

Understanding Palestine-Israel: Ideologies and Practices

MES 1243 S01 CRN 17323

Fall 2018, Tuesday & Thursday 1:00-2:30

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“Palestine-Israel” is a name designating a territory between the east shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. The boundaries of this territory have never been settled; its name, its recent history, and almost everything which have taken place within it in the last 130 years have been matters of heated, often violent and bloody, disputes. In addition to the two national movements fighting over this territory, the Jewish (Zionist) and the Palestinian, this piece of land, which, for almost a century knew no peace, is a matter of great concern and a site of ongoing engagement, investment, and entanglement for greater and smaller foreign powers, religious orders, and international organizations.

There is no symmetry between the two main parties involved, except for the fact that both claim to be the rightful inhabitants of the land, who are entitled to exercise their national sovereignty over it, controlling and governing it in parts or as a whole, and both tell its history as its autochthonous children. This course will introduce some of main aspects of this ongoing struggle, its history, and its recurring patterns, while trying to avoid, as much as possible, the two competing national perspectives, which this struggle expresses, but also reproduces and reshapes. Each of these perspectives will be part of what needs to be narrated and explained, not imposed as a framework for the narrative and the explanation at stake.

No course of this kind can exhaust the complexity and richness of the 130 years of struggle over Palestine/the Land of Israel, and account for the numerous actors and multiple timelines and spheres of action involved. A selective approach to this history is therefore necessary. The course will integrate a historical and a structural perspective in order to focus on: **a few major events** that shaped the two national movements (weeks 4, 7); the two rival **nationalist ideologies** as they emerged and evolved (weeks 3, 6, 11); the major **Zionist projects** that transformed Palestine - its landscape, population, and social fabrics (weeks 5, 8, 13); Palestinian **modes of resistance** to the advance of the Zionist projects (week 9); and a few major **fault lines of separation and collaborations** between Jews and Palestinians (weeks 10, 12).

Pedagogic Framework

The course is designed for advanced undergraduate students, but there are no pre-requisites and all are welcome. Reading materials include obligatory and recommended texts. The obligatory texts are listed according to their priority. In addition to reading and writing, students will have to engage in some active research. Each of the three short response papers required in the course of the semester has to engage one document, which is not included in the reading list and is relevant to the topic discussed when the paper is submitted. Students are

responsible for locating the relevant documents and for submitting the scanned documents together with their papers. Relevant documents may be drawn from any archive, and may include literary texts and visual art works. Further instructions will be given in class. Pending on the size of the class, class presentations and group work will be encouraged with respect to certain topics.

Goals

The course is designed to provide students with advanced (and basic, where necessary) acquaintance with the general historical trajectories of Palestine-Israel from 1880 to the present and its major political fault lines; to enable students follow the news from the region, place them in a wider historical and theoretical context, interpret them critically, decipher the conflicting narratives and the interests behind them; and to offer some conceptual tools for understanding the dynamic of the struggle over Palestine and articulating its national, colonial, theological, and international aspects.

Course Requirements

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours per week in class (75 minutes twice a week, 35 hours total). Required reading for the course meetings is expected to take up approximately 7.5 hours per week (90 hours in 12 weeks). In addition, researching for and writing of 3 short response papers and one final paper is estimated at total of approximately 55 hours over the course of the term.

Students' Obligations, Assignments, and Evaluation: 1) class attendance and participation (20% of final grade); 3 short (2-3 double spaced) response papers (35% of final grade); final 10-15 page paper (45% of final grade).

Response papers should concentrate on one document related to the topic of the week in which it is submitted. The document should be read in light of one or more the texts on the reading list from that week.

The Final Paper is a short (12-15 double spaced pages) essay written on one, well framed case study or question, whether historical or theoretical. Outlines for final papers are due on Nov. 1st. Outlines are not graded; my comments and suggestions may be further discussed during office hours. When writing the final paper, however, comments on the outline, as well as on the short papers should be taken into consideration.

Reading Materials: Detailed bibliography is assigned for each meeting. Readings include mostly required and some recommended texts. Recommended texts are listed according to their relative importance. Instructions for reading will be given weekly and may reflect students' interests and questions that will come up in class. The syllabus may be changed slightly to accommodate students' questions and areas of interest. Most of the texts are available online. Unmarked texts are available in the course's website on Canvas; texts marked in red are available through the Rockefeller Library.

Class Schedule

The First class will take place on 9/11. There will be no class on Thursday 9/6. The date and time for a make-up is yet to be determined.

1. **9/11**
Introduction – Principles for a Selective History
2. **9/13, 9/18** **Ottoman Palestine at the Turn of the Twentieth Century**

Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford University Press 2011), pp. 1-19.

Julia Philips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans, Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), 19-44 and 103-131.

Joel S. Migdal, and Baruch Kimmerling. *The Palestinian People: A History* (Harvard University Press 2003), chaps. 2

Recommended

Doumani, B. "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into history." *Journal of Palestine studies*, (1995) 2, 5-28.

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity – The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (Columbia UP 2010), chap. 3.

