

INDEX

References in *italics* refer to figures and maps.

- Abbas, Mahmud (Abu Mazen), 257–258, 263, 289
 ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Yusuf, 158–159
 Abdulhamid II (Ottoman sultan), 55
 ‘Abdullah, King of Jordan, 88, 95, 130, 132, 289
 Abraham, 6, 9–10, 149
 absentee landowners, 32
 absolutist state, 36–37, 269
 Abu Nidal, 212
 Abu Salma, 157
 access roads, 195, 238
Achille Lauro (ship), 212
 Acre, 4, 5, 24, 61
 Afghanistan, 11
 agricultural settlement, 69–71
 agriculture
 cash crops in, 25, 27–28, 62, 69
 field-crop system, 60, 62
 Great Depression and, 105–106
 mixed farming, 69, 275
 monoculture, 62
 in occupied territories, 185–187, 217
 in Ottoman Palestine, 24–25, 28, 29
 percentage of Jews in, worldwide, 42
 plantation system, 62, 277
 subsistence, 60, 62
 during World War II, 122
 Zionist colonization and, 60–62
 Alexander II, Tsar of Russia, 57
 Alexander III, Tsar of Russia, 57
 Alexandria, 7
 ALF (Arab Liberation Front), 206
 Algeria, 62, 107, 202, 204, 252
 Algerian Revolution (1954–1962), 202, 204
aliyyot (sing. *aliyah*)
 defined, 269
 first (1882), 56–63
 second (1904–1914), 64–72, 74, 148, 152–153, 170–171
 third (1918–1923), 64–72, 74, 148, 152–153, 170–171
 fourth (1924–1928), 103, 152
 fifth (1929–1939), 103, 121, 152
 Alliance of Working Forces (Egypt), 207
Altalena, S.S. (ship), 170
 American anti-terrorism laws, 255
 American Civil War, 25
 American Zionism, 147–148, 150–151, 153–154
 amir, 269
 Amman, 1, 5, 141, 210–211, 213, 216
 Anatolia, 19
 Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, 124, 269
 “Anti-Aircraft Amulets” (al-Qasim), 158–159
 anti-Semitism, 41, 103, 169, 198, 269
 April 6 movement (Egypt), 262
 al-Aqsa intifada
 defined, 269
 events leading up to, 245–246
 suicide bombings, 246–248
 al-Aqsa Mosque, 11, 245
 Arab Bureau, 87
 Arab Clubs, 97, 99, 269
 Arab Executive, 99, 269

INDEX

- Arab Higher Committee, 110–111, 114,
 118–119, 131, 137, 269
 Arab Jews, immigration to Israel, 169–170
 Arab League, 131–132, 166, 216, 261, 269
 Arab Liberation Front (ALF), 206
 Arab nationalism, 80–81, 84, 95, 98–102
 Arab Peace Initiative (2002), 178
 Arab Revolt, 81, 97, 269
 “Arab Spring”, 261
 Arab states
 immigration of Jews to Israel from,
 168–169
 1948 War and, 127–128, 131–133, 166
 1967 War and, 201
 number of Jews remaining in, 169
 PLO and, 201
 rivalries among, 131–132
 three no’s of, 181
 Arab uprisings of 2010–2011, 229–230,
 260–267
 Arabian peninsula, 11, 19
 Arabic language, 11, 16, 18
 Arab-Israeli conflict, 166–196
 early years of State of Israel, 166–172
 1973 War, 182–183
 occupied territories, 183–196
 peace negotiations, 177–180
 Suez War, 173–174
 “Arab-Israeli dispute”, 128–129
 Arabs
 in agricultural labor force, 62, 67
 economic relations with Jews, 63
 Irgun Zvai Leumi attacks on, 72
 Jewish, 161, 169–170
 Ottoman identity of, 94–95
 Palestine mandate and, 87–88
 Palestinian refugees presented as,
 133–134
 relationship with Zionists during first
 aliyah, 63
 rioting in 1929, 93
 severance of ties with, 67
 World War I and, 77–78
 Arafat, Yasir, 203, 227, 241–243
 autocratic attitude of, 242–243
 background of, 201–202, 289
 Black September and, 210–211
 at Camp David meeting, 242–243
 corruption overlooked by, 242
 Darwish and, 162
 Declaration of Principles and, 235–236
 diplomatic bungling of, 211–212, 234
 elected PA president, 238
 elected PLO chairman, 201
 Fatah founded by, 201, 205–206
 under house arrest, 248
 Hussein (King) and, 212, 216
 inclusion and consensus building policy,
 208–209
 Iraq supported by, 213
 nationalist aspirations maintained by,
 200
 Oslo Accord and, 235–237
 Oslo 2 and, 238–240
 second intifada and, 94
 two primary convictions of, 202
 archaeology, nationalistic interest in, 9–10
 Argentina, 51
 Ariel, 189
 armed struggle, doctrine of, 202, 203,
 204–205, 211
 Armenians, 77
 armistice agreements, 134, 135
 Artamenan movement, 66, 270
 Ashdod, 11
 Ashkelon, 11
 assassinations, 57, 103, 113, 175, 180,
 208–209, 213, 240–241, 244–245,
 247, 255
 assimilation, of Jews, 40–41, 47
 Assyria, 3, 7, 149
 Aswan High Dam, 173
 Attlee, Clement, 124
 Atzmona, 240
 Auden, W. H., 156, 163
 Austria, 38, 39, 41, 76, 175
 Jewish emancipation in, 37
 Jewish Enlightenment in, 47
 World War I and, 76, 175
Autoemancipation (Pinsker), 59–60
 al-Azhar University, 107, 270
 “Bab al-Shams”, 262
 Babylon, 7, 149
 Baghdad, 16, 95, 169
 Balfour, Alfred, 81–83
 Balfour Declaration, 88, 100
 defined, 270
 milestone for Zionist movement, 83
 opposition to, 97
 Palestinian opposition to, 117–118
 text of, 81–82
 Balkans, 18–19, 78
 Barak, Ehud, 127, 242–243, 289

INDEX

- al-Barweh, 162
 Basel Program, 52–54, 270
 Ba'thism, 206
 Battle of Karameh, 201
 bedouin, 4, 20–22, 28, 31, 95, 152
 Begin, Menachem, 74, 124–125, 170, 191, 244, 289
 Beirut, 32, 95, 162, 213, 244–245
 Belarus, 40
 Belgium, 76
 Ben-Gurion, David, 66–67, 89, 246
 Altalena incident and, 170, 209
 background of, 289
 Biltmore Program and, 123
 Palestinian mandate and, 123
 Palestinian refugees and, 138
 rejection of White Paper, 120
 reprisal raids, 168, 243–244
 State Education Law and, 160
 transfer thinking, 138–139
 Berlin, 120–121, 126
 Betar, 72, 73, 93
 Bethlehem, 5, 135, 239, 248, 249, 252
 Bialik, Haim Nahman, 58, 72
 Bible, 5–6, 9, 11, 35, 44
 Biblical scholarship, 47
 Bilin, 261
 Biltmore Program, 122–123, 270
 binational state, 264–267, 270
 Black September, 210–211, 270
 Bolsheviks (Russia), 84
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 26
 Bose, Subhas Chandra, 120
 Bosnia, 2, 57, 232, 247
 Bouazizi, Muhammad, 260
 boycotts, 99, 166, 227–228, 257, 264
 during Great Revolt, 111–112
 during intifada, 218–219
 Brandeis, Louis, 82, 133, 150–151
 British Zionist Federation, 81
 Brody, 34, 39, 47
 Bunche, Ralph, 134, 289
 Bush, George H. W., 231–232
 Bush, George W., 108, 194, 233, 247, 257–259
 “Bust of the Emperor, The” (Roth), 34–36
 bypass roads, 195, 238, 270
 Byzantine Empire, 19

 Cairo, 95, 97, 107, 172, 179, 183, 200–201
 Cairo Conference (1921), 88, 270

 caliphs, 18, 20, 270
 Camp David Accords (1978), 216, 237, 270
 Camp David Summit (2000), 242–243
 Canaanites, 11
 cantons, 240, 253
 Caradon, Lord, 177
 cash crops, 25, 27–28, 62, 69
 Castro, Fidel, 202
 Cather, Willa, 202
 Catherine the Great, Tsarina of Russia, 39–40, 289
 Catholics, 49, 79, 125
 censorship, 242
 Central Powers, 78–80, 270
chalutzim (sing. *chalutz*), 150, 155, 270
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 53
 Chamberlain, Neville, 123
 charities, Islamic, 224–225
 Charter for National Action (Egypt), 207
 Charter of the Palestine Liberation Organization, 10, 204, 209, 238
 “Children Bearing Rocks” (Qabbani), 214–215
 China, 125, 173, 183, 202, 218, 233, 252
 Chou En-lai, 202
 Christian Zionism, 83, 271
 Christians, 16, 84, 121, 159, 244
 Jerusalem’s significance to, 5
 in mandate advisory council, 101
 Maronite, 79
 in the Ottoman Empire, 28
 in Palestine (1922 census), 100
 Churchill, Winston, 88, 90
 citrus fruit production, 105
 civil disobedience, 219, 261–263
 clans, in Ottoman Palestine, 31
 Clausewitz, Karl von, 186
 Clemenceau, Georges, 85
 Cleveland International Exposition, 156
 Clinton, Bill, 242–243, 247, 265
 closure policy, 187
 coastal plain, 3, 4, 21–22, 28
 Cold War, 125, 131, 179, 182, 231–233
 colonies, European, 76–77, 86
 colonization, 18, 46–74. *See also*
 decolonization
 changing meaning of word, 60
 Herzl and, 49–56
 Jewish settlements in Palestine (1881–1914), 61

