ISRAEL’S EXPLOITATION OF PALESTINIAN TOURISM AND INTERNATIONAL COMPLICITY:

TOURISM AS A TOOL TO NORMALIZE OCCUPATION
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Introduction

Israel’s Occupation: A “Double Blow” to Tourism in Palestine

Palestine is a land which is rich in archaeological, cultural and religious heritage, offering a wealth of tourism development opportunities. Given this heritage, Palestine was one of the earliest touristic destinations in history, welcoming visitors from around the world and pilgrims of all faiths for centuries. Today, the development of the tourism sector is a strategic part of the Palestinian national economic plan and for the prosperity of a sovereign and independent state of Palestine.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel on 78% of the territory of historic Palestine in 1948, during which time two thirds of the Palestinian population were forced out of their homeland, the landscape of Palestine ‘the Holy Land’, has dramatically changed. Since 1967, when Israel occupied the Gaza Strip the West Bank including East Jerusalem, tourism activity in Palestine has been determined by two main factors: the level of tourism activity in Israel (and from Israel) and the political situation in the occupied State of Palestine.

This report focuses on what is termed the “double blow” to the Palestinian tourism industry, as a result of over 50 years of occupation. Section I focuses on the first of these two “blows”- the restrictions and de-development of the Palestinian industry by Israeli occupation authorities- while Section II addresses the second “blow”- how Israel exploits Palestinian resources, including touristic sites, for the benefit of the Israeli economy. Section III highlights how international states, companies and consumers, through tourism, are being made complicit in Israeli violations and human rights abuses. The penultimate section outlines the framework of law and international standards, which, together with recommendations in the final section of this publication, can help the international community to ensure that they are not part of a process that damages the Palestinian economy, perpetuates Israel’s unlawful occupation and denies the people of Palestine their political, civil and collective rights.
I: RESTRICTING AND DE-DEVELOPING THE PALESTINIAN TOURISM INDUSTRY

The vast majority of challenges faced by the Palestinian tourism industry are either directly tied to, or indirectly compounded by, restrictions imposed by the State of Israel’s 50 year-old belligerent military occupation of the State of Palestine (Gaza Strip and West Bank, including East Jerusalem).

Economic Restrictions

The Israeli occupation has suffocated economic development in occupied Palestine. In 2014, a conservative estimation of the cost of the occupation to the Palestinian economy was almost 9.5 billion USD, representing nearly 75% of Palestine’s GDP.1

The 1993 Declaration of Principles (also known as Oslo I) set an interim period of five years to reach a final status agreement that would end the Israeli occupation. During that period the Palestinian government was to be engaged in the provision of basic commodities and services to the public in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, paying government salaries and building institutions. The limited income that has been generated or received due to the restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation, made the Palestinian economy primarily dependent on international aid, which was largely aimed at humanitarian needs. With no mechanism for accountability built into the Oslo agreement, the initial interim period of five years has been prolonged for almost 25 years - and Israel’s occupation continues. Thus, the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities has struggled to implement its list of priorities to develop tourism infrastructure, rehabilitation of sites, diversify the sector, and continue with a marketing and promotion strategy for tourism.

As a result, and although tourism has the potential to be one of Palestine’s largest economic sectors, the tourism sector’s direct contribution to GDP is approximately 4%, which is less than the immediate region economies (6% in Israel, 20% in Jordan, 13% in Egypt and 37% in Lebanon). This weakness also applies to the contribution of the tourism sector to total employment. The tourism sector contributes approximately 2% to total Palestinian employment. This is the lowest rate compared to the immediate region economies (8% in Israel, 19% in Jordan, 11% in Egypt, and about 4% in Lebanon).3

Although there has been an increase in the number of tourists visiting Palestine in recent years, through a joint public-private sector initiative to improve security and organizational elements while attracting crucial new investments in the tourism sector, it has not created the intended economic growth. In its April 2016 submission to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC), the World Bank noted that the Palestinian economy “has long suffered” due to “restrictions and political instability”,4 while also noting that, aside from these restrictions, Israel’s failure to uphold its obligations under the Oslo Accords is a major factor in terms of stifling the Palestinian economy as a whole.5

2 In Palestine’s national economic plan, the minimum target for the growth in the tourism sector is 10 percent of the GDP.
5 Ibid.
Military Restrictions

The Yasser Arafat International Airport in Gaza was destroyed in 2000, Palestine's Qalandia Airport has been forcibly closed to tourists and Palestinian passengers since 1967 (and as an airport since 2001). This means that Palestine has no airport, in addition to having no control over its land or maritime borders.

From a tourism perspective, this lack of control creates huge technical and logistical impediments for the sector. The entry and exit of tourists is not controlled by the Palestinian government, which makes it difficult to collect data and charge entry fees. That lack of control over tourists at entry points undercuts critical opportunities to promote tourist sites and accommodations. Additionally, tourists with the potential to visit the occupied Palestinian State are often deterred by the Israeli occupying forces' presence, the closure regime, the inequitable treatment of tourists by occupying forces when attempting to enter or exit Palestine, as well as the additional costs and time involved. Over the last few months Israeli authorities have stepped up policies to prevent foreigners from visiting Palestine, including signing declarations forbidding them from entering Palestinian-controlled areas (such as Bethlehem and Jericho) or denying entry to Palestine based on draconian laws aimed at silencing opposition to the Israeli occupation.

