Settler Colonialism, Indigeneity and the Palestinian Struggle against Zionism

19-21 March 2022

Doha - Qatar

Timetable | Participants | Abstracts | Chairs

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Timetable

Day 1
Saturday, 19 March 2022

16:00 – 16:15	**Welcome Statements** **Amal Ghazal - Mouldi Lahmar**
16:15 – 17:45	**Keynote Lecture** **Chair: Abdelwahab El-Affendi** **Mahmood Mamdani:** A Post-Apartheid Perspective on Israel/ Palestine: The Nation-State and Post-Colonial Modernity

- The timetable is set according to Doha time (GMT +3), and the lecture will be held in the main auditorium of the cultural building, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies.

Day 2
Sunday, 20 March 2022

11:00-12:15	**Public Lecture** **Chair: Mouldi Lahmar** **Nadim Rouhana:** Zionism and the Dilemma of Legitimizing Settler Colonialism: Religious Discourse as a Response to the Palestinian Resistance
12:15-12:30	Break
12:30-13:45	**First Session** **Settler Colonialism: Palestine and South Africa** **Chair: Rima Majed** **Saul Dubow:** South African Apartheid and Israel/Palestine: Divergence and Convergence **Ilan Pappé:** International Law and Settler Colonialism in Historical Palestine
13:45-15:00	Lunch
15:00-16:30	**Second Session** **Settler Colonialism in Palestine** **Chair: Tahar Saoud** **Ashraf Othman Bader:** Settler Colonialism in Palestine between Structure and Process: Elimination or Power and Control? **Tariq Dana:** War Economy and Military-Security Production in the Context of the Israeli Settler-Colonialism **Hani Awad & Maryam Hawari:** Rethinking the Condition of Indirect Rule: The Metamorphosis of the Israeli Colonial Governance and the Palestinian Resistance

- The timetable is set according to Doha time (GMT +3), and sessions will be held in auditorium 2 of the cultural building, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies.

Day 3
Monday, 21 March 2022

11:00-12:15	**Public Lecture** **Chair: Amal Ghazal** **Lorenzo Veracini:** Islamophobia, Antisemitism, Zionism, Settler Colonialism
12:15-12:30	Break
12:30-13:45	**Third Session** **Decolonizing Palestine and Reconsidering National Rights** **Chair: Ayah Omran Randall** **Dana El Kurd:** Re-centering National Rights in the Israeli-Palestinian "Conflict" **Francesco Amoruso:** Undoing Settler Colonialism: Thoughts on Normalcy, Normalisation, and the Politics of Recognition
13:45-15:00	Lunch
15:00-16:15	**Fourth Session** **Confronting Colonial Narratives: The Questions of Indigeneity and Nativism** **Chair: Saker El Nour** **Hamid Dabashi:** Where in the World is Palestine? **Micaela Sahhar:** The Return of the Native: Indigeneity, Settler-Colonialism and the Multiple Ironies in Israeli-Australian Commemorative Narrative of the Palestine Campaign

- The timetable is set according to Doha time (GMT +3), and sessions will be held in auditorium 2 of the cultural building, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies.

Participants

Abstracts

Francesco Amoruso

Researcher and Educator, and a member of the European Centre for Palestine Studies. He holds a PhD in Palestine Studies and a MA in Middle East and Islamic Studies from the University of Exeter, UK. His doctoral research analyses the new Palestinian city of Rawabi, and its place in Palestinian struggles for sovereignty, self-determination, and justice. His work, which lies at the intersection of political economy, urban anthropology, and political theory, contributes to debates around settler colonialism, Indigenous capitalism, and the politics of recognition in settler colonial contexts. His work has been published by the *Institute for Palestine Studies* and leading academic journals, including *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies.*

Undoing Settler Colonialism: Thoughts on Normalcy, Normalisation, and the Politics of Recognition

This paper reflects on settler colonialism not only as a social structure, but as primarily a hegemonic project. It argues that such intervention can overcome exiting limitations to theorising (and practicing) settler de-colonisation. The central argument is that settler states produce hegemonic regimes of normalcy that sustain settler colonialism both internally and externally. The quest for normal life, lies at the core of Palestinian nationalism. However, there is a shift from normalcy to normalisation in important segments of the Palestinian national movement and Palestinian society, as a result of socio-economic transformations and processes of class formation that took place since the 1990s. Similarly, a central goal of Zionism is the achievement of collective normal Jewish life. Since the establishment of Israel, the Zionist movement has been concerned with the normalisation of Israel globally and regionally. If normal life within Israel supports the reproduction of settler colonial dispossession, the pursuit of normalisation might reveal crucial insights into the instability of settler colonial regimes. Through an understanding of normalisation as an expression of a larger politics of recognition, the paper concludes its theoretical intervention by engaging with Indigenous and anti-colonial critiques of recognition and assessing their contribution to existing efforts to conceptualise settler-decolonisation in the Palestinian context. The concluding argument is that if settler colonialism has historically been the largest and arguably most effective counter-revolutionary strategy, only a revolutionary rupture can undo the assimilatory and normalising trajectory of the settler colonial politics of recognition.

