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(Editor)

# **THE FABRICATION OF ISRAEL**

## **About the usurpation and destruction of Palestine through Zionist spatial planning**

### **A UNIQUE PLANNING ISSUE**

**V**

**Killing the Cities - the Example of Jerusalem/Al Quds, Hebron/Al Khalil and Jaffa in Israel**

#### **4. The Usurpation of Ancient Jaffa – Judaised and Changed into ‘Tel Aviv's Old City‘**

##### **Conclusion from last part:**

Hebron differs from all other colonies because the settlers are located in the densely-populated centre of a large Palestinian city, occupying land and houses that are side-by-side with Palestinian homes. There are more than 4,000 Israeli soldiers based in Hebron. The presence of these soldiers makes life miserable for Palestinian residents. Checkpoints, this permanent presence of soldiers, and aggressive settlers harassing the women and children in the houses brought international groups and institutions into those areas most in danger as witnesses, and also to secure the lives of the Palestinian families. They accompany students to their school and other activities. During the current Intifada, many residents of Hebron's Old City moved, leaving just a few thousand Palestinian residents in H2, hence the danger of a full occupation of the Old City is increasing. Hebron is the most violent place in the usurpation war of Jews. Hebron is also an example on the hand-in-hand work of government and settlers; one does the occupation and destruction according to plans of the WZO for the Palestinian districts, the other supports by means of military power and confiscation orders. And also we can learn that any activity, even the smallest like a visit of some Jews in a hotel, has a meaning in the long-term planning project of usurping Palestine and changing it into a full Jewish area under Israeli control.

At next the ancient city of Jaffa is in the focus – a city that suffered from usurpation since the declaration of the state of Israel.

## V

Viktoria Waltz

### 4. The Usurpation of Ancient Jaffa – Judaised and Changed into ‘Tel Aviv's Old City‘

Galili and Nir (2000) consider the ‘mixed cities or more precisely Jewish cities with an Arab minority’ (like Acca, Haifa or Jaffa) a metaphor for the entire Israeli-Palestinian conflict’. From planning point of view they see a governmental ‘desire to marginalize the Arab residents.’ Even more precisely: Jaffa’s case is ‘representing just the latest stage in a policy of ethnic cleansing which has been followed for decades’ (Washington Report on the Middle East Affairs, July 2008: 14-15). This stage includes neglecting the needs of the Palestinian communities, shaping their culture, history and existence to zero and finally evicting them out of their living quarters by means of planning and rogue laws. To speak about ‘mixed cities’ of what Jaffa was one of the first, is just a euphemism. A walk around Jaffa’s neighborhoods shows clearly, there is no mixing; moreover the run down character of streets and buildings of the ‘Arab’ side are ‘a stark contrast’ from those of Tel Aviv, an evident gap between north and south, Tel Aviv and Jaffa.

Jaffa today as most of the Arab cities has no Arab street signs anymore which have been replaced with Hebrew names and Zionist meaning like ‘Palmach’, ‘Haganah’, ‘Herzl’, etc., intending to erase the past, and setting the new facts with names of Zionist leaders and groups who were responsible for the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Not a single Palestinian community in these cities has a cultural center or a museum representing Palestinian life, culture and history – they are ‘visible invisibles’. The NZZ (Neue Zürcher Zeitung) known for its objective comments speaks in an article on ‘Travelling’ of the *Arab influence, still visible in the ‘bazaar’ area, however ‘temp passati’*. In contrast the author presents us a nice story about individual Jewish engagement to keep Old Jaffa: ‘Artists and intellectuals from Tel Aviv fell in love with Old Jaffa and reconstructed the houses on their own account. Repaying the government gave them 99 years ‘leaseholds’; what in truth belonged to Palestinians before (NZZ online 4.1.2008, Thomas Veser: Joppa, Yafo und Jonas im Fischbauch, translation from German Waltz).

