A CENTURY OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM:
MODES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND REPRESENTATION SINCE 1919

December 14-15, 2019
Columbia Global Centers | Amman
The first Muslim-Christian Associations (MCA) were formed at the end of 1918. In the face of the British strategy of ‘divide and rule’ and of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which referred to the Arab majority in Palestine simply as ‘non-Jewish communities,’ the establishment of the MCAs was intended to present a united front against the colonial power. Despite the presence of other nationalist organizations such as al-Nadi al-Arabi, al-Muntada al-Adabi, and al-Jamiyyah al-Khayriyah, the MCAs developed into a nationwide body with branches in many cities.

In January 1919, the First Palestinian Congress was held in Jerusalem to coincide with the Paris Peace Conference. The attendance at the Conference of Chaim Weizmann, who presented Zionist claims, was a trigger for the calling of the First Palestinian Congress, in order to submit Arab and Palestinian counterclaims at the Conference.

Between 1919 and 1928, seven Palestinian congresses were held. They produced two opposing trends: one calling for the formation of a representative assembly, and another with a Pan-Arab ideology. Concurrent with the existence of MCAs, the Supreme Muslim Council was set up by the British mandatory authorities in 1922. A complex situation resulted from multiple proposals for an elected Legislative Council on the one hand, the formation of the Supreme Muslim Council on the other, and the role of the MCAs and the various Palestinian Congresses. These initiatives reflected conflicting political ideologies that have affected Palestinian politics since 1919.

The conference, *A Century of Palestinian Nationalism: Modes of Political Organization and Representation since 1919* will delve into the conflicting ideologies these political formations championed; the factionalism they produced; the social classes they were rooted in; and their consequences for the Palestinian political landscape. Discussions at this conference will center on understanding the factors that led to the formation and fragmentation of democratic secular movements in Palestinian civil society pre-Nakba, as well as examining the reorganization and transformation of Palestinian political and national movements post-Nakba.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00-09:30</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30-10:00</td>
<td>Opening Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-11:30</td>
<td>SESSION ONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAIR: Adnan Al Bakhit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panelists:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Salim Tamari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Palestin Naïli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Mahmoud Yazbak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30-12:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00-14:00</td>
<td>SESSION TWO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAIR: Palestin Naïli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panelists:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Qustandi Shomali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Makram Khoury-Machool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00-15:00</td>
<td>Lunch Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00-17:00</td>
<td>SESSION THREE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAIR: Mahmoud Yazbak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panelists:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Said Badawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Mjriam Abu Samra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Hadeel Fawadleh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Adnan Abdelrazeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00-18:30</td>
<td>Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:30-20:00</td>
<td>Keynote Address by Professor Rashid Khalidi (Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies, Columbia University)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:00-21:00</td>
<td>Reception</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This keynote is part of the conference, *A Century of Palestinian Nationalism: Modes of Political Organization and Representation since 1919*, organized by Columbia Global Centers | Amman in partnership with Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo), Institute for Palestine Studies, and Al Hekma Association.

Professor Khalidi will lay out a framework for understanding the conflict over Palestine as a century-long war involving a settler colonial movement – which has succeeded in forming a national entity – that was consistently supported by several of the great powers, and on the other side stubborn resistance on the part of the Palestinian people, who have always enjoyed much less external support.
SESSION FOUR | Challenges and Unresolved Issues in the Palestinian Context

CHAIR: Salim Tamari

Panelists:
- François Ceccaldi | The Palestinian National Movement after the Oslo Agreement: Between State Building and Revolution
- Sana Aziz | GCC-Israeli Rapprochement and the Question of Palestine
- Oroub El-Abed | Who Is Responsible for Palestinians Civil Rights in the Arab Region? The Dilemma of Protection for Palestinian Refugees in the Arab Region

10:30-11:00 Coffee Break

SESSION FIVE | Voices from the National Movement

CHAIR: Rashid Khalidi

Panelists:
- Sari Zuayter | Akram Zuayter: A Leader and Scholar (in Arabic)
- Fadia Abdulhadi | Zulaikha Al-Shihabi and Isam Abdul Hadi: Enlightened History (in Arabic)
- Jehan Helou | Hanna Mikhail: Abu Omar, Disappeared but Ever Present (in Arabic)
- Raed Bader | The Legacy of Ibrahim Abu Lughod (in Arabic)

13:00-14:00 Lunch Break

SESSION SIX | Palestinian Political Thought and the Role of Intellectuals

CHAIR: Adnan AbdelRazeq

Panelists:
- Mazin Qumsiyeh | Lessons from 14 decades of Palestinian Zionist Encounters: Between Reaction and Innovative Action
- Prem Mishra | Palestinian Nationalism in the works of Gandhi, Faiz and Eqbal Ahmad: An Intellectual History

