A Historiographic Review of Literature on the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

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A RECENTLY COMPLETED STUDY analyzed the status of Middle Eastern history in colleges and universities in the United States. It revealed that American and European historians have maintained an imposing preponderance within academic departments of history. Curriculum and scholarship about "Third World" countries continue to be represented by proportionately few historians. Furthermore, within the "Third World" area, there are fewer teaching positions for the Middle East than for Africa, East Asia, or Latin America.[1] In North America and Western Europe, academic centers for the study of the Middle East developed slowly after World War II. Studying and teaching Middle Eastern history took place at a limited number of institutions, introduced only as adjuncts to the coursework on Semitic languages, philology, or religion. Today, the number of properly trained Middle Eastern historians remains low, partly because of the challenging requirements of intricate foreign languages, the prolonged time needed to complete a doctorate, and lower remuneration than in alternative job opportunities for those with a Middle Eastern academic interest. In comparison to other fields of historical study, Middle Eastern history is a relatively young specialty, sparsely populated, and undeveloped in range and depth of scholarly publications.

Since Middle Eastern historians are few in number, they are usually responsible for teaching regional courses that require broad historical coverage and often encompass issues that range chronologically from the Prophet Muhammad's life to Ayatollah Khomeini's death. Unlike academics teaching American or European history, Middle Eastern historians are generally not able to focus on considerably narrower geographic areas, themes, or time periods (such as the "Old South," "American Popular Culture," or the "Jacksonian Period"). Anecdotal evidence

Space requirements have forced rigorous selectivity in mentioning authors and works in this essay. Therefore, I have focused only on publications devoted exclusively to the period before 1950. Some of the material used in writing this essay appeared in an earlier publication, "A General Historiographic and Bibliographic Review of Literature on Palestine and the Palestinian Arabs," *Orient*, 22 (March 1981): 100–12. I would like to thank the editors of *Orient* for granting permission to use portions of that article in this essay. My deep appreciation is extended to Margaret Eisenband, who worked diligently as the research assistant for this project. In addition, I would like to thank Yosef Gorny, Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, Philip Mattar, Jehuda Reinharz, and Bernard Wasserstein for their ideas and suggestions in framing this essay. Responsibility for the contents is strictly my own.

[1] Kenneth W. Stein, "The Study of Middle Eastern History in the United States," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 46 (Spring 1988): 49–64.

indicates that most historians of Europe and America seem to write only about their scholarly specialty, and relatively few of them publish regular contributions on a broader historical theme. But for those who teach modern Middle Eastern history, primary scholarship shares the stage with writing on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The data show that one-third of the articles and books written between 1962 and 1986 spotlight some aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Of the 4,553 English publications indexed by *Historical Abstracts* as focusing on all topics of modern Middle Eastern history, more than 1,800 are about some facet of the Arab-Israeli conflict.[2] The Arab-Israeli conflict has been the one issue that consistently generates publications.

A closer analysis of the publications indexed and surveyed reveals that more than 90 percent of what was written about the evolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict focused on the period after 1950. These publications deal with subjects such as modern Israel, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the 1967 and 1973 wars, aspects of the Arab-Israeli negotiating process, and most recently the Palestinian *intifada*. Based on the index in *Historical Abstracts*, from 1980 through 1986 more than 450 articles were written exclusively about modern Israel; during the same period, only 150 articles center on such topics as Zionism, the British mandate, and Palestinian Arab nationalism. Between 1962 and 1972, a *total* of 12 articles was published in English about the Palestine mandate, and from 1972 to 1986 an average of only 15 articles were published per year. Only 5 to 7 percent of publications about the modern Middle East written in English and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* deal with the time frame of late Ottoman Palestine to 1950, which for the purpose of this essay is considered the historical origin of the conflict. Comparatively few scholarly works have been written in English about historical aspects of the emerging Arab-Israeli conflict. Much of the finest work has been produced by Israeli scholars and was written in the last twenty-five years, with a considerable portion of it published only in Hebrew.[3] Histories written in

[2] Stein, "Study of Middle Eastern History," 61. Data culled from 1986 through 1988, also indexed by *Historical Abstracts*, suggest a similar finding: one-third of scholarly publications continued to focus on an aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and very few concentrated on the pre-1950 period.

[3] A mere handful of bibliographic or historiographic essays on topics associated with the conflict's origins have previously appeared. However, several bibliographic indexes and annotated bibliographies are particularly valuable for those with an interest in the conflict's origins. For journal and periodical references covering the period up to 1930, two reference works are especially useful: Peter Thomsen, *Die Palästina-Literatur*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1911); and Stuart C. Dodd, gen. ed., *A Post-War Bibliography of the Near Eastern Mandates* (Beirut, 1932-). Dodd's massive multivolume bibliographic compilation covers publications in six languages between November 1918 and January 1930. For the years at the end of the mandate, Sophie A. Udin's edition of *Palestine and Zionism: A Three Year Cumulation, January 1946–December 1948* (New York, 1949), is a very useful bibliography of periodicals, books, pamphlets, reprints, and ephemera published in English, Hebrew, Yiddish, and other languages.

A general introduction to Zionist historiography is provided by Israel Kolatt, "Reflections on the Historiography of Zionism and the Yishuv," in Lee I. Levine, ed., *Jerusalem Cathedra*, Vol. 1: *Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1981), 314–27. For Zionism, the most worthwhile selected bibliographies are found in each of David Vital's three volumes published by Oxford: *The Origins of Zionism* (1975), *Zionism: The Formative Years* (1982), and *Zionism: The Crucial Phase* (1987). The journal *Zionism*, which since 1981 has been *Studies in Zionism*, publishes annually an extensive bibliography of recent works on Zionism that includes other topics associated with the historical origins of the conflict.

Four historiographic essays on the Palestinian community are important: Tarif Khalidi, "Palestinian Historiography," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 10 (Spring 1981): 59–76; Walid Khalidi and Jill

English have sometimes been compiled by journalists, publicists, or scholars generally not trained as Middle Eastern historians.

Histories about the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict are heavily influenced by the period in which they are written, the tendency of many authors to skew their findings in order to idealize, editorialize, or legitimize a parochial viewpoint, and the availability and use of archival material. For this analysis, histories about the conflict's origins will be divided into three periods: pre-1950, post-1950 (especially after the June 1967 War), and the mid-1980s to the present.

WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, histories written before 1950 (immediately after Israel's establishment and the creation of the Palestinian diaspora) tend to be ideologically orthodox, sycophantic, or self-centered. Most are neither objective assessments nor functional studies based on primary source material. Most are firsthand analyses or impressionistic accounts of Palestine's inherited Ottoman legacy, the evolution and development of Zionism, the British involvement in the Middle East in general, and the Arab community living in Palestine.

Before 1950, books and pamphlets on Zionism and the Jewish presence in Palestine were exponentially more plentiful than histories about either the British administration or the Arab community. In contrast to limited accounts of the Palestinian Arab community, a long period of Zionist historiography predated the conflict's development in Palestine. Most of the histories and analyses of Zionism written around the turn of the century relate its meaning to Europe and European political philosophies. Zionism defined and refined itself as the Jewish national concept, with increasing emphasis on the historic tie to *Eretz Yisrael* (the Land of Israel) or modern Palestine. There were literally hundreds of books written about Zionism's genesis and evolution, but only a few endured as classics: Nahum Sokolow's *History of Zionism, 1600–1918* (1919), Leonard J. Stein's *Zionism* (1925), and Adolf Boehm's *Die zionistische Bewegung* (1935–1937).

Other authors of Zionist history dealing primarily with the Jewish presence in *Eretz Yisrael* explain Jewish physical and demographic growth as necessary for fulfillment of the ancient Jewish dream to return from forced exile to the ancestral land. They combine this religious-philosophical imperative with Zionism's practical contributions to Palestine's role in strategic considerations of the Great Powers. In addition to portraying Zionism as just and righteous, many writers highlight the positive contributions of Jewish growth to the indigenous Arab population: assisting Palestine's ailing agricultural economy and drastically reducing Arab mortality rates through better health care. Many writers remind the British that Jewish revenue was essential for their administration of Palestine. Scientific arguments justifying Jewish development are used in the works of Moshe Burstein, David Horowitz and Rita Hinden, Abraham Granovsky, Abra-

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Khadduri, eds., *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Annotated Bibliography* (Beirut, 1974); Yehoshua Porath, "Palestinian Historiography," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 5 (Fall 1977): 95–104 (especially enlightening because of the Arabic sources it evaluates); and Stein, "General Historiographic and Bibliographic Review of Literature on Palestine," 100–12. It covers not only the period up to 1948 but also the historiography of the Palestinians and the PLO until 1980.

ham Revusky, and Arthur Ruppin.[4] The best work detailing social and economic problems within the Arab community and Zionism's salutary impact on it appears in the twelve articles in Enzo Sereni and R. E. Ashery's edition of *Jews and Arabs in Palestine: Studies in a National and Colonial Problem* (1936, 1976).

Most Zionist memoirs from the mandate period contain an underlying tone of relentless commitment to sustain and enlarge the Jewish presence in Palestine. The Holocaust reaffirmed attention to Jewish revival while the Jewish national home was developing. After escaping from East European oppression, Zionist writers who had lived through two world wars, the Holocaust, and the creation of the state of Israel were emboldened by their survival and success. They tell a story of courage, pioneering spirit, and collective heroism. The personal writings of Zionists who shaped the Jewish state reveal that these events changed their outlook about themselves, the British, and the Arabs.[5]

British authors who wrote in this pre-1950 period try to explain whether the Palestine mandate and the development of the Jewish national home were good or bad for the British empire, for the Zionists, or for the Arabs in the Middle East in general. British officials who served in either the military (1918–1920) or civilian administration (1920–1948) of His Majesty's Government offer personal accounts and recollections about the mandate's legitimacy, operation, and policy shortcomings.

The most painstaking juristic examination and comprehensive analysis of the mandate text may be found in J. Stoyanovsky's *Mandate for Palestine* (1928). In a stunningly blunt manner, H. J. Simson, in *British Rule and Rebellion* (1937), condemns Britain's failure to use sufficient force to end the Arab rebellion in 1936. Several people who worked in the Palestine administration or for Jewish organizations have written books that define how the mandate functioned, but their renditions are handicapped by the absence of perspective and a tendency to touch up the record of their own performance. These include Norman Bentwich's *England in Palestine* (1932) and *Fulfilment in the Promised Land* (1938, 1976). Much more critical of political Zionism and praiseworthy of Britain's stewardship is Albert Hyamson's *Palestine: A Policy* (1942) and *Palestine under the Mandate, 1920–1948* (1950, 1976). The most prolific author in the Palestine administration was Douglass V. Duff, who served in the Palestine police force and published more than a dozen books. His autobiography, *May the Winds Blow!*

[4] See Moshe Burstein, *Self-Government of the Jews in Palestine since 1900* (1934; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1976); David Horowitz and Rita Hinden, *Economic Survey of Palestine* (Tel Aviv, 1938); Abraham Granovsky, *Land Policy in Palestine* (New York, 1940); Abraham Revusky, *Jews in Palestine* (New York, 1936); Arthur Ruppin, *Der Aufbau des Landes Israel* (Berlin, 1919).

[5] Perhaps the most revealing memoirs of Zionist leaders during the formative period of Jewish settlement are by Frederick H. Kisch, *Palestine Diary* (1938; rpt. edn., New York, 1974); and Chaim Arlosoroff, *Yoman Yerushalayim* [Palestine Diary] (Tel Aviv, 1949). Kisch was chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive, and Arlosoroff was chairman of its successor organization, the Jewish Agency. Both demonstrated that their ability to compromise with British authorities contributed significantly to the accessibility of Zionist leaders to British decision-makers. See also Yosef Haim Brenner, *Igrot* [Letters] (Tel Aviv, 1941); Eliyahu Golomb, *Hevyon Oz* [Hidden Strength] (Tel Aviv, 1950–53); David Ben-Gurion, *Zichronot* [Memoirs], vols. 1–5 (Tel Aviv, 1971–72); Zev Jabotinsky, *Ketavim* [Writings], vols. 1–8 (Jerusalem, 1947–59); Moshe Sharett, *Yoman Medini* [Diaries], vols. 1–5 (Tel Aviv, 1968–1974); Abraham Menahem Ussishkin, *Sefer Usishkin*, R. Binyamin, ed. [Ussishkin's Book] (Jerusalem, 1934).

