

## KHALIDI, RASHID

### Khalidi, Rashid

intellectual

1948– New York

Rashid Khalidi, though born in the United States, is a member of the prominent KHALIDI family of JERUSALEM noted for centuries for its scholarship. He was born in New York while his father was attending graduate school and was raised there when the family could not return to Jerusalem after the ARAB-ISRAELI WAR OF 1948. Khalidi received a B.A. from Yale University in 1970 and a Ph.D. from Oxford University in 1974. He has taught in LEBANON at the American University of Beirut and at several universities in the UNITED STATES, including Georgetown; Chicago, where he was director of Middle East Studies; and Columbia, where he holds the Edward SAID chair of Arab studies. He is the editor of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

Khalidi has written and edited numerous works of Palestinian history, the most recent of which is on Palestinian identity. He served as an adviser to the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE, 1991. Until June 1993, he also advised the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the subsequent bilateral negotiations held in Washington, D.C. He served as president of the Middle East Studies Association in 1994 and is president and a founding member of the American Committee on Jerusalem, an organization formed in 1996 to publicize both Palestinian history in Jerusalem and Palestinian claims to that city.

Kathleen Christison

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### Khalidi, Walid

influential intellectual

1925– Jerusalem

Walid Khalidi's impact has been felt in three main areas of endeavor: scholarship, institution building, and politics and diplomacy. In each Walid Khalidi has been a pioneer, an innovator, and an important Palestinian voice within an Arab context.

Khalidi's extensive writings have played an important part in defining and explaining key elements of the Palestinian national narrative for Westerners, Arabs, and Palestinians alike. His 1978 article "Thinking the Unthinkable," published in *Foreign Affairs*, powerfully crystallized a trend that had been growing in strength in Palestinian political thinking since the 1973 war but was little known in the West. It probably constitutes the most important single contribution to the public debate whereby Westerners and Israelis finally came to accept the validity of the idea of a Palestinian state in the WEST BANK and GAZA STRIP.

The scholarly institutions Khalidi has helped to found and serve, notably the INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINE STUDIES, as well as the Royal Scientific Society in Amman and the Center for Arab Studies in



Walid Khalidi (Courtesy Walid Khalidi)

Beirut, have been instrumental in imparting rigor to writing and research in the Arab world, in training young scholars, and in supporting publishing and research on a wide range of subjects. Finally, Khalidi has played an important role in defining post-World War II Arab nationalism as being centered on the Palestine question. His often intensive involvement in inter-Arab politics, in the politics of a number of Arab countries, and in Palestinian politics has generally been little known. He has been influential at different times within the inner councils of *Harakat al Qawmiyyin al-Arab* (the Movement of Arab Nationalists), of which he was long an important theorist; the *POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE* (PFLP); *FATAH*; and the *PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION* (PLO).

Khalidi was born in JERUSALEM in 1925, one of five children of Ahmad Samih Khalidi, principal of the government ARAB COLLEGE, the leading Arab educational institution in Mandatory Palestine. He came from the KHALIDI family of Jerusalem that had produced legists, educators, scholars, and political leaders since before the Crusades and through the Mamluk, Ottoman, and PALESTINE MANDATE eras. His background gave him family connections that were useful to him in later life; it also helps to explain his conservative, indeed almost patrician, outlook and his strong sense of duty and public responsibility.

Khalidi grew up in a home that was a cultural and intellectual meeting place for Palestinians, Jews, and Westerners during the Mandate period. His father was an authority on Islamic and Palestinian history, and his Lebanese stepmother, Anbara Salam al-Khalidi, was a leading author, translator, and feminist of the period. In addition to the rich intellectual sustenance provided by this environment, Khalidi benefited from tutoring by G. B. Farrell, the director of EDUCATION in Mandatory Palestine. He completed his education at London and Oxford universities in 1945 and 1951, respectively where he took degrees in philosophy and Islamic studies. Thereafter he took up an appointment at Oxford as a university lecturer.

Before doing so, however, Khalidi worked for several years in the ARAB LEAGUE office in Jerusalem, headed by Musa al-ALAMI. Founded by the Arab League in order to put the Palestinian case before the world, the Arab office, which was

staffed mainly by young Palestinians, served as the unofficial Palestinian foreign and information ministry, albeit with the most modest of resources. In these years in Jerusalem, Khalidi learned firsthand about the complexities and Palestinian politics and the treacherous currents of inter-Arab relations and experienced the disastrous defeats of 1947–48. These traumatic experiences were fundamental in shaping his vision of the Palestinian predicament, of the Arab world, and of the international system.

