"I AM FATIMA ZUNAYBURIA AND YOU ARE MUSTAFA KINDIL": WRITING FEMINIST HISTORY AND NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN MOROCCO

Liat Kozma

Feminist research often views nationalist and feminist historiographies as two essentially unchanging isolated entities. In this article, I examine Moroccan national historiography as a site where various versions of the past have been in a continuous contest, leading to transformations in the dominant historical narrative. First, I look at Maroccan feminist historiography in the context of the socio-political realities of the 1980s and the 1990s, which enabled the visibility of women as a historical category. I then show how the struggle for national independence was used within this feminist historiography for the formation of an indigenous genealogy of feminist activity, aiming at achieving cultural legitimacy for an egalitarian ideology. Finally, I examine how tension and dialogue between these two historiographies led to the incorporation of women into the dominant nationalist historiography. At the same time, the dissent embedded in the feminist historiography was undermined by its incorporation into the dominant historiography.

ABU-HANNA'S "REAL" THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS: WRITING THE SELF INTO HISTORY IN TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY GALILEE

Tania Forte

In this article I analyze the production of a text, an autobiography, in which I participated during my stay in the Galilee. My purpose here is to explore the ways in which history and historical self are produced in the telling of an autobiography. First, I explain what it means for Abu-Hanna, an 80-year old man of regional notoriety, to be turning the stories he usually tells to a local audience into a written, English

language autobiography. Here I show how Abu-Hanna conceives of his stories and of his relationship to his local public, and how he relates to the written autobiographical text and his potential international readership. Then I analyze three types of historical narratives found in the autobiography. My concern here is to understand not just the particular forms of history they represent, but more precisely what we can learn about them by examining how they are produced in practice. Finally, I lay out a particular pattern that Abu-Hanna repeatedly deploys in both the form and content of the stories, a pattern I call the logic of confrontation. I argue that through this pattern Abu-Hanna develops a narrative of "heroic" historical agency which, though holding characteristics of his "larger than life" personality, is also readily recognizable by his local public. This narrative calls into question the hegemony of narratives set out by the state (that is, in this case, by British or Israeli officials), and exposes the state's failures to an international public.

IS "ETHNIC DEMOCRACY" REALLY POSSIBLE? JEWS, ARABS AND THE ISRAELI REGIME

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In this essay we present a critique of the "ethnic democracy" model, formulated by political sociologist Sammy Smooha, to account for Israel's political structure and for relations between Jews and Arabs. On a broader level, we also aim to challenge the unproblematic acceptance of Israel as a democracy by most scholars in the field. While the "ethnic democracy" model has been adopted by a number of Israeli scholars, and while "democracy" is itself a contested concept, our analysis exposes several serious analytical problems. These point to a case of "conceptual stretching" in the current use of the model for classifying the Israeli regime. The Israeli regime implements a range of laws, policies and practices which contravene the basic tenets of democracy: it differentiates legally between citizens on the basis of their ethnic-nationality; exposes the minority to tyranny of the majority; maintains fuzzy political and territorial borders which undermine the concept of the "demos"; and applies a range of discriminatory policies towards Israel's Paletinian-Arab citizens. Further, Smooha, like most scholars in the field, overlooks the structural **Judaization** process which stands at the base of the Israeli ethnocratic regime. This process constantly changes the demographic, geographic and political relations in Israel/Palestine in favor of Jews. We contend that such a regime cannot be classified as a "democracy", thereby casting doubt over the theoretical and empirical credibility of the "ethnic democracy" model.