

HISTORY 465

PAUL SEDRA

THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT

SUMMER 2010

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This course will adopt a social and cultural history approach to a subject that is most commonly analyzed in terms of political and diplomatic currents. Among the topics the course will address are Zionism, the British Mandate in Palestine, the creation of the state of Israel, the rise of modern Palestinian nationalism, and the impact of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute on the Middle East as a whole.

N.B. This is not an introductory course. Students are expected to have a knowledge of the broad outlines of the political and diplomatic history of the conflict. Please pay particular attention to the prerequisites listed below.

Evaluation:

1. In-class mid-term exam 30%
2. Presentation 10%
3. Research paper 40%
4. Paper progress report 10%
5. Seminar participation 10%

Texts:

1. David W. Lesch, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2007).
2. Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt: The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past* (University of Arkansas Press, 2003).
3. Journal articles accessible through the SFU library website, via the stable URLs listed below.

News: At the beginning of the term, students must select one Middle Eastern newspaper and one non-Middle Eastern newspaper to consult on a regular basis online during the term. There is a wide range of Middle Eastern newspapers available in English editions on the web, and students may choose whatever newspaper they wish, as long as the newspaper has a correspondent in Israel-Palestine. As for the non-Middle Eastern paper, again the choice is up to the student, as long as the newspaper has a reporter or bureau based in Israel-Palestine. Students are invited to send articles they find particularly interesting or related to course themes to the instructor.

Prerequisites: 45 units, including nine units of lower-division history credit, and one of HIST 151, 249, 251, 350, 354, or 355, or permission of the department. HIST 151 and 355 are both highly recommended.

Format: Students are expected to arrive having carefully scrutinized the readings for the week, and prepared to offer an analysis and critique of each of those readings. Discussion and debate are the foundation of the work students will undertake. The function of the professor is to moderate debate, to offer suggestions for directions of discussion, and to provide context for the readings. The professor expects students to leave no received notion or conventional wisdom unchallenged. Attending class is, thus, understandably, an integral part of the course.

Presentation:

1. At the beginning of the term, students will select a debate topic of particular interest, from among those listed below.
2. At the beginning of the seminar to which they are assigned, students will make a presentation of eight minutes altogether – divided into a five-minute speech, followed by a three-minute rebuttal of her/his opponent.
3. One student will support the argument indicated by the resolution, and one student will oppose the argument.
4. The students are expected to draw, in the first instance, upon the texts assigned in the syllabus for the given session. Only then should the student draw upon further texts – those students may locate through library research, or through the assistance of the instructor. Please do not hesitate to consult with the instructor for suggestions in this regard.
5. Please note that each student is expected to engage with her/his opponent's ideas directly, and that, accordingly, the three-minute rebuttal should be entirely impromptu and unprepared.
6. After the two students have debated, the instructor will open the discussion to the rest of the class.

In-class test: The in-class test will cover all the material discussed in the course to that point. The test will consist of four essay questions, two of which students are expected to answer. The essay questions will require students to identify, analyze, and critique trends in the historiography.

Class participation: Repeated absences from class will lead to a failing participation grade. Please consult the instructor should you have to miss classes for health or family reasons. Completion of the readings before class and a consistent effort to contribute to class discussions will be rewarded with high marks in this category. Lateness and poor preparation for class will be penalized.

Term paper: Term papers are evaluated for clarity, organization, insight, and originality. Faulty grammar, spelling, and syntax reduce clarity, and will thus reduce your grade. Grades are final and not subject to negotiation. Term papers submitted after the deadline receive a penalty of ten percent for the first day late; for each additional day late, a further five percent will be deducted. The instructor will not accept submissions beyond a week from the given deadline. Extensions of deadlines will only be granted in the event of a documented health or family crisis.

Course regulations:

- I will not tolerate cheating or plagiarism. These are extremely serious academic offences which may lead to loss of credit, suspension, expulsion from the University, or the revocation of a degree. If you are having trouble with a concept or assignment, meet with the instructor well before the relevant deadlines. Keep in mind that poor, but legitimate, performance in a given assignment is far preferable to jeopardizing your academic career through fraud.
 - All students in this class are to read and understand the policies on plagiarism and academic honesty. Ignorance of such policies is no excuse for violations. In student papers, it is essential that there be correct attribution of authorities from which facts and opinions have been derived.
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May 14th

Introduction

May 21st

Imagining Palestine

Lesch, 1-15.