Misinterpretation and neglecting history is typical for the Israeli influenced sight of the outside world on Israel’s reality especially the situation of the Palestinians inside Israel. Serious informants like e.g. the Austrian planning company SUTRA, which claims in general to look at ‘sustainable urban transformation’, informs under ‘culture and entertainment’ in exciting manner about Tel Aviv, the ‘home of the world famous Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra’, opera, theatre, museums of international art etc., however no word about Arab or Palestinian existence. Multiculturalism exist under ‘kitchen’, described as an offer thrilling to a ‘thriving and boisterous restaurant community’ and moreover: ‘Morocco, Greece, Turkey and Spain *have brought Israel the Mediterranean*’ - however Fallafel, Humus – origin Palestinian food since centuries - are shown as typical Israeli. (ess.co.at/SUTRA/Cities/telaviv)

Looking deeper into the Palestinian existence in the southern Palestinian parts of the city they are not provided sufficiently with schools, universities, hospitals or job opportunities. The population in general is poorer and neglected by the Israeli government in terms of provision with infrastructure, sufficient housing, job

opportunities and space (see section III). As a matter of fact the existing economic, social and cultural discrimination led to protests and clashes between Palestinian youth and Jewish neighbors in recent years.

Furthermore, a decent policy of driving the Palestinian out of their areas in favoring investment in luxury new buildings of wealthy Israelis in this attractive southern part of Tel Aviv beside the sea shore, is threatening the whole community to total eviction. It was reported recently, that also extremist Israeli settler groups from West Bank colonies are involved, transferring aggressive actions from there to inside Israel and cities like Acca or Jaffa, giving the government arguments for the interpretation, that Jewish inhabitants are endangered and hence have to be protected (The Jerusalem Fund: oct.15.2008). However clashes between the citizen of Jaffa and 'foreign authorities' are not something new. The process from Jaffa, the historic Palestinian city and Tel Aviv, the brand new Jewish, living beside each other until this conflict situation of today is the issue of the following paragraphs (for details about the full planning process see LeVine 2005).

#### **4.1 Jaffa and Tel Aviv – twins of conflict until 1948**

Jaffa (Arab. Yaffa, Heb. Yafo, Bible Joppa), the 'bride of the sea' is a Palestinian Arab city, which lies in the west central of Palestine, on the Mediterranean Sea. Jaffa has an ancient history reaching back to the Bronze Age.

In modern times, until 1948 the city was probably one of the most prosperous and cosmopolitan Palestinian city, famous for its oranges, its port and a flourishing industry, (cigarettes, cotton, leather, textile, wood boxes). It had an international school system, higher education institutes and a lively cultural life; dozens of newspapers (15) and journals (4) were published in Jaffa, many famous Arab artists like the singer Oum Kulthum and others performed in its beautiful atmosphere.

#### **Image 1: Coast line of Jaffa in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**



Source: [palestineremembered.com](http://palestineremembered.com)

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and because of its growing economy and cultural life Jaffa became attractive for migration of many Arabs in the surrounding countries and was also a gateway for incoming Jews (see table 1).

**Table 1 Jaffa's population during the late Ottoman period**

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Total Population</i> | <i>Muslims</i> | <i>Christians</i> | <i>Jews</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1866        | 5,000                   | 3,850          | 1,00              | 150         |
| 1875        | 8,000                   | 4,300          | 1,745             | 400-600     |
| 1887        | 14,000                  | 10,000         | 2,270             | 2,500       |
| 1891        | 16,570                  | 10,500         | 2,875             | 2,700       |
| 1897        | 33,465                  | 20,000         | 3,465             | 10,000      |
| 1904        | 30,000                  | 18,000         | 9,000             | 3,000       |
| 1909        | 47,000                  | 24,000         | 9,000             | 7,000       |
| 1913        | 50,000                  | 30,700         | 9,3000            | 10,000      |

Source: Kark 1990, pages 148-49

After World War I and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire Jaffa came under British Mandate like all Palestine.

However, since the Zionist movement entered Palestine and built the first pure Jewish and modern city Tel Aviv as arrival point for Jewish migrants and centre of the colonisation, beautiful Jaffa and its fertile surrounding was a temptation and a thorn in the eye. Consequently the Zionist movement started purchasing land in and around the 24 Jaffa's villages which was part of preparing the future hegemony over Jaffa (HRA 2005: 6). In 1921 Tel Aviv got its own city council thus becoming independent from Jaffa. From that time on Jaffa was limited in its extension to the north (see map 1) and mutual planning was difficult.

