

REVISED Nov. 20
SYLLABUS for ISRL 289i; Fall 2013
Fundamental Questions of the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict
Monday/Wednesday 11-11:50; 1120 Susquehanna Hall

Professor Paul Scham
Office: Susquehanna 4139
Office hours: **By appointment (send an email)**
Telephone: x59412
Email: pscham@umd.edu

Teaching Assistant: Ms. Noa Balf
Office: Susquehanna 4138
Office hours: Tuesday 2pm-4pm or by appointment
Email: nbalf@umd.edu

Read this first!

Most of the important information about this course is included in this syllabus. **A digital version with hyperlinks is on Canvas.** Please read it carefully during the first week. Later in the semester, please review the sections below on papers, exams, etc. before you ask questions about them. It may be revised during the semester; if so, it will be announced in class and on email, and posted on Canvas. **Please check this before asking questions about papers and assignments.**

Also: Set your notification on Canvas to immediate or daily. I will sometimes be sending announcements and will expect you to have read them.

Course Description

This i-course, like all i-courses, is intended to grapple with some of the most important issues in its subject matter. In this case, we will be trying to understand the fundamental reasons for the conflict, why it has lasted so long, and what its importance is for much of the world. It will also introduce a variety of lenses by which to examine it, including history, political science, sociology, anthropology, international relations, literature, and film. Following news items related to the conflict is also an essential element of the course (see below).

I do not expect any prior knowledge of the Middle East or of the conflict, though I assume that some students will already have that. Those who do not should work hard to learn the basics regarding the peoples involved and the history and geography of the conflict. Those who do have prior knowledge will have an equally difficult task; to try to see beyond your own preconceptions of who are the heroes and villains of the conflict. The academic study of the conflict is very different from the versions propagated by the parties to the conflict and their supporters. While of course politics cannot be absent from a course like this, I have made considerable efforts to structure it so the main viewpoints are represented. If you have any concerns on this issue, you are welcome to speak with me about it privately.

The course will be conducted as a lecture with some discussion in the large Monday and Wednesday classes. I encourage your questions in the lectures (and will frequently ask some of my own), but the small sections are the major forum for discussion. In addition, Noa and I will be asking you questions there about the primary source documents you will be reading, and also giving you assignments, group and individual, about current developments in the conflict, and ask you to relate them to the course.

Major assignments will include a book review and a current affairs assignment/paper to be announced in your section, as well as a midterm, and a final exam. Short, unannounced quizzes will be given every couple of weeks to assure that students are keeping up with the reading and following the lectures. There will also be some shorter assignments as well.

Course Goals

The goal of the course is to make students aware of the nature and background of the major issues at stake in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, why the conflict seems intractable, how issues have been examined and discussed by various academic disciplines and media, and the conflict's importance in the world. Equally important is to learn to understand different perspectives and to develop the use of critical methods. Along the way, students are expected to acquire a basic knowledge of the history and current politics of the conflict, its geography, the narratives of the parties, and some knowledge of what are its points of similarity and difference to some other major conflicts. Thus, I will be emphasizing themes and concepts rather than names, dates and other facts, but the themes must rest on the facts.

Current Affairs

An unusual aspect of this class is its emphasis on events that are happening in real times. One of the major goals of the course is to enable and encourage students to make connections between what we are studying and the headlines in the news. As of late August, some events that impact the conflict, and thus this course, include the following. If you don't know anything about them you should become familiar with them:

- Israeli and Palestinian political developments
- The ongoing Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations
- Threats to attack Iran by Israel or the U.S.
- Governmental change in Egypt
- Civil War in Syria
- Instability or violence in Lebanon and Jordan
- Israel as a domestic issue in the U.S.

Students will be expected to regularly read important news articles in the online (English) sources from the region and to write a short online report on an article each week, which is described below. I am suggesting several sources but there are many more of varying reliability representing a multitude of different viewpoints. You should vary your reading so as to become familiar with a variety of points of view. You should also be developing your ability to tell serious unbiased reporting from opinion and to

distinguish both from propaganda. Quizzes will include questions on the news, and you will discuss developments in the sections. I particularly recommend a new online news source, *al-Monitor*, which has a daily news feed you can subscribe to for free or find at www.al-monitor.com/pulse/home.html.

