

PSC/MES/REL/JSP 342
FALL 2014
Politics and Religion in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Syracuse University
Professor Miriam F. Elman

Eggers Hall 010
Tuesday and Thursday 3:30-4:50

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Course Description

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the world's most contested and protracted conflicts.

- How much does religion matter in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?
- Is religion at the root of the conflict?
- What are the implications of a 'secular' peace process?
- Can religion be a force for peace between Israelis and Palestinians?

This course considers these questions from a cross-disciplinary approach that considers scholarship across the social sciences and humanities, including work by political scientists, religious studies scholars, journalists and media experts, sociologists, and scholars of peace studies and conflict resolution.

In the first part of the course, we will look at the ways in which religion and politics are depicted in overviews of the conflict. We will examine how contested Israeli/Jewish and Palestinian/Arab religious and political narratives have impeded conflict resolution.

In the second part of the course, we will examine the core political and religious issues that undergird the intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including Israel's settlement project, the controversy over Jerusalem's future, the refugee problem, and incitement to violence.

In the third part of the course, we will consider the origins and nature of religiously and politically motivated violence in Israel and Palestine and the dilemmas of peacemaking. Specifically, we will consider what lessons the demise of the Oslo peace process in the 1990s offers for today's peacemaking efforts, and how terrorism and counter-terrorism strategies have undermined the search for peace. We will also discuss the latest Israel-Hamas war and will consider the prospects for the conflict's resolution in 2015.

This course is not intended to be an introduction to the Israeli-Palestinian or Israeli-Arab conflicts. While an introductory overview of the conflicts will be offered at the beginning of the semester, students are expected to have a basic familiarity with the subject. In order to do well in the class, students who are unfamiliar with the basic contours of the conflicts will need to read some background material in addition to the required texts for the course.

Course Goals and Learning Outcomes

The goal of this course is to provide students with a good working knowledge of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one of the most contentious ethno-religious conflicts of our time. A secondary goal is to expose students to the various ways in which religion and politics intermix in general in social conflicts, and specifically within the contours of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Upon completing the course, students will be able to:

- ☐ Read and assess printed and visual information on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from a more informed and critical perspective;
- ☐ Apply the dynamics and intersection of religion and politics to other ethno-religious conflicts that they may study in other courses;
- ☐ Better understand the origins of ethno-religious conflicts and why they are often so intractable;
- ☐ Write and present their opinions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a more informed and critical manner than they could do prior to taking the course.

Prerequisites

There are no prerequisites for the course. However, students are expected to have some background in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is **highly recommended** that students who are unfamiliar with the basic contours of the conflict read the following book during the first week of the semester (the book can be purchased at the SU bookstore):

- ☐ T.G. Fraser, *The Arab Israeli-Conflict* (Palgrave, 3rd edition, 2008)

In addition to this book, there are many other good introductions to the conflict. If you have not covered the conflict in other Middle Eastern Studies courses, consider reading one or more such books during the semester (please see me or the TA for suggested titles).

In order to maximize the chances of doing well in the course, students who lack a basic familiarity with the conflict will need to make a special effort to keep up with the introductory readings and discussions in the first weeks of class.

Required Readings

The reading requirements for this class are commensurate with an upper-division course. Students must be prepared to read and discuss a number of scholarly articles and book chapters per week. This is in addition to various handouts that will be distributed in class. You are expected to do the required reading in advance and to come prepared to discuss it in class.

- ➔ Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).
Available for purchase at the SU bookstore.
- ➔ Miriam Fendius Elman, Oded Haklai, and Hendrik Spruyt, editors, *Democracy and Conflict Resolution: the Dilemmas of Israel's Peacemaking* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014) Available for purchase at the SU bookstore.
- ➔ Journal articles, book chapters, and opinion editorials listed on the syllabus.

A large portion of the required readings for the course are available online through Bird Library's E-Journals. Students should familiarize themselves with using the library system to access the required journal articles.

Note: in cases where a reading is not available online from Bird Library, it will be scanned as a PDF file and uploaded to the course Blackboard in advance. These readings are designated "ON BLACKBOARD" on the syllabus.

In order to conserve paper, you are not required to print out the readings as hard copies. However, you SHOULD take notes on the readings and bring these with you to class. You will be allowed to reference your typed or hand-written notes to the readings during the in-class reading quizzes (see below).