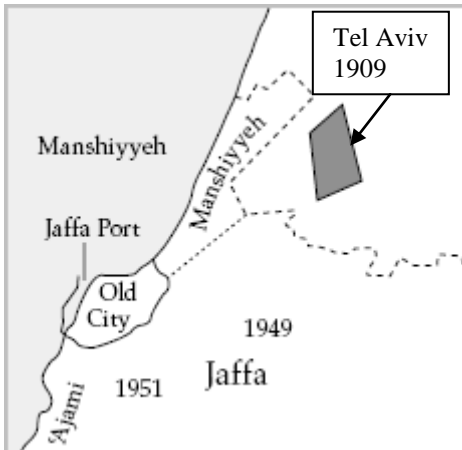
As a matter of fact by demography both cities competed unequally. Between first and second world war Jaffa's population grew from around 32.000 (1922) to 94.000 (1944), while the Jewish population of Tel Aviv through enforced immigration grew from around 5.000 to 166.000. Tel Aviv at that time was the biggest and most dense Jewish City in Palestine; over one third of all Palestinian Jews lived there.

The economic situation was different. Both cities expanded during that time. However in 1939 e.g. the export of Jaffa amounted more than 1.2 million pound sterling in comparison to around 700.000 pounds of Tel Aviv, while import of Jaffa amounted 1.3 million and Tel Aviv's over 4 million pounds. In a way Tel Aviv depended on Jaffa's harbour. (LeVine 2005: 84-88)

In general both municipalities co-operated in different matters like street paving, transportation facilities, opening of factories and shops etc. Disputes were about taxes. However, the more on the Palestinian side got fears about the Zionist colonisation and British protection of it, irritation arose, conflicts appeared compromising the relation. In the forties the 'land question' became a hot matter, Jaffa Municipality complained intensively about 'border infringements', asked for British protection and aimed defending the city's borders. Moreover, Jaffa municipality wanted to extend its city borders while the Zionist Municipality demanded to include Jaffa neighbourhoods into Tel Aviv. Manshiye became like a frontier line of the increasing conflicts (see map 1). Finally the conflict was reflected in the UN division plan for Palestine by UN resolution proposing also a separate spatial solution for Jaffa/Tel Aviv. (LeVine: 107ff)

**Map 1 Tel Aviv – Jaffa location, neighbourhoods and borders until 1949/1951**

■ area of Tel Aviv 1909 - - - municipality border



Source: LeVine 2005: 54

**4.1.1 Jaffa's forced displacement under British Mandate until UN division plan**

During the first uprising in 1936 Jaffa was a centre of protest and demonstration against the British because fostering Zionist immigration and usurping Palestinian land. British authorities answered with military attacks on the citizens and 'cleansing' the cities vernacular shape through breaking a new road through the old fabric for better entering with jeeps and military à la 'Hausman'. (see images 2-4.)

**Image 2 British police searching Jaffa citizens**



**Image 3 British exploding a house**

a



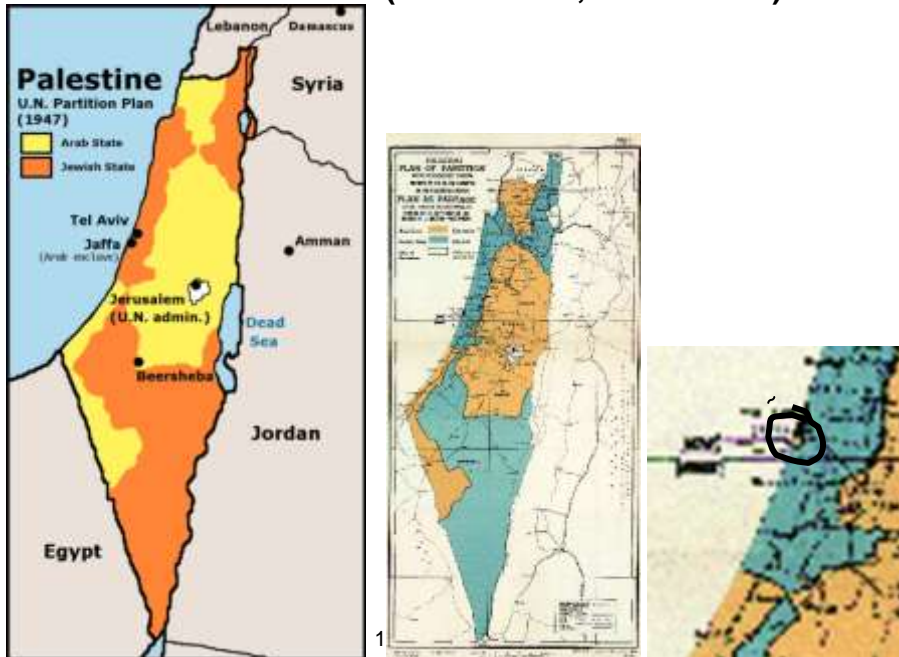
**Image 4 The new road à la Hausman**



Sources 2-4: palestineremembered

At the end of the British mandate and according to the partition plan of the UN in 1947 Jaffa was supposed to be included in the future Palestinian State, an island surrounded by Zionist Jewish territory and separated from Tel Aviv (HRA 2008: 7; (see map 2a,b,c)