Having meanwhile married Rasha Salam, with whom he had two children, Ahmad Samih and Karma, Walid Khalidi settled into the routine life of an Oxford don after 1951, teaching in the Faculty of Oriental Studies and researching and writing on Islamic philosophy. This quiet period in his life was not to last. Outraged by British involvement in the tripartite British-French-Israeli attack on EGYPT in October 1956, Khalidi resigned his position at Oxford and returned to Beirut to join the Political Studies and Public Administration Department of the American University of Beirut (AUB), where he rapidly reached the rank of professor, and continued to teach—with interruptions during which he served as a visiting professor at Princeton and Harvard Universities—until 1982. In his decades of teaching at the AUB and elsewhere, Khalidi influenced several generations of students, many of whom went on to be scholars, political leaders, diplomats, and professionals throughout the Arab world.

Soon after returning to Beirut in 1956, Khalidi once again began to play a role in Arab politics. Deeply impressed by the growing Arabist inclinations of the regime of Jamal Abd al-Nasir in Egypt and by the possibilities it appeared to offer for changing the regional balance of power, Khalidi met in Cairo with Nasir as an emissary of his brother-in-law, the Nasirist Lebanese politician and later prime minister Sa'ib Salam. When Salam became embroiled in the Lebanese Civil War of 1958 as one of the leaders of the Arab nationalist opposition to President Camille Chamoun, Khalidi was one of his closest advisers. At the same time, he was a member of the inner circle of the Movement of Arab Nationalists, as a friend and confidant of many of its leaders, including Dr. George HABASH, Hani al-Hindi, and Dr. Wadi HADDAD. In addition to helping to shape the movement's Arabist and

Palestine-oriented ideology and programs, Khalidi had a profound influence on generations of young Arabs in Beirut, which in these years was a center of Arab intellectual ferment. Those affected included cadres of the movement and members of the Union of Palestinian Students at the AUB and elsewhere who heard his lectures on Arabism, the Palestine question, inter-Arab and international politics, and other subjects.

The Arab defeat of June 1967, in the wake of which he served as an adviser to the Iraqi delegation to the U.N., represented a watershed for Khalidi as for many other Palestinians (see ARAB-ISRAELI WAR OF 1967). Earlier, in 1963, he had been instrumental in founding the Institute for Palestine Studies, with the help of Professor Constantine Zurayq of the AUB; Burhan DAJANI, secretary-general of the Union of Arab Chambers of Commerce; and later Nabih Faris, professor of Arab history, and several other colleagues, among others, Isam Ashur and Sami Alami, and the financial support of a number of leading Palestinian and Arab businessmen, including Hasib SABBAGH, Umar AQQAD, and Abd al-Muhsin QATTAN. This independent, private institution based in Beirut played a major role in helping to crystallize the sense that the Palestinians had to help themselves. For some, although not for Walid Khalidi and many of his cofounders of IPS, this realization was tied to the belief that the Palestinians should not depend unduly on the Arab regimes to solve their problems for them. This widespread belief was reflected on the political level in the founding of the PLO and the rise of the Fatah movement in these same years.

The debacle of 1967 was decisive in turning this trend into the dominant force in Palestinian politics. Thereafter, Walid Khalidi, who had earlier been one of the most ardent exponents of an Arabist approach to the Palestine questions, adopted and supported this new tendency while always considering that the Arab states had a vital role to play in the resolution of the problem of Palestine. While maintaining contacts with the leaders of the Arabist Movement of Arab Nationalists who founded the PFLP after the 1967 war, he also developed ties with Yasir ARAFAT, Salah KHALAF (Abu Iyad), and other leaders of FATAH, which rose to prominence in the mid-1960s.

In succeeding years, Khalidi maintained good relations with the leaders of the main Palestinian

factions, a number of prominent Lebanese politicians, the Egyptian leadership, the Jordanian monarchy, and key figures in a number of Arab regimes. This enabled him to mediate conflicts, propose solutions, and influence outcomes in a number of situations, including the Jordanian and Lebanese civil wars, internal Palestinian dissension, and Palestinian-Egyptian and Palestinian-Syrian disputes. Khalidi was not always successful in his endeavors (some of which are known only to the participants to this day), but he continued to play the role of behind-the-scenes mediator and facilitator even after he had moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he took up a position as a senior research associate at the Center for Middle East Studies at Harvard University in 1982.

