



Communism versus Zionism: The Comintern, Yishuvism, and the Palestine Communist Party

by *Johan Franzén*

This article discusses how the official communist position on the Zionist project in Palestine went from hostile condemnation in the early 1920s to wary support after World War II. In so doing, it focuses on the ideological struggle between the traditional party line and “Yishuvism,” a theory that sought to reconcile Zionist and communist ideas, as it played out in the two bodies most closely involved in shaping Comintern policy on Palestine (the Palestine Communist Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain). In following the tortured justifications for evolving positions, the author identifies the key actors shaping the debate and turning points impacting it, especially the 1936–39 Arab Revolt, Britain’s 1939 White Paper, and the wartime fight against fascism. The author contends that an important reason for the USSR’s post-war about-face on Palestine was the success of the Yishuvist ideological campaign.

JOHAN FRANZÉN is a Ph.D. student in the modern history of the Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He would like to thank Ali Ali, Dr. Paul Lalor, Sada Mire, and Dr. Charles Tripp for insightful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

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Language of Propaganda: The Histadrut, Hebrew Labor, and the Palestinian Worker
by *Steven A. Glazer*

This article examines the terminology used in the Hebrew Labor picketing campaign of the 1920s and 1930s. It considers the framework within which the Histadrut conceived its efforts—using metaphors of war, religion, morality, and medicine and illness—and surveys the terms used to describe the Palestinian worker. Finally, the language of Hebrew Labor opponents—grove owners and parties to the left of the mainstream Labor Zionists—is examined in the context of rebuttals to Histadrut claims and charges.

STEVEN A. GLAZER is associate professor of history at Graceland University in Lamoni, Iowa. The research upon which this article is based was assisted by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council and by a grant from the United States Department of Education Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program. Their support is gratefully acknowledged.

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Humanism, Scholarship, and Politics: Writing on the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict
by *Sara Roy*

This essay discusses the role of the intellectual in writing on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, exploring the relationship between scholarship and politics and the writer's moral and political responsibility. A personal account based both on the literature and on the author's two decades of experience researching and writing on Palestinian-Israeli issues, the essay addresses three recurring themes—objectivity and partisanship, process, and dissent. In so doing, it challenges the essentialist positions that argue against the role of individual judgment and subjectivity in the conduct of research, especially on politically sensitive issues. The essay addresses the critical tasks of the humanist scholar who writes on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the ways in which scholarship can play both a pedagogical and moral role.

SARA ROY, a senior research scholar at Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, is the author of more than 100 publications on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, including *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development* (IPS, 1995, 2001, revised third edition forthcoming). The current essay is adapted from the preface of her latest book, a collection of her selected works, entitled *Failing Peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (Pluto Press, 2007).

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The Islamic Movement inside Israel by *Shaykh Ra'id Salah*

Shaykh Ra'id Salah is one of the founders of the Islamic movement in Israel and one of the most important Arab religious and political leaders in the country. The movement, founded in the 1970s, emerged officially in the early 1980s when it fielded candidates in municipal elections. Since then, it has become one of the major political and social forces among Israel's Palestinian population, along with the communist (Hadash) and national democratic (Balad) parties. Over the past three decades the Islamic movement has gained wide popular support, largely because of its effective network of social services and welfare programs within the Palestinian community as well as in response to local and regional political developments, namely the rise of political Islam in the Middle East. In 1996, disagreement within the movement concerning participation in the national elections to the Israeli Knesset led to a split. Shaykh Salah became the head of the "Northern Islamic Movement" (so named because its leadership was concentrated mainly in Um al-Fahm and northern Israel), which opposed participation in national elections on ideological grounds and takes part only in elections for the local councils. The "Southern Islamic Movement," on the other hand, until recently headed by Shaykh Abdallah Nimr Darwish, opted to run in Knesset elections. Widely seen as more flexible and less militant, with greater willingness to accept Israel's identity as a Jewish state, the Islamic Movement's southern wing today has two Knesset seats (running as part of the United Arab List). However, the Shaykh Salah faction is the larger and more influential of the two. Despite his refusal to participate in Israeli parliamentary elections, Shaykh Salah is unquestionably a national figure. While mayor of Um al-Fahm (from 1989, when he was elected with 73 percent of the vote, until his resignation in mid-2001), he served as vice chairperson of the National Committee of Arab Mayors. He continues to be a prominent member of the High Follow-Up Committee for the Arab Citizens in Israel, the most important leadership body of the Palestinian community in Israel. As founder and president of the al-Aqsa Institution for Maintaining the Islamic Sacred Places, he has played an active role in the preservation of Arab religious sites, both Muslim and Christian, in Israel and the occupied territories. He has raised large sums for the repair and restoration of al-Aqsa Mosque and works tirelessly to promote his movement as the true guardian of the Haram al-Sharif. Every year the Northern Islamic Movement organizes a rally called "al-Aqsa Endangered" in Um al-Fahm, which attracts thousands of Palestinian citizens from across Israel. Shaykh Salah, known for his personal modesty and integrity, is adept at synthesizing religion and nationalism, a synthesis particularly evident in the centrality of al-Aqsa mosque as both a religious and national symbol in his activism. The activities of Shaykh Salah and his movement have long been monitored by the Israeli government. The movement's weekly newspaper Sawt al-Haq wal-Hurriyya (Voice of Truth and Freedom) has been closed several times by administrative order. In September 1998, he was hospitalized after being beaten by police while protesting land confiscations near Um al-Fahm, and on 1 October 2000 he was wounded by a rubber bullet during the demonstrations by Israel's Palestinian citizens at the start of the second

intifada. In this latter connection, Shaykh Salah and two other Palestinian leaders (Azmi Bishara and `Abd al-Malik Dahamsha) received “warning letters” from the Or Commission, the official commission of inquiry established by the Israeli government to look into the October 2000 clashes, during which thirteen unarmed Palestinian citizens had been killed by police fire. The warning letter to Shaykh Salah accused him of “supporting violence as a means to attain the goals of the Arab sector in Israel,” of “denying the legitimacy of the existence of Israel,” and of “portray[ing] the state as an enemy.” The Or Commission reiterated these allegations in its final August 2003 report, which also found that Shaykh Salah had substantially contributed to “provoking tempers and the violent and widespread outburst that took place in the Arab sector at the beginning of October 2000.” Nonetheless, the Commission concluded that since Shaykh Salah no longer held public office, having in the meantime resigned as mayor of Um al-Fahm, there was no need to “make a recommendation” regarding him. The commission’s “warning letters” and accusations against the Arab leaders were widely criticized in the Palestinian community as attempts to absolve the Israeli government of responsibility for the October events. In any case, by the time the Or Commission report was issued Shaykh Salah was already in prison and facing trial, having been arrested in May 2003 and charged along with four other members of the Northern Islamic Movement for supporting “terrorism” by raising money for West Bank Islamic charities claimed by Israel to be linked to Hamas and for contacting a “foreign agent” (i.e., Iran). In the course of the trial, which lasted more than a year and a half, the charges were scaled back and the charge of contact with Iran was dropped. In January 2005, Shaykh Salah was sentenced as part of a plea bargain to three and a half years imprisonment (including three years of suspended sentence). He was released in July 2005. Shaykh Salah was interviewed in his office in Um al-Fahm on 28 May 2006 by Jamil Dakwar, a member of the JPS Editorial Committee and former senior attorney with Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, who also wrote this introduction. The interview, conducted in Arabic, was translated by Aiman Haddad.

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