

PSCI 3702A
Peace and Conflict in the Middle East
Thursdays 8.35-11.25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Please note that I check my email much more frequently than my voice mail.

Course Description: This course offers a conceptual and theoretical analysis of the contemporary Middle East through an exploration of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and peace process. Using the lens of political science and international relations (IR) theory, we will address questions such as what is nationalism? How is identity created? What is the role of historical memory in shaping foreign policy? How do international conflicts start, sustain themselves, and ultimately end? What are the basic issues at stake for the actors in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? And why, despite continued efforts at peacemaking, are the parties still “at war?” While the conflict often leads to impassioned debate, we will make an effort to address the issues through an explanatory – rather than moral – lens. The course will not attempt to argue that one party is right or wrong; instead, we will, according to the aims of social science, attempt to *understand and explain why various actors act the way they do.*

To this end, we will make use of the website “bitterlemons.org,” where Israelis and Palestinians each give their “take” on an issue. We will analyze these debates in order to *understand the experience of each side* in the conflict, rather than to adjudicate between them. We will also explore some graphic novels which try to present events in a more personal and intimate way.

Books: The following books are required for the course, and are available at the Carleton University Bookstore:

Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 5th ed. (Prentice Hall, 2007). (I have referred to it as Textbook in the reading list.)

Mira Sucharov, *The International Self: Psychoanalysis and the Search for Israeli-Palestinian Peace* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), available in paperback.

The following “graphic novels” can be purchased at your favourite retailer (online or otherwise):

Joe Sacco, *Palestine* (a graphic novel), Fantagraphics Books (December 2001).
Rutu Modan, *Exit Wounds* (Drawn & Quarterly, 2007) – a graphic novel

Ari Folman, *Waltz with Bashir: A Lebanon War Story* (Metropolitan, 2009) – a graphic novel

Other readings, and schedule of topics, are indicated below.

Class Schedule:

Note: I am awaiting response from either the Palestinian delegation to Canada or the Syrian Embassy about coming to speak.

Class 1 (Jan. 8)

INTRO

Textbook, “Introduction.”

Sucharov, chapter 1

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

<http://anacreon.clas.uconn.edu/~pressman/history.pdf>

Mira Sucharov, “Teaching the Middle East,” *The Ottawa Citizen* (24 November 2008). <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/>

Class 2 (Jan. 15)

The Conflict for the Actors: Narratives, Identity, Memory

Textbook, chapter 3 & 4

Sucharov, chapter 3

Nathan Alterman, “The Silver Platter” (poem):

<http://www.phy6.org/outreach/poems/alterman.htm>

George Bisharat, “For Palestinians, memory matters. It provides a blueprint for their future.”

<http://www.palestineremembered.com/Articles/General/Story2321.html>

David Horowitz, “Toughing it Out” (author of *Still Life with Bombers: Israel in the Age of Terrorism*), short op-ed in the *New York Times* (7 October 2003). <http://tinyurl.com/6ahqnr>

Bitter lemons, “Narratives Revisited,” (Sept 4, 2006)

<http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl040906ed35.html>

Dan Bar-On and Sami Adwan, “The Prime Shared History Project: Peace-Building Project Under Fire,” (January 2006).

<http://www.vispo.com/PRIME/iram192.pdf>

Class 3 (Jan. 22)

History: 19th Century - 1948

Textbook, chapters 1 & 2

Document: The Balfour Declaration (1917):

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/balfour.asp

Yael Zerubavel, “The Mythological Sabra and Jewish Past: Trauma, Memory, and Contested Identities,” *Israel Studies* 7, 2 (Summer 2002).

Ahmad H. Sa'di, “Catastrophe, Memory, and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity,” *Israel Studies* 7, 2

(Summer 2002).

Introduction, chapter one, and chapter two of the dual narratives project: <http://www.vispo.com/PRIME/leohn1.pdf>

Class 4 (Jan. 29)

The Arab-Israeli Wars of 1956, 67, 73, 82 & Camp David

Textbook, 120-128; 140-150; 155-173; 210-214; 219-229

Sucharov, chapters 4-6.

