

# HABIB UNIVERSITY

## History and Politics of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict POLI 322

*“A sober and objective consideration of the facts indicates that Zionism, relative to other ideologies, has succeeded in realizing most of its objective. It has done so perhaps more than any other contemporary movement, particularly in light of its unique initial odds, which caused it to be the weakest political movement of all. For all these reasons, it can serve as an example of the success of modernism”*

Y. Gorny, “Thoughts on Zionism as a Utopian Ideology”, *Modern Judaism*, 18:3 (1998), p. 241

*“The question of Palestine is [...] the contest between an affirmation and a denial”*  
E. Said, *The Question of Palestine*, p.8, 1980

Fall 2019  
C109 Arif Habib  
Tuesday and Thursday, 10-11.15

Instructor: Dr. Massimo Ramaioli  
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Office Hours: Monday 10-11 and Thursday 11.30-12.30 and by appointment  
Course LMS URL: <https://lms.habib.edu.pk/portal/site/61ace210-0af1-459e-a68c-88ef01037bfb>  
Course Prerequisites: CORE 102, SDP 101, POLI 102, SDP 203  
Content Area: This course meets requirements for Program Elective for SDP major

### **I. Rationale:**

This course seeks to equip students with a nuanced and critical understanding of historical, political and social change. Moreover, the course will explore in depth the interplay of local, regional and international factors in shaping the dynamics of a long lasting conflict.

### **II. Course Aims and Outcomes:**

#### ***Aims***

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is arguably the most relevant and enduring conflict of our time: polarizing as no other, seemingly intractable, vastly covered in our news headlines.

This course introduces the main contours of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The first part of the course will focus on the political history of the conflict, starting with its origins in the late XIX century all the way to the most recent developments. This historical survey will serve to better understand the specific topics addressed in the second half of the course: the role of violence, the politics of the Israeli and Palestinian societies, the impact of US policies, the occupied territories and the settlements issue, and – last but not least! – possible solutions to the conflict.

In this course, we seek to develop a critical, probing and inquisitive look: we aim at uncovering, grasping and criticizing power relations that inform the politics of Israel-Palestine so to demystify the most commonplace assumptions, ideas and notions about the conflict.

I firmly believe there is no right or wrong answer given *a priori*: it is upon us, in our class, to come up with our own, resulting from the common, democratic and participatory effort of everyone. As instructor, I will try to stimulate and organize a discussion: my lecture functions as a perspective to introduce and approach a given topic; during class discussions, I may play devil's advocate to try and help you think otherwise.

However, ultimately *what you are going to get out of the class is dependent upon what you put in it*: you must come to class willing to engage in discussion, accept new intellectual challenges, and re-examine cherished beliefs. The final aim of this course is to encourage your growth as *independent thinkers* rather than providing a set of notions about Israel-Palestine. In order to do so, a commensurate commitment of time and effort is required.

### ***Specific Learning Outcomes***

At the end of the course, the student will be able to:

- Identify the key events, dynamics and processes in the modern history of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.
- Recognize and appraise power relations affecting the conflict main actors and factions, as well as their motivations and aims
- Collect secondary literature sources in order to advance and illustrate an argument
- Write clearly and persuasively

### **III. Format and Procedures:**

The class will be usually structured as follows:

- Students' presentations (see below)
- Discussion
- Instructor's lecture
- Final questions

During each session, I expect students to follow the lecture with *active participation* in each session, asking questions and offering answers, engaging your fellow students and the instructor. Students must come to class having completed the assigned readings and be ready to discuss them.

Students must maintain at all times a respectful and proper attitude towards their peers and the instructor. This includes also being in class on time (it would be preferable a few minutes before class start) and avoid premature preparation when about to leave class.

Being late frequently is not accepted, as it is disruptive and disrespectful behavior.

I take attendance *only once* at the scheduled beginning of class. Latecomers may seat in class, but I will not register their presence and it will not count towards their attendance grade (see below section IV).

During the Midterm in-class examination, no books, notes, articles, or any kind of electronic device are allowed.

During regular classes, no electronic devices are allowed. *Cell phones*, in particular, must be *turned off and put away*. Students failing to comply with these rules may be required to leave the classroom.