INDEX

- colonization (*cont.*)
 unique features of Zionism, 96
 World Zionist Organization and, 53–54
 communism, 54, 126–127, 162, 213, 232
 Communist Manifesto, 68
 Communist Party
 German, 54
 Italian, 126
 conference format, 179–180, 231, 249
 Congo, 202
 Congress Party (India), 120
 conquest of labor, 65–69, 93, 271
 conquest of land, 65–66, 69, 72, 93, 271
 Constantinople, 19. *See also* Istanbul
 Constantinople Agreement, 80, 271
 containment policy, 179, 232, 271
 convergence (realignment) plan, 253–254, 256–257, 278
 Coolidge, Calvin, 86, 233
 “core” countries, 23
 corruption in Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 242
 cotton gin, 24
 cotton principalities, 24–25, 271
 cotton production, 23–26, 28
 coups d’état, in Arab world, 171
 Crimean War, 25, 59, 79, 271
 Crusades, 4
 Cuba, 202
 cultural Zionism, 53
 culture of nationalism, 17, 98, 102
 customary law, 20
 Czechoslovakia, 119, 123, 125–126, 173, 218

 Damascus, 16, 20, 95, 97–99, 107, 141, 157, 179, 183, 229
 Darwish, Mahmoud, 156–157, 159–164, 236, 289
 David, King, 6, 129, 131, 160, 184, 218
 Dawayima, 139
dawra, 22, 271
 Day of Rage, 262
 Dayan, Moshe, 185–186
 Dayr Yassin, 72, 139
 de Gaulle, Charles, 252
 Dead Sea, 4, 5, 7, 61, 135, 176, 189, 239, 249
 Decade of Decision, 145
 Declaration of Principles, 236–237

 decolonization, 60, 125, 128, 166–167, 201
 Degania, 69
 demonstrations, 261–263
 DFLP. *See* Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
 diaspora
 defined, 271
 Jewish, 7, 56, 58, 66, 73, 147–148, 151, 167
 Palestinian, 12, 208, 210, 213
 diaspora nationalism, 147–148, 271
 Dinur, Benzion, 160
 discrimination
 against Arab Jews, 169–170
 against Palestinians, 198, 217
 disengagement, 195–196, 212, 252–253, 256
 Doctorow, E. L., 146
 Dome of the Rock, 11
 Doumani, Beshara, 33
 Dreyfus Affair, 49–50, 271
 Druze, 158–159
 Dulles, John Foster, 173

 East Jerusalem, 175, 184, 188, 217, 242, 250–251, 260, 262–263
 East Prussia, 43, 66
 Eban, Abba, 133–134, 138
 economy
 global, 23–26, 36, 232–233
 ideology and, 233
 of Israel, 170–171, 188
 Jewish-Arab relations, 63
 market, 23–26
 marketplace, 23
 of occupied territories, 186–187
 of Ottoman Empire, 23–26
 of Palestine, 103–106, 121–122
 of Russian Empire, 41–42
 West Bank protests over, 262–263
 educational reform, 159–162
 educational system of Israel, 156, 159–162
 Egypt, 3, 5, 11, 19, 26–27
 constitution of, 207–208
 Gaza Strip and, 134, 168, 172, 225
 Israel’s raids on, 168, 172
 Israel’s treaty with, 180, 184, 216, 237, 244
 Jewish emigration from, 169
 Jewish exile in, 7
 1948 War and, 127, 131–132

INDEX

- 1967 War and, 174–182
 1973 War and, 182–183
 Ottoman Palestine occupied by, 26–27
 peace treaty with Israel, 180
 post-Suez radicalization of, 202, 207
 reintegration into Arab world, 216
 reprisal raids on, 168
 Sinai Peninsula, 174–175, 180, 212, 237
 Suez War, 173
 United Arab Republic, 174
 War of Attrition and, 182
- Eilat, 172
 Einstein, Albert, 155
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 108, 259
 Ekron, 11
 “Eleven Planets in the Last Andalusian Sky” (Darwish), 163–164
- elites
 imperial, 15–16, 18, 20, 39
 inter-elite rivalries, 101–103
 urban notables, 32–33, 95, 97, 101
- Emancipation Proclamation (U.S.), 57
- empires
 characteristics of premodern/early modern, 15–18
 effect of World War I on, 78
- employment
 discrimination against Palestinians, 242
 rate of in occupied territories, 187
- “End of History, The” (Fukuyama), 232
- Enlightenment
 European, 17, 47, 51, 60
 Jewish, 34, 47–48
- entente powers, 78–80, 272
- Erekat, Saeb, 264
- “Eretz Israel”, 191, 196, 272
- Esdraelon, 3, 150
- ethnic cleansing, 138–139, 251, 265
- European Community, 212
- European Jews
 emigration of, 30, 42–44, 147, 169
 intellectual movements influencing, 47–49
 Jewish emancipation, 37–42
 nationalism, impact on, 33–36
 treatment of in Israel, 169
 urbanization of, 42
 World War II and, 121–122
- European Union, 242, 248, 255
- Exodus* (Uris), 129, 136–138
- Export-Import Bank, 171
- Extraordinary Zionist Conference (1942), 122–123
- Facebook, 262
- “facts on the ground”. *See* settlements
- Fanon, Franz, 204–205
- Fatah, 201, 205, 227–228, 257–258, 262, 272
- Faysal, (amir), 80–81, 95
- Fayyad, Salam, 262
- fedayeen (*fidā'iyyūn*), 92–93, 173, 200–201, 211–212, 261, 272
- Fez, 168
- field-crop system, 60, 62
- fifth *aliyah* (1929–1939), 103, 121, 152
- Filastin (Arabic name for Palestine), 7
- firman*, 53, 272
- first *aliyah* (1882), 56–63
- First Crusade, 4
- first intifada. *See* intifada, first
- First Zionist Congress (1897), 52, 55, 63
- “Footnotes to the Book of Setback” (Qabbani), 214–215
- Fourteen Points, 84–87, 233, 272
- fourth *aliyah* (1924–1928), 103, 152
- Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, 193–194
- Framework for Peace in the Middle East (1978), 145
- France, 49–50, 86
 Algeria and, 62, 107, 173, 202–204, 252
 communism in, 126
 Egypt and, 173
 Jerusalem’s holy sites and, 79
 Jewish emancipation in, 37
 mandates system and, 87–88, 100
 military aid to Israel, 171
 Ottoman Empire and, 24
 Suez War, 173
 Syria and, 79–80, 84, 87–88, 96–98, 107
 World War I and, 76–77, 79–80
- Frankfurter, Felix, 82
- Franz Ferdinand, Archduke, 76, 175
- Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, 36
- free market doctrines, 171
- Free Officers movement, 172
- freehold property, 30–31
- French language, 16, 96
- French Revolution, 37
- Frontiers of Hope* (Kallen), 64
- Fukuyama, Francis, 232

