

Popular Resistance against Israeli Territorial Expropriation: Beita as a Model

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Abstract

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict dates back to the early 1930s. The most crucial factor that prolongs it and prevents any glimmer of hope is Israel's insistence on displacing the Palestinians from their lands and implanting Israeli citizens in their place. Motivated by inference theory, this study aims at investigating the latest wave of popular civil resistance against territorial expropriation in the town of Beita. The study shows that territorial confiscation is carried out systematically by Israeli settlers, aided by the army. It also shows that Beita's nonviolent approach to resistance enhances its legitimacy domestically and internationally and encourages a wider base of grassroots participation. Beita has always employed popular types of civil resistance, such as weekly protests and night-confusion tactics at Jabal Sabih, to defend itself and expel settlers. Despite the high price Beita has paid and the settlers' evacuation of the outpost, the Israeli military has turned the site into a base. The conclusion is that popular civil resistance has the potential to challenge occupiers in a powerful way.

For more than 70 years, Israel's occupation of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, has resulted in systematic human-rights abuses targeting Palestinians living in these areas. Since the beginning of the occupation in June 1967, Israel's harsh policies of dispossession, exclusion, segregation, unlawful killing, land confiscation, illegal settlement construction, and property dispossession, in addition to blatant oppression and discrimination, have resulted in massive suffering for Palestinians, depriving them of their basic rights. This prolonged

occupation, with no end in sight, has propagated a sense of frustration, desperation, and hopelessness that fuels continued conflict.

In the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Israel constantly endangers and, to a large extent, damages all aspects of Palestinians' lives (e.g., traveling for work or study, accessing properties and farmland, and obtaining electricity and clean water supplies). "Occupation denies Palestinians control over basic aspects of their daily life and largely undermines their ability to move unimpeded within the occupied territory, exit and return, develop large parts of their territory, build on their own land, access natural resources or develop their economy."¹

As a result, the lives of the Palestinian residents are effectively held hostage by Israel. They have always suffered from daily humiliation, fear, and oppression. They have been subjected to threats to their lives, physical safety, and liberty due to Israeli policies and practices as well as settlers' extremism, fanaticism, and prejudice. The violence meted out by Israeli settlers against the Palestinians in the West Bank has always been codified as a troublesome and annoying feature of the Israeli occupation, which does nothing to curb this brutal treatment and protect the people.

Israel's policy of building and expanding illegal settlements and outposts is one of the primary factors behind the widespread human-rights violations caused by the occupation. Over the past 50 years or more, Israel has demolished tens of thousands of Palestinian properties and displaced large segments of the population to build homes and basic facilities to illegally deploy their forces and embed their settlers in the occupied territories. The state has also diverted many of the Palestinians' natural resources, such as water and agricultural land, for use in these settlements and outposts. "Failure to adequately enforce the rule of law on Israeli settlers has increased the level of threat to Palestinians and their property in many West Bank areas."²

It is worth noting that the presence of settlements in the territories is in itself a violation of international humanitarian law and constitutes a war crime, according to Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. "About 250 Israeli settlements have been established across the occupied West Bank since 1967."³ Despite several UN resolutions, Israel has continued to seize Palestinian land to support at least 610,000 settlers living in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Israel has stepped up its settlement expansion, with the government announcing plans to build thousands of new homes in existing settlements, in addition to building roads and infrastructure for settlers' exclusive use in the West Bank.⁴ Such acts are very likely to "facilitate settlement expansion, apartheid-style segregation and annexation by taking Palestinians off the main grid."⁵

The Declaration of Principles established by the so-called Oslo II agreement does not explicitly ban the establishment or expansion of settlements. Oslo II did incorporate an article that states, "Neither side shall initiate or take any step that will change the status of the West Bank and the

¹ "Occupied Palestinian territory humanitarian facts and figures," United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, December 21, 2017, https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/factsheet_booklet_final_21_12_2017.pdf, 3.

² Ibid, 16.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Nadia Hijab and Jesse Rosenfeld, "Palestinian Roads: Cementing Statehood, or Israeli Annexation?" *The Nation*, April 30, 2010, <https://www.thenation.com/article/palestinian-roads-cementing-statehood-or-israeli-annexation>.

⁵ Omar Jabary Salamanca, "Assembling the Fabric of Life: When Settler Colonialism Becomes Development," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 45, no. 4 (December 2020): 64-80, doi.org/10.1525/jps.2016.45.4.64.

Gaza Strip pending the outcome of the permanent status negotiations.”⁶ However, the Israeli government has continued to expropriate Palestinian lands to develop settlements and meet what is called “natural growth” under the pretext of new neighborhoods or existing ones; moreover, many settler groups have started seizing Palestinian lands.⁷ Israeli settlers add fuel to the fire, constantly endangering Palestinian peace and tranquility. They engage in burning and stoning Palestinians and their properties, blocking roads in the West Bank, on top of killing in cold blood.⁸

The security data—on the reality in the Occupied Palestinian Territories after 2006, the Dayton understandings, and the tripartite security coordination between the Israeli occupation, the Palestinian Authority, and Jordan, which worked to prevent the return of the organizational military model of the Palestinian resistance—has led to the thwarting of many plans and military cells affiliated with Palestinian resistance factions (Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad). This, in turn, has resulted in the revival of an old pattern of resistance against the Israeli occupation: individual operations and non-hierarchical cells that have played a major role in igniting more than one type of confrontation in the West Bank, in general, and Jerusalem, in particular, during the period 2015–21.

As a result, a long-term, civil, nonviolent resistance has been employed in different parts of Palestine.⁹ It is represented by popular uprisings and movements accompanied by protests and non-armed, collective guerrilla actions throughout Palestinian towns and villages, such as Kafr Qaddum, in which “the weekly sights, sounds and smells of resistance have become a staple of life”¹⁰; An-Nabi Salih, which witnesses a “silent ethnic cleansing”¹¹; Bil’in and Ni’lin, where villagers carry out weekly nonviolent demonstrations against repression and humiliation¹²; and finally, Beita, which represents the core of investigation in this study.

