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Mazin Qumsiyeh

Popular Resistance in Palestine

- Aujourd'hui - Israël/Palestine ou l'inverse - Israël-Palestine -



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"Qumsiyeh's inspiring accounts of both the everyday and the most extraordinary acts of Palestinian indigenous resistance to colonialism expose the misguided claims that Palestinians have never tried nonviolence ; in fact, they are among the experts, whose courage, creativity, and resilience are an inspiration to people of conscience everywhere. Even with the arms of a military superpower, the Israeli government's failure to quell the Palestinians' spirit and insistence on human rights reminds us that the greatest strength of all belongs to those with justice on their side, who will ultimately triumph." Anna Baltzer

"This is a timely and remarkable book written by the most important chronicler of contemporary popular resistance in Palestine. Mazin Qumsiyeh brilliantly evokes the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi, Edward Said, Rachel Corrie and many others, to tell the unvarnished truth about Palestine and Zionist settler colonialism. With its focus on 'history and activism from below', this is a work of enormous significance. Developing further his original ideas on human rights in Palestine, media activism, public policies and popular, non-violent resistance, Mazin Qumsiyeh's book is a must read for anyone interested in justice and how to produce the necessary breakthrough in the Israel-Palestine conflict" Prof. Nur Masalha

"Mazin Qumsiyeh's insider's chronicle of Palestinian civil resistance and its quest for self-reliance, independence, political rights, and self-liberation clearly shows that collective nonviolent action by Palestinians has been neither episodic nor an aberration, but remarkably consistent and for nearly a century. His sweeping account belongs on the bookshelves of Israelis who are fearful, Palestinians who are unsure of next steps, and a global community that has yet to take a meaningful stand for peace with justice. Anyone concerned about the future for all the peoples of the Middle East will take encouragement from his invigorating analysis." Mary Elizabeth King, professor of peace and conflict studies, University for Peace, and author, A Quiet Revolution : The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance

'Mazin Qumsiyeh's book is enlightening and powerful. It reveals the human suffering and destruction of Palestinian people and land, which are the appalling consequences of Israel's ethnic, nationalist, military, project that has displaced the indigenous Palestinian population and committed crimes of genocide and apartheid. In spite of such injustice, we can all take hope and inspiration from Mazin's stories of the lives of the courageous Palestinian people who make the real, often unrecorded, history. Their peaceful spirit and persevering struggle for human rights and international law, has been, and continues to be, carried out (in the main) by popular nonviolent resistance. Their method of active NV resistance deserve to be known more widely by the International community who need to see such examples, so they too can reject violence, militarism, and war, and build their security and freedom on Human rights and International Law.' Mairead Maguire, Nobel Prize Winner, <u>www.peacepeople.com</u>

Abstract

http://divergences.be/sites/divergences.be/local/cache-vignettes/L277xH400/cover1-bad30.jpg

The book summarizes and analyzes the rich 130+ year history of civil resistance in Palestine discussing the challenges and opportunities faced in different historical periods with emphasis on trends, directions and lessons learnt. The aim is to put before the reader the most concise, yet most comprehensive and accurate treatment, of a subject that has captured the imagination and interests of the global community. Looking at the successes, failures, missed opportunities and challenges in this period allows people to chart a better direction for the future.

Synopsis

There is a litany of writings about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that cover issues like wars, economic deprivation, terrorism (state and individual), human rights, religious beliefs, land, and governance. There are hardly any books and writings about civil resistance (see section below on competitive titles). Further, we can learn from any setback of collective grass-root efforts to chart a more informed path to a future of peace with justice. I reviewed over 800 sources (more than half of them in Arabic) and included over 300 as key citations from newspapers, interviews, press releases, articles, and books in different languages. This allowed me to bring together something not attempted before : a compilation of issues of civil resistance in Palestine over 130 years with a well-informed analysis on the history, status and prospects of civil resistance in Palestine going forward.

