

THE DECISIVE PLAN: THE ISRAELI REGIME'S BLUEPRINT FOR COLONIAL EXPANSION AND PALESTINIAN SUBJUGATION

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The Decisive Plan: The Israeli Regime's Blueprint for Colonial Expansion and Palestinian Subjugation

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Cover Photo: Newly installed iron gates at the entrance to Birzeit town in Ramallah, blocking thousands of Palestinians from reaching the northern West Bank (©Muhammad Ateeq)

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The Decisive Plan: The Israeli Regime's Blueprint for Colonial Expansion and Palestinian Subjugation

INTRODUCTION

In 2017, the Religious Zionism party, led by Bezalel Smotrich – currently the Israeli regime's Finance Minister and the effective head of colony affairs in the West Bank – proposed “Israel's Decisive Plan” [Hereinafter: Decisive Plan or Plan] for the future of Israeli colonial domination in the West Bank. Smotrich, as the party leader, has been the main proponent of this Plan, although its principles can be found in the guiding principles of the Israeli regime's current coalition formed in December 2022. Since Smotrich assumed his ministerial roles in late 2022, and especially after 7 October 2023, elements of the Plan have actively been enforced across the West Bank.

The current coalition embraced the Plan as its blueprint for imposing Israeli “sovereignty” over the West Bank by intensifying its main pillars of colonization, forced displacement, and apartheid. In the eyes of Smotrich and the Israeli regime, “sovereignty” entails more than territorial control or colony expansion: it is a comprehensive system of domination, designed to restructure and redefine the Palestinian political, social, and economic status quo, and enforce a hierarchy in which Palestinians face coercive choices – subjugation, expulsion, or annihilation. The Decisive Plan provides the blueprint for this assertion of Israeli “sovereignty,” outlining the mechanisms and policies through which it is to be realized.

Indeed, this vision of “sovereignty” requires not only the continuation of existing practices but also the introduction of new policies directly drawn from the Plan. In parallel to committing genocide in the Gaza Strip, with plans to fully colonize the territory and forcibly displace its residents, the Israeli regime has moved from rhetorical commitments to concrete measures in the West Bank along two parallel tracks: suppressing Palestinian political and national life, and entrenching Israeli “sovereignty,” including over east of Jerusalem. The latter track is pursued through mechanisms that this paper will examine in detail, including the unprecedented ministerial role created for Smotrich, the formal recognition and expansion of colonial outposts, and a range of legal and administrative tools designed to consolidate Israeli control. The paper analyzes the ways in which the Israeli regime has been quickly and definitively imposing new legislation and facts on the ground to entrench its colonial domination.

Section 1 contains three parts: first, how the Decisive Plan has been institutionalized as the Israeli coalition’s operational blueprint for enforcing “sovereignty;” second, the ideological foundations and narratives used to justify and legitimize the Plan; and third, the two-stage practical program via (a) large-scale colonization to create facts on the ground, and (b) the coercive options proposed for Palestinians thereafter.

Section 2 examines the material realization of the Decisive Plan across the West Bank and Gaza, particularly as its implementation has accelerated under the ongoing genocide in Gaza and the “Operation Iron Wall” campaign in the West Bank. These developments demonstrate that the Plan’s framework is not a prospective agenda but an operative strategy through which the Israeli regime seeks to advance its overarching objective: maximum land with minimum Palestinians. Its enforcement relies on the regime’s three structural pillars – forced displacement, colonization, and apartheid – which together sustain a system of comprehensive domination over the Palestinian people and

their territory. The Decisive Plan has four interrelated dimensions of implementation: first, the expansion of Israeli colonial domination through accelerated construction and land confiscation; second, the deliberate fragmentation and isolation of Palestinian communities; third, the intensified suppression of Palestinian resistance, particularly in refugee camps; and fourth, the imposition of a new status quo aimed at erasing both Palestinian and international presence.

Taken together, these developments illustrate that the Decisive Plan is not a dormant political vision but the active blueprint shaping Israeli policies across Palestine today. The following analysis situates its implementation within the broader trajectory of the Zionist-Israeli colonial project, highlighting both its devastating implications for the Palestinian people and the urgent responsibilities of the international community to confront it.

SECTION 1

FROM IDEOLOGY TO STATE POLICY: INSTITUTIONALIZING THE DECISIVE PLAN

In 2017, Smotrich, then Knesset member of the Jewish Home party, outlined a plan purportedly “for ending the conflict and bringing about real peace,” entitled “One Hope,” but commonly referred to as Smotrich’s Decisive Plan. It centers on expanding Israeli “sovereignty” over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, effectively calling for additional forced displacement of the Palestinian people and the **imposition of Israeli colonial-apartheid domination over the entirety of Mandatory Palestine**.¹ Setting out an explicitly expansionist project, the Plan reframes the conflict as a zero-sum struggle in which Palestinian national aspirations must be extinguished or subordinated if a Jewish state is to be preserved.

In practice, the Plan links ideological claims – biblical and settler-colonial narratives, the denial of Palestinian national identity, and the delegitimization of Palestinian resistance – to concrete policies for colonial expansion, land dispossession, political disenfranchisement and removal of Palestinian populations.

This section will outline the Decisive Plan itself: how it has become a cornerstone of the current coalition’s aspirations (Section 1.1), its ideological underpinnings (Section 1.2), and the two stages foreseen for its implementation (Section 1.3). Ideologically, the Plan reframes

1 Mandatory Palestine refers to what is today called “Israel” as well as the occupied Palestinian territory, which consists of the West Bank (including occupied and annexed East Jerusalem), and the Gaza Strip. See BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL), *Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons 2019–2021*, Volume X (Bethlehem: BADIL Resource Center, 2022), xii, https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2022/10/31/survey2021-eng-1667209836.pdf.

the conflict as a zero-sum struggle in which Palestinian national aspirations must be extinguished, invalidating the two-state solution and delegitimizing Palestinian rights to resist, self-determination, and return. Based on this framework, it foresees two stages: first, the large-scale expansion of colonies throughout the West Bank (1.3.1); and then the imposition of three “options” on Palestinians once full Israeli “sovereignty” is declared – allegiance (in effect, subjugation) to the Israeli regime, forced displacement in the form of deportation, or annihilation (1.3.2).

1.1 Institutionalization of the Decisive Plan as the Israeli Regime’s Blueprint for Enforcing “Sovereignty”

Considering Smotrich’s ideology is rooted in Zionism, it is not surprising that the current Israeli regime led by Benjamin Netanyahu formed a coalition that essentially adopted the Decisive Plan in December 2022 as the blueprint for achieving full Israeli “sovereignty” over the West Bank.²

The current Israeli coalition pledged that “the Jewish people have an exclusive and indisputable right to all areas of the Land of Israel” and that it “will promote and develop settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel – in the Galilee, the Negev [Naqab], the Golan and Judea and Samaria [West Bank].”³ This mirrors the Decisive Plan, which likewise insists that there is “no room in the Land of Israel for two conflicting national

2 Ofek Center for Public Affairs, *What Israel’s 37th Government’s Guiding Principles and Coalition Agreements Mean for the West Bank*, January 2023, <https://www.ofekcenter.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/what-Israels-37th-governments-guiding-principles-and-coalition-agreements-mean-for-the-West-Bank-Jan-2023.pdf>.

3 Carrie Keller-Lynn and Michael Bachner, “Judicial Reform, Boosting Jewish Identity: The New Coalition’s Policy Guidelines,” *The Times of Israel*, December 28, 2022, 3:13 pm, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/judicial-reform-boosting-jewish-identity-the-new-coalitions-policy-guidelines/>. For original Hebrew version: see *37th Israeli Government Guiding Principles* (Hebrew), Adalah, 2023, https://www.adalah.org/uploads/uploads/Guiding_principles_government.pdf.

movements”⁴ and calls for extending Israeli “sovereignty” over the West Bank as a non-negotiable outcome. Further, the coalition’s guiding principles state that it “will promote and develop settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel,”⁵ a commitment that finds direct expression in the Decisive Plan, which outlines the gradual and continuous expansion of “Jewish settlements”⁶ as a central strategy. Similarly, neither the coalition’s principles nor the Decisive Plan recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and return.

The Decisive Plan explicitly denies the legitimacy of a Palestinian national movement, frames any Palestinian presence as contingent upon accepting Israeli “sovereignty,” and calls for expulsion or death of those who do not comply. The coalition’s guidelines state that it “will work to strengthen the status of Jerusalem” without details as to what this entails.⁷ Smotrich’s subsequent public rhetoric and policy initiatives make the implications concrete: from pushing confiscation maps and colony plans designed to sever Jerusalem from the West Bank, to advancing colony construction that would physically consolidate Israeli control around the city.⁸

Consequently, the **Decisive Plan is not merely a personal initiative**

4 Bezael Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

5 Carrie Keller-Lynn and Michael Bachner, “Judicial Reform, Boosting Jewish Identity: The New Coalition’s Policy Guidelines,” *The Times of Israel*, December 28, 2022, 3:13 pm, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/judicial-reform-boosting-jewish-identity-the-new-coalitions-policy-guidelines/>.

6 Bezael Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

7 Carrie Keller-Lynn and Michael Bachner, “Judicial Reform, Boosting Jewish Identity: The New Coalition’s Policy Guidelines,” *The Times of Israel*, December 28, 2022, 3:13 pm, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/judicial-reform-boosting-jewish-identity-the-new-coalitions-policy-guidelines/>.

8 “Israel Approves Major Settlement Project Dividing Occupied West Bank, Isolating East Jerusalem,” *Middle East Monitor*, August 20, 2025, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20250820-israel-approves-major-settlement-project-dividing-occupied-west-bank-isolating-east-jerusalem/>.

of Smotrich or his party, but, rather, the operationalization of the coalition agreement itself, which forms the basis for Netanyahu's coalition government. Smotrich's role and "his" plan therefore constitute the concrete implementation of what was agreed upon at the highest political level when the current Israeli regime was constituted.⁹

1.2 Ideological Background

Smotrich's ideology is not a personal eccentricity but the political foundation of his party, built on two interlocking pillars: the demonization of Palestinians and the systematic denial of their rights and national struggle. As head of the Religious Zionist Party, he advances a form of religious Zionism that transforms biblical claims into a political program of domination over all of Mandatory Palestine and beyond. Far from being a marginal or fringe view, this ideology represents the continuity of Zionist doctrine since its earliest formulations. What distinguishes the present moment is that the Decisive Plan makes this legacy explicit, embedding its logic into the coalition agreement of the current government and turning long-standing colonial practices into openly declared and institutionalized strategy.

Before outlining the Decisive Plan's practical components, Smotrich attempts to present what he calls its "realistic and moral foundations."¹⁰ These are not innovations but direct continuations of mainstream Zionist doctrine, echoing the writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founder of Revisionist Zionism. Both reflect the Zionist premise that: Palestinian

9 Yesh Din, "Policy Paper: What Israel's 37th Government's Guiding Principles and Coalition Agreements Mean for the West Bank", January 2023, <https://www.yesh-din.org/en/policy-paper-what-israels-37th-governments-guiding-principles-and-coalition-agreements-mean-for-the-west-bank-january-2023/>.

10 Bezael Smotrich, "Israel's Decisive Plan," *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

resistance – routinely dismissed by Smotrich as “terrorism” – is not a response to dispossession or repression but to *hope*: the hope that “Israeli society” can be pressured into concessions that would yield a Palestinian state.¹¹

For both Smotrich and Jabotinsky, the solution is political and psychological, requiring the eradication of hope entirely. Smotrich stated that: “As long as the Arabs feel that there is the least hope of getting rid of us, they will refuse to give up this hope...because they are not a rabble, but a living people.”¹² Both present Zionism not just as a political strategy, but as inherently “just and moral,”¹³ and therefore reject any obligation to take into consideration Palestinian rights. Smotrich states “we are not the U.N.”¹⁴ Jabotinsky made the same moral claim more bluntly: “We hold that Zionism is moral and just. And since it is moral and just, justice must be done.” This assertion came in the same breath as his call to build an “iron wall” of military force to crush Palestinian resistance and secure Zionist colonization.¹⁵ It is worth noting that Netanyahu has frequently acknowledged Jabotinsky as a significant ideological influence, often citing him as a central figure in shaping his political views.¹⁶

Smotrich frames the Decisive Plan as addressing the “root of the conflict,” in contrast to recent solutions that “perpetuate the conflict,

11 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, para. 4, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

12 Ze’ev Jabotinsky, “The Iron Wall”, *Razsvet* (Russian), no. 2, originally published November 4, 1923, translation, <https://en.jabotinsky.org/media/9747/the-iron-wall.pdf>. This Essay formulated the Zionist ideology that colonization of Palestine must either be halted or proceed without regard to the native population, under the protection of a so-called “iron wall” that the indigenous population cannot breach.