15:45-16:00 Concluding Remarks
SESSION ONE | Palestinian Political and Socio-Economic Representation
Pre-Nakba (1919-1948)
CHAIR: Adnan Al Bakhit
Saturday, 10:00 - 11:30

Adnan Al Bakhit holds a diploma in education and a Bachelor of Arts in history, as well as a Master of Arts in Islamic history from the American University of Beirut. He was awarded his Ph.D. in Islamic history from the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University in 1965. Between 1993-2001, he founded the Al-Bayt University and served as its Rector. Professor Al Bakhit also founded and chaired the Documents and Manuscripts Center at the University of Jordan.
MAHMOUD YAZBAK

The Outbreak of the 1936 Revolution: Political Economy under the Colonial Regime (in Arabic)

Mahmoud Yazbak, is a Professor in the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa. Professor Yazbak pursued his studies at the University of Haifa, the Hebrew University in Western Jerusalem, and the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom. As a historian of Palestinian social history, many of Yazbak's studies focus on Palestine’s urban history with publications in local, regional and international journals (in Arabic, Hebrew and English). He publishes frequently on the social history and issues concerning modern Palestinian society.

Professor Yazbak is the author of Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864-1914: A Muslim Town in Transition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998); and with Yifaat Weiss, Haifa before and after 1948, Narratives of a Mixed City, Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (The Hague, 2011); Jaffa: The City of Oranges, Society and Civilization, 1700-1840 (Beirut, 2018).

Session Two

Cultural Expressions of Palestinian Nationalism

Chair: Falastin Naïli

Saturday, 12:00 - 14:00

QUSTANDI SHOMALI

The Role of Christian Urban Elites and the Press in Fostering the Palestinian National Movement (in Arabic)

Professor Qustandi Shomali teaches Palestinian literature, journalism and translation at Bethlehem University. With degrees from universities in Algeria (1970), Canada (1972) and the Sorbonne in France (1976), Professor Shomali possesses a wide range of academic and personal interests in history, literature and the arts. He has published many books including a series of academic studies pertaining to the Palestinian press (1990-96); Literary and Critical Trends in Modern Palestinian Literature (Jerusalem, 1990); The Nativity in Bethlehem and Umbria (Perugia, 2000);
MAKRAM KHOURY-MACHOOL

Patterns of Informal Education and the Formation of Palestinian Nationalism

Dr. Makram Khoury-Machool is a Palestinian-British academic specializing in political science with a focus on international relations and political communications. He holds a Ph.D. in media-politics from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

After two decades in Journalism (1980s and 1990s), Dr. Khoury-Machool began his academic teaching and research career in 1999 at SOAS, University of London. He also lectured at the University of Bedfordshire, Anglia Ruskin University, University of Hertfordshire, University of Southampton, and taught and supervised at the University of Cambridge. Since 2016, he is serving as the Director of the European Centre for the Study of Extremism, Cambridge (www.eurose.org). For the last two years, Dr. Khoury-Machool has been working on the establishment of the Cambridge Centre for Palestine Studies (CCPS).

Dr. Khoury-Machool served as a member of the Governing Board of the Pall Mall based Oxford and Cambridge Club. He is the author of many academic publications on Palestine and media including the first academic volume Arab Media: From the First Press to the New Media (forthcoming), as well as Syria and the Dismembering of the Arab World; Cyber Resistance: Palestinian Youth and Emerging Internet Culture; Losing the Battle for Arab Hearts and Minds; among others.

BASMA AL DAJANI

Arabic Linguistic Identity in Palestine since 1919 (in Arabic)

Professor Basma Ahmad Sedki Al Dajani is Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at the University of Jordan and a visiting professor at Hamad Bin Khalifa University/The College of Islamic Studies during the fall of 2019-2020. Professor Al Dajani holds a bachelor's degree in Arabic literature with a minor in sociology; and a master's degree in Arabic literature from the American University of Cairo (AUC). Professor Al Dajani was awarded her Ph.D. in Arabic literature from Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt in June 1999 entitled An Academic Inquiry of the book Marar'
SESSION THREE | The Post-Nakba Re-organization of the Palestinian National Movement
CHAIR: Mahmoud Yazbak
Saturday, 15:00 - 17:00

SAID BADAWI

The Arab Nationalist Movement and the Independence of the Palestinian Effort (in Arabic)

Said Badawi is a researcher and supervisor of an electronic archive, a research and documentation project of the Palestinian national movement at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Badawi holds a Master of Arts in social science from Birzeit University and a Master of Arts in contemporary history from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Previously, Badawi worked at the International Studies Institute at Birzeit University (2012-2015) and has made contributions to several conferences.