Copying and cheating will result in an automatic F (see below section X).

I am more than happy to meet with you outside class to discuss whatever topic, issue or problem you might have with the class. Do not hesitate coming to my office hours; if you cannot make it at that time, send me an email at least one day prior to schedule a meeting. *Walk-ins are strictly not allowed!*

You can reach me easily via emails; however, do not expect I will be reading and answering your emails after 6pm or before 8am. Do not write me over the weekends: just wait for the class to resume on Monday or send it at the very latest on Friday. I will delete emails I receive over weekends. *I do not reply to questions whose answer can be found in the syllabus.*

**IV. Course Requirements:** Whatever tasks and assignments you include in your course should be aligned with the specified learning outcomes (final learning state, skills, knowledge, attitudes and values the students leave the course with) you have defined and specified earlier.

**1. Class attendance policy:**

You have two excused absences per semester (they will not count against your final attendance grade). Beyond those, I need documented proof (medical or otherwise) to amend your absence. Habib University attendance requirements apply in relation to your status (see section VI below).

**2. Course readings:**

Required texts:

Morris, Benny. *Righteous Victims – A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict*. New York: Vintage Books, 1999.

Smith, Charles. *Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012.

Said, Edward W. *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.

Students are encouraged to buy these books if they wish so. At any rate, these required texts and every other reading will be uploaded to LMS under 'resources.'

**V. Grading Procedures:** Grades will be based on:

1. Attendance (10%)
2. Participation (10%)
3. Student Presentation (5%)
4. Notes on History (20%)
5. Final exam (25%)
6. Final paper (30%)

GRADING SCALE		
LETTER GRADE	GPA POINTS	PERCENTAGE
A+	4.00	97 – 100
A	4.00	93 – 96
A-	3.67	90 – 92
B+	3.33	80 – 89
B	3.00	75 – 79
B-	2.67	70 – 74
C+	2.33	67 – 69
C	2.00	63 – 66
C-	1.67	60 – 62
F	0.00	0 – 59

### ***Attendance and Class Participation***

Attendance will count 10% towards your final grade.

Participation will count 10% towards your final grade.

During class lectures and discussions, we are not simply going to re-examine what the readings are about, but we are going to expand upon them. Hence, both active class participation and completion of the readings are essential.

Your *mere presence* in class will not count towards evaluating participation: your *active participation* in class will. You must engage the instructor and fellow students with questions, thoughts and considerations. The more consistent, thoughtful and enriching your contribution, the more your class participation will be positively evaluated.

### ***Presentation***

Presentation will count 5% towards your final grade.

You will be expected to monitor developments in the Israel-Palestine (and the larger Middle East when relevant) as they occur. At the start of each class, we will devote some 20 minutes to talk about current events. Each one of you will be in charge to present a particular news or event during a specific day. You shall sign up for which day you wish to present during the first day of class. Your presentation should last between 5 and 10 minutes and it should lead to an open discussion by posing questions to the audience.

In order to keep abreast of developments, everyone (not just the presenter of the day) is thus required to read a daily newspaper such as *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, or *The Washington Post*, *Dawn*, *The Express Tribune* or any other media outlet you wish to consult. If you can read Arabic, Hebrew, Persian or Turkish, then feel free to follow a newspaper of your choice in that language as well (for a list of Middle Eastern newspapers, visit [www.onlinenewspapers.com](http://www.onlinenewspapers.com)). You are encouraged to read from sources you may be less familiar with: prominent news sites such as [www.aljazeera.com](http://www.aljazeera.com), <http://english.alarabiya.net>, [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) are published in English. Here are a few more examples of sources for you to look up:

BBC, [www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)  
Financial Times, [www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com)  
The Times, [www.timesonline.co.uk](http://www.timesonline.co.uk)  
The Economist, [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)  
Haaretz (Israel, newspaper), [www.haaretzdaily.com](http://www.haaretzdaily.com)  
Y-Net--Yediot Ahranot (Israel, newspaper), (<http://www.ynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-3083,00.html>)  
The Jerusalem Post (Israel, newspaper), [www.jpost.com](http://www.jpost.com)  
The Forward (Jewish daily newspaper), [www.forward.com](http://www.forward.com)  
Electronic Intifada (U.S.-based) [www.electronicintifada.net](http://www.electronicintifada.net)  
The Israel Policy Forum (U.S.-based), [www.israelpolicyforum.org](http://www.israelpolicyforum.org)  
The Alternative Information Center (Israeli-Palestinian news site) [www.alternativenews.org](http://www.alternativenews.org)  
Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (Palestinian research institute), [www.jmcc.org](http://www.jmcc.org)  
Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (Palestinian research institute), [www.pcpsr.org](http://www.pcpsr.org)  
+972 Independent reporting and commentary from Israel and Palestine, <http://972mag.com/>  
Middle East Research and Information Project, <http://www.merip.org/>  
Foreign Policy Magazine's Middle East Channel, <http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/>  
Jadaliyya (ezine), <http://www.jadaliyya.com/>  
Al-Jazeera (Arab world, news site), <http://english.aljazeera.net>  
al-Ahram Weekly (Egypt, newspaper), <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/index.htm>  
Jordan Times (Jordan, newspaper), <http://www.jordantimes.com/>  
Daily Star (Lebanon, newspaper), [www.dailystar.com.lb](http://www.dailystar.com.lb)  
Now Lebanon (Lebanon, news site), <http://www.nowlebanon.com/Default.aspx>  
Middle East Times (Egypt, newspaper), [www.metimes.com](http://www.metimes.com)

### ***Notes on History***

The Notes will count 20% towards your final grade.

You will be required to write four (4) notes, each worth 5%, summarizing the major historical events in four historical periods:

1. Ottoman Palestine and the Rise of Zionism (1882-1918)  
Due on Wednesday, 11 September
2. Palestine between World Wars and the Establishment of Israel (1918-1948)  
Due on Monday, 23 September
3. The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the PLO (1948-1982)  
Due on Wednesday, 2 October
4. From the invasion of Lebanon to the Gaza Wars (1982- present)  
Due on Monday, 21 October

Each note shall be between 500 and 600 words and it must be uploaded on LMS. The note should summarize in a clear, succinct way the key developments in each period, be accurate and precise with historical events and dates, actors and their views, and the context in which they operated (see LMS for more information on the Notes)

### ***Final Exam***

The Final Exam will count 25% towards your final grade.

You will have to answer two essay questions out of a pool of five. You will have to provide six identification answers choosing from a list of twelve terms (see LMS for more information on the Final Exams).

You must be in class the day of the exam. *There can be no make-up exams.*

### ***Final Paper***

The Final Paper will count 30% towards your final grade.

You can either write a research or a “reflection/opinion” paper (7 to 10 pages).

In a research paper, students are expected to undertake an in-depth examination of a particular event, dilemma, topic, issue or controversy concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In a reflection/opinion paper, students are expected to reflect critically on a topic of their choice, engaging in a dialogue with the concepts and ideas raised in films, class lectures, and assigned/recommended readings.

Each paper should have a full bibliography (books, journal articles, newspaper articles, Internet sources, etc.) and follow the “Four C” rule: clear, concise, coherent, and creative.

The choice of subject for the paper should be first cleared in individual discussions with the instructor. Each student needs to provide a one-page outline of his or her paper no later than Week 11, although you are strongly encouraged to do this earlier. The outline should contain a title, the main argument/ finding, and a preliminary bibliography. The papers are due on Friday, December 6. Further guidelines on how to write the papers will be provided in class (see also LMS for more information on the Final Paper).

### **VI. Attendance Policy:**

Habib University requires that all freshmen and sophomores must maintain at least 85% attendance and all juniors and seniors must maintain at least 75% attendance for each class in which they are registered. Non-compliance with minimum attendance requirements will result in automatic failure of the course and may require the student to repeat the course when next offered. This policy is at a minimum. Departments, schools, and individual faculty members may alter this policy to include stronger attendance requirements and/or implement them for all levels of students. It is the responsibility of the student to keep track of their own attendance and speak with their faculty member or the Office of the Registrar for any clarification.

### **VII. Accommodations for students with disabilities**

In compliance with the Habib University policy and equal access laws, I am available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for student with disabilities. Requests for academic accommodations are to be made during the first two weeks of the semester, except for unusual circumstances, so arrangements can be made. Students are encouraged to register with the Office of Academic Performance to verify their eligibility for appropriate accommodations.

