Fact sheet

The Destruction of the Mughrabi Quarter









Fact sheet: The Destruction of the Mughrabi Quarter

This position paper is implemented by PalVision as a part of its role to protect and preserve the Islamic and Christian Waqf in Jerusalem.

This paper is part of «IRTH project».

Implemented by



In partnership with





Funded by



February 2023 © Palestinian Vision

The views and opinions expressed in this Paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the donor



In Jerusalem, endowment (waqf) properties constitute a great deal of importance in terms of their number, uses, and the area they take up, and consequently the historical, cultural, and religious heritage they hold. The concept of Islamic endowments in Jerusalem is an old establishment that has endured a few changes under different rules yet remained respected except by the Israeli occupation authorities. This fact sheet showcases the first Israeli violation against Islamic endowments in East Jerusalem, namely, the destruction of the Mughrabi Quarter that amounts to a war crime.



Picture: The New York Times

Background Information

The historic Mughrabi (Moroccan) Quarter, which stood for 774 years, was located in the southeastern corner of the Old City of Jerusalem¹, next to the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque/ Al-Haram Al-Sharif and measured roughly 40,000 square meters (40 dunams)².

It was originally established by Al-Malik al-Afdal, Salah al-Din's eldest son, in 1193 as a Muslim Waqf³ "in favor of the Maghribi Community, without distinction of origin"⁴. A **waqf** or **endowment** is an inalienable usufruct-giving asset/property with charitable functions (public waqf), or for family benefit (private waqf).

It was named after the Muslim worshipers from Northern Africa, specifically, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, who would stay in that area after visiting one of the three Holiest Mosques in Islam; Al-Haram Al-Sharif (the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque)⁵. Another incentive for Maghribis to travel to the City of Jerusalem is the presence of highly regarded and influential Maghribi scholars, such as Shuʻaib Ibn al-Husain al-Andalusi (1197).⁶ Lastly, it is said that a number of the endowed property were a gift to the Mughrabi "Mujahidin"⁷.

بالفيديو حارة المغاربة في القدس شاهد علم التهويد وإجرام الاحتلال | نبأ- وكالة الصحافة الوطنية



¹⁾ https://al-buraq.info/#menu-section

²⁾ al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. P.133

https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650013

⁴⁾ Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, al-Uns al-jalil bi-tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil (Amman: al-Muhtaseb, 1973).

⁵⁾ Between Ottomanization and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem's Maghariba Neighborhood (BRILL). Page 9 (82)
6) Ibid.

⁷⁾ The Moroccan Quarter in Jerusalem is a witness to the Judaization and criminality of the occupation. News - The National Press Agency. (2022, June 11). Retrieved from

It continued to serve as a home to Muslim Mughrabi along with Palestinians, as well as a contributor to enriching Jerusalem's economic, social, spiritual, and cultural life - as attested by ottoman municipal archives, historical books, and residents of the quarter, until 1967.

Prior to 1967, many attempts to take over the neighborhood were made by different Zionist figures, yet none were successful. It was only when Jerusalem was occupied that the neighborhood was completely destroyed and the keys to the Mughrabi gate of Al-Haram8 were confiscated in violation of Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention⁹, and the "corpus separatum" status of Jerusalem¹⁰. Today, there are barely any traces of the neighborhood.

On the ruins of the demolished neighborhood, the occupation authorities constructed a plaza for Jewish worshipers in front of the Al-Buraq Wall, in spite of an ad hoc commission established by the British Mandate in 1930 determining that Al-Buraq Wall is an integral part of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque (Al-Haram Al-Sharif), hence an Islamic religious site. In addition, the occupation authorities deployed their forces around Al-Haram's entrances and could storm at will, in defiance of the internationally recognized Status Quo arrangements.

The erasure of the Moroccan neighborhood embodies one of Israel's relentless attempts to Judaize Jerusalem and establish demographic domination, through the appropriation, destruction, and/or alteration of non-Jewish heritage, including protected religious sites or waqf.

Components of the Quarter

The invented plaza is built upon the ruins, stories, and heritage of Mughrabis that were and still are part of the Palestinian social fabric and collective identity. Therefore, it's important to recall the historic and cultural monuments and other components of the Quarter that date back to the time of the Ayyubid and Mamluk

The family waqf holdings formed the most substantial part of the Mughrabi Quarter¹².