Ari Folman, *Waltz with Bashir: A Lebanon War Story* (Metropolitan, 2009).

Document: The PLO charter (1968):

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp

Document: Text of the Camp David accords (September 1978):

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/campdav.asp

Class 5 (Feb. 5)

The First Intifada

Joe Sacco, *Palestine* (Fantagraphics Books, 2001)

Document: Arafat's speech to the UN in Geneva (1988):

<http://mondediplo.com/focus/mideast/arafat88-en>

“Intifada” section in the dual narratives project:

<http://www.vispo.com/PRIME/leohn1.pdf>

Class 6 (Feb. 12)

The 1991 Gulf War and the Peace Process Begins

AND...guest speaker: Jill Sinclair, former Special Coordinator to the Middle East Peace Process for Canada; currently assistant deputy minister, National Defense (Canada) (8:30).

Textbook, chapters 10 & 11

Sucharov, chapter 7

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>

This website will help you prepare for the guest speaker:

Canada's Role on Key Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade* website

http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/middle_east/can_policy-en.asp

DUE: One-page proposal for creative project

****Feb. 19 NO CLASS (reading week)****

Class 7 (Feb. 26)

Terrorism, Settlements, Hamas, The Fence/Wall

Rutu Modan, *Exit Wounds* (Drawn & Quarterly, 2007).
bitterlemons.org (“Settlements, Violence, Security”) August 1,
2005 (edition 27) <http://tinyurl.com/7txth>

Bitter Lemons, “The Fence/Wall Revisited” (12 March 2007)
<http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl120307ed10.html>

Document: Hamas charter (1988):

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp

Mouin Rabbani, “A Hamas Perspective on the Movement’s
Evolving Role: An Interview with Khalid Mishal: Part II,”
[Journal of Palestine Studies](#) (Summer 2008), Vol. 37, No. 4, Pages
59–81

Tom Segev, “A Bitter Prize” (review of Gershom Gorenberg,
Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 2006),
Foreign Affairs (May/June 2006).

[http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060501fareviewessay85312/to
m-segev/a-bitter-prize.html](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060501fareviewessay85312/to-m-segev/a-bitter-prize.html)

Film: *The Fence* (Alexandre Trudeau; Canada, 2004) – in class.

Class 8 (March 5)

The Refugee Issue & Jerusalem

Bitterlemons.org (“Refugees and the Right of Return”), December
31, 2001 (edition 5) <http://tinyurl.com/a65dg>

bitterlemons, “Jerusalem and the Current Final-Status Talks,” (8
September 2008),

<http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl090908ed35.html>

Amos Elon, “The Deadlocked City,” *New York Review of Books*
(October 18, 2001) Available at:

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14624>

Class 9 (March 12)

The Regional Context & The Middle East on Campus

F. Gregory Gause III, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?” *Foreign
Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2005).

Trita Parsi. 2006. Israel and the origins of Iran's Arab option:
Dissection of a strategy misunderstood. *Middle East Journal*,
60(3), Summer 2006, 493-512.

Ahmed Abdel Halim. 2002. The Unique Role of the Moderate
Arab States. *Washington Quarterly*, 25(4), Autumn 2002, 187-97.

Gawdat Bahgat. “Iraq and Israel,” *Journal of South East Asian and
Middle Eastern Studies* 27, 1 (Fall 2003).

FILM: *Discordia* (NFB, 2004) – in class.

Class 10 (March 19)

**The U.S. Role
AND CREATIVE PROJECTS DUE**

bitterlemons.org (“The U.S. Role”) May 30, 2005 (edition 18)

<http://tinyurl.com/85jrn>

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” *London Review of Books* (23 March 2006).

<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01.html>

Mead, Walter Russell, “Jerusalem Syndrome: Decoding ‘The Israel Lobby,’” *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2007).

