THE POLITICAL MAPPING OF PALESTINE

Linda Elizabeth Quiquivix

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Approved by:

Altha J. Cravey

Banu Gökariksel

John Pickles

Alvaro Reyes

Sara Smith

Jonathan Weiler

ABSTRACT

LINDA QUIQUIVIX: The Political Mapping of Palestine
(Under the direction of Altha J. Cravey)

Debates on the Israel-Palestinian conflict abound. Insofar as these discussions focus on what peace between Israelis and Palestinians might look like, they often resort to what the map should look like. Motivated by concerns over how cartographic practices have become uncritically adopted by the Palestinian movement since the advent of the "peace process," this dissertation critically examines the map's role in producing the conflict, in hindering a liberatory politics, and in maintaining the current impasse. This study is largely structured as a genealogy of Palestine's maps from the nineteenth-century to the present—an array of mappings produced by a multitude of actors: colonial, religious, nationalist, statist, diasporic and revolutionary, both from above and from below. These historical-political excavations are theoretically grounded within the literature on critical cartography, the production of space, and feminist political geography. They are examined empirically through archival research, ethnographic methods, and discourse analysis. This study's theoretical intervention highlights the map's production of Palestine as a space of ownership and control. Its political intervention points to the map's role in producing such a conception. For if the ways that we conceive of space are bound to the politics that we adopt, the map's ubiquity in this century-long conflict requires critical examination.

DEDICATION

for Ayoub Asaliya

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Palestinians, both those in this study and those I haven't met, keep forcing me to ask difficult questions about the kind of world I'd like to live in. I don't know if without my mother I could have begun to ask, for she was perhaps my first Palestinian teacher. I know that saying "thank you" cannot repay this debt, but perhaps acting on that gratitude from here on out can help get me closer.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

ARIJ	Applied Research Institute in Jerusalem
DFLP	Democratic Front from the Liberation of Palestine
GE	Google Earth
LMN	Lebanese National Movement
MAN	Movement of Arab Nationalists (also: ANM, Arab National Movement)
MAP	Mapping Agency for Palestine
MOP	Ministry of Planning
NAD	Negotiations Affairs Department
NSU	Negotiations Support Unit
OCHA oPT	Office for the Coordination Humanitarian Affairs occupied Palestinian Territory
PA	Palestinian Authority
PALGRIC	Palestinian Geographic Center
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNC	Palestinian National Council
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
ZOA	Zionist Organization of America

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is motivated by a concern over how cartography directly assisted in the dispossession of the Palestinians, and how it later became adopted uncritically as tool for self-determination by the Palestinian movement itself. Its overarching suggestion is that, if our conceptions of space are bound to the politics we adopt (Massey 2005), then the map's ubiquitous role in the Palestinian Question makes cartography itself a question worthy of examination. For insofar as the answer to the Palestinian Question is Palestinian sovereignty, then the question is more precisely one of territory, and its answer is assumed to be the map.

Borrowing from theoretical tools within the literature on critical cartography, the production of space, and feminist political geography, I apply three key ideas to the Palestinian context. The first posits that cartography produces space as an object for ownership and control, and, in the process, renders people's lives invisible or secondary in their role in the production of space (Lefebvre 1991). This phenomenon, which we can see develop throughout the history of maps of Palestine[1], was first introduced under a colonialism which sought to produce a "Palestine without Palestinians" so to speak,

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[1] Notwithstanding the inextricable relationship between Palestine and Israel, this study focuses on the mapping of Palestine pre-1948, as well as the struggle for Palestinian self-determination with an emphasis on the various imaginings of Palestine today. As such, I use "Palestine" rather than "Palestine/Israel" or "Israel/Palestine" when underscoring this focus.

and later became propagated by the Palestinian leadership itself. In either case, Palestinians as political actors are denied.

The second key theme is that treating space as nation-state territory—that is, in treating space as that which is to be bounded, closed, measured, and known for sovereign control[2] (Elden 2010)—inhibits positive interactions between groups and individuals, triggers competitive localisms, and produces dangerous conceptions of the Other (Massey 1994). As Sack reminds us, not all places are territories; but precisely because territory is linked with power, it is important to distinguish between a place as territory and other types of places (Sack 1986). Under the conflation of self-determination with sovereignty after the French Revolution (Cobban 1970), the understanding of space *qua* territory has escalated. Following the First World War, self-determination became institutionalized as the nation-state ideal, and Jewish self-determination implemented in Palestine through the State of Israel at the direct expense of the Palestinians following the Second World War. It was not until the 1980s that this political strategy also became adopted by the Palestinian leadership, and institutionalized by the current Oslo peace process' acceptance of a "two-state solution." As Palestinian politician and writer Shafiq Al-Hout pointed out, this strategy entailed a shift of politics from liberation to independence (Al-Hout 2011).

Notably, the cartographic spirit arose within the Palestinian movement as it experienced this shift. Thus, the final, related idea that I develop is that politics

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[2] In understanding the relationship between the map, the nation-state, and space, I find useful Elden's working definition of territory, which he understands as a "political technology" which comprises techniques for measuring land and controlling terrain (2010: 17).

manifests in spatial forms. In the Palestinian case, as we will see, strategies of liberation seek "open" spaces, while strategies of independence seek to "close" space. In this study I show that independence has closed the realm of struggle, limiting politics to the Occupied Territories, or rather "the 1967 borders," thus disenfranchising those Palestinians left "outside" these areas. Further, in its struggle to delineate the borders of sovereignty, the strategy of independence has moved the locus of politics away from everyday Palestinians and up toward negotiators and cartographers seeking to draw a line, delineating the realm of control.

While in this project I am largely concerned with the question of how, when, and to what end the Palestinian leadership began to adopt the modern map as the frame by which the political is thought, I am equally interested in discussing alternative cartographies of Palestine by Palestinians currently refusing the "colonial template." Therefore, this dissertation also takes seriously mapping practices "from below" in order to highlight the value of understanding Palestine in non-territorial, non-sovereign ways. It is my hope that attention to such mappings can help usher in creative ways forward, for dominant conceptions of Palestine promoted by Israel and the U.S. today make sharing the land impractical and a resolution to the refugee question unthinkable.

Research Questions

This study is informed by the following overarching question: How do various mappings of Palestine inform the political strategies of the current impasse, or alternatively, open up an experimental political space that moves beyond the status

quo? To engage with this question, I investigated three specific themes and corresponding research questions:

1. *The cartographic production of Palestine* – <u>What is the political genealogy of the modern map of Palestine?</u> How has the map been constituted through complex and multivalent power struggles? What is the religious and colonial history of the modern map, from Holy Land maps produced by Europeans to Palestine's first boundary delineations by the British Empire? What do these maps include and exclude? How have these maps become the self-evident starting point, or "template" for thinking about the political?

2. *Politics "from above"* – <u>How does reliance on the colonial template inform the political strategies adopted by the Palestinian national movement today?</u> How do actors relying heavily on modern maps understand space as closed, or as a "container," where a neat fit between identity and territory is desirable and even possible? How does this view of Palestine "from above" translate into a vertical, hierarchical politics? At what moments does this view assume that people not occupying positions of authority have little agency in addressing their political situations?

3. *Politics "from below"* – <u>How does attention to alternative mapping practices point toward another conception of what counts as the "political" realm, and to what (and where) Palestine is?</u> How do these alternative mappings produce Palestine as a non-territorial space? At what moments do they produce Palestine in a way that exceeds relation of map to territory? If we conceive of these

activities as exercises of power, what can their significance be vis-à-vis a liberatory politics?

Theoretical Framework

I theoretically ground this historical-political excavation within the literature on critical cartography, the production of space, and feminist geopolitics.

Critical Cartography

Critical cartography challenges professional cartography by situating the map as a discourse of "power/knowledge," after Foucault (1980), displacing them as neutral scientific documents. Key works within the literature posit that the traditional manner in which we understand the map, and the way it fashions knowing and seeing, have often been negative and disenabling (Harley 1989; Wood 1992). Donna Haraway's notion of "situated knowledges" (Haraway 1988), which helps link epistemological questions to power and vision, is often drawn upon to help destabilize cartography as an neutral practice. In her investigations on what counts as knowledge, Haraway places emphasis on the role of the "disembodied" scientist in his or her (but often his) claims to objectivity and universal knowledge, a phenomenon which she refers to as a "god-trick." This "view from no where," so to speak, ignores our human limitations, convinces us objectivity is possible, and obscures from us questions concerning who has the authority to look and from where. Rather, once we acknowledge that all knowledge claims are embodied, it becomes crucial to understand that the observer's knowledge or vision reflects her position in society. This allows for an understanding

that the oppressor and oppressed will inevitably have different observations of the world. Thus, we must understand scientific truth as intricately linked to power and the location (e.g., social, economic, or cultural origin) of the observer (cf. Barnes 2000; Livingstone 1992). For Haraway, the best we can hope for is a situated knowledge, or "feminist objectivity." Once that is accepted, one can claim only partial knowledge of what there is to know. The observer's partial knowledge is relevant and interesting, but only part of a bigger picture.

While not all views from above are problematic (they are another way of seeing in the world), the problem arises if we fall into thinking that vertical distance lends to truth (Massey 2005: 107). As scientific instruments bearing deep traces of Enlightenment values like Reason and Truth, maps have been remarkably successful in attesting to objectivity (Wood and Krygier 2009). To be sure, space conceptualized as empirical—the space of measurement—is not "wrong," but is simply one way of writing and thinking about space thus is limited (Thrift 2003).

Following Michel Foucault's work on the centrality of vision in creating authority and maintaining discipline and order (1995), Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979) showed how a colonial gaze "knows" the world in order to have power over it. This is a Reason that sees, dominates, and instrumentalizes humans; it develops the social sciences not simply to know humans but to control them. This gaze perpetuates colonial institutions and practices even after formal colonialism has been dismantled. The discourse of Orientalism, initially the European knowledge production of the "Orient," has become and continues to be the frame within which the West knows,

represents, and ultimately *produces*, the Middle East. And much like Haraway would later argue, for Said no production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its scientist involvement as a human subject in his or her own circumstances.

Derek Gregory acknowledges that, within the discipline of geography, there exists a "cartographic anxiety" (Gregory 1994) about the map's complicity in imperial/colonial power and the chronic persistence of this relation in present assumptions about cartography (Sparke 1998). This has led some scholars to suggest that "more indigenous territory has been claimed by maps than by guns ... [thus,] more indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended by maps than by guns" (Nietschmann 1995), fueling indigenous movements to "counter-map" (Peluso 1995; Said 1996: 27). Counter-maps are effective in disrupting truth claims but are interesting in themselves for their ability to engender notions that non-state actors can make competing and equally powerful maps (Wood 1992) as Palestinian scholars and artists have done in recent years (cf. Abu Sitta 2005; de Vet 2007; Khalidi 1992).

In line with such cautious lenses into counter-maps, I am interested in examining the sets of values maps and mapping institutions hold. To this end, this study approaches the map as a discourse of "power/knowledge" and I follow Foucault (1980) in that discourse *creates* rather than reveals knowledge about the world. This insight helps historically situate the current impasse over Israel/Palestine which competing truth claims have been unable to resolve. As Palestinian scholar Beshara Doumani has recently argued, the Palestinian's ongoing displacement and dispossession is likely to

continue as long as the leadership remains within the conceptual terrain laid out by the Zionist movement and the imperial powers that established the modern state system in the Middle East (Doumani 2007: 51-52). I suggest that the map *is* the "conceptual terrain" Doumani describes and I argue that alternative mappings could introduce other terrains. So rather than only examining the political strategy of calling into question the *content* of maps, this study also adopts a critical gaze toward the map itself as a framework for conceptualizing space (Crampton 2004; Kitchin and Dodge 2007). This requires me to attend less to what a map is (a spatial representation) or what a map does (communicates spatial information), but "*how the map emerges* through contingent, relational, context-embedded practices to solve relation problems" (Kitchin and Dodge 2007: 342, original emphasis). To help pick up on this challenge, I adopt relational approaches to space.

Spatial Theory

Currently, human geographers writing about space seek to abandon any notion of pre-existing space in which things are embedded. Rather, they favor of an idea of space as undergoing continual construction (Thrift 2003: 96). This is a "relational" view, where rather than viewing space as a container within which the world proceeds, space is seen as co-constitutive of these proceedings (*ibid*.). I follow Doreen Massey's ideas toward a relational approach (2005: 9), which can be articulated in a set of three intertwined propositions: (1) space is a product of interrelations, constituted through

social interactions; (2) space is the sphere of co-existence, multiplicity, and heterogeneity; and (3) space is always under construction, never finished, never closed.

Scholars have also become cautious of what maps of the world as seen "from above" do to our conceptions of space. As discussed in the previous section, such a view has been key in fostering a false sense of objectivity. But the distanced view also promotes the notion of space as an object. Through a subject/object split, the observer (themselves unobserved) is positioned outside and above the object of the gaze (the territory) (cf. Agnew 2003). Caution is necessary under such a conception, for treating space as an object has historically engendered a geographical imagination where nature and its local inhabitants have become merely resources for settlement, domination, and exploitation (Gregory 1994).

How space is produced as an object of domination and control—and how it might be produced otherwise—is an important intervention in *The Production of Space,* Henri Lefebvre's key text. Lefebvre organized his understanding of space around three interrelated spheres: "conceived space," "perceived space," and "lived space" which together produce space (Lefebvre 1991: 33, 38-9). Conceived space is the conceptualized space of planners, scientists, and urbanists that tend towards a system of verbal signs (1991: 39). They take on physical forms as maps, plans, models and designs. These forms can be textually read as the history of ideologies (1991: 116)—a key insight I adopt in my research's reading of colonial maps and in post-Oslo maps. Perceived space is the realm of spatial practices and mobilities of everyday social life, and the commonsensical perception which blends popular action and outlook. I

consider my examination of the daily rhythms of Palestinian life as engaging with this sphere. <u>Lived space</u>, the central and perhaps the most ambiguous element of Lefebvre's model (1991: 33, 38-39), embodies both conceived and perceived spaces without being reducible to either. It is the space of inhabitants and users, a space of pure subjectivity, of human experiences (Elden 2004; Watkins 2005) of people's sense-making, imagination, and feeling of the organizational space as they encounter it—that is, their "local" knowledge.

I approach this final sphere as not only transcending but also holding the possibility to refigure the balance of popular "perceived space" and official "conceived space" (Gottdiener 1985). I engage with this sphere of the triad in my examinations of alternative cartographies of Palestine "from below," most notably where I examine the alternative spaces produced under refugee counter-mapping on Google Earth, and where I suggest that the Arab uprisings since 2011 are producing new "Palestinian" spaces through a shared subjectivity of struggle.

Important literatures that adopt Lefebvre's triad (Harvey 1991; Hernes 2004; Watkins 2005) treat each of the three spheres as pieces or quantifications, but following Lefebvre's explicit understanding of the triad as "the three *moments* of social space" (Lefebvre 1991: 40, my emphasis), I understand these three spheres as overlapping. I understand them as "lenses" that continually intersect elements of space in a social context. Each lens generates different data, but at the same time, refers to, *as a whole*, the space that they come to represent. Thus, in my effort to understand the production of, and struggle over Palestine, my task is to hop constantly from one lens to another.

This requires that I not approach the "local" as distinct from (or in opposition to) the "global," but understand the two as co-constitutive (Massey 2005). I prefer instead to describe Palestine as a "contextual" site. To help me further elucidate my understanding of the spatial's co-constitutiveness in a political context, I turn to the feminist political geography literature.

Feminist Political Geography

Political geography, in the broadest sense, examines the intersections of space and power. As an area of study, the sub-field has changed historically but the themes of borders, order, power, and resistance have always been central to its operation (Agnew, Mitchell, and Ó Tuathail 2003: 2). Feminist geographers have contributed to this scholarship by expanding the definition of what counts as the realm of the political (cf. England 2003).

To understand how power functions, traditional scholarship in political geography often draws upon Antonio Gramsci's theorization of "hegemony" (1971) which focuses upon how power relations become taken for granted or viewed as "common sense." These ideas focus on how subordinated groups "follow" political goals that are of greater benefit to the more powerful; alternatives are seen as "radical" or "unrealistic;" the dominant ideology is seen as "eternal" or "natural." I find this approach helpful in understanding how actors and institutions attempt to use maps to produce hegemonic rationalities to order the political. However, following Michel Foucault (1980), my conception of power is sensitive to its spatial organization and

11

places emphasis on power *relations* rather than on the quality of power in and of itself. The understanding that power is exercised relationally leads me to explicitly recognize that power is not a thing to be possessed (e.g., by the state, particular actors, or institutions). I understand power as intelligible in terms of the *techniques* through which it is exercised.

It is here where the feminist political geography makes a contribution for this study: under its theoretical tools, the *locus* of power is expanded beyond the exclusive realm of elite actors and toward ordinary people. Accordingly, under my working definition of the political, political space is constitutive; it is an ongoing process in which societies are constituted in and through struggle (Staeheli and Kofman 2004: 3). Thus, my work does not accept the map of Israel/Palestine as the self-evident starting point from which to think about the political; rather, I understand the map as continually produced through complex and multivalent struggles.

Feminist scholarship also points to power's exercises as taking place in the realm of the everyday. Feminist geopolitics, in particular, seeks to understand the gaze of the world "from above" as obscuring its everyday manifestations. The subfield builds from the work of critical geopolitics, a school of geography that seeks to unveil the "disguises, dissimulations, and rationalizations of power" (Dalby 1994: 595). Critical geopolitics challenges the commonsensical understandings (and practices) of "peace," "violence" and "war" within the state system (Dalby 1991) and situates power not in the hands of a sovereign state or individual, but more in relational ways that traverse a spectrum of scales of social life (Sparke 1998). Still, the critical geopolitical

literature seems to have an exclusive focus on the textual—as opposed to the embodied and the everyday—leaving it open to charges of elitism and of academic distance (Sharp 2000). In response, feminist scholarship extends the work of critical geopolitics by articulating "a more embodied way of seeing" (Hyndman 2004: 312).

While gender is a central concern of feminist scholarship, it is not assumed to be in all times and spaces the primary basis of oppression, persecution, or exclusion (Anzaldúa 1987). Rather, the focus is more broadly on the prevailing power relations and discursive practices that position groups of people in hierarchical relations to others based on differences (Hyndman 2004: 309). Here, the importance of scale is emphasized: a feminist geopolitical imagination aims to "remap" geopolitics by interrogating scale as pre-given and discrete from other levels of analysis (*ibid.*). While feminist geopolitics engages with global scales of analysis, it does so without abandoning the attention to and the importance of the embodied everyday experience of peoples in different locations in the world economy (Sharp 2007: 381). These theorizations see the body, nation, and global as indicative of the same processes at different scales. J. Ann's Tickner's feminist approaches to international relations theory in the post-Cold War era (Tickner 2001) and Hyndman's feminist analysis on September 11 (Hyndman 2003) are examples of work that, as Joanne Sharp states, reconfigure "the geopolitician's concern with often abstracted, state-based notions of security into a form that is embodied in the material figure of the civilian body" (Sharp 2007: 384). To counter the hegemonic authority of science and its ability to subordinate, once again the debt to Haraway's work is clear: feminists rely upon an

13

alternative epistemology of science put forth by Haraway to diversify and enrich our understanding of the world by engaging into dialogue with each other. For such dialogue to have meaning, however, the location of the knowing subject should be made clear.

Thus, following feminist perspectives that challenge the masculinism of political geography's "view from nowhere" (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997), my work invokes geographies and locations for politics that have not been the traditional focus of the sub-discipline. Indeed, a major "blindspot" in political geography has been its overwhelming concentration upon elites who control states and institutions (Gilmartin and Koffman 2004). My approach, on the other hand, understands the political as involving actions and behaviors in both formal and informal political spaces.

Methodological Engagements

My empirical research stemmed from archival research, interviews, and discourse analysis while living in the West Bank between September 2010 to August 2011 and while at my home university September 2011 through March 2012. In contending that space and politics are socially constructed, methodologically this entailed an understanding that knowledge is socially constructed as well. This perspective, often referred to as "social constructivism," holds that people seek to understand the world in which they live. To this end, they develop subjective meanings of their experiences— meanings directed toward certain objects or things—which are varied, multiple, and forged through social interactions (cf. Crotty 1998; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Neuman

2005; Schwandt 2000). I therefore found a qualitative approach to be the most fitting for this investigation. The intent of qualitative research is to understand a particular social situation, event, role, group, or interaction; therefore, this entails immersion in the everyday life of the setting chosen for the study (Marshall and Rossman 2006). The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants, sites, and histories that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question.

Data Collection

I identified and collected key maps from the nineteenth-century to the contemporary era. I investigated Palestine Exploration Fund maps at École Biblique in Jerusalem, a library founded in 1890 to embrace the new scientific approaches to the Bible, and at the Kenyon Institute in Jerusalem. The David Rumsey Historical Map Collection provided me with high-resolution map scans of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and Palestine (1799). I noted the actors and data sources used in producing these maps; the dissemination of these maps; and the changing scope, size, and content of the maps produced and collected. In each of these areas I compared shifts in political struggles over time, which allowed me to see trends in the conceptualization of space and the corresponding political strategies adopted.

For my study of Palestinian cartography, I conducted interviews with key cartographers and political advisors involved with negotiations, past or present, which I conducted face-to-face in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Ramallah, but also over

telephone, and by e-mail. I also read political memoirs by negotiators and meeting minutes found in the Palestine Papers in which I explored the production, uses, and importance of maps by Palestinians in official negotiations since Oslo. In interviews, we addressed the long absence of Palestinian cartography until the early 1990s and its significance today. I relied on the Arab Studies Society's map of Palestine in 1988, given to me by its head cartographer, Khalil Tufakji. I also collected additional maps at the Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ). I also interviewed the United Nation's OCHA mapping office to get insights about contemporary cartography, specifically on the West Bank's access and closures.

Data Analysis

In analyzing the data I collected, I adopted discourse analysis as put forth by Gillian Rose (2001), as I find her approach useful in analyzing visual data alongside non-visual data. "Discourse," a concept indebted to Michel Foucault (1982), consists of the language, norms, codes and networks of understanding through which we interpret and give meaning to social life. In other words, discourse is a particular knowledge about the world that shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it. It is possible to think of visuality as a discourse in that a specific visuality will make certain things visible in particular ways and other things unseeable (Rose 2001: 137). Foucault's work has produced two methodological emphases which Rose distinguishes as discourse analysis I and discourse analysis II (2001: 137). The first, *discourse analysis I*, tends to pay more attention to the notion of discourse as articulated through

various visual images, and less attention to practices entailed by specific discourses. The second, *discourse analysis II*, pays more attention to the practices of institutions than it does to the visual images and verbal texts, and tends to be more explicitly concerned with issues of power, regimes of truth, institutions, and technologies. This distinction is not clear-cut and it is not necessary to adopt either/or method. I find both techniques useful for this project and will utilize them at various moments throughout the research process.

Dissertation Structure

As Denis Wood has shown, although Palestine was so highly revered by the faithful of the three monotheistic religions for millennia, it was not until the needs of the modern imperialist states, and later the establishment of the State of Israel that we see the full flowering of the map in the region (Wood 2010: 236). Thus, a geneology of how Palestine was produced cartographically is an important part of the conflict's larger history[3], for empire, science and their conjuncture with modern Christianity, I argue, have had a crucial role to play in creating the Palestine Question itself.

I begin this genealogy in *Chapter I – A Palestine without Palestinians*, where I build from Nabil Matar's suggestion that sixteenth-century Renaissance cartography of the "Holy Land" serves as an important starting point to the Question of Palestine

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[3] For a primer on the Israel-Palestinian conflict, see Pappé, Ilan. 2006. *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: Oneworld, Shlaim, Avi. 2000. *The iron wall : Israel and the Arab world*. New York: W.W. Norton. For memoirs, articles from periodic literature, and documents see Khalidi, Walid. 1971. *From haven to conquest; readings in Zionism and the Palestine problem until 1948*. Beirut,: Institute for Palestine Studies.

(Matar 1999). There, I discuss the epistemological relationship between modern religion and science, which grew in sophistication in the nineteenth-century as a declining Ottoman Empire opened its ports to Western explorers. Many of these new visitors were religious scholars initially motivated by the new Reformation theology, which increasingly emphasized the literal interpretation of the Old Testament and sought to confirm Biblical events in scientific accuracy. Their maps, however, quickly evolved into instruments for patriotic and imperial claims to the ownership of the land (Long 2002; Silberman 1982; Whitelam 1996). These cartographic practices erased the indigenous Palestinians from the land and helped engender the notion that Palestine was largely empty before Jewish settlement at the turn of the century (for two current examples of this argument see Netanyahu 2000; Peters 2001).

As scholars have shown, the emergence of nation-states can be traced to the emergence of the map; the map serving as an ideological tool to bring the nation-state into existence (Pickles 2003; Thongchai 1997; Wood 2010). Befittingly, the Palestinian cartographic spirit did not arise until the leadership sought statehood in the early 1990s, which was a strategy institutionalized under the Oslo Accords. In **Chapter II – Oslo and the Rise of the Palestinian Cartographic Spirit**, I present an analysis on popular Palestinian map-making "pre-Oslo" to suggest that the liberation struggle for Palestine was accompanied then by an open, a non-territorialist understanding of space that held a wider conception of the political realm: the world; and carried with it a more inclusive definition of the political actor: every Palestinian man, woman, and child. The leadership's adoption of *cartography*, or professional map-making since Oslo on the

other hand, has been accompanied by a strategy of independence that limits both space: the Occupied Territories, and power: the exclusive realm of the Palestinian Authority. I provide a more detailed theorization of the concept of "territory" and discuss its relationship to cartography in this chapter.

In *Chapter III – Art of War, Art of Resistance*, I provide a view of Palestinian map-making from the oft-ignored viewpoint of the refugees whose counter-maps refute arguments of the land's emptiness before Jewish immigration. In making a case for the return of refugees, this movement collects narratives and photographs of a pre-Israel Palestine. I take Nakba mapping on Google Earth as a case study, although it need not be the only one. But I find that it presents an interesting case study because, as with the larger Web 2.0 phenomenon, the geospatial web facilitates participatory information sharing and production from and between ordinary people around the world—the condition of the Palestinian Diaspora. I find Google Earth interesting in this study for its role in the debate over the contemporary unraveling of nation-state sovereignty. I engage with this debate, also pointing to a power shift as also occurring from below in the tool's potential to common among a dispersed community.

The final chapter, *Chapter IV – A Third Intifada Mental Map*, was conceived while living in the West Bank between September 2010-August 2011 as I witnessed the Arab uprisings unfold in the region. Hosni Mubarak's fall, in particular, forced me to reexamine my own understanding of the conflict in ways that required that I redraw my mental map. In this chapter, I show that the uprisings treat space as open, hold a "progressive sense of place" where it is not assumed that places or people must hold a

singular identity or even demand a clear sense of boundaries (Massey 1994). This latter understanding, I suggest, can help promote the notion that space is a socially produced realm, and thus, locates power in the everyday rather than in the closed doors of the negotiators and by the line of the cartographer.

Throughout this dissertation, I contend that examining the life of maps can not only help us trace the struggle over Palestine, it can also help us take note of the consequences of their ubiquity. As such, this study engages the question recently posed by Palestinian scholarship on how the liberation of *Palestine* (the land) has become a more important concern than the liberation of *Palestinians* (the people) among the Palestinian movement itself (Doumani 2007). This study has also been inspired by reminders that while the Palestinian leadership today wars amongst itself over who will govern a space that yet exists to be governed, the growing grassroots movements highlight positions of strength from Palestinians themselves (Hijab 2009). In unpacking this conceptual disconnect between "Palestine" and "Palestinians," this study contributes to theories on critical cartography, space, feminist geography, and political theory. With a significant basis of research carried out in Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Bethlehem's Aida refugee camp, this study has brought together methods of discourse analysis, ethnography, and the history of cartography to examine how the relationship between space and the political plays out in different ways in governing cities, as well as in sites of everyday survival. Methodologically, it approached maps as discourses to investigate exercises of power between elite political actors and institutions, and among everyday Palestinians struggling with the daily consequences of the conflict.

CHAPTER I

A Palestine without Palestinians

Palestine's first modern map was the product of a colonial errand. In the spring of 1798, with only Britain left standing in the way of his empire, Napoleon Bonaparte pointed his warships toward Egypt. His goal: to block British access to the Red Sea route to India, Britain's most valuable colony. The French government, both pre- and post-Revolution, supported the campaign, having entertained at least a dozen such proposals over the past fifteen years from various diplomats, politicians, and businessmen (Burleigh 2007: vii). What Egyptians themselves thought about these plans did not register as a France's concern. Egypt, a French diplomat had counseled the ill-fated Louis XVI, "does not belong to anybody"[4] (Charles-Roux 1910: 113).

Sensitive to the need for a new colony to substitute the unexpected loss of France's own colonial crown, Saint-Domingue (Haiti), following the island's 1791 slave revolt (Charles-Roux 1910: 294-295; Cole 2007: 20), French Foreign Minister Charles Talleyrand counseled Bonaparte on the geopolitical benefits of reviving an ancient canal near Suez[5]. Such a waterway, he suggested, would make it possible for

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[4] "L'Egypte est à notre porte; l'Egypte n'est plus aux Turcs; le pacha n'y est rien; elle n'appartient à personne" [Egypt is at our doorstep; Egypt is not the Turks'; the Pasha is nothing; she does not belong to anybody].

[5] This waterway, excavated by hand, had probably been conceived in the reign of Pharaoh Sesostris I (20 century B.C.E.). It had long fallen into neglect but Charles Magallon, the French Consul in Egypt from

French ships to sail directly from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, down to the Indian Ocean, and thus challenge Britain's monopoly in the area by confining it to the much longer route around the Cape of Good Hope (Symcox 2003).