(1948), is a revealing glimpse of the attitudes and passions felt by those who served the British government in Palestine. The best personal recollection of administrative service in Palestine remains Ronald Storrs's *Orientations* (1937). This lengthy work by the military governor and later district commissioner of Jerusalem provides an incisive rendition of Britain's problems of governance during and after World War I in the early attempt to balance Arab and Zionist aspirations and fears.

Historical surveys of the region by Arab historians generally extol the virtues of the Arab cause, blame the British and Zionists for almost every evil that befell the Palestinians, and minimally analyze the nature of the Arab community in Palestine. Before 1950, Arab histories that treated Palestine or the Palestinian Arabs as separate historical entities were extremely rare. For several reasons, Palestinian Arabs authored few histories during the first period: the community had a limited number of literate writers to chronicle the unique and emerging historical consciousness, Palestinians found their cause and history subsumed into broader anti-colonial writings of Arab neighbors, Palestinian intellectuals focused on preserving their physical existence, and consensus was delayed by leadership rivalries and sociological differences within the Palestinian community. Palestinians in the 1930s and 1940s watched their society disintegrate. The few histories that were written glorify the Palestinian Arab cause and fault others for the failure to confront and retard Zionism's development. When a general Arab history includes mention of the Palestinians, the reference is usually confined to the narrow perspective of assigning blame to the British and to the Zionists for the traumatizing loss of territories. These works focus on either the interrelationships between Palestinian Arabs and larger political issues or regimes or else on a locality or region within the area that later became geographic Palestine.

Only a few early works concentrate exclusively on defining the needs and articulating the hopes of the Arab population in Palestine. Beatrice Erskine's *Palestine of the Arabs* (1935) and Frances E. Newton's *Fifty Years in Palestine* (1948) are inadequate histories, but they do represent a pro-Palestinian Arab viewpoint. M. F. Abcarius's *Palestine through the Fog of Propaganda* (1946, 1976) is a creditable rendition of how British policy disfavored the Arabs. Similarly, W. F. Boustany's *Palestine Mandate, Invalid and Impracticable* (1936) is a legal account of how the British violated their promises to the Arabs of Palestine. Palestinian Arabs who had been misguided or who had failed as leaders of the national movement during the mandate were reluctant to initiate historical autopsies necessitating some discussion of self-incrimination. Nevertheless, there are at least two notable exceptions in which thorough introspection partially rejected apologia: Musa al-'Alami's *Ibrat Filastin* (The Lesson of Palestine) (1949) and Constantine Zurayq's *Ma'na al-Nakbah* (The Meaning of the Disaster) (1948).[6] Though not a Palestinian, Zurayq bluntly reminds his readership to accept responsibility for the shortcomings in the Arab world—to resist blaming external factors and to see indigenous

[6] Musa al-'Alami's *Lesson of Palestine* appeared in abbreviated form in *Middle East Journal* (October 1949): 372–405; Qustantin Zurayq's *Meaning of the Disaster* was ably translated into English by R. Bayly Winder (Beirut, 1956).

weaknesses, defects, and corruptions. His suggested solution for confronting Zionism is to achieve secular nationalism and then attain Arab unity.

Most Arab historians viewed Palestine as a geographic adjunct to greater Syria and Palestinians as a small but integral portion of a larger Arab nation. Because of its significance for the political affairs of the Ottoman empire and for European powers, the Holy Land was a constant source of interest and research for European historians and casual travelers. Unquestionably, the development of Jewish nationalism in the form of Zionism increased motivation to know more about the geography and population of the Holy Land. Investigative and detailed studies, especially of social and economic issues, appeared in German and French prior to 1948. While some are marred by the use of haphazard statistics, each is a substantial and serious work. The works of Hubert Auhagen, Alfred Bonne, Vital Cuinet, Carl Franz Endres, Hans Fischer, Andre Latron, Arthur Ruppin, Leon Schulman, and Jacques Weulersse collectively illuminate the socioeconomic setting for the political struggle that later unfolded between Arab and Jew in Palestine under the mandate.[7]

Many, possibly hundreds, of personal travel accounts and diaries were published by pilgrims or travelers who visited Palestine as part of their journeys to the Middle East in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Several are particularly noteworthy. After living in Ramallah (north of Jerusalem) for three years, Elihu Grant wrote *The Peasantry of Palestine: The Life, Manners, and Customs of the Village* (1907), a vividly accurate portrait of rural life in Palestine. The classic impressionistic accounts of the traveler to the Holy Land are provided in Laurence Oliphant's two works, *The Land of Gilead* (1881) and *Haifa; or, Life in Modern Palestine* (1887).

Perhaps the most outstanding reference guide and informative overview of Palestine in this period was Harry Luke and Edward Keith-Roach's *Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan* (1934). Both authors served in high positions in Britain's Palestine bureaucracy. Their handbook is a meticulously collected and incisively organized survey of culture, demography, history, and geography. The most reasonably dispassionate summary of mandate affairs emanating from official or semi-official sources in this period was *Great Britain and Palestine, 1915–1945* (Information Paper No. 20, 1946), issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. This important volume encapsulates the contentious issues separating Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Two landmark reports are especially worthwhile for their concise review of the mandate and Palestine affairs in general: *The Palestine Royal (Peel) Commission Report* (Cmd. 5479, 1937) and its two volumes of appended testimony, and the *Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry* (Cmd. 6808, 1946) and its recorded public hearings. Written without present-day archival

[7] See Hubert Auhagen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Landesnatur und der Landwirtschaft Syriens* (Berlin, 1907); Alfred Bonne, *Palästina, Land und Wirtschaft* (Berlin, 1935); Vital Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine: Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonée* (Paris, 1896); Carl Franz Endres, *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung Palästinas als Teiles der Türkei* (Berlin, 1918); Hans Fischer, *Wirtschaftsgeographie von Syrien* (Leipzig, 1919); Andre Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, 1936); Arthur Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Berlin, 1917); Leon Schulman, *Zur türkischen Agrarfrage, Palästina und die Fellachenwirtschaft* (Weimar, 1916); Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris, 1946).

material and personal papers, both reports are nevertheless comprehensive and objective accounts of politics and society under the mandate. Personal records of the committee's works are presented by two of its members, R. H. S. Crossman in *Palestine Mission: A Personal Record* (1947) and Bartley C. Crum in *Behind the Silken Curtain: A Personal Account of Anglo-American Diplomacy in Palestine and the Middle East* (1947). A leader of the left wing of the Labor party, Crossman presents a more balanced account than Crum. A California corporation lawyer, Crum divulges the duplicity in America's handling of Arab and Zionist interlocutors, while not hiding his enthusiastic advocacy for Zionism.

