

#### A HISTORY OF MODERN PALESTINE

Ilan Pappe's history of modern Palestine has been updated to include the dramatic events of the 1990s and the early twenty-first century. These years, which began with a sense of optimism, as the Oslo peace accord was being negotiated, culminated in the second intifada and the increase of militancy on both sides. Pappe explains the reasons for the failure of Oslo and the two-state solution, and reflects upon life thereafter as the Palestinians and Israelis battle it out under the shadow of the wall of separation.

ILAN PAPPE is Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Haifa in Israel. He has written extensively on the politics of the Middle East, and is well known for his revisionist interpretation of Israel's history. His books include *The Making of the Arab–Israeli Conflict, 1947–1951* (1992/4) and *The Modern Middle East* (2005).





# A HISTORY OF MODERN PALESTINE

One Land, Two Peoples

SECOND EDITION

ILAN PAPPE
University of Haifa, Israel





## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB28BS, United Kingdom

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/9780521683159

© Ilan Pappe 2004, 2006

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

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

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

ISBN 978-0-521-86468-8 hardback ISBN 978-0-521-68315-9 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables, and other factual information given in this work are correct at the time of first printing, but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.



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





#### Contents

List of figures List of maps Chronology Foreword Acknowledgements	<i>page</i> x xi xii xix xxx
Introduction: A New Look at Modern The Emergence of Modern Palestine – the C Deconstructing the Emergence of Modern Palesting the History of One Land, Two People	ommon Version 3 alestine 5
1 Fin de Siècle (1856–1900): Social Tranqu	uillity and Political
Drama	14
The Rural Landscape and its People	14
Urban Palestine and its Society	18
A Society without Politics	20
Globalization of the Local Economy	21
The Political Economy of 'Modern Palestine' Invading Civil Society: The Making of the M	
(1876–1900)	25
End of an Era: Rural Chieftains and the A'ay	an 29
New Beginnings and New Influences	31
The Zionist Impetus	35
A New Crusade: Templars, Colonists and Pro	ofiteers 40
2 Between Tyranny and War (1900–1918)	43
Palestine in the Last Years of Abdul Hamid (	1900–1908) 46
The Arrival of Zionism	49
Palestine in the Aftermath of the Young Turk	Revolution
(1908–1916)	56
Palestine in the First World War	61



viii Contents

3	The Mandatory State: Colonialism, Nationalization and	
	Cohabitation	72
	Allenby's Palestine	7
	The Nationalization of the Cities (1918–1920)	79
	The End of 'Southern Syria'	8
	Early Years of the Mandate (1920–1929)	8
	Where Politics and Society Met: The 1929 Watershed	90
	The Making of the Zionist Enclave (1929–1936)	9:
	The Pauperization of Rural Palestine (1929–1936)	97
	Questions of Leadership and Nationalism (1930–1936)	102
	The 1936 Revolt	10
	The 1939 White Paper	107
	Encountering Nationalism: the Urge for Cohabitation Palestine in the Second World War	108
	Talestille ill the second world war	110
4	Between Nakbah and Independence: The 1948 War	122
•	The UNSCOP Days	122
	The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (March–May 1948)	128
	The Palestine War (May 1948–January 1949)	130
	The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (May 1948–January 1949)	13
5	The Age of Partition (1948–1967)	14
	Dislocation and Dispossession	14
	Patterns of Response: Guerrilla Fighters, Isolation and Co-optation	140
	The Suez Campaign	160
	Revolutionizing Politics: The Resistance Movement Institutionalized	16
	The Bogus PLO (1964–1968) Subduing Israeli Politics: Institutionalizing a State	160
	The Marginalization of 'Arabism' in Israeli Society	168
	In Limbo: The Bedouin and the Druzes	172 18
		10
6	Greater Israel and Occupied Palestine: The Rise and Fall of	_
	High Politics (1967–1987)	183
	The War of June 1967	182
	Struggle for Survival: Palestinian Refugees after the 1967 War	180
	Popular Uprising, Guerrilla Warfare and Terrorism (1968–1972)	19
	The Occupation (1967–1982)	192
	The Settlements and Internal Debate in Israel (1967–1973)	198
	Survival under Occupation	201
	Pax Americana, War and Peace (1973–1977) The Question of Borders: The Jordanian Option and Greater Israel	20
	The Mizrahi Revolution	207
	The Begin Revolution	210
	Navigating between Agendas: The Politics of Palestine (1967–1987)	21
	The War in Lebanon and its Aftermath (1982–1987)	219
	Breaches in the Wall: The Polarization of Israeli Society	223