INDEX

- Galicia, 33
 Galilee region, 3, 24–25, 28, 60, 95, 138, 162, 185
 Gath, 11
 Gaza (ancient city), 11
 “Gaza First” proposals, 251–252
 Gaza Strip, 1, 4, 5, 114, 135, 139–140, 141, 176, 194–197, 207, 216, 221, 244, 262
 economy of, 186–188
 Egypt and, 134, 168, 172, 225
 Hamas in, 227, 258
 intifada in, 217
 Islamic organizations in, 224–225
 Israel gains control of, 175
 Israeli air strikes on, 254
 Israeli disengagement plans, 252–253
 Israeli raid into, 172
 Operation Defensive Shield in, 248
 Oslo Accord on, 236
 Palestinian refugees in, 139
 population density of, 4, 217
 settlements in, 194–195, 217, 251–252
 suicide bombings in, 251
 “Gaza Youth Breaks Out”, 262
 “Gaza’s Youth Manifesto for Change”, 262
 Gazit, Shlomo, 114–115
Gegenwartsarbeit, 147–148, 272
 Gelernter, David, 146
 Gemayel, Bashir, 121
 Gemayel, Pierre, 121
 general strikes, 111–112, 114, 219–220
 General Union of Palestinian Farmers, 206
 General Union of Palestinian Students, 206
 General Union of Palestinian Women, 206
 General Union of Palestinian Workers, 206
 Geneva Accord, 248
 Geneva Conferences, 145, 178
 Geneva Convention, 193–194
 genocide, 2. *See also* ethnic cleansing;
 Holocaust
 George, David Lloyd, 83
 German Union of Rabbis, 54
 Germany
 Alfred Dreyfus and, 49
 Artamenan movement in, 66
 Communist Party in, 54
 Holocaust refugees from, 124
 Jewish emancipation in, 37
 Jewish Enlightenment in, 47
 Nazi, 119–121, 124
 West, 171
 World War I and, 76–78, 80
 World War II and, 119–121, 124
 Zionist movement in, 83
 Ghana, 202
 ghettos, 36, 46, 50, 54, 120, 272
 global economy, 23–26, 36, 171, 232–233
 Global War on Terrorism, 108, 194, 247–248, 280
 globalization, 25, 232–233
 Golan Heights, 175, 186, 188
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 213, 231
 Great Britain. *See also* Balfour Declaration;
 Palestine mandate
 Egypt and, 172–173
 Great Revolt and, 103, 105, 107, 110–115, 119–120
 investments in Palestine, 103, 105
 Jewish emancipation in, 37
 Jewish refugees and, 124
 mandates system, 87–91
 1948 War and, 130–132
 Ottoman Empire and, 27
 Palestinian nationalism and, 97
 St. James Conference, 118–119
 Suez War, 173
 support for Zionist cause, 81–83
 World War I and, 79–81
 World War II and, 122
 Great Depression, 103, 105
 Great Revolt (1936–1939), 103–115, 117–118, 152, 199
 Arafat influenced by, 208–209
 catalysts for, 103–104
 gains and losses of, 113–115
 intifada compared with, 222
 Islamic influence in, 107–109
 Israeli view of, 114–115
 long term effects of, 131
 Muslim Brotherhood and, 225
 roots of, 103–107
 significance of, 113–115
 “Greater Israel”, 190
 “Greater Syria”, 26, 95, 100, 132, 272
 Greece, 6, 26, 79–80, 125
 guerrilla groups, 200–201, 205–206, 208, 210–212. *See also* fedayeen; *names of specific organizations*
 guest workers, 140, 187
 Guinea, 202
 Gulf of Aqaba, 1, 5, 172, 176
 Gulf War (1991), 140, 186, 233–235

INDEX

- Gush Emunim, 190–192, 240–241, 272
- Hadassah, 153–154
- Haganah, 69, 120, 244, 272
- Haifa, 4, 5, 24, 28, 60, 61, 72, 105, 107, 135, 150, 157, 162, 246
- Haiti, 125
- haji*, 20–21, 272
- al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, 94, 110, 120, 131, 290
- hama'il* (sing. *hamula*), 31, 272
- Hamas, 223–230, 254–256, 258
 defined, 272
 electoral victory in 2006, 227–228
 emergence of, 224–225
 factions, 229–230
 in Gaza Strip, 227
 Gush Emunim compared with, 241
 Introductory Memorandum of, 226–227
 and Israel, 227–228
 March 15 youth movement and, 262
 opinion of two-state solution, 228–229
 political goals of, 223–224
 Qassam Brigades, 114
 sanctions on, 255
 suicide bombings, 223, 246–248
 in West Bank, 227
- Handelman, Don, 148
- Haniya, Isma'il, 256
- Hapoel Hatzair, 68
- Haram al-Sharif*. *See* Temple Mount/*Haram al-Sharif*
- Harrison, Earl, 124
- Hashemite family/kingdom, 1, 88, 95, 132
- Haskala (Jewish Enlightenment), 34, 47–48, 273
- Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane (1839), 33, 273
- Hawran district, 95, 98
- Hebrew language, 11, 47, 68, 71
- Hebron, 4, 5, 241
 differing names for, 9–10
 Operation Defensive Shield in, 248
 Palestinian residents of, 4
 riot in (1929), 93
 settlements in, 192
- Hebron and Wye agreements, 241
- Hertzberg, Arthur, 66
- Herzl, Theodor, 49–56, 60, 72, 74, 138, 150
 background of, 49–50, 290
 homeland options considered by, 51
 iconic status of, 55
 on language for Yishuv, 68
 organizational talents of, 49
 reburial in Israel, 55, 74
 transfer thinking, 138
 World Zionist Organization, 52–54
- Herzliyya, 54
- Higher Council of Palestinian Youth and Sport, 206
- Higher National Committee, 97–99, 273
- hijackings, 211–212
- Hijaz Railway, 28, 273
- Hirsch, Baron Maurice de, 62–63
- Histadrut, 68, 74, 170, 273
- Hitler, Adolf, 120–121, 123
- Hizbullah, 224, 229, 254, 257, 273
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 94
- Holocaust, 103, 124, 126, 146, 171
- Holy Land, 3, 23, 43–44, 108
- holy sites, 79, 84, 93, 150
- homeland doctrine, 194
- Hourani, Albert, 134, 136
- hudna*, 229
- human rights groups, 222, 250–251
- Hungary, 173
- Husayn, Abdullah, 88, 130
- Husayn, Sharif, 80–81, 84, 88, 95
- Husayni family, 102, 110. *See also* al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni
- Hussein, King of Jordan, 216, 290
- Hussein, Saddam, 140, 213, 216
- “I Love You More” (Salma), 157
- Ibrahim Pasha, 26–27, 290
- IDF (Israel Defense Forces), 69, 170
- “illegal” settlements, 188, 195, 238
- immigration to Palestine/Israel. *See also* *aliyot*
 Arab Executive on, 99
 demographic balance changed by, 167–169
 of European Jews, 30, 42–44, 147–148, 169
 of Holocaust refugees, 124
 international workers, 187
 land purchases by, 105–106
 in mid-20th-century Israel, 167
 in Ottoman Empire, 30, 53
 of Polish Jews, 43, 72, 124
 processing of, 104
 restrictions on, 88, 90, 118–119, 123
 of Russian Jews, 57–59, 64–65

INDEX

- immigration to Palestine/Israel (*cont.*)
 of Soviet Jews, 234–235
 during World War II, 121
 imperial elites, 15–16, 18, 20, 39
 imperialism, 12, 18, 51, 54, 84, 86, 120,
 130–131, 171–172, 202. *See also*
 colonization
 India, 18, 79, 82–84, 117, 120, 122, 125,
 205
 Indonesia, 202
 Industrial Revolution, 23–24, 67
 infiltration, 114, 168
Innocents Abroad (Twain), 29–30
 inter-elite rivalries, 101–103
 Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees,
 124, 273
 International Labor Organization, 187
 international migration. *See* immigration to
 Palestine/Israel
 intifada, first, 114, 161, 183, 215–223,
 261, 273
 catalyst for, 216–218
 compared to Great Revolt, 222
 factionalism in, 221–222
 human cost of, 222–223
 Israeli soldiers unwilling to police,
 222
 length of, 218
 organization of, 218–219
 passive mobilization in, 219–220
 regional coordination in, 220
 translation of term, 215
 intifada, second, 114, 187, 223, 241, 264,
 273
 catalyst for, 93–94, 245–246
 ceasefire negotiations, 251–252
 separation barrier, 249–251
 suicide bombings during, 246–247
 Introductory Memorandum of Hamas,
 226–227
 Iran, 125, 216, 218, 229, 267
 Iranian Revolution, 216, 224
 Iran–Iraq war, 1–2
 Iraq, 4, 6, 77, 84, 87, 95–96, 98, 118, 120,
 133, 151, 186, 220, 233, 235. *See also*
 Persian Gulf War
 ALF and, 206
 coup d'état in, 171
 discrimination against Jews in, 169
 Iran attacked by, 216
 Iran–Iraq war, 1–2
 Kuwait invaded by, 213
 1948 War and, 127, 132
 United Arab Republic and, 174
 Iraq Petroleum Company, 105
 Irgun Zvai Leumi, 72, 120, 124–125, 170,
 273
 “iron fist” policy, 218, 223, 234
 “iron wall” approach, 243, 245
 Islahat Fermani (1856), 33, 273
 Islam, 18, 93
 Great Revolt and, 107–109
 intifada and, 224–225
 Jerusalem's significance in, 5, 11
 nationalism and, 108–109
 norms of behavior, 224
 in Ottoman Empire, 16, 20–21, 107,
 109
 Palestine's symbolic role in, 11
 philanthropic organizations of, 224–225
 sufism, 106, 279
 Sunni, 20
 Islamic institutions, 224
 Islamic Resistance Movement. *See* Hamas
 “Islamicization”, 221
 Israel. *See also* 1948 War
 American weapons sales to, 182
 appropriation of refugees' property,
 167–168
 Arab citizens of, 161
 binational state, 264–267
 Camp David negotiations, 242–243
 centralization of authority in, 170–171
 colonization pre-state (*see* colonization)
 compared to other newly independent
 states, 166–167
 construction of barrier, 249–251
 demographic change in, 167–168
 discrimination against Arab Jews in,
 169–170
 educational system of, 156, 159–162
 Egypt and (*see under* Egypt)
 foreign aid to, 170–171
 formation of State of, 127
 founding myths of, 129
 Herzl's reburial in, 55, 74
 ideological value of Jerusalem, 183–184
 independence proclaimed by, 68, 127
 informal boundaries of, 134
 internal refugees of, 136
 Islamic philanthropic organizations and,
 224–225
 Jabotinsky's reburial in, 74
 Jordan and (*see under* Jordan)

