

Graduate Readings in Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (HIST 297:13)
Spring 2008, George Washington University
Tuesday, 5:10-7:00PM, Phillips Hall 415

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Office Hours, Thursday 1-3pm and by appointment

This course surveys the critical body of scholarship on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that has emerged over the past two decades. Topics include Zionist settlement from the 1880s to the 1940s, the rise of Palestinian nationalism, the establishment of the state of Israel and the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem, the Palestinian and Arab-Jewish citizens of Israel, and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967. Throughout the course we will explore the production and contestation of national identities; cultures of militarism; the politics of history and memory; and strategies of representation. The discussion will move chronologically, but readings will draw from a range of disciplines.

The following books are available for purchase at the GW Bookstore:

Cohen, Hillel. *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008.

Kanaaneh, Rhoda. *Birth of the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.

Lybarger, Loren D. *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism and Secularism in the Occupied Territories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Pappe, Ilan. *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: Oneworld Publishing, 2006.

Shafir, Gershon. *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Swedenburg, Ted. *Memories of Revolt: the 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 2003.

Zertal, Idith. *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

For a blow-by-blow political chronology, I recommend (and have ordered for the bookstore) Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 5th ed. (Bedford St. Martin's Press, 2004).

Readings

Selected articles and chapters: Available on Blackboard or through hyperlink.

Course Requirements and Grades:

- 1) Participation (30%).
- 2) Introducing the Readings and Leading Discussion (30%). Each week 1-2 students will provide a 10-15 minute introduction to the readings and will then help to guide discussion. Presenters should begin by *briefly* summarizing the readings but then *quickly move on* to an analysis of their arguments and interventions. Presenters should also comment on the morning's postings (noting common themes and interesting questions). The function of the presentation is to jumpstart discussion, not to offer the final word on any one issue.

- 3) 15-20 page Historiographic Essay (40%). Due Monday May 5 at NOON.

You are required to submit a paper topic and tentative bibliography on March 25. Therefore, you should start thinking about the paper and come talk to me about it as soon as possible.

DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES: Any student who feels s/he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 or in person in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. Students are encouraged to meet with their professors early in the semester to discuss the academic implications of the disability.

Course Schedule

(1) Jan 15 Introduction

(2) Jan 22 Historiographic interventions

Edward Said, "[Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims.](#)" *Social Text* 1 (Winter 1979): 7-58.

*Ibrahim Abu Lughod, "The Pitfalls of Palestiniology," *ASQ* 3, no. 4 (1981): 403-11.

*Avishai Ehrlich, "Israel: Conflict, War and Social Change," in *The Sociology of War and Peace*, ed. Creighton and Shaw (London: MacMillan Press, 1987), 121-42.

Arieh Bruce Saposnik, "[Europe and its Orients in Zionist Culture Before the 1st World War.](#)" *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (2006): 1105-123.

*Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press), 1-57.

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "[Beyond 'Identity.'](#)" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1-47.

Recommended

Beshara Doumani, "[Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History](#)" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 5-28.

(3) Jan 29 Conquest of the Land: Ottoman Palestine

Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914*, 1-21; 91-122; 135-220.

*Rashid Khalidi, "Elements of Identity I: Peasant Resistance to Zionist Settlement," in *Palestinian Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 89-117.

Michelle Campos, "[Between 'Beloved Ottomania' and 'The Land of Israel': The Struggle over Ottomanism and Zionism among Palestine's Sephardi Jews, 1908-13.](#)" *IJMES* 37, no. 4 (November 2005): 461-83.

(4) Feb 5 Culture and Political Economy Under the Mandate

Zachary Lockman, "[Railway Workers and Relational History: Arabs and Jews in British-Ruled Palestine.](#)" *CSSH* 35, no. 3. (July 1993), pp. 601-27.

*David Metzer, *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-28; 200-212.

*Amos Nadan, *The Palestinian Economy Under the Mandate: A Story of Colonial Bungling* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), xxi-49.