	Contents	ix
	Palestinians in Israel (1967–1987) The Road to Intifada	224 228
7	The Uprising and its Political Consequences (1987–1996) Gender and Class	230 235
	The Oslo Process and After In the Shadow of Politics: Religion, Nationalism and Multiculturalism	240 245
8	A Post-Zionist Moment of Grace? The Academic Debate – The Post-Zionist Scholars The Political Background	253 253 254
	The Academic Background	255
	De-Zionizing Other Periods	257
	Post-Zionist Poetry, Pop Music and Literature	259
	Post-Zionist Theatre and Films The Post-Zionist Media	261 267
9	The Suicidal Track: The Death of Oslo and the Road to	
	Perdition	272
	The Second Intifada	275
	The Desperate Tilt to Martyrdom	280
	The Demise of Post-Zionism	285
	Postscript: The Post-Arafat Era and the New Sharon Age	287
Ν	rotes	294
$B_{i}$	ibliography	304
	lossary of Names	316
	lossary of Terms	334
In	dex	344



## **Figures**

I.	Palestinians and Jews in the Jerusalem market near the Jaffa	
	Gate, circa 1900. Heiko Haumann, The First Zionist Congress	
	in 1897 – Causes, Significance, Topicality (Karger, Basle	
	1997)	page 44
2.	A rural family from the Ramallah area at the end of the	
	Ottoman era. Walid Khalidi, Before their Diaspora: A	
	Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876–1948	
	(Beirut 1987)	70
3.	The Girls' College of Jerusalem, 1920. Walid Khalidi, <i>Before</i>	
	their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians,	
	1876–1948 (Beruit 1987)	75
4.	The Atlit stone quarries, where Arabs and Jews were jointly	
	employed by the Mandate government. Sarah Graham-Brown,	
	Palestinians and their Society 1880–1946: A Photographic Essay	
	(London 1980)	120
5.	The women and children of Tantura shortly after the	
	occupation in May 1948. Courtesy Teddy Katz	137
6.	Demonstration of the Black Panthers in Jerusalem, 1972.	
	Courtesy Sami Shalom Shitrit	213
7.	Palestinians at a West Bank checkpoint in December 2002.	
	News From Within (14/1 January 2003)	228
8.	Haifa 2002, a view from the Carmel. Courtesy Casa Editice	
	Bonechi	250



## Maps

ı.	Administrative boundaries under the Ottomans	page 27
2.	Land ownership in Palestine, 1948	96
3.	The UNGA Partition Plan, 1947	126
4.	The Near East after the 1967 June War	139
5.	Interim Oslo Agreement, 28 September 1995	249
6.	Camp David Protection, July 2000	281
7.	The wall at the heart of Palestine, 2005	2.88



## Chronology

1699	Austro-Ottoman War ends; Peace of Karlovitz
1703–30	Sultanate of Ahmet III
1710–11	Russo–Ottoman War
1725–30	Ismail Pasha 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 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 taken by Wahhabis
1805–48	Muhammad Ali rules Egypt
1806–12	Further Russo-Ottoman War
1807–08	Sultanate of Mustafa IV
	::



	Chronology	ii
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	
1830	British consulate opens in Jerusalem	
1831–40	Ibrahim Ali rules Syria and Palestine	
1834	Revolt in Palestine against Egyptian rule	
1834	First Arab printing house opens in Beirut	
1838–58	Mustafa Rashid is Grand Vizier	
1839	British occupy Aden	
1839–61	Sultanate of Abdul Magid I	
1839	Hat-I-Sharif of the Gulhana lifts discrimination against	
	non-Muslims in Ottoman Empire; beginning of the	
	Tanzimat period	
1840	Treaty of London ends Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine	3
1843	Lebanon divided into two sub-districts: 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, first Jewish agricultural school, founded in Palestine	



xiv	Chronology
1871	Sanjaq of Jerusalem autonomous; Templars' colony founded in Sharona, near Jaffa
1875	Partial bankruptcy of Ottoman Empire; newspaper <i>Al-Ahram</i> founded in Egypt; first Muslim and Jewish neighbourhoods outside Old City of Jerusalem; first national associations appear in Arab world.
1876–1908	Sultanate of Abdul Hamid II
1876	New constitution for Ottoman Empire and first parliament
1877–78	Further Russo-Ottoman War
1878	Zionist colony, Petach Tikva, founded
1878	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; 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 ( <i>Ha-Shahar</i> and <i>Ha-Megid</i> ) 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 Basle
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