- ➔ Class handouts.

I frequently distribute handouts in class. These include copies of opinion editorials from newspapers, and web-based materials such as blog entries. All materials handed out in class are required reading and should be referenced, where appropriate, in your Midterm Exam essays, and in your Final Exam essays or in your research paper.

In the event of an absence from class, you are responsible for obtaining copies of these handouts from the course TA.

Supplemental Readings

The syllabus includes required readings. Although I will refer to recommended literature in class, you are only obligated to read the material designated on this syllabus.

Graded Written Assignments

4 in-class reading 'pop' quizzes —20 points, 5 points each

2 midterm exam essays (5-7 pages each, double spaced)—40 points

2 final exam essays (5-7 pages each, double spaced)—40 points

OR

Independent research paper (10-12 pages, double spaced)—40 points

These written assignments will encourage you to critically assess published material related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; to think independently and form your own views about the nature of this protracted conflict; and to write about the conflict in ways that reflect its multi-faceted nature.

Midterm Exam Essays—due on Tuesday October 14
(40 points of final grade)

Turn in the exam at the start of class. If you cannot make it to class, you must submit the paper by 3:30pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers Hall. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

I prefer not to receive papers via email, unless there is an emergency situation that prevents you from being on campus on the due date.

Late papers will be marked down.

Two essays, each roughly 5 to 7 pages long in text; 12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins.

Answer **two essay questions** based on the material from Weeks 2 through 7.
Students will receive the essay questions on Tuesday, September 30.

The essay should draw on all the relevant materials presented thus far in the course (including the required readings; class notes; power points; handouts; etc.).

In the essay, lengthy summaries of the readings should be avoided. You will not be required to draw on material outside of the required course readings. However, appropriate citation and footnoting is expected.

4 in-class pop-quizzes (covering the reading only)
(20 points each of final grade, 5 points each)

On various weeks during the semester, there will be 6 pop quizzes with questions that are based solely on the required readings that appear on the syllabus for that week. The quizzes will always be administered at the start of a Tuesday class, before we have discussed the readings for that particular week. I anticipate that the quizzes should take no longer than 20-30 minutes of class time. **(Note: three pop-quizzes will be administered between Week 3 to Week 7, and an additional three between Week 8 through 12).**

You will be graded on 4 quizzes. You can choose to do only four (and skip the other two), or you can do all six and your final grade for this assignment will be calculated by using your 4 highest quiz grades.

Each pop quiz will have several questions requiring short answers. These questions will address the central arguments of the readings for the week. Each quiz will also include a “Bonus” question for extra points that will require further analysis beyond a summary of the reading.

In order to prepare for these quizzes, you should read the required material and take good notes on them. Address the following question in your notes:

- 1) What is the central claim/argument that the author is making?
- 2) What evidence does the author use to bolster his or her central claim?
- 3) What alternative or competing arguments or claims does the author criticize or attempt to refute?
- 4) How does the author ‘set up’ the article or book chapter? What are the key sections and subsections?
- 5) What are some key sentences in the reading that convey the author’s central argument? (Write these down in your notes, and reference them in the quiz)

To answer the “Bonus” question on the quiz, you should read the required material and address the following questions in your notes:

- 1) How do the readings for the week relate to each other? How are they similar—or different?
- 2) Can you critique one reading by using the central claims and/or evidence from another reading for the week?
- 3) What are the problems with the readings for the week, if any? Are any of them problematic in terms of the theoretical claims made, or in terms of the evidence presented?

During the quizzes, you may reference your notes on the readings. However, you will not be allowed to use hard copies of the readings. **Note: the quizzes will be monitored closely; students caught cheating on this assignment will face penalties!**

Optional: if you wish, you may turn in your notes to the readings (up to 3 pages only) along with each quiz.

Final Exam Essays—due on Thursday, December 11
(40 points of final grade)

On or before December 11 turn in your final exam by 4:00pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers Hall. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery. (In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

I prefer not to receive papers via email, unless there is an emergency situation that prevents you from being on campus on the due date.

Late papers will be marked down.

Two essays, each roughly 5 to 7 pages long in text; 12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins.

Answer **two essay questions** based on the material from Weeks 8 through 15. Students will receive the essay questions on Thursday, November 20.

