

Department of Political Science
Fall 2019
Carleton University
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

PSCI 5915-G

Special Topics: The Politics of Israel/Palestine

Weds 8:35-11:25

Course Location: Please confirm on Carleton Central

Prof. Mira Sucharov

Office: I will be in the Discovery Centre (4th floor of the library) this year on a teaching fellowship. Office number TBA.

mira.sucharov@carleton.ca

Office Hours: Weds 11:35-1:35 or by appointment. (Please do not use my office voice mail. Email is the best way to reach me. mira.sucharov@carleton.ca)

Please note that my office will be in the Discovery Centre (4th floor of the library) this year.

Course Description: This course examines the politics of Israel/Palestine. It would be customary in IR and political science when studying one country or region to consider it a “case” of something. But as we will see, the politics around Israel-Palestine is in large part animated by the contestation over such classification. Is it a case of protracted conflict? A case of settler-colonial oppression? A case of human rights violations? A case of competing nationalisms? The course will examine these competing (though not necessarily mutually-exclusive) frameworks. The course proceeds both chronologically and conceptually/thematically. Those without a basic knowledge of the case might wish to purchase a textbook to read early on. (Suggestions: those by Alan Dowty (*Israel/Palestine*, 4th ed.) or Smith (*Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*) or Neil Caplan (*The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*)). In addition, to further explore op-ed writing (and social media engagement, especially around sensitive topics), you may wish to get a copy of my book: Mira Sucharov, *Public Influence: A Guide to Op-Ed Writing and Social Media Engagement* (University of Toronto Press, 2019).

Books:

Sucharov, *The International Self: Psychoanalysis and the Search for Israeli-Palestinian Peace*

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, eds., *Social Justice and Israel/Palestine: Foundational and Contemporary Debates*

Sucharov, *Public Influence: A Guide to Op-Ed Writing and Social Media Engagement* (optional)

Requirements:

Op-Ed 1: 25%

Op-Ed 2: 25%

Op-Ed 3: 25%

Attendance/Participation: 25%

Each student will serve as provocateur for one class session. The responsibility entails offering a short discussion opener plus some structuring questions to guide conversation.

Op-Eds:

This is a hybrid assignment. The argument of the actual op-ed text needs to stand on its own. But you must also provide extended footnote citations and commentary (including additional data, context and evidence) in the footnotes. Length: 750-850 words (op-ed) plus at least 12 footnotes (at least 6 of them with extended commentary of your own). Draw on readings and films from the syllabus as well as additional readings (both scholarly and news-style sources) you uncover on your own. Each op-ed must have a clear question identified and a clear argument (which is your answer to the question). Topic: a contemporary Israeli-Palestinian issue which you will attempt to explain/assess/illuminate based on some historical event or theme we are covering in the course. You are encouraged to create a prescriptive argument: what should actor x or y do about issue z? This may refer to Canadian, American, Israeli or Palestinian Authority (or Hamas) policy or actions, or else might refer to popular practices or ideas. A prescriptive argument focuses on the “ought” (what should happen?) based on an understanding of the “is” (what’s going on right now?). Draw on at least 10 sources, at least half of which should be scholarly ones. You can focus on the readings in the syllabus, and supplement them with others, if you wish. Note: the op-ed can also be structured around a film, provided you include the necessary research and context (as indicated above, through footnotes), and provided that you make a broader argument about the issues in play.

Op-Ed Due Dates: Choose three topics on which to write. Directions: draft the op-ed before the relevant class, polish it and edit it based on the in-class conversation, and then hand it in **up to three days** later. This will give you time to complete the readings for the next class.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Class 1 (Sept. 4): Intro: What is the situation in Israel-Palestine all about?