13 Ibid, 6-7. (Jabotinsky)

14 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, “Executive Summary,” para. 2, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

15 Ze’ev Jabotinsky, The Iron Wall, 6-7.

16 Benjamin Netanyahu, “Benjamin Netanyahu’s Speech at the Jabotinsky Institute,” *Government of Israel*, August 7, 2016, <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/speechjabotinsky070816>.

dooming us all to continue its miserable management.” He argues that Palestinian nationalism is not a legitimate national project but a reactive “counter-movement to the Zionist movement.” Palestinians – specifically in the West Bank (which he calls “Judea and Samaria”) – seek to establish establishing a state on the 1967 borders as a “station towards the real goal: the return to Haifa, Jaffa, Ramle, and Tiberias, and the establishment of an Arab state on the ruins of the State of Israel.”¹⁷

Central to this reasoning is the claim that Jewish and Palestinian national aspirations are irreconcilable and that the land between the river and the sea is indivisible. Since any Palestinian state is the first stage in a strategy to destroy “Israel,” the only solution is to extinguish “Arab national hope” within this land.¹⁸ Smotrich uses the example of Palestinians in “Israel,” who were allegedly less prone to violence and did not engage in “terrorism” between 1948 and the 1990s because: “Their hope to be rid of the Zionist project was nipped in the bud.”¹⁹ He views the return of exiled members of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in the 1990s as the cause of “nationalist radicalization” and rising support for armed resistance among Palestinians in 1948 Palestine. Asserting that renewed hope fuels resistance, he argues the solution is to extinguish that hope once again, while only offering limited improvements to individual living conditions.²⁰

On this basis, Smotrich and his party reject the two-state solution, stating that “two collectives with conflicting national aspirations” cannot coexist.²¹ Peace, he claims, will only come when one side concedes; the Jews must not give up the “only Jewish state in the world,” so the collective required to forgo its aspirations is the Arab one. The

17 Bezael Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

18 Ibid., para. 5.

19 Ibid., para. 6.

20 Ibid., para. 6.

21 Ibid.

rejection of Palestinian statehood is framed through Orientalist tropes characteristic of settler-colonial discourse. He begins by reiterating that Zionists made the “wilderness bloom,” insisting that the land had been barren and neglected and would have remained so under the Palestinian people.²² This narrative mirrors other settler-colonial contexts, such as the French colonization of Algeria, where colonized peoples were depicted as uncivilized and incapable of self-rule to legitimize foreign settlement and control.²³

Smotrich fuses this civilizing myth with outright demonization of Palestinians and their resistance, portraying any future Palestinian state as a “terrorist” entity devoid of democracy or freedoms.²⁴ However, he openly concedes that ensuring Israeli “sovereignty” over the whole of Mandatory Palestine requires stripping Palestinians of democratic rights, a necessary price to secure a “Jewish State.”²⁵ Smotrich argues that unconventional and unprecedented solutions that may be deemed indefensible in other contexts, can be justified in this context because “Israel” faces unprecedented threats, explicitly stating: “the purpose is worthy enough to justify a proportional deviation from accepted [democratic] principles.”²⁶

This distortion of morality runs throughout the Decisive Plan. Using the example of Gaza, Smotrich argues that the 2005 Gaza disengagement was taken as a moral decision to “refrain from ‘ruling another people’.”²⁷ At the same time, he attributes Gaza’s worsening situation to Palestinian

22 Ibid., sec. “Executive Summary,” para. 2.

23 Amaya Escandon, “Cinquante Cinq Millions de Français?: French Propaganda During the Algerian Revolution,” *Swarthmore Undergraduate History Journal* 3, no. 1 (2022): 38–56, <https://shorturl.at/yqyEN>.

24 Bezael Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

25 Ibid., “Stage Two: Military Victory”, sub. Sec. (1) Peace and Local Identity

26 Ibid., para. 3.

27 Ibid. para. 7.

governance and Hamas' rule rather than to the ongoing Israeli blockade, military assaults, and systematic denial of rights. **By erasing the Israeli regime's responsibility, he recasts collective punishment as evidence of Palestinian incapacity for self-rule. The same distortion is applied to the West Bank, where worsening conditions are blamed on Palestinian nationalism,²⁸ rather than the real causes: relentless colonization, suppression and fragmentation imposed by the Israeli regime.**

1.3 Practical Implementation

With this ideological basis, the Decisive Plan is divided into two stages for practical implementation: (1) "Victory through Settlement," and (2) "The Two Options and Military Victory."²⁹

1.3.1 Stage One: Imposing "Sovereignty" through Colonization

The Plan describes the first stage as the most important, as it will ensure that the "ambition for a Jewish State from the river to the sea is an accomplished fact." This stage involves the creation of facts on the ground: completely colonizing – using the language of "imposing sovereignty" – all of the West Bank and constructing "cities and towns" for the implantation of Israeli colonizers.³⁰ It asserts that laying down colonial infrastructure across the West Bank will have a great impact on

28 Ibid. sec. "Stage One: Victory Through Settlement."

29 Bezalel Smotrich, "Israel's Decisive Plan," *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

30 Ibid., sec. "Stage One: Victory Through Settlement."

Palestinian consciousness, crushing their hopes for building “another Arab state.”³¹ It’s expected that at the beginning of this stage, Palestinian “terror” will increase; however, after a while, that frustration will turn into despair and then “reconciliation and a renewed understanding that their cause stands no chance.”³²

While the Decisive Plan explicitly focuses on imposing Israeli “sovereignty” over the West Bank, the repeated use of the term “Land of Israel” points to a broader, biblical conception of geography. The “Land of Israel” is not limited to Mandatory Palestine but tied to the vision of a “Greater Israel,” which many Zionists interpret to extend to Jordan, Lebanon and parts of Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. The Decisive Plan does not explicitly define Smotrich’s interpretation of the “Land of Israel,” though it repeatedly hints at broader territorial aspirations. For instance, the Plan claims that parts of the “Land of Israel” were lost to Jordan through “Arab violence,” and further asserts that after the Arab conquest of the seventh century, the invaders adopted the Roman name “Palestine,” while the northern areas continued to be called “Syria.”³³ In March 2023, Smotrich made his vision of a “Greater Israel” clear while speaking at a podium in France exhibiting a map including Mandatory Palestine, the entirety of Jordan, and parts of Syria.³⁴ Smotrich’s ideas align with the aims of the Zionist colonial project, which is inherently expansionist. From the beginning, prominent Zionist leaders placed the pursuit of consolidating a “Greater Israel” as a central objective. Zionist leaders, including David Ben Gurion (the first to declare the establishment of the Israeli regime as a “state” and the first Israeli Prime

31 Bezael Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

32 Ibid.

33 Bezael Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>, sec. “Executive Summary,” para. 2

34 Benjamin Barthe, “Bezael Smotrich, Israel’s Ultra-Nationalist Minister, Delivers Anti-Palestinian Diatribe in Paris,” *Le Monde*, March 20, 2023, updated March 21, 2023, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2023/03/20/bezael-smotrich-israeli-ultra-nationalist-minister-delivers-anti-palestinian-diatribe-in-paris_6020081_4.html.

Minister) and Jabotinsky, made this clear many times and popularized it among Zionist militias and the Israeli public.³⁵ Jabotinsky's ideology heavily influenced the formation of the Irgun in 1931, a terrorist Zionist militia.³⁶ Alongside other militias, the Irgun would later form the "Israeli Defense Forces" that carried out attacks against Palestinians in pursuit of attaining a "Greater Israel," including direct perpetration of the Deir Yassin massacre in 1948.³⁷

After the 1967 war, in which the Israeli regime occupied the West Bank and Gaza, the Golan Heights of Syria, and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, the expansion of Israeli colonies in the West Bank and Gaza became a prominent strategy to realize the vision of "Greater Israel." This colonial expansion was particularly supported and facilitated by Gush Emunim, a colonizer movement formed in 1974.³⁸ Today's colonizer organizations, including Regavim – founded in 2006 by Smotrich – share key goals with the Gush Emunim movement. These include claiming Palestinian land as "national lands," pushing legal and administrative practices to delegitimize Palestinian construction and advancing Israeli control over Palestinian land.³⁹ As surveys cited in the Israeli press reveal, the Decisive Plan not only informs government policy but also resonates deeply among large segments of the Jewish Israeli public, who see the subjugation or expulsion of Palestinians as a legitimate path to securing permanent Jewish Israeli "sovereignty."⁴⁰

35 Faye A. Sayegh, *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine* (Beirut: Research Center, Palestine Liberation Organization, 1965), 35;

36 Lenni Brenner, "Zionist-Revisionism: The Years of Fascism and Terror," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 13, no. 1 (1983): 35–45, <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/38833>.

37 Sana Hammoudi, "Deir Yasin Massacre, 9 April 1948," *PalQuest: Palestinian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.palquest.org/en/highlight/21194/deir-yasin-massacre-9-april-1948>.

38 David Newman, "From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society," *Israel Studies* 10, no. 3 (2005): 192–224, <https://doi.org/10.1353/is.2005.0132>.

39 Fatih Semsettin Isik, "Beyond Ben-Gvir: A Look into Israeli Far-Right Groups Fuelling Occupation," *TRT World*, August 12, 2024, <https://www.trtworld.com/article/18195030>.

40 Orly Noy, "The Israeli Public Has Embraced the Smotrich Doctrine," *+972 Magazine*, November 10, 2023, <https://www.972mag.com/smotrich-decisive-plan-israeli-public/>.

This vision is not confined to early Zionist ideologues or fringe actors: it continues to shape policy at the highest levels of the Israeli regime, including in its coalition founding statement, and is now being translated into policy on the ground, with Smotrich in a central position of power.⁴¹ This expansionist ambition has also been directly voiced by its current leadership with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declaring in a public interview in August 2025 that he feels “emotionally connected” to the vision of “Greater Israel,” underlining that expansionist ambitions are not merely historical artifacts or extreme ideas, but part of the current official discourse.⁴² Netanyahu’s declaration followed a Knesset vote on 23 July 2025 directly implementing the coalition agreement signed on 28 December 2022, between Likud (Netanyahu) and Religious Zionism (Smotrich). Clause 119 states: “The Jewish people have a natural right to the Land of Israel. Accordingly, the Prime Minister will implement policies to apply sovereignty in Judea and Samaria [West Bank], with timing aligned with Israel’s national and international interests.”⁴³ Although the coalition agreement was negotiated between Likud and Religious Zionism, its subsequent approval by an overwhelming Knesset majority (71 for, 13 against) shows that it has been fully endorsed at the parliamentary level, underscoring that these policies represent the collective will of the Israeli regime, not merely the agenda of Netanyahu and Smotrich.⁴⁴

Therefore, the first stage of the Decisive Plan is designed to consolidate colonial facts on the ground and entrench the Zionist vision of a “Greater Israel,” through the imposition of Israeli “sovereignty.” The second

41 Carrie Keller-Lynn and Michael Bachner, “Judicial Reform, Boosting Jewish Identity: The New Coalition’s Policy Guidelines,” *The Times of Israel*, December 28, 2022, 3:13 pm, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/judicial-reform-boosting-jewish-identity-the-new-coalitions-policy-guidelines/>.

42 Roya News English, “Netanyahu’s Remarks on His Belief in ‘Greater Israel,’” X, August 14, 2025, <https://x.com/RoyaNewsEnglish/status/1956030558636577057>.

43 Ameer Makhoul, “Knesset Vote: Sovereignty Over the West Bank Is a Fundamental Issue, Not a Symbolic One,” *Arab Progress*, July 24, 2025, <https://www.arabprogress.org/en/knesset-vote-sovereignty-over-the-west-bank-is-a-fundamental-issue-not-a-symbolic-one/>.

44 Ibid.

stage formalizes the imposition of three “options” for Palestinians: subjugation, deportation, or annihilation, once full colonization has been achieved.