Lack of Respect for Contractual and Legal Obligations

The legal framework for Palestinian-Israeli tourism relations is the “Paris Protocol”.² The Paris Protocol was signed as part of the Oslo Accords in the early 1990s between the PLO and Israel as part of an interim arrangement³ on the road to Palestinian statehood. The main focus of the bilateral tourism relations is the freedom of movement of tourists, professionals, tourism goods and services during the interim period between Occupied Palestine and Israel. Among other issues, the legal framework in the Paris Protocol sets out the mutual recognition of the jurisdiction of each party with respect to licensing and liability and establishes venues for raising bilateral tourism issues through the Joint Tourism Committee (JTC) which met infrequently up until 2008. Since 2008, Israel has not specified what framework it upholds to govern its relations with Palestinian tourism. What is clear is that, whether the governing framework is considered to be the Paris Protocol or International Law, Israel systematically violates its obligations under both.

Movement and Access Restrictions

The economic basis for development opportunities in the tourism sector begins with mobility of tourist and service providers. This essential building block has been missing in occupied Palestine, especially as restrictions imposed by the occupying power have increased in the past decade or so. Mobility of tourists, tourism professionals and service providers is heavily restricted under the pretext of “security measures” imposed by the Israeli occupying forces. The lifting of these restrictions is a key prerequisite for the success of this sector to achieve a critical mass. Without a significant change in movement restrictions in Occupied Palestine, there remains little incentive for investors to advance development of the tourism sectors.

Since September 2000, Israel has imposed more restrictions on movement and access within the West Bank and between the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. As of mid-December 2016, the restrictions consist of 572 checkpoints, roadblocks and barriers⁴ and a closure of much of the Palestinian territory and limited access to crossings. The importance of movement and access to the Palestinian economy as a whole and, by extension, the tourism sector, is summarized by the World Bank in its 2016 report:

Even though only a political resolution would allow the Palestinian economy to reach its full potential, easing the restrictions and implementing existing agreements could significantly improve the economic outlook. In general, granting Palestinians access to production inputs and external markets and enabling unimpeded movement of goods, labor and capital, as anticipated in the political agreements, would drastically improve growth prospects of the Palestinian economy. For example, the Oslo Accords envisioned a gradual transfer of Area C to the PA’s control. This hasn’t happened yet, and the World Bank estimates that granting Palestinian businesses access to Area C would increase Palestinian GDP by

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3. The interim arrangement provided for a period of 5 years (from 1994-1999) to allow for the phased implementation of the Oslo agreement and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. The implementation of the Oslo agreement was never completed.
a third. Also, the Paris Protocol allows for the expansion of the quota of goods that the PA can apply its own import and customs policy to and import from third countries, depending on the Palestinian market’s needs.\textsuperscript{9}

The tourism sector suffers from movement restrictions in three specific areas: a) Movement of tourists, b) Movement of Palestinian tourism professionals, and c) Movement of tourism vehicles.

Movement of Tourists

Pilgrims and international tourists have traditionally accounted for a significant share of tourists entering occupied Palestinian territory. Religious and cultural tourists included visits to religious, archaeological and cultural sites in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and (until December 2008) to Gaza. The tourism industry has, in the past, benefited from tourists visiting Palestinian cities such as Jerusalem (the occupied Eastern part including the Old City), Bethlehem, Jericho, Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron and villages such as Burqin, Sabastia, Aboud and Taybeh. By staying in hotels, dining in restaurants, traveling on buses, hiring tour guides, and shopping in the markets, visitors provided the economic lifeblood of the tourism sector. According to the Israeli Ministry of Tourism (as Israel controls entry to both Israel and Palestine), 22\% of the tourists that entered through border crossings during 2015 listed “pilgrimage” as the purpose of their visit, meaning that a significant number of places to be visited would have been in Occupied Palestine.\textsuperscript{10}

Tourists from Israel, particularly the 1.8 million Palestinians citizens and residents of Israel, form another considerable market share who traditionally visited the West Bank on a daily basis for shopping, leisure, dining, and family visits. By order of the Israeli occupying forces, Israeli citizens are not allowed Area A, areas controlled by the Palestinian government under the Oslo Agreement. Despite this order, in the first half of 2017 alone, Palestinians citizens of Israel accounted for the largest proportion of inbound visitors, comprising 56\% of total visitors.\textsuperscript{11}

Family-related, Diaspora and religious tourists also contributed significantly to the Palestinian economy before September 2000. Both segments have been severely limited or denied entry to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in recent years. Harassment at crossings by the Israeli occupying forces of foreigners visiting Palestinian cities and towns is common and discouraging. The time to cross from Jordan to the West Bank can range from a few hours to an entire day. Despite all of this, Israel’s Tourism Ministry recorded 115,000 Muslim tourists – 3\% of the total foreigners who arrived at airports or land borders with Jordan and Egypt. Half of these Muslim tourists identified as pilgrims, around 100,000 came from Turkey. But there were also some from India, Indonesia and Malaysia, whose citizens Israel admits under special provisions for pilgrims.\textsuperscript{12} Such numbers show the potential that an independent Palestine would have as a pilgrimage center for the three monotheistic religions.