Two long-established Israeli newspapers are Ha'aretz (www.haaretz.com) and the *Jerusalem Post* (www.jpost.com). A newer one is the *Times of Israel* (<http://www.timesofisrael.com/>). Unfortunately, many of Ha'aretz's articles are now behind a paywall, but the others are largely free. *Arutz Sheva* presents the views of the Israeli settler movement (<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/>), and 972 is a leftwing blog site (<http://972mag.com/>). Open Zion (www.thedailybeast.com/openzion.html) is a discussion site largely representing the views of American supporters of the Israeli peace movement. And this barely scratches the surface.

There is also a variety of sources you can look at for Palestinian and Arab viewpoints, with a moderately wide opinion spectrum. Besides *Al Monitor*, *Al Jazeera* now has a new US channel, Aljazeera America (<http://america.aljazeera.com/>); I don't know yet if it will have as much Mideast coverage as the old format but so far I'm unimpressed. There is also the Ma'an News Agency, which has extensive coverage from all over the Palestinian territories at <http://www.maannews.net/eng/>; the Palestine Telegraph <http://www.paltelegraph.com> (from Gaza); and the *Electronic Intifada* <http://electronicintifada.net> a comprehensive website with a clear political agenda, are others to use. I highly recommend the thoughtful essays on the Arab world at *The Geopolitico*, <http://www.thegeopolitico.com/>, which you can subscribe to for free. I'll provide other suggested sources for keeping current.

There are many other Israeli newspapers and websites representing a vast spectrum of opinions; not a few have material in English. Of course, general media also covers the conflict; coverage in the *New York Times* is particularly comprehensive.

Current Affairs semi-weekly assignments – 10% of grade

The current affairs assignment is designed to

- connect the lectures and readings with what is going on in real time regarding the conflict,
- make you familiar with media sources on the conflict
- help you learn to analyze sources for reliability, and to distinguish between reporting, opinion, propaganda, and outright falsehood (this is not an exact science but you should learn what to look for).

You'll be given the first assignment the second or third week, and it will be discussed and explained in the discussion section.

Each section will be divided into two groups, A and B. Every week ONE group will be responsible for analyzing an article on a designated topic or choice of topics. These

groups will alternate weekly. Analysis posts will be due Monday night by midnight on ELMS and will be listed as group discussion assignments for the entire class.

Requirements for the article and analysis-

- Every week I will send an email listing several subjects to choose from for the next week. You may use one of the sources listed in the syllabus or another source unless the sources are specified in the instructions.
- If you want to use another subject, get permission from Noa or me. Subjects and sources must vary.
- Both the article and your analysis must be at least 300 words.
- You should vary your sources; don't use the same source more than twice in the semester. You should try to have a rough balance between "pro-Arab" and "pro-Israeli" sources and some neutral ones as well. Part of your analysis will be determining which is which; though in most cases it's obvious.

N.B. This is not intended to be a major piece of work. After the first week or two it shouldn't take much more than an hour, total.

An analysis of an article should-

- Provide a link to the article, name of the source, title, author, and date.
- Briefly explain the context for the article
- Identify relevant factual material in the article. Without doing further research or being an expert, do you think that something vital has been omitted?
- Restate concisely the major ideas discussed in the article. Use quotations sparingly; use your own words
- Note cause and effect relationships as shown in the article. Do they make sense to you? Why or why not?
- Decide if it falls into one of these categories: straight reporting, opinion, propaganda, or outright falsehood – or something else
- Detect bias in data presented in various forms: graphics, tabular, visual, print, political position (if you don't find any, briefly explain why)
- State your opinion on the subject of the article based on critical examination of relevant information.
- You may be asked to compare two articles from different sources in which case you **MUST** compare and contrast the credibility of differing accounts

These assignments will be graded on a ten-point scale, based on the criteria above.