For the young general in 1798, overrunning the East presented a more feasible alternative to directly invading England. But it was also more romantic. In the style of his spiritual role model, Alexander the Great, who two thousand years before had invited a team of philosophers aboard his Persian expedition, Bonaparte recruited Paris's top *savants* with technical qualifications in astronomy, math, chemistry, engineering, botany, medicine, and art. Charged with making readable a territory unknown to the West since the Crusader period, Bonaparte's *savants* formed the largest such body of experts to have accompanied any French military expedition (Cole 2007: 18). Equipped with the day's most sophisticated surveying instruments, they trekked the land alongside army units. Often surprised when encountering local resistance against what they understood to be innocent, value-free science, many of them lost their lives, including their chief cartographer D. Testevuide. Killed in the Cairo uprising in October 1798 while salvaging his surveying instruments, Testevuide was replaced by his nephew, Pierre Jacotin, who would become responsible for all of the expedition's mapping operations up into the Levant's coastal plain until it met ultimate defeat at Akka (Acre) in May 1799 in a battle against a newly formed alliance between the British and Ottoman Empires.

1793-1797, possessed knowledge of its history. He was the first to draw to the attention of the Directory the canal's political and economic advantages (Russell 2001: xiii).

Although he failed to conquer the East, Bonaparte's *savants* succeeded in describing it. Upon returning to Paris in 1801, they began production of the *Description de l'Égypte*, an epic encyclopedia depicting the Eastern Mediterranean's historical geography. The multi-volume work illustrated the region's plants, animals, minerals, medicine, water sources, demography, archaeology, historical hydrology and agricultural practices as the French troops encountered them *circa* 1800. The book was published serially between 1809 and 1828 and was complimented by Jacotin's impressive 47-sheet topographical survey. Six of these sheets, detailing the coastal region between Al-Arish and Saida (Sidon) would together become Palestine's first modern map[6] (Figure 1) (Biger 2004: 27; Gavish 2005: 7; Kallner 1944: 157; Karmon 1960: 155).

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[6] The sheets that contain parts of Palestine are: 32 El Arich; 43 Gaza; 44 Jérusalem—Jaffa; 45 Césarée; 46 Acre, Nazareth, le Jourdain; and 47 Tyre, Sidon. Although these are widely considered to be the region's first modern maps in that they were the first attempt at on-the-ground instrumental measurement, they were not true trigonometric surveys and were often inaccurate. Although they were originally planned to be based on triangulation, the climate, terrain, military events, administrative needs, and peasant revolts forced the maps to be compiled on a large-meshed net of astronomical control points from the many and varied manuscripts (see Godlewska 1988). Prior to the Napoleonic survey, the map regarded as the authority on the region's geography came from Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon D'Anville's portrayal of modern and ancient Egypt and of the Red Sea (1765). D'Anville's maps were the most important historical source for Jacotin's own work, and were entirely office compilations based on a variety of sources, of territory never actually visited by him (Godlewska 1988: 140).
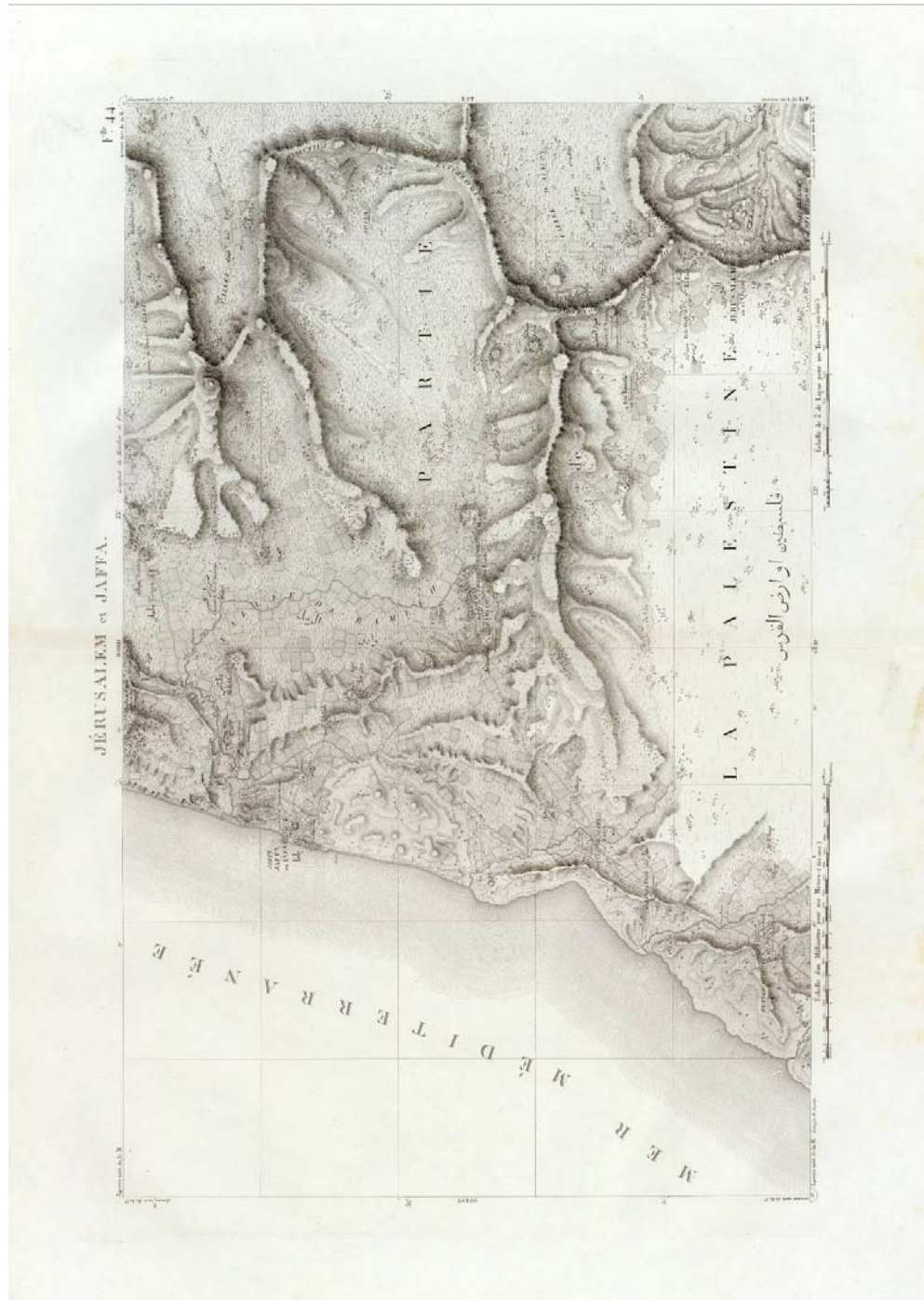
Figure 1: Bonaparte's Palestine
Description de l'Égypte was accompanied by an impressive 47-sheet topographical survey. Feuille 44: Jérusalem—Jaffa, shown above, is one of Palestine's six sheets. While the country's coastlines were meticulously surveyed, the interior was not but was included nonetheless due to Jerusalem's importance. Courtesy of the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

But Jacotin's map did not simply describe Palestine; it also *produced* it. While the country could have been mapped in any number of ways, Jacotin's Palestine was one of coastlines and terrain—a Palestine for naval and ground warfare[7]. In presenting the country as the stage for battle, the map also implied that it was the object to be won. This prize was nothing less than a slice of ancient civilization itself, one to link France's modern glory with the East's magnificent past [8]. Yet despite being scientifically planned and executed, this contest was also thoroughly fueled by myth. The encyclopedia's *Préface Historique*, Anne Godlewska writes, "pays relatively little attention to modern Islamic Egypt and to anything which is not monumental or in some way deemed eternal" (1995). "The everyday Egyptian," she continues, "is absent from the pages of the *Préface*, except as the stock character" (*ibid.*, 8). Jacotin, whose team had not surveyed inland into Palestine's biblical places, thought it crucial to include the holy sites nonetheless (Karmon 1960: 155-156), naming the country's sheets *Filasteen ou ard al-Quds*—"Palestine or the Holy Land"—two phrases the West had long learned to use interchangeably. Linking the ancient-biblical Orient with modern-secular France was without question the most important myth perpetrated throughout the encyclopedia (Godlewska 1995: 9). The region's Antiquity presented the Expedition with something

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[7] For details on the role cartography served in the military expedition see Anne Godlewska's "The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt: A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork" in *Cartographica* 25: 1&2, (Summer 1988), p. 5. Here, Godlewska also shows how the civil engineers were especially engaged in measurements designed to determine the feasibility of cutting and maintaining a canal through the Isthmus of Suez.

[8] This linkage took an explicit form on each map, and included in the upper-left-hand corner the distance of the represented place from the meridian of Paris.

of a rational civil code: the once glorious civilization "regulated the actions and the thoughts, severely restraining the people, and lending to the civil institutions the support of an immutable authority," wrote Joseph Fourier in the *Préface* (cited in Kalin 2006: 26). For modern France, this immutable authority was to be rationally executed—a rationality facilitated by the map's omniscient view from above, whereby not only the land, but also its inhabitants were understood as objects to be controlled.

This ethic aroused in Europeans and North Americans the desire to "rediscover" and ultimately "redeem" the Holy Land for themselves. And like Bonaparte, these new explorers sought to *possess* it, believing this ownership to be their birthright. Through scientific discovery, the land's contemporary (Islamic) tyranny could be reformed by uncovering its ancient (Christian) rationality. For Edward Said, the Napoleonic Expedition constitutes the formative moment for the discourse of Orientalism. Now an Enlightenment-backed colonialism comes face to face with Islam, seeking to

> dignify all the knowledge collected during colonial occupation with the title "contribution to modern learning" when the natives had neither been consulted nor treated as anything except as pretexts for a text whose usefulness was not to the natives (Said 1979: 87).

In the pages that follow, I will demonstrate that this "contribution to modern learning" was more than scientific and imperial—it was also religious. As the concept of "the Holy Land" evolved from pilgrimage to discovery following the Protestant Reformation, Westerners came to discover and map Palestine as a homogenous biblical space purified of its native (largely Muslim) inhabitants. Initially motivated by the religious pursuit of historical scholarship, their maps evolved into instruments for patriotic, religious, and imperial claims to the land in the nineteenth-century (Long

2002; Silberman 1982; Whitelam 1996). They produced Palestine as an object in two ways that worked together: as an ancient biblical artifact, and as a territorial base for the West's domination and control of the East. In both cases, Palestinians were invisible or, when present, confined to supporting roles in Christian biblical theater. Thus cartography, an ostensibly neutral science, was thoroughly implicated in the dispossession of the Palestinians.

I begin this argument by building from Nabil Matar's work, which suggests that the Question of Palestine was posed cartographically in the sixteenth-century before it was presented politically in the nineteenth (Matar 1999), and excavate deeper into geography's role in the new Renaissance science, meditating on the Protestant Reformation's role in this conjuncture. In the next section, I provide insights into how these joint processes culminated in the nineteenth-century in the work of the Father of Biblical Geography, Edward Robinson. I then take an interlude into the geopolitical arena by discussing how the Eastern Question shaped and influenced Holy Land exploration during Robinson's time. This interlude will help us contextualize the Palestine Exploration Fund's "Survey of Western Palestine," a monumental work that was to give Palestine its modern boundaries. This Survey, largely underwritten by the British War Office, would eventually facilitate Britain's conquest of Palestine during the First World War and soon serve as the template for all contemporary maps of Palestine/Israel. By this time, geography as a discipline had already found a comfortable position as the handmaiden of a colonialism determined to map and measure the world it sought to control (cf. Edney 1997; Godlewska and Smith 1994;

Thongchai 1997). It is to the early stages of the partnership between science and imperialism that we first turn.

Empire, Science, Myth: The Holy Land in Renaissance Cartography

Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (*Theater of the World*), first published in 1570 in Antwerp, is commonly regarded as the "Atlas of the Renaissance," having heralded a new cartographic era: from *Theatrum* on, every effort would be made to "found the knowledge of the earth not on the writings of the ancients but on first-hand information and scientific investigation" (Livingstone 1993: 51-52; Penrose 1952: 261). *Theatrum* was the ideal form through which to mediate the growing accounts of travel, encounter, exchange, voyage, and discovery that the field of sixteenth-century geography was attempting to comprehensively record (Brotton 1998: 175). The Atlas, which illustrated navigation routes and ports useful for sailors, merchants, and diplomats, is an indispensable tool for understanding the economic, political, and no less, the epistemological transformations Europe was undergoing at the time. In marketing his Atlas, Ortelius emphasized his maps' political neutrality, something he defined predominantly by claims to intellectual objectivity and market-driven demands rather than the dictates of an imperial crown or a politically influential patron (*ibid*. 175-176, 179). *Theatrum* was an instant success. Four versions of the first edition were published in the same year, and when it first appeared it was the most expensive book ever printed (Broecke 1996: 17). Originally available in Latin, the Atlas would soon appear in vernacular Spanish, English, French, Dutch, Italian, and German editions. By

the end of its life-cycle half a century later, no less than 7300 copies were produced in 31 editions (*ibid*.), with new plates added or updated as Ortelius prodded new sources for updated information.

By uniting the era's rapidly growing body of geographic experience and packaging it as value-free science, the Atlas was emblematic of how I. Bernard Cohen described the Scientific Revolution as having discarded faith, reason, and revelation as valid ways of understanding nature; in its place, experience and personal observation became the foundation for, and ultimate test of, knowledge (Cohen 1985: 79). In so far as the triumph of experience and personal observation is important in telling the story of science, David N. Livingstone suggests that geography had a critical role to play:

> For from the earliest days of the modern period, geography was profoundly implicated in the search for practical knowledge and infected by the zeal for testing received wisdom in the crucible of experience. Thus J.R. Hale was surely correct to remind us that the 'first scientific laboratory was the world itself' and O'Sullivan no less off target when he added that 'the voyages of discovery were in a way large scale experiments, proving or disproving the Renaissance concepts inherited from the ancient world' (Livingstone 1993: 34).

If *Theatrum* was emblematic of an empirical science divorcing fact from faith, its map of Palestine is the curious exception. While the rest of the Atlas seems to be at pains to present its intended audience with an up-to-date world as seen by first-hand sources, its Palestine map, *Palaestina vel Terra Sancta* (Palestine or the Holy Land), is neither navigational nor topographical—it is biblical (see: Matar 1999; Matar 2011). While the rest of the Atlas portrays modern trading routes and commercial ports, the Palestine sheet illustrates the route of the Israelites fleeing Pharaonic Egypt into the Promised Land (Figure 2). Their wanderings are prominently depicted through a jagged

exodus from Egypt, their Red Sea crossing, their sojourn into the wilderness, and finally, their trek over the River Jordan into Canaan, the Promised Land. Indeed, in all of the Atlas' reprints and revisions, at no point was there a map of contemporary Palestine. "While Ortelius," Matar writes, "would not have presented to his discriminating buyers maps other than those that would help them in their global commerce, he had no qualms about presenting Palestine as meta-Palestine, a holy land without contemporary accuracy" (Matar 2011: 63). For Ortelius and his audience, Matar continues, "Palestine had been mapped as far as biblical times and therefore its cartographic borders had been finalized by divine authority" (*ibid*.). Thus, the Palestine in the empirically grounded *Theatrum* was a mythical Palestine.

Figure 2: Palaestina vel Terra Sancta
While the rest of Ortelius' *Theatrum* portrays an up-to-date world of sixteenth-century trading routes and commercial ports, its Palestine sheet illustrates the route of the biblical Israelites fleeing Pharaonic Egypt into the Promised Land. Courtesy Boston Public Library.

On the other hand, perhaps it is at this point where *Theatrum* becomes a work of Renaissance cartography par excellence, for in the Scientific Revolution's new epistemology, there existed no cognitive disjunction between science and theology. To be sure, the new science stressed real-world experience over and against the authority of the church; but so, too, did the Protestant Reformers. Their radical individualism, encapsulated in the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, similarly favored empiricism and scientific pursuits (Livingstone 1993: 66-73). This individualism, moreover, tended toward a literal-scientific understanding of the Bible—a radical break from centuries of understanding Scripture as a complex literary work, rich in symbols to carefully interpret. Now, rather than relying on the priesthood's interpretation of Holy Writ, Protestant leaders declared that everyone had the right to read the Bible— and indeed, everyone *must* if they were to properly follow God's directives. The Reformer Kaspar Peucer would go as far as defining geography as nothing less than the science that is concerned with the visible dimensions of divine revelation. For Peucer, therefore, any true geography must begin with the geography of Palestine—for that was where God's first self-revelation occurred—and then proceed to an outline of the expansion of Christendom (Livingstone 1993: 84).

We must pause to note that this conjuncture—where the Protestant Reformation and the Scientific Revolution meet—provides the possibility for the new Holy Land cartography. What we have is the concept of the Holy Land undergoing a conversion from fable to fact. The humanist emphasis placed on the literal rather than allegorical meaning of Scripture, and consequently on the need to empirically understand its

historical context, is perhaps the key factor to explain why maps soon became useful adjuncts to printed Bibles (Delano-Smith and Ingram 1991: xxiv). Indeed, maps were incorporated into Bibles only after the Zurich publisher, Christopher Froschauer, added one in 1525 to Luther's vernacular translation of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) (Delano-Smith and Ingram 1991). Over the next decade, Bible printers in Antwerp, Ortelius' hometown, followed suit. The map they all used, in various copies, was a woodcut illustration of the Exodus from Egypt and the journey of the Israelites to the Promised Land and its tribal boundaries (*ibid*., xxiv).[9] Although these maps served as visual aids to a largely illiterate population and also had commercial functions, maps in Bibles were primarily exegetic, helping proclaim the Protestant view of the primacy of scripture over theological doctrine (*ibid*. xxix). With maps, the Bible's geographical setting was provided a "scientific reality," placing the promise of Scripture as part of universal human history.

Ortelius' map of Palestine can be traced directly to this nascent "biblical empiricism." His map, which drew from Tilemann Stella's *Palestinae sive tovius terrae promissionis nova description* published in 1557, itself drew from two earlier maps: Gerard Mercator's *Terra Sancta* (1537) and Jacob Ziegler's *Tabula Universalis*

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[9] It was not new map, but a faithful copy of a large, woodcut map intended to hang on a wall and made some twenty years earlier by the artist Lucas Cranach the Elder, to commemorate the pilgrimage of his patron, the Elector of Saxony, to the Holy Land (Delano-Smith and Ingram 1991: xxii). In addition to the Exodus map, four others came to comprise the key group of Bible maps: Calvin's map of Eden (first published in 1554, included in bibles from 1560); the division of Canaan (first recorded as a separate map in 1559 although tribal boundaries had been shown on the Cranach Exodus map); the Holy Land in the time of Christ; and the eastern Mediterranean (showing places visited by Paul and the Apostles, first recorded in a New Testament of 1549. These five maps together account for the vast majority (perhaps 80%) of sixteenth bible maps (Delano-Smith 1990: 67).

Palaestinae (1532) (Matar 2011: 60-62). *Terra Sancta* was Mercator's first independently produced map, "for the better understanding of the Bible," as his title read (cited in Karrow 1993: 377). "Like many scientists of his day," Robert Karrow writes of Mercator, "he could see the Glory of God in the fabric of the world and measuring and describing it became a kind of a calling" (Karrow 1993: 376). Mercator gave the credit for his picture of Palestine and the Hebrew exodus to Ziegler, "the most faithful cartographer of these things" (cited in Bartlett 2009: 191). Ziegler, who gathered whatever information he could glean from classical writers and Christian pilgrims together with information from Ptolemy's *Geography*, used as his primary source the tribal lists in the Book of Joshua, a book from which he excavated the majority of Palestine's place-names and the Promised Land's boundaries (Bartlett 2009: 193). Thus, Ortelius' Renaissance cartography drew from Stella, who drew from Mercator, who drew from Ziegler. And Ziegler, while compiling his map only fifteen years after Luther precipitated the Reformation, drew directly from Scripture—an eye-witness account of the highest order.

Edward Robinson and the Rise of Biblical Geography

The Reformation's new relationship to Scripture meant, in practice, that people would come to understand the Bible in conflicting ways. These fundamental disputes led Reformed Christianity to splinter into sects, each based on its own Biblical interpretation, each believing theirs to be the correct one. For the most conservative factions, every word of the Bible was to be understood as factually true. Across the

ocean in New England, this rift played out at Harvard in 1805 when Boston liberals, rejecting traditional Puritan dogma, rallied enough support to appoint a liberal professor as chair at the Divinity School. New England's conservatives understood this move as a declaration of war. They responded by founding a rival seminary at Andover to oppose what they saw as the heretical tendencies now being promulgated at Harvard (Cayton 1997: 87). In the classically trained Edward Robinson, Andover found a masterful theologian to validate the Bible's authenticity in the face of liberal attacks. Robinson, brilliant at deciphering ancient texts, quickly mastered Hebrew and became the moving force behind *The American Biblical Repository*, a journal of conservative Biblical apologetics that provided reports from missionaries and explorers in the Holy Land to confirm the Bible's historical accuracy. In 1838, Robinson would travel to Egypt and Palestine to examine the biblical sites first hand—a feat for which he'd become known as the Father of Biblical Geography.

With the help of local servants and the Bible as his field guide, Robinson planned to follow an itinerary not unlike the one laid out by Ortelius. With his companion, Eli Smith (an Andover alumnus and missionary in Beirut, fluent in Arabic), they would trek the rugged wilderness in the footsteps of the ancient Israelites; visit Mount Sinai, the site of the Ten Commandments; and continue onto the Land of Promise with a tent, compasses, thermometers, telescopes, measuring tapes, two old muskets and a pair of pistols. Their field notes took the form of a narrative travel book, *Biblical Researches in Palestine,* published in 1841, the first truly rigorous study of Palestine's surface features for the English-speaking world (Long 2002: 133). In his

travel accounts, Robinson pauses to provide clarification for Biblical miracles in their true literal constructions. Early on, he spends several pages explaining the feasibility of Moses' parting of the Red Sea, an event that allowed the Israelites to cross the Sea on dry ground, facilitating their flight from Egypt. Once parted, goes the narrative, the Sea's waters rose as a wall to their right and to their left. Once all of the Chosen People crossed over, God directed Moses to close the waters that they may engulf the Pharaoh's chariots and horsemen in pursuit (Exodus 14: 21-30).

"The discussion of this question has often been embarrassed," Robinson admits of the account. He suggests that the problem has traditionally stemmed not from its improbability, but "by not sufficiently attending to the circumstances narrated by the sacred historian"—circumstances which are, he suggests, a combination of both the natural and supernatural (Robinson and Smith 1856a: 56). Two main points must be considered in discussing the event—points "on which the whole question may be said to turn" (*ibid*. 56-59). The first point is "*the means* or instrument with which the miracle was wrought:

> The Lord, it is said, caused the sea to go (or to flow out) *by a strong east wind*. The miracle therefore is represented as a mediate; not a direct suspension of, or interference with the laws of nature, but a miraculous adaptation of those laws to produce a required result. It was wrought by a natural means supernaturally applied (*ibid*., 57, original emphasis).

He then interweaves his familiarity of ancient Hebrew together with first-hand knowledge of the land's physical environment to buttress his argument:

> In the somewhat indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew, an east wind means any wind from the eastern quarter; and would include the N. E. wind, which often prevails in this region (*ibid*., 57).

Robinson's second main point in discussing the feasibility of the Red Sea

parting is the tide. This point, he suggests, "has respect to the interval of *time* during

which the passage was effected.

> It was night. For the Lord caused the sea to go (out) 'all night;' and when
> the morning appeared, it had already returned to its strength; for the
> Egyptians were overwhelmed in the morning watch (*ibid.*, 57, original
> emphasis).

It "is most probable," then, that wind—natural phenomena yet "miraculously sent"

natural phenomena—"acted upon the ebb tide to drive out the waters during the night to

a far greater extent than usual" (*ibid.*, 57). Still, the Israelites must have been on divine

alert, as "we cannot assume that this extraordinary ebb, thus brought about by natural

means, would continue more than three to four hours at most" (*ibid.*, 57). This explains

how the Egyptians, on the heels of the Israelites, were inundated by the sea come

morning[10]. Still left to explain, however, was how such a large multitude of Hebrews

could have all passed in such a short time-span. Robinson anticipates the question,

keeping faithful to the Bible's figure of millions.

> As the Israelites numbered more than two millions of persons, besides
> flocks and herds, they would of course be able to pass but slowly. If the
> part left dry were broad enough to enable them to cross in a body one
> thousand abreast, which would require a space of more than half a mile
> in breadth (and is perhaps the largest supposition admissible), still the
> column would be more than two thousand persons in depth; and in all
> probability could not have extended more than two miles. It would have
> occupied at least an hour in passing over its own length, or in entering
> the sea; and deducting this from the largest time intervening before the

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[10] The biblical account follows thus: "And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned
to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD overthrew the
Egyptians in the midst of the sea" (Exodus 14: 27).

Egyptians must also have entered the sea, there will remain only time enough, under the circumstances, for the body of the Israelites to have passed at the most over a space of three or four miles (Robinson and Smith 1856a: 57-58).

Under these circumstances, Robinson writes, prior hypotheses that the Israelites crossed at Wadi Tawarik are untenable. He cites German cartographer Karsten Niebuhr's measurement of that region in 1762 to conclude that the breadth of the sea at Wadi Tawarik would be equal to a whole day's journey. Thus, Robinson concluded, all the preceding considerations as outlined limit the site of the Red Sea crossing to the neighborhood of Suez (*ibid.*, 58).

Robinson's mastery of Ancient Hebrew, the biblical texts, and now field experience would permit him to also work on identifying nineteenth-century Palestinian sites that retained biblical names—work for which he became famous. From their journeys, the Arabic-trained Eli Smith was able to compile a list of nineteenth-century Palestine's place-names, enabling the Hebrew-trained Robinson to establish linguistic and geographic connections with ancient biblical peoples. Hence, their encounter of Bir es-Seba':

> Upon its northern side, close upon the bank, are two deep wells, still called Bir es-Seba', the ancient *Beersheba*. We had entered the borders of Palestine! (*ibid.* 204, original emphasis). Here was the border of Palestine proper, which extended from Dan to Beersheba (*ibid.*, 205).

Robinson reflected on the great events that had taken place at that Biblical site:

> Here then is the place where the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob often dwelt! Here Abraham dug perhaps this very well; and journeyed from hence with Isaac to Mount Moriah, to offer him up in sacrifice. […] and from here Elijah wandered out into the southern desert, and sat under a shrub of Retem, just as our Arabs sat down under it every day and night (*ibid.*, 205).

Of watching "our Arabs" in Bir es-Seba' eating goat, Robinson wrote,

> Such probably in kind was the 'savoury meat' which Isaac loved; and with which, in this very neighborhood, Jacob enticed from him the blessing intended for his elder brother (*ibid.*, 206).

When Palestinians were not biblical extras in Robinson's Holy Land experience, they were his temporary place-holders of antiquity. The Hebrew name Beer Sheba signifies "Well of Oath" or "Well of Seven," Robinson footnotes, "referring to the seven lambs which Abraham gave to Abimelech in token of the oath between them" (*ibid.*, 204, fn 1). The Arabic name Bir es-Seba', he continues,

> signifies 'Well of the Seven,' and also 'Well of the Lion.'—Some writers have regarded the name as implying *seven wells*; but without the slightest historical or other ground (*ibid.*, original emphasis).

The maps accompanying *Biblical Researches* depicted biblical place-names as collected and translated by Robinson and Smith from such field work—a methodology Robinson stressed in his introductory remarks. "In the construction of the maps," Robinson wrote, "it was a main principle, to admit no name nor position on mere conjecture, nor without some sufficient positive authority" (*ibid.*, xi). Only on-the-ground research such as his could lead to a finally genuine, as opposed to legendary, biblical geography:

> The maps were drawn, under my own inspection by [Heinrich] Kiepert, a young scholar of great talent in and promise in Berlin. In the parts of the country visited or seen by us, they were constructed almost solely from our own routes and observations and the information we were able to collect, brought into connection with known and fixed points. Other portions were supplied from the best authorities (*ibid.*, x).

Among these authorities, Robinson cited Pierre Jacotin, from whom they had borrowed "the coasts of Palestine, as far north as to 'Akka, and the country around Nazareth,

from the great map of Jacotin, compiled from surveys made during the French expedition in A.D. 1799" (*ibid.*, x-xi). But Robinson clarifies that,

> The great map of Jacotin is valuable only in the parts actually visited by the French engineers, viz. along the coast as far as to 'Akka, the region of Nazareth, and around Mount Tabor. The other parts are worthless, being apparently mere fancy sketches" (*ibid.*, xi, fn1).

Jacotin had himself apologized about the maps' inaccuracies in his "Mémoire sur la construction de la *Carte topographique de l'Egypte*:"

> Mapping was done while the army was on the march, and it was therefore to some degree incorrect. The army had to fight enemies as well as starvation and plagues. … Any deviation from the roads was dangerous owing to marauding Arabs. . . Most of the reconnaissance was done not by surveyors, but by officers of the artillery and pioneer corps (cited in Karmon 1960: 156).

One of Jacotin's topographical engineers, Rodolphe Schouani also expressed regret. He explained that officers often had to reconnoiter an area without the assistance of a local guide, as these were frequently difficult to procure. And at any rate, he pointed out, "sometimes it is not too prudent to trust them" (cited in Godlewska 1988: 122). For most of his Upper Egypt survey, Schouani was forced to work without an interpreter. Finding communication between himself and the peasantry problematic, he placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the peasants:

The orthography of the names of villages caused me many difficulties as a result of ignorance or ill-will of those I asked. I often noticed that, with the exception of very large towns, rarely when questioned did two inhabitants agree on the name for the same village. Also in going over my notes I often found two, three and more villages carrying the same name" (*ibid.*, 123).