INDEX

- Lebanon invaded by, 121, 145, 159,
 162, 183, 209, 244–245
 Likud policy, 234–235
 map of, 5
 national emblem of, 149
 occupied territories, 183–196
 under Olmert, 253–254
 one-state solution, 265–267
 Operation Defensive Shield, 248
 Oslo Accord, 235–237
 policy toward neighbors, 243–254
 population of, 1
 post-Zionism and, 161, 234
 private land ownership in, 63
 raid into Gaza, 172
 recognition of, 127, 166, 229, 235–236
 role of Declaration of Principles,
 235–237
 size of, 1
 Soviet Union and, 127, 181, 232
 Suez War, 173
 treaty with Egypt, 216
 2006 War, 254–257
 United States recognition of, 127
 withdrawal from Sinai, 184
 withdrawals from Gaza Strip and West
 Bank, 238, 251–252
 Israel Defense Forces (IDF), 69, 170
 Istanbul, 16, 19–21, 31–33, 79–80
 Italy, 34, 37, 79–80, 126
- Jabalya refugee camp, 217
 Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 72–74, 88, 118,
 243–244, 290
 Jaffa, 4, 25, 28, 32, 60, 61, 93, 95, 103,
 104, 111
 Jaffa orange, 25, 273
 Japan, 65, 126
 Jarring, Gunner, 178
 al-Jaza'iri, 'Abd al-Qadir, 107
 al-Jazzar, Ahmad Pasha ("*al-saffah*"), 24,
 290
 Jebusites, 5
 Jenin, 248
 Jericho, 4, 5, 189, 236, 239, 252
 Jerusalem, 3, 5, 61, 95, 110, 118, 132
 Camp David Summit and, 243
 Crusades and, 4
 declared capital of Israel, 184
 East, 175, 184, 188, 217, 242, 250–251,
 260, 262–263
 geography around, 3–4
 ideological importance of, 183–184
 immigrants in, 60
 importance to Islam, 11
 Israel gains control of, 175
 Israeli policy in, 184
 kingdom of established, 4
 official arrival of British in 1917, 85
 Oslo Accord and, 237–238
 Ottoman Empire and, 20–21, 28, 32
 in Palestinian historical narrative, 11
 religious significance of, 5, 11, 79, 84
 riots in (1929), 93–94
 Roman conquest of, 6–7
 separation wall and, 250
 suicide bombings in, 246
 UNSCOP on, 125
Jerusalem Post, 114–115
 Jerusalem school of history, 160
 Jewish Agency, 89–90
 defined, 273
 financial contributions to, 171
 functions of, 90
 Israel's official separation from, 171
 Jewish Palestine Pavilion and, 151, 154,
 156
 White Paper rejected by, 119–120
 Jewish Agency Executive, 123
Jewish Chronicle, 50, 51, 53
 Jewish Colonization Association, 62–63
 Jewish emancipation, 37–42, 46, 50, 273
 Jewish Enlightenment (Haskala), 34,
 47–48, 272
 Jewish Historical Commission, 58
 Jewish National Fund, 32, 63, 90, 106,
 171, 273
 Jewish Pale of Settlement, 39, 40, 46, 273
 Jewish Palestine Pavilion, 146–156
 design of, 151–152, 154
 planning board of, 147–148
 popularity of, 155–156
 portrayal of women in, 153–154
 representation of Arab-Yishuv relations,
 150–153
 representational goals of, 146–147
 Zionist symbols in, 148–150
 "Jewish Question", 50, 54, 59, 147
Jewish State, The (Herzl), 50, 53
Jewish War, The (Josephus), 9
 Jews
 American, 125, 171
 anti-Semitism and, 41, 103, 169, 198,
 269

INDEX

- Jews (*cont.*)
 Arab, 169–170
 in the diaspora, 7, 56, 58, 66, 73,
 147–148, 151, 167
 discrimination against in Arab countries,
 168
 economic relations with Arabs, 63
 emigration of (*see* immigration to
 Palestine/Israel)
 European (*see* European Jews)
 Jerusalem's religious significance to, 5
 in mandate advisory council, 101
 non-Zionist, 89, 146–150, 153
 Orthodox, 90, 193
 Spanish expulsion of, 163
 Jezreel Valley, 3, 28, 32, 138
 Jibril, Ahmad, 206
jihad, 108, 274
 Johnson, Samuel, 178
 Johnston Plan, 145
 Jordan, 5, 74, 77, 87, 96, 118, 127, 131
 Black September and, 210–211
 creation of, 88
 independence granted to, 88
 Israeli raids on, 168, 200, 244
 Israel's treaty with, 180
 Jerusalem "old city" and, 134
 1948 War and, 127, 131–132, 134
 1967 War and, 174–175
 open bridges policy and, 186
 Palestinian refugees in, 140
 relationship between PLO and, 210–211
 Resolution 242, 177–178
 West Bank and, 134, 180, 190
 World War I and, 77
 Jordan depression, 4
 Jordan River, 5, 22, 61, 88, 135, 174, 176,
 189, 200, 249
 Jordan River Valley, 188
 Joseph, 163
 Joseph II, King of Austria, 36
 Josephus, 7–9
 Judea, 4, 7, 9–10, 190, 274
Judenrein, 121

 Kadima Party, 253–257, 274
 Kahan Commission, 244
 Kallen, Horace M., 64
kanun, 20, 274
 Karamah, Battle of, 201
 Karpf, Maurice J., 148
 Kedourie, Elie, 169

 Kennedy, John F., 108, 204
 al-Khalil, 4, 9–10. *See also* Hebron
 Khartoum, Sudan, 181
khirab (sing. *khirba*), 28–30, 274
kibbutzim (sing. *kibbutz*), 64, 69–71, 185,
 188, 274
kibbutzniks, 69, 274
 King David Hotel, 124–125
 King Fuad University, 201–202
 Kishinev pogrom, 57–58, 72, 274
 Kissinger, Henry, 145, 179, 183, 232, 238
 Klinghoffer, Leon, 212
Knesset, 167, 184, 190, 195–196, 274
 Kook, Abraham Isaac, 191
 Kook, Zvi Yehuda, 191
 Kosovo, 232, 247
 Kuwait, 140, 205, 213, 224, 233

 labor
 Arab, 62, 67, 70–71
 discrimination against Palestinians,
 215–216, 242
 Gaza disengagement and, 251
 guest workers, 140, 187
 Histadrut and, 68, 74, 170
 in occupied territories, 186–187
 Labor Party, 68–69, 189–190, 223, 234,
 241
 Labor Zionism, 68–69, 71, 74, 89, 145,
 148, 274
 challenges to, 72
 concerns for future of, 190
 Jewish Palestine Pavilion and, 148, 153
 state institutions and, 170
 Lake Tiberias, 5, 60, 61, 69, 135, 176
 land
 appropriation of refugees', 167–168
 as basis of dispute, 2–3
 Great Revolt and, 105–106
 in Ottoman Palestine, 30–33, 193
 private ownership of, 63
 sales/purchases of, 32, 53, 63, 90, 99,
 102, 106, 118
 White Paper recommendations, 119
 land-for-peace strategy, 177–178, 180, 274
 language
 Israel's policy on, 68
maskilim and, 47
 in pre-modern empires, 15–16
 Latvia, 40
 Laub, Karin, 240
 Lavon, Pinhas, 172