“Nonviolent resistance is a civilian-based method used to wage conflict through social, psychological, economic, and political means without the threat or use of violence.”¹³ This type of resistance transcends traditional political channels; therefore, repressing it is more cost-prohibitive to oppressors because the repercussions are more severe compared to repressing violent insurgents or advocates of terrorism.¹⁴ States that repress nonviolent campaigns of resistance have more chances of being denounced and sanctioned by the international community.

⁶ Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (a.k.a. “Oslo II”), December 28, 1995, <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-185434/>

⁷ Yehezkel Lein and Eyal Weizman, “Land Grab: Israel’s Settlement Policy in the West Bank,” May 2002, *B’tselem Report*, https://www.btselem.org/download/200205_land_grab_eng.pdf.

⁸ Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, “The Causes of Vigilante Political Violence: The Case of Jewish Settlers,” *Civil Wars* 6, no. 3 (September 2007): 9–30, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698240308402542>; Ehud Sprinzak, “Extremism and Violence in Israel: The Crisis of Messianic Politics,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 555, no. 1 (January 1998): 114–126, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716298555001008>.

⁹ Julie M. Norman, *The Second Palestinian Intifada: Civil Resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁰ Iddo Schejter, “The Palestinian Village Where the Intifada Never Ended,” *Haaretz*, November 14, 2021, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-the-palestinian-village-where-the-intifada-never-ended-1.10383010>.

¹¹ Jaclynn Ashly, “Nabi Saleh: It’s a Silent Ethnic Cleansing,” *Al Jazeera*, September 4, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/9/4/nabi-saleh-its-a-silent-ethnic-cleansing>

¹² Schejter, “The Palestinian Village.”⁸³⁰¹⁰

¹³ Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 7–44, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40207100>.

¹⁴ Anika L. Binnendijk and Ivan Marovic, “Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004),” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, no. 3 (September 2006): 411–29.

Besides, the costs of repressing nonviolent resistance can be very high, especially when media coverage captures the repression.¹⁵

According to correspondence-inference theory,¹⁶ people make judgments about how to respond to an adversary based on that adversary's actions. Popular civil resistance could become advantageous from two different perspectives.¹⁷ First, nonviolent resistance efforts have a better chance of winning support from the public,¹⁸ not only domestically but also globally. Second, when popular, nonviolent resistance is adopted and used, opponents (represented here by Israeli forces) are less likely to be threatened and more likely to shift loyalty to those who resist them.¹⁹

During the long passage of the Palestinian struggle, various terms have been used to express the forms of resistance and rejection of the Zionist project, the British Mandate, and the Israeli occupation. This does not prevent the recurrence of these terms twice or more to express the same event. But when talking about the upheavals and uprisings in the modern context, specifically after the Oslo Accords and the resulting Palestinian reality, the various forms of transformation in Palestinian society are accompanied by changes in the patterns, manifestations, and processes of the fighting.²⁰ A careful look at the forms of Palestinian struggle and civil resistance to the Israeli occupation will show that it has taken many forms, including weekly protests and night confusion, for example.

Night confusion dates back to early 2018, when large-scale protests and demonstrations began what is now called "The Great March of Return" in Gaza on March 30 that year due to hopelessness and anger among the Palestinians in response to the denial of their right of return, ongoing blockade, US policies, and the deteriorating economic situation.²¹ Young Palestinians used to mass at the borders between Gaza and Israel to assert their right to return as directed by UN Resolution 194.²² These protests have swiftly evolved into grassroots acts²³ that incorporate many aspects of the Palestinian folkloric heritage: e.g., chanting, dabka (a kind of collective dancing), food vending, and wedding celebrations. The most thrilling aspect pertains to night confusion: tactics that the Palestinian protesters employ to disturb the settlers surrounding Gaza borders, on the one hand, and disorient the soldiers of the Israeli army, on the other. This idea has inspired many villages and towns in the West Bank including Beita, south of Nablus City.

¹⁵ Jeffery Record, "External Assistance: Enabler of Insurgent Success," *Parameters* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 2006), doi.org/10.55540/0031-1723.2321.

¹⁶ Edward E. Jones and Keith E. Davis, "From acts to dispositions: The attribution process in person perception," *Advances in experimental social psychology* 2 (1965).

¹⁷ Max Abrahms, "Does Terrorism Really Work? Evolution in the Conventional Wisdom since 9/11," *Defense and Peace Economics* 22, no. 6 (January 2012): 583-594, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2011.635954>.

¹⁸ Johan Galtung, *Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

¹⁹ Abrahms, "Does Terrorism Really Work?"

²⁰ K. Al-Jabari, "The Popular, Civil Resistance in Jerusalem: The Upheavals, Movements, and the Birth of the Popular Situation 2012–2019," Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations.

²¹ Bram Wispelwey and Yasser Abu Jamei, "The Great March of Return: Lessons from Gaza on Mass Resistance and Mental Health," *Health and Human Rights* 22, no. 1 (June 2020): 179-85.

²² "194 (III). Palestine – Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator," Refworld, December 11, 1948, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4fe2e5672.html>.

²³ Jihad Abu Salim, "The Great March of Return: An Organizer's Perspective," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 47, no. 4 (December 2020): 90-100, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2018.47.4.90>; Ahmed Abu Artema, "I Helped Start the Gaza Protests. I Don't Regret It," *New York Times*, May 14, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/opinion/gaza-protests-organizer-great-return-march.html>.

This article explores the rise of a liberal variant of popular, civil resistance and its ramifications for the role of the grassroots in conflicts and struggles driven by political motivations. Among the main arguments is that the Palestinian nationalist grassroots are changing their roles and refocusing on liberalizing themselves and adopting peaceful, popular, civil, and, to a large extent, nonviolent resistance. The study investigates the latest wave of Palestinian popular, civil resistance against the systematic territorial confiscation and land expropriation by the Israeli army and settlers in the town of Beita. The resistance refers to actions by Palestinians within civil society that aim to undermine the Israeli occupation. The researcher traces the town's resistance movement from the first Intifada in December 1987 to the present and highlights the various settlers' efforts to expropriate and/or confiscate land to build settlements, including the erection of the Evyatar outpost on top of Mount Sabih. The researcher aims to answer the following questions: How do people in Beita resist the systematic territorial expropriation of their land? What are the protesters' political affiliations? What have been the consequences of this resistance on the town?

