



## **Mada al-Carmel's Annual Conference 2024**

### **The 1948 Palestinians and the War on Gaza**

**29 June 2024**

#### **Participants and Abstracts**

##### **Opening Remarks**

###### **Elham Shamali**

Researcher on the Palestinian issue, and supervisor of Master's degree students at the Al-Aqsa University, Gaza

###### **Areen Hawari**

Researcher in feminist studies, and Director of Mada al-Carmel – Arab Center for Applied Social Research

##### **Session Moderators**

###### **Jowana Jbara**

PhD candidate in gender studies, and coordinator of Mada al-Carmel's Annual Conference

###### **Tareq Khatib**

Lawyer and political activist

## **Ali Mawasi**

Poet, editor, and PhD candidate in cultural sciences

## **Conference Papers and Contributors**

## **Mtanes Shihadeh**

Researcher in political science, Director of Mada al-Carmel's Israel Studies Program

### **Title of paper: An Analysis of Attitudes among 1948 Palestinians towards the War**

#### **Abstract**

The paper presents the results of a public opinion survey conducted by Mada al-Carmel in mid-May 2024 on the effects of the war on 1948 Palestinians in several areas, including the economic effects; their attitudes towards the war on the Gaza Strip; their assessment of the current political situation and the future of the Palestinian issue; the impact of the war on their status as citizens in Israel, and on relations between themselves, the state and Jewish society; and their evaluation of the performance of political parties and leaders, and of the High Follow-up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel during the war.

The results of the survey demonstrate that the 1948 Palestinians incurred economic damage as a result of the war, and that the extent of this damage varied according to their area of residence. They further indicate that 1948 Palestinians have difficulty in assessing the political situation that will result from the war in the Gaza Strip in particular, and the Palestinian issue in general. The results reveal greater clarity regarding the ways in which the Israeli government has dealt with 1948 Palestinians, and their relationship with Jewish society following the outbreak of the war. The survey additionally shows dissatisfaction among respondents with the performance of political parties, leaders and the High Follow-up Committee during the war.

## **Jad Kaadan**

PhD candidate in cultural sciences and linguistics

**Title of paper: How Do We Comprehend Genocide? An analysis of texts from the Palestinian cultural magazine *Fusha***

### **Abstract**

How do Palestinians comprehend the annihilation and genocide in the Gaza Strip since October 7? This paper investigates and analyzes Palestinians' conceptualization of the death and genocide in the Gaza Strip, addressing the concept of sacrifice in particular.

An analysis was carried out of a sample of 120 literary and artistic texts on the events in Gaza that have been published during the war in the Palestinian cultural magazine *Fusha*, issued by the *Arab48* website. Four main themes emerged from the texts that influence the conceptualization of death in the shadow of the genocide: firstly, the active concern with documentation; secondly, the speed and intensity of the genocide and the killing; thirdly, the form of death; and fourthly, the tension between the mythologization and demythologization of Gazans.

## **Habeeb Makhoul**

Holds a Master's degree in public policy, researcher at Mada al-Carmel

**Title of paper: The Story of Uncle Tom: The 1948 Palestinians and political marginality**

### **Abstract**

In the midst of the genocidal war on the Gaza Strip, many 1948 Palestinians have preferred to stay on the margins and not to participate in any movement calling for an end to the war, over eight months after it began. The question therefore arises: Why was their reaction to the seizure of homes in Sheikh Jarrah in 2021, for example, stronger than their response to one of the most horrific genocides of modern times?

One of the answers lies in the different ways in which Israel deals with Palestinians in the different geographies of historical Palestine, which leads to differences in the form of the relationship with the colonial master. The paper sets out the Palestinian dilemma from this perspective, attempts to understand it, and proposes an argument to change this equation. In

addition, it seeks to dismantle the false assumption that Israel actually treats Palestinians on either side of the Green Line differently in any essential way.

