wall and frontier can be made on theoretical level. Frontier<sup>14</sup> signifies co-presence of foreign identities and their inevitable confrontation. Physically frontier determines the relationship between a legitimate space and its alien exteriority.<sup>15</sup> However, on the ground the frontier has a different meaning too. Frontiers function as an “in-between space”, it is “a middle place, composed of interactions and inter-views, the frontier is a sort of void, a

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<sup>10</sup> K. Dovey, *Framing Places- Mediating Power in Built Form*, (London: Routledge, 1999), cited in “The Architecture of Ethnic Logic: Exploring the Meaning of the Built Environment in the ‘Mixed’ City of Lod, Israel”, Haim Yacobi, 28 October 2008, *Geografiska Annalar. Series B, Human Geography* 84.3/4, Special Issues: The Dialectics of Utopia and Dystopia (2002), p.183, Available [online]: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3554314>, Accessed 14 December 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Levine, 187-188.

<sup>12</sup> Architecture is not used to describe the work of done by architectures; it is used as an umbrella term. Architecture, in this term, is the outcome of the whole set of power relations between architectures, engineers, many institutions and political figures.

<sup>13</sup> Maybe the West Bank Wall will never become an official frontier, but as it divides people by separating them from each other, it will accomplish what is expected from a frontier.

<sup>14</sup> The term frontier is used fort o describe where there is an exclusion of or opposition to what is on the other side of the line. The term frontier is taken from Inga Brandell, “Introduction”, in *State Frontiers: Borders and Boundaries in the Middle East*, Inga Brandell (ed), (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p.10.

<sup>15</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Translated by Steven Rendall, (California: Berkeley, 1984), p.126.

narrative symbol of exchanges and encounters”.<sup>16</sup> The frontier which is built to break the interaction can also be the very object of the interaction. The frontier can turn to a crossing point for the interaction that was not present before. We can replace the word frontier by wall. Walls are also frontiers to exclude the other side, to prevent any contact with it. In the case of walls, beside exclusion there is also the implication of protection from the uncontrollable others. As Harvey says the aim of the Wall is to protect the place from “uncontrolled vectors of spatiality.”<sup>17</sup> However, as being a frontier, a wall with gate(s) can also serve as the point of interaction and inter-views rather than separation.

There is also an ideological side of separation policies. In the case of Israel the whole political discourse is built on security rhetoric. For this reason, to construct a secure place has a vital importance. This place construction can also create an imaginary “homogeneity of beliefs, values, ideals and persuasions”<sup>18</sup> and together with a “strong sense of collective memory and spatially exclusionary rights” it can be very powerful as a tool of internal politics.

The Wall acquired a political power from the fact that it is used in order to determine the borders between ‘us’ and ‘them’. While starting to construct a wall, Israel determines the sphere of its power by encamping Palestinian population and by dissecting its daily life. “The Wall is an architectonic-geographic-military solution to

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 127.

<sup>17</sup> On Sunday August 14, 1994 a brutal double murders occurred in Guilford. The main local newspaper sought expert advice. What was proposed was to build a barrier to separate Guilford from neighborhoods where residents were predominantly black and lower income, cited from Harvey, 292.

<sup>18</sup> Harvey, 323.

the lack of a political solution.”<sup>19</sup> The solid presence of the Wall is the direct reflection of Israel’s state ideology and the conception of national security. There are two stages of the Israeli domination embodied by the construction of the Wall. One is the Wall’s direct domination over the life of people. While constructing the Wall, Israel built a space where it determines who can enter or exit, when and how. The second kind of domination can be detected in the long range. “Across the frontier of the West Bank it is undertaken by simultaneously unleashing processes that would create conditions too complex and illogical to make any territorial solution in the form of partition possible, while pretending that it is only the Israeli government that has the know-how to resolve the very complexity it created.”<sup>20</sup> Israel will be the only one who can clean the complexity created by the Wall and this know-how will make it more powerful. The construction of the Wall and the determination of its route cannot be thought of as separated from this phenomenon. They are part of the same domination technique and determined by the very same power holders.

### The Agency of the Wall

As much as it empowers Israeli government, the Wall as a built reality gives the necessary tools to the resisters too. The construction and the ideology behind the construction process are sufficient for the formation of a resistance. As the domination shows itself under the form of a wall, the resisters found tactics to interrupt its operation by finding new methods, to fight the Wall, the domination.

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<sup>19</sup> Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir, “The Monster's Tail”, in *Against the Wall*, Michael Sorkin (ed), (New York: The New Press, 2005), p.22.

<sup>20</sup> Eyal Weizman, p.8.

The physical existence and impacts of the Wall all forces resist to fight the dominance embodied in a wall. The Wall also forces them to use some methods, new and creative ones, over others. The Wall becomes an actor within the conflict because it has a significant and unforeseeable impact on the way the conflict is conducted. How can a wall, which is built as a tool, be an influential actor in politics? It is impossible to analyze Israel-Palestine's new political geography and the new political field built on it without answering to this question.

Space is not stable. For this reason, it is impossible to hold absolute sovereignty over space. As space realizes itself through activeness, its uncontrollable nature, nothing is permanent and "the 'permanences'-no matter how solid they may seem- are not eternal but always subject to time."<sup>21</sup> The sovereign power is unable to control the space beyond a certain point. The space is, by its very nature open to a multiplicity of options. The power to control the space also produces its counterpart; the resistance to the change, the resistance to the status-quo over the space. Space becomes an actor itself in the power relation as soon as the interaction starts. The power holder creates or transforms a space and tries to keep it as it is, or on the contrary the resister/dominated tries to change it in the way the space will serve his ends in the best possible way. There is a continuous struggle between these power holders in order to change or to keep the space in such a way that it will serve them the best. However, as both parties enter in an interaction with space, they also are transformed; they are forced to redefine their agenda or techniques in a certain way to fit the space or the built environment on it. At this point, we start to talk about the ability of space and also of the built environment to change the agendas and positions

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<sup>21</sup>Harvey, pp.261-294.



within the political field. The Wall does the same. As being a part of the physical environment, the Wall on the one hand became the very object of the power relation between actors from Israel, Palestine and third countries. On the other hand, the existence of the same wall made these actors to redefine their previous political positions and to establish new links. This is what we call the agency of the Wall.

In the social sciences agency is generally meant to refer to human agency. Debates conducted on agency are about its features (agency's relation to power and intention) or versions of agency (individual, human, collective). Agency's sole applicability to humans and their social relations were seen as absolute. Human agency is linked with two exclusively human characteristics, intentionality and freedom. Freedom is the freedom of human actors to freely think and act in certain ways. However, such a perception of freedom excludes the possibility that an agent may be constrained by conditions within which he/she decides what is his/her will, his/her own choices are. If one accepts that there can be some constraints which restrict the freedom of human beings in each and every structural relation, one can only talk about a relatively free will. The second characteristic of human agency is its intentionality. If intentionality is defined as "the perpetrator knows, or believes, will have a particular quality or outcome and where such knowledge is utilized by the author of the act to achieve this quality and outcome"<sup>22</sup>, there is no room for unintentional consequences of an agent's action. To include it within the picture, the relation between agency and intentionality should be defined in a different way.

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<sup>22</sup> Quoted from Anthony Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method*, (London: Hutchinson, 1976), p.75 in Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), p.10.

Agency is not only “the intentions people have in doing things” but also “their capacity in doing those things in the first place.”<sup>23</sup>

Social scientists working on Actor-Network Theory<sup>24</sup> (ANT) brought this definition one step further. Networks are not exclusively human, there are nonhuman actors within networks and these actors have an impact on the final outcome. ANT authors argue that “all of our interaction with other people are mediated through objects of one kind or another.”<sup>25</sup> The existence, the nonexistence or the state of being of these objects can have determining effects on the social relations. To have a gun affect your social relations in some other ways than someone who does not have one. Without having a computer or books, a sociologist would not be the same person and could not conduct the same relations with his/her environment.<sup>26</sup> In the same manner, the existence of a wall between Israelis and Palestinians, between

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>24</sup> Actor-Network Theory stems from Science and Technology Studies and explores sociotechnical processes. ANT theorists suggest that the work of science is not different from other social activities. The work of science is done in a heterogeneous network by heterogeneous actors. The network and actors are not different from each other, related to the fact that every actor is an actor as an outcome of some networks, “an actor is also, always, a network” (John Law, “Notes on the Theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity”, Centre for Science Studies Lancaster University, (30th November 2003), p.7, Available [online]:

<http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/sociology/papers/law-notes-on-ant.pdf>) The main subject matter of ANT is science and technology’s social production and the missing piece in the current sociological studies. However, their perception of actors and networks can be used in political studies as well.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>26</sup> This example is taken from Law who gives himself as an example “Law’s gives himself as an example: “People are who they are because they are a patterned network of heterogeneous materials. If you took away my computer, my colleagues, my office, my books, my desk, my telephone, I wouldn’t be a sociologist writing papers, delivering lectures, and producing “knowledge”. I’d be something quite other—and the same is true for all of us. So the analytical question is this: an analytic questions: “is an agent an agent primarily because he or she inhabits a body that carries knowledge, skills, values, and all the rest? Or is an agent an agent because he or she inhabits a set of elements (including, of course, a body) that stretches out into the network of materials, somatic and otherwise, that surrounds each body?” Quoted from John Law, “Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity”, *Systems Practice*, (1992), 5, p.379–393, in Scott Krish and Don Mitchell, “The Nature of Things: Dead Labor, Nonhuman Actors and The Persistence of Marxism”, *Antipode*, 36: (2004), p.689.

Palestinians villages, between people's work places and homes affect their relationship to each other and to the Wall in some way. From this point on, ANT authors use the term actant for "anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference".<sup>27</sup> When it is defined in this way, it is possible to include nonhuman actors within the definition of agent. From such a perspective, a wall can be an actor if it modifies the state of affairs by making a difference, as in the case of the West Bank Wall.

So far, I argued that the space is where and for what the political struggles are conducted. As being a part of the space, the Wall became a part of the struggles conducted over Israel-Palestine political geography. I also tried to show that there is an intersection point between space theories and nonhuman agency. By arguing that the space is constantly changing and has an impact on other actors, theories on political space make it possible for me to argue that the space and the architectural realities have agencies. Both the space and the architectural realities built on it have relations to human actors of the politics. In this manner, while being changed and reshaped by these actors they also shape them in return. These unintentional outcomes, these modifications on the existing state of affairs are indicators of agency. This agency is not the same as the one of human actors. The new, broader definition of the agency puts the accent on the outcome rather than the intention. This definition can be applied to the case of the West Bank Wall. The Wall enters in interaction with human actors of the political field and in this manner, it modifies the existing state of affairs of these actors and this changes the way the politics is conducted in the region in its turn. These features of the Wall are what transformed a wall built as a political

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<sup>27</sup> Latour, 71.

control tool to a significant actor of the politics of conflict. However the Wall's having an agency and being a powerful actor in the politics of Israel-Palestine is not enough to explain the significant change it created on the political field. The scope of change is determined by the close interaction between the Wall on the one hand and the nonviolent anti-wall movements on the other. The features of this kind of movement made them to spread the impact the Wall created to a larger extent. Concentric circles that the relation between the Wall and these movements made the Wall affect the politics of Israel-Palestine deeper than it could do on its own.

#### Nonviolent Social Movement: How To Grasp the Wall's Agency?

Social movements share some basic premises such as collective challenge, collective identity, solidarity, and common purpose. There are different types of social movements and nonviolent action is one of them. The characteristic of the nineteenth century social movements was the barricades and direct violent confrontation. In the twentieth century, these movements started to leave their places to movements which make disruption their basic strategy to fight. The marches and demonstrations became richer with the addition of nonviolent action tools and sit-ins.<sup>28</sup> Nonviolent action started in the colonial world to confront colonizers who were more powerful than colonized ones. The colonized subjects used their faith and commitments to their ends in order to confront the colonizer. Gandhi is considered as the pioneer figure and founding father of nonviolence. Nonviolent action spread to a variety of movements in the 1960s and 1970s. "It was used in the American civil rights

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<sup>28</sup> Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.97.

movements, during the Prague Spring and the student movements of 1968, by the European and American peace and environmental movements, by opponents of the Marcos regime in the Philippines, and by opponents of military rule in Thailand and Burma.<sup>29</sup> Nonviolent action is even used by antiabortion protesters in the United States. This shows that this kind of movement can spread easily and its tactics are highly adoptable by different types of movement.<sup>30</sup>

Nonviolent action has a loose, decentralized network of activists as the basic features.<sup>31</sup> Participants are highly professional and these small groups of activists back up their movement with ideological base and use the spontaneity as a means to their end. This is done by the diffusion of organizational and communicational skills among movements' activists. Most of nonviolent movements are composed of small groups, but this does not mean that their demonstrations are done by a small number of people. They build temporary coalition campaigns and gather large numbers of people around them. What is new about these movements is that they have access to discretionary resources. They have access to media, they have cheaper and faster mobility, cultural interaction, and they can call collaboration of different types of movement-linked organizations for rapid organized issue campaigns.<sup>32</sup>

Nonviolent social movements have some predetermined ends, but means are as important as the end for activists. "Participation in a social movement is not only a

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp.207-208.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

means to an end but a fulfillment."<sup>33</sup> The identity of participants is shaped during the movement. Solidarity between participants is the combination of preexisting knowledge and relations and in-movement-built relations. Protestors build their consensus around common meanings and identities. "These meanings and identities are partly inherited and partly constructed in the act of confronting the opponents"<sup>34</sup>. Preexisting social relationships or organizational forms promote solidarity. Especially, in movements where there is high risk, preexisting social relationships become more important.<sup>35</sup> This does not mean, however that there can be no solidarity building in a social movement where there are no preexisting social relationships. Within the struggle, people can understand more easily which values they share or not and can determine the basic purposes of the movements by considering these factors. Pre-existing solidarities build movements and movements build solidarities.

Creative and fluid aspect of nonviolent direct action made it very popular. Even though nonviolent direct action does not have an easily definable structure and tactical tools, one can define the movement's frame by stating what it is not. Nonviolent direct action has nothing to do with passivity. It is not verbal persuasion or purely psychological influence. It uses psychological, social, economic and political power in the matching of forces. It does not depend on the assumption that people are good. It is not limited to domestic conflicts within a democratic system.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> William A. Gamson, "The Social Psychology of Collective Action", in Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (eds), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.56.

<sup>34</sup> Tarrow, p.201.

<sup>35</sup> Gamson, p.61.

<sup>36</sup> Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, (New Hampshire: Extending Horizons Books, 2005), pp.21-22.

Nonviolence is an active form of resistance and it even includes direct confrontation with the opponent. Gene Sharp defines three types of nonviolent action: protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and nonviolent intervention. In protest and persuasion, the protesters try to persuade the opponents and protest against them nonviolently. They use tactics such as declaration, petition, signed public statements, slogans, and banners. In noncooperation, the resisters refuse to cooperate with their opponents; they use different types of boycotts as methods to achieve their ends. The aim in these movements is to make the operation of opponents more difficult. Nonviolent direct intervention is the most severe and effective of these three types of movement, as the protester intervenes directly to change a given situation. Physical intervention by the protesters is the main tool used in order to achieve the end of this movement. Sit-in, stand-in, nonviolent invasion, nonviolent interjection (placing one's body between a person and the objective of his work or activity) and nonviolent occupation are some methods used in this type of movements.<sup>37</sup> These methods are commonly used by anti-Wall movements in Israel and Palestine. The resisters sit in the construction site or block the worksite of the Wall by camping for months on its route. To prevent Israel Defense Force to injure Palestinian protestors or to deconstruct their houses or fields activists use nonviolent interjection.

There are two types of nonviolent intervention; negative and positive interventions. Positive interventions are the ones done to change the status quo in a positive way and the negative ones are done to prevent something from happening. “Negative intervention may disrupt, and even destroy, established behavior patterns,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.62.

policies, relationships, or institutions.”<sup>38</sup> Negative intervention is the method used in the Israel-Palestine combat against the Wall. The resisters try to prevent the Israeli State authorities from constructing a wall. As their challenges are immediate and directed to the target, they can produce rapid change. This change can be both negative and positive. The opponent can change the route of the Wall or can stop working at least for that day, but the action can also be repressed violently.

Groups of any type of nonviolent action “tend to be temporary, put together for a particular occasion or to fulfill a particular objective, and if that objective is fulfilled, the organization tends to disintegrate.”<sup>39</sup> The groups generally have a strategic plan that they prepared by analyzing the situation, the weaknesses and strengths of the opponents, the nature and capacity of their own group and the required techniques of nonviolent action.<sup>40</sup> This is why, methods changes from one demonstration to another. They have some tactical tools to protect themselves from the harsh repression of the opponent. The participation of internationals is one of these tools. It is a highly used method in nonviolent direct actions against the Wall in West Bank. The presence of international activists protects Palestinians from violent repression by the Israeli Defense Force, to some degree. Internationals are willing to participate in the movements organized against the Wall as they are aware of the fact that the Israel Defense Force will consider Israel’s international prestige if foreigners are embedded among the protestors. In the case of the Wall, Israeli activists participate in demonstrations with the same incentive. They suppose that the IDF will

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz and Sarah Beth Asher (eds), p.16.