N.B. Due to the limitations of Canvas, all of the discussion assignments will appear in your gradebook. However, in weeks you are not responsible for submitting a post the grade will be blank. Blank grades are NOT included in the calculation of your final grade. If it is posted late, points will be deducted; if you don't do it at all you'll get a zero for that assignment (which will count).

Grading for the Course

15% Book Review

- 20% Midterm exam
- 15% Current affairs assignment/paper
- 20% Final exam
- 10% Weekly current affairs assignments
- 10% Participation in sections (also in lectures)
- 10% Quizzes

Extra credit will be offered and I urge you to take advantage of it. I will announce events related to the course, some of which may be videotaped and available at <http://www.israelstudies.umd.edu/recent-events.html>. Some of the suggested articles also carry extra credit. To receive the extra credit you can write 500-600 words on the talk or article and your reaction to it. Each extra credit counts 1/4 of a grade; four will bump you up, for example, from a B+ to an A-. If you're right on the line between two grades, even one or 2 might help make the difference. You can do up to 6 extra credit assignments, if I offer that many.

Grading scale

See the Undergraduate Catalogue for a description of grades.

Attendance

Students are expected to come to every class, absent a good excuse such as illness. **Attendance will be taken both in the lecture and in the section.** If you are absent, please email your section instructor the reason. **For more than 2 consecutive days of absence you must provide a note from a health care professional.** You are responsible for all work covered, whether you are present or absent. If you know in advance of issues that will keep you out for more than 2 consecutive classes, you must notify your section instructor in writing.

Religious Holidays

Students who will be absent for religious holidays must notify the instructor of their discussion section by email at least 1 week before the scheduled absence. There are no section meetings the first week of classes so no conflict with Rosh Hashanah.

Written assignments

Student must submit all written assignments only in digital form (**MS-Word, not PDF!**), unless otherwise indicated. They should be submitted through Canvas, and are due by midnight of the deadline day. Late submissions will have points deducted.

There will be two written assignments: a book review and a current affairs project.

a) **Book review**, which must be submitted by Wed. Oct. 24, by midnight. In early September I will distribute further instructions and a list of suggested books, some of which you may borrow for me or from the University library. You may also choose a book not on the list (there are many thousands). It should be at least 200 pages (exclusive of front matter, index, bibliography, notes, etc.) and should not be a textbook or a collection of essays. Fictional books dealing with the conflict are allowed but not recommended. If you want to choose your own book discuss it with Prof. Scham by

around Sept. 25; if I don't know it I may ask you to bring it in. Whatever you choose, you must submit the author and title of the book through Canvas by Sept. 30. I'll discuss this in class.

b) **Current affairs project.** This will be a project of your own choosing, connecting an aspect of the course with something in the news (a major issue being discussed after Sept. 4, 2013). You may write a 10 page paper on it, or choose another format that would reflect a similar amount of work. Possible formats are an oral report (if time is available; it may not be), a video or a multi-media project. If you want to do something different than a paper you should discuss it with your section instructor as soon as possible. Whatever you do, even a paper, you will have to write a short description (200-400 words or so) and send it to your section instructor by midnight, Oct. 9. Again, we'll discuss it further in class and I'll distribute more information.

Maps

It is impossible to understand many aspects of this course, especially the history, without being familiar with the geography and the shifting borders over time. Please look at the map at www.thegatewaypundit.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/israel-map-e1353002601276.jpg, which is also below.



I will discuss it in class early in the semester and there will be a brief quiz on it, as indicated in the syllabus. You are responsible for recognizing and identifying (not to draw!) the countries shown on this map; the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights; and three of the cities shown: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Amman. Remember, I'll discuss it in class and answer any questions least two days before the quiz.

Readings

Class lectures and discussions assume familiarity with the reading assignments for that day and previously, though quizzes will be primarily on material covered in the last two weeks. Most classes have about 30-40 pages of reading assigned. The reading is not theoretical, mathematical, or conceptually difficult. There are a few primary source readings (mostly from Rabinovich or online), which you should read with special care.

