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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: SETTLER COLONIALISM, THE POLITICS OF FEAR AND SECURITY THEOLOGY

> *The killer looks at the ghost of the murdered, not in his eyes, without remorse. He tells the mob, "Do not blame me: I am afraid, I killed because I was scared, and I will kill because I am scared." A few interpreted the sentence as the right to kill in self-defense. A few shared their opinions saying, "Justice is the overflow of the generosity of power." As if the deceased should apologize to the killer for the trauma he caused him. Others said, "If this incident occurred in another country, would the murdered individual have a name and a reputation?" The mob paid their condolences to the killer but when a foreigner wondered, "But what is the reason for killing a baby?" The mob replied, "Because one day this baby will grow up and then we will fear him." "But why kill the mother?" The mob said, "Because she will raise a memory." The mob shouted in unison, "Fear and not justice is the foundation for authority."*
>
> *(Darwish, 2008, pp. 85–86)*

> *For a colonized man . . . living does not mean embodying moral values or taking his place in the coherent and fruitful development of the world. To live means to keep on existing. Every date is a victory: not the result of work, but a victory felt as a triumph for life . . . [T]he objective of the native who fights against himself is to bring about the end of domination. But he ought equally to pay attention to the liquidation of all untruths implanted in his being by oppression.*
>
> *(Fanon, 1963, pp. 308–309)*

Following Fanon's insight that, for the colonized, "to live means to keep on existing," this book examines Palestinian experiences of life and death within the context of Israeli settler colonialism. Drawing from everyday aspects of Palestinian victimization, survival, life and death, and moving between the local and the global, I introduce and analyze what I term the "politics of fear" and the "security theology" within the Israeli settler colonial logic of elimination and erasure. I examine violent acts committed against Palestinians in the name of "security necessities" and consider how such "necessities" demand further surveillance over certain racialized bodies in order to maintain and sometimes reproduce the Israeli political economy of fear. By opening

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the analytical horizon to the voices of those who "keep on existing," I explore how Israeli theologies and ideologies of fear and security can obscure violence and power dynamics while perpetuating existing power structures, aiming to "pay attention to the liquidation of all untruths" (in the words of Fanon, 1963, p. 309) embedded in colonized peoples' existence under a specific structure of oppression – namely, Israeli settler colonialism.

In order to read and understand such untruths, as well as daily efforts to liquidate them, I rely on a feminist analysis, invoking the intimate politics of the everyday. According to Lefebvre (1987), everydayness is a set of functions connecting systems that might appear to be distinct, and the everyday is a common denominator to all existing systems. Everyday life is profoundly related to all political constraints, social relations and activities (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Allen, 2008). The politics of everydayness enables a feminist reading of conflict because it draws our awareness to routine, intimate and private sites where power is both reproduced and contested (e.g., Alexander, 2005; hooks, 2000; Stoler, 2002). Attention to mundane and routine activities reiterates the feminist notion that the "personal is political" and alludes to the ways in which the everyday is a space for oppression and domination, but also subversion and creativity. Moreover, a focus on everydayness draws attention to the inherently gendered nature of colonial power. The process of colonization constructs gendered subjects (Green, 1995; Lawrence, 2003); hence, everyday experiences of gender reveal the nuances of colonial rule.

The everydayness of Israeli violence is poignantly demonstrated by the tragic deaths of Majda and Raya Hajaj, a Palestinian mother and daughter, during the Israeli military attack on Gaza in 2008–2009. A United Nations (UN) investigation, the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict (UNFFMGC, widely known as the Goldstone Report),[1] reported that an Israeli soldier had killed the Palestinian women while they were waving a white flag:

[1] The Goldstone Report was written following a request on April 3, 2009, by the President of the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) to establish a UN fact-finding mission, the mandate of which was to investigate violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law that might have been committed during military operations against Gaza between December 27, 2008 and January 18, 2009. Justice Richard Goldstone, former judge of the Constitutional Court of South Africa and former prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, was appointed to head the mission.