Figure 1: Origin of tourists visiting the State of Palestine (First Half of 2017) \textsuperscript{13}

Today, on average, the number of incoming tourists entering the occupied State of Palestine is one third of the incoming tourists to Israel. In 2016, Israel received 3.07 million tourists with a spillover of one-third of overnight tourists in occupied Palestine.\textsuperscript{14} The spillover into Palestinian areas did not have a significant economic impact. The majority of tourists visiting Palestine were “day trippers”, spending a few hours in Palestinian towns and villages and returning to lodge, eat and shop in Israel and in areas under Israel’s direct control, such as West Jerusalem and West Bank settlements. Although the number of day trippers to Palestine has increased to 2.4 million in 2016, this has had minimal economic impact on the tourism sector. Only 906,000 were overnight tourists,\textsuperscript{15} with a significant number of them coming from local tourism, including Palestinian citizens of Israel.

\textsuperscript{9} Economic Monitoring Report to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee, World Bank Report (19 April, 2016), page 1.
\textsuperscript{11} PCBS, 2017
\textsuperscript{13} PCBS, 2017
\textsuperscript{14} ICBS, 2016
\textsuperscript{15} ICBS, 2016
Movement of Palestinian Tourism Professionals

Tourism professionals include tour guides, bus drivers, hotel employees and tour operators, among other service industry professionals. Since September 2000, tour guides and bus drivers face the most severe challenges in terms of movement and access permits. The Paris Protocol governs the entry of Palestinian tourism professionals conducting tours in Israel (including Jerusalem, which Israel formally annexed in 1980, in violation of international law). In 2005, a mere 42 permits were granted to Palestinian tour guides. By 2015, only 25 of those tour guides were still operational. In comparison, there are some 8,000 Israeli tour guides with access to the many sites in over 60 percent ("Area C") of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. The sites in the remaining 40 percent of the territory of the West Bank ("Areas A" and "B") are under the limited jurisdiction of the Palestinian Government and are prohibited for Israeli citizens to enter by order of the Israeli occupying forces. Nevertheless, there are about 50 Israeli-Jewish tour guides that enter Bethlehem and Jericho almost on a daily basis.

Movement of Tourism Vehicles

Palestinian vehicles are banned from entering Israel, East Jerusalem and some of the tourist sites in the West Bank which are under the control of the Israeli occupying forces. Moreover, Palestinian vehicles cannot travel between Gaza and the West Bank and have limited access to many of the roads in the West Bank. With respect to Israeli-licensed bus drivers (which includes Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem), entry is prohibited by Israeli military order. These restrictions are unilaterally imposed by the Israeli occupying forces and contravene the Israeli Government’s commitment under Article 10 of the Paris Protocol. The restrictions and conditions require tourists to cross checkpoints, such as when entering Bethlehem. The procedures are often time-consuming, intrusive and act as a deterrent to enter more frequently and for longer periods. At these checkpoints, many of which are deep inside the territory of the occupied State of Palestine, tourists may be forced to exit the bus or car, have their baggage and documents searched and, on occasion, be turned away at the discretion of Israeli soldiers, who are not required to give a reason.

Development Restrictions in “Area C”

Israel not only controls access to the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, but also to the majority of the land and resources, including water, arable land, the electromagnetic sphere, telecommunications lines, the Dead Sea and all of the archaeological/religious sites in over 60 percent of the Occupied West Bank (known as “Area C”). According to the Interim Agreement, Israel is required to allow for Palestinian development of archaeological and tourist sites in Area C when an application for a permit is made to the Israeli occupying forces. Israel routinely denies permits, even for humanitarian projects which are unrelated to tourism. Tourism development (apart from the illegal settlement-related tourism development) is virtually non-existent in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (with the exception of Palestinian East Jerusalem). The requests for development that are important to the tourism sector fall under two categories: development and rehabilitation of cultural, natural and archaeological sites and tourism-related infrastructure.

Development and Rehabilitation of Cultural, Natural and Archaeological sites: Denied Applications

The Palestinian Government has made many applications for cultural, natural and archaeological development for tourism purposes. The applications are routinely denied for rehabilitating and developing. Palestinian development and rehabilitation of tourism sites is essential for attracting and expanding tourism for the Palestinian sector and is in the interest of promoting and expanding the tourism pie for the region. A list of a number of sites that must be protected and developed in Area C include the following:

20. Article 10 (f) provides: “Tourist buses or any other form of tourist transport authorized by either side, and operated by companies registered and licensed by it, will be allowed to enter and proceed on their tour within the area under the jurisdiction of the other side, provided that such buses or other vehicles conform with the EEC technical specifications. All such vehicles will be clearly marked as tourist vehicles.”
21. The revival of the tourism industry in the Palestinian Area has been concentrated in Bethlehem. The main reason for this concentration is the demand of Bethlehem as a destination in the tourism package that the Israeli tour operators was obliged to include in their pilgrimage packages.
1. Tell el-Furdeis (Herodium), located 5 kilometer south-east of Bethlehem.

2. Khirbet Qumran, located on the western part of the Dead Sea, is 2 kilometers away from the seashore and circa 14 km south of Jericho.