The essay should draw on all the relevant materials presented thus far in the course (including the required readings; class notes; power points; handouts; etc.). In the essay, lengthy summaries of the readings should be avoided. You will not be required to draw on material outside of the required course readings. However, appropriate citation and footnoting is expected.

OR

Independent Research Paper—due on Thursday, December 11

Topic, research question/s, brief outline and bibliography (1-2 pages) due on Thursday, November 20 at the start of class. (Note: students who do not turn in this assignment will not be allowed to do the research paper and will instead be required to complete the Final Exam).

On or before Thursday, December 11, turn in the paper by 4:00pm to the Department of Political Science in 100 Eggers Hall. Be sure to have the Department staff sign and mark the time of delivery.

As with other assignments for the course, please do not submit the paper via email.

(In order to avoid having your paper misplaced, please do not stick it under my office door!).

Late papers will be marked down.

If you choose to do the research paper instead of the Final Exam, you should select a topic early in the semester, from one of those covered on the syllabus, for further investigation. You may also select a topic off the syllabus. Suggestions for other paper topics will be provided early in the semester.

Your paper should read like a literature review of the topic you have chosen. Using a variety of outside sources, you should:

- ☐ examine the topic you select from diverse viewpoints (for example, include both “Israeli” and “Palestinian” sources and viewpoints);
- ☐ discuss controversies in the literature;
- ☐ consider how the various sources differ in their coverage of the topic; in their analysis of it; and in their policy recommendations; and
- ☐ offer your own argument and opinion regarding the topic selected.

You must also relate the discussion to the material we have covered in class (via in-text discussion and citation to relevant materials)—do not try to submit a paper prepared for another course! Note: I keep a file of research papers from prior semesters—do not try to cheat by plagiarizing other students’ work!

Student papers will be evaluated according to how well they meet the above criteria, as well as the quality (breadth and depth) of the research and the materials used.

The paper should be roughly 12-14 pages long (12 point font; double spaced; reasonable margins). Be sure to include a complete References Cited page, along with complete entries for internet sources.

Further guidelines to writing the independent research paper will be provided later in the semester. As a general guide, and depending on the topic, students should select for their research:

- (a) 1 book. Ideally this will be published by a university press. If not a university press, the book must be from a publication imprint that requires academic peer review. The book selected may be single-authored or edited.
- (b) 1-2 journal articles. These articles must be from scholarly journals that require academic peer review.

- (c) 1-2 reports from think tanks, NGOs, or other policy-oriented organizations. It is acceptable to choose materials that are available for on-line viewing only.
- (d) 3-4 blog posts. Blog posts selected should not be from an individual's home page, and should be written by a recognized expert in security studies (e.g., university faculty member; research analyst at a think tank, NGO, etc.). It is permissible to include blog posts that are compiled by a think tank, NGO, or university center/research institute.
- (e) 3-4 opinion-editorials from newspapers of record. While it will depend on the topic, the newspaper op-eds should be from U.S., Israeli, and Palestinian/Arab sources. Op-eds from on-line news-journalism sources are also acceptable. Include op-eds by recognized scholarly experts, practitioners, and policymakers.

All sources for this paper should be published after 2000 and should be in the English language (translations are permissible). A suggested list of sources will be provided later in the semester.

Grading Distribution

<u>Assignment worth 20 points</u>		<u>Assignments worth 40 points</u>	
19-20 points—	A	38-40 points—	A
17-18—	A-	35-37—	A-
15-16—	B+	32-34—	B+
13-14—	B	29-31—	B
11-12—	B-	26-28—	B-
9-10—	C+	23-25—	C+
7-8—	C	20-22—	C
5-6—	C-	17-19—	C-
3-4—	D	14-16—	D
<3—	Fail	<14	Fail

Final Grade Written (see below for additional credit for participation, etc.)

91-100 points—	A
81-90—	A-
71-80—	B+
61-70—	B
51-60—	B-
41-50—	C+
31-40—	C
21-30—	C-
11-20—	D
<10—	Fail

Class Participation

Although there will be frequent lectures on the material, this course will include class discussions centered on the weekly readings, occasional films and media clips, and handouts. Participation will be monitored and recorded during each class.

In a large class with over 60 students enrolled, it is difficult to run the kind of class discussions that can be expected in a small seminar. Nevertheless, 5 regularly scheduled small group discussions on the weekly topics will be facilitated (see below).