Over two-thirds of the 10 million native Palestinians in the world are refugees or displaced people. This outcome, like all other similar situations in history such as in South Africa, could not have come about without resistance to the violence of colonialism. But most of this resistance has been in the form of civil/nonviolent resistance that is little discussed elsewhere. This book will answer an acute need in the literature on this neglected area. Because there has been key transformative events that bookmark chapters of our history, we use the intervening periods as indeed chapters to discuss what acts of civil resistance transpired and what lessons are drwan from them.

These period : the resistance to Zionism during the Ottoman rule (from the first colonies in 1878 til 1917) ; the British era from 1917 (Balfour Declaration) to 1935 ; the 1936-1939 uprising ; the period between the start of WWII and the Nakba of destruction of hundreds of Palestinian towns and villages between 1947-1949 ; the period of fragmentation of the Palestinian population in exile and divided among the rule of Israel, Jordan and Egypt (to 1967) ; the unification under one ethnocentric Jewish state after 1967 to 1987 ; the uprising of 1987-1991 ; the Oslo years 1992-2000 ; and the Al-Aqsa Intifada starting in 2000.

Various UN resolutions and customary International law affirmed the legitimacy of armed resistance. For example, UNGA A/RES/33/24 of 29 November 1978 "Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle". The principle of self-determination itself provides that where forcible action has been taken to suppress the right, force may be used in order to counter this and achieve self-determination. Considering decades of ethnic cleansing, violence, destruction, it is actually surprising how few Palestinians engaged in violent resistance as a whole (whether internationally sanctioned or not). In fact, from the first Zionist colony in 1878 until the 1920s, we show in this book that nearly 50 years had elapsed of popular nonviolent resistance.

This work is timely and will be highly readable for the following reasons :

A) the depth of data mining done to achieve a concise and highly readable yet comprehensive study based on original sources (over half from Arabic sources) on a subject that has received little attention,

B) the uniqueness of the approach in looking at success of civil resistance as an empowering history with lessons for the future,

C) the growth of interest in civil resistance in Palestine concomitant with failure of traditional political structures to address societal needs, and

D) the International community's growing active involvement in this struggle.

The book makes the following arguments/generalization from analysing the history of civil resistance :

a) Colonial situations (especially those that strip people of their lands and homes) by nature involve the use of violence against the native population. Such colonial situations generate resistance that is recognized as legitimate by International law. That native resistance is a Bell shaped curve : a small portion is collaborative (asking nicely and accepting whatever is given), most of it nonviolent, some of it violent and even a smaller portion extremely violent. As any statistician would tell you eliminating a portion of the curve would cause it to renormalize in short order (whether what you eliminate is those who engage in violence or nonviolence).

b) The violence of the occupiers/colonizers always kills many times more natives than colonial settler populations. For example the ratio of civilians killed was 10:1 (Palestinian : Israeli) and over >100:1 (European settlers : Native Americans).

c) Palestinians resist by simply living in their homes, going to school, eating and living. That is because this colonial occupation wants all Palestinians to give up and leave the country (to give Israel maximum geography with minimum native demography). When the Palestinian Shepherds in Atwani village continued to go to their fields despite repeated attacks by settlers and even the attempted poisoning of their sheep, that is non-violent resistance. When Palestinians walk to school while being spat on, kicked and beaten by settlers and soldiers, that is non-violent resistance. When Palestinians spend hours at check points to get to hospital, their farm land, their work, their schools, or to visit their friends, that is non-violent resistance. Palestinians have resisted by countless other ways as detailed in this book.

d) The vast majority of the civil resistance detailed in this book originate bottom up from the grassroots. Political parties and leadership are usually taken off-guard by the start of new uprisings and the inventions of new resistance methods. Occasionally movements may evolve into political initiatives as The Palestine National Initiative and the One Democratic State Group <u>www.odsg.org</u> but most of the time they simply influence existing political formulations to perform differently.

