



COLLÈGE
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CONFERENCE

13–14 November 2025

Collège de France - Amphithéâtre Marguerite de Navarre
11 place Marcelin Berthelot, 75005 Paris



Palestine and Europe:
weight of the past
and contemporary dynamics

Scientific Committee

Henry Laurens (Collège de France)

Leila Seurat (CAREP Paris)

François Ceccaldi (Collège de France)
and **Salam Kawakibi** (CAREP Paris)

Cover page:

Map of Palestine during the British Mandate,

The Amjad Ghannam Collection, part of The Palestinian Museum Digital Archives.

Rationale

Since the opening of the so-called “Eastern Question” in the last third of the 18th century, Palestine - with its special status of Holy Land - has emerged as a strategic centre of European international relations.

The decades leading up to the First World War witnessed ongoing struggles for influence among European powers, each representing itself as the legitimate protector of a religious community. While the French and the Russians extended their influence respectively over the Catholic and Orthodox communities, the British offered their protection to the Jews. This historical context paves the way for the emergence of the Zionist movement.

If France was officially recognised as the dominant foreign power in the region, following the Balkan wars, the British would leverage their alliance with the Zionist movement during the First World War to secure a mandate over Palestine.

The British Mandate period was decisive in shaping the two main contemporary actors: the Palestinian national movement and the Zionist movement. Caught between conflicting commitments to both sides, Britain proved incapable of devising a politically viable solution, whether in the form of a unitary Palestinian state, a canton-based division, or a territorial partition. Consequently, the British faced first a Palestinian revolt and later a Jewish insurgency. With veiled intent, they transferred the matter to the United Nations, whose 1947 Partition Plan triggered first a war between Arabs and Zionists, and later, after 15 May 1948, an Arab–Israeli war.

In the protracted conflict that ensued, European states broadly identified with the nascent State of Israel. In the 1950s and 1960s, France and Germany provided the military equipment Israel requested. Nevertheless, Israel’s primary objective was to secure American military support, which only became substantial after the June 1967 war.

Following that conflict, the “Four-Power Talks” brought British and French positions closer together around the principle of withdrawal from

occupied territories in exchange for recognition of the State of Israel. Yet the question of Palestinian national rights remained unresolved. It was in this context that the Euro-Arab dialogue was launched. This dialogue culminated in the Strasbourg Resolution of 1975, which called upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories and to recognise the national rights of the Palestinian people. A subsequent declaration in 1977 advocated for the creation of a homeland for the Palestinian people and marked the first European opposition to the construction of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

Perhaps most significant was the Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980, which called for a just solution and the inclusion of the Palestine Liberation Organization in peace negotiations. Two levels of engagement must be considered: the individual foreign policies of each European state, and the collective action of the European Community, now the European Union—both enmeshed within the intricate dynamics of transatlantic relations. In fact, the EU maintains a strong economic presence in the region, whether through the EU–Israel Association Agreement, which has made Israel the EU’s primary trading partner in the region, or through its financial support for Palestinian institutions under the Oslo process. Nonetheless, Europe remained only an observer during Oslo negotiations. Although it was granted a role within the Quartet framework of the 2000s, it was unable to exert meaningful influence toward a sustainable political solution.

Europe thus finds itself caught between the burden of its colonial and imperial legacies, a cultural identification with Israel, the enduring guilt over the destruction of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War, its extensive economic, technological, and scientific ties with Israel, and the rising outrage among sectors of European public opinion—an outrage increasingly expressed through accusations of apartheid and, today, genocide in the context of the Gaza war.

The central question is whether European states, in their majority, will move to officially recognise the State of Palestine and impose pressure amounting to sanctions on the State of Israel, particularly in the economic realm—or whether these are merely symbolic gestures designed to conceal a profound political impotence rooted in historical legacies and geopolitical commitments.

What remains clear is that Europe, in its entirety, has become one of the major arenas in which the Israeli–Palestinian conflict plays out, especially in the realm of public opinion. In a sense, it is a substantial part of Europe’s own identity—its interpretation of the past and the shaping of its future—that is now at stake.