It is expected that students will have read MOST of the materials assigned for each week. Please do not attempt to “wing it” during class discussions, as this will be painfully obvious.

There are multiple means of participating and earning participation credit:

Students can receive participation credit by speaking up in class and by submitting short (no more than a paragraph) **hand-written comments** on the class discussion.

To receive participation credit for a given class, these written comments must be submitted at the end of that class period. Emails, or comments turned in at a later class, will not be counted. (Note: there is no need to turn in a written comment after every class; consider these commentaries as serving in lieu of your speaking during class).

By far the best way of achieving participation credit is to engage wisely and often in the **classroom group discussions and debates**.

There are also several regularly scheduled **small group discussions** throughout the semester listed on the syllabus (the group discussions will take place on Thursdays as we complete the week’s topic).

In order to receive participation credit for the small group discussions, you must turn in the handout distributed for that group assignment. (Note: You need not turn in the handout for every group discussion).

Students are not penalized for lack of class participation. In the case of little to no class participation, final grades will be based solely on written work. However, effective participation will earn you credit toward your final grade, typically raising it beyond what it would have been based on your scores for your written work.

Attendance

Students who are regularly absent from class should bear in mind that they will be missing a considerable amount of material needed to do well in the course.

As an advanced undergraduate course, it is important that students attend class regularly. **Students will be allowed to miss no more than 3 classes.** Students should be aware that if they miss more than 3 classes—for whatever reason—they are unlikely to do very well in the course. **Missing more than 3 classes without cause (see below) will result in a lowering of your final grade.**

(Note: Please pay attention to whether you were absent on the day of a pop-quiz so that you can be sure to complete 4 quizzes by the end of the semester).

You do not need to notify me about absences within the 3 class limit. However, if religious observance, protracted illness, university intramurals, or other emergencies put your absences over the limit please do keep me informed. In those cases, I am likely to request official documentation so that you may be excused for prolonged absences from class.

Note: Students who miss class are responsible for the material covered, including any instructions and information relating to course assignments. Power points presented during class will be posted on the course Blackboard. However, it is not feasible to post handouts online. Students who miss more than one class should check in with the TA during office hours to pick up any handouts that they may have missed.

I typically bring to class handouts that were distributed during the previous week; after that, copies of handouts must be picked up from the TA—do not come to my office hours just to collect class handouts!.

Extra Credit

Students who faithfully attend classes each week, and who productively contribute to the classroom discussion, and to the small group discussions, will earn extra points toward their final course grade (this can amount to an extra $\frac{1}{2}$ and, in exceptional cases, a full grade).

I also often assign extra credit when a student exhibits marked improvement in his/her written work; shows remarkable engagement with the material and the course; and/or attends extra credit events.

Students can earn extra credit by attending campus events related to the course, which are sponsored by academic units on campus. I will determine which campus events are relevant to the course and whether they have been vetted and endorsed by SU academic programs.

Extra credit for attendance at these events will be given depending on the amount of time involved. To receive credit for attending an event, submit a short (no more than one page) commentary describing what you learned and how it related to the course. This must be received no later than one week after the event.

Classroom Etiquette

This course touches on controversial topics and material. The course is set up to encourage a dialogue about contentious political, religious, and cultural issues.

Although students do not have to agree with everything they see, hear, or read (or agree with each other) as a group we do need to respect the scholarship and materials presented, and the opinions of fellow classmates. Various viewpoints and perspectives will be highlighted during the course; that is, the course is neither pro-Israeli, pro-Palestinian, pro-Jewish, pro-Christian, or pro-Muslim. Rather, the course attempts to represent the beliefs and viewpoints of multiple sides.

All opinions will be considered, except for those that are based on false information or which constitute ‘hate speech’. This classroom must be a space free of harassment, and in which we can dialogue civilly with each other from a position of mutual respect. Please bear in mind that class disruptions and/or personal attacks will not be tolerated. Students who disrupt the class, who use inappropriate language, who ‘hog’ the floor with rants or diatribes, or who fail to display appropriate classroom etiquette will be asked to withdraw from the course.

Students are expected to be engaged in the topic and in the material for the week. Reading the newspaper, using electronic devices, sleeping, or chatting with friends will not be tolerated.