e) Locals ask what will we do : engage in personal struggle by violent or nonviolent resistance or a mix ? But it It is rather useless for armchair theorists to lecture people thousands of miles away about tactics and strategies. It is better for people in Europe and North America to work to effect change in their own governments and media (entities that are directly involved in perpetuating the injustices) to bring a just resolution to this conflict.

f) Individuals can change and adopt a nonviolent lifestyle even after spending years with violence. That is the power of human intellect and strength of spirituality. The Seville Statement on Violence was adopted by UNESCO at the 25th session of the UN general assembly on 16 November 1986. Drafted by eminent scientists, it lays out facts and debunks mythologies including myths that the human species which invented war cannot eliminate war. http://www.unesco.org/shs/human_rights/hrfv.htm This document lays out the foundations for a world without war and injustice. The few hundred examples of Palestinian civil resistance (among many more) inspire and mobilize us to seek a world without war and injustice.

g) The evolution of human societies is moving in a direction that made military confrontation less acceptable. As the UN was established, more and more people have come to recognize that force cannot be used to bring domination and control. But the cost of war has also become rather unacceptable in the era of 2 ton bombs, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Further, having military superiority has become less likely to produce the results desired by political leaders. Take the quagmire of the US in Iraq and Afghanistan as examples or the failure of the Israeli massive attack on Lebanon in Summer 2006 and on Gaza in December 2008-January 2009.9 In older days, combat can be done far away from civilian populations and ruling elites who get insulated from the conflicts. Today, citizens cannot be safe when their country goes to war even when they are not combatants.

Competitive Titles

There has been no shortage of discussion of the history of the Palestine/Israel conflict at the political level, the violence that accompanied the struggle, the accusations and counter accusations and so on. Many books are written in Western languages to support the Zionist version of history1. Other books report the Palestinian versions of the same events2. It is not unusual to have such differing versions in a land whose ownership and control moved from natives to immigrant settlers from around the world. Sometimes, revisionist historians shatter some mythologies but this happens many years and sometimes decades after key events. We saw this with the Israeli new historians (Avi Shlaim, Ilan Pappe, Tom Segev, Simha Flapan, Hillel Cohen) deconstructing the events of 1947-1949 that resulted in mass exodus of the native Palestinians.

While having different takes on history, most books articulate stories of actions by governments and by powerful leaders in conflict situations. Fewer books tell of a possible peace based on justice, human rights, and international law. Others tell meaningful stories of ordinary people living and adapting and struggling. There is however a paucity of material published that tells the rich history and the amazing achievements of the main forms of Palestinian resistance. Some books written by Westerners, unfamiliar with local language and dependent on published sources or interviews with elite Palestinians have failed to do justice to this subject. Treatments were occasionally narrow to certain period. Others were superficial/shallow and yet others were outright denigrating and condescending. Johan Galtung's "Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine"3 does a fair job showing some aspects of the period 1987-1989. And we are grateful that the 1987 intifada is included in books such as "A Force More Powerful : A century of nonviolent resistance" BY Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall (New York, Palgrave, 2000). The work of Mary Elizabeth King 4 was based on many interviews with individuals who identified themselves as leaders of the Palestinian civil struggle. It emphasized the period of Palestinian resistance to the Zionist colonization after 1987 and laid out a good framework for discussion. However, the book received a rather negative review in the Journal of Palestine Studies : "she overstates her case by allowing her methodology and convictions to color a complex reality. Steered by her convictions and her sources inside the East Jerusalem bubble, King attempts, ex post facto, to force a popular uprising characterized by a powerful blend of civil disobedience and stone throwing into the ideological straitjacket of nonviolence. It doesn't fit. This is a lamentable drawback to a book that otherwise is highly readable and admirably rich in detail." 5. It is still better than Orientalist condescending treatments like those found in Herbert Adam and Kogila Moodley.6 Yet, other Westerners visiting the same area may go the other direction and romantic and oversimplify the complex Palestinian struggle7.