Sucharov, *The International Self*, Chapter 1

Jeremy Pressman, "A Brief History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict"

http://web.uconn.edu/polisci/people/faculty/doc/history_pressman.pdf

Nathan Alterman, "The Silver Platter" (poem): <http://www.phy6.org/outreach/poems/alterman.htm> (in class)

Mahmoud Darwish, "Identity Card" (poem): <https://electronicintifada.net/content/remembering-mahmoud-darwish/7663> (in class)

Class 2 (Sept. 11): Israel's Independence & The Nakba

Sucharov, *The International Self*, Chapter 3

www.nakba-archive.org (read/absorb as much as you can from it)

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 1 ("Narratives")

Ruth Gruber, "The Birth of a Nation, 1948," *New York Times* (18 May 2008)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/18/opinion/18gruber.html>

Ayman Odeh, "Israel Celebrates Our Independence; We Mourn our Loss," *New York Times* (18 April 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/18/opinion/israel-independence-palestine-nakba.html>

Ahmad H. Sa'di, "Catastrophe, Memory, and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity," *Israel Studies* 7, 2 (2002): 175-198.

Ari Shavit, "Lydda, 1948," *The New Yorker* (21 October 2013).

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/10/21/lydda-1948>

Daniel Bar-Tal; Dikla Antebi, "Beliefs about Negative Intentions of the World: A Study of the Israeli Siege Mentality," *Political Psychology* 13, 4 (December 1992).

Hussein Ibish, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/the-meaning-of-nakba-israel-palestine-1948-gaza/560294/>

“The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel (1948)”: <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-declaration-of-the-establishment-of-the-state-of-israel/>

Film: “The Mirror” (short film — in class)

Israeli TV comedy-sketch show called *Eretz Nehederet* (“Kindergarten” sketch) — <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M9SdKps0Quo> (in class)

Class 3 (Sept. 18): Foundational Frameworks: Settler Colonialism? Competing Nationalisms?

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 3 (“Settler Colonialism”)

Edward W. Said, “Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Victims,” *Social Text* 1 (Winter 1979): 7-58.

Abbas Momani, “Why a Controversial Palestinian History Class at Berkeley Was Canceled, Then Reinstated,” *Newsweek* (14 October 2016)
<http://www.newsweek.com/2016/10/14/berkeley-palestinian-history-class-506153.html>

Derek Penslar, “Zionism, Colonialism and Post-Colonialism,” *Journal of Israeli History* 20, 2-3 (2001): 84-98

Shlomo Avineri, “Zionism as a National Liberation Movement” *Jerusalem Quarterly* (1979) — <http://ismi.emory.edu/home/documents/Readings/Avineri%20Zionism%20as%20a%20National%20Liberation%20Movement.pdf> (I’ve also placed it on library reserve.)

Alexander Yakobson, “If Zionism Were Colonial, it would have Ended Long Ago,” *Haaretz* (20 October 2018)
<https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-a-colonial-zionism-would-have-ended-long-ago-1.6573781>

Class 4 (Sept. 25): The Arab-Israeli Wars & Camp David

Sucharov, *The International Self*, Chapters 4-5

Roland Popp, “Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War,” *Middle East Journal* 60, 2 (Spring 2006): 281-309.

Jamal, A. "In the shadow of the 1967 War: Israel and the Palestinians." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (2017): 1-16

Michael B. Oren, "Israel's 1967 Victory is Something to Celebrate," *The New York Times* (4 June 2017)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/04/opinion/six-day-war-arab-israeli-anniversary.html>

Nathan Thrall. "The Past 50 Years of Israeli Occupation. And the Next," *The New York Times* (2 June 2017)

Document: The PLO charter (1968): http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp

Film: *Waltz with Bashir* (iTunes).

Class 5 (Oct. 2): The First Intifada (1987-93), Oslo (1993), Camp David II (2000), The Second Intifada (2000-2005)

Sucharov, *The International Self*, Chapters 6 & 7

Sharif Kanaana, "Humor of the Palestinian Intifada," *Journal of Folklore Research*, 27, 3 (1990).

Palestinian Declaration of Independence (1988) <http://www.mideastweb.org/plc1988.htm>

Document: Arafat's speech to the UN in Geneva (1988): <http://mondediplo.com/focus/mideast/arafat88-en>

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?" *International Security* 28, 2 (Fall 2003).

Ehud Barak, "Israel Needs a True Partner for Peace," *New York Times*, July 30, 2001. <http://tinyurl.com/67599n>

Marwan Barghouti, "Want Security? End the Occupation," *Washington Post*, January 16, 2002. <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article1986.shtml>

Film (documentary): *The Gatekeepers* (iTunes).

Class 6 (Oct. 9) — class cancelled due to Yom Kippur. (Since Wednesday classes get an extra week this semester, it will even out.)