1.3.2 Stage Two: Subjugation, Deportation, or Annihilation

In the second stage, the Decisive Plan provides three “options” for the future of Palestinians in the West Bank after colonization: remain as residents deprived of their fundamental rights under Israeli colonial control (subjugation), deportation, or annihilation.

a) Remain without Rights under Israeli Domination: Subjugation

The Decisive Plan outlines the following governance structure for Palestinians in the West Bank:⁴⁵

The self-government of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria [West Bank] will be divided into six municipal governmental regions wherein representatives will be elected in democratic elections: Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Jericho, Nablus, and Jenin. Each of these governmental entities reflect the cultural and accepted structure of their Arab societies, and will thus ensure internal peace and economic prosperity. The failure of the idea of the “nation state” in the Arab world, an idea brought from Europe with the colonial powers, can be seen clearly today; and in the opinion of many, this failure is inevitable given the tribal structure of Arab

⁴⁵ This approach is reminiscent of the Village Leagues, established under the Israeli regime in the 1980s to manage local governance through co-opted Palestinian leaders, reflecting a strategy to control populations, while limiting self-determination. See Motasem Abuzaid, “Recasting Village Leagues: Piecemeal Learning and Clan Control in Palestine,” *POMEPS*, April 30, 2025, <https://pomeps.org/recasting-village-leagues-piecemeal-learning-and-clan-control-in-palestine>.

society. The Arab states that flourish are the gulf kingdoms built to match the traditional tribal structure.⁴⁶

While it is true that Western colonial states-imposed borders and manipulated governance structures across the region, these musings are reductive. Long before European colonialism, different forms of political organization, from city states and caliphates to federations of tribes, existed in the region, including Palestine. However, even if that wasn't the case, **it is solely the Palestinian people, a national collective with the right to self-determination, who have the right to determine what political system to live under.** This includes the right for Palestinian tribes and Bedouin groups to practice their semi-nomadic lifestyles as they see fit.

Attempting to reduce the question of Palestinian liberation solely to the question of a Palestinian state is itself flawed. Decolonization and the Palestinian struggle for self-determination neither begin nor end with statehood but with dismantling Zionist colonial structures and affirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.⁴⁷ The Decisive Plan's logic attempts to erase the Palestinian people's rights and provide a justification for Zionist colonization. The references to European colonization underscore the contradiction of the Israeli colonial-apartheid regime itself, which was both established and sustained within the same colonial world order mentioned in the Decisive Plan.

At this stage, the Plan makes clear that Palestinians will not have the right to vote in the Knesset, so as to maintain a Jewish majority in decision-making, suggesting a possible proposal with Jordan to allow

46 Bezalel Smotrich, *Israel's Decisive Plan*, Hashiloach, 2017, sec. "Stage Two: The Two Options and Military Victory," subsec. (1) "Peace and Local Identity," <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>

47 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL), "Rights-Based Reconstruction: Decolonization and Reparations," July 7, 2025, 26 https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/07/07/pp-reconstruction-vs-reparations-eng-1751895094.pdf.

Palestinians to vote in the Jordanian Parliament.⁴⁸ There is no clarity with regards to why Palestinians, who are neither residents or citizens of Jordan, should vote in Jordanian politics or why it would benefit them. Further, the notion of “absorption” or “integration” into Jordan – or any other state – does not fulfill but rather negates the Palestinian people’s right to self-determination, which under international law must be exercised freely and in relation to its own territory.⁴⁹ **By proposing the transfer of political rights to Jordan, the Decisive Plan effectively seeks to extinguish Palestinian self-determination and legitimize the violation of a jus cogens norm: the interdiction of territory acquisition by force.**

With time, the Plan provides that those Palestinians whose “sincerity” is proven will be able to participate in “civilian decisions,” but not in “national decisions.”⁵⁰ It further suggests that, for a limited number of Palestinians “who wish to do so,” full citizenship could be considered if they demonstrate *complete loyalty to the Jewish state*, for instance through military service “like Israel’s Druze citizens.”⁵¹

Furthermore, the Plan claims that this limit to the democratic rights of Palestinians, i.e. to vote, does not make the Israeli regime an apartheid one: “Lacking the full right to vote for national parliament does not mean apartheid rule; at most, it is a *missing component in the basket of freedoms, or if we wish, a deficit in the democracy* [emphasis added].”⁵²

48 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, “Stage Two: The Two Options and Military Victory,” subsection (1) “Peace and Local Identity,” <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

49 UN General Assembly, *Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations*, GA Res. 2625 (XXV), U.N. Doc. A/RES/2625 (Oct. 24, 1970).

50 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, “Stage Two: The Two Options and Military Victory,” subsection (1) “Peace and Local Identity,” <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

By re-iterating that the Israeli regime is facing an unprecedented dilemma, sacrificing some democratic principles is presented as a justifiable price for preserving the Jewish character of the regime. To strengthen the case, comparisons are drawn with “western democracies,” such the United States’ invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, claiming that democratic norms were abandoned under even less threatening circumstances.⁵³ Ultimately, the Plan concludes that between protecting the Israeli regime’s existence, its Jewish identity, or its democracy, the latter must be the sphere where compromise is made.⁵⁴

The repeated demonization of both Palestinians and Arabs is utilized to defend this point by arguing that there is no guarantee a Palestinian state would resemble a “normal” government in the region, pointing to the PA’s lack of elections for over a decade.⁵⁵ This reasoning is profoundly contradictory: calling for the explicit removal of Palestinians’ democratic rights, while simultaneously painting them as inherently incapable of a democratic system of self-governance. Further, the Plan claims that Palestinians will have greater rights under Israeli rule than they ever could under any Arab government; a sweeping colonial dismissal of Arabs as despotic and backward.

Smotrich also stresses that the Decisive Plan is not far from Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu’s current state of affairs. He provides that Netanyahu has described the entity he envisions for Palestinians as a “state-minus,” stripped of sovereignty over borders, airspace, and security.⁵⁶ Following the same logic, he suggests that so long as Palestinians are denied sovereignty, their voting rights will never be complete anyway. This, he concludes, is the “necessary price” to safeguard the Israeli regime’s security and existence.⁵⁷

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

While focusing primarily on the prospective drawbacks to limiting the right to vote for Palestinians, the Plan suggests the commission of wider crimes and violations. **From the imposition of a governing structure, to the confiscation of Palestinian land and the construction of colonies, from violations of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination to the continuation and escalation of the crimes of colonization, apartheid, and forced displacement—the Plan openly proposes and encourages international crimes.**

b) Forced Displacement: Deportation

The other “option” for Palestinians in the West Bank after its colonization is forced displacement in the form of deportation. The Plan suggests that Palestinians who do not relinquish their national aspirations should be encouraged to “emigrate” to other states. This external forced displacement would also serve to benefit the demographic reality pursued by Zionists, i.e., maintaining a Jewish majority in Mandatory Palestine.⁵⁸

Smotrich claims that the Plan is not the “cruel expulsion or the flooding of countries with penniless refugees,” but rather a “modern” approach to coordinated “relocation” aimed at providing Palestinians with improved prospects in other countries.⁵⁹ The Israeli regime would provide financial grants to Palestinians to buy their forced departure. In his own terms, Smotrich effectively acknowledges the ethnic cleansing and forced displacement inherent to the Israeli regime:

Zionism was built based on population exchange e.g. the mass Aliyah [Hebrew, meaning return] of Jews from Arab countries

58 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, “Stage Two: The Two Options and Military Victory,” subsection. (2) “Emigration,” <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

59 Ibid.

and Europe to the Land of Israel, willingly or not, and the exit of masses of Arabs who lived here, willingly or not, to the surrounding Arab areas. This historic pattern seems to require culmination, ensuring a future of peace above all else.⁶⁰

Indeed, forced displacement has long been a central pillar of the Israeli regime, aimed at securing the maximum amount of land with the minimum number of Palestinians. Forced displacement was imperative in creating the Israeli regime in 1948, perpetuating the ongoing Nakba for over 77 years, and is now being used as an act of genocide in the Gaza Strip.⁶¹ Proposing “emigration,” regardless of how it is reframed or sanitized, is a continuation of this logic: a plan of forced displacement and removal. Palestinians who resist colonization and continue to pursue liberation – or, those who refuse to abandon their “national ambitions” – will not willingly migrate to other countries. Furthermore, **placing Palestinians under colonization and creating a coercive environment that forces them to choose between subjugation or “emigration” is not a voluntary choice.**⁶² That is the textbook definition of forced displacement, which is a war crime and crime against humanity under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.⁶³

c) Willful Killing and Suppression of Resistance: Annihilation

The third “option” aims to deal with Palestinians that continue to pursue armed resistance against the Israeli regime. The Plan states that

60 Ibid.

61 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Forced Displacement and Transfer as an Act of Genocide in the Gaza Strip*, Working Paper No. 31 (Bethlehem: BADIL, February 2024), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2024/06/10/forced-displacement-as-an-act-of-genocide-in-the-gaza-strip-v6-1718021197.pdf.

62 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Forced Population Transfer: The Case of Palestine*, Working Paper No. 15 (Bethlehem: BADIL, March 2014), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/04/19/wp15-introduction-1618823118.pdf.

63 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, July 17, 1998, art. 8(2)(a)(vii) and art. 7(1)(d).

the Israeli forces will kill those “who need to be killed” and will seize all weapons,⁶⁴ claiming that those who reject violence but maintain their national aspirations will not be targeted under the Plan. While the Plan claims that “full allegiance” to the Israeli regime is not required – only compliance with its laws – it nonetheless establishes a graded system of rights, in which civil and political rights, including residency and even conditional citizenship, expand in proportion to individual demonstrations of loyalty.⁶⁵

Beyond the absolute colonial approach, the Decisive Plan’s text is a **direct incitement to the commission of crimes** against the Palestinian people for practicing their right to armed resistance in pursuit of their right to self-determination, which is enshrined in and protected by international law.⁶⁶ This is not only a violation of their right to self-determination, but is a direct call for the willful killing of Palestinians, a war crime,⁶⁷ and extermination, a crime against humanity.⁶⁸

64 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, “Stage Two: The Two Options and Military Victory,” subsection (3) “Military Victory,” <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

65 Ibid.

66 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “The Palestinian People Have a Right to Armed Struggle by Virtue of their Inalienable Right to Self-Determination,” December 15, 2023, 5 https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2023/12/15/resistance-paper-1702636476.pdf.

67 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, July 17, 1998, arts. 7(1)(d), 8(2)(a)(vii), <https://www.icc-cpi.int/resource-library/documents/rs-eng.pdf>.

68 Ibid., art. 3(b).

SECTION 2

THE DECISIVE PLAN IN ACTION: COLONIAL DOMINATION IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

In late 2022, Smotrich was appointed Israeli Finance Minister, and by 2023 was also handed a ministerial position in the war (“defense”) ministry, granting him extensive authority over the West Bank. While its primary focus is the West Bank, the Plan’s mechanisms are also being deployed in Gaza, where forced displacement, coercion, and attacks on civilian life have intensified culminating in a genocide. The following section will explore the ways in which the Israeli regime has implemented elements of the Decisive Plan in the West Bank since Smotrich’s appointment as minister, and how these measures have intensified further during the ongoing genocide in Gaza since October 2023.

The Israeli regime’s application of the Decisive Plan unfolds across four interrelated dimensions: (1) colonial expansion; (2) policies of fragmentation and isolation; (3) the suppression campaign against refugee camps and Palestinian resistance at large; and (4) the establishment of a new status quo through eliminating international presence and shifting the role of the Palestinian Authority (PA).

2.1 Expansion of Israeli Colonial Domination: Construction of Colonies and Land Confiscation

Colony expansion and land confiscation are systematic policies and practices that have long been used to assert and bolster Israeli colonial domination across Mandatory Palestine under all administrations of

the Israeli regime since its inception, from the far-right to the so-called left. However, crimes and violations have heavily escalated under the oversight of Smotrich, particularly pursuant to his appointment as the “Head of Civil Affairs in the West Bank” under the war (“defense”) ministry. Granted extensive authority over the Israeli Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT) and the Civil Administration in Area C, Smotrich gained control over both Palestinian construction and Israeli colony expansion, including land registration in Area C. This measure effectively handed Smotrich the authority to continue confiscation and expand colonization of Palestinian land as Israeli “state-land” or nature reserves.⁶⁹ By shifting these powers to a civilian minister, the Israeli regime deliberately blurs the line between occupation law and domestic law, thereby entrenching confiscation policies and advancing the imposition of Israeli “sovereignty” over Area C.⁷⁰ Furthermore, whether it is directed by military or civilian officials, it is important to recall that the very existence of COGAT is in itself unlawful,⁷¹ as it functions as the administrative arm of Israeli colonization.