Robinson and Smith sought to make sense of the mythical land through field work which, whether deployed for secular or sacred aims, became a new system of belief. In both instances, the indigenous presence was a nuisance in this endeavor. Information drawn from them was regarded with suspicion and even hostility; nevertheless, it was extensively used (Godlewska 1988: 122-124, 136). Robinson, the conservative Protestant who could not trust the monks on place names, had only the inhabitants themselves as *the* source for their pronunciation and spelling. Still, their existence was secondary to that which really did matter: the "rediscovery" of the Holy Land. Studying the historical geography of Palestine was, in Robinson's words,

> a first attempt to lay open the treasures of Biblical Geography and History still remaining in the Holy Land; treasures which have lain for ages unexplored, and had become so covered with the dust and rubbish of many centuries, that their very existence was forgotten (*ibid.*, x) .

This was a scholarship characteristic of an Orientalism for which, as Beshara Doumani writes,

> the history of Palestine stopped in A.D. 634 with the Arab conquest, and did not resume until Napoleon's invasion in 1798 except for the brief interlude of the Crusades. Thirteen centuries of continuous settlement by an Arabized Palestinian population are barely mentioned, and then only to stress the inferiority and irrationality of the Orient as compared to the Occident" (Doumani 1999: 33, fn5).

Palestine as the World's Political Theater

Robinson and Smith set out on their explorations after France's three-year occupation of Egypt and invasion of Palestine, although unsuccessful in the end, officially signaled to the West that the Ottoman Empire's demise was eminent. Europe continued to

achieve military, political, and economic superiority over the region, even if not always through direct occupation. Mohammed Ali (Turkish: Mehmet Ali), who now ruled the region, eagerly curried favor with the Western Powers and introduced a series of goodwill measures intended mainly for non-Muslim subjects and the foreigners visiting Palestine. Western travelers and explorers were increasingly granted official permission to enter; hence, for Robinson and Smith, exploring Egypt and Palestine in 1838 no longer required bayonets.

Ali had emerged from a pack of Ottoman soldiers looking to fill the power vacuum once the French military departed Egypt in 1801. After seizing power in Cairo in 1805, Ali ran Egypt as a near-independent state, under nominal Turkish rule. He had witnessed, admired, and sought to emulate the short-lived Napoleonic reforms, and established an ambitious modernization program under French advisors. He invited Western instructors to found medical, engineering, and military schools, and soon built up a navy and army powerful enough to take Palestine from Istanbul in 1831. Indeed, by 1839 it seemed as if 'Ali would rule the whole Ottoman Empire. While France applauded 'Ali's victories, the other Great Powers viewed him as a French agent—his gains a threat to the European balance of power. Only through British intervention on Istanbul's behalf was 'Ali forced to withdraw from Palestine in 1840 and seek autonomy in Egypt.

The Eastern Question

Britain, as it had done in 1799 against Bonaparte, often sided with Istanbul. It had decided that a weakening Ottoman Empire served its interests best. While Austria's Hapsburgs coveted the fertile Balkans, and the French eyed the Mediterranean as a region to more freely conduct trade, mighty Britain was satisfied with the status quo. The Ottomans, it felt, would be the best guardians of British routes to India; thus, England committed itself firmly to the weakening Empire's defense. Czarist Russia, however, threatened this plan. In the nineteenth-century, it was almost the received wisdom that Russia would be the one to inherit the Ottoman territories. Pondering the consequences of this consumed the rest of the Great Powers. The Ottomans had already suffered a series of defeats against Catherine the Great in the 1770s over possession of the Black Sea, a warm-water trade outlet Russia coveted. By the turn of the century, Russia controlled the Sea's northern seaboard including the entire Crimean peninsula. Russian ships still had to pass through the Ottoman-ruled Bosporus and Dardanelles (the Straits) to eventually reach the Aegean and hence the Mediterranean. The nineteenth-century would thus witness Russia's relentless drive south. Should Russian military aggression prevail, it stood to recalibrate the European balance of power away from Britain. Consequently, British foreign policy over this "Eastern Question" centered on maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and resisting any forward moves by Russia or any of the other Great Powers.

In the meantime, by claiming ownership to the holy sites and its artifacts, the Great Powers launched war by other means. In *Digging for God and Country* (1982),

Neil Asher Silberman argues that the nineteenth-century archaeological obsession with the Holy Land was nothing less than a 100-year "crusade" whereby the search for Biblical antiquities served as a subtle means of Western penetration and inter-European competition; "a quiet extension of the 'Eastern Question' waged on the battlefield of the past" (Silberman 1982: 4). Under the cover of science and religion, Western soldier-explorers were able to operate without raising much suspicion. When official political presence was permitted, it was legitimized by the ostensible burden of "protecting" religious minorities under Ottoman rule. Russia, it had been decided in the 1770s, would speak on behalf of *its* Orthodox Christians living within the Ottoman Empire. France advanced similar claims as protector and civilizer of *its* Catholic communities, particularly those in Syria and Mount Lebanon. This consular system of *capitulations* most famously came to a head in the Crimean War (1854-56)—a conflict ostensibly sparked by a sectarian brawl between Bethlehem monks one Christmas Eve.

According to long-held tradition, Jesus' Manger had been located in the grotto over the Church of the Nativity, a building Constantine commissioned in fourth-century Bethlehem. Eastern Orthodox priests had long held title to the basilica itself, but in 1717, France, as official protector of the Catholic faith in the Holy Land, was allowed to donate a silver star to mark the spot where the Manger was said to have lain (Silberman 1982: 63-68). On Christmas Eve 1847, long-standing antagonisms between the two sides flared when Orthodox monks prevented the Catholics their yearly midnight procession into the grotto. A Catholic monk somehow slipped in and found the star had been removed, sparking a squabble between the Orthodox and Catholics—

or, as it became repackaged, between Russia and France. The diplomatic blunderings over the next few years provided all involved a *casus belli*: Russian Czar Nicholas I demanded the right to protect Christian Holy Places, while understanding it as an opportunity to expand farther south; France, recovering from Bonaparte's defeat and struggling for economic advantage in the Middle East, tied French prestige in Palestine to its prestige in the wider region. Turkey, entangled in never-ending battles with Russia, sided with France; Britain, seeking to ward away the Czar from creeping into Ottoman land, joined France and Turkey.

After two years of fighting, the Crimean War ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1856, the French-Turkish-British alliance emerging victorious. The Treaty's terms crippled the Russian Empire, requiring it to yield its Ottoman conquests and demanding it cease farther expansion into Ottoman territory. The Black Sea was to be neutralized. All previous bilateral Russo-Ottoman treaties were annulled, including Russia's rights of protection over the Ottoman's Orthodox populations. In addition, all signatories agreed to adhere to the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire. It would be a short-lived pact.

Protestant Political Pursuits

The Protestants, being a relatively new presence on the religious scene, were unable to speak for either holy sites or minorities in the East. There was no significant Protestant population in Palestine, and therefore, no Protestant community to protect. Further, when the Protestant explorers came to "reclaim" many of the important New

Testament sites in the nineteenth-century, they found that the Orthodox and Catholics already occupied most of them. Thus, Protestant England, despite its increasingly influential role in the region, had little excuse to interfere in Holy Land affairs.

Instead, its citizen-explorers learned to wage battles by discrediting the holy shrines' authenticity. A growing conviction had taken hold in their scholarly circles that the holy sites, so defended by the Orthodox and Catholics, were frauds. Edward Robinson had refused to even enter the Holy Sepulcher, having declared that the shrine was falsely being sold as Jesus' tomb. He re-affirmed this assessment on his second trip to Palestine in 1852 (Robinson and Smith 1856b: 254-263), citing both topographical evidence and historical testimony to conclude that

> all ecclesiastical tradition respecting the ancient places in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine IS OF NO VALUE; except so far as it is supported by circumstances known from the scriptures, or from other cotemporary (*sic*.) testimony (*ibid*., 263, original emphasis).

Consequently, Protestants turned to the sacred sites in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). The practical reasons for this—namely, that the only known New Testament sites were already occupied by non-Protestant religious groups—were bolstered by the Chosen People narrative they had long paralleled to Protestant existence itself (Moscrop 2000: 2). For a reformed Christianity struggling to free itself from what they saw as the "Egypt" of a corrupt Catholic church, the Exodus story took on new polemical significance. Members of reformed churches thought of themselves as the new Israelites; thus, the first maps in Bibles, which depicted the flight from Egypt into the Promised Land, were freighted with current doctrinal as well as historical meaning for Protestants (Delano-Smith and Ingram 1991: xxiv). Accordingly,

the path the Chosen People took out of Egypt and their subsequent Conquest of Canaan would come to dominate their image of Palestine.

The Conquest narrative, as it unfolds in the Book of Joshua, tells how the Israelites captured the Promised Land (Canaan) once safely out of Egypt. Following Moses' death, God instructs Joshua to lead the Israelites over the Jordan River into Canaan. The children of Israel are thus to receive "Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon…" (Joshua 1: 3). But first, the Israelites must annihilate the indigenous Canaanites city by city by God's commands. Once successful, the Promised Land is parceled out to the twelve tribes of Israel. A less bloody variation of the Conquest narrative is found in the next book, Judges, where the Canaanites are enslaved rather than exterminated. It is there where God first dictates the Promised Land's boundaries to be from Dan to Beer Sheba (Judges 20: 1). In the middle of the nineteenth-century, these were places Robinson encountered as Banias[11] and Bir es-Seba'. In the short thereafter, "Dan and Beer Sheba" would be back on the map and modern Palestine carved out accordingly—this time at the hands of the London-Based Palestine Exploration Fund, a religious-scientific organization that came into being at a time when Britain was struggling to define its imperial purpose and secure its imperial frontiers (Moscrop 2000: 1).

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[11] At Banias, Robinson encountered a fountain and stream "now called el-Leddan; which may possibly be a corruption from the name *Dan*. […] The city of Dan, too, was situated at these fountains;" (Robinson and Smith 1856b: 392, original emphasis). He retells the story of Dan as discussed in Joshua and Judges. "The name, however, is perhaps best known, in the most proverbial expression, 'from Dan to Beersheba,' as denoting the whole length of the Promised Land" (*ibid*., 393).

The Palestine Exploration Fund's "Survey of Western Palestine"

In June 22, 1865 British archaeologists and clergymen founded The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) to institutionalize scientific and historical research in Palestine which had "hitherto been entirely neglected, or done only in a fragmentary manner by the occasional unassisted efforts of hurried and inexperienced travelers" (Original Prospectus as reprinted in Conder and Kitchener 1881: 7). Its Survey of Western Palestine would provide the template from which all scientific maps—that is, all *modern* maps—of Palestine would be based. While the Fund often portrayed its activities as purely scientific, its conquering ideals were voiced famously at the inaugural ceremony by its first president, the Archbishop of York. Speaking to an audience in London, he announced:

> This country of Palestine belongs to you and to me, it is essentially ours. It was given to the Father of Israel in the words 'Walk the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto thee.' We mean to walk through Palestine in the length and in the breadth of it because that land has been given unto us … It is the land towards which we turn as the fountain of all our hopes; it is the land to which we may look with as true a patriotism as we do this dear old England, which we love so much (cited in Bar-Yosef 2004: 172).

The Fund's method of conquest was aptly summarized in its full name: "A Society for the Accurate and Systematic Investigation of the Archaeology, the Topography, the Geology and Physical Geography, the Manners and Customs of the Holy Land for Biblical Illustration." The institutions' *raison d'être* is encapsulated in that last phrase, its work progressing under the assumption that Palestine was a stage for, and its inhabitants props in, God's ever-unfolding drama.

"No country should be of so much interest to us," the Fund wrote in its Original Prospectus, "as that in which the documents of our faith were written, and the momentous events they described enacted" (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 7). The Fund, in looking toward science to explain biblical events, already knew what its researchers would find:

> The decision of the question whether any volcanic changes have occurred round the margin of the lake within the historical period, may throw a new aspect over the whole narrative of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah" (*ibid*. 9).

What Robinson had done for the parting of the Red Sea, the Fund sought to do for the fire and brimstone at Sodom and Gomorrah. By studying of the natives' manners and customs, it could get a glimpse of how those events were enacted; that is, what the characters in this divine theater wore, what they looked like, and how they lived. In fact, such research which was "urgently required," the founders pleaded, as "[m]any of the ancient and peculiar customs of Palestine are fast vanishing before the increasing tide of Western manners, and in a short time the exact meaning of many things which find their correspondences in the Bible will have perished" (*ibid.,* 8). This ethnographic research was to

> do for the Holy Land what Mr. [Edward] Lane's 'Modern Egyptians' has done for Egypt—describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites, and language of the present inhabitants, with engravings intended, like his, 'not to embellish the pages, but to explain the text' (*ibid*., 8).

But, perhaps because Palestine was now largely Islamic rather than Jewish, the founders were quick to acknowledge that it was "not expected that the modes of life

and manners of the ancient Israelites will be revealed by any discovery of monuments in the same fulness (*sic*) that those of the Egyptians and Assyrians have been" (*ibid*., 7).

The Survey itself was to prove valuable by settling disputed points of topography by

> identifying ancient towns of Holy Writ with the modern villages which are their successors; by bringing to light the remains of so many races and generations which must lie concealed under the accumulation of rubbish and ruins on which those villages stand (*ibid*., 7).

Hence, for the Fund's cartographers, Palestinian villages would not be peoples' villages but scabs on the surface of a glorious past. Palestinian road networks were to be significant only in that they may coincide with ancient roads. So, too, might Palestinian territorial boundaries overlay the Israelites' tribal allotments:

> The principle on which the modern territorial boundaries are drawn, and the towns and villages allotted between one district and another, would probably throw light on the course of boundaries between the tribes and the distribution of the villages, which form the most puzzling point in the otherwise clear specifications of the Book of Joshua (*ibid*., 9).

The map-makers, therefore, would encounter Palestine as a palimpsest whose latest (illogical) layer their map could help shape back into divine form—a tamed, safer, more Christian landscape.

The Survey of Western Palestine was to become a foundational cartographic project which subsequent maps of Palestine used as a reference point. Most notably, it was the first to give Palestine its modern boundaries. While various cartographer-explorers had already mapped Jerusalem, the Dead Sea, and other religiously significant sites and physical features by the time the Survey's field work began, what made its work distinct was that it produced a *bounded* Holy Land for the first time on

paper—one from Dan to Beer Sheba. In underscoring this sacred-scientific significance, Fund Secretary (1868-1875) Sir Walter Besant declared that "nothing since the translation of the Bible into the Vulgar tongue can compare with this work for the illustration and right understanding of the historical proportions of the Old and New Testaments" (cited in Pritchard 1958: 63). The work, which took six years of field work and produced 26 sheets of maps on a detailed topographic scale, was considered the most reliable map of Palestine during the next half-century (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Survey of Western Palestine
The Palestine Exploration Fund's Survey of Western Palestine was the first to begin to give Palestine its modern boundaries. While various cartographer-explorers had already mapped religiously significant sites and physical features by the time of the Survey's field work in the 1870s, what made the Survey's work distinct was that it produced a bounded Holy Land for the first time on paper—one from Dan to Beer Sheba.

Such sophisticated cartography, however, was possible only through mutual cooperation with the British War Office. The Fund's survey team was headed by two Royal Engineers: Claude Conder, who specialized in surveying and draftsmanship; and a young Horatio Kitchener, future Secretary of War. The Survey, while born out of a real desire by Fund members and its subscribers to map the Holy Land, came from a very real need for a map in order to protect India and the newly constructed Suez Canal from creeping incursions; and so, it was part of an "idealistic imperious religious wish" to possess the land for Empire (*ibid.*, 123). The Survey came conveniently at a time when Russia was making threatening moves south and the Fund could double as a cover to gather military intelligence. One of the Fund's head surveyors pointed out that the Survey "would be of great importance as a military map should the Eastern Question come forward and Palestine ever be the scene of military operations" (cited in Abu El-Haj 2001: 23). The Ordnance Office, recognizing the map's value, provided the Fund with surveying equipment. And when the Fund fell into financial trouble in the middle of field work, the War Office eagerly stepped in to fund it (Moscrop 2000: 95-128). During the 1877-78 Turko-Russian War, when it seemed the Fund would collapse, the British War Office had to step in to finish the work in time for any possible emergency (*ibid.*, 124). In the latest of these struggles, Russia would come within 10 miles of Istanbul, postponing the Eastern Question's reckoning a few more decades. When it finally would require an answer during the First World War (1914-18), the War Office asked the Fund to suspend sales of map and geographic

publications; it readily complied (Silberman 1982: 194). General Edward Allenby studied the Fund's publications and in December 1917 his troops captured Jerusalem, delivering the city as "a Christmas present" to the British people per Prime Minister David Lloyd George's request.

As it soon became known before the War's end, Britain and France would draft a secret arrangement to carve up the rest of the spoils. The plan, known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Figure 4), mapped French control over south-eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, Syria and Lebanon; Britain was to take the area roughly comprising Jordan, southern Iraq, and Palestine. Rather than labeling these areas "colonies," they preferred the euphemism "zones of influence". Palestine, which was to fall under guardianship as a "British Mandate" until the natives learned to govern themselves, would prove important for commercial reasons. Mesopotamia's new-found oil now made the Levant more than just an Eastern buffer for the Suez Canal: British dominion over Palestine's ports at Haifa and Akka was to facilitate petroleum extraction from Mesopotamia through a pipeline reaching the Mediterranean.
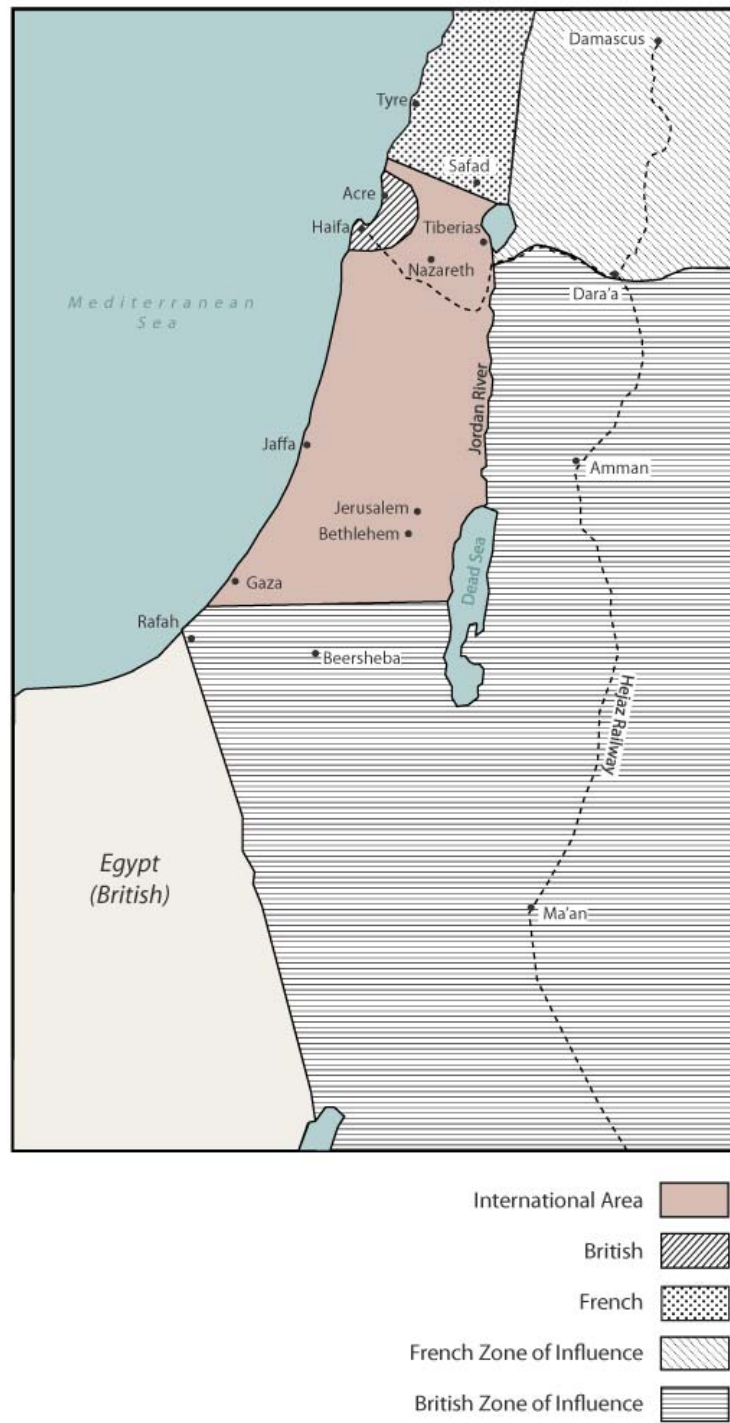
Figure 4: Sykes-Picot
Map by the author; adapted from Biger (2004)

A Palestine without Palestinians

Myth continued to fuel British interest in Palestine. A key component of the nation's conservative belief in biblical inerrancy was its apocalyptic vision: It had become a received idea to many Protestants that the Second Coming of Jesus Christ was imminent, heralding the end of this era. Jerusalem would be the stage. A condition for this new era was "the return of the Jews to the land of their fathers and their immediate conversion, or, alternatively, their recognition of the Messianic claims of the Christian Savior" (Perry 2003: 3). Prominent among these movements was the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (alternatively, the London Jews Society), a Christian Zionist organization founded in the early part of the nineteenth-century. While some of its members considered the Jews a useful tool in the process of hastening the return of the Messiah, others were prompted by a deep sympathy for them, considering the idea of their "restoration" as a means of atonement for the sins committed by the Church against the Jews (*ibid.*).

Prime Minister Lloyd George, a devout evangelical, followed such directives (Tuchman 1984). As General Allenby was taking Jerusalem, Lloyd George was directing his Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to declare the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference at war's end, Lloyd George would invite representatives from the Zionist Organization to help negotiate Palestine's official boundaries. At the Conference, Lloyd George declared to the French that Britain's army would occupy Palestine "as defined in accordance with its ancient boundaries of Dan to Beer Sheba" (McTague Jr. 1982). After examining

biblical maps to see what this meant, the French agreed. The Zionist Organization, however, hesitated. They hoped to push the northern border eastwards so that it left all of Mount Hermon's waters inside Palestine. The success of a modern Jewish State, their representatives argued, would greatly depend on Jewish agriculture. The French protested, and when the talks threatened to come to a standstill, the Zionists recommended that Lloyd George quickly accept the original offer to avoid further delay (*ibid*.). The borders of Mandate Palestine, from Dan to Beer Sheba, officially went into effect in 1923 (Figure 5). How this map became adopted as a "template" by both Palestinians and Israelis is the focus of the next chapter.

Figure 5: Mandate Palestine (1923)
Map by author; adapted from OpenStreetMap

CHAPTER II

Oslo and the Rise of the Palestinian Cartographic Spirit

I am speaking only about 22 percent of Palestine, Mr. President.

– Yasser Arafat to Bill Clinton

A Palestinian team of surveyors from the Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society began mapping the country in 1983. The project, headed by cartographer Khalil Tufakji, depicted Palestinian towns and villages, as well as Jewish settlements, as they were in 1945. The project also detailed how the landscape had changed over the twentieth century: it located those Palestinian villages abandoned in the early twentieth-century; abandoned between 1948-67; and abandoned after the 1967 War. The survey also depicted the villages and towns that existed at the time of the survey. Its surveyors also sought to show the country's various borders: the borders between neighboring states; the United Nations' 1947 partition plan; and the Israel-Arab armistice line of 1949 (the "Green Line"). Notably, Israeli towns and cities, whether past or present, were referred to as Jewish settlements. It was, after all, not a map of Israel-Palestine, but a map of Palestine (Figure 6 and Figure 7).

Figure 6: Arab Studies Society Map of Palestine (1988)
According to Khalil Tufakji, this is the first map of Palestine surveyed by Palestinians. Courtesy of Khalil Tufakji

REFERENCE

khirba(t) - ruin	⟨⟩	capital	⬠
holy place, shrine mosque, monastery	⚱⚱	district capital	◯
main road	▭	(re-emerged) Palestinian Arab Village	⊘
secondary road	▭	existing Pal. Arab Village	◉
road constructed after 1947	▭	Pal. Arab Village abandoned early 20th. century	◖
passenger railway line	▭	Pal Arab Village abandoned 1948-1967	◕
passenger railway line in use first half of 20th. century	▭	Pal. Arab Village abandoned after 1967	◑
airport	✈	Jewish Settlement	⊙
watercourse	▭	Jewish Settlement founded 1945-1949	▽
reclaimed area	▨	Jewish Settlement abandoned 1948	◔
swamp	▦	Pal. Arab Built-up area 1945	
hilltop	△	Jewish Built-up area 1945	
international border	▨		
district border	▭	Presently Built-up area	
UNSCOP partition proposal line 1947	▭		
armistice (green) line 1949	▭		
undemarcated boundary	▨		

This map shows the distribution of Palestinian towns, villages and settlements in 1945. It also shows the development of Palestinian Arab population centers in the 20th. century.

Map compiled and drawn by the Arab Studies Society, Jerusalem 1988. P.O. Box 20479 - Jerusalem
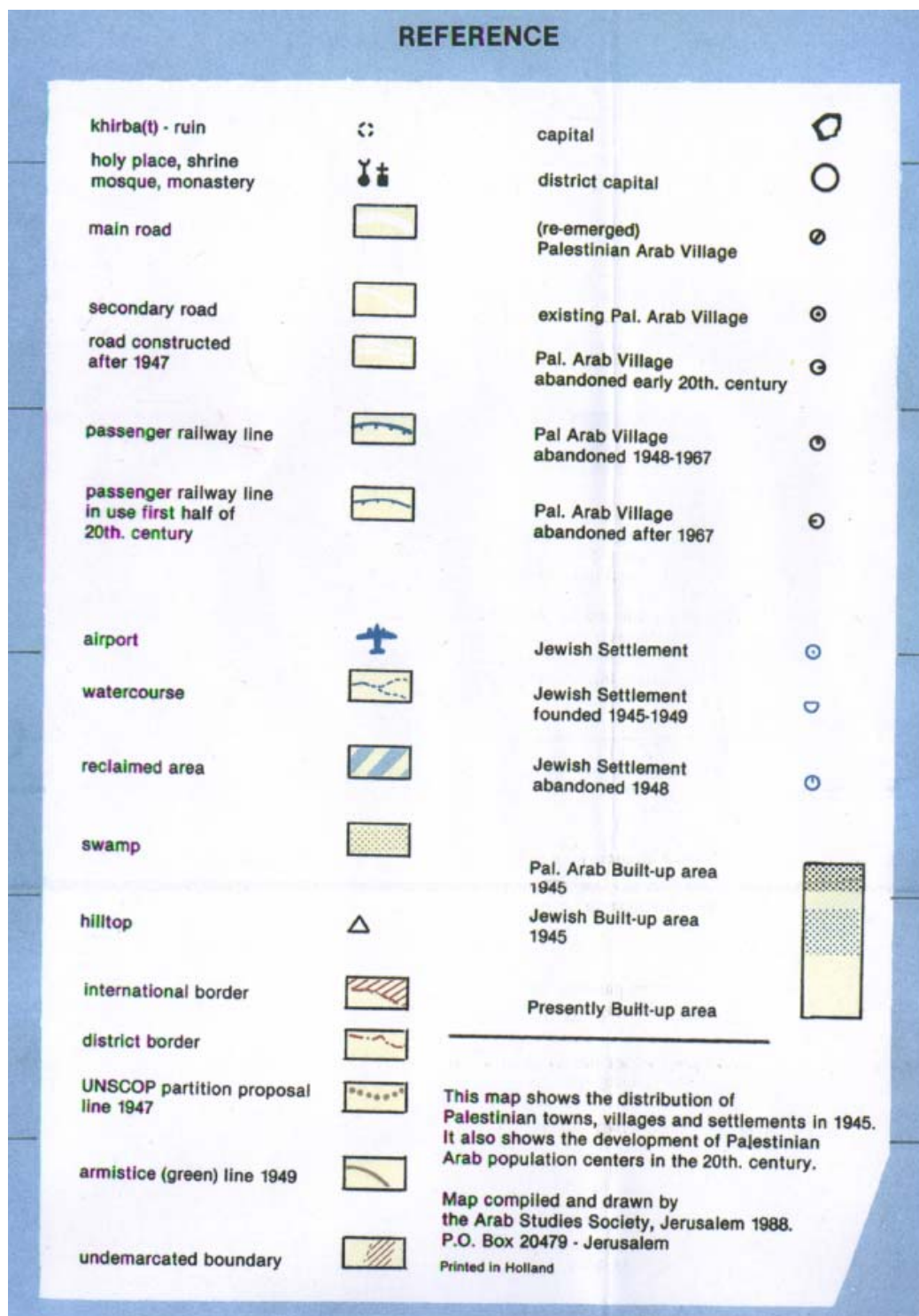
Printed in Holland

Figure 7: Reference, Arab Studies Society Map of Palestine (1988)

The map focused on Palestinian towns, villages and settlements. Courtesy of Khalil Tufakji

Published in 1988, five years after fieldwork first began, the survey would become the first map of Palestine by Palestinians, according to Tufakji, who drew the map by hand from his offices in Jerusalem's Orient House (Tufakji 2011).[12] Orient House was the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO's) *de facto* headquarters in the occupied city until its closure by Israeli authorities in 2001. Tufakji's mapping operations today are located in the outskirts of the city center, and it is here where he unfolds the 1988 map of Palestine on a table in front of me. I remark that it is coincidental that 1988, the year the survey was published, was also the year the PLO officially adopted the "two-state solution:" a Palestinian state in the Occupied Territories, side-by-side with Israel, the armistice lines serving as the border. I ask Tufakji if his cartography changed accordingly. He confirms that it did: from 1988 on, his maps would focus only on Gaza and the West Bank, or as Yasser Arafat described it to Bill Clinton at the Camp David negotiations, "only about 22 percent of Palestine" (Hanieh 2001: 95).