Class 7 (Oct. 16): Hamas/Gaza, Refugees & Displacement

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 5 (“Refugees and Displacement”)

T. Dunning, “Islam and resistance: Hamas, Ideology and Islamic Values in Palestine,” *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8(2) (2015): 284-305.

Shohat, E. ‘Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the standpoint of its Jewish victims’ *Social Text* 19/20 (1988), pp. 1-35

Joshua Schreier & Mira Sucharov, “If Israel Lets in Palestinian Refugees, Will it Lose its Jewish Character?” *The Forward* (17 October 2016), <http://forward.com/opinion/352075/if-israel-lets-in-palestinian-refugees-will-it-lose-its-jewish-character/>

Mira Sucharov, “Uncovering the Lost Palestinian Villages Underneath Glitzy Tel Aviv,” *The Forward* (19 July 2016) <https://forward.com/opinion/345430/uncovering-the-lost-palestinian-villages-underneath-glitzy-tel-aviv/>

Abbas Shibliak, “The Palestine Refugee Issue: A Palestinian Perspective” Chatham House, February 2009, pp. 1-12: <http://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/108973>

Orit Gal, “Israeli Perspectives on the Palestinian Refugee Issue,” Chatham House (2008) https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Middle%20East/0608palrefugees_gal.pdf

“A Different Kind of Memory: An Interview with Zochrot” — Middle East Report 244 (Fall 2007): 34-38.

“Interviews with Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon” (Zochrot) — <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dhy1N-aSGJY> (in-class — 16 minutes)

Saeb Erakat, “The Truth is Out About Israel’s Lethal Actions in Gaza: Will the World Listen?” *The Guardian* (12 March 2019) <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/12/israel-gaza-un-2018-protests-occupation>

****Oct. 23 NO CLASS (Fall Reading Week)****

Class 8 (Oct. 30): Jerusalem, Settlements & Occupation

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 4 (“International Law”)

B’Tselem, What is Area C? http://www.btselem.org/area_c/what_is_area_c

B’Tselem, Separation Barrier, http://www.btselem.org/topic/separation_barrier

Ir Amim, “Jerusalem as a Political Issue,” <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/en/issue/jerusalem-political-issue>

David Newman, “From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society,” *Israel Studies* 10, 3 (2005): 192-219.

Brent E. Sasley and Mira Sucharov, “Resettling the West Bank Settlers,” *International Journal* (Autumn 2011) <http://www.scribd.com/doc/79504489/Sasley-Sucharov-West-Bank-Settlers#scribd>

Neve Gordon, “From Colonization to Separation: exploring the structure of Israel’s occupation,” *Third World Quarterly* 29, 1 (2008).

Dani Dayan, “Israel’s Settlers are here to stay,” *New York Times* (25 July 2012), <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/26/opinion/israels-settlers-are-here-to-stay.html>

Sara Yael Hirschhorn, “Israeli Terrorists, Born in the U.S.A.,” *The New York Times* (4 September 2015)
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/06/opinion/sunday/israeli-terrorists-born-in-the-usa.html>

Class 9 (Nov. 6): Israel as a “Jewish and Democratic State” / Palestinian Citizens of Israel

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 6 (“Apartheid”)

Shira Robinson, “Local Struggle, National Struggle: Palestinian Responses to the Kafr Qasim Massacre and its Aftermath, 1956-1966.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 3 (August 2003): 393-416.

Benjamin Pogrund, "Why Israel is Nothing Like South Africa," *The New York Times* (31 March 2017) <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/31/opinion/why-israel-is-nothing-like-apartheid-south-africa.html>

Nathan Thrall, "How a Controversial Non-Violent Movement has Transformed the Israeli-Palestinian Debate," <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/aug/14/bds-boycott-divestment-sanctions-movement-transformed-israeli-palestinian-debate?fbclid=IwAR38IR1bLuHIeTJ4H5wvDVU97rhswf3pVuBwd4syLmN5yz--Qy3f6jfvjl0>

David Palumbo-Liu, "Why an Academic Boycott?" *Los Angeles Review of Books* (16 March 2014) <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/why-an-academic-boycott>

Omar Barghouti, "On Academic Freedom and the BDS Movement," *The Nation* (14 December 2013) <https://www.thenation.com/article/academic-freedom-and-bds-movement/>

