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The War on Gaza and the Expulsion of the Palestinians

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Introduction

Israel quickly exploited the opportunity presented by "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood" by Hamas militants on 7 October 2023, to launch a genocidal war against the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Its ostensible goals in the war were to eliminate Hamas rule and the group's military presence in the territory. However, Israel has concurrently sought to achieve another goal: to expel Gaza's Palestinians, or at least the vast majority of them, into Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and to other countries in the region and around the world.

To this end, the Israeli army has comprehensively destroyed Palestinian cities, camps, and towns in the Gaza Strip. It has destroyed residential buildings and infrastructure intended to provide vital services to civilians such as electricity and water, and flattened facilities such as schools, universities, hospitals, mosques, churches, United Nations installations, economic and industrial facilities, transportation routes, agricultural areas and so on. As of mid-March 2024, more than 31,500 Palestinians had been killed, most of them women and children, while a further 7,000 were missing and more than 72,000 wounded – again, mainly women and children.

The Israeli army's war crimes and the crimes against humanity it has committed against the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip are not only designed to achieve military objectives or to satisfy Israel's desire for revenge. They are also – indeed, primarily – intended to transform the Gaza Strip into an area unfit for human habitation, in order to force the Palestinians there to leave.

The Roots of the Concept of Expulsion

The idea of expelling the Palestinian people from their land is fundamental to the Zionist movement. It is a concept that has accompanied the development of the Zionist project in Palestine from the late 19th century to this day. Barely a single prominent Zionist leader has not at some point called for the Palestinians to be expelled (or "transferred") out of their homeland, or linked the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine to such an expulsion.¹ In the 1930s, a consensus formed within the Zionist movement, its political parties and institutions, that the Palestinians must be ousted from Palestine. The Jewish Agency, and later the State of Israel, set up three successive "transfer" committees, in 1937, 1942, and 1948, to draw up detailed plans to displace the Palestinians from their land and settle them elsewhere, notably in Syria, Iraq, and Transjordan.² Moreover, the Haganah – the Zionist paramilitary that was to become Israel's armed forces after independence – in the 1940s formulated a strategy that by March 1948 had been finalized as Plan D (*dalet*). It began implementing the plan the following month. In the subsequent war of that year,

1 Muhareb, Mahmoud, "Aḥyāʾniyya wa-al-ḥajjīs ad-damghrāf," *Shu'un Filastiniyya*, Issue No. 194 (May 1989).

2 The third such committee was formed in May 1948, during the first round of war between Israel and the Arab states. The establishment and actions of the committee were revealed by Yosef Weitz, in a six-volume memoir published in 1965: Yosef Weitz, *My Diary and Letters to the Children* (Ramat Gan: Masada, 1965).



Zionist military organisations and the Israeli army expelled about 800,000 Palestinians from their cities, towns, and villages.

The issue of Palestinian refugees has since constituted a central element of the Arab-Israeli conflict. While the Palestinians, Arab states and most governments around the world demanded that Palestinian refugees be allowed to return to their homes, Israel strongly rejected this, and refused to implement UN General Assembly Resolution No. 194 of 11 December 1948, which demanded that they be "permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date". After expelling them in 1948, Israel has sought to resettle them in Arab countries and beyond. The United States has also supported the resettlement of the majority of Palestinian refugees in Arab countries, especially Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Sinai, with a small portion allowed to return to their homes. Before the Six Day War of 1967, it proposed many projects to this end.

The presence of Palestinian refugees in general, and those in the Gaza Strip in particular, continued to worry Israeli leaders. From the late 1940s onwards, they put major efforts into drawing up plans to displace them from the Gaza Strip and resettle them in Sinai or elsewhere in the region and around the world. When Israel briefly occupied the Gaza Strip during the tripartite aggression against Egypt (the Suez crisis) of 1956, its leadership quickly put together plans to displace Palestinian refugees from the Strip. Israel's then-Minister of Finance, Levi Eshkol, allocated half a million dollars as an initial step towards achieving this goal.³