**Map 2 a,b,c UN partition plan for Palestine Mandate area including Jaffa (blue Jewish, brown Arab)**



Source: Resolution 181 (II).<sup>1</sup>

However, the Zionist plan was to conquer the full land with all its resources and this is what happened the moment Britain left Palestine – also in Jaffa.

#### 4.2 Displacement and expropriation after 1948

Jaffa was military occupied by Israel in 1948. During the ‘ethnic cleansing ‘ (Pappe 2006) Jaffa’s suburbs in the south (the New city) and the surrounding many villages in east and north of the city were erased from the map. Out of 70.000 inhabitants 60.000 were forced to leave and about 70% of the city was bulldozed. (HRA 2008: 16)

<sup>1</sup>

“The area of the Arab enclave of Jaffa consists of that part of the town-planning area of Jaffa which lies to the west of the Jewish quarters lying south of Tel-Aviv, to the west of the continuation of Herzl street up to its junction with the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, to the south-west of the section of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road lying south-east of that junction, to the west of Miqve Israel lands, to the north-west of Holon local council area, to the north of the line linking up the north-west corner of Holon with the north-east corner of Bat Yam local council area and to the north of Bat Yam local council area. The question of Karton quarter will be decided by the Boundary Commission, bearing in mind among other considerations the desirability of including the smallest possible number of its Arab inhabitants and the largest possible number of its Jewish inhabitants in the Jewish State.”

**Resolution 181 (II). Future government of Palestine 29.11.1947 section A**  
<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253>



Only 4.000 Palestinians remained, gathered in the most run-down suburbs along the coast like Ajami in the southern and Jabalyah in the northern part of Jaffa. Manshiye was totally emptied. (HRA 2008:9; see images 5-8)

**Image 5 Jaffa citizens leaving panicked 1948 by boat**



Source HRA 2008, page 8

**Image 6 Zuhdi Abu al Jibreen house 1949 after destruction by Irgun**



[www.palestineremembered](http://www.palestineremembered)

**Image 7 Al Manshija neighborhood 1949 after destruction**



**Image 8 Ajami neighborhood in the 50's**



Source: Raneen Geres in [palestineremembered](http://palestineremembered) [www.palestineremembered](http://www.palestineremembered)

After that eviction fundamental expropriation and a slowly ongoing judaizing process started. The remained inhabitants were subjected to a strict martial law: surrounded with a barbed wire fence and checkpoints inspecting those entering or leaving the area, people in the Ajami neighbourhood, the biggest remaining Palestinian space in Jaffa, were only allowed to leave or enter after receiving a permit from the military governor (HRA 2008: 9).

This situation continued until 1950 (the military regime lasted until 1966 like in other Palestinian areas of Israel e.g. the Galilee (see section III). After lifting the siege Jaffa was administratively engulfed by the Tel Aviv municipality and became Tel Aviv-Yafo. The Old City of Jaffa became 'showcase' for Israeli artist life - the New City is still under transformation (see images 9/10).

## Images 9/10 Jaffa Old City today: 'show case' of Tel Aviv



Source: palestineremembered

### 4.2.1 Fill in policy with Jewish refugees – building stop for Palestinians

The Judaizing of Old Jaffa and the adjacent Palestinian – now abandoned – quarters began under pressure of thousands of Jewish immigrating from European/German persecution and new immigrants according to huge campaigns of the *Jewish Agency (JA)* (see images 11/12). JA became the main actor for 'immigration and land absorption' for the new Israeli government. It brought 700.000 Jews to Israel within three years: 239.000 survivors from holocaust, collected from different refugee camps in Europe and Cyprus, 3.800 Yemenite in an operation called 'Magic Carpet', 343.000 Jews from East Europe and North Africa, 110.00 Iraqi Jews in an operation called 'Ezra and Nehemiah', nearly all Jews from Bulgaria, half of the Yugoslavian Jews , 40.000 Jews from Turkey and 18.000 Jews from Iran. (Jewish Agency 2005).

