



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

Fifth Historical Studies Conference

Seventy years Since the Palestinian Nakba

Memory and History

May 12-14, 2018

[Timetable](#) | [Participants](#)



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Day One: Saturday 12 May 2018

Auditorium (2)	
8:30-9:00	Registration
9:00-9:30	Opening Remarks
9:30-11:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Session One</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Memoirs as a Source for Documenting the History of the Nakba and the Palestinian Cause</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Azmi Bishara</p> <p>Main Al-Taher: Between Politics and the Field: A Study in the Manuscripts of Akram Zuaiter and Qasim Al-Rimawi</p> <p>Alex Winder: The Nakba diaries: Dimensions of time and space in historical writings</p> <p>Ahmad Jamil Azam: The Impact of the Nakba on the Palestinian Character: The Case of Kamal Adwan</p>
11:00-11:30	Coffee Break
11:30-13:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Session Two</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Khalid Ziadeh</p> <p>Tom Ricks: The Palestinian Nakba and Jerusalem: Oral History Verification of Traumatic Memories, 1947-1949</p> <p>Bilal Shalash: Historical Texts of the Defeated: Documents of the Garrisons of Yaffa</p> <p>Issam Nassar: The Use of Photographs in Studying the Nakba and their Problematic Omission in Research</p> <p>Said El Haji: The Image of the Nakba in Moroccan Society through Family Archives</p>
13:30-14:30	Lunch Break
14:30-16:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Session Three</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Nakba in Selected Arab Narratives</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Wajih Kawtharani</p> <p>Mohammad Almasri: The Jordanian Narrative of the Nakba</p> <p>Mohammad Jamal Barout: The Syrian Army on the Eve of the Nakba (1947-1949)</p> <p>Mohannad Mubaideen: The Nakba in Contemporary Arab Historical Discourse</p>
19:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Public Lecture: Azmi Bishara</p> <p>Seventy years Since the Nakba: the Fate and Future of the Palestinian Cause.</p>

Day 2: Sunday, 13 May 2018

Auditorium (2)									
9:30–11:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Session One A Critique Of Israeli Approaches to the Nakba Moderator: Nadim Rouhana</p> <p>Yasser D. Djazaerly: The Historiography of the Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine Mahmoud Muhareb: The Role of the Israeli Communist Party in the Nakba Adel Manaa: A Revision of the Historical Literature on the Nakba: a Look Into Historic Palestine</p>								
11:00-11:30	Coffee Break								
11:30-13:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Session Two On the Intellectual and Literary Representation of the Nakba Moderator: Saqr Abu Fakhr</p> <p>Ihab Shalbak: On the Meaning of the Nakba: between disaster and salvation Fakhri Saleh: The Nakba, the Novel, and the Crystallization of a Palestinian National Identity Rami Abu Shihab: The Functions and Manifestations of Collective Solidarity: a Reading of Ibrahim Nasrallah's Age of the White Horses</p>								
13:00-14:00	Lunch Break								
Meeting Room									
14:00-16:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Workshop Palestine in Official Arabic School Curricula (1) Moderator: Shafiq Al-Ghabra</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Opening Remarks: Mohammad Jamal Barout</p>								
	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">Abdel Fattah Madi - Egypt</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">Ahmad Moufleh - Lebanon</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Ammar al-Samar - Syria</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Mohammed Munther Salah - Palestine</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Naeem Abu Hommous - Palestine</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Nahar Nouri - Iraq</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Thouqan Obeidat - Jordan</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Abdel Fattah Madi - Egypt	Ahmad Moufleh - Lebanon	Ammar al-Samar - Syria	Mohammed Munther Salah - Palestine	Naeem Abu Hommous - Palestine	Nahar Nouri - Iraq	Thouqan Obeidat - Jordan	
	Abdel Fattah Madi - Egypt	Ahmad Moufleh - Lebanon							
	Ammar al-Samar - Syria	Mohammed Munther Salah - Palestine							
	Naeem Abu Hommous - Palestine	Nahar Nouri - Iraq							
Thouqan Obeidat - Jordan									
16:00-16:30	Coffee Break								

16:30-18:30	Workshop Palestine in Official Arabic School Curricula (2) Moderator: Abdel Fattah Madi	
	Hamaoullah ould Salem - Mauritania	Mohammed Al-Misfer - Qatar
	Nasser Al Sadi - Oman	Nasser Saidouni - Algeria
	Yousef Al-Mahmeed - Kuwait	Saif al- Maskari - UAE

Day Three: Monday, 14 May 2018

Auditorium (2)	
9:00-10:00	<p>Session One</p> <p>Presentations of Research Projects on Palestine</p> <p>Moderator: Mohammad Jamal Barout</p> <p>Youssef Courbage: The Palestinian Diaspora Project Dana El Kurd: Palestine in the Arab Opinion Index</p>
Ostour's Symposium: A 100 Years Since the Balfour Declaration	
10:00-11:30	<p>Session Two</p> <p>Regional, Arab and International Reverbations of the Balfour Declaration</p> <p>Moderator: Abderrahim Benhadda</p> <p>Johnny Mansour: The First Year of the Balfour Declaration in Palestine and the Surrounding Countries (1917 - 1919) Salih Alshora: The Balfour Declaration in the Palestinian Press: 1920-1929</p>
11:30-12:00	Coffee Break
12:00-13:30	<p>Session Three</p> <p>Balfour Declaration: Arab and International Perspectives</p> <p>Moderator: Nasser Al-Din Saidouni</p> <p>Abdul Qader Al Qahtani: The impact of the Balfour Declaration on the Migration of Palestinians from their Homeland and the International Stance Fathi Leyser: The Arab Movement in the Arab Mashreq and the Balfour Declaration: 1917-1920 Mohammad Hatemi: The Israeli Attempts to Legitimize the Balfour Declaration: A Reading of Classic Historians and New Historia</p>
13:30-14:30	Lunch Break
14:30-16:00	<p>Session Three</p> <p>The Historical Context of the Balfour Declaration</p> <p>Moderator: Abdelhamid Haneia</p> <p>Munir Fakhreddine: Civil Rights during the Mandate: Land as an Example Al Hadi Jallab: The Balfour Declaration in the Context of Zionist Activity in Tunis 1917- 1919 Ayat Hamdan: Mobilizing the Past: The Centenary of the Balfour Declaration and the March of Return</p>

Participants

Abdul Qader Al Qahtani

A Qatari academic, professor of modern and contemporary history at Qatar University. He is specialized in the history of the Arabian Peninsula, with books looking at Political Development in Yemen between 1948 and 1962, Yemeni-British Relations from 1934 to 1962, and Modern and Contemporary Gulf History.

The impact of the Balfour Declaration on the Migration of Palestinians from their Homeland and the International Stance

Britain pledged to establish a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. Arthur Balfour, Britain's then foreign secretary, was the most enthusiastic supporter of the project. On November 2, 1917, the British minister issued his ominous declaration of support for the establishment of the Jewish state in the land of Palestine. This promise came in a letter to the Zionist leader Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild. The Zionist Chaim Weizmann commented on the Balfour Declaration in a speech in London on September 21, 1919, saying, "The Jewish state will come about; but it will come about not through political declarations, but by the sweat and blood of the Jewish people. The Balfour Declaration is the golden key which unlocks the doors of Palestine, and gives you the possibility to put all your efforts into the country."