The Israeli leadership continued to worry over the presence of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, especially given their high birth-rate. In 1965, after Eshkol had become Prime Minister of Israel, he told then-Chief of the General Staff Yitzhak Rabin that Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip were multiplying rapidly and that this could lead to a crisis down the line. Eshkol asked Rabin what would happen if Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip were to organise a large march, led by women and children, into Israel. Rabin replied that this would not happen, but that if it did, the Israeli army would open fire and kill the first 100, and everyone else on the march would return to the Gaza Strip.⁴

Displacement After the Six Day War

After Israel occupied the Gaza Strip in the Six Day War of 1967, a consensus prevailed within its government that it would not withdraw from the Strip as part of a peace deal with the Arab states, but would officially annex it, after expelling all or most of its residents. However, while it effectively annexed East Jerusalem immediately after occupying it, the government did not rush to annex the Gaza Strip. This is because the territory harboured more than 400,000 Palestinians at the time, about 75 percent of whom were refugees expelled by Israel in the 1948 war. Annexing the Gaza Strip and its residents as

³ Segev, Tom, *1967 and the Country that Changed its Face* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2005), p.557 (in Hebrew). On the many Israeli plans set out to displace Palestinian refugees, especially from the Gaza Strip to Sinai, Jordan, South American countries and elsewhere, see p. 568 - 548.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.458.

well as East Jerusalem would have added to the Palestinian population Israel already governed inside the Green Line, which in the Israeli government's eyes constituted a demographic threat.

It is clear from Israeli documents, especially the minutes of government meetings on 18 and 19 June 1967 which were declassified in recent years, that expelling the Palestinians from the Gaza Strip was the government's highest priority. Officials unanimously agreed that they must be displaced to the Sinai or to Jordan.⁵ To this end, the Israeli government formed multiple committees and allocated budgets to them.

One such committee, made up of the directors of government ministries, worked with senior officials from the Ministry of Security, senior military officials, the intelligence services, and the Prime Minister's Office to develop a strategy to expel the Palestinians from Gaza. The resulting plan was ratified by Defence Minister Moshe Dayan on 13 October 1967.⁶ It focused on the displacement of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to Jordan, by implementing a comprehensive, systematic policy to create push factors by stifling Gaza's economy, preventing the establishment of businesses there and maintaining a high rate of unemployment. It also facilitated one-way travel to Jordan via the West Bank and provided various incentives for Palestinians to emigrate, as well as deploying various other means of oppression against them.

By November 1967, this policy had begun to bear results. Between November 1967 and the following July, some 2,800 people a month emigrated from the Gaza Strip to Jordan. This only stopped when the Jordanian government realised what was going on and shut it down, by strictly preventing Gaza residents from entering Jordan via the West Bank.⁷

As well as these attempts to expel Palestinians to Jordan, Israel made other efforts to displace the population of the Gaza Strip to Latin America, by persuading governments there to accept Palestinian immigrants in exchange for a sum of money per head, paid by Israel. In May 1969, Mossad reached a deal with the government of Paraguay allowing 60,000 Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to emigrate there over the following four years, receive work permits, and obtain citizenship within five years. The Israeli occupation authorities were thus able, through intimidation and enticement, to force several hundred residents of the Gaza Strip to emigrate to Paraguay, providing each family with one-way tickets, a sum of money and many promises. However, it appears that the Israeli authorities broke their promises to their Palestinian victims. In 1970, two immigrants from Gaza entered the Israeli consulate in Paraguay and asked to meet the consul. When he hesitated to respond, one of them opened fire, killing one employee and wounding another. This put an end to Israel's ambitious Paraguay expulsion plan.⁸

⁵ Minutes of Israeli government meetings on 18 and 19 June, 1967, Archives of the State of Israel.

⁶ Raviv, Omri Shafer, "The Place From Which People Should Be Removed: Encouraging Palestinian Exodus from the Gaza Strip, 1967-1969," in Ben Yehuda, Omri and Halevy, Dotan (eds.), *Gaza: Place and Image in the Israeli Public Sphere* (Tel Aviv: Gamma, 2023), p. 145 - 169 (in Hebrew).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁸ More details can be found in *ibid.*, and Muhareb, *As-Sahyāniyya*.

