

CONTENTS

Note on Translation and Transliteration ix

Preface xi

Introduction	1
PART I. THE PLO RESEARCH CENTER BETWEEN ACADEMICS AND POLITICS	7
1 Why Did the PLO Need a Research Center?	9
2 The PLO Research Center at Work	26
3 From the Hebrew University to the PLO Research Center	43
PART II. STUDYING THE ENEMY	65
4 <i>Zionist Colonialism in Palestine: Zionism and European Imperialism</i>	67
5 <i>The Zionist Idea: Judaism, Christianity, and the Arabic Translation of Zionism</i>	86
6 <i>The Talmud and Zionism: Rejecting Antisemitism in the Name of Palestinian Liberation</i>	106
7 <i>The American Council for Judaism: American Jewish Anti-Zionism</i>	123
8 <i>The Jewish Woman in Occupied Palestine: The Promise of Gender Equality</i>	137

viii CONTENTS

9	<i>Jews of the Arab Countries: The Question of Racism</i>	156
10	<i>The Role of the Zionist Terror in the Creation of Israel: On the Necessity of Violence</i>	171
PART III. INVASION, CONFISCATION, AND RETURN		183
11	The PLO Research Center in Tel Aviv	185
12	A Global Debate about the PLO Research Center	198
13	Exchanging Prisoners, a Library, and an Archive	229
	Conclusion: Empathy, Realism, and the Effects of “Knowing the Enemy”	256
	<i>Postscript</i>	275
	<i>Acknowledgments</i>	279
	<i>Appendix: PLO Research Center Library Books Found in the National Library of Israel</i>	281
	<i>Notes</i>	285
	<i>Works Cited</i>	335
	<i>Index</i>	363

Introduction

IN MID-SEPTEMBER 1982, as they invaded West Beirut, Israeli forces raided a high-rise on Colombani Street in the Lebanese capital. Though the building belonged to the Palestine Liberation Organization, it contained neither militants nor weapons. Instead, the Israeli soldiers discovered, and quickly seized, a library—a library teeming with books about Jews, Zionism, and Israel.

This library was the jewel of the Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, an arm of the PLO founded in Beirut in February 1965, just months after the establishment of the organization itself. Over its nearly two decades of activity in Beirut, the Research Center’s mission was to study *al-qadiyya al-filastiniyya*, the “Palestine question,” and to increase knowledge about “the enemy.”¹ It did so through the concerted efforts of researchers who produced hundreds of books, pamphlets, and journal issues in Arabic and other languages. Through books the Center published with titles such as *The Zionist Idea*, *State and Religion in Israel*, *The Kibbutz*, *The Moshav*, *The Histadrut*, *Mapai*, *Mapam*, *Israel and World Jewry*, *David Ben-Gurion*, *The Talmud and Zionism*, and *Discrimination against Eastern Jews in Israel*, the Center’s leaders provided intellectual resources for Palestinian and other Arab readers to better understand Israel’s history and ideological underpinnings.² The Center investigated other matters as well, but one of its prime areas of focus comprised Jews, Judaism, Zionism, and Israel.

The story of the PLO Research Center did not end with its library’s confiscation in September 1982. Unlike the thousands of books Israel seized from Arab libraries in the 1948 war that sit until today in the National Library of Israel,³ the PLO Research Center’s library was, by all accounts, mostly returned. And quickly. In November 1983, Israel and the PLO negotiated a prisoner swap through the International Committee of the Red Cross. In exchange for the PLO’s release of six Israeli soldiers it held captive in Lebanon, Israel

agreed to free more than four thousand Arab prisoners—and the PLO Research Center library. Air France planes arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport to transport one thousand of the freed Arab prisoners to Algeria and, as they boarded the planes, the IDF loaded crates filled with books into the cargo sections beneath.

Reading Herzl in Beirut tells the story of the institution that created this library, the researchers who used it, the scholarship they produced in it, and the events that led to its confiscation and return. In telling this story, the book explores the role played by knowledge in the development of politics and by politics in the production and distribution of knowledge in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Israel's seizure of the PLO Research Center was—and in historical memory remains—overshadowed by other events that transpired contemporaneously as Israel invaded West Beirut. Israel captured the PLO Research Center during the very days in September 1982 when a Lebanese Christian militia allied with Israel massacred hundreds of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, a massacre for which Israel's own commission of inquiry declared Israeli officials "indirectly responsible."⁴ In a week when hundreds of people, including many women and children, are slaughtered, it is hard to notice, much less to recall, anything else.

Beyond the particular timing of these events, there is a broader reason why many in the West have never heard of the Center and its research output: the Center does not fit neatly into any of the dominant perceptions of the PLO. Among those who remember the organization in its heyday, common associations with the PLO might range from freedom fighters, embattled nationalist heroes, bold or ambivalent peacemakers to corrupt bureaucrats, gun-toting hijackers, or merciless terrorists. The variety of associations is wide, but would not typically include prolific researchers of Judaism, Zionism, and Israel. Yet, one official wing of the PLO consisted of precisely such individuals. If today, four decades after its period of intensive activity in Beirut, the PLO Research Center is largely forgotten, it may be because few have a political interest in remembering it.

Leaving aside such interests, however, the PLO Research Center, from its founding through its conquest and beyond, merits our attention. The war that Palestinians and their allies were waging against Israel had many fronts. Arab state militaries and Palestinian guerrillas, no doubt, played key roles in the broad effort to defeat Israel but the pen joined the sword in this war—and

considering Israel's increasingly clear military superiority over the Arab states, Palestinian activists and supporters took very seriously the potential power of the pen. If the chances of defeating Israel on the battlefield were slim, perhaps Israel could be undermined through rhetorical and intellectual challenges to its legitimacy. To undertake such challenges, some believed, one had first to develop a deeper understanding of the object of the challenge. The PLO Research Center's studies of Jews, Judaism, Zionism, and Israel thus proved crucial for Palestinian nationalist endeavors.

As the PLO Research Center's motivation in studying Jewish and Zionist history was to "know the enemy," it is not surprising that the authors generally related in an antagonistic way to the subjects of their research. But, as we shall see, there are also subtle hints in the Center's publications of an interest not only in combatting but also in emulating certain aspects of their objects of study. In any case, the Center's scholars took their jobs seriously. Whether in their writings for an internal Palestinian and Arab audience or in those for an external Western audience, these university-educated researchers employed scholarly sources and academic methods. In this sense, the story of the PLO Research Center constitutes an important chapter in Palestinian intellectual history.

Odd as it may sound, the PLO Research Center may be regarded as having been a pioneer in the field of Israel studies. The founding of the Center preceded by a full two decades that of the Association for Israel Studies (AIS). If Israel studies is defined as the study of the State of Israel and its origins, and "is open to all individuals who are engaged in, or share an interest in, scholarly inquiry about the State and society of Israel," regardless of "citizenship, nationality, religion, or political orientation,"⁵ much of what the PLO Research Center did in its years in Beirut qualifies. In fact, many of the research questions that the Center asked—for example, about the relationship between Judaism and Zionism, ethnicity and gender in Israel, or colonialism and violence—participated in the scholarly discourse on these matters. Some of the conclusions that the Center's authors drew heralded future trends in the field of Israel studies.

An examination of the PLO Research Center is thus not only a study in Palestinian intellectual history but also in Jewish and Israeli history. Moreover, Jews from Israel and abroad were at various times and in different ways connected to the work of the Center (and ultimately, to its demise). Jewish authors appear prominently in the footnotes and bibliographies of the Center's publications and, in certain instances, Jewish scholars and activists were part of the

Center's intellectual life not only as subjects but also participants. Like the story of the Palestinian people since the rise of Zionism, the Center's story is deeply intertwined with that of Jews and Zionism. (The reverse is no less true, of course, as the history of the Jews and Israel has been, since the rise of Zionism, profoundly enmeshed with that of the Palestinians.) This book, then, is also a story of intellectual and personal encounter—generally adversarial though occasionally collaborative—among Palestinians and Israelis, Arabs and Jews.

The PLO Research Center also presents us with a fascinating case study of the fraught relationship between scholarship and politics. The Center was at once an official arm of a militant nationalist organization with a clear political agenda and an institution dedicated to objective research. Notably, while the PLO was not, in principle, opposed to propagandistic efforts, its propaganda was meant to be conducted by other entities within the organization.⁶ In this book, I explore the bidirectionality of influence between the Center's ideology and its research.

Though this book focuses on an institution run by a handful of local intellectuals housed in an ordinary building in a medium-sized city in a small Middle Eastern country, it also tells a global story. The PLO Research Center was founded by the PLO, itself the creation of the Arab League, and it continued to be funded by the Palestine National Fund, the Arab League, and individual Arab governments. From its inception, the Center was implicated in a regional network of states and interests, which themselves evolved over the course of the Center's lifetime in Beirut. In addition, the Center's intended audience was both local and global, and included Arabic and non-Arabic readers alike. This book thus considers the broader intellectual community and interlocutors who shaped the scholarship of the Center. It also reflects on the Center's impact on the PLO political leadership's decision to engage in global diplomacy.⁷

While the story of the Research Center has been largely forgotten, as I was writing this book, I learned of several fellow scholars who have also become interested in different aspects of the Center. These scholars of archives, libraries, and film have made important contributions from which my own research has benefited. Digital humanities scholar Jacqueline Bader Husary, in her thesis "Recovering the PLO Research Center: Limits and Potential for Digital Methods to Retrieve Dispersed Archives," used technological tools to mine online library catalogues to "locat[e] the Research Center traces that survive in libraries across the world." Through this sophisticated research, Husary pro-

duced a fifteen-page bibliography of the Research Center's publications in its Beirut years.⁸ Two other scholars have been particularly interested in the episode of Israel's wartime capture of the Center's collections. In an article entitled "The Paper Trail of a Liberation Movement," archivist and historian Hana Sleiman argued that Israel's seizure of the PLO's institutional archives held by the PLO Research Center constituted neither the first nor the last period of "captivity" of these archival materials. Rather, Sleiman contended provocatively, the archive's "first captor" was the PLO Research Center itself while, after Israel returned the materials in 1983, "the Palestinian state-building enterprise" became "its current captor."⁹ Rona Sela, a scholar of art history, portrayed the 1982 conquest of the Research Center, as well as the films from the PLO's Cultural Arts Section, as examples of "colonial plundering/looting of cultural and historical treasures and archives and their administration and dominance in military colonial archives."¹⁰ Two documentaries, *Looted and Hidden* by Sela and *Shalal—A Reel War* by Karnit Mandel, have recently been released, focusing especially on the films the Research Center had collected.¹¹ This book thus joins in a budding rediscovery of the PLO Research Center in Beirut.

The chapters that follow are divided into three parts, each motivated by certain driving questions. In part 1, as I recount the history and work of the Research Center between 1965 and 1982, I ask what led the PLO to devote substantial resources and talent to an in-depth investigation and presentation of Judaism, Zionism, and Israel, and what drew the Center's leadership to this enterprise. In part 2, I analyze in detail a number of publications on a variety of topics that the PLO Research Center produced, and I ask how the Center's researchers undertook their work and what conclusions they drew. In part 3, I inquire into what happened to the Center and its library after its confiscation in 1982 and ask whether we might be able to discern the Center's impact on the development of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The PLO Research Center played an important role in the history of the PLO, in Palestinian intellectual history, and in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its global perceptions. Studying the Center's research yields insights about the PLO, its intellectuals, and its perspectives on Judaism, Zionism, and Israel. The story of the PLO Research Center in Beirut is thus a crucial piece of Palestinian history, Israeli history, and the history of the conflict.