<sup>40</sup> Gene Sharp, “There are Realistic Alternatives”, (Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003), p.38, Available [online]: <http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations/org/TARA.pdf>, Accessed 10 June 2009.



not be as violent if they are present in a demonstration side by side with Palestinians. If there is an act of violence against an Israeli during a demonstration, the Israeli media is more concerned about the news and there is a significant public pressure formed to not use force against the protestors. Methods used in nonviolent action do not guarantee success: resisters can be "injured, suffer economic losses, be imprisoned, and even be killed"<sup>41</sup> as in the case of some demonstrations against the Wall. After stating all these points Sharp mentions that the success of movement depends on a good combination of techniques, the choice of strategies of resistance, and the skill of resisters, as well as the courage and discipline of activists.<sup>42</sup>

In many cases of nonviolent resistance, opponents intervene and try to repress resisters. As it is "harder for the resisters to sustain and harder for the opponents to withstand, it can bring more violent repression."<sup>43</sup> Repressive acts of opponents indicate that resistance is seen as a serious challenge. However, one should keep in mind that the success of repression is related to the submission of the resisters. If the resisters do not submit to the power of the opponent, repressive acts can be an impulse to continue to resist.<sup>44</sup> To be able to face the repression of the opponents, resisters should need "to stand together, to maintain their nonviolent discipline and internal solidarity and morale, and to continue the struggle."<sup>45</sup> Another power of nonviolence is that it makes the opponent's camp decide what countermeasures

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<sup>41</sup> Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, p.363.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p.369.

<sup>43</sup> Sharp, (2005), p.62.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp.374-375.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p.389.

should be taken in response.<sup>46</sup> As resisters insist on fighting with their chosen "weapons system," opponents have problems with the effective utilization of their own forces.<sup>47</sup> As the resisters do not use violence which is the legitimate tool that the state uses to suppress people, opponents do not know how to deal with it. In cases where the opponent is a state, it can use police forces, the prison system or military forces as well as direct physical violence, arrests, psychological pressure, exceptional restrictions as repression methods.<sup>48</sup>

A nonviolent direct action can achieve a variety of accomplishments. It can win "sympathy and support, reducing casualties, inducing disaffection and even mutiny of the opponents' troops, and attracting maximum participation in the nonviolent struggle."<sup>49</sup> Anti-wall movements use nonviolent coercion and try to shift social forces and power relations. These movements are composed of decentralized, small and temporary groups. The means are as important as the end itself. They are creative and strictly attached to nonviolent principles. These features of nonviolent anti-wall movements make them able to react fast to changes and in the case of the Wall these movements are able to find new methods to fight the Wall and the reason behind it. In this way these movements become the intermediary between the Wall and other political actors of the field, they spread the impact of the Wall which became a political actors with agency. We will return to this, in the forth chapter.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.376.

<sup>47</sup> Gene Sharp, "The Techniques of Non-violent Action", in Adam Roberts (ed), *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense: Non-violent Action Against Aggression*, (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1968), p.94.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, pp.377-380.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.390.

Before, we have to understand what the Wall is and its impact on the discourse of other actors of Israel-Palestine conflict.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE WEST BANK WALL

Building walls between people to separate, to control or to protect is not a new phenomenon. However, the West Bank Wall has some different attributes. The way it is perceived both on the local and international levels as well as its physical features are essential for the understanding of the origins of its agency. The agency of the Wall is derived from the combination of its physical existence's impact on people and the idea of the Wall produced at the discursive level by political institutions that have a say in the Israel-Palestine conflict. These two go hand in hand, since the Wall is more than just a physical structure on the ground. When one talks about the Wall, between the lines s/he talks about the idea of separation and of difficulties on the ground created by its construction. In this chapter, there are three parts. The first one is a scant literature review on walls. This part of the chapter will be useful to understand the differences and similarities of the West Bank Wall to others. The second part is on the physical features of the Wall such as the history, the route and physical properties of the West Bank Wall. The third part is on how the Wall is perceived and depicted by different local and international political actors, such as Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Israeli Ministry of Defense, Israeli Defense Force, Israeli High Court of Justice, the United Nations (UN) and International Court of Justice (ICJ). This triple reading on the Wall will make it easier to imagine the physical object that we are dealing. The West Bank Wall is a combination of its differences from similar architectural realities, its physical

features and the way it is perceived and depicted. To understand what the Wall is, will give the opportunity to understand how it can be able to change the politics. How an object can turn out to a political actor?

Walls have been used as a political tool since the earliest settlements. However their roles have changed during the course of history. The oldest wall of human history is the one around Jericho, a solid wall of four meters, which was built around 8500 B.C.<sup>50</sup> The Jericho Wall was built to protect the city from attacks. Still existing walls can be grouped under two categories, walls built before and after the rise of the modern states. Most of the walls known today were built before the modern states and the main objective was to protect cities from attacks of outsiders and enemies. The purpose of building walls and their effectiveness have changed greatly since then. The literature on walls can be grouped under two categories: walls built before the rise of modern states and walls built after the establishment of modern states. The West Bank Wall falls under the second category. Under this category there are two different areas that are generally studied. One is about border walls and the way they affect identities<sup>51</sup> of people living at different sides. The other area of study is and the other focus is in-city walls<sup>52</sup>. Authors of these two categories consider political, social and economic aspects of building a wall as well as its

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<sup>50</sup> James D. Tracy (ed), *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.1.

<sup>51</sup> Newman "The Functional Presence of an "Erased" Boundary: the Re-emergence of the "Green Line" in *World Boundaries Vol II: the Middle East and North Africa*, C. H. Schofield and R. N. Schofield (eds.), (London: Routledge, 1994); Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the US-Mexico Divide*, (New York: Routledge, 1994); Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*, (Malden: Polity Press, 1997); Graham Usher, "Unmaking Palestine: On Israel, the Palestinians and the Wall", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.33, No.2 (Winter, 2004), pp.5-35.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Flemming, *The Berlin Wall: Division of a City*, (Berlin: Be.bra, 2000); Corey Ross, "East Germans and the Berlin Wall: Popular Opinion and Social Change Before and After the Border Closure of August 1961", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39, No.1 (Jan., 2004), pp.25-43.

impacts on people.<sup>53</sup> The West Bank Wall is built to separate Israeli and Palestinian people from each other like a border wall does. The outcome of this separation is demarcation regardless of for which reason it is built. The literature on walls and other obstacles on border lines shed-light on the problem of territorial demarcation<sup>54</sup> especially demarcation at border settlements.<sup>55</sup> These mechanisms are used to separate people from each other, to determine 'us' and 'them', and to develop further demarcations on political, social, and economic levels. Demarcation is used by all communities, but for modern nation states it is used to secure the basic premises: territorial sovereignty and unity. By demarcating the internal and external others, nation-states also define their own identity.

One of the most famous in-city walls of 20<sup>th</sup> century is the Berlin Wall which was built by German Democratic Republic in 1961 to divide East and West Berlin. Although they referred to it as the 'anti-fascist protective wall'; the whole purpose of the wall was to stop people from escaping from East Germany to the West.<sup>56</sup> The wall<sup>57</sup> was composed of barbed wire and many other elements, such as vehicle

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<sup>53</sup> Mary Ellen Lundsten, "Wall Politics: Zionist and Palestinian Strategies in Jerusalem. 1928", *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, Vol.8, No.1 (Autumn, 1978), p.3-27; Raelynn J. Hillhouse, "Out of the Closet Behind the Wall: Sexual Politics and Social Change in GDR", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 49, No.4 (Winter, 1990), pp.585-596.

<sup>54</sup> Newman, "Boundaries, Border and Barriers: on the Territorial Demarcation of Lines", in *Identity, Borders, Orders: In Directions in International Relations Theory*, M. Albert and al. (eds.), (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

<sup>55</sup> A.R.H., "The Belgian-German Boundary Demarcation", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.57, No.1, (Jan., 1921), p.43-51; Charles Henry Dudley Ryder, "The Demarcation of the Turco-Persian Boundary in 1913-14", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.66, No.3 (Sep., 1925), p. 227-237; Mary Finley-Brook, "Bounding the Commons: Land Demarcation in Northeastern Nicaragua", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol.28, Iss.3, (July 2009), p.343.

<sup>56</sup> Flemming, p.32.

<sup>57</sup> Features of the Berlin Wall: Border wall is 20.1 kms, border fence is 10.4 kms, border fencing fitted with sensors is 33.3 kms, vehicle barrier is 21.5 kms. There are 18,800 surface barriers. The back-up wall is 27.2 kms and the back-up fence is 2.8 kms. (information on the wall is taken from Thomas Flemming, *The Berlin Wall: Division of a City*, (Berlin: Be.bra, 2000), p.45.

barriers, fencing equipped with sensors, service roads, guard dog runs, observation towers, earth bunkers, land and fragmentation mines. Until its fall, people from East Germany kept trying to flee to West Berlin. Towards the end of the 1980's mass protests against the wall intensified both from the eastern and western sides. Even though the wall had severe impacts on people, there had not been an established, lasting, organized social movements which dealt with the Berlin Wall and problems it caused. Another in-city wall project began in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 2009. The issue became a matter of controversy as soon as the construction started. State authorities argue that the wall is an environmental barrier built to prevent further deforestation. However, human right activists, social analysts and residents of the slums keep repeating that the ten foot tall, steel and concrete wall will also reinforce rich and poor<sup>58</sup>. It is argued that the wall is built to encircle the slum neighborhood and to reinforce social exclusion. Another ongoing discussion is conducted for the wall project in Buenos Aires, Argentina. A barrier, 800 meters long, three meters high began to be constructed in-between a well-heeled residential neighborhood and a poor district of Buenos Aires. In the case of Argentina, the government requested the halt of the construction of the wall to reconsider whether it is anti-democratic or illegal<sup>59</sup>. In-city walls are not always built in order to separate the rich and the poor. Another example of an in-city wall is the Peace Lines in Ireland. Peace Lines is a series of separating barriers built in North Ireland to separate Protestants and

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<sup>58</sup> Fabiana Frayssinet, "Brazil: Activists Wonder if Wall to Protect Forest, or the Rich", *Global Information Network*, New York: 7 April 2009, Available [online]: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1675074231&Fmt=3&clientId=40516&RQT=309&VName=PQD>, Accessed 8 June 2009.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Beaumont, "Argentina Calls Halt to a Wall Separating Rich from Poor", *The Observer*, 12 April 2009. Available [online]: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/12/argentina-social-separation-wall>, 8 June 2009.

Catholics. The barrier is 7.6 meters high. In the 1970s these barriers were built as a temporary measure to settle sectarian violence between parties. However since they were so effective, the government stretched the barrier to 21 kilometers. Apart from in-city walls there are also walls that are built on border lines. The Korean Wall on the demilitarized zone lying between North and South Korea is one of them. The Berm of Western Sahara, known as the Moroccan Wall, lies between Moroccan-controlled and Polisario-controlled sections of the Western Sahara. The wall following the Green Line, the United Nations Buffer Zone in Cyprus, was another example of the usage of walls by modern nation states as a demarcation tool. The wall was torn down in 2007, but the division still stands. Another border wall, the Mexico-US Border Wall, is almost complete. In the areas where construction has been completed, there is a reduction in the number of illegal entries into the United States. However, neither the citizens of the United States nor the Mexicans living on the border line are happy with this situation. United States citizens do not have access to their land lying between the fence and the Rio Grande anymore.<sup>60</sup> There are two main differences of the West Bank Wall from these. On the one hand, the Israeli wall project is also much bigger and more expensive than the stated ones. On the other hand, in none of the above stated cases is there a powerful, long-lasting and organized anti-wall movement as in the case of the West Bank Wall. These two specialties make the West Bank Wall a special case.

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<sup>60</sup> Christopher Sherman, "US-Mexico Border Fence Completion Eludes Government", *Associated Press*: 10 June 2009, Available [online]: <http://www.star-telegram.com/462/story/1426202.html>, Accessed 15 June 2009.



## The West Bank Wall as a Fact

The idea of a separation fence between Israel and West Bank was proposed by Prime Minister Ehud Barak in 1999. The idea of a unilateral separation became more and more powerful after the fall of the Camp David Talks in July 2000. In 2002, Ariel Sharon “was bowing to military contingencies and political pressures by transforming his politics of territorial expansion and adopting the proposals of his political rivals.”<sup>61</sup> The first path drawn by Sharon incorporated half of the West Bank both from the west and the east. The major West Bank cities were enclosed. Palestinians would also be controlled from mountains and airspace. This Wall would have horrific impact on Palestinians and for this reason global campaigns were launched against it by the United Nations, the International Court of Justice and various Non-Governmental Organizations on the international level. The Israel Ministry of Defense was nominated to be the organ to carry out the construction of a wall in West Bank by the Israeli Government on April 2002. The ministry stated that the project would be carried out as fast and effectively as possible. In the same year, the government approved the route of Stage A which runs from Salem to Elkana, and around Jerusalem (in the northern and southern sections) and Stage B, which runs from Salem towards Bet-Shean, through the Jezreel Valley and Gilboa mountains. The government completed Section A, as it was planned, by the end of July. Section B which was planned to be completed by the end of December 2003, was completed in 2004. On July 25, 2003, Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian Prime Minister, visited US President George W. Bush at the White House. Mahmoud Abbas was a crucial

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<sup>61</sup> Weizman, p.164.

figure for the success of the newly launched peace plan, the Road Map. Stage A was almost completed and Abbas expressed his hope that Bush would demand a complete halt to construction, or at least, that Bush would influence Israeli authorities to route the Wall towards the 'Green Line'. Sharon, in his turn, visited Bush four days later. After the visit he declared that the construction of the fence would continue, but that Israel would also check the damage that the fence causes on the daily life of the Palestinian population and would try to reduce it.<sup>62</sup> After some changes were made on the route, the new route of the fence was approved by the government on February 20, 2005. Since 2005, due to different court cases launched by Palestinians and internationals, some parts of the route have been changed and it is still changing<sup>63</sup>.

### The Physical Wall

The Wall between Israel and the West Bank is a means to separate Israeli and Palestinian communities' spaces. The Wall takes different shapes in different areas. In some areas it is a fence, in others it is a wall; however this does not make any difference in terms of the outcome. The basic aim of the Wall is to prevent Palestinians from passing into Israeli territory without permission. Although wall is a generic term that is used to refer to this structure, it is a multi layer obstacles composed of several elements. It is composed of a ditch and a pyramid shaped stack of six barbed wires on the eastern side (Palestinian side) of the structure and barbed wire only on the western side (Israel side). Ditches prevent any vehicle from hitting

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<sup>62</sup> Dolphin, *The West Bank Wall: Unmaking Palestine*, (London: Ann Arbor, 2006), pp.35-37.

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix A for the initial and revised versions of Wall's route.

the fence. There is a path enabling IDF forces' patrols on both sides of the structure. At the very center of the system there is an intrusion-detection fence with warning sensors. To detect footprints there is a smoothed strip of sand that runs parallel to the fence.<sup>64</sup> The fence is three meters high and it is equipped with electronic sensors, including cameras with night vision capacity. There is also a sensor that triggers a signal which alerts a nearby command center in case an intruder touches the fence. The whole obstacle changes from 30 to 70 meters wide and is called the 'buffer zone'. There are signs on the razor wire on the Palestinian side with warnings in Arabic, Hebrew and English which read: 'Mortal Danger: military zone. Any person who passes or damages the fence endangers his life'.<sup>65</sup> There is also a 'solid barrier system', which is a wall. Israeli military authorities argue that the solid barrier is used in the minority of cases. When the whole structure is completed, only 6 percent, or 30 kilometers, of the whole edifice will consist of these solid barriers.<sup>66</sup> This concrete section of the Wall is around eight meters high. Although, Israeli authorities argue that these concrete walls are built where there is a threat of sniper fire and where it is impossible to build a fence because of topographic reasons, these walls can be found alongside every Palestinian population center close to the Green Line.<sup>67</sup> For that reason, the protestors against the Wall argue that the role of the Wall "is not to reduce violence but to extend and reproduce domination and reinscribe it in space"<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Security Fence Online, Available [online]: "<http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/operational.htm>", Accessed 20 March 2009.

<sup>65</sup> Dolphin, pp.38-39.  
See Appendix B for more information on the solid wall.

<sup>66</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Security Fence Online.

<sup>67</sup> Dolphin, p.39.

<sup>68</sup> Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir, p.21.