As I sought to show in the previous chapter, cartography began to play a central role in the dispossession of Palestinians at the beginning of the nineteenth-century. This

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[12] In telling the history of Palestinian map-making, it is important to note that Sami Hadawi (1904-2004), a Palestinian clerk in the Land Registration Office under the British Mandate, produced maps of the country in the years following the Nakba. After becoming a refugee in 1948, Hadawi worked for the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP), established under the UN General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 194 which called for the refugees' return to their homes and for compensation for their property losses. Under the UNCCP, Hadawi, documented Palestinian lands using the British Mandate's survey's registers of title. It is not clear, however, how much, if any, new on-the-ground surveying the project entailed.

was an era when the region and its peoples increasingly found themselves under a creeping Western conquest by a convenient coalition of Protestant imperatives, the new scientific epistemology, and European imperial acrobatics. In this chapter, I would like to how this cartography became the "template" that both Israelis and Palestinians adopted to make their political claims. I also argue that adopting the template has been more than simply adopting the lines on the map; it has meant adopting with it the logic of colonial dispossession.

I briefly review a history of Israeli cartographic practice, but focus mainly on the map's ubiquitous presence within the Palestinian movement since the start of the peace process in the early 1990s. The rising hegemony of the map since this time has been accompanied by a political shift in strategy from liberation to independence. For what was once largely a popular struggle, this shift has had two consequences of interest: (1) Politics has become a technocratic enterprise, where it is assumed that in the map (and through the map-maker) the solution lies. Such a notion assumes that people not occupying positions of authority have little agency in addressing their political situations; and (2) The map's view of Palestine "from above" fetishizes territory as an object for control, rendering people secondary. While not a full erasure of Palestinians, the majority of them are disenfranchised in this project if they do not reside in the Occupied Territories or if they do not agree in the two-state solution the map seeks to bring forth.

I develop this argument by tracing the history of Palestinian map-making and map-use as seen in political posters and party logos before the advent of the state

project. I tie to this history the then-dominant spatial conception of Palestine which, I argue, was non-territorial. I then move into the history of Palestinian cartography after the Oslo era, wherein maps have come to express an obsession over borders and territorial percentages. Here, I draw from memoirs and historical records of the negotiations, as well as interviews I conducted with Palestinian scholars, cartographers, and political advisors involved in the negotiations, past and present. Finally, I give due attention to how the post-Oslo era has also inspired alternative map-making practices "from below," which deal with political questions unmappable under the Oslo framework.

Israeli Maps, Palestinian Maps

The previous chapter left off at the moment when Palestine's borders were officially cut in 1923 when the British Mandate was established following the demise of Ottoman rule over the country. The story of a nascent Israeli cartography became significant soon thereafter, when the Zionist movement successfully convinced the British to undertake what was to become the most important mapping project under the Mandate: the cadastral survey, a project that facilitated European land purchases and an increasing Jewish presence in Palestine (Gavish 2005). The effort to systematically modernize landholding marked a transition from land registration without any "proper" locational reference, to individual land registration attached to maps with clearly defined boundaries. Under this project, however, Palestinian peasants suffered dispossession in the countryside and mounting tensions eventually escalated into the

Arab Revolt (1936-39). British authorities sought to quell the uprising by appointing the Peel Commission to investigate its causes. The Commission concluded that Palestinian nationalism and Jewish nationalism were the cause of the revolt, and that they were fundamentally at odds. Its solution was to partition the land into two states, while keeping the Jerusalem area and a connecting port at Jaffa under British rule (Figure 8).
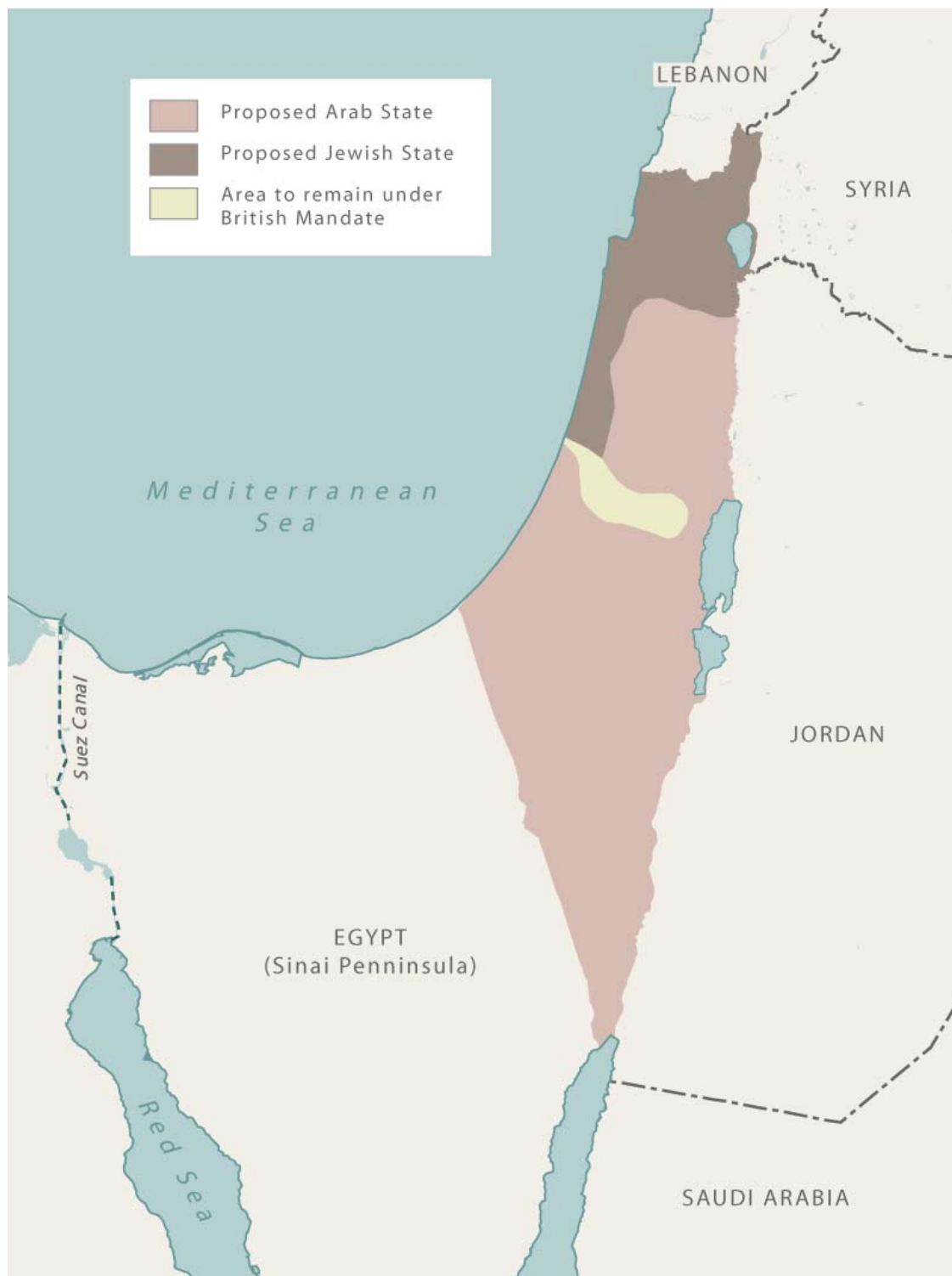
Figure 8: Peel Commission partition plan (1937)
Map by author; adapted from OpenStreetMap; source: PASSIA

The Commission's maps were contested by both sides and never implemented. But ten years later, in the aftermath of increasing European anti-Semitism culminating with the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust, Britain handed the Palestine Question to the United Nations. As the Peel Commission had proposed, the U.N. partitioned the country into two nation-states, keeping the greater Jerusalem area as an international zone (Figure 9). The new map allotted for Israel an area significantly larger than had the Peel Commission's maps; it also carved out two non-contiguous states side by side. While the Zionist leadership hesitatingly accepted the plan, the Palestinians refused. The U.N. had created the conditions for war.
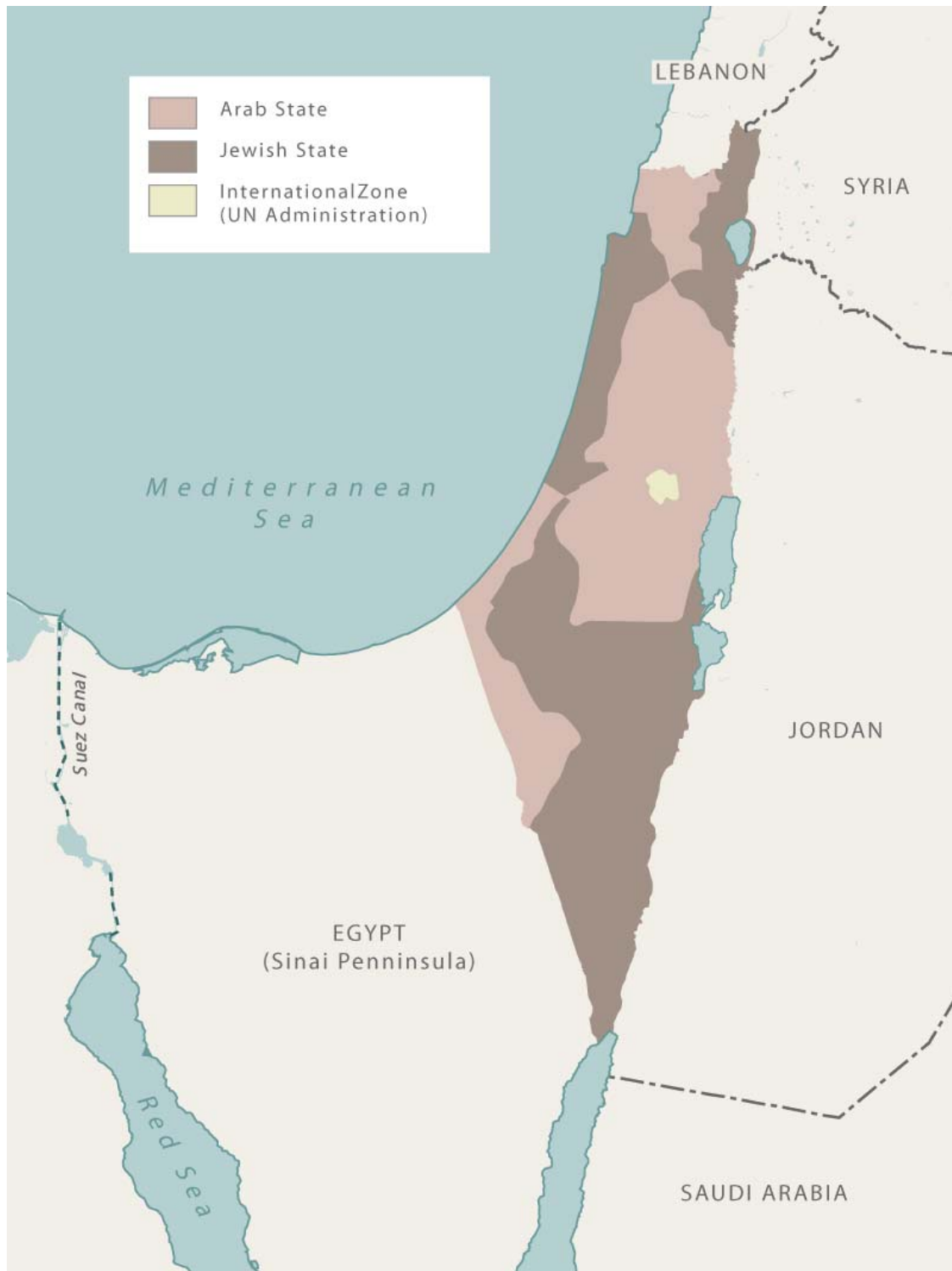
Figure 9: UN Partition plan (1947)
Map by author; adapted from OpenStreetMap; partition source: PASSIA

The State of Israel declared its independence in the midst of violence on May 15, 1948. But Israel's independence was to be the Palestinians' catastrophe, or *Nakba*, for more than half of Palestine's native population was uprooted; 531 villages were destroyed; and eleven urban neighborhoods emptied of their inhabitants (Pappé 2006: xiii). Palestinian refugees were shuffled into the neighboring Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and settled in what were to be temporary camps by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) until the refugees' return. When the fighting ceased in 1949, the map was redrawn with armistice lines (the "Green Line") creating an Israeli state. No Palestinian state was created (Figure 10). That December, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 194, providing for the Palestinian refugees a legal basis for the "right of return"[13]. But from the Israeli military's successful campaign, the land became something of a "blank slate" ready to map as Jewish without restriction, and the refugees were not allowed to return.

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[13] Article 11 of the resolution reads: "[The General Assembly] Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."

Figure 10: Armistice lines (1949)
Map by author; adapted from OpenStreetMap.

After the creation of Israel in 1948, Israeli cartographers continued to understand the land in terms of their Christian predecessors who first mapped the myth of a Palestine without Palestinians. Just as their maps had implied that what was important about the land was its biblical form, so too did Zionist maps. Meron Benvenisti details this history in *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948* (2000) where he recalls accompanying his father, a cartographer, when the elder Benvenisti traveled through Palestine before the State's creation, charting a map that would rename Palestinian sites and villages with names linked to Hebrew history. Early Zionist cartography, Benvenisti shows, countered official British maps by erasing Arabic place names from the Mandate surveys they inherited upon the State's creation. For example, new Hebrew names were assigned to all places in the Negev with a special effort to find biblical-sounding names that would therefore be regarded as ancient. Benvenisti describes how this process held acute contempt for the indigenous inhabitants. Of the Negev's Palestinian names, he illustrates a geographer writing that: "many of the names are offensive in their gloomy and morose meanings, which reflect the powerlessness of the nomads and their self-denigration in the face of the harshness of nature" (Israeli State Archives; Brawer Archive 18/7/1949 cited in Benvenisti 2000: 17)[14].

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[14] Benvenisti points out that the call to erase Arabic place-names was met with resistance from serious scientists who believed, as Edward Robinson had, that the study of Arabic place-names was the key to identifying ancient sites. The dissenting scientists, equally Zionist, were mindful that such erasures might amount to "scientific disasters" that would wipe out an entire cultural heritage that must certainly conceal within it elements of the Israeli-Jewish heritage (Benvenisti 2000:18).

Benvenisti also shows that, after the creation of the Israel, cartography's focus moved from Zionist maps of Antiquity to Zionist maps of the nation-state. In emphasizing this new shift, the director of Israel's Survey Department, Yosef Elster, stated in 1960: "A ruin of which no visible trace remains will not be listed, since our intention is not to produce a historical map, but a current one" (Meeting No. 133, 7.2.1960, Israel State Archive, Brawer Archive cited in Benvenisti 2000: 40). Among the first of these new maps was one entitled "Update of Roads and Settlements" published in two editions (1956 and 1958). Like most of the new State's maps, these maps were updates of the British Mandate maps. In this case, the Mandate's maps of 1946, because of time constraints, obliged map-makers to include landscape features in Arabic. Printed beside most of the Arabic localities was a single Hebrew word: *harus* (destroyed) (Benvenisti 2000:41). These erasures of the Palestinian landscape, Benvenisti points out, whether historical or modern, resulted in the production of "white patches" on the mental maps of Israelis who today have difficulty conceiving of a land otherwise.

Israel's borders as mapped after 1967 have also produced a geographical imagination of a Palestine without Palestinians. Until the 1967 War, Israel concerned itself with mapping up to the 1949 armistice lines. But after the war, Israel acquired more land: the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. And within days, the military's cartography department, which produced virtually all of the country's maps, received instructions by the Defense Minister to halt printing the armistice lines on maps (Gorenberg 2006: 124). The

settlement project in the Occupied Territories soon began. Within months after the war's end, the name "West Bank" had been replaced by the biblical "Judea and Samaria" on the map, and generations of Israelis would no longer conceive of the land beyond the armistice lines as foreign (*ibid.*).

Palestinian Popular Map-Making

While Israel has long deployed cartography to help legitimize it as a state[15], a similar practice was not present in the history of the Palestinian struggle until the Oslo Accords in the 1990s. To be sure, maps of Palestine were ubiquitous within the movement in the decades leading up to the post-Oslo shift toward statecraft; yet the map was understood then as a non-territorial icon of liberation rather than a technical document of the measured, bounded territory that we see in the post-Oslo era. The map, as an icon, was understood more as a "logo," as Benedict Anderson has put it (Anderson 1991: 175). Although its shape was created by colonial powers, the map took on a different meaning, and served as a powerful emblem to rally around in struggle—just as national maps had done for anti-colonial/nationalist movements worldwide (*ibid.*). While this may seem like a reactionary adoption of the colonizer's tools to dismantle the colonizer's house, so to speak, because Palestinian *conceptions* of

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[15] For a detailed study of Israeli cartography after 1948, see Leuenberger, Christine and Izhak Schnell. 2010. "The politics of maps: Constructing national territories in Israel." *Social Studies of Science* 40:803-842.

Palestine were not territorialist before Oslo, these maps were not the colonizer's maps. Rather, they were something more.

As Camille Mansour suggests in his study of the statehood project, Palestine was not understood in statist-territorial terms following the Nakba. Pan-Arabism was salient at the time, thus Palestinians felt an attachment to both Palestine and the Arab homeland "from the Atlantic to the Gulf" (Mansour 2009: 201). Further, the Palestinian strategy of liberation in the 1960s and 1970s spatially (and strategically) linked all Palestinians politically, socially, and culturally to other colonized peoples worldwide struggling against similar processes of oppression and dispossession—processes that themselves know few boundaries. Importantly, Palestinian politics were infused into everyday life under a "people's war" (Sharabi 1970), wherein a liberated Palestine could come only through the work of all Palestinians—children, women, men, and the elderly wherever they were. If a conception of "territory" did exist , it was the refugee camp that was appropriated as such, for in the camp, the place of origin, even the family or individual home, were "reproduced" through the reconstruction of neighborhoods that appeared the recreate the social bonds of origin (Mansour 2009: 201; Sayigh 2007).

Insofar as the popular map serves as a lens into how Palestinians have conceptualized Palestine, Mansour's argument is befitting, for map-use and map circulation (ubiquitous in political posters and party logos) reveal that the conception of Palestine was not a modern territorialist conception where what was sought was power over a population within carefully defined borders. Indeed, it could *not* be—Palestinian

74

map-making was a non-scientific enterprise. Rather, the popular Palestinian map may be better understood as the scientific map taken out of its contextual origin (that is, the earth's surface); and therefore, becoming something more, as Thongchai Winichakul reminds us (Thongchai 1997). Taken out of its context on the ground, this "floating" map possesses no symbol to indicate the map's coordinates or the surrounding countries as in a geographical textbook (Thongchai 1997: 138). Once the map floats, Thongchai writes, it no longer represents territory and therefore, "no longer belongs to the cartographer, who has lost control over it completely … it becomes common property in the discourse of a nation" (Thongchai 1997: 138). And once the map stops representing the nation's territoriality, Thongchai argues,

> the map of a nation becomes a signified. In the words of Roland Barthes, it becomes a metasign: it has become an adequately meaningful sign in itself, not necessarily with a further reference to the territoriality of that nation. By signifying the map of that nation, these maplike signs can signify other meanings and values carried by the map. And in the reverse direction, becoming a metasign, the map of a nation can generate values and meanings which have nothing to do with territory at all (Thongchai 1997: 138).

Palestinian maps of Palestine had no scale bar, no legend, title, or north arrow; their borders and locations followed no Cartesian grid. Yet the map was nonetheless recognizable as Palestine. Its use was often accompanied by non-cartographic symbols and messages to support its new meanings. A 1964 poster published by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), for example, features a map of Palestine alongside a celebration of armed struggle, as well as a recognition of women and children as part of the political project (Figure 11). Thus, popular *action* is considered part the political. The poster understands the struggle to be one about land, as is made clear in the title:

"For the Sake of our Land," yet land itself is inseparable from popular politics. Thus, what we might read as central in this conception of Palestine is liberation, which is linked to action, and not independence, which is thought to be found in a static drawing of territory.
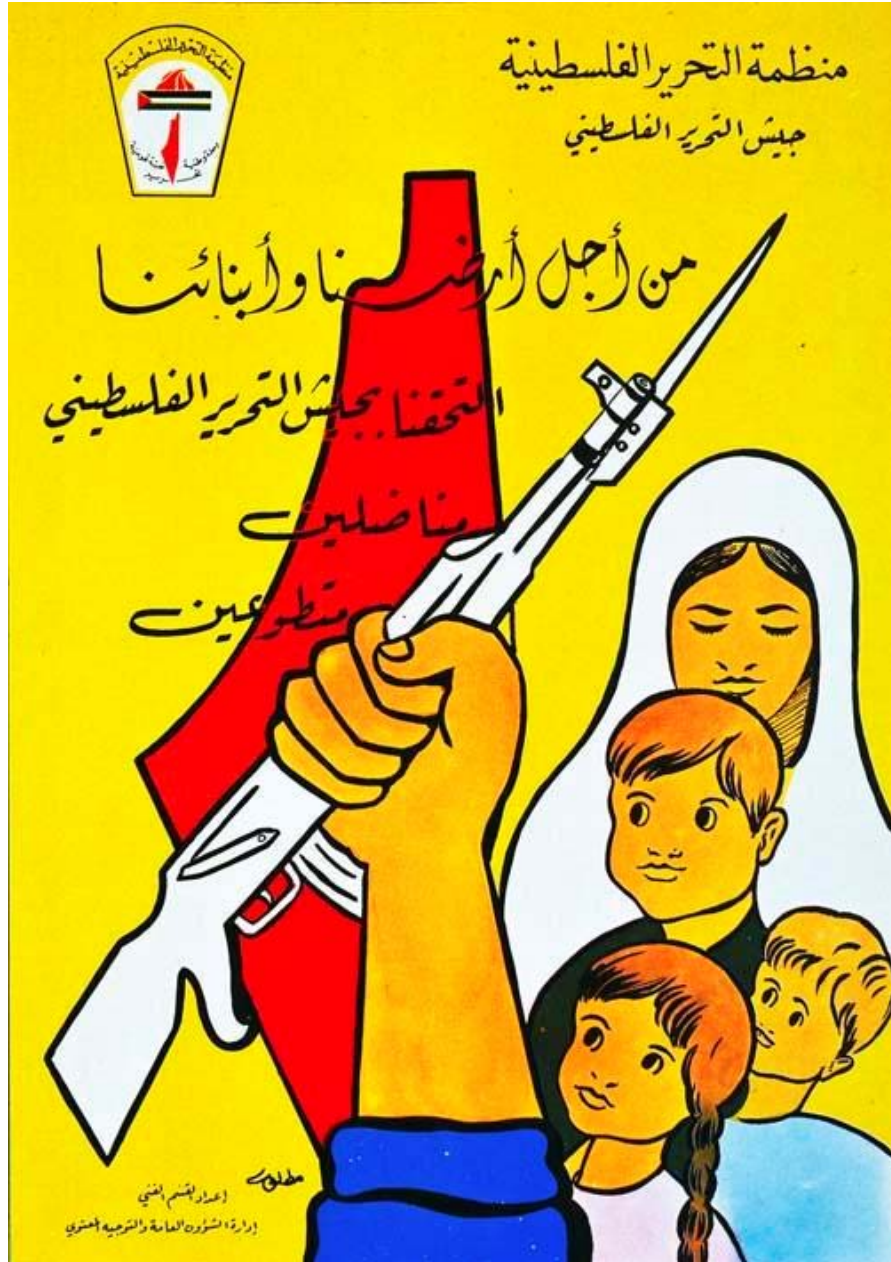
Figure 11: "For the Sake of our Land" (1964)
In this political poster, the map of Palestine is iconic, understood as "land" per the poster's title. The map is notably in the background, and is accompanied by more prominent images of Palestinian children, a Palestinian woman, and armed struggle. The poster's Arabic translation is: "Palestine Liberation Organization-Palestine Liberation Army. For the sake of our land and our children we joined the Palestine Liberation Army (We are) Fighters ... Volunteers." Published by the Palestine Liberation Organization. Courtesy of the Palestine Poster Project.

Liberation and action are themes also present in the logos of Palestinian political factions—all of which included the map. The largest faction, Fatah, has two flags, a grenade, and two AK-47s crossing the map (Figure 12). The second largest faction's logo, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), has a prominent map, but includes an equally large arrow moving into the geo-body, symbolizing the refugees' return (Figure 13).

Figure 12: Logo - Fatah
The Fatah logo on the official party flag features the map of Palestine behind two AK-47s and a grenade. As with the 1964 PLO poster above, the map is in the background, while armed struggle stands in the foreground. The text reads "Fatah: the National Liberation Movement of Palestine. Revolution until victory."

Figure 13: Logo - PFLP
The map as a part of the PFLP's logo, but is always accompanied by the Arabic letter "jim" (ج), from the word *Jibha*, or "Front," which takes the form of an arrow into Palestine, symbolizing the refugees' return.

For the late Palestinian intellectual Edward Said, it was precisely the movement's revolutionary conception of Palestine that marked an important political distinction between the stateless Palestinians and the Arab world. In an open denunciation of the Oslo accords in 1994, Said wrote:

> Palestinians were not only the opponents and victims of Zionism, they also represented an alternative: This was what they embodied in fighting for the idea of Palestine, a non-exclusivist, secular, democratic, tolerant, and generally progressive ideology, not about colonizing and dispossessing people but about liberating them (Said 1994: xix).

Said noted another important difference: the *exercise* of popular power, in the same essay.

> We were the first Arabs who at the grass-roots level—and not because a colonel or king commanded us—started a movement to repossess a land and a history that had been wrested from us. Our leaders were popular and accountable to us, not hereditary or imposed on us from above (Said 1994: xv).

Perhaps the idea that Palestine *might* be something different, as reflected in the struggle's long history of map-use, could only come from a movement fueled by popular *action*. For as the next section will show, once the Palestinian strategy shifted from liberation to independence, conceptions of what Palestine *might* be shifted to what the leadership wanted Palestine *to* be: a state. Befittingly, the PLO's relationship to the map was to change.

Mapping the Negotiations

In *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (2010), Denis Wood argues that modern maps have come into existence only in the past 400-500 years. Where we find map-making emerge, Wood writes, is where we find large, centralized societies transitioning into modern states (Wood 2010: 27). In highlighting map-making as a new phenomenon, Wood makes an important intervention: he shows that maps and the modern state are not self-evident starting points for ordering society. Wood adopts the Israel-Palestine conflict illustrate his point, tracing the rise of maps of the region alongside increasing desires to establish a centralized authority over Palestine—desires from the British, Israelis, and later Palestinians. In this section, I build from this work to show in greater

detail how the Palestinian cartographic spirit emerged alongside the PLO's shift into statecraft under the Oslo Accords in the 1990s.

First, some context on the PLO's state project's basis is helpful. The project has centered around U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which was the U.N.'s response to the 1967 War's outcomes[16]. UNSCR 242 called for Israel to pull out of the territories occupied in the war (back to the borders as they were on June 4, 1967), while at the same time, the Resolution required the acknowledgement of all states' territorial sovereignty in the area. Ultimately, Israel did not accept the Resolution's call to fully withdraw and invested energy on expanding its settlements in the territories; Palestinian refugees, on the other hand, did not accept the call to acknowledge "every State in the area and their right to live in peace," for it implied normalizing Israel and renouncing the right of return. In light of the 1973 October War half a decade later, The Security Council would reaffirm UNSCR 242 by passing UNSCR 338 that same month. Because these two resolutions limit Israel's sovereignty to the June 4, 1967 borders, UNSCR 242 and UNSCR 338 are a foundational part of the two-state solution's discourse.

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[16] Operative Paragraph One "Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

   (I) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from the territories occupied in the recent conflict;

   (II) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

Further contextualizing the PLO's state building project in the Occupied Territories is the outbreak of the First *Intifada* (Arabic for "shaking off") in December 1987, which began in Gaza and quickly spread into the West Bank. Before this time, popular struggle had been largely relegated to refugees and allies in the neighboring "front line" states. But by this time, the PLO leadership had been exiled to Tunis, having been first kicked out of Jordan under the Hashemite Kingdom (Black September 1970-71), then forsaken by Egypt under Anwar Sadat and later Hosni Mubarak (Camp David 1978-79), next crushed by Syria under Hafiz al-Assad (Lebanese Civil War 1976), and finally exiled from Lebanon under the country's right-wing Christian-Israeli coalition (1982). With the breakout of the Intifada in 1987, the PLO was made relevant once again. Its legislative body, the Palestine National Council (PNC), responded to the Intifada by meeting in Algiers in 1988 and, shifting attention to the new locus of power, bounded the realm of struggle to the Occupied Territories. It did so by voting to officially divide Palestine into two states: one Israeli under the June 4, 1967, and one Palestinian in the Occupied Territories. The move was controversial among the Palestinian movement, as it was more than shift in tactics; it was the moment the political strategy shifted from liberation to independence, Shafiq Al-Hout, the PLO representative in Lebanon, described in his memoirs (Al-Hout 2011). The 1988 Palestinian Declaration of Independence was, he recalled, "the most important and dangerous political decision in all the history of the Palestinian national struggle since its birth" (Al-Hout 2011: 231)[17].