INDEX

- Aaron, 143
abandoned property (AP), 50, 245
Abaza, Ibrahim, 246, 250
Abbas, Mahmoud: antisemitism and, 276;
Beirut and, 275–77; Damascus and, 275;
Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and,
275; Jiryis and, 276; Nazis and, 276; Pales-
tine National Council (PNC) and,
310n63; race and, 163; restarting Center
by, 251; Washington, DC, and, 60
‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Mustafa, 131–32
‘Abd al-Hadi, ‘Awni, 31, 233
Abdallah, Hisham, 179–81
Abd al-Nasir, Shawqi, 109
Abdo, Ali Ibrahim, 157–61, 317n5
Abdul-Rahman, Asa’d, 28–29
Abed, Lutfi al-, xi, 89, 94
Abid, Ibrahim al-, xi; American Council for
Judaism and, 126–27, 311n12–19; Balfour
Declaration and, 74–75; European impe-
rialism and, 74–75, 80, 301n27–29; *Hand-
book to the Palestine Question*, 39–40, 74,
89, 125–27, 162; *Israel and Human Rights*,
288n37; *The Moshav: The Cooperative
Village in Israel*, 30; prisoner exchange
and, 251, 252; racism and, 162–63; transla-
tion and, 89; work of PLO Research
Center and, 28–30, 39–40
Abraham, 101–2
Abu Asba, Naif Awad Hassan, 239
Abu Ayn, Ziad, 239, 330n38
Abu Ghazala, Bassam, 28
Abu-Lughod, Lila, 277–78
Abu Nidal, 187
Agmon, David, 211
Agranat Commission, 182
Ahmad, Eqbal, 216–17, 326n55
Aiken, George D., 39
Air France, 2, 230, 237, 245, 250
Algeria, 2, 285n7; archives and, 230–31,
236–39, 245, 250–55, 277–78; race and,
157, 160
Alkalai, Yehuda, xii; antisemitism and,
114–16, 119; Kalischer and, 90–91, 116,
303n22; translation and, 86, 90–91
Allis, Oswald, T., 102
Alloush, Najji, 29
All-Palestine Government, 233
Alon, Ilana, 239, 240, 245
Alsberg, Paul Abraham, 208, 210, 223–24
AMaN, 208, 210
Ameri, Anan, xv; Jiryis and, 43; *Palestinian
Agricultural Industrial Development*,
1900–70, 34; work of PLO Research
Center and, 32–36, 292n33–36
*American Community in Lebanon and the
Palestine Problem, The: A Study in Chang-
ing Attitudes* (Facts and Figures series), 38
American Council for Judaism, 124–36;
Abid and, 126–27, 311n12–19; Anis
Sayegh and, 125, 129, 131, 133, 310n72,
313n44; antisemitism and, 132, 313n42;
anti-Zionism and, 123–36; Arab League
and, 125, 130, 133; Arab states and, 311n11;
Arafat and, 125; Berger and, 124, 127–35,
312nn25–27, 312n40, 313n42, 313n59, 314n61;

- American Council for Judaism (*continued*)
British Mandate and, 310n3; Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and, 134; Christians and, 123, 129, 313n45; Egypt and, 125, 314n61; Fayeze Sayegh and, 128–29; fedayeen and, 311n11; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 132, 313n59; international law and, 131–32; Palestine Arab Delegation and, 124; “Palestine question” and, 125–27; Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and, 125–26, 135; Pittsburgh Platform and, 123–30, 135, 310n2, 313n42; PLO Covenant and, 124–25, 132; Razzouk and, 129–31, 313n44, 313n47; Reform Judaism and, 123, 127, 135–36; refugees and, 124, 129; Shukairy and, 124–29, 311n4; terrorism and, 133; United Nations and, 124; World War II and, 127
- American Council for Judaism, The* (Razzouk), 95, 129–31
- American Friends of the Middle East (AFME), 134
- American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 63, 220, 299n88
- American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism (AJAZ), 128, 130–31
- American Jewish Congress, 61
- American Sociological Review*, 128
- American University of Beirut: Cairo Agreement and, 255; Fayeze Sayegh and, 16, 20; as “Guerrilla U,” 24; Lebanon and, 11, 16, 20, 24, 32, 38, 255, 287n28, 318n42; Political Science and Public Administration (PSPA) and, 16
- Amit, Gish, 245–46
- Amman, 11, 33, 81, 318n42
- AMShaT, 188
- ‘Anaz, Musa, xi, 89, 94
- Ansar prisons, 229, 239
- Anti-Defamation League, 299n88
- antisemitism: Abbas and, 276; Alkalai and, 114–16, 119; American Council for Judaism and, 132, 313n42; Anis Sayegh and, 106, 111–12; Beirut and, 106–10; Christians and, 107–8, 110, 121, 309n60; Damascus and, 108; defending Palestinians and, 111–13; Egypt and, 108–10, 307n11, 309n59; Fayeze Sayegh and, 307n26; global debate and, 228; immigration and, 115, 118; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 310n70; Iraq and, 107; Jerusalem and, 107, 116–17; Kalischer and, 116; motivations for, 107–9; murder and, 108, 115; Muslims and, 107, 121, 309n60; Nazis and, 121; Ottomans and, 120; Palestinian liberation and, 106–22; Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and, 122; and the Protocols, 107–9; racism and, 159, 168, 319n64; Razzouk on, 90, 103–22, 306n71, 307n17, 307n23, 308n39, 308n45, 310n63; Syria and, 108, 116; Talmud and, 107–21; *The Talmud and Zionism* and, 106, 113–20; violence and, 121; *The Zionist Idea* and, 114, 117–18
- Antonius, George, 74
- Anwar, al*, 49
- Anziska, Seth, 322n6
- Apartheid, 169, 319n56
- ‘Aql, Isma‘il, 53
- Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land* (Shipler), 330n26
- Arab Awakening, The* (Antonius), 74
- Arab Diplomatic Representation* (Faris), 29
- Arab Front, 45, 295n9
- Arab Higher Committee, 31, 233
- Arab League: American Council for Judaism and, 125, 130, 133; archives and, 233; European imperialism and, 69, 76, 80; information office of, 320n2; Jiryis and, 53, 297n49, 297n63; “knowing the enemy” and, 333n47; Nasser and, 11–12; need for PLO Research Center and, 4, 11–12, 17, 22
- Arab Liberation Army, 193, 233
- Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM), 10–11, 45, 69, 100
- Arab Oil* (al-Tariqi), 29
- Arab Resistance in Palestine, 1917–48, The* (Alloush), 29

- Arabs in Israel, The* (Jiryis), 29, 53–54, 297n49, 298n64
- Arab states: American Council for Judaism and, 311n11; entanglement and, 10; European imperialism and, 69, 75, 80, 85; gender equality and, 137, 139; Jiryis and, 51, 295n8; “knowing the enemy” and, 265, 269–71, 333n47; League of Arab States, 12; military of, 3; need for PLO Research Center and, 9–12, 17, 28–29, 39; Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and, 10, 87, 125, 226, 267; pan-Arabism and, 15, 68–69, 83, 302n56; partition and, 9, 12, 44, 47–48, 78, 84, 93, 172, 267–68; racism and, 163; Razzouk and, 308n29; Shukairy and, 12–14, 29, 69–71, 124–25, 300n13, 311n14; Tel Aviv and, 194; terrorism and, 171, 179
- “Arabs under Israeli Occupation, The” (Arab Women’s Information Committee), 40
- Arab Women’s Information Committee, 40, 293n61
- Arafat, Yasser: American Council for Judaism and, 125; Anis Sayegh and, 22, 43, 289n51; archives and, 235, 237, 251; European imperialism and, 69; Fayeze Sayegh and, 43; global debate and, 216, 221, 225; hatred of Jews by, 310n65; Jiryis and, 58, 60, 64, 69; “knowing the enemy” and, 256–57, 260; Mufti and, 310n65, 328n79; Nazis and, 310n65; need for PLO Research Center and, 10, 22, 37; as PLO chairman, 22, 58, 120, 125, 235, 237, 256–57, 311n11; religious discrimination and, 121; Segal and, 327n75; terrorism and, 216, 221, 321n35; translation and, 309n62
- archives: Algeria and, 230–31, 236–39, 245, 250–55, 277–78; American archivists, 222–24; Arab League and, 233; Arafat and, 235, 237, 251; “Captured Material” document and, 190; censorship and, 242, 297n42; colonialism and, 278; Cyprus and, 235–37, 251, 254–55; Donor #2300 and, 245–50; European imperialism and, 67; Fayeze Sayegh and, xiv, 288n29; France and, 230, 233, 237, 245, 250; Gaza Strip and, 237, 251, 255; global debate and, 198–225, 327n75, 328n79; Hashemites and, 242; Hatsav and, 240–43, 246; Hebrew University and, 239–40, 246; Holy Land and, 250; Husary on, 4–5; incriminating material in, 194–97; Islam and, 249; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 2, 190, 195, 208, 239, 243, 250, 323n31; Israel’s State, 222–24; Jiryis and, 231–38, 243, 245, 251; looting of, 5, 198–99, 210; microfilm and, 26, 193–95, 204, 223, 231–33, 237, 242–43, 254, 290n26, 307n17, 330n26; National Library of Israel and, 239–40, 245–51; need for PLO Research Center and, 23; not finding, 277–78; operational value of, 192–94; outraged archivists and, 202–4; *Palestinian Affairs* and, 230, 243, 251–53, 255, 278; Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and, 234–35; as PLO repository, 231–36; present location of, 236–38; prisoner exchange and, 229–55 (see also prisoner exchange); Ramallah and, 246, 249, 251–55; return of, 1–2, 229–55; Shiloah Institute, 223, 240–43, 245; Society of American Archivists, 222; as source material, 4–5; Steinberg and, 229, 239–41, 246, 330n42, 331n43; Tel Aviv and, 188–97; UNESCO and, 229, 324n11; University of Utah and, xiv, 287n28, 288n29; West Bank and, 237, 251, 255, 330n38; work of PLO research center and, 26
- Ard, al-: banning of, 46, 50–54, 296n34; Dallasheh and, 295n12, 296n27; Hebrew newspapers and, 295n8; Jiryis and, 45–60, 295n8, 295nn11–12, 295n17, 296n27, 296n34, 298n69; “Memorandum on the Arabs in Israel,” 47–48; Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and, 49; partition and, 296n27; platform of, 295n12; socialism and, 48, 50, 296n27; Supreme Court and, 46, 50–54

- Arendt, Hannah, 167
Argov, Shlomo, 187
‘Arif, ‘Abd al-Rahman, 139
‘Arif, ‘Arif al-, 31, 291n26
Arms of the Israeli Forces, The (Abdallah), 179–81
Aryanization of the Jewish State, The (Selzer), 164
Aryans, 30, 164
Ashkenazi Jews: Kalischer and, 116; Khazar conversion and, 305n66; “knowing the enemy” and, 264; racism and, 161, 164, 167, 169–70
Asifa, al-, 56
Associated Press, 36–37
Association for Israel Studies (AIS), 3
Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), 220
Auto-Emancipation (Pinsker), 30, 118
Avineri, Shlomo, 303n22
Avnery, Uri, 332n17
Azm, Sadik al-, xv, 108–9, 137–39, 141, 303n15, 314n2, 333n43
‘Azm, Sa‘id al-, 29
- B’nai Brith Hillel Foundation, 61
Ba‘th, 258, 285n1, 331n49
Babylon, 100–101, 108–9, 158–59
Badi, Joseph, 149–50
Baghdad, 11, 304n48
Bahnan, Fouad, 304n49
Balfour Declaration: Abid and, 74–75; Anis Sayegh and, 73–74; Antonius and, 74; British Museum and, 67; European imperialism and, xiii, 67–77, 80–85, 146, 268, 299n3, 300n10, 301nn29–30; Fayez Sayegh and, 71–74, 84–85; gender equality and, 146; Hussein-McMahon and, 72; legitimacy of, 68, 70, 74–77, 80, 83; the Other and, xiii; PLO covenants and, 70–71; pluralistic state and, 84–85; secularism and, 84–85; Shukairy and, 67, 70–73; Six-Day War and, 69; Sykes-Picot agreement and, 72
- Barakat, Halim, 32–33
Baransi, Salih, 52
Bar David, Yehoshu‘a, 41
Basdevant, Jules, 75
Bashan, Raphael, 223
Battle of Karameh, 69
Beauvoir, Simone de, 138
Begin, Menachem, 244
Beirut: Abbas and, 275–77; American Council for Judaism and, 126, 129; American University of Beirut, 11, 16, 20, 24, 32, 38, 255, 287n28, 318n42; antisemitism and, 106–10; Bahnan and, 304n49; East, 187; as educational center, 23, 289n57; European imperialism and, 71, 81, 84; Fifth of June Society and, 39, 129, 312n40; gender equality and, 151; global debate and, 198–99, 202–5, 209, 212–17, 223, 225, 324nn2–5, 326n50, 327n67, 328n79; Hamra, 25, 37, 188–89; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 15, 22–23, 54, 58, 255, 289n48; invasion of, 1–2, 182, 187–90, 198–99, 205, 231, 241, 331n56; Jerusalem and, xiii; Jiryis and, 43–44, 53–54, 56, 58, 60, 64–65, 289n48, 292n32, 297n62; “knowing the enemy” and, 257, 262; National Library of Israel and, 251; need for PLO Research Center and, 1–5, 11, 20, 22–25; prisoner exchange and, 230–31, 235–37, 241, 243, 251–55, 330n39, 330n42; racism and, 157; Ras Beirut, 25, 188, 290n65; Shukairy and, 16, 22–23, 126; Tel Aviv and, 186–91; terrorism and, 171, 181–82; translation and, 105; travel restrictions and, 285n2; violence and, 33–34, 215, 323n31; West, 1–2, 25, 182, 187–90, 198–99, 205, 212, 217, 231, 241, 324n2, 324n5, 330n39; work of PLO Research Center and, 26–27, 30–41
Beirut Arab University, 23
Beirut College for Women, 23
Ben-Gal, Avigdor, 211
Ben-Gurion, David, 1–2, 86, 91, 230, 305n66
Ben-Gurion Airport, 2, 230