Israeli authorities argue that problems such as environmental considerations, command and control facilities, minimum disruption to local population, simplicity of maintenance, and avoidance of including any Palestinian village within the area of the fence were taken into consideration while determining the route of the Wall.<sup>69</sup> They further stated that they are ready to make changes to the route of the Wall to serve best these principles and that they have even started to change the route in many places due to Israel's High Court of Justice decisions. The Palestinian Liberation Organization, however, does not share this view. They state that Israel's claim that the new Wall route only takes 7 or 8 percent of the West Bank is inaccurate. The new Wall route annexed 9.5 percent of the West Bank and together with settlement expansion it enabled Israel to control approximately 46 percent of the Occupied West Bank.<sup>70</sup> Palestinian authorities also claimed that there was no significant change to the Wall's route in the northern and central West Bank. While the new route was closer to the 1967 border in the southern West Bank, roughly 80 percent of the new route was still lying on occupied Palestinian territory.<sup>71</sup>

In 2006 Israel revised the route in the north of the West Bank “near the illegal settlements and settlement blocs of Ariel, Kedumim and Alfe Menashe; in the centre around the settlement of Ramot and the Etzion settlement bloc; and in the south around the settlements of Eshkolot and Metzadot Yehuda”.<sup>72</sup> In 2007 Israel also

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<sup>69</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Security Fence, Route, Available [online]: “<http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/route.htm>”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

<sup>70</sup> PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, “Barrier to Peace: Assessment of Israel's “New” Wall Route”, (March 2005), Available [online]: “[http://www.nad-plo.org/inner.php?view=facts\\_Wall\\_f19bp](http://www.nad-plo.org/inner.php?view=facts_Wall_f19bp)”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, “Barrier to Peace: Assessment of Israel's Revised Wall Route”, (May 2006), Available [online]: “<http://www.nad-plo.org/facts/Wall/Wall.pdf>”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

made further changes to the Wall's route near the settlement of Modi'in Illit.<sup>73</sup> The PLO argues that though the final changes to the route were done in 2007, Israel still tries to annex large parts of West Bank territory. The revised route divests Palestinians from their water rights, severs East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank and facilitates the expansion of settlements. In addition to these, there is also the problem of a close zone which is the territory tapped between the Wall and the Green Line on the west side of the Wall. Approximately, 260000 West Bank Palestinian, which means 10.6 percent of the total population in the West Bank lives in this area.<sup>74</sup> These Palestinians must have an Israeli permit in order to go to their homes as well as to go out of their villages. The PLO claims that this is a method used by Israel to force these people to migrate so that their land might be annexed. The revised route of the Wall is 662.8 kilometers long. Compared to the 315 kilometer Green Line, this new route meant a proportional rise in the cost and time spent on the construction. There are also other questions about the route. Anti-wall groups ask: If the route is designed to prevent Palestinians from infiltrating Israel, why does it leave 260.000 Palestinians on the wrong side of the Wall?<sup>75</sup> Another Israeli security claim was topographic. To control surrounding territory the Wall should be located on high ground. B'Tselem notes that the route “runs along a dry

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<sup>73</sup> PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, “Barrier to Peace: Assessment of Israel's Revised Wall Route”, (February 2007), Available [online]: “<http://www.nad-plo.org/facts/Wall/FS%20-%20Barrier%20to%20Peace.pdf>”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Dolphin, “Preface”, p.10.

river bed at the foot of Jayyous” instead of a hill. Thus the route of the Wall “is even contrary to the military needs”.<sup>76</sup>

The current route of the Wall includes fifty-five Israeli settlements on the Israeli side of the Wall, however there are still more than one hundred settlements on the east side of the Wall. These settlements are enclosed in 'special security zones' that resemble the Palestinian villages at the west of the Wall which are enclosed in the 'closed military zones'. Some argue that by creating this kind of spatial segregations, “Israel is creating, in a grotesque historical twist, history's largest ghetto, separating and isolating its own people from the world upon which their survival, and that of the Jewish state, depends”.<sup>77</sup> These areas are legally and physically estranged from their immediate surroundings. The special security zones around these settlements and the area extending 400 meters around them are sterilized. The logics of enclosures are different in close military zones and special security zones. For Israeli settlements the enclosures is for security purposes. These areas are linked to Israeli territory with fast and wide traffic corridors and they are seen as integrated parts of Israel. The close security zones, however, are used to control the Palestinian population living in these areas.<sup>78</sup> There are bureaucratic difficulties for Palestinians who want to enter or exit from these places. Similar spatial tools are used for opposite purposes: Qalqilya is one of the cities encircled by the Wall. After the encirclement by the Wall, unemployment rose to 75 percent. One third of commercial establishment have been closed down. 4000 out of 43000

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<sup>76</sup> Dolphin, quoted from B'Tselem, “Not all it seems: Preventing Palestinian Access to Their Lands West of the Separation Barrier in the Tulkarm-Qalqilya Area”, (June 2004), p.48.

<sup>77</sup> Lebbeus Woods, “The Wall Game”, in *Against the Wall*, Michael Sorkin (ed), (New York: The New Press, 2005).

<sup>78</sup> Weizman, pp.177-178, 260-265, 261.

citizens have migrated, and the rest cannot pay their taxes. Most of the families survive on social assistance. The Israeli and Palestinian economies are integrated and the construction of the Wall caused a severe economic burden on Palestinians who were working for Israeli companies and factories. The Mayor of the city says that they would accept a barrier along the Green Line to seal off their city from Israel.<sup>79</sup>

On the ground, the route of the Wall was influenced by various power blocks: settlement lobby groups want their settlement to be included in the Israeli side of the Wall, the Israeli environmentalists believe that natural reserves could be guaranteed if they remain under Israeli control, and religious parties want to alter the path to the south of Jerusalem.<sup>80</sup> There are also the Palestinian village councils and Israeli, Palestinian and international peace activists who try to change the route of the Wall. There are many people against the Wall but their reasons are different from each other. There are some Israeli settlers who are absolutely against the Wall because they believe that if the Wall becomes a border one day, the settlements and the territory at the east of the Wall will be left to Palestinians.<sup>81</sup> The path of the Wall keeps changing. The Wall provides Israel with a strong political and physical power over Palestinian. It can even be argued that with the termination of the Wall, Israel will lose some part of its actual power. Now, it has the power to decide and apply. “The facts on the ground are not inscribed by the concrete Wall; they are inscribed by, in, and around these gates and the zones of friction around them, which, together with the unfinished parts of the Wall, constitute the constantly changing.”<sup>82</sup> The path

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<sup>79</sup> Dolphin, pp.73-76.

<sup>80</sup> Weizman, pp.167-169.

<sup>81</sup> Dolphin, p.62.

<sup>82</sup> Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir, pp.2-27, 21.

will be the outcome of the struggles conducted over the legitimacy to decide. PLO and Israel Defense Forces are the two sides of this struggle and have different answers to the very same questions. Their perceptions together with the ones of International actors are vital to understand the significance of the Wall in The politics of Israel-Palestine.

## Perceptions on the Wall

### Israel

#### Israeli Ministry of Defense

The Israel Ministry of Defense has a separate website for the ‘security fence’ as they call it. On the site, there are documents concerning the purpose, operational concept, route, humanitarian concerns and exclusive aspects of the Wall. In all these sections there are detailed explanations to answer to questions in the ‘Questions and Answers’ section. The questions are almost the same as the ones in the ‘Frequently Asked Questions on the Wall’ section of the Palestine Liberation Organization’s website. The answers, however, are very different, and perhaps even competing.

For the Israeli Ministry of Defense the only reason behind the building process is the security motives of Israel. The fence is a “barrier in the path of terrorists” and is established with the aim of “saving the lives of the Israelis



citizens”<sup>83</sup> and preventing continuing terrorist attacks, weapon smuggling, violence acts and terrorist activities are the main threats posed against the Israel citizens.<sup>84</sup> They do not accept that the Wall was built with annexation or confiscation motives. They always repeat in their answers that the fence is not a border and “subject of permanent negotiations”<sup>85</sup> and that Israel is willing to dismantle the Wall one day as it will become irrelevant.<sup>86</sup> One of the main criticisms against Israel is about the path of the Wall. The West Bank Wall does not follow the Green Line and passes within the Palestinian territories. The Israel Ministry of Defense says that the fence is not built on the Green Line because, first of all, the Green Line was never acknowledged as an international boundary and secondly, because the route of the fence is determined by taking Israel’s security need into consideration alongside other points such as continuity of the fence, creation of an area that enables command and control, minimization of environmental damage, non-exclusion of any Palestinian villages, and minimum disruption to local population.<sup>87</sup> They add that they are willing to change the path of the Wall where there is no balance between security needs and humanitarian impacts of the Wall.

They believe that the Wall will work as a security tool to reduce terrorist attacks. They give the example of the wall around the Gaza Strip. Every year the Israeli Security Agency publishes a document to summarize statistics about

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<sup>83</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Security Fence, Questions and Answers, Available [online]: “<http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/questions.htm>”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

<sup>84</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Security Fence, Route, Operational Concept, Available [online]: “<http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/operational.htm>”, Accessed 20 Marh 2009.

<sup>85</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Security Fence, Questions and Answers.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense, Israel Security Fence, Route.

Palestinian terrorism. There was a significant decline in the number of suicide attacks between 2002 and 2007.<sup>88</sup> The Israeli government relates this fact to the partial construction of the security fence which started in the very same year. It is very hard to determine whether or not the decline in suicide attacks has a direct relation to the construction of the Wall. In the 2006 Israel Security Agency Report, it is stated that the decline in terrorist attacks is related to the “effectiveness of the counter-terrorism measures which included the detention of wanted terrorists, the exposure of weapons and the killing of terrorist-operatives who resisted detention taken by the Israeli security forces in (West Bank) Judea and Samaria.”<sup>89</sup>

The Israeli Defense Force argues that the one and only reason of building a fence in the West Bank is security. Even though they did not change their initial argument of security, The Israeli Defense Force changed the path of the Wall in many places. They did not foresee such changes at the beginning and they did their best to keep their stand. However, the international political pressure together with the local force them to reshape their argument to reduce discontents, to make the Wall more acceptable both for the international and Palestinian communities.

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<sup>88</sup> In 2001, there were 35 attacks, in 2002, 60; in 2003, 26; in 2004, 15; in 2005, 8; in 2006, 6 and in 2007, there is only one suicide attack recorded in Israel territories. Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Palestinian Terrorism in 2007”, (9 January 2008), Available [online]: “<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Palestinian+terror+since+2000/Palestinian+Terrorism+in+2007.htm>”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

<sup>89</sup> Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Anti-Israeli Terrorism, 2006: Data, Analysis and Trends”, (1 March 2007), Available [online]: “<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Palestinian+terror+since+2000/Anti-Israeli+Terrorism+2006.htm>”, Accessed 20 March 2009.

## High Court of Justice (Israel Supreme Court)

The Supreme Court which is the highest judicial instance in Israel can also rule as a court of first instance, under the name of the High Court of Justice. Palestinian villagers bring their cases against the Wall to this court arguing that the decisions made by Israel state authorities are illegal. Bringing a Palestinian village case to the High Court is internally a controversial issue. While bringing their case to the Court, these villagers accept that Israel authorities have the right to decide their case. However there is also the fact that a case brought to the Court can increase the awareness on the issue, and if the Court decides in favor of the villagers this can reduce the negative impacts of the Wall on the ground. For Palestinian people who are directly affected by the construction of the Wall, who are separated from their land and families and who are the ones who suffer, the decision made by the Court can change a lot in their daily lives. Many of the cases brought by Palestinian villagers do not get a positive answer but some are considered success stories and encourage other villages to follow the same legal path. These changes come with a cost. To push the Wall towards the Green Line makes life more tolerable for Palestinians, but also, “any action directed against the route, rather than against the very concept, not only legitimize it but effectively takes part in its making...”<sup>90</sup>

The first success story was the case of Beit Shourik Village Council’s petition against the Government of Israel and the Commander of the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) Force in the West Bank.<sup>91</sup> The case was brought to the Court in February

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<sup>90</sup> Weizman, p.175.

<sup>91</sup> High Court of Justice, Case No.HCJ2056/04, *Beit Shourik Village Council v. The Government of Israel*, Available [online]: “[http://elyon1.court.gov.il/files\\_eng/04/560/020/A28/04020560.a28.pdf](http://elyon1.court.gov.il/files_eng/04/560/020/A28/04020560.a28.pdf)”, Accessed 25 March 2009.

2004. The petitioners argued that the Wall is the outcome of a political decision. If it was not, it should be built on the Green Line. As it is a political decision the petitioners also argued that the IDF does not have the authority to give land seizure orders. The third argument of the petitioners was that the route of the separation fence is not consistent with the goal of the fence. The Court accepted that the military commander cannot order the construction of the fence for political reasons, but they stated that the construction of a wall is not a political decision, it is a security one and the IDF has the authority to decide the path of the Wall and to seize land for this purpose. The petitioners' second claim was that the fence should be built on the Green Line. The Court decided that a wall on the Green Line would be a political decision as the Green Line is a politically decided line whereas the actual path of the Wall proves that the sole motivation of the IDF is security. For this reason, the Court decided that the IDF has the authority to decide on the route of the separation fence, since the route is determined for security purposes. The Court examined "whether the separation fence's route, as set out by the military commander, injures the local inhabitants to the extent that there is no proper proportion between this injury and the security benefit of the fence"<sup>92</sup> and decided that the separation fence is disproportionate since there can be another "alternate route for the fence" with "a smaller security advantage than the route chosen by respondent, but which will cause significantly less damage than that original route."<sup>93</sup> The Court asked the IDF to find a new path fulfilling these demands. This change to the path was a success for Palestinian villagers and encouraged other villages to

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p.26.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

bring their cases in front of the High Court. The case of Mara'abe vs. The Prime Minister of Israel case of September 2004 and the case of Bi'lin of September 2005 were similar ones. In both cases, the petitioners argued almost the same things with the previous case. Once again, the Court decided that the military commander has the authority to decide on the route of the fence and that the fence is legal due to the fact that it was constructed for security purposes. However, the Court also once again decided that Israeli State Authorities should reconsider, in a reasonable period. The new paths drawn by IDF did not satisfy the Court's demand and it asked that they be redrawn. In the case of Mara'abe the revision is not completed yet. In each one of the cases the Court repeats that the Wall has a security agenda and its construction is legal. The Court only changes the route of the Wall, to find a less harmful alternative for Palestinian villagers or at least a solution that would be more proportional with the security needs of Israel.

The coordination between nonviolent anti-wall movements and villagers created awareness on the issue both at local and international levels. This cooperation and the harsh affects of the Wall created international pressure on IDF and on the Israeli government to change the path of the Wall. By making "the entire regime imposed by the Wall seemingly 'tolerable'..."<sup>94</sup> Israeli authorities also try to delegitimize the anti-wall movements, the PLO and other institutions which are against the Wall and Israel's decision to build a wall. The fight against the Wall conducted by movements and villagers also created local support, encouraged and helped the villagers to bring their case to the court. At this point, the IDF and HCJ had to redefine their political positions. HCJ became a very important actor and a

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<sup>94</sup> Weizman, 173.

balance force between Palestinian villagers and IDF. The IDF in its turn accepted to make some revisions on the route of the Wall. Rather than putting the emphasis on security, they started to talk about a balance between the security and humanitarian concerns. The existence of the Wall and the relations between the anti-wall movements and the Wall created unexpected changes and forced actors of Israeli politics to redefine their position. The newly defined roles and positions formed new political balances between both domestic and international actors.

### Palestinian Liberation Organization

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) considers the Wall an obstacle on the path towards Palestinian nationhood. The Wall is an important issue and therefore there is even a separate section about the Wall on the internet site of the PLO Negotiation Affairs Department. In this section there are documents on the construction process, the negative impact of the Wall on Palestinian people and international documents against the Wall such as United Nations resolutions. The PLO provides replies to all possible questions on the Wall within a “Frequently Asked Questions on Israel’s Wall” document, published on July 2005. The questions that the PLO answers are the same as the ones that the IDF and Israeli government answer to legitimize the Wall. Since the time this section of the website was prepared many route changes were made and the numbers given here are not up-to-date anymore. However, this section should be studied to get a general idea of how the PLO perceives the Wall and defends its position.

The PLO is against the Wall primarily because the Wall is not built on the “1967 preoccupation border.” They claim that the Wall is not about security as

argued by Israel's authorities but it is about annexation of Palestinian lands. The PLO states that Israel plans to build a considerable part (80%) of the Wall inside the Israeli-occupied Palestinian Territory. That way Israel will "de facto annex Palestinian agricultural lands and water resources, restricting Palestinian freedom of movement, separating Palestinians from schools, health facilities and jobs, and depriving thousands of Palestinians of their livelihoods." PLO accepts that there has been a drop in the number of Israeli civilians killed. However, according to them the drop is not so significant.<sup>95</sup> The Wall has nothing to do with the security of Israel, firstly because its route has nothing to do with security and secondly it will not be able to provide the demanded security. They argue that the construction reasons of the West Bank Wall are different than the ones of the Gaza Strip. The Wall which surrounds the Gaza Strip has a "disengagement" agenda. The Israeli settlements in the region have been destroyed and the settlers were evacuated. Israeli government did not mean to annex Palestinian land, they separated Palestinians from Israelis but during the whole process they respected land rights of Palestinians. However, de facto annexation of Palestinian lands and the expansion of settlements in the West Bank region and construction of new settlements show that Israel follows a policy of "engagement" in this region. Israelis want to annex Palestinian lands and force the Palestinians to migrate.<sup>96</sup> They want the land of Palestinians but not the Palestinians.