*Mark LeVine, "A Nation from the Sands? Architecture, Planning, and the Evolution of National Identities in Jaffa and Tel Aviv," *National Identities* 1, no. 1 (1999): 15-38.

(5) Feb 12 Palestinian Nationalism and its Fissures I

Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt*.

Weldon Matthews, "[Pan-Islam or Arab Nationalism? The Meaning of the 1931 Jerusalem Islamic Congress Reconsidered.](#)" *IJMES* 35 (2003): 1-22.

(6) Feb 19 Palestinian Nationalism and its Fissures II

Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows*.

(7) Feb 26 1948 and the Politics of History I

Benny Morris, "The Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Silberstein (ed.), *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State* (NYU Press, 1991): 42-56.

Nur Masalha, "[A Critique of Benny Morris](#)," *JPS* 21, no. 1 (Autumn 1991): 90-97.

Morris, [Response to Finkelstein and Masalha](#); Finkelstein, [Rejoinder to Benny Morris](#).

Uri Shavit, "[Survival of the Fittest \[interview with Benny Morris\]](#)," and [Morris' reply](#).

Joel Beinin, "[No More Tears: Benny Morris and the Road Back from Liberal Zionism](#)," *MER* 230 (Spring 2004).

*Gabi Piterberg, "Can the Subaltern Remember? A Pessimistic View of the Victims of Zionism," in Makdisi and Silverstein (eds.), *Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa*, 177-200.

(8) March 4 1948 and the Politics of History II

Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*.

Samira Esmeir, "[1948: Law, History, Memory](#)," *Social Text* (Summer 2003): 25-48.

(9) March 11 Refugees and Statelessness

*Ilana Feldman, *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule* (1917-67) (Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming 2008).

(10) March 18 SPRING BREAK

(11) March 25 Ethno-national Citizenship in Israel

- *Adriana Kemp, "'Dangerous Populations': State Territoriality and the Constitution of National Minorities," in *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*, ed. Joel Migdal (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 73-98.
- Aziza Khazzoom, "[The Great Chain of Orientalism: Jewish Identity, Stigma Management, and Ethnic Exclusion in Israel.](#)" *American Sociological Review* 23, no. 68 (August 2003): 481-510.
- Deborah Bernstein and Shlomo Swirsky, "[The Rapid Economic Development of Israel and the Emergence of the Ethnic Division of Labour.](#)" *BJS* 33, no. 1 (March 1982): 64-85.
- Yehuda Shenhav, "[The Jews of Iraq, Zionist ideology, and the property of the Palestinian refugees of 1948: an anomaly of national accounting.](#)" *IJMES* 31, no. 4 (Nov. 1999): 605-30.

(12) April 1 Women and Nationalism Across the Green Line

- Rhoda Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel* (selected chapters).
- Tamara Neuman, "[Maternal 'Anti-Politics' in the Formation of Hebron's Jewish Enclave.](#)" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33, no. 2 (winter 2004): 51-70.

(13) April 8 Anatomy of an Occupation

- *Neve Gordon, "Of Dowries and Brides: A Structural Analysis of Israel's Occupation." *New Political Science* 29, no. 4 (December 2007): 453-78.
- James Ron, "[Savage Restraint: Israel, Palestine, and the Dialectics of Legal Repression.](#)" *Social Problems* 47, no. 4 (2000): 445-72.
- Julie Peteet, "[Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian 'Intifada': A Cultural Politics of Violence.](#)" *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 1. (Feb. 1994): 31-49.
- Frances S. Hasso, "[The 'Women's Front': Nationalism, Feminism, and Modernity in Palestine.](#)" *Gender and Society* 12, no. 4. (Aug. 1998): 441-465.

(14) April 15 The Struggle for Independence

- Loren Lybarger, *Identity and Religion in Palestine*.
- Yezid Sayigh, "[Armed Struggle and State Formation.](#)" *JPS* 26, no. 4 (Summer 1997): 17-32.

(15) April 22 Violence, Victimhood, and Collective Memory

- Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*.
- *article TBA

(16) April 29 Paper presentations.