

# The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (JPB630)

Summer semester 2019/20

Charles University in Prague, Institute of Political Studies and Institute of International Studies

6 ECTS

Tuesdays 15:30-16:50, room J4019, Jinonice campus

## Lecturer

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 11:00-12:30, room J3087

## Course description

This course serves as an introduction to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, it does not provide a historical overview but rather seeks to familiarize students with the contemporary developments in the region. Drawing on a wide range of materials, from academic articles and monographs, to NGO reports, memoirs and Youtube clips, this class strives to offer a multifaceted understanding of the reality in the region.

The semester is essentially divided into two parts. In the first part of the course, we will discuss various aspects and perspectives that help to make sense of the current events in Israel/Palestine. In the second part, some of the most prominent specific issues will be engaged.

This course is designed as a seminar with emphasis on independent study and in-class discussion. Students are required to complete short weekly assignments based on the required readings and other materials. They will further write a final paper on a topic that should be discussed with the lecturer. Attendance is mandatory.

## Aims of the course

This course has three broad objectives. First, it seeks to introduce the current conditions in Israel/Palestine. Second, the course purports to familiarize students with different analytical perspectives which will be employed to make better sense of the political realities in the region. Third, through

independent study, engagement with the assigned materials, and in-class discussions, the class seeks to hone students' critical and analytical skills.

## Requirements:

*Active participation* (15%): Students are supposed to go through the required materials, prepare for the classes, critically assess the literature, and put it in a broader context. If you are unable to attend the seminar, please inform the lecturer in advance. Students should not miss more than three seminars during the semester.

*Weekly assignments* (48%): Every week before the class (except for week 1), students shall take a brief online quiz (published on Moodle) focused on understanding the assigned readings. For each quiz, every student may receive up to 4 percent points. This requirement applies even to classes missed by students. It will be possible to make up for one missed assignment at the end of the semester by submitting an additional assignment dealing with additional literature.

*Paper proposal* (7%): Each participant is required to prepare a proposal (500 words) for their final paper which shall be submitted by May 1.

*Final paper* (30%): Each participant is required to prepare a final essay (2,500 words) related to the topic of the course which shall be submitted by May 31. In the case the first version receives less than 15 points, it can be resubmitted. Nonetheless, in that case the maximum possible number of points for the paper will be 25.

Late submissions of the papers will be subject to grade penalty (minus 2 percent points from the total score for each day after the deadline).

## Structure of the course

### 1) Introduction; 18.2.

The first session will deal with organizational matters pertaining to the course, and then map out issues which will be discussed throughout the semester.

#### *Required material:*

Ranta, Ronald (2015) "The Israeli-Palestinian conflict". In: Hough, Peter , Shahin Malik, Andrew Moran, and Bruce Pilbeam (eds.) *International security studies: theory and practice*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 401-409.

#### *Further sources:*

Tessler, Mark (2009) *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. 2nd edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel Migdal (2009) *The Palestinian People: A History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Azoulay, Ariella, and Adi Ophir (2013) *The One-State Condition. Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gordon, Neve (2008) *Israel's Occupation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ophir, Adi, Michal Givoni, and Sari Hanafi (eds.) (2009) *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. New York: Zone Books.

## 2) Political Identities and Narratives; 25.2.

The second session tackles the issue of identity formation among Israelis and Palestinians, dominant narratives, and their political repercussions.

### *Required material:*

Oz, Amos (2004) *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. London: Chatto & Windus, Chaps. 43-46.

Bargouti, Mourdil (2005) *I Saw Ramallah*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 1-33; 131-142.

### *Further sources:*

Khalidi, Rashid (1998) *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kimmerling, Baruch (2008) *Clash of identities: explorations in Israeli and Palestinian societies*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zerubavel, Yael (1995) *Recovered roots: collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press

Zertal, Idith (2005) *Israel's Holocaust and the politics of nationhood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oz, Almog (2000) *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ronnie Olesker (2014) "Law-making and the Securitization of the Jewish Identity in Israel", *Ethnopolitics*, 13:2, 105-121.