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<sup>95</sup> Since September 2000, 4,681 Palestinian and Israeli civilians have been killed (3,626 Palestinians and 1,055 Israelis) and 2,707 of them were killed after the construction of the Wall. A vast majority were (1,802 Palestinians) killed in the Occupied Gaza Strip, where a similar Wall has existed since 1994. PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, "Israel's Wall", (July 9, 2005), p.7, Available [online]: <http://www.nad-plo.org/facts/Wall/WallMagazine%207-2005.pdf>, Accessed 9 June 2009.

<sup>96</sup> PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, Israel's Wall, (July 9, 2005), p.15, Available [online]: <http://www.nad-plo.org/facts/Wall/WallMagazine%207-2005.pdf>, Accessed 9 June 2009.

Whether it is called “wall”, “barrier” or “fence” is irrelevant in the eyes of the PLO since the ultimate effect is the same: Israel’s de facto annexation of Palestinian land, forced impoverishment of Palestinian communities and a coercion of Palestinians to abandon their homes and their property. According to the PLO, the Wall is a part of a bigger plan. Israel is trying to annex the Occupied Palestinian territory by enclaving Palestinians. The land between 1967 borders (called as the Green Line) and the Wall is declared the ‘close military zones’ by the Israeli army. The Palestinians who are stuck in this area after the construction of the Wall need permission to go in and out. The Wall separates Palestinians from Palestinians and from their work rather than separating Palestinians from Israelis. The Wall is not a temporary measure in the eyes of the PLO. When Israel started to build the illegal settlement colonies, it was argued that this would be a temporary security measure. But, time proved that it is not. Even if it can be dismantled one day; the damage created by the Wall, the economic, cultural, environmental damage cannot be reversed.

The PLO claims that Israel uses different strategies to carry out the transfer of the Palestinian population. The Wall is an important one of these policies since it makes it easier to transfer Palestinians away from their lands and homes. According to the PLO there are four main policies of transfer; forceful expulsions; destruction of Palestinian cities, homes and businesses; the confiscation of Palestinian land and construction of new Israeli colonies (settlements), and expansion of existing colonies and coerced Palestinian immigration. According to the PLO, the construction of the Wall destroys the hope for a two-state solution. “The Wall itself takes the West Bank’s most valuable agricultural lands and water resources, along with Palestinian East Jerusalem. Settlement expansion to the east of the Wall and Israeli control over



the Jordan Valley will take more of the lands and resources necessary for a future Palestinian state. Without access to these vital land and water resources, or the Palestinian capital East Jerusalem, there can be no viable Palestinian state. Without a viable Palestinian state, there can be no viable peace.”<sup>97</sup>

The Wall affected the political stand of the PLO. The existence of both the Wall and the villagers who raised their voices against the occupation and demarcation affected the new stand of PLO. The West Bank Wall became the main subject of their arguments. The PLO members do not give any credit to two-state solution anymore. The illegal settlements, annexation, colonization, nonhuman conditions under which Palestinians are forced to live; the PLO related all these subjects to the Wall and reshaped its political stand around it. In their website they give references to the affected villages such as Jayyus and Bil’in which are also the ones organizing anti-wall demonstrations together with Israelis and Internationals. The PLO sees the Wall as a part of a bigger plan of annexation. For this reason by fighting the Wall they also fight Israel’s plan of annexing Palestinian lands. There is also the fact that the visibility of Wall’s impact increased the visibility of Palestinian cause both at local and international levels.

### United Nations

The construction of the West Bank Wall never became an issue for the Security Council of the United Nations (UN) because of the stand the United States take on the issue. As soon as Ariel Sharon brought the project before the cabinet for

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<sup>97</sup> PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, Frequently Asked Questions On Israel’s Wall, Available [online]: [http://www.nad-plo.org/print.php?view=facts\\_Wall\\_f20p](http://www.nad-plo.org/print.php?view=facts_Wall_f20p), Accessed 12 June 2009.

approval, the Arab League brought the issue to the attention of UN Security Council. However the United States (US) vetoed the draft resolution which condemns the Wall as a violation of international law. The Arab League convened an emergency session in the General Assembly (UNGA) where the US does not have veto power. There are three General Assembly resolutions on the construction of the Wall. The first one was issued on October 27, 2003. The resolution states that the Wall can “make two-state solution physically impossible to implement and further humanitarian hardship to the Palestinians.”<sup>98</sup> The General Assembly demanded Israel to “stop and reverse the construction”.<sup>99</sup> The second resolution was issued on December 12, 2003. It mentions that the construction of the Wall confiscates and destructs the Palestinian lands and resources and disrupts the lives of thousands of civilians by de facto annexing large amount of land. As Israel refused to comply with international law, the United Nations General Assembly requested the International Court of Justice to render an advisory opinion on the legal consequences of the Wall.<sup>100</sup> The third resolution is issued on 2 August 2004, after the International Court of Justice’s advisory opinion. Considering the advisory opinion of the Court, the UNGA asked Israel to comply with its legal obligations, to end the construction of the Wall and called upon all states party to the fourth Geneva Convention to ensure

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<sup>98</sup> UNGA resolution ES-10/13 “Illegal Israeli Actions in Occupied East Jerusalem and the Rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory”, (27 October 2003), Available [online]: <http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/a06f2943c226015c85256c40005d359c/6da605bd43667fe185256dce00617927!OpenDocument>, Accessed 7 May 2009.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> UNGA resolution ES-10/14 “Illegal Israeli Actions in Occupied East Jerusalem and the Rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory”, (12 December 2003). Available [online]: <http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/a06f2943c226015c85256c40005d359c/f953b744269b9b7485256e1500776dca!OpenDocument>, Accessed 7 May 2009.

respect by Israel of the Convention.”<sup>101</sup> 144 states voted in favor of the first resolution, 90 voted in favor of the second and 150 voted in favor of the third one.<sup>102</sup>

In July 2008 the United Nations published a report on “The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier.” In this document, it is stated that the barrier encloses the Palestinian community and territory. The document was about the situation around the Wall. There are approximately 35.000 West Bank Palestinians who will be enclosed between the barrier and the Green Line. Once the barrier is completed, these people will not have access to health and education services which are located on the east side of the Wall. They need permanent resident permissions from Israeli authorities and the rest of the West Bank population need visitor permissions to enter into these zones. Many of the people who live to the east of the barrier are isolated from their farms, grazing lands and water resources which are located west of the Wall. In 2007, UNGA established the UN Register of Damage caused by the Wall in the Occupied Territory (UNRoD). UNRoD serve to record “the material damage caused to nature and legal persons, concerned as a result of the construction of the barrier by Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.”<sup>103</sup> Even though, as soon as Israel started to make some revisions to the route in 2005, the international community tacitly accepted the new route and stopped issuing new resolutions they kept keeping an eye on the subject matter. Its structure and the way it is working

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<sup>101</sup> UNGA resolution ES-10/15 “Illegal Israeli Actions in Occupied East Jerusalem and the Rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory”, (2 August 2004). Available [online]: <http://domino.un.org/unispal.NSF/3822b5e39951876a85256b6e0058a478/f3b95e613518a0ac85256eeb00683444!OpenDocument>, Accessed 7 May 2009.

<sup>102</sup> Arab Media Watch, “Arab Media Watch concerns for Gaza: Al-Atheer- Sunday” (1 February 2009). Available [online]: <http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/Articles/PressReleases/tabid/77/newsid391/5523/AMW-concert-Al-Atheer---1-Feb-2009/Default.aspx>.

<sup>103</sup> United Nations, “Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier”, (July 2008), Available [online]: [http://www.un.org/unrwa/access/BarrierReport\\_July2008.pdf](http://www.un.org/unrwa/access/BarrierReport_July2008.pdf), Accessed 7 May 2009.

prevent UN kind of international organizations from taking radical steps. The international community assumed that “if the Wall defines the new border, at least the Palestinians will end up with the 90 percent of the West Bank that lies on ‘their side’”<sup>104</sup> after these revisions. One of the main reasons why the UN still keep an eye on the subject and continue to issue papers is that the existence of Israeli and Palestinian anti-wall organizations, their fight, their regular demonstrations which keep the issue alive. Their existence and struggle create an international pressure on international organizations. International organizations feel obliged to react and to stress their position again and again.

#### International Court of Justice

On July 9, 2004 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) offered an advisory opinion on the “Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory” to the General Assembly of United Nations. It is the ICJ's duty to decide “whether or not the construction of that Wall breaches international law.”<sup>105</sup> This advisory opinion has nothing to do with the consequences of the construction; it only deals with its legality. This document is frequently referred to by any and every kind of organization which opposes the Wall.

Before giving the advisory opinion, the ICJ gave details of Israel’s position. Israeli Authorities mention that the construction of the Wall does not breach international laws and obligations because the Wall is constructed solely for security

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<sup>104</sup> Dolphin, p.61.

<sup>105</sup> International Court of Justice, “Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory”, (9 July 2004), p.29.

purposes. Israel refers to the Wall as a part of Israel's combat against terrorism. In addition to this, the Wall is considered as a temporary measure. Israel is "ready and able, at tremendous cost, to adjust or dismantle a fence if so required as part of a political settlement."<sup>106</sup> The Court mentions in its turn the fact that the route of the Wall is determined by the Israeli Government in such a way as to include 80 percent of Israeli settlements which are in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.<sup>107</sup> ICJ states that the route of the Wall shows that the Wall is a political issue rather than a security one. The construction of the Wall cannot be considered as an act of self-defense with reference to article 51 of the Charter. The threat that the Israeli government claims to be responding to with the Wall is actually coming from a territory occupied by Israel. For this reason, ICJ stated that the construction of the Wall cannot be justified by reference to a state of necessity concept of customary international law as the construction of a wall is not the one and only mean to safeguard Israel's interest.<sup>108</sup> From this point, it is stated that the construction of the Wall is against international law. Israel has obligations towards the international community. For this reason, the ICJ stated that Israel is obliged "to cease forthwith the works of construction of the Wall, to dismantle it forthwith and to repeal or render ineffective forthwith the legislative and regulatory acts relating to its construction, save where relevant for compliance by Israel with its obligation to make reparation for the damage caused."<sup>109</sup> This burden on Israel is not the only outcome of the advisory opinion. The advisory opinion outlines obligations of other states and the United Nations. All

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p.45.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, p.46.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, pp.3-4.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

states are obliged not to “recognize the illegal situation resulting from the construction of the Wall and not render aid or assistance in the maintaining the situation created by such construction.” The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have “to consider further action...to bring to end the illegal situation resulting from the construction of the Wall...”<sup>110</sup> The ICJ opinion is important not only because it states that the Wall and settlements are illegal but also because it states that the security right of Israel could not deny Palestinians’ right to self-determination. This cannot be subject to negotiation; it is a matter of law.<sup>111</sup> This statement is important for the Israel-Palestine conflict, because this is the first time that the ICJ made such a statement about Palestinians right to self-determination. This advisory opinion is also an outcome of the international pressure which is an outcome of regular demonstrations and media interest into the issue.

The Wall becomes meaningful as an actor when one studies together its concrete structure and the way its existence is perceived by other actors of the same political structure. The existence of the Wall forces both national and international actors of the conflict to redefine their discourses and positions. Combined with the regular demonstrations and anti-wall protests, the Wall became a more serious issue to consider. This combination of the Wall and reactions to it made PLO to question the legitimacy of Israel from the vantage point of the legitimacy of the Wall. The ICJ and the UN started to criticize Israel’s status in the West Bank by arguing that the construction of a Wall is an occupation. The IDF started to legitimize its existence in the West Bank from the vantage point of the Wall as an anti-terrorist project and HCJ, in its turn, became a new decision-making authority on Palestinians’ faith and

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>111</sup> Dolphin, p.28.

Israel's politics. The claims and legitimization mechanisms changed as the Wall, a new actor, entered into the political process. The Wall has an impact on actors' positions, political discourses and actions. The existence of anti-wall movements strengthens the impacts of the Wall on other actors. In this manner these movements become some kind of mediators between the Wall and other actors of the conflict. The Wall modifies the state of affairs of the politics of Israel-Palestine by making a difference as a nonhuman object. Its agency is supported by anti-wall movements' relation to it. This agency is not as visible as the agency of organizations and states which are composed of human actors. This does not mean that the nonhuman agency of the Wall is less important than any other actor's agency. It can be grasped only within the changes that it creates on other actors. But once it is grasped this kind of agency can tell us a lot about political changes.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE WALL AND NONVIOLENT ANTI-WALL MOVEMENTS

Nonviolence is not a new concept; it was a central part of Eastern religious teachings.<sup>112</sup> The twentieth century witnessed the resurgence of nonviolent thought. In addition to well-known writers on civil disobedience<sup>113</sup>, the teachings and writings of Mohandas Gandhi<sup>114</sup> made him the pioneer figure for nonviolent movements in twentieth century. For twentieth century social movements, nonviolence became an ad hoc strategy. The success obtained from the individual and collective experience of nonviolence as a strategy significantly increased the usage of nonviolent techniques in cases where guerrilla warfare was once the only path to follow.<sup>115</sup> Nonviolence also became a part of international political struggles as a method of resistance.<sup>116</sup> Both theoretical structures and practical experiences of nonviolence are significant for future movements. In theoretical term, the strategic usage of

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<sup>112</sup> "Lao Tzu (sixth century BCE), founder of Taoism and Mo Tzu (ca. 479-391 BCE) contended that violence goes against the very gain of the universe. Similarly the Buddha (ca. 563-483 BCE) taught that the first present of this eightfold path was not to kill, and the ancient Hindu teachings of Vedas stressed the importance of *ahimsai* that is, non-harmfulness or nonviolence." (Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz and Sarah Beth Asher (eds), *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), p.2-3.

<sup>113</sup> For further information please check: David Henry Thoreau, *The Variorum of Civil Disobedience*, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967) and David Henry Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1983).

<sup>114</sup> For further information please check: Raghavan Iyer (ed), *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, (Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1991); Francis Hutchins, *India's Revolution: Gandhi and The Indian Movement*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) and Erik Gandhi's *Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, (New York: Norton, 1969).

<sup>115</sup> For further information please check: Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz and Sarah Beth Asher (eds), *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective*,(Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), p.1.

<sup>116</sup> For further information please check: Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, "Nonviolent Power in the Twentieth Century, *Political Science and Politics*, Vol.33, No.2, (Jun. 2000), pp.146-148.



nonviolence as a political tool,<sup>117</sup> its use as a national defense tool<sup>118</sup>, as a tactic,<sup>119</sup> its relation to human rights,<sup>120</sup> and the reason why it is effective<sup>121</sup> are highly discussed subjects. In practical terms, nonviolence is studied on a regional basis. Nonviolence used as a tactic within the African-American Civil Right Movements<sup>122</sup> and Indian Independence Movement<sup>123</sup> are the primary examples given for nonviolence's effectiveness. However, there are cases of nonviolence all around the world.<sup>124</sup> As the Middle East is often equated with violence, nonviolent movements from the region are generally neglected from the big picture of nonviolent case studies. The few existing case studies on nonviolence in the Middle East focus on

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<sup>117</sup> For further information please check: Robert L. Helvey, *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals*, (Boston: Albert Einstein Institution, 2004).

<sup>118</sup> For further information please check: Adam Roberts, "Transarmement to Civilian Defense", Adam Roberts (ed), *Civil Resistance as a National Defense: Non-violent Action Against Aggression*, (Harrisburg: Stackpole Book, 1968).

<sup>119</sup> For further information please check: Thomas R. Frazier, "An Analysis of Nonviolent Coercion as Used by the Sit-in Movements", *Phylon*, Vol.29, No.1, 1968, p.27-40; Douglas G. Bond, "The Nature and Meanings of Nonviolent Direct Action: An Exploratory Study", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.25, No.1, March 1988, p.81-89.

<sup>120</sup> For further information please check: Stephen Zunes, "Nonviolent Action and Human Rights", *Political Science and Politics*, Vol.33, No.2, (Jun. 2000), pp.181-187.

<sup>121</sup> For further information please check: Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, (New York: Fellowship Publications, 1959).

<sup>122</sup> For further information please check: John Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1986).

<sup>123</sup> For further information please check: Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, (New York: Norton, 1969).

<sup>124</sup> For further information please check: Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle. 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, (Boston: Extending Horizons Books, 2005) and Bo Wirmark, "Nonviolent Methods and the American Civil Rights Movement 1955-1965", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.11, No.2, (1974), p.115-132; Guntis Smidchens, "National Heroic Narratives in the Baltics as a Source of Nonviolent Political Action", *Slavic Review*, Vol.66, No.3, (Fall 2007), p.484-508; Christine Kovic, "The Struggle for Liberation and Reconciliation in Chiapas, Mexico: Las Abejas and the Path of Nonviolent Resistance", *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol.30, No.3, Popular Participations Against Neoliberalism, (May 2003), pp.58-79.

resistance<sup>125</sup> for most of the cases. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Israel-Palestine conflict became one of the most fruitful areas of study for nonviolence scholars. On the Israeli side, studies generally focus on peace movements,<sup>126</sup> and on the Palestinian side they focus on the First Intifada.<sup>127</sup> The usage of nonviolence within this conflict is associated with third parties<sup>128</sup> by some writers. Studies show that a legacy of nonviolence began to be created in the Israel-Palestine conflict. To be able to determine the place of nonviolent anti-wall movements within the whole picture of nonviolence one should analyze other nonviolent movements fighting built objects around the world.