Detailed Programme

THURSDAY 13 NOVEMBER

- 08:30 Welcome of Participants
- 08:50 **Opening Speech** by **Salam Kawakibi**
Director of the CAREP Paris
- 09:00 **Opening Remarks** by **Henry Laurens**,
Professor at the Collège de France
- 09:30 **Introductory Note** by **Azmi Bishara**, Director
of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies
- 10:00 Coffee Break

10:30 **Panel 1: Zionism as an European Project
of Colonial Expansion**

Chair: Stéphanie Latte-Abdallah, CNRS

As early as the 1830s and 1840s, European colonial ventures in the “Holy Land,” framed as civilizing missions, paved the way for various colonialist movements, including Zionism. This panel aims to reflect on the nature of Zionism and its connection to the European expansionist projects of the 19th century. How should one understand the project of Theodor Herzl? How did it evolve to distinguish itself from European colonialism? To what extent did it align with the interests of the European powers?

Speakers:

Rina Cohen Muller, INALCO:

*The European Powers and Palestine in the 19th Century:
Emergence of a Political Entity?*

Lorenzo Kamel, University of Turin:

On and Beyond Zionism and anti-Zionism.

Michaël Séguin, Saint-Paul University:

*A Decolonial Reinterpretation of Shimon Peres’s Life Narrative:
Zionist Pioneer or European Colonizer?*

12:00

Lunch Break

13:30

Panel 2: The Palestinians under the British Mandate

Chair: Jihane Sfeir, Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

While ambitions to occupy Palestine were longstanding, Great Britain rule over the territory only began during the First World War. This panel revisits the period in which Britain administered Palestine and examines the convergence of interests between British imperialism and the Zionist movement. Drawing on various areas of inquiry—land, resources, population, and coercive practices—it highlights the concrete role played by the British authorities in the gradual dispossession of the Palestinian people.

Speakers:

Michael R. Fischbach, Randolph-Macon College:
How the British Government Facilitated Immigration and Land Purchases.

Elisabeth Davin-Mortier, École polytechnique de Lausanne:
Approaching Mandate Palestine through Techniques and Resources: Water Control as a Case Study.

Abdel Razzaq Takriti, Rice University:
The Betrayal of the Intellectuals: Scholasticide and the Decline of the Western Academy

15:00

Panel 3: European Institutions: A History of Impotence

Chair: François Ceccaldi, Collège de France

Since its institutional inception with the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the European Union has positioned itself as a guarantor of human rights and international law. Beyond this normative posture, it is necessary to analyse the EU's concrete role in the political and diplomatic processes concerning Palestine. After a historical overview contextualising the creation of European institutions, this panel examines the development of EU policies and their effects on Palestinian political actors.

Speakers:

Daniela Huber, Roma Tre University:

The EC/EU in Israel/Palestine: Continuities and Ruptures?

Mandy Turner, Security in Context / International State Crime Initiative—Queen Mary University, London:

*Western Peace-building as Counterinsurgency
in Occupied Palestine.*

Muriel Asseburg, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik:

A Critical Reading of the European Union's Roles in Palestine.

16:30

Coffee Break

17:00

Panel 4: Towards a Harmonisation of European Foreign Policies?

Chair: Muzna Shihabi, CAREP Paris

This panel explores how diplomacy is articulated at both the EU-wide and bilateral levels. It investigates the impact of supranational EU structures on the national foreign policy trajectories of European states—and vice versa. In the background, it aims to contribute to the broader debate on the potential harmonisation of European foreign policies.