Since the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist movement cooperated with the British Mandate authorities in Palestine to relocate Jews from around the world to Palestine, as a step towards seizing the land and forcing the Palestinians to flee. This paper puts the Balfour declaration in the contexts of Britain's responsibility for the loss of Palestine, The UN responsibility for the Palestinian cause, and the Arab stance towards the Palestinian cause.

Adel Manaa

Senior researcher at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and a Palestinian historian specialized in the Ottoman history of Palestine and the Palestinians in the 20th century. He studied during the 1980s and 1990s in several Palestinian and Israeli universities, including Hebrew University and Bir Zeit University. He has been a researcher at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Director of the Arab Society Research Center in Israel since 1999. He has published dozens of books and articles in three languages (Arabic, Hebrew and English) in various fields. His most recent publication was on the Nakba, which was published in Arabic in 2016, and then in Hebrew by the Van Leer Institute in 2017.

A Revision of the Historical Literature on the Nakba: a Look into Historic Palestine

This paper deals with the Arab historical literature related to the war in Palestine in 1948, since the publication of Constantin Zureiq's book *The Meaning of the Nakba*. After presenting examples of this literature, the paper focuses on a critical reading of some historical Israeli and Palestinian accounts of responsibility for the Nakba and its aftermath. It then offers a different vision of those subjects from the inside, from the perspective of the Palestinians who remained in the occupied homeland in 1948 and became citizens of the Jewish state.

The paper draws on the author's broader recently published study, *Nakba and survival: the story of Palestinians who remained in Haifa and Galilee, 1948-1956*, issued by the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut and Ramallah, 2016. This study clearly shows that the Nakba was not simply a bitter historic event, but rather a process and life experience through which the rest of the people of northern Palestine lived until at least 1956. This research was based on all available sources, documents and manuscripts, as well as oral sources in order to address the absence of Arab archives, and the continued impenetrability of "sensitive" documents related to the Nakba in Israeli archives.

Ahmad Jamil Azam

Holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh, UK. He is an assistant Professor of International Relations and Political Science at Birzeit University, Palestine, and was a Visiting Scholar at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cambridge, UK. He has also worked at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi.

The Impact of the Nakba on the Palestinian Character:

The Case of Kamal Adwan

The Palestinian Nakba gave rise to the issues of fragmentation or unity among Arab states. The occupation of Palestine was a second important feature in the formation of the new era, influencing Arab political thought.

Part of this national experience led to the growth of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah) has been documented, and has been characterized by two basic traits. The first of these is generalization, without investigating the details of daily events. Secondly, there has been a tendency to make do with existing studies describing the path to a modern Palestinian national identity, but without sufficient investigation into the new type of national identity or its cultural components - Arab and Islamic in particular.

Kamal Adwan was one of the refugees in Gaza in 1948, who in very few years rose to play an effective role in political life in the Gaza Strip, and in the leadership of the Palestinian national movement, until his assassination in 1973. The study takes up the early period of Adwan's life, starting a few years prior to the Nakba. It examines the years he spent as a refugee in Gaza and his involvement with the Muslim Brotherhood. It then studies his activity in the 1950's and his university studies in Cairo, periods which preceded the launch of Fatah. Kamal Adwan's reasons for abandoning the Muslim Brotherhood referred to attempts made by the Brotherhood to limit the individual freedom of its members. Later, in the context of Fatah, Adwan rejected any political division on the basis of ideology and any conflict with conservative traditional forces or new revolutionary ones, such as that of Egypt under Jamal Abdel Nasser.

Al Hadi Jallab

Professor of Contemporary History at the Tunisian University and Director General of the Tunisian National Archives. He is also a Researcher in the Institute of Contemporary History of Tunisia and president of the World Association of Francophone Archives since 2012. His focus is on contemporary economic and political history. He has many articles and works, and his most prominent work is on the “Tunisian Economic Elite: 1920-1956”.

The Balfour Declaration in the Context of Zionist Activity in Tunis in 1917- 1919

Tunis was a French colony at the time of the Balfour Declaration, suffering from the consequences of colonization and the impacts of the First World War. France had imposed participation of Tunisia in the war with conscription of thousands of its youth into the ranks of the French army, sending thousands of others to France to work in fields and factories to replace French conscripts. In such circumstances, and with the war at its most intense, the Balfour Declaration was promulgated. The declaration marks a point of transformation in the activity of the Zionist movement. The year 1918 saw an intensification of Zionist activity in Tunisia, with the French administrative and security administrations registering a growth in this activity and intensified coordination with Zionist associations in Tunis and among their counterparts in other states.

We attempt here to reveal the content of the documents that chronicle Zionist activity in Tunisia and beyond, before and after the Balfour Declaration, in the context of the First World War. In the summer of 1917, Tunisia witnessed acts of hostility against wealthy Jews, especially merchants, carried out by Muslims and French who considered that the Jews had benefited from the First World War, while Tunisians and French residents living in Tunisia had paid a heavy price for that war. Several shops were looted and vandalized in Tunis , Sousse, Kairouan, Sfax, Baga, and elsewhere.

Alex Winder

Alex Winder is a Postdoctoral Research Associate in Palestine and Palestinian Studies at Brown University. His research focuses on policing and crime in British Mandate Palestine, with particular attention to the negotiations and tensions between Arab policemen and Arab communities. He received his PhD from the joint program in History and Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at New York University. He edited and introduced *Between Jaffa and Mount Hebron: The Diary of Muhammad 'Abd al-Hadi al-Shrouf* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2016), and is associate editor of the *Jerusalem Quarterly*, which is published by the Institute for Palestine Studies.

The Nakba Diaries: Dimensions of Time and Space in Historical Writings

This paper considers how diary writing as a practice gives its product—the diary—a particular kind of access to the experience of the Nakba. Diaries are often subsumed within overarching categories that include memoir and oral history, despite significant differences: rather than facing backward to recover the past, as is the practice of memoirists, autobiographers, and historians (including oral historians), the diary is forward-looking, written without the knowledge of the outcome of historical events. This paper focuses on recently published Nakba-era diaries kept by Khalil al-Sakakini (a Christian elite based in Jerusalem, which he was forced to abandon in 1948) and Muhammad 'Abd al-Hadi al-Shrouf (a low-ranking policeman from Nuba, outside Hebron, which fell under Jordanian rule after 1948). By examining the significance of family and social networks, production of space, and affective and embodied experiences of the Nakba in these two vastly different diaries, this paper addresses larger themes of scale and temporality as they relate to the history of the Nakba. These diaries reveal the Nakba as a variegated patchwork of individual and communal catastrophes, unfolding unevenly and uncertainly, and producing different experiences and concerns grounded in the lived spaces that comprised Palestine.

Ayat Hamdan

Assistant Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editorial Secretariat of “*Ostour*” journal for historical studies. She is currently a visiting Scholar at the Center for Refugee Studies at the University of Oxford. She holds a BA in History and Political Science and a MA in Islamic Arab History from Birzeit University. She is a PhD candidate from the Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, UK.

Mobilizing the Past: The Centenary of the Balfour Declaration and the March of Return

In engaging with the Balfour Declaration and the Nakba, this paper seeks to understand how both events, which have become deeply engraved within the collective Palestinian memory, translate into contemporary mobilisation and protest. The paper applies McAdam’s and Sewell’s theory of transformative events, which rests upon the formative significance of human agency, to assess the 2018 march to Gaza’s border and the commemoration of the centenary of the Balfour Declaration.

