

HIST319K/ISRL349L:

Israel's Occupation

Fall 2023

TuTh 3:30pm - 4:45pm

KEY 0100

Office hours: Thursday 1PM-2PM

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Course Summary:

In its sixth decade, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem is the world's longest ongoing military occupation. The span of Israeli control and the continued colonization of Palestinian lands has prompted scholars and activists to seek a paradigm shift and suggest that Israel has de-facto annexed the territory and created a “one-state” reality, akin to Apartheid. This course will examine the history of Israel's occupation since 1967, the colonization of Palestinian land for the construction of Jewish settlements, as well as Palestinian resistance. Other topics examined are the role of human rights NGOs, international law, archaeology and the environmental impact of the occupation.

Learning Outcomes. At the end of the semester, students in HIST319K will be able to:

1. Understand the origins and development of the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza.
2. Evaluate the influence the Israeli occupation on the Israeli society at large.
3. Contextualize the history of the Israeli occupation in terms of broader historical themes such as nationalism, colonialism and religious fundamentalism.
4. Understand the concepts of historiography and historiographical debates.
5. Understand how to read and interpret primary sources.
6. Improve your analytic writing skills.

Readings:

The required readings for this course are available on ELMS. If you do not have general familiarity with the history of Israel or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it is highly recommended that you read the following textbook:

James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 4th edition).

Responsibilities:

The final pages of this syllabus contain important information on class policies, including attendance, disability services, and classroom climate. See “The Fine Print,” below.

Academic integrity is assumed at all times. **Please note that the university now uses the Turnitin platform.** Any violation of the honor code will be dealt with immediately and firmly.

Please note that you must cite any sources you use in your submitted work, either with footnotes or in-line citations. If you are unfamiliar with academic citations, I am happy to send you some guidelines.

Here are the different components of the final grade, followed by details.

Participation and Argument Posting	20
4 Short Responses	30
Film Analysis	10
Midterm	15
Final	25

1. Attendance: Students arriving more than 20 minutes late will be considered absent. Unexcused absences will affect your participation grade. Excused absences require documentation from a university or a medical authority. Please see below for university policies on absences. Students who will be absent for religious holidays must notify the instructor by email at least one week before the scheduled absence.

2. Participation and Argument Posting (20 pts): In order to earn the highest grade for participation, students must read the assigned readings and be prepared to discuss them in class on a regular basis.

Before each meeting starting **September 5** students are required to submit a short online post via ELMS (2-3 sentences), explaining what is the main argument for **each** of the assigned readings (not including primary sources), or the main take-away if the argument is not clearly specified. Submissions must be made before we meet for class. Do not worry if you miss a few posts, but do try to submit as many of these posts as you can. You do not need to post on weeks for which you are writing a short response (see below).

Classroom discussions will provide an opportunity for students to express evidence-based opinions (that draw on class reading materials and news coverage). While disagreements will inevitably arise, this classroom must be a place of mutual respect, where students can feel safe to express their thoughts. Offensive behavior will not be tolerated. Please make sure to turn off cell phones before class begins.

3. Four (4) Short Responses (30 pts): Throughout the semester, you are required to submit four (4) 700-1000 word responses that discuss all the readings for that week (for **both Tuesday and Thursday**), while making a clear thesis argument. In your response paper, you are also required to analyze the primary sources assigned for that week (if there are ones) while integrating them with rest of the readings. This will be discussed further in class. Responses must be posted **before** we meet for class, **and at least two must be submitted before the midterm (or you will be marked down)**. During the first week of class, you'll need to choose the four weeks for which you plan to submit a response. Note that only 2-3 students will be able to submit a response for any given week. A schedule for submission will be available for students to select on a first come, first serve basis via ELMS. If you wish to change the week for which your assignment is due, you need to find another student to switch dates with. The last date to submit responses is **November 28**.

4. Film Analysis (10 pts):

You are required to write one 700-1,000 words analysis of an assigned film during the semester (but you still need to watch all of them!). The analysis has to be based on the other assigned readings for that week. You may also use readings from previous weeks if they are relevant. **The assignment must be submitted before we meet for class to discuss the specific film.** Please note that the last option to submit this assignment is **November 2.**

5. Midterm (15 pts): The multiple-choice midterm on **October 17** will review basic concepts about Palestine, Israel, Zionism, and Israel's occupation.

6. Final Take-Home Exam (25 pts):

The final exam will be available via ELMS two days before the due date (submissions permitted by midnight). You are welcome to review and draw upon class notes, and readings, but the questions will be analytical in nature. In other words, you will not be called upon to summarize what we have learned in class, but rather to write short compositions, synthesizing the material while presenting a main argument. We will discuss this further in class. The word limit for the exam is 2,000.