Mainly European Jews came to Jaffa (see images 9/10). In less than one year, as the Israeli parliament reported, 45.000 new Jewish immigrants were settled in the city's so called 'abandoned' homes. (Washington Report 2008)

### Image 11/12 European immigrants 1949 in the looted area close to the mosque



Source: palestineremembered

In addition to being ghettoized the Palestinians who remained had lost everything, their city, their families, their properties and their historical environment. Buildings in the suburbs of the city and the surrounding villages were destroyed; a new map was grounded on their ruins. 14.397 dunam (10 dunam=1ha) were confiscated according



to the new Absentee Property Law, that law, which defined an absentee a person who during the period between 29. November of 1947 and 19. May of 1948 was a citizen of the neighbouring Arab countries or just present in these countries or out from his place in any part of the “Land of Israel” outside the territory of the State of Israel. Hence all those who under the bullets of Zionist guns fled to Gaza, Jerusalem or what became West Bank and even families who came back to their houses in 1950 were declared absentees under different pretexts and their property transferred to the Custodian of Absentee Properties (see section III) and later to Amidar. Amidar, an arm of the ILO Israel Land Organisation, was the quasi governmental Zionist Institution to provide Jews with land and housing, their major stockholder are the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund. (Shehade/ Shbaita 2008/2009: 10; HRA 2008: 12ff)

Along with this expropriation process owners of their own properties became tenants of Amidar, depending on Israeli conditions and became so called ‘protected tenants’ according to the law. The same happened to most villagers who left their land by force during the ethnic cleansing period and came to the city entering abandoned Palestinian houses or houses of their relatives who left. Most of the remained Jaffa Palestinians were from those days on refugees in their own country and tenants in their own properties. They were depending on a hostile government that did not respect their needs and rights for the next couples of years and did not allow them to build, renew, and reconstruct the neglected areas or to move to new areas. In addition land prices were beyond the range that Ajami residents could pay. Demolition and evicting went on; the vacated areas were used for new developments. In 1973 there were still 3.176 housing units in Ajami and Jabaliya neighbourhood, by 1990 just 1.608 remained, Palestinian residents estimate that some 3.200 houses were demolished during these last 30 years (HRA 2008: 16)

### **Image 13 Manshija area today – a park**



Anwar Sacca in: *palestineremembered*

The Manshija area, completely destroyed, turned into a park, the Old City was completely under Jewish control and vision. New expensive restaurants, artist workshops, galleries and gift shops for foreign and Israeli tourists made it one of the most attractive and expensive places in Israel. (see image 13)

### **4.3 The New Development Plan for Jaffa and the rights of Palestinian tenants**

More than 30 years the Palestinian neighborhoods along the Old City of Jaffa were neglected and looted or destroyed. In the midst of the 1980ies the Tel Aviv municipality started a next phase of cleansing of Jaffa. The view to the seaside, the beauty of the Old City and the ongoing urbanization of Tel Aviv-Jaffa area made

places like Ajami and Jabaliya attractive for expansion and investment of wealthy Israeli. A so called '*Jaffa Renewal Plan*' was presented - purposing of its 'physical and socioeconomic rehabilitation'. But even though Palestinian benefitted too, it was a twisted program. The privatization of land was one of the main items within this plan. (HRA 2008:18) In this the tackled Palestinian neighborhoods were described as 'slum neighborhoods'. (see image 14)

**Image 14 Neglected Palestinian Ajami quarter**



Source: palestineremembered HRA 2008: 17

Key actions proposed were:

1. statutory building plans;
2. including Jaffa into the national project of renewal, providing financial support;
3. a contract with ILA (The Israel Land Authority – the governmental owner of land and buildings) requiring to channel part of the profits from sale of plots into rehabilitation and development of the public infrastructure; and
4. fundraising among the international Jewish Community. (Montrescue 2007: 10 in HRA 2008: 18)

Under the first phase of this plan, demolition stopped and renovation of some mosques, churches and public buildings became real, also some of the Bauhaus styled buildings like the Alhambra cinema of the forties. (see Image 22, 23)

**Image 15 Mina Mosque renovated**



**Image 16 Alhambra cinema, still waiting**



Sources: palestineremembered

Standard of living increased somehow also for the Palestinian community. An increase of post-secondary graduates was possible, slow economic growth, and the Palestinian community became more self confident and active. Many of the new generations invested into new Palestinian owned enterprises – but simultaneously were involved in the upgrading project that eventually would also lead to ‘neutralizing’ its Arab Palestinian character and let Jews enter the areas.