INDEX

- Lavon Affair, 172, 274
 Law of Return, 167, 274
 Lawrence, T. E. (Lawrence of Arabia),
 11–12, 81
 “league of five cities”, 11
 League of Nations, 86–88, 125
 “Learning from the British” (Gazit),
 114–115
 Lebanon, 1, 3, 5, 79, 87, 96, 114, 120,
 135, 141, 224, 229, 254
 civil war in, 121
 in Greater Syria plan, 132
 Israeli air strikes on, 254
 Israeli invasion of, 121, 145, 159, 162,
 183, 209, 244–245
 1948 War and, 127, 131–132
 Ottoman Empire and, 24, 26
 Palestinian refugees in, 140
 Phalange, 121
 PLO and, 211, 216, 244
 2006 War and, 254–257
 World War I and, 77
 Lenin, Vladimir, 139
 Levant, 84
 Levin, Judah Leib, 43–44
 Liberia, 125
 Libya, 107, 140, 169, 171, 261
 Likud Party, 74, 93, 169–170, 178,
 190–192, 234–235, 240, 244–245,
 253
 Arab Jews in, 169–170
 Gaza disengagement and, 253
 Oslo Accord and, 241
 Palestinian rejectionists compared with,
 241
 Lincoln, Abraham, 57, 108
 linkage, 259
 Literary Society, 102, 274
 Lithuania, 40
 Lod, 139
 “long nineteenth century”, 25, 275
 Louis XIV, King of France, 36
 “Lovers of Zion” committees, 59–60, 275
 Lumumba, Patrice, 202
 Luxemburg, Rosa, 54
 Lydda, 234

 Ma’ale Adumin, 193
 Ma’alot, 212
 Maccabees, 6
 Madrid Conference (1991), 145, 178, 235
 Maginot Line, 189–190

 Maimon, Solomon, 47–48
mamlachtiyut, 160, 170, 275
 mandates system, 77, 83–91, 95–97,
 117–118, 275. *See also* Palestine
 mandate
 Mapai, 68–69, 275. *See also* Labor Party
 March 15 youth movement, 262
 Margalit, Avishai, 193
 Maria Theresa, Queen of Austria, 36
 market economies, 23–26, 275
 marketplace economies, 23, 275
 Maronite Christians, 79
 Marx, Karl, 54, 212
 Masada, siege of, 7–9
maskilim, 47, 275
 Mecca, 11, 20, 80
 Medina, 11, 20
 Mediterranean Sea, 1, 3–4, 5, 11, 22, 26,
 122, 135, 176, 189
 Mehmet Ali, 26–27, 290
 Meir, Golda, 92–93
 “Memorandum on Turning the Jews to the
 Advantage of the Empire . . . ”
 (Russian memo), 40
 Mendes-Flohr, Paul, 37
 menorah, 148–149
 Middle East. *See also* Arab states; *names of*
 specific countries
 coups d’état in, 171
 map of, 2
 Ottoman conquest of, 19
 Middle East Supply Centre, 122, 275
 mini-state proposal, 143, 210
miri lands, 30, 275
 Mitchell Report, 245–246, 259–260
 mixed farming, 69, 275
 Mizrahi, 71–72, 275
mizrahis, 161, 276
 modern state system, emergence of, 15–18
 Moldova, 57
 monoculture, 62
 Montagu, Edwin, 82
 Moors, expulsion from Spain, 163
 Morocco, 19, 168, 169
 Morris, Benny, 137, 139
 Moses, 184
moshavim (sing. *moshav*), 69, 276
moshavot (sing. *moshava*), 60, 63–64, 188,
 276
 Mosul, 105
 Mt. Herzl, 56
 mufti, 110, 132, 276

INDEX

- Muhammad (prophet of Islam), 5, 11, 18, 245
mujahidin (sing. *mujahid*), 112–113, 276
 multiculturalism, 161
 multilateralism, 232–233
 Muslim Brotherhood, 225–226, 276
 Muslim-Christian Associations, 99, 276
 Muslims. *See* Islam
- Nablus, 4, 5, 22, 61, 110–111, 135, 141, 239, 248, 249
nakba, 10, 113, 115, 127, 157–158, 199, 276. *See also* 1948 War
 naming, importance of, 9–10
 Nashashibi family, 102, 110, 113
 ‘Abd al-Nasser, Gamal, 180, 202, 207
 Arafat compared with, 208
 background of, 171–172, 289
 Muslim Brotherhood and, 225
 1967 War and, 174–175, 177
 PLO and, 200–201
 Suez War and, 173–174
 national committees, 111
National Interest, 232
 National Parks Authority, 8
 National Religious Party (NRP), 71–72, 192
 nationalism. *See also* Palestinian
 nationalism; Zionism
 Arab, 80–81, 84, 95, 98–102
 culture of, 17, 98, 102
 diaspora, 147–148
 emergence in Ottoman Empire, 18–32
 emergence of modern state, 15–18
 impact on European Jews, 32–44
 institutionalization of, 100
 overview, 14–15
 primitive rebellions versus, 94
 religious imagery and vocabulary in rhetoric, 107–109
 territorial claims, 5
 nationalist movements, 101–102, 212
 common features of, 6
 nations created by, 15
 World War I and, 78, 85
 nationalist narratives, 6–12, 14. *See also*
 nationalism
 of Jerusalem school, 160
 Palestinian, 10–12
 Zionist, 6–11, 148–149
 nationalist struggles, 94
 natural growth expansion, 259
- Nazareth, 118
 Nazi Germany, 120–121
 negation of exile, 66, 147–148, 276
 Negev, 3–4, 5, 257
 Netanya, 246
 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 74, 240, 245, 257, 260
 Neve Sadiq, 136
 New Historians, 130, 137, 160, 276
 New School for Social Research, 64
 New World Order, 232–233, 247, 276
New York Times, 143–144
 New York World’s Fair (1939–1940). *See*
 Jewish Palestine Pavilion
 “new Zionist man”, 168
 New Zionist Organization, 90
 Newman, Paul, 129
Newsweek, 163
 Nicaragua, 218
 Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia, 78
 Nile River, 173
 1939: *The Lost World of the Fair*
 (Gelertner), 146
 1948 War, 4, 10, 127–136, 171, 199, 234
 armistice agreements in, 134, 135
 differing names for, 127
 immediate effects of, 127
 mythologizing of, 129–130
 Palestinian refugees, 136–144
 participation of Arab states in, 131–133
 peace talks, 133–134
 recent research on, 130–131
 two conflicts in, 127
 unresolved issues from, 166
 1967 War, 92, 174–182, 209
 discussion of, 175
 events leading up to, 174–175
 negotiations following, 175–182, 237
 Palestinian poetry inspired by, 214–215
 possession of Jerusalem, 184
 territory conquered during, 175, 176
 1973 War, 179, 182–183, 237
 Nixon, Richard, 182, 252
 nonalignment, doctrine of, 126, 171
 non-violent civil disobedience, 261–263
 North Africa, 19, 62
 North Korea, 126, 213
 North Yemen, 171
 nourishment and supply committees, 111
 NRP (National Religious Party), 71–72, 192

INDEX

- Obama, Barack, 259–260
 occupied territories, 183–196, 217–218,
 245. *See also* land-for-peace strategy;
 settlements
 defensive value for Israel, 185–186
 economy in, 186–187
 employment rate in, 187
 ideological value for Israel, 183–184
 Islamic politics in, 224–225
 Israeli settlements in, 188–196
 map of, 5, 175
 after 1967 War, 176
 Operation Defensive Shield, 248
 PLO and, 161, 207–208, 224–226
 Rabin and, 218, 223
 village leagues in, 208
 Odessa, 39, 42, 47
 oil, 126, 183–184, 224
 oil pipelines, 4, 105
Old New Land (Herzl), 50
 Olmert, Ehud, 253, 256, 258
 “On Being Asked for a War Poem”
 (Yeats), 156
 “On the Iron Wall (We and the Arabs)”
 (Jabotinsky), 243
 one-state solution, 264–265, 276
 OPEC, 183
 open bridges policy, 186, 277
 Operation Defensive Shield, 248
 Operation Hiram, 138–139, 277
 Operation Magic Carpet, 169
 Oslo Accord, 143, 161, 178, 180, 227,
 231–267
 Darwish’s protest against, 236
 Declaration of Principles, 236–237
 decline of, 240–243
 defined, 277
 interim agreement, 237–238
 international climate surrounding,
 231–235
 Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, 180
 mutual recognition in, 235
 Palestinian territory conceded in, 238,
 240
 PLO acceptance of, 221
 post-Oslo operations, 248, 251–252
 process versus content, 237–238
 revolutionary configuration of, 231
 territorial adjustments and, 236
 two-state solution, 227
 Oslo 2, 238–241, 277
 Osman, 19–20
osmanlilik, 95, 277
Ostjude, 34, 277
 Ottoman Empire, 4, 12, 16, 18–33, 36, 38,
 106–107, 109
 conquests of, 19
 decrees issued by, 33
 dissolution of, 78
 economy of, 22–26
 expansion of state control, 26–30
 identity of subjects, 94–95
 immigration to, 53
 land code, 30–33
 languages and religions under, 16
 League of Nations charter and, 86–87
 map of, 19
 nationalism in wake of, 102, 109
 permission for Jewish migration, 53
 population of Palestine, 21–22
 religion in, 20–21
 social space in, 26
 treatment of religious groups in
 Palestine, 100–101
 village life in, 28–32
 World War I and, 77–83
 Ottoman Land Code of 1858, 193
 Ottomanness (*osmanlilik*), 95, 277
 Owen, Robert, 67
 Owen, Roger, 103, 121
 ownership of land
 in Ottoman Empire, 30–33
 private, 63
 PA. *See* Palestinian Authority
 Pale of Settlement, Jewish, 39, 40, 46, 274
 Palestina (ancient Palestine), 7
 Palestine, 1–12. *See also* Hamas
 absorptive capacity of, 90, 119, 121
 armistice lines, 135
 Balfour Declaration and (*see* Balfour
 Declaration)
 Basel program, 52–54, 270
 economy of, 103–106, 121–122
 geography of, 3–4
 Greater Syria and, 95, 132
 immigration restrictions in, 53, 90, 119,
 123
 important cities and towns, 4–5
 Islamic conquest of, 18
 Jewish settlements in (1881–1914), 61
 map of, 2
 Meir on, 92–93
 nationalist movements, 4–5

