

## Early History

### ***Suggested Titles***

Campos, Michelle. **Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011. ("As Western observers currently rush to describe the Arab Spring as an unprecedented experiment in popular participatory politics, Michelle Campos has provided a timely reminder that Middle Easterners are no strangers to the concepts of civic engagement and representative democracy . . . [*Ottoman Brothers*] should be applauded as a bold attempt to revive an overlooked period of Palestine's history." --Jacob Norris, *Historical Journal* "Ottoman Brothers offers a startling new insight into a globally important case: for a brief period in the not-so-distant past, Palestine was consumed by civic activism and democratic co-existence, and was not necessarily headed toward inevitable conflict. Campos delivers a wonderfully rich contribution to the study of the modern Middle East." --Charles Kurzman University of North Carolina "It is impossible to do justice to the complexity of the author's arguments or to the astonishing material that she has meticulously mined and superbly analyzed. Campos' study complicates and enriches our understanding of the late Ottoman Empire, including Palestine, and as such represents an original and exceedingly readable contribution to the field." --Najwa al-Qattan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*)

Flapan, Simha. **The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities**. New York: Pantheon, 1987. ("Utilizing Ben-Gurion's war diaries and other government archives, Flapan, former director of Arab affairs of Israel's left-wing Mapam party, posits that the 1948 War of Independence was not an inevitability forced upon a helpless Israel. He maintains that the socialist Zionist leadership who accepted Ben-Gurion's view that the Jewish state should be demographically homogeneous and geographically as extensive as possible not only encouraged and executed the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs but thwarted the creation of a Palestinian Arab state through a secret agreement with Abdallah of Transjordan. The annexation of the territory allocated for a Palestinian state was to be a first step in achieving Abdallah's dream of a British-supported Greater Syria; and, according to Flapan, the Arab states aimed not at liquidating the Jewish state but at preventing the implementation of this agreement. This disturbing work bears witness to the futility, and unconscionability, of addressing political problems by military means." --*Publishers Weekly*)

Pappé, Ilan. **The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine**. Oxford: Oneworld, 2007. (“Pappé accuses Israel of ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, beginning in the 1948 war for independence and continuing through the present. Focusing primarily on Plan D (Dalet, in Hebrew), conceived on March 10, 1948, Pappé demonstrates how ethnic cleansing was not a circumstance of war, but rather a deliberate goal of combat for early Israeli military units organized by David Ben-Gurion, whom Pappé labels the “architect of ethnic cleansing.” The forced expulsion of 800,000 Palestinians between 1948 and 1949, Pappé argues, was part of a long-standing Zionist plan to manufacture an ethnically pure Jewish state. Framing his argument with accepted international and U.N. definitions of ethnic cleansing, Pappé follows with an excruciatingly detailed account of Israeli military involvement in the demolition and depopulation of hundreds of villages, and the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Arab inhabitants. An accessible, learned resource, this volume provides important insights into the historical antecedents of today’s conflict, but its conclusions will not be easy for everyone to stomach: Pappé argues that the ethnic cleansing of Palestine continues today, and calls for the unconditional return of all Palestinian refugees and an end to the Israeli occupation.” – *Publishers Weekly*)

Segev, Tom. Translated by Haim Watzman. **One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate**. New York: First Owl Books, 2000. (“The best single account of Palestine under the British mandate . . . This will doubtlessly become the authoritative text for the pre-state history of Israel.” —Omer Bartov, *The New York Times Book Review* “Never have we had a book documenting life under the British with the precision, magic, and charm of *One Palestine, Complete*. . . Tom Segev has chosen wonderfully tangible details for a rich and fascinating fresco . . . He treats the Mandate period as a novel, laying out all the elements needed to further the plot over the next fifty years. Here are the seeds of all that has come to pass . . . Clearly, the tensions, problems, and ills plaguing the country today were very much alive then.” —*Ha'aretz* “Thrilling and eye-opening,” —Benny Morris, author of *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999*)