The first stage of the Decisive Plan is the establishment of facts on the ground by expanding Israeli colonies across the West Bank. Over the past three years, Israeli colony construction in the West Bank increased significantly. In 2023, the Israeli regime advanced nearly 30,700 units in colonies in the West Bank, including eastern Jerusalem. It is reported that the number of colonial units built in the West Bank (excluding Jerusalem) amounted to almost 12,350, the highest since the signing

69 Claire Parker, “Sweeping Israeli Actions Transform West Bank in Shadow of Gaza War,” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2025, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2025/09/28/west-bank-israel-settlements/>.

70 Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, “New Report on the Israeli Settlement Enterprise,” newsletter, July 2025, <https://mailchi.mp/adalah/news-settlements-report-3-july-2025>.

71 Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its Annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, The Hague, 18 October 1907,” art. 43, in IHL — Treaties & Commentaries, ICRC, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/assets/treaties/195-IHL-19-EN.pdf>

of the Oslo Accords.⁷² At least 29 new colonial outposts (colonies established by colonizers with the support of the Israeli forces, but officially unrecognized by the Israeli regime) were established in the West Bank in 2023.⁷³ In 2024, nearly 28,900 colonial units were advanced,⁷⁴ and 59 colonial outposts were established in the West Bank, of which five were formally recognized by the Israeli regime as full-fledged colonies.⁷⁵ For the first time since the Oslo Accords, colonial outposts were erected in Area B of the West Bank, “representing approximately 13% of the total outposts established in the West Bank in 2024.”⁷⁶

While the number of colonies and colonial outposts established in 2025 is not yet conclusive, it is reported that in the first quarter of 2025, 15,190 colonial units have already been advanced by the Israeli regime across the West Bank, including eastern Jerusalem.⁷⁷ In early July, 25 colony master plans were submitted for approval: of which 15 were approved, to construct over 1,400 new colonial units; and, recognized outposts such as Givat Hanan near Hebron, and the large-scale expansion of Nili and Rimoni near Ramallah.⁷⁸ In August, the Eli colony, north of Ramallah, also saw aggressive expansion, with over 1,000 new units

72 European External Action Service (EEAS), 2023 Report on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem: Reporting Period January–December 2023 (Brussels: EEAS, 2024), 1, <https://shorturl.at/jLFcT>.

73 Jake Tacchi et al., “Extremist Settlers Rapidly Seizing West Bank Land,” *BBC*, September 3, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c207j6wy332o>.

74 EEAS, 2024 *Report on Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem Reporting period -January - December 2024* (Brussels: EEAS, 2025), 1, <https://shorturl.at/4LDt5>.

75 Palestine Liberation Organization National Bureau for Defending Land Nablus, “Unprecedented Settlement Expansion in W.B. over Past Year and This Year,” March 31, 2025, <https://nbprs.ps/2025/03/31/unprecedented-settlement-expansion-in-w-b-over-past-year-and-this-year/>.

76 EEAS, 2024 *Report on Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem*, 8

77 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #283 | West Bank,” OCHA oPt, April 24, 2025, <https://shorturl.at/VTBjL>.

78 Colonization & Wall Resistance Commission (CWRC), “Israeli Occupation Authorities Advance 25 New Master Plans to Expand West Bank Colonies,” July 22, 2025, <https://cwrc.ps/page-3398-en.html>.

approved in surrounding outposts, as part of a broader strategy to sever the central West Bank from its northern part.⁷⁹

The establishment and expansion of colonies require a systematic policy of land confiscation to make room for colony construction, associated infrastructure and the transfer of colonizers. In 2024, more than 46,000 dunums of Palestinian land were confiscated by the Israeli regime, including more than 24,597 dunums declared as “state land” and 20,000 dunums declared as “nature reserves.”⁸⁰ These designations are part of a broader policy of land confiscation and denial of use,⁸¹ carried out through discriminatory zoning and planning regimes⁸² that classify vast areas as “state land,” “nature reserves,” or “closed military zones,” thereby preventing Palestinian communities from building, cultivating, or accessing their lands.

The Israeli regime has also been weaponizing its permit regime against Palestinians, denying the development of their villages and cities, and demolishing their homes.⁸³ It is well known that the Israeli regime rejects most Palestinian building permit applications in Area C, compelling Palestinian families to construct homes and infrastructure without permits simply to meet their basic needs, leaving their homes and structures at risk of demolition. However, a Norwegian Refugee

79 CWRC, “The Occupation Authorities Transform Two Colonial Outposts into New Colonial Neighborhoods,” August 12, 2025, <https://cwrp.ps/page-3489-en.html>.

80 Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). *H.E. Dr. Awad Highlights the Forty-Ninth Annual Commemoration of Land Day in Statistical Figures*. Ramallah: PCBS, March 27, 2025. https://www.pcbs.gov.ps/portals/pcbs/PressRelease/Press_En_LandDay2025E.pdf.

81 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Land Confiscation and Denial of Use*, Working Paper No. 21 (Bethlehem: BADIL, 2017). https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/04/19/wp21-lc-1618823891.pdf.

82 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Discriminatory Zoning and Planning*, Working Paper No. 17 (Bethlehem: BADIL, 2014), <https://badil.org/phocadownloadpap/badil-new/publications/research/working-papers/wp17-zoninig-plannig-en.pdf>.

83 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Installment of a Permit Regime*, Working Paper No. 18 (Bethlehem: BADIL, 2015), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/04/19/wp18-fpt-israeli-permit-system-1618823802.pdf.

Council (NRC) report stated that since 7 October 2023, zero building permit requests from Palestinians in Area C of the West Bank were approved.⁸⁴ Similarly, over half a million Palestinians with Israeli citizenship were denied permission to build houses on their land, with more than 100,000 facing demolition and eviction orders in 2023.⁸⁵ In 2024, the Israeli regime demolished 181 homes belonging to Palestinians in Jerusalem, with the fewest approvals of Palestinian building plans in a decade, and simultaneously approving thousands of colonial units.⁸⁶ Additionally, in the Naqab desert region, over 4,000 structures were demolished, a 22% increase from 2023.⁸⁷ **These figures highlight the systemic nature of Israeli building permit restrictions affecting all Palestinians across the West Bank, Jerusalem and 1948 Palestine.**

With regards to home demolitions in the West Bank, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported that around 4,000 Palestinians were displaced due to home demolitions, colonizer attacks, invasions by Israeli forces and other violations forming a coercive environment.⁸⁸ The NRC reports: “In 2023, 1,175 structures were demolished (106 of which were donor-funded) affecting 440,000 Palestinians, marking the highest number

84 Leilani Farha, *Area C Is Palestine: An Addendum to “Area C Is Everything”* (Oslo: Norwegian Refugee Council, October 2024), 7, <https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/area-c-is-everything/area-c-is-palestine---october-2024.pdf>.

85 Middle East Monitor. “Report: 0.5m Palestinian Citizens of Israel Denied Building Permits.” June 26, 2023. <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20230626-report-0-5m-palestinian-citizens-of-israel-denied-building-permits/>.

86 Georgia Gee and Dikla Taylor-Sheinman, “Israeli Demolitions of Palestinian Homes in Jerusalem Hit New Record,” *+972 Magazine*, March 6, 2025, <https://www.972mag.com/israeli-demolitions-palestinian-homes-east-jerusalem-2024/>.

87 Naqab Center for Freedom (NCF), *Neglected Voices: Human Rights Violations in the Bedouin Community of the Negev, Naqab, Israel 2023–2024* (2024), https://www.dukium.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/NCF_Neglected-Voices-Human-Rights-Violations-in-the-Bedouin-Community-of-the-Negev_Naqab-Israel-2023%E2%80%932024.pdf, accessed via International Coalition for Aid, Development and Human Rights, <https://icahd.org/>.

88 OCHA. *Displacement Update: About 4,000 Palestinians Displaced in the West Bank in 2023*. OCHA, February 2024, 1. https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/Displacement_report_February_2024.pdf.

since UN record-keeping began in 2009.”⁸⁹ In 2024, the number of homes demolished in the West Bank amounted to 1,768, an increase of 50% from 2023.⁹⁰ In 2025, 1,230 structures were demolished and 1,563 Palestinian displaced, mostly in Area C.⁹¹ These numbers only partially include the demolitions and displacements in camps in the north of the West Bank, due to the launch of “Operation Iron Wall,” which have reached numbers not seen in decades (see Section 2.3).

To fuel rapid expansion, the Israeli regime has bolstered approvals of colonial plans with substantial road and infrastructure budgets. On 23 July 2025, the Israeli regime approved the “transfer of one billion NIS to strengthen the settlement infrastructure in the West Bank.” This includes 160 million NIS for Road 437, which connects Jerusalem with surrounding colonies and 361 million NIS for Highway 45, designed to fragment and isolate large areas of Palestinian land.⁹² In addition, on 29 March 2025, the Israeli regime approved the final sections of the “Fabric of Life Road,” a Palestinian-only bypass road that would “connect the villages of az-Za’ayyem and al-Eizariya, diverting Palestinian traffic away from Route 1 and effectively barring Palestinians access to areas within the E1 bloc.”⁹³ Naftali Bennett, former Israeli Prime Minister and war (“defense”) minister, hailed the construction of the “Fabric of

89 Leilani Farha, *Area C Is Palestine: An Addendum to Area C is Everything*, 7. (Norwegian Refugee Council, October 2024), 7, <https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/area-c-is-everything/area-c-is-palestine---october-2024.pdf>.

90 Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), “Escalation in the West Bank: Violations Surge amid Fragile Ceasefire in Gaza,” January 23, 2025, <https://www.nrc.no/news/2025/january/escalation-in-the-west-bank-violations-surge-amid-fragile-ceasefire-in-gaza>.

91 OCHA, “Demolition Database,” 2025, <https://www.ochaopt.org/data/demolition>.

92 Madeeha Al-Araj, “New Financial Allocations to Enhance Traffic Safety for Settlers on Roads in the West Bank,” Palestine Liberation Organization National Bureau for Defending Land Nablus, August 3, 2025, [https://nbprs.ps/2025/08/03/new-fi\[nancial-allocations-to-enhance-traffic-safety-for-settlers-on-roads-in-the-west-bank/](https://nbprs.ps/2025/08/03/new-fi[nancial-allocations-to-enhance-traffic-safety-for-settlers-on-roads-in-the-west-bank/).

93 Nava Freiberg and ToI Staff, “Security Cabinet Greenlights Separate Road for Palestinians in Contentious E1 Area,” *Times of Israel*, March 30, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/security-cabinet-greenlights-separate-road-for-palestinians-in-contentious-e1-area/>. The area of “E1” constitutes 12 km of land, northeast of Jerusalem, and if colonized according to Israeli plans, would link Jerusalem with Ma’ale Adumim colony, effectively splitting the West Bank in half (see Section 2.2).

Life Road” as a way to “apply sovereignty” to the E1 area “in deeds, not words.”⁹⁴ This road would further sever the West Bank’s geographic continuity,⁹⁵ intensifying the threat of forcible displacement for 18 Palestinian Bedouin communities in the area between Jerusalem and Jericho, with 13 demolitions orders issued in August 2025 to clear the way for its construction.⁹⁶

Beyond their strategic role in fragmenting, isolating and displacing Palestinian communities, these road projects serve as structural incentives, designed to make colonies more accessible and livable for the Israeli colonial population. By improving connectivity to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, the Israeli regime actively encourages colonizer implantation into the West Bank while increasing both colonial contiguity and Palestinian fragmentation. These infrastructure projects are often accompanied by financial incentives such as housing subsidies, tax breaks, and grants for colonizers.⁹⁷

Another major incentive is legal in nature: the Israeli regime grants colonizers impunity, backs them with military protection, official support, and legal cover, turning their attacks into a direct instrument of land theft. **This impunity has become a central mechanism for the regime to accelerate colonial expansion and suppress Palestinian resistance.** Since the establishment of the current coalition, colonizer attacks in the West Bank are rising significantly each year, with a marked escalation in both intensity and frequency. In 2024, OCHA recorded 1,420 colonizer attacks, surpassing the 1,189 recorded incidents in 2023, “which was already the highest since the UN started recording

94 Ibid.

95 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #279 | West Bank,” April 10, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-279-west-bank>.