Two very fine firsthand accounts of the United Nations' role in the Palestine question are by Jorge Garcia-Granados, *The Birth of Israel: The Drama as I Saw It* (1949), and Herbert V. Evatt, *The Task of Nations* (1949, 1972). Garcia-Granados was a member of the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, and Evatt was president of the U.N. General Assembly in late 1948 during the final stages of Israel's independence war.

Some of the most outstanding early authors and their works on Palestine during the mandate were J. C. Hurewitz's *Struggle for Palestine* (1950, 1976), Ya'acov Shimoni's *'Arave Eretz Yisrael* (The Arabs of Palestine) (1947), and Joseph Vaschitz's *Ha'aravim Be-Eretz Yisrael* (The Arabs in Palestine) (1947). Hurewitz's book is a microscopic study and has remained the best scholarly work on the period from 1936 to 1948. Shimoni's book is prodigious by any standard, presenting an evenly balanced account of Palestinian Arab society and politics during the mandate. In addition, a critically valuable source is the wealth of excellent periodical literature written about the British mandate by some of the important participants and keen observers of the unfolding drama. Representative examples of articles that appeared in contemporaneous periodicals were authored by Auni Abdul Hadi, Chaim Arlosoroff, Omar el-Barghuti, Humphrey Bowman, Alan Cunningham, H. A. R. Gibb, J. C. Hurewitz, O. I. Janowsky, Hubert Montribloux, Fakri al-Nashashibi, Pittman Potter, Salman Rubaschow, Helene Cohn Thon, and B. D. Weinryb.[8]

[8] See Auni Abdul Hadi, "The Balfour Declaration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 164 (November 1932): 14–21; Chaim Arlosoroff, "The Economic Background of the Arab Problem," *Menorah Journal*, 18 (April 1930): 331–45; Omar el-Barghuti, "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 2 (January 1922): 34–65; Humphrey Bowman, "Some Aspects of Rural Education in Palestine," *Asiatic Review*, 36 (October 1940): 773–79; Alan Cunningham, "Palestine—Last Days of the Mandate," *International Affairs* (October 1948): 481–90; H. A. R. Gibb, "The Islamic Congress at Jerusalem in December 1931," *Survey of International Affairs* (1934): 99–109; J. C. Hurewitz, "Arab Politics in Palestine," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, 5 (December 1942): 597–617; O. I. Janowsky, "Zionism Today," *Menorah Journal* (October 1943): 227–59; Hubert Montribloux, "Palestine 1938: Facteurs économiques et sociaux de conflit Judés Arabé," *Sciences politique*, 54 (April 1939): 170–93; Fakri Nashashibi, "The Arab Position in Palestine," *Royal Central Asian Society Journal*, 23 (January 1936): 16–26; Pittman Potter, "Origin of the System of Mandates under the League of Nations," *American Political Science Review* (November 1922): 563–83; Salman Rubaschow, "Die privatwirtschaftliche Kolonisation in Palästina," *Der Jude* (1921–22): 147–63; Helene Cohn Thon, "Die Jüdische Frau in Palästina," *Der Jude* (1920–21): 317–27; B. D. Weinryb, "Socio-economic Relations of Arabs and Jews," *Contemporary Jewish Record* (August 1944): 357–84.

WITH THE INEVITABLE ADVANCE OF PERSPECTIVE, histories written in the post-1950 period generally probe deeper into the complexities of personalities, amplify the causation of events, and systematically investigate political policies that shaped aspects of the conflict's origins. There was a rapid growth of well-researched monographs about the Palestinian and Zionist communities, their interaction, and British policies during the mandate. A unique Palestinian and Israeli historiography emerged as well. Topics investigated included the changing nature of the Ottoman empire and its influence on the conflict's development, Arab-Jewish-British associations over time, Zionism in a European and Palestinian context, Europe's role in framing the competition between Zionism and Arab nationalism, and Arab-Zionist relations during the waning years of the Ottoman empire and during the British presence in Palestine. Most noticeably, in this post-1950 period a distinct Palestinian component evolved in the conflict's historiography. The development of Zionism and the creation of Israel gave Palestinians an unwelcome but shared historical experience. This congruity helped crystallize their identity, leading to a unique set of scholarly inquiries into the composition and politics of the Palestinians. A historiography of the Palestinian community was shaped by its episodic political upheaval and enforced social change. Histories written after 1950 about Palestine and Palestinians reveal two central themes: the precarious and vacillating relationship between Palestinians and other Arabs over the last hundred years, and the emerging definition of Palestinian nationalism in quest of political identity and acceptance.[9]

Especially after the June 1967 War, inquiry intensified about Palestinian aspects of the conflict, paralleling the reemergence of Palestinian nationalism and the quest for a negotiated settlement between Israel and the Arab states. The decades after the June 1967 War emphasized that the Arab-Israeli conflict was more than a state-to-state confrontation, it also contained an important Palestinian dimension. In the 1980s, scholarly attention to the Palestinian component of the conflict was prompted by diplomatic efforts to reconcile Palestinian and Israeli political positions and by international attention to Palestinians living under Israeli control in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The 1970s and 1980s yielded the first generation of scholarly works with a historical perspective enhanced by access to previously unavailable primary source materials. Of particular value was newly declassified British documentation from Colonial Office and Foreign Office files, as well as personal papers of British officials who had served during the mandate. Research options were further increased through memoirs published by Arab and Zionist political leaders and through oral interviews with the septuagenarians who had served during the mandate. Because Israeli archivists adopted an increasingly liberal approach to the use of source material (at the Israel State Archives, Central Zionist Archives, and other important smaller archives in Israel), researchers were able to see original documents about the foundation of Zionism, the composition of the Arab community in Palestine, the establishment of Israel, and Britain's