Laptop Use

Unless absolutely necessary, I do not allow laptop use in class. Typing tends to be highly disruptive to classmates and the temptation to surf the web, check email etc. is too great! Please plan to take class notes by hand. You should bring notes on the readings to class, or bring in a hard copy of the readings, if you prefer.

Academic Integrity

The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the Policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about instructor and general academic expectations with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. The policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities.

Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>

Disability-Related Accommodations

Syracuse University and I are committed to your success and to supporting Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. This means that in general no individual who is otherwise qualified shall be excluded from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity, solely by reason of having a disability.

You are also welcome to contact me privately to discuss your academic needs although I cannot arrange for disability-related accommodations.

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call (315) 443-4498 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Recording, Videotaping, and Distributing Course Materials

Recording and/or videotaping any portion of the class lectures or discussions is prohibited. You may of course share class notes with other enrolled students. Statements made by me, the TA, or enrolled students may not otherwise be disseminated in any form or format. Materials distributed for classroom use are copyrighted and may not be disseminated either online or via hard copy without permission. Class lectures and power points are copyrighted to Miriam F. Elman and may not be further distributed.

Incompletes and Make-Ups

Make-ups will be given only in exceptional circumstances and only when the student can provide documentation of an illness or some other serious cause for failing to turn in an assignment at the scheduled time.

An Incomplete for the course will only be given in exceptional circumstances (a documented illness or other documented circumstance beyond the student's control). Students will only be given an Incomplete if they have been doing passing work during the semester.

Course Outline

Part I: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Clashing Narratives

Week 1: Course Introduction

Tuesday, August 26: Syllabus Review

No readings

Thursday, August 28: Facts and Stats

No readings

Week 2: Assessing Overviews of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Religion and/or Politics?

Readings for Week 2:

Alan Doty, concluding chapter in *Democracy and Conflict Resolution*

Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, *Bringing Religion Into International Relations* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), chapter 7, pp. 137-162 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Michael Walzer, "The Four Wars of Israel/Palestine," *Dissent* (Fall 2002): 26-33 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Topics for Week 2:

Tuesday, September 2: "Periodizing" the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Thursday, September 4: The Case Against Periodization

Week 3: The Israeli Narrative

Readings for Week 3:

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 2

S. Ilan Troen, "Israeli Views of the Land of Israel/Palestine," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer 2013): 100-114

Daniel Bar-Tal, Tamar Magal and Eran Halperin, "The Paradox of Security Views in Israel: a Social-Psychological Explanation," in Oren Barak and Gabriel Sheffer, eds., *Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations* (Lexington Books, 2009) **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Topics for Week 3:

Tuesday, September 9: The Attachment to Zion

Thursday, September 11: The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem

Week 4: The Palestinian Narrative

Readings for Week 4:

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 3

B. Doumani, "Palestine vs. the Palestinians? The Iron Laws and Ironies of a People Denied," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Summer 2007): 49-64

Said Zeedani, "Recognition of the Other and His Past," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer 2013): 148-155

Nadine Epstein, "Mohammed Dajani Daoudi: Evolution of a Moderate," *Moment*, July/August 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Topics for Week 4:

Tuesday, September 16: Displacement and Erasure

Thursday, September 18: Small group discussion

- ☐ How do the competing Israeli and Palestinian narratives make it difficult to resolve the conflict?
- ☐ Is a reconciled narrative a necessary condition for a lasting and just peace? How can a common narrative be achieved, if at all?
- ☐ If the narratives should not (or cannot) be reconciled, how can decision makers and societal actors ensure that these opposing narratives do not stymie conflict resolution efforts?

Part II: The Core Issues: Politics and Religion

Week 5: Israel's Settlements and the Contested/Occupied Territories (I)

Readings for Week 5:

Michael Oren, "The Revelations of 1967: New Research on the Six Day War and Its Lessons for the Contemporary Middle East," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2

Ehud Eiran, chapter in *Democracy and Conflict Resolution*

Topics for Week 5:

Tuesday, September 23: The Emergence of the Settlement Project

Thursday, September 25: NO CLASS

(OPTIONAL: meet with the course TA to address any concerns)

Week 6: Israel's Settlements and the Contested/Occupied Territories (II)

Readings for Week 6:

Samantha M. Shapiro, "The Unsettlers," *The New York Times Magazine* (February 16, 2003): 42-48 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Ari Shavit, *My Promised Land: the Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (New York: Spiegel and Grau, 2013), chapter 8 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Ronald R. Krebs, "Israel's Bunker Mentality: How the Occupation is Destroying the Nation," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (November/December 2011): 10-18

Topics for Week 6:

Tuesday, September 30: The Settler Mindset

Thursday, October 2: The Settlers as "Peace Spoilers"

Week 7: Israel's Settlements and the Contested/Occupied Territories (III)

Readings for Week 7:

Hendrik Spruyt, chapter in *Democracy and Conflict Resolution*

Jonathan Rynhold and Dov Waxman, "Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement From Gaza," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 123, No. 1 (2008): 11-37

Jordana Brown, "It's Been 9 Years," *The Jewish Press* (jewishpress.com), August 11, 2014
(ON BLACKBOARD)

Gilead Sher and Liran Ofek, "Dividing the Land, Not the People: Lessons from the Givat HaUlpana and Migron Evacuations," *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (January 2013): 37-51 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Topics for Week 7:

Tuesday, October 7: The Gaza Withdrawal and the Dilemmas of Disengagement

Thursday, October 9: Small group discussion

- ☐ If the settlers make up less than 8% of the Israeli population, why do they have so much power to influence policy and outcomes?
- ☐ Should stopping and rolling back settlements be the central focus of ongoing peace talks?
- ☐ If the settlers became 'stakeholders' in the peace process, would they be less likely to spoil it?
- ☐ How should Israel's government and Israeli society deal with the radical religious settler community? What is the best means of moderating these groups, if at all?

Week 8: Jerusalem

Readings for Week 8:

Yitzhak Reiter, "Narratives of Jerusalem and its Sacred Compound," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer 2013): 115-132

Rashid Khalidi, "The Centrality of Jerusalem to an End of Conflict Agreement," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Spring 2001): 82-87

Dallen Timothy and Chad Emmett, "Jerusalem, Tourism, and the Politics of Heritage," in Madelaine Adelman and Miriam F. Elman, editors, *Jerusalem: Conflict and Cooperation in a Contested City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014) **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Gregg Carlstrom, "Siege Mentality," *Foreignpolicy.com*, July 8, 2014

Topics for Week 8:

Tuesday, October 14: Sacred and Secular Dimensions of the “Jerusalem Problem”

Thursday, October 16: The Future of Jerusalem’s Contested Communities

Week 9: The Refugee Problem

Readings for Week 9:

Ari Shavit, “Lydda 1948,” *The New Yorker*, October 21, 2013 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Mordechai Bar-On, “Remembering 1948: Personal Recollections, Collective Memory, and the Search for ‘What Really Happened’,” in Benny Morris, editor, *Making Israel* (University of Michigan Press, 2007), pp. 29-46 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch, “From Taboo to the Negotiable: the Israeli New Historians and the Changing Representation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 2007): 241-258

Topics for Week 9:

Tuesday, October 21: The Palestinian Refugees

Thursday, October 23: Small Group Discussion

- ☐ Can the refugee problem be ‘solved’? What would be the contours of such a resolution?
- ☐ Will it be possible for the Palestinians to “forgive, forget, and move on”—does it matter what really happened nearly 70 years ago?
- ☐ How much does it matter that Israelis are increasingly acknowledging (some degree) of Zionist culpability for the *Naqba*?
- ☐ What do Palestinians or other actors have to do, if anything, to solve the ‘refugee problem’—or does the responsibility lie entirely with Israel?

Week 10: Incitement

Readings for Week 10:

Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), chapter 8, pp. 244-285, 338-341
(ON BLACKBOARD)

Daniel Byman and Natan Sachs, "The Rise of Settler Terrorism: the West Bank's Other Violent Extremists," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 5 (September/October 2012): 73-86

David Pollock, "Time to End Palestinian Incitement," *Fathom*, September 13, 2013
(<http://www.fathomjournal.org>)

Arnon Groiss, "De-Legitimation of Israel in Palestinian Authority Schoolbooks," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (July 2012): 455-484

Jonathan Schanzer, "The Teenagers' Revolt," *ForeignPolicy.com*, July 8, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Topics for Week 10:

Tuesday, October 28: Israeli Incitement

Thursday, October 30: Palestinian Incitement

Part III: An Elusive Peace: the Dilemmas of Peacemaking

Week 11: The Demise of the Oslo Peace Process, 1993-2000

Readings for Week 11:

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapter 6

Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn 2001): 31-46

Dov Waxman, chapter in *Democracy and Conflict Resolution*

Topics for Week 11:

Tuesday, November 4: Religion and Politics in Oslo's Collapse

Thursday, November 6: Oslo's Lessons for the Current Peace Process

Week 12: Hamas

Readings for Week 12:

As'ad Ghanem, "Palestinian Nationalism: an Overview," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer 2013): 11-29

Meir Litvak, "The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: the Case of Hamas," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 1998): 148-163

Mia Bloom, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (2004): 61-88

Jeffrey Goldberg, "What Would Hamas Do If It Could Do Whatever It Wanted?" *The Atlantic* (theatlantic.com), August 2014

Menachem Klein, "Why Is Hamas Still Popular?" *i24news*, August 12, 2014

A.B. Yehoshua, "Israel Needs to Stop Calling Hamas a Terrorist Organization," *New Republic*, August 13, 2014

Topics for Week 12:

Tuesday, November 11: The Rise of Hamas

Thursday, November 13: Hamas: Terrorist Organization, Resistance Movement, Political Party, Governing Authority

Week 13: The Israel-Hamas War, summer 2014

Readings for Week 13:

(Read 2 to 3 selections from each category below)

Origins and Causes

J. J. Goldberg, "How Politics and Lies Triggers an Unintended War in Gaza," *Forward.com*, July 10, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Henry Siegman, "Israel Provoked This War," *Politico Magazine (politico.com)*, July 22, 2014

Michael Herzog, "A War We Didn't Want," *ForeignPolicy.com*, July 21, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Compliance with the Laws of Armed Conflict (LOAC)

Paola Manduca et al., "An Open Letter for the People of Gaza," *The Lancet*, Vol. 384, Issue 9941, August 2, 2014 and accompanying response letters **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Michael Walzer, "Israel Must Defeat Hamas, But Also Must Do More to Limit Civilian Deaths," *New Republic*, July 30, 2014

Daniel Taub, "How Does Israel Confront the Gaza of Below, Without Causing Unnecessary Anguish to the Gaza of Above?" *The Independent*, July 18, 2014

Alan Dershowitz, "The Empty Spaces in Gaza," *Gatestone Institute (gatestoneinstitute.org)*, August 25, 2014

T.X. Hammes, "Israel and the Demise of 'Mowing the Grass'," *War on the Rocks (warontherocks.com)*, August 19, 2014

Arik Ascherman, "When Justice Blinds," *The Times of Israel*, July 25, 2014

Media Coverage

Oren Kessler, "Reporters Have Finally Found Hamas. What Took So Long?" *New Republic*, August 11, 2014

---"Top Five Media Fails of the Gaza War," *HonestReporting (honestreporting.com)*, August 20, 2014

Gloria Goodale, "US Media Coverage of Gaza is Deeply Flawed, Both Sides in the Conflict Say," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 15, 2014

Who Won, Who Lost?

David Horowitz, "Israel Might Have Won; Hamas Certainly Lost," *The Times of Israel*, August 6, 2014

David Rothkopf, "On Israel's Defeat in Gaza," *Foreignpolicy.com*, August 7, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Gilead Sher and Einav Yogev, "Image vs. Reality: the De-legitimization of Israel in the Wake of Operation Protective Edge," Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv University, *INSS Insight*, No. 593, August 20, 2014

Aaron David Miller, "Who Won the Gaza War?" *Foreignpolicy.com*, August 6, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

William Saletan, "Hamas is Destroying Gaza," *Slate*, July 16, 2014

Future Solutions

Carole Resnick et al., "To End the Violence in Gaza, End the Israeli Occupation," *The Post Standard (syracuse.com)*, July 14, 2014 and response: Richard D. Wilkins et al., "Rebutting Peace Council Commentary on Gaza: Israel is at War with Hamas 'Terrorocracy'," *The Post Standard (syracuse.com)*, July 24, 2014

Jimmy Carter and Mary Robinson, "How to Fix It," *Foreignpolicy.com*, August 4, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Michael B. Oren, "A Gaza Solution: Demilitarization," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 2014

