

observed, "has given a great feeling of solidarity to all the Arabs, and perhaps not least, has given a convincing practical demonstration of the power of the rebels over the people" (Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St. Anthony's College, Oxford). The U.S. Consul General at Jerusalem, writing the Secretary of State on September 6, asserted that, excepting religious dignitaries, not one in 100, including Municipal Councilors, wealthy merchants, Government clerks, chauffeurs and porters, had failed to adopt the "national headdress." He also reports an American merchant's claim that 20,000 *kufiyas* were sold in Jerusalem and perhaps three times as many were shipped to the provinces within a week of the order (National Archives, Washington, D.C., 867 N.01/1147).

⁸Communiqué signed by 'Arif 'Abd al-Raziq, September 4, 1938, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, S/25/4960.

⁹Memo enclosed in Consul General Jerusalem to Secretary of State, Sept. 19, 1938, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 867 N.4016/64.

¹⁰Public Records Office, London, C.O.733/372/4.

¹¹According to a British report on the High Commissioner's meeting with a deputation from the Nashashibi-led National Defense party in May 1939, "All [7] members . . . wore the tarbush, except [Abd-el-Fattah Darwish]" (Israel State Archives, Box 2, X/1/39, C.O. correspondence to High Commissioner regarding Annual Report, 1939).

¹²Sirhan notes that rebels forced *tarbush* wearers to don the *hatta* but discounts class difference within Palestinian society. For instance, he asserts that there was little to distinguish the clothing of a rich man from that of a poor man except the quality of fabric (1989: 640; 643).

¹³Poets and novelists like Mahmud Darwish, Samih al-Qasim, and Ghassan Kana-fani had symbolically linked the peasant to the Palestinian national struggle in the early 1960s.

¹⁴Accounts of Palestinian youths shot dead merely for being "masked" are found in Vitullo (1989a; 1989b) and Rabbani (1990).

¹⁵*Kufiyas* seem to be sold primarily in shops owned by South Asian immigrants, whose opinions about Middle Eastern politics diverge from the Palestine U.S. mainstream.

¹⁶Paul Gilroy writes that when Africans were "detached from an identifiable location in space and time" and became "Negro" slaves in the West, where they were located but not organically of, they acquired the "double vision" required by a subordinate position (1990: 279–80). Du Bois describes the African-American's "double-consciousness" as the "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others" and feeling of one's "twoness" as "an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings" (1969: 45). I propose a double vision that learns from the subaltern sense of "twoness" and deliberately blurs mono-vision.

¹⁷One could also track the *kufiya* elsewhere; to North Africans in France who wear it as a badge of ethnic identity; to African-American communities where solidarity with Palestinians is not unacceptable (3,000 African-American soldiers stationed in the Gulf reportedly converted to Islam [information from Lata Mani]); to Arab-American communities, etc.

¹⁸Thanks to Ruth Frankenberg for this formulation.

¹⁹By October 1991, 91 Palestinians had been killed by the teargas that Israeli soldiers often (illegally) toss indoors in attempts to suppress the intifada. An unknown number of pregnant women have aborted after teargas attacks. Federal Laboratories Company, owned by Trans-Technology, is the largest supplier of tear-