Speakers:

Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, Kadir Has University:
*Internal Contestation and Regional Fragmentation:
EU Policy towards the Israel-Palestine Conflict.*

Omran Shroufi, Vrije Universiteit Brussel:
*The development of pro-Israel far-right parties
between 1979 and 2024.*

Isaías Barreñada Bajo, Universidad Complutense de Madrid /
Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales:
*Between Unconditional Support for Israel and Recognition of the
Palestinian State: European Divisions and Their Impact on EU
Decision-Making.*

FRIDAY 14 NOVEMBER

08:30

Welcome of Participants

09:00

Panel 5: Colonial Past, Historical Burdens and Mobilisations for Palestine

Chair: Véronique Bontemps, EHES

The genocide of Europe's Jews is often invoked to explain the enduring support of European states for Israel. This panel critically examines the weight of that historical trauma and places it in dialogue with Europe's colonial past. It further explores the growing popular support for the Palestinian cause within European societies and its influence on the formulation of European foreign policies.

Speakers:

Gilbert Achcar, SOAS:

On the Instrumentalization of the Holocaust in Denying Palestinian Suffering.

Álvaro Oleart, Université libre de Bruxelles:

The Colonial Imaginary of 'Europe' in the EU's support for Israel and the Dehumanisation of Palestinians.

Sune Haugbølle, Roskilde University:

The Emergence of Palestine as a Global Cause and its Echoes Today.

10:30

Panel 6: Networks of Influence and Economic Interests

Chair: Leila Seurat, CAREP Paris

This panel examines the complex and multifaceted entanglements between the European Union, its member states, and Israel. The discussion explores the specific practices that contribute to the perpetuation of the occupation, shedding light on various networks of actors. The first focus is on the role of pro-Israel lobbying groups within EU institutions and their influence on decision-making processes in both the European Parliament and the European Commission. The analysis then turns to the circuits related to arms trade and surveillance technologies, as well as the involvement of European companies operating in the occupied Palestinian territories.

Speakers:

Benedetta Voltolini, King's College London:
Lobby Groups and EU Foreign Policy towards Israel and Palestine.

Shir Hever, Alliance of Justice between Israelis and Palestinians:
Israel and the EU in the Global Arms and Security Industry.

Clara Denis Woelffel, CNRS / University of Strasbourg:
Trade Relations between French and Israeli Companies in the West Bank: Between Economic Interests and Colonial Complicity.

12:00

Lunch Break

13:30

Panel 7: Silencing Palestinian Voices

Chair: Alain Gresh, Orient XXI

The year 2023 has undeniably marked a turning point in the repression of voices supporting Palestine. This panel seeks to situate current developments within the broader historical trajectories of several European countries, notably the United Kingdom and Germany. It aims to make sense of the rupture marked by 7 October, analysing the evolution of repressive mechanisms—both coercive and semantic. How is repression structured, including at the transnational level? Who are the targets, and what arguments are mobilised? The discussion will also connect these dynamics to broader forms of political repression.

Speakers:

Thomas Vescovi, EHESS / Université libre de Bruxelles:
Media and Israeli Public Diplomacy: Foundations of Bias Exemplified by the Coverage of the Gaza War.

Hanna Al-Taher, TU Dresden / Queen Mary University, London:
Resisting the Impossibility of Palestine.

Omar Jabary Salamanca, Université libre de Bruxelles:
When Masks Fall. The European University in the Time of Monsters

15:00

Panel 8: Europe's responsibilities, from the failure of Oslo to the destruction of Gaza

Chair: Emilio Dabed, York University (Toronto)

Starting from the observation of the European Union's failure to uphold its own rules regarding international law and humanitarian law, this final panel sets out an epistemic framework to demonstrate how, in practice, the EU has undermined the two-state solution. By continually circumventing its own stated rules, European leaders have directly violated their own principles, serving particular interests rather than those of the member states or the actors in the region. This gap between discourse and practice has today led to accusations of complicity in genocide, as the EU has failed to respond adequately to the opinions issued by international courts of justice.

Speakers:

Andrea Teti, University of Salerno:

The Price of Alignment: How the EU's Palestine Policy sets Peace Processes up to Fail and Undermines the Modern State.

Sonia Boulos, Nebrija University / CEARC:

From Rhetoric to Complicity:

Europe and the Crisis of International Law in Gaza.

Dimitris Bouris, University of Amsterdam:

The European Union and the Killing of the Two-State Solution.

16:30

Coffee Break

17:00

Closing Debate: How is the question of Palestine reshaping Europe?

