PS 362U
INTRODUCTION TO THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT AND PEACE PROCESS
PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY
SUMMER 2019 (ONLINE)

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Course Overview

PS 362U provides an opportunity to study the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and peace process at a
time of regional instability and change. The Arab uprisings, the election of the Muslim Brotherhood and
its subsequent overthrow by the military in Egypt, civil war in Syria, and the “September Plan”—a move
by the Palestinian Authority to obtain state recognition in the UN—present new challenges and dynamics
for Israel and the Palestinians and new questions about the future of the Peace Process.

Beginning with an overview of contemporary domestic, regional, and international political
dynamics, this course provides an introduction to the history and contemporary politics of the Arab-
Israeli/Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Questions addressed include:

● When and why did the Israeli-Palestinian conflict develop? Why is it seemingly intractable?

● How is the conflict shaped by domestic politics in Israel, the Palestinian Authority and the Arab
states? How is the Arab Spring affecting the conflict and its potential resolution?

● What are the regional and international dimensions of the conflict and peace process? What role
does the United States play in pursuing a final status agreement?

● Why has the peace process failed? Is the two-state solution still viable? What other solutions are
possible?

Prerequisites

PS 362U is suitable for students with no prior knowledge of the history and politics of the
conflict. Students with more advanced knowledge will also benefit from engaging with the perspectives
presented in the course readings and discussion. Students will be asked to articulate the positions of
different actors and develop an understanding of the dilemmas and perspectives discussed in the readings,
lecture, and class discussions.

Students who have no prior knowledge of the conflict or who want more in-depth historical
reading, may choose to read Smith, which is recommended, though not required.

Reading and Materials
Required reading is noted in the course schedule. Students must purchase, rent, or borrow a copy of Lust (14th Ed.). This book is also available to borrow from the 2 hour reserve desk at Millar Library. We will read chapters on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Israel, and Palestine, as well as Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, due to the importance of their role their role in Israeli-Arab affairs and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. All other required readings are accessible either electronically, via d2l or on the Internet.

I use symbols to denote how students can access each required reading. Here is a guide:

(P) The item has been ordered for purchase at the Portland State University Bookstore, or from online book sellers
(d2l) The item is posted on the d2l course webpage
(*) The item is on the Internet

Required Text (Please use the 15th edition is possible. The 14th edition is also acceptable.)


Or


Recommended History Text


Course Requirements

1) Begin by consulting the course guide, syllabus, and Peace Summit assignment instructions on d2l. You will also find the quizzes and film discussion postings using the tabs on d2l. Purchase, borrow, or rent a copy of the textbook, The Middle East (14th Edition, Ed. Ellen Lust).

2) There are seven lesson modules in the “Course Guide” to complete. Each one has readings, a lesson (often with short online viewing), and a quiz. Each quiz is worth 5 points, for a total of 35 points. All of the lessons and instructions for the quizzes are listed in the course guide. If you complete a quiz late, 10% will be removed from your grade for that quiz.

3) There are ten films and discussion postings to be completed on d2l. Each one if worth 1 point, for a total of 10 points. Film discussion postings are not accepted late, so it can be worthwhile to work a little ahead. Norms of respectfulness apply to posts, as they would in the classroom. Each of your responses should be 3-10 sentences. Please post your response in the discussion section of the d2l site. You may write your own discussion posting, or may respond instead to another student's posting. However, please remember to be polite when responding to another student’s posting.
4) Complete the two Peace Summit assignments (by placing them in dropbox) and participate in the Peace Summit. There are a total of **35 points** for the Peace Summit assignments. Late assignments are strongly discouraged as they create extra work for the teaching staff. If you must hand something in late, your grade will be reduced by 10% per day unless you show me documentation of an unavoidable and unforeseen reason for being late. To sign up for a role, do here: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1UDKeLryQDX4ET7AyGiaGwhqtJZoyL9aJgrLar4vFHUs/edit#gid=1038753236

5) There will also be a Peace Summit on **August 16** [Date subject to change] from 3:15-4:45 pm on the campus of Portland State University. A room on campus will be designated for this purpose. While it is strongly encouraged for you to attend in person if you are local, you can also participate remotely by streaming the event. More details about how to participate remotely will be provided later in the term.