96 Wafa, “Israel Issues 13 Demolition Orders near Jerusalem,” August 13, 2025, <https://english.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/160229>.

97 B’Tselem, *And This, Too: Israel’s Settlement Policy in the West Bank* (Jerusalem: B’Tselem, 2021), 13–15, https://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files/publications/202103_this_is_ours_and_this_too_eng.pdf.

such incidents in 2006.”⁹⁸ From January 2023 to July 2025, 2,895 Palestinians were forcibly displaced due to colonizer attacks and “access restrictions.”⁹⁹ Many Palestinian Bedouin communities in the Jericho and Ramallah Governorates, including Ras Ein al-Auja, Muarrajat East, and Mughayyir al-Deir, have been forcibly displaced due to coordinated colonizer attacks, land confiscation, and the establishment of nearby colonial outposts that cut off access to water, grazing land, and essential infrastructure.¹⁰⁰ In a May 2025 report, OCHA also noted that “so far in 2025, settlers have injured over 220 Palestinians – *44 per month – the highest rate in at least 20 years* [emphasis added].”¹⁰¹

Large-scale attacks – where hundreds of colonizers attack Palestinians, torching orchards, homes and businesses under the watch of Israeli forces – have become increasingly frequent.¹⁰² Days after the rampage in Huwarra (Nablus Governorate) in February 2023, Smotrich came out in support of these attacks, stating: “I think the village of Huwara needs to be wiped out.”¹⁰³ In al-Mughayyir (Ramallah Governorate), over 1,000 colonizers launched a two-day assault in April 2024, killing two Palestinian men and destroying homes.¹⁰⁴ Palestinians in Massafer Yatta

98 EEAS, *2024 Report on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem*, 1.

99 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #305 | West Bank,” July 16, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-305-west-bank>.

100 NRC, “West Bank: Israeli State-Backed Settler Violence Drives Mass Displacement of Palestinian Communities,” July 9, 2025, <https://www.nrc.no/news/2025/july/west-bank-israeli-state-backed-settler-violence-drives-mass-displacement-of-palestinian-communities>.

101 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #293 | West Bank,” May 29, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-293-west-bank>.

102 Fayha Shalash and Sheren Khalel, “Palestinian killed as Israeli settlers rampage through West Bank in ‘revenge’ attacks,” February 26, 2023, *Middle East Eye*, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israeli-settlers-set-palestinian-town-ablaze-after-deadly-shooting>.

103 Al Jazeera, “Palestine’s Huwara should be wiped out: Top Israeli minister,” March 1, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/1/israel-arrests-settlers-after-anti-palestinian-pogrom>.

104 Qassam Muaddi, “Unleashed: Israeli Settlers Rampage through West Bank Villages, Kill Two People, Injure Dozens,” *Mondoweiss*, April 14, 2024, <https://mondoweiss.net/2024/04/unleashed-israeli-settlers-rampage-through-west-bank-villages-kill-two-people-injure-dozens/>.

(Hebron Governorate), who are at constant risk of forced displacement due to the Israeli regime's designation of large parts of the area as a "military firing zone," also face daily colonizer attacks.¹⁰⁵ These acts, often carried out with the protection of Israeli forces and the backing of the Israeli regime, constitute a significant regime policy and practice - not the actions of a few extreme colonizers.

While the Israeli regime often attempts to draw a false distinction between its "state" apparatus and colonizers, in reality, its very existence is built on land theft and the implantation of colonizers across Mandatory Palestine. As a settler-colonial regime, "Israel" does not merely enable the role of colonizers, it is constituted by it. Furthermore, colonizers are able to commit attacks not only with the protection of Israeli forces, but also with the military-grade weapons supplied by the Israeli regime. Since 7 October 2023, the Israeli regime has distributed over 120,000 firearms to its colonizers.¹⁰⁶ To feign compliance with international law and deflect scrutiny, the Israeli regime has attempted to institutionalize this false separation between itself and its colonizers – most notably by formally outlawing colonial outposts in the West Bank. Yet despite their supposed illegality, the Israeli regime ensures that these outposts continue to obtain funding, and, in time, official recognition. The Israeli regime's complicit allies have weaponized this separation, using tactics like imposing sanctions against individual colonizers, to avoid their obligations.¹⁰⁷

Individual sanctions are woefully insufficient as they do not address the root causes of the Israeli regime's ongoing crimes of forced displacement and transfer, colonization and apartheid.

105 Médecins Sans Frontières, "West Bank: Israeli settler violence leaves its scars," July 23, 2025, <https://msf.org.au/article/project-news/west-bank-israeli-settler-violence-leaves-its-scars>.

106 Abdelraouf Arnaout, "Over 120,000 Firearms Distributed among Israeli Settlers Since Gaza War: Minister," *Anadolu Ajansı* (AA), October 7, 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/over-120-000-firearms-distributed-among-israeli-settlers-since-gaza-war-minister/3354318>.

107 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, "Enabling Colonizers – An Israeli Policy to Further Entrench Colonization", 2025, <https://badil.org/press-releases/16039.html>

Alongside increased colony and associated infrastructure construction, as well as other policies mentioned above, the Israeli regime has intensified policies of fragmentation and isolation in pursuit of the continued forced displacement and transfer of Palestinians and the expansion of its colonial domination.

2.2 The West Bank in a Chokehold: Policies of Fragmentation and Isolation

Through increased checkpoints and mass installation of gates and closures, the Israeli regime is further confining, containing, fragmenting, and isolating Palestinians and their communities, resulting in the suffocation of the West Bank and the formation of Palestinian enclaves. The intensified restrictions and closures also exacerbate the coercive environment that aims at their forced displacement.¹⁰⁸ Their forced displacement will, in turn, fuel Israeli colonial expansion and domination.

As of February 2025, there were 849 movement obstacles recorded in the West Bank, including permanent checkpoints, road gates, earth mounds, and roadblocks, and 288 iron gates – 29 of which were newly installed between December 2024 and February 2025.¹⁰⁹ In just the first half of September 2025, Israeli forces installed at least 27 new closures, including 18 gates.¹¹⁰ These obstacles are systematically deployed to fragment the West Bank, transform Palestinian communities into

108 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Forced Population Transfer: The Case of Palestine – Segregation, Fragmentation and Isolation*, Working Paper No. 23 (Bethlehem: BADIL, February 2020), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/04/19/wp23-sfi-1618823935.pdf.

109 OCHA, “West Bank Movement and Access Update – May 2025,” May 28, 2025, <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/west-bank-movement-and-access-update-may-2025>.

110 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #324 | West Bank,” September 18, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-324-west-bank>.

isolated enclaves, and make daily life increasingly unsustainable.¹¹¹ **In particular, the proliferation of iron gates that can be sealed at the whim of the Israeli regime, paves the way for the realization of the fragmented, non-contiguous Palestinian enclaves described in Stage Two of the Decisive Plan** (see Section 1.3.2a).¹¹²

Fragmentation and isolation are not byproducts but essential features of colonial expansion, operationalized through a network of roads and infrastructure designed to connect colonies while severing Palestinian continuity.¹¹³ Among the colonial expansion plans approved in 2024, one was in regards to the establishment of the Nahal Heletz colony in the Bethlehem suburbs, specifically on the lands of Al-Makhrou, Walaja, as well as Battir, a recognized UNESCO World Heritage Site.¹¹⁴ The Nahal Heletz colony will connect the 24 colonies within the Etzion colonial bloc¹¹⁵ to Jerusalem as part of the “Greater Jerusalem” master plan, confiscate everything in between, and cut off Bethlehem city from its western side, further entrenching the fragmentation and dispossession of Palestinian communities.¹¹⁶

Formally endorsed by the Israeli regime on 20 August 2025, **the E1**

111 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #320 | West Bank,” OCHA oPt, September 4, 2025, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-320-west-bank>.

112 Bezalel Smotrich, “Israel’s Decisive Plan,” *Hashiloach Frontlines*, 2017, sec. “Stage Two: The Two Options and Military Victory,” subsection (1) “Peace and Local Identity,” <https://hashiloach.org.il/israels-decisive-plan/>.

113 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Forced Population Transfer: The Case of Palestine – Segregation, Fragmentation and Isolation*, Working Paper No. 23 (Bethlehem: BADIL, February 2020), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/04/19/wp23-sfi-1618823935.pdf.

114 UNESCO, *Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir*, 2014, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1492/>.

115 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Israeli Annexation: The Case of Etzion Colonial Bloc*, July 2019, <https://badil.org/phocadownloadpap/badil-new/publications/research/in-focus/EtzionBloc-IsraeliAnnexation.pdf>.

116 Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), “UN Human Rights Office – OPT: Israel’s Settlement Expansion Is Alarming and Flies in Face of International Law,” *ReliefWeb*, August 19, 2024, <https://shorturl.at/4spqN>.

colony plan is a critical step in the imposition of colonial domination using segregation, fragmentation and isolation. First proposed in 1994, it seeks to link the colony of Ma'ale Adumim to Jerusalem and create a contiguous chain of Israeli colonies.¹¹⁷ Announced by Smotrich as a step in the “de facto sovereignty plan,” E1 aims at “burying the idea of a Palestinian state.”¹¹⁸ The plan includes 3,400 new colonial units near Ma'ale Adumim and “another 3,515 units in the surrounding area.”¹¹⁹ If realized, it would severely fragment the West Bank even further, effectively isolating Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank and separating Bethlehem from Ramallah and Jericho. On the ground, measures are already being implemented in preparation for E1 colony construction: in al-Eizariya, next to the Ma'ale Adumim colony, the installation of a new iron gate will cut Palestinian residents off from the main south-north highway (Road 60) of the West Bank.¹²⁰ Along Road 60, wired fences¹²¹ have turned into dozens of iron gates installed in 2025, confining thousands of Palestinians in the Ramallah and Nablus governorates.¹²²

The E1 plan is not an isolated project, but part of a broader spatial strategy that relies on infrastructure to consolidate colonial control. Roads, gates, and security belts are being used to connect Israeli colonies to one another, while cutting through and enclosing Palestinian areas, enforcing the fragmentation that E1 formalizes.

117 David Gritten, “Israel Approves Controversial West Bank Settlement Project,” *BBC*, August 20, 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cvg30l6myj3o>.

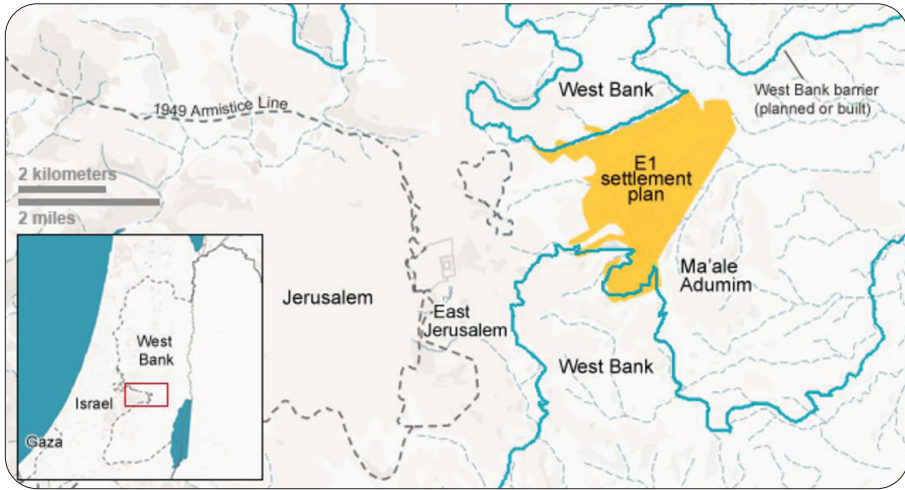
118 ToI Staff and Sam Sokol, “Smotrich Says He’ll Okay 3,000 Homes East of Jerusalem, ‘Burying Idea of Palestinian State,’” *Times of Israel*, August 14, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/smotrich-to-approve-frozen-e1-settlement-homes-buries-idea-of-palestinian-state/>.

119 Ahmad Al-Abed, “E1 Plan in Motion: Israel Splits the West Bank,” *Al-Akbar*, August 24, 2025, <https://en.al-akbar.com/news/e1-plan-in-motion-israel-splits-the-west-bank>.