Chair: Agnès Levallois, iReMMO

Speakers:

Francesca Albanese, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967

Josep Borrell, President of CIDOB and former EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and former vice president of the European Commission

Dominique de Villepin, Former Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister of France

Biographies of the Speakers

Gilbert Achcar is Professor Emeritus at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. His works include *The Clash of Barbarisms* (2002, 2017); *The Middle East in Turmoil*, with Noam Chomsky (2007); *The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Israeli-Arab War of Narratives* (2009); *The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising* (2013); *The New Cold War: The United States, Russia, and China from Kosovo to Ukraine* (2023); and *Gaza, Foretold Genocide: A Turning Point in World History* (2025).

Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe is a Professor of International Relations and Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Kadir Has University (KHAS). Since 2021, she has also been a Senior Fellow at the Centre in Modern Turkish Studies at Carleton University (Canada), and currently serves as Secretary-General and Governing Board Member of the International Relations Council of Turkey (IRCT). Her research focuses on Security Studies, Transatlantic Relations, EU foreign and neighborhood policies, European integration, and Turkey-EU relations.

Francesca Albanese is the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967. An international lawyer and scholar, she is affiliated with Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of International Migration and serves as Senior Adviser on Migration and Forced Displacement at the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD), where she co-founded the Global Network on the Question of Palestine (GNQP). Author of *Palestinian Refugees in International Law* (2020), she lectures widely on international law and refugee issues.

Dr. **Muriel Asseburg** is a Senior Fellow in the Africa and Middle East Division of SWP, German Institute for International and Security Affairs in Berlin, Germany. Her current research is focused on conflict dynamics and peace-making in the Levant (Israel/Palestine and Syria, in particular); German, European and US Middle East policies; as well as questions of state building, political reform and security in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Isaías Barreñada Bajo is a Professor of International Relations at the Faculty of Political Science and Sociology at the Complutense University of Madrid, and a researcher at the Complutense Institute of International Studies (ICEI). His research focuses on Spanish and European foreign policy, Palestine, and Western Sahara. He has worked in various international fields such as international trade union action, development cooperation, and public diplomacy. He is also the co-director of the Complutense Research Group on the Maghreb and the Middle East (GICMOM).

Arab intellectual, writer, and researcher **Azmi Bishara** has published numerous works in Arabic, English, and French in the fields of political thought, social theory, and philosophy. His research focuses primarily on the state, Arab revolutions, democracy, citizenship, and political Islam. His recent publications include *Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice* (2022), *The Question of the State: An Essay in Philosophy, Theory and Contexts* (2023) and *The Arab State: On Genesis and Trajectory* (2024), originally published in Arabic. He is also the author of *Al-Tufan: al-Harb 'ala Filastin fi Ghazza* (2024), devoted to the war against Gaza.

Véronique Bontemps is an anthropologist and research fellow at CNRS (Iris). Her work focuses on the anthropology of contemporary Palestinian societies in the Middle East, exploring several themes: heritage, borders and inequalities, urban societies, and experiences of illness. She coordinates the seminar "Contemporary Palestinian Experiences and Practices" at EHESS-Paris. She is the author of two books: *City and Heritage in Palestine* (2012) and, with Aude Signoles, *Living under Occupation: Palestinian Daily Life* (2012).

Josep Borrell Fontelles, a Spanish economist and politician, has held senior positions in Spain and within the European Union. Minister of Economy and Finance (1982-1984), then Minister of Public Works, Transport, and Telecommunications (1991-1996), he was a member of parliament until 2003 before becoming President of the European Parliament (2004-2007). Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (2018-2019), he then served as High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, as well as Vice-President of the European Commission (2019-2024). His distinctions include the Legion of Honor, the Spanish Order of Constitutional Merit, and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sun of Peru.

Dr. **Sonia Boulos** is an Associate Professor of International Human Rights Law at the Faculty of Law and International Relations, Antonio de Nebrija University. Her research focuses on the international protection of human rights. Dr. Boulos is the principal investigator of SEGERICO, the Research Group on Security, Risk Management, and Conflict, and a founding member of CEARC (Centro de Estudios Árabes Contemporáneos). She also co-edits *Palestine/Israel Review*.

