

A History of Modern Palestine

Tracing the history of Palestine from the Ottomans in the nineteenth century, through the British Mandate, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, and the subsequent wars and conflicts that have dominated this troubled region, Ilan Pappé's widely acclaimed *A History of Modern Palestine* provides a balanced and forthright overview of Palestine's complex history. Placing at its centre the voices of the men, women, children, peasants, workers, town dwellers, Jews and Arabs of Palestine, who lived through these times, this tells a story of co-existence and co-operation, alongside oppression, occupation and exile, exposing patterns of continuity as well as points of fracture. Now in an updated third edition, Pappé draws links among contemporary events, from the war in Lebanon, violence in the Gaza Strip and the Arab Spring, with the long history of Palestine, taking into account the success of Israel without neglecting the ongoing catastrophe suffered by Palestinians, leaving hope for a better future for all who live in, or were expelled from, Palestine.

ILAN PAPPE is the Director of the European Center for Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter, Britain. He has written extensively on the politics of the Middle East and is well known for his revisionist interpretation of Israeli history and as a critic of Israel's policies towards the Palestinians. In 2017, he received the lifetime achievement award at the Palestine Book Awards. He is the author of *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947–1951* (1992/1994, I.B. Tauris), *The Modern Middle East* (2005, Routledge) and *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006, Oneworld Publications).

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-41544-6 — A History of Modern Palestine
Ilan Pappé
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

A History of Modern Palestine

Third edition

Ilan Pappé

University of Exeter



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108415446
DOI: 10.1017/9781108233743

© Ilan Pappé 2004, 2006, 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004
Second edition 2006
10th printing 2015
Third edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Pappé Ilan, author.

Title: A history of modern Palestine / Ilan Pappé, University of Exeter.

Description: Third edition. | Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021056160 (print) | LCCN 2021056161 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108415446 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108401449 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108233743 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Palestine – History – 20th century.

Classification: LCC DS125 .P298 2022 (print) | LCC DS125 (ebook) | DDC 956.9405–dc23/eng/20211201

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021056160>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021056161>

ISBN 978-1-108-41544-6 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-40144-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To Ido and Yonatan, my two lovely boys. May they live
not only in a modern Palestine but also in a peaceful one.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-41544-6 — A History of Modern Palestine
Ilan Pappé
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of Maps</i>	xi
<i>Chronology</i>	xii
<i>Foreword</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxi
Introduction: A New Look at Modern Palestine and Israel	1
1.1 The Emergence of Modern Palestine: The Common Version	3
1.2 Deconstructing the Emergence of Modern Palestine	5
1.3 Writing the History of One Land, Two Peoples	7
1 <i>Fin de Siècle</i> (1856–1900): Social tranquillity and Political Drama	13
1.1 The Rural Landscape and Its People	13
1.2 Urban Palestine and Its Society	16
1.3 A Society without Politics	19
1.4 Globalization of the Local Economy	19
1.5 The Political Economy of ‘Modern Palestine’ in the 1880s	22
1.6 Invading Civil Society: The Making of the Modern Ottoman State (1876–1900)	23
1.7 End of an Era: Rural Chieftains and the <i>A‘ayan</i>	25
1.8 New Beginnings and New Influences	28
1.9 The Zionist Impetus	32
1.10 A New Crusade: Templars, Colonists and Profiteers	37
2 Between Tyranny and War (1900–1918)	41
2.1 Palestine in the Last Years of Abdul Hamid (1900–1908)	44
2.2 The Arrival of Zionism	46
2.3 Palestine in the Aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution (1908–1916)	52
2.4 Palestine in World War I	57
3 The Mandatory State: Colonialism, Nationalization and Cohabitation	68
3.1 Allenby’s Palestine	68
3.2 The Nationalization of the Cities (1918–1920)	74
3.3 The End of ‘Southern Syria’	76
	vii