This study is unique in that it seeks to serve as a distinctive contribution to the literature, highlighting the fact that in situations where nonviolence is viewed as a strategy rather than just a moral preference, nonviolent resistance increases significantly. Moreover, it puts night-confusion tactics employed by the grassroots as a means of resistance against systematic territorial expropriation in Beita under the microscope. Finally, this research provides additional contributions to knowledge in different fields (resistance to occupation, social movements, revolution, and conflict resolution) by offering key implications based on its results.

THE TOWN OF BEITA

Beita is a Palestinian town in Nablus Governorate, 14 kilometers southeast of Nablus City. It was formerly a large village in the El-Beitawy District.²⁴ The name Beita is derived from the word *bayt*, a house that shelters people and provides them with peace and tranquility. For others, mainly historians and anthropologists, Beita was so named because travelers from the northern part of Palestine used to stop there; it was a resort where pilgrims were offered all forms of rest, peace, and protection according to the Beita Municipal Council. It has always been known for its beauty and fine olive crops.²⁵

"The town is known for its strategic center location for almost 30 communities south of Nablus city."²⁶ Its population increased from 9,079 in 2007 to 11,682 in 2017 and to 12,267 in 2020. Spread over approximately 8,270 square kilometers, Beita has a population density of 1,483 people per square kilometer.²⁷ The town houses a number of historical and archaeological sites, including some Roman ruins on top of Al-Urma Mountain, which includes a number of deep caves that were used as tombs.²⁸ These attracted many people, including Israeli settlers and archaeologists who tried to expropriate the mountain and build a settlement on top of it. The town also includes

²⁴ Edward Robinson and Eli Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 and 1852* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²⁵ Ellen Cantarow, "Beita," *Grand Street* 8, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 195–204, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25007244>.

²⁶ Rani Daoud, "Strategic Planning: A Promising Planning Approach for Palestinian Cities and Towns," master's thesis, BirZeit University, 2009, https://fada.birzeit.edu/bitstream/20.500.11889/1705/1/thesis_306.pdf.

²⁷ "General Census of Population and Housing Censuses," Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics.

²⁸ Claude R. Conder and C. R. Herbert H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine, 1882-1888* (Los Angeles: Archive Editions, 1998).

Abu Zakari Shrine, dating back to the Crusades, and other archaeological sites such as Khirbit Olim, Khirbet Rojaan, and Al-Bal'a, a cave with some pottery shards and statues on its walls.²⁹

Systematic Expropriation of Beita Lands

“Israeli officials and settlers have been attempting to confiscate Beita’s lands for more than 50 years, but the town’s citizens have repeatedly repelled these attempts with their vigilance.”³⁰ The town of Beita is surrounded by barren and haystack mountains that differ in altitude and significance. The highest is Al-Urma, located two kilometers east of the town. It is among the highest mountains in the West Bank (more than 800 meters above sea level). On top of its high peak lies an antique archaeological site that incorporates a number of box-bit, deep caves that were used as storage wells, in addition to a cemetery. “The mountain served as an impregnable fortress and a watchtower for roads.”³¹

Like any other Palestinian community, Beita embarked upon periodic confrontations (mostly through stone throwing and burning of tires) with Israeli soldiers at the onset of the first Intifada at the end of 1987. Because Beita’s main entrance leads to the main street between Nablus and Ramallah, young people from the town used to monitor Israeli vehicles, including military jeeps and settlers’ buses and cars. Many confrontations with Israeli soldiers and settlers took place. On January 20, 1989, some activists and workers took control of an Israeli bus and burned it. This, of course, drove the Israeli army to carry out retaliatory acts, such as chasing, handcuffing, beating, bone breaking, and, of course, jailing.³² The most significant acts date back to April 1988.

BEITA INCIDENT

Settlement construction and/or expansion has always been considered as “establishing the boundaries of the new Jewish state.”³³ Settlers, protected by Israeli soldiers, have tried all possible means to plunder and control the land; for example, they organize expeditions and exploration missions throughout the West Bank. One of the ways that settlers sought to demonstrate their control of the land was through nature hikes³⁴ or picnics in the Palestinian countryside.

For example, on April 6, 1988, a group of 16 teenage settlers from Alon Moreh Settlement six kilometers north of Beita, accompanied by two religious fanatics,³⁵ set off on a hike toward the plains and mountains of Beita during the Passover school holiday. They bewildered and threatened the local farmers working in their fields. This “provocative hike by young settlers in the

²⁹ Beita Municipal Council, “Antiques in B Munira eita” (in Arabic), <http://www.beita-mun.org/beitaTab/antiquites>

³⁰ Granate Kim, “Stand with the Palestinians of Beita as They Protect Their Land,” Holy Land Justice, March 9, 2020, <https://holylandjustice.org/2020/03/09/stand-with-the-palestinians-of-beita-as-they-protect-their-land>.

³¹ “Israeli Troops Attack Protesters in Beita Nablus Governorate,” Land Research Center, March 11, 2020, <http://www.lrcj.org/publication-3-1969.html>.

³² Cantarow, “Beita.”

³³ Glenn Frankel, *Beyond the Promised Land: Jews and Arabs on the Hard Road to a New Israel* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 94.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

area turned into a violent and fatal incident,³⁶ as it was organized and led by two very prominent militant Jewish settlers. Their provocative conduct has earned them military exclusion and even a ban from entering the nearby Palestinian city of Nablus, which houses the Biblical shrine Joseph's Tomb.

