

HIST/ASIA/PWAD 277: The “Conflict”* Over Israel and Palestine

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Tuesdays/Thursdays 9:30-10:45 AM

Howell Hall - Rm 0115

*** *I did not choose the name of the course*

Course Intent

Description

“Ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied.” - Edward Said

In this class, we will cover the history of Palestine and Israel, largely from the perspective of the 19th-21st centuries. In delving into this history, we will be guided by several through-line questions. Some of the questions we will ask about the history of Palestine and Israel are relatively more straightforward, examining the contours of history. These inquiries will explain the who, the what, the when, and the wheres of this historical relationship. Other questions involve interrogating perspectives, power, and how they are related. These ones will interrogate the whys: why did history turn out the way that it has, and why do we know what we know?

The goal of this class is not to attempt to advance solutions, which is not the job of historians. Instead, this course is a foray into the past in order to understand the processes of building nations, nationalisms, and peoples. We will work with primary sources, secondary sources, artistic renderings, music, and literatures in order to understand these realities. Our goal is to understand existing narratives, who shapes them, and how power moves through the telling of histories. Students will be expected to examine and engage the sources in this class and offer critical analyses of their own. We will continue to return to these questions throughout all of the units:

1. How do we tell history, and why does it matter?
2. Can history tell us the truth?

Schedule

Week 1: Introductions

1. [Thursday, 18 August] Intro lecture
 - Introductions
 - Syllabus
 - The problems of teaching this course

Readings

- Suggested: Mahmood Darwish's poem: "[To My Mother](#)"
- Suggested: [Two Myths Among Many](#)

Assignments:

- **Analysis of three news articles (due August 31):**
 - <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/09/winners-losers/616364/>
 - <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/5/18/the-utter-failure-of-the-abraham-accords>
 - <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/EXT-INTERACTIVE-a-brave-new-middle-east-top-experts-break-down-momentous-israel-uae-bahrain-accord-1.9157511>

Week 2: The Beginning

1. [Tuesday, August 24] Lecture 1: #SaveSheikhJarrah and How Did We Get Here?
 - What is objectivity?
 - How do we tell history?
 - Social media clips
2. [Thursday, August 26] Lecture 2: "Race Science, Settler Colonialism, and the Making of Today"

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Chapter 1 of Amahl A. Bishara's *Back Stories*
 - objectivity as a problem
- Due Thursday:
 - Matthew Frank, "Fantasies of Ethnic Unmixing: Population Transfer and the Collapse of Empire in Europe." *Refugees and the End of Empire: Imperial Collapse and Forced Migration in the Twentieth Century*.

Week 3: Palestine during the Ottoman Empire

1. [Tuesday, August 31] Lecture 1: Focus on the 19th century until the Tanzimat
2. [Thursday, September 2] Lecture 2: Ottoman 20th-Century until the end of WWI

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Beshara Doumani, "Introduction" 1-9; "Chapter Four: The Political Economy of Olive Oil" 131-181" *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus 1700- 1900* (University of California Press, 1995)
 - [Primary Source] "An Ottoman Government Decree Defines the Official Notion of the 'Modern' Citizen," June 19, 1870," in Akram Fouad Khater, *Sources in the History of the Modern Middle East* (North Carolina University, 2004)
- Due Thursday:
 - Michelle U. Campos, "Introduction," *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine* (Stanford University Press, 2011).

Assignments:

- Due August 31: News headline analysis paper

Week 4: Backing Up: European Epistemologies of Mastery and (Un)Belonging

1. [Tuesday, September 7] Lecture 1: Guest lecture (Israel Domínguez): Enlightenment, mastery, and epistemologies toward religious truth
 - Nationalism and Zionism
2. [Thursday, September 9] Lecture 2: European Colonialism
 - Broad scope
 - Purpose
 - Effect
 - Myths (Palestine didn't exist before the mandate)

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - [TBD reading assignment by Israel]
 - Listen: [15 Minute History Podcast: European Imperialism in the Middle East \(part 1\)](#) and [Part 2](#)

- Due Thursday:
 - Listen: [Palestine: The History of a Name](#)
 - Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, excerpts in Arthur Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (Meridian Books, 1960); 204-226.