viii	Contents	
	3.4 Early Years of the Mandate (1920–1929)	79
	3.5 Where Politics and Society Met: The 1929 Watershed	84
	3.6 The Making of the Zionist Enclave (1929–1936)	87
	3.7 The Pauperization of Rural Palestine (1929–1936)	90
	3.8 Questions of Leadership and Nationalism (1930–1936)	95
	3.9 The 1936 Revolt	97
	3.10 The 1939 White Paper	99
	3.11 Encountering Nationalism: The Urge for Cohabitation	101
	3.12 Palestine in World War II	108
4	Between Nakba and Independence: The 1948 War	115
	4.1 The UNSCOP Days	115
	4.2 The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (March–May 1948)	120
	4.3 The Palestine War (May 1948–January 1949)	122
	4.4 The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (May 1948–January 1949)	126
5	The Age of Partition (1948–1967)	133
	5.1 Dislocation and Dispossession	133
	5.2 Patterns of Response: Guerrilla Fighters, Isolation and Co-Optation	138
	5.3 The Suez Campaign	150
	5.4 Revolutionizing Politics: The Resistance Movement Institutionalized	153
	5.5 The Arab League’s PLO (1964–1968)	155
	5.6 Subduing Israeli Politics: Institutionalizing a State	157
	5.7 The Marginalization of ‘Arabism’ in Israeli Society	163
	5.8 In Limbo: The Bedouin and the Druzes	170
6	Greater Israel and Occupied Palestine: The Rise and Fall of High Politics (1967–1987)	172
	6.1 The War of June 1967	173
	6.2 Struggle for Survival: Palestinian Refugees after the 1967 War	175
	6.3 Popular Uprising, Guerrilla Warfare and Terrorism (1968–1972)	179
	6.4 The Occupation (1967–1982)	182
	6.5 The Settlements and Internal Debate in Israel (1967–1973)	186
	6.6 Survival under Occupation	189
	6.7 Pax Americana, War and Peace (1973–1977)	192
	6.8 The Question of Borders: The Jordanian Option and Greater Israel	194
	6.9 The Mizrahi Revolution	197
	6.10 The Begin Revolution	198
	6.11 Navigating between Agendas: The Politics of Palestine (1967–1987)	201
	6.12 The War in Lebanon and Its Aftermath (1982–1987)	205
	6.13 Breaches in the Wall: The Polarization of Israeli Society	207
	6.14 Palestinians in Israel (1967–1987)	210
	6.15 The Road to Intifada	213
7	The Uprising and Its Political Consequences (1987–1996)	215
	7.1 Gender and Class	220
	7.2 The Oslo Process and After	224
	7.3 In the Shadow of Politics: Religion, Nationalism and Multiculturalism	229

Contents	ix
8 A Post-Zionist Moment of Grace?	236
8.1 The Academic Debate: The Post-Zionist Scholars	236
8.2 The Political Background	237
8.3 The Academic Background	238
8.4 De-Zionizing Other Periods	240
8.5 Post-Zionist Poetry, Pop Music and Literature	241
8.6 Post-Zionist Theatre and Films	243
8.7 The Post-Zionist Media	249
9 The Suicidal Track: The Death of Oslo and the Road to Perdition	253
9.1 The Second Intifada	256
9.2 The Desperate Tilt to Martyrdom	265
9.3 The Demise of Post-Zionism	269
10 The Consolidation of the Greater Israel Republic (2005–2020)	272
10.1 Into the New Century	272
10.2 Fitna and More Self-Bleeding (2007)	277
10.3 Hopes and Their Demise (2008)	278
10.4 The Netanyahu Era (2009–2020)	281
10.5 The Social Protest (2011)	283
10.6 The Killing Fields of Gaza	285
10.7 ‘Protective Edge’ Operation (2014)	289
10.8 The Fourth Netanyahu Government (2015–2019)	290
10.9 The Palestinians in Israel (2005–2020)	293
10.10 The Palestinian Refugees (2005–2020)	298
<i>Postscript</i>	301
<i>Notes</i>	303
<i>Bibliography</i>	314
<i>Glossary of Terms</i>	326
<i>Index</i>	336

Figures

2.1	Palestinians and Jews in the Jerusalem market near the Jaffa Gate, circa 1900	<i>page 66</i>
2.2	A rural family from the Ramallah area at the end of the Ottoman era	67
3.1	The Girls' College of Jerusalem, 1920	113
3.2	The Atlit stone quarries, where Arabs and Jews were jointly employed by the Mandate government	114
4.1	The women and children of Tantura shortly after the occupation in May 1948	129
6.1	Demonstration of the Black Panthers in Jerusalem, 1972	214
6.2	Palestinians at a West Bank checkpoint in December 2002	214
7.1	Haifa 2002, a view from the Carmel	234