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[17] This shift, Al-Hout points out, can be traced earlier to 1974, when the PLO joined the U.N. with observer

But the PLO was not immediately made relevant once again by they Intifada. When Israelis and Palestinian representatives from the Occupied Territories began negotiations at the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991, the PLO and its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, were in fact sidelined. Israel, also acknowledging the Occupied Territories as the new site of power, refused to speak to the PLO or any Palestinian not in either the West Bank or Gaza. The Tunis-based PLO, however, was allowed an unofficial advisory capacity. But fearing the process would slip him into irrelevancy, Arafat sidelined the Madrid negotiating team by undergoing secretive negotiations with the Israelis in Oslo. When both sides announced the "Declaration of Principles" (or, Oslo Accords) in 1993, the Madrid talks and the Intifada were effectively canceled.

It was the first time Israel and the PLO recognized each other, and the signing on the White House lawn in September 1993 led to a regional and international euphoria, even from the sidelined negotiators who realized that Arafat's success at Oslo stemmed largely from his willingness compromise much more than the Madrid team would. While Arafat advised the team to take hard-line positions on all issues, he made himself an attractive alternative representative to the Israelis at Oslo by presenting himself as a more flexible partner (c.f. Khatib 2010). Edward Said was one of the first to describe Arafat's deal as "an instrument of Palestinian surrender, a Palestinian Versailles" (Said 1994: xxxiv), for the only gain Arafat achieved from Oslo was the

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status. Joining implied the PLO's acceptance of the U.N. charter and its binding resolutions—including the 1947 decision to partition Palestine into two states.

recognition of the PLO (which Arafat led) as the Palestinian's sole legitimate representative. Israel, on the other hand, by being recognized, received much more.

> Arafat's recognition of Israel's right to exist carries with it a whole series of renunciations: of the PLO charter; of violence and terrorism; of all relevant UN resolutions, except 242 and 338 which do not have one word in them about the Palestinians, their rights, or aspiration; by implication, the PLO deferred or set aside numerous other UN resolutions (which, with Israel and the United States, the PLO is now reportedly undertaking to modify or rescind) that have giving Palestinians refugee rights since 1948, including either compensation or repatriation (Said 1994: xxxv).

As the process continued, it became clearer that the Accords were about fortifying Israeli security at the expense of Palestinian self-determination. The other major questions—Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, and borders—were left unanswered and consigned as "final status issues" to be agreed upon within five years. In Arafat's desire to demonstrate himself capable of heading a Palestinian state next to Israel, he and the international donor community focused their money and energies on establishing the Palestinian Authority (PA) to help govern and control "terror" attacks, most notably through Arafat's newly established police force (c.f. Lia 2007).

The question of maps in the post-Oslo environment was not posed until the following year when the issue of *where* such authority was to govern. The May 4, 1994 agreement on self-rule negotiated a timetable for Israeli forces to withdraw from Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho, installing the PA in its place. The PA was to be responsible for public order in these two areas. But a problem arose minutes before the signing in Cairo when Arafat refused to sign the attached maps, contesting the size of Jericho district on the maps Israel had drafted. But under pressure from Hosni Mubarak,

Arafat agreed to sign with a verbal agreement from his Israeli counterpart, Yitzhak Rabin, that the two would renegotiate the size of the district over the next three months (Qurie 2006: 289; Ross 2004: 133-136).

Arafat's signature on Israeli maps of the country, while never before a requirement for Israel's expansion, provided Israel with a territorial legitimacy it had not previously enjoyed. Indeed, carving the Occupied Territories into today's cantons was itself a Palestinian proposal at the Interim Agreement (Oslo II) in 1995, as the PA sought to expand its authority beyond Gaza and Jericho in a phased approach (Ross 2004: 195-196). When Israel outlined three zones in which it intended to retain security control even after the transfer of internal security powers to the PA, the PA proposed instead dividing the West Bank into three areas: one under full Palestinian control, one under joint control, and one under Israeli control (*ibid.*). Israel agreed, conceiving of these areas as A, B, and C, respectively. Arafat signed the maps, drafted by Israel, on September 28, 1995 at a second White House signing ceremony. But the phasing of all areas into full-PA control would never materialize.

Mapping Territory

In an essay published in December 1994, "Facts, Facts, and More Facts," Edward Said cited the lack of adequate maps by Palestinian representatives at the negotiations. There he argued that, "geography is the art of war but can also be the art of resistance if there is a counter-map and a counter-strategy" (Said 1996). Denis Wood attributes Edward Said's use of "counter-map" as the term's earliest usage (Wood

2010: 325, fn 57), which has been widely adopted by scholars studying the catastrophic consequences cartography has had on indigenous livelihoods in the modern era, and the growing responses that they make their own maps to hold onto land (Peluso 1995; Sparke 1998; Wainwright 2008). The "counter-map" concept can be usefully likened to the concept of the counter-narrative in spatial form—both engaging in the act to counter dominant truths from a weaker position of power. These practices often appeal to law and seek to correct colonial injustices by cartographically advancing legal claims to land rights (Wainwright and Bryan 2009: 154).

The post-Oslo Palestinian national movement today has heeded Said's call. To assist in the final status negotiations, the PLO's Negotiations Support Unit (NSU) was founded in 1998 following a Palestinian request to the U.K. for assistance in the final-status talks[18]. Britain, Sweden, Norway, Demark and Holland agreed to contribute to the new body, appointing the London-based Adam Smith Institute to head the project. The Ramallah-based NSU has been effective. At the Camp David final status talks in July 2000 (Camp David II), Palestinian negotiators were able to use maps to illustrate how Israel's proposed land swaps were designed to control water resources in the West Bank and to fragment the territory into islands surrounding by Israeli soldiers (Hanieh 2001: 95).

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[18] The NSU is an arm of the PLO's Negotiations Affairs Department (NAD), established in Gaza in 1994 and now headquartered in Ramallah. The NAD and the NSU are both arms of the PLO and not the PA, yet it is important to note that, since Oslo, the PLO has been effectively subsumed under the PA.

But while a growing cartographic spirit carried along with it the power to map, it also understood the power to *not* map. At Camp David II, when Israeli negotiator Shlomo Ben Ami presented a map leaving 76 percent of the West Bank (colored in yellow) for the Palestinians, Clinton asked the Palestinians to offer a counter-proposal (Enderlin 2002). Lead negotiator and drafter of the Oslo Accords, Ahmed Qurie (Abu Ala), refused to comment on the map, for it showed Palestinians would control only 88 percent of the area, and Israel 12 (Ben-Ami 2002). Additionally, the map included no part of Jerusalem for the Palestinian state. Rather than comment on the map, Qurie's reply to Clinton was, "for the Palestinians, legitimacy means Israel retreat to the border of June [4,] 1967" before any territorial swaps could be negotiated (quoted in Enderlin 2002: 201-202). Clinton became enraged, yelling:

> Sir, I know you'd like the whole map to be yellow. But that's not possible. This isn't the Security Council here. This isn't the UN General Assembly. If you want to give a lecture, go over there and don't make me waste my time. I'm the president of the United States. I'm ready to pack my bags and leave. I also risk losing a lot here. You're obstructing the negotiation. You're not acting in good faith. You never submit a counter-proposal (quoted in Enderlin 2002: 202).

"Clinton shouted that no one would be able to get everything he wanted," recalled Israeli negotiator, Ben-Ami, "and that he too would like to serve a third term as president, but he knew that was impossible" (2002).

Camp David II would collapse; but even so, Israeli and Palestinian negotiators continued conducting more than fifty negotiating sessions over the next two months, most of them clandestinely at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem (Sontag 2001). The talks ended when the Second Intifada broke out one Friday in late September 2000. In

response, and seeking to prevent the peace process' failure, the outgoing U.S. President proposed the Clinton Parameters that December: a Palestinian state comprising between 94-96 percent of the West Bank and the entire Gaza Strip with Israel ceding no more than 3 percent of land to the Palestinians in swaps to compensate for the annexations.

As a last-ditch effort to save the peace process, talks based on the Clinton Parameters resumed at Taba the following January, although the U.S. was not present. For the first time, both sides presented their own maps on the West Bank (Gresh 2002: 82). The Israelis sketched a map presenting 6 percent annexation, while the Palestinian map presented 3.1 percent in the context of a land swap (*ibid.*). Palestinian maps were predicated on the principle that land swaps would be of equitable size and value in areas adjacent to the Palestinian state's borders, and also stressed the importance of a non-annexation of any Palestinian villages and the contiguity of the West Bank and East Jerusalem (*ibid.*: 82-83). Neither side presented a map of the Gaza Strip (*ibid.:* 83). The negotiations ended prematurely, called off by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak on the eve of his failed re-election bid. Nevertheless, negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians would resume over the next decade, following the principle of land swaps through territorial percentages at Taba. Where the contention would lie, however, was over the precise percentages and where the starting point, or "baseline" for the negotiations would lie: for the Palestinians, it was the June 4, 1967 borders; for the Israelis, it would be the settlements. Hence the impasse, for at the start of the peace process in 1991, the Israeli settler population numbered 232,000. By 2010, it would more than double to 500,000 (Elgindy 2010).

The Territorialist Strategy

The leadership's territorialist strategy, which bases political claims over the Palestinian Authority's ownership and control of the Occupied Territories, not only indicates a radical departure from pre-Oslo conceptions of Palestine; the concern for a state has also been accompanied by a growing disconnect between Palestine and Palestinians—a fissure revealed by discussions between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators since Taba. In the leaked *Palestine Papers* in 2011[19], it was learned that the Palestinian negotiators privately agreed that only 10,000 refugees and their families, out of a total refugee population exceeding 5 million, could return to Israel as part of a peace settlement[20].

This disconnect is also revealed by the leadership's new relationship to maps. Previously, it was understood that the refugee question was the fundamental issue in the conflict, and therefore, its resolution would be the path to peace. Yet today, in contrast, the Palestinian leadership considers the *lack of a state* to be the fundamental issue. "[T]he establishment of the Palestinian state," negotiator Saeb Erekat remarked to Israeli Prime Minister Tzipi Livni, "is the answer to the issue of 5 million Palestinian refugees"[21]. The notion that an agreed-upon map is the answer was explicitly

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[19] The *Palestine Papers* was the largest leak of confidential files in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Covering talks between Israel and the PA from 1999-2010, the *Papers* were leaked from the NSU office to Al-Jazeera and The Guardian, who began releasing the cache of more than 1,600 documents on January 23, 2011 (http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers)

[20] Dr. Saeb Erekat Meeting with Negotiations Support Unit & Heads of Committees, 16 June 2009, *Palestine Papers*

[21] Meeting Minutes on Borders, 08 April 2008, *Palestine Papers*

referenced by Palestinian President, Mahmoud Abbas in a March 2009 meeting with the

NSU on the status of the negotiations:

> We discussed all issues and asked all questions in our meetings [with the Israelis]. For example, on borders, we asked, 'What are the borders? Give us maps.' We did not receive an answer until 3 months before the end of negotiations and until [Condoleezza] Rice said that the 1967 is the baseline. They showed us but did not give us a map. They said 6.5% of the territory for swaps, we said only 1.9% and that is when the built up area of all the settlements is only1.2%. That issue, had it been addressed and resolved, would have solved all three issues of borders, settlements, and Jerusalem. On refugees, we said some but not all would return to what is now Israel. All refugees can get Palestinian citizenship (all 5 million) if they want to (for example Palestinian refugees in Jordan may not want to while for refugees in Lebanon there is a need). With that Palestinian refugees will no longer be stateless but rather foreigners.[22]

Thus, as the question of Palestine has become reduced to maps, the question of *Palestinians* has become sidelined.

Diana Buttu, a former legal advisor for the NSU, has identified this shift in priorities as has having taken place as the Second Intifada escalated after Taba. At the Taba talks in January 2001, she points out, the PLO still preserved the right of return and went far enough to discuss its implementation (Neslen 2011: 87-93). "The PLO's position was that refugees must be presented with real choices," Buttu recalled in a interview with BADIL, a Palestinian refugee and residency advocacy group (Buttu 2004). "It is up to the refugees themselves to choose a solution.

> This is not a question for Israel, the Palestinian Authority or the international community. At Taba the PLO discussed four choices. Refugees would be able to choose to go to the Palestinian state, stay

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[22] Meeting Minutes President Abbas Meeting with NSU, 24 March 2009, *Palestine Papers*

where they are in current host states, resettle in third countries like Canada, or return to their homes in Israel (*ibid*.).

In the years that followed, however, the PLO's position vis-à-vis the refugee question began to diverge from what it proclaimed in public and what it negotiated in private. Buttu points to the Second Intifada as the catalyst, when the PA's task—to provide Israeli security from Palestinians, including security from PA rival Hamas—became increasingly untenable. "Instead of capitalizing on the Intifada, and the people power that it brought them," Buttu said, "they ended up somehow being apologetic for the intifada" (*ibid.*). As a result, Palestinian negotiators began backtracking on major positions, including the refugee question (Neslen 2011: 87-93) for, as Buttu put it, "members of the Palestinian leadership are territorialists rather than advocates of people's rights" (Buttu 2004).

The Post-Oslo Cartographic Spirit

From Above

While the negotiations remain stalled, a variety of Palestinian mapping institutions continue to prepare for a state nonetheless. But this is a considerably difficult enterprise under occupation, as Ahmad Al-Noubani describes. The geography professor at Birzeit University analyzes the current system as a Catch-22: "Mapping means sovereignty. If you don't have sovereignty you don't have mapping" (Al-Noubani 2011). What Al-Noubani refers to here is that the inability to get access to areas under full Israeli control makes it impossible to conduct surveys. Further complicating the task is that specific borders have never been agreed to, yet they are nonetheless enforced by the

Israeli government. There exists no official map delimiting the West Bank's post-Oslo parceling (Buttu 2011). "Nobody in this country could say, 'I know the borders of area A, B, and C.' We don't even know the limits of our borders. The Israelis determine Area C," Al-Noubani says. When Arafat signed the Area A, B, and C maps at Oslo II, a detailed map was not yet an important concern—he signed the maps under the assumption that the Israelis would engage in a phased withdrawal in 18 months.

But the land is not the only area out of the Palestinians' reach. Israel's control of the airspace prevents all but its own military from taking aerial photographs. A loophole many Palestinians take advantage of is the commercial availability of Israel's reconnaissance imagery, currently sold by private Israeli companies. Salem Thawaba, who now develops the GIS curriculum at Birzeit University, went precisely through this channel while conducting his Master's thesis *Landscape Capacity for Absorbing Urban Development in Tulkarem* (1998) at the Oslo School of Architecture. Thawaba describes purchasing an aerial photograph of the West Bank town of Tulkarem from an Israeli firm, and using a British Mandate map to see how growth patterns changed over time. "There is no knowledge sharing between Israelis and Palestinians unless through the private sector," Thawaba remarks. "Then it's just business" (Thawaba 2011)

Shadi Ghadban, Associate Professor of Architecture at Birzeit University, also references historical maps in his research to measure changes in construction over time in major Palestinian towns. The maps Ghadban references date back further than the British Mandate and into the mid-nineteenth-century. The GIS layers Palestinians use also date back to this point (Ghadban 2011). Making Ghadban's task difficult is the

academic boycott of Israeli institutions, which he has supported since 1996. It prevents his cooperation with Israel in his research. "It's a personal, political position," he says. "We are suffering hazards from the Israelis." He elaborates that Israel restrictions on movement, for example, forbid Palestinian students in Gaza entry into the West Bank, and in effect, forbid them from attending universities in the West Bank. Additionally, the military frequently arrests Palestinian students and heavily taxes the university. He adds, "The Israelis use their connections with Palestinians badly."

An additional challenge Palestinian cartography faces is the lack of an agreed-upon base map of the country—that is, the one reference map for the would-be Palestinian state. As a former employee of the Ministry of Planning (MOP)[23], Thawaba attempted to produce the first base map. He relied heavily on British survey maps from the 1920s after locating them in Jordan, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and in Istanbul, which he "digitized from scratch." Thawaba's base map, however, was not approved by the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). A major reason cited was an internal conflict, still present today, between local municipalities and the MOP over tax revenues, which are not fully returned to the locality (El-Atrash 2011).

The rise and fall of the Palestinian Geographic Center (PALGRIC), exemplified this tension. In the mid-1990s, the PLO established PALGRIC, which it entrusted with producing maps and basic geographic information. PALGRIC's mandate was to

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[23] The Ministry of Planning has gone through three names: (1) MOPIC – Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation; (2) MP – Ministry of Planning; (3) MOPAAD – Ministry of Planning and Administrative Development. While conducting field research for this project (September 2010-August 2011), it was referred to MOP. It is the acronym I use in this study.

centralize all spatial data, but the effort collapsed by refusals to share information between national and local bodies (El-Atrash 2011). In 2004, PALGRIC was disbanded and became part of the Geographic Center and Technical Support Unit in the Ministry of Planning.

While an agreed-upon internal parceling of the country today still does not exist, Palestinian mapping institutions, both public and private, continue to operate, even if they their maps conflict, duplicate work, or overlap. Perhaps the best-known private mapping organization in the West Bank is the Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ), an NGO specializing on geographic research on and development for the Occupied Territories. ARIJ's research projects have included assessments of land use change on the environment, the growth of settlements over time, and the geopolitical situation of West Bank and Gaza (e.g. Israeli bypass roads, closures, the Barrier route, and land expropriation). ARIJ's founder, Jad Isaac, is often credited as a GIS pioneer among Palestinians, and was one of the cartographers present at Taba in 2001. The MOP, however, still hopes to be responsible for the eventual base map.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) works on producing census and digital line layers of streets, building boundaries, and roads. It has recently begun assigning an address system in parts of Area A. The project's stated goals are to:

- Provide an identity for each Palestinian house;
- Facilitate all correspondence such as mail delivery;
- Facilitate location direction;
- Facilitate emergency work of fire rescue squads, emergency health and security Services (PCBS 2005).

The goal is to facilitate governing: "The system should be as simple and logical as possible. The best system is the one that offers the least chance for confusion and the one that is easily understood" (*ibid.*). It provides the following naming guidelines:

- The names of Palestinian villages;
- The names of Palestinian Personalities who have special reputation in Science, Politics and Sociology;
- The names of some Palestinian & Arab Martyrs;
- The names of Palestinian & Arab cities;
- The names of Plants & Birds;
- The Palestinian & Islamic historical Battles;
- The names of some Muslim Khaliffs especially those who were associated with Palestine;
- Absolute names such as: Independence; Victory; Freedom; …etc. (PCBS 2005).

But in an effort to negotiate the tension between the local and the national, the project leaves name selection up to each municipality.

From Below

Maps that focus on the boundaries of Palestine as a homogenous unity have difficulty discussing what is meant by *Palestinians*. Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories are often included, while others, such as the Palestinian citizens of Israel and the refugees in the Diaspora are often excluded. In response, refugees have also counter-mapped in ways that do not give up on the right of return. Palestinian engineer and cartographer, Salman Abu Sitta, has done this in two important ways: The first has been to collect and produce pre-Israel maps of Palestine with the Arabic villages and place names as they existed on the eve of Israel's creation in 1948. Abu Sitta spent a decade producing *Atlas of Palestine* 1948 (2005), which maps Palestinian towns and

villages as they existed on the eve of the Nakba, refuting arguments of the land's emptiness before Jewish immigration. This equally scientific work inspires continual debate on the apolitical nature of science and serves to counter the declaration that modern Israel is a direct and continuous descendent of ancient Israel. Abu Sitta also goes further by showing that, contrary to Israeli claims, the return of the vast majority of 1948 refugees to the actual locations of their original villages is possible. These maps, for example, highlight large swaths of areas within Israel not heavily populated in order to counter the idea that the return of the refugees would displace existing Jewish residents. For Abu Sitta, Israel's proposals on the refugee question are unacceptable as they

> are all based on the notions that (a) Palestinians are not a people, just a bunch of Arabs who can live anywhere; (b) there is no Palestine, only Eretz Israel; (c) Palestinians do not deserve their land as they, the Israelis do; and (d) Israel could help these Palestinians to relocate elsewhere as a humanitarian gesture (Abu Sitta 2000).

By mapping Palestinian refugees into Palestine/Israel, living within the same territory as today's Israelis, Abu Sitta's work prods our geographic imaginations to consider that such a proposal could become real.

Abu Sitta's work is often leveraged as a tool for the "one-state solution" movement. The movement, highly popular among the Diaspora, not only appeals to the morality of preserving the right of return; it also appeals to the pragmatic: it argues that because Israel's settlement activity has intertwined Israeli and Palestinian society so deeply within the landscape, the two-state solution is no longer a possibility. For them, the landscape shows that the one-state solution has already become *de facto* solution—

the only question that remains is how to make it *de jure*, where all people living in Palestine/Israel, as well refugees desiring return, are afforded equal civil rights.

To address these new realities, there has been a growth of mobility maps, particularly of the West Bank and its checkpoints and roadblocks. These maps serve as attempts to tell the story of new social relations: of differentiated mobility, blockages, speed, and waiting—concepts difficult to illustrate on traditional maps of sovereign territory. The most widely circulated is the *West Bank Access and Restrictions Map*, produced by the UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OCHA oPT). It was the first to map the Israel's road blocks in their myriad forms closures (barriers, mounds). It also highlights Palestinian cantons and the Israeli-only bypass roads, and marks approximations of the A, B, and C areas, Palestinian built-up areas, Israel's military firing zones, and settlements. It also maps the separation barrier using GPS data and information from the Israeli Minister of Defense, who used to publicize the planned route and fence type. The maps are made by teams who go out in the field with GPS and cameras. They buy satellite imagery from private Israeli sources and acquire them from NGOs who share them with them on a yearly or bi-yearly basis. They also use Google Earth and create KML files to depict closures and barriers, although the software's resolution of the country is often too poor to be useful (see the next chapter for a discussion on Google Earth's imagery restrictions over Israel and the Occupied Territories).

OCHA oPT began publishing the maps in 2002-03 and updating them frequently. They share this map with embassies, international organizations,

universities, and Palestinian and Israeli organizations. They are printed in English but some versions have appeared in Arabic. Palestinian Jerusalemite, Amjad Yahmour, is the organization's GIS and Mapping Specialist. He points out that the Palestinian leadership also uses these maps while out on the field when they have foreign visitors (Yahmour 2011). The map's original focus was on counting closures: in 2011 there were about 550 closures—a decrease from the 700 or so present only years before. Yahmour describes having celebrated each time one more was removed, only to realize that the ones Israel decided to keep were highly strategic: they especially kept ones which helped restrict access to the Jordan Valley and Jerusalem. "Now, even if there are only 100 closures it's not important," he says. "What's important is their location."

Considerations

In this chapter, I have sought to show that the rise of Palestinian cartography post-Oslo has been accompanied by the PLO's political shift from liberation to independence—the latter entailing a territorialist strategy and, hence, a deep reliance on the map. This trajectory follows Denis Wood's argument that societies make maps when they need them—and in modern era where the nation-state is the dominant way to order society, maps have become dominant tools to legitimize this configuration (Wood 2010). Because the *social* question is as important as the spatial question, I have attempted to focus my study on the struggle to order society spatially, rather than focusing my study on maps divorced from political relations.

Additionally, the critique in this chapter is not a call for "replacing bad colonial maps with good anti-colonial maps" (Wainwright and Bryan 2009: 170). On the contrary, PLO cartography like other indigenous counter-cartography can have undesirable outcomes. By adopting the conceptual framework laid out by the modern state system (Doumani 2007), Palestinians continue to be rendered invisible at crucial moments, yet this time, by the PLO. For the Diaspora, this has come in the form of the leadership's post-Oslo maps, which legitimize Israel and therefore, forsaking the right of return. For the Palestinian citizens of Israel, who make up about one fifth of Israel's citizenry, PLO cartography legitimizes Israeli rule over them as second class citizens—unwanted, unwelcome, and "regarded and treated as a dangerous threat in their own homeland" (Pappé 2011: 2). As has been the case with nation-state cartography elsewhere, which "delimited the extremes of the [country's] domain" (Thongchai 1997: 131), the PLO's maps post-Oslo limit the political realm into the West Bank and Gaza, disenfranchising more than half of Palestinians along the way. Thus, while counter-maps can confront a racist and exclusionary colonial past, they can also reinforce "differences and inequalities in the colonial present" (Wainwright and Bryan 2009: 154).

Yet this is not to say that simply being rendered *visible* is inherently the corrective, as a census map would for example, for such an answer can facilitate the *efficiency* of oppressive rule. As an example of how this has unfolded in the U.S., an important impetus for the country's modern statistical census was the need to locate the its Japanese population in order to round them up into internment camps during World

War II—a scheme which provided the Census Bureau a vast increase in resources to pursue innovative methods in enumeration in use today (Anderson 1988: 194). Similarly, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics' new street address project promises to engrain a dependence on the map at the level of everyday life under which the status quo can further concretize. As Thongchai points out, maps have the ability to "transform human beings into its agents to make the mapped space come true" (Thongchai 1997: 130).

On the other hand, as Edward Said recognized that while a census must be regarded as a bureaucratic exercise, is can also assist with the enfranchisement of Palestinians *wherever they are*:

> Israel, the United States, and the Arab states—all of them—have always opposed a census: It would give the Palestinians too high a profile in the countries where they are supposed to be invisible, and before the Gulf War, it would have revealed to various Gulf governments how dependent they were on a n inappropriately large, usually exploited, 'guest' community. Above all, opposition to the census stemmed from the realization that were all Palestinians to be counted all together, despite dispersion and dispossession, they would by that very exercise come close to constituting a nation and not just a collection of people (Said 1994: xliii-xliv).

The project does have its moments of insurrection. In 2010, for example, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu issued a furious condemnation of PCBS' street naming project in the West Bank, which he accused of being a "glorification of terrorists" (Bronner 2010). A street sign in Ramallah was named after Yahya Ayyash, not only honoring him but offering a concise biography in Arabic and English:

> Yahya Ayyash 1966-1996. Born in Rafat (Nablus), he studied electrical engineering in Birzeit University, he was active in Al Qassam Brigades,

and Israel claimed that he was responsible for a series of bomb attacks, and he was assassinated in Beit Lahya (Gaza Strip) on 5/1/1996 (*ibid.*).

So in spite of many of its accommodations, it cannot be doubted that Palestinian cartographic practice continues to be understood as a threat. In 1988, the year Tufakji and his team published the map of Palestine discussed in the beginning of this chapter, Israel ordered its military to break into his headquarters at Orient House, citing "security reasons"[24]. Nonetheless, Orient House continued to operate in exile and reopened its original offices in 1992, following the start of the peace process. It served as the official body in charge of final status talks on the question of Jerusalem until its raid and ultimate closure by Israeli authorities once again on August 10, 2001. The army and police confiscated the organization's documents, computer equipment, and data. And still, a decade later, and following a meeting of the Quartet on the Middle East in February 2010 which suggested reopening Orient House and other Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem, Khalil Tufakji was issued a six-month travel ban on the recommendation of Israel's Shin Bet security service. The ban cited "real concern that the exit of Mr. Khalil Tufakji from Israel may harm the security of the state" (Hass 2010).

Subversive or no, the realities on the ground pose formidable challenges to mapping a Palestinian state. It is often assumed, for example, that the Occupied West Bank will be part of the would-be Palestinian state, yet the persistent growth of Israeli settlements there has produced a landscape inconceivable from any previous form of

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[24] http://www.orienthouse.org/about/index.html (Accessed March 11, 2012)

the nation-state. Acknowledging that there exists little chance the settlements will be dismantled, Israeli architect Eyal Weizman (2007) foresees two states on top of, next to, and under each other, manifested through the 3-dimensional parsing of the area where the settlements remain but are connected to each other via highways and tunnels. Palestinian towns and villages would connect to each other in similar ways—ways that worm Israeli and Palestinian existence around each other. So while peace talks are geared toward a mappable goal, most stakeholders admit these talks will neither address the central objective of Israeli security, Palestinian self-determination, nor the root causes of the conflict.

CHAPTER III

Art of War, Art of Resistance

> In the history of colonial invasion maps are always first drawn by the victors, since maps are instruments of conquest. Geography is therefore the art of war but can also be the art of resistance if there is a counter-map and a counter-strategy.
>
> — *Edward Said*[25]

> When the Arab terrorists see Google Earth's falsification of geographic realities, they will be appeased and encouraged because these kinds of lying maps send the message that their disinformation campaigns and their terrorism work.
>
> — *Zionist Organization of America*[26]

On February 12, 2006 Thameen Darby announced a "grand post" on the Google Earth Community Forum. He had just created a map of Palestinian places destroyed or depopulated in the 1948 War to be viewed as a layer on Google Earth.[27] Darby, the son of a '48 refugee from Balad ash-Sheikh, described his "Nakba Layer" as a project that would bring joy to other refugees. Promoting it through mass e-mail, he requested the following message be forwarded widely to interested friends and family:

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[25] Said, Edward. 1996. "Facts, facts, and more facts." Pp. 26-31 in *Peace and Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process*. New York: Vintage. (p. 27)

[26] Klein, Aaron. 2007. "Google Earth map marks Temple Mount Palestinian." in *Ynetnews*: Ynetnews.

[27] Darby's original announcement, titled "Nakba – The Palestinian Catastrophe," is archived here: http://bbs.keyhole.com/ubb/ubbthreads.php?ubb=showthreaded&Number=319367 (accessed Jan. 7, 2012).