Along with these opportunities the 90th witnessed a growing rediscovery of Palestinian identity between the Jaffa inhabitants especially among the youth and also awareness of the still existing discrimination and the loss of land and history. The beginning second intifada in the West Bank and Gaza supported even more awareness of that, campaigns to stress the unity of the Palestinian people and protests against Israeli policy in the 67 occupied territories led to demonstrations, protests and clashes with the police. (Shehade/ Shbaita 2008/2009: 12 ff) It only caused more and special attention of the Israeli government to the ‘mixed cities’, searching for more control and definitive solutions.

In April 1999 a ‘Supplementary Authority’ for Jaffa was established creating a special and powerful arm of the Tel Aviv Jaffa municipality to keep control and to organize the framework fostering the plan to develop Jaffa eventually at the expense of the origin Palestinian inhabitants

- tourism and business,
- infrastructure,
- an academic campus and Jaffa as a higher education centre,
- urban face-lifting (boulevards and parks),
- developing education, culture and community building,
- culture and art.

The anchor feature of the renewal plan for Jaffa accordingly was the ‘Jaffa Slope’ project, an area that was drained over years, used as a garbage disposal. No complains of the Palestinian inhabitants of that neighborhood against the increasing dirt, smell, noise and the closed view had ever reached a change. However now ‘Jaffa Slope’ project was to ‘remove the eyesore’ and to transform the area in a green park, linked to the Tel Aviv promenade, enlarging the sea front line including a beach section at the coast line. One of these projects is ‘Andromeda Hill’, a private initiative, planned for 270 houses with superior conditions for foreign residents and wealthy Israeli (HRA 2008: 19-22, see images 17/18).

**Image 17 Andromeda Project**



Source HRA 2008: 21,22

**Image 18 Advertising Ajami**





Within these activities ILA began to market plots to the highest bidders. In many cases ILA tendered not only empty plots but also inhabited houses so that the tenants became now object to private owners (Kaldor 2007).

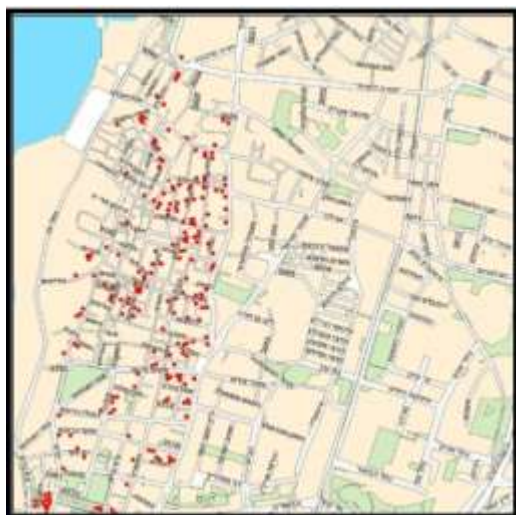
Amidar, the manager of most of the houses presented in March 2007 a report on these areas entitled 'A Review of the Stock of Squatted Property in Jaffa, Interior Committee, Israel Knesset', in which a total of 497 houses were indicated as 'squatters', all of them 'government property', managed by Amidar, and furthermore noted, that a total of 497 received already orders to vacate their homes during last eighteen months. (HRA 2008: 3).

- However, as all the inhabitants were Amidar tenants, the tenant protection law should come to action, but the opposite happened. The Tenant Protection Law of 1972 (before Key Money Law of 1958), of which the noted Palestinians were objects, was declared for saving poorer people and mainly the thousands refugees from Europe, from eviction and unlawful treatment by land lords. However, tenants were and are protected as long as there is no demand from the owner for personal need or tenants breaking the law. This condition today is the cause for eviction of hundreds of Palestinians in the Ajami neighbourhood. Reasons for eviction were given such as : squatting or 'building addition' without approval from Amidar and
- no permit from building and planning authorities.