[9] Continuous indexing of most journal articles on the Palestinians and related topics is available in the "Bibliography of Periodical Literature" section of each issue of the *Middle East Journal* and the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

changing policies during the mandate. Unfortunately, only relatively few scholars used the newly available English materials in conjunction with the rich lode of previously published Arabic and Hebrew primary source materials, especially memoirs and personal papers.[10]

In the 1980s, access to important Palestinian documentation was impeded by the turmoil in Lebanon. The archives of the Institute for Palestine Studies were dispersed after Israel's invasion in June 1982. Established in Lebanon in 1963, the institute had generated many documentary compilations and useful books, such as Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali's *Watha'iq al-Muqawama al-Filastiniyyah al-'Arabiyyah didd al-Ithtilal al-Baritani wa al-Sahyuniyyah 1918–1939* (Documents of Palestinian Arab Resistance against British and Zionist Occupation 1918–1939) (1968) and Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh's *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate* (1973). Coincidentally, in the late 1970s, when Washington took a more active interest in fostering an Arab-Israeli peace, American foreign policy documents were released for general use. Similarly, Israeli foreign policy documents related to the end of the mandate were published in the early 1980s. Inquiry into American interests and policy in the later years of the Palestine mandate began appearing in the late 1970s as initial chapters in books and in articles that focused on the history of American foreign policy toward the Middle East. A spate of new journals appeared from 1970 onward in which scholarly efforts at understanding the conflict's origins were frequently published.[11]

In the 1960s, historians viewed the emotionally laden topic of the Holocaust as a segment of Jewish history, often separated from the influence it had on the world community's support for the establishment of Israel. Since Israel was a reality, studies began emphasizing aspects of the Jewish community's experience in Palestine—its institutions, personalities, and philosophical divisions before the establishment of the state. There was a proliferation of monographs, including general histories, biographies, and studies about the Jewish community's composition and connection to *Eretz Yisrael.* How, where, and when did an immigrating and pluralistic Jewish community form itself into a social amalgam? How did it interact with the Arabs in Palestine and with the British? Within a decade after the end of the June 1967 War, scores of books were published in Hebrew that reflected a renewed interest in Israel's establishment and the processes that permitted Jewish nation building. Slowly but perceptibly, these histories formed the nucleus for a geographically distinct "Israeli historiography." It emerged from the Jewish and Zionist experience in Palestine, separate from the European origins of Zionism. Notable examples in this genre of scholarship are works by Israeli historical geographers, economic historians, political scientists, and sociol-

[10] Under-utilized memoirs and personal papers include those mentioned in note 5 and those of Eliahu Eliat, Khayriyyah Qasimiyyah, Ahmed Shuqayri, Yosef Weitz, Chaim Weizmann, and Akram Zu'aytar.

[11] Important short essays were presented in *Asian and African Studies* (Jerusalem/Haifa), *Ha-mizrah He-hadash* (Jerusalem), and *Middle Eastern Studies* (London), all of which existed before the June 1967 War. A significant or major portion of the contents of journals begun after the war focused on the conflict's origins: *Hatziyonut* (1970-), *Journal of Palestine Studies* (1971-), *Shu'un Filastiniyyah* (1971-), *Cathedra* (1976-), and *Studies in Zionism* (1980-).

ogists: Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, Ruth Kark, Jacob Metzer, Dan Horowitz, and Moshe Lissak.[12]

Only one monograph published in this period superbly covers the historical origins of the conflict from late Ottoman times until World War I. Originally an Oxford doctoral thesis, Neville J. Mandel's *Arabs and Zionism before World War I* (1976) is preeminent because of its fine scholarship. Collected essays in edited volumes provide an excellent source for specific topics on the origins of the conflict. Two volumes were results of international conferences held in Israel during the late 1970s. Moshe Ma'oz's *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (1975) and David Kushner's *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social, and Economic Transformation* (1986) contain important articles on all aspects of Arab and Jewish communal activity in Palestine, primarily during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ma'oz's book includes a useful section of essays on archival resources for the history of Ottoman Palestine. Exceptional for its crisp and clear analysis in Ma'oz's book is Israel Kolatt's contribution, "The Organization of the Jewish Population of Palestine and the Development of Its Political Consciousness before World War I." Elie Kedourie and Sylvia G. Haim have edited two collections of fine essays: *Zionism and Arabism in Palestine and Israel* (1982) and *Palestine and Israel in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (1982).

Zionist histories of the Arab-Israeli conflict written after 1950 delve into the heterogeneous origins of Zionism and the multiplicity of methods used by those whose objective was to return the Jews from exile. The goal of national sovereignty was only one of many means advocated for preserving Jewish identity. Five books stand out for defining and explaining the varieties of Zionist thinking: Ben Halpern's *Idea of the Jewish State* (1961, 1969), Arthur Hertzberg's edition of *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (1959), Walter Laqueur's *History of Zionism* (1972), and Shlomo Avineri's *Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (1981). At the time of its publication, Halpern's book was pathbreaking for its insights and erudition; Hertzberg's has remained a superb anthology of writings representative of the diversity among Zionist ideologies; Laqueur's tome of more than 600 pages is a thoughtful and illuminating study effectively connecting Zionism's European origins with its evolution in Palestine; and Avineri's work is distinguished for analyzing how eighteen major contributors to Zionist ideology were influenced by their political, social, and religious milieus. The best and most detailed work on Zionism's early development is David Vital's trilogy: *The Origins of Zionism* from 1881 to 1897 (1975), *Zionism: The Formative Years* from 1897 to 1907 (1982), and *Zionism: The Crucial Phase* from 1907 to 1920 (1987).

Although biography as a genre of Zionist historiography already existed in the pre-1950 period, it was not until the 1980s that several outstanding biographies of Zionist leaders were published. They include Anita Shapira's *Berl: The Biography*

[12] See Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century: The Old City* (Jerusalem, 1984); Evyatar Friesel, *Hamediniyut Hatziyonit Le-ahar Hatzharat Balfur 1917–1922* [Zionist Policy after the Balfour Declaration 1917–1922] (Tel Aviv, 1977); Ruth Kark, ed., *The Land That Became Israel: Studies in Historical Geography* (Jerusalem, 1989); Jacob Metzer, *Hon Leumi Le-bayit Leumi: 1919–1921* [National Capital for a National Home] (Jerusalem, 1979); Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity*, Charles Hoffman, trans. (Chicago, 1978).

of a Socialist Zionist, Berl Katznelson, 1887–1944 (1984), Shabtai Teveth's *Ben-Gurion: The Burning Ground 1886–1948* (1987), Jehuda Reinharz's *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader* (1985), and Amos Perlmutter's *Life and Times of Menachem Begin* (1987).