The official Palestinian discourse commemorated these two events, and in particular the Nakba, as folklore. This discourse began shifting the Palestinian historical narrative and its establishment within the framework of the 1967 occupation, which serves the “two state solution” and “the peace process”. Instead of establishing a “memory of historical uprooting and injustice to the indigenous population,” they entrenched the “memory of folklore.” This memory is sung by the stolen village and its values in exchange for the values of urban modernity, produced on the margins of the Arab cities, according to the refugee experience as Azmi Bishara describes it. This memory is also institutionalized by the construction of “places of memory” such as the Palestinian Museum for Bishara. Here, memory has been lost in the place and recreated ritually.

This paper is divided into three main parts. The first part, which descends from the memory to the museum, focuses on the transformation of Palestinian memory, with specific attention to the ways in which places of memory help to promote an official Palestinian narrative grounded within the logic of the “peace process”. The second part engages with transformational events and seeks to move beyond the institutionalization of Palestinian memory to instead conceive of memory as a source of political actions and mobilisation. This section directly addresses the centenary of the Balfour Declaration and the contemporary March of Return. The paper argues that the two events anticipate a form of memory that moves beyond the limits of institutionalisation.

Bilal Shalash

Founder of the Document Palestine Initiative. His current research interests concentrate on the history of the Palestinian military action during the 1947-1949 war and on the history of the armed resistance during the Al-Aqsa Intifada 2000-2005. He is a research fellow with the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and is currently undertaking a scholarship for a Master's in Israeli Studies at Birzeit University. He received two master's degrees with distinction from Birzeit University in 2015 and 2018. He has several publications, the most recent of which is a two volume book on the Yaffa Protectorate and its Military Action, looking at Studies and Documents from December 1947 - April 1948, published by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (2018).

Historical Texts of the Defeated: Documents of the Garrisons of Yaffa

In recent years, biographies and memoirs have become a prominent historical source in Palestinian historical literature related to the history of the 1947-48 war. Meanwhile, critical studies guiding the use of this type of literature as a historical source are rare, especially in the absence of other primary sources such as Arab archival documents related to the war. This research examines documents from the Yaffa garrison, covering its activity and military operations between December 1947 and April 1948. In view of the volume of the materials provided by the documents, it was necessary to scrutinize the texts of the biographies and notes in this article using these documents; to examine the limits of these texts in adding them as a source of the history of war in both Yaffa and more generally the first stage of the war.

The basic premise of this paper is that the texts of the biographies and memoirs were written by the defeated. They witnessed the fall of the city and its last days, and the impact of defeat was compounded by the major defeat at the end of the war and the dispossession of their homes. This has had a negative impact on the accuracy of the information, observations, conclusions and evaluations provided in these documents. This type of literature as a whole was used for both self-defense and accusations, and consequently, they must be viewed with extra caution. The paper addresses its argument from two angles. The first presents a summary of the months of fighting in Yaffa (December 1947-May 1948). The second inspects the texts of some biographies and memoirs and a collection of archival documents related to the activity of the Yaffa garrison and its military action. This examines how these texts have been transformed into defenses and accusations, affecting the accuracy of the information, the facts and the analysis presented.

Dana El Kurd

Dana El Kurd: Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. El Kurd received her PhD in Political Science from The University of Texas at Austin. She is specialized in the fields of comparative politics and international relations, with a particular focus on Palestine, authoritarianism, and contentious politics, and often contributes to newspapers, magazines and academic such as *Al-Araby Al-jadeed*, *Foreign Affairs* and the *Washington Post's* *Monkey Cage*. Her work has also been published in peer review journals such as *Middle East Law and Governance*, and *Journal of Arabian Studies* and *Siyasat Arabia*.

Palestine in the Arab Opinion Index

The Arab Opinion Index is an annual opinion poll undertaken by the Arab Center in those Arab countries in which surveys can be carried out. The survey uses general statistical frameworks to attain representative samples of the various communities, in order to identify trends in Arab public opinion on a range of economic, social and political issues. These include public opinion regarding democracy, values of citizenship and notions of equality, and civil and political participation. It also includes citizens' assessment of their general situation and conditions in their countries, as well as of the official institutions in these countries, and their confidence in these institutions.

Between December 2017 and April 2018, work on the sixth Arab Opinion Index was undertaken in 11 Arab countries with a total of 18830 respondents. The Arab Opinion Index Project, undertaken since 2011 by the Arab Center is the largest of its kind, and is designed to inform an Arab research agenda rather than simply to serve research agendas of foreign institutions. The Arab Index strives to address fundamental current issues in Arab societies. Given the absence of the Palestinian issue from regional opinion polls and most national opinion polls, the Index has established a special section on Palestine. As a research project implemented in many Arab countries, the Arab Index aims to measure the following topics relating to Palestine on a regular basis:

- How does the Arab public view the Palestine question? Is it considered an Arab issue or one specific to the Palestinians?
- How does the Arab public assess peace treaties signed by some Arab countries with Israel?
- What are the attitudes of the Arab public towards recognition of Israel?
- How does the Arab public evaluate the international and regional powers' policies towards the

Palestinian cause?

The Arab Index includes other questions related to the Palestinian issue when relevant to regional and international current affairs.

Continued Arab Center research on the Palestinian predicament requires an understanding of the trends in Arab public opinion, especially in the midst of a plethora of initiatives and official political positions around them. Equally, it emphasizes its non-neutral message when dealing with central and fundamental Arab issues through quantitative and qualitative academic research.

Fakhri Saleh

Literary critic and researcher in Arabic and international literature, and translator. He is currently the Director of Arabic Publishing at the Hamad Bin Khalifa Publishing House. He has published more than ten books on Arabic novels and fiction, and has written and translated several other books on literary theory. He published a large number of studies on Palestinian fiction poetry and culture.

The Nakba, the Novel, and the Crystallization of a Palestinian National Identity

Since the establishment of the Zionist State at the expense of Palestine in 1948, fiction, Palestinian fiction in particular, has worked to complete imaginary narratives that emanate from the Palestinian Nakba and the events surrounding it. These include events such as ethnic cleansing, forced displacement and the scattering of Palestinians all over the world. Regardless of the level of the Palestinian, or the more broadly Arab novel, which sought to capture the moment of the Nakba in time and place (or what Mikhail Bakhtin called the Chronotope), the Arabic novel, as well as the novels written by Palestinians in other languages, provided a counter-narrative to the Zionist narrative on the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine. It is true that the novel is not a history, but it sought to present a contrasting narrative, one capable of telling the true story of Zionist settler-colonialism. This research has relied on foundational texts, which can be considered to form the imagined narrative about the fall of Palestine and the Nakba that has plagued it for 70 years.

The purpose of this research is to look at the fictional canon of the Nakba, not to claim it as a historical source; of which there are many that have critiqued and dismantled the Zionist historical narrative. Rather, this paper offers an analysis of the narrative surrounding this moment, which has been able to provide remarkable works of fiction. The research also seeks to prove that literature, and novels in particular, can itself create a counter-narrative that leads the reader to discover what the Zionist narrative sought to entrench in popular, especially foreign, imagination. The role of the novel is no less important than that of the Palestinian and Arab historical writings on the Nakba, which preceded the Israeli “new historians” in exposing the Zionist account of the Nakba.

Fathi Leyser

Professor of Modern and Contemporary History in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Sfax, Tunisia. His focus is on political history and national movements in the Maghreb and problems of the historical present. His books look at contemporary history, and most recently, the Experience of the 'Troika' alliance in Tunisia.