### ***Related Titles***

Black, Ian. **Zionism and the Arabs, 1936-1939**. London: Routledge, 1986. (“In this work, first published in 1986, the author shows how the Zionists of the late Thirties related to the Arabs of Palestine and of the neighbouring countries, to what extent they perceived the existence of an ‘Arab Question’, how they defined it and how they dealt with it. The Arab question is as old as the Zionist movement itself. From the moment that Zionists began to immigrate to Ottoman Palestine in the last decades of the nineteenth century, it became apparent that they were not ‘returning’ to an empty land and that they could expect opposition to their enterprise from the inhabitants of the country they considered theirs. Comprising diplomatic, political, social, economic and cultural history, this book is a close analysis of the spectrum of views and opinions pertaining to Zionist relations with the Arabs.” —Amazon)

Cohen, Hillel. **Year Zero of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: 1929**. Trans. Haim Watzman. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2015. (“Cohen’s command of the Arabic- and Hebrew-language source material is magisterial, and the result is a book of immense complexity, one that carries its erudition lightly and is a fascinating read. It will appeal both to academic and general audiences. It is scholarly, subtle, sympathetic and insightful in its broad understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict, while its numerous human stories of 1929 that weave their way through the book are both riveting and emphasize general points about nationalism, identity, religion, history and human experience.”—*The English Historical Review*)

Esber, Rosemary M. **Under the Cover of War: the Zionist Expulsion of the Palestinians**. Alexandria, VA: Arabicus Books, 2008. (“While other recent books on the subject have relied on Israeli and Zionist archival sources, Esber uses British archives and oral testimonies from Palestinian survivors as well as previously used sources to demonstrate that there was a purposeful, systematic pattern by which Zionist forces depopulated Palestinian cities and villages before the end of the British mandate on 15 May 1948 and the subsequent intervention of Arab armies.” —Maureen Claire Murphy)

Gorny, Yosef. **Zionism and the Arabs: 1882-1948: A Study of Ideology**. London: Oxford University Press, 1987. (“In this excellent book, Yosef Gorny presents clear and probing analyses of the origins and permutations of Zionist ideology toward the Arabs from 1882 until the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948...Gorny has enriched our historical understanding of Zionism's relationship with the Arabs of Palestine.”--*American Historical Review* “One of the most important books to be published in recent years on the subject of Israel, Zionism and the Middle East...Gorny has done a superb job of presenting the different and changing Zionist approaches toward Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine, using a vast amount of fascinating primary material.”---*Association for Israel Studies Newsletter*)

Kattan, Victor. **From Coexistence to Conquest: International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1891-1949**. London: Pluto Press, 2009. (“This is an elegant and forceful narrative by a young Palestinian scholar. --Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Former UN Secretary-General “Readers, whatever their view of the Arab-Israeli conflict, will appreciate this lucid and scholarly work. Kattan explains how Jews and Palestinians were tragically caught up in the net of Great Power politics. His critique of Zionism, while robust, fully acknowledges the oppression that the Jews of Europe suffered through antisemitism, a subject that he treats with sensitivity and insight. This is one reason why, beyond explaining the origins of the conflict, this book could contribute to its resolution.” --Brian Klug, Senior Research Fellow and Tutor in philosophy at St. Benet's Hall, Oxford and a member of the Faculty of Philosophy at Oxford University)

Krämer, Gudrun and Graham Harman. **A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel.** Translated by Graham Harman. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011. (“The 400 years before the founding of the Jewish state is a historiographical minefield, but Kramer, a professor of Islamic studies at Free University Berlin, manages to produce an illuminating survey of the terrain...Kramer's fluent narrative pairs a much-needed focus on facts--including useful data on contentious issues of population growth and land ownership--with an evenhanded avoidance of partisanship.” --*Publishers Weekly* “We tend not to notice that Palestine movement. Krämer, professor of Islamic studies at Free University Berlin, goes back to early 19th-century Egyptian rule, and then to the modernization undertaken by the Ottoman Empire, to situate the present in its historical context.”---Martin Levin, *The Globe and Mail*)