Week 5: WWI and the Mandate

1. [Tuesday, September 14] Lecture 1: Impact of WWI on the region
 - Various Agreements: Sykes-Picot, Balfour, Hussein-McMahon
 - Borders
 - Resources
 - Palestinian communities during and before the mandate
 - Mandates as “tutoring”
2. [Thursday, September 16] Lecture 2: The mandate
 - Talk about pre-mandate waves of European Jewish migrants
 - British partition plans
 - Attempting to bottleneck European Jewish migration during the Holocaust
 - Talk about pre-mandate waves of European Jewish migrants

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Listen: [The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine](#)
 - [Primary Source] [Balfour Agreement](#)
 - [Primary Source] [League of Nations Mandates](#)
 - [Primary Source] “The General Syrian Congress: Memorandum Presented the King-Crane Commission (July 2, 1919) in Walter Laquer and Barry Rubin, *The Israeli Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (Penguin Books, 1969); 23-27.
- Due Thursday:
 - [Primary Source] [Peel Commission Report](#)
 - Gelvin, Chapter Three: “Zionism and the Colonization of Palestine” 46-75.

Assignments:

- Quiz 1 due Thursday, September 16

Week 6: 1948: The Nakba and the Founding of Israel

1. [Tuesday, September 21] Lecture 1: The 1936 Great Revolt
2. [Thursday, September 23] Lecture 2: The Nakba

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Gelvin, Chapter Six: "From the Great Revolt Through the 1948 War," 117-144.
- Due Thursday:
 - Three versions of 1948:

Preparation: Read three versions of 1948:

Abba Eban, "Independence," from *My Country*

Erskine Childers, "The Wordless Wish"

Benny Morris, "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948"

- Avi Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27:3 (August 1995), 287-304.

Week 7: 1948: Between 1948 and 1967

1. [Tuesday, September 28] Lecture 1: The regional decade of revolutions and how that bears on Palestine-Israel
 - Free Officers Revolution in Egypt
 - 1958 Iraq
 - 1958 Lebanon
 - 1966 Syria
2. [Thursday, September 30] Lecture 2: 1967

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Schayegh, C. (2013). "1958 Reconsidered: State Formation and the Cold War in the Early Postcolonial Middle East." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45(3), 421-443.
- Due Thursday:
 - Gelvin, from Chapter Eight "The Arab-Israeli Conflict," 174-183
 - "Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban: Speech at the Special Assembly of the United Nations June 19, 1967" in Walter Laquer and Barry Rubin, *The Israeli Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (Penguin Books, 1969); 207-229

- Ariel Sharon, "Settling the Territories," *Warrior, The Autobiography of Ariel Sharon* (355-372)

Week 8: Internationalism

1. [Tuesday, October 5] Midterm Review
2. [Thursday, October 7] PLO internationalism
 - Black September
 - Lebanese Civil War
 - Black Panthers and solidarity with Palestine

Readings:

- No readings for Tuesday
- Due Thursday:
 - Jean Genet, "Four Hours in Shatila," *Journal of Palestine Studies* v. 12 n.3 (Spring 1983), 3-22.
 - Rashid Khalidi, "Fateh, the PLO, and the PA: The Palestinian Para-State," in *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 140-181.

Week 9: Internationalism Part II

1. [Tuesday, October 12] Palestinians in the Refugee Diaspora
2. [Thursday, October 14] 1973 and the Rise of the Israeli Right

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Ilana Feldman's *Life Lived in Relief*, Chapters 1 and 3
- Due Thursday:
 - [Quick Thoughts: Avi Shlaim on Israel's New Historians, Hamas, and the BDS Movement](#)
 - Joe Stork, "Sadat's Desperate Mission," [MERIP Reports 64 \(1978\), 3-16](#).

Assignments:

- Midterm due Tuesday, October 12

- Assignment: In-class analysis of news headlines: how have you seen evangelical movements (or others) support Israel? Why? What have they said?

Week 10: Palestinian Joy and Futures

1. [Tuesday, October 19] Art, Sports, Music, Sci-Fi, and Love
2. [Thursday, October 21] NO CLASS: Fall Break

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Select short stories from *Palestine +100*
 - “Introduction”; “N”; “Digital Nation”; “Application 39”; “Curse of the Mudball Kid”
- No readings Thursday -- Fall Break

Week 11: Intifada I and the Oslo Accords

1. [Tuesday, October 26] Intifada 1
2. [Thursday, October 28] Oslo Accords

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Selection from Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp. 1-52 (pp. 32-58 in pdf)
 - “Palestine National Council: Declaration of Independence (November 15, 1988)” in Walter Laquer and Barry Rubin, *The Israeli Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (Penguin Books, 1969); 354-358.
- Due Thursday:
 - [Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, “Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors”](#)
 - “Israel and PLO: Declaration of Principles of Interim Self-Government Arrangement [‘Oslo Agreement’] (September 13, 1993)” in Walter Laquer and Barry Rubin, *The Israeli Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (Penguin Books, 1969); 413-422.