Over the following decades, expelling the Palestinians has remained a high priority for Israeli leaders, who have concocted various visions and plans to achieve this goal. For example, in early 1973, Rabin declared that the refugee problem in the Gaza Strip should not be resolved there, but rather in Jordan, and that Israel must provide the appropriate conditions, particularly on the economic level, to achieve this.⁹

In 2010, General Giora Eiland, who had headed the Israeli National Security Council from 2004-2006, proposed a programme to resettle more than one million Palestinians from Gaza in the Sinai, under a land exchange agreement between Egypt, Israel and Palestine, as follows:¹⁰

1. Egypt would grant 720 square kilometres of Sinai territory, adjacent to the Strip, to Gaza. This would extend 24 km along the shore of the Mediterranean and 34 kilometres along the Egyptian border with the Gaza Strip and Israel.
2. The Palestinians would give up 720 km² of the occupied West Bank to Israel in areas where Jewish settlement blocs are located, equivalent to 12 percent of the territory.
3. To Egypt, in exchange for the land it would add to the Gaza Strip, Israel would hand over an area of the southwestern Negev Desert that could also be up to 720 km², although but it could be smaller were Egypt to accept the other sweeteners and privileges it would obtain from Israel.¹¹

Displacement after 7 October 2023

As soon as Israel launched its latest war against the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, leading figures within the Israeli governing coalition, the opposition, the media, public opinion leaders and research centres began calling for the Palestinians to be expelled from Gaza to Sinai and elsewhere across the region and around the world. These calls grew day by day as the conflict progressed. During the first phase of the war, the Israeli army publicly ordered all Palestinians in the Gaza City and Northern Gaza governorates to leave their homes and head to the southern part of the Strip, beyond Wadi Gaza. In the second phase of the war, it urged all residents of the Central Gaza (Deir al-Balah) and Khan Yunis governorates to head southwards to Rafah, abutting the border with Sinai.

The most prominent calls for expulsion came from Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu himself, who since the start of the war has both publicly called for Palestinians in the Gaza Strip to be expelled to Sinai, and secretly worked to that end.¹² During the early phase of the war, he and other Israeli officials approach the leaders of many Western countries to ask them to support this goal.

⁹ "Maariv Asks and Former Chiefs of Staff Answer," *Maariv* supplement, 16/2/1973, p. 17 (in Hebrew).

¹⁰ Giora Eiland, "Regional Alternatives to the Two-State Solution," *BESA Memorandum No. 4*, (Ramat Gan: The Begin-Sadat Center For Strategic Studies, 2010).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Patrick Kingsley, "Israel Quietly Pushed for Egypt to Admit Large Numbers of Gazans," *The New York Times*, 7/11/2023, accessed on 17/3/2024, at: <https://ibit.ly/qCLRe>.



Netanyahu personally asked US President Joe Biden, British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak and French President Emmanuel Macron, when they visited Israel early on in the war, to pressure Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to accept the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian civilians from the Gaza Strip to the Sinai.¹³

Official Israeli Document Calls for Expulsion

Less than a week after the start of Israel's war of annihilation against Gaza, the Israeli Ministry of Intelligence drew up an official policy paper in which it called for the expulsion of residents of the Gaza Strip to Sinai.¹⁴ It argued that the Israeli government must define its political goals in the war as concerns civilians, as well as achieving its military objective of eliminating Hamas rule and the group's military capabilities in the Strip. The document said the Israeli government had three options: First, the Palestinian population remains in the Gaza Strip and the Palestinian Authority returns; Second, the Palestinian population remains in the territory under a new local government, sponsored by Israel; Third, the population of the Gaza Strip is expelled to Sinai.

The writers of the paper rejected the first and second options. They argued that the first option would constitute a huge defeat for Israel and a victory for the Palestinian national movement, as it would end the division between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Furthermore, the second option would not offer Israel any strategic gains, and within a few years it would come to constitute a burden. Thus, the paper recommended the third option: the expulsion of the population of Gaza to Sinai and to elsewhere in the region and around the world. It argued that Israel must urge the civilian population to migrate to Rafah in the south of the Strip to prepare to push them into Sinai, and that Israel must keep the roads heading southwards open as it bombards the Gaza Strip, to allow the civilians it displaced to head towards Rafah.