For most classes, there are about three separate readings, which generally have different points of view. One of the most important goals of this course is to help you become aware of the point of view of the various authors (which is NOT the same as “bias”). Every author has a point of view, and I will often ask students for a brief oral summary of the author’s point of view in a reading for that day. I certainly don’t expect you to remember the point of view of every author we read for exams, though I will emphasize some of them particularly. Doing the reading means retaining (for that day’s class at least) a general idea of the substance and point of view of the articles assigned for that day. If you are having trouble with the readings, please speak to me or Noa.

Required book: please purchase asap from the bookstore or online.

Caplan, Neil. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Contested Histories*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2010. Paperback

Several other books are referred to several times but these readings are on Canvas.

Newman, David and Joel Peters, eds. *Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, (Routledge 2012) (“Routledge”)

Rabinovich, Itamar and Jehuda Reinharz, eds. *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, pre-1948 to the Present*. 2nd ed. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 1984 and 2008. (“Rabinovich”)

Scham, Paul, Walid Salem, and Benjamin Pogrund, eds. *Shared Histories: A Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2005. (“Shared Histories”)

Class Meetings and Readings

All readings are in “Files” in Canvas or reachable by hyperlink from this syllabus or both. Be sure to check the syllabus for every assignment since you are required to read only a portion of some articles. There may be adjustments by email as well. Generally the file is listed under the **bolded** author or word below.

INTRODUCTORY IDEAS AND CONCEPTS

Wed., Sept 4: Nature and outline of the course (interdisciplinary but starting with history). The continually changing nature of the conflict, why it has been so important, how it connects with the ‘Arab Spring,’ and the current peace process.

Readings to be distributed in class:

Nathan Alterman, “The Silver Platter” (poem)

<http://www.phy6.org/outreach/poems/alterman.htm>

Mahmoud Darwish, "Identity Card" (poem)
<http://www.barghouti.com/poets/darwish/bitqa.asp>
"Vocabulary of the Conflict" (Scham)

No discussion sections Wednesday-Friday, Sept. 4-6. Rosh Hashanah.

Monday, Sept. 9: Problems in studying the conflict; the historical narratives; prehistory of the conflict; "Bias" and point of view; special role of history in this conflict; relevance of the past to the conflict today.

Readings: Caplan, Chs. 1-2; pp. 3-14, 17-35 (**these chapters only** are on Canvas).

Scham, "Israeli and Palestinian Traditional Narratives of Their History," *Routledge Narrative Chart*, "Israeli and Palestinian Historical Narratives: A Distillation"

Wed., Sept. 11: Circles and Phases of the Conflict. How the conflict has changed over time and why it is so important in the whole world, not only in the Middle East. How do Iran, Syria, and Egypt fit in?

Reading & Assignment: **Pressman**, "A Brief History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict"-WORKING COPY(13 pages). Please copy the file in MS-Word, put your name and section on it, and read it carefully, inserting headings in it (e.g. "Beginnings of Zionism"; "War of Independence," etc.), where you think they belong. You should insert at least 10, not more than 20 **IN CAPS AND BOLD**, save it, and submit it through Canvas before this class. (I'll explain beforehand if not clear). Will be graded as a quiz. If interested, see its footnotes in the PDF version in Canvas.

Chart of the Middle East Today (NOTE: This is only to illustrate some of the complexities; you do NOT have to memorize it!)

Rahim, Taufiq (Geopolitico), "The Middle East's New Divide: Muslim Versus Muslim"
http://http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/08/new-middle-east-muslim-versus-muslim.html?utm_source=&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=800

Sections: Discussion of Pressman's "Brief History" and other Sept. 11 readings. Explanation of current affairs weekly assignment.

HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT

Monday, Sept. 16: Zionism and Palestinian Nationalism

The problem of ownership/possession of the land. Why did Jews come, what did they want and what did they find? What is Zionism? What is Palestinian nationalism? Are they related? Discussion of map of the conflict

Readings: Colin **Shindler**, "Zionism" from *Routledge*

Shlomo **Avineri**, "Introduction," in *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Basic Books), 1981: pp. 3-13

Aaronsohn and Nasser essays on Zionism & Palestinian Nationalism, *Shared Histories*. Pp. 62-73 ONLY.

Rabinovich 1: (Herzl, Solution to the Jewish Question; Basel Program)

Home assignment due no later than 10am, Wed. Sept. 17. After you have done all the readings for this week submit on ELMS one or two paragraphs (around 200-300 words) in response to the question “What is Zionism?”

Wed., Sept. 18: The Balfour Declaration; The British Mandate to 1936. Review map on p.6 of this syllabus for quiz Monday.

Readings: Caplan, Chs. 3-4: pp.41-51, 56-73, map p.23.

Arthur **Goldschmidt**, Jr. & Lawrence Davidson, “The Roots of Arab Bitterness,” in *The Contemporary Middle East: A Westview Reader*, Karl Yambert., ed. Ch. 3: pp. 39-51.

Manuel **Hassassian**, Development of Palestinian Nationalism, from *Shared Histories*
Balfour Declaration

Sections: Be prepared to explain and defend your Zionism answer and to discuss the different perspectives in this week’s readings. Review of map. Discussion of Zionism and Palestinian nationalism. Analyze Herzl, Basel, and Balfour.

Mon, Sept. 23: 5 minute map quiz. The Palestinian Revolt of 1936-39; World War II and the Holocaust

Readings: Caplan: pp. 79-106; maps p.9, 85,

Atta **Qaymari**, “The Holocaust in Palestinian Perspective,” *Shared Histories*, pp.147-53

Recommended: Dalia Ofer, “We Israelis Remember, But How? The Memory of the Holocaust and the Israeli Experience” *Shared Narratives* (2013). **Extra Credit for 500 word summary/analysis**

Sep. 23, 4-5:30 pm. Prince George’s Room, Stamp Student Union. **Lecture – attendance mandatory** unless you’ve explained your absence in writing in advance. Prof Yigal Kipnis will speak on his new book on the Yom Kippur War. **Extra credit:** 500 words on the lecture’s thesis. RSVP at israelstudies.umd.edu

Mon. Sept. 30: The Nakba, and the establishment of Israel. How are they related? What is their current impact? Relevance of the “1948 File.”

Readings: Caplan, pp. 106-21 map p. 114

Adel **Yahya**, “The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-48,” in *Shared Histories*, pp. 220-27

Nathan **Krystall**, “The De-Arabization of West Jerusalem, 1947-1950,” *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Winter 1998), pp.5-20.

Said **Zeedani**, Recognition of the Other and His Past,” *Shared Narratives* (2013) 9 pp.

Wed. Oct. 2: From War (1956) to War (1967) to War (1973) to War (1982). The consolidation of the state and the acquisition of the Territories. Palestinians awaken.

Readings: Caplan, Chs. 7-9, pp. 131-52; 160-88, map p.147.

Dalia **Gavrieli-Nuri**, “Saying ‘War’, Thinking ‘Victory’ – The Mythmaking Surrounding Israel’s 1967 Victory,” *Israel Studies*, Vol.15, No. 1 (2010), pp.95-99, 102-110

Rabinovich 3: (Khartoum, UNSC Res. 242; Palestinian National Charter)

Sections: Comparison of 1948 and 1967; 1973: What was Kipnis saying?

Reading: **Rabinovich 2:** (only Resolution 181, p.61; Dec. of Independence, pp.72-74)

Monday, Oct. 7: Settlements and Peace with Egypt.