<http://tinyurl.com/2cnypa>

Jerome Slater, “Ideology vs. the National Interest: Bush, Sharon, and the US Policy in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” *Security Studies* 12, no. 1, autumn 2002, 164-206.

Jeffrey Goldberg, “Obama on Zionism and Hamas,” *The Atlantic* (12 May 2008). <http://tinyurl.com/4t84vs>

SHOWCASE of CREATIVE PROJECTS. Details to be given closer to the time.

Class 11 (March 26)

**The Israel-Lebanon War
AND...Guest Speaker: Deputy Head of Israeli Mission to
Canada, Amit Gil-Bayaz.**

Textbook, chapter 12

Bitter lemons, “The Jewish State Question”

<http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl171207ed46.html>

Aluf Benn and Akiva Eldar, “Looking for the endgame,” *Ha’aretz* (Israeli newspaper), October 1, 2006,

<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=769432>

Max Rodenbeck, “War Within War,” *New York Review of Books* 53, Number 14, September 21, 2006,

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19250>

“Hizballah Through The Fog Of The Lebanon War: An Interview with Augustus Richard Norton,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, autumn 2006.

Class 12 (April 2)

Conclusion: Looking Ahead

Textbook, chapter 13 and “Conclusion”

Sucharov, chapter 8

Bitter Lemons, “Fifteen Years to the Oslo Accord,” (15 September 2008). <http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl150908ed36.html>

Bitter Lemons, “A one, two or three state solution? (18 August

2008).

<http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl180808ed32.html>

REQUIREMENTS

Participation	30%
Creative Project	35%
Final Exam	35%

Participation

At the beginning of each class session, you will hand in a question related to the readings for that class (Length: half a page, appx.) The question should identify something you find puzzling, and/or capture some thematic issue represented in that day's literature. Take care to demonstrate that you've done the readings and are familiar with the arguments contained in them. Questions will receive a check-plus, a check, or nothing – (if unintelligible or if not handed in).

Creative Project

The second course requirement involves a creative project of your choosing. The goal is to engage the course themes as well as current (or historical) events in the Israeli-Palestinian domain through a medium not typically used in social science courses. The project must be accompanied by a 5-page written analysis (with academic citations) detailing the project's themes, the questions raised, the answers proposed, etc.

Late Policy

Assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized by 1.5% of the 100% assignment grade per 24 hours, including weekends. Exceptions to this policy will only be made for academic accommodations, as outlined below or for medical or personal emergencies substantiated by official documentation.

You may do the project as either a solo or small-group (max. 3 students) undertaking.

One-page proposal due: Feb. 12 and as per early feedback guidelines, the paper will be returned to you by February 27th.

Project due: March 19

Some suggestions:

Blog

Graphic Novella

Video (animated or live action)

A Digital Slideshow

A Short Documentary

A Short Screenplay

One Act Play

A Rock Opera

On March 19 date, we attempt will showcase some (maybe all – logistics permitting) of the projects in class. More information to be given closer to the time.

Here are some suggested news sites to keep current on the conflict/peace process:

Globe and Mail www.globeandmail.ca
The New York Times www.nytimes.com
The Washington Post www.washingtonpost.com
BBC <http://news.bbc.co.uk>
CNN www.cnn.com
PBS www.pbs.org
Ha'aretz www.haaretz.com
The Jerusalem Report Magazine www.jrep.com
Yediot Aharonot (Ynet). www.ynet.co.il
The Alternative Information Center <http://www.alternativenews.org>
Electronic Intifada <http://electronicintifada.net>
The Jordan Times <http://jordantimes.com>
Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre <http://jmcc.org>
Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research <http://pcpsr.org>
***NOTE: The Israel Policy Forum www.israelpolicyforum.org has a “media summary” updated daily, with links to Middle East-related articles from various news sources.

Final Exam

The final exam, to be scheduled during the formal exam period, April 8-27th excluding April 11th, will test material covered in lectures and readings during the entire course. Details will be given closer to the time.

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life 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 numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.