Word rapidly spread through the village that armed settlers were wandering around looking for a good site to establish a settlement. Tens of farmers and teenagers gathered and asked the settlers to leave. However, the settlers refused, and one of the armed militants named Romam Aldubi³⁷ started to fire at people, shooting dead a 21-year-old university student, Musa Salih Daoud, who was "about fifty yards from him and apparently running away at the time of the shots,"³⁸ and seriously injured another while they were preparing their land for spring crops.³⁹

The angry people led the settlers to the village, where they met the desperate and distressed Munira Salih Daoud, sister of Musa. She managed to maneuver her way toward Aldubi and struck him on the back of the head with a stone. Aldubi opened fire blindly and killed two other Palestinians, Hatem Fayez, a 19-year-old farmer, and Isam Abdul Haleem, a 15-year-old boy who was watching. Aldubi also shot a 15-year-old female settler, Tirza Porat. A few hours after the incident, the Israeli media alleged that she was killed by the Palestinian activists. The Israeli army, however, announced that the girl was accidentally shot in the head with Aldubi's M-16 rifle.⁴⁰

"In the wake of the incident, three cabinet ministers called for Beita to be leveled, one suggesting that it be replaced with a settlement named after the dead teenager."⁴¹ The Israeli army immediately surrounded and sealed off the village, gathering all men between the ages of 15 and 20 in a local school yard for investigation. A group of 10 Palestinians from Beita was brought before the teenage settlers for identification. Those who were identified by any teenager were dragged to classrooms for interrogation by Shin Bet agents. Among the suspects was a university student whose house was 100 miles away from the school. One agent asked him to look at the roof of his house as it floated in the sky after being blown up with explosives. Two days after the event, 16 houses were demolished,⁴² including Munira's and that of a person who offered help to the injured settlers. More than 80 people were arrested, six young people were deported to Jordan and Lebanon—two of whom have not returned—and a curfew was imposed until further notice. One of the most significant individuals was "Munira Salih Daoud, age 22 and three months pregnant, [who] was arraigned on the charge of rock throwing and aggravated assault. She ultimately received an eight-month prison term. Aldubi will not be charged with the murder of the two Palestinians nor with the wounding of others, at least three seriously."⁴³ People in Beita were locked in their houses for two weeks. "As time passed many Israelis held settlers themselves responsible

³⁶ Gideon Levy and Alex Levac, "They Choose One Person to Kill, and Then the Protest Is Over," *Haaretz*, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/twilight-zone/.premium.MAGAZINE-they-choose-one-person-to-kill-and-then-the-protest-is-over-1.10113349?v=I642239176330>.

³⁷ Frankel, *Beyond the Promised Land*, 95.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ John Conroy, *Unspeakable Acts, Ordinary People: The Dynamics of Torture* (California: University of California Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ John Kifner, "West Bank Settlers Turn Anger against the Army," *New York Times*, April 11, 1989, <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/04/11/world/west-bank-settlers-turn-anger-against-the-army.html?pagewanted=print>.

⁴¹ Conroy, *Unspeakable Acts*, 217.

⁴² Levy and Levac, "They Choose One Person to Kill."

⁴³ Edward Corrigan, "A Year of the Palestinian Uprising," *Against the Current*, no. 17 (November/December 1988), <https://againstthecurrent.org/atc017/a-year-of-the-palestinian-uprising/>.

for the events at Beita,⁴⁴ and Aldubi's bullets resulted in curbing settlers' hopes of expropriating further territory and expanding settlements not only in Beita but also in the neighboring area.

THE AL-URMA MOUNTAIN INCIDENT

As stated earlier, Beita is surrounded by barren and haystack mountains that differ in altitude and significance. Al-Urma, located two kilometers east of the town, has attracted the attention of both settlers and Israeli archaeologists. First, it is among the highest mountains in the West Bank, which makes it a fortified site for watching nearby roads. Second, the mountain is "a strategic position for Israelis."⁴⁵ On top of its high peak lies an old archaeological site that includes deep caves used as a cemetery.⁴⁶ Third, according to historians, the mountain "has been inhabited since the early Bronze Age, about 3,200 years ago. On top of the mountain, walls that still exist indicate that an ancient castle was built there."⁴⁷

Attempts to take control of Jabal Al-Urma began on April 6, 1988, with the building of settlements around the town. Then, in 2017, the Israeli army and settlers tried to take control of another close mountain, Jabal Sabih, but they also failed because of the Palestinians' resistance. At the beginning of 2020, settlers' attempts to control the mountain increased; however, the Palestinians thwarted them all.

In September 2019, the settlers released a video indicating possible traces of Jews in Jabal Al-Urma and their need to control it. "The settlers had reportedly been organizing an archaeological tour of the hill, saying it hosted a site of Biblical significance."⁴⁸ Three months later, the video spread in the town, and people in Beita started to feel the danger of the settlers' plans. "Many hundreds of settlers responded to a call on social media to take Mount Al-Urma, and they descended into the town... accompanied by soldiers."⁴⁹ In the middle of February 2020, Beita raised the Palestinian flag 25 meters high on the top of the mountain. People from the town and nearby villages have been staying in the place on a daily basis, and at the end of each week with great vigor, for fear of being taken over forcibly by settlers. Nearly "a thousand residents who came to defend the land... are now spending 24 hours a day standing watch."⁵⁰

Because of the permanent presence of citizens on the mountaintop, a series of confrontations with Israeli soldiers and settlers began. On February 27, 2020, soldiers arrived to ensure the safety of the settlers and the archaeologists who came to visit. They tried to disperse the group by attacking them with force, including live ammunition, rubber-coated bullets, stun grenades, and tear gas, wounding about 70 civilians and causing some serious injuries. On March 8, violent clashes took place with youths camping in Jabal Al-Urma, including the burning of tires and throwing stones at settlers who were trying to raise the Israeli flag. The heaviest confrontations

⁴⁴ Frankel, *Beyond the Promised Land*, 100.

⁴⁵ Kim, "Stand with the Palestinians of Beita."

⁴⁶ "Israeli Troops Attack Protesters in Beita Nablus Governorate," Land Research Center, March 11, 2020, <http://www.lrcj.org/publication-3-1969.html>.