The Arab Movement in the Arab Mashreq and the Balfour Declaration: 1917-1920

This paper investigates the reaction of the leaders of the Arab movement and the most prominent Arab political actors and bodies to the Balfour Declaration soon after it was announced. The study monitors how these reactions manifested in such highly sensitive cases. Attention is given especially to the background of the British sponsorship of communications between the leaders of the Arab movement and the most prominent Zionist leaders at the time. It also follows the developments of the fluctuating Palestinian, Arab, British and international positions and reactions.

The Arab movement manifested during and post-World War I in what could be called a second generation of Arab leaders. The generation that is considered one of the secretions of the Damascus Protocol, the alliance established between the Hashemites in the Hijaz and a group of men of the Arab nationalist movement in the Levant and Iraq in May 1915. This alliance allowed the Sharif of Mecca Hussein ibn Ali and his four sons, especially Faisal and Abdullah, along with several Syrian politicians living in Egypt, to take full reign over the Arab Movement and the defense of Arab interests.

Ihab Shalbak

Visiting Scholar at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Sydney. He previously worked as a researcher and policy adviser to the Race Discrimination Commissioner for the Australian Human Rights Commission. His research interests focus on combining intellectual history, political theory and sociology of knowledge to explore the relationship between politics and dominant forms of knowledge. He obtained a doctorate in philosophy and media from the University of New South Wales, Australia in 2015.

On the Meaning of the Nakba: Between Disaster and Salvation

In his book *The Meaning of the Nakba*, Constantine Zureik attempts to describe and analyze the catastrophic moment of the Arab Nakba. As a text, this book is tantamount to a historical document expressing the formal, temporal and spatial context of that meaning.

This study analyzes the conceptual foundations upon which Zureik based his description of the meaning of the Nakba, as well as the historical role played by this text amongst certain educated Arab elites. Zureik's formulation of the concept of the Nakba, centered around disaster and salvation, gave impetus to a certain type of intellectual and political action that looked upon defeat in Palestine as a shock to the Arab consciousness – a shock that could motivate the Arab people to catch up with the modern era and arm itself with its weapons. According to this idea, Zionism is victorious because it belongs to the modern era, and the Arabs are defeated because they are behind. Thus, joining the modern era would mean salvation for the Arabs. Zionism is victorious, because it is a project that is suitable with the times. To perceive of salvation in terms of joining the modern era, without taking into account the exclusionary aspects of this era, transformed (through the pens of thinkers such as Yassin al-Hafiz) the Nakba into a permanent crisis of regression. According to the logic of this reading, the Nakba in its seventieth anniversary is watching the inevitable Arab path towards catastrophe. In contrast to Zureik's aspirations, the exclusionary aspects of this era closed the political imagination that Zureik had fought to open.

Issam Nassar

Professor of Modern Middle Eastern History at the University of Illinois, and Editor of *The Jerusalem Quarterly*. His research interests are focused on the social and cultural history of Mandate and Ottoman Palestine, and on the history of photography in the Ottoman Empire and the whole of the Levant. He has authored many books and articles in these fields. He obtained a PhD in History from the University of Illinois in 1997.

The Use of Photographs in Studying the Nakba and their Problematic Omission in Research

This paper deals with the possibility of using photographs as a source in studying the history of the Nakba, by considering them as an essential source of the historical imagination of that era. It relies, to a certain extent, on the few Arab pictures that were taken at the time, comparing them with pictures taken by Israeli and Zionist photographers, as well as by foreign photographers.

The study is based on the theories that surround modern visual culture, which view photographs from several perspectives, including aesthetic, historical and documental. These images are analyzed using different theoretical methods, including cinematic, macro historic, and micro historic frameworks, which were written by a number of thinkers such as Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, and Christopher Pinney who studied photography in India. The study distinguishes between the depth of the picture if placed in the historical context and the picture at face value, as a subject related to its existence as a picture, and what appears on the surface.

This research makes reference to the work of Arab photographers in Palestine, including Syrian Abdul Salam al-Ajili and Palestinian Armenians such as Hrant Nkchian and Antriz Bakrjian , and Palestinian Arabs such as Khalil Rassas and Ali Zaarour. The paper criticizes the failure of Arab Nakba historians to use photographic documents, rendering them mere illustrations for books. It suggests different ways of using images in studying history generally, and the Nakba in particular.

Jamaa Baida

A Moroccan academic specializing in contemporary history, and a professor at Mohamed V University. He also serves as director of the Moroccan Archives in Rabat. His academic interests focus on the history of the written press, the colonial period, Morocco's relations with the West, the Maghreb region, and the history of minorities in Morocco.

The Balfour Declaration: the Repercussions in the Arab Maghreb

The Arab Maghreb, representing the furthest western extent of Islamic settlement, was home to a 2,000-year-old Jewish community which viewed itself as an integral part of the wider society. The ruling Muslim sultanates played an important role in allowing this community to preserve its traditions and religious practices. Yet this centuries-old arrangement began to feel the pressure of colonial expansionism throughout the Maghreb, with Western powers seeking to leverage the Jewish minority as a pressure point to unsettle the traditional social balances in the region. By using the Jewish Maghrebi community to weaken central authority, the path was paved for Western domination of the Muslim sultanates of North Africa. Separately, a mainly Ashkenazi Jewish delegation visited the Maghreb in 1897, shortly after the first Zionist Congress in Switzerland. The visiting Zionist activists were seeking to promote their own political agenda among the local Jewish community. The first group which the visiting activists tried to win over were the Jewish elites who had studied in the Jewish Association schools in Morocco, which first operated in 1862.

Following the 1917 Balfour Declaration, Zionist propaganda in the Maghreb intensified and sought to persuade Maghrebi Jews to embrace the idea of a “National Homeland” enthusiastically. The repercussions of the Balfour Declaration were pivotal in the history of the Islamic world's largest Jewish community. What exactly were the major repercussions and consequences of the Balfour Declaration in a country which had lost its independence between 1912 and 1956? Which driving factors and interests, whether internal or external, impacted on the way that the Balfour Declaration was received in the Arab Maghreb? This paper, relying on archival material and eyewitness accounts, will seek to answer this and other questions.

Mohammad Jamal Barout

Associate Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, where he also is the Head of the Research Department. Barout has contributed or authored exclusively a total of 30 published books. Barout's research work is focused on questions of modern Arab thought and modernity; education and human development; development and demographics; foreign migration from Syria; and development forecasting studies. He has worked for a number of governmental and international agencies in Syria, including as an Advisor to a number of projects run by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Syria; the UN Population Fund; and the International Migration Organization. Barout was the main author of "Syria 2025", published in 2007 and the main author of the National Reference Report on the State of the Syrian Population. In addition, Barout has held positions at the French Institute for the Near East (IFPO) in Aleppo, where he was a Visiting Scholar from 2007 to 2010, and was a guest lecturer at St. Antony's College, Oxford University in 2008 and was also a Visiting Professor at the Institute for Advanced Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences in Paris.