Dr. **Dimitris Bouris** is an Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair at the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. He is also an Associate Editor of the academic journal *European Security* and a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Natolin). He is the author of *The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories: state-building without a state* (2014) and he has written extensively on issues related to the EU's role in Palestine and Israel. Dimitris' research focuses on critical perspectives to the EU's role as a global actor as well as issues related to international recognition and contested states.

François Ceccaldi, PhD in Political Studies from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), is a researcher at the Chair of Contemporary History of the Arab World at the Collège de France and a lecturer at Sciences Po Paris. His research focuses on power in Palestine and the Arab world, as well as on the evolutions of the Palestinian political system.

Rina Cohen Muller is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO).

Emilio Dabed is a Palestinian-Chilean lawyer and Ph.D. in political science (Sciences Po Aix-en-Provence, France), specializing in constitutional law, international law, and human rights. He is currently Adjunct Professor of International Law at the Arab American University in Palestine. He has taught at Osgoode Hall Law School, York University in Toronto, Columbia Law School, Al-Quds/Bard College, An-Najah University in Nablus, and Diego Portales University in Santiago. His research focuses on the relationship between law, political and social change, identity formation, and the discourse of human rights.

Élisabeth Davin-Mortier, Associate Professor of Contemporary History at Sorbonne University, specializes in environmental and technological history in the Middle East. Her current research examines the history of the eucalyptus in the Mediterranean.

Clara Denis Woelffel is a PHD student in the Department of Sociology at UQÀM. Her thesis topic focuses on the evolution of France's position on its diplomatic and economic relations with Israel and Palestine. Her fieldwork was conducted in France, in collaboration with CERMOM (INALCO, Paris), and in Palestine (Ramallah/Jerusalem), thanks to Birzeit University and IFPO in Jerusalem.

Michael R. Fischbach is Professor of History at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Virginia, U.S.A. Among many other publications he is the author of: *State, Society, and Land in Jordan*; *Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*; *The Peace Process and Palestinian Refugee Claims: Addressing Claims for Property Compensation and Restitution*; *Jewish Property Claims Against Arab Countries*; *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color*; and *The Movement and the Middle East: How the Arab-Israeli Conflict Divided the American Left*. His forthcoming book, *Sirhan Sirhan and the Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy: Depoliticizing Middle Eastern Violence in America*, will come out in 2026.

Alain Gresh is a journalist and the former editor-in-chief of *Le Monde Diplomatique*. He is also the founder of the online publications *Orient XXI* and *Afrique XXI*. He specializes in the Middle East, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, on which he has published several books.

Sune Haugbølle is a Professor in Global Studies at Roskilde University. His work deals with social memory, political culture, revolution, and transnational solidarity in the Middle East with a focus on the Levant. He is the author of *War and Memory in Lebanon* (2010) and several other books, most recently *The Fate of Thirdworldism in the Middle East* (2024). He is editor of *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*.

Dr. **Shir Hever** is a scholar of Israel's occupation, apartheid and arms industry. His PhD is from the Free University of Berlin. He is a member of the Jewish Voice for a Just Peace. His latest book is *The Privatization of Israeli Security* (2017).

Daniela Huber is Assistant Professor in the Political Science Department of Roma Tre University. She is also scientific advisor of the Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa Programme at IAI, which she had led from 2019 to 2022, and co-editor of *The International Spectator*.

Omar Jabary Salamanca is a writer, teacher, and assistant professor of social sciences at the Université libre de Bruxelles. His research focuses on development in colonial contexts and anticolonial solidarity movements. He is also a co-founder of the *Eye On Palestine Arts and Film Festival*.

Lorenzo Kamel is a Professor of History at the University of Turin, where he teaches Global History, Colonial and Postcolonial Studies, Middle Eastern and North African History. Among his authored books are included *Imperial Perceptions of Palestine. British Influence and Power in Late Ottoman Times* (2015), *The Middle East from Empire to Sealed Identities* (2020), and *History Below the Global. On and Beyond the Coloniality of Power in Historical Research*.