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> The Mission finds that Majda and Raya Hajaj were part of a group of civilians moving with white flags through an area in which there was, at the time, no combat. Moreover, the Israeli armed forces had, according to witnesses interviewed by the Mission, called over local radio on the civilian population of Juhr ad-Dik to evacuate their homes and walk towards Gaza City. In the light of these reported circumstances, and particularly considering that the civilians were at a distance of more than 100 meters from them, the Israeli soldiers could not have perceived an imminent threat from the movement of people in that area, as they would have expected the civilians to respond to the call for evacuation. The Mission, therefore, finds the shooting and killing of Majda and Raya Hajaj a deliberate act on the part of the Israeli soldiers.
>
> (UNFFMGC, 2009, Point 767)

Acting upon the Goldstone Report, the Israeli military arrested the soldier and investigated the killing, but the driver of the bulldozer who buried the bodies near the family home and the officer who refused to allow the family to evacuate the bodies (which remained there until the end of the war) were never investigated, let alone charged with any crime. On August 12, 2012, the military court reached a plea bargain with the Military Advocate General; the soldier who had killed Majda and Raya would be jailed for 45 days (Cohen, 2012). These lenient punishments expose the everydayness of the violence Palestinians face.

Such everydayness is intimately linked to Israeli fear of the Palestinian. Israeli restrictions on Palestinian movement – within the West Bank and between Israel, Gaza, the West Bank and neighboring Arab countries – are legitimated by a security rhetoric that casts Palestinians as potential terrorists (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2007a, 2007b). Their branding as "security risks" justifies numerous interventions into the most intimate realms of their everyday life: to delay or deny passage to pregnant women undergoing labor at checkpoints, to deny them medical assistance in life-threatening circumstances, to hinder family reunifications, to demolish homes and to deny dead bodies the right to dignified burial – examples that are discussed throughout this book. These security justifications are closely tied to fears deeply rooted in Israeli society (Makdisi, 2010; Robinson, 2013; Rouhana, 2006). In order to interrogate the context that enabled and justified Majda and Raya's deaths, I consider the relationship between the Israeli security discourse and the fear of Palestinians among Israeli society.

To understand the conditions of Israel's settler colonialism (which can be read alongside and in conversation with settler colonial

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structures in Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa), I invoke the Foucauldian concept of biopower. Foucault (1980, 1990) argues that, in order to control a territory and population, some of the population must at times be subjected to death in defense of the sovereign. Population control and the administration of life, as he explains, are central to the functioning of the sovereign power. The biopolitical administration of life, manifested in the techniques of power/knowledge, is preoccupied with the body, its health, birth and sexuality, as well as with criminality and mortality, and views all of these as a whole (Foucault, 1990, pp. 136–139). Biopolitics, the logic of elimination and the accompanying production of knowledge about the feared Other engender the conditions under which security is theologized.

Two central questions guide my analysis of Israel's need to embed its colonial ideology and security concerns in an industry of fear: What kind of power is at work in settler colonialism? And what happens to people, families and communities surviving under the surveillance of such an economy of fear and securitization? The book addresses these questions in order to understand securitization and the politics of fear, together with the processes and mechanisms that support the ability to reorder, regulate and discipline bodies and lives. The hierarchical relations of power between the colonizer and the colonized are performed through social, cultural, economic and political spheres. I examine how colonial domination operates through an industry of fear, penetrating all of these spheres and constructing Palestinians as disposable "unpeople" (to borrow a term used by diplomatic historian Mark Curtis in his 2004 work on Britain's crimes of empire).[2] This industry of fear becomes influential in securing the colonizer's authority over space, time, life and other modes of subordinating the colonized (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 1999).

How can we analyze, understand and speak about securitized fear? How do we account for "security" in both a global political economy of fearing the Other and in specific contexts of settler colonialism? My theoretical underpinning critically builds on existing scholarship that locates the Zionist settler colonial project within larger historical and sociopolitical projects that produce – and are reproduced by – a politics of fear and a security theology.

[2] Curtis (2004) uses the term to refer to those who can be disregarded as humans, those whose lives are considered expendable in pursuit of the empire's economic and political goals. He focuses on the way Britain has been complicit in the deaths of millions of people around the world.