The Syrian Army on the Eve of the Nakba (1947-1949)

This paper assesses the Syrian government's reaction to the Syrian army's ability to liberate and retain the settlement and western hills of "Mishmar HaYarden", threatening the main road between Tiberias and the settlement of Metula, and subsequently to transform it into the "Fathullah Liberated Zone", named after two martyred officers. The government was embarrassed by this liberation because the colony was located inside the territory allocated to the Jewish state. The paper sets the timeframe for its analysis from early January 1948, when the second Yarmouk regiment entered Palestine, to the signing of the Syrian-Israeli Armistice Agreement on 20 July 1949. The official Israeli narrative considers this last date to mark the actual end to what it calls the "War of Independence" – the end of one chapter and the beginning of another. The paper is based on a manuscript record of the secret meeting in which the issue of the army's liberation of the colony was discussed as a political problem for the state, and on coverage of other private meetings referenced in the Official Gazette. The paper shows that Syrian politicians did not dare to withdraw the army from the liberated colony, until Husni al-Zayyim, after his coup, gave it up under the armistice agreement. The paper draws some significant conclusions on the position of the Syrian government and the leaders of the Council of Representatives regarding the embarrassment caused by this liberation process, thus reversing widespread narratives in the Syrian historical literature

Johnny Mansour

A Palestinian academic who specializes in history and lecturer in the Department of Historical Studies at the Galilee Institute. His books include *The Other Israel: A Look from Within*, *Arab Christians in Israel: Facts, Figures and Trends* and many others discussing the Israeli state, military apparatus, and the Balfour Declaration.

The First Year of the Balfour Declaration in Palestine and the Surrounding Countries (1917 - 1919)

This paper addresses a relatively narrow historical window, stretching from the announcement of the Balfour Declaration in November of 1917 until the Paris Peace Conference at the beginning of 1919. The subject matter it studies is the reactions of the relevant actors to the Declaration. This includes Britain's military as well as its official political institutions and representatives of both the Arab and Zionist-Jewish communities of Palestine.

There is a widely held, persistent perception in the Arab academy and among Arab politicians, that the Balfour Declaration was not widely disseminated in the Arab region, and that this explains a comparatively delayed response by Arab leaders to the announcement. Archival evidence, together with recordings of the on-the-ground evidence, however show otherwise: the Declaration had been well publicized among the Arab population within days of its printing. The evidence also shows a diversity of responses to the Declaration, with some of the Arab leadership showing a willingness to accommodate the Declaration while others-certain of its future negative implications-were adamantly opposed.

This paper presents an illustration of the way in which the various actors in Palestine sought to consolidate their power. The author further demonstrates the ways in which the different actors were able to deal with the developments on the ground. The paper shows that there was an Arab-Palestinian leadership which was both aware of the Balfour Declaration and capable of analyzing its intent, but that the British government was able to contain and coerce the Arab leadership, forcing them to acknowledge the value of cooperating with the Zionist leadership in Palestine and across the wider Middle East. Yet the Arab leadership failed to put into place a cohesive strategy to challenge the Zionist settlement project which rested on firm cooperation with the British authorities.

Mahmoud Muhareb

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and a Palestinian university professor. He received his doctorate in political science from the University of Reading in Britain in 1986. He has published many books and dozens of research papers on the Palestinian question, Zionism, Israel, and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Role of the Israeli Communist Party in the Nakba

This paper examines the role of the Israeli Communist Party in the Nakba during the 1948 War, based upon the available party documentation. It studies the factors that led the party to contribute to the establishment of a state for Zionist colonial settlers in Palestine. The party turned a blind eye to the nature of colonial displacement espoused by the Zionist movement and its solid alliance with imperial powers, and to the Zionist goal and associated activities of expelling the Palestinian population. The paper offers a diagnosis of the party's proclaimed quest to establish a Jewish state at the expense of the Arab Palestinian people, as a "struggle for national liberation and independence" – as well as its denial of the Palestinian Arabs' right to defend their homeland, and its stance against the Palestinian national movement.

Specifically, the paper tracks the enlistment of members of the communist party and its followers in the Haganah military force, ostensibly a "people's army". It also assesses the stance of the Zionist movement and the Israeli government in support of expanding the borders of the Jewish state encroaching into areas designated as an Arab Palestinian state under the partition decision. The paper then looks at the party's severe criticism of the government for withdrawing the army from Arab territories it occupied beyond the areas designated as the Jewish state. The paper highlights the extreme importance accorded by the party to ensuring that Jewish settlers in Palestine received diverse forms of assistance from Eastern European states during the war. It traces the party's role in recruiting this support, and especially the role played by the party's General Secretary Shmuel Mikunis who travelled to European states specifically to obtain this aid.

Main Al-Taher

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and coordinator of a research project to chronicle the Palestinian national movement at the Center. He has written extensively on the history of the Palestinian cause. He completed his master's degree in philosophy at the University of Jordan in 1991. Politically active, he is a former member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and the Higher Command of the Palestinian Revolution. He was a founding member of the Student Battalion, involved in combat in South Lebanon during the Lebanese Civil War. He served as commander of the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces during successive Israel invasions of Lebanon, in 1978 and 1982. He also served in the Palestinian National Council and the Fatah Revolutionary Council, and in the Supreme Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution.

Between Politics and the Field:

A Study in the Manuscripts by Akram Zuaiter and Qasim Al-Rimawi

This study concerns two manuscripts that have not been previously examined. The first is a report by Qassim al-Rimawi (field commander 1919-1982), written in his own handwriting and addressed to Haj Amin al-Husseini, in which he gives a detailed description of the battleground and his attempts to retain the Palestinian bank of the Jordan River in the hands of the Arab Higher Committee and of his resistance to the Jordanian administration's attempts to annex it to the East Bank of the Jordan. This is the first document that speaks of a Palestinian attempt to maintain the West Bank as an independent Palestinian entity and base for the Arab Higher Committee, with a fulsome explanation of the raging conflict with both the Zionists and the emirate of the East Bank of Jordan, as well as of the internal circumstances endured by the "Holy Jihad Brigades". The second manuscript is the unpublished 1949 diary of the political leader Akram Zuaiter (1909-1996), containing details of the prevailing Palestinian and Arab situations, and the efforts of Zuaiter and his colleagues to sustain the state of war between the Arabs and the Zionists and to achieve Syrian-Iraqi unity as a basis to mobilize the Arab nation.

The study aims to follow the positions and patterns of the leaders of the Palestinian national movement, in the wake of the Nakba of 1948, through a comparison between these two manuscripts. It therefore describes the internal events that prevented the Holy Jihad Brigades from enabling a unified Palestinian government in the West Bank, without mentioning the Arab conflicts that prevented it, while Akram Zu'aiter's diaries shed light on Palestinian and Arab policies of the period. The most prominent conclusion relates to how the Palestinian elites were divided by multiple loyalties.

Mohammad Hatemi

Professor of Higher Education at the Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University in Fez, Morocco. His interests focus on the history of the Jewish presence in Morocco, and in the Muslim landscape in general, as well as the history of the Moroccan national movement, and the contemporary history of Morocco.

The Israeli Attempts to Legitimize the Balfour Declaration: A Reading of Classic Historians and New Historians

There is a consensus within the Israeli political community that the Balfour Declaration is an international legal instrument that legitimizes the Zionist project, recognizes the right of the Jews to establish an independent modern state and allows them to exercise sovereignty over the land of Palestine. In the early writings of the classical school of Israeli historians, there are many attempts at justification, laying the foundation for the field and legal gains. With the emergence of a new generation of historians framing themselves as the “new historians”, and based on a huge amount of diverse source material - British, American, Russian, French, German and Zionist - the circumstances surrounding the document and the accounts of the parties who held a stake in its fate were revised.