The document also urged the Israeli government to step up its efforts overseas, especially in the US and other Western countries, to win international cover for this expulsion and to persuade these countries to pressure the Egyptian leadership to accept the displacement of Palestinians to Sinai, in exchange for supporting Egypt as it battles a pressing economic crisis. The paper further argued that Israel should push the US to pressure other countries in the Middle East and the West to absorb Palestinians from Gaza too. The document stressed the importance of promoting the displacement plan in the regional and international media, as well as among Gaza residents themselves, who should be persuaded that their homes were now lost forever and they would never see them again.¹⁵

¹³ Yasmeen Abutaleb, John Hudson & William Booth, "Biden and Netanyahu Heading for a Collision on Post War Agenda," *The Washington Post*, 21/12/2023, accessed on 17/3/2024, at: <https://ibit.ly/lfhGJ>; "Report: Netanyahu asked Biden to pressure the Egyptian president to take in Palestinians from Gaza," *Ynet*, 22/12/2023, accessed 17/3/2024, at: <https://ibit.ly/0m1TW>.

¹⁴ Jonathan Lis, "A document prepared by the Ministry of Intelligence proposes the evacuation of the residents of the Gaza Strip to Sinai," *Haaretz*, 29/10/2023, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew) at: <https://ibit.ly/NbWnB>. The 10-page document (Israeli Intelligence Ministry, "Policy Paper: Alternatives to the Political Directive for the Civilian Population in the Gaza Strip," 13/10/2023, accessed on 17/3/2024), can be read on Scribd, at: <https://ibit.ly/blpn2>.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Even after the document was leaked, Intelligence Minister Gila Gamliel remained publicly committed to forcibly displacing the Palestinians. In an opinion piece, she wrote that Israel must exploit the war to displace Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to Sinai and elsewhere around the world.¹⁶ She said her ministry was examining scenarios for the day after the destruction of Hamas and the end of its rule in the Gaza Strip, and that the continued presence of more than two million Palestinians there would be unacceptable, regardless of what authority governed them. Thus, she wrote, the only solution was to displace them to Sinai and to countries in the region and beyond.¹⁷

Similar calls have emanated from other groups in Israeli society, including research centres.¹⁸ Ten days into the war, Rafael BenLevy, a researcher at the Misgav Institute for National Security and Zionist Strategy, published an article arguing that the Palestinians should be expelled from the Gaza Strip to Sinai and other countries around the world, and strongly rejecting any solution in which the Palestinians would remain in the Strip, regardless of whether it was under Israeli occupation or a Palestinian authority, of any form.¹⁹ BenLevy called on the Israeli government to push for an international initiative to absorb the displaced in other countries, and to annex the Gaza Strip once its Palestinian population had been expelled. He added that Israel's enemies would naturally oppose the expulsion of the Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, because they realise that this would be a tangible victory for Israel and, from a Palestinian perspective, a new *Nakba* (catastrophe, similar to that of 1948). Despite this opposition, he argued, Israel must stick to its guns and oust the Palestinians from the Gaza Strip.²⁰

Likud Party activist Amir Weitmann also published a paper in which he presented a detailed plan to displace the residents of the Gaza Strip to Egypt.²¹ In it, he argued that Egypt's deep economic crisis was threatening the stability of the Egyptian regime as well as the interests of many other countries, especially those that have extended vast loans to Cairo. Weitmann acknowledged that the Egyptian regime had so far refused to take in large numbers of Gazans, but argued that this opposition could be overcome by generous Israeli payments to Egypt, alongside American pressure. Weitmann also suggested that Israel spend some \$30-40 billion to buy up hundreds of thousands of apartments in places like 6th of October City and 10th of Ramadan City, to house the Palestinians who would be displaced from Gaza. He concluded that the time was ripe to put this ambitious plan into action, and that "Israel's economic power can leverage Egypt's economic distress to push for the displacement of Gaza's population to Egypt."²²

16 Gila Gamliel, "Victory is an Opportunity for Israel in the Midst of Crisis," *The Jerusalem Post*, 19/11/2023, accessed on 17/3/2024, at: <https://cutt.ly/kw2aOU9j>.