Hani Awad

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Editorial Manager of *Omran* Journal for Social Sciences. He received a PhD in International Development from the University of Oxford, UK. His book *Transformation of the Concept of Arab Nationalism* was published by the Arab Network for Research and Publishing in 2013 and his second book, *The Dilemma of Authoritarian Local Governance in Egypt*, is being published by Edinburgh University Press in 2022.

Rethinking the Condition of Indirect Rule: The Metamorphosis of the Israeli Colonial Governance and the Palestinian Resistance

Utilizing an institutional approach, this study presents a framework to understand the metamorphosis of Israeli settler-colonial governance and metamorphosis of its patterns of resistance. It argues that the system underwent three phases, each of which was marked by distinct direct or indirect rule. Each was also met with resistance from a distinct pattern of centralized or decentralized collective political agency. The study concludes that the raison d'être of the Israeli settler-colonial governance is not only shaped by colonial determination, but also by its interplay with the Palestinian resistance.

Ashraf Othman Bader

Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University, Palestine, where he is also a PhD candidate in Social Sciences. He received a master's degree in Israeli Studies from Al-Quds University in 2014. His current research interests focus on settler colonialism, Israeli Military Governorate, and political sociology.

Settler Colonialism in Palestine between Structure and Process: Elimination or Power and Control?

This paper seeks to answer the central question: Is settler colonialism in Palestine a "structure" or an ongoing "process"? The paper engages with most prominent theorists in the field of settler colonialism, with a special focus on the nature of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. By employing Michel Foucault's concept of power and its types, the study argues that settler colonialism in Palestine is a process rather than a structure. It is subject to transformations on the ground, including the agency of the governed and the attitudes of major international and regional players, and the contexts in which the entire process takes place. Settler-colonialism as a process shaped by trial and error. Its overriding logic is the pursuit of power and control, facilitated by policies that most importantly include elimination, economic exploitation and population management.

Hamid Dabashi

The Hagop Kevorkian Professor of Iranian Studies and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, US. He received a PhD in Sociology of Culture and Islamic Studies from the University of Pennsylvania, followed by a postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard University. He is a founding member of the center for Comparative Literature and Society, and of the Center for Palestine Studies at Columbia University. He has taught and delivered lectures in many North American, European, Arab, and Iranian universities. He is the author of dozens of books and countless articles, including: *The Shahnameh: The Persian Epic as World Literature* (2019), *Can Non-Europeans Think?* (2015), and *Post-Orientalism: Knowledge and Power in a Time of Terror* (2009).

Where in the World is Palestine?

Where is Palestine? Where is the place of Palestine in the world – not just the physical world, but the moral and imaginative worlds, the politically potent worlds we habitually identify as the colonial, postcolonial, or even decolonial worlds? When we think about "World Literature" or "World Cinema" do such highly theorized worlds have a place for Palestinian literature or Palestinian cinema without either contradicting themselves or else turning a blind eye to the truth of Palestine – and if they don't have a place for Palestine then how valid are these categories that cannot account for a nation, a people, an emotive universe under military occupation by a settler colony in their own homeland? This essay is the examination of such a world if it were to begin with one Palestinian revolutionary writer, Ghassan Kanafani, and only one of his little stories, and how those who read and act and stage and safeguard the legacy of that little story are the building blocks of a real world that dismantles all the illusory worlds built around them to deny, to bracket, and to erase them.

Tariq Dana

Assistant Professor in Conflict and Humanitarian Studies at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. His research concerns the political economy, civil society, social movements, state building and economic development, and the relationship between the state and society, with a research focus on Palestine and the Arab world. Holds a PhD in Political Science from St. Anna's College of Advanced Studies, Italy.

War Economy and Military-Security Production in the Context of the Israeli Settler-Colonialism

This study examines the organic relationship between Israeli military-security production and the structure of settler colonialism in Palestine. It argues that the expansion of Israeli settler colonial structure is driven by war economy, which is not only one of the pillars of the concept of power in the Zionist ideology, but also a central instrument in the formation of the state and society in Israel. The paper highlights Israel's practices of exploiting the Palestinians as a testing ground for its new weapons, which in turns serves the war economy through exports. Unlike classical settler-colonial experiences, the metropole is absent in the case of Israel, and thus the country structurally compensates for its absence through a clientelistic relationship with Western imperialism to gain military support, especially the US, and it relies on arms diplomacy to normalize itself in the regional and international system.

