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PALESTINE

The term *Palestine* is multivalent and has entailed different references throughout American history. Geographically, *Palestine* derives from the Roman *Palestina*, referring to its administrative region. Although the Ottoman Empire tended to refer to the region administratively as *Syria* from the late medieval period until the twentieth century, the people who lived there continued to call it *Filastin*. After World War I (1914–1918), the British Mandate revived the administrative use of the term *Palestine*. Americans referred to the region as *Palestine* until the mid-twentieth-century establishment of the State of Israel. At that point, the political territory became known as *Israel*, and *Palestine* has increasingly referred to the local nationalist movement as distinct from the Jewish state.

Pan-Arabism and Pan-Muslimism were popular ideologies among some in the Middle East, and binationalism and civil democracy with no ethnic concept of the nation had proponents among some Jews and non-Jews in the Middle East and the United States until the mid-twentieth century. However, most political negotiations in which the United States advocated any kind of rights for Palestinians centered on a two-state model—Jewish Israel and a Palestinian state—especially after the 1960s.

The region of Palestine loomed large in the American imagination as the "Holy Land" from the earliest arrival of colonial-era Christians. Americans imagined themselves as the "New Israel," comparing their providential progress to the failure of the Israelites to keep the covenant in biblical Palestine. During the nineteenth century, when technology permitted an increase in travel to Palestine along with widespread reproduction of representations of Palestine, the region became even more popular. During that time, Palestine was an identifiable region and subject within the Ottoman Empire. Disputes within the Ottoman Empire that led to massacres and oppression of Christians, such as the Greek war for independence and revolts in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, influenced Christian-American views not only of the empire and Turks but also of Muslims and Arabs. Even as Americans referred to "Palestine" as its own geographic region, they also placed it into the larger category of the "Holy Land," the place of the sacred history of the Old Testament and the life of Jesus, including Syria and portions of Lebanon, plus much of the broader Middle East.

The tendency among Americans of various Jewish and Christian backgrounds to see Palestine as the "Holy Land" remained in tension with a vision of the United States as a "New Israel" or "New Holy Land," although frequently, the two conceptions worked in tandem. The power of the concept of both America and Palestine as "Holy Lands" has been its malleability, the possibility to adapt such a concept to various national, regional, racial, religious, class, and gendered views. The biblical lens also served as the frame of reference for twentieth-century American diplomacy in the Middle East. The question of politics became increasingly important for the United States after Britain formally gained control over the Mandate in 1920. Popular culture and formal politics have represented Palestine in distinct but mutually influential ways, and therefore it is important to understand Palestine from religious, cultural, and political perspectives.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PALESTINE IN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

The importance of the Holy Land as the location of the sacred history of the Torah for Jews and of the Old and New Testaments for Christians has influenced the forms and practices by which Americans have engaged Palestine. It has also shaped the voices of political and social power in those representations. Technological advancements in the nineteenth century led to an increase in ever-more luxurious and speedy travel, as well as the availability of photographs, stereographs, and panoramas that seemed to bring Palestine closer to the United States. In these photographs, Palestine merged with the broader Middle East as a visual representation of the Holy Land at large. Prolific photography houses created a recognizable image of the Holy Land. Photographs of the Holy Land frequently accompanied books, pamphlets, and exhibits related to the Bible and the region. The same images were

printed and reprinted, shared and reinterpreted by Americans from various backgrounds. Americans viewed images of Palestine through their particular personal and social backgrounds, but they also created a larger national culture and practice of circulating and viewing images of Palestine.

The technology that made travel to the Middle East increasingly possible coincided with the rise of biblical criticism in seminaries and universities. Thus, at a moment when many Christians and Jews perceived an attack on the authority of the Bible, Palestine and academic studies of it became a claim for religious authority. For some Christians, biblical archeology in Palestine became a kind of "fifth gospel," and for some Jews it became historical evidence for the chosenness of Jews as a nation. American views of Palestine were also informed by Orientalism and a sense that Palestine had changed less than the rest of the world, leading many Americans to assume that contemporaneous Palestinian people, lifestyles, and cultures could be taken as evidence of the biblical period.