### **VIII. Inclusivity Statement**

We understand that our members represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. Habib University is committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:

- share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
- be open to the views of others
- honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
- appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
- value each other's opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
- keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
- use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in this course and across the Habib community

### **IX. Office hours:**

During these hours the course instructor will be available to answer questions or provide additional help. Every student enrolled in this course must meet individually with the course instructor during course office hours at least once during the semester. The first meeting should happen within the first five weeks of the semester but must occur before midterms. Any student who does not meet with the instructor may face a grade reduction or other penalties at the discretion of the instructor and will have an academic hold placed by the Registrar's Office.

### **X. Academic Integrity**

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Habib University Student Honor Code of Academic Integrity. Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work.

Scholastic dishonesty shall be considered a serious violation of these rules and regulations and is subject to strict disciplinary action as prescribed by Habib University regulations and policies. Scholastic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, cheating on exams, plagiarism on assignments, and collusion.

**PLAGIARISM:** Plagiarism is the act of taking the work created by another person or entity and presenting it as one's own for the purpose of personal gain or of obtaining academic credit. As per University policy, plagiarism includes the submission of or incorporation of the work of others without acknowledging its provenance or giving due credit according to established academic practices. This includes the submission of material that has been appropriated, bought, received as a gift, downloaded, or obtained by any other means. Students must not, unless they have been granted permission from all faculty members concerned, submit the same assignment or project for academic credit for different courses.

**CHEATING:** The term cheating shall refer to the use of or obtaining of unauthorized information in order to obtain personal benefit or academic credit.

**COLLUSION:** Collusion is the act of providing unauthorized assistance to one or more person or of not taking the appropriate precautions against doing so. All violations of academic integrity will also be immediately reported to the Student Conduct Office.

You are encouraged to study together and to discuss information and concepts covered in lecture and the sections with other students. You can give "consulting" help to or receive "consulting" help from such students. However, this permissible cooperation should never involve one student having possession of a copy of all or part of work done by someone else, in the form of an e-mail, an e-mail attachment file, a diskette, or a hard copy.

Should copying occur, the student who copied work from another student and the student who gave material to be copied will both be in violation of the Student Code of Conduct.

During examinations, you must do your own work. Talking or discussion is not permitted during the examinations, nor may you compare papers, copy from others, or collaborate in any way. Any collaborative behavior during the examinations will result in failure of the exam, and may lead to failure of the course and University disciplinary action.

Penalty for violation of this Code can also be extended to include failure of the course and University disciplinary action.

## CLASS SCHEDULE

### Week 1

#### **27/8 - Introduction to the class**

Ethan Bronner, 'Bullets in my in-box',

[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/weekinreview/25bronner.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=1&](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/weekinreview/25bronner.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&)

#### **29/8 - A contested land: Palestine in the Ottoman world**

Said, 1-15 (introduction of the book recommended)

Morris, 3-13

Map of Ottoman Palestine, <http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2013/07/ottoman-and-arab-maps-of-palestine.html>

### Week 2

#### **3/9 – The emergence of Zionism and its encounter with Palestine**

Said, 14-33

Morris, 13-36

Vladimir Jabotinsky, "The Iron Wall (We and the Arabs)", *The Jewish Herald*, 1937 (first published in Russian in 1923), <http://www.danielpipes.org/3510/the-iron-wall-we-and-the-arabs>

Suggested:



Theodore Herzl, 'Der Judenstaat',  
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/herzl2.html>

### **5/9 – World War I and the Mandate**

Morris, 67-120

### **Week 3**

### **12/9 – Palestine between World Wars and the Great Arab Revolt**

Morris, 121-128, 138-144, 155-189

Suggested:

Ephraim Karsh, Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé, Avi Shlaim, "Rewriting Israel's history – A debate", *Middle East Quarterly* (June and September, 1996), pp. 19-25, 51-60. Available online.

### **Week 4**

### **17/9 - The creation of Israel and the refugee problem**

Morris, 189-196, 215-223, 235-237, 248-258

Walid Khalidi, "Why Did the Palestinians Leave? Revisited," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 34: 2 (2005), p. 42-54.