⁴⁷ "Palestinian Teenager Killed by Israeli Soldiers in West Bank," *Middle East Eye*, March 11, 2020, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/palestinian-teenager-killed-israeli-soldiers-west-bank>.

⁴⁸ "Palestinian Teenager Killed in West Bank Clash," *BBC*, March 11, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-51836468>.

⁴⁹ Kim, "Stand with the Palestinians of Beita."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

took place a few days later, when hundreds of Palestinians from Beita and neighboring villages decided to actively oppose the intrusion of Israeli settlers.⁵¹ A 15-year-old boy, Mohammad Saeed Hamayel, was shot dead, and more than 100 Palestinians were injured, including two critically. Islam Dweikat, a 22-year-old university student, died on April 1, after being in intensive care for three weeks with severe wounds sustained while defending Jabal Al-Urma.

Many factors have enabled the Palestinians to preserve the mountain and make it impossible for the settlers to take control of it. First, the mountain is located within Area B, according to Oslo II; most of the settlements after 1995 were erected on Palestinian lands in Area C. Second, the Israeli cabinet did not issue any decision to expropriate the mountain and annex it to its properties, as the location of the mountain was not linked to a strategic settlement project.⁵² From a Palestinian perspective, defending the mountain incorporated the whole popular and official spectrum of society. Participation was not limited to the people of Beita but included Palestinians from different parts of the West Bank, particularly from neighboring villages including Agraba, Awarta, and Audala. The institutions of the Palestinian Authority, including the Ministry of Local Government, played important roles in bolstering the steadfastness of the people on Jabal Al-Urma through their logistical support. The continuity of watching the mountain and defending it against settlers' incursions and soldiers' atrocities was significant in defeating settlers' plans.⁵³ Although two young people lost their lives on Jabal Al-Urma, Beita won the battle and saved its lands from the settlers.

JABAL SABIH: A NEW FORM OF RESISTANCE

In a sense, the struggle at Beita is emblematic of the larger Palestinian struggle; it is a microcosm where unarmed civilians fight against a colonial, settler state that ultimately desires to replace Palestinian towns and villages with Jewish outposts and settlements. Israeli forces and settlers are working together to ethnically cleanse the area. Israel does not just occupy the Palestinian land, it also systematically usurps all of its resources, including water, in flagrant violation of international law guaranteeing the fundamental rights of an occupied nation.⁵⁴ However, "Beita has had plenty of experience mounting protests against violent settlers who want to dispossess them."⁵⁵ Their violence further radicalizes the Palestinian population, leading to escalation. When violence increases, fewer concessions are offered.⁵⁶

Israeli settlers and soldiers wander freely in the West Bank, including in Area A. They carry out offensives and challenges (road blocks, property destruction, arson, and targeting of civilians through arrests and sometimes killings) to stir up residents. Each reaction from civilians is followed by further provocations by Israeli settlers, especially after the freeze on settlement

⁵¹ "Palestinian Civilian Dies Due to Israeli Inflicted Gunshot Wound," *L'Osservatorio*, April 2, 2020, <https://www.iosservatorio.org/en/civilians-in-conflict/web-review/item/1668-palestinian-civilian-dies-due-to-israeli-inflicted-gunshot-wound>.

⁵² A. Al-Betawi and F. Al-Qawasmi, "Jabal Al-Urma between Settlers' Attacks and Palestinian Resistance," 2020.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Ramzy Baroud, "On the shadow wars in the West Bank," *Jordan Times*, August 10, 2021, <https://www.jordantimes.com/opinion/ramzy-baroud/shadow-wars-west-bank>

⁵⁵ Levy and Levac, "They Choose One Person to Kill."

⁵⁶ Thomas Zeitzoff, "Using Social Media to Measure Conflict Dynamics: An Application to the 2008–2009 Gaza Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, no. 6 (2011): 938–69.

construction by the Rabin government in the early 1990s. Palestinian resistance has become a pretext for settlers to destroy properties or erect outposts⁵⁷ “with tacit agreement, and sometimes with active assistance, of [Israeli] government authorities, such as the Ministry of Defense, the IDF, the Ministry of Housing.”⁵⁸

“The Beita protests broke out... as a group of hardline settlers built a Jewish community on a nearby hilltop, without government approval.”⁵⁹ This illegal outpost is named after Evyatar Borovsky, a settler staying in the Yitzhar settlement west of Beita, who was shot dead by a Palestinian in May 2013 following clashes at a nearby roadblock. Three attempts to build an outpost at the site, in 2013, 2016, and 2018, failed quickly. Nonetheless, on May 2, 2021, one settler was killed and two others were injured in a shooting exchange next to Itamar settlement, north of Beita. Settlers immediately started to put up tents, containers, awnings, and mobile homes at Evyatar (Jabal Sabih).⁶⁰

Jabal Sabih is located between Beita and two Palestinian villages, Yatma and Qabalan, to the south of Nablus, just east of Zaatara or Tapouh Junction. Formerly, there was a military base on the summit. Settlers believe that this strategic site is suitable for a settlement, to prevent contiguity between Palestinian communities, on the one hand, and to create connection between Israeli settlements, on the other.⁶¹ Palestinians from Beita, Qabalan, and Yatma have been denied the right to build even after the base was evacuated in the 1990s as in Area C, which is ruled by Israeli law. However, settlers are allowed to establish illegal outposts. More than 40 buildings were erected very quickly “at the initiative of the Nahala settlement movement.”⁶²

Most of the lands next to that mountain belong to Yatma village; however, people in Beita refused to give up, deciding to resist and try something special. Residents felt it was dangerous to expropriate not only the peak of Mount Sabih but also adjacent lands. They decided to confront the settlers and expel them in the normal way before it was too late. “The villagers of Beita have been protesting not only decades of Israeli oppression, but also intensified Israeli pillaging of their land.”⁶³ Eventually, people decided to copy the night-confusion tactics, inspired by Gaza, that proved successful in resisting the settlers.