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THE SETTLER COLONIAL FRAMEWORK

The Zionist movement, and later the Jewish state, has carried out and continues to enforce settler colonialism in historic Palestine. As Wolfe (2006) explains, settler colonizers "come to stay"; their intention is to replace the indigenous societies they encounter. Settler colonialism is performed through legal, political, economic, social and cultural institutions. Israeli settler colonialism is a structure reinforced by daily practices of appropriation and erasure, naturalized over time (not as events or a historical era, but rather as a constitutive structure) and reified in Israeli laws and through Zionist ideology and self-narrative. According to Sayegh, Israel is defined by three central elements: a "racial complexion and racist conduct pattern," "addiction to violence" and an "expansionist stance" (1965, p. 21). These elements are part and parcel of the Zionist settler colonial project, as the realization of Jewish nationalism embodied in the state of Israel. Zionism's emphasis on Jewish racial exclusivity requires "racial elimination" of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine (Sayegh, 1965, p. 27). Because the settler colonial society must replace the native people in order to establish its own sovereignty, the elimination of the colonized is an "organizing principle" of settler colonialism, which "destroys to replace" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Indeed, Theodore Herzl, the founding father of Zionism, wrote: "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Because of such a desire to destroy and replace indigenous presence, G. Frederickson noted that settler colonialism has "the purest form of racist impulse" (cited in Daana, 2013).

The demolition of indigenous presence is not necessarily explicitly physical. In order to eliminate Palestinian individuals and society, Israel seeks to incorporate them into the polity as threatening Others who must be placed under constant surveillance and control, trapping them in a space in which they "must always be disappearing" (Smith, 2006, p. 68; also see Smith, 2010). The Zionist slogan "A land without people, for a people without land" is one of the foundational myths of the Israeli state (Masalha, 1997). The statement not only echoes the claim of *terra nullius*, first used to describe Australia as an "empty land," but also reinforces the claim that Palestinians were/are not a people. The land was not simply empty; the people living there were *not people*. Thus, the incorporation of native Palestinians into the colonial legal system and politics aims simultaneously at constructing and keeping

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them as feared Others, which allows the Israeli state to further pursue their elimination. As Wolfe explains, "the logic of elimination marks a return whereby the native repressed continues to structure settler colonial society" (2006, p. 390).

This tension between presence and desired absence shapes settler society and consciousness. As Razack notes, "while Aboriginal bodies haunt settlers, a too present reminder that the land is indeed stolen, they must also serve to remind them of their own modernity and entitlement to the land" (2012, p. 3; see also Goldberg, 2009; Lentin and Lentin, 2006). Reckoning with Canada's colonial legacy and persisting structures, Joyce Green (1995) explains how the racial othering of indigenous peoples is accompanied by the "creation of a language celebrating colonial identities while constructing the colonized as the antithesis of human decency and development." This language of dominance not only justifies the extermination of indigenous peoples, but also allows the state to institutionalize racist and imperialist ideology such that "hatred of the Other is bureaucratized" (Green, 1995). Indeed, the everyday bureaucracies of life are sites where indigenous inferiority is confirmed and nurtured. In this way, the myths of the colonizers' superiority and claim to the land are reflected structurally in the power to define the narrative and to include and exclude indigenous peoples in service of this narrative. Should indigenous people seek state or sovereign recognition in an attempt to challenge colonial violence, they risk the elimination of indigenous difference and thereby threaten their ability to manage their recognition.

The erasure, displacement and replacement of native peoples are often accompanied by efforts to produce (a certain kind of) life. The production of life, as both Wolfe (2008) and Ellinghaus (2009) explain, aims at amalgamating the indigenous people's culture and land into the body of the settler nation. Valladolid (cited in Turner, 1998) points out that, in settler colonial contexts, amalgamation becomes a tool for eliminating indigenous people. Indeed, surveillance and security discourses facilitate the process of amalgamating Palestinians into the settler regime by rewriting their subjectivity. This process narrows the possibilities of preserving a Palestinian history, memory and narrative, enabling Israel to replace Palestinian presence with its own narrative and values.