Suggested:

*PASSIA – Special Bulletin*, "Palestinian Refugees," <http://www.youblisher.com/p/30131-Refugees/>

### **19/9 – The rise of Arabism**

Morris, 259-262

Smith, chapter 6

Suggested:

King Abdullah: "As the Arabs See the Jews, 1947",  
[http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/kabd\\_eng.html](http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/kabd_eng.html)

### **Week 5**

### **24/9 - The Six Day War and the creation of the PLO**

Morris, 302-311, 329-346, 363-376, 385-386

Suggested:

Smith, chapter 7

Michael Oren, "Did Israel want the Six Day War?" *The Jerusalem Post* 14/5/07,  
<http://www.jpost.com/Features/Article.aspx?id=61307>

### **26/9 - The Yom Kippur war, Camp David and the invasion of Lebanon**

Smith, chapter 8

Suggested:

Morris, 311-329, 387-398, 431-443

Israel Shamir: "What Really Happened in the 'Yom Kippur' War",  
<http://www.counterpunch.org/2012/02/22/what-really-happened-in-the-yom-kippur-war/>

Seth Anziska, [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/17/opinion/a-preventable-massacre.html?pagewanted=2&\\_r=moc.semityn.www&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/17/opinion/a-preventable-massacre.html?pagewanted=2&_r=moc.semityn.www&pagewanted=all)

## **Week 6**

### **1/10 - The first Intifada, the Madrid Conference and the Oslo Accords**

Morris, 561-586, 595-640

Suggested:

Rouhana, Nadim. "The Intifada and the Palestinians of Israel: resurrecting the green line." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19.3 (1990): 58-75.

### **3/10 – From Oslo to the Second Intifada**

Morris, 640-651

Dowty Alan, and Michelle Gavierec, "The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Revealing the Chasm,"  
*MERIA Journal*, 5:3 (2001), 38-48.

Shikaki, Khalil, "Palestinians Divided," *Foreign Affairs*, 81:1 (2002), 89-105.

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors",  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2001/aug/09/camp-david-the-tragedy-of-errors/?pagination=false>

Suggested:

Edward Said, "The Morning After", <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v15/n20/edward-said/the-morning-after>

Dennis Ross, Gridi Gristein, Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, "Camp David: an exchange"  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2001/sep/20/camp-david-an-exchange/>

## **Week 7**

### **8/10 – Representing the conflict in the Israeli frame I**

Movie: *Waltz with Bashir*

### **10/10 – Representing the conflict in the Israeli frame II**

Movie: *Waltz with Bashir*

## **Week 8**

### **15/10 – The unraveling of the peace process**

Smith, ch. 11

Suggested:

Rynhold, Jonathan. Spring 2004. "Israel's Fence: Can Separation Make Better Neighbours," *Survival*, 46: 55-76.

### **17/10 – Review**

## **Week 9**

### **22/10 - The conflict and the domestic politics of Israel**

Kimmerling, Baruch. "Making Conflict a Routine: The Cumulative Effects of the Arab--- Jewish Conflict Upon Israeli Society," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 6:3 (1983), 13-45.

Allon, Yigal. "Israel: The Case for Defensible Borders," *Foreign Affairs*, 55 (1976) 38-53.

Ronald Krebs, "Israel's bunker mentality",  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136593/ronald-r-krebs/israels-bunker-mentality>

Suggested:

The Economist, 'A Nation of Tribes', <http://www.economist.com/node/160840>

Ben Kaspit, "Israel Is Not a Country with an Army, but an Army with an Attached Country," *Ma'ariv*, September 6, 2002, translated by FBIS/WNC.

### **24/10 – Israel and the issue of democracy**

Yoav Peled, "Restoring Ethnic Democracy: The Or Commission and Palestinian Citizenship in Israel," *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (February 2005): 89-105

Suggested:

Nuri Pelit on Palestinians in Israeli Textbooks:  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pWKPRC-\\_oSg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pWKPRC-_oSg)

1951 Air France Ad:  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i504g0cR7ug&feature=player\\_embedded#](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i504g0cR7ug&feature=player_embedded#)

Said, 37-82

### **Week 10**

### **29/10 – The Stateless Condition of the Palestinians**

Laetitia Bucaille, *Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 30-55.