Asaf Siniver (2012) "Israeli Identities and the Politics of Threat: A Constructivist Interpretation", *Ethnopolitics*, 11:1, 24-42.

### 3) Domestic Politics; 3.3.

This class looks into the domestic determinants of foreign and security policies enacted by both Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

#### *Required material:*

Cook, Jonathan (2018) " Hamas and Fatah: Why the two groups are failing", *AlJazeera*, May 12, 2018, available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/hamas-fatah-groups-failing-180512082001713.html>.

Human Rights Watch (2018) "Two Authorities, One Way. Zero Dissent Arbitrary Arrest and Torture Under the Palestinian Authority and Hamas", *HRW Report*, October 2018, available at [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/palestine1018\\_web4.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/palestine1018_web4.pdf) (only pp. 1-5).

Baconi, Tareq (2020) "The Oslo Accords Are Dead. Should the Palestinian Authority Live On?", *Foreign Policy*, February 18, available at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/18/the-oslo-accords-are-dead-should-the-palestinian-authority-live-on/>

Ram, Uri (2005), "Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and the Bifurcation of Israel", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1-2, pp. 21-33.

Fisher, Mark (2018) "Israel Picks Identity Over Democracy. More Nations May Follow", *The New York Times*, July 22, 2018, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/22/world/middleeast/israel-jewish-state-nationality-law.html>.

Levinson, Chaim (2020) "Benny Gantz's Year in Politics: Netanyahu's Complete Opposite Inches Closer to PM Seat", *Haaretz*, January 4, available at <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-benny-gantz-s-year-in-politics-netanyahu-s-opposite-inches-closer-to-pm-seat-1.8348771>

#### *Further sources:*

Garfinkle, Adam (2000) *Politics and Society in Modern Israel: Myth and Realities*. London and New York: Routledge.

Asher, Arian (2005) *Politics in Israel: The Second Republic*. Washington: CQ Press.

Parson, Nigel (2012) *The Politics of the Palestinian Authority*. London and New York: Routledge.

### 4) International Politics; 10.3.

This session situates the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the international context.

#### *Required material:*

Wermenbol, Grace (2019) "The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process in a Post-Mogherini Era", *Carnegie Endowment*, October 3, available at <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/79985>

Quitaz, Suzan (2019) "Saudi-Israeli relations: The emergence of a new alliance", *The New Arab*, August 14, available at <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/8/14/saudi-israeli-relations-the-emergence-of-a-new-alliance>

Wermenbol, Grace (2019) "A passage to India: Israel's pivot East", *Carnegie Endowment*, July 24, available at <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/a-passage-to-india-israel-s-pivot-east/>

White House (2020) *Peace to Prosperity. A Vision to Improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People*, only pp. 2-14, available at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperity-0120.pdf>

Toosi, Nahal (2020) "How Trump's Mideast peace plan could actually matter", *Politico*, January 28, available at <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/01/28/trump-israel-palestinian-middle-east-peace-plan-108078>

Goldber, Elishava (2018) "The Intersectional Jewish-American", *The New Republic*, September 6, 2018, available at <https://newrepublic.com/article/150993/intersectional-jewish-american>

British Israel Group (2016) "Alan Dershowitz dismantles the BDS movement", available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pY19Y83eESY>.

Hasan, Mehdi (2018) "The Truth about Israel, Boycotts, and BDS", *The Intercept*, December 14, 2018, available at [https://theintercept.com/2018/12/14/bds-israel-boycott-ilhan-omar-rashida-tlaib/?fbclid=IwAR1LJJZrbPFskWLBtJ5-Qb1oSH5HPTEJ06AH33L05NSS-lb\\_786ulbYDovk](https://theintercept.com/2018/12/14/bds-israel-boycott-ilhan-omar-rashida-tlaib/?fbclid=IwAR1LJJZrbPFskWLBtJ5-Qb1oSH5HPTEJ06AH33L05NSS-lb_786ulbYDovk).