3. Tell Sabastia, located approximately 10 km northwest of Nablus, and is located on a hill about 450m above sea level.

4. Tulul Abu el-'Alayiq, located 3 kilometers southwest of Jericho.

5. Umm er-Rihan forest, located in the heart of the West Bank, 15 kilometers southwest of Jenin.

6. Tell Dothan, located 20 kilometers north of Nablus, and 8 kilometers south of Jenin.


8. Baptism Site (al-Maghtas), located 6 kilometers southeast of Jericho.

9. Wadi Khureitun, situated some 15 kilometers southeast of Jerusalem, and 8 kilometers southeast of Bethlehem.


11. Palestine National Museum (Rockefeller), located 100 meters north of Jerusalem old city.

12. Tell er-Ras (Gerzin), located 2 kilometers to the south of Nablus.

Development of Tourism Infrastructure

Development of parks, resorts, hotels and restaurants is usually undertaken by the private sector, but the Israeli occupying forces continues to deny any Palestinian development in Areas C. Another component that requires development is infrastructure, which is often developed by the public sector and includes roads, electricity, telecommunications, water and sewage. This infrastructural development is carried out by the relevant Palestinian civil servants and extends to services such as information centers and tourism police stations. The Palestinian Government is prevented to carry out any infrastructure development in Areas C, where the potential for tourism development has significant economic potential, including notably in the Dead Sea.
ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ENTERPRISE AROUND OCCUPIED EAST JERUSALEM
PALESTINIAN TOURISTIC SITES DENIED DEVELOPMENT BY ISRAEL
II. EXPLOITING PALESTINIAN SITES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ISRAELI TOURISM INDUSTRY

The second “blow” to the Palestinian tourism industry concerns the exploitation, by Israel, of touristic sites located in the occupied State of Palestine. The sites in question are located mainly in Area C of the West Bank and the occupied eastern part of Jerusalem, which includes the Old City, but also includes the exploitation of Areas A, such as Bethlehem, as will be explained in more detail below.

In a number of cases, Israeli authorities lay claim to certain sites in occupied Palestine on the basis of a Jewish connection to those sites. Such is the case with sites such as the Ibrahimi Mosque (Hebron), The Bilal Bin Rabah Mosque/Rachel Tomb (Bethlehem), and the Al-Aqsa Mosque Compound in the Old City of Jerusalem.

This narrative, which has become increasingly mainstream, is irrelevant to the question of sovereignty and serves to confuse the issue at hand. There is no question that certain sites have Jewish, Christian and Muslim roots and some sites may be disputed in terms of religious or historical connection. In either case, religious claim cannot dictate national sovereignty. Holy and touristic sites, like all other land and resources, fall under the sovereignty of the country in which they are situated, regardless of religious claim.

The exploitation of Palestinian sites is therefore not only a question of physical blow dealt to the tourism industry, but also a dangerous/inflammatory policy aimed at normalizing and justifying the Israeli occupation of Palestine using religious arguments. This section examines how sites are exploited.
The Settlement Tourism Enterprise

Israel continues to develop archaeological, religious and cultural sites in the West Bank exclusively for the benefit of Israeli tour operators and promoted and marketed as “Israeli” tourism destinations to foreign tourists. Such actions not only goes against Israel’s international commitments, but is a breach of international law. These developments, which are considered part of the Israeli settlement enterprise, include such sites as the Good Samaritan and Baptismal site (“Qasr El-Yahud”) near Jericho. The Israeli occupying forces’ plan for the development of the site on the Jordan River is intended to bring Israeli rather than Palestinian investors to the area. Other sites include the Herodian Castle (for exclusive Israeli access) in the Bethlehem District and Qumran caves, where the Dead Sea Scrolls were excavated by the Palestine Archaeological Museum in the 1950s. The Dead Sea Scrolls have since been seized by Israeli authorities as part of the wider occupation of Palestine, and are currently kept in the Israel Museum.

Moreover, the Israeli occupying forces have allowed Israeli investments in natural sites in the occupied West Bank while at the same time prohibiting Palestinian investments in these areas. The Dead Sea shore is one of the more flagrant examples. Israeli occupying forces have permitted the settlement enterprise to include the development of Siesta Beach and Kalia Beach on the Dead Sea.

Palestinians, including tour guides, tour operators, investors and others are not allowed to access tourist, archaeological and religious sites developed as part of Israeli’s settlement enterprise and therefore are robbed of their cultural heritage and the economic revenues generated from these limited resources available to them. Moreover, as part of the illegal nature of the settlement enterprise, Israeli tour packages are marketed and promoted by mispresenting settlement sites as destinations in “Israel”. This issue is further explored in Section III.

Exploitation of Palestinian Archaeological Heritage

Israel has taken over thousands of Palestinian archaeological and heritage sites, facilitating the looting of the sites and denying access to Palestinian official institutions and residents. Some of the main official institutions involved in such activities are the Israeli Ministry of Tourism and the Israel Nature and Parks Authority.

Between 1967 and 2007, Israel excavated 980 archeological sites in the Occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem, issuing another 1,148 excavation licenses in occupied territory. A number of these so-called excavations, involve the looting, damage and destruction of these archeological sites. Despite the fact that such sites and objects must be protected under international law, several of the artifacts found have been taken outside of Occupied Palestine. Under international law, Israel is prohibited from carrying out excavations or rehabilitation work at heritage sites in occupied territory. In addition, emergency repairs to sites in Israeli-controlled Areas must be coordinated with the Palestinians.

In addition, Israel’s Antiquities Authority has announced plans to transfer important relics and a library of historic books from the Rockefeller museum in occupied East Jerusalem into Israel. Such actions do not only violate the cultural rights and heritage of the Palestinian people, but also the economic potential that such places represent for the growth of Palestinian tourism.

The fact that such sites are protected is not recognized by Israel, denying the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the territory Israel has occupied since 1967. Proof that Israel officially does not recognize its status of occupying power and that it exploits tourism for colonization purposes, is the fact that the Israel Nature and Parks Authority officially uses a map of Historic Palestine, without the 1967 border in order to show the sites under its control. In occupied Palestine the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority divides such places between nature reserves and archeological sites, such as Sebastia, Mount Gerizim, the En Prat nature reserve and the Museum of the Good Samaritan23.