This paper presents various aspects of the Israeli treatment of the Balfour Declaration. It demonstrates that Israeli society, with its extension of Jewish public opinion in general, is rooted in the conviction that the declaration is an international legal document that recognizes the Zionist project, its feasibility and its goals.

Mohannad Mubaideen

Professor of Modern Arabic History at the University of Jordan and a visiting professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has been working on social, economic and cultural history since 1996. He has published several books on the history of the Arabs in the Ottoman era, Islamic Political Thought and Reform, and Contemporary Jordan.

The Nakba in Contemporary Arab Historical Discourse

The Nakba is evoked in its seventieth anniversary, as the beginning of the defeats which led to the state of Arab history today. However, the history of the Nakba is not merely a retrospective image of the past, of the battles, the political scene or the journey of the subsequent diaspora, but requires constant reassessment. There are Arab ideological elements that dictated the path of the Nakba and other events in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Arabs have officially negotiated with history in order to record the act of condemnation. This can only happen when History is seen as a court that grants innocence or establishes responsibilities in which people may see their actions and presence. It is “People’s knowledge in time”, as Marc Bloch sees it, rather than simply knowledge of the past and transmission of news. It is a knowledge of responsibilities, the identification of actions, and an investigation of the historical actor.

This paper investigates and considers the historical Arab transformation of the Nakba, asking, in the event of a defeat, how the Arab mind portrayed this defeat, how it interacted with it, and how it saw it. Was the writing about the Nakba rational or were past scars of history looking for a Savior and a heavenly promise?? How did the Arab historians describe the Nakba? How did the Palestinian narrative describe the Nakba, and what is the Palestinian narrative of the Nakba? Has an Arab review of Nakba history taken place with the same approach of Israeli new historians? These are all crucial to understanding how the Nakba in the popular imagination was formulated, and how it affects our understanding of the Nakba today

Munir Fakhreddine

Palestinian academic who specializes in modern history, an assistant professor of philosophy and cultural studies, and the director of the master's program in Israeli studies at Birzeit University in Palestine. His research and teaching interests focus on the legal, political and social history of land ownership and colonialism, as well as in modern Arab social and intellectual history.

Civil Rights during the Mandate: Land as an Example

The study takes up land ownership in a frame of colonial rule from the perspective of the Palestinian political experience during the British Mandate. It reinterprets the Mandate framework through a new discourse analysis of institutional documents (the Balfour Declaration, policy proclamations known as 'white letters' during the two years 1922 and 1939, ownership reports and laws articulated relating to land and Palestinian political demography). The paper links these to an approach examining the discourse from the perspective of detailed governance over land and the interaction of different Palestinian societal groups with it, in the specific location of the Bissan lowlands, availing a large quantity of archival, press, and unexplored publications. The study offers a new reading of the Mandate framework as a project to build a binary socio-political, national-ethnic entity, generating conflicts with defined structural features over the meaning of civil and associational rights and sovereignty. The study sheds new light on continuity and discontinuity in the history of land ownership and sovereignty throughout the latter period of Ottoman rule, the Mandate, and the Israeli colonial context after the Nakba. The study also casts light on the issue of Palestinian political effectiveness during the Mandate, and on the intersections and disconnects of elite and popular roles and national visions with regard to the issue of rights to land and sovereignty. The proposed programmatic examination of the details of these experiences reveals a varied scene of effective dynamic relations in which conflict and divergence interweave with accommodation and tactical-strategic mutual assistance, something that is not revealed by stereotypical and self-contradictory romantic images, whether depicting the absolute unity of the Palestinian people or pure class struggle.

Rami Abu Shihab

Lecturer in the Arabic Department, College of Arts and Sciences, Qatar University. His research interests focus on modern literary criticism, critical theory, postcolonial discourse, and Diaspora literature. He has been a lecturer at the Qatar Foundation for more than ten years. He recently published the book *In the Last Passage: the narrative of the Palestinian Diaspora, a Post-Colonial Perspective*.

The Functions and Manifestations of Collective Solidarity: a Reading of the Age of the White Horses by Ibrahim Nasrallah

This paper sets off from the centrality of the *Nakba* as a historical incident which produced what cultural theorists refer to as a trauma. This calls for a deliberate and deep consideration of the *Nakba* as traumatic event and which interprets it critically and deliberately, not only historically but also from the prism of art, literature and philosophy. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the narrative function of Ibrahim Nasrallah's work of historical fiction, *The Age of the White Horses (Zamn al Khuyool al Baydaa)*. What the present work seeks to do is to go beyond a conventional approach to Nasrallah's work, focused on a verification of historical events, but rather to try to unravel the underlying sense of collective belonging found in an imaginative work which seeks to achieve a historical awareness of a specific event. This work will further focus on the *Nakba* as a violent event which embedded itself in the Palestinian collective consciousness. The author seeks to highlight the dialectic between historical events and the imagined narratives which arise around them using a well-defined framework. Specifically, the author will rely on Hegel's concept of the "spirit of collective history" and in particular the aspects of Hegel's thought which resonate with the writings of Gyorgy Lukacs and Paul Ricouer.

Said El Haji

Researcher and coordinator of the historical studies group at the Takamul Center Interdisciplinary Studies and Research in Marrakech, Morocco. He is a professor at the Regional Academy of Education and Training in Tangier-Tetouan-Al Hoceima, Morocco, specializing in the history of the Mediterranean and the Islamic world. His research focuses on regional history. He has authored a number of studies, monographs and books, including a monographic study on The Great Palace during the protectorate phase 1912-1956. He obtained a doctorate in contemporary history from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities from Mohammed V University in Rabat, 2015.

The Image of the Nakba in Moroccan Society through Family Archives

This study highlights the depth of the Palestinian cause and the Nakba in the collective Arab consciousness . Moroccan society is used as a model to measure this awareness. While the official positions of the various Arab countries on the Palestinian cause in general, and the Nakba of 1948 in particular, have been known to scholars and interested parties, the presence of this issue in Moroccan society has not received enough attention from researchers. To say that the Moroccan consciousness of the Palestinian cause began with the Nakba means that they were not concerned with Palestine prior to it. Here, the research faces many problems related to the interaction of Moroccan society with the Palestinian cause: Did it begin with the Nakba? How was the Nakba conveyed in Moroccan society? Was Moroccan interaction with the Nakba in response to political mobilization campaigns? Or was it due to other considerations?

The paper uses family archives in northern Morocco as a source to test the hypothesis that Moroccan society was aware of the Palestinian cause before the Nakba, and also to convey the event in Moroccan society. The documents indicate that the Moroccan society's consciousness of and interaction with the Palestinian cause preceded the Nakba. The interaction of the Arab regimes themselves with the Palestinian cause, and the positions of the political, legal or cultural organizations towards the issue, were only a reflection of the collective societal consciousness. This awareness extended across the different class affiliations and age groups of Moroccan society. It is an indication that the Palestinian cause has been at the forefront of Moroccan society's struggles since the first attempts to occupy Palestine, unrelated to political calculations that tried to mobilize the society's interest in this issue

Salih Alshora

A Jordanian academic who specializes in history and teaches modern and contemporary history at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the University of Islamic International Sciences. His research interests focus on Levantine history in general and Jerusalem in particular. He has a collection of works, most notably his book on Jerusalem under British Occupation and Mandate between 1917-1948.