- Ben-Itto, Hadassah, 200–201
Benvenisti, Meron, 215–16, 229
Ben-Yehuda, Eliezer, xii, 92, 117–18, 303n26
Ben-Zvi, Yizhak, 305n65, 318n33
Berdyczewski, Micha, xii
Berenson, Zvi, 51
Berger, Elmer: American Council for Judaism and, 124, 127–35, 312nn25–57, 312n40, 313n42, 313n59, 314n61; background of, 127–28; CIA and, 132; Columbus Platform and, 127; European imperialism and, 300n16; Fayeze Sayegh and, 128–29; global debate and, 328n81; “How Can the Arabs Explain Palestine to the West?” 129; “How Should Arabs Present Their Case to the American Public?” 129; *The Jewish Dilemma*, 128; *Judaism or Jewish Nationalism*, 128; *Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew*, 128–29, 133; *A Partisan History of Judaism*, 130; Razzouk and, 129–30; Shukairy and, 313n42; *Who Knows Better Must Say So*, 129; “Why I Am a Non-Zionist,” 127–28
Bergman, Ronen, 211–12
Bergmann, Hugo, 220
Bernadotte, Folke, 67
Bialik, Hayyim Nahman, xii, 55
Bible: Anis Sayegh and, 305n60; 1 Chronicles, 101; gender equality and, 142–43; Genesis, 101, 115; Meir and, 124–25; Old Testament, 40, 101–2; Shukairy and, 124–25
Bir Zeit, 254
Bishuti, Bassam: Deir Yassin and, 176; Kafr Qasim and, 176; political lessons and, 174–76; revenge and, 173–74; *The Role of the Zionist Terror*, 171–76, 320nn15–16; Sacher and, 176
Black Jews, 168
Black Panthers, 169–70, 319n64
Black September: Ameri and, 33; Hashemites and, 33; hijacking by, 36; Munich Olympics and, 36, 177; violence and, 33, 36, 54, 69, 77, 177, 195, 225, 259
Bloch, S. M., 307n8
Bodström, Lennart, 204–5
Boker, Ha, 295n8, 295n15
bombs: Abu Ayn and, 239; Anis Sayegh and, 36; cluster, 133; FLLF and, 211; Gemayel assassination and, 187; global debate and, 211–13, 221, 319; Jiryis on, 325n33; letter, 36, 293; Ozick and, 327; Shabeeb and, 254; Tel Aviv and, 53, 186–87, 211–13; thirtieth anniversary of 1983’s, 275
Borochoy, Dov Ber, xii
Boston Globe, 181, 321n35
Bourguiba, Habib, 27, 268
Breira, 61
Brenner, Joseph Hayyim, xii
Britain: aid from, 179; Argov and, 187; European imperialism and, 71–75, 79–82; immigration and, 250
British Mandate: American Council for Judaism and, 310n3; Christians and, 302n9; European imperialism and, 67–70, 73–76, 84; gender equality and, 138–39, 147, 150; global debate and, 324n5, 328n79; Jiryis and, 43, 60; “knowing the enemy” and, 256, 264; need for PLO Research Center and, 9, 15; prisoner exchange and, 233–34; race and, 158; Tel Aviv and, 194; terrorism and, 172, 175–76, 178
British Museum, 67
British White Papers, 84, 300n20
Brit Shalom, 93
Brunner, Benny, 245
Buber, Martin, 220
Bulliet, Richard, 216–17
Burke, Edmund, III, 217

Cairo Agreement, 24, 255, 290n62
Cairo University, 33, 317n4
“Captured Material from the Archives of the PLO in Beirut: Preliminary Inventory and Characterization” (secret document), 190
CBS News, 81

- censorship, 294n67; archives and, 242; forbidden publications and, 41–42; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 298n69
- “Center for Palestinian Studies, The” (Granot), 224
- Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), 127
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA): AFME and, 314n65; American Council for Judaism and, 134; Berger and, 132; Congress for Cultural Freedom and, 288n41; global debate and, 208, 211, 226; “knowing the enemy” and, 272
- Centre d’Études Maghrébines en Algérie, 238
- Chamberlin, Paul Thomas, 285n7
- chosen race, 29–30
- Christians: American Council for Judaism and, 123, 129, 313n45; Anis Sayegh on, 97–100, 306n84; antisemitism and, 107–8, 110, 121, 309n60; British Mandate and, 302n9; challenging Zionism and, 103–5; European imperialism and, 84; Evangelical, 81, 105, 305n60, 306n84; global debate and, 198, 211; Gospels and, 102–3; “knowing the enemy” and, 270; Lebanese, 2, 32, 35, 129, 186–87; need for PLO Research Center and, 2, 11, 21, 289n59; Palestinian, 11, 21, 88, 98–99, 177, 289n59, 302n9, 304n53; Parkes on, 103–5; PLO Research Center and, 97–100; Presbyterians, 16, 97–98, 102, 304n49; racism and, 164, 318n31; Tel Aviv and, 186–87; terrorism and, 177; translation and, 86–90, 97–105, 302n9, 304n53, 304n55, 305n63, 305n65, 305n69, 306n73, 306n84; work of PLO research center and, 32–35, 40
- Christian Science Monitor*, 198
- “Clear Ideas before an Ambiguous Stage” (Khalaf), 258
- Cohen, Haim, 168
- Cohen, Hillel, xiv; archives and, 246, 249; racism and, 169–70, 318n47, 319n50, 319n66, 319n68
- Cohen, Naomi Wiener, 30
- Cohen, Shalom, 319n65
- Colombani Street, 1, 24, 26, 290n1, 290n64
- colonialism: archives and, 278; European imperialism and, 67, 71–73, 81, 84; gender equality and, 141; Jiryis and, 57; need for PLO Research Center and, 3, 5, 11–16, 27; racism and, 160; Razzouk and, 92, 109, 121; terrorism and, 177
- Columbus Platform, 127
- Communist Party: Arab Front and, 45; Darwish and, 43; Iraqi, 34; Israeli, 52; Jiryis and, 45, 53; “knowing the enemy” and, 272; Lebanese, 34; Shukairy and, 13
- Communist Party of Israel (Maki), 43, 295n14
- Congress for Cultural Freedom, 288n41
- Consonni, Manuela, xiv
- Continental Congress, 177
- Coser, Lewis, 289n50
- Counter-Terrorism Act, 170
- Covenant of Peace, 92–95
- Crime and No Punishment: Zionist-Israeli Terrorism 1939–1972* (Hadawi), 177–78, 234
- Criminal Investigation Department (CID), 233
- Cyprus, 235–37, 251, 254–55
- Dagan, Meir, 211
- Dajani, Burhan, 15, 18, 287n18
- Dallasheh, Leena, 295n12, 296n27
- Damascus, 11; Abbas and, 275; Alkalai and, 90; Ameri and, 32; American Embassy in, 64; antisemitism and, 108; Qahwaji and, 55; racism and, 163, 317n4; Shabeeb and, 332n66
- Damon prison, 53–54
- Dan, Uri, 244
- Darwish, Mahmoud: background of, 43, 294n2; *Diary of Normal Sadness*, 30; Jiryis and, 21, 44, 55, 58, 261–62, 297n62; “knowing the enemy” and, 261–62; *Palestinian Affairs* and, 43; publications of, 30–31, 294n67; racism and, 170; work of PLO research center and, 21, 30–33

- Davar*, 46, 55
David and Goliath, in Nine Easy Lessons (Shehadeh), 30
David Ben-Gurion (PLO Research Center), 1
Davidic Messiah, 90
Dayah, Jan, 243
Dayan Center, 240–45, 331n53
Deborah, 143
“Declaration on Taking Arms,” 177
Defining Neighbors: Religion, Race, and Early Zionist-Arab Encounter (Gribetz), xii, xiv
Deir Yassin, 173, 176
democracy, 84–85, 128, 272
Dialogue Committee, 170
Diary of Normal Sadness (Darwish), 30
Diaspora, 101, 116, 136, 145, 226
Di-Capua, Yoav, 16
Dictionary of the Bible, 98
Dinitz, Simcha, 62–63
Discrimination against the Eastern Jews in Israel (Hilda Sayegh), 1, 164–65
Divon, Shmuel, 210
“Do Jews Have a ‘Divine Right’ to Palestine?” (Fayez Sayegh), 29, 100–103
Dome of the Rock, 12
Donor #2300, 245–50
Do You Know? 20 Basic Facts about the Palestine Problem (Anonymous), 27
Druze, 35, 211

East Bank, 23
Edelstein, Herman, 61
Egypt: American Council for Judaism and, 125, 314n61; antisemitism and, 108–10, 307n11, 309n59; Cairo, 11, 23–24, 33, 46, 55, 255, 257, 260, 266, 290n62, 317n4; European imperialism and, 69, 72, 80, 302n56; Gaza and, 10; Hagar and, 101; Jiryis and, 46, 69, 295n15; “knowing the enemy” and, 257, 260, 265, 271; need for PLO Research Center and, 9, 11–12, 289n61; prisoner exchange and, 237, 241, 244, 331n49; racism and, 156–60; Sadat and, 185, 257–58, 260, 271, 314n61; Tel Aviv and, 185–89, 194; translation and, 101; work of PLO Research Center and, 33
Eitan, Rafael, 211
Elbaz, Yogeve, 328n81
Elmessiri, Abdelwahab, 59–60, 298n78
Elon, Amos, 212
embassies, 39–40, 63–64, 128, 255
Engerman, David, 272, 333n47
entanglement, 10
Eshkol, Levi, 52, 297n43
Ettinger, Shmuel, 88
European imperialism, 67–85; Abid and, 74–75, 80, 301n27–29; Anis Sayegh and, 73–74, 77–79, 83, 301n34; Arab League and, 69, 76, 80; Arafat and, 69; Balfour Declaration and, xiii, 67–77, 80–85, 146, 268, 299n3, 300n10, 301nn29–30; Berger and, 300n16; British Mandate and, 67–70, 73–76, 84; Christians and, 84; colonialism and, 67, 71–73, 81, 84; 302n56; Fayez Sayegh and, 71–74, 84–85; *Handbook to the Palestine Question* and, 74; Hashemites and, 68–69, 75–76, 300n9, 301n31, 301n41; Hussein-McMahon correspondence and, 68, 72–83; immigration and, 73, 79, 300n20; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 300n18, 301n33; international law and, 68, 75, 80–84; Jordan and, 69, 76–85, 300n7, 300n9, 301n31, 301n34, 301n47; military and, 69, 76; Muslims and, 84; Ottomans and, 72, 74–77, 81, 83; Palestine National Council (PNC) and, 69; “Palestine question” and, 74, 77, 79, 81; Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and, 69; Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and, 69, 71; partition and, 78, 84; PLO Covenant and, 67, 70–71, 76–77; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and, 81; refugees and, 67, 71, 73, 81; Shukairy and, 67–73; socialism and, 79; Steinberg and, 302n56; United Nations and, 67; violence and, 69, 300n9; West Bank and, 68–69, 76–77, 80, 300n9

- Evron, Ephraim, 63
- Examination of Documents on Which the State of Israel Is Based, An*, (PLO Research Center), 23
- Exiled and the Redeemed, The* (Ben-Zvi), 318
- Ex Libris: Chronicles of Theft, Preservation, and Appropriating at the Jewish National Library* (Amit), 245–46
- Experiences* (Toynbee), 168–69
- Eyal, Gil, 241, 331n49
- Facts and Figures series, 27, 38–39, 179, 290n10
- Faris, Hani Ahmad, 29
- Fassuta, 22–25, 54, 219, 251
- Fatah, Al, 24, 56, 58, 88, 214, 216, 286n3, 321n35
- Feda'i War in Palestine in Light of the Experiences of the Peoples in Guerrilla Fighting, The* (al-Sha'ir), 29
- fedayeen: American Council for Judaism and, 311n11; Arab support of, 11; Fatah and, 56; female, 148; global debate and, 208, 227; “knowing the enemy” and, 258
- Fifth of June Society, 39, 129, 293n57, 312n40
- First Zionist Congress, 127
- Fischer, Nina, 287n26
- Flapan, Simha, 88
- forbidden readers, 40–42
- Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 221
- Foreign Ministry, 201–2
- Fox, George, 218
- France: archives and, 230, 233, 237, 245, 250; Egypt and, 9; European imperialism and, 9, 72, 82; prisoner exchange and, 2, 230; terrorism and, 178–81
- freedom fighters, 2
- Friedman, Thomas, 213
- Friends of Jerusalem, 129, 312nn40–41
- Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners (FLLF), 211, 213
- Fulbright, J. W., 39
- Fulbright Scholar Program, xiv
- Fundamental Laws of the State of Israel* (Badi), 149
- Furst, Zev, 299n88
- Gal, Haim, 242
- Galilee, 281; global debate and, 206, 215, 219, 228; Jiryis and, 44, 56, 295n11; Tel Aviv and, 187, 194–97, 322nn8–9
- Gaza Strip: annexation of, 9, 322n9; archives and, 237, 251, 255; divine right to, 100; Egypt and, 10; European imperialism and, 68; global debate and, 201, 215, 327n70; “knowing the enemy” and, 258–60, 263, 332n6; need for PLO Research Center and, 9–10, 13, 19; Tel Aviv and, 191, 196; terrorism and, 319n68
- Gemayel, Bashir, 187
- gender equality, 137–56; Anis Sayegh and, 140, 155; Arab states and, 137, 139; al-Azm and, 137–39, 141; Balfour Declaration and, 146; Beirut College for Women, 23; Bible and, 142–43; British Mandate and, 138–39, 147, 150; colonialism and, 141; Deborah and, 143; fedayeen and, 148; Herzl and, 143–44, 147; immigration and, 145–47, 152, 154–55; independence and, 144–46; Islam and, 139, 152; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 147; Israeli law and, 149–52; Judaism and, 142, 151, 154; Knesset and, 150–53; “knowing the enemy” and, 140–41, 154–55; Maimon and, 150–52, 156; Marriage and Divorce Law and, 150; military and, 141, 144–49, 314n3; Miriam and, 143; Muslims and, 152; Ottomans and, 147; Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and, 138; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and, 139; Qa' war and, 138–56, 316n41, 316n48, 316n62; Sabra and, 148; service of the nation and, 144–46; socialism and, 137, 314n2; terrorism and, 140, 316n41; Torah and, 140, 142, 149–50; United Nations and, 148; violence and, 146–47; Women's Equal Rights Law and, 152; Women's Liberation