While understanding that Palestine had Arab inhabitants, the earliest European Zionist writers tended to minimize the confrontation that would ensue. In contrast, the earliest Zionist leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine comprehend and describe the existing and escalating tension with the Arabs. Three historians have made important contributions to the understanding of Arab-Jewish relations during the mandate: Neil Caplan in *Palestine Jewry and the Arab Question, 1917–1925* (1978) and the two volumes of *Futile Diplomacy* (1983), Yosef Gorny in *Zionism and the Arabs 1882–1948* (1987), and Shabtai Teveth in *Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs: From Peace to War* (1985). Collectively, the theses in these books demonstrate that Zionist understandings of and strategies toward the "Arab Problem" were sophisticated, analytical, pragmatic, and constantly subject to revision. Superseding all Zionist policy options and attitudes toward the Arabs, however, was the *a priori* and consummate dedication to establishing the Jewish national home. During this historiographic period, an extensive array of publications appeared that focus less on ideology and more on the physical, demographic, and institutional growth of the Jewish community in Palestine. From a wide variety of political, social, geographic, and economic perspectives, a series of English and Hebrew works (including books, articles, and masters and doctoral theses) painstakingly investigate the Jewish presence and expansion during the Ottoman and mandate periods. A representative sampling of this rich historical category is derived from many publications, including those of the Israeli-based *Yad Ben Zvi* and *Yad Tebenkin* institutes.[13]

In the academic controversy about the conflict's origins, numerous studies have analyzed the right and privilege to control the geographic area of Palestine in the post–World War I period. The central issue is whether the area of Palestine was or was not to be excluded in a proposed independent Arab state at the conclusion of World War I. The historical debate is based on what was said, what was meant, what was perceived, and who had the right to make commitments. A wide range of explications has been given to the various declarations, agreements, correspondences, memoranda, treaties, statements, and commission findings that emerged during and immediately after World War I about Palestine's future. Multiple scholarly interpretations of this key issue were published in the post-1950 period and may be found in the works of Isaiah Friedman, Elie Kedourie, A. L. Tibawi, and Zeine Zeine.[14] Ronald Sanders, in *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A History of the*

[13] See, for example, Arieh Bitan, *Temurot Yishuviot Ba-galil Ha-tahton Ha-mizrahi (1800–1978)* [Changes of Settlement in the Eastern Lower Galilee (1800–1978)] (Jerusalem, 1982); Shmuel Dothan, *Pulmus Ha-halukah Bi-tekufat Ha-mandat* [The Partition Controversy in the Mandatory Period] (Jerusalem, 1979); Yehoshua Kaniel, *Hemshekh Utemurah: Ha-yishuv Ha-yashan Veha-yishuv Ha-hadash bi-tekufat Ha'aliyah Ha-rishonah Veha-sheniyah* [Continuity and Change: Old Yishuv and New Yishuv during the First and Second Aliyah] (Jerusalem, 1981); Simon Schama, *Two Rothschilds and the Land of Israel* (New York, 1978); and Zvi Shiloni, *Ha-keren Ha-kayemet Le-yisrael Veha-hityashvut Ha-tziyonit 1903–1914* [The Jewish National Fund and Zionist Settlement 1903–1914] (Jerusalem, 1990).

[14] See Isaiah Friedman, *The Question of Palestine, 1914–1918* (New York, 1973); Elie Kedourie, *In*

Balfour Declaration and the Birth of the British Mandate for Palestine (1983), offers a long but excellent synthesis of the period's diplomatic history. David Fromkin's *Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (1990) is the best popular narrative of this critical period.

The most readable short history of the mandate period is Christopher Sykes's *Crossroads to Israel*, 1917–1948 (1973). In spite of a latent pro-Zionist bias, it is an excellent synopsis of British, Jewish, and Palestinian interactions. Epitomizing meritorious scholarship on the origins of the conflict are Yehoushua Porath's two volumes: *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918–1929* (1974) and *The Palestinian Arab National Movement: From Riots to Rebellion*, 1929–1939 (1977). My book, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917–1939* (1984), addresses the social and economic processes of change that adversely affected the majority Arab rural population in its confrontation with Zionist development. Documentary evidence suggested three reasons why Zionist physical growth began and remained essentially unchallenged until the late 1930s: significant numbers of Arab peasants and notables sold portions of their patrimony to Jewish immigrants, the majority rural Arab population's desperate economic condition depleted its interest and ability to compete with Zionism's physical growth, and the British did not fulfill their pledge of financial and paternalistic support to the Arab population.

Solid histories of the Palestinian Arab community's political, social, organizational, and economic characteristics can be found in works by Yuval Arnon-Ohanah, Michael Asaf, Ann Lesch, Joel S. Migdal, Uri M. Kupferschmidt, Taysir N. Nashif, and Roger Owen.[15] Two books by Jon Kimche and David Kimche present cogent assessments of illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine and the Israeli independence war: *The Secret Roads: The "Illegal" Migration of a People, 1938–1948* (1955, 1976) and *Both Sides of the Hill: Britain and the Palestine War* (1960).

The British role in the evolution of the mandate and Arab-Jewish relations has been treated extensively in quantity and quality. Superior examples are Michael J. Cohen's two works, *Palestine and the Great Powers, 1945–1948* (1982) and *Palestine, Retreat from the Mandate: The Making of British Policy, 1936–45* (1978); Norman A. Rose's *Gentile Zionists: A Study in Anglo-Zionist Diplomacy, 1929–1939* (1973); Bernard Wasserstein's distinguished *The British in Palestine* (second edition, 1990);

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the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth: The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and Its Interpretations, 1914–1939 (Cambridge, 1976); A. L. Tibawi, *Anglo-Arab Relations and the Question of Palestine, 1914–1921*, 2d edn. (London, 1978); Zeine N. Zeine, *The Struggle for Arab Independence: Western Diplomacy and the Rise and Fall of Faisal's Kingdom in Syria* (Beirut, 1960).