L. **Eisenberg**, *"The Arab-Israeli Peace Process 1967-1993"* Routledge (20 pp.)

D. **Newman**, "From Hitnachlut to Hitnatkut: Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settler Movement on Israeli Politics and Society" *Israel Studies* v.20:3 (2005), pp.192-99

Monday, Oct. 7: 4-5:30pm: Prince George's Room, Stamp Student Union. Lecture by Fania Oz-Salzberger on her book *Jews and Words*. RSVP israelstudies.umd.edu
Refreshments. This is not mandatory nor is there extra credit, but it should be interesting.

Wed. Oct. 9: Oslo and the 1990s: From war to peace and back again. Why?

Readings: Caplan, Ch. 10, pp.195-210

Galia **Golan**, "Peace Plans 1993-2008" (pp.92-97 through "Taba") in Routledge.

Ron **Pundak**, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival*, Vol. 43, No.3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 31-45

Recommended: **Pressman**, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?" *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 5-43. **Extra Credit for 500 word summary.**

Sections: Midterm Review; Discussion of final project

Monday, Oct. 14: Book review choice due by midnight.

Wed. Oct. 16: Midterm. Be sure you get to class on time. DSS students, please email me the previous week.

Monday, Oct. 21: From the 2d Intifada to Obama

Readings: Galia **Golan**, "Peace Plans 1993-2008" in Routledge (pp. 97-105).

Spiegel, U.S. and the Conflict, only pp.315 (last 2 lines) to p. 23 (end) in Routledge.

Bernard **Avishai**, Plans for Peace (*N.Y. Times Magazine*)

Recommended: Yezid **Sayigh**, "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," *Survival*, Vol. 43, No.3 (Autumn, 2001), pp.47-60 (**Extra credit-500 word summary/analysis**) Note date when written.

Tuesday, Oct. 22. Dubin Lecture by (former) Rep. Jane Harman. Smith Center, 5:30-7
Extra credit for 500 word summary/analysis

Wed., Oct. 23: Obama and the Middle East: What's Going On?

Readings: Fawaz **Gerges**, "The Obama Approach to the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?" *International Affairs*, vol 89, No. 2 *2013). Pp. 299-323.

Especially pp. 299-305; 312-16. **ASSIGNMENT:** Each student must prepare 1

question on any part of the article and I will call on students to ask their question.
Those without a question will be marked down.

Roger **Cohen**, "If Not Now, When?" *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 2013. Oped.

Sections: Midterms returned and discussed; Final project discussed

THEMES AND SPECIAL TOPICS

Monday, Oct. 28: Religion and the conflict; the revival of Jewish religious nationalism; "Islamism"; "Christian Zionism."

Reading: Yehezkiel **Landau**, "Holy Land, Unholy War: The Religious Dimension of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" in Routledge

James **Carroll**, "Onward Christian Zionists," *The Boston Globe* (Aug. 23, 2010)

Mohammed **Ayoob**, "Political Islam: Image and Reality," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Fall, 2004), pp. 1-14

Current reading on Egypt TBA

Wed., Oct. 30: The Role of Hamas

Readings: Council on Foreign Relations. Backgrounder: Hamas

<http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968>

Hamas Covenant (1988). Read portions highlighted in red. Compare with Palestinian National Charter in **Rabinovich 3**.

Additional reading may be assigned.

Wed. Oct. 30 : Book Reviews due by midnight.

Sections: Hamas and role of religion; Final project discussed

Midnight, Sunday, Nov. 3: Final Project proposal due.

Monday, Nov. 4: Identity: nationality, ethnicity, citizenship. Israelis, Palestinians, and Israeli-Palestinians.

As'ad **Ghanem**, "Palestinian Nationalism: An Overview." *Shared Narratives* (2013)

Elie **Rekness**, "The Evolvement of an Arab– Palestinian National Minority in Israel." *Israel Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2007) (pp. 1-22)

Aziza **Khazzoom**, "The Great Chain of Orientalism, Jewish Identity, Management and Ethnic Exclusion in Israel," *American Sociological Review* Vol. 68, No. 4 (August, 2003): **only pp. 486-89**, from "Why Israel" (p.486) through first paragraph on p.489.