Maps

1.1	Administrative boundaries under the Ottomans	<i>page</i> 40
3.1	Landownership in Palestine, 1948	112
4.1	The UNGA Partition Plan, 1947	130
4.2	Palestine after the June 1967 war	131
7.1	Interim Oslo Agreement, 28 September 1995	233
9.1	Camp David protection, July 2000	271

Chronology

1699	Austro–Ottoman war ends; peace of Karlovitz
1703–30	Sultanate of Ahmet III
1710–11	Russo–Ottoman war
1725–30	Ismail Pasha is governor of Damascus
1730–54	Sultanate of Mahmoud I
1745	First Wahhabiyya state founded in Arabian Peninsula
1746–75	Dahir al-Umar rules Galilee
1754–57	Sultanate of Uthman III
1757–74	Sultanate of Mustafa III
1767–74	Further Russo–Ottoman war
1770–73	Ali Bey al-Kabir rules Egypt
1771	Dahir al-Umar and Ali Bey occupy Damascus
1774–89	Sultanate of Abdul Hamid I
1774	Kaucuc Kainerge Agreement between Russia and Ottoman Empire
1775–1804	Ahmad al-Jazzar rules <i>vilayet</i> of Syda from Acre
1783	Russia occupies the Crimean Peninsula
1787–92	Further Russo–Ottoman war
1789–1807	Sultanate of Selim III
1789	Austrian army invades Bosnia and Serbia; Russian army invades Moldavia and Wallachia
1789–1840	Bashir II Amir of Mount Lebanon
1798	Napoleon invades Egypt
1799	Napoleon in Palestine and Syria
1800	French army retreats from Egypt
1801	Wahhabis occupy Karbala
1802	Mecca and Medina were taken by Wahhabis
1805–48	Muhammad Ali rules Egypt
1806–12	Further Russo–Ottoman war
1807–08	Sultanate of Mustafa IV
1808–39	Sultanate of Mahmoud II
1818–32	Abdullah Pasha rules <i>vilayet</i> of Syda and Acre

- 1820 London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews begins activity in Palestine
- 1820–30 Greek War of Liberation
- 1824 First modern hospital opens in Palestine
- 1826 Massacre of Yeneceris in Istanbul
- 1828–29 Further Russo–Ottoman war
- 1830 French invade Algeria; British consulate opens in Jerusalem
- 1831–40 Ibrahim Ali rules Syria and Palestine
- 1834 Revolt in Palestine against Egyptian rule; First Arab printing house opens in Beirut
- 1838–58 Mustafa Rashid is grand vizier
- 1839 British occupy Aden; Hat-I-Sharif of the Gulhana lifts discrimination against non-Muslims in Ottoman Empire; the beginning of the Tanzimat period
- 1839–61 Sultanate of Abdul Majid I
- 1840 Treaty of London ends Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine
- 1843 Lebanon divided into two subdistricts: Maronite and Druze
- 1850 Riots in Aleppo against Tanzimat
- 1853 Sahayun Anglican School opens in Jerusalem
- 1853–56 Crimean War
- 1856 Paris Conference ends Crimean War
- 1857 Land law of the Ottoman Empire
- 1858–61 Civil war in Lebanon
- 1858–71 Ali Pasha is grand vizier
- 1860 Massacre of Christians in Syria and Lebanon; French forces land
- 1861–69 Fuad Pasha is grand vizier
- 1861 Organic law of Lebanon
- 1861–76 Sultanate of Abdul Aziz II
- 1864 New *vilayet* law of the Ottoman Empire
- 1868 Young Ottoman movement founded; first Templars' colony founded in Haifa
- 1869 Suez Canal opened; Fuad Pasha dies
- 1870 Mikveh Israel, the first Jewish agricultural school, founded in Palestine
- 1871 *Sanjaq* of Jerusalem autonomous; Templars' colony founded in Sharona, near Jaffa
- 1875 Partial bankruptcy of Ottoman Empire; newspaper *Al-Ahram* founded in Egypt; first Muslim and Jewish neighbourhoods outside Old City of Jerusalem; first national associations appear in the Arab world