120 Wafa, “Occupation Forces Install Iron Gate Near Jerusalem,” September 16, 2025, <https://english.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/161399>.

121 Wafa, “Israeli Forces Erect Barbed Wire Fence to Separate Sinjil and Turmus Ayya,” April 28, 2025, <https://english.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/156881>.

122 Palestine Chronology Staff, “Press Summaries on the War on Gaza, March 1–31, 2024,” *Institute for Palestine Studies*, July 3, 2024, <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1655813>.



*"Map: Israel E1 settlement plan"*¹²³

Both Israeli forces and colonizers have escalated attacks on nearby villages such as Mughayyir al-Deir, northeast of Ramallah.¹²⁴ This Palestinian village is the last remaining Palestinian community along the Alon Road (or Road 458) east of the city, after seven others were forcibly depopulated over the past three years.¹²⁵ These campaigns of ethnic cleansing serve the long-term plan of connecting the belt of colonies surrounding Ramallah (the "Ramallah settlement belt"), including the colonies along Alon Road, with E1.

The Alon Road itself was established as early as the 1970s as a colonial security belt, designed to facilitate the movement of Israeli colonizers and military forces, while restricting Palestinian access and consolidating control over strategic areas east of Ramallah. Originally part of the "Allon Plan," Alon Road has over time become a key element

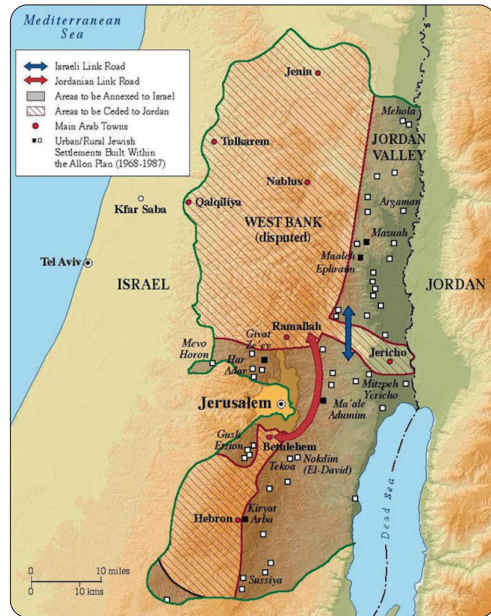
¹²³ Fred Pleitgen, "Q and A: Inside Israel's Planned Settlement," *CNN*, December 5, 2012, <https://edition.cnn.com/2012/12/05/world/meast/inside-israel-planned-settlement/>.

¹²⁴ Stop the Wall Campaign, "Forced Displacement in Mughayyir al-Deir: Settler Violence, Historical Dispossession, and Annexation in the West Bank," May 31, 2025, <https://stopthewall.org/2025/05/31/forced-displacement-in-mughayyir-al-deir-settler-violence-historical-dispossession-and-annexation-in-the-west-bank/>.

¹²⁵ OHCHR and Protection Cluster, "Call to Action: Risk of Forcible Transfer in Mughayir al Dir (22 May 2025)," May 22, 2025, *ReliefWeb*, <https://reliefweb.int/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/call-action-risk-forcible-transfer-mughayir-al-dir-22-may-2025>.

in the Israeli regime's efforts to fragment the West Bank, isolate Palestinian communities, and facilitate the expansion of colonies.¹²⁶

These measures are not only tools of fragmentation and isolation to entrench apartheid – they also function as tools of collective punishment. For example, Israeli forces closed the gate at the Jabara Bridge (installed in August 2024), at the southern entrance of Tulkarem City, and completely denied people and vehicles, including ambulances, from entering and exiting, and imposed¹²⁷ curfews.¹²⁸ Often exacerbated during or after escalations, such as the aggression on Iran in June 2025,¹²⁹ closures greatly disrupt the daily lives of Palestinians, by denying access to essential services, including education, healthcare and emergency responses. They also impede social and familial visitations, impacting Palestinian cohesion and unity.



“Map: Allon Plan Map, 1967”¹²⁷

All of the aforementioned policies are designed to maintain and

126 PLO Negotiations Department, “Israeli Annexation Plans VS. Facts on the Ground in Occupied Palestine in 2023,” August 6, 2023, <https://www.nad.ps/en/media-room/media-briefs/israeli-annexation-plans-vs-facts-ground-occupied-palestine-2023>.

127 Center for Israel Education, *Alon Plan Map, 1967*, online map, 1967, <https://israeled.org/the-alon-plan-1968/>.

128 International Middle East Media Center (IMEMC), “West Bank: Israeli Forces Invade Villages, Close Roads,” February 9, 2025, *IMEMC News*, <https://imemc.org/article/west-bank-israeli-forces-invade-villages-close-roads/>.

129 MSF, “Israeli Authorities Tighten Grip on the West Bank amid Iran Escalation,” June 23, 2025, <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/latest/israeli-authorities-tighten-grip-west-bank-amid-iran-escalation>.

exacerbate the coercive environment that leaves Palestinians with no viable choice but to leave their land. Under international law, such conditions amount to forced displacement – a war crime and a crime against humanity. Crucially, forced displacement does not always involve direct physical removal; it can also result from systemic coercion where genuine choice is absent.¹³⁰ The Israeli regime has excelled at establishing, maintaining and exacerbating such a coercive environment in order to accelerate forced displacement in the West Bank, in line with Zionist colonial goals and the Decisive Plan.

2.3 Suppressing Palestinian Resistance: Targeting Refugees and Camps

The use of force is a central strategy of the Israeli regime to eliminate the Palestinian people, suppress resistance, and entrench colonial domination.¹³¹ A core component of this strategy has long been the Israeli systematic branding of all forms of Palestinian resistance – political, popular, or armed – as “terrorism,” thereby criminalizing the Palestinian struggle for liberation and framing the Israeli regime’s actions as measures of security, self-defense and anti-terrorism. Today, this deliberate conflation serves to justify the ongoing genocide in the Gaza Strip, and “Operation Iron Wall” in the West Bank, by attempting to delegitimize the Palestinian right to resist Israeli domination and oppression using armed and non-armed resistance.¹³²

130 *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Judgment, IT-95-5/18-T (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Trial Chamber, March 24, 2016), para. 489, https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tjug/en/160324_judgement.pdf.

131 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *The Excessive Use of Force by the Israeli Army: A Case Study* (April 2017), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/04/20/casestudy-euof-1618907722.pdf.

132 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “The Palestinian People Have a Right to Armed Struggle by Virtue of their Inalienable Right to Self-Determination,” December 15, 2023, 5 https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2023/12/15/resistance-paper-1702636476.pdf.

This strategy of suppression has long targeted refugees and refugee camps, both as both military objectives and political instruments. Indeed, camps are incubators of resistance and the living embodiment of the refugee question. Their destruction serves a dual purpose: to neutralize resistance and to erode the refugee communities that sustain the national liberation movement.¹³³ This targeting is particularly consequential in Gaza, where 81% of the population are Palestinian refugees, the majority from 1948 and their descendants.¹³⁴ This logic – framed publicly as measures to “ensure Israel’s security” and to combat “terrorism” – is articulated in the Decisive Plan and has been operationalized across two theaters: through the genocidal campaign in the Gaza Strip and through large-scale invasions in the West Bank, with “Operation Iron Wall” being the most recent and visible extended invasion.

High-level Israeli statements have made explicitly clear the link between the two theaters and the aim of replicating Gaza’s destruction in the West Bank. In January 2025, Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich declared, “Funduq, Nablus, and Jenin must look like Jabalia,” a refugee camp in the north of the Gaza Strip that was turned to rubble and ash during the Israeli genocide.¹³⁵ Around the same period, Israel Katz, the Israeli war (“defense”) minister, framed “Operation Iron Wall” as necessary “to eliminate terrorists and terror infrastructure in the camp, ensuring that terrorism does not return to the camp after the operation is over – the first lesson from the method of repeated raids in Gaza.”¹³⁶

133 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Suppression of Resistance*, Working Paper No. 19 (Bethlehem: BADIL, 2016), <https://badil.org/phocadownloadpap/badil-new/publications/research/working-papers/wp19-Suppression-of-Resistance.pdf>.

134 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons*, Volume X (Bethlehem: BADIL, 2019–2021), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2022/10/31/survey2021-eng-1667209836.pdf.

135 Abdelraouf Arnaout, “‘Nablus, Jenin Must Look Like Gaza’s Jabalia,’ Says Far-Right Israeli Minister,” *Anadolu Ajansı* (AA), January 6, 2025, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/-nablus-jenin-must-look-like-gaza-s-jabalia-says-far-right-israeli-minister/3442951>.

136 Dana Karni et al., “West Bank Mayor Warns of ‘Man-Made Disaster,’ as Israel Says It Took ‘Lessons’ from Gaza War,” *CNN*, January 22, 2025, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/01/22/middleeast/israel-west-bank-gaza-war-katz-intl>.

Launched on 21 January 2025, “Operation Iron Wall,” is the largest mass invasion of the West Bank the Israeli regime has committed since the Second Intifada. Initially targeting Jenin refugee camp, just two days after the ceasefire in Gaza, the attack soon expanded to include the camps of Tulkarem, Nur Shams, Al Far’a, and parts of Tubas governorate – constituting a broad sweep across northern West Bank refugee camps.¹³⁷ The Israeli regime carried out airstrikes, helicopter gunfire, the deployment of tanks, house-to-house searches, prolonged sieges and the erection of checkpoints and fixed military posts – all measures mirrored in the genocidal campaign on the Gaza Strip.¹³⁸ Israeli forces have even “deployed a tank platoon to Jenin – the first time tanks have been sent into the West Bank since 2002.”¹³⁹

The attacks were not limited to the destruction of residential and basic infrastructure, but also included hospitals and ambulances and attacks on healthcare workers, and the deliberate obstruction of healthcare access to the wounded.¹⁴⁰ These acts demonstrate that the destruction of the healthcare system, as in Gaza, is intentional, to create conditions of life that would lead to the destruction of the Palestinian populations there. As it did in the Gaza Strip, within the first week of “Operation Iron Wall,” the Israeli regime also weaponized aid and essential goods, systematically disrupting the provision of food, water, electricity, and medical access.¹⁴¹

137 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #264 | West Bank,” February 13, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/humanitarian-situation-update-264-west-bank>

138 BADIL, “Imposing a New Status Quo: The Features of the Israeli Regime’s Re-establishment of its Permanent Presence in the West Bank”, 2025, <https://badil.org/press-releases/15748.html>

139 Mick Krever, “Israel sends tanks to the West Bank for the first time in 20 years. Here’s why that’s significant,” CNN, February 24, 2025, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/02/24/middleeast/israel-jenin-west-bank-explainer-intl>.

140 MSF, “Inflicting Harm and Denying Care in the West Bank: MSF Report on Escalation of Attacks and Obstructions of Healthcare,” February 6, 2025, <https://www.msf.org/%E2%80%99Cinflicting-harm-and-denying-care%E2%80%9D-west-bank-msf-report-escalation-attacks-and-obstructions>.

141 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #254 | West Bank,” January 9, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/humanitarian-situation-update-254-west-bank>.

The “operation” has caused immense destruction, damaging or destroying a significant amount of infrastructure in the camps, including 43 percent of all structures in Jenin, 35 percent of Nur Shams, and 14 percent of Tulkarem.¹⁴² Since the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East’s (UNRWA) operations in the camps have been suspended due to the Israeli enforcement of the ban against the Agency in January 2025. As such, monitoring and verification of conditions, as well as the delivery of essential services on the ground, have been severely restricted.¹⁴³ Indeed, according to OCHA, “Despite limited access to assess the full extent of damage within the camps, municipal reports suggest that the ongoing operations in Jenin and Tulkarm have so far destroyed all functioning or recently repaired water and sewage infrastructure across the refugee camps and some of the surrounding urban areas.”¹⁴⁴

These escalations – framed as “security operations” but systematically targeting the foundations of Palestinian life – are not isolated events. They form part of a long-standing strategy that combines militarized suppression with the creation of an increasingly coercive environment resulting in Palestinian subjugation, displacement or death: the only options available to Palestinians according to the Decisive Plan. While the Plan mainly focuses on the West Bank, its main elements are also actively seen and enforced in the genocide in the Gaza Strip. Accordingly, ministers of the Israeli regime, including Prime Minister Netanyahu and Smotrich, have been calling for the “voluntary migration” of the Gaza Strip’s population since the early months of the genocide.¹⁴⁵ In a

142 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #308 | West Bank,” July 24, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-update-308-west-bank#>.