Do you want to see where your original town or village is in Palestine? If you have Google Earth you can use the attached layer to see the destroyed and existing Palestinian Villages. For those who have not used it yet, Google Earth is a new emerging tool for information exchange based on a three dimensional assimilation of satellite images of the world. Google Earth allows users to add layers to it after they install. There is a layer of all the destroyed Palestinian villages and towns in 1948. This is a big data base that shows the site of each village and directs you to a website that talks about each village in detail.[28]

The layer contained a list of hundreds of destroyed Arab villages classified by district, each with links to the Palestine Remembered web site[29] for more information about a particular village or town. "The issue of these refuges [*sic*] and their right to their native land," Darby explained in his post on the GE Community Forum, "remains the major obstacle to achieve a long desired peace between the Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East's long and bitter conflict" (Darby 2006).

As I set out to establish in the previous chapter, the refugee question is a central issue in the conflict, and continues to be so even as it is being gradually eroded from the Palestinian leadership's purview. This was evidenced by its maps—the territorialist politics framing the PLO's cartography has left little space for the refugee question. Refugee counter-mapping, the focus of this chapter, refuses to participate in this erasure, and it is this refusal this chapter seeks to honor. For if we are serious in our commitments to provide space for the subaltern to speak (Spivak 1988) we must take equally seriously our responsibility to listen. The commitment to listen, Fernando

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[28] Darby's full e-mail, including the downloadable layer, is reposted here:
http://umkahlil.blogspot.com/2006/09/thameen-darby-creates-nakba-layer-for.html

[29] www.palestineremembered.com

Coronil points out, challenges rather than confirms the silencing effect of domination (Coronil 1994). What I seek to show here is that, more than providing evidence that the subaltern can—and indeed *do*—speak, "listening" to refugee cartography forces us to consider that the space to speak may not be for us to provide at all. Rather, this space may be in the process of creation by the subaltern itself.

In addition to honoring the refusal to be erased, I also look to highlight the project's radical potentials. More than providing people a place on the map, mapping the Nakba in this case study is an act of collective remembering. Remembering becomes all the more important in the post-Oslo political environment as the refugee question is increasingly relegated to the past. Such pleas that refugees "move on," for example, is often made by Israel and the U.S.[30]. Highlighting the radical potential to remember is not to say that harkening the past is always desirable. We have already cartography assist the Napoleonic Expedition's desire to link itself to an Ancient civilization of order. Walter Benjamin cautioned against the deployment of the past in this way:

> to Robespierre ancient Rome was a past charged with the time of the now which he blasted out of the continuum of history. The French Revolution viewed itself as Rome reincarnate. […] This jump, though, takes place in an arena where the ruling class gives the commands (Benjamin 1986: 261).

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[30] Condoleezza Rice echoed this sentiment in a statement to the Palestinian negotiating team. Paralleling her objection to the right of return with slave reparations, she said "It's not forward looking." (Minutes from Bilateral US-PAL Session Post Annapolis, Wednesday, 16th July 2008, 11h00am, *Palestine Papers*)

Thus, question is not of the past in itself, but of social relations. And it is here how *collective* remembering is important, for in the Palestinian context: the Nakba first dispersed them and the peace process has sought to divide them. Collective remembering *online* provides an avenue for cultivating the common in spite of fragmented geographies, as this chapter will show.

The material I present here builds from the previous chapter's discussion on the leadership's political shift from liberation to independence; but the focus here is in the reverse, so to speak, as I examine how cartography might take liberatory forms from below. As a case study, I turn to how Google Earth has been used by Palestinian refugees to keep the memory of the Nakba alive in the present. Google Earth presents an interesting study of the mapping from below because, as with the larger Web 2.0 phenomenon, the geospatial web, or "geoweb," facilitates participatory information sharing and production from and between ordinary people.

That map-making is transferred away from the exclusive realm of the elites has led some scholars to suggest that the geoweb holds democratic potentials (Butler 2006; Goodchild 2007). I take a cautious approach to this notion, however, as it can be tempting to overstate these potentials. As Denis Wood reminds us, Google Earth in particular has its military applications, and "merely hints at the insane apparatus of surveillance and control that the official world of maps and map-making has mutated into" (Wood 2010: 111). The feminist literature on technology and vision has contributed critical interventions on the type of a positivist consciousness the "view from above" can have, most often building from Donna Haraway's concept of the "god-

trick," or the view of the world from nowhere, which promotes the notion of a master subject controlling an object (Haraway 1988).

Nonetheless, the literature also warns against losing sight of agency (for a review, see Kwan 2002). Writing against techno-deterministic stances, Paul Kingsbury and John Paul Jones III point out that, because much of the creation is left to actively engaged participants, Google Earth carries a high degree of indeterminacy—and it is here where the transformative potential of such a technology lies (2009). Thus, they advise against falling into the trap of uncritically privileging the software's Apollonian determinations at the expense of its "Dionysian" uncertainties (*ibid.*). In writing about the larger geoweb, Sarah Elwood agrees. "The critical question," she suggests, "remains how different constituencies, variously more and less powerful, will take up this indeterminacy and what they will create with it" (Elwood 2010: 354). Doreen Massey has also been keen to emphasize that not all views from above are problematic (they are another way of seeing in the world); but the problem arises if we fall into thinking that vertical distance lends to truth (Massey 2005: 107). Thus, the question is less the use of vision, but the inability to acknowledge that vision is always partial and embodied. Or, as Haraway writes, "only the god-trick is forbidden" (Haraway 1991: 195).

I situate the work presented here within these debates, finding constructive critique rather than purely epistemological critique attractive for any study of counter-cartography from below. If maps are not neutral documents but sites and practices of power/knowledge (Harley 1989), then we cannot methodologically divorce

epistemological inquiry from political struggle. Here, I follow Bruno Latour's intervention that critical inquiry must focus on *matters of concern* rather than *matters of fact* (Latour 2004). Critiquing knowledge production to the point that we cannot believe anything anymore is not befitting for the Palestinian case, for the practices I investigate here are practices are undertaken by people who do believe in something, and moreover, act upon that belief.

Finally, this chapter also cautions against assumptions that subjects in struggle achieve nothing if they do not achieve full revolution, for such an idea makes it difficult to acknowledge the political gains Palestinians *have* made through counter-mapping (Wood 2010: 112). So rather than looking for revolution as a *fait accompli*, what I look for instead are moments of rupture. This engages with Haraway as well, who asks, "what possible kinds of cracks in the system of domination could one imagine beyond a kind of sublimity, a kind of wallowing in the sublime of domination which, of course, many folks do..." (Harvey and Haraway 1995: 514). In investigating map-making practices on the Internet—a realm scholars have begun to consider as the conflict's new battle ground (Allan and Brown 2010; Aouragh 2011; Kuntsman and Stein 2010)—I focus on three cracks of interest for the Palestinian refugee context: (1) the online arena's potential leveling effects of power, and thus knowledge production; (2) the ability to map one's own terms undetermined by Oslo framework; and (3) the radical remembering of the Nakba, which both builds the Palestinian common in spite of dispersal, and strives toward political utopia.

I divide this study into two sections. The first, "Art of War," provides a background on Google Earth, providing situating the software within its Cold War prehistory. I also attend to arguments that Google Earth—a "centerless," non-state mapping technology—is revealing (and may even be assisting with) the contemporary unraveling of nation-state sovereignty. In the second section, "Art of Resistance," I point to a power shift occurring from below by attending to the suggestion that, because Google Earth's content is generated by users that are actors rather than simply voyeurs, its "master representations," rather than simply reauthored, may be subverted from within (Farman 2010). I suggest that, for this case study, this may be occurring through practices of "commoning memory" (Haiven 2011).

Art of War

Google Earth is a web-based mapping software that represents the entire Earth's surface as a 3D virtual globe from a patchwork of imagery from different sources with varying resolution levels. Some areas of the globe, especially of large metropolitan cities, appear crisp even when zoomed in at street level [31]. Others, especially of rural areas, appear blurry from a similar distance. The images are not real-time, but are no more than three years old and are updated on a rolling basis. Upon launch, users are greeted with a spinning globe at about the distance the crew of the Apollo 17 photographed the "Blue Marble" in 1972. Within seconds, street-level locations can come into focus.

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[31] The resolution in the basic package available for free download is sufficiently high to make out vehicles and people on the ground.

With a broadband Internet connection, users are invited to quickly zoom in, spin the globe with their mouse, tilt the landscape, and visualize data with spatial component on top of the background imagery in the form of layers.

Importantly, these layers, created through Keyhole Markup Language (KML)—or, the "HTML of geography" [32] —allows users to create custom overlays that superimpose images on Earth browsers, control and update map content across the Web, and manage large data sets using regions and custom types. KML files can be shared, uploaded, and worked on simultaneously on collaborative projects. The software retains no control over users' content.

Since going live in June 2005, the program has witnessed more than 700 million unique downloads (Where 2.0 Conference 2011). That it has been made available for free[33] has, no doubt, added to its attractions, but so has its ability to draw in a variety of users from hobbyists to educators, and non-profits to professionals with a broad range of interests.[34]

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[32] KML is an XML-based notation for expressing and displaying geographic information and has evolved into an international standard for describing any geographic content online. It has been adopted by other virtual globe browsers like Microsoft Virtual Earth and NASA's WorldWind as well as Photoshop and AutoCAD.

[33] On initial launch, Google offered two paid variations of Google Earth: Google Earth Plus ($20/year) which provided additional features including GPS compatibility, data import, and annotation and Google Earth Pro (licensed annually $399/year) for commercial use, which provided faster speed, advanced measurements, high-resolution printing and GIS data import capabilities and support. Today, Google Plus is no longer available but Google Earth Pro remains.

[34] Realtors and home buyers, the company suggests, might cross-reference school districts with address look-ups of available homes, business listings and public transportation; tourists or explorers might investigate a travel destination before they arrive there—or perhaps explore it in lieu of ever having to arrive there. During the 2006 election campaign, the program featured an election guide with aggregated

From its inception, Google has presented the software as a tool for exploration and travel: "you can fly like a superhero from your computer at home to a street corner somewhere else in the world—or find a local hospital, map a road trip or measure the distance between two points." The sensation of "flight" is provided by the ability to go from point to point or from zoom to zoom quickly with a bird's-eye view of the landscape. This is achieved through "slippy map" technology which allows the program to dynamically patch image tiles together in the background, display a smooth browsing experience in the foreground, and maintain low-bandwidth use in the backend.

Google Earth's Prehistory

Google packages the software as "comprehensive," "authoritative," "accurate," "neutral" representations of the world (Google 2009). But Google Earth's Cold War prehistory places it firmly at the opposing end of such claims. Originally called Earth Viewer, the program was created by Keyhole, Corp. until Google acquired the company in 2004 and repackaged it as Google Earth the following year. Keyhole Corp., founded in 2001, was so-named as an homage to the U.S. military's KH spy satellites first launched in 1960, where KH stands for keyhole. When the first successful Corona satellite was launched on August 18, 1960 as the "Discoverer-14," it used a KH-1 camera system (Monmonier 2002: 22-24).[35] "*Discover* was a clever double entendre,"

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information about races country-wide with links to candidates, news, campaign finance information, and voter registration and information sites.

[35] For the first few series up to KH-9, the system worked this way: the camera took photos, the film was placed in a capsule, and the capsule parachuted back into Earth . A Discoverer capsule could float for two

Mark Monmonier writes. As a cover name, "it implied space exploration and biomedical research, but the CIA and Air Force officials running the program focused on discovering airfields, launch pads, and uranium plants" (Monmonier 2002: 23).

The program's official secrecy remained intact until President Jimmy Carter, at a speech at Cape Canaveral on October 1, 1978, officially acknowledged that the United States had been using space satellites to conduct photographic reconnaissance (Richelson 1984: 121). Officials opposed to such disclosure argued that several undesirable results were possible from declassification, the primary obstacle being the "diplomatic objection that other nations would create great difficulties if they were compelled to admit that many of their tightly protected secrets were in fact not secret at all," as Director of Central Intelligence (1973-76) William Colby wrote (cited in Richelson 1984: 147).

Corona imagery remained sequestered in National Reconnaissance Office Vaults until the end of the Cold War when President Bill Clinton authorized its release in 1995, describing it as "scientifically or environmentally useful … historical intelligence imagery" (Monmonier 2002: 25). Although the official White House rationale appealed to a scholarly discourse, the greater impetus for declassification lay in the new market competition posed by post-Cold War Russian space entrepreneurs

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days, allowing sufficient time for recovery by a Naval team that knew where and when to look. If the team could not retrieve it, a salt plug in the flotation unit would dissolve, filling the capsule with water, and sinking it so no one else would find it (Monmonier 2002: 23). Subsequent KH series, the KH-11 and KH-12, transmitted their results via SDS military satellites.

selling equally sharp images (Monmonier 2002: 25). It was thus reconnaissance imagery and its subsequent commercialization that made Google Earth possible.

Google Earth and the Nation-State

The software has irked states in more ways than Colby predicted. Certainly, governments have had to admit that their tightly protected secrets were never truly secret. But more than that, they have also had to confront a general public with access to these secrets at street level. Protesting soon after the software's launch that South Korea's presidential Blue House, defense security command, and military bases could be seen, presidential spokesperson, Kim Man-Soo, said Google Earth "sparked security concerns" (Canberra Times, "I Spy with my Little Laptop," December 22, 2005). And when Google's boundaries and place names conflict with the official government line, states undergoing territorial disputes have perceived the software as a threat to their very integrity. Legislators from the pro-independence Taiwan Solidarity Union, for example, urged the public to e-mail Google, objecting that the program showed Taiwan as a Chinese province rather than as an independent state. In their protests, they suggested Google was not unlike other international media companies which, eager to expand their presence in the Chinese market, often succumb to pressure from Beijing (Gluck 2005).

Not long after going live, the Indian government and Google also faced-off in a battle that would last a year and a half. Google Earth sparked a domestic uproar when its "Borders and Labels" layer represented Kashmir as belonging to Pakistan. By law,

the Indian government forbids the "wrong" depiction of India's international boundaries and prohibits the sale, within India, of maps that depict Indian borders differently from the official version (Kumar 2008: 163). Indian President APJ Abdul Kalam also shared South Korea's concerns regarding the easily available imagery, suggesting that terrorists could more easily plan assaults on the Indian parliament, the President's house, and government offices in New Delhi, all of which could be seen clearly in Google Earth's photos. The program, Kalam said in a meeting of police officials in Hyderabad, "disproportionately endangers developing countries, which are already in danger of attacks" (AP 2005). Deputy National Security Adviser Vijay Nambiar said that such images of a country cannot be taken without prior permission (Srivastava 2006). Quickly recognizing that no such accountability exists, he added, "Individual companies and parties should adhere to certain common standards and there should be some kind of action that can be taken if those internationally accepted standards are violated" (*ibid*.). President Kalam, a scientist who guided India's missile program before becoming president, also called for new laws to restrain dissemination of such material (AP 2005). Such calls for legislation have yet to be heeded.

Such moments of contestation between the state and the forms of power that are challenging are cracks worthy of examination. Sangeet Kumar (Kumar 2010) adopts the India-Google case study to examine the unraveling of nation-state sovereignty. He recounts how traditional diplomatic channels between India and the U.S. government were all but foreclosed: before members of the lower house in November 2005, the Minister of State for External Affairs admitted, "The Indian embassy in Washington

has also been instructed to take up the matter with Google Inc." (Service 2005). This statement, Kumar writes, "was a tacit admission of the *difficulty in classifying Google within the available categories of global politic*s" (Kumar 2010: 163, emphasis mine). From this vignette, Kumar validates arguments suggesting that new media institutions, in effortlessly transgressing boundaries and bypassing traditional controls on information flow, constrain the nation-state in unprecedented ways. The lack of legal, technical or diplomatic means nation-states have to influence these online actors are "special kind of challenges which are disembodied and perceived to be immaterial with a borderless architecture" (Kumar 2010: 158).

When confronted over its controversial high-resolution imagery, Google has a well-rehearsed position: the images are easily obtainable from other sources. But its more powerful appeal is that the benefits of providing high-resolution remote sensing outweigh the drawbacks. Only months after Google Earth's initial launch, for example, the software received positive publicity when broadcasters covering events following Hurricane Katrina used its images to show the flooding over New Orleans. U.S. Google general manager John Hanke soon remarked that, "A lot of good things come out of making information available—disaster relief, land conservation and forest management for fighting wildfires" (Daily Record December 21, 2005). Google's purported benevolence, coupled with its centerless network, writes Kumar, entitles it to claim that it represents the global good, as opposed to the parochial interests of a particular location, since all points on the network could equally use it to its advantage (2010: 171). Taking a cue from Hardt and Negri (2000), he argues that it is precisely

such an ability to present the parochial as the universal that is the modus operandi of the new form of sovereignty worldwide (Kumar 2010: 171).

Having ignored the Indian government's request for almost two years, Google finally struck a conciliatory tone in 2007—a change coinciding with a visit to the country by the company's Vice President, Vinton Cerf. It was then when Google finally said it "saw no hitch in addressing the concerns and issues raised by the Government" (Kumar 2010: 164), and released a statement claiming that the problematic images would be "blurred or camouflaged or distorted" (*ibid.*). The company also addressed the issue of competing versions of international boundaries by using different colored lines to mark the variations, and re-naming the two sides of Kashmir, Indian and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir, respectively. This voluntary concession on Google's part, Kumar points out, was more an attempted gesture of goodwill in order to further its commercial interests in the country than acquiescence to pressure from the Indian government (*ibid.*).

Grounding Google: The Kyl-Bingaman Amendment

The India/Google reconciliation reveals a material dimension to the company's operations, presenting difficulties in the suggestion that Google is "centerless." [36] Further, because the corporation is headquartered in the U.S. it must—indeed does—

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[36] Kumar acknowledges this briefly—"Google was not legally bound to accommodate any nations' concerns except that of the US where it is located and whose laws it must abide by" (2010: 170).

abide by its laws.[37] That it censors images of Israel by law is a relevant example of how this "grounding" affects the software. While private American companies have launched satellites and offer to sell or lease high-resolution imagery to all comers, domestic or foreign, there exists a stipulation on the data's availability: as part of the U.S. National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 (passed in 1996), the U.S. Congress included the Kyl-Bingaman Amendment (c.f. Hoversten 2001). This Amendment has kept the commercially available resolution of satellite imagery of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories at two meters per pixel, whether the satellites are operated by the military or private companies. No other country in the world enjoys such protection.

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[37]A confidential report issued in July 2008 by the CIA's Open Source Center and made public by the Federation of American Scientists highlights the steps the world's governments have taken in response to the emergence of Google Earth and other commercial imagery sources. These include the following:

> Negotiation: Some nations have asked Google and other companies to keep certain images off the market, the report says. For example, Google Earth uses older imagery of parts of Iraq based on British concerns about exposing military sites. Some commercial imagery providers—typically those providing pictures from planes, not satellites—blur sensitive images before they are provided to Google, usually in accordance with local law or at the request of local authorities.

> Bans: China has barred websites selling "unapproved" commercial imagery, according to the report. In 2006, Bahrain officials banned Google Earth, but the CIA report notes that the move may have been mainly to "prevent exposure of elaborate residences and land holdings of the country's rich."

> Buying in: Several countries, such as China and Thailand, are getting into the satellite imagery business themselves, and India sells its spy photos commercially, the report says. Many countries that lack their own satellite capability have become enthusiastic purchasers of commercial imagery to meet intelligence and security needs.

> Evasion: Many countries have stepped up efforts to conceal sensitive facilities, either by putting them underground or camouflaging them, the report says. Others, such as India, have improved their ability to discern when satellites pass overhead, which allows them to conduct sensitive military activities when cameras aren't watching (see Eisler 2008).

The Kyl-Bingaman Amendment has long been controversial, receiving reproach from commercial interests seeking to promote free markets, and to bloggers advocating greater global transparency. When the Amendment was first introduced, it upset industry executives who, as *Aviation Week* reported in 1998, charged that the Administration was "bowing down to the influential Israeli Lobby" (Asker 1998). They suggested their worry stemmed more from the precedent for blacking out some areas of Earth than losing sales of pictures of Israel: "We don't have customers beating down our doors trying to get imagery of Israel," one executive remarked (*ibid.*). From the blogosphere, among the most visible critiques come from the influential "Ogle Earth" blog. In a 2007 post, it called for the U.S. government to revoke the Kyl-Bingaman Amendment "for the simple reason that it is a boon for democracy movements and governmental accountability everywhere" (Geens 2007).

When Google Earth launched in June 2005, its pictures of Israel and the Occupied Territories had relatively low resolution: every pixel was equal to 10-20 meters (Nissenbaum 2007). When it updated its images in October 2007, the pixels came closer to two meters. Israel's leading daily, *Yediot Ahronot*, objected: "Sensitive installations, Air Force bases with their planes and helicopters, missile bases and even the nuclear reactor in Dimona have never been photographed better" (*ibid.*). Google spokesperson Cordy Griffiths responded that the images were upgraded in line with a Google Earth policy of improving its service to users, and added that all Google Earth images are bought from commercial satellite imaging companies and governed by Kyl-Bingaman (Kalman 2007). Gerald Steinberg, chairman of the political science

department at Israel's Bar-Ilan University and drafter of Kyl-Bingaman, agreed. "Israel has had ten years to prepare for this," he said. "The satellite pictures were available before now to anyone with a few thousand dollars. They are not real-time pictures, and they were not taken yesterday. I don't think this is a major change in security" (Kalman 2007).

Turkey has announced plans to launch the GokTurk satellite, due in orbit by 2013 (Williams 2011). As diplomacy between Ankara and Tel Aviv becomes increasingly tenuous, the previous restrictions on availability of hi-resolution imagery of Israel may no longer be effective. The Kyl-Bingaman Amendment only forbids U.S. remote sensing operators from selling imagery of Israel at resolutions that are higher than what's available commercially elsewhere in the world[38].

While Google Earth must abide by U.S. rules on resolution, it creates its own rules on place names and borders. In December 2009, the company revealed the process it undergoes to determine these. "We follow a hierarchy of values to inform our depictions of geopolitically sensitive regions," with "Google's Mission" at the top:

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[38] The full text of SEC. 1064. PROHIBITION ON COLLECTION AND RELEASE OF DETAILED SATELLITE IMAGERY RELATING TO ISRAEL can be found on page 239 in section "Subtitle F: Other Matters." It reads:

> (a)   COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION.—A department or agency of the United States may issue a license for the collection or dissemination by a non-Federal entity of satellite imagery with respect to Israel only if such imagery is no more detailed or precise than satellite imagery of Israel that is available from commercial sources.

> (b)   DECLASSIFICATION AND RELEASE.—A department or agency of the United States may declassify or otherwise release satellite imagery with respect to Israel only if such imagery is no more detailed or precise than satellite imagery of Israel that is available from commercial sources.

In all cases we work to represent the "ground truth" as accurately and neutrally as we can, in consistency with Google's mission to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful. We work to provide as much discoverable information as possible so that users can make their own judgments about geopolitical disputes. That can mean providing multiple claim lines (e.g. the Syrian and Israeli lines in the Golan Heights), multiple names (e.g. two names separated by a slash: "Londonderry / Derry"), or clickable political annotations with short descriptions of the issues (Google 2009).

This process is also materially grounded, whether in law, institutions, or markets. When deferring to the second value on its hierarchy, "Authoritative references," Google acknowledges that while no single authority has all the answers, when deciding how to depict sensitive place names and borders they defer to bodies like the United Nations, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) and the Federal Information Processing Standards (FIPS). "Local expectations," the third-ranked value, works "to localize the user experience while striving to keep all points of view easily discoverable in our products." As Google Maps has launched on 32 region domains (e.g. maps.google.ca for Canada) and Google Earth is available in 41 languages, "each domain and language user population is most familiar with a slightly different set of place names". Thus, the company adopts a vague mix of "Google's mission, guidance from authoritative references, local laws and local market expectations"—always with its sights on providing information that proves most helpful to users.

Before the age of New Media, states could at least police the version of maps available within its own boundaries. But, as we saw in the India case presented above, Google Earth has challenged that power/knowledge by revealing the bias in official maps. At the height of the Indian government's battle with the company, an Indian

reporter rhetorically asked why Google Earth was so important as India's internet reach is a little over 2% of the population:

> With the world getting increasingly wired to the internet and with plans like putting entire libraries on the Net, Google might soon be the world's foremost repository of information. With possibilities like that, governments want to make sure that they get facts about their countries 'straight' (Chakrawertti 2005).

That is, the maps in question are unlike other that may be viewed online in India, but *Google's* maps.

In Israel, a similar campaign against Google Earth took place in early 2007. The software's base layer labeled the Temple Mount in East Jerusalem as being located within Palestinian territory. While the United Nations considers East Jerusalem to be part of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (UN 2006: 452-520), Israel considers the "undivided" city as its capital. Importantly, the Israel's contention with Google has been taken outside of official diplomatic channels (at least publicly). As we saw in Chapter Three, Israel has yet to officially declare its borders. Thus, unlike India, the State of Israel has yet to go on record about how Google represents its borders and place names. This may help explain why the State must fight these sorts of battles through ordinary people. "Google Earth is reinforcing lies," alleged Rabbi Chaim Rechman, director of the international department at the independent Temple Institute (Klein 2005).

> The Muslims have engaged in a systemic campaign to re-write history and erase any traces of Judaism from the Temple Mount in total disregard to all actual archeological and historic evidence. Now Google Earth has given in to this campaign" (*ibid*.).

Mort Klein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, chimed in to accuse the

company of encouraging terrorism. As he put it,

> When the Arab terrorists see Google Earth's falsification of geographic
> realities, they will be appeased and encouraged because these kinds of
> lying maps send the message that their disinformation campaigns and
> their terrorism work (cited in Klein 2005).

In the next section, "Art of Resistance," I focus on how, as Israel and its supporters

admit, it may not be Google in the end, but its users that pose the greater challenge.

Art of Resistance

As a case study of this "art of resistance," I now present the story of Nakba

mapping on Google Earth by Palestinian refugees. Three following three "cracks" will

be interweaved throughout the narrative: (1) The geoweb's "leveling effect" of

power/knowledge, whereby the State of Israel has difficulty to enforce their map as

"true;" (2) Refugee counter-mapping can take shape on its own terms, outside of the

dominant framework to allow for dreams; and (3) The process of collecting Nakba

information is at once a practice of radical remembering and of "commoning"—a

reminder that the struggle is a common project from below (Haiven 2011).

This case study can help us focus on Google Earth's indeterminacy. As Jason

Farman points out, such indeterminacy stems from the software's high level of

interactivity where "users can recontextualize and subvert 'master representations' of

visual media within the authorial structure" rather than re-authoring it (Farman 2010).

Although Google Earth lays down the mapping framework, it does not control the

content users create. Also out of the company's control is the creativity and

collaboration that happens through independent blogs, web sites, and message boards exchanging knowledge.

Indeed, weighing in on the Temple Mount controversy, in an article in Israel's conservative daily, *The Jerusalem Post,* the paper's tech correspondent David Shamah emphasized, "My problem with Google Earth isn't with the security breaches it's been accused of—but with the *content* of the maps themselves" (Shamah 2007b, emphasis mine). Aware of Thameen Darby's Nakba Layer (yet careful to not make direct reference to it) Shamah objected to the asymmetrical information war taking place on Google Earth:

> Users otherwise ignorant of the regional conflict are going to use Google Earth to learn about Israel and its problems—and the way things stand now they are getting only one side of the story. In a true democracy—which Google is sworn to spread—all opinions are aired and listeners (or in this case Google Earth surfers) decide which one they want to accept. But in this case the Israeli side of the story is just not getting through (*ibid*.).

Shamah is in good company to suggest that maps are opinions, or "propositions" (Wood 2010). But that Shamah seems to believe it possible that Google Inc. itself could provide a neutral globe from which to air these opinions indicates the situated knowledge of someone used to having his idea of the world backed by Israel and the U.S.—two of the world's most powerful armies.

By contrast, the world Shamah objects to is the one supplied by members of the Google Earth community, a robust online[39] group of people who interact via message

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[39] The message boards at bbs.keyhole.com (a forum originally run by Keyhole) and www.gearthhacks.com often troubleshoot KML coding problems, and lively blogs like www.gearthblog.com and

boards and blogs providing free tutorials, fixes, advice, news, and friendly conversation who, Shamah regrets, are largely "anti-Israel" (*ibid.*). While he finds promising that they comprise only two or three people, they are nonetheless well-respected and popular among the moderators. "Most likely it's because they post a lot there," he suggests.

> And they have authored a lot of maps and other contributions to the site. Considering Google's commitment to user participation when it comes to ranking Web site popularity it makes sense that the site would value user participation in rating sites on the map. It's a shame then that the users who have bothered to comment on Israeli political issues are from 'the other side' (Shamah 2007a).

Here, Shamah points us to what is perhaps Google Earth's most distinguishing feature: the software is largely user-driven. Users can easily insert place marks of locations they want to return to, or they can overlay their own images on a map they create through a KML file. This was the process Thameen Darby followed when he authored his Nakba Layer, and because of his high level of participation, Google Earth featured Darby's work in its "Best of Google Earth Community" as selected content, making it available by default in the software's download. Shamah quickly grasped its significance, linking his critique to Darby:

> Perhaps the hasbara [Israeli public relations/propaganda] folks haven't been told yet but Web services like Google Earth are where the action is today in fighting the good fight—and if we're not in it we're not going to

win it. How to repair the current situation? The first step is to register at the GE forum site (http://bbs.keyhole.com) and begin responding— perhaps to posts by like the ones by the person at http://tinyurl.com/2rt9we [a link to Thameen Darby's profile]. The next step would be to learn how to put together KML files to upload into the GE user community. The documentation on how to do it is at http://code.google.com/apis/kml/documentation and it's not all that complicated (although there is a learning curve) (Shamah 2007a).