The practical and methodical (almost story telling) format of describing acts of civil resistance in Palestine in the proposed book (with a rich source of resources used from different languages) represents a novel presentation that could not be found elsewhere.

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There are also over 50 illustrations covering examples of civil resistance and resisters from late 19th century to the first decade of the 21st century. A Table of Contents is at the end.

Chapter breakdown

The book is organized in 14 chapters that logically present the arguments in favor of civil resistance, a history o and lessons drawn from civil resistance in different and distinct historical periods and draws the reader into a world of positiev and energizing actin for change. The first chapter introduces the subject and delves into issues of structure and definition for civil resistance generally. Chapter 2 explains that Palestinian civil resistance from its inception has overwhelmingly been about creation of a democratic society with respect and equality for all people (Jews, Christians, and Muslims etc). In chapter 3 we delve deeper into the what, why, and how civil resistance is practiced. The local context of civil resistance given in chapter 4 explains how actions of civil resistance in Palestine relied on a wealth of Palestinian religious traditions of tolerance, respect, and drawing boundaries on what is and what is not permissible in conflicts. These preparatory chapters (1-4) are followed by the main book section that includes Chapter 5 to 12 describing details of Palestinian civil resistance from the inception of the Zionist political idea in the mid 19th century until today. The lessons learned from these different time-periods are analyzed in each chapter. For example we see that, during different time periods, political opportunism and divisions diminished or even destroyed successful trends of civil resistance while selfless acts of civil resistance from individual and dedicated teams made a big difference in history.

In Chapter 5 we delve into civil resistance during the Ottoman Rule from the first hints of political Zionism in the 1840s until the end of this rule on Palestine in 1917 (Zionism made little inroads here thanks to Palestinian civil resistance). The Ottoman weaknesses in the 19th century with conflicts at the periphery of the empire forced deals that gave inroads to Western powers in Palestine. A lesson learned from this period is that the ability to organize effective resistance was hampered by isolation of Palestinian elites from the masses, by the Turkish-Arab rivalry, and by feudal structures that tried to face-up to well-organized and well-financed International Zionist movement. But the inroads Zionism had in Palestine before 1917 were small and inconsequential thanks to Palestinian civil resistance in a milieu of Ottoman systems.

In Chapter 6 we analyze the increased resistance following the qualitative leap forward in the Zionist project from the Balfour and Jules Declaration leading to Hibbet AlBuraq in 1929 and what followed to 1935 (a build-up of injustice that set the stage for revolution). Palestinian society during the British rule was riddled with problems but responded remarkably well to the onslaught of Zionist and British efforts to dismantle it and establish a Jewish homeland in its place. Having gone through the dramatic changes from four centuries of Ottoman rule to British rule was a traumatic and perhaps least investigated aspect of the shifts in power and allegiances in the Palestinian society. This new British rule was unique. For, in addition to being a colonial rule, it had a distinct new twist : to fulfill the Balfour declaration of creating a "Jewish homeland" in predominantly Arab Palestine. The appointment of the Zionist Herbert Samuel was key to advancing the Zionist project in Palestine and we examine in this book how the British society was kept in the dark about the reality in the ground. The darkness was only penetrated in brief periods thanks to the Palestinian civil resistance. The British elite responded by "divide and conquer policies" some of which unfortunately worked as when some Palestinians worked with the authorities against the national cause. Most notable the quarrels between the Husaini and Nashashibi factions and these elites' isolation from the interest of the average Palestinian ensure a limitation on what could be accomplished.

The uprising/revolt of 1936-1939 deserved a separate chapter 7 as systemic violence entered into the equation and the mix of violence and nonviolence became a staple of Palestinian discourse for the following decades. Systemic and unyielding British support for the Zionist project began to crack only when Palestinians engaged in massive resistance between 1936-1939. As in other uprisings, a grassroot movement pushed hard and the entrenched elite political leaders reluctantly joined to ride the wave of the uprising as it rose. The occupying authorities implemented collective punishment for Palestinians, preferential treatment of Jewish settlers (arming them also), assignment of land deeds, and changing status and access to holy sites like the Western Wall and Waqf lands (these are lands deed to Islamic religious use).