7. Extra credit option:

If you wish, you can get up to an extra 5 points in your final grade for leading a 15-minute discussion on a topic chosen in consultation with the instructor. Please email me.

Grading of papers:

Papers will be graded on the basis of how well they meet the qualities for an A paper: Clearly articulated argument stated in first paragraph; Specific topic sentences that advance a claim; Argument supported by textual evidence both explicated and smoothly integrated into prose; Nuance; Minimal spelling and grammar mistakes. Please refer to the grading rubric on ELMS.

Grade Component	Meets Expectations	Exceeds Expectations
Attendance	Attend class on a regular basis	Attend all class with the exception of excused absences.
Participation and Quizzes	Come to class after reading the secondary sources and submitting discussion questions. Be ready to review them in class.	Come to class after reading the secondary sources and submitting discussion questions. Be ready to make analytical observation about the texts that exceed description.
Four Short Responses and Final	Present a main argument at the outset; incorporate all primary and secondary sources.	Present an original non-descriptive main argument at the outset; use the primary sources as an anchor for your analysis.

Follow news from Israel/Palestine:

www.haaretz.com
www.972mag.com/
www.jadaliyya.com/
www.ynetnews.com
www.tabletmag.com
www.timesofisrael.com
www.jerusalemstory.com

Course Plan and Selected Examples for Course Readings:

Week 1: Intro

August 29: No Readings.

August 31:

[Nathan Thrall, "A Day in the Life of Abed Salama," New York Review of Books, podcast or read.](#)

Shay Hazkani, "All Roads Lead to Palestine," from *Dear Palestine: A Social History of the 1948 War*, 4-23.

Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, "'But if I don't steal it, someone else is gonna steal it' – Israeli Settler-Colonial Accumulation by Dispossession," *Middle East Report* 302 (Spring 2022).

[Alan Dowty, "Why Israel isn't a settler colonial state," Stroum Center for Jewish Studies.](#)

Week 2: 1967 War

September 5:

James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 4th edition), pp. 175-207.

Film: *Six Days in June* (2007). Director: Ilan Ziv.

September 7:

Ami Gluska, *The Israeli Military and the Origins of the 1967 War: Government, Armed Forces and Defence Policy 1963-1967* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 66-76, 257-261.

Avi Raz, *The Bride and the Dowry : Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 103- 134.

Primary source: UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967); The Palestinian National Charter 1968

Week 3: Colonizing the West Bank and Gaza: Beginnings

September 12:

Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir, *The One-State Condition : Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine* (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 25-60.

September 14:

Omri Shafer Raviv, "Israeli emigration policies in the Gaza Strip: crafting demography and forming control in the aftermath of the 1967 War," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 57:2 (2021), pp. 342-356.

Seth Anziska, "Autonomy as State Prevention: The Palestinian Question after Camp David, 1979–1982," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 8, no. 2 (2017): 287-310.

Primary source: [“Erasure of the Green Line.”](#)

Week 4: Permits, Surveillance and Biopower

September 19:

Yehouda Shenhav and Yael Berda, “The Colonial Foundations of the State of Exception: Juxtaposing the Israeli Occupation with Colonial Bureaucratic History,” in Givoni, Hanafi & Ophir (Eds.) *The Power of Exclusive Inclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule* (Zone Books, MIT Press, Boston, Mass, 2009), 337-367.

September 21:

Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London, Verso, 2007), pp. 139-159.

Suad Amiry, *Sharon and My Mother-in-Law: Ramallah Diaries* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), pp. 14-61.

Primary source: Military Proclamation No. 101;

Film: *The Soldier’s Opinion* (2022). Creators: Assaf Banitt and Shay Hazkani

(for those writing film assignments: Is “the soldier’s opinion” a form of biopower?)

Week 5: Occupation and International Law

September 26:

Orna Ben-Naftali, “Geneva Law,” in *The ABC of the OPT: A Legal Lexicon of the Israeli Control over the Occupied Palestinian Territory* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 141-161.

David Kretzmer, *The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), pp. 187-198.

September 28:

Lisa Hajjar, *Courting Conflict: The Israeli Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza* (Berkeley: Univ. of Cal. Press, 2005), pp. 79-95, 185-195.

Primary Source: Israeli Diplomatic Cable June 22, 1967; Israeli Diplomatic Cable March 2, 1968

Film: *The Law in These Parts* (2011). Director: Ra'anan Alexandrowicz

Week 6: Settlements

October 3:

Michael Feige, *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009), pp. 21-35, 112-130.

October 5:

Hagar Kotef, *The Colonizing Self: Or, Home and Homelessness in Israel/Palestine* (Duke University Press, 2020), pp. 215-249.

Yagil Levy, “The rebellion of Israel’s second army”, *972 Magazine*, 26 December 2022 (10 pages).

Primary Source: Yesha Council English Pamphlet

Film: *The Settlers* (2016). Director: Shimon Dotan.