Americans also constructed models, museums, expositions, plays, films, and political demonstrations that made Palestine come alive in American life. For example, the Chautauqua Institution, founded in 1874 in southwestern New York, built a 400-foot-long (122-meter-long) scaled replica of biblical Palestine and held meetings during which actors dressed up as residents of Palestine and interacted with visitors. At the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (the St. Louis World's Fair), white Protestants created an almost full-sized replica of Jerusalem as it looked at the turn of the twentieth century. Visitors could "travel to Palestine" without leaving the United States, and depictions of Palestine were linked with American national performance and the goal of appearing as a legitimate political power. Christian exhibits, along with passion plays and other dramas, have continued to appear across America throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century.

NEW VOICES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF PALESTINE

Jews were frequently the objects in American Christians' visions of Palestine. In light of this, Jewish Americans sought to create their own representations of themselves and Palestine. Christians have tended to see Jews as living evidence of the Old Testament: once a chosen people, but now superseded by the new covenant through Jesus. If rhetoric about America as a "New Israel" and about Palestine as the "Holy Land" increased the visibility of Jews in Christianity, it also drew attention to the question of Jews in America. Jewish Americans were uncomfortable with the theological and stereotypical nature of this

visibility designed by Christians. Jewish Americans also focused on Palestine as a holy land within their religious practices and in their representations of Palestine, from photographs to world fairs. Jewish participation, however, has included a tension between the shared value of Palestine as a holy land with Christian Americans and Jewish investment in reshaping images of Jews in America and Palestine.

When the Ottoman Empire fell and Palestine became a part of the British Mandate in 1920, competition for authority over Palestine became increasingly complicated. Differing perspectives on Palestine, and who properly represented it, converged at the 1933 Century of Progress World's Fair in Chicago. By that time, the British government was trying to extricate itself from Palestine, and did not wish to promote any representation of Palestine as an autonomous region. Zionists, for their part, held a "Jewish Day" that paralleled official days celebrating other nations at the fair, culminating in a pageant titled *The Romance of a People*, which featured more than three thousand Jewish American performers on a replica of the Temple in Jerusalem at Soldier Field. At the 1939 World's Fair in New York City, Zionists created a Palestine Pavilion that continued to link Jewish nationalist efforts with territory in Palestine.

These performances helped shape and legitimize the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine, even before the State of Israel was founded in 1948. They also helped to legitimize Jewish American identity in the United States. They played on earlier Christian attachments to the land of Palestine, while also revising visions of Palestine and of Jews inside and outside of the Holy Land. Jewish exhibits at the world's fairs thus rejected a view of Jewish Americans or members of a potential Jewish nation-state as Oriental relics, though they also played on certain Orientalist visions of Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews, as well as Arabs and Muslims.

Arabs and Muslims were frequently omitted or poorly represented in Christian and Jewish representations of Palestine. Palestinians have thus critiqued Zionist and biblical understandings of contemporary Palestine, especially those that did not give voice to Palestinians. In the early twentieth century, a Palestine National League was formed to seek political rights for the Palestinian national movement. These efforts received very little attention in America, however, due in part to the small number of Palestinian and Arab Americans.

POLITICS IN PALESTINE AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

American diplomacy and policies addressing the region of Palestine before and after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 have been complex. Following the Balfour

Declaration (1917) and the end of World War I, American Zionists balanced an interest in a Jewish national homeland—if not a state—with careful negotiations and diplomacy with successive US presidents and the US State Department. A practicing Presbyterian, President Woodrow Wilson responded to debates over the mandate through his view that a Jewish return to the Holy Land would fulfill biblical prophecy while balancing American national interests. Thus, while he advocated "self-determination" internationally, he was sympathetic to Zionism in Palestine and did not advocate a Palestinian state. In 1937 the British Peel Commission proposed partition as an end to the Mandate. In 1939 the British government's MacDonald White Paper promised an independent state in Palestine and limited Jewish land purchases and immigration. Many American Zionists considered this a violation of their understanding of the Balfour Declaration and pushed harder for a Jewish state, against both British and Arab visions for Palestine's future.

The US State Department prioritized American political and financial interests. However important the question of Jewish refugees in Europe may have been to Jewish Americans, the State Department did not consider immigration from Europe to Palestine to directly affect US national interests and isolation. Therefore, the State Department avoided involvement with the question of Jewish immigration to Palestine even during World War II (1939–1945). During the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to appease Arabs and Zionists, though ultimately neither group was pleased with the president's policies toward Palestine. Roosevelt opposed partition of Palestine. President Harry Truman was influenced in large part by the end of the war and its constraints. Truman supported a Jewish state, partially influenced by his Christian reading of the Bible and the problem of Holocaust survivors who languished in European displacement camps even after the end of World War II.