The Brazilian Anti-dam Movement,<sup>129</sup> Indian Anti-Dam Movement,<sup>130</sup> Japan Anti-Dam Movement,<sup>131</sup> Iisu Anti-Dam Movement,<sup>132</sup> and Anti-Nuclear protests in

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<sup>125</sup> For further information please check: Scott Kennedy, "The Druze of The Golan: A Case of Non-Violent Resistance", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.13, No.2, (winter 1984), p.48-64; Christine Mason, "Woman, Violence and Nonviolent Resistance in East Timor", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.42, No.6, (Nov. 2005), pp.737-749.

<sup>126</sup> For further information please check: Reuven Kaminer, *The Politics of Protest: The Israeli Peace Movement and The Palestinian Intifada*, (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1996); Michael Feige, "Peace Now and Legitimation Crisis of "Civil Militarism"", *Israel Studies*, Vol.3, Iss.1, (31 March 1998), p.85-111; Charmaine Seitz, "ISM at the Crossroads: The Evolution of International Solidarity Movement", *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, Vol.32, Iss.4, (Summer 2003), pp.50-68.

<sup>127</sup> For further information please check: Souad Dajani, "Nonviolent Resistance in the Occupied Territories: A Critical Reevaluation", in *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective*, Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz and Sarah Beth Asher (eds), (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999) and Gene Sharp, "The Intifada and Nonviolent Struggle", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.19, No.1, Autumn 1989, p.3-13; Thomas M. Ricks, "In Their Own Voices: Palestinian High School Girls and Their Memories of the Intifadas and Nonviolent Resistance to Israeli Occupation", 1987-2004, *NWSA Journal*, ( Fall 2006), Vol.18, Iss.3, pp.88-104.

<sup>128</sup> For further information please check: Andrew Rigby, "Unofficial Nonviolent Intervention: Example from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.32, No.4, (Nov. 1995), pp.453-467.

<sup>129</sup> For further information please check: Sabrina McCormick, "The Brazilian Anti-Dam Movement: Knowledge Contestation as Communicative", *Organization & Environment*, Vol.19, No.3, (September 2006), pp.321-346.

<sup>130</sup> For further information please check: Ashis Nandy, "Dams and Dissent: India's First Modern Environmental Activist and His Critique of the DVC Project", *Futures*, Vol.33, Issu.8-9, pp.709-731.

Taiwan<sup>133</sup>, US and West Germany<sup>134</sup> are some examples of nonviolent movements fighting built realities. Most of these movements are studied by social science scholars in order to determine movements' relation to changing conjuncture of politics, their contribution to politics, or their rise and fall. Most of the movements which are fighting built-realities are environmental movements acting with environmental concerns. The difference between these movements and anti-wall movements is that the latter's concerns are political, economical or social as much as environmental. As stated in the previous chapters there are many walls built in the twentieth century, but there are not so many social movements which can be called anti-wall movements. The reason for this is that in most of the cases, movements against the walls are generally ad hoc, under the form of unorganized riots or protests. Of course there are exceptions. The grassroots coalition groups called "No Border Wall" organized by US citizens against the Mexican Border Wall signs petitions, encourages people to call their member of Congress, and organizes festivals.<sup>135</sup> Although this group is similar to anti-wall movements against the West Bank Wall, No Border Wall does not take direct action and cooperates with the

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<sup>131</sup> For further information please check: Purnendra Jain, "Jumin Tohyo and the Tokushima Anti-Dam Movement in Japan: The People Have Spoken", *Asian Survey*, Vol.40, No.4, (Jul.-Aug. 2000), pp.551-570.

<sup>132</sup> For further information please check: Behrooz Morvaridi, "Resettlement, Rights to Development and Ilisu Dam, Turkey", *Development and Change*, Vol.35, Iss.4, pp.719-741.

<sup>133</sup> For further information please check: Ming-Sho Ho, "The Politics of Anti-Nuclear Protest in Taiwan: A Case of Party Dependent Movement (1980-2000)", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.37, No.3, (July 2003), pp.683-708.

<sup>134</sup> For further information please check: Christian Joppke, "Social Movements During Cycles of Issue Attention: The Decline of Anti-Nuclear Energy Movements in the West Germany and the USA", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.42, No.1, (March 1991), pp.43-60.

<sup>135</sup> For further information please visit the website of the movement: Available [online]: <http://notexasborderwall.com/page2.htm>, Accessed 2 June 2009.

people from the other side of the Wall. In this respect features of anti-wall movements against the West Bank Wall make them unique.

Before further elaboration of nonviolent movements' characteristics, I want to explain my choice of stressing the term nonviolent while talking about anti-wall movements. It can be argued that such distinctions between social movements and nonviolent movements do not exist anymore and the term social movement covers all movements developed within the civil society, developed outside of an organized, armed state apparatus. I especially use the term nonviolent because these movements define and differentiate themselves from other movements in the region by putting the accent on this aspect of their fight. They fight an army which has the legitimacy of using violence and they keep being committed to nonviolent principles. They do not even throw stones which they see as an act of violence. In this manner, they delegitimize the usage of violence against themselves. This is the only method for them to fight one of world's most powerful armies.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, the nonviolent social movements have some special characteristics. Anti-West Bank Wall movements carry all nonviolent movements' characteristic and this is what makes them so successful in their fight. These movements are composed of loose, small but committed groups. They can gather people for their demonstrations because they have contacts with each other and outsiders. The fact that they are composed of nucleus groups makes it easier for them to decide on their next step. Solidarity between members creates a base more powerful than race, religion or any other identity. Conducting a fight side by side to achieve the same end and to risk their lives for this make them closer to each other. Their methods are creative and this makes them unpredictable. Their being committed to nonviolence makes these

movements more creative and harder to defeat. As their opponent does not use any other method other than violence, their nonviolent methods win sympathy in the eye of the public. This increases the number of their supporters and makes them more difficult to beaten. Nonviolent movements are successful in responding to changes in a very fast manner. In the case of anti-wall movements, this feature makes them a good intermediary between the Wall and other political actors. They quadruple the impact of the Wall, their relation to the Wall make the Wall a determinant actor of Israel-Palestine conflict. The most important component of the political reactions chain appearing with the construction of the Wall is the nonviolent movements. The careful study of the three chosen movements will show how these movements are affected from the Wall and are significant to understand the Wall's ability to change a whole political field.

#### From Nonviolent Anti-Wall Movements to the Agency of the Wall

The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is a Palestinian-led International movement committed to resisting the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land by using nonviolent direct action methods and principles. The Movement was founded in 2001, before the construction of the Wall, by Palestinian activists Ghassan Andoni, George N. Rishmawi; Israeli activist Neta Golan; Palestinian-American activist Huwaida Arraf; and Jewish-American activist Adam Shapiro. Through ISM European and North American activists arrived in the occupied territories to participate in nonviolent actions. The Movement was established just before the height of the Israeli state invasion and attacks on Palestinian population centers. At the beginning actions were forming human chains to block soldiers from interfering

while Palestinians tore down military roadblocks, holding mass demonstrations, or collectively breaking curfews to go to school, to harvest olives, or to play soccer.<sup>136</sup> The escalation of violence drove them to focus on accompaniment and human-shielding. 2003 was a turning point in the history of nonviolent peace movements in the region. On 16 March Rachel Corrie, an ISM activist, was crushed to death under an Israeli armored bulldozer which she was trying to obstruct during a house demolition. On 11 April of the same year, Tom Hurndall was shot in the head by an Israeli sniper in the same area. The killing of internationals highlighted the brutality of occupation and raised the voice of internationals. The death of anti-wall activists became an impulse for a more committed and large scale fight against the Wall. Such events rekindled the extinct fire of solidarity. But they also showed the risk of solidarity activities. The participation in activities declined dramatically. During the very same period, the Israeli Defense Force tried to bulldoze ISM's reputation by claiming that the group is not 'in favor of human rights', but 'pro-Palestinian'.<sup>137</sup> They even tried to link ISM to Palestinian terrorism.<sup>138</sup> With the construction of the

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<sup>136</sup> Uri Gordon, "Israeli Anarchism: Statist Dilemmas and the Dynamics of Joint Struggle", *Anarchist Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p.19, Available [online]: <http://www.lwbooks.co.uk/journals/anarchiststudies/articles/UriGordon.pdf>, Accessed 15 March 2009.

<sup>137</sup> Johann Hari, "Walking Towards Gunfire: The Peace Protestors Who Stand Up Against Violence", *Peace Under Fire: Israel/Palestine and the International Solidarity Movement*, Josie Sandercock, Radhika Sainath, Marissa McLaughlin, Hussein Khalili, Nicholas Blincoe, Huwaida Arraf, Ghassan Andoni (eds), (London: Verso, 2004), p.291.

<sup>138</sup> Gordon, 21. In 27 March 2003, a 23-year-old Palestinian named Shadi Sukiya arrived at the ISM office in Jenin. Soon afterwards Israeli soldiers came in and arrested Sukiya, who they accused of being a senior member of the Islamic Jihad. On 25 April, two young British Muslims, Asif Hanif and Omar Khan Sharif attended a public memorial service for Rachel Corrie organized by the ISM. Five days later, the two carried out a suicide bombing at a restaurant in Tel-Aviv. Despite the fact that ISM does not have any idea about their plans or identities, the media and military linked ISM to suicide bombings to defame the movement. In May, the army raided the ISM's media office and seized computer equipments. "Though unconfirmed, it is thought that among the materials seized was a comprehensive list of past and present ISM volunteers, including their addresses and passport numbers. This enabled the Israeli security apparatus to expand its 'blacklist' of unwelcome

Wall ISM add this subject to its agenda. The participants of the movements come to West Bank to protest the construction of the Wall and to join activities organized by different movements against the Wall.

Anarchists Against the Wall (AATW) is a direct action group which was established in April 2003. It is a small anti-wall group composed of anarchist Israeli activists, already doing various political projects in the Occupied Territory. In 2003 Palestinians, international, and Israeli activists raised two tents in Mas'ha village, on the land which was chosen to be confiscated for the construction of the Wall. Israelis, Palestinians from the village, and internationals lived together for four months in the camp and the camp became the meeting point for all peace activists against the Wall. During these four months the residents of the camp planned various direct actions in other villages and they managed to open a gate in the Wall. One of AATW activists Uri Gordon defines AATW as a reaction to the demand to show the Israeli side of resistance. "...(S)ome Israelis who were cooperating on direct action with International Solidarity Movement (ISM) and affinity groups and with other internationals increasingly felt the need to give more visibility to their own resistance as Israelis, by creating an autonomous group working together with Palestinians and internationals."<sup>139</sup> AATW activists consider themselves as more active successors of ISM. Rather than only protecting Palestinians from Israeli violence during demonstrations, as ISM does in general, they intervene in the conflict and take direct action to derange Israeli State authorities. The Wall is the only subject that this movement deals with.

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internationals. In the following months there were more deportations and denials of entry into Israel.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p.22.

The third movement is the Palestinian grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign which is a coalition of Palestinian non-governmental organizations and popular committees. The call for a coordinated, popular, and grassroots Palestinian effort to tear down the Wall was mentioned for the first time on October 2, 2002, from the office of the Palestinian Environmental NGOs Network (PENGON). Thus the Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign was born. At the beginning the Campaign was coordinated by PENGON. In one year the Campaign became the main grassroots body working against the Wall, and coordinating the work of 54 popular committees in the struggle against the Wall. These fast developments and growing responsibilities necessitate a structural change and the Campaign began to work as an independent body with its own board. The Campaign acts as the voice of communities on a local level; initiates mobilization and coordination on a national level, and is a part of the global struggle against colonization, war, and racism.<sup>140</sup> These three are not the only movements which deal with the Wall in the region. The impact of the Wall was so big that it is impossible for any movements in the region to conduct politics without taking a stand on the Wall issue. These three movements are selected because they represent different sides of the conflict Israelis, Palestinians and Internationals. They are also the ones which use nonviolent intervention as their method. These three movements' existence and agendas show that the Wall created some new movements both in Israel and Palestine and change the priorities of existing ones.

The West Bank Wall made new actors enter in the political game. And the movements are not the only ones. There are other actors which entered the political

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<sup>140</sup> "The Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign", Campaign's Online Brochure, Available [online]: <http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml>, Accessed 10 December 2008.



game after the construction of the Wall; Palestinian villagers around the Wall is one of them. Bil'in is one of these villages along the Wall's route. It is located several kilometers northeast of Ramallah. In 2004, the village numbered 1800 inhabitants. The surface area of the village was approximately 4000 dunums, including 3500 dunums of tillable soil. Bil'in's and its neighboring villages' (Saffa, Nil'in, Deir Qiddis, Al Midya, Rut Shilta, Beit Sira, Bir Ma'in, Al Burj, Kharbatha Al Misbah) economy depends entirely on agriculture, particularly on olive trees. Since the crossing restriction began, the unemployment rate has come to exceed 60%. The Wall traverses within Bil'in at a length of 2 kilometers, and a breadth of 30 meters. 1964 dunums out of 4000 dunums land and approximately 1000 olive trees have been confiscated by Israel for the construction of the Wall and a significant part of the village's agricultural land is left on the Israeli side of the Wall. Apart from the Wall, the village is surrounded by Israeli settlements. The construction of Israel settlements started in the 1980's and still continues. The Wall and settlements are part of the same problem as lands of villagers which remained on the Israeli side of the Wall began to be used to expand existing settlements. Bil'in's land left on the eastern side of the Wall is only 1700 dunums. Furthermore it is forbidden to use the closest part to the Wall for residential purposes. This policy of the Israeli government has pushed many villagers to buy land from neighboring villages or to emigrate to the city or to Western or foreign countries.<sup>141</sup> Bil'in Committee of Popular Resistance Against the Wall and Settlements was created on January 2005 by the Stop the Wall Campaign. When the revised route of the Wall was published by the Israeli government the Committee started nonviolent demonstrations. Together with

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<sup>141</sup> "The Wall – The Battlefield in Bil'in", *International Solidarity Campaign*, Available [online]: <http://www.bilin-village.org/english/articles/testimonies/The-Wall-The-Battlefield-in-Bil-in>, Accessed 10 February 2009.

Israeli and international activists, the popular committee of the village still organize peaceful demonstrations every Friday in front of the 'work-site of shame'. With the establishment of popular committees and with their active participations to demonstrations and protests, Palestinian villagers became important political actors in the region. The villagers are called by different movements around the world to share their experiences and they are the ones who decide the steps of all three movements mentioned above, because they are the ones who are affected by the Wall and who will carry the burden of the actions.

Apart from creating new movements and transforming the existing ones, the Wall made people from different sides of the Wall closer to each other in some respect. The Stop the Wall Campaign has different activities conducted on the ground. One of the most important of them is grassroots mobilization. The campaign organizes popular meetings with affected communities, supports their organization against the Wall, facilitates and coordinates their activities, exposes occupation plans and actions, encourages solidarity between people in different locations, and coordinates exchange of experiences between these peoples. If it is needed, Campaign helps the affected communities to form their own Popular Committees to defend their land. These committees are the meeting, organization and coordination places of villagers. The Campaign conducts coordination between all Palestinian popular committees. Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign has no direct action on the ground. It provides the necessary equipment to popular committees and they organize their demonstrations against the Wall. The Campaign is responsible for supporting these demonstrations and struggles as well as for announcing news on its website. These Popular Committees established by the Stop the Wall Campaign work on the ground with ISM and AATW. Activists from both movements go to every

village that invites them to join demonstrations against the Wall. They have been present at demonstrations and actions in Salem, Anin, Biddu, Beit Awwa, Budrus, Dir Balut, Beit Surik, Biddu, Bi'lin, Ni'lin, and Jayyous Beit Likia. They have close relations with some of these villages. Israeli and international activists join residents of Palestinian villages in their weekly demonstrations against the Wall. Ma'asara, near Bethlehem, Bil'in and Ni'ilin, near Ramallah, are some of the villages which organize weekly protests. Protesters walk from the village to the Wall generally after Friday prayers. They carry flags and chant slogans against the Wall and the occupation. Generally when they reach the Wall, Israel troops stationed behind the Wall prevent the crowd from getting near the gate by firing teargas, canisters and hurling concussion grenades.<sup>142</sup> The protesters sometimes respond to the violence of the IDF by stone throwing, and this accelerates the violence as the IDF sees this as a legitimate excuse to use extensive means against the protesters. Even if Palestinians do not throw stones, the violent suppression techniques of the IDF can cause serious injuries and even kill protesters.