- movement and, 315n26; Zionist idea and, 139–41, 144
- Gendzier, Irene, 216–17
- Genealogy of Evil, A: Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad* (Patterson), 121
- Genesis, 101, 115
- Georgetown University, 16
- Ghanem, Salah, xv, 253
- ghettos, 91, 143, 315n25
- Gilead, Amos, xvi, 230
- Ginzburg, Asher, xii
- Givat Ram, 45
- Global Offensive, The* (Chamberlin), 285n7
- Glubb, Godfrey, 81
- Glubb, John Bagot, 81
- Glubb Pasha, 81–83
- Goitein, S. D., 30
- Golan, Tamar, 200
- Golan Heights: divine right to, 100; global debate and, 206, 219, 228; “knowing the enemy” and, 263; Tel Aviv and, 195
- Golani Brigade, 188, 243
- Goodbye War, Goodbye Peace* (Darwish), 30–31
- Gordon, Joseph, 318n29
- Goren, David, 61
- Gospels, 102–3
- Granot, Oded: “The Center for Palestinian Studies,” 224; global debate and, 205–9, 211, 214–15, 224–27; Ozick and, 226
- Great Book Robbery, The* (Brunner), 245
- Greater Israel* (Razzouk), 95, 303n24
- Greece, 54
- Green Line, 49
- Gross, Avishag, 328n81
- guerrilla groups: AUB and, 24; Palestinian, 2, 24, 29, 35, 69, 176, 256, 285n7, 311n11; terrorism and, 176
- “Guerrilla U,” 24
- Guillaume, Alfred, 101
- ha-Aretz*, 212, 230
- Habash, George, 11, 24, 190, 258
- Habibi, Amira, 29
- Hadawi, Sami, 39–40, 177–78, 234, 305n63, 310n70
- Haddad, Saad, 186
- Haddad, Salma, 234
- Haddad, Wadie, 11, 24
- Haganah, 147, 176
- Haganah, Etzel, Lehi: Relations between the Zionist Armed Organizations, 1936–1948* (PLO Research Center), 41
- Hagar, 101
- Haifa: global debate and, 214, 219; Jiryis and, 46, 52–57, 295n8, 296n34, 298n69; Kasmieh and, 317n4
- Haigazian College, 23
- Hamid, Rashid, 234
- Hammouda, Yahya, 311n11
- Hamra, 25, 37, 188–89
- Handbook for the Palestinian Fighter* (PLO Research Center): global debate and 206–7, 224, 228, 325n23; Tel Aviv and, 194–97, 323n45
- Handbook to the Palestine Question* (al-Abid): American Council for Judaism and, 125–27; European imperialism and, 74, 80–81; racism and, 162; Razzouk and, 89; work of PLO Research Center and, 39–40
- Harkabi, Yehoshafat, 88, 189, 286n14, 287n16, 332n18
- Hashemite Broadcasting Service, 81
- Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 13, 85; archives and, 242; Black September and, 33; European imperialism and, 68–69, 75–76, 300n9, 301n31, 301n41; Hussein-McMahon correspondence and, 74–80; “knowing the enemy” and, 259–60; legitimacy of, 74–80
- Hashemites and the Palestine Question, The* (Anis Sayegh), 77
- Hashim, ‘Aqil, 29
- Hasidism, 57–60
- Hassan, Bilal al-, 31, 34
- Hassan, Hani al-, 60
- Hassan, Khaled al-, 60

- Hassani, Jamil al-, 40
- Hatsav: archives and, 240–43, 246; global debate and, 207, 212; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 190, 195, 207, 212, 240–43, 246, 323n32; Tel Aviv and, 190, 195, 323n32
- Hebrew Bible, 100–101, 120
- Hebrew Union College (HUC), 127, 312n27
- Hebrew University: archives and, 239–40, 246; global debate and, 219, 222, 328n81; Jiryis and, 45–46, 49, 54, 56, 292n32; Razzouk and, 93; Tel Aviv and, 189, 322n25
- Helou, Angelina, 29, 35
- Herst, Paul, 182
- Hertzberg, Arthur, xi–xii: military and, 90; on nationalism, 90–91; Razzouk and, 86–96, 114–17, 303n26; Russia and, 92, 303n26; translation and, 86–96; *The Zionist Idea* and, xi–xii, 1, 86, 89, 92, 94, 96, 117–18, 303n26, 308n37
- Herut party, 28, 65, 94, 171
- Herzl, Theodore, 30; gender equality and, 143–44, 147; *The Jewish State*, 96, 168; Talmud and, 118–19; translation and, 89, 91
- Herzog, Michael, xvi, 288n38
- Herzog, Yaakov, 49
- Hess, Moses, xii, 30, 116–17, 308n45
- hijacking, 2, 24, 36
- Hilal, Jamil, 34
- Hillel, 61, 118, 309n50
- Himadeh, Said, 18
- Himmah region, 13
- Hindi, Hani al-, 11
- Histadrut, 29, 46, 65, 156
- Histadrut, The* (PLO Research Center), 1, 294n69
- Holladay, William, 40
- Holocaust, 112, 121, 128, 203, 276, 310n64
- Hommel, Claudia, 203
- Hourani, Faysal, 31, 212
- Hout, Shafiq al-, 35–36, 43, 293n51, 324n5, 329n4, 330n39
- Howard, Walter W., 181–82
- “How Can the Arabs Explain Palestine to the West?” (Berger), 129
- “How Should Arabs Present Their Case to the American Public?” (Berger), 129
- Hubani, Majhad Ahmad Jabar al-, 239
- Hudson, Michael, 289n47
- humanism, 84–85, 96–97, 133, 201
- Husary, Jacqueline Bader, 4–5
- Hussaini, Hatem, 222
- Hussein, Abdullah, 77–79, 83
- Hussein, Faisal, 77
- Hussein, King of Jordan, 12, 258–60
- Hussein, Rashid, 55
- Hussein, Sharif, 74–83
- Husseini, Hajj Amin al-, 31, 233, 328n79
- Hussein-McMahon correspondence: Anis Sayegh and, 74, 77–80; European imperialism and, 68, 72–83; Hashemite legitimacy and, 74–80, 83; Rothschild and, 80; Yahia and, 81–83
- I Chronicles, 101
- immigration: antisemitism and, 115, 118; Britain and, 250; European imperialism and, 73, 79, 300n20; gender equality and, 145–47, 152, 154–55; Jiryis and, 59; “knowing the enemy” and, 262–65; Muslim opposition to, xii; prisoner exchange and, 250; racism and, 156–67; Tel Aviv and, 196; terrorism and, 172; translation and, 93–94, 98; United States and, 164
- Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS): Abbas and, 275; American Council for Judaism and, 132, 313n59; antisemitism and, 310n70; archives and, 230; Beirut and, 15, 22–23, 54, 58, 255, 289n48; Dajani and, 15; European imperialism and, 300n18, 301n33; founding of, 15; global debate and, 206–7, 214, 217, 224–25, 228, 324n4, 325n50, 326n53; Hadawi and, 177; Jiryis and, 54, 58; Khalidi and, 15, 18–19, 22–23, 54, 58, 287n27, 288n46, 289n49, 324n4; “knowing the enemy” and, 262, 266; need for PLO Research Center and, 15,

- 18–23, 35, 39–40, 287n27, 288n37, 288n46, 289nn48–49, 289n56, 290n64, 293n61; PLO Research Center redundancy and, 21–22; Tel Aviv and, 193, 323n45; terrorism and, 177; Zurayk and, 15
- Interaction of Political, Military, and Economics Factors in Israel* (Helou), 29
- international law: American Council for Judaism and, 131–32; European imperialism and, 68, 75, 80–84; global debate and, 204; Jiryis and, 62; work of PLO research center and, 37, 39
- Iran, 82, 185
- Iraq: antisemitism and, 107; Ba‘thists and, 285n1; European imperialism and, 76, 78; gender equality and, 139; Jawad and, 34; Jiryis and, 49; prisoner exchange and, 331n49; racism and, 156–58
- Iraqi Communist Party, 34
- Irgun, 94, 174, 176, 185, 244
- Isaac, 101
- Ishmael, 101
- Islam: archives and, 249; European imperialism and, 81; gender equality and, 139, 152; need for PLO Research Center and, 10, 30; race and, 159, 162; Razzouk and, 87–88, 105, 110, 121; Tel Aviv and, 185. *See also* Muslims
- Islamic Jihad, 87, 121
- Israel and Human Rights* (al-Abid), 288n37
- Israel and Tourism* (Sa‘d), 30
- Israel and Unemployment* (Sa‘d), 30
- Israel and World Jewry* (Anis Sayegh), 1, 131–32
- Israel Defense Forces (IDF): archives and, 2, 239, 243, 250, 323n31; censorship and, 298n69; exploitation of women by, 147–49; gender equality and, 147; global debate and, 202, 206, 208–11, 214, 219, 223, 225, 325n27; Golani Brigade of, 188, 243; Hatsav and, 190, 195, 207, 212, 240–43, 246, 323n32; Operation Hiram, 44; Operation Litani, 186; Operation Peace for Galilee, 187; prisoner exchange and, 239, 243, 250; Qa‘war on, 147–49; Tel Aviv and, 188, 190, 195, 197, 323n31, 325n27; terrorism and, 176; violence and, 176; von Horn on, 148
- Israeli, Haim, 208, 223, 224
- Israeli Infiltration in Asia: India and Israel* (Abdul-Rahman), 29
- Israel in the International Arena* (Kadi), 28
- Israel in Western Europe* (Hashim and al-‘Azam), 29
- Israeli Racism* (Anonymous), 165
- Israel without Zionists* (Avnery), 332n17
- “Is the Old Testament Zionist?” (Holladay), 40
- Ittihad, al-*, 52–53
- Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 92–95, 303n31
- Jacob, 101, 143
- Jacob, Benno, 142–43, 152
- Jacobson, Abigail, xiv
- Jannaway, Frank George, 246
- Javits, Jacob K., 39
- Jawad, Said, 34
- Jenkins, Loren, 324nn2–3
- Jerusalem: American Council for Judaism and, 129; annexation of, 12, 69, 76; antisemitism and, 107, 116–17; Beirut and, xiii; Dome of the Rock and, 12; East, 53, 69; European imperialism and, 68–69, 76, 81; Friends of Jerusalem, 129, 312nn40–41; global debate and, 215, 219, 222, 327n67, 328n79, 328n81; Jiryis and, 45–46, 49, 53–54; need for PLO Research Center and, 12, 15–16; Old City of, 12, 53, 68; prisoner exchange and, 231, 233, 245–46, 251–55; race and, 158; Tel Aviv and, 189; terrorism and, 173, 177; translation and, 93–94, 100; West, 12; work of PLO Research Center and, 30–32, 291n26
- Jews and Arabs* (Goitein), 30
- Jewish Dilemma, The* (Berger), 128
- Jewish Encyclopedia*, 313n47
- Jewish Legion, 146
- Jewish State, The* (Herzl), 96, 168