xiv Chronology

- 1876–1908 Sultanate of Abdul Hamid II
 1876 New constitution for Ottoman Empire and the first parliament
 1877–78 Further Russo–Ottoman war
 1878 Zionist colony Petach Tikva founded; dissolution of Ottoman parliament
 1879 Britain takes over Cyprus; full bankruptcy of Ottoman Empire
 1880 Urabi Pasha revolt in Egypt
 1881 American colony founded in Jerusalem
 1882 British occupation of Egypt; the foundation of Rishon le Ziyon, Zichron Yaacov and Rosh Pina; Pinsker publishes *Auto-emancipation*
 1882–1903 First wave of Zionist immigration (First Aliya)
 1885 First newspapers in Hebrew (*Ha-Shahar* and *Ha-Megid*) founded in Europe
 1892 Railway opened between Jaffa and Jerusalem
 1893 Founding convention of Hibat Ziyon in Katowitz
 1896–1904 Herzl precursor and leader of Zionist movement
 1897 First Zionist Congress in Basel
 1898 St George’s School opened in Jerusalem; Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany visits Palestine
 1902 El-Arish plan of Herzl
 1903 Herzl’s Uganda plan; first Palestinian women’s association convenes in Palestine
 1903–14 Second Aliya
 1905 Final determination of line dividing Egypt and Palestine
 1908 Sharif Husayn appointed guardian of Mecca and Medina; oil discovered in Persia; Young Turks come to power
 1909–20 Hashomer movement in Palestine
 1909 Building of Tel-Aviv
 1911 Al-Fatah founded
 1911–13 Balkan wars
 1913 Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha and Jamal Pasha (‘the trio’) take over Ottoman Empire
 1915–16 McMahon–Husayn correspondence
 1916 Sykes–Picot agreement between Britain and France; Sharif Husayn’s revolt in the Hejaz against Ottomans
 1917 Balfour Declaration; Allenby’s troops occupy most of Palestine and enter Jerusalem and Damascus
 1918–20 British military rule in Palestine
 1918 Muslim–Christian Association founded; first Palestinian National Conference

- 1919 King–Crane Commission visits Palestine; upper Galilee ceded from Syria to Palestine; Ahdut Ha'avoda movement founded
- 1920 Palestine becomes mandatory entity; clashes between Jews and Palestinians in Jerusalem; Faysal declared king of Greater Syria; San Remo Conference; Hebrew University built in Jerusalem; Jewish Agency established; Palin Commission, the Histadrut founded
- 1921 Transjordan separated from Palestine; clashes in Jaffa between Jews and Palestinians
- 1922 Britain recognizes Transjordan as a separate political entity and Amir Abdullah as its ruler; Amin al-Husayni appointed Grand Mufti; Supreme Muslim Council founded; Egypt gains independence
- 1923 Lausanne Conference finalizes borders of Palestine
- 1925 Beitar founded
- 1926 Major earthquake in Palestine
- 1927 Palestine currency (pound) introduced
- 1928 British resident appointed to Transjordan to guide Amir Abdullah in foreign and defence policies
- 1929 Violent clashes between Jews and Palestinians
- 1930 Shaw Commission and White Paper of Lord Passfield; Ha-Poel founded; Arab Workers' Union founded
- 1931 Pan-Islamic conference in Jerusalem
- 1932 Louis French Report
- 1933 Assassination of Haim Arlosaroff by Jewish right-wingers; Izz al-Din al-Qassam operated in Palestine until his death in 1935
- 1936 Arab Higher Committee founded; al-Difa' party founded
- 1936–39 The Arab revolt
- 1937 Peel Royal Commission; Grand Mufti flees Palestine
- 1939 White paper restricting Jewish immigration and land purchase
- 1946 Amir Abdullah proclaimed king of Jordan; new Arab Higher Committee appointed; King David Hotel was blown up by Jewish terrorists
- 1947 British Cabinet decides to refer the question of Palestine to the UN; UN General Assembly Resolution 181 proposed partition of Palestine between the Jewish and Palestinian states
- 1948 The State of Israel proclaimed; Arab armies enter Palestine, and uprooting of Palestinian population begins; pro-