A school; Between 1193 and 1196, Al-Afdal founded al-Madrasa al-Afdaliyya in the neighborhood to disseminate Maliki jurisprudence; one of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence, and training Maliki jurists (fuqahā)¹³. Due to its fine ashlar dome, al-madrasa was also known and referred to as al-Qubba¹⁴.

Three shrines (Magamat), which - based on the purposes they served - can be considered mosques. These included the shrine of Sheikh Eid (a revered Sufi¹⁵), and is part of Al-Afdaliyya school, the Maqam of sheikh Abd, with little to no historical information on, and Al-Buraq Mosque, which various documents throughout history mentioned it, the last being a list of the buildings that were bulldozed in 1967 written by the head of the Moroccan endowment. Furthermore, in February 2004, a niche and a dome were discovered in the same area of its described location¹⁶, after the collapse of the Moroccan ramp due to heavy rain and snow. Nevertheless, the occupation authorities hid this finding for three years¹⁷.

Zāwiyat al-Fakhriyya (Abu-Soud Family Compound) was founded by Fakhr al-Din Mohammed in 1332 CE in the southwest corner of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque/Al-Haram Al-Sharif, with its first structure being a school (Al-Madrasa al-Fakhriyya) interchangeably used as a mosque/praying hall¹⁸. Al-Madrasa also had a library (al-kutayba), which is said to have housed around 10,000 volumes with many concerning science including astronomy, and religion. Unfortunately, these books and documents were lost¹⁹.

report/letter from Jordan - question of Palestine. United Nations. Retrieved from

⁸⁾ One of its main entrances

^{9) &}quot;Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the state, or to other public authorities, or to social; or cooperative organizations, is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military

¹⁰⁾ Placing Jerusalem under the administration of the United Nations, as emphasized in UN Resolutions 181 (1947) and 194. (1948)

¹¹⁾ United Nations. (n.d.). Jerusalem - United Kingdom Commission Report on the western wall (1930) - Ion

https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-183716/

https://yplus.ps/wp-content/uploads/202101//Tamari-Salim-Waqf-Endowments-in-the-Old-City-of-Jerusalem-Changing-Status-and-Archival-

¹³⁾ Memiş, Şerife Eroğlu. "Between Ottomanization and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem's Maghariba Neighborhood." In Ordinary Jerusalem, 18401940-: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City, edited by Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire, 1:75–99. Brill, 2018. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvbqs2zk.12. p.83

14) O'Neil , M. S. (2020, April). The Mughrabi Quarter Digital Archive and the Virtual Illés Relief Initiative. Institute for Palestine Studies. Retrieved from https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650013#endnote-085

¹⁶⁾ al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page 159

^{.(}February 19, 2007) , إسرائيل تخفي 3 سنُوات اكتشافها لمسجد في منطقة باب المغاربة. البيان (17

Retrieved from: https://www.albayan.ae/one-world/20071.759937-19-02-

¹⁸⁾ Memiş, Şerife Eroğlu. "Between Ottomanization and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem's Maghariba Neighborhood." In Ordinary Jerusalem, 18401940-: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City, edited by Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire, 1:75–99. Brill, 2018. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvbqs2zk.12. Page 90



Al-zawiya's housing units and other public facilities, such as the Bazaar (market) and Al-Hawaqir (an agricultural land), are located outside the walls of the Mosque and extend all the way to Al-Mughrabi Gate. Contrary to the rest of the housing unit in the Moroccan Quarter, Al-Fakhriyya's buildings were high, some reaching to four-stories, it contained a total of 21 houses, 14 of which belonged to the Abu-Soud family.²⁰

Most al-zawyeh and its public structures were demolished except for the mosque and the library. Some historians link this to the closure of the main entrance to the Mosque thus hindering the occupation's ability to reach them²¹, while others like the Palestinian historian Albert Algazerian believe that it was a gesture to attempt to develop a relationship with the Morrocan King Hassan II²². Today, both of these structures are part of the Islamic museum in the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque/ Al-Haram Al-Sharif.

In general, Al-Zawyeh endured a gradual demolition that lasted until 1969, under pretexts such as "excavation work", and removing the remains that "threaten the public safety". An example on the prior is the expropriation of Al-Hawaqir in favor of the work of the Israeli occupation authorities, namely, the Israeli Ministry of archeology²³.

Zāwiyat al-Mgharbeh (Omar al-Mujard) is one of the few structures that survived the 1967 flattening of the Quarter. It was endowed in 1304 by the scholar 'Umar bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abd al-Nabi al-Masmudi al-Mujarrad and is located on the western side of the neighborhood near the stairway that leads to al-Silsila Gate²⁴.