17 Ibid.

18 A prominent example is the The Misgav Institute for National Security and Zionist Strategy, originally founded in 2005 as the Institute for Zionist Strategies until it was renamed in mid-2023. This institute was responsible for drafting the "Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People", enacted by the Knesset in 2018.

19 Raphael BenLevy, "Removing the Gazans is a strategic necessity," *Hashiloach*, October 2023, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew) at: <https://cutt.ly/fw2aPUWQ>.

20 Ibid.

21 Amir Weitmann, "The opportunity proposed by the economic crisis in Egypt," *Hashiloach*, October 2023 (in Hebrew).

22 Ibid.

Yoav Sorek, the editor of the Hashiloach policy journal, published a paper in which he argued that Israel must abandon the old assumptions that had led to 7 October. He urged Israel to have "moral clarity" about its goals.²³

To demonstrate this "moral clarity", he argued that Israel's goals must be based on the following principles: Firstly, for mass killing to be moral, it must be a part of efforts to achieve victory over the enemy - that is, Israel has the right to commit mass murder against the Palestinians, as long as this serves to win the war. Secondly, allowing the residents of the Gaza Strip to remain there would be an immoral policy. Thirdly, deporting the civilian population of the Gaza Strip, who are not involved in the war, to elsewhere in the region and beyond is a moral act; they should be settled in countries across the region and around the world. Furthermore, he argued, the UN agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA) should be abolished.

Sorek stressed that the Palestinians displaced by the Israeli army from the north to the south of the Gaza Strip must not be allowed to return to their homes. He added that "justice and revenge" were strategic necessities for Israel. On 7 October, Israel's deterrence had suffered a severe blow, and it would not be restored unless the Palestinians paid a very heavy price. Unless Israel regained its deterrence, its security, political and economic standing will suffer. Finally, he argued that after the displacement of the Palestinians, Gaza must be rebuilt as an Israeli city.²⁴

The founder of the extra-parliamentary right wing movement Im Tirtzu movement, Ronen Shoval, was no less extreme than Sorek. He wrote that it must be clear to the West, and to Israel in particular, that it would be immoral to allow the Palestinian population and a "killer regime" to remain in the Gaza Strip, and that transferring the Palestinian population who are not involved in the war out of the Strip would be a moral act.²⁵ He added that "the killers must be eradicated from existence" through a comprehensive war on the Gaza Strip, in which the civilian population would be given safe passage towards Egypt. Meanwhile, after warning them to surrender and leave, the Israeli army must kill everyone who remains.²⁶

Such calls were not limited to the extreme right and fascist parties in Israel, nor to figures in Netanyahu's governing coalition. Rather, they have also come from leading figures in the Israeli opposition. Member of the Knesset (MK) Ram Ben-Barak, number two in the Yesh Atid party (who has sought to challenge Yair Lapid for the party's leadership), co-authored an article in the Wall Street Journal with senior Likud MK and former envoy to the UN Danny Danon, demanding the expulsion of the Palestinians from the Gaza Strip to the West and other countries around the world.²⁷ They called on Western countries and

²³ Sorek, Yoav, "Necessary, moral and possible: Not to return them to Gaza," *Hashiloach*, October 2023, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew) at: <https://ibit.ly/z4E5W>.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ronen Shoval, "Remember what Hamas did to you," *Mida*, 1/11/2023, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew), at: <https://ibit.ly/xqlru>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Danny Danon & Ram Ben-Barak, "The West should Welcome Gaza Refugees," *The Wall Street Journal*, 13/11/2023, accessed on 17/3/2024, at: <https://cutt.ly/cw2aGHXL>.



international organisations with experience in dealing with refugee issues to develop an international framework through which the Palestinians could be expelled from the Gaza Strip and transferred to Western countries and other states around the world that would accept them.²⁸