xvi Chronology

- Hashemite notables in Jericho declare wish for union between Palestine and Transjordan under Hashemite rule; Resolution 194 orders Israel to allow repatriation of refugees expelled from Palestine and the internationalization of Jerusalem; David Ben-Gurion becomes Israel's first prime minister; Herut founded
- 1949 Armistice agreement signed between Israel and the Arab states, apart from Iraq
- 1950 West Bank officially annexed to Jordan; tripartite declaration by the United States, Britain and France recognizes borders in the Middle East as final
- 1954–55 Moshe Sharett replaces Ben-Gurion as prime minister
- 1954 Lavon affair (Ha-Parasha); espionage and sabotage plan exposed by a group of Jews in Egypt under orders from the Israeli defence minister, Pinchas Lavon
- 1956 Suez campaign; national religious party, Mafdal, founded
- 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine ignites a cold war between Nasser and the West
- 1958 British forces land in Jordan, American marines in Lebanon; Hashemite rule in Iraq ends
- 1959 Wadi Salib riots
- 1963 End of Ben-Gurion era; Levi Eshkol elected prime minister
- 1964 First Arab summit; PLO founded; al-Ard movement in Israel outlawed
- 1965 The Fatah and Gahal founded
- 1967 The Six-Day War; Israel occupies the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights; 200,000 new Palestinian refugees; Resolution 242 adopted by UN Security Council
- 1968 The Fatah takes over PLO; Karameh campaign; hijacking of El-Al aeroplane to Algeria; PFLP and PDFLP founded
- 1969 Golda Meir becomes prime minister of Israel
- 1969–70 The United States attempts to resolve conflict
- 1970 Civil war between Jordanian army and PLO; the mass killing of Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan and subsequent expulsion of many of them to Lebanon as part of the agreement between Arafat and King Hussein; Nasser dies
- 1972 Russian advisers leave Egypt; Husayn plan for federation between Palestine and Jordan
- 1973 October War among Egyptian, Syrian and Israeli forces; superpower intervention ends fighting; during the war, Arab oil countries impose an embargo on West (apart from

- Britain and France); Resolution 338 adopted by UN Security Council affirming Resolution 242 with added reference to a need to solve the refugee problem
- 1974 UN includes Palestine on its agenda and PLO invited as an observer; Arab summit in Rabat recognizes PLO as a sole legitimate representative of Palestinian people; Jordan abrogates parliament representing two banks of River Jordan; Agranat Report leads to falling of Meir government and election of Rabin as prime minister; Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy' in the Middle East to seek bilateral peace between Israel and neighbours; Gush Emunim, settlement movement in occupied territories, founded
- 1975 Arafat addresses UN General Assembly; outbreak of civil war in Lebanon; first disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt; partial Israeli withdrawal in Palestine
- 1976 Syrian army enters Lebanon
- 1977 President Anwar Sadat of Egypt visits Jerusalem and begins bilateral peace talks with Israel. Likud and Begin come to power; the Peace Now movement founded in Israel
- 1978 A peace treaty signed between Israel and Egypt on White House lawn; PLO attack on the northern entrance to Tel-Aviv reciprocated by Litani operation, in which Israel occupies part of southern Lebanon
- 1981–84 Free-market and liberalization policies in Israel
- 1981 New leadership emerges in West Bank; crushed by IDF
- 1982 The Rest of Sinai returned to Egypt; Israel invades Lebanon in operation 'Peace for the Galilee'
- 1983 End of Begin era; Itzhak Shamir elected prime minister
- 1984 Rabbi Kahana was elected to Knesset; Shas movement founded
- 1985 Israel withdraws from Lebanon, apart from the south, which is kept; agreement between PLO and Jordan allows the latter to represent Palestinian case in negotiations
- 1987 First Intifada in occupied territories
- 1988 King Hussein announces Jordan's secession from West Bank; Hamas founded; Palestinian National Council publishes Palestinian Declaration of Independence in Tunis
- 1989 The collapse of the USSR and mass migration of Jews and non-Jews from there and from Eastern Bloc to Israel
- 1991 The First Gulf War; Iraqi Scud missiles land on Haifa and Tel-Aviv;

xviii Chronology

- the United States convenes international conference on Palestine in Spain; Abu Iyad is assassinated by the Abu Nidal Group
- 1992 Tripartite peace talks in Washington among Israel, Palestinians and Jordan; Rabin prime minister for the second time; expulsion of 400 Hamas activists from the occupied territories to South Lebanon
- 1993 Oslo Declaration of Principles signed on White House lawn
- 1994 Israel and Jordan sign an official peace treaty; Arafat arrives in occupied territories and becomes president of Palestinian Authority; an Israeli settler murders twenty-nine Palestinians in the Ibrahimiyya mosque in Hebron, which leads to the first Palestinian suicide bomber attack; Israeli forces withdraw from Jericho and Gaza and Arafat returns to Palestine
- 1995 Israel and PLO sign Oslo II agreement; interim agreement for Palestinian control of parts of West Bank and Gaza Strip; Prime Minister Rabin assassinated
- 1996–98 Benjamin Netanyahu elected prime minister; the assassination of Yihya Ben Ayash, the head of Izz al-Din al-Qassam brigades in Gaza; operation Grapes of Wrath ends with the massacre in Kafr Qana; elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council; the Hebron protocol; failed Israeli assassination of the Hamas leader, Khalid al-Mashal; Wye River Memorandum is signed
- 1999 Israeli election, Ehud Barak elected prime minister
- 2000 Israel withdraws from southern Lebanon; the Camp Davis Summit; Ariel Sharon enters Haram al-Sharif; the second Intifada erupts
-