Saul Dubow

Smuts Professor of Commonwealth History at the University of Cambridge. He received a PhD from St. Antony's College of the University of Oxford, UK. He is the joint editor of the Cambridge Imperial and Postcolonial series, published by Palgrave Macmillan. He has taught at the universities of Cape Town, Sussex, Queen Mary, University of London. His most recent books include *The Scientific Imagination in South Africa 1700 to the Present* (2021) with William Beinart, and *Apartheid 1948-1994* (2014).

South African Apartheid and Israel/Palestine: Divergence and Convergence

Apartheid' is increasingly deployed as a metaphor to link the political situation in Israel/Palestine with that of South Africa. This paper considers the evidence from a historical point of view. While there are undoubtedly many similarities, there are also important structural differences pertaining to land, labour, the politics of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the dynamics of resistance and oppression. This paper argues that, in 1948, the year in which apartheid became official South African government policy and which also saw the birth of the state of Israel, the two societies looked very different. They were not the same kinds of settler regimes and they were regarded very differently from an international perspective. There are, however, many similarities and in respect of brutal repression, Israel's occupied territories may be administered with even more systematic cruelty than apartheid at its height. As a moral and political analogy 'apartheid' is increasingly applied to characterise Israel/Palestine. Legal definitions back this up too. But the cost of stretching the skein of the apartheid metaphor so broadly may be to obscure understandings of these societies and so obstruct the kind of analysis and understanding that is vital to resolve the political impasse in the Middle East.

Dana El Kurd

Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Richmond and Senior Fellow at the Arab Center Washington, and author of the book *Polarized and Demobilized: Legacies of Authoritarianism in Palestine* (2019) published with Oxford University Press. Her research interests revolve around authoritarianism, international intervention, and state-society relations in the Arab world.

Re-Centring National Rights in the Israeli-Palestinian "Conflict"

The Unity Intifada undoubtedly pushed the discourse on the future of Palestine, bringing the framework of "decolonization" further into popular conscience. Activists spoke of a shared struggle, with the solution being a dismantlement of the Israeli state project. This shift in discourse does not reflect, however, the discussions taking place in political circles and among the intellectual class. The international community remains ossified in their commitment to a two-state solution. Some advocates speak of apartheid, and of a "rights-based approach." Leftist intellectuals speak of settler-colonialism and decolonization. These hodgepodge of terms and demands, which often seep into the popular discourse, threaten to obfuscate the crux of the Palestinian struggle – simply put, a struggle for sovereignty. This essay will outline the limitations of the approaches and frameworks being currently advocated for and will show how de-emphasizing sovereignty in discussions of the Israeli-Palestinian "conflict" leads to problematic conclusions.

Maryam Hawari

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. She received a master's degree in Critical Security Studies from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Her thesis examined the Palestinian political mobilization and protest movement in the 1948 occupied Palestinian territories from the outbreak of the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011 until 2019. Her research interests focus on Israeli policies of population control and surveillance.

Rethinking the Condition of Indirect Rule: The Metamorphosis of the Israeli Colonial Governance and the Palestinian Resistance

Utilizing an institutional approach, this study presents a framework to understand the metamorphosis of Israeli settler-colonial governance and metamorphosis of its patterns of resistance. It argues that the system underwent three phases, each of which was marked by distinct direct or indirect rule. Each was also met with resistance from a distinct pattern of centralized or decentralized collective political agency. The study concludes that the raison d'être of the Israeli settler-colonial governance is not only shaped by colonial determination, but also by its interplay with the Palestinian resistance.

Mahmood Mamdani

The Herbert Lehman Professor of Government in department of Anthropology at Columbia University, US. He received his PhD from Harvard University in 1974 and specializes in the study of African history and politics. His works explore the intersection between politics and culture, a comparative study of colonialism since 1452, the history of civil war and genocide in Africa, the Cold War and the War on Terror, and the history and theory of human rights. He has received numerous awards and recognitions, including being listed as one of the "Top 20 Public Intellectuals" by Foreign Policy (US) and Prospect (UK) magazine in 2008. From 1998 to 2002, he served as President of CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa). His catalogue of published works includes *Neither Settler nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities* (2020) and *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror* (2009).