In February 2010, the Israeli government adopted the “National Heritage Sites Project.” The project’s stated goal is to strengthen the connection of the Jewish people to the land of Israel. Thirty-seven archeological sites are on the list, six of them located in Occupied Palestine: Qumran ruins near the Dead Sea, Susya (Susija), Herodion (Jebel al-Fureidis) east of Bethlehem, Tel Shiloh, Moa’in Ilit – Qiryat Setef/ Khirbet Bad-Issa, The Biar Aqueduct, The Jerusalem Walls National Park and the City of David (Silwan) as well as Rachel’s Tomb/ Bilal Bin Rabah Mosque in Bethlehem.


23 Map of “National Parks and Nature Reserves” from the Israeli Nature and Park Authority. Available at http://www.parks.org.il/sites/English/ParksAndReserves/Pages/default.aspx - Last checked on November 7th 2017
CASE [EXAMPLE OF EXPLOITATION]: Israeli Hotels in Occupied Palestine

Three Israeli hotels, Olive Tree, Leonardo and the Grand Court, were inaugurated around the year 2000 on confiscated Palestinian land in Occupied East Jerusalem. Being strategically built close to the Old City, the three hotels have a combined capacity of almost 1,200 rooms. While Palestinian hotels traditionally had the advantage to being close to the Old City and other important religious and touristic places, like the Mount of Olives, Saint George’s Anglican Cathedral and the Dominican Church, the three settlement hotels have drastically affected the ability of Palestinian hotels to compete. In addition to the construction of Israel’s illegal Annexation Wall- which almost fully ended the influx of local Palestinian tourists- the business of settlement hotels has been expanded in and around the occupied Old City of Jerusalem. From 40 Palestinian hotels in the city before the year 2000, today there are only about 20 hotels left with a combined number of rooms close to 1,000.

Expansion of illegal Israeli settlements around East Jerusalem, particularly to the southern area neighboring Bethlehem, has created the possibility to build new Israeli hotels in settlement areas. In April 2016, a tender was published for a new hotel in the settlement of Ma’ale Adumim 24. The settlement of Ariel, in the northern part of the occupied West Bank, already contains a hotel which boasts 98 rooms, four separate event rooms and a swimming pool 25. Meanwhile, the American online hospitality company, Airbnb, advertises accommodation in several illegal Israeli settlements, including in Har Gilo, Gilo, Har Homa, Teloa, Nokdim, Beitar Illit, Neve Daniel and Har Homa, all built on lands of the Bethlehem governorate, surrounding the historic Palestinian city on all sides and severing it from neighboring East Jerusalem, located only 10 kilometers away. Advertisements for the sale of property in the illegal settlement of Har Homa has included references to its “views over Bethlehem”. 26 Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu made it clear that building the Har Homa settlement was his attempt at “stopping Bethlehem from moving towards Jerusalem”. 27 This illegal settlement is one of the main obstacles to the development of tourism in Bethlehem.

While almost no permits were granted by Israel for the construction of new Palestinian hotels in Occupied East Jerusalem as well as in other areas outside the limited control of the Palestinian government, the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, among other Israeli official bodies, has been incentivizing the expansion of Israeli hotels in occupied territory. One example is the Biankini Beach Resort in the illegal settlement of Kalia, on the shores of the Dead Sea, an area where Israel has strictly forbidden Palestinian presence. In 2016 the Israeli Cabinet approved a package of aid for the development of hotels in Occupied West Bank.28

Such sites are only a few among a long list of important places located inside Occupied Palestine that are under full Israeli control. This includes the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Al Aqsa Mosque Compound, Via Dolorosa, Mount of Olives and the Gethsemane Garden (all in East Jerusalem), the Haram Al-Ibrahimim (Tomb of the Patriarchs) in Hebron, Monastery of Euthymius and Martyrius, the Baptist Site (Jerusalem – Jericho road), Nebi Samuel (Jerusalem – Ramallah District) as well as Emmaus and the Trappist Monastery in the Latroun area.

According to information from the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, more than half of the 7,000 archeological sites located in the Occupied West Bank are located in Area C, under full Israeli control. Lack of protection of those sites, including preventing Palestinian attempts at collecting information for the use of UNESCO, has left the places vulnerable to damage and destruction by Israeli settlers, the Israeli occupying forces, and looters. According to ministry figures, more than 200 sites have been taken over by illegal Israeli settlements, and 1,000 damaged or destroyed by Israel’s construction of its illegal Annexation Wall.

In May 2017, Israel’s treatment of Palestinian heritage sites was highlighted in the UNESCO World Heritage Centre - Decision - 41 COM 7A.36. It calls on Israel to cease its “persistent excavations” in and around the Old City of Jerusalem; to end damaging activities at Jerusalem’s holy sites, including repeated moves to change the status quo at the al-Aqsa mosque compound; and to remove from Israel’s national heritage list two holy sites in the Palestinian cities of Hebron and Bethlehem, in the occupied West Bank.

CASE [EXAMPLE OF EXPLOITATION]: Israeli Hotels in Occupied Palestine

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24 http://www.maaale-adummim.muni.il/News/Article/?Item=197, accessed November 16, 2017
25 http://eshelhashomron.co.il/eshelhashomron-en/
CASE Exploiting Bethlehem as a “cheap subcontractor” for Israeli tour operators.