Khalidi's efforts in the realms of mediation, diplomacy, and advocacy were not always appreciated: for example, some in the Palestinian resistance movement were critical of his attempts to defuse the Lebanese conflict by what they saw as unwarranted concessions to their foes. For this and other reasons, these efforts increasingly took place behind the scenes and quite frequently left both him and his Palestinian and Lebanese interlocutors frustrated. His articles calling for a Palestinian state and a negotiated resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, although quite influential in the UNITED STATES and Europe, were highly unpopular with the more radical trends in Palestinian politics, including the PFLP and many within Fatah (although they gradually won mainstream support). Never a populist or an advocate of "people's war" or guerrilla tactics, even when these ideas were highly fashionable among Palestinians and other Arabs in the 1960s and early 1970s, Khalidi was a firm believer in the importance of power in politics. His study of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear balance convinced him that the United States was the stronger of the two superpowers, and that it was imperative for the Palestinians and the Arabs to recognize this fact and act accordingly. Such ideas were not popular in many Arab quarters at the time.

Khalidi's most recent public role in Arab and international diplomacy was his service as a member of the Jordanian-Palestinian joint delegation to the MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE, 1991, and the first two subsequent rounds of bilateral negotiations with ISRAEL in Washington, D.C. Palestinian representation at Madrid was subject to stringent and

humiliating Israeli conditions that the United States, as cosponsor of the conference, acquiesced to and imposed on the PLO. On the basis of these conditions, Khalidi would have been excluded from participation in the Palestinian section of this joint delegation because he was a Palestinian from Jerusalem, lived outside the Occupied Territories, and had close links to the PLO. To compensate for allowing Israel this veto power over which Palestinians it would negotiate with, U.S. secretary of state James Baker and his assistants negotiated the inclusion of a Palestinian from Jerusalem in the Jordanian part of the delegation, over which Israel could not exercise a veto. In filling this role, Khalidi was thus the thin edge of a wedge that ultimately led to Israel's negotiating directly with the PLO.

The range and extent of Khalidi's writings explain part of his great political and intellectual influence over more than five decades. They include a series of seminal articles on the ARAB-ISRAELI WAR OF 1948 and its antecedents, which established key points regarding the exodus of about three-quarters of a million Palestinians from their homes in 1947-49; the role of Zionist military offensives in precipitating this exodus; and the course of the 1948 war. These articles include "Plan Dalet: Zionist Blueprint for the Conquest of Palestine," "The Fall of Haifa," "Why Did the Palestinians Leave?" and "Suqut Filastin," published from 1957 to 1961, mainly in *Middle East Forum*, as well as an article published in 1986 in *The End of the Palestine Mandate* (edited by W. R. Lewis and R. W. Stookey, Austin: University of Texas Press). They constitute the results of an extensive research project on the 1948 war on which Khalidi spent many years, learning to read Hebrew in the process. These efforts never resulted in the major book he had originally planned to write, although shorter works on the partition of Palestine, the Zionist movement, and the DAYR YASIN massacre were published in Arabic in 1998. However, his pioneering insights into this period have since been borne out by a new generation of historians, Israeli, Arab, and Western, who have utilized newly opened archives to substantiate points Khalidi made as long as forty years ago on the basis of the evidence available at the time.

Another major project that has been a continuing focus of Khalidi's scholarly efforts has been chronicling the evolution of the Zionist movement,

and examining the political, social, cultural, and economic fabric of Arab Palestine, which was torn asunder in 1948. This has resulted in the publication of three substantial volumes edited or compiled by Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972), *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984), and *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Destroyed by Israel in 1948* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), the latter two books extensively illustrated. Representing collective research that drew on the resources of the Institute for Palestine Studies and of dozens of researchers, these three volumes are tied together by Khalidi's organizing vision of the clash between ZIONISM and the Palestinians, and by his lengthy and tightly argued introductions, which constitute the backbone of each work. He has in addition published a book on the Lebanese conflict based on his own involvement, *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), and scores of articles in English and Arabic, and many of his writings have been translated into other languages.

At the same time, some have argued that Khalidi's intense involvement in institution building, politics, public advocacy, and diplomacy during many phases of his long career, sometimes with inconclusive or negative results, has hindered him from completing a task which he could do better than anyone of his generation: writing a comprehensive history of the 1984 conflict and the loss of Palestine. In this he resembles a number of members of his own and perhaps other generations of Palestinians: torn between the abiding urge to chronicle, analyze, and explain the tragedy of their people and the impatient desire to do something in the present to alleviate this ongoing tragedy.