At first, protests at Beita started on a daily basis; most night-confusion tactics used at Gaza were copied, and Beita developed its own. Residents formed a number of different units to drive settlers and soldiers crazy and push them to evacuate the outpost.

⁵⁷ Akiva Eldar and Idith Zertal, *Lords of the Land: The War over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967–2007* (New York: Nation Books, 2007).

⁵⁸ Anna Getmansky and Tolga Sinmazdemir, “Settling on Violence: Expansion of Israeli Outposts in the West Bank in Response to Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 41, no. 3 (2018): 241-59, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1283196>.

⁵⁹ “The Beita Model: Palestinians Lead ‘New Form of Resistance’ at Evyatar Outpost,” *Times of Israel*, August 25, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/the-beita-model-palestinians-lead-new-form-of-resistance-at-evyatar-outpost/>.

⁶⁰ Amira Hass, “In Just a Month, Illegal Settler Outpost Sprouts Up on Palestinian Lands,” *Haaretz*, June 7, 2021, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-in-just-a-month-illegal-settler-outpost-sprouts-up-on-palestinian-lands-1.9882850>.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ “Journalist Injured, Others Suffocate in Anti-Land-Pillage Rally Near Nablus,” *Wafa*, November 26, 2021, <https://english.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/126968>.

1. **Tires or Rubber:** This unit was responsible for setting tires ablaze in an attempt to confuse soldiers with “a curtain of thick black smoke that covers the movement of young people and suffocates the settlers.”⁶⁴ Young people started to collect tires from all parts of the region, bring them to the mountain, and set them on fire. With time, and after Beita started to gain fame, people from different villages, cities, and governorates began to supply used tires to show their loyalty and support. Big trucks loaded with tires came from Nablus, Jenin, and Qalqilya, and the drivers were received cordially and enthusiastically by locals. “Flashlights, green lasers and fireworks light up the darkness, while the sounds of Palestinian songs break the silence, and the smell of burning tires permeates the place.”⁶⁵
2. **Horns or Trumpet:** This unit was responsible for honking, to disturb those in the outpost and deprive them of rest. “Many Palestinians in the area do not believe that Israel will rule against the Evyatar outpost and so have staged night confusion rallies, using torches, lasers, and honking horns in an effort to push the settlers out.”⁶⁶
3. **Lasers:** This unit directed laser beams toward the windows of the houses in Evyatar as well as toward soldiers protecting the outpost. These beams were meant to intimidate and confuse the soldiers and give away their locations so that protesters could target them or avoid their bullets.
4. **Fireworks:** Participants used flashlights, green lasers, and fireworks to light up the darkness and frighten those on top of the mountain.⁶⁷
5. **Slingshots:** “Forked sticks, to which an elastic strap is fastened to the two prongs, typically used for shooting small stones,” were used by Palestinians for hurling stones at settlers and soldiers from a distance.⁶⁸
6. **Molotovs:** This unit is responsible for preparing and throwing Molotov cocktails at soldiers and settlers’ houses.
7. **Torches:** Together with mostly green laser beams, the homemade torches “light up the night sky” of Jabal Sabih “as Palestinians wage a battle to stop a new Jewish settlement.”⁶⁹ This unit “is one of the pillars of night confusion, as its activities begin daily at sunset, with the participation of approximately 200 young people from the town, carrying torches toward the focus, in addition to the two laser units and searchlights that work all hours of the night.”⁷⁰

⁶⁴ “They Are Inspired by the Gaza Experience in Confusing the Settlers: This Is How the Palestinian Beta Youth Organize Their Confrontation with the Occupation,” Teller Report, June 26, 2021, <https://www.tellerreport.com/news/2021-06-26-they-are-inspired-by-the-gaza-experience-in-confusing-the-settlers—this-is-how-the-palestinian-beta-youth-organize-their-confrontation-with-the-occupation.r1gfJmH3u.html>.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ “West Bank: Israeli Arrest Raid in Beita Injures Scores,” *Middle East Eye*, August 9, 2021, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/palestine-israel-beita-eviatar-settlement-protest-crackdown-wounded>.

⁶⁷ Teller Report, “They Are Inspired by the Gaza Experience.”

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ali Sawafta and Rami Ayyub, “Lasers and flaming torches light up battle over new Israeli settlement,” *Reuters*, June 24, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/lasers-flaming-torches-light-up-battle-over-new-israeli-settlement-2021-06-24/>.

⁷⁰ Teller Report, “They Are Inspired by the Gaza Experience.”

8. **Monitoring and Follow-up:** This unit “monitors the Israeli army’s movements with binoculars to avoid ambushes or arrests.”⁷¹ Its main mission is to provide protesters with the latest information about confrontations.
9. **Logistical Support:** This unit provides participants and press crews covering the confrontations with meals, drinks, and water from the town and from other villages and cities, mainly Huwara and Nablus.⁷²
10. **The Media:** This unit monitors events on the ground and transmits them through various means of communication, providing the resistance fighters with the latest information about them.⁷³
11. **The “Unknown Soldiers”:** This includes medical teams and paramedics who provide help to the injured.⁷⁴ The Palestinian Ministry of Education has allowed the Red Crescent to use a local school to host all medical units and equipment and be a field hospital to offer urgent care to the injured before they are transferred to hospitals in Nablus City. Palestinians from different parts of the West Bank participate in this unit either by offering first aid, donating blood, or donating fully equipped ambulances. However, this unit reported many “impediments to its work, including being prevented by Israeli forces from accessing the wounded, and physical assaults on its ambulances and paramedic crews.”⁷⁵
12. **The Spikes:** This unit was responsible for laying spikes, pylons, pollards, nails, and screws in the roads leading to Beita and Jabal Sabih, to impede Israeli military vehicles and jeeps or stop them altogether.⁷⁶

Like other villages and towns, Beita held daily and weekly (mostly on Fridays) protests against land expropriation, to which the Israeli forces usually reacted with disproportionate force. After 65 days of protests, including clashes that claimed five Palestinian lives (four from Beita and one from Yatma village) and injured hundreds, the Israeli occupation was forced to evacuate the wildcat outpost.

