

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

December 14-15, 2019

Columbia Global Centers | Amman



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CONFERENCE SCOPE

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 nation-wide 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.

PROGRAM

Saturday – December 14, 2019

09:00- 09:30 Registration

09:30-10:00 Opening Remarks

Noha Khalaf | Why History? The Search for a “Just” Memory

10:00-11:30 **SESSION ONE** | Palestinian Political and Socio-Economic Representation Pre-Nakba (1919- 1948)

CHAIR: Adnan Al Bakhit

Panelists:

- **Salim Tamari** | The Demise of Osmenlilik and the Rise of Syro-Palestinian Nationalism during the Great War
- **Falestin Naïli** | Colonial Contingencies: The Political Marginalization of the Municipality of Jerusalem under the British Mandate
- **Mahmoud Yazbak** | The Outbreak of the 1936 Revolution: Political Economy under the Colonial Regime (*in Arabic*)
نشوب ثورة ١٩٣٦: الاقتصاد السياسي تحت النظام الكولونيالي

11:30-12:00 Coffee Break

12:00-14:00 **SESSION TWO** | Cultural Expressions of Palestinian Nationalism

CHAIR: Falestin Naïli

Panelists:

- **Qustandi Shomali** | The Role of Christian Urban Elites and the Press in Fostering the Palestinian National Movement (*in Arabic*)
دور المثقفين والمفكرين الفلسطينيين المسيحيين والصحافة في تعزيز الهوية الفلسطينية قبل النكبة
- **Makram Khoury-Machool** | Patterns of Informal Education and the Formation of Palestinian Nationalism

- **Basma Al Dajani** | Arabic Linguistic Identity in Palestine since 1919 (*in Arabic*)

الهوية العربيّة- اللغويّة- في فلسطين منذ ١٩١٩

- **Maissoun Sharkawi** | On the Concept of Cultural Heritage within the Palestinian Context (*in Arabic*)

حول مفهوم الموروث الثقافي في السياق الفلسطيني

14:00-15:00 Lunch Break

15:00-17:00 **SESSION THREE** | The Post-Nakba Re-organization of the Palestinian National Movement

CHAIR: Mahmoud Yazbak

Panelists:

- **Said Badawi** | The Arab Nationalist Movement and the Independence of the Palestinian Effort (*in Arabic*)
الحركة القومية العربية واستقلالية العمل الفلسطيني
- **Mjriam Abu Samra** | Popular Organization and Transnational Mobilization: Palestinian Student Politics in the Post-Nakba Period
- **Hadeel Fawadleh** | Christians, the Church and Contradictions of Nationalism and Migration (*in Arabic*)
المسيحيون والكنيسة وتناقضات القومية والهجرة
- **Adnan Abdelrazeq** | Faisal Husseini: Popular Leader and Prince of Jerusalem (*in Arabic*)
فيصل عبد القادر الحسيني، القائد الشعبي – أمير القدس

17:00-18:30 Break

18:30-20:00 **Keynote Address by Professor Rashid Khalidi (Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies, Columbia University)**
The Hundred Years' War on Palestine

20:00-21:00 Reception



The Hundred Years' War on Palestine

A KEYNOTE LECTURE BY

Rashid Khalidi, Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies
Columbia University

Date: Saturday December 14, 2019

Time: 6:30 pm

Reception to follow

Location: Columbia Global Centers | Amman

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.

Student protest in Jerusalem against the British Mandate, 1930.

Palestinian Journeys, retrieved from www.paljourneys.org/en/node/9214#&gid=1&pid=1

09:00-10:30 **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

11:00-13:00 **SESSION FIVE** | Voices from the National Movement

CHAIR: [Rashid Khalidi](#)

Panelists:

- [Sari Zuayter](#) | Akram Zuayter: A Leader and Scholar (*in Arabic*)
أكرم زعيتر زعيمًا وقائدًا وأديبًا
- [Fadia Abdulhadi](#) | Zulaikha Al-Shihabi and Isam Abdul Hadi: Enlightened History (*in Arabic*)
زليخة الشهابي وعصام عبد الهادي: تاريخ مضيء
- [Jehan Helou](#) | Hanna Mikhail: Abu Omar, Disappeared but Ever Present (*in Arabic*)
حنا ميخائيل – أبو عمر الغائب الحاضر ابدا
- [Raed Bader](#) | The Legacy of Ibrahim Abu Lughod (*in Arabic*)
أن تكون مثقفًا ملتزمًا: إبراهيم أبو لغد من خلال مذكراته

13:00-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-15:45 **SESSION SIX** | Palestinian Political Thought and the Role of Intellectuals

CHAIR: [Adnan AbdelRazeq](#)

Panelists:

- [Noha Khalaf](#) | Generations of Palestinian Intellectuals throughout a Century and their Role: A Critical Approach
- [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**



First Nebi Mousa Celebration after the Occupation. Holy Flag Taken to the Mosque El-Aksa, 1918.
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog, retrieved from www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsea.13291?sp=71