The colonizers' political economy, with its perpetual elimination of indigenous peoples, defines the state of exception within the laws of settler societies, and it is through the law that settler colonialism

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maneuvers its biopolitical machinery and its inherent logic of elimination (Thobani, 2007; Wolfe, 2006). Legalized biopolitical violence, placed in spaces defined by the logic of erasure, both naturalizes the settlers' violence and enables them to further their racialized colonial project. When settler colonialists exclude the identity of the indigenous peoples from the state, they position indigenous subjects not just in a state of exception (Lentin, 2008), beyond the law, but also outside of humanity. The settler is constantly haunted by the colonized, and the fears of the former keep the indigenous population on the verge of eviction if they challenge the stability and safety of the settler. Such fear is incorporated into the settlers' governance, allowing them to simultaneously include and exclude, eliminate and incorporate, assimilate and reject, while producing new categories and modes of sameness and otherness that serve to naturalize settler dominance.

THE POLITICS OF FEAR

This book takes the reader into the world of Israeli securitization, surveillance and the industry of fear. Not only are colonized Palestinians feared, but Israeli interpretations of Palestinian violence, tied to constructing them as feared Others, promotes quotidian surveillance over their lives. I argue that fear and "security claims" have become embedded in the Zionist ontology and epistemology, which, when partnered with power holders, enable technologies of surveillance over feared Others that have assisted in disciplining, displacing and erasing communities, maintaining spatial and racial dispossessions.

Fear of the Other segregates the world into secure and non-secure zones (Appadurai, 2006). Constructing citizens and occupied subjects as feared Others is a process within a larger onto-politico-economic framework in both local and global politics. Conjoined with myths, historical events, politicized exchanges and human encounters, this process serves to negotiate, invent, replace, transform and construct ideas, fantasies and bodies that should be feared. Fearing those who are otherized creates constant tension, uncertainties and struggles within colonial contexts. For, as Said (1978) explained in *Orientalism*, the less clear and more inaccurate the language used to depict the Other, the more alien the Other becomes. As Ahmed notes in her reading of Fanon, "the other is only felt to be the cause of fear through a misrecognition, which reads the body of the other as fearsome" (2003, p. 388). When the feared Other is depicted in a monstrous or animal-like manner, a

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profound transformation occurs in perceiving the otherized and in othering bodies, spaces and lives. Fanon (1963) claims that settlers construct natives in zoological terms, and Mbembe theorizes how natives live an "animal life" (2003, p. 24). As Fanon (1967) explains in *Black Skin, White Masks*, the flesh becomes the raw material required for the performance of the native's identity as one who is unwanted, unneeded, uncounted, unrecognized and feared.

Portraying the Arab/Palestinian population in "zoological" terms – as primitive, barbaric, uncivilized and ultimately as terrorists – constitutes a deliberate and well-calculated manifestation of privileging the Jewish settler over the monstrous native. Reflecting back on Majda and Raya's unpunished deaths, we can begin to see how the trivialization of their loss of life contributes to the ideology that Palestinians are less than human. As Ahmed observes, "other claims of injury can only be excluded from legitimate grounds for self-defense if 'others' are not assumed to have lives that are innocent" (2003, p. 385). Racial and gendered hierarchies are required to make such assumptions of lack of innocence.

For Foucault, it is race that enables the exercise of biopower to "make live or let die" (2003, p. 241). Ideas of racial difference and inferiority/superiority determine who must live and who must die in political systems centered on biopower. The "production" and "protection" of life, as Foucault shows, is intrinsically tied to death. In the biopolitical framework, death is put to the service of life, and the death of some is considered the precondition for the prosperity of others. This dynamic is clearly illustrated in contemporary discourses of security, where the ejection, expulsion or elimination of some is constructed as necessary for the protection and thriving of others (De Larrinaga and Doucet, 2008; Dillon and Lobo-Guerrero, 2008; Evans, 2010). Race structures this dynamic: "security discourses turn violence into a necessity – they must be killed so we can live. Race makes this claim intelligible" (Razack, 2009a, p. 819).

Similarly, Mbembe (2003) recognizes the colonial distinction as a racial one: Racial and colonial differences are interwoven to produce regimes of living and dying. For Mbembe, necropolitical power explains "the various ways in which, in our contemporary world, weapons are deployed in the interest of maximum destruction of persons and the creation of death-worlds" (2003, p. 40). Offering Palestine as an example of a death-world, Mbembe suggests that infrastructural warfare – Israeli control of water, air and space – combined with brutal control

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over the individual's mobility allows for the "invisible killing" and "outright execution" of Palestinians, creating a world in which colonial subjects become the "living dead." The spatial fixing of colonized people is related to the colonizers' fear of their resistance, actions, life and movement, resulting in the creation of zones where life is often unlivable or untenable and where dying becomes the regime of living (see also Ghanim, 2005).