Salam Kawakibi is a political scientist and the current Director of CAREP Paris. He previously served as the Deputy Director of the Arab Reform Initiative. From 2009 to 2011, he was a senior researcher at the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Between 2000 and 2006, he headed the French Institute for the Near East (Ifpo) in Aleppo. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the Foundation for the Assembly of Citizens and Citizenesses of the Mediterranean (FACM) and serves on the board of the association The Day After for a democratic Syria. He is also a member of the Advisory Board of the organization Ettijahat – Independent Culture.

Stéphanie Latte Abdallah is a research director at the CNRS (CéSor/EHESS), a political anthropologist and historian, and a specialist in Palestine, the Middle East, and contemporary Arab societies. Her recent research focuses on borders, incarceration, and prisons in Palestine/Israel. Her work also focuses on emerging citizen mobilizations related to alternative economies, autonomy, ecology, and concrete utopias in Palestine and Lebanon. She coordinates the IMAGIN-E research program. Her two latest books are *La toile carcérale. Une histoire de l'enfermement en Palestine* (2021, in English in 2022) and *Des morts en guerre. Rétention des corps et figures du martyr en Palestine* (2022). She co-edited with Véronique Bontemps, *Gaza. Une guerre coloniale* (2025).

Doctor of State and agrégé in history, **Henry Laurens** is recognized as one of the leading specialists on the Middle East. Professor at the Collège de France (holder of the chair in Contemporary History of the Arab World) and at Inalco (National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations), he has also been the director of the Center for Studies and Research on the Contemporary Middle East (CERMOC) in Beirut and later the scientific director of the French Institute of the Near East (Ifpo). Henry Laurens focuses particularly on the study of relations between Israel and the Arab world. In 2004, he received the Joseph du Theil Prize from the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, as well as the Franco-Arab Friendship Prize from the Franco-Arab Solidarity Association. Henry Laurens is the author of numerous works.

Agnès Levallois is a lecturer at the Foundation for Strategic Research, a consultant specializing in the Middle East, and a lecturer at Sciences Po Paris. She is also a Middle East analyst at the General Secretariat for National Defense and head of the Arab and Persian World Office at the Strategic Affairs Delegation of the Ministry of Defense. She was also a journalist before becoming director of news and programming at RMC MO and then deputy editor-in-chief at France 24, responsible for Arabic-language content. She is also a member of the editorial board of the journal *Confluences-Méditerranée*. She is also vice president of iReMMO.

Álvaro Oleart is a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Political Science and Institute for European Studies of the Université Libre de Bruxelles. His research focuses on the relationship between political conflict and democracy through a decolonial lens in the context of the European Union. He is the author of the books: *Framing TTIP in the European Public Spheres: Towards an Empowering Dissensus for EU Integration* (2021) and *Democracy Without Politics in EU Citizen Participation: From European Demoi to Decolonial Multitude* (2023).

Michaël Séguin is an Assistant Professor and Director of the School of Leadership, Ecology, and Equity at Saint Paul University (Canada). His work focuses on the evolution of political Zionism as a colonial movement, implicit Islamophobia experienced by Muslim managers in Quebec, and diversity management policies and practices within Canadian universities and community organizations. He has published in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, *Canadian Journal of*

Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, Ad Machina, Politique et sociétés, Revue internationale de cas en gestion, Sociologie et sociétés, Recherches qualitatives, and Cahiers d'histoire.

Leila Seurat is a researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Political Studies in Paris (CAREP Paris). She defended her doctoral thesis at the Paris Institute of Political Studies in 2014 under the supervision of Bertrand Badie. Her book, *Hamas and the World* (2015), is based on her thesis and was published in an updated English edition in 2022. She is also the author, with Jihane Sfeir, of *Arab Political Writings* (CNRS, 2022) and she recently contributed to the book *Gaza, une guerre coloniale* (2025).