Bethlehem is the birthplace of Jesus Christ. It has around 22 churches of importance for various Christian denominations (Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Syriac Orthodox and Catholic, Melkite, Maronite, Lutheran, Coptic and Ethiopian Orthodox among others), including the nearby towns of Beit Jala and Beit Sahour. Touristic and religious sites include Shepherd’s Field, Saint Nicholas Church (built on top of a cave that hosted Saint Nicholas), Al Khader Monastery (Saint George), the Milk Grotto, the Convent of the Carmelites Sisters (built by the latest Palestinian Saint, Sir Mariam Basuwardi) the Solomon Pools in Arta, the Cremisan Valley, Herodion Mountain (controlled by the Israeli Parks Authority), as well as Rachel Tomb / Bilal Bin Rabab Mosque and the Mar Elias Monastery (both now off limits for Palestinian ID holders as they stand on the other side of Israel’s illegal annexation Wall). It is estimated that a Christian pilgrim would need two days in order to fully experience Bethlehem and its religious and archeological sites.

Today the Bethlehem governoreate has 42 registered hotels and guesthouses, as well as 11 accommodations that are not registered as they belong to various churches. The combined number of hotel rooms in Bethlehem is over 3,900.

An average of 3,500 foreign visitors enter the Nativity Church, Bethlehem’s holiest place, every day. Of these, less than 2,000 spend the night in Bethlehem, with many also eating in their hotel outside of Bethlehem and therefore not making use of Palestinian restaurants. While overnight stays in Palestinian hotels has grown over the past few years, this is mainly due to the fact that Palestinian hotels are often cheaper than Israeli hotels, one of the few tools that Palestinian businessmen have in order to partially mitigate against Israeli restrictions.

A number of Church groups aim specifically at experiencing Bethlehem and therefore do include overnight stays in Bethlehem and encounters with the Palestinian population. However, there are several tour operators which do not consider visiting Bethlehem for more than a few hours. For example, Shalom Holy Tours offers “Christian Tours” that include a few hours to Bethlehem, alongside other sites in the Occupied State of Palestine which are promoted as part of Israel. Other tour agencies promoting similar touristic packages to “Israel” include Maranatha Tours and Blossoming Rose Tours, an operator which incorporates visits to the Israeli residential settlement of Shiloh and an overnight stay in the settlement of Ariel.

A related problem for the Palestinian tourist industry is the exploitation of shop owners. On sales to tourist groups, Palestinian shop owners in Bethlehem pay an average of 35% commission to the Israeli tour operator, for the privilege of having the tour operator bring tourists to his or her shop. Located a few meters from the Nativity Church, on Star Street – a UNESCO World Heritage Site – Hosh Syrian is one of the newest guesthouses in Bethlehem. It is also well known for its restaurant that has appeared in important publications in France, the United Kingdom and the US, among others. Its founder and chef, Fadi Kattan, was contacted by Israeli tour operators after an Israeli newspaper highlighted the quality of his restaurant:

“They offered to work with us bringing their visitors to our place. However they were only willing to pay a maximum of 8 dollars per full meal. My equivalent in Israel would not offer the same full meal for less than 60 dollars. This is despite the fact that this full meal is offered in our place for 35 dollars. I definitely rejected to work with them.” Mr. Kattan, also a French-educated tourism expert, stated, “Israeli tour operators realize that including Bethlehem in their tours is a plus, but in the vast majority of cases they want to use the Palestinian tourism industry as a cheap subcontractor, in exchange for customers who would come on their own, if Israel didn’t hinder the tourist sector so severely through its occupation.” Mr. Kattan also referred to the gastronomic sector: “There is a new trend among several Israeli tour operators to promote food visits to Israeli settlements. This includes settlements with wineries as well as with organic and responsible farming. The point that matters isn’t only that there could be nothing ‘sustainable’ or ‘responsible’ about farming on stolen land, but the fact that the Israeli Ministry of Tourism is promoting this as a way to use tourism for normalizing the Israeli occupation.”


31 “The Awakening.” Available at: https://blossomingrose.org/israel-tours/the-awakening-november-2017/
III. HOW TOURISTS ARE MADE COMPLICIT

As a tourist in a foreign country, there is a natural need to rely on others: travel agents, tour operators, tourist information points, and local guides. This is particularly the case in the ‘Holy Land’, where the political situation is complex. Israel’s belligerent military occupation of the State of Palestine, i.e. the West Bank including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, means that Israel controls all borders, territory, resources, airspace and populations living in both Israel and Palestine.

In terms of foreign tourism, this means that the only airport is in Israel, the main border crossing from Jordan is controlled by Israel, and it is the Israeli government which issues tourist visas - whether one is travelling to Israel or Palestine (or both). As Israel is the point of entry, it also means a monopoly on information for tourists. This allows Israeli authorities and the tourist industry to market the whole area that it controls (i.e. the State of Israel itself and the State of Palestine, which it occupies) as “Israel”.

As a tourist, this means that if you are taken on a tour by an Israeli tour operator to sites which are not in Israel but in occupied Palestine, or if you visit Israeli-run hotels, restaurants, touristic sites or other attractions in occupied Palestine, then you are supporting Israel’s illegal occupation and colonization of Palestine.