- Jewish Woman in Occupied Palestine, The* (Qa'war), 138–55, 140
- “Jewish Woman in the Bible, The” (Jacob), 142, 152
- Jews of the Arab Countries* (Abdo and Kas-mieh), 157–61
- Jiryis, Fida, 56
- Jiryis, Hanneh Shahin, 35, 214, 219
- Jiryis, Sabri, xv; Abbas and, 276; Ameri and, 43; Anis Sayegh and, 58; Arab League and, 53, 297n49, 297n63; *The Arabs in Israel*, 29, 53–54, 297n49, 298n64; Arab states and, 51, 295n8; Arafat and, 58, 60, 64, 69; archives and, 231–38, 243, 245, 251; al-Ard and, 45–52, 54–60, 295n8, 295nn11–12, 295n17, 296n27, 296n34, 298n69; arrests of, 50, 52; background of, 44–45; Beirut and, 43–44, 53–54, 56, 58, 60, 64–65, 289n48, 292n32, 297n62; bombs and, 325n33; British Mandate and, 43, 60; colonialism and, 57; Communist Party and, 45, 53, 55; Covenant and, 50; Darwish and, 21, 44, 55, 58, 261–62, 297n62; Egypt and, 46, 69, 295n15; Elmessiri and, 59–60; Fassuta and, 22–25, 54, 219, 251; Galilee and, 44, 56, 295n11; global debate and, 199, 209, 211, 214–26; Haifa and, 46, 52–57, 295n8, 296n34, 298n69; Hebrew University and, 45–46, 49, 54, 56, 292n32; Hussein and, 55; immigration and, 59; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 54, 58; international law and, 62; Iraq and, 49; Jerusalem and, 45–46, 49, 53–54; Jordan and, 49–50, 53; Kalischer and, 57; Khalidi and, 54, 58; Knesset and, 46, 56, 271; “knowing the enemy” and, 261–73; Kuwait and, 54; law degree of, 46–47, 60; Lebanon and, 43, 54–56; military and, 44–58; need for PLO Research Center and, 21–22; Ozick and, 216–21, 226, 327n74; Palestine National Council (PNC) and, 55; *Palestinian Affairs* and, 58–60; Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and, 55, 58, 60; parti-tion and, 44, 47–48; refugees and, 43, 45, 50, 295n8; Russia and, 56; Said and, 226; State of Israel and, 43–44, 50–52, 297n45; Sudan passport of, 60, 299n86; Supreme Court and, 46, 50–54, 295n18, 297n45; Syria and, 50; Tel Aviv and, 191–92; Terra Santa and, 44–45; terrorism and, 54–55, 298n64; United Nations and, 52; violence and, 53; visa of, 63–64; Washington, DC, and, 60–64; work of PLO research center and, 58–64; Zionism expertise from de-tention, 56–58; Zionist idea and, 57, 59
- Jordan: American Council for Judaism and, 125; antisemitism and, 308n29; Battle of Karameh and, 69; Black September and, 33, 36, 54, 69, 77, 177, 195, 225, 259; European imperialism and, 69, 76–85, 300n7, 300n9, 301n31, 301n34, 301n47; global debate and, 225, 241–42; Green Line and, 49; Hashemite Kingdom of, 13 (*see also* Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan); Jiryis and, 49–50, 53; King Hussein and, 12, 258–60; “knowing the enemy” and, 258–60; need for PLO Research Center and, 9–13, 16, 23, 289n61; prisoner ex-change and, 331n49; Tel Aviv and, 185, 191–96; terrorism and, 318n42; transla-tion and, 89, 94–95; West Bank and, 9, 12–13, 23, 69, 76–77, 80, 196, 258–60, 300n9, 308n29, 319n56; work of PLO Research Center and, 31–33, 294n70
- Josephite Messiah, 90
- Journal of Palestine Studies*, 39, 191, 206–7, 214, 224, 266
- Judaism: American Council for Judaism and, 123 (*see also* American Council for Judaism); antisemitism and, 106, 110–13, 119–22; Arabic translation of Zionism and, 86–105; European imperialism and, 70; gender equality and, 142, 151, 154; global debate and, 220, 227; Jiryis and, 57; “knowing the enemy” and, 264; national-ism and, 87, 95, 97, 102–6, 122–23, 128, 131, 135; race and, 165–66, 168; Reform, 30

- (see also Reform Judaism); Tel Aviv and, 193; Torah and, 107, 113–14, 140, 142, 149–50; work of PLO research center and, 1–5, 14, 30
- “Judaism and Zionism: A Christian View” (Parkes), 103–5
- Judaism or Jewish Nationalism: The Alternative to Zionism* (Berger), 128
- Jumblatt, Kamal, 35
- Kadi, Leila Salim, 28–29, 35
- Kafir Qasim, 176, 321n23
- Kahan Commission, 213
- Kalischer, Zvi Hirsch, xii; Alkalai and, 90–91, 116, 303n22; antisemitism and, 116; Jiryis and, 57; translation and, 90–91
- Kanafani, Ghassan, 29, 36
- Kasmieh, Khairieh, 35, 157–61, 233, 317n5
- Kassir, Samir, 24
- Kayali, Abd al-Wahab al-, 28
- Ketelaar, Eric, 210
- Ketubbot, 118
- Keturah, 101
- Khalaf, Salah (Abu Iyad), 60, 258–61, 332n5
- Khaled, Leila, 24
- Khalidi, Husayn Fakhri al-, 233
- Khalidi, Rashid, 302n56, 322n9
- Khalidi, Walid, xv; background of, 15; Fayez Sayegh and, 18, 225, 287n27; global debate and, 225; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 15, 18–19, 22–23, 54, 58, 287n27, 288n46, 289n49, 324n4; Jiryis and, 54, 58; “knowing the enemy” and, 333n43; need for PLO Research Center and, 15–19, 22–23; PSPA department and, 16; West Bank and, 322n9
- Khalidi, Youssef Zia al-, 309n60
- Khalili, Ghazi al-, 139, 315n12
- Khoury, Elias, 31, 34
- Kibbutz, The* (PLO Research Center), 1, 37
- Kibbutz from the Inside, The: A Political and Administrative Study* (al-Abed), 89
- Kimche, David, 202
- Kissinger, Henry, 63
- Knesset, 334n5; gender equality and, 150–53; Jiryis and, 46, 56; “knowing the enemy” and, 271; Tel Aviv and, 185
- “knowing the enemy,” 256–77; Arab states and, 265, 269–71, 333n47; Arafat and, 256–57, 260; Ashkenazi Jews and, 264; Balfour Declaration and, 268; British Mandate and, 256, 264; Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and, 272; Christians and, 270; Communist Party and, 272; Darwish and, 261–62; effects of, 256–74; Fayez Sayegh and, 17; fedayeen and, 258; Gaza Strip and, 258–60, 263, 332n6; gender equality and, 140–41, 154–55; Hashemites and, 259–60; immigration and, 262–65; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 262, 266; Israel’s effort in, 154–55; Jiryis and, 261–73; Judaism and, 264; Khalidi and, 333n43; military and, 259, 272; moderating impulse of, 272–73; Muslims and, 270; Nazis and, 264; need for PLO Research Center and, 3, 17, 30, 88, 140–41, 154–55, 262, 275, 277; Palestine National Council (PNC) and, 257, 266–71; *Palestinian Affairs* journal and, 258–59; Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and, 256–59; Palestinian National Movement (PNM) and, 258, 267; partition and, 256–57, 260, 267–69; PLO Covenant and, 256–57, 268; political compromise and, 256–61; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and, 257–58; pragmatism and, 262–66; Qa’war and, 139–41, 154–55; refugees and, 270; Resolution 242 and, 260; role of, 3, 17, 30, 88, 140–41, 154–55, 262, 275, 277; Sovietology and, 272–73; Steinberg and, 258, 261; sympathy and, 262–66; Ten Points Program and, 49, 256–61, 267, 333n27; translation and, 88 (see also translation); United Nations and, 258; violence and, 256; West Bank and, 258–60, 263, 332n6, 332n18
- Kombargi, Shafiq, 129, 312n40

- Kook, Abraham Isaac, xii
- Kuwait: embassy of, 39–40; funding by, 54; global debate and, 212, 214; Jiryis and, 54; Muslim Brotherhood and, 10
- Kuwait Ministry of Guidance and Information, 23
- Kuwait News Agency, 212
- Kuwait University, 290n13
- Lambert-Finkler, Anne-Marie, 210–11
- Landau, J. M., 307n18
- Landau, Moshe, 51
- Lapid, Ephraim, 323n32
- League of Arab States, 12
- League of Nations, 70, 75–76, 84
- Lebanese Academy of the Fine Arts, 23
- Lebanese American University, 23
- Lebanese Christians, 2, 32, 35, 129, 186–87
- Lebanese Communist Party, 34
- Lebanon: American Council for Judaism and, 133; Americans living in, 38–39; American University of Beirut and, 11, 16, 20, 24, 32, 38, 255, 287n28, 318n42; Ansar prisons and, 229, 239; Beirut, 1 (*see also* Beirut); Cairo Agreement and, 24, 255, 290n62; as confrontation state, 24; European imperialism and, 69, 74; expulsion from, 24; Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners, 211, 213; gender equality and, 151; global debate and, 199, 201, 205, 210–15, 220–21, 224–27, 324n2, 325n33, 326n50, 327n67; Jiryis and, 43, 54–56; “knowing the enemy” and, 262; need for PLO Research Center and, 9, 11, 20–24, 289n47, 289nn58–59; prisoner exchange and, 231, 236–37, 239, 244; racism and, 156–57; Razzouk and, 89, 98–99, 106–7; Tel Aviv and, 185–88, 191; terrorism and, 55, 133, 182, 187, 205, 211, 215, 227, 231, 322n8; war in, 185–88; work of PLO Research Center and, 32–38, 41
- Leo Baeck Institute, 203
- Levant, xii, 28, 68, 73
- Levi-Korem, Yaniv, xiv, 247–49
- Levin, Geoffrey, xiv–xv
- Libya, 157, 181
- Likud government, 186–87
- Looted and Hidden* (Sela), 5
- looting, 5, 198–99, 210
- Lutsky, Vladimir, 160, 318n29
- Lydda, 11, 292n40
- Ma‘ariv*, 54–55, 200, 205, 224
- Magnes, Judah, xii, 92–94, 220
- Maimon, Ada, 150–52, 156
- Mallison, William Thomas, 129
- Mandel, Karnit, 5
- Mandes, Hani, 34
- Mansour, Camille, 332n17
- Mapai party, 28, 65, 251, 252, 295n14
- Mapai: The Ruling Party in Israel* (PLO Research Center), 1, 37
- Mapam* (PLO Research Center), 1
- Maps of Transportation Roads in Occupied Palestine* (PLO Research Center), 206–8, 224
- Marciano, Sa‘adya, 170
- Margolin, Olya, 61
- Maronites, 187
- martyrdom, 98, 254, 275, 291n26
- Marx, Karl, 314n2
- massacres: Deir Yassin, 176; global debate and, 199–201, 205, 213, 221; Kafr Qasim, 176; need for PLO Research Center and, 2; racism and, 162; Tel Aviv and, 188, 322n12; terrorism and, 173, 176, 178, 321n23
- Massad, Joseph, 170
- Mattar, Philip, xv, 222, 328n79
- Meir, Golda, 124–25, 311n10
- Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew* (Berger), 128–29, 133
- “Memorandum on the Arabs in Israel,” 47–48
- Menuhin, Moshe, 129
- Middle East Librarians Association (MELA), 218
- military: American Council for Judaism and, 130; Arab states and, 3; Al-Ard and,