The devastation of the political leadership that accompanied the devastation of Palestine after the 1936-39 uprising led into the years of the Second World War and the brief three years that followed with acts of civil resistance continuing (Chapter 8). Coupled with the refusal to fulfill of the basic human rights of the locals, including the right to self-determination, these policies engendered resentment and resistance.

The British policies at the time were classically similar to those implemented elsewhere in the British colonial world : brutal and calculating and divisive. Thousands were arrested over the years for nothing more than voicing opposition or establishing political parties that challenged the colonial rule. Those who resisted violently were hunted down and killed. Hangings were common. The lines between the colonial Zionist settlers, the British occupation, and even local Jews who benefitted but not involved continued to be blurred. There were three periods of flare-up in the resistance, 1921, 1929, and 1936-39. The latter period saw some Palestinian organized guerrilla fighters and resist systematically with arms. But, the Great Palestinian Revolt of 1936-1939 also elevated the forms of civil resistance from petitions and protests to outright civil disobedience. The more aggressive measures of civil resistance, together with some violence, caught the British and Zionists unprepared. But they quickly adapted and managed to take advantage of opportunistic squabbling Palestinian political leaders (who themselves were happy to take on co-opting what was a successful revolt). The Palestinian economy, social cohesion, and organizational abilities were dealt a very heavy blow. The void was filled by other forces post WWII including by newly independent Arab states. It took another generation to rebuild a truly independent Palestinian voice.

Chapter 9 dissects examples of civil resistance in the period from the Nakba of 1948 to the Naksa of 1967 inside and outside of the 'Green line'. Our study also shows that Palestinians mobilized essentially in isolation inside the Green line between 1949-1966. Not only were they isolated from their Arab and Islamic hinterland, but they faced and empowered and brutal military rule that attempted to crush them separate them from their remaining lands. Palestinians outside the Green Line (in Gaza, West Bank, and exiled in other countries) had other problem. They did not have direct contact with their oppressors and colonial power and they had lots of contact and work in the Arab and Islamic world. They had to develop ways of struggle and coping that were unimagined before 1948.

As Israel occupied the rest of Palestine in 1967, an era of one state of oppression reemerged and so did concomitant resistance throughout Palestine (Chapter 10). The 1967 war changed this landscape dramatically in both positive and negative ways. Israel's military superiority allowed it to occupy and control vast new Arab areas. But the war also shocked people to realize that the Arab leaders were impotent to make changes. Palestinians began to build their own representative institutions to challenge those loyalists to Arab leaders (e.g. slowly the influence of King Hussain in the West Bank weakened despite both Israeli and Jordanian policies to strengthen those traditional loyalists). By the 1973-1974 periods, the nationalist trends dominated (with a very small minority representing Islamic and Royalist support). The support for the PLO and the growth of civil institutions in the occupied areas (on both sides of the Green line) mushroomed. Israel tried all tactics at its disposal to crush these nationalist feelings to no avail. The harsher its repression, the stronger the resistance grew. Israel's adventure and massacres in Lebanon between 1975-1987 were attempts most of all to kill the resistance by killing its outside symbols.

We devote chapter 11 to the Intifada that became known as Intifadat AlHijara (1987-1993). Even the PLO traditional

leadership was caught off-guard and quickly worked its way back to connect with people on the inside and connect with a new generation of activists. Our analysis reveals that, like the uprising of 1935-1939, the uprising of 1987-1991 ended because of a) political leadership interest in dominance and factionalism, b) external circumstances (start of WWII and start of the gulf War respectively), c) societal stress, and c) collaborative Arab leaders both near and far.