By failing to distinguish between Israel and the territory it occupies, Israeli authorities and tourist service providers and, by extension, international companies and tour operators are contributing to the business of Israeli colonization, misleading tourists by taking advantage of a lack of knowledge, blurring the lines between Israel and occupied Palestine and therefore making international operators and tourists complicit in a whole host of international law violations and human rights abuses associated with Israel’s occupation.
CASE: Average tour to the Holy Land

Below is a trip advertised to “Fascinating Israel” by a company with offices in North America, Europe and Australia. But how many of these sites are actually in Israel and how many are in the occupied State of Palestine?

Answer: Latrun (Day 2); part of the Dead Sea (Day 6); Bethlehem (Day 7) and Old City of Jerusalem (Day 8) are all situated within Occupied Palestine.

In absence of clear tourism guidelines, there is no way for a tourist to know this without research, or the implications of becoming involved in Israel’s exploitation of Palestine, as described above in section II. The West Bank and Gaza Strip are indicated on the maps found on this tour operator’s website (fig. X), but there is no mention of Palestine or Palestinians or the occupation.

33 All of the Dead Sea coastline that falls within the West Bank (northern part) is occupied by Israel, where Palestinian land is used exclusively for Israeli hotels and restaurants, as well as much sought-after minerals and mud from the Dead Sea, as described in Section II.
34 From this particular itinerary, it is unclear whether the other days in Jerusalem are spent in West Jerusalem or occupied East Jerusalem.
CASE: Why Companies like Airbnb and Trip Advisor are part of the problem

Consumers have the right to make an informed decisions about where they stay. If they are not aware of the distinction between Israel and occupied Palestine, then they could easily and unknowingly make themselves complicit in violations and human rights abuses, by choosing to stay in hotels or accommodation which are not located in Israel, but in Israeli settlements in Occupied Palestine.

An example of an Airbnb listing, for a villa in the illegal settlement of Shilo, set deep in the occupied West Bank between Ramallah and Nablus. The owner describes it as being located in the ‘Jerusalem District’ of Israel. (Last accessed 22 October 2017)

Companies like Airbnb and TripAdvisor contribute to this problem by advertising rooms, restaurants and other attractions as being in Israel, when they are in fact located on occupied Palestinian land. By continuing to advertise listings in Israeli settlements (and without clarifying that these listings are located in settlements), these companies are not only themselves complicit, but are knowingly misleading consumers who wish to make an ethical choice, making them complicit too.

As John Dugard, a professor of international law and former special rapporteur to the UN explains, staying in an Airbnb rental in a settlement “facilitates the commission of the crime of establishing settlements” and “therefore aids and abets the crime”. Moreover, because Airbnb makes money from property built in an illegal settlement, the company could be prosecuted for aiding and abetting the commission of a crime.

Tourism is a key strategic sector for Israel to normalize its occupation of Palestine. While denying Palestine the opportunity to fulfill its tourism potential, the occupying power has encouraged the development of touristic projects that provide economic incentives for its illegal settlements while normalizing Israeli presence in several areas of the occupied territory. The main areas targeted are in and around East Jerusalem, the Dead Sea and the Bethlehem area. Visitors to Palestine, a country with almost 7,000 archeological and heritage sites, have their visits reduced to a few areas, while important cities and shrines, such Nablus, Hebron, Aboud and Burqin, are rarely visited, preventing the touristic developments of such areas. At the same time, visits to places within Palestine, such as East Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Jericho, produce limited gains to the Palestinian economy, reaching only 4% of Palestine’s GDP, the lowest in the region. While the Holy See alone received almost 4 million pilgrims during 2016, the number of visitors to the Nativity Church did not reach 1.3 million people.

In the broader political context, a lack of accountability for Israel on an international level effectively incentivizes Israel to perpetuate its profitable occupation, and all of the associated international law and human rights violations that go with it. This “double blow” - severely damaging the Palestinian economy while exploiting land and resources and marketing them as a part of “Israel” - has not only deep ramifications for the Palestinian social fabric, but makes it impossible for the Palestinian people to exercise the right to self-determination, which, in turn, makes a political solution impossible. Furthermore, it makes international states, companies and even unwitting tourists complicit in these illegal and abusive practices.

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Mall in Arial Settlement
IV: GLOBAL STANDARDS:

INTERNATIONAL LAW, POLICY, PRINCIPLES AND PRECEDENTS
Settlements- law and policy

The international community has a clear position on Israeli settlements, which is grounded in international law.

Settlements are a contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention, a pillar of International Humanitarian Law: “The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.” (Article 49)

The ICJ Advisory Opinion of 2004 confirmed that Israel’s policy of facilitating the transfer of Israelis into occupied Palestinian territory violates art. 49, para. 6 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Article 8(2)(b)(viii) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court makes the transfer of the occupying power’s population into occupied territory, directly or indirectly, a war crime.

Numerous UN Security Council Resolutions have declared that settlements are illegal, including 446, 452, 465, 471, and most recently 2334.

As a result, no country recognizes Israeli sovereignty over the territory it occupied in 1967. In the case of the European Union, for example, this position has been formalized into an established international legal principle known as the “Duty of Non-Recognition”.

The Duty of Non-Recognition has resulted in directives such as the 2014 EU Guidelines on Grants, Prizes and Financial Instruments and the 2015 Interpretive Notice on Indication of origin of goods from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967. However, there is still much more to be done, both in terms of implementing these directives and producing similar directives relating to other aspects of Israel’s attempts to impose sovereignty over Palestine.