INDEX

- Palestine (*cont.*)
 one-state solution, 265–267
 Operation Defensive Shield, 248
 origin of name, 6–7
 Ottoman, 18–33, 53 (*see also* Ottoman Empire)
 partition proposal, 118, 125–126, 135
 population of, 1
 separation barrier, 249, 249–251
 Syria severed from, 96–98
 territory and size of, 1
 territory conceded by Oslo accord, 236
 UNRWA-operated refugee camps, 141
 U.S. support for autonomy, 242–243
 use of term “occupied West Bank”, 9
 White Paper, 119–120
 World War I and, 76–91
 World War II and, 120, 122
 Zionist colonization of (*see* colonization; Zionism)
- Palestine Foundation Fund, 90, 277
 Palestine General Congress, 98–99, 277
 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 198–230
 agreement on Palestinian autonomy and, 234
 armed struggle as doctrine of, 204–205
 charter, 204, 209
 civil war within, 209
 corruption in, 242
 Darwish in, 162
 defined, 277
 efficacy of, 213–214
 Executive Committee, 162, 205–206
 founding of, 200
 guerrilla groups in, 204
 Gulf War and, 140
 Hamas and, 223–230
 international events inspiring, 202, 204
 intifada, 214–223
 Islamic organizations challenging, 223–230
 legitimacy of, 214
 mini-state proposal, 210
 nationalist aspirations maintained by, 205–206, 208–209, 213
 organizational structure of, 205–208
 Oslo Accord and, 234–237
 outlawed by Israel, 208
 Palestine National Charter, 200–201
 policies of, 208–210
 relationship between UNLU and, 220–221
 Resolution 242 and, 178
 Sharon and, 243
 Soviet Union and, 231–232
 structure of, 205–207
 suicide bombings, 246–248
 terrorism, 210–211
 two-state solution backed by, 210
 U.S. and, 231–233
- Palestine mandate, 83–91
 advisory council of, 101
 British renunciation of, 117–118
 draft instrument of governance of, 88–89
 economy under, 101–102
 Jewish agency and, 89–90
 opposition to, 97
 Palestinian nationalism and, 94–95
 Peel Commission on, 117–118
 United Nations and, 125–126
 Palestine National Charter, 200–201, 204
 Palestine National Council (PNC), 206–207, 277
 Palestine Popular Struggle Front (PPSF), 206
 Palestine Zionist Executive, 89
 Palestinian Authority (PA), 162, 237
 Arafat as president of, 238
 corruption in, 242
 defined, 277
 Gaza disengagement and, 251
 Hamas and, 227, 255–256
 Israel’s request for recognition as Jewish state by, 258–259
 Oslo Accord and, 241
 Sharon and, 248
 stamps, 143
 2006 War, 254–257
- Palestinian Islamic Jihad, 223, 246–247, 255, 277
 Palestinian nationalism, 92–115. *See also* Great Revolt; intifada; *names of specific nationalist organizations*
 after World War I, 94–96
 beginnings of, 92–93
 diversity of ideology in, 145–146
 emergence of, 14–15
 first nationalist organizations, 96–99
 Great Revolt, 103–115
 Islam and, 108–109
 organizational difficulties, 99–103
 populist organizations in, 97–99
 refugees and, 142–143

INDEX

- religious imagery and vocabulary,
 107–109
 resistance to Zionist settlement, 93–94
 territorial claims, 10–12
 urban notables in, 97–99, 101
 Zionism compared to, 145–164
 Palestinian refugees, 136–144
 Arab use of, 137
 in camps, 137–142
 infiltration by, 168
 massacre in Sabra and Shatila camps,
 244
 nationalism among, 142–143
 number of, 136
 Oslo Accord and, 240
 as percentage of population, 136
 Rabin and, 234
 reasons for flight of, 136–138
 resettlement of, 136–137, 139–140
 Resolution 242, 178
 right of return, 133, 143, 258–259, 265,
 278
 transfer thinking, 138–139
 treatment of by host countries, 140
 U.N. definition of, 136
 Palestinian state. *See also* Oslo Accord
 mini-state proposal, 143, 210
 Rabin on, 236
 recognition of, 263–264
 two-state solution, 210, 227–229
 Palestinian Students Union, 202
 Palestinians
 binational state, 264–267
 diaspora, 12, 208, 210, 213
 early opposition to Zionist settlement,
 93
 factional fighting among, 124
 Jewish Palestine Pavilion and, 146–152
 1948 War and, 128, 130, 133
 open bridges policy, 186
 poetry, 156–164
 in West Bank, 134
 Zionist massacres of, 139
 Palmach, 244, 277
 passive mobilization, 219
 Paulet-Newcombe line, 99
 PDPFLP (Popular Democratic Front for the
 Liberation of Palestine), 206, 210–212
 peace, exchange of land for, 177–178, 180,
 274
 peasants
 Ottoman, 21–22, 29, 101–102
 Palestinian nationalism and, 95–98
 Peel, Earl, 117–118
 Peel Commission, 119, 148, 277–278
 Peoples of the Sea, 11
 People's Voice Initiative, 248
 Persia, 19. *See also* Iran
 Persian Gulf War (1991), 140, 186,
 233–235
 Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, 38
 PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of
 Palestine), 206, 210–211
 PFLP-GC (Popular Front for the Liberation
 of Palestine–General Command), 206
 Phalange, 121
 Phantom fighter-bombers, sale of, 182
 Philippines, 125, 218
 Philistines, 11
 Pinsker, Leo, 59–60, 290
 Pioneer Women's Organization, 154
 Plain of Esdraelon (Valley of Jezreel), 3,
 150
 plantations, 62–63, 278
 PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization
 PNC (Palestine National Council),
 206–207, 277
 Poale Zion, 68
 poetry
 Jewish, 57–59, 247
 Palestinian, 107–108, 156–164,
 214–215
 pogroms, 41, 53, 57–58, 64–65, 278
 Poland
 fourth *aliyah*, 72
 Holocaust refugees from, 124
 Jewish village in, 38
 migration from, 43
 “Political Situation in Light of
 Developments with the U.S.
 Administration and Israeli
 Government and Hamas's Continued
 Coup d'état, The”, 264
Polonia, T.S.S. (ship), 43
 Popular Democratic Front for the
 Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), 206,
 210–212
 Popular Front for the Liberation of
 Palestine (PFLP), 206, 210–211
 Popular Front for the Liberation of
 Palestine–General Command
 (PFLP-GC), 206
 population
 concept of, 17
 of European Jews (late nineteenth/early
 twentieth centuries), 42

INDEX

- population (*cont.*)
 of Gaza Strip, 4, 217
 of Israel (2013), 1
 of Jews in Warsaw, 42
 of Palestine (1948), 131
 of Palestine (2013), 1
 of Palestine, Jewish immigrants as
 percentage of, 30
 of Palestine, non-Jewish, 100–101
 of Palestine, during Ottoman rule, 21–22
 of Tel Aviv (1920s), 72
 Yishuv (1930s), 131
 post-Cold war era, 232–233
 post-Zionism, 161, 234, 278
 PPSF (Palestine Popular Struggle Front),
 206
 primitive rebellions, 94, 278
 process-driven formulas, 237–238
 “Proclamation from the General
 Leadership of the Arab Revolt in
 Southern Syria-Palestine”, 109
 Prosperity, the, 121–122
 “Protocols of the Elders of Zion, The”, 41
 Prussia, 38, 39

 Qabbani, Nizar, 214–215
 Qadariyya sufi order, 106–107
 al-Qaeda, 247, 287
 Qalqiya, 250
 al-Qasim, Sameeh, 158
 al-Qassam, ‘Izz al-Din, 103, 106–108, 114,
 290
 Qassam Brigades, 114
 Quartet, 249, 257, 278
 Qur’an, 163