Judea Pearl, "BDS, Racism and the New McCarthyism," *Los Angeles Review of Books* (16 March 2014)

Sharoni, S., Abdulhadi, R., Al-Ali, N., Eaves, F., Lentin, R., & Siddiqi, D., "Transnational Feminist Solidarity in Times of Crisis: The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement and Justice in/for Palestine," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17, 4 (2015): 654-670

Class 11 (Nov. 20): Transnational Perspectives & "Conflict Resolution"

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 7 ("Intersectional Alliances")

K. M. Fierke, "Who is my neighbour? Memories of the Holocaust/al Nakba and a global ethic of care," *European Journal of International Relations* 20, 3 (2014): 787-809.

Boaz Hameiri and Arie Nadler, "Looking Backward to Move Forward: Effects of Acknowledgment of Victimhood on Readiness to Compromise for Peace in the Protracted Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* (2017): 1-15.

Natan Sachs, "Why Israel Waits: Anti-Semitism as a Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2015) <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/israel/2015-10-20/why-israel-waits>

N. Head, "A Politics of Empathy: Encounters with Empathy in Israel and Palestine," *Review of International Studies* 42, 1 (2016): 95-113.

Herbert Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, 3 (1999) <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/0022-4537.00134/full>

Marwan Darweish and Chuck Thiessen, "Conflict Resolution and Asymmetric Conflict: The Contradictions of Planned Contact Interventions in Israel and Palestine," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 66 (September 2018).

Omar H. Rahman, "Co-existence vs. Co-resistance: A case against normalization," *+972 Magazine* (3 January 2012) <https://972mag.com/co-existence-vs-co-resistance-a-case-against-normalization/32076/>

Film: *Disturbing the Peace* (on Netflix; if it's gone by then, it's also on iTunes)

Class 12 (Nov. 27): Looking Ahead: One State? Two States? Other?

Hahn Tapper & Sucharov, Chapter 2 ("Self-Determination")

Benny Miller, "Israel–Palestine: One State or Two: Why a Two-State Solution is Desirable, Necessary, and Feasible," *Ethnopolitics* 15, 4 (2016): 438-452.

Musa al-Gharbi, "Israel and Palestinians Need a One-State Solution," *Al Jazeera* (6 January 2015), <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/1/israel-palestineunitedstatesunit-ednationsonestatesolution.html>

Mahmoud Abbas, "The Long Overdue Palestinian State," (16 May 2011). *The New York Times* http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/17/opinion/17abbas.html?_r=0

Diana Buttu, "Why the Palestinian Authority Should be Shuttered," *The New York Times* (26 May 2017) https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/26/opinion/palestinian%2Dauthority%2Dmahmoud%2Dabbas.html?_r=0

Naftali Bennett, "For Israel, Two-State is No Solution," *New York Times* (5 November 2014) <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/06/opinion/naftali-bennett-for-israel-two-state-is-no-solution.html>

Dov Waxman and Dahlia Scheindlin, "Hope fades for a two-state solution. Is there another path to Middle East Peace?" *The Guardian* (8 May 2016). <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/07/israel-palestine-two-state-solution-another-path-to-peace>

Noam Sheizaf, “One- Or Two-State Solution? The Answer is Both (Or Neither),” *+972 Magazine* (2 September 2014), <http://972mag.com/one-or-two-state-solution-the-answer-is-both-or-neither/96263/>

Class 12 (Dec. 4) TV Week: Fauda

Watch as much of *Fauda* (Netflix) as you can, and we’ll discuss it, along with:

Sayed Kashua, “The Occupation as Entertainment: The second season of the acclaimed TV thriller *Fauda* obscures the dark realities of Israeli rule in the West Bank,” *Foreign Policy* (1 July 2018)

Nurith Gertz and Raz Yosef, “Trauma, Time, and the 'Singular Plural': The Israeli Television Series *Fauda*,” *Israel Studies Review* 32, 2 (22 December 2017)

Noa Lavie and Amal Jamal, “Constructing Ethno-National Differentiation on the Set of the TV Series, *Fauda*,” *Ethnicities* (17 June 2019)

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in “substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They

are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society

"The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton

University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.