The history section closes with the Oslo years and AlAqsa Intifada (Chapter 12) and the increasing split between Secular and Religious nationalist elements. Here the most notable civil resistance forms of the past accelerated but also added new forms such as an increasing internationalization with the development of the International Solidarity Movement and a qualitative and quantitative jump in efforts of civil resistance especially after the building of the segregation wall around Palestinian communities. We discuss Boycotts, Divestments and Sanctions strategies in Chapter 13 explaining why their effort intensified recently and the future impact in the increasing Internationalization of the civil resistance. The book is concluded with a chapter summarizing lessons learned from the 130+ years of struggle and by looking to a future of liberation aided by civil resistance. This would bring peace based on human rights and resulting in full equality for all communities in the Holy Land.

Through academic connections with authors, editors, and publishers, we will get the book reviewed positively in reputable journals that would give it credibility and visibility. That it will be published in four languages (Arabic, English, Spanish, and German; arrangements have been made for the non-English versions) in the first year would also maximize the media blitz for it in different countries. As an author, I also plan to continue to publish op-eds and expand activities of appearing in print, visual and audio media.

About the Author

The ability to converse with the key actors freely in their original language and go to the primary Arabic sources (newspapers, books, original declarations and speeches of resistance leaders) in addition to all the published English sources allows me to give the reader a better perspective on trends of civil resistance, mistakes, opportunities missed, and much more in a more nuanced and realistic manner. A summary of my background is below and a full CV is attached.

Dr. Mazin Qumsiyeh is a Professor at Bethlehem and Birzeit Universities and is Chairman of the Board for the Rapprochement Center in Beit Sahour. He previously served on the faculties of Duke and Yale Universities and on the board/steering/executive committees of a number of groups including Peace Action Education Fund, the US Campaign to End the Occupation, the Palestine Right to Return Coalition, the Palestinian American Congress, Association for One Democratic State in Israel/Palestine, and BoycottIsraeliGoods.org. He advised many other groups including Somerville Divestment Project, Olympia-Rafah Sister City Project, Palestine Freedom Project, Sabeel North America, and National Council of Churches of Christ USA. His main interest is media activism and public education. He published over 200 letters to the editor and 100 op-ed pieces and interviewed on TV and radio extensively (local, national and international). He also published over 150 scientific articles and over 100 articles dealing with various aspects of the struggle in Israel-Palestine. Appearances in national media included the Washington Post, New York Times, Boston Globe, CNBC, C-Span, and ABC, among others. He also regularly lectures on issues of human rights and international law. His other books include 'Bats of Egypt', 'Mammals of the Holy Land', "Sharing the Land of Canaan : Human Rights and the Israeli/Palestinian Struggle" (the latter was also translated to Spanish) and an activism book published electronically on his web site (http://qumsiyeh.org).

See also "Where is the Palestinian Gandhi" by Mazin Qumsiyeh, The Link - Volume 43, Issue 3, July - August 2010

http://www.ameu.org/page.asp?iid=291&aid=621&pg=1

Some of the conclusions from the study summarized in this book (that utilized over 600 sources, interviews and personal experiences) :

a) Colonial situations (especially those that strip people of their lands and homes) by nature involve the use of violence against the native population. Such colonial situations generate resistance that is recognized as legitimate by International law. That resistance is a Bell shaped curve. A small portion is collaborative (asking nicely and accepting whatever is given), most of it nonviolent, some of it violent and some of it extremely violent. As any statistician would tell you eliminating a portion of the curve would cause it to renormalize in short order (whether what you eliminate is those who engage in violence or nonviolence).

b) The violence of the occupiers/colonizers always kills many times more natives than colonial settler populations. For example the ratio of civilians killed was 10:1 (Palestinian : Israeli) and over >100:1 (European settlers : Native Americans).