Ahad Haam, "Truth from Eretz Israel," *Israel Studies*, vol. 5 no.2 (2000 [1891]), pp. **160-179**.

Alan Douty, "Much Ado about Little: Ahad Ha'am's "Truth from Eretz Yisrael," Zionism, and the Arabs," *Israel Studies*, vol. 5 no.2 (2000 [1891]), pp. **154-159**.

3. **9/20, 9/24** **The Balfour Declaration in its Imperial Context**

Walid Khalidi, ed., *From Haven to Conquest: Reading in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* (Institute for Palestine Studies 1971), selected texts and documents.

Bernard Regan, *The Balfour Declaration: empire, the mandate and resistance in Palestine* (Verso 2017), chaps. 1-2.

Recommended

Janes Renton, *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance 1914-1918* (Palgrave Macmillan 2007), chaps. 1, 3-4.

Bernard Regan, *The Balfour Declaration*, chap. 5.

4. 9/27, 10/2 **Zionism: Ideologies and Institutionalization**

Pinsker, "Auto-Emancipation," in Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (Jewish Publication Society 1997), pp. 182-198.

Theodor Hertzl, The Jewish State (excerpts), in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 204-227.

Zeev Jabotinsky, "The Iron Wall," *Razsviet*, 4.11.1923.

Arthur Ruppin, "The Selection of the Fittest," in Eran Kaplan and Derek J. Penslar, *The Origins of Israel: 1882-1948, A Documentary History* (The University of Wisconsin Press), pp. 94-102.

Recommended:

David Engel, *Zionism* (Routledge 2013), chaps. 1-2.

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, Polity 2012, chaps. 2-3.

Yehoshua Heschel Yevin, "Betar and the Zionist Revolution," in Kaplan and Penslar *The Origins of Israel: 1882-1948*, pp.145-148.

5. 10/4, 10/9 **Early Zionist Projects: Judaization, Hebraization; Colonization**

Arieh Bruce Saposnik, *Becoming Hebrew* (Oxford UP 2008), chaps. 3-4

Gershon Shafir. *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (University of California Press 1996), pp. 50-90.

Derek J. Penslar, *Israel in history: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective* (2007), chaps. 7-8.

Patrick Wolfe (2012). "Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine Nakba and the Zionist Conquest of Economics." *Settler Colonial Studies* (2:1): 133-171.

Recommended

Gershon Shafir. *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 146-181.

Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Palgrave 2010), chap. 1

Derek J. Penslar, "Is Zionism a Colonial Movement," in *Israel in history: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective* (2007).

David Ben Gurion, "The Imperative of the Jewish Revolution," in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 606-619.

Ahad Ha'am, Selected Essays, in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 261-277.

White City (2018), a short film by Dani Gal.

6. 10/11, 10/16 **The Emergence of Palestinian Nationalism**

Joel S. Migdal, and Baruch Kimmerling. *The Palestinian People: A History* (Harvard University Press 2003), Preface, Introduction, chap. 1.

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, chap. 7.

Recommended

Muslih, Muhammad Y., *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* (Columbia UP 1988), chaps. 7, 9.

7. 10/18, 10/23 **Partitions and Reintegration**

There are two cluster of readings for this week. Each student has to choose two text from one cluster and one for the other.

A. "Report to the UN General Assembly," submitted by the second Sub-Committee of the Ad Hoc Committee established to study alternative proposals to the UNSCOP Partition Plan (1947). In Walid Khalidi, ed., *From Haven to Conquest*, pp. 645-701.

Laura Robson, *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (University of California Press 2017), chap. 4.

Yoav Gelber, *Palestine, 1948: war, escape and the emergence of the Palestinian refugee problem*, (Sussex Academic Press, 2001), chaps. 16-17.

B. Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation* (University of California Press 2008), Introduction, chaps. 1-2.

The Oslo Accords, Declaration of Principle 1993

https://web.archive.org/web/20021115183950/http://knesset.gov.il/process/docs/oslo_eng.htm

The Oslo Accords, Interim Agreement 1995

https://web.archive.org/web/20021115180646/http://knesset.gov.il/process/docs/heskemb_eng.htm

Recommended

Laura G, *States of Separation*, chaps. 2-3.

Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure,' in E.L. Rogan and A. Shlaim, *The War for Palestine* (Cambridge UP 2001), pp. 12-36. Yoav Gelber, *Palestine, 1948*, chaps. 5-7

Ilan Pappé, *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1947-1951* (I.B. Tauris Publishers 2001), chaps. 1, 5.

Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, chaps. 3-4.

Edward Said, *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (Vintage Books 2003).

8. 10/25, 10/30 **Transforming the Landscape**

Fayez Sayegh. "Zionist Colonialism in Palestine" (1965), *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2:1 (2012).

Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography* (Verso, 2012), pp. 125-180.

Gary Fields, *Enclosure* (University of California Press 2017), chap. 7.

Recommended

Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (Verso 2007), chaps. 1-2.

Ḥusayn Abū Ḥusayn, *Access Denied: Palestinian Land Rights in Israel* (London ; New York: Zed Books, 2003) chapter 5-6.