- 295n11; colonial archives and, 5;
European imperialism and, 69, 76; gen-
der equality and, 141, 144–49, 314n3;
global debate and, 202, 208–11, 215–21,
224, 227; guerrilla, 2, 24, 29, 35, 69, 176,
185, 256, 285n7, 311n11; Harkabi and,
286n14; Hertzberg and, 90; intelligence
sector of, 189, 202, 208–9, 224, 227, 239,
286n15, 325n28, 329n5; Israel's superior, 3;
Jiryis and, 44–58; “knowing the enemy”
and, 259, 272; need for PLO Research
Center and, 14, 23; Palestine National
Council and, 14; prisoner exchange and,
239–40, 243, 329n5, 331n53; racism and,
161; Razzouk and, 94; rockets and, 37, 43,
186, 211, 213; rule by, 29, 46, 48–49, 53, 56,
295n11, 296n21; Steinberg on, 322n27; Tel
Aviv and, 185–89, 194, 196–97; terrorism
and, 171–74, 179–81, 320n15; women and,
144–47; work of PLO Research Center
and, 29, 36–37, 41–42
- Milton, Sybil, 203
- Mioshi, Masao, 217
- Miriam, 143
- Mishmar*, ‘al ha-, 53
- Mivtsa ‘Gome* (Dan), 244
- Mizrahim, 161, 169–70, 318n47, 319n64,
320n69
- Mohilever, Samuel, xii
- Monetary Policy in Israel* (Shibl), 30
- Morocco, 157, 264, 315n25
- Moseley, Eva, 203
- Moses, 143
- Moshav, The: The Cooperative Village in Israel*
(al-Abid), 1, 30
- Mostofi, Khosrow, 287n28
- Mount of Olives, 12
- Muhsin, Zuhayr, 258
- Munich Olympics, 36, 176–78
- Murad, Nazih, 225
- Muslim Brotherhood, 10–11, 87
- Muslims: antisemitism and, 107, 121,
309n60; European imperialism and, 84;
gender equality and, 152; global debate
and, 211; good will and, xiii; immigration
and, xii; “knowing the enemy” and, 270;
need for PLO Research Center and, 11–12,
15, 21, 289n59; racism and, 159, 161, 164–65;
translation and, 87, 90, 98–101, 305n65;
work of PLO Research Center and, 34
- Mutlaq, Rafiq, 28
- Nahar*, al-, 58
- Nakba, 79, 253
- Naqara, Hanna, 46–47
- Narodniki (Back to the People), 92
- Nasir, Walid Ahmad Nimr al-, 87
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 11–13, 46, 69, 125
- Nasser, Hanna, 237
- Nasser, Kamal, 233
- National Council of Jewish Women, 61
- National Endowment for the Humanities, xiv
- National Library of Israel, xiv; Beirut and,
251; books found in, 281–84; Donor
#2300 and, 245–50; prisoner exchange
and, 239–40, 245–51; Steinberg and, 246
- Nazareth, 44, 46, 89, 138, 157, 196, 289n47,
292n40, 298n69
- Nazis: Abbas and, 276; antisemitism and,
121; Arafat and, 310n65; Aryanism and,
30, 164; documents seized by, 245; global
debate and, 214; Holocaust and, 112, 121,
128, 203, 276, 310n64; “knowing the
enemy” and, 264; persecution by, 30;
racism and, 168
- Netherlands, 210
- Newsview*, 213–15
- Newsweek*, 24
- Newton, Frances Emily, 233
- New York Times*, 231; American Council for
Judaism and, 130, 313n50, 314n65; global
debate and, 199, 204, 213, 215–17, 226;
Jiryis and, 60–61, 299n86, 299n88; need
for PLO Research Center and, 286n13;
Ozick and, 215–19
- Nolan, Michael, 178–79
- Novak, David, 308n32
- Nuwayhid, ‘Ajaj, 107–13, 306n3

- Old Testament, 40, 101–2
- On Zionist Literature* (Kanafani), 29, 36, 112–13
- operational intelligence, 194–97
- Operation Hiram, 44
- Operation Litani, 186
- Operation Peace for Galilee, 187
- Organization of Arab Students, 129
- Oriental (Eastern/Mizrahi) Jews, 159, 161, 164–65, 168–70, 264, 317n6, 318n33, 319n64, 320n69
- OSINT, 323n32
- Oslo Accords, 49, 237–38, 251, 254
- Other, the, xiii, 129
- Ottaway, David, 212
- Ottomans, xii, 232; antisemitism and, 120; European imperialism and, 72, 74–77, 81, 83; gender equality and, 147; Hudson and, 289n47; racism and, 159–60
- Owen, John M., IV, 88
- Ozick, Cynthia, xv; accusations of, 216–21; *Esquire* article of, 216; global debate and, xv, 216–22, 226, 326n53, 326n56, 327nn63–67, 327n70, 328n77; Granot and, 226; Jiryis and, 216–21, 226, 327n74; *New York Times* and, 215–19; Peretz and, 215–22, 226, 327n63, 327n67, 327n70, 327n75, 328n77; Quakers and, 218–20; scholars' objection to, 216–18
- Palestine and Arab Nationalism* (Anis Sayegh), 98–100
- Palestine and the Jews* (Jannaway), 246
- Palestine Arab Delegation, 124
- Palestine Chronology series, 26–29, 31, 291n14
- Palestine in Focus* (Hadawi), 39–40
- Palestine Liberation Organization, The* (Rubenberg), 133
- Palestine Mandate System, 67
- Palestine Monographs series, 27, 71, 290n7
- Palestine National Council (PNC): Abbas and, 310n63; European imperialism and, 69; Executive Committee of, 14; Jiryis and, 55; “knowing the enemy” and, 257, 266–71; need for PLO Research Center and, 12, 14, 286n12; political compromise and, 256–61; Ramallah and, 310n63; revealing evolution of, 266–71; Ten Points Program and, 49, 256–61, 267, 333n27
- Palestine National Fund, 4, 14, 22
- “Palestine question”: American Council for Judaism and, 125; archives and, 232; European imperialism and, 74, 77, 79, 81; *Handbook to the Palestine Question* and, 39–40, 74, 89, 125, 162; need for PLO Research Center and, 1, 13, 15, 21, 287n17, 288n31; racism and, 161–62; translation of, 1, 285n1; work of PLO Research Center and, 1, 16, 19, 39–40
- Palestine Question, The* (seminar collection), 79–80
- Palestine Question and International Law, The* (Yahia), 81
- Palestinian Affairs*: archives and, 230, 243, 251–55, 278; Darwish and, 43; global debate and, 206, 224, 227; Jiryis and, 43, 49, 58–60; “knowing the enemy” and, 258–59; Tel Aviv and, 189; work of PLO Research Center and, 21–22, 26, 31, 37, 39, 287n26
- Palestinian Christians, 11, 21, 88, 98–99, 177, 289n59, 302n9, 304n53
- Palestinian Encyclopedia*, 20, 27, 232
- “Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Arabs of Israel, The” (memo), 49
- Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh): Ameri and, 34; American Council for Judaism and, 125; Arab states and, 10, 87, 125, 226, 267; Battle of Karameh and, 69; Cohen and, 319n66; European imperialism and, 69; founding of, 10–11; global debate and, 225; Jiryis and, 55, 58, 60; “knowing the enemy” and, 256–59; pan-Arabism and, 302n56; publications of, 87; terrorism and, 182; translation and, 286n3
- Palestinian National Movement (PNM): American Council for Judaism and, 126,

- 135; antisemitism and, 122; archives and, 234–35; al-Ard and, 49; European imperialism and, 69, 71; gender equality and, 138; “knowing the enemy” and, 258, 267
- pan-Arabism, 15, 68–69, 83, 302n56
- “Paper Trail of a Liberation Movement, The” (Sleiman), 5, 234–38
- Parkes, James, 103–5
- Parks, Robert, 238
- Partington, David, 218
- Partisan History of Judaism, A* (Berger), 130
- Partisan Views of Reverend James Parkes* (Razzouk), 104
- partition: Arab states and, 9, 12, 44, 47–48, 78, 84, 93, 172, 267–68; al-Ard and, 296n27; British Mandate, 44 (*see also* British Mandate); Covenant and, 48, 256; European imperialism and, 78, 84; Fassa and, 44; General Assembly Resolution 181 and, 9, 48, 84; Jiryis and, 44, 47–48; “knowing the enemy” and, 256–57, 260, 267–69; Prussia and, 90; Razzouk and, 93; terrorism and, 172; United Nations and, 9, 12, 44, 47–48, 78, 84, 93, 172, 256–57, 260, 267–69, 296n27; West Bank and, 12, 260
- patrilineal descent, 13
- Patterson, David, 121
- Peres, Shimon, 88
- Peretz, Don, xv; Ozick and, 215–22, 226, 327n63, 327n67, 327n70, 327n75, 328n77; Quakers and, 218–20
- Peretz, Maya, xv
- Perspectives Judeo-Arabes*, 170
- Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, 39
- Pinsker, Leo, xii, 30, 118, 309n50
- Pittsburgh Platform: American Council for Judaism and, 123–30, 135, 310n2, 313n42; PLO Covenant and, 124–25; *PLO Handbook* and, 125–27
- PLO Covenant: American Council for Judaism and, 124–25, 132; Balfour Declaration and, 70–71; compromise and, 256–57; European imperialism and, 67, 70–71, 76–77; global debate and, 228; identity issues and, 14, 97, 288n35; Jiryis and, 50; Judaism as religion, 97; “knowing the enemy” and, 256–57, 268; Palestine Arab Delegation and, 124; partition and, 48, 256; Patterson and, 121; Pittsburgh Platform and, 124–25; race and, 165; Shukairy and, 12–14, 67–71, 124–25, 300n13, 311nn4–11; translation and, 286n14, 296n26
- PLO Research Center: Beirut and, 1–5; Christians and, 97–100; Colombani Street and, 1, 24, 26, 290n1, 290n64; danger at, 35–37; departments of, 26–27; Executive Committee of, 14, 16–18, 23, 35, 233, 311n11, 328n81; Facts and Figures series, 27, 38–39, 179, 290n10; forbidden readers, 40–42; founding of, xiii, 1, 14–20; funding for, 22–25; global debate on, 198–228; growth of, 26; incriminating material in, 194–97; IPS redundancy and, 21–22; Jewish Studies library of, 109–11; “knowing the enemy” and, 3, 17, 30, 88, 140–41, 154–55, 262, 275, 277; mission of, 1, 40; mementos of, 243–44; need for, 9–25; Palestine Chronology series, 26–29, 31, 291n14; Palestine Monographs series, 27, 71, 290n7; publishing spree of, 27–32; role of, 1–5, 231–36; target audience for, 37–40; in Tel Aviv, 185–97; as think tank, 15, 79, 106, 123, 225, 227, 276, 321n35; true face of, 226–28; two faces of, 205–8; unintended readers and, 40–42; using information of, 17; Washington, DC, and, 60–64; work of, 26–42
- pluralism, 84–85
- Poland, 90–92
- Polish Jews, 91, 263
- Political Life in Israel* (Mutlaq), 28
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine*, 190

- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP): European imperialism and, 81; formation of, 10–11; gender equality and, 139; Habash and, 24; Haddad and, 24; Kanafani and, 36; Khalili and, 139, 315n12; “knowing the enemy” and, 257–58; Tel Aviv and, 321n25; Ten Points Program and, 247
- poverty, 156
- prayer, 97, 304n49
- Presbyterians, 16, 97–98, 102, 304n49
- prisoner exchange: Anis Sayegh and, 232–35, 250, 254; archives and, 229–55; Beirut and, 230–31, 235–37, 241, 243, 251–55, 330n39, 330n42; British Mandate and, 233–34, 239–40, 245–51; Cairo Agreement and, 24, 255, 290n62; Egypt and, 237, 241, 244, 331n49; France and, 2, 230; full return of, 238–40; immigration and, 250; Iraq and, 331n49; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 239, 243, 250; Jerusalem and, 231, 233, 245–46, 251–55; Jordan and, 331n49; Lebanon and, 231, 236–37, 239, 244; military and, 239–40, 243, 329n5, 331n53; return of archives, 1–2, 229–55; Sayegh and, 232–35, 250, 254; Sheffy and, xiv–xv, 230, 250, 323n31; Syria and, 241–42, 331n49; terrorism and, 231, 329n5; violence and, 255
- Problems of Religion and Society in Israel, The* (Razzouk), 95
- Progressive Socialist Party, 35
- Promised Land, 101, 264, 330n26
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Nuwayhid), 107–13, 140
- Prussia, 90–91
- Qaddumi, Faruq al-, 60
- Qahwaji, Habib, 52, 55, 295n8, 296n27, 296n33, 298n69
- Qallab, Salah, 191–92
- Qardush, Anis, 295n14
- Qardush, Mansour, 52, 296n33
- Qa‘war, Adib: Anis Sayegh and, 140; al-Azm and, 137–41; background of, 157; Bible and, 142–43; female Zionist opponent and, 139–41; gender equality and, 138–55, 156, 316n41, 316n48, 316n62; Herzl and, 143–44; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 147–49; Israeli law and, 149–52; Jacob and, 142–43; *The Jewish Woman in Occupied Palestine*, 138–55; “knowing the enemy” and, 139–41, 154–55; Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction Law and, 150; racism and, 156–57; service of the nation and, 144–46; violence and, 146–47
- Qawuqji, Fawzi al-, 193
- Quakers, 218–20, 299n88
- Qurah, Nazih, 34
- Rabi, Uzi, 241
- Rabin, Yitzhak, 257
- Rabinovich, Itamar, 241
- racism: Abbas and, 163; Abdo and, 157–61; Abid and, 162–63; Algeria and, 157, 160; Anis Sayegh and, 164, 318n42; antisemitism and, 159, 168, 319n64; apartheid, 169, 319n56; Arab states and, 163; Ashkenazi Jews and, 161, 164, 167, 169–70; Beirut and, 157; Black Jews and, 168; British Mandate and, 158; Christians and, 164, 318n31; colonialism and, 160; Damascus and, 163, 317n4; Darwish and, 170; discrimination of Eastern Jews, 164–65; Egypt and, 156–60; Fayez Sayegh and, 166–67; *Handbook to the Palestine Question* and, 162; Holy Land and, 158; immigration and, 156–67; indigenous Jews and, 158–59; Iraq and, 156–58; Islam and, 159, 162; Jerusalem and, 158; Judaism and, 165–66, 168; Kasmieh and, 157–61; Lebanon and, 156–57; massacres and, 162; military and, 161; Muslims and, 159, 161, 164–65; Nazis and, 168; “Oriental” Jews and, 161, 165, 168, 318n33; Ottomans and, 159–60; “Palestine question” and, 161–62; PLO Covenant and, 165; population exchange and, 163; Qa‘war and, 156–57; refugees and, 168–69; Resolution 3379

