

Prof. Gershon Shafir
Classroom: CSB 001
Classes: MWF 9:00-9:50am

Winter 2018
Office: SSB 494
Office Hours: M 10:15am-12:00pm

SOC 188/POLI 124: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

In this course we will examine the national and colonial dimensions of this long-lasting international conflict and then turn our attention to the Israeli-Palestinian peace-process, and to the everyday life, international humanitarian law, and governmental/political aspects of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza following the 1967 War.

Requirements: midterm (40%) and final (60%).

Required book: Gershon Shafir, *A Half Century of Occupation; Israel, Palestine, and the World's Most Intractable Conflict*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2017.

You will greatly benefit from acquainting yourself with the historical and political background to this conflict. Many surveys have been written; the one I hold in high esteem is Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 9th Edition*, Boston, Bedford/St. Martin's, 2017. It also includes the major international documents I will mention in this class.

All additional required articles and book chapters are available in a course ANTHOLOGY that can be purchased at the UCSD Bookstore. Required and recommended readings are also available on the UCSD Library course reserve website.

Required Readings:

January 8 Remembering and Forgetting

A.B. Yehoshua, "Facing the Forest," in his *The Continuing Silence of a Poet: Collected Stories of A.B. Yehoshua*, London, Halban, 1988, pp. 203-236.

Ghassan, Kanafani, "Return to Haifa," in his *Palestine's Children*, Washington D.C., Three Continents Press, 1984, pp. 99-138.

January 10**The Conflict's Formative Influences**

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd edition, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2009, pp. 1-5.

January 12 & 17**The 1948 War & The Naqba**

Oren Yiftachel, *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, pp. 53-60.

Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 9th Edition, Boston, Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004, pp.191-197.

Benny Morris, "The Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein ed., *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State*, N. Y., New York University Press, 1991, pp. 42-56.

Ari Shavit, *My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel*, NY, Speigel & Grau, 2013, pp. 99-132.

January 19 & 22**The 1967 War**

Smith, pp. 278-283.

David Kretzmer, *The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories*, Albany, SUNY Press, 2002, pp. 4-7.

January 24 & 26**The Old Frontier**

Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: An Overview*, N.Y., Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp.1-15.

Gershon Shafir & Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 37-46.

Beshara Doumani, "Palestine versus the Palestinians? The Iron Laws and Ironies of a People Denied," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 4, Summer 2007, pp. 49-64:
<http://www.palestine-studies.org/files/pdf/jps/9611.pdf>

January 29
Whither Peace?

Ian Lustick, "To Build and To Be Built By: Israel and the Hidden Logic of the Iron Wall," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1996, pp. 196-223.

January 31, February 2 & 5
The International Legal Framework

Shafir, pp. 10-29, 154-164.

Lisa Hajjar, *Courting Conflict: The Israeli Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005, pp. 45-64.

Kretzmer, pp. 1-3, 31-42, 75-79, 187-198.

Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*, London, Verso, 2007, pp. 95-108.

Orna Ben-Naftali, Aeyal M. Gross & Keren Michaeli, "The Illegality of the Occupation Regime: The Fabric of Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," in Ophir, Givoni & Hanafi, pp. 31-68.

The Association for Civil Rights in Israel, *One Rule, Two Legal Systems: Israel's Regime of Laws in the West Bank*, October 2014, <http://www.acri.org.il/en/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Two-Systems-of-Law-English-FINAL.pdf>

Recommended:

Kretzmer, pp. 79-89.

"Roundtable on Occupation Law: Part of the Conflict or the Solution?" *Jadaliyya*, September 22, 2011 (six-part series) I especially recommend Darryl Li's article: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2705/roundtable-on-occupation-law_part-of-the-conflict-

Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its Annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907, articles 42-56: <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/195>

Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949, articles 1, 2, 4, 27-34, 47-78, 146-147. <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/380> or <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-fourth-geneva-convention>

February 7 & 9
Everyday Life under the Occupation

Shafir, pp. 30-41, 48-53.

Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2008, pp.1-9, 197-222.

Rema Hammami & Salim Tamari, "Occupation Means for Territorial Ends: Rethinking Forty Years of Israeli Rule," *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies*, Spring 2008, pp.23-40:

https://dome.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.3/177980/MITEJMES_Vol_8_Spring2008.pdf?sequence=1

Ariel Handel, "Where, Where to, and When in the Occupied Territories: An Introduction to Geography of Disaster, in Ophir, Givoni, and Hanafi, *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*, N.Y., Zone Books, 2009, pp. 179-216.

Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*, London, Verso, 2007, pp. 1-16.

February 12: MIDTERM

February 14 & 16
Resistance to the Occupation

Shafir, pp. 41-48.

Beshara Doumani, "Scenes from Daily Life: The View from Nablus," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Fall, 2004, pp.1-14:

<http://www.palestine-studies.org/journals.aspx?id=6276&jid=1&href=fulltext>

Breaking the Silence, *Soldiers' Testimonies from the South Hebron Hills* (2000-2008),

http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Soldiers_Testimonies_from_the_South_Hebron_Hills_2000_2008_Eng.pdf pp. 8-10, 24-25, 29-33

February 21, 23 & 26
Colonization & the Land Regime

Shafir, pp. 53-102.