6) Complete the final exam, which is worth **10 points** and is handed in on d2l. 10% deduction per day late.

7) Be a good Peace Summit team player and interact with respectfulness in the online environment (e.g., when responding to films). Good citizenship is worth **10 points**.

8) There are 100 points in the course. Six additional points are possible for extra credit. If you do extra credit, place your summaries as one document in the appropriate dropbox by the time of the Peace Summit. Information on extra credit is on the syllabus. To sign up for extra credit research assistance, please email me at benstead@pdx.edu.
Due Dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Due Date</th>
<th>Assignment Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 25 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 1 quiz &amp; film response 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 27 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Peace Summit role sign up &amp; film response 2 (Audio clip: <a href="https://media.pdx.edu/media/Peace+Summit+Assignment+1/0_2hn486cd">link</a>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 30 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 2 quiz &amp; film response 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 3 quiz &amp; film response 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 3 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Peace Summit assignment 1 &amp; film response 5 (Audio clip: <a href="https://media.pdx.edu/media/Peace+Summit+Assignment+1/0_2hn486cd">link</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 6 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 4 quiz &amp; film response 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 7 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Students streaming must create their Echo account by August 7. For an account, contact Rick Arnold (<a href="mailto:arnoldr@pdx.edu">arnoldr@pdx.edu</a>). An Echo account is only for students who will not be attending the summit in person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 8 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 5 quiz &amp; film response 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 10 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Peace Summit assignment 2 &amp; film response 8 (Audio clip: <a href="https://media.pdx.edu/media/Peace+Summit+Assignment+2/0_15bwcuk1">link</a>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 13 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 6 quiz &amp; film response 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 15 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Module 7 quiz &amp; film response 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 16 (3:15-4:45 pm PST)</td>
<td>Peace Summit in CUPA Room 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 18 (5 pm PST)</td>
<td>Final exam and extra credit</td>
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*Film postings are not accepted late. Late assignments (quizzes, Peace Summit Assignments) are strongly discouraged, as they create extra work for the teaching staff. If you must hand something in late, your grade will be reduced by 10% per day unless you show me documentation of an unavoidable and unforeseen reason for the lateness. All students must participate in the Peace Summit, **August 16 [Date subject to change]** from 3:15-4:45 pm. A room on campus at Portland State will be designated for this purpose. However, while it is strongly encouraged for you to attend in person if you are local, you can also stream it online. Students streaming must create their Echo account by August 7.

**Participation and Citizenship**

The goal of the course is to facilitate to the greatest extent possible student learning of the history and politics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and understanding of the competing, “lived” perceptions and perspectives of the actors involved. Meeting this goal requires a dynamic, participatory class environment in which competing ideas and perspectives are constructively expressed and discussed. Extra attention is needed to the imperative of classroom citizenship, including the skills of communicating about contentious issues with respect, civility and nuance.

What if a perspective is politically incorrect or even potentially offensive? Or, what if one
disagrees with something that is said or read? A way to show civility is to respond to comments to which you disagree with statements like: “I hear what you are saying and I disagree because . . .”, or, “One could also argue . . .“, or, “It seems to me that . . . because the reading states suggests . . .” Students are also expected to stay focused on the topic of the reading and to bring evidence to bear on the discussion, rather than to focus on opinions. We have the privilege of learning in a safe and constructive environment. This does not mean that I will censor views, but rather that we carefully measure what is said and how it is said in order to stay focused on the goals of the course. Further, it means that we remain open to considering new ideas and perspectives and become good students of the literature and history as we formulate our own points of view. Lastly, it means that respect for persons always pervades our discussion of contentious issues.

**Quizzes**

The quizzes cover all of the relevant module content (readings, lesson/lecture/film, etc.) and are 10 questions. You have 30 minutes to complete the quiz, which can be found in d2l.

**Final Exam**

There will be a take home final exam. It will consist of a broad question and will draw on the material and insights from the course, including the Peace Summit. Students will be asked to reflect on what they have learned in the course and on possibilities for peace. Students will respond in no more than two single spaced pages and send their completed reflection essay to benstead@pdx.edu by the date listed at the end of the syllabus. Submit your final exam via d2l’s drop box.

**Film Response Entries**

There are ten film response entries due in this course—usually online. Submit your response through d2l’s discussion posting feature by the due date and time listed on the syllabus.