Since 2005 the AATW has been active in Bil'in village which became the symbol of Israeli-Palestinian joint struggle against the Wall. In February 2009, the village's Popular Committee celebrated its fourth year of nonviolent struggle against the Wall. Bil'in's case is very special for being an example of how Palestinians and Israelis can work in coordination and create an environment of solidarity around themselves. Their movement brought down all prejudices reproduced by the two communities against each others. Solidarity between AATW from Israel and Bil'in

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<sup>142</sup> "Bil'in, Al Ma'asara and Ni'ilin Against the Wall", Anarchists Against the Wall, Available [online]: [http://www.aWalls.org/bil\\_in\\_al\\_ma\\_asara\\_and\\_ni\\_ilin\\_against\\_the\\_Wall](http://www.aWalls.org/bil_in_al_ma_asara_and_ni_ilin_against_the_Wall), Accessed 12 April 2009, Accessed 19 May 2009.

Popular Committee from Palestine was awarded the Human Rights Prize.<sup>143</sup> Solidarity between movements is also supported by other organizations. International Solidarity Movement's activists and representatives of Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign participate in weekly demonstrations and give information about each other's activities on their websites. From this point one can argue that popular committees are the intersection point of all anti-wall movements, as they are the reflection on the field of an ideological battle. In this respect, Bil'in became the laboratory of nonviolent resistance. Since 2006, every year the village organizes an international conference on nonviolence. Hundreds of Palestinian, Israeli and international participants attend this event. The high participation rate in this conference shows that the movement on the ground built by the cooperation of villagers and activists opened up new frontiers for nonviolence resistance both from a practical and theoretical angle.<sup>144</sup> The Wall which is built to separate these people made them to come together to dismantle it. The existence of the Wall destroyed the Wall's raison d'être.

Being aware of the impossibility of fighting the violence used by IDF, these movements chose to stick to creative nonviolence as their method. This creativity makes their actions uncontrollable. All three of these movements use direct action and direct intervention as their methods. They find creative ways of expressing their views. Anarchists cut the separation fence, block the road, and climb the military

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<sup>143</sup> DPA, "Anarchists Against the Wall awarded German Human Rights Prize", Haaretz, Available [online]: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1044375.html>, Accessed 12 January 2009.

<sup>144</sup> Sofia Filocalossi and Ines Gramigna, "Bil'in Nonviolent Resistance Conference: Between Rhetoric and Action, *Alternative Information Center*, Available [online]: <http://www.alternativenews.org/english/1886-bilin-nonviolent-resistance-conference-between-rhetoric-and-action-.html>, Accessed 2 May 2009.

tower next to Bil'in to hang up Palestinian flags at the top.<sup>145</sup> Even though they stick to nonviolence, what they intend is a different version of nonviolent ideology. Their understanding of nonviolence is not close to the strict nonviolence of Gandhi.<sup>146</sup> In Palestine, anarchists found a diversity of tactics to conduct an active nonviolent movement rather than a passive one. They participate in demonstrations and support Palestinians. With their presence they try to protect Palestinians from the IDF's violent repression as "the mere presence of Israelis at Palestinian civilian actions offers some degree of protection for against army violence."<sup>147</sup> They use nonviolent interjection: by using their bodies as shelters they try to prevent the use of excessive violence by Israeli authorities. ISM's international participations are also very important as it can ensure a degree of protection for Palestinians engaged in nonviolent resistance. When there are Israelis and Internationals in a group, IDF thinks twice before using violent measures. Challenging the existence of checkpoints and curfew, confronting tanks and demolition equipment, removing roadblocks, participating in nonviolent demonstrations, accompanying farmers to their fields and

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<sup>145</sup> "Cutting Da Separation Fence", Palestinian, Israeli and International Activists Dismantled a Section of the Israeli Separation Barrier at the Village of Beit Mirsim. "posted on YouTube on 11 August 2007, Available [online]:

<http://www.ktunnel.com/index.php/1010110A/0780b999b9603b9e2b695152b738c44c880d8d01ea6ef009c5a503638547f934da9007372db7e7d816573> and "Anarchists Blockade Downtown Tel Aviv", For the second time in a month activists from Anarchists Against the Wall blocked one of Tel Aviv's busiest streets using razor wire taken from the Segregation Wall in the West Bank village of Bil'in, Posted on Youtube on 03 February 2007, Available [online]:

<http://www.ktunnel.com/index.php/1010110A/0780b999b9603b9e2b695152b738c44c880d8d01ea6ef009c5a503638564e42ffa67a022cec8e8716573> and "Bil'in", Tito Kayak, a Poerto Rican activists climbs up a military tower next to the Wall on the lands of the Village of Bil'in Palestine, 20.04.07, posted on YouTube by AATW, Available [online]:

<http://www.ktunnel.com/index.php/1010110A/0780b999b9603b9e2b695152b738c44c880d8d01ea6ef009c5a503638566fd1ecdae003a0be4fbd416573>, Accessed 6 February 2009.

<sup>146</sup> Gordon, 23.

<sup>147</sup> AATW Website, "About the Wall", Available [online]: [http://www.awalls.org/about\\_aatw](http://www.awalls.org/about_aatw), Accessed 3 February 2009.

protecting families whose homes are threatened with demolition are some examples of how direct action is used by ISM. Emergency mobilization is another way internationals conduct their actions. They escort ambulances through checkpoints, deliver food and water to families under curfew or house arrest, assist the injured or disabled to access medical care and walk children to school. Apart from these action based supports, internationals also provide information about the situation in the field. They document and report to local and international media about daily life under occupation and the countless human rights and international law violations of the Israeli military.<sup>148</sup>

Apart from being very actives in the West Bank, anarchists carry out direct nonviolent interventions in Israel. In 2007, they blocked Tel Aviv's main street with barbwire and a sign saying 'restricted military zone' that they stole from the Wall. By blocking traffic on the main street, protesters aimed at demonstrating the daily difficulties the separation fence causes for Palestinians.<sup>149</sup> They also tried to diffuse information from the field to the world about their struggle and the humanitarian impacts of Israel's Wall project. In their "speaking tours," they talk about their activities, invite people to struggle against the Wall together with them, show the horrible daily life of Palestinians under the oppression of Israeli authorities and the racist separatist policies of Israel.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Yael Barnovsky, "Anarchists Block Tel Aviv Street", Ynet, Available [online]: [http://www.aWalls.org/anarchists\\_block\\_tel\\_aviv\\_street](http://www.aWalls.org/anarchists_block_tel_aviv_street), Accessed 3 February 2009.

<sup>150</sup> Shachaf Polakow, "Anarchist Against The Wall: Solidarity, Resistance and Direct Action, North America Speaking Tour, 12 February 2009", video on YouTube, Available [online]: <http://www.ktunnel.com/index.php/1010110A/0780b999b9603b9e2b695152b738c44c880d8d01ea6ef009c5a50363851fde05c0af2c153ceb8f8f16573>, Accessed 12 April 2009.

The Popular Committees organized by the Stop the Wall Campaign carry these activities together with ISM and AATW on the ground. Olive trees are the primary means of livelihood for the village, and the tree was thus also adopted as the main symbol of demonstrations. Once, the activists chained themselves to the olive trees as the epitome of their creativity. This action was the first in which the spirit of nonviolent resistance was made evident. This action opened the way for a number of other creative actions, where barrels, boxes or crates, a makeshift metal cage and gallows, coffins and gravestones, adhesive tape, mirrors, cardboard snakes, a solid iron bridge, columns, a mass grave, a huge Palestinian flag, lots of small flags, the scales of justice, and black flags became a part of nonviolent resistance. The creativity of these events contributed to attracting media coverage and to spreading messages faster and on a larger level.<sup>151</sup> The Campaign, itself, focuses on mobilization and coordination of local and national efforts. The Campaign works on the international level as well as the local one. They try to raise awareness on the international level about the implications of the Wall on Palestinian towns, and they mobilize solidarity for the communities affected by the Wall through coordinating international organizations, and movements. Apart from this, they try to mobilize the Arab world community, civil society organizations and unions to increase political solidarity and support within the Arab world for the Palestinian struggle in general, and for the community struggle against the Wall. They call for international boycotts, divestment, and sanctions against Israel to force it to comply with the ICJ decision. They participate in and support other anti-apartheid movements all around the world and link the Palestinian struggle against the Wall and Occupation to the world-wide

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<sup>151</sup> *ibid.*

struggles against war, globalization, and colonization. They activate international organizations, movements and actors to support the Campaign. The fact that these movements use nonviolent methods, that they are very creative in their actions and that they have a very large network all around the world make their voice heard. In addition to it, their being attached to each other and coordinated have a lot to do with the organization of successful events. Their creativity gives to these movements the ability to respond fast to changes and new measures taken by IDF to stop them. In this manner, they can transmit the Wall's impacts to other agents very easily and seamlessly.

Apart from being very creative, these movements' being nonviolent brings out the imbalance between their actions and violent repression techniques used by the IDF. The Israeli military tried to crash demonstrations, but the overwhelming attempts of the military paradoxically played a significant role in attracting more Israeli and international solidarity activists to participate in these movements. The military employed a number of means to dissuade the demonstrators from continuing their struggle. First they used batons to beat the demonstrators, then they started to use of gas of various kinds, sound bombs, metal bullets coated with different kinds of rubber, and new weapons such as salt pellets (which literally force salt into the wounds they create), electrical weapons (such as tasers), high-velocity bean bags shot from a gun, and blasting people with high-pressure water hoses. At least 600 people were injured with these weapons during Bil'in demonstrations. The Israeli army even used collective punishment by closing the gates, imposing curfews, declaring the village a closed military zone, and besieging the village to prevent both Israeli and international activists from reaching Bil'in. The villages were exposed to



nightly raids and searches besides the beating and arrest of young villagers.<sup>152</sup> This is these movements' creativity and nonviolence which drawn and kept people's attention to the subject matter for so long. And this long-lasting interest in some way, created a political pressure on international actors for them to take some steps. The steps taken by UN and ICJ forced the Israeli government in its turn to accept to change some changes on the path of the Wall and on the discourse to legitimize the path. The Israeli government which was putting the accent on the security alone, started after some point to talk about decreasing humanitarian impact of the Wall and achieving a balance between the security of Israel and Palestinians' rights.

### Interviews

In addition to textual and discursive analysis, in-depth interviews have been conducted with activists from these three organizations in order to grasp the details of these movements' relation to the Wall which cannot be analyzed from the study of existing data on them. What activists mention show how they perceive the Wall and how they make use of it to achieve their other political goals. One of the questions asked to activists and leaders of the movements was about what the Wall signifies for them. Uri Gordon who is an activist from Anarchists Against the Wall mentioned that the Wall is one more step in the big manipulation of Israeli public psychology. It is ultimately against the interests of the Israeli public as it creates a unilateral separation and prevents Israelis and Palestinians from living peacefully and equally. Stop the Wall Campaign's activist Dawood Hamoudeh also thinks that the Wall is

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

significant as part of a bigger plan. “We think that the Wall in itself is significant, but the Wall is part of a big project.”As long as Israel controls the gates, they control people at the eastern side of the Wall. The hospitals, cultivated lands, schools in many regions are on the other side of the Wall and Israeli border soldiers have the right to control the daily life of Palestinians. What Hamoudeh says is also the Campaign’s official view: the Wall is only one aspect of the big separation, segregation and control plan of Israel. Neta Golan shares the same view with others. She mentions that it is a part of an ongoing control project of the Israeli State. The similarity between the view of an Israeli, an International and a Palestinian movements against the Wall shows that there is a common understanding of the Wall among anti-wall activists. This common understanding made it possible for them to come together and create solidarity among themselves. They are committed to achieve the same end, to fight the same enemy.

Another question was about each movement’s collaboration with both Israeli and Palestinian movements. The AATW has collaboration with other organizations in Israel, mainly with the communist party, anarchists and then anarchist created groups. People who are not anarchists are also coming to their demonstrations. Neta Golon mentions that it is hard for Israelis to participate in ISM demonstrations as they have to work and pay a rent. Their situation is different than a foreigner who saved up money and can give all his time. For these reasons they do not have many Israelis participants, but this decision has nothing to do with choice. The degree of commitment and time the movement asks of its participants is too much for an Israeli who has to go to work on a regular basis. As a Palestinian organization Stop the Wall has a different stand. Hamoudeh mentions that they had a big brainstorming session in 2003 to discuss what their relationship with the Israeli community should look

like. As they do not have access to Israeli society, they decided to focus on their own community. “At the beginning there was some meeting in both directions. We gave a presentation in Tel Aviv for the peace movements.” However, as soon as they understood that Israeli peace movements do not a common stand on the issue, they changed their mind. “May be they all agree on peace, but they all have different visions of how the peace should be. For us as Palestinians, it is different.” Palestinians have a specific aim for their struggle. They have specific demands that they are calling for. Hamoudeh says “there is no any coordination between us and them. But we usually send open invitations for our activities and they usually send open invitations for their activities. If they come and join they are welcomed, if we go and join, we are also welcomed. But we do not coordinate an event together.” But he also adds that they are working with the Alternative Information Center from Jerusalem, which is an Israeli NGO. Stop the Wall works and coordinates events with them. Both organizations are members of World Social Forum. They usually coordinate before going to meetings of World Social Forum. They even started to write a joint legal paper about investments in the zone on which the Wall will be built. They use data collected by Israeli organizations as Israelis have access to settlements and construction areas. “So there are data exchanges, map exchanges, photos” between Israeli NGOs and Stop the Wall. Hamoudeh also adds that they work with many Jewish organizations in Europe. In addition to all these, one should also keep in mind that popular committees formed and coordinated by Stop the Wall work with Israeli activists on a regular basis. Stop the Wall makes a clear distinction between Israeli Jewish NGOs and Israeli Arab NGOs. They have close links with Israeli Arab NGOs and work together with them. They never tried to persuade the Israeli public to their cause. Being someone from the West Bank they are not

accepted there. They leave this mission to Israeli NGOs, both Jewish and Arab. Stop the Wall is pleased with the coordination between Israelis and Arabs on the ground. There are “Israeli activist joining activities, for example lawyers and religious people joining activities” and “Israeli lawyers volunteering to defend Palestinian villages.” Even though Stop the Wall is against the normalization of relations and for this reason do not prefer to work, to have contacts with Israeli movements, they have some close cooperations with the Information Center of Jerusalem and Jewish organizations around the world. This shows that even though they do not prefer to do so, their fight against the Wall made them obliged to have some close relations with Israelis. This cooperation is even deeper when one considers Popular Committees’ (established by Stop the Wall) close relationship to both Israeli and International movements supporting their cause. These committees, in a indirect manner Stop the Wall, compose the backbone of anti-wall movements together with Israelis and Internationals.

When their collaboration with Palestinian movements is asked, Gordon from AATW says “the relation is mostly directly with the popular committees in villages”. They also try to help Palestinian committees out with demonstrations “if they circulate some petition or something it will be put on the e-mail list and some people may sign it.” According to Golan from ISM, joint struggle is a new phenomenon started after the Second Intifada. This joint struggle is most apparent against the Wall. She says “I do not think that it is caused by the Wall. I think it is something that would happen anyway, with or without the Wall. Because there is the escalation of application and its tactics, there is also the escalation of dissent.” During the First Intifada, dissent of Israelis is shown as refusing to serve in the occupied territory. With the second Intifada, the escalation of tactics made people take another step and

to join Palestinian resistance against the occupation. She mentions that Stop the Wall does not mention Israelis in their report even if there were Israelis, Palestinians and internationals in a demonstration. Golan says that “they think that even in demonstration there should not be collaboration with Israelis. They would think that this is normalization.” She thinks otherwise. They benefit from information and publications of Stop the Wall. However the cooperation is not intense yet. She is hopeful for the future, “it might come better, may be even is becoming better. Around this one place the resistance working more together than usual.” Stop the Wall is the one and only anti-Wall movement in Palestine. Hamoudeh says “we are an open movement. You have political parties in Stop the Wall Campaign, you have NGOs, you have activists, you have farmers. I do not believe there is a need to build a second anti-Wall movement”. As “all the Palestinians are anti-wall” there is no need for a second movement. They can struggle under the umbrella of the Stop the Wall Campaign.

The solidarity between peace-seeker Palestinians and Israelis started before the First Intifada. In 1970’s the PLO gained prestige in the occupied territories and established contacts with Israeli leftists. This cooperation lasted until Al-Aqsa Intifada. The main feature of this pre-Al-Aqsa solidarity was its temporary and elite nature. The solidarity in the era was demonstration based and established between the Palestinian political elite and Israeli leftist-Zionist organizations and academics. Even this elite kind of solidarity broke down with the Second Intifada. Most of the joint activities stop at this period. “While individual Palestinians continue to be helpful to the Israeli peace camp on an institutional level, this cooperation no longer

exists or only partially exists.”<sup>153</sup> With the Intifada the cooperation declined to an individual level. The fight against the Wall brought two sides close again and this time the solidarity is established not between the elite but between peace groups and villagers. As Golan mentioned the solidarity was something that would happen anyway, with or without the Wall. The joint fight is a new phenomenon and it made thing to happen faster. The existence of the Wall and the way anti-wall movements fight against opened a new era for Israeli-Palestinian solidarity. This version of solidarity, a long-lasting one between lay people rather than elites, appeared with the fight against the Wall.