Week 7: Political Economy of the OPT

October 10:

Andrew Ross, *Stone Men: The Palestinians Who Built Israel* (Brooklyn, NY : Verso, 2021), pp. 199-248

October 12:

Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins, *Waste Siege : The Life of Infrastructure in Palestine* (Redwood City, Stanford University Press, 2019), pp. 172-206.

Film: Mayor (2021). Director: David Osit

Suggested reading:

Tariq Dana, "Dominate and Pacify: Contextualizing the Political Economy of the Occupied Palestinian Territories Since 1967," in Tartir, A., Dana, T., Seidel, T. (eds) *Political Economy of Palestine: Critical, Interdisciplinary, and Decolonial Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), pp. 25-431.

Week 8: Palestinians Confront the Occupation

October 17: Midterm

Azoulay and Ophir, *The One-State Condition*, pp. 73-82 and picture essay.

Wendy Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 94-123.

Rema Hammami, "Women, the Hijab, and the Intifada," in MERIP, May-Aug, 1990.

October 19:

Linda Tabar, "Memory, agency, counter-narrative: testimonies from Jenin refugee camp," *Critical Arts*, 21:1 (2007), 6-31.

Film: Arna's Children (2004). Directors: Juliano Mer Khamis and Danniell Danniell

Primary Source: Communiqués from the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising 1987-1988

Primary source: [Hamas 1988 Covenant](#) and [Hamas 2017 Charter](#)

Week 9: Armed Resistance and "Suicide Bombing"

October 24:

Michael Walzer, *Arguing About War* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 51-66.

Talal Assad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 39-64.

October 26:

Nada Matta and Rene Rojas. "The Second Intifada: A Dual Strategy Arena." *European Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 1 (2016), pp. 65-108.44

Primary source: "Palestinians Debate 'Polite' Resistance to Occupation."

Week 10: Prisoners

October 31:

Hedi Viterbo, "Security Prisoners," in *The ABC of the OPT: A Legal Lexicon of the Israeli Control over the Occupied Palestinian Territory* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 383-398.

Maya Rosenfeld. *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp* (Stanford, 2004), pp. 238-265.

November 2:

Lena Meari, "Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 113:3 (Summer 2014), pp. 547-574.

Podcast: [Prison Hunger Strikes in Palestine with Basil Farraj](#), Rethinking Palestine: Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network.

Primary Source: Memoir of a Palestinian prisoner and another who was exiled from *The Palestinian Revolution* [website](#).

Film: [Advocate](#) (2019). Directors: Rachel Leah Jones and Philippe Bellaiche.

Week 11: Oslo and the Rise and Fall (?) of the Palestinian Authority

November 7:

Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, pp. 244-281.

November 9:

Anas Iqtait, "The Palestinian Authority Political Economy: The Architecture of Fiscal Control," in Tartir, A., Dana, T., Seidel, T. (eds) *Political Economy of Palestine: Critical, Interdisciplinary, and Decolonial Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), pp. 249-270.1

Lori Allen, *The Rise and Fall of Human Rights : Cynicism and Politics in Occupied Palestine* (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 65-98.

Week 12: Gaza

November 14:

Baconi, Tareq, "The Gaza Strip: Humanitarian Crisis and Lost Statehood", in *Rethinking Statehood in Palestine: Self-Determination and Decolonization Beyond Partition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021) pp. 54-79.

November 16:

Lena Khalaf Tuffaha, "Running Orders," in in Prashad (ed), *Letters to Palestine: Writers Respond to War and Occupation* (London : Verso, 2015), pp. 103-104.

Fadi Shayya and Visualizing Palestine, "Re-Ecologizing Gaza" in *Open Gaza: architecture of hope*, edited by M. Sorkin and D. Sharp (The American University in Cairo Press, 2021), pp. 142-157.

Bint Al-Sirhad, "Four Tunnels" in *Open Gaza*, pp. 60-74.

Opinion: ["Israel and the Gaza Strip: Why Economic Sanctions Are Not Collective Punishment," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.](#)

Opinion: Zvi Bar'el, Can We Recognize Hamas Already? *Haaretz*, May 16, 2023.

Video: Gaza in Context

Week 13: Jerusalem

November 21:

Hillel Cohen, *The Rise and Fall of Arab Jerusalem: Palestinian Politics and the City Since 1967* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 6-18, 65-76, 86-91, 101-107.

Hania Walid Assali, "The Forgotten Palestinians East Jerusalem and the Oslo Peace Process," in *Rethinking Statehood in Palestine*, pp. 80-101.

Lior Volinz, "Crafting And Reinforcing the State Through Security Privatisation: Territorialisation as a Public–Private State Project in East Jerusalem," *Policing and Society*, 29:9 (2019), pp. 1077-1090.