A Post-Apartheid Perspective on Israel/ Palestine: The Nation-State and Post-Colonial Modernity

This paper focuses on the relationship between the nation-state, post-colonial modernity and extreme violence. The standard liberal narrative disassociates the history of nationalism from that of colonialism, presenting nationalism as good and colonialism as bad. I show that nationalism and colonialism were born as twins, in 1492 in Iberia. Rather than celebrate nationalism as central to the exercise of national self-determination, this paper shows that the avalanche of extreme violence at the end of colonialism is a necessary political outcome of the nation-making process, which differentiates the sovereign majority from all non-sovereign minorities by grounding it in an epistemic and legal distinction between those civilized and those not. This distinction was exported from the US to South Africa and Nazi Germany, and finally to Israel, retooled each time, depending on time and place. This paper explores the South African rejection of the two-state solution and asks: what is transportable in the South African experience?

Ilan Pappé

Director of the European Center for Palestine Studies at the university of Exeter, UK. He is a fellow at the Institute for Arab and Islamic Studies at the university of Exeter. He has written 20 published books among them *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2007), *On Palestine* (2010) with Noam Chomsky, and, most recently, *Our Vision for Liberation: Engaged Palestinian Leaders & Intellectuals Speak Out* (co-edited with Ramzy Baroud).

International Law and Settler Colonialism in Historic Palestine

This article argues that International Law has so far failed in changing the reality on the ground in historical Palestine. While International human rights law has galvanized global public opinion, and some sections of the Jewish society in Israel, against violations of human rights in the occupied territories, international law in general is not equipped to engage with the root of the problem in Palestine: the Zionist colonization and its international immunity. The reasons, demonstrated in this article, are historical and pertain to the international immunity of settler colonial states in general. The way forward is to focus on international legitimacy, which played a crucial role in the downfall of Apartheid South Africa.

Nadim Rouhana

Professor of International Affairs and Conflict Studies and Director of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Boston, US and Faculty Affiliate of Harvard Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School. He received his PhD from Wayne State University, US. His research includes work on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Israeli and Palestinian societies, the dynamics of protracted social conflict, collective identity and democratic citizenship in multi-ethnic states, settler colonialism, and questions of reconciliation and transitional justice. His most recent books include *When Politics are Sacralized: Comparative Perspectives on Religious Claims and Nationalism* (2021), co-edited with Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian; *Israel and its Palestinian Citizens: Ethnic Privileges in the Jewish State* (2017); and *The Palestinians in Israel: Readings in History, Politics, and Society* (Mada al-Carmel, 2015), co-edited with Areej Sabbagh-Khoury.

Zionism and the Dilemma of Legitimizing Settler Colonialism: Religious Discourse as a Response to the Palestinian Resistance

This study examines how nationalism, religious claims, and settler colonialism enmesh within Zionism, focusing on the main role played by this interaction in masking settler colonialism as an appropriate analytical framework for studying the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. Three main propositions are made: First, that Jewish national claims in Palestine rely on religious claims in order to obscure the reality of the Zionist project as settler colonial in essence. Second, that a main reason for the penetration of religion into the Israeli public sphere and the increasing dependence of "secular" Zionism on religious claims is the need for legitimacy in the face of the consistent Palestinian resistance. Third, that while separation of state and religion was possible in other settler colonial contexts, the transition to secularism is unachievable within Zionism and can only emerge outside it.

Micaela Sahhar

Lecturer in the History of Ideas program at Trinity College, the University of Melbourne, Australia. She obtained a PhD from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the same university in 2015. She has published on comparative Israeli and Australian settler identities, the settler-state's treatment of its others, and contemporary resistance strategies in Palestine. Her scholarly articles have appeared in journals and edited book collections, most recently a chapter in *Afterstorm: Turbulence, Conflict and the Garden of Remediation* (2021), an article in a special issue of the *Journal of Intercultural Studies* "Intercultural Mobilities in Central and West Asian Contexts" (2021), and a co-authored chapter in *Unsettled Voices: Beyond Free Speech in the Late Liberal Era* (2021).

The Return of the Native: Indigeneity, Settler-Colonialism and the Multiple Ironies in Israeli-Australian Commemorative Narrative of the Palestine Campaign

At the end of the 2010s, Israel sought to align itself with a range of Indigenous struggles to both conceal the ongoing nature of settler-colonialism and to attempt to position the Zionist-state project as an indigenous one. This paper examines one instance of this trend, in the recent commemorative events surrounding the centenary of the "Palestine Campaign", a military campaign fought by Australian soldiers in World War I. The paper argues that official Israeli commemoration of this campaign, and the recent foregrounding of the role of Aboriginal servicemen in it, was a cynical strategy of the Israel state, whose design is ultimately to occlude the Palestinian narrative and indigeneity in their ancestral lands.