 Rabin, Yitzhak
 actions toward Palestinians, 218,
 234
 assassination of, 240
 background of, 290
 Declaration of Principles, 236–237
 election of, 223
 Oslo 2, 238–241
 Oslo Accord and, 235–238
 railroads, 105, 273
 Ramallah, 4, 5, 61, 135, 141, 189, 213,
 248, 249
 Ramle, 234
 Reagan, Ronald, 145, 171, 194, 232
 Reagan Plan, 145
 Reaganomics, 171

 realignment (convergence) plan, 253–254,
 256–257, 278
 “Reality Is Two-Faced, Snow Is Black”
 (Darwish), 162–163
 recultivation of plains, 28
 Red Sea, 172
 refugees
 Jewish (Holocaust), 124
 Palestinian (*see* Palestinian refugees)
 Reinharz, Jehuda, 37, 167
 Rejectionist Front, 145, 212
 religion. *See also names of specific religions*
 civic, 16
 Herzl on, 51–52
 imagery and vocabulary in nationalist
 rhetoric, 107–109
 in Ottoman Empire, 20–21
 in premodern empires/states, 15–16
 religious Zionism, 71–72, 145
 Renan, Ernest, 7, 12
 rent, 170–171, 278
 repatriation, 133, 140, 167
 reprisal policy, 168, 243
 Resolution 242, United Nations Security
 Council, 177–178, 180–181, 183,
 210, 280
 Resolution 338, United Nations Security
 Council, 280
 Revisionist Zionism, 1, 72–74, 90, 118,
 123, 145, 184, 278
 Revolutionary Command Council of
 Egypt, 207–208
 revolutionary discipline, 221
 Rhodes format, 179, 278
 Riga, 39, 47
 right of return, 133, 143, 258–259, 265,
 278
 Roadmap for Peace, 248–249, 259–260,
 278
 Robinson, Mary, 198
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 198
 Rogers, Mary Eliza, 22–23, 27
 Rogers, William, 182–183
 Rogers Initiative, 145, 182
 Rogers Plan, 145, 182, 237
 Roman Empire, 6–7, 15–16, 19
 Romania, 59
 Romanov dynasty, 79
 Romantic movement, 17, 66, 68–69
 Roth, Joseph, 33–36
 Rothschild, Baron Edmond de, 60, 62,
 290

INDEX

- Rothschild, Baron Lionel Walter, 81
 Royal Commission (1937), 117–118
 Russia, 213, 233
 Balfour Declaration and, 81–82
 Bolshevik government of, 84
 court language in, 16
 emancipation of serfs in, 42, 57
 intellectual currents in, 46–47
 Jerusalem holy sites and, 57
 Jewish assimilation in, 40–41, 46–47
 Jewish emancipation in, 38–42
 Jewish emigration from, 56–59, 64–65
 Jewish Pale of Settlement, 39, 40–42, 46, 58, 274
 pogroms in, 53, 57–59, 64–65
 Roadmap for Peace, 248
 World War I and, 76, 78–80, 82–83
 Russian Revolution (1905), 65
 Russian Revolution (1917), 84
 Russification policy, 41, 46
 Russo-Japanese War, 65
 Rwanda, 2, 232, 247, 266
- Sabra, 145, 244
 al-Sadat, Anwar, 180, 182, 216, 290
 Safad, 5, 61, 93
 Safran, Nadav, 187
 Said, Edward, 205, 261
 Saint, Eva Marie, 129
 St. James Conference, 118–119, 278–279
 al-Sa'iqa, 206
 Saki (H. H. Munro), 1
 Saliha, 139
 Samaria, 4–5, 9–10, 274
 Samuel, Herbert, 101
 Sarajevo, 36, 76
 Sarona, 219–220
 satellite settlements (*kbirab*), 28–30
 Saudi Arabia, 132, 178, 224
 Schultz Plan, 145
 second *aliyah* (1904–1914), 64–72, 74, 148, 152–153, 170–171
 second intifada. *See* intifada, second
 self-determination, 85–86, 199, 266
 separation barrier, 249, 249–251, 253
 September 11 terrorist attacks, 232, 247
 Serbia, 76
 Serbs, Bosnian, 57
 settlements, 28, 32, 60, 61, 62–63, 69, 188–196
 burden of, 217–218, 233
 disengagement proposals and, 253, 256
 early opposition to, 113
 expansion of, 188–191
 freeze on, 248, 259–260
 incentives system, 193
 international opinion on, 194
 legal versus illegal, 188
 motivation of settlers, 191–193
 Oslo Accord and, 236–240
 post-Oslo, 241–242
 Rabin and, 234
 social structure of, 188
 Soviet immigrants in, 234–235
 in West Bank, 189
 withdrawal from Gaza, 251–252
Seven Pillars of Wisdom (Lawrence), 11–12
 Shafir, Gershon, 70–71
 Shamgar-Handelman, Lea, 148
 Shamir, Yitzhak, 74, 178, 245
 “Shaqeef Moon, The ” (‘Abd al-‘Aziz), 159
shari’a, 20, 279
 Sharon, Ariel, 74, 93–94, 168, 178, 196, 291
 as agriculture minister, 191
 background of, 244–245
 as defense minister, 244
 Gaza disengagement plans and, 251–252
 as housing minister, 245
 invasion of Lebanon, 244–245
 Kadima Party, 253
 military career, 244
 Operation Defensive Shield, 248
 on Oslo Accord, 252
 political rehabilitation of, 245
 reprisal raids led by, 168
 separation barrier, 249–251
 September 11 attacks and, 247–248
 settlements and, 191, 196, 252
 TempleMount/*Haram al-Sharif* incident, 93, 243, 245–246
 Shatila, 145, 244
shaykh, 31
 Shertok, Moshe, 151
 Shlaim, Avi, 133, 243
shtetls, 38, 40, 279
shuhada’ (sing. *shahid*), 108, 279
 Shuqairy, Ahmad, 92, 200, 291
 shuttle diplomacy, 179, 232, 279
 Sicarii (“knife wielders”), 9
 Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, 260
 Sidon, 5, 24

INDEX

- Sinai Peninsula, 175, 180, 237, 251
 Israeli withdrawal from, 184
 settlements along, 188–189, 196
 suicide bombings in, 251
 social media, 262
 social power, 17
 social space, 26
 socialism, 42, 47. *See also* utopian socialism
 Solomon, King, 6
 Somalia, 232
 South Africa, 198, 218, 265
 South Korea, 126
 Soviet Union
 Cold War, 231–232
 containment policy and, 232
 disintegration of, 234–235
 Hungarian invasion by, 173
 inclusion in conference format, 179
 intervention in Arab-Israeli conflict, 182–183, 231–232
 Israel, recognition of, 127
 Israel, severing relations with, 181–182
 Jewish emigration from, 234–235
 1967 War and, 174–175
 Palestine partition and, 126–127
 War of Attrition, 182
 Spain, 11, 163
 Srebrenica, 57
 stagflation, 190
 Stalin, Joseph, 127
 state, 37
 absolutist, 36–37, 269
 modern, 15–18
 State Education Law (Israel), 160
 statism. *See mamlachtiyut*
 Stern Gang, 72, 120–121, 124–125, 279
 Straits of Tiran, 172, 174–175
 strikes, 111–112, 219–220
 submarine warfare, 122
 subsistence farming, 60, 62
 Sudan, 2, 181
 Suez Canal, 82, 84, 172–173, 182
 Suez War, 173–174, 279
 sufism, 106–107, 279
 suicide bombings, 223, 246–248, 251
 Sukarno, Achmed, 202
 Suleiman the Magnificent, 21
 sultans, 20, 279
Sunday Times (London), 92
 Sunni Islam, 20
 Supreme Muslim Council, 110, 279
Suriya janubiyya, 95
 Sursoq family, 32
 Switzerland, 37, 52, 68
 Sykes-Picot Agreement, 84, 279
 Syria, 5, 77, 87–88
 ALF and, 206
 elites, 96
 France and, 79–80, 84, 87–88
 Greater, 26, 95, 100, 132
 Jewish emigration from, 169
 Jordan River division and, 174, 200
 Labor Party negotiations with, 241
 mandates system and, 88–89, 95–96
 nationalism in, 95–96, 100
 1948 War, 127, 131–132
 1967 War and, 175
 1973 War and, 182–183
 Ottoman Empire and, 26
 Palestine severed from, 95–97
 Palestinian refugees in, 140
 PLO and, 206
 al-Qassam resistance efforts in, 107
 United Arab Republic, 174
 World War I and, 77
 Syrian General Congress, 87, 279
 Syrian Union, 97, 99
 targeted assassinations, 113, 255
 taxes
 in Israel, 171
 under mandates system, 90
 in Ottoman Empire, 20, 22, 31
 in premodern and early empires, 15, 22
 Tel Aviv, 4, 105
 cost of living, 193
 population growth during fourth *aliyah*, 72
 race riot in, 187
 Templar movement, 28, 66, 279
 TempleMount/*Haram al-Sharif*, 93–94, 243, 245–246, 272, 279
 temporary laws (Russia), 57
 tent cities, 169
 terrorism
 against British, 124–125
 by Irgun, 72, 124–125
 by Islamist organizations, 114, 255
 object of, 139
 by PLO guerrillas, 210–211
 in second intifada, 246–247