### 5) Political Religion; 16.3.

This class seeks to discern the role religion plays in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

#### *Required material:*

Bacon, Tareq (2018) *Hamas Contained. The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Conclusion (pp. 211-250).

Rabinovich, Itamar (2018) "Religion And Politics In Israel", *The Caravan*, No. 1820, December 6, 2018, available at <https://www.hoover.org/research/religion-and-politics-israel>

Hacohen, Gershon (2018) "Religion in the IDF: The Struggle over Israeli Public Space" *BESA Center Perspectives Paper*, No. 720, January 22, 2018, available at <https://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/idf-religion/>.

Pfeffer, Anshel (2014) "The Israel-Palestine conflict is not just about land. It's a bitter religious war", *The Guardian*, November 20, 2014, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/nov/20/israel-palestine-conflict-religious-war>

Diab, Khaled (2015) "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Is Not About Religion", *Haaretz*, August 17, 2015, available at <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-this-isn-t-a-holy-war-1.5387874>

### 6) Demography and Ethnicity; 24.3.

Sixth session is dedicated to discussion of how notions of demography, race and ethnicity inform security policies and practices in Israel/Palestine.

#### *Required material:*

Kruger, Martha (2005) "Israel: Balancing Demographics in the Jewish State", *Migration Policy Institute Report*, available at <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/israel-balancing-demographics-jewish-state>

Lustick, Ian (2019) "The Red Threat of Israel's 'Demographic Problem'", *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 26, No. 1.

Nasara, Mansour (2017) *The Naqab Bedouins. A Century of Politics and Resistance*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chap. 10 (pp. 222-237).

Frantzman, Seth J. (2018) "In the spotlight: Political and racial profiling at the border", *Jerusalem Post*, available at <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/In-the-spotlight-Political-and-racial-profiling-at-the-border-565079>

Ziv, Oren (2019) "In a single decade, Israel turned asylum seekers into criminals", *+972magazine*, available at <https://www.972mag.com/asylum-seekers-israel-decade/>

### 7) Gender; 31.3.

This class discusses the politics of gender as it manifests itself in Israel/Palestine.

#### *Required material:*

Richter-Devroe, Sophie (2011) "Palestinian Women's Everyday Resistance: Between Normality and Normalisation", *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 32-46

Feldman, Rachel (2017) "Putting Messianic Femininity into Zionist Political Action: The Race-Class and Ideological Normativity of Women for the Temple in Jerusalem", *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 395-415

Bronis, Leeor (2014), "What Popculture Gets Wrong About Israel's Female Soldiers", *Mic*, May 16, 2014, available at <https://mic.com/articles/89085/what-pop-culture-gets-wrong-about-israel-s-female-soldiers#.zTJXasLLI>

Avi Does The Holy Land (2016), "GAY Tel Aviv and Pinkwashing - WTF?!", available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zlYrac00gvA>.

Schulman, Sarah (2011) "Israel and 'Pinkwashing'", *The New York Times*, November 22, 2011, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/opinion/pinkwashing-and-israels-use-of-gays-as-a-messaging-tool.html>

#### 8) Political Economy; 7.4.

This class discusses what insights into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be derived from the perspective of political economy.