Lorenzo Veracini

Associate Professor in Department of Social Sciences at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne. He manages the *Settler Colonial Studies* blog and was Founding Editor of *Settler Colonial Studies* journal. His research focuses on the comparative history of colonial systems. He has authored *Israel and Settler Society* (2006); *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (2010); *The Settler Colonial Present* (2015); and *The World Turned Inside Out: Settler Colonialism as a Political Idea* (2021), and *he co-edited The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (2016).

Islamophobia, Antisemitism, Zionism, Settler Colonialism

This paper discusses Islamophobia and its relationship with antisemitism in the context of the radical European right's recent shift towards pro-Israel positions and away from its traditional antisemitism. While this shift also has US and Australian manifestations, this paper emphasizes the foundational role colonial and settler colonial imaginaries play in the dynamic relationship between these forms of prejudice. It also suggests that current Islamophobic tropes can be seen as surrogate antisemitism.

Chairs

Abdelwahab El-Affendi

Provost, Acting President, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI). Previously served as Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Institute (2017-2020) and Head of the Politics and IR Program at DI (2015-2017). He acquired his PhD in Political Science (1989) from the University of Reading, UK and is the founder coordinator of the Democracy and Islam Program at the University of Westminster, UK (1998-2015). He has also worked as a pilot, London-based Sudanese diplomat, journalist and magazine editor in the UK and is the author of *Who Needs an Islamic State?* (1991), and a co-editor of *After the Arab Revolutions: Decentring Democratic Transition Theory* (2021), among other books and research published in peer-reviewed journals.

Saker El Nour

Visiting scholar at the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation and the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics at the Free University Berlin. He received a PhD in Sociology from the University of Paris — Nanterre, France in 2013. He previously worked at South Valley University in Egypt, the American University of Beirut, and the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS) in France. His research interests include poverty and marginalization, access to resources, uprisings and peasant movements, political ecology, and food sovereignty. He co-authored with Mohamed Ramadan the book *'Aysh Murahrah: The Political Economy of Food Sovereignty in Egypt* (2021).

Amal Ghazal

Professor of History and Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Editor-in-Chief of *Almuntaqa* Journal. She was formerly a professor of history and director of the Centre for Comparative Muslim Studies at the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada. She is the author of *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, 1880s-1930s* (2010), and a co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle Eastern and North African History* (2016).

Mouldi Lahmar

Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Editor-in-Chief of *Omran* Journal for Social Sciences. He obtained a PhD in Rural Sociology from the School of Advanced Social Science Studies, Paris, and a PhD in Political Sciences from the University of Tunis. His research interests focus on the societies, specifically the Tunisian and the Libyan, of the Maghreb, the Arab Spring, and political leadership. He has published many books and articles in Arabic, French, and English, including: "Italian Colonial Knowledge and Identity-shaping in Libya: Dual Instrumentalization of Endogenous Anthropological Knowledge" in:

After Orientalism: Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-appropriation (2015); and "Islamists and Politics in Tunisia Today: Is the Foundation of a Democratic Islamic Party Possible?" in: *Arab Spring: Modernity, Identity and Change* (2020). He has also translated a number of books and articles from French to Arabic, including: *Essai sur le don: forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* by Marcel Maus (1925).

Rima Majed

Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut. She holds a PhD in Sociology from Oxford University, where she studied the relationship between structural changes and the issue of sectarianism in Lebanon. Her research interests lie in the study of sectarianism, social movements and revolutions, feminist political economy, and political violence.

Ayah Omran Randall

Assistant Professor at the Human Rights Studies program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She holds a master's degree in international law from Georgetown University, US as well as a PhD in International Law from the University of New South Wales, Australia. She has worked as a lecturer in the Faculty of Law at An-Najah University, Palestine, and as a legal researcher for the Institute of Law at Birzeit, the Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights and the Office of the Quartet and most recently as the Head of the Advocacy Department at the Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling (WCLAC) in Ramallah, Palestine. Her research interests include human rights, human rights and gender, international law, the Palestinian question in international law, intersectionality and its application in legal theory and constitutional law.

Tahar Saoud

Professor of Sociology at the University of Setif 2 in Algeria. He holds a PhD in Sociology from Mentouri University - Constantine, Algeria (2010). Editor-in-Chief of the ROUA Journal for Epistemic and Civilizational Studies, and a founding member of the Contemporary Algerian Society Research Laboratory. He has published widely on culture, development, social history, and the Islamist movement in Algeria. His books include *Islamist Movements in Algeria: Historical and Intellectual Roots* (2012); *Underdevelopment and Development in the Thought of Malek Bennabi* (2006).