Oren Yiftachel, *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, pp. 133-146.

B'Tselem, *Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank*, May 2002,
http://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files2/publication/200205_land_grab_eng.pdf

B'Tselem, *By Hook and by Crook: Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank*, July 2010,
http://www.btselem.org/download/201007_by_hook_and_by_crook_eng.pdf

Recommended:

"Israeli settlement": http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_settlement

Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Israel's Settlements – Conformity with International Law," December 1996,

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Law/Legal+Issues+and+Rulings/ISRAEL-S%20SETTLEMENTS%20-%20CONFORMITY%20WITH%20INTERNATION>

February 28
Religious Turns: Gush Emunim & Hamas

Shafir, pp. 102-142.

Tareq Baconi, "Politicizing Resistance: The Transformative Impact of the Second Intifada on Hamas's Resistance Strategy, 2000-2006," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Summer 2017, pp. 311-333.

March 2
Foreign Policy: USA and Israel

Shafir, pp. 142-154, 165-198.

Tessler, pp. 755-818.

March 5 & 7
Peace Process: Two States

Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: An Overview*, N.Y., Pelgrave, 2010, pp. 104-116.

Shafir, pp. 165-198.

March 9
Peace Process: One State - Binationalism

Shafir, pp. 198-203.

Leila Farsakh, "The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1, Winter 2011, pp. 55-71: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23012093>

March 12, 14 & 16
Peace Process: One State – One-Person, One-Vote

Shafir, 203-242

Ali Abunimah, *One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse*, N.Y., Metropolitan, 2006, pp.109-124.

Dani Dayan, "Israel's Settlers Are Here to Stay," *NYT*, July 26, 2012
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/26/opinion/israels-settlers-are-here-to-stay.html>

"Lara Friedman Responds to Dani Dayan," *Daily Beast*, July 26, 2012
<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/07/26/lara-friedman-responds-to-dani-dayan.html>

Yishai Fleisher, "A Settler's View of Israel's Future," *NYT*, February 14, 2017,
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/14/opinion/a-settlers-view-of-israels-future.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&_r=0

There will be no class on March 7 (we will have a make-up class).

Additional resources:

Michael Feige, *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2009.

Gershon Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, Times Books, Henry Holt & Co., 2006.

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: The History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001*, N.Y., Vintage, 2001.

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, N.Y., W.W.Norton, 2000.

Foundation for Middle East Peace, Settlement Report, <http://www.fmep.org/reports/>

+972: Independent Reporting and Commentary from Israel & Palestine, <http://972mag.com/>

Israel Occupation Archive: <http://www.israeli-occupation.org/>

Judgments of the Israel Supreme Court: Fighting Terrorism within the Law, Three Volumes: <http://www.mfa.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/8B21780B-ED25-4998-AEBF-06011A59D528/0/FightingTerrorismwithintheLaw3.pdf>

Peace Now, <http://peacenow.org.il/eng/>

Haaretz (Israeli Daily): <http://www.haaretz.com/>

Ynet (Israeli Daily Yediot Achronot): <http://www.ynet.co.il/home/0,7340,L-8,00.html>

Globes (Israeli Business News): <http://www.globes.co.il/serveen/globes/nodeview.asp?fid=942>

Jerusalem Post (Israeli daily): <http://www.jpost.com/>

Palestine Times (published monthly in London): <http://www.ptimes.org/main/default.aspx>

The Electronic Intifada, <https://electronicintifada.net/>

United Nations, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs: Occupied Palestinian Territory, *Humanitarian Atlas, West Bank and Gaza Strip*, December 2011 http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_humanitarian_atlas_dec_2011_full_resolution.pdf

Jadaliyya, <http://www.jadaliyya.com/>

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), http://www.merip.org/?ip_login_no_cache=9c15cd524d070354098e31b679e5ace1

Maps:

A history in maps from the BBC,
 (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/world/2001/israel_and_palestinians/key_maps/).

Maps from the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs,
 (http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/MAPS/).

Maps from Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
 (<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Facts+About+Israel/Israel+in+Maps/>).

Foundation for Middle East Peace, (<http://www.fmep.org/maps/>).

Dartmouth Map Collection,
http://images.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.dartmouth.edu/~gov46/allon-plan.gif&imgrefurl=http://www.dartmouth.edu/~gov46/&usq=__q80sYWH4pAX9GZLpXAnNQalviL8=&h=792&w=612&sz=15&hl=en&start=4&tbnid=NRg_ACgVE8owxM:&tbnh=143&tbnw=111&prev=/images%3Fq%3Disrael%2Ballon%2Bplan%26gbv%3D2%26hl%3Den%26sa%3DG

Partition Plans Maps, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/partmaptoc.html>

Martin Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 7th ed., London, Routledge, 2002.