143 UNRWA, “Official statement on the situation in Jenin camp,” February 3, 2025, <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/official-statement-situation-jenin-camp>.

144 OCHA, “Northern West Bank Humanitarian Response Update | 21 January–30 April 2025,” OCHA oPt, July 11, 2025, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/northern-west-bank-humanitarian-response-update-21-january-30-april-2025>.

145 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “Supporting the ‘Voluntary Migration’ of Palestinians from Gaza Is Complicity in the Crime of Forcible Transfer,” December 28, 2023, <https://badil.org/press-releases/14309.html>.

press conference on 28 August 2025, Smotrich suggested that the Israeli regime “completely hold control of the entire strip, forever,” and again called for the “voluntary emigration” of the population. He further stated that “whoever doesn’t evacuate, don’t let them. No water, no electricity; they can die of hunger or surrender. This is what we want.”¹⁴⁶

Smotrich’s statements are not rogue, extremist remarks that are completely divorced from the actions of the Israeli regime. His statements reflect and underpin the escalation of systematic policies that the Israeli regime is carrying out in the Gaza Strip. Over 1.9 million Palestinians have already been internally forcibly displaced many times, and there have been various calls, including by Netanyahu and President Donald Trump to forcibly displace them out of the Strip.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, in early August 2025, the Israeli Cabinet approved a plan greenlighting the Israeli regime’s takeover of Gaza City, and its full-fledged colonization.¹⁴⁸ At the time of writing of this paper, the Israeli escalation and takeover of Gaza City was being implemented in full force with many Palestinians forcibly displaced once again.¹⁴⁹ On 10 October 2025, a prisoner exchange and ceasefire deal was agreed to by the Israeli regime and Hamas.¹⁵⁰

As previously stated above, the central goal of the Israeli regime is to

146 Brett Wilkins, “Smotrich Says Israel Should Annex Gaza Once War on Strip Is Over,” *Common Dreams*, August 28, 2025, <https://www.commondreams.org/news/bezalel-smotrich-annex-gaza>.

147 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “Israeli ‘Humanitarian Transit Areas’: Death or Forced Transfer,” July 11, 2025, <https://badil.org/press-releases/16048.html>.

148 Raffi Berg and Ruth Comerford, “Israel approves plan to take control of Gaza City, signalling major escalation,” *BBC*, August 8, 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c8ryekj1m1do>.

149 Jason Burke, “More than 250,000 Displaced from Gaza City in Past Month, UN Figures Show,” *The Guardian*, September 18, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/sep/18/un-figures-people-displaced-from-gaza-city>.

150 Maayan Lubell and Nidal Al-Mughrabi, “Israeli Cabinet Ratifies Gaza Ceasefire and Hostage Deal with Hamas,” *Reuters*, October 10, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-hamas-agree-gaza-ceasefire-return-hostages-2025-10-09/>.

control the maximum amount of land with the minimum number of Palestinians – a core objective also articulated in the Decisive Plan – pursued both in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the guise of ‘security’ and ‘anti-terror’ justifications. Indeed, the same logic that has been systematically implemented in the Gaza Strip – leaving Palestinians with only three options: displacement, subjugation, or death – is now being applied to the West Bank under “Operation Iron Wall.” The Israeli regime has carried out arrests, forced displacement and willful killing of Palestinians *en masse*, in order to demobilize the Palestinian struggle for liberation. As reported by OCHA, “between 7 October 2023 and 16 August 2025, 986 Palestinians – among them at least 210 children – were killed” in the West Bank.¹⁵¹ Of those, “180 Palestinians, including at least 37 children, were killed since the beginning of the year 2025 alone.”¹⁵²

In line with Smotrich’s call to eliminate resistance, the Israeli regime has also stepped-up large-scale arrests, intensifying the coercive environment and other policies of collective punishment imposed on Palestinians. More than 18,500 Palestinians in the West Bank have been arrested since October 2023, including those who have been released and remain in detainment, subjecting them to ill-treatment and torture.¹⁵³

With regards to displacement, the Israeli military has declared Jenin, Nur Shams, and Tulkarm refugee camps “closed military zones,” emptying them and barring thousands of displaced Palestinian refugees

151 UNRWA, “UNRWA Situation Report #185 on the Humanitarian Crisis in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, Including East Jerusalem,” August 22, 2025, <https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/unrwa-situation-report-185-situation-gaza-strip-and-west-bank-including-east-jerusalem>.

152 UNRWA, “UNRWA Situation Report #185 on the Humanitarian Crisis in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, Including East Jerusalem,” August 22, 2025, <https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/unrwa-situation-report-185-situation-gaza-strip-and-west-bank-including-east-jerusalem>.

153 Wafa, “Over 18,000 Palestinians Detained by Israel in the West Bank Since Start of War on Gaza,” August 3, 2025, <https://english.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/159893>.

from returning to their residences.¹⁵⁴ Figures from February 2025 state that more than 40,000 Palestinian refugees have been uprooted from Jenin, Tulkarm, Nur Shams, and Al Far'a camps, marking the largest forced displacement event in the West Bank since 1967.¹⁵⁵ Israeli forces are still present in the camps, e.g. “as of 27 August, Israeli forces were operating and conducting house-to-house searches” in Jenin refugee camp.¹⁵⁶ Not only have Israeli forces declared that they have no intention of withdrawing, but have indicated that the “operation” will be expanded to include the rest of the refugee camps in the West Bank.¹⁵⁷

In practice, the targeting and destruction of refugee camps began prior to the current Israeli forces' raid and siege referred to as “Operation Iron Wall.” Since the start of the genocide in Gaza in 2023, the Israeli regime “resumed airstrikes in the West Bank for the first time since the Second Intifada. By 2024, it had carried out 152 airstrikes, 82 of them in densely populated refugee camps.”¹⁵⁸ Around 40% of homes and/or structures destroyed in the West Bank in 2023 occurred during Israeli invasions and airstrikes, particularly of refugee camps in the north,¹⁵⁹ replicating a policy of wanton destruction, similar to the Gaza Strip.

In sum, the pattern of attacks against refugee camps — whether in Gaza under the genocidal campaign or in the West Bank under

154 Amnesty International UK, “Israel/OPT: West Bank Military Operation Part of 'Ruthless Apartheid System' – New Briefing,” June 5, 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/israelopt-west-bank-military-operation-part-ruthless-apartheid-system-new-briefing>

155 UNRWA, “The West Bank: Large-Scale House Demolitions by Ongoing Israeli Forces Operation Are Having Unprecedented Impact on Palestine Refugees”, March 6, 2025, <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/west-bank-large-scale-house-demolitions-ongoing-israeli-forces>

156 OCHA, “Humanitarian Situation Update #318 | West Bank,” August 28, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/ocha-sitrep-318-west-bank-28aug25/>.

157 Yonah Jeremy Bob, “Katz: IDF to Remain in Jenin Even After Operation,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 29, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-839785>.

158 NRC, “Escalation in the West Bank: Violations Surge amid Fragile Ceasefire in Gaza,” January 23, 2025, <https://www.nrc.no/news/2025/january/escalation-in-the-west-bank-violations-surge-amid-fragile-ceasefire-in-gaza>.

159 OCHA, *Displacement Update: About 4,000 Palestinians Displaced in the West Bank in 2023*, 2.

“Operation Iron Wall” – underlines a broader policy continuum rather than isolated or exceptional incidents. The systematic targeting of camps, through mass killings and arrests, forced expulsions and the deliberate destruction of homes, services and institutions, weakens the social, political and legal foundations of the refugee question (including the right of return), while simultaneously degrading popular and organized resistance. Indeed, the Israeli regime operates on the premise that displacing and decimating Palestinian communities – above all refugee camps – will break the will and infrastructure of resistance against colonization. This combination of militarized suppression and engineered displacement must therefore be read as a central mechanism of the Israeli regime’s broader project of colonial consolidation implemented in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The next section addresses how this coercive strategy is reinforced by parallel measures aimed at neutralizing the Palestinian Authority and shrinking international presence.

2.4 Imposing a New Status Quo: Eliminating Palestinian and International Presence

In pursuit of full “sovereignty,” the Israeli regime is actively imposing a new status quo, normalizing its military, security and civil presence in all parts of the West Bank. It is fulfilling this aim by gradually collapsing the role of the PA and eliminating international presence, which began prior to but escalated with the 2025 law banning UNRWA and has spilled over to international non-governmental organizations (iNGOs).¹⁶⁰

To understand the Israeli regime’s systematic efforts to dismantle international presence and oversight and assert control over the West Bank, it is crucial to highlight its longstanding pattern of obstructing

¹⁶⁰ BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “Weaponizing Bureaucracy: New Israeli NGO Registration Regulations Aim to Obliterate International Presence in Palestine,” December 28, 2025, <https://badil.org/press-releases/15936.html>.

UN mechanisms. Since 1968, Israel has repeatedly denied access to UN bodies, beginning with the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories, and continuing with Special Rapporteurs.¹⁶¹ This obstruction extended to subsequent UN investigative bodies, including denial of access to the UN Commission of Inquiry during the 2014 Gaza conflict and the refusal to grant or renew visas for The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in 2020, effectively preventing on-site investigations, monitoring and reporting.¹⁶²

The Israeli regime's elimination of international presence was propelled sharply with the escalation of its attacks against UNRWA,¹⁶³ and the obstruction of its operations in January 2025.¹⁶⁴ **The ban represents a deliberate effort to reshape the humanitarian and political landscape, consolidating control over Palestinian life and advancing a new status quo in which international oversight and protections are disappearing.** As a result, the rights of refugees in all its areas of operation have been affected, *de facto* altering UNRWA's ability to fulfill its mandate.¹⁶⁵ It also set the stage for broader restrictions on iNGOs operating in Palestine.¹⁶⁶

161 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, "A Dangerous Precedent: Israeli Non-Compliance with the UN Commission of Inquiry on Gaza," November 18, 2014, <https://badil.org/press-releases/1015.html>.

162 Al-Haq, "Israel's Refusal to Grant/Renew Visas to the UN OHCHR Highlights the Urgent Need to End Israel's Impunity," October 15, 2020, <https://www.alhaq.org/advocacy/17456.html>.

163 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Q & A on the Israeli-led Campaign against UNRWA*, May 2024, https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2024/05/17/q-a-1715950271.pdf.

164 UN News, "Israel's New Laws Banning UNRWA Already Taking Effect," January 29, 2025, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/01/1159586>.

165 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, "Protecting and Ensuring UNRWA's Presence and Services Is the Obligation of All States," October 29, 2024, <https://badil.org/press-releases/15936.html>.

166 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, "Weaponizing Bureaucracy: New Israeli NGO Registration Regulations Aim to Obliterate International Presence in Palestine," May 20, 2025, <https://badil.org/press-releases/15936.html>.

Indeed, in September 2023, visas to staff members of some 200 iNGOs were frozen by the Israeli regime, and “every single international NGO staff has been without a working visa and with no way to apply for one.”¹⁶⁷ The Israeli regime has since passed regulations, in March 2025, to deny registration and work visas to international organizations, requiring them to re-register and go through a vetting process.¹⁶⁸ The vetting process, headed by a new committee with members from a number of Israeli ministries, including Public Security Minister Ben-Gvir, and COGAT, the Shin Bet, police and others, is allowed to refuse registration and visas to organizations if they “delegitimize Israel,” “act against the interests of the State of Israel,” or otherwise endanger Israeli “national security.”¹⁶⁹ The de-registration of organizations is expected to begin in the fall of 2025, with the organizations that remain unregistered under the new system banned from providing aid and services to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.¹⁷⁰ The banning of international presence will further exacerbate the coercive environment by preventing iNGOs from carrying out essential projects and services, which have become particularly crucial with the Israeli regime attempting to impose new facts on the ground in the West Bank. **Further, the new law, regulations and committee all serve also to silence international organizations and diminish international responsibility to provide Palestinians**

167 Linda Dayan, “‘Cutting the Head Off 200 Organizations’: Inside Israel’s War on NGOs That Aid Palestinians,” *Haaretz*, January 13, 2025, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-01-13/ty-article-magazine/.premium/the-west-should-know-whats-going-on-is-israel-waging-war-on-ngos-aiding-palestinians/00000194-5f82-d4d0-a1f4-ffef65ae0000>.