In February 2008, the Israeli town of Kiryat Yam filed a complaint with local police against Google for libel. It charged that Google Earth was giving viewers false information that offends the city's image, and subsequently sought to file a lawsuit against the company. Thameen Darby's Nakba Layer, the suit charged, had placed the destroyed Palestinian village of Arab Ghawarina at the present location of Kiryat Yam, suggesting that the city was built on the ruins of a Palestinian town from which civilians were expelled (Figure 14).
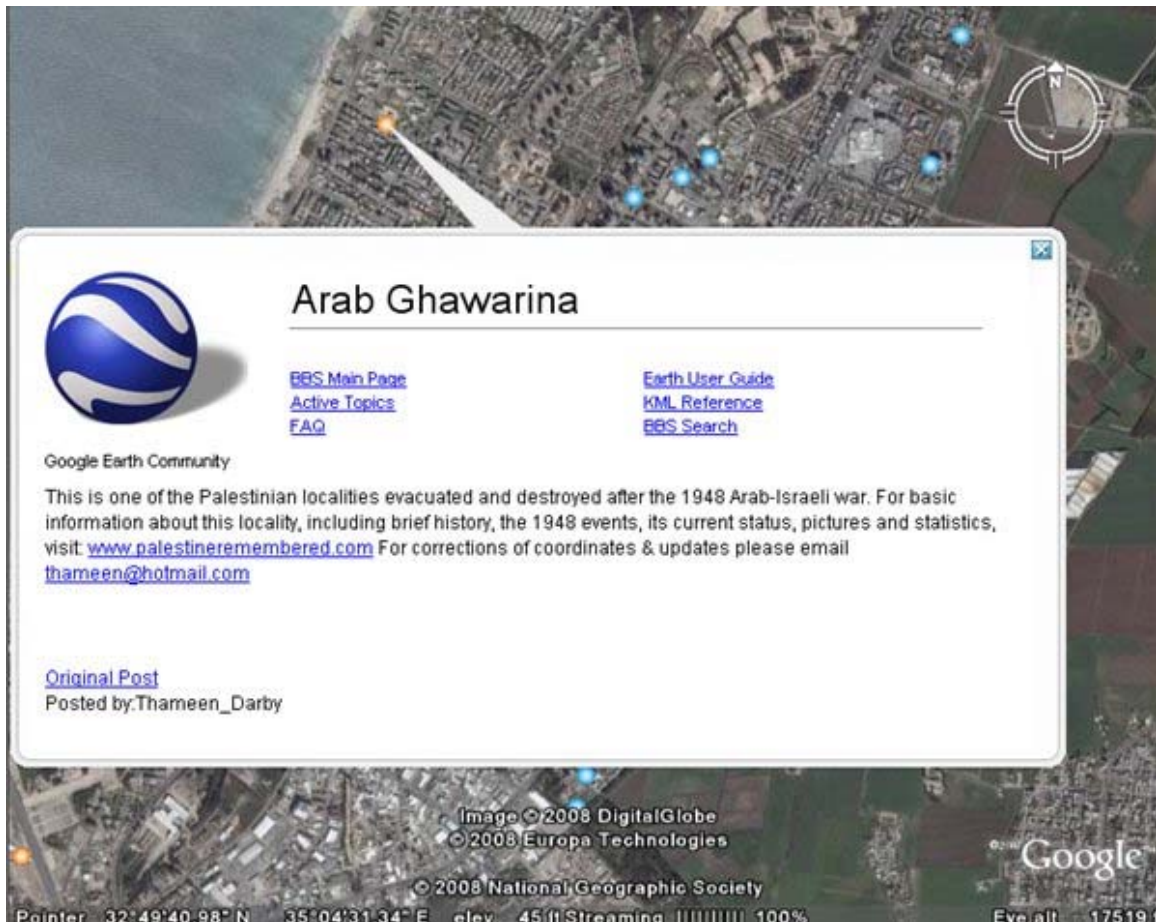
Figure 14: Arab Ghawarina in Darby's Nakba Layer

"This obviously cannot be true," said town official Naty Keyzilberman, "because Kiryat Yam was founded in 1945" (AP 2008). When magazine *Network World* sent a request into Google's press office for comment, the Google responded that while it recognized that some may find the user generated content objectionable, the particular user-contributed annotation did not breach Google's Terms and Conditions nor was it illegal. "The Google Earth community layer," the company replied, "is a place where people can tag their knowledge or opinions of a location. Their comments are clearly indicated with the 'I' icon and this layer can easily be switched on and off (McNamara

2008). When asked to comment on the controversy, Darby told the Associated Press, "As far as I can know, the Arab Ghawarina locality was in the place depicted." He noted that he may have not marked the exact location and if proven wrong "by reliable sources, I will be quick to reallocate it" (AP 2008).

By July, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) had gotten involved. It penned an open letter to Google's CEO, Eric Schmidt and copied Google founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin, suggesting that Darby's work did not fall into the scope of Google Earth because it was not geography:

> [Users] do not get any geographic information about these particular locations in Israel. Instead, they are treated with political propaganda about the suffering of Palestinian Arabs allegedly as a result of the so-called Israeli 'occupation.' Users will reasonably, but wrongly, conclude that because this information appears by default on the Google Earth map, it is accurate and reliable, when in fact, it is nothing more than politicized propaganda that conveys falsehoods to Google Earth Users about Jews and Israel. […] That Darby views the existence of the State of Israel as a catastrophe for the Palestinians has absolutely no bearing on the area's geography. Yet his propaganda dominates a site that is intended to be a geographical resource for its users (Klein 2008).

For the ZOA, geography is not political but neutral. While the ZOA declared that clear break exists between politics and geography, it would not concede that any division exists between "Jews" and "Israel," often coupling the two terms as interchangeable. The move to naturalize the link between people and state reached its peak in the letter's final paragraph which hurled charges of anti-Semitism against the company, and sought to appeal to Sergey Brin's Jewish background. The underlining is part of the original text.

> We believe that Google's actions are anti-Semitic in their effect, if not their intent. According to the U.S. State Department's report on

contemporary global anti-Semitism, 'disproportionate criticism of the Jewish State and/or Israelis and demonizing them as barbaric, unprincipled, selfish, inhumane, etc. is anti-Semitic and has the effect of causing global audiences to associate those bad attributes with Jews in general.' Google is promoting precisely that kind of disproportionate and demonizing criticism and disseminating it on Google Earth. <u>Google's actions are particularly troubling in light of media reports (inducing in *Haaretz*, Israel's most respected daily newspaper, and in *Moment*, a national Jewish monthly magazine) that one of Google's co-founders, Sergey Brin, and his family 'left Russia because of anti-Semitism.' Sadly, it is now Mr. Brin's own company that is promoting anti-Semitism</u>.

That same month, and independent policy research institute, the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, published a policy archive suggesting that Google Earth's inclusion of the Nakba layer was a powerful instance of what the author, Andre Oboler, coined "replacement geography" (Oboler 2008). Oboler, a social media expert often quoted in Israeli newspapers, explained that *replacement theology*, the doctrine which stated that Christians had inherited the covenant and replaced the Jews as the chosen people, is what helped spawn anti-Semitism within the medieval Christian church. The concept of *replacement geography*, he writes,

> similarly replaces the historical connection of one people to the land with a connection between another people and the land. This was famously applied by the Romans when they renamed Judea to Palaestinia, and Jerusalem to Aelia Capitolina in 135 CE in an effort to destroy the Jewish people after the Bar Kokhba revolt. In more recent times, replacement geography has resulted in the destruction of Jewish artifacts at the Temple Mount (*ibid*.).

Thus for Oboler, using the name Palestine rather than Israel constitutes an instance of replacement geography and therefore anti-Semitism—or what he refers to as "anti-Semitism 2.0," a combination of the technology and the emerging social environment (Oboler 2008). What Google Earth has provided, Oboler charges, is "an

example of replacement geography advanced by technology" (*ibid*.). Rather than serving as an educational resource, he writes, "Google Earth could simply evolve into a website for political warfare" (*ibid*.). Google eventually responded by removing the entire "Best of Google Earth Community" feature from its software.

Shortly after Darby created his Nakba layer, the web site Palestine Remembered also created one; yet rather than only placing pins over the 1948 Palestinian towns, it also placed pins over current ones (Figure 15). Its layer is entitled, "The MOST detailed mapping of Palestine ever via Google's Maps and Earth programs,"[40] –not a map of the Nakba but a map of Palestine, at once present and past.

Figure 15: Palestine Remembered's layer and sub-layers

The Palestine Remembered layer, created as a collaborative effort and organized by the Web site's administrator, Salah Mansour, is a KML adaptation of Salman Abu

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[40] Although Darby's layer had linked to the Palestine Remembered web site, he was not affiliated with the site. Palestine Remembered's announcement and their downloadable Nakba layer can be found here: http://www.palestineremembered.com/Articles/General/Story1913.html (Accessed Jan. 09, 2012)

Sitta's book *The Return Journey: A Guide to the Depopulated and Present Palestinian Towns and Villages and Holy Sites in English, Arabic and Hebrew* (2007), from which Mansour sourced about 40-60% of the layer's information (Mansour 2011). Within its first days, the layer was downloaded over 50 times daily (*ibid.*). In claiming a presence over the Palestine lost in 1948 by placing pins on "Destroyed/Ethnically Cleansed Towns" (Figure 16), the project maps territory forbidden under the Oslo framework. Rather, the project asserts it own.

Figure 16: Refugees counter-mapping on their own terms on Google Earth
Palestine Remembered's "MOST detailed mapping of Palestine ever via Google's Maps and Earth programs," here on Google Earth. The sub-layer shown here is titled, "Destroyed/Ethnically Cleansed Towns."

The collaborative aspect of these mappings also asserts its own *collective* politics. Palestine Remembered, "The Home of All Ethnically Cleansed Palestinians," is perhaps the largest and most technically advanced site recording the Nakba through

oral history, photographs, and maps (Stamatopoulou-Robbins 2005). The site launched in 2000 and began conducting an oral History project in 2003. It now holds over 450 interviews which it makes available online[41]. Ways to participate include providing donations and spreading news about the site, "especially to Palestinian refugees capable of documenting the memories of their relatives". It provides a downloadable flyer to "distribute in community your centers, mosques, churches, and shops" (Figure 17). There it writes that:

> At the website, Palestine is being resurrected in cyberspace, where Palestinians can recreate their lost sense of community again since al-Nakba

The project also seeks to include Israelis:

> If you are an Israeli, you can help us by contributing any information or pictures you have about the destroyed or ethnically cleansed cities and villages. We at PalestineRemembered.com do not judge all Israelis or Jews by the actions of the Zionist movement and its leaders. We understand that many Israelis and Jews around the world support the Palestinian struggle for justice and are willing to do their part in bringing an end to the wrongs of the past.[42]

Based in the U.S., the site began in English and later created an Arabic version. The use of English both facilitates communication among Palestinians and also presents the Palestinian counter-narrative to the West (Schulz and Hammer 2003: 179).

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[41] http://www.palestineremembered.com/OralHistory/Interviews-Listing/Story1151.html (Accessed Jan. 28, 2012).

[42] http://www.palestineremembered.com/MissionStatement.htm (Accessed Jan. 28, 2012)

The Web site's oral history project is part of a wider trend of storytelling on the rise since the 1990s. "Archive fever," Beshara Doumani points out, "is spreading among Palestinians everywhere.

> Whether in Ramallah or London, Haifa or San Francisco, Beirut or Riyad, someone or some group is busy interviewing old people and compiling genealogies, searching for photographs and letters, collecting textiles and folksongs, visiting and renovating graveyards, scanning and repairing manuscripts, and compiling information on old houses and destroyed villages (Doumani 2009).

For the Palestinian situation, archiving is used by refugees as a response to the traumatic efforts of Zionism. Doumani historicizes this archival urge, pointing to two important developments. One is the emergence of an "archival democracy" (*ibid.*: 4) whereby digitalization and the internet have made it possible for the masses to archive. A second development is the situation's "colonial present" (Gregory 2004). As Doumani puts it, "1948 was not a moment, but a process that continues as I write" (Doumani 2009: 4)—a process which continues erasing "the two greatest archives of all: the physical landscape, and the bonds of daily life that constitute an organic social formation (*ibid.*: 4-5).

Here, I adopt Max Haiven's recent work on radical remembering (Haiven 2011) as a useful way to analyze Palestinian archiving. Radical remembering points to the progressive potential of political movements who understand the past as having a "claim" on the present. This claim is the demand for utopia beyond alienation. Haiven draws from Walter Benjamin's plea against a historiography that polices the meaning of the past to sell to us of the inevitability of the present. Rather, the vocation of the radical historian is to redeem the past as never done. As Benjamin put it,

> Only that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins (Benjamin 1968: 255, original emphasis)

The Palestinian dead, its martyrs, have long been central to strategies of struggle, and particularly so among refugees (Khalili 2007) who, kept alive in the present, have also helped forge a sense of common struggle. Indeed, as Haiven points out, radical remembering is a form of "commoning" in at least two ways: one, we rely on our memories (as we would rely on a common resource); and two, we contribute to (and have a responsibility to) collections of those memories. In that sense, we are always reproducing the memory of the thing that happened in the past, and thus, we are both fed by this memory commons, but also contribute to it. By consciously "commoning," or collectively participating in the act of remembering, it changes who we are as subjects. With the idea of commoning memory, Haiven wants us to think about how we can imagine remembering not just to create a done history, but as something we do together to build a common set of references in order to rebuild our world outside of the given strictures of our culture .

For Palestinian refugees, who have been dispersed by Israel and disenfranchised by their own leadership, commoning becomes all the more urgent. Under this context, Doumani points to the significance of Palestinian archiving:

> As if the strangulation of a social formation and the radical transformation of a landscape are not difficult enough, even more so is the widespread certainty that the current leaderships and their governing institutions are either disinterested in and/or utterly incapable of protecting their own people, much less salvaging the Palestinian past and preparing for the future (Doumani 2009: 4-5).

The move toward the future is crucial, Haiven points out—for it is the move toward utopia by keeping the radical event within this movement forward. Once the past flows unimpeded in the present, the future is open. Following Benjamin, Haiven points us to the "elemental animating feature of utopian thought: not merely a concrete plan for a better world or the vague dream of a better tomorrow, but the radical refusal of the present" (Haiven 2011: 68). This is a challenge because even in our dreams we cannot map out exactly what we want.

> Radical events are moved by this utopian yearning and, in their aftermath, demand representation; yet they are impossible to represent because their animating, utopian aspect refuses representation (*ibid*. 63).

Yet, the map of the "perfect" will never fully grasp that utopia, for the utopian will never be utopian enough; the liberatory will never be liberatory enough. The work of commoning Palestine is a process always at work. But this is not a failing. Rather, such action is what constantly fuels a politics of liberation. It is perhaps for this reason that the collective map-making practices of the Nakba, as refugees are doing online, are proving far more dangerous than any PLO map of independence.

PalestineRemembered.com
* The Home Of All Ethnically Cleansed Palestinians

Ethnically cleansed Palestinians fleeing their homes to Lebanon, Oct. 1948

PalestineRemembered.com contains the most comprehensive online database about the 450 ethnically cleansed and destroyed Palestinian towns. A wealth of information has been researched and presented for each listed town, such as rare photos before and after destruction, dates of occupation and ethnic cleansing, land ownership size for Palestinians and Jews, population, number of houses, schools, religious institutions, shrines, the names of the usurping Israeli settlements, maps, archeological sites, the status of each town today, and more.

Using state of the art technologies, PalestineRemembered.com empowers Palestinians around the globe to upload to each listed town's homepage pictures, movies, stories and memories, URL links, responding to other members on message boards, guest book entries, directory service entries, and more. At the website, Palestine is being resurrected in cyberspace, where Palestinians can recreate their lost sense of community again since al-Nakba.

Take the time to educate yourself, your family, and your friends about the core issues of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The Palestinians side of the story has been purposely distorted in the Western media, and we hope that your participation will draw the much needed attention to the plight of the Palestinian refugees, the first permanently dispossessed people of the 20th century.

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* PalestineRemembered.com is a none profit organization dedicated to preserving the collective experiences of the 5.9 million dispossessed Palestinian refugees.

Figure 17: Palestine Remembered's flyer for distribution

Considerations

In this chapter I have sought to show that we can do more than discuss GIS and the geoweb as agents in the surveillance regime. Spatial technologies, while not only systems for storing and representing spatial information, are also "complex arrays of social and political practices as well as ways of knowing and making knowledge (Elwood 2008). I have followed J.B. Harley's intervention in seeking to show, through the study on Nakba counter-cartography on Google Earth, that the fight over maps is the fight over knowledge itself. Therefore, the question is not so much about new media versus old media, but about how knowledge production is taking place today, and about how to "regain convincing rhetorical ground" (Harvey and Haraway 1995: 511). To this end, the *effective* counter-map of the oppressed, as Joel Wainwright and Joe Bryan point out, "is one that unsettles the very categories that constitute the intelligibility of modern power relations" (Wainwright and Bryan 2009: 170). As I have sought to show, refugee counter-maps strip away the false sheen of objectivity that glosses Israeli travel guides to reveal the Palestinians' dispossession and, in turn, voice their claims to land.

I have also sought to point out in this chapter that mapping practices can also produce new geographies that move beyond representation. While most indigenous cartography seeks to make sovereign territorial claims, refugee mapping appeals to affect and dreams, as we saw in their appeal to photographs, videos, and personal narratives. Such tactics offer the opportunity to counter the universalizing distance of satellite vision and transform the map into a human account of space. Mapping the Nakba on Google Earth does not make claims that Israel does not exist—indeed, the

imagery shows that it does. Rather, Nakba maps reject the legitimacy of the refugees' dispossession. Such maps privilege freedom dreams that cannot be delineated by a statist framework, and whose production can involve all Palestinians wherever they may be. This sort of dreaming and collective remembering marks out its own space—a non-territorial utopia for it is outside the state's realm of intelligibility. And because neither Israel, the U.S., the U.N., nor the "colonial template" set the map's terms, refugee maps might be all the more threatening.

CHAPTER IV

A Third Intifada Mental Map

> 'The old will die and the young will forget (Nakba).' David Ben Gurion, first Zionist prime minister said in 1948, 35 years before the birth of Hassan Hijazi, the Palestinian Bouazizi.[43]

> – *Uprooted Palestinians* blog
> May 19, 2011

Hassan Hijazi had returned. The 28-year old refugee had never been to Palestine before, but he knew where he would and how he could there. It would require the help of thousands.

On May 15, 2011, on that 63rd commemoration of the Nakba, Hijazi and the thousands pulled up on Syrian buses and marched toward the Golan Heights, Palestinian flags in hand. Their Golani brethren in Majdal Shams, on the other side of the fence, cheered at first. But their chants would soon turn into shouts of disbelief the closer the protesters approached. "Enough!" they pleaded in Arabic. *Bikafi*! There were landmines. But the protesters kept on, answering back, "*Ash-sha'b yurid tahrir*

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[43] "He did it, Hassan Hijazi returned to Yafa (Java) – Millions will follow"
http://uprootedpalestinians.blogspot.com/2011/05/he-did-it-hassan-hijazi-reurned-to-yafa.html (Accessed March 18, 2012). Gurion's quote is in found in his diary, in an entry for July 18, 1948. Cited in Bar-Zohar, Michael. 1968. *Ben-Gurion; the armed prophet*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.,: Prentice-Hall.

Falesteen!" The people want the liberation of Palestine.[44] About a hundred of the protesters jumped the fence, entered, and dispersed. Stunned Israeli border guards recovered quickly and opened fire, wounding and killing several. The rest were caught and deported back to Syria.

But Hassan Hijazi had slipped through. Hopping on a public bus, he reached Jaffa that day, the place of his grandfather's birth. He searched his family's house with no luck, contacted an Israeli TV correspondent, and turned himself in to the police that evening. He was arrested and deported back to Syria, but not before his message was relayed: Palestine's refugees had returned, and on Israel's own Independence Day, no less. As Israeli writer Uri Avnery would write, "The border crossing of the refugees near Majdal Shams caused near panic in Israel" (2011). Behind the usual recriminations (Why was the army not prepared?), Avnery wrote,

> was the nightmare that has haunted Israel since 1948: that the 750,000 refugees and their descendants, some five million by now, will one day get up and march to the borders of Israel from North, East and South, breach the fences and flood the country. This nightmare is the mirror-image of the refugees' dream (*ibid*.).

Notwithstanding his deportation, Hijazi's achievement, Avnery suggests, was to move the conflict's discourse "back from 1967 to 1948" (*ibid*.).

The Nakba Day 2011 border breaches indeed remind us that, for many, Palestine is not a space restricted to the 1967 borders and the spaces of Gaza and the West Bank. But while Hijazi's flight may signal that for many Palestinians, the struggle never

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[44] (Video of Palestinians crossing into Majdal Shams) ‟فيديو عبور الفلسطينيين الى مجدل شمس"
http://youtu.be/ekgkuAaTjPg

ceased to be over a Palestine of 1948, I would like to show here is that his flight signals more. In the pages that follow, I suggest that the Palestinian struggle transcends the space of Palestine itself, for his epic return was made possible only 63 years later in the context of a regional revolt. Hijazi's flight, which required the help of thousands on the ground, truly would require millions, as he told the Israeli television station:

> It's been my dream to come to Jaffa because it's my city. But I imagined that if I managed to do it, it would be with a march of a million people, like people were saying on Facebook (Hijazi 2011).

Although the Palestinian realm of struggle has been officially reduced to the spaces of the West Bank and Gaza under the peace process, as I showed in chapter two, what I seek to show in this chapter is that the conflict has never fully been contained in borders. If the Arab regimes appeared to extinguish the Palestinian struggle in their own countries, they have had to do so by force. And it is this force today's revolutionaries are seeking to overthrow. As Lebanese intellectual, Fawwaz Traboulsi, observes, the Arab uprisings have transformed the region's security arrangements carefully constructed by Israel and the U.S. (Prashad 2012). Hosni Mubarak's fall leaves in doubt Egypt's unpopular 1979 Camp David peace treaty with Israel; the instability of the al-Assad's regime, Israel's most loyal border guard, provided the conditions for Hijazi's return. Indeed, until Hijazi and the thousands marched to the Golan on Nakba Day 2011, the Syria/Israel border had not been breached since the October War of 1973.[45]

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[45] It is also noteworthy that on the same day, Israel's borders were breached from the north and south from Lebanon and Gaza—two places for which the al-Assad regime wields enormous influence.

In making the connection between the Arab uprisings and the Palestinian Question, I suggest that perhaps the Palestinians' "Third Intifada" has begun—but that it began with Muhammad Bouazizi in Tunisia. Underpinning this argument is a provocative question that asks if the Third Intifada must begin *in* Palestine at all? I develop this argument by tracing connection between the Palestine Question and the Arab Regimes. I begin by tracing the evolution of the Palestinian movement's relationship with Arab regimes after the Nakba, pointing to the inevitable contradiction that existed between their existence and Palestine's. Here, I pay special attention to how such a politics greatly contributed to the regimes' brutal repression against their own people, for whom the Palestinian struggle has long been popular. I move this argument forward by showing that, particularly since the Oslo Accords, the PLO has modeled itself after the Arab regimes it once resisted. Here, I provide brief vignettes of my experience living in the West Bank as start of the uprisings in early 2011, which witnessed the leadership's panicked response to Mubarak's fall. But I also point to moments where the uprisings reveal the new leverage the Palestinian movement enjoys. This leads me to provoke a new geographic imagination on the Israel-Palestinian conflict appropriate what might be a new political consciousness in the region. What this study hopes to do is to contribute to a geographical imagination more befitting for the Arab world today, one we might call a Third Intifada mental map.

The Palestine Question and the Arab Regimes

It was once estimated that, between 1948 and 1971, no less than 112 revolutions, coups, or attempted coups took place in the Arab world (Haykal 1996: 8-9). That these uprisings occurred in the years immediately following the Nakba, yet took place *outside* of Palestine, is indicative of the pan-Arab ideology that dominated the times. The creation of Israel sparked a political consciousness which understood the region as one. In *Philosophy of the Revolution*, Gamal Abdel Nasser famously recalled his experience fighting in the 1948 War:

> After the siege and battles in Palestine I came home with the whole region in my mind one complete whole. The events that followed confirmed this belief in me. As I pursued the developments of the situation I found nothing but echoes responding one to the other. An event may happen in Cairo today; it is repeated in Damascus, Beirut, Amman or any other place tomorrow. This was naturally in conformity with the picture that experience had left within me: One region, the same factors and circumstances, even the same forces opposing them all. It was clear that imperialism was one of these forces; even Israel itself was but one of the outcomes of imperialism (Nasser 1959: 61-62).

The 1948 defeat also triggered critical self-reflection as famously outlined by Constantine Zurayk in *The Meaning of the Disaster*:

> Over and above the material disaster, there was a moral one reflected in the lack of confidence of the Arabs in their governments and their leadership (1956 [1948]: 9).

Nasser and Zurayk's positions translated into a political strategy that sought the liberation of the Arab world from the colonial regimes as the prerequisite for the liberation of Palestine (Baumgarten 2005; Mansour 2009: 200).[46] And indeed, it was

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[46] Camille Mansour (2009: 200) outlines the four dominant perceptions following the Nakba:

perhaps Egypt that witnessed the most famous of these post-Nakba liberations with the Nasser-led overthrow of King Farouq. Nasser would lead a pan-Arab program in the region, speaking of the Palestinian struggle as a critical element of his own, "a duty imposed by self-defense" (Nasser 1959: 57).

Within the Palestinians, pan-Arabism was advanced by students of Zurayk at the American University of Beirut (AUB), most prominently through the Movement of Arab Nationalists (MAN), founded by George Habash and other Arab students at the university. MAN's ideology was inspired by Zurayk's writings, which suggested that Nakba resulted from Arab backwardness vis-à-vis the modern industrialized West. Befittingly, MAN's immediate target was the Arab states more than it was Israel (whose modernity was to be emulated). The overthrow of regimes, seen as subservient to the West, was the prerequisite for Zurayk's *inqilab al-'arabi* (Arabic transformation). While MAN was a predominantly middle- or upper-middle-class institution with students and faculty from across the Arab world, its membership encompassed all classes and boasted a popular base in the camps, especially in Lebanon and Jordan (the latter including the West Bank, still part of Jordan at the time). When the 1956 Suez War displayed Egypt's ability to confront Israel and the West, MAN embraced Nasser as the only leader capable of uniting the Arab nation in struggle. The

(1) Israel is a tool of imperialism that covets not only Palestine but also the whole Arab world. As such, it constitutes a threat not only to the Palestinians but to all Arabs.
(2) Arab puppet regimes and the division of the Arabs contributed to the Palestine defeat.
(3) Overthrowing Arab regimes subservient to the west and unifying the Arab nation in a single state are prerequisites for the liberation of Palestine.
(4) Liberation will occur through military preparation and, ultimately, a confrontation between a regular Arab army and Israel.

victory was followed by the establishment of the Egypt-Syria union under the United Arab Republic (1958), insurrection in Lebanon (1958), and the anti-monarchist coup in Baghdad (1958)—all of which continued to reinforce the belief in liberation through Arab unity (Mansour 2009: 201).

Ideologically, a unifying relationship was said to exist between Palestinian and Arab interests under the pan-Arab framework, yet fundamental political tensions existed. For one, while the dispersed Palestinian communities were ripe for revolutionary politics, their disenfranchisement left them at the mercy of their host governments (Cobban 1984: 197). To be seen as aiding the Palestinian effort provided the Arab governments popular legitimacy, and so they actively sought to speak for the struggle. Importantly, being seen as the force that would liberate Palestine also served to strengthen the centralized power of the State over its own people. Walid Kazziha notes,

> The Palestine issue provided the new rulers with a pretext to exercise their full control over society in the name of preparing for 'the battle of destiny.' Consequently, the political, economic and social life of society was monopolized and the state came to rule supreme over the individual and community as a whole (Kazziha 1985: 12).

A further political tension existed between Arab nationalism and Palestinian particularism. While a shared Arab identity was cultivated, the unique experience as Palestinian—one shaped by dispossession—produced in the Palestinians a more immediate need for revolution and thus created a more revolutionary subject. The regimes, fearful that the Palestinian impatience might antagonize Israel and draw them into a war which they felt ill prepared to face, imposed strict controls on the refugee

communities in their midst. In a preemptive move to control the movement, Nasser created the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964 and placed an Egyptian, Ahmad Shuqayri as its chairman. Palestinian organizations protested, fearing the PLO would be used by Arab governments to contain the upsurge of Palestinian national feeling as to not disrupt the existing Arab-Israeli status quo (Mansour 2009: 203).

The Break

Tensions between Palestinian freedom dreams and the regimes' self-preservation were dramatically revealed in the 1967 War's aftermath.[47] The defeat became widely understood as a watershed moment that began transforming the conflict from Arab-Israeli to Palestinian-Israeli.[48] The countries that lost territory in the War (Egypt, Syria, and Jordan) now maneuvered politically to get it back. For the Palestinians, the defeat branded the Arab governments as incapable of liberating Palestine. George Habash "Palestinized" MAN (Mansour 2009: 206) that December by dissolving it and founding the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in its stead. Ideologically, the PFLP continued its commitment to Arab unity, but

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[47] This war is also known as the Six Day War.