Jihane Sfeir is a Professor at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), historian of the contemporary Arab world, and researcher at the Centre for Research in International Politics (REPI) and at the Observatory of Arab and Muslim Worlds (OMAM) at ULB. Her publications include, with L. Seurat, *Écrits politiques arabes – Une anthologie du Machrek au Maghreb au xx^e siècle* (2022); with C. Jungen, *Archiver au Moyen-Orient. Fabriques documentaires contemporaines* (2019); and *L'exil palestinien au Liban : le temps des origines 1947–1952* (2008).

Muzna Shihabi is Communications Development Manager at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies of Paris (CAREP Paris). A former advisor to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Ramallah, she works at the intersection of media, advocacy, and intellectual production. Her areas of expertise include political narratives in the context of conflict, exile, and resistance, as well as issues of memory and representation related to the Palestinian question.

Omran Shroufi is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Omran completed his PhD in Politics at the University of York where he examined the emergence of pro-Israeli far right parties in West Europe. He is also currently working on a book on this topic to be published with Manchester University Press. His research interests include far right studies, far right ideology, German politics as well as populism and anti-populism.

Hanna Al-Taher is a researcher, writer and lecturer in Political Theory and the History of Ideas at the Technologic University of Dresden.

She is also Research Associate at Queen Mary University of London, School of Politics and International Relations.

Abdel Razzaq Takriti is a Palestinian historian teaching at Rice University, where he holds the Arab-American Educational Foundation Chair in Arab Studies. He is an expert on revolutions, state formation, and anti colonialism in Palestine and the broader Arab Mashriq. He is currently writing a history of the Palestinian anticolonial struggle. He is the co-author, with Karma Nabulsi, of *The Palestinian Revolution* digital humanities project (2016), and the author of *Monsoon Revolution: Republicans, Sultans, and Empires in Oman* (2013).

Andrea Teti is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Salerno, Italy, and Associate Editor of *Middle East Critique*. He is a recognised expert in EU-MENA relations, democratisation, authoritarianism, and on the politics of knowledge production in Social Science and on the Middle East. He is lead author of *The Arab Uprisings in Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia* (2018) and *Democratization Against Democracy: How EU Policy Fails the Middle East* (2020).

Mandy Turner is an independent writer and a research associate with Security in Context, the International State Crime Initiative at Queen Mary University of London, and the development and humanitarian think tank ODI. Her work focuses on the political economy of conflict and peace, humanitarianism, multilateralism, and the situation in Israel and Palestine. Her most recent book is *From the River to the Sea: Palestine and Israel in the Shadow of 'Peace'* (2019; Arabic edition, 2024).

Thomas Vescovi is PhD student in Political Science and Studies, jointly supervised by the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and the Université libre de Bruxelles. He is also a member of the Observatoire des Mondes Arabes et Musulmans (OMAM) at the ULB. He is the author of *La mémoire de la nakba en Israël. Le regard de la société israélienne sur la tragédie palestinienne* (2015) and *L'Échec d'une utopie. Une histoire des gauches en Israël* (2021). He recently contributed to the book *Gaza, une guerre coloniale* (2025). Finally, he is co-founder and member of the editorial board of the research collective *Yaani*.

A graduate of Sciences Po Paris and the École nationale d'administration (ENA), **Dominique de Villepin** started his diplomatic career in 1984. He served as Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic in 1995 under Jacques Chirac. He was then appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs (2002-2004), Minister of the Interior (2004-2005) and Prime Minister (2005-2007). His stance against the war in Iraq in 2003, particularly his speech at the UN, brought him international renown. After his political career, he became a lawyer at the Paris Bar in 2008, opening a law firm specializing in international affairs. He is also a writer, publishing works on history and politics.

Benedetta Voltolini is Senior Lecturer in European Foreign Policy at King's College London. Her research interests include lobbying, framing and memory in foreign policy, with a focus on EU foreign policy towards the Middle East and North Africa. Her work has appeared, among others, in *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Mediterranean Politics* and *Geopolitics*. She is also the author of *Lobbying in EU foreign policy-making: The case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict* (2016).



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