BIOGRAPHIES

NOHA KHALAF

Why History? The Search for a "Just" Memory

Opening Remarks

Saturday, 9:30 - 10:00



Dr. Noha Khalaf holds a Ph.D. in Arab Studies (history) from *Institut National des Langues et des Civilisations Orientales* (INALCO), a master's in political studies from the American University of Beirut (AUB), and a bachelor's in economics and political science from the American University of Cairo (AUC). She served as Assistant Professor in political sociology: history of political ideas at Université de Constantine, Algeria, and held research positions in many universities. Dr. Khalaf has also served as Ambassador of the State of Palestine in Malta; Deputy to the Head of the Permanent Observer Mission in New York; and Head of the International Research Section at the political department of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. She was a visiting fellow at the Columbia Global Centers | Amman, an associate member at Centre International de Recherches sur la Paix et les Etudes Stratégiques and the Institut Maghreb-Europe.

SESSION ONE | Palestinian Political and Socio-Economic Representation

Pre-Nakba (1919-1948)

CHAIR: Adnan Al Bakhit

Saturday, 10:00 - 11:30

ADNAN AL BAKHIT

Professor 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 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.



Professor Al Bakhit is a member of multiple national and international committees and humanitarian institutions. He was chief editor of *al-Nadwa*, published by the Foreign Affairs Society, and *Dirasat*, published by the University of Jordan, as well as *The Jordanian Journal of History and Archaeology*. Professor Al Bakhit served as Chairman of the UNESCO's Committee which produced the fourth volume of *History of Humanity* (from 7th to 14th Century A.D.). Professor Al Bakhit is a member of the Jordanian Arabic Language Academy, the Syrian Arabic Language Academy and the Executive Committee of the Royal Academy of Islamic History Research (Al-al Bayt Foundation) in Amman, Jordan. Professor Al Bakhit was awarded the 2011 King Faisal International Prize for his three-volume book: *Studies into the History of Bilad ash-Sham*.

SALIM TAMARI

The Demise of Osmenlilik and the Rise of Syro-Palestinian Nationalism during the Great War

Salim Tamari, is a Professor of Sociology (Emeritus) at Birzeit University, research associate at the Institute for Palestine Studies, and editor at *The Jerusalem Quarterly*. Professor Tamari holds a Ph.D. in sociology from Manchester University, and has been a visiting Professor at Ca Foscari University (Venice); Georgetown University (Washington DC); New York University; Cornell University (Ithaca); University of Chicago; Harvard University (Cambridge); and Columbia University (New York). His most recent publications include: *Mountain Against the Sea: A Conflicted Modernity*; *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh* (with Issam Nassar); *Year of the Locust: Erasure of the Ottoman Era in Palestine*; *The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* (2018: UC Press); *Landed Property and Public Endonments in Jerusalem* (with Munir Fakhr Ed-Din, 2018); *Camera Palestina: Photography and the Sensual Impulse* (UC Press; forthcoming 2019).



FALASTIN NAİLİ

Colonial Contingencies: The Political Marginalization of the Municipality of Jerusalem under the British Mandate

Dr. Falestin Naïli is a researcher at the Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo) in Amman, with a Ph.D. in history from the University of Aix-Marseille in France. She specializes in the social history of late Ottoman and Mandate Palestine and Jordan, but through her interest in collective memory and oral history often reaches present-time issues. Dr. Naïli also works on the politics of heritage and folklore. Her current research focuses on urban governance and urban citizenship.



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). Yazbak is a member of various professional international and local associations of historical studies. He lives in Nazareth, and was head of Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel from 2009 to 2012, and 2017. He chaired the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa between 2011 and 2014.

SESSION TWO | Cultural Expressions of Palestinian Nationalism

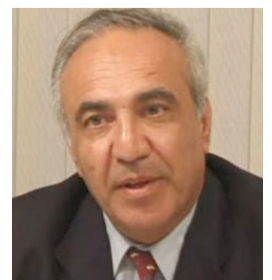
CHAIR: Falastin Naïli

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);



A Guide to Bethlehem and the Holy Land (2015). Additionally, Professor Shomali has published several research papers in comparative literature, communication and information in the Arabic, French, and English languages.

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.eurocse.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 Masare’*

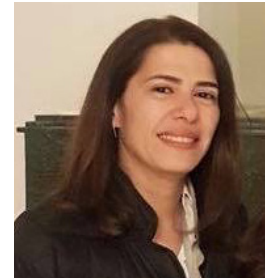


Al-Ushaq by Abi Ja’afar Al-Sarraj. She presented over 50 papers on topics such as Teaching Arabic to Non-native Speakers; Cultural Dialogue; Dialogue of Civilizations; and Arabic Literature, some of which have been published in international journals. She co-authored the University of Jordan’s curriculum for teaching Arabic to non-native speakers, and supervised MA students in Arabic language. Additionally, she taught two summers at the Middlebury Graduate Arabic School in Oakland, USA. Professor Al Dajani is interested in the history of the Islamic civilization and Arabic language and literature.