##### *Required material:*

Lee, Shimrit (2018) "Simulating the Contact Zone. Corporate Mediations of (Less-Lethal) Violence in Israel, Palestine, and Beyond", *Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 75, pp. 24-47, available at <https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/Pages%20from%20JQ%2075%20-%20Lee.pdf>

Duncan, Thomas (2015) "From national liberation to neoliberalism: 'peace' and aid in Palestine", *OpenDemocracy*, February 12, 2015, available at <https://www.opendemocracy.net/north-africa-west-asia/duncan-thomas/from-national-liberation-to-neoliberalism-%E2%80%9Cpeace%E2%80%9D-and-aid-in-palestine>

Regavim (2015) *Illegal EU Building in Adumim Region*. Available at: <https://www.regavim.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/EU-Illegal-Building-Adumim-Area-report-A4.pdf>

Bhungalia, Lisa (2012) "'From the American People': Sketches of the US National Security State in Palestine", *Jadaliyya*, September 18, 2012, available at <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/27066>

#### 9) Jerusalem; 14.4.

Marking the shift to more specific issues, this class introduces the status and political dynamics in perhaps the most contested space in Israel/Palestine, Jerusalem.

##### *Required material:*

Pullan, Wendy (2009) "The Space of Contested Jerusalem", *Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 39, pp. 39-50, available at [https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/39\\_the\\_space\\_2.pdf](https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/39_the_space_2.pdf)

Baumann, Hanna (2018) "The Violence of Infrastructural Connectivity: Jerusalem's Light Rail As a Means of Normalisation", *Middle East - Topics & Arguments*, Vol. 10, pp. 30-38, available at <https://meta-journal.net/article/view/7593>

Hasson, Nir (2018) "In Divided Jerusalem, Unification Starts From the Bottom Up", *Haaretz*, May 17, 2018, available at <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-in-divided-jerusalem-unification-starts-from-the-bottom-up-1.6093793> (alternatively at [https://www.academia.edu/36736911/In\\_Divided\\_Jerusalem\\_Unification\\_Starts\\_From\\_the\\_Bottom\\_Up](https://www.academia.edu/36736911/In_Divided_Jerusalem_Unification_Starts_From_the_Bottom_Up) ).

Emek Shaveh (2017) "The Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif – Archaeology in a Political Context", *Emek Shaveh Report*, March 14, 2017, available at <https://alt-arch.org/en/the-temple-mountharam-al-sharif-archaeology-in-a-political-context/>. Only pp. 7-22.

Ackerman, Matthew (2019) "The Case for Building a Synagogue on the Temple Mount". *Tabletmag*, October 2, available at: <https://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/291962/the-case-for->

[building-a-synagogue-on-the-temple-mount?fbclid=IwAR1ZJNN-zvusGHa5IH7eKJsPqEGKfejHo1NCT9PWiOvrskGf2XO-QzVnSuA](https://www.facebook.com/1015831234567890/?fbclid=IwAR1ZJNN-zvusGHa5IH7eKJsPqEGKfejHo1NCT9PWiOvrskGf2XO-QzVnSuA)

#### 10) Terrorism; 21.4.

This session discusses various forms of terrorism and counter-terrorism policies enacted by the Israeli authorities.

##### *Required material:*

Ochs, Juliana (2011), *Security and Suspicion: An Ethnography of Everyday Life in Israel*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Chap. 3 (pp. 64-78)

Abufarha, Nasser (2009) *The Making of a Human Bomb. An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, Chap. 5 (pp. 134-186).

Bob, Yonah Jeremy (2019) "Would we know if Palestinians were being tortured by the Shin Bet? ". *Jerusalem Post*, December 12, available at <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Are-the-Shin-Bets-new-oversight-mechanisms-for-interrogations-failing-610748?fbclid=IwAR3W5pICwWNhiiEL3I5hCRqHBVbOJlr51CCzVd1TLKvDci1Yv6E7xM-kNQ>

#### 11) Infrastructure; 28.4.

This class zooms in on the physical and bureaucratic infrastructure of the Israeli occupation.

##### *Required material:*

Activestills (2018) "Checkpoints". *AlJazeera*, available at <https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2018/commuting-through-israeli-checkpoints/index.html>

The Israeli Defense Forces (2013) "What's the Truth Behind Checkpoints and Crossings in Judea and Samaria?", available at: <https://www.idf.il/en/articles/palestinian-terror/whats-the-truth-behind-checkpoints-and-crossings-in-judea-and-samaria/>

Na'aman, Oded (2012) "The Checkpoint: Terror, Power, Cruelty". *Boston Review*, August, available at <http://bostonreview.net/world/checkpoint-oded-naaman>

Berda, Yael (2018) *Living Emergency. Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Chap 1. (pp. 15-44).