## **Haneen Zoabi**

Political activist and former Member of the Knesset for the National Democratic Assembly party

### **Title of paper: Delayed Transformation in the Island of 1948: When we fear politics**

#### **Abstract**

This paper aligns with the human beings in the Gaza Strip and the human capacity to touch the humanitarian borders. It sides with the Gazan experience, which necessitates that we reformulate concepts that have shaped our political work. The paper bears concerns about the experience of the complex relationship of the 1948 Palestinians with the Gaza Strip, and with their own people in general, and likewise about testing the difficult moments that come along with the slogans “one people” and “one issue”. It views this relationship as neither fully engaged nor oblivious, neither harmonious nor detached.

The paper argues that the “Gaza Moment” constitutes a test for the 1948 Palestinians within the reality of their current relationship with their own people and with the Jewish state. This relationship is not quite the political project that we have borne, and nor is it entirely the political praxis on the ground, where censorship is repressive in the extreme. It is, generally speaking, the fantasy that we look upon and push the relationship towards, the imagination that seeps out of us in spite of all censorship.

## **Mohammad Awwad**

Lawyer and political activist

### **Title of paper: 1948 Palestinians and the Exchange Deal: Between enemy citizenship and naked citizenship**

#### **Abstract**

October 7 was a seminal event in the Israeli regime's understanding of itself, and of its relationship with the Palestinians in all the places where they exist, and in particular of its relationship with the 1948 Palestinians. Israel has practiced policies of repression against the 1948 Palestinians as part of the genocidal war on the Gaza Strip. This in turn leads us to rethink the substance of the Israeli citizenship that was granted to the 1948 Palestinians, to cognitively re-conceptualize, and construct an analytical-cognitive framework for understanding Israeli citizenship through the new seminal event in Israeli politics: October 7.

The paper argues that the arrests were not a legal issue, but rather a political issue, given that they entrench the distinction within the Israeli system between 'friend' and 'enemy', and that October 7 recreated what took place in 1948. The paper also believes that the inclusion of the 1948 Palestinians in the exchange deal for the release of Jewish citizens confirms the exploitation of the Palestinians, as per Giorgio Agamben, and reduces their existence and citizenship to a naked citizenship.

## **Mohanad Mustafa**

Lecturer and researcher in political sciences, and Academic Director of Mada al-Carmel's Graduate Studies Program

### **Title of paper: The 1948 Palestinians and the War: Place and status**

#### **Abstract**

The paper attempts to address the Palestinian political situation amid the war on the Gaza Strip, which has exposed a political fragility that reflects the political transformations that Palestinian society has undergone. The paper will deconstruct the state of silence and fear that has prevailed during the war, the concepts of privacy and citizenship, and comprehend the condition of citizenship in the context of the war and state of emergency.

## **Honaida Ghanim**

Researcher in political sociology, and Director of the Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies (MADAR)

**Title of paper: The Awakening of Sleeping Beauty: A reading of the discourse of the “Israeli left”**

### **Abstract**

The paper reviews the discourse of the Zionist left, and how it has dealt with the events of October 7 and the war on the Gaza Strip. In particular, it focuses on the discourse of the Zionist left, as revealed in writings of their ‘awakening’ and declarations of ‘repentance’, and in the de-politicization of the events and their framing using concepts of anti-Semitism.

The paper views the discourse of the Zionist left as a reflection of its intellectual structure, which is based on the subordination of universal values to ethnic and nationalist values. This in turn means that its field of perceptions, ideas, concepts, and variations is essentially governed not only by the interests of the tribe, but also by its symbolic imagination.

## **Yousef Taha**

Student activist, holds a Master’s degree in the humanities

**Title of paper: Palestinian Students in Israeli Universities: Between persecution and limited effectiveness**

### **Abstract**

Following October 7, the Israeli establishment launched a campaign of mass persecution and incitement against Palestinian students in Israeli universities in a manner that is without precedent in recent decades.

This paper explores and begins to analyze the moment that is being experienced by Palestinian students in the university space inside the 1948 territories. It argues that examining the present moment offers a broad entryway to understanding the dynamics of the student-university field over the last decade, through an analysis at two levels: state policies, and Palestinian self-agency (represented by the student movement). From this perspective, the paper tracks recent political persecution faced by Palestinian students, which has ranged from threats of expulsion, referrals to disciplinary committees, and the arrests of dozens of students. The paper also examines the functioning of student movements and Palestinian self-agency in response to this campaign.