**Peace Summit**

Each student will choose a role for the Peace Summit. Each role has a specific final status issue assigned to it. While you will hand in your assignments individually (via dropbox), you will work with your group to create certain portions of the assignment. Strategic goals must be developed as a country group. Country groups many occasionally need to meet as a group or correspond outside of class (remotely, via email). You are responsible for working effectively with your country group and resolving problems, just as you do at work. Always cite your sources using the Chicago Author-Date citation style. (Find more information here: http://libguides.williams.edu/citing/chicago-author-date).

The main purpose of the Peace Summit is to learn about a role and final status issues and to develop the position of your character on those issues. Using this research, you will develop strategic goals for your country group, which you use to inform your negotiation in the Peace Summit.

**Assignment 1: Description of role, 2-3 pages, double-spaced (10%).**

Write a brief description of the person you are playing in the Peace Summit. Describe his or her personal and professional background, appearance (if possible), major
accomplishments and role in the conflict and peace process. Include a photo if you like (noting that all photos, figures and tables should be in an appendix after the 2-3 pages double-spaced of text. An appendix is simply a set of attachments that fall at the end of the paper). Next, in about a page, describe how you believe he or she thinks about each of the final status issues listed below, citing information from your research. Although you need to prepare your own assignment, you may wish to work with your country group in developing your positions toward these issues. Submit your individual “Description of role and position on final status issues” as a Word or pdf file in dropbox by the due date.

Assignment 2: Position paper and country strategic priorities, 3-4 pages, double-spaced of text plus additional pages for figures/tables (in an appendix) and Bibliography (15%)

In 2-3 double-spaced pages, write an individual position paper which reflects the position your character takes on the final status issues listed below. Make the position as detailed as possible and include tables and figures in an appendix. Draw on your previous work as much as is useful. Appendices and your bibliography should come after the 3-4 page requirement. For more on the final status issues, listen to: https://media.pdx.edu/media/t/1_0dfa20ya

In addition, at the end of your assignment (4th page), include a list of your country or country group’s strategic priorities in final peace negotiations. Beginning with 1, state the most important thing you want to gain and continue to list your strategic goals up to the nth or least important issue you want to gain in final negotiations. These goals cut across all issues and are developed from the point of view of your group. For example, what does Russia most want to happen in a negotiation between Israel and the Palestinians? What does it hope to gain for Russia? At the same time, also list at least three areas which you think you can compromise with other actors in the negotiation in order to get what you most want. Submit your “Position paper and country strategic priorities” as a paper copy due at the start of the class in which it is assigned.

Peace Summit Participation (10%)

Participate fully in the Peace Summit, which will be held on the campus of PSU, with the option of participation remotely (via the Internet). More details about online participation will be provided later in the term. Prepare notes or anything else you will need to guide you in the negotiation. Read the scenario before coming to the Peace Summit, which will be posted on d2l in advance. You will receive a grade that reflects the degree to which students in your summit remain in character, as well as the extent to which the simulation is conducted in a realistic manner.
The Peace Summit Issues:

There are seven major issues or clusters of issues associated with negotiation of a two-state solution that we will consider in this course. Each character in the simulation is assigned an issue about which he or she will write a position paper. For more on the final status issues, listen to: https://media.pdx.edu/media/t/1_0dfa20ya

1. Borders

How much and which land will be part of the Israeli and Palestinian states?

Related issues: Nature of the border of a Palestinian state vis-à-vis Jordan (contiguity), passage between the West Bank and Gaza for Palestinians and border crossing between the Gaza Strip and Egypt

2. Security

How will Israelis and Palestinians be both sovereign and live securely as neighbors? Will violent groups be allowed to meet and demonstrate in Palestine and other places in the region? Will militias in Palestine and neighboring states be allowed to obtain and use weapons? What institutions will ensure security in Palestine in the early years while state institutions are developing? Who will protect settlers in the West Bank if settlements remain within the larger borders of the Palestinian state? What will the Palestinian armed forces, if any, be like? If Palestine is not allowed to have an army, which forces will ensure its security?