INDEX

- September 11 attacks, 247
 suicide bombings, 246–248
 war on, 108, 194, 247–248, 280
 Zionist massacres of Palestinians, 139
- Thatcherism, 171
- third *aliyah* (1918–1923), 64–72, 74, 148,
 152–153, 170–171
- Third Worldism, 202, 279
- thirty year rule, 130
- “Those Who Pass between Fleeting
 Words” (Darwish), 161
- “three no’s”, 181
- Thurber, James, 187
- Times* (London), 81
- Tito, Marshal, 202
- Tolstoy, Leo, 16
- Touré, Ahmed Sékou, 3
- tower and stockade settlements, 152, 189
- transfer thinking, 138–139
- Trans-Jordan, 88, 280. *See also* Jordan
- “Traveler, The” (‘Abd al-‘Aziz), 158
- Treaty of London, 80
- Treaty of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, 80
- tribute, 15, 22. *See also* taxes
- Tripolitania, 107
- Trotsky, Leon, 82–83
- Truman, Harry S., 124, 167
- T.S.S. Polonia* (ship), 43
- Tulkarm, 111, 157, 240, 249, 250
- Tunisia, 211, 242, 260–261
- Turkey, Republic of, 19
- Turkic invasions, 11–12
- Turkish Straits, 79–80
- Twain, Mark, 29–30
- two-state solution, 210, 227–229, 265
- Uganda, 53
- Ukraine, 40
- ulama, 106–107
- al-‘Umar, Zahir, 24, 291
- umma*, 108, 280
- United National Leadership of the
 Uprising (UNLU), 114, 220–221, 227
- Unit 101, 244
- United Arab Republic, 173–174, 280
- United Nations (U.N.), 125
 Gulf War and, 233
 1948 War peace talks, 133–134
 number of members of, 166
 Operation Defensive Shield and, 248
 Palestine question and, 131–132
 Palestinian refugees and, 136–137
- Palestinian request for statehood,
 263–264
- partition plan (1947), 135
- Resolution 242, 177–178, 180–181,
 183, 210, 280
- Resolution 338, 280
- Roadmap for Peace and, 248
- settlements criticized by, 194
- World Conference against Racism . . . ,
 198
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency
 (UNRWA), 140–142, 280
- United Nations Relief for Palestine
 (UNRP), 139–140, 280
- United Nations Special Committee on
 Palestine (UNSCOP), 125, 280
- United States. *See also* Cold War
 Algerian Revolution and, 204
 Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry,
 124
 Balfour Declaration and, 82
 Camp David negotiations, 242–243
 Civil War in, 25
 Cold War, 231–232
 economic aid for Israel, 171
 Egypt and, 173
 Fourteen Points, 84–87
 Global War on Terrorism, 108
 Hungarian invasion and, 172
 immigration to, 43–44, 57, 167
 intervention in Arab-Israeli conflict,
 174–175, 181–183
 Israeli settlements and, 194–195
 mandates system and, 84–86
 New World Order, 232–233
 1948 War and, 128–129
 1973 War and, 179, 182–183
 opinion of settlement policy, 194
 Oslo 2 signing, 238
 Palestine partition and, 126
 peace efforts mediated by, 177–180,
 258–260
 PLO and, 216, 244
 position on Hamas, 255
 recognition of Israel, 127
 Rogers Plan, 237
 September 11 attacks on, 247
 shuttle diplomacy, 179
 support for partition, 126
 Vietnam War and, 183, 244
 walkout from World Conference against
 Racism . . . , 198

INDEX

- United States (*cont.*)
 weapons sales to Israel, 182
 World War I and, 84–86
 World War II and, 122–123
 University of Jena, 11
 UNLU (Unified National Leadership of the
 Uprising), 220–221, 227
 UNRP (United Nations Relief for
 Palestine), 139–140, 280
 UNRWA (United Nations Relief and
 Works Agency), 140–142, 280
 UNSCOP (United Nations Special
 Committee on Palestine), 125, 280
 urban notables, 32–33, 95, 110
 Great Revolt and, 101–103
 in Palestinian nationalist organizations,
 97
 urbanization, 42, 46
 Uris, Leon, 129, 136–138
 utopian socialism, 67, 280
- Vienna, 34, 49, 56, 212
 Vietnam War, 183, 244
 village leagues, 208, 244
 villages, Ottoman, 31
 Vilnius, 39, 47
 viticulture, 62, 280
- Wailing Wall, 5, 93
 Walsh, Joe, 265
 War of Attrition, 182, 280
 War of (Israeli) Independence, 10, 127. *See*
 also 1948 War
 warlords, 24, 26, 80, 84, 114
 Warsaw, 42
 water resources, 186, 195, 200, 242
 Weisglass, Dov, 252
 Weizmann, Chaim, 83, 123
 West Bank, 3–4, 9, 114, 176, 194, 216,
 227, 236, 244, 249–250
 differing names for, 3–4, 9–10
 disengagement hopes in, 252–253
 economy of, 186–188
 Hamas in, 227
 intifada in, 216–217
 Islamic organizations in, 224–225
 Israel gains control of, 175
 Jerusalem severed from, 184
 Jordan and, 134, 180, 190
 open bridges policy, 186
 Oslo 2 and, 238
 Palestinian refugees in, 139
- Palestinian residents of, 4
 PLO and, 207
 protests in, 261–263
 separation wall and, 249–251, 261
 settlements in, 188, 189, 192, 195, 217,
 241
 as site of mini-state, 143, 210
 West Germany, 171
 Western (Wailing) Wall, 5, 93
 white man's burden, 60
 White Paper of 1922, 90
 White Paper of 1939, 119–121, 124, 155,
 280
 Whitney, Eli, 24–25
 Wilson, Woodrow, 82, 85–86, 108, 233
 wine industry, 62
 women
 intifada and, 219–221
 Islam and, 224
 Jewish Palestine Pavilion portrayal of,
 153–154
 Women's League for Palestine, 154
 Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, 85,
 233, 272
 World Bank, 173, 242, 250, 255
 World Conference against Racism, Racial
 Discrimination, Xenophobia and
 Related Intolerance, 198–199
 World War I, 64, 71, 76–91, 94–95, 100,
 175
 alliances in, 76, 79–81
 Balfour Declaration, 81–83
 casualties in, 77
 catalyst for, 76, 103, 217
 long-term effects of, 77–79
 peace negotiations following, 83–91
 secret treaties in, 80, 84–85
 World War II, 119–125
 World Zionist Organization, 52–54, 89,
 123, 281
World's Fair (Doctorow), 146
 Wye Memorandum, 241
- Yadin, Yigael, 8
 “Year of Decision”, 145
 Yeats, W. B., 156, 163
 Yemen, 118, 169, 261
 Yiddish, 40, 280
 Yishuv, 61, 71, 148–150
 Abdullah's meetings with, 132
 defined, 65, 280
 economic growth of, 103–106

INDEX

- Jewish agency and, 89–90
- Jewish Palestine Pavilion and, 148, 150–156
- language in, 68
- militia in, 69
- 1948 War, 127–128
- partition proposal, 118
- policies and institutions developed by, 67–69
- population, 103, 131
- severance of ties with Arabs in, 67
- World War II and, 119–120
- Young Turks, 123
- Yugoslavia, 125, 266
- Zealots, 9
- Zionism. *See also* colonization
 - American, 147–148, 150–151
 - appeal to Russian Jews, 42
 - Balfour Declaration and (*see* Balfour Declaration)
 - cultural, 53
 - defined, 281
 - diversity of ideology in, 145–146
 - Great Revolt and (*see* Great Revolt)
 - historical narrative of, 6–12, 14, 148–149
 - homeland options considered by, 53–54
 - institutionalization of, 100
 - intellectual currents within, 65
 - Jerusalem's significance in, 184
 - Jewish challenges to, 54–55
 - Jewish Palestine Pavilion and, 146
 - Labor (*see* Labor Zionism)
 - mandates system and, 87–88, 100
 - in Ottoman Palestine, 29–30, 32
 - Palestinian nationalism compared with, 93
 - Palestinian nationness rejected by, 133
 - Palestinian resistance to, 93–94, 96
 - PLO policy on, 209, 213
 - post-Zionism alternative, 161, 234
 - prerequisites for emergence of, 48–49
 - racism and, 198
 - reasons for emergence of, 14–15
 - religious, 71–72, 145
 - Revisionist, 1, 72–74, 90, 118, 123, 145, 184, 278
 - territorial claims, 6–10
 - transfer thinking, 138
 - White Paper rejected by, 119
 - women and, 153–154
 - World War I and, 77–78, 85
 - World War II and, 122–123
 - Zionist Organization of America, 153, 155
 - Zola, Emile, 49