Its historical importance stems from its conventional use as the first stop and temporary home for every Mughrabi who came to Jerusalem and wished to stay until he/she was provided with a permanent residence²⁵. Moreover, it contains the tomb of al-Mujarrad's grandson; Abu Madyan al-Ghawth, a celebrated traditionalist and mystic who served at one point as the neighborhood Sheikh and endowed his own lands of Ein-Karem village to further benefit the Mughrabi community²⁶. Back then, the Sheikhs were the responsible party for managing the waqf income including its dispersion²⁷.

After the 1967 war crime, al-zawyeh became home to Mughrabi families who survived the forced displacement. This remains true until this day, although parts of it require critical renovation work to prevent a potential collapse²⁸.



Picture: Library of Congress / Matson (G Eric and Edith) Photograph Collection

- 20) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page 173 -175
- 22) Abowd, T., (2000), "The Moroccan quarter: a history of the present", Issue .7 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 page 9
- 23) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. 175
- 24) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page 157 158
- 26) Memiş, Şerife Eroğlu. "Between Ottomanization and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem's Maghariba Neighborhood." In Ordinary Jerusalem, 18401940-: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City, edited by Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire, 1:75–99. Brill, 2018. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvbqs2zk.12. Page 84.
- 28) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fi Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page 158





The demolition of the Moroccan Quarter was part of a bigger plan referred to as the "Expansion and Development of the Jewish Quarter" project, that in reality worked towards achieving a Jewish-Israeli settling in the heart of the Old City, through appropriating a total of four Palestinian neighborhoods. The Israeli-run Municipality of Jerusalem publicly declared the project a year after the Moroccan Quarter's demolition²⁹.

Among the targeted areas was the Al-Sharaf neighborhood. Its eradication in 1968 resulted in the demolition of two mosques and 700 buildings – including 1,840 apartments that housed approximately 6,000 Palestinians and 437 shops that supported 700 laborers.³⁰

The expansion of the borders of the Jewish Quarter was also done at the expense of land and properties belonging to the Armenian and Christian Quarters. In 1975, only 20 Arab families owning 70 shops continued to live there. Five years later, the last Arab family to live there - Ayoub Al-Tutanji, was forcefully expelled31.

Today, only 20% of the territory of the current "Jewish Quarter" is in fact Jewish property.³²

The significance of the Wall to the Zionists

What is referred to as the "Wailing Wall" has not always been central to Judaism, Mount of Olives was in fact where the yearly commemoration of the destruction of the Temple took place33. It was only until the 16th century that Jewish visitors and pilgrims began to refer to the back-then 28 meters long visible part of Al-Buraq Wall³⁴ situated in front of the Muslim Moroccan Quarter, as a "Jewish-religious" site.

Furthermore, the symbolism of the Wall differed among the pilgrims and the secular Zionists. The latter conceived it primarily as a "national" symbol, while the prior as a "religious" one. Yet, by the 20th century, the intertwinedness of both of these symbolisms started growing stronger, as well as the politicization of the issue, causing multiple tensions with the Muslim population. 35

Nonetheless, this does not mean that there weren't any endeavors to claim ownership over the Buraq Wall prior to the 20th century.

Purchase attempts by Zionist figures

Coinciding with the formation of the secular Zionist movement, purchase attempts by wealthy Zionists were recorded and persisted until the second half of the 20th century. Among these figures was Baron Rothschild, who in 1887 tried to buy the entire Quarter with purposes that resembled that of what actually happened; to demolish it and build a plaza instead. Whereas in 1895, Rabbi Chaim Hirschensohn and the Zionist Palestine Land Development Company endeavored to buy the Al-Buraq Wall.³⁶ During the British Mandate over Palestine, Chiam Weizmann, who served as the president of the Zionist organization and the first president of "Israel", worked towards raising £75,000 with the aim to demolish the quarter and displacing its people, yet such efforts were turned down through the Mandate upholding the status quo.³⁷ Similarly, the Jewish committee chosen to meet with the ad hoc commission in 1930, expressed their intent to take over the Moroccan Quarter³⁸.

The fall of the Moroccan Quarter:

These attempts were eventually achieved soon after the 1967 war (the Six-Day War), when Israel belligerently occupied the West Bank and illegally annexed East Jerusalem.