c)While few ideologues tried to portray Palestinians as either falling into the camp that supports violent resistance and those that support nonviolence, the polls indicate that a majority support both. In the decades of the struggle against Zionism, a classic evolution of violent and nonviolent resistance emerged that is not different in character than those seen in Algeria (against the French) or in South Africa (against apartheid). Perhaps we saw far more diversity of groups and tactics than those other places (see for example the description of the dozens of Palestinian groups and organizations formed to resist the Zionist colonization.

d) Palestinians resist by simply living in their homes, going to school, eating and living. That is because this colonial occupation wants all Palestinians to give up and leave the country (to give Israel maximum geography with minimum native demography). When the Palestinian Shepherds in Atwani village continued to go to their fields despite repeated attacks by settlers and even the attempted poisoning of their sheep, that is non-violent resistance. When Palestinians walk to school while being spat on, kicked and beaten by settlers and soldiers, that is non-violent resistance. When Palestinians spend hours at check points to get to hospital, their farm land, their work, their schools, or to visit their friends, that is non-violent resistance. Palestinians have resisted by countless other ways as detailed in this book.

e) The vast majority of the popular resistance detailed in this book originate bottom up from the grassroots. Political parties and leadership are usually taken off-guard by the start of new uprisings, the inventions of new resistance methods etc. Movements may evolve into political initiatives such as happened to The Palestine National Initiative or the movements for one democratic state.

f)From the beginning, there was always struggle between camps that favored cooperation (some would say collaboration) with the occupiers in hope of getting something and those who favor confrontation and non-cooperation. The camps at one time were along family line (e.g. Nashashibi, Dajani, Husseini families in the 1920s) or along broader political lines (e.g. the political parties of the early 21st century). This is a natural phenomenon of resistance to colonial rule and ending colonial rule has never happened with 100% cooperation or 100% non-cooperation. Thus, "Palestinians may need to actually did act simultaneously within distinct loci of power (currently existing or yet to be formed) both to check the power of their own political leadership and to sustain the momentum of the struggle".

g)There was always popular resistance in Palestine but the intensity sometimes increased and some time weakened due to external and internal factors (an ebb and flow phenomenon that were spaced at 9-15 years on average). It has succeeded in thwarting many (not all) Zionist programs that aimed to transform the country to a Jewish state at the expense of the native people.

h) Increasingly, the Palestinian popular resistance has come to involve internationals including Israelis to positive and energizing effects.

i)The boycott, divestment, and sanctions campaign has grown logarithmically over the past few years and gives great indications for the future (Chapter 13).

j)It is rather useless to lecture people here about tactics and strategies. It is far better to come and get engaged and work with the growing popular resistance movement to help accelerate changes already taking place.

k)Individuals can change and adopt a nonviolent lifestyle even after spending years with armed struggle.

I)Human societies are evolving in a direction that made military confrontation less acceptable. As the UN was established, more and more people have come to recognize that force cannot be used to bring domination and control. But the cost of war has also become rather unacceptable in the era of 2 ton bombs, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Further, having military superiority has become less likely to produce the results desired by political leaders. Take the quagmire of the US in Iraq and Afghanistan as examples or the failure of the Israeli massive attack on Lebanon in summer 2006 and on Gaza in December 2008-January 2009.

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Local civil resistance/nonviolent struggle Groups (selected)

Addameer Prisoners' Support & Human Rights Association

Ad-Dameer Association for Human Rights

Adalah http://www.adalah.org

The Adam Institute http://www.adaminstitute.org.il/

Addameer Human Rights and Prisoner's Support Association : http://www.addameer.org

Al-Haq http://www.alhaq.org

Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights www.mezan.org

Al-Rowwad Cultural and Theatre Training Centre, www.alrowwad.virtualactivism.net

Alternative Information Center <u>www.alternativenews.org</u> Anarchists Against the Wall <u>http://www.awalls.org</u>

The Association for Civil Rights in Israel <u>http://www.acri.org.il</u> The Association of Forty <u>http://www.assoc40.org</u>