Laqueur, Walter. **A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel.** London: Tauris Parke, 2003. (“Historical writing of the most thoughtful and serious kind.” —*Newsweek* “The best single volume for the general reader.” —*The Economist* “Laqueur’s rigorous objectivity elevates [this book] light-years above its predecessors in the field.”—*The New York Times Book Review*)

Morris, Benny. **1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians.** Revised and expanded. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. (“These essays by a leading Israeli historian focus on Israeli decisions and the reasons behind the mass Arab exile from Palestine in 1948. Benny Morris addresses the transfer of Majdal’s Arabs to Gaza in 1950, the initial absorption of the Palestinian refugees in Arab host countries in 1948-9, and why some Arabs remained in their villages. He then explores attitudes toward the Palestinian Arabs from the 1948 war to the differing perspectives of Israel’s two main parties. By examining past and present Israeli historiography, Morris identifies and analyzes the major points of controversy between the “old” official Israeli histories and the “new” histories of the 1980s and beyond.” —Oxford University Press.)

Khalidi, Walid. **Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876 – 1948.** Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2nd edition, September 1991. (“”The most effective history of the Palestinians to appear in the U.S.” —Ambassador Andrew Killgore, *Middle East Times*)

Khalidi, Walid, ed. **All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948.** Washington, DC.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992. (“A fundamental research tool for all historians interested in the history of Palestine. A monumental effort ... a major achievement.” –Roger Owen, The Middle East Centre, St. Antony’s College, Oxford University)

Khalidi, Walid. **From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948.** Washington, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2005. “An essential reference work for anyone wishing to grasp the complexities of the clash between Zionism and Palestine nationalism. Walid Khalidi includes a wide variety of fascinating material from diverse viewpoints and brings his own learning into sharp focus in an introductory chapter. This impressive book is not just for the shelf, but also to be sampled periodically as a reminder of the depths of the passions that keep the Arab-Israeli conflict alive. -- William B. Quandt, Brookings Institute)

LeVine, Mark. **Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948.** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. (“This landmark book offers a truly integrated perspective for understanding the formation of Jewish and Palestinian Arab identities and relations in Palestine before 1948. Beginning with the late Ottoman period Mark LeVine explores the evolving history and geography of two cities: Jaffa, one of the oldest ports in the world, and Tel Aviv, which was born alongside Jaffa and by 1948 had annexed it as well as its surrounding Arab villages. Drawing from a wealth of untapped primary sources, including Ottoman records, Jaffa Shari'a court documents, town planning records, oral histories, and numerous Zionist and European archival sources, LeVine challenges nationalist historiographies of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, revealing the manifold interactions of the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities that lived there. At the center of the book is a discussion of how Tel Aviv's self-definition as the epitome of modernity affected its and Jaffa's development and Jaffa's own modern pretenses as well. As he unravels this dynamic, LeVine provides new insights into how popular cultures and public spheres evolved in this intersection of colonial, modern, and urban space. He concludes with a provocative discussion of how these discourses affected the development of today's unified city of Tel Aviv–Yafo and, through it, Israeli and Palestinian identities within in and outside historical Palestine.” –Amazon)

Masalha, Nur. **Expulsion of Palestinians: The Concept of “Transfer” in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.** Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992. (“Almost entirely based on declassified Israeli archival material, Dr. Masalha’s sober and carefully researched account shows conclusively that “transfers” — a euphemism for expulsion — was from the start an integral part of Zionism...(an) impressive and timely book...quietly devastating research.” —Rt. Hon. Lord Gilmour, *The Guardian*, UK)

Masalha, Nur. **The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory.** London: Zed, 2004. (“Masalha argues that to write more truthfully about the Nakba is not just to practice a professional historiography but a moral imperative. The struggles of the ordinary refugees to publicize the truth about the Nakba is a vital way of protecting the refugees’ rights and keeping the hope for peace with justice alive. With the history, rights, and needs of the Palestinian refugees being excluded from recent Middle East peacemaking efforts and with the failure of both the Israeli state and international community to acknowledge the Nakba, “1948” as an “ethnic cleansing” continues to underpin the Palestine-Israel conflict. This book is vital for a real understanding of the Israel-Palestine conflict. —Zed )

