

A HISTORY OF MODERN PALESTINE

One Land, Two Peoples

ILAN PAPPE

University of Haifa, Israel



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>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		i
The Emergence of Modern Palestine - the Common Version		3
> Deconstructing the Emergence of Modern Palestine		5
Writing the History of One Land, Two Peoples		J
1 Fin de Siecle (1856—1900): Social Tranquillity 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' in the 1880s		24
Invading Civil Society: The Making of the Modern Ottoman State (1876-1900)		25
End of an Era: Rural Chieftains and the <i>A'ayan</i>		29
New Beginnings and New Influences		31
The Zionist Impetus		35
A New Crusade: Templars, Colonists and Profiteers		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		62

3	The Mandatory State: Colonialism, Nationalization and Cohabitation	72
	Allenby's Palestine	72
	The Nationalization of the Cities (1918-1920)	79
	The End of 'Southern Syria'	81
	Early Years of the Mandate (1920-1929)	85
	Where Politics and Society Met: The 1929 Watershed	90
	The Making of the Zionist Enclave (1929-1936)	93
	The Pauperization of Rural Palestine (1929-1936)	98
	Questions of Leadership and Nationalism (1930—1936)	103
	The 1936 Revolt	105
	The 1939 White Paper	107
	Encountering Nationalism: the Urge for Cohabitation	109
	Palestine in the Second World War	116
4	Between Nakbah and Independence: The 1948 War	123
	The UNSCOP Days	123
	The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (March-May 1948)	129
	The Palestine War (May 1948-January 1949)	131
	The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (May 1948—January 1949)	136
5	The Age of Partition (1948-1967)	142
	Dislocation and Dispossession	142
	Patterns of Response: Guerrilla Fighters, Isolation and Co-optation	147
	The Suez Campaign	161
	Revolutionizing Politics: The Resistance Movement Institutionalized	164
	The Bogus PLO (1964-1968)	167
	Subduing Israeli Politics: Institutionalizing a State	169
	The Marginalization of 'Arabism' in Israeli Society	175
	In Limbo: The Bedouin and the Druzes	182
6	Greater Israel and Occupied Palestine: The Rise and Fall of High Politics (1967-1987)	185
	The War of June 1967	186
	Struggle for Survival: Palestinian Refugees after the 1967 War	188
	Popular Uprising, Guerrilla Warfare and Terrorism (1968—1972)	193
	The Occupation (1967-1982)	196
	The Settlements and Internal Debate in Israel (1967-1973)	200
	Survival under Occupation	204
	Pax Americana, War and Peace (1973-1977)	207
	The Question of Borders: The Jordanian Option and Greater Israel	209
	The Mizrahi Revolution	212
	The Begin Revolution	214
	Navigating between Agendas: The Politics of Palestine (1967-1987)	217
	The War in Lebanon and its Aftermath (1982-1987)	221
	Breaches in the Wall: The Polarization of Israeli Society	224

Contents

ix

Palestinians in Israel (1967-1987)	227
The Road to Intifada	230
7 The Uprising and its Political Consequences (1987-1996)	232
Gender and Class	237
The Oslo Process and After	242
In the Shadow of Politics: Religion, Nationalism and Multiculturalism	247
Conclusion: Post-Oslo Palestine and Israel	254
The Death of Oslo	254
The Road to Suicide: Israel and Palestine in 2001	259
Epilogue	264
<i>Notes</i>	269
<i>Bibliography</i>	278
<i>Glossary</i> <i>of</i> <i>Names</i>	290
<i>Glossary</i> <i>of</i> <i>Terms</i>	309
<i>Index</i>	319