In 1947, Britain passed responsibility for Palestine to the United Nations (UN), at which point American Zionists supported the partition of Palestine. The United Nations approved partition and a Jewish state. In 1948 Britain withdrew from Palestine, but surrounding Arab states joined local Palestinians in a war against the State of Israel. At the end of the war in 1949, Israel had gained 50 percent more territory than offered in the UN partition plan. Although the State of Israel was established at that point, no Palestinian state was created. Instead, the regions of Palestine not integrated into Israel became integrated with surrounding Arab states: Jordan controlled the West Bank, and Gaza came under Egyptian rule. Palestinians refer to the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 as "the Nakba" (the catastrophe).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the US government supported Israel and did not address the idea of Palestinians as a potential nation-state. Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson considered the United States to have a special affinity with Israel, and their administrations offered aid and diplomatic support to Israel. Kennedy announced that the United States had a "special relationship with Israel in the Middle East" and signed the first arms agreement with Israel in 1962. This idea of a special relationship with Israel influenced American diplomacy throughout the twentieth century, especially the US role in negotiations between the State of Israel and the Palestine national movement, which has increasingly defined Arab identity in the region.

In American politics and popular culture, Palestinians have often been represented as attacking the peaceful democratic State of Israel, especially after the 1967 war. While Jews typically refer to the war as the Six-Day War, Palestinians call it the June War, the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, or "The Setback." Israel launched a preemptive strike against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan as those countries prepared for war against Israel. After the war, Israel occupied territory in the Sinai, Golan Heights, Gaza, and the West Bank (along the Jordan River and Dead Sea, including East Jerusalem and the Western Wall). While Israel did not necessarily intend to continue to occupy the territories, negotiations proved difficult. The United States supported Israel, and six Arab states ceased diplomatic relations with the United States in the wake of the war and failed negotiations. The September 1967 Khartoum Conference led to an Arab resolution of "No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel" that would influence official policies, though not always practical actions, for decades after.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established in 1964, and the Palestinian National Charter was created in 1968. Yasir Arafat, head of the political party Fatah, became chairman of the PLO in 1969. During the late 1960s, some Palestinians turned toward suicide bombing and other violent means to gain political power. The United States labeled the PLO a terrorist organization, and therefore refused to negotiate with the PLO.

Israel fared much worse during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, the United States stepped up negotiations with Syria and Egypt, but not with the PLO. In 1978 the United States (Jimmy Carter), Israel (Menachem Begin), and Egypt (Anwar Sadat) signed the Camp David Accords, which led to a successful treaty between Egypt and Israel and the return of the Sinai to Egypt's governance. President Carter

explicitly asserted Palestinians' need for a homeland and called for mutual recognition between Israel and Palestine. However, successful deals over other territories, including the West Bank and Gaza, did not follow.

During Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Phalangist (right-wing Lebanese Christian) militiamen massacred hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut while Israeli forces surrounded the camps. US Marines arrived in Beirut as part of a multinational peacekeeping force. Jewish and non-Jewish Americans tended to be critical of attempts by Israel to expand geographic limits and of the massacre of Palestinians in refugee camps, although Israelis were not directly responsible.

In December 1987 the Palestinian Intifada (uprising) began in the West Bank and Gaza. The Islamist political party Hamas was founded during the uprising. Jewish Americans continued to respond to events in Palestine-Israel in a variety of ways, including outspoken support of the State of Israel but also an increasing level of criticism of actions toward Palestinians. But in 1988 Arafat recognized Israel's right to exist, and the United States became willing to negotiate with the PLO. Though President Ronald Reagan had not been interested in negotiating with Palestinians, President George H. W. Bush renewed US involvement. In December 1989, some US activists met with the PLO. About three-quarters of Jewish Americans expressed support for these negotiations, though this increased tension among Jews in the United States and Israel.

In the 1993 Oslo Declaration of Principles, Israel and the PLO agreed to mutual recognition. This paved the way for the September 1995 establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. Two months later, an Israeli who opposed these steps toward Palestinian statehood assassinated Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. Thereafter, the Jewish American response became more fragmented, as did Israeli and Palestinian responses.