MJRIAM ABU SAMRA

Popular Organization and Transnational Mobilization: Palestinian Student Politics in the Post-Nakba Period

Mjriam Abu Samra is a Palestinian-Italian researcher. She holds a Master of Arts in Middle East politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and is enrolled in the Ph.D. program in international relations at the University of Oxford, United Kingdom. Abu Samra is currently based in Amman, Jordan, where she is writing her dissertation entitled Palestinian Transnational Student Movements 1948-1982: A Study on Popular Mobilization. She has lectured for the Faculty of Politics and International Studies and the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan. Abu Samra is currently teaching courses on community based learning at the American Education Abroad Center (AMIDEAST), and on International Politics of the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict at the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) in Amman. Abu Samra is a founder and member of the transnational Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), and was a co-founder and president of the Palestinian Youth Association “Wael Zuaiter” in Rome, Italy.

HADEEL FAWADLEH

Christians, the Church and Contradictions of Nationalism and Migration (in Arabic)

Hadeel Fawadleh is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Geography at Birzeit University. Her current research investigates Palestinian migrations and communities in the diaspora, with a focus on the Palestinian Christian community residing in the United States, Latin America, and Jordan. Fawadleh’s research analyzes the community’s migration route from their homeland to immigrant receiving countries through family networks. Her research examines the relationship between the Palestinian community’s identity in the diaspora, and the adoption of absorption policies that facilitates integration in countries of diaspora. More importantly, her research explores the transitions on Palestinian migration on the emergence of transnationalism.

ADNAN ABDELRAZEQ

Faisal Husseini: Popular Leader and Prince of Jerusalem (in Arabic)

Dr. Adnan Abdelrazeq is a Palestinian researcher and academic who worked at the Division for Palestinian Rights at the United Nations in New York. Dr. Abdelrazeq is a lecturer at several universities, including the University of Michigan, the Hebrew University and the University of Bethlehem. He has pursued his postgraduate studies in social science and principles of scientific research and methodologies, and he holds a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He recently published several books including: Palestine Refugees; The Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem; Arab Architectural Renaissance in the Western Part of Occupied Jerusalem; and Israeli Colonial Policies and Practices: De-Arabization of East Jerusalem. Dr. Abdelrazeq writes often in several journals about Jerusalem, Arab property and the colonial policies of the Israeli occupation. Over the past ten years, Dr. Abdelrazeq has been associated with the Trust Institution and its educational and training programs, and with the Arab Studies Society. Dr. Abdelrazeq served as UN Political Affairs Officer, and a Senior Civil Affairs Officer at the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dr. Abdelrazeq was born in Tiberius in 1940, and he finished his primary and secondary school in Nazareth and Tayibe.
FRANÇOIS CECCALDI
The Palestinian National Movement after the Oslo Agreement: Between State Building and Revolution

François Ceccaldi is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) under the supervision of Professor Hamit Bozarslan (EHESS-Center for Turkish, Ottoman, Balkan and Central Asia) and Professor Henry Laurens (Collège de France, Chair of Contemporary Arab History). Ceccaldi is studying the opposition movements and the reform of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) between 1993 and 2006. He is also a research fellow at Collège de France, Contemporary Arab History Department, and a research associate at the Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo) and at the Cercle des Chercheurs sur le Moyen-Orient (CCMO). Ceccaldi’s fieldwork has focused on the Palestinian opposition movements to the Oslo accords during the 1990's.

SANAA AZIZ
GCC-Israeli Rapprochement and the Question of Palestine

Sana Aziz has over 15 years of experience working both within the public and private sector providing technical assistance and policy advice on matters related to commercial operations. Prior to that, Aziz has led various teams in commercial operations for over a decade. Aziz has been living in Australia since 2015 and has been working with the Victorian State Government department. Her interest areas are conflict resolution and women's empowerment in South Asia, and the Middle East and North Africa region. Currently, Aziz is working as an analyst with the Department of Treasury and Finance in the State of Victoria, Australia, and wishes to pursue her career in conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. Aziz holds a Master of Arts in international relations from the University of Melbourne.