- and, 165; reverse side to, 159–60; Sayegh and, 164–69; State of Israel and, 162, 168; Supreme Court and, 168; Syria and, 156–57; terrorism and, 170, 320n5; tolerance and, 161–62; United Nations and, 165–67; violence and, 162; women and, 156–57; World War II and, 156, 161; Zionism and, 14, 29–30, 40, 62, 121, 131, 133, 157, 165–70, 266, 287n26, 312n36, 314n61, 314n72
- radio: Fayez Sayegh and, 16; gender equality and, 147; global debate and, 198, 206, 216–17, 220, 224–25, 227; Israeli, 26, 206, 224–25; Tel Aviv and, 188, 191, 323n32; women and, 147; work of PLO Research Center and, 26
- Radio Cairo, 46
- Ramadan, 34, 257, 262
- Ramallah: archives and, 246, 249, 251–55; Palestine National Council and, 310n63; West Bank and, 246, 249, 251–55, 310n63
- Ras Beirut, 25, 188, 290n65
- Raviv, Moshe, 63
- Razzouk, Ass'ad, xi; *The American Council for Judaism*, 95, 129–31; antisemitism and, 90, 103–4, 106, 110–13, 120–22, 306n71, 307n17, 307n23, 308n39, 308n45, 310n63; Arab states and, 308n29; background of, 89; Berger and, 129–30; Christian Zionism and, 103–5; colonialism and, 92, 109, 121; *Greater Israel*, 95, 303n24; *Handbook to the Palestine Question* and, 89; Hebrew University and, 93; Hertzberg and, 86–96, 114–17, 303n26; Herzl and, 90–91; Holy Land and, 115–18; Islam and, 87–88, 105, 110, 121; Jabotinsky and, 92–95, 303n31; Lebanon and, 89, 98–99, 106–7; Magnes and, 92–94; military and, 94; need for PLO Research Center and, 21; *Partisan Views of Reverend James Parkes*, 104; partition and, 93; *The Problems of Religion and Society in Israel*, 95; Reform Judaism and, 86, 306n74; *Religion and State in Israel*, 95–96; religious motivations of Zionism and, 90–92; socialism and, 92, 117; State of Israel and, 104, 108, 305n66; Talmud and, 307n23, 308n39; *The Talmud and Zionism* and, 95, 106–8, 112, 114, 227; terrorism and, 93–94; translation and, 89–100, 103–5, 303n24–26, 304n41, 304n45, 306n79; violence and, 93; work of PLO Research Center and, 28; World War II and, 94; Zionist idea and, 92
- Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism, The* (Cohen), 30
- “Recovering the PLO Research Center: Limits and Potential for Digital Methods to Retrieve Dispersed Archives” (Husary), 4–5
- Red Army, 321n25
- Red Cross, 1, 229, 231, 238–39, 330n37
- Reel War, A* (Mandel), 5
- Reform Judaism, 30, 310n3; American Council for Judaism and, 123, 127, 134–36; Columbus Platform and, 127; Pittsburgh Platform and, 123–30, 135, 310n2, 313n42; Razzouk and, 86, 306n74
- refugees: American Council for Judaism and, 124, 129; European imperialism and, 67, 71, 73, 81; global debate and, 200, 208, 213, 221; Jiryis and, 43, 45, 50, 295n8; “knowing the enemy” and, 270; need for PLO Research Center and, 2, 9–11, 24–25, 289nn58–59, 290n62; racism and, 168–69; Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and, 124; Sabra and, 2, 33, 188, 200, 213, 221; Shatila and, 2, 33, 188, 200, 213, 221; Tel Aviv and, 185, 188; terrorism and, 173–77; translation and, 95, 104, 304n48; work of PLO Research Center and, 32–33
- Rejectionists, 257, 259
- Rejwan, Nissim, 88
- Religion and State in Israel* (Razzouk), 95–96
- Revolt, The* (Begin), 244
- Richards, Alan, 217
- rockets, 37, 43, 186, 211, 213

- Role of the Zionist Terror in the Creation of Israel, The* (Bishuti), 171–76, 320nn15–16
- Rome and Jerusalem* (Hess), 30, 116–17, 308n45
- Roosevelt, Kim, 134
- Rosen, Miriam, 217
- Roth, Cecil, 157
- Rothschild, Lionel Walter, 80
- Rubenberg, Cheryl, 133
- Rubin, Barry, 308n29
- Rubin, Trudy, 198
- Rubinstein, Elyakim, xvi, 202
- Rumley, Grant, 275
- Russia: Ben-Yehuda and, 92, 303n26;
European imperialism and, 72, 79;
Hertzberg and, 92, 303n26; Jiryis and, 56; “knowing the enemy” and, 272;
Pinsker and, 118; tsarist, 72
- Russian Studies, 272
- Sa‘b, Hasan, 29–30
- Sabra: gender equality and, 148; global debate and, 199–201, 213, 221; massacre in, 2, 188, 199–200, 213, 221, 322n12; refugees and, 2, 33, 188, 200, 213, 221; Tel Aviv and, 188, 322n12
- Sacher, Harry, 176
- Sa‘d, Ilyas, 30
- Sadat, Anwar, 185, 257–58, 260, 271, 314n61
- Said, Edward, 199, 226, 229, 287n26, 324nn4–5, 326n55
- Sa‘iqa, 258
- Saliba, George, 216–17
- Sanhedrin, 117, 308n45, 314n71
- Sartawi, Issam, 61–62
- Sayegh, Anis: American Council for Judaism and, 125, 129, 131, 133, 310n72, 313n44; antisemitism and, 106, 111; Arafat and, 22, 43, 289n51; autobiography of, 250; background of, 20; Balfour Declaration and, 73–74; Bible and, 305n60; Christians and, 97–100, 306n84; Congress for Cultural Freedom and, 288n41; European imperialism and, 73–74, 77–79, 83, 301n34; Facts and Figures series and, 38–39; gender equality and, 140, 155; global debate and, 208; *The Hashemites and the Palestine Question*, 77; Hussein-McMahon correspondence and, 74, 77–80; Jiryis and, 58; letter bomb to, 36; Mapai and, 65; need for PLO Research Center and, 20–22, 287n26, 288n37, 288n41; on Christians, 97–100; *Palestine and Arab Nationalism*, 98–100; *Palestinian Affairs* journal, 31; *Palestinian Encyclopedia* and, 20, 27, 232; prayer and, 304n49; prisoner exchange and, 232–35, 250, 254; Qa‘war and, 140; racism and, 164, 318n42; resignation of, 43–44; Shukairy and, 20, 43; terrorism and, 36; translation and, 88–89, 95, 97–98, 304n35, 305n57, 305n60, 306n84; work of PLO Research Center and, 27–29, 31, 33–38, 291n16, 291n27
- Sayegh, Fayez: American Council for Judaism and, 128–29; American University of Beirut and, 16, 20; antisemitism and, 307n26; Arafat and, 43; archives and, xiv, 288n29; background of, 15–16; Balfour Declaration and, 71–74, 84–85; Berger and, 128–29; budget issues and, 23; “Do Jews Have a ‘Divine Right’ to Palestine?” 29, 100–103; European imperialism and, 71–74, 84–85; Facts and Figures series and, 27, 38, 179, 290n10; global debate and, 224–25, 228; Khalidi and, 18, 225, 287n27; “knowing the enemy” and, 17; need for PLO Research Center and, 15–20, 287nn26–28, 288n31; Palestine Monographs series and, 27, 71, 290n7; pluralistic state and, 84–85; publishing spree of, 27–29; racism and, 166–67; radio and, 16; Shukairy and, 15–16, 18, 20, 27, 43, 73, 288n35; translation and, 87, 100, 305n60, 306n85; United Nations and, 27; Utah archives of, xiv; work of PLO Research Center and, 35, 40; *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*, 27, 71–73; *Zionist Diplomacy*, 29

- Sayegh, Hilda Sha'iban, xi, 30, 35, 89, 164, 318n42
- Sayigh, Rosemary, 289n58, 293n57
- Sayigh, Yezid, 10, 258, 260, 286nn1–3, 290n62, 310n72
- Sayigh, Yusif, 27, 315n4
- Schaar, Stuart, xv, 216–17
- Schechter, Solomon, xii
- Schlesinger Library, 203
- Schmidt, Helmut, 187
- Schwarz-Nardi, Shulamith, 150
- secularism, 87–88, 97, 109, 298n78
- Segal, Jerome, 327n75
- Sela, Rona, 5
- Self-Criticism after the Defeat* (al-Azm), 109, 137
- Selzer, Michael, 164
- Sephardim, 169, 319n64, 319n66
- Shabeeb, Samih, xv, 253–55
- Sha'ir, Muhammad al-, 29
- Shaked, Shaul, 239–40
- Shakur, Imad, 225
- Shamir, Shimon, 240
- Sharon, Ariel, 187
- Shatila: global debate and, 199–200, 213, 221; massacre in, 2, 199–200, 213, 221, 322n12; refugees and, 2, 33, 188, 200, 213, 221; Tel Aviv and, 188, 322n12
- Shefer, Dov, 239
- Sheffy, Yigal, xiv–xvi, 230, 250, 323n31
- Shehadeh, Imad, 30
- Shemesh, Kokhavi, 169–70, 319n64
- Shibl, Yusuf Ahmad, 30
- Shiblak, Abbas, 289n59, 289n61
- Shiite Muslims, 211
- Shiloah Institute, 223, 240–43, 245
- Shipler, David, 215, 218, 231, 330n26
- Shomer, Ha-, 146
- Shoufani, Elias, 216–17, 225
- Shtayyeh, Mohammad, 252–53
- Shukairy, Ahmad, 288n30; American Council for Judaism and, 124–29, 311n4; Anis Sayegh and, 20, 43; Arab states and, 12, 29; Balfour Declaration and, 67, 70–73; Beirut and, 16, 22–23, 126; Berger and, 300n16, 313n42; Bible and, 124–25; Covenant and, 12–14, 67–71, 124–25, 300n13, 311nn4–11; European imperialism and, 67–73; Fayeze Sayegh and, 15–16, 18, 20, 27, 43, 73, 288n35; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 15, 18; Khalidi and, 22; Palestine Arab Delegation and, 124; work of PLO Research Center and, 27, 29
- Simon, Ernst, 220
- Sinai, Moshe, 209, 325nn27–28
- Sinai Peninsula, 9, 68, 72, 100, 187, 263
- Singer, Richard, 113–14
- Sirriyeh, Hussein, 69
- Six-Day War, 29, 69, 80, 109, 129–30, 180
- Sleiman, Hana, 5, 234–35, 238
- Sneh, Moshe, 88
- socialism: al-Ard and, 48, 50, 296n27; European imperialism and, 79; gender equality and, 137, 314n2; Jumblatt and, 35; Palestinian nationalism and, 13; Progressive Socialist Party and, 35; Razzouk and, 92, 117
- Society of American Archivists (SAA), 202–4, 222–23
- Society of Friends, 218–20, 299n88
- Sofer, Naim, 49
- Soldiering for Peace* (von Horn), 148
- Soncino Press, 108–11, 115, 117, 307nn7–8, 308n37, 308n45
- Sovietology, 272–73
- Soviet Union, 9, 43, 203, 259, 272
- Spain, 157–58, 170
- Spiegel, Baruch, xvi, 188
- spies, 50
- Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, 157
- State and Religion in Israel* (PLO Research Center), 1, 41
- State of Israel: American Council for Judaism and, 130–33; establishment of, 9; European imperialism and, 68; gender equality and, 142, 147, 149; global debate and, 226, 326n56; Jiryis and, 43–44, 50–52, 297n45; “knowing the enemy” and, 257;