In his concerns, and in his successes and failures, Walid Khalidi is exemplary of the generation of Palestinian intellectuals and scholars who were shaped by the events of the era between the loss of part of Palestine in 1948 and the occupation of the rest of it in 1967. Like that of others of this generation, his life's work has been defined by the need to fill the voids in Palestinian national life created by these traumatic events. More than many of

them, he has been successful in helping to create lasting structures, notably the Institute for Palestine Studies, which have helped to take the place of those that were destroyed, or could not be established, in Palestine as a result of the catastrophes that befell its people. The Palestinians have suffered greatly since 1948 from the absence of such institutions as a unified education system, national research institutes, museums, and other cultural frameworks to help formulate and propagate a unified national narrative. As a result, they have been heavily dependent on structures such as those that Khalidi and others of his generation managed to build in the diaspora and inside Palestine, some created independently, like the IPS, and some within the context of the PLO.

Although Khalidi was largely successful in institution building, and was often deeply involved in urgent day-to-day political issues, his writings, his lectures, his advocacy, and his public diplomacy have played a major role over the long term in shaping the Palestinian and Arab response to the loss of Palestine, and in charting out a course that would enable the Palestinians to reestablish themselves on the map of the Middle East. It is a measure of his success at these difficult tasks that ideas that he has advocated through much of his career, such as adoption of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as the Palestinian national objective, are now broadly accepted.

Rashid Khalidi

**al-Khalidi, Yusuf Diya**  
scholar, diplomat, administrator  
1842-1906

Yusif al-Khalidi studied at al-Aqsa Mosque in JERUSALEM and then at the Protestant College in Malta for two years. Later he studied medicine in Istanbul for one year, then switched to study engineering at Robert College. After his father's death, he returned to Jerusalem, where, in 1867, he established a school. Al-Khalidi was mayor of Jerusalem for six years, during which many streets were established, others were repaired, and a sewage system was created. He also arranged for paving a road between Jerusalem and JAFFA.

In 1874, when Rashid Pasha (a friend of al-Khalidi's) was the Ottoman foreign minister, al-

Khalidi went to Istanbul to work as a translator at the sultan's office. After six months, he was appointed vice-consul in Buti, a Russian port on the Black Sea. When Rashid Pasha lost his post, al-Khalidi was dismissed, too, and spent time visiting Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg. In 1875, he went to Vienna, where Rashid Pasha was ambassador, and worked as a teacher of Arabic at the School of Oriental Languages. At that point, he showed interest in politics and non-Muslim minorities in Jerusalem. He published two letters on the situation of Jews in Jerusalem in the London-based journal *The Jewish Chronicle*.

In 1875, al-Khalidi returned to Jerusalem and became mayor again. In 1877 he was elected to the Ottoman parliament, where he became the only member representing Palestine. He was very active in supporting reform policies and the constitution declared in 1876, and he criticized Sultan Abdülhamit's authoritarian policies. In February 1878, Abdülhamit disbanded the parliament and sent ten active opposition members, including al-Khalidi, into exile.

In 1879, al-Khalidi lectured at the University of Vienna, and the next year he published a collection of the works of the pre-Islamic poet Labid, which was later translated into German by the German Orientalist Hober. In 1881, al-Khalidi returned to Palestine and was appointed governor of Jaffa, then Marj'iyun in LEBANON. Later he became governor of Motki in northeast Turkey, where he mastered Kurdish and compiled an Arabic-Kurdish dictionary that was published in Istanbul in 1893. Alarmed at the dangers of the Zionist movement's aspirations in Palestine, in 1899 he wrote a letter to Theodor Herzl, founder of political ZIONISM, via Zadok Kahn, the chief rabbi of France. In the letter, al-Khalidi stated that since Palestine was already populated, the Zionists should find another area. He wrote, "In the name of God let Palestine be left in peace." Kahn passed the letter to Herzl, who answered Khalidi on March 19, 1899, assuring him that, if the Zionists were unwanted, "We will search and, believe me, we will find elsewhere what we need." To our knowledge the correspondence did not continue after March 1899. Al-Khalidi spent his last days under the close scrutiny of Abdülhamit's spies and died in Istanbul in 1906.

Adel Manna