On June 8, 1967, David Ben-Gurion declared in the presence of the then West Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek, and a National Parks Authorities official that: "the area must be cleared to reveal the wall." It was

- 29) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page 186
 30) Shahwan, N. M. (2020, July 14). Demolition of Mughrabi Quarter: 1st step of cleansing Old City of Palestinians: Opinion. Daily Sabah. Retrieved from https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/demolition-of-mughrabi-quarter-1st-step-of-cleansing-old-city-of-palestinians
- 31) Quarters in the Old Town of al-quds. Palm Strategic Initiatives Centre. (2021, March 7). Retrieved from https://palmstrategic.org/post/1064/Quarters-
- 32) Abowd, T., (2000), "The Moroccan quarter: a history of the present", Issue .7 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 page 13 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 page 14 https://oldwebsite.
- 33) Ricca, S. (2010, September). Heritage, nationalism and the shifting symbolism of the wailing wall*. Archives de sciences sociales des religions. p. 169-188. Retrieved from https://journals.openedition.org/assr/22401?lang=en
 34) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page 164
- 35) Ricca, S. (2010, September). Heritage, nationalism and the shifting symbolism of the wailing wall*. Archives de sciences sociales des religions. p. 169188-. Retrievedfromhttps://journals.openedition.org/assr/22401?lang=en
- 36) O'Neil , M. S. (2020, April). The Mughrabi Quarter Digital Archive and the Virtual Illés Relief Initiative. Institute for Palestine Studies. Retrieved from https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650013#endnote-085
- 38) Ricca, S. (2010, September). Heritage, nationalism and the shifting symbolism of the wailing wall*. Archives de sciences sociales des religions. p. 169188-. Retrievedfromhttps://journals.openedition.org/assr/22401?lang=en

 39) O'Neil, M. S. (2020, April). The Mughrabi Quarter Digital Archive and the Virtual Illés Relief Initiative. Institute for Palestine Studies. Retrieved from
- https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650013#endnote-085



expressed in parallel with the large influx of Jewish worshipers the Israeli government expected to visit the Wall following what they perceive as the "liberation" of the city, to celebrate the Passover⁴⁰. Indeed, only a few days after the almost complete flattening of the Mughrabi quarter, 400,000 Jewish came to the site; an event that was referred to by the then deputy Mayor Meron Benvenesti as the "practical consideration" which determined the need for "the demolition of the buildings of the Arab quarter"⁴¹, or more accurately the ethnic cleansing practiced against its residents.

The razing began on the evening of June 10, 1967. A two-hour notice was given to the residents to clear the area and take their belongings⁴², while other families received much shorter notices, specifically 15 minutes - according to an interview with Etan Ben Moshe, the officer in charge of the destruction of the quarter, on 26 November 1999. He further stated: "After we finished demolishing the neighborhood, we found some bodies of the residents that refused to leave their homes between the wreckage."43

By the dawn of June 12, 1967, a total of 138 Islamic waqf properties that included both houses, and the historic and cultural structures discussed above, were demolished by fifteen private Israeli contractors ordered by Kollek, affecting a total of 650 people⁴⁴. The crew followed a "sketchy hand-drawn plan" prepared by Arieh Sharon, an architect who at the time was the president of the Association of Architects and Engineers and an employee of the National Parks Authority⁴⁵.

The demolition was executed without any historical, archeological, or scientific documentation of the neighborhood at that time⁴⁶. A crime against a collective identity that enriched that of the Palestinian, and over the centuries became an indivisible part of it, as well as against their cultural property.

A second phase of demolition took place in 1981, during which 15 endowments were dismantled mainly located on the peripheries of the neighborhood and within Abu-soud compound⁴⁷.

The fate of residents after the Quarter's destruction:

When the destruction occurred, half of the residents of the Moroccan quarter traced a lineage back to the Maghrib⁴⁸. Accordingly, a number of them returned to Morocco via Jordan with the assistance of King Hassan II, while others took refuge in Shu'fat refugee camp, other neighborhoods in the old city of Jerusalem, or elsewhere. 49 At the same time, the Israeli Ministry of Treasury attempted to give each of the displaced families a 200 Jordanian Dinar as a "compensation" for their destroyed houses, and the total of 116 dunums that were confiscated as part of the aforementioned Jewish Quarter plan, under the pretext of "public use"⁵⁰. Yet, most residents refused to accept such money as it would mean "selling" or "giving up" on their ownership and heritage rights over the historic waqf neighborhood, and "admitting" Israel's authority to re-configure the urban spaces of Jerusalem⁵¹.