By law, eviction is permitted in such circumstances. (HRA 2008)

In fact actual 497 Palestinian families are threatened to eviction in Jaffa-Tel Aviv by means of planning programmes, building regulations and tenant protection law. (see map 3)

**Map 3 Ajami neighborhood designated houses for eviction**



HRA 2008, page 1

**Image 19 Neglected Ajami and new Jewish inhabited houses**



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Gentrification often goes with upgrading policies also in European urbanized areas, and it needs action and a kind of advocacy planning to hinder authorities to succeed with such policy for the aim of social cohesion. But facts in Israel and the example of Jaffa show clearly: gentrification is aimed to ethnic cleansing in Jaffa's Palestinian neighborhoods. The judaizing of Palestinian Jaffa has meanwhile come to a peek stage: the remained Palestinian neighborhoods are threatened to be uprooted totally.



Planning is managed to create 'racification' of residential areas, which are Palestinian. Accordingly protests have come and fights against these plans, demonstrations were organized, and clashes followed. (see image 20)

### Image 20 Demonstration on 29.2.2008



Source: palestineremembered

Jamal Zahalka, a Palestinian-Israeli member of Israel's parliament, and from Jaffa, a member of the Palestinian-rights party Balad, which advocates for a secular democratic state and currently holds three seats in the Knesset, in a lecture titled "Debunking the myth of Israeli democracy" in Montreal and Toronto 2008, stated: "Our situation is deteriorating towards apartheid....," Highlighting the situation in the occupied territories, he added, "Apartheid in South Africa separated whites and blacks, while in Israel, it not only separates Jews and Palestinians, but also separates Palestinians from each other."

### Conclusion

The myth of a 'mixed city' of Tel Aviv-Yafo, has come to an end. Jaffa existed before 1909 as a mainly Palestinian city, and in fact a mixed city, hosting many Jews in suburbs established in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The new Jewish city of Tel Aviv was established by 'white' European Jews, as starting point of the colonization of Palestine. Today 4,2% of Tel Aviv – Yafo (not even the original name Jaffa is more used) population is Palestinian what is hardly an indication of a 'mixed' or a city of diversity or multiculturalism – as the city is often vaunted in tourist promotion.

Yonathan Mendel describes the real situation in his article "Fantasising Israel" (Mendel 2009) as follows: "The city was subject to intensive shelling in 1948, when more than 60,000 of its residents were forced to leave – mostly fleeing to Gaza. Seventy-five per cent of the city was bulldozed, leaving only 4,000 Palestinians in the now run-down Ajame and Jabaliah neighborhoods, which in fact today are the subject of intended clearance by the Amidar Corporation, who have imposed fines on the residents for "illegally" improving their houses when they had refused to allow them to upgrade. What will be built in their place is luxurious real estate at fantastic prices beyond the reach of the existing inhabitants."

Jaffa today has been turned into a picturesque artists' colony, in houses expropriated from their Palestinian owners. Tools were from evicting by force and different terms of planning: developing programs, site plans, building laws and even tenant protection laws were used – as in all Israel (see section III).

In contradiction to that, 2009 Zionist enterprises celebrated the 'centenary of Tel Aviv' all over the western world, focusing on its cosmopolitan flavor and modernity, materialised in cement and stone in the 'White City'. This Bauhaus City Israel achieved to be UN protected human heritage recently. Tel Aviv festivities were organised in New York, Vienna, Copenhagen and Paris, with the creation of Tel Aviv beaches in Central Park and along the banks of the Seine, the Danube and Copenhagen's canals. While Gaza was slaughtered, Jaffa inhabitants evicted from their homes and/or forced to demolish them. The Israeli embassy in London promoted 24 hour trips to Tel Aviv to "celebration of Israeli culture, which includes the valuable contribution from many minorities in Israel, such as Christians, Muslims and Druze." But this is not true. All the facts indicate a planned further ethnic cleaning. However, "It [Tel Aviv] didn't just emerge from the sand in 1909, as the Zionist myth tells us. Al-Sumayil, Salame, Sheikh Munis, Abu Kabir, Al-Manshiyeh: these are the names of some of the villages that made room for it and the names are still used today. Tel Avivians still talk about the Abu Kabir neighborhood, they still meet on Salame Street. Tel Aviv University Faculty Club used to be the house of the sheikh of Sheikh Munis." (Abe Hayeem, The Guardian – 13 Oct 2009)

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