The Balfour Declaration in the Palestinian Press: 1920-1929

This paper investigates the treatment of the Balfour Declaration in the Arab printed press, focusing on the dynamic way in which Palestinian newspapers addressed the statement and its content during the window stretching from the formal and complete announcement of the Declaration in 1920 through to the Al Buraq revolt in 1929. The paper's main concern is the evolving response of the Palestinian Arabic press to this most vital issue of Arab-Anglo/Zionist relations. The author addresses the extent of Palestinian-Arab awareness of the Balfour Declaration, and its potential for negative fallout in the future, as well as the understanding of Britain's undeclared, long-term colonial aims in Palestine.

Examining reports in the Palestinian Arabic press, the paper concludes that Palestinian editors restricted any objections to the printed page, and that Palestinian journalists were broadly supportive of non-violent action and opposed to armed resistance. The study adopted a sequential approach to historical reconstruction, conscious of changing attitudes. The study traced the appearance of the Balfour Declaration in the Palestinian Arabic press, alongside escalating political events and rapid on-the-ground transformations. Throughout, the differences in awareness across different editorial boards have been kept in mind, as well as the ability of particular newspapers to perceive the situation ahead of others. Among the periodicals taken into consideration for the purposes of this study, the most prominent include *Palestine*, *The Arab League*, *Lissan Al Arab*, and *Al-Karmel*. Relying on such a range of newspapers allows the widest possible range of opinions to be sampled.

Tom Ricks

An independent social and cultural history researcher of the Middle East with interests in all levels of education by national and foreign educators in Palestine and in Iran during the modernizing period following World War One. As a former faculty member, Ricks taught methods and techniques of oral history at Birzeit University, and co-organized a 1995 Ramallah-based oral history workshop with Palestinian colleagues for Middle and High school Palestinian teachers. He has published a monograph on the life and times of Khalil Totah, a Ramallah Quaker educator during the British Mandate, and is completing a monograph on “Voices from the Schoolyard: Memories of Palestine, School Days, and Mission Education, 1907 to 1997.”

The Palestinian Nakba and Jerusalem: Oral History Verification of Traumatic Memories, 1947-1949

The paper investigates the memories of the historical events in British Mandate Palestine that led up to and included the mass expulsion, killings, and banishment of 750,000 Palestinians with special focus on the memories of Palestinian boys and girls in elementary and secondary Palestinian, British, and foreign missionary schools in Old and New Jerusalem. Unlike many Arab historians, the paper examines both their printed autobiographical past and their oral eyewitness accounts of the Nakba in the modern era showing the various ways that the eyewitnesses verified their traumatic experiences before, during, and after the initial catastrophe or Nakba of 1947 to 1949. In addition to verification of remembered events, the paper discusses the ways that memories of traumatic events solidify and strengthen the memory of the eyewitnesses. In addition, the eyewitnesses' memories were also enhanced when traumatic events involved not only themselves, but also their family members, school mates, neighbor friends, teachers, schools and the colonial authorities of the British Mandate of Palestine. References are made to observations of psychologists, sociologists, and oral historians of these traumatic events.

British and missionary archival sources, teacher and student recorded memories, and official commentaries along with presentations to the Lord Peel Commission of 1937-38 are used to corroborate the oral history testimonies of the interviewed Palestinians.

Yasser D. Djazaerly

Associate Professor in the Department of Humanitarian Studies at Fitchburg State University in the United States. His research is focused on German, French and Middle Eastern literature. He previously served as an Assistant Professor of German, French and Arabic at Sam Houston University. He holds a PhD in German Studies and Interdisciplinary Humanities from Stanford University in the United States.

The Historiography of the Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine

This study aims to put a date on the change in the way historians handle the ethnic cleansing of Palestine, from the denial of the Zionist role to the apologist phase . That is to say, the process of making it acceptable to the West. After examining the vocabulary and terminology used by historians to describe the displacement of the majority of Palestinians from their lands, the study moves to the attempt of Palestinian historians and Western journalists to fight the Zionist myth about the cause of displacement. The claim that the Arab governments were responsible for calling on the Palestinians to leave their country - while the Zionists were calling on them to remain - upon the establishment of the State of Israel, was an attempt to cover up the ethnic cleansing that enabled the establishment of a Jewish state. Despite some criticism of this fairytale, it persevered in the West. But this myth began to reveal its cracks, when the Israeli archives were opened in the 1980s. Some Israeli historians published the results of their research, exposing the story as fiction.

The study presents a new reading of Benny Morris' role in the historiography of the displacement. While some attribute the shifts in Morris' position to his rightward drift, this research shows that Morris' role was more complex than that. Although his research contributed to the destabilization of the Zionist myth, Morris created a new phase of denial: denying the existence of a plan to displace the Palestinians. Through this denial, Morris has begun the apologist stage, which reached its peak with the publication of Israeli journalist Ari Shavit's book, *My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (2013), which called the ethnic cleansing of Palestine "Israel's black box". The transition of US media - which spent decades promoting the Zionist narrative - from the denial to the apologist phase is reflected in its embrace for Shavit's book, while lacking any interest *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, published by Ilan Pappé in 2006.

Youssef Courbage

French academic specialized in demographics and city planning. His research has covered the study of world populations, old and new minorities, and the political, social, and economic correlates of population dynamics. He graduated with degrees in Demography and Urban Planning from the Sorbonne and Dauphine Universities.

The Palestinian Diaspora Project

This study by Dr. Youssef Courbage and Dr. Hala Nofal focuses on the demographic aspect, beyond all previous studies on the Palestinians in the diaspora, in view of the national importance of demographics in the historical fate of Palestine and the right of return of the Palestinian people to their homeland from which they were driven. The majority of previous studies on Palestinians address housing, demographic, social, and economic conditions in Palestinian camps and informal temporary settlements, often involving one or a small number of countries to which Palestinians fled. These studies are important, but most of them date back to previous years and decades; there is a need for further study of the demographic dynamics of Palestinians the world over, and to cover the largest possible number of countries to which they migrated, including representation of small states, such as the Caribbean Islands. The present survey covers 23 states as follows: Palestine and the Palestinians in Israel, the neighboring Arab countries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt, the six Gulf states, eight countries from Western Europe and Northern Europe, as well as the United States and some Latin American countries. The research attempts to establish a research precedent with the study of the Palestinian demographic diaspora in those countries, and thereby to stimulate relevant studies of the Palestinian diaspora wherever in the world it exists.

Workshop: Palestine in Official Arabic School Curricula

The workshop discusses a research project designed by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in light of its vision of an Arab democratic citizenship attendant to its various programs and research outputs, reiterating the key questions pertaining to the Arab Renaissance and to the Center's commitment to a democratic Arab vision of progress and liberation. A number of Arab scholars, education experts and historians will take part in the workshop, with research papers presented in the workshop published separately.

The project approach proceeds with analysis of the place of Palestine and the Palestinian issue in official school curricula throughout all stages of education, tracking the major changes that have taken place, ranging from deletion to modification, reduction and complete elimination, with changing of concepts, misrepresentation of information or distortion of knowledge in some, or all, of the curricula.

The workshop's agenda focuses on the following central questions:

When did expansion, reduction or omission of content dealing with the topic of Palestine take place? Similarly, when did changes occur in content, terminology, information, or cognitive concepts? What historical or political circumstances governed these changes? What aspects of these are reflected in "new" content, and in particular the content of social sciences materials?

Abdel Fattah Madi

A researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, he was formerly Professor of Political Science at Alexandria University in Egypt and Visiting Professor at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC. He has authored many books, including *Violence and Democratic Transformation after the Revolution* and *Religion and Politics in Israel*.