Swedenburg, xv-xxxiv.

Eitan Bar-Yosef, "Christian Zionism and Victorian Culture," *Israel Studies* 8, 2 (Summer 2003), 18-44.

http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/israel_studies/v008/8.2yosef.html

Charlotte Whiting, "Geographical Imaginations of the "Holy Land": Biblical Topography and Archaeological Practice," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, 2-3 (June/September 2007), 237-250.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a788246931>

Simon Coleman, "From the Sublime to the Meticulous: Art, Anthropology and Victorian Pilgrimage to Palestine," *History and Anthropology* 13, 4 (2002), 275-290.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a713717652>

Ruth Kark, "The Impact of Early Missionary Enterprises on Landscape and Identity Formation in Palestine, 1820–1914," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 15, 2 (2004), 209–235.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=jour~content=a713621392>

debate

Be it resolved that most Western travelers and missionaries in Palestine consciously advanced Zionist political claims to the land.

May 28th

The Age of Nationalism

Lesch, 16-44.

Swedenburg, 1-37.

Baruch Kimmerling, "The Formation of Palestinian Collective Identities: The Ottoman and Mandatory Periods," *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, 2 (April 2000), 48-81.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/4284071>

Derek J. Penslar, "Herzl and the Palestinian Arabs: Myth and Counter-Myth," *The Journal of Israeli History* 24, 1 (March 2005), 65–77.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a713720571>

Mark Levine, "Globalization, Architecture, and Town Planning in a Colonial City: The Case of Jaffa and Tel Aviv," *Journal of World History* 18, 2

http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_world_history/summary/v018/18.2levine.html

Etan Bloom, "What 'The Father' had in mind? Arthur Ruppin (1876–1943), cultural identity, weltanschauung and action," *History of European Ideas* 33 (2007), 330–349.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/01916599>

debate

Be it resolved that nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whether Zionism or Palestinian Arab nationalism, was developed and directed by elites.

June 4th

The Social History of the Mandate

Lesch, 45-93.

Swedenburg, 38-75.

Issa Khalaf, "The Effect of Socioeconomic Change on Arab Societal Collapse in Mandate Palestine," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997), 93-112.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/163853>

Eric Engel Tuten, "Courting Private Capital: The Jewish National Fund's Joint Land Purchase Scheme in Mandatory Palestine, 1938-47," *Middle Eastern Studies* 38, 3 (July 2002), 123-144.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/4284245>

Yair Seltenreich, "Jewish or Arab Hired Workers? Inner Tensions in a Jewish Settlement in Pre-state Israel," *International Review of Social History* 49 (2004), 225-247

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=255261>

Zachary Lockman, "Railway Workers and Relational History: Arabs and Jews in British-Ruled Palestine," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, 3 (July 1993), 601-627.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=4419496>

debate

Be it resolved that Zionists of the second *aliya* betrayed their socialist ideals by dividing the Palestine labor market along ethnic lines.

June 11th

The Cultural History of the Mandate

Lesch, 94-125.

Swedenburg, 76-106.

Nadia Abu El-Haj, "Producing (Arti) Facts: Archaeology and Power During the British Mandate of Palestine," *Israel Studies* 7, 2 (Summer 2002), 33-61.

http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/israel_studies/v007/7.2el-haj.html

Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine: Tourism as a Political-Propaganda Tool," *Israel Studies* 9, 1 (Spring 2004), 61-85.

http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/israel_studies/v009/9.1cohen-hattab.html

Dafna Hirsch, “‘We Are Here to Bring the West, Not Only to Ourselves’: Zionist Occidentalism and the Discourse of Hygiene in Mandate Palestine,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41 (2009), 577–594.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=6417224>

debate

Be it resolved that the strength of Zionist culture was of far greater importance than Zionist economic dominance in Palestine, in cementing Jewish claims to the land.

June 18th

The 1948 War

Lesch, 126-161.

Swedenburg, 107-137.

Shabtai Teveth, “Charging Israel with Original Sin,” *Commentary* 88, 3 (September 1989).