168 ReliefWeb, “Implementation of New Israeli NGO Registration and Visa Regulations,” March 2025, *ReliefWeb*, <https://reliefweb.int/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/implementation-new-israeli-ngo-registration-and-visa-regulations>.

169 Linda Dayan, “‘Cutting the Head Off 200 Organizations’: Inside Israel’s War on NGOs That Aid Palestinians,” *Haaretz*, January 13, 2025, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-01-13/ty-article-magazine/.premium/the-west-should-know-whats-going-on-is-israel-waging-war-on-ngos-aiding-palestinians/00000194-5f82-d4d0-a1f4-ffef65ae0000>.

170 OCHA, “UN Agencies and NGOs Warn That Without Immediate Action Most International NGO Partners Could Be De-Registered by Israel in Coming Weeks,” August 6, 2025, OCHA oPt, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/un-agencies-and-ngos-warn-without-immediate-action-most-international-ngo-partners-could-be-de-registered>.

with the protection that they are owed by the UN and its member states.¹⁷¹

This campaign against iNGOs follows a longer-standing effort by the Israeli regime to dismantle Palestinian civil society. Even before the 2025 iNGO registration law and UNRWA ban, the Israeli colonial-apartheid regime and its proxy organizations orchestrated systematic campaigns to delegitimize and defund Palestinian civil society organizations (CSOs). Accusations of support for terrorism or anti-Semitism were used to erode their reputation and restrict their funding, while international donors were pressured to impose politically-motivated restrictions on projects addressing the Nakba, the right of return, or BDS. These measures target CSOs that empower Palestinian communities, document Israeli violations, or promote rights-based approaches to self-determination, effectively shrinking the space for Palestinian political, social, and humanitarian activity.¹⁷² **The iNGO restrictions and UNRWA ban thus form part of a broader, long-term strategy by the Israeli regime to eliminate Palestinian presence, mobilization, and resistance, normalizing a new status quo of suppression.**

While the Oslo-era status quo has trapped Palestinians in a framework of quasi-statehood and perpetual negotiations over a two-state solution – one that ultimately serves to entrench their subjugation and deny their inalienable rights to return and self-determination¹⁷³ – the Israeli regime now seeks to erase even the pretense of Palestinian political existence.

171 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “International Protection is DUE NOW: The United Nations, its Member States, and its Agencies have a Legal Obligation to Ensure International Protection to the Palestinian People,” October 16, 2023, <https://badil.org/press-releases/14203.html>.

172 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, “Colonial States’ Complicity in Furthering Shrinking Spaces for Solidarity with Palestine,” June 2024, see Section I.B, Israeli Campaign against Palestinian Civil Society, 4, https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2024/06/10/position-paper-shrinking-spaces-2024-1718008089.pdf.

173 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Palestinian Youth Perspectives on the Oslo Peace Process: Successes, Failures and Alternatives*, Working Paper No. 27 (August 2021) https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/09/15/wp27-pal-youth-vs-oslo-eng-1631700884.pdf.

One part of this is shifting control over the West Bank into the hands of a civil authority to normalize Israeli full “sovereignty” over the area (see Section 2.1). Another aspect of this erasure is the active complicity of the United States through measures that directly undermine the Palestinian Authority, such as the recent denial of visas to PA and PLO officials, effectively preventing them from accessing the United Nations General Assembly in New York.¹⁷⁴ If Palestinian representatives are barred from even participating in international diplomacy, what remains is merely the façade of political existence. This approach is reinforced by both executive and legislative endorsement of the rejection of Palestinian statehood: the current Prime Minister has repeatedly stated that there will be no Palestinian state, while the Knesset passed a resolution formally rejecting its establishment.¹⁷⁵ This not only asserts the official Israeli regime’s strategy to erase any Palestinian political presence, but also constitutes the greenlighting of the governance structure of the Decisive Plan: to establish confined and fragmented Palestinian enclaves. This ultimately impacts the role dedicated to the PA per the Oslo Accords, aligning with the Decisive Plan and Israeli colonial aspirations, which strive to eliminate any manifestation of collective Palestinian national identity.

In parallel, the Israeli regime has systematically undermined the PA’s financial survival, gravely impacting the economy. By withholding Palestinian clearance revenues, enforcing retroactive deductions, and threatening key banking waivers, the Israeli regime has plunged the PA into a severe financial crisis, resulting in a 2 billion USD deficit, nearly halving public salaries and causing the collapse of basic services.¹⁷⁶

174 “UN Experts Urge US to Grant Visas to Palestinian Officials,” OHCHR, September 9, 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/un-experts-urge-us-grant-visas-palestinian-officials-uphold-diplomacy-peace>.

175 Hamdah Salhut, “Israel’s Netanyahu Says ‘There Will Be No Palestinian State,’” *Al Jazeera*, September 11, 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/9/11/israels-netanyahu-says-there-will-be-no-palestinian-state>.

176 Ismat Quzmar, “Palestinian Clearance Revenues: Israel’s Tool to Collapse the PA,” policy memo, December 1, 2024, Al-Shabaka, <https://al-shabaka.org/policy-memos/palestinian-clearance-revenues-israels-tool-to-collapse-the-pa/>.

This situation is further compounded by targeted Israeli raids on money exchange offices. On 26 August 2025, Israeli forces raided a currency exchange business in central Ramallah, seizing approximately 450,000 USD in various currencies.¹⁷⁷ These actions underscore the Israeli regime's broader strategy to exacerbate the economic crisis and undermine the Palestinian Authority's financial stability. Further, reports indicate that Israeli forces have increasingly confiscated privately owned movable property – including jewelry, cash, and vehicles – during invasion raids and mass arrests, a phenomenon that has intensified since 7 October 2025. For instance, during the Muslim holiday of Eid al-Adha in July 2025, soldiers raided homes in Kafr Malik, seizing approximately 500,000 NIS in cash and jewelry, along with several vehicles.¹⁷⁸ This form of direct expropriation not only exacerbates the broader economic crisis but also inflicts immediate, tangible harm on individual Palestinians, further deepening their vulnerability.

This economic strangulation operates hand-in-hand with administrative and political measures to fragment Palestinian political presence, weaken public institutions, and reinforce the broader strategy of erasing Palestinian national sovereignty.¹⁷⁹ Taken together, the combination of financial, administrative, and political measures aims not only to weaken Palestinian governance but to reshape the Palestinian political body itself, producing a “Palestinian” administrative body and political class that serve Israeli objectives rather than representing the interest of the Palestinian people – a pattern reminiscent of the Arab Offices in colonized Algeria, which used intermediaries to actively enforce

177 Times of Israel, “Police Say \$450,000 Seized in Yesterday’s Raid on Ramallah Money Changer Accused of Funding Hamas,” *The Times of Israel*, August 27, 2025, https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/police-say-450000-seized-in-yesterdays-raid-on-ramallah-money-changer-accused-of-funding-hamas/.

178 Balasan Initiative for Human Rights, “Update: Alarming Escalation of Israeli Soldiers’ Looting during Raids in the West Bank,” August 27, 2025, <https://balasan.org/update-alarming-escalation-of-israeli-soldiers-looting-during-raids-in-the-west-bank/>.

179 Ismat Quzmar, “Palestinian Clearance Revenues: Israel’s Tool to Collapse the PA,” policy memo, December 1, 2024, Al-Shabaka, <https://al-shabaka.org/policy-memos/palestinian-clearance-revenues-israels-tool-to-collapse-the-pa/>.

colonial control over the population,¹⁸⁰ and the African Administrators of South Africa's Bantustans, where local institutions were deliberately structured to neutralize genuine nationalist representation.¹⁸¹

All these actions reflect a deliberate and systematic policy by the Israeli regime to erase Palestinian political presence and agency, while undermining international oversight and accountability. These actions consolidate a new status quo in which Palestinians, along with their governance structures, civil society, and international protections, are subordinated to the Israeli regime's colonial agenda across all of Mandatory Palestine.

180 K.J. Perkins, "The Bureaux Arabes and the Colons," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, Vol. 1 (1976): 96–107, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45137171>.

181 Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement, "History of South Africa's Bantustans," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, July 27, 2017, <https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-80>.

CONCLUSION

For over 77 years, the Israeli regime has relentlessly pursued its colonial project's ultimate goal: controlling the maximum amount of land with the minimum number of Palestinians. Since the establishment of the current coalition in late 2022, the Israeli regime has intensified its policies and practices of subjugation in pursuit of this goal across Mandatory Palestine. As it commits a genocide the Gaza Strip – an ambition further reinforced by its biggest ally, the United States – the Israeli regime further entrenches its colonial domination in the West Bank by institutionalizing its permanent presence.

This is the direct enforcement of the Decisive Plan, seeking not only to colonize the entirety of Mandatory Palestine, but to de-Palestinianize the land and eradicate Palestinian presence, resistance and the struggle for liberation. It is clear that the strategy, policies and practices are implemented in both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. To achieve this, the Israeli regime is accelerating the imposition of its full “sovereignty” in the West Bank, through the continued expansion of colonies, land confiscation, increased checkpoints and movement obstacles, the destruction of refugee camps, mass arrests, the willful killing of Palestinians, and the ultimate elimination of both Palestinian and international presence. Parallel tactics are used in the Gaza Strip with more advanced and aggressive levels to the point that the erasure of Palestinians and Israeli colonial domination is more clearly defined and visible there. Furthermore, Trump’s “20-point plan,” announced on 30 September 2025, aligns with the Decisive Plan and the Israeli regime’s goal to impose its “sovereignty.”¹⁸² According to the majority of UN experts, “Any peace plan must respect the ground rules of international law. The future of Palestine must be in the hands of the Palestinian

182 Oren Liebermann, Mostafa Salem, and Nadeen Ebrahim, “Trump’s Gaza Peace Plan: What Comes Next,” *CNN*, September 30, 2025, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/09/30/middleeast/trump-gaza-plan-what-comes-next-intl>.

people – not imposed by outsiders under extreme conditions of duress in yet another scheme to control their destiny.’¹⁸³

The Israeli regime is committing numerous ongoing international crimes and violations against the Palestinian people, not only to continue to deny their inalienable rights to self-determination and return, but to erase them all together. The pillars of forced displacement and transfer, colonization and apartheid continue to constitute the backbone of the Israeli regime, without which it would cease to exist. What has been happening in the last two years is the most transparent and visible acceleration of those pillars to the point of genocide, enabled and sustained under the co-perpetration of the United States, the entrenched complicity of France, Germany, the UK and a host of other states and the inaction of many others.¹⁸⁴ Western, colonial states’ complicity has shaped a world order where the current escalation of crimes against Palestinians is not only permissible, but also legitimizes and enables the current status quo: genocide and the further imposition of Israeli colonial domination. In order to end their complicity, states must abide by their international obligations to end Israeli crimes, through the enforcement of practical measures in the form of political, economic and military sanctions against the Israeli regime, at the minimum.¹⁸⁵ These concrete measures must also include guaranteeing the provision of international protection, which requires securing the ongoing presence and operations of UN agencies and international organizations in Palestine, and in particular UNRWA. Anything less than these measures is a greenlight to the Israeli regime to continue its genocide and the imposition of full colonial domination over the Palestinian people and their land.

183 “Palestine: Any Peace Plan Must Respect International Law from the Beginning,” OHCHR, October 1, 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/10/palestine-any-peace-plan-must-respect-international-law-beginning-self>.

184 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Colonial States’ Complicity in Gaza: Arming and Shielding Genocide*, Working Paper No. 32 (Bethlehem: BADIL, July 2025), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/07/29/wp32-complicity-eng-1753786452.pdf.

185 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, *Action Plan: What States, UN Agencies, International Organizations and Businesses Can Do*, November 26, 2024, https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2024/11/26/confront-israeli-crimes-action-plan-en-1732632553.pdf.

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The Decisive Plan has four interrelated dimensions of implementation: first, the expansion of Israeli colonial domination through accelerated construction and land confiscation; second, the deliberate fragmentation and isolation of Palestinian communities; third, the intensified suppression of Palestinian resistance, particularly in refugee camps; and fourth, the imposition of a new status quo aimed at erasing both Palestinian and international presence. Taken together, these developments illustrate that the Decisive Plan is not a dormant political vision but the active blueprint shaping Israeli policies across Palestine today.

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