Week 12: The Architecture and Cityscapes of Apartheid

1. [Tuesday, November 2] Guest lecture (Mekarem Eljamal): Quotidian city developments, urban planning, and the installation of apartheid
2. [Thursday, November 4] The border wall, resistance, and NGOs

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - Yara Hawari (2019), “Erasing Memories of Palestine in Settler-Colonial Urban Space: The Case of Haifa” *Routledge Handbook on Middle East Studies*.
 - Oren Yiftachel and Haim Yacobi (2003), “Urban ethnocracy: ethnicization and the production of space in an Israeli ‘mixed city,’” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*.
- Due Thursday:
 - [B’Tselem, “The Separation Barrier”](#)
 - Eyal Weizmann, “Chapter Five: Checkpoints: The Split Sovereign and the One-Way Mirror,” in *Hollow Land: Israel’s Architecture of Occupation* (Verso, 2012), 139-293.
- Suggested:
 - [UN Report, “The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier”](#)
 - [Israel High Court Ruling Docket H.C.J. 7957/04: International Legality of the Security Fence and Sections near Alfei Menashe](#)

Week 13: Intifada II and the Post-Intifada Landscape

1. [Tuesday, November 9] Intifada II: Leadup, Dynamics, Consequences
2. Thursday, November 11]: Everyday Life Post-Intifada
 - Watching [Film: “The Present”](#)

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - [Anatomy of Another Rebellion](#)
- Due Thursday:
 - Jeff Halper, “The 94 Percent Solution: Israel’s Matrix of Control,” in Joel Benin and Rebecca Stein, *The Struggle for Sovereignty*, 62-71

Assignments:

- **Quiz II due Thursday, November 11**

Week 14: Current Political Realities in Palestine and Israel Part I

1. [Tuesday, November 16] Politics in Israel: The Rise of Likud, Coalition-Building, and the Settler Movement
 - Jewish National Law
 - Abraham Accords
2. [Thursday, November 18] Politics in Palestine: Palestinian Authority, Hamas, and others

Readings:

- Due Tuesday
 - Joel Beinin, “Forgetfulness for Memory: The Limits of the New Israeli History,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24: 2 (Winter 2005) 6-23. OR Edward Said, “Invention, Memory, and Place,” *Critical Inquiry* 26:2 (Winter 2000), 175-192.
- Due Thursday
 - Watch: [Mayor](#) (2020) (watch on Netflix)

Week 15: Current Political Realities in Palestine and Israel Part II

1. [Tuesday, November 23] Discourses and Materialities of Dispossession
 - Pinkwashing
 - Greenwashing and Green Colonialism
2. No class Thursday – Thanksgiving

Readings:

- Due Tuesday:
 - [Danger, Turbines! A Jawlani Cry against Green Energy Colonialism in the Occupied Syrian Golan Heights](#)
 - Saffo Papantonopoulou, ‘Even a Freak Like You Would Be Safe in Tel Aviv’: Transgender Subjects, Wounded Attachments, and the Zionist Economy of Gratitude,” *Women's Studies Quarterly* , SPRING/SUMMER 2014, Vol. 42, No. 1/2, DEBT (SPRING/SUMMER 2014), pp. 278-293.
 - Optional: [Israel and ‘Pinkwashing’](#)

Week 16: Review and Return to #SaveSheikhJarrah

1. LDOC [Tuesday, November 30]

Readings:

- None assigned. Suggested:
 - [Observations on the Human Rights Watch Report on Israeli Apartheid](#)

Assignments:

- Curation assignment due Tuesday, November 30

Final due on xxx date.

Credit: Thank you to Dr. Sherene Seikaly, Dr. Ziad Abu-Rish, Dr. Sarah Shields, Israel Domínguez, and Mekarem Eljamal for their help and guidance in creating this syllabus.

Assignments:

1. Two short-answer/multiple choice quizzes (15% each)
2. Participation (15%)
3. News headline analysis paper (5%)
4. Curation activity (a music playlist or an exhibit) (10%)
5. Midterm Paper (20%)
6. Final “Unessay” Assignment (20%)

Assignment Explanations:

Quizzes (15% each)

Both of the quizzes will open up on Sakai two days before their due date. They will have a combination of short answer and multiple choice questions. They will quiz you on cumulative information we have covered up until the day at which the quiz opens up. Quiz 1 will test information up until Week 5 and Quiz 2 will test information up until Week 12.