MAISSOUN SHARKAWI

On the Concept of Cultural Heritage within the Palestinian Context (in Arabic)

Dr. Maissoun Sharkawi is a researcher and lecturer. She received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Lorraine (Nancy). Her thesis explores the social, historical and economic environment in which the concept of Palestinian cultural heritage has been formulated throughout the past two centuries. Her research focuses on the material archive that documents the economy of the village in 19th Century Palestine.



Dr. Sharkawi is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and the Arab Council for Social Sciences (ACSS), working on a research project entitled *Souvenir Business in Palestine: Development of 19th Century Craft Trade in relation to Religious Tourism*. She is also a research associate for the French Institute of the Near East (Ifpo) and works as an UNESCO expert for implementing the 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage. Sharkawi holds a Master of Arts in cultural heritage studies on conservation and development of cultural industrial and economic heritage from the University of Nantes.

Dr. Sharkawi taught a course on *Introducing Cultural Heritage in the Arab World* in the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Aix-Marseille University. She is an associate professor in the Department of Applied Arts at the Palestinian Technical University-Kadoori in Ramallah.

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 Zuaier” 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.



SESSION FOUR | Challenges and Unresolved Issues in the Palestinian Context

CHAIR: Salim Tamari

Sunday, 09:00 - 10:30

FRANÇOIS CECCALDI

The Palestinian National Movement after the Oslo Agreement: Between State Building and Revolution

Francois 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.



SANA 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.



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*

Dr. Oroub El-Abed is a postdoctoral research associate with the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at London University. She is the co-investigator with the Centre for Lebanese Studies at the Lebanese American University leading the Jordan segment of a project entitled *Trajectories of Education and Employment of Refugees and Locals in Jordan and Lebanon in the midst of Protracted Displacement*. Until recently, she was a British Academy sponsored post-doctoral fellow conducting research on cultural development amongst marginalized communities in the South. Dr. El-Abed completed her Ph.D. in political economy of development studies from SOAS. Her research work has been focused on refugees and vulnerable minorities in the Middle East. She has taught several courses on development, livelihood and forced migration at the American University in Cairo (Egypt), SOAS (United Kingdom) and University of Jordan (Jordan). She has consulted for several UN and International NGOs and published articles in the area of development (education and employment) and forced migration in the Middle East. Recently, Dr. El-Abed published a study on *The Socioeconomic Community Development Surrounding Neolithic Sites in Jordan* (2019). She has also authored *Unprotected: Palestinians in Egypt since 1948* (2009).



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.



SARI ZUAYTER

Akram Zuayter: A Leader and Scholar (in Arabic)

Sari Zuayter is a political and environmental activist who holds a BSc in civil engineering from the United States and an MBA from the American University of Beirut. Zuayter served as a board member in several national Jordanian bodies such as the Higher Structural Committee in the Jordan Building Council, the Higher Council for Certification and Qualification, and the Jordan Engineers Association. He is also the Chairman of the Board of Murjan al Muhandiseen Co. for Investment and Real Estate Development. Zuayter is currently leading his own consulting company, Tibah Consultants.



FADIA ABDULHADI

Zulaikha Al-Shibabi 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 Lughod (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.

MAZIN QUMSIYEH

Lessons from 14 decades of Palestinian Zionist Encounters: Between Reaction and Innovative Action

Professor Mazin Qumsiyeh teaches and carries out research at Bethlehem and Birzeit Universities. He previously served on the faculties of the University of Tennessee, Duke University, and Yale University. He and his wife returned to Palestine in 2008 and established a number of institutions and projects such as the clinical cytogenetics laboratory that serves cancer and other patients. They founded (based on an initial personal donation of \$250,000) and continue to run (as full-time volunteers) the Palestine Institute for Biodiversity and Sustainability at Bethlehem University (PIBS-BU) (<http://palestinature.org>). Professor Qumsiyeh published over 140 scientific papers on topics ranging from cultural heritage to biodiversity to cancer. Some of his published books include: *Bats of Egypt; Mammals of the Holy Land; Sharing the Land of Canaan: Human Rights and the Israeli/Palestinian Struggle*; as well as *Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment*. He also published hundreds of articles and letters and has published an activism book that is available electronically (<http://qumsiyeh.org>). Professor Qumsiyeh has given talks in over 45 countries, and serves on the board of a number of Palestinian youth and service organizations. He believes in empowering youth towards social and environmental causes.



PREM MISHRA

*Palestinian Nationalism in the works of Gandhi, Faiz and Iqbal
Ahmad: An Intellectual History*

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.



COLUMBIA GLOBAL CENTERS | AMMAN

5 Mohd Al Sâd Al-Batayneh Street, King Hussein Park | Amman, Jordan

Phone: +962 6 5777955

Email: amman.cgc@columbia.edu

<https://globalcenters.columbia.edu/amman>