Before continuing further more to explain the changes that the existence of the Wall and the reaction of anti-wall movements created, I should eliminate two possible misunderstandings. First, while talking about the solidarity environment created by the Wall, I do not mean that one should be thankful of the Wall's existence. It is not the case. What I am trying to show is that even a huge project can turn upside down political calculations made by its creators. The changes that the Wall created are both positive and negative. This brings us to the second possible misunderstanding. The Wall's existence did not create a solidarity environment for the whole Palestinian and Israeli peoples. In many case, it achieved its primary aim of separating two people. The decline of suicide attacks or the difficulties that Palestinians encounter in their daily life can be given as examples. However, this was what is expected, normal. These were the reasons behind the building process or its expected outcomes. What is interesting, unexpected was the appearance of a solidarity between Israelis, Internationals and Palestinians at least for a specific

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<sup>153</sup> Gila Svirsky, “The Israeli Peace Movement Since the Al-Aqsa Intifada”, in *The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid*, Roane Carey (ed), (Verso: London, 2001).

social strata. At this point where it breaks the expected course of events, we can identify the agency of the Wall. The Wall surpassed the role determined by Israeli authorities for it. Instead of being an obstacle to keep Israelis and Palestinians separate from each other, the Wall served to a cause to bring some of them together at some level. The building of the Wall made nonviolent movements from each side and Palestinian villagers to come together and they started a new fight. Their common cause, the Wall, and their commitment made them closer to each other. Palestinian villagers, most of them for the first time in their entire life, met Israelis and learned that the Israelis are not evil creatures. Iltezam Morrar, a villager from Budrus where AATW conduct joint struggles with villagers, says “I had never dealt with Israelis as friends before. Israelis were always occupiers and soldiers. During the first demonstration I met three women who became my first Israeli friends.”<sup>154</sup> In their declaration Anarchists put their finger on the fact that since childhood every Israeli is brainwashed with hatred and fear of Palestinians. Demonstrations and joint struggle developed strong ties with Palestinians and determined common goals to achieve. They mention that everyone who participates in the actions against the occupation can see that everything told about Palestinians are lies. They continue as follows: “we have slept together beneath the olive trees (before they were uprooted), we have marched together to the fence and we will continue to struggle together - Israelis, Palestinians and internationals- for justice and equality for all.”<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> “Accidental Interview of an Anarchist”, *We are all Anarchists Against the Wall*, 2004, Federazione Dei Comunisti Anarchici, 2004, p.42, Available [online]: [http://www.fdca.it/Wall/media/anarWall\\_EN.pdf](http://www.fdca.it/Wall/media/anarWall_EN.pdf), Accessed 2 February 2009.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p.50.

Even though they accept that the Wall made a big change in terms of solidarity between people, none of the activists is optimistic about future. They accept that demolition of the Wall is probably impossible to achieve, even if they struggle. Gordon says that the demolition of the Wall unfortunately can only come as part of much deeper and wider changes, with an end to militarism in Israel. He does not believe that there will be a relocation of the Wall after a final agreement with Palestinians authorities as argued by Israel. He thinks that a viable two-state solution is not possible anymore. Golan makes a similar point. "The legal legitimization is that it is temporary, about security and politics. But on the ground you see non-stop building of settlements to the west of the Wall. Politicians also say that this will be Israel's political borders." She does not believe that the Wall is temporary, as Israeli politicians argue. "If Israel will be forced to dismantle the Wall it is not going do so of its own will: that would be part of forcing Israel to comply with international law and international standards of democracy. There will be a completely new era in Israel and Palestine. Dismantling will be part of a real democracy for everyone. But you have to work very hard to reach this." According to Hamoudeh if it happens some day, "it will make the occupation force understand that its occupation will be more expensive than ending the occupation. Second thing is to give a message to Israeli society that these plans will not end the conflict. We need to think together about a different, an equal alternative, not Israeli superior, Palestinian inferior like it is now." Even though each of the three activists looks for a solution in different places, they believe that the dismantlement of the Wall is almost impossible and there is a large possibility for them to not be able to achieve their ultimate aim.

Their not being optimistic about the future brings to mind questions about the place of the Wall in their campaign. The Wall has been the focus of the campaign of



this initiative of AATW, and it has been a very powerful one, because it created grassroots by national alliance between Palestinian villagers and the Israelis. The Wall symbolizes the “struggle against the separation and against the basic power structure that relies on this separation, to keep the people divided.” The struggle against the Wall gives them the opportunity to reach their basic aim, showing that a horizontal solidarity can be built between Israelis and Palestinians and the real fight is between vertical powers. “We are thinking about the direct solidarity on the ground and how to be there when we are invited to support and give solidarity. In longer term we are thinking about forging some alternative picture of what the relation between Israelis and Palestinians can be. And we are not talking about co-existence: we are talking about a joint struggle.” The movement considers the Israel-Palestine issue including the Wall issue, as part of a bigger picture of capitalism, militarism and patriarchy. “Co-existence in the joint struggle... tries to end this horizontal conflict between people. The joint struggle tries to replace this with a vertical conflict, between peoples and rulers.” While struggling against the Wall, Stop the Wall Campaign tries to “create a social movement in Palestine to confront everything, not even the Wall or the occupation. The title is the Wall because thousands of people are affected by the Wall. It is easy to attract them by the Wall, after then you can educate them. But we actually hope we can create a social movement which will provoke one state solution. Even if we demolish the Wall, there will be other issues that we will deal with.” They will try “to build a political national vision around this Wall, with it or against it.” What they try to do is to build “an understanding which is needed to build a social movement.” The ISM try to show that solidarity for peace can be build between Israelis, Palestinians and Internationals. They use to the Wall besides many other issues to achieve this end.

Their fight against the Wall also provides these movements with a forum to achieve their other agendas such as building a future nation state, creating solidarity or showing that the conflict is not a horizontal but a vertical one. The answers that activists gave to this question show that the Wall apart being a subject is also a tool. These movements' dual agendas show that the existence of the Wall make these movements to choose another way of conducting politics. Rather than opening their political cards directly, they use more intricate strategies. The reason for this choice is the Wall's physical impacts on Palestinian villagers and political impacts it created on political actors. The Wall's objectively negative impacts on Palestinians provide to these movements a solid base to build their fight on together. Without such a political basis, it would be impossible for Palestinian nationalist and anarchists to come and to fight together.

The existence of the Wall created unexpected changes on Israel-Palestine conflict politics. A great deal of these changes is due to the relationship between nonviolent anti-wall movements and the Wall. The Wall's existence encouraged the rise of new movements and the modification of existing ones. They started to work together. Some kind of solidarity was established between movements and people that the Wall is built to separate. Their usage of creative methods and nonviolence as a strategy made them very difficult to be beaten. The IDF's usage of excessive violence attracted more attention as these movements refused to reply in the same manner. The disproportional force used by Israel authorities and the nonviolent nature of protest in a geography which is always cited together with violence was one of the main reasons why international communities and activists keep following the issue. The pressure on international organizations and the Israeli State made them redefine their positions. Apart from all these, there is also the fact that these

movements made use of the Wall to achieve other political goals. The stand of each movement is different from the others. While fighting against the Wall they also fight something else. In the case of AATW they fight the state system and in the case of Stop the Wall they fight for Palestinian nationhood. The existence of the Wall gave them a solid ground to build their action side by side even though they all have different agendas while fighting the Wall. The relationship between the Wall and the nonviolent anti-wall movements created deep changes in the Israel-Palestine political field new actors, new methods, new pressure techniques, new ways of doing politics entered in the picture of a long-lasting conventional conflict.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

My thesis proposes that to understand how the politics of Israel-Palestine changed after the construction of the Wall one should analyze the relation between the West Bank Wall and nonviolent anti-wall movements. The relationship between nonviolent anti-wall movements and the Wall created a chain reaction and has a significant impact on the change of the politics of the conflict. In the second chapter, I tried to show how the different components of the political space can have agency. By showing that the space theories open up the necessary space for Actor-Network Theory's definition of nonhuman agency, I argued that the Wall as a part of the Israel-Palestine political space can have an agency, be able to create unexpected outcomes and even change the politics in the region. In a second part of the same chapter I listed basic premises of nonviolent social movements. These premises of nonviolent movements are what help them to spread the impact created by the Wall's agency.

The building of walls in between people is an old political method. It even exists within modern state systems in order to separate 'us' from 'them.' This division gives necessary tools to conduct an internal politics of fear as well as an external politics with the ones on the other side of the wall. The walls are built to separate the mutually decided borders, to separate people living in the same city, to protect the environment, to enclose unwanted segments' living areas, to separate conflicting groups of the society or to unilaterally decide territories and borders.

However, it is hard to reduce the whole logic of the building process to just one of these. Most of the time causes and effects are amalgamated, as in the case of the West Bank Wall. The same wall is perceived as a security means, as an economic obstacle, as a segregation and colonization mechanism, and as a unilaterally decided border, all at the same time by different actors. The physical features and impacts on the ground of the Wall together with the way it is perceived by different political actors create diverse understanding of the same physical reality. For this reason a multi-dimensional analysis of the Wall is necessary to see how the definition of an objective reality can be done in different ways by different actors of the same political field. For this reason, the third chapter of the thesis is about the physical features and the path of the Wall as well as the way the Wall is perceived by some main agents of the Israel-Palestine conflict like the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Israeli Defense Forces, High Court of Justice, International Court of Justice and United Nations. This analysis shows that the Wall is an important subject matter in Israel-Palestine conflict and it has some unforeseeable impacts on other actors. Other actors changed their initial stands with the construction of the Wall and still keep changing it. This kind of an analysis shows on the one hand what the Wall is and on the other hand how it is perceived differently by different actors and changed these actors' positions within the conflict. The West bank Wall as being a nonhuman actor has an agency and the unexpected changes of the other actors' agenda reveal this agency. However, this is less than sufficient to explain the deep political change that the construction of the Wall created in the politics of Israel-Palestine.

The agency of the Wall and its significance as an actor within the whole set of relation in the region can only be grasped with a detailed analysis of the relationship

between the Wall and nonviolent anti-wall movements. Nonviolent anti-wall movements in the region which are strictly committed to nonviolent principles in their demonstrations and actions, use direct action methods and try to build solidarity between Israelis, Palestinians and Internationals. The most prominent three of these movements are the Israeli Anarchist Against the Wall (AATW), the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), and the Palestinian movement Stop the Wall Campaign. Their relation to the Wall and the way they perceive the Wall are significant to understand how much the Wall became significant in the politics of the region and how the Wall changed the previous relation sets and the way the politics is conducted.

The first significance of the Wall is that the Wall created new actors. New anti-wall movements such as the Stop the Wall and AATW were created. There are also the Palestinian villagers who became significant actors in the politics of Israel-Palestine after the construction of the Wall. In the case of existing actors the Wall forced them to restructure their agendas and political stands. It became impossible to talk about the politics of Israel-Palestine without making any reference to the Wall project. The nonviolent movements and villagers organized joint actions, regular demonstrations against the Wall, as well as conferences, joint papers and declarations. Working together against the Wall, resisting together, sharing the burden of an Israeli intervention to demonstrate and support each other on the ground brought anti-wall movements and villagers more close to each other than before. A social solidarity against the Wall is established and the prejudgments are broken, at least for the ones who come together on the ground. Although, contacts are limited to affected Palestinian villagers and activists, it was something that the Israeli government did not foresee when it decided to build a Wall to separate Israeli and

Palestinians. The Wall which is built to separate, to cut the contacts between people, made at least some segments of these populations come together, act together and share more than before. This cannot be evaluated as profound change on a social level. Nonetheless it is significant as an unexpected change. Israeli and Palestinian groups fighting together against the Wall have the hope to spread this solidarity to other segments of both populations. If this can be done one day, the actual solidarity movement between Israelis and Palestinians will become very significant as the starting point of a new kind of relationship. The solidarity established by anti-wall movements and villagers is not the first example of Israeli-Palestinian cooperation. In the history of conflict there are many other examples of cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians to achieve peace and to establish solidarity between parties. However, the actual movements established the political and individual links between some segments of Israeli and Palestinian population and changed the political constellation of social movements. Before the establishment of the movements against the Wall, social movements were cooperating with the Palestinian political elite.

Relations between individuals and social groups changed as the Wall forced them to conduct their fight in a different manner. They fight against the Wall together. To be stronger, they used nonviolence as they know that they will be crushed immediately if they try to fight against IDF, one of world's most powerful armies, by using violence. Apart from making new actors to enter within the political game, the Wall also changed the ways these actors fight against the Wall and have impacts on the political structure of the conflict. Movements' usage of nonviolence in the actions and demonstrations weakened the hand of the Israeli government and the IDF against these movements. The relation between the Wall and the nonviolent

anti-wall movements and the outcomes of this interaction forced other actors such as the Israeli government to redefine their stands about the Wall. As the IDF lost all legitimacy in the use of violent measures to suppress nonviolent activists, they started to invent new weapons and felt the need to legitimize their interventions. HCJ changes the path of the Wall to reduce criticisms. The Israeli government feels the need to find out new methods to fight against these nonviolent movements. The PLO in its turn determine its stand, it redraws the lines of the fight against Israel and shapes its argumentation on the illegal construction of the Wall and Israel's annexation policies by taking the Wall as the vantage point. The relation between demonstrators and suppressive forces of state apparatus is transforming and the construction of the Wall is the source of this transformation.

In addition, the Wall became a tool, a symbol as well as an aim for these movements. All three of the movements fight against the Wall and state that their ultimate agenda is the dismantlement of the Wall. However, during the in-depth interviews activists and managers of these movements emphasized that they are well aware that the dismantlement of the Wall is very difficult, almost impossible, and that they do not believe that the Wall will be dismantled in the close future. The question is why they continue to fight against the Wall even if they do not believe in their hearts that they can achieve the dismantlement of the Wall? There are two reasons for this. The first reason of their continuing to fight is that they use the Wall as a symbol. For these movements, to fight against the Wall is also to fight the ideology which built the Wall. While fighting against the Wall, they do not just fight against the Wall as an architectural reality; they fight against the reason which built a wall between them. They do this in two manners: by their direct actions and demonstrations they harm the Wall and the construction process, and in a way they



fight against the ones who build the Wall by making it impossible to manage. Also, because the Wall is built to separate them from each other, by coming together on the ground and by fighting together against the Wall which is separating them from each other, they fight against the ideology of separation. The second reason for their fight is that these movements use the Wall as a tool. The fight against the Wall helps these movements to achieve their other agendas. While fighting against the Wall, AATW also fight the idea of the existence of state. They do not highlight it, but as is obvious from their name, the AATW is an anarchist organization and while fighting with villagers on the ground, they also try to prove that the problem is the suppressive governments. On the ground without the government's intervention even Israeli and Palestinian people can manage to live together. The ISM tries to create an international awareness of the Palestinian struggle against the Wall as well as against the occupation and Israeli settlements. Stop the Wall Campaign uses the fight against the Wall to create a Palestinian nationalist stance and to establish the necessary networks between NGOs, political parties and people for a future Palestinian state. The existence of the Wall provided social movements with new ways to paraphrase their demands and to achieve their ends. At this point, although the dismantlement of the Wall is their main point, these organizations also benefit from the fight against the Wall to achieve other, deeper agendas. Even though the Wall stands they can achieve other ends by using the Wall as a tool. This usage of the Wall as a tool brings to mind a second question. Why do they use the Wall but not something else? They use the Wall because the Wall is a huge project: the Israeli government spent lots of money for this project and it has huge, visible negative impacts on Palestinian people. To fight the Wall is to fight Israel's biggest project and to take a strong stand against Israeli state ideology. Also to fight against the Wall is a solid ground on

which to build solidarity between Israelis and Palestinians. The burden that the existence of the Wall creates on Palestinian people are so obvious that it provides the necessary base for Israelis and Palestinians to come together without talking about any other political concern, without touching other issues that can really be controversial. This prevents any political discord. In the case of the Wall humanitarian concerns have priority over political ones. The Wall's direct relation to other local and international actors of The politics of Israel-Palestine and its specific relation to nonviolent movements caused lots of changes in terms of actors of the political field, their positions, their interactions to each other, the way they conduct politics and interact with each other.