	Chronology xv
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, Histadrut founded
1921	Transjordan separated from Palestine; clashes in Jaffa between Jews and Palestinians
1922	Britain recognizes Transjordan as 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 operates in Palestine until his death in 1935
1936	Arab Higher Committee founded; al-Difa' Party founded



xvi	Chronology
1936–39	The Arab revolt
1937	Peel Royal Commission
1937	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 blown up by Jewish terrorists
1947	British Cabinet decides to refer question of Palestine to UN; UN General Assembly Resolution 181 proposing partition of Palestine between Jewish state and Palestinian state
1948	State of Israel proclaimed; Arab armies enter Palestine, and uprooting of Palestinian population begins; pro- 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 USA, Britain and France recognizes borders in 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 group of Jews in Egypt under orders from Israeli defence minister, Pinchas Lavon
1956	Suez Campaign; national religious party, Mafdal, founded
1957	Eisenhower Doctrine ignites 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



	Chronology xv	ii
1967	The Six Day War; Israel occupies the West Bank, the Gaz Strip, the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights; 200,000 new Palestinian refugees; Resolution 242 adopted by UN Security Council	
1968	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	USA attempts to resolve conflict	
1970	Civil war between Jordanian army and PLO; mass killing of Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan and subsequent expul- sion to Lebanon of many of them as part of agreement between Arafat and King Hussein; Nasser dies	
1972	Russian advisers leave Egypt; Husayn plan for federation between Palestine and Jordan	
1973	October War between Egyptian, Syrian and Israeli forces;	
	superpower intervention ends fighting; during war, Arab oil countries impose embargo on West (apart from Britain and France); Resolution 338 adopted by UN Security Council affirming Resolution 242, with added reference to need to solve refugee problem	
1974	UN includes Palestine on its agenda and PLO invited as observer; Arab summit in Rabat recognizes PLO as sole legitimate representative of Palestinian people; Jordan abrogates parliament representing two banks of River Jordan; Agranat Report leads to fall of Meir government and election of Rabin as prime minister; Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy' in Middle East to seek bilateral peace between Israel and neighbours; Gush Emunim, settlemen movement in occupied territories, founded	t
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; Peace Now movement founded in Israel	
1978	Peace treaty signed between Israel and Egypt on White House lawn; PLO attack on northern entrance to Tel-Avir reciprocated by Litani operation, in which Israel occupies part of southern Lebanon	



xviii	Chronology
1981–84	Free-market and liberalization policies in Israel
1981	New leadership emerges in West Bank; crushed by IDF
1982	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 elected to Knesset; Shas movement
	founded
1985	Israel withdraws from Lebanon, apart from south, which
	is kept; agreement between PLO and Jordan allows 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 pub-
0	lishes Palestinian Declaration of Independence in Tunis
1989	Collapse of USSR and mass migration of Jews and non-
	Jews from there and from Eastern bloc to Israel
1991	Gulf War; Iraqi Scud missiles land on Haifa and Tel-Aviv US convenes international conference on Palestine in
1991	Spain
1992	Tripartite peace talks in Washington between Israel,
1992	Palestinians and Jordan; Rabin prime minister for second
	time
1993	Oslo Declaration of Principles signed on White House
775	lawn
1994	Israel and Jordan sign official peace treaty; Arafat arrives in
	occupied territories and becomes president of Palestinian
	Authority
1995	Israel and PLO sign Oslo B agreement; interim agreement
	for Palestinian control of parts of West Bank and Gaza
	Strip; Prime Minister Rabin assassinated
1996	Benjamin Netanyahu elected prime minister
1999	Israeli election, Ehud Barak prime minister
2000	Israel withdraws from southern Lebanon; second intifada
2001	Israeli election, Ariel Sharon prime minister
2003	Sharon re-elected



#### Foreword

The idea of this book germinated in my Haifa University class entitled '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 in 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 on Palestine. The heroes of this book are therefore the victims of these calamities: women, children, peasants, workers, ordinary city dwellers, peaceniks, 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 a second generation of natives, the Jews.

xix



xx Foreword

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, to 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, 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.