Related issues: Nuclear weapons, Israel/West Bank barrier, control of terrorism and incitement at home and abroad

3. Refugees (Right of Return) and the Character of the Israeli State

Related issues: How many displaced Palestinians and their descendants will be allowed to live as citizens in Israel? What will other countries in the region and outside the region do to provide citizenship for all Palestinians? What will be the criteria for citizenship in Palestine? What institutional framework will be in place to handle cases and appeals for Israeli, Palestinian, or foreign citizenship? Will Israel retain its character as a democratic and Jewish state in its Basic Laws? Will Arab Israelis have equal rights?

4. Water

How will water resources (e.g. lakes, rivers, aquifers) be divided between Israel, Palestine and Jordan? What institutions will be in place to ensure that one or more of the parties does not spoil or sabotage the water of others? Will Syria have direct access to Lake Tiberias?

5. Settlements in the West Bank/East Jerusalem/Golan Heights

Which settlements, if any, will be allowed to remain in the West Bank? Who will provide for the security of the settlers if they stay within the West Bank?
6. Jerusalem and Holy Places

Will Jerusalem be divided? If so, how? Will Jerusalem be the capital of Israel, Palestine, or both? Who will control the holy sites and how will access to those sites be ensured by the state or states in control of them?

7. Palestinian Statehood and Institutions and Foreign Aid

A two-state solution requires mutual recognition of the Israeli and Palestinian states and recognition of the Israeli state by all regional actors. How will this be achieved? Will groups in either Palestine or Israel and elsewhere that do not accept the existence of one of these state entities be legitimate and allowed to compete in formal politics or have the right of association? What resources will be available to build the capacity of Palestinian state institutions and bolster economic development? Who will “put the money on the table” to provide the glue that makes the peace plan stick? (i.e. How will nascent Palestinian institutions be funded and supported and as they develop capacity?) Since peace between governments if not enough, think broadly about the sorts of nonprofit and nongovernmental efforts that are needed to build interdependence and trust between people, not just governments.

Extra Credit

Students can earn up to a total of 6 percent extra credit in the course.

Option One: Attending Lectures

1 percent extra credit per event can be earned for attending scholarly events related to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (or the Middle East more generally). These include approved guest lectures in the community or at PSU scheduled between the first and last day of class. PSU Middle East Center events are available here: http://www.pdx.edu/middle-east-studies/middle-east-studies-events and most count for extra credit. Students are encouraged to subscribe to the Middle East Studies Center listserv to hear about these events directly. Please consult with me if you want to suggest an event or are unsure whether an event counts for extra credit.

After each event, please write a response of not more than a page. Hand in all you extra credit write-ups as a single, stapled packet on the last day of class.

Option Two: Research Assistance

Students can earn extra credit by providing research/teaching assistance related to MENA politics. Assignments may include library research/literature review, translation, fact-checking, Internet research and other research and teaching-related assistance. Students interested in this option could contact me for more information. Students receive 1 percent bonus credit for two hours of research assistance. Students can also list research assistant on their CVs if they complete a full term of assistance (about 12 hours).
Course Grading Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score Range</th>
<th>Grade</th>
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<th>Grade</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>90-92 (A-)</td>
<td>93-96 (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>80-82 (B-)</td>
<td>83-86 (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>70-72 (C-)</td>
<td>73-76 (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>60-62 (D-)</td>
<td>63-66 (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-59</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>F</td>
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Political Science Division Disclaimer

Course materials and classroom discussion may touch on sensitive issues including the consequences of war, cultural conflict, terrorism, nuclear war, religious concepts and religious conflict, conflict between particular countries, peoples and groups. Sometimes language used in the evaluation of these topics may be explicit. The Professor of Record encourages candid but respectful evaluation of these and other topics that some students could find upsetting, violent or otherwise distasteful. If you are sensitive to such discussions and evaluations, do not sign up for this class.