[15] See Yuval Arnon-Ohanah, *Falahim Ba-mered Ha-'aravi be-Eretz Yisrael, 1936–1939* [Fellaheen in the Palestine Revolt, 1936–1939] (Tel Aviv, 1978); Michael Asaf's pioneering work on the Arab community, *Hit'orrut Ha-'aravim Veyehudim Be-Eretz Yisrael* [The Arab Awakening in Palestine and Their Flight] (Tel Aviv, 1967); Ann Mosely Lesch, *Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917–1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979); Joel S. Migdal, ed., *Palestinian Society and Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council: Islam under the British Mandate for Palestine* (Leiden, 1987); Taysir N. Nashif, *The Palestine Arab and Jewish Political Leaderships: A Comparative Study* (New York, 1979); Roger Owen, ed., *Studies in the Economic and Social History of Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford, 1982). Kuperschmidt's work is especially noteworthy because it is an in-depth institutional history.

and Ronald W. Zweig's *Britain and Palestine during the Second World War* (1986). Other very good works concentrating on the British presence in Palestine are Ylana N. Miller's *Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920–1948* (1985) and the various essays and journal articles by Gabriel Sheffer. All of these authors offer sober analysis of British or Zionist policy based on primary sources from the Public Record Office and Zionist Archives.

Only recently have the last years of the mandate and U.S. interest in the conflict become the focus of scholarly discussion. Of noteworthy attention are Ilan Pappé's *Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948–51* (1988) and two of the seven essays in William Roger Louis and Robert W. Stookey's edition of *The End of the Palestine Mandate* (1986). Louis's own essay focuses on Ernest Bevin's important role as British foreign secretary; Walid Khalidi's fine article discusses the inter-Arab rivalries that plagued the Palestine issue in the 1945–1948 period.

THE THIRD AND MOST RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PERIOD covers histories written and published from the mid-1980s to the present. This group of histories represents the shift from merely recounting causes to providing nuances, from only describing events to analyzing key aspects of the conflict's beginnings and turning points. Zionism, Israel, and components of the Palestinian community are probed in greater detail than before. The advent of available documentary and archival material from the late 1940s and early 1950s provided the substantive base for a close examination of this singularly most emotional and traumatic period in the conflict's origins. The last years of the mandate, the first years of Israel's establishment, and Israel's relations with surrounding Arab states have become a distinct area of inquiry. A portion of these works, particularly those investigated by Israeli and former Israeli scholars, scrutinizes Zionist policy, the actions of Zionist-Israeli leaders, and explains the components, tone, and severity of animosity that developed between the Arab and Zionist communities.

Two general points are made by the "revisionist" historians: Israeli and Zionist leadership had broader and deeper contacts with their Arab neighbors than historians had previously understood, and some of the Zionist leaders were directly to blame for creating the Palestinian refugee problem. The small number of writers on this topic, led by Benny Morris's *Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–1949* (1987) and Avi Shlaim's *Collusion across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (1988), contribute important additions to earlier research published in Hebrew. Although their conclusions are not new, these authors are the first to present a vivid and detailed description in English of the frequency, methods, and motivations associated with the Arab-Israeli state and inter-Arab relationships. The essence of the recent histories has been who-said-what-to-whom-and-when and who-did-what-to-whom-and-why. The debate about culpability—who was responsible for the Palestinian refugee problem—became the topic of conferences and public debate in Israel. From a scholarly controversy, it evolved into a contentious feud charged with malice, characterized by claims of anti-Israeli/pro-Arab sympathy, and

reduced unnecessarily to spiteful personal attacks.[16] The episodic and largely Israeli academic response to Morris and Shlaim was a result of their more detailed explanations of previous postulations. They provide essential texture and depth to the general understanding of the motivation of individuals who influenced events during this most sensitive period in the conflict's origins.

Shlaim's main thesis is that Emir Abdullah of Transjordan and the Zionist leadership in Palestine reached an understanding about sectioning Palestine after the mandate's conclusion, with Britain as a willing conspirator. Abdullah's furtive and intermittent relationship with Zionists originated in the early 1930s and outlasted the end of the mandate. While it was known that to varying degrees Arabs, Jews, and the context of the war were all responsible for the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem, Morris was the first to annotate and chronicle its emergence in great detail. Although neither Shlaim nor Morris amplify an old cause or discover a new one in recounting the origins of the conflict, they contribute to its historiography by clarifying the processes of human interaction in the Zionist-Arab struggle to control Palestine. A few works less well known than those of Shlaim and Morris do add substantive dimensions and details to the period. Their authors, Dan Schueftan, Tom Segev, Avraham Sela, and Mary Wilson, concur that Jordan's Emir Abdullah succeeded in making a deal with the Zionists to take a portion of Palestine's territory west of the Jordan River.[17] There is less agreement about whether the arrangement was merely a tacit understanding revised as the 1948 fighting progressed or was explicit. The debate about the promises between Abdullah and the Zionists in the 1947–1950 period is reminiscent of the unclosed historical dispute about pledges and perceptions among Arabs and Zionists during the World War I period.

Two decades before Morris and Shlaim published their "revisionist" histories, Israeli historians had initiated a scholarly review of Arab-Jewish and Arab-Zionist contacts extending from the 1880s to the late 1940s. In his 1965 publications in *Middle Eastern Studies* and *St. Antony's Papers*, Neville Mandel recounted how the Zionists circumvented Ottoman restrictions against Jewish growth in Palestine. His research revealed two new and important points. First, Arab antagonism for the early immigrating Zionists was pronounced, prominent, and widespread in Palestine prior to World War I; second, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was not so much the starting point of the conflict as a turning point that greatly aggravated an existing trend of animosity between the two communities. In 1968, Ya'acov Ro'i's article in *Middle Eastern Studies* incisively depicted Zionist attitudes

[16] A verbal war has developed between Shabtai Teveth, David Ben-Gurion's biographer, and Benny Morris, the author of *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*; see the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* of April 7, 14, and 21, May 9 and 19, 1989; *Tikkun* (November–December 1988); Benny Morris, "The New Historiography," in his *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (Oxford, 1990), 1–34; Shabtai Teveth, "Charging Israel with Original Sin," *Commentary* (September 1989): 24–33; and "The Palestine Refugee Problem and Its Origins," *Middle Eastern Studies* (April 1990): 214–49.