Jonathan Tobin, "Truce? Hamas Must be Defeated," *Commentary*, August 1, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Shai Feldman and Khalil Shikaki, "Stability Is Possible in Gaza. Here's How," *The National Interest*, August 8, 2014 (reprinted in belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu)

New York Times Columnists

Nicholas Kristof, "Who's Right and Wrong in the Middle East?" *NYT*, July 20, 2014

Roger Cohen, "Hope in the Abattoir," *NYT*, July 24, 2014

David Brooks, "No War is an Island," *NYT*, July 29, 2014

Thomas L. Friedman, "Dear Guests," *NYT*, August 5, 2014

In Their Own Words

Asmaa al-Ghoul, “Never Ask Me About Peace Again,” *Al-Monitor*, August 4, 2014

Jason Pearlman, “I Want to Mourn for Gaza,” *The Times of Israel*, July 22, 2014

Melanie Lidman, “Renewed Fire Highlights Gap Between South, Rest of Country,” *The Times of Israel*, August 20, 2014

Topics for Week 13:

Tuesday, November 18: Causes and Consequences of the Israel-Hamas War

Thursday, November 20: Small Group Discussion

- ☐ Why did the war start—should blame be assigned to Israel or to Hamas?
- ☐ In protecting Israeli civilians, what obligation does Israel have toward Palestinian civilians?
- ☐ As the governing authority in Gaza, what obligation does Hamas have to protect Palestinian civilians?
- ☐ Was Israel’s Operation Protective Edge lawful, ethical, and/or effective?
- ☐ Was Hamas’s military campaign lawful, ethical, and/or effective?
- ☐ What role did the media play in the conflict—should journalists act differently in the future?
- ☐ What general lessons can be learned from the Israel-Hamas war regarding asymmetric conflicts, and how states should address violence from ‘quasi states’?
- ☐ In the future, will marshalling religious principles from Judaism and Islam increase the likelihood that Israelis and Palestinians will better adhere to the LOAC (laws of armed conflict)?
- ☐ How can future wars be avoided?

Week 14: No Classes: Happy Thanksgiving

Week 15: Conclusions

Readings for Week 15:

Doty, *Israel/Palestine*, chapters 8 and 9

Yosef Kuperwasser and Shalom Lipner, “The Problem is Palestinian Rejectionism: Why the PA Must Recognize a Jewish State,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (November/December 2011): 2-9

Sara Roy, “Re-conceptualizing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Key Paradigm Shifts,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Spring 2012): 71-91

Symposium, “Is the Two State Solution Dead?” *Moment Magazine*, May/June 2013 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Abdallah Schleifer, “One State: Solution or Illusion for Palestine?” *Al Arabiya News*, September 25, 2013 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Peter Beinart, “To Save Israel, Boycott the Settlements,” *New York Times*, March 18, 2012

Hillel Schenker, “What’s Wrong with BDS?” *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, Vol. 18, No. 2/3 (2012): 78-85

Shlomi Eldar, “Without Hamas, Israelis and Palestinians Can Find Peace,” *Al-Monitor*, August 12, 2014

Barack Obama, “Peace is the Only Path to True Security for Israel and the Palestinians,” *Haaretz*, July 8, 2014 **(ON BLACKBOARD)**

Topics for Week 15:

Tuesday, December 2: Achieving a Lasting and Just Israeli-Palestinian Peace

Thursday, December 4: Small Group Discussion

- ☐ What should Israel and the Palestinians do to realize peace in 2015—what is the ‘path to peace’?
- ☐ How damaging and harmful is the continued ‘occupation’?
- ☐ Is the two-state solution still the best hope for an Israeli-Palestinian peace, or are other alternatives—such as the one state solution or bi-nationalism, more sustainable?
- ☐ What are the arguments made in favor of a one-state solution?
- ☐ Do you agree that, as part of a non-violent strategy to achieve statehood, the Palestinians should convince the international community to boycott, sanction, and divest from Israel?
- ☐ Is the BDS campaign likely to ‘work’—will it bring Palestinians closer to, or further away from, the achievement of their goal of sovereign statehood?
- ☐ What are the outstanding problems and dilemmas that continue to stymie the conflict’s resolution? Is conflict resolution even possible?