When a settler colonial state like Israel constructs itself as a state under attack that must constantly "defend" itself (see Foucault, 2003; Robinson, 2013), its entire system of governance is centered on ensuring that people are always afraid. In settler colonial contexts, security rhetoric and the security regime rely on fear as a common and even privileged instrument to further otherize and separate "dangerous" Others. This can be seen in colonial acts of torture, abuse and imprisonment across colonized geographies (Pugliese, 2013; Razack, 2011b). The fusion between security claims and fear has created a context filled with violent values and acts, advancing racist imperialism and generating a permanent state of emergency. In Israel, as in other colonial contexts, emergency laws and regulations are used to maintain fear so as to secure land grabbing and dispossession. This power violates the rights of the indigenous people, violently intervenes in their social fabric and furthers the planned and systematic maneuvering of indigenous communities through collaborators (Cohen, 2006).

Like other colonial regimes, Israel's intelligence apparatus produces knowledge about Palestinian subjectivity that reflects colonial stereotypes and fantasies of the colonizer (Guha, 1983; Stoler, 1985; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). Such representations allow colonizers to manipulate popular ideas and beliefs about the colonized as a "savage" Other. Israel's security machinery (including its police and intelligence reports and military analyses with the collaboration of some Israeli academics) continuously produces stories, rumors, slogans, statistics, laws and policies, creating new capital in fear to maintain and substantiate their claims.

The maintenance of fear is facilitated, supported and mediated through global political alliances between Israel, the United States and other Western powers, which aid in the elimination of the feared Other, who is identified as the internal enemy that must be purged from the settler colonial state and its expanding boundaries. Israel's policy of land grabbing and the resulting displacement and destruction of entire communities seeks not only to uproot and eliminate "feared" enemies, but

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also to submit the indigenous population to terror while simultaneously constructing themselves, the colonizers, as the victims of terror.

The industry of fear creates new opportunities for political maneuvering, for the promotion of certain officials, for the creation of new jobs and for the advancement of social and national solidarity among Israeli Jews (Higgs, 1997). It enables the building of new facilities, the procurement of international funding and recognition, and the proposal of legislation to direct the machinery and bureaucracies of war (Berda, 2012). The Israeli industry of fear targets not only Palestinian anti-occupation and anti-violence protesters, but also Israeli dissenters, anti-war protesters, anti-checkpoint dissidents and other political activists. Those who dare to challenge the industry of fear and its production in conflict zones are confronted by the claim that "We are in danger," "This is a war," "They hate us," and "We fear them."[3]

Developing more powerful weapons and creating additional "defense" and "security" strategies becomes a non-negotiable goal of the Israeli state. The embeddedness of Israeli colonial ideology in its militarized system produces a fear that can be clearly detected in the way in which the Israeli political system functions and expresses itself, the manner in which the legal system creates and interprets laws, and the mode in which mass media systems are used to serve the interests of those producing this fear. This assemblage of fear ensures that soldiers like those who killed Majda and Raya Hajaj are not perceived as deviating from the norm and therefore are not properly punished.

The current politics of "security" and "counter-terrorism" surrounding Israel's militarist policy justifies actions taken to "protect" Israeli citizens at the expense of violating the rights of Palestinians. The political economy of fear, exclusion, death and collective punishment, characterized by a fundamentally unequal power relationship between Israel and the Palestinians, leads to violence, counter-violence and erasure. This creates an escalating vicious cycle in which the imbalance of power forges an ever-widening gap between the powerful and the powerless. I argue that in colonial contexts in general, and in the case of Israeli settler colonialism in particular, the industry of fear aims at sociocide, which attacks the social fabric and daily life of the colonized, their land, their property and their politics of truth. Under such conditions,

[3] See, for example, the Herzliya Conference research and publications (available at www.herzliyaconference.org/eng).

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