News Headline Analysis Paper (5%)

In a **300 word response**, you will analyze three different news outlets’ coverage of the recently-inaugurated Abraham Accords between Israel and various Gulf countries. You will be asked to come up with an original thesis that seeks to explain what the differences and

similarities in coverage are between these outlets, as well as why you believe they are different. For example, you could interrogate what aspects of the Accords these outlets are differently emphasizing and why.

The purpose of this assignment is to analyze the positions and perspectives that you can perceive in each publication. Being able to critically examine the position of a source is a crucial skill for historical research, in disciplines across the humanities, as well as in daily life when you consume news media content.

Curation Activity (10%)

An integral part of this course is to delve into representations, memory, community, and space-making. As such, this assignment asks you to curate certain artistic representations in order to understand the life-worlds of Palestinians and Israelis. Your list must be selected on a theme that you want to explore—for instance, your theme could be emotional (like love), could focus on a single historical event (like the 1936 Great Arab Revolt), or be on one particular form/genre of art (calligraphy or hip-hop). You must explain the historical significance of the theme you chose in a **three-page write up** that accompanies your curation as well as what unites all of the pieces you have selected for your curation. In that write-up, you must also explain why you selected each of the pieces you did, how they fit into the theme, and your interpretation of the pieces' significance.

You will use wakelet.com to display this playlist, list, or gallery to share with the class. Your curation must have at least 15 pieces included.

These are some options for curation:

- Music playlist
- Art gallery
- Poetry list
- Another curated list of your choosing (please run it by me)

Midterm Paper (20%)

The midterm is an opportunity to flex your analytical muscle. You will be presented with two different prompts from which you can choose, and we will discuss the possible prompts closer to when the midterm is due. The midterm should be **five pages long** (double-spaced, 12 point Times New Roman font, 1-inch margins on all sides), and should use no less than

five sources. At least three of those sources must come from class materials (either readings or lecture). Remember that no paper can be excellent without a clear, concise, and powerful central argument around which the rest of your paper is based and upon which you draw your evidence.

Final “Unessay” Assignment (20%)

The final is your time to reflect on and engage with what you have learned this semester as well to expand on it with a creativity only you are able to bring forth. As such, it is one that is flexible in terms of the kind of project you would like to create. However, all of the projects must in some way address this question:

In your opinion, what are the three most impactful aspects of history—events, organizations, historical forces, political projects, or otherwise—that have shaped today’s outcomes in Palestine and Israel? Using evidence we have covered in class, make your argument and support it.

The only stipulation is that all of your projects (unless you choose to write a standard paper, per the details below) must include a **two-page write up** reflecting on what you have created and why, as well as what the central thesis of your work is (yes, even art can have a thesis).

Some possible options for your assignment are:

- A podcast episode or a video (at least fifteen minutes)
- An E-Zine: (at least five pages) reference this guide <https://www.cultofpedagogy.com/student-e-books/>
- If you would prefer to write an essay on the question or research topic of your choosing, that is fine. Your essay must be at least five pages (double-spaced, 12 point Times New Roman font, 1-inch margins on all sides) and contain a central thesis. Discuss the topic ahead of time with me so we can assess it together.
- Another project of your choice

All project ideas must be discussed with me ahead of time so that we can ensure the project suggested meets with the course standards.

Participation (15%)

***Participation expectations are explained under the course policies section.*

Grading

Plus/minus grading will be used in the final grades for this course. The following table indicates the number of points associated with each grade.

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A	94-100
<u>A-</u>	<u>90-93.9</u>
B+	87-89.9
B	83-86.9
<u>B-</u>	<u>80-82.9</u>
C+	77-79.9
C	73-76.9
<u>C-</u>	<u>70-72.9</u>
D+	67-69.9
<u>D</u>	<u>60-66.9</u>
F	59.9 or below

Course Policies:

Attendance/Participation

This course requires active participation in class discussion and exercises. You must be present and engaged to be an active participant. I will provide lecture materials, instruction on activities, and facilitation of in-class discussion, but it is up to you to participate in the classroom discourse. Please feel free to share relevant thoughts and ideas in class.

Additionally, regular attendance is going to be an important part of this class. However, you will have up to two (2) opportunities to miss, no questions asked. Life happens, so if you need to miss class more than that, let me know and we can work something out.