"Settlements and National Parks," *Ir Amim*

Primary Source: [Testimonies by East Jerusalem Palestinians and Jews](#)

November 23: Thanksgiving

Week 14: Digital Occupation and Digital Resistance

November 28:

Adi Kuntsman and Rebecca L Stein, *Digital Militarism : Israel's Occupation in the Social Media Age* (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 71-89.

Hillel Cohen, "We Are Here to Help," *Haaretz*, August 7, 2020.

November 30:

Ahed Tamimi and Dena Takruri, *They Called Me a Lioness : A Palestinian Girl's Fight for Freedom* (New York: One World, 2022), pp. 76-81, 101-146 (very light read).

Amahl Bishara, *Crossing A Line : Laws, Violence, And Roadblocks to Palestinian Political Expression* (Stanford University Press, 2022), pp. 177-207.

Week 15: Two-states? One State? Apartheid?

December 5:

[Michael Barnett et al, "Israel's One-State Reality." *Foreign Affairs*, April 14, 2023.](#)

Tareq Baconi, "What Apartheid Means for Israel," *New York Review of Books*.

December 7:

Nathan Thrall, "BDS: how a controversial non-violent movement has transformed the Israeli-Palestinian debate," *The Guardian*, August 14, 2018.

TBA.

The Fine Print

Academic integrity:

The UMD Honor Code prohibits students from cheating on exams, plagiarizing papers, submitting the same paper for credit in two courses without authorization, buying papers, submitting fraudulent documents and forging signatures. On every examination, paper or other academic exercise not exempted by the instructor, students must write by hand and sign the following pledge:

I pledge on my honor that I have not given or received any unauthorized assistance on this examination (or assignment).

Allegations of academic dishonesty will be reported directly to the Student Honor Council:

<http://www.shc.umd.edu>

Attendance and absences:

Students are expected to attend classes regularly. Consistent attendance offers students the most effective opportunity to gain command of course concepts and materials. Events that justify an excused absence include: religious observances; mandatory military obligation; illness of the student or illness of an immediate family member; participation in university activities at the request of university authorities; and compelling circumstances beyond the student's control (e.g., death in the family, required court appearance). Absences stemming from work duties other than military obligation (e.g., unexpected changes in shift assignments) and traffic/transit problems do not typically qualify for excused absence. Students claiming an excused absence must notify the course instructor in a timely manner and provide appropriate documentation. The notification should be provided either prior to the absence or as soon afterwards as possible. In the case of religious observances, athletic events, and planned absences known at the beginning of the semester, the student must inform the instructor during the schedule adjustment period. All other absences must be reported as soon as is practical. The student must provide appropriate documentation of the absence.

The university's policies on medical and other absences can be found at:

<http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html>

Communication about this course:

Faculty and advisors use email to convey important information, and students are responsible for keeping their email address up to date, and must ensure that forwarding to another address functions properly.

Failure to check email, errors in forwarding, and returned email are the responsibility of the student, and do not constitute an excuse for missing announcements or deadlines.

Emergency protocol:

Should the University be closed for an extended period of time, students will be notified by email with regard to future plans. As a general rule, on the first day after a closure of any length, students should come to class prepared to address the material that was to be discussed on the first canceled class. During this class session, we will work out a plan for continuing the semester in abbreviated form. In cases of unusually extended cancellations, the process of rescheduling the semester will take place over email.

Accessibility and accommodations:

Students with a documented disability should inform the instructors within the add-drop period if academic accommodations will be needed. NB: You are expected to meet with your instructor in person to provide them with a copy of the Accommodations Letter and to obtain your instructor's signature on the Acknowledgement of Student Request form. You and your instructor will plan together how accommodations will be implemented throughout the semester. To obtain the required Accommodation Letter, please contact Disability Support Service (DSS) at 301-314-7682 or dissup@umd.edu

Diversity:

The University of Maryland recognizes the importance of a diverse student body, and we are committed to fostering inclusive and equitable classroom environments. I invite you, if you wish, to tell us how you want to be referred to both in terms of your name and your pronouns (he/him, she/her, they/them, etc.). The pronouns someone indicates are not necessarily indicative of their gender identity. Visit trans.umd.edu to learn more.

Additionally, how you identify in terms of your gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among all aspects of your identity, is your choice whether to disclose (e.g., should it come up in classroom conversation about our experiences and perspectives) and should be self-identified, not presumed or imposed. I will do my best to address and refer to all students accordingly, and I ask you to do the same for all of your fellow Terps.

Course evaluations:

Course evaluations are a part of the process by which the University of Maryland seeks to improve teaching and learning. Your participation in this official system is critical to the success of the process, and all information submitted to CourseEvalUM is confidential. (Instructors can only view group summaries of evaluations and cannot identify which submissions belong to which students.)

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