Classroom disruptions will not be permitted. Students engaging in classroom disruptions will be required to leave the class and the course in order to preserve the rights of other students. At all times students must obey the University's student code of conduct.
Course Schedule

Required Readings are Highlighted in Yellow

PART I INTRODUCTION

Module 1 Overview of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Peace Process
Human and Physical Geography of Israel/Palestine

Course overview audio file:
https://media.pdx.edu/media/Israeli+Palestinian+Conflict/1_0dfa20ya

***Required Reading:
(*) Beinin and Hajjar, http://www.merip.org/primer-palestine-israel-arab-israeli-conflict-new (read all 25 sections and refer back to this article as a study guide)

PART II THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONFLICT (LATE 1930S)

Module 2 Pre-Mandate History

***Required Reading:
(P) Lust (Tessler, “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”), Chapter 7 (14th Edition) or Chapter 2 (15th Edition)

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Prologue

Modern Political Zionism and the Jewish Narrative
Ottoman Society, Jewish Land Purchases and Jewish Immigration

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 1

Arab and Palestinian Nationalism and the Arab Palestinian Narrative

***Required Reading:

WWI Peace Settlements and the Mandate System

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 2

Jewish and Arab Palestinians Politics and Institutions during the British Mandate

***Required Reading:

Module 3

WWII, the UN Partition of Palestine (1947) and the Israeli Declaration of Independence and State Institutions, 1947-1949 War of Independence/Nakba (1948)

Jordan

***Required Reading:
(P) Lust, Chapter 14 (Jordan)

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 4
(d2l), Pappe, The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine, excerpt

The Suez Crisis (1956)

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 5

Module 4 The June 1967 War and UN Resolution 232 (1950-1967)

Syria

***Required Reading:
(P) Lust, Chapter 23 in the 14th Edition or Chapter 22 in the 15th Edition (Syria)

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 6-7

Formation of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh) (1957/1965), the Emergence of the PLO (1964), the Election of Chairman Arafat (1959) and the PLO in Jordan, Lebanon and Tunisia

War and Peace: Yom Kippur War (1973), Camp David I (1978) and Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty (1979) and the Lebanon War (1982)

Egypt

Israeli Politics after 1977 and the Greater Israel Dream

Israeli Politics and Society, Nuclear Weapons and Israeli Security

***Required Reading:
(P) Lust, Chapter 10 (Egypt)

Recommended Reading:
PART IV THE EMERGENCE OF DIRECT PALESTINIAN INVOLVEMENT IN PEACE TALKS: THE PALESTINIAN DIMENSION (1991-PRESENT)

Module 5 Israel’s Occupation: From Colonization to Separation
Grassroots Activism: The Exiled PLO and the Rise of Grassroots Secular and Islamist Activism in the Territories, the First Intifada (1987-1993) and the Development of Palestinian Hamas and Islamic Jihad

***Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:
(d2l) Dershowitz, pp. 158-162

The First Gulf War (1991)
The Oslo Accords/Declaration of Principles (1993), Agreements Implementing the Oslo Accords (Gaza Jericho, Hebron and Wye River) and the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty (1994)

***Required Reading:
(P) Lust, Chapter 20 (Palestine)

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 8-9


***Required Reading:
(*) Hamas Charter, http://middleeast.about.com/od/palestinepalestinians/a/me080106b.htm

Recommended Reading:
Module 6  

***Required Reading:
(P) Lust, Chapter 13 (Israel)

Recommended Reading:
(d2l) Tessler, Chapter 12 & Epilogue

The Arab Spring, the Egyptian Revolution and Syrian Civil War
Hizballah and Lebanon
Public Opinion

***Required Reading:
(*) Shitrit and Jaraba, “Death of the Two-State Paradigm?” http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/01/03/death_of_the_two_state_paradigm
(P) Lust, Chapter 16 (Lebanon)

Recommended Reading:
(P) Smith, Chapter 10, 11 and Epilogue

Final Status Issues: Borders, Security, Refugees (Right of Return), Settlements in the West Bank, Jerusalem, Water and Foreign Aid

Recommended Reading:

Alternative Peace Plans and Dimensions of Peace-Making: Joint Economic Initiatives (E.g. “The Arc” and the Peace Valley Plan), Person-to-Person Peace-Building (E.g. Building Trust through Joint Environmental Projects, Educational projects, etc.), the Geneva Accords, Binational State/The “Benelux” Model, the Elon Peace Plan and Unilateral Israeli Withdrawal

Recommended Reading:

Module 7  
US Foreign Policy toward Israel and the Israel Lobby

Is US Media Coverage of the Conflict Biased?
***Required Reading:

Peace Summit
Take home final posted on d2l
Extra credit write-ups due in d2l dropbox