Business and Human Rights-principles

The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (also known as the “Ruggie Principles”) are global standard for preventing and addressing the risk of adverse impacts on human rights linked to business activity. They are meant to elaborate existing standards and practices for states and businesses, rather than to establish new international law obligations. Unlike earlier UN attempts to create global human rights standards for business activity, the UNGP have been widely endorsed by states and businesses.

The UNGP establishes a three-pillar “protect, respect and remedy” framework: (1) states’ duty to protect human rights; (2) corporate responsibility to respect human rights; and (3) states’ responsibility to provide access to effective remedies.

Relevant Provisions of the UNGP

I. State Duty to Protect Human Rights

7. States should help ensure that business enterprises operating in those contexts (conflict affected areas) are not involved with such abuses, including by:

(a) Engaging at the earliest stage possible with business enterprises to help them identify, prevent and mitigate the human rights-related risks of their activities and business relationships

(c) Denying access to public support and services for a business enterprise that is involved with gross human rights abuses and refuses to cooperate in addressing the situation

(d) Ensuring that their current policies, legislation, regulations and enforcement measures are effective in addressing the risk of business involvement in gross human rights abuses.

II. Corporate Responsibility to Respect Human Rights

11. Business enterprises should avoid infringing on the human rights of others and should address adverse human rights impacts with which they are involved.

13. The responsibility to respect human rights requires that business enterprises:

(b) Seek to prevent or mitigate adverse human rights impacts that are directly linked to their operations, products or services by their business relationships, even if they have not contributed to those impacts.

17. In order to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for how they address their adverse human rights impacts, business enterprises should carry out human rights due diligence. The process should include assessing actual and potential human rights impacts...
Based on these principles, and in the specific context of Palestine and Israel, in March 2016 the UN Human Rights Council passed a resolution (A/HRC/31/L.39) establishing a database of business enterprises that “have, directly and indirectly, enabled, facilitated and profited from the construction and growth of the settlements”, as detailed in the 2013 report of the international fact-finding mission on the impact of Israeli settlements (A/HRC/22/63).  

Many companies also have their own specific commitments to Corporate Social Responsibility, whether committing themselves to the UNGP, UN Global Compact, or other national and international CSR bodies, or having their own principles outlined within their organizational documents.

38 The types of companies and activities are detailed in paragraph 96 of the Fact Finding Mission report:

“Information gathered by the mission showed that business enterprises have, directly and indirectly, enabled, facilitated and profited from the construction and growth of the settlements. In addition to the previously mentioned violations of Palestinian worker rights, the mission identified a number of business activities and related issues that raise particular human rights violations concerns. They include:

- The supply of equipment and materials facilitating the construction and the expansion of settlements and the wall, and associated infrastructures
- The supply of surveillance and identification equipment for settlements, the wall, and checkpoints directly linked with settlements
- The supply of equipment for the demolition of housing and property, the destruction of agricultural farms, greenhouses, olives groves and crops
- The supply of security services, equipment and materials to enterprises operating in settlements
- The provision of services and utilities supporting the maintenance and existence of settlements, including transport
- Banking and financial operations helping to develop, expand or maintain settlements and their activities, including loans for housing and the development of businesses
- The use of natural resources, in particular water and land, for business purposes
- Pollution, and the dumping of waste in or its transfer to Palestinian villages
- Captivity of the Palestinian financial and economic markets, as well as practices that disadvantage Palestinian enterprises, including through restrictions on movement, administrative and legal constraints
- Use of benefits and reinvestments of enterprises owned totally or partially by settlers for developing, expanding and maintaining the settlements”
V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STATES, COMPANIES AND INDIVIDUALS

For States:

Advance national (and/or supranational) guidelines for tour operators, ensuring that travel agents and tour operators provide clear information on the legal and political situation in Palestine/Israel.

Give specific guidance relating to Israeli-run sites, hotels, or other services in occupied Palestinian territory, making clear these services fall within Israeli settlements and that this is a contravention of international law. Tour operators should be made aware of their potential complicity in human rights abuses and all of the political, financial and reputational risks associated with this.

Provide clear and easy-to-find information regarding the political situation and how it relates to tourism on all relevant government websites relating to Israel/Palestine, tourism, business and trade.

Ensure advertising standards are upheld through national agencies and mechanisms or through government regulations. Intervene on cases of false advertising, as a matter of consumer protection.

Adopt an official and active discouragement policy for businesses complicit in Israel’s settlement industrial complex. This includes written guidance on relevant websites and active guidance by contacting companies on specific cases where a company may be complicit.

Support accountability mechanisms such as the UN database of business enterprises that have, directly and indirectly, enabled, facilitated and profited from the construction and growth of the settlements.

For Companies:

Tour operators, travel companies and other online hospitality services should conduct due diligence to ensure that they are not advertising or leading tours to any sites, rooms or other services located in Israeli settlements.

Tour operators and travel companies should provide clear information and policy on their websites and other information materials and ensure that staff understand the situation and can give a factual and impartial explanation (based on international law and government policy) upon enquiry.

For Individuals:

Be an ethical tourist. If you are planning to visit Israel and Palestine, ensure you are not being made complicit in international law violations and human rights abuses by ensuring that you are not visiting or staying in Israeli settlement establishments in occupied Palestinian territory.

Ensure that tours to sites and areas in Palestine are conducted with tour guides recognized by the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

Be vigilant in your own country. Report false advertising to relevant agencies or your foreign ministry.