Wed. Nov. 6: Palestinian Fragmentation: Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem; Areas A, B, and C. (Much of this lecture ISN'T in the readings)

Reading: <http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/israel-palestine>

Other readings TBA

Discussion sections: Current Events/Palestinians

Readings: TBA

Monday, Nov. 11: Society & Politics in Israel and Palestine: How they reflect the conflict.

Readings: Sammy **Smooha**, "The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 8, Issue 4 (Oct. 2002): **only** pp. 476-78 and 486-92 (top)

As'ad **Ghanem**, Nadim Rouhana and Oren Yiftachel, "Questioning 'Ethnic Democracy': A Response to Sammy Smooha," *Israel Studies* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Fall 1998) pp. 253-67

Wed., Nov. 13: Issue of Legitimacy: Jerusalem & Israel as a Jewish State

Readings

Michael **Dumper**, "Jerusalem" in Routledge

Yitzhak **Reiter**, "Narratives of Jerusalem and its Sacred Compound." *Shared Narratives*

Gavison, Ruth. "The National Rights of Jews." (12 pp.)

www.worldjewishcongress.org/uploads/news/israel_rights_pdf/kiyum-gavison.pdf

Sections: Discussion of legitimacy; Conditions for Peace

Reading: Moshe **Ma'oz**. Zionist & Palestinian National Movements – Legitimacy. *Shared Narratives* (2013)

Monday, Nov. 18: The 1948 File, Refugees, and Right of Return

Readings: Rex **Brynen**, "Palestinian Refugees" in Routledge

Tamar **Hermann-Reconciliation**, (Full title is "Zionism and Palestinian Nationalism: Possibilities of Recognition.") *Shared Narratives*, 2013.

Wed., Nov. 20: Regional Dimensions

Readings: P.R. Kumaraswamy, "The Arab World and the Conflict" in Routledge

Kirsten Schulze, "Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, 1994-2007" in *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Ch. 10 (93-103).

Paul **Scham and Russell Lucas**, "Normalization" and "Anti-Normalization" in Jordan: The Public Debate. *MERIA*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Sept. 2001)

Wed. afternoon, Nov. 20, noon-2pm, Palestinian Representative to the U.S. Maen

Areikat will speak in the Atrium of the Public Policy School on "Regional Developments and their Impact on the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." I strongly urge you to go; if a video will be available, going to this or watching the video will be mandatory.

Sections: TBA

Monday, Nov. 25: Iran and the Conflict

Readings: David **Menashri**. Iran, Israel, and the Middle East Conflict. *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 2006), pp. 107-21

Wed. Nov. 27: Movie, *The Gatekeepers*. **LOGISTICS TBA.** It will also be available for viewing at other times.

No Discussion sections: Thanksgiving, Nov. 28-29

Monday, Dec. 2: The Arab Peace Initiative and other proposals

Readings: API text at <http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/league/peace02.htm>

G. Sher & I. Alon, "The Arab Peace Initiative: Worth Reexamination," *INSS Insight No. 371*, 10/4/2012, pp. 21-31 ONLY.

Others TBA

Wed. Dec. 4: Human rights, peacemakers and nonviolence. What do the peacemakers accomplish? Role of NGOs.

Readings: Naomi **Chazan**, "Peace Movement" in Routledge,

Omri **Arens** & Edy **Kaufman**, "The Potential Impact of Palestinian Nonviolent Struggle on Israel: Preliminary Lessons and Projections for the Future." *Middle East Journal*, Volume 66, Number 2, Spring 2012, pp. 231-252.

Sections: Final Projects presented

Monday, Dec. 9: Dissenting Views: Are We Barking Up the Wrong Tree?

Reading: Mohammed Ayoob, "Palestine, Israel, & the United States: Reframing the Dominant Narrative." *ISP Policy Brief #53* (February 2012). (6 pages)

http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/ISPU_Policy%20Brief_53_Ayoob_WEB.pdf

Additional Reading TBA

Wed, Dec. 11: The Conflict Today

Discussion sections: Review for final