Weizman, Eyal (2011) *The Least of All Possible Evils. A Short History of Humanitarian Violence*. London: Verso, Chap. 3 (pp. 75-99).



## 12) Settlements; 5.5.

The class tackles various facets of the Israeli settlement enterprise and its impact on the Palestinian population in the West Bank.

### *Required material:*

BBC (2011) "Louis Theroux: The Ultra Zionists", available at <https://topdocumentaryfilms.com/louis-theroux-ultra-zionists/>

Gessen, Masha (2019) "A Guided Tour of Hebron, from Two Sides of the Occupation". *The New Yorker*, January 24, available at: <https://www.newyorker.com/news/dispatch/a-guided-tour-of-hebron-from-two-sides-of-the-occupation>

Frank, Steve (2019) "The myth of Hebron's Shuhada Street". *Jewish News Syndicate*, July 21, available at: <https://www.jns.org/opinion/the-myth-of-shuhada-street/>

Kadman, Noga (2013), "Acting the Landlord: Israel's Policy in Area C, the West Bank", B'Tselem report, available at [https://www.btselem.org/download/201306\\_area\\_c\\_report\\_eng.pdf](https://www.btselem.org/download/201306_area_c_report_eng.pdf) (only pp. 11-25)

Newman, David (2017) "Settlement as Suburbanization: The Banality of Colonization." In Marco Allegra, Ariel Handel, and Erez Maggor (eds.) *Normalizing Occupation: The Politics of Everyday Life in the West Bank Settlements*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 34–47.

## 13) Conclusion; 12.5.

The final session engages political prospects and potential future developments in Israel/Palestine.

### *Required material:*

Gardels, Nathan (2011) "Imagining Israel in 2024: Only Tel Aviv Remains", Huffington Post, May 25, available at [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/nathan-gardels/imagining-israel-in-2024\\_b\\_309676.html?guccounter=1](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/nathan-gardels/imagining-israel-in-2024_b_309676.html?guccounter=1)

"Together and Separate: One Land, Two states New horizons for peace between Israelis and Palestinians", website of *Two States One Homeland*, available at <http://www.alandforall.org/en>

Glick, Caroline (2004) *The Israeli Solution: A One-State Plan for Peace in the Middle East*. New York: Crown Forum, pp. 117-121.

Hussein, Cherine (2015) "The single-state alternative in Palestine/Israel", *Conflict, Security & Development*, Vol. 15, No. 5, pp. 521-547.

## Evaluation

<b>General Grade</b>	<b>Grade Specification</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>A</i>	Excellent	100 – 91
<i>B</i>	Very good	81 - 90
<i>C</i>	Good	71 – 80
<i>D</i>	Sufficient	61 - 70
<i>E</i>	Sufficient, meeting minimal criteria	51 – 60
<i>F</i>	Fail	0 - 50

## Course rules

The Code of Study and Examination of Charles University in Prague provides the general framework of study rules at the university. According to art. 6, par. 17 of this Code, “a student may not take any examination in any subject entered in his study plan more than three times, i.e. he shall have the right to two resit dates; no extraordinary resit date shall be permitted. (...) If a student fails to appear for an examination on the date for which he has enrolled without duly excusing himself, he shall not be marked; the provision of neither this nor of the first sentence shall constitute the right to arrange for a special examination date.”

Any written assignment composed by the student shall be an original piece. The practices of plagiarism, defined by the Dean’s Provision no. 18/2015, are seen as “a major violation of the rules of academic ethics” and “will be penalized in accordance with Disciplinary Regulations of the faculty.”