Masalha, Nur, ed. **Catastrophe Remembered: Palestine, Israel, and the Internal Refugees.** London: Zed, 2005. (Essays in memory of Edward Said. “This is a work of enormous significance by distinguished scholars of singular courage and integrity. The spirit and legacy of Edward Said are embodied in these papers that seek to rectify grave historical omissions and distortions pertaining to the plight and rights of the Palestinians, particularly in their displacement and exile. Such a narrative of affirmation, authenticity, and rectification is the essential antidote to the mendacious accounts of exclusion and denial that have perpetuated, and even justified, the continued victimisation of the Palestinian nation. The recognition of this grievous injustice, along with the admission of Israeli and global culpability, are the first steps in the quest for a just peace and hence for historical redemption.” —Hanan Ashrawi)

Muslih, Muhammad. **The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. (“A first-rate monograph bringing new light, mainly from untapped Arab sources to an old subject.” -- *Foreign Affairs* “This is a welcome addition to the study of nationalism in the Arab world in general and a very welcome contribution to the discussion of the most pressing national movement, namely, Palestinian nationalism.” --MESA)

Norris, Jacob. **Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. (“*Land of Progress* is a significant contribution to the growing body of scholarship emphasizing continuities from the Ottoman period to de-construct the ethno-national conflict intensifying under the auspices of the British Empire.” -- Max Reibman, *Journal of Levantine Studies* “Jacob Norris should be congratulated for having written an outstanding book, full of welcome revisionist insight and backed up by an impressive breadth and depth of knowledge.” --- Fredrik Meiton, *Arab Studies Quarterly*)

Pappé, Ilan. **Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-51**. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988. (“In an analysis of Britain's policy towards Palestine in the post-mandatory era, the author examines the circumstances which led to the formulation of Britain's policy - the partition of mandatory Palestine between Israel and Jordan - and the stages of its implementation. A major theme emerges: that Britain's Middle East policy was a function of two main features: Britain's close alliance with Transjordan; and its pragmatic adaptability to developments in the area. Based on primary sources made available only recently in British, Israeli and American archives, the book offers new insights into a policy which was to have far reaching-effects.” --Amazon)

Pappé, Ilan. **The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947–1951**. London: I. B. Taurus, 1994. (“Anyone looking for an authoritative account of 1948... should go straight to this book. Yezi Sayigh, Middle East International 'Pappe has added significantly to our understanding of a formative period in the making of the Arab-Israeli conflict' Avi Shlaim, *London Review of Books* 'This is an important book and especially relevant to the current process of Arab Israeli negotiations.' -- Leonard Goren, *International Affairs*)

Pappé, Ilan. **The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis 1700-1948**. London: Saqi Books, 2010. (“A unique and enlightening chronicle of an influential family and the people whose lives they profoundly affected.” --Publishers Weekly “A fine book that is informed by the best scholarship and written with directness and celerity.”---Weldon C. Matthews, *Journal of World History* 20)

Robinson, Shira. **Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State.** Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013. ("In recent years the concept of settler colonialism has become a fashionable if controversial way of understanding the Palestine-Israel conflict. It draws parallels between the Zionist movement and European settlers in North America, Australia and elsewhere who built their own societies and economies while excluding, dispossessing or eliminating the natives. There are some obvious differences. But Jewish immigrants who were fleeing anti-Semitism were also settlers. Robinson uses that framework to study the Palestinian minority left in Israel after 1948 and the paradox of their being second-class citizens living under a military government, but with democratic rights, and in a Jewish state surrounded by Arab enemies. Superbly researched using archival and a wealth of other sources in Arabic and Hebrew." --10 Must-Read Histories Of The Palestine-Israel Conflict by Ian Black, Literary Hub)