Current Situation:

A few Jerusalemites from Moroccan descent still live on the outskirts of the neighborhood, facing with unparalleled steadfastness the rise of Judaizing domination over their identity and what is left of property that testifies to their historical and cultural heritage⁵². Meanwhile, there are around 1,000 Jewish settlers living in the Muslim and Christian Quarters, constituting a quarter of the Jews living in the Old City⁵³.

Parallelly, the occupation authorities are conducting excavations under the Moroccan Quarter - currently a plaza, and the whole of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque/ Al-Haram Al-Sharif. These excavations are done in violation of the status quo arrangements, - reassured in the 2016 UNESCO's "Occupied Palestine" resolution - which places the authority to decide on and order excavation and maintenance work under the Islamic Waqf department.

Furthermore, the Israeli occupation has relied on the creation of legal instruments to take over more Palestinian properties and justify the population's forcible displacement. Among the heavily used discriminatory laws

⁵³⁾ https://www.nytimes.com/201615/01//world/middleeast/in-jerusalem-old-city-evictions-seen-as-stirring-up-hornet-nest.html?_r=0



⁴⁰⁾ Abowd, T., (2000), "The Moroccan quarter: a history of the present", Issue .7 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 page 12.

⁴¹⁾ Benvenisti, M. (1996). City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem, page 82.

42) Abowd, T., (2000), "The Moroccan quarter: a history of the present", Issue .7 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 page
43) Abowd, T., (2000), "The Moroccan quarter: a history of the present", Issue .7 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 Page. 10

⁴⁴⁾ al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fi Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page. 180
45) O'Neil , M. S. (2020, April). The Mughrabi Quarter Digital Archive and the Virtual Illés Relief Initiative. Institute for Palestine Studies. Retrieved from https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650013#endnote-085

⁴⁶⁾ Al-Jubeh, N. & PASSIA. Page. 179

⁴⁷⁾ al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. Page 180

⁴⁸⁾ Abowd, T., (2000), "The Moroccan quarter: a history of the present", Issue .7 https://oldwebsite.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/78159 Page. 10 49) al-Jubeh, N., & PASSIA. (2021). Al-Maghāribah fī Bayt al-Maqdis. Beit Mal Al-Quds Asharif Agency. Page. 187

⁵⁰⁾ Abowd Page 10 - 11

⁵¹⁾ Ibid.

⁵²⁾ https://felesteen.news/p/115871

in occupied Jerusalem is the "Absentee Property Law" (1950). It has enabled settler-led organizations such as Elad, also known as the Ir David Foundation, to seize by force and occupy over dozens of Palestinian houses and land, and eventually establish an Israeli settlement inside the Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan and the "City of David" archeological project.

This settler-project tries to "prove" the Jewish presence based on a religious narrative that dates back to 3,000 years ago while distorting the history of the place and excluding other relics from the archaeological/ excavation findings⁵⁴.

Another example is «Amendment 116 to the Planning and Building Law» enacted in 2017 but went into full force in 2019. It added to the hardship of obtaining building permits by Palestinian Jerusalemites by enabling a partial shift in power over planning decisions to a national body, a limited judicial intervention in demolition cases, and an increased imposition of high financial penalties⁵⁵.

A War Crime

What the Israeli occupation authorities did to the Moroccan Quarter, and subsequently other Palestinian neighborhoods reflects on a systematic settler-colonial policy that amounts to a war crime according to Article 8 (iv) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which stipulates that "Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly;"56 is considered a war crime.

Furthermore, the occupying power failed to abide by its obligation under Article 27 of the Hague Regulations of 1907, and the Fourth Geneva Convention and its additional Protocols, to protect the cultural heritage of the occupied population including during hostilities.

According to the 1954 Hague regulation, "Cultural Heritage" includes "movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, [...] archaeological sites [...], as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives"57.

These willful attacks by the Israeli occupation authorities against Palestinian heritage are considered a grave breach according to the Geneva Convention.

⁵⁴⁾ Palvision, (2022), Protecting Cultural Heritage and Holy Sites in Occupied Jerusalem.

⁵⁵⁾ Knesset adding insult to injury with approval of Kaminitz Law. Adalah. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/9074
56) Rome Statute of the international criminal court, p.7 https://www.icc-cpi.int/sites/default/files/RS-Eng.pdf
57) The 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its two (1954 and 1999) Protocols – Basic Texas. Article 1, https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/1954_Convention_EN_2020.pdf