Foreword

The idea of this book germinated in my Haifa University class titled ‘The history of the Palestine conflict’. Very alert and eager Palestinian and Jewish students demanded, again and again, a narrative of their country’s history that did not repeat the known versions of the two conflicting parties – one that respected the other, included those who are not part of the story, and above all was more hopeful about the future. I began writing the book in the twilight of the Oslo Agreement and found it difficult to comply with the last request. But then I realized that, by then, industrious researchers had already provided us with new perspectives on Palestine, but they were never presented in one narrative. What these novel approaches had in common was that they attempted to tell the story of the people and the land, and not just that of high politics, dogmatic ideologies or rehearsed national narratives.

The fact that the students, Palestinians and Jews, wanted to hear the story told from a humanist, and not nationalist, ethnic or religious, perspective was itself a hopeful sign for the future. It is this perspective that dictates the tone of this book. It is a narrative of those in Palestine who were brutalized and victimized by human follies well known from many other parts of the world. The abusive power used by people against other people in the name of one ideology or another is condemned in this book for being the source of much evil and few blessings. These human ambitions wrought invasions, occupations, expulsions, discrimination and racism in Palestine. The heroes of this book are therefore the victims of these calamities: women, children, peasants, workers, ordinary city dwellers, peaceniks and human rights activists. The ‘villains’ to a certain extent are the arrogant generals, the greedy politicians, the cynical statesmen and the misogynist men. Many of the victims were, and still are, the indigenous people of Palestine, the Palestinians, but many of them also belong to the community of the newcomers, now evolving into the second generation of natives, the Jews.

We are constantly warned that we should not be slaves of our history and memory. This book is written with the view that in order to perform this liberation act in Israel and Palestine, you need first to rewrite, indeed salvage, a history that was erased and forgotten. The violent, symbolic and real

exclusion of people from the hegemonic narrative of the past is the source of the violence of the present. Various historians who came directly from the forgotten and marginalized communities in Palestine provided with their original and pioneering works the bricks with which I could attempt the present project of redrawing the historical picture of Palestine. This is done not for the sake of intellectual curiosity but out of a wish to disseminate a more expanded narrative of what happened in a country that never ceases, to the great dismay of its inhabitants, to capture the global headlines, even if its population does not exceed that of London or New York and its territory is smaller than that of any of the Great Lakes of North America. It is both an introduction to those interested for the first time in the country – if there are still such fortunate persons – and a suggestion for an alternative narrative for those who think, quite understandably, that they have read everything they need to know of the torn and tortured land of Palestine.

Acknowledgements

Many people made this book possible. All of them had to be, above all, patient with someone who felt, rightly or wrongly, that he was writing from the trenches. Being in Palestine at one of its most dramatic moments and writing about its past was beneficial to the book but not for those who needed manuscripts in time, speedy answers to crucial questions or the usual last bits and pieces that make a manuscript a book. I would like to thank them all: Marigold Acland, Karen Hildebrandt and Amanda Pinches.

Equally important for someone whose mother tongue is not English (and is actually a dormant German, but whose native tongue is Hebrew, and who today converses more and more in Arabic) is the help of linguistic and stylistic editors. I am most grateful to Mary Starkey who did the bulk of the work; Dick Bruggman who, as always, had a thorough and constructive look; and Donna Williams who did the copy-editing. I thank them all for the excellent work they have done.

Finally, as always, thanks to Revital and the kids for paying the price of my love for the country, my dislike of the state and my devotion to my work.

I wish to thank Rahel Hazanov Alexander who showed me her family letter collection, which included letters of Yacov Hazanov from June 1905 on these and other matters.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-41544-6 — A History of Modern Palestine
Ilan Pappé
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