Following the evacuation, residents expected to take control of their lands; however, the Israeli occupation established a military base at the site, reassuring settlers that they “needn’t fear the loss of their newly controlled territory... because, according to the [Israeli] plan, when the settlers withdraw, a military base will be immediately established at the site, and later on a yeshiva [religious educational institute] will be opened there.”⁷⁷

The unity in Beita in the face of the land expropriation has been crystal clear in the organization of Friday protests. Residents never lose hope; they continue their weekly protests every Friday. It is worth mentioning, however, that most Friday events end immediately when a life

⁷¹ Ahmad Melhem, “West Bank Town Draws Inspiration from Gaza ‘Night Confusion’ Activities to Confront Settlers,” *Al-Monitor*, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/06/west-bank-town-draws-inspiration-gaza-night-confusion-activities-confront#ixzz7IDS3yXLe>.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Teller Report, “They Are Inspired by the Gaza Experience.”

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ “Palestine Emergency Situation Updates,” Medical Aid for Palestinians, June 28, 2021, <https://www.map.org.uk/about-map/-palestine-emergency-updates>.

⁷⁶ Atef Daghlas, “Escalation in Exchange for Evacuation: This Is How the ‘Betawis’ Responded to the Settlers’ Withdrawal from Jabal Sabih,” *Al Jazeera*, July 4, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2021/7/4/التصعيد-مقابل-الاحلاء-هكذا-رد>

⁷⁷ “Evacuate Evyatar without Compromise,” *Haaretz*, June 29, 2021, <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/editorial/evacuate-eyatar-without-compromise-1.9949924>.

TABLE 1 Personal details of the Palestinians who were killed at Jabal Sabih

Name, age, residence	Details of killing	Date of death	Personal details
Issa Barham Dawoud 42 years old From Beita	Shot in the abdomen for collecting information and documenting protests at Jabal Sabih	May 14, 2021	Professor of international criminal law, district attorney, and father of four children
Tariq Snobar 27 years old From Yatma	Shot in the abdomen while stuck at a roadblock during a demonstration	May 16, 2021	Laborer and father of a 2-week-old child
Zakaria Maher Hamayel 28 years old From Beita	Shot in the back while running away from tear gas at Jabal Sabih	May 28, 2021	School teacher
Mohammad Saeed Hamayel 15 years old From Beita	Shot in the heart while participating in protests at Jabal Sabih	June 11, 2021	Schoolchild
Ahmad Zahi Dawoud 15 years old From Beita	Shot in the head while participating in protests at Jabal Sabih	June 17, 2021	Schoolchild
Shadi Omar Salim 41 years old From Beita	Shot and killed while checking the village's main water valves next to Jabal Sabih	July 27, 2021	Plumber and father of four children
Imad Ali Dweikat 37 years old From Beita	Suffered a live bullet in the chest while drinking water at Jabal Sabih	August 6, 2021	Laborer and father of five children
Muhammad Ali Khabisa 28 years old From Beita	Shot in the head by Israeli live fire while participating in protests at Jabal Sabih	September 24, 2021	Laborer and father of an 8-month-old child
Jamil-Jamal Abu Ayyash 31 years old From Beita	Killed with a bullet to the back of the head while running away from tear gas at Jabal Sabih	December 10, 2021	Carpenter, no children

is being claimed by Israeli soldiers.⁷⁸ From May 10, 2021, to January 20, 2022, nine Palestinian lives were lost (Table 1) and more than 5,200 were wounded (145 with live ammunition, 767 with rubber-coated bullets, 13 with bullet splinters, 499 with bruises, fractures, or dislocations while being chased by soldiers, and more than 3,570 who suffocated from tear-gas inhalation). Seventy percent of wounds were in the limbs; 34 were serious. Sixteen people were shot in the head, five lost at least an eye, and 13 were shot in the abdomen. The town of Beita “pays a high price in defense of its land.”⁷⁹

It is axiomatic that Israeli soldiers and settlers follow literally the guidelines of the military authorities when they confront Palestinians. They shoot to kill on the spot any Palestinian who may consider assaulting Israelis or carrying out an attack, even if that person has been caught by

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ “Palestinian Village Pays High Price in Defense of Its Land,” *Al Jazeera*, June 7, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/7/palestinian-village-pays-high-price-in-defence-of-its-land>.

soldiers and does not pose a threat. Two of the martyrs, Tariq Snobar and Shadi Omar Salim, were not at Jabal Sabih when they were killed. Snobar was stuck in a roadblock while going home, and Salim was heading to unlock the main water valves (he worked for Beita Municipality as a plumber). Neither of them posed any danger to the soldiers; they were killed in cold blood.

Two other martyrs, Jamil-Jamal Abu Ayyash and Zakaria Maher Hamayel, did not represent a threat to the soldiers or to settlers; both were participating in peaceful protests at the mountain. They were killed escaping tear gas. The rest of the dead were shot directly in the chest or the abdomen. The losses of the Israeli army and settlers were minimal. Very few were targeted by stones from slingshots; two or three jeeps were hit by Molotov cocktails.

The price Beita is still paying has not been limited to deaths. First, thousands of people have been wounded; some lost eyes, suffered severe fractures that caused them to become lame, and bore deformities, especially of the face. Some of the injured are hospitalized for long periods; the Palestinian youth in Beita wait for hours in hospitals or stand for long periods on top of the mountain to participate in demonstrations.