[48] While 1967 serves as a useful point of reference for this break, we must also note the conjuncture of important events preceding and following the upsurge of Palestinian political activity in after the War. A couple of these developments include the break-up of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1961. The union between Egypt and Syria under the UAR had marked the highpoint of pan-Arab nationalism to which Palestinian political activists had been committed. A second critical event was the successful independence by Algeria in 1962 after a long, bitter and costly revolution. This seemed to indicate that Arab unity might not be a prerequisite for liberation and that a nation could struggle successfully against foreign settlers by relying mainly on its own resources (see Roughton, Richard. 1969. "Algeria and the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War." *Middle East Journal* 23:433-444.

strategically it underwent a reversal: the liberation of Palestine was now the prerequisite for the liberation of the Arab world (Baumgarten 2005).

In 1968-69, the PLO was taken over by the Palestinian organizations, placing Yasser Arafat as its chairman. This was the first time a Palestinian autonomous actor emerged since 1948 (Mansour 2009: 206). Habash's PFLP became second in importance and influence to Arafat's Fatah. While both organizations adopted guerilla tactics, Fatah's were more tepid and weary of the direct confrontation PFLP commandos sought with the Arab regimes. Nonetheless, they were united in their overall goal as outlined in the sixth session of PNC in 1969: one democratic state in all of Palestine, free from all forms of racial and religious discrimination.

The different regimes in which the Palestinian organizations were located had specific effects on their freedom to conduct activities. Geographically, activities distinguished geographically between the four "front-line" states bordering Israel (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon) with the "rear-guard" states (the Gulf and North Africa). Demographically, political organization was especially strong in Jordan, which boasted the largest number of refugees. In rear guard states, reinforcement came via ideological inspiration (e.g. the Algerian revolution) or financial support (e.g. Kuwait's large number of Palestinian workers).

As PLO guerillas grew both socially and militarily, their power to antagonize Israel posed compelling *raison d'état* challenges for the Arab regimes who feared Israeli reprisals. Unable to control the movement in the post-1967 atmosphere, the Arab leaders increasingly severed links with the PLO and cultivated stronger relationships

with the West. When Nasser accepted a Washington-backed cease fire with Israel in July of 1970,[49] it isolated the PLO as the only Arab force left confronting Israel (Hamid 1975: 107). In Jordan, fears were expressed in Palestinian circles that King Hussein, with Nasser's tacit approval, was seeking to destroy the autonomy of the commandos (Quandt, Jabber, and Lesch 1973: 124). Calls for Hussein's overthrow in favor of a revolutionary, and thus, more sympathetic regime in Jordan were increasingly heard (*ibid.*: 124-125). In a display of power between September 6-9, 1970, PFLP commandos hijacked three civilian airliners to the Jordanian desert, emptied them of their passengers, and destroyed them on live television. On September 16 Hussein formed a military government and, the following day, his army undertook its campaign of violent repression of the Palestinians. Black September had begun. Hussein's brutality lasted for ten days until a truce was negotiated by Nasser. By then, more than 4,000 civilians had been killed. The following summer the crisis flared up once again when fighting was renewed in July 1971. The Palestinian organizations were expelled from Jordan *en masse*. They would regroup in Lebanon.

With Jordanian territory removed a base and its regime discredited as an ally, the PLO's most pressing question now became how amenable the other front-line states might be for a peace settlement with Israel (Hamid 1975: 107-108). The 1973 October War's [50] aftermath presented clearer answers. While Egypt and Syria's surprise

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[49]The proposal was put forward by American secretary of state William P. Rogers in response to the outbreak of fighting between Israel and Egypt known as the War of Attrition (1969–70).

[50] Also known as the Yom Kippur War or the Ramadan War, this conflict broke out on October 6, 1973.

offensive shattered the myth of Israeli invincibility, Egypt used the opportunity to get back the Sinai Peninsula in exchange for normalization with Israel. The Camp David treaty was signed in 1979. While Syria, which sought to get back the Golan Heights, did not sign a treaty, 1973 marked the last time the regime disturbed the border. Meanwhile, Jordan continued to further threaten the PLO, actively seeking to speak for the Palestinians. Sensing the political wind blowing toward its annihilation, the PLO successfully pushed to achieve recognition as "the sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people at the 1974 Arab League summit in Rabat. The move ended Jordanian aspirations to regain the West Bank and paved the way for the admission of the PLO into the United Nations the following month.

From its new base in Lebanon, the PLO sought to garner political leverage on the ground. Joining forces with the leftist Lebanese National Movement (LNM) in 1975, together they pushed Lebanon's ruling right-wing regime to the brink of its overthrow by 1976. But the al-Assad regime, afraid this success would provoke for Syria a war with Israel, intervened against and crushed the Palestinian-LNM alliance. Meanwhile, as Lebanese officials feared that the country's delicate sectarian balance would collapse under pressure from the Palestinian resistance, they allowed Israeli troops to occupy South Lebanon and under the pretext that Lebanon was no longer able to protect its border. But by 1982, with the civil war raging for seven years, the PLO presence in Lebanon could no longer hold. The leadership was exiled that August to Tunisia. While politically isolated by this move, it was not until the peace process that

began a decade later when the PLO, although no longer exiled, would render its own isolation official decree.

Isolations

After the First Intifada broke out in the Occupied Territories in 1987, Israel responded to the untenable situation with the peace process. It was to provide Israel with other successes for its *divide et impera* on several fronts. At the regional level, these fractures occurred during the Madrid Conference of 1991 when Israel would agree only to bilateral negotiations: Israel-Jordan, Israel-Syria, Israel-Lebanon, and Israel-Palestinians—a more manageable situation than might have transpired had it been Israel against a unified Arab body. At the national level, severe divisions became institutionalized within the movement. The talks were structured to accommodate Israel and the U.S.'s refusal to speak to the PLO leadership, still exiled in Tunis. The negotiations allowed only Palestinian representatives from Gaza and the West Bank to participate in official capacities. The Palestinian state the representatives were to build in these territories would fragment Palestinians into three categories: the Palestinian Diaspora, the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, and the Palestinian citizens of Israel. In allowing only Palestinians inside the would-be Palestinian state a political voice, this framework institutionalized an inside/outside split among Palestinians that enfranchised only Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. A further fragmentation occurred in the creation and later nominal sovereignty (albeit a highly qualified and circumscribed sovereignty) over an even further fragmented Palestine: That is, Area A.

Granting Arafat his wish for recognition brought along with it the PLO's conversion into what was to become a corrupt, Israeli proxy police force. Gilbert Achcar observed the new arrangements thus:

> the transfer of the PLO bureaucracy from exile into the 1967 territories, as a ruling apparatus entrusted with the task of surveillance over the population that waged the Intifada, quickly led to its corruption reaching abysmal levels — something that the population of the territories hadn't seen first-hand before" (Achcar 2006).

In proving they could control their own people by preventing attacks against Israelis, the PLO would provide proof they were capable of running a state. In so doing, it quickly gained a reputation as a replica of the Arab regimes' highly developed (and overlapping) security services, extensive bureaucracies, and closed decision-making structures (Brown 2003: 191).

Reconsidering the cartography of struggle

In chapter two "Oslo and the Rise of the Palestinian Cartographic Spirit," I showed that the lines on the map bounding a potential Palestinian state have also served to police where the Palestinian struggle may and may not take place. This political "inside" has been restricted to that space over which the Palestinian Authority has, or is to have, nominal sovereignty. I argued that state project attempts to become a corollary for Palestinian aspirations: the would-be State of Palestine (the inside) understands Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian refugees (the outside) as inhabiting a political subjectivity irreconcilable under this framework. And because the inside is defined in terms of control, whether the refugees physically reside inside is of limited

consequence when their aspirations seek the right to return. That is, their refusal to recognize the right to be dispossessed renders them uncontrollable, thus places them outside the realm of politics. Such is the dominant geographical imagination of where the Palestinian struggle resides. In chapter three, "Art of War, Art of Resistance," I sought to show how Palestinians refugees have refused this geography and are, instead, creating their own political realms.
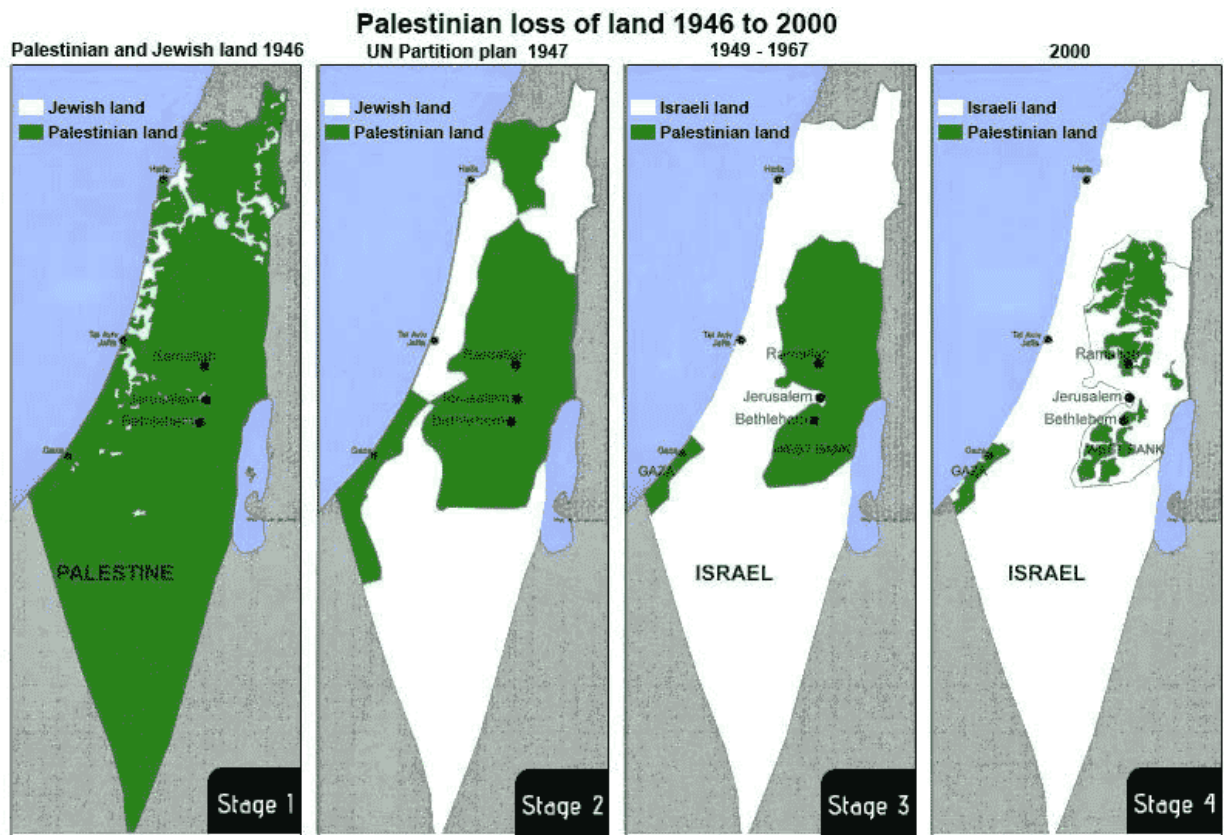

Figure 18: 4-Stage Map of Palestinian loss of land

I'd like to suggest here that the Palestinian Authority's closed framework has also been adopted in the mental maps of scholarship and activism on Palestine. The uncritical acceptance of the inside/outside bounding put forth since Oslo is evidenced by the proliferation of map-use consenting to this split. The map of what is often referred to as a "shrinking" Palestine (Figure 18) provides a powerful cartographic story of a "what remains," and may be the dominant set of maps circulating on the issue today. This is a Palestine lost to Israel, piece by piece over the last seven decades through land purchases, settlement, international decree, war, or occupation. The map travels as postcards or posters at rallies. Variations are often on the frontispiece of scholarly books. But when interpreted as strictly a story of the territory lost to Israel, this narrative further contributes to Palestinian isolation. To be sure, the temporal sequence of territorial loss—so visually powerful and quickly graspable—aptly illustrates Israel's facts on the ground and the Palestinian situation's utter urgency. Yet in its dominance, this geographic imagination has the danger of promoting at least two restrictive assumptions. First, in accepting the dominant narrative to be one of loss, we in turn, promote the idea of lack. [51] Under this framework, politics becomes a unidirectional activity of teaching or helping Palestinians rather than learning from or struggling together with them. Second, by beginning and ending the story as dictated by a map where the greater region does not exist and the Occupied Golan Heights are often

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[51] I am grateful to Yousuf Al-Bulushi for this insight.

not shown, we accept omissions that imply that this conflict is strictly an Israeli-Palestinian affair.

Therefore, if we are to say something about what the Arab uprisings mean for Palestinians, we will have difficulty telling it with this map, for the uprisings reveal that the Palestinian struggle is neither territorially contained to Palestine nor is only a Palestinian struggle. One of the most striking images in the wave of Arab demonstrations has been the presence of Palestinian flags throughout. But more than displays of solidarity, they are assertions of an interlinked struggle. The sentiment is perhaps most pronounced in Egypt, whose revolutionaries continue to cite the Second Intifada as a catalyst for their overthrow of Mubarak a decade later. In a study published two years before the January 25, 2011 revolution, Rabab El-Mahdi interviewed activists from a wide array of pro-democracy movements who voiced such sentiments (El-Mahdi 2009). El-Mahdi's work focused on Kifaya, "the umbrella of the 'prodemocracy movement'" [52] (El-Mahdi 2009: 1013), whose demonstrations against the regime, which began to take place in 2004, often orbited around questions of disenfranchisement under the neoliberal economic order. But the prelude to this collective action, El-Mahdi reveals, was the pro-Intifada demonstrations in 2000-02 and the Iraq War protests in 2003. While these actions began with solidarity slogans, they would culminate into linkages with Palestinians and Iraqi in their own struggle against

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[52] This includes the Nasserites (Al-Karama Party), the Marxist-Socialists (The Revolutionary Socialist Organization), Liberals (Al-Ghad Party), Islamists (Al-Wasat Party and Labor Party) and some independent figures.

Mubarak, the police, and the system as a whole. El-Mahdi describes Mubarak's brutal

response to demonstrations against the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003 as

triggering this change:

> There were security forces everywhere with armored cars, *calling to mind the 'resemblance with deployment of Israeli forces against the Palestinians*,' as one activist said, thus equating Mubarak's regime to occupation forces in the region (against which there is consent even among the most apolitical). Activists used this meaning and image ever since in the slogans they chanted and their media messages, framing a message to the consciousness of a broader constituency that has a rooted memory of national struggles. As one leading activist in the prodemocracy movement and the Anti-Globalization Egyptian Movement explained: Following the antiwar demos, March 20 and especially 21, 2003, the police were especially brutal . . . this was the first time that different political groups began to openly think about doing away with Mubarak, a matter that was not clearly or explicitly mentioned before (El-Mahdi 2009: 1025, emphasis added).

As Mubarak's treatment of protesters called to mind the "resemblance" of Israeli

response against the Palestinians, a growing political consciousness grew going beyond

solidarity as now, it was no longer Egyptians fighting *for* Palestinians or Iraqis; it was

Egyptians struggling *as* them, thus fighting *with* them. As Kamal Khalil, a founding

member of Kifaya, put it,

> The regime's authoritarianism could not be tolerated any more. Not only is it an economic failure pushing forward neoliberal impoverishing economic policies but also it is "friends with the U.S." that occupied another Arab country . . . being their servant in the region, it could not play a role even as an American agent to stop atrocities in Palestine and Iraq. The American invasion of Iraq would not have been possible without Mubarak's help (El-Mahdi 2009: 1023).

Thus, for Egyptians, both disenfranchised economically and repressed politically, what

had began as popular displays of solidarity with the Palestinians and Iraqis, morphed

into a connection where, in their own fight against the regime's domestic brutality,

155

became part of a larger front against the wars waged against their brethren in Palestine and Iraq.

In El-Mahdi's analysis, the two main structural factors behind the rise of Egypt's new movements were, one, the failure of Mubarak's ruling pact, no longer sustainable because of economic and political reasons; and two, a changing regional map where Egypt was now fully complicit with U.S. and Israeli policy (El-Mahdi 2009: 1020-1021). Mubarak's link to the U.S., his role as an "American agent," and the devastation of Egypt's economy policy can be traced to his predecessor, Anwar Sadat, and his actions following the 1973 October War. His "open door" policy (*infitah*), which integrated Egypt into the capitalist global economy, was accompanied by his signing of the Camp David peace treaty: U.S. aid was offered as an inducement for Egypt to sign which, in turn, also aimed to neutralize Egypt as a Soviet ally and as radical force within greater Arab politics—most notably within the Palestine Question (Aulas 1982: 15). By also placing Sadat's moves within the context of the newly acquired Gulf oil wealth, we can view such policy in line with a logic of regime preservation. Egypt's limited oil reserves in the face of a growing Gulf deprived Egypt of its traditional position as a leading actor in regional politics (Weinbaum 1985: 211). Seeking both self-preservation and power meant bartering Egypt's political and strategic weight for the regime's continued survival (Aulas 1982: 10). With this trade-off, by the 1980s Egypt became one of the world's most economically dependent countries: whereas in 1961, only seven per cent of its food supply was imported, but by the 1980s it relied on foreign suppliers for about one-half of its total food consumption

(Weinbaum 1985: 206). Further, the U.S. annual aid package has totaled $2 billion each year in development and military aid, not including even still larger economic relief packages, such as multi-billion dollar pledges for loans and grants (Brownlee 2002: 11).

Thus, the January 25, 2011 uprising was understood by the U.S. and Israel as a foreign policy crisis. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu quickly voiced concerns of what he called "an earthquake in the Middle East" (Vick 2011). As he was quoted it in an interview with *Time Magazine* published on January 28: "I'm not sure the time is right for the Arab region to go through the democratic process" (Vick 2011). Only days later, Israel's embassy in Egypt shut down and its staff fled the country. It would reopen after Mubarak's fall, yet protesters have continually tried to shut it down. Most famously in August 2011, protester Ahmed el-Shahat scaled its multi-story building, removed the Israeli flag, and replaced it with an Egyptian one in front of a cheering crowd of thousands. After video of his climb appeared on YouTube and circulated on Twitter, el-Shahat ascended to hero status. "My happiness is indescribable," el-Shahat would be quoted as saying. "I did something that millions of Arabs want to do, to bring down the Israeli flag. This is a chance to put more fear in the hearts of the Zionists" (Farrell and Afify 2011).

The Palestinian Authority, however, has sought to preserve the status quo held up by Mubarak for so long. In response to West Bank demonstrations in solidarity with the Egyptian uprising, Mahmoud Abbas's regime began organizing pro-Mubarak rallies for his powerful regional ally. But the PA went further and actively cracked down on

pro-uprising demonstrations. A Palestinian youth who initiated on Facebook a solidarity vigil for the Egyptian people was detained and interrogated the evening before the demonstration (Hass 2011). An Egyptian solidarity rally in Ramallah was brutally broken up by the PA. Of these crackdowns, former PLO representative Mamdouh al-Aker observed in an interview with Amira Haas: "As a regime, they must identify with regimes (*ibid.*).

The PA's oppression is reminiscent of what Egyptian protesters faced in the early years of organizing, as El-Mahdi's study described. But is it also similar of something else: the lack of support from all to demonstrate. El-Mahdi's study, published in 2009, ended with a regretful tone as the demonstrations' momentum stalled from lack of broader popular support. She described the regime as practicing "flexible authoritarianism" where, along with repressive tactics, the state employed millions of people (figures which include the state bureaucracy, the army and security forces, as well as school teachers and university faculty) whose livelihood depended directly on the state. A potential constituency, through its incorporation, had been neutralized or depoliticized.

A similar incorporation of a segment of Palestinians exists today, especially found in middle-class or elite households in Ramallah and Bethlehem. While stories of the PA's crackdowns on protests made the news, something rarely mentioned, but which I witnessed while on fieldwork, was that not everyone was celebrating the new Egypt. I was in Bethlehem's Old City on February 11, the night Mubarak fell. As the world watched the dramatic events unfold on Al-Jazeera English, all backs in the

household I was visiting were all turned away from the news; the adults and youth's attention was focused on a game of cards. As reports of celebrations in Gaza began filtering into the television, a young man stood up and changed the channel to his favorite show: *Arab's Got Talent*. I crossed a lonely and quiet Manger Square that evening to go home. Some days later, I learned from friends in Aida that one mile from the Old City, in the Camp, the scene had been remarkably different that night—the Camp was ecstatic for Mubarak's fall, celebrating the Palestinian struggle's renewed leverage. In order to begin explaining the difference, it may be helpful to understand that there exist no Israeli tanks on the streets on Bethlehem today as they did only a few years ago. Many are grateful for the new peace. Yet the Israeli military continues to conduct almost nightly raids, arrests, and assassinations in Aida Camp.

The variation in how Palestinians and Egyptians experience life under dictatorship and military rule complicates our mental map of the Arab uprisings. And it is for this reason that new cartography of struggle cannot be understood as one demarcated solely by the nation-state's borders. There is an added dimension in this new cartography: horizontality linking those exercising power from below against their adversaries from exerting Power from above.[53] For these struggles, it is subjectivity— how one experiences their world—rather than the arbitrariness of identity that makes all the difference. This is a transformation protesters themselves have expressed. As Egyptian protester Hossam El-Hamalawy pointed out, signs written in Hebrew asking

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[53] I am grateful to Alvaro Reyes for assisting in this conceptualization.

Mubarak to leave began appearing in Tahrir Square the longer he refused to step down. "He does not understand Arabic," he explained the reasoning. "Speak to him in Hebrew" (El-Hamalawy 2011). Thus, as protesters have "become Palestinian" so to speak, so too, the regimes have "become Israeli."

Spatializing Subjectivity

If maps, as John Pickles writes, "provide the very conditions of possibility for the worlds we inhabit and the subjects we become" (Pickles 2004: 5), then analyses of how borders constrain these possibilities are fitting for today's events which, as is the case of the Arab uprisings, have difficulty neatly mapping into a closed territory. To spatialize the shared subjectivity we are witnessing between the Palestinian struggle and the Arab revolts, we must complicate the closing of space for, unlike identity, subjectivity cannot be constrained to the nation-state. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's distinction between independence and emancipation is useful here (Hardt and Negri 2009). Whereas independence strives for the freedom (here, through the state-form) to become *what you really are* (here, a Palestinian citizen of the State of Palestine), emancipation aims at the freedom of self-determination and self-transformation—the freedom to determine *what you can become* (Hardt and Negri 2009: 331-332). That is, a politics of independence immobilizes the production of subjectivity because the space of independence is closed; emancipation (or liberation) on the other hand, requires engaging and taking control of the production of subjectivity, keeping it moving forward. In the latter, space is necessarily open.

160

Palestinians have themselves made this distinction, which they saw as present after Oslo. As I showed in ***Chapter II***, Shafiq al-Hout saw the PLO's move toward the two-state solution—a move he explicitly referred to as a shift from liberation to independence—as an accommodating, self-annihilating project (Al-Hout 2011). So too, has Mamdouh al-Aker. "One of the tragic mistakes," he observed in an interview with Amira Hass in the early months of the uprisings, "is that we didn't focus on the demand for the right to self-determination that encompasses everything. Instead, they concentrated on the idea of a state" (Hass 2011). Trading self-determination for a state, as al-Hout and al-Aker regret, rendered smaller the realm of struggle in ways that neatly corresponded to that state's borders. In so doing, it foreclosed the movement's potential to cultivate, grow, and widen its leverage.

For Jean Genet, living in and writing from Palestinian refugee camps in the 1970s, the Palestinians as stateless beings without the constraints of a static identity allowed them to possess certain potentials to create the world anew. This potential was not present among other Arabs who, Genet suggested, did not possess a revolutionary urge. He developed the distinction between Arabism and the Palestinian: "I do not mean to say that the Palestinians are not Arab," he wrote. "They are, but they are also something more" (Genet 1973: 5-6). Genet's concept of the "Palestinian" was a subject constantly expressing revolution. Arabism may be positive in this way, he wrote, "if it helps revolutionary solidarity, but dangerous if it appeals to a sentimentality which has nothing to do with the exigencies of revolution" (Genet 1973: 6) . Recalling a debate between himself and a Lebanese philosopher who said to him "The Palestinian

revolution must Arabize itself more and more. Arabism is always revolutionary," Genet recounts his answer to him:

> "On the contrary. I hope that the Arab world will Palestinianize itself more and more since, apart from the example provided by Dhofar and Eritrea, the Palestinians are the only people to have displayed revolutionary conduct" (Genet 1973: 15).

Are the Arab uprisings the Palestinianization of the Arab world Genet spoke of forty years ago? And in turn, have the Arab regimes they are today seeking to overthrow undergone an Israelization?

The Palestinian leadership, in seeking to emulate the Arab regimes and the West, has embarked on a state project that produced isolated, controllable subjects whose political space is closed and, thus, their political leverage limited. But because the project has necessarily excluded so many (namely, the refugees and the Palestinian citizens of Israel), it is in the disenfranchised where we have seen the ability for subjectivity to keep moving, growing, and widening. Indeed, on Nakba Day 2011, the Palestinian Question resurfaced from the political outside—the politically uncontrollable. But these events cannot be reduced to Palestinian actions in isolation. Al-Aker predicts, "What has happened in Tunisia and Egypt will expedite the process of change, revitalize the Palestinian cause and bring it back to where it belongs—not to a government or a 'state,' but as a movement of national liberation" (Hass 2011). Following Genet's concept of the Palestinian, perhaps we should cease so much of our focus on what it is that Palestinians lack, and rather, shift it onto what they contribute as beings-in-struggle. For what is of concern here is the revolutionary potential

Palestinians have constantly carried and continued to offer, which, as we have seen, has served an important impetus for today's Arab uprisings.

Perhaps it is time, Beshara Doumani writes about the post-Oslo environment, to ask if it is "Palestine" which is working against the Palestinians. The current impasse, he argues, "is likely to continue as long as the Palestinian national movement remains within the conceptual terrain laid out by the Zionist movement and the imperial powers that established the modern state system in the Middle East" (Doumani 2007: 51-52). So rather than a Palestine Liberation Organization, he suggests, perhaps it is time for a *Palestinian* Liberation Organization. Taking note of the interdependencies between the Arab uprisings and the Palestinian Question, as I have attempted to do in this chapter, we might also begin to consider that our maps of the region are not the self-evident starting point for conceiving of the political. On the contrary, it is possible they are have already become obsolete.

CONCLUSION

There exists today a proliferation of map-making and map-use in thinking and talking about the Israel-Palestinian conflict. But if, as these maps seem to suggest, the conflict has always been over territorial sovereignty, one may wonder why it has been only over the past two decades that we have witnessed a proliferation of maps of Palestine *by Palestinians*. As I discussed in *Chapter I – A Palestine without Palestinians*, maps of Palestine were produced earlier in the nineteenth century, but by various colonial interests. Palestine's first modern map, surveyed in 1799, was the product of Napoleon Bonaparte's imperial battle against Britain. In the 1870s, Palestine's geobody received its modern shape by the hand of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the 1870s, a religious-scientific outfit in London that surveyed the "Holy Land" according to its biblical boundaries "from Dan to Beer Sheba." The cartographic work, possible only through mutual cooperation with the British War Office, became foundational, serving as the template from which all subsequent maps of Palestine utilize as a reference point even today.

It was not until the Palestinian leadership adopted the logic of territorial conquest that we see cartography from the movement, as I showed in *Chapter II – Oslo and the Rise of the Palestinian Cartographic Spirit*. Palestinian maps pre-Oslo were largely iconic, accompanied by a politics of international and regional liberation through a "people's war" and armed struggle. In the post-Oslo era, the Palestinian

"cartographic spirit" accompanied the equally recent adoption of independence as a strategy—a strategy officially ratified by the PLO in 1988 under the Declaration of Independence and further crystallized under the Oslo Accords. Today, the lines on the map bounding a potential Palestinian state have rendered Palestine as a territory whereby space is closed and controlled. This serves to police where the Palestinian struggle may and may not take place. This political "inside" is now restricted to that space over which the Palestinian Authority has, or is to have, nominal sovereignty. And it forecloses possibilities for a struggle from the "outside" to link or connect to the designated inside. That is, the map attempts to become a corollary for Palestinian aspirations: the map of the would-be State of Palestine (the inside) understands Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian refugees (the outside) as inhabiting a political subjectivity irreconcilable under this framework.

While this dissertation sought to describe the ways the delinking of Palestine from the Palestinians has occurred, it has also showed examples of how this delinking is being resisted. It is for this reason that I sought to take the standpoint of the refugees seriously in *Chapter III – Art of War, Art of Resistance,* as a way to "listen" to the space they're mapping in spite of their disenfranchisement. Additionally, in *Chapter IV – A Third Intifada Mental Map*, I discussed how the Arab uprisings are threatening to redraw the dominant map of the region that closes space and limits politics to the realm of the nation-state. I argued there that, in the post-Arab uprising era, our mental maps of the Israel-Palestinian conflict can no longer be constrained to a "Shrinking Palestine"— they must now include the region in any answer to the Palestine Question. There I

traced the connection to the Arab uprisings and the Palestinian struggle, providing it a political history from 1948 to 2011, and conceptualizing resistance as linked under subjectivity rather than identity.

It is my hope that this work contributes to remedying deep misunderstandings about the conflict, specifically by reconsidering where the realm of politics resides. One of the key points I modestly developed throughout this study is that dominant map-making practices reduce the conflict to a question of territory and, in turn, suggest that the cartographer who can draw the best line will be the one to usher a solution forward. This idea renders interactions, mutual support, and coexistence between ordinary people invisible and often inconceivable. Correcting this notion is necessary because when space is mapped as a closed object to be governed over "from above," ways of imagining political solutions that might emanate from the grassroots are ignored or effectively restricted. In this century-long conflict, it is past time for a new kind of politics in the region, one calling for a radically new geographical imagination.

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