Although open expression of ideas in this class is encouraged, your freedom to share your thoughts should never infringe on other students' freedom to share theirs. This is a history course which prizes critical engagement with texts, discourses, and sensitive historical events, so I fully expect disagreement to arise at times. All students are expected to disagree respectfully and intelligently. This means no ad hominem attacks or sweeping generalizations. I am committed to this classroom as a safe space for working out ideas and

concepts, as well as understanding difficult and often-unfamiliar material, but it is not a space for the articulation of hateful or disrespectful speech.

The university requires I include this statement. We can work out other accommodations as necessary.

No right or privilege exists that permits a student to be absent from any class meetings, except for these University Approved Absences:

1. Authorized University activities
2. Disability/religious observance/pregnancy, as required by law and approved by [Accessibility Resources and Service](#) and/or the [Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office](#) (EOC)
3. Significant health condition and/or personal/family emergency as approved by the [Office of the Dean of Students](#), [Gender Violence Service Coordinators](#), and/or the [Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office](#) (EOC).

Please communicate with me early about potential absences. Please be aware that you are bound by the [Honor Code](#) when making a request for a University approved absence.

Accessibility Resources and Services

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations, including resources and services, for students with disabilities, chronic medical conditions, a temporary disability or pregnancy complications resulting in barriers to fully accessing University courses, programs and activities.

Accommodations are determined through the Office of Accessibility Resources and Service (ARS) for individuals with documented qualifying disabilities in accordance with applicable state and federal laws. See the ARS Website for contact information: <https://ars.unc.edu> or email ars@unc.edu.

Counseling and Psychological Resources

CAPS is strongly committed to addressing the mental health needs of a diverse student body through timely access to consultation and connection to clinically appropriate services, whether for short or long-term needs. Go to their website: <https://caps.unc.edu/> or visit their

facilities on the third floor of the Campus Health Services building for a walk-in evaluation to learn more. (*source: Student Safety and Wellness Proposal for EPC, Sep 2018*)

Title IX Resources

Any student who is impacted by discrimination, harassment, interpersonal (relationship) violence, sexual violence, sexual exploitation, or stalking is encouraged to seek resources on campus or in the community. Reports can be made online to the EOC at <https://eoc.unc.edu/report-an-incident/>. Please contact the University's Title IX Coordinator (Elizabeth Hall, interim – titleixcoordinator@unc.edu), Report and Response Coordinators in the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (reportandresponse@unc.edu), Counseling and Psychological Services (confidential), or the Gender Violence Services Coordinators (gvscc@unc.edu; confidential) to discuss your specific needs. Additional resources are available at safe.unc.edu.

Technology

Because all of the assigned material is digital/digitized, electronic equipment (laptops, tablets, etc.) is a necessity for this course. However, please refrain from texting or browsing the Internet for unrelated content. Failure to comply with this may result in loss of points from the attendance and class participation portion of your grade.

Accommodations

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Please let me know about possible conflicts, and we can negotiate the appropriate accommodation.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations, including resources and services, for students with disabilities, chronic medical conditions, a temporary disability, or pregnancy complications resulting in difficulties with accessing learning opportunities. All accommodations are coordinated through the Accessibility Resources and Service Office (Phone: 919-962-8300 or Email: accessibility@unc.edu). Detailed information about the registration process is available at <https://accessibility.unc.edu/about-ars/policies/student-and-applicant-accommodations>. Additional information about ARS is available at <https://accessibility.unc.edu/about-ars>.

Please contact me as soon as the semester begins if you need accommodations for this course.

Classroom Conduct

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, color, culture, religion, creed, politics, veteran's status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity and gender expression, age, disability, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.

Additionally, please remember that when in a learning environment, there is a time to speak and a time to listen. Be considerate of your fellow students, and be cognizant of time and space when speaking in class.

Inclusive Language & Diversity Statement

This course seeks to be inclusive of people of all genders, races, cultures, abilities, and sexual orientations. Throughout the course, we will endeavor to embody the principles set out by the University Office for Diversity and Inclusion (<https://diversity.unc.edu>). **Please be mindful that, when writing papers, you should use terms like people, human being, humanity, etc. instead of the terms man, mankind, and men.** There are all types of exclusions that have taken place in the history of scholarship; as responsible scholar-citizens in contemporary society and in a global context, we want to make sure that we do not further the subtleties of exclusion. If you have questions about the policy, please feel free to consult me.

Honor Code Statement

All students are expected to follow the guidelines of the UNC honor code. In particular, students are expected to refrain from “lying, cheating, or stealing” in the academic context. If you are unsure about which actions violate that honor code, please see me or consult honor.unc.edu.

Syllabus Changes

The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the syllabus, including project due dates and test dates. These changes will be announced as early as possible.