Second, the Israeli Border Police have closed all the roads that lead to Jabal Sabih in order to prevent people from accessing it and participating in protests or cultivating olive crops from the fields. They have also closed the entrance of Beita that leads to the main road. This has negatively impacted the fruit and vegetable market 300 meters east of the main road, causing a loss of millions of dollars. Third, many activists or protesters have been detained, jailed, and fined; some detainees are obliged to pay penalties between \$350 and \$1,500, which adds insult to injury. "Furthermore, Beita has suffered due to punitive Israeli actions, including the revocation of more than 100 permits for men who work in Israel."⁸⁰

Finally, Beita buys water from the Israeli company Mekorot. It also gets electricity from Israel. However, the Israelis keep water shares to the minimum and cut the power supply from time to time to punish the whole town. "Mekorot is still controlling groundwater resources in the West Bank and is selling the Palestinians their own water."⁸¹ The Israeli occupation spares no effort in controlling everything Palestinian "by building settlements on strategic locations."⁸²

Up to the end of 2021, in clashes with the Israeli occupation at Jabal Sabih, 83 children have become orphans, and 11 have been permanently paralyzed, leaving about 150 persons in complete desperation. Seven young people lost an eye, seven widows were left with little children, and many families have lost their breadwinners and caretakers. It is not unusual for the Israelis to use collective punishment against the families of activists or entire Palestinian communities. All these mechanisms reveal the ugly face of occupation, especially if it is driven by religion and fanaticism.

According to correspondence-inference theory,⁸³ people make judgments about how to respond to an adversary based on that opponent's actions. Popular, civil resistance could become advantageous from two different perspectives.⁸⁴ First, nonviolent resistance has a better chance of winning support from the public,⁸⁵ not only domestically but also globally. Second, when popular,

⁸⁰ Qassam Muaddi, "In Palestine's Beita, the Civil Resistance Movement Vows to Keep Fighting," *New Arab*, November 10, 2021, <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/analysis/palestines-beita-civil-resistance-vows-fight>.

⁸¹ Jad Isaac, "The Role of Groundwater in the Water Conflict and Resolution between Israelis and Palestinians," International Symposium on Groundwater, January 27, 2006, 277, <http://aguas.igme.es/igme/ISGWAS/Ponencias%20ISGWAS/18-Isaac%20Jad.pdf>.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Jones and Davis, "From acts to dispositions."

⁸⁴ Abrahms, "Does Terrorism Really Work?"

⁸⁵ Galtung, *Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine*.

nonviolent resistance is adopted, opponents represented here by Israeli forces are less likely to be threatened and more likely to shift loyalty to those who resist them.⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the latest wave of popular civil resistance against the systematic territorial confiscation by the Israeli army and settlers in the town of Beita. The study found that territorial confiscation is carried out systematically to establish and build new military bases, settlements, or outposts. It is also done to expand existing settlements or outposts as a form of “punishment or revenge that is inflicted by settlers, even with the government’s tacit approval, on Palestinian communities they perceive to be related to violence in order to deter Palestinians in these areas from collaborating with the hardliners in the future.”⁸⁷

This research also shows that the Palestinian people violated the tenets of correspondence-inference theory positing that people make judgments about how to respond to an adversary based on the adversary’s actions. Israeli soldiers and settlers are heavily armed; they are directed by the government to suppress Palestinian resistance by all means, including killing. However, the Palestinians do not stand still in front of expropriation and confiscation of their land. In most cases, they peacefully protest and employ popular types of resistance, such as the latest night-confusion tactics at Jabal Sabih, due to the fact that they are not armed.

Beita “has had plenty of experience mounting protests against violent settlers who want to dispossess them.”⁸⁸ The Beita incident of April 1988 had dire consequences for the village at that time. In 2019, settlers and Israeli archaeologists tried to control Al-Urma Mountain and build an outpost. However, both attempts failed. From May 2021 to the present, settlers targeted Beita again following two attacks against Israel citizens in Nablus district. This time, they turned their gaze toward Jabal Sabih. This settler endeavor was confronted boldly and patiently by residents of Beita and neighboring villages despite the very high price. Many people lost their lives, thousands were wounded, and collective punishment was imposed. There is one common attribute in these three attempts to expropriate lands in Beita: They mobilized every citizen in the village as well as a great many people from different parts of Palestine. Beita finally won, and the settlers were forced to evacuate the outpost. Beita’s nonviolent approach to resistance enhances its legitimacy domestically and internationally, and encourages a wider base of grassroots participation.⁸⁹

All in all, Palestinian protests against Israeli settlements in the occupied territories mostly take the form of grassroots, weekly demonstrations and protests on land threatened by Israeli settlers and the army, mainly in the Nablus region; the inhumane nature of the settlers’ living in this region adds insult to injury. There has been a steady increase in violence perpetrated by Israeli settlers against Palestinians. Settler terror is, in fact, routine in the West Bank; it takes many forms, including, but not limited to, arson, attacks on mosques and private property, sabotage, stone-throwing, incursions into remote, isolated, and vulnerable homes, and uprooting crops, mainly olive trees.

⁸⁶ Abrahms, “Does Terrorism Really Work?”

⁸⁷ Getmansky and Sinmazdemir, “Settling on Violence.”

⁸⁸ Levy and Levac, “They Choose One Person to Kill.”

⁸⁹ Stephan and Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works.”

Settlement expansion and construction has always endangered the Palestinians and their land, due to the fact that Israeli settlers are “emboldened to attack Palestinians on a regular basis for three primary reasons: the absence of Palestinian capacity for self-defense; a lack of accountability for criminal violence against Palestinians; and the backing and participation of the Israeli military.”⁹⁰ Through identifying its grievances as a challenged locality, Beita has managed to gain a great deal of support,⁹¹ undermining the occupation. Although the popular, nonviolent resistance adopted by people in Beita has not threatened Israeli forces or endangered them, no shifts in loyalty toward Beita and its inhabitants have been observed; this is contrary to what is postulated,⁹² as Jews are considered the “other.”

How to cite this article: Oqab Jabali. Popular Resistance against Israeli Territorial Expropriation: Beita as a Model. *Middle East Policy*. 2022;1-16.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12656>

⁹⁰ Yousef Munayyer, “The Tip of the Spear: Israeli Settler Terror,” Arab Center Washington DC, November 17, 2021, <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/the-tip-of-the-spear-israeli-settler-terror/>.

⁹¹ Galtung, *Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine*.

⁹² Abrahms, “Does Terrorism Really Work?”