The United States (Bill Clinton), Israel (Ehud Barak), and Palestine (Yasir Arafat) met in 2000 for the second Camp David summit, though the meeting did not lead to a peace agreement. As the peace process stalled, there was an outbreak of suicide bombings by some Palestinians after 2002. Although negotiations have not ended Israel's authority in the occupied territories, Palestinians have gained some governing powers. Fatah, headed by Mahmoud Abbas after Arafat's death in 2004, was elected in the West Bank, and elections in 2007 placed Hamas in power in Gaza. While some Palestinians see Fatah as corrupt or unable to achieve Palestinian national goals through negotiations with Israel, the increase in Hamas's power has prompted the United States and Israel to negotiate with Fatah. Various peace talks have begun and failed since the beginning of the twenty-first century, a period also punctuated by outbreaks of violence.

SEE ALSO *Islam; Israel; Judaism; League of Nations; Middle East; Treaty of Versailles; United Nations; World War I; Zionism*

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

SEE *Arab-Israeli Conflict; Palestine.*

PALMER, PHOEBE

SEE *Foreign Mission Movement.*

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS

Pan American World Airways, or Pan Am, was the United States' first international airline and the nation's de facto flagship carrier for most of the twentieth century. Although Pan Am is most closely associated with its charismatic longtime president, Juan Terry Trippe (1899–1981), the airline was founded in 1927 by three military officers: Henry "Hap" Arnold and Carl Spaatz of the US Army Air Corps and Jack Jouett of the US Navy. Pan Am's early history illustrates interconnections between military and commercial aviation, and between the United States' strategic and commercial interests. During the mid-1920s, US military leaders had become increasingly concerned about airlines in South America that were financed or managed by German and Austrian émigrés—in particular, the powerful Sociedad Colombo-Alemana de Transportes Aéroes (SCADTA). The prospect of German-run airlines flying in the vicinity of the Panama Canal alarmed US military leaders. To protect the security of the canal—and to uphold the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, which aimed to limit European influence in the Western Hemisphere—

Arnold, Spaatz, and Jouett incorporated Pan American Airways in early 1927 and subsequently received a US Post Office contract for airmail carriage between Miami and Havana.

Later that year, Trippe, a twenty-eight-year-old Yale alumnus and aviation entrepreneur, purchased the start-up airline, using his college connections to secure financial backing from Vanderbilt, Whitney, and Rockefeller scions of fortune. On October 28, 1927, Pan Am inaugurated scheduled airmail flights between Key West and Havana; passenger flights began in January 1928. Nicknamed "the cocktail circuit" because many passengers flew to Cuba to seek relief from Prohibition, this 90-mile (145-kilometer) route was the humble beginning of what would soon become a worldwide aerial empire. When Pan Am purchased fledgling competitor New York, Rio, and Buenos Aires Line (NYRBA) in 1930, it became the United States' exclusive international airline. By 1931, Pan Am's routes encircled the Americas. It inaugurated service across the Pacific in 1935 and across the Atlantic in 1939. Pan Am emerged from World War II (1939–1945) as a truly global airline, connecting the United States to every continent except Antarctica. Even after the Civil Aeronautics Board voted, in late 1945, to dismantle its monopoly on international routes, Pan Am continued for decades to function as the world's most powerful airline.

Some aviation historians have credited Trippe for Pan Am's rapid ascendancy. To be sure, Trippe was a visionary leader; like the railroad barons of the nineteenth century, he was an empire builder who imagined and then created a globe-girdling network of US-operated airways. By hiring expert advisers, such as Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974), investing in the most advanced technologies, and prioritizing passenger service, Trippe made Pan Am into an industry standard-bearer for both safety and luxury in air travel. However, the US government also played an indispensable role in Pan Am's success. Airmail subsidies largely financed its operations during its early decades; State Department assistance secured generous operating concessions from foreign governments. During World War II, Pan Am solidified its close relationship with Washington by serving as a military contractor. In 1940 and 1941 the Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) administration authorized Pan Am to construct or improve airfields throughout Latin America (in order to increase the security of the Western Hemisphere) and to transport Lend-Lease supplies across Africa and the Middle East. Pan Am continued to serve as a military contractor during the Cold War; its Guided Missiles Range Division, for example, obtained air force contracts to manage a 6,000-mile (9,656-kilometer) chain of missile-testing stations from Florida through the Caribbean.