Danon also revealed in a radio interview that Israel had made efforts internationally to displace the population of the Gaza Strip, claiming that many countries in Latin America and Africa had expressed their willingness to absorb Gazan refugees, and that some had "requested money and other things" in exchange for agreeing to absorb them.²⁹ Danon has also tried to justify the expulsion of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip by saying that such things were a natural part of war, and not a long-planned Israeli objective, saying: "In every war there is migration. Look at what happened in Syria. A million and a half moved to Jordan, three million moved to Turkey, and several million also moved to Europe," he wrote. He added that Israel would communicate with countries in the region and around the world to urge them to accept Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, but without talking about high numbers, "so as not to frighten them. "Even if each country accepted ten thousand to twenty thousand from the Gaza Strip, this would be a significant number," he said.³⁰

Danon also raised the issue of displacement at a Likud Party bloc meeting in the Knesset, in which Netanyahu said that he encouraged the expulsion of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, but that the problem lay in finding countries that would accept them.³¹

In the same vein, on December 4, 2023, Likud MK Moshe Bassal presented a bill to the Knesset to encourage the expulsion of Palestinians from Gaza. Under the proposed law, the Israeli government could reach deals with countries around the world to urge them to absorb Palestinian refugees from the Gaza Strip, and that it would pay \$6,000 to each person leaving the territory, along with \$10,000 to the receiving country for each immigrant it absorbs.³²

A Public Demonstration to Demand Expulsion

As calls for the expulsion of the Palestinians from Gaza and rose to the top of the Israeli public agenda, Israel's ruling fascist and extreme right-wing parties organised a large public meeting at Jerusalem's International Convention Center in late January 2024. At the event, which attracted thousands of members of the Israeli public, leading figures from parties belonging to the government coalition called for the Palestinians to be expelled from the Gaza Strip and signed a charter calling for Jewish settlements to be re-established there. The meeting was attended by 15 Knesset members and 12

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "MK Danon: Countries in Latin America and Africa offered to take in refugees from the Gaza Strip," *Haaretz*, 26/12/2023, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew), at: <https://cutt.ly/1w2aHhj1>.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Israeli Knesset, "Draft agreement for the acceptance of residents from the Gaza Strip, 2023," 4/12/2023, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew) at: <https://main.knesset.gov.il/activity/plenum/pages/sessionitem.aspx?itemid=2211870>.

ministers from the Likud, Jewish Power (led by Itamar Ben Gvir), Religious Zionism (led by Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich) and the Haredi party United Torah Judaism, along with leaders of the settlement movement.³³

Speaking amid chants from the audience of "Transfer! Transfer!", ministers and MKs who spoke at the meeting demanded that the Palestinians be expelled from the Gaza Strip and that Israel establish settlements and turn the territory's cities into Jewish cities.³⁴ United Torah Judaism leader and housing minister Yitzhak Goldknopf delivered a speech in which he said he stands against giving up any part of the "Land of Israel" and that he supports the renewal of Jewish settlement in all the lands of the Gaza Strip.³⁵

Conclusion

In addition to its publicly declared goals in the war on Gaza, which is to eliminate Hamas's rule and its military presence in the Gaza Strip, Israel is trying to use this war to displace most or all of the Strip's Palestinian residents to Sinai. This war of extermination, the destruction of the Gaza Strip and its transformation into an area unfit for human habitation have directly served Israel's strategy of displacement. To the same end, Israel is working both publicly and secretly to persuade countries around the world to take in as many Palestinians as possible, in exchange for money - whether through Rafah, through a seaport currently under construction, or through Israel itself.

³³ Anna Barsky, "With dancing and shouts of 'Transfer': Ministers and Knesset members at a meeting to re-establish settlements in Gaza," *Maariv*, 28/1/2024, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew), at: <https://cutt.ly/hw2aJH3l>.

³⁴ Nir Hasson, "Settling Gaza is just a slogan, the subject at the heart of the conference was transfer," *Haaretz*, 29/1/2024, accessed 17/3/2024 (in Hebrew) at: <https://cutt.ly/Mw2aKfJv>.

³⁵ Gilad Cohen and Moran Azoulay, "Encouraging emigration and signing a charter on resettling Gaza: A meeting in which coalition leaders took part," *Ynet*, 28/1/2024, viewed on 17/1/2024 (in Hebrew) at: <https://cutt.ly/Pw2aKGWh>.



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