SESSION FIVE | Voices from the National Movement
CHAIR: Rashid Khalidi
Sunday, 11:00 - 13:00

RASHID KHALIDI

Professor Rashid Khalidi is the Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies at Columbia University. He has taught at the Lebanese University, the American University of Beirut, and at the University of Chicago. Professor Khalidi is the former President of the Middle East Studies Association and is co-editor of the Journal of Palestine Studies. His books include: The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance 1917-2017 (forthcoming, 2020); Brokers of Deceit: How the U.S. has Undermined Peace in the Middle East (2013); Sowing Crisis: American Dominance and the Cold War in the Middle East (2009); as well as The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood (2006). Professor Khalidi has also written for The New York Times, The Financial Times, The Boston Globe, The Los Angeles Times, The Chicago Tribune, Vanguardia, The London Review of Books, and The Nation. He received his B.A. from Yale University and his D. Phil. from Oxford University.
RAED BADER
The Legacy of Ibrahim Abu Labghed (in Arabic)

Raed Bader is an Assistant Professor of History at Birzeit University. He has held visiting professorships at the Graduate School of Social Sciences, the Institute for the Study of Islam and the Societies of the Islamic World, and the Institute for Advanced Study at Aix-Marseille University. Bader previously worked at the French Institute for International Relations of Paris.

SESSION SIX
Palestinian Political Thought and the Role of Intellectuals
CHAIR: Adnan AbdelRazeq
Sunday, 14:00 - 15:45

NOHA KHALAF
Generations of Palestinian Intellectuals throughout a Century and their Role: A Critical Approach
Refer to page 9 for biography.

FADIA ABDULHADI
Zulaikha Al-Shihabi and Isam Abdul Hadi: Enlightened History (in Arabic)

Fadia Abdulhadi is a Professor of Comparative Literature and History (Emerita) at the University of Petra where she has taught for over twenty years. Prior to assuming a tenured position at the University of Petra, she lectured at several community colleges in Jordan. Professor Abdulhadi holds a Bachelor of Arts in English literature from the University of Jordan and a Master of Arts from Murray Edwards College at the University of Cambridge.

JEHAN HELOU
Hanna Mikhail: Abu Omar, Disappeared but Ever Present (in Arabic)

Jehan Helou is Assistant General Secretary of the Pan Arab Women Federation, and representative of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) in the Bureau of Women’s International Democratic Federation. For many years, Helou has been actively engaged in the Palestinian national and women liberation struggle, and has established her career in research, journalism, and children's culture. Helou serves as member of the Lebanese Branch of GUPW, the Palestinian National Council, and the Central Council of Liberation (London). Helou is an Executive Committee member for the International Board on Books for Young People (2008-2012). She holds a Bachelor of Arts and a Master of Arts from the American University of Beirut. Helou is currently pursuing a Ph.D. at Birkbeck College, University of London.

RAED BADER
The Legacy of Ibrahim Abu Labghed (in Arabic)

Raed Bader is an Assistant Professor of History at Birzeit University. He has held visiting professorships at the Graduate School of Social Sciences, the Institute for the Study of Islam and the Societies of the Islamic World, and the Institute for Advanced Study at Aix-Marseille University. Bader previously worked at the French Institute for International Relations of Paris.

SESSION SIX
Palestinian Political Thought and the Role of Intellectuals
CHAIR: Adnan AbdelRazeq
Sunday, 14:00 - 15:45

NOHA KHALAF
Generations of Palestinian Intellectuals throughout a Century and their Role: A Critical Approach
Refer to page 9 for biography.

FADIA ABDULHADI
Zulaikha Al-Shihabi and Isam Abdul Hadi: Enlightened History (in Arabic)

Fadia Abdulhadi is a Professor of Comparative Literature and History (Emerita) at the University of Petra where she has taught for over twenty years. Prior to assuming a tenured position at the University of Petra, she lectured at several community colleges in Jordan. Professor Abdulhadi holds a Bachelor of Arts in English literature from the University of Jordan and a Master of Arts from Murray Edwards College at the University of Cambridge.

JEHAN HELOU
Hanna Mikhail: Abu Omar, Disappeared but Ever Present (in Arabic)

Jehan Helou is Assistant General Secretary of the Pan Arab Women Federation, and representative of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) in the Bureau of Women's International Democratic Federation. For many years, Helou has been actively engaged in the Palestinian national and women liberation struggle, and has established her career in research, journalism, and children's culture. Helou serves as member of the Lebanese Branch of GUPW, the Palestinian National Council, and the Central Council of Liberation (London). Helou is an Executive Committee member for the International Board on Books for Young People (2008-2012). She holds a Bachelor of Arts and a Master of Arts from the American University of Beirut. Helou is currently pursuing a Ph.D. at Birkbeck College, University of London.
Prem Anand Mishra is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the Centre for West Asian Studies, in the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Mishra has presented research papers at national and international seminars. He is an ex-correspondent at India’s Business Daily and Business Standard. He previously worked with UNICEF as a communication consultant. Mishra is a regular columnist and writes in many leading newspapers and journals.