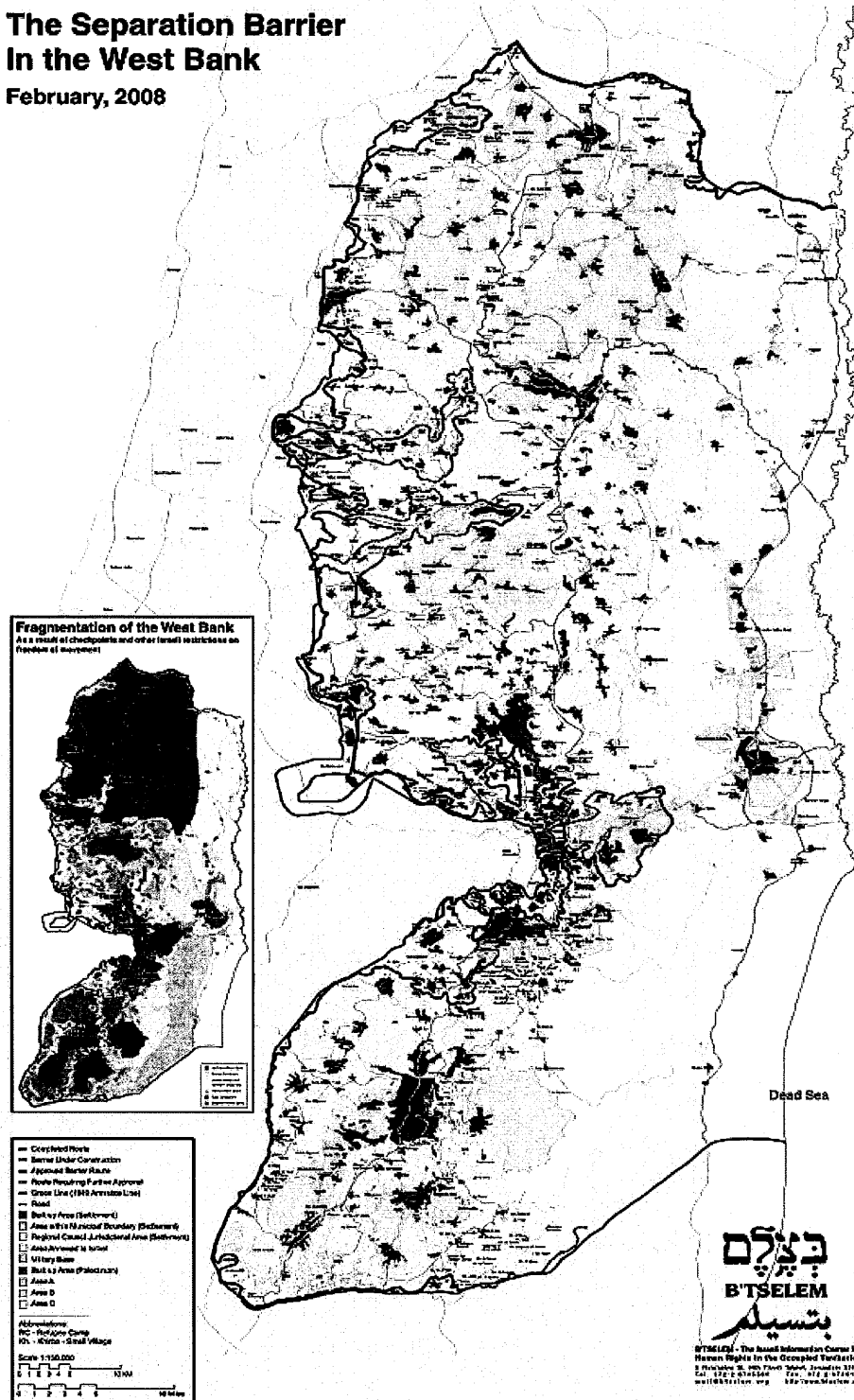
Even though this thesis offers a new perspective for the study of the Israel-Palestine conflict on the Wall, further studies can be conducted on the Wall's relation to other actors such as soldiers of the IDF or Israelis living on both the west and the east sides of the Wall. Such studies will complete the outcome of this one while providing a multi-scale and bigger picture of both relational and actor based changes. Other studies can be conducted on the impact of other nonhuman agents on political structure and actors within different context of the world. This thesis can open a new field of study for political science, a field which will put changes which cannot be explained from a mainstream political perspective on the table. This study on the relation between the Wall and nonviolent anti-wall movements and its outcomes will contribute both to the literature of actor-network theory and nonhuman agency as well as to the literature on Israel-Palestine conflict studies. By showing that the Wall, which is an architectural reality, has an agency and has a determinant impact on the change of a whole political field; this thesis underlined the importance of including the study of nonhumans within the international relations and political science

literature. This can be a step to carry the actor-network theory out of sociology, to the center of political power relations. As nonhuman agents can create gaps between intentions and outcomes of human agents, some changes both on the actor and in structure levels cannot be explained without considering the impact of nonhumans on the politics. This thesis also contributed to the study of Israel-Palestine conflict over the Wall by bringing a new perspective. Rather than studying the reason and outcome of the Wall's construction this thesis studies how this Wall created an unexpected change in the politics of conflict. This new perspective helps to readers to fill the missing parts of the old studies; by answering to 'how' question of the evolution of Israel-Palestine conflict after the construction of the Wall. Without such a study, it is impossible to understand in what manner the Wall is able to create such unexpected changes in a long-lasting conventional conflict.

# APPENDIX A: THE ROUTE OF THE WALL

## The Separation Barrier In the West Bank

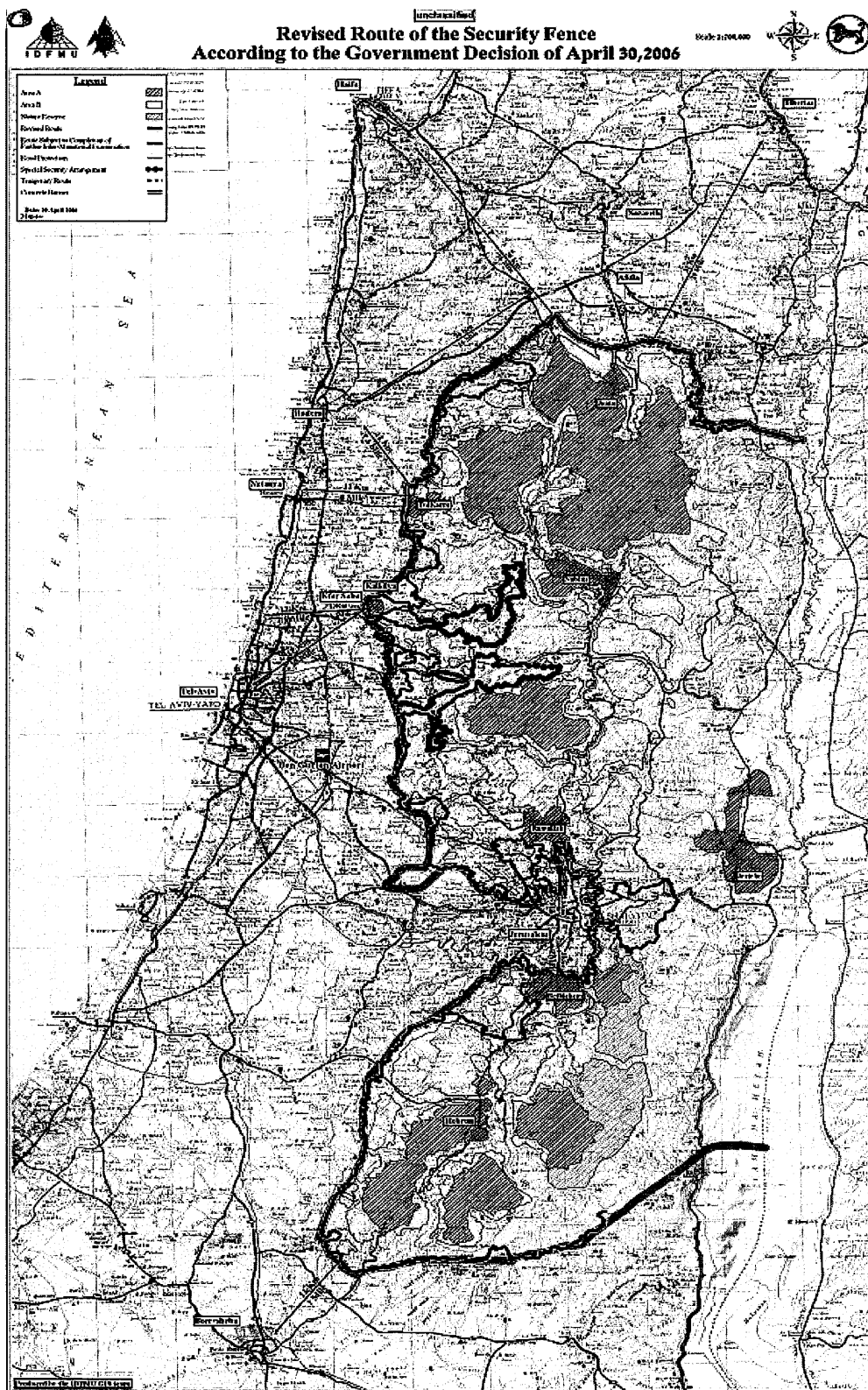
February, 2008



Taken from the website of B'tselem:

[http://www.btselem.org/Download/Separation\\_Barrier\\_Map\\_Eng.pdf](http://www.btselem.org/Download/Separation_Barrier_Map_Eng.pdf)

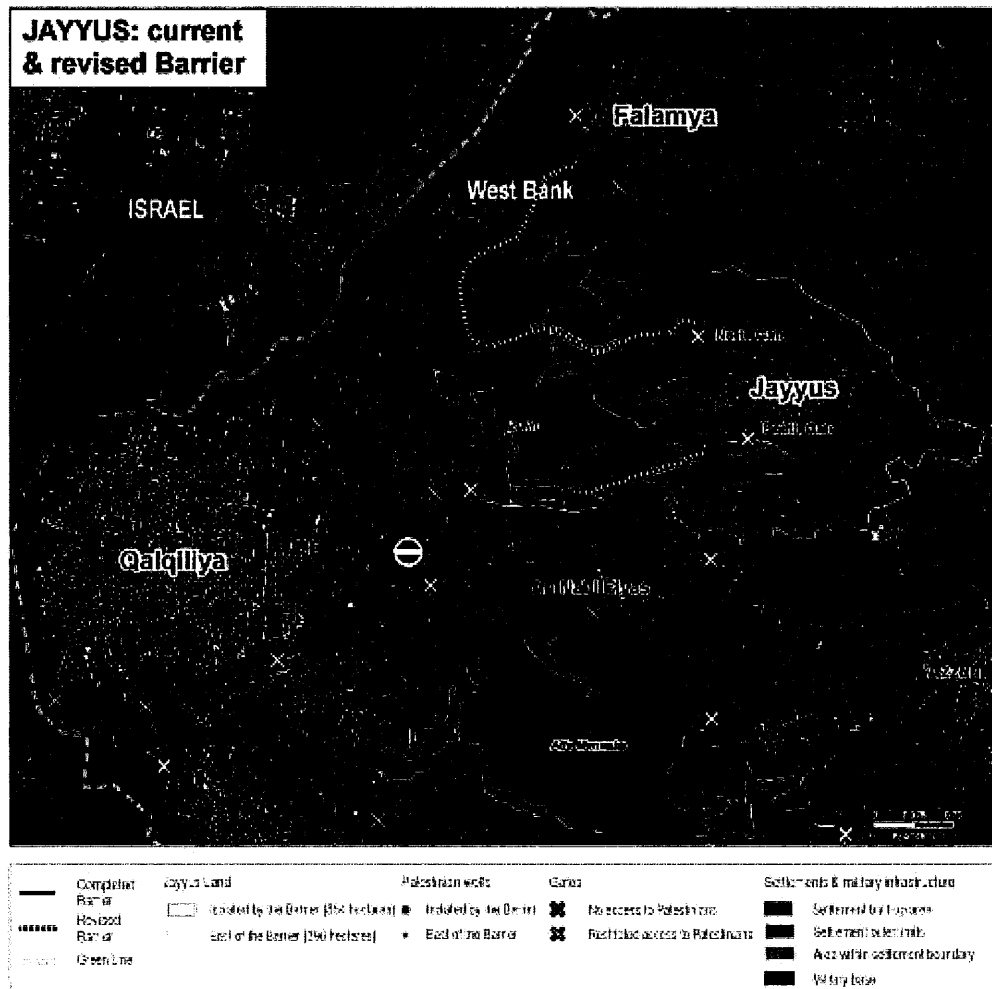




Taken from the website of Israel Ministry of Defense:

<http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/route.htm>

## JAYYUS: AN EXAMPLE FOR REVISED WALL ROUTE

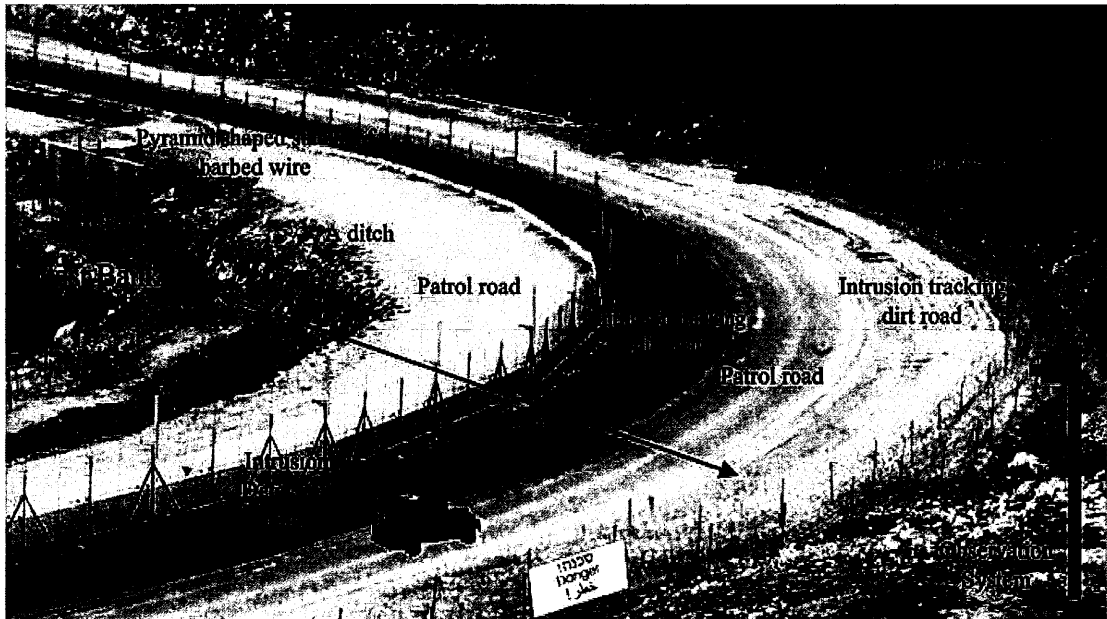


Taken from the UN document Humanitarian Impacts of the Barrier:

[http://www.un.org/unrwa/access/BarrierReport\\_July2008.pdf](http://www.un.org/unrwa/access/BarrierReport_July2008.pdf)

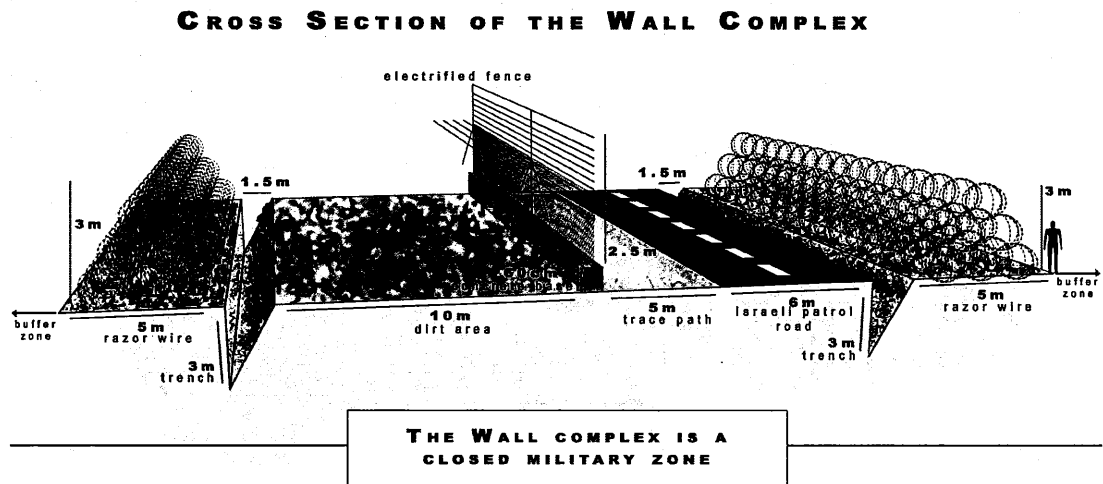
## APPENDIX B: THE SOLID WALL

### THE WEST BANK WALL



Taken from the website of Israel Ministry of Defense:

<http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/default.htm>



The dimensions of this particular Wall section are derived from the Qalqilya area. The components illustrated are also found in other areas of the Occupied Palestinian Territory. For concrete sections of the Wall, see photograph section.

Taken from the website of United Nations:

<http://www.un.int/palestine/icj/pdf/wallfinal.pdf#93>



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