- State of Israel (*continued*)
 need for PLO Research Center and, 23;
 Ozick and, 326n56; racism and, 162, 168;
 Razzouk and, 104, 108, 305n66; terrorism
 and, 173, 175; work of PLO research cen-
 ter and, 40
- Statistical Abstract of Israel, The*, 145
- Steinberg, Matti, xvi, 49; archives and, 229,
 239–41, 246, 330n42, 331n43; background
 of, 189; European imperialism and,
 302n56; global debate and, 202, 207, 226;
 as Israeli intelligence expert, 321n35;
 “knowing the enemy” and, 258, 261; mili-
 tary and, 322n27; National Library of
 Israel and, 246; Tel Aviv and, 189–92,
 195–96, 321n35, 322n25–27, 323n31
- Stranger in My Own Land* (F. Jiryis), 56
- Strauss, Leo, 309n50
- Sudan, 60, 63, 299n86
- Suez Canal, 72
- Sukkot, 190
- Suleiman, Muhammad, 53
- Sunni Muslims, 15
- Supreme Court: al-Ard and, 46, 50–54; Ard,
 Jiryis and, 46, 50–54, 295n18, 297n45;
 racism and, 168
- surveillance, 50, 52, 56, 209, 224–25
- Sweden, 204–5
- Sykes-Picot agreement, 72
- Symington, Stuart, 39
- Syria: antisemitism and, 108, 116; Damascus,
 11, 32, 55, 64, 90, 108, 163, 275, 317n4,
 332n66; European imperialism and, 78–79;
 gender equality and, 137; global debate
 and, 198, 211; Jiryis and, 50; “knowing
 the enemy” and, 258; need for PLO
 Research Center and, 9, 11–15, 20–21,
 289n61; prisoner exchange and, 241–42,
 331n49; racism and, 156–57; Tel Aviv
 and, 195; work of PLO Research Center
 and, 32
- Talhami, Daoud, 34
- Talmon, Jacob, 96–97
- Talmud: antisemitism and, 107–21; Babylo-
 nian, 159; Bloch and, 307n8; Herzl and,
 118–19; Landau on, 307n18; psychological
 barrier and, 310n72; Razzouk and, 95, 106,
 307n23, 308n39; translation of, 307n7;
 Zionism and, 107–21
- Talmud and Zionism, The* (Razzouk), 1;
 antisemitism and, 106–8, 112–20; global
 debate and, 227; translation and, 95
- Tamir, Shmuel, 229
- Tannaim* (mishnaic rabbis), 114–15
- Tariqi, ‘Abd Allah al-, 29
- Tel Aviv University, xvi, 240
- Ten Points Program, 49, 247, 256–61, 267,
 333n27
- Terra Santa, 44
- terrorism: Abdallah on, 179–81; American
 Council for Judaism and, 133; Anis Sayegh
 and, 36; antipathy and, 178–79; Arab states
 and, 171, 179; Arafat and, 216, 221, 321n35;
 Beirut and, 105, 171, 181–82; Bishuti on,
 171–76, 320nn15–16; bombing and, 36 (*see
 also* bombs); British Mandate and, 172,
 175–76, 178; Christians and, 177; colonial-
 ism and, 177; common association of, 2;
 Counter-Terrorism Act, 170; Deir Yassin
 and, 176; Egypt and, 101; fear and, 178–79;
 France and, 178–81; Gaza Strip and,
 319n68; gender equality and, 140, 316n41;
 global debate and, 205–21, 225–27, 325n19,
 325n22; guerrilla groups and, 176; Hadawi
 on, 39; Hammami and, 321n35; Herut
 party and, 28, 65, 94, 171; hijackings and, 2,
 24, 36; immigration and, 172; Institute for
 Palestine Studies (IPS) and, 177; Israel
 Defense Forces (IDF) and, 176; Jerusalem
 and, 173, 177; Jiryis on, 54–55, 298n64;
 Jordan and, 318n42; Kafr Qasim and, 176;
 Lebanon and, 55, 133, 182, 187, 205, 211, 215,
 227, 231, 322n8; massacres and, 173, 176, 178,
 321n23; military and, 171–74, 179–81,
 320n15; Munich Olympics and, 36, 176–78;
 murder and, 172, 176, 178, 320n15; Muslims
 and, 87, 90, 98–101; necessity of, 171–73;

- Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and, 182, 286n3; partition and, 172; planning, 181–82; political lessons from, 174–76; prisoner exchange and, 231, 329n5; publications on, 171; racism and, 170, 320n5; Razzouk on, 93–94; refugees and, 173–77, 304n48; revenge and, 173–74; Sayegh and, 304n35, 304n41, 304n48–49, 305n60, 306n84; State of Israel and, 173, 175; Tel Aviv and, 187, 322n8; United Nations and, 178; women and, 316n41
- “Terrorists: How They Operate a Worldwide Network” (Howard), 181, 181–82
- That Is Her Image and This Is the Lover’s Suicide* (Darwish), 30–31
- Tibon, Amir, 275
- Ticktin, Max, 61
- Time*, 64
- Torah, 107, 113–14, 140, 142, 149–50
- Tourgeman, David, 63
- Toynbee, Arnold, 168–69
- Transjordan, 76–79, 81, 83
- translation: Abed and, 89, 94; Abid and, 89; Alkalai and, 86, 90–91; Anis Sayegh and, 88–89, 95, 97–98, 304n35, 305n57, 305n60, 306n84; Arafat and, 309n62; Christians and, 86–90, 97–105, 302n9, 304n53, 304n55, 305n63, 305n65, 305n69, 306n73, 306n84; *Dictionary of the Bible*, 98; Fayeze Sayegh and, 87, 100, 305n60, 306n85; Hertzberg and, 86–96; Herzl and, 1; immigration and, 93–94, 98; Jabotinsky and, 92–95, 303n31; Jerusalem and, 93–94, 100; Jordan and, 89, 94–95; Kalischer and, 90–91; “knowing the enemy” and, 88; Magnes and, xii, 92–94, 220; murder and, 90; Muslims and, 305n65; PLO Covenant and, 286n14, 296n26; Razzouk and, 89–100, 103–5, 303n24–26, 304n41, 304n45, 306n79; refugees and, 95, 104; religious motivations of Zionism and, 90–92; Talmud and, 307n7; Zionist canon and, 88–89; *The Zionist Idea* and, 86–92, 94, 96
- Trial and Error* (Weizmann), 30
- Triangle, 46
- Tunisia, 27, 81, 157
- “Two Faces of ‘The Palestinian Research Center’ in the Capital of Lebanon” (Granot), 205–8
- Ukeles, Raquel, xiv, 249
- Union of Zionists-Revisionists, 93
- United Arab Command, 69
- United Nations: American Council for Judaism and, 124; charter of, 48; European imperialism and, 67; Fayeze Sayegh and, 27; gender equality and, 148; General Assembly, 9, 40, 44, 48, 62, 67, 71, 84, 121, 124, 129, 165–67, 268; global debate and, 200, 217, 222; harassment of observers, 39; Israel’s boundaries and, 9; Jiryis and, 52; “knowing the enemy” and, 258; partition of Palestine by, 9, 12, 44, 47–48, 78, 84, 93, 172, 256–57, 260, 267–69, 296n27; racism and, 165–67; Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and, 124; Resolution 181 and, 9, 48, 84; Resolution 242 and, 79–80, 260; Resolution 3379 and, 165; Security Council, 79–80, 188, 260; Tel Aviv and, 186; terrorism and, 178; torture and, 40; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 200; U Thant and, 46, 49
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): archives and, 229, 324n11; global debate and, 199–201, 205, 210–11, 223, 226–27
- United Nations Interim Force for Southern Lebanon (UNIFIL), 186
- United States, 64, 286n13; Abu Ayn and, 239; aid from, 28, 179–80; American Council for Judaism and, 130, 134; Dinitz and, 62; global debate and, 213, 226; Hasidim and, 60; immigration and, 164; McGovern Amendment and, 290n13; records hidden in, 330n26; State Department, 63, 187, 218, 285n2, 290n13, 292n29, 299n90, 327n70; Women’s Liberation movement in, 315n26

- United States and West German Aid to Israel* (Abdul-Rahman), 28
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 200
- University of Freiberg, 51
- University of Michigan, 32
- University of Toronto, xi
- University of Utah, xiv, 287n28, 288n29
- Uri Avnery of Neo-Zionism* (Mansour), 332n17
- U Thant, 46, 49
- Vance, Cyrus, 63
- Vietnam, 138, 285n7, 314n3, 315n4
- violence: antisemitism and, 121; Beirut and, 33–34, 215, 323n31; Black September and, 33, 36, 54, 69, 77, 177, 195, 225, 259; bombs and, 36 (*see also* bombs); European imperialism and, 69, 300n9; gender equality and, 146–47; global debate and, 201, 205, 207–8, 211, 215, 219, 226–28; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and, 176; Jiryis and, 53; “knowing the enemy” and, 256; Munich Olympics and, 36, 176–78; policy of, 176; prisoner exchange and, 255; racism and, 162; Razzouk and, 93; rockets and, 37, 43, 186, 211, 213; Tel Aviv and, 187, 195–96, 323n31
- Violence and Peace: A Study in Zionist Strategy* (al-Abid), 29
- Von Horn, Carl, 148
- Wafa, 212
- Wakin, Jeanette, 217
- Washington, DC, 60–64
- Washington Post*, 212, 221
- Waskow, Arthur, 61–62, 298n85
- Wazir, Khalil al- (Abu Jihad), 10, 56, 60, 259
- Weizmann, Chaim, 30
- Werblowski, Zwi, 88
- West Bank: American Council for Judaism and, 129; apartheid and, 319n56; as Arab State in Palestine, 12, 44; archives and, 237, 251, 255, 330n38; divine right to, 100; European imperialism and, 68–69, 76–77, 80, 300n9; global debate and, 201, 215, 327n70; Jordan and, 9, 12–13, 23, 69, 76–77, 80, 196, 258–60, 300n9, 308n29, 319n56; Khalidi and, 322n9; “knowing the enemy” and, 258–60, 263, 332n6, 332n18; need for PLO Research Center and, 9, 12–13, 23; partition and, 12, 260; Ramallah and, 246, 249, 251–55, 310n63; Resolution 242 and, 79–80, 260; Tel Aviv and, 196; United Nations and, 12; work of PLO Research Center and, 41–42
- Western Sector Bureau, 36
- Who Knows Better Must Say So* (Berger), 129
- “Why I Am a Non-Zionist” (Berger), 127–28
- Wilford, Hugh, 134
- Will, Donald, 217
- Wise, Isaac Mayer, 130
- Witkon, Alfred, 51
- women: Arab, 137–41; Beirut College for Women, 23; exploitation of, 147–49; gender equality and, 137 (*see also* gender equality); global debate and, 219; hatred and, 152–54; in Israel, 143–52; Israeli law and, 149–52; Marriage and Divorce Law and, 150; Marx on, 314n2; massacres of, 2; military and, 144–49, 314n3; prominent, 35; rabbis and, 311n7; racism and, 156–57; radio and, 147; terrorism and, 316n41; work of PLO Research Center and, 35; in Zionism, 138–39, 143–52
- Women Build a Land* (Maimon), 150, 156
- Women’s Equal Rights Law, 152
- Women’s Liberation movement, 315n26
- World War I, 71–72, 146
- World War II: American Council for Judaism and, 127; al-Ard and, 48; Lebanon and, 289n61; Nazis and, 30, 245 (*see also* Nazis); racism and, 156, 161; Razzouk on, 94
- World Zionist Organization, 29, 144–45
- Yahia, Faris, 81–83
- Yanait, Rachel, 146
- Yellin-Mor, Nathan, 53

- Yemenite Jews, 245
- Yevamot, 114–15
- Yiddish, 165, 250
- Yohanan, Rabbi, 117
- Yom Kippur War, 182, 257, 262
- Yudell, Michael, 319n51
- Yunes, Makram, 225
- Zeira, Eliyahu, 181–82
- Zionism: American Council for Judaism and, 123–36; antisemitism and, 106–22; archives/prisoner exchange and, 232–33, 246, 250; challenging Christian, 103–5; European imperialism and, 67–85; gender equality and, 137–55, 143–44; global debate and, 206, 214, 226–28; Jiryis and, 43–66; “knowing the enemy” and, 261–66, 269–73; Nazism and, 168; racism and, 14, 29–30, 40, 62, 121, 131, 133, 156–70, 266, 287n26, 312n36, 314n61, 314n72; Razzouk and, 86–122; religious motivations of, 90–92, 95–97; Talmud and, 107–21; Tel Aviv and, 193–94; terrorism and, 171–81; translation and, 86–105; work of PLO Research Center and, 9–42
- Zionism and Racism* (Sa’b), 29–30
- Zionist Colonialism in Palestine* (Fayez Sayegh), 27, 71–73
- Zionist Diplomacy* (Fayez Sayegh), 29
- Zionist Expansionist Ambitions* (al-Kayali), 28
- Zionist idea: fathers of, 57; gender equality and, 141, 144; Jiryis and, 57, 59; Razzouk and, 92
- Zionist Idea, The: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (Hertzberg) xi–xii; antisemitism and, 114, 117–18; Soncino and, 308n37; translation and, 86, 89, 92, 94, 96; work of PLO Research Center and, 1
- Zionist Idea, The: The Basic Texts* (PLO Research Center), 86–92, 95, 104, 108
- “Zionists and the Bible” (Guillaume), 101
- Zohar, Gadi, xvi, 329n5
- Zurayk, Constantine, 15, 18, 21, 225, 287n18, 313n59, 323n45