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://pao.chadwyck.com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/journals/displayItemFromId.do?QueryType=journals&ItemID=1064#listItem75>

Efraim Karsh, “Resurrecting the Myth: Benny Morris, the Zionist Movement, and the ‘Transfer’ Idea,” *Israel Affairs* 11, 3 (July 2005), 469–490.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~db=all~content=a714003417~fulltext=713240928>

Joseph Heller, “Alternative Narratives and Collective Memories: Israel’s New Historians and the Use of Historical Context,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, 4 (July 2006), 571–586.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/openurl?genre=article&issn=0026%2d3206&volume=42&issue=4&spage=571>

Moshe Naor, “Israel’s 1948 War of Independence as a Total War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, 2 (2008), 241-257.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://jch.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/43/2/241>

debate

Be it resolved that the failure of Palestinian Arabs to secure an independent state in 1948 was a result of their social and cultural weakness as a community.

June 25th

Israeli Independence and Aftermath

Lesch, 162-194.

Swedenburg, 138-170.

Anat Leibler and Daniel Breslau, "The uncounted: Citizenship and exclusion in the Israeli census of 1948," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, 5 (September 2005), 880-902.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a714023356>

Elia Zureik, "Constructing Palestine through Surveillance Practices," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28, 2 (November 2001), 205-227.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/826125>

Avi Shlaim, "Israel Between East And West, 1948-56," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004), 657-673.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=248602>

Ghazi Falah, "The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and Its Aftermath: The Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine's Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86, 2 (June 1996), 256-285.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a788968846>

debate

Be it resolved that the Israeli political leadership of the late 1940s and early 1950s had no interest in reaching a peace settlement with Palestinian Arabs or their Arab neighbours.

July 2nd

Occupation, Settlement, and Resistance

Lesch, 195-232.

Rebecca L. Stein, "Souvenirs Of Conquest: Israeli Occupations as Tourist Events," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (2008), 647-669.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=2429040>

George Habash and Mahmoud Soueid, "Taking Stock. An Interview with George Habash," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, 1 (Autumn 1998), 86-101.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/2538058>

Yezid Sayigh, "Turning Defeat into Opportunity: The Palestinian Guerrillas after the June 1967 War," *Middle East Journal* 46, 2 (Spring 1992), 244-265.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/4328432>

Laleh Khalili, “‘Standing with My Brother’: Hizbullah, Palestinians, and the Limits of Solidarity,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, 2 (2007), 276–303.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=978148>

Joseph Massad, “Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 32, 3 (Spring 2003), 21-38.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/3247332>

debate

Be it resolved that the rise of guerrilla organizations like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was essential to securing international consciousness for the political claims of Palestinian Arabs.

July 9th

Midterm

July 16th

Intifada

Lesch, 233-316.

Swedenburg, 171-201.

Julie Peteet, “Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian ‘Intifada’: A Cultural Politics of Violence,” *American Ethnologist* 21, 1 (February 1994), 31-49.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/646520>

Kenneth W. Stein, “The Intifada and the 1936-39 Uprising: A Comparison,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19, 4 (Summer 1990), 64-85.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/pss/2537389>

debate

Be it resolved that the *intifada* was an abject failure in advancing the political claims of the Palestinian people.

July 23rd

Paper Progress Reports, Discussion of Midterm Results

Lesch, 317-392.

July 30th

The Politics of Writing History

Lesch, 393-460.

Swedenburg, 202-209.

Rachel Maissy-Noy, "Palestinian Historiography in Relation to the Territory of Palestine," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, 6 (November 2006), 889–905.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a758392234>

Julie Peteet, "Words as interventions: naming in the Palestine–Israel conflict," *Third World Quarterly* 26, 1 (2005), 153–172.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a713698704&db=all>

Ruth Linn, "Genocide and the politics of remembering: the nameless, the celebrated, and the would-be Holocaust heroes," *Journal of Genocide Research* 5, 4 (December 2003), 565–586.

<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a714038460>

debate

Be it resolved that Palestinian historians are less likely to write objectively about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict than are Israeli historians, because of the failure of the Palestinian nationalist movement to secure an independent state.

August 6th

Papers Due, Concluding Discussion of Recent News