Aswat : www.aswat-palestiniangaywomen.org

BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights : www.badil.org/

Bilin Popular Resistance Committee http://www.bilin-village.org

Birzeit University Right to Education Campaign : <u>http://right2edu.birzeit.edu</u> <u>http://boycottisrael.info/</u>

Breaking the Silence : http://www.shovrimshtika.org

B'tselem : <u>www.btselem.org</u>

Civil Coalition for Defending the Palestinians' Rights in Jerusalem http://www.ccdprj.ps

Coalition for Jerusalem http://coalitionforjerusalem.blogspot.com

Coalition of Women for Peace www.coalitionforpeace.org

Combatants for Peace http://www.combatantsforpeace.org/

Defence for Children International Dar Annadwa <u>http://www.annadwa.org</u>

Global Palestine Right of Return Coalition http://www.rorcoalition.org/ http://www.badil.org

Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (Stop the Wall) - www.stopthewall.org

Gush Shalom http://www.gushshalom.org

Holy Land Trust : <u>www.holylandtrust.org</u>

Independent Commission for Human Rights (ICHR) International Solidarity Movement : <u>www.palsolidarity.org</u>

Ir Amim http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng

Israeli Citizens in Support of BDS http://boycott-occupation.mahost.org/

Israel Committee against Home Demolitions www.icahd.org/eng/

Ittijah: The Union of Arab Community Based Organizations : http://www.ittijah.org

Jerusalem Legal Aid & Human Rights Center (JLAC) Joint Advocacy Initiative between the YMCA and YWCA <u>http://www.jai-pal.org</u>

Library on Wheels for Nonviolence and Peace Association <u>www.lownp.com</u> Maaber : <u>http://www.maaber.org</u>

Matzpun, Israel Campaign http://www.matzpun.com/

Neve Shalom/Wahet Asalam :http://nswas.org/

Nonviolence International : <u>www.nonviolenceinternational.net</u>

Occupation Magazine http://www.kibush.co.il/

Occupied Palestine and Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative (OPGAI)

Open Bethlehem : www.openbethlehem.org

Open Shuhada Street Campaign http://openshuhadastreet.org

Palestinian Boycotts, Divestments, and Sanctions movement http://bdsmovement.net

Palestine Center for Human Rights : <u>www.pchrgaza.org</u>

Palestinian Campaign for Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel http://www.pacbi.org/

Palestinian Centre for Rapprochement between People : www.rapprochement.org / www.PCR.PS

Palestine Heritage Center : www.palestineheritagecenter.com

Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group : www.phrmg.org

Palestinians and Israelis for nonviolence, http://pinv.org

Palestine News Network : <u>www.palestinenet.org</u>

Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations Network : www.pngo.net/

Palestinian Prisoners' Society : www.ppsmo.org/

Popular Struggle Coordinating Committee http://popularstruggle.org/

Rabbis for Human Rights : www.rhr.israel.net

Right To Education Campaign http://right2edu.birzeit.edu

Right to Enter Campaign http://www.righttoenter.ps

Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center : www.sabeel.org

Shabakat Al-Muqata'a Al-Sha'biya http://www.whyusa.net/

The Parents' Circle/Families Forum http://www.theparentscircle.com/

The Rebuilding Alliance http://www.rebuildingalliance.org/

The Right to Enter the Occupied Palestinian Territory : <u>www.righttoenter.ps</u> Ta'ayush : <u>www.taayush.org</u>

Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees : www.upmrc.org/

Union of Palestinian Women's Committees : <u>www.upwc.org/E_Home.htm</u> Yesh-Gvul : <u>www.yesh-gvul.org</u>

Wi'am : Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center <u>http://www.alaslah.org</u> Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling (WCLAC) Women's Studies Center

Palestinian Civil resistance, Palestinian Popular resistance, Palestinain resistance, Non-Violent struggle, nonviolence, terrorism, violence, peace in Palestine, Israeli occupation, Israel/Palestine Peace