The Economist, 'The wandering Palestinian', <http://www.economist.com/node/11332217>

Suggested:

Said, 83-141

### **31/10 – Identity and representation; the PNA-Hamas rift**

Yezid Sayigh, " Hamas Rule in Gaza: Three Years On," *Brandeis University Crown Center Middle East Brief*, March 2010.

Frode Løvlie, "Questioning the Secular-Religious Cleavage in Palestinian Politics: Comparing Fatah and Hamas", <http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/4875-questioning-the-secularreligious-cleavage-in.pdf>

Suggested:

Hamas Charter,  
<http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/www.thejerusalemfund.org/carryover/documents/charte.html?chocaid=397>

Said, 142-181

## Week 11

### **5/11 – Palestinian Resistance or Palestinian Terror?**

Lori Allen, “There are many reasons why: suicide bombers and martyrs in Palestine”  
*Middle East Report* 223 (Summer 2002), pp. 34-37.

Ian S. Lustick, “Changing Rationales for Political Violence in the Arab-Israeli Conflict”  
*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Autumn 1990), pp. 54-79.

### **7/11 – The Territories: Settlements or Occupation?**

David Newman, “From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society,” *Israel Studies*, 10: 3 (Fall 2005), pp. 192-224.

Lochery, Neil, “The politics and economics of Israeli disengagement, 1994-2006,”  
*Middle Eastern Studies*, 43:1 (2007) 1-19.

Suggested:

Roy, Sara, “The Political Economy of Despair: Changing Political and Economic Realities in the Gaza Strip,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 20:3 (1991), 58-69.

Paper outline due

## Week 12

### **12/11 – Radical Violence: Suicide Bombing**

Movie, *Paradise Now*

### **14/11 – Radical Violence: Suicide Bombing**

Movie continued

## Week 13

### **19/11 – The United States and Israel**

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israeli Lobby and US Foreign Policy," *London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No. 6 (March 23, 2006): 3-12, <http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP06-011>

Michael Massing, "The Storm over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books*, 53: 10 (June 8, 2006), <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19062>

Suggested:

Mouin Rabbani and Chris Toensing, "The Continuity of Obama's Change," *Middle East Report Online*, January 27, 2009, <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero012709>

TBA: on the 'Deal of the Century'

### **21/11 – The Conflict and the Arab World**

Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Arabs vs. the Abdullah Plan," *Middle East Forum* XVII, 3 (2010), 3-12 <http://www.meforum.org/2729/arabs---vs---abdullah---plan>

Michael Barnett, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly*, 37: 3 (1993): 271-296

Gary Sussman, "The Challenge to the Two-State Solution," *MERIP* #231 (Summer 2004), 8-15. <http://ns2.merip.org/mer/mer231/challenge-two-state-solution>

### **Week 14**

### **26/11 - Civil society mobilizes**

Maia Hallward, "Creative Responses to Separation: Israeli and Palestinian Joint Activism in Bil'in" *Journal of Peace Research*, 46:4 (2009), 541-558.

McMahon, Sean F. "The boycott, divestment, sanctions campaign: Contradictions and challenges." *Race & class* 55.4 (2014): 65-81.

Suggested:

TBA: Israelis refusing to serve; B'tselem

### **28/11 - One state, two states, one and a half state?**

Ian Lustick, "Two State Illusion", [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/15/opinion/sunday/two-state-illusion.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/15/opinion/sunday/two-state-illusion.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

Gary Sussman, "The Challenge to the Two-State Solution," *MERIP* #231 (Summer 2004), 8-15, <http://ns2.merip.org/mer/mer231/challenge-two-state-solution>

Suggested:

Morris, 652-671

Shamir, Jacob and Khalil Shikaki, "Public Opinion in the Israeli-Palestinian Two-Level Game," *Journal of Peace Research*, 42 (2005): 311-328.

## **Week 15**

### **3/12 – Pakistan and the Israeli/Palestinian issue: a discussion**

Devji, F. (2013). *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a political idea*. Hurst Publishers.  
*Read the introduction and one other chapter of your choice.*

### **5/12 – Final Review**