9. 11/1, 11/6 **Some Modes of Palestinian Resistance and Struggle**

Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian identity*, chaps. 5, 8.

Robert J. Brym Bader Araj, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing Revisited: A Critique of the Outbidding Thesis", *Political Science Quarterly*, 123 (2008), pp. 485–500.

Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS, <https://bdsmovement.net/call>

Nasser Abourahme, "Boycott, Decolonization, Return: BDS and the Limits of Political Solidarity," and Noura Erakat, "The Case for BDS and the Path to Co-Resistance," in Kareem Estefan et al. (eds.), *Assuming Boycott Resistance, Agency, and Cultural Production* (Or Books 2018).

Recommended

Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Beacon Press 2006), chaps 4-6.

Alex Winder (2015). "Abu Jilda, Anti-Imperial Antihero: Banditry and Popular Rebellion in Palestine."

Jad, I. (1999). "From salon to the popular committees: Palestinian women, 1919-1989." In I. Pappe (ed.), *The Israel/Palestine Question*. New York: Routledge. (Pp 249-268).

Lori Allen. 2008, "Getting by the Occupation: How Violence Became Normal during the Second Palestinian Intifada." *Cultural Anthropology* 23(3): 453-487.

Robert J. Brym Bader Araj, "Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: The Case of the Second Intifada," *Social Forces*, Volume 84, Issue 4, 1 (2006), pp. 1969–1986.

Charles Anderson (2017/2018). "State Formation from Below and the Great Revolt in Palestine." *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

10. 11/8, 11/13 **From a "Jewish State" to the "One-State Condition"**

Israel's Proclamation of Independence, https://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm

Alexander Yakobson & Amnon Rubenstein, *Israel and the Family of Nations: The Jewish Nation State and Human Rights* (Routledge 2009), chaps 4-5.

K. Hesketh, 'Inequality Report: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel', 2011

<http://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7404>

Jewish Nation State Law, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/final-text-of-jewish-nation-state-bill-set-to-become-law/>

Omri Boehm, "Did Israel Just Stop Trying to Be a Democracy?" The New York Times, 7.26.2018

Recommended

Ruth Gavison, *The Law of Return at Sixty Years: History, Ideology, Justification* (The Metzilah Center 2010). <http://www.metzilah.org.il/webfiles/fck/file/shvut%20eng%20Book%20Final.pdf>

Yehuda Shenhav, *Beyond a Two States Solution: A Jewish Political Essay* (Cambridge: Polity Press 2012), Introduction, chaps 1, 3.

Marcelo Svirksi, *After Israel: Towards Cultural Transformation* (Zed Books 2014), ch. 4.

11. 11/15, 11/20 **Securitization and Messianism: Two Contemporary Forms of Racialization**

Raffaella A. del Sarto, *Israel Under Siege: The Politics of Insecurity and the Rise of Israel Neo Revisionist Right* (Georgetown UP 2017), chap. 1, Conclusion

Yael Berda, *Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank* (Stanford University Press 2018), chaps 1-2.

Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh, *Rectifying the State of Israel: A Political Platform Based on Kabbala* (Gal Einai Institute 2003), chaps. 6-8, 12.

Assaf Tamari, "Erev Rav", in: Barbara Cassin (ed.), *Philosopher en Langues: Les Intraduisibles en Traduction*, Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm/Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 2014, pp. 117-148.

Recommended

Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, *The Lords of the Land* (Nations Books 2007), chap. 4

12. 11/19, 11/27 **Technologies of Separations, Modes of Co-existence**

Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir. *The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine* (Stanford UP 2012), part 1, chap. 3.

Yael Berda, *Living Emergency*, chaps 3-4.

Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism 1917-1948* (The University of California Press 2008), chap. 3-4, 9.

Marcelo Svirsky, *Arab-Jewish Activism in Israel Palestine* (Ashgate 2012), chap. 3

Recommended

Zachary Lockman. *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine 1906:1948* (University of California Press 1996), Introduction, chaps 3-4.

13 **11/29, 12/4 Multiple Palestines**

Said Edward W. (1992). "The remnants, those in exile, those under occupation." In the question of Palestine, 115-141.

Beshara Doumani, "Palestine versus the Palestinians? The iron laws and ironies of a people denied." *Journal of Palestine studies*, 36(4) (2007), 49-64.

Ghanem, A. (2012). *The Palestinian Arab minority in Israel 1948-2000*. New York: SUNY Press. (Pp. 1-28)

Julie Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (University of Pennsylvania Press 2005), Introduction, chaps. 5-6.

14. 12/6 **Conclusion: Palestine: An Exceptional Example or an Exemplary State of Exception?**

Some Further Recommendations

Salim Tamari, *The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* (University of California Press 2017), chaps. 2-3, 8

Farsoun, Samih K., and Naseer Hasan Aruri. *Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History* (Westview Press, 2006).

Gelvin, James L. *The Modern Middle East: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Tom Segev, *One Palestine. Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, Metropolitan Books 2000.

Smith, Charles D. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Martins, 2013).
Black, Ian. *Enemies and Neighbors: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017*
(Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017).