Ahmad Moufleh

A specialist in the sociology of education, his published studies and research include, in particular, analysis of the content of Arab periodicals. He previously worked with a number of scientific journals and as Senior Executive Editor in the Center for Arab Unity Studies. He holds a postgraduate diploma in modern and contemporary history and a PhD in sociology of knowledge and culture from the Lebanese University.

Ammar al-Samar

An academic specializing in the history of modern Syria and studying at the University of Bamouk Castle, in Denizli, Turkey. He was formerly a specialist at the Historical Documents Center in Damascus and a teacher of history and civilization at Euphrates and Damascus universities, in Syria, and at the French Institute for the Near East (IFPO) in Damascus and Beirut. He is the author of a book and numerous articles in books and journals, and he holds a Ph.D. in Modern and Contemporary Arab History from Damascus University 2010.

Hamaoullah ould Salem

Mauritanian historian and professor in the Department of History at the University of Nouakchott. He was awarded the Mauritanian Prize for Literature in 2006. Previously, he worked on the Research Committee at the Research Laboratory in the Faculty of Arts at the Aix-Marseille University between 1996 and 2002.

Mohammed Munther Salah

A Palestinian academic with a bachelor's degree in mathematics and physics from Cairo University, a master's degree in control systems from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, and a PhD in computer science from Glasgow University, UK, he served as Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Palestine 1998-2002. With long experience in academic and planning work, he has published some 25 scientific research papers in specialized journals and has served as president of several resident and non-resident universities such as Al-Najah National University in Nablus, Palestine, Al Quds Open University in Amman, Jordan, The Arab American University of Jenin, Palestine, in addition to the Royal Scientific Society in Jordan where he was Vice-President of the Society for Studies and Scientific Research.

Mohammed Al-Misfer

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and professor of Political Science at Qatar University. Al-Misfer has a number of published books and studies in the field of political science and on the topic of Arab nationalism. He has permanent press contributions in a number of Arabic and Qatari newspapers and holds a doctorate in political science from New York University.

Naeem Abu Hommous

Served as head of the Department of Education and Psychology at An-Najah University until 1987, Secretary-General of the Palestinian Higher Education Council until 1994, Deputy Minister

of Education and Higher Education until 2002, Minister of Education and Higher Education until 2006, and Secretary General of the Council of Ministers until 2013. He obtained a PhD in Education, specializing in curricula, in 1985 from the University of San Francisco, USA.

Nahar Nouri

A professor of history at Mustansiriya University in Baghdad. He completed his university studies at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Baghdad in the field of modern history. He has authored the book *British Secularism: A Study in the Origination and Development of the Concept* (2015), translated the book by Eugene L. Rogan, *The School of Tribes in Istanbul* (2014), and the book by Juan Cole and Mojan Moumen, *The Ottomans and Shiites of Iraq: the Case of Karbala 1843* (2015).

Nasser Al Sadi

Doctoral Candidate at Sultan Qaboos University. He has presented papers in several conferences, the most recent of which were “Social and Cultural Values in Omani Poetry” in Malaysia, 2017, “The Political Reforms of Sheikh Jaid Bin Khamis Al Kharousi 1821” in Muscat, 2016, and “Society and Politics in Oman according to Imam Muhammad bin Abdullah 1954” at the University of Nizwa in 2015.

Nasser Saidouni

Algerian academic specializing in modern and contemporary history. He has taught history at the universities of Algeria, Al Al-Bayt University (Jordan) and Kuwait University. His many studies and published works relate to the history of Algeria and the modern and contemporary Arab world. He holds a PhD in Arts and Humanities from the Faculty of Arts, University of Aix-en-Provence, France (1988).

Saif al- Maskari

An Omani educator, he is a Supervisor in the field of history at the Ministry of Education, Sultanate of Oman. He holds a master’s degree (2012) in Modern and Contemporary History from Sultan Qaboos University, and is a member of the Omani Association of Writers, and a member of the History and Archeology Association of the GCC States. He is an Assistant Researcher in the strategic project “Sources for the history of Omani relations in East Africa During the Period (1624 - 1888): a critical and analytical study”, Sultan Qaboos University.

Thouqan Obeidat

A Jordanian academic with a doctorate in curricula and teaching methods from Ain Shams University in Egypt, he has a long practical and political experience including as head of educational supervisors

in Jordan, representative of Jordan in UNESCO, and Secretary General of the Jordanian Ministry of Youth and Olympic Committee.

Yousef Al-Mahmeed

Kuwaiti educator and the head of secondary-level Arabic language department at the Ministry of Education in Kuwait.

Moderators:

Abderrahim Benhadda

Professor of Modern and Ottoman History and leads the History Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. His research interests center on travel and historical production in the Ottoman Empire, and Moroccan and Ottoman archival issues. His publications also include *The Ottoman State: Institutions, Economics and Culture*, and *Morocco and Sublime Porte between the mid-16th century and the end of the 18th century*.

Azmi Bishara

Arab public intellectual, General Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has several books and works in political thought, social theory, philosophy, and democratic transition. He was Professor of Philosophy and Cultural Studies at Birzeit University between 1986 and 1996, and has founded several research centers and institutions. His latest books include the two volume *Religion and Secularism: The Historical Context*, and *Sect, Sectarianism, Imagined Communities*.

Khaled Ziadeh

Director of the Beirut Office of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, having previously been a Professor at the Lebanese University. He previously served as Lebanon's Ambassador to Egypt and Lebanon's Permanent Representative at the League of Arab States. As a researcher in social and cultural history, his many publications include *The Evolution of the Islamist View of Europe; Muslims and European Modernity*, and *The Writer and the Sultan: from Jurisprudent to Intellectual*. He has also written a novel, *Faysal's Story*.

Nadim Rouhana

Professor of International Relations and Conflict Studies at Tufts University in Boston, Massachusetts. He is also the founding Director of Mada al Karmel: the Arab Center for Applied Social Sciences in Haifa. Rouhana is a widely published author whose research focuses on the conflict between Zionism and the Palestinian national movement; on Palestinian identity in the territories behind the Green Line; citizenship and democracy; ethnic states; Zionism, colonialism and transitional justice.

Saqr Abu Fakhr

Editor at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Prior to joining the Center, Saqr Abu Fakhr was Editorial Secretary for the Palestine Supplement published by the Lebanese newspaper *Assafir* since its establishment. Beginning in 1981, Saqr Abu Fakhr served as the editor or the assistant managing editor for several scientific journals and research centers, including the PLO Planning Center and the Institute for Palestine Studies. He has written many articles on Palestinian culture and history, and on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Shafiq al Ghabra

Professor of Political Science at Kuwait University. Formerly Director of the Center for Strategic and Future Studies and Founding President of the American University of Kuwait. He earned his PhD in Political Science, with a focus on comparative policies, from the University of Texas at Austin. Al Ghabra was the recipient of Kuwait's highest academic award in the social sciences and humanities, granted by the Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Science.

Wajih Kawtharani

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. His research centers on social and Islamic history, history of thought and modern and contemporary Arab history. He is the author of several books and dozens of articles published in Arab and Western periodicals. His notable publications include: *Between the jurisprudence of the Shiite reform and Welayat-el faqih* and *The jurisprudent (al-faqih) and the Sultan-a study of two experiences: the Ottoman and the Safavid Kajiri ones*. He holds a doctorate in history from Sorbonne University and a doctorate in literature from Saint Joseph University in Lebanon.