Rogan, Eugene L. and Schlaim, Avi, eds. **The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948.** Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011. ("The official Israeli version of the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem has been challenged by, among other people, a group of Israeli scholars who are variably called the "new historians" or the "revisionists." In this edited volume, Rogan and Shlaim, two prominent scholars of the modern Middle East at the University of Oxford, have brought together leading Israeli revisionist historians with noted Arab and Western scholars to explain the historical and contemporary significance of the 1948 War from various perspectives." -- Amazon)

Said, Edward. **The Question of Palestine.** New York: Vintage Books, 1992. ("This original and deeply provocative book was the first to make Palestine the subject of a serious debate--one that remains as critical as ever. With the rigorous scholarship he brought to his influential *Orientalism* and an exile's passion (he is Palestinian by birth), Edward W. Said traces the fatal collision between two peoples in the Middle East and its repercussions in the lives of both the occupier and the occupied--as well as in the conscience of the West. He has updated this landmark work to portray the changed status of Palestine and its people in light of such developments as the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the intifada, the Gulf War, and the ongoing Middle East peace initiative. For anyone interested in this region and its future, *The Question of Palestine* remains the most useful and authoritative account available." --Amazon)

Schneer, Jonathan. **The Balfour Declaration.** London: Bloomsbury, 2010. ("A work of impressive research and scholarship. Its relevance is obvious."—*Newsweek* "Worthy of a Pulitzer Prize . . . a thoroughly researched, well-balanced study of one of modern history's most vexing chapters. *The Balfour Declaration* has all the makings of a classic."—*The Star-Ledger* "Remarkable . . . engagingly written, adding to our knowledge of this frequently told story without ever taking sides . . . This is the most original exposition of the Balfour Declaration to date."—*The Washington Post* "[A] comprehensive study, richly documented . . . The way [Schneer] reveals the characters behind the diplomatic papers, bringing them to life, makes his book particularly enjoyable."—*The New York Times Book Review*)

Segev, Tom. English language editing by Arlen Neil Weinstein. **1949: The First Israelis**. New York: First Owl Books, 2001. (“Segev is a well-known Israeli journalist with a degree in history from Boston University. This book, a translation from the original Hebrew, recounts the events during the first year of Israeli independence. The book is divided into four parts: “Between Jews and Arabs”; “Between Veterans and Newcomers”; “Between the Orthodox and the Secular”; “Between the Vision and Reality.” Based on unpublished official and personal records, it is an unsentimental and balanced view of life in Israel. It contains many new and often shocking revelations that will no doubt be upsetting to some. At the same time, it is a highly interesting book of value to the general public and historians alike.” — *Library Journal*.)

Shapira, Anita. **Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948**. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. (“A rich and sophisticated work that nicely complements more conventional political-historical studies of the Arab-Israeli conflict. . . . Shapira sifts through a vast body of material, ranging from essays, poems, and memoir literature to the unpublished minutes of political party and youth group meetings. Shapira interprets these sources with sensitivity and insight . . . and writes with power, compassion, and warmth. . . . A landmark book that is an outstanding contribution to the history of Zionist political thought and culture.” — *American Historical Review* “This is a superb book . . . a well-researched, detailed, and scholarly account that provides new and valuable insights into the dilemma posed by the formation and elaboration of a more forceful Israeli military posture.” — *The Historian*)

Shlaim, Avi. **Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. (“Shlaim, an Oxford instructor in international relations, documents that Jordan’s ambitious, absolutist King Abdullah, who was assassinated in 1951, had clandestine ties with the Zionist movement in Israel, an accusation that many of the ruler’s cohorts have made in the past. To further his own aims of creating a greater Jordanian empire, Abdullah conducted secret diplomacy with David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir and other Israeli leaders. Drawing on Israeli government archives as well as interviews with politicians, soldiers and intelligence agents, Shlaim argues that the king’s self-serving maneuvers hastened the partition of Palestine, which left more than a million Palestinian Arabs without a homeland. His absorbing 686-page narrative, a major reevaluation of the Arab-Israeli conflict, unfolds an Arab world torn by internal rivalry not the monolithic, hostile bloc that some Israelis claim it to be.” -- *Publishers Weekly*)