[17] See Dan Schueftan, *Optziyah Yardenit* [A Jordanian Option] (Tel Aviv, 1986); Tom Segev, *1949: Ha-yisre'elim Ha-rishonim* [1949: The First Israelis] (Jerusalem, 1984); Avraham Sela, *Mi-maga'im Le-ma'sa-U-matan: Yahase Ha-sokhnut Ha-yehudit U-medinat Yisrael 'Im Ha-melekh 'Abdullah, 1946–1950* [From Contacts to Negotiation—Jewish Agency and Israel State Relations with King Abdullah, 1946–1950] (Tel Aviv, 1985); Mary Wilson, *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan* (Cambridge, 1988).

toward the Arabs before World War I and made it clear that the Zionists knew they had a serious problem with the indigenous Arab population. Ro'i's work is based on an unpublished master's thesis completed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1964. In 1970, Meir Verete published an article on the origins of the Balfour Declaration in *Middle Eastern Studies*. He discredited the widely held notion that Britain's promise in 1917 to the Jews to facilitate the establishment of a national home was motivated by blind emotional pathos for Zionism. Yosef Luntz's Hebrew article in *Ha-mizrah He-hadash* in 1972, "Diplomatic Contacts between the Zionist Movement and the Arab National Movement at the Close of the First World War," gives a fascinating analysis of the meetings of Zionist leaders with Arab counterparts in Damascus and Constantinople. Morris and Shlaim benefited from the earlier works of these Israeli historians who had chronicled Arab-Jewish contacts and described emerging and changing Zionist policy toward the Arab community in Palestine.

In a study that continues the trail of Jewish or Zionist-Arab contacts, Itamar Rabinovich, *The Road Not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations* (1991), discusses the Arab-Israeli conflict's formative years in the wake of the 1948 war and armistice agreements signed in 1949. Rabinovich contends that Israel's quest for security and the Arab quest for vindication cannot be reconciled; finding a solution to Arab-Israeli differences is impeded by the issues of territory and refugees. Three other works focus on the Palestinian Arab society and politics. Issa Khalaf's *Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939–1948* (1991) is an excellent in-depth study of the political disorientation of the Palestinian community and its leadership in the 1940s in Palestine. Khalaf's treatment of the Palestinian Arab leadership, particularly Hajj Amin al-Husayni, is distinctly harsher than Philip Mattar's in *The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement* (1988). Mattar presents a more sympathetic assessment of the Mufti's key role in shaping the Palestinian Arab response to Zionism and the British mandate. Perhaps the best collection of essays published in this period was Gad G. Gilbar's *Ottoman Palestine, 1800–1914: Studies in Economic and Social History* (1990). The insightful use of Ottoman source material in each article is admirable.

ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO DEARTH OF SOURCE MATERIAL on the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict, there is a shortage of trained Middle Eastern historians who read Arabic and especially Hebrew and who divorce themselves from contemporary politics when writing about the conflict's origins. Because of political outlook, impatience, or a penchant for brevity, some authors do not succeed in putting terms and concepts (such as state, nation, and independence) into historical perspective. Advocacy of a political viewpoint may supersede nuances of terminology, the causation of events, or the identification of mechanisms of change in the conflict's evolution. Issues that were controversial ten, fifty, or eighty years ago remain contentious today. During World War I, did the British include Palestine in the promise for Arab independence? Cursory essays or alleged histories of the

Arab-Israeli conflict often function as if the time since World War I has negated the significance of this critical question. Scholarship is not the relegation of a historical controversy to a simplified and polemical assertion of the author's preference.[18]

Until very recently, a sense of proportion was absent from the writings on the conflict's origins. During the late Ottoman and mandate periods, Zionists and Arabs did not absolutely detest one another. They were people with differing levels of fears, aspirations, and commitments to their communities, people being influenced by a variety of external forces. Although a review of the 1947–1950 period reveals an amplification of previous assumptions, a study of the social, cultural, and economic dimensions of the entire period until 1950 has only recently begun.[19] Now that political histories are being written about the leaders of the Zionist and Palestinian communities, it is necessary to refine the distinctions about the nature and composition of the common people who participated in the conflict's origins.

Finally, in all three historiographic periods, Jewish, Zionist, or Israeli authors have dominated investigation of the politics of the conflict. Motivations for studying the causes of the conflict have not changed greatly: the passion of Jews throughout the world to know more about their common origins, a need to understand Israel's creation and sustenance in the shadow of the Holocaust, and the Palestinian Arab community's interest in comprehending its relationship to Zionism in the past and to Israelis in the present. Since 1948, the Palestinians have waged a prolonged battle for recognition and identity. Once the Palestinians and other Arab states find a solution to their present differences with Israel, another historiographic period may be generated for further study about the beginnings of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Perhaps then, the emphasis of many Middle Eastern historians will be transposed from political interpretations of the conflict's current status to a fuller exploration of its origins.

[18] See Deborah J. Gerner, *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict over Palestine* (Boulder, Colo., 1991), 29; and Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael, "Palestine and the Palestine Question," in their edited volume, *Politics and Government in the Middle East and North Africa* (Miami, Fla., 1991), 293.

[19] Examples of initial research in the social, economic, and cultural fields of the mandate and its populations can be found in Rachelle Taqqu, "Peasants into Workmen: Internal Labor Migration and the Arab Village Community under the Mandate," in Migdal, *Palestinian Society and Politics*, 261–86; Jacob Metzer and Oded Kaplan, *Meshek Yehudi Ve-meshek 'Aravi Be-Eretz Yisrael Tozar Ta'asukah Ve-zemiha Betkufat Ha-mandat* [The Jewish and Arab Economies in Eretz Yisrael: Product, Employment and Growth in the Mandate Period] (Jerusalem, 1990); Kenneth W. Stein, "Palestine's Rural Economy, 1917–1939," *Studies in Zionism*, 8 (Spring 1987): 25–49; A. L. Tibawi, "English Education for Palestine Arabs 1914–1930," *Orient*, 23 (March 1982): 106–21.