

Prof. Gershon Shafir
Classroom: Peterson 103
Classes: Tu & Th 9:30-11:00am

Spring 2017
Office: SSB 494
Office Hours: Wednesday 6:00-7:00pm

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, April 2017 (this book is on back order and is expected to arrive in the bookstore before our April 18th class.)

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.

Readings:

April 4 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.

April 6**The Conflict's Formative Influences**

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

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

April 11**The 1948 War & The Naqba**

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, Spiegel & Grau, 2013, pp. 99-132.

April 13**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.

April 18, 20 & 25**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>

April 27 & May 2 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.

May 4
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

May 9: MIDTERM

May 11
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>

May 16 & 18
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>

May 23

Religious Turns: Gush Emunim & Hamas

Shafir, pp. 102-142.

May 25 & June 1

Foreign Policy: USA and Israel & Peace Process: Two States

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

Tessler, pp. 755-818.

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

June 6 & 8

Peace Process: One State

Shafir, pp. 198-242.

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>

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 May 30th (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.

Idith Zertal & Akiva Eldar, *Lords of the Land: The War Over Israel’s Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007*, N.Y., Nation Books, 2007.

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_humaitarian_atlas_dec_2011_full_resoluti_on.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,
[\(http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/world/2001/israel_and_palestinians/key_maps/\)](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/world/2001/israel_and_palestinians/key_maps/).

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

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

Foundation for Middle East Peace, [\(http://www.fmep.org/maps/\)](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.